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## **Towards a discourse semantic characterisation of the modal particles in Khorchin Mongolian: A case study of an interaction**

### **Abstract**

This study provides a discourse semantic characterisation of the Khorchin Mongolian modal particles within the framework of Systemic Functional Linguistics. Studies on the interpersonal organisation of interactions are used to make explicit the nuanced distinctions in the interpersonal functionality of the modal particles. Detailed analyses of an interaction involving the modal particles *xvi*, *fε*, *pε*, and *fυ* are provided to exemplify such characterisation. It is found that the modal particles are related to the knower roles adopted and assigned by the interlocutors. All the modal particles examined in this study cast the speaker in the role of the primary knower – i.e. the interlocutor who knows the information and has authority over the information. The addressee may be positioned as knowing the information (*fε*), or not knowing the information (*fυ*), or is not positioned in either way (*xvi* and *pε*). At the same time, these modal particles also enact engagement with possible alternative viewpoints. While the modal particles *xvi* and *fυ* close down the space for dialogically alternative viewpoints, the modal particles *fε* and *pε* open up such space. The discourse semantic approach to modal particles as exemplified in this paper is potentially useful for describing particles in other languages.

**Keywords:** modal particle; Khorchin Mongolian; discourse semantics; exchange; move

### **1. Introduction**

This study provides a discourse semantic characterisation of the Khorchin Mongolian modal particles within the framework of Systemic Functional Linguistics (hereafter SFL). Detailed analyses of an interaction involving the modal particles *xvi*, *fε*, *pε*, and *fυ* are provided to exemplify the description. The analyses capture the distinct discourse functions played by the modal particles. The distinctions between the modal particles involves two

discourse semantic units (ranks) – exchange and move. At exchange rank, the modal particles are characterised in terms of the interlocutor roles adopted and cast by the interactants. At move rank, their distinctions are made explicit with respect to the interlocutors' knowledge of the information and the way alternative viewpoints are introduced in discourse.

The term modal particle as used in this paper refers to the particles used in Khorchin Mongolian declarative clauses. Along with interrogative particles used in interrogative clauses, modal particles contribute to the interpersonal layer of meaning in the Khorchin Mongolian clause. The term 'interpersonal' is used here in contrast with 'ideational' and 'textual' as they are used to refer to the simultaneous layers of meaning in SFL (Halliday, 1985a, 1994). The particles do not have referential meanings (i.e. ideational/representational); nor do they function in organising information into texts (i.e. textual). They are, however, essential in organising interactions, negotiating tenor relations, and building affiliation. What is referred to here as modal particles are also referred to as 'illocutionary particles' in the literature (see for example Brosig, 2014).

Systematic descriptions of the modal particles in Khorchin Mongolian are rare. Descriptions such as Caganhada (1995) and Bayancogtu (2002)<sup>1</sup> typically provide a list of clause examples that involve the modal particles, without explaining the way the clauses function in interactions. Instead of discussing the meanings of the Khorchin Mongolian modal particles in isolated clauses, this paper provides a framework for characterising the modal particles with respect to patterns in interactions. This study will show how SFL work on interpersonal discourse semantics can be used to achieve this aim. The relevant studies include the development of exchange and move rank in Martin (1992) and Martin & Rose (2007), the study of exchange structure in relation to interlocutors' knowledge of the information in Berry (1981a; 1981b), and the description of the dialogic nature of utterances in White (2000; 2003) and Martin & White (2005). The elaborate systems developed in these studies provide a useful heuristic for making explicit the nuanced

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<sup>1</sup> The transliteration of the traditional Mongolian script follows Nasunbayar et al. (1982:37).

interpersonal distinctions between modal particles in Khorchin Mongolian with respect to the way they are used in interactions.

The rest of the paper is organised as follows. Section 2 introduces the background. It includes an introduction to the theoretical level of discourse semantics in SFL and the descriptive work on exchange and move at this level. Section 3 describes the data used in this study. Section 4 characterises the interactions from the perspective of exchange and move. The characterisation makes explicit the nuanced interpersonal distinctions between the modal particles with respect to the exchange functions they realise and the way the interlocutors and alternative viewpoints are positioned.

## **2. Background**

### **2.1 Theoretical background: discourse semantics**

The term discourse semantics refers to one stratum in the SFL stratified model of language expounded in Martin (1992) and later developed in Martin & Rose (2007). Evolving from Halliday & Hasan (1976) and Halliday (1977, 1984, 1985a), Martin (1992) conceptualises language as comprising three strata: discourse semantics, lexicogrammar, and phonology. Discourse semantics and lexicogrammar constitute the content plane of language. Phonology constitutes the expression plane. The strata are related in terms of abstraction. Discourse semantics is more abstract than lexicogrammar, which is, in turn, more abstract than phonology. The three strata divide the labour of describing a language. Discourse semantics is concerned with meanings in texts, lexicogrammar with meanings in clause and its constituent units, and phonology with meanings in tone group and its constituent units. The relationship between the strata of discourse semantics, lexicogrammar, and phonology is represented as co-tangential circles in Figure 1.

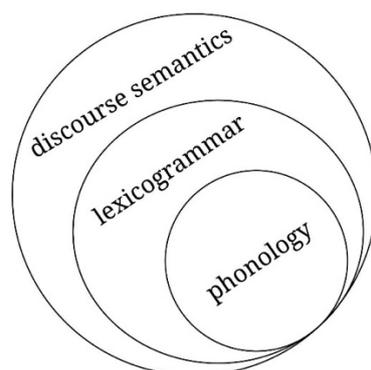


Figure 1 An SFL stratified model of language (adapted from Martin, 2014)

This paper is concerned with the discourse semantics of modal particles as they are used in real life interactions. Interactions are understood as comprising multiple exchanges, which in turn comprise one or more moves. This leads us to the second theoretical dimension of SFL relevant to the present study – rank. Rank is by and large the SFL conceptualisation of constituency. Units at a higher rank comprise one or more units from the rank next below. The units thus form a **rank scale**. The units along a rank scale are related to one another in terms of a function-class cycle. The functional configuration at a higher rank is realised by classes of the unit at the rank next below. In English, for example, the units – clause, group/phrase, word, and morpheme – form the rank scale in the lexicogrammatical stratum. The interpersonal layer of the clause rank functional configuration in English Subject<sup>^</sup>Finite/ Predicator<sup>^</sup>Complement can potentially be realised by the syntagm nominal group<sup>^</sup>verbal group<sup>^</sup>nominal group (Halliday, 1985b, 1994; Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004, 2014).<sup>2</sup>

The discourse semantic rank scale this paper assumes concerns exchange and move. An exchange consists of one or more moves. The functional configuration at exchange rank is realised by classes of move at move rank. The relationship between exchange and move is represented schematically in Figure 2.

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<sup>2</sup> Following the SFL conventions, carets (^) mean sequence and slash (/) means conflation of functions. Function names are written in initial capital letters (e.g. Subject); class names are written in lower case (e.g. nominal group).

**strata:**  
discourse  
semantics

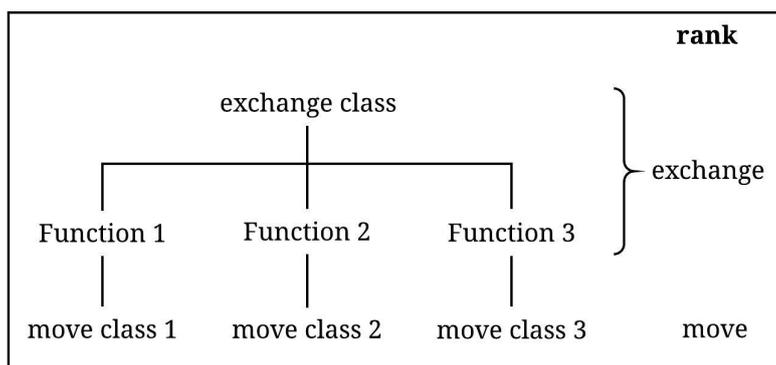


Figure 2 Exchange and move rank at discourse semantics

## 2.2 Descriptive background: exchange and move

This section reviews the relevant SFL descriptive work on exchange and move. The discourse semantic systems described for exchange rank (as in Section 2.2.1) will be drawn on in Section 4.1 and that for move rank (as in Section 2.2.2) will be used in Section 4.2. Additionally, the SFL work on dialogic positioning (as in Section 2.2.3) will be incorporated into the move systems in Section 4.3. A discourse semantic characterisation of the Khorchin Mongolian modal particles thus involves the classes of move they enact and the exchange functions these moves realise.

It is necessary to examine the organisation of interaction at both exchange and move rank because of their distinct descriptive labour. Exchange rank is concerned with the obligatory and optional elements of a stretch of interaction, which comprises up to five moves. The elements of an exchange reflect the knower roles adopted and cast by the interlocutors. Move rank, on the other hand, is concerned with the way the interlocutors and alternative viewpoints are positioned at a micro-level. The moves that realise the same element in an exchange may involve different kinds of positioning that are realised by various grammatical resources.

### 2.2.1 Exchange structure

The descriptive work on exchange this study draws on is Martin's (1992, 2018) development of Berry's (1981a, b, c) account of exchange structure in English. Exchange is the discourse semantic unit in which interlocutors negotiate a piece of information or action towards consensus. Exchanges involving the negotiation of information and action are referred to as knowledge exchange and action exchange respectively. This paper is concerned with knowledge exchange only as modal particles in Khorchin Mongolian are predominantly used in the negotiation of information.

According to Martin (1992:Ch.2), in knowledge exchanges interlocutors are assigned either the primary knower role or the secondary knower role. When assigned the primary knower role, the interlocutor is positioned as knowing the information under negotiation, and at the same time is positioned as having authority over the information. The secondary knower, on the other hand, is not positioned as having authority over the information. A knowledge exchange comprises recognisable obligatory and optional functional slots at which the primary knower and the secondary knower indicate their state of the knowledge in relation to the information. The obligatory functions are used as criteria when identifying exchange boundaries.

When an exchange is initiated by the primary knower, the interlocutor either directly indicates her or his primary knower authority at K1 – as in (1) – or delay the indication of their primary knower authority by first asking the state of the knowledge of the addressee at Dk1 – as in (2) (K = knower; 1 = primary; D = delayed). In the latter case, Dk1 predicts K2, at which the secondary knower indicates her or his state of knowledge (2 = secondary). When an exchange is initiated by the secondary knower, the exchange starts with K2, at which the interlocutor indicates her or his lack of the primary knower authority and casts the addressee in the primary knower role – as in (3). Additionally, K1 may be followed up by the secondary knower at K2f, which in turn can be followed up by the primary knower at K1f – as in (4) (f = follow up). K1 is obligatory under all circumstances for a knowledge exchange to be resolved. K2 is obligatory when Dk1 is present, or when an exchange is

initiated by the secondary knower. K2f and K1f are optional under all circumstances. Examples (1) to (4) are from Martin (2018:9–10)

- (1) Lita K1 Joseph's here now.
- (2) Lita Dk1 Wow, you'll never guess who's here!  
Jopay K2 Who's there?  
Lita K1 Joseph.
- (3) Jopay K2 Who's there?  
Lita K1 Joseph.
- (4) Lita K1 Joseph's here now.  
Jopay K2f Really?  
Lita K1f The very one.

As Martin (1992:66–76) argues, exchanges do not always unfold as expected. Interlocutors constantly interrupt the flow of exchange to either confirm the propositional content they are negotiating or to challenge a proposition put forward in a previous move. He refers to these two kinds of interruptions as tracking and challenging moves respectively. Martin (1992) shows that tracking is experientially oriented as the interlocutors put the exchange on hold and clarify the propositional content under negotiation; he also shows that challenges are interpersonally oriented as the interlocutors either abort the exchange uncooperatively or suspend the exchange by challenging the knower roles adopted and assigned in the course of an exchange. Tracking and challenging sequences are exemplified in (5) and (6) respectively (from Martin 1992:66–76) (tr = tracking; rtr = response to tracking; ch = challenge; rch = response to challenge).

- (5) K2 Does she have *Peter Pan*?  
tr What?  
rtr Does she have *Peter Pan*?  
K1 Yes.
- (6) K1 It's a Range.

ch Not it isn't.  
rch It is.  
ch Are you certain?  
rch Absolutely.  
ch Really?  
rch Yes.  
K2f Alright then.

This paper will show that the patterns in exchange structure observed based on English data are generalisable to Khorchin Mongolian exchanges. The exchange structure analysis in Section 4.1 below will make explicit the exchange functions typically realised by moves that are enacted by clauses involving modal particles in Khorchin Mongolian.

### 2.2.2 Move classes

The exchange functions introduced above are realised by classes of move at move rank. Martin (1992:59) defines move as “a discourse unit whose unmarked realisation is as a clause selecting independently for MOOD”.<sup>3</sup> In other words, moves are realised by independent clauses along with their dependents (hypotactically dependent clauses and embedded clauses). The examples in (7) (from Martin, 1992: 40) potentially realise individual moves in an exchange. The clauses that do not select independently for MOOD are highlighted in bold and glossed in brackets.

- (7) They love the team **that won**. (embedded: defining relative clause)  
They defeated **whoever they met**. (embedded: nominalised wh clause)  
They wondered **if they'd win**. (hypotactic projection)  
They won, **which surprised them**. (hypotactic expansion)

Instead of arguing for classes of move in relation to the exchange functions they serve, Martin (1992) proposes classes of move based on Halliday's (1985a) speech functional interpretation of the English MOOD

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<sup>3</sup> Following the SFL conventions, system names are written in small capital letters.

options. The basic MOOD options in English and the move classes they typically realise are summarised in Table 1 (the examples are from Martin, 1992: 32).

Table 1 Move classes and their typical realisations in English

move classes	typical MOOD options	examples
demanding information	interrogative	<i>Is there any Tooheys?</i>
giving information	declarative	<i>There's lots of beer.</i>
demanding goods-&-services	imperative	<i>Get me a drink, would you?</i>
giving goods-&-services	(varied)	<i>Can I get you a drink?</i>

The speech functional formulation of move classes used in the description of English is insufficient to make explicit the nuanced distinctions in the discourse semantic functions the Khorchin Mongolian modal particles realise. For example, the Khorchin Mongolian clauses in (8) and (9) can both be characterised as giving information. Their difference lies in the way the interlocutors are positioned in relation to their knowledge of the information under negotiation. The closest possible English expressions comparable to the meanings of the Khorchin Mongolian modal particles are given in square brackets in the translation line. The modal particles and their translations are highlighted in bold.

(8) *tʰər ixin ɣn ɔrtʰe sənɔ kər jɛp-tʃ ɛ:-tʃ ʃɛ*  
 DIST daughter 3POSS before trike INS commute-PROG COP-PST **MP**  
 '[**You know**] her daughter was commuting (to school) by motorised trike before.'

(9) *tʰər ixin ɣn ɔrtʰe sənɔ kər jɛp-tʃ ɛ:-tʃ ʃɔ*  
 DIST daughter 3POSS before trike INS commute-PROG COP-PST **MP**  
 '[**I know**] her daughter was commuting (to school) by motorised trike before.'

Therefore, when accounting for the discourse semantic functions of the modal particles in Khorchin Mongolian declarative clauses, we need to consider the classes of move from above in relation to the exchange functions they serve. Berry's (1981a, b) original formalisation of options at each point in a knowledge exchange is a useful point of departure for this task.

According to Berry (1981a), at non-Dk1 points in a knowledge exchange (K2, K1, and K2f),<sup>4</sup> there are two options available to the interlocutors: the speaker indicates that she or he either knows or does not know the information (+knowledge/-knowledge). The options are formalised as a system in Figure 3.<sup>5</sup>

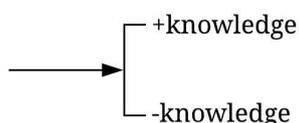


Figure 3 Options available at functional slots in a knowledge exchange

The options at non-initiating K2, initiating K2, K1, and K2f are exemplified in (10) to (13) respectively. The examples are from Berry (1981a), except (12b), which is from Berry (1981b).

(10)

(a) selecting [+knowledge] at non-initiating K2

Dk1 Quizmaster: In England, which cathedral has the tallest spire?

K2 Contestant: Salisbury.

K1 Quizmaster: Yes.

(b) selecting [-knowledge] at non-initiating K2

Dk1 Quizmaster: In England, which cathedral has the tallest spire?

K2 Contestant: Is it Salisbury?

K1 Quizmaster: Yes.

(11)

(a) selecting [+knowledge] at initiating K2

K2 Son: You said that Salisbury was the English cathedral with the tallest spire.

K1 Father:Yes.

<sup>4</sup> Note that Berry (1981a) did not describe the primary knower follow up (K1f).

<sup>5</sup> Following the SFL conventions for system networks, the right-facing arrowed square bracket ( $\rightarrow$ ) is used to show a disjunctive 'OR' relation.

(b) selecting [-knowledge] at initiating K2

K2 Son: Which English cathedral did you say had the tallest spire?

K1 Father:Salisbury.

(12)

(a) selecting [+knowledge] at K1

K2 Son: Which English cathedral did you say had the tallest spire?

K1 Father:Salisbury.

(b) selecting [-knowledge] at K1<sup>6</sup>

K2 Son: Which English cathedral has the tallest spire?

K1 Father:I don't know.

(13)

(a) selecting [+knowledge] at K2f

K1 Father:Salisbury is the English cathedral which has the tallest spire.

K2f Son: Yes.

(b) selecting [-knowledge] at K2f

K1 Father:Salisbury is the English cathedral which has the tallest spire.

K2f Son: Oh.

However, the system in Figure 3 above does not capture the way the addressee is positioned at the relevant points in a knowledge exchange. For example, at K1 in (13b) above, by uttering the statement the father is positioning the son as not knowing the information; at K2f, by uttering *oh* the son accepts the way his father positions himself (i.e. the father knows the information) and the way his father positions him (i.e. the son does not know the information).

Taking Berry's (1981a, b) formulation of the two options – [+knowledge] and [-knowledge] – as point of departure, this paper argues that a move involving the modal particles in a Khorchin Mongolian knowledge exchange

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<sup>6</sup> In Martin (1992), K1 such as the one in (12b) is considered a challenge as the speaker does not accept the primary knower role assigned in the previous move. This is not directly relevant to the description in this paper and will not be further discussed.

positions not only the speaker as knowing or not knowing the information, it at the same time positions the addressee as knowing or not knowing the information. The relevant options are useful in capturing the distinct positioning enacted by the different modal particles in Khorchin Mongolian.

### 2.2.3 Dialogic positioning

Aside from positioning interlocutors in relation to their knowledge of the information under negotiation as suggested above, the modal particles in Khorchin Mongolian also position dialogically alternative viewpoints as exchanges unfold. More specifically, the Khorchin Mongolian modal particles function both move-internally to position interlocutors at particular points in an exchange and move-externally to engage with the possible alternative viewpoints.

In order to describe the move-external functionality of modal particles, this paper draws on the work on dialogistic positioning developed in White (2000, 2003) and Martin & White (2005) under the heading ENGAGEMENT. The ENGAGEMENT system is concerned with the linguistic resources speakers/writers use to position themselves in relation to the values they bring in and to engage with alternative voices in relation to the values they put forward (Martin & White, 2005: 95–135). Speakers/writers use these resources to acknowledge previous voices and anticipate possible responses. In Martin & White's words:

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

The linguistic resources for presenting information as ‘taken for granted’ is called [monogloss] and the others [heterogloss].<sup>7</sup> Monoglossic

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<sup>7</sup> Following the SFL conventions, terms in a system are enclosed in square brackets in the running text.

utterances do not explicitly acknowledge other voices ('bare assertions') while heteroglossic utterances do. The two discourse semantic categories have various grammatical realisations. For example, monoglossia can be realised within a nominal group as in (14) or by a clause as in (15).

- (14) After nine years of the government's **betrayal** of the promised progressive agenda, Canadians have a gut feeling that their country is slipping away from them.
- (15) The banks have been greedy.  
(from Martin & White, 2005, p. 100)

Categories that have been described under modality, evidentiality, and the like are described as heteroglossic from the perspective of the ENGAGEMENT system. They acknowledge the possibility of dialogic alternatives. Within [heterogloss], a distinction is made between expanding and contracting the dialogic space to account for the different ways alternative voices are brought into a text. The expansive resources "actively [make] allowances for dialogically alternative positions and voices" as in (16) below while the contractive resources "acts to challenge, fend off or restrict the scope of such" as in (17) ( Martin & White, 2005: 102).

- (16) In fact this was **possibly** the most immature, irresponsible, disgraceful and misleading address ever given by a British Prime Minister.
- (17) You **don't** need to give up potatoes to lose weight. ("The textual voice positions itself as at odds with, or rejecting, some contrary position" ( Martin & White, 2005: 97))

The data Martin & White (2005) works on are not conversational and the ENGAGEMENT system is designed alongside the ATTITUDE system, which is concerned with the use of evaluative language in texts. This paper interprets the ENGAGEMENT system in relation to conversational data in Khorchin Mongolian. In Khorchin Mongolian conversations, the modal particles are one of the major grammatical resources used to position dialogically alternative voices. One distinct feature of conversation is that the interlocutors negotiate information and value positions in real time. A move by move analysis of how responses are anticipated and how the prior proposition is supported,

adjusted, or rejected is necessary for understanding the dynamics of positioning alternative voices in conversations. Here the focus of attention is not restricted to value positions, as they are not packaged as coherent texts in conversational data. Rather the value positions are scaffolded by the degree to which the interlocutors share the relevant information and the way the information is negotiated over time. Note that this paper uses DIALOGIC POSITIONING to refer to the distinctions in the ENGAGEMENT system observed in the Khorchin Mongolian interaction to avoid reference to APPRAISAL, within which it is originally designed. The term DIALOGIC POSITIONING also better captures the distinctions in the way alternative propositions are dialogically positioned on a move by move basis.

### **3. Methodology**

#### **3.1 Data collection**

The data used in this study are extracts from the conversational data collected during a three-month field trip from December 2017 to February 2018 in Jalaid Banner, Hinggan League, Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region, People's Republic of China. Two sites in Jalaid Banner are involved: Aldartu Somu (ā lā dá ěr tǔ 阿拉达尔吐) and Hūgǐltu Gaca (guóyíng mùchǎng 国营牧场). The collected data comprise three parts. (1) Daily conversations among family members were recorded over two weeks in two families at the two sites. The conversations typically happened during cooking when the family members had come back home from work. (2) Conversations between colleagues in a local Mongolian school were recorded over a week. The linguist stays in the office of the Mongolian language sector and recorded the conversations happened in the office. (3) Conversations were recorded during two government officials' visits to the local peasants' home in one day. For (1) and (2), consent was obtained before the field trip started. For (3), consent was obtained on site as it was not a scheduled part of the field trip. The three data sets are called 'family', 'colleague', and 'official' in the corpus under construction. In Table 2, the three data sets are characterised in relation to

the SFL contextual variables of field, tenor, and mode as they are developed in Martin (1992:Ch.7). They are concerned respectively with the activities construed in the text, the kinds of social relations negotiated in the text, and the roles played by language (the tenor terms ‘contact’ and ‘status’ are also known as ‘solidarity’ and ‘power’). The naming of the data sets privileges the social relations between the interlocutors given that interpersonal meaning is more sensitive to this contextual variable. The interaction used in this paper is from dataset 2 ‘colleague’.

Table 2 Contextual characterisation of the data

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

### 3.2 Data transcription and extraction

Data are transcribed in either Elan or Praat using IPA symbols. The phonemes used in the transcriptions are described in Tiemei (2015). Among the 30-hour 46-minute data collected, approximately 103 minutes have been transcribed. During transcription, modal particles are noted down to be used for corpus search.

To analyse the use of modal particles, the transcriptions were compiled as a small corpus in text files. The concordance tool in the corpus software AntConc was used to identify the co-texts in which the modal particles are

used.<sup>8</sup> The extraction of the co-texts typically involved the extraction of the exchange in which the modal particles occur. Sometimes the neighbouring exchanges were also included to give contexts to the exchange under analysis. The exchanges were then analysed in terms of exchange structure. The exchange structure analyses provided evidence for identifying the way the interlocutors are positioned in relation to their knowledge of the information under negotiation.

To explicitly describe the discourse semantic meanings of the modal particles in Khorchin Mongolian, this paper provides a detailed analysis of one interaction between colleagues, which involves multiple modal particles and hence suit the illustrative purpose. In this interaction, the two teachers talk about the mode of transport a mother is currently using to take her son to school and the mode of transport she used to use to take her daughter to school. The interaction is shown in full in (18) below.<sup>9</sup> Exchanges that involve modal particles will be presented in Section 4. The interaction is numbered move by move using the English alphabet. The move numbers are retained throughout the rest of the paper for ease of reference. The modal particles *xwi*, *ʃɛ*, *pɐ*, and *ʃu* are highlighted in bold. Note that the ‘tag’ *ʃi* in (18a) is not a modal particle as it can realise a move on its own. Move (18f) is realised by a clause complex; the Greek letters  $\alpha$  and  $\beta$  are used to show that the second clause ( $\beta$ ) is dependent on the first one ( $\alpha$ ).

(18) T = teacher

- a. T1: *sɔtʃʰin nɛ xu tʰini ɐŋki nɛ ʃi*  
Secin GEN son 2SG.POSS class GEN TAG  
‘Secin’s son is in your class, eh?’

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<sup>8</sup> The corpus tool AntConc is available at

<https://www.laurenceanthony.net/software/antconc/>

<sup>9</sup> The morpheme-by-morpheme glossing used in this study by and large follows the Leipzig Glossing Rules (2015) (<https://www.eva.mpg.de/lingua/resources/glossing-rules.php>). The abbreviations that are not listed therein are: INT = intensifier; IP = interrogative particle; MP = modal particle; OPT = optative. Note that in the transcription line, ‘case markings’ have been transcribed as postpositions instead of suffixes following Wang (1983) (cf. Bayancogtu, 2002).

- b. T2: *m:*  
yes  
'Yes.'
- c. T1: *sətʰin ni:təm mətʰo kər jɛp-tʃ ɛ:-n xwi*  
Secin always motorbike INS commute-PROG COP-NPST **MP**  
'[**I know**] Secin is always commuting by motorbike.'
- d. T2: *mətʰo kər xur-kə-tʃ ɛ:-n kə-tʃ u: xu: kən*  
motorbike INS reach-CAUS- PROG COP- NPST mean- PST IP son ACC.POSS  
'Do (you) mean she is taking her son (to school) by motorbike?'
- e. T1: *ə:*  
right  
'Right.'
- fa. T2: *xə:t kər mu ɛl kər t ən xən-ul-tʃʰəx i:*  
back home or which home DAT 3POSS stay-CAUS-OPT WISH  
'She should let (her son) stay at the back home (=his grandparents' home) or any home (near school),
- fβ. T2: *nək pək tʃɔ:s uk-ət*  
one small money give-PFV.CVB  
'(by) giving a small amount of money.'
- g. T2: *ən b xytʰən t tʰər ən*  
PROX INT cold DAT 3SG ACC.POSS  
'(She should not take) her son (to school by motorbike) in this very cold weather.'
- h. T1: *tʰər ixin ən ɔrtʰɛ sənɔ kər jɛp-tʃ ɛ:-tʃ fɛ*  
DIST daughter 3POSS before trike INS commute- PROG COP- PST **MP**  
'[**You know**] her daughter was commuting (to school) by motorised trike before.'

- i. T1: *tʰər sɛnlɔ nɔɛtʰ-x uɛ lɛ pɔl-tʃ pɐ*  
 DIST trike start-NPST NEG RES become-PST **MP**  
 ‘That motorised trike [**may**] have become unable to start.’
- j. T2: *ukue sɔtʰin ni:təm mɔtʰv*  
 NEG Secin always motorbike  
 ‘No, Secin always (takes her children to school by) motorbike.’
- k. T1: *xɐ?*  
 eh  
 ‘Eh?’
- l. T2: *sɔtʰin ni:təm mɔtʰv*  
 Secin always motorbike  
 ‘Secin always (takes her children to school by) motorbike.’
- m. T1: *ukue sɛnlɔ kər pɛs jɛp-tʃ ɛ:-tʃ fʊ*  
 NEG trike INS also commute-PROG COP-PST **MP**  
 ‘No, [**I know**] (she) was also commuting by motorised trike.’
- n. T2: *ɔ:*  
 oh  
 ‘Oh.’

In the remainder of this paper, the exchanges that involve modal particles from the interaction in (18) above will be analysed in terms of exchange structure and move classes.

#### 4. Analysis of Results

This section starts with an exchange structure analysis of the extracts from (18) that involve the modal particles *xvi*, *fɛ*, *pɐ*, and *fʊ*. As will be shown, the exchange structure analysis foregrounds the knower roles (primary vs. secondary knower) enacted by the modal particles. It will be argued, however, that the exchange structure analysis is insufficient to make explicit the differences in the discourse semantic functionality of the modal particles. The

exchanges will thus be re-examined in relation to the positioning of the interlocutors and the possible alternative viewpoints in the subsequent sections.

#### 4.1 Exchange structure analysis

The interaction this paper examines comprises multiple knowledge exchanges. In the exchange in (19), T1 positions himself as the primary knower at (19c) – i.e. he knows the information and has authority over the information. The information is clarified in (19d) and (19e). The structure of the exchange is thus K1<sup>^</sup>tracking (tr)<sup>^</sup>response to tracking (rtr). The exchange structure analysis is given on the left.

(19)

c. T1: **K1** *sətʰin ni:təm mətʰv kər jəp-tʃ* *ɛ:-n xwi*  
 Secin always motorbike INS commute-PROG COP-NPST **MP**  
 ‘[I know] Secin is always commuting by motorbike.’

d. T2: **tr** *mətʰv kər xur-kə-tʃ* *ɛ:-n kə-tʃ u: xu: kən*  
 motorbike INS reach-CAUS- COP- mean- IP son ACC.POSS  
 PROG NPST PST  
 ‘Do (you) mean she is taking her son (to school) by motorbike?’

e. T1: **rtr** *ə:*  
 right  
 ‘Right.’

Similarly, the modal particles *fɛ*, *pə*, and *fʊ* – as in (20) below – all have the potential to position the speaker as the primary knower and the addressee as the secondary knower. The extract in (20) comprises two exchanges. Both are initiated by the primary knower, hence starting with K1. Exchange 1 is continued at (20j) after it is interrupted by Exchange 2. At the slots of the expected follow-ups (e.g. K2f), K1 in Exchange 1 is challenged and tracked in (20j) to (20n). In the challenging sequence, the interlocutors negotiate the primary knower role – i.e. they compete for authority over the information.

Note that challenges as in (20j) and (20m) are potential K1s. (ch = challenge; rch = response to challenge; rrch = response to response to challenge)

(20)

Exchange 1

- h. T1: **K1** *tʰsr ixin ɚn ɔrtʰe sɛnlɔ kər jɛp-tʃ* *ɛ:-tʃ fɛ*  
 DIST daughter 3POSS before trike INS commute- COP- **MP**  
 PROG PST  
 ‘**[You know]** her daughter was commuting (to school) by motorised trike before.’

Exchange 2

- i. T1: **K1** *tʰsr sɛnlɔ nɔɛtʰ-x uɛ lɛ pɔl-tʃ* **pɛ**  
 DIST trike start-NPST NEG RES become-PST **MP**  
 ‘That motorised trike **[may]** have become unable to start.’

Exchange 1 (cont.)

- j. T2: **ch** *ukue sstʰin ni:təm mɔtʰv*  
 NEG Secin always motorbike  
 ‘No, Secin always (takes her children to school by) motorbike.’

- k. T1: **tr** *xɛ?*  
 eh  
 ‘Eh?’

- l. T2: **rtr** *sstʰin ni:təm mɔtʰv*  
 Secin always motorbike  
 ‘Secin always (takes her children to school by) motorbike.’

- m. T1: **rch** *ukue sɛnlɔ kər pɛs jɛp-tʃ* *ɛ:-tʃ fɔ*  
 NEG trike INS also commute-PROG COP-PST **MP**  
 ‘No, **[I know]** (she) was also commuting by motorised trike.’

- n. T2: **rrch** ɔ:  
oh  
'Oh.'

The exchange structure analyses show that the modal particles *xwi*, *fɛ*, *pɐ*, and *fʊ* can potentially assign the speaker the primary knower role and cast the addressee in the secondary knower role. When the speaker is positioned as the primary knower, she or he is positioned as knowing the information. To understand whether the addressee is positioned as knowing or not knowing the information and whether there are differences in the way the speaker is positioned as knowing the information, we need to examine the interaction from the perspective of move – as in Section 4.2 and 4.3 below.

#### **4.2 Move analysis: INTERLOCUTOR POSITIONING**

The analysis from the perspective of exchange structure shows that declarative clauses involving modal particles (e.g. *xwi*, *fɛ*, *pɐ*, *fʊ*) typically assign the speaker the primary knower role and cast the addressee in the secondary knower role, hence potentially realising K1. This, by definition, means that the speaker is positioned as knowing the information. However, the exchange structure analysis does not make explicit the way the addressee is positioned as either knowing or not knowing the information. Extending Berry's (1981a, b) model of speaker positioning in relation to their knowledge of the information under negotiation ([+knowledge/-knowledge]), this section analyses the way both the speaker and the addressee are positioned with respect to their knowledge of the information. It will be shown that the addressee can be positioned as either knowing or not knowing the information, or she or he may not be positioned in either way.

The modal particle *xwi* in the interaction positions the speaker as knowing the information but does not position the addressee in either way. The relevant parts of the interaction in (18) are repeated as (21) below to show the way the particle is used. In (21c) T1 puts forward a proposition he considers worth sharing. The modal particle *xwi* construes the proposition as obtained from the speaker's experience. The addressee may or may not know

the information. The information is simply construed as worth commenting on. Note that it is unnecessary to analyse the tracking sequences in relation to the way the interlocutors are positioned given that the tracking sequences clarify the propositional content under negotiation and do not contribute directly to the negotiation as challenges do. (spkr = speaker; adrs = addressee; +K = positioned as knowing; NP = not positioned)

(21)

c. T1: **K1**

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

*sətʰin ni:təm mətʰo kər*  
 Secin always motorbike INS  
 '[I know] Secin is always

c. T1: **K1** **spkr** **adrs** *jəp-tʃ* *ɛ:-n* **xoi**  
**+K** **NP** commute-PROG COP-NPST **MP**  
 commuting by motorbike.'

d. T2: **tr** *mətʰo kər xur-kə-tʃ* *ɛ:-n kə-tʃ* *u: xu: kən*  
 motorbike INS reach-CAUS- COP-NPST mean- IP son ACC.POSS  
 PROG PST  
 'Do (you) mean she is taking her son (to school) by motorbike?'

e. T1: **rtr** *ə:*  
 right  
 'Right.'

As expected, T2 comments on the piece of information in (21f) and (21g).

(21) (cont.)

fa. T2: *xə:t kər mu ɛl kər t ən xən-ul-tʃʰəx i:*  
 back home or which home DAT 3POSS stay-CAUS-OPT WISH  
 'She should let (her son) stay at the back home (=his grandparents' home)  
 or any home (near school),

fb. T2: *nək pək tʃʌs uk-ət*  
 one small money give-PFV.CVB  
 '(by) giving a small amount of money.'

- g. T2: *ən*            *l*            *xyt<sup>h</sup>ən*            *t*            *t<sup>h</sup>ər*            *ən*  
 PROX            INT            cold            DAT            3SG            ACC.POSS  
 ‘(She should not take) her son (to school by motorbike) in this very cold weather.’

The moves in (21f) and (21g) are not analysed in terms of the structure of knowledge exchange as they are not negotiating information. Instead, they pass judgement on the shared information.

T1 then continues with another relevant proposition in (22h) below, which he considers shared knowledge between himself and the addressee. This is achieved through the modal particle *fɛ*.

(22) Exchange 1

- h. T1: **K1**

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

*t<sup>h</sup>ər*    *ixin*            *ən*            *ɔrt<sup>h</sup>ɛ*  
 DIST    daughter    3POSS    before  
 ‘[**You know**] her daughter was

- h. T1: **K1**    **spkr**    **adrs**    *sɛnlɔ*    *kər*    *jɛp-tʃ*            *ɛ:-tʃ*            *fɛ*  
 +K    +K    trike    INS    commute-PROG    COP-PST    **MP**  
 commuting (to school) by motorised trike before.’

The information in (22h) is the basis for the information T1 intends to share in (22i). The move in (22i) is realised by a declarative clause involving the modal particle *pɐ*. Similar to the modal particle *xwi* in (21c) above, the modal particle *pɐ* in (22i) does not position the addressee as either knowing or not knowing the information. Unlike the modal particle *xwi*, however, the modal particle *pɐ* does not ground the information in the personal experience of the speaker. Instead, it construes the information as grounded in the subjective judgement of the speaker. This difference in meaning is revealed in the DIALOGIC POSITIONING analysis in Section 4.3 below in relation to the way alternative viewpoints are engaged with at particular points in an exchange.

(22) Exchange 2

- i. T1: **K1**
- |             |             |
|-------------|-------------|
| <b>spkr</b> | <b>adrs</b> |
| <b>+K</b>   | <b>NP</b>   |
- tʰɔr sɛnlɔ nɔɛtʰ-x uɛ lɛ pɔl-tʃ pɛ*  
 DIST trike start-NPST NEG RES become-PST **MP**  
 ‘That motorised trike [**may**] have become unable to start.’

Instead of negotiating the proposition presented in (22i), in (22j) T2 challenges the proposition put forward in (22h). The clause in (22j) is elliptical, which will be analysed in the same way as a bare declarative clause functions in exchanges – the speaker is positioned as knowing the information and the addressee as not knowing the information.

(22) Exchange 1 (cont.)

- j. T2: **ch**
- |             |             |
|-------------|-------------|
| <b>spkr</b> | <b>adrs</b> |
| <b>+K</b>   | <b>-K</b>   |
- ukue sɔtʰin ni:təm mɔtʰv*  
 NEG Secin always motorbike  
 ‘No, Secin always (takes her children to school by) motorbike.’

- k. T1: **tr** *xɛ?*  
*eh*  
 ‘Eh?’

- l. T2: **rtr** *sɔtʰin ni:təm mɔtʰv*  
*Secin always motorbike*  
 ‘Secin always (takes her children to school by) motorbike.’

After confirming the challenge from T2, in (22m) T1 challenges the challenge. Instead of a bare declarative, move (22m) is realised by a declarative clause involving the modal particle *fʉ*. Similar to bare declarative clauses, declarative clauses that involve the modal particle *fʉ* position the speaker as knowing the information and the addressee as not knowing the information. (-K = positioned as not knowing the information).

(22) Exchange 1 (cont.)

m. T1: **rch**

spkr	adrs
+K	-K

*ukue sɛnlo kəɾ pɛs jɛp-tʃ ɛ:-tʃ fʊ*  
 NEG trike INS also commute- COP- MP  
 PROG PST

‘No, [**I know**] (she) was also commuting by motorised trike.’

n. T2: **rrch**

spkr	adrs
-K	+K

ɔ:  
oh  
‘Oh.’

The analysis of the interaction from the perspective of INTERLOCUTOR POSITIONING above shows that although in this interaction the moves involving the modal particles *xvi*, *fɛ*, *pɛ*, and *fʊ* function as K1, they show considerable differences at move rank in terms of the way they position the interlocutors in relation to their knowledge of the information under negotiation. At move rank, while the modal particles *xvi* and *pɛ* do not position the addressee as either knowing or not knowing the information, *fɛ* positions the addressee as knowing the information and *fʊ* as not knowing the information.

However, the two layers of analyses – exchange structure and INTERLOCUTOR POSITIONING – are still insufficient to pinpoint the distinctions between modal particles such as *xvi* and *pɛ* and that between the functionality of declarative clauses involving *fʊ* and those that do not involve any modal particle or the related resources. The analyses of *xvi* and *pɛ* are compared in (23) below. They both enact moves that (i) can potentially function as K1, (ii) position the speaker as knowing the information, and (iii) do not position the addressee as either knowing or not knowing the information under negotiation.

(23)

c. T1: **K1**

spkr	adrs
+K	NP

*sɛtʰin ni:təm mɔtʰo kəɾ*  
 Secin always motorbike INS  
 ‘**I know**] Secin is always



developed for English in White (2000, 2003) and Martin & White (2005) provide a useful point of departure to explain their differences. Moves involving modal particles typically engage with possible dialogic alternatives by opening up or closing down the space for disagreement – i.e. expanding or contracting the dialogic space.

In the interaction under examination, the modal particles *ʃε* and *pε* expand the dialogic space, anticipating possible disagreement from the addressee. In contrast, the modal particles *xwi* and *ʃu* contract the dialogic space, not anticipating disagreement from the addressee.

Move (25c) below is realised by a clause involving *xwi*. As described above, this modal particle grounds the proposition in the personal experience of the speaker, thus closing down the space for possible alternatives. This is also evident from the way the interaction unfolds. The validity of the proposition put forward in (25c) is not negotiated. Instead, as expected, the propositional content is evaluated by T2 in (25f) and (25g). Analysis from the perspective of DIALOGIC POSITIONING is provided below the analysis from the perspective of INTERLOCUTOR POSITIONING.

(25)

c. T1: **K1**

<b>spkr</b>	<b>adrs</b>	<i>sətʰin ni:təm mətʰu kər</i>
<b>+K</b>	<b>NP</b>	Secin always motorbike INS
<b>contract</b>		‘[I know] Secin is always

c. T1: **K1**

<b>spkr</b>	<b>adrs</b>	<i>ʃεp-tʃ</i>	<i>ε:-n</i>	<b>xwi</b>
<b>+K</b>	<b>NP</b>	commute-PROG	COP-NPST	<b>MP</b>
commuting by motorbike.’				

d. T2: **tr**

<i>mətʰu</i>	<i>kər</i>	<i>xur-kə-tʃ</i>	<i>ε:-n</i>	<i>kə-tʃ</i>	<i>u:</i>	<i>xu:</i>	<i>kən</i>
motorbike	INS	reach-CAUS-	COP-	mean-	IP	son	ACC.POSS
		PROG	NPST	PST			
‘Do (you) mean she is taking her son (to school) by motorbike?’							

e. T1: **rtr**

<i>ə:</i>
right
‘Right.’

fa. T2: *xœ:t kər mu ɛl kər t ɤn xɔn-ul-tʰɤx i:*  
 back home or which home DAT 3POSS stay-CAUS-OPT WISH  
 ‘She should let (her son) stay at the back home (=his grandparents’ home)  
 or any home (near school),

fβ. T2: *nɔk pək tʃɔ:s uk-ət*  
 one small money give-PFV.CVB  
 ‘(by) giving a small amount of money.’

g. T2: *ɤn b xytʰɤn t tʰɔr ɤn*  
 PROX INT cold DAT 3SG ACC.POSS  
 ‘(She should not take) her son (to school by motorbike) in this very cold  
 weather.’

Unlike *xvi* – as in (25c) above, the modal particle *fɛ* and *pɐ* in (26) below enact an expansion of the dialogic space, anticipating possible disagreement. Moves involving *fɛ* – as in (26h) – typically build the ground for another proposition. The speaker assesses the proposition as shared between the interlocutors. It is possible that the addressee may disagree with the proposition – as it is the case in (26). Moves involving the modal particle *pɐ*, on the other hand, ground the proposition in the subjectivity of the speaker, hence allowing for other possibilities.

(26) Exchange 1

h. T1: **K1**

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

*tʰɔr ixin ɤn ɔrtʰe*  
 DIST daughter 3POSS before  
 ‘[**You know**] her daughter was

h. T1: **K1**

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

*sɛnlɔ kər jɐp-tʃ ɛ:-tʃ fɛ*  
 trike INS commute-PROG COP-PST **MP**  
 commuting (to school) by motorised trike before.’

Exchange 2

- i. T1: **K1**
- |               |             |
|---------------|-------------|
| <b>spkr</b>   | <b>adrs</b> |
| <b>+K</b>     | <b>NP</b>   |
| <b>expand</b> |             |
- tʰɔr sɛnlɔ nɔɛtʰ-x uɛ lɛ pɔl-tʃ pɛ*  
 DIST trike start-NPST NEG RES become-PST **MP**  
 ‘That motorised trike [**may**] have become unable to start.’

Like *xvi* in (25c) above, the modal particle *fʊ* in (26m) below enacts a contraction of the dialogic space, not anticipating disagreement from the addressee. Moves involving *fʊ* – as in (26m) – show that the speaker has invested a high level of commitment to the validity of the proposition. They are typically used when the addressee is to be won over.

(26) Exchange 1 (cont.)

- j. T2: **ch**
- |             |             |
|-------------|-------------|
| <b>spkr</b> | <b>adrs</b> |
| <b>+K</b>   | <b>-K</b>   |
- ukue sɔtʰin ni:təm mɔtʰv*  
 NEG Secin always motorbike  
 ‘No, Secin always (takes her children to school by) motorbike.’

- k. T1: **tr** *xɔ?*  
*eh*  
 ‘Eh?’

- l. T2: **rtr** *sɔtʰin ni:təm mɔtʰv*  
*Secin always motorbike*  
 ‘Secin always (takes her children to school by) motorbike.’

- m. T1: **rch**
- |                 |             |
|-----------------|-------------|
| <b>spkr</b>     | <b>adrs</b> |
| <b>+K</b>       | <b>-K</b>   |
| <b>contract</b> |             |
- ukue sɛnlɔ kər pɛs jɛp-tʃ ɛ:tʃ fʊ*  
 NEG trike INS also commute- COP- **MP**  
 PROG PST  
 ‘No, [**I know**] (she) was also commuting by motorised trike.’

- n. T2: **rrch**
- |             |             |
|-------------|-------------|
| <b>spkr</b> | <b>adrs</b> |
| <b>-K</b>   | <b>+K</b>   |
- ɔ:*  
*oh*  
 ‘Oh.’

All the uses of the modal particles – e.g. *xwi*, *fɛ*, *pɐ*, and *fʊ* in (26) above – are heteroglossic. Regardless of their anticipation of disagreement from the addressee, they acknowledge the existence of dialogic alternatives. In contrast, declarative clauses that do not involve modal particles (or other relevant resources not discussed in this paper) do not actively acknowledge possible alternatives. They enact propositions as if they are the only ones available, hence monoglossic – as in (27) below.

(27)

- a. T1: **K1**
- |                  |             |
|------------------|-------------|
| <b>spkr</b>      | <b>adrs</b> |
| <b>+K</b>        | <b>+K</b>   |
| <b>monogloss</b> |             |
- sstʰin nɛ xu tʰini ɛŋki nɛ fi*  
 Secin GEN son 2SG.POSS class GEN TAG  
 ‘Secin’s son is in your class, eh?’
- b. T2: **K2f**
- |                  |             |
|------------------|-------------|
| <b>spkr</b>      | <b>adrs</b> |
| <b>+K</b>        | <b>+K</b>   |
| <b>monogloss</b> |             |
- m.*  
 yes  
 ‘Yes.’

## 5. Conclusions and Further Research

The paper provides a discourse semantic framework for characterising the Khorchin Mongolian modal particles (e.g. *xwi*, *fɛ*, *pɐ*, and *fʊ* examined in this paper). The discourse semantic rank scale in SFL – exchange and move – has been used to make explicit the nuanced distinctions between the modal particles based on their use in interactions. The study has found that the modal particles enact the adoption of the primary knower role by the speaker from the perspective of exchange – meaning that the speaker knows the information and has authority over the information.

As far as the positioning of the addressee is concerned, while in the moves that involve *xwi* and *pɐ* the addressee is not positioned as either knowing or not knowing the information, in the ones that involve *fɛ* and *fʊ* the addressee is positioned as knowing and not knowing the information respectively. The modal particles are different also with respect to the way alternative viewpoints are introduced in the discourse. The particles *fɛ* and *pɐ* actively allow for the possibility of alternative viewpoints, hence expanding the

dialogic space; the particles *xi* and *fū* fend off possible alternative voices and hence contract the dialogic space.

The move rank systems that are used to discuss the positioning of interlocutors and dialogic alternatives through the Khorchin Mongolian modal particles are summarised as a system network in Figure 4.<sup>10</sup> The dotted lines indicate that there are other possibilities when moves are realised by clauses involving interpersonal particles that are not explored in this paper (e.g. speaker positioned as not knowing the information when a clause ends with an interrogative particle).

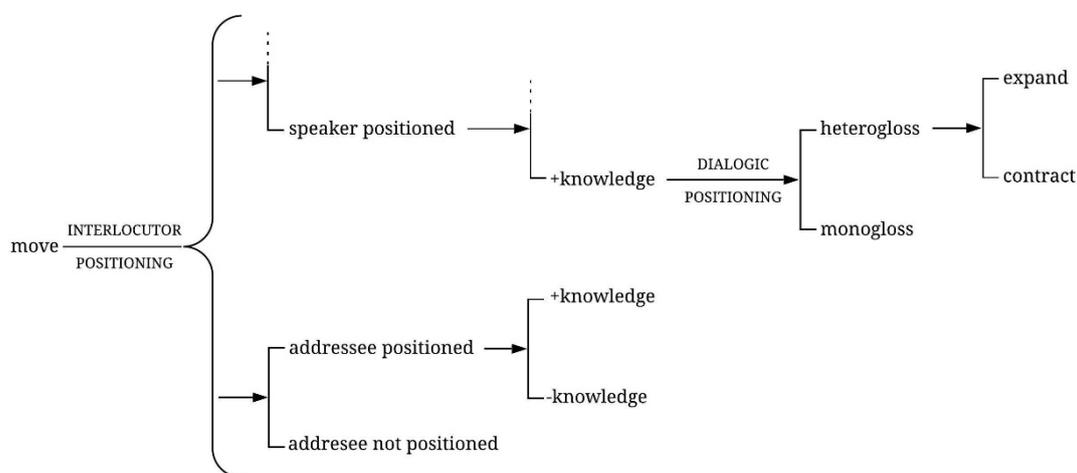


Figure 4 INTERLOCUTOR POSITIONING and DIALOGIC POSITIONING at move rank

The move rank discourse semantic characterisation of the modal particles are summarised in Table 3 below according to the paradigm in Figure 4.

<sup>10</sup> Following the SFL conventions, the right facing curly bracket (}) is used to show conjunctive AND relations.

Table 3 Move rank meanings enacted by Khorchin Mongolian modal particles

(move)		INTERLOCUTOR POSITIONING			
		addressee		addressee positioned	
		not positioned	+knowledge	-knowledge	
DIALOGIC	contract	<i>xvi</i>			<i>fʊ</i>
POSITIONING	expand	<i>pɛ</i>		<i>fɛ</i>	

Modal particles in Khorchin Mongolian as they are described in this paper include items that have previously been described under the headings such as ‘evidentiality’ and ‘modality’ (see Zhang (2020) for a more comprehensive account). Along with analysing them in relation to ‘source of information’ and ‘epistemic’ (Aikhenvald 2018; Aikhenvald & LaPolla 2007), it is essential to see what they do in conversations. Aikhenvald (2018) in fact emphasises the importance of studying ‘evidentiality’ based on conversational data. However, in order to characterise ‘evidentiality’ (and ‘modality’) in a more systematic way in terms of their functions in conversations, a meaning-based investigation of the discourse of interaction as conducted in this paper is necessary.

In addition to further research using the framework to describe the other modal particles in Khorchin Mongolian, the framework can also be used to describe the discourse semantic meanings of modal particles in other languages. Furthermore, the framework provides a useful starting point for managing the complexity in describing conversational repartee where interlocutors negotiate positionings at different levels.

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