

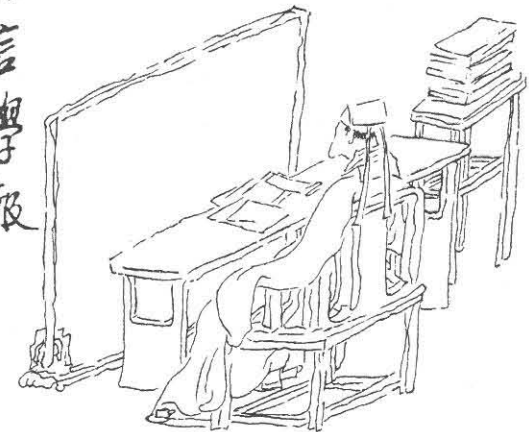
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HOLE Daniel. *The grammar of focus quantification in Mandarin Chinese*. Doctoral dissertation. Berlin : Free University. 2000.

This dissertation investigates the grammaticalized system of focus quantification in Mandarin Chinese.¹ The sentences in (1) serve to illustrate the empirical domain and the behaviour of focus-related *cai*, *jiu*, *dou* and *ye* (foci are printed in capital letters).

- (1a) Zhiyou ZHE-zhong shu Laowang
 only this-CL:kind book Laowang
 *(cai) mai-guo
 CAI buy-ASP
 'Laowang has bought only THIS kind of book before.'
- (1b) Zhi-yao NI LAI wo *(jiu) qu
 only-must you come I JIU go
 'If YOU COME, I'll go.'
- (1c) Lian TA *(dou) hui lai
 even (s)he DOU will come
 'Even (S)HE will come.'
- (1d) Jiushi NI LAI, wo *(ye) bu hui qu
 even-if you come I YE not will go
 'Even if YOU COME, I will not go.'

Two major claims are made. The first one concerns the form class to which parametric *cai*, *jiu*, *dou* and *ye* belong: these particles

¹ The study was written in the context of a research project supported by the *Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft* (Ko 497/5-1/2/3). This support is gratefully acknowledged.

are analyzed as clitic agreement markers.² The agreement triggers are preceding foci or contrastive topics of specific kinds; the targets of agreement are backgrounded verbal projections. The second claim concerns the focus-semantic content of the different kinds of agreement triggers: each of parametric *cai*, *jiu*, *dou* and *ye* agrees with a different focus type that is defined in terms of what quantificational statements about focus alternatives are signalled:

- (i) foci preceding parametric *cai* signal that no contextually salient alternative is true;
- (ii) foci preceding parametric *jiu* signal that not all contextually salient alternatives are true;
- (iii) foci preceding parametric *dou* signal that all contextually salient alternatives are true;
- (iv) foci preceding parametric *ye* signal that some contextually salient alternative(s) is/are true (\neq (ii)!).

Chapter 1 introduces the reader to the empirical domain investigated in the study, and the reader is familiarized with the concept of focus-background structure from theoretical linguistics.

Chapters 2 through 4 constitute the main body of the dissertation. Chapter 2 delimits and theoretically justifies the parametric use of *cai*, *jiu*, *dou* and *ye* among other uses of the same characters, and this classification is contrasted with previous attempts at a classification.

Chapter 3 is concerned with the syntax and the categorial status of the parametric particles. The main empirical generalization of this chapter is the following: whenever a focus (or a contrastive topic) of one of the four focus-quantificational types precedes the structural position of the parametric particles, parametric *cai*, *jiu*, *dou* or *ye* must be used.

² They are dubbed "parametric" following a tradition starting with Biq (1984, 1988).

This triggering relationship is restated in terms of an agreement mechanism: foci (or contrastive topics) agree with their backgrounds in focus quantificational type (cf. ZHANG 1997, 2000 or SHYU 1995 for diverging proposals). Parametric words do not mark their foci, they are just the agreement markers of otherwise established specific focus categories (cf. the sentence-initial focus markers in (1) which do the focus marking). The high degree of conventionalization observed in this domain is witnessed by the ungrammaticality of the sentences in (1) without the parametric particles. Suspicions against information-structural categories as agreement triggers in some widely defined domain of morphosyntax are counterbalanced by facts from Yukagir and Cantonese.

In chapter 4 the different kinds of contexts in which parametric particles occur are discussed in detail, and it is demonstrated how each specific occurrence of the particles can be tied to the respective focus quantificational type. With regard to parametric *cai* and *jiu* the proposals by ALLETON (1972), PARIS (1981), BIQ (1984, 1988) and LAI (1995) constitute the main points of departure. The empirical coverage includes, among other things, standard problems in (Chinese) linguistics, such as *cai/jiu* in conditional sentences, *cai/jiu* in scalarity contexts and their alleged paradoxical behaviour, *cai/jiu* and evaluational components of utterance meaning, and *jiu* in donkey-sentences and in sentences with contrastive topics. The tenor with regard to all of these domains is that parametric *cai/jiu* only reflects otherwise established components of meaning; accounts which assume evaluational or scalar entailments or presuppositions as lexical properties of parametric particles are mistaken.

The sections on parametric *dou* and *ye* tie the respective focus quantificational types to the *lian...dou/ye*-construction, negative polarity items, *wulun*-sentences and concessivity. The literature reviewed or made use of includes KRIFKA (1995), LIN (1996) and ZHANG (1997).

Toward the end of the chapter the architecture of the system of focus quantificational types is investigated as a whole; two more parametric particles (*hai* and *zai*) are identified, and they are given a sketchy analysis.

Chapter 5 assembles problems and refinements. Sentences as in (2) are discussed, and different ways of dealing with the syntax-semantics mismatch regularly observed in such sentences are contrasted.

- (2) Ta [bixu xia yu] cai lai.
 (s)he must fall rain CAI come
 'It must rain in order for him/her to come.'/'Only if it rains
 does (s)he come.'

Furthermore a sub-class of sentences with parametric *cai/jiu* + *shi/hao/xing/keyi/dui* is identified as encoding KRATZER's (1981) modal ordering source in a conventionalized way with purposive, optative, deontic or implementational ordering sources being associated with the predicates following *cai/jiu* in this construction. Finally Chinese translational equivalents of the two-way ambiguous English sentence *Only three people can move the piano* are discussed in detail, and sentences with two parametric particles in a single clause are briefly surveyed.

Chapter 6, finally, presents the main results of the study, and it is asked how its general findings link up with the usual default position of focused material in the VP of clauses. Moreover, some speculation on the historical development of the observed Mandarin system is added.

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