

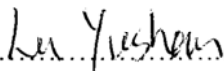
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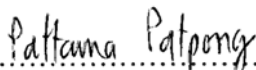
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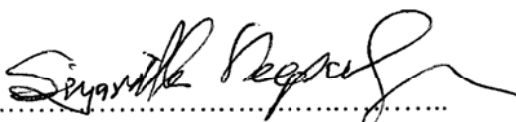
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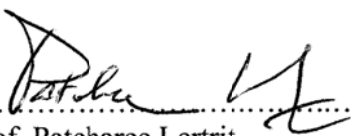
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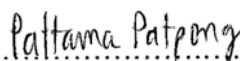
  
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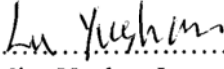
  
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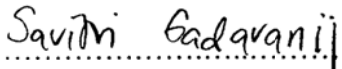
  
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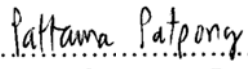
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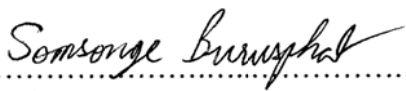
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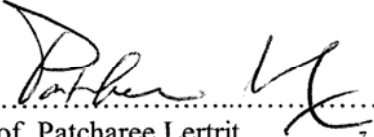
  
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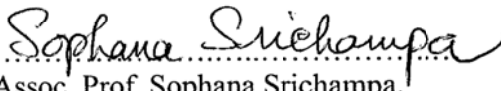
  
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**A DISCOURSE ANALYSIS OF ZHUANG DIALOGUE FOLK SONGS**

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THESIS ADVISORY COMMITTEE: PATTAMA PATPONG, Ph. D.,  
SOMSONGE BURUSPHAT, Ph. D., SUJARILAK DEEPADUNG, Ph. D.**ABSTRACT**

Zhuang dialogue folk songs—the singing dialogue used for communication purposes of the Zhuang people in China—have received extensive attention within various disciplinary fields in recent decades. The study aims to explore text structure and interpersonal interaction in the songs from the perspective of systemic functional linguistics. More specifically, text structure is analyzed in terms of rhetorical relations (Matthiessen 2015b), and interpersonal interaction is analyzed in terms of speech functions (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2014). The study also correlates the semantic analysis of rhetorical relations and speech functions into the situational context in terms of field, tenor, and mode (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2014). The Data for analysis are five texts selected from the collection of Liao Songs of Pingguo Zhuang (Luo Hantian & Tan Shaoming, 2008).

The results of analysis reveal that: i) rhetorical relation choices in the songs are determined by the poetic stylistics of the songs, dialogic interactivity of the singers, and field of activity within the context; ii) speech function choices in the songs are constrained by the pre-allocated turn-taking and tenor relationship within the context. Based on the results, the study therefore argues that semantic strategies for language organization and interpersonal interaction in Zhuang dialogue folk songs change with the situational context.

**KEY WORDS: ZHUANG DIALOGUE FOLK SONGS / SYSTEMIC  
FUNCTIONAL LINGUISTICS / TEXT STRUCTURE /  
INTERPERSONAL INTERACTION**

171 pages

การวิเคราะห์สัมพันธสารเพลงขับพื้นบ้านจ้วง

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#### บทคัดย่อ

เพลงขับพื้นบ้านจ้วงเป็นการขับร้องที่มีวัตถุประสงค์เพื่อใช้ในการติดต่อสื่อสารและสนทนาของชาวจ้วงในประเทศจีน ในหลายสิบปีที่ผ่านมาเพลงขับพื้นบ้านจ้วงนี้ได้รับความสนใจจากผู้วิจัยในวงการต่างๆเป็นจำนวนมาก การศึกษาครั้งนี้มีวัตถุประสงค์ที่จะศึกษาโครงสร้างของตัวบทและการปฏิสัมพันธ์ของนักร้องในเพลงขับพื้นบ้านจ้วงโดยใช้แนวคิดทฤษฎีภาษาศาสตร์ระบบและหน้าที่ โครงสร้างของตัวบทจะวิเคราะห์ตามความสัมพันธ์เชิงวาทะ (Matthiessen 2015b) การปฏิสัมพันธ์ของนักร้องจะวิเคราะห์ตามหน้าที่วัจนกรรม (Halliday & Matthiessen 2014) งานวิจัยนี้ยังเชื่อมโยงการวิเคราะห์ความสัมพันธ์เชิงวาทะและหน้าที่วัจนกรรมในระดับความหมายไปยังระดับบริบท ข้อมูลที่ใช้ในการวิเคราะห์ประกอบด้วยตัวบทเพลงขับพื้นบ้านจ้วงจำนวนห้า ตัวบท โดยการเลือกมาจากงานของโหลฮันเถียนกับถานเซ่าหมิงในปี ค.ศ. 2008 ที่มีชื่อว่า “เพลงเหลือขของ ชาวจ้วงที่ผิงโก๋”

ผลการวิจัยพบว่า 1. การเลือกใช้ความสัมพันธ์เชิงวาทะในเพลงมักจะกำหนดด้วยรูปแบบฉันทลักษณ์ ลักษณะการปฏิสัมพันธ์ของนักร้องและประเภทกิจกรรมในบริบท 2. การเลือกใช้หน้าที่วัจนกรรมมักจะกำหนดด้วยการผลัดในระหว่างการขับร้องและความสัมพันธ์ระหว่างบุคคลในบริบท งานวิจัยชิ้นนี้จึงเสนอว่ากลวิธีของนักร้องเพลงขับพื้นบ้านจ้วงที่ใช้ในการจัดเรียงภาษาหรือการปฏิสัมพันธ์จะมีการเปลี่ยนแปลงไปตามบริบทหรือสภาพสิ่งแวดล้อมที่เป็นอยู่

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**LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS**

ASP	aspect
AUX	auxiliary
CL	classifier
NEG	negation
NP	noun phrase
ONOM	onomatopoeia
PL	plural
PRT	particle
SG	singular
VP	verb phrase
WH-	wh-element

## **CHAPTER I**

### **INTRODUCTION**

#### **1.1 Background and rationale**

Conversation, as an all-pervasive mode of interaction in human society, has received extensive attention within discourse analysis or other related fields (e.g. sociolinguistics, pragmatics) in recent decades. In the tradition of sociolinguistics, more specifically conversation analysis (CA), researchers use the term “talk-in-interaction” to refer to the social practice of spoken conversation (see e.g. Schegloff, 1996). This study employs a derivative term – “sing-in-interaction” to denote the social practice of singing conversation, or called singing dialogue.

Singing dialogue is a significant mode of interaction in which the interactants integrate spoken dialogue and singing arts together for communication purposes. Interaction of this type is usually found in rural areas or minority ethnic communities. For instance, Kerr (1977) found songs are a form of dialogue in Cuiva ethnic community in Colombia. In the context of China, improvised singing dialogue is a common phenomenon found in both the ethnic majority (i.e. the Han) and the ethnic minorities (e.g. the Zhuang, Miao, She, Buyi, etc.) (Lu Guang, 1992, pp.159-160).

This study is in particular concerned with singing dialogue of the Zhuang, or called Zhuang dialogue folk songs. The Zhuang is the largest ethnic minority group in China. According to the sixth national population census of China in 2010, the Zhuang has a population of over 16 millions, mostly residing in Guangxi Zhuang Autonomous Region and the neighboring provinces (e.g. Yunnan, Guizhou, Hunan and Guangdong) in southern China. Zhuang ancestors are believed to be the Baiyue people who have inhabited southern China since ancient times (Liang Tingwang, 1987, Luo Yongxian, 2008). Throughout history, the Zhuang have created their unique ethnic culture, Zhuang dialogue folk songs included (Qin Naichang, 2005).

Zhuang dialogue folk songs have gone through a long term of history, its origin could be traced back to the age of the tribes of cave dwellers thousands of years ago (Qin Naichang, 2005). The prototype of the songs is considered as the improvised singing voices of the ancient Zhuang while they were involved in the occasions of group activities, such as the collective hunting, farming and ritual activities (Huang Xianfan, 1957; Wangfang, 2006). These improvised singing voices manifested the original functions of the songs – to express personal feelings (e.g. the joy of getting preys) and to communicate with other group members (e.g. the negotiation on the division of labor during farming). The tradition of expression and communication via “singing voice” has been inherited and became pervasive in various institutional settings of the Zhuang society, for example, in day-to-day life, in festivals or in courtships (Liang Tingwang, 1987; Luo Yongxian, 2008; Ping Feng, 2007). Throughout history, the singing communication of the Zhuang has evolved into a symbolic ethnic culture, known as Zhuang dialogue folk songs, involving the components of music, language and social communication practice.

There has been a greater research interest in Zhuang dialogue folk songs in recent decades, especially after the Chinese government appealed to protect ethnic minority culture in the early 2000s. Previous studies have investigated the songs from different disciplinary perspectives, such as musicology, anthropology, literature and linguistics. Within linguistics, while the songs are largely investigated in terms of rhyming patterns (e.g. Huang Ge, 1987; Wei Xinglang, 2013), semantic uses (e.g. Lu, Xiaozhen 2012, 2013; Zhou Yanxian 2011a, 2011b), and translation strategies (e.g. Zhang Yu, 2013; Zhou Yanxian, 2012a, 2012b, 2012c), discourse features of the songs remain unexplored.

From the perspective of discourse analysis, Zhuang dialogue folk songs are a significant text type for three important characteristics. First of all, the songs are a type of dialogic texts with a high degree of control in turn taking. Second, the songs are formed in poetic style, which is reflected in the composition and rhyming patterns of the lyrics. Third, the songs are context-driven, operating in a variety of contexts for different communication purposes (see Section 2.3). In consideration of these significances, this study attempts to provide a discourse analysis of the songs, in particular focusing on the issues of text structure and interpersonal interaction.

## **1.2 Objectives of the study**

1.2.1 to gain insight into text structure of Zhuang dialogue folk songs;

1.2.2 to gain insight into interpersonal interaction in Zhuang dialogue folk songs.

## **1.3 Research questions**

In order to meet the above objectives, this study seeks to answer the following questions:

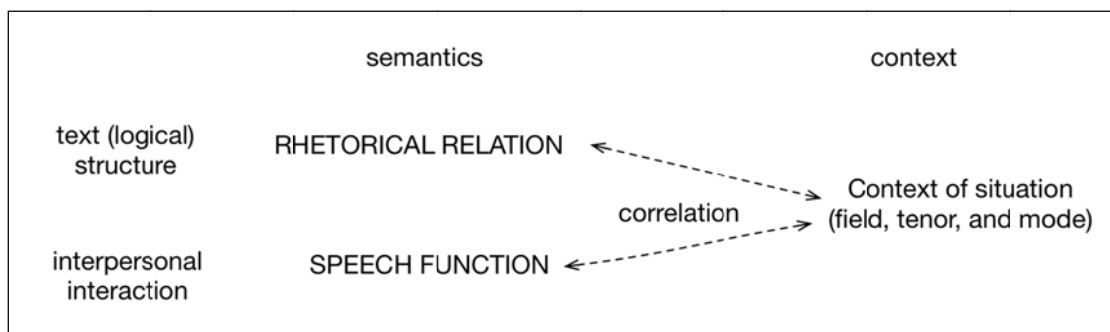
1.3.1 How do the texts of Zhuang dialogue folk songs are organized? And what factors affect such text organization?

1.3.2 How do the singers interact with each other in the process of singing? And what factors affect their interaction strategies?

## **1.4 Theoretical framework**

This study draws upon the theoretical framework of Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL), which is largely derived from the work of Michael Halliday and his colleagues (see Halliday, 1961, 1978, 1985, 1994; Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004, 2014). SFL views language as a higher-order semiotic system for making and expressing meaning in context. In terms of SFL, language and context is organized as a multidimensional space globally according to: (i) the hierarchy of stratification (context, semantics, lexicogrammar and phonology/ graphology); (ii) the spectrum of metafunction (textual, interpersonal, experiential and logical); and (iii) the cline of instantiation (the cline between potential and instance).

The application of SFL framework in the study relates to the notions of stratification and metafunction. More specifically, the discourse analysis of Zhuang dialogue folk songs is dual-stratal, covering context and semantics – and it is also metafunctionally selective, focusing on interpersonal and logical metafunction (see Figure 1.1).



**Figure 1.1 SFL framework for the analysis of Zhuang dialogue folk songs**

As indicated in Figure 1.1, the text structure of the songs will be analyzed by means of the logical semantic system of RHETORICAL RELATION (Matthiessen, 2015b), and the interpersonal interaction will be analyzed by means of the interpersonal semantic system of SPEECH FUNCTION (Halliday and Matthiessen, 2014). The semantic analysis of rhetorical relations and speech functions are also correlated into the context of situation in terms of the three contextual variables: field, tenor and mode (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2014). This systemic functional approach makes it possible to describe the text structure and interactivity of the Zhuang dialogue folk songs in a more comprehensive sense, and interprets the correlations of the semantic strategies and situational context. More details on the theoretical background will be presented in Section 2.1.

## 1.5 Scope of the study

1.5.1 Studying the text structure of Zhuang dialogue folk songs in terms of rhetorical relations;

1.5.2 Studying the interaction of singers in Zhuang dialogue folk songs in terms of speech functions;

1.5.3 Collecting and selecting data from the work *Liao Songs of Pingguo Zhuang* (Luo Hantian & Tan Shaoming, 2008) for analysis.

## 1.6 Expected benefits

This study provides some contribution to relevant fields as follows:

1.6.1 Providing a systemic functional approach to Zhuang dialogue folk songs, and enabling the reader to understand the songs from a discourse perspective;

1.6.3 Providing an attempt of discourse analysis on Zhuang language, and hopefully inspiring more relevant future studies;

1.6.2 Contributing to relevant cultural studies on Zhuang in that the analysis reflects some ethnic culture of the Zhuang;

1.6.4 Extending the application of SFL to an ethnic minority language – Zhuang, and to a text type that has been less investigated– singing dialogue.

## 1.7 Definition of key terms

**Zhuang dialogue folk songs** refer to the traditional singing dialogue of the Zhuang people in China. These songs are created in dialogic mode, formed in poetic style and operated in various institutional settings for communicative needs.

**Turn** or **singing turn** refers to the sequence of utterance of a singer when the other singer(s) is not singing. A turn in Zhuang dialogue folk songs comprises a certain number of lines. For instance, in the work *Liao Songs of Pingguo Zhuang*, a turn consists of four lines.

**Line** is the basic compositional unit in Zhuang dialogue folk songs, into which the lyrics is divided. It is not necessary for line in the songs to coincide with the grammatical structure of clause or sentence, but it is subject to the poetic structure and rhyming rules. A line is in turn divided into a certain number of syllables or words. In the work *Liao Songs of Pingguo Zhuang*, a line consists of approximately of five syllables.

**Rhetorical relations** refers to the semantic relations hold between the segments in a text, such as the relations of Background, elaboration, Circumstance, Sequence and so on. In SFL, rhetorical relations serve as an account of the semantic resources for investigating logical organization of a text. In SFL, the relations are described in terms of nuclearity, logico-semantic type, and orientation (see Matthiessen 2015b, Matthiessen & Teruya, 2015).

**Speech functions** refer to the social and informative functions of language operating in context, such as greetings, question, statement, acknowledgement, and so on. In SFL, speech functions serve as an account of semantic resources for interpreting interpersonal interaction. In terms of SFL, the basic speech functions in dialogue are distinct from initiating ones (e.g. statement, question, offer, command) and responding ones (e.g. acknowledgement, answer, acceptance, etc.). (see Halliday & Matthiessen, 2014, p. 136; Matthiessen, Teruya, & Lam 2010, p. 41).

**Move** is the basic discourse unit in conversation and other types of dialogue, which indicates a point of turn-transfer. Move carries out the discourse patterns of speech functions in dialogue (cf. Eggins & Slade, 1997, p. 186; Matthiessen & Slade, 2010, p. 388). A move in Zhuang dialogue folk songs is identified to coincide with a singing turn (see Section 5.1)

## 1.8 Organization of the thesis

This thesis is organized into six chapters. Chapter I, as shown above, is the introduction which outlines the background, objectives, research questions, analytical framework, scope and expected benefits of the study, as well as a brief explanation of the key discourse characteristics of Zhuang dialogue folk songs.

The next chapter, Chapter II, presents a literature review, including the theoretical background of SFL and its contributions to the analysis of conversation, focusing on the description of three contextual variables (field, tenor, and mode) and two semantic systems – RHETORICAL RELATION and SPEECH FUNCTION, as well as introducing relevant researches on Zhuang language and Zhuang folk songs.

Chapter III accounts for the methodology used in the study, including the method of data collection, selection and transcription, as well as the procedures of data analysis and the computational tools used to facilitate data analysis.

Chapter IV and V are the major parts of the thesis which report the main results of data analysis. Chapter IV deals with the analysis of text structure in terms of rhetorical relations, followed by Chapter V which discusses the analysis on interpersonal interaction in terms of speech functions. Both the two types of analysis

are correlated to the context of situation in terms of the three concepts: field, tenor, and mode.

Chapter VI is a conclusion and discussion of the study, by summarizing the findings, discussing the contribution and theoretical implication, as well as outlining future investigations that related to this study.

## **CHAPTER II**

### **LITERATURE REVIEW**

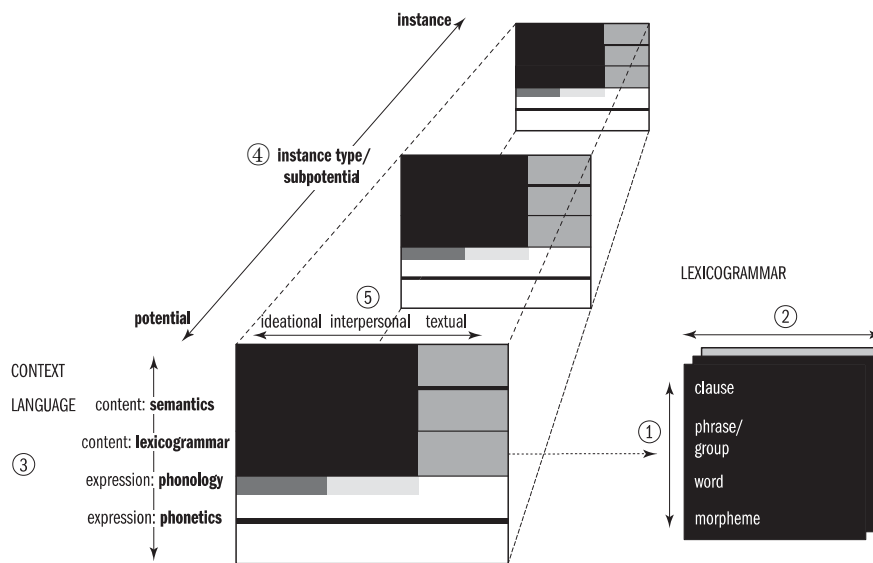
This chapter will provide a literature review of previous work related to the present study. It will be divided into three main sections. Section 2.1 will account for the theoretical background in this thesis. Section 2.2 will introduce the linguistic information of Zhuang, focusing in particular on those that can contribute to the present study of Zhuang dialogue folk songs. Finally, Section 2.3 will review previous research on Zhuang dialogue folk songs.

#### **2.1 Theoretical background**

As mentioned in Section 1.4, this study draws upon the theoretical framework of Systemic Functional Linguistics (henceforth SFL). This section accounts for the theoretical background of SFL, including an overview on SFL and its contributions to the analysis of conversation, and an description of the key terms contextual variables (field, tenor and mode), rhetorical relation and speech function.

##### **2.1.1 SFL and the analysis of conversation**

SFL is a language descriptive theory largely derived from the work of Halliday and his colleagues (see Halliday, 1961, 1978, 1985, 1994; Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004, 2014). SFL views language as a higher-order semiotic system for making and expressing meaning in context. In terms of SFL, language is organized as a multidimensional space according, locally according to the rank of **structure** and the delicacy of **system**; and globally according to the hierarchy of **stratification**, the spectrum of **metafunction** and the cline of **instantiation** (as indicated in Figure 2.1).



**Figure 2.1 The multi-dimensional model of language in context**  
(Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004, p. 21)

**Structure** is “the syntagmatic ordering in language: patterns, or regularities, in what goes together with what” (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004, p. 22). The ordering principle of structure is that of rank: compositional layers organized by the relationship of ‘is a part of’. For instance, Halliday and Matthiessen (2004, p. 20) identify four hierarchical ranks in the domain of grammar in English as clause, group/phrase, word, morpheme, in which ‘morpheme’ is a part of ‘word’, ‘word’ is a part of ‘group/phrase’, and ‘group/phrase’ is a part of ‘clause’. Clause is the highest rank in grammar according to SFL identification.

**System** is “the paradigmatic ordering in language: patterns in what could go instead of what” (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004, p. 22). Any set of alternatives, together with its condition of entry, constitutes a system in paradigmatic sense, and a text is the product of ongoing selection in a very large system network. The ordering principle of system is that of delicacy – the relationship of ‘is a kind of’, it is the analogue of rank in the structure (‘is a part of’). For example, in the system of MOOD, a clause having the feature of ‘major clause’ is a kind of clause, ‘indicative clause’ is a kind of ‘major clause’, and ‘declarative clause’ is a kind of ‘indicative clause’, and so on.

**Stratification** is the hierarchy of language covering semantics, lexicogrammar, phonology and phonetics. The organizational principle of stratification is that of realization. For instance, semantics is realized by lexicogrammar which is in turn realized by phonology, and phonology is realized by phonetics. The stratum of semantics is the highest level of language and it is this stratum that relates language into context.

**Instantiation** is the cline of language ranging from text to register/text type, and to the system of language. System and text define the two poles of the cline – that of the overall potential and that of a particular instance. Between these two poles there are intermediate patterns- registers/text types.

**Metafunction** is the spectrum of language, according to the functions it has evolved to serve, into three simultaneous strands of meaning: ideational (including logical and experiential) meaning for construing our experience, interpersonal meaning for enacting our social roles and relations, and textual meaning for creating a flow of information.

The local (structure and system) and global (stratification, instantiation, and metafunction) dimensions interrelate with each other to provide systemic and comprehensive resources for language description and application. Here we focus on the application of SFL to the analysis of conversation. Table 2.1 below outlines the key systems of language and context that are important in the analysis of conversation in terms of SFL (the names of systems are indicated in SMALL CAPITALS). These key systems are derived from the intersections of the hierarchy of stratification and the spectrum of metafunction.

The contextual analysis of conversation involves characterizing the context in which the conversation unfolds in terms of three variables: field, tenor, and mode (Matthiessen & Slade, 2010, p.384). Specially, the field value accounts for what activities (i.e. SOCIO-SEMIOTIC PROCESS) and what topics (i.e. EXPERIENTIAL DOMAIN) get talked about in the conversation; the tenor value accounts for what are the role relationships of the participants (e.g. INSTITUTIONAL ROLES, STATUS ROLES, CONTACT ROLES, AND SOCIOMETRIC ROLES) established through the conversation; and the mode value accounts for what roles are being played by language (e.g. MEDIUM, CHANNEL, DIVISION OF LABOR) in the conversation.

**Table 2.1 Function-stratification matrix**

	Ideational:		Interpersonal	Textual
	Logical	Experiential		
Context	Field		Tenor	Mode
	SOCIO-SEMIOTIC PROCESS		INSTITUTIONAL ROLES	MEDIUM
	EXPERIENTIAL DOMAIN		STATUS ROLES	CHANNEL
			CONTACT ROLES	DIVISION OF LABOR
			SOCIOMETRIC ROLES	
			VALUE	
Semantics	RHETORICAL RELATION	EPISODE FIGURATION	EXCHANGE SPEECH FUNCTION APPRAISAL	PROGRESSION
Lexicogrammar	TAXIS & LOGICO-SEMANTIC TYPE	TRANSITIVITY	MOOD	THEME INFORMATION COHESION
Phonology	TONE SEQUENCE	-	TONE	TONICITY

(Matthiessen & Slade, 2010, p. 384; Matthiessen, Teruya, & Lam, 2010, p. 106)

The semantic analysis of conversation involves tracking the different strands of meaning that are made in the course of the unfolding of the conversation (Matthiessen & Slade, 2010, p.384-385). For instance, the ideational meanings involve looking at how transition and closure are achieved (RHETORICAL COMPLEXING, see Matthiessen, 2015), the interpersonal meanings involve looking at how the interactants negotiate taking turns (SPEECH FUNCTION, EXCHANGE, see Eggins & Slade, 1997, Ch.5; Halliday, 1984), and the textural meanings involve looking at how the interactants manage the flow of information (PROGRESSION see Daneš, 1974) in the conversation.

The lexicogrammatical analysis involves “tracking the wordings that realize the meanings made in the course of the unfolding of the conversation” (Matthiessen & Slade, 2010, p.385). For instance, the logical grammar of TAXIS & LOGICO-SEMANTIC TYPE accounts for how clause simplexes are combined into clause complexes in the conversation; the experiential grammar of TRANSITIVITY looks at what types of process, participant and circumstance involved in the conversation; the interpersonal grammar involves looking at what types of MOOD are selected by the interactants in the conversation (e.g. Eggins & Slade, 1997; Halliday, 1970); and the

textual grammar involves looking at the patterns of THEME, CONJUNCTION and INFORMATION in the conversation.

The phonological analysis of conversation involves “tracking the soundings that realize the wordings made in the course of the unfolding of the conversation” (Matthiessen & Slade, 2010, p.385). For example, the systems of TONE SEQUENCE, TONE and TONICITY are applied to describe the patterns of tone group (intonation) and of the foot (rhythm) in conversation (see Halliday, 1963, 1967, 1981; Halliday & Greaves, 2008).

In conclusion, the analysis of conversation in terms of SFL can be both multi-stratal and multi-functional. In the present study, the analysis of Zhuang dialogue folk songs covers two strata – context and semantics, and selectively focuses on two metafunction – logical and interpersonal. More specifically, this study describes text structure of Zhuang dialogue folk songs in terms of fields of activity and rhetorical relations, and explore interpersonal interactivity of the songs in terms of tenor relationships and speech functions. The next three sections (2.1.2-2.1.4) will give an explanation of the four terms in more details.

### **2.1.2 Contextual variables: field, tenor and mode**

Field, tenor and mode are three defined variables for describing context, which includes the context of culture (i.e. the cultural potential of a community) and the context of situation (i.e. a particular situation operating in a cultural domain). Halliday (1978; Halliday and Matthiessen, 2014) gives the definitions of the three contextual variables as:

**Field** – what is going on in the context, including (i) the nature of the social and semiotic activity; and (ii) the domain of experience this activity relates to;

**Tenor** – who is taking part in the context, including (i) the interactants’ role relationships; and (ii) the values that the interactants imbue the domain with;

**Mode** – what role is being played by language and other semiotic systems in the context. The modes of language include medium, channel turn, and rhetorical mode. Further detail of the contextual variables is presented in Table 2.2.

**Table 2.2 Contextual variables (based on Halliday & Matthiessen, 2014, p.33-42)**

field	socio-semiotic activity	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• expounding knowledge about the world;</li> <li>• reporting particular phenomena;</li> <li>• recreating any aspect of human life;</li> <li>• sharing personal experiences and values;</li> <li>• enabling some course of activity;</li> <li>• recommending some course of activity;</li> <li>• exploring social values and positions;</li> <li>• doing – performing some form of social behavior.</li> </ul>
	experiential domain □	the “subject matter” or “topic” the social or semiotic activity relates to
tenor	institutional roles	reporter & reader, father & son, etc.
	status roles	power, either equal or unequal
	contact roles	familiarity, ranging from strangers to intimates
	sociometric roles	affect, either neutral or charged, positively or negatively
	value	either neutral or loaded, positively or negatively
mode	medium	written or spoken
	channel	phonic or graphic
	turn	dialogic or monologic
	rhetorical mode	the orientation of the text towards field (e.g. informative, didactic, explanatory, explicatory) or tenor (e.g. persuasive, exhortatory, hortatory, polemic)

The three concepts of field, tenor, and mode are employed to discuss the correlation of context of situation and semantic strategies in the songs. In terms of field, this study explores what kinds of social or semiotic activities have been involved in the songs; in terms of tenor, this study concentrates on the role relationships of the singers, including their institutional roles, contact roles and status roles; in terms of mode, this study focuses on characteristics of dialogic turn-taking and poetic form of

the songs. By correlating these contextual factors to the semantic analysis of rhetorical relations and speech functions, this study attempts to explore how the context of situation affects the semantic strategies of the singers.

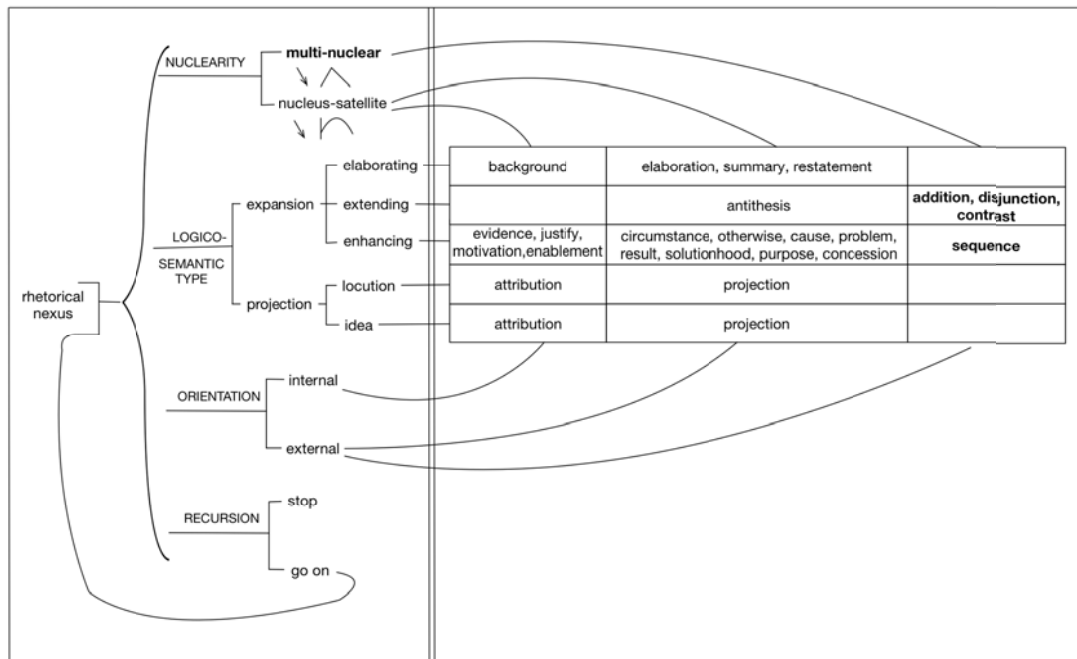
### 2.1.3 Rhetorical relation

Rhetorical relations refer to the underlying coherent relations among the propositions in a text (Taboada, 2004a, p.106), such as the relations of Background, Elaboration, Circumstance, Sequence and so on. Relations of this type have been investigated since 1970s in different linguistic traditions, using different labels including rhetorical predicates (Grimes, 1975), coherence relations (Hobbs, 1979), interclausal relations (Longacre, 1983), logico-semantic relations (Halliday, 1985), rhetorical relations (Mann & Thompson, 1988), conjunctive relations (Martin, 1992), and discourse (structure) relations (Hovy & Maier, 1992). These contributions, despite concerning with different aspects of the relations, agree broadly on that such relations are very sensitive to the contextual structure of a genre (or register). The analysis of rhetorical relations is thus a useful place to understand the semantic organization of a text operating in context.

Rhetorical Structural Theory (henceforth RST) is a widely known framework for the analysis of text in terms of rhetorical relations, developed originally by Mann, Thompson and Matthiessen by the mid to late 1980s (see Mann & Thompson 1987, 1988; Mann & Matthiessen 1991; Mann, Matthiessen & Thompson 1992). RST describes text in terms of ‘recursive structure’, constructed by means of rhetorical relations linking text segments to one another. RST recognizes two basic types of text segments: nuclei and satellites. A relation may link either (i) a nuclear text segment to a supporting satellite or (ii) a nuclear text segment to one or more other nuclear segments. In the former case, the relation is called a nucleus-satellite relation (‘hypotaxis,’ e.g. ‘Elaboration’, ‘Circumstance’, ‘Background’). In the latter case, the relation is called a multi-nuclear relation (‘parataxis,’ e.g. ‘Addition’, ‘Contrast’, ‘Sequence’).

In the later work of Matthiessen (e.g. Matthiessen, 1995, 2002, 2015b; Matthiessen & Teruya, 2015), he incorporates RST into SFL by modifying rhetorical relations to serve as an account of the logical-semantic resources of language.

Rhetorical relations are generated by systemic choices in a system network, as shown in Figure 2.2. This system network consists of four simultaneous systems: NUCLEARITY, LOGICO-SEMANTIC TYPE, ORIENTATION, and RECURSION.



**Figure 2.2 The logico-semantic system of Rhetorical Relation**

(adapted from Matthiessen, 2015b)

The system of NUCLEARITY is the choice between nucleus-satellite relations or multi-nuclear ones. In a nucleus-satellite relation, two text segments are linked with an unequal status, with one supporting the other in some way. In a multi-nuclear relation, two or more text segments are linked with an equal status. This distinction is analogous to the grammatical distinction in taxis between hypotaxis and parataxis.

The system of LOGICO-SEMANTIC TYPE is the choice between the relations of ‘projection’ and ‘expansion’. Projection links a text segment involving a process of ‘saying’ or of ‘sensing’ to the “content” of saying – speech (locution), or of sensing – thought (idea), by quoting or reporting it. Expansion links meanings that are of the same order of existence. Expansion covers three subtypes: elaborating, extending, and enhancing.

The system of ORIENTATION is the choice between ‘external’ relations and ‘internal’ ones. ‘External’ relations link text segments representing aspects of some domain of experience. The intended effect of ‘external’ relations is ideational in nature – to evoke an understanding of the relation between two or more events. ‘Internal’ relations link propositions or proposal, they link text segments in their construction as exchanges of meaning between speaker (or writer) and addressee. The intended effect of ‘internal’ relations is interpersonal in nature having to do with the speaker’s engagement with the addressee in terms of his/her belief, willingness or ability.

The system of RECURSION is the choice between stopping the development of the text, and going on to link in an additional text segment. The choice to ‘go on’ will be made recursively until the task of producing a text has been completed.

As the former three systems (NUCLEARITY, LOGICO-SEMANTIC TYPE and ORIENTATION) specify different aspects of relations used to link the segments of a rhetorical nexus (Matthiessen & Teruya, 2015, p.239), the intersection of the terms from these system will define a set of relations taxonomically, as shown in the right-hand side of Figure 2.2.

According to Matthiessen and Teruya (2015), rhetorical relations are realized at lexicogrammatical stratum in two ways: i) congruently realized by the logical system of LOGICO-SEMANTIC TYPE & TAXIS and the textual system of CONJUNCTION, and ii) incongruently realized by the experiential systems of PROCESS TYPE and CIRCUMSTANTIATION (see Table 2.3).

**Table 2.3 Congruent & incongruent realizations of rhetorical relations**

Congruent	textual	CONJUNCTION	structural & cohesive
	logical	LOGICO-SEMANTIC TYPE	expansion & projection
		TAXIS	paratactic & hypotactic
Incongruent	experiential	PROCESS TYPE	verbal, relational, mental, etc.
		CIRCUMSTANTIATION	location, manner, cause, etc.

The present study employs the system of RHETORICAL RELATION to describe the rhetorical, or logical-semantic, structure of the songs. More specifically, the study attempts to investigate the language organization strategies of the singers in

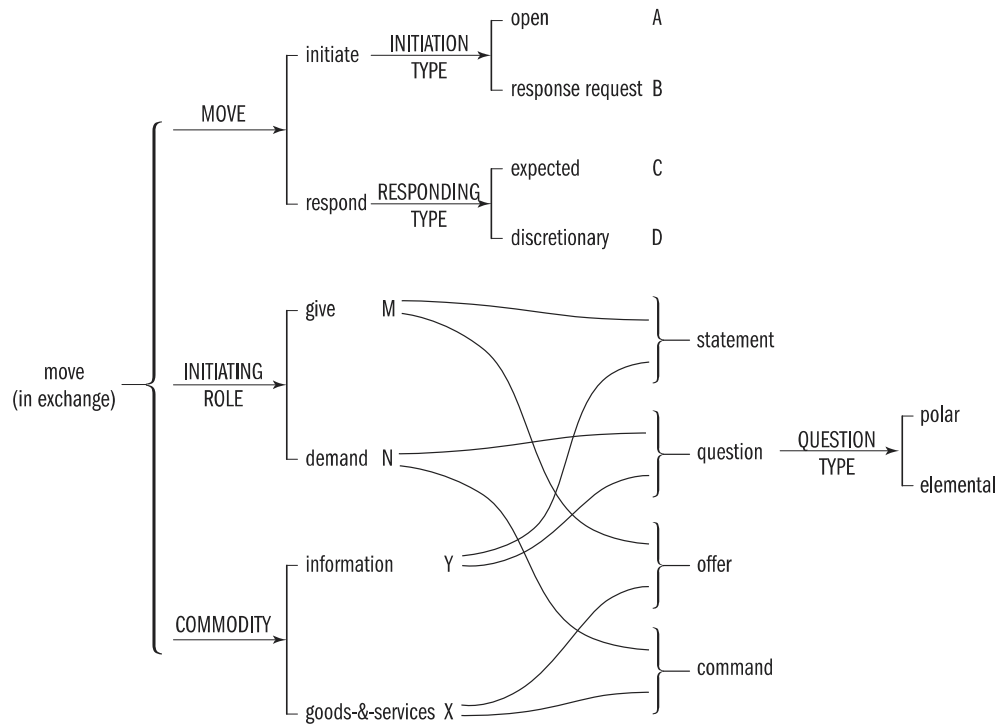
terms of rhetorical relations, by exploring what types of relations are frequently employed in intra-turn and inter-turn language organization; and also attempts to explain the language organization strategies by correlating the relation choices to the context of situation involved in the songs.

#### 2.1.4 Speech function

Speech functions refer to the social and informative functions of language operating in context, such as greetings, question, statement, and acknowledgement. Researchers in different linguistic traditions (e.g. sociolinguistics, pragmatics, functional linguistics) have investigated the functions of speech for a long period of time, using different technical terms including speech acts (e.g. Austin, 1962; Searle, 1969), adjacency pairs (e.g. Sack, Schegloff & Jefferson, 1974) and speech functions (e.g. Halliday, 1984; Holmes, 1992).

In SFL, speech functions serve as an account of interpersonal-semantic resources for interpreting language in dialogue, the classification of which is generated by systemic choices in a system network, see Figure 2.3. Within the account of interpersonal semantics, dialogue is approached as an interactive event for exchanging meanings. In the interactive development of a dialogue, each utterance serves as a move. Move is “the basic interpersonal semantic unit in conversation and other types dialogue. It indicates a point of possible turn-transfer, and therefore carries with it the idea of ‘it could stop here’” (Matthiessen & Slade, 2010, p.388). In a move, the speaker adopts a speech role (e.g. questioner), and assigns a complementary role to the addressee (e.g. answer) (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2014, p.134).

The exchange process in a dialogue embodies two crucial variables: i) the nature of the commodity exchanged (either information or goods-&-services), and ii) the initiating role of the exchange (either giving or demanding). The simultaneous cross-classification of the two variables of exchange varieties define the four primary speech functions for initiating an interaction, including **statement** (giving information), and **question** (demanding information), **offer** (giving goods and services), **command** (demanding goods and services), see Figure 2.3.



**Figure 2.3 The interpersonal-semantic system of SPEECH FUNCTION**

(Halliday & Matthiessen, 2014, p. 136)

These initiating speech functions are matched by a set of expected responses: accepting an offer, undertaking a command, acknowledging a statement and answering a question. However, there are also discretionary alternatives as rejecting the offer, refusing the command, contradicting the statement and disclaiming the question. Table 2.4 sets out the set of basic initiating and responding speech functions together with examples of grammatical realization.

The system of SPEECH FUNCTION is typically realized by the lexicogrammatical system of MOOD. For instance, a command is typically realized by an imperative clause, a statement is typically realized by a declarative clause, a question is typically realized by an interrogative clause, and an offer can be realized by either one of the three major mood types. In addition, ‘initiating’ moves tend to be realized by ‘full’ clauses, ‘responding’ ones are often realized by ‘elliptical’ ones, as illustrated in Table 2.4.

**Table 2.4 Basic initiating and responding speech functions**

Initiation	Response	
	expected	discretionary
<b>offer</b> □	<b>acceptance</b>	<b>rejection</b>
<i>Shall I give you this teapot?</i>	<i>Yes, please, do!</i>	<i>No, thanks.</i>
<b>command</b> □	<b>undertaking</b>	<b>refusal</b>
<i>Give me that teapot!</i>	<i>Here you are.</i>	<i>I won't.</i>
<b>statement</b>	<b>acknowledgement</b>	<b>contradiction</b>
□ <i>He's giving her the teapot.</i>	<i>Is he?</i>	<i>No, he isn't.</i>
<b>question</b> □	<b>answer</b>	<b>disclaimer</b> □
<i>What is he giving her?</i>	<i>A teapot.</i>	<i>I don't know.</i>

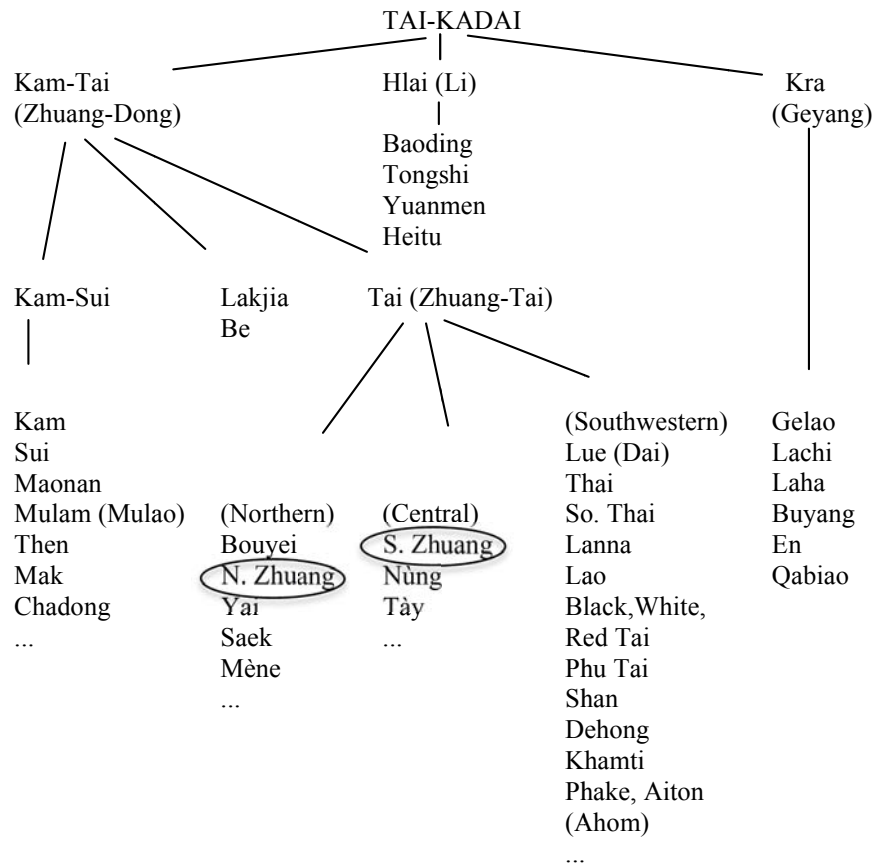
(Halliday &amp; Matthiessen, 2014, p.137)

The system of SPEECH FUNCTION provides a functional-semantic interpretation of dialogue “offering both a way of describing dialogue structure explicitly and quantifiably, and a way of interpreting dialogue structure as the expression of interpersonal relations” (Eggins & Slade, 1997, p. 180). The present study attempts to describe interactivity of Zhuang dialogue folk songs in terms of speech functions, by analyzing initiating-responding patterns in the singing dialogue; and also attempts to interpret the interaction strategies of the singers, by correlating their speech functions choices to context of situation involved in the songs.

## 2.2 Preliminary linguistic information of Zhuang

Linguistic information is provided in this section for the reader to get a general ideal of Zhuang language relative to its use in Zhuang dialogue folk songs. For instance, the phonological and orthographic information is relevant to data transcription, and the grammatical information provides the basis for semantic analysis of the study.

Zhuang belongs to Tai branch, Kam-Tai division of Tai-Kadai language family, according to a commonly accepted classification (Edmondson & Solnit, 1997; Li Fangkuei, 1977; Diller, Edmondson, & Luo, 2008), see Figure 2.4.



**Figure 2.4 The location of Zhuang in Tai-Kadai language family**  
(Diller, Edmondson, & Luo, 2008, p.7)

Chinese linguists (e.g. Luo Yongxian, 1997, 2008; Zhang Junru et al., 1999) divide Zhuang into two dialect groups: Northern and Southern, with the You (Yu or Yong) River as the boundary line. The two groups belong to different branches of the Tai family: Northern Zhuang is in the Northern Tai branch, while Southern Zhuang is in the Central Tai branch, as indicated in Figure 2.4. Northern dialects are the majority of Zhuang, making up almost 70 per cent of the Zhuang speakers (Luo Liming, 2005, pp.1234-1235). There is a high degree of variations in the phonological and grammatical structure between Northern and Southern Zhuang (Luo Yongxian, 2008, p.318). Since the data used in the present study are written in standard Zhuang, the official standardized form based on the Wuming dialect of Northern Zhuang (Zhang Junru et al., 1999), some related information on the phonology, orthography and grammar of standard Zhuang has to be taken into account.

### 2.2.1 The phonology and orthography

The phonology system of standard Zhuang consists of twenty-three consonants, eighteen vowels, and eight tones. The consonant system includes six stops, four nasals, six fricatives, one lateral, one approximant, three palatalized sounds, and two labialized sounds. The vowel system consists of six single vowels (all pronounced as long sounds), twelve diphthongs (distinction in shortness of the first vowels). The tonal system consists of eight tones, amongst which six tones distribute in smooth syllables and two tones distribute in checked syllables<sup>1</sup>, see Table 2.5.

The history of Zhuang orthography is commonly divided into three periods (Liang Tingwang, 2013): the proto-pictorial system (since seventeen century BC); the Old Zhuang Script system (since third century BC); and the Romanized system (the mid twentieth century onwards). The proto-pictorial system was created during the Shang Dynasty (1600-1046 BC) and the Qin Dynasty (221-206 BC). The evidence of this system was found on the excavations recovered in Guangxi province in the 20th century. The Old Zhuang Script, or Sawndip, system is a type of Chinese-based writing system created during the Qin Dynasty (221-206 BC) and Tang Dynasty (618-907). This system was widely used to record songs, calendrical reckonings and other important things and events of the Zhuang communities (see Holm, 2013; Qin Xiaohang, 2010). The Romanized system was firstly introduced by the government of the China in 1950s and reintroduced in 1980s with minor revision. This system was adopted for use in various institutional and scholarly contexts (newspaper, magazines, textbooks). The Romanized system is set out in Table 2.5, in correspondence to each phoneme in the phonology system.

The data of Zhuang dialogue songs used in the present study was originally recorded in the Old Zhuang Script system by folk artists, and transcribed in Romanized system by Luo Hantian and Tan Shaoming (2008). For the analysis purpose, this study transcribed the songs phonemically into IPA system, based on the correspondence between the Romanized system and phonology system as shown in Table 2.5.

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<sup>1</sup> Smooth syllables refer to the syllables that end with vowels, semi-vowels, or nasals; checked syllables refer to the syllables that end with stops (Gedney, 1972).

**Table 2.5 The phonology and Romanized writing system of standard Zhuang**

Consonants										
		Bilabial	Labio-dental	Dental	Alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Glottal		
Stop	vl.	p /p/	d /t/				g /k/	no letter /?/		
	vd.	mb /?b/	nd /?d/							
Nasal		m /m/			n /n/	ny /ɲ/	ng /ŋ/			
Fricative	vl.		f /f/	s /θ/				h /h/		
	vd.		v /v/			c /ɕ/	r /ʁ/			
Lateral					l /l/					
Approximant						y /j/				
Palatalized		by /pʲ/	my /mʲ/	gy /kʲ/						
Labialized		gv /kʷ/	ngv /ŋʷ/							
Vowels										
		Front		Central			Back			
High		i					w	u		
		/i:/					/w:/	/u:/		
Mid		e					o			
		/e:/					/o:/			
Low				a						
				/a:/						
Diphthongs		ei	ai	aei	oi	ui	wi			
		/ei/	/a:i/	/ai/	/o:i/	/u:i/	/w:i/			
		iu	eu	au	aeu	ou	aw			
		/i:u/	/e:u/	/a:u/	/au/	/ou/	/au/			
Tones										
Tone	Smooth syllable						Checked syllable			
	1 <sup>st</sup>	2 <sup>nd</sup>	3 <sup>rd</sup>	5 <sup>th</sup>	5 <sup>th</sup>	6 <sup>th</sup>	7 <sup>th</sup> -L	7 <sup>th</sup> -S	8 <sup>th</sup> -L	8 <sup>th</sup> -S
Zhuang	-	z	j	x	q	h	v:k	vk	v:g	vg
Pitch	/24/	/31/	/55/	/42/	/35/	/33/	/35/	/55/	/33/	/33/

KEY: p, a, z...= Zhuang Romanized writing system, /p/, /a:/, /24/ ...=IPA system;

v:k/ v:g= long vowel checked syllable, vk/ vg= short vowel checked syllable.

### 2.2.2 The clause grammar

The grammatical information presented in this section is based on Wei Jingyun and Qin Xiaohang (2006), particularly focusing on the grammar of clause including mood types of clause and clause complexes (paratactics and hypotactics). This information is helpful for the semantic interpretation of the Zhuang dialogue folk songs. More specifically, the information on the mood types of clause is helpful for interpreting speech functions in the interpersonal analysis of the songs, the information on the clause complexes is useful for interpreting of rhetorical relations in logical analysis of the songs.

#### 2.2.2.1 Mood types of Clause

In standard Zhuang, as in most languages, there are three major mood types of clause, namely declarative, interrogative, and imperative. The declarative is the unmarked term in mood types. The typical ordering of elements, of a declarative is Subject–Verb–Object as shown in example 2-1. The negative declarative characterized is characterized by the presence of the negation word  $\text{ʔbou}^3$  in the verbal group as shown in example 2-2.

example 2-1     $\text{te}^1$      $\text{tan}^3$      $\text{pu}^6$      $\text{mo}^5$   
                   3SG wear    cloth    new  
                   He/she is wearing new clothes.

example 2-2     $\text{ko}:\text{u}^1$      $\text{ni}:\text{n}^2$      $\text{ʔbou}^3$      $\text{ʔdak}^7$   
                   1SG    sleep    NEG    AUX  
                   I cannot sleep.

The interrogative in Zhuang is distinctive in two subtypes: elemental interrogative (also called content or wh- interrogative) and polar interrogative (also called yes/no interrogative). The elemental interrogative employs an interrogative word, either in nominal group or adverbial group, in order to elicit the related information. Table 2.6 provides a list of the usual interrogative words in Zhuang, followed by some illustration examples.

**Table 2.6 Interrogative words in Zhuang**

Interrogative word		Meaning
nominal	<i>ki:<sup>2</sup>ma:<sup>2</sup></i>	what
	<i>pou<sup>4</sup>lau<sup>2</sup></i>	who
	<i>kei<sup>3</sup>la:i<sup>1</sup>, la:i<sup>1</sup>no:i<sup>1</sup></i>	how many/much
adverbial	<i>ku:<sup>6</sup>ma:<sup>2</sup></i>	why, what for
	<i>ban<sup>2</sup> lau<sup>2</sup>ji:<sup>η</sup><sup>6</sup></i>	how, what like
	<i>ki:<sup>2</sup> lau<sup>2</sup></i>	where
	<i>θei<sup>2</sup>lau<sup>2</sup></i>	when

example 2-3 pou<sup>4</sup>lau<sup>2</sup> ηon<sup>2</sup>la:u<sup>2</sup> tau<sup>3</sup> laŋ<sup>1</sup> ko:u<sup>1</sup> jau<sup>3</sup> θau<sup>1</sup>  
 WH- yesterday come house 1SG read book  
 Who came to my house to read?

example 2-4 te:<sup>1</sup> θei<sup>2</sup>lau<sup>2</sup> tau<sup>3</sup> laŋ<sup>1</sup> ko:u<sup>1</sup> jau<sup>3</sup> θau<sup>1</sup>  
 3SG WH- come house 1SG read book  
 When did he come to my house to read?

example 2-5 te:<sup>1</sup> ηon<sup>2</sup>la:u<sup>2</sup> pai<sup>1</sup> ki:<sup>2</sup>lau<sup>2</sup> jau<sup>3</sup> θau<sup>1</sup>  
 3SG yesterday go WH- read book  
 Where did he go to read?

example 2-6 te:<sup>1</sup> tau<sup>3</sup> laŋ<sup>1</sup> ko:u<sup>1</sup> ku:<sup>2</sup>ma:<sup>2</sup>  
 3SG come house 1SG WH-  
 What purpose he came to my house for?

The polar interrogative asks for a confirmation or disagreement for a proposition, to which the answer is thus either positive or negative. It can be formed in three types: a declarative + the particle *lu:i<sup>1</sup>* (example 2-7), a declarative + rising tone (example 2-8), or repeating the first element in the verbal group (auxiliary if present; otherwise verb) with the negative particle *?bou<sup>3</sup>* in between (example 2-9).

example 2-7 te:<sup>1</sup> tuk<sup>8</sup> ta:<sup>6</sup>ee:<sup>3</sup> muŋ<sup>2</sup> lu:<sup>1</sup>  
 3SG be elder sister 2SG PRT  
 Is she your elder sister?

example 2-8 te:<sup>1</sup> tuk<sup>8</sup> ta:<sup>6</sup>ee:<sup>3</sup> muŋ<sup>2</sup> (+ rising tone)  
 3SG be elder sister 2SG  
 Is she your elder sister?

example 2-9 te:<sup>1</sup> tuk<sup>8</sup> ?bou<sup>3</sup> tuk<sup>8</sup> ta:<sup>6</sup>ee:<sup>3</sup> muŋ<sup>2</sup>  
 3SG be NEG be elder sister 2SG  
 Is she your elder sister?

The imperative is subdivided into two types: jussive and optative. Jussive (second person imperative) is the unmarked form of the command (i.e. demanding the addressee/s to or not to take some actions). It is constructed by an obligatory Predicator realized by a verbal group (example 2-10), optionally preceded by a Subject realized the second personal pronoun *muŋ*<sup>2</sup> “you (singular)” or *θou*<sup>1</sup> “you (plural)” (example 2-11). Its negative form is marked by the modal *kai*<sup>3</sup> “don’t, must not” (example 2-12).

example 2-10 k<sup>v</sup>en<sup>1</sup> ?an<sup>1</sup>εu:<sup>η</sup><sup>1</sup> pai<sup>1</sup>  
 close window go to  
 Please close the window.

example 2-11 muŋ<sup>2</sup> jak<sup>7</sup> tau<sup>3</sup> he:<sup>u</sup><sup>6</sup> ko:<sup>u</sup><sup>1</sup> pu<sup>1</sup>  
 2SG AUX come to call 1SG PRT  
 You must come to invite me!

example 2-12 kai<sup>3</sup> εou<sup>5</sup> vun<sup>2</sup> to:<sup>4</sup> ta:<sup>3</sup>  
 NEG together people fight  
 Don't fight with others!

Optative (first person imperative) may be either first person only (“let me”) or first and second person (“let’s”). It is constructed like the jussive, the former having *ko:<sup>u</sup>* “I, me” as the Subject (example 2-13), and the latter having *yau*<sup>2</sup> “we, us” as the Subject (example 2-14).

example 2-13 ko:u<sup>1</sup> tak<sup>7</sup> va:n<sup>3</sup> hau<sup>4</sup> hau<sup>3</sup> muŋ<sup>2</sup>

1SG get CL rice for 2SG

Let me get you a bowl of rice.

example 2-14 ɣau<sup>2</sup> ŋon<sup>2</sup>ɛok<sup>8</sup> to:<sup>4</sup>ɛou<sup>5</sup> pai<sup>1</sup> hau<sup>1</sup> pu<sup>1</sup>

1PL tomorrow together go market PRT

Let's go to the market together tomorrow.

### 2.2.2.2 Clause complexes

A clause complex is made up of two or more clauses either in a paratactic or hypotactic way. In a paratactic complex, the clauses are combined into an equal relation, such as the additional, contrastive or sequential relation. In a hypotactic complex, the clauses are combined into an unequal relation, such as the causal, logical, spatial or temporal relation. The parataxis and hypotaxis is usually marked by the conjunction that occupies in the clause. Table 2.7 presents the six common types of conjunction in standard Zhuang, the former three indicating paratactic relations and the latter three indicating hypotactic ones. Some examples of paratactic and hypotactic clause complexes are provided as follows.

**Table 2.7 Conjunction types in standard Zhuang**

Conjunction type		e.g.
Paratactic	Addition	ɛau <sup>5</sup> “and”; hi: <sup>4</sup> “also”; jou <sup>6</sup> ca:i <sup>5</sup> “in addition”
	Disjunction	yo: <sup>4</sup> nau <sup>2</sup> / ɛi: <sup>4</sup> nau <sup>2</sup> / hi: <sup>4</sup> nau <sup>2</sup> “or”
	Sequence	ko:n <sup>1</sup> “at first” ; ɛa:i <sup>1</sup> “then”, tok <sup>7</sup> laŋ <sup>2</sup> “after that”
Hypotactic	Concession	ji:n <sup>2</sup> nau <sup>2</sup> “although”; hoŋ <sup>1</sup> “but”; ʔbou <sup>3</sup> ko: <sup>5</sup> “however”
	Condition	hi: <sup>2</sup> ko: <sup>3</sup> “if”; ʔbou <sup>3</sup> ne: <sup>1</sup> “unless”; ʔbou <sup>5</sup> lu: <sup>6</sup> “no matter”; ɛan <sup>1</sup> ʔau <sup>1</sup> “as long as”
	Cause/result	ʔen <sup>1</sup> vi: <sup>6</sup> “because”; ʈo: <sup>3</sup> ji: <sup>3</sup> “so”; ha:u <sup>5</sup> “therefore”; jin <sup>2</sup> la: <sup>1</sup> “so that”

example 2-15 (*paratactic: addition*)

te:<sup>1</sup> yo:<sup>4</sup> ka:n<sup>3</sup> va:<sup>6</sup>εu:n<sup>6</sup> hi:<sup>4</sup> yo:<sup>4</sup> ka:n<sup>3</sup> va:<sup>6</sup>tei<sup>6</sup>  
 3SG know speak Zhuang also know speak Thai  
 He/she can speak not only Zhuang but also Thai.

example 2-16 (*paratactic: disjunction*)

?bou<sup>3</sup> mu:n<sup>2</sup> hi:n<sup>2</sup> lo:<sup>1</sup> εou<sup>6</sup> te:<sup>1</sup> hi:n<sup>2</sup> lo:<sup>1</sup>  
 NEG 2SG win PRT will 3SG win PRT  
 Either you win or he/she wins.

example 2-17 (*paratactic: sequence*)

γau<sup>2</sup> pai<sup>1</sup> hau<sup>1</sup> ko:n<sup>1</sup> εa:i<sup>1</sup> pai<sup>1</sup> lan<sup>1</sup> te:<sup>1</sup>  
 1PL go market at first then go house 3SG  
 We went to the market first, then went to his/her house.

example 2-18 (*hypotactic: concession*)

εo:u<sup>6</sup> tak<sup>7</sup> fun<sup>1</sup> tok<sup>7</sup> ko:u<sup>1</sup> hi:<sup>4</sup> pai<sup>1</sup> lan<sup>1</sup> te:<sup>1</sup>  
 enven if rain fall 1SG still go house 3SG  
 Even if it rains, I will still go to his/her house.

example 2-19 (*hypotactic: condition*)

εan<sup>6</sup>?au<sup>1</sup> mu:n<sup>2</sup> ka:u<sup>3</sup> ?dai<sup>3</sup> hu:n<sup>3</sup> ta:<sup>1</sup>jo:<sup>2</sup>, kou<sup>1</sup> εou<sup>6</sup> ta:i<sup>5</sup> mu:n<sup>2</sup>  
 as long as 2SG exam can up university 1SG will lead 2SG  
 pai<sup>1</sup> kuk<sup>7</sup>yo:<sup>5</sup> jou<sup>2</sup>  
 go abroad travel  
 As long as you pass the college-entrance exams, I will take you to travel  
 abroad.

example 2-20 (*hypotactic: cause/result*)

?an<sup>1</sup> vi:<sup>6</sup> ηan<sup>2</sup> ?bou<sup>3</sup> ko:u<sup>5</sup> θo:<sup>3</sup>ji:<sup>3</sup> te:<sup>1</sup> ?bou<sup>3</sup> θi:n<sup>3</sup> εau<sup>1</sup> pu:<sup>6</sup> mo:<sup>5</sup>  
 because money NEG enough so 3SG NEG want buy cloth new  
 Because the money is not enough, so she does want to buy new clothes.

## 2.3 Zhuang dialogue folk songs and related research

In recent decades there has been a greater research interest in Zhuang dialogue folk songs which is reflected in the publication of many books and articles on

the subject. The songs have been widely investigated within several disciplinary fields, primarily including musicology, ethnology, anthropology, history, literature and linguistics. To undertake an exhaustive review of all these fields would be a huge and unfeasible project. The purpose of this section is rather to include a selection of researches that have turned out to be of importance and relevance to the present study.

### 2.3.1 Origin and development

Chinese researchers have explored the history of Zhuang dialogue folk songs since the mid twentieth century (see Huang Xianfan, 1957; Nong Xueguan, 1981; Pan Chunjian, 1995; Pan Qixu, 1981; Wang Fang, 2006; Zhou Zuoqiu, 1982, 1985). These contributions agree broadly on that the songs originated from the communication needs of Zhuang ancestors. The prototype of the songs is considered as the shouts of the ancient Zhuang while they were hunting during the period of the tribes of hunter-gatherers (Huang Xianfan, 1957). Although the shouting voices were not real songs, they embody the original function of the songs – to express feelings (e.g. the joy of getting preys) and communicate with others (e.g. the interaction during collaborative hunting). The tradition of communication via “shouting voices” was extended to the clan and agrarian age of Zhuang, but the mode had developed into the more rhythmic singing voices during the farming and ritual occasions. These rhythmic singing voices became the earliest forms of Zhuang dialogue folk songs, known as farming songs and ritual songs (Wang Fang, 2006). After the transition to the class society, singing communication became more pervasive in Zhuang communities. They are capable of composing impromptu songs to interact with each other within various contexts, for example, in daily life, in festivals or in courtships (Luo Yongxian, 2008; Ping Feng, 2007).

Along with the development of Zhuang dialogue folk songs, a unique ethnic custom of songfest appeared. The Zhuang songfest, also known as *Gexu*, was derived from the traditional occasion within the clan society of the Zhuang to scarify and memorize their ancestors. Afterwards it has gradually become a sentimental festival for courtships (see Pan Qixu, 1981, 1991; Wei Suwen, 2008; Zhou Zuoqiu, 1985). On the songfest, the locals dress in their best and go to the fair, which is normally on a mountain slope, by the riverside or in the park around their villages.

Although there are other activities accompanied on the songfest (e.g. entertainment performance, sport competition and art shows), courtship singing dialogue is the principal activity (Huang Ge, 1989, p.66). After the traditional sacrificial ceremony, the young men and women will communicate with each other by singing songs in a dialogic style. By dialogic singing, they quickly come to know each other. If the lad and lass find each other congenial, they will exchange keepsakes as a sign of promise (Zhou Zuiqiu, 1985). Gradually, building courtship via singing dialogue on songfest has become a tradition of the Zhuang.

Due to the change of social structure and the impact of exotic cultures, the traditional culture of singing communication and songfest has been declining in contemporary Zhuang society, (Li Nailong, 1996). As the government of China has paid more attention to protect ethnic minority culture in recent years, the Zhuang songfest together with the two widespread types of Zhuang dialogue folk songs – *Liu Sanjie Ballads* and *Liao Songs* were successively placed on the list of National Intangible Cultural Heritage in China in 2006 and 2008<sup>2</sup>. To retain the culture and traditions, the local government has been organizing International Folk Song Art Festival annually in Nanning, the capital city of Guangxi, since 1993. On the event, the traditional folk songs are integrated into popular music to perform and spread all the country via modern media. In some Zhuang regions, the traditional culture of singing dialogue and songfest has been developed and branded as ethnic tourism resources.

From the review above, we can see that Zhuang dialogue folk songs have involved throughout the history of the Zhuang. However, its function has been changing with the time, from a means of communication and expression, to a form of intangible cultural heritage, and to a kind of stage performance and tourism resources. This study is concerned with the original function of the songs, attempting to explore how the Zhuang communicate with each other through singing dialogue. The researches on the practical and linguistic aspects of the songs are thus closely relevant to the present study.

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<sup>2</sup> See <http://www.ihchina.cn> (Retrieved on Oct.20, 2015).

### 2.3.2 Practical aspects of the songs

Researchers who are concerned with the practice of Zhuang dialogue folk songs point out that, the songs are different from our day-to-day spoken conversation in various ways (see Liang Tingwang, 1987; Pan Qixu, 1991; Qin Cailuan, 2005). First of all, the operation of Zhuang dialogue folk songs is more context-driven. As a means of communication, the songs are employed in many of key institutions of the Zhuang traditional society, including the core institutions of family, friendship, courtships, ritual, work and entertainment. According to the differences of operating contexts, the songs are classified into different types (Liang Tingwang, 1987, pp.152-156; Huang Ge, 1989, p.64), including love songs, farming songs, ritual songs, political songs, house-building songs, military songs, and others. Love songs make up the majority of Zhuang dialogue folk songs. However, what type of songs to sing in what occasion is according to the social conventions (Liang Tingwang, 1987, p.158). For example, love songs should be sung in daytime and outdoor; it would be impolite if someone sings it in front of parents at home in the evening.

Aside the conventional singing occasion, the singing procedure of the songs is also restricted. For example, the singing process of love songs consists of several stages (Liang Tingwang, 1987; Pan Qixu, 1991; Qin Luhui, 1990), generally including *Xiangjian Ge* (encounter songs), *Cuiqing Ge* (request songs), *Zanmei Ge* (praise song), *Pan Ge* (cross-questioned songs), *Jiejiao Ge* (alliance songs), *Fenbie Ge* (apart songs), *Chonghui Ge* (reunion songs). This process is fixed and irreversible, the singing dialogue will be dropped if one side breaks the rule.

Furthermore, the turn-taking in songs is highly controlled or pre-allocated. Customarily, the singing dialogue is one-on-one (Liang Tingwang, 1987, p.160). But singing order of the two singers is not random but conventional. For example, Qin Cailuan (2005, p.110-112) discovers that, in the singing process of *Liao Songs*, the male singer always takes the first turn to sing, after that the female singer takes turn to respond, and then the male continues another turn to prolong the singing dialogue. The turn-taking sequence recursive until a whole piece of song is finished.

### 2.3.3 Linguistic aspects of the songs

The study on linguistic aspects of the songs is cross-disciplinary, involving the perspectives from linguistics and literatures. The most remarkable linguistic feature of the songs is that the lyrics are formed in poetic style, so that the songs are referred as “the poetic language” of the Zhuang (Liang Tingwang, 2007, p.201; Pan Qixu, 2005, p.97; Qin Naichang, 2005, p.89). The poetic stylistics of the songs is reflected in its composition, rhyming and rhetorical devices.

The composition of Zhuang dialogue folk songs follows structural principle of poems. Turn and line are the most common units in the songs. A (singing) turn simply refers to the sequence of utterance of one singer during which the other singer(s) does not sing. Each singing turn typically represents a mini piece of verse. Structurally, each turn is divided into a certain number of lines. Line is the basic unit of the songs which in turn comprises a certain number of words or syllables. For instance, in *Liao Songs* a singing turn consists of four lines, and a line in turn consists of five words or syllables. Based on the poetic structure, the songs can be classified into different categories, including *Wuyan* (five-word song), *Liuyan* (six-word song), *Qiyuan* (seven-word song), *Bayan* (eight-word song), *Shiyan* (ten-word song), *Changduanju* (long-short sentence) (see Huang Ge, 1989, p. 65).

The poetic stylistics is also phonetically reflected in the rhyming rules operated in the songs. In the study of rhyming, Chinese researchers (e.g. Huang Ge 1987; Lu Zhiliang, 2012; Wei Xinglang, 2013) describe the internal composition of a line in Zhuang folk songs in terms of body organs: the first word/syllable as a head, the second word/syllable as a neck, the word/syllable in the middle position of a line as a waist, and the last word/syllable as a foot. Based on the line composition, they propose several rhyming patterns of Zhuang (dialogue) folk songs as follows:

**Foot-head rhyme** (*Jiaotouyun*): the last word/syllable of the prior line and the first word/syllable of the latter line share the same rhyming sound;

**Foot-neck rhyme** (*Jiaojingyun*): the last word/syllable of the prior line and the second word/syllable of the latter line share the same rhyming sound;

**Foot-waist rhyme** (*Jiaoyaoyun*): the last word/syllable of the prior line and the middle word/syllable of the latter line share the same rhyming sound;

**Foot rhyme** (*Jiaoyun*): the last word/syllable of the two immediate lines share the same rhyming sound.

Table 2.8 represents two types of rhyming patterns: foot-head rhyme and foot rhyme. The foot-head rhymes are represented in both the Line 1-2 and the Line 3-4. That is, the last word "kok<sup>7</sup>" (seed) of the Line 1 and the first word "lok<sup>7</sup>" (six) of the Line 2 share the same rhyme "ok". Similarly, the last word "na:<sup>2</sup>" (paddy) of the Line 3 and the first word "ya:<sup>1</sup>" (find) of the Line 4 share the same rhyme "a:". The foot rhyme are represented between the Line 2-3. The last word of the Line 2 and the last word of the Line 3 share the same rhyme "a:".

**Table 2.8 Foot-head rhyme and foot rhyme patterns**

Line	Lyric	Rhyming pattern
1)	θa:m <sup>1</sup> ni:t <sup>7</sup> ʔbou <sup>3</sup> ɛa:u <sup>6</sup> kok <sup>7</sup> three month NEG sow seed (If you) don't sow in March,	o o o o A A o o o B o o o o B
2)	lok <sup>7</sup> ni:t <sup>7</sup> pai <sup>1</sup> lau <sup>2</sup> ya: <sup>1</sup> six month go WH- find Where will you get food in June?	B o o o o
3)	θei□ ni:t <sup>7</sup> ʔbou <sup>3</sup> ʔdam <sup>1</sup> na: <sup>2</sup> four month NEG plant paddy (If you) do not plant rice in April,	
4)	ya: <sup>1</sup> ki: <sup>3</sup> ma: <sup>2</sup> ɛi:ŋ□ luuk <sup>8</sup> find WH- feed child What will you raise children with?	

(transcribed from Wei Xinglang, 2013, p. 120)

Rhetorical devices are another important language aspect that reflects the poetic stylistics of Zhuang dialogue folk songs. Parallelism, overlapping and metaphor are the most common types of rhetorical devices employed in the songs. As Qin Naichang (2005) and Qin Cailuan (2005) point out, parallelism is the common artistic method used in folk songs, the parallel and symmetry structure between lines and verses shows the beauty of poetic form. Most lines in the songs are overlapped with

each other, with minor difference in few words. The regularity of parallelism and overlapping make the songs easy to remember and sing.

The study of metaphor has been an increased research interest in the songs in recent years. For example, Lu Xiaozhen (2013) studies the metaphors used in *Liao Songs*, she categorizes these metaphors into two types: the cognitive metaphors (plant and animal metaphors) and the rhetorical metaphors (idiomatical and textual metaphors). Both Zhou Yanxian (2011a, 2011b) and Zhang Yu (2011a, 2011b) compare the uses of figurative language use in *Liao Songs* and English Poetry. They reach an agreement on that both *Liao Songs* and English folk songs are rich in figurative language use, but these figurative languages represent different historical and social background of the Zhuang and English society.

In conclusion, in practice Zhuang dialogue folk songs, contrasting with daily conversation, have its context orientation, restricted singing procedure and the high degree of control in turn-taking. Linguistically, the songs are formed in poetic style, which is reflected in its poetic composition, rhyming patterns and rhetorical devices. These practical and linguistic aspects are essential important for the analysis on the contextual features and semantic strategies of Zhuang dialogue folk songs in the present study.

## **CHAPTER III**

### **METHODOLOGY**

The previous chapter has reviewed the literatures related to the present study. This chapter will turn to account for the research methodology. It will be divided into four main sections. The former three sections (3.1-3.3) will explain the methods of data collection and selection, data transcription and translation, and the procedure of data analysis. The last section will introduce the computational software that is used to facilitate data analysis in the study.

#### **3.1 Data collection and selection**

This study draws on data from a widespread collection of Zhuang dialogue folk songs entitled *Liao Songs of Pinguo Zhuang*. This collection is edited by Luo Hantian and Tanshaoming and published by Ethnic Publishing House in 2008. The reasons for choosing this collection are as follows.

First of all, *Liao Songs* is the classic of Zhuang folklore culture. *Liao Songs* is an ancient collection of Zhuang dialogue folk songs, its history could be traced back to the Warring States Era over 2000 years ago. After a long-term oral spreading, the songs were formally normalized and recorded in the Old Zhuang Scripts by scholars in the Ming Era (1368-1644) (Qin Naichang, 2005, 2008; Zhou Guowen, 1997). *Liao Songs* are prevalent in the basins of You River, Hongshui River and Yu River in Guangxi, with Pingguo county as the spreading center (Nong Guanpin, 2004; Zheng Chaoxiong, 2005). Throughout history, the songs have embodied a variety of the Zhuang ethnic culture. It is thus a critical site for understanding the history, language and cultures of the Zhuang (Qin Naichang, 2005). In addition, in 2008 *Liao songs* was placed on the list of Intangible Cultural Heritage in China (see The State Council of China, 2008).

Second, the work *Liao Songs of Pingguo Zhuang* represents a representative and comprehensive version of *Liao Songs* (Liang Tingwang, 2008). The documentation project of *Liao Songs*, supported by the local government of Guangxi, has initiated since 1950s (Xu Gangwei, 2007). Over the half a century, different versions of *Liao Songs* have been published one after another, as shown in Table 3.1. The version *Liao Songs of Pingguo Zhuang* is based on the traditional handwritten songbooks in Pingguo county. The original lyrics in the songbooks are recorded in the Old Zhuang Script system. Luo Hantian and Tan Shaoming transcribed these lyrics into the Zhuang Romanized wiring system, and translated into mandarin Chinese. In comparison, the version *Liao Songs of Pingguo Zhuang* remains and represents the original language characteristics of *Liao Songs* (Liang Tingwang, 2008, p. 2). Moreover, it is this version of *Liao Songs* that has been translated into English (i.e. Zhou Yanxian & Lu Lianzhi, 2010).

**Table 3.1 Different versions of Liao Songs**

Author/ editor	Year	Title	Place and publisher
Guangxi Research Association of Folk Arts	1963	Liao Songs	Guangxi : Guangxi Research Association of Folk Arts
He Chengwen, Mo Fei, & Huang Qiongliu	1986	Liao Songs	Guangxi: Guangxi Ethnic Publishing House
Zhang Shengzhen	1993	Liao Songs: an ancient collection of Zhuang folk songs	
Nong Minjian & Tan Zhibiao	2004	Pingguo Liao Songs: a collection of long singing.	
Luo Hantian & Tan Shaoming	2008	Liao Songs of Pingguo Zhuang	Beijing: Ethnic Publishing House

*Liao Songs of Pingguo Zhuang* is a huge collection, comprising five volumes, 74 chapters, 22,760 lines and approximately 113,800 words. It covers

diverse topics relevant to the social life of the Zhuang including folk custom, farming arrangement, ethnic history and love stories. Table 3.2 outlines the major topics and length (chapters, lines and words) of the five volumes.

**Table 3.2 An overview on the work *Liao Songs of Pingguo Zhuang***

Volume	Topic	Chapters	Lines	Words
1. Songs of March	farming arrangement	12	2864	14320
2. Songs of the road	travelling experience	16	5816	29080
3. Songs of daytime	marriage custom	22	5864	29320
4. Songs of war	wars and conflicts	12	4192	20960
5. Songs of house building	house building	12	4024	20120
	<b>Total</b>	<b>74</b>	<b>22760</b>	<b>113800</b>

The first volume, *Songs of March*, comprises 12 chapters, 2,864 lines and approximately 14,320 words. With the topic of farming arrangement, this volume represents a love story of two young people who encounter in the busy season of spring. In March, the young people take a field trip together to collect flowers and wild vegetables. When the spring rain falls, they start to be busy with the farming work, including plowing, sowing and transplanting rice. During the spring, they get to know and fall in love with each other by singing dialogue.

The second volume, *Songs of the Road*, consists of 16 chapters, 5,816 lines and approximately 29,080 words. This volume tells the story that the two young people travel together. They start the trip since the early morning, rerouted from the village to the paddy fields, then on to the mountains. They share the feelings via singing dialogue along the trip, and at last they exchange keepsakes as a sign of promise to each other.

The third volume, *Songs of Daytime*, includes 22 chapters, 5,864 lines and approximately 29,320 words. This volume represents a topic of marriage custom of the Zhuang. In this volume, the two young people decide to get married. However, their love is obstructed by the arranged marriage. After a long struggle they freed from the arranged marriage and gain their happiness together.

The fourth volume, *Songs of War*, involves 12 chapters, 4,192 lines and approximately 20,960 words. The major topic represented in this volume is wars and conflicts. Shortly after they married, the husband is required to serve the army and join the battles. After suffering the hardships during the wars, he finally makes his way home to reunion with his wife.

The last volume, *Songs of House Building*, comprises 12 chapters, 4,024 lines and approximately 20,120 words. This volume accounts for the story of house building. After getting reunion, the young couple start to build their new house. This volume represents the whole process of building a *ganlan*-style house, including preparing the materials, laying foundation stones, framing the house, making windows, and shingling the roof.

In short, although the five volumes involve different topics, a common clue was presented throughout the whole collection, that is the love story of the two young people. This story starts from the two young people encounter in spring (vol. 1), to build relationships and exchange keepsake while travelling together (vol. 2), to get married (vol. 3), to separate from each other because of wars (vol. 4) and finally get reunion and build new house (vol. 5). As each volume consists of different chapters, and each chapter varies in length, in order to scope the data, only one chapter is selected from each volume for analysis (see Table 3.3).

**Table 3.3 Counts on the selected texts**

Text	Turns	Lines	Words
1. Busing spring (from vol.1)	92	368	1840
2. Tiring love (from vol. 2)	86	344	1720
3. Getting married (from vol. 3)	86	344	1720
4. Seeing off (from vol. 4)	76	304	1520
5. Laying foundation stones (from vol. 5)	78	312	1560
<b>Total</b>	<b>418</b>	<b>1672</b>	<b>8360</b>

The selection is based on the two criteria: i) the **content** of the selected chapter must be related to the major topic of the volume as much as possible; and ii) the **length** of the selected chapter must be close to the mean length of chapters (308

lines) as much as possible. Based on the two criteria, five chapters (texts) have been selected for analysis, as indicated in Table 3.3. In summary, the data for this study consists of five texts, 418 singing turns, 1,672 lines, and approximately 8,360 words.

### 3.2 Data transcription and translation

The original texts in the collection are written in Zhuang Romanized system and translated in Mandarin Chinese. In this study, all the selected texts are phonemically transcribed into IPA (International Phonetic Alphabet) system, based on the correspondence between the Romanized writing system and the phonology system of standard Zhuang (see Section 2.2.1). After the transcription, the data are translated into English, including word-by-word translation and free translation for each line. The English translation is based on the work of Zhou Yanxian and Lu Lianzhi (2010). Table 3.4 shows an example of the data transcription and translation.

**Table 3.4 An example of data transcription and translation**

Singer	Turn	Line	Lyric
Male	3	9)	ɲei <sup>6</sup> θa:m <sup>1</sup> ɲi:t <sup>8</sup> ɕiŋ <sup>1</sup> miŋ <sup>2</sup> second third month Qingming Qingming is during February and March,
		10)	kiŋ <sup>1</sup> huŋ <sup>3</sup> la: <sup>3</sup> tau <sup>3</sup> pa:u <sup>5</sup> calendar up down come announce The calendar comes to announce that;
		11)	ɲei <sup>6</sup> θa:m <sup>1</sup> ɲi:t <sup>8</sup> to: <sup>4</sup> ta:u <sup>5</sup> second third month backward Before February and March,
		12)	tu: <sup>2</sup> ma: <sup>2</sup> pa:u <sup>5</sup> ɕiŋ <sup>1</sup> fan <sup>1</sup> CL WH- announce Chunfen Who announces the day of Chunfen?

### **3.3 Data analysis procedure**

All the selected texts are analyzed against SFL framework (as explained in Section 2.1). The analysis procedure includes two stages: the first is the structural analysis and the second is the interactional analysis.

#### **Stage I: Structural analysis**

Step 1: to analyze rhetorical relations within the songs, based on the logical-semantic system of RHETORICAL RELATION (Matthiessen, 2015b, Matthiessen & Teruya, 2015);

Step 2: to consider the contextual factor those affect the rhetorical relation choices of the singers, in order to discover the correlation of text organization strategies and context of situation (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2014)

#### **Stage II: Interactional analysis**

Step 1: to analyze speech functions within the songs, based on the interpersonal-semantic system of SPEECH FUNCTION (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2014);

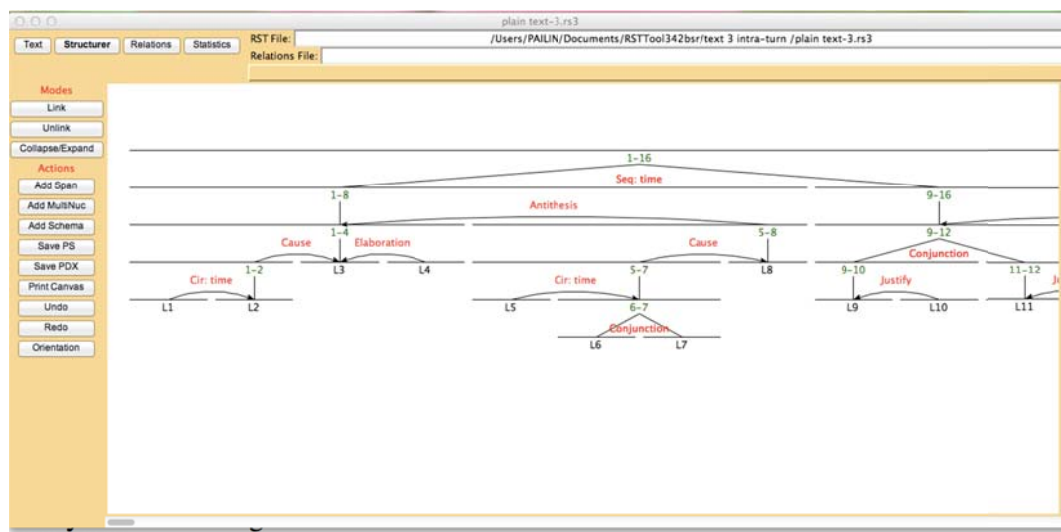
Step 2: to consider the contextual factors those affect the speech function choices of the singers, in order to discover the correlation of interpersonal interaction strategies and context of situation (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2014)

### **3.4 Tools used to facilitate data analysis**

The present study employs two software tools to facilitate data analysis, namely RSTTool (version 3.4) and UAM CorpusTool (version 2.8). Both the two programs are developed by Michael O'Donnell and free to download from the website [www.wagsoft.com](http://www.wagsoft.com). With the theoretical basis on RST and SFL, the two programs are widely used for annotating texts within the fields of computational linguistics and SFL corpus studies. In this study, the RSTTool facilitates the text structuring of the songs in terms of rhetorical relations, and the UAM CorpusTool is used for coding speech functions within the songs.

RSTTool is a graphical interface for marking up the structure of text, primarily intended to be used for rhetorical structure (O'Donnell, 2000). There are four major interfaces in the RSTTool: Text, Structurer, Relations, and Statistics, see Figure 3.1 below. The Text segment interface facilitates the user to determine segment

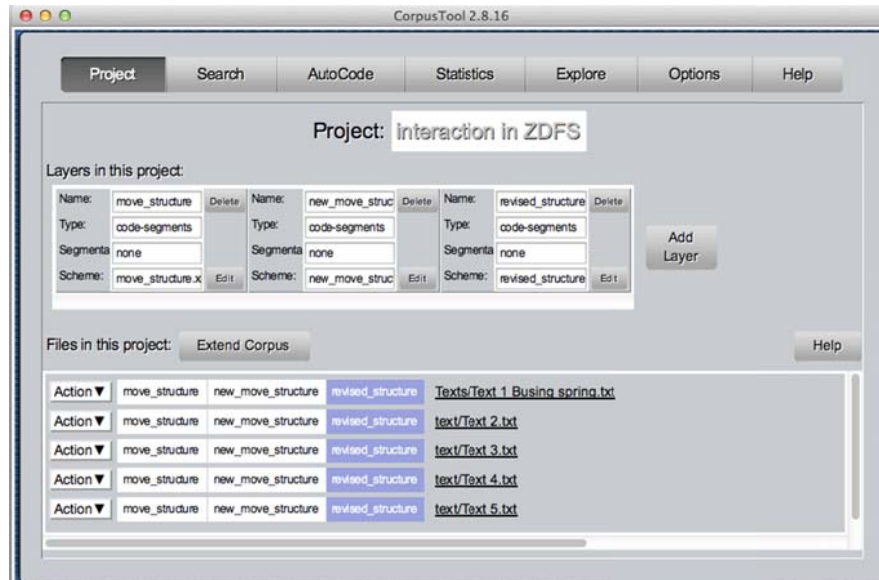
boundaries within a text. The structuring interface allows the user to structure the text by connecting the segments into a rhetorical structure tree. The Relations interface allows the user to edit rhetorical relations where the user can add, delete or rename relations. And the Statistics interface provides counts of relations within a text, including the number and frequency of different relations in specific texts (O'Donnell, 2000). Figure 3.1 represents an example of text structural annotation with the RSTTool in the present study.



**Figure 3.1 Text annotation with the RSTTool**

UAM CorpusTool, a program for the annotation of text corpora, enables the user to annotate a corpus of text files at a number of linguistic layers in terms of SFL system network (O'Donnell, 2008, p. 1433). This program consists of four major interfaces: Project, Search, Autocode, and Statistics, see Figure 3.2 below. The Project interface enables the user to manage each project, where the user can add or remove files to the corpus, add or remove layers for annotation, edit the annotation schemes (or system networks), and annotating text segments. The Corpus Search interface allows the user to search for instances in the annotated corpus which match searching criteria. The Auto-coding interface enables the user to semi-autocode the corpus by assigning a particular tag as a permanent indicator for concordance patterns. The Corpus Statistics interface provides various statistical analyses of the corpus including Descriptive Statistics, Contrastive Statistics, General Text statistics, and Word

Propensity (O'Donnell, 2008). Figure 3.2 represents an example text annotation with the UAM CorpusTool in this study, illustrated with the project management interface.



**Figure 3.2 Text annotation with the UAM CorpusTool**

This chapter has explained the research methodology, including the methods of data collection and selection, data transcription and translation, data analysis procedure, as well as a brief explanation on the two software tools used in the study. The next two chapters will discuss the main findings of data analysis in terms of text structure (Chapter IV) and interactivity (Chapter V).

## CHAPTER IV

### RHETORICAL RELATIONS AND TEXT STRUCTURE

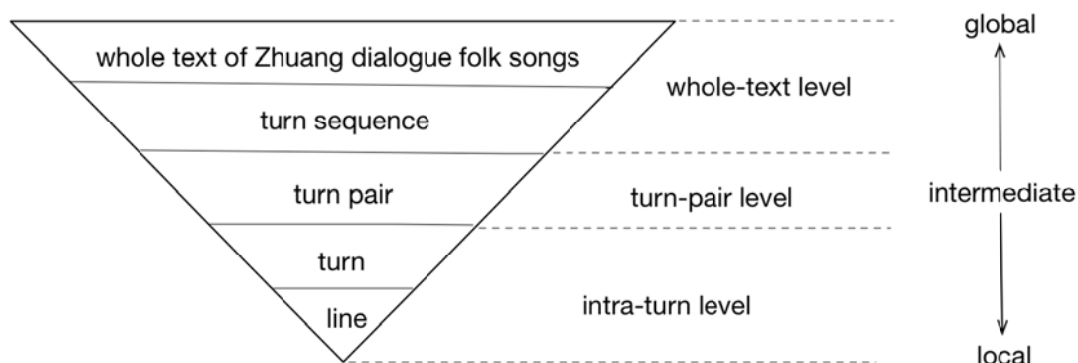
This chapter will discuss the text structure of Zhuang dialogue folk songs through the analysis of rhetorical relations. The rhetorical structural analysis will be carried out at three different levels: intra-turn level, turn-pair level and whole-text level. The main results of the three levels of analysis will be presented in Section 4.2 – 4.4. But before presenting the analysis results, the next section (Section 4.1) will explain how rhetorical relations have been applied to the analysis of text.

#### **4.1 Issues in rhetorical structural analysis of the songs**

The present study employs the analytical framework of RHETORICAL RELATION system (Matthiessen, 2015b; Matthiessen & Teruya, 2015) to investigate text structure of Zhuang dialogue folk songs. This section explains some important issues in the rhetorical structural analysis of the songs, including the assumption and implementation of the analysis.

A rhetorical structural analysis of a text implies that the text in question is functionally and hierarchically organized (Taboada, 2004b, p.77). The functional aspects of Zhuang dialogue folk songs are intuitively acceptable, since the songs function as a means of communication in the Zhuang traditional society, each utterance within the songs reflects the communication purpose of the singers. The hierarchical organization of the songs can be discovered from the viewpoint of composition units. As mentioned earlier, *Line* is the basic composition unit in the songs. A certain number of lines are combined into a singing *turn*. A singing turn refers to the utterance of a singer without interruption. In the singing process, when a singer finishes his/her singing turn, the other singer takes turn to responding to the prior singer. The two immediate singing turns thus make up a pair of initiation and response. A series of *turn pairs* that concern with the same proposition or topic are

combined into a *turn sequence*. And at last, all the turn sequences are combined into a *whole text* of Zhuang dialogue folk songs. In other words, the songs are hierarchically structured, in the way that elementary units are composed into larger units, which in turn are composed into yet larger units up to the scale of the whole text, as indicated in Figure 4.1.



**Figure 4.1 The compositional hierarchy of Zhuang dialogue folk songs**

Once the assumption of functional and hierarchical organization has been established, the next important issue is how to apply rhetorical relations to analyze the text structure of the songs. The first step in RST analysis of a text is to determine the analysis units. Mann et al. (1992) suggest clauses as the typical units for RST analysis. However, they also point out that “unit size is arbitrary in RST, in principle the units can be any size from typical lexical items to entire paragraphs or larger” (Mann et al., 1992, p.51). This study considers lines as the basic analysis units for two reasons. First, line is the basic unit in the compositional hierarchy of Zhuang dialogue folk songs (see Figure 4.1 above), the line-based analysis will uncover the essential structure of the text. Second, due to the poetic stylistics of the songs, the grammatical organization of the lyrics is constrained by some poetic conventions. For instance, the grammatical unit of clause is often performed in an incomplete form due to the word number limit of the poem. Therefore, it is difficult to conduct a clause-based analysis on the songs.

The next step is to identify spans and relations. Table 4.1 sets out the set of rhetorical relations useful for the analysis in the study. These relations are categorized in terms of nuclearity (multi-nuclear or nucleus-satellite), orientation (internal or external) and logico-semantic type (expansion and projection) according to the system

of RHETORICAL RELATION proposed in Matthiessen (2015b) and Matthiessen & Teruya (2015). In determining what relation should be said to hold between two given text spans, the judgment is based on the communicative function of the text and text parts, such as the purposes of the writer, the writer's assumptions about the reader, and certain propositional patterns in the subject matter of the text (Mann et al. 1992, p.45). In other words, the identification of rhetorical relation is based on functional and semantic criteria rather than relying on grammatical signals. Although some relations are signaled by some grammatical devices (e.g. conjunctions), "no reliable or unambiguous signal for any of relations was found" (Taboada, 2004a, p. 110). As a matter of fact, it is unpractical to identify relations in the songs relying on grammatical signals because, as mentioned above, the composition of the songs is not always based on the grammatical principles.

**Table 4.1 The set of rhetorical relations applied in the study**

		Internal	External
expansion	elaborating	Background	Elaboration, <u>Restatement</u> , Summary
	extending	-	Antithesis, <u>Addition</u> , <u>Contrast</u> , <u>Disjunction</u>
	enhancing	Enablement, Evidence, Justify, Motivation	Analogy, Circumstance, Condition, Concession, Cause, Interpretation, Means, Otherwise, Problem, Purpose, Result, <u>Sequence</u> , Solutionhood
projection	locution	Attribution	Projection
	idea	Attribution	Projection

(underlined = multi-nuclear relations, non-underlined = nucleus-satellite relations)

The relational identification process works either from the top down (progressive refinement) or from the bottom up (aggregation) (Mann et al., 1992, p.51). This study employs the bottom-up method, identifying the relations from the local level of the turn, via an intermediate level of the turn pair, up to the global level of the whole text (see Figure 4.1). Therefore, this study recognizes three different levels of structure of the songs as follows:

**Intra-turn structure** – the local structure of the song describing through the relations among a certain number of lines within a turn. The intra-turn analysis, considering each turn as an independent created text, will reveal how the singers organize language within their respective turns;

**Turn-pair structure** – the intermediate structure of the song constructing through the relations between two immediate turns, with one turn as an initiation and the other as a response. The turn-pair analysis will reveal how the two singers co-organize language in an interactive manner.

**Whole-text structure** – the global structure of the song covering the combination of the larger composition units above turn pairs (i.e. turn sequences). The whole-text analysis, emphasizing the song as a whole text, will reveal the global language organization of the songs.

This tri-structural analysis provides a comprehensive account of language organization of the songs. The relations identified at each level will thus reveal the language organization strategies of the singers for different purposes. The main results of the analysis will be presented in the next two sections: Section 4.2 lists and exemplifies the relations found at the three levels of analysis; Section 4.3 discusses the contextual factors affecting the relation choices of the singers.

## 4.2 Rhetorical relations at different structural levels

Table 4.2 presents a list of the relations found in the study, distinguishing the relations found at three different levels: intra-turn, turn-pair, and whole-text. As indicated in the table, in total 27 types of relations are identified in the analysis, among which Addition shows the highest number of occurrence (20.81%), followed by Circumstance (16.43%), Elaboration (9.02%), Restatement (6.60%) and so on. The table also indicates that the higher the level of analysis the fewer types of relations found. Again, these relations are identified based on semantic and functional criteria, although some discourse markers (e.g. conjunctions, phrases, parallel structure) signal the relations. The next three sections (4.2.1- 4.2.3) will provide some details and examples of the relations found at each level, and also discuss whether the relations are signaled or not by discourse markers.

**Table 4.2 Rhetorical relations found in the study**

Relation	Intra-turn level	Turn-pair level	Whole-text level	N	%
1) <u>Addition</u>	206	60	43	309	20.81
2) Analogy	35	-	-	35	2.36
3) Antithesis	14	44	-	58	3.91
4) Background	56	-	-	56	3.77
5) Cause	77	-	-	77	5.19
6) Circumstance	244	-	-	244	16.43
7) Concession	35	5	-	40	2.69
8) Condition	38	-	-	38	2.56
9) Contrast	18	-	-	18	1.21
10) Elaboration	132	2	-	134	9.02
11) Enablement	21	-	-	21	1.41
12) Evaluation	35	1	-	36	2.42
13) Evidence	11	-	-	11	0.74
14) Interpretation	9	9	-	18	1.21
15) Justify	2	-	-	2	0.13
16) Means	16	-	-	16	1.08
17) Motivation	23	-	-	23	1.55
18) Otherwise	3	-	-	3	0.20
19) Problem	5	-	-	5	0.34
20) Projection	34	-	-	34	2.29
21) Purpose	45	-	-	45	3.03
22) Reason	23	2	-	25	1.68
23) <u>Restatement</u>	36	62	-	98	6.60
24) Result	14	-	-	14	0.94
25) <u>Same unit</u> <sup>3</sup>	19	-	-	19	1.28
26) <u>Sequence</u>	39	-	19	58	3.91
27) Solutionhood	19	29	-	48	3.23
<b>Total</b>	<b>1209</b>	<b>214</b>	<b>62</b>	<b>1485</b>	<b>100.00</b>

(underlined = multi-nuclear relations, non-underlined = nucleus-satellite relations)

<sup>3</sup> Same unit is pseudo-relation used as a device for linking two discontinuous text fragments that are really a single discourse unit, but which are broken up. By convention, this relation is always multi-nuclear (based on the definition in Carlson and Marcu, 2001).

### **4.2.1 Intra-turn relations**

Intra-turn relations are underlying relations among lines within a turn, by means of which the internal organization of the turn is investigated. In this sense, we can interpret the language organization strategies of the two singers by comparing their intra-turn relation choices. Table 4.3 shows the number and percentage of intra-turn relations chosen by the male singer and female singers. As indicated in the table, the results for the male singer and the female singer, in terms of intra-turn relation types and their distributions, are very similar. In both cases, all the 27 types of relations are found, among which Circumstance shows the highest number of occurrence, followed by Addition, Elaboration, Cause and Background. Lower in the list, the relations vary only minimally in percentage distributions. This indicates that the two singers employ similar strategies for organizing language at intra-turn level. The reasons for the similarity will be discussed later. The remainder of this section will take the top-five frequent relations as examples to illustrate how the relations are applied in intra-turn structural analysis.

**Table 4.3 Intra-turn relation choices of the two singers**

Relations	Male singer		Female singer	
	N	%	N	%
1) <u>Addition</u>	102	17.00	104	17.08
2) Analogy	18	3.00	17	2.79
3) Antithesis	2	0.33	12	1.97
4) Background	27	4.50	29	4.76
5) Cause	40	6.67	37	6.08
6) Circumstance	122	20.33	122	20.03
7) Concession	12	2.00	23	3.78
8) Condition	22	3.67	16	2.63
9) <u>Contrast</u>	11	1.83	7	1.15
10) Elaboration	71	11.83	61	10.02
11) Enablement	8	1.33	13	2.13
12) Evaluation	17	2.83	18	2.96
13) Evidence	3	0.50	8	1.31
14) Interpretation	5	0.83	4	0.66
15) Justify	1	0.17	1	0.16
16) Means	7	1.17	9	1.48
17) Motivation	10	1.67	13	2.13
18) Otherwise	2	0.33	1	0.16
19) Problem	3	0.50	2	0.33
20) Projection	17	2.84	17	2.79
21) Purpose	24	4.00	21	3.45
22) Reason	12	2.00	11	1.81
23) <u>Restatement</u>	17	2.83	19	3.12
24) Result	7	1.17	7	1.15
25) <u>Same unit</u>	10	1.67	9	1.48
26) <u>Sequence</u>	21	3.51	18	2.96
27) Solutionhood	9	1.50	10	1.64
<b>Total</b>	<b>600</b>	<b>100.00</b>	<b>609</b>	<b>100.00</b>

(underlined = multi-nuclear relations, non-underlined = nucleus-satellite relations )

#### 4.2.1.1 Circumstance

Circumstance is the most frequent relation found at intra-turn level. This relation is a nucleus-satellite relation in which the satellite segment creates a framework (e.g. a temporal or spatial framework) for interpreting the content in the nucleus segment. Example 4-1 below contains two instances of spatial Circumstance by two spatial phrases "yo:k<sup>8</sup> ?ba:n<sup>3</sup>" (out of the village) and "taŋ<sup>2</sup> toŋ<sup>6</sup> na:<sup>2</sup>" (into the paddy field). The rhetorical structure of this example is presented as a figure at the right-hand side of the text, in which the vertical lines indicate nuclear segments and the cursive lines indicate satellite segments.

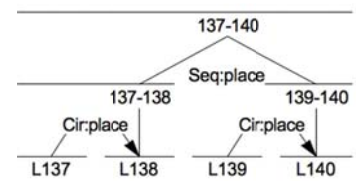
example 4-1 [Text 4: turn 35: line 137-140]

Male 35 137) ja:m<sup>5</sup> tin<sup>1</sup> taŋ<sup>2</sup> yo:k<sup>8</sup> ?ba:n<sup>3</sup>  
 step foot arrive outside village  
 Walking out of the village,

138) ɣan<sup>1</sup> ko:<sup>1</sup> ve:ŋ<sup>3</sup> ha:i<sup>1</sup> va:<sup>1</sup>  
 see CL cherokee rose open flower  
 We find cherokee rose blooming.

139) ja:m<sup>5</sup> tin<sup>1</sup> taŋ<sup>2</sup> toŋ<sup>6</sup> na:<sup>2</sup>  
 steep foot arrive field paddy  
 Stepping into the paddy fields,

140) ta:<sup>1</sup> va:<sup>1</sup> pan<sup>2</sup> mo:t<sup>8</sup> ɣa:i<sup>6</sup>  
 eye blurred like ant crawl  
 Our eyes are blurred like ant crawling.



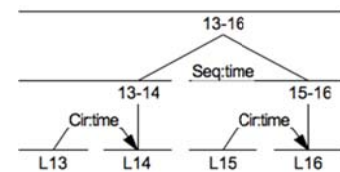
The situation context in this example is that the male singer is about to leave home to join the army, his wife (the female singer) is sending him off. This singing turn consists of four lines and is primarily divided into two parts. The first part is the combination of line 137 and line 138, in which the male singer describes what they see while they walking out of the village. In this part, line 137 plays a role as satellite and line 138 as nucleus. Line 137 provides a spatial framework for interpreting the nuclear segment (i.e. line 138). The second part of this turn is the combination of line 139 and line 140 in which the male singer describes how he?

feels while they stepping into the paddy. In the same way to the first part, line 139 servers as a spatial satellite for interpreting the nuclear segment (i.e. line 140). The top-most relation in the structure of this turn is a Sequence: place relation which combines the two parts as a whole turn. In other words, this turn is organized by a relation of spatial sequence (i.e. from the village to the paddy).

Example 4-2 shows two relations of Circumstance: time signaled by two Chinese solar terms "eiŋ<sup>1</sup>miŋ<sup>2</sup>" (Qingming, The day of Clear and Bright) and "eiŋ<sup>1</sup>fan<sup>1</sup>" (Chunfen, The day of Spring Equinox).

example 4-2 [Text 1: turn 4: line 13-16]

- Female 3 13) ŋei<sup>6</sup> θa:m<sup>1</sup> ɲi:t<sup>8</sup> eiŋ<sup>1</sup>miŋ<sup>2</sup>  
 second third month Qingming  
 Qingming is during February and March,
- 14) kiŋ<sup>1</sup> huŋ<sup>3</sup> la:<sup>3</sup> tau<sup>3</sup> pa:u<sup>5</sup>  
 calendar up down to announce  
 The calendar announces that.
- 15) ŋei<sup>6</sup> θa:m<sup>1</sup> ɲi:t<sup>8</sup> to:<sup>4</sup> ta:u<sup>5</sup>  
 second third month to back  
 Before February and March,
- 16) tu:<sup>2</sup> ɣok<sup>8</sup> pa:u<sup>5</sup> eiŋ<sup>1</sup>fan<sup>1</sup>  
 CL bird announce Chunfen  
 The birds tell the day of Chunfen.



In this example, the female singer describes the phenomena of two Chinese solar terms in spring season. This turn is primarily divided into two parts. The first part is the combination of lines 13 and 14, concerning the the solar term of Qingming (The day of Clear and Bright, it is the 5<sup>th</sup> of 24 solar terms of China); and the second part is the combination of line 15 and 16, which is concerning the solar term of Chunfen (The day of Spring Equinox, it is the 4<sup>th</sup> of 24 solar terms of China). In the first part line 13 and line 14 are connected by a relation of Circumstance: time, whereby line 13 serves as a satellite and line 14 plays a role as a nucleus, the satellite segment a temporal framework for interpreting the nuclear segment. In the same way,

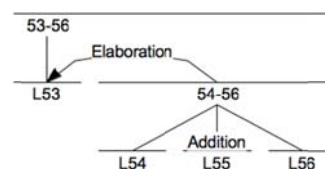
in second part line 15 serves as a temporal satellite for interpreting the nuclear segment (i.e. line 16). The two solar terms in this turn are organized by a temporal sequence (Chunfen appears before Qingming in Chinese lunar calendar), therefore the two parts are connected by a Sequence: time relation. In short, three temporal relations determine the organization of this turn, two Circumstance: time relations primarily connect line 13 and 14 as well as line 15 and 16, and a Sequence:time relation connected line 13-14 and line 15-16 into a whole coherent turn.

#### 4.2.1.2 Addition

Addition is a multi-nuclear relation which conjoins two or more text nuclear segments into a larger unit. In an Addition relation the conjoined units have equal status and play a comparable role. The relation of Addition can be found at all the three different levels of analysis, but it is more frequently applied at the turn level. Example 4-3 is a clear case of Addition relation at turn level, signaled by the parallel structure of *na:i<sup>5</sup> lum<sup>3</sup>* (tired as) in line 54-56.

example 4-3 [Text 2: turn 14: line 53-56]

- Female 14 53) *ɕan<sup>1</sup> na:i<sup>5</sup> to:<sup>6</sup> na:i<sup>5</sup> la:i<sup>1</sup>*  
 really tired entirely tired much  
 I'm totally tired,  
 54) *na:i<sup>5</sup> lum<sup>3</sup> va:i<sup>2</sup> ta:<sup>2</sup> ʔe:k<sup>7</sup>*  
 tired like buffalo add yoke  
 like the cattle are yoked.  
 55) *na:i<sup>5</sup> lum<sup>3</sup> he:k<sup>7</sup> pu:n<sup>5</sup> kju:<sup>1</sup>*  
 tired like guest vend salt  
 like salt venders on the load,  
 56) *na:i<sup>5</sup> lum<sup>3</sup> ɣu:<sup>2</sup> ɕip<sup>8</sup> ɕa:u<sup>6</sup>*  
 tired like boat ten paddle  
 like the boat with ten paddles.



The situation context for this example is that the male singer and the female singer are climbing a mountain together. In this turn the female singer states that “she is totally exhausted” in line 53, and then gives three metaphoric

examples in line 54-56 to elaborate her statement. Therefore this turn is globally organized by a nuclear-satellite relation of Elaboration whereby the first line (line 53) is the nucleus and the combination of line 54-56 serves as a satellite providing more detail information for comprehending and elaborating line 53. The three examples in lines 54-56 are conjoined with a multi-nuclear relation of Addition, whereby all the three lines are nuclear segments and have equal status to each other. The graphic representation of the analysis of rhetorical relations in this example is given at the right-hand side of the text.

#### 4.2.1.3 Elaboration

Elaboration relations are mostly found at turn level. This relation is a nucleus-satellite one in which the satellite segment gives additional detail about the situation or some elements of subject matter presented in the nucleus segment. Elaboration is rarely marked and when it is, the determination for this relation depends mostly on the logical meanings. In Example 4-4 below the combination of line 67-68 serves as an Elaboration satellite for line 66.

example 4-4 [Text 1: turn 17: line 65-68]

Male 17 65)  $\eta e i^6$   $\theta a:m^1$   $n i:t^8$   $p a i^1$   $n a:3$   
 second third month go front

From February and March on,

66)  $h a:3$   $t u:2$   $k v a:5$   $h a:3$   $l o:6$   
 five CL across five road

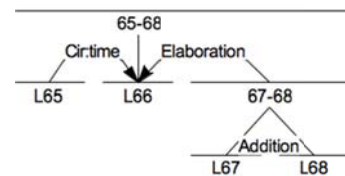
Everyone is busy on the way.

67)  $l o:6$   $t e:1$   $\epsilon i:u^2$   $?d a m^1$   $n a:2$   
 road 3SG gather plant paddy

Someone is planting rice,

68)  $k a:1$   $t e:1$   $\epsilon i:u^2$   $t a i^6$   $p u n^6$   
 leg 3SG gather transport fertilizer

Someone is transporting fertilizer.



This example is extracted from Text 1 when the male singer and female singer are discussing farming work in spring. In this example, the male

singer describes the busy farming season as that “ from February and March on, everyone is busy on the way” (line 65-66), and then gives more details to exemplify how everyone is busy with farming work as “some one is planting rice” (line 67) and “some one is carrying fertilizer” (line 68). From the graphic presentation of intra-turn structure of this singing turn, we can see that the nuclear part for this turn is line 66 (“everybody is busy on the way”), this nuclear segment is supported by two satellites. One satellite is line 65 (“from February and March on”) which sets a temporal circumstance for interpreting line 66, and the other satellite is the combination of line 67-68 (connected by an Addition relation) which provides two examples to elaborate line 66 (“someone is planting rice, someone is carrying fertilizer” ). In this example there is no obvious marker signaling the relation of Elaboration, the identification based on the logical meaning between line 66 and line 67-68.

#### 4.2.1.4 Cause

Cause is another relation commonly found at turn level. Cause is a nucleus-satellite relation in which the satellite segment describes a particular cause of the situation presented in the nucleus segment. Example 4-5 illustrates a Cause relation.

example 4-5 [Text 3: turn 79: line 313-316]

Male 79 313) koŋ<sup>1</sup> ta:<sup>1</sup> nau<sup>2</sup> jak<sup>7</sup> pai<sup>1</sup>  
 bride's father tell want go

Knowing that your father is leaving,

314) po:<sup>6</sup> yon<sup>2</sup> lai<sup>1</sup> pai<sup>1</sup> θon<sup>5</sup>  
 father go down stair go send

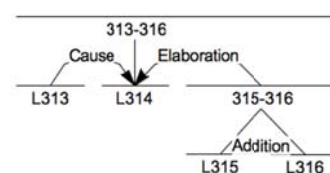
My father goes to see him off.

315) pai<sup>2</sup> θon<sup>5</sup> pai<sup>2</sup> ŋak<sup>7</sup> k'au<sup>3</sup>  
 as send as nod head

My father nods while walking,

316) θon<sup>5</sup> luk<sup>8</sup> tau<sup>3</sup> hau<sup>3</sup> ho:i<sup>5</sup>  
 send child come give to 1SG

Thank your father for sending you here.



This example is extracted from Text 3 when the male singer's father sends the female singer's father off after the wedding. In this example, line 313 presents a cause ("your father is going to leave") to the situation in line 314 ("my father goes to see your father off"). And the combination lines 315-316 (conjoint with an Addition relation) give details to elaborate line 314. Therefore line 314 is the nuclear segment for the whole turn, line 313 serves as a satellite of cause and the combination of line 315-316 servers as a satellite of elaboration to support line 314. In the combination of 313-314, there is no overt discourse marker to show the relation of Cause, but the logical meaning infers the causal relationship between the two lines (" [because] knowing your father is leaving, my father is going to send him off").

#### 4.2.1.5 Background

Background is also frequently found in the analysis of internal organization of turn. Background is a nucleus-satellite relation in which the satellite segment provides background information to comprehending the element in nuclear segment. The effect of this relation is that the hearer's or reader's ability to comprehend the nucleus increases. Example 4-6 below contains a Background relation.

example 4-6 [Text 5: turn 5: line 17-20]

Male 5 17) ko:n<sup>3</sup> θa:ŋ<sup>3</sup> θa:m<sup>1</sup> fa:n<sup>6</sup> ηan<sup>2</sup>  
CL stone thirty thousands money

Only if each stone is paid for thirty  
thousands,

18) te:<sup>1</sup> ei:<sup>3</sup> pan<sup>2</sup> ha:i<sup>1</sup> θi:u<sup>5</sup>  
3SG will agree open chisel

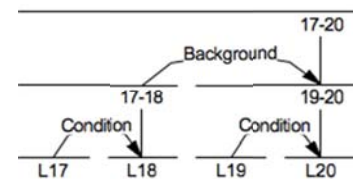
He will agree to chisel.

19) ηei<sup>6</sup> eip<sup>8</sup> pe:t<sup>7</sup> ko:n<sup>3</sup> θa:ŋ<sup>3</sup>  
twenty-eight CL stone

There are twenty-eight stones in total,

20) ka:ŋ<sup>3</sup> kei<sup>3</sup> la:i<sup>1</sup> ηan<sup>2</sup> ko:<sup>5</sup>  
talk WH- money hire

How much is the service charge?



This example is extracted from Text 5 when the male singer and female singer discuss the project of building their new house. In this example, the singing turn is divided into two parts. The first part is line 17-18 (connected by a Condition relation) and the second part is line 19-20 (also connected by a Condition relation). The male singer provides some background in the first part (“the price for chiseling foundation stones is thirty thousands for each stone”) so that the hearer (i.e. the female singer) understands his question in second part (“how much for chiseling 28 foundation stones?”). No obvious discourse marker is found in this example.

### 4.2.2 Turn-pair relations

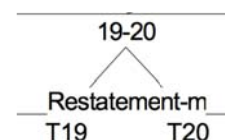
At turn-pair level, a rhetorical relation connects two singing turns expressed by different singers into an initiating-responding pair. All nine types of relations are found at this level among which the relations of Restatement, Addition, Antithesis, and Solutionhood are more frequent (see Table 4.2 above). This section exemplifies the four frequent relations in order to illustrate how rhetorical relations apply at turn-pair levels.

#### 4.2.2.1 Restatement

Restatement is considered as a multi-nuclear relation in this study in which one segment is primarily a re-expression of one linked to it; the segments are comparable importance<sup>4</sup>. Example 4-7 below is a clear case of Restatement relation at turn-pair level.

example 4-7 [Text 5: turn 19-20: line 73-80]

Male 19 73) po:<sup>6</sup> ʔdai<sup>3</sup> fai<sup>4</sup> ei:<sup>4</sup> cai<sup>2</sup>  
 father get tree already complete  
 All needed things are ready,  
 74) koŋ<sup>1</sup> θai<sup>1</sup> ŋon<sup>2</sup> ei:<sup>4</sup> le:<sup>6</sup>  
 master day already select  
 The lucky day has been chosen.



<sup>4</sup> RST website (<http://www.sfu.ca/rst>) recognizes two types of restatement: Restatement (as a nucleus-satellite relation) and Multinuclear Restatement (as a multi-nuclear relation), in this study only the type of Multinuclear Restatement is found, thus Restatement relation in this study refers to a multi-nuclear relation.

- 75) le:<sup>6</sup>    ɲon<sup>2</sup>    ʔdei<sup>1</sup>    hat<sup>7</sup>       ɕo:k<sup>8</sup>  
 select day    good morning tomorrow  
 The lucky day comes tomorrow,
- 76) ɲon<sup>2</sup>    ɕo:k<sup>8</sup>       ʔa:n<sup>1</sup>    ki:k<sup>7</sup>    ɣa:n<sup>2</sup>  
 day    tomorrow set up base house  
 Time to lay foundation stones.
- Female 20 77) po:<sup>6</sup>    ʔdai<sup>3</sup>    fai<sup>4</sup>    ɕi:<sup>4</sup>       cai<sup>2</sup>  
 father get    tree already complete  
 All needed things are ready,
- 78) koŋ<sup>1</sup>    θai<sup>1</sup>    ɲon<sup>2</sup>    ɕi:<sup>4</sup>       le:<sup>6</sup>  
 master    day    already select  
 The lucky day has been chosen.
- 79) le:<sup>6</sup>    ɲon<sup>2</sup>    ʔdei<sup>1</sup>    hat<sup>7</sup>       ɕo:k<sup>8</sup>  
 select day    good morning tomorrow  
 The lucky day comes tomorrow,
- 80) ɲon<sup>2</sup>    ɕo:k<sup>8</sup>       ʔa:n<sup>1</sup>    ki:k<sup>7</sup>    ɣa:n<sup>2</sup>  
 day    tomorrow set up base house  
 Time to lay foundation stones.

This example is extracted from Text 5 when the two singers are preparing for laying the foundation stones for their new house. In turn 19 the male singer states that “all needed things are ready, the lucky day has been chosen” (line 73-74) and decide “to lay foundation stone tomorrow” (line 75-76). The female singer agrees with the statement of the male singer, and just restates all that the male singer told in turn 20. Therefore there is a Restatement relation between the two turns. In this example, the identification of Restatement relation is based on the full repetition at the female turn.

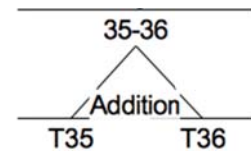
#### 4.2.2.2 Addition

At turn-pair level, An Addition relation connects two immediate turns into an initiating-responding pair, the two connected turns have equal status and a comparable relationship. Example 4-8 provides an illustration of Addition relation at turn-pair level. This example is extracted from Text 1 when the two singers

are discussing the farming work in the busy spring season. In turn 35, the male singer states that because of the lack of ox or buffalo to plough, he has to “sigh and sleep all the day”, and the female singer reply in turn 36 that she has the similar situation that “I have no ox and buffalo, [thus I am] still sleep and get up late”. As the two turns represent the similar or comparable situation of the two singers, an Addition relation thus identified in this turn pair.

example 4-8 [Text 1: turn 35-36: line 137-144]

- Male 35 137) pou<sup>4</sup> mi:<sup>2</sup> mo:<sup>2</sup> mi:<sup>2</sup> va:i<sup>2</sup>  
 CL have ox have buffalo  
 Those have ox and buffalo,  
 138) fun<sup>1</sup> la:i<sup>1</sup> ko:<sup>3</sup> ʔbou<sup>3</sup> dan<sup>4</sup>  
 rain many/much even NEG pause  
 Keep working even in rain.  
 139) lan<sup>1</sup> ho:i<sup>5</sup> ho:<sup>3</sup> mo:<sup>2</sup> va:i<sup>2</sup>  
 house 1SG lack ox buffalo  
 I have no ox or buffalo,  
 140) nin<sup>2</sup> yo:k<sup>8</sup> ka:i<sup>1</sup> ta:u<sup>2</sup> hei<sup>5</sup>  
 sleep outside street sigh  
 Sigh and sleep all the day.
- Female 36 141) ʔou<sup>1</sup> mi:<sup>2</sup> mo:<sup>2</sup> mi:<sup>2</sup> va:i<sup>2</sup>  
 2PL have ox have buffalo  
 You have ox and buffalo,  
 142) fun<sup>1</sup> la:i<sup>1</sup> ko:<sup>3</sup> ʔbou<sup>3</sup> dan<sup>4</sup>  
 rain many/much even NEG pause  
 Keep working even in rain.  
 143) lan<sup>1</sup> tou<sup>1</sup> mo:<sup>4</sup> ʔbou<sup>3</sup> va:i<sup>2</sup>  
 house 1SG ox NEG buffalo  
 I have no ox or buffalo,  
 144) nin<sup>2</sup> tan<sup>2</sup> kva:i<sup>4</sup> ci:<sup>3</sup> hun<sup>5</sup>  
 sleep until late still get up  
 Still sleep and get up late.



## 4.2.2.3 Antithesis

Antithesis is another relation frequently found at turn-pair level. This relation is a nucleus-satellite relation in which the nuclear segment and satellite segment are in contrast, and the effect of this relation is that the reader's or hearer's positive regard for nuclear segment is increased. Example 4-9 contains an Antithesis relation between turn 11 and 12.

example 4-9 [Text 3: turn 11-12: line 41-48]

Male 11 41) luk<sup>8</sup> ʔbuk<sup>7</sup> ʔbou<sup>3</sup> la:n<sup>6</sup> ei:n<sup>6</sup>  
child female NEG excessively worthless

Women are not worthless,

42) ha:<sup>5</sup> ʔdai<sup>3</sup> ŋan<sup>2</sup> ʔdai<sup>3</sup> ei:n<sup>2</sup>  
marry get silver get money

Parents can get money from your marriage.

43) ʔdai<sup>3</sup> ei:n<sup>2</sup> to:<sup>6</sup> ɛou<sup>4</sup> pau<sup>4</sup>  
get money to get daughter-in-law

Your brothers can get money as well,

44) li:<sup>3</sup> ʔdai<sup>3</sup> tau<sup>3</sup> taŋ<sup>3</sup> ɣa:n<sup>2</sup>  
still get to build house

And the rest used to build houses.

Female 12 45) ʔdai<sup>3</sup> ei:n<sup>2</sup> to:<sup>6</sup> ɛou<sup>4</sup> pau<sup>4</sup>  
get money to get daughter-in-law

My brother can get married with the money,

46) li:<sup>3</sup> ʔdai<sup>3</sup> tau<sup>3</sup> taŋ<sup>3</sup> ɣa:n<sup>2</sup>  
still get to build house

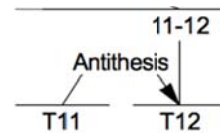
There would be money left for a new house.

47) ɣa:n<sup>2</sup> muŋ<sup>2</sup> mi:<sup>2</sup> luk<sup>8</sup> ʔbuk<sup>7</sup>  
house 2SG have child female

You also have sisters,

48) ti:m<sup>1</sup> tuk<sup>7</sup> ʔbou<sup>3</sup> pai<sup>1</sup> ha:<sup>5</sup>  
hide AUX NEG go marry

Why won't they get married?



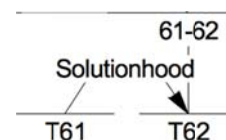
This example is extracted from Text 3 when the male singer is persuading the female singer to go to their own wedding. In turn 11, the male singer states the benefits of getting married for a woman so that “the parents can get money from their daughter’s marriage, the brothers can get married with those money, and the rest of money is still used to build houses”. In turn 12, the female singer gives an antithesis to the male singer with a question: “if there are so many benefits, why won’t your sisters get married?” Based on the logico-semantic meaning of the two turns, we can figure out that turn 12 is an antithesis to turn 11. Therefore an Antithesis relation is identified between turn 11 and 12, whereby turn 11 is the satellite segment presenting the male singer’s thesis (“getting married is good for women”) and turn 12 is the nuclear segment to disprove the male singer’s thesis.

#### 4.2.2.4 Solutionhood

The relation of Solutionhood is also commonly found at turn-pair level. Solutionhood is a nucleus-satellite relation in which the nucleus is a solution to the problem presented in the satellite. In Example 4-10 below turn 62 is a solution to turn 61.

example 4-10 [Text 4: turn 61-62: line 241-248]

- Male 61 241) ɲon<sup>2</sup> tuŋ<sup>4</sup> ʔi:k<sup>7</sup> ho:<sup>2</sup> hau<sup>5</sup>  
 day stomach hungry throat dry  
 When hungry and thirsty,
- 242) hau<sup>3</sup> ɕau<sup>6</sup> lau<sup>2</sup> pai<sup>1</sup> kum<sup>1</sup>  
 enter place WH- go eat  
 Where can I find food and drink?
- 243) ɲoŋ<sup>2</sup> fun<sup>1</sup> to:k<sup>7</sup> ʔda:ŋ<sup>1</sup> tum<sup>2</sup>  
 day rain fall body wet  
 When Getting wet with rains,
- 244) hau<sup>3</sup> kum<sup>2</sup> lau<sup>2</sup> pai<sup>1</sup> yi:k<sup>8</sup>  
 enter hole WH- go change  
 Where can I change the clothes?
- Female 62 245) ɲon<sup>2</sup> tuŋ<sup>4</sup> ʔi:k<sup>7</sup> ho:<sup>2</sup> hau<sup>5</sup>  
 day stomach hungry throat dry



When hungry and thirsty,

246) hau<sup>3</sup> ɛau<sup>6</sup> nei<sup>4</sup> tau<sup>3</sup> kɯn<sup>1</sup>  
 enter place this come to eat

You will get food and drink.

247) ŋoŋ<sup>2</sup> fun<sup>1</sup> to:k<sup>7</sup> ?da:ŋ<sup>1</sup> tum<sup>2</sup>  
 day rain fall body wet

When getting wet with rains,

248) hau<sup>3</sup> kum<sup>2</sup> nei<sup>4</sup> tau<sup>3</sup> yi:k<sup>8</sup>  
 enter hole this come to change

You will find place change the clothes.

This example is extracted from Text 4, it happened when the female singer sent the male singer out for a war. In turn 61, the male singer is anxious about the war and asks questions to the female: “when getting hungry and thirsty where can I find food and drink” (line 241-242), and “when getting wet from rain where can I change clothes” (line 243-244)”. In turn 62, the female singer comforts the male singer and gives solutions to his queries (“When getting hungry and thirsty you will find food and drink (line 245-246), and when getting wet from rain you will find a place to change clothes” (line 247-248). This example is a clear case of question-answer turn-pair, and we can identify a Solutionhood relation between turn 61-62, whereby turn 61 is the satellite presenting the questions and turn 62 is the nucleus providing solutions to the questions.

### 4.2.3 Global relations

Global relations refer to the relations held at the scale of the whole text. Relations of this type connect the larger text spans above turn-pair level into a coherent text. Generally speaking, there are two steps for such of connections: the first is to connect a sequence of turn pairs those are concerned with the same proposition or topic into a turn sequence; the second step is to connect all the turn sequences into a text. Addition and Sequence are the only two types of global relations found in the study (see Table 4.2 above), but the two relations occur in different situations. More specifically, Addition occurs only in the case of connecting turn pairs into turn

sequences, while Sequence occurs in the both cases of connecting turn pairs into turn sequences and connecting turn sequences into a whole text. The examples of Addition and Sequence relations are discussed below.

#### 4.2.3.1 Addition and Sequence at turn-sequence level

In a turn sequence, if the connected spans represent comparable but not sequential information, they are organized in a parallel structure by an Addition relation; if the information represented shows a sequential progression, the connected turn pairs are organized in a linear structure by a Sequence relation. Example 4-11 below presents an Addition relation at turn-sequence level. This example is extracted from Text 1 which consists of 3 turn pairs, 6 turns and 24 lines. The graphic representation of rhetorical structure is presented in Figure 4.2.

example 4-11 [Text 1: turn 23-28: line 89-112]

Turn 23 /Male singer

89) ηei<sup>6</sup> θa:m<sup>1</sup> ni:t<sup>8</sup> pai<sup>1</sup> na:<sup>3</sup>  
second third month go front

From February and March on,

90) kam<sup>1</sup> ɛa:<sup>4</sup> ya:<sup>1</sup> yei<sup>6</sup> fa:i<sup>5</sup>  
hold sickle find field cotton

I get sickle for cotton work.

91) yei<sup>6</sup> fa:i<sup>5</sup> jou<sup>5</sup> ki:<sup>1</sup>lau<sup>2</sup>  
field cotton at WH-

Where is your cotton field?

92) ɛiŋ<sup>3</sup> tou<sup>1</sup> kan<sup>1</sup> pai<sup>1</sup> fu:t<sup>7</sup>  
invite 1SG follow go clear

Let me help you to clear it.

Turn 24/ Female singer

93) ηei<sup>6</sup> θa:m<sup>1</sup> ni:t<sup>8</sup> pai<sup>1</sup> na:<sup>3</sup>  
second third month go front

From February and March on,

94) kam<sup>1</sup> ɛa:<sup>4</sup> ya:<sup>1</sup> yei<sup>6</sup> fa:i<sup>5</sup>  
hold sickle find field cotton

You get sickle for cotton work.

95) yei<sup>6</sup> fa:i<sup>5</sup> jou<sup>5</sup> tin<sup>1</sup> pja:<sup>1</sup>  
field cotton at foot mountain

My field is at the mountain foot,

96) ɛa:<sup>3</sup> jou<sup>4</sup> ya:<sup>2</sup> pai<sup>1</sup> fu:t<sup>7</sup>  
wait lover 1SG go clear

I'm waiting for you to clear it.

Turn 25/ Male singer

97) ηei<sup>6</sup> θa:m<sup>1</sup> ni:t<sup>8</sup> pai<sup>1</sup> na:<sup>3</sup>  
second third month go front

From February and March on,

Turn 26/ Female singer

101) ηei<sup>6</sup> θa:m<sup>1</sup> ni:t<sup>8</sup> pai<sup>1</sup> na:<sup>3</sup>  
second third month go front

From February and March on,

98) kam<sup>1</sup> ɛa:<sup>4</sup> ɣa:<sup>1</sup> ɣei<sup>6</sup> tu:<sup>6</sup>  
 hold sickle find field bean  
 You get sickle for bean work.

99) ɣei<sup>6</sup> tu:<sup>6</sup> jou<sup>5</sup> ki:<sup>2</sup>lau<sup>2</sup>  
 field bean at WH-  
 Where is your bean field?

100) ɛiŋ<sup>3</sup> tou<sup>1</sup> kan<sup>1</sup> pai<sup>1</sup> fu:t<sup>7</sup>  
 invite 1SG follow go clear  
 Let me follow you to clear it.

102) kam<sup>1</sup> ɛa:<sup>4</sup> ɣa:<sup>1</sup> ɣei<sup>6</sup> tu:<sup>6</sup>  
 hold sickle find field bean  
 You get sickle for bean work.

103) ɣei<sup>6</sup> tu:<sup>6</sup> jou<sup>5</sup> tin<sup>1</sup> ʔdoŋ<sup>1</sup>  
 field bean at foot woods  
 My field is nearby the woods,

104) ɛa:<sup>3</sup> jou<sup>4</sup> ɣau<sup>2</sup> pai<sup>1</sup> fu:t<sup>7</sup>  
 wait lover I go clear  
 I'm waiting for you to clear it.

Turn 27/ Male singer

105) ɲei<sup>6</sup> θa:m<sup>1</sup> ɲi:t<sup>8</sup> pai<sup>1</sup> na:<sup>3</sup>  
 second third month go front  
 From February and March on,

106) kam<sup>1</sup> ɛa:<sup>4</sup> ɣa:<sup>1</sup> ɣei<sup>6</sup> hau<sup>4</sup>  
 hold sickle find field corn  
 I get sickle for corn work.

107) ɣei<sup>6</sup> hau<sup>4</sup> jou<sup>5</sup> ki:<sup>2</sup>lau<sup>2</sup>  
 field rice at WH-  
 Where is your corn field?

108) ɛiŋ<sup>3</sup> tou<sup>1</sup> kan<sup>1</sup> pai<sup>1</sup> fu:t<sup>7</sup>  
 invite 1SG follow go clear  
 Let me follow you to clear it.

Turn 28/ Female singer

109) ɲei<sup>6</sup> θa:m<sup>1</sup> ɲi:t<sup>8</sup> pai<sup>1</sup> na:<sup>3</sup>  
 second third month go front  
 From February and March on,

110) kam<sup>1</sup> ɛa:<sup>4</sup> ɣa:<sup>1</sup> ɣei<sup>6</sup> hau<sup>4</sup>  
 hold sickle find field corn  
 You get sickle for corn work.

111) ɣei<sup>6</sup> hau<sup>4</sup> jou<sup>5</sup> tin<sup>1</sup> ke:ŋ<sup>1</sup>  
 field rice at foot hill  
 My field is at the foot of hill,

112) ɛa:<sup>3</sup> jou<sup>4</sup> ɣau<sup>2</sup> pai<sup>1</sup> fu:t<sup>7</sup>  
 wait lover I go clear  
 I'm waiting for you to clear it.

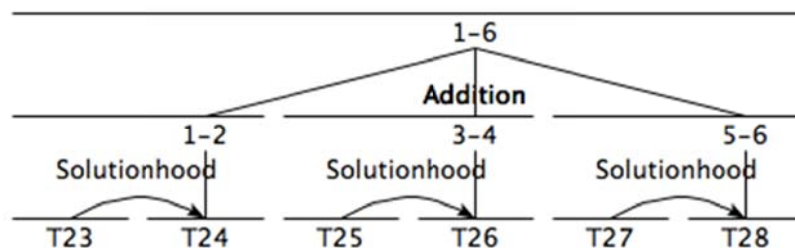


Figure 4.2 Rhetorical structure of Turn 23-28 in Text 1

In this example, the male singer and the female singer are discussing farming work in spring ('From February and March on'), including sowing cotton, beans and corn. The first two turns (i.e. Turn 23-24) are connected as a turn pair, in which Turn 23 is an initiating turn and Turn 24 is a responding turn. In Turn 23, the male singer tells the female singer that "I am getting a sickle to clear cotton field" and ask the female singer "where is your cotton field? I can help you to clear it up". In Turn 24, the female singer responds to the male singer "I see you get a sickle to clear cotton field" and answer the male singer's question as "My field is at the food of the mountain. And I am waiting for you to help me clear it up." So in this turn pair, the male singer takes the initiating turn to ask a question and offer his help to the female singer, and the female singer takes the responding turn to gives a solution to the male singer (i.e. answering his question and accepting his help), therefore a Solutionhood relation is identified between Turn 23-24. In a similar way, another two Solutionhood relations are identified between Turn 25-26 and Turn 27-28. Therefore, this example consists of three turn pairs (i.e. Turn 23-24, Turn 25-26 and Turn 27-28) in which each turn pair is concerned with a farming activity. Specifically, the first turn pair (i.e. Turn 23-24) is concerned with work of sowing cotton, the second turn pair (i.e. Turn 25-26) is concerned with the work of sowing beans, and the third turn pair (i.e. Turn 27-28) is concerned with the work of sowing corns. From the point of view of represented content, the three turn pairs have equal status and comparable relationships. Therefore, an Addition relation is identified in the three turn pairs. In other words, the three turn pairs in this example are connected into a turn sequence by an Addition relation.

Sequence is the other type of relation found at turn-sequence level. It is a multi-nuclear relation in which a succession relationship between the situations is presented in the nuclei. The effect of this relation is that the reader or hearer recognizes the succession relationships among the nuclei. Example 4-12 below represents a case of Sequence relation at turn-sequence level. This example consists of 5 turn pairs, 10 turns and 40 lines. The graphic representation of rhetorical structure of this example is shown in Figure 4.3 on page 67.

example 4-11 [Text 4: turn 27-36: line 105-144]

Turn 27/ Male singer

105) tou<sup>1</sup> ha:i<sup>1</sup> tin<sup>1</sup> ɣoŋ<sup>2</sup> lai<sup>1</sup>  
1SG start foot go down stair

I am walking downstairs,

106) ka:<sup>3</sup> kai<sup>5</sup> kuu<sup>1</sup> lu:t<sup>8</sup> ʔdip<sup>7</sup>  
kill chicken eat blood raw

Drinking the raw chicken blood.

107) kuu<sup>1</sup> lu:t<sup>8</sup> ʔdip<sup>7</sup> to:<sup>4</sup> na:i<sup>1</sup>  
eat blood raw to pray

Please pray for me,

108) k<sup>v</sup>a:i<sup>1</sup> jak<sup>7</sup> ɛa:<sup>3</sup> pei<sup>4</sup> ta:u<sup>5</sup>  
you would wait me back

And wait for me back, my love.

Turn 28/ Female singer

109) sou<sup>1</sup> ha:i<sup>1</sup> tin<sup>1</sup> ɣoŋ<sup>2</sup> lai<sup>1</sup>  
2SG start foot down stair

You are walking downstairs,

110) ka:<sup>3</sup> kai<sup>5</sup> kuu<sup>1</sup> lu:t<sup>8</sup> ʔdip<sup>7</sup>  
kill chicken eat blood raw

Drinking the raw chicken blood.

111) kuu<sup>1</sup> lu:t<sup>8</sup> ʔdip<sup>7</sup> to:<sup>4</sup> na:i<sup>1</sup>  
eat blood raw to pray

I will pray for you,

112) ta:i<sup>1</sup> taŋ<sup>2</sup> ɛa:<sup>3</sup> pei<sup>4</sup> ta:u<sup>5</sup>  
dead to wait you back

And wait for you back, my love.

Turn 29/ Male singer

113) ha:i<sup>1</sup> tin<sup>1</sup> taŋ<sup>2</sup> la:<sup>3</sup> ɛa:n<sup>2</sup>  
start foot to down house

I am getting to the ground,

114) he:u<sup>6</sup> lu:k<sup>8</sup> la:n<sup>1</sup> tau<sup>3</sup> fan<sup>6</sup>  
call children come to instruct

Telling all children,

115) taŋ<sup>2</sup> ŋon<sup>2</sup> ʔdit<sup>7</sup> ŋon<sup>2</sup> fun<sup>1</sup>  
all day sunny day rain

No matter it is sunny or rainy,

116) pai<sup>1</sup> ʔau<sup>1</sup> fun<sup>2</sup> lau<sup>6</sup> me:<sup>6</sup>  
go get firewood for mother

Remember to cut firewood for  
mother.

Turn 30/ Female singer

117) ha:i<sup>1</sup> tin<sup>1</sup> taŋ<sup>2</sup> la:<sup>3</sup> ɛa:n<sup>2</sup>  
start foot to down house

You are getting to the ground,

118) he:u<sup>6</sup> lu:k<sup>8</sup> la:n<sup>1</sup> tau<sup>3</sup> fan<sup>6</sup>  
call children come to instruct

Telling all children,

119) taŋ<sup>2</sup> ŋon<sup>2</sup> ʔdit<sup>7</sup> ŋon<sup>2</sup> ɣa:i<sup>2</sup>  
all day sunny day dew

No matter it is sunny or rainy,

120) pai<sup>1</sup> tau<sup>2</sup> va:i<sup>2</sup> lau<sup>6</sup> po:<sup>6</sup>  
go plow buffalo for father

Remember to plow fields for  
father.

Turn 31/ Male singer

- 121) ɛiŋ<sup>1</sup> ma:<sup>4</sup> taŋ<sup>2</sup> ɛo:m<sup>1</sup> ɣa:n<sup>2</sup>  
 lead horse to corner house  
 I lead the horse to the house corner,
- 122) ma:<sup>4</sup> he:<sup>1</sup> kʰei<sup>3</sup> he:<sup>1</sup> kʰa:i<sup>5</sup>  
 horse neigh ONOM neigh ONOM  
 It's screeching and neighing.
- 123) tou<sup>1</sup> li:<sup>3</sup> ku:n<sup>1</sup> to:n<sup>5</sup> ŋa:i<sup>2</sup>  
 1SG still eat meal dish  
 I still want to have a meal,
- 124) ɛau<sup>3</sup> la:i<sup>1</sup> ɣo:<sup>4</sup> ɛau<sup>3</sup> no:i<sup>4</sup>  
 cook many or cook little  
 Is there enough rice to eat?

Turn 33/ Male singer

- 129) ha:i<sup>1</sup> tin<sup>1</sup> ʔo:k<sup>7</sup> pa:k<sup>7</sup> tou<sup>1</sup>  
 start foot out gate  
 I'm walking out of the gate,
- 130) ma:<sup>4</sup> ɛa:u<sup>4</sup> lu:<sup>6</sup> he:n<sup>2</sup> kʰaŋ<sup>6</sup>  
 horse make roll near area  
 The horse is rolling on the ground.
- 131) ɛa:i<sup>5</sup> taŋ<sup>5</sup> jou<sup>4</sup> ʔo:ŋ<sup>1</sup> ɛon<sup>2</sup>  
 again tell lover two utterance  
 I have many words for you,
- 132) pai<sup>1</sup> koŋ<sup>1</sup> kai<sup>3</sup> lum<sup>2</sup> ho:i<sup>5</sup>  
 go husband don't forget 1SG  
 Don't forget me if you get remarried.

Turn 35/ Male singer

- 137) ja:m<sup>5</sup> tin<sup>1</sup> taŋ<sup>2</sup> ɣo:k<sup>8</sup> ʔba:n<sup>3</sup>  
 step foot arrive outside village  
 Walking out of the village,

Turn 32/ Female singer

- 125) kai<sup>5</sup> he:u<sup>6</sup> ʔim<sup>1</sup> ɛou<sup>6</sup> ɣe:<sup>1</sup>  
 chicken crow heart just scare  
 I'm scared of cock crowing,
- 126) ma:<sup>4</sup> he:<sup>1</sup> ʔim<sup>1</sup> ɛou<sup>6</sup> ti:u<sup>5</sup>  
 horse neigh heart just beat  
 I'm frightened of horse neighing.
- 127) ti:u<sup>5</sup> ɛau<sup>5</sup> pei<sup>4</sup> to:n<sup>5</sup> ŋa:i<sup>2</sup>  
 prepare with you meal dish  
 I will prepare meals for you,
- 128) ɛau<sup>3</sup> ʔbou<sup>3</sup> la:i<sup>1</sup> ʔbou<sup>3</sup> no:i<sup>4</sup>  
 see NEG many NEG little  
 There is enough rice to eat.

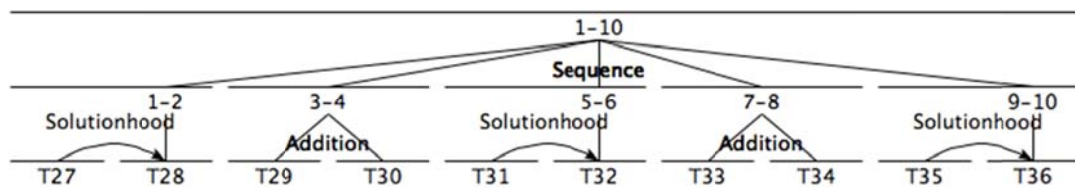
Turn 34/ Female singer

- 133) ha:i<sup>1</sup> tin<sup>1</sup> ʔo:k<sup>7</sup> pa:k<sup>7</sup> tou<sup>1</sup>  
 start foot out gate  
 You are walking out of the gate,
- 134) ma:<sup>4</sup> ɛa:u<sup>4</sup> lu:<sup>6</sup> he:n<sup>2</sup> kʰaŋ<sup>6</sup>  
 horse make roll near area  
 The horse is rolling on the ground.
- 135) ɛa:i<sup>5</sup> taŋ<sup>5</sup> jou<sup>4</sup> ʔo:ŋ<sup>1</sup> ɛan<sup>2</sup>  
 again tell lover two utterance  
 I have many words for you,
- 136) kai<sup>3</sup> ʔau<sup>1</sup> pa:<sup>2</sup> pa:i<sup>6</sup> ɣo:k<sup>8</sup>  
 don't get wife side outside  
 Don't marry others outside.

Turn 36/ Female singer

- 141) ja:m<sup>5</sup> tin<sup>1</sup> taŋ<sup>2</sup> ɣo:k<sup>8</sup> ʔba:n<sup>3</sup>  
 step foot arrive outside village  
 Walking out of the village,

- 138) ɣan<sup>1</sup> ko:<sup>1</sup> ve:ŋ<sup>3</sup>            ha:i<sup>1</sup> va:<sup>1</sup>            142) ɣan<sup>1</sup> ko:<sup>1</sup> ve:ŋ<sup>3</sup>            tit<sup>8</sup> ʔbau<sup>1</sup>  
 see tree cherokee rose bloom            meet tree cherokee rose sprout  
 We find cherokee rose blooming.            We find cherokee rose sprouting.
- 139) ja:m<sup>5</sup> tin<sup>1</sup> taŋ<sup>2</sup>    toŋ<sup>6</sup> na:<sup>2</sup>            143) ʔo:k<sup>7</sup> toŋ<sup>6</sup> na:<sup>2</sup>    nei<sup>4</sup> pai<sup>1</sup>  
 steep foot arrive field paddy            out field paddy this go  
 Stepping into the paddy fields,            Stepping out of the paddy fields,
- 140) ta:<sup>1</sup> va:<sup>1</sup>    pan<sup>2</sup> mo:t<sup>8</sup> ɣa:i<sup>6</sup>            144) ʔbou<sup>3</sup> pan<sup>2</sup> pai<sup>1</sup> ei:<sup>4</sup> ta:u<sup>5</sup>  
 eye blurred like ant crawl            NEG can go just return  
 Our eyes are blurred like ant            Just come back if you are  
 crawling.            unwilling to go.



**Figure 4.3 Rhetorical structure of Turn 27-36 in Text 4**

This example represents a farewell scene – the male singer is leaving home to join the army and prepare for war, his wife (the female singer) is seeing him off. As mentioned earlier, this example consists of 5 initiating-responding turn pairs, 10 turns. Let us first look at the first turn pair (i.e. Turn 27-28). In Turn 27 the male singer starts his journey by walking downstairs from the second floor of their house. While walking downstairs, the male singer drinks raw chicken blood and tells the female singer to pray for him and wait for his return. In Turn 28 the female singer responds to the male singer by promising that “I will pray for you and wait for you to come back”. So in this turn pair, Turn 27 is the initiating turn in which the male singer states his expectation on the female singer, Turn 28 is the responding turn in which the female singer gives a promise as a solution for the male singer’s expectation. In this this point of view, a Solutionhood relation is identified between Turn 27-28.

Now turn to the second turn pair (i.e. Turn 29-30.). In Turn 29 the male singer arrives at the first floor/ the ground, he begins to instruct his children that “no matter it is sunny or rainy, do remember to cut firewood for your mother”.

As a respondent, the female singer adds another instruction to the children that “ no matter it is cloudy or sunny, do remember to plow fields for your father”. So in this turn pair Turn 29 is the initiating turn, Turn 30 is the responding turn which presents additional information to the initiating turn. Therefore an Addition relation is identified in this turn pair.

The third turn pair is Turn 31-32. In turn 31 the male singer leads his horse to the house corner but he is unwilling to leave home immediately, so he tells the female singer that “ I am still want to have another meal, is there enough rice for me to eat?” In Turn 32 the female singer answer the male singer’s question as “ there is enough rice for you to eat, I will prepare the meals for you.” Thus Turn 31 is an initiating turn to state the male singer’s wish and question, and Turn 31 is considered as a responding turn to give a solution to the initiating turn by answering the male singer’s question and fulfilling his wish. In other words, Turn 31 and 32 are connected by a relation of Solutionhood in this turn pair.

The fourth turn pair is Turn 33-34. In Turn 33 the male singer stepping out of the gate, his horse is unwilling to go by rolling on the ground. He has so many words for the female singer but all he can do is tell her “ please don’t forget me if you get remarried”. In Turn 34 the female singer also expresses her hope to the male singer as “ I also have so many words for you, please don’t get married with others outside”. From this point of view, in this turn pair the male singer and the female singer both express hope, the two turns have equal status and hold an Additional relation.

The last turn pair in this example is Turn 35-36. In Turn 35 the male singer has walked out of the village and steps into the paddy field. At this point he has to say a tearful goodbye to the female singer. In Turn 36 the female singer comforts the male singer: “ if you do not want to go, you can just come back”. In this scene the female singer presents another option to the male singer which can be considered as a solution to the male singer’s problem. Therefore a Solutionhood is identified between Turn 35 and 36.

From the discussion above we can see the text is developed is based the route the male singer use to leave home. This route can be summarized as: upstairs of the house → downstairs of the house → the house corner → the gate → out

of the village → the paddy field. In other words, this excerpt is organized based on a spatial sequence – the succession of place change is indicated by the first line of each male turn (e.g. *tou<sup>1</sup> ha:i<sup>1</sup> tin<sup>1</sup> ɣoŋ<sup>2</sup> lai<sup>1</sup>* ‘I am walking downstairs’, *ha:i<sup>1</sup> tin<sup>1</sup> taŋ<sup>2</sup> la:<sup>3</sup> ɛa:n<sup>2</sup>* ‘I am arrive at the ground’). Therefore, a Sequence relation is identified among the five turn pairs in this example. In addition, besides spatial sequence there are also other types of sequence, such as temporal sequence and procedural sequence. We will discuss the subtypes of Sequence relation in more detail in the next section.

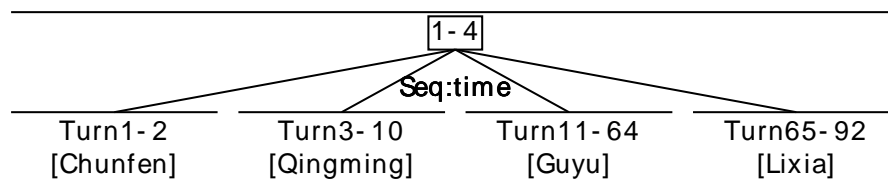
#### 4.2.3.2 Sequence at the whole-text level

The whole-text level is the most global level of rhetorical structural analysis, relations at this level connect all the turn sequences into a coherent text. Therefore, the analysis of rhetorical relations at this level will reveal the global organization of the text. As mentioned above, Sequence is the only relation type found in the connection of turn sequences into a whole text. In order to capture more detail on global organization of the texts in different situational context (see Section 4.3.3), this study distinguishes three subtypes of Sequence: temporal Sequence (Sequence: time), spatial Sequence (Sequence: place) and procedural Sequence (Sequence: step). The three subtypes of sequential relations will be discussed respectively based on the exemplification of all the five selected texts in this study.

Figure 4.4 shows an example of temporal Sequence at the whole-text level. This example is derived from the whole-text analysis of Text 1. As can be seen from the figure, the top-most relation in Text is a relation of Sequence: time, indicating that Text 1 is globally organized by a temporal Sequence. The temporal sequence underlined in this example is the order of four solar terms in China<sup>5</sup>: Chunfen (the day of Spring Equinox), Qingming (the day of Clear and Bright), Guyu (the day of Grain Rain), and Lixia (the day of Start of Summer). The four solar terms are represented in four turn sequences (Turn 1-2, Turn 3-10, Turn 11-64 and Turn 65-

<sup>5</sup> There are 24 solar terms in China, which were created by farmers in ancient China based on the sun's position in the zodiac, in order to guide the agricultural affairs and farming activities. The 24 solar terms reflect the changes in climate, natural phenomena, agricultural production, and other aspects of human life, including clothing, food, housing, and transportation. The 24 solar terms are ordered as: *Lichun*, *Yushui*, *Jingzhe*, *Chunfen*, *Qingming*, *Guyu*, *Lixia*, *Xiaoman*, *Mangzhong*, *Xiazhi*, *Xiaoshu*, *Dashu*, *Liqiu*, *Chushu*, *Bailu*, *Qiufen*, *Hanlu*, *Shuangjiang*, *Lidong*, *Xiaoxue*, *Daxue*, *Dongzhi*, *Xiaohan*, *Dahan*. See <http://www.chinahighlights.com/festivals/the-24-solar-terms.htm> .

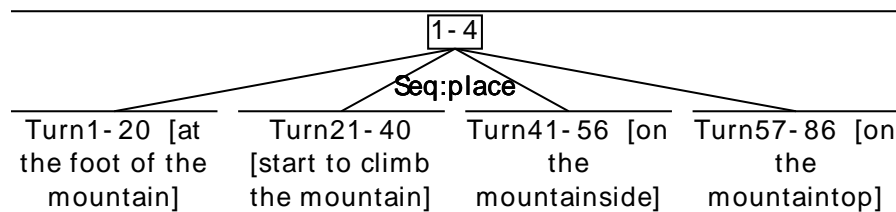
92) respectively (see Figure 4.4). The order of solar terms is closely related to the farming work arrangement of Zhuang people. In Text 1 the two singers discuss different farming work according to the change of solar terms. For instance, they discuss planting (cotton, beans, corns, etc.), plowing and building paddy ridges before and after the day of Guyu (Turn 11-64), and talk about soaking and sowing rice seeds, transplanting rice seedlings before and after the day of Lixia (Turn 65-92). The temporal sequence of solar terms in Text 1 is indicated by the change of temporal circumstances often provided in the first line of most of turns. For instance, the solar term of "cin<sup>1</sup>fan<sup>1</sup>" (Chunfen) is mentioned in the first line of Turn 1 and Turn 2, from Turn 3 to 10 the term has changed to be "ciŋ<sup>1</sup>miŋ<sup>2</sup>" (Qingming), and from Turn 11 to 64 the term of "kok<sup>8</sup> hau<sup>4</sup>" (Guyu) and the phrase "ŋei<sup>6</sup> θa:m<sup>1</sup> ni:t<sup>8</sup> pai<sup>1</sup> na:<sup>3</sup>" (from February and March on) are often repeated, and the terms of "lap<sup>8</sup> ha:<sup>6</sup>" (Lixia) and "θei<sup>5</sup> ni:t<sup>8</sup>" (April) occur quite frequently from Turn 65 to 92.



**Figure 4.4 Temporal Sequence at whole-text level in Text 1**

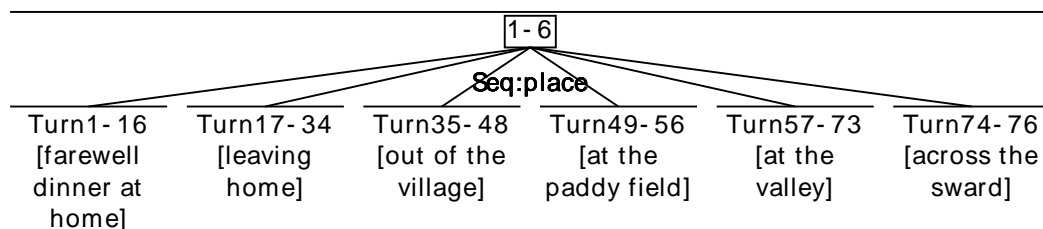
Spatial Sequence at whole-text level is found in both Text 2 and Text 4 (see Figure 4.5 and Figure 4.6), indicating that the two texts both are globally organized by spatial sequence. The spatial sequence underlined in Text 2 is the hiking route of the two singers while they are travelling together. The pathway is represented as: the foot of the mountain (Turn 1-20) → starting to climbing the mountain (Turn 21-40) → on the mountainside (Turn 41-56) → the top of the mountain (Turn 57-86). Each site of this route is indicated by various spatial expressions in the texts. For instance, the spatial phrases of "han<sup>2</sup> yei<sup>6</sup>" (the ridge of the field), "tin<sup>1</sup> ?doŋ<sup>1</sup>" (the foot of the woods) and "tin<sup>1</sup> pja:<sup>1</sup>" (the foot of the hill) in Turn 1-20 indicate they are at the place of the mountain foot. The expressions of "hun<sup>3</sup> liŋ<sup>5</sup>" (go up the slope), "hun<sup>3</sup> ɛak<sup>7</sup>" (go up the terrace), "hun<sup>3</sup> ke:ŋ<sup>1</sup>" (go up the mountain) in Turn 21-40 signal that they are climbing the hill. The repetition of "ke:ŋ<sup>1</sup>

nei<sup>4</sup> lak<sup>8</sup> jou<sup>6</sup> k'ai<sup>1</sup>, pai<sup>1</sup> ji:ŋ<sup>6</sup> lau<sup>2</sup> ʔbou<sup>3</sup> ɛo:t<sup>8</sup>" (this mountain is too remote and far, it is not possible to reach the top) in Turn 41-56 indicates that they are on the half way to the mountaintop. And at last the expressions of "naŋ<sup>6</sup> k'un<sup>2</sup> ke:ŋ<sup>1</sup> ji:t<sup>7</sup> k'ia:i<sup>6</sup>" (have a rest on the mountaintop), "ji:t<sup>7</sup> na:i<sup>5</sup> la:3 ko:1 yau<sup>1</sup>" (have a rest under the maple tree), "ji:t<sup>7</sup> na:i<sup>5</sup> la:3 ko:1 ke:1" (have a rest under the pine tree) in Turn 57-86 indicate that they have arrived at the top of the mountain and have a res there.



**Figure 4.5 Spatial Sequence at whole-text level in Text 2**

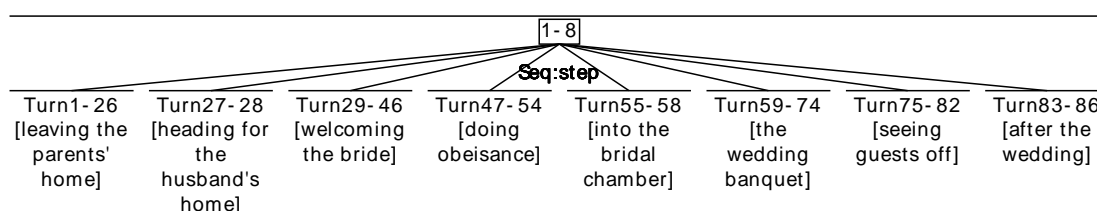
Text 4 represents another spatial sequence of walking path when the female singer sees her husband (i.e. the male singer) off to serve the army. The path starts from their house into the open wild represented as: at home (Turn 1-16) → leaving home (Turn 17-34) → out of the village (Turn 35-48) → at the paddy field (Turn 49-56) → at the valley (Turn 57-73) → across the sward (Turn 74-76). The spatial sequence in Text 4 is signaled by a series of spatial phrases expressed in the text, such as "ʔo:k<sup>7</sup> pa:k<sup>7</sup> tou<sup>1</sup>" (out of the gate), "k'va:<sup>5</sup> han<sup>2</sup> na:<sup>2</sup>" (across the paddy), "k'va:<sup>5</sup> ti:k<sup>8</sup> ku:m<sup>2</sup>" (across the valley), "k'va:<sup>5</sup> ti:k<sup>8</sup> nai<sup>2</sup>" (across the sward) and so on.



**Figure 4.6 Spatial Sequence at whole-text level in Text 4**

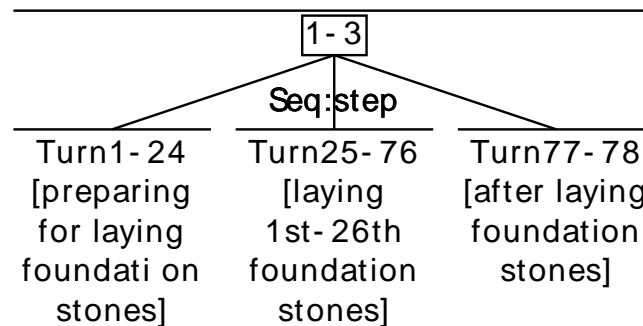
The third subtype of Sequence relation is the procedural Sequence. This relation is found at the whole-text level of analysis of Text 3 and Text 5 (see Figure 4.7 and Figure 4.8). Text 3 represents the wedding procedure of the

singers as: the bride leaving the parent' home (Turn 1-26) → heading for the groom's home (Turn 27-28) → the relatives welcoming the bride (Turn 29-46)→ the new couple doing obeisance (Turn 47-54)→ going to the bridal chamber (Turn 55-58) → the wedding banquet (Turn 59-74)→ seeing guests off (Turn 75-82) → after the wedding (Turn 83-86). This procedure Sequence is indicated by series of action verbs, such as "taŋ<sup>2</sup> pu:<sup>6</sup> taŋ<sup>2</sup> va:<sup>5</sup>" (dress up), "ɣoŋ<sup>2</sup> lai<sup>1</sup>" (go downstairs), "taŋ<sup>2</sup> la:<sup>3</sup> ɛa:n<sup>2</sup>" (arrive home), "to:n<sup>3</sup> ɣa:p<sup>7</sup>" (receive the dowry), "hu:n<sup>3</sup> ʔbak<sup>7</sup> lai<sup>1</sup>" (go upstairs), "pa:i<sup>5</sup> ʔbu:n<sup>1</sup> pa:i<sup>6</sup> na:m<sup>6</sup>" (worship to the heaven and the earth), "pa:i<sup>5</sup> ɛo:ŋ<sup>2</sup> naŋ<sup>6</sup>" (worship to the altar), "hau<sup>3</sup> ʔdau<sup>1</sup> ɣu:k<sup>8</sup>" (enter the bridal chamber) and so on.



**Figure 4.7 Procedural Sequence at whole-text level in Text 3**

Text 5 represents the procedure of laying foundation stones in the context of building house. The procedure consists of three major phases. Turn 1-24 is the pre-work phase in which the two singers are doing the preparing work (e.g. seeking stones, hiring builders, choosing the auspicious day, Turn 25-76 is the working phase in which the two singers are discussing the details on laying the 26 foundation stones, and Turn 77-78 is the pose-work phase in which the two singers are planning for the next step of work. The division of the three phases is quite clear signaled by the expression of "ʔa:n<sup>1</sup> ɣin<sup>1</sup> ʔa:ŋ<sup>3</sup> hat<sup>7</sup> ɛo:k<sup>8</sup>" (we will lay the foundation stones tomorrow morning) and the expression of "to:<sup>5</sup> ʔa:n<sup>1</sup> pan<sup>2</sup> li:u<sup>4</sup> ŋan<sup>2</sup>, ŋan<sup>2</sup> ŋon<sup>2</sup> ɛo:k<sup>8</sup> ha:p<sup>8</sup>" (now all the foundation stones have been laid, let us make frames tomorrow). The more detailed procedure for laying each foundation stones in Turn 25-76 is signaled by ordinal numerals. Such as "ʔa:n<sup>1</sup> ko:n<sup>3</sup> ʔa:ŋ<sup>3</sup> ta:i<sup>6</sup> ʔit<sup>7</sup>" (laying the first foundation stone), "ʔa:n<sup>1</sup> ko:n<sup>3</sup> ʔa:ŋ<sup>3</sup> ta:i<sup>6</sup> ŋei<sup>6</sup>" (laying the second foundation stone), "ʔa:n<sup>1</sup> ko:n<sup>3</sup> ʔa:ŋ<sup>3</sup> ta:i<sup>6</sup> ʔa:m<sup>1</sup>" (laying the third foundation stone) and so on.



**Figure 4.8 Procedural Sequence at whole-text level in Text 5**

This section has provided an account of all types of relations found in the study, and explained how these relations are applied at different structural levels in Zhuang dialogue folk songs together with the illustration of frequent relations. A full text analysis covering all the levels of analysis is provided in Appendix B. The next section will take a further step to discuss the correlation of context of situation and rhetorical relation choices of the singers.

### 4.3 Contextual consideration of rhetorical organization

A text is always described and analyzed within an environment of meanings (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2014, p.32). Context of situation, which is the immediate semiotic environment of the text, can be described through three dimensions: field (the ongoing activity), tenor (the role relationships involved), and mode (the symbolic or rhetoric channel) (Halliday, 1978, p.110). Zhuang dialogue folk songs, as a significant text type operating in the context of the Zhuang society, can be characterized in the following manner by reference to the three contextual variables:

- i.) *Field*: various social and semiotic activities represented;
- ii.) *Tenor*: a male singer and a female singer interaction; role relationships enacted during the interaction;
- iii.) *Mode*: spoken (singing) dialogue; face-to-face channel; pre-allocated turn-taking; poetic stylistics of the lyrics.

The focus here will be on the contextual factors that affect the rhetorical organization of the songs, including poetic stylistics of the lyrics, interaction manner of the singers, and social activities involved in the songs. The three factors affect respectively the rhetorical relation choices at three different structural levels, as indicated in Table 4.4. The following three sections (4.3.1-4.3.3) will explain how the three contextual factors affect the rhetorical organization of the songs in more details.

**Table 4.4 Contextual factors affecting rhetorical organization of the songs**

Analysis levels	Frequent relations	Contextual factors
Intra-turn level	Circumstance, Addition, Elaboration, Cause, Background	Mode: poetic stylistics
Turn-pair level	Restatement, Addition, Antithesis, Solutionhood	Tenor: interaction manner
Whole-text level	Sequence	Field: social activities involved

### 4.3.1 Poetic stylistics

Zhuang dialogue folk songs are a kind of “poetic language” used by the Zhuang (Liang Tingwang, 2007, p.201; Pan Qixu, 2005, p.97; Qin Naichang, 2005, p.89). The poetic stylistics of the songs is strongly reflected at the intra-turn level. The reflections are not only in the form of language (e.g. restriction on the number of words/syllables and rhyming rules in lines, as discussed in Section 2.3.3), but also in the style of language organization. Technically speaking, each singing turn in the songs represents a mini piece of poem, its internal organization are based on some poetic conventions, such as the methods of *Qixing*, parallelism as well as the topic presentation and expansion. These structural conventions are reflected in the frequent relations (e.g. Circumstance, Addition, Elaboration, Cause, Background, etc.) used at the intra-turn level.

First, the songs are remarkable for using *Qi Xing* method at the beginning of a turn. *Qi Xing* (also called associational development) refers to the method of making associations with some things in order to develop a poem, so that what is to be actually communicated can be brought about. This “describing other things before expressing emotions” method is often used in the songs. For example, the singers tend

to introduce environment before bringing up the main content in most of turns. This is the main reason for the frequent uses of Circumstance and Background relations to introduce time, place and natural phenomena at the intra-turn level.

Second, the poetic structure of the turn is also reflected in the frequent uses of the three rhetoric devices: *Paibi* (parallelism), *Duizhang* (symmetry), and *Chongdie* (overlapping) (Qin Cailuan, 2005, p.112). *Paibi* refers to the parallel structure of three or more lines inside the turn, *Duizhang* refers to the symmetry structure of two lines inside the turn, *Chongdie* refers to the overlapping or repetition of two or more lines with minor differences in individual words. Despite the distinctions in the number of lines involved, the three rhetoric devices share a common characteristic in organizing lines inside the turn into a parallel structure. The parallel structure is realized in the multi-nuclear relations used at the intra-turn level, such as Addition, Restatement, Contrast and Sequence.

Third, it is about the way of topic representation and expansion in poetry. Generally speaking, only one major proposition or topic represented in a single turn. However, due to poetic structural conventions, a turn must consist of a certain number of lines. For example, a turn in *Liao Songs* must consist of four lines. The solution is to present the main proposition in one line, and elaborating it by using Elaboration relation or providing other related information such as Cause in other lines.

#### 4.3.2 Interaction manner

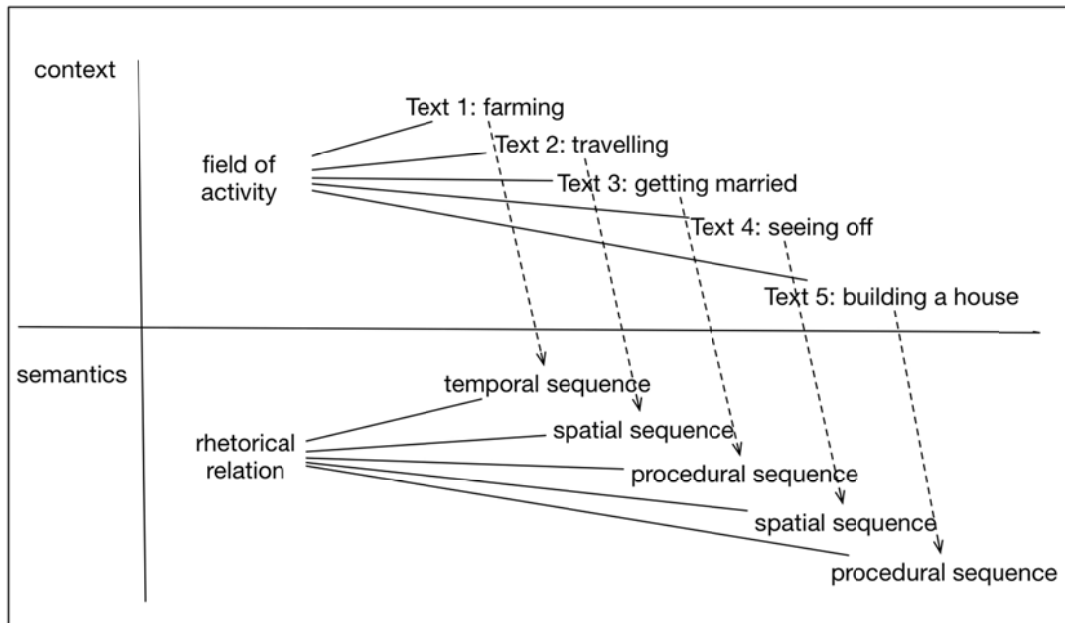
Zhuang dialogue folk songs are used as mode of interaction and expression in Zhuang traditional communities (Huang Ge, 1989, p.66). The interaction orientation of the songs is reflected in the rhetorical organization at turn-pair level. The rhetorical structural analysis has revealed that the frequent relations at the turn-pair level are Restatement, Addition, Antithesis, and Solutionhood. We can see that all these relations are determined by the interaction manner of the singers. For example, in the singing process, if a singer agrees with the proposition stated by the prior singer, he/she can restate or provide additional information to the proposition by using Restatement and Addition relations; but if a singer wants to contradict the proposition stated by the prior singer, he/she can make an antithesis by using Antithesis relation. Solutionhood occurs when a singer provides a solution to the problem or question

raised by the prior singer. More details on the interpersonal interactivity of the songs will be discussed in Chapter V.

### 4.3.3 Field of activity

SFL recognizes eight primary registers based on the fields of social or semiotic activity involved in the situational context: expounding, reporting, recreating, sharing, doing, recommending, enabling and exploring (see Halliday & Matthiessen, 2014, p.35-36; Matthiessen, 2015a, 2015b). Based on this typology, *Liao Songs of Pingguo Zhuang* belongs to the register of recreating, more specifically, narrating a love story of the two singers, as mentioned in Section 3.1. This story unfolds in five different situations in the five selected texts. In Text 1, the two singers are doing farming work in the season of spring; in Text 2 the two singers are exploring a mountain while they travel together; in Text 3, the two singers are organizing their wedding ceremonies, in Text 4, the female singer sees the male singer off to join the army; and in Text 5 the two singers are collaborating to build their new house. The different fields of activity in the situational context are reflected in the global organization of the five selected texts, as indicated in Figure 4.9.

The rhetorical structural analysis of songs has revealed that Sequence is the only relation type found at most global level of five selected texts, indicating that all the five texts are globally organized according to sequential relations. However, if we take a further step to subclassify the sequential relation into temporal, spatial and procedural ones, we can see that different texts favor different subtypes of sequential relations. This difference is due to the nature of social activities involved in the texts.



**Figure 4.9** Fields of activity and global relations in the five selected texts

As indicated in Figure 4.9, the farming arrangement in Text 1 is realized by a temporal sequence – the order of solar terms in spring; the travelling experience in Text 2 is released by a spatial sequence – the hiking route of the singers; the wedding procession in Text 3 is realized by a procedural sequence – the procedure of the traditional wedding of the Zhuang; the seeing off activity in Text 4 is realized by a spatial sequence – the walking path of the two singers; and the house-building procession in Text 5 is realized by a procedural sequence – the steps of laying foundation stones. In conclusion, the five selected texts represent different fields of activity, the semantic strategies for global organization of the texts vary due to the differences of fields of activity embedded in the texts.

This chapter has discussed text structure of Zhuang dialogue folk songs in terms of rhetorical relations. Generally speaking, the rhetorical relation choices in the songs are determined by the poetic stylistics of the songs, interaction manner of the singers, and the fields of activities involved in the songs. The next chapter will further the study to investigate the interpersonal interactivity of the songs.

## **CHAPTER V**

### **SPEECH FUNCTIONS AND INTERPERSONAL INTERACTION**

In the previous chapter, I explored the text structure of Zhuang dialogue folk songs in terms of rhetorical relations. In this chapter, I will focus on another discourse feature of Zhuang dialogue folk songs as interaction. Drawing upon the SPEECH FUNCTION system (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2014), the chapter discusses two interactional features in Zhuang dialogue folk songs: interactive structure and role relationships. This chapter is organized into three main sections: Section 5.1 explains how speech function analysis is carried out on the songs; Section 5.2 presents an interactive model of the songs which is described in terms of speech functions; Section 5.3 focuses on correlation of context of situation and speech function choices.

#### **5.1 Speech function and move identification**

In a speech function analysis, the first thing is identifying the unit of analysis. Halliday (1984) identifies move as the discourse unit which expresses speech functions, and suggests that a move is congruently realized as a clause in grammatical level. However he did not discuss the identification of moves in any detail. Eggins and Slade (1997) provide more explicit criteria for identifying moves in casual conversation including: i) the grammatical dependence or independence of the clause (whether the clause has made independent mood selection); and ii) prosodic factors (whether the end of a clause corresponds to the end of a rhythmic/ intonational unit) Eggins and Slade (1997, p. 186).

Eggins and Slade's criteria for move identification, unfortunately, cannot apply to speech function analysis of Zhuang dialogue folk songs. As mentioned previously, Zhuang dialogue folk songs are created in poetic style, thus it is restricted to the poetic structure and rhyming rules. For example, a line in the songs may not represent a full clause due to word number limitation within a line. Moreover, the data

for this study are written lyrics rather audio sounds; it is not possible to track the intonations. Therefore, clauses are not appropriate units for speech function analysis of the songs.

This study has tried to employ line as the unit of analysis. It turns out that line is neither an appropriate unit, because most of the time a line cannot cover a complete proposition or proposal. Turn, as another key unit of songs, turns out to be more applicable in the analysis. Because after the intra-turn structural analysis (see the previous chapter), this study found that each singing turn in the songs usually presents only one major proposition (either a statement or a question) or proposal (either an offer or a command). For example 5-1 below, the male singer presents a major proposition of statement in this turn: he is not yet ready for plowing the field at that time.

example 5-1 [Text 1: turn 39: line 153-156]

- Male 39 153) fun<sup>1</sup> tok<sup>7</sup> mon<sup>5</sup> θi:<sup>1</sup> θat<sup>8</sup>  
rain fall slightly ONOM  
Spring rain is falling down,
- 154) naŋ<sup>1</sup> tap<sup>7</sup> ʔbou<sup>3</sup> ɛaŋ<sup>2</sup> ɛau<sup>5</sup>  
skin yoke NEG yet see  
The yoke-set is not ready.
- 155) ʔbou<sup>3</sup> ɛaŋ<sup>2</sup> ɛau<sup>5</sup> naŋ<sup>1</sup> tap<sup>7</sup>  
NEG yet see skin yoke  
I've not made the yoke-set yet,
- 156) ʔbou<sup>3</sup> ɛaŋ<sup>2</sup> ɛau<sup>5</sup> ʔe:k<sup>7</sup> ku:ŋ<sup>5</sup>  
NEG yet see yoke bow  
Neither the yoke-bow is ready.

Here is another example in which the male singer presents a proposal of command to other people: please help us to seek foundation stones for the new house.

example 5-2 [Text 5: turn 9: line 33-36]

- Male 9 33) ɛau<sup>5</sup> tou<sup>1</sup> ke:u<sup>4</sup> yin<sup>1</sup> pja:<sup>1</sup>  
 help 1SG pry stone mountain  
 Help us to pry up the rocks,
- 34) ɛau<sup>5</sup> tou<sup>1</sup> ya:<sup>1</sup> yin<sup>1</sup> yei<sup>3</sup>  
 help 1SG find stone land  
 Help us to pick the stones.
- 35) ɛau<sup>5</sup> tou<sup>1</sup> tau<sup>2</sup> yin<sup>1</sup> ta:<sup>6</sup>  
 help 1SG take stone river  
 Help us to collect cobbles,
- 36) ya:<sup>1</sup> yin<sup>1</sup> θa:ŋ<sup>3</sup> ya:n<sup>2</sup> mo:<sup>5</sup>  
 find stone foundation house new  
 To seek the foundation stones for new house.

Once turn has been identified as the analysis unit, it implies that a turn is coincident with a move in the process of singing interaction. This coincidence is acceptable from the point of view of move definition. Eggins and Slade (1997) give a definition of move as follows.

A move is a unit after which speaker change could occur without turn transfer being seen as an interruption...The end of a move indicates a point of possible turn-transfer, and therefore carries with it the idea that the speaker “could stop here”. (p.186)

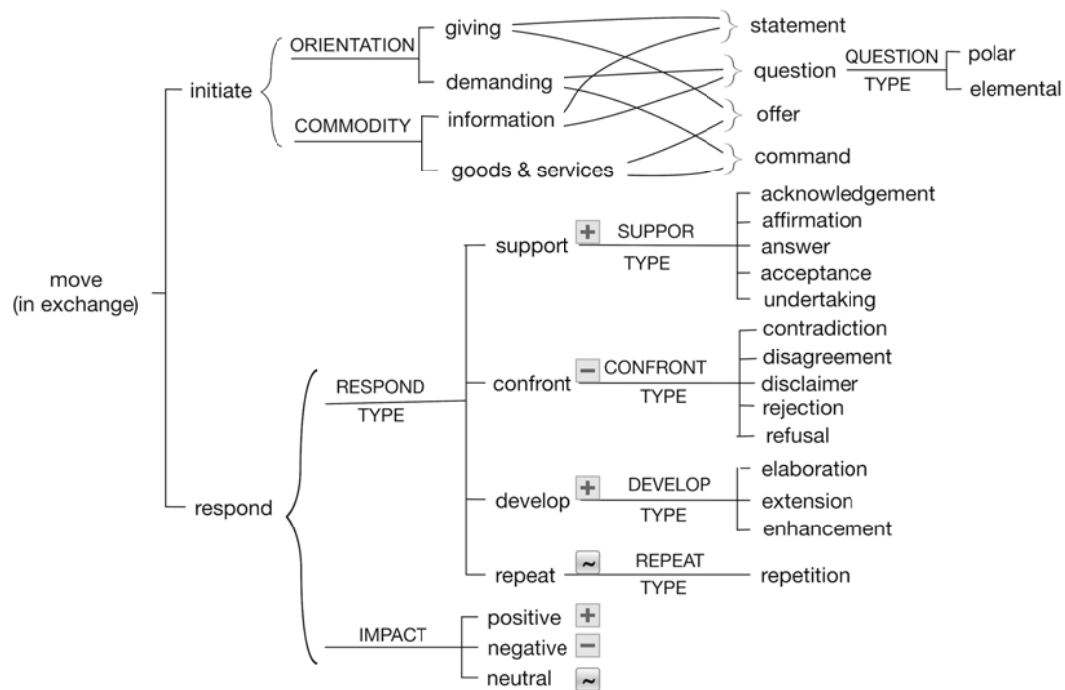
In the process of singing Zhuang dialogue folk songs, a turn transfer only occurs after a singer completes her singing turn composed by a particular number of lines. In the case of *Liao Songs of Pingguo Zhuang*, only when a singer finishes four lines (i.e. a singing turn), the other singer can take a turn transfer to singing. In other words, a singer cannot stop singing when he/she has not finished four lines, and the other cannot interrupt while the prior singer is singing. From this point of view, a turn in Zhuang dialogue folk songs is congruent with the definition of move.

In summary, the notions of move, turn, and speech function are in relation to each other in the way that: move is the basic discourse unit in dialogue; speech

function is the semantic value of the move; in the case of Zhuang dialogue folk songs, a move is equivalent to a singing turn. In the next section, I will discuss the interactive (or move) structure of Zhuang dialogue folk songs in details.

### 5.2 Interactive structure of Zhuang dialogue folk songs

Drawing upon the interpersonal semantic system of SPEECH FUNCTION (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2014), this study models the interactive (or move) structure of Zhuang dialogue folk songs as a system network (see Figure 5.1), where categories at the left-hand side are most inclusive. Movement towards the right can be read as subclassification, indicating increasing delicacy<sup>6</sup> in the description. This network is data driven, having been based on the analysis of the five selected texts. It captures the main resources available to the two singers to initiate or respond a singing interaction. This initiating-responding structure will be discussed in detail in the next two sections (5.2.1-5.2.2).



**Figure 5.1 SPEECH FUNCTION system in Zhuang dialogue folk songs**

<sup>6</sup> Delicacy refers to a cline from general to specific. The higher the delicacy is, the more detailed the specification is.

### 5.2.1 Initiating speech functions

As indicated in Figure 5.1, moves in singing interaction are primarily distinct from initiating and responding ones. Initiating moves, as the name indicates, involve a singer in “proposing terms for the interaction, they are generally assertive moves to make, indicating a claim to a degree of control over the interaction” (Egins & Slade, 1997, p.194). Four primary initiation types of initiating speech functions, namely statement, question, offer and command, are derived from the cross-classification of the ORIENTATION and COMMODITY of the dialogic exchange. This is already familiar from the work of Halliday and Matthiessen (2014). An extension is that question is further divided into two types: polar question and elemental question. These initiation types are illustrated with examples as follows.

#### 5.2.1.1 Statement

Statement, defined as giving information, is the most common type of initiating speech functions in the songs. A singer uses a statement to declare his/her status, or give related information to the other singer. The typical grammatical realization of a statement is declarative mood. In example 5-3 below, the male singer states that he is busy with farming work in April so that has no time to take care of the female singer.

example 5-3 [Text 1: turn 51: line 201-204]

Initiating: statement	Turn/move 51	Male	201)	θei <sup>5</sup> ɲi:t <sup>8</sup> tau <sup>2</sup> va:i <sup>2</sup> ɛai <sup>1</sup> fourth month plow buffalo plow I'm busy plowing in April,
			202)	tau <sup>2</sup> ɣo:ŋ <sup>6</sup> pai <sup>1</sup> ɣo:ŋ <sup>6</sup> ta:u <sup>5</sup> plow line go line back Plowing one line after another.
			203)	taŋ <sup>2</sup> kiau <sup>3</sup> ta:u <sup>5</sup> ha:t <sup>7</sup> va:i <sup>2</sup> until head back turn buffalo Going and coming on and on,
			204)	ʔbou <sup>3</sup> ʔdai <sup>3</sup> na:i <sup>1</sup> jou <sup>4</sup> no:i <sup>6</sup> NEG can console lover I Have no time to care for you.

## 5.2.1.2 Question

Question, defined as demanding information, has two subtypes: polar question (or called yes/no question) and elemental question (or called content question). Polar questions present a complete proposition to the addressee, and elemental questions seek to elicit completion of a proposition from the addressee. Polar questions are grammatically realized by polar interrogatives, and elemental questions are realized by wh-interrogative. Example 5-4 and 5-5 below illustrate respectively a polar question and an elemental question. In example 5-4, the male singer makes a polar question move by a polar interrogative “do you still have energy to sing?”, and in example 5-5, the male singer tries to elicit information about the time for making house frames by using an elemental question which is realized by a wh-interrogative “When will you make frames?”.

example 5-4 [Text 2: turn 1: line 1-4]

- |                                   |                     |  |
|-----------------------------------|---------------------|--|
| Initiating:<br>question:<br>polar | Turn/move 1<br>Male | 1) na:i <sup>5</sup> ʔbou <sup>3</sup> ʔdai <sup>3</sup> yu: <sup>1</sup> yak <sup>7</sup><br>tired NEG can PRT dear<br>I feel exceedingly exhausted, my dear, |
|                                   |                     | 2) hau <sup>4</sup> ɛit <sup>8</sup> tak <sup>7</sup> θo:ŋ <sup>1</sup> ha:p <sup>8</sup><br>sticky rice dish out two box of<br>Take two boxes of sticky rice, |
|                                   |                     | 3) lau <sup>3</sup> ʔda:t <sup>7</sup> tuk <sup>7</sup> θo:ŋ <sup>1</sup> pe:ŋ <sup>2</sup><br>wine hot fill two jug<br>Take two jugs of hot wine,             |
|                                   |                     | 4) mi: <sup>2</sup> ye:ŋ <sup>2</sup> fu:n <sup>1</sup> yo: <sup>4</sup> ʔbou <sup>3</sup><br>have energy song or NEG<br>Do you still have energy to sing?     |

example 5-5 [Text 5: turn 77: line 305-308]

- |                                       |                      |   |
|---------------------------------------|----------------------|---|
| Initiating:<br>question:<br>elemental | Turn/move 77<br>Male | 305) ŋei <sup>6</sup> ɛip <sup>8</sup> yok <sup>7</sup> ko:n <sup>3</sup> θa:ŋ <sup>3</sup><br>twenty-six CL foundation<br>Twenty-six foundation stones in all, |
|---------------------------------------|----------------------|---|

- 306) to:<sup>5</sup> ka:ŋ<sup>3</sup> to:<sup>5</sup> ʔa:n<sup>1</sup> pan<sup>2</sup>  
 as say as set up success  
 Are laid firm as we wish.
- 307) to:<sup>5</sup> ʔa:n<sup>1</sup> pan<sup>2</sup> li:u<sup>4</sup> ŋan<sup>2</sup>  
 and set up success already dear  
 Now the work has been done,
- 308) ŋan<sup>2</sup> ŋon<sup>2</sup> lau<sup>2</sup> ha:p<sup>8</sup> fa:<sup>1</sup>  
 silver day WH- fix roof  
 When will you make frames?

### 5.2.1.3 Offer

The *offer* speech function is defined as giving goods-and services. An offer in Zhuang language can be realized by various mood types, such as declarative, interrogative and imperative. The example 5-4 below illustrates a typical offer speech function in Zhuang dialogue folk songs realized by an imperative mood. In this example the male singer sees that the female singer is going to plant cotton, he offers himself to help her work as indicated in line 92.

example 5-6 [Text 1: turn 23: line 89-92]

- Initiating: Turn/move 23 Male offer
- 89) ŋei<sup>6</sup> θa:m<sup>1</sup> ni:t<sup>8</sup> pai<sup>1</sup> na:<sup>3</sup>  
 second third month go front  
 From February and March on,
- 90) kam<sup>1</sup> ea:<sup>4</sup> ya:<sup>1</sup> yei<sup>6</sup> fa:i<sup>5</sup>  
 hold sickle find field cotton  
 You get sickle for cotton work.
- 91) yei<sup>6</sup> fa:i<sup>5</sup> jou<sup>5</sup> ki:<sup>1</sup> lau<sup>2</sup>  
 field cotton at WH-  
 Where is your cotton field?
- 92) eiŋ<sup>3</sup> tou<sup>1</sup> kan<sup>1</sup> pai<sup>1</sup> fu:t<sup>7</sup>  
 invite 1SG follow go clear  
 Let me follow you to work.

### 5.2.1.4 Command

The *command* speech function is defined as demanding goods-and-services. The typical grammatical realization of command is the imperative mood. Example 5-5 is a clear case of command in which the male singer uses constant imperative moods to urge the female singer to dress up and go downstairs for their weddings.

example 5-7 [Text 3: turn 13: line 49-52]

Initiating: command	Turn/move 13	Male	49) kai <sup>3</sup> ka:ŋ <sup>3</sup> no:i <sup>4</sup> ka:ŋ <sup>3</sup> la:i <sup>1</sup> don't say little say many/much Don't talk too much,
			50) tau <sup>2</sup> ku: <sup>6</sup> ha:i <sup>2</sup> tau <sup>3</sup> tan <sup>3</sup> take CL shone come to put on Please take out the shoes.
			51) tau <sup>2</sup> tau <sup>3</sup> tan <sup>3</sup> hau <sup>3</sup> tin <sup>1</sup> take come put on enter foot And put on them,
			52) eiŋ <sup>3</sup> jou <sup>4</sup> kim <sup>1</sup> ɣoŋ <sup>2</sup> yi:ŋ <sup>6</sup> invite lover gold down loft To go downstairs.

### 5.2.2 Responding speech functions

Responding moves capture the options available when turn transfer occurs during the singing process. This study recognizes four major types of responses as: supporting, confronting, developing and repeating. The four types are further divided into more subtle classes, as shown in Figure 5.1. This study is also concerned with the impact or contribution of each responding type to the initiation. Generally speaking, supporting moves enacts consensus and agreement; confronting moves enact disagreement or non-compliance; developing moves imply a high degree of acceptance of proposition or proposal of the initiator; repeating moves barely contribute to the interactive development since they do not add new information to the initiation. From the viewpoint of the initiator's expectation, supporting and developing

moves are more expected (or more positive, indicated by “+” in Figure 5.1), confronting moves are less expected (or more negative, indicated by “-” in Figure 5.1), and the repeating moves are neutral (indicated by “~” in Figure 5.1). The four types of responses are discussed with examples as follows.

### 5.2.2.1 Supporting speech functions

Supporting speech functions indicate a willingness of the singer to accept the propositions or proposals of the other singer. “Supporting responses create an alignment between initiator and supporter, but suggest that the relationship is one of dependence and subordination” (Egins & Slade, 1997, p. 206). All initiating moves can be matched with supporting responses. For instance, the supporting response to an offer is to accept, as the female singer does in example 5-8.

example 5-8 [text 1: turn 23-24: line 89-96]

Initiating: offer	Turn/move 23	Male	89)	ŋei <sup>6</sup> θa:m <sup>1</sup> ɲi:t <sup>8</sup> pai <sup>1</sup> na: <sup>3</sup> second third month go front From February and March on,
			90)	kam <sup>1</sup> ɛa: <sup>4</sup> ɣa: <sup>1</sup> ɣei <sup>6</sup> fa:i <sup>5</sup> hold sickle find field cotton You get sickle for cotton work.
			91)	ɣei <sup>6</sup> fa:i <sup>5</sup> ɟou <sup>5</sup> ki: <sup>1</sup> lau <sup>2</sup> field cotton at WH- Where is your cotton field?
			92)	ɛiŋ <sup>3</sup> tou <sup>1</sup> kan <sup>1</sup> pai <sup>1</sup> fu:t <sup>7</sup> invite 1SG follow go clear Let me follow you to work.
Responding: directly: supporting: acceptance	Turn/move 24	Female	93)	ŋei <sup>6</sup> θa:m <sup>1</sup> ɲi:t <sup>8</sup> pai <sup>1</sup> na: <sup>3</sup> second third month go front From February and March on,
			94)	kam <sup>1</sup> ɛa: <sup>4</sup> ɣa: <sup>1</sup> ɣei <sup>6</sup> fa:i <sup>5</sup> hold sickle find field cotton I get sickle for cotton work.

- 95) ɣei<sup>6</sup> fa:i<sup>5</sup> jou<sup>5</sup> tin<sup>1</sup> pja:<sup>1</sup>  
 field cotton at foot mountain  
 My field is at mountain foot,
- 96) ɛa:<sup>3</sup> jou<sup>4</sup> ɣau<sup>2</sup> pai<sup>1</sup> fu:t<sup>7</sup>  
 wait lover I go clear  
 I'm waiting for you to work.

The supporting response to a command is undertaking, as the female does in the example 5-9 below. The scene in example 5-9 happened before the wedding of the male singer and female singer. When the female singer is going downstairs for the wedding, the male singer makes commands as: “please slow down your pace and wait at downstairs, in order to get the bracelet to wear and get the money to fill your pocket”. As a respondent, the female singer undertakes the command doing exactly what the male singer demanded.

example 5-9 [text 3: turn 21-22: line 81-88]

- Initiating: Turn/move 21 Male 81) ɣoŋ<sup>2</sup> ɣi:ŋ<sup>6</sup> kai<sup>3</sup> me:n<sup>6</sup> pai<sup>1</sup>  
 command go down loft don't then go  
 Please slow down your pace,
- 82) ɣoŋ<sup>2</sup> la:<sup>3</sup> lai<sup>1</sup> pai<sup>1</sup> te:<sup>5</sup>  
 go down down stair go wait  
 And wait at downstairs.
- 83) te:<sup>5</sup> ʔau<sup>1</sup> kon<sup>6</sup> tuuk<sup>8</sup> ge:n<sup>1</sup>  
 wait get bracelet to wrist  
 To wear the bracelet on your wrist,
- 84) te:<sup>5</sup> ʔau<sup>1</sup> ɛi:n<sup>2</sup> tuuk<sup>8</sup> tai<sup>6</sup>  
 wait get money to bag  
 And to fill your pockets with money.
- Responding: Turn/move 22 Female 85) ɣoŋ<sup>2</sup> ɣi:ŋ<sup>6</sup> kai<sup>3</sup> me:n<sup>6</sup> pai<sup>1</sup>  
 directly: go down loft don't then go  
 supporting: I'll slow down my pace,  
 undertaking

- 86)  $\gamma\text{on}^2$      $\text{la}^3$      $\text{lai}^1$      $\text{pai}^1$      $\text{te}^5$   
 go down down stair go wait  
 And wait downstairs.
- 87)  $\text{te}^5$      $\text{ʔau}^1$      $\text{kon}^6$      $\text{tuuk}^8$      $\text{ge:n}^1$   
 wait get bracelet to wrist  
 To wear the bracelet on my wrist,
- 88)  $\text{ʔbou}^3$      $\text{mi}^2$      $\text{ei:n}^2$      $\text{tuuk}^8$      $\text{tai}^6$   
 NEG have money to bag  
 But no money to fill my pocket.

Acknowledgement, affirm, and answer are supporting responses to statement, polar question, and elemental question respectively. Appendix A provides a full analysis of speech functions on Text 1, from which the examples for speech functions of acknowledgement, affirm, and answer can be found.

#### 5.2.2.2 Confronting speech functions

Confronting speech functions indicate that the responding singer is unwilling to accept the proposition or proposal of the initiating singer. “Confronting moves encode relatively weak forms of non-compliance with the positioning offered the respondent”(Eggins & Slade, 1997, p. 207). A range of confronting responses can be paired with the typical initiations. For example, a statement can be confronted through a contradiction, as the female singer does in example 5-10 below. In this example, the male singer makes an initiating move to state his embarrassing situations: because lacking help from wife and children, his farming work has fallen behind. In the responding move, the female singer contradicts the male singer’s statement.

example 5-10 [text 1: turn 89-90: line 353-360]

- |                          |              |      |      |   |
|--------------------------|--------------|------|------|---|
| Initiating:<br>statement | Turn/move 89 | Male | 353) | $\text{vun}^2$ $\text{ʔdam}^1$ $\text{na}^2$ $\text{ti}^1\text{tak}^7$<br>people plant paddy ONOM<br>Others are busy with planting, |
|                          |              |      | 354) | $\text{ho:i}^5$ $\text{ei}^4$ $\text{ja}^5$ $\text{fak}^7$ $\text{va:i}^2$<br>1SG still busy train buffalo                          |

- I just start half training the buffalo,  
 355) vun<sup>2</sup> ʔdam<sup>1</sup> li:u<sup>4</sup> ɛa:i<sup>5</sup> ʔdai<sup>5</sup>  
 people plant finish as well weed  
 Others go on with weeding,
- 356) kou<sup>1</sup> ɲa:<sup>5</sup> ɛa:i<sup>5</sup> lok<sup>7</sup> kia:<sup>3</sup>  
 1SG busy as well pull seedling  
 I just start to pull the seedlings.
- Responding: Turn/move 90 Female 357) vun<sup>2</sup> ʔdam<sup>1</sup> na:<sup>2</sup> ti:<sup>1</sup> tak<sup>7</sup>  
 directly: people plant paddy ONOM  
 confronting: Others are busy planting,  
 contradiction 358) muŋ<sup>2</sup> va:t<sup>8</sup> pei<sup>2</sup> li:u<sup>6</sup> ka:i<sup>1</sup>  
 2SG wave fan play street  
 You are idling around the street.
- 359) mi:<sup>2</sup> pa:<sup>2</sup> ʔdam<sup>1</sup> pa:<sup>2</sup> ʔda:i<sup>1</sup>  
 have wife plant wife weed  
 Your wife is hard working,
- 360) jou<sup>4</sup> k<sup>v</sup>a:i<sup>1</sup> ho:<sup>2</sup> li:u<sup>4</sup> na:u<sup>5</sup>  
 lover happy finish PRT  
 How easy is your life!

Confronting responses to offer and command are rejection and refusal. For question speech function, a polar question is confronted by a disagreement, while an elemental question is confronted by a disclaimer. The example 5-11 below is an example of speech function pair of polar question-disagreement. In this example, the male singer asks the female singer if he can go to war, the female singer gives a confronting response by a disagreement.

example 5-11 [text 4: turn 53-54: line 209-216]

- Initiating: Turn/move Male 209) ku:i<sup>6</sup> ma:<sup>4</sup> k<sup>v</sup>a:<sup>5</sup> la:<sup>3</sup> mi:ŋ<sup>1</sup>  
 question: 53 ride horse across down ditch  
 polar I'm riding along the ditch,

- 210)  $\gamma i:\eta^1$   $ma:4$   $pat^7$   $li:1$   $li:n^5$   
 tail horse wag PRT PRT  
 The horse is wagging its tail.
- 211)  $\epsilon i:n^5$   $ta:u^5$   $\epsilon o:6$   $jou^4$   $\eta an^2$   
 turn back face to lover silver  
 Turning round to ask you,
- 212)  $nau^2$   $pan^2$   $pai^1$   $\gamma o:4$   $\eta bou^3$   
 talk can go or NEG  
 Can I go to war, my love?
- Responding: Turn/move Female 213)  $ku:i^6$   $ma:4$   $kva:5$   $la:3$   $mi:\eta^1$   
 directly: 54 ride horse across down ditch  
 confronting: You're ridding along the ditch,  
 disagreement
- 214)  $\gamma i:\eta^1$   $ma:4$   $pat^7$   $li:1$   $li:n^5$   
 tail horse wag PRT PRT  
 The horse is wagging its tail.
- 215)  $\epsilon i:n^5$   $ta:u^5$   $\epsilon o:6$   $jou^4$   $\eta an^2$   
 turn back face to lover silver  
 Turning round to ask me,
- 216)  $\eta bou^3$   $pan^2$   $pai^1$   $le:1$   $pei^4$   
 NEG can go PRT elder sibling  
 Don't go to war, my love.

### 5.2.2.3 Developing speech functions

Developing moves expand the initiating moves experientially in three ways: elaborating, extending, and enhancing. The terms of elaboration, extension and enhancement are drawn on categories of rhetorical (or logico-semantic) relations (see Chapter IV). We interpret the relation between an initiating move and its developing move as one of expansion: the developing move elaborates, extends or enhances its initiating move. In elaboration, a move clarifies or exemplifies its initiating move; in extension, a move adds to the information in its initiating move; and in enhancement, a move qualifies or modifies the information in an initiating move by providing temporal, spatial, causal or conditional detail.

Elaboration and extension are the most common types of developing speech functions. Example 5-12 shows an example of statement-elaboration. In the initiating move, the male singer describes how people soak rice seeds in "tam<sup>2</sup>" (pond) in the period of time of Lixia by a statement, the female singer elaborates the statement by replacing the word "tam<sup>2</sup>" (pond) with "yam<sup>4</sup>" (water). This is a type of elaboration taking about the same things but putting it another way.

example 5-12 [text 1: turn 65-66: line 257-264]

Initiating: statement	Turn/move 65	Male	257) θei <sup>5</sup> ɲi:t <sup>8</sup> taŋ <sup>2</sup> lap <sup>8</sup> ha: <sup>6</sup> fourth month to Lixia Lixia <sup>7</sup> comes in April,
			258) taŋ <sup>4</sup> vun <sup>2</sup> ma: <sup>5</sup> hau <sup>4</sup> fan <sup>1</sup> all people soak rice seed People soak rice seeds.
			259) pou <sup>4</sup> ma: <sup>5</sup> kan <sup>1</sup> θo:ŋ <sup>1</sup> kan <sup>1</sup> CL soak CL two CL Each family soaks one or two Jin <sup>8</sup> ,
			260) tau <sup>2</sup> ɣoŋ <sup>2</sup> tam <sup>2</sup> pai <sup>1</sup> ɛe: <sup>6</sup> take go down pond go soak Putting the seeds in the pond.
Responding: indirectly: developing: elaboration	Turn/move 66	Female	261) θei <sup>5</sup> ɲi:t <sup>8</sup> taŋ <sup>2</sup> lap <sup>8</sup> ha: <sup>6</sup> fourth month to Lixia Lixia comes in April,
			262) taŋ <sup>4</sup> vun <sup>2</sup> ma: <sup>5</sup> hau <sup>4</sup> fan <sup>1</sup> all people soak rice seed People soak rice seeds.
			263) pou <sup>4</sup> ma: <sup>5</sup> kan <sup>1</sup> θo:ŋ <sup>1</sup> kan <sup>1</sup> CL soak CL two CL Each family soaks one or two Jin,

<sup>7</sup> Lixia: The day of Start of Summer (the 7<sup>th</sup> of 24 solar terms of China).

<sup>8</sup> Jin: a Chinese traditional measure unit, 1 Jin=0.5 kilogram.

- 264) tau<sup>2</sup> yon<sup>2</sup>      yam<sup>4</sup> pai<sup>1</sup> ee:<sup>6</sup>  
 take go down water go soak  
 Putting the seeds in the water.

Example 5-13 below is an example of extension. In this example the male singer makes a statement as in initiating move to describe the scene that his father sees the female singer's father off after the wedding, and the female singer makes an extension in responding move to add the information of the male singer's mother sees her mother off.

example 5-13 [text 3: turn 79-80: line 313-320]

- |  |                 |        |  |
|--|-----------------|--------|--|
| Initiating:<br>statement                               | Turn/move<br>79 | Male   | <p>313) koŋ<sup>1</sup> ta:<sup>1</sup>      nau<sup>2</sup> jak<sup>7</sup> pai<sup>1</sup><br/>             bride's father tell want go<br/>             Knowing that your father is leaving,</p> <p>314) po:<sup>6</sup> yon<sup>2</sup>      lai<sup>1</sup> pai<sup>1</sup> θon<sup>5</sup><br/>             father go down stair go send<br/>             My father goes to see him off.</p> <p>315) pai<sup>2</sup> θon<sup>5</sup> pai<sup>2</sup> ŋak<sup>7</sup> k'au<sup>3</sup><br/>             as send as nod head<br/>             Thanks him for his good daughter,</p> <p>316) θon<sup>5</sup> luk<sup>8</sup> tau<sup>3</sup> hau<sup>3</sup> ho:i<sup>5</sup><br/>             send child come give 1SG<br/>             That's to be nice daughter-in-law.</p> |
| Responding:<br>indirectly:<br>developing:<br>extension | Turn/move<br>80 | Female | <p>317) ja:<sup>6</sup> ta:i<sup>5</sup>      nau<sup>2</sup> jak<sup>7</sup> pai<sup>1</sup><br/>             bride's mother tell want go<br/>             Knowing that my mother is leaving,</p> <p>318) me:<sup>6</sup> yon<sup>2</sup>      lai<sup>1</sup> pai<sup>1</sup> θon<sup>5</sup><br/>             mother go down stair go send<br/>             Your mother sees her off.</p> <p>319) pai<sup>2</sup> θon<sup>5</sup> pai<sup>2</sup> ŋak<sup>7</sup> k'au<sup>3</sup><br/>             as send as nod head<br/>             She nods to her in approval,</p>   |

- 320) ʔbou<sup>3</sup> ʔo:<sup>4</sup> nau<sup>2</sup> ɛon<sup>2</sup> lau<sup>2</sup>  
 NEG know talk words WH-  
 But too touched to say anymore.

#### 5.2.2.4 Repeating speech functions

Repeating moves occur when a responding singer fully repeats the position or proposal of the initiating singer. Repetitions are mostly found in the responding moves to statements and commands, whereas repeating responses to statement are more frequent. When there is no comment for the initiating singer's statement or no time for creating new content to respond, the responding singer tends to repeat the statement as a response. When it comes to a command, if the responding singer is neither willing to undertake the command nor refuse it, the choice is to repeat the command as response. Example 5-14 is a case of repeating move for a statement. In this example, the male singer makes a statement as initiating move, and the female singer just simply fully repeats the statement in the responding move.

example 5-14 [Text 5: turn 3-4: line 9-16]

- |   |                |        |     |   |
|---|----------------|--------|-----|---|
| Initiating:<br>statement                  | Turn/move<br>3 | Male   | 9)  | hat <sup>7</sup> ɛo:k <sup>8</sup> ʔo:m <sup>6</sup> pu: <sup>1</sup> jau <sup>1</sup><br>morning tomorrow daybreak ONOM<br>At daybreak of the next day,    |
|   |                |        | 10) | to: <sup>4</sup> nau <sup>2</sup> pai <sup>1</sup> ɛiŋ <sup>3</sup> ɛa:ŋ <sup>6</sup><br>to tell go invite expert<br>We set out for the artisan.            |
|   |                |        | 11) | ɛiŋ <sup>3</sup> pou <sup>4</sup> ɛa:ŋ <sup>6</sup> na:m <sup>2</sup> niŋ <sup>2</sup><br>invite CL expert a city name<br>Inviting an artisan from Nanning, |
|   |                |        | 12) | ʔau <sup>1</sup> ʔin <sup>1</sup> li:n <sup>2</sup> ʔau <sup>1</sup> θa:ŋ <sup>3</sup><br>get stone and get foundation<br>To pick foundation stones.        |
| Responding:<br>indirectly:<br>restatement | Turn/move<br>4 | Female | 13) | hat <sup>7</sup> ɛo:k <sup>8</sup> ʔo:m <sup>6</sup> pu: <sup>1</sup> jau <sup>1</sup><br>morning tomorrow daybreak ONOM<br>At daybreak the next day,       |

- 14) to:<sup>4</sup> nau<sup>2</sup> pai<sup>1</sup> eiŋ<sup>3</sup> ɛa:ŋ<sup>6</sup>  
 to tell go invite expert  
 We set out for the artisan.
- 15) eiŋ<sup>3</sup> pou<sup>4</sup> ɛa:ŋ<sup>6</sup> na:m<sup>2</sup> niŋ<sup>2</sup>  
 invite CL expert a city name  
 Inviting an artisan from Nanning,
- 16) ʔau<sup>1</sup> yin<sup>1</sup> li:n<sup>2</sup> ʔau<sup>1</sup> θa:ŋ<sup>3</sup>  
 get stone and get foundation  
 To pick foundation stones.

This section has discussed the interactivity of the songs by means of speech functions, and illustrated each class of speech function with analysis example. The next section will further the study of interaction by relating semantic analysis of speech function to context of situation.

### 5.3 Contextual consideration of interpersonal interaction

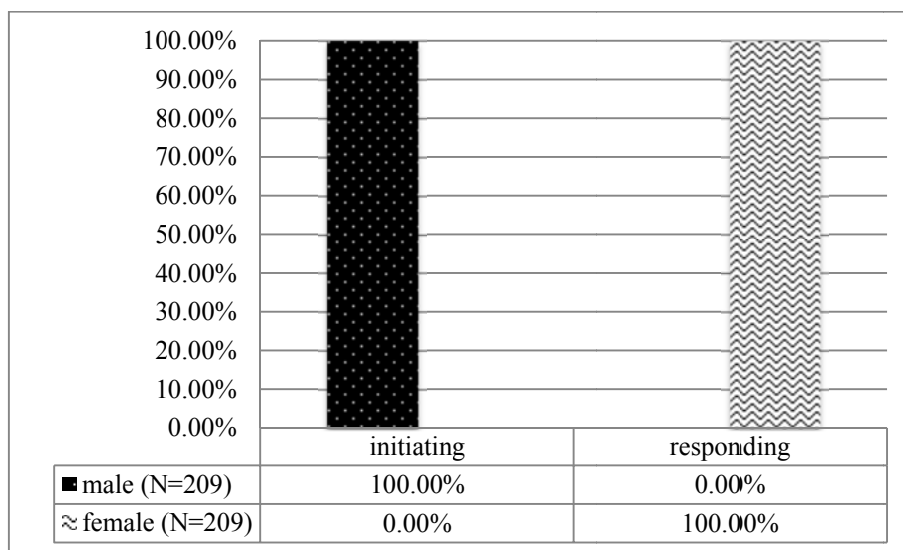
The previous chapter has discussed the correlation of context of situation and rhetorical organization of the songs by the three concepts of field, tenor, and mode. This section considers other contextual factors affecting the interpersonal interaction between the singers, including the pre-allocated turn-taking (mode) and role relationships of the singers (tenor). The next two sections (5.3.1-5.3.2) will explain in detail how the two contextual factors affect the speech function choices of the two singers during the singing interaction process.

#### 5.3.1 Pre-allocated turn-taking

Zhuang dialogue folk songs are a type of dialogic texts involving a turn-taking system. The turn-taking in the songs is highly controlled or pre-allocated, which is different from the day-to-day conversation where the turn control is relatively low (see Matthiessen & Slade, 2010, p.376). In other words, the singing order of the singers is not random but conventional. In the case of *Liao Songs of Pingguo Zhuang*, the singing interaction is one-on-one, usually between a male and a female. During the

singing process the male singer always takes the first turn to sing, after that the female singer takes turn to respond, and then the male continues another turn to prolong the singing dialogue. The turn-taking sequence recurs until a whole piece of song is finished (Qin Cailuan, 2005, p.110-112).

The characteristics of pre-allocated turn-taking is reflected in the speech function choices of the two singers in that, the initiating speech functions are all made by the male singer, and the responding speech functions are all made by the female singer, as indicated in Figure 5.2. In other words, the male singer always plays the role of the initiator and the female singer always plays the role of a respondent in the process of singing interaction. Qin Cailuan (2005, p.110) explains such division of labor as a reflection of the male-dominated culture of the Zhuang society. That is, men have the major responsibilities and play a leading role in the family and social life, while women have to be dependent and play a supporting role to the men.



**Figure 5.2 Initiating/responding speech functions choices**

As we already know that the male is the initiator and the female is the respondent in the singing interaction, the next question is what are the strategies for them to initiate or respond the interaction. More specifically, we have to figure out what types of initiating or responding speech functions are favored by the two singers, and what factors affect such speech function choices. This will be discussed in the next section.

### 5.3.2 Role relationships

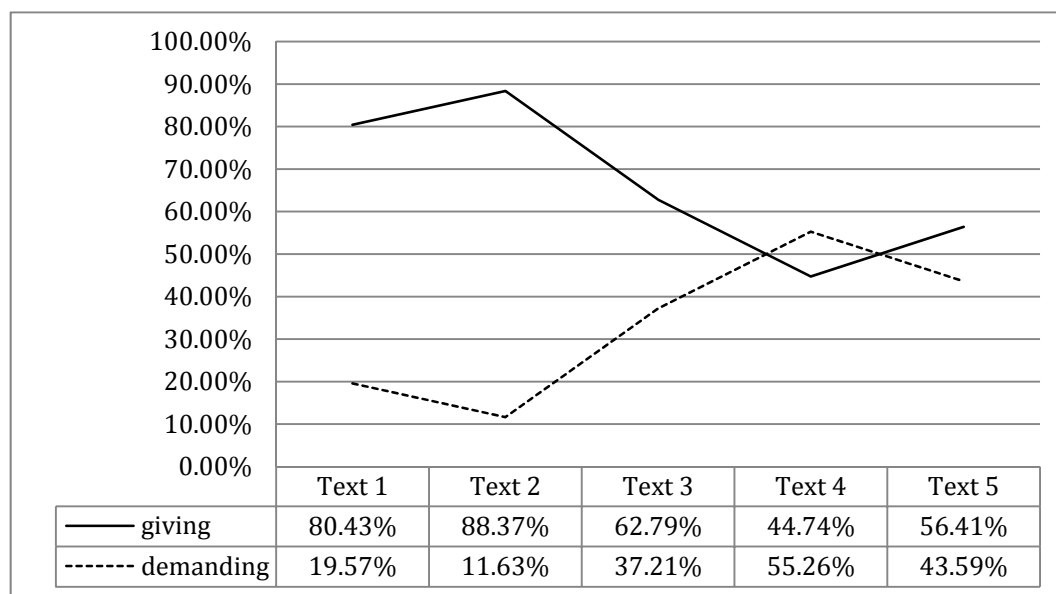
This study found that the speech function choices of the two singers vary according to their role relationships in different situational context. As mentioned in Section 3.1, the work *Liao Songs of Pingguo Zhuang* presents a love story of two singers (a male and a female), by means of singing dialogue the two singers establish and enact courtships. The five selected texts represent different development stages of the love story, simply represented as encountering in Text 1 → building relationships while travelling together in Text 2 → getting married in Text 3 → the male singer leaves for serving the army in Text 4 → reunion and building a new house in Text 5. The role relationships of the two singers change along the unfolding of the story. In terms of tenor (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2014), this study tracks the change of institutional roles, contact roles (familiarity) and status roles (power) of the two singers throughout the five selected texts (see Table 5.1).

**Table 5.1 The change on interrelationships of the singers**

Text	Institutional roles	Contact roles	Status roles
1. Busy spring	strangers	distant	female > male
2. Tiring love	↓		
3. Getting married	lovers	↓	↓
4. Seeing off	↓		
5. Laying foundation stones	husband & wife	intimate	male > female

As indicated in the table, the institutional roles of the two singers change from strangers to lovers, and to husband and wife. Their contact roles change from distant to intimate ones. Their status roles also change with the development of the story. At the early stage, the status of the female is higher than the male, since she plays the role of a pursued holding more power in the interaction, while the male, as a pursuer, has to lower his status and show his positive behaviors to impress the female. However, the male has a higher status than the female after they get married, because the male has more power in the family, according to the male-dominated culture of the Zhuang. The question is how the change of role relationships affects the interaction strategies (i.e. the speech function choices) of the two singers.

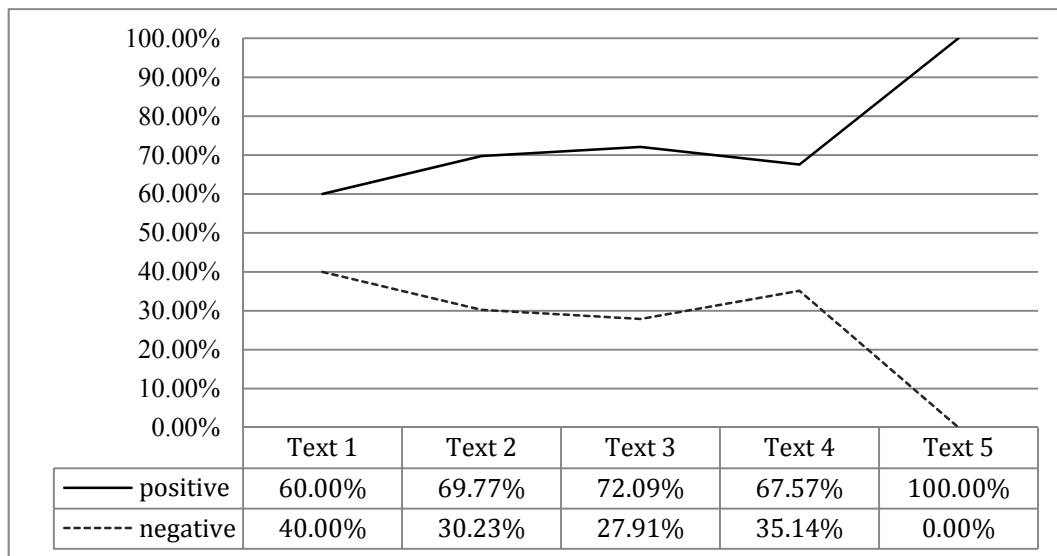
Let us first look at the initiations of the male. Figure 5.3 shows the choices of the male singer between giving (i.e. offer and statement) and demanding (i.e. command and question) types of initiations throughout the five texts. As can be seen from the chart, the percentage of giving initiations is higher than demanding ones at the early stage of the story. For instance, over 80 per cent of initiating moves are giving types in both Text 1 and Text 2. However, as the story unfolds, the choices of giving types show a downward trend. On the contrary, the demanding types show an upward trend. At Text 4-5, the percentages of giving and demanding types are about equal, both at around 50 per cent. It indicates that at the early stage, the male tends to play the role of a giver, in order to impress the female and get an intimate relationship with her. At the later stage, as the male gets more power in the interaction, he tends to balance the choices of giving and demanding types of initiations.



**Figure 5.3 The choices of giving/demanding initiations in five texts**

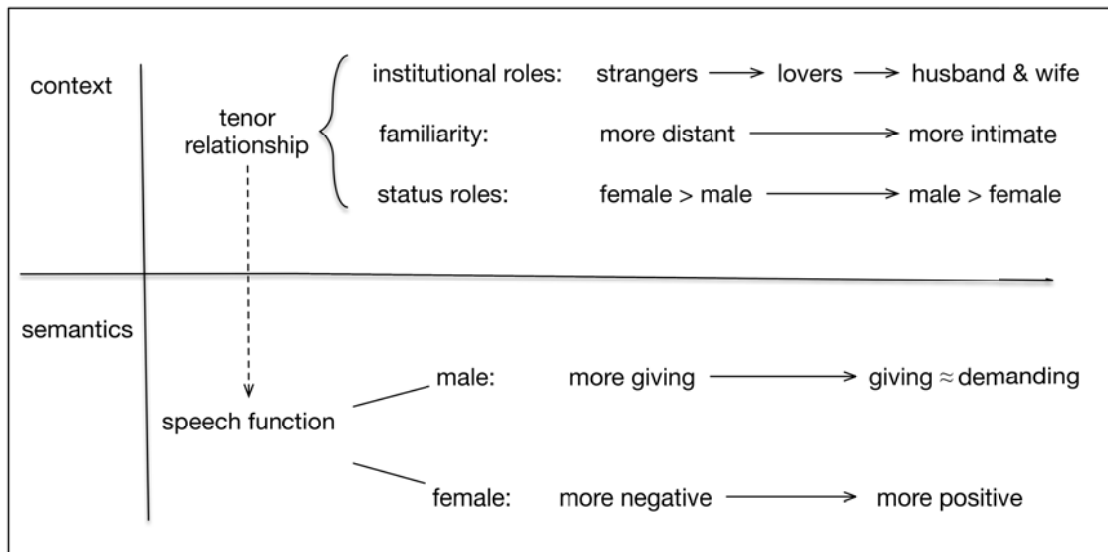
Now turn to look at the responses of the female. As neutral responses (i.e. repeating) barely contribute to the interactive development since they do not add new information to the initiation, here we only focus on the positive (i.e. supporting and developing) and negative (i.e. confronting) responses of the female. Figure 5.4 shows the female's choices of positive and negative responses throughout the five texts. We

can see that the choices of positive responses show an upward trend in proportion, from 60 per cent in Text 1 gradually up to the absolute highest point 100 per cent in Text 5; the choices of negative responses, on the contrary, show a downward trend, from 40 per cent in Text 1 gradually down to no instance (i.e. zero per cent) in Text 5. This change indicates that, as the interrelationships of the two singers changes from Text 1 to Text 5, the willingness of the female to support and facilitate the male is increased.



**Figure 5.4 The choices of positive/negative responses in five texts**

From discussion above, we can see that the semantic strategies for interaction (i.e. the choices of speech functions) of the two singers change with their role relationships in the situation of context. The correlation of tenor relationship and speech function choices is set out in Figure 5.5.



**Figure 5.5 Correlation of role relationships and speech function choices**

This chapter has discussed the interpersonal interactivity of Zhuang dialogue folk songs in terms of speech functions. The chapter firstly models the interactive structure of the songs by means of SPEECH FUNCTION system, and then interprets correlation of context of situation and speech function choices. Generally speaking, the speech function choices of the two singers are affected by the contextual factors of pre-allocated turn-taking of the songs (mode) and role relationships of the singers (tenor).

So far the discourse features of text structure and interpersonal interaction have been discussed respectively in the previous chapter and the present chapters. The next chapter is a conclusion of the study.

## CHAPTER VI

### CONCLUSIONS AND DISCUSSION

The current chapter outlines the key findings (Section 6.1), discusses the contributions and implications of this study to Zhuang Studies and SFL theory (Section 6.2), and presents some suggestions for further research (Section 6.3).

#### **6.1 Summary of the findings**

This study is concerned with two discourse features of Zhuang dialogue folk songs: text structure and interpersonal interaction. The data for analysis in this study are five texts selected from a collection of Zhuang dialogue folk songs entitled *Liao Songs of Pingguo Zhuang* (Tan Shaoming & Luo Hantian, 2008). Zhuang dialogue folk songs function as a means of communication in Zhuang communities. The analysis of text structure reveals how the singers organize their language in the process of singing. And the analysis of interpersonal interaction reveals how the singers interact with each other in the singing process, and how they enact their role relationships throughout the process. The main results of the two types of analysis will be summarized in Section 6.1.1- 6.1.3 below.

##### **6.1.1 Rhetorical structure of the songs**

The text structure of Zhuang dialogue folk songs is described in terms of rhetorical relations. The framework used is a systemic-functional version of RST – the system of RHETORICAL RELATION (Matthiessen, 2015b; Matthiessen & Teruya, 2015). The rhetorical structural analysis of Zhuang dialogue folk songs consists of two steps. The first is to apply rhetorical relations to analyze the text structure of Zhuang dialogue folk songs. The second step is to interpret the correlation of rhetorical organization of the songs and context of situation involved in the songs.

The results of rhetorical relation analysis reveal that all 27 types of rhetorical relations are found in the study. These relations are applied at three different compositional levels of Zhuang dialogue folk songs: intra-turn level, turn-pair level, and whole-text level. Different structural levels favor different relations, for example, Circumstance, Elaboration, Background and Cause show high frequency of occurrence at intra-turn level; Antithesis, Restatement and Solutionhood are more frequently found at turn-pair level; Addition and Sequence are commonly found at whole-text level. These frequent relations are determined by the three contextual factors: poetic stylistics of the songs, interaction manner of the singers, and the field of activity involved in the songs.

The poetic stylistics affects the relation choices at the intra-turn level. First, the associational development or “Qixing” method uses requires the singers introduce Circumstance or Background before presenting the major proposition. Second, the use of parallelism requires the singers to organize two or more lines into a parallel structure by using Addition relation. Third, it is about the way of topic representation. A turn typically present a major topic at one line, the other lines expanding the topic by Elaboration or providing other related information, such as Cause.

The interaction manner affects the relation choices at the turn-pair level. For example, if the female agrees with the male, she can restate or provide additional information to the proposition mentioned by the male. If the female disagree with the male, she can make an Antithesis to the male; Solutionhood occurs when then the female provide solution to the problems or questions raised by the male.

The field of activity affects the relation choices at the whole-text level. It is found that different fields of activity favor different sequential relations for the global organization of the text. For example, the activity of farming in Text 1 is realized by the temporal sequence of solar terms in spring, the activity of traveling in Text 2 is realized by spatial sequence of travelling path of the two singers, the activity of getting married in Text 3 is realized by procedural sequence of wedding procedure, the activity of seeing off in Text 4 is realized by spatial sequence of walking path of the singers, and the activity of building a house in Text 5 is realized by a procedural sequence of laying foundation stones.

### **6.1.2 Interpersonal interaction of the songs**

Interpersonal interaction of Zhuang dialogue folk songs is analyzed in terms of speech functions. Drawing upon the SPEECH FUNCTION system (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2014), this study models the interactive structure in the songs into a system network (as presented in Section 5.2). The system network primarily differentiates speech functions between initiating and responding. Initiating speech functions capture the main resources available for interactants to initiate a dialogue. Initiating speech functions can be divided into four major classes: offer, command, statement, and question, in which question is subclassified into polar question and elemental question.

Responding moves capture the options available when turn transfer occurs during the singing process. This study recognizes four major types of responses as: supporting, confronting, developing and repeating. A supporting response refers to acknowledging a statement, affirming a polar question or answering an elemental question, accepting an offer, or undertaking a command. On the contrary, a confronting response refers to contradicting a statement, disagreeing a polar question or disclaiming an elemental question, rejecting an offer, and refusing a command. Developing response expands the initiation in three ways: elaborating, extending and enhancing. A repeating response is identified when a responding singer fully repeats the proposition or proposal expressed by the initiating singer. Repetitions are mostly paired with statement speech function.

By correlating the speech function choices of the two singers to the context of situation, this study found that there are two major contextual factors affecting the interpersonal interaction: pre-allocated turn-taking of the songs, and the role relationships of the singers. The pre-allocated turn-taking reflects the speech function choices of the two singers in that: in the process of singing, the male singer always takes on a speech role as initiator by taking all the initiating moves, and the female always takes a role as respondent by taking all the responding moves.

The role relationships of the two singers change along with development of the love story embedded in the songs. As the story unfolds, the institutional roles of the two singers change from strangers (Text 1) to lovers (Text 2) and to husband and wife (Text 3-5) at last, their familiarity changes from a distant one to a more intimate

one, the status relationships changed from the female holds more power than the male at the beginning of the story, to the male holds more power than the female at the later stage of the story. The change of institutional role, familiarity and status are realized by a change of speech functions choices at semantic level. For instance, the male singer makes more giving types of initiating moves at the early stage of the story, playing a role as a giver will help him to get more intimate with the female. However, at the later stage he tends to balance the choice of giving and demanding types of initiation, since his status has been improved after he gets married with the female; he gets more power to control the interaction. For the female singer, she makes more negative responses to confront the male at the early stage of the story, because she gets higher status than the male as playing the role of a pursued. However, at the later stage, she gives more positive responses to the male because her status has been lowered after getting married.

In conclusion, the rhetorical organization of the songs is determined by the poetic stylistics of the songs, interaction manner of the singers, and the field of activity involved in the songs. The interpersonal interactivity of the songs is constrained by the pre-allocated turn-taking and the role relationships of the singers. Based on the results, this study thus argues that semantic strategies for text organization and interpersonal interaction in Zhuang dialogue folk songs change with the context of situation.

## **6.2 Contributions and implications**

As noted in Chapter I, it is the hope of this study to contribute to Zhuang studies (including Zhuang discourse studies and Zhuang folk songs studies) and SFL application. The purpose of this section is to explore these contributions.

### **6.2.1 Contributions to Zhuang studies**

Zhuang Studies is a new academic discipline in China proposed in 1990s, covering history, anthropology, religion, politics, languages, and literature of Zhuang (Li Fuqiang, 2006). This study contributes to Zhuang studies in several ways.

First, this study is an attempt at doing discourse analysis on Zhuang language. Zhuang linguistic studies are an important component of Zhuang Studies.

Since Zhuang linguistic studies started in the 1940s, the previous studies have achieved a great of success. However, most of the previous studies are concerned with the language affiliation or the linguistic features of Zhuang language at or below sentence level, e.g. the phonological or grammatical features, as well as the writing system of Zhuang (see Section 2.2 ), few studies explore the discourse features of the language. This study is an attempt to investigate discourse features of Zhuang dialogue folk songs which would hopefully inspire more Zhuang discourse studies in the future.

Second, this study provides a discourse interpretation to Zhuang dialgue folk songs, which may help the reader get a better understanding of Zhuang dialogue folk songs at discourse level. Most of the previous linguistic studies on Zhuang folk songs are concerned with rhyming features, orthographic features, lexical uses, and translations (see Section 2.3). Discourse approaches to the songs are still limited. This study argues that Zhuang dialogue folk songs, as an important text type in Zhuang language, contain many significant discourse features worthy of further exploration. This study analyzed two major discourse features of Zhuang dialogue folk songs: text structure and interpersonal interaction. The results of the analysis will help the reader to better understand the language organization of the songs, and the interaction of the singers.

Third, this study reveals the hybrid nature of Zhuang dialogue folk songs. In the past decades, the songs have been investigated from different perspectives, including perspectives from anthropology, musicology, literary, and linguistics. In anthropology, the songs are referred to as a kind of cultural activities in particular occasions such as songs festivals, worship ceremony, weddings, etc. Musical studies consider the songs as a form of folk music which has special musical structure and singing methods. Literary studies and linguistic studies regard the songs as a style of verbal arts shaped in poetic form. The different references indicate that the songs are hybrid in text nature. More specifically, Zhuang dialogue folk songs show its hybridity in the following ways:

- i.) as a means of communication used in various institutional settings;
- ii.) as a singing style involved special musical structure and singing method;

iii.) as a kind of verbal art shaped in poetic form

In other words, Zhuang dialogue folk songs are a kind of hybrid texts that simultaneously possess the properties of dialogue (turn-taking), poetry (rhyming, poetic structure) and music (singing). The songs are so that referred to as “the poetic language to communication” and “on behalf of saying to singing” (Pan Qixu, 2005, p. 97).

The hybridity of the songs is revealed in this study through the analyses of text structure and interaction. In the structural analysis, the compositional unit of line, which is a typical unit in poetry, is used as basic unit for analyzing intra-turn structure of the songs. It shows the difference of rhetorical structural analysis in this study from other RST analysis, because the grammatical units (such as clauses) are generally identified as the analysis unit for RST studies (Mann et al., 1992, p. 51). Similarly, speech function analysis in this study employs singing turn as analysis unit rather than the units based on grammatical rules. It indicates again that the language in Zhuang dialogue folk songs is not organized based on grammatical rules, but based on poetry and singing principles.

### **6.2.2 Theoretical implications**

This study extends the application of SFL to a Tai language, Zhuang. In the last decade, SFL has been continuously applied to different Tai languages, such as Tai (e.g. Patpong, 2006; Yiemkuntitavor, 2005), Lao (e.g. Dolphen, 2010; Vail, 2006), and Tai Dam (Dolphen, 2015; Patpong, 2011, 2013). Zhuang, as an important member of Tai language family, has yet been, to my knowledge, investigated using SFL neither in the written nor in the spoken form.

This study has also examined the applicability of the theory to an extended text type such as the Zhuang dialogue folk songs. This study contributes to SFL in applying two semantic systems (i.e. RHETORICAL RELATION system and SPEECH FUNCTION system) and three contextual variables (i.e. field, tenor, and mode) to the analysis of a minority language — Zhuang, and an extended text type as dialogue folk songs.

The system of RHETORICAL RELATION (Matthiessen, 2015b; Matthiessen & Teruya, 2015), as a systemic-functional version of Rhetorical Structure Theory (RST)

(see Mann et al., 1992; Mann & Thompson, 1988), is employed to analyze text structure of Zhuang dialogue folk songs. Mann and Thompson (1988, p. 159) claims that virtually every text which is hierarchically structured and functionally organized has an RST analysis, however, they also declare that RST have limited use for analyzing certain text types such as texts of verbal art and texts of dialogue.

Virtually every text has an RST analysis. [However,] certain text types characteristically do not have RST analysis. These include laws, contracts, reports 'for the record' and various kinds of language-as-art, including some poetry. (Mann & Thompson, 1988, p. 259)

RST has not yet been effectively related to dialogue. It must be expanded beyond written monologue and multilogue in order to encompass a fully representative range of the functions of language. This will perhaps be the most significant modification of its present form. (Mann et al., 1992, p. 68)

To examine the applicability of RST for dialogic analysis, a few studies have tried to apply RST into dialogue. For example, Fawcett and Davies (1992) analyze intra-turn relations in dialogue by integrating RST and Flowchat Flow model, they consider a turn as a monologue within conversation. Daradoumis (1996) proposes an extended version of RST-Dialogic RST to analyze inter-turns relations in tutorial dialogue. He follows Berry's (1981) and Martin's (1992) exchange model, and proposes new relations to capture the exchange structure of conversation in terms of RST. Stent (2000) works on the annotation of a task-oriented spoken dialogue corpus with rhetorical relations. She proposes a number of new relations (e.g. Question-response, Greeting- acknowledgement) to model the structure of adjacency pairs in dialogue. Taboada (2001, 2004a, 2004b) analyzes a particular type of task-oriented dialogue- appointment-scheduling conversation, she describe both intra-turn and inter-turn relations in her corpus in terms of RST. Taboada claims that, in her analysis, the relations of the standard RST set (i.e. the relations defined in the work of Mann & Thompson, 1988) are applicable to describe the text structure of dialogue without any modification.

Once the applicability of RST for dialogue has been approved (to a certain extent), another issue remains whether RST is also applicable for text analysis of verbal art, especially for the analysis of poetry texts. The present study employs the systemic-functional version of RST—the system of RHETORICAL RELATION to describe text structure of Zhuang dialogue folk songs. It provides some significant innovation for the application of RST, because Zhuang dialogue folk songs, as mentioned previously, are a kind of dialogic text, and at the same time, as a kind of poetry text. In other words, this study provides an examination of the applicability of RST for both dialogue and poetry.

This study has proven that as a systemic-functional version of RST the system of RHETORICAL RELATION is applicable for analyzing text structure of the songs. However, some modifications have also been applied to the analysis. That is, most of RST analysis in other studies is carried out on the discourse units that are based on grammatical principles (e.g. clause). But in this study, the analysis units are not based on grammatical principles but based on lines and turns which are basic compositional units in Zhuang dialogue folk songs. Because the songs are a kind of poetry texts, the language of the songs are not organized based on grammatical principles. For example, a line in the songs is not necessary coincident with grammatical structure of a clause. This study employs lines as basic units to analyze internal structure of singing turns (called intra-turn structure) in the songs, and uses turns as basic units to analyze structure above-turn level (called inter-turn structure). The results of the analyses turned out that lines and turns are efficient units for rhetorical structural analysis of Zhuang dialogue folk songs.

The system of SPEECH FUNCTION (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2014) is employed to analyze the interaction of singers in Zhuang dialogue folk songs. The system of SPEECH FUNCTION has been applied to analyze different types of dialogue. For example, in his own work Halliday (1984) uses this system to analyze the dialogue of parent and child. Eggins and Slade (1997) extend Halliday's (1984) SPEECH FUNCTION system to deal with more complex issues in the analysis of casual conversation texts. In their work, Eggins and Slade (1997, ch.5) provide more subclasses of speech functions to describe more complex dialogic structure of casual conversation text. Matthiessen, Lukin, Butt, Cleirigh, and Nesbitt (2005) use speech

functions to investigate interactive features in service-encounter conversation. Cohen (2011) applies the system of SPEECH FUNCTION to observe the communicative failures and disorganized speech of schizophrenia patients. In her study, Cohen analyzes describe role relationship between interviewer and schizophrenia patients in terms of speech functions.

The present study extends the system of SPEECH FUNCTION to a new text type as dialogue folk songs. The analysis in this study has proven that this system is applicable to analyze interaction in Zhuang dialogue folk songs. However, due to the text nature of Zhuang dialogue folk songs, some modifications have been applied in speech function analysis.

First, move identification in Zhuang dialogue folk songs is not based on grammatical criteria or prosodic factors as suggested in the work of Eggins and Slade (1997, p. 186), but based on the text nature of Zhuang dialogue folk songs. As a kind of dialogue singing texts, Zhuang dialogue folk songs defer from other speaking conversation in that the semantic propositions or proposals in dialogue are not realized as clauses at grammatical level, but carried out by singing turns in the process of singing. That is, each singing turn mainly expresses a proposition or proposal. It indicates that move and turn are coincident in Zhuang dialogue folk songs. Thus, each singing turn in Zhuang dialogue folk songs is identified as a move for speech function analyses in this study.

Second, more speech functions classes are added to capture the more subtle speech functions of the singers. Halliday' speech functions model (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2014) consists of 16 major speech functions for describing interaction in dialogue, including four basic initiating speech functions (i.e. offer, command, statement, and question), four expected responding speech functions (i.e. acceptance, undertaking, acknowledgement, and answer), and four discretionary speech functions (rejection, refusal, contradiction, and disclaimer). In the work of Eggins and Slade (1997), they extend speech functions description in delicacy (i.e. sub-classifying speech function in more detail) in order to capture more subtle speech function patterns of casual conversation, such as subclasses in continuing moves and reacting moves (see Eggins & Slade, 1997, ch.5). In modeling interactive structure of Zhuang dialogue folk songs (as discussed in 5.2), this study extends the speech functions

classes in Halliday's model in two ways: i) subclassifying the question in initiating moves into two types as polar question and elemental question to clarify the initiating singer's options in questioning move, and the polar question and elemental question are matched by affirm/disagreement and answer/disclaimer in supporting/confronting moves in responses; ii) adding the options of developing (i.e. repeating the proposition or proposal in the initiation) and repeating speech function (i.e. elaborating, extending or enhancing the proposition or proposal in the initiation) in responding moves. The purpose of adding the two types of responses is to capture the responding singer's speech function options when he/she does not directly respond to the initiator.

This study also relates the analysis on rhetorical relations and speech functions into context of situation in which the songs operate. The results show that the context of situation affects the semantic strategies of the singer for rhetorical organization and interpersonal interaction. If we take another step to consider the relations between rhetorical relations and speech function, we will find that the speech function analysis is to interpret the propositions or proposals of the singers in the process of interactions, while the analysis of rhetorical relations is to analyze the relations between propositions or proposals of the singers in singing interaction. That is to say, sequences of moves or speech functions can be modeled as rhetorical complexes by using rhetorical relations, as stated by Matthiessen and Slade (2010, p. 389).

### **6.3 Suggestions for further studies**

Some relevant areas for further studies based on the findings of this study are suggested as follows.

i) The discourse analysis in the study focuses only on the text type of Zhuang dialogue folk songs, further discourse studies on Zhuang monologue folk songs or other text types in Zhuang are recommended.

ii) The discourse approach to Zhuang dialogue folk songs in the study could be applicable to other similar text types in Zhuang language (e.g. Zhuang plays) or other languages (e.g. Chinese classical poetry).

iii) The theory of SFL is only applied on the semantic and contextual analysis in the study, it is necessary to extend such theoretical application to other linguistic levels of Zhuang, such as lexicogrammar and phonology.

iv) The semantic analysis reveals that the choices of speech functions and rhetorical relations in Zhuang dialogue folk songs seem to be constrained by both situational and cultural contexts. It is recommended that further discourse studies on Zhuang language should be linked to the Zhuang culture.

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## **APPENDICES**

**APPENDIX A**  
**SAMPLE ANALYSIS OF SPEECH FUNCTIONS**

[Note: sample text represented here is Text 1 entitled *busy spring*, selected from the volume *Songs of March* from the collection *Liao Songs of Pingguo Zhuang*]

**KEY:** ini.=initiating, que.:question, res.=responding, sup.=supporting,  
conf.=confronting, dev.=developing

Speech function	Singer	Turn	Line	Lyric
Ini: statement	Male	1	1)	<p>nei<sup>6</sup> θa:m<sup>1</sup> ni:t<sup>8</sup> ɛin<sup>1</sup>fan<sup>1</sup>  second third month Chunfen  Chunfen<sup>9</sup> is in February or March,</p>
			2)	<p>tu:<sup>2</sup> yok<sup>8</sup> fan<sup>1</sup> θei<sup>5</sup> kia:<sup>5</sup>  CL bird separate four corner  Birds live in different parts.</p>
			3)	<p>yok<sup>8</sup> ta:ŋ<sup>5</sup> pa:i<sup>6</sup> ta:ŋ<sup>5</sup> yo:ŋ<sup>2</sup>  bird each side each nest  They are far apart here and there,</p>
			4)	<p>?doŋ<sup>1</sup> ta:ŋ<sup>5</sup> tu:<sup>2</sup> ta:ŋ<sup>5</sup> he:u<sup>6</sup>  woods each CL each chirp  They chirp in different woods.</p>
Res: dev: extension	Female	2	5)	<p>nei<sup>6</sup> θa:m<sup>1</sup> ni:t<sup>8</sup> ɛin<sup>1</sup>fan<sup>1</sup>  second third month Chunfen  Chunfen is in February or March,</p>

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<sup>9</sup> Chunfen: The day of Spring Equinox (the 4<sup>th</sup> of 24 solar terms of China).

Speech function	Singer	Turn	Line	Lyric
			6)	tu: <sup>2</sup> yok <sup>8</sup> fan <sup>1</sup> θei <sup>5</sup> kja: <sup>5</sup> CL bird separate four corner Birds live in different parts.
			7)	yok <sup>8</sup> ta:ŋ <sup>5</sup> pa:i <sup>6</sup> ta:ŋ <sup>5</sup> ea: <sup>2</sup> bird each side each clump of tree Birds are far apart from each other,
			8)	pja: <sup>1</sup> ta:ŋ <sup>5</sup> tu: <sup>2</sup> ta:ŋ <sup>5</sup> ti:u <sup>6</sup> fish each CL each jump Fish jumps happily in the water.
Ini: que: elemental	Male	3	9)	ŋei <sup>6</sup> θa:m <sup>1</sup> ni:t <sup>8</sup> eiŋ <sup>1</sup> miŋ <sup>2</sup> second third month Qingming Qingming <sup>10</sup> is in February or March,
			10)	kiŋ <sup>1</sup> huŋ <sup>3</sup> la: <sup>3</sup> tau <sup>3</sup> pa:u <sup>5</sup> calendar up down come announce The calendar announces that.
			11)	ŋei <sup>6</sup> θa:m <sup>1</sup> ni:t <sup>8</sup> to: <sup>4</sup> ta:u <sup>5</sup> second third month to back Before February and March,
			12)	tu: <sup>2</sup> ma: <sup>2</sup> pa:u <sup>5</sup> eiŋ <sup>1</sup> fan <sup>1</sup> CL WH- announce Chunfen Who tells the day of Chunfen?
Res: sup: answer	Female	4	13)	ŋei <sup>6</sup> θa:m <sup>1</sup> ni:t <sup>8</sup> eiŋ <sup>1</sup> miŋ <sup>2</sup> second third month Qingming Qingming is in February or March,
			14)	kiŋ <sup>1</sup> huŋ <sup>3</sup> la: <sup>3</sup> tau <sup>3</sup> pa:u <sup>5</sup> calendar up down to announce The calendar announces that.

<sup>10</sup> Qingming: The day of Clear and Bright (the 5<sup>th</sup> of 24 solar terms of China).

Speech function	Singer	Turn	Line	Lyric
			15)	<p>nei<sup>6</sup> θa:m<sup>1</sup> ni:t<sup>8</sup> to:<sup>4</sup> ta:u<sup>5</sup>  second third month to back  Before February and March,</p>
			16)	<p>tu:<sup>2</sup> yok<sup>8</sup> pa:u<sup>5</sup> ein<sup>1</sup>fan<sup>1</sup>  CL bird announce Chunfen  The birds tell the day of Chunfen.</p>
Ini: statement	Male	5	17)	<p>nei<sup>6</sup> θa:m<sup>1</sup> ni:t<sup>8</sup> eiŋ<sup>1</sup>miŋ<sup>2</sup>  second third month Qingming  Qingming is in February or March,</p>
			18)	<p>?dai<sup>3</sup> ni:<sup>1</sup> θiŋ<sup>1</sup> k<sup>ve:</sup><sup>3</sup> yu:n<sup>2</sup>  can hear sound frog croak  The fogs are happy to croak.</p>
			19)	<p>ŋon<sup>2</sup> yu:n<sup>2</sup> θiŋ<sup>1</sup> θo:ŋ<sup>1</sup> θiŋ<sup>1</sup>  day croak sound two sound  One or two croaks in a day,</p>
			20)	<p>tuuk<sup>7</sup> θim<sup>1</sup> tau<sup>2</sup> yau<sup>2</sup> lu:n<sup>6</sup>  make heart 1PL mess  It is enough to send my fancy away.</p>
Res: sup: acknowledgement	Female	6	21)	<p>nei<sup>6</sup> θa:m<sup>1</sup> ni:t<sup>8</sup> eiŋ<sup>1</sup>miŋ<sup>2</sup>  second third month Qingming  Qingming is in February or March,</p>
			22)	<p>?dai<sup>3</sup> ni:<sup>1</sup> θiŋ<sup>1</sup> k<sup>ve:</sup><sup>3</sup> yu:m<sup>2</sup>  can hear sound frog croak  The frogs are happy to croak .</p>
			23)	<p>ŋon<sup>2</sup> yu:n<sup>2</sup> θiŋ<sup>1</sup> θo:ŋ<sup>1</sup> θiŋ<sup>1</sup>  day croak sound two sound  One or two croaks in a day,</p>
			24)	<p>la:ŋ<sup>6</sup> nau<sup>2</sup> θiŋ<sup>1</sup> jou<sup>4</sup> no:i<sup>4</sup>  as if sound lover little  Remind me of what you say.</p>

Speech function	Singer	Turn	Line	Lyric
Ini: statement	Male	7	25)	ηei <sup>6</sup> θa:m <sup>1</sup> ni:t <sup>8</sup> eiŋ <sup>1</sup> miŋ <sup>2</sup> second third month Qingming Qingming is in February or March,
			26)	ʔdai <sup>3</sup> ni: <sup>1</sup> θiŋ <sup>1</sup> ha:n <sup>2</sup> ha:k <sup>8</sup> can hear sound a kind of insect I can hear the sound of Hanhag.
			27)	ʔdai <sup>3</sup> ni: <sup>1</sup> pa:k <sup>7</sup> jou <sup>4</sup> pe:ŋ <sup>2</sup> can hear mouth lover respected I can hear your voice,
			28)	εan <sup>1</sup> jak <sup>7</sup> pe:n pai <sup>1</sup> εo: <sup>6</sup> really want climb go meet I long to meet you around.
Res: sup: acknowledgement	Female	8	29)	ηei <sup>6</sup> θa:m <sup>1</sup> ni:t <sup>8</sup> eiŋ <sup>1</sup> miŋ <sup>2</sup> second third month Qingming Qingming is in February or March,
			30)	ʔdai <sup>3</sup> ni: <sup>1</sup> θiŋ <sup>1</sup> k <sup>ve:3</sup> yu:m <sup>2</sup> can hear sound frog croak I can hear the sound of frog croaking.
			31)	ʔdai <sup>3</sup> ni: <sup>1</sup> pa:k <sup>7</sup> jou <sup>4</sup> yau <sup>2</sup> can hear mouth lover 1PL I can hear your voice,
			32)	ʔbou <sup>3</sup> ʔdai <sup>3</sup> ʔau <sup>1</sup> ku: <sup>6</sup> to:i <sup>6</sup> NEG can get as companion But cannot to be with you.
Ini: statement	Male	9	33)	ηei <sup>6</sup> θa:m <sup>1</sup> ni:t <sup>8</sup> eiŋ <sup>1</sup> miŋ <sup>2</sup> second third month Qingming Qingming is in February or March,
			34)	ʔdi <sup>3</sup> jou <sup>4</sup> kim <sup>1</sup> εam <sup>6</sup> naŋ <sup>6</sup> together lover gold as well sit We are sitting in delight.

Speech function	Singer	Turn	Line	Lyric
			35)	yan <sup>1</sup> jou <sup>4</sup> taŋ <sup>5</sup> ɛan <sup>2</sup> dei <sup>1</sup> see lover speak words good I get your sweet words,
			36)	kei <sup>5</sup> ʔdau <sup>1</sup> θim <sup>1</sup> taŋ <sup>2</sup> ɛi:u <sup>6</sup> remember inside heart till generation I'll keep it in my mind forever.
Res: sup: acknowledgement	Female	10	37)	ŋei <sup>6</sup> θa:m <sup>1</sup> ɲi:t <sup>8</sup> ɛiŋ <sup>1</sup> miŋ <sup>2</sup> second third month Qingming Qingming is in February or March,
			38)	ʔdi <sup>3</sup> jou <sup>4</sup> kim <sup>1</sup> ɛam <sup>6</sup> naŋ <sup>6</sup> together lover gold as well sit We are sitting together.
			39)	yan <sup>1</sup> jou <sup>4</sup> taŋ <sup>5</sup> ɛan <sup>2</sup> dei <sup>1</sup> see lover speak words good I get your sweet words,
			40)	kei <sup>5</sup> taŋ <sup>2</sup> pei <sup>4</sup> taŋ <sup>2</sup> ɛi:u <sup>6</sup> very until old till generation I will remember it for my life.
Ini: statement	Male	11	41)	ŋei <sup>6</sup> θa:m <sup>1</sup> ɲi:t <sup>8</sup> kok <sup>8</sup> hau <sup>4</sup> second third month Guyu Guyu <sup>11</sup> is in February or March,
			42)	taŋ <sup>2</sup> vun <sup>2</sup> ɣu: <sup>6</sup> yei <sup>6</sup> fa:i <sup>5</sup> all people tidy field cotton Everyone is working in cotton field.
			43)	ta:ŋ <sup>5</sup> fan <sup>1</sup> fa:i <sup>5</sup> ta:ŋ <sup>5</sup> tok <sup>7</sup> each seed cotton each sow Someone is sowing cotton,

<sup>11</sup> Guyu: The day of Grain Rain (the 6<sup>th</sup> of 24 solar terms of China).

Speech function	Singer	Turn	Line	Lyric
			44)	ta:ŋ <sup>5</sup> doŋ <sup>2</sup> kok <sup>7</sup> ta:ŋ <sup>5</sup> ɕim <sup>6</sup> each friend important each look for Someone is looking for friends.
Res: dev: elaboration	Female	12	45)	ŋei <sup>6</sup> θa:m <sup>1</sup> ɲi:t <sup>8</sup> kok <sup>8</sup> hau <sup>4</sup> second third month Guyu Guyu is in February or March,
			46)	taŋ <sup>2</sup> vun <sup>2</sup> yu: <sup>6</sup> yei <sup>6</sup> fa:i <sup>5</sup> all people tidy field cotton Everyone is working in cotton fields.
			47)	ta:ŋ <sup>5</sup> fan <sup>1</sup> fa:i <sup>5</sup> ta:ŋ <sup>5</sup> tok <sup>7</sup> each seed cotton each sow Someone is sowing cotton,
			48)	ta:ŋ <sup>5</sup> doŋ <sup>2</sup> kok <sup>7</sup> ta:ŋ <sup>5</sup> li:u <sup>6</sup> each friend important each play Someone is playing with friends.
Ini: qus: elemental	Male	13	49)	ŋei <sup>6</sup> θa:m <sup>1</sup> ɲi:t <sup>8</sup> pai <sup>1</sup> na: <sup>3</sup> second third month go afterward From February and March on,
			50)	tok <sup>7</sup> kja: <sup>3</sup> li:n <sup>2</sup> tok <sup>7</sup> fa:i <sup>5</sup> sow seedling and sow cotton Sowing rice and cotton,
			51)	tok <sup>7</sup> fa:i <sup>5</sup> li:n <sup>2</sup> tok <sup>7</sup> ɕa:m <sup>2</sup> sow cotton and sow indigo Sowing cotton and indigo,
			52)	pai <sup>1</sup> lau <sup>2</sup> ɲa:ŋ <sup>2</sup> jou <sup>4</sup> no:i <sup>6</sup> go WH- meet lover little Where can I meet my lover?
Res: dev: elaboration	Female	14	53)	ŋei <sup>6</sup> θa:m <sup>1</sup> ɲi:t <sup>8</sup> pai <sup>1</sup> na: <sup>3</sup> second third month go afterward From February and March on,

Speech function	Singer	Turn	Line	Lyric
			54)	tok <sup>7</sup> kja: <sup>3</sup> li:n <sup>2</sup> tok <sup>7</sup> fa:i <sup>5</sup> sow seedling and sow cotton Sowing rice and cotton,
			55)	tok <sup>7</sup> fa:i <sup>5</sup> li:n <sup>2</sup> tok <sup>7</sup> ɛa:m <sup>2</sup> sow cotton and sow indigo Sowing cotton and indigo,
			56)	pai <sup>1</sup> lau <sup>2</sup> ja:ŋ <sup>2</sup> fu:n <sup>1</sup> to: <sup>5</sup> go WH- meet song partner Where can I go for songs?
Ini: statement	Male	15	57)	ŋei <sup>6</sup> θa:m <sup>1</sup> ni:t <sup>8</sup> pai <sup>1</sup> na: <sup>3</sup> second third month go front From February and March on,
			58)	ʔboŋ <sup>5</sup> ʔba: <sup>3</sup> ei:u <sup>2</sup> tai <sup>6</sup> pun <sup>6</sup> butterfly gather transport fertilizer Butterflies invite to carry fertilizer.
			59)	tai <sup>6</sup> kva: <sup>5</sup> yuŋ <sup>6</sup> kva: <sup>5</sup> pia: <sup>1</sup> bag across valley across mountain Go across valleys and mountains,
			60)	pai <sup>1</sup> tuk <sup>7</sup> na: <sup>2</sup> pou <sup>4</sup> θai <sup>5</sup> go put paddy CL chieftain To put in the paddy of chieftains.
Res: dev: elaboration	Female	16	61)	ŋei <sup>6</sup> θa:m <sup>1</sup> ni:t <sup>8</sup> pai <sup>1</sup> na: <sup>3</sup> second third month go front From February and March on,
			62)	ʔboŋ <sup>5</sup> ʔba: <sup>3</sup> ei:u <sup>2</sup> dai <sup>6</sup> pun <sup>6</sup> butterfly gather transport fertilizer Butterflies invite to carry fertilizer.
			63)	tai <sup>6</sup> kva: <sup>5</sup> yuŋ <sup>6</sup> kva: <sup>5</sup> pia: <sup>1</sup> bag across valley across mountain Go across valleys and mountains,

Speech function	Singer	Turn	Line	Lyric
			64)	<p>pai<sup>1</sup> tuk<sup>7</sup> na:<sup>2</sup> vu:ŋ<sup>1</sup> tai<sup>5</sup>                      go put paddy the king                      To put in the paddy of the king.</p>
Ini: statement	Male	17	65)	<p>ŋei<sup>6</sup> θa:m<sup>1</sup> ni:t<sup>8</sup> pai<sup>1</sup> na:<sup>3</sup>                      second third month go front                      From February and March on,</p>
			66)	<p>ha:<sup>3</sup> tu:<sup>2</sup> kʰa:<sup>5</sup> ha:<sup>3</sup> lo:<sup>6</sup>                      five CL across five road                      Everyone is busy on the way.</p>
			67)	<p>lo:<sup>6</sup> te:<sup>1</sup> ei:u<sup>2</sup> ʔdam<sup>1</sup> na:<sup>2</sup>                      road 3SG gather plant paddy                      Someone is planting rice,</p>
			68)	<p>ka:<sup>1</sup> te:<sup>1</sup> ei:u<sup>2</sup> tai<sup>6</sup> pun<sup>6</sup>                      leg 3SG gather transport fertilizer                      Someone is carrying fertilizer.</p>
Res: dev: extension	Female	18	69)	<p>ŋei<sup>6</sup> θa:m<sup>1</sup> ni:t<sup>8</sup> pai<sup>1</sup> na:<sup>3</sup>                      second third month go front                      From February and March on,</p>
			70)	<p>ha:<sup>3</sup> tu:<sup>2</sup> kʰa:<sup>5</sup> ha:<sup>3</sup> lo:<sup>6</sup>                      five CL across five thing                      Everyone is busy on the way.</p>
			71)	<p>lo:<sup>6</sup> te:<sup>3</sup> ei:u<sup>2</sup> ʔdam<sup>1</sup> na:<sup>2</sup>                      thing 3SG gather plant paddy                      Someone is planting rice,</p>
			72)	<p>ka:<sup>1</sup> te:<sup>1</sup> ei:u<sup>2</sup> ʔdam<sup>1</sup> fa:i<sup>5</sup>                      leg 3SG gather plant cotton                      Someone is planting cotton.</p>
Ini: statement	Male	19	73)	<p>ŋei<sup>6</sup> θa:m<sup>1</sup> ni:t<sup>8</sup> pai<sup>1</sup> na:<sup>3</sup>                      second third month go front                      From February and March on,</p>

Speech function	Singer	Turn	Line	Lyric
			74)	pja: <sup>3</sup> ɣai <sup>1</sup> mo: <sup>5</sup> kuu <sup>2</sup> ʔbuun <sup>1</sup> thunder roar new above sky Spring thunder growls in the sky.
			75)	ŋei <sup>6</sup> θa:m <sup>1</sup> ni:t <sup>8</sup> ka:u <sup>1</sup> ein <sup>1</sup> second third month turn to Spring Chunfen comes in February or March,
			76)	fun <sup>1</sup> tok <sup>7</sup> pja: <sup>3</sup> ɣai <sup>1</sup> mo: <sup>5</sup> rain fall thunder roar new Spring rain comes along with thunder.
Res: repetition	Female	20	77)	ŋei <sup>6</sup> θa:m <sup>1</sup> ni:t <sup>8</sup> pai <sup>1</sup> na: <sup>3</sup> second third month go front From February and March on,
			78)	pja: <sup>3</sup> ɣai <sup>1</sup> mo: <sup>5</sup> kuu <sup>2</sup> ʔbuun <sup>1</sup> thunder roar new above sky Spring thunder growls in the sky.
			79)	ŋei <sup>6</sup> θa:m <sup>1</sup> ni:t <sup>8</sup> ka:u <sup>1</sup> ein <sup>1</sup> second third month turn to Spring Chunfen comes in February or March,
			80)	fun <sup>1</sup> tok <sup>7</sup> pja: <sup>3</sup> ɣai <sup>1</sup> he:u <sup>6</sup> rain fall thunder roar call Spring rain comes along with thunder.
Ini: statement	Male	21	81)	ŋei <sup>6</sup> θa:m <sup>1</sup> ni:t <sup>8</sup> pai <sup>1</sup> na: <sup>3</sup> second third month go front From February and March on,
			82)	ʔba: <sup>3</sup> ka:k <sup>7</sup> tu: <sup>2</sup> ka:k <sup>7</sup> ʔbin <sup>1</sup> butterfly oneself CL oneself fly Butterflies fly in different ways.
			83)	ka:k <sup>7</sup> pou <sup>4</sup> ka:k <sup>7</sup> jou <sup>5</sup> θim <sup>1</sup> oneself CL oneself at heart Everyone has his worry,

Speech function	Singer	Turn	Line	Lyric
			84)	ʔbou <sup>3</sup> ʔdai <sup>3</sup> nin <sup>2</sup> ya:n <sup>2</sup> me: <sup>6</sup> NEG can sleep house mother Unable to stay with the parents.
Res: dev: elaboration	Female	22	85)	ŋei <sup>6</sup> θa:m <sup>1</sup> ni:t <sup>8</sup> pai <sup>1</sup> na: <sup>3</sup> second third month go front From February and March on,
			86)	ʔba: <sup>3</sup> ka:k <sup>7</sup> tu: <sup>2</sup> ka:k <sup>7</sup> ʔbin <sup>1</sup> butterfly oneself CL oneself fly Butterflies fly in different ways.
			87)	ka:k <sup>7</sup> pou <sup>4</sup> ka:k <sup>7</sup> jou <sup>5</sup> θim <sup>1</sup> oneself CL oneself at heart Everyone has his worry,
			88)	na:n <sup>2</sup> vut <sup>7</sup> θiŋ <sup>1</sup> fu:n <sup>1</sup> to:i <sup>6</sup> difficult throw out sound song partner Unable to enjoy singing songs.
Ini: offer	Male	23	89)	ŋei <sup>6</sup> θa:m <sup>1</sup> ni:t <sup>8</sup> pai <sup>1</sup> na: <sup>3</sup> second third month go front From February and March on,
			90)	kam <sup>1</sup> ɛa: <sup>4</sup> ya: <sup>1</sup> yei <sup>6</sup> fa:i <sup>5</sup> hold sickle find field cotton You get sickle for cotton work.
			91)	yei <sup>6</sup> fa:i <sup>5</sup> jou <sup>5</sup> ki:lau <sup>2</sup> field cotton at WH- Where is your cotton field?
			92)	eiŋ <sup>3</sup> tou <sup>1</sup> kan <sup>1</sup> pai <sup>1</sup> fu:t <sup>7</sup> invite 1SG follow go clear Let me follow you to work.
Res: sup: acceptance	Female	24	93)	ŋei <sup>6</sup> θa:m <sup>1</sup> ni:t <sup>8</sup> pai <sup>1</sup> na: <sup>3</sup> second third month go front From February and March on,

Speech function	Singer	Turn	Line	Lyric
			94)	kam <sup>1</sup> ɛa: <sup>4</sup> ya: <sup>1</sup> yei <sup>6</sup> fa:i <sup>5</sup> hold sickle find field cotton I get sickle for cotton work.
			95)	yei <sup>6</sup> fa:i <sup>5</sup> jou <sup>5</sup> tin <sup>1</sup> pia: <sup>1</sup> field cotton at foot mountain My field is at mountain foot,
			96)	ɛa: <sup>3</sup> jou <sup>4</sup> yau <sup>2</sup> pai <sup>1</sup> fu:t <sup>7</sup> wait lover I go clear I'm waiting for you to work.
Ini: offer	Male	25	97)	ɲei <sup>6</sup> θa:m <sup>1</sup> ni:t <sup>8</sup> pai <sup>1</sup> na: <sup>3</sup> second third month go front From February and March on,
			98)	kam <sup>1</sup> ɛa: <sup>4</sup> ya: <sup>1</sup> yei <sup>6</sup> tu: <sup>6</sup> hold sickle find field bean You get sickle for bean work.
			99)	yei <sup>6</sup> tu: <sup>6</sup> jou <sup>5</sup> ki: <sup>2</sup> lau <sup>2</sup> field bean at WH- Where is your bean field?
			100)	ɕiŋ <sup>3</sup> tou <sup>1</sup> kan <sup>1</sup> pai <sup>1</sup> fu:t <sup>7</sup> invite 1SG follow go clear Let me follow you to work.
Res: sup: acceptance	Female	26	101)	ɲei <sup>6</sup> θa:m <sup>1</sup> ni:t <sup>8</sup> pai <sup>1</sup> na: <sup>3</sup> second third month go front From February and March on,
			102)	kam <sup>1</sup> ɛa: <sup>4</sup> ya: <sup>1</sup> yei <sup>6</sup> tu: <sup>6</sup> hold sickle find field bean I get sickle for bean work.
			103)	yei <sup>6</sup> tu: <sup>6</sup> jou <sup>5</sup> tin <sup>1</sup> ?doŋ <sup>1</sup> field bean at foot woods My field is nearby the woods,

Speech function	Singer	Turn	Line	Lyric
			104)	<p>ɛa:<sup>3</sup> jou<sup>4</sup> ɣau<sup>2</sup> pai<sup>1</sup> fu:t<sup>7</sup>                      wait lover I go clear                      I'm waiting for you to work.</p>
Ini: offer	Male	27	105)	<p>ŋei<sup>6</sup> θa:m<sup>1</sup> ni:t<sup>8</sup> pai<sup>1</sup> na:<sup>3</sup>                      second third month go front                      From February and March on,</p>
			106)	<p>kam<sup>1</sup> ɛa:<sup>4</sup> ɣa:<sup>1</sup> ɣei<sup>6</sup> hau<sup>4</sup>                      hold sickle find field rice                      You get sickle for corn work.</p>
			107)	<p>ɣei<sup>6</sup> hau<sup>4</sup> jou<sup>5</sup> ki:<sup>2</sup>lau<sup>2</sup>                      field rice at WH-                      Where is your corn field?</p>
			108)	<p>eiŋ<sup>3</sup> tou<sup>1</sup> kan<sup>1</sup> pai<sup>1</sup> fu:t<sup>7</sup>                      invite 1SG follow go clear                      Let me follow you to work.</p>
Res: sup: acceptance	Female	28	109)	<p>ŋei<sup>6</sup> θa:m<sup>1</sup> ni:t<sup>8</sup> pai<sup>1</sup> na:<sup>3</sup>                      second third month go front                      From February and March on,</p>
			110)	<p>kam<sup>1</sup> ɛa:<sup>4</sup> ɣa:<sup>1</sup> ɣei<sup>6</sup> tu:<sup>6</sup>                      hold sickle find field bean                      I get sickle for corn work.</p>
			111)	<p>ɣei<sup>6</sup> hau<sup>4</sup> jou<sup>5</sup> tin<sup>1</sup> ke:ŋ<sup>1</sup>                      field rice at foot hill                      My field is at the foot of hill,</p>
			112)	<p>ɛa:<sup>3</sup> jou<sup>4</sup> ɣau<sup>2</sup> pai<sup>1</sup> fu:t<sup>7</sup>                      wait lover I go clear                      I'm waiting for you to work.</p>
Ini: que: elemental	Male	29	113)	<p>ŋei<sup>6</sup> θa:m<sup>1</sup> ni:t<sup>8</sup> kok<sup>7</sup> hau<sup>4</sup>                      second third month Guyu                      Guyu arrives in February or March,</p>

Speech function	Singer	Turn	Line	Lyric
			114)	yan <sup>1</sup> jou <sup>4</sup> tau <sup>2</sup> fan <sup>1</sup> fa:i <sup>5</sup> see lover hold seed cotton I see you carrying the cotton seeds.
			115)	tau <sup>2</sup> fan <sup>1</sup> fa:i <sup>5</sup> pai <sup>1</sup> ?dam <sup>1</sup> take seed cotton go plant You take the cotton seeds to sow,
			116)	pai <sup>1</sup> lau <sup>2</sup> yan <sup>1</sup> jou <sup>4</sup> no:i <sup>6</sup> go WH- meet lover I Where can I meet you?
Res: sup: answer	Female	30	117)	ŋei <sup>6</sup> θa:m <sup>1</sup> ji:t <sup>8</sup> kok <sup>7</sup> hau <sup>4</sup> second third month Guyu Guyu arrives in February or March,
			118)	yan <sup>1</sup> jou <sup>4</sup> tau <sup>2</sup> fan <sup>1</sup> tu: <sup>6</sup> see lover take seed bean I see you carrying the cotton seeds.
			119)	tau <sup>2</sup> fan <sup>1</sup> tu: <sup>6</sup> pai <sup>1</sup> ?dam <sup>1</sup> take seed bean go plant I take the cotton seeds to sow,
			120)	?o:k <sup>7</sup> han <sup>2</sup> tam <sup>2</sup> pai <sup>1</sup> de: <sup>5</sup> out ridge pond go wait Please wait for me at the pond.
Ini: statement	Male	31	121)	pja: <sup>3</sup> yai <sup>2</sup> mo: <sup>5</sup> le <sup>1</sup> jou <sup>4</sup> thunder roar new PRT lover Oh, spring thunder is growling,
			122)	fun <sup>1</sup> tok <sup>7</sup> mo: <sup>5</sup> le <sup>1</sup> ya: <sup>2</sup> rain fall new PRT friend Oh, spring rain is falling.
			123)	vun <sup>2</sup> fu: <sup>2</sup> ya:u <sup>5</sup> yon <sup>2</sup> na: <sup>2</sup> people carry rake go down paddy People are carrying rakes to paddy,

Speech function	Singer	Turn	Line	Lyric
			124)	<p> <math>\gamma au^2</math> <math>pai^1</math> <math>p'a:1</math>      <math>?ba:k^7</math> <math>yei^6</math>                      1PL go mountain till field                      I am tilling on the hills.                 </p>
Res: conf: contradiction	Female	32	125)	<p> <math>p'a:3</math>      <math>\gamma ai^2</math> <math>mo:5</math> <math>le^1</math>      <math>jou^4</math>                      thunder roar new PRT lover                      Oh, the spring thunder is growling,                 </p>
			126)	<p> <math>fun^1</math> <math>tok^7</math> <math>mo:5</math> <math>le^1</math>      <math>lum^2</math>                      rain fall new PRT friend                      Oh, the spring rain is falling.                 </p>
			127)	<p> <math>jou^4</math>      <math>fu:2</math>      <math>\gamma a:u^5</math> <math>\gamma oŋ^2</math>      <math>na:2</math>                      lover carry rake go down paddy                      People are carrying rakes to paddy,                 </p>
			128)	<p> <math>\gamma au^2</math> <math>pai^1</math> <math>p'a:1</math>      <math>?ba:k^7</math> <math>yei^6</math>                      1PL go mountain till field                      I am tilling on the hills.                 </p>
Ini: statement	Male	33	129)	<p> <math>fun^1</math> <math>tok^7</math> <math>mon^5</math>      <math>\theta i:1</math>      <math>\theta ok^8</math>                      rain fall slightly ONOM ONOM                      The rain is falling slightly,                 </p>
			130)	<p> <math>\epsilon ai^1</math> <math>nok^8</math>      <math>?bou^3</math> <math>\epsilon aŋ^2</math> <math>to:5</math>                      plough NEG yet construct                      I haven't got plough ready.                 </p>
			131)	<p> <math>?bou^3</math> <math>\epsilon aŋ^2</math> <math>to:5</math>      <math>\epsilon ai^1</math> <math>nok^8</math>                      NEG yet construct plough                      I've not made the plough,                 </p>
			132)	<p> <math>?bou^3</math> <math>\epsilon aŋ^2</math> <math>pok^7</math>      <math>va:1</math> <math>fo:n^6</math>                      NEG yet turn over clod                      I've not turned over the clod.                 </p>
Res: conf: contradiction	Female	34	133)	<p> <math>fun^1</math> <math>tok^7</math> <math>mon^5</math>      <math>\theta i:1</math>      <math>\theta ok^8</math>                      rain fall slightly ONOM ONOM                      The rain is falling slightly,                 </p>

Speech function	Singer	Turn	Line	Lyric
			134)	ɛai <sup>1</sup> nok <sup>8</sup> θou <sup>1</sup> θe:n <sup>5</sup> to: <sup>5</sup> plough 2PL already construct You have got plough ready.
			135)	θou <sup>1</sup> θe:n <sup>5</sup> to: <sup>5</sup> ɛai <sup>1</sup> nok <sup>8</sup> 2PL already construct plough You have made the plough,
			136)	θou <sup>1</sup> θe:n <sup>5</sup> pok <sup>7</sup> va: <sup>1</sup> fo:n <sup>6</sup> 2PL already turn over clod You have turned over the clod.
Ini: statement	Male	35	137)	pou <sup>4</sup> mi: <sup>2</sup> mo: <sup>2</sup> mi: <sup>2</sup> va:i <sup>2</sup> CL have ox have buffalo Those have ox and buffalo,
			138)	fun <sup>1</sup> la:i <sup>1</sup> ko: <sup>3</sup> ?bou <sup>3</sup> daŋ <sup>4</sup> rain many/much even NEG pause Keep working even in rain.
			139)	laŋ <sup>1</sup> ho:i <sup>5</sup> ho: <sup>3</sup> mo: <sup>2</sup> va:i <sup>2</sup> house 1SG lack ox buffalo I have no ox or buffalo,
			140)	nin <sup>2</sup> ɣo:k <sup>8</sup> ka:i <sup>1</sup> ta:u <sup>2</sup> hei <sup>5</sup> sleep outside street sigh Sigh and sleep all the day.
Res: conf: contradiction	Female	36	141)	θou <sup>1</sup> mi: <sup>2</sup> mo: <sup>2</sup> mi: <sup>2</sup> va:i <sup>2</sup> 2PL have ox have buffalo You have ox and buffalo,
			142)	fun <sup>1</sup> la:i <sup>1</sup> ko: <sup>3</sup> ?bou <sup>3</sup> daŋ <sup>4</sup> rain many/much even NEG pause Keep working even in rain.
			143)	laŋ <sup>1</sup> tou <sup>1</sup> mo: <sup>4</sup> ?bou <sup>3</sup> va:i <sup>2</sup> house 1SG ox NEG buffalo I have no ox or buffalo,

Speech function	Singer	Turn	Line	Lyric
			144)	nin <sup>2</sup> taŋ <sup>2</sup> kʰa:i <sup>4</sup> ci: <sup>3</sup> hu:n <sup>5</sup> sleep until late still get up Still sleep and get up late.
Ini: statement	Male	37	145)	fu:n <sup>1</sup> tok <sup>7</sup> mon <sup>5</sup> θi: <sup>1</sup> θe:k <sup>7</sup> rain fall slightly ONOM The rain is falling slightly,
			146)	ʔe:k <sup>7</sup> jou <sup>5</sup> ku:n <sup>2</sup> fai <sup>4</sup> ko: <sup>2</sup> yoke at above tree trunk The yoke is still in the tree.
			147)	fu:n <sup>1</sup> tok <sup>7</sup> mon <sup>5</sup> θi: <sup>1</sup> θo: <sup>1</sup> rain fall slightly ONOM The rain is falling slightly,
			148)	ya: <sup>1</sup> ɛu: <sup>2</sup> ɛo: <sup>1</sup> ʔbou <sup>3</sup> ɛau <sup>3</sup> find cattle rent NEG see I cannot find cattle to rent.
Res: dev: elaboration	Female	38	149)	fu:n <sup>1</sup> tok <sup>7</sup> mon <sup>5</sup> θi: <sup>1</sup> θe:k <sup>7</sup> rain fall slightly ONOM The rain is falling slightly,
			150)	ʔe:k <sup>7</sup> jou <sup>5</sup> ku:n <sup>2</sup> fai <sup>4</sup> ko: <sup>2</sup> yoke at above tree trunk The yoke is still in the tree.
			151)	fu:n <sup>1</sup> tok <sup>7</sup> mon <sup>5</sup> θi: <sup>1</sup> θo: <sup>1</sup> rain fall slightly ONOM The rain is falling slightly,
			152)	mo: <sup>2</sup> li: <sup>3</sup> jou <sup>5</sup> ya:n <sup>2</sup> ta:i <sup>5</sup> ox still at house wife's mother The cattle are still in parents' house.
Ini: statement	Male	39	153)	fu:n <sup>1</sup> tok <sup>7</sup> mon <sup>5</sup> θi: <sup>1</sup> θat <sup>8</sup> rain fall slightly ONOM Spring rain is falling down,

Speech function	Singer	Turn	Line	Lyric
			154)	naŋ <sup>1</sup> tap <sup>7</sup> ʔbou <sup>3</sup> ɛaŋ <sup>2</sup> ɛau <sup>5</sup> skin yoke NEG yet see The yoke-set is not ready.
			155)	ʔbou <sup>3</sup> ɛaŋ <sup>2</sup> ɛau <sup>5</sup> naŋ <sup>1</sup> tap <sup>7</sup> NEG yet see skin yoke I've not made the yoke-set,
			156)	ʔbou <sup>3</sup> ɛaŋ <sup>2</sup> ɛau <sup>5</sup> ʔe:k <sup>7</sup> ku:ŋ <sup>5</sup> NEG yet see yoke bow Neither the yoke-bow is ready.
Res: conf: contradiction	Female	40	157)	fun <sup>1</sup> tok <sup>7</sup> mon <sup>5</sup> θi: <sup>1</sup> θat <sup>8</sup> rain fall slightly ONOM Spring rain is falling down,
			158)	naŋ <sup>1</sup> tap <sup>7</sup> θou <sup>1</sup> θe:n <sup>5</sup> ɛau <sup>5</sup> skin yoke 2PL already see The yoke-set is ready.
			159)	θou <sup>1</sup> θe:n <sup>5</sup> ɛau <sup>5</sup> naŋ <sup>1</sup> tap <sup>7</sup> 2PL ASP see skin yoke You've made the yoke-set,
			160)	θou <sup>1</sup> θe:n <sup>5</sup> ɛau <sup>5</sup> ʔe:k <sup>7</sup> ku:ŋ <sup>5</sup> 2PL ASP see yoke bow And the yoke-bow is ready.
Ini: que: elemental	Male	41	161)	fun <sup>1</sup> tok <sup>7</sup> mon <sup>5</sup> θi: <sup>1</sup> θa:k <sup>7</sup> rain fall slightly ONOM The rain is falling slightly,
			162)	kam <sup>1</sup> ɛa:k <sup>8</sup> pai <sup>1</sup> ki: <sup>2</sup> lau <sup>2</sup> hold string go WH- Where to go with string?
			163)	fun <sup>1</sup> tok <sup>7</sup> mon <sup>5</sup> θi: <sup>1</sup> θai <sup>1</sup> rain fall slightly ONOM The rain is falling slightly,

Speech function	Singer	Turn	Line	Lyric
			164)	ya: <sup>1</sup> ɛu: <sup>2</sup> ɛai <sup>1</sup> ?bou <sup>3</sup> ɛau <sup>5</sup> find cattle plow NEG see No cattle found for plowing.
Res: sup: answer	Female	42	165)	fun <sup>1</sup> tok <sup>7</sup> mon <sup>5</sup> θi: <sup>1</sup> θa:k <sup>7</sup> rain fall slightly ONOM The rain is falling slightly,
			166)	kam <sup>1</sup> ɛa:k <sup>8</sup> pai <sup>1</sup> ya:n <sup>2</sup> ta:i <sup>5</sup> hold string go house wife's mother I take string to my parents' house.
			167)	ta:i <sup>5</sup> mi: <sup>2</sup> ɛu: <sup>2</sup> ta:i <sup>2</sup> pa: <sup>1</sup> wife's mother have cattle many My mom has plenty of oxen,
			168)	ta: <sup>1</sup> mi: <sup>2</sup> va:i <sup>2</sup> pan <sup>2</sup> yi:ŋ <sup>6</sup> wife's father have buffalo whole shed My dad has lots of buffaloes.
Ini: que: polar	Male	43	169)	yo: <sup>4</sup> va:i <sup>2</sup> po: <sup>6</sup> jou <sup>5</sup> ɣei <sup>6</sup> know buffalo father at field Your father's buffaloes are in the fields,
			170)	yo: <sup>4</sup> va:i <sup>2</sup> pei <sup>4</sup> jou <sup>5</sup> va:ŋ <sup>5</sup> know buffalo brother at free Your brother's buffaloes are Free.
			171)	va:ŋ <sup>5</sup> θak <sup>7</sup> tu: <sup>7</sup> va:i <sup>2</sup> fak <sup>7</sup> free just CL buffalo train Is any calf available for me?
			172)	tau <sup>2</sup> θak <sup>7</sup> ŋoŋ <sup>2</sup> ɛi:ŋ <sup>4</sup> miŋ <sup>6</sup> plow color day feed life To use for a couple of days.
Res: sup: affirmation	Female	44	173)	va:i <sup>2</sup> po: <sup>6</sup> ho:i <sup>5</sup> ɛam <sup>6</sup> li: <sup>3</sup> buffalo father 1SG as well still My father has extra buffaloes,

Speech function	Singer	Turn	Line	Lyric
			174)	va:i <sup>2</sup> pei <sup>4</sup> tou <sup>1</sup> cam <sup>6</sup> va:ŋ <sup>5</sup> buffalo brother 1SG as well free My brother has spare buffaloes.
			175)	va:ŋ <sup>5</sup> θo:ŋ <sup>1</sup> tu: <sup>7</sup> va:i <sup>2</sup> fak <sup>7</sup> free two CL buffalo train Two calves are free at home,
			176)	la:u <sup>1</sup> muŋ <sup>2</sup> fak <sup>7</sup> ja:i <sup>4</sup> ye:ŋ <sup>2</sup> afraid 2SG train waste energy I'm afraid you may tame in vain.
Ini: que: elemental	Male	45	177)	kou <sup>2</sup> ja: <sup>6</sup> pa: <sup>3</sup> ha:i <sup>1</sup> tou <sup>1</sup> beg granny aunt open door I beg your aunt to open the door,
			178)	kou <sup>2</sup> ja: <sup>6</sup> ku: <sup>4</sup> ha:i <sup>1</sup> yi:ŋ <sup>6</sup> beg granny aunt open shed I beg your aunt open the shed.
			179)	ha:i <sup>1</sup> yi:ŋ <sup>6</sup> pai <sup>1</sup> taŋ <sup>2</sup> ?dau <sup>1</sup> open shed go until inside I enter the cattle shed,
			180)	hau <sup>3</sup> tu: <sup>2</sup> lau <sup>2</sup> hau <sup>3</sup> ho:i <sup>5</sup> give CL WH- give 1SG Which cattle shall I take?
Res: sup: answer	Female	46	181)	me: <sup>6</sup> pa: <sup>3</sup> θe:n <sup>5</sup> ha:i <sup>1</sup> tou <sup>1</sup> mother aunt ASP open door My aunt has opened the door,
			182)	me: <sup>6</sup> ku: <sup>4</sup> θe:n <sup>5</sup> ha:i <sup>1</sup> yi:ŋ <sup>6</sup> mother aunt ASP open shed My aunt has opened the shed.
			183)	ha:i <sup>1</sup> yi:ŋ <sup>6</sup> pai <sup>1</sup> taŋ <sup>2</sup> ?dau <sup>1</sup> open shed go until inside You enter the cattle shed,

Speech function	Singer	Turn	Line	Lyric
			184)	ʔau <sup>1</sup> tu: <sup>2</sup> lau <sup>2</sup> ɛa:i <sup>6</sup> le: <sup>6</sup> want CL WH- as...like select Anyone you like to take.
Ini: statement	Male	47	185)	θei <sup>5</sup> ji:t <sup>8</sup> tau <sup>2</sup> va:i <sup>2</sup> fak <sup>7</sup> fourth month plow buffalo train I tame the calf in April,
			186)	θo:ŋ <sup>1</sup> fuŋ <sup>2</sup> nak <sup>8</sup> θo:ŋ <sup>1</sup> ɛa:k <sup>8</sup> two hand hold two rope Holding ropes in both hands.
			187)	tu: <sup>2</sup> te: <sup>1</sup> yak <sup>8</sup> huun <sup>3</sup> han <sup>2</sup> CL 3SG pull up ridge It's pulling me to the rand,
			188)	ʔbou <sup>3</sup> pan <sup>2</sup> lo: <sup>1</sup> jou <sup>4</sup> no:i <sup>6</sup> NEG success PRT lover I Making me angry and sad.
Res: dev: enhancement	Female	48	189)	θei <sup>5</sup> ji:t <sup>8</sup> tau <sup>2</sup> va:i <sup>2</sup> fak <sup>7</sup> fourth month plow buffalo train You tame the calf in April,
			190)	θo:ŋ <sup>1</sup> fuŋ <sup>2</sup> nak <sup>8</sup> θo:ŋ <sup>1</sup> ɛa:k <sup>8</sup> two hand hold two rope Holding ropes in both hands.
			191)	tu: <sup>2</sup> te: <sup>1</sup> yak <sup>8</sup> huun <sup>3</sup> han <sup>2</sup> CL 3SG pull up ridge It's pulling you to the rand,
			192)	ʔbou <sup>3</sup> pan <sup>2</sup> ʔau <sup>1</sup> tu: <sup>2</sup> ʔuun <sup>5</sup> NEG success use CL other Why not try another one?
Ini: statement	Male	49	193)	θei <sup>5</sup> ji:t <sup>8</sup> tau <sup>2</sup> va:i <sup>2</sup> fak <sup>7</sup> fourth month plow buffalo train I tame the calf in April,

Speech function	Singer	Turn	Line	Lyric
			194)	θo:ŋ <sup>1</sup> fuŋ <sup>2</sup> nak <sup>8</sup> θo:ŋ <sup>1</sup> ɛa:k <sup>8</sup> two hand hold two rope Holding ropes in both hands.
			195)	tu: <sup>2</sup> te: <sup>1</sup> yak <sup>8</sup> huŋ <sup>3</sup> han <sup>2</sup> CL 3SG pull up ridge It's pulling me to the rand,
			196)	ɛan <sup>1</sup> ho: <sup>2</sup> ?da:t <sup>7</sup> li:u <sup>4</sup> na:u <sup>5</sup> really throat hot finish PRT Making me angry and mad.
Res: dev: enhancement	Female	50	197)	θei <sup>5</sup> ji:t <sup>8</sup> tau <sup>2</sup> va:i <sup>2</sup> fak <sup>7</sup> fourth month plow buffalo train You tame the calf in April,
			198)	θo:ŋ <sup>1</sup> fuŋ <sup>2</sup> nak <sup>8</sup> θo:ŋ <sup>1</sup> ɛa:k <sup>8</sup> two hand hold two rope Holding ropes in both hands.
			199)	tu: <sup>2</sup> te: <sup>1</sup> yak <sup>8</sup> huŋ <sup>3</sup> han <sup>2</sup> CL 3SG pull up ridge It's pulling you to the rand,
			200)	ya: <sup>1</sup> ŋan <sup>2</sup> ɛau <sup>4</sup> tu: <sup>2</sup> mo: <sup>5</sup> find money buy CL new Why not buy a new one?
Ini: statement	Male	51	201)	θei <sup>5</sup> ji:t <sup>8</sup> tau <sup>2</sup> va:i <sup>2</sup> ɛai <sup>1</sup> fourth month plow buffalo plow I'm busy plowing in April,
			202)	tau <sup>2</sup> ɣo:ŋ <sup>6</sup> pai <sup>1</sup> ɣo:ŋ <sup>6</sup> ta:u <sup>5</sup> plow line go line back Plowing one line after another.
			203)	taŋ <sup>2</sup> k'au <sup>3</sup> ta:u <sup>5</sup> ha:t <sup>7</sup> va:i <sup>2</sup> until head back turn buffalo Going and coming on and on,

Speech function	Singer	Turn	Line	Lyric
			204)	ʔbou <sup>3</sup> ʔdai <sup>3</sup> na:i <sup>1</sup> jou <sup>4</sup> no:i <sup>6</sup> NEG can console lover I Have no time to care for you.
Res: sup: acknowledgement	Female	52	205)	θei <sup>5</sup> ɲi:t <sup>8</sup> tau <sup>2</sup> va:i <sup>2</sup> ɛai <sup>1</sup> fourth month plow buffalo plow You're busy plowing in April,
			206)	tau <sup>2</sup> ɣo:ŋ <sup>6</sup> pai <sup>1</sup> ɣo:ŋ <sup>6</sup> ta:u <sup>5</sup> plow line go line back Plowing one line after another.
			207)	taŋ <sup>2</sup> k'au <sup>3</sup> ta:u <sup>5</sup> ha:t <sup>7</sup> va:i <sup>2</sup> until head back turn buffalo Going and coming on and on,
			208)	jou <sup>4</sup> ɛan <sup>1</sup> na:i <sup>5</sup> ta: <sup>6</sup> ɣa:i <sup>4</sup> lover really tired much very You're really tired and wearing.
Ini: statement	Male	53	209)	θei <sup>5</sup> ɲi:t <sup>8</sup> fun <sup>1</sup> ɛi:m <sup>6</sup> la:i <sup>1</sup> fourth month rain gradually much April comes with much rain,
			210)	k'a:i <sup>1</sup> ki:ŋ <sup>5</sup> ɣam <sup>4</sup> ɣoŋ <sup>2</sup> na: <sup>2</sup> clever draw water go down paddy You draw water to the fields.
			211)	k'a:n <sup>1</sup> pa: <sup>2</sup> ɛi:u <sup>1</sup> pai <sup>1</sup> koŋ <sup>1</sup> husband wife together go work Working with your husband,
			212)	ho:i <sup>5</sup> ʔdi:p <sup>7</sup> loŋ <sup>1</sup> ʔdi:p <sup>7</sup> la:u <sup>5</sup> 1SG love wrong love fail to Standing me up with vain dreams.
Res: conf: contradiction	Female	54	213)	θei <sup>5</sup> ɲi:t <sup>8</sup> fun <sup>1</sup> ɛi:m <sup>6</sup> la:i <sup>1</sup> fourth month rain gradually much April comes with much rain,

Speech function	Singer	Turn	Line	Lyric
			214)	k <sup>v</sup> a:i <sup>1</sup> ki:ŋ <sup>5</sup> ɣam <sup>4</sup> ɣoŋ <sup>2</sup> na: <sup>2</sup> clever draw water go down paddy You draw water to the fields.
			215)	muŋ <sup>2</sup> mi: <sup>2</sup> luuk <sup>8</sup> mi: <sup>2</sup> pa: <sup>2</sup> 2SG have child have wife Together with your wife and child,
			216)	ʔdi:p <sup>7</sup> ki: <sup>2</sup> ma: <sup>2</sup> taŋ <sup>2</sup> ho:i <sup>5</sup> love WH- to 1SG How would you think of me?
Ini: statement	Male	55	217)	θei <sup>5</sup> ɲi:t <sup>8</sup> ɣam <sup>4</sup> ɣoŋ <sup>2</sup> na: <sup>2</sup> fourth month water go down paddy Water goes to paddy in April,
			218)	luuk <sup>8</sup> ʔbou <sup>3</sup> pa: <sup>2</sup> huŋ <sup>5</sup> ɣo:m <sup>6</sup> child NEG wife get up daybreak I have no wife gets up early.
			219)	ma:i <sup>6</sup> huŋ <sup>5</sup> ɣo:m <sup>6</sup> ta:u <sup>5</sup> ti:n <sup>1</sup> even get up daybreak back sky Even I try to gets up early,
			220)	ɛi:n <sup>1</sup> ni:n <sup>2</sup> tok <sup>7</sup> laŋ <sup>1</sup> to:i <sup>6</sup> thousand year fall back partner Only to be later than others.
Res: conf: contradiction	Female	56	221)	θei <sup>5</sup> ɲi:t <sup>8</sup> ɣam <sup>4</sup> ɣoŋ <sup>2</sup> na: <sup>2</sup> fourth month water go down paddy Water goes to paddy in April,
			222)	muŋ <sup>2</sup> mi: <sup>2</sup> pa: <sup>2</sup> huŋ <sup>5</sup> ɣo:m <sup>6</sup> 2SG have wife get up daybreak Your wife gets up early.
			223)	huŋ <sup>5</sup> ka: <sup>4</sup> ɣo:m <sup>6</sup> pi: <sup>1</sup> pin <sup>1</sup> get up noise daybreak ONOM Making a lot of noises,

Speech function	Singer	Turn	Line	Lyric
			224)	pok <sup>7</sup> ni:u <sup>1</sup> nin <sup>2</sup> pou <sup>4</sup> ke: <sup>5</sup> wake dream sleep CL old Waking up the sleeping elderly.
Ini: statement	Male	57	225)	θei <sup>5</sup> ji:t <sup>8</sup> ɣam <sup>4</sup> ɣoŋ <sup>2</sup> na: <sup>2</sup> fourth month water go down paddy Water goes to paddy in April,
			226)	lu:k <sup>8</sup> ʔbou <sup>3</sup> pa: <sup>2</sup> ʔau <sup>1</sup> ɣam <sup>4</sup> child NEG wife get water No one carries me water.
			227)	ka:k <sup>8</sup> ʔau <sup>1</sup> ɣam <sup>4</sup> ka:k <sup>8</sup> kuu <sup>1</sup> oneself get water oneself eat I have to do it by myself,
			228)	ʔbou <sup>3</sup> lum <sup>3</sup> vun <sup>2</sup> lum <sup>3</sup> to:i <sup>6</sup> NEG like people like companion Being not so lucky as others.
Res: conf: contradiction	Female	58	229)	θei <sup>5</sup> ji:t <sup>8</sup> ɣam <sup>4</sup> ɣoŋ <sup>2</sup> na: <sup>2</sup> fourth month water go down paddy Water goes to paddy in April,
			230)	muŋ <sup>2</sup> mi: <sup>2</sup> pa: <sup>2</sup> ʔau <sup>1</sup> ɣam <sup>4</sup> 2SG have wife get water Your wife carries water for you.
			231)	ʔau <sup>1</sup> ɣam <sup>4</sup> hau <sup>3</sup> muŋ <sup>2</sup> kuu <sup>1</sup> take water give 2SG eat You enjoy a good drink,
			232)	muŋ <sup>2</sup> ɛan <sup>1</sup> ŋun <sup>1</sup> kva: <sup>5</sup> to:i <sup>6</sup> 2SG really lucky than companion Being luckier than others.
Ini: statement	Male	59	233)	θei <sup>5</sup> ji:t <sup>8</sup> ɣam <sup>4</sup> ɣoŋ <sup>2</sup> na: <sup>2</sup> fourth month water go down paddy Water goes to paddy in April,

Speech function	Singer	Turn	Line	Lyric
			234)	lu:k <sup>8</sup> ʔbou <sup>3</sup> pa: <sup>2</sup> θoŋ <sup>5</sup> hau <sup>4</sup> child NEG wife send rice No one sends me rice.
			235)	ʔbou <sup>3</sup> mi: <sup>2</sup> hau <sup>4</sup> mi: <sup>2</sup> ŋa:i <sup>2</sup> NEG have rice have dish I have no rice or dishes to eat,
			236)	ta:i <sup>1</sup> ji:k <sup>7</sup> pou <sup>4</sup> lau <sup>2</sup> ʔo: <sup>4</sup> dead hungry CL WH- know Who knows I may die of hungry?
Res: conf: contradiction	Female	60	237)	θei <sup>5</sup> ɲi:t <sup>8</sup> ɣam <sup>4</sup> ʔoŋ <sup>2</sup> na: <sup>2</sup> fourth month water go down paddy Water goes to paddy in April,
			238)	lu:k <sup>8</sup> kap <sup>7</sup> pa: <sup>2</sup> θoŋ <sup>5</sup> hau <sup>4</sup> child and wife send rice Your wife and child send you rice.
			239)	θoŋ <sup>5</sup> hau <sup>4</sup> te:p <sup>7</sup> θoŋ <sup>5</sup> ŋa:i <sup>2</sup> send rice add send dish They send you rice and dishes,
			240)	pa: <sup>2</sup> ʔo: <sup>4</sup> nak <sup>7</sup> ʔo: <sup>4</sup> ʔdi:p <sup>7</sup> wife know care know love How much she cares about you.
Ini: statement	Male	61	241)	θei <sup>5</sup> ɲi:t <sup>8</sup> ɣam <sup>4</sup> ʔoŋ <sup>2</sup> na: <sup>2</sup> fourth month water go down paddy Water goes to paddy in April,
			242)	lu:k <sup>8</sup> ʔbou <sup>3</sup> pa: <sup>2</sup> kan <sup>1</sup> θo:k <sup>7</sup> child NEG wife dredge ditch No one helps me with ditching.
			243)	ka:k <sup>8</sup> kan <sup>1</sup> θo:k <sup>7</sup> hu:n <sup>3</sup> han <sup>2</sup> oneself dredge ditch up ridge I ditch and build ridge by myself,

Speech function	Singer	Turn	Line	Lyric
			244)	ɛan <sup>1</sup> tuuk <sup>8</sup> han <sup>2</sup> jou <sup>4</sup> no:i <sup>6</sup> really to envy lover I Oh, how much I envy you.
Res: conf: contradiction	Female	62	245)	θei <sup>5</sup> ni:t <sup>8</sup> ɣam <sup>4</sup> ɣoŋ <sup>2</sup> na: <sup>2</sup> fourth month water go down paddy Water goes to paddy in April,
			246)	luuk <sup>8</sup> ʔdi: <sup>3</sup> pa: <sup>2</sup> gan <sup>1</sup> θo:k <sup>7</sup> child together wife dredge ditch Your wife and child help you ditch.
			247)	kan <sup>1</sup> θo:k <sup>7</sup> te:p <sup>7</sup> hu:n <sup>3</sup> han <sup>2</sup> dredge ditch add up ridge They help you ditch and build ridge,
			248)	ɛan <sup>2</sup> tu:k <sup>8</sup> han <sup>2</sup> jou <sup>4</sup> no:i <sup>6</sup> really to envy lover I Oh, how much I envy you.
Ini: statement	Male	63	249)	pou <sup>4</sup> mi: <sup>2</sup> luuk <sup>8</sup> mi: <sup>2</sup> pa: <sup>2</sup> CL have child have wife Those have wives and children,
			250)	han <sup>2</sup> na: <sup>2</sup> k <sup>v</sup> ɛŋ <sup>1</sup> pan <sup>2</sup> ta:t <sup>7</sup> ridge paddy clean like cliff Keep the ridge clean as cliff.
			251)	θo:ŋ <sup>1</sup> ho:i <sup>5</sup> luuk <sup>8</sup> ʔbou <sup>3</sup> pa: <sup>2</sup> two 1SG child NEG wife I have no wife or child,
			252)	han <sup>2</sup> na: <sup>2</sup> ja: <sup>1</sup> k <sup>v</sup> a: <sup>5</sup> to:i <sup>6</sup> ridge paddy grass than companion There are more grasses on the ridge.
Res: dev: extension	Female	64	253)	pou <sup>4</sup> mi: <sup>2</sup> luuk <sup>8</sup> mi: <sup>2</sup> pa: <sup>2</sup> CL have child have wife Those have wives and children,

Speech function	Singer	Turn	Line	Lyric
			254)	han <sup>2</sup> na: <sup>2</sup> k <sup>v</sup> ɛŋ <sup>1</sup> k <sup>v</sup> a: <sup>5</sup> to:i <sup>6</sup> ridge paddy clean than companion Keep the ridge clean as cliff.
			255)	ho:i <sup>5</sup> pou <sup>4</sup> to:k <sup>8</sup> ʔda:ŋ <sup>1</sup> ʔde:u <sup>1</sup> 1SG CL fall body alone I have no husband or child,
			256)	ŋu: <sup>3</sup> han <sup>2</sup> na: <sup>2</sup> he:u <sup>1</sup> jaŋ <sup>5</sup> grass ridge paddy green very There are more grasses on the ridge.
Ini: statement	Male	65	257)	θei <sup>5</sup> ɲi:t <sup>8</sup> taŋ <sup>2</sup> lap <sup>8</sup> ha: <sup>6</sup> fourth month to Lixia Lixia <sup>12</sup> comes in April,
			258)	taŋ <sup>4</sup> vun <sup>2</sup> ma: <sup>5</sup> hau <sup>4</sup> fan <sup>1</sup> all people soak rice seed People soak rice seeds.
			259)	pou <sup>4</sup> ma: <sup>5</sup> kan <sup>1</sup> θo:ŋ <sup>1</sup> kan <sup>1</sup> CL soak CL two CL Each family soaks one or two Jin <sup>13</sup> ,
			260)	tau <sup>2</sup> ɣoŋ <sup>2</sup> tam <sup>2</sup> pai <sup>1</sup> ɛ: <sup>6</sup> take go down pond go soak Putting the seeds in the pond.
Res: dev: elaboration	Female	66	261)	θei <sup>5</sup> ɲi:t <sup>8</sup> taŋ <sup>2</sup> lap <sup>8</sup> ha: <sup>6</sup> fourth month to Lixia Lixia comes in April,
			262)	taŋ <sup>4</sup> vun <sup>2</sup> ma: <sup>5</sup> hau <sup>4</sup> fan <sup>1</sup> all people soak rice seed People soak rice seeds.
			263)	pou <sup>4</sup> ma: <sup>5</sup> kan <sup>1</sup> θo:ŋ <sup>1</sup> kan <sup>1</sup> CL soak CL two CL

<sup>12</sup> Lixia: The day of Start of Summer (the 7<sup>th</sup> of 24 solar terms of China).

<sup>13</sup> Jin: a Chinese traditional measure unit, 1 Jin=0.5 kilogram.

Speech function	Singer	Turn	Line	Lyric
				Each family soaks one or two Jin,
			264)	tau <sup>2</sup> ɣoŋ <sup>2</sup> ɣam <sup>4</sup> pai <sup>1</sup> ɛe. <sup>6</sup> take go down water go soak Putting the seeds in the water.
Ini: statement	Male	67	265)	θei <sup>5</sup> ɲi:t <sup>8</sup> taŋ <sup>2</sup> ɛo: <sup>1</sup> ʔit <sup>7</sup> fourth month to 1st day of a month It is April the first,
			266)	ɣip <sup>8</sup> hau <sup>4</sup> fan <sup>1</sup> pai <sup>1</sup> ma: <sup>5</sup> take rice seed go soak I start to soak the seeds.
			267)	ma: <sup>5</sup> ka: <sup>6</sup> ɲi: <sup>1</sup> ka: <sup>6</sup> jak <sup>7</sup> soak ONOM ONOM I soak it in the water,
			268)	ʔdai <sup>3</sup> θak <sup>7</sup> hat <sup>7</sup> pai <sup>1</sup> ki: <sup>5</sup> ASP color morning go check Going to see soon afterward.
Res: dev: elaboration	Female	68	269)	θei <sup>5</sup> ɲi:t <sup>8</sup> taŋ <sup>2</sup> ɛo: <sup>1</sup> ʔit <sup>7</sup> fourth month to 1st day of a month It is April the first,
			270)	ɣip <sup>8</sup> hau <sup>4</sup> fan <sup>1</sup> pai <sup>1</sup> ma: <sup>5</sup> take rice seed go soak I start to soak the seeds.
			271)	ma: <sup>5</sup> ka: <sup>6</sup> ɲi: <sup>1</sup> ka: <sup>6</sup> jak <sup>7</sup> soak ONOM ONOM I put it in the water,
			272)	ʔdai <sup>3</sup> θak <sup>7</sup> hat <sup>7</sup> pai <sup>1</sup> va:n <sup>5</sup> ASP color morning go sow Going to sow soon afterward.
Ini: statement	Male	69	273)	θei <sup>5</sup> ɲi:t <sup>8</sup> taŋ <sup>2</sup> ɛo: <sup>1</sup> ʔit <sup>7</sup> fourth month to the 1st day of a month It is April the first,

Speech function	Singer	Turn	Line	Lyric
			274)	yip <sup>8</sup> fan <sup>1</sup> kia: <sup>3</sup> pai <sup>1</sup> va:n <sup>5</sup> take seed seedling go sow I start to sow the seeds.
			275)	va:n <sup>5</sup> ka: <sup>6</sup> jak <sup>7</sup> ka: <sup>6</sup> jak <sup>7</sup> sow ONOM ONOM Well sowed in the field,
			276)	?dai <sup>3</sup> ɛak <sup>7</sup> hat <sup>7</sup> ɛi: <sup>4</sup> mo: <sup>6</sup> ASP seven morning immediately new They turn green in seven days.
Res: dev: elaboration	Female	70	277)	θei <sup>5</sup> ni:t <sup>8</sup> tan <sup>2</sup> ɛo: <sup>1</sup> ?it <sup>7</sup> fourth month to the 1st day of a month It is April the first,
			278)	yip <sup>8</sup> fan <sup>1</sup> kia: <sup>3</sup> pai <sup>1</sup> va:n <sup>5</sup> take seed seedling go sow I start to sow the seeds.
			279)	va:n <sup>5</sup> ka: <sup>6</sup> jak <sup>7</sup> ka: <sup>6</sup> jak <sup>7</sup> sow ONOM ONOM Well sowed in the field,
			280)	ɛak <sup>7</sup> hat <sup>7</sup> ɛi: <sup>4</sup> he:u <sup>1</sup> mo: <sup>6</sup> seven morning immediately green new They turn green in seven days.
Ini: statement	Male	71	281)	kia: <sup>3</sup> pa:k <sup>7</sup> ɛim <sup>1</sup> lo: <sup>1</sup> jau <sup>2</sup> seedling mouth needle PRT friend Oh, seedlings begin to grow,
			282)	nim <sup>1</sup> k'au <sup>3</sup> tau <sup>6</sup> lo: <sup>1</sup> jou <sup>4</sup> myrtle head chopstick PRT lover Oh, myrtles become in buds.
			283)	kia: <sup>3</sup> fot <sup>8</sup> fu: <sup>6</sup> ?dau <sup>1</sup> na: <sup>2</sup> seedling manure well inside paddy The seedlings in paddy grows well,

Speech function	Singer	Turn	Line	Lyric
			284)	nim <sup>1</sup> ha:i <sup>1</sup> va: <sup>1</sup> pa:ŋ <sup>4</sup> pa: <sup>5</sup> myrtle open flower side hill The uphill myrtles fare all in bloom.
Res: dev: extension	Female	72	285)	kja: <sup>3</sup> pa:k <sup>7</sup> ɛim <sup>1</sup> lo: <sup>1</sup> jaw <sup>2</sup> seedling mouth needle PRT friend Oh, seedlings begin to grow,
			286)	nim <sup>1</sup> kjau <sup>3</sup> tau <sup>6</sup> lo: <sup>1</sup> jou <sup>4</sup> myrtle head chopstick PRT lover Oh, myrtles become in buds.
			287)	nim <sup>1</sup> ha:i <sup>1</sup> va: <sup>1</sup> pa:ŋ <sup>4</sup> pa: <sup>5</sup> myrtle open flower side hill Uphill myrtles are full in bloom,
			288)	ɛa: <sup>3</sup> pou <sup>4</sup> ɣa: <sup>2</sup> pai <sup>1</sup> ji:u <sup>5</sup> wait CL partner go enjoy Waiting for you to enjoy.
Ini: statement	Male	73	289)	kja: <sup>3</sup> pa:k <sup>7</sup> ɛim <sup>1</sup> lo: <sup>1</sup> ɣa: <sup>2</sup> seedling mouth needle PRT partner Oh, seedlings begin to grow,
			290)	mi: <sup>2</sup> vun <sup>2</sup> pa: <sup>2</sup> pai <sup>1</sup> va:n <sup>5</sup> have people wife go sow Those have wives help to sow,
			291)	kja: <sup>3</sup> ɲa: <sup>5</sup> va:n <sup>5</sup> to: <sup>5</sup> ʔdei <sup>1</sup> seedling dreg sow grow good Their seedlings grow so well,
			292)	ha:n <sup>6</sup> ʔei <sup>2</sup> to: <sup>5</sup> pan <sup>2</sup> lok <sup>7</sup> limit period grow success pull It's time to pull soon afterward.
Res: conf: contradiction	Female	74	293)	kja: <sup>3</sup> pa:k <sup>7</sup> ɛim <sup>1</sup> lo: <sup>1</sup> ɣa: <sup>2</sup> seedling mouth needle PRT sesame Seedlings begin to grow,

Speech function	Singer	Turn	Line	Lyric
			294)	muŋ <sup>2</sup> mi: <sup>2</sup> pa: <sup>2</sup> pai <sup>1</sup> va:n <sup>5</sup> 2SG have wife go sow You have wife to sow the seedlings.
			295)	kia: <sup>3</sup> ɲa: <sup>5</sup> va:n <sup>5</sup> to: <sup>5</sup> ma: <sup>3</sup> seedling busy sow grow well You seedlings grow so well,
			296)	ɕip <sup>8</sup> ha: <sup>3</sup> to: <sup>5</sup> pan <sup>2</sup> ʔdam <sup>2</sup> fifteen grow success plant It's time to plant in 15 days.
Ini: statement	Male	75	297)	kia: <sup>3</sup> ɣam <sup>4</sup> kan <sup>1</sup> lo: <sup>1</sup> ɣa: <sup>2</sup> seedling water follow PRT partner Oh, the paddy is full of water,
			298)	na: <sup>2</sup> kan <sup>1</sup> taŋ <sup>5</sup> lo: <sup>1</sup> lun <sup>2</sup> paddy follow full PRT friend Oh, the water covers all the fields.
			299)	na: <sup>2</sup> gan <sup>1</sup> ɣam <sup>4</sup> ta:u <sup>5</sup> kuŋ <sup>2</sup> paddy dredge water back above Here and there is water,
			300)	ɣa: <sup>1</sup> vun <sup>2</sup> ʔdam <sup>1</sup> ʔbou <sup>3</sup> ɕau <sup>5</sup> find people plant NEG see No one I can find to help.
Res: conf: contradiction	Female	76	301)	kia: <sup>3</sup> ɣam <sup>4</sup> kan <sup>1</sup> lo: <sup>1</sup> ɣa: <sup>2</sup> seedling water follow PRT sesame Oh, the paddy's full of water,
			302)	na: <sup>2</sup> kan <sup>1</sup> taŋ <sup>5</sup> lo: <sup>1</sup> lun <sup>2</sup> paddy follow full PRT friend Oh, the water covers all the fields.
			303)	na: <sup>2</sup> gan <sup>1</sup> ɣam <sup>4</sup> ta:u <sup>5</sup> kuŋ <sup>2</sup> paddy dredge water back above Here and there is water,

Speech function	Singer	Turn	Line	Lyric
			304)	pa: <sup>2</sup> muŋ <sup>2</sup> ʔdam <sup>1</sup> pai <sup>1</sup> ko:n <sup>5</sup> wife 2SG plant go front Your wife is already in the field.
Ini: que: polar	Male	77	305)	kia: <sup>3</sup> ɣam <sup>4</sup> θa:m <sup>1</sup> ɕip <sup>8</sup> θei <sup>5</sup> seedling water thirty-four Water rice seedlings need 34 days,
			306)	kia: <sup>3</sup> ɣei <sup>6</sup> θei <sup>5</sup> ɕip <sup>8</sup> ŋon <sup>2</sup> seedling field forty day Dry rice seedlings need 40 days.
			307)	kia: <sup>3</sup> tuuk <sup>8</sup> ʔdam <sup>1</sup> lo: <sup>1</sup> ton <sup>2</sup> seedling to plant PRT friend It's time for rice planting,
			308)	pai <sup>1</sup> ho:ŋ <sup>1</sup> ɣo: <sup>4</sup> li: <sup>3</sup> jou <sup>5</sup> go work or still at Are you going to work or at home?
Res: conf: disagreement	Female	78	309)	kia: <sup>3</sup> ɣam <sup>4</sup> θa:m <sup>1</sup> ɕip <sup>8</sup> θei <sup>5</sup> seedling water thirty-four Water rice seedlings need 34 days,
			310)	kia: <sup>3</sup> ɣei <sup>6</sup> θei <sup>5</sup> ɕip <sup>8</sup> ŋon <sup>2</sup> seedling field forty day Dry rice seedlings need 40 days.
			311)	taŋ <sup>2</sup> θei <sup>2</sup> ʔdam <sup>1</sup> lo: <sup>1</sup> ton <sup>2</sup> for period plant PRT as It's time for rice planting,
			312)	ʔbou <sup>3</sup> mi: <sup>2</sup> ho:ŋ <sup>1</sup> pai <sup>1</sup> na:u <sup>5</sup> NEG have work go do But I have no work to do.
Ini: command	Male	79	313)	kia: <sup>3</sup> θa:u <sup>1</sup> pak <sup>8</sup> θa:u <sup>1</sup> pan <sup>1</sup> seedling beautiful PRT beautiful PRT Seedlings are fresh and green,

Speech function	Singer	Turn	Line	Lyric
			314)	θam <sup>5</sup> kia: <sup>3</sup> nei <sup>4</sup> pan <sup>2</sup> lok <sup>7</sup> type seedling this can pull It's time to pull them up.
			315)	tuuk <sup>8</sup> ɛo: <sup>6</sup> muŋ <sup>2</sup> jou <sup>4</sup> kok <sup>7</sup> to    name 2SG    lover important Oh my dear sweet,
			316)	ʔdi: <sup>3</sup> tau <sup>3</sup> lok <sup>7</sup> θak <sup>7</sup> to:n <sup>5</sup> together come pull just meal Please come and help me.
Res: conf: refusal	Female	80	317)	kia: <sup>3</sup> θa:u <sup>1</sup> pak <sup>8</sup> θa:u <sup>1</sup> pan <sup>1</sup> seedling beautiful PRT beautiful PRT Seedlings are fresh and green,
			318)	θam <sup>5</sup> kia: <sup>3</sup> nei <sup>4</sup> pan <sup>2</sup> lok <sup>7</sup> rank seedling this can pull It's time to pull them up.
			319)	ho:i <sup>6</sup> jak <sup>7</sup> pai <sup>1</sup> ʔdi: <sup>3</sup> lok <sup>7</sup> 1SG PRT go together pull I want to come and help,
			320)	la:u <sup>1</sup> toŋ <sup>2</sup> kok <sup>7</sup> muŋ <sup>2</sup> ʔda: <sup>5</sup> afraid as important 2SG blame But I'm afraid to be blamed.
Ini: command	Male	81	321)	kia: <sup>3</sup> θa:u <sup>1</sup> pak <sup>8</sup> θa:u <sup>1</sup> pan <sup>1</sup> seedling beautiful PRT beautiful PRT Seedlings are fresh and green,
			322)	θam <sup>5</sup> kia: <sup>3</sup> nei <sup>4</sup> pan <sup>2</sup> ʔdam <sup>1</sup> rank seedling this can plant It's time to plant now.
			323)	tuuk <sup>8</sup> ɛo: <sup>6</sup> muŋ <sup>2</sup> jou <sup>4</sup> ŋan <sup>2</sup> to    name 2SG    lover silver Oh, my dear sweet,
			324)	ʔdi: <sup>3</sup> tau <sup>3</sup> ʔdam <sup>1</sup> θak <sup>7</sup> ʔbai <sup>5</sup> together come plant just afternoon

Speech function	Singer	Turn	Line	Lyric
				Please come and help me.
Res: conf: refusal	Female	82	325)	kia: <sup>3</sup> θa:u <sup>1</sup> pak <sup>8</sup> θa:u <sup>1</sup> pan <sup>1</sup> seedling beautiful PRT beautiful PRT Seedlings are fresh and green,
			326)	θam <sup>5</sup> kia: <sup>3</sup> nei <sup>4</sup> pan <sup>2</sup> ʔdam <sup>1</sup> type seedling this can plant It's now time to plant.
			327)	ho:i <sup>6</sup> jak <sup>7</sup> pai <sup>1</sup> ʔdi: <sup>3</sup> ʔdam <sup>1</sup> 1SG PRT go together plant I'm happy to come and help,
			328)	la:u <sup>1</sup> vun <sup>2</sup> nau <sup>2</sup> pai <sup>1</sup> ei:m <sup>5</sup> afraid people talk go occupy But I'm afraid of being blamed.
Ini: statement	Male	83	329)	pa:i <sup>6</sup> jou <sup>4</sup> lok <sup>7</sup> kia: <sup>3</sup> ʔdam <sup>1</sup> side lover pull seedling plant You pull up and plant the seedlings,
			330)	pa:i <sup>6</sup> tou <sup>1</sup> lok <sup>7</sup> kia: <sup>3</sup> ɛu:ŋ <sup>5</sup> side 1SG pull seedling put I pull up and put aside the seedlings.
			331)	lok <sup>7</sup> kia: <sup>3</sup> ɛu:ŋ <sup>5</sup> kɯn <sup>2</sup> han <sup>2</sup> pull seedling put down above ridge Seedlings are left on the ridge,
			332)	ɣa: <sup>1</sup> pou <sup>4</sup> ʔdam <sup>1</sup> ʔbou <sup>3</sup> ɛau <sup>5</sup> find CL plant NEG see I cannot find anyone to help.
Res: conf: contradiction	Female	84	333)	pa:i <sup>6</sup> jou <sup>4</sup> lok <sup>7</sup> kia: <sup>3</sup> ʔdam <sup>1</sup> side lover pull seedling plant You pull up and plant the seedlings,
			334)	pa:i <sup>6</sup> tou <sup>1</sup> lok <sup>7</sup> kia: <sup>3</sup> ɛu:ŋ <sup>5</sup> side 1SG pull seedling put I pull up and put aside the seedlings.

Speech function	Singer	Turn	Line	Lyric
			335)	lok <sup>7</sup> kja: <sup>3</sup> ɕu: <sup>5</sup> kum <sup>2</sup> han <sup>2</sup> pull seedling put    above ridge Seedlings are left on the bank,
			336)	pa: <sup>2</sup> muŋ <sup>2</sup> ʔdam <sup>1</sup> ʔi: <sup>2</sup> ʔa: <sup>5</sup> wife 2SG plant line rake Your wife has planted them already.
Ini: statement	Male	85	337)	pou <sup>4</sup> mi: <sup>2</sup> luuk <sup>8</sup> mi: <sup>2</sup> pa: <sup>2</sup> CL have child have wife Those have wives and children,
			338)	ʔdam <sup>1</sup> na: <sup>2</sup> ʔa: <sup>2</sup> ɕak <sup>7</sup> ɕuk <sup>7</sup> plant paddy mark ONOM The planting is well done.
			339)	ho: <sup>5</sup> le: <sup>1</sup> luuk <sup>8</sup> ʔbou <sup>3</sup> pa: <sup>2</sup> 1SG PRT child NEG wife I have no wife or child,
			340)	na: <sup>2</sup> ʔbi: <sup>3</sup> ʔdam <sup>1</sup> ʔbi: <sup>3</sup> piou <sup>5</sup> paddy half plant half empty The work is half-done.
Res: conf: contradiction	Female	86	341)	pou <sup>4</sup> mi: <sup>2</sup> luuk <sup>8</sup> mi: <sup>2</sup> pa: <sup>2</sup> CL have child have wife Those have wives and children,
			342)	ʔdam <sup>1</sup> na: <sup>2</sup> ʔa: <sup>2</sup> ɕak <sup>7</sup> ɕuk <sup>7</sup> plant paddy mark ONOM The planting is well done.
			343)	θou <sup>1</sup> mi: <sup>2</sup> luuk <sup>8</sup> mi: <sup>2</sup> pa: <sup>2</sup> 2PL have child have wife You have wife and child,
			344)	na: <sup>2</sup> ʔdam <sup>1</sup> li: <sup>4</sup> ʔdam <sup>1</sup> na: <sup>5</sup> paddy plant finish plant done The work is fully done.

Speech function	Singer	Turn	Line	Lyric
Ini: statement	Male	87	345)	pou <sup>4</sup> mi: <sup>2</sup> luuk <sup>8</sup> mi: <sup>2</sup> pa: <sup>2</sup> CL have child have wife Those have wives and children,
			346)	na: <sup>2</sup> ya:i <sup>2</sup> jak <sup>7</sup> ya:i <sup>2</sup> jo:i <sup>1</sup> paddy mark PRT mark PRT The planting is well done.
			347)	ho:i <sup>5</sup> ?bou <sup>3</sup> luuk <sup>8</sup> ?bou <sup>3</sup> pa: <sup>2</sup> 1SG NEG child NEG wife I have no wife or child,
			348)	na: <sup>2</sup> ?bou <sup>3</sup> mi: <sup>2</sup> pou <sup>4</sup> ?dam <sup>1</sup> paddy NEG have CL plant The work is left untouched.
Res: conf: contradiction	Female	88	349)	pou <sup>4</sup> mi: <sup>2</sup> luuk <sup>8</sup> mi: <sup>2</sup> pa: <sup>2</sup> CL have child have wife Those have wives and children,
			350)	na: <sup>2</sup> ya:i <sup>2</sup> jak <sup>7</sup> ya:i <sup>2</sup> jou <sup>1</sup> paddy mark PRT mark PRT The planting is well done.
			351)	jou <sup>4</sup> mi: <sup>2</sup> luuk <sup>8</sup> mi: <sup>2</sup> pa: <sup>2</sup> lover have child have wife You have wife and child,
			352)	na: <sup>2</sup> ya:i <sup>2</sup> jak <sup>7</sup> ya:i <sup>2</sup> jou <sup>1</sup> paddy mark PRT mark PRT The work is fully done.
Ini: statement	Male	89	353)	vun <sup>2</sup> ?dam <sup>1</sup> na: <sup>2</sup> ti: <sup>1</sup> tak <sup>7</sup> people plant paddy ONOM Others are busy with planting,
			354)	ho:i <sup>5</sup> ei: <sup>4</sup> ja: <sup>5</sup> fak <sup>7</sup> va:i <sup>2</sup> 1SG still busy train buffalo I just start half taming.

Speech function	Singer	Turn	Line	Lyric
			355)	vun <sup>2</sup> ʔdam <sup>1</sup> li:u <sup>4</sup> ɛa:i <sup>5</sup> ʔdai <sup>5</sup> people plant finish as well weed Others go on with weeding,
			356)	kou <sup>1</sup> ɲa: <sup>5</sup> ɛa:i <sup>5</sup> lok <sup>7</sup> kia: <sup>3</sup> 1SG busy as well pull seedling I just start to pull the seedlings.
Res: conf: contradiction	Female	90	357)	vun <sup>2</sup> ʔdam <sup>1</sup> na: <sup>2</sup> ti: <sup>1</sup> tak <sup>7</sup> people plant paddy ONOM Others are busy planting,
			358)	muŋ <sup>2</sup> va:t <sup>8</sup> pei <sup>2</sup> li:u <sup>6</sup> ka:i <sup>1</sup> 2SG wave fan play street You are idling around the street.
			359)	mi: <sup>2</sup> pa: <sup>2</sup> ʔdam <sup>1</sup> pa: <sup>2</sup> ʔda:i <sup>1</sup> have wife plant wife weed Your wife is hard working,
			360)	jou <sup>4</sup> kʷa:i <sup>1</sup> ho: <sup>2</sup> li:u <sup>4</sup> na:u <sup>5</sup> lover happy finish PRT How easy is your life!
Ini: statement	Male	91	361)	na: <sup>2</sup> pa:k <sup>7</sup> vun <sup>2</sup> ʔdam <sup>1</sup> ji:n <sup>2</sup> paddy mouth people plant complete The planting is completed,
			362)	na: <sup>2</sup> ɛi:n <sup>1</sup> vun <sup>2</sup> ʔda:i <sup>1</sup> to: <sup>6</sup> paddy thousand people weed entirely The weeding is finished.
			363)	to: <sup>5</sup> θak <sup>7</sup> mo:n <sup>6</sup> na: <sup>2</sup> ʔdu:i <sup>1</sup> to just mound paddy empty But my farmland is idle,
			364)	ɛe: <sup>1</sup> ka: <sup>6</sup> ke:u <sup>1</sup> kia:ŋ <sup>1</sup> toŋ <sup>6</sup> leave alone middle field Left in the fields untouched.

<b>Speech function</b>	<b>Singer</b>	<b>Turn</b>	<b>Line</b>	<b>Lyric</b>
Res: dev: elaboration	Female	92	365)	na: <sup>2</sup> pa:k <sup>7</sup> vun <sup>2</sup> ʔdam <sup>1</sup> ji:n <sup>2</sup> paddy mouth people plant complete The planting is completed,
			366)	na: <sup>2</sup> ɛi:n <sup>1</sup> vun <sup>2</sup> ʔda:i <sup>1</sup> to: <sup>6</sup> paddy thousand people weed entirely The weeding is finished.
			367)	mi: <sup>2</sup> θak <sup>7</sup> ko: <sup>2</sup> hen <sup>2</sup> ʔi: <sup>3</sup> have just trunk near brook But the plot by the little brook,
			368)	ʔam <sup>4</sup> ɛi: <sup>5</sup> li:u <sup>4</sup> ɛi: <sup>5</sup> na:u <sup>5</sup> water wash finish wash done Washed away by the rising water.

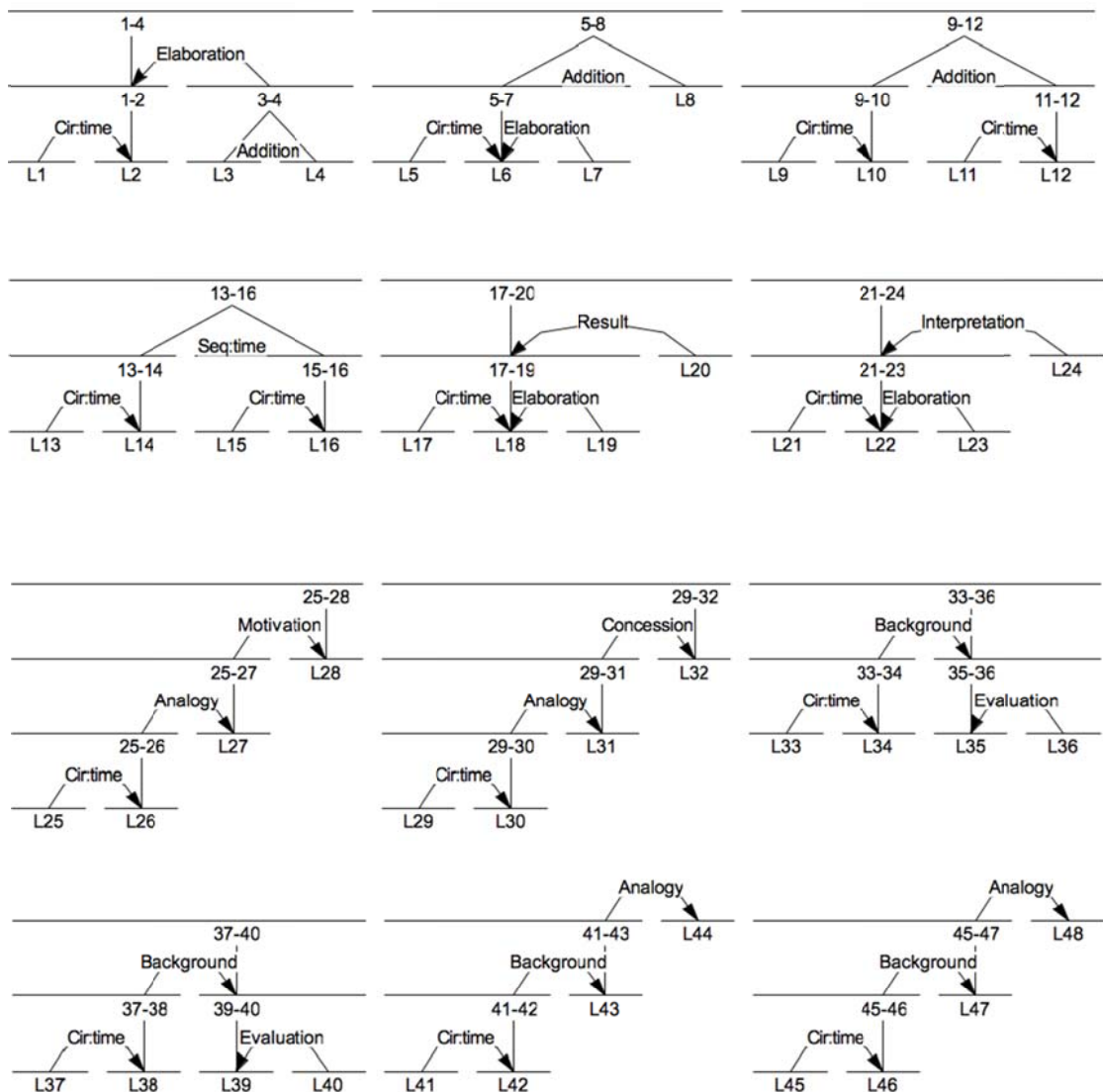
## APPENDIX B

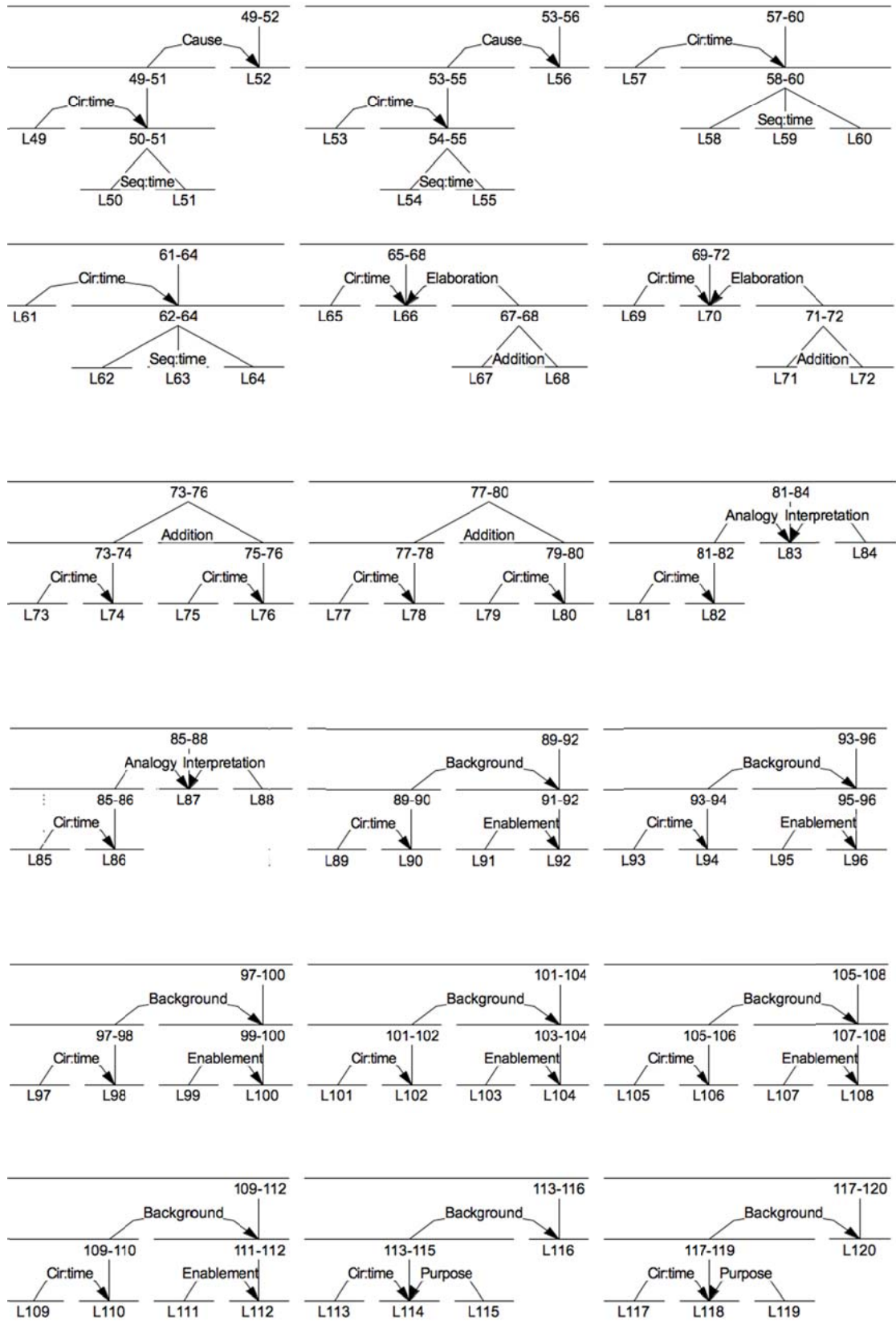
### SAMPLE ANALYSIS OF RHETORICAL RELATIONS

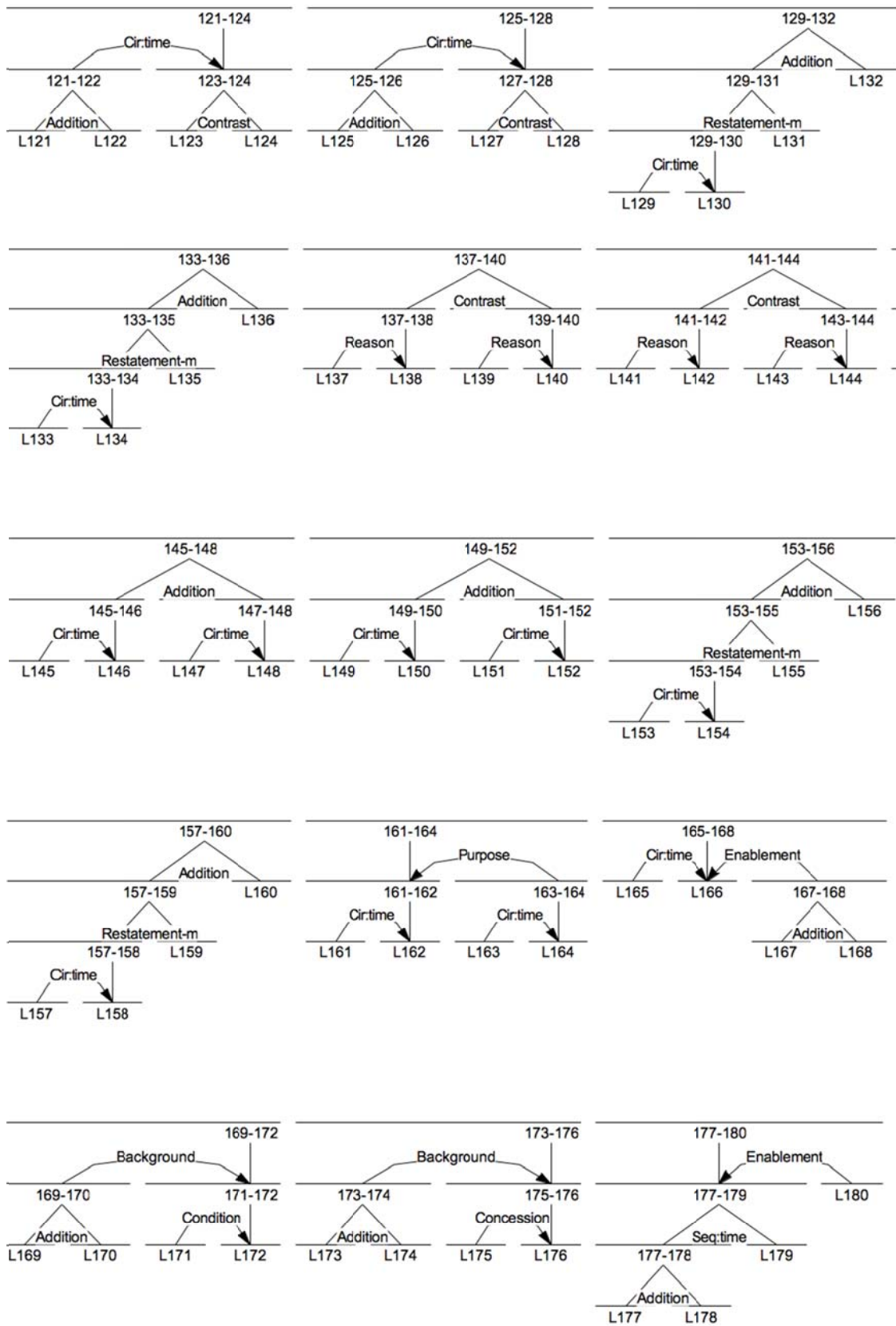
[Note: sample text represented here is Text 1 entitled *busy spring*, selected from the volume *Songs of March* from the collection *Liao Songs of Pingguo Zhuang*, see the full text in Appendix A.]

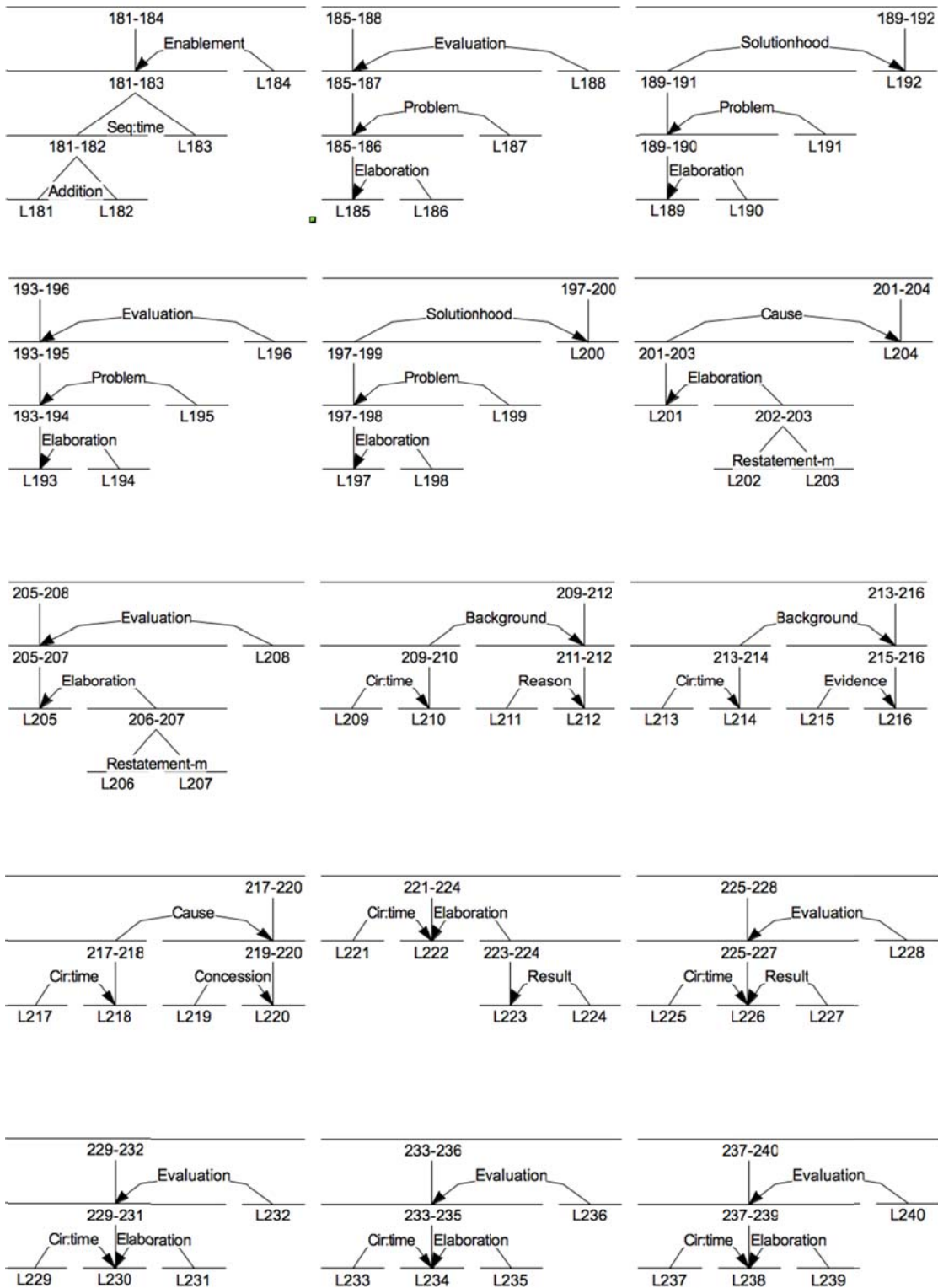
#### Intra-turn structure of Text 1

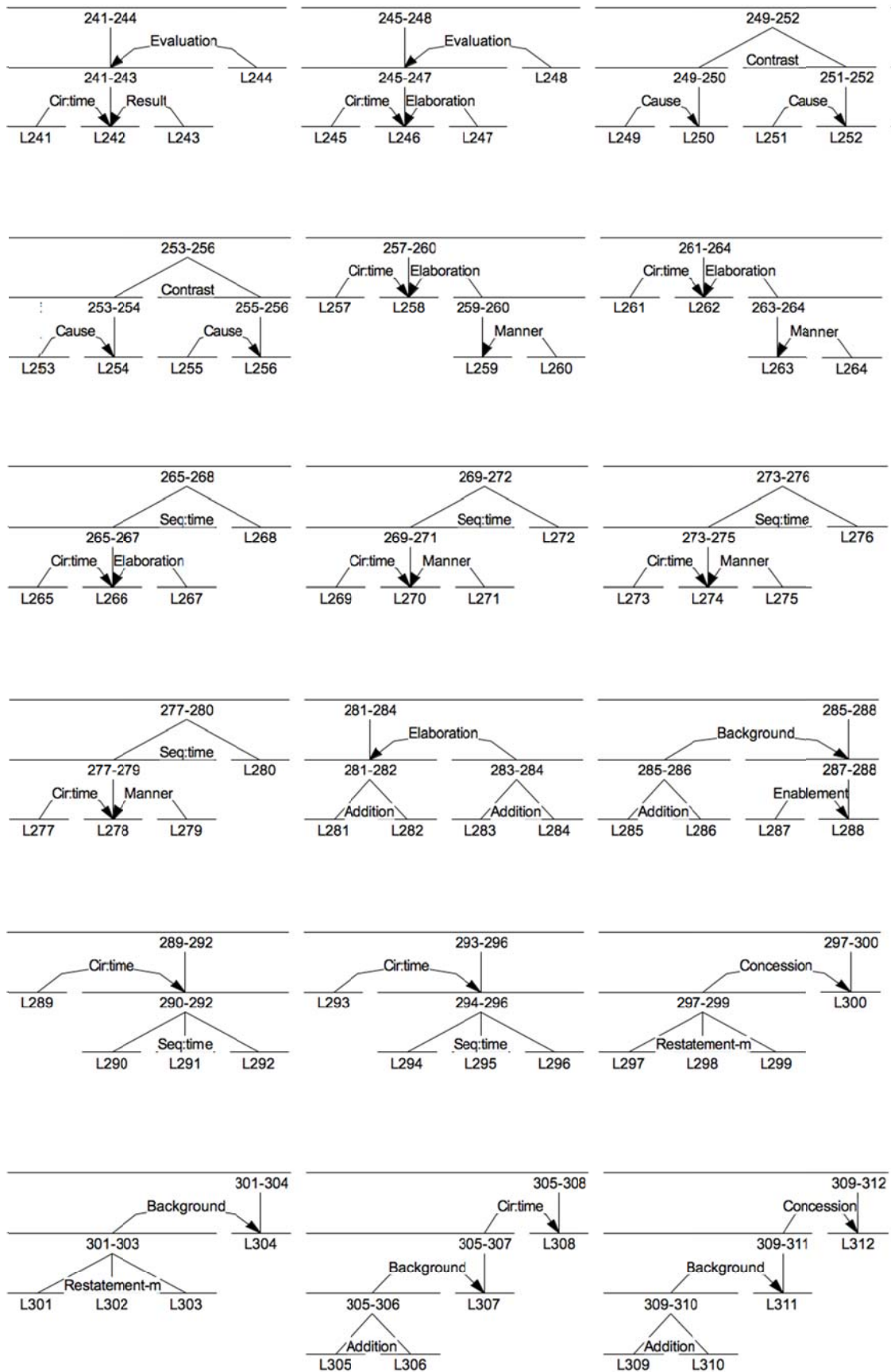
(Key: L=line, 1,2,3...=line number)

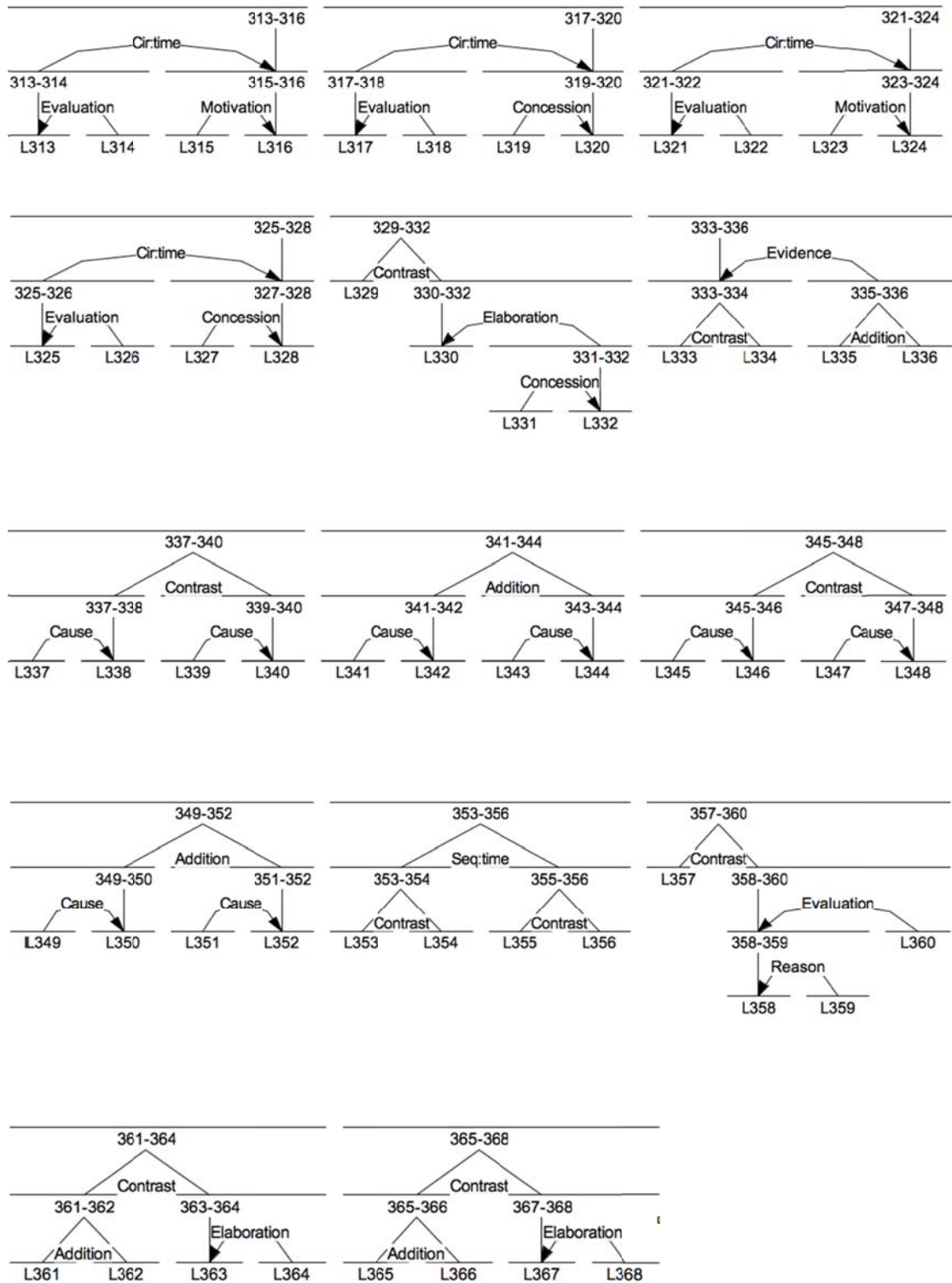






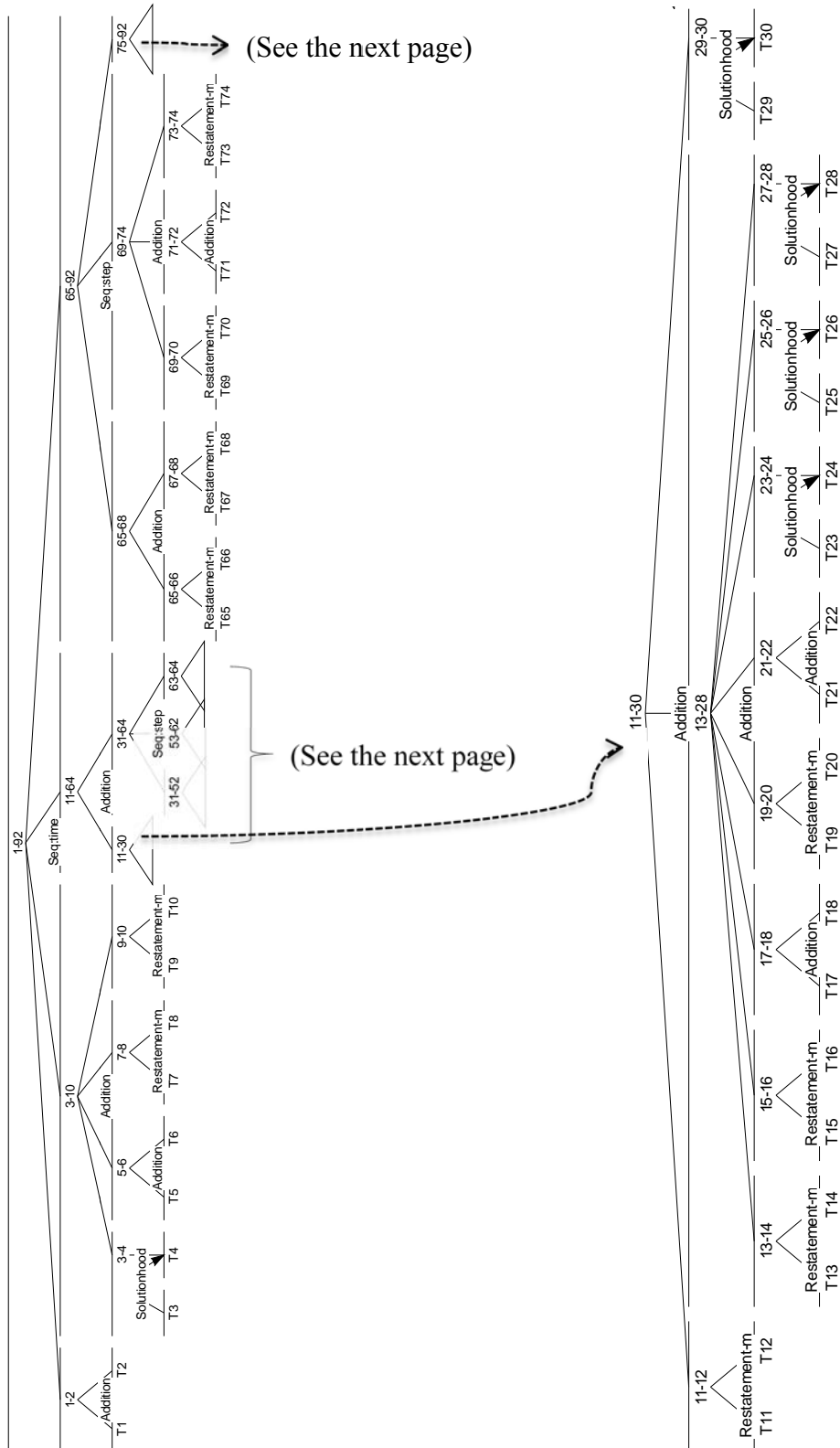


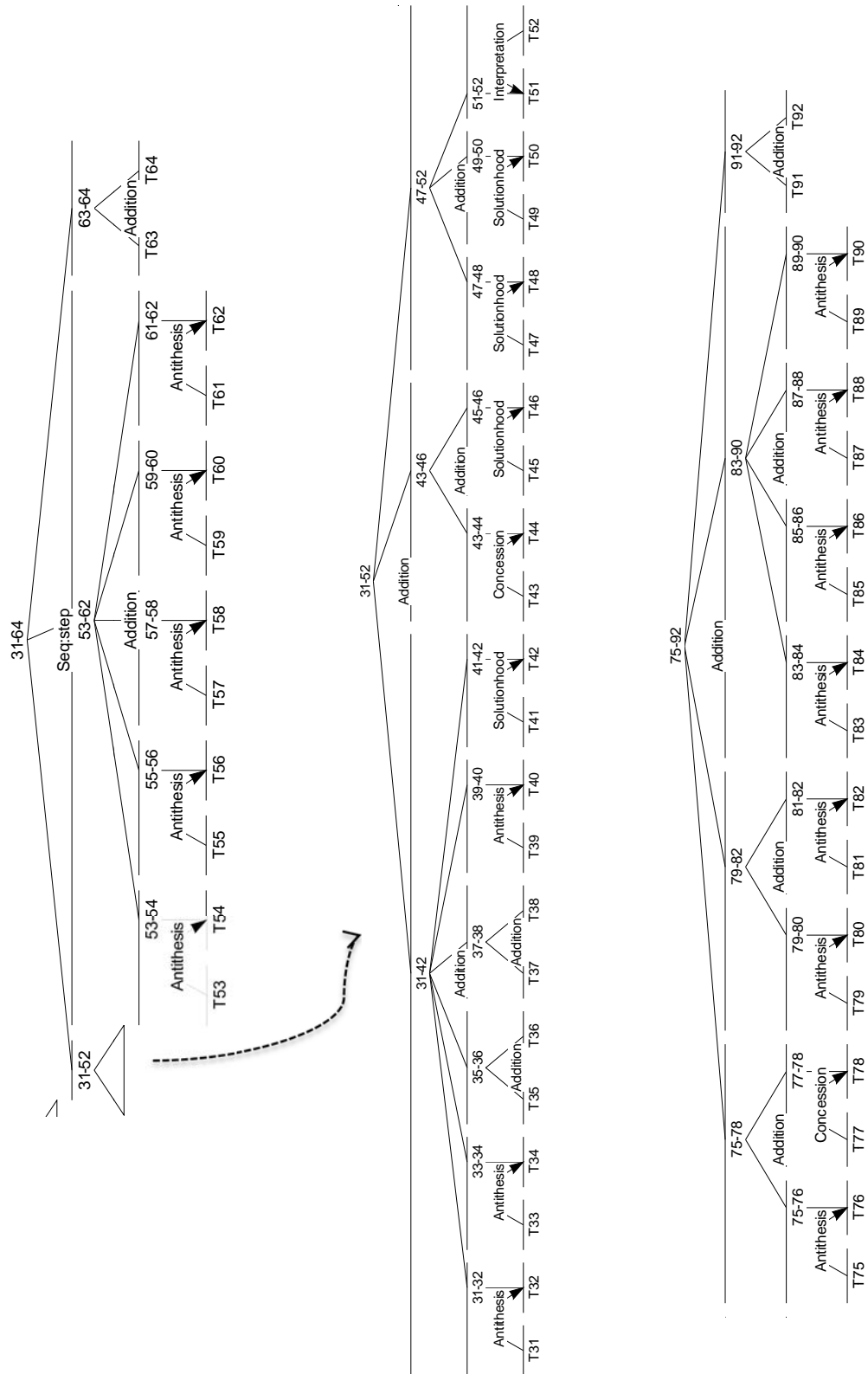




### Inter-turn structure of Text 1

(Key: T=turn, 1,2,3...=turn number)





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