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REJECTED EXPECTATIONS: THE SCALAR PARTICLES

CAI AND *JIU* IN MANDARIN CHINESE

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REJECTED EXPECTATIONS: THE SCALAR PARTICLES

CAI AND *JIU* IN MANDARIN CHINESE

BY

Huei-Ling Lai, B.A., M.A.

Dissertation

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REJECTED EXPECTATIONS: THE SCALAR PARTICLES

CAI AND *JIU* IN MANDARIN CHINESE

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The University of Texas at Austin, 1995

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This dissertation investigates the four uses of *cai* and *jiu* in Mandarin: the temporal, the restrictive, the conditional and the emphatic uses. The major claim is that the various uses of the two particles are related by virtue of their common link to a semantic structure. *Cai* and *jiu* presuppose a change of state in the truth value of a proposition, and they presuppose that this change happens at a different point from where it is expected to happen. For *cai*, the asserted value is located "farther up" on the structure than the expected value, whereas for *jiu* the asserted value is located "farther down."

In the temporal use, *cai* expresses that the change happened later than expected while *jiu* expresses that it happened earlier than expected. Special attention

is paid to the antinomic phenomena exhibited by them. In the restrictive use, *cai* denotes that the asserted value is more than expected whereas *jiu* denotes that the asserted value is less than expected. It is further argued that *cai* always induces a strict order among alternatives on a directly or indirectly related temporal scale whereas *jiu* can induce a temporal scale when it occurs with the sentential *le* and a nontemporal scale otherwise. These particles are compared with *zhi* which is happy with an unordered set of alternatives and can be associated with a nontemporal scale as well. The generalizations work for both linear and hierarchical orders.

In the conditional use, the same structures are argued to account for the effect that *cai* marks the condition as necessary and *jiu* marks it as sufficient. For *cai*, it is asserted that the protasis entails the apodosis but no lower-ranked or less specific alternative can make the apodosis true, whereas it is expected that the apodosis would be true under a less specific protasis. For *jiu*, it is asserted that the protasis satisfies the apodosis, but it is expected that the apodosis would be true under a more specific protasis. The emphatic use of the two particles is related to the conditional use. The emphatic flavor comes from the rejection of what is expected. Hence, it is shown that we do not have to resort to multiple ambiguity but can describe *cai* and *jiu* as having a uniform meaning.

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CHAPTER ONE

General Introduction

1.1 Facts

The two particles *cai* and *jiu* normally analyzed as adverbs meaning `only', form a recognized class of expressions in Mandarin Chinese. Chao (1968) categorizes *cai* as an adverb of scope and quantity, of time and of degree, and *jiu* as an adverb of scope and quantity, of evaluation, of time and of contingency.[1] The particles *cai* and *jiu* have often been discussed together in the past studies as they are systematically related to each other. A review of the previous analyses will be presented in Chapter Two. In the present chapter, I will give a preliminary description of the two particles.

First of all, *cai* and *jiu* exhibit the temporal usage, as shown in (1):

(1) a. Lisi   *cai*   lai.[2]

      Lisi   C   come

      `Lisi just came.'

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[1] The term `scope' is used by Chao to refer to the expressions which the adverbs quantify over. And adverbs of scope refer to adverbs that are sensitive to different scopes.

[2] The particles *cai, jiu* and *zhi* will be glossed as C, J and Z, respectively. The following glosses are used: LE for the particle *le*, a perfective marker or a discourse-final marker. CL for a classifier, NEG for negative markers, *bu* and *mei*, DE for the nominalizer *de*, Q for a question marker, BEI for the passive marker *bei*, GUO for the experiential marker *guo*, ZHE for the durative marker *zhe*, PART for pause particles, PROG for the progressive marker *zai*, and NE for the particle *ne*, a marker for `response to surprise.' Also, I will use boldface for accent.

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b. Lisi *jiu* lai.

Lisi   J   come

`Lisi'll come in a moment.'

As indicated in the English translation, even though no temporal expressions are actually present in the sentences, in (1a) *cai* expresses that the event just happened in the immediate past whereas in (1b) *jiu* expresses that the event is going to happen in the immediate future. A contrast can also be observed in the following examples where *cai* indicates that the time of Lisi's showing up is later than expected while *jiu* indicates that the time specified is earlier than expected.

(2) a. Lisi **san** **dian** *cai* lai.

Lisi   three   o'clock   C   come

`It was only at THREE that Lisi showed up.'

b. Lisi **san** **dian** *jiu* lai le.

Lisi   three   o'clock   J   come   LE

`Lisi has already been here at THREE.'

Sentence (2a) implies that Lisi showed up later than the speaker expected, while (2b) implies that the speaker expected Lisi to show up later than three o'clock. Notice that the expectation with respect to *cai* and *jiu* can actually reverse:

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(3) a. Xianzai *cai* san dian ni zenme jiu yao zuo le?

　　　 now C three o'clock you why J want leave LE

　　　 `It's only three o'clock now; why do you want to leave?'

b. zheme quai *jiu* san dian le, wo yiwei cai lian dian ne!

　　 so fast J three o'clock LE I think C two o'clock NE

　　 `How could it already be three o'clock? I thought it was only two o'clock.'

Sentence (3a) with *cai* indicates that `it's only three o'clock and the hearer is expected to leave later. Sentence (3b) with *jiu* indicates that `it's already as late as three o'clock and the speaker expects that the time is earlier than the real time.' The direction of expectation is just the opposite of (2a) and (2b).[3]

In addition to the temporal usage, *cai* and *jiu* can be used restrictively meaning `only', as illustrated in the following examples.[4]

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[3] The antinomy of *cai*, namely the opposite expectation observed in (2a) and (3a) was first observed by Alleton (1972). Nevertheless, the opposite expectation expressed by *jiu* as in (2b) and (3b) is not discussed in the previous literature. See Chapter Two for further discussions of previous analyses of these two particles.

[4] Mandarin Chinese has another particle *zhi*, which unequivocally means `only' to express the restrictive usage as in the following example in (a):

(a) Lisi *zhi* kan le san ye.
　　 Lisi Z read LE three page
　　 `Lisi read only THREE PAGES.'

I will also incorporate the discussion of this particle in the restrictive usage in Chapter Four.

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(4) a. Na   ben   shu,   Lisi   *cai*   kan   le   san   ye.

    that   CL   book   Lisi   C   read   LE   three   page

    `That book, Lisi has only read three pages so far.'

    b. Na   ben   shu,   Lisi   *jiu*   kan   le   **san**   ye.

    that   CL   book   Lisi   J   read   LE   three   page

    `That book, Lisi has only read THREE PAGES.'

Sentences (4a) and (4b) show that either of the particles can attach to a VP (or a PP). Moreover, they can further attach to an NP. Examine the following.

(5) a. *Cai*   san   ge   ren   lai.

    C   three   CL   person   come

    `Only three persons showed up so far.'

    b. *Jiu*   **san**   **ge**   ren   lai.

    J   three   CL   person   come

    `Only THREE persons showed up.'

Also, in some cases, especially when the focused NP is not a quantified object, *jiu* is perfectly acceptable to have the meaning `only', whereas *cai* is not possible, as shown in the following.

(6) a. *(Shuiguo li), Lisi   *cai*   xihuan   pingguo.

    fruit   in   Lisi   C   like   apple

    `(Among fruits), Lisi likes only apples so far.'

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b. (Shuiguo li), Lisi *jiu* xihuan **pingguo**.

fruit   in Lisi J like   apple

`(Among fruits), Lisi likes only APPLES.'

Besides, like in their temporal usage, *cai* and *jiu* may express scalar contrast:

(7) a. Ta chi le **wu** **ge** pingguo *cai* bao.

he eat LE five CL apple   C   full

`He became full only after eating (as many as) FIVE apples.'

  b. Ta chi **lian** **ge** pingguo *jiu* bao le.

he eat   two CL apple   J full LE

`He became full after only eating (as few as) TWO apples.'

According to these examples, both particles seem to mean "only" given appropriate contexts, yet they actually exhibit different syntactic and semantic behavior.

Next, consider the conditional usage. *Cai* and *jiu* can be used to indicate conditionals whereby *cai* is related to necessary conditions and *jiu* is related to sufficient conditions. Examine the following.

(8) a. **Xingqitian**, Amei *cai* qu manpao.

Sunday   Amei C   go jogging

`Amei goes jogging only if IT IS SUNDAY.'

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b. **Xingqitian**, Amei *jiu* qu manpao.

Sunday Amei J go jogging

`Amei goes jogging if (whenever) IT IS SUNDAY.'

In addition to the aforementioned uses, *cai* and *jiu* can express emphasis.
Consider the examples in (9).

(9) a. **Na** **bu** **dianying** *cai* hao kan ne!

that CL movie C good see NE

`THAT MOVIE WAS REALLY GREAT!'

b. **Lisi** *jiu* shi wo yao zhao de ren.

Lisi J be I want look-for DE person

`LISI is exactly the person that I am looking for.'

So far the various uses of the two particles have been introduced. They show
different syntactic and semantic behavior as illustrated. An overview of the general
problems will be presented in next section.

1.2 An Overview

As shown in the previous section, the two particles in question are systematically
related to each other in their meanings. The examples also illustrate important
properties of these particles: focus-sensitivity, introduction of scales (e.g. of times or

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of numbers) and certain semantic effects on the presuppositional level. The meanings

of them are similar but not identical to English *only* vs. *already* or German *erst* vs.

schon. One task is to account for the systematic relationship between them: what

principles determine the syntactic and semantic sharing of labor between them and

how semantics and pragmatics interact to achieve the observed effects.

As pointed out in section 1.1, each particle may have a variety of uses, namely,

the temporal use, the restrictive use, the conditional use and the emphatic use.

Although these meanings are not obviously related, assuming complete polysemy

would be an unattractive option. The second task is to try to identify a more abstract

basic meaning for each particle that underlies the various uses. The basic meaning

should be able to account for the relationship between temporal and nontemporal

uses. Moreover, as indicated in examples (2) and (3), *cai* and *jiu* may express

antinomic notions: *cai* may indicate a time later than expected as well as a time

earlier than expected, and *jiu* shows the same options. This general meaning should

also be able to explain these seemingly contradictory interpretations. In particular,

the semantic representation should give a logical account for the emphatic use as in

(9), which seems especially hard to be reconciled with the other uses.

1.3 Organization of the Dissertation

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After presenting the general properties of these two particles, in Chapter Two, I will review the previous analyses of these two particles, in particular the analysis by Paris (1985) and that by Biq (1984; 1988). In Chapter Three, I will present the analyses of the German particles *erst* and *schon* by Löbner (1989) and van der Auwera (1993), and the discussion of the Spanish particles *solo* and *ya* by Garrido (1992). I will also present the theory proposed by Michaelis (1993) that deals with the polesemy of the adverbial *still*. Then in Chapter Four, I will analyze the four uses of the particles. Essentially, I will propose a semantic structure for each particle that not only denotes the actual meaning of the particle but also indicates the presupposed expectation rejection expressed by the particle. Chapter Five will conclude the dissertation.

CHAPTER TWO

Previous Analyses of the Two Particles

In this chapter, a review of the previous analyses of the two particles will be presented. Specifically, the first section will introduce the descriptive accounts by Li & Thompson (1981), and Tsao (1976); then two more systematic analyses by Paris (1985) and Biq (1984; 1988) will be discussed in the subsequent sections.

2.1 Earlier Approaches

Li & Thompson (1981) characterize *cai* and *jiu* as 'nonmovable nonmanner adverbs', meaning that they can only occur in the position immediately following the subject or topic and before the verb (p. 322). *Cai* is given the senses as 'just now, only then;' *jiu* , 'only, immediately, emphatic, thereupon (then).' Besides, *cai* and *jiu* are further characterized to function as 'backward-linking elements', which relate a clause only to the speaker's own previous clause, not to a clause that someone else has uttered (p. 655). Two comments are to be made. First, *cai* and *jiu* can actually be attached to an NP; i.e., they can occur right in front of a subject or a topic, as shown in the following (cf. also examples like (5a) and (5b) in Chapter One).

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(1) a. *Cai*   Lisi   lai   xuexiao.

      C   Lisi   come   school

      `only Lisi showed up in the school so far.'

   b. *Jiu*   Lisi   lai   xuexiao.

      J   Lisi   come   school

      `Only LISI showed up in the school.'

Second, *cai* or *jiu* does not necessarily relate to only the speaker's previous clause, it can be used in a discourse between two speakers, as in (2), adopted from Tsao (1976:363, (19)).

(2) Speaker 1:   Ta   shi   ge   gongren   yiding   mei   shenme   xuewen.

               he   be   CL   worker   must   NEG   what   knowledge

               `Since he is a worker, he must have little knowledge.'

    Speaker 2:   Ta   xuewen   *cai*   da   ne!

               he   knowledge   C   great   NE

               `(On the contrary), his knowledge is just great!'

While Li & Thompson mention some uses of the particles, no systematic analyses are provided in their book. However, they are the first to notice the frequent cooccurrence of the sentential particle *le* and *jiu*: "the relationship between the general or future time mentioned in the sentence [with *le*] and the changed situation is typically marked by *jiu*." (pp. 255-256) This observation turns out to be a very

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