GRAMMATICAL CATEGORIES IN MODERN CHINESE

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I. INTRODUCTION

I.1. *Aim and Scope*

THE aim of the present paper is to suggest a scheme of grammatical categories for the description of one form of contemporary Chinese. The scheme of categories is put forward as one possible scheme devised in order to account for all the facts in as economical a way as possible. It is not offered as the only possible scheme ; the description may vary according to the purpose envisaged by the linguist, and, even granted an identity of purpose, there will still remain a number of alternative possibilities in the statement. This paper represents an attempt to find the scheme of categories most suited to a statement that is particular (not comparative) and descriptive (not historical).

The aim of the description is bound up with the choice of a text. One may wish to make an exhaustive descriptive grammar of the language of a circumscribed text, such that the statements made are intended to account for all the linguistic features of the text but are not offered as either exhaustive or necessarily valid for any linguistic material outside that text. It is sometimes desirable, however, to attempt a descriptive statement that is to be valid for some non-circumscribed body of linguistic phenomena : for a language, for example, whose texts cannot all be considered and may include what has not yet been spoken or written but may be spoken or written in the future. Here the concept of a restricted language can be used to determine the boundaries of the phenomena for which the statements are intended to be valid.

For the present paper the language under description will be not that of a circumscribed text but one of which many texts exist and will exist : a restricted language which may be

called New Chinese : Modern Pekingese formal colloquial. Since formal colloquial is not markedly Pekingese, the word 'standard' might be used instead ; but the geographical term is useful on the one hand as excluding dialect forms which are referred to by locality (and some of which, such as Cantonese, have their own distinct formal colloquial) and on the other hand because in reference to some modes of discourse the specific designation of locality would be required. The language to be considered here is the type of Chinese which a foreigner learns ; to say so is perhaps the best way of placing it in the landscape of social linguistics.

The description has, however, a textual basis in a small corpus of spoken material recorded by myself in Peking and elsewhere, from which all except the constructed examples are drawn. This is the experimental core of the material, while the field of observation is the totality of my own experience of this restricted language as I have been able to codify it. Since the bounds are shifting, there is no final version of the description, as there might be with a text ; it may always be modified, extended or narrowed ; and though there might come a point at which the linguist would say 'any new features not accounted for will be thereby excluded from the restricted language under description ' this is a point which I should not claim to have reached.

I.2. *Comprehensiveness and Validity*

The description aims to be comprehensive in length and breadth but not in depth. It provides a frame within which it is intended that all forms of the language under description may be placed. But in this brief account the details are not filled in, and for these further sub-systematization may be necessary. In another metaphor, the net fits the channel, but the mesh is coarse.

The degree of validity is determined by the choice of a restricted language rather than a text. With a text each statement in the description has absolute validity : one can talk of finite systems and of numbers of occurrences. With a

restricted language some at least of the systems are non-finite and the statements are valid in terms of probabilities. In the present statement, four degrees of probability will be recognized : even, likely, almost certain and certain, symbolized $\frac{1}{2}$, $\frac{1}{2}$ +, 1 — and 1, with the complementary negative degrees $\frac{1}{2}$ —, 0 + and 0.

Occasional reference is made to alternative forms of statement where a different purpose may be envisaged. It is useful to stress the multi-dimensional nature of the systematization : a form may be ordered in the language by its being placed in a number of dimensions—that is, by its being assigned as a term to a number of different systems. The choice of assignment, and the hierarchical ordering of the systems to which it is assigned, will depend upon the purpose of the linguist ; beside the present aim of particular description (that is, synchronic description of one restricted language or text) we may envisage (i) comparison, descriptive (e.g. with Cantonese) or historical (e.g. with Early New Chinese), (ii) translation, including mechanical translation, and (iii) language teaching. These aims may be reflected in variations in the relation of the language of description to the language under description.

I.3. *Level of Analysis*

The statement is grammatical : that is to say, it is not contextual, lexical or phonological. It both presupposes and contributes to a complete description at all levels, and facts stated at other levels are taken into account. In particular the level of context, which is the level at which extra-linguistic phenomena come into the attention of linguistics, will be referred to in the consideration of the grammatical reflection of contextual categories. The term ' meaning ' will not be used ; meaning is regarded as a function of the description at all levels, so that reference to context in a grammatical statement implies the establishment of relations between grammatical and contextual meaning.

Some prior phonological analysis is implied in any gram-

matical description ; what should be made explicit here is its application in the devising of a systematic transcription as a means of making grammatical statements which will not be invalidated by the misrepresentation of phonological features. With regret I have rejected all current transcriptions ; the one here used was devised for linguistic, primarily grammatical, purposes and is based on a phonetic study of Pekingese from which I have made a phonological analysis of the structure of the Pekingese syllable. The transcription can be ' read ' by a linguist not knowing Chinese ; to the sinologist, accustomed to seeing through many such disguises, it will present little difficulty.[1]

II. THE SENTENCE

II.1. *Unit, Element and Class*

The grammatical categories to be established in the description are of three types : units, elements and classes. The unit is that category to which corresponds a segment of the linguistic material about which statements are to be made, and it is proposed here to recognize five units which will be called sentence, clause, group, word and character.[2] The interrelation among the units is such that each, except the character, admits a distinction into simple and compound, the simple being that whose structure is stated as a single element while the compound is that of which the structure consists of two or more elements. Since the system of terms operating at a particular place in the structure of a given unit is a system of classes of the unit next below, the units form a hierarchy in which each may have as its structural components (that is, as forms operating at places in its

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[1] In spite of the lack of indication of tone in the syllable. Syllabic tone has been omitted because its inclusion would (*a*) complicate the transcription and (*b*) involve some prejudgment of the role of the terms of the syllabic tone system in the phonological structure, a question which seems better avoided in a grammatical paper.

[2] The use of the term ' character ' as the name of both the unit of the script and the linguistic unit of which it is the written symbol parallels the Chinese use of the same term for both.

structure) either one or more than one form being a term in the class system of the next. A clause having structure V is a simple clause and consists of one group; one having structure NNV is a compound clause and consists of three groups; the forms operating at V and N are terms in the system of group classes.

Elements and classes are categories set up to describe the units. The elements are structural and will be stated as symbols, using Arabic figures and letters of the Roman alphabet. In a clause whose structure is stated as ANV, A N and V are elements and occupy places in the clause structure. The classes are systemic and are stated as paradigms in interrelation with the elements; that is, as exhaustive inventories of forms classified as operating at a given place in the structure of the unit next above. A system of group classes such as 'verbal: transitive/intransitive' will be described in relation to the clause structure in which its terms operate: these classes are terms in the system operating at V in, for example, clause structure ANV.

A class is said to be primary when it is the unique term operating at a particular place in structure: the primary class 'verbal group' is the class name under which are brought together all forms operating at V. Other classes, including both integral subdivisions of the primary classes and systems in other dimensions cutting across the primary classes, are said to be secondary, the former direct secondary and the latter indirect secondary classes. This may be illustrated from phonology: in a syllabic structure CVC, the primary class operating at V would be the vowel, while the classes of high vowel and of palatal articulation would be ordered in secondary class systems: for example high vowel in a direct secondary system high/mid/low, palatal articulation in an indirect secondary system including other terms such as labial and not restricted to operating at V.

II.2. *The Sentence*

Implicit in the interrelation of elements and classes is the

fact that, once the largest unit is defined and structures set up for it, the remaining units are self-defining. It is assumed that a downward direction of procedure, from the larger to the smaller unit, is methodologically acceptable without explicit justification. In the present language under description there is nothing corresponding to the full stop in a written text which will unambiguously delimit, and if necessary define, the sentence; here 'sentence' is the name given to the largest unit about which grammatical statements are to be made. The elements set up to describe the structure of the sentence represent the upper limit of systematization; these in turn determine the limits of the classes, since the class of forms operating at each place in the structure of the sentence is a class of the clause.

This does not exclude the possibility, and even necessity, of making contextual statements about some larger unit. Such statements would give meaning at another level to features accounted for in the grammatical statement, and may be required to complete an otherwise only partial systematization of the material. One could set up a unit of contextual statement features of which would determine grammatical features. Some instances of contextual determination of grammatical features are given in the text of this paper; since, however, the present analysis is grammatical, contextual features are adduced *ad hoc* for specific grammatical purposes.

II.3. *Structure of the Sentence*

The structure of the sentence may be described in a two-term system of elements symbolized O and X. Sentence structure is then O or $O/X(\ldots^n)O$, with the further possibility that at any O or X there may be an internal X, symbolized $\langle X \rangle$. This gives a formula $(O/X(\langle X \rangle) \ldots^n)$ $O(\langle X \rangle)$.[1] The primary system of clause classes in sentence structure is that of free/subordinate; the class 'free' is that

[1] In the structural formulae three types of bracket are used: round brackets ( ) indicate alternatives, that is elements which may or may not be present; diamond brackets $\langle$ $\rangle$ indicate internal place (i.e. $O\langle X \rangle$ means that X is internal to O); square brackets [ ] indicate attributive elements, in the element system substantive/attributive.

operating at O, the 'subordinate' at X. A sentence then consists either of one free clause or of a free clause preceded by any number (in the description of a text this number would be finite) of clauses, free or subordinate; furthermore any clause, free or subordinate, may have a subordinate clause internal to it.

It is then possible to set up two direct secondary systems of clause classes in the same dimension and to state their distribution in the sentence structure:

(1) At O there is a two-term system disjunctive/conjunctive, of which the disjunctive is the neutral (formally unmarked) term. Distributional probabilities are:

(a) in a sequence XO where X = conditional clause (see below, (2)), the probability that O = conjunctive is $\frac{1}{2}$ + ;

(b) where O is sentence-final in a compound sentence, other than when preceded by X = conditional clause, the probability that O = conjunctive is likewise $\frac{1}{2}$ + ;

(c) in a simple sentence, and where O = sentence-initial, the probability that O = conjunctive is $\frac{1}{2}$ — ;

(d) in all other structures (i.e. where O is not sentence-final nor sentence-initial nor directly preceded by X = conditional) disjunctive and conjunctive have even probability.

(2) At X there is a two-term system conditional/adjectival, with distribution:

(a) where X has place $\langle X \rangle$ (i.e. is internal to another clause), the probability that X = adjectival is 1 — ;

(b) in all other structures conditional and adjectival have even probability.

The structural formula accounting for direct secondary classes is then as follows (the subscript figures denoting the number of terms in the system at each place, italicized *2* indicating uneven probability):

$$(O_2/X_2(\langle X_2 \rangle) \ . \ . \ .^n)O_2(\langle X_2 \rangle),$$

with the rider that a sequence XO where X = conditional gives XO_2 while a sequence OO, or XO where X = genitival, gives OO_2, or XO_2.

II.4. *Free/Subordinate and Free/Bound*

The use of the term ' free ' as a class name has been confined to the sentence structure, where it is opposed to ' subordinate ' ; but the term ' free ' will be used throughout, in opposition to ' bound ', to refer to that class of any unit which may operate in a simple structure ; for example the word class ' free verb ' is that class which operates at 0 in a simple group structure 0, whereas the bound classes of the verb operate only in compound group structures. Since no unit has been set up greater than the sentence, having structure in which the forms operating are sentence classes, all sentences are grammatically free. It would seem desirable that ultimately the attempt should be made to set up a unit of description larger than the sentence. Such a unit might show a distribution of sentence classes, in which case it would be discussed in the grammar ; alternatively a contextual unit might be shown to display a structure such that some sentences could be said to be contextually bound.

The subordinate clause is the bound term of the primary clause class system. It has been excluded from final position in the structure, though it should be assigned a probability here of $0 + 1$; sentence structures with final X can only be handled by the setting up of a larger contextual unit. This is exemplified by the sentence

$$jə\text{-}gə\text{-}huə\ \check{c}uŋ\text{-}ji\ \text{-}la/wuə\ suŋ\ \check{s}uəi\ (1)\ [2]$$

' this fire was ever so bright when I took the water over ', where the structure is OO (both disjunctive) and the clause order is incongruent (see below, III.4), such that if either clause were to be marked as subordinate (conditional) it would be the latter—but it is not so marked. It may be noted that the possibility of occurrence in final position of the adjectival subordinate clause is excluded by the fact that the only form of the adjectival clause that occurs finally to a sentence is

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[1] Cf. Y. R. Chao (*Mandarin Primer*, 2 Vols., Harvard University Press, 1948, p. 208, n. 23) : ' A dependent clause comes after the main clause only when it is added as an afterthought.'

[2] Figures in parentheses refer to the table of Chinese characters at VI.3.

the substantive adjectival clause, which operates not in the sentence structure but in the clause structure (see below, III.3).

III. THE CLAUSE

III.1. *Structure of the Clause*

The structure of the clause will be discussed in terms of basic and subsidiary structures. The elements set up for the basic clause structure will be V and N ; in the subsidiary structure to these will be added A and [V], [N] and [A]. Furthermore the basic structure will contain not more than one V ; structures with two elements V are considered subsidiary. The systems operating in these structures are systems of group classes ; the primary classes at V, N and A are respectively the verbal group, the nominal group and the adverbial group. [V], [N] and [A] are attributive elements having the same primary classes.

Basic clause structures are then combinations of V and N :

V N NV VN NVN NNV VNN

All groups are free, so that in a simple clause structure any secondary class of the respective group may operate.[1] Likewise in a compound structure any class of the respective group may operate, with the exception that in a structure VN, unless the clause has passive voice (see below, III.4), only a transitive verbal group can operate at V ; elsewhere, and in this structure with passive voice, at V transitive and intransitive verbal group have even probability. A sequence of groups ' intransitive verbal group ' followed by ' nominal group ' occupies a single place in the basic clause structure, either N (subsidiary structure [V]N) or (if the nominal group is of the

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[1] The absence of bound group classes might be a reason for excluding the group from the unit system, thus admitting word classes as operating directly in the clause structure ; the parallelism between group classes and word classes would support this. But the complexity of the description of the clause structure is considerably reduced if the intermediate unit ' group ' is recognized.

class ' minor ' (see below, IV.3)) V (with distribution as for intransitive verbal group). E.g. :

N : *siau+duŋsi* ' a little thing ' ; V : *siau yi-bəi* ' is twice as small ' (2).

III.2. *Direct Secondary Classes : Disjunctive/Conjunctive*

The clause classes ' disjunctive ' and ' conjunctive ' are direct secondary classes of the free clause. The disjunctive is unmarked, while the conjunctive is characterized by the secondary word class ' conjunctive adverb ' (see below, IV.5) operating independently of the group structure.[1] In a clause of structure V⌒, the conjunctive adverb precedes V ; in a clause of structure NV⌒ or NNV⌒, the distribution, with probability 1 —, is that the conjunctive adverb precedes N (or NN) if it is a compound word but follows N or NN (in a clause with ergative voice (see below, III.4) precedes N or comes between NN) if it is simple.

III.3. *Direct Secondary Classes : Conditional/Adjectival*

The clause classes ' conditional ' and ' adjectival ' are direct secondary classes of the subordinate clause. The conditional clause is characterized by the secondary word class ' conditional adverb ' (see below, IV.5) which likewise operates independently of the group structure. There are two sub-classes of conditional adverb : the ' preverbal ' and the ' final '. The preverbal conditional adverb precedes V ; its relation to N occurring in pre-verbal position is contextually determined : if N is contextually ' given ', N precedes the conditional adverb, while if N is ' new ' the order is reversed. (For ' given '/' new ' see below, III.4.) The final conditional adverb has final position in the clause. Both sub-classes may be present in one clause.

As said above (II.3), a free clause following a conditional clause is usually conjunctive. The conjunctive free clause

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[1] In the examples (below, VI.2), words of those adverb classes which operate directly in the clause have been indicated in the structure by the symbol a ; this has been done for ease of identification, but does not represent an actual element in the clause structure, these word classes serving merely to mark the class of the clause.

may be said to generalize the relationship of the XO structure, while the conditional clause specifies it. The clause preceding a conjunctive clause may be subordinate or free ; and the conjunctive clause itself is grammatically free (it may occur in a simple sentence structure), though it may be considered as contextually bound, presupposing a situation already in being and thus excluding ' context-initial ' position.

The adjectival clause has the form of the neutral voice (or, probability $\frac{1}{2}$ —, the ergative) followed by the form di (3), a word of the secondary class ' particle '. As regards the formal relation of the adjectival clause with other classes, the ' associative form ' (III.4) includes within itself what could be considered a special instance of the adjectival clause, while at the other end the adjectival clause is itself a special instance of the ' genitival ' form (that is, the totality of forms having final di). Formally speaking the adjectival clause is that instance of the genitival form where the segment preceding di includes, or consists of, a verbal group (i.e. is a clause with structure other than N), with a limiting factor explained in the next paragraph.

Where a nominal group follows, the adjectival clause (or other genitival form) is attributive to it, and thus has the attributive value [ ] in the *clause* in which the nominal group operates, as well as operating at X in the *sentence*. In such instances an alternative form of the same structure, with probability $\frac{1}{2}$ —, has $j\partial$ or na (4) at nl (see below, IV.3) in the following normal group, and no di. Where no nominal group follows, the adjectival clause (or other genitival form) has substantive value (always N) in the *clause* to which it is internal or adjacent but does not operate in the sentence. In the substantive adjectival clause the verbal group is likely (probability $\frac{1}{2}$ +) to be preceded by $su\partial$ (5), a word of class ' verbal adverb ' ; $su\partial$ may occur (probability $\frac{1}{2}$ —) in the attributive adjectival clause. Where in such instances the verbal group in the adjacent clause consists simply of $\acute{s}$ (6), of the sub-class ' pro-verb ' of the word class ' free verb ' (see below, IV.2), however, the resultant clause (including the

genitival form) is said to have the ' associative form ' and in
these circumstances the genitival form is *not* classified as an
adjectival clause. The associative form is the mark of the
passive voice (III.4).

III.4 *Voice*

The indirect secondary class dimension of voice cuts across
the primary clause classes in such a way that the three terms
of the voice system, neutral, passive and ergative, have
unrestricted distribution among the primary classes, with the
exception that a passive clause does not operate at
X = genitival clause. Neutral voice is unmarked, passive and
ergative being marked both by distinct structures (with
respect, that is, to the neutral voice) and by the presence of
certain forms classified as words but operating independently
of group structure.

Passive voice is marked by the associative form : the
genitival form (as in a substantive adjectival clause) plus
the pro-verb $\check{s}$ (6). If there is any other element N in the
clause (outside the genitival form), $\check{s}$ occurs between this N
and the genitival form ; if not, $\check{s}$ precedes the genitival form
(probability 1 — ; a regular exception is . . . *yiəu -di* $\check{s}$ (7)
' there's no lack of . . .'). In the associative form, on the
one hand the elements of the clause structure are contextually
distributed in a system of ' given '/' new ',[1] and on the
other hand any two elements falling within one or other
category are bracketed together as one term by the genitival
form. The ' given ' is defined as a term already present in
the context of situation, whether or not in the verbal action
of a participant. In this system the term immediately following

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[1] I have not used the terms ' subject ' and ' predicate ' ; the given/new
system is clearly accounting for features which have often been accounted
for by subject/predicate, but the latter terms would not generally be
considered applicable e.g. to the positional system in the conjunctive adverb
(see above, III.3). The actual contextual categories reflected by the grammar
in any language are particular to that language ; so also may vary the
devices (and even the *level* of the devices) by which such categories are
reflected : compare the partly phonological reflection of contextual given/
new in English.

the *š* is thereby marked as new, and this is likely (probability $\frac{1}{2}$ +) to be the second term (if one term only is present, it is always the new).

At this point it is useful to be able to refer distinctively to a grammatical structure which reflects a contextual structure (by matching it with maximum probability) as ' congruent '. It is not of course implied that the grammatical reflection of a contextual feature, if it can be shown, is congruent in a universal sense, but merely that this form of description is valid in particular instances on the basis of certain formal criteria. Here the congruent grammatical form is that in which given precedes new ; in the congruent form, stress is facultative (that is, there is no stress system at this point), while in the incongruent form the formal mark of incongruence is the phonological reflection of the new by stress. The use of this concept here, and the choice of the phonologically unmarked member as the congruent term, are justified by the probability function taken together with the stress marking of the one form and not the other.

The following table of constructed examples shows the associative form in its relation to the neutral voice structure. Note that :

(*a*) simple clauses (structure V, N only) have been omitted ;

(*b*) in the associative form, structures with one contextual term only have been omitted (e.g. : VN *š mai čəz -di*) ;

(*c*) two forms are given, one with V = simple verbal group (*mai* transitive, *siau* intransitive), the other with V = (VN) (*gəi-wuə* transitive) (for the latter see below, IV.2) ;

(*d*) English labels may be attached to the words which are exponents of V, N here as follows : *mai* ' sold ', *siau* ' is small ', *gəi* ' gave ' ; *wuə* ' I/me ', *čəz* ' car ', *ta* ' he/him ', *cian* ' money ' ; *lai* ' has come ', *ma* ' swore at ', *ŋai-ma* ' got sworn at ' (8) ;

(*e*) in the associative form, the colon marks the break between the given and the new, while underlining indicates the incongruent position of the new.

VNN   VN:N

mai čəz -di š wuə

gəi-wuə cian -di š ta

A vertical systematization gives (i) unmarked (neutral)/ marked (associative), (ii) within the associative, unmarked (congruent)/marked (incongruent). Even in the neutral form there is some system of congruence, as shown by the fact that *mai čəz* = *čəz mai* (i.e. in both *mai* is given, *čəz* new) and not = *čəz mai* (*čəz* given, *mai* new). The horizontal systematization presents the grammatical themes on which the contextual variations are played (whereas in a description for pedagogical or translation purposes these would be presented as grammatical variations on a contextual theme) ; for each inversion of the elements of the grammatical structure (including, between NVN on the one-hand and NNV, VNN on the other, inversion of the nominal terms (in all NVN forms *wuə* precedes *čəz*, in all others *čəz* precedes *wuə*), so that N_aVN_b becomes N_bN_aV, VN_bN_a) there are possible variations of the given/new structure.

That the name ' voice ' should be given to one or another dimension along which this material is systematized is suggested by its characteristic of inversion of the terms coupled with a formal change in the elements of structure ; on the same grounds the marked term in such a system may be named ' passive '. There are various possible groupings : if inversion is to be the main criterion, then NVN would be neutral and others passive, but this permits no classification of the two-element structures and cuts across the formal distinctness of the associative form. (It would be possible to talk of inversion with two-element structures on the criterion of contextual equivalence : *mai čəz* : *čəz mai* :: *lai čəz* : *čəz lai* but :: *ma wuə* : *wuə ŋai-ma* (not : *wuə ma*) ; in the neutral form NV cannot alway be unambiguously replaced by VN, so that *ma -di š wuə* may be the contextual equivalent of either VN *ma wuə* or NV *wuə ma*. It seems preferable to consider the associative form as such as the mark of passive

voice, all other structures (with the exception of the ergative ; see next paragraph) forming the neutral term in the voice system.

There is one further form characterized by inversion of the clause structure with the addition of a grammatical marker : to this I have given the name ' ergative ' in view of its singling out of the verbal element as new by opposition to all nominal elements.   The ergative voice always has structure NV or NNV ; where two N are present their order is that of the neutral form NVN (that is, N_aN_bV), and not that of neutral or passive NNV which have N_bN_aV. The form *ba* (9) (word class prepositive verb ; see below, IV.2) precedes the immediately pre-verbal N. As with the passive, there is an incongruent form with either N marked as new by stress.

It may be remarked here that the polysystemic form of the description may justifiably be represented as a simplification and not a complication of the material. In language primers this polysystematization appears when an identical form is classified under a number of different heads ; but the question whether, for example, *š* (6) is ' one word ' or half a dozen ' different words ' in Chinese does not arise if one says of a linguistic form that it operates at certain places in certain structures. Such a treatment is possible with a multi-dimensional description according to which a form may be systematized (that is, identified as a term in a grammatical system) along a number of different dimensions, sometimes for different purposes. For example, for pedagogical purposes where the language of description is English it is useful to isolate one form of the passive (as here described), the incongruent NNV form, and classify it with the ergative into a two-term marked voice system, because of the existence of a particular ' agentive ' form (with ' by ') of the English passive, at the same time grouping the same NNV form (as it were at right angles) with the other associative forms into a separate system comparable on contextual criteria with one system in the field of English intonation grammar, where a certain intonation form marks the category of the new. This is not to

imply that there is direct translatability between any one term in the English systems and any one term in the Chinese systems ; it means that the *systems* are identified contextually (*not* grammatically) as being comparable in the two languages, and that this identification permits the monosystemic statement of the contextual conditions under which particular terms in the systems of the two languages may operate. Since languages differ in their grammatical reflection of contextual categories (both as regards whether or not and as regards in what priority they reflect them), there is not to be expected a one-to-one translation correspondence of grammatical terms.

III.5. *Aspect*

The terms in the aspect system are neutral, perfective and imperfective. Neutral is as always formally unmarked ; the marked terms are characterized by the presence of certain forms (of the word class ' particle ') directly following the verbal group. Perfective clauses have *lə* or *guə* (10) (the occurrence of both together has probability 0 +), of which *lə* marks a term in a succession (whether or not the final term is indicated modally ; a clause with *lə* in neutral mood has probability $\frac{1}{2}$ + of being not sentence final), *guə* an isolated term (conceptually a term in a series of which the second and final term is the present). Imperfective clauses have *ǰ* (11), which likewise has probability $\frac{1}{2}$ + of being not sentence-final in a clause of neutral mood. The grouping of these forms into a single system is suggested by their being mutually exclusive (probability 0 of occurrence in combination) ; the names chosen for the system and for its terms have been current for some time in the description of this, or more often some overlapping, system.[1] (For marked aspect as a feature of the group see below, IV.4.)

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[1] See for example H. Maspero, ' Les langues de l'extrême orient,' *Encyclopédie française*, Vol. I, 1937, pp. 40.1–42.6 ; H. Frei, ' Un système chinois des aspects,' *Acta Linguistica*, II.3, 1941 ; J. Průšek, ' Quelques remarques sur les aspects en chinois,' *Archiv Orientální*, XVIII, 1950.

Associated with the aspect system is a system of polarity (see below, III.6) with marked aspect, including both negative polarity and the ' reflex ' positive form. The marks of negative polarity and of the reflex positive form, as given in the next paragraph, are respectively *bu* and *š* ; these operate, however only in the neutral aspect, and corresponding forms in the marked aspects are as follows :

Polarity :	Neutral	Negative	Reflex positive
Aspect :			
Neutral	V	*bu* V	*š* V
Perfective	V *lə*	*məi* V	*š* V *lə* or *yiəu* V (*lə*)
	V *guə*	*məi* V *guə*	*š* V *guə* or *yiəu* V (*guə*)
Imperfective	V *ǰ*	*buzai* V (*ǰ*)	*zai* V (*ǰ*) (12)

Constructed examples with structure VN would give :

mai čəz	*bu+mai čəz*	*š+mai čəz*
mai-lə čəz	*məi+mai čəz*	*š+mai-lə čəz* or *yiəu +mai (-lə) čəz*
mai-guə čəz	*məi+mai-guə čəz*	*š+mai-guə čəz* or *yiəu +mai (-guə) čəz*
mai-ǰ čəz	*buzai+mai (-ǰ) čəz*	*zai+mai (-ǰ) čəz*

III.6. *Polarity*

The terms of the system of polarity are neutral, negative and interrogative, all of which have unrestricted distribution among the primary classes with the exception that an interrogative clause never occurs at X = conditional clause. The neutral term is unmarked ; the negative has *bu* in a clause with neutral aspect, *məi* with perfective and *buzai* with imperfective (word class ' verbal adverb ') (12). There exists by the side of the negative term a type of neutral polarity which may be considered as a marked positive, formed by a sort of reflex from the negative ; in this form to *bu* and *məi* corresponds *š* (to *məi* sometimes *yiəu*, probability $\frac{1}{2}$ —), while to *buzai* corresponds *zai* (12). It may be remarked that the form *š* (6) operates in three similar but distinct structures : (i) word class free verb, sub-class pro-verb, always with *di*

(3), in passive voice ; (ii) word class verbal adverb, always preceding V, in the reflex positive form of neutral polarity ; (iii) word class free verb, sub-class (c) (see below, IV.2), as V_1 in the double-V structure of type (2a) (see below, III.10). Examples of these are :

(i) *ta mai -di š čəz* ; (ii) *ta š+mai čəz* ; (iii) *š ta mai čəz.* If the form operating at V is a compound verbal group with postpositive verb, the negative adverb in neutral aspect precedes the postpositive verb ; otherwise it precedes the verbal group (with probability 0 + of following the auxiliary verb) (see below, IV.2).

Interrogative polarity is characterized by the repetition of the group, or of an element within the group, operating at V, the appropriate negative adverb preceding the repeated term and the whole complex having the value of element V ; if the repeated term is a verbal group with postpositive verb the negative adverb has position appropriate to such a group. In a passive clause it is always *š* that is repeated ; the combination of interrogative polarity with ergative voice has probability $\frac{1}{2}$ —.

For translation purposes it is useful to regard neutral polarity as a synthesis of affirmative and imperative ; descriptively this arises as a system only at one point, where there is a two-term system imperative/affirmative. This arises only in a clause neutral in voice and aspect with structure V or NV ; the imperative is unmarked and has the form of neutral polarity with an attributive verb (see below, III.9), while the affirmative has the double-V structure of type (1) (see below, III.10) ; examples are :

(imperative) (*ni*) *kuai+lai* ; (affirmative) *ni lai-də+kuai* (13)

III.7. *Mood*

The three terms of the modal system are neutral, aspectival and polar mood, of which the marked terms (the two latter) operate only with value O in the sentence structure, and that only (probability 1 —) in sentence-final position (with the exception that polar mood occurs with probability $\frac{1}{2}$ — at

X = conditional clause). Marked modal clauses are characterized by a system of forms of the word class of particle in clause-final position. Aspectival mood is associated with the dimension of aspect and is marked by the forms *la, laiʲ* and *na* (14), occurring either with neutral aspect or in certain combinations with marked aspect, as follows :

	Perfective	Imperfective
Aspect :	*lə guə*	*ʲ*
Mood :	*la laiʲ*	*na*
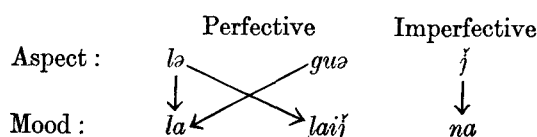
(including possibility of combination with the corresponding negative forms of marked aspect). Conceptually the modal forms may be thought of as the modal or subjective equivalents of marked aspect : they are contextualized as it were at one degree of abstraction, stressing the participation of the speaker rather than the totality of the situation. It is for this reason that modal *la* in a negative clause (neutral or perfective) usually admits English translation equivalent ' no longer ' or ' not, after all ' : the negative of ' the situation has arisen that . . .' is ' the situation has arisen that . . . not . . .'. Aspect *lə* and modal *la* are phonologically overlapping (in syllabic transcription *lə* is *lə/liau, la* is *la/lə*) ; where there is positional ambiguity (that is, in a clause with final V) there is only one perfective term, unmarked as to aspect or mood, though the unambiguous forms *la, liau* exist by means of which one or the other may be specified.[1]

For pedagogical purposes it is useful to synthesize this modal system with the aspect system, regarding *lə* and *la* as perfective (respectively non-final and final, that is occurring the one in non-sentence-final clauses, the other in sentence-final clauses, with probability $\frac{1}{2}$ +), *ʲ* +/-*na* as imperfective (*na* in sentence-final clauses only) and *guə, laiʲ* as a separate two-term system characterized as : *guə,* ' past in present,'

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[1] Chao, op. cit., p. 41 : ' . . . when the two suffixes come into juxtaposition, they are telescoped into one.' For the combination of forms of aspectival mood, and of aspect, with certain adverbs cf. Frei, op. cit.

laiǰ ' present in past '. For comparison with Early New Chinese, as exemplified in the language of the Chinese translation of the ' Secret History of the Mongols ', one can set up for the latter the following system : (i) perfective : *le* (non-final/final), (ii) imperfective : *ǰo*, (iii) tense (non-aspectival) : *lai/yieulai/yieu/yie* (15) ; with this one could compare Modern Pekingese (i) *lə(/la)*, (ii) *ǰ(/na)*, (iii) *guə/laiǰ*. For comparison with Cantonese, one can set up for the latter : (i) aspect : *zo/guo* (perfective), *gan* (imperfective), (ii) mood : *la/lak/lok*, etc. (16) ; and compare with these Modern Pekingese (i) *lə/guə, ǰ*, (ii) *la/laiǰ, na* and other modal forms.

Polar mood is associated with the dimension of polarity and marked by the forms *bu, məiyiəu, ma, ni, ba* and *ŋa* (17). These combine with the terms of the polarity system as follows : neutral polarity may have any of them, negative polarity only *ma, ni, ba* and *ŋa*, and interrogative only *ni* and *ŋa*. Since *məiyiəu* is the regular clause-final form of the negative pro-verb *məi/məiyiəu*, which is lexically identifiable [1] with negative verbal adverb *məi, bu* and *məiyiəu* may be regarded as corresponding to negative polarity, *ma, ni ba* and *ŋa* to interrogative ; but in fact all (except *ni* and *ŋa*) exclude interrogative nominal or adverbial forms from the clause (*šəma, zəmayiaŋ* (18), etc.). One then has the combinations :

	Negative	Interrogative	
Polarity :	*bu/məi*	(V*bu*/*məi*V)	= V
Mood :	*bu/məiyiəu* *ma ni*		*ba ŋa*
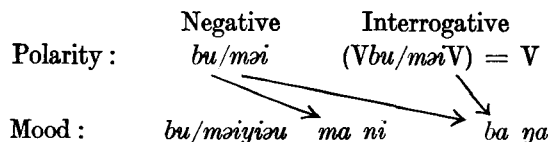
A clause with neutral or negative polarity is marked as a yes-or-no question, with varying degrees of modality, by *ma, ni, ba* and *ŋa*, and (with marked aspect) *bu* and *məiyiəu* ; questions already so marked, by interrogative polarity or other interrogative forms, may have modal *ni* or *ŋa*.

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[1] For the syllabic structure of this form cf. P. Demiéville : ' Archaïsmes de prononciation en chinois vulgaire,' *T'oung Pao*, XL, 1951.

The classification of modality through contextually specified examples (with if necessary class names such as *ma* : ' indignant affirmation ') is useful pedagogically ; and the combination of mood (with *ma*, *ni* and *ŋa*) and conditional clause (being the low probability occurrence of marked mood at X in the sentence structure) provides a formal link for such classification. Aspectival and polar mood may combine in one clause, the aspectival particle preceding the polar (but *na*, *ni* have probability 0 of combination) ; *na* and *ni* are phonologically overlapping (as *na/nə* and *ni/nə*), such that the form *nə* occurs as a synthesis of aspectival and polar mood : for example :

$$jəŋ\text{-}j\ mantəu\ nə,\ wuə\ bu+gan\text{-}duŋ\ na\text{-}gə\text{-}huə\quad(19)$$

' I daren't disturb the fire while I'm steaming bread '

All words marking mood (like those marking aspect and the repeated term in interrogative polarity—*bu* and *məi* in negative polarity have a stress/unstress system) are unstressed.

III.8. *Adverbial Structures*

In addition to the basic clause structures, which are combinations of one element V with one or more element N, three subsidiary forms of clause structure may be recognized. The first of these has the additional element A, the primary class corresponding to which is the adverbial group. The element A occurs in the subsidiary structures AV($\sim$) (including NAV($\sim$)), ANV($\sim$) and ($\sim$)VA, including combinations of these with more than one A (e.g. ANVA). In immediately pre-verbal position (AV, NAV etc.) there is a two-term system with even probability at A of endocentric and exocentric adverbial group (see below, IV.4) ; elsewhere the probabilities are uneven, such that at A preceding pre-verbal N the endocentric group has probability $\frac{1}{2}$ + while at A in final position the exocentric group has probability 1 —. The occurrence of structure AN$\sim$ or NA$\sim$ where A = endocentric group is determined by the contextual system of given/new, the given as always preceding (e.g. *miŋtian wuə* . . . (20) answers ' what are you doing to-morrow ? ', *wuə miŋtian*

... answers ' when are you ... ? ') ; the occurrence of structure
(∼)AV or (∼)VA where A = exocentric group, while partially
determined in the same way, is further restricted in that
certain forms of the exocentric adverbial group (identified
by the occurrence of certain forms operating at v3 (see below,
IV.4), e.g. *gɔi* (21)) have probability $\frac{1}{2}$ + (1 — in ergative
voice) of *following* a verbal group if the latter is simple, for
example :

$$kɔyi\ ba\text{-}biyin\text{-}guɔi\ zai\text{-}bisɔyin\text{-}di + yi\text{-}lɔi\ (22)$$
' you can classify the nasals with the plosives '

Only the adverbial group operates at A ; some of the
adverbial word classes do not operate in the group (and there-
fore never occur at A) but independently in the clause
structure, either at [A] (see III.9) or as marking certain
clause classes.

III.9. *Attributive Structures*

Attributive structures are subsidiary clause structures
incorporating the element [ ]. This is in fact a single element,
but since the operative forms are classes of the group, and
may be described in relation to the system of group classes
set up for the elements V, N and A, it is helpful to state
attributive possibilities in relation to elements [V], [N] and
[A], noting the occurrence of classes of the respective primary
groups in the various attributive structures.

The following attributive structures may then be
recognized :

$$\begin{array}{ll} [V]V & [A]V \\ [V]N \quad [N]N & [A]N \end{array}$$

In [V]V, only the intransitive verbal group can operate at
[V], and then only a simple group. For pedagogical purposes
it is useful to set up a restricted system in which the form
[V]V is opposed to a double-V structure of type (1) (see below,
III.10), the former being imperative, the latter affirmative
(see above, III.7). In [V]N, attribution may or may not
be marked by *di* (3) preceding N. If it is, the attributive

form is considered to be an attributive adjectival clause (see above, III.3) with value at two levels, at X in the sentence and at [ ] (or [V]) in the clause ; this form never has passive voice. Without *di*, the attributive form is restricted as in [V]V, to simple intransitive verbal group. Since such a group when attributive to N may still have *di*, a separate two-term system is formed by [V]N/[V]*di*N where [V] = simple intransitive verbal group, of which the latter is the marked attributive form.[1]

In [N]N, only the major nominal group can operate at [N]. N may or may not be preceded by *di* ; if it is, [N] may be simple or compound nominal group ; the question of whether or not a compound nominal group may operate at [N] without *di* depends on the analysis of a clause such as *jə-gə-ɼən*(+) *šəŋyin da* (24) ' this man has a loud voice '. If *jə-gə-ɼən* is attributive (and the fact that in some such clauses [2] an alternative form without *di* is not possible does not preclude the analysis of this as [N]N), then [N] includes the possibility of a compound group ; alternatively, however, all such clauses could be described as NNV, this being the only instance of V = intransitive group in NNV with neutral voice. The same system of presence or absence of *di* operates as at [V]N.

The forms operating at [A], unlike those at [V] and [N], are not forms of the corresponding (here adverbial) group but secondary classes of words of the adverb class, the verbal adverb in [A]V, the nominal adverb in [A]N (see below, IV.5). Attributive forms at [A] have probability only 0 + (as contrasted with even probability for [V] and [N]) of occurring internally to a group, immediately preceding element 0 (classes free verb and free noun ; see below, IV.2, 3).

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[1] Kao Ming-k'ai, *Han-yü yü-fa lun*, Shanghai, Kaiming, 1948, p. 154, instances *duan+ku* ' shorts ', *duan-di+ku* ' short trousers ' (23) ; this is comparable with the variation of position of the attributive adjective relative to the noun in Romance languages.

[2] e.g. Chao, op. cit., p. 35. ' *Woo daw. luh sheng* (*wuə*(+)*daulu šəŋ* (25)) " I, the roads are unfamiliar—I don't know my way here ".'

III.10. *Double-V Structures*

Except in interrogative polarity, where the complex of verbal group plus negative plus repeated verbal group has the value of a single element V, V excludes more than one verbal group. There are, however, two distinct clause structures containing two elements V.

(1) Structure $(\sim)$VV, with the form (word class postpositive verb) $d\vartheta$ (26) occurring between the two V. V_1 is transitive (probability $\frac{1}{2} +$; it may be intransitive with certain forms at V_2, e.g. $l\vartheta\eta$ -$d\vartheta$ *lihai* (27) ' terribly cold ') ; V_2 is simple and intransitive. The whole form is affirmative (as opposed to imperative with [V] ; see above, III.9), but may have negative and interrogative polarity (i.e. is not ' positive ') ; the negative adverb precedes V_2 and in interrogative polarity only V_2 is repeated. The form has probability 1 — of being neutral in aspect and voice. Alternatively the form could be analyzed (i) as two distinct clauses, the first subordinate (cf. (2b) below)—but a single clause structure appears preferable in view of the affirmative/imperative system ; or (ii) as a single compound verbal group (see below, IV.2)—but it does not operate with the negative/reflex positive system of the latter, having (not v : 03/0bu3/0$d\vartheta$3 but) negative V -$d\vartheta$ bu+V.

(2) Structure $(\sim)$V(N)V$(\sim)$, with probability $\frac{1}{2} +$ that N is present. Here it is convenient to recognize (2a) and (2b). In (2a) V_2 is unrestricted, but there is a sub-class of free verbs (sub-class (c) ; see below, IV.2) occurring in the verbal group operating at V_1. In (2b) both V_1 and V_2 are unrestricted, and V_1 is always directly followed by $d\vartheta$ (since VN$d\vartheta$ is excluded, where V_1 is followed by N it must be repeated, and this is considered to mark a separate clause : e.g. *ta šu\vartheta hua/šu\vartheta* -$d\vartheta$ *wu\vartheta m\vartheta n du*+bu+$du\eta$ (28) ' he spoke in such a way that none of us understood '). The form could alternatively be analyzed as two distinct clauses, the first subordinate (a special instance of either conditional or adjectival clause, cf. (1) above)—but this would involve either the assignment of $d\vartheta$ to a different word class outside the verbal group or the

recognition of a postpositive verb as marking a subordinate clause. (2a) and (2b) may combine in one clause, giving in fact a treble-V structure : e.g. *ta šuǝ -dǝ mǝiyiǝu řǝn duŋ* (29) ' he spoke in such a way that no one understood '.

IV. THE GROUP

IV.1. *Structure of the Group*

The structure of the group will be discussed in terms of basic and subsidiary structures, the elements set up for both of which are symbolized as o and x. These elements will be further specified in the description of each primary class of group, element x as 1, 2 or 3, by opposition to which element o will appear as 0. The systems operating at these elements are systems of word classes : the primary classes operating at o, x respectively are those of free word and bound word, but it is more convenient to set up primary classes according to the specific structures of the three group classes and in this way to recognize (i) the verb, operating at 0, 1, 2 in the verbal group and at v3 in the adverbial group ; (ii) the noun, operating at 0, 1, 2 in the nominal group and at n3 in the adverbial group ; and (iii) the adverb, operating at 0 in the adverbial group (as well as in clause structures independently of the group). Symbols for these three classes will be v, n and a.

Of the generalized group structures : (basic) o, xo, ox, xox, xxo ; (subsidiary) x, xx ; the verbal and the adverbial group admit all except xxo and xx, the nominal group all except ox and xox. The classes operating in the structure of the verbal and nominal groups are respectively words of the classes verb and noun ; the adverbial group, however, may (probability $\frac{1}{2}$ — if simple, $\frac{1}{2}$ + if compound) contain no word of the adverb class ; in this case one of the elements at least is of the noun class, and in any case more than one word of adverb class is excluded.

Exemplifications of the word classes operating in the group structures, with specimen translations, are given at the end of each section below.

IV.2. *The Verbal Group*

The structure of the verbal group is: (basic) 0, 10, 02 or 102; (subsidiary) 1. Both transitive and intransitive verbal group may have any basic structure; the subsidiary structure, however, never occurs in a verbal group at V preceding N, so that a verbal group with subsidiary structure is neutral as to transitivity.

The secondary word class operating at 0 is that of the free verb. A free verb may be classified as transitive or intransitive according to the transitivity of the verbal group in which it operates at 0. Three sub-classes of free verb may be distinguished:

(*a*) The pro-verb is distinguished by the fact that a group in which it operates at 0 has probability 1 — of being a simple group. A group with pro-verb at 0 is intransitive but has probability only 0 + of occurring at V in a clause with marked voice.

(*b*) This sub-class is distinguished by the fact that a verbal group in which it operates at 0 combines with following N, the combination occurring at V in the clause structure (cf. above, III.4).

(*c*) This sub-class operates in a group at V_1 in the double-V structure of type (2a) (cf. above, III.10); a verbal group with this sub-class at 0 is transitive.

The class operating at v1 is the auxiliary verb; a subsidiary structure of the verbal group has v1 only. In a verbal group with structure 10(⁓) an attributive form may, and in ergative voice the form *ba* (9) plus N always does, occur between v1 and v0.

The class operating at v2 is the postpositive verb. This may be described in two sub-classes, with further subdivision of the first. Phonologically sub-class (1) has probability 1 — of being unstressed, sub-class (2) probability 1 — of being stressed. Sub-class (1) is limited to nine words classifiable further into (1a) and (1b), with seven and two members respectively; (a) and (b) may combine in the order ab, the combination operating at v2, and (b) may occur following a nominal or

adverbial group at post-verbal N or A (alternatively (b) here could be assigned to a distinct word class, with lexical identification). Sub-class (2) is much more extensive and has no combinatory possibilities.

The postpositive verb, or rather a number of exemplifications of this class, has sometimes been regarded as marking perfective aspect [1]; and indeed there is a probability only $0 +$ that an imperfective clause will have at V a verbal group containing postpositive verb. But it may be more helpful to regard the postpositive verb contextually as giving extension to the free verb, sub-class (1) giving extension in a direction, sub-class (2) extension to a goal. This is reflected in the high degree of lexical identification between the exemplifications of this class and those of the class of free verb ; a group such as *jian-duan* (30) (structure v02) ' cut ' is on the one hand a term in a system in which *jian* may be replaced by other free verbs (*gə-duan, ciə-duan, da-duan*, etc. (30)) and on the other hand opposed both to *jian* and to *duan* as distinct members of the free verb class in simple group structure.

The verbal group with postpositive verb shows a distinct system of negative polarity with a reflex positive form : this operates only in neutral aspect. In this system the negative adverb *bu* (12) occurs between the free verb and the postpositive verb : *jian-bu-duan.* If *bu* is replaced by *də* (26) the result is a marked positive form : *jian—də+duan.* In marked aspect the negative adverb occurs in its usual place preceding the verbal group, and there is no *də* form. The formal relation between the postpositive verb system and that of aspect in the clause is displayed in the fact that *in neutral aspect only* the negative adverb has what might be regarded as attributive position not to the free verb but to the postpositive verb. The comparable systems in Cantonese and Early New Chinese each show four terms, having in addition a further ' reflex negative ' form, with both negative adverb and *də* (*dak, de*) ; in Cantonese the negative precedes, in

[1] e.g. by Frei, op. cit.

Early New Chinese follows, the free verb (Cantonese *m+haaŋ*
—*dak+yap* (31), Early New Chinese *hiŋ+bu+de+řu* (31)).

Free verb, sub-class (*a*) :

yiəu ' there is '	*məiyiəu* ' there isn't '
zai ' is at '	*hausiaŋ* ' is like ' (32)

Free verb, sub-class (*b*) :

jiau ' call '	*gəi* ' give '
huan ' give back '	*suŋ* ' present, send '
jiə ' lend ' (not *jiə* ' borrow ')	*jau* ' give (money) in change '
gausu ' tell '	
wun ' ask ' (33)	

Free verb, sub-class (*c*) :

šuə ' say '	*gausu* ' tell (inform) '
jiau ' tell (order) '	*ciŋ* ' ask (request) '
wun ' ask (inquire) '	*jdau* ' know '
siaŋ ' think '	*siwuaŋ* ' hope ' (34) [1]

Auxiliary verb :

nəŋ ' can '	*kəyi* ' can, may '
huəi ' can, may, know how to '	*yiŋgai* ' ought to '
	yiau ' want to ' (36)

Postpositive verb, sub-class (1) :

šaŋ ' up '	*sia* ' down '
jin ' in '	*ču* ' out '
huəi ' back '	*guə* ' past '
ci ' up ' (37)	
lai ' come '	*ciu* ' go ' (38)

Postpositive verb, sub-class (2) :

wuan (*zuəwuan* ' finish ')	*čəŋ* (*biančəŋ* ' turn into ')
čəŋguŋ (*gaičəŋguŋ* ' get built ')	*jin* (*yiuŋjin* ' use up ')
	tuŋ (*datuŋ* ' force through ')
dau (*zəudau* ' arrive ')	*duŋ* (*kaŋduŋ* ' carry ')
ju (*tiəju* ' stick fast ')	*guan* (*tiŋguan* ' am used to listening ') [2] (39)
dau (*kaidau* ' reverse ')	

[1] Also *yiəu* (cf. Chao, *Mandarin Primer*, p. 36), *məiyiəu* and *š* (34) in *yiəu řən yiau*, *məiyiəu řən yiau*, *š jə-gə-řən yiau* (34).

[2] The English translation equivalents of these forms vary to such an extent (according to the free verb in the group) that specimen translations are given here for verbal groups consisting of a free verb together with a postpositive verb of this sub-class. Cf. the auxiliary noun, sub-class (1), below.

IV.3. *The Nominal Group*

The structure of the nominal group is : (basic) 0, 10, 20 or 120 ; (subsidiary) 1 or 12. The secondary class system of major and minor corresponds to the basic and subsidiary system in the structure : a nominal group with basic structure is major, one with subsidiary structure minor. The major nominal group may operate at N in all clause structures except following V = intransitive verbal group in active voice ; the minor nominal group is unrestricted, but in an active clause with intransitive verbal group at V the combination of such a verbal group with a following minor nominal group operates at the simple element V (see above, III.1).

The secondary word class operating at 0 is that of the free noun. Three sub-classes may be distinguished according to their structural possibilities :

(*a*) The pronoun is distinguished by the fact that a group in which it operates at 0 has probability 1 — of being a simple group. This sub-class is limited to personal pronouns and to proper names.

(*b*) This small sub-class is distinguished by the fact that a nominal group in which it operates at 0 has probability 1 — of excluding n2 (the auxiliary noun ; see below).

(*c*) This sub-class is distinguished by the fact that a nominal group in which it operates at 0 exhibits a two-term number system of neutral/plural, the latter marked by the form (of the word class of particle) *mən* (40). This sub-class is largely limited to nouns of human reference.

The class operating at n1 is the determinate noun. This class may be described in two sub-classes, (1) and (2), combinable in the order 12, the combination operating at the simple element n1.

The class operating at n2 is the auxiliary noun ; this class may likewise be described in two sub-classes (1) and (2). Sub-class (1) includes an unmarked member *gə* (41), together with those words of the class which can be assigned to a single system, each of the terms of which is opposed to *gə* in a contextual system of specialized/generalized (for example

yi-ǰ-gǝu ' a dog ' (or ' one dog ') (specialized context), *yi-gǝ-gǝu*
' a dog ' (generalized context) (42)). Sub-class (2) includes the
remainder, which have probability $\frac{1}{2}$ — of occurring in a
nominal group without n1 and which may be further sub-
divided according to probability of occurrence in a minor
nominal group.[1]

Free noun, sub-class (*a*) :

wuǝ ' I/me '	*wuǝmǝn* ' we/us '
šǝi ' who ? '	*ǰuŋguǝ* ' China ' (43)

Free noun, sub-class (*b*) :

tian ' day '	*yiǝ* ' night '
nian ' year '	*šǝŋ* ' province ' (44)

Free noun, sub-class (*c*) :

siuǝšǝŋ ' student '	*řǝn* ' man '
yiŋsiuŋ ' hero '	*haiz* ' child ' (45)

Determinate noun, sub-class (1) :

ǰǝ ' this '	*na* ' that '
na ' which ' ?	*mǝi* ' every ' (46)

Determinate noun, sub-class (2) :

yi ' one '	*liaŋ* ' two '[2]
ji ' a number of/what number of ? '	*ban* ' half ' (47)

Auxiliary noun, sub-class (1) :

gǝ (*yi-gǝ-řǝn* ' a man ')	*ǰ* (*yi-ǰ/gǝ-gǝu* ' a dog ')
diŋ (*yi-diŋ/gǝ-mauz* ' a hat ')	*zuǝ* (*yi-zuǝ/gǝ-ciau* ' a bridge ') (48)

Auxiliary noun, sub-class (2) :

bai ' hundred '	*cian* ' thousand '
wuan ' ten thousand '	*bǝi* ' cup of '
šuaŋ ' pair of '	*jin* ' pound of '
ǰuŋ ' kind of '	*x* ' time ' (*liaŋ-x* ' twice ') (49)

[1] For a detailed study of forms of the nominal group see H. F. Simon,
'Two substantival complexes in Standard Chinese,' *BSOAS*, XV, 2, 1953.

[2] And the numerals to 99.

IV.4. *The Adverbial Group*

The structure of the adverbial group is : (basic) 0, 10, 02 or 102 ; (subsidiary) 2 ; but since the system of classes operating at these elements includes classes of the verb and noun, these may be better stated as specific structures with reference to the operative classes. If 0 is replaced by a/N, 1 by v3 and 2 by n3, the basic structure is then : a, v3N, v3a, Nn3, an3, v3Nn3 or v3an3 ; the subsidiary : n3. The distinction into the secondary classes of endocentric and exocentric corresponds to the occurrence of a or N : endocentric group structures are those which include element a, exocentric those which exclude a, a being the element of which the operative class is a class of adverb. The distribution of the classes of endocentric and exocentric at A in the clause structure has been discussed above (see III.8).

The class operating at a is the free adverb, the only class of adverb which operates in group structure, in which it always occurs at the element generalized as 0. Where 0 is represented specifically by N, at this element may operate any nominal group, a minor nominal group having probability $\frac{1}{2}$ — here ; in these instances the nominal group is operative in group structure and not in clause structure.

The class operating at 1 (specifically v3) is the prepositive verb. Two sub-classes may be distinguished within this class :

(*a*) With this sub-class the adverbial group has probability $\frac{1}{2}$ + of being marked as to aspect, most of the members of the sub-class admitting imperfective only ; aspect is marked by the addition of *j*, *lə* (11, 10) to the prepositive verb.

(*b*) This sub-class is distinguished as alone operating in adverbial group at A in post-verbal place in the clause structure.

The class operating at 2 (specifically n3) is the postpositive noun, distinguished into two sub-classes (1) and (2). Sub-class (1) consists of simple words only and has probability only 0 + of occurring in simple adverbial group. Sub-class

(2) consists of compound words and occurs with even proba-
bility in simple and compound adverbial group.

Prepositive verb :

gən ' with '	*xuŋ* ' from, through '
jiŋguə ' via '	*bəi* ' by (agentive) ' (50)

Prepositive verb, sub-class (*a*) :

wuəi-ĵ ' round (rest) '	*ŕau-ĵ* ' round (motion) '
gən-ĵ ' following '	*wuəi-lə* ' for ' (51)

Prepositive verb, sub-class (*b*) :

zai ' at '	*dau* ' to '
gəi ' for ' (52) [1]	

Postpositive noun, sub-class (1) :

šaŋ ' on '	*həu* ' behind ' (54)

Postpositive noun, sub-class (2) :

šaŋtəu ' on '	*həumian* ' behind '
daŋĵuŋ ' among '	*yiwuai* ' apart from ' (55)

IV.5. *Word Classes not in Group Structure*

The word classes operating at elements in the group structure
may be summarized as follows :

Element : 0	1	2
Group :		
verbal	free v.	auxiliary v.	postpositive v.
nominal	free n.	determinate n.	auxiliary n.
adverbial	free a. (or	prepositive v.	postpositive n.
	nominal gp) (= v3)	(= n3)	

There remain certain classes of word which operate inde-
pendently of the group, occurring directly in the clause, to
which they may have classificatory function. These are the
secondary adverb classes of conjunctive, conditional, verbal
and nominal adverb and particle. The conjunctive adverb
marks the class of conjunctive clause (see above, III.2), and

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[1] Owing to some lexical identification between the classes of prepositive
and postpositive verb, there is sometimes an alternative possibility of
statement of a form as either VN or VA : for example *suŋ-dau tuŝuguan*
(V(02) N) or *suŋ dau-tuŝuguan* (V A(10)) (53) ' take (it) to the library '.

distinguishes two sub-classes : (1) compound, with probability 1 — of preceding pre-verbal N, and (2) simple, with probability 1 — of following pre-verbal N. The conditional adverb marks the class of conditional clause (see above, III.3), and distinguishes likewise two sub-classes : (1) preverbal, and (2) final, according to position in the clause. The verbal adverb occurs at [A] in [A]V, the nominal adverb at [A] in [A]N (see above, III.9). There is some lexical identification among these classes, sometimes with a concomitant system of stress/ unstress ; for example, *jiəu* and *xai* (56) (stressed : verbal adverb ; unstressed : conjunctive adverb) ; *suəyi* (57) (stressed : conjunctive adverb ; unstressed : conditional adverb) ; and also with the free adverb, for example *zuŋš* (58) (stressed : free adverb ; unstressed : conditional adverb). The particle occurs as marking the classes of the aspect and modal systems (see above, III.5, 7), the adjectival clause (III.3) and one form of attribution (III.9), as well as plurality in the nominal group with a free noun of sub-class (3) at 0.

Conjunctive adverb, sub-class (1) :

suəyi ' so '	*danš* ' but '
biŋciə ' moreover '	*buřan* ' otherwise ' (59)

Conjunctive adverb, sub-class (2) :

jiəu (after ' if/when ', etc.)	*xai* (after ' unless/until ', etc.)
kə ' still, though '	*dau* ' yet ' (60)

Conditional adverb, sub-class (1) :

řuguə ' if '	*jiřan* ' since '
suəiřan ' although '	*jiəuš* ' even if ' (61)

Conditional adverb, sub-class (2) :

dɪšhəu ' when '	*yihəu* ' after '
dihua ' if ' (62)	

Verbal adverb :

hən ' very '	*du* ' all '
fəičaŋdi ' extremely '	*bu, š* (see III.6)
lai ' in order to '	*bəi* (English passive verb) (63)

Nominal adverb :

liŋ ' other '	*di* (ordinal numeral)
suəyiəu ' all '	*gə* ' every ' (64)

V. CONCLUSION

V.1. *Word and Character*

The choice of the term ' word ' to designate one rather than any other of the units of the grammatical description reflects the fact that it is this unit rather than any other which it seems should be the unit of lexical description, including lexicography. The unit which is institutionalized in Chinese, both as the basis of traditional lexicography and as that to which a speaker refers in general conversation about the language,[1] is the unit here termed ' character '.

In Modern Chinese the character is merely the raw material of syntactical classes ; it cannot itself be organized into any system of classes operating at places in group structure. It admits only classification into ' free ' and ' bound ' ; an empirical form of this classification such as that adopted by Chao and Yang (' B means always bound, but F means sometimes free ' [2]) has pedagogical advantages, but it is impossible to proceed directly from the class system of free/ bound to the elements of group structure, since in the establish- ment of the classes operating at these elements the question of whether the form is simple or compound, and of the classifica- tion as free or bound of the constituent characters of the compound form, is irrelevant ; at most it provides a criterion for certain sub-classification (compare for example the post- positive noun, IV.4 above). For example, *zuə-čəŋguŋ* ' get done ', *kan-jian* ' see ' and *zuj́-cilai* ' get organized ' (65) are all analyzed as v : 02.

For this same reason, even though the character is what is talked about, the larger unit here called ' word ' is what is

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[1] Cf. Y. R. Chao, ' The logical structure of Chinese words,' *Language*, XXII, 1946 ; also *Mandarin Primer*, p. 33.

[2] Y. R. Chao and L. S. Yang, *Concise Dictionary of Spoken Chinese*, Harvard U.P., 1948, p. xxvii ; cf. *Mandarin Primer*, p. 33 n.

talked with. The word can be entered in a dictionary, classified syntactically and its exemplifications collocated and given translation meaning. An entry would read :

jian 1. free verb To see (etc.) (with citations)
　　　　　　(a) at V_1 in double-V structure (with citations)
　　　　2. postpositive verb (with citations).

A compound word in which the character *jian* occurs in initial position would constitute a separate lemma, for example :

jianjiə free noun Opinion (etc.) (66).

At the same time it is noticeable that by the recognition of a unit ' group ' intermediate between the clause and the word a reduction has been effected in the word structure, such that many forms which are often regarded as ' compound words '[1] appear here as compound groups, made up of simple words. For example, *liaŋ-gə-řən* ' two people ', *zai-ciaŋ-šaŋ* ' on the wall ', *yiau-zuə-wuan* ' want to get it finished ' (67) are all three-word structures of simple words. The word does of course still exhibit compound structure, as exemplified in the structurally identical *šř-gə-biŋřən* ' twelve patients ', *řauj-faŋz-həumian* ' round the back of the house ', *kəyi-jzau-čəŋguŋ* ' can get it made ' (68). The unit of word structure is the character and this is the lower limit of grammatical description.

V.2. *Word Structure*

The term ' character ' has been chosen to reflect the identity in the Chinese word *z* (69), which is the name both of the graphic unit in the script and of the linguistic unit of which this is the written symbol.[2] If the character is to be recognized as a grammatical unit the word must exhibit a structure to which character classes bear the same relation as do word classes to group structure, etc. The problem of word structure is, however, complex and demands separate treatment ; it is proposed here merely to mention the tendencies in the distribution of simple and compound structure among the

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[1] e.g. by Chao, *Mandarin Primer*, pp. 41–4.
[2] Chao uses the term ' morpheme ' (*Mandarin Primer*, p. 33).

various word classes and to suggest one possible line of systematization of the compound forms.

The probabilities of simple structure in each of the word classes set up in the group analysis are as follows :

Verb : Free, $\frac{1}{2}$ +

       Auxiliary, $\frac{1}{2}$

       Postpositive, 1 — (but note compound structure ab
         with sub-class (1))

       Prepositive, $\frac{1}{2}$ +

Noun : Free, $\frac{1}{2}$ —

       Determinate, 1 (except compound numerals ; and
         note compound structures with sub-classes (a),
         (b))

       Auxiliary, 1

       Postpositive, $\frac{1}{2}$

Adverb : Free, $\frac{1}{2}$ —

       Verbal and nominal, $\frac{1}{2}$ +

       Conjunctive, $\frac{1}{2}$

       Conditional, 0 +

It is with the class of free noun that one may most easily seek to establish a relation between the elements represented by the component characters ; that is, a relation, other than precedence, that is not reciprocal. If we recognize elements symbolized S, G (from the words ' specific ' and ' general ') to account for structural relations, a compound noun of two characters then has probability $\frac{1}{2}$ + of exhibiting structure SG. If S and G are considered as relational elements, the operative forms will not be classes of the character, and no element of structure will be exhibited in the simple word ; but it may be possible to establish these elements as absolute (i.e. linked to class systems) by the application of combined lexical and contextual criteria, since contextually the SG compound is specific and enters into a contextually defined lexical series one of whose terms is general. If this is admitted then the character operating at S may be classed ' specific ' while that operating at G in the SG compound, as well as in

the general term, may be classed 'general'. This may be exemplified in the following series :

SG (contextually specific)	G (contextually general)
sigua 'watermelon' *huaŋgua* 'cucumber' *zgua* 'seed melon' *mugua* 'quince'	*gua* 'cucurbitaceae'
mǝnkǝu 'doorway' *lukǝu* 'street corner' *gaŋkǝu* 'harbour' *hǝkǝu* 'river mouth'	*kǝu* 'opening'
siaumai 'wheat' *damai* 'barley' *yianmai* 'oats' *ciaumai* 'buckwheat'	*maiz* 'corn' (70)

The use of either the specific or the general term to refer to an identical object in a context of situation represents different linguistic orderings of the situation ; thus for example a bus may be variously mentioned as (G) *čǝ*, (SG) *cičǝ* or (with a further specifying form, itself a compound verb) *guŋguŋcičǝ* (71) according to what is to be excluded : the Chinese for 'Hurry up and get on the bus', if the bus is in front of you, might be : *ni gankuai+šaŋ čǝ ŋa* ! (72).

It is not suggested that this analysis is exhaustive (the fact that the same character may be assigned to both classes is not itself objectionable, such lexical identification being regular among the word classes also) ; many compound nominal forms cannot be analysed in this way, including some which are contextually general : for example the general term in the series *faduŋji* 'engine', *fǝiji* 'aeroplane', *dahuǝji* 'cigarette lighter', *jbuji* 'loom' is *jici* 'machine' (73). The general term does, however, tend either to be simple (and the general

character therefore to be free) or to take the form of a suffixed compound (e.g. *maiz* ' corn ', *mutɔu* ' wood ' (74)). Suffixation itself may be regarded as an extension of SG structure in which the form at G, the suffix, is merely a mark of generality.

V.3. *Interrelation of Categories*

Finally it may be considered whether any general conclusions may be drawn concerning the interrelations of the categories, such as to characterize the grammatical structure of the language as a whole ; and specifically whether one may set up any relation which obtains among the categories of the various units. No identification has been made across the units except that implied in the classification of the group as verbal, nominal and adverbial and of the word as verb, noun and adverb : what *is* implied here is actually no more that that each class of word operates in the structure of only one class of group (hence the choice of specific, i.e. classified, group structures as a basis for the establishment of primary word classes), while in general *all* primary group classes operate in the structure of all classes of clause. The ' group ', as a concept not necessarily identical but certainly related, has indeed been regarded as a distinctive feature of Chinese (or of a language of a type exemplified by Chinese) [1] ; and the simplification which the introduction of the group as a middle term in the unit system brings to the description reflects the relatively more ' syntactical ' (above the word) form of analysis demanded by a language from which word paradigms are absent.

It might reasonably be asked whether from the syntagmatic and paradigmatic relations of the group might be adduced some generalizations valid for all the units. As regards the group structures, the opposition of a nodal element 0 to as it were peripheral elements which are in some sense (a sense susceptible of contextual definition) qualifiers seems to be reflected at other units, as does the irreversibility of the relation found at some points in group structure of what might

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[1] Cf. P. Meriggi, ' La structure des langues " groupantes " ', *Journal de psychologie*, 1933 (*Psychologie du langage*).

be termed 'specifier' and 'specified' (for example in the given/new system in the clause). But it is doubtful whether any relation so abstracted is left with any more significance than one of simple precedence, which is in fact an abstraction to zero since structure is by definition syntagmatic. Systemically the presence of free forms among the word classes operating in group structure is paralleled by the presence of a neutral term in a number of the class systems throughout, sometimes with a three-term system which may be analytically stated as neutral : negative : marked positive. The presence of a neutral term in system and the specifier/ specified relation in structure might be synthetized at the contextual level into a feature which might be designated negatively as absence of concord, or economy in the grammatical reflection of contextual categories : there exists at many points in the paradigm a general term, and this alone is required by the structure. In information theory terms, Chinese is characterized by a particularly marked contrast between the high degree of entropy in the grammatical structure and the low degree of entropy in the phonological structure.

But it should be stressed that, interesting as such attempts at synthesis are, even in typological studies they must *follow* descriptive comparison ; in a particular description they may contribute to the statement of contextual-grammatical relations but do not constitute a logic either of reality or of thought. No other language reflects reality—that is, orders the relations between context and grammar—in exactly the same way ; every other language is susceptible of equally thorough systematization. If we do give a name to some generalized relations, what we are doing is to give a name to the Chinese-ness of Chinese. There are two extremes we may avoid, claiming neither universality for the features described (still less for the categories) nor exceptionality (as opposed to uniqueness) for the language. The Chinese language works, and the task of the descriptive linguist is to show how it works.

VI. Summary of Categories, Examples, and Table of Chinese Characters

VI.1. *Summary of Categories*

I. Units :
Sentence / clause / group / word / character.

II. Elements : (substantive : unmarked ; attributive : [ ])
(1) Sentence structure (elements O, X)
O or O/X(. . .^{n})O, with possibilities at any place of O⟨X⟩, X⟨X⟩.
(2) Clause structure (elements V, N, A, [V], [N], [A])
(Basic) V N NV VN NVN NNV VNN.
(Subsidiary)
 (i) to these may be added A, in following positions as exemplified from NVN .structure :
  ANVN NAVN NVNA
 (ii) to V or N may be added [ ], with possibilities :
  [V]V [A]V [V]N [N]N [A]N
 (iii) a second V may be present, with possibilities :
  (∼)VV (∼)V(N)V(∼)
(3) Group structure (elements o, x : v0, n0, a0, v1/2/3, n1/2/3)
(Basic) o xo ox xox xxo ⎫ by group classes as follows :
(Subsidiary) x xx   ⎭

	verbal	nominal	adverbial
o :	v0	n0	a
xo :	v1v0	n1n0, n2n0	v3N, v3a
ox :	v0v2		Nn3, an3
xox :	v1v0v2		v3Nn3, v3an3
xxo :		n1n2n0	
x :		n1	n3
xx :		n1n2	

Attributive element in verbal and nominal group precedes group or element o : [ ]xo or x[ ]o, etc.
(4) Word structure (elements S, G)
 G SG

III. Classes : (free : unmarked ; bound :-. The elements at which the classes operate are shown to the right)

(1) Clause classes

(Primary)

Free/subordinate-	O / X

(Secondary)

Disjunctive/conjunctive	O / O
Conditional-/adjectival-	X / X, N (in clause)
Voice : Neutral/passive/ergative	all O or X
Aspect : Neutral/perfective/imperfective	all O or X
Polarity : Neutral/negative/interrogative	all O or X
Mood : Neutral/aspectival/polar	O or X / O/ O

(2) Group classes

(Primary)

Verbal/nominal/adverbial	V / N / A

(Secondary)

Verbal : Transitive/intransitive	V / V or [V]
Nominal : Major/minor	N or [N] / N
Adverbial : Endocentric/exocentric	A / A

(3) Word classes

(Primary)

Verb/noun/adverb	v / n / a

(Secondary)

Verb : Free/auxiliary-/-postpositive/ prepositive-	v : 0 / 1 / 2 / 3
Noun : Free/determinate-/-auxiliary-/ -postpositive	n : 0 / 1 / 2 / 3
Adverb : Free/conjunctive-/-conditional-/verbal-/-nominal-/-particle	a / - / - / [A] / [A] / -

VI.2. *Examples*

Each example is one sentence. Clause division is marked by /, group division by a space, word division by -. Attributive

forms are linked by +, clause particles by a space followed by -, group particles by -.

Sentence and clause structure, and clause classes of the direct secondary dimension, are indicated at the head of each example ; small a indicates a class of adverb not operating in group structure. Other categories are to be found illustrated in the examples as follows, with underlined figures indicating the possibility of an alternative form of statement :

Marked voice : 7 8 13 14   VV structure : (i) 13 22
Marked aspect : 2 5 9 10 12 13   (ii) 2 9 15 16 21 22
Marked polarity : 2 6 10 13 15 21   (VN) = V : 20
Marked mood : 2 6 9 10 12 13

Compound verbal group : 1 3 4 5 6 7 8 10 12 13 15 16 19 21 22
Compound nominal group : 1 3 7 11 13 14 15 16 19 20 22
Compound adverbial group : 2 4 7 9 12 16 18
Verbal group, intransitive : 6 9 15 16 22
Nominal group, minor : 1 3 16 17 19 22
Adverbial group, exocentric : 2 4 7 9 12 17 18

Verb, auxiliary : 1 4 6 12 13 17
Verb, postpositive : 3 4 5 6 7 8 10 14 15 19 21
Verb, prepositive : 2 7 9 12 17
Noun, determinate : 1 2 3 7 11 12 13 14 16 17 19 20 22
Noun, auxiliary : 3 7 11 12 13 14 16 17 19 20 22
Noun, postpositive : 9 17 18

1. OXO (disjunctive, conditional, conjunctive) VN/aNV/aV
   yiau-ĵuan ĵaŋ / ĵyiau liaŋban piŋhəŋ / jiəu kəyi
   ‘ If you want to transfer the accounts it’s all right provided the two halves balance.’
2. XO (conditional, conjunctive) aNA[A]V/NaVNV
   zuŋš ta gə-liaŋ-tian bu+lai / wuə jiəu yiwuəi ta s -la
   ‘ Everytime he doesn’t come for a couple of days I think he’s dead.’
3. OO (disjunctive, conjunctive) NVN/a[A]V[A]N
   ta fən-wuəi jiəu-bu / danš hai+yiəu siə+čuřu

' He divides them into nine classes, but there are still some overlaps.'

4. O⟨X⟩ (disjunctive, adjectival) AVN⟨N[A]VV(di)⟩

   na / ta zgi+řən-wuəi ʲəŋ -di / yin lai-zuə biauʲun

   ' He takes as standard the sounds he himself considers correct.'

5. XOO (adjectival, disjunctive, disjunctive) (N[A]V(di)) = /NVN/VN

   diciəu zgi+šuai-čuciu -di / bian-čəŋ-lə yiuəliaŋ / wuəi-ʲ ta

   ' What the earth itself had thrown off became the moon circling round it.'

6. OO (disjunctive, disjunctive) NAV/VA

   ni ʲəyiaŋ paŋ-siaciu / yiau-zəu-bu+duŋ -la

   ' If you go on getting fat like that you won't be able to move.'

7. O (disjunctive) N(š)NAV(di)

   ʲə-gə-tu š wuə ti-ta zau-čulai -di

   ' I worked out this chart for him '

8. O (disjunctive) (ba)NV

   ba-šəŋz jiə-kai

   ' Untie the string.'

9. OO (disjunctive, conjunctive) NV/aVNA or NV/aVNVN

   tian həi-lə / hai řaŋ wuə zai-waitəu -na

   ' You even leave me outside when it's dark.'

10. O (disjunctive) [N]NaV

    ta+jia hai ban-zəu-lə -məiyiəu ?

    ' Has he moved out yet ? '

11. O (disjunctive) N[A]VN⟨[N]⟩

    wuə zai+jiə yi-bəl-ʲuŋguə+šu -la

    ' I'll borrow another Chinese book.'

12. O (disjunctive) A[A]V[N]N

    yiuŋ-na-gə-šəu lai+ŋən-ʲ ni-di+ldəu

    ' Press your ear with that hand.'

13. O (disjunctive) [A]V⟨(ba)N⟩(də)[A]V

    bu+yiau ba-nəi-gə-šumuz kan -də tai+s -la

    ' Don't take those figures too literally.'

14. O (disjunctive) N(š)V(di)
    ʒəliaŋ-jian-šciŋ š di-ju̯ -di
    ' These two things conflict.'

15. O⟨X⟩ (disjunctive, adjectival) AVNV⟨V(di)⟩
    dagai š / huəi-bu+lai -di / čəŋfən duə
    ' The chances are that they won't come back.'

16. O (disjunctive) NVN[A]V
    xuŋcianjən jiuədə ʒə-gə hən+šənmi
    ' In the past they thought this was very mysterious.'

17. O (disjunctive) NVA
    ʒə-gə-šumu yiŋgai-siə zai-ʒə-gə-litəu
    ' This figure should be written inside here.'

18. XO (adjectival, conjunctive) AV(di) / N[A][V]VN
    ciaŋ-šaŋ šua -di / fən du+kuai+čəŋ mə
    ' The whitewash on the wall is even turning into dust.'

19. O (disjunctive) NV
    ʒə-gə řəŋ-diau-lə -ba
    ' Throw this away, shall I ? '

20. O (disjunctive) NV[A]N
    wuə gausu-nimən liŋwuai+yi-gə-ciau
    ' I'll tell you another wrinkle.'

21. O (disjunctive) N[A]VV
    ta bu+guan bu-də+šaŋ-bu-bu+šaŋ
    ' He doesn't mind whether he can fill up the gaps or not.'

22. OOOO (disjunctive throughout) NV/NVNV/NV/N[A]V
    (də)VN
    biŋ ciŋ / ni ju̯aŋ biŋ ju̯ŋ / biŋ ju̯ŋ / ni zai+ju̯aŋ -də
    ju̯ŋ yi-dian
    ' If you are slightly ill you pretend it's serious ; and if
    you're seriously ill you pretend it's still more serious.'

VI. 3. *Table of Chinese characters.*

(1) 這 個 火 冲 極 了，我 送 水
(2) 小 東 西　小 一 倍
(3) 的
(4) 這　那

(5) 所
(6) 是
(7) 有 的 是
(8) 賣 小 給 我 車 子 他 錢 來 罵 挨 罵
(9) 把
(10) 了 過
(11) 着
(12) 不 是 了 沒 有 過 着 不 在
(13) 你 快 來 你 來 得 快
(14) 了 (啦) 來 着 呢 (哪)
(15) 了 着 來 有 來 有 也
(16) 唎 (哾) 過 啦 (嘞, 咯)
(17) 不 沒 有 嗎 呢 吧 (罷) 啊 (呀, 哇)
(18) 什 (甚) 麼 怎 麼 樣
(19) 蒸 着 饅 頭 呢, 我 不 敢 動 那 個 火
(20) 明 天 我
(21) 給
(22) 可 以 把 鼻 音 歸 在 閉 塞 音 的 一 類
(23) 短 褲 短 的 褲
(24) 這 個 人 聲 音 大
(25) 我 道 路 生
(26) 得
(27) 冷 得 利 害
(28) 他 說 話 說 得 我 們 都 不 懂
(29) 他 說 得 沒 有 人 懂
(30) 剪 斷 割 斷 切 斷 打 斷
(31) 唔 行 得 入 行 不 得 入
(32) 有 沒 有 在 好 像
(33) 叫 給 還 送 借 找 告 訴 問
(34) 說 告 訴 叫 請 問 知 道 想 希 望
(35) 有 沒 有 是 是 這 個 人 要
(36) 能 可 以 會 應 該 要
(37) 上 下 進 出 回 過 起
(38) 來 去
(39) 做 完 變 成 蓋 成 功 用 盡 走 到 打 通
貼 住 扛 動 開 倒 聽 慣
(40) 們

(41) 個

(42) 一 隻 狗　一 個 狗

(43) 我　我 們　誰　中 國

(44) 天　夜　年　省

(45) 學 生　人　英 雄　孩 子

(46) 這　那　那 (哪)　每

(47) 一　兩　幾　半

(48) 一 個 人　一 隻 狗　一 頂 帽 子　一 座 橋

(49) 百　千　萬　杯　雙　片　種　次

(50) 跟　從　經 過　被

(51) 圍 着　繞 着　跟 着　爲 了

(52) 在　到　給

(53) 送 到 圖 書 館

(54) 上　後

(55) 上 頭　後 面　當 中　以 外

(56) 就　才 (纔)

(57) 所 以

(58) 總 是

(59) 所 以　但 是　並 且　不 然

(60) 就　才 (纔)　可　倒

(61) 如 果　旣 然　雖 然　就 是

(62) 的 時 候　以 後　的 話

(63) 很　都　非 常 的　不 是　來　被

(64) 另　第　所 有　各

(65) 做 成 功　看 見　組 織 起 來

(66) 見　見 解

(67) 兩 個 人　在 牆 上　要 做 完

(68) 十 二 個 病 人　繞 着 房 子 後 面　可 以 製 造 成 功

(69) 字

(70) 瓜：西 瓜, 黃 瓜, 子 瓜, 木 瓜　口：門 口, 路 口, 港 口, 河 口　麥 子：小 麥, 大 麥, 燕 麥, 蕎 麥

(71) 公 共 汽 車

(72) 你 趕 快 上 車 啊！

(73) 發 動 機　飛 機　打 火 機　織 布 機　機 器

(74) 麥 子　木 頭

Examples :
(1) 要 轉 眼，只 要 兩 半 平 衡 就 可 以
(2) 總 是 他 隔 兩 天 不 來 我 就 以 爲 他 死 了
(3) 他 分 爲 九 部，但 是 還 有 些 出 入
(4) 拿 他 自 己 認 爲 正 的 音 來 做 標 準
(5) 地 球 自 己 甩 出 去 的 變 成 了 月 亮，圍 着 他
(6) 你 這 樣 胖 下 去 要 走 不 動 了
(7) 這 個 圖 是 我 替 他 造 出 來 的
(8) 把 繩 子 解 開
(9) 天 黑 了 還 讓 我 在 外 頭 呢
(10) 他 家 還 搬 走 了 沒 有？
(11) 我 再 借 一 本 兒 中 國 書 了
(12) 用 那 個 手 來 按 着 你 的 耳 朵
(13) 不 要 把 那 個 數 目 字 看 得 太 死 了
(14) 這 兩 件 事 情 是 抵 住 的
(15) 大 概 是 囘 不 來 的 成 份 多
(16) 從 前 人 覺 得 這 個 很 神 密
(17) 這 個 數 目 應 該 寫 在 這 個 裏 頭
(18) 牆 上 刷 的 粉 都 快 成 末
(19) 這 個 扔 掉 了 吧！
(20) 我 告 訴 你 們 另 外 一 個 簽
(21) 他 不 管 補 得 上 補 不 上
(22) 病 輕 你 裝 病 重，病 重 你 再 裝 得 重 一 點