

**Negotiating Interpersonal Meaning in Khorchin Mongolian:  
Discourse and Grammar**

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## **Declaration**

I certify that this thesis does not incorporate without acknowledgement any material previously submitted for a degree or diploma in any university; and that to the best of my knowledge and belief it does not contain any material previously published or written by another person where due reference is not made in the text.

张冬冰 (Dongbing Zhang)  
January 2020

## **Abstract**

This thesis describes the interpersonal discourse semantic and lexicogrammatical systems in Khorchin Mongolian based on conversational data within the framework of Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL). The systems described in this thesis are resources for enacting social relations. They are modelled at the strata of discourse semantics and lexicogrammar.

The point of departure of this thesis is interpersonal discourse semantics. Extant descriptions of resources at exchange and move rank (the systems of NEGOTIATION and SPEECH FUNCTION (Martin, 1992)) are expanded to account for the discourse patterns in the Khorchin Mongolian conversational data. The thesis first explores interpersonal resources at the ranks of exchange and move. At exchange rank, it describes the NEGOTIATION system based on patterns of exchange structure. At move rank, it proposes the systems of INTERLOCUTOR POSITIONING and DIALOGIC POSITIONING. INTERLOCUTOR POSITIONING deals with the positioning of interlocutors with respect to their knowledge of the information under negotiation or their responsibility for performing an action. DIALOGIC POSITIONING deals with the positioning of dialogic alternatives in the process of interaction. These discourse semantic systems are then taken as the point of departure for the description of interpersonal systems in lexicogrammar – specifically the major systems of MOOD, PREDICATION, and STANCE. MOOD is concerned with indicative and imperative clauses, PREDICATION with resources realised through the Predicator, and STANCE with the interaction between interpersonal particles and TENSE.

This thesis makes two significant contributions. First, it closely examines the relationship between discourse semantic systems at exchange and move rank. The systems developed could potentially be relevant to the description of other languages. Second, it provides a unified account of what has been described under various headings in the traditional descriptions of Khorchin Mongolian, such as clausal syntax, modality, evidentiality, negation and tense. It thus affords an integrated systemic functional description of Khorchin Mongolian interpersonal discourse and grammatical patterns.

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To my nieces, Tormug and Torug

The language described here  
belongs to them, their parents and grandparents

# Table of Content

Chapter 1 Introduction .....	- 1 -
1.1 Aims.....	- 1 -
1.2 Theory and description .....	- 1 -
1.3 Describing Khorchin Mongolian .....	- 4 -
1.3.1 Khorchin Mongolian .....	- 4 -
1.3.2 Traditional approach to Khorchin Mongolian .....	- 6 -
1.3.2.1 Types of sentences .....	- 6 -
1.3.2.2 Sentence structure .....	- 7 -
1.4 Developing move systems .....	- 9 -
1.5 Organisation of the thesis .....	- 11 -
Chapter 2 Foundations .....	- 13 -
2.1 Theoretical foundations .....	- 14 -
2.1.1 Axis: the theoretical primitive .....	- 14 -
2.1.1.1 Paradigmatic relations: system.....	- 14 -
2.1.1.2 Syntagmatic relations: structure and syntagm .....	- 16 -
2.1.1.3 Enation and agnation .....	- 20 -
2.1.1.3.1 Enation .....	- 20 -
2.1.1.3.2 Agnation.....	- 22 -
2.1.1.4 Phenotype and cryptotype .....	- 24 -
2.1.2 Rank: more than constituency.....	- 26 -
2.1.3 Stratification: a descriptive necessity .....	- 31 -
2.1.4 Metafunction: clusters of systems.....	- 36 -
2.1.4.1 Types of meaning .....	- 36 -
2.1.4.2 Types of structure.....	- 38 -
2.1.4.3 Metafunction and context .....	- 42 -
2.1.5 Instantiation: a continuous zoom .....	- 44 -
2.1.6 Summary .....	- 47 -
2.2 Descriptive foundations .....	- 48 -
2.2.1 Patterns in interaction.....	- 48 -
2.2.1.1 Layers of exchange structure .....	- 49 -
2.2.1.1.1 Interpersonal layer of exchange structure .....	- 49 -
2.2.1.1.1.1 Inform-&-elicit exchange .....	- 49 -
2.2.1.1.1.2 Directive exchange .....	- 51 -
2.2.1.1.1.3 Options at non-dk1 .....	- 52 -
2.2.1.1.2 Textual layer of exchange structure .....	- 56 -
2.2.1.1.2.1 Options at ai .....	- 56 -
2.2.1.1.2.2 Options at non-ai.....	- 59 -
2.2.1.1.3 Summary .....	- 61 -

2.2.1.2 A stratified rank-based model of interaction .....	- 61 -
2.2.1.2.1 Stratification in interaction: move and clause .....	- 62 -
2.2.1.2.1.1 Diversification of resources: MOOD and SPEECH FUNCTION .....	- 62 -
2.2.1.2.1.2 Identifying speech functions.....	- 65 -
2.2.1.2.2 Discourse rank scale in interaction: exchange and move.....	- 69 -
2.2.1.2.2.1 Exchange systems.....	- 69 -
2.2.1.2.2.2 Move complex .....	- 75 -
2.2.1.2.2.3 Dynamic elements in exchange .....	- 76 -
2.2.1.2.3 Summary .....	- 80 -
2.2.2 Patterns in dialogic positioning.....	- 81 -
2.3 Describing interpersonal meaning in Khorchin Mongolian.....	- 84 -
Chapter 3 Interpersonal patterns of organisation in discourse.....	- 85 -
3.1 Exchange systems .....	- 86 -
3.1.1 Knowledge exchange .....	- 86 -
3.1.2 Action exchange .....	- 90 -
3.1.3 Summary .....	- 96 -
3.2 Move systems .....	- 98 -
3.2.1 Classes of move: from above.....	- 98 -
3.2.1.1 Realising knowledge exchanges.....	- 98 -
3.2.1.1.1 Speech function analysis: giving/demanding information .....	- 98 -
3.2.1.1.2 Realising functions in knowledge exchanges: +knowledge/-knowledge.....	- 100 -
3.2.1.1.2.1 Building the move systems realising functions in knowledge exchanges .	- 100 -
3.2.1.1.2.2 Move selections at Dk1.....	- 102 -
3.2.1.1.2.3 Move selections at non-initiating K1 .....	- 104 -
3.2.1.1.2.4 Move selections at K2.....	- 106 -
3.2.1.1.2.5 Move selections at initiating K1 .....	- 108 -
3.2.1.1.2.6 Move selections at K2f and K1f.....	- 110 -
3.2.1.1.3 Dynamising knowledge exchange at move rank.....	- 112 -
3.2.1.1.4 Summary .....	- 117 -
3.2.1.2 Realising action exchanges .....	- 118 -
3.2.1.2.1 Speech function analysis: giving/demanding goods-&-services .....	- 118 -
3.2.1.2.2 Realising functions in action exchanges: +responsibility/-responsibility.....	- 119 -
3.2.1.2.2.1 Building the move systems realising functions in action exchanges .....	- 119 -
3.2.1.2.2.2 Move selections at Da1.....	- 120 -
3.2.1.2.2.3 Move selections at non-initiating A1 .....	- 121 -
3.2.1.2.2.4 Move selections at A2.....	- 123 -
3.2.1.2.2.5 Move selections at initiating A1 .....	- 124 -
3.2.1.2.2.6 Move selections at A2f and A1f.....	- 125 -
3.2.1.2.3 Dynamising action exchange at move rank .....	- 127 -
3.2.1.2.4 Summary .....	- 129 -

3.2.1.3 Tentative conclusions .....	- 129 -
3.2.2 Classes of move: from around.....	- 132 -
3.2.3 Notes on the discourse functions of modal particles.....	- 143 -
3.2.3.1 Expanding the dialogic space .....	- 143 -
3.2.3.1.1 Personal knowledge ( <i>/əmu</i> ) .....	- 143 -
3.2.3.1.2 Unshared knowledge .....	- 144 -
3.2.3.1.2.1 ( <i>kən</i> ) <i>fɛ</i> .....	- 144 -
3.2.3.1.2.2 ( <i>pjĩ</i> ) <i>tɐ</i> .....	- 145 -
3.2.3.2 Contracting the dialogic space .....	- 145 -
3.2.3.2.1 Personal knowledge .....	- 146 -
3.2.3.2.1.1 <i>xvi</i> .....	- 146 -
3.2.3.2.1.2 <i>fĩ</i> .....	- 146 -
3.2.3.2.2 Shared knowledge .....	- 147 -
3.2.3.2.2.1 (NEG) <i>twi</i> .....	- 147 -
3.2.3.2.2.2 <i>wɛijɛŋ</i> .....	- 148 -
3.2.3.2.2.3 (PTCP) <i>fītə</i> .....	- 149 -
3.2.3.2.2.4 (N-PTCP) <i>fītə</i> .....	- 150 -
3.2.3.2.3 Unshared knowledge .....	- 151 -
3.2.3.2.3.1 (N-PTCP) <i>fītə</i> & <i>fītvi</i> .....	- 151 -
3.2.3.2.3.2 <i>fvi</i> .....	- 152 -
3.2.3.3 Summary.....	- 153 -
3.3 Concluding remarks .....	- 155 -
Chapter 4 Interpersonal patterns of organisation in grammar.....	- 156 -
4.1 Basic MOOD systems and the negotiatory structure .....	- 157 -
4.1.1 Indicative vs. imperative .....	- 157 -
4.1.2 Types of indicative.....	- 161 -
4.1.2.1 Interrogative vs. declarative.....	- 161 -
4.1.2.2 Types of interrogative .....	- 165 -
4.1.2.3 Predicator and its related functions in indicative .....	- 169 -
4.1.2.3.1 Reference to the time of speaking: TENSE .....	- 169 -
4.1.2.3.2 Non-verbal realisations of Predicator: PREDICATION .....	- 174 -
4.1.2.3.3 Reference to the judgement of the speaker: POLARITY and MODALITY .....	- 179 -
4.1.2.3.3.1 POLARITY in indicative .....	- 180 -
4.1.2.3.3.2 MODALITY .....	- 185 -
4.1.3 Types of imperative .....	- 191 -
4.1.3.1 Interactant imperative.....	- 191 -
4.1.3.2 Non-interactant imperative .....	- 193 -
4.1.3.3 Looking up: imperative clauses and exchange structure .....	- 195 -
4.1.3.3.1 Imperative clauses in action exchanges .....	- 195 -
4.1.3.3.2 Imperative clauses in knowledge exchanges.....	- 197 -

4.1.3.4 Looking around: POLARITY in imperative .....	- 201 -
4.1.3.4.1 Negation in the Negotiator .....	- 201 -
4.1.3.4.2 Negation in the Scope .....	- 203 -
4.2 Finessing the indicative: further systems .....	- 206 -
4.2.1 STANCE .....	- 206 -
4.2.2 STANCE in declarative .....	- 207 -
4.2.2.1 Non-settling declarative clauses .....	- 207 -
4.2.2.2 Settling declarative clauses .....	- 211 -
4.2.2.2.1 Moderated settling clauses .....	- 211 -
4.2.2.2.2 Raised settling clauses .....	- 213 -
4.2.3 STANCE in interrogative .....	- 215 -
4.2.3.1 Non-settling interrogative clauses .....	- 216 -
4.2.3.2 Settling interrogative clauses .....	- 218 -
4.2.4 STANCE in negative clause and non-verbal predication.....	- 220 -
4.3 Additional functions: Adjunct, Vocative, and Tag .....	- 224 -
4.3.1 Polarity Adjunct .....	- 224 -
4.3.2 Conjunctive Adjunct.....	- 227 -
4.3.3 Vocative .....	- 231 -
4.3.4 Tag.....	- 233 -
4.3.4.1 TAGGING in declarative .....	- 233 -
4.3.4.2 TAGGING in imperative.....	- 235 -
4.4 Concluding remarks .....	- 238 -
Chapter 5 Conclusions.....	- 240 -
5.1 Major findings and contributions .....	- 241 -
5.1.1 Findings and contributions in discourse semantics .....	- 241 -
5.1.1.1 NEGOTIATION and INTERLOCUTOR POSITIONING .....	- 241 -
5.1.1.2 INTERLOCUTOR POSITIONING and DIALOGIC POSITIONING.....	- 245 -
5.1.1.3 Discourse semantic systems and interpersonal grammar .....	- 246 -
5.1.2 Findings and contributions in lexicogrammar.....	- 248 -
5.1.2.1 Cluster of systems .....	- 248 -
5.1.2.2 Preselection across ranks.....	- 250 -
5.1.2.2.1 MOOD and POLARITY .....	- 251 -
5.1.2.2.2 STANCE and ASSESSMENT.....	- 252 -
5.1.2.3 Khorchin Mongolian as a Negotiator-based language.....	- 253 -
5.2 Future directions .....	- 254 -
Appendix A Notational conventions .....	- 258 -
Appendix B Transcription and transliteration scheme .....	- 261 -
Appendix C Major interpersonal systems in Khorchin Mongolian.....	- 263 -
Appendix D Research ethics clearance .....	- 266 -
Appendix E Sample data analyses .....	- 267 -

Appendix F The verbal group in Khorchin Mongolian (submitted manuscript).....	- 287 -
References .....	- 288 -

# List of Figures

## Chapter 1

Figure 1.1 The relationship between theory and description (adapted from Caffarel, Martin & Matthiessen 2004:17) .....	- 3 -
Figure 1.2 Source of data: Jalaid Banner in Hinggan League .....	- 4 -
Figure 1.3 Exchange, move, and clause .....	- 10 -

## Chapter 2

Figure 2.1 System: paradigmatic relations .....	- 15 -
Figure 2.2 Cline of delicacy .....	- 15 -
Figure 2.3 MOOD in English: primary delicacies .....	- 16 -
Figure 2.4 System and structure .....	- 17 -
Figure 2.5 MOOD system and structure in English .....	- 17 -
Figure 2.6 System, structure, and syntagm (adapted from Quiroz 2013:25) .....	- 19 -
Figure 2.7 Addressee-oriented interrogative clause in Mandarin Chinese (Wang forthcoming) .....	- 20 -
Figure 2.8 Enation (Gleason 1965:197) .....	- 21 -
Figure 2.9 Systems along the rank scale in English (adapted from Quiroz 2018:139) .....	- 26 -
Figure 2.10 Rankshift .....	- 28 -
Figure 2.11 Total accountability .....	- 29 -
Figure 2.12 Stratification hierarchy for language in SFL (adapted from Martin 2011:11) .....	- 32 -
Figure 2.13 Context as a connotative semiotic .....	- 33 -
Figure 2.14 Interlocking diversification between SPEECH FUNCTION and MOOD .....	- 34 -
Figure 2.15 Metafunctions: the basic clause systems in English (adapted from Martin 1992a:9) ..	- 38 -
Figure 2.16 Types of structure and representational notations (Martin 1996:41) .....	- 39 -
Figure 2.17 Modes of meaning and types of structure (Martin 1996:62) .....	- 40 -
Figure 2.18 Factoring out types of structure in exchange (based on Martin 2000a) .....	- 41 -
Figure 2.19 Metafunctional diversification and unification (following Martin 2006:284) .....	- 43 -
Figure 2.20 TENOR variables (adapted from Martin 1991:125) .....	- 44 -
Figure 2.21 Systemic probabilities (Halliday & James 1993:64) .....	- 45 -
Figure 2.22 Instantiation, realisation, and metafunction (adapted from Martin 2010:22) .....	- 46 -
Figure 2.23 Berry's formalisation of options at k2 (Berry 1981a:129) .....	- 53 -
Figure 2.24 Berry's unified network for inform-&-elicit exchange and directive exchange (Berry (1981c:29); realisation statements added) .....	- 57 -
Figure 2.25 Rewriting Berry's unified network for inform-&-elicit and directive exchanges .....	- 59 -
Figure 2.26 System available at places after ai (Berry 1981a:136) .....	- 59 -
Figure 2.27 Systems in Martin's stratified rank-based model of interaction in English (adapted from Martin 1992a:50) .....	- 62 -
Figure 2.28 MOOD systems in English .....	- 62 -
Figure 2.29 The SPEECH FUNCTION systems in English (adapted from Martin 1992: 35) .....	- 63 -
Figure 2.30 The MOOD systems and their potential for ellipsis and substitution (Martin 1992a:35) ..	- 64 -
Figure 2.31 Consolidated MOOD network in English (adapted from Martin & Rose 2007:252) .....	- 67 -
Figure 2.32 Consolidated SPEECH FUNCTION network in English (adapted from Martin & Rose 2007:252) ..	- 67 -
Figure 2.33 Exchange rank and move rank .....	- 69 -
Figure 2.34 NEGOTIATION systems for knowledge and action (Martin 2018:11) .....	- 70 -



Figure 2.35 Primary delicacy in NEGOTIATION (adapted from Martin 1992a:49).....	- 72 -
Figure 2.36 Tracking moves: clarifying experiential meaning (adapted from Martin 1992a:70) .....	- 77 -
Figure 2.37 Tracking moves (continuing Figure 2.36) .....	- 77 -
Figure 2.38 APPRAISAL (adapted from Martin 2019:243) .....	- 81 -
Figure 2.39 ENGAGEMENT in English (adapted from Martin & White 2005:134) .....	- 83 -

### Chapter 3

Figure 3.1 NEGOTIATION: primary delicacy .....	- 86 -
Figure 3.2 Systems for knowledge exchange in Khorchin Mongolian .....	- 89 -
Figure 3.3 Berry's and Martin's networks for knowledge exchanges .....	- 90 -
Figure 3.4 Systems for action exchange in Khorchin Mongolian.....	- 94 -
Figure 3.5 NEGOTIATION in Khorchin Mongolian .....	- 96 -
Figure 3.6 Tentative INTERLOCUTOR POSITIONING network in Khorchin Mongolian (realising knowledge exchange functions; cf. Figure 3.7) .....	- 102 -
Figure 3.7 Revised INTERLOCUTOR POSITIONING network in Khorchin Mongolian (realising knowledge exchange) .....	- 117 -
Figure 3.8 INTERLOCUTOR POSITIONING network in Khorchin Mongolian (realising action exchange) .....	- 120 -
Figure 3.9 Unified INTERLOCUTOR POSITIONING network.....	- 130 -
Figure 3.10 Unified INTERLOCUTOR POSITIONING network (collapsed).....	- 131 -
Figure 3.11 Multiple selections from DIALOGIC POSITIONING .....	- 134 -
Figure 3.12 Negotiation in (3.48) .....	- 135 -
Figure 3.13 INTERLOCUTOR POSITIONING and DIALOGIC POSITIONING for propositions .....	- 140 -
Figure 3.14 More delicate DIALOGIC POSITIONING resources.....	- 154 -

### Chapter 4

Figure 4.1 The verbal group in Khorchin Mongolian .....	- 159 -
Figure 4.2 The general MOOD system in Khorchin Mongolian (provisional network).....	- 160 -
Figure 4.3 The general types of indicative clause in Khorchin Mongolian .....	- 168 -
Figure 4.4 MOOD and PREDICATION in Khorchin Mongolian.....	- 179 -
Figure 4.5 The systems of MOOD, PREDICATION, POLARITY, and MODALITY in Khorchin Mongolian.....	- 190 -
Figure 4.6 POLARITY in imperative clause in Khorchin Mongolian .....	- 205 -
Figure 4.7 STANCE and its relations to other systems in Khorchin Mongolian .....	- 223 -
Figure 4.8 The interpersonal clause systems in Khorchin Mongolian .....	- 237 -
Figure 4.9 Mood-based language and Negotiator-based language (adapted from Teruya et al. 2007:913) .....	- 239 -

### Chapter 5

Figure 5.1 A synopsis of the main chapters .....	- 240 -
Figure 5.2 NEGOTIATION in Khorchin Mongolian .....	- 242 -
Figure 5.3 Move systems: INTERLOCUTOR POSITIONING .....	- 243 -
Figure 5.4 Move systems: INTERLOCUTOR POSITIONING and DIALOGIC POSITIONING .....	- 245 -
Figure 5.5 Interpersonal clause systems in Khorchin Mongolian.....	- 249 -
Figure 5.6 Mood-based language and Negotiator-based language (adapted from Teruya et al. 2007)-	- 254 -

# List of Tables

## Chapter 1

Table 1.1 Contextual characterisation of the data.....	- 5 -
--	-------

## Chapter 2

Table 2.1 Complexing across ranks .....	- 30 -
Table 2.2 Summary of theoretical dimensions in SFL .....	- 47 -
Table 2.3 Key studies on the (interpersonal) organisation of discourse in SFL.....	- 48 -
Table 2.4 Modalisation and modulation in English (Halliday 1994: 91) .....	- 66 -
Table 2.5 Comparing Martin's NEGOTIATION network and Berry's network for exchange .....	- 71 -
Table 2.6 Logical relations between moves (Ventola 1988:61).....	- 75 -
Table 2.7 Challenges that abort exchanges.....	- 79 -

## Chapter 3

Table 3.1 Possible move rank realisations of exchange functions in a knowledge exchange .....	- 112 -
Table 3.2 Move rank realisations of the dynamic elements in an exchange .....	- 116 -
Table 3.3 Possible move rank realisations of exchange functions in an action exchange.....	- 126 -
Table 3.4 The discourse functions of modal particles in Khorchin Mongolian (1) .....	- 142 -
Table 3.5 The discourse functions of modal particles in Khorchin Mongolian (2) .....	- 153 -

## Chapter 4

Table 4.1 The typical discourse semantic functions of indicative clauses .....	- 165 -
Table 4.2 Morphological realisations of TENSE in Khorchin Mongolian.....	- 173 -
Table 4.3 Instances of the interaction between POLARITY, PREDICATION, and MOOD .....	- 183 -
Table 4.4 Types of imperative clause and their discourse semantic functions .....	- 191 -
Table 4.5 The typical discourse functions of imperative clauses.....	- 201 -
Table 4.6 STANCE and its word rank realisations .....	- 206 -
Table 4.7 STANCE and the possible realisations of Positioner and Interrogator.....	- 206 -

## Chapter 5

Table 5.1 Possible move rank realisations of exchange functions in a knowledge exchange .....	- 244 -
Table 5.2 Possible move rank realisations of exchange functions in an action exchange.....	- 244 -
Table 5.3 Move rank realisations of the dynamic elements in an exchange .....	- 245 -
Table 5.4 The typical discourse semantic functions of indicative clauses .....	- 247 -
Table 5.5 The typical discourse functions of imperative clauses.....	- 247 -
Table 5.6 The discourse functions of modal particles in Khorchin Mongolian.....	- 248 -
Table 5.7 The interaction between MOOD, POLARITY, and terms-explicit clauses .....	- 251 -
Table 5.8 STANCE and the possible realisations of Positioner and Interrogator.....	- 253 -

## List of Symbols and Abbreviations

A full list of notational conventions is provided in Appendix A. The small capital letters in the following list are used for morpheme-by-morpheme glossing.

- [ ] features in systems, e.g. [declarative]  
 [a : b] more delicate options, e.g. [indicative: declarative] '[declarative] is a more delicate feature for [indicative]; it inherits all the properties of [indicative]'  
 [a & b] 'and', e.g. [declarative & negative] 'both [declarative] and [negative]'  
 [a / b] 'or', e.g. [+knowledge / -knowledge] 'either [+knowledge] or [-knowledge]'

-K	not knowing	ind	indicative
-R	not responsible	INS	instrumental
+K	knowing	int	interrogative
+R	responsible	INTJ	interjection
1	first person	IP	interrogative particle
2 (2nd prsn)	second person	mod	modal
3	third person	MP	modal particle
ABL	ablative	n-int	non-interactant imperative
ACC	accusative	N-PTCP	non-participle
adrs	addressee	NDEF	non-definite
BEN	benefactive	NEG	negative
c.noun	common noun	nom.gp	nominal group
CA	Conjunctive Adjunct	NP	not positioned
CAUS	causative	NPST	non-past
cf	confirmation	NV	non-verbal action
ch	challenge	P	Predicator
CLF	classifier	PA	Polarity Adjunct
COM	comitative	PFV	perfective
COMPL	completive	PL	plural
con	contract	POSS	possessive
CONC	concessive	PROG	progressive
COND	conditional	PROJ	projection (reporting)
CONT	continuative	PROX	proximal
COP	copula	PST	past
CVB	converb	PTCP	participle
DAT	dative	rcf	response to confirmation
decl	declarative	rch	response to challenge
DIM	diminutive	RES	resultative
DISS	dissatisfaction	rrch	response to response to challenge
DIST	distal	rtr	response to tracking
el	elemental interrogative	SBJV	subjunctive
EMP	emphatic	SG	singular
excl	speaker exclusive imperative	spkr	speaker
exp	expand	T (superscript)	then
FOC	focus	TEMP	temporal
FUT	future	TOP	topic
GEN	genitive	tr	tracking
I (superscript)	if	verb.gp	verbal group
IMP (imp)	imperative	VOC	vocative
incl	speaker inclusive imperative		

## **Chapter 1 Introduction**

## 1.1 Aims

Language enacts social relations. This thesis is concerned with the discourse and grammatical systems in Khorchin Mongolian that have evolved for this purpose. The thesis has two specific aims. First, it aims to provide an integrated description of the interpersonal resources in Khorchin Mongolian grammar, with a focus on the clause, within the framework of Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL). Second, it aims to develop a description of the move systems in discourse semantics in SFL that can characterise these grammatical patterns from the perspective of discourse.

Three key concepts organise these aims. The relevant foundational concepts will be explained in detail in Chapter 2.

- i. By *interpersonal* resources I mean those linguistic patterns that are used to enact social relations. SFL describes language as a meaning-making resource, represented as networks of relations in systems. Interpersonal systems interact with ideational resources that construe experience and textual resources that compose interpersonal and ideational meaning as coherent text (Halliday 1978).
- ii. By *discourse semantics* I mean a level of language that deals with meaning in text. SFL theorises language as having a stratified content plane, comprising the levels (technically known as strata) of discourse semantics and lexicogrammar. The meanings of the discourse semantics stratum are realised by resources in the lexicogrammatical stratum, whose largest unit of analysis is the clause (Martin 1992a).
- iii. By *move* I mean the basic unit of dialogue. SFL theorises constituency relations in language in terms of rank. Units at a higher rank are made up of one or more units from the rank next below (Halliday 1961; 1966a). In the interpersonal discourse semantic analysis of dialogue, a rank scale is established between exchange and move. An exchange may comprise up to five basic moves. The unmarked realisation of a move in the grammar is an independent clause and its dependents (Martin 1992a; Ventola 1987).

The terms interpersonal, system, discourse semantics, (lexico)grammar, and rank mentioned above are known as theoretical categories in SFL. These contrast with other categories such as clause and move, which are known as descriptive categories and are necessarily language-specific. This distinction between theoretical and descriptive categories is crucial for the description put forward in this thesis.

## 1.2 Theory and description

Following Firth (1957), SFL makes a clear distinction between a general theory of language and descriptions of particular languages (e.g. Halliday 1961; 1992a; Matthiessen 1995:58–60). **Theory** is the resource that construes a particular view of language. It provides linguists with an orientation to the ways in which meanings are organised and the levels of abstraction needed to make explicit the meaning-making resources in a given language. **Description**, on the other hand, is the practice that construes a particular

language. The descriptive categories obtained from principled reasoning based on the inter-relations between systems in a language can be used to say something useful about the way a particular language works.

Theory and description are of course closely related; however, theory is more abstract than description. Theoretical categories are not specific to any given language. They make statements about how language works. Descriptive categories, in contrast, only make statements about a particular language. They must be motivated based on patterns observed in that language.

Descriptions of particular languages can be generalised as descriptive motifs and generalisations in comparative and typological work. Motifs and generalisations are positioned in relation to the 'multidimensional space' defined by the theory (Caffarel, Martin & Matthiessen 2004). Matthiessen (2004; 2018), for example, makes generalisations based on descriptions in terms of the theoretical dimensions of stratification, rank, axis, and delicacy – these theoretical categories will be introduced in Chapter 2. He observes that languages tend to be more similar in their organisation of meanings with respect to a more abstract stratum (e.g. discourse semantics as against lexicogrammar), a higher rank (e.g. clause as against group), more general systems (e.g. the distinction between indicative and imperative as against the more delicate distinctions in imperative), and the paradigmatic axis (e.g. the distinction between indicative and imperative as against their structural realisations). Conversely, languages tend to diversify in their organisation of meanings with respect to a more concrete stratum, a lower rank, more delicate systems, and the syntagmatic axis (e.g. the aforementioned lexicogrammar, group, the more delicate distinctions, and structural realisations). Note that in SFL generalisations made along these lines are still description. They are not theory (cf. Dixon (2010a; 2010b; 2012), who tends to refer to descriptive generalisations and motifs as 'basic linguistic theory'). Theory and description thus correspond to what Bernstein (1996) calls 'internal language of description' (L1) and 'external language of description' (L2) respectively (with descriptive generalisations and motifs operating in a sense as 'L1.5s' or 'mediating languages' (Maton & Chen 2016; Maton & Doran 2017)). The relationship between theory and description is schematically represented in Figure 1.1 below.

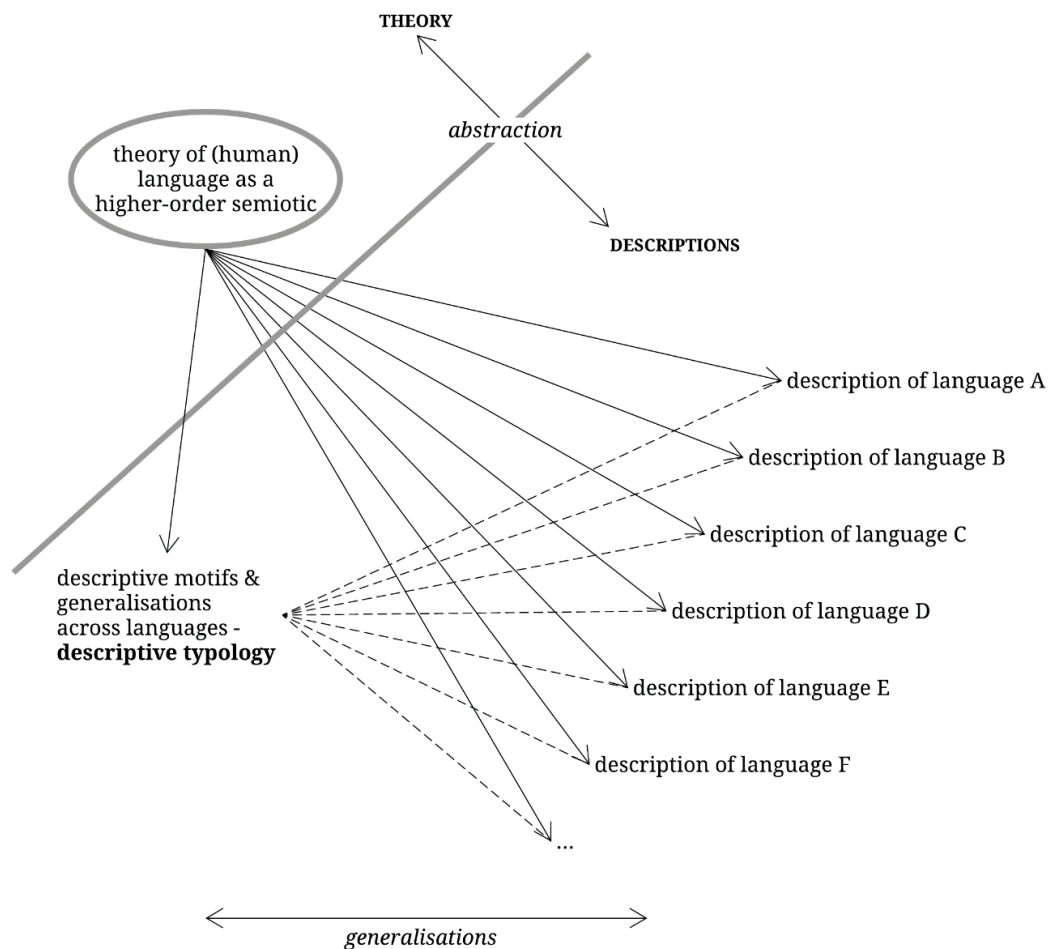


Figure 1.1 The relationship between theory and description (adapted from Caffarel, Martin & Matthiessen 2004:17)

Descriptions in SFL strive to characterise languages in their own terms (Halliday 1992a). The descriptive categories of a particular language should be motivated based on patterns observed in that language. And the interpretation of these patterns must be grounded in the theory. This is to ensure that categories from the well-developed descriptions of dominant languages such as English are not imposed on the descriptions under development. It is theory that provides the dimensions with respect to which we can interpret the patterns.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> For an overview of systemic functional theory, see Martin (2013a), Martin et al. (in press), and Matthiessen & Halliday (2009); a collection of the foundational papers on grammatical theory is offered in Martin & Doran (2015a). The application of the theory in description can be found in an overview of language descriptions by Mwinlaaru & Xuan (2016), a collection of papers on grammatical descriptions in Martin & Doran (2015b), and the comparative and typological work in Caffarel, Martin & Matthiessen (2004), Martin, Doran & Figueredo (2020), Martin, Quiroz & Figueredo (forthcoming), Matthiessen (2004; 2018), Mwinlaaru, Matthiessen & Akerejola (2018), and Teruya et al. (2007).

## 1.3 Describing Khorchin Mongolian

The first aim of this thesis is to provide an integrated description of the interpersonal resources in Khorchin Mongolian grammar – with a focus on the clause. What are conceptualised as ‘interpersonal’ resources in this thesis have been described along various locations in traditional descriptions of Khorchin Mongolian (e.g. clause, morphology, particle and so on). Before directing to these specific phenomena, this section first introduces Khorchin Mongolian in relation to the data used in this study.

### 1.3.1 Khorchin Mongolian

Khorchin (also Horchin) Mongolian is a variety of Mongolian spoken in eastern Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region (IMAR) of the People’s Republic of China (PRC). According to the Population Census of PRC in 2010, there are 4,226,093 Mongols in IMAR, constituting 17.11% of the population – the second largest ethnic group, following Han Chinese (79.54%), in the region.<sup>2</sup> Of this, the reported number of Khorchin speakers ranges from 1.5 million (Bayanmende 2010) to 2 million (Jiang 2011).

The data used in this study are extracts from the conversational data collected during a three-month field trip from December 2017 to February 2018 in Jalaid Banner, Hinggan League (the north-western border of region 6 in Figure 1.2).<sup>3</sup> Two sites in the rural communities of Jalaid Banner were selected: Aldartu Somu and Huᠭjiltu Gaca (in Chinese characters 阿拉达尔吐苏木 and 国营扎赉特旗种畜场).<sup>4</sup>

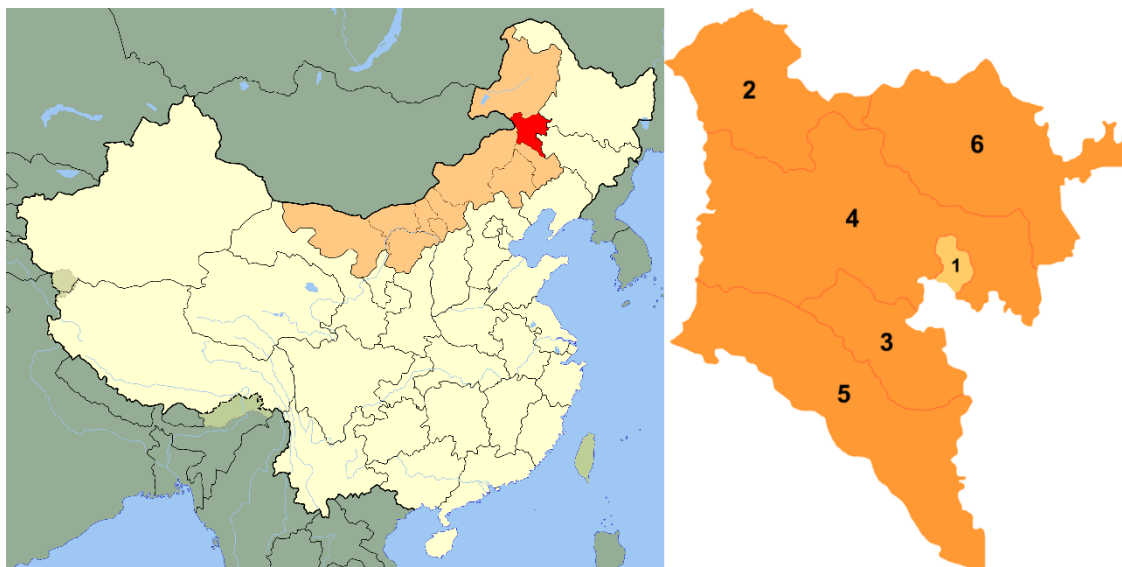


Figure 1.2 Source of data: Jalaid Banner in Hinggan League

<sup>2</sup> [http://www.stats.gov.cn/tjsj/tjgb/rkpcgb/dfkpcgb/201202/t20120228\\_30397.html](http://www.stats.gov.cn/tjsj/tjgb/rkpcgb/dfkpcgb/201202/t20120228_30397.html)

<sup>3</sup> The maps are combined from [https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/Category:Hinggan\\_League#/media/File:China\\_Inner\\_Mongolia\\_Hinggan.svg](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/Category:Hinggan_League#/media/File:China_Inner_Mongolia_Hinggan.svg) and [https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/Category:Hinggan\\_League#/media/File:Hinggan\\_mcp.png](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/Category:Hinggan_League#/media/File:Hinggan_mcp.png)

<sup>4</sup> The transliteration of Modern Written Mongolian (the Classical Mongolian Script) in this thesis follows the scheme used by the Library of Congress, the United States; see Appendix B.



The collected data comprise three parts. (1) Daily conversations among family members were recorded over two weeks in two families at the two sites. The conversations typically took place during cooking when the family members had come back home from work. (2) Conversations between colleagues in a local Mongolian school were recorded over a week. The linguist stayed in the office of the Mongolian language sector and recorded the conversations that happened in the office. (3) Conversations were recorded during two government officials' visits to the local peasants' home in one day. For (1) and (2), consent was obtained before the field trip started. For (3), consent was obtained on site as it was not a scheduled part of the field trip.

The three data sets are called 'family', 'colleague', and 'official' in the corpus under construction. The naming of the data sets privileges the social relations between the interlocutors, taking into account that interpersonal meaning is sensitive to social relations.

The relationship between the interlocutors in the 'family' data set is relatively close and equal. They talk about family issues and the daughter's work at the government. The relationship between the interlocutors in the 'colleague' data set, on the other hand, is a mixture of close, distant, equal, and unequal relationship. It involves the relationship between friends and that between senior and junior teachers. The teachers mostly talk about students, discuss lessons (e.g. pedagogic practices, Mongolian language), and occasionally family affairs. In contrast, the relationship between the interlocutors in the 'official' data set is relatively distant and unequal. They mostly talk about things related to government policy and the peasants' living conditions. Most of the conversations are self-contained; but some involve exophoric references and need to be understood in relation to the activities the interlocutors were engaging in.

In Table 1.1, the non-technical descriptions of the three data sets above are characterised in relation to the SFL contextual variables of field, tenor, and mode as they are developed in Martin (1992a:Ch.7). These variables are concerned with the activities and items construed in the texts (domestic, specialised, vs. technical), the kinds of social relations negotiated in the text (contact vs. status, or 'power' vs. 'solidarity'), and the roles played by language (accompanying the field of activity vs. constituting field; dialogue vs. monologue) – respectively.

Table 1.1 Contextual characterisation of the data

	field	tenor	mode
family	mostly domestic; some specialised	close contact & equal status: nuclear family + extended family	a mixture of constituting field and accompanying field, but mostly constituting field; mostly dialogue
colleague	mostly specialised and technical; some domestic	a mixture of distant contact & equal status and close contact & equal status: co-workers/close friends	
official	mostly	close contact & unequal	

field	tenor	mode
specialised; some technical and domestic	status: between government officials; distant contact & unequal status: government officials and peasants	

The conversational data were transcribed using Elan and Praat with IPA symbols. The phonemes used in the transcriptions are described in Tiemei (2015) (see Appendix B). Among the 30-hour 46-minute data collected, approximately 103 minutes have been transcribed. Unlike the transcription scheme adopted in Bayancogtu (2002), ‘case markers’ are transcribed as postpositions instead of suffixes – following Wang (1983).

### 1.3.2 Traditional approach to Khorchin Mongolian

This description focuses on the interpersonal meaning-making resource at the level of the clause. The linguistic phenomena described in this thesis constitute an important part of the description of the Khorchin Mongolian sentence in Mongolian Linguistics (e.g. Bayancogtu 2002; Chaganhada 1995).<sup>5</sup>

#### 1.3.2.1 Types of sentences

Bayancogtu (2002:419–434) classifies the Khorchin Mongolian sentences in five different ways.

- i. In terms of the realisation of the ‘predicate’: descriptive and narrative. Bayancogtu (2002:420) does not provide an explanation of these categories. The examples suggest that the predicates in descriptive and narrative sentences are realised by nominal and verbal elements respectively.
- ii. In terms of mood: declarative, interrogative, imperative, and exclamative.
- iii. In terms of the relationship between sentences: simple and combined; and within combined: coordinating or subordinating. Coordinating sentences are comparable to clauses in paratactic relations in SFL and subordinating ones are related in terms of embedding (Halliday 1994:Ch.7).<sup>6</sup>
- iv. In terms of constituency: unexpanded, expanded, and elliptical. Unexpanded sentences comprise subject and predicate. Expanded sentences involve the additional elements of attribute, object, adverbial and so on.
- v. In terms of the flexibility of the constituents: free and bound. The constituents in a bound sentence cannot be substituted freely.

The classification shows different degrees of variability. For example, classifications (i) and

<sup>5</sup> The term sentence is used in SFL to refer to the graphological unit between two full stops. It is typically co-extensive with clause complex in grammar. The use of the term *ogjuleburi* ‘sentence’ in Mongolian Linguistics is preserved when descriptions in this tradition are reviewed.

<sup>6</sup> According to Bayancogtu (2002:425–427) coordinating sentences are relatively independent while a subordinate sentence in a subordinating relation functions as part of the main sentence. Therefore, his account does not include what SFL refers to as dependent hypotactic clauses.

(ii) are independently variable as shown in (1.1).<sup>7</sup>

(1.1)

- |                                |                            |                |               |            |           |
|--------------------------------|----------------------------|----------------|---------------|------------|-----------|
| a. descriptive & declarative   | <i>ʒn</i>                  | <i>mæn</i>     | <i>nɛ</i>     | <i>mɛl</i> |           |
|                                | PROX                       | 1PL            | GEN           | cattle     |           |
|                                | 'This (is) our cattle'     |                |               |            |           |
|                                |                            |                |               |            |           |
| b. descriptive & interrogative | <i>ʒn</i>                  | <i>mæn</i>     | <i>nɛ</i>     | <i>mɛl</i> | <i>u:</i> |
|                                | PROX                       | 1PL            | GEN           | cattle     | IP        |
|                                | '(Is) this our cattle?'    |                |               |            |           |
|                                |                            |                |               |            |           |
| c. narrative & declarative     | <i>tʰʊr</i>                | <i>mɛ:tʰʊr</i> | <i>jɛp-ʒn</i> |            |           |
|                                | 3SG                        | tomorrow       | leave-NPST    |            |           |
|                                | 'She leaves tomorrow.'     |                |               |            |           |
|                                |                            |                |               |            |           |
| d. narrative & interrogative   | <i>tʰʊr</i>                | <i>mɛ:tʰʊr</i> | <i>jɛp-ʒn</i> | <i>u:</i>  |           |
|                                | 3SG                        | tomorrow       | leave-NPST    | IP         |           |
|                                | 'Does she leave tomorrow?' |                |               |            |           |

In contrast, there are some restrictions between classifications (ii) and (iii), classifications (ii) and (iv), and classifications (ii) and (v). In relation to (ii) and (iii), 'embedded' subordinating sentences cannot be interrogative. In relation to (ii) and (iv), the elliptical elements of a sentence are restricted by the mood type, e.g. the 'pro-words' in elemental interrogative sentences cannot be elided. In relation to (ii) and (v), idioms are more likely to be declarative than interrogative.

Pending further research on the interdependencies between clause systems in Khorchin Mongolian, an SFL perspective would seem to classify (i) as more oriented towards the ideational layer of meaning (i.e. the linguistic resources for construing experience as configurations of occurrence and entity and of entity and entity/quality) and (ii) to (v) as more oriented towards the interpersonal layer of meaning (i.e. the linguistic resources for enacting social relations, casting the interlocutors into different roles, and fine-tuning the arguability of a proposition). The grammatical description in this thesis focuses on systems comparable to classification (ii) – distinctions in mood – and sets aside its interaction with the other classifications for future research.

### 1.3.2.2 Sentence structure

Some of Bayancogtu's (2002) classifications depend on the structural analysis of a sentence. He identifies two 'main' constituents and three 'secondary' constituents. The main constituents are subject and predicate; the secondary constituents are attribute, object, and adverbial. Bayancogtu (2002) does not provide specific criteria for identifying

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<sup>7</sup> The morpheme-by-morpheme glossing used in this thesis is adapted from The Leipzig Glossing Rules (2015) <https://www.eva.mpg.de/lingua/pdf/Glossing-Rules.pdf>. The list of abbreviations used therein, along with the additional ones adopted in this thesis, are provided in List of Symbols and Abbreviations.

the different constituents except that they can be realised by various classes of words.<sup>8</sup> The clauses in (1.1a) and (1.1c) above would be analysed as (1.2a) and (1.2b) below.

(1.2)

a.

<i>ʒn</i> PROX	<i>mæn nɛ</i> 1PL GEN	<i>mɛl</i> cattle
subject	attribute	predicate

‘This (is) our cattle’

c.

<i>tʰʊr</i> 3SG	<i>mɛ:tʰʊr</i> tomorrow	<i>jɛp-ʒn</i> leave-NPST
subject	adverbial	predicate

‘She leaves tomorrow.’

The structural analysis in Bayancogtu (2002) is only relevant to some types of sentences reviewed in the previous section. For example, as noted above, in classification (iv), an unexpanded sentence comprises only subject and predicate whereas an expanded sentence involves one or more of attributes, objects, and adverbials. However, there is no attempt to relate the structural analysis with the classification of sentences in terms of mood. Reference grammars such as Tserenpil & Kullman (2008:360–366) in fact separate the classification in terms of mood from the other ‘types of sentences’ as ‘kinds of sentences’. For them, ‘kinds of sentences’ include declarative, interrogative, imperative, and exclamative; but they are not determined by the structure of the sentence. On the other hand, the ‘types of sentences’ are determined by the structure of the sentence, e.g. unexpanded and expanded sentences.

This disjunction between sentence structure and mood-based sentence classification in (Khorchin) Mongolian is likely due to the fact that mood in (Khorchin) Mongolian is determined by verbal suffixes and clause final particles, none of which have been traditionally considered relevant to sentence structure. Note that even for the types of sentence relevant to structural analysis, they are simply determined by the presence or absence of the ‘secondary’ constituents (i.e. expanded vs unexpanded) and the number of ‘main’ constituents (i.e. one predicate for simple and more than one for combined).

The aim of this thesis is to provide a layer of structural analysis for Khorchin Mongolian clause in relation to MOOD from the perspective of SFL.<sup>9</sup> MOOD will be described as an interpersonal system of the clause. The options in the system (declarative, interrogative, and imperative) are realised by particular structural configurations. The basic principle is thus that categories in lexicogrammar should be established based on ‘lexicogrammatical reflex’ (Halliday 1985:xx). As Martin (2013a:19) puts it, “if no structural consequence, then no system”.

<sup>8</sup> Bayancogtu (2002:434–453) provides a ‘phrase’ level analysis, which complements the sentence level analysis. The former is concerned with groups of words involving internal relationships of various kinds (e.g. modification) and the latter with the functions of words in relation to the sentences in which they occur. This is in contrast with Chinggeltei’s (1999:447–459) adapted immediate constituent analysis of Standard Mongolian, which includes analyses from sentences to phrases and to words.

<sup>9</sup> Following the SFL conventions, system names are written in small capitals.

In doing so, the approach taken in this thesis is complementary to that in traditional descriptions of Khorchin Mongolian, where the point of departure is from below in terms of verb morphology (Bayancogtu 2002:284–285). The MOOD system described in this thesis is located at clause rank and is realised through resources at group, word, and morpheme rank. As will be seen in Chapter 4, such an approach accounts for the way in which the MOOD system in Khorchin Mongolian interacts with other clause systems. For example, indicative and imperative clauses are negated differently. Indicative clauses are negated either through *piĕ* or the variants of *ukue*, while imperative clauses are negated through *pu*.

This shift of focus from morphology to clause is also a useful point of departure for explaining the interactions between the realisations of tense in morphology and various clause-final particles. Chaghanhada (1991), for example, noticed that *pe* is used after the ‘finite’ suffixes *-tĕ* ‘PST’ and *-n* ‘NPST’ and *ŋmu* after the ‘adjectival verb’ suffixes *-sĕn* ‘PST’ and *-x* ‘NPST’.<sup>10</sup>

Along with providing a holistic description of the interpersonal resources in Khorchin Mongolian grammar with clause as its vantage point, this thesis also aims to interpret the grammatical patterns in relation to the ways in which they are used in discourse. Martin’s (1992a) description of discourse semantics is used as the point of departure for explaining the discourse patterns observed in Khorchin Mongolian conversations. This brings us to the second aim of this thesis – developing systems at move rank.

## 1.4 Developing move systems

There are two motivations behind developing the existing description of the move systems in discourse semantics. First, the interactive function of a clause as a move in exchanges is an important aspect of characterising the discourse functions of the clause patterns. Second, there is a lack of explicit argumentation for the relationship between exchange systems and move systems in the extant SFL literature. This second point is explained briefly below and elaborated in more detail in Chapter 2.

Two ranks are identified in the discourse semantic analysis of dialogue in SFL – exchange and move (Martin 1992a; Ventola 1987). Exchange rank is concerned with the sequencing of elements in dialogue. The NEGOTIATION system developed for exchange rank handles sequencing and co-occurrence of up to five moves. Move rank is concerned with characterising the functions of clauses in exchanges. The SPEECH FUNCTION system developed for move rank accounts for the function of clauses as statements, questions, commands, offers and so on. The relationship between exchange, move, and clause, along with the relevant systems for these ranks, are represented schematically in Figure 1.3.

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<sup>10</sup> The suffixes will be referred to as non-participle and participle suffixes in this thesis.

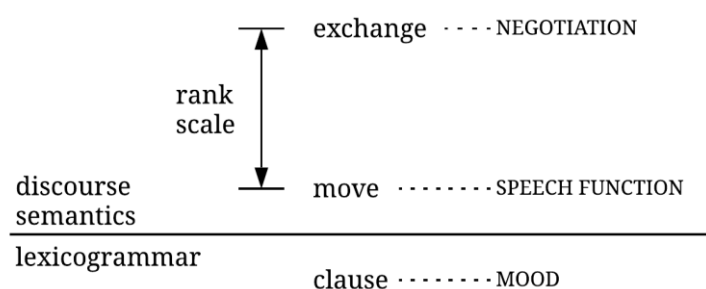


Figure 1.3 Exchange, move, and clause

The SPEECH FUNCTION system has been widely used in the descriptions of languages other than English (e.g. Caffarel, Martin & Matthiessen 2004; Mwinlaaru, Matthiessen & Akerejola 2018; Quiroz 2008; 2013; 2018; Teruya et al. 2007). The NEGOTIATION system, on the other hand, is gradually gaining prominence in descriptive and comparative work informed by discourse semantics, e.g. Martin et al. (in press) on English, Spanish, and Mandarin, Martin & Cruz (2018) on Tagalog, Rose (2001; 2018) on Pitjantjatjara, Shin (2018) on Korean, and the collection of papers in Martin, Doran & Figueredo (2020) and Martin, Quiroz & Figueredo (forthcoming).

One issue with the studies informed by discourse semantics is that the NEGOTIATION system is taking on more descriptive responsibility than the SPEECH FUNCTION system. As will be discussed in Chapter 2, the SPEECH FUNCTION analysis, as it currently stands, does not provide significant insight beyond the NEGOTIATION analysis. In Martin et al.'s (in press) description of English, Spanish, and Mandarin, for example, the SPEECH FUNCTION analysis is not included at all. One of the reasons for this 'redundancy' is the separate development of SPEECH FUNCTION and NEGOTIATION to describe interactions. SPEECH FUNCTION was developed by Halliday (1984; 1985; 1994) in relation to an account of the English MOOD system with respect to their functions in dialogue in terms of congruent and metaphorical relationship ('direct' and 'indirect') between the two. In contrast, NEGOTIATION (or exchange structure) was proposed by Berry (1981a; 1981b; 1981c; 1981d) in relation to Sinclair & Coulthard's (1975) analysis of classroom interaction and later developed by Martin (1992a) and Ventola (1987) to complement Halliday's speech functional analysis of interaction. These distinct progenies have meant that there has been a slight disconnect between the two levels of description. The relationship between SPEECH FUNCTION and NEGOTIATION is introduced in detail in Chapter 2.

To address this issue, this thesis examines the systems at move rank in relation to NEGOTIATION at exchange rank and with respect to the interpersonal clause systems in Khorchin Mongolian.

## 1.5 Organisation of the thesis

This thesis is organised into five chapters. The current chapter has characterised the study as a description of Khorchin Mongolian discourse and grammatical patterns within the framework of SFL. It has outlined the two aims of this thesis: an integrated description of the Khorchin Mongolian interpersonal resources and development of the move systems in discourse semantics.

Chapter 2 introduces the foundations of this study. It comprises two main sections (Section 2.1 and Section 2.2). Section 2.1 is concerned with the theoretical foundations. The dimension of axis (paradigmatic and syntagmatic relations) is conceived as the basis for all the other dimensions: rank, stratification, metafunction, and instantiation. Axial argumentation is also explained as the primary method of description. Using the theoretical dimensions introduced in Section 2.1, Section 2.2 focuses on a gap in the existing SFL description of conversational interaction in terms of discourse semantics. It provides a detailed review and critique of the development of the exchange and move systems in relation to a stratified rank-based model of interaction. Section 2.2 also discusses the possibility of integrating the ENGAGEMENT system into the development of move systems.

Chapter 3 describes the patterns of organisation in Khorchin Mongolian discourse at two ranks: exchange and move (Section 3.1 and Section 3.2). In Section 3.1, the NEGOTIATION resources at Khorchin Mongolian exchange rank are described in relation to obligatory and optional elements of an exchange. Exchange systems are motivated from the patterns of structural organisations in exchanges. In Section 3.2, the research gap established in Section 2.2 is addressed by explicitly arguing for move systems from above and from around. From above, move systems are discussed with respect to exchange structure. The possible options for move rank at particular points in an exchange are introduced. The move system established from this perspective is INTERLOCUTOR POSITIONING. It is concerned with the way interlocutors are positioned in relation to their knowledge of the information under negotiation and their responsibility for carrying out an action. From around, move systems are developed in relation to the ENGAGEMENT system in APPRAISAL (Martin & White 2005). The move system proposed from this perspective is DIALOGIC POSITIONING. It is concerned with the way in which dialogically alternative viewpoints are introduced as an interaction unfolds. DIALOGIC POSITIONING is dependent on INTERLOCUTOR POSITIONING. In addition, Chapter 3 also provides a discourse semantic characterisation of the modal particles in Khorchin Mongolian based on the move systems it develops.

Chapter 4 describes the patterns of organisation in Khorchin Mongolian grammar with a focus on clause rank. It comprises three parts (Sections 4.1 to Section 4.3). Section 4.1 establishes the basic distinctions in the Khorchin Mongolian MOOD system – between indicative (declarative and interrogative) and imperative based on the structural patterns of the clause. The options in MOOD are then characterised with respect to the systems at exchange and move rank developed in Chapter 3. In this sense, Chapter 4 provides reasoning for move systems from below. Section 4.1 also discusses the interaction between the clause systems of MOOD, POLARITY, MODALITY, and PREDICATION in relation to

the Negotiator of the clause – the functional elements that make a Khorchin Mongolian clause an interactive event. Section 4.2 zooms in on the systems for indicative clauses in relation to the interaction between the realisation of TENSE and the clause final interpersonal particles. The systems of STANCE and ASSESSMENT are established accordingly. Section 4.3 introduces the interpersonal functions that are less central to the interactive function of the Khorchin Mongolian clause. The systems of ADJUNCTIVISATION, VOCATION, and TAGGING are proposed. The findings in Chapter 4 are then related to the comparative and typological studies conducted in SFL.

Chapter 5 concludes the thesis by summarising the main findings and contributions of the study. In terms of discourse semantics, it includes the contributions of the study in relation to the development of move systems. In terms of lexicogrammar, the chapter discusses the contributions of the study to the SFL work on describing grammatical resources with respect to their discourse functions. Chapter 5 also points to directions of further research opened up by the current study.



## **Chapter 2 Foundations**

This chapter makes explicit the theoretical and descriptive foundations of the thesis. Section 2.1 introduces the theoretical dimensions of axis, rank, stratification, metafunction, and instantiation. Section 2.2 introduces the major descriptive underpinnings of the interpersonal discourse semantic rank scale of exchange and move. It identifies the research gap in existing descriptions of move systems, to which Chapter 3 makes its contribution.

## 2.1 Theoretical foundations

This section concentrates on the theoretical dimensions the current description draws upon. It begins by introducing the primitive theoretical parameter from which all the other dimensions are derived – axis (Section 2.1.1). The subsequent sections introduce the theoretical dimensions derived from axis – rank, stratification, and metafunction. This is followed by an introduction to the SFL conceptualisation of the relationship between system and text (Section 2.1.5). In order to explain theoretical categories, examples from existing descriptions are used. However, this is kept to a minimum, since the descriptive foundations of this study are provided in Section 2.2.

### 2.1.1 Axis: the theoretical primitive

Following Saussure (1959) and later development of his ideas by Firth (1957), two axes are involved in the description of relations in any language (or any other semiotic system for that matter) in SFL: the paradigmatic axis and the syntagmatic axis. These represent relations of ‘choice’ and ‘chain’ respectively (Halliday 1963; 1966b; 1966c; 1969; 2009; 2013; Martin 2013a; 2015a).<sup>11</sup>

The paradigmatic and syntagmatic axes constitute the principal complementarity through which resources in a language can be made explicit. In SFL, the paradigmatic axis is privileged over the syntagmatic axis. It is positioned as the underlying representation of linguistic descriptions, from which the syntagmatic relations are derived. In this sense, paradigmatic relations are considered the ‘deep’ grammar of a description (Halliday 1966b). The consequence of this privileging is that the syntagmatic relations are predictable from the paradigmatic relations; and the inter-relations between paradigmatic relations are the basis for the other theoretical dimensions of rank, stratification, and metafunction – as will be reviewed in Section 2.1.2 onward.

This section first introduces the SFL representation of paradigmatic relations as systems (Section 2.1.1.1). It then continues with the representation of syntagmatic relations as structures and syntagms (Section 2.1.1.2). This is followed by a discussion of reasoning about paradigmatic and syntagmatic relations in terms of agnation and enation (Section 2.1.1.3) and the identification of covert categories known as ‘cryptotypes’ (Section 2.1.1.4).

#### 2.1.1.1 Paradigmatic relations: system

Paradigmatic relations (or choice relations) are formalised in SFL as **systems**. They are represented by features in systems and the network of relations the systems themselves enter into – i.e. system network. A system typically comprises three elements: an entry condition, a system name, and the features that capture the paradigmatic relations. A system includes at least two features as systems capture *valeur*, which is only ever

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<sup>11</sup> Also see Hjelmslev (1973) on ‘succession’ and ‘system’, which is based on Hjelmslev’s lectures delivered in 1947 and 1950.

present in relational terms.<sup>12</sup> Entry conditions and features are identified by lower case; system names are identified by small capitals (though system names are included only for convenience; they are not obligatory). Features are enclosed in square brackets ([ ]) in running text. A schematic representation of a system is given in Figure 2.1.

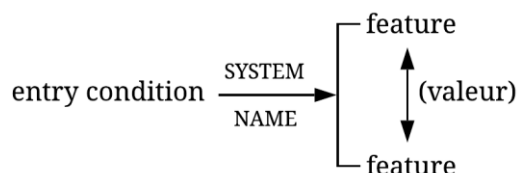


Figure 2.1 System: paradigmatic relations

A feature in one system can be the entry condition for another system – when the feature provides the systemic environment for the system for which it is the entry condition. When systems enter into relations of this kind, they are ordered along the **cline of delicacy** (Halliday 1961): the least delicate relations are represented to the left and the delicacy increases towards the right in system networks. Less delicate means more general; more delicate means more specific. The three systems in the system network in Figure 2.2 below, for example, are ordered in delicacy. System I is the least delicate, and system III the most delicate. System II has one of the features in system I – [c] – as its entry condition. System III has one of the features in system II – [e] – as its entry condition. Some commonly observed relations between systems are provided in Appendix A based on Halliday (2009), Matthiessen & Halliday (2009), and Martin (2013a). Martin (1977:20–32; 1987) provides a detailed account of the meaning of features in their various systemic environments.<sup>13</sup>

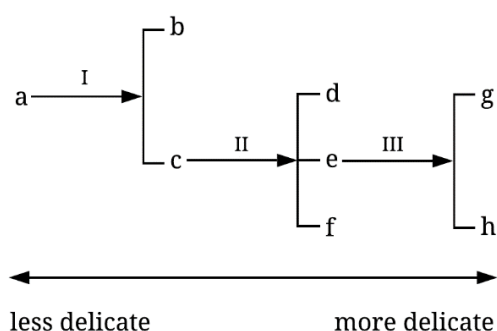


Figure 2.2 Cline of delicacy

Figure 2.3 below provides a descriptive instance of the theoretical category system from Halliday's (1969) description of the English MOOD system. The entry condition of the

<sup>12</sup> One of the features in a system may be 'empty', making the system optional (e.g. MODALITY in English). However, optional systems still need to be described in relational terms. The choice of an optional feature is only meaningful in relation to not choosing it.

<sup>13</sup> The cline of delicacy provides a unified account of grammar and lexis in SFL in terms of paradigmatic relations – hence the continuity of lexis and grammar in SFL (for details, see Halliday 1961; 1978; Hasan 1987; Matthiessen 1991; Tucker 1998; Wang 2017).

system [indicative/imperative] is the clause; and the entry condition of the system [declarative/interrogative] is the feature [indicative]. The system states that in English a clause is either indicative or imperative; an indicative clause is either declarative or interrogative.

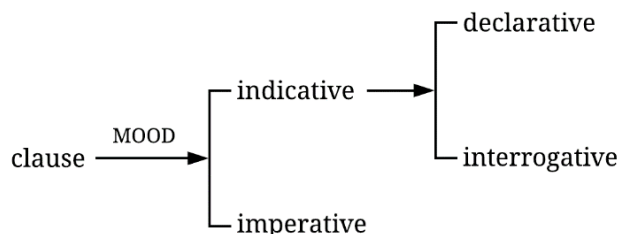


Figure 2.3 MOOD in English: primary delicacies

Features are labels for linguistic classes (generally referred to as categories in non-SFL grammars). The system network in 2.3 divides the English clause into three classes: [declarative], [interrogative], and [imperative]. Instances of the features (i.e. mood classes) are given below (adapted from Halliday & Matthiessen 2014:136).

[declarative]	<i>He's giving her the teapot.</i>
[interrogative]	<i>Is he giving her the teapot? / What is he giving her?</i>
[imperative]	<i>Give her the teapot!</i>

The system network in Figure 2.3 above also outlines the meaning of the MOOD options in English. In English, an [imperative] clause is a clause that is not an [indicative] (i.e. neither [declarative] nor [interrogative]); a [declarative] clause is a clause that is neither [interrogative] nor [imperative]. This leads us to the question of how descriptive categories like these are identified in any given language. To answer this question, we turn to the other side of the axes – syntagmatic relations.

#### 2.1.1.2 Syntagmatic relations: structure and syntagm

Unlike the systemic features, which are defined by reference to the paradigmatic contrasts in systems, elements in a **structure** are defined by reference to syntagmatic configurations – i.e. chain relations. Structural configurations realise systemic contrasts. Elements in a structure are called **(structural) functions**. Functions in a structure are ordered in various ways. A particular ordering of functions realises a particular feature or features in the system. The relationship between system and structure is made explicit through realisation statements in system networks. A schematic representation of the relationship between system and structure (given in the form of realisation statements) is provided in Figure 2.4.

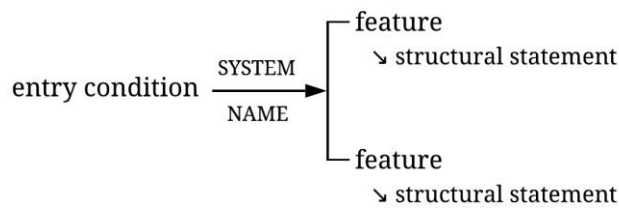


Figure 2.4 System and structure

In practice, function labels are differentiated from class labels and system names through initial capital letters. A descriptive instance of the theoretical category structure is given in Figure 2.5 – an elaboration of Figure 2.3 above (adapted from Halliday & Matthiessen 2014:162).<sup>14</sup>

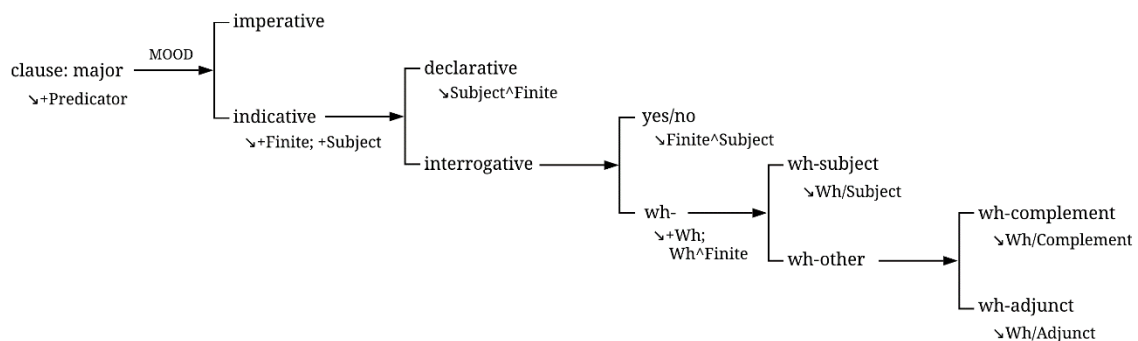


Figure 2.5 MOOD system and structure in English

The system network in Figure 2.5 states that a major clause in English requires a Predicator in its structure. For [indicative] clauses, the additional functions Finite and Subject are needed (comprising what Halliday (1985; 1994) calls the Mood elements). When [declarative] is selected, the Subject precedes the Finite (sequence shown by ^: Subject ^ Finite). When [interrogative] is selected, it opens up the choice between [yes/no] interrogative and [wh-] interrogative.<sup>15</sup> In [yes/no] interrogative clauses, the Finite precedes the Subject (Finite ^ Subject). In [wh-] interrogative clauses, a Wh function is required and is ordered before the Finite (Wh ^ Finite). For [wh-] interrogative clauses, a further choice between [wh-subject] and [wh-other] is open. In [wh-subject] clauses, the Wh is conflated with the Subject (with the conflation shown by /: Wh/Subject). A [wh-other] clause is either [wh-complement] or [wh-adjunct]. In the former, the Wh is conflated with a Complement (Wh/Complement). In the latter, the Wh is conflated with an Adjunct (Wh/Adjunct). Examples of these categories are provided in (2.1) (adopted and adjusted from Halliday 1994:69).

<sup>14</sup> Notations in the network:  $\triangleright$  'realise feature'; + 'insert function'; ^ 'sequence function'.

<sup>15</sup> [Yes/no] interrogative is also known as [polar] interrogative. Halliday's (1985) original term is used here.

(2.1)

[imperative]      Give      her the teapot!

Predicator
------------

[declarative]      He      is      giving      her the teapot.

Subject	Finite	Predicator
---------	--------	------------

[yes/no]      Is      he      giving      her the teapot?

Finite	Subject	Predicator
--------	---------	------------

[wh-subject]      Who      is      giving      her the teapot?

Wh/Subject	Finite	Predicator
------------	--------	------------

[wh-complement]      What      is      he      giving      her?

Wh/Complement	Finite	Subject	Predicator
---------------	--------	---------	------------

[wh-adjunct]      Why      is      he      giving      her the teapot?

Wh/Adjunct	Finite	Subject	Predicator
------------	--------	---------	------------

The system network in Figure 2.5 and the accompanying examples show how systems in a particular language can be motivated from their structural patterns. If we consider the system network from the most delicate end (the right side) to the least delicate end (the left side), we notice that delicacy in the organisation of the systems is a generalisation of the structural patterns. (i) [Wh-complement] and [wh-adjunct] are generalised as features in one system with [wh-other] as its entry condition because unlike [wh-subject] the Subject is not conflated with the Wh and is ordered after the Finite. (ii) [Wh-subject] and [wh-other] are generalised as features in one system with [wh-] as its entry condition because unlike [yes/no] a Wh function is required and the Subject in [wh-] does not always follow the Finite. (iii) [Yes/no] and [wh-] are generalised as features in one system with [interrogative] as its entry condition because unlike [declarative] the Subject does not always come before the Finite. (iv) [Declarative] and [interrogative] are generalised as features in one system with [indicative] as its entry condition because unlike [imperative] the Finite and the Subject are obligatory. Such generalisations illustrate that system networks are ‘inheritance networks’ (Halliday & Matthiessen 1999); more delicate features ‘inherit’ the structural properties of less delicate features, e.g. [declarative] inherits the structural properties +Finite and +Subject from [indicative].<sup>16</sup>

Structural configurations (e.g. Subject ^ Finite) are in turn realised by a linear succession of classes (e.g. nominal group ^ verbal group), known as a **syntagm**. Crucially, there is no one-to-one relationship between functions in the structure and classes in the syntagm. In the English examples in (2.1) above, for example, a nominal group can potentially function as either the Subject or the Complement; and the two functions Finite and Predicator are realised in one class – the verbal group. The relationship between system, structure, and syntagm is shown in Figure 2.6.

<sup>16</sup> The discussion of structure has so far assumed that structure is a uniform concept. This is not true in systemic functional theory. The theory recognises different types of structure arising from different systems. This point will be elaborated in Section 2.1.4 in relation to metafunctional diversification.

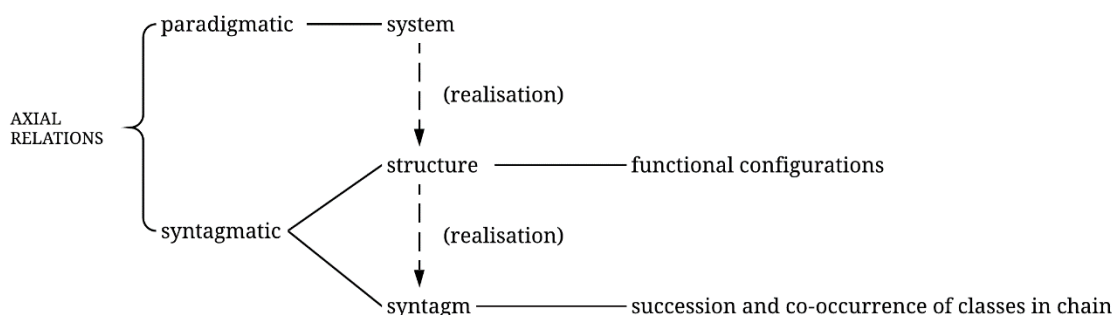


Figure 2.6 System, structure, and syntagm (adapted from Quiroz 2013:25)

In some instances, functions may be realised by a one-member class (Halliday 1963). In Mandarin Chinese, for example, the Negotiator in the sub-types of ‘addressee-oriented’ interrogative clause is realised by one-member classes (Wang forthcoming) – as in (2.2).

(2.2) (from Wang forthcoming)<sup>17</sup>

a. [querying]	<i>tong qisushu zaiming de xinxi</i>	<i>yizhi</i>	<i>ma</i>
	with indictment record LK information	consistent	Q
		Predicator	Negotiator
		word group	particle

‘(Is it) consistent with the information recorded in the indictment?’

b. [confirming]	<i>dou</i>	<i>mei you</i>	<i>yijian</i>	<i>ba</i>
	all	NEG have	objection	MOD
		Predicator		Negotiator
		word group		particle

‘You do not have any objection, do you?’

Wang’s (forthcoming) network for [interrogative: addressee-oriented] clauses is reproduced in Figure 2.7. He argues that when [querying] is selected, the Negotiator is realised by *ma*. When [confirming] is selected, on the other hand, the Negotiator is realised by *ba*. The realisation of a function by a one-member class is represented by a double colon (::) in the realisation statement (as opposed to a single colon (:), which is used to indicate that a function is realised by a multiple-member class, e.g. the realisation of the Predicators through verbal groups in (2.1) above).<sup>18</sup>

<sup>17</sup> Wang’s (forthcoming) original glossing is used: LK = linker; MOD = modal particle; NEG = negation; Q = question particle.

<sup>18</sup> The # symbol in the realisation statement in Figure 2.7 means unit boundary.

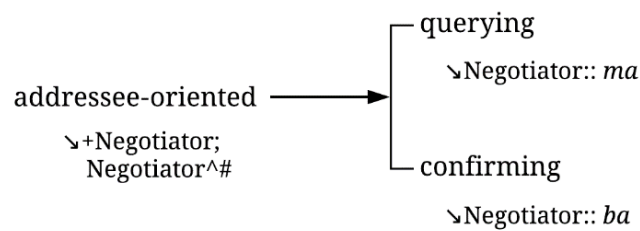


Figure 2.7 Addressee-oriented interrogative clause in Mandarin Chinese (Wang forthcoming)

The relationship between system, structure, and syntagm (including class) is the bedrock of linguistic description in SFL. In the next section, we turn to the techniques that are used to identify axial relations.

### 2.1.1.3 Enation and agnation

One technique for describing syntagmatic and paradigmatic relations in terms of system and structure is articulated through Gleason's (1965) concepts of enation and agnation (discussed in detail in Davidse 1998a).<sup>19</sup> Gleason's (1965) main focus is inter-sentence relations: their similarities and differences.<sup>20</sup> But enation and agnation are not at all restricted to sentences. As Gleason emphasises, "any construction can be agnate to another of the same kind, provided only that it is large enough to have some internal structure" (Gleason 1965:211). For the use of the term agnation at levels more abstract than grammar and units larger than clause, see Martin (1992a).

For the convenience of presentation, I will start with enation and then move on to agnation (i.e. how sentences are similar and how they are different respectively). Keep in mind that a set of sentences can be considered similar if and only if they are different from another set. By the same token, sets of sentences can be considered different from each other if and only if the constituent sentences in each set are similar. In other words, enation cannot be stated without agnation and vice versa.

#### 2.1.1.3.1 Enation

In simple terms, sentences are **enate** if they have the same structure. The two sentences in (2.3) below (from Gleason 1965:197) are enate to one another. Enation is represented by the triple bar (≡).

<sup>19</sup> Enation and agnation are derived from Latin *enatus* and *agnatus*, which mean 'related on the mother's side' and 'related to the father's side' respectively (Gleason 1965:199).

<sup>20</sup> As previously mentioned the term sentence is used in SFL to refer to the orthographic unit between two full stops. It corresponds in grammar to the unit called clause complex (Halliday 1994:215–216). In this section, the use of the term sentence as a grammatical category is preserved from Gleason (1965) in the discussion of enation and agnation.



(2.3)

*The dog bit the man.* = *The cat ate the canary.*

Gleason's analysis of the two sentences is shown in Figure 2.8. The two sentences are the same in structure. The relations between *the* and *dog*, *the* and *man*, and *bit* and *the man* in the first sentence are the same as the relations between *the* and *cat*, *the* and *canary*, and *ate* and *the canary*.

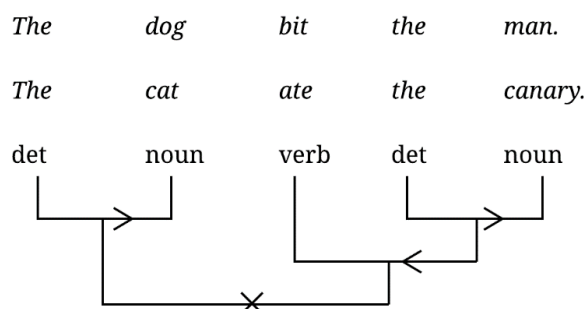


Figure 2.8 Enation (Gleason 1965:197)

Enation can be explored through substitution. The words in (2.3) can be substituted with words from the same class. The resulting sentences would be enate to the sentences in (2.3) (e.g. *a bus hit the lady*, *the man shut the door*, *the student wrote his thesis* and so on). Let's now consider relationships between the sentences in (2.4) (from Gleason 1965:206).

(2.4)

- a. *That man lives in the white house.*
- b. *That man lives in the greyish house.*
- c. *That man lives in the brick red house.*<sup>21</sup>

The lexical items at the corresponding places in these three sentences are not exactly the same. The structure of *greyish* in (2.4b) can be further identified – *grey+ish* – in contrast to *white* in (2.4a); *brick red* in (2.4c) is composed of two words in contrast to *white* and *greyish* in (2.4a) and (2.4b), each comprising only one word. Gleason (1965:205–208) refers to this pattern as partial enation. The sentences in (2.4a) and (2.4b) are said to be enate to the word level; and all the three sentences are enate to the phrase level (at group/phrase rank in SFL terms). Partial enation is represented by the 'approximately equal' sign ( $\cong$ ) as in (2.5).

(2.5)

*That man lives in the white house.*  $\cong$   
*That man lives in the greyish house.*  $\cong$   
*That man lives in the brick red house.*

Partial enation is important as far as identifying syntagmatic relations in SFL is concerned. The enation in (2.5), for example, helps identify a syntagm of groups and

<sup>21</sup> *Brick red* is an Epithet in this example – *brick* referring to a kind of *red*.

phrases – i.e. nominal group, verbal group, and prepositional phrase entering into structural relations at clause rank as in (2.6).<sup>22</sup> Similarly, for word classes, we have determiner and noun (e.g. *that* and *man*) entering into structural relations at group rank (e.g. a nominal group such as *that man*). The notion of rank will be introduced in Section 2.1.2 below.

(2.6)

<i>That man</i>	<i>lives</i>	<i>in the white house.</i>	≅
<i>That man</i>	<i>lives</i>	<i>in the greyish house.</i>	≅
<i>That man</i>	<i>lives</i>	<i>in the brick red house.</i>	
nominal group	verbal group	prepositional phrase	

We now turn to the structural relations these classes of group/phrase enter into. To explore this, we need to consider how these sentences are collectively different from another set.

### 2.1.1.3.2 Agnation

For Gleason, sentences are **agnate** to one another if the ‘major vocabulary items’ in the sentences are the same, but the structure is different – in terms of arrangement, function words, structural markers and so on. Gleason (1965:198) characterises agnation in the parlance of the times as ‘reversible transformation’.<sup>23</sup> In (2.7) the sentence on the left can be ‘transformed’ into the sentence on the right.

(2.7)

*The dog bit the man.* ⇒ *Did the dog bite the man?*

Similarly, the sentence on the right in (2.7) can be ‘transformed’ into the sentence on the left – as in (2.8).

(2.8)

*Did the dog bite the man?* ⇒ *The dog bit the man.*

<sup>22</sup> According to Halliday & Matthiessen (2014:362–363), “whereas a group is an expansion of a word, a phrase is a contraction of a clause”. In groups such as nominal groups, verbal groups, and adverbial groups, the words from the same primary class (e.g. nominal, verbal, adverbial) are grouped together according to some logical relations with one of the words as head, hence can be analysed either experientially or logically. In contrast, a phrase comprises words from different primary classes. For example, in English, a prepositional phrase comprises a preposition (from the primary class of verbal) and a nominal group. In Bloomfield’s terms (1933:194–195), a group is an ‘endocentric construction’ and a phrase is an ‘exocentric construction’.

<sup>23</sup> Gleason’s (1965) use of ‘transformation’ here constitutes a method to make explicit the agnation patterns between sentences that are part of the linguistic system. This is not to be confused with ‘transformation’ in the sense used in the formal linguistics of the time. As Gleason clarifies: “In recent years it has become popular among some linguists to state one kind of relation between sentences in terms of transformations, processes by which one sentence can be altered into another in a regular and grammatically significant way. It is important, however, to maintain a distinction between the relations that exist as part of the language system and the manipulations which the language user employs as he, perhaps only figuratively, moves about through that language system. A trip is not part of the highway system, though only the highway system makes it possible” (1965:195–196).

The lexical items in the two sentences in (2.7) and (2.8) are the same. They are different in their arrangement (i.e. the sequence of *the dog* and the auxiliary verb *did* that marks the past tense is reversed). The structural difference rests on this one distinction. Agnation is represented by two-sided double arrow ( $\Leftrightarrow$ ) as in (2.9).

(2.9)

*The dog bit the man.*  $\Leftrightarrow$  *Did the dog bite the man?*

The two sentences each have enates – as in (2.10). This means that this distinction between the two structures is regular and systematic.

(2.10)

*The dog bit the man.*  $\Leftrightarrow$  *Did the dog bite the man?*

|||

|||

*The cat ate the canary.*  $\Leftrightarrow$  *Did the cat eat the canary?*

This agnation relation can be represented in terms of ‘proportionality’ (Halliday 1966b:65) – as in (2.11). The single colon (:) reads ‘is to’ and the double colon (::) reads ‘as’ – for example *The dog bit the man* is to *Did the dog bite the man* as *The cat ate the canary* is to *Did the cat eat the canary*.

(2.11)

*The dog bit the man.* : *Did the dog bite the man?* ::

*The cat ate the canary.* : *Did the cat eat the canary?*

The agnation (i.e. systematic proportionality) in (2.10) shows both the paradigmatic relations between the sentences and the syntagmatic relations between the elements in each sentence which are related to the paradigmatic contrast. This paradigmatic contrast in English is that between [declarative] clauses and [yes/no] interrogative clauses. This contrast also highlights that in this paradigmatic relation the elements at stake are the TENSE marker in the verbal group and the adjacent nominal group (pre-verbal in [declarative] and post-verbal in [yes/no]), e.g. ***The dog bit the man*** : ***Did the dog bite the man***. The relation between these two elements needs to be accounted for structurally along the syntagmatic axis. For this Halliday proposes the Subject and the Finite functions for this dimension of the English clause. They enable an English clause to function as a negotiable utterance in interaction (Halliday 1985; 1994; Halliday & Matthiessen 2004; 2014). In (2.12), the paradigmatic contrast (i.e. system) is shown by the different shades of grey. The syntagmatic relations (i.e. structure and syntagm) are boxed in the analysis. The structure is derived (i.e. predictable) from the system (Halliday 1966b). Note that in *The dog bit the man* the Finite is conflated with another function realised by the verbal group – Predicator (indicated by a slash (/)). The two functions are separated in [yes/no] interrogative clauses, e.g. *Did* and *bite* in *Did the dog bite the man*.

(2.12)

<u>system</u>	declarative		<i>The dog</i> <i>The cat</i>	<i>bit</i> <i>ate</i>	<i>the man</i> <i>the canary</i>
	<u>structure</u> <u>syntagm</u>		Subject	Finite/	
			nom. gp	verb. gp	
			<u>class</u>	<u>class</u>	
	interrogative: yes/no	<i>Did</i> <i>Did</i>	<i>the dog</i> <i>the cat</i>	<i>bite</i> <i>eat</i>	<i>the man</i> <i>the canary</i>
	<u>structure</u> <u>syntagm</u>	Finite verbal	Subject nominal group		
		<u>cla...</u>	<u>class</u>	<u>...ss</u>	

Identification of the categories of the English clause exemplified above – [declarative] and [yes/no] interrogative – is based on the pattern in the sequencing of the elements in the clause. This pattern is present in every instance when these two categories are involved. Categories of this sort are said to be ‘overt’ (Whorf 1945). Linguistic categories, however, are not necessarily overt. They may also be ‘covert’ in Whorf’s terms.

#### 2.1.1.4 Phenotype and cryptotype

Whorf (1945) makes a distinction between overt and covert categories with respect to the systematic formal marking of categories. An overt category is marked for every occurrence of the members of the category, with only infrequent exceptions, e.g. marking of number in English nouns through inflection (*computers*) or the use of determiners (*a fish appeared*). A covert category, in contrast, is marked only in certain sentences where members of the category are used, e.g. intransitive verbs in English cannot be passive (*\*I was went*). Whorf (1945) refers to overt categories as **phenotypes** and covert ones as **cryptotypes**. The pattern through which cryptotypes reveal themselves is called the **reactance** of the category. For example, a passive construction can be used to test if a verb in English is transitive or intransitive, e.g. the verb *go* is intransitive because it cannot be used in a passive construction *\*the dog is went*. As Davidse (1998a) points out, Whorf’s use of reactances to uncover grammatical categories offers a way of making explicit aspects of Gleason’s (1965) work on agnation. They can both be used to “identify distinct categories that might otherwise remain undetected” (Davidse 1998a:285).

An example of cryptotypes in systemic functional descriptions is the distinction between modalisation and modulation in the system of MODALITY in English (Halliday 1985a; 1994; Halliday & Matthiessen 2004; 2014; the terms roughly correspond to the philosophical notions of ‘epistemic modality’ and ‘deontic modality’). From the perspective of semantics, MODALITY in English realises intermediate degrees between the semantics of [positive] and [negative] in the system of POLARITY. One common realisation of MODALITY in English is through the modal finite operators (‘modal verbs’) – e.g. the modal finite operator *must* as in *that must be true* and *you must be patient*. A native speaker of English can tell the difference between the meaning of *must* in these two examples – the former negotiates ‘information’ (an alternative being *that is certainly true*) and the latter negotiates ‘goods-&-services’ (an alternative being *you’re required to be patient*). As Halliday (1994) shows, this perceived difference (without any formal marking showing the difference) is part of a

grammatical pattern in English.

The two clauses in question here have different agnates – as in (2.13). *Must* used in the first clause alternates with *certainly* (a Modal Adjunct realised by an adverbial group) and *that* used in the second clause alternates with the passive verbal group *are required to* (a Finite and Predicator structure realised by a verbal group complex). We can also observe that *must* as used in the first clause may co-occur with the adverbial group (e.g. *that certainly must be true*); but *must* as used in the second clause cannot co-occur with the passive verbal Predicator (*\*you must be required to be patient*).

(2.13)

*that must be true : that is certainly true : that certainly must be true*  
*you must be patient : you are required to be patient : \*you must be required to be patient*

This difference between the two uses of the modal finite operators is systematic. The first clause and the second clause have their respective enates – as shown in the proportionalities in (2.14) and (2.15).

(2.14)

*that must be true : that is certainly true : that certainly must be true ::*  
*that will be true : that is probably true : that probably will be true ::*  
*that may be true : that is possibly true : that possibly may be true*

(2.15)

*you must be patient : you are required to be patient ::*  
*you will be patient : you are supposed to be patient ::*  
*you may be patient : you are allowed to be patient*

It is clear from the examples above that the category that captures the agnation/enation pattern for *must*, *will*, and *may* as used in (2.14) is different from the category that captures the agnation/enation pattern for *must*, *will*, and *may* as used in (2.15) – although there are no markers that overtly show their difference. According to Halliday (1994), the clause *that is true* is said to be modalised in (2.14); and the clause *you be patient* is said to be modulated in (2.15). Modalisation and modulation are thus cryptotypes. Substitution and co-occurrence with the modal adverbial group are the reactances for modalisation; and substitution with passive verbal group is the reactance for modulation. The English resources for modalisation and modulation are reviewed in Section 2.2.1.2.1 (see Table 2.4 in particular).

It was mentioned in passing that the adverbial group *certainly* functions as the Modal Adjunct in *that certainly must be true* and the verbal group *are required to* functions as the Finite and the Predicator in *you are required to be patient*. In other words, the clause functions Modal Adjunct, Finite, and Predicator are realised by classes of unit that are part of clause – adverbial group and verbal group and so on. To account for such relationships, we need to bring the dimension of rank into the picture.

## 2.1.2 Rank: more than constituency

The relation of ‘constituency’ is conceptualised in SFL as **rank** (Halliday 1961; 1963; 1966a). However, the relationship between ranks is not simply a question of composition. Adjacent ranks are related in terms of a cycle of system and structure relations. Figure 2.9 below represents a simplified relationship between system and structure across three ranks in English. The feature [indicative] at clause rank is realised by the insertion of the clause rank functions Subject and Finite. The function Subject at clause rank is realised by the feature [nominal] at group rank, which is realised by the insertion of a group rank function Thing. The function Thing at group rank is in turn realised by a word rank feature [noun].<sup>24</sup> The relationship between features across ranks is one of **preselection** (one type of realisation) (Halliday 1966b; Matthiessen 1995:75–76). When a feature at a given rank is selected, the feature from the rank next below that is preselected must be selected. For example, the group rank feature [nominal] preselects the word rank feature [noun] in Figure 2.9 – i.e. when [nominal] at group rank is selected, [noun] at word rank must be selected.

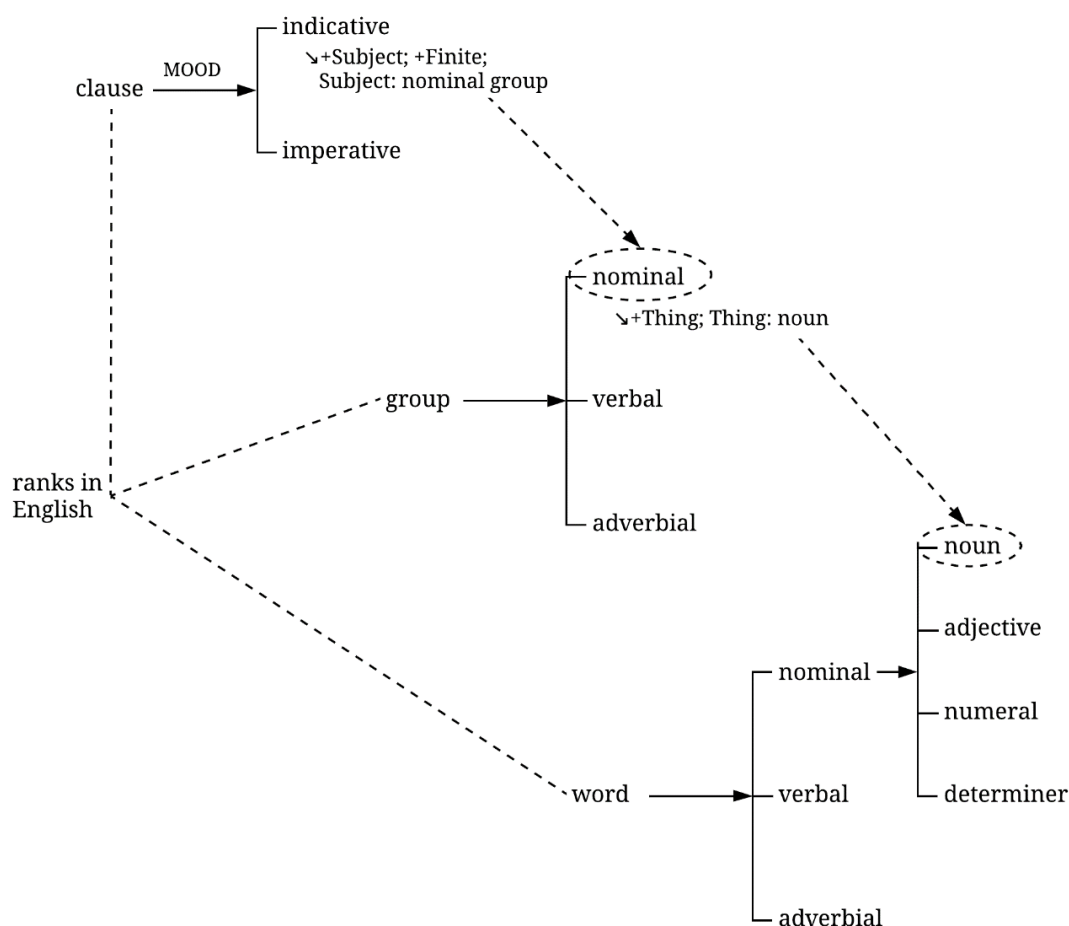


Figure 2.9 Systems along the rank scale in English (adapted from Quiroz 2018:139)

<sup>24</sup> Indicative clause, nominal group, and noun are classes. Technically speaking, classes are bundles of features. The class *noun*, for example, is a bundle of two features from the word rank in English: [nominal: noun].

The system–structure cycle in Figure 2.9 shows that function structure provides the syntagmatic environment for the options in the system at the rank next below. Classes grouped under certain features share the same potentiality to function in the structure of the unit at the rank next above. For example, the Finite function in an English [declarative] clause provides the syntagmatic environment for the finite verbal operator in the verbal group. The verbal group is marked for DEICTICITY (either [modal] or [temporal], see Halliday & Matthiessen 2014: 410), realised by either the modal finite operators such as *may*, *can*, *must* and so on, or the temporal finite operators such as [past], [present], and [future]. The system of DEICTICITY is not available when the verbal group realises the Predicator in an [imperative] clause (*\*May give her the teapot!* *\*Gave her the teapot!*). As far as class is concerned, the Finite and the Predicator in English can only be realised by the verbal group. A nominal group cannot do this work. Neither does a nominal group have the potential to be marked for [modal] or [temporal] DEICTICITY.

Rank-based models of linguistic description have a number of advantages (Halliday 1961; 1966a). (i) Rank makes explicit the systemic and structural relations a particular item enters into at a particular rank. (ii) Rank provides an interpretation of ‘downward’ rankshift (i.e. downranking) with clear distinction between function and class. (iii) Rank makes it possible to account for functional characteristics of a particular item across ranks, hence ensuring ‘total accountability’. The latter two points need further explanation.

**Rankshift** (also known as ‘embedding’) involves a unit of a particular rank realising a function at the rank next below or at its own rank (Halliday 1961). For example, the clause *wearing those shoes* in *[[Wearing those shoes]] is wrecking my feet* is a rankshifted or embedded clause (indicated by a double square bracket) (Martin, Matthiessen & Painter 2010:17–18). Its internal organisation identifies it as a clause – Predicator (*wearing*) and Complement (*those shoes*). Externally, however, it functions as the Subject of another clause – Subject (*wearing those shoes*), Finite (*is*), Predicator (*wrecking*), Complement (*my feet*). This is shown in the tree diagram in Figure 2.10.

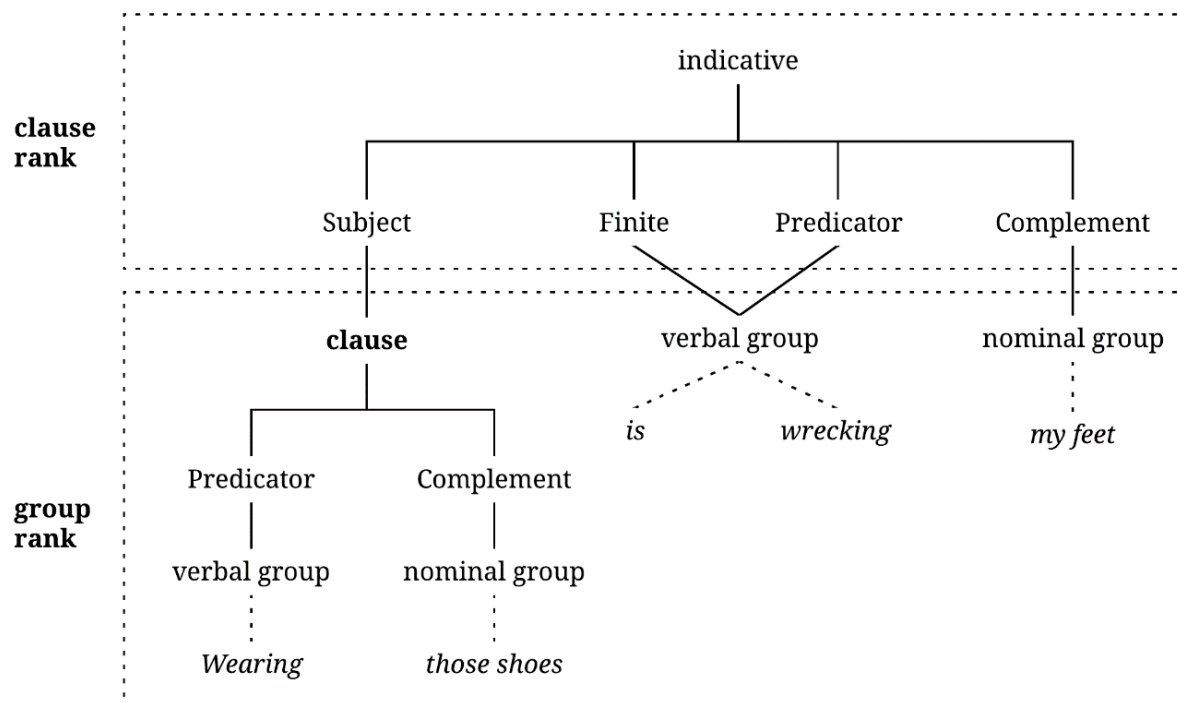


Figure 2.10 Rankshift

This shift in rank means that the embedded clause loses some of its status as a clause – e.g. it cannot select independently for MOOD. A rank-based model of description avoids describing such phenomenon as ‘the clause is used as a noun’. Instead, the clause realises a Subject, a function which is typically realised by a nominal group in English.

Rank also ensures **total accountability** (Halliday 1966a). A given item can be described with respect to the relations it enters into at different ranks. For example, the item *Run* in the imperative clause *Run!* can be accounted for at the ranks of clause, group, and word. Paradigmatically, at clause rank, the [imperative] *Run!* is in contrast with the [interrogative] *Run?* (rising intonation, meaning ‘*Shall we run?*’). At group rank, the [non-finite] verbal group *run* is in contrast with the [finite] verbal group, e.g. *runs*, *is running*, *must run* etc.<sup>25</sup> At word rank, the [v] *run* is in contrast with [v-s] (*runs*), [v-ed] (*ran*), [v-ing] (*running*) etc. Syntagmatically, the clause *Run!* is realised by a Predicator, which can potentially be preceded by a Subject (*You run!*); and the verbal group *run* is realised by an Event, which can potentially be preceded by an Auxiliary (*don’t run*). A schematic representation of the accounts of the meaning of *Run!* at different ranks is provided in Figure 2.11. The representation involves ‘singular branching’ (Halliday 1966a).

<sup>25</sup> For the distinction between [finite] and [non-finite] verbal group in English, see Halliday & Matthiessen (2014:410–411). The option [finite] opens up the systems of DEICTICITY ([modal/temporal]) and SECONDARY TENSE.



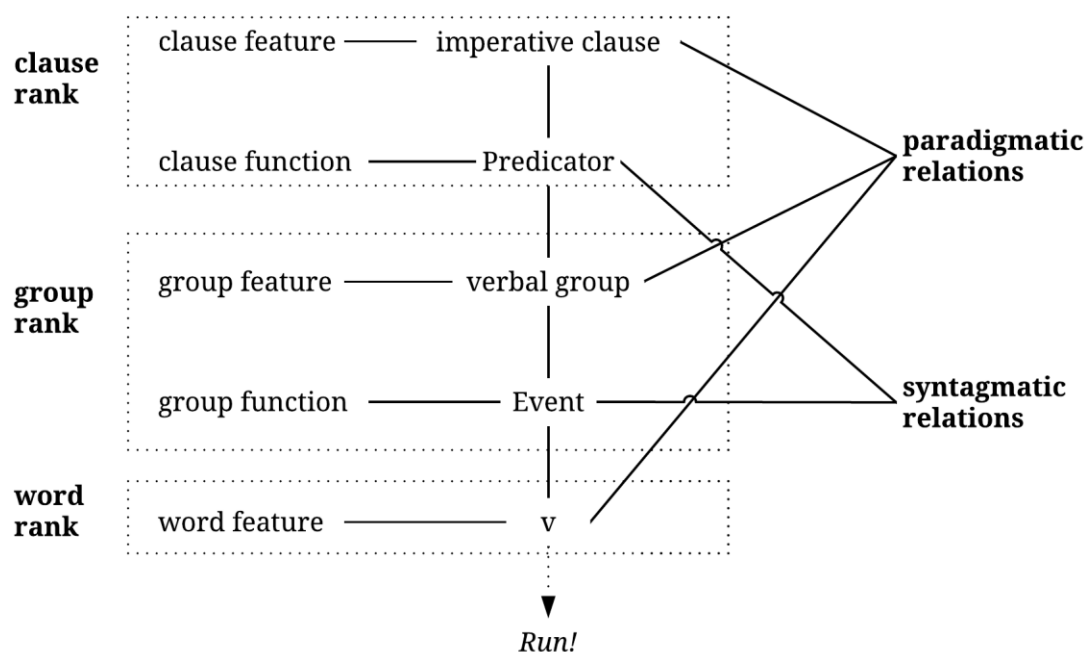


Figure 2.11 Total accountability

One of the criticisms the principle of total accountability has drawn is related to the fact that it does not allow for ‘upward rankshift’ – i.e. a word cannot function directly in a clause structure (e.g. Matthews 1966; Huddleston 1988). For example, Matthews (1966) claims that a rank grammar would have to analyse markers such as *and* and *or* at clause rank, group rank, word rank, and morpheme rank. As Berry (2017a) summarises, critiques like this focus on syntagmatic relations and ignore the paradigmatic relations underpinning rank scale. There is no point going down the rank scale if there is no longer paradigmatic contrast. As illustrated above in Section 2.1.1.2, the privileging of paradigmatic relations allows for the realisation of a structural function via a one-member class. In such cases, the feature at the rank in question does not preselect another feature from a rank next below.<sup>26</sup> The one-member class is accounted for at the rank at which it operates.

The structural realisations at each rank exemplified so far are essentially ‘configurational’ (Matthiessen & Halliday 2009:68). The features at each rank are exemplified as being realised by **configuration** of functions – elements constituting a unit fulfil distinct functions with respect to the whole of the unit they are constituents of. Alternatively, features at each rank may be realised by **iteration** (Matthiessen & Halliday 2009:69). Iterative structures do not normally involve units from the rank next below. Instead, elements in an iterative structure are units from the same rank entering into particular

<sup>26</sup> Butler (1985a:29–39) provides a summary of the criticisms of rank, class, and structure as they were systematised in Halliday’s (1961) Scale and Category model. Matthiessen & Martin (1991) provides replies to Huddleston (1988); subsequent debates ensue in Huddleston (1991), Martin (1992b), Martin & Matthiessen (1992), and Huddleston (1992).

kinds of logical relations.<sup>27</sup> Iteration, unlike configuration, is not interpreted through constituency, but rather through interdependency. The interdependency of such elements does not motivate a new rank. Rather it involves unit complexing – e.g. clause complex, group complex, word complex and so on. The status between units in a complex is either equal or unequal – i.e. either ‘paratactic’ or ‘hypotactic’ (Halliday 1985:Ch.7). Complexing in English is exemplified in Table 2.1 (examples based on Martin, Matthiessen & Painter 2010:231–232). The rank scale of English is outlined in Halliday (1985; 1994). Note that the traditional notion of sentence (a unit of writing) corresponds to a clause complex in systemic functional grammars. Sentences are treated as orthographic units in SFL.

Table 2.1 Complexing across ranks

Ranks	Type of unit in complex	Example (complexes highlighted in bold; each unit underlined separately)
clause	clause	<b><u>As they walked along the dark fen meadow, he watched the moon.</u></b>
group/phrase	nominal group	<b><u>the old man and his dog</u></b>
	adverbial group/ prepositional phrase	He threw it <b><u>enthusiastically but without skill.</u></b>
	prepositional phrase	He drove <b><u>from Sydney to Canberra.</u></b>
	verbal group	They <b><u>began to sing.</u></b>
word	adjective	the <b><u>black and white</u></b> kitten
morpheme	affix	<b><u>pro- and anti-</u></b> abortion

The system-structure cycle underlying the rank scale means that the system at the highest rank does not have a syntagmatic environment of its own and the system at the lowest rank does not have a structural realisation (Halliday 1963). In the case of grammatical relations, this means that characterisation of clause complexes in terms of their syntagmatic relation with other clause complexes has to be dealt with at a more abstract level whose unit of analysis is larger than clause – i.e. discourse semantics.<sup>28</sup> Similarly, the characterisation of the realisation of systems at morpheme rank has to be handed over to the more concrete level so that they could be related to their expression in sounds – i.e. phonology. In other words, a move is necessary from a ‘tactic’ or ‘combinatory’ type of levels (ranks) to levels of ‘representation’ (strata) (Lamb 1964). Such conceptualisation of language as levels of abstraction with a division in descriptive labour is the focus of the next section.

<sup>27</sup> Huddleston (1988) challenges this point with examples such as *He left before the debate or (at least) before the vote was taken*, in which he argues that a group (*before the debate*) is paratactically related to (‘coordinates with’) a clause (*before the vote was taken*). Matthiessen & Martin (1991) rebut Huddleston’s claim by analysing the clause *before the vote was taken* as either downranked and thus extending the group complex or elliptical and extending the clause complex (*He left before the debate or (at least) [he left] before the vote was taken*).

<sup>28</sup> As will be shown in Section 2.1.3, since discourse semantics is patterns of lexicogrammatical patterns, discourse semantics is also used to account for meanings within clause complexes (and within clauses). From the perspective of discourse semantics, these relations are considered at the more abstract level in relation to the structure of text.

### 2.1.3 Stratification: a descriptive necessity

Systemic Functional Linguistics considers language a **tri-stratal social semiotic**. Stratification is the way SFL theorises about language in relation to the levels of abstraction. Stratification is, at the same time, motivated by descriptive needs. In this section, the theoretical underpinnings of stratification will be introduced. This will be followed by discussion of the descriptive and explanatory power afforded by a stratified model of language.

SFL conceptualises language as comprising three strata: discourse semantics, lexicogrammar, and phonology/graphology.<sup>29</sup> They are, in non-technical terms, the strata of meaning, wording, and sound/writing respectively (Halliday 1992b). The three strata represent different degrees of abstraction and are related in terms of realisation. Discourse semantics is more abstract than lexicogrammar; lexicogrammar is more abstract than phonology/graphology. The relations in discourse semantics are realised by the relations in lexicogrammar; the relations in lexicogrammar are realised by the relations in phonology/graphology (relations = paradigmatic and syntagmatic relations). In terms of Hjelmslev's (1961) notion of language as a stratified sign system, discourse semantics and lexicogrammar constitute the **content form** of language, and phonology/graphology the **expression form**. The two content strata stand in a 'natural' relationship (e.g. in English [command] in discourse semantics stands in a natural relationship with [imperative] in lexicogrammar) (Halliday 1981a; 1982a). Content form and expression form, on the other hand, stand in a partially arbitrary relationship – the relationship is arbitrary as far as word rank 'representational' meaning is concerned (i.e. experiential meaning). As Martin observes,

“Interpersonally and textually of course the relationship is far from arbitrary: the systems of TONALITY, TONICITY and TONE, alongside phonaesthesia, are all meaning making resources which stand in a natural relationship with interpersonal and textual systems in lexicogrammar” (Martin 1992a:29).

The distinction between ideational, interpersonal, and textual meaning is introduced in Section 2.1.4. Following SFL conventions (e.g. Martin & Matthiessen 1991), the relationship between discourse semantics, lexicogrammar, and phonology/graphology is represented by co-tangential circles in Figure 2.12. This representation encapsulates the idea that the increasing degree of abstraction from phonology/graphology to discourse semantics is accompanied by increase in the size of the basic unit of analysis – discourse semantics is both more abstract than lexicogrammar and is concerned with units larger

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<sup>29</sup> The stratum more abstract than lexicogrammar has been given different names in the SFL literature: semantics (Halliday 1994; Matthiessen & Halliday 2009), discourse semantics (Martin 1992a; 2013a; Halliday 1992b:24), and discourse (Cléirigh 1998; Martin 1985). They are essentially concerned with the same level of abstraction (i.e. above lexicogrammar and below context) and the same object of study (i.e. text). This thesis adopts the term 'discourse semantics', as the description in this thesis is informed mainly by the development of discourse semantics in Martin (1992a). However, the name 'semantics' is used when Halliday and Matthiessen's description of English is introduced as examples.

than clause. The representation also symbolises the concept of ‘meta-redundancy’ (Lemke 1984:63–89; 1995:141–149) – the idea that discourse semantics is a pattern of lexicogrammatical patterns, and lexicogrammar a pattern of phonological ones.<sup>30</sup> In this sense, the relationship between strata is one of ‘conditioned probability’ rather than one of causality. Discourse semantic relations are not caused by lexicogrammatical relations. They stand in a predictable relation with the predictable relation between lexicogrammatical relations and phonological relations – the strata are related in terms of patterns of patterns of patterns in a decreasing degree of abstraction (Martin 2006).

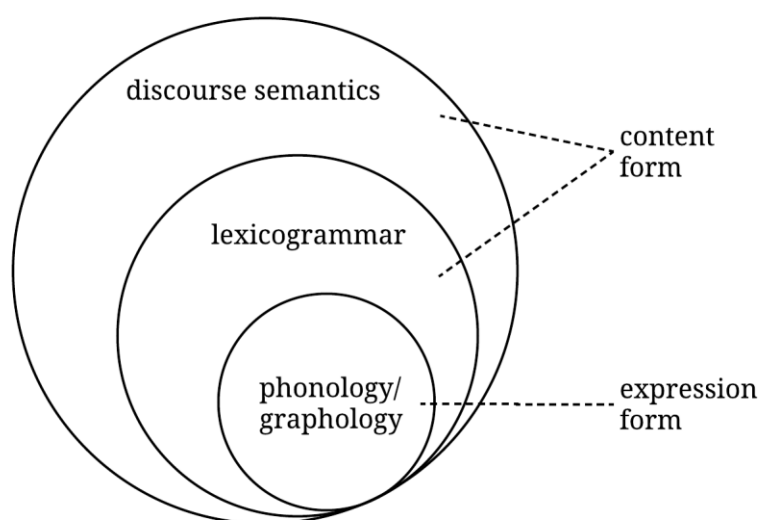


Figure 2.12 Stratification hierarchy for language in SFL (adapted from Martin 2011:11)

This meta-redundancy relation is extended beyond language to **context**, which in Hjelmslev’s (1961:119–120) terms is conceived by Martin (1992a) as a **connotative semiotic** – a semiotic that has another semiotic as its expression (i.e. language in this case). Following Halliday’s (1978) sociosemantic interpretation of context, Martin (1985; 1992a; 2014a) proposes a stratified model of context comprising the strata of genre and register. Language, in contrast, is a ‘denotative’ semiotic with its own expression plane (Hjelmslev 1961). Following Martin (2013a:5; 2014b:313), the representation in Figure 2.12 above is expanded as Figure 2.13 below to include the stratification of context. The cotangential circles represent a ‘supervenient’ relationship between strata across language and context – they are related in terms of realisation. This entails that one does not talk about language without reference to context (either explicitly or implicitly) and vice versa.

<sup>30</sup> More technically, discourse semantic relations are realised by the realisation of lexicogrammatical relations by phonological relations (Halliday 1992b).

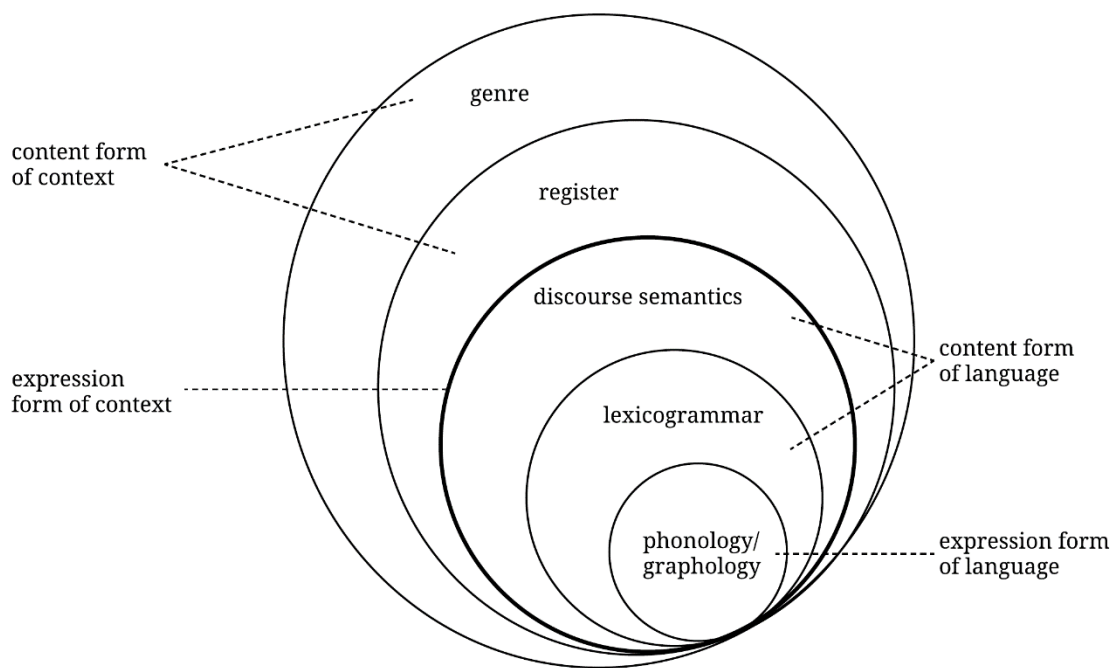


Figure 2.13 Context as a connotative semiotic

A stratified model of language realising register and genre serves a number of descriptive and explanatory goals; as Martin argues, it is a “descriptive necessity and not a theoretical delight” (1977:37). Two key descriptive and explanatory goals will be introduced below: (i) interlocking diversification between networks of relations (i.e. a non-bi-unique relation), and (ii) grammatical metaphor.

#### (i) Interlocking diversification

Lamb’s (Lamb 1964) notion of **interlocking diversification** is relevant to stratification in SFL (Halliday 1979; Martin 1987). In Lamb’s sense of the term, interlocking diversification involves ‘diversification’ at the lower stratum in relation to a feature from the higher stratum and the ‘neutralisation’ at the higher stratum of two or more features from the lower stratum. Simply put, there is a many-to-many relationship between features from systems at different strata. For example, the co-selection of [demanding] and [goods-&-services] in the English discourse semantic system SPEECH FUNCTION (typically known as a *command*) can be realised by an [imperative] (*Bring me a coke*), a [declarative] (*I’d love a coke*), or an [interrogative: yes/no] (*Can you bring me a coke*) from the lexicogrammatical system MOOD. The MOOD option [interrogative: yes/no] (*Do you have coke*) can alternatively realise the co-selection of [demanding] and [information] (i.e. *a question*) in SPEECH FUNCTION. The interlocking diversification between the English systems SPEECH FUNCTION at discourse semantics and MOOD at lexicogrammar is shown in Figure 2.14 below. The rank of move in discourse semantics and the identification of features in SPEECH FUNCTION are introduced in detail in Section 2.2 below. The examples are adapted from Martin (2018).

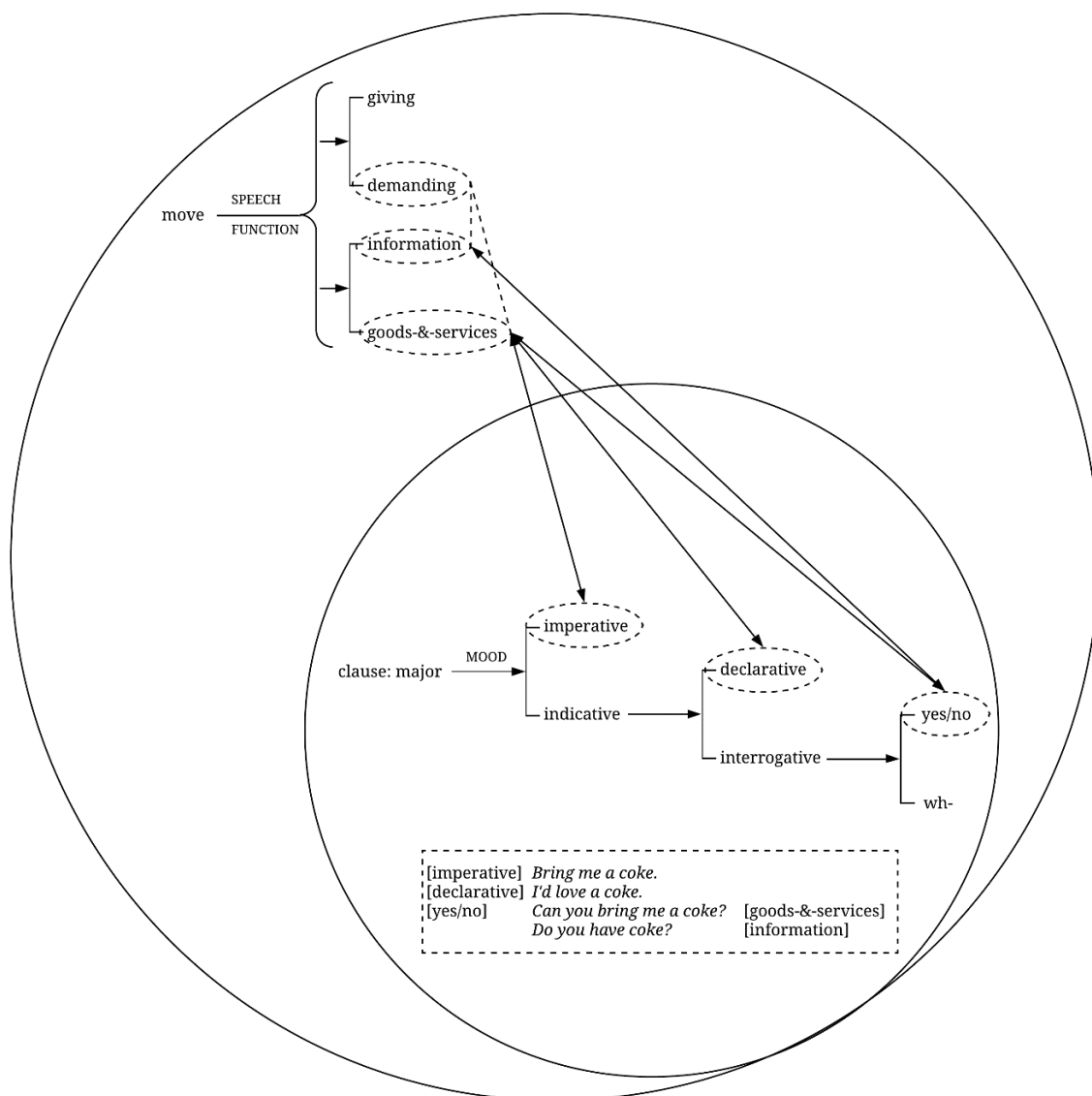


Figure 2.14 Interlocking diversification between SPEECH FUNCTION and MOOD

## (ii) Grammatical metaphor

The diversified lexicogrammatical realisations of a discourse semantic feature is related to the concept of **grammatical metaphor** in SFL (Halliday 1985; 1994; Martin 1992a; 1995; 1997; Taverniers 2002; 2006; 2008; 2018). Halliday observes that “for any given semantic configuration there is (at least) one congruent realisation in the lexicogrammar. There may then be others that are in some respect transferred, or metaphorical” (1985:321).

Interpreting grammatical metaphor in spoken and written modes, Halliday notes that metaphorical expressions are “at least inherently complex, and ... the least metaphorical wording will always be the one that is maximally simple” (1985:329). The ‘maximal simplicity’ of congruent realisation foregrounds the ‘natural’ relationship between discourse semantics and lexicogrammar. The ‘denaturalisation’ of this relationship is considered the origin of grammatical metaphor (Taverniers 2018). Grammatical metaphor thus involves ‘inter-stratal’ tension between discourse semantics and lexicogrammar (Martin 1992a; 1993; 1995), involving what Taverniers (2002; 2008; 2018) refers to as

‘doubling of semiosis’ – metaphor is a second-order semiotic added to the congruent relationship between discourse semantics and lexicogrammar.

The concept of grammatical metaphor will be explained in terms of the metaphors of ‘modality’.<sup>31</sup> According to Halliday (1994:354), ‘modalisation’ in English is realised congruently through modal elements of the clause – modal finite operators such as *must*, *will*, *may* and/or Modal Adjuncts such as *certainly*, *probably*, *possibly* (see Section 2.1.1.4 above). Their metaphorical variants are first person present tense projecting mental clauses such as *I think* or relational clauses such as *It’s likely*. They are exemplified in (2.16) (from Halliday 1994:355). The realisations of ‘modalisation’ are highlighted in bold.

(2.16)

a. congruent: *Mary’ll know.* / *Marry **probably** knows.*

b. metaphorical: ***I think** Mary knows.* / ***It’s likely** Mary knows.*

Two arguments are provided for identifying *I think* and *It’s likely* as the realisation of ‘modalisation’. (i) In tagged declarative clauses, the Subject and the Finite of the independent clause are not replayed – *I think Mary knows, doesn’t she? It’s likely Mary knows, doesn’t she?* (rather than *don’t I* and *isn’t it*); cf. *Mary’ll know, won’t she?* (ii) Negation can be realised in either the independent clause or the dependent clause (‘transferred negation’) – *I think Mary doesn’t know : I don’t think Mary knows :: It’s likely Mary doesn’t know : It’s not likely Mary knows* (Halliday 1994; Taverniers 2008).

Taverniers (2008) interprets the semantics of ‘modality’ and its structural realisation in the grammar in terms of ‘grounding’ and ‘scoping’. Semantically, the Mood elements of an English clause (Subject, Finite, Modal Adjunct) ‘ground’ the proposition in the speaker-now context to make it negotiable.<sup>32</sup> In a metaphorical realisation of ‘modality’, there is thus a ‘doubling of grounding’ – the grounding of proposition through the dependent clause (e.g. the Subject *Mary* and the Finite *’ll*) and the secondary grounding in the independent clause (e.g. the Subject *I* and the present tense realising the Finite in *think*). This ‘doubling of grounding’ is realised by ‘doubling of scoping’ in the grammar. The Mood elements of the dependent clause scope over the rest of that clause (e.g. the meaning in *Mary’ll* scoping over *know*) and the Mood elements of the independent clause scope over the whole of the dependent clause (e.g. the meaning of *I think* scoping over *Mary’ll know*).

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<sup>31</sup> Halliday (1994) does not make a clear distinction between the terms he uses for semantics and lexicogrammar in his discussion of modality metaphors. His wordings such as “*I don’t believe* is functioning as an expression of modality”, “There is in fact a wide range of variants for the expression of modality in the clause” (Halliday 1994:354) suggest that ‘modality’ is a semantic category. But his system networks (e.g. Halliday 1994:357) suggest that ‘modality’ is a grammatical category. (The same unclarity also applies to the sub-categories of ‘modalisation’ and ‘modulation’). For the purpose of illustrating Halliday’s line of reasoning, single quotation marks are used to indicate the semantics of the lexicogrammatical system MODALITY.

<sup>32</sup> Also see Halliday’s (1994:71–78) interpretation of the meaning of Subject and Finite in English. Taverniers’ (2002; 2008; 2018) idea of ‘grounding’ is influenced by Davidse’s (Davidse 1997; Davidse 1998b) re-interpretation of Langacker (Langacker 1991). Her idea of ‘scoping’ is influenced by McGregor’s (1997) and Halliday’s (1979) characterisation of the realisation of interpersonal meaning as prosodic (cf. Pike’s (1959) particle, wave and field perspective on language).

In terms of Halliday's semogenesis, congruent realisation precedes metaphorical realisation along various dimensions of 'time – ontogenesis, phylogenesis, and logogenesis (the timescales for the development of individual, the evolution of language system, and the unfolding of text respectively (Halliday 1992b; Halliday & Martin 1993)). Ontogenetically, Halliday (1993) observes that interpersonal metaphors (e.g. the metaphors of modality introduced above) are the first types of grammatical metaphor mastered by children. Phylogenetically, interpersonal grammatical metaphors are the 'breeding ground' for 'grammaticalisation' (Taverniers 2018).<sup>33</sup> The meaning of 'interpersonal' as used here is part of the metafunctional conception of language and context in SFL.

## 2.1.4 Metafunction: clusters of systems

### 2.1.4.1 Types of meaning

One result of privileging paradigmatic relations and representing them as system networks is that systems tend to cluster into bundles that may be more or less independent of or dependent on other bundles. The clustering of systems in language is explained in SFL in terms of **metafunction** – interpersonal, ideational (comprising experiential and logical sub-components), and textual (Halliday 1967a; 1967b; 1968; 1970a; 1985; 1994; Martin 1991; 1992a; 2013a). **Interpersonal** meaning enacts social relations. **Ideational** meaning construes experience (both external and internal). **Textual** meaning creates discourse by "[breathing] relevance into the other two" (Halliday 1994:F39). In Halliday's words, "language is as it is because of the functions it is required to serve" (1970a:324).

One example of systemic interdependency is the relationship between MOOD and MODALITY in English mentioned above. MOOD and MODALITY in English belong to the interpersonal component in lexicogrammar. The options [modalisation] and [modulation] in the MODALITY system of English as distinguished in Section 2.1.1.4 are available to [indicative] and not [imperative] in the MOOD system. In other words, the system of MODALITY in English has a feature from the system of MOOD as its entry condition – i.e. MODALITY is dependent on MOOD in English, e.g. *you are patient : you must be patient*, but *be patient : \*must be patient*.

The systems of MOOD and MODALITY in English are relatively independent of the system of TRANSITIVITY – a system in the ideational component in lexicogrammar. From the perspective of TRANSITIVITY, the clause *you are patient* analysed above is a [relational] clause. It construes the relationship between an entity (*you*) and a quality (*patient*). When the choice from TRANSITIVITY is [material] – the construal of external occurrences as in *John broke the window*, it does not affect the operation of MOOD and MODALITY, e.g. *John*

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<sup>33</sup> For an overview of the development of grammatical metaphor theory in SFL along with its relations to other frameworks, see Taverniers (2003; 2017). For a synthesis of research on grammatical metaphor, see Xuan & Chen (2019).



*broke the window : John must have broken the window.*<sup>34</sup>

The interpersonal systems of MOOD and MODALITY and the ideational system of TRANSITIVITY are then relatively independent of the textual system of THEME in English – the system that accounts for what comes at the initial position of an English clause. The general options in THEME in English are [marked] and [unmarked]. In a declarative clause, if what comes at the initial position is not the Subject, the choice of THEME is marked, e.g. *Yesterday, John broke the window* (cf. *John broke the window yesterday*).

The different metafunctional systems are realised by distinct structures. In English, options in MOOD are realised by structural configurations of Subject, Finite, Predicator and so on. The options in TRANSITIVITY are realised by structural configurations of Actor, Process, Goal and the like. The options in THEME are realised by configuration of Theme and Rheme (Halliday 1994; Halliday & Matthiessen 2004; 2014). The structural configurations are independently variable. For example, in (2.17a) the Theme of the clause is conflated with the Subject and the Actor, in (2.17b) with the Subject and the Goal, and in (2.17c) with the Adjunct and the Circumstance.

(2.17)

a.	<i>John</i>	<i>broke</i>	<i>the window</i>	<i>yesterday.</i>
interpersonal	Subject	Finite/Predicator	Complement	Adjunct
ideational	Actor	Process	Goal	Circumstance
textual	Theme	Rheme		

b.	<i>The window</i>	<i>was</i>	<i>broken</i>	<i>by John</i>	<i>yesterday.</i>
interpersonal	Subject	Finite	Predicator	Complement	Adjunct
ideational	Goal	Process	Actor		Circumstance
textual	Theme	Rheme			

c.	<i>Yesterday,</i>	<i>John</i>	<i>broke</i>	<i>the window.</i>
interpersonal	Adjunct	Subject	Finite/Predicator	Complement
ideational	Circumstance	Actor	Process	Goal
textual	Theme	Rheme		

The relative independence between the systems does not mean they are not related to one another. In English, for example, the markedness of Theme is closely related to MOOD. In [declarative], [interrogative: yes/no], [interrogative: wh] and [imperative], the unmarked Themes (i.e. the typical clause-initial elements) are the Subject, the Finite, the Wh, and the Predicator of the clause respectively. The Theme function from the textual metafunction is mapped onto the functions from the interpersonal metafunction in an ‘natural’ way (Halliday 1967b:211–215 provides an explanation of such mapping). The relative independence and interdependence between the systems of TRANSITIVITY, MOOD, MODALITY, and THEME in English are shown in Figure 2.15.

<sup>34</sup> For the reactances that distinguish [relational] and [material] in the English TRANSITIVITY system, see Martin, Matthiessen & Painter (2010:102–106, 120–121).

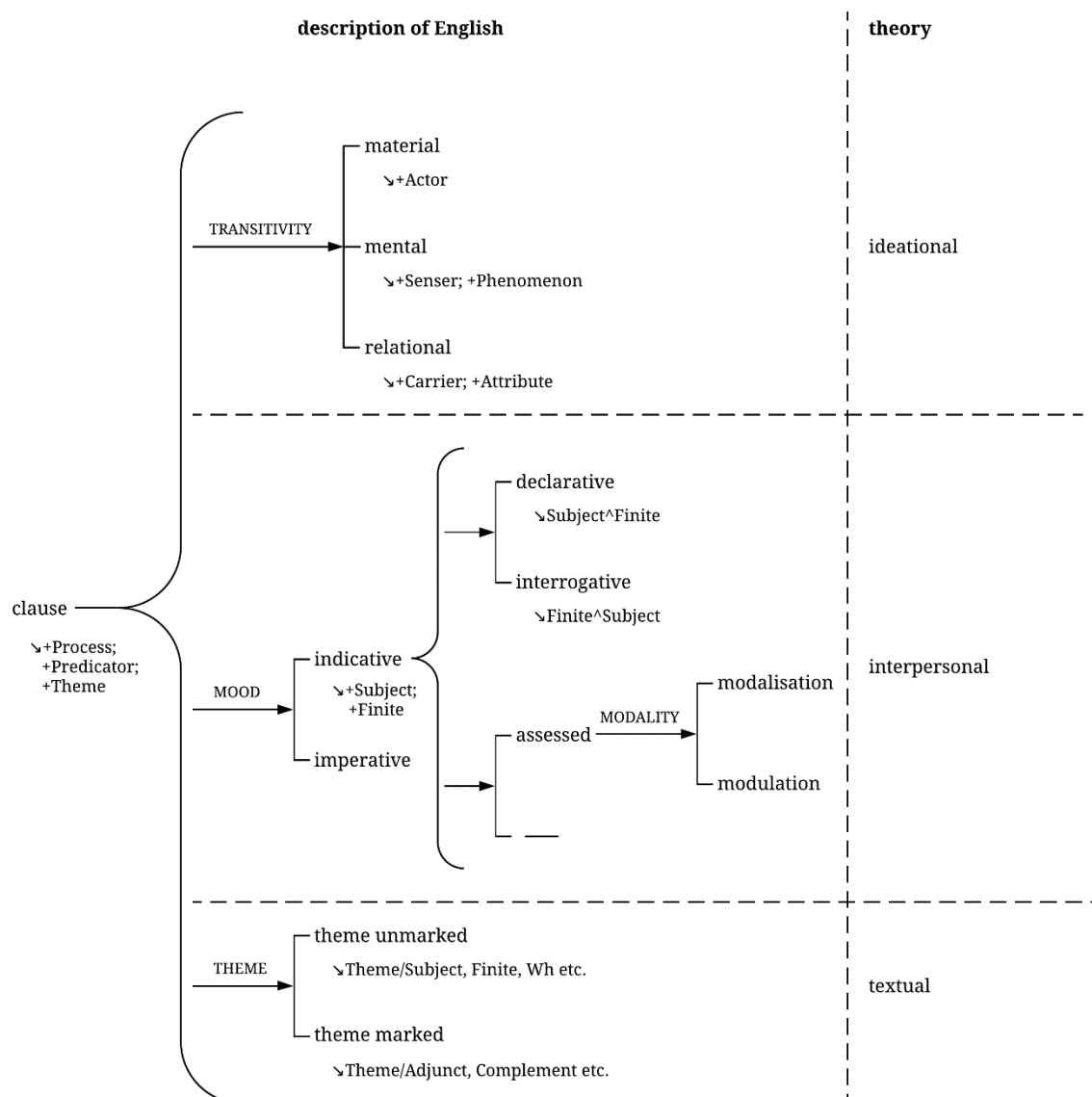


Figure 2.15 Metafunctions: the basic clause systems in English (adapted from Martin 1992a:9)

#### 2.1.4.2 Types of structure

Halliday (1979; 1981b) proposes three types of structure which are associated with the three types of meaning. Ideational meaning is realised by particulate structure, interpersonal meaning by prosodic structure, and textual meaning by periodic structure. They are analogous to Pike's (1959) view of language as particle, field, and wave.<sup>35</sup> The experiential component within the ideational meaning, along with prosodic structure and periodic structure, generate simplexes, while logical component within the ideational meaning generates complexes (Halliday 1979:215). The first three are represented in multivariate terms – a unit is conceived as comprising multiple variables; the logical

<sup>35</sup> Halliday (2009) provides the following analogy between structural types and physics – configurational : particle :: prosodic : field :: periodic : wave :: iterative : string. Configurational (part/whole) and iterative (part/part) are grouped as particulate in Figure 2.16.

meaning is represented in univariate terms – a unit is conceived as comprising a single variable (Halliday 1981; also Section 2.1.2 above). Martin’s (1996) reformulation of the types of structure and their corresponding representations (Figure 2.16) are given below.

“**Particulate** structures are **segmental**. Experientially they divide bounded wholes into parts (as in constituency representation); logically they relate part to parts in potentially unbounded series (as in dependency representation). **Prosodic** structures are **suprasegmental**; they map over a range of segments, as with intonation and long components in phonology... **Periodic** structure are **wave-like**; they establish rhythmic peaks of prominence that bounds units, as with Consonant Vowel Consonant, salient/nonsalient syllable, or tonic/nontonic foot alternations in phonology...” (Martin 1996: 40; my emphasis)

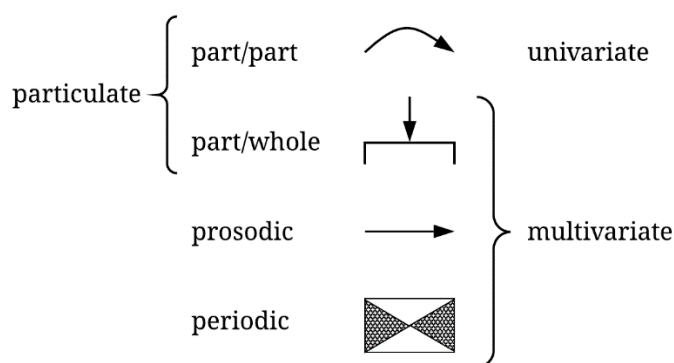


Figure 2.16 Types of structure and representational notations (Martin 1996:41)

The clause *John broke the window*, for instance, segments the experience into configurations of Participants (Actor and Goal) and Process (i.e. particulate structure). It makes the proposition negotiable through the Subject and the Finite, which scope over the rest of the clause (i.e. prosodic structure).<sup>36</sup> It weaves the ideational and the interpersonal together with an initial prominence of Theme that wanes into the Rheme (i.e. periodic structure).

Extending the nuclearity of Process/Medium suggested in Halliday (1979, especially the imaging of experiential meaning), Martin (1996) proposes an alternative to the part/whole-part/part view of particulate structure in terms of **orbital** and **serial** structure. In this model, experiential meaning is realised by mono-nuclear orbital structure and logical meaning by multi-nuclear serial structure. The representation in Figure 2.16 is adjusted as Figure 2.17 to incorporate Martin’s development of the model.<sup>37</sup>

<sup>36</sup> Prosodic realisation of interpersonal meaning is more clearly presented in the following example, in which the negative polarity in the Finite scopes over the realisations of indefinite deixis throughout the clause (underlined): *If you don't get any publicity for any fights in any papers from anyone...* (Martin 1996:42).

<sup>37</sup> Indirectly related to the concern of this study is Martin’s (1992a:21–26; 2015b) proposal of a fifth type of structure – covariate structure – for discourse semantics. In this type of structure “a semantic interdependency is constructed between items (which may or may not be grammaticalised) and in which dependent items have the potential to themselves be depended on” (Martin 1992a:25).

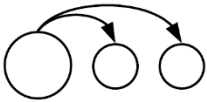
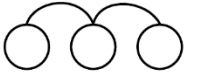
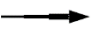
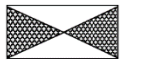
Types of structure		Mode of meaning
particulate -orbital [mono-nuclear]		<b>ideational meaning</b> <b>-experiential</b>
-serial [multi-nuclear]		<b>-logical</b>
prosodic		<b>interpersonal meaning</b>
periodic		<b>textual meaning</b>

Figure 2.17 Modes of meaning and types of structure (Martin 1996:62)

The types of structure (orbital, serial, prosodic, and periodic) are used to examine the factors underlying the structure of exchange by Martin (2000a) – see Figure 2.18. The concepts of exchange and move will be introduced in Section 2.2. Martin's (2000a:23) glossing of exchange structure in (2.18) is sufficient for the discussion here.

(2.18)	Frank: Dk1	<i>What's assonance then?</i>	'test' question
	Rita: K2	<i>A form of rhyme?</i>	suggest answer
	Frank: K1	<i>Right.</i>	validate
	Rita: K2f	<i>Yeah.</i>	confirm

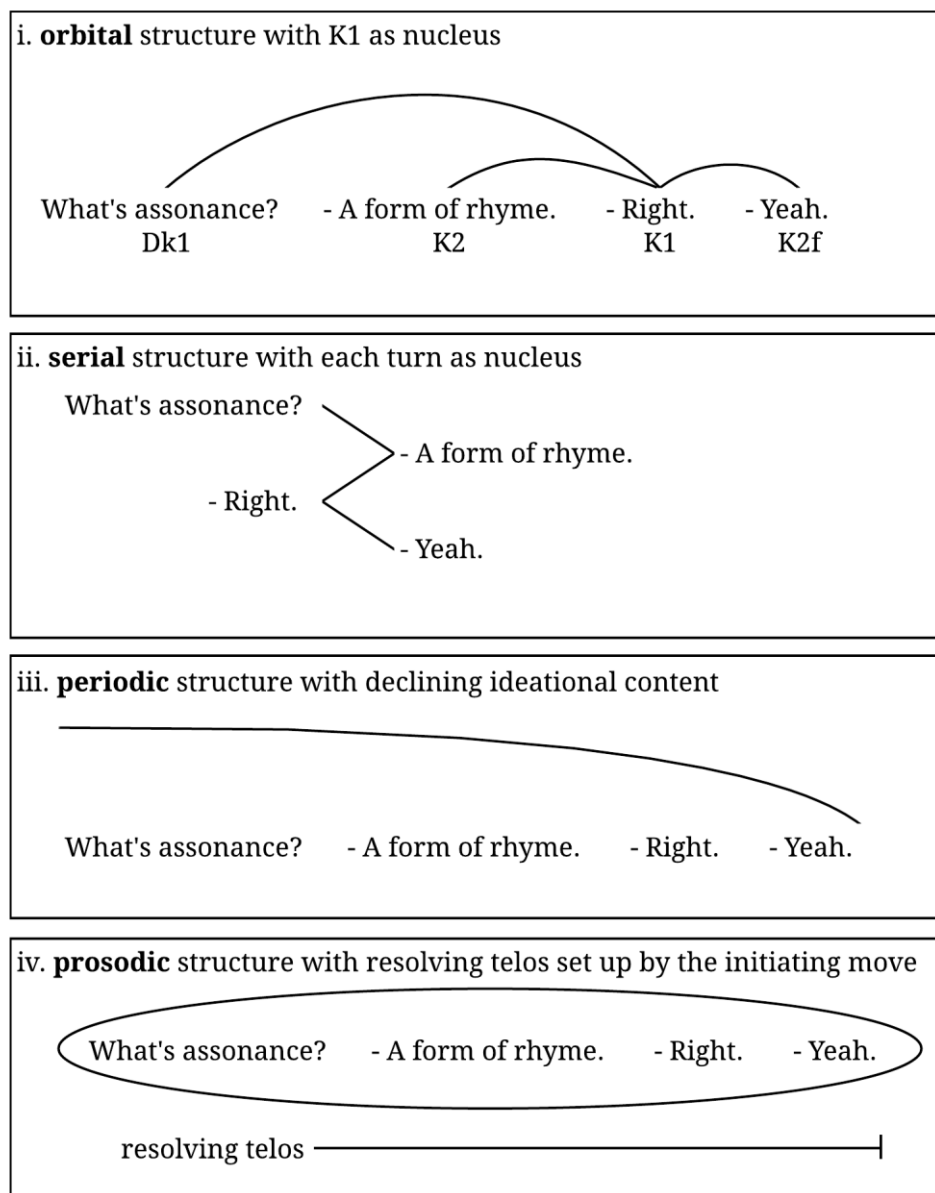


Figure 2.18 Factoring out types of structure in exchange (based on Martin 2000a)

Martin's (2000a) factoring of exchange as tiers of structure points to the potential problems of prescribing one kind of structure for the analysis of dialogue (e.g. the privileging of serial structure in studies on turn-taking).<sup>38</sup>

<sup>38</sup> Berry (1981a) considers turn taking from a textual perspective and the decline in ideational content from an ideational perspective. Martin's (2000a) factoring suggests that turn taking is a logical resource and the decline in ideational content a textual resource. This thesis does not aim to resolve such disagreements. For such metafunctional view towards exchange, further research examining bundles of systems at exchange rank is needed.

### 2.1.4.3 Metafunction and context

Halliday (1978; 1979) establishes a systematic relationship between the metafunctional organisation of language and context. He hypothesises that the metafunctional organisation in language – ideational, interpersonal, and textual – by and large reflects the contextual variables of field, tenor, and mode respectively. Briefly, field is concerned with goings-on in a situation, tenor with social relations among those involved, and mode with the role of language (Halliday 1979:62). Halliday (1978; 1979) suggests that the contextual variables set or determine the probabilities in semantics (i.e. Halliday's register) – by and large, field determines ideational meaning, tenor interpersonal meaning, and mode textual meaning. Extending this, Martin (1991) argues that the setting of probabilities is not restricted to semantics. All the linguistic systems, including those in lexicogrammar and phonology, are affected. The proportionality between the contextual variables and metafunctional organisation is shown below.<sup>39</sup>

**register : metafunction ::**

FIELD : ideational ::

MODE : textual ::

TENOR : interpersonal

(Martin 1991:102)

The proportionality suggests a 'natural' or 'solidary' relationship between register and language comparable to the relationship between discourse semantics and lexicogrammar as introduced in Section 2.1.3 above. However, Martin clarifies that the nature of the solidarity between semiotics (register and language) and that between linguistic strata (discourse semantics and lexicogrammar) is different in kind.

"Between semiotics, realisation is probabilistic – the connotative determines meanings at risk: solidarity is reflected in the fact that tenor tends to skew interpersonal probabilities, field ideational probabilities and mode textual ones. Between strata on the other hand realisation is solidary in a different sense: each stratum contributes a layer of meaning to text with grammatical metaphor mediating the degree to which the layers of meaning contributed by discourse semantics, lexicogrammar and phonology/graphology harmonise" (Martin 1991:128).

In Martin's (1986; 1991; 1992a) stratified model of context (also see Martin & Rose 2008), the metafunctional distinctions at the strata of language and the stratum of register are reconciled at the stratum of genre. Metafunctional diversification and unification are reflected in the representation in Figure 2.19. In this stratified model of context, genre provides a holistic perspective on text, complementing the modular picture afforded by metafunctional variation in register and language.

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<sup>39</sup> FIELD, TENOR, MODE are developed as resources by Martin and his colleagues – i.e. they are systems. For recent development in FIELD, see Doran & Martin (in press).

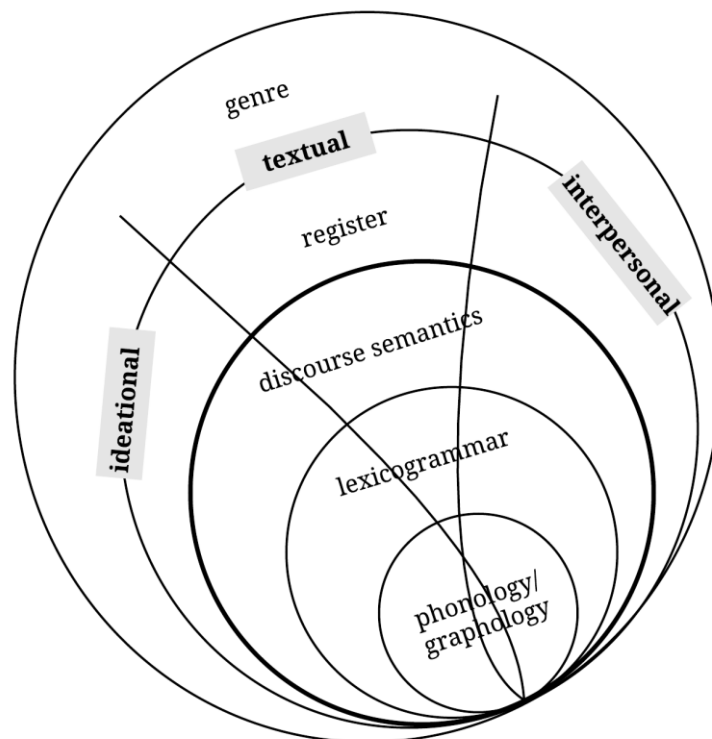


Figure 2.19 Metafunctional diversification and unification (following Martin 2006:284)

The register variable of particular relevance to the interpersonal focus of this study is TENOR. Developing Poynton (1984; 1985; 1990), Martin (1992a:Ch.7) proposes two systems for tenor: STATUS and CONTACT.<sup>40</sup> **STATUS** is concerned with “the relative position of interlocutors in a culture’s social hierarchy” – either [equal] or [unequal]. **CONTACT** is concerned with the interlocutors’ “degree of institutional involvement with each other” – either [involved] or [distant] (Martin 1992a:525).<sup>41</sup> In language, STATUS is reflected in the ‘reciprocity’ of linguistic choices. Equal status between interlocutors means the same linguistic choices are available, while unequal status means the opposite. CONTACT, on the other hand, is reflected in the ‘proliferation’ and ‘contraction’ of linguistic resources. Proliferation is oriented to system: involved contact means more choices are available and distant contact means the opposite. Contraction is oriented to process: involved contact means more explicit realisation of meanings and distant contact means the opposite (see Martin 1992a:527–532 for details). The variables in TENOR and the way they determine the linguistic resources (interpersonal in particular) are shown in Figure 2.20.

<sup>40</sup> The system of AFFECT proposed as a subsystem in TENOR in Martin (1991; 1992a) and his colleagues is later developed as the discourse semantic system of APPRAISAL (Martin & White 2005).

<sup>41</sup> The terms STATUS and CONTACT roughly correspond to Brown & Gilman’s (1960) concepts of ‘power’ and ‘solidarity’.

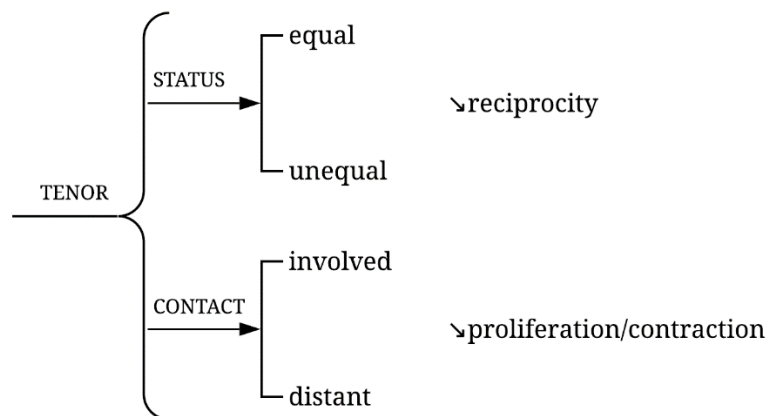


Figure 2.20 TENOR variables (adapted from Martin 1991:125)

### 2.1.5 Instantiation: a continuous zoom

The relationship between system and instances of text is theorised along the cline of instantiation in SFL (Halliday 1991; 1992c; 1992b; 2008a:Ch.3). System represents the potential that lies behind instances of text.<sup>42</sup> The cline of instantiation represents language as a ‘metastable system’ (Lemke 198). Language (as system) persists “only through constantly changing by interpenetration” with the environment through instances of use (Halliday 1992b:26).

System and instance are not separate phenomena. They are the same phenomena observed from complementary perspectives. “The system is the pattern formed by the instances; and each instance represents an exchange with the environment – an incursion into the system in which every level of language is involved.” (Halliday 1992b:26). The relationship between system and instance is analogised with the relationship between climate and weather by Halliday (1992b).

“A climate is a reasonably stable system; there are kinds of climate, such as tropical and polar, and these persist, and they differ in systematic ways. Yet we are all very concerned about changes in the climate, and the consequences of global warming. What does it mean to say the climate is changing? Climate is instantiated in the form of weather: today’s temperature, humidity, direction and speed of wind, etc., in central Scotland are INSTANCES of climatic phenomena. As such they may be more, or less, TYPICAL: today’s maximum is so many degrees higher, or lower, than AVERAGE – meaning the average at this place, at this time of year and at this time of day. The average is a statement of the PROBABILITIES: there is a 70 per cent chance, let us say, that the temperature will fall within such a range. The probability is a feature of the SYSTEM (the climate); but it is no more, and no less, than the pattern

<sup>42</sup> Martin (1985) makes a distinction between synoptic and dynamic representation of systems. System networks are considered synoptic representation and flowcharts dynamic representation. From the instance vantage point, synoptic systems underlie text and dynamic systems underlie process. The proportionality he proposes is synoptic system : text :: dynamic system : process. Synoptic and dynamic systems are potential; text and process are actual (instance).



set up by the instances (the weather), and each instance, no matter how minutely, perturbs these probabilities and so changes the system (or else keeps it as it is, which is just the limiting case of changing it)” (Halliday 1992b:26).

Like the probabilistic statements having to do with climate, linguistic systems are inherently probabilistic. The combination of field, tenor, mode variables in register reset the probabilities in the linguistic system, just as genre resets the probabilities in register (1985; 1992a). As Martin (1985:250) explains, “one of the principal descriptive responsibilities of genre is to constrain the possible combinations of field, mode and tenor variables used by a given culture. No culture makes use of all possible combinations.”

Halliday (1991) suggests that the very general systems may fall into two ideal types of probabilities overall – features in systems are either equally probable (tending towards 0.5 : 0.5) and none of the features are ‘marked’, or skew (tending towards 0.9 : 0.1) and one of them marked. An example of a system network with probabilities attached is given in Figure 2.21.

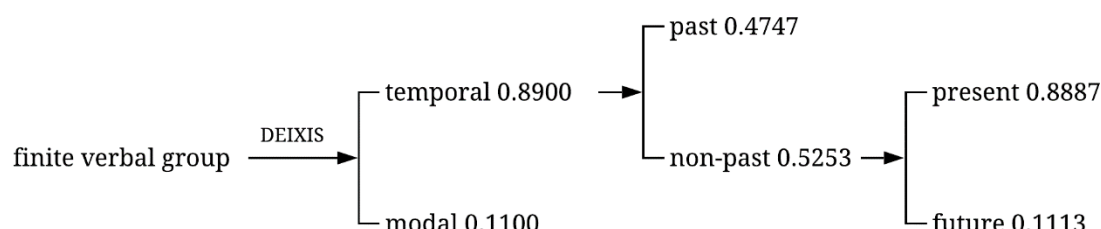


Figure 2.21 Systemic probabilities (Halliday & James 1993:64)

In Figure 2.21, the system with the features [temporal] and [modal] is a skew system with [modal] as the marked option. The system with the features [past] and [non-past] is an equiprobable system with both options unmarked. The system with the features [present] and [future] is a skew system with [future] as the marked option.<sup>43</sup>

Continuing the analogy with climate and weather, system and text are observations of linguistic phenomena from different time depths. The cline of instantiation is a “continuous zoom; and wherever we focus the zoom we can take a look into history” (Halliday 1992b:26). Observed from the system end,

“history takes the form of evolution; the system changes by evolving ... This is seen most clearly, perhaps, in the evolution of particular sub-systems, or registers, where features that are functionally well adapted are positively selected for” (Halliday 1992b:26).

Observed from the instance end, “each text has its own history, and its unique meaning unfolds progressively from the beginning” (Halliday 1992b:27). Halliday calls the former

<sup>43</sup> Halliday & James (1993) used the COBUILD corpus available at the time. For discussion of why [present] and [future] are grouped against [past], see page 36 of the original study.

‘phylogenesis’ and the latter ‘logogenesis’.<sup>44</sup> It is the recurrent configuration of choices in instances through the phylogenetic evolution of language that is reflected in the resetting of probabilities as sub-potentials of language. The sub-potentialisation reacts to the possible combinations of field, tenor, mode variables at the stratum of register, constrained in turn by genres that have evolved in the culture of a speech community (Martin 1985). In other words, an instance of text embodies recognisable patterns across strata: staging of genre conditioning the possible field, tenor, mode configurations, which reset the probabilities of choices in language. As Martin (2010:22) argues, “all strata instantiate”. Instantiation is represented in Figure 2.22 as a complementary dimension to stratification and metafunction.

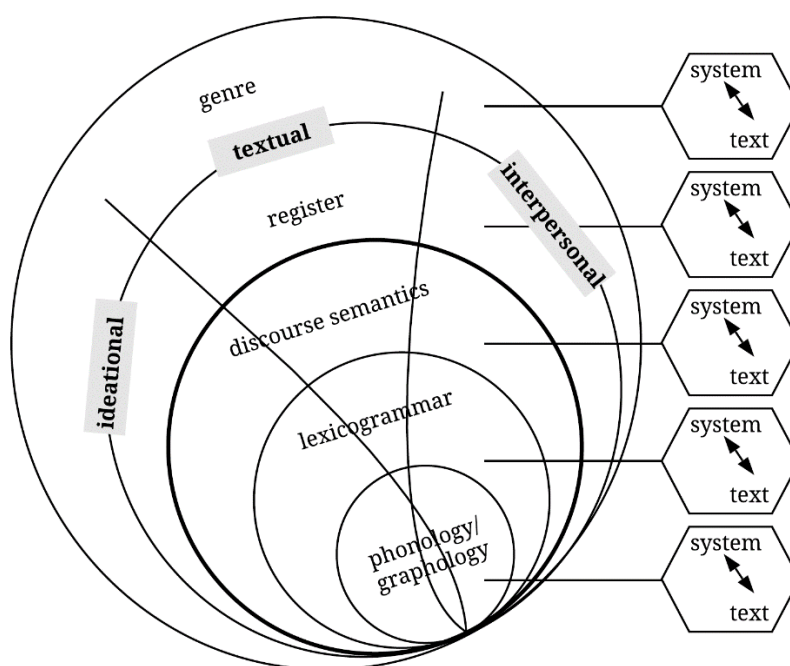


Figure 2.22 Instantiation, realisation, and metafunction (adapted from Martin 2010:22)

<sup>44</sup> As mentioned in Section 2.1.3 above, phylogenesis and logogenesis are complemented by ontogenesis – the history of an individual’s development.

## 2.1.6 Summary

The theoretical dimensions in SFL reviewed so far are summarised in Table 2.2. Among them, axis is the theoretical primitive. The privileging of the paradigmatic axis ultimately forms the basis for all the other theoretical dimensions.

Table 2.2 Summary of theoretical dimensions in SFL

<b>dimension</b>	<b>explanation</b>	<b>relevant concepts</b>
Axis	paradigmatic and syntagmatic relations	system, structure, syntagm; delicacy, realisation (intra-rank)
Rank	system-structure cycle across units in a constituency relation	realisation (inter-rank preselection)
Stratification	systems related in terms of abstraction	phonology/graphology–lexicogrammar–discourse semantics–register–genre; realisation
Metafunction	systems cluster in relation to modes of meaning	interpersonal, ideational, textual; prosodic, particulate, periodic structure
Instantiation	relationship between system and text	potential, instance, probability

In practice, languages can be mapped in terms of these dimensions. Any linguistic category can be reasoned about from a ‘trinocular perspective’ (Halliday 2009). For example, a clause rank system at the lexicogrammatical stratum (i.e. MOOD) can be considered (i) ‘from above’ in terms of the meaning it realises in discourse semantics, (ii) ‘from below’ in terms of its structural realisations, its preselection of features at the ranks below the clause, and its realisation at the phonological stratum, and (iii) ‘from around’ in terms of its interaction with other clause rank systems (i.e. MODALITY). In the next section, such a trinocular perspective informed by the theoretical dimensions introduced in this section is used to examine the existing descriptions of the interpersonal discourse semantic rank scale of exchange and move.

## 2.2 Descriptive foundations

This section is concerned with the descriptive foundations of this thesis. The studies reviewed here will be particularly relevant to the description of Khorchin Mongolian discourse semantic systems in Chapter 3. The description there provides the discourse semantic perspective needed for the description of the lexicogrammatical systems in Chapter 4. With respect to the central concern of this thesis – the interpersonal metafunction – two areas of discourse semantics are relevant: patterns in interaction and patterns in the dialogic positioning of alternative voices.

In relation to patterns in interaction, this review will concentrate on the studies on layers of exchange structure and their later development in a rank-based model of interpersonal discourse semantics. In relation to patterns in the dialogic positioning of alternative voices, the review will focus on the systemic exploration of the dialogic nature of utterances at the stratum of discourse semantics. The key references are shown in Table 2.3.<sup>45</sup>

Table 2.3 Key studies on the (interpersonal) organisation of discourse in SFL

Organisation of discourse		Key references
layers of exchange structure	structure of inform and elicit exchange	Berry 1981a; 1981b; 1981c
	structure of directive exchange	Berry 1981d
discourse semantic systems	NEGOTIATION (interaction up to 5 moves) SPEECH FUNCTION ('adjacency pairs')	Halliday 1985; 1994; Martin 1992; Martin & Rose 2007; Ventola 1987
	ENGAGEMENT (positioning of dialogic alternatives; subsystem of APPRAISAL)	Martin 2000b; Martin & White 2005; White 1998; 2000; 2003

### 2.2.1 Patterns in interaction

The key studies on patterns in interaction have assumed the ranks of exchange and move developed in Sinclair and Coulthard (1975) in relation to teacher/pupil interactions.<sup>46</sup> Patterns of exchange are concerned with the ways moves are organised into sequences. Berry's work on layers of exchange structure (Berry 1981a; 1981b; 1981c; 1981d) takes an interest in 'the co-occurrence and sequencing restrictions' bearing on moves in an exchange. Exchange structure, along with Halliday's (1985) speech functional

<sup>45</sup> The interpersonal discourse semantic systems reviewed in this chapter are NEGOTIATION, SPEECH FUNCTION, and APPRAISAL. There are four other major discourse semantic systems: IDEATION, CONNEXION (or CONJUNCTION), IDENTIFICATION, and PERIODICITY. As Martin summarises "IDEATION deals with propositional meaning (argument structure), CONNEXION with temporal and causal relations between propositions, IDENTIFICATION with participant tracking and PERIODICITY with information flow" (2019:236).

<sup>46</sup> The full discourse rank scale they proposed comprises: lesson – transaction – exchange – move – act (Sinclair & Coulthard 1975:19–60). Martin (1992a:50–66) provides a comprehensive discussion as to why move rather than act is best considered the lowest rank in the discourse of interaction in relation to Burton's (1980; 1981) and Butler's (1985b) development of Sinclair & Coulthard (1975). Martin & Dreyfus (2015) proposes an extended rank scale for classroom interaction in relation to the 'Sydney School' teaching/learning cycle: manoeuvre – exchange – move. The system of MEDIATION is motivated axially at manoeuvre rank to account for patterns of structure involving exchange sequences.

interpretation of the interpersonal clause systems in English, provides the point of departure for characterising patterns at exchange rank and patterns at move rank in discourse semantics (Martin 1992a:Ch.2; Ventola 1987:Ch.4). The discourse patterns at exchange rank are captured in the NEGOTIATION systems; the discourse patterns at move rank are captured in the SPEECH FUNCTION systems. This section will review these patterns as they have been described for English, with a focus on the ways meanings are identified for different units.

### **2.2.1.1 Layers of exchange structure**

Drawing on Halliday's (1970b) approach to the simultaneous layers of clause structure, Berry (1981a; 1981b; 1981c; 1981d) proposes three layers of analysis for an exchange – interpersonal, textual, and ideational. The interpersonal layer is concerned with the organisation of an exchange – motivated by the speech roles the speaker adopts and casts onto the addressee. The textual layer is associated with alternating contributions from the interlocutors – ‘turn taking’. The ideational layer focuses on the information or action being negotiated, concerning with how a proposition or an action is completed, and the ellipsis and substitution patterns involved. Berry's interpersonal and textual layers of exchange structure are directly related to this thesis. Discussions of her ideational layer of analysis will be set aside.<sup>47</sup>

Berry (1981a; 1981d) argues for a three-layered analysis of both inform-&-elicit exchanges and directive exchanges.<sup>48</sup> In an inform-&-elicit exchange, interlocutors negotiate the transmission of information; in a directive exchange, interlocutors negotiate the carrying out of an action. In this section, I will review Berry's characterisation of the interpersonal layer of exchange structure first; this is then followed by her characterisation of the textual layer.

#### **2.2.1.1.1 Interpersonal layer of exchange structure**

##### *2.2.1.1.1.1 Inform-&-elicit exchange*

For an inform-&-elicit exchange, Berry (1981a) identifies two parties in the interpersonal layer of analysis – primary knower and secondary knower. The primary knower is characterised as “someone who already knows the information”; and the secondary knower is characterised as someone “to whom the information is imparted” (Berry 1981a:126). For Berry, an exchange comprises slots where the primary knower and the secondary knower indicate their state of knowledge in relation to the information. The functions of these slots are assigned accordingly.

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<sup>47</sup> Relevant studies on the ideational organisation of discourse compatible with the approach adopted in this thesis can be found in Hao (2015; 2020), Martin (1992:Ch.5), and Martin & Rose (2007:Ch.3).

<sup>48</sup> Berry adopts the term ‘directive exchange’ from Butler (1982; then forthcoming); this term corresponds to Sinclair and Coulthard's (1975) ‘Direct exchange’. Inform-&-elicit exchange and directive/direct exchange are later known as knowledge exchange and action exchange (e.g. Martin 1992).

Berry argues that a well-formed inform-&-elicit exchange must have a slot whose function is **k1** – i.e. k1 is obligatory (k = actor; 1 = primary).<sup>49</sup> K1 is the slot where the primary knower “indicates that he knows the information and where he consequently confers upon the information a kind of stamp of authority” (1981a:126). For example, in (2.19) the guide is the primary knower; the functional slot in which he indicates his knowledge is k1.

(2.19) k1 Guide (conducting party round cathedral): *Salisbury is the English cathedral with the tallest spire.*  
(from Berry 1981a:126)

In parallel, Berry terms the function of the slot in which the secondary knower indicates their state of knowledge of the information **k2** (2 = secondary). In (2.20) the son takes the role of a secondary knower and casts his father the role of the primary knower. Accordingly, the interpersonal structure of the exchange is k2 ^ k1.

(2.20) k2 Son: *Which English cathedral has the tallest spire?*  
k1 Father: *Salisbury.*  
(from Berry 1981a:126)

According to Berry, while k1 is always obligatory for a well-formed inform-&-elicit exchange, k2 is obligatory only under certain circumstances – e.g. when the first speaker is not the primary knower as in (2.20) above. Another circumstance in which k2 is obligatory is when the first speaker is the primary knower; but this time the primary knower does not straightforwardly indicate that they know the information. Such exchange occurs, for example, in a quiz, where the quizmaster is ‘testing’ the contestant, and so already knows the answer. In (2.21) the primary knower (the quizmaster) delays the indication of his knowledge of the information; he checks the knowledge of the secondary knower in the functional slot **dk1** (d = delayed). When dk1 occurs, k2 is obligatory.

(2.21) dk1 Quizmaster: *In England, which cathedral has the tallest spire.*  
k2 Contestant: *Salisbury.*  
k1 Quizmaster: *Yes.*  
(from Berry 1981a:127)

In Berry’s formulation, all the other moves after k1 in an inform-&-elicit exchange are optional. The functional slot that is optional under all circumstances and that occurs after k1 is termed **k2f** (f = follow up). In this functional slot the secondary knower can indicate their state of knowledge voluntarily as in (2.22); or they can replay an indication of their state of knowledge as in (2.23) if they have already done so in a k2 slot.

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<sup>49</sup> The function labels k1, k2, dk1, k2f are written with initial lower case as they appear in Berry (1981a). Following the SFL notation for function labels, Martin (1992) uses initial capital letters to represent them. The convention of using initial capital letters for function labels (e.g. Dk1, K2, K1) is followed when Berry’s works are not reviewed. The same is for action exchanges reviewed below, i.e. labels such as dA1, a2, a1 are used when Berry’s works are reviewed and labels such as Da1, A2, A1 are used in other occasions.

- (2.22) k1 Father: *Salisbury is the English cathedral which has the tallest spire.*  
k2f Son: *Oh.* (= 'That's news to me')
- (2.23) dk1 Quizmaster: *In England, which cathedral has the tallest spire?*  
k2 Contestant: *Is it Salisbury?*  
k1 Quizmaster: *Yes.*  
k2f Contestant: *Oh.*  
(from Berry 1981a:127)

The four functions provided by Berry for an interpersonal analysis of an inform-&-elicit exchange are: dk1, k2, k1, (k2f). They are ordered based on the sequence in which they occur. K1 is obligatory under all circumstances (underlined); k2f is optional under all circumstances (bracketed).

It is important to bear in mind that Berry (1981a) uses the terms *primary knower* and *secondary knower* informally.<sup>50</sup> The interpersonal functions of an exchange (dk1, k2, k1, and k2f), on the other hand, are identified based on their structural properties as they are outlined in Berry (1981a:127): (1) the obligatoriness of the functions (i.e. k1 is obligatory under all circumstances; k2f is optional under all circumstances; k2 is obligatory if the initiator of an exchange is not the primary knower; and if dk1 occurs, k2 is obligatory), (2) the sequence of the four functions (i.e. dk1 ^ k2 ^ k1 ^ k2f), (3) the restrictions on their possible realisations (e.g. it is unlikely for the *oh* in (2.23) above to realise functions other than k2f), and (4) the set of options available at each point in the exchange and the possible constraints placed on these options. This last point will be discussed after Berry's proposal for a comparable layer of structure for directive exchanges is introduced.

#### 2.2.1.1.1.2 Directive exchange

Berry (1981d) proposes a similar interpersonal layer of structural analysis for directive exchanges. In a directive exchange, what is under negotiation is the carrying out of an action. Consequently, the speech roles available to the interlocutors are primary actor and secondary actor. Primary actor refers to the interlocutor "who is actually going to carry out the action"; secondary actor refers to the interlocutor "who is going to carry out the action by proxy [...] by getting the other person to do it" (Berry 1981d:23). The functional slots in which the primary actor and the secondary actor make contribution to a directive exchange are (a = actor):

da1 a2 a1 (a2f)

As with k1 in an inform-&-elicit exchange, the contribution from the primary actor, a1, is obligatory under all circumstances for a well-formed exchange. At **a1**, the primary actor

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<sup>50</sup> Primary and secondary speech roles are formalised as options in a 'degree of hierarchy' in Berry's later research on TENOR (e.g. Berry 2016b). However, this description is not consistent with the approach taken in this thesis. STATUS, or 'degree of hierarchy', is characterised in terms of reciprocity of linguistic resources (see Section 2.1.4.3).

either performs the action (hence a non-verbal realisation) as in (2.24) or promises the performance of the action later as in (2.25). The primary actor also has the option of delaying the provision of the action at **da1** as in (2.26). In (2.24) to (2.26) the secondary actor demands the action at **a2** before the primary actor performs the action.<sup>51</sup>

- (2.24) a2 A: *Could you close the window, please?*  
a1 B: NV (= non-verbal action, closing window)
- (2.25) a2 A: *When you go downstairs, could you turn off the central heating please?*  
a1 B: *Okay.*  
.....  
NV
- (2.26) da1 A: *Shall I close the window?*  
a2 B: *Please.*  
a1 A: NV  
(from Berry 1981d:24–25)

Like k2f in an inform-&-elicit exchange, it is possible for the secondary actor to acknowledge the performance of the action in a follow up move: **a2f**. This is exemplified in (2.27).

- (2.27) a2 A: *Could you close the window, please?*  
a1 B: NV  
a2f A: *Thanks.*  
(from Berry 1981d:24)

In this way, structural generalisations can be made between inform-&-elicit exchange and directive exchange (Berry 1981d:28):

((dx1) x2) x1 (x2f)

Here X refers to knower (k) in an inform-&-elicit exchange and actor (a) in a directive exchange.

#### 2.2.1.1.1.3 Options at non-dk1

In an inform-&-elicit exchange (when x=k) Berry (1981a) argues that each non-dk1 slot makes available a ‘superficially similar’ set of options: [+knowledge] and [-knowledge]. The selections from these options are restricted by the position at which the selection is made. Options of a similar kind are not proposed for directive exchanges; however, the options she proposed for each non-dk1 point in an inform-&-elicit exchange provide a useful point of departure for examining moves from above in relation to exchange structure (see Section 3.2.1 for details; comparable options are proposed for directive exchange therein).

<sup>51</sup> Berry (1981d) does not include an instance of exchange comprising only a1. This, however, is not uncommon as it is exemplified by the following utterance from a waitress (Martin & Rose 2007:238): *Your wine, sir* (pouring).



The function k2 is used as an example entry condition in Figure 2.23. The functions k1 and k2f are also formalised as entry conditions for systems with the same options in Berry's work.<sup>52</sup>

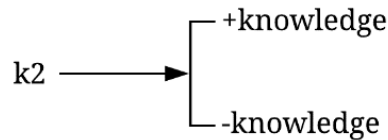


Figure 2.23 Berry's formalisation of options at k2 (Berry 1981a:129)

To Berry, the options available at k2, [+knowledge] and [-knowledge], mean 'fairly confident' and 'not so confident' respectively (Berry 1981a:129). The k2s in (2.28) and (2.29) exemplify these two options.

(2.28) dk1 Quizmaster: *In England, which cathedral has the tallest spire?*  
           k2 Contestant: *Salisbury.*  
           k1 Quizmaster: *Yes.*

(2.29) dk1 Quizmaster: *In England, which cathedral has the tallest spire?*  
           k2 Contestant: *Is it Salisbury?*  
           k1 Quizmaster: *Yes.*

The options are also available to k2 at the initial position. Examples (2.30) and (2.31) provide instances of the options [+knowledge] and [-knowledge] when k2 is at the initial position.

(2.30) k2 Son: *You said that Salisbury was the English cathedral with the tallest spire.*  
           k1 Father: *Yes.*

(2.31) k2 Son: *Which English cathedral did you say had the tallest spire?*  
           k1 Father: *Salisbury.*  
           (from Berry 1981a:129–130)

The interpretation of these options at k2f by Berry (1981a:130) is slightly different from those at k2 in that k2f is necessarily positioned after k1; the meaning of these options at k2f are thus retrospective to the stamping of the primary knower authority on the information at k1. The option [+knowledge] means 'that accords with what is already my understanding of the situation' as in (2.32); the option [-knowledge] means 'that's news to me' as in (2.33).

(2.32) k1 Father: *Salisbury is the English cathedral which has the tallest spire.*  
           k2f Son: *Yes.*

<sup>52</sup> The system at k1 is discussed in Berry (1981b), which is elided in Berry (1981a) and cited in detail in Muntigl (2009).

(2.33) k1 Father: *Salisbury is the English cathedral which has the tallest spire.*  
 k2f Son: *Oh.*  
 (from Berry 1981a:130)

Berry argues that while the options available at k2f are the same with the options at k2, the choice made at k2f is conditioned by the choice made at k2 (Berry calls this relationship ‘preselection’ (1981a:131)).<sup>53</sup> Instances such as the one in (2.34a) are unlikely. The secondary knower has already shown confidence in his contribution to the exchange at k2, i.e. instantiating [+knowledge]; it is unlikely for the option [-knowledge] to be instantiated at k2f.

(2.34)  
 dk1 Quizmaster: *In England, which cathedral has the tallest spire?*  
 k2 Contestant: *Salisbury.*  
 k1 Quizmaster: *Yes.*  
 k2f Contestant: *Oh.*  
 (from Berry 1981a:130)

The exchange analyses exemplified so far show that for Berry the distinction between primary knower and secondary knower is based on authority over information. The secondary knower may be confident that they know the information as in (2.28) and (2.30) above; or they may not be so sure about the information as in (2.29) above. Alternatively, they may not know the information all together as in (2.31) above.

Berry (1981b) argues that the same set of options – [+knowledge] and [-knowledge] – are also available at k1. The k1s exemplified so far are instances of [+knowledge]. The selection indicates that the speaker knows the information; and most importantly, their indication of the knowledge stamps the information with primary knower authority. In contrast, the k1 in (2.35) is an instance of [-knowledge].

(2.35) k2 Son: *Which English cathedral has the tallest spire?*  
 k1 Father: *I don’t know.*  
 (from Berry 1981b:17)

The selection of [-knowledge] at k1 is apparently contradictory to Berry’s characterisation of primary knower as “someone who already knows the information” (Berry 1981a:126). Nonetheless, Berry’s analysis of this exchange is in accordance with her formulation of exchange structure – i.e. the k1 in (2.35) is obligatory. The father has to indicate whether or not he knows the information.<sup>54</sup>

<sup>53</sup> In SFL, the term preselection is usually used to refer to the realisation relationship between systems at different ranks; see Section 2.1.2 above.

<sup>54</sup> Berry (1981b) does recognise the contradiction. She argues, “I have included this system [[+knowledge/-knowledge] at k1 – DZ] in my model a) because Exchanges such as (11) [Or (2.35) in this thesis – DZ] occur and so one wants to be able to describe them, b) because it enables me to distinguish different degrees of ‘ungrammaticalness’ – a negative k1 is less ‘ungrammatical’ than no k1 at all. However for a fully ‘grammatical’ Exchange k1 must not only be present; it must be positive” (Berry 1981b:17).

This contradiction is not simply one between the informal characterisation of a category (such as primary knower) and its structural properties (such as the obligatoriness of k1). It stems from the following issues with Berry's formulation of exchange structure and options available at points in an exchange.

- (1) Berry's work on exchange assumes Sinclair & Coulthard's (1975) rank scale. However, the rank-based distribution of resources is not clear in Berry's account. An indication of this is that Berry uses what seems to be the *functional* organisation of an exchange, i.e. k2, k1, k2f, as entry conditions to systems which make statements about moves – i.e. treating the 'functional slots' as *classes* of move.<sup>55</sup>
- (2) If k2, k1, and k2f are meant as classes of move as it is indicated in (1), Berry's formulation of the interpersonal layer of structure of an exchange is not *structure* in the sense of it being functional configuration; it is *syntagm* in the sense of it being co-occurrence and sequencing of classes.
- (3) The selection of [-knowledge] at k1 exemplified above in (2.35), along with the choice between [+knowledge] and [-knowledge] at the other points in an exchange, suggests the need for a more dynamic interpretation of exchange structure. The option [-knowledge] is surely available to the slot which follows k2; the selection, however, does not fit with the expectation set up by the k2 (e.g. when the son asks *Which English cathedral has the tallest spire?*, the expectation is that the father knows the answer). In other words, exchanges do not necessarily unfold according to the expectation set up by the initiating move. Interlocutors can negotiate the ways they are positioned with respect to whether they know or do not know the information at stake. The dynamic nature of exchanges is captured by an analysis provided for exchanges such as (2.35) in Martin (1992a:66–76); the second move in (2.35) would be analysed as a challenge. Martin's interpretation of the dynamic elements of exchange will be reviewed in Section 2.2.1.2.2 below.<sup>56</sup>

Berry accounts for the expectation set up by the initiating move and the compliant and non-compliant responses in her textual layer of exchange analysis, to which we will turn now.

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<sup>55</sup> Berry is heavily influenced by Firth's (1957) 'polysystemic' view on language, which states the value of structural elements in terms of systems. In Berry (1975:146–148) she identifies both rank and grammatical structural environment as the entry conditions for systems. This is also shown in Halliday's Scale and Category model (Halliday 1961), which inspired Sinclair & Coulthard (1975), whose exchange rank Berry (1981a; 1981b; 1981c; 1981d) develops. Firth's influence on Berry is also mentioned in Davidse, Fontaine & Taverniers (2019).

<sup>56</sup> The dynamic nature of exchange is also suggested in Berry's interpretation of the exchange in (2.35). She explains that "Certainly one tends to feel rather a failure if, after having been cast in the role of primary knower, one has to admit that one doesn't know" (Berry 1981b:17). This constant casting of different speech roles as an exchange unfolds has been taken into consideration in Muntigl's (2009) reinterpretation of primary knower and secondary knower in relation to right and access to knowledge. He provides a move-by-move analysis of the negotiation of knowledge claims in terms of the options [+knowledge] and [-knowledge]. Like Berry, Muntigl's analysis does not make a strict distinction between resources for exchange and those for move (see the system network in Muntigl 2009:246). The account of move classes in Section 3.2.1 is in part inspired by Muntigl's work.

### 2.2.1.1.2 Textual layer of exchange structure

Berry's (1981a; 1981d) textual layer of exchange structure deals with 'turn-taking' in an exchange. Her basic assumption is that speakers take turns to contribute to an exchange. The textual function of the slot in which the first contributor makes the first contribution is referred to as **ai**; the textual function of the slot in which the second contributor makes the first contribution is referred to as **bi**. The ensuing functions are named after both the contributor and the contributor's turn. If the functional slot is the first contributor's turn, the function is labelled with 'a' and the corresponding turn number – e.g. ai 'the first contribution from the first contributor', aii 'the second contribution from the first contributor' and so on. If the functional slot is the second speaker's turn, the function is labelled with 'b' and the corresponding turn number – e.g. bi 'the first contribution from the second contributor', bii 'the second contribution from the second contributor' and so on. In this way, Berry proposes the following textual layer of structure for an exchange: ai, bi, aii, bii, ... an, bn. Given that for an exchange to exist at all there has to be at least someone who makes the first contribution, the function ai is obligatory under all circumstances (hence underlined). The inform-&-elicit exchange in (2.36) and the directive exchange in (2.37) are analysed according to Berry's interpersonal and textual layers of structure.

(2.36) dk1    ai       Quizmaster: *In England, which cathedral has the tallest spire?*  
         k2    bi       Contestant: *Salisbury.*  
         k1    aii      Quizmaster: *Yes.*

(2.37) a2    ai       A:       *Could you close the window, please?*  
         a1    bi       B:       NV  
         a2f   aii      A:       *Thanks.*

#### 2.2.1.1.2.1 Options at ai

Berry argues that different sets of options are available at ai (the initiating move) and at non-ai (the responding moves). According to Berry, the choices made at ai set up different expectations as to how the exchange unfolds. The possible courses of exchange predicted by the initiating move generalised across inform-&-elicit exchange and directive exchange are formalised as a system network in Berry (1981d:29), which is reproduced here along with the realisation statements (Figure 2.24). No entry condition was provided in her formalisation.

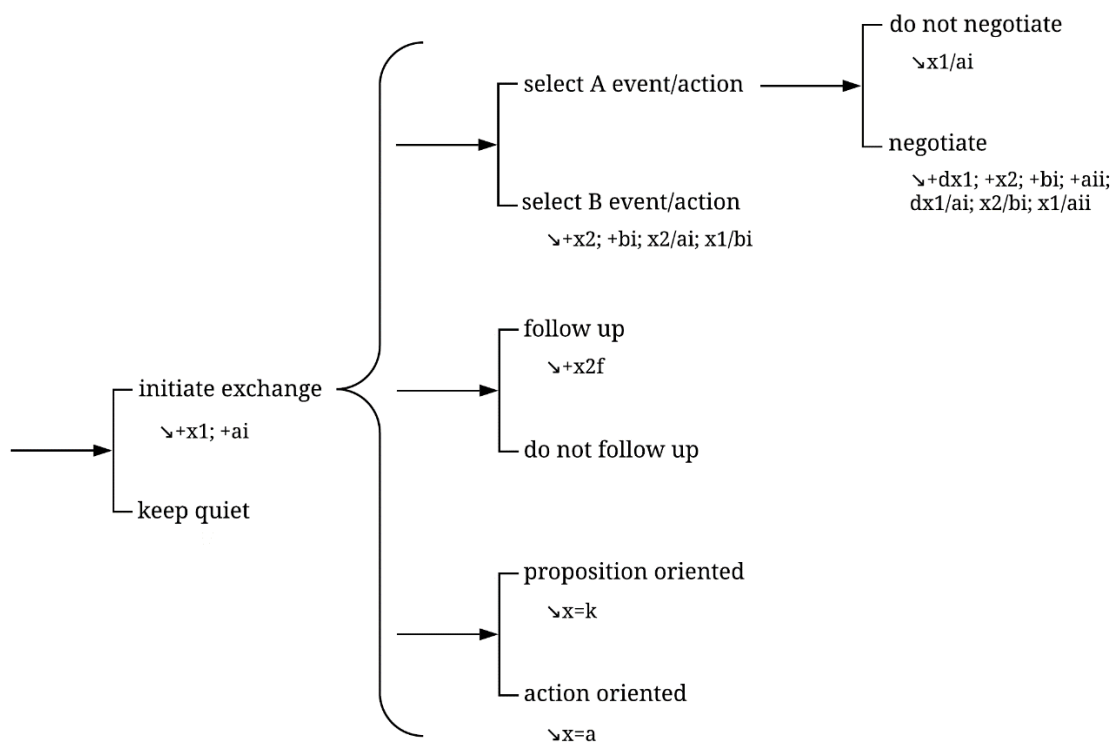


Figure 2.24 Berry's unified network for inform-&-elicit exchange and directive exchange (Berry (1981c:29); realisation statements added)

The system network shows that an initiator of an exchange first needs to determine whether to initiate an exchange or not. If one initiates an exchange, one chooses from three simultaneous systems. First, a selection needs to be made between A event/action and B event/action. That is, one either adopts the role of the primary knower/actor (i.e. initiating an A event/action) or adopts the role of the secondary knower/actor (i.e. initiating a B event).<sup>57</sup> Second, a selection needs to be made between whether or not the secondary knower/actor follows up on the nuclear contribution from the primary knower/actor. Third, a selection needs to be made between whether the exchange is oriented to proposition (i.e. an inform-&-elicit exchange) or the exchange is oriented to action (i.e. a directive exchange). The conflation of the interpersonal layer of structure onto the textual layer determines the course of an exchange. Note that it is impossible to conflate the interpersonal function x2f with any textual function without specifying the type of exchange selected. For example, when [do not negotiate] and [follow up] are co-selected, we need to insert bi from the textual layer and conflate it with x2f from the interpersonal layer; in contrast, when [negotiate] and [follow up] are co-selected, we need to insert bii from the textual layer and conflate it with x2f from the interpersonal layer.

<sup>57</sup> The terms A event and B event are adapted from Labov's (1972:252–258) study of the “invariant rules of discourse analysis”. He characterised A-event, B-event, and AB-event respectively as “the things that A knows about but B does not... the things which B knows but A does not...knowledge which is shared equally by A and B” (1972:254); hence Berry's and Labov's use of A-event and B-event are not identical. The options in the network are referred to as [primary actor/knower initiation] (for [select A-event/action]) and [secondary actor/knower initiation] (for [select B-event/action]) in Martin (2018) and Martin & Rose (2007).

Berry's system network is useful for an axial interpretation of exchange – i.e. in terms of system and structure (see Section 2.2.1.2.2 and Section 3.1). There are, however, a number of issues with Berry's formalisation.

- (1) While Berry argues that the system network in Figure 2.24 above captures options available at the functional slot *ai*, the structures the systems generate are not co-extensive with one move (the initiating move). The structures are in fact co-extensive with an exchange. It is problematic to state that the system represents "options available to the initiator of an exchange" (Berry 1981d:26). In other words, the system network does not generate the kinds of structure Berry intends.
- (2) Even if we follow Berry and accept that the systems in Figure 2.24 are choices available at the initiating move, it is nonetheless unclear as to what the relationship is between the systems and the options available at *k2*, *k1*, and *k2f* in an inform-&-elicit exchange – i.e. [+knowledge] and [-knowledge]. They cannot be in a co-selecting relationship given that the options [+knowledge] and [-knowledge] are said to be available to specific points in an exchange (*x2*, *x1*, *x2f*; *x* = *k* in the network). They cannot be separate systems from two metafunctions (interpersonal and textual) given that what Berry intends is a multi-layered analysis of exchanges rather than of moves.
- (3) Most serious of all, Berry's distinction between interpersonal and textual layers of meaning is not motivated by clusters of systems, which is at the heart of SFL's metafunctional conception of language (see Section 2.1.4 above). Although Berry's analysis of an exchange from her interpersonal layer and textual layer are independently variable (e.g. *x1* may conflate with *ai*, *bi*, or *aii*), what her textual layer of analysis contributes to our understanding of exchange is simply one of sequencing the interpersonal functions. The statement '*x1* may conflate with *ai*, *bi*, or *aii*' only gives us information about the occurrence of *x1* at different points in an exchange: *x1* may appear at the first position (*ai*), second position (*bi*), or the third position (*aii*) in an exchange. It is impossible to formalise Berry's interpersonal and textual layers of meaning into two separate clusters of systems. We can however rewrite the system network in Figure 2.24 above as Figure 2.25 below. The realisation statements from Figure 2.24 are reformulated in terms of the SFL conventions for sequencing functions in Figure 2.25.

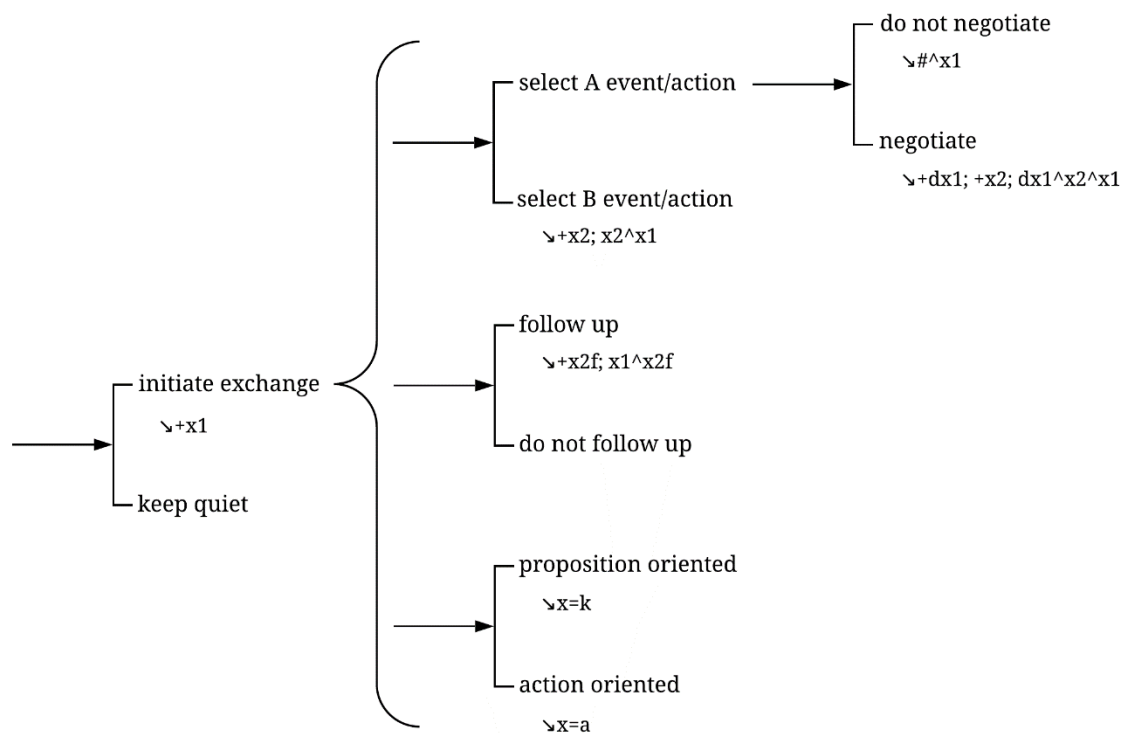


Figure 2.25 Rewriting Berry's unified network for inform-&-elicit and directive exchanges

The rewriting of the network suggests that Berry's options available at ai from the textual layer of structure is *interpersonal* in nature. This reading accords with Martin's (1992a) and Ventola's (1987) adaptation of the system network as NEGOTIATION network for exchange in their interpersonal account of discourse.

#### 2.2.1.1.2.2 Options at non-ai

Berry's system network at ai predicts the structure of an exchange when it proceeds according to the expectation set up by the initiating move. This naturally leads to the question of analysing exchanges that do not unfold according to the expectation. Developing Burton's (1978) proposal of 'Supporting Moves' and 'Challenging Moves', Berry argues that at post-ai positions in an exchange, the choices available are [support], [query], and [challenge] – as they are shown in Figure 2.26.<sup>58</sup>

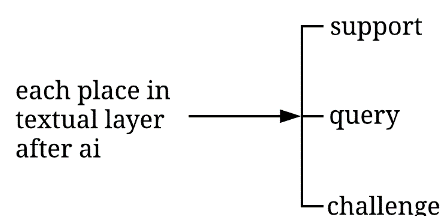


Figure 2.26 System available at places after ai (Berry 1981a:136)

<sup>58</sup> The system is further developed in Berry (2016a; 2017b).

Berry argues that the choice [**support**] allows exchanges to develop as expected; hence its realisation is negatively stated. The choice [**query**] delays the occurrence of the obligatory functions. The choice [**challenge**] cancels the occurrence of the obligatory functions. All the post-ai moves in the exchanges exemplified so far select [support]. The options [query] and [challenge] are exemplified for inform-&-elicit exchanges in (2.38) and (2.39). In (2.38) the obligatory function k1 is delayed until aiii while it is expected at aii. In (2.39) the occurrence of k2f is prevented at bi the first time and at aii the second time. The functions that are supposed to occur at particular points in the exchanges but did not occur are indicated by a strikethrough (e.g. ~~k1~~).

- |        |                |     |      |             |   |
|--------|----------------|-----|------|-------------|---|
| (2.38) | dk1            |     | ai   | Quizmaster: | <i>In England, which cathedral has the tallest spire?</i>   |
|        | k2             |     | bi   | Contestant: | <i>Is it Salisbury?</i>   |
|        | <del>k1</del>  | dk1 | aii  | Quizmaster: | <i>Well, is it?</i> (implication: you're supposed to know, not ask me)  |
|        |                | k2  | bii  | Contestant: | <i>Yes.</i>   |
|        |                | k1  | aiii | Quizmaster: | <i>That's right.</i><br>(from Berry 1981a:136)  |
| (2.39) | k1             |     | ai   | Nigel:      | <i>But you can drown a deadly stonefish.</i>  |
|        | <del>k2f</del> | k1  | bi   | Father:     | <i>You can't – that's a fish too.</i>   |
|        | <del>k2f</del> | k1  | aii  | Nigel:      | <i>But it only goes in very shallow water so it will drown if you make it go deep.</i><br>(from Halliday & Matthiessen 2014:200–201;<br>cited and analysed in Berry 2017:273) |

Berry’s three-term system for functional slots after ai provides a useful starting point for explaining exchanges that ‘go wrong’ (see Section 2.2.1.2.2). However, the issues with this network are again related to Berry’s unclear distinction between choices made at exchange rank and those made at move rank.

- (1) The fact that exchanges not uncommonly depart from the expected course of development is a characterisation of exchange rather than of move as Berry seems to be suggesting. A [query] and a [challenge] typically lead to negotiations which comprise more than one move. This can be seen in examples (2.38) and (2.39) above. In (2.38), two moves are inserted between k2 at bi and the expected k1 at aiii; in (2.39) the cancellation of the expected k2f at bi is closely related to the two moves that replaces the k2f.
- (2) While Berry's system captures the similarity between the three options (i.e. they are non-initiating), it loses sight of the differences between the option [support] and the other two options (i.e. [query] and [challenge]). (i) The structures generated by the choices [query] and [challenge] are not predictable as the structures generated by [support]; they are more dynamic. (ii) The choices [query] and [challenge] do *initiate* new exchanges while responding to a preceding move. (iii) The exchanges that result from a [query] or a [challenge] are to some degree dependent on the point in



the original exchange from which they depart.<sup>59</sup> It thus seems sensible to treat the ‘non-supporting’ elements of an exchange as dynamic elements at exchange rank (Martin 1992a:66–76; Ventola 1987:104–109); see Section 2.2.1.2.2.3.

### **2.2.1.1.3 Summary**

To summarise, Berry’s account of exchange structure provides a useful point of departure for a rank-based model of interaction. Firstly, Berry’s textual exchange network has been useful for the formalisation of the exchange rank resources. Secondly, Berry’s description of non-supporting moves has shed light on our understanding of the dynamic aspects of exchange. Thirdly, Berry’s proposal of [+knowledge]/[-knowledge] options at non-dk1 places in an inform-&-elicit exchange will be invaluable for developing the resources for move rank in Chapter 3.

On the other hand, Berry’s multi-layered proposal for the analysis of exchange structure poses a number of interrelated problems. Firstly, Berry’s account does not make a clear demarcation between the meaning-making resources distributed across exchange and move; this results in the unclear relationship between systems and misplacement of resources for exchange rank to move rank. Secondly, Berry’s argumentation does not make a clear distinction between function structure and syntagm. Thirdly, Berry’s proposal for interpersonal and textual layers of meaning at exchange is not motivated in terms of clusters of systems; this results in a layer of analysis that does not make additional contribution to our understanding of exchange.

A number of the problems raised in relation to Berry’s work are resolved in Martin (1992a:Ch.2) and Ventola (1987:Ch.4). The next section reviews their development of a rank-based model of interaction in a stratified content plane comprising discourse semantics and lexicogrammar in relation to Halliday’s (1985) speech functional interpretation of the English MOOD resources. Particular attention will be given to Martin (1992a:Ch.2) as it provides dedicated discussions on how the model was developed.

### **2.2.1.2 A stratified rank-based model of interaction**

In this section, I review studies on interaction that build on the previous work to develop a systematic model of meaning distributed across different strata and rank. The key contributions are Martin (1992a:Ch.2) and Ventola (1987:Ch.4) (for accessible introductions see Martin (2018) and Martin & Rose (2007:Ch.7)). Section 2.2.1.2.1 outlines Martin’s argumentation for a stratified model of interaction. He makes a distinction between discourse semantics and lexicogrammar by re-formulating Halliday’s (1985) description of the English MOOD system and its corresponding speech functional interpretation. Section 2.2.1.2.2 reviews Martin’s incorporation of Berry’s layers of exchange structure analysis (as they are reviewed in Section 2.2.1.1 above) into the discourse semantic NEGOTIATION systems, along with Ventola’s (1987; 1988) development of the model. Figure 2.27 shows the relationship between the discourse semantic systems of NEGOTIATION and SPEECH FUNCTION at exchange and move rank and the

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<sup>59</sup> Berry (1981a:137) considers the exchange initiated by a query as a ‘bound exchange’.

lexicogrammatical system MOOD at clause rank.

<u>rank</u>	(discourse semantics) <u>system</u>	(lexicogrammar) <u>system</u>	<u>rank</u>
exchange	NEGOTIATION		
move	SPEECH FUNCTION	MOOD	clause

Figure 2.27 Systems in Martin's stratified rank-based model of interaction in English (adapted from Martin 1992a:50)

The systems NEGOTIATION and SPEECH FUNCTION are related in terms of rank; they encapsulate choices for exchange and move respectively. The two systems are in turn related to MOOD in terms of stratification; the lexicogrammatical choices in MOOD realise the discourse semantic choices in NEGOTIATION and SPEECH FUNCTION.

### 2.2.1.2.1 Stratification in interaction: move and clause

#### 2.2.1.2.1.1 Diversification of resources: MOOD and SPEECH FUNCTION

Martin (1992a:Ch.2) proposes that the discourse semantic unit **move** is typically realised by the lexicogrammatical unit clause selecting independently for MOOD.<sup>60</sup> The MOOD systems in English as introduced in Section 2.1.1.2 above are repeated in Figure 2.28 (repeating Figure 2.5).

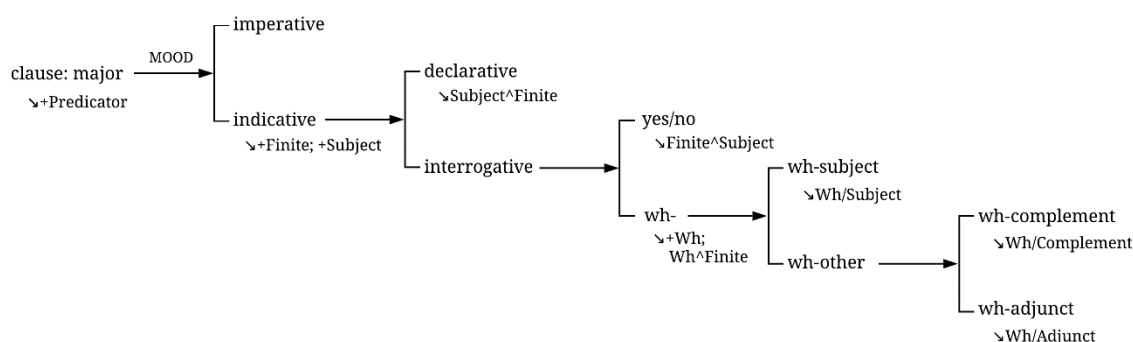


Figure 2.28 MOOD systems in English

Clauses which do not select independently for MOOD are embedded clauses and hypotactic dependent clauses (as they are underlined in (2.40); ‘embedding’ is introduced in Section 2.1.2 above). They realise moves together with the clauses that they are embedded in or dependent on. If finite, these clauses by default select [declarative]; they thus have a Subject ^ Finite structure.<sup>61</sup> If non-finite, there is no Finite and the Subject is optional (e.g. *Manly winning* in the third example in (2.40)).

<sup>60</sup> More technically, a move is typically realised by “a clause realising a bundle of features generated by the MOOD network in a single derivation” (Martin 1981:57).

<sup>61</sup> An exception is hypotactic conditional clauses with Finite ^ Subject structure: e.g. *had I known, I'd have left* and with clauses with an initial negative Adjunct *never had I seen...* etc.

- (2.40) *They loved the team that won.* (embedded: defining relative)  
*They defeated whoever they met.* (embedded: nominalised wh clause)  
*They watched Manly winning.* (embedded: act)  
*It pleased them that Balmain lost.* (embedded: fact)  
*They wondered if they'd win.* (hypotactic projection)  
*They won, which surprised them.* (hypotactic expansion)  
(adapted from Martin 1992a:40)

Halliday (1984; 1985) interprets the patterns in MOOD with respect to the functions that clauses perform in interaction. The speech functions he proposes, which underlie the MOOD distinctions in English, are shown in Figure 2.29. Listed in the box are the shorthand terms used to refer to the co-selections from the three systems (e.g. Offer, Command).<sup>62, 63</sup>

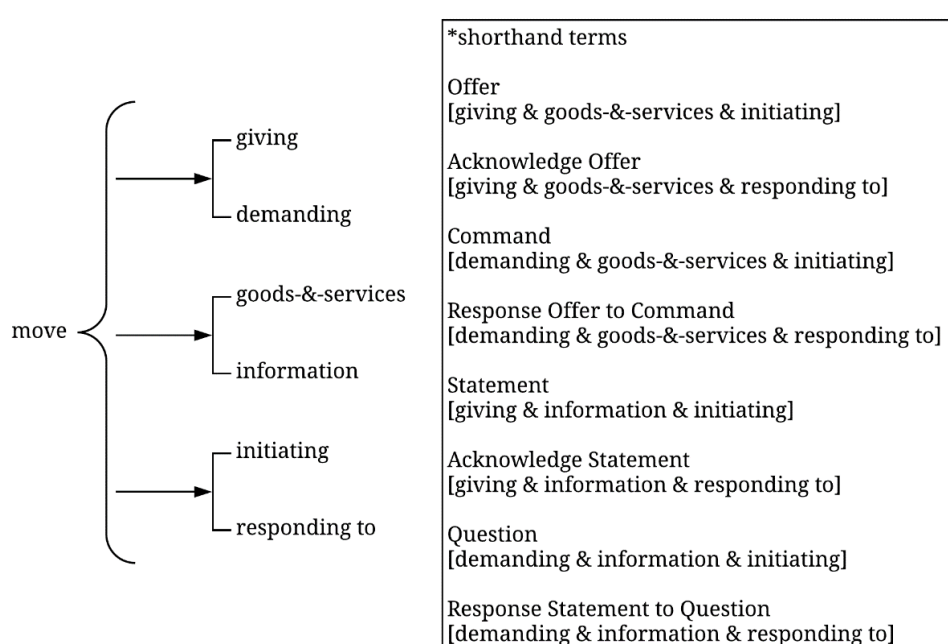


Figure 2.29 The SPEECH FUNCTION systems in English (adapted from Martin 1992: 35)

Two pieces of evidence show that move and clause are units at different strata (i.e. different levels of abstraction from the exponents). (1) Move and clause are not co-terminous; a move may be realised by an independent clause together with its embedded and/or dependent counterparts. (2) There is no one-to-one relationship between options in SPEECH FUNCTION and options in MOOD; the meaning-making resources for move and clause are diversified, allowing for MOOD metaphors introduced in Section 2.2.1.2.1.2 below.

<sup>62</sup> Note that if we follow the SFL conventions strictly the speech functional labels *Offer*, *Command*, *Statement*, *Question* and so on should be written with lower case. The notation used in Martin (1992a) is preserved in this review.

<sup>63</sup> Halliday attended Harvey Sacks' lectures on conversation analysis delivered in 1960s (later published as Sacks 1992), which probably influenced his thinking on speech functions (J.R. Martin, personal communication). Halliday (1977) also positively evaluates Sacks' work on conversations.

One further piece of evidence for considering move and clause as units at different strata provided in Martin (1992a:33–35) is the possibility of a move (either initiating or responding to) to be realised by different types of ellipsis and substitution.<sup>64</sup> Ellipsis and substitution are most commonly observed in responding moves. This is exemplified for Response Offer to Command in (2.41), for Response Statement to Question in (2.42), and for Acknowledge Statement in (2.43). Substitutions are underlined>.

- (2.41) *Get me the new one, please.* — *Allright, I'll get it for you.* (potentially elliptical)  
*Get me the new one, please.* — *Allright, I will.* (Residue ellipsis)  
*Get me the new one, please.* — *Allright.* (clause ellipsis)

- (2.42) *Which is the new one?* — *This one's the new one.* (potentially elliptical)  
*Which is the new one?* — *This one.* (wh ellipsis)  
*Will he make it?* — *Maybe so.* (Mood and Residue substituted)  
*Will she win it?* — *Perhaps not.* (Mood and Residue substituted)

- (2.43) *This one is the new one.* — *Which one's the new one?* (potentially elliptical)  
*This one is the new one.* — *Which one?* (wh ellipsis)  
(Martin 1992a:33–34)

Initiating moves can also be elliptical – as in (2.44) for Question and Statement. In the examples tone 2 and tone 1 represent rising and falling tone contours respectively (for details see Halliday (1970c) and Halliday & Greaves (2008)).

- (2.44) //2 *Coming?*// — *Yes, I am.*  
//1 *Leaving now.*// — *Oh, are you?*

The types of ellipsis and substitution are formalised as systems cross-classifying MOOD in Martin (1992a:35) (reproduced in Figure 2.30).

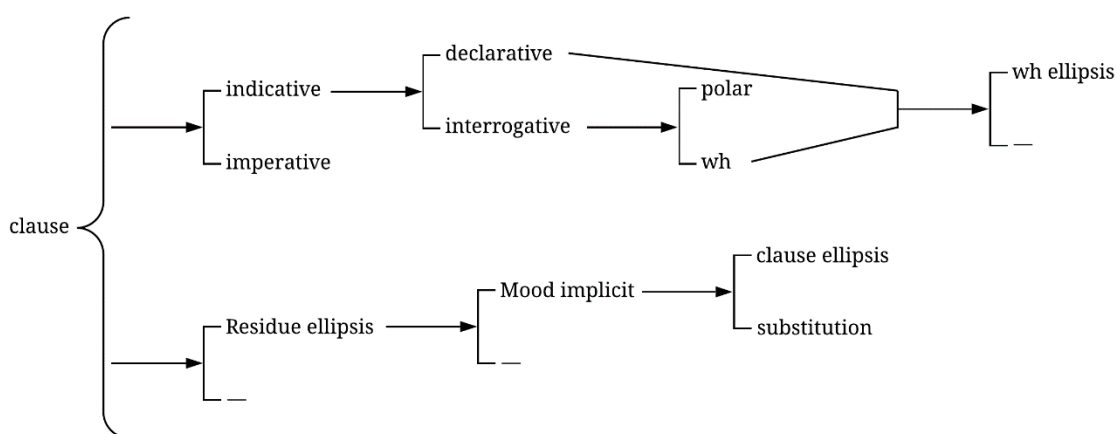


Figure 2.30 The MOOD systems and their potential for ellipsis and substitution (Martin

<sup>64</sup> For an account of ellipsis and substitution as non-structural resources in the textual metafunction see Halliday & Hasan (1976). The arguments for considering ellipsis and substitution as interpersonal resources in relation to the structuring of conversation are presented in Martin (1981:55–57).

### 2.2.1.2.1.2 Identifying speech functions

One question that naturally arises in a model which explicates the division of meaning-making labour between move and clause has to do with the identification of the speech functions which are assigned to a move. Martin (1992a:36–40) provides some recognition criteria from the ‘co-text’: (1) conventionalised expressions in the current or the adjacent move (‘indexical markers’) and/or (2) expression of grading (also see Martin 1981).

The first criterion that can be used to identify speech functions is a relatively fixed set of ‘indexical markers’ which typically occur in the realisation of certain speech functions. For example, Martin (1981:64; 1992a:36) identifies *please*, *kindly*, *allright*, *okay*, and *thank-you* as markers for distinguishing the giving/demanding of goods-&-services (i.e. proposal) from the giving/demanding of information (i.e. proposition). These expressions can also be used to differentiate giving goods-&-services (Offers and Acknowledge Offers) from demanding goods-&-services (Commands and Response Offers to Commands). *Please* and *kindly* are typically found in Commands, *allright* and *okay* in Response Offers to Commands, and *thank-you* in responses to Offers. Thus, *allright* and *okay* can be used to identify both Response Offers to Commands and Commands (the function of the preceding move); *thank-you* can be used to identify both Acknowledge Offers and Offers (the function of the preceding move). See (2.45) for an illustration.

- (2.45) *Could I have a midi of Coopers, please?*  
       — *Okay*.  
       — *Thanks*.  
       (from Martin 1992a:36)

*Please* in the first move marks Command. *Okay* in the second move marks Response Offer to Command; it at the same time marks the preceding move as a Command. *Thanks* in the third move marks Acknowledge Offer; it at the same time marks the preceding move as an Offer (i.e. a Response Offer to Command).

The second criterion that is used to distinguish between choices in SPEECH FUNCTION is related to the way they are graded. Halliday (1985) observes that propositions and proposals are graded differently. While propositions are typically graded in terms of modalisation (i.e. probability and usuality) proposals are typically graded in terms of modulation (i.e. obligation and inclination). The modalisation and modulation resources used in English to grade propositions and proposals are summarised in Table 2.4.<sup>65</sup>

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<sup>65</sup> In Halliday (1985:87) the types of intermediacy are called ‘modality’ and ‘modulation’.

Table 2.4 Modalisation and modulation in English (Halliday 1994: 91)

commodity exchanged	speech function		type of intermediacy		type of realisation	example
information	proposition:	statement, question	modalisation:	probability (possible / probable / certain)	finite mood operator	<i>they must have known</i>
					modal Adjunct	<i>they certainly knew</i>
					(both the above)	<i>they certainly must have known</i>
				usuality (sometimes / usually / always)	finite mood operator	<i>it must happen</i>
					modal Adjunct	<i>it always happens</i>
					(both the above)	<i>it must always happen</i>
goods-&-services	proposal:	command	modulation:	obligation (allowed / supposed / required)	finite modal operator	<i>you must be patient!</i>
					passive verb Predicator	<i>you're required to be patient!</i>
		offer		inclination (willing / keen / determined)	finite modal operator	<i>I must win!</i>
					adjective Predicator	<i>I'm determined to win!</i>

Table 2.4 shows that the subtypes of modulation can be used to differentiate between types of proposals. Martin (1992a) exemplifies the association of inclination with Offers and Response Offers to Commands and of obligation with Commands and Acknowledge Offers. The examples therein, along with the association between propositions and types of modalisation, are reproduced in (2.46).

(2.46) Offer ^ Acknowledge Offer (obligation)

*Shall I mark them then?*

— *You're required/supposed/allowed to.*

Command ^ Response Offer to Command (inclination)

*Get me a drink, would you?*

— *I'm willing/keen/determined to.*

Question ^ Response Statement to Question (probability)

*Will she win then?*

— *Possibly/probably/certainly she will.*

Statement ^ Acknowledge Statement (usuality)

*She wins then.*

— *Sometimes/usually/always she does.*

(from Martin 1992a:38–39)

Martin (1992a:42–44) recognises five further types of speech function (also see Martin & Rose (2007:224–226)). The first two, like the previously introduced ones, come in pairs: Greeting ^ Response to Greeting and Call ^ Response to Call. They are typically realised by minor clauses. Unlike major clauses, minor clauses lack Subject, Finite, and Predicator. The last one – Exclamation – may or may not have a pair partner. It can be realised by either a minor clause or a major clause. These speech functions are exemplified in (2.47).

(2.47) Greeting	<i>G'day.</i>
Response to Greeting	— <i>G'day.</i>
Call	<i>Bill.</i>
Response to Call	— <i>What?</i>
Exclamation	<i>Damn!</i>
Exclamation	<i>What an idiot!</i>
Response to Exclamation	— <i>Quite so.</i>
(from Martin 1992a:42–43)	

The consolidated MOOD systems for clause and the SPEECH FUNCTION systems for move given in Martin & Rose (2007:252) are adapted as Figure 2.31 and Figure 2.32.

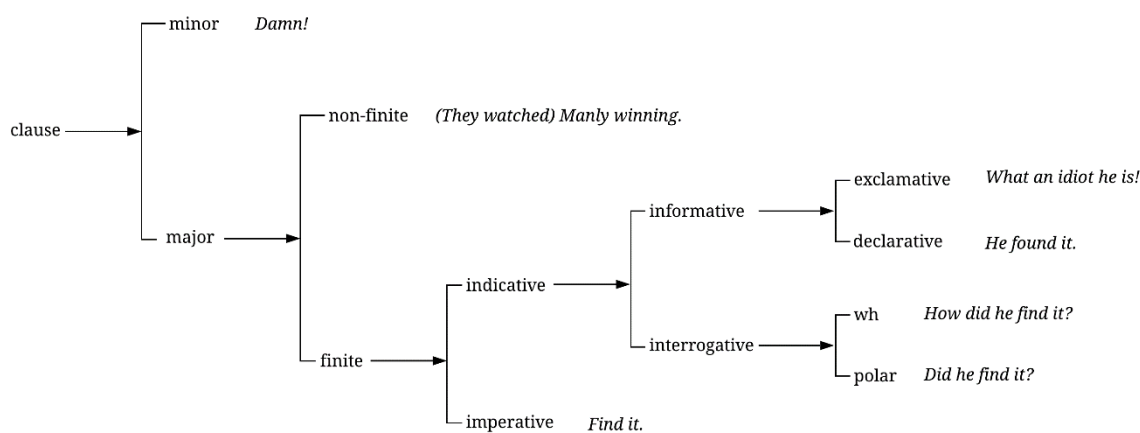


Figure 2.31 Consolidated MOOD network in English (adapted from Martin & Rose 2007:252)

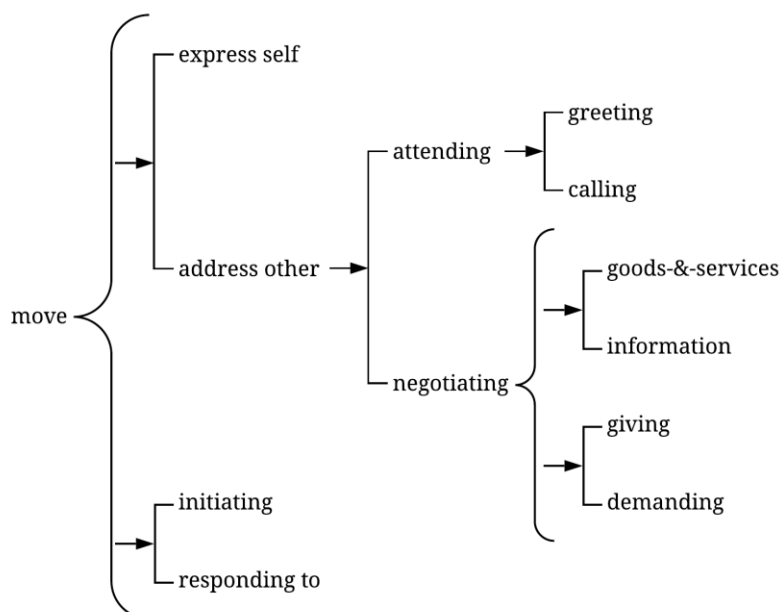


Figure 2.32 Consolidated SPEECH FUNCTION network in English (adapted from Martin & Rose 2007:252)

The stratified model of discourse semantics and lexicogrammar is insightful when analysing metaphors of MOOD (Halliday 1985a: 342–345; see Section 2.1.3 on grammatical metaphor). Imperative mood, for example, is described as *congruently* realising a demand for goods-&-services (i.e. Command). However, other mood types can also *metaphorically* realise Command – as exemplified in (2.48).

(2.48) *Get me the new one, please.* (Command is congruently realised by imperative mood)  
— *Allright, I will.*

*I'd like the new one, please.* (Command is metaphorically realised by declarative mood)  
— *Allright.*

*Can I have the new one, please.* (Command is metaphorically realised by interrogative mood)  
— *Allright.*  
(from Martin 1992a:33)

As far as the analysis of interaction is concerned, the SPEECH FUNCTION systems only account for exchanges comprising up to two moves.<sup>66</sup> This is insufficient when analysing exchanges that are made up of more than two moves – as exemplified in (2.49).

(2.49) Quizmaster: *In England, which cathedral has the tallest spire?*  
Contestant: *Is it Salisbury?*  
Quizmaster: *Well, is it?*  
Contestant: *Yes.*  
Quizmaster: *That's right.*  
(from Berry 1981a:136)

The exchange could potentially be analysed as Question ^ Question ^ Question ^ Response Statement to Question ^ Acknowledge Statement. A number of problems arise with a speech functional analysis of this kind.

- (1) Moves do not necessarily come in pairs. From our analysis of the interaction in (2.49) in Section 2.2.1.1 we know that the first two Questions and the Acknowledge Statement form a triplet – the first Question predicts both the second Question and the Acknowledge Statement.
- (2) It is unclear how the sequence *Well, is it? — Yes* is related to the previous move *Is it Salisbury?* and the ensuing move *That's right*. This Question ^ Response Statement to Question pair interrupts the expected course of the exchange. (The sequence would be analysed as realising dynamic elements at exchange rank; for details see Section 2.2.1.2.2.3 below.)
- (3) The speech functions Question, Response Statement to Question, and Acknowledge Statement are features from SPEECH FUNCTION ([demanding & information & initiating], [demanding & information & responding to], and [giving & information &

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<sup>66</sup> The SPEECH FUNCTION analyses thus deal with phenomenon known as 'adjacency pairs' in Conversation Analysis (CA) (Schegloff 2007).



responding to)).<sup>67</sup> This means that what we are sequencing in our analysis is classes of move. We have a syntagm rather than structure. Syntagms do not account for why the moves are sequenced in this way.

These problems are addressed in Martin's (1992a) and Ventola's (1987) exchange rank, drawing on Berry (1981a; 1981c; 1981d).

## 2.2.1.2.2 Discourse rank scale in interaction: exchange and move

### 2.2.1.2.2.1 Exchange systems

To account for exchanges which consist of more than paired moves, Martin (1992a:46–50) incorporates Berry's (1981a; 1981c; 1981d) exchange structure analysis into his formulation of the **exchange rank** systems. The relationship between exchange rank and move rank is exemplified in relation to a knowledge exchange in Figure 2.33.<sup>68, 69</sup>

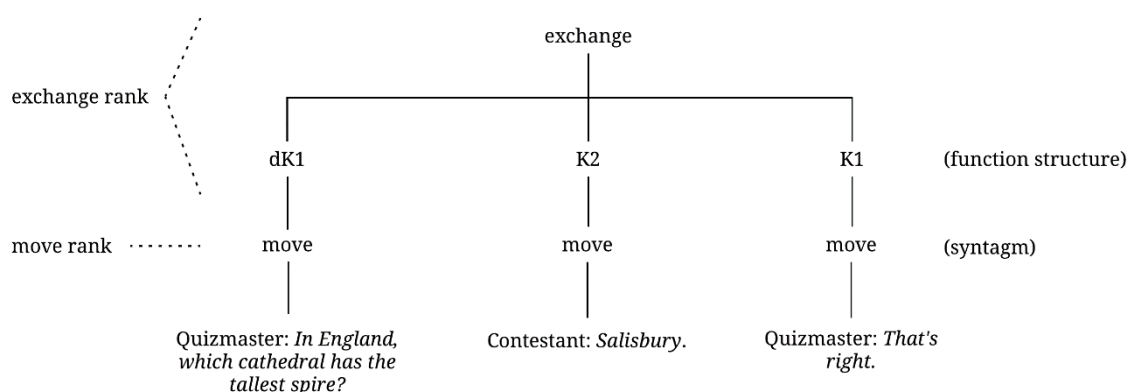


Figure 2.33 Exchange rank and move rank

In contrast to Berry (1981a; 1981d), Martin (1992a) and Ventola (1987) formulate patterns in exchange structure at exchange rank (i.e. the resources are available to speakers for exchange. Martin refers to the systems as NEGOTIATION. The NEGOTIATION network as it is formalised in Martin (2018:11) is reproduced in Figure 2.34. Note that slash (/) is used in the realisation statements to show alternative functions in knowledge exchange and action exchange, rather than conflation.

<sup>67</sup> The analysis of the last move as [giving & information & responding to] is doubtful as it is not preceded by [giving & information & initiating].

<sup>68</sup> Sinclair & Coulthard's (1975) Inform and Elicit exchange and Direct exchange are termed 'knowledge exchange' and 'action exchange' in Martin (1992a). Martin's terms will be used in the remainder of the thesis as a knowledge exchange is more than informing-&-eliciting, and an action exchange is more than directing.

<sup>69</sup> Figure 2.33 shows that references such as "K1 move" (e.g. Martin & Rose 2007) is problematic in that K1 is a function label and move is the unit that realises this function; by the same token, grammatical functions such as Predicator would not be referred to as Predicator group.

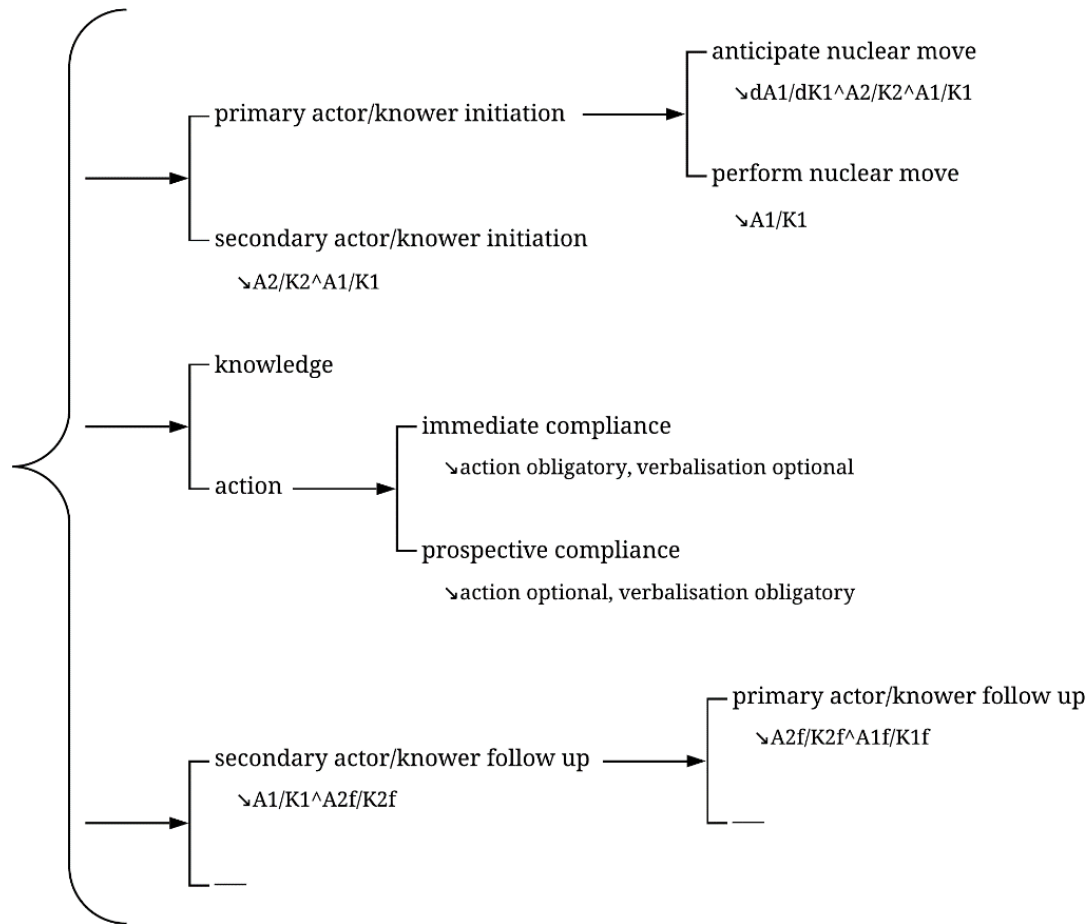


Figure 2.34 NEGOTIATION systems for knowledge and action (Martin 2018:11)

Instances of choices from these types of exchange are given in (2.50) to (2.57).

- (2.50) [primary actor initiation: perform nuclear move]  
 Waitress      A1      *Your coke, sir* (while serving coke)
- (2.51) [primary knower initiation: perform nuclear move]  
 Lita              K1      *Joseph's here now.*
- (2.52) [secondary actor initiation]  
 Kiko              A2      *Could I have coke instead (please)?*  
 Waitress        A1      *OK.*
- (2.53) [secondary knower initiation]  
 Jopay            K2      *Who's there?*  
 Lita              K1      *Joseph.*
- (2.54) [primary actor initiation: anticipate nuclear move]  
 Waitress        dA1     *Would you like a coke, sir?*  
 Kiko              A2      *OK.*  
 Waitress        A1      *OK, sir.*

- (2.55) [primary knower initiation: anticipate nuclear move]  
 Lita                dK1      *Wow, you'll never guess who's here!*  
 Jopay             K2        *Who's there?*  
 Lita                K1        *Joseph.*
- (2.56) [primary actor initiation: perform nuclear move &  
 secondary actor follow up: primary actor follow up]  
 Waitress         A1        *Your coke sir. (while serving the coke)*  
 Kiko               A2f       *Thanks.*  
 Waitress         A1f       *You're welcome.*
- (2.57) [primary knower initiation: perform nuclear move &  
 secondary knower follow up: primary knower follow up]  
 Lita                K1        *Joseph's here now.*  
 Jopay             K2f       *Really?*  
 Lita                K1f       *The very one!*  
 (from Martin 2018:9–10)

The contrasts between Martin's network and Berry's network (see Figure 2.24) are summarised in Table 2.5 in relation to the theoretical dimensions of metafunction, rank, and delicacy.

Table 2.5 Comparing Martin's NEGOTIATION network and Berry's network for exchange

	<b>metafunction</b>	<b>rank</b>	<b>delicacy</b>	<b>example references</b>
Berry	interpersonal and textual	move		Berry 1981a; 1981b; 1981c; 1981d
Martin	interpersonal	exchange	more delicate options for action exchanges and secondary actor/knower follow up exchanges	Martin 1992a; 2018; Martin & Rose 2007; Ventola 1987

There are also some notational differences between Berry's and Martin's networks. (1) The terms [select A event/action] and [select B event/action] are replaced with [primary actor/knower initiation] and [secondary actor/knower initiation]. This avoids invoking the distinction between A event and B event used in Labov (1972:252–258); the terms 'A event' and 'B event' as used in exchange structure analysis are slightly different from Labov's use of the terms. (2) The exchange function labels are written with initial capital letters (e.g. A1, K1); they designate the functions moves play in an exchange. They do not refer to classes of move.

In addition, Martin (1992a:49–50) includes [calling], [greeting], and [reacting] sequences into the NEGOTIATION network. [Calling] and [greeting] sequences always come in pairs (Call ^ Response to Call; Greeting ^ Response to Greeting); [reacting], on the other hand, may be realised by one function only (Exclamation) when the attitude expressed is not negotiated. These more general options in the NEGOTIATION network are shown in Figure 2.35.

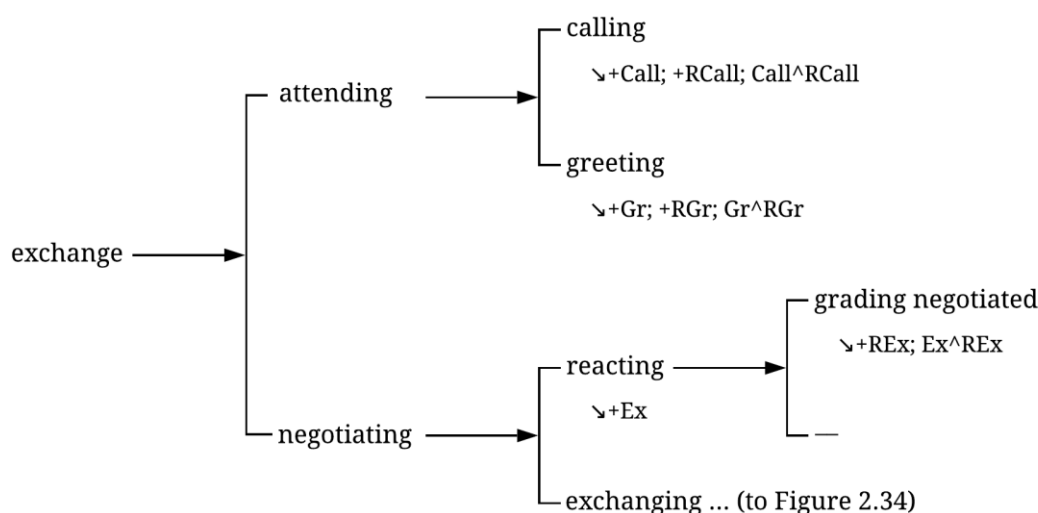


Figure 2.35 Primary delicacy in NEGOTIATION (adapted from Martin 1992a:49)

Interactions in (2.58) to (2.60) exemplify these options.

(2.58) [calling]  
 Call    *John?*  
 RCall   — *What?*

(2.59) [greeting]  
 Gr      *See you.*  
 RGr    — *Bye-bye.*

(2.60) [reacting: grading negotiated]  
 Ex      *Such a pity!*  
 REx    — *Very!*

Martin's (1992a) explicit identification of the meaning-making potential for exchange and move rank is a significant step towards developing a rank-based model of interaction in discourse semantics. For example, it can be used to explain what Ventola (1987:115–117) calls 'linguistic services' as exemplified in (2.61).

(2.61) *Can you tell me your name?*  
 — *Yes, allright, John Smith.*

From the perspective of SPEECH FUNCTION, the first move in (2.61) can be identified as a command ([demanding & goods-&-services & initiating]) based on the indexical marker *allright* in the response move. This analysis, however, does not account for the fact that the service performed is linguistic in nature, i.e. *John Smith* is a piece of information.

Martin (1992a:51) provides interpretation of this interaction from the systems of NEGOTIATION (exchange rank), SPEECH FUNCTION (move rank), and MOOD (clause rank). At exchange rank in discourse semantics, the interaction is a knowledge exchange with the

structure  $K2 \wedge K1$ . At move rank in discourse semantics, the first move selects [demanding & goods-&-services & initiating] and the second move [demanding & goods-&-services & responding to]. At clause rank in lexicogrammar, the two clauses select [interrogative: polar] and [declarative: wh ellipsis] respectively. Martin argues that a full responding move typically responds in sequence to MOOD (*Yes*), then SPEECH FUNCTION (*allright*), and finally NEGOTIATION (*John Smith*) – though only the last part is obligatory.

Martin's (1992a) description of classes of move (i.e. SPEECH FUNCTION) involves reasoning from below and from around. However, it lacks the argumentation for move classes from above in relation to the functions they serve in exchanges.

- (1) *From below*: The SPEECH FUNCTION systems at move rank are adopted from Halliday's (1984; 1985) semantic interpretation of the nature of exchange. They are designed to account for the structural patterns observed in the English MOOD systems at clause rank in lexicogrammar. The SPEECH FUNCTION systems are essentially options reasoned about from below in relation to lexicogrammatical patterns.
- (2) *From around*: Although Martin (1992a) provides reasoning about SPEECH FUNCTION from around in relation to MODALISATION and MODULATION, it is unclear as to where the interaction between the three systems occurs. In Halliday's (1985:86–89) account of MODALITY ([modalisation / modulation]), the distinction between semantics and lexicogrammar is unclear. He discusses MODALISATION in relation to propositions and MODULATION in relation to proposals (semantic argumentation); but he formalises the choices as lexicogrammatical.
- (3) *From above*: Apart from explaining instances such as linguistic services as exemplified in (2.61) above, the ways exchange functions and move classes are related to one another are not explicitly argued for (i.e. the diversification of meanings between exchange functions and move classes is unclear). This problem becomes apparent when the discourse semantic systems are generalised in the description and comparison of lexicogrammatical systems in languages other than English (LOTE). In existing descriptions of LOTEs, the speech functional model and the exchange structure model are typically used separately. Examples of speech function analysis can be found in comparative studies such as Caffarel, Martin & Matthiessen (2004), Mwinlaaru, Matthiessen & Akerejola (2018), and Teruya et al. (2007) and descriptions of individual languages such as Caffarel (1995; 2006) on French, Quiroz (2013; 2018) on Spanish, and Rose (2001) on Pitjantjatjara; examples of exchange structure analysis can be found in more recent studies such as Martin & Cruz (2018) on Tagalog and Martin et al. (in press) on Spanish and Mandarin (along with English).

There have been attempts at articulating the relationship between exchange functions and move classes in the literature (e.g. Matthiessen 1995; Ventola 1987, Figure 4.4 in particular). However, it is unclear what difference in meaning can be captured by the analyses on two ranks. Matthiessen (1995:445) seems to suggest the following congruence between exchange functions and speech functions: k2-question, k1-statement/answer, k2f-question, k1f-statement. Berry (1981c) argues for diversified realisations of exchange functions via what she calls 'mood classes': dk1-question, k2-question/statement, k1-

statement; k2f-‘Oh’.

What underlies both the speech functional model and the exchange structure model of interaction is the understanding of exchange as transmission of information or goods-&-services/action. In the speech functional model, information/goods-&-services is perceived as either given or demanded. In the exchange structure model, a piece of information is transmitted from the primary knower to the secondary knower (among other things); an action is performed on behalf of the secondary actor by the primary actor. The two models are similar in their conceptualisation of exchange. They differ in the stretches of exchange they are designed to account for. The speech functional model arises from an interest in the interpretation of pairs of interact, which is related to the explanation of the Mood elements in English clause.<sup>70</sup> The exchange structure model, on the other hand, arises from the interpretation of exchanges comprising three interacts (Initiation ^ Response ^ Feedback (IRF) as proposed in Sinclair & Coulthard (1975)).

In other words, the two models are concerned with similar linguistic phenomena at one rank (i.e. exchange) rather than at two (i.e. exchange and move). The fact that Halliday (1984:13) and Martin (1992a:44) include the options [initiating] and [responding to] in their move systems shows that what they are accounting for is patterns in exchange rather than patterns in move. The same goes for [giving] and [demanding]; as Halliday notes “giving implies receiving and demanding implies giving in response” (1985:68). These two sets of options are making statements about moves as they are paired in exchanges.

The most explicit manifestation of this problem is with calling, greeting, and reacting sequences. These sequences at most comprise two moves. The speech functional model is sufficient in addressing patterns in these types of exchange. However, a rank-based model comprising exchange and move ranks would have to repeat the interpretation of these sequences at two ranks (compare Figure 2.32 and Figure 2.35). To fully account for the meaning-making resources at move rank, we need to describe move systems *in their own right* in the context of exchange. This issue is addressed in Section 3.2.1.

The rank-based modelling of interaction has further consequences for discussing the realisation of exchange functions and the unfolding of exchanges. Firstly, given that an exchange function is realised by a class of move, it is possible for an exchange function to be realised by more than one move (i.e. move complex).<sup>71</sup> Secondly, Berry’s non-supporting moves – query and challenges – need to be modelled in relation to the more static patterns in exchange; queries and challenges are described as dynamic aspects of exchange in Martin (1992a).

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<sup>70</sup> They are also considered non-structural cohesive devices in Hasan (1985).

<sup>71</sup> Here we have an analogy with lexicogrammatical rank scale, where Predicator in a clause can potentially be realised by a verbal group complex, e.g. *He huffed and puffed as hard as he could.* (see Martin, Matthiessen & Painter 2010:181).

#### 2.2.1.2.2.2 Move complex

The recognition of move complexes in the realisation of exchange functions is related to the identification of exchange boundaries. Berry (1981a) takes turn-taking as a criterion for identifying exchange boundaries. She argues:

“The opening of an exchange sets up an expectation that turns will be taken until the information has been successfully transmitted. It is only at an exchange boundary that a speaker can take two turns following or can miss a turn without disrupting the normal course of the conversation” (Berry 1981a:131).

If we follow Berry's line of reasoning, interactions such as (2.62) below would be analysed as comprising two exchanges.

- |        |            |    |  |
|--------|------------|----|--|
| (2.62) | Exchange 1 | K2 | <i>Have you ever heard of Baron Munchhausen?</i>                         |
|        |            | K1 | <i>No, I've never heard about them.</i>                                  |
|        | Exchange 2 | K1 | <i>It's the first time I've heard of them.</i><br>(from Martin 1992a:57) |

Martin (1992a:57–59) adopts Ventola’s proposal of move complex with slight adjustments. According to Martin, not all move complexes are realised by a paratactic clause complex. A move complex can also be realised by cohesively linked sentences (including clauses and clause complexes). The move complex in (2.63) below is realised by a clause complex (paratactic enhancement); whereas the one in (2.64) is realised by cohesively linked sentences. The cohesive devices used in (2.64) are underlined. Martin (1992a) uses arched lines to show complexing.<sup>72</sup>

- (2.63) { A2 1 You mentioned a drink a while ago —  
 { A2 x2 how about getting me one;  
 { A2 x3 it’s awfully hot in here.
- (2.64) { A2 You mentioned a drink a while ago, didn’t you?  
 { A2 Well, how about (you) getting me one.  
 { A2 My reason for asking is that it’s awfully hot in here.  
 (adapted from Martin 1992a:58)

All the three moves in (2.63) and (2.64) above function collectively as A2; the A2 could potentially be followed by an obligatory A1 for the exchanges to be well-formed, either realised non-verbally through the provision of the drink or through a verbal promise.

Martin argues that not all cohesively linked sentences realise one exchange function. The second move in (2.65) below could potentially initiate another exchange, hence realising a separate exchange function, given that the interlocutors continue to negotiate the reason for the demand of beer as in (2.66) below.

- (2.65) { A2 Can you get me a beer?  
 { A2 I’m dying of thirst.  
 { A1 Here you are (while handing over a beer).
- (2.66) Exchange 1 A2 Can you get me a beer?  
 Exchange 2 K1 I’m dying of thirst.  
 K2f Are you?  
 K1f Yes.

The identification of exchange boundaries is thus an empirical issue. It needs to be determined on a case-by-case basis.

#### 2.2.1.2.2.3 Dynamic elements in exchange

The exchange structures exemplified so far can all be generated by NEGOTIATION systems. However, exchanges do not necessarily unfold according to the expectation set up by the

<sup>72</sup> This representation of move complex is potentially problematic. The arched lines seem to suggest that it is the exchange functions (the A2s) that are in a complexing relationship when it is in fact the moves that fall into logico-semantic relationships. However, for the ease of representation, in Chapter 3 and Chapter 4 of the thesis, complexing relationships are represented before the exchange functions, e.g. K1=K1 means a K1 being realised by a move complex related in terms of elaboration.



function of the initiating move – as shown in Section 2.2.1.1.2. Berry's (1981a) non-initiating moves such as query and challenge can potentially occur at any point in an exchange.

Martin (1992a:66–76) offers a more comprehensive account of such dynamic elements in exchange under the headings of tracking and challenge. While tracking is concerned with interruptions that are experientially oriented, challenges are more interpersonally oriented. Martin's **tracking** options (including some of Berry's category [query]) are reproduced in Figure 2.36 and Figure 2.37. The ways different types of tracking are identified are provided in the boxes attached to each option.

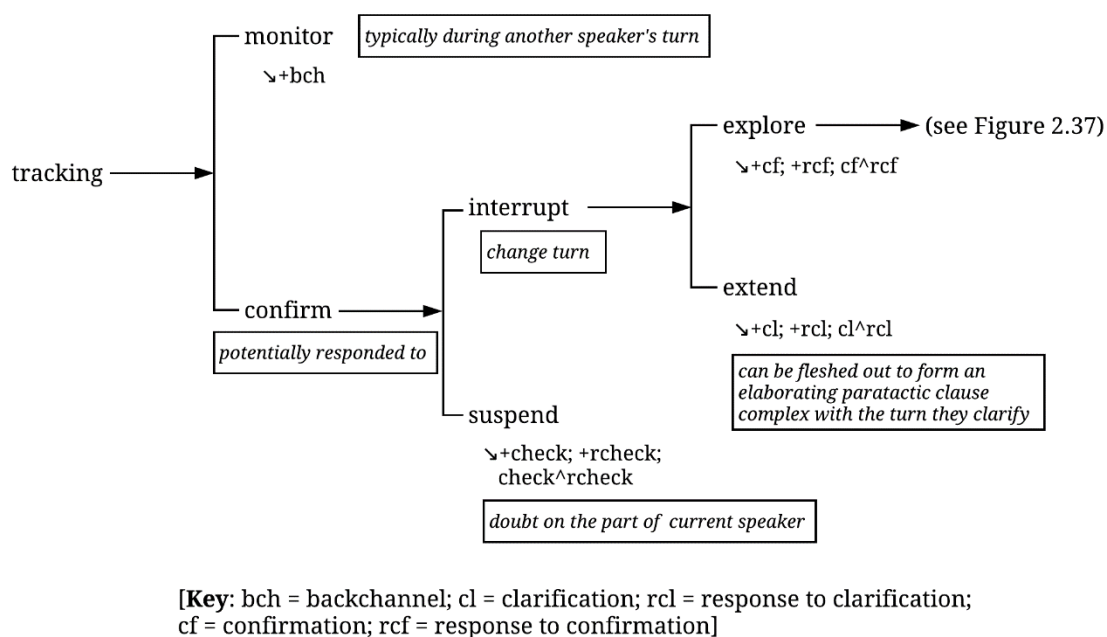


Figure 2.36 Tracking moves: clarifying experiential meaning (adapted from Martin 1992a:70)

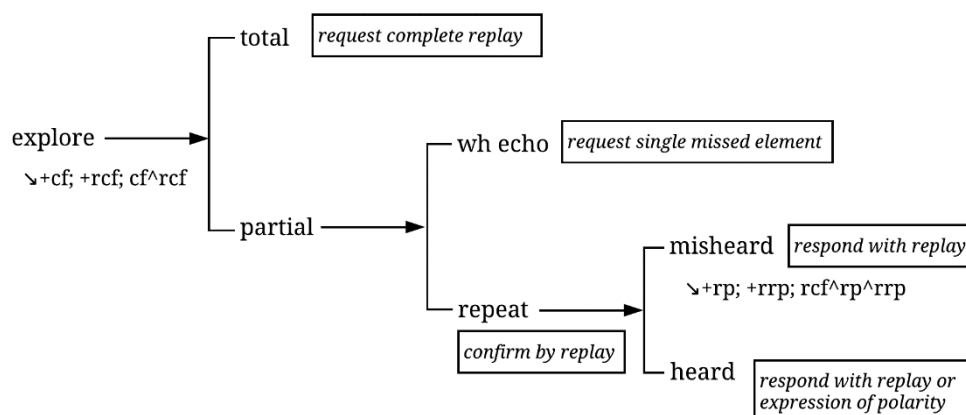


Figure 2.37 Tracking moves (continuing Figure 2.36)

The interactions in (2.67) to (2.73) exemplify the options in Figure 2.36 and Figure 2.37 one by one.<sup>73</sup>

(2.67) [monitor] (+bch; typically during another speaker's turn)

- K1 Server: *Say it you're looking at fourteen days,*  
**bch** Client: *Hm.*  
 K1 Server: *at Sanyor Beach,*  
**bch** Client: *Yes.*  
 (2 seconds pause – S leafing through brochure)  
 K1 Server: *depending on which departure you wanted,*  
**bch** Client: *Hm.*  
 (4 seconds pause – S keeps turning pages over)  
 K1 Server: *so all you have to do...*

(2.68) [confirm: suspend] (+check; +rcheck; doubt on the part of the current speaker)  
 (continuing (2.67))

- check** Server: *fourteen days, right?*  
**rcheck** Client: *Uhm.*

(2.69) [confirm: interrupt: extend] (+cl; rcl; can be fleshed out to form an elaborating paratactic clause complex with the turn they clarify)

- K2 Client: *What time do flights then go to Sydney tomorrow?*  
**cl** Server: *er morning or afternoon now?*  
**rcl** Client: *Uh, mid-morning, early afternoon.*  
 K1 Server: *Uh well, you've got a 9:30 and 10:15...*  
 (from Ventola 1987; cited in Martin 1992a:67–68)

(2.70) [confirm: interrupt: explore: total] (+cf; rcf; request complete replay)

- K2 *Does she have Peter Pan?*  
**cf** — *What?*  
**rcf** — *Does she have Peter Pan?*  
 K1 — *Yes.*

(2.71) [confirm: interrupt: explore: partial: wh echo] (+cf; +rcf; request single missed element)

- K1 *I found the book.*  
**cf** — *You found what?*  
**rcf** — *The book.*  
 K2f — *Oh.*

(2.72) [confirm: interrupt: explore: partial: repeat: heard]  
 (+cf; +rcf; respond with replay or expression of polarity)

- K2 *Does she have Peter Pan?*  
**cf** — *Peter Pan?*  
**rcf** — *Yes.*  
 K1 — *No.*

(2.73) [confirm: interrupt: explore: partial: repeat: misheard]  
 (+cf; +rcf; +rp; +rrp; respond with replay)

- K2 *Do you have Snow White?*

---

<sup>73</sup> Where relevant, the double slash (/ /) marks the tone group.

**cf** — *The snow Queen.*  
**rcf** — *No,*  
**rp** *Snow White.*  
**rrp** — *Oh.*  
 K1 *No.*

(adapted from Martin 1992a:68–69)

Challenges, on the other hand, either abort or suspend exchanges. Martin (1992a:71–73) describes the different ways the different types of exchange may be aborted – as they are summarised in Table 2.7.

Table 2.7 Challenges that abort exchanges

Types of exchange	Abort strategies
calls and greetings	refuse attention
negotiating: opinion	refuse to grade
negotiating: goods-&-services	frustrate modulation (refuse obligation/express disinclination) after dA1 and A2; undo service after A1
negotiating: information	avoid grading modalisation (claim ignorance) after dK1 and K2; deny relevance after K1

The relevant examples of challenges are provided in (2.74) to (2.77) (from Martin 1992a:71–73) (ch = challenge).

(2.74) challenge: abort greeting

Gr *Hi.*

ch — *Piss off.*

(2.75) challenge: abort negotiating opinion

Ex *A pity.*

ch — *None of my business.*

(2.76) challenge: abort negotiating goods-&-services

Da1 *Shall I get you a drink?*

ch — *No thanks.*

A2 *Get me a drink, will you?*

ch — *No, I won't/I can't.*

A1 *Here you go.*

ch — *I don't want anymore.*

(2.77) challenge: abort negotiating information

Dk1 *Is it a Range?*

ch — *I've no idea.*

K2 *What's that one?*

ch — *I don't know.*

K1 *John might be coming over.*

ch — *So what?*

Not all challenges abort exchanges. Like tracking, challenges may suspend the flow of exchanges by negotiating attitude as in (2.78), modulation (obligation and inclination) as in (2.79), and modalisation (probability and usuality) as in (2.80) (rch = response to challenge).

- (2.78) Ex     *He's such an idiot.*  
           ch     — *Kind of.*  
           rch    — *A complete imbecile!*  
           ch     — *Not quite.*  
           rch    — *Unmitigated!*  
           REx    — *Oh alright.*
- (2.79) A2     *Get me a beer, will you?*  
           ch     — *May/will/must I?*  
           rch    — *You could/should/have to.*  
           A1     — *Allright.*  
           A2f    — *Thanks.*
- (2.80) K1     *I reckon it's a Range.*  
           ch     — *Are you sure?*  
           rch    — *It could be.*  
           K2f    — *I guess so.*

A delay in the appearance of a predicted exchange function (as in (2.78) to (2.80)) would be treated as a query according to Berry's (1981a:136) criteria.

One of the issues needing further research in relation to the dynamic elements of exchange is to provide move-by-move reasoning about what is at stake in Martin's challenges. The ways challenges suspend the realisation of the expected sequence is apparently different from tracking. To address this issue, descriptions of move classes beyond the simple giving and demanding model is required (see Section 3.2). A better understanding of move classes will shed light on our understanding of the dynamic elements in exchange as the dynamic elements such as challenges depend on the preceding element in the exchange.

### 2.2.1.2.3 Summary

The stratified rank-based model of interaction consolidated in Martin (1992a:Ch.2) resolves many of the issues arising from Berry's (1981a; 1981b; 1981c; 1981d) work on exchange structure. Martin explicitly argues for the distribution of meanings across discourse semantics and lexicogrammar. At the level of discourse semantics, he provides descriptions of the meaning-making resources at exchange rank (NEGOTIATION) and move rank (SPEECH FUNCTION). Martin also demonstrates how meanings are diversified between move rank resources in discourse semantics (SPEECH FUNCTION) and clause rank resources in lexicogrammar (MOOD). Additionally, Martin's NEGOTIATION network makes room for exchanges that are constrained to two moves (calling, greeting, and reacting). As far as Berry's (1981a) non-supporting moves are concerned, Martin (1992a:66–76) provides a

more systematic account of the dynamic elements in an exchange.

The problems arising from Martin's (1992a) stratified rank-based model are mainly related to the argumentation about move classes. The SPEECH FUNCTION network at move rank is motivated mainly from below in relation to MOOD in English and from around in relation to MODALISATION and MODULATION. Systematic argumentation of move classes from above in relation to exchange structure is lacking. An analogy with lexicogrammatical argumentation in this regard is that the characterisation of group classes cannot be accomplished without examining the clause functions groups play. In the next chapter, the move resources considered from such a perspective will enable a move-by-move analysis of interaction; they consequently will shed lights on our understanding of the dynamic elements in an exchange (challenges in particular).

Before we examine move classes from above in relation to exchanges in Khorchin Mongolian, it is necessary to briefly introduce another interpersonal discourse semantic system that will be developed as part of the move system in Chapter 3, i.e. ENGAGEMENT.

### 2.2.2 Patterns in dialogic positioning

A unified account of dialogic positioning of alternative voices has been provided in the discourse semantic system of ENGAGEMENT (Martin 2000b; Martin & White 2005; White 1998; 2000; 2003). ENGAGEMENT is a sub-system of APPRAISAL, alongside ATTITUDE and GRADUATION. Simply put, APPRAISAL is concerned with “the negotiation and enactment of intersubjective feelings” (Martin 2019:240). More specifically, ATTITUDE is concerned with the expression of affect, judgement of behaviours, and appreciation of things. GRADUATION is related to the raising and lowering of the force of evaluation and the sharpening and softening of boundaries around categories. APPRAISAL systems are outlined in Figure 2.38 below. The relevant resources in the examples are highlighted in bold. The resources in ENGAGEMENT are introduced in more detail below.

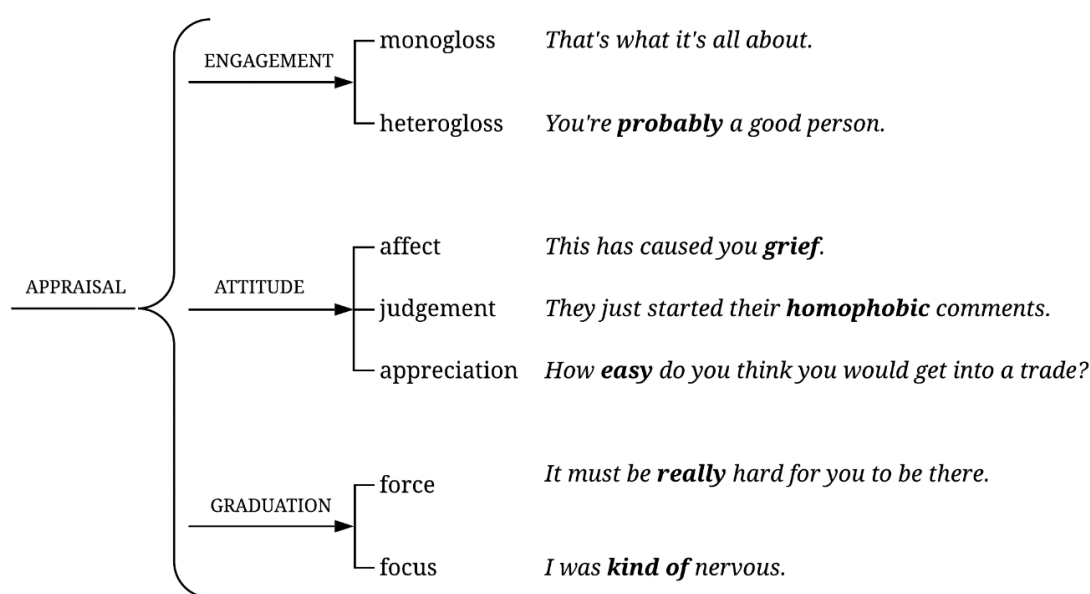


Figure 2.38 APPRAISAL (adapted from Martin 2019:243)

The work on ENGAGEMENT is informed by the idea that utterances are inherently dialogistic (Bahktin 1981; Voloshinov 1973). It is concerned with the linguistic resources speakers/writers use to position themselves in relation to the values they reference and to engage with alternative voices in relation to the values they put forward (Martin & White 2005:95–135). Speakers/writers use ENGAGEMENT resources to acknowledge previous voices and anticipate possible responses. In Martin & White's words:

“[W]e are interested in whether the value position is presented as one which can be taken for granted for this particular audience, as one which is in some way novel, problematic or contentious, or as one which is likely to be questioned, resisted or rejected” (2005:93).

The linguistic resources for presenting information as ‘taken for granted’ is called [monogloss] and the others [heterogloss]. Monoglossic utterances do not explicitly acknowledge other voices (‘bare assertions’) while heteroglossic utterances do. The utterance in (2.81) is monoglossic; it does not make explicit reference to external voices.

(2.81) *The banks have been greedy.*  
(from Martin & White 2005:100)

Categories described under modality, evidentiality and the like are described as heteroglossic from the perspective of the ENGAGEMENT system. For example, the modalised proposition *The banks may have been greedy* is heteroglossic in that it presents the proposition as but one of the possibilities, i.e. it acknowledges the existence of alternative viewpoints.

Within [heterogloss], a distinction is made between [expand] and [contract] in order to account for the different ways alternative voices are brought into play in a text. While the expansive resources “actively [make] allowances for dialogically alternative positions and voices” as in (2.82), the contractive resources “acts to challenge, fend off or restrict the scope of such” as in (2.83) (Martin & White 2005:102).

(2.82) *It was not a great speech. It reads like a sixth-form essay answering the question: ‘Imagine you ruled the world. What would you do?’ It was not the answer of a statesman, not of a realist. In fact it was **probably** the most immature, irresponsible, disgraceful and misleading address ever given by a British Prime Minister. It was all bluster, all bluff.* [Sunday Express, 7/10/01] (cited in Martin & White 2005: 105; their emphasis)

(2.83) *We all like something to grab hold of. But sometimes you can have too much of a good thing. And a man whose table diet consists of double cheese-burgers and chips can end up looking like a tub of lard. There’s **nothing** wrong with meat, bread and potatoes. But how about some lean meat, wholemeal bread and jacket potatoes.* [British Heart Foundation] (cited in Martin & White 2005: 118; their emphasis)

In (2.82), the writer uses the modal adjunct *probably* to show that the proposition enacted by the utterance is but one of the possible viewpoints, hence explicitly allowing for alternative voices and viewpoints. In (2.83), on the other hand, the writer’s negative

proposition *There's nothing wrong with meat, bread and potatoes* explicitly makes reference to the opposite voice (*'There IS something wrong with meat, bread and potatoes'*) so as to deny it.

The general ENGAGEMENT resources proposed in Martin & White (2005) are formalised as a system network in Figure 2.39. The typical resources in English realising each feature are attached in boxes.

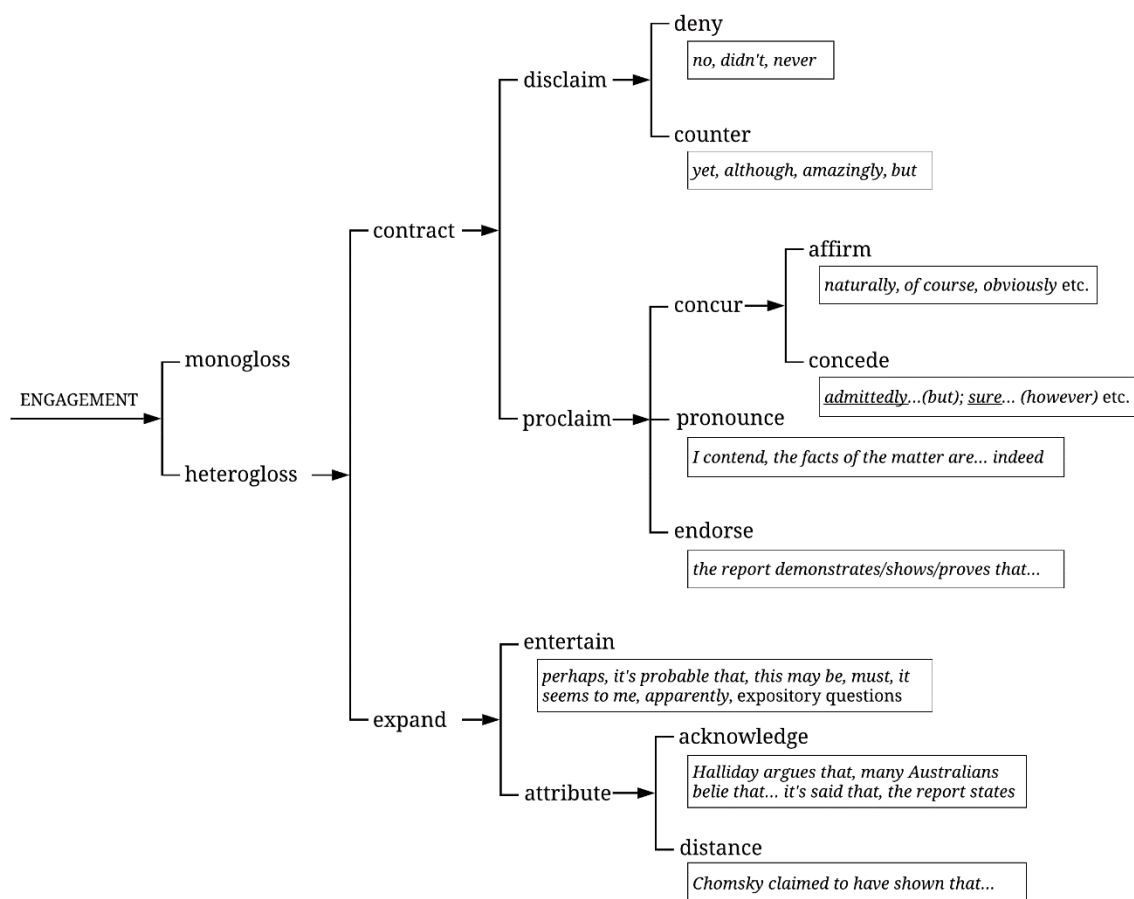


Figure 2.39 ENGAGEMENT in English (adapted from Martin & White 2005:134)

The explorations of ENGAGEMENT resources in Martin & White (2005) and White (1998; 2000; 2003) are based primarily on media texts. The analyses therein are illustrated in terms of how *putative readers* are aligned and disaligned in relation to the values and viewpoints put forward and made reference to in the texts. This thesis reinterprets the ENGAGEMENT systems in relation to conversational data in Khorchin Mongolian (see Section 3.2.2). One distinctive feature of conversation is that the interlocutors negotiate information and value positions *face to face in real time*. A move-by-move analysis of how responses are anticipated and how the prior utterance is supported, adjusted, or rejected is necessary for understanding the dynamics of positioning alternative voices in conversation.

This thesis thus extends the current application of APPRAISAL in the analysis of interaction as a complementary system to the analysis of NEGOTIATION (Eggins & Slade 1997:Ch.4;

Knight 2010; 2013; Martin 2000a; 2019; Martin & Zappavigna 2016; Zappavigna & Martin 2018). The focus of attention in the extant studies has been on the ways APPRAISAL analysis complements NEGOTIATION analysis by foregrounding the ways interlocutors share feelings and negotiate solidarity and affiliation. This thesis, on the other hand, will show that one of the sub-systems of APPRAISAL – i.e. ENGAGEMENT – is also closely associated with the negotiation of knowledge. It will be incorporated as part of the move systems realising NEGOTIATION options in Chapter 3.

## **2.3 Describing interpersonal meaning in Khorchin Mongolian**

This chapter has outlined the key theoretical and descriptive underpinnings of the current study. The dimension of axis is central to the descriptions offered in Chapter 3 and Chapter 4. The descriptions are also informed by the dimensions of rank, stratification, metafunction, and instantiation. In terms of rank, Chapter 3 provides axial argumentation underpinning exchange and move rank resources in Khorchin Mongolian discourse semantics. In doing so, Chapter 3 sheds light on the research gaps in the existing descriptions of the interpersonal discourse semantic rank scale identified in Section 2.2. In Chapter 4, the focus of description is the grammatical meaning-making resources available at clause rank. The reasoning underpinning categories at clause rank draws on resources at group and word rank.

The descriptions in Chapter 3 and Chapter 4 are related in terms of stratification. The discourse semantic resources described in Chapter 3 are realised by the grammatical resources described in Chapter 4. In this sense, the clause rank description in Chapter 4 provides a perspective from below as far as the description of move rank resources at Chapter 3 are concerned. Conversely, the description in Chapter 3 affords the perspective from above as far as the description of the clause rank resources in Chapter 4 are concerned.

In terms of metafunction, this thesis focuses on the interpersonal layer of meaning. It is concerned with the resources available to Khorchin Mongolian speakers in the negotiation of knowledge and action. These resources are closely associated with the enactment of social relations in the Khorchin Mongolian speech community. The description in this thesis is not meant as a comprehensive description of Khorchin Mongolian discourse semantics and lexicogrammar in this sense.

As far as instantiation is concerned, readers should be aware that the interpersonal resources described in this thesis are conditioned by the register variables of the texts this description is based on. The majority of the data used in this thesis are from three datasets. They involve interactions between family members, colleagues, and between government officials and peasants. They are concerned with activities and items ranging from those in domestic field to those in technicalised field. The data involve both the use of language as accompanying field and constituting field. Sample analyses of interactions from each dataset using the descriptions in Chapter 3 and Chapter 4 are provided in Appendix E.



## **Chapter 3 Interpersonal patterns of organisation in discourse**

This chapter is concerned with the interpersonal patterns of organisation in Khorchin Mongolian discourse. It provides a description of the patterns of interaction at exchange and move rank within discourse semantics. At exchange rank, the recognisable patterns of interaction in relation to the negotiation of knowledge and action are described as features in the NEGOTIATION system (Section 3.1). At move rank, the relevant move systems are reasoned about from above and from around (Section 3.2). From above, move classes are described in relation to the exchange functions they realise. The relevant move system is INTERLOCUTOR POSITIONING (Section 3.2.1). From around, move classes are described in relation to the anticipation and response to alternative voices in discourse. The relevant move system is DIALOGIC POSITIONING (Section 3.2.2). The move systems – INTERLOCUTOR POSITIONING and DIALOGIC POSITIONING – are then used to characterise the discourse functions of the Khorchin Mongolian modal particles (Section 3.2.3). The discourse semantic systems described in this chapter will be used to characterise the Khorchin Mongolian interpersonal resources at the lexicogrammatical stratum in Chapter 4.

### 3.1 Exchange systems

The patterns of exchange found in Khorchin Mongolian interaction are similar to those in English – as reviewed in Section 2.2. Speakers of Khorchin Mongolian negotiate their knowledge of information through resources available for knowledge exchanges; and they negotiate the responsibility for carrying out an action through resources available for action exchanges. This primary distinction between [knowledge] and [action] is captured in Figure 3.1.

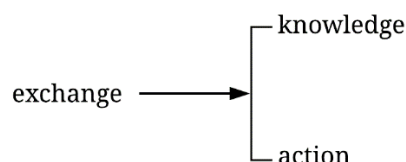


Figure 3.1 NEGOTIATION: primary delicacy

Exchanges comprise recognisable structures with obligatory and optional functions in relation to the well-formedness of the exchange under examination. Knowledge exchanges are introduced in Section 3.1.1 and action exchanges in Section 3.1.2.

#### 3.1.1 Knowledge exchange

A knowledge exchange is concerned with the negotiation of interlocutors' state of knowledge in relation to information. For a knowledge exchange to be well-formed, there must be a slot where one of the interlocutors makes contribution by providing the information and conferring authority upon the information being negotiated. Following Berry (1981a), the interlocutor role positioned with such authority is termed **primary knower**; the interlocutor role positioned without such authority is termed **secondary knower**.

The exchange in (3.1) exemplifies a **secondary-knower-initiated exchange**.<sup>74</sup> The government official (O) takes up the secondary knower role; and the peasant (P) is cast into the role of the primary knower. Following the exchange structure analysis reviewed in Section 2.2, the function of the slot in an exchange where one adopts the secondary knower role and at the same time casts the addressee the primary knower role is termed K2; the function of the slot where the addressee accepts the primary knower role is termed K1.

(3.1) O = government official, P = peasant

- a. O: K2    *xən*    *ir-s*                    *i*  
               who    come-PST    IP  
               'Who came?'

<sup>74</sup> Technically speaking, it is the patterns of exchange that assign the interlocutors particular roles, not the other way around as the names such as 'secondary-knower-initiated exchange' implies. In other words, there is no secondary knower present in the speech event before the inception of the speech event. The same applies to action exchanges.

- b. P: K1 *utʃoŋɣpu* *nɛ* *xun* *ir-tʃ*  
 Armed.Forces.Department GEN people come-PST  
 'People from the Armed Forces Department came.'

Instead of accepting the casted primary knower role as in a secondary-knower-initiated exchange, one may adopt the primary knower role and cast the addressee the secondary knower role (i.e. **a primary-knower-initiated exchange**). Two patterns emerge when this happens: (i) the speaker claims primary knower authority right away – as in (3.2); (ii) the speaker elicits a candidate information from the addressee and delays the stamping of primary knower authority till after this information is provided – as in (3.3). The exchange in (3.2) is from a workplace interaction between teachers (T = teacher); the exchange in (3.3) is adjusted from an interaction between a four-year-old girl (niece = N) and her uncle (U) (the original exchange is provided in (3.19) below). As indicated by the equal sign (=), the K1 in (3.2) is realised by a move complex in the relation of 'elaboration'.

(3.2) T = teacher

- a. T1: K1 *pi* *pɔl* *urlə* *ir-tʃ* *ʃɔl-x* *ue*  
 1SG TOP morning come-CVB be.able.to-NPST NEG  
 'I am not able to come in the morning.'

- b. =K1 *æɾæn* *tʃitʃur* *pɔl* *ʃɔl-ən*  
 evening shift COND be.able.to-NPST  
 'If (it is) evening shift, (I) am able to (come).'

(3.3) N = niece, U = uncle

- a. N: Dk1 *ən* *ju* *kər* *xi-sən* *tɐ*  
 PROX what INS make-PST IP  
 'What was this made from?'

- b. U: K2 *kɔʃɔr*  
 flour  
 'Flour.'

- c. N: K1 *tʰɐ:r-tʃʰ*  
 correct-PST<sup>75</sup>  
 '(It) is correct.'

According to Berry (1981a) and Martin (1992a), a knowledge exchange is considered well-formed or resolved when K1 is instantiated. However, it is often the case for the secondary knower to follow up the K1 in a K2f slot. When the secondary knower follows up in a

<sup>75</sup> Suffixes *-tʃʰ*, *-tʃʰ* are glossed as PST 'past' in this thesis. However, their distribution is somewhat different from their unaspirated counterparts. Phonologically, when the suffix is *-tʃ* (unaspirated), the primary stress is on *-tʃ*, e.g. *ɔr-tʃ* 'enter-PST'; when the suffix is *-tʃʰ* 'aspirated', the primary stress is on the penultimate syllable, e.g. *ʔr-tʃʰ* 'enter-PST'. Their appropriate English translation would be 'entered' and 'have entered' respectively. Grammatically, unlike *-tʃ* (unaspirated), *-tʃʰ* (aspirated) cannot co-select ASPECT and RELATIVE TENSE as they are introduced in Zhang (2020) (see Appendix F). From the perspective of discourse, the verb used for affirmation at K1 in a Dk1 ^ K2 ^ K1, *tʰɐ:r* 'correct', takes the suffix *-tʃʰ* (aspirated). However, the distinction between these two suffixes and whether they should be glossed as the same need further study.

secondary-knower-initiated exchange, the function of the follow up move is to reinforce the adopted secondary knower role – as in (3.4) (extending (3.1)).

(3.4) O = government official, P = peasant

- a. O: K2 *xən ir-s iː*  
           who come-PST IP  
           ‘Who came?’
- b. P: K1 *utʃʊŋpu nɛ xun ir-tʃ*  
           Armed.Forces.Department GEN people come-PST  
           ‘People from the Armed Forces Department came.’
- c. O: K2f *ɔː*  
           INTJ  
           ‘I see.’

When the secondary knower follows up in a primary-knower-initiated exchange, they accept the secondary knower role they are cast into – as in (3.5) (extending (3.2)).

(3.5) T = teacher

- a. T1: K1 *pi pɒl ʊrlə ir-tʃ ʃɒl-x uɛ*  
           1SG TOP morning come-CVB be.able.to-NPST NEG  
           ‘I am not able to come in the morning.’
- b. =K1 *æɾœn tʃitʃʊr pɒl ʃɒl-ən*  
           evening shift COND be.able.to-NPST  
           ‘If (it is) evening shift, (I) am able to (come).’
- c. T2: K2f *ɔː*  
           INTJ  
           ‘I see.’

Alternatively, the secondary knower can do two things at the same time in a K2f slot. The secondary knower (i) accepts the casted secondary knower role and (2) invites the addressee to reinforce the primary knower role they have adopted. This is exemplified in (3.6) (extending (3.3)). The primary knower follows up the secondary knower follow-up in a K1f slot.

(3.6) N = niece, U = uncle

- a. N: Dk1 *ən ju kəɾ xiː-sən tɐ*  
           PROX what INS make-PST IP  
           ‘What was this made from?’
- b. U: K2 *kɔʃɔɾ*  
           flour  
           ‘Flour.’
- c. N: K1 *tʰɛːr-tʃʰ*  
           correct-PST  
           ‘(It) is correct.’

d. U: K2f *unən* *u:*  
 real IP  
 ‘Really?’

e. N: K1f *unən* *ə:*  
 real EMP  
 ‘Really.’

The exchanges in (3.1) to (3.6) show that the description of the structure of knowledge exchange in English (e.g. Berry 1981a; Martin 1992a) is generalisable to Khorchin Mongolian. K1 is obligatory under all circumstances for an exchange to be well-formed. As Martin (1992a:462) puts it “interlocutors work around an obligatory K1 [...] which will resolve the exchange”. K2 is obligatory when an exchange is initiated by the secondary knower or when an exchange is initiated by the primary knower but the stamping of primary knower authority over the information is delayed. In the latter case, Dk1 is also obligatory. All the follow up elements – i.e. K2f and K1f – are optional under all circumstances. Figure 3.2 formalises the systemic relationship between the structures observed so far.

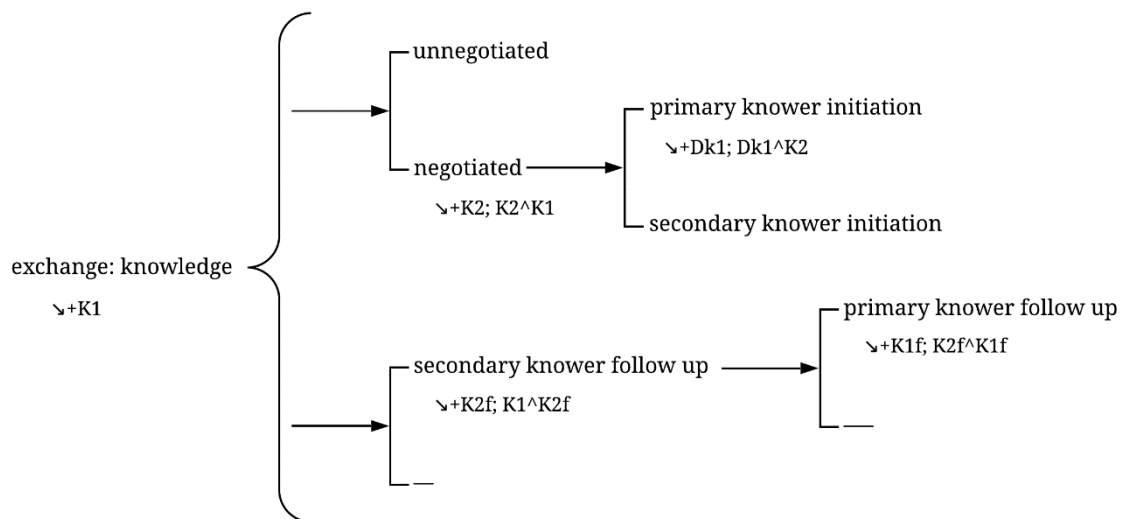


Figure 3.2 Systems for knowledge exchange in Khorchin Mongolian

The network in Figure 3.2 generalises the involvement of K2 as [negotiated] as opposed to [unnegotiated].<sup>76</sup> When [unnegotiated] is selected, K1 is not anticipated by the other functions (i.e. Dk1 and/or K2) – the speaker directly imparts the information with primary knower authority.<sup>77</sup> The agnation pattern captured in Figure 3.2 is in contrast with Berry’s (1981a; 1981d) and Martin’s (1992a; 2018) networks in Figure 3.3 below (adjusting Figure 2.25 and Figure 2.34). In their networks, the initiation of an exchange is privileged. A distinction is thus made between [select A event] (equivalent to [primary

<sup>76</sup> The labels [negotiated] and [unnegotiated] follow O’Donnell’s (1990:296) reformulation of Berry’s (1981d) agnation between [negotiate] and [do not negotiate] within [select A event/action].

<sup>77</sup> The option [do not negotiate] resonates with Berry’s (1981d:23) “unnegotiated transmission of information”, of which a monologue is a prototype.

knower initiation]) and [select B event] (equivalent to [secondary knower initiation]) at the primary delicacy. However, their networks lose the structural generalisation between [primary knower initiation: anticipate nuclear move] ( $Dk1 \wedge K2 \wedge K1$ ) and [secondary knower initiation] ( $K2 \wedge K1$ ), both of which require the structure  $K2 \wedge K1$ . That means in the formal representation in Berry's and Martin's network the function K2 is inserted twice (once at [anticipate nuclear move] and once at [secondary knower initiation]); it is consequently sequenced twice (i.e.  $K2 \wedge K1$ ). The  $K2 \wedge K1$  sequence in Figure 3.3 is highlighted in bold. The same reasoning applies to the systemic generalisations for action exchange – as shown in Figure 3.4 below.

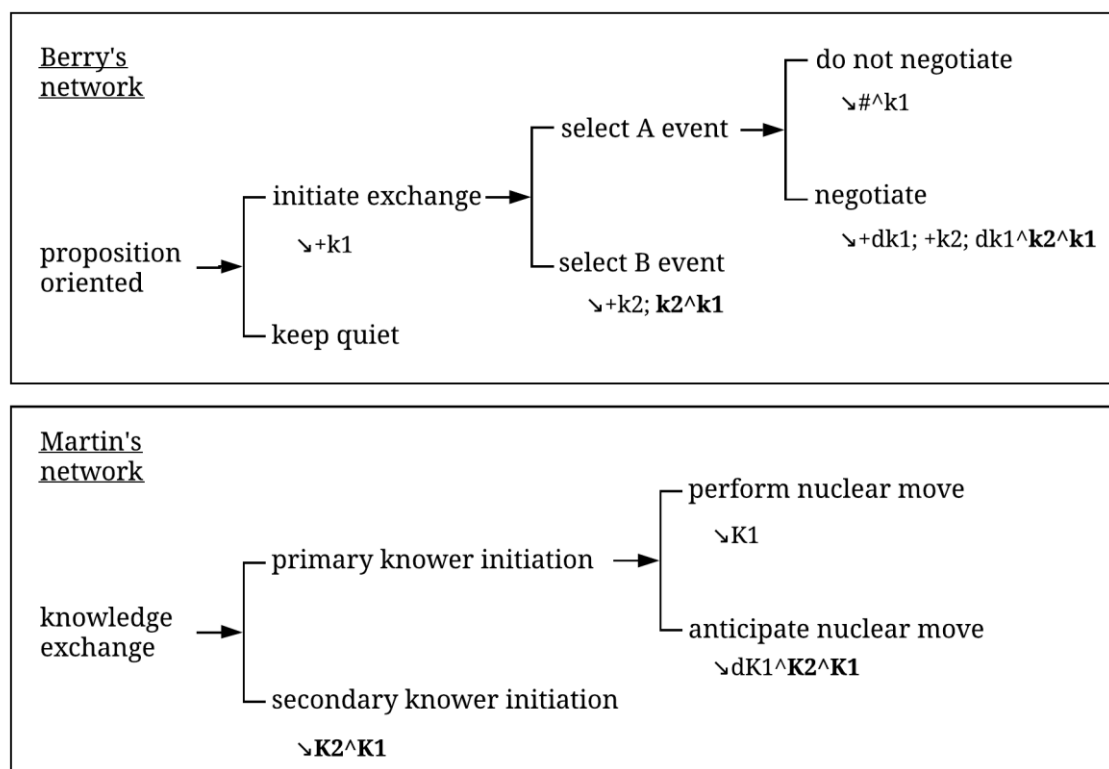


Figure 3.3 Berry's and Martin's networks for knowledge exchanges

### 3.1.2 Action exchange

An action exchange is concerned with the negotiation of the interlocutors' responsibility for carrying out an action. The distinction is between that of **primary actor** and **secondary actor**. According to Berry (1981d), when one is assigned the primary actor role, one is responsible for carrying out the action under negotiation. Complementarily, when one is assigned a secondary actor role, one carries out the action through the other person. Similar to the patterns observed for knowledge exchange where the elements are organised with respect to an obligatory K1, elements in an action exchange configure relative to an obligatory A1. At A1 the primary actor carries out the action. In the **primary-actor-initiated exchange** in (3.7) the daughter (D) prepares for making a cake with her mother.

(3.7) D = daughter

- D: A1 *fixir* *kɛr-kɛ-ji*  
sugar out-CAUS-IMP.1  
'Let me take out some sugar.'  
(The daughter goes to take out some sugar.)

Alternatively, the primary actor may first check the acceptability of the action in a primary-actor-initiated exchange, hence delaying the performance – as in (3.8). The exchange occurred after the daughter had instructed her mother (M) to add yogurt into the bowl.

(3.8) M = mother, D = daughter

- a. M: Da1 *xutɕl-kə-ø* *mɛ*  
move-CAUS-NPST IP  
'(Do I) move (= blend)?'
- b. D: A2 *xutɕl-kə-ø*  
move-CAUS-IMP.2  
'Move (= blend).'
- c. M: A1 NV (= non-verbal action) (Mother starts the blender.)

The secondary actor may also initiate the exchange by requesting the action from the primary actor – as in (3.9) (i.e. a **secondary-actor-initiated exchange**).

(3.9) D = daughter, M = mother

- a. D: A2 *ən* *tɔtʰɹ* *xi-ø*  
PROX inside put-IMP.2  
'Put (=separate) (the yolk) inside this (=the bowl).' (while pointing at the bowl)
- b. M: A1 NV (Mother separates the yolk inside the bowl.)

As with K1 in a knowledge exchange, an action exchange is considered well-formed or resolved when A1 is instantiated. Unlike K1 in a knowledge exchange, however, A1 in an action exchange is not typically followed up in Khorchin Mongolian. When followed up, it is either realised by an interjection – as in (3.10) – or a formulaic sequence – as in (3.11). In both cases, the secondary actor acknowledges the primary actor role adopted by the previous speaker.

(3.10) M = mother, D = daughter

- a. M: A1 *pi* *nək* *kɛr* *ən* *oɐ-kɛtʰɹk-jə*  
1SG one hand ACC.POSS wash-BEN-IMP.1  
'Let me wash my hand.'  
(The mother walks towards the basin.)
- b. D: A2f *m:*  
INTJ  
'Okay.'

(3.11) a voice message over WeChat

a. A: A1 NV (A transfers the money B intends to borrow from A through WeChat.)

b. B: A2f *tʰɛlxəʀ-tʃ* *ɛ:-nɐ*  
 thank-PROG COP-NPST  
 ‘(I) am thanking (you).’

c. A: A1f *xɐmɐ* *ukuɛ*  
 matter NEG  
 ‘(It does) not matter.’

Note that unlike English/Mandarin Chinese speaking contexts, where the ‘thank you – you’re welcome’ sequence is commonly observed, the sequence is only found in the Khorchin speaking contexts where the interlocutors are not close to one another and one has done a considerable favour to the speaker (and it is rare in even these contexts). An alternative way of expressing one’s gratitude is: *tʃʰɛmɐ t mɛfɛn bɔlsən kui tɐ* ‘(I) have caused you trouble’.

The examples so far show that A1 is obligatory under all circumstances for an action exchange to be well-formed. A2 is obligatory when an action exchange is initiated by the secondary actor or when an action exchange is initiated by the primary actor but the action is performed after its acceptability with the secondary actor has been checked. In the latter case, Da1 is also obligatory. Both the follow up elements – i.e. A2f and A1f – are optional under all circumstances. However, unlike the nuclear K1 in a knowledge exchange, A1 in an action exchange is not necessarily realised verbally (see (3.8), (3.9), and (3.11) above). This raises the issue of accounting for the relationship between a verbal promise of an action and the performance of the action – as in (3.12) (adjusting (3.9)).

(3.12) D = daughter, M = mother

a. D: A2 *ɣn* *tɔtʰɔr* *xi-ø*  
 PROX inside put-IMP.2  
 ‘Put (=separate) (the yolk) inside this (=the bowl).’ (while pointing at the bowl)

b. M: A1 *ɛi*  
 INTJ  
 ‘Okay.’

c. ?A1 NV (Mother separates the yolk inside the bowl.)

In an action exchange where the action is performed immediately – as in (3.12), the verbal realisation of A1 is optional. Following Sinclair & Coulthard’s (1975) rank scale of ‘exchange – move – act’, Berry (1981d:25) proposes two classes of act to account for the optional verbal realisation and the obligatory non-verbal realisation of A1. The former is termed assent and the latter react. However, this proposal is counter-productive in the current model in that recognising an act rank for this specific type of exchange requires formulation of the act classes in relation to the functional configurations of a move. In contrast, Ventola’s (1987; 1988) proposal of move complex as it is developed in Martin (1992a) provides useful insights into this question (see Section 2.2.1.2.2.2 for details). In



an action exchange where the performance of an action immediately follows the verbal promise, the former can be conceived as elaborating the latter. Thus in (3.12) A1 is realised by a move complex of the ‘elaboration’ type.

The issue remains for action exchanges where the performance of the action is prospective to the verbal promise (i.e. the verbal promise is obligatory and the performance optional) – as in (3.13), based on introspective data.

(3.13)

- a. A: A2    *kɛr-ɔx*                      *ui*    *lɛ*            *kɛn*    *liɛ*            *gi*    *gə-ø*  
                  out-NPST.PTCP    time    TEMP    POSS    garbage    ACC    throw-IMP.2  
                  ‘When (you) go (out), throw out the garbage.’
- b. B: A1            *ɛi*  
                  INTJ  
                  ‘Okay.’
- c.            ?=A1    NV            (B throws out the garbage when he leaves.)

Martin (2018:11) uses the systemic opposition [immediate compliance] and [prospective compliance] in his NEGOTIATION system to account for patterns similar to that observed in (3.12) and (3.13) (for [immediate compliance] action is obligatory and verbalisation is optional; for [prospective compliance] action is optional and verbalisation is obligatory (also see Martin 1992a:48–49)). The question is whether to analyse the optionally realised action such as the one in (3.13) as part of the exchange. Contrary to the treatment of the non-verbal performance of the action as realising A1 in [immediate compliance] as in Martin (2018), I will not include the postponed performance of the action as realising A1 in [prospective compliance] given that the action in the latter case is typically not “syntagmatically related to other moves which are linguistically realised” (Berry 1981d:23).

The resources for action exchange surveyed in Section 3.1.2 are summarised in Figure 3.4. The equal sign in the realisation of [verbal promise accompanied] symbolises the elaborating relationship between the verbal and non-verbal moves that realise A1 in an ‘immediately complied’ action exchange.

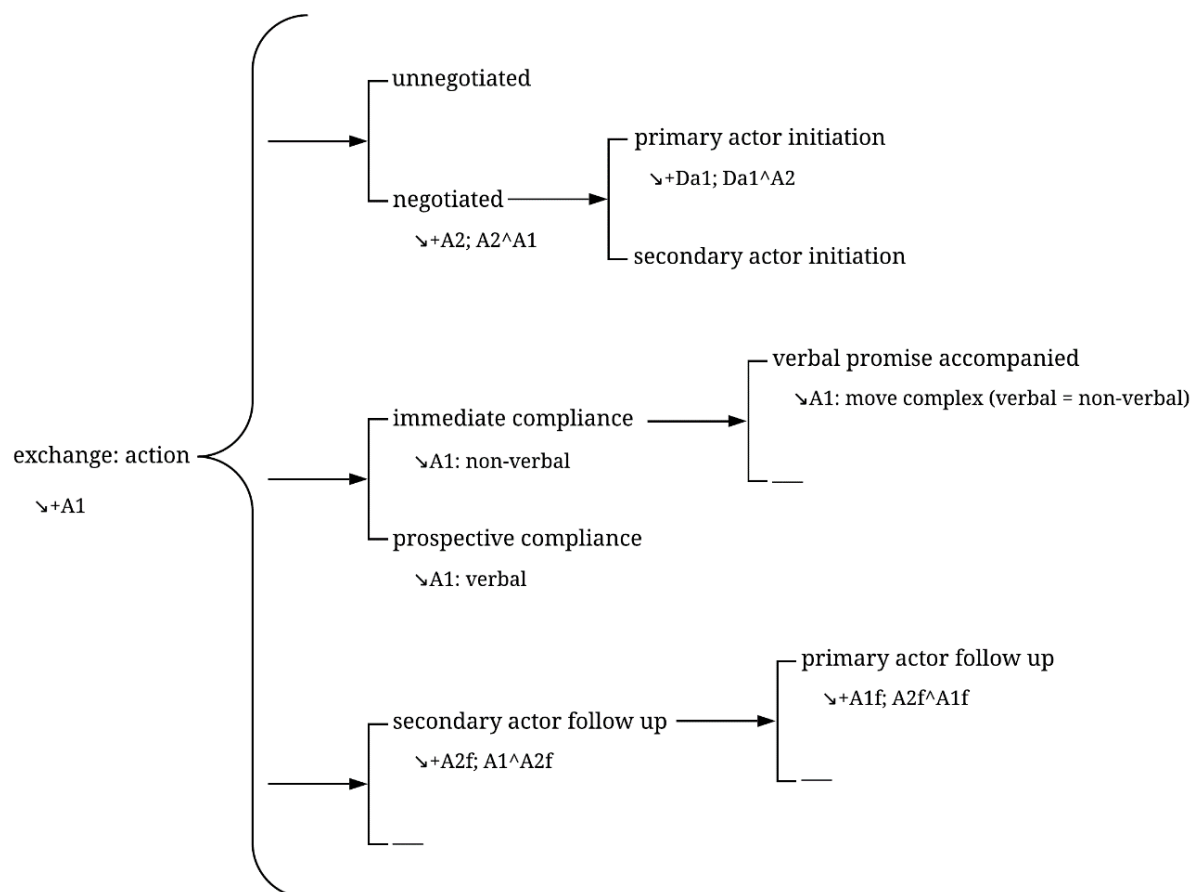


Figure 3.4 Systems for action exchange in Khorchin Mongolian

The network in Figure 3.4 generalises the involvement of A2 as [negotiated] as opposed to [unnegotiated]. When [unnegotiated] is selected, A1 is not anticipated by the other functions (i.e. Da1 and/or A2) – the speaker directly performs the action without negotiation.

One further pending issue for action exchange has to do with the characterisation of the primary and secondary actor roles. The current characterisation is insufficient when both the speaker and the addressee are positioned as responsible for the carrying out of the action – as in (3.14) (introspective data).

(3.14)

a. A: A2 *petən ortər firə ki fılť-ul-jə*  
 1PL first table ACC move-CAUS-IMP.1  
 'Let's move the table first.'

b. B: A1 *εi*  
 INTJ  
 'Okay.'

c. =A1 NV (A and B moves the table together.)

At (3.14a) both interlocutors are positioned as responsible for moving the table. While the verbal consent is optional, the performance of the action is obligatory for this exchange to be resolved. Therefore, the non-verbal move along with its verbal accompaniment realises A1; and the preceding move realises A2. The structural analysis shows that the first speaker adopts the secondary actor role and casts the addressee the primary actor role even though the first speaker is also responsible for carrying out the action. The second speaker accepts the casted primary actor role. To capture interlocutor roles assigned in action exchanges of this kind, we need to expand our characterisation of the primary actor and the secondary actor roles.

1. **Primary actor:** The role assigned to the interlocutor who is responsible for carrying out the action when the action is expected to be accomplished by an individual interlocutor; or the role assigned to the interlocutor who consents to carrying out the action collectively.
2. **Secondary actor:** The role assigned to the interlocutor who carries out the action through the primary actor when the action is expected to be accomplished by an individual interlocutor; or the role assigned to the interlocutor who proposes a collective action.

### 3.1.3 Summary

Section 3.1 has outlined the general NEGOTIATION resources for exchange rank available to the speakers of Khorchin Mongolian. The systems and the structures explored in this section are summarised as Figure 3.5.

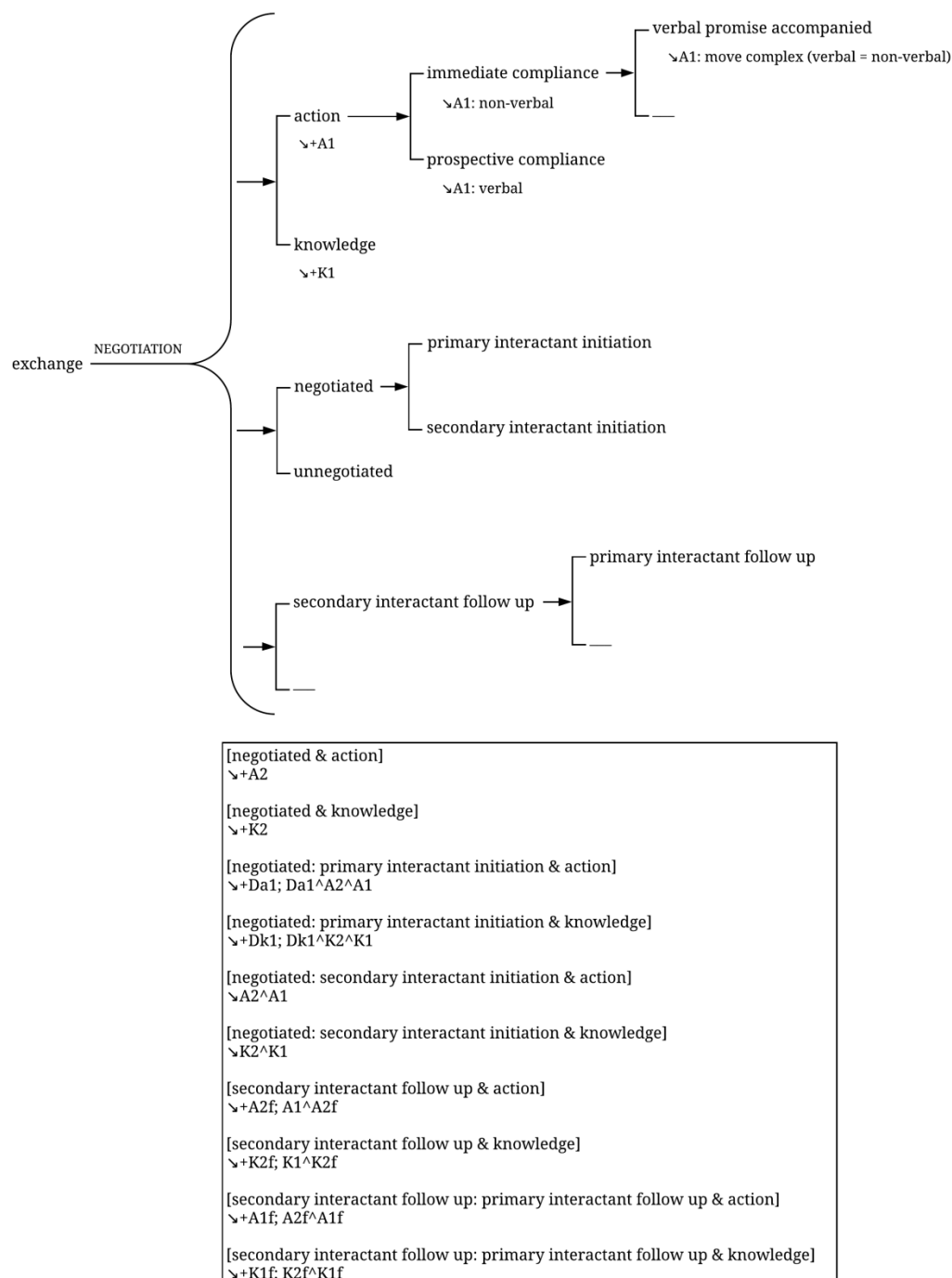


Figure 3.5 NEGOTIATION in Khorchin Mongolian

Figure 3.5 shows that knowledge exchange and action exchange share a number of similarities. (1) Both are open to the options [negotiated] and [unnegotiated]. (2) Within [negotiated] both make a distinction between exchanges initiated by the primary

interlocutor role and those initiated by the secondary interlocutor role. (3) Both make available follow up options from the interlocutors.

Knowledge exchange and action exchange also show contrasting features. (1) It is possible for an action exchange to include verbal and/or non-verbal realisations of the nuclear element (A1); this is not typical of a knowledge exchange.<sup>78</sup> (2) In the characterisation of interlocutor roles enacted by action exchanges, a distinction is made between action exchanges which are resolved by an individual and those which require collective effort; similar distinction is not relevant for knowledge exchange. In order to account for how the interlocutor roles are assigned and negotiated on a move-by-move basis over the course of an exchange, we need to turn our attention to move classes.

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<sup>78</sup> This is nonetheless possible – nodding, for example.

## **3.2 Move systems**

This section introduces the meaning-making resources for move rank in Khorchin Mongolian. Arguments for classes of move are provided from two perspectives: from above and from around. From above (Section 3.2.1), the classes of move are examined in relation to the NEGOTIATION systems – as they are explored in Section 3.1. From around (Section 3.2.2), the classes of move are examined in relation to the DIALOGIC POSITIONING systems; its foundations – ENGAGEMENT – has been reviewed in Section 2.2.2 above. Along with the exchange systems described in Section 3.1, the move systems explored in this section will be used to characterise the Khorchin Mongolian interpersonal clause systems from the perspective of discourse in Chapter 4.

### **3.2.1 Classes of move: from above**

As it is reviewed in Section 2.2.1.2.1, one common approach to move classes follows Halliday's (1984; 1985; 1994) articulation of choices in SPEECH FUNCTION. Two parameters are involved: [information] as opposed to [goods-&-services] and [giving] as opposed to [demanding]. In this section, I will argue for an alternative to the speech functional model of move so as to obtain a richer understanding of the ways in which interlocutors are positioned on a move-by-move basis. Section 3.2.1.1 and Section 3.2.1.2 discuss the typical classes of move that realise functions in a knowledge exchange and an action exchange respectively.

#### **3.2.1.1 Realising knowledge exchanges**

This section first provides a SPEECH FUNCTION analysis of the data along with a brief critique. It then continues with an alternative approach to move analysis in relation to the functions in a knowledge exchange which the classes of move realise.

##### **3.2.1.1.1 Speech function analysis: giving/demanding information**

As far as the speech function analysis of move is concerned, what is typically at stake in a knowledge exchange is the giving and demanding of information. In (3.15) below most of the moves select [giving & information] from SPEECH FUNCTION. Teacher 1 (= T1) starts the interaction by initiating two exchanges (K1: giving & information & initiating). Teacher 2's (= T2) response to T1's initiation is 'dispreferred'; instead of acknowledging the statement ([giving & information & responding to]), she challenges the proposition presented in (3.15a) (ch: giving & information & initiating). This is then followed by a dispreferred response from T1 in (3.15e-f); eventually the statement is acknowledged by T2 in (3.15g) (rrch: giving & information & responding to). In (3.15), the exchange structure analysis is provided on the left; the speech function analysis is provided below each move. The modal particles (MP) in declarative constructions are translated in square brackets within the translation line if commensurable expressions are available in English. Modal particles in Khorchin Mongolian will be described in detail in Section 3.2.3 below; a Hallidayan speech functional analysis cannot account for their meanings in full.

(3.15) T = teacher; two teachers are talking about one of their students' mother – Secin<sup>79</sup>

#### Exchange 1

- a. T1: K1 *tʰər ixin ɤn ɔrtʰɛ sɛnlɔ kər jɛp-tʃ ɛ:-tʃ fɛ*  
DIST daughter 3POSS before trike INS commute-PROG COP-PST MP  
‘[You know] her daughter was commuting (to school) by motorised trike before.’  
[giving & information & initiating]

#### Exchange 2

- b. K1 *tʰər sɛnlɔ nɔɛtʰ-x uɛ lɛ pɔl-tʃ pɐ*  
DIST trike start-NPST NEG RES become-PST MP  
‘That motorised trike [may] have become unable to start.’  
[giving & information & initiating]

#### Exchange 1 (cont.)

- c. T2: ch *ukue*  
NEG  
‘No.’  
[giving & information & responding]
- d. =ch *sɔtʰin ni:təm mɔtʰo*  
Secin always motorbike  
‘Secin always (took her children to school by) motorbike.’  
[giving & information & initiating]
- e. T1: rch *ukue*  
NEG  
‘No.’  
[giving & information & responding]
- f. =rch *sɛnlɔ kər pɛs jɛp-tʃ ɛ:-tʃ fɔ*  
trike INS also commute-PROG COP-PST MP  
‘[I know] (she) was also commuting by motorised trike.’  
[giving & information & initiating]
- g. T2: rrch *ɔ:*  
INTJ  
‘I see.’  
[giving & information & responding to]

The analysis in (3.15) above does not make explicit the underlying mechanisms for the competing selections of [giving & information & initiating] in (3.15a) realising K1, (3.15c-d) realising challenge, and (3.15e-f) realising response to challenge. For example, how are they related to the patterns in the exchange structure (K1 ^ ch ^ rch ^ rrch)? What is at stake in relation to primary knower authority adopted by T1 in (3.15a)? How do they differ from one another in terms of the interlocutors' state of knowledge of the information – as

<sup>79</sup> The item *lɛ* in (3.15b) is used in a negative verbal group or a negative nominal group to express the meaning of ‘becoming’ or ‘resolution’ (Bayancogtu 2002:386). Here is an example of it being used in a nominal group *pɔ:p ɛmt ukue lɛ* bread taste NEG RES ‘The bread is no longer tasty’.

it is indicated through the modal particles (e.g. /ɛ in (3.15a) and /ʊ in (3.15f))?

### 3.2.1.1.2 Realising functions in knowledge exchanges: +knowledge/-knowledge

To build a model that more clearly enables an understanding of the issues stepped through above, we can reconsider the exchange not as giving or demanding information, but as centred around negotiating a proposition in order to reach consensus. To do this, we will reconsider the interaction from ‘above’ – from the perspective of NEGOTIATION – and work our way down from there.

#### 3.2.1.1.2.1 Building the move systems realising functions in knowledge exchanges

Before discussing the options in the move systems in the subsequent sections in relation to the structural functions in knowledge exchanges, this section first establishes the systems at move rank based on the exchange in (3.16) below. As far as NEGOTIATION is concerned, T1 adopts the role of the primary knower and assigns the secondary knower role to T2 in (3.16a) – this means that T1 is the interlocutor who has authority over the information about the parent’s mode of transport. This assignment of interlocutor roles is challenged in (3.16c-d) when T2 claims primary knower authority. The assignment of interlocutor roles from T2 is then further challenged by T1 in (3.16e-f). Finally, the interlocutor roles are accepted by T2 in (3.16g). These comments in relation to NEGOTIATION are provided below the translations. The structural analysis of the exchange is provided on the left (in column 3).

(3.16) T = teacher; two teachers are talking about one of their students’ mother – Secin

#### Exchange 1

- a. T1: K1    *tʰɔr*    *ixin*    *ən*    *ɔrtʰɛ*    *sɛnlɔ*    *kər*    *jɛp-tʃ*    *ɛ:-tʃ*    *ʃɛ*  
DIST   daughter   3POSS   before   trike   INS   commute-PROG   COP-PST   MP  
‘[You know] her daughter was commuting (to school) by motorised trike before.’  
[adopting the primary knower role; assigning T2 the secondary knower role]

#### Exchange 2

- b.            K1    *tʰɔr*    *sɛnlɔ*    *nɔɛtʰ-x*    *uɛ*    *lɛ*    *pɔl-tʃ*    *pɐ*  
DIST   trike   start-NPST   NEG   RES   become-PST   MP  
‘That motorised trike [may] have become unable to start.’  
[adopting the primary knower role; assigning T2 the secondary knower role]

#### Exchange 1 (cont.)

- c. T2: ch    *ukuɛ*  
NEG  
‘No.’  
[challenging the secondary knower role; claiming the primary knower role]
- d.            =ch    *sɔtʰin*    *ni:təm*    *motʰo*  
Secin            always            motorbike  
‘Secin always (took her children to school by) motorbike.’  
[challenging the secondary knower role; claiming the primary knower role]



- e. T1: rch *ukue*  
NEG  
'No.'  
[challenging the secondary knower role; claiming the primary knower role]
- f. =rch *sɛnlɔ* *kər* *pəs* *jɛp-tʃ* *ɛː-tʃ* *ʃu*  
trike INS also commute-PROG COP-PST MP  
'[I know] (she) was also commuting by motorised trike.'  
[challenging the secondary knower role; claiming the primary knower role]
- g. T2: rrch *ɔː*  
INTJ  
'I see.'  
[accepting the secondary knower role]

The interlocutors adopt the primary knower role at different points in the exchange – i.e. at K1, challenge, and response to challenge. However, the interlocutors are using different linguistic strategies to negotiate their claims for primary knower authority. For example, in (3.16a) T1 claims primary knower authority through a clause that involves the modal particle *ɛ*; when the primary knower claim is challenged by T2 in (3.16c-d), he reasserts the interlocutor role through a clause that involves the modal particle *ʃu* at (3.16f). The modal particles will be discussed in detail in Section 3.2.3.

To account for the different realisations of the primary knower claim – at K1 and challenge (potential K1s in (3.16c-f)) – we need to examine how interlocutors are positioned with respect to their knowledge of the information under negotiation. To this end, Berry's (1981a) system of [+knowledge/-knowledge] at non-Dk1 points in an exchange is a promising place to start (see 2.2.1.1.1 for details). Building on Berry's system, I will argue that the options are available to both the speaker and the addressee at move rank at different points in a knowledge exchange. To be specific, one may position *oneself* as knowing ([+knowledge]) or not knowing the information ([-knowledge]) and may concurrently position one's *addressee* as knowing ([+knowledge]) or not knowing the information ([-knowledge]). As will be shown in the subsequent sections, along with positioning oneself and one's addressee as either knowing or not knowing the information, the interactants may not in fact be positioned in either way. For the ease of presentation, the classes of move are represented as a network before they are discussed in relation to NEGOTIATION in the following sections (see Figure 3.6 below). This network will be revised with respect to co-selecting restrictions between features in Figure 3.7 in Section 3.2.1.1.3 below.

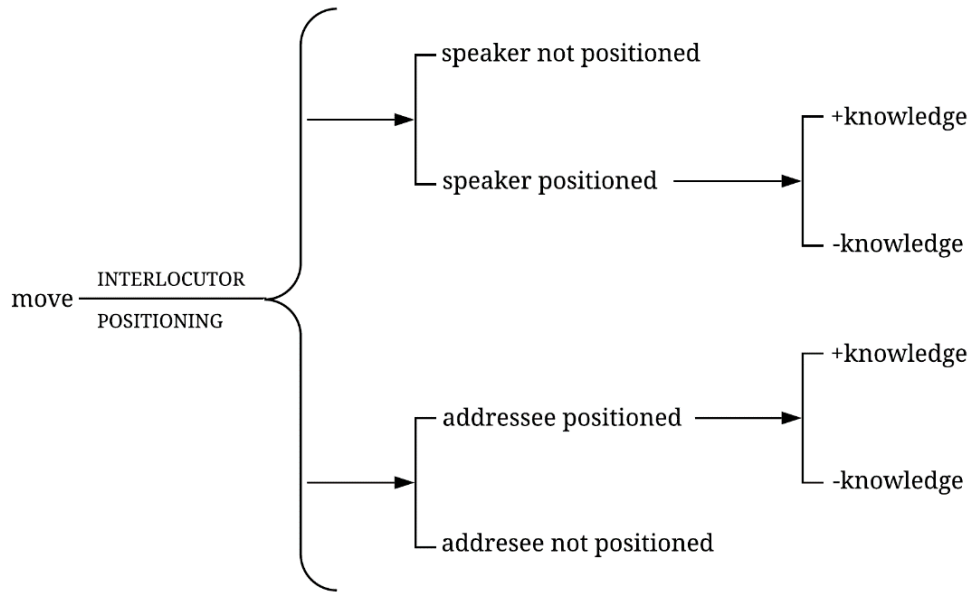


Figure 3.6 Tentative INTERLOCUTOR POSITIONING network in Khorchin Mongolian (realising knowledge exchange functions; cf. Figure 3.7)

The remainder of this section exemplifies selections from the network along with the restrictions from the functions they realise in knowledge exchanges. To provide a comprehensive account, we must consider the predictable functions in knowledge exchanges one by one (Dk1, K2, K1, K2f, and K1f). As the reasoning below is very detailed, Table 3.1 has been provided as a summary at the end of the section.

#### 3.2.1.1.2.2 Move selections at Dk1

Dk1 predicts a claim for the primary knower role at K1 after the knowledge state of the secondary knower is checked at K2 (a Dk1 ^ K2 ^ K1 structure). Since interlocutors adopting the primary knower role are positioned as knowing the information and having authority over the information, the option [speaker positioned: +knowledge] is preselected – meaning [+knowledge] has to be selected for the positioned speaker at Dk1. In (3.17) below, the niece is positioned as knowing the information at Dk1 (spkr = speaker, adrs = addressee, +K = +knowledge). Speaker positioning at Dk1 is highlighted in bold.

(3.17) N = niece, U = uncle

- a. N: Dk1
- |           |      |
|-----------|------|
| spkr      | adrs |
| <b>+K</b> |      |
- ʁn ju kər xi-sən tɐ  
 PROX what INS make-PST IP  
 ‘What was this made from?’

- b. U: K2
- kɔjɔr  
 flour  
 ‘Flour.’

- c. N: K1 *tʰv:r-tʰ*  
correct-PST  
'(It) is correct.'

To see how the addressee is positioned at Dk1, we need to consider the way the positioning of the speaker in the following K2 (i.e. the addressee at Dk1) affects the flow of the exchange. In (3.17b) above, the speaker is positioned as knowing the information by giving a definitive response *kʉjər* 'flour'. This speaker positioning at K2 does not affect the expected flow of the exchange as Dk1 ^ K2 ^ K1.

- (3.17b) U: K2
- |           |      |
|-----------|------|
| spkr      | adrs |
| <b>+K</b> |      |
- kʉjər*  
flour  
'Flour.'

Alternatively, the speaker at K2 may be positioned as not knowing the information as in (3.18) below (produced after a round of hide-and-seek between uncle and niece; the uncle was hiding behind the curtain).<sup>80</sup> The speaker positionings at Dk1 and K2 are highlighted in bold (-K = -knowledge).

(3.18) N = niece, U = uncle

- a. N: Dk1
- |           |      |
|-----------|------|
| spkr      | adrs |
| <b>+K</b> |      |
- pi jə:tʃ tʰvɛmɛ ki ə:r-tʃ ɔl-sən i*  
1SG how 2SG ACC look.for-PROG get-PST ACC  
*mət-ø me*  
know-NPST IP  
'Do you know how I found you?'

- b. U: K2
- |           |      |
|-----------|------|
| spkr      | adrs |
| <b>-K</b> |      |
- mət-x ue*  
know-NPST NEG  
'(I) don't know.'

- c. N: K1 *tʰini xul tʰin kɛrtʰɛ pɛ:-tʃ*  
2SG.GEN foot 2POSS outside COP-PST  
'Your feet was outside (the curtain).'

As shown in (3.18), when the speaker at K2 is positioned as -knowledge, the exchange unfolds as expected. Considering (3.17) and (3.18) together, the positioning of speaker as +knowledge or -knowledge does not affect the flow of exchange as Dk1 ^ K2 ^ K1. Therefore, at Dk1, the addressee is not positioned as +knowledge or -knowledge (NP = not positioned).

<sup>80</sup> The second move in (3.18) would be treated as realising a challenge by Martin's (1992a) criteria (see Table 2.7). Such an analysis would be problematic given that the 'challenge' does not prevent the instantiation of K1. The same lexicogrammatical realisation, however, may realise a move that realises a challenge; but the selections from INTERLOCUTOR POSITIONING would be different (see (3.28) in Section 3.2.1.1.3).

(3.17a) N: Dk1

spkr	adrs
+K	<b>NP</b>

*ən ju kər xi:-sən tɐ*  
 PROX what INS make-PST IP  
 ‘What was this made from?’

(3.18a) N: Dk1

spkr	adrs
+K	<b>NP</b>

*pi jɛ:tf tʰɐmɐ ki ə:r-tʃ ɔl-sən iː*  
 1SG how 2SG ACC look.for-PROG get-PST ACC  
  
*mət-ø mɛ*  
 know-NPST IP  
 ‘Do you know how I found you?’

### 3.2.1.1.2.3 Move selections at non-initiating K1

K1 in (3.17) and (3.18) above is non-initiating – K1 in a  $Dk1 \wedge K2 \wedge K1$  structure. Given that the primary knower indicates their authority over the information at K1, the speaker at K1 is positioned as knowing the information (i.e. the option [speaker positioned: +knowledge] is preselected at move rank). In addition, the secondary knower must indicate whether they know the information at K2; therefore the addressee at K1 (i.e. the speaker at K2) must be positioned – meaning the option [addressee positioned] is preselected at a non-initiating K1.

Move selection that reflects the positioning of the addressee at non-initiating K1 is thus determined by the positioning of the speaker at K2 in a  $Dk1 \wedge K2 \wedge K1$  structure. When the speaker at K2 is positioned as -knowledge, this positioning is preserved at K1 – i.e. the addressee at K1 is positioned as -knowledge. This is the case in (3.18) above (repeated as (3.18’) below). Speaker positioning at K2 and addressee positioning at K1 are highlighted in bold.

(3.18’) N = niece, U = uncle

a. N: Dk1

spkr	adrs
+K	<b>NP</b>

*pi jɛ:tf tʰɐmɐ ki ə:r-tʃ ɔl-sən iː*  
 1SG how 2SG ACC look.for-PROG get-PST ACC  
  
*mət-ø mɛ*  
 know-NPST IP  
 ‘Do you know how I found you?’

b. U: K2

spkr	adrs
<b>-K</b>	

*mət-x uɛ*  
 know-NPST NEG  
 ‘(I) don’t know.’

c. N: K1

spkr	adrs
+K	<b>-K</b>

*tʰini xul tʰin kɛrtʰɛ pɛ:-tʃ*  
 2SG.GEN foot 2POSS outside COP-PST  
 ‘Your feet was outside (the curtain).’

Similarly, when the speaker at K2 is positioned as +knowledge, the ensuing K1 preserves this positioning if the candidate information is consistent with the speaker’s knowledge at K1 – i.e. the addressee at K1 is positioned as +knowledge. This is the case in (3.17) above (repeated as (3.17’) below).

(3.17) N = niece, U = uncle

a. N: Dk1 

spkr	adrs
+K	NP

*ən ju kər xi:-sən tɐ*  
PROX what INS make-PST IP  
'What was this made from?'

b. U: K2 

spkr	adrs
+K	

*kɔjɜr*  
flour  
'Flour.'

c. N: K1 

spkr	adrs
+K	+K

*tʰɛ:r-tʰ*  
correct-PST  
'(It) is correct.'

Alternatively, when the speaker at K2 is positioned as +knowledge but the candidate information proposed at K2 is not consistent with the primary knower's knowledge of the information, K2 is followed by a challenge (see Section 3.2.1.1.3 for details). The expected flow of the exchange as Dk1 ^ K2 ^ K1 would be disrupted. The addressee at the expected K1 slot would be positioned as -knowledge; and the interlocutors may negotiate the information further till consensus is reached – i.e. the expected K1 is instantiated. In (3.19) below, the stamping of the information with primary knower authority is postponed till (3.19e), which is a potential K1 slot. This has been possible because the desired candidate information is provided (3.19d) – a potential K2 slot.

(3.19) N = niece, U = uncle

a. N: Dk1 

spkr	adrs
+K	NP

*ən ju kər xi:-sən tɐ*  
PROX what INS make-PST IP  
'What was this made from?'

b. U: K2 

spkr	adrs
+K	

*kɔjɜr*  
flour  
'Flour.'

c. N: ch 

spkr	adrs
+K	-K

*kɔjɜr ɐr xi:-sən piʔ*  
flour INS make-PST NEG  
'(It is) not made from flour.'

d. U: rch 

spkr	adrs
+K	+K

*fɪɐŋpʰini*  
modelling.clay  
'Modelling clay.'

e. N: rrch 

spkr	adrs
+K	+K

*tʰɛ:r-tʰ*  
correct-PST  
'(It) is correct.'

In short, at K1 in a Dk1 ^ K2 ^ K1 structure, the speaker is positioned as +knowledge and the addressee is positioned as either +knowledge or -knowledge, depending on the way the speaker at K2 is positioned.

These move rank selections also realise a non-initiating K1 in a K2 ^ K1 structure as in (3.20) and (3.21). The preservation at K1 of the positioning of the speaker at K2 is highlighted in bold.

(3.20) T = Teacher; the two teachers are talking about the grammaticality of a sentence made by one of the students

T1: K2 

spkr	adrs
<b>-K</b>	

*ən u:lpəɹ tʰe:r-ə mu tʰe:r-x ue mu*  
PROX sentence correct-NPST IP correct-NPST.PTCP NEG IP  
‘Is this sentence correct or not correct?’

T2: K1 

spkr	adrs
+K	<b>-K</b>

*tʰe:r-nə*  
correct-NPST  
‘Correct.’

(3.21) (adjusting (3.20a)), T = teacher

T1: K2 

spkr	adrs
<b>+K</b>	

*ən u:lpəɹ tʰe:r-ən pə*  
PROX sentence correct-NPST MP  
‘This sentence [may] be correct, [right?]

T2: K1 

spkr	adrs
+K	<b>+K</b>

*tʰe:r-nə*  
correct-NPST  
‘Correct.’

In (3.21), the first move is realised by a clause that involves the modal particle *pə*; it shows that the speaker knows the information with less certainty. The move realises K2 as it expects the stamping of primary knower authority at K1. The choices that account for degrees of knowing is discussed in Section 3.2.2.

#### 3.2.1.1.2.4 Move selections at K2

The examples in the discussion of non-initiating K1 necessarily involve K2. So this section will summarise the possible realisations of K2 before moving onto initiating K1 slots. The exchanges in (3.17) and (3.18) above show that the speaker at K2 is positioned as either +knowledge or -knowledge in a Dk1 ^ K2 ^ K1 structure.

(3.17b) U: K2 

spkr	adrs
+K	

*kʊjəɹ*  
flour  
‘Flour.’

(3.18b) U: K2 

spkr	adrs
-K	

*mət-x ue*  
know-NPST NEG  
‘(I) don’t know.’

The positioning of the addressee at K2 in this type of structure is determined by the positioning of the speaker at the preceding Dk1 and the expected K1. As discussed earlier, the speaker positioning at these two slots is +knowledge; therefore, the positioning of the addressee at K2 (i.e. the speaker at Dk1 and K1) is +knowledge. The exchanges in (3.17)

and (3.18) are reproduced as (3.17”) and (3.18”) below. Speaker positioning at Dk1 and K1 and addressee positioning at K2 are highlighted in bold.

(3.17”) N = niece, U = uncle

- a. N: Dk1
- |           |      |
|-----------|------|
| spkr      | adrs |
| <b>+K</b> | NP   |
- ən ju kər xiː-sən tɐ*  
PROX what INS make-PST IP  
‘What was this made from?’

- b. U: K2
- |      |           |
|------|-----------|
| spkr | adrs      |
| +K   | <b>+K</b> |
- kɔjər*  
flour  
‘Flour.’

- c. N: K1
- |           |      |
|-----------|------|
| spkr      | adrs |
| <b>+K</b> | +K   |
- tʰeːr-tʰ*  
correct-PST  
‘(It) is correct.’

(3.18”) N = niece, U = uncle

- a. N: Dk1
- |           |      |
|-----------|------|
| spkr      | adrs |
| <b>+K</b> | NP   |
- pi jɐːtʃ tʰemɐ ki ɔːr-tʃ ɔl-sən i*  
1SG how 2SG ACC look.for-PROG get-PST ACC  
*mət-ø mɛ*  
know-NPST IP  
‘Do you know how I found you?’

- b. U: K2
- |      |           |
|------|-----------|
| spkr | adrs      |
| -K   | <b>+K</b> |
- mət-x uɛ*  
know-NPST NEG  
‘(I) don’t know.’

- c. N: K1
- |           |      |
|-----------|------|
| spkr      | adrs |
| <b>+K</b> | -K   |
- tʰini xul tʰin kɛrtʰɛ pɛː-tʃ*  
2SG.GEN foot 2POSS outside COP-PST  
‘Your feet was outside (the curtain).’

The same reasoning applies to initiating K2 in a K2 ^ K1 structure. The speaker at initiating K2 is positioned as either +knowledge or -knowledge. The addressee is positioned as +knowledge since a following K1 is expected. The exchanges in (3.20) and (3.21) are repeated as (3.20’) and (3.21’) below to show such selections.

(3.20’) T = Teacher; the two teachers are talking about the grammaticality of a sentence made by one of the students

- T1: K2
- |      |           |
|------|-----------|
| spkr | adrs      |
| -K   | <b>+K</b> |
- ən uːlpər tʰeːr-ø mu tʰeːr-x uɛ mu*  
PROX sentence correct-NPST IP correct-NPST.PTCP NEG IP  
‘Is this sentence correct or not correct?’

- T2: K1
- |           |      |
|-----------|------|
| spkr      | adrs |
| <b>+K</b> | -K   |
- tʰeːr-nɛ*  
correct-NPST  
‘Correct.’

(3.21) (adjusting (3.20a)), T = teacher

T1:	K2	spkr	adrs	ən	u:lpər	tʰe:r-ən	pə
		+K	+K	PROX	sentence	correct-NPST	MP

‘This sentence [may] be correct, [right?].’

T2:	K1	spkr	adrs	tʰe:r-nə
		+K	+K	correct-NPST

‘Correct.’

### 3.2.1.1.2.5 Move selections at initiating K1

As with non-initiating K1 slots, interlocutors claim primary knower authority at an initiating K1. This means that the speaker at this slot is positioned as +knowledge. The initiating K1 from (3.16) is repeated as (3.22) below.

(3.22) T = teacher

T1:	K1	spkr	adrs	tʰər	ixin	ən	ɔrtʰe	sənlo	kər
		+K		DIST	daughter	3POSS	before	trike	INS

‘[You know] her daughter was commuting

*jep-tʃ*                      *ɛ:-tʃ*                      *fɛ*  
 commute-PROG           COP-PST           MP  
 (to school) by motorised trike before.’

The addressee in (3.22) is also positioned as +knowledge. This is realised through the clause final modal particle *fɛ*. As will be explained in detail in Section 3.2.3, this modal particle is typically used to establish shared knowledge before presenting another proposition. From the perspective of discourse, K1 in (3.22) can be followed by a K2f realised by *ɨ:* but less likely by *ɔ:*. The interjection *ɨ:* indicates that the information presented in the previous move is in accordance with the speaker’s knowledge; the interjection *ɔ:*, on the other hand, indicates that the information presented is new to the speaker. (3.22) is adjusted as (3.22-1) to show this pattern.

(3.22-1) T = teacher

a.	T1:	K1	spkr	adrs	tʰər	ixin	ən	ɔrtʰe	sənlo	kər
			+K	+K	DIST	daughter	3POSS	before	trike	INS

‘[You know] her daughter was commuting

*jep-tʃ*                      *ɛ:-tʃ*                      *fɛ*  
 commute-PROG           COP-PST           MP  
 (to school) by motorised trike before.’

b.	T2:	K2f	spkr	adrs	ɨ:
			+K		INTJ

‘Yes (≈ She was).’



(3.22-2) T = teacher

- '[You know] her daughter was commuting

(to school) by motorised trike before.'

- ‘(I) don’t know.’

- ‘[I know] (she) was commuting by motorised trike.’

(3.22-3) T = teacher

- ‘Her daughter was commuting

(to school) by motorised trike before.'

- ‘I see.’

So far I have shown that as with non-initiating K1 the speaker at an initiating K1 is positioned as +knowledge and the addressee as either +knowledge or -knowledge. Unlike non-initiating K1, on the other hand, an initiating K1 may not position the addressee as either +knowledge or -knowledge. This is the case when the realisation of K1 involves the modal particle *pə*. This will be exemplified using the second exchange in (3.16) (repeated as (3.23) below), which is initiated but not responded to.

(3.23) T = teacher

T1:	K1	spkr	adrs	<i>tʰɔr</i>	<i>sɛnlɔ</i>	<i>nœtʰ-x</i>	<i>uɛ</i>	<i>lɛ</i>	<i>pɔl-tʃ</i>	<i>pə</i>
		+K	<b>NP</b>	DIST	trike	start-NPST.PTCP	NEG	RES	become-PST	MP

‘That motorised trike [may] have become unable to start.’

The non-positioning of the addressee is supported by the fact that this K1 can be followed by K2f slots at which the speaker may indicate they know or do not know the information as in (3.23-1) and (3.23-2) below.

(3.23-1) T = teacher

a.	T1:	K1	spkr	adrs	<i>tʰɔr</i>	<i>sɛnlɔ</i>	<i>nœtʰ-x</i>	<i>uɛ</i>	<i>lɛ</i>	<i>pɔl-tʃ</i>	<i>pə</i>
			+K	<b>NP</b>	DIST	trike	start-NPST.PTCP	NEG	RES	become-PST	MP

‘That motorised trike [may] have become unable to start.’

b.	T2:	K2f	spkr	adrs	<i>ti:m</i>	<i>pə</i>
			+K		like.that	MP

‘[Maybe] like that.’

(3.23-2) T = teacher

a.	T1:	K1	spkr	adrs	<i>tʰɔr</i>	<i>sɛnlɔ</i>	<i>nœtʰ-x</i>	<i>uɛ</i>	<i>lɛ</i>	<i>pɔl-tʃ</i>	<i>pə</i>
			+K	<b>NP</b>	DIST	trike	start-NPST.PTCP	NEG	RES	become-PST	MP

‘That motorised trike [may] have become unable to start.’

b.	T2	K2f	spkr	adrs	<i>xən</i>	<i>mɔt-ən</i>
			-K		who	know-NPST

‘Who knows. (≈ I don’t know)’

### 3.2.1.1.2.6 Move selections at K2f and K1f

The move rank realisations of K2f are closely related to K1. Firstly, if the current speaker at K2f is positioned at K1 (i.e. the addressee at K1 is positioned as +knowledge or -knowledge), the move selections at K1 are repeated at K2f with the speaker and addressee roles reversed. In (3.22-3) above, at K1 the speaker is positioned as +knowledge and the addressee -knowledge. At K2f, therefore, the speaker (the addressee at K1) is positioned as -knowledge and the addressee (the speaker at K1) +knowledge. Otherwise the exchange would not unfold as expected.

(3.22-3b)	T2:	K2f	spkr	adrs	<i>ɔ:</i>
			-K	+K	INTJ

‘I see.’

Secondly, if the current speaker at K2f is not positioned at K1, the move rank realisation of K2f repeats the selection of the previous speaker's positioning and specifies the positioning of the current speaker. In (3.23-1) and (3.23-2) above, the speaker at K1 is positioned as +knowledge and the addressee is not positioned in either way. At K2f, the speaker specifies their positioning as +knowledge in (2.23-1) and as -knowledge in (3.23-2).

(3.23-1b) T2: K2f

spkr	adrs	<i>ti:m</i>	<i>pɐ</i>
+K	+K	like.that	MP

'[Maybe] like that.'

(3.23-2b) T2 K2f

spkr	adrs	<i>xən</i>	<i>mət-ən</i>
-K	+K	who	know-NPST

'Who knows. (≈ I don't know)'

To summarise, at K2f the speaker is positioned as either +knowledge or -knowledge and the addressee as +knowledge.

Similar to the way K2f is realised, the moves realising K1f typically maintain the selection at K2f with the role of the speaker and the addressee reversed; so at K1f the speaker is positioned as +knowledge and the addressee as either +knowledge or -knowledge. This is shown in the analysis of (3.6) in (3.24).

(3.24) N = niece, U = uncle

a. N: Dk1

spkr	adrs	<i>ən</i>	<i>ju</i>	<i>kər</i>	<i>xi:-sən</i>	<i>tə</i>
+K	NP	PROX	what	INS	make-PST	IP

'What was this made from?'

b. U: K2

spkr	adrs	<i>kʊjər</i>
+K	+K	flour

'Flour.'

c. N: K1

spkr	adrs	<i>tʰe:r-tʰ</i>
+K	+K	correct-PST

'(It) is correct.'

d. U: K2f

spkr	adrs	<i>unən</i>	<i>u:</i>
<b>+K</b>	<b>+K</b>	real	IP

'Really?'

e. N: K1f

spkr	adrs	<i>unən</i>	<i>ə:</i>
<b>+K</b>	<b>+K</b>	real	EMP

'Really.'

The possible move rank realisations of exchange functions at different points in a knowledge exchange are summarised in Table 3.1.

Table 3.1 Possible move rank realisations of exchange functions in a knowledge exchange

	[speaker positioned]		[speaker not positioned]	[addressee positioned]		[addressee not positioned]
	[+K]	[-K]		[+K]	[-K]	
<b>Dk1</b>	x					x
<b>K2</b>	x			x		
		x		x		
<b>K1<sup>n</sup></b>	x			x		
	x				x	
<b>K1<sup>i</sup></b>	x			x		
	x				x	
	x					x
<b>K2f</b>	x			x		
		x		x		
<b>K1f</b>	x			x		
	x				x	

(**Key:** K1<sup>n</sup> = non-initiating K1, K1<sup>i</sup> = initiating K1, +K = +knowledge, -K = -knowledge)

Table 3.1 shows how the resources for knowledge exchange and the resources for move rank are diversified. A function in a knowledge exchange can be realised by more than one class of move; and a class of move can realise more than one function in a knowledge exchange. For example, K2 can be realised by [speaker positioned: +knowledge & addressee positioned: +knowledge] and [speaker positioned: -knowledge & addressee positioned: +knowledge]. The move class [speaker positioned: +knowledge & addressee positioned: +knowledge] can also realise K1 (both initiating and non-initiating), K2f, and K1f.

Table 3.1 also demonstrates the kind of restrictions the structure of a knowledge exchange places on selections from the move systems. For example, the meaning-making potential at K1 in a (Dk1 ^) K2 ^ K1 structure is different from the move selections available at K1 in a K1 (^ K2f (^ K1f)) structure. While the former cannot be realised by moves selecting [speaker positioned: +knowledge & addressee not positioned], the latter can. The restrictions on move selections also highlight the lack of certain choices in realising the predictable structure of a knowledge exchange. For example, the selections [speaker positioned: -knowledge & addressee positioned: -knowledge], [speaker positioned: -knowledge & addressee not positioned], and [speaker not positioned] are missing from the paradigm. These choices are used to realise the dynamic elements of an exchange, to which we now turn.

### 3.2.1.1.3 Dynamising knowledge exchange at move rank

Martin (1992a:66–76) proposes two types of dynamic elements in an exchange: tracking and challenge. The former is experientially oriented; the latter is interpersonally oriented (see Section 2.2.1.2.2.3 for a detailed review). Martin, however, does not make explicit the relationship between the dynamic elements in an exchange and the classes of move which realise them (i.e. SPEECH FUNCTION in Martin's description). A move-by-move analysis of tracking and challenges based on the move classes introduced so far provides a better understanding of how these elements (especially challenge) are dynamically related to the predictable exchange structure they diverge from and depend on.

First, **tracking**. The exchange in (3.25) is how the exchange in (3.16) has actually occurred. The challenge at (3.25c-d) is followed by a confirmation sequence (cf ^ rcf) (subtype of tracking; cf = confirmation; rcf = response to confirmation), which explores the experiential meaning construed in the preceding challenge. The confirmation requests a total replay of the information.

(3.25) T = teacher

Exchange 1

- a. T1: K1
- |      |      |
|------|------|
| spkr | adrs |
| +K   | +K   |
- tʰɔr ixin ɤn ɔrtʰɛ sɛnlɔ kər*  
DIST daughter 3POSS before trike INS  
‘[You know] her daughter was commuting

*jɛp-tʃ ɛ:-tʃ fɛ*  
commute-PROG COP-PST MP

(to school) by motorised trike before.’

Exchange 2

- b. K1
- |      |      |
|------|------|
| spkr | adrs |
| +K   | NP   |
- tʰɔr sɛnlɔ nœtʃʰ-x uɛ lɛ pɔl-tʃ pɛ*  
DIST trike start-NPST.PTCP NEG RES become-PST MP  
‘That motorised trike [may] have become unable to start.’

Exchange 1 (cont.)

- c. T2: ch *ukuɛ*  
NEG  
‘No.’

- d. =ch *sɔtʃʰin ni:təm mɔtʰɔ*  
Secin always motorbike  
‘Secin always (took her children to school by) motorbike.’

- e. T1: **cf**
- |      |      |
|------|------|
| spkr | adrs |
| NP   | NP   |
- xɛ?*  
INTJ  
‘Eh?’

- f. T2: **rcf**
- |      |      |
|------|------|
| spkr | adrs |
| NP   | NP   |
- sɔtʃʰin ni:təm mɔtʰɔ*  
Secin always motorbike  
‘Secin always (took her children to school by) motorbike.’

- g. T1: rch *ukuɛ*  
NEG  
‘No.’

- h. =rch *sɛnlɔ kər pɛs jɛp-tʃ ɛ:-tʃ fɔ*  
trike INS also commute-PROG COP-PST MP  
‘[I know] (she) was also commuting by motorised trike.’

- i. T2: rrch ɔ:  
INTJ  
'I see.'

It is not necessary to analyse the tracking sequence as positioning the speaker or the addressee in either way. The interlocutors simply put the interaction on hold so that the experiential meanings are clarified. As Martin (1992a:67) points out: "in order to negotiate interpersonal meaning, interlocutors have to agree on what they negotiating [sic] about." The cf ^ rcf structure is thus realised by moves selecting [speaker not positioned & addressee not positioned].<sup>81</sup>

Next, **challenge**. Challenges are characterised differently according to the position they occur in. They may come after Dk1, K2, or K1 – potential K2, K1, and K2f slots in a knowledge exchange. Most of the challenges we encountered so far are at potential K2f slots. A challenge at this position is typically realised by a move selecting the **systemic opposites** from INTERLOCUTOR POSITIONING in relation to the move that realises K1 (i.e. [+knowledge] against [-knowledge] and *vice versa*). For example, in the challenge and response to challenge in (3.26) (simplifying (3.16)) the positioning from the previous speaker is reversed. In (3.26b-c) the positioning of the speaker in (3.26a) is reversed. In (3.26d-e), the positioning of both the speaker and the addressee in (3.26b-c) is reversed.

(3.26) T = teacher

- a. T1: K1
- | spkr      | adrs      |
|-----------|-----------|
| <b>+K</b> | <b>+K</b> |
- tʰɔr ixin ɔn ɔrtʰe sɛnlɔ kər*  
DIST daughter 3POSS before trike INS  
'[You know] her daughter was commuting

*ʃɛp-tʃ ɛ:-tʃ ʃɛ*  
commute-PROG COP-PST MP  
(to school) by motorised trike before.'

- b. T2: ch
- | spkr      | adrs      |
|-----------|-----------|
| <b>+K</b> | <b>-K</b> |
- ukue*  
NEG  
'No.'

- c. =ch
- | spkr      | adrs      |
|-----------|-----------|
| <b>+K</b> | <b>-K</b> |
- sɜtʰin ni:təm motʰv*  
Secin always motorbike  
'Secin always (took her children to school by) motorbike.'

- d. T1: rch
- | spkr      | adrs      |
|-----------|-----------|
| <b>+K</b> | <b>-K</b> |
- ukue*  
NEG  
'No.'

<sup>81</sup> Similarly, Martin (1992: 87-90) did not analyse the speech functions of tracking sequences, but for a different reason. According to Martin, the options in SPEECH FUNCTION are based on the major MOOD classes; tracking is typically realised by minor and elliptical clauses.

e. =rch

spkr	adrs
<b>+K</b>	<b>-K</b>

*sɛnlʊ kəɾ pɛs jɛp-tʃ ɛ:-tʃ fʊ*  
 trike INS also commute-PROG COP-PST MP  
 'I know] (she) was also commuting by motorised trike.'

f. T2: rrch

spkr	adrs
-K	+K

*ɔ:*  
 INTJ  
 'I see.'

The reversal of interlocutor positioning is also used for challenges at potential K1 slots following K2. Challenges at this point typically reverse one of the speakers' positioning, which is also possible for challenges at potential K2f – the case of challenge (ch) in (3.26b-c) above. In (3.27) (adapting (3.20a)), the second move functions to challenge K2; the selection from INTERLOCUTOR POSITIONING is changed with respect to the current speaker's positioning at the preceding K2 ([+knowledge] → [-knowledge]).

(3.27) T = teacher

T1: K2

spkr	adrs
-K	<b>+K</b>

*ɔn u:lpəɾ tʰɛ:r-ø mu tʰɛ:r-x uɛ mu*  
 PROX sentence correct-NPST IP correct-NPST.PTCP NEG IP  
 'Is this sentence correct or not correct?'

T2: ch

spkr	adrs
<b>-K</b>	-K

*mɔt-x uɛ*  
 know-NPST.PTCP NEG  
 '(I) don't know.'

One other possible realisation of challenge is to **deny relevance** – to be uncooperative. It is possible for this type to occur at potential K2, K1, and K2f slots – challenging Dk1, K2, and K1. This type of challenge is realised by moves selecting [speaker not positioned & addressee not positioned]. The exchanges in (3.28), (3.29), and (3.30) exemplify this type of challenge at potential K2, K1, and K2f slots respectively.

(3.28) N = niece, U = uncle

N: Dk1

spkr	adrs
+K	NP

*pi jɛ:tʃ tʰɛmɛ ki ɔ:r-tʃ ɔl-sɛn i:*  
 1SG how 2SG ACC look.for-PROG get-PST ACC

*mɔt-ø mɛ*  
 know-NPST IP  
 Do you know how I found you?'

U: ch

spkr	adrs
<b>NP</b>	<b>NP</b>

*mɔt-x uɛ*  
 know-NPST.PTCP NEG  
 '(I) don't know.'  
 (The uncle said grumpily.)

(3.29) T = teacher

T1: K2

spkr	adrs
-K	+K

*ɔn u:lpəɾ tʰɛ:r-ø mu tʰɛ:r-x uɛ mu*  
 PROX sentence correct-NPST IP correct-NPST.PTCP NEG IP  
 'Is this sentence correct or not correct?'

T2: ch 

spkr	adrs
<b>NP</b>	<b>NP</b>

*nɜ:t tʰɛ sɛpɐ ukɛ*  
1SG COM relevance NEG  
'(It's) not relevant to me.'

(3.30) T = teacher

T1: K1 

spkr	adrs
+K	-K

*tʰi mən ɔrtʰ ærœ tʰɛpɔr t jɛp-sɛr*  
2SG PROX morning night wind DAT commute-CONT.COND  
'Because you continuously commute in the wind in the morning  
and at night,  
  
*kɛnmɔ-tʰɛ, tʰi jə*  
catch.cold-PST 2SG EMP  
you caught a cold.'

T2: ch 

spkr	adrs
<b>NP</b>	<b>NP</b>

*kɔr t ən jɛp lɛ tʰən tʰɛ xɛmɐ tʰɛ mɛ*  
home DAT POSS go TEMP that COM matter COM IP  
'Does it have anything to do with (≈what does it have to do with)  
(me) going back home?'

The realisations of the dynamic elements in a knowledge exchange – tracking and challenge – are summarised in Table 3.2. Although both tracking and challenge can be realised by [speaker not positioned & addressee not positioned], this realisation has different consequences. While tracking suspends the course of exchange – as the cf ^ rcf in (3.25) above – challenges realised by [speaker not positioned & addressee not positioned] typically terminate the exchange – as in (3.28) to (3.30) above. Such a move-by-move analysis of the dynamic elements in a knowledge exchange makes explicit what is at stake for challenges occurring at different slots in the exchange. Consequently, the analysis can be used to show the changes in interlocutor positioning involved in the three types of challenges proposed in Berry (2017b) – as shown in the right-hand column.

Table 3.2 Move rank realisations of the dynamic elements in an exchange

dynamic elements	move realisations	Berry (2017b)
tracking	[speaker not positioned & addressee not positioned]	
challenge	[speaker not positioned & addressee not positioned]	textual
	both interlocutors' positionings reversed	experiential
	one of the interlocutors' positioning reversed	interpersonal

To Berry, an 'experiential challenge' is related to incompatible propositions – as in (3.26) above, in which competing propositions regarding the parent's mode of transport are presented. An 'interpersonal challenge' is related to the interlocutor roles (primary/secondary knower) assigned to and adopted by the interlocutors – as in (3.27), in which the current speaker rejects the primary knower positioning from the previous speaker. And a 'textual challenge' is related to the sequencing of elements – as in (3.28) to (3.30), in which the challenges terminate the exchanges. However, Berry's experiential and textual challenges can also be interpreted interpersonally. In what she calls experiential challenge, the interlocutors compete for primary knower authorities over related propositions; in what she calls textual challenge, the interlocutors refuse to comply with the interlocutor roles assigned to them. A move-by-move analysis of the ways



interlocutors position one another in relation to their knowledge of the information shows that Berry's three types of challenges are interpersonal in nature (see Martin's (1992a:66–76) characterisation of tracking as experientially oriented and challenge as interpersonally oriented).

Figure 3.7 has revised the INTERLOCUTOR POSITIONING network proposed in Figure 3.6. The revision shows that when the addressee is positioned, the speaker must be positioned (**If** [addressee positioned] is selected, **then** [speaker positioned] must be selected). In addition, when the speaker is positioned as -knowledge, the addressee must be positioned (**If** [speaker positioned: -knowledge] is selected, **then** [addressee positioned] must be selected).

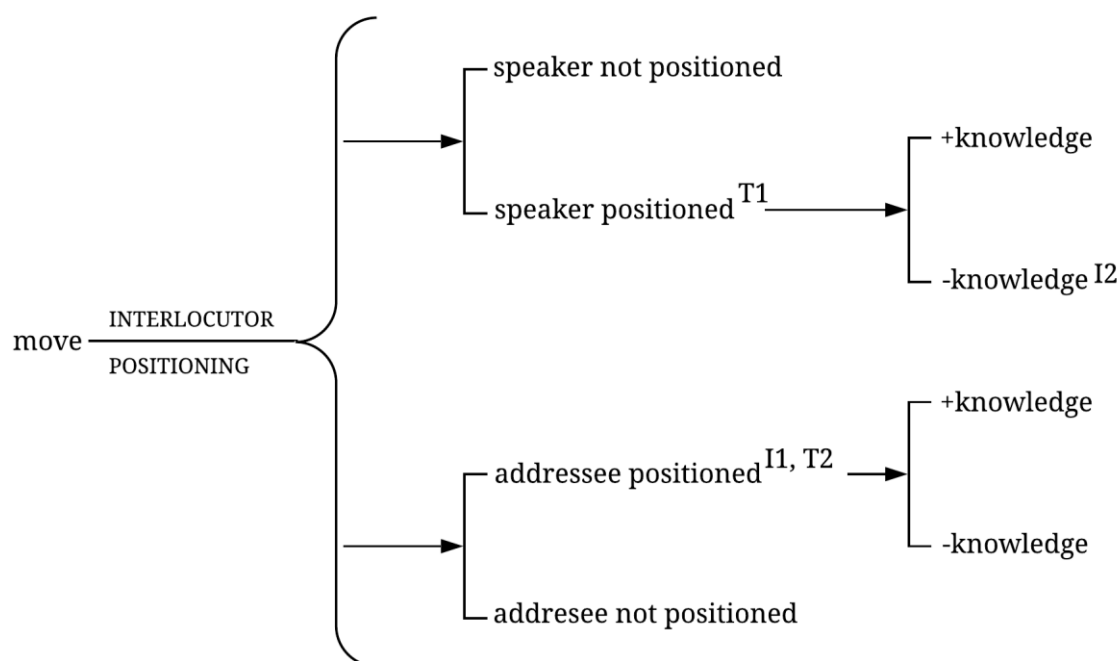


Figure 3.7 Revised INTERLOCUTOR POSITIONING network in Khorchin Mongolian (realising knowledge exchange)

### 3.2.1.1.4 Summary

To summarise, an examination of the move choices from above in relation to the structure of knowledge exchange yields a richer understanding of the meaning-making resources at move rank. In a knowledge exchange, moves typically select from systems that are related to the ways interlocutors are positioned with respect to their knowledge of the information under negotiation (i.e. [speaker (addressee) not positioned], [speaker (addressee) positioned: +knowledge], [speaker (addressee) positioned: -knowledge]). A move-by-move analysis of a knowledge exchange along this line shows how selections from move systems are conditioned by the places of the functions they realise in the exchange structure. The analysis has also revealed the dynamicity of interlocutor positionings in a knowledge exchange, particularly in relation to challenges. We can now explicate what is at stake for challenges in a knowledge exchange than simply highlighting that they are ‘interpersonally oriented’ (Martin 1992a).

### 3.2.1.2 Realising action exchanges

The same approach used in Section 3.2.1.1 is taken in this section to examine the classes of move that realise an action exchange. I will first provide a speech function analysis of the data along with a brief critique. I will then continue with an alternative approach to move analysis in relation to the functions the classes of move realise in an action exchange.

#### 3.2.1.2.1 Speech function analysis: giving/demanding goods-&-services

As far as the speech function analysis of move is concerned, what is typically at stake in an action exchange is the giving and demanding of goods-&-services (Halliday 1985). In (3.31) the exchange structure analysis is provided on the left; the speech function analysis is provided below each move.

(3.31) M = mother, D = daughter

- a. M: Da1 *xutsl-kə-ø* *mɛ*  
move-CAUS-NPST IP  
'(Do I) move (= blend)?'  
[giving & goods-&-services & initiating]
- b. D: A2 *xutsl-kə-ø*  
move-CAUS-IMP.2  
'Move (= blend).'
- c. A1 NV (Mother starts the blender.)

The speech function analysis does not make explicit the distinction between (3.31a) and (3.31b); the features [initiating] and [responding to] have already been accounted for in the sequence of Da1 ^ A2 (for a problematising of the SPEECH FUNCTION systems, see Section 2.2.1.2.2). The speech function analysis also falls short when the exchange is not about giving and demanding of goods-&-services, but rather centres around collaborative action. The exchanges in (3.32) below and (3.33) are excerpts from a mother-daughter interaction while making cakes. In (3.33), the daughter reads instructions from her phone; the mother carries out the procedure according to the instructions.

(3.32) D = daughter

- D: A1 *fɪxɪr* *kɛr-kɛ-ji*  
sugar out-CAUS-IMP.1  
'I will take out some sugar.'  
(The daughter goes to take out some sugar.)  
[giving & goods-&-services & initiating]

(3.33) D = daughter, M = mother

- a. D: A2    *untʰək*    *ən*                      *ʃn*                      *tɔtʰɔr*                      *səl-kɛ-nɐ*  
                  egg                      ACC.POSS                      PROX                      inside                      separate-CAUS-NPST  
                  ‘Separate the egg (=the yolk and the white) inside this (=bowl).’  
                  (D points to a bowl on the table.)  
                  [demanding & goods-&-services & initiating]
- b. M: A1    NV    (M separates the yolk into the bowl.)

The speech function analysis does not account for the fact that in (3.32) the daughter is not giving goods-&-services so that the mother is on the receiving end; by the same token, the daughter in (3.33) is not demanding goods-&-services so that she is on the receiving end. Rather the mother and daughter are taking responsibility for different actions involved in making the cake. In other words, there is a gap between the structural analysis of action exchange, which is patterned according to interlocutor’s responsibility over the action under negotiation, and the speech function analysis, which is patterned according to the orientation of the interlocutor roles and commodity being exchanged. To address this issue, the remainder of this section provides an alternative approach to move classes based on the typical action exchange functions the moves realise with respect to the interlocutors’ positioned responsibility.

### 3.2.1.2.2 Realising functions in action exchanges: +responsibility/-responsibility

#### 3.2.1.2.2.1 Building the move systems realising functions in action exchanges

Parallel to the positioning of interlocutors in relation to their knowledge of the information in a knowledge exchange, in this section I argue that a similar set of options are available to moves that realise functions in an action exchange. The interlocutors in an action exchange are positioned with respect to their responsibility for carrying out the action under negotiation. The possible move selections are presented in Figure 3.8. A move selects either [speaker positioned] or [speaker not positioned]; when [speaker positioned] is selected, a choice between [**+responsibility**] and [**-responsibility**] is available. Simultaneously, a move selects either [addressee positioned] or [addressee not positioned]; when [addressee positioned] is selected, a choice between [+responsibility] and [-responsibility] is available.

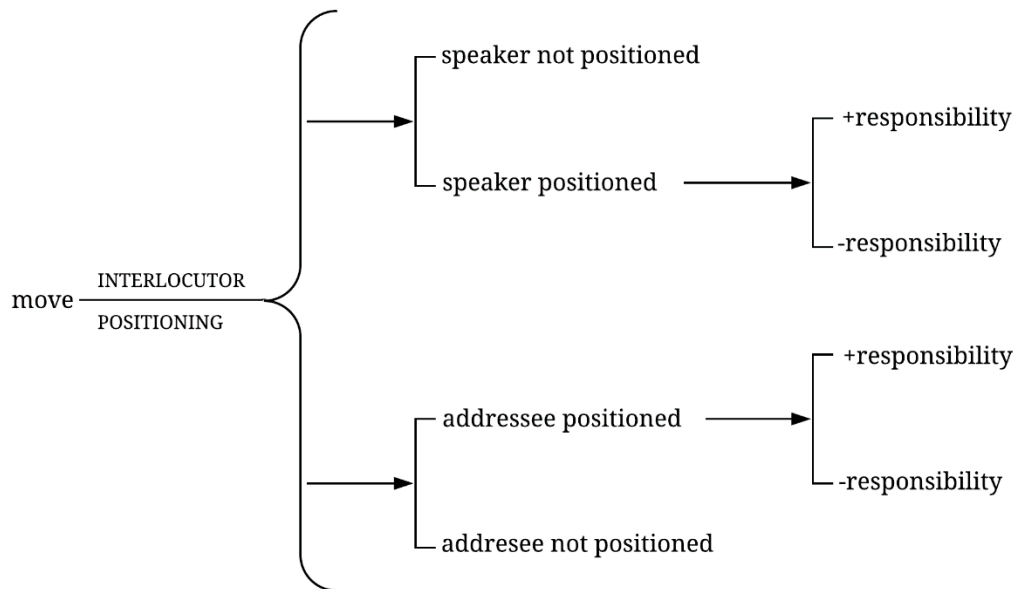


Figure 3.8 INTERLOCUTOR POSITIONING network in Khorchin Mongolian (realising action exchange)

The remainder of this section exemplifies selections from the network along with the restrictions from the functions in an action exchange they realise. To provide a comprehensive account, we must consider the predictable functions in an action exchange one by one (Da1, A2, A1, A2f, and A1f). As the reasoning below is very detailed, Table 3.3 has been provided as a summary at the end of the section.

#### 3.2.1.2.2.2 Move selections at Da1

Da1 predicts the performance of an action by the primary actor at A1 after the acceptability of the action is checked with the secondary actor at A2. Thus the speaker at Da1 is positioned as responsible. This is exemplified in (3.34) below (adjusting (3.8)) (R = responsibility).

(3.34) M = mother, D = daughter

a. M: Da1

spkr	adrs
<b>+R</b>	

*xutɕl-kə-ø*      *mɛ*  
 move-CAUS-NPST   IP  
 'Move (= blend it)?'

b. D: A2    *xutɕl-kə-ø*  
              move-CAUS-IMP.2  
              'Move (= blend it).'

c. M: A1    *ɛi*  
              INTJ  
              'Okay.'

d.        =A1   NV   (Mother starts the blender.)

To see how the addressee is positioned at Da1, we need to consider the way the positioning of the speaker in the following A2 (i.e. the addressee at Da1) affects the flow of the exchange. In (3.34) above, the speaker at A2 is positioned as not responsible for the action. This is seen from its realisation through a speaker exclusive imperative clause (see Section 4.1.3 for details). Such positioning does not affect the expected flow of the exchange – i.e.  $Da1 \wedge A2 \wedge A1$ .

- (3.34b) D: A2
- |      |      |
|------|------|
| spkr | adrs |
| -R   |      |
- xutɬl-kə-ø*  
 move-CAUS-IMP.2  
 ‘Move (= blend it).’

Alternatively, an exchange initiated by *xutɬlkə mɛ* ‘blend it?’ also unfolds smoothly if the speaker at the following move is also positioned as responsible as in (3.35). However, the exchange would be analysed as  $A2 \wedge A1$  instead of  $Da1 \wedge A2 \wedge A1$  in that the initiating move proposes a collective action (see Section 3.1.2 for details).

(3.35) M = mother, D = daughter

- a. M: A2
- |      |      |
|------|------|
| spkr | adrs |
| +R   | +R   |
- xutɬl-kə-ø*      *mɛ*  
 move-CAUS-NPST   IP  
 ‘Move (= blend it)?’

- b. D: A1
- |      |      |
|------|------|
| spkr | adrs |
| +R   |      |
- xutɬl-kə-jə*  
 move-CAUS-IMP.1  
 ‘Let’s move (it).’

- c.      =A1   NV   (M and D moves the table.)

Considering (3.34) and (3.35), the addressee at Da1 is positioned as not responsible.

- (3.34a) M: Da1
- |      |      |
|------|------|
| spkr | adrs |
| +R   | -R   |
- xutɬl-kə-ø*      *mɛ*  
 move-CAUS-NPST   IP  
 ‘Move (it)?’

### 3.2.1.2.2.3 Move selections at non-initiating A1

Given that the primary actor promises to carry out the action (or performs the action) at A1 in a  $Da1 \wedge A2 \wedge A1$  structure, the speaker at A1 is positioned as responsible for the action ([+responsibility]). In addition, the secondary actor has to indicate whether or not they are also responsible at A2; thus the addressee at A1 (i.e. the speaker at A2) must be positioned – meaning the option [addressee positioned] is preselected at a non-initiating A1.

Move selection that reflects the positioning of the addressee at non-initiating A1 is determined by the positioning of the speaker at A2 in a  $Da1 \wedge A2 \wedge A1$  structure. As discussed in relation to the exchange in (3.35) above, A2 in an  $Da1 \wedge A2 \wedge A1$  structure does not position the speaker as responsible. If the speaker at the second move is positioned as responsible, the structure of the exchange would be  $A2 \wedge A1$ . The speaker at A2 in a  $Da1 \wedge A2 \wedge A1$  structure thus can only be positioned as not responsible. This

positioning is preserved at the following A1 – the addressee at A1 is positioned as not responsible. This is the case for the exchange in (3.34) above, repeated as (3.34') below. Speaker positioning at A2 and addressee positioning at A1 are highlighted in bold.

(3.34') M = mother, D = daughter

- a. M: Da1
- |      |      |
|------|------|
| spkr | adrs |
| +R   | -R   |
- xutʂl-kə-ø* *me*  
 move-CAUS-NPST IP  
 'Move (= blend it)?'

- b. D: A2
- |           |      |
|-----------|------|
| spkr      | adrs |
| <b>-R</b> |      |
- xutʂl-kə-ø*  
 move-CAUS-IMP.2  
 'Move (= blend it).'

- c. M: A1
- |      |           |
|------|-----------|
| spkr | adrs      |
| +R   | <b>-R</b> |
- ɛi*  
 INTJ  
 'Okay.'

- d. =A1 NV (Mother starts the blender.)

The realisation of A1 in a Da1 ^ A2 ^ A1 structure is therefore restricted to +responsibility positioning of the speaker and -responsibility positioning of the addressee. This move rank selection also realises non-initiating A1 in a A2 ^ A1 structure as in (3.36) (adjusting (3.9)).

(3.36) D = daughter, M = mother

- a. D: A2
- |           |      |
|-----------|------|
| spkr      | adrs |
| <b>-R</b> |      |
- ʒn* *tʰʂr* *xi-ø*  
 PROX inside put-IMP.2  
 'Put (=separate) (the yolk) inside this (=the bowl).'  
 (while pointing at the bowl)

- b. M: A1
- |      |           |
|------|-----------|
| spkr | adrs      |
| +R   | <b>-R</b> |
- ɛi*  
 INTJ  
 'Okay.'

- c. =A1 NV (Mother separates the yolk inside the bowl.)

When the action under negotiation is a collective action, on the other hand, the speaker at A2 in an A2 ^ A1 structure is positioned as responsible. This makes it possible for A1 in an A2 ^ A1 structure to be realised by a move positioning both the speaker and the addressee as responsible as in (3.37) (introspective data).

(3.37) D = daughter, M = mother

- a. D: A2
- |           |      |
|-----------|------|
| spkr      | adrs |
| <b>+R</b> |      |
- pədən* *ortər* *firə* *ki* *filtʃ-ul-jə*  
 1PL first table ACC move-CAUS-IMP.1  
 'Let's move the table first.'

- b. M: A1
- |      |           |
|------|-----------|
| spkr | adrs      |
| +R   | <b>+R</b> |
- ɛi*  
 INTJ  
 'Okay.'

c. =A1 NV (M and D moves the table.)

#### 3.2.1.2.2.4 Move selections at A2

The examples in the discussion of non-initiating A1 necessarily involve A2. So this section will summarise the possible realisations of A2 before moving onto initiating A1 slots. The exchanges in (3.34) and (3.35) above show that the speaker at A2 is positioned as not responsible for the action under negotiation in a Da1 ^ A2 ^ A1 structure.

(3.34b) D: A2

spkr	adrs
-R	

*xutʂl-kə-ø*  
 move-CAUS-IMP.2  
 'Move (= blend it).'

The positioning of the addressee at A2 in this type of structure is determined by the positioning of the speaker at the preceding Da1 and the expected A1. As discussed earlier, the speaker positioning at these two slots is +responsibility; therefore, the positioning of the addressee at A2 (i.e. the speaker at Da1 and A1) is +responsibility. The exchange in (3.34) is reproduced as (3.34'') below. Speaker positioning at Da1 and A1 and addressee positioning at A2 are highlighted in bold.

(3.34'') M = mother, D = daughter

a. M: Da1

spkr	adrs
<b>+R</b>	-R

*xutʂl-kə-ø*      *mə*  
 move-CAUS-NPST IP  
 'Move (= blend it)?'

b. D: A2

spkr	adrs
-R	<b>+R</b>

*xutʂl-kə-ø*  
 move-CAUS-IMP.2  
 'Move (= blend it).'

c. M: A1

spkr	adrs
<b>+R</b>	-R

*ɛi*  
 INTJ  
 'Okay.'

d. =A1 NV (Mother starts the blender.)

The same reasoning applies to initiating A2 in an A2 ^ A1 structure. The speaker at initiating A2 is positioned as either responsible or not responsible for the action. The addressee is positioned as responsible since a following A1 is expected. The exchanges in (3.36) and (3.37) are repeated below as (3.36') and (3.37') to show such selections.

(3.36') D = daughter, M = mother

a. D: A2

spkr	adrs
-R	<b>+R</b>

*ʒn*      *tʂtʂr*      *xi-ø*  
 PROX      inside      put-IMP.2  
 'Put (=separate) (the yolk) inside this (=the bowl).'  
 (while pointing at the bowl)

- b. M: A1
- |           |      |
|-----------|------|
| spkr      | adrs |
| <b>+R</b> | -R   |
- εi*  
INTJ  
'Okay.'

- c. =A1 NV (Mother separates the yolk inside the bowl.)

(3.37') D = daughter, M = mother

- a. D: A2
- |      |           |
|------|-----------|
| spkr | adrs      |
| +R   | <b>+R</b> |
- pɛdɔn ɔrtər fɪrə ki fɪltʃ-ʊl-jə*  
1PL first table ACC move-CAUS-IMP.1  
'Let's move the table first.'

- b. M: A1
- |           |      |
|-----------|------|
| spkr      | adrs |
| <b>+R</b> | +R   |
- εi*  
INTJ  
'Okay.'

- c. =A1 NV (M and D moves the table.)

In short, at A2 (both initiating and non-initiating) the addressee is positioned as responsible. At non-initiating A2 (A2 in Da1 ^ A2 ^ A1), the speaker is positioned as not responsible; at initiating A2 (A2 in A2 ^ A1) the speaker is positioned as either responsible or not responsible for the action under negotiation.

### 3.2.1.2.2.5 Move selections at initiating A1

As with non-initiating A1 slots, interlocutors claim primary actor responsibility at initiating A1 slots. This means that the speaker at this slot is positioned as responsible ([+responsibility]). The addressee at A1 is typically positioned as not responsible ([-responsibility]). The initiating A1 from (3.7) is repeated as (3.38) below.

(3.38) D = daughter, M = mother

- a. D: A1
- |           |           |
|-----------|-----------|
| spkr      | adrs      |
| <b>+R</b> | <b>-R</b> |
- fɪxɪr kɛr-kɛ-ji*  
sugar out-CAUS-IMP.1  
'I will take out some sugar.'  
(The daughter goes to take out some sugar.)

The addressee at an initiating A1 is positioned as not responsible because when the addressee is positioned as responsible together with the speaker the move realises an initiating A2 instead of an A1 – the functional slot after the initiating one is obligatory (see Section 3.1.2 for details). The exchange in (3.37') is repeated below as (3.39) to show the correlation between A2 ^ A1 structure and its move rank realisation.

(3.39) D = daughter, M = mother

- a. D: **A2**
- |      |           |
|------|-----------|
| spkr | adrs      |
| +R   | <b>+R</b> |
- pɛdɔn ɔrtər fɪrə ki fɪltʃ-ʊl-jə*  
1PL first table ACC move-CAUS-IMP.1  
'Let's move the table first.'



b. M: **A1**

spkr	adrs
<b>+R</b>	+R

 $\varepsilon i$   
INTJ  
'Okay.'

c. =A1 NV (M and D moves the table.)

### 3.2.1.2.2.6 Move selections at A2f and A1f

The move rank realisation of A2f is closely related to the realisation of the preceding A1. As discussed earlier, at non-initiating A1 the speaker is positioned as responsible and the addressee is positioned as either responsible or not responsible. At initiating A1, on the other hand, the speaker is positioned as responsible and the addressee as not responsible.

Since at A2f the positioning of the interlocutors at A1 is accepted, the positioning is preserved and the interlocutor roles reversed. This means that at A1 the speaker is positioned as responsible and therefore the addressee at A2f is positioned as responsible. The exchange in (3.38) above is adjusted as (3.40) below with A1 ^ A2f structure.

(3.40) D = daughter, M = mother

a. D: A1 

spkr	adrs
<b>+R</b>	-R

 $\dot{f}ixir$   $k\acute{e}r-k\acute{e}-j\acute{i}$   
sugar out-CAUS-IMP.1  
'I will take out some sugar.'  
(The daughter goes to take out some sugar.)

b. M: A2f 

spkr	adrs
	<b>+R</b>

 $m:$   
INTJ  
'Okay.'

In terms of speaker positioning at A2f, if the addressee at A1 – that is the speaker at A2f – is positioned as not responsible, this positioning is preserved at A2f. In other words, the speaker at A2f (i.e. the addressee at A1) is positioned as not responsible.

(3.40b) M: A2f 

spkr	adrs
<b>-R</b>	+R

 $m:$   
INTJ  
'Okay.'

In contrast, if the addressee at A1 is positioned as responsible (i.e. A1 in A2 ^ A1 that is concerned with collective action), the speaker at A2f would be positioned as responsible. However, it is unlikely to have A2f in such exchanges. Thus no attempt will be made to adapt the examples in the corpus.

Similar to the way A2f is realised, the move realising A1f typically maintains the selection at A2f with the roles of the speaker and the addressee reversed. This is exemplified in (3.41) (adjusting (3.11)).

(3.41)

- a. A: A1
- |      |      |
|------|------|
| spkr | adrs |
| +R   | -R   |
- pi tʰemə t tʃɔ:s jəbəl-tʃ ɛ:-n*  
 1SG 2SG DAT money send-PROG COP-NPST  
 'I'm sending money to you now.' (speaking over the phone)
- b. B: A2f
- |      |      |
|------|------|
| spkr | adrs |
| -R   | +R   |
- tʰɛlxər-tʃ ɛ:-nə*  
 thank-PROG COP-NPST  
 '(I) am thanking (you).'
- c. A: A1f
- |      |      |
|------|------|
| spkr | adrs |
| +R   | -R   |
- xemə ukue*  
 matter NEG  
 '(It does) not matter.'

The possible move rank realisations of exchange functions at different points in an action exchange are summarised in Table 3.3.

Table 3.3 Possible move rank realisations of exchange functions in an action exchange

	[speaker positioned]		[speaker not positioned]	[addressee positioned]		[addressee not positioned]
	[+R]	[-R]		[+R]	[-R]	
<b>Da1</b>	x				x	
<b>A2</b>	x*			x		
		x		x		
<b>A1<sup>n</sup></b>	x			x*		
	x				x	
<b>A1<sup>i</sup></b>	x				x	
<b>A2f</b>	x			x**		
		x		x		
<b>A1f</b>	x			x**		
	x				x	

(**Key:** A1<sup>n</sup> = non-initiating A1, A1<sup>i</sup> = initiating A1, +R = +responsibility, -R = -responsibility; \*only in A2 ^ A1, \*\*unlikely)

Table 3.3 shows how the resources for action exchange and the resources for move rank are diversified. A function in an action exchange can be realised by more than one class of move; and a class of move can realise more than one function in an action exchange. For example, A2 can be realised by [speaker positioned: +responsibility & addressee positioned: +responsibility] and [speaker positioned: -responsibility & addressee positioned: +responsibility]. The move class [speaker positioned: +responsibility & addressee positioned: +responsibility] can also realise non-initiating A1.

Table 3.3 also demonstrates the kind of restrictions the structure of an action exchange places on the selections from the move systems. For example, the meaning-making potentials at A1 in an A2 ^ A1 structure are different from the resources available at A1 in an A1 ^ A2f structure. The selection [speaker positioned: +responsibility & addressee positioned: +responsibility] is available at A1 in the former but not in the latter. The restrictions on move choices also highlight the lack of certain choices when realising the predictable structure of an action exchange. For example, the selections [speaker positioned: -responsibility & addressee positioned: -responsibility], [speaker positioned & addressee not positioned], and [speaker not positioned] are missing. These choices are

used to realise the dynamic elements in an action exchange, to which we now turn.

### 3.2.1.2.3 Dynamising action exchange at move rank

First, **tracking**. As tracking “[clarifies] the experiential meaning of what has been proposed” (Martin 1992a:66), classification of tracking is not typically related to the type of exchange (knowledge or action). We will simply note that there is a specific way of suspending an action exchange, which follows moves positioning interlocutors in terms of their responsibilities (MODULATION in Halliday’s (1985) terms) – as in (3.42) (adjusting (3.9). The check ^ rcheck is a type of tracking that is initiated by the current speaker (see Section 2.2.1.2.2.3).

(3.42) D = daughter, M = mother

a. D: A2

spkr	adrs
-R	+R

*ʔn*      *tʔtʔr*      *xi-ʔ*  
 PROX    inside    put-IMP.2  
 ‘Put (=separate) (the yolk) inside this (=the bowl).’  
 (while pointing at the bowl)

b. check

spkr	adrs
NP	NP

*pʔl-ʔ*      *mɛ*  
 allow-NPST    IP  
 ‘Allow?’  
 (≈ Do you allow me to make such a demand?)’

c. M: rcheck

spkr	adrs
NP	NP

*pʔl-nʔ*  
 allow-NPST  
 ‘(I) allow.’

d. A1 NV (Mother separates the yolk inside the bowl.)

Similar to the treatment of tracking sequences in a knowledge exchange, the tracking sequence here is best analysed as being realised by moves selecting [speaker not positioned & addressee not positioned]. In the tracking sequence in (3.42), the interlocutors are not positioning one another as responsible or not in relation to the action, they are simply checking whether or not the positioning in the preceding move is acceptable.<sup>82</sup>

Next, **challenge**. Challenges may come after Da1, A2, or A1 – potential A2, A1, and A2f slots in an action exchange. For challenges at potential A2 (challenge to Da1) and at potential A2f (challenge to A1), it is typically the **previous speaker’s positioning** that is reversed – as in (3.43) and (3.44) (adjusting (3.8) and (3.38) respectively). The relevant selections from INTERLOCUTOR POSITIONING are highlighted in bold.

<sup>82</sup> This interpretation of the tracking sequence in (3.42) is very similar to that of a Da1 ^ A2 ^ A1 structure, in which the acceptability of the action is checked at Da1. In fact, the tracking sequence after A2 does predict a tripartite structure. For example, the check ^ rcheck sequence expects the instantiation of A1 – as in (3.42). Such tripartite structure is articulated in relation to tracking after K2 in a knowledge exchange in Berry (1981a:136–137).

(3.43) M = mother, D = daughter

- a. M: Da1
- |           |      |
|-----------|------|
| spkr      | adrs |
| <b>+R</b> | -R   |
- xutɔl-kə-ø* *mɛ*  
 move-CAUS-NPST IP  
 '(Do I) move (= blend)?'

- b. D: ch
- |      |           |
|------|-----------|
| spkr | adrs      |
| +R   | <b>-R</b> |
- pi* *xutɔl-kə-jə*  
 1SG move-CAUS-IMP.1  
 'I will move (= blend).'

- c. NV (D starts the blender.)

(3.44) D = daughter, M = mother

- a. D: A1
- |           |      |
|-----------|------|
| spkr      | adrs |
| <b>+R</b> | -R   |
- fɪxir* *kɛr-kɛ-jɪ*  
 sugar out-CAUS-IMP.1  
 'I will take out some sugar.'  
 (The daughter is walking out of the room.)

- b. M: ch
- |      |           |
|------|-----------|
| spkr | adrs      |
| -R   | <b>-R</b> |
- pɛ:-tʃ* *ɛ:-ø*  
 COP-PROG COP-IMP.2  
 'Stay (≈ not now).'

For challenges at potential A1 (a challenge to A2), it is typically the **current speaker's positioning** that is reversed. The exchange between wife (W) and husband (H) in (3.45) exemplifies this type of challenge.

(3.45) W = wife, H = husband

- a. W: A2
- |      |           |
|------|-----------|
| spkr | adrs      |
| -R   | <b>+R</b> |
- ən* *xɛ:lsg* *tə:r* *tʰɛpɐ-ø*  
 PROX steamer on put-IMP.2  
 'Put (the dumplings) on the steamer.'

- b. H: ch
- |           |      |
|-----------|------|
| spkr      | adrs |
| <b>-R</b> | -R   |
- pi* *tʰɛp-x* *uɛ*  
 1SG put-NPST.PTCP NEG  
 'I will not put (them).'

When the challenged A2 positions both the speaker and the addressee as responsible, the reversal of the current speaker's positioning at the challenge means declining a joint action as in (3.46).

(3.46) D = daughter, M = mother

- a. D: A2
- |      |           |
|------|-----------|
| spkr | adrs      |
| +R   | <b>+R</b> |
- pɛdɔn* *ɔrtɐr* *fɪrə* *ki* *fɪltʃ-ul-jə*  
 1PL first table ACC move-CAUS-IMP.1  
 'Let's move the table first.'

- b. M: ch
- |           |      |
|-----------|------|
| spkr      | adrs |
| <b>-R</b> | +R   |
- pi* *fɪltʃ-ul-x* *uɛ*  
 1SG move-CAUS-NPST.PTCP NEG  
 'I will not move (it).'

#### **3.2.1.2.4 Summary**

To summarise, an examination of the move choices from above in relation to the structure of action exchange yields a richer understanding of the meaning-making resources at move rank. In an action exchange, moves typically select from systems that are related to the ways interlocutors are positioned in relation to their responsibility for carrying out the action under negotiation (i.e. [speaker (addressee) not positioned], [speaker (addressee) positioned: +responsibility], [speaker (addressee) positioned: -responsibility]). A move-by-move analysis of an action exchange along this line shows how selections from move systems are conditioned by the places of the functions they realise in the exchange structure. The analysis has also revealed the dynamicity of interlocutor positioning in an action exchange, particularly in relation to challenges. Now we can explicate what is at stake for challenges in an action exchange.

#### **3.2.1.3 Tentative conclusions**

In Section 3.2.1, I have argued for classes of move in relation to the exchange functions they realise. The move rank realisations of a knowledge exchange are related to the interlocutors' state of knowledge of the information under negotiation; the move rank realisations of an action exchange are related to the interlocutors' responsibility for carrying out the action at risk. Figure 3.9 summarises the two types of move in the system INTERLOCUTOR POSITIONING. Halliday's (1984; 1985) terms 'proposition' and 'proposal' are borrowed to capture respectively the positioning of the interlocutors in terms of their state of knowledge and their responsibility for action. Thus interlocutors are either positioned in relation to proposition or proposal. For the former, the options [+knowledge] and [-knowledge] are available; for the latter, the options [+responsibility] and [-responsibility] are available.

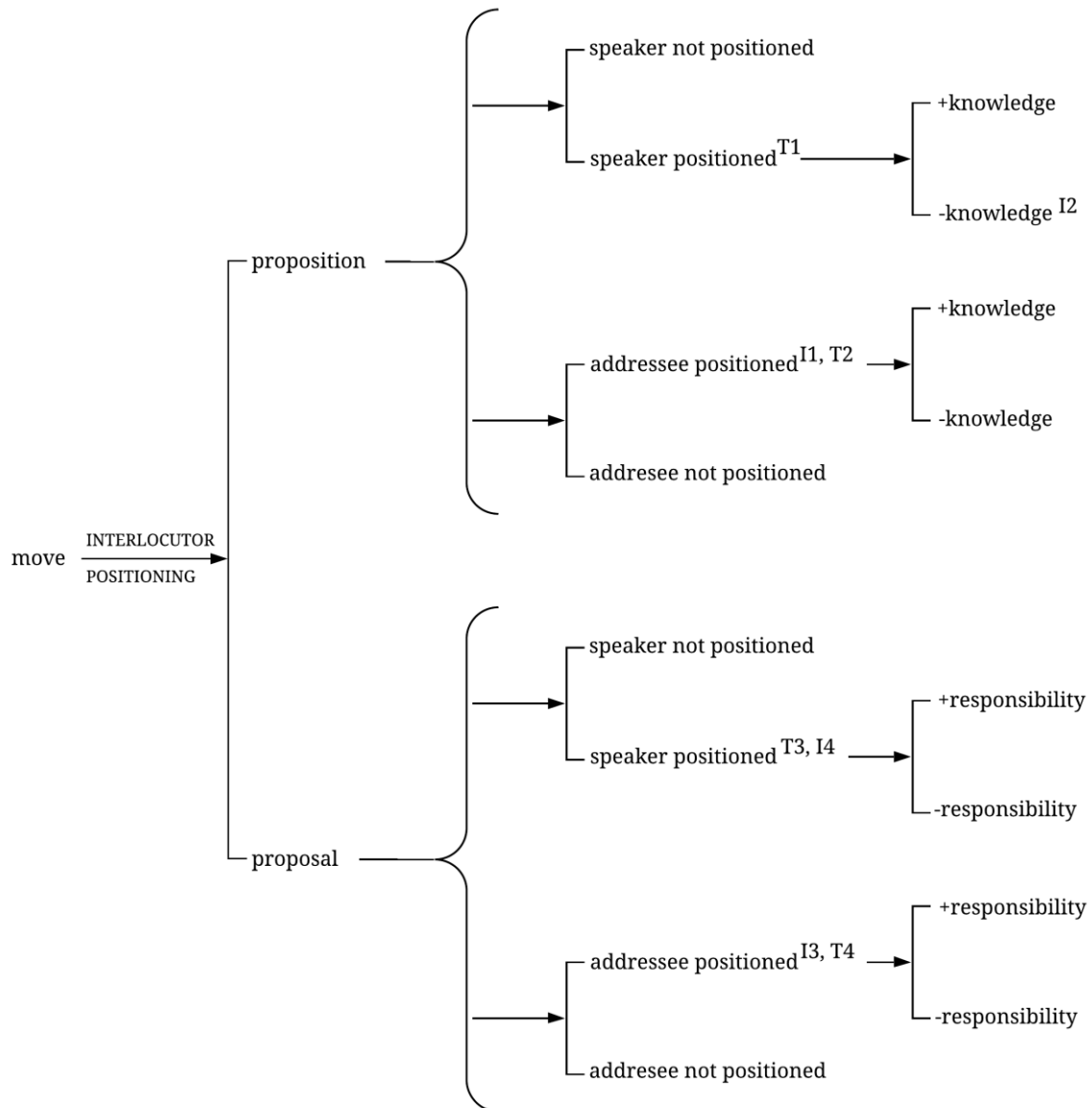


Figure 3.9 Unified INTERLOCUTOR POSITIONING network

Figure 3.9 shows that when positioned with respect to a proposal, when the speaker is positioned the addressee must be positioned; when the addressee is positioned, the speaker must be positioned. The display network in Figure 3.9 is collapsed in Figure 3.10.

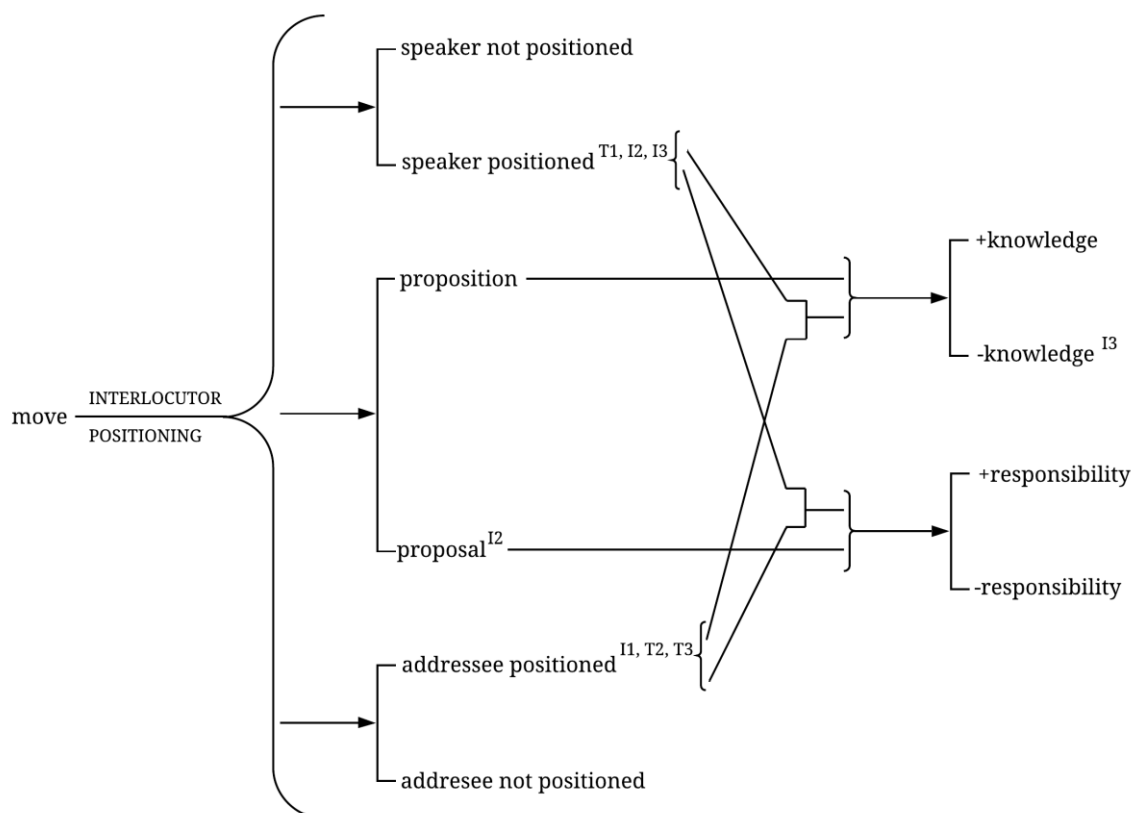


Figure 3.10 Unified INTERLOCUTOR POSITIONING network (collapsed)

The restrictions in Figure 3.9 and Figure 3.10 point to the similarities and the differences between knowledge exchanges and action exchanges as far as their realisations by move classes are concerned. At the predictable elements in a knowledge exchange (i.e. excluding tracking and challenging moves), the speakers must indicate whether or not they know the information (see Table 3.1). Similarly, at the predictable elements in an action exchange the speakers must indicate whether or not they are responsible for the carrying out of the action (see Table 3.3).<sup>83</sup> That is why the move rank realisations of the predictable elements of an exchange always involve the positioning of the speaker.

Knowledge exchanges and action exchanges differ with respect to the non-positioning of the addressee. For knowledge exchanges, it is possible not to position the addressee when the speaker is positioned as knowing the information at stake at Dk1 and initiating K1. For action exchanges, in contrast, at the predictable elements of an exchange, when the speaker is positioned the addressee must be positioned.

Compared with proposals, interlocutors need comparatively more resources to negotiate a proposition to reach consensus. Interlocutors' knowledge claim concerning information is just one of the discourse strategies available to the users of Khorchin Mongolian. Another discourse strategy has to do with how alternative voices are anticipated and responded to during an interaction. Section 3.2.2 below turns to this resource.

<sup>83</sup> Note that here what is at stake is the positioning of the speakers, not that of the addressees.

### 3.2.2 Classes of move: from around

This section argues for classes of move from around with a focus on the positioning of dialogic alternatives in interaction. This perspective complements the move classes proposed with respect to the structure of knowledge exchanges. Unlike the positioning of interlocutors with [+knowledge] and [-knowledge] in INTERLOCUTOR POSITIONING, the resources examined in this section are related to whether additional propositions are introduced with reference to the proposition construed by a particular move and how they are positioned in the dialogic space. The relevant system is DIALOGIC POSITIONING. The underlying descriptive foundation is the ENGAGEMENT systems outlined in Martin & White (2005) and White (1998; 2000; 2003) (see Section 2.2.2 for details).<sup>84</sup>

In this section, we will closely examine two extracts of interaction that feature persuasion. In the first one, the interlocutors argue about the validity of a piece of information – (3.47) below (simplifying (3.16)).<sup>85</sup> In the second, the interlocutors negotiate evaluation – (3.48) below. In both, a variety of linguistic resources are used strategically to respond to a previous proposition, justify or support a viewpoint, and anticipate consensus and non-consensus.

First, let's start with the negotiation of the validity of a piece of information. In (3.47), the information under negotiation is 'Secin used to take her daughter to school by motorised trike'. This interaction has been analysed from the perspective of INTERLOCUTOR POSITIONING in Section 3.2.1. Move (b) to move (e) position the speakers as knowing the information and the addressees as not knowing. They realise challenges that enact competing primary knower authority over the information.

Now we will consider the interaction from a complementary perspective. We will examine how alternative viewpoints are responded to and anticipated. At move (a) T1 presents a potentially arguable proposition, which is directly rejected by T2 in move (b). T2 then proposes an alternative proposition in move (c), which is rejected by T1 in move (d). T1 further proposes an alternative in move (e), which is eventually accepted by T2 in move (f). The interaction is presented first with the relevant linguistic resources highlighted in bold. The linguistic resources will be explained afterwards. As with Section 3.2.1, the closest possible translations of the modal particles are given in square brackets in the translation line.

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<sup>84</sup> The name ENGAGEMENT is not adopted to avoid invoking the APPRAISAL system, in which the ENGAGEMENT system is originally proposed. This follows Peter White's suggestion for starting with analyses of the way dialogic alternatives are positioned in relation to the textual voice when describing the comparable discourse systems in languages other than English. The name DIALOGIC POSITIONING is mentioned by Peter White in his APPRAISAL research course at The University of Sydney (2019) (*Analysing Evaluative Language – Applying the APPRAISAL Framework*).

<sup>85</sup> The second move in (3.16) is set aside as it deviates from the proposition the interlocutors are negotiating in the other moves. This move is recovered in (3.49) below when the interaction is analysed in terms of both INTERLOCUTOR POSITIONING and DIALOGIC POSITIONING.



(3.47) T = teacher

- a. T1: *tʰəɾ ixin ɔn ɔtʰɛ sənɔ kər jɛp-tʃ ɛ:-tʃ fɛ*  
DIST daughter 3POSS before trike INS commute-PROG COP-PST **MP**

‘[**You know**] her daughter was commuting (to school) by motorised trike before.’

- b. T2: **ukue**  
**NEG**  
**‘No.’**

- c. *sətʰin ni:təm mɔtʰɔ*  
Secin **always** motorbike  
‘Secin **always** (took her children to school by) motorbike.’

- d. T1: **ukue**  
**NEG**  
**‘No.’**

- e. *sənɔ kər pɛs jɛp-tʃ ɛ:-tʃ fɔ*  
trike INS **also** commute-PROG COP-PST **MP**  
‘[**I know**] (she) was **also** commuting by motorised trike.’

- f. T2: *ɔ:*  
INTJ  
‘I see.’

Move (a) anticipates potential non-consensus. This is realised by the modal particle *fɛ* (‘You may disagree; but if you do I will refute your disagreement’). Move (b-c) explicitly rejects the proposition presented in move (a) through the negation *ukue*. It presents a competing proposition which involves the expression of high usuality *ni:təm* ‘always’. This fends off possible alternatives to the proposition. Similarly, move (d-e) rejects the proposition presented in move (c) through the negation *ukue*. Move (e) at the same time subsumes the proposition in move (c) through the adverb *pɛs* ‘also’ and facilitates consensus via the modal particle *fɔ*. The particle *fɔ* closes down the possibility of further negotiating the proposition – consensus is expected (‘I know this; but you do not. I expect you to agree’).

In (3.47) dialogic alternatives are thus anticipated (move (a)), rejected (move (b) and (d)), subsumed (move (e)), and fended off (move (c) and (e)). Borrowing features from the ENGAGEMENT systems reviewed in Section 2.2.2, the resources for actively anticipating and making room for dialogic alternatives (hence anticipating the possibility of non-consensus) will be conceptualised as expanding the dialogic space; the modal particle *fɛ* in (3.47a) and the adverb *pɛs* in (3.47e) belong to this category. In contrast, the resources for rejecting or fending off dialogic alternatives will be conceptualised as contracting the dialogic space (hence anticipating consensus); the adverb *ni:təm* in (3.47c), the modal particle *fɔ* in (3.47e), and the negation *ukue* in both (3.47b) and (3.47d) belong to this category.

If we reconsider our analysis of the interaction in (3.47) above in terms of this opposition between [contract] and [expand] on a move-by-move basis, while move (a) to move (d)

select once from the system, move (e) selects twice from the system. Move (a) selects [expand], anticipating non-consensus. Move (b) selects [contract] to reject the proposition presented in move (a). Move (c) then selects [contract] to fend off possible alternatives, anticipating consensus. Contrary to the anticipation, move (d) selects [contract] to reject the high usuality encoded in the previous move. Furthermore, move (e) selects [expand] to subsume the proposition in move (c). Move (e) then selects [contract] one more time to close down the space for possible alternatives. Figure 3.11 formalises the move selections made in (3.47). The superscripts  $n$  is used to show the possibility of multiple selections from the system for a given move.<sup>86</sup>

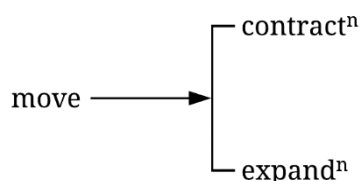


Figure 3.11 Multiple selections from DIALOGIC POSITIONING

It is tempting to formalise the system as a recursive network. However, in terms of ‘types of meaning’ and their ‘modes of expression’ in language (Matthiessen 2004), the selections here are interpersonal and prosodic rather than logical and serial as with typical recursive systems (e.g. TENSE in English). Furthermore, the possible co-selections from the more delicate options – as in Figure 3.14 in Section 3.2.3.3 below – are still too unclear to support a recursive formalisation.

Second, we consider the negotiation of a piece of evaluation. In (3.48) the family is discussing the dialects from three banners (a local administrative unit in Inner Mongolia) – Jalaid Banner, South Banner, and Middle Banner (these banners constitute Hinggan League mentioned in move (d)). The interlocutors are living in Jalaid Banner. The daughter (D) and the son-in-law (S) believe that the dialect of Jalaid Banner is the worst in that it borrows heavily from Chinese. The father (F) and the mother (M), on the other hand, argue that the dialects from all the three banners are equally bad in that regard.

At move (a) the daughter presents a piece of evaluation (‘the dialect of Jalaid Banner is most seriously contaminated’). At move (b) and (c) the father confirms what is evaluated in move (a). At move (d) the mother challenges the evaluation in move (a) and tables an alternative (‘the dialects in Hinggan League are equally contaminated’). At move (e) the father justifies the mother’s proposition, which is seconded by the mother at move (f). At move (g) and (h) the son-in-law and the daughter challenge the justification in move (e). At move (i) the son-in-law reinforces the evaluation presented in move (a) by the daughter. At move (j), the father challenges the challenges from the son-in-law and the daughter, which

<sup>86</sup> This is not surprising given the characterisation of move in Martin (1992a:59) as “the discourse unit whose unmarked realisation is a clause selecting independently for MOOD”. A move can thus be realised by a clause complex with an independent clause and its dependents related to one another ‘logico-semantically’. Each clause in the clause complex realises a proposition which can at least be independently modalised (i.e. opening up spaces for dialogic alternatives). This allows for the possibility of multiple selections from [contract/expand] at move rank.

is further challenged by the daughter at move (k). The course of negotiation is diagrammed below in Figure 3.12 to aid the understanding of the interaction.

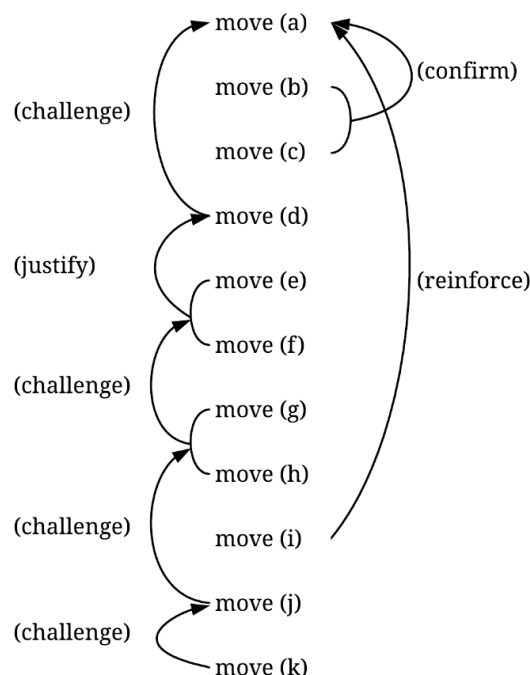


Figure 3.12 Negotiation in (3.48)

The interaction is presented first with the relevant linguistic resources highlighted in bold. The linguistic resources will then be explained afterwards. The superscript H on the modal particle *pə* in move (j) indicates that the particle is realised on a high pitch (cf. *pə* in (3.49) below). Tone 4 in move (k) means ‘fall rising tone’.

(3.48) D = daughter, F = father, M = mother, S = son in law

a. D: *tʃɛlət pɔl xəmɜk ɛ:mər v:*  
 Jalaid TOP most serious EMP  
 ‘Jalaid is the most serious.’

b. F: *tʃɛlət xɔʃʊ nɛ ju*  
 Jalaid banner GEN IP  
 ‘(The dialect) of Jalaid Banner?’

c. D: *m:*  
 INTJ  
 ‘Yes.’

d. M: ***pi utʃʰ-ul*** *fɪŋɛnməŋ nɛ xɔni mitʰm ə:*  
**1SG see-COND** Hinggan.League GEN all like.that EMP  
**‘I think** (dialects in) Hinggan League are all like that.’

e. F: *tʰər tʃʰiɛntʃʰi tʃʰuŋtʃʰi xɔ mitʰim pɛ:-n tɛ ɔtɔ*  
 DIST South.Banner Middle.Banner all like.that COP-NPST **MP CONC**  
**‘But [obviously]** South Banner and Middle Banner are all like that.’

- f. M: ə:  
INTJ  
'Yes.'
- g. S: kə:ku      ɣət      tʃʰɛk      ɐ:  
mild      **do.this-PFV**      **CONC**      EMP  
'**Even though** they are like that, (they are) mild.'
- h. D: jɛk      tʃukəɾ      ɛtəl  
**seem**      better      **like**  
'(They) **seem** better.'
- i. S: tʃiu      mən      nɛ      mən      tʃɛtʃʰi      nɛ  
FOC      1PL      GEN      PROX      Jalaid.Banner      GEN  
'It is our Jalaid Banner's (dialect that is the worst).'
- j. F: ɣnt-xi      kəs      nək      tʃiɛn      tər      ukue      pɐ<sup>H</sup>  
here-POSS      ABL      one      small      better      **NEG**      **MP**  
'**[It seems]** (they) are **not** a bit better than here.'
- k. D: //4 m://  
INTJ  
'They are.'

First, we review the **challenges** in move (d), (g), (h), (j), and (k). In move (d), the speaker challenges the proposition in move (a) by presenting a competing piece of evaluation ('All the dialects in Hinggan League are equally contaminated'). The evaluation is realised in a mental projection *pi utʃʰul* 'I think'. This grounds the proposition in the subjectivity of the speaker, opening up the dialogic space for potential alternatives ([expand]). A similar strategy is used in move (h) and (j). The discontinuous phrase *jɛk...ɛtəl* 'seem...like' in move (h) and the modal particle *pɐ<sup>H</sup>* in move (j) modalise the propositions in terms of low and high probability respectively. Such modalisation makes allowance for the possibility of alternative viewpoints, realising the selection of [expand] – non-consensus is anticipated.

In contrast, move (g) and move (j) challenge previous propositions by contracting the dialogic space for alternative viewpoints. Move (g) makes use of the concessive device *ɣət tʃʰɛk* to counter the alternative viewpoint in move (e). Move (j) makes use of the negation *ukue* to deny the alternative viewpoint in move (g) and (h). Note that the contraction of dialogic space in move (j) through the negation is within the scope of the expansion of the dialogic space realised through the modal particle. Distinct from the resources used in the moves mentioned so far, the contraction of the dialogic space at move (k) is realised phonologically. Pending further research on the relationship between DIALOGIC POSITIONING and phonological resources in Khorchin Mongolian, we treat the tone 4 (fall rising) in move (k) as realising a denial of the proposition in move (j).

Second, we consider the **justification** of a previous proposition. In (3.48), move (e) justifies the proposition in move (d) ('Because the dialects of South and Middle Banner are the same with that of Jalaid Banner, all the dialects in Hinggan League are equally contaminated'). The realisation of move (e) involves the modal particle *tʰ* 'obviously' and the item *ɔtʰ* 'CONCESSIVE', the interaction of which closes down the space for dialogic alternatives – i.e. consensus is expected.

Third, we examine moves that **do not reference** dialogic alternatives explicitly. Move (a) and move (i) are distinct from the other moves in that there is no explicit referencing of alternative viewpoints. They are construed as if they are the only viewpoints – 'bare assertions'. Borrowing terms from ENGAGEMENT, we will use the term [monogloss] to refer to selections from DIALOGIC POSITIONING that do not explicitly refer to dialogic alternatives. In contrast, we will use the term [heterogloss] to generalise over moves that explicitly refer to dialogic alternatives by either expanding or contracting the dialogic space. It is important to note that monoglossic "categorical or bare assertions are just as intersubjectively loaded and hence 'stanced' as utterances including more overt markers of point of view or attitude." (Martin & White 2005:94). The evaluations in move (a) and move (i) are uttered against a backdrop of viewpoints concerning people's attitude towards dialectal differences in Inner Mongolia. They construe the proposition as if the addressees do not need to be won over (see Figure 3.13 below, in which [monogloss] is formalised as a more delicate choice for [dialogically positioned]).

The issue remains as to the relationship between the DIALOGIC POSITIONING systems discussed so far and the INTERLOCUTOR POSITIONING systems introduced in Section 3.2.1. To understand how the two systems interact, the interactions in (3.47) and (3.48) are analysed from the perspectives of the two systems in (3.49) and (3.50) below. The move elided from (3.16) in (3.47) is recovered for this analysis (move (b) in (3.49)). In (3.49b), the modal particle *pʰ* is realised on a low pitch (represented by the L superscript); it grounds the proposition in the speaker's subjectivity by modalising it with low probability (cf. *pʰ* in (3.48j/3.50j) for high probability). In the remainder of this thesis, brackets are used to show the scope of the DIALOGIC POSITIONING resources (e.g. contract (expand) = the scope of the contraction encompasses that of the expansion). The exchange structure analyses from the NEGOTIATION systems at exchange rank is also provided to show the relationship between the moves (exp = expand, con = contract).

(3.49) T = teacher

#### Exchange 1

a. T1: K1	spkr	adrs	<i>tʰɔr</i>	<i>ixin</i>	<i>ən</i>	<i>ɔrtʰɛ</i>	<i>sənlo</i>	<i>kər</i>
	+K	+K	DIST	daughter	3POSS	before	trike	INS
	expand		‘[ <b>You know</b> ] her daughter was commuting					

<i>jɛp-tʃ</i>	<i>ɛ:-tʃ</i>	<i>fɛ</i>
commute-PROG	COP-PST	MP

(to school) by motorised trike before.’

## Exchange 2

- b. K1
- |        |      |   |                     |                              |
|--------|------|---|---------------------|------------------------------|
| spkr   | adrs | <i>tʰɔr sɛnlɔ nœtʰ-x</i>  | <i>uɛ lɛ pɔl-tʃ</i> | <b>pe<sup>L</sup></b>        |
| +K     | NP   | DIST trike  | start-NPST.PTCP     | NEG RES become-PST <b>MP</b> |
| expand |      | That motorised trike [ <b>may</b> ] have become unable to start.' |                     |                              |

## Exchange 1 (cont.)

- c. T2: ch
- |          |      |              |
|----------|------|--------------|
| spkr     | adrs | <b>ukuɛ</b>  |
| +K       | -K   | <b>NEG</b>   |
| contract |      | <b>'No.'</b> |
- d. =ch
- |          |      |   |               |              |
|----------|------|---|---------------|--------------|
| spkr     | adrs | <i>sɔtʰin</i>   | <b>ni:tɔm</b> | <i>mɔtʰɔ</i> |
| +K       | -K   | Secin   | <b>always</b> | motorbike    |
| contract |      | 'Secin <b>always</b> (took her children to school by) motorbike.' |               |              |
- e. T1: rch
- |          |      |              |
|----------|------|--------------|
| spkr     | adrs | <b>ukuɛ</b>  |
| +K       | -K   | <b>NEG</b>   |
| contract |      | <b>'No.'</b> |
- f. =rch
- |           |      |   |                 |               |              |           |
|-----------|------|---|-----------------|---------------|--------------|-----------|
| spkr      | adrs | <i>sɛnlɔ kər</i>  | <b>peɪs</b>     | <i>jɛp-tʃ</i> | <i>ɛ:-tʃ</i> | <i>fʊ</i> |
| +K        | -K   | trike   | INS <b>also</b> | commute-PROG  | COP-PST      | <b>MP</b> |
| con (exp) |      | '[ <b>I know</b> ] (she) was <b>also</b> commuting by motorised trike.' |                 |               |              |           |
- g. T2: rrch
- |      |      |           |
|------|------|-----------|
| spkr | adrs | <i>ɔ:</i> |
| -K   | +K   | INTJ      |
|      |      | 'I see.'  |

(3.50) D = daughter, F = father, M = mother, S = son in law

- a. D: K1
- |           |      |                                  |
|-----------|------|----------------------------------|
| spkr      | adrs | <i>tʃɛlət pɔl xɛmɔk ɛ:mɛr ɐ:</i> |
| +K        | -K   | Jalaid TOP most serious EMP      |
| monogloss |      | 'Jalaid is the most serious.'    |
- b. F: cf
- |      |      |                                   |
|------|------|-----------------------------------|
| spkr | adrs | <i>tʃɛlət xɔfʊ nɛ ju</i>          |
| NP   | NP   | Jalaid banner GEN IP              |
|      |      | '(The dialect) of Jalaid banner?' |
- c. D: rcf
- |      |      |           |
|------|------|-----------|
| spkr | adrs | <i>m:</i> |
| NP   | NP   | INTJ      |
|      |      | 'Yes.'    |
- d. M: ch
- |        |      |   |                 |                 |                         |
|--------|------|---|-----------------|-----------------|-------------------------|
| spkr   | adrs | <b>pi</b>   | <b>utʰ-ul</b>   | <i>fɪŋɛnmɔŋ</i> | <i>nɛ xɔni mitʰm ɔ:</i> |
| +K     | -K   | <b>1SG</b>  | <b>see-COND</b> | Hinggan.League  | GEN all like.that EMP   |
| expand |      | 'I think (dialects in) Hinggan League are all like that.' |                 |                 |                         |
- e. F: =ch
- |          |      |  |                 |                |           |
|----------|------|--|-----------------|----------------|-----------|
| spkr     | adrs | <i>tʰɔr</i>  | <i>tʰiɛntʰi</i> | <i>tʃuŋtʰi</i> | <i>xɔ</i> |
| +K       | -K   | DIST   | South.Banner    | Middle.Banner  | all       |
| contract |      | <b>'But [obviously]</b> South Banner and Middle Banner |                 |                |           |

*mit<sup>hi</sup>m*    *pɛ:-n*    **te**    **ɔtɔ**  
 like.that    COP-NPST    **MP**    **CONC**  
 (are) all like that.'

f. M: =ch

spkr	adrs	<i>ə:</i>
+K	-K	INTJ
monogloss		'Yes.'

g. S: rch

spkr	adrs	<i>kɛ:ku</i>	<b>ŋ-ət</b>	<b>tʃ<sup>h</sup>ɛk</b>	<i>ɛ:</i>
+K	-K	mild	<b>do.this-PFV</b>	<b>CONC</b>	EMP
contract		'Even though they are like that, (they are) mild.'			

h. D: =rch

spkr	adrs	<b>jɛk</b>	<i>tʃukər</i>	<b>ɛtəl</b>
+K	-K	<b>seem</b>	better	<b>like</b>
expand		'(They) seem better.'		

i. S: =rch

spkr	adrs	<i>tʃiu</i>	<i>mən</i>	<i>nɛ</i>	<i>mən</i>	<i>tʃɛtʃ<sup>h</sup>i</i>	<i>nɛ</i>
+K	-K	FOC	1PL	GEN	PROX	Jalaid.Banner	GEN
monogloss		'It is our Jalaid Banner's (dialect that is the worst).'					

j. F: rrch

spkr	adrs	<i>ənt-xi</i>	<i>kəs</i>	<i>nək</i>	<i>tʃiən</i>	<i>tə:r</i>	<b>ukue</b>	<b>pɛ<sup>H</sup></b>
+K	-K	here-POSS	ABL	one	small	better	<b>NEG</b>	<b>MP</b>
exp (con)		'[It seems] (they) are <b>not</b> a bit better than here.'						

k. D: rrrch

spkr	adrs	//4 m://
+K	-K	INTJ
contract		'They are.'

The analyses show that it is unnecessary to analyse some of the moves in terms of DIALOGIC POSITIONING. Instances such as move (b) and move (c) in (3.50) are not analysed because the propositional content is not complete; instances such as move (g) in (3.49) and move (f) in (3.50) are not analysed because the speaker is accepting the proposition presented in the previous move through interjections instead of replaying the proposition or further engaging with dialogic alternatives. In both cases, there is no construed textual voice which makes it possible to discuss the explicit introduction of additional propositions in the discourse. Consequently, it will be argued that the system is only available when there is a textual voice (i.e. a reference voice with respect to which alternative voices can be considered) – the entry condition for DIALOGIC POSITIONING is thus [speaker positioned: +knowledge]. While the positioning of alternative voices in heteroglossic utterances is explicitly marked, that in monoglossic utterances is implicit.

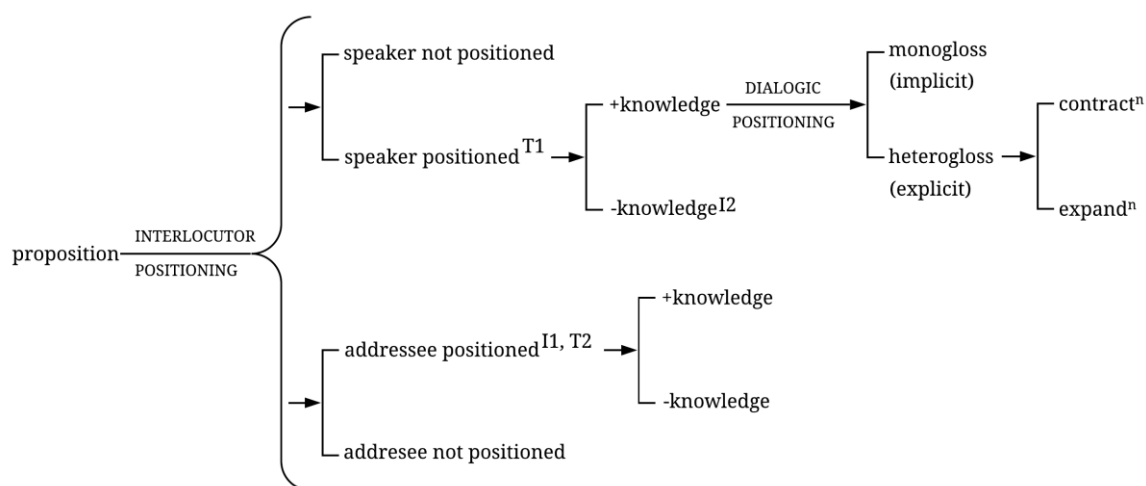


Figure 3.13 INTERLOCUTOR POSITIONING and DIALOGIC POSITIONING for propositions

One of the main lexicogrammatical resources that realises INTERLOCUTOR POSITIONING and DIALOGIC POSITIONING in Khorchin Mongolian are **modal particles**. Before we summarise the modal particles we have encountered so far in this section, we need to clarify the discourse function of one particular modal particle – *pe*. In terms of DIALOGIC POSITIONING, the move containing the particle expands the dialogic space for alternative voices. In terms of INTERLOCUTOR POSITIONING, it positions the speaker as knowing the information under negotiation. The way the addressee is positioned, however, depends on the exchange function the move realises.

When a move involving *pe* initiates an exchange there are two possibilities. First, when the move realises K2, it positions the addressee as knowing the information ([addressee positioned: +knowledge]) – as in (3.51) below.

(3.51) T = teacher

a. T1: K2	spkr	adrs	ən	u:lpər	tʰe:r-ən	<b>pe</b>
	+K	+K	PROX	sentence	correct-NPST	<b>MP</b>
	expand		‘This sentence [ <b>may</b> ] be correct, [ <b>right?</b> ]’			

b. T2: K1	spkr	adrs	tʰe:r-nɛ
	+K	+K	correct-NPST
	monogloss		‘Correct.’

Second, when the move realises K1 (typically low *pe*), it does not position the addressee as knowing or not knowing – as in (3.49b) above (repeated below).

(3.49b) K1	spkr	adrs	tʰər	sɛnlʊ	nœtʰ-x	ue	le	pɔl-tʃ	<b>pe<sup>L</sup></b>
	+K	NP	DIST	trike	start-NPST.PTCP	NEG	RES	become-PST	<b>MP</b>
	expand		‘That motorised trike [ <b>may</b> ] have become unable to start.’						

When a move involving *pe* realises a non-initiating function, the function is either an expected element of an exchange or a challenge. First, when the move realises an



expected element of an exchange, there are three possibilities. (1) It positions the addressee as knowing the information ([addressee positioned: +knowledge]) if it realises K2 in a  $Dk1 \wedge K2 \wedge K1$  structure – as in (3.52) below (adjusting (3.24)).

(3.52) N = niece, U = uncle

a. N:  $Dk1$ 

spkr	adrs
+K	NP

*ən ju kər xi-sən tɘ*  
PROX what INS make-PST.PTCP IP  
'What was this made from?'

b. U:  $K2$ 

spkr	adrs
+K	+K
expand	

*kʊjər pɐ*  
flour **MP**  
'[**Maybe**] flour.'

c. N:  $K1$ 

spkr	adrs
+K	+K
monogloss	

*tɘ:r-tʰ*  
correct-PST  
'(It) is correct.'

(2) It positions the addressee as not knowing the information ([addressee positioned: -knowledge]) if it realises K1 in a  $K2 \wedge K1$  structure – as in (3.53) below.

(3.53) S = sister, B = brother

a. S:  $K2$ 

spkr	adrs
-K	+K

*ɛpɐ kər t jɛpɔ-sən mɔl tɔ*  
father home DAT go-PST.PTCP COND IP  
'(I) [wonder] if father has gone home.'

b. B:  $K1$ 

spkr	adrs
+K	-K
expand	

*jɛpɔ-sən pɐ*  
go-PST.PTCP **MP**  
'He [**may**] have gone.'

(3) It positions the addressee as knowing the information ([addressee positioned: +knowledge]) if it (typically low *pɐ*) realises K2f in a  $K1 \wedge K2f$  structure – as in (3.54) below.

(3.54) T = teacher

a. T1:  $K1$ 

spkr	adrs
+K	NP
expand	

*tʰɔr sɛnɔv nɔɛtʰ-x uɛ lɛ pɔl-tʃ pɐ<sup>L</sup>*  
DIST trike start-NPST.PTCP NEG RES become-PST **MP**  
'That motorised trike [**may**] have become unable to start.'

b. T2:  $K2f$ 

spkr	adrs
+K	+K
expand	

*ti:m pɐ<sup>L</sup>*  
like.that **MP**  
'[**Maybe**] like that.'

Alternatively, when the move realises a challenge (typically high *pɐ*) – as in (3.50j) above (repeated below) – it selects [addressee positioned: -knowledge].

(3.50j) F:  $rrch$ 

spkr	adrs
+K	-K
exp (con)	

*ɛnt-xi kəs nək tʃi:n tɔ:r ukue pɐ<sup>H</sup>*  
here-POSS ABL one small better NEG **MP**  
'[**It seems**] (they) are not a bit better than here.'

Table 3.4 summarises the modal particles we have encountered so far in this section in relation to the meanings they realise from the two move systems. Note that moves involving modal particles select [speaker positioned: +knowledge] by default. They also select [heterogloss] as they make the intersubjective positioning explicit. The other modal particles in Khorchin Mongolian will be introduced in Section 3.2.3 below.

Table 3.4 The discourse functions of modal particles in Khorchin Mongolian (1)

		speaker positioned: +knowledge		
		addressee	addressee positioned	
		not positioned	+knowledge	-knowledge
heterogloss	expand	$pe^L$	$f\acute{e}, pe$	$pe$
	contract			$te\ (\text{ɔ}t\text{ɔ}), f\acute{u}$

\*L = Realised on a low pitch.

### 3.2.3 Notes on the discourse functions of modal particles

This section provides a discourse interpretation of the modal particles in my corpus that I did not introduce in Section 3.2.2. Following the line of reasoning in section 3.2.2, I will first introduce the modal particles that expand the dialogic space; I will then introduce the ones that contract such space. The moves involving these modal particles are cross-classified by selections from INTERLOCUTOR POSITIONING – as introduced in Section 3.2.1. The heading ‘personal knowledge’ refers to the positioning of the speaker as knowing and non-positioning of the addressee, ‘shared knowledge’ the positioning of both the speaker and the addressee as knowing, and ‘unshared knowledge’ the positioning of the speaker as knowing and the addressee as not knowing.

Aside from the significance of characterising the modal particles for the sake of understanding them, a close examination of the modal particles in their co-textualising move sequences will show in more details the way INTERLOCUTOR POSITIONING interacts with DIALOGIC POSITIONING. The discourse characterisation of the modal particles will also point to the more delicate options in DIALOGIC POSITIONING in Khorchin Mongolian.

#### 3.2.3.1 Expanding the dialogic space

In terms of DIALOGIC POSITIONING, along with *pɛ* and *ʃɛ* introduced in Section 3.2.2, the modal particles *ʃɒmu*, *(kən)ʃɛ*, *(piʃi) tɛ* realise an expansion of the dialogic space, anticipating non-consensus (brackets are used to show lexical or grammatical items that co-occur with the modal particles). In terms of INTERLOCUTOR POSITIONING, the particle *ʃɒmu* does not position the addressee with respect to their knowledge of the information under negotiation; *(kən)ʃɛ* and *(piʃi) tɛ* position the addressee as not knowing the information, hence construing the information as worth sharing.

##### 3.2.3.1.1 Personal knowledge (*ʃɒmu*)

The modal particle *ʃɒmu* realises an expansion of the dialogic space, which anticipates non-consensus. At the same time, it does not position the addressee as either knowing or not knowing the information. This makes challenging of the move that involves *ʃɒmu* less costly interpersonally. In (3.55), the government official (O) is asking about the people who came to the peasant’s (P) home the other night. The description given by the peasant in move (a) is construed as uncertain – it is possible that one of the people is Han Chinese.

(3.55)

a.	P:	K1	spkr	adrs	<i>nək</i>	<i>kʰə</i>	<i>ən</i>	<i>irkən</i>	<i>ʃɹmu</i>
			+K	NP	one	CLF	TOP	Han	<b>MP</b>
			expand		‘One (of them) <b>could be</b> Han Chinese.’				

b.	O:	K2f	<table> <tr> <td>spkr</td> <td>adrs</td> </tr> <tr> <td>-K</td> <td>+K</td> </tr> </table>	spkr	adrs	-K	+K	<i>ɔ:</i>
spkr	adrs							
-K	+K							
				INTJ				
				‘I see.’				

In (3.55a), although the proposition is presented as less certain, it is nonetheless

construed as based on some evidence (e.g. the peasant might have heard the person speaking Chinese, which, however, does not necessarily prove that one is a Han Chinese).

### 3.2.3.1.2 Unshared knowledge

The other two modal particles that expand the dialogic space – (*kən*) *fɛ* and (*piŋ*) *tɐ* – position the addressee as not knowing the information, hence construing the information as worth sharing.

#### 3.2.3.1.2.1 (*kən*) *fɛ*

The modal particle (*kən*) *fɛ* realises an expansion of the dialogic space by weakening the validity of a proposition that is grounded in the subjectivity of some external voice through the projecting verb *kən*. In (3.56), the aunt (A) is telling her nephew (N) a piece of information she learned from somewhere. The modal particle in move (a) in a sense weakens the ‘trustworthiness’ of the projected proposition. Tone 2 in move (b) indicates ‘rising tone’.

(3.56)

- a. A: K1
- |        |      |
|--------|------|
| spkr   | adrs |
| +K     | -K   |
| expand |      |
- untɕk i ŋət tʃɔks-kɔ-ul tɕɕk tɛ:r-ɐt*  
egg ACC do.this-PFV stand-CAUS-COND vehicle run.over-PFV  
‘[It is said that] if you stand an egg like this (= vertically),

*pɐs ɛː-x uɛ kən-n fɛ*  
even break-NPST.PTCP NEG PROJ-NPST MP  
‘it will not break even if (one) runs over it with a car.’

- b. N: cf
- |      |      |
|------|------|
| spkr | adrs |
| NP   | NP   |
- //2 *tɕɕk tɛ:r-ɐt pɐs ɛː-x uɛ ɐː//*  
vehicle run.over-PFV even break-NPST.PTCP NEG IP  
‘(It) will not break even (one) runs over it with a car?’

- c. A: rcf
- |      |      |
|------|------|
| spkr | adrs |
| NP   | NP   |
- xɕkɕr-x uɛ kən-n*  
break-NPST.PTCP NEG PROJ-NPST  
‘It is said (it) will not break.’

Note that the projecting verb *kən* and the modal particle *fɛ* realise a single selection from the move system. When the TENSE marking on the projecting verb is [past], the modal particle *fɛ* realises a different selection from INTERLOCUTOR POSITIONING than that in (3.56) – i.e. both the speaker and the addressee are positioned as knowing the information ([speaker positioned: +knowledge & addressee positioned: +knowledge]) (see (3.49a) above). Move (a) in (3.56) is adjusted as (3.56’) below to show this pattern.

- (3.56’) A: K1
- |                 |      |
|-----------------|------|
| spkr            | adrs |
| +K              | +K   |
| exp (exp (con)) |      |
- untɕk i ŋət tʃɔks-kɔ-ul tɕɕk*  
egg ACC do.this-PFV stand-CAUS-COND vehicle  
‘[You know] someone said that if you stand an egg like this

*tɛ:r-ɐt*                      *pɐs*                      *ɛ:-x*                                      *uɛ*                      ***kɔ-tʃ***                      *fɛ*  
 run.over-PFV                      even                      break-NPST.PTCP                      NEG                      **PROJ-PST**                      **MP**  
 (= vertically) it will not break even if (one) runs over it with a car.'

In (3.56') the [expand/contract] system is selected three times. The negation in the projected clause introduces the positive alternative into the text so as to deny it ('There are people who believe that the egg will break'). This contraction of the dialogic space is within the scope of the expansion of the dialogic space realised by the projecting verb *kɔtʃ*, which attributes the proposition to an unknown external source. This is in turn within the scope of the expansion of the dialogic space realised through the modal particle *fɛ* (i.e. the domain of *fɛ* encompasses that of *kɔtʃ*).

### 3.2.3.1.2.2 (*piʃi*) *tɐ*

The modal particle (*piʃi*) *tɐ* realises the intention of the speaker. In the interaction in (3.57), the aunt (A) and her nephew (N) are talking while they are making dumplings. The aunt used warm water to make the dough. Move (a) is commenting on that action. The modal particle *tɐ* in move (a) interacts with negation *piʃi* to realise the expansion of the dialogic space and the positioning of the speaker as knowing and the addressee as not knowing the information ([expand & speaker positioned: +knowledge & addressee positioned: -knowledge]) by grounding the proposition in the personal intention of the speaker.

(3.57)

a.	A:	K1	spkr	adrs	<i>ŋ-ul</i>	<i>mini</i>	<i>xu</i>	<i>it</i>	<i>lɛ</i>
			+K	-K	do.this-COND	1SG.GEN	son	eat	TEMP
			expand		Dong this, [ <b>my intension is that</b> ] when my son eats				

*kɔts~mɛts*                      *ɤn*                      *spt-x*                                      *uɛ*                      ***piʃi***                      ***tɐ***  
 stomach~the.like                      3POSS                      hurt-NPST.PTCP                      NEG                      **NEG**                      **MP**  
 (the dumpling), his stomach will not hurt.'

b.	N:	ch	spkr	adrs	<i>fɔʃɛn-ɐt</i>	<i>utʃ-ul</i>	<i>sɛ:</i>	<i>mɔt-ɤn</i>	<i>pɐ<sup>H</sup></i>
			+K	-K	experiment-PFV	look-COND	then	know-NPST	MP
			expand		'(We know) only if (we) have experimented (= after he eats the dumpling).'				

### 3.2.3.2 Contracting the dialogic space

Along with *tɐ ɔtɔ* and *fɔv* introduced in Section 3.2.2, the modal particles *xvi*, *fɪ*, (NEG) *twi*, *wɛijɛŋ*, *fɪtə*, and *fɔi* realise contraction of the dialogic space, anticipating consensus. Concurrently, the particles *xvi* and *fɪ* do not position the addressee as either knowing or not knowing the information ('personal knowledge'). The particles *twi*, *wɛijɛŋ*, and *fɪtə* (in certain co-texts) position both the speaker and the addressee as knowing the information ('shared knowledge'). The particles *fɪtə* (in some other co-texts) and *fɔi* position the addressee as not knowing the information ('unshared knowledge').

### 3.2.3.2.1 Personal knowledge

The modal particles *xwi* and *fi* construe moves as contracting the dialogic space and not position the addressee in terms of their knowledge of the information under negotiation.

#### 3.2.3.2.1.1 *xwi*

The interaction in (3.58) exemplifies *xwi*. The interaction precedes that in (3.49) in Section 3.2.2, in which two teachers talk about the mode of transport Secin used to take her daughter to school before. In (3.58), the two teachers are talking about the mode of transport Secin is using to take her son to school now. Move (a) involves the modal particle *xwi*, which attributes the proposition to the personal knowledge of the speaker.

(3.58)

#### Exchange 1

a.	T1:	K1	spkr	adrs	<i>səʔʰin ni:təm moʔʊ kər jəp-tʃ ɛ:-n xwi</i>
			+K	NP	Secin always motorbike INS commute-PROG COP-NPST <b>MP</b>
			contract		‘[I see that] Secin is always commuting by motorbike.’

b.	T2:	cl	spkr	adrs	<i>moʔʊ kər xur-kə-tʃ ɛ:-n</i>
			NP	NP	motorbike INS reach-CAUS-PROG COP-NPST

*kə-tʃ u: xu: kən*  
mean-PST MP son ACC.POSS

‘Do (you) mean she is taking her son (to school) by motorbike?’

c.	T1:	rcl	spkr	adrs	<i>ə:</i>
			NP	NP	right
					‘Right.’

#### Exchange 2

d.	T2:	K1	spkr	adrs	<i>xœ:t kər mu ɛl kər t ɤn</i>
			+K	-K	back home or which home DAT 3POSS
					‘I wish she let (her son) stay at the back home (=his grandparents home)

*xən-ul-tʃʰəx-ø i: nək pək tʃɔ:s uk-ət*  
stay-CAUS-COMPL-NPST.PTCP WISH one small money give-PFV  
or any home (near school) (by) giving a small amount of money.’

The modal particle *xwi* in move (a) grounds the proposition in the direct experience of the speaker. It typically construes experiences as witnessed. The proposition fends off possible alternatives, thus realising a contraction of the dialogic space. The modal particle *xwi* is typically used to invite the addressee to evaluate the experience construed by the clause, which is what T2 has done in move (d).

#### 3.2.3.2.1.2 *fi*

The other modal particle that realises contraction of the dialogic space – *fi* – is typically used to support a previous claim in the interaction. In (3.59), two government officials are

giving business advice to a peasant. In move (a), the government official 1 (O1) provides information about policy; in move (c) the government official 2 (O2) provides information about a familiar person who is involved in the government-supported business. The modal particle *fī* in move (c) grounds the proposition in the speaker's direct experience, fending off possible alternatives (i.e. [contract]). The modal particle *twi* in move (b) is discussed in Section 3.2.3.2.2.1 below.

(3.59)

#### Exchange 1

a. O1: K1	spkr	adrs	<i>mənə</i>	<i>tiən/ɐŋ</i>	<i>i:</i>	<i>l</i>	<i>xertʰɛ</i>	<i>tʃɔtʃɔ-tʃ</i>	<i>ɛ:-nɐ</i>
	+K	-K	now	E-commerce	ACC	very	large.extent	support-PROG	COP-NPST
	monogloss		'Now (the government) is supporting E-commerce very much.'						

#### Exchange 2

b. O1: K1	spkr	adrs	<i>tʰɛtən</i>	<i>pəs</i>	<i>xɔ</i>	<i>tʃɛlu</i>	<i>pi/ī</i>	<i>twi</i>
	+K	+K	2PL	also	all	young	NEG	MP
	contract		'Also, [it is obvious that] you are both young.'					

#### Exchange 3

c. O2: K1

spkr	adrs	<i>tʰɔr</i>	<i>utɔr</i>	<i>mən</i>	<i>nɛ</i>	<i>pitʰkə</i>	<i>nɛ</i>	<i>pir</i>	<i>ən</i>
+K	NP	DIST	day	1PL	GEN	Bicig	GEN	wife	3POSS
contract		[I know that] the other day our Bicig's wife							

*pəs*    *ɔ/ɔ-tʃ*    *fīu-tʃ*    ***fī***  
also    go-CVB    be.train-PST    **IP**  
also went and received training.'

As far as INTERLOCUTOR POSITIONING is concerned, move (c) does not position the addressee as knowing or not knowing the information. The speaker is simply giving support to the previous proposition by mentioning a relevant piece of information.

### 3.2.3.2.2 Shared knowledge

The modal particles (NEG) *twi*, *wɛijɐŋ*, *fītə* (in certain co-texts) construe moves as contracting the dialogic space. At the same time, they position both the speaker and the addressee as knowing the information.

#### 3.2.3.2.2.1 (NEG) *twi*

The modal particle *twi* is used together with negation (NEG) to construe a proposition as incontestable in the speech context, positioning the interlocutors as sharing the information. It concurrently closes down the dialogic space by fending off possible alternatives, not anticipating non-consensus from the addressee. The interaction in (3.60) is the first part of the interaction in (3.59). After providing information about policy in move (a), the government official tries to persuade the peasants (husband and wife) to take on E-commerce in move (b) by emphasising the young age of the couple (given that E-commerce requires digital literacy; and young people presumably have more knowledge in that area).

(3.60)

Exchange 1

a. O: K1	spkr	adrs	<i>mənə tiənfeŋ</i>	<i>i:</i>	<i>l</i>	<i>xərtʰe</i>	<i>tʃʊtʃʉ-tʃ</i>	<i>ɛ:-nɐ</i>
	+K	-K	now	E-commerce	ACC	very	large.extent	support-PROG COP-NPST
	monogloss		'Now (the government) is supporting E-commerce very much.'					

Exchange 2

b. O: K1	spkr	adrs	<i>tʃʉtʃən</i>	<i>pəs</i>	<i>xɔ</i>	<i>tʃɛlu</i>	<b><i>piʃi</i></b>	<b><i>twi</i></b>
	+K	+K	2PL	also	all	young	<b>NEG</b>	<b>MP</b>
	contract		'Also [ <b>it is obvious that</b> ] you are both young.'					

Note that the negation before *twi* is not necessarily *piʃi* (cf. *piʃi tɛ* in Section 3.3.1); *twi* may also follow negation in the verbal group (e.g. *ukue*). The different types of negation in Khorchin Mongolian are introduced in Chapter 4.

3.2.3.2.2 *wɛijɛŋ*

The modal particle *wɛijɛŋ* construes a proposition as shared both within and outside the speech context. It is typically used to justify a previous viewpoint. In the interaction in (3.61) the government official (O) is calculating the annual income of the peasant's (O) family. The modal particle *wɛijɛŋ* in move (e) justifies the claim in move (d) by framing the proposition as shared knowledge that is incontestable within the community.

(3.61)

Exchange 1

a. O: K2	spkr	adrs	<i>xɔti</i>	<i>xolt-s</i>	<i>i:</i>
	-K	+K	how.much	sell-PST	IP
	'How much did (you) sell?'				

b. P: K1	spkr	adrs	<i>pɛpɛi</i>	<i>tw:</i>
	+K	-K	eight.hundred	more
	monogloss		'More than eight hundred (less than nine hundred).'	

c. O: K2f	spkr	adrs	<i>ɔ:</i>
	-K	+K	INTJ
	'I see.'		

Exchange 2

d. P: K1	spkr	adrs	<i>xɛp~xɛmtɛ</i>
	+K	-K	INT~cheap
	monogloss		'Very cheap.'



e

=K1

spkr	adrs
+K	+K
contract	

b

grown

‘[It is known that] (the price of) the grown sheep only

xœn

sheep

sɛː

only

senpei

three.hundred

twː

more

jœn

yuan

tol-sɛn

reach-PST.PTCP

weijɛŋ

MP

reached between three hundred and four hundred.’

In contrast to the communal knowledge construed in (3.61e), the modal particle (PTCP) *fitə* that follows a participle realisation of TENSE construes a proposition as shared within the immediate speech context.

### 3.2.3.2.2.3 (PTCP) *fitə*

In (3.62) the aunt (A), the uncle (U), and the nephew (N) are talking while they are making dumplings. From move (a) to move (c), the aunt and the uncle are negotiating an action. In move (d), the proposition refers back to the negotiation in the previous moves. The modal particle (PTCP) *fitə* in move (d) contracts the dialogic space and positions both the speaker and addressee as knowing the information ([contract & speaker positioned: +knowledge & addressee positioned: +knowledge]) – i.e. 'We all heard what Uncle said about not knowing how to place the dumplings; how come he is placing them on the steamer now?'. The proposition is construed as grounded in the interlocutors' direct experience.

(3.62)

#### Exchange 1

- a. A: A2
- |      |      |
|------|------|
| spkr | adrs |
| -R   | +R   |
- ɔn* *xɛːlɔk* *təːr* *tœːr-ul-ɔt* *tʰɛpɐ-ø*  
 PROX steamer on circle-CAUS-PFV place-IMP.2  
 'Place (the dumpling) in a circled manner on the steamer.'
- b. U: ch
- |      |      |
|------|------|
| spkr | adrs |
| -R   | -R   |
- pi* *tʰɛp-x* *uɛ*  
 1SG place-NPST.PTCP NEG  
 'I will not place (them).'
- c. =ch
- |      |      |
|------|------|
| spkr | adrs |
| -R   | -R   |
- pi* *fɛt-x* *uɛ*  
 1SG know.how-NPST.PTCP NEG  
 'I do not know how.'

(Some time later U was putting the dumplings on the steamer as instructed.)

#### Exchange 2

- d. N: K1
- |           |      |
|-----------|------|
| spkr      | adrs |
| +K        | +K   |
| con (exp) |      |
- pɛi-tʃ* *fɛt-x* *uɛ* *kɔ-sɔn* *fitə*  
 place-CVB know.how-NPST.PTCP NEG PROJ-PST.PTCP MP  
 '[Contrary to what you are doing, we know]  
 (you) said (you) do not know how to place (them).'

As in (3.62d) the modal particle (PTCP) *fitə* is typically used to point out contradictions. In move (d) the projecting verb grounds the proposition in the subjectivity of the uncle, hence

It is also possible for *jitā* to co-occur with the ‘non-participle’ (NP) realisation of TENSE. They together realise dialogic contraction and position the addressee as either knowing (see Section 3.2.3.2.2.4) or not knowing (see Section 3.2.3.2.3.1) the information. The participle and non-participle realisations of TENSE are introduced in more detail in Chapter 4 in relation to MOOD.

The interaction in (3.63) exemplifies (N-PTCP) *jitə* when it positions the addressee as knowing the information – construing the information as shared. Different from (PTCP) *jitə*, however, the information is construed as shared via inference. The two government officials (O1 and O2) and the peasant (P) are talking about the people who came to the peasant's home the other night. The modal particle (N-PTCP) *jitə* in move (d) grounds the proposition in the inference from the evidence gathered in move (a) to (c), in which the peasant (P) gives information about the people who came to their home.

e.	O1:	K2f	spkr	adrs	<i>m</i> :
			+K	+K	INTJ
			monogloss		'Yes.'

- 150 -

### 3.2.3.2.3 Unshared knowledge

#### 3.2.3.2.3.1 (N-PTCP) *jitā* & *jitvi*

Apart from presenting information as shared between interlocutors, the modal particle (N-PTCP) *jitā* may also position the addressee as not knowing the information as in (3.64) (F = father, D = daughter). The modal particle (N-PTCP) *jitā* in move (b) construes the information as supposed to be shared between the interlocutors, but is not – ‘You should know that it can be whatever you want it to be’.

(3.64)<sup>87</sup>

- a. F: K2
- |      |      |             |           |                |           |               |           |
|------|------|-------------|-----------|----------------|-----------|---------------|-----------|
| spkr | adrs | <i>tʰɔr</i> | <i>ɔn</i> | <i>mɛpu</i>    | <i>mu</i> | <i>ɛltʰur</i> | <i>mu</i> |
| -K   | +K   | DIST        | TOP       | cleaning.towel | IP        | hand.towel    | IP        |
- ‘Is that a cleaning towel or a hand towel?’
- b. D: K1
- |          |      |   |               |               |             |
|----------|------|---|---------------|---------------|-------------|
| spkr     | adrs | <i>ju</i>   | <i>tʰvɛlɛ</i> | <i>pɔl-ɔn</i> | <i>jitā</i> |
| +K       | -K   | what  | NDEF          | become-NPST   | MP          |
| contract |      | ‘[ <b>You should have known that</b> ] (it) can be whatever (you want it to be).’ |               |               |             |
- c. =K1
- |        |      |   |              |                |
|--------|------|---|--------------|----------------|
| spkr   | adrs | <i>mɛpu</i>   | <i>xi-ul</i> | <i>mɛpu</i>    |
| +K     | -K   | cleaning.towel  | make-COND    | cleaning.towel |
| expand |      | ‘If (you) make (it) a cleaning towel, (it becomes) a cleaning towel.’ |              |                |
- d. =K1
- |        |      |  |              |            |               |
|--------|------|--|--------------|------------|---------------|
| spkr   | adrs | <i>ɛltʰur</i>  | <i>xi-ul</i> | <i>pɛs</i> | <i>ɛltʰur</i> |
| +K     | -K   | hand.towel   | make-COND    | also       | hand.towel    |
| expand |      | ‘If (you) make (it) a hand towel, (it) also becomes a hand towel.’ |              |            |               |

The expansion of the dialogic space in move (c) and (d) is realised by the conditional marker *-ul*. It entertains the possibility of alternative conditions.

The sense of ‘obligation’ could have been more strongly vested had the modal particle *jitvi* is used instead of (N-PTCP) *jitā* as in (3.64b). The use of the modal particle *jitvi* is exemplified in (3.65) below in an interaction between husband (H) and wife (W). Given that both the interlocutors are teachers of Mongolian, it is understandable for the wife to cast a strong obligation on the husband to know the meaning of the phrase he is asking about in move (a).

<sup>87</sup> The item *tʰvɛlɛ* as in (3.64b) functions within a nominal group whose head is a pro-word to express non-definiteness, e.g. *xɔn tʰvɛlɛ* who NDEF ‘whoever’, *ju tʰvɛlɛ* what NDEF ‘whatever’. At the level of clause, they are realised at the initial position, e.g. *xɔn tʰvɛlɛ pɔl-ɔn* who NDEF allow-NPST ‘Whoever is fine.’ Alternative expressions in the Jalaid dialect includes *tʰulɛ* and *tʰvɛk*. Other variables recorded in Bayancogtu (2002:397) are *ɟultɛ*, *ɟulɛ*, *ɟulu*, *ɟag*, *ɟagtɛ*.

(3.65)

- a. H: K2
- |      |      |            |               |            |           |                  |               |           |
|------|------|------------|---------------|------------|-----------|------------------|---------------|-----------|
| spkr | adrs | <i>xvi</i> | <i>tʰɛkɛn</i> | <i>sɛr</i> | <i>i:</i> | <i>kɛr-kɛ-tʃ</i> | <i>kə-sən</i> | <i>ən</i> |
| -K   | +K   | INTJ       | white         | month      | ACC       | out-CAUS-PST     | PROJ-PST.PTCP | TOP       |
- jəmɹ* *oʔʰk* *tʰɛ* *i:*  
 what meaning COM IP  
 ‘Hey, what meaning does the phrase *passed the white month* have?’

- b. W: K1
- |      |      |               |            |           |                  |               |
|------|------|---------------|------------|-----------|------------------|---------------|
| spkr | adrs | <i>tʰɛkɛn</i> | <i>sɛr</i> | <i>i:</i> | <i>uŋɹ-ul-əʔ</i> | <i>ir-tʃɛ</i> |
| +K   | -K   | white         | month      | ACC       | pass-CAUS-PFV    | come-PST      |

contract	<i>kə-sən</i>	<i>uk</i>	<i>ʃitvi</i>
	PROJ-PST.PTCP	wording	MP

‘[**You should have known that**] the wording means  
 ‘(They) had passed the white month and came back.’

- c. =K1
- |          |      |   |          |                    |               |           |              |
|----------|------|---|----------|--------------------|---------------|-----------|--------------|
| spkr     | adrs | <i>tʰən</i>   | <i>t</i> | <i>ʃinəl-tʰɛ</i>   | <i>kə-sən</i> | <i>uk</i> | <i>ʃitvi</i> |
| +K       | -K   | there   | DAT      | spend.new.year-PST | PROJ-PST.PTCP | wording   | MP           |
| contract |      | ‘[ <b>You should have known that</b> ] the wording means<br>‘(They) have spent the New Year there.’ |          |                    |               |           |              |

Both (N-PTCP) *ʃitə* and *ʃitvi* closes down the dialogic space by foregrounding the obviousness of the proposition. The moves that involve them thus fend off possible alternative interpretations and anticipate consensus.

### 3.2.3.2.3.2 *ʃitvi*

The modal particle *ʃitvi* construes a proposition as extraordinary. The proposition is typically used to support a previous proposition. In (3.66), the aunt (A) is telling her nephew (N) about an old man who has visited their home that day. The sister (S) also knows the old man. She supports in move (c) the aunt’s proposition in move (a) by elaborating on how rich the old man is.

(3.66)

#### Exchange 1

- a. A: K1
- |           |      |                         |             |              |            |
|-----------|------|-------------------------|-------------|--------------|------------|
| spkr      | adrs | <i>tʰɹ</i>              | <i>lɔʔu</i> | <i>tʃɔ:s</i> | <i>tʰɛ</i> |
| +K        | -K   | DIST                    | old.man     | money        | COM        |
| monogloss |      | ‘That old man is rich,’ |             |              |            |

*mən* *utɹ* *nɛ* *ɔʔ-tʃ* *ir-sən* *lɔʔu* *jɔ*  
 PROX day GEN enter-CVB come-PST.PTCP old.man TOP  
 ‘the old man that came in today.’

- b. N: K2f
- |      |      |           |
|------|------|-----------|
| spkr | adrs | <i>ɔ:</i> |
| -K   | +K   | INTJ      |
- ‘I see.’

### Exchange 2

c.	S:	K1	spkr	adrs	<i>turpən</i>	<i>fɔ</i>	<i>tʰəɹəʁk</i>	<i>tʰɛ</i>	<i>foi</i>
			+K	-K	four	small	vehicle	COM	<b>MP</b>
			contract		‘[ <b>Extraordinarily</b> ] (he has) four cars.’				

The modal particle *foi* in move (c) positions the addressee as not knowing the information. The move closes down the space for dialogic alternatives as non-consensus is not anticipated.

### 3.2.3.3 Summary

The modal particles we have examined so far in this section are summarised in Table 3.5 (updating Table 3.4) with respect to their typical selections from INTERLOCUTOR POSITIONING and DIALOGIC POSITIONING.

Table 3.5 The discourse functions of modal particles in Khorchin Mongolian (2)

		speaker positioned: +knowledge		
		addressee	addressee positioned	
		not positioned	+knowledge	-knowledge
heterogloss	expand	<i>pɛ<sup>L</sup>, ʃəmu</i>	<i>ʃɛ, pɛ</i>	<i>(kən) ʃɛ, (pi/ɿ) tɐ, pɛ</i>
	contract	<i>xvi, ʃi</i>	(NEG) <i>tvi, wɛijɛŋ, ʃitə</i>	<i>tɐ (ɔtɔ), ʃu, (N-PTCP) ʃitə, ʃitvi, foi</i>

We have examined the modal particles in Khorchin Mongolian from the perspectives of both INTERLOCUTOR POSITIONING and DIALOGIC POSITIONING. The features preselected in moves which involve modal particles are [speaker positioned: +knowledge] in INTERLOCUTOR POSITIONING and [heterogloss] in DIALOGIC POSITIONING. Considering the ways in which the options [expand] and [contract] are realised lexicogrammatically (through both modal particles and other relevant resources), it is possible for us to map out the more delicate heteroglossic resources in DIALOGIC POSITIONING in Khorchin Mongolian with respect to the way dialogic alternatives are engaged with in the course of an interaction. Figure 3.14 proposes such a network for DIALOGIC POSITIONING in Khorchin Mongolian. This may serve as a point of departure for further research in this area. The possible lexicogrammatical realisations we have examined in this section and Section 3.2.2 above are given in boxes.

In Figure 3.14, the DIALOGIC POSITIONING resources are formalised along two complementary dimensions: temporal and spatial dimensions of interactions. Temporally, the resources are organised as either retrospective or prospective. When retrospective, the dialogic alternative is construed in a previous move; when prospective the dialogic alternative is construed as a possibility that is yet to be instantiated. Spatially, the resources are organised as either contracting or expanding the dialogic space. Some of the more delicate options from the ENGAGEMENT system in Martin & White (2005:134) are borrowed to classify the more delicate DIALOGIC POSITIONING resources.<sup>88</sup>

<sup>88</sup> Here I acknowledge Qingxin Xu for suggesting the terms ‘temporal’ and ‘spatial’ to capture the complementarity between [retrospective/prospective] and [contract/expand]. I also acknowledge

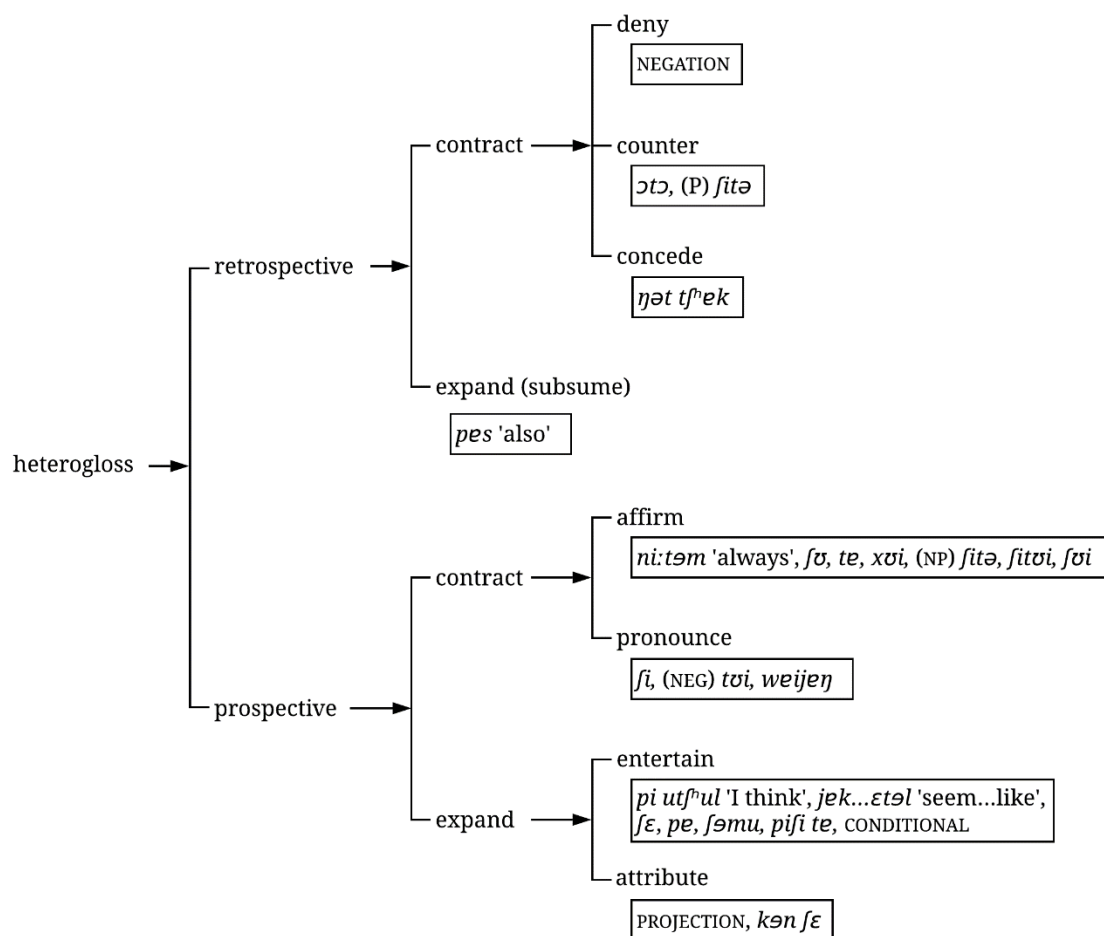


Figure 3.14 More delicate DIALOGIC POSITIONING resources

As shown in Figure 3.14, the retrospective contracting resources either deny or counter a previous proposition or concede so as to propose a competing proposition. The prospective contracting ones, on the other hand, present propositions in such a way that they fend off or suppress possible dialogic alternatives. These resources are used either to affirm one's knowledge of a proposition or pronounce the validity of a proposition so as to support some other propositions. Contrary to the contracting resources, the expanding resources construe a proposition as but one of the possible voices. The retrospective expanding resources subsume a previous proposition as one of the possibilities. The prospective expanding resources achieve the task by either grounding the proposition in the subjectivity of the speaker ([entertain]) or the subjectivity of some external voices ([attribute]).

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Peter White for his suggestion on privileging the temporal dimension over the spatial one. This foregrounds the way interlocutors engage with propositions on a move by move basis.

### 3.3 Concluding remarks

In Chapter 3, drawing on conversational data, I have explored the interpersonal patterns of organisation in Khorchin Mongolian discourse at exchange rank and at move rank. At exchange rank, the NEGOTIATION systems generalise the meaning-making resources available to the speakers for the negotiation of information (knowledge exchange) and the negotiation of carrying out of an action (action exchange). The analyses show that NEGOTIATION systems generate recognisable patterns of exchange structure in relation to the way an exchange is initiated and the way it is followed up.

At move rank, I have argued for classes of move from two complementary perspectives: from above in relation to the NEGOTIATION systems and from around in relation to the way alternative propositions are positioned in the dialogic space. Two systems are proposed accordingly: INTERLOCUTOR POSITIONING and DIALOGIC POSITIONING. INTERLOCUTOR POSITIONING accounts for the resources for positioning interlocutors in relation to their knowledge of the information as knowing ([+knowledge]) or not knowing [-knowledge] or in relation to their responsibility for carrying out the action as responsible ([+responsibility]) or not responsible ([-responsibility]). The former typically realises functions in knowledge exchanges; the latter typically realises functions in action exchanges. The reasoning of move systems from above has made it possible to discuss the diversified realisations of exchange functions at move rank. And since the reasoning is closely related to exchange structure, the move classes shed light on our understanding of the way dynamic elements of an exchange are dependent on the more predictable elements.

Move selections from DIALOGIC POSITIONING account for the way the dialogic space is expanded and contracted either retrospectively or prospectively by explicitly introducing dialogic alternatives into the text, hence heteroglossic, or the way the dialogic space is construed as constituting a monogloss. The analyses show that DIALOGIC POSITIONING depends on INTERLOCUTOR POSITIONING; it is only available when the speaker is positioned as knowing the information under negotiation. The incorporation of DIALOGIC POSITIONING (corresponding to ENGAGEMENT in APPRAISAL) with INTERLOCUTOR POSITIONING makes it possible to examine the ways in which interlocutors engage with the propositions presented in the course of an interaction. It also affords a framework for describing modal particles in Khorchin Mongolian (and possibly in other languages) in a principled way. The development of DIALOGIC POSITIONING systems in Khorchin Mongolian also contributes to the body of work describing heteroglossic resources in languages other than English (e.g. Shibata 2018; Simon-Vandenbergen, White & Aijmer 2007). It exemplifies the way the relevant research questions can be addressed in relation to conversational data.

In Chapter 4 below, the arguments for the diversification of resources are taken one step further to examine the varying lexicogrammatical resources that realise the classes of move described in this chapter. In a sense then in Chapter 4 we will be examining the classes of move from below.

## **Chapter 4 Interpersonal patterns of organisation in grammar**

In the last chapter we examined the interpersonal patterns of organisation in Khorchin Mongolian discourse semantics. The principal discourse semantic systems are NEGOTIATION at exchange rank and INTERLOCUTOR POSITIONING and DIALOGIC POSITIONING at move rank. Features in NEGOTIATION are realised by patterns of exchange structure, which are in turn realised by classes of move selecting INTERLOCUTOR POSITIONING and DIALOGIC POSITIONING. In this chapter, we shall turn to the way classes of move are realised by classes of clause. Our focus thus turns to the clusters of systems that constitute the interpersonal patterns of organisation in Khorchin Mongolian grammar. The relevant systems are MOOD, PREDICATION, POLARITY, MODALITY, STANCE, ASSESSMENT, ADJUNCTIVISATION, VOCATION, and TAGGING. In Section 4.1, we start with the basic MOOD systems. The systems establish the primary distinctions between and within [indicative] and [imperative] in relation to the Scope ^ Negotiator structure of the clause. The discussion of the Negotiator involves exploration of PREDICATION, POLARITY, and MODALITY. In Section 4.2, we consider [indicative] in more detail in relation to the systems of STANCE and ASSESSMENT. These systems are related to realisations of the Negotiator. In Section 4.3, we discuss the other elements of the clause within and outside the negotiatory structure of the Khorchin Mongolian clause – establishing the systems of ADJUNCTIVISATION, VOCATION and TAGGING. Throughout Chapter 4, the grammatical patterns are interpreted in relation to their relevant discourse semantic meaning, as outlined in Chapter 3.



## 4.1 Basic MOOD systems and the negotiatory structure

Section 3.2.1 has shown how interlocutors are positioned with respect to propositions and proposals. Propositions are associated with positioning in relation to the interlocutors' knowledge of the information under negotiation; proposals are associated with positioning in relation to the interlocutors' responsibility for carrying out the action under negotiation. In contrast to the grammar of propositions in Khorchin Mongolian, the grammar of proposals is relatively restricted. The former has dedicated grammatical patterns for particular kinds of positioning with respect to the interlocutors' knowledge; the latter at times has to 'borrow' from the grammar of propositions when positioning interlocutors with respect to their responsibility (e.g. at Da1 in an [action] exchange). Broadly speaking, the classes of clause that typically realise moves that function in a [knowledge] exchange fall within the scope of **[indicative]** in the lexicogrammar; and the classes of clause that typically realise moves that perform the core functions in an [action] exchange – A2 and A1 – belong to the domain of **[imperative]**. As we will see, however, this is not always the case. This general distinction between [indicative] and [imperative] is captured in the MOOD system.

### 4.1.1 Indicative vs. imperative

The most basic grammatical distinction between [indicative] and [imperative] in Khorchin Mongolian is related to the verbal component of the clause. [Indicative] clauses may or may not contain a verbal component in their syntagm. [Imperative] clauses, on the other hand, require a verbal component. The interactions in (4.1) and (4.2) show the way [indicative] and [imperative] clauses work. They are concerned with a proposition and a proposal respectively. In (4.1), the moves are realised by [indicative] clauses. While the clause in move (a) does not involve a verbal component, the one in move (b) does (shown in bold). In (4.2), move (a) is realised by an [indicative] clause and move (b) is realised by an [imperative] clause. They both involve verbal components. The mood types and the verbal components are highlighted in bold. By convention (e.g. Halliday 1994:Ch.7), the clause boundaries are marked by a double vertical slash (| |) (ind = [indicative], imp = [imperative]).<sup>89</sup>

(4.1) F = father, D = daughter

- a. F: K2
- |      |      |
|------|------|
| spkr | adrs |
| -K   | +K   |
- ind**
- tʰɔr ɔn mɛpu mu | | ɛltʰur mu*
- 
- DIST TOP cleaning.towel IP hand.towel IP
- 
- ‘(Is) that a cleaning towel or a hand towel?’
- b. D: K1
- |          |      |
|----------|------|
| spkr     | adrs |
| +K       | -K   |
| contract |      |
- ind**
- ju tʰvɛ **pɔl-ɔn** ʃitə*
- 
- what NDEF
- become-NPST**
- MP
- 
- ‘[You should have known that] (it) can be whatever (you want it to be).’

<sup>89</sup> In this chapter, when examples are provided as exchanges, analyses of NEGOTIATION, INTERLOCUTOR POSITIONING, and DIALOGIC POSITIONING are provided.

(4.2) M = mother, D = daughter

a. M: Da1 

spkr	adrs
+R	-R

**ind** *xutɔl-kə-ø* *mɛ*  
**move-CAUS-NPST.PTCP** IP  
'(Do I) move (= blend)?'

b. D: A2 

spkr	adrs
-R	+R

**imp** *xutɔl-kə-ø*  
**move-CAUS-IMP.2**  
'Move (= blend).'

c. A1 NV (Mother starts the blender.)

When there is a verbal component in an [indicative] clause, it is marked for TENSE. In (4.1b) and (4.2a), for example, both clauses are marked for the [non-past] tense suffix on the verb. In contrast, the verbal component in an [imperative] clause is marked for PERSON – as in (4.2b), which is marked for [second person]. The verbal component in an [indicative] clause can be expanded by co-selecting from VG POLARITY, VG MODALITY, and RELATIVE TENSE. These systems are not available in the verbal component in an [imperative] clause. Both [indicative] clauses and [imperative] clauses, however, select from ASPECT. Consequently, verbal groups functioning in an [indicative] clause are termed [elaborated] verbal groups as they are able to organise a wide range of features, while those in an [imperative] clause are termed [restricted] verbal groups as they include relatively fewer options. Verbal group selections from the above-mentioned systems are exemplified in (4.3).

(4.3)

[verbal group: elaborated]

a. *xutɔl-kə-tʃ*

<i>ʃl-ntʃ</i>	<i>ɛː-sɔn</i>	<i>kue</i>
be.able.to-PROG	COP-PST.PTCP	NEG
(MODALITY & ASPECT)	(TENSE)	(POLARITY)

  
'was not being able to move'

b. *xutɔl-kə-tʃ*

<i>ʃl-ntʃ</i>	<i>ɛː-sɔn</i>	<i>kue</i>
be.able.to-FUT	COP-PST.PTCP	NEG
(MODALITY & RELATIVE TENSE)	(TENSE)	(POLARITY)

  
'was not going to be able to move'

[verbal group: restricted]

c. *xutɔl-kə-tʃ*

<i>ɛː-ø</i>
COP-IMP.2
(PERSON)

  
'stay moving'

The relevant verbal group systems are summarised in Figure 4.1 below. For detailed argumentation in relation to the verbal group options, see Appendix F of this thesis (also published as Zhang (2020)).

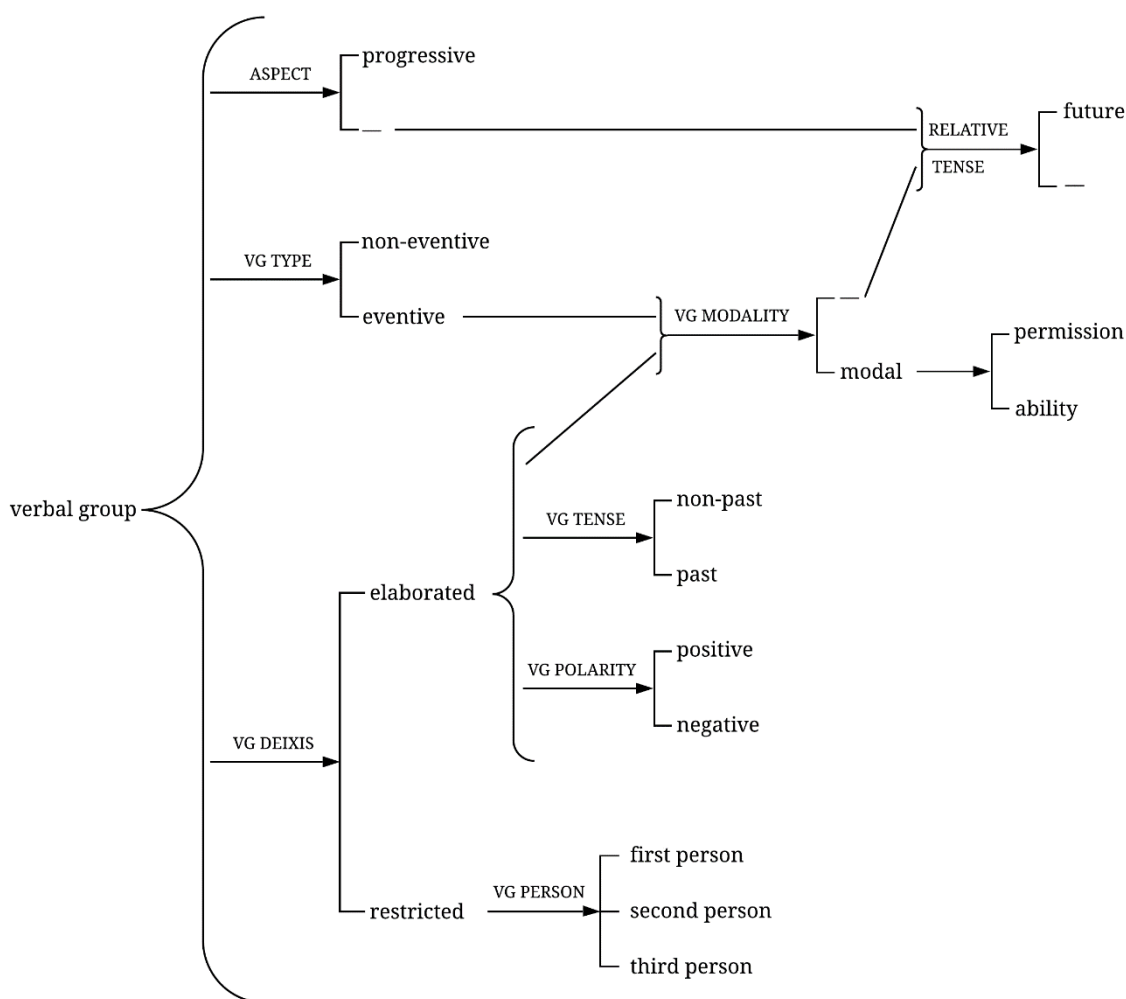


Figure 4.1 The verbal group in Khorchin Mongolian

We will use **Predictator** to refer to the function of the verbal group in the interpersonal organisation of the Khorchin Mongolian clause. Thus the Predictator in an [indicative] clause is realised by an [elaborated] verbal group if there is one; the Predictator in an [imperative] clause is realised by a [restricted] verbal group. The interpersonal structure of the clauses in (4.1b) and (4.2a, b) can be analysed as (4.4) below (verb.gp = verbal group). (For the use of the term Predictator in SFL cross-linguistic work, see for example Caffarel, Martin & Matthiessen 2004 and Teruya et al. 2007).<sup>90</sup>

<sup>90</sup> Note that the function is called **Predictator**, rather than **Predicate** to be distinguished from the widely used terms subject and predicate in the analysis of Mongolian ‘clausal syntax’ (e.g. Janhunen 2012:Ch.7). The function Predictator is systemically motivated as the component that distinguishes [indicative] from [imperative]. Its significance in the Khorchin Mongolian clause is discussed in Section 4.1.2.3 below.

(4.4)

a. [indicative]

<i>ju</i>	<i>tʰelɛ</i>	<b><i>ɣɔl-ən</i></b>	<i>ʃitə</i>
what	NDEF	<b>become-NPST</b>	MP
		Predicator	
		verb.gp: elaborated	

‘[You should have known that] (it) can be whatever (you want it to be).’

b. [indicative]

<b><i>xutɔl-kə-ø</i></b>	<i>mɛ</i>
<b>move-CAUS-NPST.PTCP</b>	IP
Predicator	
verb.gp: elaborated	

‘(Do I) move (= blend)?’

c. [imperative]

<b><i>xutɔl-kə-ø</i></b>
<b>move-CAUS-IMP.2</b>
Predicator
verb.gp: restricted

‘Move (= blend).’

Figure 4.2 formalises this general distinction in MOOD in Khorchin Mongolian. As mentioned earlier, there is not necessarily a verbal Predicator in an [indicative] clause; so the realisation of [indicative] is provisional at this point in the discussion. This point is further discussed in Section 4.1.2.3 below (P = Predicator).

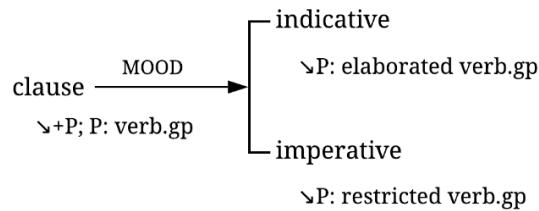


Figure 4.2 The general MOOD system in Khorchin Mongolian (provisional network)

Before we are able to discuss the meaning of the Predicator in the Khorchin Mongolian clause, we need to take a closer look at the subtypes of [indicative] and [imperative] mood.

### 4.1.2 Types of indicative

As suggested earlier, the resources available in [indicative] are more elaborate than the ones available in [imperative]. This section lays out the most basic distinctions in [indicative] mood. The more delicate types are set aside for Section 4.2.

#### 4.1.2.1 Interrogative vs. declarative

The first distinction in the Khorchin Mongolian [indicative] clause we will draw is between that of [interrogative] and [declarative]. The two types of [indicative] are distinguishable from the perspectives of both grammar and discourse semantics. Grammatically, while an **[interrogative]** clause typically involves an interrogative particle, a **[declarative]** clause does not. It is possible, however, for a [declarative] clause to end with a modal particle negotiating both the positioning of the interlocutors and the positioning of dialogic alternatives (see Section 3.2.3).<sup>91</sup> The clauses in (4.1b) and (4.2a) above (analysed as (4.5) below) are instances of [declarative] and [interrogative]. We will refer to the functions of the interrogative particles as the Interrogator and that of the modal particles as the Positioner in the Khorchin Mongolian clause.<sup>92</sup> Together with the Predicator, they constitute the **Negotiator** of the Khorchin Mongolian clause.<sup>93</sup> The remaining part of the clause is termed **Scope** (following Martin & Cruz 2018).<sup>94</sup> Negotiator and Scope form the negotiatory structure of a clause. Components outside the negotiatory structure of the Khorchin Mongolian clause are discussed in Section 4.3. In (4.5) below, the Positioner and the Interrogator are highlighted in bold.

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<sup>91</sup> The scope of the term ‘modal particle’ used here is narrower than the use of the term in Teruya et al. (2007). In Teruya et al. (2007), along with the sense of the modal particle used here, the term is also used to refer to what is called ‘interrogative particle’ in this thesis. However, the modal particles and the interrogative particles in Khorchin Mongolian as they are described in this thesis serve distinct interpersonal functions in distinct types of clause. They might be referred to collectively as interpersonal particles – to distinguish them from particles serving other metafunctions (e.g. the topical particle *pəl* that serves textual metafunction).

<sup>92</sup> The term Interrogator is borrowed from Wang’s (2020) description of the Classical Tibetan interrogative clause. In Wang’s description the Interrogator is a function within the structure of the [verbal] group that functions in [interrogative: polar] clauses.

<sup>93</sup> As will be discussed in Section 4.3, another constituent of Negotiator in Khorchin Mongolian is Polarity Adjunct.

<sup>94</sup> The use of the term Negotiator thus follows Caffarel (2006), where it is used as the general term for the interpersonally significant elements of a French clause (i.e. Subject, Finite, and Predicator). This is different from the use of the term in Teruya (2006; 2017), where Negotiator is used to refer to the function of the clause final interpersonal particles (e.g. particle *ka* realising the interrogative mood and particles *ne*, *yo*, *ze*, and *wa* realising the interlocutors’ attitude) – i.e. covering comparable phenomena called Interrogator and Positioner in this thesis. It would be misleading to call the Khorchin Mongolian Interrogator and Positioner alone the Negotiator of the clause because the Predicator is interacting closely with the Interrogator or the Positioner to make a clause negotiable. Martin & Cruz’s (2018) use of the term ‘Scope’ is inspired by McGregor’s (1990; 1997) ‘scopal relationship’. Also see Section 2.1.3 for Taverniers’ (2002; 2008; 2018) extension of the concept in her interpretation of the interpersonal grammatical metaphor in terms of ‘doubling of semiosis’. The use of the term ‘Scope’ is also consistent with the prosodic mode of realisation of interpersonal meaning (see Section 2.1.4).

(4.5)

[declarative]

<i>ju</i> what	<i>tʰɛlɛ</i> NDEF	<i>pɔl-ən</i> become-NPST	<i>ʃitə</i> <b>MP</b>
Scope		Negotiator	
		Predicator	Positioner
		verbal group	modal particle

‘[**You should have known that**] (it) can be whatever (you want it to be).’

[interrogative]

<i>xutɔl-kə-ø</i> move-CAUS-NPST.PTCP	<i>mɛ</i> <b>IP</b>
Negotiator	
Predicator	Interrogator
verbal group	interrogative particle

‘(Do I) move (= blend)?’

The Positioner in a [declarative] clause is optional. The [declarative] clause in (4.5) can be adapted as (4.6) without affecting its grammaticality.

(4.6)

<i>ju</i> what	<i>tʰɛlɛ</i> NDEF	<i>pɔl-ən</i> work-NPST
Scope		Negotiator
		Predicator
		verbal group

‘Whatever works (≈ whatever is fine).’

The distinction between [interrogative] and [declarative] is also justifiable in terms of their discourse semantic functions. [Interrogative] clauses typically realise moves that serve Dk1 and K2 in [knowledge] exchanges. (i) When the move realises Dk1 – as in (4.7a) below, the speaker is positioned as knowing the information under negotiation. (ii) When the move realises non-initiating K2 – as in (4.8b) (adjusting (4.7b); an elliptical [interrogative]), the speaker is positioned as knowing the information (but with less confidence, and hence expanding the dialogic space). (iii) When the move realises initiating K2 – as in (4.9) below, the speaker is positioned as not knowing the information. [Declarative] clauses, on the other hand, typically realise moves that function as K1. The [declarative] clauses in (4.7c), (4.8c), (4.9b) below realise moves that function as non-initiating K1. Nonetheless, it is possible for a [declarative] clause to realise a move that functions as non-initiating K2 – as in (4.7b). These [declarative] clauses position the speaker as knowing the information. The NEGOTIATION and INTERLOCUTOR POSITIONING analyses and the MOOD analyses are highlighted in bold (int = [interrogative], decl = [declarative]).

(4.7) N = niece, U = uncle

a. N: **Dk1**

<b>spkr</b>	<b>adrs</b>
<b>+K</b>	<b>NP</b>

**int**

<i>ɤn</i>	<i>ju</i>	<i>kər</i>	<i>xiː-sɤn</i>	<i>tɐ</i>
PROX	what	INS	make-PST.PTCP	IP
Scope			Negotiator	
			Predicator	Interrogator
			verbal group	int. particle

‘What was this made from?’

b. U: **K2**

<b>spkr</b>	<b>adrs</b>
<b>+K</b>	<b>+K</b>
monogloss	

**decl**

<i>kɔjər</i>
flour
Scope

‘Flour.’

c. N: **K1**

<b>spkr</b>	<b>adrs</b>
<b>+K</b>	<b>+K</b>
monogloss	

**decl**

<i>tʰɐːr-tʃʰ</i>
correct-PST
Negotiator
Predicator
verbal group

‘(It) is correct.’

(4.8) N = niece, U = uncle

a. N: **Dk1**

<b>spkr</b>	<b>adrs</b>
<b>+K</b>	<b>NP</b>

**int**

<i>ɤn</i>	<i>ju</i>	<i>kər</i>	<i>xiː-sɤn</i>	<i>tɐ</i>
PROX	what	INS	make-PST.PTCP	IP
Scope			Negotiator	
			Predicator	Interrogator
			verbal group	int. particle

‘What was this made from?’

b. U: **K2**

<b>spkr</b>	<b>adrs</b>
<b>+K</b>	<b>+K</b>
expand	

**int**

<i>kɔjər</i>	<i>mɛ</i>
flour	IP
Scope	Negotiator
	Interrogator
	int. particle

‘Is it flour?’

c. N: **K1**

<b>spkr</b>	<b>adrs</b>
<b>+K</b>	<b>+K</b>
monogloss	

**decl**

<i>tʰɐːr-tʃʰ</i>
correct-PST
Negotiator
Predicator
verbal group

‘(It) is correct.’

(4.9) T = teacher

a. T1: **K2**

<b>spkr</b>	<b>adrs</b>
<b>-K</b>	<b>+K</b>

**int**

<i>ɤn</i>	<i>uːlpər</i>	<i>tʰɐːr-ø</i>	<i>mɛ</i>
PROX	sentence	correct-NPST.PTCP	IP
Scope		Negotiator	
		Predicator	Interrogator
		verbal group	int. particle

‘Is this sentence correct?’

b. T2: <b>K1</b>	<b>spkr</b>	<b>adrs</b>	<b>decl</b>	<i>tʰe:r-nɐ</i>
	<b>+K</b>	<b>-K</b>		correct-NPST
	monogloss			Negotiator
				Predicator
				verbal group
				‘(It) is correct.’

A [declarative] clause may also realise a move functioning as initiating K1 and initiating K2 – as in (4.10a) and (4.11a)) respectively. In the latter case, the speaker is positioned as knowing the information but lacks primary knower authority; this means the addressee is positioned as knowing the information and having primary knower authority.

(4.10) T = teacher

a. T1: <b>K1</b>	<b>spkr</b>	<b>adrs</b>	<b>decl</b>	<i>tʰsr</i>	<i>ixin</i>	<i>ɔn</i>	<i>ɔrtʰe</i>	<i>sɛnlɔ</i>	<i>kər</i>
	<b>+K</b>	<b>+K</b>		DIST	daughter	3POSS	before	trike	INS
	expand			Scope					
				‘[You know] her daughter was commuting’					

<i>ʃɛp-tʃ</i>	<i>ɛ:-tʃ</i>	<i>ʃɛ</i>
commute-PROG	COP-PST	MP
Negotiator		
Predicator		Positioner
verbal group		modal particle
‘(to school) by motorised trike before.’		

b. T2: <b>K2f</b>	<b>spkr</b>	<b>adrs</b>	<i>ɪ:</i>
	<b>+K</b>	<b>+K</b>	INTJ
	monogloss		‘Yes (≈ She was).’

(4.11) T = teacher

T1: <b>K2</b>	<b>spkr</b>	<b>adrs</b>	<b>decl</b>	<i>ɔn</i>	<i>u:lpɔr</i>	<i>tʰe:r-ɔn</i>	<i>pɐ</i>
	<b>+K</b>	<b>+K</b>		PROX	sentence	correct-NPST	MP
	expand			Scope	Negotiator		
					Predicator	Positioner	
				verbal group	modal particle		
				‘This sentence [may] be correct, [right?]			

T2: <b>K1</b>	<b>spkr</b>	<b>adrs</b>	<b>decl</b>	<i>tʰe:r-nɐ</i>
	<b>+K</b>	<b>+K</b>		correct-NPST
	monogloss			Negotiator
				Predicator
				verbal group
				‘(It) is correct.’

Note that interrogative clauses also typically realise moves that function as Da1 in [action] exchanges. In contrast to Dk1, where the addressee’s knowledge is checked, at Da1 it is



the acceptability of the action that is being checked. This is exemplified in (4.12).

(4.12) M = mother, D = daughter

a. M: **Da1**

<b>spkr</b>	<b>adrs</b>	<b>int</b>
<b>+R</b>	<b>-R</b>	

<i>xutɔl-kə-ø</i>	<i>mɛ</i>
move-CAUS-NPST.PTCP	IP
Negotiator	
Predicator	Interrogator
verbal group	int. particle

‘(Do I) move (= blend)?’

b. D: **A2**

<b>spkr</b>	<b>adrs</b>	<b>imp</b>
<b>-R</b>	<b>+R</b>	

<i>xutɔl-kə-ø</i>
move-CAUS-IMP.2
Negotiator
Predicator
verbal group

‘Move (= blend).’

c. M: A1 NV (Mother starts the blender.)

The discourse semantic systems explored in Chapter 3 thus enable us to see the typical discourse tasks that [declarative] and [interrogative] clauses serve. A move realised by a [declarative] clause typically selects [speaker positioned: +knowledge]. A move realised by an [interrogative] clause may select either [speaker positioned: +knowledge] or [speaker positioned: -knowledge] depending on the function the move serves in a [knowledge] exchange. Finally, an [interrogative] clause may also realise a move selecting [speaker positioned: +responsibility] that realises Da1 in an [action] exchange. This typical association between clause, move, and exchange function is summarised in Table 4.1.

Table 4.1 The typical discourse semantic functions of indicative clauses

GRAMMAR	DISCOURSE		
	INTERLOCUTOR POSITIONING	NEGOTIATION	primary knower authority
<b>[declarative]</b>	[speaker positioned: +K]	K2	no
		K1	yes
<b>[interrogative]</b>	[speaker positioned: +K]	Dk1	yes
		non-initiating K2	no
	[speaker positioned: -K]	initiating K2	no
	[speaker positioned: +R]	Da1	not applicable

We will set aside the more delicate types of [declarative] clause until 4.2 as they are related to the various realisations in the Negotiator. In the next section, we will take one step further in relation to the subtypes of [interrogative] clause.

#### 4.1.2.2 Types of interrogative

There are two general types of [interrogative] clause: **[polar]** and **[elemental]**. We have encountered both types of [interrogative] clause in our examples so far. Examples (4.13) and (4.14) are instances of [elemental] and [polar] interrogative clauses. The relevant elements of the structure are highlighted in bold.

(4.13) **int: elemental**

<i>ɣn</i> PROX	<b><i>ju</i></b> <b>what</b>	<b><i>kər</i></b> <b>INS</b>	<i>xi:-sɣn</i> make-PST.PTCP	<b><i>tɛ</i></b> <b>IP</b>
Scope			Negotiator	
			Inquirer	Predicator
			nominal group	verbal group
				int. particle

‘What was this made from?’

(4.14) **int: polar**

<i>ɣn</i> PROX	<i>u:lpər</i> sentence	<i>tʰɛ:r-ø</i> correct-NPST.PTCP	<b><i>mɛ</i></b> <b>IP</b>
Scope		Negotiator	
		Predicator	Interrogator
		verbal group	int. particle

‘Is this sentence correct?’

As highlighted in bold in (4.13) and (4.14), unlike [interrogative: polar] clauses an [interrogative: elemental] clause requires an **Inquirer** function along with the Interrogator. Inquirers are realised by units involving non-definite 'pro-words', e.g. *ju* ‘what’ in (4.13) below.<sup>95</sup> The position of Inquirer is determined experientially, rather than interpersonally – i.e. the missing experiential element is filled in by an Inquirer in situ. Inquirer is thus within the domain of the Scope, except when the Inquirer is conflated with the Predicator (a pattern which will be discussed shortly).

In Khorchin Mongolian, the Inquirer can be used to seek information about entities, occurrences, and qualities. The [interrogative: elemental] clause in (4.13) above solicits an entity (i.e. what the dough is made from). In this case, the Inquirer is realised by an [instrumental] nominal group (marked with the postposition *kər*), which realises a Circumstance in the experiential organisation of the clause. In (4.15a) below, the [interrogative: elemental] clause also solicits an entity (i.e. the people who came); but the Inquirer is conflated with a Participant.

(4.15) O = government official, P = peasant

a. O: K2

spkr	adrs	int: el	<b><i>xɣn</i></b> <b>who</b>	<i>ir-s</i> come-PST.PTCP	<b><i>i:</i></b> <b>IP</b>
-K	+K		Scope	Negotiator	
			Inquirer/Participant	Predicator	Interrogator
			nominal group	verbal group	int. particle

‘Who came?’

b. P: K1

spkr	adrs	decl	<i>utʃvɛŋpu</i>			<i>nɛ</i>	<i>xun</i>	<i>ir-tʃ</i>
+K	-K		Armed.Forces.Department	GEN	people	come-PST		
monogloss			<div> Scope <div> Negotiator Predicator verbal group </div> </div>					

‘People from the Armed Forces Department came.’

<sup>95</sup> The term Inquirer is borrowed from Wang’s (2020; forthcoming) use of the term to account for comparable phenomenon in Classical Tibetan and Mandarin.

In (4.16a), the clause solicits an occurrence (i.e. what would happen); and so the Inquirer is conflated with the Process. Note that when the Inquirer conflates with the Process (an experiential function), it also conflates with the Predicator (an interpersonal function), thus falling within the domain of the Negotiator (el = elemental).<sup>96</sup>

(4.16) N = nephew, A = aunt

a.	N:	K2	<table><tr><td>spkr</td><td>adrs</td></tr><tr><td>-K</td><td>+K</td></tr></table>	spkr	adrs	-K	+K	int: el	<table><tr><td><i>xɔni</i></td><td><i>it-tʃ</i></td><td><i>pɐr-x</i></td><td><i>ue</i></td><td><i>pɔl</i></td><td>  </td></tr><tr><td>all</td><td>eat-CVB</td><td>finish-NPST.PTCP</td><td>NEG</td><td>COND</td><td></td></tr><tr><td rowspan="3">Scope</td><td colspan="5">Negotiator</td></tr><tr><td colspan="5">Predicator</td></tr><tr><td colspan="5">verbal group</td></tr></table>	<i>xɔni</i>	<i>it-tʃ</i>	<i>pɐr-x</i>	<i>ue</i>	<i>pɔl</i>		all	eat-CVB	finish-NPST.PTCP	NEG	COND		Scope	Negotiator					Predicator					verbal group				
spkr	adrs																																				
-K	+K																																				
<i>xɔni</i>	<i>it-tʃ</i>	<i>pɐr-x</i>	<i>ue</i>	<i>pɔl</i>																																	
all	eat-CVB	finish-NPST.PTCP	NEG	COND																																	
Scope	Negotiator																																				
	Predicator																																				
	verbal group																																				

<b><i>je:-n</i></b>	<b><i>tɐ</i></b>
<b>what-NPST</b>	<b>IP</b>
Negotiator	
Inquirer/Predicator/Process	Interrogator
verbal group	int. particle
‘What happens if I don’t finish them all?’	

b.    A:    K1	spkr	adrs	decl	<i>fakuan</i> <sup>97</sup>
	+K	-K		fine
	monogloss			Negotiator
				Predicator
				verbal group
				‘(I) will fine (you)’

In an exchange with K2 ^ K1 structure, when the K2 is realised by a [interrogative: polar] clause, it is typically the Negotiator (Predicator) that is being replayed – as in (4.17) below, where *tʰe:r-nɐ* ‘correct-NPST’ is replayed. On the other hand, when the K2 is realised by an [interrogative: elemental] clause and the Inquirer is not conflated with the Predicator, it is typically the Scope that is being replayed– as in (4.15) above.

(4.17) T = teacher

a.	T1:	K2	<table><tr><td>spkr</td><td>adrs</td></tr><tr><td>-K</td><td>+K</td></tr></table>	spkr	adrs	-K	+K	int	<table><tr><td><i>ʃn</i></td><td><i>u:lpər</i></td><td><i>tʰe:r-ə</i></td><td><i>mɛ</i></td></tr><tr><td>PROX</td><td>sentence</td><td><b>correct-NPST.PTCP</b></td><td>IP</td></tr><tr><td rowspan="3">Scope</td><td colspan="3">Negotiator</td></tr><tr><td colspan="2">Predicator</td><td>Interrogator</td></tr><tr><td colspan="2">verbal group</td><td>int. particle</td></tr></table>	<i>ʃn</i>	<i>u:lpər</i>	<i>tʰe:r-ə</i>	<i>mɛ</i>	PROX	sentence	<b>correct-NPST.PTCP</b>	IP	Scope	Negotiator			Predicator		Interrogator	verbal group		int. particle
spkr	adrs																										
-K	+K																										
<i>ʃn</i>	<i>u:lpər</i>	<i>tʰe:r-ə</i>	<i>mɛ</i>																								
PROX	sentence	<b>correct-NPST.PTCP</b>	IP																								
Scope	Negotiator																										
	Predicator		Interrogator																								
	verbal group		int. particle																								
‘Is this sentence correct?’																											

‘Is this sentence correct?’

<sup>96</sup> For technical interpretations of entity, occurrence, and quality in the ideational discourse semantics, see Hao (2015; 2020). Entity and occurrence are comparable to participant and process in Halliday & Matthiessen’s (1999) ideation base.

<sup>97</sup> The speaker said this in Mandarin Chinese, which is why there is no TENSE marker.

b. T2: K1	spkr	adrs	decl	<i>tʰe:r-ne</i>
	+K	-K		<b>correct-NPST</b>
	monogloss			Negotiator
				Predicator
				verbal group
				‘(It) is correct.’

The commonly used interrogative words in Khorchin Mongolian are:<sup>98</sup>

<i>xən</i>	'who'
<i>ju</i>	'what'
<i>ɛl</i>	'which'
<i>ɛl nək</i>	'which one'
<i>jəmər/ jəmər ti</i>	'what like'
<i>jəmər tʃirək</i>	'how'
<i>xət/ xətən/ xəti</i>	'how many/ how much'
<i>xə:/ xə:kur/ ɛltəkur</i>	'where'
<i>xətʃə</i>	'when'
<i>jə:kət</i>	'why'
<i>jə:-n what-NPST</i>	'to what/ what happen(s)' (a 'wh verb')

The general types of [indicative] clause introduced so far are summarised as a system network in Figure 4.3. The figure shows that an [indicative] clause in Khorchin Mongolian is either [declarative] or [interrogative]. When it is [interrogative], it requires an Interrogator, which is positioned at the end of the clause. An [interrogative] clause either demands the polarity of information or seek a missing element. In the latter case, an Inquirer is inserted and conflated with various other functions according to the element that is sought.

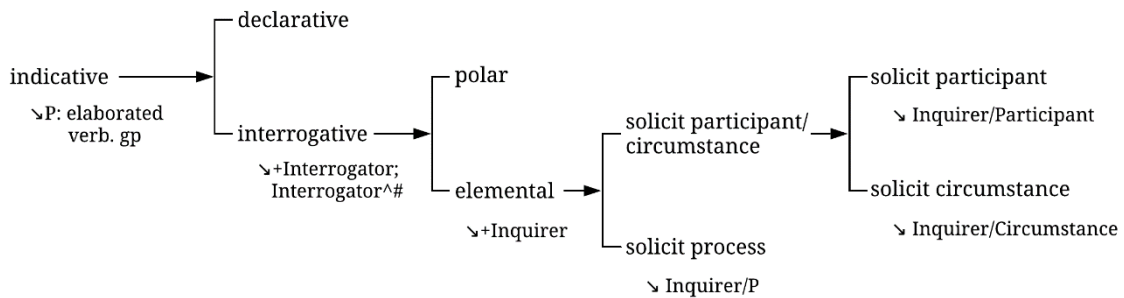


Figure 4.3 The general types of indicative clause in Khorchin Mongolian

Note that in contrast to Figure 4.3 the more delicate options for [elemental] could have included three features in one system – [solicit participant], [solicit process], and [solicit circumstance]. They would be realised by the conflation of the Inquirer and the respective

<sup>98</sup> Some of the question words listed in Bayancogtu (2002:237-240, 252-254) are not included here, either because they are groups containing question words, e.g. *xəti tʰinə* 'how much extent', or they are not commonly used in the Khorchin Mongolian variety spoken in Hinggan League (or more specifically Jalaid Banner), e.g. *jutʰər* 'what'.

experiential clause functions – Participant, Process, and Circumstance. The formalisation in Figure 4.3, on the other hand, privileges the conflation of functions in the same metafunction (Inquirer/Predicator) and contrast it with the conflation of functions from different metafunctions (the interpersonal function Inquirer is conflated with the experiential functions Participant and Circumstance).

To describe the types of [interrogative] in greater delicacy, we need to consider the various realisations of the Predicator and the Interrogator. In the next section, the interaction between the Predicator and the Interrogator, along with the interaction between the Predicator and the Positioner, will be introduced to support the discussion of the meaning of the Predicator in the [indicative] mood. The more detailed interactions are introduced in Section 4.2 in relation to the STANCE system.

#### **4.1.2.3 Predicator and its related functions in indicative**

As shown in Section 4.1.1, the Predicator in Khorchin Mongolian is interpersonally significant because it distinguishes [indicative] from [imperative]. The Predicator in an [indicative] clause, if realised verbally, is realised by an [elaborated] verbal group; the Predicator in an [imperative] clause is realised by a [restricted] verbal group.

The special significance of the Predicator in the Khorchin Mongolian clause is due to the meanings encoded in the Predicator. These meanings are closely associated with the arguability of a clause. What makes a clause arguable varies according to the selection from MOOD. The meanings realised in the Predicator of an [indicative] clause are discussed in this section and those of an [imperative] clause are discussed in Section 4.1.3.

The arguability of an [indicative] clause depends on meanings by reference to which a proposition can be affirmed or denied – i.e. the terms of the proposition as realised in the Predicator. The Predicator in an [indicative] clause provides context of reference in relation to the time of speaking and the judgement of the speaker. The verbal group resources relevant to the time of speaking is the system of TENSE; the resources relevant to the judgement of the speaker are the systems of VG POLARITY and VG MODALITY.<sup>99</sup>

##### **4.1.2.3.1 Reference to the time of speaking: TENSE**

To make a proposition arguable, it needs to be grounded in relation to the ‘here-&-now’ of the speech event. This is mainly achieved in Khorchin Mongolian through the system of TENSE, realised in the Predicator. In the interaction in (4.18) below, the interlocutors ground their propositions temporally in relation to the time of speaking. The interaction will first be discussed exchange by exchange. The way propositions are grounded will then be summarised by reference to the time of speaking in the interaction.

In exchange 1, T1 (T = teacher) presents a proposition in move (a) that is grounded in the present through the [non-past] suffix *-n* in the Predicator. The validity of the proposition is

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<sup>99</sup> For non-verbal realisations of Predicator as will be discussed in Section 4.1.2.3.2, this is reflected in their verbal counterparts.

not argued in this exchange. Instead, in move (b) T2 requires clarification of the proposition in move (a). The Predicate in (4.18b) is realised by a verbal group complex; it shifts the negotiation from ‘commuting’ in the present to ‘meaning’ in the immediate past. The tense suffixes are highlighted in bold.

(4.18)

Exchange 1

a. T1: K1

spkr	adrs	<i>səʔʰin</i>	<i>niːtəm</i>	<i>mətʰʊ</i>	<i>kər</i>
+K	NP	Secin	always	motorbike	INS
contract		Scope			

‘[I see that] Secin is always

<i>jeʔp-tʃ</i>	<i>ɛː-n</i>	<i>xʊi</i>
commute-PROG	COP- <b>NPST</b>	MP
Negotiator		
Predicator		Positioner
verbal group		modal particle

commuting by motorbike.’

b. T2: cl

spkr	adrs	<i>mətʰʊ</i>	<i>kər</i>	<i>xur-kə-tʃ</i>	<i>ɛː-n</i>	<i>kə-tʃ</i>	<i>uː</i>
NP	NP	motorbike	INS	reach-CAUS-PROG	COP-NPST	mean- <b>PST</b>	IP
Sco...				Negotiator			
				Predicator			Interrogator
				verbal group			int. particle

‘Did (you) mean she is taking her son (to school)

<i>xuː</i>	<i>kən</i>
son	ACC.POSS
...pe	

by motorbike?’

c. T1: rcl

spkr	adrs	<i>əː</i>
NP	NP	right
‘Right.’		

T1 then puts forward two other propositions in Exchange 2 and Exchange 3. Both of them – as presented in move (d) and move (e) – are grounded in the past through the [past] tense suffix *-tʃ*. The clauses realising move (d) and move (e) are about different propositions as shown in the different realisations of the Predicate.

(4.18 cont.)

Exchange 2

d. T1: K1	spkr	adrs	<i>tʰəʀ</i>	<i>ixin</i>	<i>ən</i>	<i>oʀtʰɛ</i>	<i>sɛnlɔ</i>	<i>kəʀ</i>
	+K	+K	DIST	daughter	3POSS	before	trike	INS
	expand		SCOPE					

‘[You know] her daughter was commuting (to school)

<i>jɛp-tʃ</i>	<i>ɛ:-tʃ</i>	<i>ʃɛ</i>
commute-PROG	COP- <b>PST</b>	MP
Negotiator		
Predicator		Positioner
verbal group		modal particle

by motorised trike before.’

Exchange 3

e. T1: K1	spkr	adrs	<i>tʰəʀ</i>	<i>sɛnlɔ</i>	<i>noɛtʃʰ-x</i>	<i>uɛ</i>	<i>lɛ</i>	<i>pɔl-tʃ</i>	<i>pɛˀL</i>
	+K	NP	DIST	trike	start-NPST.PTCP	NEG	RES	become- <b>PST</b>	MP
	expand		Negotiator						
	Scope		Predicator						Positioner
			verbal group						modal particle

‘That motorised trike [might] have become unable to start.’

The proposition in move (e) is not picked up by T2; instead, the proposition in move (d) is further negotiated in move (f) to move (j). In move (f) T2 challenges the proposition in move (d) by providing an alternative. The alternative is grounded in the present through the [non-past] tense suffix *-n*. This is consistent with the proposition clarified in Exchange 1.

(4.18 cont.)

Exchange 2 (cont.)

f. T2: ch	spkr	adrs	<i>ukue</i>
	+K	-K	NEG
	contract		‘No.’

g. =ch	spkr	adrs	<i>sɛtʃʰin</i>	<i>ni:təm</i>	<i>moʀtʰo</i>	<i>kəʀ</i>	<i>jɛp-tʃ</i>	<i>ɛ:-n</i>
	+K	-K	Secin	always	motorbike	INS	commute-PROG	COP- <b>NPST</b>
	contract		Negotiator					
	Scope		Predicator					
			verbal group					

‘Secin always takes her children to school by motorbike.’

To challenge T2’s alternative, T1 reinforces in move (i) his original proposition by subsuming the alternative in move (g), which grounds the proposition in the past via the [past] tense suffix *-tʃ*. Note that the clauses in (4.18f) and (4.18g) are elliptical clauses with the Polarity Adjunct *ukue* functioning as the Negotiator. This is introduced and analysed in Section 4.3.1.

(4.18 cont.)

Exchange 2 (cont.)

h. T1: rch	spkr	adrs	<i>ukue</i>
	+K	-K	NEG
	contract		'No.'

i. =rch	spkr	adrs	<i>sɛnɮ</i>	<i>kər</i>	<i>pɛs</i>	<i>jɛp-tʃ</i>	<i>ɛ:-tʃ</i>	<i>fʊ</i>
	+K	-K	trike	INS	also	commute-PROG	COP- <b>PST</b>	MP
	con (exp)					Negotiator		
			Scope			Predicator		Positioner
						verbal group		modal particle

'[I know] (she) was also commuting by motorised trike.'

j. T2: rrch	spkr	adrs	<i>ɔ:</i>
	-K	+K	INTJ

'I see.'

This way the validity of the proposition is argued for in terms of their temporal grounding in the following way:

Exchange 1

move (a): proposition 1 – valid by reference to the present  
'Secin is taking her son to school by motorbike'

Exchange 2

move (d): proposition 2 – valid by reference to the past  
'Secin *was* taking her daughter to school by motorised trike.'

Exchange 3

move (e): proposition 3 – valid by reference to the past  
'The motorised trike *stopped* working.'

Exchange 2 (cont.)

move (f)-(g): reject proposition 2 by reference to the present  
'Secin always *takes* her children to school by motorbike.'

move (h)-(i): subsume the previous proposition and reinforce the validity of proposition 2 by reference to the past  
'Secin *was* also taking her children to school by motorised trike.'

The interpersonal significance of TENSE is also shown in the interaction between its verb rank realisation and the realisation of the Interrogator and the Positioner. In Khorchin Mongolian, TENSE is a system available at verbal group (interacting with the other verbal group systems such as VG POLARITY, ASPECT, VG MODALITY, and RELATIVE TENSE). The options in TENSE are recognised by its morphological realisations in the head verb. The features in TENSE – [past] and [non-past] – can be realised by either the participle form or the non-participle form. The different realisations of TENSE are given in Table 4.2.<sup>100</sup>

<sup>100</sup> Verbs ending with the tense suffixes in the second row, *-sɛn* and *-x*, are traditionally described as 'adjectival verb forms' (Bayancogtu 2002; Nasunbayar et al. 1982), since verbs with these endings can modify nouns, or as 'verbal nouns' (Hsiao 2007; 2013) given that verbs with these endings can be followed by 'case markers'. However, in a linguistic theory like SFL, in which a



Table 4.2 Morphological realisations of TENSE in Khorchin Mongolian

	past	non-past
non-participle	<i>-tʃɛ</i> (~ <i>-tʃ</i> , <i>-tʃʰɛ</i> , <i>-tʃʰ</i> )	<i>-n</i> (~ <i>-nɐ</i> , <i>-nə</i> , <i>-nɔ</i> , <i>-ɔn</i> )
participle	<i>-sɔn</i> (~ <i>-sɔ</i> , <i>-s</i> )	<i>-x</i> (~ <i>-ø</i> , <i>-ɔx</i> )

In (4.19a) below, the interrogative particle *mɛ* in the [interrogative: polar] clause co-occurs with the participle realisation of TENSE. In contrast, TENSE in the [declarative] clause in (4.19b) is realised by the non-participle form. The MOOD types, along with the particle realising the Interrogator and the tense suffixes in the Predicator, are highlighted in bold.

(4.19) T = teacher

a. T1: K2

spkr	adrs	int	<i>ɔn</i>	<i>u:lpɔr</i>	<i>tʰɛ:r-ø</i>	<i>mɛ</i>
-K	+K		PROX	sentence	correct- <b>NPST.PTCP</b>	<b>IP</b>
Scope			Negotiator			
			Predicator		Interrogator	
			verbal group		int. particle	

‘Is this sentence correct?’

b.

T2:

K1

spkr

adrs

+K

-K

monogloss

decl

tʰɛ:r-nɐ

correct-NPST

Negotiator

Predicator

verbal group

‘(It) is correct.’

Conversely, it is also possible for TENSE in the Predicator in a [declarative] clause to be realised by a [participle] tense suffix and that in an [interrogative] clause by a [non-participle] tense suffix. For this to occur, [declarative] and [interrogative] clauses require particular modal particles and interrogative particles to realise the Positioner and the Interrogator respectively. The clauses in (4.19) are adjusted as (4.20) to show this pattern.

(4.20)

a. **int**

<i>ɔn</i>	<i>u:lpɔr</i>	<i>tʰɛ:r-n</i>	<i>u:</i>
PROX	sentence	correct- <b>NPST</b>	<b>IP</b>
Scope		Negotiator	
		Predicator	Interrogator
		verbal group	int. particle

‘Is this sentence correct?’

distinction is made between class and function, it is possible to separate the class (verb) from its functions (like adjectives these verbs can function as Modifiers in a nominal group and like nominals they can function as Participants in a clause).

b. <b>decl</b>	<i>ʒn</i> PROX	<i>u:lpəʀ</i> sentence	<i>tʰe:r-ʒx</i> correct-NPST.PTCP	<i>weijeŋ</i> MP
Scope		Negotiator		
		Predicator		Positioner
		verbal group		modal particle

‘[It is known that] this sentence is correct.’

The [participle] and [non-participle] realisations of TENSE are interpreted in relation to the clause system of STANCE in Section 4.2. The examples so far show the interpersonal significance of TENSE realised in the Predicator in the Khorchin Mongolian clause.

#### 4.1.2.3.2 Non-verbal realisations of Predicator: PREDICATION

The Predicators in the [indicative] clauses we have analysed so far are all realised by the verbal group. However, the Predicator is not always present in the Khorchin Mongolian [indicative] clause; and if present it is not always realised by a verbal group. The Predicator may also be realised by a nominal group or a copulative phrase. This section will first introduce the nominal Predicator and the copulative Predicator. It will then introduce cases where there is no Predicator.

The Predicator in the clause in (4.21f) below is realised by a nominal group. The Predicators are highlighted in bold.

(4.21) A = aunt, N = nephew; the speakers are talking while making dumplings

##### Exchange 1

a. A: K2	spkr -K	adrs +K	<i>tʰi</i> 2SG	<i>soʋnni</i> chopped.garlic	<b><i>it-ʒn</i></b> <b>eat-NPST</b>	<i>pɛ</i> MP
Scope			Negotiator			
			Predicator		Positioner	
			verbal group		modal particle	

‘You eat chopped garlic, [right]?’

b. N: K1	spkr +K	adrs -K	<i>m:</i> INTJ
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‘Yes.’

##### Exchange 2

c. A: A2	spkr +R	adrs +R	<i>xɔibn</i> two	<i>soʋnni</i> chopped.garlic	<b><i>it-ʃ</i></b> <b>eat-IMP.1</b>
Scope			Negotiator		
			Predicator		
			verbal group		

‘Let’s eat chopped garlic.’

### Exchange 3

d. A: K1	spkr	adrs	<i>ɔtɔn</i>	<i>ɔɔɪlɔn</i>	<b><i>it-x</i></b>	<b><i>uɛ</i></b>
	+K	-K	PROX	two	<b>eat-NPST.PTCP</b>	<b>NEG</b>
	contract		Scope		Negotiator	
					Predicator	
					verbal group	
‘These two do not eat (chopped garlic).’						

'These two do not eat (chopped garlic).'

e. N: K2f	spkr	adrs	<i>ɔ:</i>
	-K	+K	INTJ

'Oh.'

### Exchange 4

f. A: K1	spkr	adrs	<i>v:p</i>	<i>ixin</i>	<i>tʰɛ</i>	<i>ɔɔɪlɔn</i>	<i>sɔɐnni</i>	<i>t</i>	<b>tor</b>	<b>ukue</b>
	+K	-K	father	daughter	COM	two	chopped.garlic	DAT	<b>like</b>	<b>NEG</b>
	contract		Scope						Negotiator	
									Predicator	
nominal group										

'Father (and) daughter, the two, do not like chopped garlic.'

As with the verbal group realisation of the Predicator in (4.21d), the nominal group realisation in (4.21f) encodes the [negative] polarity of the clause. POLARITY is introduced in detail in Section 4.1.2.3.3 below. The [positive] alternative to (4.21f) is provided in (4.22) below. Note that the English translation is misleading as the Predicator is not realised by a verbal group. A more appropriate translation would be 'Father and daughter, the two, (are) with a taste for' or 'have a fondness for' chopped garlic'.

(4.22)

<i>v.p</i>	<i>ixin</i>	<i>tʰɛ</i>	<i>ɔɔɪlɔn</i>	<i>sɔɐnni</i>	<i>t</i>	<b>tor</b>	<b>tʰɛ</b>
father	daughter	COM	two	chopped.garlic	DAT	<b>like</b>	<b>COM</b>
Scope						Negotiator	
						Predicator	
						nominal group	

'Father daughter, the two, like chopped garlic.'

The nominal Predicator is also typically replayed in exchanges concerning the validity of the proposition as in (4.23) below (introspective data based on (4.22)).

(4.23) A = aunt, N = nephew

a. A: K2	spkr	adrs	<i>tʰi</i>	<i>sɔɐnni</i>	<i>t</i>	<b>tor</b>	<b>tʰɛ</b>	<i>mɛ</i>
	-K	+K	2SG	chopped.garlic	DAT	<b>like</b>	<b>COM</b>	IP
Scope						Negotiator		
						Predicator		Interrogator
						nominal group		int. particle

'(Do) you like chopped garlic?'

b. N: K1

spkr	adrs	<i>tor</i>	<i>tʰe</i>
+K	-K	<b>like</b>	<b>COM</b>
		Negotiator	
		Predicator	
		nominal group	

‘(I) like.’

The nominal Predicators are restricted to cases where the terms of the proposition are grounded in the non-past. When the terms ground the proposition in the past, the Predicator is either realised by a verbal group or a copulative phrase. A copulative Predicator is exemplified in (4.24) below (adjusting (4.22a)).

(4.24)

<i>tʰi</i>	<i>soɐnni</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>tor</i>	<i>tʰe</i>	<i>pɛ:-sɔ</i>	<i>mɛ</i>
2SG	chopped.garlic	DAT	<b>like</b>	<b>COM</b>	<b>COP-PST</b>	IP
Scope			Negotiator			
			Predicator			Interrogator
			copulative phrase			int. particle

‘(Did) you use to like chopped garlic?’

Copulative phrases in Khorchin Mongolian comprise a nominal group and a copulative verbal group, which is a kind of [non-eventive] verbal group (see Figure 4.1 above). The potential of the copulative verbal group is restricted. It can be marked for ASPECT and VG POLARITY, but it cannot be marked for VG MODALITY and RELATIVE TENSE. The copulative Predicator is typically replayed when the exchange is concerned with the validity of a proposition – as in (4.25) below (adjusting (4.22)).

(4.25) A = aunt, N = nephew

a. A: K2

spkr	adrs	<i>tʰi</i>	<i>soɐnni</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>tor</i>	<i>tʰe</i>	<i>pɛ:-sɔ</i>	<i>mɛ</i>
-K	+K	2SG	chopped.garlic	DAT	<b>like</b>	<b>COM</b>	<b>COP-PST</b>	IP
Scope					Negotiator			
					Predicator			Interrogator
					copulative phrase			int. particle

‘(Do) you like chopped garlic?’

b. N: K1

spkr	adrs	<i>m:</i>	<i>tor</i>	<i>tʰe</i>	<i>pɛ:-tʃ</i>
+K	-K	INTJ	<b>like</b>	<b>COM</b>	<b>COP-PST</b>
			Negotiator		
			Predicator		
			copulative phrase		

‘Yes, (I) used to like (it).’

When the terms of the argument are grounded in the non-past, on the other hand, nominal Predicators can alternatively be realised by copulative phrases. This is more likely when the Negotiator includes a Positioner. This contrast is shown in (4.26d) and (4.26e) below. The interaction in (4.26) repeats the first part of (3.50). It is concerned with whether the Jalaid Banner dialect is the most contaminated dialect in Hinggan League (given that it borrows heavily from Chinese). The Predicator in (4.26d) is realised by a nominal group and that in (4.26e) by a copulative phrase. Note that the clause in (4.26a)

does not contain a Predicator. This will be discussed shortly.

(4.26) D = daughter, F = father, M = mother

a. D: K1

spkr	adrs	<i>tʃɛlɛt</i>	<i>pɔl</i>	<i>xɐmɔk</i>	<i>ɛ:mɐr</i>	<i>ɐ:</i>
+K	-K	Jalaid	TOP	most	serious	EMP
monogloss		Scope				

‘Jalaid (is) the most serious.’

b. F: cf

spkr	adrs	<i>tʃɛlɛt</i>	<i>xɔfu</i>	<i>nɛ</i>	<i>u:</i>
NP	NP	Jalaid	banner	GEN	IP
Scope				Negotiator	
				Interrogator	
				int. particle	

‘(The dialect) of Jalaid banner?’

c. D: rcf

spkr	adrs	<i>m:</i>
NP	NP	INTJ

‘Yes.’

d. M: ch

spkr	adrs	<i>pi</i>	<i>utʰ-ul</i>	<i>fɪŋɐnmɔŋ</i>	<i>nɛ</i>	<i>xɔni</i>	<b><i>mitʰim</i></b>	<i>ə:</i>
+K	-K	1SG	see-COND	Hinggan.League	GEN	all	<b>like.that</b>	EMP
expand		Scope						Negotiator
								Predicator
								nominal group

‘I think (dialects in) Hinggan League (are) all like that.’

e. F: =ch

spkr	adrs	<i>tʰɔr</i>	<i>tʃɛntʃi</i>	<i>tʃuntʃi</i>	<i>xɔ</i>
+K	-K	DIST	South.Banner	Middle.Banner	all
contract		Scope			

‘But [obviously] South Banner and Middle Banner

<b><i>mitʰim</i></b>	<b><i>pɛ:-n</i></b>	<i>tɐ</i>	<i>ɔtɔ</i>
<b>like.that</b>	<b>COP-NPST</b>	MP	CONC
Negotiator			
Predicator	Positioner		
copulative phrase		modal particle	

(are) all like that.’

f. M: =ch

spkr	adrs	<i>ə:</i>
+K	-K	INTJ

‘Yes.’

In contrast to [nominal] predication, the clause in (4.26a) does not involve a Predicator. It is different from the [nominal] predication in (4.26d) in two respects. First, the clause final nominal group cannot be replaced with a copulative phrase when the experience is construed in the non-past – as shown in (4.27) below. Second, the clause final nominal group cannot be [negative]; the negation of the clause is realised at clause rank – as will be discussed in Section 4.1.2.3.3 below.

(4.27)

- a. 

<i>tʃɛlət</i> Jalaid	<i>pəl</i> TOP	<i>xəmɔk</i> most	<i>ɛ:mər</i> serious
Scope			
nominal group		nominal group	

 :  
'Jalaid (is) the most serious.'

\* *tʃɛlət pəl xəmɔk ɛ:mər pɛ:-n*  
Jalaid TOP most serious COP-NPST  
'Jalaid is the most serious.'

- b. 

<i>ʃiŋɛnməŋ</i> Hinggan.League	<i>nɛ</i> GEN	<i>xəni</i> all	<b><i>mitʰm</i></b> <b>like.that</b>
Scope			Negotiator
			Predicator
			nominal group

 :  
'(Dialects in) Hinggan League (are) all like that.'

<i>ʃiŋɛnməŋ</i> Hinggan.League	<i>nɛ</i> GEN	<i>xəni</i> all	<b><i>mitʰm</i></b> <b>like.that</b>	<b><i>pɛ:-n</i></b> <b>COP-NPST</b>
Scope			Negotiator	
			Predicator	
			copulative phrase	

'[Obviously] (dialects in) Hinggan League (are) all like that.'

Clauses such as the one in (4.27a) will be referred to as **[terms understood]** – i.e. the time of speaking and the speaker's judgement ('the terms') are assumed to be known to the interlocutors. When the terms of the proposition are understood, in an exchange involving the validity of the information, the [positive] clause typically includes the item *mɔ:-* AFFIRM, which realises the [positive] polarity of the clause – as in (4.28) below. This is further evidence that the final nominal group in a [terms understood] clause (as in (4.27a)) has different interpersonal functions compared to the nominal group that functions as the Predicator in a [terms explicit] clause, which encodes the POLARITY of the clause. Although *mɔ:-* is marked for [non-past] tense, it will simply be referred to as an item rather than an instance of the verbal group or the verb.<sup>101</sup> The item cannot be marked for other verb suffixes; neither can it be modified by selections from the verbal group systems. The function of *mɔ:-* AFFIRM is termed **Polarity Adjunct** and will be further discussed in Section 4.1.2.3.3 and 4.3.1.

<sup>101</sup> The term 'item' as will be used in this chapter refers to the realisation of a function through a one-member class. It would be misleading to call items such as *mɔ:-* as words given that they do not operate in group structure. They realise features at clause rank. In other words, they reach their exponents not through system structure cycles across ranks. Instead, they reach their exponents systemically in relation to delicacy.

(4.28)

a. A: K2	spkr	adrs	<i>tʃɛlɛt xɛmɹk ɛ:mɛr ʊn</i>	<i>mɔ:-ø</i>	<i>mɛ</i>
	-K	+K	Jalaid most serious TOP	<b>AFFIRM-NPST.PTCP</b>	IP
			Scope	Negotiator	
				Polarity Adjunct	Interrogator
				item	int. particle

‘(Is) Jalaid the most serious?’

b. B: K1	spkr	adrs	<i>mɔ:-nɛ</i>
	+K	-K	<b>AFFIRM-NPST</b>
	monogloss		Negotiator
			Polarity Adjunct
			item

‘Yes.’

The different realisations of the Predicator and their relationship with the MOOD system is summarised in Figure 4.4. The system that captures the distinction in [terms understood] and [terms explicit] is called PREDICATION.

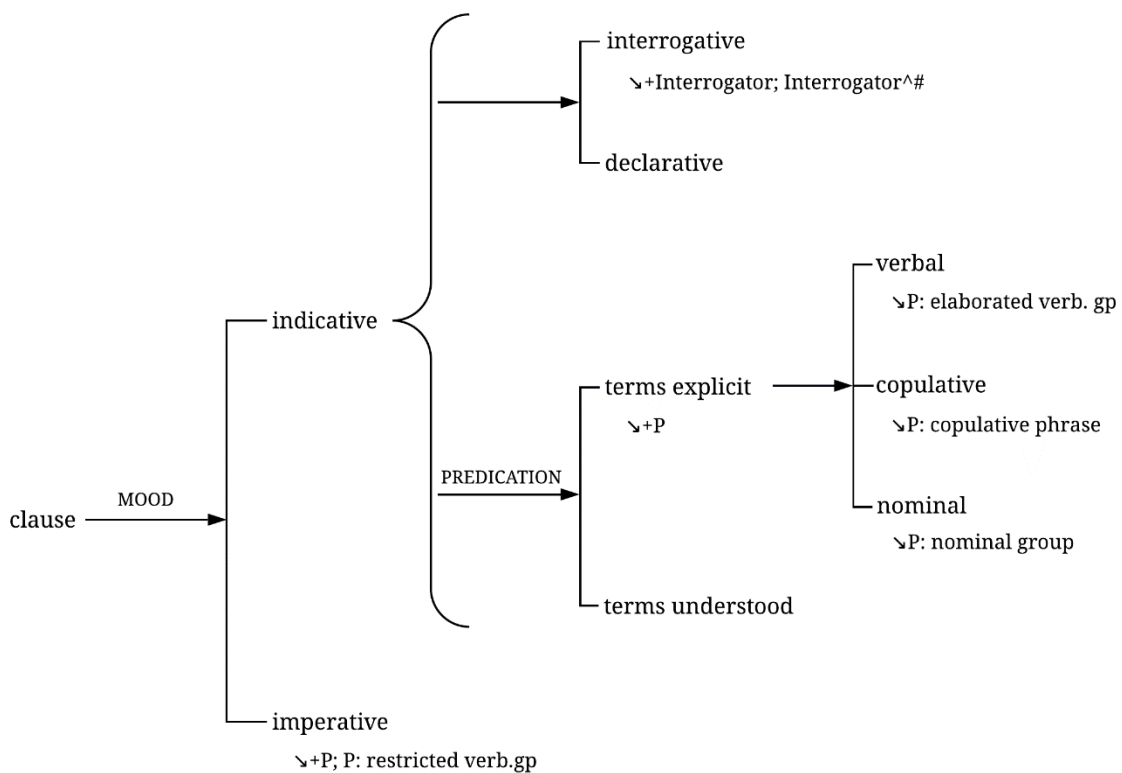


Figure 4.4 MOOD and PREDICATION in Khorchin Mongolian

#### 4.1.2.3.3 Reference to the judgement of the speaker: POLARITY and MODALITY

The Predicator in an [indicative] clause also encodes the judgement of the speaker towards the proposition. The relevant verbal group resources are VG POLARITY and VG MODALITY. POLARITY (at both group and clause rank) has to do with the speaker's affirmation or denial of the proposition; MODALITY (at both group and clause rank) has to

do with the speaker's judgement of the proposition in terms of [probability], [usuality], [obligation], and [ability] – the regions of meaning between affirming and denying, and between prescribing and proscribing respectively.<sup>102</sup>

#### 4.1.2.3.3.1 POLARITY in indicative

POLARITY in the Khorchin Mongolian [indicative] clause interacts closely with PREDICATION. This section will consider [terms explicit] clause and [terms understood] clause in turn.

##### (i) [terms explicit]

The Predicator realises the POLARITY of the Khorchin Mongolian clause when its terms are explicit. When the clause is [positive], its realisation does not involve a special item that encodes the [positive] meaning. The Predicator is realised by a [positive] verbal group, a [positive] copulative phrase, or a [positive] nominal group. When the clause is [negative], on the other hand, its realisation involves variants of *ukue*, which encodes [negative] meaning. The interaction in (4.29) below exemplifies [positive] and [negative] polarity of the Khorchin Mongolian clause. It comprises four cohesively related exchanges. Move (a) is realised by a [positive & declarative] clause; move (d) and (f) are realised by [negative & declarative] clauses. The Predicator in (4.29d) is realised by a [negative] verbal group; and the Predicator in (4.29f) is realised by a [negative] nominal group.<sup>103</sup> The negation items and the group rank POLARITY features are highlighted in bold.

(4.29) A = aunt, N = nephew

##### Exchange 1

a. A: K2	spkr	adrs	<i>tʰi soɐnni</i>	<i>it-ən</i>	<i>pe</i>
	-K	+K	2SG chopped.garlic	eat-NPST	MP
	Scope		Negotiator		
			Predicator		Positioner
			verbal group: <b>positive</b>		modal particle

'You eat chopped garlic, [right]?'

b. B: K1	spkr	adrs	<i>m:</i>
	+K	-K	INTJ
	monogloss		'Yes.'

<sup>102</sup> Note that unlike English, inclination is not grammaticalised as modality in Khorchin Mongolian (cf. English: *willing*, *keen*, *determined*).

<sup>103</sup> The items *kue* and *ue* – as they co-occur with past and [non-past] tense suffixes – are allomorphs of *ukue*. *Ukue* is described as a particle in Nasunbayar et al. (1982:410-412). But the full form can function independently in a turn; so it is not considered a particle here. For example, - O: *tʰən ɐs ɐsu-sən mɛ* 'Did (they) ask you?' - P: *ukue* 'No.' In contrast, *kue* and *ue* are described as suffixes in Bayancogtu (2002:290-296). But the counter-expectant particle *ɐs* 'even' can be realised between the verb and the negation: *ɐsu-sən ɐs ukue* 'ask-PST even NEG'; so it is not considered a suffix here. It might be more appropriately considered a clitic, a category between word and suffix. However, this category needs careful examination in relation to delicacy and rank in SFL. I will privilege its potential to function in a response move on its own and consider it an independent item.



### Exchange 2

c. A: A2	spkr	adrs	<i>xɔɪbn</i>	<i>səvnni</i>	<i>it-jə</i>
	+R	+R	two	chopped.garlic	eat-IMP.1
Scope					Negotiator
					Predicator
					verbal group

‘Let’s eat chopped garlic.’

### Exchange 3

d. A: K1	spkr	adrs	<i>ətən</i>	<i>xɔɪbn</i>	<i>it-x</i>	<i>uɛ</i>
	+K	-K	PROX	two	eat-NPST.PTCP	<b>NEG</b>
	contract		Scope		Negotiator	
					Predicator	
					verbal group: <b>negative</b>	

‘These two do **not** eat (chopped garlic).’

e. N: K2f	spkr	adrs	<i>ɔ:</i>
	-K	+K	INTJ

‘Oh.’

### Exchange 4

f. A: K1	spkr	adrs	<i>v:p</i>	<i>ixin</i>	<i>tʰe</i>	<i>xɔɪbn</i>	<i>səvnni</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>tɔr</i>	<i>ukue</i>
	+K	-K	father	daughter	COM	two	chopped.garlic	DAT	like	<b>NEG</b>
	contract		Scope						Negotiator	
									Predicator	
									nom.gp: <b>negative</b>	

‘Father (and) daughter, the two, do **not** like chopped garlic.’

When the Predicator is realised by a copulative phrase, the nominal group embedded in the copulative phrase may be [negative]; but the clause is still [positive]. The clause in (4.29f) is adapted as (4.30) to show this realisation. The copulative phrase is highlighted in bold.

(4.30)	<i>v:p</i>	<i>ixin</i>	<i>tʰe</i>	<i>xɔɪbn</i>	<i>səvnni</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>tɔr</i>	<i>ukue</i>	<i>pɛ:-tʃɛ</i>
	father	daughter	COM	two	chopped.garlic	DAT	<b>like</b>	<b>NEG</b>	<b>COP-PST</b>
	Scope						Negotiator		
							Predicator		
							copulative phrase: <b>positive</b>		

‘Father daughter, the two, used to **not** like chopped garlic.’

When the terms in a clause are explicit it is also possible for the clause to be negated both at group/phrase rank via Predicator and at clause rank via the item *piʃɛ*, which functions as a Polarity Adjunct in the clause – as in (4.31a) below. The extract in (4.31) follows an interaction in which the government official confirms the peasants’ annual income. Polarity Adjunct is further introduced in Section 4.3.1.

(4.31) W = wife, H = husband, O = government official

a. W: K1

spkr	adrs	<i>ʋsu-sɔn</i>	<i>kuɛ</i>	<i>piɛ</i>	<i>mɛ</i>	<i>ʃi</i>
+K	+K	ask-PST.PTCP	NEG	NEG	IP	TAG
contract		Negotiator				
		Predicator		Polarity Adjunct	Interrogator	
		verbal group: <b>negative</b>		item	int. particle	

‘(Is it) **not** (the case that) they did **not** ask us? Right?’

b. H: K2f

spkr	adrs	<i>ɔ:</i>	<i>ʋsu-sɔn</i>	<i>kuɛ</i>
+K	+K	INTJ	ask-PST.PTCP	NEG
contract		Negotiator		
		Predicator		
		verbal group: <b>negative</b>		

‘(They) didn’t ask’

c. O: cf

spkr	adrs	//2 ʋ://
NP	NP	INTJ

‘What?’

d. H: rcf

spkr	adrs	<i>ɔn</i>	<i>tʃil</i>	<i>lɛ</i>	<i>i:</i>	<i>ʋsu-sɔn</i>	<i>kuɛ</i>
NP	NP	PROX	year	GEN	ACC	ask-PST	NEG
Scope						Negotiator	
						Predicator	
						verbal group: <b>negative</b>	

‘(They) didn’t ask this year’s (income).’

Note that as in (4.31a) above in an [interrogative] clause the two instances of negation do not cancel out each other. In contrast, when there are two instances of negation in a [declarative] clause, they do cancel out each other – i.e. the speaker denies the denial of a proposition.<sup>104</sup> This is exemplified in (4.32) below (adjusting (4.31a)).

(4.32)

<i>ʋsu-sɔn</i>	<i>kuɛ</i>	<i>piɛ</i>
ask-PST.PTCP	NEG	NEG
Predicator		Polarity Adjunct
verbal group: <b>negative</b>		item
Negotiator		

‘(Is it) **not** (that they) did **not** ask us.  
(≈ They asked us.)’

<sup>104</sup> The instance in (4.31a) could potentially be considered a special type of [interrogative: polar]. In this type, the expected answer is biased towards [positive]. Alternatively, this clause could be analysed as a metaphorical realisation of [speaker positioned: +knowledge & addressee positioned: +knowledge]. This is supported by the instantiation of TAGGING by *ʃi*. As will be shown in Section 4.3.4, unlike the congruent realisation of the move selection through [declarative] clauses, interrogative clauses generally cannot be tagged. Both interpretations are supported by the non-prosodic nature of the second negation (i.e. it does not cancel out the first negation). To do justice to these lines of reasoning, further explorations have to be set aside for future research.

The interaction between the possible types of negation and the types of predication in [terms explicit] clauses is exemplified in Table 4.3 below.

Table 4.3 Instances of the interaction between POLARITY, PREDICATION, and MOOD

	<b>positive</b>	<b>negative: group rank</b>	<b>negative: group-&amp;-clause rank</b>
<b>verbal</b>	<b>declarative</b>		
	<i>tər v̥su-tʃ</i> 3SG ask-PST 'He asked.'	<i>tər v̥su-sən kʷe</i> 3SG ask-PST.PTCP <b>NEG</b> 'He didn't ask.'	<i>tər v̥su-sən kʷe piʃe</i> 3SG ask-PST.PTCP <b>NEG NEG</b> '(It's) <b>not</b> (that) he didn't ask.'
	<b>interrogative</b>		
	<i>tər v̥su-sə mə</i> 3SG ask-PST.PTCP IP 'Did he ask?'	<i>tər v̥su-sən kʷe mə</i> 3SG ask-PST.PTCP <b>NEG</b> IP 'Didn't he ask?'	<i>tər v̥su-sən kʷe piʃe mə</i> 3SG ask-PST.PTCP <b>NEG NEG</b> IP 'Isn't it that he didn't ask?'
<b>copulative</b>	<b>declarative</b>		
	<i>tər tər tʰe pe:-tʃ</i> 3SG like COM COP-PST 'He liked it.'	<i>tər tər tʰe pe:-sən kʷe</i> 3SG like COM COP-PST.PTCP <b>NEG</b> 'He didn't like it.'	<i>tər tər tʰe pe:-sən kʷe piʃe</i> 3SG like COM COP-PST.PTCP <b>NEG NEG</b> '(It's) <b>not</b> (that) he didn't like it.'
	<b>interrogative</b>		
	<i>tər tər tʰe pe:-sə mə</i> 3SG like COM COP-PST.PTCP IP 'Did he like it?'	<i>tər tər tʰe pe:-sən kʷe mə</i> 3SG like COM COP-PST.PTCP <b>NEG</b> IP 'Didn't he like it?'	<i>tər tər tʰe pe:-sən kʷe piʃe mə</i> 3SG like COM COP-PST.PTCP <b>NEG NEG</b> IP 'Isn't it that he didn't like it?'
<b>nominal</b>	<b>declarative</b>		
	<i>tər tər tʰe</i> 3SG like COM 'He has interest.'	<i>tər tər ukʷe</i> 3SG like <b>NEG</b> 'He (has) <b>no</b> interest.'	<i>tər tər ukʷe piʃe</i> 3SG like <b>NEG NEG</b> 'It's <b>not</b> like he (has) <b>no</b> interest.'
	<b>interrogative</b>		
	<i>tər tər tʰe mə</i> 3SG like COM IP '(Does) he have interest?'	<i>tər tər ukʷe mə</i> 3SG like <b>NEG</b> IP '(Does) he (have) <b>no</b> interest?'	<i>tər tər ukʷe piʃe mə</i> 3SG like <b>NEG NEG</b> IP 'Isn't it that he (has) <b>no</b> interest?'

In contrast to the [interrogative: polar] clauses exemplified in Table 4.3 above, when a [terms explicit & interrogative: elemental] clause is negated, the negation can only be realised at group rank. The clause in (4.33) is ungrammatical.<sup>105</sup>

- (4.33) \* *xən tər ukʷe piʃe i:*  
           who like **NEG** **NEG** IP  
           'Who isn't it that (has) no interest?'

(ii) [terms understood]

When the terms of the proposition are understood, [negative] polarity is only realised at clause rank through the item *piʃe* – as in (4.34b) below.

<sup>105</sup> This is another evidence that *ukʷe* functions at group rank.

(4.34) O = government official, P = peasant

O1 is looking at the form that contains information about the peasant's property

#### Exchange 1

a. O1: K1	spkr	adrs	<i>xœn</i>	<i>tʰin</i>	<i>ɐrp</i>	<i>pɛ:-n</i>
	+K	-K	sheep	2POSS	ten	COP-NPST
	monogloss		Scope		Negotiator	
					Predicator	
					copulative phrase	

'(The number of) your sheep is ten.'

#### Exchange 2

b. O2: K2	spkr	adrs	<i>mɔtʰɔr</i>	<i>[[tə:r əs uk-sɔn]]</i>	<i>piɛ</i>	<i>mɛ</i>
	-K	+K	those	above ABL give-PST.PTCP	<b>NEG</b>	IP
	Scope				Negotiator	
					<b>Polarity Adjunct</b>	Interrogator
					<b>item</b>	int. particle

'(Are) those **not** (the sheep) given from above (= government)'

c. P: K1	spkr	adrs	<i>ə:</i>
	+K	-K	INTJ
	monogloss		'Yes.'

The clause in (4.34b) above includes an embedded clause. The head of the nominal group is elided. In (4.35) below, the [positive] and the [negative] [declarative] counterparts of (4.34b) are provided, along with the recovered head of the nominal group.

#### (4.35) [terms understood]

a. [positive]	<i>mɔtʰɔr</i>	<i>[[tə:r əs uk-sɔn]]</i>	<i>xœn</i>
	those	above ABL give-PST	sheep
	Scope		

'Those (are) the sheep given from above (= government)'

b. [negative]	<i>mɔtʰɔr</i>	<i>[[tə:r əs uk-sɔn]]</i>	<i>xœn</i>	<i>piɛ</i>
	those	above ABL give-PST	sheep	<b>NEG</b>
	Scope			Negotiator
				<b>Polarity Adjunct</b>
				<b>item</b>

'Those (are) **not** the sheep given from above (= government)'

It is possible for the Polarity Adjunct to function in a [positive & indicative] clause when the [positive] polarity is negotiated in a [terms understood] clause. In such cases, the Polarity Adjunct is realised by *mɔ:-ø* AFFIRM-NPST.PTCP or *mɔ:-n* AFFIRM-NPST, depending on what follows. In (4.36), the mother is recounting what has happened during the day. The item *mɔ:-ø* AFFIRM-NPST.PTCP in (4.36a) takes the [participle] tense suffix due to the interrogative particle *i*. As noted previously although *mɔ:* is marked for the [non-past] tense, it is not appropriate to call it a verb or a verbal group as it cannot be marked for other verb suffixes; neither can it be modified by selections from the verbal group

systems. Both (4.36a) and (4.36b) are clause complexes.

(4.36)

a. M: K1

spkr	adrs	<i>ŋət</i>	<i>eru:n</i>	<i>nɛ</i>	<i>v:pe</i>	<i>ən</i>
+K	-K	do.this-PFV	Arun	GEN	father	3POSS
expand	Sco...					

<i>ɛl</i>	<i>nək</i>	<i>ən</i>	<b>mɔ:-θ</b>	<i>i:</i>
which	one	3POSS	<b>AFFIRM-NPST.PTCP</b>	IP
...pe	Negotiator			
Inquirer	<b>Polarity Adjunct</b>		Interrogator	
nominal group	<b>item</b>		int. particle	

||

<i>kə-nə</i>
PROJ-NPST
Negotiator
Predicator
verbal group

‘And (he) said “which one is Arun’s father?”’

b.

K1

spkr	adrs	<i>ŋət</i>	<i>mən</i>	<i>tʰin</i>	<b><i>mɔː-ne</i></b>
+K	-K	do.this-PFV	this	TOP	<b>AFFIRM-NPST</b>
expand		Scope			Negotiator
					<b>Polarity Adjunct</b>
					<b>item</b>

||

<i>kə-tʃ</i>
PROJ-PST
Negotiator
Predicator
verbal group

‘And (I) said this (is him).’

This involvement of the Polarity Adjunct in a [positive] clause is one of the key features that distinguishes the [terms understood] clauses from the [terms explicit] clauses.

#### 4.1.2.3.3.2 MODALITY

When the Predicator is realised by a verbal group, it optionally encodes the modalisation of a proposition in terms of [obligation] (‘be allowed to’) or [ability] (‘be able to’/‘know how to’). Note that [obligation] and [ability] as they are encoded in the Predicator modalise a proposition rather than modulate a proposal (cf. Halliday 1994:89–92). In other words, the clauses typically realise the positioning of the interlocutors in relation to their knowledge of the information about ‘obligation’ and ‘ability’ in [knowledge] exchanges.

(i) [obligation]

Predicators realise the modalisation of [obligation] through the modal verb *pol* ‘allow’. This is exemplified in (4.37a) below. Modalisation of [obligation] is concerned with the degree of prescribing or proscribing an action. The modal verb is highlighted in bold. The verb that precedes the modal verb in the verbal group is marked by the converbal suffix *-tʃ*.

(4.37) A = aunt; talking to her nephew over dumpling-making

a. A: K1

spkr	adrs	<i>ŋət</i>	<i>pər-tʃ</i>	<b><i>pəl-x</i></b>	<i>ue</i>	<i>kəbi</i>
+K	-K	do.this-PFV	make-CVB	<b>allow-NPST.PTCP</b>	<b>NEG</b>	dear
exp (con)		Scope		Negotiator		
				Predicator		
				verbal group		

‘Dear, (you) **are not allowed** to make (it) this way.’  
(The fillings will come out if you don’t do it properly.)

b. =K1

spkr	adrs	<i>ən</i>	<i>pəl</i>	<i>xəkə-x</i>	<i>ue</i>
+K	-K	PROX	TOP	meet.the.standard-NPST.PTCP	NEG
contract		Scope		Negotiator	
				Predicator	
				verbal group	

‘This does not meet the standard.’

In (4.37a), the speaker could have said *pu ŋətʃ pər-ø* NEG this.way make-IMP.2 ‘Don’t make it this way’. Instead, the proscribing of the action – a potential proposal – is realised as a modalised proposition.

The modalised clause in (4.37a) above realises a proposition having to do with proscribing an action. The same modal verb without the negation can be used to prescribe an action – as in (4.38) below. Note that the verbal groups realising the Predicator in (4.38) comprise modal verbs only.

(4.38) N = nephew, A = aunt; they are talking about a dumpling the nephew made (following (4.37) above)

a. N: K2

spkr	adrs	<i>xəjər</i>	<i>təkər</i>	<i>ən</i>	<b><i>pəl-ø</i></b>	<i>mɛ</i>
-K	+K	two	number	3POSS	<b>allow-NPST.PTCP</b>	IP
Scope					Negotiator	
					Predicator	Interrogator
					verbal group	int. particle

‘Is the second one **allowed**? (≈ Is the second one okay?)’

b. A: K1

spkr	adrs	ə:	ən	nək	kʰə	ən	pəl	<b>pəl-nə</b>	
+K	-K		INTJ	PROX	one	CLF	3POSS	TOP	<b>allow-NPST</b>
expand			Scope	Negotiator					
				Predicator					
		verbal group							

‘Yes, this one **is allowed**. (≈ This one is okay.)’

A common strategy to intensify the ‘obligation’ in Khorchin Mongolian is to use a verbal group complex to realise the Predicator. The verbal group complex in (4.39b) comprises two parts – *xi:-tʃ sur-kə-x ue* do-CVB learn-CAUS-NPST.PTCP NEG and *pəl-x ue* allow-NPST.PTCP NEG. They are related in terms of condition – ‘if (I do) not cause to learn to do (≈ teach successfully), not allowed’.

(4.39) A = aunt; talking to her nephew over dumpling-making with her daughter present

a. A: K1

spkr	adrs	<i>mini</i>	<i>ixin</i>	<i>pɛŋf</i>
+K	-K	1SG.POSS	daughter	dumpling
con (exp (con))		Scope		

‘[I know] my daughter

<i>pɛr-tʃ</i>	<i>fɛt-x</i>	<i>uɛ</i>	<i>fʊ</i>
make-CVB	know.how-NPST.PTCP	NEG	MP
Negotiator			
Predicator			Positioner
verbal group			modal particle

do not know how to make dumplings.’

b. K1

spkr	adrs	<i>ju</i>	<i>tʃʰɛlɛ</i>	<i>xi-tʃ</i>	<i>sɔr-kɛ-x</i>	<i>uɛ</i>	<b><i>pɔl-x</i></b>	<i>uɛ</i>
+K	-K	what	NDEF	do-CVB	learn-CAUS-NPST	NEG	<b>allow-NPST.PTCP</b>	<b>NEG</b>
exp (con)		Scope		Negotiator				
				Predicator				
				verbal group complex				

‘(I) **should** teach her to do everything.’

Clauses like (4.39b) arguably sits on the border of positioning the interlocutors in relation to their knowledge of the information about prescribing an action to the prescription of the action. However, this construction is typically used when the realisation of the action does not immediately follow (e.g. when a superior is giving tasks to his subordinates). This supports the interpretation of the intensified [obligation] as more oriented to the interlocutors’ knowledge about an expected action than immediate positioning in terms of responsibility.

(ii) [ability]

There are two ways to modalise a proposition in terms of [ability] in the Predicator – by using *fɛt* ‘know how to’ or *ʝɔl* ‘be able to’. We have encountered *fɛt* ‘know how to’ – in (4.39) above. The example is repeated as (4.40) below. As with the modalisation of [obligation], the verb preceding the modal verb is marked with the converbal suffix *-tʃ*.

(4.40)

<i>mini</i>	<i>ixin</i>	<i>pɛŋf</i>	<i>pɛr-tʃ</i>	<b><i>fɛt-x</i></b>	<i>uɛ</i>	<i>fʊ</i>
1SG.POSS	daughter	dumpling	make-CVB	<b>know.how-NPST.PTCP</b>	<b>NEG</b>	MP
Scope			Negotiator			
			Predicator			Positioner
			verbal group			modal particle

‘[I know] my daughter **do not know how** to make dumplings.’

The other kind of modalisation of [ability] is exemplified in (4.41) below. The relevant modal verb is *ʝɔl* ‘be able to’.

(4.41) T = teacher; the teachers are discussing shifts

a. T: K1	spkr	adrs	<i>pi</i>	<i>pɔl</i>	<i>urlə</i>	<i>ir-tʃ</i>	<i>ʃɔl-x</i>	<i>ue</i>
	+K	-K	1SG	TOP	morning	come-CVB	<b>be.able.to-NPST.PTCP</b>	<b>NEG</b>
	exp (con)		Scope			Negotiator		
	Predicator							
	verbal group							

‘I am **not able** to come in the morning.’

b.	=K1	spkr	adrs	<i>œrœn</i>	<i>tʃitʃur</i>	<i>pɔl</i>	<i>ʃɔl-ən</i>
		+K	-K	evening	shift	COND	<b>be.able.to-NPST</b>
	expand		Scope				Negotiator
							Predicator
							verbal group

‘If (it is) evening shift, (I) **am able** to (come).’

In (4.41), the speaker could have said *pi urlə ir-ʃə* 1SG morning come-IMP.1 ‘I will come in the morning’ and *pi œrœ ir-x ue* 1SG evening come-NPST NEG ‘I won’t come in the evening’.

The examples of modalisation in terms of [obligation] and [ability] so far show that the modalisation can be either [positive] or [negative]. When it is [negative], the option [group-&-clause rank] negation is also possible – as in (4.42) (revising (4.37), (4.40), (4.41)).

(4.42) modalised & group-&-clause rank negation

a. [obligation]

<i>ju</i>	<i>tʃʷele</i>	<i>xi-tʃ</i>	<i>sor-kə-x</i>	<i>ue</i>	<i>pɔl-x</i>	<i>ue</i>	<i>piʃe</i>
what	NDEF	do-CVB	learn-CAUS-NPST.PTCP	NEG	<b>allow-NPST.PTCP</b>	<b>NEG</b>	<b>NEG</b>
Scope		Negotiator					
		Predicator					Polarity Adjunct
		verbal group complex					item

‘(It is) **not** (that) (I) **should** teach her to do everything.’

b. [ability] ‘know how to’

<i>mini</i>	<i>ixin</i>	<i>pənʃ</i>	<i>pər-tʃ</i>	<i>ʃət-x</i>	<i>ue</i>	<i>piʃe</i>
1SG.POSS	daughter	dumpling	make-CVB	<b>know.how-NPST.PTCP</b>	<b>NEG</b>	<b>NEG</b>
Scope			Negotiator			
			Predicator			Polarity Adjunct
			verbal group			item

‘(It is) **not** (that) my daughter **do not know how** to make dumplings.’

c. [ability] ‘be able to’

<i>pi</i>	<i>pɔl</i>	<i>urlə</i>	<i>ir-tʃ</i>	<i>ʃɔl-x</i>	<i>ue</i>	<i>piʃe</i>
1SG	TOP	morning	come-CVB	<b>be.able.to-NPST</b>	<b>NEG</b>	<b>NEG</b>
Scope			Negotiator			
			Predicator			Polarity Adjunct
			verbal group			item

‘(It is) **not** (that) I am **not able** to come in the morning.’

Figure 4.5 formalises the relationship between MOOD, PREDICATION, POLARITY, and MODALITY in Khorchin Mongolian. Additional information about the different realisations of



[negative] clauses in relation to the interactions between POLARITY and PREDICATION is boxed in. Note that a [terms explicit & elemental] clause can only be negated at group rank. When [terms understood] is selected, the Polarity Adjunct (PA) in an [interrogative] clause is sequenced before the Interrogator; but the sequencing of the Polarity Adjunct in a [declarative] clause cannot yet be formalised in the system network. The Polarity Adjunct is typically realised before the Positioner. When there is no Positioner in a [declarative] clause, the Polarity Adjunct is realised clause finally (see Section 4.2). The POLARITY of [imperative] clause is introduced in Section 4.1.3 below in relation to the subtypes of [imperative].



### 4.1.3 Types of imperative

This section turns to the significance of the Predicator in the Khorchin Mongolian [imperative] clause – in relation to the types of [imperative]. As in an [indicative] clause, the Predicator in an [imperative] clause makes the clause arguable. Unlike [indicative], the arguability of an [imperative] clause is not related to its grounding in relation to the time of speaking or the judgement of the speaker. The arguability of an [imperative] clause is related to the interlocutor who is positioned as responsible for carrying out an action – discussed in SFL as the ‘modally responsible participant’. The modally responsible participants as they are encoded in the Predicator of a Khorchin Mongolian [imperative] clause can be interactants (the speaker, the addressee, or both the speaker and the addressee) or non-interactants.

The grammatical reflex of the discourse semantic function of positioning interlocutors is the encoding of PERSON in the verbal group that realises the Predicator. The selection of PERSON in the Predicator is realised at word rank through verbal suffixes on the head verb. The relationship between the discourse semantic selections from INTERLOCUTOR POSITIONING and their corresponding selections at the lexicogrammatical stratum (options in MOOD at clause rank, options in PERSON at group rank, and the realisations of PERSON at word rank) is summarised in Table 4.4 below.<sup>106</sup>

Table 4.4 Types of imperative clause and their discourse semantic functions

discourse semantics	lexicogrammar		
INTERLOCUTOR POSITIONING (+responsibility)	clause: MOOD (imperative)	group choice realising the Predicator: PERSON	suffixes in the head of the verbal group
speaker/speaker-&-addressee	speaker inclusive	first person	-j (~ -jɛ, -jə, -ji, -jɔ)
addressee	speaker exclusive	second person	-ø
addressee/speaker-&-addressee	non-interactant	third person	-k (~ -kɛ, -kə, -kɔ, -ɣk)

#### 4.1.3.1 Interactant imperative

Two types of [imperative: interactant] clause are marked morphologically: **[speaker inclusive]** and **[speaker exclusive]**. An [imperative: speaker inclusive] clause either positions the speaker as modally responsible or positions both the speaker and the addressee as modally responsible. An [imperative: speaker exclusive] clause, on the other hand, only positions the addressee as modally responsible. In the interaction in (4.43) below, (4.43a) is realised by an [imperative: speaker exclusive] clause and (4.43b) is realised by an [imperative: speaker inclusive] clause. In (4.43a), the addressee (Hairhan) is positioned as modally responsible for eating the oranges. In (4.43b), the speaker (the grandmother) is positioned as modally responsible for offering the oranges (excl = [imperative: speaker exclusive], incl = [imperative: speaker inclusive]).

<sup>106</sup> Note that since MOOD is treated in SFL as a clause system, the traditional treatment of ‘mood’ as a ‘morpho-syntactic’ category of the verb in Mongolian Linguistics is left for the word rank. Verb suffix labels such as ‘imperative’, ‘optative’, and ‘permissive’ (e.g. Ujyediin 1998) are thus not adopted since they do not give sufficient information about what the clause does as an interactive event.



b.	<b>peṭṣn</b>	<i>tʰemə</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>fṭ</i>	<i>fṭ</i>	<i>nɛ</i>	<b>uk-jə</b>
	<b>1PL</b>	2SG	DAT	small	small	GEN	<b>give-IMP.1</b>
Scope							Negotiator
							Predicator
							verb.gp: 1st person

‘We will give you the smaller ones.’

(4.46) speaker exclusive (addressee)

a.	<b>tʰi</b>	<i>itə-ə</i>
	<b>2SG</b>	<b>eat-IMP.2</b>
Scope		Negotiator
		Predicator
		verb.gp: 2nd person

‘You eat.’

b.	<b>tʰetṣn</b>	<i>itə-ə</i>
	<b>2PL</b>	<b>eat-IMP.2</b>
Scope		Negotiator
		Predicator
		verb.gp: 2nd person

‘You eat.’

#### 4.1.3.2 Non-interactant imperative

It is also possible for the verbal group realising the Predicator in a Khorchin Mongolian [imperative] clause to be marked for [third person]. The interlocutor positioned as responsible in the discourse semantics is not directly apparent from the clause itself. This type of [imperative] clause is used when the speaker intends an action to be continued without interruption. It can be the addressee who is positioned as responsible for not interfering with the action construed. Alternatively, it can be both the speaker and the addressee who are positioned as responsible for not interfering with the action. There is usually evidence from the co-text that can be used to disambiguate the positioning. This type of [imperative] clause is referred to as an [imperative: non-interactant] clause. The ‘actor’ encoded in the clause is a non-interactant (i.e. can only be replaced with a [third person] pronoun).

The first move in (4.47) below exemplifies an [imperative: non-interactant] clause that positions the addressee as modally responsible for not interfering with the boiling of the pot. The sister (S) informs her brother (B) that she is going to feed the pigs and the brother should leave the pot boiling. There are two exchanges in (4.47). The first exchange is initiated by the secondary actor (A2). The second exchange is initiated by the primary actor (A1). Move (c) is double coded as serving A1/A2f because it can be interpreted as a response to either A2 in Exchange 1 or A1 in Exchange 2. If it functions as A1, it selects [speaker positioned: +responsibility & addressee positioned: -responsibility]; if it functions as A2f, it selects [speaker positioned: -responsibility & addressee positioned: +responsibility] (n-int = [imperative: non-interactant]).

(4.47) S = sister, B = brother

Exchange 1

a.	S:	A2																				
			<table> <tr> <td>spkr</td> <td>adrs</td> </tr> <tr> <td>-R</td> <td>+R</td> </tr> </table>	spkr	adrs	-R	+R	<b>n-int</b>	<table> <tr> <td><i>tʰɔkɔ</i></td> <td><i>pœʃɔl-tʃ</i></td> <td><i>ɛ:-kɐ</i></td> </tr> <tr> <td>pot</td> <td><b>boil-PROG</b></td> <td><b>COP-IMP.3</b></td> </tr> <tr> <td rowspan="3">Scope</td> <td colspan="2">Negotiator</td> </tr> <tr> <td colspan="2">Predicator</td> </tr> <tr> <td colspan="2">verb.gp: 3rd person</td> </tr> </table>	<i>tʰɔkɔ</i>	<i>pœʃɔl-tʃ</i>	<i>ɛ:-kɐ</i>	pot	<b>boil-PROG</b>	<b>COP-IMP.3</b>	Scope	Negotiator		Predicator		verb.gp: 3rd person	
spkr	adrs																					
-R	+R																					
<i>tʰɔkɔ</i>	<i>pœʃɔl-tʃ</i>	<i>ɛ:-kɐ</i>																				
pot	<b>boil-PROG</b>	<b>COP-IMP.3</b>																				
Scope	Negotiator																					
	Predicator																					
	verb.gp: 3rd person																					
<p>‘Let the pot boil, (≈You leave the pot alone)’</p>																						

Exchange 2

b.	S:	A1	<table> <tr> <td>spkr</td> <td>adrs</td> </tr> <tr> <td>+R</td> <td>-R</td> </tr> </table>	spkr	adrs	+R	-R	<b>incl</b>	<table> <tr> <td><i>pi</i></td> <td><i>kɛxɐ</i></td> <td><i>ki</i></td> <td><i>tʰitʃə-kət</i></td> <td><i>ir-jə</i></td> </tr> <tr> <td>1SG</td> <td>pig</td> <td>ACC</td> <td><b>feed-PFV</b></td> <td><b>come-IMP.1</b></td> </tr> <tr> <td colspan="3" rowspan="3">Scope</td> <td colspan="2">Negotiator</td> </tr> <tr> <td colspan="2">Predicator</td> </tr> <tr> <td colspan="2">verb.gp: 1st person</td> </tr> </table>	<i>pi</i>	<i>kɛxɐ</i>	<i>ki</i>	<i>tʰitʃə-kət</i>	<i>ir-jə</i>	1SG	pig	ACC	<b>feed-PFV</b>	<b>come-IMP.1</b>	Scope			Negotiator		Predicator		verb.gp: 1st person	
spkr	adrs																											
+R	-R																											
<i>pi</i>	<i>kɛxɐ</i>	<i>ki</i>	<i>tʰitʃə-kət</i>	<i>ir-jə</i>																								
1SG	pig	ACC	<b>feed-PFV</b>	<b>come-IMP.1</b>																								
Scope			Negotiator																									
			Predicator																									
			verb.gp: 1st person																									

‘I will feed the pigs and come back.’

c.	B:	A1/A2f	<table> <tr> <td>spkr</td> <td>adrs</td> </tr> <tr> <td>+R/-R</td> <td>-R/+R</td> </tr> </table>	spkr	adrs	+R/-R	-R/+R	<i>m:</i>
spkr	adrs							
+R/-R	-R/+R							
				INTJ				
				‘Okay.’				

In (4.47a) above, the addressee positioning of the [imperative: non-interactant] clause is apparent from the co-text given that the speaker is positioned as responsible for other tasks as realised by the [imperative: speaker inclusive] clause in (4.47b). (Contextually, the sister walks out of the room while uttering (4.47b), which is another indication that she is not positioning herself as responsible in (4.47a)).

Similarly, an [imperative: non-interactant] clause may position both the speaker and the addressee as modally responsible for not interfering with an action. In (4.48) (adjusting (4.47)) below both the speaker and the addressee are positioned as being responsible for not interfering with the boiling of the pot. This is again disambiguated in the co-text. Both the interlocutors are positioned as responsible for other actions in (4.48b) – drinking alcohol.

(4.48)

Exchange 1

a.	A2	<table> <tr> <td>spkr</td> <td>adrs</td> </tr> <tr> <td>+R</td> <td>+R</td> </tr> </table>	spkr	adrs	+R	+R	<b>n-int</b> <table> <tr> <td><i>tʰɔkɔ</i></td> <td><i>pœʃɔl-tʃ</i></td> <td><i>ɛ:-kɐ</i></td> </tr> <tr> <td>pot</td> <td><b>boil-PROG</b></td> <td><b>COP-IMP.3</b></td> </tr> <tr> <td rowspan="3">Scope</td> <td colspan="2">Negotiator</td> </tr> <tr> <td colspan="2">Predicator</td> </tr> <tr> <td colspan="2">verb.gp: 3rd person</td> </tr> </table>	<i>tʰɔkɔ</i>	<i>pœʃɔl-tʃ</i>	<i>ɛ:-kɐ</i>	pot	<b>boil-PROG</b>	<b>COP-IMP.3</b>	Scope	Negotiator		Predicator		verb.gp: 3rd person	
spkr	adrs																			
+R	+R																			
<i>tʰɔkɔ</i>	<i>pœʃɔl-tʃ</i>	<i>ɛ:-kɐ</i>																		
pot	<b>boil-PROG</b>	<b>COP-IMP.3</b>																		
Scope	Negotiator																			
	Predicator																			
	verb.gp: 3rd person																			

‘Let the pot boil,  
(≈Let’s leave the pot alone)’

## Exchange 2

b. A2	spkr	adrs	<b>incl</b>	<i>petəŋ</i>	<i>ortə:r</i>	<i>εrɤx</i>	<i>o:-tʃ</i>	<i>ε:jɐ</i>	
	+R	+R		1PL	first	alcohol	<b>drink-PROG</b>	<b>COP-IMP.1</b>	
	Scope						Negotiator		
							Predicator		
							verb.gp: 3rd person		
‘Let’s drink alcohol first.’									

‘Let’s drink alcohol first.’

The examples in (4.47) and (4.48) show that in a move realised by an [imperative: non-interactant] clause, when the addressee is positioned as modally responsible for not interfering with an action, the speaker typically proposes another action that he or she will engage in. When both the speaker and the addressee are positioned as modally responsible for not interfering with an action, the speaker typically proposes another action that both the interlocutors will engage in. If alternative actions are not proposed, the context is usually sufficient to disambiguate the modally responsible participant.

### 4.1.3.3 Looking up: imperative clauses and exchange structure

So far, the types of [imperative] have been described in relation to the typical positioning of the interlocutors they realise. These interlocutor positionings at move rank generally realise functions in [action] exchanges. However, it is also possible for them to function in [knowledge] exchanges. We will start with the functionality of the Khorchin Mongolian [imperative] clauses in [action] exchanges.

#### 4.1.3.3.1 Imperative clauses in action exchanges

An [imperative: speaker exclusive] clause typically positions the speaker as not responsible and the addressee as responsible. When it realises a move functioning in an [action] exchange, the move typically realises A2 – i.e. the speaker is cast in the role of the secondary actor. The first exchange in (4.43) above is repeated as (4.49) below to show this pattern. In (4.49), the grandmother has been assigned the role of the secondary actor and the addressee (her granddaughter, Hairhan) the role of the primary actor.

(4.49) G = grandmother; the grandmother is offering Hairhan (the granddaughter) some oranges

a. G: <b>A2</b>	spkr	adrs	<b>excl</b>	<i>xɛ:rxɛn</i>	<i>itə-ø</i>
	-R	+R		Hairhan	eat-IMP.2
				Negotiator	
				Predicator	
				verb.gp: 2nd person	

‘Hairhan, eat.’

The positioning of the interlocutors in an [action] exchange through an [imperative: speaker inclusive] clause is not as straightforward. The possibilities of the different positioning affect the exchange function the moves can potentially realise. There are two possible positionings: (1) [speaker positioned: +responsibility & addressee positioned: +responsibility] and (2) [speaker positioned: +responsibility & addressee positioned: -responsibility]. In the following sections, I will step through each one by one.

(i) positioning both the speaker and the addressee as responsible

When an [imperative: speaker inclusive] clause positions both the speaker and the addressee as modally responsible, the move typically realises A2. The exchange in (4.50) exemplifies initiating A2 being realised by a move realised by an [imperative: speaker inclusive] clause. The second speaker consent to the proposed joint action – i.e. taking the role of the primary actor.

(4.50) D = daughter, M = mother

a. D: <b>A2</b>	spkr	adrs	<b>incl</b>	<i>pədən</i>	<i>ortər</i>	<i>firə</i>	<i>ki</i>	<i>filtf-ul-jə</i>
	+R	+R		1PL	first	table	ACC	move-CAUS-IMP.1
				Negotiator				
				Predicator				
				verb.gp: 1st person				
‘Let’s move the table first.’								

b. M: A1	spkr	adrs	<i>ɛi</i>
	+R	+R	INTJ

‘Okay.’

c. =A1 NV (M and D moves the table.)

(ii) positioning the speaker as responsible and the addressee as not responsible

It is also possible for an [imperative: speaker inclusive] clause to position the addressee as not responsible. Moves with such positionings typically realise initiating A1 as in (4.51). The speaker at A1 is cast in the role of the primary actor.

(4.51) D = daughter, M = mother

a. D: <b>A1</b>	spkr	adrs	<b>incl</b>	<i>fɪxir</i>	<i>kɛr-kɛ-ji</i>
	+R	-R		sugar	out-CAUS-IMP.1
				Scope	Negotiator
					Predicator
					verb.gp: 1st person

‘I will take out some sugar.’  
(The daughter goes to take out some sugar.)

b. M: A2f	spkr	adrs	<i>m:</i>
	-R	+R	INTJ

‘Okay.’

In contrast, when a move is realised by an [imperative: non-interactant] clause it typically realises initiating A2 – as in (4.52) and (4.53) below. The reason is that an [imperative: non-interactant] clause either (1) positions the addressee as modally responsible – i.e. the addressee is assigned the primary actor role of performing the action (e.g. not interfering with the action – as in (4.52a)), or (2) positions both the speaker and the addressee as



modally responsible – i.e. the addressee is assigned the primary actor role of consenting to the proposed action (e.g. consenting to not interfering with the action – as in (4.53a)).

(4.52) S = sister, B = brother

Exchange 1

a.	S:	<b>A2</b>	<table> <tr> <td>spkr</td> <td>adrs</td> </tr> <tr> <td>-R</td> <td>+R</td> </tr> </table>	spkr	adrs	-R	+R	<b>n-int</b>	<table> <tr> <td><i>tʰɔkɔ</i></td> <td><i>pœʃl-tʃ</i></td> <td><i>ɛ:-kæ</i></td> </tr> <tr> <td>pot</td> <td>boil-PROG</td> <td>COP-IMP.3</td> </tr> <tr> <td rowspan="3">Scope</td> <td colspan="2">Negotiator</td> </tr> <tr> <td colspan="2">Predicator</td> </tr> <tr> <td colspan="2">verb.gp: 3rd person</td> </tr> </table>	<i>tʰɔkɔ</i>	<i>pœʃl-tʃ</i>	<i>ɛ:-kæ</i>	pot	boil-PROG	COP-IMP.3	Scope	Negotiator		Predicator		verb.gp: 3rd person	
spkr	adrs																					
-R	+R																					
<i>tʰɔkɔ</i>	<i>pœʃl-tʃ</i>	<i>ɛ:-kæ</i>																				
pot	boil-PROG	COP-IMP.3																				
Scope	Negotiator																					
	Predicator																					
	verb.gp: 3rd person																					

‘Let the pot boil,  
(≈You leave the pot alone)’

Exchange 2

b.	S:	A1	<table> <tr> <td>spkr</td> <td>adrs</td> </tr> <tr> <td>+R</td> <td>-R</td> </tr> </table>	spkr	adrs	+R	-R	incl	<table> <tr> <td><i>pi</i></td> <td><i>kæxæ</i></td> <td><i>ki</i></td> <td><i>tʰitʰə-kæt</i></td> <td><i>ir-jə</i></td> </tr> <tr> <td>1SG</td> <td>pig</td> <td>ACC</td> <td>feed-PFV</td> <td>come-IMP.1</td> </tr> <tr> <td colspan="3" rowspan="3">Scope</td> <td colspan="2">Negotiator</td> </tr> <tr> <td colspan="2">Predicator</td> </tr> <tr> <td colspan="2">verb.gp: 1st person</td> </tr> </table>	<i>pi</i>	<i>kæxæ</i>	<i>ki</i>	<i>tʰitʰə-kæt</i>	<i>ir-jə</i>	1SG	pig	ACC	feed-PFV	come-IMP.1	Scope			Negotiator		Predicator		verb.gp: 1st person	
spkr	adrs																											
+R	-R																											
<i>pi</i>	<i>kæxæ</i>	<i>ki</i>	<i>tʰitʰə-kæt</i>	<i>ir-jə</i>																								
1SG	pig	ACC	feed-PFV	come-IMP.1																								
Scope			Negotiator																									
			Predicator																									
			verb.gp: 1st person																									
<p>‘I will feed the pigs and come back.’</p>																												

c.	B:	A1/A2f	<table> <tr> <td>spkr</td> <td>adrs</td> </tr> <tr> <td>+R/-R</td> <td>-R/+R</td> </tr> </table>	spkr	adrs	+R/-R	-R/+R	<i>m:</i>
spkr	adrs							
+R/-R	-R/+R							
				INTJ				
				‘Okay.’				

(4.53)

Exchange 1

a.	<b>A2</b>	<table> <tr> <td>spkr</td> <td>adrs</td> </tr> <tr> <td>+R</td> <td>+R</td> </tr> </table>	spkr	adrs	+R	+R	<b>n-int</b>	<table> <tr> <td><i>tʰɔkɔ</i></td> <td><i>pœʃl-tʃ</i></td> <td><i>ɛ:-kæ</i></td> </tr> <tr> <td>pot</td> <td>boil-PROG</td> <td>COP-IMP.3</td> </tr> <tr> <td rowspan="3">Scope</td> <td colspan="2">Negotiator</td> </tr> <tr> <td colspan="2">Predicator</td> </tr> <tr> <td colspan="2">verb.gp: 3rd person</td> </tr> </table>	<i>tʰɔkɔ</i>	<i>pœʃl-tʃ</i>	<i>ɛ:-kæ</i>	pot	boil-PROG	COP-IMP.3	Scope	Negotiator		Predicator		verb.gp: 3rd person	
spkr	adrs																				
+R	+R																				
<i>tʰɔkɔ</i>	<i>pœʃl-tʃ</i>	<i>ɛ:-kæ</i>																			
pot	boil-PROG	COP-IMP.3																			
Scope	Negotiator																				
	Predicator																				
	verb.gp: 3rd person																				

‘Let the pot boil, (≈Let’s leave the pot alone)’

Exchange 2

b.	A2			incl	<i>pɛtɔn</i> <i>ɔrtæ:r</i> <i>ɛrɔx</i>			<i>ɔ:-tʃ</i> <i>ɛ:-jə</i>	
					1PL   first   alcohol			drink-PROG   COP-IMP.1	
					Scope			Negotiator	
								Predicator	
								verb.gp: 3rd person	
‘Let’s drink alcohol first.’									

#### 4.1.3.3.2 Imperative clauses in knowledge exchanges

[Imperative] clauses in Khorchin Mongolian may also realise moves in [knowledge] exchanges. The exchange in (4.54) follows T2’s request for swapping session with T1. The non-initiating K1 at (4.54c) is realised by an [imperative: speaker inclusive] clause.

(4.54) T = teacher

a. T1: K2

spkr	adrs
-K	+K

int

<i>jə-ø</i> what-NPST	<i>i:</i> IP
Negotiator	
Inquirer/Predicator	Interrogator
verbal group	int. particle

‘What is going on?  
(≈Why?)’

b. =K2

spkr	adrs
-K	+K

int

<i>pəs</i> again	<i>kətɪe-ntʃ</i> escape-FUT	<i>ɛ:-ø</i> COP-NPST	<i>mɛ</i> IP
Scope	Negotiator		
	Predicator		Interrogator
	verbal group		int. particle

‘Are you escaping again?’

c. T2: K1

spkr	adrs
+K	-K
monogloss	

**imp: incl** *kətɪe-ji*  
escape-IMP.1

Negotiator
Predicator
verb.gp: 1st person

‘I will escape.’

It is also possible for an [imperative: speaker exclusive] clause to enact a move that realises non-initiating K1 in a [knowledge] exchange. This is typically the case when the speaker is allocating different tasks to the addressees. In (4.55) (introspective data), A is asking about his duty after all his other colleagues have been assigned different tasks.

(4.55)

a. A: K2

spkr	adrs
-K	+K

int

<i>ŋət</i> do.this-PFV	<i>pi</i> 1SG	<i>ju</i> what	<i>xi:-ø</i> do-NPST	<i>i:</i> IP
Scope			Negotiator	
			Inquirer	Predicator
			nom.gp	verbal group
				Interrogator
				int. particle

‘What do I do then?  
(now that all the tasks seem to have been allocated)’

b. B: K1

spkr	adrs
+K	-K
monogloss	

**imp: excl** *tʃi nɔm i:*  
2SG book ACC tidy-IMP.2

Scope	Negotiator
	Predicator
	verb.gp: 2nd person

‘You tidy the books.’

Similar patterns are observed for [imperative: non-interactant] clauses. They can realise moves that function as non-initiating K1. The exchanges in (4.56) and (4.57) (adjusting (4.47) and (4.48)) show this pattern. The K1s at (4.56c) and (4.57c) are realised by [imperative: non-interactant] clauses.

(4.56) S = sister, B = brother

Exchange 1

a. S: A1	spkr	adrs	incl	<i>pi</i>	<i>kɛxɛ</i>	<i>ki</i>	<i>tʰitʰə-kət</i>	<i>ir-jə</i>
	+R	-R		1SG	pig	ACC	feed-PFV	come-IMP.1
	Scope				Negotiator			
					Predicator			
					verbal group complex			
‘I will feed the pigs and come back.’								

Exchange 2

b. B: K2	spkr	adrs	int	<i>ŋət</i>	<i>tʰəkɔ</i>	<i>ki</i>	<i>jɐ-ø</i>	<i>i:</i>
	-K	+K		do.this-PFV	pot	ACC	what-NPST	IP
				Negotiator				
				Inquirer/Predicator				Interrogator
				verbal group				int. particle

'Then what do (I) do with the pot?'

c. S: <b>K1</b>	spkr	adrs	<b>imp: n-int</b>	<i>tʰəkɔ</i>	<i>pœʁl-tʃ</i>	<i>ɛ:-kœ</i>
	+K	-K		pot	boil-PROG	COP-IMP.3
	monogloss					

Scope	Negotiator
	Predicator
	verb.gp: 3rd person

‘Let the pot boil,  
(≈You leave the pot alone)’

c. B: K2f	spkr	adrs	ɔ:
	-K	+K	

INTJ  
'I see.'

(4.57) F = Father, S = son

Exchange 1

a. F: A2			incl	<i>pɛtɔn ɔrtɛ:r ɛrɔx</i>			<i>ɔ:-tʃ</i> <i>ɛ:-jɐ</i>	
				1PL first alcohol			drink-PROG COP-IMP.1	
	spkr adrs			Scope			Negotiator	
	+R +R						Predicator	
							verb.gp: 1st person	
'Let's drink alcohol first.'								

Exchange 2

b. S: K2	spkr	adrs	int	<i>ŋət</i>	<i>tʰəkɔ</i>	<i>ki</i>	<i>jɐ-ø</i>	<i>i:</i>		
	-K	+K		do.this-PFV	pot	ACC	what-NPST	IP		
	Scope						Negotiator			
							Inquirer/Predicator		Interrogator	
							verbal group		int. particle	
‘Then what do (we) do with the pot?’										

c. F: <b>K1</b>	spkr	adrs	<b>imp: n-int</b>	<i>tʰɔkɔ</i>	<i>pœ/ɟl-tʃ</i>	<i>ɛ:-kɛ</i>
	+K	-K		pot	boil-PROG	COP-IMP.3
	monogloss			Scope	Negotiator	
		Predicator				
		verb.gp: 3rd person				
‘Let the pot boil, (≈We will leave the pot alone)’						

c. B: <b>K2f</b>	spkr	adrs	<i>ɔ:</i>
	-K	+K	INTJ
'I see.'			

An [imperative: non-interactant] clause may also realise an initiating K1 – as in (4.58c) below (an elliptical [imperative: non-interactant] clause). The interaction in (4.58) is an excerpt from a negotiation of morning shifts between teachers. The two teachers are distributing the shifts among the three of them (the interlocutors and another teacher). Note that in (4.58d) the K2f is also realised by an [imperative: non-interactant] clause. As K2f is not the nuclear function in a [knowledge] exchange, further consideration is not pursued here.

(4.58) T = teacher

#### Exchange 1

a.	T1:	K2		spkr	adrs	int	<i>mɛ:tʰɔr</i>	<i>urlə</i>	<i>xən</i>	<i>pɔs-ø</i>	<i>i:</i>	
				-K	+K		tomorrow	morning	who	get.up-NPST	IP	
				Scope					Negotiator			
									Inquirer		Predicator	Interrogator
									nom.gp		verbal group	int. particle
				‘Who will get up (early) tomorrow morning?’								

b. T2: K1	spkr	adrs	incl	<i>pi</i>	<i>pɔs-ɟ</i>
	+K	-K		1SG	get.up-IMP.1
	monogloss			Scope	Negotiator
					Predicator
		verbal group			
‘I will get up (early).’					

#### Exchange 2

c. T1: <b>K1</b>	spkr	adrs	<b>imp: n-int</b>	<i>nukatur</i>	<i>urlə</i>	<i>nɛrɛ</i>
	+K	-K		day.after.tomorrow	morning	Nara
	monogloss			Scope		
				‘Nara (will get up early) the morning of the day after tomorrow’		

d. T2: **K2f**

spkr	adrs
+K	+K
monogloss	

**imp: n-int**

<i>nɛrɛ</i>	<i>pɔs-kɔ</i>
Nara	get.up-IMP.3
Scope	Negotiator
	Predicator
	verbal group

'Let Nara get up (early).'

The non-elliptical version of (4.58c) is provided in (4.59) below.

(4.59) n-int

<i>nukatur</i> day.after.tomorrow	<i>urlə</i> morning	<i>nɛn</i> Nara	<i>pɔs-kɔ</i> get.up-IMP.3
Scope			Negotiator
			Predicator
			verbal group

‘Nara (will get up early) the morning of the day after tomorrow’

The typical discourse functions of [imperative] clauses surveyed so far are summarised in Table 4.5.

Table 4.5 The typical discourse functions of imperative clauses

GRAMMAR	DISCOURSE	
	INTERLOCUTOR POSITIONING	NEGOTIATION
<b>[speaker inclusive]</b>	[spkr positioned: +R & adrs positioned: -R]	initiating A1
	[spkr positioned: +R & adrs positioned: +R]	A2
	[spkr positioned: +K & adrs positioned: -K]	non-initiating K1
<b>[speaker exclusive]</b>	[spkr positioned: -R & adrs positioned: +R]	A2
	[spkr positioned: +K & adrs positioned: -K]	non-initiating K1
<b>[non-interactant]</b>	[spkr positioned: -R & adrs positioned: +R]	initiating A2
	[spkr positioned: +R & adrs positioned: +R]	
	[spkr positioned: +K & adrs positioned: -K]	K1

#### 4.1.3.4 Looking around: POLARITY in imperative

The polarity of an [imperative] clause has to do with prescribing and proscribing an action. [Positive] polarity is not marked by any particular items. [Negative] polarity can be marked either within the scope of the Negotiator through negative realisation of the Predicator or within the Scope through an item. [Negative] polarity is not available in [imperative: non-interactant] clauses as they are inherently proscribing (i.e. not interfering with an action).

##### 4.1.3.4.1 Negation in the Negotiator

When an [imperative] clause is negated within the Negotiator, it cancels a planned or habitual action. In (4.60f) (the complete version of (4.58)), the Predicator involves the negation suffix *-ləŋkue* at word rank.

(4.60) T = teacher

Exchange 1

a. T1: K2

spkr	adrs	int	<i>mɛ:tʰɔr</i>	<i>urlə</i>	<i>xən</i>	<i>pɔs-ø</i>	<i>iː</i>	
-K	+K		tomorrow	morning	who	get.up-NPST	IP	
Scope					Negotiator			
					Inquirer	Predicator	Interrogator	
					nom.gp	verbal group	int. particle	
‘Who will get up (early) tomorrow morning?’								

b. T2: K1	spkr	adrs	incl	<i>pi</i>	<i>pɔs-jɔ</i>
	+K	-K		1SG	get.up-IMP.1
	monogloss			Scope	Negotiator
					Predicator
		verbal group			
‘I will get up (early).’					

#### Exchange 2

c. T1: K1	spkr	adrs	n-int	<i>nukətur</i>			
	+K	-K		day.after.tomorrow			
				urlə			
				morning			
				Scope			
				Nara			
				Nara (will get up early) the morning of the day after tomorrow'			

d. T2: K2f	spkr	adrs	n-int	<i>nɛrɛ</i>	<i>pɔs-kɔ</i>
	+K	+K		Nara	get.up-IMP.3
	monogloss			Scope	Negotiator
		Predicator			
		verbal group			
'Let Nara get up (early).'					

#### Exchange 3

e. T1: A1	spkr	adrs	incl	<i>tuə</i>	<i>nukətur</i>	<i>urlə</i>	<i>pi</i>
	+R	-R		further	day.after.tomorrow	morning	1SG
	Scope						
	T (will get up early) the morning of the third day from today.'						

#### Exchange 4

f. T1: A2	spkr	adrs	excl	<i>tʰɛ xɔilɔn</i>	<i>ontʰɛ-ø</i>
	-R	+R		2 two	sleep-IMP.2
				Scope	Negotiator
					Predicator
					verbal group
'You two sleep in.'					

#### Exchange 5

g. T2: A2	spkr	adrs	decl	<i>tʰi</i>	<i>ir-tʃ</i>	<i>jɔl-x</i>	<i>uɛ</i>	<i>pɔl</i>		
	-R	+R		2SG	come-CVB	be.able.to-NPST.PTCP	NEG	COND		
				Scope	Negotiator					
					Predicator					
				verbal group						
‘If you are not able to come,										

excl	<i>ir-lɔŋkuɛ-ø</i>
	come-NEG-IMP.2
	Negotiator
	Predicator
	verbal group
don't come.'	

h. T1: ch	spkr	adrs	decl	ukue	ir-ət	
	-R	-R		NEG	come-PFV	
				Negotiator		
				Predicator		
				verbal group		
‘No, I will come and						

<i>nsk</i>	<i>liute-kət</i>	<i>jəp-tʰəx-jə</i>
just	look.around-PFV	go-COMPL-IMP.1
Scope	Negotiator	
	Predicator	
	verbal group complex	
just look around and leave.'		

The independent [negative & imperative] clause in (4.60g) above is an [imperative: speaker exclusive] clause. The same suffix *-ləŋkue* can also be used to cancel an action realised by an [imperative: speaker inclusive] clause – as in (4.61) (introspective data). Note that the vowel /ɔ/ in the suffix *-ləŋkue* is in harmony with the vowel in the stem *ɔ/*.

(4.61) speaker inclusive	<i>pi</i>	<i>ɔf-lɒŋkue-jə</i>
	1SG	go-NEG-IMP.1
	Scope	Negotiator
		Predicator
		verbal group
'I will not go.'		

#### 4.1.3.4.2 Negation in the Scope

An [imperative: speaker exclusive] clause can alternatively be negated within the Scope through the item *pu* – as in (4.62d) below.<sup>107</sup> The extract in (4.62) is from a children’s story. The speaker is retelling what an old lady in the story is saying to a little girl, who is going to fight against a monster called *mɔːskɛ ɔi*. Each clause ends with *kə-tʃ kənə* PROJ-PST HEARSAY ‘It is said that (she) said’. The first element *kə-tʃ* PROJ-PST ‘(she) said’ is an elliptical projecting main clause. The verb of saying and the Sayer can be recovered as *kə-tʃ tʰər xəl-tʃ* PROJ-CVB 3SG say-PST ‘she said’. The second element *kənə* HEARSAY is an item realising the Positioner. Although there is recognisable [non-past] tense suffix in this item (*kə-nə* PROJ-NPST), it cannot be further modified; neither can it realise the Predicator or followed by the Interrogator as the projecting verbal group does.

(4.62)

a.	uːtən	ɔkən	t	ən	xɛ:tʰ	nɛ	kən	ɛm	iː	n
	door	near	DAT	POSS	scissors	GEN	POSS	mouth	ACC	3POSS
	Scope									
	‘It is said that (she) said open your scissors									

<sup>107</sup> The *pu* used in negative imperative clauses is phonologically identical with the Mandarin Chinese 不 *bù* by coincidence. Hsiao (2006; 2007) notes the use of *büü* + v (her transliteration) in Middle Mongolian (13<sup>th</sup> to 16<sup>th</sup> century).

<i>ɐŋɛ-lk-ɐt</i> open-CAUS-PFV	<i>tʰɛlpɐ-ø</i> place-IMP.2		<i>kə-tʃ</i> PROJ-PST	<i>kənə</i> HEARSAY
Negotiator			Negotiator	
Predicator			Predicator	Positioner
verbal group complex			verbal group	item

and place them near the door.'

b. <i>ŋ-ət</i> do.this-PFV	<i>u:t</i> door	<i>ən</i> ACC.POSS	<i>kɔxtʰə-lŋkue-ø</i> bolt-NEG-IMP.2		<i>kə-tʃ</i> PROJ-PST	<i>kənə</i> HEARSAY
Scope			Negotiator	Negotiator		
			Predicator	Predicator	Positioner	
			verbal group	verbal group	item	

'And it is said that (she) said do not bolt the door.'

c. <i>tʰər</i> 3SG	<i>upiti</i> must	<i>ɔr-ət</i> get.in-PFV	<i>ir-tʰəx-ø</i> come-COMPL-NPST.PTCP	<i>mə</i> WISH		<i>kə-tʃ</i> PROJ-PST	<i>kən</i> HEARSAY
Scope		Negotiator			Negotiator		
		Predicator			Predicator	Positioner	
		verbal group			verbal group	item	

'It is said that (she) said it must come in.'

d. <i>ŋ-ət</i> do.this-PFV	<i>tʰŋ</i> light	<i>ən</i> ACC.POSS	<i>pu</i> NEG	<i>ontsr-kɐ-ø</i> turn.off-CAUS-IMP.2		<i>kə-tʃ</i> PROJ-PST	<i>kən</i> HEARSAY
Scope				Negotiator	Negotiator		
				Polarity Adjunct	Predicator	Predicator	Positioner
				item	verbal group	verbal group	item

'And it is said that (she) said do not turn off the light.'

e. <i>kɛtsr</i> outside	<i>tʰtʰər</i> inside	<i>tʰŋ</i> light	<i>ən</i> ACC.POSS	<i>xɔni</i> all	<i>noetʰɔ-ø</i> turn.on-IMP.2		<i>kə-tʃ</i> PROJ-PST	<i>kən</i> HEARSAY
Scope					Negotiator	Negotiator		
					Predicator	Predicator	Positioner	
					verbal group	verbal group	item	

'It is said that (she) said turn on the lights both outside and inside (the house).'

Although realised within the function Scope, the position of *pu* is not fixed. In (4.62d), it is realised at the end of the Scope. It may also be realised at the front of the Scope as in (4.63) (adjusting (4.62d)).

(4.63) <i>pu</i> NEG	<i>tʰŋ</i> light	<i>ən</i> ACC.POSS	<i>ontsr-kɐ-ø</i> turn.off-CAUS-IMP.2
Scope			Negotiator
Polarity Adjunct			Predicator
item			verbal group

'Do not turn off the light.'



However, when the modally responsible participant is realised at the unmarked position in the clause (e.g. not as an afterthought), *pu* cannot be positioned at the front of the Scope – as in (4.64) below (adjusting (4.63)).<sup>108</sup>

(4.64) a.

<b><i>tʃi</i></b> <b>2SG</b>	<b><i>pu</i></b> <b>NEG</b>	<i>tʃɨ</i> light	<i>ən</i> ACC.POSS	<i>ontʃr-kɛ-ø</i> turn.off-CAUS-IMP.2
Scope				Negotiator
<b>Polarity Adjunct</b>				Predicator
<b>item</b>				verbal group

‘You do not turn off the light.’

b. \*

<b><i>pu</i></b> <b>NEG</b>	<b><i>tʃi</i></b> <b>2SG</b>	<i>tʃɨ</i> light	<i>ən</i> ACC.POSS	<i>ontʃr-kɛ-ø</i> turn.off-CAUS-IMP.2
Scope				
<b>Polarity Adjunct</b>				Predicator
<b>item</b>				verbal group

‘You do not turn off the light.’

The subtypes of [imperative] and their interaction with POLARITY is formalised as a system network in Figure 4.6 below. The more general distinction between [interactant] and [non-interactant] is necessary to capture the interaction between [speaker inclusive/speaker exclusive] and POLARITY. The negation of an [imperative: speaker inclusive] clause means cancellation of an action. The negation of an [imperative: speaker exclusive] clause means either cancellation of an action or prevention of an action. An [imperative: non-interactant] clause is always [positive].

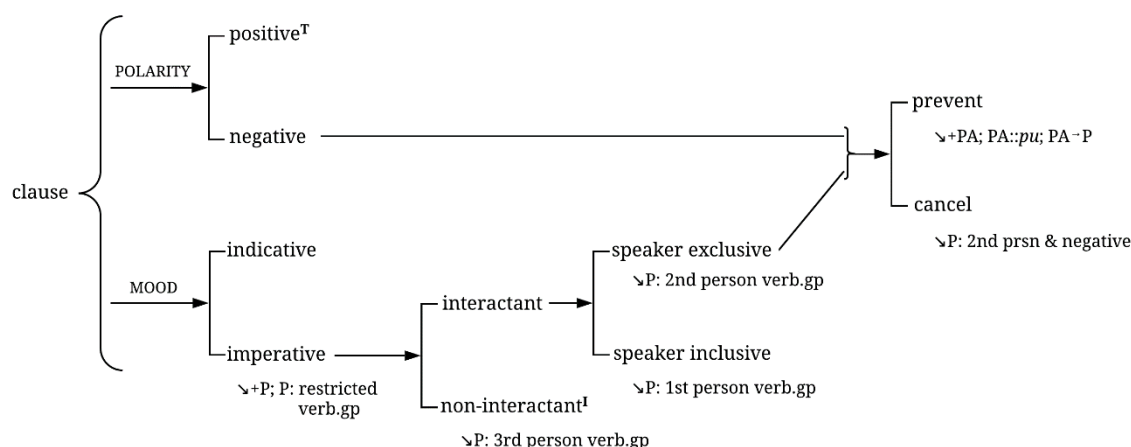


Figure 4.6 POLARITY in imperative clause in Khorchin Mongolian

<sup>108</sup> One might argue that the reason why (4.64b) is not acceptable is because *pu* is part of the verbal group. However, this explanation does not account for the fact that other clause components can be realised between *pu* and the verbal group – as in (4.64a). More importantly, the realisation of Polarity Adjunct through *pu* is systemically dependent on the clause rank system MOOD (e.g. indicative and imperative clauses have different realisations of negation). The system of POLARITY involving the item *pu* is thus simultaneous with the system of MOOD at clause rank.

## 4.2 Finessing the indicative: further systems

Section 4.1 has introduced the basic distinctions in MOOD and their interactions with POLARITY, PREDICATION, and MODALITY (the latter two are only relevant to [indicative]). This section introduces the system of STANCE for [indicative] clauses, which is related to the speaker's perspectives on propositions. I will first introduce the basic grammatical distinction in the STANCE system. I will then describe the further options afforded by the interaction between STANCE and the types of [indicative].

### 4.2.1 STANCE

The STANCE system is related to the speaker's perspectives on propositions. The speaker may indicate that a proposition is in the process of being settled or it is not. When a proposition is not taken as being settled, it is either taken as settled or its validity is presented as equivocal. A clause that realises the former is termed **[settling]** and one that realises the latter is termed **[non-settling]**.<sup>109</sup> [Settling] and [non-settling] clauses are identified by the way TENSE is realised in the Predicate. The possible TENSE suffixes can be grouped into two sets: [participle] and [non-participle]. TENSE in the Predicate of a [settling] clause is realised by the [non-participle] suffix, whereas that in a [non-settling] clause is realised by the [participle] suffix. The options in the STANCE system at clause rank and the corresponding realisations of TENSE in the Predicate are summarised in Table 4.6 (adjusting Table 4.2). The meanings of [settling] and [non-settling] are further discussed in Section 4.2.2 and Section 4.2.3 below in relation to [declarative] clauses and [interrogative] clauses.

Table 4.6 STANCE and its word rank realisations

STANCE	Realisation of TENSE in the Predicate		
		past	non-past
settling	non-participle	<i>-tʃe</i> (~ <i>-tʃ</i> , <i>-tʃʰe</i> , <i>-tʃʰ</i> )	<i>-n</i> (~ <i>-nɐ</i> , <i>-nə</i> , <i>-nɔ</i> , <i>-ɲn</i> )
non-settling	participle	<i>-sɔn</i> (~ <i>-sɔ</i> , <i>-s</i> )	<i>-x</i> (~ <i>-ø</i> , <i>-ɔx</i> )

For ranking clauses, the Predicate in [settling] clauses and that in [non-settling] clauses co-occur with specific realisations of the Positioner and the Interrogator. This is summarised in Table 4.7 below.

Table 4.7 STANCE and the possible realisations of Positioner and Interrogator

STANCE	Positioner in declarative	Interrogator in interrogative	
		polar	elemental
settling	<i>ʃe</i> , <i>kənə</i> , <i>xvi</i> , <i>ʃitvi</i> , <i>ʃitə</i> , <i>ʃvi</i> , <i>ʃv</i> , <i>ʃi</i> , <i>pɐ</i> , <i>tɐ</i>	<i>u</i>	<i>tɐ</i>
non-settling	<i>ʃɔmu</i> , <i>wɐijɐŋ</i> , <i>ʃitə</i>	<i>mɐ</i> , <i>mu</i>	<i>i</i> , <i>mɐ</i>

<sup>109</sup> The name of the system – STANCE – and the feature [settling] are borrowed from Shin (2018), where they are used in the description of Korean informal interpersonal grammar. Therein, [settling] is used in opposition to [settled] (they present a proposition as ‘case open’ and ‘case closed’ respectively).

## 4.2.2 STANCE in declarative

The primary distinction necessary for [declarative] clauses in relation to STANCE is between those that include Positioner in their structure and those that do not. The system that generalises this distinction is the ASSESSMENT system. The type of clause that includes Positioner is called **[assessed]** and the type that does not include Positioner is called **[unassessed]**. TENSE in the Predicator of a [declarative: unassessed] clause is realised by the [non-participle] suffix – as in (4.65) below. A [declarative: unassessed] clause is inherently [settling].

(4.65)

<i>ju</i>	<i>tʰvɛ</i>	<i>pɔl-ɯn</i>
what	NDEF	work- <b>NPST</b>
Scope		Negotiator
		Predicator
		verbal group

‘Whatever works (≈ whatever is fine).’

In [declarative: assessed] clauses, the [participle] and [non-participle] realisations of TENSE in the Predicator of [non-settling] and [settling] clauses interact with the realisations of the Positioner. The Positioner in [declarative] clauses are typically realised by modal particles. A discourse semantic characterisation of the modal particles has been provided in Section 3.2.2 and 3.2.3. For the ease of presentation, we will start with [non-settling & declarative] clauses and work our way to [settling] ones.

### 4.2.2.1 Non-settling declarative clauses

There are two types of [non-settling & declarative] clauses. One presents the proposition as settled – i.e. its validity is non-negotiable. The other presents the proposition as either valid or invalid – i.e. the speaker is not claiming responsibility for the validity of the proposition. The possible realisations of the Positioner in the first type are the modal particles *wɛijɛŋ* and *ʃitə*. The Positioner in the second type is realised by the modal particle *ʃɤmu*. The exchanges in (4.66), (4.67), and (4.68) exemplify the interaction of the Predicator and the Positioner in [non-settling & declarative] clauses. Only the relevant clauses are analysed. The realisations of TENSE and the Positioner are highlighted in bold.

(4.66) O = government official, P = peasant

a. O: K2

spkr	adrs	<i>xɔti</i>	<i>xolt-s</i>	<i>i:</i>
-K	+K	how.much	sell-PST	IP

‘How much did (you) sell?’

b. P: K1

spkr	adrs	<i>pɛpɛi</i>	<i>tw:</i>
+K	-K	eight.hundred	more
monogloss		‘More than eight hundred (less than nine hundred).’	

c. O: K2f

spkr	adrs	<i>ɔ:</i>
-K	+K	INTJ

‘I see.’

d	P:	K1	spkr	adrs	<i>xɛp~xɛmtɕ</i>
			+K	-K	INT~cheap
			monogloss		'Very cheap.'

e	=K1	spkr	adrs	<i>lɔ</i>	<i>xœn</i>	<i>sɛː</i>
		+K	+K	grown	sheep	only
		contract		Sco...		
				[It is known that] (the price of) the grown sheep only		

<i>senpei</i>	<i>twː</i>	<i>jœn</i>	<i>twl-sɿn</i>	<i>weijeŋ</i>
three.hundred	more	yuan	reach-PST.PTCP	MP
...pe			Negotiator	
			Predicator	Positioner
			verbal group	modal particle
reached between three hundred and four hundred.'				

(4.67) A = aunt; U = uncle, N = nephew

a.	A:	A2	spkr	adrs	<i>ʃn</i>	<i>xɛːlɔk</i>	<i>təːr</i>	<i>tœːr-ul-ɔt</i>	<i>tʰɛpɐ-ø</i>
			-R	+R	PROX	steamer	on	circle-CAUS-PFV	place-IMP.2
					'Place (the dumpling) in a circled manner on the steamer.'				

b.	U:	ch	spkr	adrs	<i>pi</i>	<i>tʰɛp-x</i>	<i>ue</i>
			-R	-R	1SG	place-NPST.PTCP	NEG
					'I will not place (them).'		

c.	=ch	spkr	adrs	<i>pi</i>	<i>ʃɛt-x</i>	<i>ue</i>
		-R	-R	1SG	know.how-NPST.PTCP	NEG
				'I do not know how.'		

(Some time later U was putting the dumplings on the steamer as instructed.)

d.	N:	K1	spkr	adrs	<i>peɪ-tʃ</i>	<i>ʃɛt-x</i>	<i>ue</i>	
			+K	+K	place-CVB	know.how-NPST.PTCP	NEG	
			con (exp)		Negotiator			
					Predicator			
					verbal group			
					[Contrary to what you are doing, we know]			

<i>kɔ-sɿn</i>	<i>ʃitə</i>
PROJ-PST.PTCP	MP
Negotiator	
Predicator	Positioner
verbal group	modal particle
(you) said (you) do not know how to place (them).'	

(4.68) O = government official

a. O2: K1

spkr	adrs	<i>utfoɣɣpu</i>	<i>nɛ</i>	<i>xun</i>
+K	NP	Armed.Forces.Department	GEN	people
expand		Scope		

‘[It could be that] people from

<i>ir-sɔn</i>	<i>ʃɔmu</i>
come-PST.PTCP	MP
Negotiator	
Predicator	Positioner
verbal group	modal particle

the Armed Forces Department came.’

b. O1: K2f

spkr	adrs	<i>m:</i>
+K	+K	INTJ
monogloss		‘Yes.’

A grammatical distinction of the modal particle *ʃɔmu* (as in (4.68) above) from *wɛijɛŋ* and *ʃitə* (as in (4.66) and (4.67) above) is that it can be followed by the **Tag** *ʃi*. This distinction is shown in (4.69) below. The Tag in [declarative] clauses will be analysed as part of the Negotiator in Section 4.3 below.

(4.69)

a.

<i>utfoɣɣpu</i>	<i>nɛ</i>	<i>xun</i>	<i>ir-sɔn</i>	<i>ʃɔmu</i>	<i>ʃi</i>
Armed.Forces.Department	GEN	people	come-PST.PTCP	MP	TAG
Scope	Negotiator				Tag
	Predicator		Positioner		
	verbal group		modal particle		item

‘[It could be that] people from the Armed Forces Department came, right?’

b. \*

<i>utfoɣɣpu</i>	<i>nɛ</i>	<i>xun</i>	<i>ir-sɔn</i>	<i>wɛijɛŋ</i>	<i>ʃi</i>
Armed.Forces.Department	GEN	people	come-PST.PTCP	MP	TAG
Scope	Negotiator				Tag
	Predicator		Positioner		
	verbal group		modal particle		item

‘[It is known that] people from the Armed Forces Department came, right?’

c. \*

<i>utfoɣɣpu</i>	<i>nɛ</i>	<i>xun</i>	<i>ir-sɔn</i>	<i>ʃitə</i>	<i>ʃi</i>
Armed.Forces.Department	GEN	people	come-PST.PTCP	MP	TAG
Scope	Negotiator				Tag
	Predicator		Positioner		
	verbal group		modal particle		item

‘[Contrary to what you are saying, we know]  
people from the Armed Forces Department came, right?’

The Tag *ʃi* in Khorchin Mongolian is typically used to encourage a compliant response from the addressee. The fact that when realised by *wɛijɛŋ* and *ʃitə* the Positioner cannot

co-occur with the Tag means that the clause typically realises a move that is likely to be responded compliantly. I will call this kind of clause **[raised]** to capture this raised possibility of compliance.<sup>110</sup> In (4.66e) above (Positioner:: *uwiɣeŋ*), the [raised & non-settling] clause realises a proposition that justifies a previous proposition (i.e. the sheep is sold very cheap). The proposition in (4.66e) itself is not open for negotiation. Similarly, in (4.67d) above (Positioner:: *fiṭə*), the [raised & non-settling] clause realises a proposition that is verifiable by the previous negotiation (i.e. the uncle did say that he does not know how to place the dumplings in a circle). The ‘interpersonal cost’ would be high to challenge the proposition in (4.67d).

In contrast, when the Positioner is realised by *ʃəmu*, the Tag is needed to encourage compliance. I will call this kind of clause **[moderated]** given that compared with [declarative: raised] clauses it moderates the degree of expectation for compliance. In (4.68a) above (Positioner:: *ʃəmu*), the [moderated & non-settling] clause presents the proposition in a way that its validity is equivocal, and an alternative proposition is likely. The paradigm for the realisation of the Positioner in [non-settling & declarative] clauses is thus:

	<b>moderated</b>	<b>raised</b>
<b>non-settling</b>	<i>ʃəmu</i>	<i>uwiɣeŋ, fiṭə</i>

The distinction between [raised] and [moderated] at clause rank to some extent reflects the discourse semantic distinction between [contract] and [expand] at move rank. As characterised in Section 3.2.3, the [moderated & non-settling] clause (Positioner:: *ʃəmu*) realises an expansion of the dialogic space, allowing for dialogic alternatives. The [raised & non-settling] clause (Positioner:: *uwiɣeŋ* or Positioner:: *fiṭə*), on the other hand, realises a contraction of the dialogic space, fending off possible dialogic alternatives. Complementarily, while the former construes the proposition as personal knowledge, the latter construes the proposition as shared between the interlocutors.

[Non-settling] clauses share a structural similarity with embedded clauses in Khorchin Mongolian. TENSE in the Predicator of an embedded clause is also realised by the [participle] suffix. In (4.70) (adjusting (3.66a)) for example, the nominal head *bṭu* ‘old man’ is modified by an embedded clause. In contrast to ranking clauses, an embedded clause does not involve a Positioner.

(4.70)	[[ <i>mən</i> <i>utər</i> <i>nɛ</i> <i>ɔr-tʃ</i> <i>ir-sən</i> ]]			<i>bʰu</i>	<i>tʃɔːs</i> <i>tʰɛ</i>			
	PROX	day	GEN	enter-CVB	come- <b>PST.PTCP</b>	old.man	money	COM
	Scope					Negotiator		
						Predicator		
	nominal group					nominal group		
	Modifier				Head			
	[[clause]]				c. noun			
				Predicator				
			verbal group					

‘The old man that came in today has money (≈ is rich).’

<sup>110</sup> This should not be confused with ‘raising’ in formal linguistics (<http://www.sfu.ca/person/dearmond/322/322.raising.htm>)

We can place embedded clause, [raised & non-settling] clause, and [moderated & non-settling] clause on a cline in terms of the degree to which the realised proposition is likely to be negotiated. Among the three, the proposition realised by an embedded clause is the least likely to be negotiated and that realised by a [moderated & non-settling] clause is the most likely to be negotiated.

#### 4.2.2.2 Settling declarative clauses

The paradigm in [settling & declarative] clause is similar to that in [non-settling & declarative] clause. A distinction between [moderated] and [raised] is necessary to capture the distinction between clauses whose Positioner can co-occur with Tag and those whose Positioner cannot co-occur with Tag. The paradigm for the realisation of the Positioner in [settling] clauses is:

	<b>moderated</b>	<b>raised</b>
<b>settling</b>	<i>ʃɛ, ʃitə, pɐ</i>	<i>xvi, ʃitvi, ʃvi, ʃv, ʃi, tɐ, kən</i>

Unlike [non-settling] clauses, [settling] clauses indicate that the proposition is in the process of being settled. They are typically used in the process of negotiating a proposition – ‘case open’ in Shin’s (2018) terms. Like [non-settling] clauses, [moderated & settling] clauses moderate the degree of expectation for compliance and [raised & settling] clauses raise the expectation for compliance.

##### 4.2.2.2.1 Moderated settling clauses

The exchanges in (4.71) and (4.72) exemplify the way [moderated & settling] clauses function in exchanges. In (4.71), T1 presents two propositions in (4.71a) and (4.71b). The validity of the former is being settled in the following moves.

(4.71) T = teacher

##### Exchange 1

a. T1: K1	spkr	adrs	<i>tʰɔr</i>	<i>ixin</i>	<i>ən</i>	<i>ɔrtʰɛ</i>	<i>sənlo</i>	<i>kər</i>
	+K	+K	DIST	daughter	3POSS	before	trike	INS
	expand		Scope					

‘[You know] her daughter was commuting’

*jɐp-tʃ*                      *ɛ:-tʃ*                      *ʃɛ*  
commute-PROG    COP-**PST**    **MP**

Negotiator	
Predicator	Positioner
verbal group	modal particle

‘(to school) by motorised trike before.’

## Exchange 2

b. T1: K1	spkr	adrs	<i>tʰɔr sɛnɭv</i>	<i>nœtʃʰ-x</i>	<i>uɛ</i>	<i>lɛ</i>	<i>pɔl-tʃ</i>	<i>pɐ</i>
	+K	NP	DIST trike	start-NPST.PTCP	NEG	RES	become-PST	MP
	expand			Negotiator				
			Scope	Predicator				Positioner
				verbal group				modal particle

‘That motorised trike [**may**] have become unable to start.’

## Exchange 1 (cont.)

c. T2: ch	spkr	adrs	<i>ukue</i>
	+K	-K	NEG
	contract		‘No.’

d. =ch	spkr	adrs	<i>sstʃʰin</i>	<i>ni:təm</i>	<i>mɔtʰv</i>
	+K	-K	Secin	always	motorbike
	contract		‘Secin always (took her children to school by) motorbike.’		

e. T1: rch	spkr	adrs	<i>ukue</i>
	+K	-K	NEG
	contract		‘No.’

f. =rch	spkr	adrs	<i>sɛnɭv</i>	<i>kər</i>	<i>pɐs</i>	<i>jɛp-tʃ</i>	<i>ɛ:-tʃ</i>	<i>fʊ</i>
	+K	-K	trike	INS	also	commute-PROG	COP-PST	MP
	con (exp)		‘[I know] (she) was also commuting by motorised trike.’					

g. T2: rrch	spkr	adrs	<i>ɔ:</i>
	-K	+K	INTJ
			‘I see.’

In (4.72), the proposition in (4.72d) is presented as based on the evidence gathered from the negotiation in (4.72a) to (4.72c). The proposition is still presented as open to negotiation.

(4.72)

## Exchange 1

a. O1: K2	spkr	adrs	<i>tʰiɹɔk</i>	<i>nɛ</i>	<i>ɔmɔt</i>	<i>tə:l</i>	<i>ɔms-tʃ</i>	<i>ɛ:-s</i>	<i>mɛ</i>
	-K	+K	military	GEN	lower.clothing	clothes	wear-PROG	COP-PST	IP
			‘(Were they) wearing military uniform?’						

b. P: K1	spkr	adrs	<i>ɤ:</i>
	+K	-K	INTJ
	monogloss		‘Yes.’

c. O1: K2f	spkr	adrs	<i>ɔ:</i>
	-K	+K	INTJ
			‘I see.’



### Exchange 2

d. O2: K1	spkr	adrs	<i>utʃoɐŋpu</i>			<i>nɛ</i>	<i>xun</i>	<i>ir-tʃ</i>	<i>ʃitə</i>
	+K	+K	Armed.Forces.Department	GEN	people	come- <b>PST</b>	<b>MP</b>		
	contract		Scope					Negotiator	
								Predicator	Positioner
								verbal	modal
								group	particle
‘[I <b>infer</b> ] people from the Armed Forces Department came.’									

e. O1: K2f	spkr	adrs	<i>mː</i>
	+K	+K	INTJ
	monogloss		‘Yes.’

Compared to the propositions realised by [raised & settling] clauses (as in Section 4.2.2.2.2 below), it takes less effort to challenge the propositions realised by [moderated & settling] clauses – as in (4.71a), (4.71b), and (4.72d) above.<sup>111</sup>

### 4.2.2.2.2 Raised settling clauses

Moves realised by [raised & settling] clauses do not expect non-compliance from the addressee. The Positioner cannot co-occur with Tag, which is typically used to encourage compliance. Two realisations of the Positioner through modal particles – *ʃu* and *tə* – are used to exemplify the use of [raised & settling] clauses in (4.73) and (4.74). The [raised & settling] clause in (4.73d) realises a move towards the end of the negotiation where the speaker asserts the validity of the proposition. The [raised & settling] clause in (4.74e) realises a move that supports the argument in the previous move. In both cases, compliance is expected from the addressee.

(4.73) T = teacher

### Exchange 1

a. T1: K1	spkr	adrs	<i>tʰɔr</i>	<i>ixin</i>	<i>ən</i>	<i>ɔrtʰɛ</i>	<i>sɛnlʊ</i>	<i>kər</i>	<i>jɛp-tʃ</i>	<i>ɛː-tʃ</i>	<i>ʃɛ</i>
	+K	+K	DIST	daughter	3POSS	before	trike	INS	commute- PROG	COP- PST	MP
	expand		‘[You know] her daughter was commuting (to school) by motorised trike before.’								

### Exchange 2

b. T1: K1	spkr	adrs	<i>tʰɔr</i>	<i>sɛnlʊ</i>	<i>nœtʃʰ-x</i>	<i>uɛ</i>	<i>lɛ</i>	<i>pɔl-tʃ</i>	<i>pɛ</i>
	+K	NP	DIST	trike	start-NPST.PTCP	NEG	RES	become-PST	MP
	expand		‘That motorised trike [may] have become unable to start.’						

### Exchange 1 (cont.)

c. T2: ch	spkr	adrs	<i>ukuɛ</i>
	+K	-K	NEG
	contract		‘No.’

<sup>111</sup> Pending further corpus-based research, this could potentially be measured by the number of challenge and response-to-challenge sequences needed to reach consensus.

d.	=ch	spkr	adrs	<i>sətʰin</i>	<i>ni:təm</i>	<i>motʰo</i>
		+K	-K	Secin	always	motorbike
		contract		'Secin always (took her children to school by) motorbike.'		

e.	T1: rch	spkr	adrs	<i>ukuɛ</i>
		+K	-K	NEG
		contract		'No.'

f.	=rch	spkr	adrs	<i>sənɔ</i>	<i>kər</i>	<i>pəs</i>	<i>jəp-tʃ</i>	<i>ɛ:-tʃ</i>	<i>fɔ</i>
		+K	-K	trike	INS	also	commute-PROG	COP- <b>PST</b>	<b>MP</b>
		con (exp)		Scope			Negotiator		
							Predicator		Positioner
							verbal group		modal particle
‘No, [I know] (she) was also commuting by motorised trike.’									

g.	T2:	rrch	spkr	adrs	ɔ:
			-K	+K	INTJ
					'I see.'

(4.74) D = daughter, F = father, M = mother

a.	D: K1	spkr	adrs	<i>tʃɛlət</i>	<i>pəl</i>	<i>xəmɔk</i>	<i>ɛ:mər</i>	<i>ɐ:</i>
		+K	-K	Jalaid	TOP	most	serious	EMP
		monogloss		'Jalaid (is) the most serious.'				

b.	F: cf	spkr	adrs	<i>tʃɛlət</i>	<i>xofu</i>	<i>nɛ</i>	<i>u:</i>
		NP	NP	Jalaid	banner	GEN	IP
		'(The dialect) of Jalaid banner?'					

c.	D:	rcf	spkr	adrs	<i>m:</i>
			NP	NP	INTJ
					'Yes.'

d.	M: ch	spkr	adrs	<i>pi</i>	<i>utʰ-ul</i>	<i>ʃiŋɛnməŋ</i>	<i>nɛ</i>	<i>xɔni</i>	<i>mitʰm</i>	<i>ə:</i>
		+K	-K	1SG	see-COND	Hinggan.League	GEN	all	like.that	EMP
		expand		'I think (dialects in) Hinggan League (are) all like that.'						

e.	F:	=ch	spkr	adrs	<i>tʰər</i>	<i>tʰiɛntʰi</i>	<i>tʃuŋtʰi</i>	<i>xɔ</i>
			+K	-K	DIST	South.Banner	Middle.Banner	all
			contract		Scope			
			‘But [obviously] South Banner and Middle Banner					

<i>mitʰm</i>	<i>pɛ:-n</i>	<i>tɐ</i>	<i>ɔtɔ</i>
like.that	COP- <b>NPST</b>	<b>MP</b>	CONC
Negotiator			
Predicator		Positioner	
copulative phrase		modal particle	
(are) all like that.'			

f. M: =ch	spkr	adrs	ə:
	+K	-K	INTJ
			‘Yes.’

The Positioner in a [raised & settling] clause is not always realised by modal particles. It may also be realised by the evidential item *kənə* HEARSAY – as in (4.75) below. The proposition is less likely to be negotiated as the validity of the proposition is attributed to some external source. Thus, compliance is expected from the addressee. However, the interlocutors can still comment on the sourced proposition.

(4.75)

a.	<i>u:ʈn</i>	<i>okən</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>ən</i>	<i>xe:tʃʰ</i>	<i>nɛ</i>	<i>kən</i>	<i>əm</i>	<i>i:</i>	<i>n</i>
	door	near	DAT	POSS	scissors	GEN	POSS	mouth	ACC	3POSS
	Scope									

‘It is said that (she) said open your scissors

a.	<i>ɐŋɛ-lk-ɐt</i>	<i>tʰɛlpɐ-ø</i>		<i>kə-tʃ</i>	<i>kənə</i>
	open-CAUS-PFV	place-IMP.2		PROJ-PST	HEARSAY
	Negotiator			Negotiator	
	Predicator			Predicator	Positioner
	verbal group complex			verbal group	item

and place them near the door.’

b.	<i>ŋ-ət</i>	<i>u:t</i>	<i>ən</i>	<i>kɔxtʰə-lɒnkue-ø</i>		<i>kə-tʃ</i>	<i>kənə</i>
	do.this-PFV	door	ACC.POSS	bolt-NEG-IMP.2		PROJ-PST	HEARSAY
		Scope		Negotiator		Negotiator	
				Predicator		Predicator	Positioner
				verbal group		verbal group	item

‘And it is said that (she) said do not bolt the door.’

### 4.2.3 STANCE in interrogative

The way [settling] and [non-settling] [interrogative] clauses function in an interaction is similar to their [declarative] counterparts. [Settling & interrogative] clauses are more commonly used in the process of settling a proposition. It is used predominantly to realise tracking. [Non-settling] clauses, on the other hand, are typically used at the beginning of a negotiation (e.g. realising K2). [Settling & interrogative] clauses are thus more likely to be elliptical than [non-settling] ones. The paradigm for the realisation of the Interrogator in Khorchin Mongolian in relation to the types of [interrogative] and the options in STANCE is thus:

	<b>polar</b>	<b>elemental</b>
<b>settling</b>	<i>u:</i>	<i>tɐ</i>
<b>non-settling</b>	<i>mɛ, mu</i>	<i>i, mɛ</i>

### 4.2.3.1 Non-settling interrogative clauses

The exchanges in (4.76) and (4.77) below exemplify [non-settling & interrogative: elemental] clause and [non-settling & interrogative: polar] clause respectively. Both of them realise an initiating K2. The Interrogator in the [interrogative: elemental] clause in (4.76a) is realised by *i:*; and that in the [interrogative: polar] clause in (4.77a) is realised by *mε*.

(4.76) O = government official, P = peasant

a. O: K2

spkr	adrs	<i>xɹn</i>	<i>ir-s</i>	<i>i:</i>
-K	+K	<b>who</b>	come- <b>PST.PTCP</b>	<b>IP</b>
		Scope	Negotiator	
		Inquirer/Participant	Predicator	Interrogator
		nominal group	verbal group	int. particle

‘Who came?’

b. P: K1

spkr	adrs	<i>utʃoŋpu</i>	<i>nε</i>	<i>xun</i>	<i>ir-tʃ</i>
+K	-K	Armed.Forces.Department	GEN	people	come-PST
monogloss					Negotiator
		Scope			Predicator
					verbal group

‘People from the Armed Forces Department came.’

(4.77) T = teacher

a. T1: K2

spkr	adrs	<i>ɣn</i>	<i>u:lpɹr</i>	<i>tʰe:r-θ</i>	<i>mε</i>
-K	+K	PROX	sentence	correct- <b>NPST.PTCP</b>	<b>IP</b>
		Scope		Negotiator	
				Predicator	Interrogator
				verbal group	int. particle

‘Is this sentence correct?’

b. T2: K1

spkr	adrs	<i>tʰe:r-nε</i>
+K	-K	correct-NPST
monogloss		Negotiator
		Predicator
		verbal group

‘(It) is correct.’

The interrogative particle *mε* can also be used in an [interrogative: elemental] clause. This is typically the case when the interlocutors digress from a topic and the speaker tries to resume the interaction back to the original track. This kind of [interrogative: elemental] clause will be referred to as **[resuming]**. The exchange in (4.78) is an excerpt from an interaction between teachers, who are swapping their sessions. T1 uttered (4.78a) after the interlocutors had digressed from swapping sessions to the reason for the swap and further to the reason why T2 is sick.

(4.78) T = teacher

a. T1: K2	spkr	adrs	<i>tʰi ti tʰi tʰi</i>	<i>uk-ɣntʃ ɛ:-θ</i>	<i>mɛ</i>
	-K	+K	2SG number which session	give-FUT COP-NPST.PTCP	IP
Scope				Negotiator	
Inquirer				Predicator	Interrogator
nominal group				verbal group	int. particle

‘Which session are you going to give me?’

b. T2: tr	spkr	adrs	<i>pi u:</i>
	NP	NP	1SG IP

‘Me?’

c. T1: rtr	spkr	adrs	<i>ɣ:</i>
	NP	NP	INTJ

‘Yes.’

d. K1	spkr	adrs	<i>ti sɣ</i>
	+K	-K	number four
	monogloss		‘Fourth session.’

One further kind of [non-settling & interrogative: polar] clause needs special consideration. This is when the [interrogative] clause presents two options in a clause complex. This kind of [interrogative: polar] will be referred to as **[alternating]**. In (4.79a) (the unadjusted version of (4.77)), the addressee is presented with both the positive and the negative alternative. Each alternative is followed by the interrogative particle *mu*. Note that the Predicator in the second clause is realised by a [negative] verbal group. The [participle] realisation of TENSE is due to the negation rather than its co-occurrence with the interrogative particle *mu*. This is further discussed in Section 4.2.4.<sup>112</sup>

(4.79) T = teacher

a. T1: K2	spkr	adrs	<i>ɣn u:lpɔr</i>	<i>tʰɛ:r-θ</i>	<i>mu</i>
	-K	+K	PROX sentence	correct-NPST.PTCP	IP
Scope				Negotiator	
				Predicator	Interrogator
				verbal group	int. particle

a. K2	spkr	adrs	<i>tʰɛ:r-x</i>	<i>uɛ</i>	<i>mu</i>
	-K	+K	correct-NPST.PTCP	NEG	IP
Negotiator					
Predicator					Interrogator
verbal group					int. particle

‘(Is) this sentence correct or not correct?’

<sup>112</sup> The alternating interrogative clause described here is not a comparable type to the Mandarin Chinese ‘unbiased interrogative clause’, which is realised by the A-not-A structure (Halliday & McDonald 2004). The alternatives provided in a Khorchin Mongolian alternating interrogative clause are not necessarily between [positive] and [negative]. They can be any elements (participant, process, circumstance). This is afforded by their realisations in clause complexes.

b. T2: K1	spkr	adrs	<i>tʰe:r-nɐ</i>
	+K	-K	correct-NPST
			Negotiator
			Predicator
			verbal group
			'Correct.'

The paradigm in [non-settling & interrogative] clause along with the realisations of the Interrogator is thus:

	<b>polar</b>		<b>elemental</b>	
	<b>non-alternating</b>	<b>alternating</b>	<b>non-resuming</b>	<b>resuming</b>
<b>non-settling</b>	<i>mɛ</i>	<i>mu</i>	<i>iː</i>	<i>mɛ</i>

#### 4.2.3.2 Settling interrogative clauses

[Settling & interrogative] clauses are more likely to be used in the process of settling a proposition. When they initiate exchanges, it is typically related to a previous interaction between the interlocutors or some activities the interlocutors have been engaged in. The interaction in (4.80) is the elaborate version of (4.16). The aunt demands the nephew to finish all the dumplings after the nephew claims that the dumplings they have made are enough for dinner.<sup>113</sup> Both (4.80b) and (4.80d) are settling [interrogative: elemental] clauses. The Interrogator is realised by the interrogative particle *tɐ*. This is more commonly used to show curiosity. In this particular instance, the nephew is teasing the aunt.

(4.80) A = aunt, N = nephew

##### Exchange 1

a. A: A2	spkr	adrs	<i>xɔni</i>	<i>it-ø</i>	<i>vː</i>		<i>tʰi:m</i>	<i>pɔl</i>
	-R	+R	all	eat-IMP.2	EMP		like.that	COND
			'If so, eat them all.'					

##### Exchange 2

b. N: K2	spkr	adrs	<i>xɔni</i>	<i>it-tʃ</i>	<i>pɛr-x</i>	<i>uɛ</i>	<i>pɔl</i>	
	-K	+K	all	eat-CVB	finish-NPST.PTCP	NEG	COND	
			Scope	Negotiator				
				Predicator				
				verbal group				

<b><i>jeː-n</i></b>	<b><i>tɐ</i></b>
<b>what-NPST</b>	<b>IP</b>
Negotiator	
Inquirer/Predicator	Interrogator
verbal group	int. particle
'What happens if I don't finish them all?'	

<sup>113</sup> This is a typical way of showing hospitality in this speech community. The host usually cooks more food than necessary. In this instance, the nephew is visiting the aunt.

c. A: K1	spkr	adrs	<i>fakuan</i>
	+K	-K	fine
	monogloss		‘(I) will fine (you)’

### Exchange 3

d. N: K2	spkr	adrs	<i>xəti</i>	<i>fɛ:l-ən</i>	<i>tɛ</i>
	-K	+K	<b>how.much</b>	fine-NPST	<b>IP</b>
			Scope	<b>Negotiator</b>	
			Inquirer	Predicator	Interrogator
			nominal group	verbal group	int. particle
‘How much will (you) fine me?’					

e. A: K1	spkr	adrs	<i>ut/-tʃ</i>	<i>ɛ:-kɛt</i>		<i>pəl-nɔ</i>
	+K	-K	see-PROG	COP-PFV		decide-NPST
	monogloss		‘(I) will decide while (I) am seeing (≈it depends).’			

A [settling & interrogative: polar] clause is typically used to realise tracking. The Interrogator is realised by the interrogative particle *u:*. The interaction in (4.81) is the elaborated version of (4.78). The initial K2 at (4.81a) is followed by a tracking sequence; and the responding K1 at (4.81d) is further tracked in (4.81e). Both tracking functions are realised by elliptical [settling & interrogative: polar] clauses.

(4.81) T = teacher

a. T1: K2	spkr	adrs	<i>tʰi</i>	<i>ti</i>	<i>tʃi</i>	<i>tʃɛ</i>	<i>uk-əntʃ</i>	<i>ɛ:-θ</i>	<i>mɛ</i>
	-K	+K	2SG	number	which	session	give-FUT	COP-NPST.PTCP	IP
‘Which session are you going to give me?’									

b. T2: tr	spkr	adrs	<i>pi</i>	<i>u:</i>
	NP	NP	1SG	<b>IP</b>
			Scope	Negotiator
				Interrogator
				int. particle
‘Me?’				

c. T1: rtr	spkr	adrs	<i>ɪ:</i>
	NP	NP	INTJ
‘Yes.’			

d. T2: K1	spkr	adrs	<i>ti</i>	<i>sə</i>
	+K	-K	number	four
	monogloss		‘Fourth session.’	

e. T1: tr	spkr	adrs	<i>sə</i>	<i>nɪəntʃi</i>	<i>nɛ</i>	<i>u:</i>
	NP	NP	four	grade	GEN	<b>IP</b>
						Negotiator
						Interrogator
						int. particle
‘The fourth grade’s?’						

f. T2: rtr	spkr	adrs	ə:
	NP	NP	yes
			'Yes.'

The non-elliptical version of (4.81e) is given in (4.82). In (4.82), TENSE in the Predicator is realised by the [non-participle] suffix – realising a [settling & interrogative] clause.

(4.82)	<i>sə</i>	<i>niɛntʃi</i>	<i>nɛ</i>	<i>ki</i>	<i>uk-ɛntʃ</i>	<i>ɛ:-n</i>		<i>kə-tʃ</i>	<i>u:</i>
	four	grade	GEN	ACC	give-FUT	COP-NPST		PROJ- <b>PST</b>	<b>IP</b>
	Scope				Negotiator			Negotiator	
					Predicator			Predicator	Interrogator
					verbal group			verbal group	int. particle

'Do (you) mean (you) are going to give me the fourth grade's (session)?'

#### 4.2.4 STANCE in negative clause and non-verbal predication

The identification of a clause as either [settling] or [non-settling] depends on the way TENSE is realised in the Predicator. This section discusses instances where (1) the Predicator is realised by a [negative] verbal group or a copulative phrase, and (2) the Predicator is not realised by a verbal group.

##### (i) STANCE in negative clauses

In Khorchin Mongolian, when the verbal group is [negative], the [participle] realisation of TENSE is used together with items *kuɛ* (when [past]) or *uɛ* (when [non-past]). This pattern is exemplified in (4.83) (adjusting (4.29d)).

(4.83)

a. negative & non-past	<i>ɣtən</i>	<i>xɔibn</i>	<i>it-x</i>	<i>uɛ</i>	<i>pɛ</i>
	PROX	two	eat- <b>NPST.PTCP</b>	<b>NEG</b>	MP
	Scope		Negotiator		
			Predicator		Positioner
			verbal group		modal particle

'These two [may] not eat (chopped garlic).'

b. negative & past	<i>ɣtən</i>	<i>xɔibn</i>	<i>it-sɣn</i>	<i>kuɛ</i>	<i>pɛ</i>
	PROX	two	eat- <b>PST.PTCP</b>	<b>NEG</b>	MP
	Scope		Negotiator		
			Predicator		Positioner
			verbal group		modal particle

'These two [may] have not eaten (chopped garlic).'

The test for determining the selection from STANCE is to use their [positive] counterparts and see whether TENSE is realised by the [participle] suffixes or the [non-participle] suffixes. If the [participle] suffix is used, then the clause is [non-settling]; if the [non-participle] suffix is used, then the clause is [settling]. The [positive] counterparts of the clauses in (4.83) are provided in (4.84) below. They are [settling] clauses as TENSE is realised by the [non-participle] suffixes.



(4.84)

a. positive & non-past

<i>ətən</i> PROX	<i>xɔlbən</i> two	<i>it-ən</i> eat- <b>NPST</b>	<i>pɐ</i> MP
Scope	Negotiator		
	Predicator		Positioner
	verbal group		modal particle

‘These two [may] eat (chopped garlic).’

b. positive & past

<i>ətən</i> PROX	<i>xɔlbən</i> two	<i>it-ɛf</i> eat- <b>PST</b>	<i>pɐ</i> MP
Scope	Negotiator		
	Predicator		Positioner
	verbal group		modal particle

‘These two [may] have eaten (chopped garlic).’

The [non-settling] adaptations of (4.84) is given in (4.84’) below. TENSE is realised by the [participle] suffixes when the Positioner is realised by the modal particle *wɛijɛŋ*.

(4.84’)

a. positive & non-past

<i>ətən</i> PROX	<i>xɔlbən</i> two	<i>it-ɔx</i> eat- <b>NPST.PTCP</b>	<i>wɛijɛŋ</i> MP
Scope	Negotiator		
	Predicator		Positioner
	verbal group		modal particle

‘[It is known that] these two eat (chopped garlic).’

b. positive & past

<i>ətən</i> PROX	<i>xɔlbən</i> two	<i>it-sən</i> eat- <b>PST.PTCP</b>	<i>wɛijɛŋ</i> MP
Scope	Negotiator		
	Predicator		Positioner
	verbal group		modal particle

‘[It is known that] these two have eaten (chopped garlic).’

(ii) STANCE in non-verbal predication

The realisation of TENSE is not apparent when the Predicator is not realised by a verbal group – as in (4.85) (see Section 4.1.2.3.2 above for the non-verbal realisations of the Predicator in [indicative] clauses).

(4.85)

<i>tʰi</i> 2SG	<i>soɐnni</i> chopped.garlic	<i>t</i> DAT	<i>tor</i> <b>like</b>	<i>tʰe</i> <b>COM</b>	<i>mɛ</i> IP
Scope	Negotiator				
	<b>Predicator</b>				Interrogator
	<b>nom.gp</b>				int. particle

‘(Do) you like chopped garlic?’

The test for the selection from STANCE is to use their [past] tense counterpart, in which the Predicator is realised by a copulative phrase and see whether TENSE is realised by the

[participle] suffix or the [non-participle] suffix. The [past] tense counterpart of (4.85) above is provided in (4.86) below. The clauses in (4.85) and (4.86) are both [non-settling] clauses given that TENSE in the Predicator in (4.86) is realised by the [participle] suffix.

(4.86)

<i>tʰi</i>	<i>soɐnni</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>tor</i>	<i>tʰe</i>	<i>pɛ:-sɔ</i>	<i>mɛ</i>
2SG	chopped.garlic	DAT	like	COM	COP- <b>PST.PTCP</b>	IP
Scope			Negotiator			
			Predicator			Interrogator
			copulative phrase			int. particle

‘(Did) you use to like chopped garlic?’

The systemic relationship between STANCE, MOOD, PREDICATION, POLARITY, MODALITY, and ASSESSMENT is summarised in Figure 4.7 below. Note that if a [declarative] clause is [unassessed], then it is [settling] – i.e. TENSE in the Predicator is realised by the [non-participle] suffixes (shown by the <sup>I/T</sup> symbols in the figure).

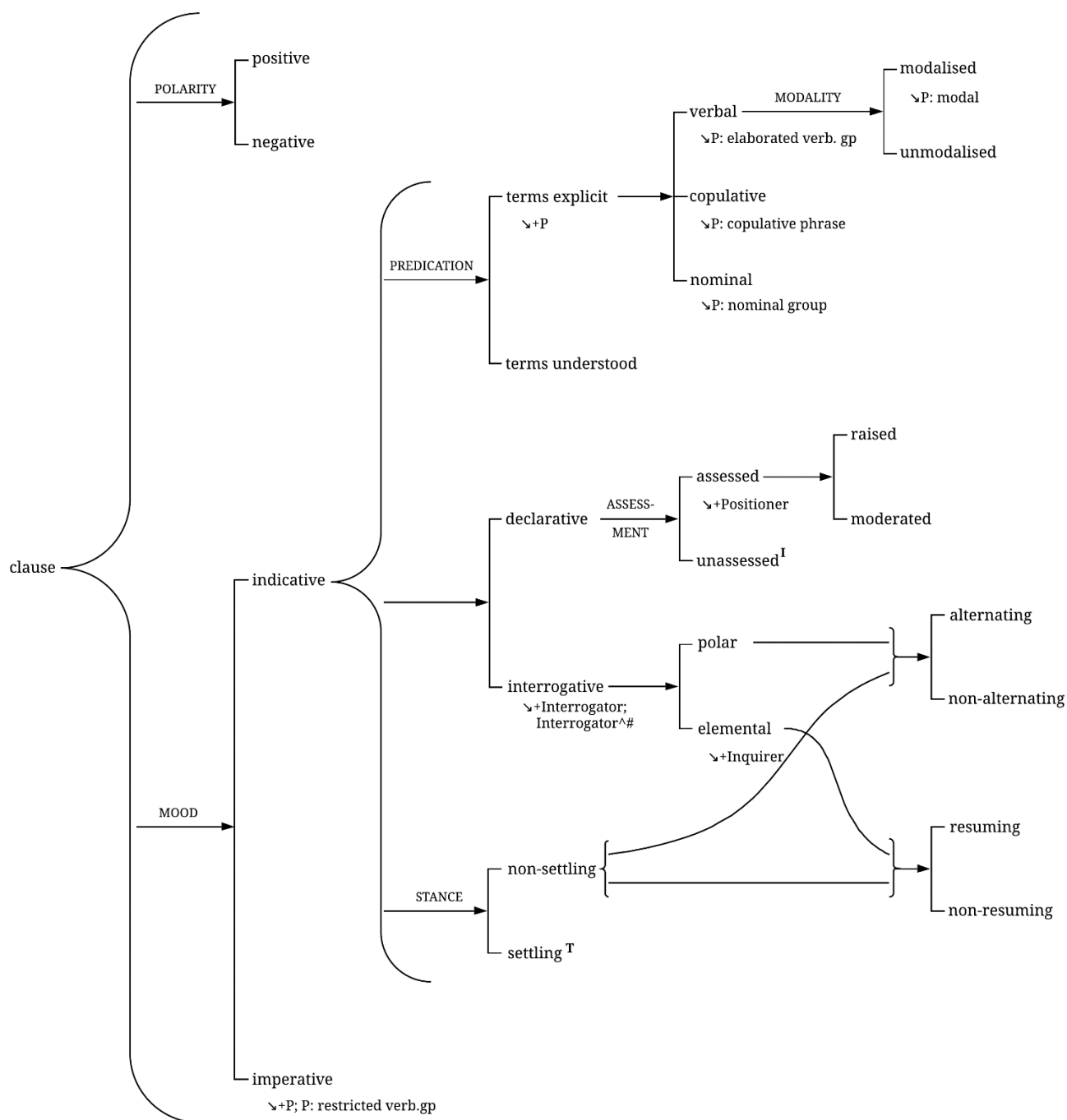


Figure 4.7 STANCE and its relations to other systems in Khorchin Mongolian

## 4.3 Additional functions: Adjunct, Vocative, and Tag

I have briefly introduced one kind of Adjunct (Polarity Adjunct) in Section 4.1 in relation to [negative] [indicative] and [imperative] clauses, and Tag in Section 4.2.2 in relation to [declarative: moderated] clauses. This section describes Adjunct and Tag in more detail, along with another function – Vocative. Two types of Adjunct will be discussed – Polarity Adjunct and Conjunctive Adjunct. While Tag in [declarative] clauses and Polarity Adjunct are within the scope of the negotiatory structure (either in the Negotiator or the Scope), Tag in [imperative] clauses, Conjunctive Adjunct, and Vocative are outside the negotiatory structure in Khorchin Mongolian. The functions Conjunctive Adjunct, Vocative, and Tag are generalised in the systems of ADJUNCTIVISATION, VOCATION, and TAGGING respectively.

### 4.3.1 Polarity Adjunct

In [indicative] clauses, a Polarity Adjunct may be part of the Negotiator of the main clause or it may constitute the Negotiator on its own. This is related to both [terms understood] and [terms explicit] clauses. In [terms understood] clauses, there is no Predicator that encodes the POLARITY of the clause. Instead, POLARITY is realised at clause rank through Polarity Adjuncts. The Polarity Adjunct is realised by *piʃe* when the clause is [negative] and by *mɔ:n* when the clause is [positive] – as in (4.87) below.

(4.87)

a. negative

<i>mɔtʰɔr</i> those	<i>[[tə:r</i> above	<i>əS</i> ABL	<i>uk-sɔn]</i> give-PST	<i>xœn</i> sheep	<b><i>piʃe</i></b> <b>NEG</b>
Scope					Negotiator
					Polarity Adjunct
					item

‘Those (are) not the sheep given from above (= government)’

b. positive

<i>mɔtʰɔr</i> those	<i>[[tə:r</i> above	<i>əS</i> ABL	<i>uk-sɔn]</i> give-PST	<i>xœn</i> sheep	<b><i>mɔ:-nɐ</i></b> <b>AFFIRM-NPST</b>
Scope					Negotiator
					Polarity Adjunct
					item

‘Those (are) the sheep given from above (= government)’

A Polarity Adjunct is also necessary when a [terms explicit] clause is negated both at group rank and at clause rank – as in (4.88) below. The Polarity Adjunct is realised by *piʃe*.

(4.88)

<i>ʋsu-sɔn</i> ask-PST.PTCP	<i>kue</i> NEG	<b><i>piʃe</i></b> <b>NEG</b>
Negotiator		
Predicator	Polarity Adjunct	
verbal group	item	

‘(Is it) not (that they) did not ask us.  
(≈ They asked us.)’

Both *piɛ* and *mɔ:n* can realise a response move on their own – as in (4.89) and (4.90) below (adjusting (4.87)).

(4.89) O = government official, P = peasant

a. O: K2	spkr	adrs	<i>mətʰɔr</i> <i>[[tə:r əs uk-sən]]</i> <i>xæn</i>				<i>mɔ:-θ</i>	<i>mɛ</i>	
	-K	+K	those	above	ABL	give-PST	sheep	<b>AFFIRM-NPST.PTCP</b>	<b>IP</b>
	Scope						Negotiator		
							Polarity Adjunct	Interrogator	
							item	int. particle	
‘(Are) those the sheep given from above (= government)?’									

‘(Are) those the sheep given from above (= government)?’

b. P: K1	spkr	adrs	<i>mɔ:-n</i>
	+K	-K	AFFIRM-NPST
	monogloss		Negotiator
			Polarity Adjunct
			item
			‘Yes.’

‘Yes.’

(4.90) O = government official; P = peasant

a. O: K2	spkr	adrs	<i>mɔtʰɔr</i> <i>[[tə:r əs uk-sən]]</i> <i>xæn</i>					<i>mɔ:-θ</i>	<i>mɛ</i>	
	-K	+K	those	above	ABL	give-PST	sheep	AFFIRM-NPST.PTCP	IP	
	Scope							Negotiator		
								Polarity Adjunct		Interrogator
								item		int. particle

‘(Are) those the sheep given from above (= government)?’

b. P: K1	spkr	adrs	<i>piɛ</i>
	+K	-K	NEG
	contract		Negotiator
			Polarity Adjunct
			item
			‘No.’

‘No.’

The item used in [terms explicit] clause (*ukuɛ*) can also realise a response move on its own – as in (4.91) (adjusting 3.49). It’s corresponding [positive] response is typically realised by a single-syllable item – as in (4.92) (adjusting (4.91)).

(4.91) T = teacher

a. T1: K2	spkr	adrs	<i>tʰɔr</i>	<i>ɔrtʰɛ</i>	<i>sənlu</i>	<i>kər</i>	<i>jɛp-tʃ</i>	<i>ɛ:-sən</i>	<i>mɛ</i>
	-K	+K	3SG	before	trike	INS	commute-PROG	COP-PST.PTCP	MP

‘Was she commuting (to school) by motorised trike before?’

b. T2: K1	spkr	adrs	<b>ukue</b>
	+K	-K	<b>NEG</b>
	contract		Negotiator
			Polarity Adjunct
			item
	'No.'		

(4.92) T = teacher

a. T1: K2	spkr	adrs	<i>tʰɔr ɔrtʰe sɛnlɔ kər jɛp-tʃ</i>	<i>ɛ:-sən</i>	<i>mɛ</i>
	-K	+K	3SG before trike INS commute-PROG COP-PST.PTCP MP		
	'Was she commuting (to school) by motorised trike before?'				

b. T2: K1	spkr	adrs	<b>ə:</b>
	+K	-K	<b>INTJ</b>
	monogloss		Negotiator
			Polarity Adjunct
			item
	'Yes.'		

The response moves realised by *piʃe*, *mɔ:n*, *ukue*, and *ə:* can be considered elliptical clauses. The non-elliptical versions of (4.91b) and (4.92b) are given in (4.93). The polarity items carry their own tonic prominence, i.e. they carry “the main pitch movement: the main fall, or rise, or the change of direction” (Halliday & Matthiessen 2004:89).

(4.93)

a. [negative]	<b>ukue</b>	<i>tʰɔr ɔrtʰe sɛnlɔ kər</i>	<i>jɛp-tʃ</i>	<i>ɛ:-sən</i>	<i>kuɛ</i>
	<b>NEG</b>	3SG before trike INS	commute-PROG	COP-PST.PTCP	NEG
	Negotiator	Scope			Negotiator
	Polarity Adjunct				Predicator
	item				verbal group

'No, she was not commuting (to school) by motorised trike before.'

b. [positive]	<i>ə:</i>	<i>tʰɔr</i>	<i>ɔrtʰe</i>	<i>sɛnlɔ</i>	<i>kər</i>	<i>jɛp-tʃ</i>	<i>ɛ:-tʃe</i>
	<b>INTJ</b>	3SG	before	trike	INS	commute-PROG	COP-PST
	Negotiator	Scope				Negotiator	
	Polarity Adjunct					Predicator	
	item					verbal group	

'Yes, she was commuting (to school) by motorised trike before.'

In contrast, when Polarity Adjunct is used to negate an [imperative] clause, it is realised within the Scope by *pu*. As described in Section 4.1.3.4.2 above, when there is no nominal realisation of the modally responsible participant, the Polarity Adjunct occur either at the front or the end of the Scope – as in (4.94).

(4.94)

a.	<b>pu</b> <b>NEG</b>	<i>tɕŋ ən</i> light ACC.POSS	<i>ontɕr-kɐ-ø</i> turn.off-CAUS-IMP.2
	Scope		Negotiator
	Polarity Adjunct		Predicator
	item		verbal group

‘Do not turn off the light.’

b.	<i>tɕŋ ən</i> light ACC.POSS	<b>pu</b> <b>NEG</b>	<i>ontɕr-kɐ-ø</i> turn.off-CAUS-IMP.2
	Scope		Negotiator
		Polarity Adjunct	Predicator
		item	verbal group

‘Do not turn off the light.’

When the modally responsible participant is realised nominally, the Polarity Adjunct can be realised after the nominal group or at the end of the Scope – as in (4.95).

(4.95) a.	<b>tʃʰi</b> <b>2SG</b>	<b>pu</b> <b>NEG</b>	<i>tɕŋ ən</i> light ACC.POSS	<i>ontɕr-kɐ-ø</i> turn.off-CAUS-IMP.2
	Scope			Negotiator
		Polarity Adjunct		Predicator
		item		verbal group

‘You do not turn off the light.’

b.	<b>tʃʰi</b> <b>2SG</b>	<i>tɕŋ ən</i> light ACC.POSS	<b>pu</b> <b>NEG</b>	<i>ontɕr-kɐ-ø</i> turn.off-CAUS-IMP.2
	Scope			Negotiator
			Polarity Adjunct	Predicator
			item	verbal group

‘You do not turn off the light.’

### 4.3.2 Conjunctive Adjunct

Unlike Polarity Adjuncts, **Conjunctive Adjuncts** are outside the negotiatory structure of the Khorchin Mongolian clause. They contextualise the current move in relation to the previous one.<sup>114</sup> I will use the item *ŋət tʃʰɛk* ‘CONCESSIVE’ to exemplify Conjunctive Adjuncts – as in (4.96e) below.

(4.96) D = daughter, F = father, M = mother, S = son in law

a.	D:	K1	spkr	adrs	<i>tʃɛlɛt</i>	<i>pɔl</i>	<i>xɛmɔk</i>	<i>ɛ:mɛr</i>	<i>ɐ:</i>
			+K	-K	Jalaid	TOP	most	serious	EMP
			monogloss		‘Jalaid is the most serious.’				

<sup>114</sup> Like the English Conjunctive Adjuncts (Halliday 1994:83–84), they are thus more textually oriented. They are less integrated into the Scope ^ Negotiator structure of the clause.

b. M: ch	spkr	adrs	<i>pi utʰ-ul ʃiŋenməŋ nɛ xɔni mitʰm ə:</i>
	+K	-K	1SG see-COND Hinggan.League GEN all like.that EMP
	expand 'I think (dialects in) Hinggan League are all like that.'		

c. F: =ch	spkr	adrs	<i>tʰɔr tʰiɛntʰi tʃuŋtʰi xɔ</i>
	+K	-K	DIST South.Banner Middle.Banner all
	contract 'But [obviously] South Banner and Middle Banner		

*mitʰim pɛ:-n tɐ ɔtɔ*  
like.that COP-NPST MP CONC  
'are all like that.'

d. M: =ch	spkr	adrs	<i>ə:</i>
	+K	-K	INTJ
	monogloss 'Yes.'		

e. S: rch	spkr	adrs	<i>kɛ:ku</i>	<b>ŋət</b>	<b>tʰɛk</b>	<i>ɐ:</i>
	+K	-K	mild	<b>do.this-PFV</b>	<b>CONC</b>	EMP
	contract		Negotiator	Conjunctive Adjunct		
			Predicator			
			nominal group	item		

'Even though they are like that, (they are) mild.'

The position of Conjunctive Adjuncts is relatively flexible. They may be realised clause initially, medially between the Scope and the Negotiator, and finally as an afterthought – as shown in (4.97).

(4.97) locations of Conjunctive Adjuncts

initial	<b>ŋət</b>	<b>tʰɛk</b>	<i>mɛn</i>	<i>nɛ</i>	<i>ɤn-xit</i>	<i>kəs</i>	<i>kɛ:ku</i>
	<b>do.this-PFV</b>	<b>CONC</b>	1PL	GEN	here-POSS	ABL	mild
	Conjunctive Adjunct		Scope				Negotiator
							Predicator
	item						nominal group

‘Even so, (their dialects are) milder than ours.’

medial	<i>mɛn nɛ ɤnt-xi kəs</i>	<b>ŋət</b>	<b>tʰɛk</b>	<i>kɛ:ku</i>
	1PL GEN here-POSS ABL	<b>do.this-PFV</b>	<b>CONC</b>	mild
	Scope	Conjunctive Adjunct		Negotiator
				Predicator
		item		nominal group

'(Compared to the dialect) from our region (theirs), even so, (are) milder than ours.'

final	<i>mɛn nɛ ɤnt-xi kəs</i>	<i>kɛ:ku</i>	<b>ŋət</b>	<b>tʰɛk</b>
	1PL GEN here-POSS ABL	mild	<b>do.this-PFV</b>	<b>CONC</b>
	Scope	Negotiator	Conjunctive Adjunct	
		Predicator		
		nominal group	item	

'(Compared to the dialect) from our region, (theirs are) milder than ours, even so.'



An [imperative] clause may also contain a Conjunctive Adjunct. Similarly, it can be realised clause initially, medially, and finally – as in (4.98) below (retrospective data).

(4.98)

initial	<i>ŋ-ət</i> <b>do.this-PFV</b>	<i>tʰɛk</i> <b>CONC</b>	<i>tʰi</i> 2SG	<i>ɔ:ɔ-ø</i> go-IMP.2
	Conjunctive Adjunct		Scope	Negotiator
				Predicator
	item			

‘Even so, you go.’

medial	<i>tʰi</i> 2SG	<i>ŋ-ət</i> <b>do-PFV</b>	<i>tʰɛk</i> <b>CONC</b>	<i>ɔ:ɔ-ø</i> go-IMP.2
	Scope	Conjunctive Adjunct		Negotiator
		item		Predicator
				verbal group

‘You, even so, go.’

final	<i>tʰi</i> 2SG	<i>ɔ:ɔ-ø</i> go-IMP.2	<i>ŋ-ət</i> <b>do.this-PFV</b>	<i>tʰɛk</i> <b>CONC</b>
	Scope	Negotiator	Conjunctive Adjunct	
		Predicator		
		verbal group	item	

‘You go, even so.’

In terms of discourse semantics, the Conjunctive Adjunct *ŋ-ət tʰɛk* retrospectively contract the dialogic space ([counter], see Section 3.2.2).

Conjunctive Adjuncts should be distinguished from conjunctions, which realises logico-semantic relationships between clauses. While Conjunctive Adjuncts are closely related to the realisation of features from DIALOGIC POSITIONING, conjunctions do not enact interpersonal meaning – as in (4.99) below (repeating (4.80)).

(4.99)	<i>xɔni</i> all	<i>it-tʃ</i> eat-CVB	<i>pɛr-x</i> finish-NPST.PTCP	<i>uɛ</i> NEG	<b>pɔl</b> <b>COND</b>	
	Scope	Negotiator				
		Predicator				
		verbal group				

**If** I don’t finish them all

<i>jɛ:-n</i> what-NPST	<i>tɛ</i> IP
Negotiator	
Inquirer/Predicator	Interrogator
verbal group	int. particle

what happens?’

Pending further research on their functionality, the other possible Conjunctive Adjuncts in the corpus are *pɛs* and *ɔtɔ* – as in (4.100a) and (4.101c) (repeating (4.96)). The item *pɛs* is typically used to show dissatisfaction. The item *ɔtɔ* is more related to concession.

(4.100) M = mother, D = daughter; the mother saw some rust on the cleaning cloth

Exchange 1

a. M: K2	spkr	adrs	ɤn	mɛpu	ɤn	ju	nɛ	tʃip
	-K	+K	PROX	cleaning.cloth	TOP	what	GEN	rust
			Scope					
			Inquirer					
			nominal group					

<i>ɔr-s</i>	<i>i</i>	<b><i>pɛs</i></b>
get-PST.PTCP	IP	<b>DISS</b>
Negotiator		Conjunctive Adjunct
Predicator	Interrogator	
verbal group	int. particle	item

‘What rust did the cleaning cloth got?’

Exchange 2

b. M: K1	spkr	adrs	/ɛkɔ	nɛ	pɛ
	+K	-K	clay.pot	GEN	MP
			expand		
			‘(It) [may] (be) from the clay pot.’		

c. D: ch	spkr	adrs	pi/ɛ
	+K	-K	NEG
			contract
			‘No.’

(4.101) D = daughter, F = father, M = mother, S = son in law

a. D: K1	spkr	adrs	tʃɛlɛt	pɔl	xɛmɤk	ɛ:mɛr	ɐ:
	+K	-K	Jalaid	TOP	most	serious	EMP
			monogloss				
			‘Jalaid is the most serious.’				

b. M: ch	spkr	adrs	pi	utʰ-ul	ʃiŋɛnmɔŋ	nɛ	xɔni	mitʰm	ɔ:
	+K	-K	1SG	see-COND	Hinggan.League	GEN	all	like.that	EMP
			expand						
			‘I think (dialects in) Hinggan League are all like that.’						

c. F: =ch	spkr	adrs	tʰɔr	tʰiɛntʰi	tʃuntʰi	xɔ
	+K	-K	DIST	South.Banner	Middle.Banner	all
			contract			
			Scope			

‘But [obviously] South Banner and Middle Banner

<i>mitʰim</i>	<i>pɛ:-n</i>	<i>tɛ</i>	<i>ɔtɔ</i>
like.that	COP-NPST	MP	<b>CONC</b>
Negotiator			Conjunctive Adjunct
Predicator		Positioner	
copulative phrase		modal particle	item

(are) all like that.’

d. M: =ch	spkr	adrs	ə:
	+K	-K	INTJ
	monogloss 'Yes.'		

The items *pēs* and *ɔtə* are less typical Conjunctive Adjuncts in that they can only be used in [indicative] clauses. They can only be realised clause medially and finally. Their clause medial realisations are exemplified in (4.102) and (4.103) below. Note that the clause-medial realisation of *pēs* in (102) makes the Scope discontinuous. It seems to be affected by the textual organisation of the clause – following the topical Theme in this instance (CA = Conjunctive Adjunct).

(4.102)	<i>ən</i> PROX	<i>məpu</i> cleaning.cloth	<i>ən</i> TOP	<b><i>pēs</i></b> <b>DISS</b>	<i>ju</i> what	<i>nɛ</i> GEN	<i>tʃip</i> rust	<i>ɔr-s</i> get-PST.PTCP	<i>i:</i> IP
Sco...				CA	...pe			Negotiator	
					Inquirer			Predicator	Interrogator
				item	nominal group			verbal group	int. particle

'What rust did the cleaning cloth got?'

(4.103)	<i>tʰər</i> DIST	<i>tʰiɛntʰi</i> South.Banner	<i>tʃuŋtʰi</i> Middle.Banner	<i>xɔ</i> all	<b><i>ɔtə</i></b> <b>CONC</b>	<i>mitʰim</i> like.that	<i>pɛ:-n</i> COP-NPST	<i>tɐ</i> MP
Scope					CA	Negotiator		
						Predicator		Positioner
					item	copulative phrase		modal particle

'But [obviously] South Banner and Middle Banner (are) all like that.'

### 4.3.3 Vocative

**Vocative** is another element that is outside the negotiatory potential of the Khorchin Mongolian clause. Its main function is to direct the addressee's attention to the proposition or the proposal. Vocatives may be realised by a nominal group comprising proper noun, a nominal group encoding the relationship between the interlocutors, or a single-syllable item. When realised nominally, it is typically followed by a long vowel sound *ɐ:*, *ə:*, or *ɔ:*. They are exemplified in (4.104) one by one. Phonologically, Vocatives carry their own tonic prominence.

(4.104)

a. Vocative realised by a nominal group comprising proper noun

<b><i>tʃʉtʃʉk</i></b> <b>Ceceg</b>	<i>ə:</i> <b>VOC</b>	<i>tʃi</i> 2SG	<i>ti</i> number	<i>tʃi</i> which	<i>tʃiɛ</i> session	<i>uk-əntʃ</i> give-FUT	<i>ɛ:-θ</i> COP-NPST.PTCP	<i>mɛ</i> IP
Vocative		Scope				Negotiator		
		Inquirer				Predicator		Interrogator
nominal group		nominal group				verbal group		int. particle

'Ceceg, which session are you going to give me?'

b. Vocative realised by a nominal group encoding interlocutor relationship

<b>mai</b> <b>mum</b>	<i>ɔn i tʰi</i> PROX ACC 2SG	<i>ʊkɛ-tʰɔk-ø</i> wash-COMPL-IMP.2
Vocative	Scope	Negotiator
		Predicator
nominal group		verbal group

'Mum, you wash this.'

c. Vocative realised by a single-syllable item

<b>xoi</b> <b>INTJ</b>	<i>tʰɛkɛn sɛr i kɛr-kɛ-tʰ kɔ-sɔn ɔn</i> white month ACC out-CAUS-PST PROJ-PST.PTCP TOP
Vocative	Scope
item	

'Hey, what meaning does the phrase

<i>jɛmɔr ʊtʰɔk tʰɛ</i> what meaning COM	<i>i</i> IP
Negotiator	
Inquirer/Predicator	Interrogator
nominal group	int. particle

*passed the white month* have?'

The realisation of Vocatives via a single-syllable item as in (4.104c) indicates a close relationship between the interlocutors. In addition, Vocatives may also be realised clause finally as in (4.105) (adjusting (4.104a)).

(4.105)	<i>tʰi ti tʰi tʰiɛ</i> 2SG number which session	<i>ʊk-ɔntʰ ɛ:-ø</i> give- COP- FUT NPST.PTCP	<i>mɛ</i> IP	<i>tʰɔtʰɔk ɔ:</i> <b>Ceceg</b> <b>voc</b>
	Scope	Negotiator		Vocative
	Inquirer	Predicator	Interrogator	
	nominal group	verbal group	int. particle	nominal group

'Which session are you going to give me, Ceceg?'

VOCATION is available in [imperative] clauses as well – as in (106a) below. The diminutive Vocative *kɔbi* conveys a sense of intimacy or endearment. It can be used by an elder person to refer to a younger person. It is typically used between (but not restricted to) family members.

(4.106) M = mother, D = daughter; the interlocutors are cooking

a. M: A2	<i>spkr</i> -R	<i>adrs</i> +R	<i>sɔɛnni</i> chopped.garlic	<i>tw-ø</i> chop-IMP.2	<i>kɔbi</i> DIM
			Scope	Negotiator	Vocative
				Predicator	
				verbal group	item

'Chop some garlic, sweetheart.'

- b. D: ch
- |      |      |              |           |          |            |               |                |
|------|------|--------------|-----------|----------|------------|---------------|----------------|
| spkr | adrs | <i>tʰɔkɔ</i> | <i>ki</i> | <i>n</i> | <i>pɛs</i> | <i>ʊkɛ-tʃ</i> | <i>pɛr-utɛ</i> |
| -R   | -R   | wok          | ACC       | TOP      | even       | wash-CVB      | finish-NOT.YET |
- ‘(I) haven’t even finished washing the wok yet.’

### 4.3.4 Tag

In Khorchin Mongolian, TAGGING is available in certain types of [declarative] and [imperative] clauses. In [declarative], TAGGING is available in both moderated and [declarative: unassessed] clauses. In Section 4.2.2 above, it has been argued that a Tag is used to encourage compliant responses from the addressee. In this section, it will be argued that the Tag in a [declarative] clause also presents the proposition as shared between the interlocutors; hence the Tag in a [declarative] clause is part of the Negotiator. In [imperative], TAGGING is available in speaker inclusive and non-interactant clauses. In contrast to the Tag in [declarative] clauses, the Tag in [imperative] clauses falls outside the negotiatory structure of the clause in that the Tag does not change the way interlocutors are positioned.

#### 4.3.4.1 TAGGING in declarative

The use of the Tag in [declarative] clauses is exemplified in (4.107) below. In (4.107), the nephew (N) and the aunt (A) are teasing the Uncle (U), who separates the dumplings he made from the ones made by his nephew. Note how the Tag is used in relation to move (d), move (f), move (j), and move (k). The aunt’s proposition in move (d) is not responded to; and she encourages a response from her nephew in move (f) with the Tag. This, however, is interrupted by a challenge – response to challenge sequence between the interlocutors. The aunt thus re-presents the proposition in move (j). This time the proposition is realised by a [tagged] clause. It is compliantly responded to in move (k). The [untagged] clause in (4.107d), later checked with a Tag in (4.107f), presents the proposition as a personal comment. In contrast, the [tagged] clause in (4.107j) presents the interpretation of the uncle’s behaviour as shared between the interlocutors.

(4.107) N = nephew, A = aunt, U = uncle

##### Exchange 1

- a. N: K1
- |      |      |               |            |                 |                |
|------|------|---------------|------------|-----------------|----------------|
| spkr | adrs | <i>uəs-xi</i> | <i>kən</i> | <i>sɛlkɛ-tʃ</i> | <i>tʰɛp-nɛ</i> |
| +K   | -K   | self-POSS     | ACC.POSS   | separate-CVB    | place-NPST     |
- monogloss ‘(Uncle) is placing his own (dumplings) separately.’

##### Exchange 2

- b. A: K1
- |      |      |                 |           |               |            |
|------|------|-----------------|-----------|---------------|------------|
| spkr | adrs | <i>nɪl-ul-x</i> | <i>uɛ</i> | <i>kə-sən</i> | <i>ukə</i> |
| +K   | -K   | mix-CAUS-NPST   | NEG       | PROJ-PST      | meaning    |
- expand ‘(Its) meaning (is he) does not want to mix (them).’

- c. N: K2f
- |      |      |           |
|------|------|-----------|
| spkr | adrs | <i>m:</i> |
| +K   | +K   | INTJ      |
- monogloss ‘That’s right.’

d. A: =K1	spkr	adrs	<i>tʰini</i>	<i>tʰɔr</i>	<i>i:</i>	<i>mɔxɛ</i>	<i>kə-sən</i>	<i>ukə</i>
	+K	-K	2SG.GEN	DIST	ACC	ugly	PROJ-PST	meaning
	expand		‘(Its) meaning (is he) thinks yours (is) ugly.’					

e. U: ch	spkr	adrs	<i>sɛlkɛ-sɔn</i>	<i>kuɛ</i>	<i>xvi</i>
	+K	-K	separate-PST	NEG	MP
	con (con)		‘[You see] I did not separate (them).’		

(following (d))

f. A: check	spkr	adrs	<i>fɪ</i>
	NP	NP	<b>TAG</b>
	Negotiator		
	Tag		
	item		
	‘Right?’		

g. N: rch	spkr	adrs	<i>sɛlkɛ-tʃ</i>	<i>tʰɛp-sɔn</i>	<i>kuɛ</i>	<i>mɛ</i>	<i>tʰɔr</i>	<i>ɔn</i>
	+K	-K	separate-CVB	place-PST	NEG	IP	DIST	TOP
	contract		‘Is it not (you) placing (them) separately?’					

h. N: =rch	spkr	adrs	<i>ɔn i: ɔn tɔtʰɔr ɔn xi-tʰɔx-ø i:</i>						
	+K	-K	PROX	ACC	PROX	inside	3POSS	put.in-COMPL-NPST.PTCP	WISH
	expand		‘(You) [could have] put this (dumpling) inside this (steamer).’						

i.	A:	=rch	spkr	adrs	<i>ə:</i>
			+K	-K	INTJ
			monogloss		‘Yes.’

### Exchange 3

j. A: K1	spkr	adrs	<i>tʰini</i>	<i>tʰɔr</i>	<i>i:</i>	<i>mɔxɛ</i>
	+K	+K	2SG.GEN	DIST	ACC	ugly
	expand		Scope			
			‘Yours is ugly			

<i>kɔtʃ</i>	<i>ɛ:n</i>	<i>pɐ</i>	<b>fɪ</b>
PROJ-PROG	COP-NPST	MP	<b>TAG</b>
Negotiator			
Predicator		Positioner	Tag
verbal group		modal particle	item
is (what he) [may] be thinking, eh?’			

k. N: K2f	spkr	adrs	<i>m:</i>	<i>mitʰim</i>	<i>jisɔ</i>	<i>pɐ</i>
	+K	+K	INTJ	like.that	meaning	MP
	expand		‘Yes, (its) meaning [may] be like that.’			

1. A: K1f	spkr	adrs	<i>ŋ:</i>
	+K	+K	INTJ
	monogloss		‘Yes.’

The Tag realised by */i* is different from a Positioner realised by the modal particles. (1) When the verbal or copulative Predicator in a [declarative] clause is followed by a Tag, the [non-past] tense suffix can be realised by either *-n* or its lengthened allomorphs *-nə*, *-nə*, *-nə* – as in (4.108a) below. In contrast, when the Predicator is followed by the Positioner, the [non-past] tense suffix can only be realised by *-n* – as in (4.107j) above (or the [participle] form when [raised] is selected from STANCE, see Section 4.2 above). (2) While the Tag carries its own tonic prominence, the Positioner does not. (3) The Tag may realise a move on its own (i.e. an elliptical [declarative] clause) – as in (4.107f) above. The Positioner cannot realise a move on its own.

(4.108) N = nephew, A = aunt

a. N: K1	spkr	adrs	<i>fien</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>ɛrpən</i>	<i>xi-nə</i>	<i>fi</i>
	+K	+K	filling	ACC	3POSS	large.amount	put-NPST	TAG
	monogloss		Scope				Negotiator	
							Predicator	Tag
verbal group							item	
‘(I) put a large amount of filling (in the dumpling), eh?’								

‘(I) put a large amount of filling (in the dumpling), eh?’

b. A: K2f	spkr	adrs	<i>η</i>
	+K	+K	INTJ
	monogloss		‘Yes.’

#### 4.3.4.2 TAGGING in imperative

Apart from [declarative], the Tag can also be attached to [imperative: speaker inclusive] and [imperative: non-interactant] clauses – as in (4.109a) and (4.110a) (adjusting (4.50) and (4.47) respectively). The positioning of the interlocutors with respect to their responsibility is the same with or without the Tag. A Tag is thus outside the negotiatory structure of the clause. Its function in [imperative] clauses is simply to encourage compliance from the addressee.

(4.109) D = daughter, M = mother

a. D: A1	spkr	adrs	<i>pi</i>	<i>ortər</i>	<i>firə</i>	<i>ki</i>	<i>filtf-ul-jə</i>	<i>fi</i>
	+R	-R	1SG	first	table	ACC	move-CAUS-IMP.1	<b>TAG</b>
	Scope						Negotiator	Tag
							Predicator	
'I will move the table first, eh?'								

‘I will move the table first, eh?’

b. M: A2f	spkr	adrs	<i>m</i>
	-R	+R	INTJ
		‘Okay.’	

(4.110) S = sister, B = brother

a. S: A2	spkr	adrs	<i>tʰɔkɔ</i>	<i>pœʃɔl-tʃ</i>	<i>ɛː-kɐ</i>	<i>ʃi</i>
	-R	+R	pot	boil-PROG	COP-IMP.3	<b>TAG</b>
			Scope	Negotiator		Tag
				Predicator		
				verbal group		item

‘Let the pot boil, eh?’ (≈You leave the pot alone)’

'Let the pot boil, eh?' (≈You leave the pot alone)'

b. B: A1	spkr	adrs	<i>m:</i>
	+R	-R	INTJ

'Okay.'

Figure 4.8 shows the way the systems ADJUNCTIVISATION, VOCATION, and TAGGING interact with the systems of MOOD, PREDICATION, POLARITY, MODALITY, ASSESSMENT, and STANCE. The systems ADJUNCTIVISATION and VOCATION are available in both [indicative] and [imperative] clauses. TAGGING, on the other hand, is available in only a subset of [declarative] and [imperative] clauses. There are two systemic constraints in the network. First, [imperative: non-interactant] clauses are always [positive]. Second, [declarative: unassessed] clauses are [settling].





## 4.4 Concluding remarks

The description of the interpersonal organisation of the Khorchin Mongolian clause in this chapter shows a number of cross-linguistic and language specific properties. As far as the mode of expression is concerned, the interpersonal meaning in the Khorchin Mongolian clause is expressed prosodically, supporting the theorising and generalisations regarding the interpersonal metafunction in SFL (Caffarel, Martin & Matthiessen 2004; Halliday 1979; Martin 1996; Matthiessen 2004; Teruya et al. 2007). The interpersonal prosody in the Khorchin Mongolian clause comprises Polarity Adjuncts that tend to be realised at the beginning of the clause, the Predicator, Positioner, Tag, Interrogator, and other Polarity Adjuncts that tend to occur at the end of the clause, and the Vocative, Conjunctive Adjunct, and Inquirer that tend to sprinkle across the beginning, middle, and the end of the clause. Most of these interpersonal functions (especially those that determine the MOOD choices) occur towards the end of the clause, featuring what Matthiessen (2018) calls an ‘interpersonal finale’. Discourse semantically, the speaker hands over the turn by positioning the addressee in various ways towards the end of the move. In relation to INTERLOCUTOR POSITIONING, the addressee is positioned either in terms of their knowledge of the information ([+knowledge/-knowledge]) or their responsibility for carrying out an action ([+responsibility/-responsibility]). In relation to DIALOGIC POSITIONING, the addressee is either positioned to agree or is left with room for disagreement.

The medium for realising interpersonal meaning in Khorchin Mongolian tends to be segmental instead of intonational (cf. Spanish distinction between [declarative] and [interrogative: polar] in Quiroz (2013)) or sequential (cf. the English Mood structure). This makes Khorchin Mongolian similar in this regard to languages such as Arabic, Cantonese, Japanese, Korean, Mandarin, and Thai (Matthiessen 2004; Teruya et al. 2007; Shin 2018; Shin, Martin & Kim, in prep). For example, the Polarity Adjuncts are realised mainly through items (i.e. *ukue*, *pi/é*, *mɔ:n*, *pu*), the Positioner and the Interrogator by particles (e.g. *fé*, *xvi*, *mɛ*, *u*), and the interpersonally significant meanings in the Predicator by items at group rank (e.g. *kue*, *jɔl*, *fɛt*, *pɔl*) and suffixes at word rank (e.g. *-tʃ* vs. *-sɔn*).

There are, however, systemic and functional properties that seem to be specific to Khorchin Mongolian (or that are observed in other languages but are not described in comparable ways). Systemically, whereas like many languages Khorchin Mongolian makes the basic distinction in MOOD between [declarative], [interrogative], and [imperative] at the less delicate end of the system network, it also makes a distinction between [settling] and [non-settling] in STANCE at the same level of delicacy. This allows the two systems to cross-classify the Khorchin Mongolian [indicative] clause. The STANCE system in Khorchin Mongolian is therefore different from the STANCE system in Korean as described in Shin (2018). In Korean, STANCE is not available to all types of clause. It is one of the interpersonal systems available in [informal] clauses. It is not available in [formal] ones.

Structurally, although Khorchin Mongolian shows syndromes of what are referred to as ‘Predicator-based languages’ such as Thai, Vietnamese, Mandarin, and Japanese (Teruya et al. 2007), Predicator is not present in [terms understood] clauses. This points to the possibility of conceptualising languages along the cline between Mood-based languages

and Negotiator-based languages as in Figure 4.9 instead of Mood-based languages and Predicator-based languages as they are proposed in Teruya et al. (2007). Negotiator, in the sense used here, includes Predicator if it is present. The negotiatory elements, more specifically, comprise Predicator and/or the other interpersonally significant elements that are realised toward the end of the clause (e.g. Polarity Adjunct, Positioner, Interrogator, and so on). One advantage of using Negotiator as a cover term for the negotiatory elements of the clause (e.g. Caffarel 2006) is that it contrasts with the use of the term Mood in Mood-based languages – i.e. neither Mood (and Residue) nor Negotiator (and Scope/Remainder) are motivated axially. They are general terms used to refer to the negotiatory elements of a clause collectively.<sup>115</sup> In Figure 4.9, the Negotiator function in Teruya et al.'s (2007:913) figure has been replaced with Positioner and Interrogator. Figure 4.9 also incorporates Martin's (1990; 2004) description of Tagalog, Shin's (2018) description of Korean, and Quiroz's (2008; 2013; 2018) description of Spanish. This thesis thus invites the descriptions of other languages to be reconsidered from above in relation to the systems INTERLOCUTOR POSITIONING and DIALOGIC POSITIONING as they are developed in Chapter 3.

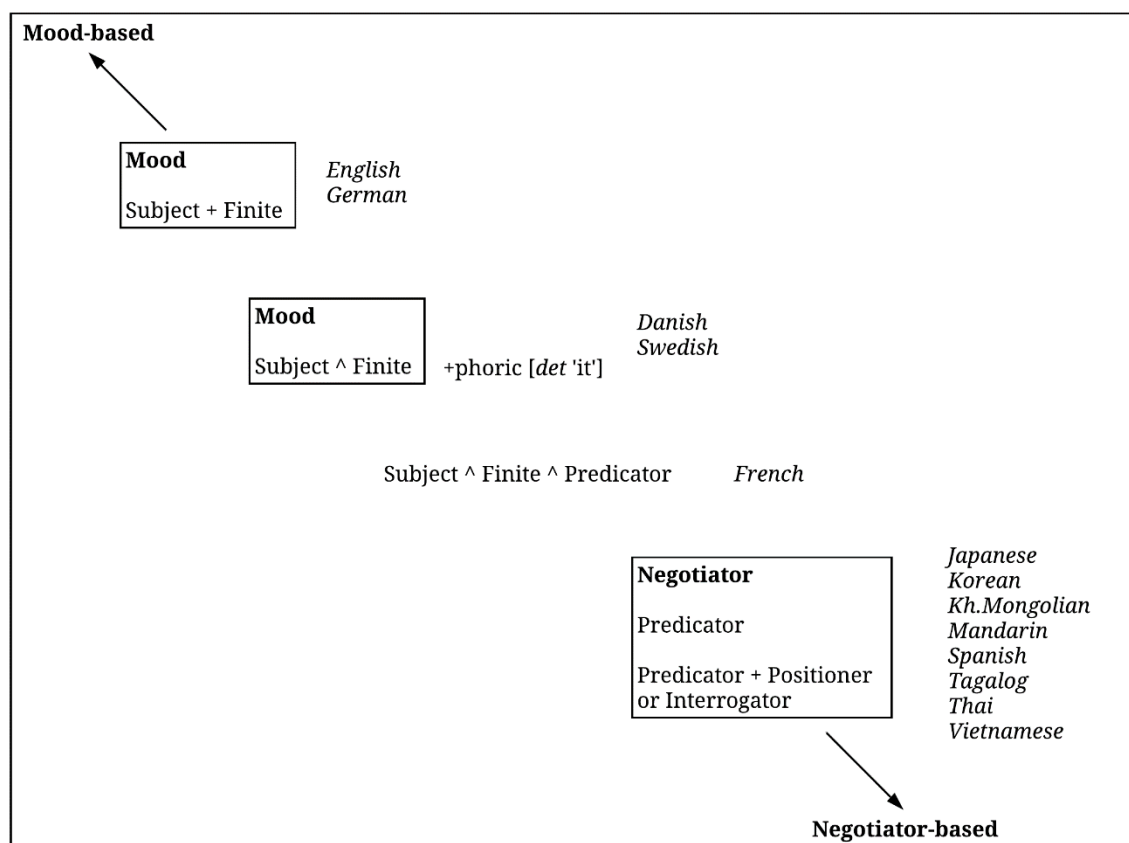


Figure 4.9 Mood-based language and Negotiator-based language (adapted from Teruya et al. 2007:913)

<sup>115</sup> There are, of course, structural motivation for the use of the general terms. For example, it has been useful in discussing the sequencing of Conjunctive Adjunct in Section 4.3.2.

## Chapter 5 Conclusions

This study began with two aims. First, it aimed to provide an integrated description of the interpersonal resources in Khorchin Mongolian grammar, with a focus on the clause. Second, it aimed to develop a description of the move systems in discourse semantics that is useful for characterising these interpersonal grammatical resources. In terms of presentation in this thesis, the second aim was addressed in Chapter 3, followed by the first aim addressed in Chapter 4. Figure 5.1 summarises the relationship between Chapter 3 and Chapter 4 in terms of SFL's 'trinocular perspective' (Halliday 2009) with only the major systems included. Chapter 3 provides the perspective 'from above' for the descriptions in Chapter 4. Chapter 4 in turn provides the perspective 'from below' for the descriptions in Chapter 3.

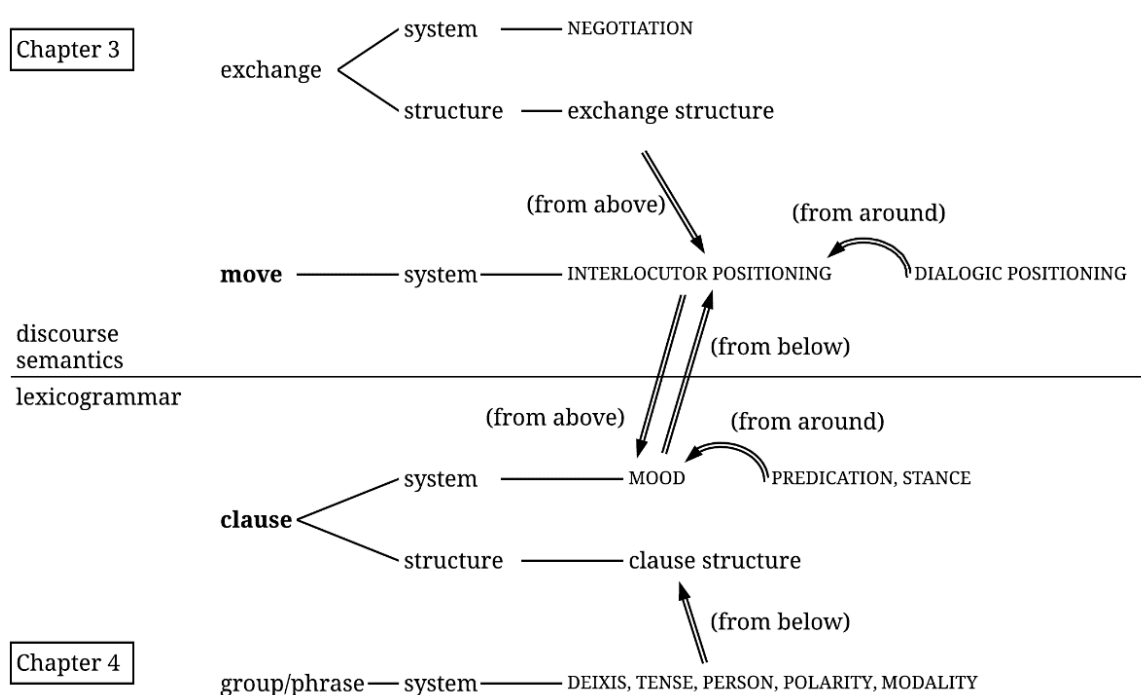


Figure 5.1 A synopsis of the main chapters

This chapter will summarise the main findings and contributions of the study and point to directions for further research. The study makes significant contributions to both language description in general within the framework of Systemic Functional Linguistics and the description of Khorchin Mongolian in particular. In each section, discussions of the contributions made in the thesis in relation to SFL description are presented first, followed by specific points regarding the descriptions of Khorchin Mongolian in general. Summaries of main findings are provided in relation to these contributions.

## **5.1 Major findings and contributions**

In this section major findings and contributions will be summarised and discussed in relation to the discourse semantic and lexicogrammatical resources described in this thesis.

### **5.1.1 Findings and contributions in discourse semantics**

The primary contribution of this thesis in terms of discourse semantics is the nature of the reasoning about move systems in Khorchin Mongolian from above and around. From above, the NEGOTIATION system specifies the functions of moves in exchanges. From around, the more general features of Martin & White's (2005) ENGAGEMENT system are reinterpreted for Mongolian as a system for moves. The move systems developed in this thesis are the basis for characterising the Khorchin Mongolian interpersonal grammatical resources from the perspective of discourse.

#### **5.1.1.1 NEGOTIATION and INTERLOCUTOR POSITIONING**

The move system of INTERLOCUTOR POSITIONING is reasoned about from above in terms of the NEGOTIATION system at exchange rank. The system of NEGOTIATION is realised by patterns of exchange structure. The NEGOTIATION system of Khorchin Mongolian developed in Chapter 3 is summarised in Figure 5.2 (repeating Figure 3.5). The respective structural realisation of the co-selections from the systems are presented in the box below.

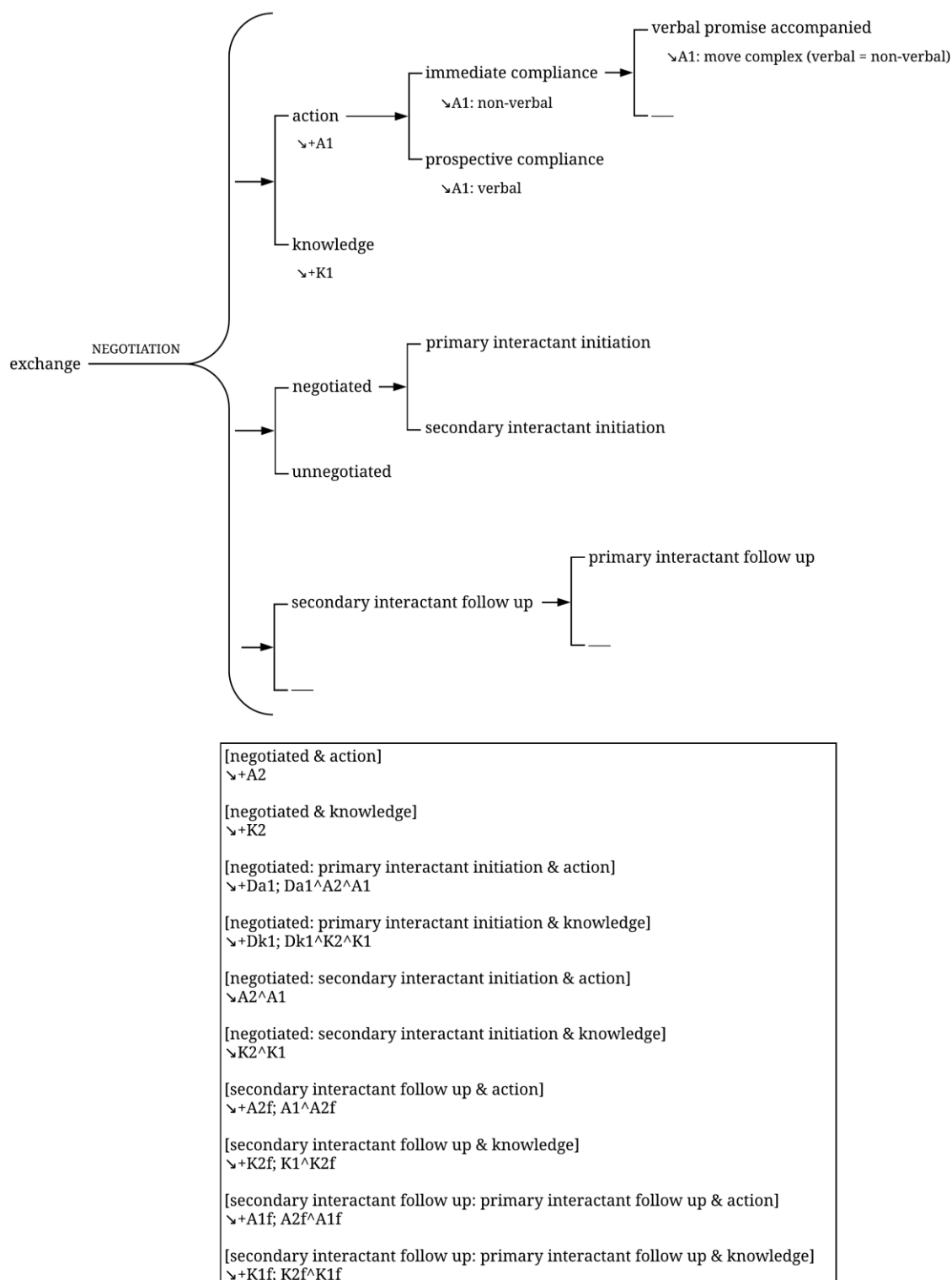


Figure 5.2 NEGOTIATION in Khorchin Mongolian

The structural realisations of the NEGOTIATION system in Figure 5.2 provide the syntagmatic environment in which the choices in the INTERLOCUTOR POSITIONING system operate. The INTERLOCUTOR POSITIONING system developed in Chapter 3 is reproduced in Figure 5.3 (repeating Figure 3.9). Determined by the functions of moves in [knowledge] and [action] exchanges, interlocutors are positioned with respect to either [proposition] or

[proposal].

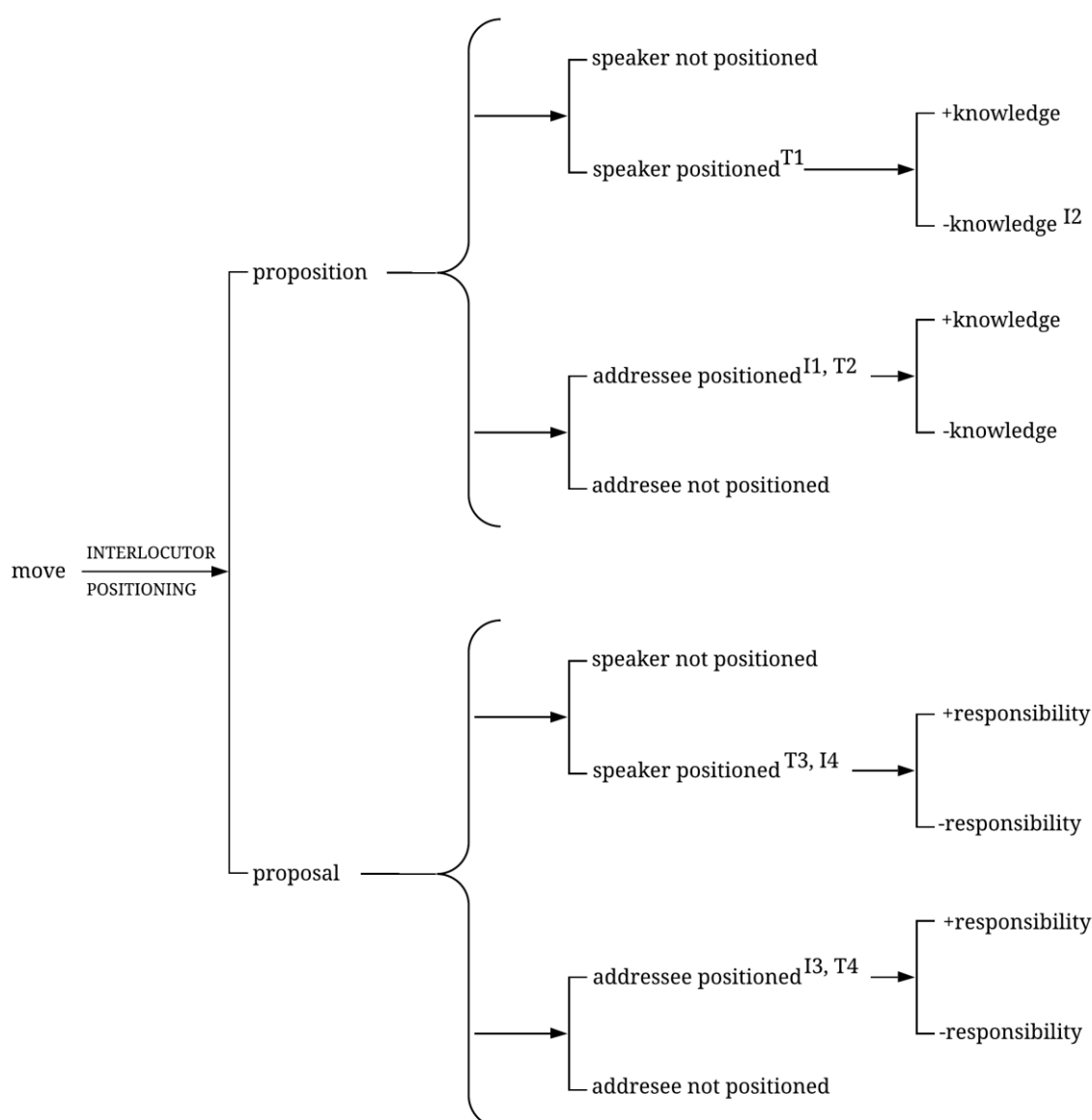


Figure 5.3 Move systems: INTERLOCUTOR POSITIONING

Reasoning about the move system with respect to the syntagmatic organisation of exchange has a number of advantages. Firstly, this allows for the consideration of possible move selections for a particular structural function at exchange rank (e.g. Dk1, K2, K1, K2f, K1f). The exchange and move systems developed in this thesis provide a ‘synoptic perspective’ (Martin 1985) on the meaning-making resources available to speakers of Khorchin Mongolian. The systems are the meaning potential generalised from the instances of conversations analysed in the corpus. This does not mean that the entire meaning-making potential of move is available at each point in an exchange. From a dynamic perspective (Berry 1981a; 2016a; Martin 1985; O’Donnell 1990) the selection of move options at different points in an exchange is conditioned by the function the move

plays at that particular point.<sup>116</sup> The selection restrictions of exchange functions on move systems (as they are discussed in Chapter 3) are summarised in Table 5.1 and Table 5.2 (repeating Table 3.1 and Table 3.3).<sup>117</sup>

Table 5.1 Possible move rank realisations of exchange functions in a knowledge exchange

	[speaker positioned]		[speaker not positioned]	[addressee positioned]		[addressee not positioned]
	[+K]	[-K]		[+K]	[-K]	
<b>Dk1</b>	x					x
<b>K2</b>	x			x		
		x		x		
<b>K1<sup>n</sup></b>	x			x		
	x				x	
<b>K1<sup>i</sup></b>	x			x		
	x				x	
	x					x
<b>K2f</b>	x			x		
		x		x		
<b>K1f</b>	x			x		
	x				x	

(**Key:** K1<sup>n</sup> = non-initiating K1, K1<sup>i</sup> = initiating K1, +K = +knowledge, -K = -knowledge)

Table 5.2 Possible move rank realisations of exchange functions in an action exchange

	[speaker positioned]		[speaker not positioned]	[addressee positioned]		[addressee not positioned]
	[+R]	[-R]		[+R]	[-R]	
<b>Da1</b>	x				x	
<b>A2</b>	x*			x		
		x		x		
<b>A1<sup>n</sup></b>	x			x*		
	x				x	
<b>A1<sup>i</sup></b>	x				x	
<b>A2f</b>	x			x**		
		x		x		
<b>A1f</b>	x			x**		
	x				x	

(**Key:** A1<sup>n</sup> = non-initiating A1, A1<sup>i</sup> = initiating A1, +R = +responsibility, -R = -responsibility;  
\*only in A2 ^ A1, \*\*unlikely)

Secondly, the description of the move systems provided in this thesis also makes it possible to explicitly discuss what is at stake for the dynamic elements of an exchange (tracking and challenge) (Martin 1992a:66–76; Ventola 1987:104–109). Complementing the more ‘static’ characterisation of tracking and challenge as dependent functions that may either suspend or abort the exchange, it is now possible to discuss the dynamic aspects of these functions in terms of their realisation at move rank in response to the

<sup>116</sup> As O'Donnell (1990) emphasises, points in an exchange are different from the functions at those points in an exchange. At a particular point in an exchange, different functions may conflate (e.g. structural functions from different metafunctions).

<sup>117</sup> This is working towards the ‘dynamic perspective’ envisioned by Martin (1988:243) that “[i]n systemic terms the question is...whether structures are produced an element at a time, in the order in which they occur as text, with the possibility of choices at one point affecting choices at some later point.”



elements of exchange they are dependent on. The general dynamism in the realisation of tracking and challenge as it is explored in Chapter 3 is summarised in Table 5.3 (repeating Table 3.2).

Table 5.3 Move rank realisations of the dynamic elements in an exchange

dynamic elements	move realisations	Berry (2017b)
tracking	[speaker not positioned & addressee not positioned]	
challenge	[speaker not positioned & addressee not positioned]	textual
	both interlocutors' positionings reversed	experiential
	one of the interlocutors' positioning reversed	interpersonal

As far as Berry's (2017b) metafunctional distinctions in challenges are concerned, one would analyse a challenge after K2 indicating lack of knowledge as an 'interpersonal challenge' (an inability to take up the assigned role) and conflicting propositions after K1 as an 'experiential challenge'. Berry (2017b) refers to the former as 'dispreferred' and the latter as 'challenge proper'. The move realisations outlined in Table 5.3 make it explicit why Berry's 'experiential' challenge is more serious than an 'interpersonal' one.

#### 5.1.1.2 INTERLOCUTOR POSITIONING and DIALOGIC POSITIONING

Along with reasoning about move systems from above, this thesis also describes move systems from around in terms of the way alternative voices are engaged in conversations. The relevant system is DIALOGIC POSITIONING. The system of DIALOGIC POSITIONING depends on the system of INTERLOCUTOR POSITIONING. This dependency relationship is formalised in Figure 5.4. The entry condition for DIALOGIC POSITIONING is the bundle of features from INTERLOCUTOR POSITIONING – [proposition: speaker positioned: +knowledge].

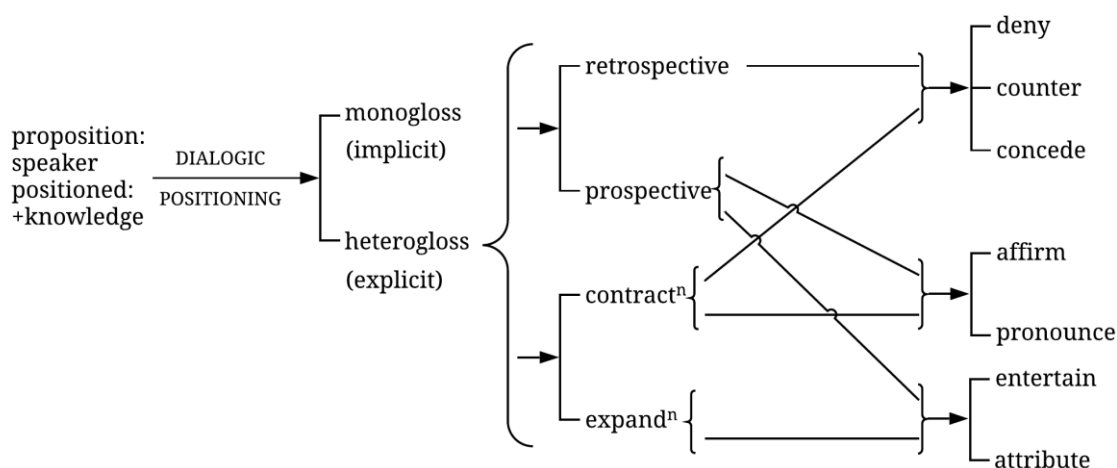


Figure 5.4 Move systems: INTERLOCUTOR POSITIONING and DIALOGIC POSITIONING

The inclusion of DIALOGIC POSITIONING as a system for move extends the application of APPRAISAL (Martin & White 2005) in conversation analysis. In previous SFL analysis of conversations, alongside NEGOTIATION, APPRAISAL analysis has played a significant role (Eggins & Slade 1997:Ch.4; Knight 2010; 2013; Martin 2000a; 2019; Martin & Zappavigna 2016; Zappavigna & Martin 2018). To date the analysis of conversation from

the perspective of NEGOTIATION has shown that conversation can be conceived as comprising chunks of exchanges with a nuclear K1 or A1 element of exchange structure. The analysis of conversation from the perspective of APPRAISAL – the subsystems of ATTITUDE and GRADUATION in particular – on the other hand transcends exchange boundaries. Interlocutors negotiate bonding and affiliation via shared feelings. Martin (2000a) refers to the patterns in conversation from the perspective of NEGOTIATION ‘Mood telos’, given that the resolution of an exchange (more specifically the ‘successful transmission of information’) is predicted in the grammatical organisation of the clause that realises the initiating move (i.e. in some sense ‘grammaticalised’); and he refers to the patterns from the perspective of APPRAISAL ‘Appraisal telos’. In his terms, the former is the interpersonal resource for closure and the latter the interpersonal resource for expansion (evaluations proliferate as conversations unfold).

However, as pointed out in Chapter 2, work on the way the subsystem ENGAGEMENT functions in conversations has still been lacking.<sup>118</sup> The study of ENGAGEMENT has tended to focus on its use in aligning and dis-aligning the putative reader/listener in relation to the value positions presented and introduced in monologic discourse (e.g. Liu 2017; Shibata 2018; Simon-Vandenberg, White & Aijmer 2007; White 1998; 2003). This study shows that in the context of conversations ENGAGEMENT (or rather DIALOGIC POSITIONING) is closely related to interlocutors’ resolution of a contested piece of information. During this process, interlocutors use DIALOGIC POSITIONING to engage with alternative opinions put forward in the previous moves and anticipate varying degrees of consensus from the following speakers. In contrast to NEGOTIATION and ATTITUDE/GRADUATION, DIALOGIC POSITIONING facilitates both closure and expansion (i.e. it enables interactions to either move towards narrower dialogic space and eventually close the negotiation or towards broader dialogic space and include more diverse propositions). Its ‘telos’ is consensus – either one proposition overrides another or all the alternative propositions are subsumed as valid.

### **5.1.1.3 Discourse semantic systems and interpersonal grammar**

The exchange system NEGOTIATION and the move system INTERLOCUTOR POSITIONING have proven foundational for characterising the MOOD options in Khorchin Mongolian from the perspective of discourse. The typical discourse semantic functions of [indicative] and [imperative] clauses in Khorchin Mongolian observed in this study are summarised in Table 5.4 and Table 5.5 respectively (repeating Table 4.1 and Table 4.5).

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<sup>118</sup> Halliday’s (1982b) analysis of Priestley’s “An Inspector Calls” in terms of modalisation and modulation can arguably be reinterpreted as an illustration of how engagement works in conversations. However, his focus is on the ‘semantic organisation’ of Priestley’s play in relation to ‘probability’ and ‘obligation’ rather than explicitly describing how alternative voices are engaged with as the conversation progresses move by move.

Table 5.4 The typical discourse semantic functions of indicative clauses

GRAMMAR	DISCOURSE		
	INTERLOCUTOR POSITIONING	NEGOTIATION	primary knower authority
<b>[declarative]</b>	[speaker positioned: +K]	K2	no
		K1	yes
<b>[interrogative]</b>	[speaker positioned: +K]	Dk1	yes
		non-initiating K2	no
	[speaker positioned: -K]	initiating K2	no
	[speaker positioned: +R]	Da1	not applicable

Table 5.5 The typical discourse functions of imperative clauses

GRAMMAR	DISCOURSE	
	INTERLOCUTOR POSITIONING	NEGOTIATION
<b>[speaker inclusive]</b>	[spkr positioned: +R & adrs positioned: -R]	initiating A1
	[spkr positioned: +R & adrs positioned: +R]	A2
	[spkr positioned: +K & adrs positioned: -K]	non-initiating K1
<b>[speaker exclusive]</b>	[spkr positioned: -R & adrs positioned: +R]	A2
	[spkr positioned: +K & adrs positioned: -K]	non-initiating K1
<b>[non-interactant]</b>	[spkr positioned: -R & adrs positioned: +R]	initiating A2
	[spkr positioned: +R & adrs positioned: +R]	
	[spkr positioned: +K & adrs positioned: -K]	K1

The approach taken in this thesis thus contributes to the growing body of research on language description and comparison informed by discourse semantics (e.g. Martin 1983; Martin & Cruz 2018; Martin, Doran & Figueredo 2020; Martin, Quiroz & Figueredo forthcoming; Rose 2001; 2018; Shin 2018).<sup>119</sup> In the description of interpersonal grammar, the extant descriptions typically privilege systems at exchange rank (NEGOTIATION) and downplay or omit systems at move rank (SPEECH FUNCTION). The main reason seems to be the lack of additional explanatory power afforded by the SPEECH FUNCTION system aside from grammatical metaphor. The extant SPEECH FUNCTION system falls short in explaining the discourse functions of the clause in exchanges beyond pairs of moves. The current description of the move systems provides a layer of explanation that builds upon NEGOTIATION in discourse semantics, which is potentially relevant to other discourse semantically informed descriptions.

Furthermore, the interaction between the move systems INTERLOCUTOR POSITIONING and DIALOGIC POSITIONING offers a more unified discourse semantic perspective for the descriptions of interpersonal grammatical resources. The descriptive significance of this development is shown in its power to provide a description of Khorchin Mongolian modal particles (typically realising options in ASSESSMENT) in a systematic way in relation to their discourse functions.

Traditional descriptions of Khorchin Mongolian modal particles (Bayancogtu 2002:382–387; Chaghanhada 1991) have focused mainly on describing them as a separate word class that does not have its independent ‘syntactic function’. The modal particles are characterised based on introspection about isolated sentences instead of the way they are used in actual conversations. The discourse semantic analyses of conversational

<sup>119</sup> This approach is understood here as the discourse semantic characterisation of the grammatical systems derived from axial argumentation – see Chapter 2.

interactions offered in this thesis specify the meaning of the moves that involve modal particles in terms of their positioning of interlocutors with respect to their knowledge of the information under negotiation and their engagement with alternative voices when consensus needs to be negotiated. The discourse semantic characterisation of the modal particles in my corpus is summarised in Table 5.6 below (repeating Table 3.5).

Table 5.6 The discourse functions of modal particles in Khorchin Mongolian

		speaker positioned: +knowledge		
		addressee not positioned	addressee positioned	
			+knowledge	-knowledge
heterogloss	<b>expand</b>	<i>pɛ<sup>L</sup>, ʃəmu</i>	<i>ʃɛ, pɛ</i>	<i>(kən) ʃɛ, (piʃi) tɛ, pɛ</i>
	<b>contract</b>	<i>xvi, ʃi</i>	<i>(NEG) tvi, wɛijɛŋ, ʃitə</i>	<i>tɛ (ɔtɔ), ʃu, (N-PTCP) ʃitə, ʃitvi, ʃui</i>

## 5.1.2 Findings and contributions in lexicogrammar

The primary contribution of this thesis in terms of lexicogrammar is twofold. First, in terms of SFL's concern for describing languages in their own terms, this thesis is the first systematic account of a language from the Mongolic language family. The grammatical systems have been motivated axially and described as they are used in real interactions based on their functions in discourse. Second, in terms of providing an integrated description of Khorchin Mongolian interpersonal grammar, the theoretical dimensions of axis (especially SFL's privileging of paradigmatic axis) and rank have made it possible to motivate clause systems in terms of clause structure. And they have enabled a description of the way modal particles interact with TENSE at clause rank and the way clause systems are related to systems at group and word rank.

### 5.1.2.1 Cluster of systems

Working within systemic functional theory, this thesis treats the paradigmatic axis as the organising principle of grammar (Martin 2013a; 2015a; Matthiessen & Halliday 2009). This contrasts with the syntagmatic focus of traditional descriptions of Khorchin Mongolian (Bayancogtu 2002; Chaganhada 1995). Theoretically, this allows a representation of the way the systems cluster in relation to the interpersonal function they serve. The clustering of clause systems in Khorchin Mongolian for enacting social relations (i.e. interpersonal clause systems) is summarised as Figure 5.5.

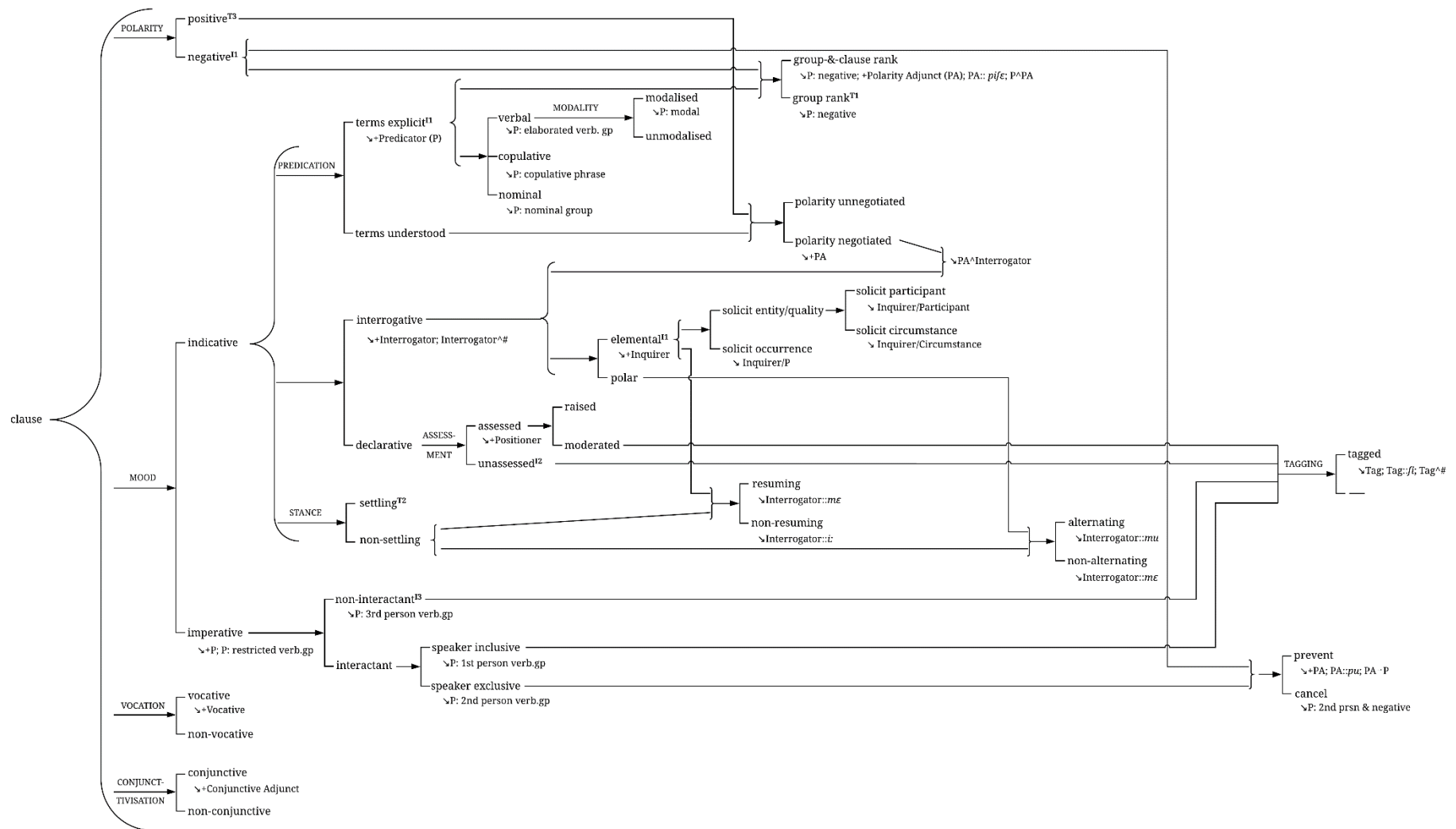


Figure 5.5 Interpersonal clause systems in Khorchin Mongolian

The system network in Figure 5.5 shows the interaction between the interpersonal systems that have been described separately from a syntagmatic perspective at lower ranks ('mood' and 'tense' for morpheme, 'polarity' and 'modality' for word, and various particles that have not been considered part of the clause structure). From a paradigmatic perspective, these systems at lower ranks are realisations of systems at the higher rank (i.e. clause) that interact closely with one another. The interaction is motivated by their realisation of the discourse semantic systems, alongside which they enact interpersonal meaning.<sup>120</sup>

Paradigmatically speaking, Figure 5.5 shows that the major interpersonal clause systems in Khorchin Mongolian are MOOD and POLARITY. From the perspective of MOOD, a clause is either [imperative] or [indicative]. From the perspective of POLARITY, a clause is either [positive] or [negative]. The paradigm of [indicative] comprises the more delicate types of [declarative] and [interrogative], and the systems of PREDICATION and STANCE.

### 5.1.2.2 Preselection across ranks

Axial reasoning across ranks has made it possible to motivate clause systems in terms of clause structures and their realisations down the group and word rank. This integrated approach has the following two advantages in relation to the description of Khorchin Mongolian.

First, (Khorchin) Mongolian has traditionally been described as an 'agglutinative language', which means a considerable amount of 'grammatical labour' is assigned to the word rank (Matthiessen 2015:154). This entails that the *valeur* of clause features is established through preselection of resources across group and word rank. For example, the distinction between [imperative] and [indicative] in Khorchin Mongolian is determined by the presence and the potential absence of the function Predicator and its group rank realisations. It is obligatory for a Khorchin Mongolian [imperative] clause to have a Predicator; and the Predicator is realised by a [restricted] verbal group (i.e. it lacks the potential to select for TENSE, POLARITY, MODALITY, and RELATIVE TENSE). The PERSON system available for [restricted] verbal groups ([first person], [second person], [third person]) makes the further distinctions in [imperative] possible – i.e. [interactant] and [non-interactant]; within [interactant], [speaker inclusive] and [speaker exclusive]. In other words, the clause rank features [interactant: speaker inclusive], [interactant: speaker exclusive], and [non-interactant] within the paradigm of [imperative] preselect the group rank features [first person], [second person], and [third person] respectively from the paradigm of [restricted]. The group rank features in turn preselect the word rank features [v-j], [v], and [v-k] respectively (Zhang 2020; also Appendix F).

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<sup>120</sup> Note that the VOCATION and CONJUNCTIVISATION systems do not interact with the other systems. This is an argument for treating Vocatives and Conjunctive Adjuncts as outside the Scope^Negotiator structure of the Khorchin Mongolian clause. These two systems are considered interpersonal nonetheless because of the way the discourse semantic systems they realise interact with the other interpersonal systems in discourse semantics. This is analogous to the interaction of systems at higher rank whose realisations at lower ranks are relatively independent (e.g. MOOD and TENSE).

Second, the dimensions of axis and rank have allowed for the discussion of the interaction between systems whose realisations are at different regions of lexicogrammar. This advantage is most apparent in interpreting the interaction between MOOD and POLARITY and that between STANCE and ASSESSMENT in Khorchin Mongolian. While the realisations of MOOD and STANCE involve preselection of features from the verbal group systems, the realisations of POLARITY and ASSESSMENT involve lexis (i.e. negation items and modal particles). It is thus not necessary to make a distinction between ‘morphology’ and ‘syntax’. The underlying representation of the description is always interaction between systems.

#### 5.1.2.2.1 MOOD and POLARITY

Both [imperative] and [indicative] in MOOD involve complex interaction with POLARITY. Alongside the realisation of the Predicator, the [imperative: non-interactant] clauses are distinct from the [imperative: interactant] clauses in that they do not select [negative]. An [imperative: interactant: speaker exclusive] clause is differentiated from an [imperative: interactant: speaker inclusive] clause in that the former opens the possibility of negating to [prevent] an action or to [cancel] an action (see Figure 5.5 above).

The selection from POLARITY of an [indicative] clause is affected by its more delicate options in PREDICATION. Unlike [imperative], it is not obligatory for a Khorchin Mongolian [indicative] clause to have a Predicator – as suggested by its selection for PREDICATION in Figure 5.5. When there is a Predicator, it is realised either by an [elaborated] verbal group, a copulative phrase or a nominal group. These three possibilities are collectively called [terms explicit] as opposed to [terms understood]. [Terms explicit] clauses and [terms understood] clauses interact differently with the system of POLARITY. When a clause selects [terms explicit], the realisations of [negative] polarity is either at group rank or at both clause and group rank. There is no explicit realisation of [positive] polarity. When a clause selects [terms understood], [negative] polarity is realised by the function Polarity Adjunct at clause rank. The Polarity Adjunct is also used to realise [positive] polarity when it is negotiated. The interaction between the types of [terms explicit] clauses and the options in POLARITY is summarised in Table 5.7 below (repeating Table 4.3).

Table 5.7 The interaction between MOOD, POLARITY, and terms-explicit clauses

	positive	negative: group rank	negative: group-&-clause rank
verbal	<i>tsr vsu-tʃ</i> 3SG ask-PST ‘He asked.’	<i>tsr vsu-sɤn kue</i> 3SG ask-PST.PTCP <b>NEG</b> ‘He didn’t ask.’	<i>tsr vsu-sɤn kue piʃe</i> 3SG ask-PST.PTCP <b>NEG NEG</b> ‘(It’s) <b>not</b> (that) he didn’t ask.’
	<i>tsr vsu-sɤ me</i> 3SG ask-PST.PTCP IP ‘Did he ask?’	<i>tsr vsu-sɤn kue me</i> 3SG ask-PST.PTCP <b>NEG</b> IP ‘Didn’t he ask?’	<i>tsr vsu-sɤn kue piʃe me</i> 3SG ask-PST.PTCP <b>NEG NEG</b> IP ‘Isn’t it that he didn’t ask?’
	<i>tsr tor tʃe pe:-tʃ</i> 3SG like COM COP-PST ‘He liked it.’	<i>tsr tor tʃe pe:-sɤn kue</i> 3SG like COM COP-PST.PTCP <b>NEG</b> ‘He didn’t like it.’	<i>tsr tor tʃe pe:-sɤn kue piʃe</i> 3SG like COM COP-PST.PTCP <b>NEG NEG</b> ‘(It’s) <b>not</b> (that) he didn’t like it.’

	positive	negative: group rank	negative: group-&-clause rank
interrogative	<i>tsr tor tʰe pe:-sə me</i> 3SG like COM COP-PST.PTCP IP 'Did he like it?'	<i>tsr tor tʰe pe:-sən kuɛ me</i> 3SG like COM COP-PST.PTCP <b>NEG</b> IP 'Didn't he like it?'	<i>tsr tor tʰe pe:-sən kuɛ piʃe me</i> 3SG like COM COP-PST.PTCP <b>NEG NEG</b> IP 'Isn't it that he didn't like it?'
declarative	<i>tsr tor tʰe</i> 3SG like COM 'He has interest.'	<i>tsr tor ukue</i> 3SG like <b>NEG</b> 'He (has) <b>no</b> interest.'	<i>tsr tor ukue piʃe</i> 3SG like <b>NEG NEG</b> 'It's <b>not</b> like he (has) <b>no</b> interest.'
nominal	<i>tsr tor tʰe me</i> 3SG like COM IP '(Does) he have interest?'	<i>tsr tor ukue me</i> 3SG like <b>NEG</b> IP '(Does) he (have) <b>no</b> interest?'	<i>tsr tor ukue piʃe me</i> 3SG like <b>NEG NEG</b> IP 'Isn't it that he (has) <b>no</b> interest?'

The realisations of [negative] and [positive: polarity negotiated] for [terms understood] clauses are exemplified in (5.1) below.

(5.1)

a. [negative]

<i>mstʰər</i>	<i>[[tə:r əs uk-sən]]</i>	<i>xəən</i>	<b>piʃe</b>
those	above ABL give-PST	sheep	<b>NEG</b>
Scope			Negotiator
			Polarity Adjunct

'Those (are) **not** the sheep given from above (= government)'

b. [positive]

<i>mstʰər</i>	<i>[[tə:r əs uk-sən]]</i>	<i>xəən</i>	<b>mɔ:-nɛ</b>
those	above ABL give-PST	sheep	<b>AFFIRM-NPST</b>
Scope			Negotiator
			Polarity Adjunct

'Those (**ARE**) the sheep given from above (= government)'

#### 5.1.2.2.2 STANCE and ASSESSMENT

The interaction between the systems of STANCE and ASSESSMENT accounts for the functions of the Khorchin Mongolian interpersonal particles within the domain of clause. These particles have generally been analysed as outside the structure of the clause when considered from the perspectives of linguistic theories that do not acknowledge an interpersonal layer of organisation for clause (e.g. Chinggeltei 1999:371–384).<sup>121</sup>

From the perspective of STANCE, an [indicative] clause is either [settling] or [non-settling]. The options are determined by the interaction between the clause final particles in Khorchin Mongolian and the realisation of TENSE in the Predicator of a [term explicit] clause (or the [terms explicit] counterpart of a [terms understood] clause). TENSE is realised by a [non-participle] suffix in a [settling] clause and a [participle] suffix in a [non-settling] clause. While [settling] clauses are typically involved in the process of 'settling down' a proposition (e.g. negotiation of a proposition presented in a previous move), [non-settling] clauses are not (e.g. realising moves that initiate an exchange or present a

<sup>121</sup> The Mongolian terminology for this set of particles is *sola uge*, literally 'idle words'.



proposition as indisputable).

The systems of PREDICATION and STANCE interact closely with the sub-types of [indicative] – i.e. [interrogative] and [declarative]. While [interrogative] clauses require an obligatory Interrogator function, [declarative] clauses require a Positioner function when they are [assessed]. Interrogator is realised by interrogative particles. Positioner is realised by modal particles. The STANCE system and the further options in [declarative: assessed] – [moderated] and [raised] – are used to characterise the various interrogative and modal particles in Khorchin Mongolian from a grammatical perspective. This is summarised in Table 5.8 below (repeating Table 4.7; cf. the discourse semantic characterisation of modal particles in Table 5.6 above). The modal particles used in [raised] and [moderated] clauses present propositions in a way that ‘raises’ and ‘moderates’ the expectation for consensus respectively.

Table 5.8 STANCE and the possible realisations of Positioner and Interrogator

STANCE	Positioner in declarative	Interrogator in interrogative	
		polar	elemental
settling	<i>ʃɛ, kənə, xvi, ʃitvi, ʃitə, ʃvi, ʃv, ʃi, pɐ, tɐ</i>	<i>u:</i>	<i>tɐ</i>
non-settling	<i>ʃɐmu, wɛijɐŋ, ʃitə</i>	<i>mɛ, mu</i>	<i>i:, mɛ</i>

This interaction between the realisation of TENSE and the modal particles has been noted in Chaganhada (1991). For example, he noticed that *pɐ* is used after the non-participle suffixes *-tʃ* and *-n* and *ʃɐmu* after participle suffixes *-sən* and *-x*.<sup>122</sup> The account in this thesis shows that this correspondence is systematic and meaningful.

### 5.1.2.3 Khorchin Mongolian as a Negotiator-based language

Given that in the interpersonal organisation of a Khorchin Mongolian clause not any one function is obligatory under all circumstances, a broad function of Negotiator is used to generalise the functions of Predicator, Positioner, Interrogator, Polarity Adjunct, and Tag in making a Khorchin Mongolian clause an interactive event realising moves in exchanges. The description shows that the meaning realised in the Negotiator is not confined to that specific part of the clause; instead it ‘scopes over’ the rest of the clause (the Scope) in the characteristic ‘prosodic’ manner of interpersonal meaning.

From the perspective of cross-linguistic comparison in SFL description, interpersonal meaning in Khorchin Mongolian is realised prosodically (via what Matthiessen refers to as ‘juncture prosody’ (1995:464)) – segmentally at the end of a clause (e.g. the insertion of Positioner and Interrogator). This makes it similar to the ‘Predicator-based languages’ described in Teruya et al. (2007) (Thai, Vietnamese, Mandarin Chinese, and Japanese) and Korean, Tagalog, Spanish and the like as they are described in Shin (2018), Martin (1990; 2004), and Quiroz (2008; 2013; 2018). It has been argued in Chapter 4, however, that Khorchin Mongolian does not necessarily involve a Predicator in its interpersonal organisation. Thus, an alternative characterisation – ‘Negotiator-based language’ – is

<sup>122</sup> What this thesis calls ‘non-participle’ and ‘participle’ tense suffixes are referred to as ‘indicative’ and ‘adjectival verb’ suffixes in Chaganhada (1991).

preferred. This is shown in Figure 5.6 below (repeating Figure 4.9).

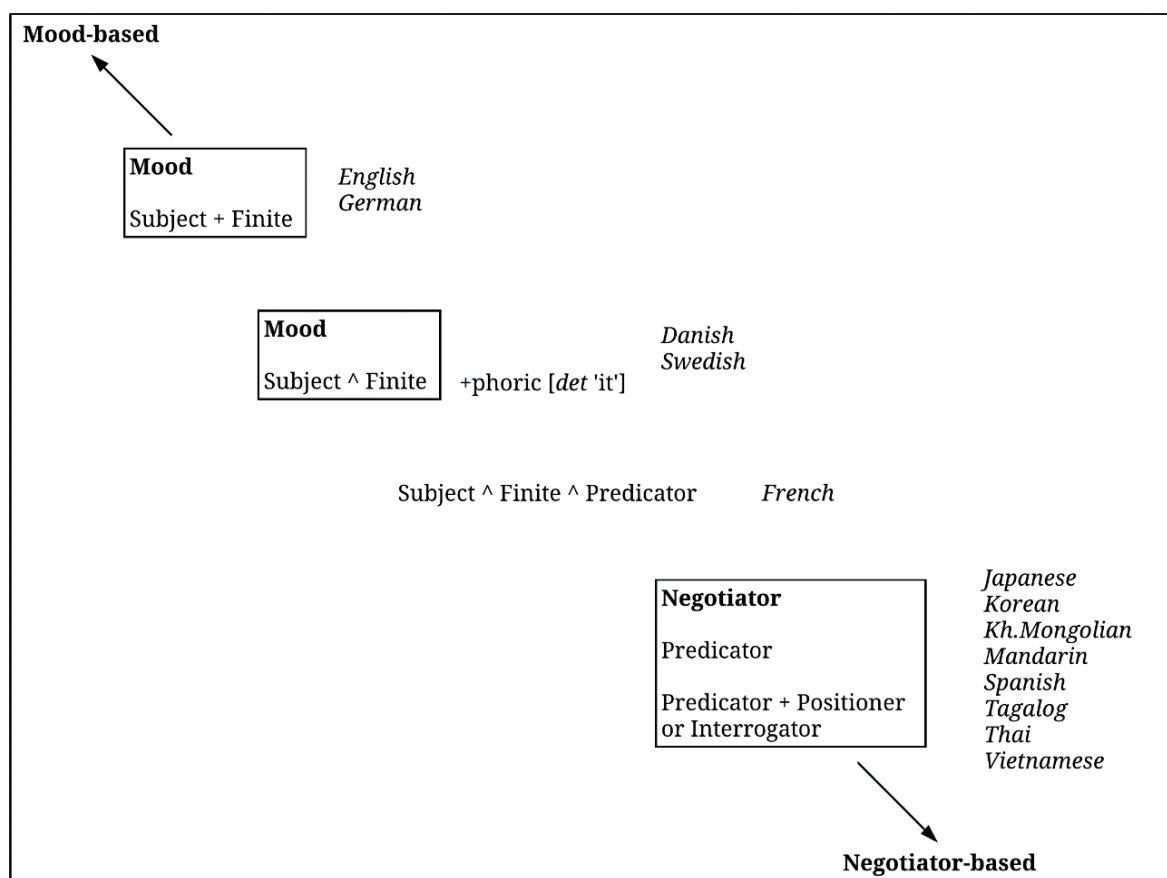


Figure 5.6 Mood-based language and Negotiator-based language (adapted from Teruya et al. 2007)

## 5.2 Future directions

Along with its contributions, this thesis also opens up possibilities for further research. This section uses SFL's 'trinocular perspective' to map out future directions.

Looking up, the discourse semantic resources described in Chapter 3 can be used to explore aspects of TENOR at register stratum. This is particularly true in relation to the corpus underlying this description, given that the conversations in the corpus are among speakers from a range of 'predetermined' social relations – among family members, colleagues, and government officials and peasants. The corpus of this study can thus be used to see how such social variables bear on the probabilities of the options in discourse semantics and lexicogrammar as speakers negotiate interpersonal relationships.

Looking around in discourse semantics, further studies may investigate the impact of incorporating DIALOGIC POSITIONING as a move system on the analysis of conversations from the perspective of APPRAISAL. The previous studies on APPRAISAL in conversation have tended to focus on lexis realising ATTITUDE and GRADUATION (Eggins & Slade 1997; Knight 2010; 2013; Martin 2000a; 2019; Martin & Zappavigna 2016; Zappavigna & Martin 2018).

The realisation of DIALOGIC POSITIONING in this study, however, focuses on the clause rank realisation of move options, and is thus oriented to the grammatical end of the lexicogrammatical stratum. Questions can now be asked about how the APPRAISAL lexes interact with one another on a move by move basis in relation to the selections from DIALOGIC POSITIONING as well as INTERLOCUTOR POSITIONING.

Looking around in lexicogrammar (within the same metafunction), the thesis did not include discussion of the interaction between ‘modal adverbs’ and modal particles in Khorchin Mongolian. The adverbial realisations of ASSESSMENT in Khorchin Mongolian is not as elaborate as its realisation through the modal particles. But research on their interaction would provide further insights into the [moderated] and [raised] options in the ASSESSMENT system. An example of this is the restriction between the expression of low probability *pərk* ‘may’ and the modal particle *fū* (‘I know, but you don’t know; you should agree with me’) that realises the feature [raised] (\**tʰər pərk ir-ən fū* 3SG may come-NPST MP ‘[I know] he may come’).<sup>123</sup>

Looking around in lexicogrammar (across metafunctions), in order to give a comprehensive account of Khorchin Mongolian grammar, the ideational and textual metafunctions need to be studied using comparable methods. The comparable discourse semantic systems for the exploration of the ideational meaning – IDEATION and CONNEXION – are provided in Martin (1992a:Ch.4 and Ch.5), and have been further developed in Hao (2015; 2020). The comparable description of textual meaning may draw on the PERIODICITY system presented in Martin & Rose (2007:Ch.6) and its application in the study of THEME in Spanish by Moyano (2016).

Looking around inter-stratally, interpersonal grammatical metaphor is yet to be explored for Khorchin Mongolian. It is still premature to discuss the implication of the diversification of the meaning-making resources at exchange and move rank on their congruent and metaphorical realisations in the grammar. However, the grammatical realisation of move (a) in (5.2) below could potentially be analysed as metaphorical (adjusting (4.31)).

(5.2) W = wife, H = husband, O = government official

a. W: K1

spkr	adrs	<i>vsu-sən</i>	<i>kue</i>	<i>piʃe</i>	<i>me</i>
+K	+K	ask-PST.PTCP	NEG	NEG	IP
contract		Negotiator			
		Predicator		Polarity Adjunct	Interrogator

‘(Is it) not (the case that) they did not ask us?’

b. H: K2f

spkr	adrs	<i>ə:</i>	<i>vsu-sən</i>	<i>kue</i>
+K	+K	INTJ	ask-PST.PTCP	NEG
contract		Negotiator		
		Predicator		

‘(They) didn’t ask’

<sup>123</sup> Some commonly used modal adverbs in Khorchin Mongolian are borrowed from Mandarin, e.g. 肯定 *kěndìng* ‘must’ and 可能 *kěnéng* ‘may’ (as recorded in Brosig 2014:33) for propositions and 必须 *bìxū* ‘must’ for proposals.

Move (a) is realised by an [interrogative: polar] clause. The move rank selection is [speaker positioned: +knowledge & addressee positioned: +knowledge]. The typical realisation of this bundle of features at K1 is [declarative] (see Table 5.4 above). Thus, its realisation by [interrogative] could potentially be considered metaphorical.

Looking down along the rank scale, the verb and morpheme systems involved in the realisation of the interpersonal clause structure need to be further elaborated. The verb rank realisation of TENSE and PERSON in the verbal group realisation of the Predicator was presented as paradigm in this thesis. However, the axial relations they enter into at word rank and their realisations at morpheme rank need to be further explored. From the traditional description of Khorchin Mongolian (e.g. Bayancogtu 2002), it is clear that the language is rich in resources at these lower ranks. These resources at lower ranks should then be considered in the context of the resources at higher ranks. As Matthiessen (2015:153) observes, “the general principle that emerges again and again in the description of different languages with a reasonably elaborate word grammar is that word grammar operates intimately together with clause and group grammar”.

Looking down in terms of stratification, the description of prosodic phonological resources, particularly intonation contours, would provide further insights into the realisation of the resources described in this thesis. A rising intonation contour, for example, typically realises [interrogative: polar], which in turn realises [speaker positioned: -knowledge & addressee positioned: +knowledge] at K2. The same bundle of move features at K2, on the other hand, could potentially be realised by a [declarative] clause realised on a rising intonation.

Looking outward to non-SFL studies in (Khorchin) Mongolian, one possible avenue of dialogue is the provision a discourse-based characterisation of what has been described under the system of ASSESSMENT in this thesis. The system includes items that express ‘evidentiality’ (e.g. *kənə* HEARSAY (Brosig 2014; 2018; Xue 2013) and */itə* INFERENCE) and ‘modality’ (e.g. *pə* ‘low probability’).<sup>124</sup> Along with analysing them in relation to ‘source of information’ and ‘epistemic’ (Aikhenvald 2018; Aikhenvald & LaPolla 2007), it is essential to see what they do in conversations. Aikhenvald (2018) in fact emphasises the importance of studying ‘evidentiality’ based on conversational data. However, in order to characterise ‘evidentiality’ (and ‘modality’) in a more systematic way in terms of their functions in conversations, a meaning-based investigation of the discourse of conversation as conducted in this thesis is necessary.

Conducted as it has been within the framework of an ‘applicable linguistic theory’ such as SFL (e.g. Halliday 2008b), the linguistic description in this thesis also has a number of implications for application. One such direction has to do with the issue of ‘disciplinary literacy’. The description of Khorchin Mongolian in this thesis partly reflects the resources children use to mean at home. As studies on the use of English in schooling in SFL have

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<sup>124</sup> Brosig (2014; 2018) suggests that the evidentiality markers from Middle Mongolian are lost in Khorchin Mongolian due to its contact with Mandarin, a language that does not have grammaticalised evidentiality system.

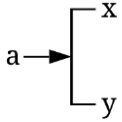
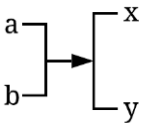
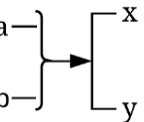
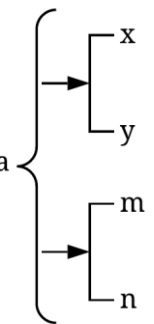
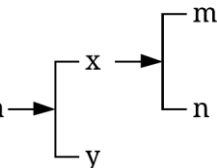
shown (Christie 2010; Martin 2000c; 2013b; Rose & Martin 2012), the interpersonal meaning-making resources of Khorchin Mongolian learned and used at home are potentially different from interpersonal meanings as they are negotiated in classrooms or in the writing in Standard Mongolian that children need to master to be successful at school. This points to the need for understanding the language of various school subjects in Standard Mongolian in order to develop an explicit pedagogy embedded in literacy programs in Inner Mongolia. Research along this line will complement studies from the perspective of language policy (e.g. Zhou 2000; 2001; 2005).

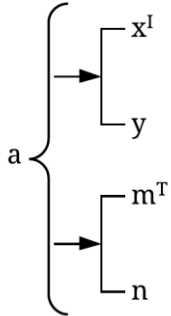
## Appendix A Notational conventions

The symbols used in this thesis mainly follow Matthiessen & Halliday (2009) and Martin (2013a).

### A.1 Systemic notations (adjusting Matthiessen & Halliday 2009:98)

#### A.1.1 System networks

	<p><b>system:</b> if [a], then [x] or [y] (abbreviated as [a: x/y])</p>
	<p><b>disjunction in entry condition:</b> if [a/b], then [x/y]</p>
	<p><b>conjunction in entry condition:</b> if [a] and [b] (abbreviated as [a &amp; b]), then [x/y]</p>
	<p><b>simultaneity:</b> if [a], then simultaneously [x/y] and [m/n]</p>
	<p><b>delicacy ordering:</b> if [a], then [x/y]; if [x], then [m/n]</p>

	<p><b>conditional marking:</b> if [x], then also [m]</p>
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### A.1.2 Symbols related to class, i.e. bundle of features in systems

- [ ] features in systems, e.g. [declarative]
- [a : b] more delicate options, e.g. [indicative: declarative] '[declarative] is a more delicate feature for [indicative]; it inherits all the properties of [indicative]'
- [a & b] 'and', e.g. [declarative & negative] 'both [declarative] and [negative]'
- [a / b] 'or', e.g. [+knowledge/-knowledge] 'either [+knowledge] or [-knowledge]'
- ⊃ add realisation statement in system networks

## A.2 Functional notations

- + insert function, e.g. +Predicator 'insert Predicator'
- :
- realise function by a class from the rank below, e.g. Predicator: verbal group 'the Predicator at clause rank is realised by verbal group at group rank'
- :: realise function by a one-member class, e.g. Interrogator::*mε* 'the Interrogator is realised by *mε*'
- ^ sequence function immediately after another function, e.g. Predicator ^ Positioner 'the Positioner is realised immediately after the Predicator'
- sequence function relative to another function, e.g. PA→P 'the Polarity Adjunct is realised before the Predicator'
- / conflate functions, e.g. Inquirer/Predicator 'the Inquirer is conflated with the Predicator'
- # function realised at unit boundary, e.g. Tag ^ # 'the function Tag is realised at the clause-final position'
- ; separate structural operations within realisation statements, e.g. +P; P: verbal group 'insert Predicator and realise the Predicator by a verbal group'

### A.3 Symbols used in the transcription line

-	morpheme boundary
	clause boundary
[ ]	downranked group
[ [ ] ]	downranked clause
//4 //	falling-rising tone
//2 //	rising tone
H (superscript on phonemes)	high pitch
L (superscript on phonemes)	low pitch

### A.4 Orthographic conventions

Initial capital letter	function names, e.g. Polarity Adjunct
Small capital letters	system names, e.g. MOOD
Lowercase	class names, e.g. interpersonal, verbal group, modal particle

### References

- Martin, J.R. 2013. *Systemic Functional Grammar: A next step into the theory - Axial relations*. Beijing: Higher Education Press.
- Matthiessen, Christian M.I.M. & M.A.K. Halliday. 2009. *Systemic functional grammar: A first step into the theory*. Beijing: Higher Education Press.



## Appendix B Transcription and transliteration scheme

### B.1 Transcription

The phonemes used in the transcription line largely follow Tiemei's (2015) findings. One noticeable difference between the variety described in this thesis and the Hinggan variety described in Tiemei (2015) is that [tʰ] and [ʃ] are distinctive (also see Guifang & Tulgaguri 2008), e.g. [ʃe:s] 'sand' vs [tʰe:s] 'paper' (cf. Bayancogtu 2002).

The vowels are divided into monophthongs and diphthongs. Within monophthongs, distinctions are made between short and long vowels. The distinction between short and long vowel is not distinctive in non-initial syllables. In the transcription, only short monophthong phonemes and diphthong phonemes are used in the non-initial syllables.

[monophthong: short]

/e/ /ə/ /i/ /ɔ/ /ʊ/ /u/ /ε/ /œ/ /y/ /ə/

[monophthong: long]

/e:/ /ə:/ /i:/ /ɔ:/ /ʊ:/ /u:/ /ε:/ /œ:/ /y:/

[diphthong]

/ue/ /ue/ /ui/ /uε/ /uə/ /ui/

[consonant]

/n/ /p/ /pʰ/ /x/ /k/ /kʰ/ /l/ /m/ /s/ /ʃ/ /t/ /tʰ/ /tʰ/ /tʃ/ /j/ /r/ /w/ /ŋ/

The possible syllable structures are (V=vowel; C=consonant): V CV VC CVC. Two-syllable and three-syllable words are most common. Typically, the stress of a word is on the last syllable (Tiemei 2015:104–121).

## B.2 Transliteration

The transliteration scheme used for Traditional/Classical Mongolian Script (Modern Written Mongolian) as it is used for Mongolian names in the translation of examples and references follows that used by the Library of Congress, the United States (<https://www.loc.gov/catdir/cpsol/romanization/mongolia.pdf>). When the authors in the references use a different transliteration of their names when they publish in English, their transliteration is preserved, e.g. Chinggeltei instead of Cinggeltei. For works published in Chinese, Chinese pinyin of the authors' names as they appear in the published paper is used, e.g. Chaganhada instead of Caganhada.

ᠠ	ᠡ	ᠢ	ᠣ	ᠤ	ᠥ	ᠦ
a	e	i	o	u	ö	ü

ᠨ	ᠪ	ᠫ	ᠬ	ᠭ	ᠮ	ᠯ	ᠰ	ᠱ	ᠲ	ᠳ	ᠴ	ᠵ	ᠷ	ᠬ	ᠬ	ᠬ	ᠬ	ᠬ	ᠬ
n	b	p	q	g	m	l	s	ś	t	d	c	z	y	r	v	f	k	ng	

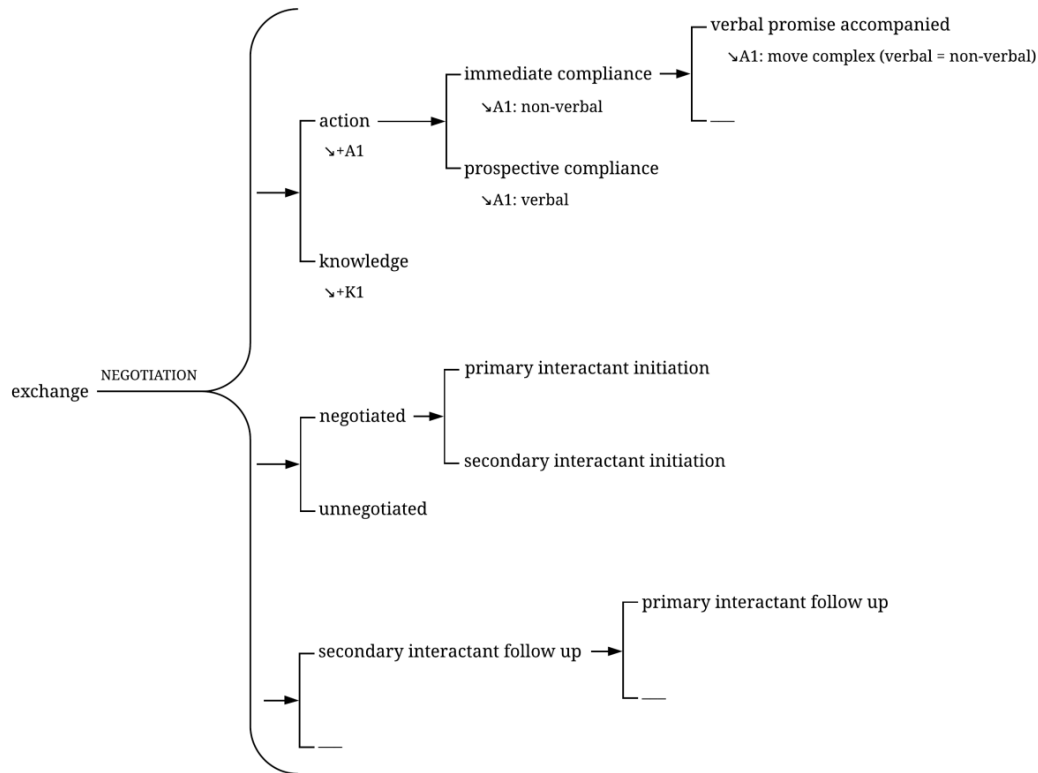
## References

- Bayancogtu. 2002. *Qorcin aman ayalgun u sodulul (A study of Khorchin dialect)*. Hohhot: Inner Mongolia University Press.
- Guifang & Tulgaguri. 2008. Jalaid aman yariyan u abiyalaburi in oncalig (The phonetic features of Jalaid dialect). *Journal of Inner Mongolia University for Nationalities: Social Sciences* 103(4). 12–21.
- Tiemei. 2015. Monggūl qelen u qorcin aman ayalgun u abiyan u dagun uqagan u jadalulta (Acoustic phonetics of Khorchin Mongolian). Inner Mongolia University.

# Appendix C Major interpersonal systems in Khorchin Mongolian

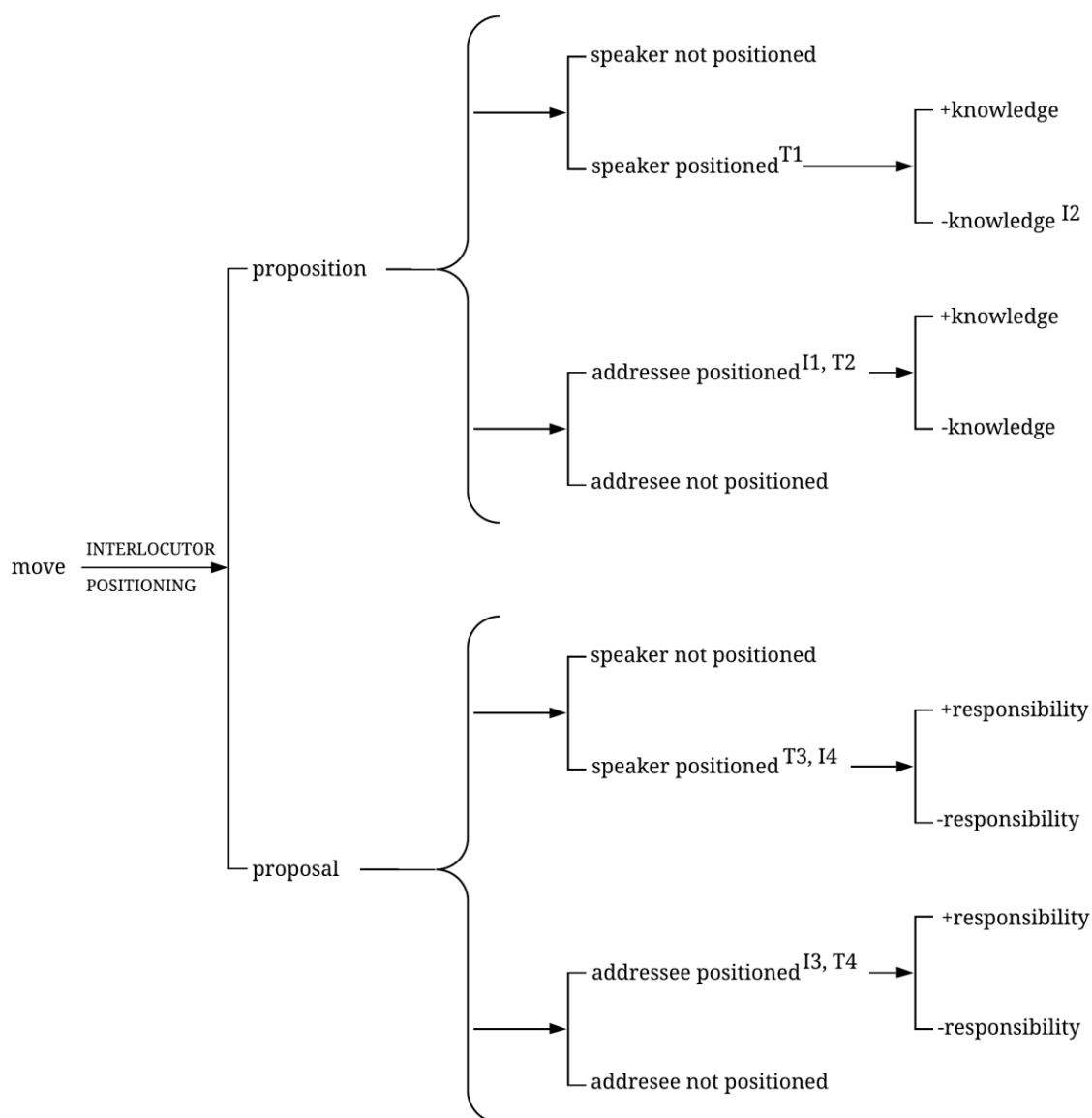
## C.1 Discourse semantic systems

### C.1.1 System network for exchange rank

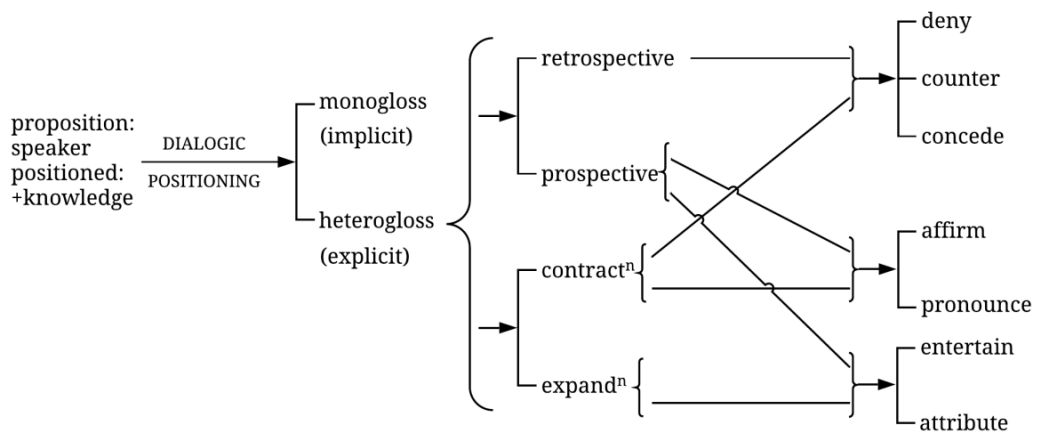


[negotiated & action] ↘+A2
[negotiated & knowledge] ↘+K2
[negotiated: primary interactant initiation & action] ↘+Da1; Da1^A2^A1
[negotiated: primary interactant initiation & knowledge] ↘+Dk1; Dk1^K2^K1
[negotiated: secondary interactant initiation & action] ↘A2^A1
[negotiated: secondary interactant initiation & knowledge] ↘K2^K1
[secondary interactant follow up & action] ↘+A2f; A1^A2f
[secondary interactant follow up & knowledge] ↘+K2f; K1^K2f
[secondary interactant follow up: primary interactant follow up & action] ↘+A1f; A2f^A1f
[secondary interactant follow up: primary interactant follow up & knowledge] ↘+K1f; K2f^K1f

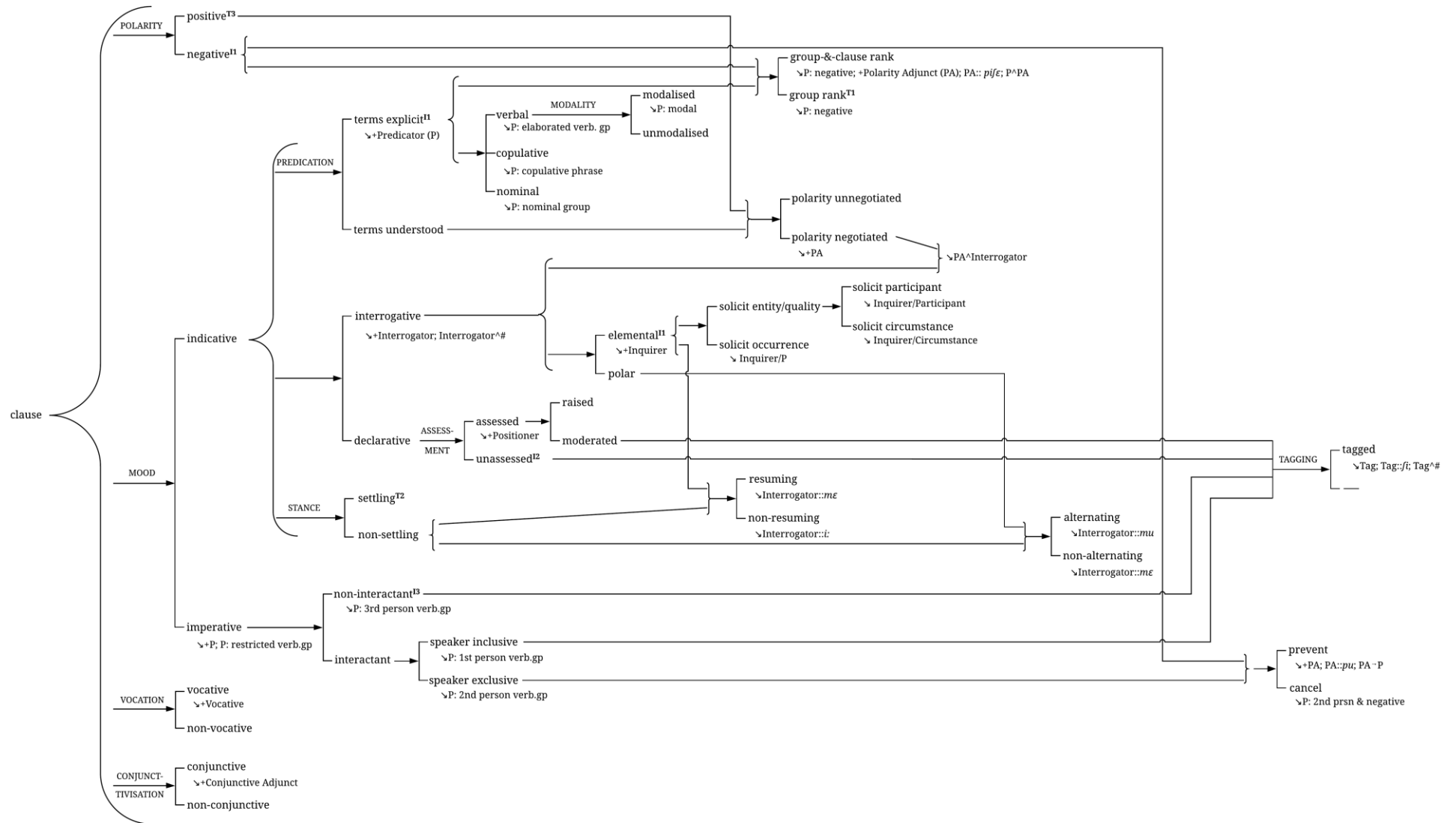
### C.1.2 System network for move rank



(cont.)



## C.2 Lexicogrammatical systems



## **Appendix D Research ethics clearance**

**Research Integrity & Ethics Administration**  
Human Research Ethics Committee

Friday, 18 August 2017

Prof James Martin  
Linguistics; Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences  
Email: james.martin@sydney.edu.au

Dear James

The University of Sydney Human Research Ethics Committee (HREC) has considered your application.

After consideration of your response to the comments raised your project has been approved.

Approval is granted for a period of four years from **18 August 2017** to **18 August 2021**

**Project title:** Toward a Clause Grammar of Modern Written Mongol and the Khorchin Dialect: A Systemic Functional Linguistics Perspective

**Project no.:** 2017/435

**First Annual Report due:** 18 August 2018

**Authorised Personnel:** Martin James; Zhang Dongbing;

**Documents Approved:**

Date Uploaded	Version number	Document Name
10/05/2017	Version 1	Human Ethics Safety Protocol
15/08/2017	Version 1	Initial contact message - English (version 1)
15/08/2017	Version 1	Initial contact message - Khorchin Mongolian (version 1)
15/08/2017	Version 1	Initial contact message recording (version 1)
15/08/2017	Version 2	Oral participant information statement - English (v2 clean)
15/08/2017	Version 2	Oral participant information statement- Mongolian (v2 clean)
15/08/2017	Version 2	Oral participant information statement recording (version 2)

**Condition/s of Approval**

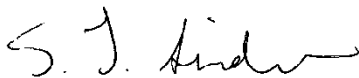
- Research must be conducted according to the approved proposal.
- An annual progress report must be submitted to the Ethics Office on or before the anniversary of approval and on completion of the project.
- You must report as soon as practicable anything that might warrant review of ethical approval of the project including:
  - Serious or unexpected adverse events (which should be reported within 72 hours).
  - Unforeseen events that might affect continued ethical acceptability of the project.
- Any changes to the proposal must be approved prior to their implementation (except where an amendment is undertaken to eliminate *immediate* risk to participants).

- Personnel working on this project must be sufficiently qualified by education, training and experience for their role, or adequately supervised. Changes to personnel must be reported and approved.
- Personnel must disclose any actual or potential conflicts of interest, including any financial or other interest or affiliation, as relevant to this project.
- Data and primary materials must be retained and stored in accordance with the relevant legislation and University guidelines.
- Ethics approval is dependent upon ongoing compliance of the research with the *National Statement on Ethical Conduct in Human Research*, the *Australian Code for the Responsible Conduct of Research*, applicable legal requirements, and with University policies, procedures and governance requirements.
- The Ethics Office may conduct audits on approved projects.
- The Chief Investigator has ultimate responsibility for the conduct of the research and is responsible for ensuring all others involved will conduct the research in accordance with the above.

This letter constitutes ethical approval only.

Please contact the Ethics Office should you require further information or clarification.

Sincerely



**Associate Professor Stephen Assinder**  
Chair  
Human Research Ethics Committee (HREC 1)

**The University of Sydney HRECs are constituted and operate in accordance with the National Health and Medical Research Council's (NHMRC) National Statement on Ethical Conduct in Human Research (2007) and the NHMRC's Australian Code for the Responsible Conduct of Research (2007).**



## Appendix E Sample data analyses

In the following analyses, the features instantiated are provided to the left of the transcription line. Free translations are given below each example. Unsure contents are enclosed in brackets. Halliday's (1994) logical semantic relations (= elaboration; + = extension; x = enhancement) are adopted to show relationship between moves (also see Ventola 1988) (Fg = fragment).

### D.1 Sample data 1 – 'family'

The interlocutors in the 'family' data sample below include members of a nuclear family comprising the daughter (D), the mother (M), the father (F), and a member of the extended family, the brother (B). The interaction was recorded when the interlocutors were making dumplings for lunch. The mother asked the daughter to chop some garlic before this interaction.

#### Exchange 1 (knowledge)

D:	K2	spkr	adrs	elemental	<i>xət</i>	<i>im-ə</i>	<i>i:</i>
		-K	+K		how.many	NDEF-NPST.PTCP	IP

'How many cloves do I chop?'

M:	K1	spkr	adrs	monogloss	declarative	<i>kɔp</i>	<i>tɜpən</i>	<i>sɛlə</i>
		+K	-K			three	four	clove

'Three or four cloves.'

#### Exchange 2 (action)

M:	A1	spkr	adrs	speaker inclusive	<i>kəkə</i>	<i>tʰe</i>	<i>tʰin</i>	<i>xɔjɪl</i>	<i>sɒvnni</i>	<i>it-jə</i>
		+R	-R		brother	COM	2POSS	two	chopped.garlic	eat-IMP.1

'Your brother and I will eat some chopped garlic.'

#### Exchange 3 (knowledge)

D:	K1	spkr	adrs	monogloss	declarative	<i>nœ:r</i>	<i>xur-ət</i>	<i>ə:</i>
		+K	-K			sleepiness	arrive-PFV	EMP

'I'm so sleepy.'

xK1	spkr	adrs	expand	declarative	<i>kʰəntiŋ</i>	<i>ərtʰə</i>	<i>əm</i>	<i>oː-sən</i>	<i>nɛ</i>	<i>pɐ</i>
	+K	NP			must	morning	medicine	drink-PST.PTCP	GEN	MP

'Must be [maybe] because I took some medicine in the morning.'

=K1	spkr	adrs	monogloss	declarative	<i>nut</i>	<i>ən</i>	<i>urkə-tʃ</i>	<i>ʃɔl-ə</i>	<i>u</i>	<i>lɛ</i>
	+K	-K			eye	ACC.POSS	open-CVB	be.able.to-NPST.PTCP	NEG	RES

'I cannot open my eyes.'

#### Exchange 4 (knowledge)

M:	K2	spkr	adrs	polar	<i>tʰi</i>	<i>kən kʰɛŋ</i>	<i>oː-sə</i>	<i>mɛ</i>
		-K	+K		2SG	Gankang	drink-PST.PTCP	IP

'Did you take Gankang (name of a medicine)?'

D:	K1	spkr	adrs	monogloss	<i>ŋː</i>
		+K	-K		INTJ

'Yes.'

M:	K2f	spkr	adrs	<i>ɔː</i>
		-K	+K	INTJ

'Oh.'

#### Exchange 5 (knowledge)

M:	K1	spkr	adrs	contract	declarative	<i>ɐːnɛːn tən</i>	<i>mini</i>	<i>ixin</i>	<i>nɛ</i>	<i>ɔːr mɛːr</i>	<i>ən</i>	<i>ʃɔx</i>	<i>tœlkən</i>	<i>pɛː-n</i>	<i>tɐ</i>
		+K	+K			no.wonder	1SG.POSS	daughter	GEN	temper	3POSS	much	turbulent	COP-NPST	MP

'No wonder my daughter's temper is quite turbulent today [as it is obvious from her behaviour].'

D:	K2f	spkr	adrs	monogloss	<i>ŋː</i>
		+K	+K		INTJ

'Yes.'

#### Exchange 6 (knowledge)

M:	K1	spkr	adrs	monogloss	declarative	<i>nœ:r</i>	<i>ən</i>	<i>xur-ət</i>	<i>ʃəu-tʃ</i>	<i>ʃəl-x</i>	<i>ue</i>	<i>pəl-tʃ</i>	<i>ɛ:-n</i>
		+K	-K			sleepiness	3POSS	arrive-PFV	endure-CV	be.able.to-NPST.PTCP	NEG	become-PROG	COP-NPST

‘She is so sleepy that it is becoming hard to take.’

#### Exchange 7 (action)

M:	A2	spkr	adrs	speaker exclusive	<i>ən</i>	<i>xə:lək</i>	<i>tə:r</i>	<i>tʰœr-ul-ət</i>	<i>tʰep-ø</i>
		-R	+R		PROX	steamer	on	circle-CAUS-PFV	put-IMP.2

‘Put them on the steamer as a circle.’

F:	ch	spkr	adrs	declarative	<i>pi</i>	<i>tʰep-x</i>	<i>ue</i>
		-R	-R		1SG	put-NPST.PTCP	NEG

‘I won’t.’

	xch	spkr	adrs	declarative	<i>pi</i>	<i>ʃetʰ-x</i>	<i>ue</i>
		-R	-R		1SG	know.how-NPST.PTCP	NEG

‘I don’t know how.’

M:	rch	spkr	adrs	contract	declarative	<i>tʰi</i>	<i>ʃet-əx</i>	<i>im</i>	<i>ukue</i>
		+K	-K			2SG	know.how-NPST.PTCP	NDEF	NEG

‘There is nothing you know how to do.’

#### Exchange 8 (knowledge)

D:	K1	spkr	adrs	monogloss	declarative	<i>soənni</i>	<i>niəŋ~niəŋti</i>	<i>tw:-n</i>	<i>ʃi</i>
		+K	+K			chopped.garlic	very.small.pieces	chop-NPST	TAG

‘I should chop the garlic into very small pieces, right?’

M:	K2f	spkr	adrs	monogloss	<i>ə:</i>
		+K	+K		INTJ

‘Yes.’

### Exchange 9 (action)

D:	Da1	spkr	adrs	declarative	<i>tʰini</i>	<i>tʰər</i>	<i>im</i>	<i>ər</i>	<i>tʰin</i>	<i>toː-tʃ</i>	<i>pəl-nə</i>	<i>fɪ</i>	<i>kənmiɛntʃɛŋ</i>	<i>ər</i>	<i>tʰin</i>
		+R	-R		2SG.POSS	DIST	NDEF	INS	2POSS	chop-CVB	allow-NPST	TAG	rolling.pin	INS	2POSS

‘I can chop with your rolling pin, right?’

M:	ch	spkr	adrs	<i>ukue</i>
		-R	-R	NEG

‘No.’

### Exchange 10 (action)

M:	A2	spkr	adrs	speaker exclusive	<i>pətu</i>	<i>kər</i>	<i>ən</i>	<i>pʰei-ə</i>
		-R	+R		knife	INS	POSS	smash-IMP.2

‘Smash with your knife.’

=A2	spkr	adrs	declarative	<i>pʰei-lə</i>	<i>kəsər</i>	<i>(xə</i>	<i>on-əd</i>	<i>ir-tʰəx-ən)</i>
	-R	+R		smash-SBJV	COND	all	fall-PFV	come-PFV-NPST

‘Once you smash them, the coat will come off.’

### Exchange 11 (action)

F:	A2	spkr	adrs	declarative	<i>tʰi</i>	<i>tʰər</i>	<i>kʰəŋtʰyɛŋ/ui</i>	<i>nɛ</i>	<i>pʰɛŋsən</i>	<i>təʔər</i>	<i>xiː-kət</i>	<i>nək</i>	<i>xəjər</i>	<i>sɛp-lə</i>	<i>pəl-tʰəx-ən</i>
		-R	+R		2SG	DIST	mineral.water	GEN	bottle	inside	put-PFV	one	two	shake-SBJV	okay-PFV-NPST

‘Put them in a mineral water bottle and shake them; the coat will come off.’

M:	ch	spkr	adrs	declarative	<i>xəjər</i>	<i>kʰə</i>	<i>ki</i>	<i>pəs</i>	<i>ət</i>
		NP	NP		two	CLF	ACC	DISS	CONC

‘No need for only one or two cloves.’

### Exchange 12 (action)

B:	A2	spkr	adrs	declarative	<i>tʰər</i>	<i>pətu</i>	<i>kər</i>	<i>pʰei-lə</i>	<i>ɛm~ɛmərən</i>	<i>pəː-kət</i>	<i>ir-tʰəx-ən</i>
		-R	+R		DIST	knife	INS	smash-SBJV	INT~easy	down-PFV	come-PFV-NPST

‘Smash it with the knife and the coat will come off very easily.’

D: 

A1	spkr	adrs
	+R	-R

*m.*  
 INTJ  
 ‘Okay.’

M: 

=A2	spkr	adrs	declarative
	-R	+R	

*penti kər ən pʰei-lə kəsər*  
 flat INS 3POSS smash-SBJV COND  
 ‘Once you smash it with the flat side (of the knife).’

## D.2 Sample data 2 – ‘colleague’

The interlocutors in the ‘colleague’ data sample below are teachers (T) at a Mongolian school. The conversation is recorded in T2 and T3’s office. T1 came in to swap sessions with T2 because she caught the flue and needs to get intravenous (IV) drip from a doctor in a neighbouring village.

### Exchange 1 (knowledge)

T1: 

K2	spkr	adrs	polar
	-K	+K	

*xəstʰitʰik ə: tʰi ti sə tʃɛ xəʈʰəl tʰɛ mɛ*  
Qasceceg VOC 2SG fourth session class COM IP  
‘Do you have class during the fourth session?’

T2: 

K1-Fg

*ti sə tʃɛ*  
fourth session  
‘Fourth session...’

### Exchange 2 (knowledge)

T1: 

K1	spkr	adrs	monogloss	declarative
	+K	+K		

*tʰini mənə ti sən tʃɛ sə niən nɛ ʃi*  
2SG.POSS now third session four grade GEN TAG

### Exchange 1 (knowledge) (cont.)

T2: 

K1	spkr	adrs	monogloss	declarative
	+K	-K		

*ti sə tʃɛ ɐŋki t ɐn*  
fourth session class DAT POSS  
‘I teach my own class (cohort) during the fourth session.’

T1: 

tr	spkr	adrs	polar
	NP	NP	

*tʰi ʔr-sən kuɛ mɛ ulɛkur*  
2SG teach-PST.PTCP NEG IP morning  
‘Have you not taught your own class (cohort) in the morning?’

T2: 

rtr	spkr	adrs	declarative
	NP	NP	

*ɐŋki t ɐn pi ɔr-utɛ kɛr*  
class DAT POSS 1SG teach-NOT.YET EMP  
‘I haven’t taught in my own class (cohort) yet.’

### Exchange 3 (knowledge)

T2:	K2	spkr	adrs	elemental	<i>jɛː-n</i>	<i>kə-s</i>	<i>iː</i>
		-K	+K		what-NPST	PROJ-PST.PTCP	IP

‘What did you want? (≈ Why did you ask?)’

T1:	K1	spkr	adrs	monogloss	declarative	<i>pi</i>	<i>xoɐn-ən</i>	<i>kə-tʃɛ</i>
		+K	-K			1SG	swap-NPST	PROJ-PST

‘I wanted to swap.’

### Exchange 4 (knowledge)

T2:	K2	spkr	adrs	elemental	<i>jɛː-ø</i>	<i>iː</i>
		-K	+K		what-NPST.PTCP	IP

‘Why?’

### Exchange 5 (knowledge)

T2:	K2	spkr	adrs	polar	<i>pɛs</i>	<i>kətɛ-ntʃ</i>	<i>ɛː-ø</i>	<i>mɛ</i>
		-K	+K		again	go.away-FUT	COP-NPST.PTCP	IP

‘Are you going to go away again?’

T1:	K1	spkr	adrs	monogloss	speaker inclusive	<i>kətɛ-ji</i>
		+K	-K			go.away-IMP.1

‘I’m going away.’

=K1	spkr	adrs	expand	declarative	<i>tienti-x</i>	<i>uɛ</i>	<i>ɔ/-ji</i>	<i>kə-tʃ</i>
		+K	-K		IV-NPST.PTCP	PURPOSE	go-IMP.1	PROJ-PST

‘I wanted to go get an IV.’

### Exchange 6 (knowledge)

T2:	K2	spkr	adrs	elemental	<i>tʰi</i>	<i>juː</i>	<i>kətɛ-kət</i>	<i>lɛ</i>	<i>iː</i>
		-K	+K		2SG	what	go.away-PFV	REP	IP

‘What do you keep going away?’

=K2	spkr	adrs	elemental	<i>jɛː-ø</i>	<i>iː</i>
	-K	+K		what-NPST.PTCP	IP

‘Why?’

T1:	K1	spkr	adrs	expand	declarative	<i>tiən-x</i>	<i>uɛ</i>	<i>ɔʃ-əntʃ</i>	<i>ɛː-n</i>
		+K	-K			IV-NPST.PTCP	PURPOSE	go-FUT	COP-NPST

‘I’m going to get an IV.’

#### Exchange 7 (knowledge)

T2:	K1	spkr	adrs	monogloss	declarative	<i>tʃʰi</i>	<i>mən</i>	<i>ərtʰ</i>	<i>œrœ</i>	<i>tʃepər</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>tʰetʰ-əʃ</i>	<i>jep-sər</i>	<i>pɛː-tʃ</i>	<i>ɛː-kət</i>
		+K	-K			2SG	PROX	early.morning	night	wind	DAT	commute-CVB	commute-CONT	COP-CVB	COP-PFV

*kənmo-tʃʰɛ* *tʃʰi* *jə*  
catch.a.cold-PST 2SG TOP

‘You’ve caught a cold because you kept commuting in the wind of the early morning and night.’

#### Exchange 8 (knowledge)

T1:	K2	spkr	adrs	elemental	<i>xəʃən</i>	<i>pi</i>	<i>jep-s</i>	<i>iː</i>
		-K	+K		when	1SG	commute-PST.PTCP	IP

‘When did I commute?’

T2:	K1	spkr	adrs	contract	declarative	<i>tʃʰi</i>	<i>tʰɔr</i>	<i>œrœ</i>	<i>xɛr-tʃ</i>	<i>ir-sən</i>	<i>ʃitə</i>	<i>pəs</i>	<i>nək</i>
		+K	+K			2SG	DIST	night	return-CVB	come-PST.PTCP	MP	again	one

‘[We know] you returned (to school) the other night.’

T1:	ch	spkr	adrs	polar	<i>jə</i>	<i>jəx</i>	<i>kər</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>ən</i>	<i>jəp</i>	<i>-ø</i>	<i>lɛ</i>	<i>tʰɔn</i>	<i>tʰɛ</i>	<i>xɛmɐ</i>	<i>tʰɛ</i>	<i>mɛ</i>
		NP	NP		INTJ	home	DAT	POSS	commute	NPST.PTCP	TEMP	3SG	COM	relation	COM	IP	

‘What does my commuting from home have to do with that (=catching a cold)?’

T2:	rch	spkr	adrs	contract	declarative	<i>tʰɔr</i>	<i>ərtʰ</i>	<i>œrœ</i>	<i>xytʰɔn</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>tɜːr-tʃ</i>	<i>pəːr-tʃ</i>	<i>ɛː-x</i>	<i>wɛijɛŋ</i>
		+K	-K			DIST	morning	night	cold	DAT	feel.cold-PROG	feel.cold-PROG	COP-NPST.PTCP	MP

‘[It is known that] you’ll be feeling cold in the morning and night cold.’



=rch	spkr	adrs	contract	elemental	<i>tʰɔr</i>	<i>kənmo-x</i>	<i>uɛ</i>	<i>xɐ</i>	<i>jɛp-ø</i>	<i>iː</i>
	+K	-K			DIST	catch.a.cold-NPST.PTCP	NEG	where	go-NPST.PTCP	IP

‘What else would happen but to catch a cold.’

T1:	rrch	spkr	adrs	elemental	<i>tɔŋul</i>	<i>ɔtən</i>	<i>jɛp-sən</i>	<i>kuɛ</i>	<i>xutɔl-sən</i>	<i>kuɛ</i>	<i>kən</i>	<i>jɛk-sən</i>	<i>tɐ</i>
		-K	-K		if.so	3PL	commute-PST.PTCP	NEG	move-PST.PTCP	NEG	TOP	what-PST.PTCP	IP

‘If so, what about the ones that didn’t commute?’

#### Exchange 9 (knowledge)

T2:	K2	spkr	adrs	polar	<i>pɐs</i>	<i>kənmo-sən</i>	<i>mɛ</i>
		-K	+K		also	catch.a.cold-PST.PTCP	IP

‘Did they also catch a cold?’

T1:	K1	spkr	adrs	monogloss	declarative	<i>uː</i>	<i>xɔ</i>	<i>xutɔl-tʃ</i>	<i>ʃl-x</i>	<i>uɛ</i>	<i>lɛ</i>
		+K	-K			INTJ	all	move-CVB	be.able.to-NPST.PTCP	NEG	RES

‘They all become unable to move.’

=K1	spkr	adrs	monogloss	declarative	<i>nɔk</i>	<i>pɛːr</i>	<i>ɐr</i>	<i>ɐn</i>	<i>xɔ</i>	<i>kənmo-kɔt</i>
	+K	-K			one	dorm	INS	POSS	all	catch.a.cold-PFV

‘Everyone in the dorm caught a cold.’

#### Exchange 10 (knowledge)

T3:	K2	spkr	adrs	elemental	<i>jɛk-s</i>	<i>iː</i>
		-K	+K		what-PST.PTCP	IP

‘What happened?’

#### Exchange 11 (knowledge)

T3:	K1	spkr	adrs	monogloss	declarative	<i>xɔ</i>	<i>tʃʰuɛn-tʃʰɛ</i>
		+K	-K			all	infect-PST

‘They’re all infected. (≈ It is infectious.)’

Exchange 9 (knowledge) (cont.)

T1:	=K1	spkr	adrs	contract	declarative	<i>xɔ</i>	<i>ʁtən</i>	<i>ɔrtər</i>	<i>kənmo-tʃ</i>	<i>ɔtə</i>
	+K	-K				all	3PL	first	catch.a.cold-PST	CONC

‘They caught a cold first.’

Exchange 12 (knowledge)

T1:	A2	spkr	adrs	speaker exclusive	<i>tʰi</i>	<i>xɔtʰəl</i>	<i>tʰe</i>	<i>pəl</i>	<i>pe:-tʰɔk-ø</i>	<i>ə:</i>
	-R	+R			2SG	class	COM	COND	COP-COMPL-IMP.2	EMP

‘If you have class, let it be.’

Exchange 13 (knowledge)

T2:	K2	spkr	adrs	elemental	<i>tʰi</i>	<i>ti tʰi</i>	<i>tʃe</i>	<i>uk-ɔntʃ</i>	<i>ɛ:-ø</i>	<i>mɛ</i>	<i>nɛ:</i>	<i>t</i>
	-K	+K			2SG	number.which	session	give-FUT	COP-NPST.PTCP	IP	1SG	DAT

‘Which session are you giving me?’

T1:	tr	spkr	adrs	polar	<i>pi</i>	<i>u:</i>
	NP	NP			1SG	IP

‘Me?’

T2:	rtr	spkr	adrs	<i>ɪ:</i>
	NP	NP		INTJ

‘Yes.’

T1:	K1	spkr	adrs	monogloss	<i>ti sɔ</i>
	+K	-K			fourth

‘The fourth.’

T2:	tr	spkr	adrs	polar	<i>sɔ</i>	<i>niɛn tʰi</i>	<i>nɛ</i>	<i>u:</i>
	NP	NP			four	grade	GEN	IP

‘The class for the fourth grade?’

T1:	rtr	spkr	adrs	ə:
		NP	NP	INTJ

‘Yes.’

#### Exchange 14 (knowledge)

T1:	K1	spkr	adrs	contract	declarative	ŋul	pi	ti sən	ɔr-x	ui	twi
		+K	+K			if.so	1SG	third	teach-NPST.PTCP	NEG	MP

‘If so (=you swap with me), [it will be the fact that] I will teach the third session.’

+K1	spkr	adrs	contract	declarative	mənə	pi	tʰen	nɛ	tʰɿn	t	ʔr-sən	kui	twi
	+K	+K			now	1SG	2SG	GEN	3SG	DAT	teach-PST.PTCP	NEG	MP

‘I have [as we both know] already taught in your class.’

T2:	K2f	spkr	adrs	monogloss	m:
		+K	+K		INTJ

‘Yes.’

#### Exchange 15 (knowledge)

T1:	K1	spkr	adrs	monogloss	declarative	ɔtə ɜrkət	sə	nien tʃi	t	ti sə	tʃɛ	xətʃəl	ə:	kə-sən	uk	ə:
		+K	-K			and then	four	grade	DAT	fourth	session	class	AFFIRM	PROJ-PST.PTCP	mean	EMP

‘And then what I mean is that my class during the fourth session is scheduled for the fourth grade.’

#### Exchange 16 (action)

T1:	A2	spkr	adrs	declarative	pəl-nə
		-R	+R		never.mind-NPST

‘Never mind.’

=A2	spkr	adrs	declarative	pəl-nə
	-R	+R		never.mind-NPST

‘Never mind.’

#### Exchange 17 (action)

T1:	A1	spkr	adrs	speaker inclusive	<i>pi</i>	<i>ti sɔ</i>	<i>tʃɛ</i>	<i>ɔr-tʃ</i>	<i>pɛr-ɐt</i>	<i>jɛp-tʃʰɔx-ji</i>
		+R	-R		1SG	fourth	session	teach-CVB	finish-PFV	go-COMPL-IMP.1

‘I will go after I finish teaching the fourth session.’

#### Exchange 18 (action)

T2:	A2	spkr	adrs	speaker exclusive	<i>tʃʰi</i>	<i>tʰuŋul</i>	<i>im-tʃʰɔx-ø</i>	<i>ə:</i>
		-R	+R		2SG	if.so	NDEF-COMPL-IMP.2	EMP

‘In that case, why don’t you do it like this?’

#### Exchange 19 (knowledge)

T2:	K2	spkr	adrs	elemental	<i>ti sɔn</i>	<i>tʃɛ</i>	<i>mini</i>	<i>ɐŋki</i>	<i>nɛ</i>	<i>xɔn</i>	<i>nɛ</i>	<i>xɔtʃʰəl</i>	<i>i:</i>
		-K	+K		third	session	1SG.POSS	class	GEN	who	GEN	class	IP

‘Whose class is scheduled for my class during the third session?’

T1:	tr	spkr	adrs	<i>ɐ:</i> (rising intonation)
		NP	NP	INTJ

‘Eh?’

T2:	rtr	spkr	adrs	elemental	<i>ti sɔn</i>	<i>tʃɛ</i>	<i>mini</i>	<i>ɐŋki</i>	<i>nɛ</i>	<i>xɔn</i>	<i>nɛ</i>	<i>xɔtʃʰəl</i>	<i>i:</i>
		NP	NP		third	session	1SG.POSS	class	GEN	who	GEN	class	IP

‘Whose class is scheduled for my class during the third session?’

	K1	spkr	adrs	monogloss	<i>tɔ:</i>	<i>nɛ</i>	<i>xɔtʃʰəl</i>
		+K	-K		music	GEN	class

‘Music class.’

#### Exchange 20 (action)

T2:	A1	spkr	adrs	speaker inclusive	<i>pi</i>	<i>ɔr-ji</i>
		+R	-R		1SG	teach-IMP.1

‘I will teach (in that slot).’

#### Exchange 21 (action)

T2:	A2	spkr	adrs	non-interactant	<i>uŋul ti sə tʃɛ ʃiəʊʊŋ ep-əʔk</i>
		+R	+R		and fourth session Xiaorong teach-IMP.3

‘Let Xiaorong teach the fourth session.’

#### Exchange 22 (action)

T2:	A2-Fg	<i>uŋul tʰi</i>
		and 2SG

‘And you...’

#### Exchange 23 (action)

T1:	A2	spkr	adrs	declarative	<i>pəl-nɔ</i>
		-R	+R		never.mind-NPST

‘Never mind.’

=A2	spkr	adrs	speaker exclusive	<i>xoʊn-ləkkue-ə</i>
	-R	+R		swap-NEG-IMP.2

‘Let’s not swap.’

#### Exchange 24 (knowledge)

T2:	K1	spkr	adrs	monogloss	declarative	<i>pi uŋul ti sə tʃɛ sə niɛn tʃi t ɔtʰ-jə kə-səŋ uk ə:</i>
		+K	-K			1SG if.so fourth session four grade DAT go-IMP.1 PROJ-PST.PTCP meaning EMP

‘What I mean is I will go to (=teach) the fourth grade during the fourth session.’

tr	spkr	adrs	polar	<i>miŋ pei mɐ</i>
	NP	NP		understand IP

‘Understand?’ (This is spoken in Mandarin Chinese.)

### Exchange 25 (knowledge)

T1:	K1	spkr	adrs	contract	declarative	<i>pi</i>	<i>ən</i>	<i>tər</i>	<i>tiən-x</i>	<i>ue</i>
	+K	-K				1SG	PROX	DAT	IV-NPST.PTCP	NEG

'I don't get the IV here.'

=K1	spkr	adrs	monogloss	declarative	<i>o:r</i>	<i>kətʃɪr</i>	<i>ɔtʃʰ-ɔtʃʰ</i>	<i>tiən-ən</i>
	+K	-K			other	place	go-CVB	IV-NPST

'I will go to some other place for IV.'

### Exchange 26 (knowledge)

T2:	K1	spkr	adrs	contract	declarative	<i>tʃʰəŋət</i>	<i>xəl-tʃʰ</i>	<i>ɛ:-x</i>	<i>ui</i>	<i>tə</i>
	+K	-K				that.is.why	say-CVB	COP-NPST.PTCP	NEG	MP

'That's [obviously] why I'm saying this.'

### Exchange 27 (action)

T2:	A2	spkr	adrs	speaker exclusive	<i>tʃʰi</i>	<i>ti sən</i>	<i>tʃʰ</i>	<i>ɔr-x</i>	<i>ɔr</i>	<i>ən</i>	<i>ɔr-tʃʰək-ø</i>	<i>ə:</i>	<i>sə</i>	<i>niən tʃʰi</i>	<i>t</i>
	-R	+R			2SG	third	session	teach-NPST	INS	POSS	teach-COMPL-IMP.2	EMP	four	grade	DAT

'You teach the fourth grade during the third session as you planned.'

### Exchange 28 (knowledge)

T2:	K1	spkr	adrs	contract	declarative	<i>pi</i>	<i>o:r</i>	<i>in</i>	<i>ɐŋki</i>	<i>nɛ</i>	<i>kən</i>	<i>sæl-ul</i>	<i>ʔɐr-sən</i>	<i>kui</i>	<i>twi</i>
	+K	+K				1SG	self	GEN	class	GEN	ACC.POSS	swap-COND	resolve-PST.PTCP	NEG	MP

'[It is obvious that] it will have been resolved as long as I swap the classes for my own class (= cohort).'

### Exchange 29 (knowledge)

T2:	K1	spkr	adrs	expand	declarative	<i>ʃiəʊrŋ</i>	<i>kʰən tɪŋ</i>	<i>tɔ:</i>	<i>nɛ</i>	<i>xəʃʰəl</i>	<i>i:</i>	<i>ɐp-nɛ</i>
	+K	-K				Xiaorong	definitely	music	GEN	class	ACC	teach-NPST

'Xiaorong will definitely take over the music class (= the session when the music class is scheduled).'

### Exchange 30 (knowledge)

T2:	K1	spkr	adrs	contract	declarative	<i>ŋə lə kən pi fɪwɔrɔŋ tʰe sœl-ɔt</i>
		+K	+K			this.way 1SG Xiaorong COM swap-PFV

‘This way, what I mean is that I will swap with Xiaorong;’

declarative	<i>pi mənə kɔrɔptukər xətʰəl ɐŋki t ɐn ɔr-ul</i>
	1SG now third session class DAT POSS teach-COND

‘if I teach in my own class during the third session now,’

declarative	<i>turɔptukər xətʰəl fɪwɔrɔŋ ɔr-ul</i>
	fourth session Xiaorong teach-COND

‘if Xiaorong teach during the fourth session,’

declarative	<i>pi ɔrkət sə niɛn tʃi t ɔr-tʰɔ-x ui tɔi kə-sən uk ə:</i>
	1SG and.then four grade DAT teach-PFV-NPST NEG MP PROJ-PST.PTCP meaning EMP

‘I will then [obviously] teach the fourth grade.’

T1:	tr	spkr	adrs	polar	<i>turɔptukər xətʰəl u:</i>
		NP	NP		fourth session IP

‘The fourth session?’

T2:	rtr	spkr	adrs	<i>ə:</i>
		NP	NP	INTJ

‘Yes.’

T1:	K2f	spkr	adrs	expand	declarative	<i>mstʰək-pəl pəl-nə</i>
		+K	+K			do.that-COND allow-NPST

‘If we do that, it’s okay.’

### Exchange 31 (action)

T2:	A2	spkr	adrs	speaker exclusive	<i>ə: tʰi sœl-tʰɔk-ə ə: uŋul</i>
		-R	+R		INTJ 2SG swap-COMPL-IMP.2 EMP if.so

‘Since this is the case, now you swap.’

### D.3 Sample data 3 – ‘official’

The interlocutors in the ‘official’ data sample below includes two government officials (O) and one peasant (P). The peasant’s family was excluded from the Poverty Relief Program the year before because when the officials from the banner (the administrative unit a rank up the local government) came to visit the family they noticed that the family was living in a very nice house.

#### Exchange 1 (knowledge)

O1: 

K1	spkr	adrs	monogloss	declarative
	+K	+K		

*tʃ<sup>h</sup>etən t ɔrt<sup>h</sup>ɛ tʃil nsk məl uk-tʃɛ ʃi*  
2PL DAT past year one cattle give-PST TAG  
‘The government gave you one cattle last year, right?’

P: 

K2f	spkr	adrs	monogloss
	+K	+K	

*ə:*  
INTJ  
‘Yes.’

#### Exchange 2 (knowledge)

O1: 

K2	spkr	adrs	polar
	-K	+K	

*tʃɜrkən xœn uk-sən mɛ*  
six sheep give-PST.PTCP IP  
‘Did they give you six sheep?’

P: 

K1	spkr	adrs	monogloss
	+K	-K	

*ə:*  
INTJ  
‘Yes.’

P: 

=K1	spkr	adrs	monogloss	declarative
	+K	-K		

*pɛ:-nɐ*  
COP-NPST  
‘There is (such as thing).’



### Exchange 3 (knowledge)

O1: 

K2	spkr	adrs	expand	declarative
	+K	+K		

*ər kət ɔrtʰe xojir utsr fən xonŋ* (in Mandarin) *le pəs uk-tʃ pɐ 1136*  
and.then past two day divide.the.profit TEMP also give-PST MP 1136  
'And then they also gave you 1136 from dividing the profit a few days ago [I'm not sure; I'm confirming with you].'

P: 

K1	spkr	adrs	monogloss
	+K	+K	

*ɔ:*  
INTJ  
'Oh,'

P: 

=K1	spkr	adrs	monogloss	declarative
	+K	+K		

*pɛ:-nɐ*  
COP-NPST  
'Yes, there is (that thing).'

O1: 

K2f	spkr	adrs	monogloss
	+K	+K	

*m:*  
INTJ  
'Okay.'

### Exchange 4 (knowledge)

The following moves by O1 should technically be analysed as multiple K1s constituting separate exchanges. However, they will be analysed as one K1 constituting one exchange since the addressee did not respond between moves.

O1: 

K1	spkr	adrs
	+K	-K

contract	declarative

*ŋ-ət tʰiyeʃ tʰen nɛ ʃəuru ki tʰin pət-ət pəs liɛŋ tʰiɛn to kɛr-tʃɛ*  
do.this-PFV indeed 2SG GEN income ACC 2POSS calculate-PFV also two.thousand more.than result-PST  
'Indeed we calculated your income and got two thousand (per person).'

contract	declarative

*tɐŋʃ məi pɛŋfɛ*  
but no solution

'But we can do nothing about it.' (This is spoken in Mandarin Chinese.)

contract	declarative

*ən tʰin xun tʃi tʰi nɛ fupʰin pɛn tʃurən ir-ət utʃʃ-sən im tʰin ɔtɔ*  
PROX 2POSS NDEF Jalaid GEN Poverty.Relief.Office head come-PFV see-PST.PTCP NDEF 2POSS CONC  
'But it is the head of the Poverty Relief Office from Jalaid banner who came and saw it.'

Fg	<i>xun tʰi kəs ən</i>
	NDEF banner ABL POSS

'It is from the banner...'

contract	declarative	<i>pətən əntə:r jə:tʃ pə-lə xun tʃiu ʃə tʰəŋrən-x uɛ</i>
		1PL here however report-CONC NDEF FOC accept-NPST.PTCP NEG

'However we report the situation from here, they just don't accept it.'

monogloss	declarative	<i>tʰi kər ən əti sɛ:n ʃiu-kət əti sɛ:n ɛmtər-tʃ ɛ:n</i>
		2SG home ACC.POSS this good decorate-PFV this good live-CVB COP-NPST

'You decorated your home so well and living so well.'

#### Exchange 5 (knowledge)

P:	K1	spkr	adrs	contract	declarative	<i>ən tʰeŋ nɛ ʃəuru pətən ɐs ɐsu-sən pəs ukue</i>
		+K	-K			PROX time GEN income 1PL ABL ask-PST.PTCP DISS NEG

'They didn't ask us our income this time.'

O1:	tr	spkr	adrs	polar	<i>tʰen ɐs ɐsu-sən kui tɐ</i>
		NP	NP		2SG ABL ask-PST.PTCP NEG IP

'They didn't ask you?'

P:	rtr	spkr	adrs	declarative	<i>ɐsu-sən pəs ukue</i>
		NP	NP		ask-PST.PTCP DISS NEG

'Didn't ask us.'

#### Exchange 6 (knowledge)

O1:	K2	spkr	adrs	polar	<i>kər t tʰin ɔr-tʃ ir-sən kue mɛ</i>
		-K	+K		home DAT 2POSS in-CVB come-PST.PTCP NEG IP

'Didn't they come into your home?'

P:	K1	spkr	adrs	contract	polar	<i>ɔr-tʃ ir-lɛ ɐsu-sən pəs ukue</i>
		+K	-K			teach-CVB come-CONC ask-PST.PTCP DISS NEG

'Even though they came in, they didn't ask.'

### Exchange 7 (knowledge)

O1: 

K2	spkr	adrs	elemental
	-K	+K	

*xəŋ ir-s i:*  
who come-PST.PTCP IP  
'Who came?'

P: 

ch	spkr	adrs	declarative
	-K	-K	

*korəp turəp xə tʰen-x ue*  
three four all know-NPST.PTCP NEG  
'Three or four; I don't know any of them.'

### Exchange 8 (knowledge)

P: 

K1	spkr	adrs	monogloss	decl
	+K	-K		

*tʰər utər mentsl kə nə tʰe tʰəm tʰe tʰok ɔf-sən tʰər tʰəlu pəs pɛ:-n*  
DIST day Mandel brother GEN COM 2SG COM together go-PST.PTCP DIST young.man also COP-NPST  
'The young man who went to brother Mandel's home with you the other day is also there.'

O1: 

K2f	spkr	adrs	monogloss
	+K	+K	

*ɔ:*  
INTJ  
'Okay.'

O2: 

=K1	spkr	adrs	monogloss
	+K	-K	

*tʰirək nə ɔmət təl ɔms-tʰ ɛ:-sən*  
military GEN clothes wear-CVB COP-PST.PTCP  
'The one that was wearing military uniform.'

### Exchange 9 (knowledge)

P: 

K1	spkr	adrs	monogloss	declarative
	+K	-K		

*pəs nək tʰirək nə ɔmət təl ɔms-tʰ ɛ:-sən xun pɛ:-nə*  
also one military GEN clothes wear-PROG COP-PST.PTCP people COP-NPST  
'There is another person who was also wearing military uniform.'

### Exchange 10 (knowledge)

O1: 

K1	spkr	adrs	expand	declarative
	+K	+K		

*utʰwɛŋpu nə xun ir-tʰ ʃitə*  
Armed.Forces.Department GEN people come-CVB MP  
'[I infer] people from the Armed Forces Department came.'

O2:	K2f	spkr	adrs	monogloss	m:
		+K	+K		INTJ

‘Yes.’

#### Exchange 11 (knowledge)

P:	K1	spkr	adrs	expand	declarative	ηul	xɔjir	ən	irkən	pɐ	xɔʃiŋɿŋ
		+K	-K			and	two	TOP	Han	MP	maybe

‘And maybe two of them are Han Chinese.’

O1:	K2f	spkr	adrs	monogloss	ɔ:
		+K	+K		INTJ

‘Okay.’

#### Exchange 12 (knowledge)

P:	K1	spkr	adrs	expand	declarative	nək	kʰə	kən	irkən	ʃəmu	tə
		+K	NP			one	CLF	TOP	Han	MP	MP

‘Or [maybe] one of them is Han Chinese.’

O1:	K2f	spkr	adrs	monogloss	ɔ:
		+K	+K		INTJ

‘Okay.’

P:	K1f	spkr	adrs	monogloss	m:
		+K	+K		INTJ

‘Hmm.’

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## **Appendix F The verbal group in Khorchin Mongolian (submitted manuscript)**

This paper is currently in press.

Zhang, Dongbing. 2020. Axial argumentation below the clause: The verbal group in Khorchin Mongolian. In J.R. Martin, Y.J. Doran & Giacomo Figueredo (eds.), *Systemic Functional Language Description: Making meaning matter*, 35–72. New York/London: Routledge. (published online doi:<https://doi.org/10.4324/9781351184533>).

## Chapter 2

### Axial argumentation below the clause: The verbal group in Khorchin Mongolian

#### Abstract

This chapter provides a systemic functional account of the verbal group in Khorchin Mongolian, a dialect of Mongolian spoken in eastern Inner Mongolia. Two basic verbal group systems, VG DEIXIS and VG TYPE, are established based on the role the verbal group plays in a clause. The VG DEIXIS system includes the features [elaborated] and [restricted]. Elaborated verbal groups function in indicative clauses; restricted verbal groups function in imperative clauses. The VG TYPE system includes the features [eventive] and [non-eventive]. Eventive verbal groups function in non-relational clauses; non-eventive verbal groups function in relational clauses. The systems VG DEIXIS and VG TYPE are simultaneous co-selecting systems. An eventive elaborated verbal group selects from the systems VG POLARITY, VG TENSE, ASPECT, VG MODALITY, and RELATIVE TENSE; a non-eventive elaborated verbal group selects from the systems VG POLARITY, VG TENSE, and ASPECT. Both eventive and non-eventive restricted verbal groups select from the systems VG PERSON and ASPECT. The interactions between these systems show how axial argumentation can inform systemic functional language description at ranks below the clause. This chapter also shows the way the system-structure relations can be used to make explicit the *valeur* of a specific grammatical category.

#### 1. Introduction

This chapter shows how axial argumentation (as outlined in Martin 2013) can inform systemic functional language description at ranks below the clause. For a synopsis of this type of argumentation, see Martin, Doran, & Figueredo (this volume).

At the same time, the chapter provides a systemic functional account of the verbal group in Khorchin Mongolian<sup>125</sup>. The description takes as its starting point the role of the verbal group in relation to how a clause in which it functions enacts interpersonal meaning and construes experiential meaning in discourse. In terms of the SFL descriptive principle of the ‘trinocular perspective’ (Halliday 2009) this paper begins by establishing the basic paradigmatic organisation of the Khorchin Mongolian verbal group ‘from above’.

The role of the verbal group in the interpersonal organisation of a clause is examined first, followed by the role of the verbal group in the experiential organisation of a clause. The interpersonal organisation of a Khorchin Mongolian clause is shaped by the negotiation of information and goods & services. A verbal group system, VG DEIXIS<sup>126</sup>, is established in relation to the basic clause distinctions in MOOD. The features in the system of VG DEIXIS are [elaborated] and [restricted] (see Section 2). The experiential organisation of a Khorchin Mongolian clause is shaped by the construal of different types of

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<sup>125</sup> Khorchin Mongolian is a variety of Mongolian spoken in the eastern part of Inner Mongolia, China. The variety under investigation is the language of the Mongols living in Jalaid Banner, Hinggan League.

<sup>126</sup> VG=verbal group. This abbreviation is used in the front of some system names to distinguish them from (1) systems in a preselecting relationship from clause or word rank (e.g. POLARITY, TENSE); (2) systems available to other group rank classes (e.g. DEIXIS and PERSON for nominal groups).

experience. A verbal group system, VG TYPE, is established in relation to the basic clause distinctions in TRANSITIVITY. The features in the system of VG TYPE are [eventive] and [non-eventive] (see Section 3). The two systems, VG DEIXIS and VG TYPE, are co-selecting simultaneous systems. The co-selections from the two systems result in the choices [elaborated eventive], [elaborated non-eventive], [restricted eventive], and [restricted non-eventive].

Section 4 establishes the further paradigmatic organisation of the Khorchin Mongolian verbal group ‘from round about’ in terms of the interdependencies between systems and ‘from below’ in terms of the structural patterns motivating the systems. The systems dependent on the choices from VG DEIXIS and VG TYPE are discussed in relation to the structural configurations which realise them. In Section 4.1 the major resources involved in the elaborated verbal groups, i.e. VG POLARITY, VG TENSE, ASPECT, VG MODALITY, and RELATIVE TENSE are discussed. An elaborated eventive verbal group selects from all the five systems; an elaborated non-eventive verbal group cannot select from VG MODALITY and RELATIVE TENSE. In Section 4.2, attention shifts to the resources involved in the [restricted] verbal groups, i.e. VG PERSON and ASPECT. Both eventive and non-eventive restricted verbal groups select from these two systems. In Section 5, conclusions are drawn based on the axial argumentation throughout Section 2 to Section 4. The meaning making resources of the Khorchin Mongolian verbal group are summarised with a system network in this section.

The description in this paper shows how axial argumentation with a discourse semantic orientation (Martin & Quiroz this volume) provides a useful way of making explicit the *valeur* of a particular grammatical category. This is a special focus in the discussions of ASPECT and RELATIVE TENSE in Section 4.1.3, Section 4.1.5, and Section 4.2.2.

## 2. The verbal group in service of the interpersonal organisation of a clause

If we understand communication as exchanges, we can exchange either knowledge or action. In Khorchin Mongolian, an exchange of knowledge and an exchange of action are typically realised by different grammatical categories (see also Wang this volume for Classical Tibetan). An exchange of knowledge is typically realised by indicative clauses; an exchange of action is typically realised by imperative ones.

There are a number of motivations for the distinction between [indicative] and [imperative] in the Khorchin Mongolian interpersonal clause system of MOOD. The most important motivation is the meaning making potential of the verbal group<sup>127</sup> in the two clause types. The verbal group which functions in an indicative clause is more elaborate in its potential than the one that functions in an imperative clause. The verbal group in an indicative clause can choose from the systems VG POLARITY, VG TENSE, ASPECT, VG MODALITY, and RELATIVE TENSE; the verbal group in an imperative clause on the other hand can only choose from the systems VG PERSON and ASPECT. The first set of systems is introduced in Section 4.1; the second set is introduced in Section 4.2. I will use the terms [elaborated] and [restricted] to refer to the classes of the verbal group which function in an

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<sup>127</sup> The group rank is assumed in Section 2 and Section 3. Its motivation is explained in more detail in Section 4.1 when more specific systems are discussed.

indicative and an imperative clause respectively. The name of this system is referred to as VG DEIXIS, following Quiroz (2013)<sup>128</sup>.

If we use the function label *Predicator* to capture the function of the verbal group in the interpersonal organisation of a clause, *Predicators* preselect different classes of the verbal group from the system of VG DEIXIS. The *Predicator* in an indicative clause is realised by an elaborated verbal group; the *Predicator* in an imperative clause is realised by a restricted verbal group.

The exchange of knowledge in (1)<sup>129</sup> exemplifies indicative clauses. *Predicator* in each clause is realised by an elaborated verbal group. In the exchange, a government official (O) demands a piece of information from a peasant (P); the peasant then gives that piece of information. In terms of SFL work on exchange structure (Berry 1981; Martin 1992, 2018; Martin & Rose 2007) we have a *knowledge exchange* where a K2 move demands information and a K1 move gives information.

(1)	O:	K2	<i>tʰɛn</i>	<i>ɛs</i> <sup>130</sup>	<i>ɛsu-sɔn</i>	<i>mɛ</i>
			2PL	ABL	ask-PST	QP
					Predicator	
					elaborated verbal group	
					‘Did (they) ask you?’	
	P:	K1	<i>ɛsu-sɔn</i>	<i>kuɛ</i>		
			ask-PST	NEG		
			Predicator			
			elaborated verbal group			
			‘(They) didn’t ask (us).’			

The verbal groups in (1) selects from both VG TENSE and VG POLARITY. The verbal group in K2 selects [past/positive]; the verbal group in K1 selects [past/negative], indicated by the negation adverb *kuɛ*. The choices in the system of VG TENSE and VG POLARITY are introduced in Section 4.1.

The exchange of action in (2) on the other hand exemplifies imperative clauses. *Predicator* in the imperative clauses in (2.1) and (2.3) is realised by restricted verbal group. In the exchange, a grandmother (G) asks her granddaughter, Hairhan (H), to eat some more oranges. The request is first rejected by Hairhan and then accepted when her grandmother insists. In terms of exchange structure, we have an *action exchange* where an A2 move demands an action and a compliant A1 move (realised non-verbally) performs

<sup>128</sup> In Quiroz (2013), the Spanish verbal group system DEIXIS has two terms: [restricted] and [unrestricted]. The former functions in imperative clauses while the latter in indicative ones. The type of verbal group in Khorchin Mongolian that functions in an indicative clause is called ‘elaborated’ rather than ‘unrestricted’ because its potential is not unrestricted, i.e. it cannot choose from VG PERSON (cf. Spanish unrestricted verbal group selects from PERSON).

<sup>129</sup> The examples in this chapter consist of at least three lines: (1) phonemic transcription, (2) morpheme-by-morpheme glossing, and (3) idiomatic translation. The abbreviations used in the glossing are: 1=first person; 2=second person; 3=third person; ABL=ablative; COND=conditional; COP=copula; CVB=converbal; DIST=distal; FUT=future; IMP=imperative; INS=instrumental; MP=modal particle; NEG=negation; NPST=non-past; PFV=perfective; PROX=proximal; PST=past; QP=question particle; RES=resultative.

<sup>130</sup> ‘Case marking’ has been described as nominal suffixes in the literature (e.g. Bayancogtu 2002). They are treated as lexis from the perspective of systemic functional theory. For a discussion of this see Zhang (2020).



the action; but these two moves are first interrupted by a challenging move (ch) and a response to the challenge move (rch). Here we will focus only on the imperative clauses – (2.1) and (2.3):

- (2) G: 1. A2 *xɛ:rxɛn* | *itə*  
Hayirhan | eat.IMP.2  
| Predicate  
| restricted verbal group  
‘Hayirhan, eat.’
- H: 2. ch *ɔ: ukue nɛi it-x ue lɛ*  
oh NEG grandma eat-NPST NEG RES  
‘Oh, no, grandma, I won’t eat.’
- G: 3. rch *tʃʰɛmɛ t ʃɔʃɔ nɛ uk-jə*  
2SG DAT small GEN | give-IMP.1  
| Predicate  
| restricted verbal group  
‘Let (me) give you the smaller ones.’
- H: 4. A1 [Accepts and eats the orange.]

The types of clause the verbal groups function in condition the resources available to them. The verbal groups in (2.1) and (2.3) show distinct choices from those in (1). Whereas those functioning in the indicative clauses in (1) select from VG TENSE and VG POLARITY, those functioning in imperative clauses in (2) select from VG PERSON. In this case, the verbal group in (2.1) selects [second person] and the verbal group in (2.3) selects [first person]. The choices in the system of VG PERSON are explored in detail in Section 4.2.

The relationship between clause types and verbal group types can be represented as a relationship of preselection between system networks. Here, choices in the clause system of MOOD preselect choices in the verbal group system of VG DEIXIS as shown in Figure 2.1<sup>131</sup>.

<sup>131</sup> Although at this primary delicacy the two systems are in a one-to-one relationship, they have different *valeur*, as they enable selections from different systems. For example, at the clause rank the further choices in [indicative] are [informative] and [interrogative], whereas at the group rank the further choices in [elaborated] are from the systems VG TENSE and VG POLARITY; and there is by no means a one-to-one relationship between these more delicate choices across ranks. For a detailed account of the MOOD system in Khorchin Mongolian, see Zhang (2020).

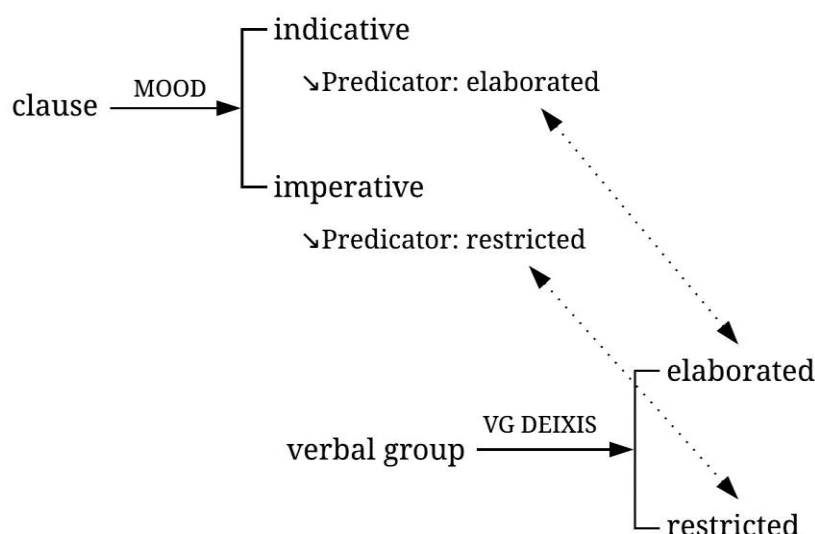


Figure 2.1 Mood preselecting vg deixis in Khorchin Mongolian

### 3. The verbal group in service of the experiential organisation of a clause

Complementing the view of conversations as enacting exchanges of knowledge or action as in Section 2 (i.e. an interpersonal perspective), we can also consider them in terms of the kinds of experience construed (i.e. an experiential perspective). From this perspective, examples (1) and (2) above, are concerned with experiences that are relatively dynamic (saying and doing) while example (3) below is concerned with an experience that is relatively static (being). In terms of the SFL work on IDEATION in discourse (Hao 2020, this volume; Martin 1992; Martin & Quiroz this volume; Martin & Rose 2007), we are concerned with the construal of occurrence figures in (1) and (2), and the construal of a state figure in (3). In (3), the husband (H) queries if there is some more flour left, to which the wife (W) gives a positive answer.

(3) H: *pɛ kʊʃir pɛ:-ø mɛ*  
 still flour COP-NPST QP  
 verbal group  
 ‘(Is there) still some flour left?’

W: *pɛ:-nɛ*  
 COP-NPST  
 verbal group  
 ‘(There) is.’

In Khorchin Mongolian, state figures and occurrence figures are realised by different grammatical categories. A state figure is typically realised by a relational clause as in (3); an occurrence figure is typically realised by a non-relational clause as in (1) and (2) above in Section 2.

There are a number of motivations for the distinction between [relational] and [non-relational] in the experiential clause system of TRANSITIVITY. The most important

motivation is once again the meaning making potential of the verbal group. The verbal group which functions in a non-relational clause is more elaborate in its potential than the one that functions in a relational clause. Verbal groups in non-relational clauses can choose from the systems of VG POLARITY, VG TENSE, ASPECT, VG MODALITY, RELATIVE TENSE, and VG PERSON, whereas verbal groups in relational clauses can choose from the systems VG POLARITY, VG TENSE, ASPECT, and VG PERSON but not from VG MODALITY or RELATIVE TENSE. The choices in these systems are introduced in Section 4. I will use the terms [eventive] and [non-eventive] to refer to the classes of the verbal group which function in non-relational and relational clauses respectively. This system is referred to as VG TYPE.

The exchange in (3) above exemplifies relational clauses. The first move is repeated as (4) below. The Process in the relational clause in (4) is realised by a non-eventive verbal group.

The verbal group in (4) selects [non-past/positive] from VG TENSE and VG POLARITY. However, it cannot select from VG MODALITY or RELATIVE TENSE.

(5) *ɔ: ukue nei it-x ue*  
 oh NEG grandma | eat-NPST NEG  
                                   Process  
                                   eventive verbal group  
 ‘Oh, no, grandma, I won’t eat.’

Like for the interpersonal perspective given above, this establishes a relationship of preselection between the clause system of TRANSITIVITY and the verbal group system of VG TYPE, as shown in Figure 2.2. In this figure, the interpersonal system of VG DEIXIS is also included in the system network.

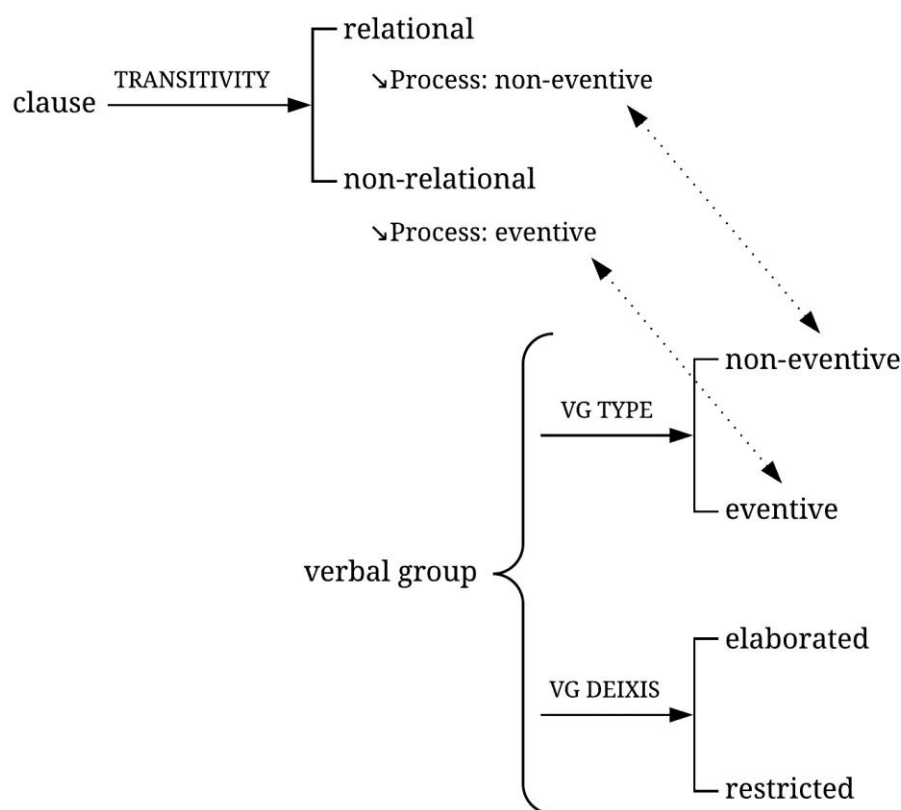


Figure 2.2 Transitivity preselecting vg type in Khorchin Mongolian

So far, two verbal group systems, VG DEIXIS and VG TYPE, have been established in relation to the role the verbal group plays in a clause in Khorchin Mongolian. The VG DEIXIS system is related to the interpersonal organisation of a clause; the VG TYPE system is related to the experiential organisation of a clause. In terms of ‘trinocular perspective’, this section has established the primary paradigmatic organisation of the Khorchin Mongolian verbal group ‘from above’.

#### 4. Verbal group system and structure

This section examines the Khorchin Mongolian verbal group from two further perspectives to provide a holistic description. It considers the verbal group ‘from round about’ in terms of the interdependencies between systems (i.e. paradigmatic environment) and ‘from below’ in terms of the structural patterns motivating the systemic choices (i.e. syntagmatic organisation).

The systemic choices in the verbal group are realised by configurations of verbal group functions, which in turn are realised by classes of verb. To see how these configurations work, we first need to introduce the set of verb classes, exemplified below with a lexical verb *xi* ‘do’ and a copular verb *pe* ‘be’ respectively. Their possible variations with respect to either the vowel of the verb stem or a following particle are also included.

	<b>xi: ‘do’</b>	<b>pɛ: ‘be’</b>	<b>variations</b>
1. <b>v</b>	<i>xi:</i>	<i>pɛ:</i>	-
2. <b>v-j</b>	<i>xi:-jə</i>	<i>pɛ:-jɛ</i>	<i>-jɛ, -jə, -jɔ</i>
3. <b>v-k</b>	<i>xi:-k</i>	<i>pɛ:-k</i>	<i>-k, -kɛ, -kə, -kɔ, -ɤk</i>
4. <b>v-n</b>	<i>xi:-n</i>	<i>pɛ:-n</i>	<i>-n, -nɛ, -nə, -nɔ, -ɤn</i>
5. <b>v-tʃɛ</b>	<i>xi:-tʃɛ</i>	<i>pɛ:-tʃɛ</i>	<i>-tʃ</i>
6. <b>v-x</b>	<i>xi:-x</i>	<i>pɛ:-x</i>	<i>-x, -ø</i>
7. <b>v-sən</b>	<i>xi:-sən</i>	<i>pɛ:-sən</i>	<i>-sən, -sɔ</i>
8. <b>v-ntʃ</b>	<i>xi:-ntʃ</i>	-	-
9. <b>v-tʃ</b>	<i>xi:-tʃ</i>	<i>pɛ:-tʃ</i>	-

Verb classes 1 to 3 are related to the restricted verbal group system VG PERSON. Verb classes 4 to 8 on the other hand are related to the elaborated verbal group systems of VG TENSE and RELATIVE TENSE. Verb class 9 functions either in relation to VG MODALITY, a system available for elaborated verbal groups, or ASPECT, a system available to both restricted verbal groups and elaborated verbal groups.

Section 4.1 and Section 4.2 are organised in terms of the choices from the VG DEIXIS system discussed in Section 2: [elaborated] and [restricted]. Section 4.1 describes the resources available to the elaborated verbal group. The relevant systems are VG POLARITY, VG TENSE, ASPECT, VG MODALITY, and RELATIVE TENSE. Section 4.2 describes the resources available to the restricted verbal group. The relevant systems are VG PERSON and ASPECT. The choices from the VG TYPE system discussed in Section 3, [eventive] and [non-eventive], are discussed in turn in each subsection.

#### 4.1 The elaborated verbal group

In this section, I explore the systems available for an elaborated verbal group. Elaborated verbal groups function in indicative clauses. Three systems are selected by both the eventive and the non-eventive verbal group. They are VG POLARITY, VG TENSE, and ASPECT. They are described in Section 4.1.1, 4.1.2, and 4.1.3 respectively. In each section, the eventive verbal group is discussed and exemplified first; this is followed by discussion and exemplification of the non-eventive verbal group.

In Section 4.1.4 and 4.1.5, the focus is on the additional meaning making potential of an eventive verbal group. An eventive verbal group has the potential to choose from the systems VG MODALITY and RELATIVE TENSE, which are not available for a non-eventive verbal group.

##### 4.1.1 VG POLARITY

One of the basic functions of a language is to allow the speakers to query or confirm the polarity of a piece of information. The verbal group in Khorchin Mongolian plays a key role in this regard. In terms of the function played by a verbal group in the interpersonal organisation of a clause, when an indicative clause is positive, the Predicator is realised by a positive verbal group; when it is negative, the Predicator is realised by a negative verbal group.

The exchange in (6) (repeating (1)) exemplifies the VG POLARITY of an eventive verbal group. The verbal group in (6.1) selects [positive]; the verbal group in (6.2) selects

[negative].

- (6) O: 1. *tʰen* *ʌs* *ʌsu-sʌn* *mɛ*  
 2PL ABL ask-PST QP  
 Predicate  
 positive verbal group  
 'Did (they) ask you?'
- P: 2. *ʌsu-sʌn* *kuɛ*<sup>132</sup>  
 ask-PST NEG  
 Predicate  
 negative verbal group  
 '(They) didn't ask  
 (us).'

Note that a positive verbal group as in (6.1), when there is no selection from the other systems discussed below (i.e. ASPECT, VG MODALITY, and RELATIVE TENSE), comprises only one verb. When [negative] is selected (or choices from any other verbal group systems are made) a combination of words constitutes the verbal group (as in example (6.2)).

The [positive] and the [negative] features are thus realised by different structures. The verbal groups in (6) are analysed in (7) and (8). The function of the lexical verb in an eventive verbal group is called Event; the function of the negation adverb is called Negator. When an eventive verbal group is negative, a Negator function is inserted and is realised at the final position as in (7); when it is positive, there is no function which explicitly realises the feature as in (8).

- (7) *ʌsu-sʌn* *kuɛ*  
 ask-PST NEG  
 Event Negator  
 'didn't ask'
- (8) *ʌsu-tʃɛ*  
 ask-PST  
 Event  
 'asked'

In contrast, the exchange in (9) exemplifies the VG POLARITY of a non-eventive verbal group. The first verbal group in (9.1) selects [positive]; the second one selects [negative]. All the other verbal groups in this exchange select [positive]. T1 asks if a student's sentence is grammatically correct in (9.1). T2, who is senior in Mongolian language teaching, affirms

<sup>132</sup> The words *kuɛ* and *uɛ* are allomorphs of *ukuɛ*. *Ukuɛ* is described as a particle in Nasunbayer et al. (1982:410-412). But the full form can function independently in a turn; so it is not considered a particle here. For example, - O: *tʰen ʌs ʌsu-sʌn mɛ* 'Did (they) ask you?' - P: *ukuɛ* 'No.' In contrast, *kuɛ* and *uɛ* are described as suffixes in Bayancogtu (2002:290-296). But the counter-expectant particle *pɛs* 'even' can be realised between the verb and the negation: *ʌsu-sʌn pɛs ukuɛ* 'ask-PST even NEG'; so it is not considered a suffix here. It might be more accurate to consider it a clitic, a category between word and suffix. However, this category needs careful examination in relation to delicacy and rank scale. I will privilege its potential to function in a response move on its own and consider it a word.

that the sentence is grammatically correct in (9.2). T3 double checks this answer in (9.3) and is reaffirmed by T1 in (9.4). A question mark is used to show the rising intonation in (9.3). Note that the English translation here is misleading; the word *tʰv:r* translated as ‘correct’ in Khorchin Mongolian is in fact a verb.

- (9) T1: 1. *ən u:lpər tʰv:r-ø*<sup>133</sup> *mu tʰv:r-x uε mu*  
PROX sentence | correct-NPST | QP | correct-NPST NEG | QP  
| verbal group | verbal group |  
‘Does this sentence correct or not correct?’  
(=Is or isn’t this sentence correct?)’
- T2: 2. *tʰv:r-nv*  
correct-NPST  
verbal group  
‘Correct.’
- T3 3. *tʰv:r-nv?*  
correct-NPST  
verbal group  
‘Correct?’
- T1 4. *tʰv:r-nv*  
correct-NPST  
verbal group  
‘Correct.’

The verbal groups in (9) are analysed in (10) and (11). The function of the lexical verb is here referred to as State. When the non-eventive verbal group is negative, a Negator is inserted and is realised at the final position as in (10); when it is positive, there is no function which explicitly realises the feature as in (11).

- (10) *tʰv:r-x uε*  
correct-NPST NEG  
State Negator  
‘not correct’

- (11) *tʰv:r-nv*  
correct-NPST  
State  
‘correct’

To summarise, an elaborated verbal group selects either [positive] or [negative]; when it selects [positive], there is no overt realisation. When it selects [negative], a Negator function is inserted and is realised at the end of the verbal group.

<sup>133</sup> Note that this exponent of non-past is different from the ones in the next verbal group and the one in (9.2); for a discussion of these see Section 4.1.2 below.

#### 4.1.2 VG TENSE

VG TENSE in Khorchin Mongolian grammaticalizes the sequencing of figures in relation to the speech time. The choices in this system are [past] and [non-past]. The feature [non-past] construes a figure as either concurrent with or following the speech time ('present' or 'future'); they are not structurally distinct.

The exchange in (12) exemplifies the negotiation of a proposition in terms of VG TENSE. The two teachers in (12), T1 and T2, are discussing the mother of one of their students. This student's sister used to go to the same school. The proposition they are arguing about has to do with the modes of transport the mother uses to take her children to school: whether it is always by motorbike or also sometimes by motorised trike in the past. The translations of any modal particles (MP) are shown in square brackets ([ ]). The tense choices in the verbal group are highlighted in bold.

- (12) T1 1. *sətʰin ni:təm motʰo kər jəp-tʃ* *ε:-**n*** *xvi*  
 Secin always motorbike INS | commute-PROG COP-**NPST** | MP  
 verbal group  
 'I saw that] Secin is always commuting by motorbike.'
2. *tʰər ixin ɣn ɔrtʰε sənlo kər jəp-tʃ* *ε:-**tʃ*** *fε*  
 DIST daughter ACC.POSS before trike INS | commute-PROG COP-**PST** | MP  
 verbal group  
 '[You know that] her daughter was commuting (to school) by trike before.'
- T2 3. *ukue sətʰin ni:təm motʰo kər jəp-tʃ* *ε:-**ne***  
 NEG Secin always motorbike INS | commute-PROG COP-**NPST**  
 verbal group  
 'No, Secin is always commuting by motorbike.'
- T1 4. *ukue sənlo kər pəs jəp-tʃ* *ε:-**tʃ*** *fɔ*  
 NEG trike INS also | commute-PROG COP-**PST** | MP  
 verbal group  
 'No, [I know that] (she was) also commuting by trike.'
- T2 5. *ɔ:*  
 Oh  
 'Oh.'

The verbal groups in (12) exemplify the selections from VG TENSE in the eventive verbal group. They are contrasted in (13). The verbal groups in (12.1) and (12.3) are the same; they select [non-past]. The verbal groups in (12.2) and (12.4) are the same; they select [past]. Here we will use the lengthened form of the past tense suffix *-tʃε*, rather than *-tʃ* given in (12) above, to avoid confusion with the progressive aspect marker *-tʃ* discussed in Section 4.1.3<sup>134</sup>.

<sup>134</sup> The suffixes *-tʃε* (~ *-tʃ*) for past tense and *-tʃ* for progressive aspect are not allomorphs; they have different *valeur* (also see Section 4.1.3 and 4.2.2).



(13) from (12.1) and (12.3) *jep-tʃ*  $\varepsilon\text{:}-n$   
 commute-PROG COP-NPST  
 ‘is commuting’

from (12.2) and (12.4) *jep-tʃ*  $\varepsilon\text{:}-tʃ\varepsilon$   
 commute-PROG COP-PST  
 ‘was commuting’

In contrast to the verbal groups in Section 4.1.1 where the constituents of the verbal group are a verb and an adverb, the verbal groups in (13) comprise two verbs: a lexical main verb followed by an auxiliary copular verb. This arises when there is a selection from ASPECT. When this is the case, the ASPECT choice is shown as a suffix on the lexical verb, and the VG TENSE choice is shown as a suffix on the following auxiliary copula. However, to simplify our discussion of VG TENSE here, we will focus on instances without ASPECT as illustrated in (14) for [non-past] and (15) for [past] below. We will come back to how this interplays with ASPECT in Section 4.1.3.

(14) *jep-ɔn*  
 commute-NPST  
 ‘commutes’

(15) *jep-tʃ\varepsilon*  
 commute-PST  
 ‘commuted’

As these instances indicate, the distinction in VG TENSE is shown by suffixes that arise from distinct verb classes. We will call the verb class that realises [non-past] in instances such as (14) ‘v-n’ and the verb class that realises [past] in instances such as (15) ‘v-tʃ\varepsilon’.

As far as the structure of the verbal group is concerned, I use the term Tense to refer to the function generated by a selection from the VG TENSE system. The importance of a distinct function of Tense arises from the fact that, as shown by the aspectual examples above, VG TENSE does not always occur on Event or State; this is only the case for certain types of verbal groups (e.g. aspectless). Tense can also occur on auxiliaries and negation adverbs (discussed below). The analyses in (16) and (17) illustrate the structures that realise the co-selection of [positive] from VG POLARITY and VG TENSE in an eventive verbal group. In this case, the Event and Tense functions are conflated.

(16) *jep-ɔn*  
 COP-NPST  
 Event/Tense  
 ‘commutes’

(17) *jep-tʃ\varepsilon*  
 commute-PST  
 Event/Tense  
 ‘commuted’

As far as VG POLARITY is concerned, both (16) and (17) select [positive]. As we’ve seen, when an eventive verbal group selects [negative], the Negator is realised separately by a

negation adverb. However, negation also changes the verb class realising VG TENSE on the lexical verb. In the following negative verbal groups, Tense in [non-past] is realised by v-x in (18); Tense in [past] is realised by v-sən in (19).

- (18) *jɛp-x*                      *uɛ*  
 commute-NPST    NEG  
 Event/Tense      Negator  
 ‘doesn’t commute’

- (19) *jɛp-sən*                      *kuɛ*  
 commute-PST    NEG  
 Event/Tense    Negator  
 ‘didn’t commute’

The distinctive realisations of VG TENSE in relation to the co-selection from VG POLARITY are summarised below<sup>135</sup>.

	<b>positive</b>	<b>negative</b>
<b>non-</b>	v-n	v-x
<b>past</b>	v-tʃɛ	v-sən

The above examples also show that the realisations of Negator vary with the choice of VG TENSE. When [non-past], the Negator is lexicalised as *uɛ* as in (18); when [past] it is lexicalised as *kuɛ*, as in (19)<sup>136</sup>.

Non-eventive verbal groups also co-select from VG POLARITY and VG TENSE. As the following examples show, the patterns for VG TENSE choices in non-eventive verbal groups are the same with that in eventive verbal groups. In a non-eventive verbal group, the co-selection of [non-past] and [positive] conflates the State and Tense functions as in (20); the co-selection of [non-past] and [negative] conflates the State and Tense functions, which are followed by Negator as in (21).

- (20) *tʰv.r-ən*  
 correct-NPST  
 State/Tense  
 ‘correct’

<sup>135</sup> Due to the constraint of space, this chapter restricts its discussion of the realisation of TENSE to the ‘non-assessed’ declarative clauses only. When the interrogative particles *mɛ* and *i*, the exclamative particle *i*, and a small amount of modal particles (*ʃɛmu*, *wanjan*, *fidə*) are used after the verbal group, the realisation of Tense is v-x for [non-past] and v-sən for [past]. For a detailed discussion of the preselection of the MOOD features from verb features, see Zhang (2020).

<sup>136</sup> Phonologically speaking, the different lexicalisations of Negator are sensitive to the pattern of syllabification in Khorchin Mongolian. When the VG TENSE is [non-past], the tense suffix -x forms a syllable with the negation adverb; when the VG TENSE is [past], the tense suffix -sən and the negation adverb forms separate syllables.

- (21) *tʰv:r-x*                      *uɛ*  
correct-NPST    NEG  
State/Tense    Negator  
‘is not correct’

The structural configurations for [past] is the same. The co-selection of [past] and [positive] conflates State and Tense as in (22); the co-selection of [past] and [negative] conflates State and Tense, which is followed by Negator as in (23).

- (22) *tʰv:r-tʃɛ*  
correct-PST  
State/Tense  
‘was correct’

- (23) *tʰv:r-sən*                      *kuɛ*  
correct-PST    NEG  
State/Tense    Negator  
‘was not correct’

So far, the co-selection from VG TYPE, VG POLARITY and VG TENSE in the elaborated verbal group has been discussed and exemplified. The features in VG TYPE [eventive] and [non-eventive] are realised by insertion of functions Event and State. The feature [negative] in VG POLARITY is realised by insertion of a Negator function. The features in VG TENSE are realised by insertion of a Tense function. When the co-selections are [non-past/positive] and [past/positive], Tense is realised by *v-n* and *v-tʃɛ* respectively. When the co-selections are [non-past/negative] and [past/negative], Tense is realised by *v-x* and *v-sən* respectively; at the same time, the corresponding Negator is lexicalised as *uɛ* and *kuɛ*. When the features from [progressive] in ASPECT, [modality] in VG MODALITY, and [future] in RELATIVE TENSE as they are described in the remainder of Section 4.1 are not selected, Event and State are conflated with Tense.

#### 4.1.3 ASPECT

Apart from VG POLARITY and VG TENSE, another resource shared between eventive and non-eventive verbal groups is ASPECT. Unlike VG POLARITY and VG TENSE, in ASPECT the verbal group optionally selects the feature [progressive]<sup>137</sup>. The choice of [progressive] aspect construes an occurrence as ongoing (i.e. the middle part of the ‘internal constituency’ of an occurrence).

We have seen ASPECT at work in the eventive verbal group in (12), repeated as (24). The verbal groups in (24.1) and (24.3) co-select [progressive], [non-past], and [positive]; those in (24.2) and (24.4) co-select [progressive], [past], and [positive]. The suffixes that mark ASPECT and VG TENSE are highlighted in bold.

<sup>137</sup> This chapter does not deal with what Brosig (2014) terms ‘neutral’ and ‘continuative-resultative’ aspect. More research needs to be done with respect to rank scale and complexing of units to account for these two types systemically.

- (24) T1 1. *səʔʰin ni:təm mətʰo kər jəp-tʃ* *ε:-n* *xoɪ*  
 Secin always motorbike INS | commute-**PROG** COP-**NPST** | MP  
 verbal group  
 ‘[I saw that] Secin is always commuting by motorbike.’
2. *tʰər ixin ɯn ɔrtʰe sənlo kər jəp-tʃ* *ε:-tʃ* *fɛ*  
 DIST daughter ACC.POSS before trike INS | commute-**PROG** COP-**PST** | MP  
 verbal group  
 ‘[You know that] her daughter was commuting (to school) by trike before.’
- T2 3. *ukue səʔʰin ni:təm mətʰo kər jəp-tʃ* *ε:-nɐ*  
 NEG Secin always motorbike INS | commute-**PROG** COP-**NPST**  
 verbal group  
 ‘No, Secin is always commuting by motorbike.’
- T1 4. *ukue sənlo kər pəs jəp-tʃ* *ε:-tʃ* *fɔ*  
 NEG trike INS also | commute-**PROG** COP-**PST** | MP  
 verbal group  
 ‘No, [I know that] (she was) also commuting by trike.’
- T2 5. *ɔ:*  
 Oh  
 ‘Oh.’

The verbal groups in (24) together with the choices they instantiate are shown in (25). The feature [progressive] is realised through verb class v-tʃ and an auxiliary copula *ε:-*.<sup>138</sup>

- (25) [progressive/non-past/positive] *jəp-tʃ* *ε:-n*  
 commute-PROG COP-NPST  
 ‘is commuting’
- [progressive/past/positive] *jəp-tʃ* *ε:-tʃɛ*  
 commute-PROG COP-PST  
 ‘was commuting’

Structurally, I use the terms Aspect and Auxiliary to refer to the functions of v-tʃ and *ε:-* in the verbal group. The selection of [progressive/positive] is realised by inserting Aspect and Auxiliary as shown in examples from (26) to (30) below. The selection of [progressive/negative] is realised differently in relation to the selection from VG TENSE. When [past] is selected, both Aspect and Auxiliary are required in the structure as in (31) and (32) below; on the other hand, when [non-past] is selected, only an Aspect function is required as in (33) and (34) below.

The structural configuration of the co-selection [progressive/positive] and the features from VG TENSE in an eventive verbal group is shown in (26) and (27). The features selected from VG TENSE in (26) and (27) are [non-past] and [past] respectively. In both cases, Aspect is conflated with Event and Auxiliary is conflated with Tense. There is no

<sup>138</sup> Bayancogtu (e.g. 2002:335) treats this syntagm as an affix, -tʃɛ:-. However, particles such as *il* can be realised between -tʃ and *ε:-* to construe a repetitive continuous occurrence, e.g. *jab-tʃ il ε:-na* ‘keeps walking (back and forth)’, which means that -tʃ and *ε:-* are separate morphemes.

explicit realisation of [positive].

- (26) *jɛp-tʃ*                      *ɛ:-n*  
 commute-PROG    COP-NPST  
 Event/Aspect    Auxiliary/Tense  
 ‘is commuting’

- (27) *jɛp-tʃ*                      *ɛ:-tʃɛ*  
 commute-PROG    COP-PST  
 Event/Aspect    Auxiliary/Tense  
 ‘was commuting’

In the same way, a non-eventive verbal group can also select from ASPECT. This is exemplified in (28). The mother (M) asks about her daughter’s (D) physiological state because the weather is warming up. The non-eventive verbal group in (28.1) co-selects [progressive], [non-past], and [positive].

- (28) M: 1. *tʃʰi*    *xɛlut-tʃ*                      *ɛ:-ø*<sup>139</sup>                      *mɛ*  
                  2SG    | feel.hot-PROG    COP-NPST    | QP  
                         | verbal group  
                         ‘Are you feeling hot?’
- D: 2. *ukuɛ*  
                  NEG  
                  ‘No.’

As far as the structure of the verbal group in (28.1) is concerned, State in the non-eventive verbal group is conflated Aspect and Tense is conflated with Auxiliary. The structural configurations of the co-selection [progressive/positive] and the features from VG TENSE in a non-eventive verbal group are shown in (29) and (30). The features selected from VG TENSE in (29) and (30) are [non-past] and [past] respectively.

- (29) *xɛlut-tʃ*                      *ɛ:-n*  
 feel.hot-PROG    COP-NPST  
 State/Aspect    Auxiliary/Tense  
 ‘is feeling hot’

- (30) *xɛlut-tʃ*                      *ɛ:-tʃɛ*  
 feel.hot-PROG    COP-PST  
 State/Aspect    Auxiliary/Tense  
 ‘was feeling hot’

In contrast to [progressive/positive], the co-selection [progressive/negative] from ASPECT and VG POLARITY generates different structures. When the co-selection is [negative/progressive/past], Aspect is conflated with Event or State and Auxiliary is conflated with Tense; the Negator generated by [negative] is lexicalised as *kuɛ*. This is illustrated for the eventive verbal group in (31) and the non-eventive verbal group in (32).

<sup>139</sup> The [non-past] is realised by *-ø* due to its interaction with the question particle *mɛ*.

(31) *jɛp-tʃ*                      *ɛ:-sɔn*                      *kuɛ*  
 commute-PROG    COP-PST                      NEG  
 Event/Aspect    Auxiliary/Tense    Negator  
 ‘was not commuting’

(32) *xɛlut-tʃ*                      *ɛ:-sɔn*                      *kuɛ*  
 feel.hot-PROG    COP-PST                      NEG  
 State/Aspect    Auxiliary/Tense    Negator  
 ‘was not feeling hot’

In contrast, when the features selected are [negative/progressive/non-past], no Auxiliary function is required. Aspect is conflated with Event or State. Tense on the other hand does not have an identifiable realisation; it is conflated with Negator, which is lexicalised as *ukuɛ*. This is illustrated for the eventive verbal group in (33) and the non-eventive verbal group in (34).

(33) *jɛp-tʃ*                      *ukuɛ*  
 commute-PROG    NEG  
 Event/Aspect    Tense/Negator  
 ‘is not commuting’

(34) *xɛlut-tʃ*                      *ukuɛ*  
 feel.hot-PROG    NEG  
 State/Aspect    Tense/Negator  
 ‘is not feeling hot’

Figure 2.3 formalises the features selected from ASPECT, VG TENSE, and VG POLARITY, along with their structural realisations. The realisation statements on the right only account for selections which concern [progressive]. For the realisations of VG TENSE and VG POLARITY without the selection of [progressive], see Section 4.1.3 above. Note that the conflation of Aspect with Event or State is not included in the diagram. The sequencing of Event or State also varies in relation to selections from VG MODALITY and RELATIVE TENSE as they are discussed in Section 4.1.4 and 4.1.5. A double colon (::) is used to show lexicalisation (e.g. Negator:: *ukuɛ* means ‘Negator is lexicalised as *ukuɛ*’).

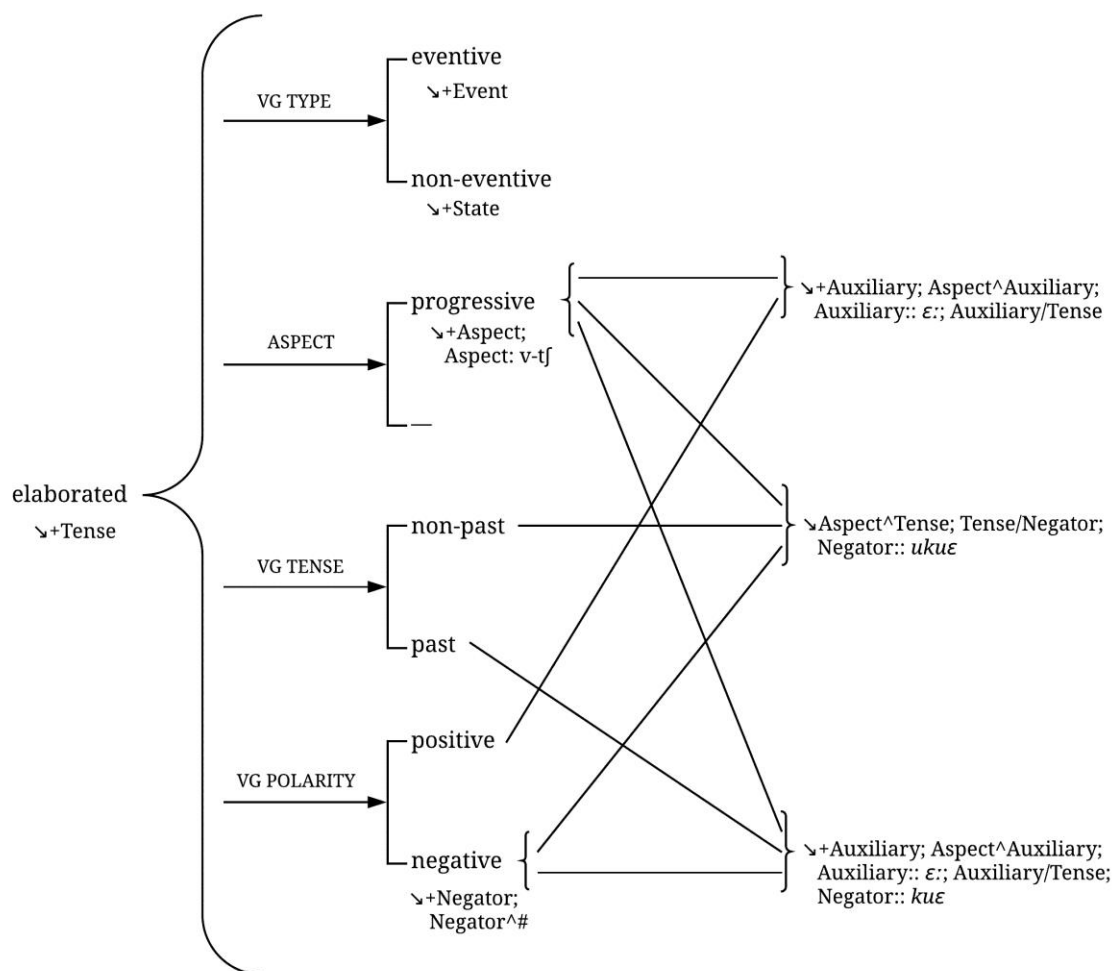


Figure 2.3 VG TYPE, VG POLARITY, VG TENSE and ASPECT in the elaborated verbal group

In the remainder of Section 4.1, two further systems, VG MODALITY and RELATIVE TENSE are discussed. The two systems are only available for the eventive verbal group, and RELATIVE TENSE can only occur when neither ASPECT nor VG MODALITY occurs. We will begin with VG MODALITY.

#### 4.1.4 VG MODALITY

One defining feature of an eventive verbal group is that it selects from VG MODALITY. This is the case when what is being negotiated is a proposal (i.e. goods & service). A proposal in Halliday's sense (1994:89) can be modulated. In Khorchin Mongolian, one of the ways to modulate a proposal is through the verbal group<sup>140</sup>.

Two kinds of modulation are possible: [permission] and [ability]. The verbal group in (35.1) exemplifies the modulation of a proposal in terms of [permission]. The aunt (A) reminds her nephew that the way his dumpling has been made is not permitted (because the fillings will come out). Modulation in Khorchin Mongolian selects from VG TENSE.

<sup>140</sup> In contrast, propositions are modalised mainly through adverbial groups or clause final particles at clause rank.





The verbal groups in (38.1) and (38.2) illustrate the co-selections of [ability/non-past/negative] and [ability/non-past/positive] respectively. Note that in (38.2) the verb which realises Event, *ir-tʃ* ‘come-CVB’, is elided.

Like modulation of [permission], Modality in (38) is realised after the Event. It is conflated with Tense when [progressive] in the ASPECT system is not selected. The structure of the verbal group in (38.1) and (38.2) are analysed in (39) and (40).

(39)	<i>ir-tʃ</i>	<i>ʃl-x</i>	<i>uɛ</i>
	come-CVB	be.able.to-NPST	NEG
	Event	Modality/Tense	Negator
	‘am not able to come’		

(40)	<i>ir-tʃ</i>	<i>ʃl-ən</i>
	come-CVB	be.able.to-NPST
	Event	Modality/Tense
	‘am able to come’	

In (39) and (40), although Modality and Tense are conflated, the realisation of each function is identifiable. Modality is lexicalised as the modal verb *ʃl*; Tense is realised by v-x when the verbal group selects [negative] as in (39) and by v-n when the verbal group selects [positive] as in (40).

MODALITY also co-selects with ASPECT. Though it is not attested in my data, instances such as (41) are not rare. For example, it could be something uttered when the wellbeing of a patient is asked.

(41)	<i>tʰər</i>	<i>pɛtɛ</i>	<i>it-əʃ</i>	<i>ʃl-tʃ</i>	<i>ɛ:-n</i>
	3SG	meal	eat-CVB	be.able.to-PROG	COP-NPST
			verbal group		
			Event	Modality/Aspect	Auxiliary/Tense
	‘He is being able to eat meals.’				

In (41), Event is lexicalised as *it* ‘eat’. Modality is conflated with Aspect and Auxiliary is conflated with Tense.

The interaction between VG MODALITY, ASPECT, and VG POLARITY follows the pattern of interaction between ASPECT and VG POLARITY as it is discussed in Section 4.1.3. Example (42) illustrates [ability/progressive/non-past/negative].

(42)	<i>tʰər</i>	<i>pɛtɛ</i>	<i>its-tʃ</i>	<i>ʃl-tʃ</i>	<i>ukuɛ</i>
	3SG	meal	eat-CVB	be.able.to-PROG	NEG
			verbal group		
			Event	Modality/Aspect	Tense/Negator
	‘He is not being able to eat meals.’				

In (42), Modality is conflated with Aspect; Tense is conflated with Negator; the conflation of Tense and Negator follows the conflation of Modality and Aspect. Modality is lexicalised as the modal verb *ʃl*; Aspect is realised by v-tʃ and Negator by *ukuɛ*. Tense does not have an identifiable realisation; it is conflated with Negator.

The pattern is different when the verbal group selects [past]. In such cases,

Modality is conflated with Aspect; Auxiliary is conflated with Tense; Negator is realised at the final position. The instance in (43) exemplifies the selection [ability/progressive/past/negative].

(43)	<i>tʰɔr</i>	<i>pɛtɛ</i>	<i>its-tʃ</i>	<i>ʃɪl-tʃ</i>	<i>ɛ:-sən</i>	<i>kue</i>
	3SG	meal	eat-CVB	be.able.to-PROG	COP-PST	NEG
			verbal group			
			Event	Modality/Aspect	Auxiliary/Tense	Negator
	'He was not being able to eat meals.'					

In (43), Modality is lexicalised as the modal verb *ʃɪl*; Aspect is realised by *v-tʃ*, and Tense by *v-sən*; Negator is lexicalised as *kue*.

To summarise, an eventive verbal group optionally selects [modulated]; when the feature is selected, a Modality function is inserted. Modality is either lexicalised as *pəl* 'be allowed to' or *ʃɪl* 'be able to', which respectively realise features [permission] and [ability]. When [progressive] from ASPECT is not selected, Modality is realised after Event and is conflated with Tense. When [progressive] is selected, on the other hand, Modality is realised after Event and is conflated with Aspect.

#### 4.1.5 RELATIVE TENSE

Another defining feature of an eventive verbal group is that it selects from RELATIVE TENSE. RELATIVE TENSE can only occur when there is no selection of [progressive] from ASPECT or [modulated] from VG MODALITY. It allows the construal of a relative [future] in relation to the 'absolute time' construed by VG TENSE, which deals with temporality in relation to the time of a speech event (i.e. [past] or [non-past]).

The move (44.3) exemplifies the co-selection of [future/non-past]. The exchange is part of a conversation between a wife (W) and her husband (H) on their phone through WeChat. The wife is waiting for her husband to come back for dinner. She asks what time he is coming home in (44.1). The husband states that he is going to be a while since the carwash is washing other people's cars in (44.2). He then reassures his wife by telling her that their car is going to be washed in (44.3) and asks her to keep waiting in (44.4).

(44)	W:	1.	<i>pəs</i>	<i>nəktʰi</i>	<i>ət-ə</i>	<i>mɛ</i>	<i>tʰi</i>
			also	a.while	last-NPST	QP	2SG
					verbal group		
			'Are you going to be a while?'				

H.	2.	<i>uər</i>	<i>xun</i>	<i>nɛ</i>	<i>tʰɔrək</i>	<i>i:</i>	<i>ʊv-tʃ</i>	<i>ɛ:-nɛ</i>
		other	people	GEN	car	ACC	wash-PROG	COP -NSPT
							verbal group	
		'(They) are washing other people's car.'						

3.	<i>ɔt</i>	<i>mən</i>	<i>nɛ</i>	<i>ki</i>	<i>ʊv-ntʃ</i>	<i>ɛ:-nɛ</i>
	now	1PL	GEN	ACC	wash-FUT	COP-NPST
					verbal group	
	'(They) are going to wash ours now.'					

4. *xulɛ-tʃ*      *ɛː*  
 wait-PROG   COP.IMP.2  
 verbal group  
 ‘Stay waiting.’

The verbal group in (44.2) *ʊv-tʃ ɛː-nɐ* ‘wash-PROG COP-NPST’ co-selects [progressive], [non-past], and [positive] as discussed in Section 4.1.3; the verbal group in (44.4) *xulɛ-tʃ ɛː* ‘wait-PROG COP.IMP.2’ functions in an imperative clause, which is described in Section 4.2.

In (44.3), the verbal group construes an occurrence which is going to happen after the speech time. In terms of IDEATION in discourse (Hao 2015, 2020; Martin 1992; Martin & Quiroz this volume; Martin & Rose 2007) the co-selection from RELATIVE TENSE (i.e. [future]) and from VG TENSE (i.e. [non-past]) sequences a figure at a ‘future’ time in relation to the ‘present’ established in the discourse. Therefore, the features selected from the two systems are named as [‘relative tense’ in ‘absolute tense’] – [future in past] and [future in non-past] (following Halliday 1976, 1985 [1994]).

As illustrated in (45), the feature [future] in RELATIVE TENSE is realised by the verb class *v-ntʃ* and an auxiliary copula *ɛː*; the selection from VG TENSE ([non-past] in this instance) is realised on the auxiliary copula.

- (45) *mɐn nɛ ki ʊv-ntʃ ɛː-nɐ*  
 1PL GEN ACC | wash-FUT COP-NPST  
                               | verbal group  
 ‘(They) are going to wash ours.’

The reference time can also be [past] (i.e. [future in past]). The example (45) is adapted as (46) to exemplify the positioning of a figure at a ‘future’ time in reference to the ‘past’.

- (46) *mɐn nɛ ki ʊv-ntʃ ɛː-tʃɛ*  
 1PL GEN ACC | wash-FUT COP-PST  
                               | verbal group  
 ‘(They) were going to wash ours.’

Brosig (2014) treats the syntagm *v-ntʃ^ɛː* as a marker of ‘prospective’ aspect. His position is not adopted on the following two grounds: First, the temporal meaning construed is not concerned with the ‘internal temporal constituency’ of a situation (Comrie 1976); rather the meaning is concerned with the positioning of a figure as a whole in relation to another. Second, the meaning construed by *v-ntʃ^ɛː* has rather different *valeur* than the choice [progressive] in the system of ASPECT as it is discussed in Section 4.1.3. The choice of [progressive] is not restricted to the VG TYPE of verbal group ([eventive] or [non-eventive]); nor is it restricted to the VG DEIXIS of the verbal group ([elaborated] or [restricted]).<sup>142</sup> Furthermore, [progressive] can also co-select [modulated]. In contrast, relative [future] is a choice possible only for an eventive elaborated verbal group, and is mutually exclusive with VG MODALITY.

The structures that realise [future in past] and [future in non-past] are exemplified in (47) and (48). The functions of *v-ntʃ* and *ɛː* are referred to as Relative Tense (R.Tense) and Auxiliary respectively. In this way, when an eventive verbal group selects [future]

<sup>142</sup> The selection from ASPECT in the restricted verbal group is discussed in Section 4.2.

from RELATIVE TENSE and [positive] from VG POLARITY, two functions are inserted: R.Tense and Auxiliary. R.Tense is realised by *v-ntʃ* and is conflated with Event; Auxiliary is lexicalised as *ε:* and is conflated with Tense.

- (47) *ov-ntʃ*                      *ε:-tʃε*  
wash-FUT                      COP-PST  
Event/R.Tense    Auxiliary/Tense  
‘was going to wash’

- (48) *ov-ntʃ*                      *ε:-nε*  
wash-FUT                      COP-NPST  
Event/R.Tense    Auxiliary/Tense  
‘is going to wash’

Similar to the interaction between ASPECT and VG POLARITY, the co-selection of [future in non-past] and [negative] deserves special attention. When the choice is [future in non-past/negative], only R.Tense is required for the realisation of [future]. There is no identifiable realisation of Tense; it is conflated with Negator, which is lexicalised as *ukue*. The choice [future in non-past/negative] is exemplified in (49).

- (49) *ov-ntʃ*                      *ukue*  
wash-FUT                      NEG  
Event/R.Tense    Tense/Negator  
‘is not going to wash’

On the other hand, when the co-selection is between [future in past] and [negative], an Auxiliary function is required and is conflated with Tense. This co-selection is exemplified in (50).

- (50) *ov-ntʃ*                      *ε:-sən*                      *kuε*  
wash-FUT                      COP-PST                      NEG  
Event/R.Tense    Auxiliary/Tense    Negator  
‘was not going to wash’

In (50), Event is conflated with R.Tense, realised by *v-ntʃ*; Auxiliary is conflated with Tense, realised by *v-sən*; Negator is lexicalised as *kuε*, following Tense.

The structures which realise the interaction between RELATIVE TENSE, VG TENSE, and VG POLARITY are summarised below. The feature [future] in RELATIVE TENSE in an eventive verbal group is an optional choice. When [future] is selected we find the following possibilities:

- [future]  $\supset$  +R.Tense; R.Tense: *v-ntʃ*  
[positive]  $\supset$  +Auxiliary; R.Tense^Auxiliary; Auxiliary:: *ε:*; Auxiliary/Tense  
[negative]  $\supset$  +Negator; Negator^#  
[future in past/negative]  $\supset$  +Auxiliary; R.Tense^Auxiliary; Auxiliary:: *ε:*; Auxiliary/Tense; Negator:: *kuε*  
[future in non-past/negative]  $\supset$  R.Tense^Tense; Tense/Negator; Negator:: *ukue*

## 4.2. The restricted verbal group

Restricted verbal groups function in imperative clauses. A restricted verbal group obligatorily selects from the system VG PERSON and optionally selects [progressive] from the system ASPECT. Both eventive and non-eventive verbal groups select from these two systems. Section 4.2.1 and 4.2.2 describes VG PERSON and ASPECT respectively. In each section, eventive verbal groups are discussed first, followed by discussions of non-eventive verbal groups.

### 4.2.1 VG PERSON

The system VG PERSON has three features: [first person], [second person], and [third person]. A restricted verbal group realises the Predicator in an imperative clause (see Section 2) and obligatorily chooses from one of the three features.

In terms of discourse, the realisation of Predicator has to do with the modally responsible participant (i.e. the participant that is responsible for the provision of the goods & services). When the modally responsible participant includes the speaker (i.e. speaker inclusive), the Predicator of the imperative clause is realised by a verbal group which selects [first person]. When the modally responsible participant does not include the speaker (i.e. speaker exclusive), the Predicator of the imperative clause is realised by a verbal group which selects [second person]. In contrast, when the verbal group realisation of the Predicator selects [third person], the modally responsible participant may either include or exclude the speaker.

The exchange in (51) (repeating (2) above) exemplifies the role of the eventive verbal group in both speaker exclusive and speaker inclusive imperative clauses. The imperative clause in (51.1) positions the addressee as the modally responsible participant, i.e. speaker exclusive; the imperative clause in (51.3) positions the speaker as the modally responsible participant, i.e. speaker inclusive (G=grandmother; H=Hayirhan, the granddaughter). The clause in (51.2) is not an imperative clause, and thus is not included in the analysis. Note that the name *xɛ:rxɛn* in (51.1) is a Vocative realised on a separate tone group.

- (51) G 1. *xɛ:rxɛn*    *itə*  
          Hayirhan | eat.IMP.2  
                      | Predicator  
                      | verbal group  
          ‘Hayirhan, eat.’
- H 2. *ɔ: ukue nei it-x ue le*  
      oh NEG grandma eat-NPST NEG RES  
      ‘Oh, no, grandma, I won’t eat.’
- G 3. *tʃʰemə t ʃiʃi ne uk-jə*  
      2SG DAT small GEN | give-IMP.1  
                                  | Predicator  
                                  | verbal group  
      ‘Let (me) give you the smaller ones.’

H 4. [Accepts and eats the orange.]

The clause in (51.1) exemplifies one type of speaker exclusive imperative clause. It positions the addressee as modally responsible without any explicit affixation in the verbal group. In contrast, the speaker inclusive imperative clause in (51.3) uses the verb class v-j to realise the modally responsible participant in the Predicator.

The verbal group realisations of Predicator in imperative clauses agree with the pronominal realisation of the ‘actor’. Examples (52) and (53) illustrate speaker inclusive imperative clauses with explicit pronominal realisation of the participant performing the action of giving (i.e. ‘speaker only’ in (52) and ‘speaker and non-interlocutor’ in (53)).

- (52) *pi tʰɛmɛ t ʃɔʃɔ nɛ uk-jə*  
 1SG 2SG DAT small GEN | give-IMP.1  
 | Predicator  
 | verbal group  
 ‘Let me give you the smaller ones.’

- (53) *pɛtɛn tʰɛmɛ t ʃɔʃɔ nɛ uk-jə*  
 1PL 2SG DAT small GEN | give-IMP.1  
 | Predicator  
 | verbal group  
 ‘Let us give you the smaller ones.’

The suffix *-jə* in the verbal groups ‘agrees with’ the first person pronouns: first person singular in (52) and first person plural in (53). This is why the verbal group option is called [first person].

In the same way, the second person pronoun in the speaker exclusive imperative clause exemplified in (51.1) can be made explicit. This is illustrated in (54) and (55).

- (54) *tʰi itə*  
 2SG | eat.IMP.2  
 | Predicator  
 | verbal group  
 ‘You eat.’

- (55) *tʰɛtɛn itə*  
 2PL | eat.IMP.2  
 | Predicator  
 | verbal group  
 ‘You eat.’

The non-inflected verbs in the verbal groups agree with the second person pronouns: second person singular in (54) and second person plural in (55). This is why the verbal group option is called [second person].

The third type of imperative clause in Khorchin Mongolian is ambiguous as to whether the modally responsible participant includes or excludes the speaker. Unlike the speaker inclusive and the speaker exclusive imperative clauses, this type is used to permit the occurrence of the action realised in the verbal group. For a detailed account of this type of imperative clause in relation to the other two, see Zhang (2020). In (56) the

sister informs her brother what she is going to do. The move in (56.1) positions her brother as modally responsible for permitting the boiling of the pot<sup>143</sup>.

- (56) 1. *tʰɔkɔ* *pœʃɔl-tʃ* *ɛ:-kɐ*  
 pot | boil-PROG COP-IMP.3  
 | Predicate  
 | verbal group  
 'Let the pot boil,'
2. *pi* *kɛxɐ* *ki* *tʰitʃə-kət* *ir-jə*  
 1SG pig ACC | feed-PFV | come-IMP.1  
 | Predicate  
 | verbal group | verbal group  
 'Let me feed the pigs and come back.'

In (56.1), Predicate is realised by a verbal group with the final component realised by the verb class v-k. The 'actor' *tʰɔkɔ* cannot be replaced by either the first person or the second person pronouns. It can be replaced by the third person pronouns as in (57) and (58).

- (57) *tʰɔr* *pœʃɔl-tʃ* *ɛ:-kɐ*  
 3SG | boil-PROG COP-IMP.3  
 | Predicate  
 | verbal group  
 'Let it boil.'
- (58) *tʰɔtɔn* *pœʃɔl-tʃ* *ɛ:-kɐ*  
 3PL | boil-PROG COP-IMP.3  
 | Predicate  
 | verbal group  
 'Let them boil.'

The suffix *-kɐ* in the verbal groups 'agrees with' the third person pronouns: third person singular in (57) and third person plural in (58). This is why the verbal group option is called [third person].

Structurally speaking, we will use the term Person to refer to the function realising choices from VG PERSON. In eventive verbal groups as exemplified so far, Event is conflated with Person. The selections of [first person], [second person], and [third person] in an eventive verbal group are illustrated in (59), (60), and (61) respectively via the verb *uk* 'give'.

- (59) *uk-jə*  
 give-IMP.1  
 Event/Person  
 '(Let me) give'

<sup>143</sup> The same structure can also be used to position both the speaker and the addressee as modally responsible for permitting the occurrence of an action. For exemplifications and discussions on this point, see Zhang (2020).

(60) *uk*  
 give.IMP.2  
 Event/Person  
 ‘(you) give’

(61) *uk-ək*  
 give-IMP.3  
 Event/Person  
 ‘(Let her) give’

Table 2.1 shows the correspondence between the different types of imperative clause and the verb classes involved in the verbal group which realises the Predicator in each type. The verb *it* ‘eat’ is used for exemplification. Note that when there is no selection of [progressive] from the ASPECT system discussed in Section 4.2.2, the verbal group comprises only one verb. When [progressive] is selected a combination of verbs constitute the verbal group. In other words, these ‘verbs’ are described as verbal groups because of their potential selection from different verbal group systems.

Table 2.1 Imperative clauses and the realisations of the Predicator

clause rank feature in MOOD	group rank feature in VG PERSON realising the Predicator	word rank verb class	examples
speaker inclusive	first person	v-j	<i>it-jə</i>
speaker exclusive	second person	v	<i>it</i>
speaker inclusive or exclusive	third person	v-k	<i>it-ək</i>

The non-eventive verbal group interaction with VG PERSON is similar to that of the eventive verbal group. Although there is no instance of a non-eventive verbal group selecting VG PERSON in my corpus, instances such as (62) are acceptable. It is commonly used from parents to children when the children’s behaviour needs to be regulated. In a non-eventive verbal group, State conflates with Person.

(62) *tʃukər* *pɛː*  
 quiet | COP.IMP.2  
       | verbal group  
       | State/Person  
 ‘(You) be quiet.’

In (62), the verbal group selects [second person]. The addressee, e.g. the children, is positioned as modally responsible for being quiet.

The adjective *tʃukər* in (62) can in fact be used in different senses in relation to the different choices speakers make from the verbal group system VG PERSON. When the verbal group selects [first person] as in (63), the adjective *tʃukər* means ‘stay out of’.

(63) *tʃukər* *pɛː-jə*  
 stay.out.of | COP-IMP.1  
               | verbal group  
               | State/Person  
 ‘Let me stay out of (this).’



In (63), the clause positions the speaker as modally responsible for staying out of the situation. When the verbal group selects [third person] as in (64), the adjective *tʃukər* is best interpreted as ‘undisturbed’.

- (64) *tʃər tʃukər pɛː-kɐ*  
 3SG undisturbed | COP-IMP.3  
                               | verbal group  
                               | State/Person  
 ‘Let him be undisturbed.  
 (=Leave him alone.)’

In (64), the clause positions the addressee as modally responsible for permitting a non-interlocutor to stay undisturbed.

To summarise, the structures generated by the co-selections from VG TYPE and VG PERSON are listed below:

- [eventive]  $\supset$  +Event  
 [non-eventive]  $\supset$  +State  
 [restricted]  $\supset$  +Person  
 [first person]  $\supset$  Person: v-j  
 [second person]  $\supset$  Person: v  
 [third person]  $\supset$  Person: v-k  
 [eventive/restricted]  $\supset$  Event/Person  
 [non-eventive/restricted]  $\supset$  State/Person

#### 4.2.2 ASPECT

As with elaborated verbal groups, restricted verbal groups optionally select [progressive] from the ASPECT system. We have seen the co-selection of ASPECT and VG PERSON in an eventive verbal group in (56), repeated as (65). The verbal group in (65.1) co-selects [progressive] and [third person]. The Event and Aspect functions are conflated and the Auxiliary and Person functions are conflated.

- (65) 1. *tʃək pɔɛʃl-tʃ ɛː-kɐ*  
       pot | boil-PROG COP-IMP.3  
           | verbal group  
           | Event/Aspect Auxiliary/Person  
       ‘Let the pot boil,’  
  
 2. *pi kɛxɛ ki tʃitʃ-kət ir-jɔ*  
    1SG pig ACC | feed-PFV | come-IMP.1  
                   | verbal group | verbal group  
       ‘Let me feed the pig and come back.’

In (65.1) Event is lexicalised as *pɔɛʃl*; Aspect is realised by v-tʃ; Auxiliary is lexicalised as *ɛː*; and Person is realised by v-k.

In (65.2), we have a verbal group complex. It is adjusted as (66) below to exemplify

the co-selection of [progressive] and [first person] in a single verbal group<sup>144</sup>.

- (66) *pi kexx ki tʰitʰə-tʃ ɛ:-jɐ*  
 1SG pig ACC | feed-PROG COP-IMP.1  
                               | verbal group  
                               | Event/Aspect Auxiliary/Person  
 ‘Let me feed the pigs.’

Similarly, with the co-selection of [progressive] and [third person], the choices from each system have distinct realisations. Event is lexicalised as *tʰitʰə*; Aspect is realised by *v-tʃ*; Auxiliary is lexicalised as *ɛ:-*; and Person is realised by *v-j*.

The clause in (66) is adjusted as (67) to exemplify the co-selection of [progressive] and [second person]. Event is conflated with Aspect and Auxiliary is conflated with Person.

- (67) *tʰi kexx ki tʰitʰə-tʃ ɛ:*  
 2SG pig ACC | feed-PROG COP.IMP.2  
                               | verbal group  
                               | Event/Aspect Auxiliary/Person  
 ‘You feed the pigs.’

In (67), Event is lexicalised as *tʰitʰə*; Aspect is realised by *v-tʃ*; Auxiliary is lexicalised as *ɛ:-*; and Person is realised by *v*.

As far as non-eventive verbal groups are concerned, their selections from ASPECT and VG PERSON resemble that of eventive verbal groups. The verbal group in (68) exemplifies the co-selection of [progressive] and [second person] in a non-eventive verbal group. The speaker requests the addressee to stay wherever she is. Structurally, State is conflated with Aspect and Auxiliary is conflated with Person.

- (68) *tʰi tʰəntər pɛ:-tʃ ɛ:*  
 2SG there | COP-PROG COP.IMP.2  
                               | verbal group  
                               | State/Aspect Auxiliary/Person  
 ‘You be there.’

The clause in (68) positions the addressee as modally responsible for staying at a place for a prolonged period of time. In the verbal group, State is lexicalised as the copular verb *pɛ:-*; Aspect is realised by *v-tʃ*; Auxiliary is lexicalised as *ɛ:-*; and Person is realised by *v*.

The clauses in (69) and (70) adjust that in (68) to exemplify the co-selection of [progressive] and [first person], and [progressive] and [third person] in a non-eventive verbal group. The modal responsibility of staying at a location is assigned to the speaker and the addressee in (69); the assignment of the modal responsibility of permitting a non-interlocutor’s staying at a location is ambiguous in (70).

- (69) *pɛtən tʰəntər pɛ:-tʃ ɛ:-jɐ*  
 1PL there | COP-PROG COP-IMP.1

<sup>144</sup> To account for the perfective in (65.2), we need to introduce the way verbal group complex works in Khorchin Mongolian, which needs another occasion.

			verbal group	
			State/Aspect	Auxiliary/Person
	'Let's be there.'			

(70) *tʰʊr tʰʊntʰr pɛ:-tʃ ɛ:-kɛ*  
 3SG there COP-PROG COP-IMP.3  

			verbal group	
			State/Aspect	Auxiliary/Person

 'Let her be there.'

In the verbal groups in (69) and (70), States are lexicalised as the copular verb *pɛ:-*; Aspects are realised by *v-tʃ*; Auxiliaries are lexicalised as *ɛ:-*; and Person is realised by *v-j* in (69) and *v-k* in (70).

The structures which realise the co-selection from VG PERSON and [progressive] in ASPECT in the restricted verbal group are summarised below.

[restricted]  $\supset$  +Person  
 [first person]  $\supset$  Person: *v-j*  
 [second person]  $\supset$  Person: *v*  
 [third person]  $\supset$  Person: *v-k*  
 [eventive]  $\supset$  +Event  
 [non-eventive]  $\supset$  + State  
 [progressive]  $\supset$  +Aspect; +Auxiliary; Aspect: *v-tʃ*; Auxiliary:: *ɛ:-*  
 [progressive/eventive/restricted]  $\supset$  Event/Aspect; Auxiliary/Person  
 [progressive/non-eventive/restricted]  $\supset$  State/Aspect; Auxiliary/Person

## 5. Conclusions

This chapter provides a systemic functional account of the verbal group in Khorchin Mongolian. Two basic verbal group systems, VG DEIXIS and VG TYPE, are established based on the role the verbal group plays in a clause. The VG DEIXIS system includes the features [elaborated] and [restricted]. Elaborated verbal groups function in indicative clauses, whereas restricted verbal groups function in imperative clauses. The system VG TYPE includes the features [eventive] and [non-eventive]. Eventive verbal groups function in non-relational clauses, whereas non-eventive verbal groups function in relational clauses. The systems VG DEIXIS and VG TYPE are simultaneous co-selecting systems. An eventive elaborated verbal group selects from the systems VG POLARITY, VG TENSE, ASPECT, VG MODALITY, and RELATIVE TENSE; a non-eventive elaborated verbal group selects from the systems VG POLARITY, VG TENSE, and ASPECT. Both eventive and non-eventive restricted verbal groups select from the systems VG PERSON and ASPECT. These systemic relations are summarised as a system network in Figure 2.4. The structures which realise the co-selections from these systems are excluded to avoid repetition. They can be found in their respective sections.

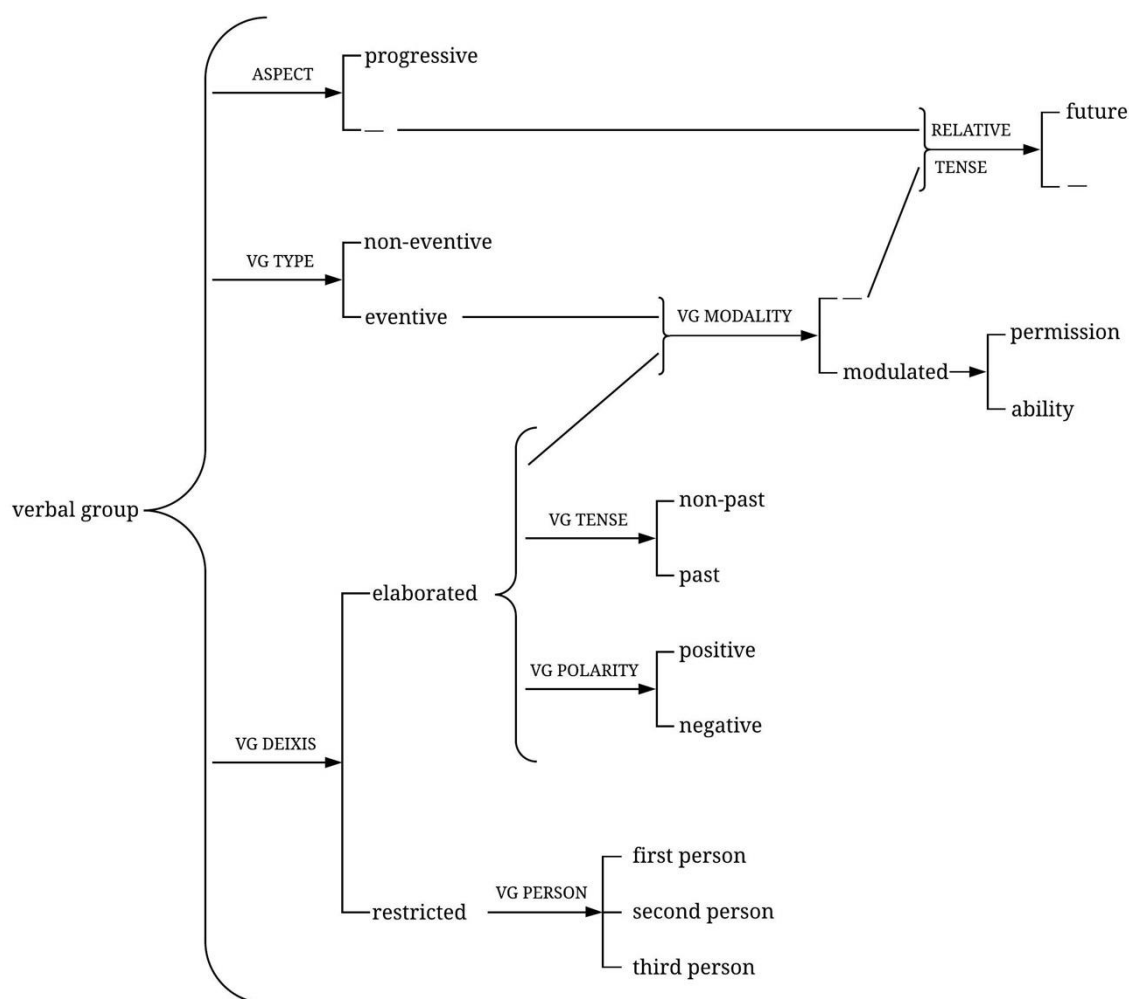


Figure 2.4 The verbal group in Khorchin Mongolian

The interactions between the systems in Figure 2.4 are based on axial argumentation at ranks below the clause. In Section 2 and Section 3 the paradigmatic relations in the systems VG DEIXIS and VG TYPE are established from above in relation to the role the verbal group plays in a Khorchin Mongolian clause. In Section 4 the systems of VG POLARITY, VG TENSE, ASPECT, VG MODALITY, RELATIVE TENSE, and VG PERSON are motivated from below with respect to the structural patterns in the syntagmatic organisation of the verbal group and from round about with respect to the interdependencies between systems.

In terms of the syntagmatic organisation of the verbal group, confluences of function structures are frequently observed in Section 4 (e.g. Modality/Aspect, Auxiliary/Tense). One of the explanations is that for the features realised by these structures the ‘division of the grammatical labour’ is at group rank but the ‘location of the grammatical labour’ is at word rank (Matthiessen 2015). For example, systems such as VG TENSE and VG PERSON interacts with the other systems at group rank. However, the distinctions in these systems are established at word rank through suffixes (-*n* and -*x* for [non-past], and -*tʃ* and -*sʃn* for [past] in the VG TENSE system; -*j* for [first person] and -*k* for [third person] in the VG PERSON system). Similar confluence of function structures due to the distribution of the division and the location of the grammatical labour across rank scale is also observed

between clause, group, and word rank in other languages (e.g. Spanish realisation of the participant roles through pronominal clitics at group rank and inflectional morphology at word rank, see Martin et al. in press; Quiroz 2017, this volume).

In terms of the paradigmatic organisation of the verbal group, the system network usefully shows the *valeur* of a specific grammatical category. For example, the categories that have previously been described as ‘aspect’ markers (e.g. Brosig 2014) are described here as [progressive] and [future] in two separate systems, ASPECT and RELATIVE TENSE. The system network in Figure 2.4 shows that [progressive] and [future] interact with the other systems in different ways. The choice [progressive] is not restricted to the VG TYPE of verbal group ([eventive] or [non-eventive]); nor is it restricted to the VG DEIXIS of the verbal group ([elaborated] or [restricted]); [progressive] also co-selects [modulation]. In contrast, relative [future] is a choice possible only for the elaborated eventive verbal group; and it is mutually exclusive with VG MODALITY.

This paper also attests the usefulness of starting the description of lower ranking units from above drawing on resources in the higher ranking units (e.g. MOOD and TRANSITIVITY) or resources in the more abstract strata (e.g. exchange structure and IDEATION in discourse semantics). This approach sheds lights on issues which await further exploration. One area of description in Khorchin Mongolian which needs further attention is verbal group complexes, which we encountered in (65), *pi kexx̥-kɪ tʰitʃa-kət ɪr-ja* ‘1SG pig-ACC feed-PFV come-IMP.1’. This phenomenon needs to be accounted for in relation to the logical meaning the verbal group realises in clause complexing. Following the line of reasoning adopted in this chapter, the system of CONNEXION<sup>145</sup> developed in SFL work on discourse semantics (Hao 2018; Martin 1992; Martin & Quiroz this volume; Martin & Rose 2007) seems a promising starting point.

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<sup>145</sup> This system is called CONJUNCTION in Martin (1992).

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