

Chapter Eight

Semantic Classes and Non-overt Subjects of CACs in the CALLHOME Mandarin Chinese Transcripts Corpus

8.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I will examine spoken and written registers' use of adverbial clauses by comparing the behaviour of adverbial clauses in the fifteen text categories of the LCMC corpus to that in a spoken corpus of Mandarin Chinese (cf. Wang, 1998 and 1999). Many studies have explored the differences between spoken and written language for a range of languages, but not Chinese.¹ Hence findings from a contrastive study of adverbial clauses between spoken and written Chinese can be used to re-evaluate claims made in the literature about the differences between spoken and written discourse derived from the study of other languages.

The spoken Mandarin Chinese corpus² used in this chapter is the CALLHOME Mandarin Chinese Transcripts Corpus³ (Wheatley, 1996; Huang et al., 1997; Zhan et al., 1998; Cieri, 2000; Cieri and Liberman,

1 For example, Pellegrino and Scopesi, 1978; Ochs, 1979; Olson, 1980; Rubin, 1980; Green and Morgan, 1981; Kroll and Vann, 1981; Scibner and Cole, 1981; Akinnaso, 1982; Chafe, 1982, 1985, 1986a and 1986b; Lakoff, 1982; Ong, 1982; Tannen, 1982a, 1982b, 1982c and 1985; Hinofotis, 1983; Redeker, 1984; Biber 1986a, 1986b, 1988 and 1992; Halliday, 1987 and 1989.

2 There are some other spoken Mandarin Chinese corpora available at the LDC. These are *broadcast speech corpora* (e.g. 1997 Mandarin Broadcast News Speech, TDT2 Mandarin Audio Corpus and TDT3 Mandarin Audio), and *telephone speech corpora* (e.g. CALLFRIEND Mandarin Chinese-Mainland Dialect, CALLFRIEND Mandarin Chinese-Taiwan Dialect, Hub-5 Mandarin Telephone Speech Corpus and 2001 HUB5 Mandarin Evaluation).

3 See the corpus website <<http://www ldc.upenn.edu/Catalog/LDC96T16.html>> (accessed 15 May 2012).

2000; Lo et al., 2000; Shu et al., 2000; Zhang and Yamamoto, 2001; Cieri et al., 2002; Honal and Schultz, 2003; Lo et al., 2003; Meng et al., 2004). It was built in 1996 and consists of some 300,000 words of short, contiguous, speech segments, ranging from 5 to 10 minutes and taken from 120 unscripted telephone conversations between native speakers of Mandarin Chinese.

<i>XML elements of annotation</i>	<i>Description</i>
Fa	Adverbial subordinate clause (see section 8.2.1)
Fam	Adverbial-main clause (see section 8.2.2)
PRO	Non-overt subject (PRO)
PROarb	Arbitrary PRO (i.e. the interpretation of PRO is arbitrary)
Cs	Subject controller (i.e. the subject NP of the main clause which is co-referential with PRO)
Co	Object controller (i.e. the object NP of the verb in the main clause which is co-referential with PRO)
Cc	Contextual controller (i.e. an NP in previous context which is co-referential with PRO)

Table 46: The annotation scheme of CALLHOME.

As with the PFR and LCMC corpora (see Chapter 5, section 5.2; Chapter 7, section 7.1.1), I adopted a problem-oriented tagging approach to CALLHOME to annotate a range of features in the corpus designed to suit my research purposes. The annotation scheme is described in Table 46. The purpose of annotating these features was to ease my investigation of adverbial clauses and the non-overt subjects occurring in these clauses. In the remainder of this chapter, I will discuss how I identified the adverbial clause in spoken Chinese (section 8.2). The adverbial clause is more complex in spoken Chinese than in written Chinese. I will also examine in CALLHOME the distribution of adverbial clauses across their semantic classes by comparison to the distribution pattern in the narrative texts of the LCMC corpus (section 8.3). To demonstrate any similarities/differences between speech and writing regarding the use of non-overt subjects in adverbial clauses, I will compare the distribution of subjects of the adverbial clauses in the CALLHOME and LCMC corpora (section 8.4). Section 8.5 will give a summary of the findings presented in this chapter.

8.2 Definition of adverbial clauses in CALLHOME

Given that in written language an adverbial clause and its modified main clause typically occur in the same sentence, the canonical form for an adverbial clause in spoken language is that, as illustrated in examples (1) and (2), the adverbial clause and the main clause are uttered by the same speaker in a single turn⁴ (i.e. more or less equivalent to a single sentence in the written language). However, as will be demonstrated shortly, some of the adverbial clauses identified in the CALLHOME corpus do not conform to this canonical expression format; in conversation, some adverbial clauses are set apart from the main clause that they modify and placed in different turns from the modified main clause. Section 8.2.1 examines those atypical adverbial subordinate clauses in speech, and explains their occurrence by addressing the features characterising spoken discourse as discussed in the literature on the differences between spoken and written language. Section 8.2.2, on the other hand, focusses on an adverbial clause type that cannot be found in written Chinese and is referred to as *adverbial-main clause* in this work.

Example (1)

180.08 182.62 A1: <Fm2>我这倒不不需要打#工#, <Fa2>因为我在学校当 <English_T_A> 嘛</Fa2> .</Fm2>

180.08 182.62 A1: <Fm2>wo zhe dao bu bu xuyao da# gong # ,
I this yet not not have.to work

<Fa2>yinwei wo zai xuexiao dang <English_T_A>
because I stay at.school work.as teaching.assistant
ma</Fa2> .</Fm2>

PART

“I don’t have to work outside because I am now working as a teaching assistant in the university.”

4 In conversation, a turn can be a word, a phrase, a clause and a full sentence spoken at a time by an interlocutor (Nofsinger, 1991: 80).

Example (2)

172.86 175.89 B: <Fm2>很 难 就是 请假 , <Fa2>因为 PRO2 还 呀 , 不好意思 请假 , 因为 都 是</Fa2> --</Fm2>

172.86 175.89 B: <Fm2>hen nan jiushi qingjia , <Fa2>yinwei
very hard that.is take.leave because
PRO2 hai a , buhaoyisi qingjia , yinwei dou
PRO still PART feel.sorry take.leave because all
shi</Fa2> --</Fm2>

be

“(I) find it difficult to take leave, because (I) feel guilty, because all are [...]”

8.2.1 Adverbial subordinate clauses of spoken Chinese

8.2.1.1 Other speaker interrupts

There are three kinds of adverbial subordinate clause which are characterised by the way they are expressed in spoken discourse as identified in the CALLHOME corpus. Firstly, as shown in examples (3) and (4), speaker A/B⁵ at one end of the conversation was interrupted by the speaker at the other end; the other speaker produced minimal responses (e.g. *mm*, *uh*, etc.) to signal speaker A/B to proceed. On the other hand, as can be seen in examples (5) and (6), speaker A/B was interrupted by the other speaker(s) who asked questions to clarify the situation described in the conversation. In either case, speaker A/B was interrupted at the boundary between the adverbial clause and the main clause and thus the adverbial clause and the main clause are expressed in separate turns by the same speaker.

5 In the examples used in this chapter, speakers are labelled as *A* (i.e. the person calling from the U.S.), and *B* (i.e. the person overseas). If there is more than one speaker at one end of the conversation (e.g. the telephone is passed around, or multiple extensions are in use), each new speaker is identified by a number: for example, B stands for the first speaker on side B; B1 stands for a different speaker; B2 stands for yet another speaker.

Example (3)

476.06 480.28 A: <Fm2>那么 呢 , 但是 回 , 从 &美国& 回国 一趟 太 远 了
机票 是 太 贵 , 因为 -

<Fm2>name le danshi hui cong Meiguo
well PART but go.back from America
huiguo yitang tai yuan le jipiao shi tai
go.home once too far.away PART air.ticket be too
gui yinwei -
expensive because

“But it’s a long distance for me to travel from the U.S. to the
mainland, and the air ticket is expensive, because -”

476.40 476.75 B: 哎 .

ai
PART
“Uh.”

480.55 483.82 A: <Fa2>&日本& 毕竟 很 近 嘛 , &美& , &美国& 太 远 了 ,
它 机票 很 贵 </Fa2> .</Fm2>

<Fa2>Riben bijing hen jin ma Mei
Japan nevertheless very near PART America
Meiguo tai yuan le jipiao hen
America too far.away PART air.ticket very
gui</Fa2></Fm2>
expensive

“Japan is closer anyway. America is too far away from mainland
China. The air ticket is expensive.”

Example (4)

216.72 221.43 B: 恢复 , 就 一下子 去 了 嘛 , <Fm2>我 是 心里 好象 很 难
接受 这 种 事实 .

huifu jiu yixiazi qu le ma <Fm2>wo
recover then suddenly pass.away PERF PART I
shi xinli haoxiang hen nan jieshou zhe
be in.spirit as.if very hard accept this
zhong shishi
CL fact

“(He) recovered and then passed away all of a sudden. I felt overwhelmed with grief and could not come to terms with his death.”

221.46 221.85 A: 嗯 .

ng
PART
“Mm.”

221.62 223.75 B: <Fa2>因为 我 原来 计划 暑假 里 嘛 , 跟 他 嘛 ,
<Fa2>yinwei wo yuanlai jihua shujia li
because I originally plan summer.vacation in
ma gen ta ma

PART with him PART

“Because this summer I planned to [...]”

224.02 227.71 B: 嗯 , 搞搞 就 吃 些 西瓜 啊 , 搞搞 绿豆 汤 啊 , 陪陪 他
啊</Fa2> .</Fm2>

<Fa2>ng gaogao jiu chi xie xigua a
PART make then eat some melon PART
gaogao lüdou tang a peipei ta
make green.beans soup PART accompany him
a</Fa2></Fm2>

PART

“mm, share some melon with him, make green bean soup for him, and be his companion.”

Example (5)

714.44 715.94 A: <Fm2>经济 上 要 损失 一点 了 哈 ?
<Fm2>jingji shang yao xunshi yidian
economy aspect have.to lose a.bit
le ha

PART PART

“You have to spend some money. Haha.”

716.56 718.38 B2: 哎 , 反正 也 无所谓 啦 . {laugh}

ai fanzheng ye wusuowei le
PART anyway yet does.not.matter PART

“Oh, it doesn’t matter anyway.”

718.13 720.28 A: {laugh}

- 120.09 121.21 B: 没问题，是不是啊？
meiwenti shibushi a
 no.problem is.it PART
 “It isn’t a problem, is it?”
- 120.17 124.36 A: <Fa2>因为他现在就是说，现在是夏天嘛，你就给他有个毛巾被，什么的</Fa2>.</Fm2>
 <Fa2>yinwei ta xianzai jiushishuo xianzai shi
 because he now so.to.speak at.present be
 xiatian ma ni jiu gei ta you ge maojinbei
 summer PART you then for him have CL blanket
 shenmede</Fa2></Fm2>
 whatever
 “Because it’s summer so you’d better buy him a blanket or whatever.”

Example (6)

- 532.06 534.86 B: <Fm2>并且看了你们的照片，我们非常高兴。
 <Fm2>bingqie kan le nimen de
 additionally read PERF your GEN
 zhaopian women feichang gaoxing
 photos we very happy
 “And, after we saw your photos, we were very happy.”
- 534.83 535.46 A: 怎么样？
zenmeyang
 why
 “Why?”
- 536.15 540.44 B: <Fa2>因为那个照片看上去好象在一个非常美丽的田野里面</Fa2>.</Fm2>
 <Fa2>yinwei nage zhaopian kanshangqu haoxiang
 because those photos look.like as.if
 zai yi ge feichang meili de tianye
 in one CL very beautiful DE forest
 limian</Fa2></Fm2>
 inside
 “Because it seemed to us that the photos were taken in front of a magnificent forest.”

8.2.1.2 Speaker pauses

The second kind of adverbial subordinate clause found in the corpus demonstrates *fragmentation* in speech. As illustrated in examples (7) and (8), in spite of experiencing no interruption from the other speaker, speaker A/B still completed the utterance containing both the adverbial clause and the main clause in several turns, rather than in a single turn as occurs in the canonical form of the adverbial subordinate clause aforementioned. In comparing spoken and written language, Chafe (1982) observes that while written language is characterised by a high degree of integration, spoken language is characterised by fragmentation.⁶ The difference between integration and fragmentation lies in the notion of *idea units* (Chafe 1985: 106–108; McNeill and Duncan, 2000; Spelman-Miller, 2002; Luoma, 2003: 12). An idea unit contains all the information a speaker/writer intends to convey in a piece of spoken/written discourse. The idea units in the written language are relatively longer and more complex than those in the spoken language. Writers tend to integrate more information into a single idea unit by means of morphosyntactic devices such as nominalisations, genitive subjects and objects, participles, attributive adjectives, conjoined phrases, series, sequences of prepositional phrases, complement clauses, and relative clauses as identified by Chafe (1982: 39–44), while speakers are less likely to use them because of the spontaneous and unplanned nature of conversation (Luoma, 2003: 13). Consequently, the idea units in the spoken language are typically expressed in the form of fragments or fragmented grammatical structures, reflecting in part the spurt-like nature of a speaker's thoughts. Thus the adverbial clause and the main clause in conversation tend to be expressed in separate turns rather than in a single turn.

6 The distinction between integration and fragmentation was further elaborated in Chafe and Tannen (1987), supported in Flowerdew (1993) and applied in Chevalier (2004).

Example (7)

569.78 572.86 A: <Fm2>反正我到现在吧，我也没跟他正面谈这件事情，
 <Fm2>*fanzheng wo dao xianzai ba wo ye*
 anyway I up.to now PART I also
mei gen ta zhengmian tan zhe jian shiqing
 have.not with him directly discuss.about this CL matter
 “Anyway, I haven’t talked to him directly about the whole thing up to now.”

573.05 579.23 A: <Fa2>因为我那天我那天打电话我我我给陈先生说，他讲说，这个你现在先别谈<Fa2>,</Fm2>
 <Fa2>*yinwei wo natian wo natian da dianhua wo*
 because I that.day I that.day dial telephone I
wo wo gei Chen xiansheng shuo ta jiang
 I I for Chen Mr say he speak
shuo zhege ni xianzai bie tan</Fa2></Fm2>
 say this you for.now do.not talk.about
 “Because I phoned Mr Chen that day and he said I shouldn’t talk about it then.”

Example (8)

585.22 586.53 B: <Fm2>你把我的信啊，
 <Fm2>*ni ba wo de xin a*
 you BA my GEN letter PART
 “My letter, you [...]”

586.78 588.89 B: 看个两遍，好不好？
kan ge liang bian haobuhao
 read CL two times can.you
 “read it twice, can you?”

588.86 592.22 B: <Fa2>因为你有的时候，把我信上的意思啊，没闹懂<Fa2>.</Fm2>
 <Fa2>*yinwei ni youdeshihou ba wo xinshang de*
 because you sometimes BA my letter DE
yisi a mei naodong</Fa2></Fm2>
 meaning PART have.not understand
 “Because sometimes you can’t quite catch my meaning in the letter.”

8.2.1.3 Other speaker main clause

The third kind of adverbial subordinate clause in spoken Chinese demonstrates yet another feature of speech i.e. *involvement* (Chafe, 1982 and 1986b; Oviatt and Cohen, 1989; Flowerdew, 1993). As shown in examples (9) and (10), speaker A uttered the main clause and speaker B uttered the adverbial clause or vice versa. In these cases, the adverbial clause and the main clause are in separate turns produced by two different interlocutors whereas in the second kind of adverbial subordinate clause, both the adverbial clause and the main clause are in separate turns produced by the same speaker. Biber et al. (1999: 771) refer to this phenomenon as “other speaker main clause” and acknowledge it as a feature specific to conversation as well as to dialog in fiction, where “speakers will co-construct clauses or clarify each other’s speech so that one speaker adds an adverbial to another speaker’s utterance”. The emergence of this type of adverbial clause in spoken Chinese can be explained by the feature of involvement commonly occurring in speech. There are three different types of involvement associated with conversation identified by Chafe (1986b: 116–118): (i) involvement of the speaker with *himself/herself* in the use of first person pronouns; (ii) involvement of the speaker with the *hearer* by showing his/her concern for the dynamics of interaction with another person; (iii) involvement of the speaker with the *subject matter* by expressing a keen interest in the discussion topic. As can be seen from the following examples, the speakers demonstrate an acknowledgement of the flow of information by supplying the information needed i.e. the adverbial clauses of reason, in an attempt to make sure that communication channel is functioning well. These examples are therefore illustrations of the second kind of involvement as noted above.

Example (9)

292.68 295.00 A: <Fm2>那 &中国& [noise] 可能 开车 是 很 难 , 我 想 .
<Fm2>na Zhongguo keneng kaiche shi hen nan
 that China perhaps driving be very hard
wo xiang
I think
“So it’s hard to have a chance to drive in mainland China.”

- 295.87 296.33 A: 现在 ((你)) -
xianzai ni
 at.present you
 “Now, you [...]”
- 296.12 297.71 B: <Fa2>因为 人 太 多 了</Fa2>, 哈 .</Fm2>
 <Fa2>yinwei ren tai duo le</Fa2> ha</Fm2>
 because people too many PART PART
 “Because nowadays the population is huge.”

Example (10)

- 530.42 532.95 B: <Fm2>反正 现在 就 做 个 老板 , 挺 稳 当 的 这 种 .
 <Fm2>fanzheng xianzai jiu zuo ge laoban
 anyway nowadays now be CL shop.owner
ting wendang de zhe zhong
 quite safe PART this kind
 “Anyway it’s quite safe nowadays to be an owner of a shop.”
- 533.00 536.04 A: {laugh}
- 534.47 537.97 B: {laugh} 不 象 那 时 候 , 那 么 焦 头 烂 额 .
bu xiang nashihou name jiaotoulane
 not like at.that.moment that risky
 “It won’t be as risky as it used to be.”
- 537.93 541.86 A: 呢 . 对 . <Fa2>因为 都 熟 了 么 嚟 , 都 都 弄 顺 了 就
 好 了 </Fa2> .</Fm2>
e dui <Fa2>yinwei dou shou le me
 PART right because all familiar PFRF PART
hao dou dou long xun le
 PART all all work.out smooth PERF
jiu hao le</Fa2></Fm2>
 then goodPART
 “Oh, yes, because we are more familiar with it and things work
 out quite well.”

8.2.2 Adverbial-main clauses of spoken Chinese

While an adverbial clause is always subordinated to the main clause of the same sentence (see section 8.2.1), an *adverbial-main clause* is not associated with a superordinate/main clause. The main clause is not explicitly stated in the discourse and can be inferred from the context, as illustrated in examples (11) and (12). Given that no evidence of their occurrence can be found in the two written Chinese corpora used in this book, adverbial-main clauses are considered as being a feature specific to spoken Chinese. These clauses, however, rarely occur in my data. Of the 1,139 adverbial clauses identified in my corpus, 33 instances are adverbial-main clauses, as opposed to 1,106 adverbial subordinate clauses.

Example (11)

- 203.84 207.01 A: 如果我现在马上又能再给你另外找到房子的话，
ruguo wo xianzai mashang you neng zai
if I now at.once again can again
gei ni lingwai zhao dao fangzi dehua
for you alternatively find COMP house so.to.speak
“If I can find another apartment for you right away,”
- 206.99 209.47 A: 你现在能不能搬？还是说，你必需在那住一个月？
ni xianzai neng bu neng ban
you now can not can move.house
haishi shuo ni bixu zai na
or say you necessary in that.place
zhu yi ge yue
live one CL month
“can you move house now? Or you need to stay in your place for one month?”
- 210.93 214.35 B1: <Fam2>因为他定金付一个月，跟他讲是一个月.</Fam2>
<Fam2>*yinwei ta dingjin fu yi ge yue gen*
because his deposit pay one CL month with

ta jiang shi yi ge yue </Fam2>
him say be one CL month

“Because his deposit was paid for one month. We agreed the deposit was for one month.”

214.39 216.64 A: 呃，行，我明白你意思了。{breath_noise} 嗯。
{breath_noise}

e xing wo mingbai ni yisi le
PART okay I understand your meaning PART
ng
PART

“Okay, I understand now.”

215.79 217.50 B1: 哎，我看你这样子好了，

ai wo kan ni zheyangzi hao le
PART I see you this.way good PART

“Uh, that’s it.”

217.46 218.02 A: 嗯，

ng
PART
“Yeah.”

Example (12)

239.30 242.76 A: &南京& 据说有的人很热，到四十度，死了十十几个人 噉，

Nanjing jushuo youderen hen re dao sishidu
Nanjing hearsay someone very hot reach 40.degrees.C
si le shi shiji ge ren ao
die PERF ten some.ten CL person PART

“It was said that many people in Nanjing felt very hot when the temperature reached 40 degrees Celsius. Some ten people died.”

243.96 249.03 B1: <Fm2> &南京& 好象我们觉得还好，前一阵子说是比较热，但是 <Fa2>我们因为，

<Fm2> *Nanjing haoxiang women juede hai*
Nanjing look.like we think quite
Hao qianyizhenzi shuo shi bijiao re
Good recently say be comparatively hot

In example (11), speaker A offered to help speaker B1 to find a house but B1 was reluctant to move out of his/her present house as one-month deposit had been paid. Prior to the occurrence of the adverbial-main clause (enclosed in the <Fam> element), A asked B1 whether s/he could move house as soon as another house was available. B1 did not give a clear indication that s/he could not move house (i.e. the main clause) and rather, explained why s/he could not do so (i.e. the adverbial clause of reason). Since the main clause is not explicitly expressed and it can be inferred from the context, the adverbial clause in this example is taken as an illustration of the adverbial-main clause. Example (12) is more complicated than example (11) because the main clause in the former is less obvious than that in the latter. Speakers A and B1 discussed about the recent soaring temperature in China's eastern city of Nanjing. The adverbial-main clause in this example is a causal clause which expresses the reason why A raised the issue and discussed and clarified the situation with B1. The main clause which states the consequence i.e. the clarification of the news about the heat wave is not explicitly spelled out and can only be inferred from the sequence of the information delivered in the context and from an interlocutor's general knowledge of the world.

To conclude this section, an adverbial clause in spoken Chinese basically takes one of the following two forms. First, an adverbial subordinate clause is expressed by the same speaker as in the main clause (i.e. *other speaker interrupts/speaker pauses*), or it is expressed by a different speaker from the main clause (i.e. *other speaker main clause*); in either case, the adverbial clause and the main clause are uttered in separate turns rather than in a single turn, in contrast to the fact that in written Chinese both the adverbial clause and the main clause occur in a single sentence. Second, an adverbial-main clause is not associated with a main clause which can be inferred from the context and is commonly omitted. In what follows, I consider the distribution of adverbial clauses in the CALLHOME corpus and report the similarities and differences between spoken and written Chinese in their use of adverbial clauses.

8.3 Distribution of adverbial clauses in CALLHOME

As discussed in the previous chapter (see sections 7.2.1 to 7.2.3), some text categories of the LCMC corpus show a marked preference for using a certain type of adverbial clause: (i) clauses of condition are typically used in category E (skills/trades/hobbies); (ii) clauses of purpose are commonly used in category E (*ibid*) and category F (popular lore); (iii) clauses of cause/reason and result are typically used in category D (religion) and category J (scientific academic prose). These general patterns may throw up some important differences in the behaviour of adverbial clauses in written and spoken Chinese. They may also reveal the differences between two major discourse types in written Chinese i.e. narrative and expository texts, as demonstrated below.

8.3.1 Narrative texts vs. expository texts in LCMC

In the LCMC corpus, *narrative text types* include the five fiction categories⁷ plus humour, biography and press reportage whereas *expository text types* include reports/official documents, academic prose, skills/trades/hobbies, press reviews, press editorials, religion and popular lore (McEnery and Xiao, 2003: 369). Log-likelihood (LL) tests indicate that in the LCMC corpus, the differences between the distribution of adverbial clauses in narrative and expository texts are highly statistically significant (see Table 47).⁸ Narrative texts are typically characterised by a relatively lower frequency of clauses of condition, purpose, result, cause/reason and contrast than expository texts.

7 The five fiction categories in the LCMC corpus are general fiction, mystery and detective fiction, science fiction, adventure and martial arts fiction and romantic fiction.

8 For one degree of freedom (henceforth d.f.), the calculated LL score must be greater than 10.83 for a difference to be statistically significant at $p < 0.001$.

Semantic classes of CACs	Frequency in <i>narrative</i> texts (i.e. categories K-R, A & G) of LCMC	Frequency in <i>expository</i> texts (i.e. categories B-F, H & J) of LCMC	LL score (1 d.f., $p < 0.001$)
Clauses of time	0	2	2.72
Clauses of cause/reason	151	311	52.80
Clauses of purpose	9	99	85.62
Clauses of result	32	114	74.43
Clauses of preference	6	7	0.05
Clauses of contrast	71	139	20.82
Clauses of addition	13	4	5.24
Clauses of exception	30	13	7.32
Clauses of condition	428	773	92.41
Clauses of concession	363	413	2.14
Clauses of inference	1	2	0.32
Total:	1,104	1,877	184.63

Table 47: Distribution of CACs in narrative and expository texts of LCMC.

8.3.2 Narrative texts of written Chinese vs. spoken Chinese

As narrative texts, notably fiction and humour, basically involve dialogue, they bear more resemblance to conversation than expository texts (Biber, 1988: 135–142). I therefore hypothesise that the distribution pattern of the semantic classes of adverbial clauses in narrative texts of written Chinese can also be found in spoken Chinese, when contrasted with expository texts. To test this hypothesis, I considered and contrasted the distribution of the eleven semantic types of adverbial clauses in spoken Chinese and that in expository texts.

Adverbial clause types	CALLHOME		LCMC		LL score (1 d.f., $p < 0.001$)
	Frequency	Freq. per 100K tokens	Frequency	Freq. per 100K tokens	
Time	0	0	2	0	1.05
Cause/reason	606	202	462	46	558.54
Purpose	0	0	108	11	56.67
Result	0	0	146	15	76.61
Preference	1	0	13	1	2.55
Contrast	0	0	210	21	110.19
Addition	2	1	17	2	2.00
Exception	12	4	43	4	0.05
Condition	476	159	1,201	120	25.34
Concession	42	14	776	78	199.14
Inference	0	0	3	0	1.57
Total:	1,139	380	2,981	298	46.43

Table 48: Distribution of CACs in CALLHOME and LCMC.

As can be seen in Table 48, temporal adverbial clauses are non-existent in the CALLHOME corpus. This finding corroborates what I initially observed, i.e. that adverbial clauses of time are rare in the single genre of journalistic writing expressed by the PFR corpus (i.e. one occurrence; see Chapter Five, section 5.3.1) as well as in the fifteen written genres of the LCMC corpus (i.e. two occurrences; see Chapter Seven, section 7.2). Given that adverbial clauses of time are barely used in both the CALLHOME corpus and the two written Chinese corpora, temporal adverbial clauses are rare in both spoken and written Chinese. However, there are a significantly greater number of adverbial clauses found in CALLHOME than in the LCMC.⁹ This finding is surprising as it is not in conformance with previous claims regarding differences between spoken and written language in that spoken language avoids elaborate syntactic relations among clauses such as subordination (O'Donnell, 1974; Kroll, 1977; Ochs, 1979: 66–68; Finegan, 1982;

9 The calculated LL value is 46.43, greater than the critical value for significance, 10.83, with 1 d.f. at $p < 0.001$.

Tannen, 1982a: 3; Beaman, 1984; Gumperz et al., 1984; Chafe and Danielewicz, 1987: 87).¹⁰ In other words, there is a strong tendency for speakers to produce simple, coordinated, clauses and to avoid the more elaborate interclausal relations found in writing. This tendency is tied to the disparate operative constraints associated with the two discourse modes. As Chafe and Danielewicz (1987: 86) note, speakers have to make choices very quickly when deciding what they want to say in spontaneous conversation, whereas writers have time to deliberate and even to revise their choices when they are not satisfied. Hence the relatively higher frequency of Chinese adverbial clauses in the CALLHOME spoken Chinese corpus in comparison to the LCMC written Chinese corpus is surprising. One possible explanation for this is that certain adverbial clause types are typically more common in spoken discourse than in written discourse, namely clauses of reason and clauses of condition, resulting in a greater number of adverbial clauses identified in CALLHOME. As can be seen in Table 48, the clauses of reason (i.e. 606 occurrences or 53%) and clauses of condition (i.e. 476 occurrences or 42%) account for 95 percent of the adverbial clauses in CALLHOME, while the two kinds of adverbial clauses make up just 56 percent of the adverbial clauses in the LCMC.

- 10 Poole and Field (1976), however, found that more subordinate clauses were used in speaking than in writing. Their findings may be due to the highly structured nature of the spoken data. Their speech samples were obtained individually from first-year undergraduates, who probably took the experiment very seriously, in an interview which contained questions on secondary school and university experience (e.g. *what are your impressions of life in a residential college?*). Their spoken data is therefore highly structured and exhibits more of the features of written language than that of spoken language.

Adverbial clause types	CALLHOME		LCMC (expository texts)		LL score (1 d.f., $p < 0.001$)
	Frequency	Freq. per 100K tokens	Frequency	Freq. per 100K tokens	
Time	0	0	2	0	1.86
Cause/reason	606	202	311	61	312.77
Purpose	0	0	99	20	92.18
Result	0	0	114	23	106.14
Preference	1	0	7	1	2.47
Contrast	0	0	139	27	129.42
Addition	2	1	4	1	0.04
Exception	12	4	13	3	1.21
<i>Condition</i>	476	159	773	153	0.42
Concession	42	14	413	82	187.42
Inference	0	0	2	0	1.86
Total:	1,139	380	1,877	371	0.38

Table 49: Distribution of CACs in CALLHOME and LCMC (expository texts).

The wide use of causal and conditional clauses in spoken Chinese attaches credence to the claim by Biber et al. (1999: 820) that there are considerable differences in the preferred semantic categories of adverbial clauses across four registers in English, namely conversation, fiction, news and academic prose. They correctly observe that conditional clauses are most commonly used in conversation and causal clauses are common only in conversation. Biber et al. (*ibid*: 786) attribute conversation's greater use of reason and condition clauses to its concern for participants' actions in that these two kinds of adverbial clause often clarify the reasons for or conditions on an interlocutor's actions. Altenberg (1984: 39 ff.) also found a preference for causal expressions in spoken data from the London-Lund Corpus as compared with written data from the Lancaster-Oslo/Bergen Corpus. The telephone conversations contained in the CALLHOME corpus centre on the life of the people who live/study/work overseas. Although speakers were not given any guideline concerning what they should talk about, most of them called family members or close friends. When these overseas people speak to their parents and/or friends, they usually describe how they get on in a foreign country. The talks are mostly concerned with their daily experiences; under what circumstances (i.e. adverbial clauses

of condition) and for what reasons (i.e. adverbial clauses of reason) do they do things. In other words, speakers have to clarify and explain their actions frequently to the parties at the other end of the conversation. This explains why clauses of cause/reason and condition are used relatively more frequently in CALLHOME than in the LCMC in general (see Table 48), and in expository written texts in particular (see Table 49), although the occurrence of conditional clauses in CALLHOME does not differ significantly from that in expository texts.¹¹ However, what is at issue here is not the differing distribution of adverbial clauses between the CALLHOME corpus and the expository texts but the different use of adverbial clauses between conversation and narrative texts. As can be seen in Figure 12, clauses of condition occur significantly more frequently in spoken texts than in narrative texts.¹²

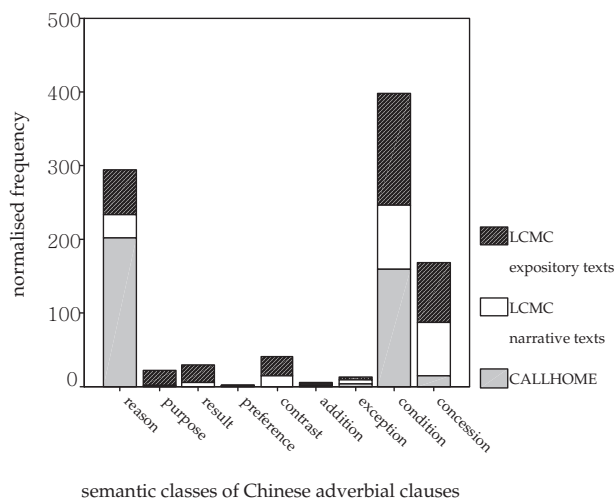


Figure 12: Contrasting CACs in LCMC and CALLHOME.

- 11 Clauses of condition occur as frequently in spoken Chinese (i.e. 159 frequencies per 100K tokens) as in expository texts (i.e. 153 frequencies per 100K tokens). See Table 49.
- 12 When comparing the frequencies of conditional clauses in both the CALLHOME corpus (i.e. 476 raw frequencies or 159 frequencies per 100K tokens) and the narrative texts of the LCMC corpus (i.e. 428 raw frequencies or 87 frequencies per 100K tokens), the LL score (82.14) is greater than the critical value for significance, 10.83, with 1 d.f. at $p < 0.001$.

As mentioned earlier (see section 8.3.1), clauses of reason and condition are used significantly less frequently in narrative texts than in expository texts of written Chinese (see Table 47). In this respect, conversation does not resemble narrative texts by virtue of its disproportionate use of causal and conditional clauses. In stark contrast, clauses of purpose, result and contrast do not occur in the CALLHOME corpus, as shown in Table 49. This finding in part proves my hypothesis that conversation shows a similar distribution pattern of adverbial clauses to narrative texts in which these three adverbial clause types are markedly less frequent than other adverbial types. In the following section, I will discuss the distribution of non-overt subjects of Chinese adverbial clauses by comparison to the findings from the analysis undertaken on the basis of the LCMC corpus. I will then discuss the similarities and differences between spoken and written Chinese with regard to their choice of subject in adverbial clauses.

8.4 Distribution of non-overt subjects of CACs in CALLHOME

8.4.1 *Type of control*

Whilst non-overt subjects of Chinese adverbial clauses appear less frequently in CALLHOME than in the LCMC (see Table 50),¹³ these non-overt subjects are typically controlled by (i.e. co-referential with) an NP in the context: contextual controllers account for 51% of the referential controllers that appear in the corpus (see Figure 13). In other words, control from previous context is the dominant type of control for PRO in adverbial clauses of spoken Chinese. As Ochs (1979: 62–64) and Tannen (1982a: 3) correctly observe, spoken discourse makes maximal use of context by which meaning is implied rather than stated,

13 The frequencies given in the table were standardised to a common base of 100,000 word tokens.

whereas written discourse makes background information explicit.¹⁴ In written Chinese, on the other hand, the non-overt subjects of adverbial clauses typically co-refer to either a main clause subject (33%) or an NP in the context (31%) for their interpretation. They can also, however, co-refer freely (34%) i.e. their interpretation is arbitrary. Given that speakers rely on context more than writers do, it is hardly surprising that control of PRO from previous context is a prominent feature associated with adverbial clauses in spoken Chinese.

Chinese corpora	Main clause control		Control from outside main clause	No control i.e. arbitrary interpretation	No. of PROs
	Subject control	Object control			
LCMC	44 (33%)	3 (2%)	42 (31%)	45 (34%)	134 (100%)
CALLHOME	24 (30%)	2 (3%)	40 (51%)	13 (16%)	79 (100%)

Table 50: Types of control of PRO in LCMC and CALLHOME.

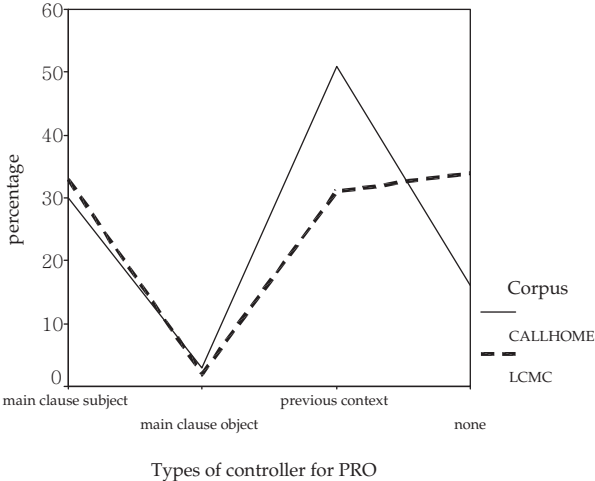


Figure 13: Contrasting types of controller for PRO in CALLHOME and LCMC.

14 Yet Rader (1982) reports that imaginative fiction relies heavily on context: it is maximally dependent on the contribution of background information on the part of the reader who works to make sense out of the story, using the same general principles by which s/he makes sense out of the everyday conversation. As written fiction's authors can count on readers to work to find out what is going on in the story, they do not have to spell everything out (cf. Widdowson, 1979: 174 ff.).

8.4.2 Distribution of subjects across adverbial semantic classes

In Table 51, the LL scores indicate that the distribution of subjects varies significantly across adverbial semantic classes. As illustrated in examples (13) to (15) respectively, clauses of cause/reason, exception and condition take strikingly more overt subjects than non-overt ones in the CALLHOME corpus.¹⁵ The relatively high frequencies of overt subjects in clauses of cause/reason and exception echo the findings obtained from the LCMC corpus in that these two types of adverbial clause favour non-overt subjects more strongly than other adverbials. This allows me to generalise a conclusion that overt subjects are commonly used in clauses of reason and exception in both spoken and written Chinese.

Semantic types of CACs	Subject types of CACs		LL score (1 d.f., $p < 0.05$)
	<i>Overt NP</i>	<i>PRO</i>	
Clauses of time	0	0	0.00
Clauses of cause/reason	551	55	471.29
Clauses of purpose	0	0	0.00
Clauses of result	0	0	0.00
Clauses of preference	1	0	1.39
Clauses of contrast	0	0	0.00
Clauses of addition	1	1	0.00
Clauses of exception	10	2	5.82
Clauses of condition	322	154	60.59
Clauses of concession	19	23	0.38
Clauses of inference	0	0	0.00
Total:	904	235	419.39

Table 51: Distribution of subjects in CALLHOME across semantic classes of CACs.

15 The LL values for clauses of cause/reason, exception and condition are greater than 3.841, the critical value for significance with 1 d.f. at $p < 0.05$.

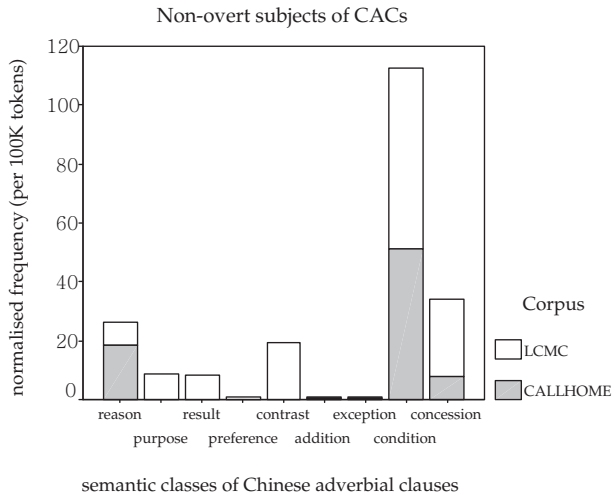


Figure 14: Contrasting non-overt subjects in CALLHOME and LCMC.

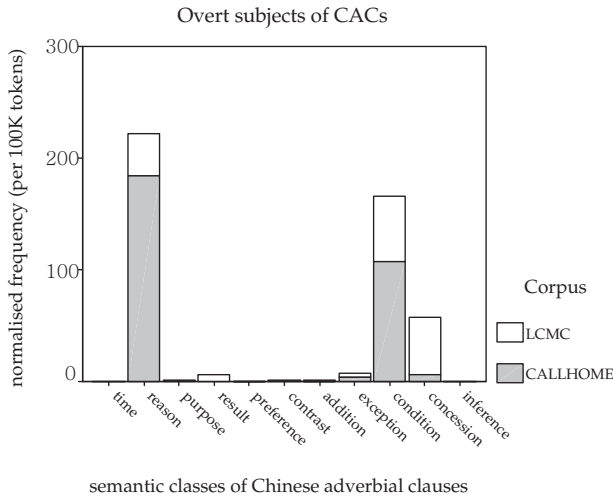


Figure 15: Contrasting overt subjects in CALLHOME and LCMC.

Adverbial subordinators of clauses of concession	PRO	Overt NP subject
纵 <i>zong</i>	0	0
纵使 <i>zongshi</i>	0	0
虽然 <i>suiran</i>	6	11
尽管 <i>jinguan</i>	0	2
虽 <i>sui</i>	0	0
虽说 <i>suishuo</i>	0	0
无论是 <i>wulunshi</i>	0	0
无论 <i>wulun</i>	1	0
不论是 <i>bulunshi</i>	0	0
不论 <i>bulun</i>	1	1
不管 <i>buguan</i>	16	4
任 <i>ren</i>	0	0
甬管 <i>bengguan</i>	0	0

Table 52: Contrasting the distribution of subjects in clauses of concession.

Example (16)

664.06 666.13 B: 我总的讲来, 我觉得父母还是引导 <Cc10>我们
</Cc10> ,

666.08 668.54 B: {breath_noise} <Fm10><Fa10>不管 **PRO10** 怎么样讲</Fa10> ,
他们买了很多书给我们看.</Fm10>

664.06 666.13 B: *wo zongdejianglai, wo juede fumu haishi*
I on.the.whole I think parents yet
yindao <Cc10>women</Cc10> ,
give.guidance.to.sb. us
“On the whole, I thought our parents have endeavoured to give us
guidance.”

666.08 668.54 B: {breath_noise} <Fm10><Fa10>**buguan** **PRO10**
whatever PRO
zenmeyang jiang</Fa10>, tamen mai le hen
how say they buy PERF very
duo shu gei women kan.</Fm10>
many books for us read
“They have bought a lot of books for us to read at any rate.”

8.5 Chapter summary

I have proposed in this chapter that adverbial clauses in spoken Chinese should be classified into two subcategories i.e. adverbial subordinate clause and adverbial-main clause. An adverbial-main clause is the adverbial clause that is not associated with any main clause in the sentence; the main clause can, however, be inferred given the context. Adverbial subordinate clauses in spoken Chinese are characterised by two features commonly associated with spoken language as identified by Chafe (1982), namely fragmentation and involvement: (i) the adverbial clause and the main clause occur in separate turns of the same speaker rather than in a single turn i.e. they are broken down into several idea units and expressed in fragmented grammatical structures rather than in a complete sentence as occurs in written language, and (ii) the adverbial clause and the main clause are uttered by two different speakers i.e. interlocutors show their concern for or involvement in the interaction and progression of the conversation. Adverbial clauses in spoken Chinese exhibit yet another feature of speech in that the non-overt subject (PRO) of the adverbial clause is typically controlled by an NP in previous context rather than the main clause subject/object, confirming previous claims that speakers rely heavily on context for the interpretation of a missing element in an utterance. Chinese adverbial clauses, however, occur significantly more frequently in CALLHOME than in the LCMC. This finding is at variance with what was said in previous accounts of differences between speech and writing in that speakers tend to avoid complex syntactic structures such as subordination. The explanation for this lies in conversation's propensity for employing causal and conditional clauses for clarifying participants' actions, prompting the use of more adverbial clauses, especially adverbial clauses of reason and condition, in the spoken Chinese corpus.

In comparison with those findings obtained from the LCMC corpus, the adverbial clauses in the CALLHOME corpus were proved to resemble their counterparts in the LCMC corpus in two aspects. Firstly, there is a relatively low frequency of purpose, result and contrast clauses in both the CALLHOME corpus and the narrative texts of the LCMC corpus (i.e. categories K-R, A and G). Secondly, clauses of reason and exception use significantly more overt subjects than PROs in both the

CALLHOME and LCMC corpora. However, the adverbial clauses in spoken and written Chinese also differ in two respects. Firstly, clauses of purpose and contrast show no sign of taking PRO in favour of overt subject in the CALLHOME corpus as their counterparts do in the LCMC corpus. Secondly, in contrast to the findings taken from both the PFR and LCMC corpora i.e. that clauses of concession in written Chinese strongly favour overt NP subjects, there is not such a marked contrast between overt and non-overt subjects in the concessive clauses of spoken Chinese.