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Daniel P. Hole's book, based on his doctoral dissertation, is an important contribution both to the field of Chinese linguistics, and to theoretical linguistics, and not only because of the results it brings on the level of description, as well as on the level of theoretical explanation, but also because it displays a very healthy approach to linguistic research, not really characteristic of recent literature. It carefully places the goal of attaining maximum descriptive adequacy and coverage in the focus (unlike many theory-oriented works suffering from selective blindness to "unyielding", problematic data), while, at the same time, putting sufficient emphasis on how to account for the phenomena in a systematic, theoretically sound way (unlike plain descriptive works which often present wrong or unsatisfactory generalizations about facts simply because they neglect searching for more overarching patterns). This book seems to have found the right proportion between detailed description and well-grounded theorizing. Moreover, the author is exceptionally honest in delimiting the domains of investigation to areas he has achieved full command of, staying away from speculative passages into fields in need of (further) research, and also in admitting at the relevant places that he has not been able to figure out the correct solutions yet. This attitude renders the argumentation presented in this book even more convincing.

The book is designed in such a way that it can be read either linearly, or cross-sectionally, as the authors points this out in the introductory part: the reader may choose to follow the main line

of argument, arching from data through generalizations to explanations, or (s)he can use the volume somewhat like a reference grammar on the four particles of Mandarin Chinese under investigation, by assembling a 'mini-monograph' for each from identically numbered subsections of the central chapters (2, 3 and 4).

Chapter 1 introduces both the main concern of the book (the key data with the four sentential particles of Mandarin: *cái, jiù, dōu* and *yě*) and the theoretical basics of information structure, particularly the focus-background articulation of sentences. It also offers suggestions on how to proceed with reading, depending on the reader's aims or background. The author makes it clear that the central field of analysis will be semantics and morphosyntax – the latter because the main claim of the book is that the four particles are agreement-markers, while semantics is where the solutions are sought for the problems, syntax and pragmatics not being suitable grounds for a satisfactory treatment.

Chapters 2-4 form the core of the book. Chapter 2 presents the data: it surveys the various use types of the four particles one by one, relying partly on the relevant literature, but also on data gathered by the author. The dual aim of this survey is (i) to provide a full inventory of the identifiable use types, and (ii) to classify them according to their relevance to the present investigation. In particular, for each particle the 'parametric' use type, where the particle is associated with some sort of informational focus in the sentence, is separated from other use types which play little or no role in the rest of the work, but are enumerated for completeness' sake. Since it has been a major issue in the literature whether the different uses of a particle should be subject to a common treatment, attempting to find some common core of meaning, Hole (very correctly, I believe) lays down a set of criteria for determining the feasibility of the "one form – one meaning" hypothesis for these particles. He then finds that the 'parametric' use types must be separated from the others, on grounds of their grammaticalized

nature: in these use types (i) they are *obligatorily* overtly *present* in the sentence, and (ii) the four of them constitute a semantically coherent morphosyntactic *paradigm*. Thus at least the separation of the grammaticalized (parametric) and the contentful (independent) occurrences of these particles is warranted.

Chapter 3 deals with the triggers and constraints of the use of the four particles, again treated in separate chapters, except for the joint discussion of *dōu* and *yě*, due to the numerous similarities of the two. From here on, the non-parametric uses are considered only to the extent that they are relevant to the analysis of the parametric type. This chapter is primarily concerned with descriptive generalizations, rather than theoretical explanation. The main point the chapter makes is that in all instances of the parametric use of the four particles we can identify the same type of triggering factor: some focused element, which, moreover, must precede the particle, except for a small subtype where the focused element originates postverbally, and cannot move to the left of the particle for independent reasons.

The discussion begins with *cái*, possibly because this is the one that is most straightforwardly linked to the notion of focus, through its association with one of the strongest focus types: *only-*focus. The chief difficulty here is to generalize over cases of preverbal and postverbal foci – the four particles all occupy a position at the left edge of the predicate phrase, so pre/postverbality practically coincides with preceding/following *cái*. In view of the general pattern of focus association of the four particles, the normal situation is where the focused element precedes the particle, hence the postverbal foci are in need of special explanation. This is one of the few points in the book where the author takes an excursus to syntax, to review and reject the analyses of Shyu (1995) and N. Zhang (1997), and decide to just state the descriptive generalization that *cái* may be associated with a postverbal focus only if the focused element must surface postverbally due to its referential properties. While I am just as agnostic as to the true reason for this referentially

bifurcated behavior of Mandarin nominals, I find it worth mentioning that determined (i.e., not bare) indefinite NPs are closely related to the aspectuality of the predicate (cf. Zh. Zhang 1997, Gu 1997), and since aspect-marking is at the left-edge of V in Mandarin, these indefinites may have some aspectuality-related reason for staying postverbal, even at the cost of violating some weaker constraint on the 'focus-*cái*' association. As a coda to the section on *cái*, Beck (1996)-type intervention effects between the *cái*-focus dependency and certain quantifiers potentially appearing in its way are analysed.

The case of *jiù* seems less complicated at first blush: its focal associate always precedes it. However, it displays a host of problems on closer scrutiny. (i) The focal element is usually embedded in a subordinate clause, i.e., no standard syntactic dependency (built on the c-command relation) can obtain between *jiù* and the focal NP. (ii) The triggering associate of *jiù* is not always focus, but contrastive topic. (iii) The frequently occurring modal *yào* in the subordinate clause creates a further dimension of difficulty, taking matrix scope from there. These points must all be accounted for by a satisfactory analysis.

*Dōu* and *yě* are lumped together for discussion, because their behavior similar or parallel in many respects. They both constitute cases, in their parametric use, of *even*-type focus. Besides, they can also associate with focal negative polarity items and wh-pronominals (interpreted in this relation as universals), in lieu of a plain *even*-focus. Their associate foci must precede them. (There is an exception, though, to this generalization, and its absence from the survey is probably the only empirical gap in this book: if the associate of *dōu* is a wh-pronoun which is also interpreted as a question phrase, and its regular position, as determined by its grammatical function, is postverbal, then it will get associated with *dōu* from its right, see (1); cf. Li 1995)

(1)     Lǐsì *dōu* chī-le    nǎ-xie        dōngxi?
        Lisi DOU eat-PERF  which-CL.PL  thing
        'What are all the things Lisi ate?'

As regards the distributional differences between *dōu* and *yě*, the fact that in the wh-pronoun-associate cases *yě* is confined to negative or modal contexts is captured by making reference to the property of *non-veridicality*, but in most cases the use-limitations on either *dōu* or *yě* (as opposed to one another) seem to be rather accidental, with little chance for meaningful generalizations.

Section 4 takes stock of the previous attempts to categorize the four particles, finds them all unsatisfactory, and spells out the key claim of the chapter (and of the whole book): in their parametric use these particles are *agreement markers*, merely reflecting, rather than establishing, certain types of focus (each specific to one type) relations. They come as close as possible in an isolating language to being inflectional items. Their semi-clitic cross-referencing status is underpinned by the fact that they are mandatorily unstressed, hence phonetically dependent.

Chapter 4 is the longest, and most important chapter of the book. Its topic is the semantic analysis of the focus-types reflected by the four particles. The tour begins with visiting the particles one by one, and then culminates in setting up a compact, complete and coherent semantic subsystem comprising these particles. The general approach, in the light of focus-background semantics, is to identify the set of contextually given or relevant alternatives to the denotation of the focused element, and to show what sort of quantification applies to this set such that it yields the quantity of alternatives for which the assertion of the sentence is true.

In the case of *cái*, there is a notion of exclusion of all the relevant alternatives, which amounts to negated existential quantification ($\neg\exists$) over the domain of non-trivial alternatives (trivial ones being ignored because their exclusion would lead to contradictions). The exclusiveness is often overtly marked by *zhǐyǒu* 'only' in the sentence. This is the basic component of the semantics of *cái*-sentences. As for other concepts found in the literature, Hole argues that reference to scales is not a property of

*cái*-semantics, though these sentences are compatible with scales; the 'refutation of wrong assumptions' meaning does not apply to every *cái*-sentence, hence it cannot be part of the lexical semantics of *cái*; and the 'necessary condition' flavor of *cái*-sentences is just superficial – analysing them as such builds on the erroneous identification of *zhǐyǒu/only-if* conditionals with plain material implications of logic, whereas the semantics of these conditionals involve implicit adverbial quantification or modalization. Finally, the author devotes a section to an ingenious account of cases where *cái* interacts with temporal scales, with the result that these can also be incorporated into the general semantic scheme.

The section on *jiù* begins with a survey of the wide variety of semantic notions associated with this particle in the literature. Hole identifies three ideas among these which appear to be on the right track: (i) it has some relation to sufficient conditions, (ii) it does not always express expectation-refutation, and (iii) it is the unmarked member of the opposition with *cái*. The heart of the proposal presented here is that *jiù* presupposes the existence of at least one alternative focus value with which the statement is/would be false. Placing this in line with the quantificational scheme for *cái*, we get the negation of universal quantification ($\neg\forall$) over the alternatives. The most peculiar property that ensures a unique status for *jiù* in the four-particle subsystem is its associability with contrastive topics (or more precisely: C-topics, in Büring's (1997) sense) besides the more general trigger: focus. Conceptually, C-topics form a natural class with foci inasmuch as they, too, involve contrast with alternatives in their meaning. Technically, Hole introduces a set-theoretic device to conflate the focal and C-topical alternatives, to be able to look for the "at least one" excludable alternative. By virtue of C-topics entering the picture, the possibility of implicit triggers steps in, too, since (unlike foci) C-topics can be non-overt in the sentence. The markedness phenomenon between *jiù* and *cái* falls out of the analysis, as the *cái*-sentences, with $\neg\exists$-quantification over the alternatives, entail their *jiù* counterparts,

with $\neg\forall$-quantification. The last subsection on *jiù* explicates its role (as a subordinator) in the so-called twin-variables construction – *jiù* ensures the correct embedding relation between the correlated clauses for the twin-variable interpretation of the two occurrences of the wh-pronoun to arise.

Next comes the semantic characterization of *dōu* and *yě*, again in a common treatment, which constitutes the longest section of the whole book. Firstly, the division is made between parametric *vs.* non-parametric *dōu/yě*, with the arguments about the necessity of distinction reiterated from Chapter 2. To the seven arguments marshaled by the author, one might add an eighth one: as pointed out by Gao (1995: 28), parametric and distributive *dōu* may cooccur in one clause, without resulting in redundancy, cf. (2).

(2)  Lián tāmen *dōu* méiyǒu  *dōu* lái.  (Gao 1995, ex. (27b))
     even they   DOU not.PERF DOU come
     'Even they didn't all come.'

In a context where there are several groups of people expected to come, moreover full attendance is required of the members of the groups, one may utter (2) felicitously, referring to the group whose members have been most likely/expected to really arrive in full.

Thereby 'distributive' *dōu* is distinguished from the *dōu* associated with *even*-type focus, and, likewise, *also*-meaning *yě* is told apart from *even*-linked *yě*, rejecting all known unifying analyses.
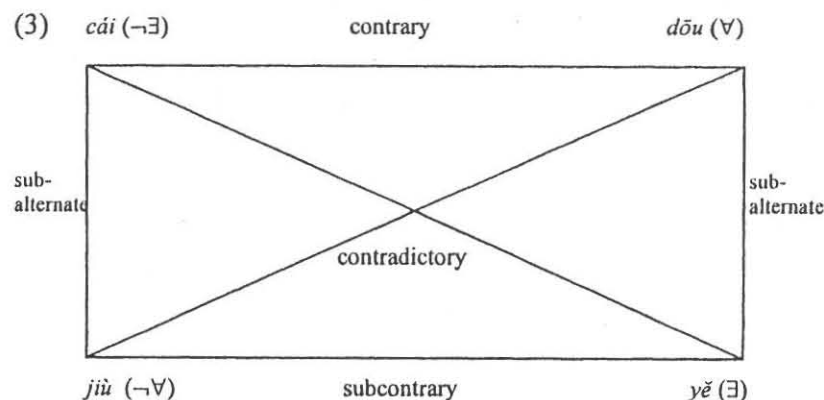
Before the semantics of parametric *dōu* and *yě* could be outlined, the meaning of *even*-focus needs to be clarified. Hole takes Krifka's (1995) model as the theoretical basis, and uses Krifka's notion of emphatic assertion as the triggering environment for *dōu/yě*. This way, these two can now be fit into the proposed agreement-marking system: (i) the lexical meaning of *dōu* involves universal quantification ($\forall$) over the set of focus-value alternatives, such that the truth of the assertion with these alternatives is entailed or presupposed; (ii) the lexical meaning of *yě*, in conformity with

the meaning of *also-yě*, involves existential quantification (∃) over the alternatives in a manner similar to the case of *dōu*. The reason why the 'weaker' *yě* can often step in for the 'stronger' *dōu* is that ∀ entails ∃.

A subsection is devoted to the interaction of *dōu/yě* with focused negative polarity items (NPIs), also couched in Krifka's (1995) model. 'Quantity' NPIs, as well as 'quality' NPIs are subsumed under the general account, with the latter including wh-pronominals associated with *dōu/yě* under negation, hence constituting a case of NPI. Interestingly, this treatment splits the 'wh-pronoun – *dōu/yě*' constructions into two different types, according to whether they are in negative context (in the relevant technical sense), but this division gains some support from the fact that only in the NPI-type cases is *dōu* freely interchangeable with *yě*, while in the 'free-choice' cases, discussed in the subsequent subsection, along with disjunction-clauses, the occurrence of *yě* is much more limited – in this respect, non-veridicality plays a key role again. The free-choice type is also shown to differ from the NPI-type wh-pronoun cases in its interpretation: because of the singular denotation of the wh-pronoun in the former, the domain of quantification for *dōu/yě* is not this extension, but the set of contextual alternatives. This classification of the *dōu/yě* associates is (to the best of my knowledge) an entirely new one, and it genuinely sheds light on the semantic properties of these particles.

The last subsection on *dōu/yě* examines their relation to concessivity. Plain concessives ('although …') are distinguished from concessive conditionals ('even if …'): the former triggers the use of *yě*, but excludes *dōu*, but in order to admit these cases, the semantics of *yě* must be expanded so that it includes a clause on modalization, i.e., existential quantification over possible worlds, besides actual-world alternatives. Concessive conditionals, on the other hand, simply follow the pattern of emphatic *even*-assertions, by virtue of the *even*-focus contained in them.

Section 4 of Chapter 4 is where the quintessential part of the book is presented: the architecture of the four-particle agreement system, schematized in a "quantificational square", reproduced here in (3):

(3)   *cái* (¬∃)              contrary              *dōu* (∀)



sub-alternate                                      sub-alternate

contradictory

*jiù* (¬∀)              subcontrary              *yě* (∃)

The logical relations among the particles, as marked on the figure, are then illustrated by linguistic data.

The final section of the chapter deals with two further focus-agreement particles, *hái* and *zài*, which are, albeit more peripherally, elements of this agreement system, too. Just like in the case of the central particles, parametric uses are separated from non-parametric ones. Parametric *hái* turns out to be similar to *yě*, existentially quantifying over alternatives, but with a further scalarity restriction (the considered alternatives must be lower on the scale than the asserted value). *Zài*, on the other hand, is akin to *cái*, but (i) the asserted proposition and its alternatives are ordered on a temporal scale, and (ii) only one alternative is considered and excluded, so in this case the basic ¬∃-meaning falls together with (a degenerate) ¬∀.

Chapter 5 has a dual function: it presents some theoretical devices and considerations, thereby opening a perspective on

general linguistic theory, and by doing so, it introduces certain refinements to the accounts given in the preceding chapters. The first problem treated concerns modals syntactically located inside the subordinate clause of *cái/jiù* sentences, but assuming matrix scope. Instead of resorting to some technical solution more or less specific to this construction, Hole proposes that under a Kratzer (1991)-style model of modality, the syntactic structure can be mapped to the standard tripartite quantificational semantic structure with the desired result (see (3)), with the only peculiarity that in Mandarin (unlike in English) the matrix clause is mapped into the restrictor, and the embedded one into the nuclear scope.

(4)    [$_{matrix}$    [$_{subord.}$ ... MODAL ... ] ... *cái/jiù* ... ]

MODAL    [restrictor]    [nuclear scope]
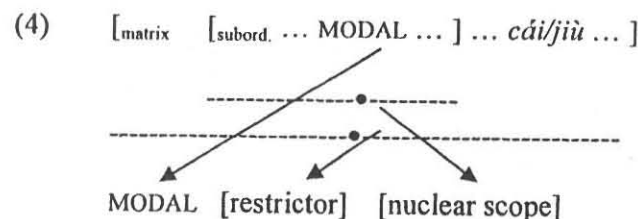
The next section treats a special subtype of *cái/jiù* sentences where the matrix predicate is simplex and monolithic, encoding some sort of conventional meaning, and cannot be negated – it is so reduced that the structure is almost monoclausal. In Hole's analysis, these sentences conform to the general semantic pattern of *cái/jiù* sentences, but they have a very peculiar property: the minimized matrix predicates encode the Kratzerian ordering sources.

Another section discusses an ambiguity phenomenon of *only*-focused numerically quantified English NPs, and the Chinese translations corresponding to the different readings, with the moral that cross-linguistic translational equivalence does not imply the cross-linguistic identity of LF-representations. The final section is devoted to the question of possible interaction between the focus-agreement dependencies within one sentence, finding that (i) there is no theoretical limit on the number of such dependencies per clause/VP, but (ii) their dependencies must be strictly serial, of the

form $Focus_x$ ... $Agr_x$ ... $Focus_y$ ... $Agr_y$, i.e. neither nested nor crossing dependencies are well-formed, moreover this seriality cannot be broken by any other intervening quantifier, either. This pattern evokes Aoun & Li's (1993) Minimal Binding Requirement, a syntactic principle, but since the present analysis does not treat focus as a quantifier-variable structure, this resemblance is not pursued further.

Finally, Chapter 6 provides a summary of the findings and results as a conclusion, and opens a diachronic perspective on the question of how this agreement particle system may have emerged, and speculates about the possibility of its origin in the Manchu language, which came into close contact with Mandarin during the ethnic Manchu Qing dynasty, in the 17$^{th}$-19$^{th}$ centuries. I think that the book would have been equally valuable without this speculation, moreover Herforth's (1999) analyses of late Zhou written Chinese data demonstrate that the internal development scenario is at least as likely as the alleged Manchu influence:

(5a)    [...] suī zhí   biān zhī   shì,   wú yì   wéi zhī. (*Lunyu*)
        even grasp whip ATTR officer I   PRT do   it
        'I would *even* serve as a WHIP-BEARING OFFICER.'

(5b)    Wéi **Cài yú**   gǎn.                              (*Zuozhuan*)
        only Cai with   upset
        'It is only CAI that [the king of Chu] is disgruntled with.'

(5a) testifies to the presence of similar 'agreement-marking' particles (here: *yì*, which, conspicuously, can alternatively mean 'also', just like modern Chinese *yě*, besides the *even*-focus associated function assumed here), while (5b) illustrates the systematic reversal of prepositional phrases (*yú Cài*) into postpositional ones (*Cài yú*) when moved from their postverbal base position to a preverbal focus position, and this shows that however overwhelmingly right-branching Chinese was and is,

exactly in the preverbal domain, and precisely in focusing constructions, a left-branching structure is not unheard of in very old stages of Chinese. Taking this into consideration, I believe that Hole's speculation is not likely to be on the right track, but since those passages are just like an appendix or afterthought, they do not cast the least shadow on the value and validity of the analyses presented in this extremely well-written book.

A final (and minor) technical note: the transcriptions and glosses of the Chinese data are accurate and correct throughout, with the exception of a recurrent error in the tone marking of one word (*mányì* instead of *mănyì* 'content').

In sum, Daniel P. Hole's book is an outstanding piece of linguistic literature, with equally important contributions to both Chinese and general theoretical linguistics. It is written in a lucid way, and uses formal technicalities only to the extent that they are inescapable, otherwise the author is very careful about making the text, the analyses accessible to those less well-versed in contemporary linguistic theory, too. And as I have mentioned above already, its very honest, yet strict scholarly attitude brings fresh air into the literature of the field, which I appreciate above all of its numerous other merits.

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