A PRAGMATIC STUDY OF SOME SENTENCE-FINAL AND POST-VERBAL PARTICLES IN MANDARIN CHINESE

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1988

CONTENTS

CHAPTER VI CONCLUSION

APPENDICES

LIST OF TABLES AND ILLUSTRATIONS PAGE

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

My heartfelt thanks to my supervisors -- Dr. Patrick D Griffiths and Mr. Steve J Harlow. Without their insightful guidance, constructive criticisms, inspiring encouragement and generosity with their time and ideas, this thesis would never have come to fruition.

My gratitude to all the members of the Department of Language, University of York. My undergraduate supervisor, Ms. Isabel Tasker, deserves a special mention for her friendship and her unfailing moral support during the period of both my undergraduate and postgraduate studies. I would like to thank Dr J Local for his comments and discussion on the part of the thesis which deals with phonology (Appendix II). Likewise, I am thankful to Liu Yuan and Mrs Kang for acting as my informants.

I sincerely thank the University of York for granting me a Teaching and Research Scholarship for the period November 1982 -- September 1985, which enabled me to continue my research full time. Likewise, I thank the Committee of Vice-Chancellors and Principals for granting me an ORS Award and the Language Teaching Centre, University of York, for their financial help towards my tuition fees for the academic year of 1983 -- 1984.

My deep affection and gratitude go to my husband, my colleague, Mukul Saxena, for proof-reading the final draft of this thesis and for his trust, companionship and profound love.

Finally I am forever grateful to my parents for providing me with an education (both intellectually and otherwise) that has been of immense value. I am equally grateful to my guardians, my parents' lifetime friends, for their love and care during my schooling period in China. This thesis is dedicated to both my parents and my guardians.

ABSTRACT

This thesis lies in the field of pragmatics, with particular respect to the complex behaviour of final particles in Mandarin, which carry a very important pragmatic load. Despite the salience of this as a grammatical phenomenon in Chinese, previous analyses have been problematic. The particle ba, for instance, has been said to: (a) indicate interrogative mood; (b)mark yes-no questions; (c) be similar in function to tag-questions; (d)be comparable to rising intonation in English; (e) change declarative sentences into interrogative ones; (f) indicate imperative mood; (g) make a sentence advisive; (h) make sentences into mild commands or suggestions; (i) express uncertainty in doubtful posed statements; (j) occur in pleas; (l) occur in dilemmas, etc.. How can a Mandarin learner distinguish, memorize and master the numerous uses of this particle?

Based upon an extensive linguistic description of the relation between the main particles and sentence-types, as well as verb types in Mandarin, and under the inspiration of a Gricean pragmatic theory of the principles of human communication, the present thesis presents satisfactory accounts for the full range of occurrences of ba and le: ba has a 'neustic-weakening' function; and le signals `ordering of events'.

The unacceptability of certain combinations of particles and sentence-types, a fact which is inexplicable in strict linguistic terms, e.g.: *?Wǒ shì lǎoshī ba.
I be teacher ba
is also explained by means of a pragmatic account.

The thesis concludes that, contrary to the `separationist position' (notably Katz 1977 and Kempson 1977), an adequate analysis of particles in Mandarin requires not only a linguistic description of the language and a pragmatic account of communication, but also recourse to other relevant areas such as ontology.

Findings presented in this thesis may have applicability to the teaching of Mandarin, and may also contribute to the analysis of the properties of language use in relation to disciplines such as Psycholinguistics and Computational Linguistics.

SYMBOLS, ABBREVIATIONS AND NOTATIONAL CONVENTIONS

A answer
Adj. adjective
E stated event
['E] presupposed event, which is an implicit negation of E
ECR Elementary Chinese Readers, cf. References
C consonant
cl. classifier
comp. complement
CP Cooperative Principle
decl. declarative
dir.v. directional verb
F formula
gp group
H hearer
h/p choice indicator in choice interrogatives
illoc.f. illocutionary force
incl. inclusive
int. interrogative
imp. imperative
L post-verbal le
L' sentence-final le
LE the particle le that occurs in the position that is both post-verbal and sentence-final
L4 Lǐsì (a personal name, cf. English Tom, Dick and Harry)
M Mandarin (in Appendix D)
MCR Modern Chinese Readers cf. References
N nasal
NP noun phrase
neg. negative morpheme used in gloss.
O object
OK acceptable, used in tables
P a sentence-final particle; also, in Chapter III, used for a proposition. The intended significance should be obvious in context.
-P a negative proposition in Chapter III
p. unspecified particle used in gloss
pl. plural (in gloss)
PP prepositional phrase, also Politeness Principle in section 3.5.2.
$p \rightarrow q$ p is prior to q, and q is posterior to p
$p \neq q$ p and q are not equivalent
prep. preposition
prt. particle
prt_i functionally identical/similar sentence-final particle
Q question
req. request marker in Fig. 2.3
S speaker
spaeoq [spɛvk] mnemonically stands for states, processes, actions or events, objects and qualities denoted by either verbs, nouns or adjectives
ST speech time

T/F true or false
TSJ Three-state-journey
V verb, also in section 2.2.2.3. used to represent vowel
Vt transitive verb
Vi intransitive verb
Vdt di-transitive verb
VA verb-like, as well as adjective-like morpheme
VP verb phrase
W5 Wángwǔ (a personal name, = L4)
X unacceptable, used in tables
x or -x two alternatives in an alternative interrogative
x or y two choices in a choice interrogative
XH Xiàndài Hànyǔ cf. References
XHYZ Xiàndài Hànyǔ Yǔfǎ Zhishi cf. References
XP any constituent up to the level of a clause
YJZ Yǔwén Jīchǔ Zhīshi cf. References
Z3 Zhāngsān (a personal name, = L4 & W5)
/ a pause; also sometimes used to separate alternatives. The intended significance should be obvious in context
>2 more than two
* unacceptable

INTRODUCTION

This thesis lies in the field of pragmatics, with particular respect to the complex behaviour of some sentence- and phrase-final particles in Mandarin, principally ba and le.

Particles are a class of morphemes in Mandarin Chinese which, unlike the majority of the linguistic items in Mandarin, do not possess any distinct lexical meaning[1], yet carry a very important pragmatic load (such as indicating the attitude of the speaker towards the context of his/her utterance). Their behaviour in linguistic communication may provide a rich source for our understanding of human communicative behaviour generally.

Despite the salience of this grammatical phenomenon in Chinese, previous analyses have been sketchy and problematic[2]. Take ba for instance; this particle has been said in previous studies to have the following functions: (a) indicating interrogative mood (Zhang et al. 1980:136-137);(b) marking yes-no questions (Chao 1968:807); (c) a similar function to that of tag-questions (Li and Thompson 1981:309-310); (d) a function comparable to rising intonation in English (Fenn and Tewksbury 1967:66); (e) changing declarative sentences into interrogatives (MCR 1963:461); (f) indicating imperative mood (Zhang et al 1980:136-137); (g) making a sentence advisive (Chao 1968:807); (h) making a sentence into a mild command or suggestion (Fenn and Tewksbury 1967:66); (i) expressing uncertainty (MCR: 1963:460, Li and Thompson 1981:309) in doubtful posed statements (Chao 1968:808); (j) occur in pleas (Li and Thompson 1981:309); (l) occur in dilemmas (Chao 1968:807), etc.

It is thus utterly astonishing that a learner of Mandarin should be able to distinguish, memorize, and finally master the numerous uses of the ba particle.

Based upon an extensive linguistic description of the relation

between the main particles and sentence-types, as well as verb types in Mandarin, and under the inspiration of a Gricean pragmatic account of the principles of human communication, the analyses presented in this thesis account for the full range of occurrences of ba and le.

The main body of the thesis may be divided into two parts. The first part, following a characterization of particles (Chapter I), presents a syntactic account of the relation between sentence types and a selection of sentence-final particles (Chapter II). It is shown that not all the sentence-final particles indicate sentence mood as believed by scholars such as Wang (1954) and Ma (1958). This finding is followed by an extensive analysis of ba. The ba particle, like the majority of Mandarin xūcí[3] items, has two characteristics, and the combination of these two characteristics distinguishes it (and other xūcí items) from other lexical items in Mandarin. They are:

(a) not syntactically versatile, as they always occupy certain designated positions: the final position of a clause or a phrase;

(b) not semantically interpretable in isolation, as they do not have any lexical meaning.

Characteristic (a) is shared by other lexical items, such as nouns and verbs, in Mandarin. Thus we could say that the position of occurrence of ba (and other xūcí items) has to do with the way the Mandarin language is structured; (b) on the other hand is not shared by other lexical items, and the interpretation of ba (and a considerable number of xūcí items) depends, to a large extent, on the context in which they are used.

The theoretical inspiration is drawn from Gricean pragmatic principles, and several devices such as the Speaker Knows Best Principle (Forman 1974), the Cooperative Principle and Maxims (Grice 1975), the Politeness Principle (Leech 1983), the notion of Indirect

Speech Act (Searle 1979) and Hare's (1970) scheme of Neustic, Tropic and Phrastic (cf. Lyons 1977) have been utilized in determining and explaining how and why a speaker might/should use a ba-ending sentence and what effects are achieved by doing so. It is argued that the Politeness Principle may be more adequately said to be a device which motivates, rather than governs, the speaker's deviations from "Maximally efficient communication" (cf. Grice 1975, Brown and Levinson 1978). The structures declarative + ba and imperative + ba confirm uniformly that ba weakens the "I-say-so" neustic, resulting in a qualified "I-say-so", namely "I-think-so"[4], thus meeting the socially accepted/expected norm of politeness. The incompatibility between particle-ending interrogatives and ba is found to be due to sets of contradicting felicity conditions and presuppositions. A counterexample, namely, the acceptability of ba in non-particle-ending interrogatives is explained by means of both linguistic and pragmatic accounts.

The unacceptability of certain combinations of particles and sentence-types, e.g.: *?Wǒ shì lǎoshī ba.
I be teacher ba
which is inexplicable by strictly linguistic means, is also satisfactorily explained by means of a pragmatic account.

In order to find an adequate explanation for the post-verbal particles, a study of verb classes in relation to the encoding of aspect and time in Mandarin seems imperative. The second part of this thesis thus examines the behaviour of some of the post-verbal particles on the basis of a notionally based classification of verbs

in Mandarin presented in chapter IV. It is maintained that there are distinct categories of verbs and VA words[5]. It is also shown that within both of the above categories there are distinct classes of words, and these words are susceptible to classification in terms of the ontology of their denotata. Thus the claim that "Shící in Mandarin are not classifiable" (cf. Gao 1957, Li R 1955) may be misleading, if not misguided. It is also made clear that verbs are not necessarily only distinguishable on the basis of their syntactic positions as is claimed by Li J X, 1932 (his work is quoted by Zhang 1956 and Zhu 1980). A correspondence between this proposed verb classification and Vendler's (1967) four-way classification of verbs is also presented in this chapter.

Chapter V argues that the temporal notions encoded in lexical items in languages are basic to the expression of time experience. Verbal particles and tense are, on the other hand, secondary modifications. It is confirmed that zhe indicates the dynamic aspect of verb morphemes, which is in accordance with the claims put forward by Chao (1968), Tung and Pollard (1982), Li and Thompson (1981), ECR (1980), Lo (1975), MCR (1963), inter alia.

The second part of Chapter V is devoted to an analysis of the behaviour of le -- a particle which occurs in both sentence-final and post-verbal positions, as well as in post-adjectival and post-nominal positions; this particle is also found to occur simultaneously in sentence-final and post-verbal or post-adjectival position. This analysis rests on a deeper understanding of the nature of both sentence types and verb types as well as the nature of some of the sentence-final and post-verbal particles.

It will be concluded, with the help of the notion of Temporal Journeys (Jessen 1973), that le signifies ordering of events. More specifically, the post-verbal le indicates cessation of an event, and

the sentence-final le indicates inception of an event.

The use of the imperative+le construction is taken as a violation of Grice's maxim of Quality, and the implicature arising from this violation is comparable to the case of irony. Le on its own, however, does not have any pragmatic function.

The overall conclusion (Chapter VI) is that a satisfactory account of sentence-final and post-verbal xūcí items in Mandarin cannot be achieved without a linguistic description of the language, neither can it dispense with a pragmatic account of language use.

The major contribution of this thesis is thus that for the first time an adequate account of Mandarin particles has been achieved by an application of the theory of pragmatics.

Apart from the above findings and conclusions, the work presented in this thesis also has applicability to the field of Applied Linguistics.

During a recent trip to China, I observed a conversation between a Chinese guide and an English member of the delegation (whose Chinese was considered to be the most fluent among the UK members). It went something like:

Guide: "Nǐ qùnián lái Běijīng de shíhou qùmeiqù Tiāntán?"
you last-year come Peking p. time go-neg.-go Temple-of-Heaven
(Did you visit the Temple of Heaven when you came to Peking last year?)

Englishman: "Wǒ bú qù le".
I neg. go p. (I shan't go.)

The Chinese guide then looked bewildered, and the conversation ground to a halt.

It looks as though the le particle was understood by this Englishman as a past tense marker, and it also appears that the combination of this le and the negative morpheme bù was believed by this gentleman to give rise to a meaning comparable to the English "I didn't go.". However, unfortunately, this utterance only gave rise to

an absurdity which did not make much sense in the conversation[6]. The work presented in this thesis may, in my view, be useful in solving learning and teaching problems of this kind, as it assumes that each particle has only one basic function in Mandarin Chinese, rather than saying that a particle, e.g. ba, has several different uses as most of the textbooks available seem to claim. This kind of explanation of the behaviour of particles would undoubtedly lessen the mental load of the learners. It is hoped that this will eventually provoke a change in the general belief that particles (le in particular[7]) are the most difficult class of items for learners of Chinese to master.

The communicative uses of particles analysed here provide an illustration of the sophisticated mental processes that Psycholinguistics and Computational Linguistics have to deal with.

Findings and contributions of the thesis and the roles played by linguistics, pragmatics and other relevant disciplines are also summarized in Chapter VI.

The type of Mandarin used in this study is the Pǔtōnghuà version of Chinese, which is officially recognized and used in radio broadcasting, newspapers, etc., rather than the Peking variety of Mandarin as such, although I may have been influenced by the latter to a limited extent.

The Pīnyīn system of romanization is used throughout the study. The diacritics ˉ ˊ ˇ ˋ represent the first to the fourth tones in Mandarin. Though the neutral tone is commonly indicated by a ˚ placed on the vowel of a syllable, as in māmå (mother), for typing convenience, I have left this mark out. Thus a syllable with a neutral tone will be presented without any tone mark, e.g. māma (mother). (For this tone "the tone range is flattened to practically zero and the duration is relatively short." (Chao 1968:35)).

Notes to Introduction

1. Particles are sometimes treated as lexical items by some scholars, such as Kendall (1985) in her analysis of Japanese sentence-final particles.

2. And indeed this is to some extent generally true of the study of the Chinese language , as stated by Hashimoto (1966:2):"As is commonly known, the systematic study of Chinese grammar has a history of not more than seventy years. Although intensive efforts have been made in this field and although a huge amount of material has been collected and a considerable range of problems discussed, hardly any advance has been made since the pioneering work of linguists like Li Wang, Shu-xiang Lü, Ming-kai Gao, Jin-xi Li and especially Yuan Ren Chao."

3. Xūcí (literally meaning `empty words') is one of the opposing classes of cí (morphemes/words) in Mandarin, comprising linguistic items that do not have any concrete lexical meaning. For a description of xūcí and examples cf. section 1.2.2.

4. The term I-think-so was suggested by Dr. P.D. Griffiths.

5. VA words are a class of morphemes which share characteristics of both verbs and adjectives, yet at the same time they are neither full-blown verbs nor full-blown adjectives. Cf.section 4.3.

6. The blame should, perhaps, go to scholars who misguidedly claim that "le [at the end of a sentence] asserts that something or certain state of affairs has already taken place. Moreover, there is usually an adverbial of time in the past in the sentence." (ECR:1980:239. My emphasis). What they have failed to take into account are cases such as the following:

   (a) Z3 míngtiān chī le zǎofàn zǒu.
   Z3 tomorrow eat le breakfast go
   (Z3 is leaving after breakfast tomorrow.)

   (b) Z3 néng yòng zhōngwén xiě le.
   Z3 can use Chinese write le
   (Z3 can (now) write in Chinese.)

   (c) Z3 shì yǎnyuán le.
   Z3 be actor le
   (Z3 is (now) an actor.)

   (d) Xīngqīliù le, xiàwǔ kéyǐ qù mǎi dōngxi le.
   Saturday le, afternoon can go buy things le
   (Saturday (has arrived), (and so we/etc.) can go shopping in the afternoon.)

   Clearly none of the actions indicated in (a)-(d) are past events. The function of le is discussed in Chapter V.

7. As observed by (Lin 1981:132): "Many students feel that le, the monosyllabic empty morpheme with neutral tone, is among the most difficult concepts to master."

CHAPTER 1

A PRELIMINARY DESCRIPTION OF PARTICLES

1.1. THE CHARACTERISTICS OF PARTICLES

Particles in Mandarin are small linguistic items, generally consist of one syllable, and in most cases are pronounced with a neutral tone.

Particles occur most typically in spoken Mandarin. They are rarely found in the written form of the language, such as official reports, documents etc.. Particles can therefore be said to be one of the characteristics of spoken Mandarin.

Syntactically, particles often appear at the end of sentences (in which case they are termed sentence-final particles), or immediately after verbs (in which case they are called post-verbal particles). Particles can also occur, sometimes, directly after certain adjectives, and occasionally a particle may be found in post-nominal position.

Particles, unlike the majority of linguistic items such as nouns in Mandarin, do not possess any distinct lexical meaning, and they are therefore traditionally classified as members of the xūcí -- one of the two opposing classes of cí (morpheme/word) in Mandarin, namely shící (lexical words) vs. xūcí (empty words). The former, roughly, comprises the linguistic items that have lexical meaning, and the latter comprises those that are without any distinct independent meaning. The following section presents a description of xūcí and shící.

1.2. PARTICLES AS XŪCÍ

1.2.1. The Concept of Xūcí vs. Shící

This concept is derived from studies of classical Chinese. According to Forrest (1948:58):

> Chinese philologists, who were no mean students of their own language, never experienced a need to distinguish parts of speech beyond making a division into xuci `empty words' i.e., particles, themselves empty of definable meaning but indicating the relations between the other words, and shici, those with a concrete significance; at most sometimes going so far as to distinguish nouns from verbs, though such a distinction is, in a language so utterly devoid of flexion, of doubtful validity. ... ... Broadly it may be said that a word may do duty for any part of speech within the limits set by its intrinsic meaning; and, particularly, that what seem at first sight to be adjectives are in a very large number of cases capable of use as nouns and as verbs, and almost universally used as adverbs.

The above quotation may be summarized by the following two sentences:

(a) parts of speech in Mandarin are distinguished into xūcí and shící;

(b) beyond the distinction between xūcí and shící, parts of speech in Mandarin are not distinguished.

(a) and (b) summarize a belief that has been held by generations of sinologists and Chinese grammarians, as well as the public at large; even though in so far as modern Mandarin is concerned this may no longer be the case.

1.2.2. Xūcí

As we have already indicated, xūcí comprise those morphemes which do not have any lexical meaning. This is indicated by the literal interpretation of xūcí -- empty words. The entire class of particles, as well as conjunctions, interjections, etc. belong to this category. The following are examples illustrating types of xūcí in Mandarin.

a. plural markers, e.g.: mén as in wǒmen (we/us)
xiē as in zhèxie (these);

b. classifiers, e.g.: gè as in liǎngge (two)
kuài as in sānkuài (three pieces);

c. particles, e.g.: le as in hǎole (ready)
zhe as in shuìzhe (sleeping);

d. co-verbs, e.g.: gěi as in gěi mǎi le (bought)
bǎ as in bá wǎn dǎ le (broke the bowl);

e. quantifiers, e.g.: dōu as in dōuqù (all go)
měi as in měitiān (every day);

f. conjunctions, e.g.: gēn as in Z3 gēn L4 (Z3 and L4)
hé as in Z3 hé L4 (Z3 and L4);

g. continuatives, e.g.: bùrú as in yǔqí...bùrú (it's better...than...);

h. interjections, e.g.: hài, òu, etc.

Xūcí morphemes cannot be used independently as responses to questions as illustrated by the following question-answer pair:

Q: Nǐ kàn shénme? A: *Le
you look/read what le (a particle)
(What are you looking at/reading?)

Le is not acceptable as an answer, because it is a particle -- a xūcí morpheme. And this is, in general, true of all xūcí.

1.2.3. Shící

Shící on the other hand comprise nouns, verbs, adjectives and numerals[1], though words of the latter type only constitute a shící when used in combination with a classifier (see example (1,4) below). The characteristics of shící are:

(a) they have full lexical meaning;

(b) they can be used independently as responses to questions. (cf. Wu and Cheng 1981:213-291), XH 1963:147-161, Yang 1957:60-61, Gao 1957:81-89).

The following are some examples.

	Questions	Shící morphemes
(1,1)	Shéi huì shuō zhōngwén? who can speak Chinese (Who can speak Chinese?)	Zhāngsān. (Zhangsan.) a personal name
(1,2)	Nǐ qù cāochǎng gàn shénme? you go sports-ground do what (What are you going to the sportsground for?)	Pǎobù. (To run.) a verb
(1,3)	Z3 gāo bu gāo? Z3 tall neg. tall (Is Z3 tall or not?)	Gāo. (Tall.) an adjective
(1,4)	Nǐmen jǐge rén qù? you(pl.) how-many person go (How many of you are going?)	Liǎngge. (Two.) numeral+classifier

1.3 SYNTACTIC POSITIONS AND SUPPOSED FUNCTIONS OF PARTICLES

1.3.1. Sentence-final Particles

These particles are normally attached at the end of sentences and are therefore frequently termed sentence-final particles. Such particles are also termed Yǔqìcí (mood words), and are believed to indicate sentence mood (cf. Wang 1954:300-318, Ma 1958:108-112).

This position may be supported by the following examples of particle vs. non-particle contrasts.

(1,5) Z3 shì lǎoshī.
Z3 be teacher
(Z3 is a teacher.)

vs.

(1,6) Z3 shì lǎoshī ma?
Z3 be teacher p.
(Is Z3 a teacher?)

While (1,5) is a simple declarative, (1,6) is an interrogative. Ma in (1,6) may therefore be said to be an interrogative particle, since it marks the sentence as interrogative.

However this position is challenged by the fact that there are certain sentence-final particles which do not mark sentence mood at all, as shown by the contrast between the following examples:

(1,7) Kàn shū!
read book
(Read the book!)

vs.

(1,8) Kàn shū ba!
read book p.
((Lets) read the book!)

both (1,7) and (1,8) are imperatives, but the additional particle ba in (1,8) conveys a kind of relaxed and friendly atmosphere, and in this sense ba softens the otherwise straightforward imperative mood of (1,7) but does not change it.

The sentence-final particles do not therefore exclusively indicate sentence mood.

The term sentence-final used here covers both the particles that occur only sentence-finally (such as ma) and the particles that may occur both sentence-finally and clause-finally (such as ba, ne).

1.3.2. Post-verbal Particles

Apart from occurring in sentence-final position, particles also

occur in the position immediately following a verb, and such particles may be termed post-verbal particles in distinction to sentence-final particles.

Scholars such as Goto (cf. Gao 1970:145-146) and Mullie (1932, 1937) believe that the post-verbal particles in Mandarin mark tense, and examples are:

(1,9) Zhe in : Wǒmen tǎng zhe.
we lie zhe
(We are lying down.)

supposed to mark the present tense;

(1,10) le in : Kè zǒu le.
guest leave le
(The guests (have) left.)

supposed to mark the past tense.

However, this position is challenged by many scholars who believe that the post-verbal particles mark aspect and not tense. For example, zhe is believed to mark the progressive aspect and is termed either a progressive suffix (cf. Chao 1968:248), or a durative suffix (cf. Tung and Pollard 1982:252), or a durative aspect marker (cf. Li and Thompson 1981:217-226). Le on the other hand is believed to mark perfective aspect (cf. Chao 1968:246, ECR 1980:238, Lo 1975:55, MCR 1963:241, etc.). Others such as Summers (1863), Li R (1955), Wang (1954), Ling (1955), Gao (1970) all agree that the post-verbal particles in Mandarin mark aspect. However, the particles that may occur post-verbally are also found in other positions such as post-adjectival position. For example, the supposed progressive marker zhe is also found in post-adjectival position as in:

(1,11) Yuèliang yuán zhe ne.
moon round zhe p.
(The moon is (very) round.).

Similarly, the le particle, though it is supposed to mark

perfective aspect in a verbal construction, is found not only in the post-verbal or post-adjectival positions, but also in post-adverbial and post-nominal positions, e.g.:

(1,12) Kuài le.
soon le
((It'll be here/It'll happen/etc.) soon.)

(1,13) Shū le.
book le
((OK), the books.)[2]

These post-verbal particles do not therefore seem to exclusively mark verbal aspect.

1.3.3. Some Combinations of Post-verbal and Sentence-final Particles

Post-verbal and sentence-final particles often co-occur in a single sentence, as in

(1,14) Z3 kàn zhe shū ne.
Z3 read zhe book ne
(Z3 is reading the book.)

(1,15) Z3 kàn le shū le.
Z3 read le book le
(Z3 began reading, but he is no longer doing so.)

Also a particle may occur in a position that is both sentence-final and post-verbal as shown by:

(1,16) Z3 pǎo le.
Z3 run le
(Z3 escaped.)

Nobody has so far provided an adequate explanation for the cases such as the above, and it is admitted that the significance of the particles in such cases is difficult to determine. (cf. Li and Thompson 1981:296).

1.3.4. Particles ≠ Punctuation Marks

Some scholars such as Li J-X (cf. Wang 1954:300-301, note 78), hold the view that the existence of particles in Mandarin is a result of the absence of punctuation marks in the language. Wang (op.cit:368)

quotes Li J-X as saying that:

> Apart from word classes, Chinese grammar has an additional class of particles, one of the reasons for this is because Chinese does not have punctuation marks.

Although this statement may be true for Classical Chinese (of course we have very little idea about how classical written Chinese was pronounced), it definitely is not the case with regard to contemporary Mandarin, since modern Mandarin has adopted a variety of punctuation marks such as 。, ，, ！, ？, ：, ；, " ", 《 》, （ ）, ……, etc.[3]. This introduction of punctuation marks should, in theory, have made the particles redundant at least the sentence-final and the phrase-final ones. However, this is contradicted by the fact that the particles are very heavily used in modern Mandarin.

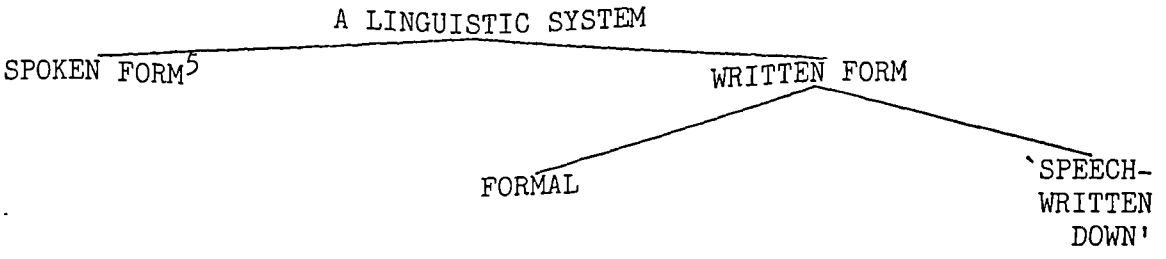
Of course this might at first glance seem incompatible with my earlier claim that particles are rare in written Chinese. However, my claim held only for formal writing; when a language has a writing system, two important distinctions are possible:

(1) The obvious distinction between spoken and written language;

(2) A less discussed but readily observable distinction between formal written language and the "speech-written-down"[4] type.

The former includes official documents, educational textbooks, etc., and the latter includes personal letters, plays, stories, etc.. These distinctions may be diagrammed as:

Fig.1.1



Here we are interested in the "speech-written-down" type of written Mandarin, as this is where we find both particles and punctuation

marks co-occurring in the same sentences or in the same phrases. The following are some examples picked at random from a book of folk stories (Zhongguo Difang Fengwu Chuanshuo Xuan Vol. 1 compiled by Zhongguo Minjian Yishu Chubanshe, 1982). Note the underlined parts in the examples.

a. Zhè shì shéi shuōhuà ne ?
   this be who speak p.
   (Who is it that is speaking ?) (op.cit:2)

b. ... shì liǎng ge rén yuēhuì de dìsì tiān la , ...
   be two cl. person date p. fourth day p.,
   (... it's the fourth day of their dating, ...) (op.cit:3)

c. Zhíhǎo dàjiā xiǎng zhúyi ba .
   have-to everyone think plan p.
   (We have to think up a plan.) (op.cit:19)

d. È le ba ?
   hungry p.p.? (Hungry?) (op.cit:61)

e. Shuō ba !
   speak p.! ((Let's) speak up!) (op.cit:49)

Clearly particles and punctuation marks do not fulfil identical functions. This can be seen particularly clearly from the examples (c), (d) and (e), which show the same particle ba followed by three different punctuation marks.

The punctuation marks in Mandarin are supposed to indicate specifically whether the sentence is a statement (by means of .), or a question (by means of ?), or an exclamation (by means of !). Or they indicate a pause (by means of ,), and so on.

The function of particles on the other hand is the subject of investigation as outlined in the Introduction, and I shall therefore not attempt any speculations at this stage. Nevertheless, a point which may be mentioned here is that the functions of some of the particles, such as ba, are highly pragmatic, and the ways in which these particles are used are highly dependent on the speaker's intention, context, etc.. Thus when a particle such as ba is used in an

utterance, it is often difficult to determine whether the speaker is asking a question or making a statement.

In the "speech-written-down" type of written Mandarin, we notice, as exemplified by examples (c), (d) and (e), that whether the speaker is making a statement, or asking a question, or issuing a Mand[6] is made clear by the author's use of the punctuation marks 。, ? and ! respectively.

1.4. SUMMARY

The main characteristics of the particles have been outlined in section 1.1, and the concept of xūcí vs. shící, as well as the reason why particles are treated as xūcí were explained in section 1.2.

It has been shown, in section 1.3.1, that the sentence-final particles do not exclusively mark sentence mood.

It has also been made clear in section 1.3.2 that the post-verbal particles do not regularly mark verbal aspect.

Given the above it seems reasonable to assume that the occurrence of combinations of post-verbal and sentence-final particles, and of post-verbal particles in sentence-final position (cf. 1.3.3) must depend upon a deeper understanding of the nature of the sentence types (next chapter) and verb types (chapter IV) of Mandarin.

Finally, it has been noted in section 1.3.4. that the particles are not used in place of punctuation marks in modern Mandarin.

NOTES TO CHAPTER I

1. cf. Chapter 4 and Appendix E for the discussions on these items.

2. Although in both cases some fairly elaborate contexts may enable us to tell what the verb is that le is covertly applied to (cf. the underlined verbs in the examples below), the point is that le is nevertheless grammatical in these positions despite the absence of such contexts :

   (a) Q: Chūzūchē zěnme hái bù lái?
   taxi why still neg. come
   (Why hasn't the taxi come yet?)

   A: Kuài le, bié zháojí.
   soon le, don't anxious
   ((It'll be here) soon, don't be impatient.)

   (b) Zhème duō dōngxi, bù zhī mài něige, xíng a, shū le.
   so many thing,neg.know sell which, OK p., book le
   (I don't know which to sell amongst so many things, OK, the books.)

   (b) further shows that there are a lot of choices available to the speaker up to the point of utterance, and le is used only when the speaker has finally made the decision about which items to sell.

3. The functions of the punctuation marks used in Mandarin are discussed by Shen (1973).

4. Not in the sense of phonetic transcription.

5. Of course the spoken forms of a language may also be further distinguished in terms of formal and informal styles. This distinction is, however, not the present focus.

6. Mands include commands, demands, requests, orders, etc. (cf.Lyons 1977:130).

CHAPTER II

SENTENCE-TYPES AND SENTENCE-FINAL PARTICLES

It is well-established that there are four sentence types in Mandarin, they are

1) Chénshùjù -- declarative sentence
2) Yíwènjù ---- interrogative sentence
3) Qíshǐjù ---- imperative sentence
4) Gǎntànjù --- exclamative sentence

(cf. Zhang et al.1980:244-250, YJZ 1975:100, XHYZ 1972:115-132, Huang B R 1957).

(1) - (4) and their favoured particles are discussed in turn.

2.1. Declaratives

2.1.1. As the Basic Form

The basic declarative sentence in Mandarin has a word order which may be summarized by:

FI: NP (PP) V (NP) (NP)[1] as in
Z3 zàijiā jiāo L4 zhōngwén.
Z3 at-home teach L4 Chinese
(Z3 teaches L4 Chinese at home.)

The characteristic function of a declarative sentence in Mandarin, as presumably in other languages, is to tell somebody of something that the speaker knows or believes to be the case, and in effect the speaker of such an utterance is making a statement, although declarative sentences and statements do not necessarily always correspond in this manner.

The structure of interrogative and imperative sentences can most straightforwardly be described by regarding them as departures from the declarative form. To form an interrogative, the interrogative marker ma (cf. section 2.2.2.1.) is attached to the end of the corresponding declarative sentence, as in (2,1) below. Alternatively one of the constituents of the declarative is replaced by an interrogative word such as shénme (what), shéi (who),

as in (2,2).

(2,1) Z3 jiāo L4 zhōngwén ma?
Z3 teach L4 Chinese ma
(Does Z3 teach L4 Chinese?)

(2,2) Shéi jiāo L4 zhōngwén?
who teach L4 Chinese
(Who teaches L4 Chinese?)

Similarly, to form an imperative, the subject NP is commonly omitted from the corresponding declarative sentence and such sentences are always accompanied by an imperative intonation (cf. section 2,3 for a description of imperative intonation), as in

(2,3) Jiāo L4 zhōngwén!
teach L4 Chinese
(Teach L4 Chinese!)

But there are no other devices that can turn a sentence into a declarative.

Another reason for viewing declarative sentences as the basic form is that they are the type most frequently used in both spoken and written Mandarin (cf. XHYZ 1972:115, YJZ 1975:110), as Chao (1968:58) states:"In connected discourse, most sentences are in the form of declarative sentences.".

It has been observed that declaratives often use le, de and ne (cf. Lü 1956:114, XH 1963:208), as shown by the following:

(2,4) Z3 kànguo zhèi běn shū le.
Z3 read this cl. book le
(Z3 has read this book.)

(2,5) Z3 kànguo zhèi běn shū de.
Z3 read this cl. book de
(Z3 read this book.)

(2,6) Z3 kànguo zhèi běn shū ne.
Z3 read this cl. book ne
(Z3 read this book.)

It is thus believed by certain scholars, e.g. Zhang et al. (1980:215), that these particles are "declarative mood particles". The same view is also shared by Huang (1957), XHYZ (1972).

However, my position, for the reasons which follow, differs from that held by these scholars.

Let us have a look at the non-particle counterpart of the above sentences:

(2,7) Z3 kàn guo zhèi běn shū.
Z3 read dir.v. this cl. book
(Z3 read this book.)

Clearly, (2,7) is, like (2,4)--(2,6), a declarative sentence despite the absence of the above mentioned particles. Therefore, le, de and ne cannot be the markers of declaratives, since they are not necessary requirements for declarative sentences.

These particles do not constitute a sufficient condition for classifying sentences as declaratives either, since they do not guarantee, by their presence, that the sentences are declaratives; the particles can be there and the sentences can nevertheless be any one of the other three sentence types as shown by the following:

(2,8)a. Z3 mǎi dōngxi qù le ma?
Z3 buy thing go le ma
(Has Z3 gone shopping?)

b. Z3 gàosu nǐ de ma?
Z3 tell you de ma
(Did Z3 tell you (this/that)?)

c. Z3 kàn shū ne ma?
Z3 read book ne ma
(Is Z3 reading the book?)

(2,9)a. Suàn le!
final le
(Forget it!)

b. Qù nǐ de!
go you de
(Go away!)

c. Bié dǎ rén ne!
neg. hit person
(Don't hit anyone!)

(2,10)a. Tài búxiànghuà le!
too neg-like-language le
(What an unspeakable man/behaviour!)

b. Zhēn yóu nǐ de!
real have you de
(What a smart fellow you are!)

c. Hǎo dà de gōngchéng ne!
good big p. project ne
(What a huge project!)

Group (2,8) are interrogatives, as indicated by the interrogative particle ma; group (2,9) are imperatives, characterized by one of the common, but optional features of imperatives -- the absence of the subject NP, and an imperative intonation (cf. section 2,3); group

(2,10) are exclamatives.

If le, de and ne were indeed declarative markers, then groups (2,8)--(2,10) would have been ungrammatical sentences, since a sentence cannot simultaneously be declarative and interrogative, or declarative and imperative, or declarative and exclamative (though one might argue that some exclamatives are surprised declaratives).

Le, de and ne are therefore not markers of declaratives.

What are they then?

2.1.2. Declarative + P

2.1.2.1. Le

According to Li and Thompson (1981:185) le in (2,4) is an "aspect marker", and according to Chao (1968:129) it is a "perfective suffix" indicating the continuing present relevance of a past state of affairs. The non-particle counterpart (2,7) does not have this implication.

Chao (1948:195) believes that le also conveys obviousness, as in

(2,11)"Zài hǎo méiyǒu le."
too good neg. le
(Nothing could be better than that.)(ibid), and

(2,12)"Zhè nǐ dāngrán dǒng le."
this you of-course understand le
(You understand this, of course.)(ibid).

However, the sense of obviousness in (2,11) and (2,12) is not diminished by the removal of le. It seems that the obviousness in the above two sentences is carried by the lexical items Zài hǎo méiyǒu (no better, i.e. nothing better than ...), and dāngrán (of course) rather than the particle le.

Liao (1950:131) thinks that la is also a declarative particle as in

(2,13) Ta lái la.
he come la
(He's come/arrived(I'm telling you).)

I, however, believe that these items deserve a deeper explanation than the simple comparison made by the above scholars. For instance, la may be a blend of le and a. The former may give some time information and the latter may intensify the speech act force of a statement. (This case will be discussed in section 2.1.2.5. in more detail.)

Finally, as exemplified by (1,15), post-verbal le and sentence-final le can co-occur in the same sentence, thus an analysis of le would only be partial if it was based on occurrence in just one of these positions.

2.1.2.2.(Shì)...de

Contrary to what has been said by Zhang et al. (1980), that de is a declarative particle (cf.p.19), this section argues that de is not a declarative particle.

By contrasting (2,15) with its non-particle counterpart (2,14) (see below), we find that the difference between the presence and the absence of (shì)...de is not a difference between a declarative and a non-declarative, but a difference that is within the declarative family.

(2,14) Z3 hé L4 hěn yàohǎo.
Z3 and L4 very intimate
(Z3 and L4 are very close.)

(2,15) Z3 hé L4 (shì) hěn yàohǎo de.
Z3 and L4 be very intimate de
((It is the case that) Z3 and L4 are very close.)

De, together with an optional shì(be), according to Chao (1968:296-297), constitutes a "nominalizing specifier", which changes an adverbial into an object noun phrase.

In addition to the above, we also observe that de nominalizes verbal constructions into noun phrases. Compare

(2,16) Wǒmen yào qù.
we want go
(We want to go.)

with

(2,17) Wǒmen (shì) yào qù de
we be want go de
((It is the case that) we want to go.)

Although (2,14) and (2,15) as well as (2,16) and (2,17) are semantically equivalent pairs, the addition of (shì)...de in (2,15) and (2,17), to the native ears, gives these sentences an aura of firm conviction. (Shì) ...de may therefore be said to have the function of intensifying the speech act force of an utterance.

Since (shì)...de is a nominalizing device, it cannot be used to intensify a sentence that already has a noun phrase as its predicate[2]. (2,18) is thus unacceptable.

(2,18) *Z3 shì lǎoshī de.
Z3 be teacher de

There is another particle, namely mà, which seems to have a similar function to de as shown by

(2,19) Wǒmen yào qù mà.
we want go mà
(We want to go (who said we don't?).)

Although (2,19) is also a firm statement in terms of its speech act category, the difference between (2,19) and (2,15 & 17) appears to be the following: (shì)...de in (2,15) and (2,17) reinforces the statement force by means of an implied declarative clause as indicated by the additional clauses in the glosses for (2,15) and (2,17); whereas mà in (2,19), in addition to the existing force of statement, gives rise to a rhetorical force (as indicated by the bracketed gloss for (2,19)), which functions as a forceful statement (cf. Quirk et al. 1972:401). Thus the effect of (2,19) is comparable to that of (2,15) and (2,17) -- an impression of firm conviction on the side of the speaker, emphasizing the truthfulness of the statement that is expressed by (2,19).

Mà and (shì)...de can also occur in the same sentence, e.g.

(2,20) Wǒmen shì yào qù de mà.
we be want go de ma
(It is the case that) we want to go (who said we didn't?!).)

(2,20) has a force which is a combination of intensified statement force and a rhetorical force.

2.1.2.3. Ne

Ne appears to have two distinct functions:

(a) as a grammatical item marking progressiveness in a sentence that contains a dynamic verb, e.g.:

(2,21)Z3 kàn shū ne.
Z3 read book ne
(Z3 is reading.)

(b) as a mood particle, indicating uncertainty, e.g.:

(2,22)Z3 míngtiān qù ne
Z3 tomorrow go ne
((What if) Z3 goes tomorrow?)

For the sake of clarity, the progressive use of ne, as in (2,21), is termed ne1, and the other ne, as in (2,22), is termed ne2.

In fact, there is evidence, from both syntactic and phonological points of view, that these two nes are indeed different morphemes: phonologically, ne1 is marked by a lowish pitch, and ne2, a higher one; syntactically, while ne1, the progressive marker, can co-occur with the interrogative sentence marker ma; ne2, the mood particle, indicating uncertainty (and in this sense it may be similar to ma), cannot co-occur in a sentence that is already marked as interrogative by means of ma. Compare:

(2,23)Z3 kàn shū ne1 ma?
Z3 read book ne1 ma
(Is Z3 reading?)
vs.
(2,24)*Z3 míngtiān qù ne2 ma?
Z3 tomorrow go ne2 ma

Also, when occurring with a stative verb the final ne can only be interpreted as ne2 (interrogative). E.g.:

(2,25)Z3 niánqīng ne?
Z3 young ne
((What if) Z3 is young?)

(2,26)Z3 zhīdao ne?
Z3 know ne
((What if) Z3 knows?)

There is no ne1 reading obtainable.

Further, the presence of ne in sentences that contain present time adjuncts, such as the one below, would cause ambiguity syntactically, and the interpretation of such a ne can only be determined in terms of its pitch contour.

(2,27)Z3 xiànzài shuì ne./?
Z3 now sleep ne
(Z3 is sleeping now./(What if) Z3 is sleeping/goes to bed now?)

This section deals with ne1. Ne2 will be dealt with later in section 2.2.2.3. in the discussion of interrogative particles.

Ne1 in (2,28) below may appear to be a marker of progressiveness, particularly when it is compared with its counterpart lacking ne, namely (2,29)

(2,28) Z3 kàn shū ne1.
Z3 read book ne1
(Z3 is reading the book.)

(2,29) Z3 kàn shū.
Z3 read book
(Z3 reads books.)

However, the problem that arises here is that in Mandarin there is an overt marker of progressive aspect, namely zhe, as in

(2,30) Z3 kàn zhe shū.
Z3 read zhe book
(Z3 is reading the book.)

and its standard paraphrase is

(2,31) Z3 zài kàn shū.
Z3 at read book
(Z3 is reading the book.)

utilizing a locative construction in which a verbal noun is preceded by a locative co-verb. If ne1 were a progressive marker as such it would be incompatible with both zhe and zài, just as it sounds unnatural to native ears when zhe and zài are used in the same sentence as in

(2,32)?Z3 zài kàn zhe shū.[3]
Z3 at read zhe book

However, ne1 can, in fact, be freely attached to both zhe and zài utterances such as (2,30) and (2,31) as shown by the examples (2,33) and (2,34) respectively.

(2,33) Z3 kàn zhe shū ne1,
Z3 read zhe book ne1
(Z3 is reading the book
(and I know it.).)

(2,34) Z3 zài kàn shū ne1.
Z3 at read book ne1
(Z3 is reading the book
(and I know it.).)

Clearly ne1 in (2,33) and (2,34) does not change the declarative type of (2,30) and (2,31), but it appears to add an aura of conviction to the tone of the sentences in question, as the particle de in (2,15 & 2,17) did to the tone of (2,14 & 2,16).

Ne1 does not, however, normally occur with declarative sentences which contain non-dynamic verbs, e.g.:

(2,35)*Z3 shì lǎoshī ne1
Z3 be teacher ne1

(2,36)*Z3 dǒng zhōngwén ne1.
Z3 understand Chinese ne1

Given the above facts, the assumption at present is that, in declarative constructions that contain dynamic verbs, and in the absence of an overt aspect marker, ne1 has the function of indicating progressiveness of the sentence. Ne1, therefore, is a particle of a different kind from (shì)...de and le.

2.1.2.4. Ba

In addition to the above mentioned three particles, ba is also frequently found at the end of declarative sentences as in

(2,37) Z3 jiāo L4 zhōngwén ba.
Z3 teach L4 Chinese ba
(Z3 teaches L4 Chinese (I suppose./Am I right?).)

This use of ba, according to Chao (1968:808), is to indicate a "doubtful posed statement".

However, this type of declarative+ba sentence shares the same structure with the ba-ending interrogative sentences (cf. 2.2.2.2). It is, in fact, not at all clear whether a sentence such as (2,37) has the illocutionary effect that is ordinarily conveyed by a declarative sentence. Only if we know, on other grounds, that the speaker is making an assertion and not expecting an answer may this sentence be considered as declarative. Chao (1968) points out that there are some phonological indications which may help one to determine whether a ba-final sentence should be classified as a declarative or an interrogative. He states (op.cit:808) that ba in a declarative sentence "is shorter and the sentence intonation is slightly lower". However, when the sentence is of a certain length, these features seem to disappear, as in

(2,38) Nǐ zhīdao Z3 shì L4 de péngyou ba.
you know Z3 be L4 p. friend ba
(You know Z3 is a friend of L4's (I suppose?).)

Similarly to Chao, MCR (1963:460) states that:

> This particle is used chiefly to express uncertainty as to one's judgement. When we have found an estimate of a thing, and yet we are not sure whether it is true, then we use the particle ba at the end of the sentence.

Likewise, Li and Thompson (1981:309) describe this kind of use of ba as "having accommodating and conciliatory tone".

Ba in (2,37), like le, de and ne1, also does not mark the sentence as declarative. This is shown by the comparison between (2,37) and its non-particle counterpart (2,39). (2,39) is clearly a declarative.

(2,39) Z3 jiāo L4 zhōngwén.
Z3 teach L4 Chinese
(Z3 teaches L4 Chinese.)

Finally, ba, may be used to reinforce a pause, and it is thus sometimes also called a "pause particle" (cf. Chao 1968:81). E.g.:

(2,40) Zhàngfu ba, zhǎobuzháo shìr, háizimen ba, yòu
husband ba, find-neg-find job, children ba, in addition,

bù kěn niànshū. (Husband cannot find a job, and children,
neg. want study on top of it, don't want to study.)

2.1.2.5. A

A occurs at the end of certain declarative sentences[4], but, like other particles dicussed so far, does not mark a sentence as declarative. Compare:

(2,41) Zhè shì tā de a
This be he p. a
(This is his (I'm telling you!).)

(2,42) Zhè shì tā de.
This be he p.
(This is his.)

The function of a, when occurring in this environment, is one that intensifies the speech act force of a statement as indicated by the bracketted gloss in (2,41), rather than marking the sentence as declarative.

As mentioned in section 2.1.2.1. la might be a blend of le and a. In fact, the underlying form of la in (2,13) is /lə$a/, and an application of a schwa deletion rule gives rise to the phonetic form of [la]. Compare the following:

(2,43) Tā lái le.
he come le
(He's come/arrived.)

(2,44) Tā lái le a.
he come le a
(He's come/arrived (I'm telling you).)

This point may be further supported by the comparison of (2,43) and (2,44) with non-le, but a-ending (2,45).

(2,45) Tā lái a.
he come a
(He is coming (I'm telling you).)

while the presence of le in (2,43) and (2,44) gives rise to similar time information, the presence of a in (2,44) and (2,45) exhibits a function of intensifying the speech act force of the statement. It is therefore consistent that (2,13) and (2,44) should be communicatively equivalent.

2.1.3. Summary

The syntactic form of declarative sentences in Mandarin as summarized by FI (cf. section 2.1.1.), is:

Declarative: NP (PP) V (NP) (NP) (P)
Z3 (zàijiā) jiāo L4 zhōngwén le
Z3 at-home teach L4 Chinese le
(Z3 has begun to teach L4 Chinese (at home).)

(P) = le, de, ne1, ba, a.

Whatever le, de, ne1, ba and a may be, one thing that has been made clear is that they are neither necessary nor sufficient markers of declarative status.

I have also assumed that sentences of declarative form in Mandarin are the basic form. Consequently I will not devote more detailed discussion to the syntactic properties of this particular type of sentence.

Table 2.1 summarizes the likely functions of the main particles that may occur in declarative sentences.

Table 2.1

PARTICLES	FUNCTIONS
le	time information
de	nominalizing
ne1	progressivity
ba	doubtful statement
a	intensifying speech act force

2.2. Interrogatives

2.2.1. Introduction

Interrogative sentences in Mandarin are characterized by certain marked structural properties as compared with the basic form of declaratives. These properties include:

a) interrogative particle, which indicates the interrogativeness of a sentence as shown in the following contrast:

(2,46) Z3 shì lǎoshī ma?
Z3 be teacher ma (Is Z3 a teacher?)

vs.

(2,47) Z3 shì lǎoshī.
Z3 be teacher (Z3 is a teacher.)

b) question word, which is the focus of interrogation as in:

(2,48) Shéi shì lǎoshī?
who be teacher (Who is the teacher?)

c) choice, which presents two or more alternatives to the hearer:

(2,49) Z3 shìbushì lǎoshī?
Z3 be-neg.-be teacher (Is Z3 a teacher or not?)

The interrogative intonation -- a rising contour which comes on the last syllable of the sentence is treated as a type of particle by Chao (1968:812). Although it may be an interesting area of study, given the main focus of this thesis, we shall not include discussion of interrogative intonation here.

Some writers, e.g. Huang B R (1957:22-27), XHYZ (1972:125-127) treat other "interrogatives" such as tag, rhetorical and echo, as separate classes of interrogatives. However, I hold a slightly different point of view. For example, the tag interrogatives in Mandarin may reasonably be treated as sub-classes of (a) and (c), in terms of their syntactic form and their acceptance of the various particles.

Tags such as duì ba are dealt with in section 2.2.6.

As neither echoes nor rhetoricals exhibit any distinct structural characteristics, I shall not create separate sections for

these categories. A brief description of the functions of echoes and rhetoricals is however presented in Appendix A.

Huang (1957:29) seems to treat the inversion of subject and predicate as a property of interrogatives, as in

(2,50) Shì nǐ de ma, zhèi yí ge?
be you p. ma, this one cl. (Is this yours?)

where the predicate precedes the subject. However, this, in fact, is not a phenomenon exclusive to interrogatives, but one that is common to all types as shown by the following sentences.

(2,51) Tài guì, zhèi běn shū. (a declarative)
too expensive, this cl. book
(This book is too expensive.)

(2,52) Bié qù, nǐmen! (an imperative)
don't go, you (pl.)
((You) don't go!))

(2,53) Duō hǎokàn, zhèi duǒ huār! (an exclamative)
how good-look, this cl.flower
(How beautiful this flower is!)

Interrogative sentences are primarily used to ask questions in the sense that the speaker of such a sentence usually expects some sort of answer from the hearer, as the following question-answer pair shows.

(2,54) Q: Z3 qù ma?
Z3 go ma
(Is Z3 going?)

A: Wǒ bù zhīdao.
I neg. know
(I don't know.)

Interrogative sentences in Mandarin, as in English, are frequently employed in making requests, giving advice, or are even used to

give information to the hearer in indirect speech acts (cf. Searle 1979:chapter 2). The following is such an example.

(2,54a) Q: Nǐ zhīdao zuótiān wǎnshang Yuēkè Jiàotáng zháohuǒ de shì ma?
you know yesterday night York Minster burn-fire p. matter p.
(Do you know that York Minster was on fire last night?)

A: Zhēn de?
real de (Really?)

The interrogative properties (a) -- (c) are discussed in turn in the following.

2.2.2. Particle Interrogatives

A particle interrogative is a sentence that has a declarative word order (cf. FI, section 2.1.1.) followed by an interrogative particle. There are several particles, ma, ba, ne$_2$, a which are generally considered to be favoured in interrogatives (cf. Huang 1957, Li and Thompson 1981). We shall first of all examine the syntactic distribution of these particles, and then, their likely functions.

2.2.2.1. Ma-ending Interrogative Sentences

The function of ma is to mark a sentence as interrogative. Compare the following pair:

(2,55) Z3 kàn shū.
Z3 read book
(Z3 reads books.)

(2,56) Z3 kàn shū ma?
Z3 read book ma
(Does Z3 read books?)

While (2,55) is a declarative, having the characteristic function of telling somebody about something being the case, the addition of ma in (2,56) has changed this function completely. The function of (2,56) is to seek an assessment of the validity of the statement made by the declarative part of the sentence. Clearly, ma is an interrogative marker.

An interrogative marker is incompatible with other interrogative properties, and the following are some more examples to show that ma indeed is such a marker.

(2,57)* Nǐ jiào shénme míngzi ma?
you call what name ma

(2,58)* Zǰ qùbuqù ma?
Zǰ go-neg.-go ma

(2,57) is a clash between (b) and (a),(2,58) is between (c) and (a).

That ma is exclusively a marker of interrogativeness is also shown by the fact that it cannot occur in either imperative or exclamative sentences:

(2,59)* Bié dǎ rén ma! (imperative + ma)
don't hit person ma

(2,60)* Hǎo dà de gōngchéng ma! (exclamative + ma)
what big p. project ma

A sentence cannot simultaneously be an interrogative and an imperative, or an interrogative and an exclamative.

To summarize: the particle ma is heavily restricted as to its occurrence in sentences of various types, as shown in table 2.2.

Table 2.2

SENTENCE-TYPE		EG.NO.	OK/X
interrogative	ma-ending	2,56	OK
	question word	2,57	X
	choice	2,58	X
imperative		2,59	X
exclamative		2,60	X

OK = acceptable
X = unacceptable

Another particle that behaves more or less in the same manner as ma is mo, which is disappearing gradually from the speech of the younger generation of Mandarin speakers. Mo, like ma, changes a declarative sentence into an interrogative, and it is incompatible with other interrogative properties. And, like ma, it does not occur in imperatives and exclamatives.

(2,61) Nǐ chī fàn mo? (particle interrogative)
you eat rice mo
(Are you going to have a meal?)

(2,62)*Bié dǎ rén mo! (imperative)
don't hit person mo

(2,63)*Hǎo dà de gōngchéng mo! (exclamative)
what big p. project mo

I suspect that ma may be, historically, a blend of mo and a. The former was originally an interrogative marker and a was a sentence particle having the effect of reinforcing the speech act force. With the passage of time, ma became the standard form of interrogative marker, and mo came to be less frequently used.

2.2.2.2. Ba-ending Interrogative Sentences

Ba is a particle that is similar to ma to some extent. Ba may, at first sight, seem to be an interrogative marker.

(2,64) Z3 shì lǎoshī.
Z3 be teacher (Z3 is a teacher.)

(2,65) Z3 shì lǎoshī ba[5]?
Z3 be teacher ba (Is Z3 a teacher (I suppose he is.)?)

However ba differs from ma in that it can occur with certain of the interrogative properties, as shown by the following examples.

(2,66) *Z3 shì lǎoshī ma ba?
Z3 be teacher ma ba

(2,67) *Z3 shì lǎoshī ba ma?
Z3 be teacher ba ma

(2,68) Z3 kàn shénme shū ba?
Z3 read what book ba
(what (kind of) book does Z3 read (are you going to tell me?! If you don't, you wait and see!)?)

(2,69) Z3 qùbuqù ba?
Z3 go-neg-go ba
(Is Z3 going or not (are you going to tell me?! If you don't, you wait and see!)?)

While (2,66) and (2,67) are unacceptable in Mandarin under any interpretation, (2,68) and (2,69) are interpretable and acceptable as sentences other than interrogatives used to seek information; for instance, as threats. This may indicate that interrogative sentences

that are marked by ma are of a different kind from other interrogative sentences such as those marked by question words.

An additional function of ba, as compared with ma, is that it may be used to reinforce a pause (cf. section 2.1.2.4.). E.g.:

(2,70) Zhàngfu ba, zhǎobuzháo shìr, háizimen ba, yòu
husband ba, find-neg-find job, children ba, in-addition

bù kěn niànshū. (Husband cannot find a job, and children,
neg. want study on top of it, don't want to study.)

Contrarily, ma can only be used sentence finally. Thus (2,71) is ungrammatical.

(2,71) *Zhàngfu ma, zhǎobuzháo shìr, háizimen ma, yòu
husband ma, find-neg-find job, children ma, in-addition

bù kěn niànshū.
neg. want study

Ba is, therefore, a different species from ma, though it may share some common characteristics with ma syntactically.

The restrictions on the occurrence of the particle ba in sentences of various interrogative types are as shown in table 2.3.

Table 2.3

SENTENCE-TYPE		EG.NO.	OK/X
!	!	2,65	OK!
!	!ma-ending	2,66	X !
!interrogative	!question word	2,68	OK!
!	!choice	2,69	OK!
!	!		!

2.2.2.3. Ne-ending Interrogative Sentences

This section deals with ne2 exclusively (cf. 2.1.2.3 for the distinction between ne1 and ne2).

When ne2 appears at the end of certain declarative clauses, its function seems to be comparable to that of ma, i.e. the marking of interrogativeness. This is shown by the following triplet.

(2,72) Tā míngtiān qù. (non-particle)
he tomorrow go
(He is going tomorrow.)

(2,73) Tā míngtiān qù ne2?
he tomorrow go ne2
((What about if) he goes tomorrow?)

(2,74) Tā míngtiān qù ma?
he tomorrow go ma
(Is he going tomorrow?)

There is, however, a noticeable difference in nuance between these two particle-ending sentences.

Further, ne2 tends to occur with declarative sentences that contain lexical items which express hypotheses (e.g. rúguǒ (if), yàoshì (if), etc.). This is, however, not true for ma. Compare the following:

(2,75) Rúguǒ Z3 shì lǎoshī ne2,
if Z3 be teacher ne2
((I wonder what would happen if) Z3 (turned out to) be a teacher.;(What if) Z3 is a teacher(?).)

vs.

(2,76)*Rúguǒ Z3 shì lǎoshī ma?
if Z3 be teacher ma

Also, ne2 do not, and cannot co-occur with ma. E.g.:

(2,77)*Z3 shì lǎoshī ne2 ma?
Z3 be teacher ne2 ma

This function of marking a certain type of interrogativeness of ne2 and the unacceptability of the combination of ne2 and the interrogative marker ma have perhaps been taken as grounds for claiming that ne2 is an interrogative marker (e.g. Zhang et al. 1980, YJZ 1975). The compatibility of ne2 with other types of interrogative properties however contradicts this claim.

(2,78) Shéi shì lǎoshī ne2? (question word)
who be teacher ne2
((I wonder) who is the teacher?)

(2,79) Z3 shìbushì lǎoshī ne2? (choice)
Z3 be-neg.-be teacher ne2
((I wonder if) Z3 is a teacher or not?)

Therefore, ne2 cannot be exclusively an interrogative marker.

Ne2 also functions, in the same way as ba (cf. 2.2.2.2), as a "pause

particle" (cf. Chao 1968:81). It may be used to reinforce a pause, as shown by the following two examples.

(2,80) Zhàngfu ne2, zhǎobuzháo shìr, háizimen ne2, yòu
husband ne2, find-neg-find job, children ne2, in addition,

bù kěn niànshū. (Husband cannot find a job, and children,
neg. want study on top of it, don't want to study.)

and

(2,81) Zhàngfu /, zhǎobuzhǎo shìr, háizimen /, yòu
husband /, find-neg-find job, children /, in addition,

bù kěn niànshū. (Husband cannot find a job, and children,
neg. want study on top of it, don't want to study.)

The restrictions on the occurrence of ne2 in sentences of various interrogative types are summarised in table 2.4.

Table 2,4

SENTENCE-TYPE		EG.NO.	OK/X
!	!	2,73	OK!
!	!ma-ending	2,77	X !
!interrogative	!question word	2,78	OK!
!	!choice	2,79	OK!

2.2.2.4. A-ending Interrogative Sentences

A and its variants ya, na, wa also occur in the final position of interrogative sentences as in the following examples.

(2,82) Z3 qù ya?
Z3 go ya (Is Z3 going (that's unexpected.)?)

(2,83) Z3 kàn bào wa?
Z3 read newspaper wa
(Is Z3 reading a newspaper (that's unexpected.)?)

(2,84) Nǐ ràng wǒ jīntiān bàn na?
you let I today do na
(Do you want me to do it today (that's unexpected.)?)

These particles are therefore believed by various authors including Huang (1957) and XHYZ (1975) to be interrogative particles.

Although these items have different initial consonants, and have been assigned different orthographic representations (a 啊, ya 呀, na 哪, wa 哇) they are, in fact, no more then a single phonologically conditioned particle a. The different initial consonants were

originally conditioned by the preceding segments and have now developed into superficially separate particles: ya and wa are the result of intervocalic glide epenthesis; and na arises from nasal gemination. The phonological processes for these changes are presented in Appendix B.

The following examples show that the a particle behaves in a predictable and interesting way.

(2,85) Nǐ jiào Z3 bàn na?
you ask Z3 do a
(Are you asking Z3 to do (it) (that's unexpected.)?)

(2,86)*Nǐ jiào Z3 bàn ma a?
you let Z3 do ma a

(2,87)*Nǐ jiào Z3 bàn na ma?
you let Z3 do a ma

(2,88) Z3 xǐhuan kàn shénme shū wa?
Z3 like read what book a
(What (kind of) book does Z3 like to read (do tell me.)?)

(2,89) Z3 qubuqu ya?
Z3 go-neg.-go a (Is Z3 going or not (do tell me.)?)

(2,85) shows that in the absence of the interrogative marker ma, the a particle acts as a marker of interrogativeness, with an added tone of surprise/disbelief as indicated by the bracketted gloss. This type of interrogative sentence is usually used for echo or rhetorical questions.

The ungrammaticality of (2,86) and (2,87) is caused by the fact that these sentences are already interrogatives, and consequently the mood marking function of a would be pleonastic. The a particle in (2,88) and (2,89) on the other hand acts as an intensifier of the speech act force of a sentence, similar to that described in section 2.1.2.5.

The acceptability of a in various interrogative types is summarized by table 2.5 below.

Table 2.5

SENTENCE-TYPE		EG.NO.	OK/X
!	!	2,85	OK !
!	!ma-ending	2,86	X !
!interrogative	!question word	2,88	OK !
!	!choice	2,89	OK !
!	!		!

2.2.2.5. Summary

The structural pattern of the particle interrogatives may be summarized by the following formula:

FII: Sentence P

P = ma, ba, ne2, a; Sentence = FI, the basic declarative word order

The permitted interrogative environments for these particles are summarized by table 2.6.

Table 2.6

SENTENCE-TYPE		MA	BA	NE2	A
	ma-ending		X	X	X
interrogative	question word	X	OK	OK	OK
	choice	X	OK	OK	OK

Information that is obtainable from table 2.6 includes:

a) All the Xs in the ma column indicate that ma is perhaps exclusively an interrogative marker.

b) The unacceptability of the combinations of ma and other particles as indicated by the Xs in the first row of table 2.6 shows that all these particles signal interrogativeness, and this is supported by the following unacceptability of combinations of any of these four particles in a single sentence:

(2,90) *Z3 shì lǎoshī ma ne2/a/ba?
Z3 be teacher ma ne2 a ba

(2,91) *Z3 shì lǎoshī ne2 ma/a/ba?
Z3 be teacher ne2 ma a ba

(2,92) *Z3 shì lǎoshī a ma/ne2/ba?
Z3 be teacher a ma ne2 ba

(2,93) *Z3 shì lǎoshī ba ma/ne2/a?
Z3 be teacher ba ma ne2 a

c) Although it is true that all four particles may indicate interrogativeness in the sentence, it can reasonably be assumed that these particles signal degrees in the speaker's certainty/doubt (see Chapter III for further discussion), otherwise the co-existence

of these particles within a single sentence type would be highly redundant. That is, these particles may signal various pragmatic differences.

2.2.3. Question Word Interrogatives

2.2.3.1. Question words

Question words occur in the same position in a sentence as corresponding non-interrogatives of the same syntactic category. Compare the following pairs:

(2,94) Z3 kàn shénme?
Z3 read what
(what does Z3 read?)

and (2,95) Z3 kàn shū.
Z3 read book
(Z3 reads books.)

Where the question word is in the object NP position.

(2,96) Shéi kàn shū?
who read book
(Who reads (books)?)

and (2,97) Z3 kàn shū.
Z3 read book
(Z3 reads (books.)

Where the question word is in the subject NP position.

The same principle also applies to more complicated sentence constructions. For example,

(2,98) Shéi gěi L4 shū?
who give L4 book (Who gives L4 books?)

(2,99) Z3 gěi shéi shū?
Z3 give who book (Who does Z3 give books to?)

(2,100) Z3 gěi L4 shénme?
Z3 give L4 what (What does Z3 give to L4?)

The question word in (2,98) is in the subject NP position, in (2,99) it is in the indirect object NP position, and the question word in (2,100) is in the object NP position.

Apart from occurring in the above mentioned NP positions, question words also occur in the positions that would be occupied by VPs or quantifiers, they can also occur in adjunct phrases as shown by the following question-answer pairs.

VP:

Q: Z3 zěnme le?
Z3 how le
(What has happened to Z3?)

A: (Ta) bìng le.
he ill le
(He's fallen ill.)

quantifier

Q: Z3 yǒu jǐ běn shū?
Z3 have how-many cl.book
(How many books does Z3 have?)

A: (Tā yǒu) sān běn (shū).
he have three cl. book
((He has) three.)

adjunct phrase

Q: Z3 shénme shíhou lái de?
Z3 what time come p.
(When did Z3 come?)

A: (Ta) zuótiān lái de.
he yesterday come p.
((He came) yesterday.)

Since the presence of the question word itself is an interrogative property, it is incompatible with other interrogative properties. Thus

(particle)
(2,101)*Shéi kàn shū ma?
who read book ma

(choice)
(2,102)*Shéi kàn bu kàn shū?
who read neg. read book

are unutterable for the native speakers of Mandarin.

The compatibility between the question word interrogatives and other interrogative properties is summarized in table 2.7.

Table 2.7

INTERROGATIVE PROPERTY	QUESTION WORD INTERROGATIVE
interrogative particle ma	X
choice	X
question intonation	X

2.2.3.2. Particles

The particles found in question word interrogatives include le, ne1, ne2, ba as shown by the following examples.

(2,103) Z3 jiāo shéi Zhōngwén le?
Z3 teach who Chinese le
(Who has Z3 taught Chinese to?)

(2,104) Z3 jiāo shéi zhōngwén ne?
Z3 teach who Chinese ne
(Who is Z3 teaching Chinese to?)

(2,104a) Z3 jiāo shéi zhōngwén ne2?
Z3 teach who Chinese ne2
((I wonder) who Z3 teaches Chinese to?)

(2,105) Z3 jiāo shéi zhōngwén ba?
Z3 teach who Chinese ba
(Who is Z3 teaching Chinese to (if you don't tell me, you wait and see!)?)

While the occurrence of the supposedly declarative particles le and ne1 in question word interrogatives is understandable, in that the syntactic pattern of question word interrogatives is essentially the same as that of declaratives, the occurrences of ne2[6] in (2,104a) and ba in (2,105) (i.e. question word + ba) require a different explanation (cf. section 3.6.2. for an explanation of ba). A, and its variants, may also occur at the end of question word interrogative sentences, as exemplified by (2,88), section 2.2.2.4.

2.2.3.3. Summary

The structural pattern of question word interrogatives may be summarized by FIII: Clause (P)

(P) = le, ne1, ne2, ba, a

Clause = FI, in which there is at least one question word.

2.2.4. Choice Interrogatives

2.2.4.1. The structure

There are two classes of choice interrogatives. One is characterized by a compound of two or more independent but semantically related declarative clauses joined by shì (often termed the copula (cf. Li and Thompson 1981:147-155)), haíshi (or), or a pause (/). These items are termed choice interrogative indicators for the purpose of the discussion. This type of choice interrogative normally gives the hearer two or more choices as the following example shows:

(2,106) Nǐ chī lí, chī píngguǒ, háishi chī pútao?
you eat pear, eat apple, or eat grape
(Do you want to eat a pear, an apple, or grapes?)

The symbol x or y (or z or ...) is used to represent this type of choice interrogative.

The other type of choice interrogative is characterised by the concatenation of an affirmative verb phrase (or an adjective phrase) and its negative counterpart, as shown by the following examples.

(2,107) Z3 qù bu qù? (V-not-V)
Z3 go neg. go
(Is Z3 going or not?)

(2,108) Z3 gāo (háishi) bù gāo? (adj-not-adj)
Z3 tall or neg. tall
(Is Z3 tall or not?)

The symbol x or -x is used to represent this type of interrogative.

The structural difference between these two types of choice interrogatives is that while the x or y type employs the form of double, triple or multiple clauses, "the choice in an x or -x interrogative presented to the respondent is the choice between an affirmative sentence and its negative counterpart. Háishi(or) can be used, but is generally omitted." (Li and Thompson 1981:535). (2,108) is such an example.

Choice interrogatives are thus coordinate constructions. Elements on either side of the choice indicator h/p (composed from the initial letters of h(áishi) and p(ause)) are/may be reduced to constituents of the same type. And the formalization of an x or y interrogative sentence would, in principle, be:

FIV: XP h/p XP

The formula for x or -x interrogatives on the other hand may be summarised by

FV: XP (h/p) -XP

X ≠ question items;

XP = any constituent up to the level of a clause;

(h/p) = optional choice indicator.

A detailed description of these two types of interrogatives is presented in Appendix C.

2.2.4.2. Particles

Apart from ma (cf. 2.2.2.1) all other particles discussed in 2.2.2. may occur at the end of choice interrogatives. The following are some examples.

PARTICLES		EXAMPLES
a	x or y	Z3 gěi L4 shū háishi bào wa? Z3 give L4 book or newspaper (w)a (Does Z3 give L4 books or newspapers (Do tell me)?)
	x or -x	Nǐ yào bu yào wa? you want neg. want (w)a (Do you want (to have) it or not (Do tell me.)?)
ba7	x or y	Nǐ chī fàn háishi chī miàn ba? you eat rice or eat noodles ba (Are you going to have rice or noodles (say which, or you'll get nothing!)?)
	x or -x	Nǐ qù bu qù ba? you go neg go ba (Are you going or not (if you don't go, you wait and see.)?)
ne2	x or y	Nǐ chī fàn háishi chī miàn ne2? you eat rice or eat noodles ne2 ((I wonder if) you are going to have rice or noodles?)
	x or -x	Nǐ qù bu qù ne2 you go neg. go ne2 ((I wonder if) you are going or not?)

The pragmatic implications of these particles are all different as indicated by the bracketted glosses.

2.2.4.3. Summary

As stated at the beginning of 2.2.4, the clauses on either side of the choice interrogative indicator may be seen as independent declarative clauses, we may therefore, on the basis of this fact, formulate a somewhat simplified structure for both of the choice interrogatives in the following manner:

FVI: XP (h/p) XP (P)

(P) = optional particles: a, ba, ne2

2.2.5. A Grouping of Interrogative Patterns

The structural patterns of the four types of interrogative sentences discussed so far are:

STRUCTURAL PATTERNS	SPECIFICATIONS
particle interrogative: Clause P	P is obligatory
question word interrogative: Clause (P)	at least one constituent in the clause is a question word
choice interrogative: XP (h/p) XP (P)	when h/p is optional, the second XP must contain a negative V/adj/N

The above formulae exhibit two distinct patterns summarized by A: XP ((h/p) XP) (P) and B: Clause P.

In other words, question word interrogatives and choice interrogatives are members of type A; and particle interrogatives are members of type B.

Type A interrogatives share the same syntactic form with declaratives and have some additional specifications as stated above. The obligatory P in type B interrogatives self-explanatorily indicates that the interrogative particles are markers of interrogatives, for an absence of the P in type B would result in a declarative sentence. The following figures may illustrate this point more clearly:

Fig 2.1
decl. & type A int.

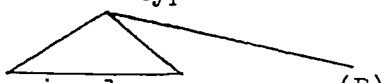
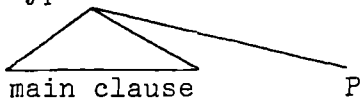


Fig. 2.2
type B int.



Particles that typically occur with type A interrogative sentences include le, ne1, ba, a and its variants, as illustrated by many examples in section 2.2.3 and 2.2.4.

Particles that typically occur in type B interrogative sentences are ma, ba, ne2 and a, as illustrated by many examples in section 2.2.2.

The sets of particles that can occur in type A and type B interrogative sentences are thus only partially distinct; ba and a overlap.

2.2.6. Tags

Apart from the above discussed three types of interrogatives in Mandarin, tags have also been held to be interrogatives.

There are two types of tags in Mandarin: (a) the particle type as in (2,109); and (b) the choice type as in (2,110).

(2,109) Z3 shì lǎoshī, duì ma?
Z3 be teacher, right ma
(Z3 is a teacher, right?)

(2,110) Z3 shì lǎoshī, duì bu duì?
Z3 be teacher, right neg. right
(Z3 is a teacher, right or not?)

Both of these types are tagged at the end of declarative sentences, hence the term: tag. These two types of tags are discussed in turn in the following.

2.2.6.1. Particle tags

Among the variety of particles, only ma and ba are found to occur in tags as in the following examples:

(2,111) Z3 shì lǎoshī, duì ma?
Z3 be teacher, right ma
(Z3 is a teacher, right? (I'm not sure though.))

(2,112) Z3 shì lǎoshī, duì ba?
Z3 be teacher, right ba
(Z3 is a teacher, right? (I think he is.))

Syntactically, particle tags have the structure of either adj + P as in (2,111) and (2,112) above, or V+P as in the case of

(2,113) Z3 zài kàn shū, shì ma?
Z3 at read book, be ma
(Z3 is reading (the book), isn't he?/isn't it the case?)

and

(2,114) Z3 zài kàn shū, shì ba?
Z3 at read book
(Z3 is reading (the book), isn't he?)

Both V+P and adj+P may be seen as subclasses of type B, as they fit into the larger structure of particle interrogative, namely, FII: Clause P. And more importantly, the particles in both particle tags and particle interrogatives are obligatory. Thus in this sense the particle tags may be treated as a species of particle interrogatives rather than a separate category of interrogative sentences.

2.2.6.2. Choice tags

Tags of this type are structurally comparable to x or -x choice interrogatives, as described in section 2.2.4.1. They include duì bu duì (right neg. right), hǎo bu hǎo (OK neg. OK), xíng bu xíng (OK neg. OK), shì bu shì (be neg. be).[8] x or -x tags are in fact a sub-class of x or -x choice interrogatives, as they share the same structural pattern, i.e. XP (h/p) -XP, with a negative XP in the second clause.

Another indication that supports this point is that the x or -x tags, like the x or -x choice interrogative sentences, optionally take the particles permitted by choice interrogatives, namely, a, ba, ne2. The following are some examples.

(2,115) a Z3 shì lǎoshī, duì bu duì ya?
Z3 be teacher, right neg. right (y)a
(Z3 is a teacher, right or not (tell me!)?)

(2,116) ba Z3 shì lǎoshī, duì bu duì ba?
Z3 be teacher, right neg. right ba
(Z3 is a teacher, right or not (you've got to say right!)?)

(2,117) ne2 Z3 shì lǎoshī, duì bu duì ne2?
Z3 be teacher, right neg. right ne2
((I wonder if) Z3 is a teacher, right or not?)

The grammatical form of the choice type tags may therefore be

seen as a sub-class of choice interrogatives, which in turn belongs to the more generalized type A structural pattern of interrogative setences.

To my knowledge, no species of x or y tags are found in Mandarin.

2.2.6.3. Summary

We have in this section established that structurally both particle type and choice type tags may be treated as sub-classes of type B and type A respectively. The speaker's use of the tags appears to be pragmatic by nature (as indicated by the bracketted glosses) and it seems that the use of such tags may be comparable to the use of certain sentence-final particles such as ba.

2.3. Imperatives + P

Structurally, imperatives in Mandarin are not distinguishable from declaratives as shown by the following example:

	(NP)	(PP)	V	(NP)	(NP)	(p.)
(2,118)	(Nǐ)	(zàijiā)	jiāo	Z3	zhōngwén	(ba)!
	you	at-home	teach	Z3	Chinese	p.
	((You)	teach	(Z3	Chinese	at home)!	

What distinguishes imperatives from other sentence types is the imperative intonation -- "a slight acceleration towards the end of the sentence" (Chao 1968:41). "The impression of a slight acceleration, or a kind of promptness in ending the sentence, is ... in relation to the expected lengthening [of the main stress in a phrase] rather than in relation to other parts of the sentence." (op.cit:42)[9].

Imperatives further exhibit the following contrastive features:

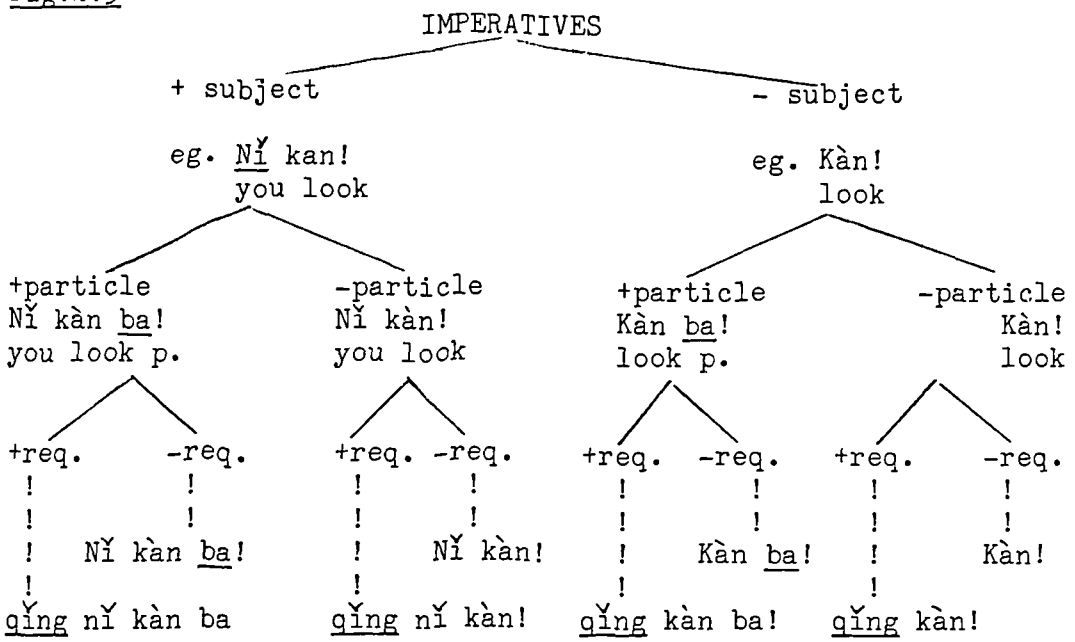
(a) ± subject: with or without subject NP[10];

(b) ± particle: with or without a sentence-final particle. The favoured particles are ba and a;

(c) ± imperative marker: the presence or absence of request markers such as qǐng (please), ràng(allow). These act as markers of imperatives and also convey a certain amount of politeness.

The following tree exhibits some commonly used syntactic types of imperatives in Mandarin:

Fig.2.3



In addition to the above, there is a class of negative imperatives which has the same contrasting pairs corresponding to the above eight positive imperatives. The commonly used negative items in imperatives include bù(not) and bié(don't).

Similarly to the imperatives in some other languages, e.g. English, the types of verbs that can occur in an imperative sentence are restricted to dynamic verbs only (cf. Quirk et al. 1972). Thus sentences like *Zhīdao! or *Bié zhīdao!
know don't know
do not occur in Mandarin.

The characteristic function of an imperative is to make somebody do something.

The syntactic pattern of imperatives may be summarized by

FVIII: (NP) (PP) V (NP) (NP) (P)
Nǐ zàijiā jiāo L4 zhōngwén ba!
you at-home teach L4 Chinese p.
(You teach L4 Chinese at home (I'd like you to.)!)

Particles that typically occur with imperative sentences are ba and a, as shown by the following examples.

ba (2,119) Zǒu ba!
go ba (Let's go (I think it's time.)!)

a (2,120) Zǒu wa!
go (w)a (Let's go (what are you hesitating for?)!)

Ne2 can also occur at the end of an imperative sentence, but the addition of this particle seems to result in a change of the sentence type -- from an imperative into an interrogative, e.g.:

(2,121) Nǐ qù! --> Nǐ qù ne2?
you go you go ne2
(You go!) ((What about if) you go?)

(Cf. section 3.7.4. Chapter III for discussion of this combination.)

2.4. Exclamatives + P

Exclamatives are traditionally divided into the following five categories (cf. Huang 1957:35-38):

(1) intensifier exclamatives;

(2) exclamatory word exclamatives;

(3) noun phrase exclamatives;

(4) lexical word exclamatives;

(5) slogans.

(1) Intensifier exclamatives

The exclamatives in this group may either begin with an interrogative word such as duō(how), or an adverbial phrase containing adverbs such as hǎo[11] or zhēn(really), as shown by

(2,122) Duō nánkàn (na)!
how ugly p. (How ugly!)

(2,122a) Hǎo dà de bízi!
what big p. nose (What a huge nose!)

(2,122b) zhēn kuài!
real fast (Really fast!)

This type of exclamative can be accompanied by final particles of the a set as shown by the bracketted na in (2,122).

(2) Exclamatory word exclamatives

Exclamatory words almost always occur in the initial position of a sentence. For examples:

(2,123) Wèi, ní xiě cuò le!
excl. you write wrong p. (Whoa, you've misspelt it!)

They can also on their own constitute exclamatives:

(a) Ò! -- used when one realizes something about one's ways;

(b) Pēi! -- used when one despises something.

(c) Yí!(?) -- surprise

(d) Āiyōu(!) -- agony, pain, etc.

(e) Ài -- sigh

(f) Èn -- response (cf. Huang 1957:37)

(3) Noun phrase exclamatives

This type of exclamative is always accompanied by the final particle a and its variants. The noun phrases themselves have lost their original lexical meanings. For instance,

(2,124) Tiān na!
sky (n)a (Good heavens!)

(4) Lexical word exclamatives

This type of exclamative can be, but does not necessarily have to be, accompanied by final particles of the a set. The lexical word is the most important item of the sentence. E.g.

(2,125) Huǒ (a)!
fire (Fire!)

rather than

(2,126) Chúfáng zháo huǒ la!
kitchen burning fire p.
(Kitchen's caught fire!/There is fire in the kitchen!)

Similarly:

(2,127) Láng!
wolf
(Wolf!)

rather than

(2,128) Láng lái la!
wolf come p.
(A/The wolf has come!/A/The wolf is here!)

(5) Slogans

Sentences such as the following are classified as slogans.

(2,129) Gān bēi!
dry glass (Cheers!/Bottoms up!)

(2,130) Wèi shíxiàn sìge xiàndàihuà nǔlì ba!
for realize four-p. modernization make-great-effort p.
(Let's make great effort for the realization of the Four Modernizations!)

Particles that can occur with categories 1, 3 and 4 are a and its variants, as shown by examples (2,122), (2,124) and (2,125), and particles that occur with category 5 exclamatives are ba and a as shown by the following:

ba (2,131) Gān bēi ba!
dry glass ba
((Let's) toast (I think it's about time for it.)!)

a (2,132) Gān bēi ya!
dry glass (y)a
(Toast (what are you hesitating for?)!)

Particles do not normally occur with exclamatory word exclamatives, i.e. category 2. This may be due to the fact that exclamatory words are markers of exclamativeness and that the particles have an exclamative flavour which would be redundant in something that is already marked as being exclamative.

The syntactic structure of the five categories of exclamatives may be summarized by

A (categories 1,3,4): NP (P) (P) = a

B (category 5) : (NP)(PP)(PP)(NP) V (NP)(P) (P) = ba, a

C (category 2) : ! ! = exclamatory words

Note the resemblance between the imperative structure (cf. section 2.3) and exclamative type B above, and their acceptance of the

same particles, namely, ba and a. This suggests that slogans are really a species of imperatives rather than exclamatives. Type B exclamatives would thus, more reasonably, be grouped together with the imperative structure as members of a single family, and this is the option taken in the section 2.5 summary, below.

Type A and C indicate that exclamatives constitute a distinct sentence type in Mandarin, and this is demonstrated by their incompatibility with either interrogatives or imperatives. E.g.:

(2,133)*Nǐ yǒu hǎo dà de bízi ma?
you have what big p. nose ma

(2,134)*Gěi wǒ kàn duō nánkàn de dōngxi!
give I look how ugly p. thing

2.5. Summary -- a grouping of the sentence patterns

The formulae that we have been formalizing so far may be organized into table 2.8.

Table 2.8

GROUP	SENTENCE TYPE	FORMULAE	PARTICLE
1	declarative	NP (PP) V (NP) (NP) (P)	(P)=le,ne[1],de,ba,a
2	interrogative	A: XP ((h/p) XP)(P) B: Clause P	(P)= ne1 ,ba,a P =ma,ne[2],ba,a
3	imperatives	(NP) (PP) V (NP) (NP)(P)	(P)=ba,a
	exclamative B	(PP) V (P)	(P)=ba,a
4	exclamative A	NP (P)	(P)=a
	C	!	-

From table 2.8 it can be seen clearly that there are two distinct classes of sentence patterns in Mandarin:

Class I: sentences that have a basic sentence pattern and an optional particle (P),i.e.: FI + (P)

(P)= le, ne1, ba, de, a

Class II: sentences that have the basic sentence pattern, but with an obligatory particle P, i.e.: FI+P

P = ma, ba, ne2, a

Among all the sentence patterns, interrogative B is the only member of Class II.

Thus the interrogative types A and B in Mandarin are distinct in this respect, whereas the imperatives and exclamative type B are not distinct in the same way.

2.6. Concluding Remarks

We have in this Chapter seen that the four sentence types in Mandarin exhibit at least seven main structural patterns, as summarized by Table 2.8, and these patterns may be grouped into two distinct classes according to their behaviour in relation to particles.

Not all the sentence-final particles indicate sentence mood as believed by Wang (1954) and Ma (1958). This conclusion is supported by such facts as that ba may occur not only in declarative sentences, but also in interrogative sentences, and in imperative sentences as well.

It is probably significant that Class I and Class II sentence patterns should favour particular sets of particles, and it also is interesting to note the double appearance of ba and a in both of the classes. This may indicate that the functions of ba and a may be assumed to overlap with the interrogative mood. The following examples of contrasts between interrogative sentences support this point.

Interrogative type A:

PARTICLE ENDING	vs.	NON-PARTICLE ENDING
(2,135) Shéi qù le? who go le (Who has gone?)		Shéi qù? who go (Who's going?)
(2,136) Nǐ chī shénme ne1? you eat what ne1 (What are you eating?)		Nǐ chī shénme? you eat what (What are you going to eat?)

(2.137) Nǐ shuō bu shuō ba?
you say neg.say ba
(Are you going to tell me or not (if you don't, you wait and see!)?)

Nǐ shuō bu shuō?
you say neg. say
(Are you going to tell or not?)

(2,138) Zhèi shì shénme a[12]?
this be what a
(What is this (tell me.)?)

Zhèi shì shénme?
this be what
(What is this?)

The presence of the optional particles in the above examples does not affect the sentence mood at all.

Interrogative type B:

PARTICLE ENDING	vs.	NON-PARTICLE ENDING
(2,139) Z3 shì lǎoshī ma? Z3 be teacher ma (Is Z3 a teacher?)		Z3 shì lǎoshī. Z3 be teacher (Z3 is a teacher.)
(2,140) Z3 shì lǎoshī ba? Z3 be teacher ba (Is Z3 a teacher (I think he may be.)?/ (Am I right to assume that)Z3 is a teacher?)		"
(2,141) Z3 shì lǎoshī ne2 ? Z3 be teacher ne2 ((What if) Z3 is a teacher?)		"
(2,142) Z3 shì lǎoshī a? Z3 be teacher a (Is Z3 a teacher (tell me.)?)		"

The absence of the obligatory particles changes the interrogative mood into declarative.

As observed in section 2.5, structurally interrogative sentences may be divided into two distinct classes, namely type A = FI + (P), and type B = FI + P. It is therefore quite consistent that in the absence of (P) in type A examples the original sentence mood should be retained, as with all other sentence types in this class. And it is not surprising that the absence of P in type B should result in the total loss of the "interrogativeness", since the structure that is left is identical to the FI + (P) sentence types.

Yet, ba, ne2 and a cannot be said to be interrogative mood

indicators in the same sense as ma, since the absence of these particles in (2,136-138) do not affect the sentence mood at all.

Having established the above, we now face two main tasks:

(i) to determine the function of the particles that appear to play some role across classes such as ba;

(ii) to determine the functions of the particles that appear to play some role within a single class such as le.

The following Chapter essays task (i) by examining the ba particle in depth from the point of view of language use. An attempt at dealing with task (ii) is presented in Chapter 5 of the thesis.

NOTES TO CHAPTER II

1. FI is intended as brief synopsis of the most salient word-order properties of Chinese sentences, primarily as a guide to the reader unfamiliar with Chinese. It is not intended as an analysis of Chinese syntax and does not constitute a theoretical claim of this thesis. In using the term 'basic' *I do not intend to invoke the issue of whether Chinese is 'basically' an SVO or an SOV language.* FI subsumes a large number of functionally and semantically disparate sentences. The PP, for example, can, as in the text, be a locative expression. It may also realise a goal:

Wǒ gěi tā dǎ diànhuà.
I gěi he dial telephone
(I telephone him.);

a source: Wǒ gēn túshūguǎn jiè shū.
I gēn library borrow book
(I borrow books from the library.);

an agent: Z3 bèi L4 dǎ le.
Z3 bèi L4 hit p.
(Z3 was beaten by L4.);

a patient: Z3 bǎ L4 dǎ le.
Z3 bǎ L4 hit p.
(Z3 beat L4.).

In addition, there are, of course, sentence types not represented by FI, such as those involving topicalisation:

Z3 L4 dǎ le.
Z3 L4 hit p.
(Z3, L4 beat (him).)

Likewise, FI has nothing to say about the distribution of adverbs, which is as complex in Chinese as it is in English.

2. A term used in traditional Chinese grammar, which includes everything in a sentence except the subject, i.e. sentence minus subject equals predicate. (cf. ECR 1980)

3. This is true even when zài is used in its concrete locative sense as in

(a) Z3 zài dì shang kàn shū.
Z3 at floor top read book
(Z3 reads (books) on the floor.)

The progressive form of this sentence would preferably be

(b) Z3 zài dì shang kàn shū ne˥
Z3 at floor top read book ne˥
(Z3 is reading (the book) on the floor.)

rather than (c) in spoken Mandarin.

(c) Z3 zài dì shang kàn zhe shū.
Z3 at floor top read zhe book
(Z3 is reading (the book) on the floor.)

4. As we shall see in section 2.3 declaratives and imperatives share the same syntactic pattern and a can also optionally be attached at the end of imperative sentences. Thus in certain cases it is not clear, without any other grounds (e.g. context, intonation, etc.), whether a sentence is a declarative or an imperative. Compare:

a) Nǐ xiě a.
you write a (You write.)

b) Nǐ xiě a!
you write a (You write!)

5. In the absence of contextual information (2,65) may be translated by a range of sentences in English, such as (a)(Am I right to suppose that)Z3 is a teacher?; or even as a doubtful posed statement with the effect of (b)Z3 is a teacher, I think. For the sake of the present argument, I am prepared to grant here that (2,65) may also be used to ask a question.

6. Ne2 is an interesting case in relation to ba. As will be demonstrated later in Chapter III, ba has a neustic weakening function. However, interrogative + ba constructions (such as 2,105) represent a puzzling exception to the generalisation, and this is where ne2 seems to fill the gap (cf. the gloss for (2,104a)). Ne2 and ba may thus be said to be complementary. Given the scope of this thesis however, a detailed analysis of the behaviour of ne2 has to be left for future research.

7. As will become clear in Chapter 3 the interpretation of a ba particle sentence is heavily dependent on its pragmatic context, as well as its syntactic form. Our discussion at the present stage is, however, carried out on the assumption that the example sentences given here are to be interpreted as questions rather than as, say, statements or threats, etc..

8. Shìbushì (be neg. be) is interesting because a sentence containing it may be re-ordered in the following ways.

(a) Z3 gàosu nǐ de, shì bu shì?
Z3 tell you p., be neg. be
(Z3 told you, didn't he?)

(b) Shì Z3 gàosu nǐ de bú shì?
be Z3 tell you p., neg. be
(Z3 told you, didn't he?)
(c) shì bu shì Z3 gàosu nǐ de?
be neg. be Z3 tell you p.
(Z3 told you, didn't he?)
(d) Shì Z3 gàosu nǐ de bú shì Z3 gàosu nǐ de?
be Z3 tell you p. neg. be Z3 tell you p.
(Z3 told you, didn't he?)
If (a) - (c) are seen in contrast with the full x or -x choice interrogative (d), as reduced forms of the x or -x choice interrogative pattern, (for instance, the VP on the right hand clause has, optionally, been deleted in (b)), then shìbushì may appear to be more like a tag.

9. Chao (1968:41) finds that the "accelerated tempo" is used in both simple questions and simple commands. And as we shall see, in Chapter III, not only mands are Directives, but questions are also a species of Directives, thus this "accelerated tempo" may well be a signal of the presence of Directive force in the utterances.

10. Although Ø-subject imperatives are generally directed towards the hearer, the lack of a subject NP makes such constructions ambiguous in so far as its subject NP is concerned. For instance, the subject NP in
(a) Gěi tā dǎ ge diànhuà!
give he dial cl. telephone
(Give him a ring!)
could either be the hearer, i.e. Nǐ(you), or the speaker himself, i.e. Wǒ(I). However this kind of ambiguity can be resolved when contextual information is provided. Thus, if the preceding context of (a) was
(b) Nà nǐ zěnme bàn na?
then you how do p.
(What are you going to do then?)
then it would be quite clear that what the speaker of (a) meant was "I'll give him a ring.". Similarly if the preceding context was
(c) Nà zánmen zěnme bàn na?
then we(incl.) how do p.
(What shall we do then?)
then the understood subject would likely be an inclusive we, though the actual act of dialling the phone can only be carried out by one person. Context therefore plays an important role in determining the unspecified subject NP in a Ø-subject imperative construction.

11. I cannot find an exact English equivalent, therefore more examples are provided below to illustrate the use of this item.
(a) Hǎojíle! -- That's capital!;
(b) Hǎoméiqì! -- What bad luck!;
(c) Hǎoróngyì -- How easy! (i.e. not at all easy)
These examples are taken from Mathews (1943:306). Though, as pointed out by Mr. S.J. Harlow, it is arguable whether (c) is necessarily an exclamative as it is also used in sentences such as
(d) Tā hǎo róngyì cái xué huì le zhōngwén.
(He had a hard time mastering Chinese.)

12. Shénme+a is often realized as shénma due to a process of Schwa-deletion.

CHAPTER III

AN ANALYSIS OF THE BA PARTICLE

3.1 INTRODUCTION

The objective of this chapter is to attempt to provide an as explicit as possible account of the complex behaviour of the ba particle by examining the variety of roles that ba appears to play in different environments in relation to Gricean general principles of human communication.

The chapter, following a presentation of general accounts of the various characteristics of ba (section 3.2), suggests that there are three major classes of ba particle sentences in Mandarin Chinese, namely, declarative ± ba, imperative ± ba and interrogative ± ba, in terms of their syntactic properties (section 3.3).

Hare's (1970) scheme of Neustic, Tropic and Phrastic (cf. Lyons 1977) are employed in determining the function of the ba particle in section 3.4, and it will be concluded that ba in declarative and imperative constructions has a "neustic weakening" function. Several devices such as the Speaker Knows Best Principle (SKB), the Cooperative Principle (CP) and its Maxims of communication and the Politeness Principle (PP) are utilized in determining and explaining how and why a speaker might/should use a ba-ending sentence, and it is argued that the PP may be a device which motivates the speaker to deviate from "maximally efficient communication". It is also suggested that as well as being a "neustic weakener" in terms of its function, ba is an "illocutionary morpheme" in terms of the effect of its use, and a "politeness indicator" in terms of the motive for the speaker's use of ba.

The incompatibility of particle-ending interrogative sentences and ba is found to be due to sets of contradicting felicity conditions

and presuppositions. This finding, in turn, may explain certain oddities of sentences which, though syntactically well-formed, are generally less than satisfactory, or unacceptable in ordinary communication.

Type A interrogative ± ba constructions (cf. section 2.5, Chapter 2) present counterexamples to the above conclusions, and these cases are explained in terms of both syntax and felicity conditions.

The results of the analyses presented in this chapter indicate that the presence of the sentence-final particle ba in an expression disturbs the neustic of the sentence and, depending on the type of the main clause, the neustic changes in a varied but predictable manner. Consequently the resulting phenomenon is a variety of qualified illocutionary species with either a single or combined illocutionary forces.

A notion of illocutionary hierarchy is introduced on the basis of the above findings and their supporting examples. With the aim of achieving some more complete hierarchies, other particle-ending sentences (e.g. ne2, a) are also mentioned in the chapter.

3.2. GENERAL ACCOUNTS OF BA

This section is introduced to give readers some idea of the existing accounts of ba. We shall not question, in this section, whether the following statements are true, as this will become clear in the course of this chapter.

3.2.1. As an Interrogative Indicator

Zhang et al. (1980:136-137) state that ba is used to indicate interrogative mood as in

(3,1) Z3 shì lǎoshī ba?
Z3 be teacher ba (Z3 is a teacher, isn't he?)[1]

Chao (1968:807) also says ba is used in questions such as

(3,2) Nǐ dàodǐ yào gàn shénme ba?
you ultimately want do what ba
(What do you want to do, anyway?)

He also treats ba as a yes-no question marker, as in

(3,3) Nǐ zhīdào ba?
you know ba (Do you know?)

According to Li and Thompson (1981:309-310) the function of a ba particle sentence is comparable to that of a tag-question such as

(3,4) Tā hěn hǎokàn, duìbuduì?
s/he very good-looking, right-neg.-right
(S/he is very good looking, isn't s/he?)

which seeks confirmation of a statement. They, therefore, term this final particle a "solidarity agreement particle".

Similarly, Fenn and Tewksbury (1967:66) state:

> In this use of ba? the questioner makes a statement with which he presumes the listener will probably agree. Compare the English sentence "You are ready?" pronounced with a rising inflection at the end to indicate that it is intended as a question rather than a statement of facts.

We also find in MCR (1963:461) that "ba is always used at the end of a declarative sentence, thus changing the declarative sentence into an interrogative one.".

Finally, it is stated by Li and Thompson (1981:310) that "in general ba cannot be added to an utterance that is already marked as a question.".

3.2.2. In Doubtful Posed Statements

The term doubtful posed statement is provided by Chao (1968:808), and an example of such a case is

(3,5) Nǐ zhīdao ba?
you know ba (You know, I suppose?)

This class of ba-ending sentences is very similar to the ones presented in 3.2.1, and the demarcation between these two classes is

not at all clear, unless we are provided with paralinguistic intonation. Thus, the difference between (3,5) and (3,3) is merely that "This ba is shorter and the sentence intonation is slightly lower."(ibid).

Similarly to Chao, MCR (1963:460) states that:" This particle is used chiefly to express uncertainty as to one's judgement. When we have formed an estimate of a thing, and yet we are not sure whether it is true, then we use the particle ba at the end of the sentence.". Likewise Li and Thompson (1981:309) describe this kind of use of ba as having an "accommodating and conciliatory tone", as in

(3,6) Tā bú huì zuò zhèyàngde shì ba.
s/he neg. can do this-kind-p. thing ba
(S/he couldn't do such things, don't you agree?)

3.2.3. As an Imperative Indicator

According to Zhang et al. (1980:136 - 137) ba is also used to indicate imperative mood, to ask somebody to do something, as in

(3,7) Tiān tài lěng, jìnlai nuǎnhuo yìhuǐr ba!
weather too cold, enter warm a-little-while ba
(It's too cold (outside), come in and warm up for a while!)

Chao (1968:807) identifies one of the functions of ba as "advisative" as in

(3,8) Kuài diǎr zǒu ba !
fast a-little go ba (Better hurry up and go!) (ibid)

Similarly Li and Thompson (1981:308) say ba is used in advice, e.g.:

(3,9) Nǐ hē shuǐ ba[2]
you drink water ba
(Why don't you drink some water?)

Fenn and Tewksbury (1967:66) give examples such as

(3,10) Gěi wǒ ba! and (3,11) Bié gàosu tā ba!
give I ba don't tell he ba
(Let me have it!) (Better not tell him!)

and state that: "In these sentences, the addition of ba! marks the sentence into a mild command or suggestion."(ibid).

3.2.4. Plea ba

Li and Thompson (1981:309) state that: "if the speaker was being repeatedly toasted at a banquet, s/he would utter

(3,12) Wǒ hē bàn bēi ba[3]
I drink half glass ba
(I'll have half glass (of wine) then.)

as a plea to be given only half a glass to down this time."

3.2.5. Dilemma ba[4]

This use of ba is noted by Chao (1968:807), he terms this use of ba "suppositions as alternatives" as in

(3,13)Bù gěi qián ba, bùhǎoyìsi báiná, gěi qián ba, yòu gěibuqǐ.
neg.give money ba,ashamed free-take,give money ba,but give-neg.dir.v.
(Suppose I don't pay for it, I am ashamed to take something for nothing; and if I am to pay for it, I cannot afford it.)

3.2.6. As a Pause Particle

According to Chao (1968:81), "as a pause particle, the tentative meaning [of ba] is nearer.", e.g.:

(3,14)Zhàngfu ba, zhǎobuzháo shìr, háizimen ba, yòu
husband ba,find-neg-find job,children be,in addition

bùkěn niànshū
neg-want study

(The husband (if you consider him), can't find a job; the children (if you consider them), won't study either.)(ibid)

3.2.7. More on ba[5]

The above 3.2.1 -- 3.2.6 are existing categories for ba that I have found in the literature. This kind of list could, undoubtedly, be further expanded, e.g.:

(a) Reluctant agreement (3,15) Míngtiān jiù míngtiān ba.
tomorrow then tomorrow ba
((If you say make it tomorrow)
then tomorrow.)

(b) Threat (3,16) Nǐ shuōbushuō ba!
you say-neg-say ba
(Are you going to tell me or not
(if you don't, you wait and see!)?)

(c) Irreverence (3,17) Qù nǐde ba!
go you ba (Go away!)

(d) Insouciance

(3,18) A is working in his office, B comes in and says:

"Yǒu jiàn yàojǐn shìr!"
have cl. urgent matter
((I) have an urgent matter (to tell you)!)

B, buried in piles of files, says: "Shuō ba."
say ba (Say it then.)

A native speaker of Mandarin would probably enjoy carrying on the expansion of this list until s/he got bored. At this point, one perhaps cannot help wondering: how can a single ba come to do so many different tasks? how can a learner of Mandarin manage to remember all these roles of ba? etc..

Obviously the above kind of analysis, which provides no explicit explanation of the complex behaviour of ba, would not lead us very far. The following section, as a preparation for the analysis in section 3.4, organizes the ba-ending sentences into three major classes in terms of their main clause types.

3.3. A SYNTACTIC GROUPING OF BA-ENDING SENTENCES

Despite the variety of roles that ba appears to play (cf.3.2), in terms of the sentence types in Mandarin (as described in Chapter II) ba-ending sentences can be grouped into the following three classes:

(i) declarative + ba

(ii) interrogative + ba

(iii) imperative + ba

Ba does not occur in exclamatives generally, but it may occur in slogans (cf. section 2.4, Chapter 2). Since it was suggested that these slogans are a species of imperatives, there will be no separate mention of the slogan+ba construction.

The syntactic properties of declaratives, interrogatives and

imperatives have already been described in sections 2.1, 2.2 and 2.3, and the following is only a representation of these classes of ba-ending sentences, with some additional explanation which is based on the notion of speech acts.

3.3.1. Declarative + ba

As illustrated in section 2.1, the declarative sentence in Mandarin is an unmarked form in terms of its syntax. When an interrogative marker is added, e.g. if ma is attached at the end of a declarative sentence, as in

(3,19) Z3 shì lǎoshī ma?
Z3 be teacher ma
(Is Z3 a teacher?)

this sentence will then be interrogative and will have the function of a question, in the sense that the hearer of (3,19) will understand that some sort of answer is expected by the speaker.

However, when ba is attached at the end of a declarative clause it is not always the case that this sentence is then automatically interrogative. Consider:

(3,20) Z3 shì lǎoshī ba.
Z3 be teacher ba
(Z3 is a teacher (I suppose/think./Am I right?).)

which has the form of declarative + ba, but it is not at all clear whether this utterance is a question, unless we know, on other grounds, that the speaker is expecting some sort of answer from the hearer. If not, this utterance may be interpretable as what Chao (1968) called a doubtful posed statement (cf. 3.2.2). In other words, without any contextual information one cannot say whether or not (3,20) expects a response. The following are some more examples.

(3,21) Zài zhèr ba.
at here ba
(Roughly/Approximately/ I should think(imagine) it's here.)

(3,22) Zhè ge ba.
this cl. ba
(This (appears to be it).)

(3,23) Jiù shi nàmehuíshìr ba.
just be that-matter ba
(That's just how it is (seems to me./Am I right?)

(3,24) Yào xiàyǔ ba.
will fall-rain ba
(It looks as if it were going to rain(doesn't it?).)

(3,25) Tāmen hěn máng ba
they very busy ba
((I think that) they might be very busy (mightn't they?).)

The underlined parts of the above illustration show that when ba occurs at the end of declarative clauses, the effect that ba gives seems to be one of diffidence. In terms of speech act category, these examples may be regarded as tentative statements, indicating the speaker's hesitation.

The examples cited in 3.2.1, 3.2.2 and 3.2.7(a) all belong to the declarative ± ba class. The noun phrase ± ba as well as the verb phrase ± ba constructions cited in 3.2.6 and 3.2.5 also belong to this class as both noun phrase and verb phrase can be, according to Li and Thompson (1981:chapter 4), sub-categories of "Simple Declarative Sentences".

3.3.2. Interrogative + ba

In terms of sentence types, interrogative sentences may be divided into two distinct kinds, namely A: clause ((h/p) clause)(P) and B:clause P (cf. section 2.5, Chapter 2). Type A comprises choice and question-word interrogatives with an optional sentence-final particle, and type B interrogatives are the particle-ending ones. Only type A interrogatives accept ba. The following are some examples.

Type A interrogative ± ba

(3,26) A police officer is questioning a prisoner on a bank robbery charge. The officer wants to find out who else was/were involved in the robbery, but the prisoner refuses to speak. The officer then says:

"Nǐ shuō bu shuō ba?" (x or -x choice)
you speak neg. speak ba
(Are you going to tell me or not (if you still refuse to tell me, a severe punishment is on its way!)?

(3,27) There is only one portion of chicken noodle soup cooked, especially for the toothless grandfather, and the rest of the family is having rice. A child is sulking because he thinks that chicken noodle soup is nicer but he isn't allowed to have it. Consequently he refuses to eat rice, in the hope of being allowed to have noodles. His mother then becomes annoyed and says to the child:

"Nǐ chī fàn háishi chī miàn ba?!" (x or y choice)
you eat rice or eat noodles ba
(Are you going to have rice or noodles?!)
implying that there is no possibility whatsoever of your having the noodles, and if you don't have rice, the consequence is clear, i.e. starvation, and you'll be sorry for yourself then.

(3,28) A very costly vase was dropped on the floor and smashed. When the parents come home they ask the children who caused the vase to drop, but none of the children admits it. Father then says:

Shéi nòng de ba?! (question word)
Who do p. ba
(Who (is the one who) did it (if you don't tell me now, you wait and see (e.g. you'll have no dinner)!)?

As the glosses for (3,26) -- (3,28) show, when ba is attached to the end of type A interrogative sentences, these sentences appear to be threats. The effect of the addition of ba in type A interrogatives seems to be quite different to that in the declarative constructions (described in 3.3.1); while the latter express speaker's hesitation, these do not.

Example (3,16) cited in 3.2.7(b) belongs to the type A+ba class.

Type B interrogative ± ba

Type B interrogatives, i.e. the particle-ending ones, never co-occur with ba. The following are relevant examples.

(3,29)*Z3 shì lǎoshī ma ba?
Z3 be teacher ma ba

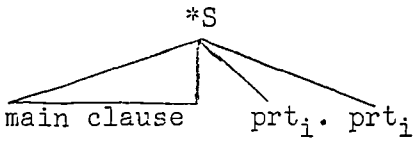
(3,30)*Z3 shì lǎoshī ba ma?
Z3 be teacher ba ma

(3,31)*Z3 shì lǎoshī a ba?
Z3 be teacher a ba

(3,32)*Z3 shì lǎoshī ba a?
Z3 be teacher ba a

The unacceptability of ba with type B interrogatives may be explained syntactically in the following manner: a Mandarin sentence cannot have a sequence of two functionally similar/identical sentence-final particles (accepting that ba is also an interrogative particle as illustrated in section 2.2.2.2. Chapter II). Fig. 3.1, as contrasted with Fig 2.2, section 2.2.5, is thus unacceptable.

Fig. 3.1



This kind of syntactic explanation only tells us that it is the rule that Mandarin does not have a sequence of two similar/identical sentence-final particles, it does not, however, explain why Mandarin does not accept two sentence-final particles? And if fig. 2.2. (cf. section 2.2.5, chapter II) is a syntactically acceptable structure, why should sentences such as

(3,33)?*Wǒ shì lǎoshī ba?
I be teacher p

sound so odd and generally unacceptable?

These matters will be elucidated in the course of this chapter by means of pragmatic analyses.

3.3.3. Imperative + ba

The syntactic pattern of imperatives, as observed in section 2.3, belongs to the same class as declaratives, namely type A, for which sentence-final particles are optional. The characteristic function of an imperative sentence in Mandarin is to try to make somebody do something which the speaker wants to be done, consequently imperative sentences are frequently employed in issuing commands, orders, etc..

Declarative sentences on the other hand do not generally have this function.

Imperative ± ba sentences, as compared to genuine imperative sentences, do not have as strong directive force. When ba is attached to the end of an imperative clause, the expression is then more of a suggestion or request as shown by the glosses of (3,34) -- (3,42) below.

As with non-particle imperatives, ba-ending imperatives include first person, second person, and Ø-subject ones. The following are some examples.

First person

(3,34) Wǒ qù ba!
I go ba
(I'll go (shall I?/is it alright?/I don't mind going.)!)

(3,35) Wǒmen zǒu ba!
we go ba
((I think it's time) we went./(Shall we) go?/(Let's) go!)

Second person

(3,36) Nǐ kuàizǒu ba!
you fast-go ba
((I think) you'd better hurry up!)

(3,37) Nǐ xiān zǒu ba!
you first go ba
((Do) go first (please)!)

Ø-subject imperative ± ba

This type of construction is very commonly used in ordinary talk exchanges, and, as in the case of the genuine Ø-subject imperative construction described in section 2.3, Chapter 2, the subject is not specified (cf. note 10, Chapter 2). The context often helps to clarify the indeterminacy caused by the absence of the subject NP. Examples (3,38) -- (3,42) below are thus accompanied by some hypothetical situations.

(3,38) Both A and B are university students, they are on their way to see a film which starts at 7.30pm. However, when they get off the bus it is already 7.27pm, and it normally takes five minutes for one to walk from the bus-stop to the cinema. B looks at his watch as he gets off the bus and asks A:

"Láidejí ma?"(Can we make it?)[6], A replies:

"Kuài zǒu ba!"
fast walk ba
((Let's) hurry up (shall we?)!)

The unspecified subject NP in this case is likely to be a first person plural, and the consequence of A's uttering of (3,38) is probably that both A and B start walking, if not trotting or running, in a hurry towards the cinema.

The very same sentence uttered in different contexts would give other referents for the missing subject NP. For example, if (3,38) were uttered in the following context:

(3,39) It is 3pm. Z3 is going to catch a plane at 5pm, and a taxi is waiting outside his house. It normally takes an hour for a taxi to reach the airport from Z3's area, but Z3 is still busily finishing his packing. His grandmother then says to Z3:

"Kuài zǒu ba!"
fast go ba
(Hurry up (won't you?)!)

The missing subject would then most likely be a second person singular as Z3's grandmother is unlikely to come with Z3 to the airport.

(3,40) A and B have been waiting for their mutual friend C at a certain place for quite some time, but C never appears. A believes that it is best to give C's place a ring to find out what happened/might have happened to C, and so A says to B:

"Gěi tā dǎ ge diànhuà ba!"
give he dial cl. telephone ba
((What about)give him a ring?/ (Shall we) give him a ring?/ (It might be an idea to) give him a ring.)

The likely subject NP in this case would be a first person plural although the act of dialing is unlikely to be carried out by two persons simultaneously.

(3,41) Mother to children: (second person plural)

"Chūqu wár ba!"
go-dir.v. play ba
(Go out and play (won't you?)!)

(3,42) A says to his colleague B: (second person singular)

"Guānshang mén ba!"
close-dir.v. door ba
(Close the door (please/ if you don't mind/ if you can/ if it can be closed/ if it isn't already closed/if you want to/etc)!)

Examples cited in 3.2.3, 3.2.4, 3.2.7(c) and (d) all belong to the imperative+ba class.

3.4. AN EXPLANATION OF THE EFFECT OF THE ADDITION OF BA ON DECLARATIVE AND IMPERATIVE SENTENCES

3.4.1. Declarative + ba

A comparison between the non-particle declarative sentence and its ba-ending counterpart such as the following

(3,43) Z3 shì lǎoshī.
Z3 be teacher
(Z3 is a teacher.)

(3,44) Z3 shì lǎoshī ba.
Z3 be teacher ba
((I think) Z3 is a teacher (am I right?).)

shows that while the declarative (3,43) would characteristically be used to manifest a speaker's belief or commitment to the truth of the expressed proposition, i.e. Z3 is a teacher, the inference that a native speaker of Mandarin is likely to draw from the ba-ending (3,44) would be something like: although I believe that Z3 is a teacher, I do not claim to have any direct evidence to prove that my belief corresponds with an actual state of affairs; I therefore hesitate to assert bluntly that "Z3 is a teacher" as one might have done by using (3,43). (3,44) thus manifests the following:

(a) speaker's belief that Z3 is a teacher, as indicated by the declarative part of the sentence;

(b) speaker's hesitation in his commitment to (a) as compared to the non-ba (3,43);

(c) (b) in turn indicates the speaker's discreet desire for confirmation as well as his readiness to be proven either wrong or otherwise in case the hearer happens to be in the position of knowing the truth[7].

Given the above, the hearer would consequently be in a position to challenge the proposition conveyed by the declarative part of the

sentence if he thinks that "Z3 is a teacher" is not true, and likewise, the hearer can choose to offer his confirmation in case he knows/believes that Z3 is a teacher and wishes to do so. The likely response to a speaker's using (3,44) would thus be either one of the following:

(a) shì(yes) -- confirmation of speaker's belief;

(b) búshì(no) -- denial of the proposition conveyed in the declarative part of (3,44);

(c) bùzhīdào -- hearer's non-commitment, or his ignorance; (don't know)

(d) ∅ -- hearer's non-commitment, or (3,44) is being ignored (no response)[8]

Thus, the representation of (3,43), in terms of Hare's (1970) scheme (cf. Lyons 1977:749), would be a straightforward

(3,45) I-say-so (it-is-so (Z3 is a teacher))
neustic tropic phrastic

> "The tropic is that part of the sentence which correlates with the kind of speech-act that the sentence is characteristically used to perform." and the neustic "is that part of the sentence which expresses the speaker's commitment to the factuality, desirability, etc., of the propositional content conveyed by the phrastic." (Lyons 1977:749-750, my emphasis).

The illocutionary force of (3,43) would be an unqualified Assertive as indicated by the combination of its `neustic' and `tropic', since "The illocutionary force of a statement may be regarded as the product of its tropic and its neustic." (Lyons op.cit:750). And the felicity conditions that govern (3,43) are also those of Assertives, which count as an undertaking to the effect that the proposition represents an actual state of affairs (cf. Searle 1969:66). The representation of (3,44) on the other hand cannot be (3,45), since the "I-say-so" neustic would indicate the speaker's total commitment to the truth of the proposition and would give no indication of speaker's offering an option for the hearer to either confirm or deny the proposition. What seems to be in the neustic

position of (3,44), as compared with the neustic of (3,43), is a kind of qualified "I-say-so", which may be something like "I-think-so"[9], indicating the speaker's withholding his total commitment to the actuality of Z3's being a teacher, and leaving the hearer the option of challenging the proposition in case the speaker's belief is incorrect. The complete representation of (3,44) would thus be:

(3,46) I-think-so (it-is-so (Z3 is a teacher))

The illocutionary force, as indicated by the combination of "I-think-so" neustic and "it-is-so" tropic, would be a less forceful, or weakened Assertive force, indicating both the speaker's less than total commitment to the proposition conveyed in the phrastic component and speaker's desire for confirmation. Thus the addition of ba to a declarative clause seems to give rise to an added Question force[10] in the sentence.

The above analysis of (3,44) may be comparable to Lyons' analysis of non-open yes-no questions which are related to categorical assertions in the same way as requests are related to commands (cf. Lyons 1977:768). Lyons (ibid) exemplifies: "The door is open, isn't it? means something like "I think that "the door is open is true: but I concede your right to say that it is not true"; ...". That is, the speaker indicates his own commitment to the "it-is-so" component of the utterance and invites the addressee to do the same (cf. ibid).

Table 3.1 summarizes the analysis presented in this section.

Table 3.1

DECLARATIVE TYPE	-ba	+ba
EXAMPLE	(3,43)	(3,44)
NEUSTIC	I-say-so	I-think-so
ILLOCUTIONARY FORCE	Assertive	Assertive & question
HEARER'S OPTION	ø	yes/no/other

3.4.2. Imperative + ba

As exemplified in 3.3.3, depending on the context, the unspecified NP in Ø- subject imperative ± ba sentences could be either first person or second person (cf. examples (3,38) -- (3,42)). It is thus presumed that the analysis of first and second person imperative+ba sentences presented below covers both of these possibilities in Ø - subject ones.

First person imperative ± ba

Compare the following non-particle and ba-ending imperative sentences:

(3,47) Wǒ qù!
I go
(I'll go!)

(3,48) Wǒ qù ba!
I go ba
(I'll go (shall I?)(I don't mind going.)!)

while the non-ba (3,47) manifests speaker's own commitment to a future action, the ba-ending counterpart (3,48) shows both the speaker's commitment and his hesitation in expressing that commitment. Thus the neustic of (3,47) would, with little argument, be an unqualified "I-say-so", and the tropic component of (3,47) would, as with all mands[11], be "so-be-it". The complete representation of (3,47) would thus be

(3,49) I-say-so (so-be-it (I go))

representing a plain Commissive force (obviously, first person imperatives are commissives rather than directives), and the felicity conditions that govern (3,47) are also those of Commissives. They count as committing the speaker to some future course of action. (3,48) on the other hand, does not seem to be governed exclusively by Commissive conditions, since the inference that a native speaker of Mandarin draws from (3,48) may be something like: although I volunteer to go myself, I have reservations about my own commitment, I therefore invite any objection/encouragement if my suggestion is unreasonable/

welcome. And the likely response from the hearer may consequently be any one of the following:

H's encouragement:

- Xíng. / OK / (OK/alright/etc.) — permission
- Hǎo ba. / fine ba / ((I think it's) fine/alright.) — permission
- Nà tài hǎo le! / then too good p. / (That's very good then!) — approval
- Wǒ gēn nǐ yìqí qu. / I with you together go / (I'll come with you.) — participation

H's prevention:

- Wǒ kàn bù xíng. / I look neg. OK / (It doesn't look to me a good idea.) — disapproval
- Bù xíng. / neg. OK / (No.) — prohibition
- Bié qù! / don't go / (Don't go!) — prohibition
- Wǒ qù. / I go / (I'll go (i.e. you don't go).) — alternative
- Ràng tā qu. / let he go / (Let him go.) — alternative

H's non-commitment:

- Rúguǒ nǐ yuànyi qù. / if you want go / (If you want to go.) — indifference
- Ø — no response
- Ø — (3,48) is being ignored

The neustic of (3,48) can thus no longer be an unqualified "I-say-so" but rather, as with the neustic for (3,44), a qualified one, namely, "I-think-so". The complete representation for (3,48) would therefore be:

(3,50) I-think-so (so-be-it (I go)).

This combination represents a blend of a weakened Commissive force and an added Question aura. The former accounts for the speaker's partial commitment, and the latter indicates the speaker's discreet desire for the hearer's opinion.

The ba-ending (3,48) may thus be comparable to what Lyons (1977:803) called "deliberative questions" such as "Shall I go?".

Second person imperative ± ba

Compare the following second person imperative and its ba-ending counterpart.

(3,51) Nǐ kuài zǒu!
you fast go
(Move!)

(3,52) Nǐ kuài zǒu ba!
you fast go ba
((I think) you'd better hurry up!)

(3,51) manifests clearly and only that the speaker definitely wants the hearer to carry out the action indicated in his utterance. The representation for (3,51) would thus straightforwardly be

(3,53) I-say-so (so-be-it (you go))

and this combination of neustic and tropic represents an unqualified Directive force, and the felicity conditions that govern (3,51) are also those of Directives, which count as an attempt by the speaker to get the hearer to do a future action.

(3,52) on the other hand is not governed by Directive conditions in the same way as (3,51) is. (3,52) is, in many respects, comparable to first person ba-ending imperatives and manifests the following:

(a) speaker wants the hearer to carry out the action indicated by the imperative part of (3,52);

(b) speaker is hesitant in issuing the mand;

(c) (b) in turn indicates that the speaker is willing to accept either the hearer's refusal to carry out the mand, if the hearer does not wish to do so, or the realization of the mand.

(b) and (c) are therefore not quite within the domain of unqualified Directive. The implication of the speaker's use of (3,52) may be something like: I am not forcing you to hurry away at all and I am not even assuming that you are able to do so, I am only suggesting that perhaps you should go quickly. I am not however, going to be upset if you don't want to do what I would like you to do. Consequently the hearer is free to decide whether or not he should carry out the mand according to his own will, and not according to the speaker's wish.

The representation of (3,52) would thus more appropriately be

(3,54) I-think-so (so-be-it (you hurry up))

and this combination of "I-think-so" (a qualified "I-say-so") neustic and "so-be-it" tropic represents a weakened Directive force and an added Question force. The former accounts for the speaker's attempt to get the hearer to undertake a future action, and the latter accounts for speaker's reservations about the mand indicated by the imperative part of the sentence, as well as his invitation for the hearer to agree to the "so-be-it" component and to realize, if possible, the intended mand.

The above analysis may be comparable to Lyons' (1977) analysis of requests in the sense that "Requests are related to commands as non-open yes-no questions are related to categorical assertions. ... Open the door please means "I want you to make "The door is open" true: but I concede your right not to make it true"."(op.cit:768). That is, the speaker indicates his own commitment to the "so-be-it" component of the utterance and invites the addressee to do the same. (cf. ibid).

Table 3.2 summarizes the analysis of both ba-ending and non-ba imperative sentences.

Table 3.2

IMPERATIVE TYPE	1ST PERSON		2ND PERSON	
	-BA	+BA	-BA	+BA
EXAMPLE	(3,47)	(3,48)	(3,51)	(3,52)
NEUSTIC	I-say-so	I-think-so	I-say-so	I-think-so
TROPIC	so-be-it	so-be-it	so-be-it	so-be-it
ILLOCUTIONARY FORCE	Commissive	Commissive & Question	Directive	Directive & Question
HEARER'S OPTION	Ø	yes/no other	Ø	yes/no other

The above analysis of imperative ± ba and genuine imperative constructions also shows that Commissives and Directives are very similar in many respects. In the case of imperative sentences (3,47) and (3,51), not only do they share the same "I-say-so" neustic, but also they share an identical tropic, namely "so-be-it". The only difference seems to be that when the personal pronoun (either specified or implied in the actual utterance) in the phrastic is a first person (singular/plural), then the sentence has a Commissive force, and when the pronoun is a second person (singular/plural), then the force that the sentence carries is Directive. And this is preserved in first and second person ba-ending imperative sentences. The only difference is that the ba-ending imperatives have an added Question force.

3.4.3. SUMMARY

Table 3.3. on the following page summarizes the findings on the ba-ending sentences discussed so far. A comparison with the English approximations is also included in the summary table.

TABLE 3,3

LANGUAGE	SENTENCE TYPES	Declarative+ba (incl. phrase+ba)	Imperative + ba		SUMMARY
			First person	Second person	
DEVICE	PRIMARY FUNCTION	Neustic weakening I-say-so --> I-think-so	Neustic weakening I-say-so --> I-think-so	Neustic weakening I-say-so --> I-think-so	Neustic weakening say --> think
	ILLOCUTIONARY EFFECT	weakened Assertive force with added Question force	weakened Commissive f. with added Question f.	weakened Directive f. with added Question f.	weakened illoc.f. with added Q. f.
	INDICATION	hesitation	hesitation	hesitation	hesitation
DOMAIN	EXAMPLES	Mandarin / English (3,20/44) I think Z3 is a teacher (3,24) It looks as if it were going to rain. (3,22) This appears to be it.	Mandarin / English (3,34/48) I don't mind going. (3,35) I think its time we went.	Mandarin / English (3,36/52) I think you'd better hurry up (3,37) Do go first please.	Mandarin: ba English : lexical items & tense
	LIKELY INFERENCES	I'm not making a statement exactly, I welcome your challenge/confirmation	I have reservations about my commitment, I welcome your prevention/encouragement	I'm not issuing a mand exactly, I'm grateful/ not upset if it's done/ not done.	Speaker's less than total commitment
	INTERPRETATIONS	a) H can challenge if H thinks the statement is untrue. b) H can offer confirmation if H thinks the statement is true.	a) H can prevent S if the suggestion is unsound. b) H may offer encouragement if H approves it.	a) H does not have to do so if H does not want to. b) H can do so if H wants to.	(a) challenge (b) agree
	POSSIBILITIES	a) H's denial (i.e. no) b) H's confirmation (i.e. yes) c) H's non-response (i.e. Ø)	a) H's prevention(ie.no) b) H's encouragement(yes) c) no response (ie. Ø)	a) H's refusal (ie. no) b) H's action (ie. yes) c) no response (ie. Ø)	(a) no (b) yes (c) Ø

3.4.4. CONCLUSION

The presence of a weakened illocutionary force resulting from the addition of ba in all the ba-ending declarative and imperative sentences presented so far uniformly suggests that the primary function of ba may, in fact, be assumed to be to weaken the "I-say-so" neustic; and although the presence of the added Question force in all the ba-ending declarative and imperative sentences presented so far may appear to suggest that ba is a carrier of a certain amount of Question force, ba does not by itself signal a sentence as either interrogative or imperative as a number of scholars seem to suggest (cf.3.2.1 and 3.2.3).

Statements that ba indicates interrogative/imperative mood and that ba changes a declarative sentence into an interrogative/ imperative are thus misconceptions.

3.5.THE CONSEQUENCE OF AND THE RATIONALE BEHIND THE SPEAKER'S USE OF BA

3.5.1. The CP and the Speaker's Apparent Irrelevance

Given that there is a CP and its accompanying maxims that govern talk exchanges, as well as non-verbal communication (cf. Grice 1975), the speaker's contribution to a talk exchange should then be the one that is the most explicit. However, many of our ba-ending examples such as (3,44), (3,48) and (3,52) examined in section 3.4 do not seem to match this expectation.

Take (3,44) for instance. If the speaker assumes that Z3 is a teacher, he could utilize the declarative form of the sentence, i.e. (3,43), and such a sentence would enable the speaker to make his point more directly than (3,44); if, on the other hand, the speaker is hoping to get some sort of response, why does he not use the interrogative form of the sentence, namely (3,55) below?

(3,55) Z3 shì lǎoshī ma?
Z3 be teacher question-marker (Is Z3 a teacher?)

In which case the speaker of (3,55) would normally get some sort of response, as the speaker's intention of wanting the hearer to supply an evaluation of the validity of the proposition expressed in the declarative part of (3,55) is clearly indicated, thus a higher level of efficiency in the talk exchange could be achieved. However, the speaker does not employ either of these convenient devices. Why?

Grice's maxim of Quality and Searle's felicity conditions may provide a partial answer: the felicity conditions for questions such as (3,55) are that the speaker does not know the answer, and he wants the information etc.(cf. Searle 1969:66), which, for the speaker of (3,44), is not precisely the case.

In the case of (3,43), on the other hand, if the speaker uttered this sentence, he could be accused of being insincere, since a felicity condition for a sentence like (3,43), which carries Assertive force, is that the speaker is committed to the truth of the expressed proposition (cf. Searle 1979:12), which, for the hypothetical speaker being considered here, may not be the case, since he has not committed

himself entirely to the proposition conveyed in (3,43). Similarly, the speaker's use of (3,43) would also be a violation of one of Grice's (1975:46) specific maxims of quality, which says "Do not say that for which you lack adequate evidence.".

The above may be the reason why the speaker refuses to use either (3,43) or (3,55) in the talk exchange, but chooses to use (3,44); the consequence of this is, unfortunately, a violation of the maxim of Manner: Be perspicuous; avoid ambiguity and obscurity.

(3,44) therefore seems to be a case of deviation from the kind of maximally efficient communication characterized by Grice's CP and maxims.

Likewise, the speaker of an imperative+ba utterance may be accused on the same grounds, for the speaker does not issue the mand or indicate his commitment directly by using some genuine imperative construction such as (3,47) and (3,51), but chooses to use the more indirect ba-ending construction.

The reason for a speaker's use of ba-ending imperative sentences may also be explained in terms of Searle's felicity conditions. Take the second person imperative + ba (3,52) for example. As pointed out in 3.4.2, this sentence does not fit the felicity conditions that govern Directives comfortably, since the hearer is not necessarily presupposed to be able to carry out the future action. Therefore the use of the genuine imperative (3,51), for our hypothetical speaker here, would have been infelicitous.

Thus the irony is that the speaker's use of ba-ending declarative/imperative sentences, as a result of following the CP and

maxims, would lead the speaker himself to a violation of maximally efficient communication.

Brown and Levinson in their study of "Universals in Language Usage" (1978) state that Grice's maxims "define for us the basic set of assumptions underlying every talk exchange. But this does not imply that utterances in general, or even reasonably frequently, must meet these conditions, ... Indeed, the majority of natural conversations do not proceed in such a brusque fashion at all." (op.cit:100). Thus it is not surprising that our present cases (3,44), (3,48) and (3,52) are not quite as expected, or more precisely, the speakers of these sentences are not behaving in the expected manner of maximally efficient communication. But why should this be the case? The following sub-section looks at the Gricean pragmatic approach.

3.5.2. The Gricean Pragmatic Approach

3.5.2.1. Speaker follows the CP and Maxims

Under Grice's Cooperative Principle (CP), a S[peaker] is assumed to follow the maxims of quality, quantity, relation and manner[12], and although S may break these maxims conversation proceeds on the assumption that S does not.

The above assumption is made the basis for the notion of conversational implicature. That is, S saying p conversationally implicates that q under certain conditions[13]. The consequence of the application of the notion of conversational implicature to a talk exchange such as the following:

"A asks B how C is getting on in his job [in a bank], and B replies, Oh quite well, I think; he likes his colleagues, and he hasn't been to prison yet." (Grice 1975:43)

is the conclusion that S in fact follows the CP, and "B implicates that C is potentially dishonest." (op.cit:50)[14].

The following is another example taken from Grice (op.cit:51).

"A: Smith doesn't seem to have a girlfriend these days.
B: He has been paying a lot of visits to New York lately."

The likely glosses, according to Grice's CP, might be either (a) B would be infringing the maxim "Be Relevant" unless he thinks, or at least thinks it is possible that Smith goes to New York to see a particular girl, so, B implicates that Smith has, or at least may have a girlfriend in New York; or the gloss may also be (b) B would be infringing the maxim of "Be Relevant" unless he thinks, or at least thinks it is possible that Smith's frequent visits to New York made him rather busy, thus implicating that Smith has not got a girlfriend because of his busy timetable.

Both (a) and (b) may further implicate that (c) the speaker does not know why Smith does not seem to have a girlfriend at present. And so on.

All the above glosses show the same pattern, namely, although S may appear to be breaking the maxim(s), the result of using the "working out schema"[15] to derive what is implicated from p on the level of what is said shows that S in fact follows the CP and maxims. Such is Grice's approach.

It has been suggested by Leech (1983:231) that: "The function of the CP is to ensure that one participant cooperates with the other in

fulfilling the assumed goal of the discourse; while the function of the P[oliteness] P[rinciple] is to ensure that this cooperation persists even where the personal goal of s[peaker] and h[earer] can be supposed to be in conflict.".

In the next section, I shall outline what Leech called the Politeness Principle (PP) by quoting Leech (1983) extensively.

3.5.2.2. An Extended Model of the CP

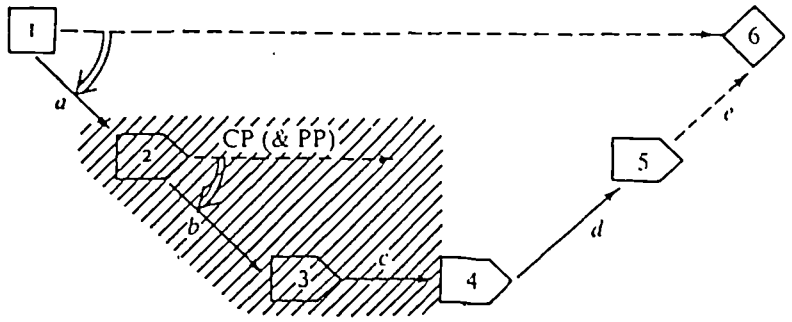
Leech (1983) discusses an Interpersonal Rhetoric in which other principles, such as those of Politeness and Irony, play an important role in the description of pragmatic force. Leech takes a complementarist perspective (cf. op.cit: section 2.1) and formulates pragmatic interpretation as a problem-solving paradigm of means-ends analysis. For instance, the problem solving stages of a talk exchange such as "A: Where's my box of chocolates?
B: The children were in your room this morning."
(Smith and Wilson 1979:175)

according to Leech (1983:96), may be represented by Fig. 3.2

"Note:B's contribution to the conversation is represented by the shaded area.

Fig.3.2

1 Initial state: *A* wants to know where the chocolates are.
[*a*] *A* asks *B* where the chocolates are.
2 *B* is aware that *A* wants to know where the chocolates are.
[*b*] *B* plans a reply consistent with the CP and the PP.
3 *B* is ready to transmit the message of [*b*] to *A*.
[*c*] *B* tells *A* that the children were in *A*'s room this morning.
4 *A* is aware that the children were in *A*'s room this morning.
[*d*] *A* works out the force of [*b*].
5 *A* knows something which will help *A* to reach state 2.
6 Final state: *A* knows where the chocolates are.



Leech (ibid) further states:

> B's reply in b is shown to be motivated by the CP, i.e.: B's reply is intended to be relevant to A's conversational goal. In this case, however, there is an argument for saying that the PP also plays a role. The reason is this. B chooses to make an indirect reply in preference to a more direct one such as The children may have taken them. The most likely motive for this indirectness is polite reticence in referring to a possibly sinful act by the children. Instead of accusing the children, B makes a seemingly innocent statement about the whereabouts of the children, leaving A to come to the impolite conclusion. Even this, however, may not be the whole story. B's apparent politeness with reference to the children may be just a piece of archness, and an ironic interpretation may be intended. B may be making the reply deliberately obtuse, but without intending to prevent A coming to an unflattering conclusion.

The above example may, in Leech's terms (op.cit:80-81), be seen as a case in which "the PP rescues the CP" as it illustrates:

> how an apparent breach of the CP is shown, at a deeper level of interpretation involving the PP, to be no such thing: in this way the CP is redeemed from difficulty by the PP.(op.cit:81).

Leech thus sees Grice's CP and the PP as necessary complements in interpersonal communication as he states:

> Here we should consider the general social function of these two principles, and the 'trade-off' relation between them. The CP enables one participant in a conversation to communicate on the assumption that the other participant is being cooperative. In this the CP has the function of regulating what we say so that it contributes to some assumed illocutionary or discoursal goal(s). It could be argued, however, that the PP has a higher regulative role than this: to maintain the social equilibrium and the friendly relations which enable us to assume that our interlocutors are being cooperative in the first place.(op.cit:82)

The above premiss is thus in accordance with Brown and Levinson's (1978:100) belief that the major source for the deviation from Grice's rational efficiency in communication is politeness.

3.5.2.3. Conclusion

Leech's extension of Grice's account clarifies the way in which Grice's theory is essentially correct in assuming that S follows the CP and its maxims. At the same time, Leech's treatment tells us that the observation of the PP on the part of S should also be taken into consideration. The only question is: in what order should the CP and the PP be placed?

On the basis of examples where "the PP rescues the CP", the PP might best be seen as a device which may provide a motive for the speaker to be irrelevant to varying degrees at the level of what is said, i.e. stage [c] between state 3 and state 4 in fig. 3.2, in order to maintain the social politeness within the framework of the CP. Thus the crucial difference between the CP and the PP is apparent: while the CP is a governing principle, and language users cannot escape from it (attempting to do so would only result in the breakdown of communication), flouting of the PP does not have such a consequence, and language users do have the choice not to follow it, if they so wish.

3.5.3. Speaker's Use of Ba

Given the CP and the PP described in the preceding sections, it is apparent that the fact that a declarative ± ba sentence such as (3,44) is neither a straightforward statement, nor a direct question about hearer's knowledge, and that a first person imperative ± ba such as (3,48) is neither an unreserved commitment, nor a clear question about hearer's opinion, and a second person imperative ± ba sentence such as (3,52) is neither a forceful mand, nor a blunt question about

hearer's willingness, may also be explained along Gricean pragmatic lines. That is, the speaker's use of ba at the end of both declarative and imperative clauses is, justifiably, motivated by the PP (cf. section 3.5.2.3), and the implications obtainable from these types of ba-ending sentences (cf. section 3.4) are supportive evidence of this claim. Ba therefore may be said to have the function of enabling the speaker to express the desired degree of socially expected politeness in a talk exchange under the CP. It may also consequently be suggested that ba is responsible for the deviation from maximum efficiency in communication, i.e. apparent irrelevance in a talk exchange.

3.5.4. How Does One Know if Speaker is/is not Asking a Question?

Returning to reality, however, judging at face value of the examples (3,44), (3,48) and (3,52), there is no indication as to whether the speaker intends these sentences to be questions or statements/commitments/mands, and the credit (or the blame) should go to the particle ba.

Take (3,44) for example. Can one ever know what the speaker is ACTUALLY intending the sentence to be? The answer is probably a negative one. Unless we are told by the speaker himself, the whole business would remain no more than a game of guessing (but note that there is a possibility that the speaker may be telling a lie and, in any case, telling will involve the use of utterances which may themselves require the addressee to choose between alternative sets of implicatures).

Who should, then, be in the position to judge what the speaker actually intends his (3,44) to be? Forman's (1974) "Speaker Knows Best Principle"(SKB) may help to provide a partial answer. This principle says that "a speaker may question only a hearer-proposition, and may assert only a speaker-proposition." (op.cit:170). A speaker-proposition is "a proposition about which the speaker has more direct knowledge than the addressee" and "a hearer-proposition is a proposition about which the addressee has more direct knowledge than the speaker" (op.cit:164).

Let us, for the sake of discussion, assume that there exist some general principles for mands and commitments for the moment. We might then, perhaps, on the basis of the notion of Hare's scheme and Searle's felicity conditions for Directives and Commissives, invent some specific SKB principles for cases such as (3,48) and (3,52) in the following words: assume that a command is issued when the conditions for Directives are satisfied; assume that a commitment is being made when the conditions for Commissives are met. Or else, all the inferences that might be obtained on the Level of What is Implicated would remain purely hypothetical.

Examples (3,44), (3,48) and (3,52) also show that whether the speaker intends an utterance to be either a statement/ mand/ commitment or a question is not necessarily distinguished by the syntactic form of a sentence.

3.6.INTERROGATIVE + BA

Interrogative sentences (both type A and B) are generally used to ask questions. "To ask a question of someone is both to pose the question and, in doing so, to give some indication to one's addressee that he is expected to respond by answering the question that is posed." (Lyons 1977:755). And according to the same author (op.cit:803), scheme (3,56) below represents yes-no questions.

(3,56) I-wonder/I-can't-say-so (it-is-so (p))

(3,56) is comparable to (3,46), (3,50) and (3,54) -- the schemes for declarative ± ba and imperative ± ba sentences -- in so far as its neustic component is concerned: in all these cases, the neustic is a qualified "I-say-so". The "I-wonder" neustic of questions generally expresses the speaker's inability to assign a truth-value to the proposition expressed by the sentences, and an "I-think-so" neustic indicates the speaker's withholding his total commitment from the proposition expressed by the sentence.

This section examines the relation between ba and both type A (non-particle) and B (particle-ending) interrogative sentences, in an attempt to discover why both type A and B interrogative sentences share the same scheme (3,56) while only type A interrogative sentences accept ba.

3.6.1.The Incompatibility Between Ba and Particle-Ending Interrogatives

3.6.1.1. Introduction

As exemplified in section 3.3.2, ba is not acceptable in particle-ending interrogative sentences. The particles that may indicate

interrogativeness when attached at the end of declarative clauses are ma, a and ba itself (cf. section 2.2.2, Chapter 2). Ba never co-occurs with these particles in the same sentence.

The following sections are thus devoted to an attempt to discover the reasons behind the rejection of ba by the particle-ending interrogative sentences.

Since the ma-particle is exclusively a marker of interrogativeness (cf.2.2.2.1), we shall first of all examine the incompatibility between ba and the ma-ending interrogative sentences, and then see how the incompatibility between ba and other particle-ending interrogative sentences might be explained.

The objective of this investigation of the incompatibility between ba and particle-ending interrogative sentences is to provide some additional explanation for the behaviour of ba, as well as the behaviour of the above mentioned particles in general, thus contributing to a fuller picture of the behaviour of ba.

3.6.1.2. Ba and Ma-ending Interrogative

Represented here, again (cf. 3.3.2), are a couple of examples indicating the incompatibility between ba and ma.

(3,57)*Z3 shì lǎoshī ma ba?
Z3 be teacher ma ba

(3,58)*Z3 shì lǎoshī ba ma?
Z3 be teacher ba ma

The possibilities at this stage are: (a) ba and ma have a very similar, if not identical, function, therefore they do not co-occur in the same sentence, as one of these two particles would be redundant; and (b) ba and ma may have very different, possibly contrary,

functions, therefore they are not compatible in the same sentence. We shall first of all identify the similarities between ba and ma.

3.6.1.2.1. Similarities Between Ba and Ma

The most obvious similarities shared by ma and ba are:

(a) syntactically they both occur sentence-finally, and, to a greater or lesser degree, they both signal interrogativeness of the sentence;

(b) in terms of illocutionary force, ba may, and ma does indicate the existence of Question force in an utterance.

Given the above similarities between ma and ba, and given that ba has, as established in earlier sections, a pragmatic function, it seems possible that the function of ma may also be more plausibly explained by means of a pragmatic account.

Although it has long been established that ma is exclusively a marker of interrogative sentences, and the same position is also taken in this thesis (cf. section 2.2.2.1, Chapter 2), nobody has so far, to my knowledge, done any investigation of the rationale behind the use of ma. In other words, the question of how ma comes to mark a sentence as interrogative needs to be discussed. Such an attempt is presented in the next section by means of the same technique used in analyzing the function of ba.

3.6.1.2.2. Clause + ma

Examples:	(3,59) Z3 shì lǎoshī ma?	(3,60) Z3 shì lǎoshī.
	Z3 be teacher ma	Z3 be teacher
	(Is Z3 a teacher?)	(Z3 is a teacher.)

The above two contrasting examples show that the illocutionary force carried by the ma-ending interrogative is a Question, as the speaker of (3,59) would characteristically be seeking confirmation of the verity of the proposition contained in the declarative part of the

sentence, and the illocutionary force carried by the non-ma counterpart, the declarative (3,60), is Assertive, as the speaker of (3,60) would normally be making a statement.

If I-wonder (it-is-so(p)) represents questions (cf. Lyons 1977: 803), then it should also account for questions containing ma such as (3,59). Statements of fact such as represented by (3,60), on the other hand, are represented by I-say-so (it-is-so (p)) (cf. op.cit:750).

A simple comparison between the neustic of Question and the neustic of Assertion makes it clear: the addition of ma at the end of a declarative clause changes the "I-say-so" neustic of a statement into the "I-wonder" neustic which signifies Question. This transformation from Assertion to Question is reflected syntactically as a change from declarative to interrogative. The function of ma is therefore "neustic altering".

3.6.1.2.3. A Comparison Between Clause+ba and Clause+ma

As established in section 3.4, ba has the function of "neustic weakening", and ma, as shown in the preceding section, has the function of "neustic altering". This difference seems to be the central cause that makes the distinction between clause + ba and clause + ma.

In the case of the "I-think-so" neustic, what is indicated is that if the hearer happens to know the truth, and in case s/he wishes to supply an evaluation of the verity of the p which is conveyed by the sentence, s/he may do so; the speaker, however, does not presuppose the hearer knows whether p is true (cf. section 3.4.1 and note 7

of this Chapter). The felicity conditions for the utterances containing an "I-think-so" neustic are: the speaker is not sure of p, and an answer is not necessarily expected. Whereas the felicity conditions for an utterance that has an "I-wonder" neustic are: the speaker does not know whether p is true and some sort of answer is expected by the speaker. What is presupposed in this case is that the hearer has the knowledge about the truth or falsity of p (though this presupposition may be wrong). The differences between clause + ba and clause + ma pointed out so far are summarized in table 3.4 below.

Table 3.4

SENTENCE TYPE	clause + ba	clause + ma
SPEAKER'S KNOWLEDGE	1a. not sure of p	1b. does not know the T/F of p
ANSWER	2a. not necessarily expected	2b. necessarily expected
HEARER'S KNOWLEDGE ABOUT T/F OF p	3a. not presupposed	3b. presupposed

3.6.1.2.4. The Incompatibility of Ba and Ma

Having examined the differences between ba and ma in the preceding section, the incompatibility of ba and ma, as exemplified by (3,57) and (3,58), may be explained in terms of the following contradictions:

(a) clause + ba and clause + ma have different and contradictory sets of felicity conditions: while the former does not necessarily require an answer, the latter does; while the speaker of the former is not totally ignorant about the truth or falsity of p, the speaker of the latter probably is;

(b) clause + ba and clause + ma present contradicting presuppositions: while the hearer of the former is not presupposed to have the knowledge about the truth or falsity of p, the hearer of the latter is;

(c) the use of ba and the use of ma are determined by different principles: while the use of ba is motivated by the PP, the use of ma is not usually; while the use of ma follows the pattern of maximum efficiency in communication, governed by the CP, the use of ba is a case of deviation from such efficiency in communication.

Since no language user can, by utilizing a single utterance, simultaneously indicate both that the speaker is and is not ignorant about the truth or falsity of p, and that he is and is not expecting an answer, as well as indicating that the hearer is both presupposed and not presupposed to have knowledge about the verity of p, it is not surprising that ba and ma never co-occur in the same sentence.

3.6.1.3. Other Particle-Ending Interrogatives and Ba

Apart from the ma particle, a and ba itself also indicate interrogativeness in one way or other. Unlike ma, a and ba itself, on the other hand, are not exclusively interrogative markers. They have, in addition to indicating interrogativeness, some other functions as well. Ba-ending interrogative sentences have the structure of declarative clause + p, and the function of ba in this type of construction has already been discussed in section 3.4.1. The unacceptability of a two-ba sequence, as exemplified by (3,61) below, may be explained in terms of both functional redundancy and syntactic constraint, as diagrammed by fig. 3.1, section 3.3.2. Namely, a Mandarin sentence does not accept a sequence of two identical sentence final particles. E.g.:

(3,61)* Z3 shì lǎoshī ba ba?
Z3 be teacher ba ba

A-ending interrogative sentences, on the other hand, behave in a different manner. As shown in section 2.2.2.4, a-ending sentences may

be used as rhetorical questions, expressing speaker's surprise, annoyance, disbelief, etc., consequently there is no answer expected by the speaker. Effectively, the speaker of an a-ending sentence is making an assertion about his doubtful state of mind, rather than putting forward a question, seeking information or confirmation about the verity of the proposition contained in the declarative part of the sentence. This is shown by the bracketted extension to the gloss in the following example.

(3,62) Z3 shì lǎoshī a?
Z3 be teacher a
(Is Z3 a teacher (you must be joking!/ I don't believe you!/ that's rather strange/unexpected!)?)

What is in the neustic position in an a-ending interrogative sentence may be something like "I-doubt-so". The incompatibility between a-ending interrogative sentences and the ba particle may thus be explained in the following terms: $\overset{a}{\lfloor}$speaker of a ba-ending interrogative sentence and the speaker of an a-ending interrogative sentence have different commitments to the factuality of the propositional contents conveyed by the phrastic of these sentences.

3.6.1.4. Concluding Remarks

Sentence-final particles that are seemingly syntactic items marking the interrogativeness of the sentence are found, in this section, to have primarily pragmatic functions. For instance ma, an interrogative marker, is found to function as a "neustic-altering" device, and this finding may in turn explain certain oddities of sentences involving this particle, which are inexplicable in terms of syntax. For example

(3,63)?*Wǒ shì lǎoshī ma?
I be teacher ma

This sentence, although syntactically well-formed, would be very odd in ordinary communication. One way of explaining such oddity may be that: in using a ma-ending sentence, the requirements (1b), (2b) and (3b) (cf. table 3.4, section 3.6.1.2.3) have to be met; failing to fulfil any of these conditions, the use of ma would give rise to unacceptability. Let us take (1b). The speaker does not know whether p is true or false, for instance. Clearly (3,63) would not normally fit this condition, since the speaker of (3,63) would ordinarily know better than anybody else whether or not he is a teacher. Consequently no answer can be expected from anyone, i.e. (2b) is redundant. Since neither of these two requirements for the use of ma is met, (3,63) is, in normal circumstances, unacceptable.

(3,64) ?Wǒ shì lǎoshī ba
I be teacher ba (?I'm a teacher (am I right?/I suppose.).)

on the other hand, does not sound as odd as (3,63). This is because among the three requirements (1a), (2a) and (3a) (cf. table 3.4), only (1a), the speaker is not sure that p, is not likely to be met, and the other two, (2a) and (3a) are appropriately met. Unless the speaker is suffering from amnesia.

3.6.2. Ba and Non-particle Interrogatives

Non-particle interrogative sentences (i.e. type A) accept ba as demonstrated by the examples and descriptions presented in section 3.3.2. However, a query that arises here is that: if all questions share the representation I-wonder (it-is-so (P)) then type A, the non-particle interrogatives, should also have the same representation as

they are typically used to ask questions; and if the rejection of ba by ma-ending interrogatives may, as illustrated in 3.6.1., be explained on the groundsof felicity conditions, presuppositions, and the CP and PP, then type A interrogatives, which undoubtedly have the same characteristics as ma-ending interrogatives, should also reject ba, but the reality does not seem to follow this inference. This is partly explained by a syntactic fact, namely, a sentence-final particle is permitted at the end of type A interrogatives simply because they do not already have a sentence-final particle (cf. Fig. 2.1, section 2.2.5). A pragmatic account can be given too, as follows. A comparison between ba-ending interrogative sentences such as (3,26), (3,27) and (3,28) and their non-ba counterparts (3,65), (3,66) and (3,67) below reveals the following differences.

(3,65) Nǐ shuō bu shuō?
you say neg. say (Are you going to tell me or not?)

(3,66) Nǐ chì fàn háishi chī miàn?
you eat rice or eat noodles
(Are you going to have rice or noodles?)

(3,67) Shéi nòng de?
who do p (Who (is the one who) did it?)

(a) while a non-ba interrogative sentence indicates the speaker's inability to assign a truth-value of the proposition conveyed in the sentence, a ba-ending interrogative sentence, as indicated by the context and likely inferences, shows the speaker's strong determination to make the hearer do whatever the speaker wants him to do;

(b) while the hearer of a non-ba interrogative sentence has the freedom to choose any kind of answer from a variety of acceptable responses including "I don't know.", the hearer of a ba-ending interrogative sentence has no choice of his own in this respect, but to carry out the action (including supplying the missing value) indicated by the speaker (e.g. the indicated action in (3,26) is that the hearer has to tell the speaker who else was/were involved in the bank robbery);

(c) while a non-ba interrogative sentence indicates simply speaker's desire for response, a ba-ending interrogative sentence indicates that the speaker is angry and that the hearer had better watch out, and if he wants to avoid trouble, he should not do the contrary of what the speaker wants him to do.

The above meaning manifestations of the type A interrogative ± ba construction, to a large extent, amount to the felicity conditions for Directives, which count as an attempt by the speaker to get the hearer to perform some future action. An additional indication of speaker's use of type A interrogative ± ba is, as noted in (c), that the speaker is angry. Consequently the representation for type A interrogative ± ba constructions would be very different from what (3,56) offers for questions generally; what appears to be in the neustic position may be something like "I-insist-so"[16], expressing speaker's fierce commitment to the desirability of the propositional content conveyed by the sentence. The tropic of a ba-ending type A interrogative sentence, from what is indicated in (a) -- (c), can no longer be "it-is-so" either. Instead, what seems to be in tropic place may be the same as that for Directive categories such as mands, namely "so-be-it". The representation for ba-ending type A interrogative sentences would therefore be:

(3,68) I-insist-so (so-be-it (you do A(ction))

and this combination gives rise to a strong Directive force, indicating speaker's fierce determination to get the hearer to perform a future action.

3.6.3. Summary

The following contrastive tables, 3.5 and 3.6, summarize the main findings presented in this section.

Table 3.5 Interrogative + ba constructions

INTERROGATIVE TYPE	CHOICE: X or -x + ba	CHOICE: x or y + ba	QUESTION WORD + BA	PARTICLE-ENDING + BA
EXAMPLE	(3,26)	(3,27)	(3,28)	*(3,57)
NEUSTIC	I-insist-so	I-insist-so	I-insist-so	
TROPIC	so-be-it	so-be-it	so-be-it	
ILLOCUTIONARY FORCE	Directive	Directive	Directive	

Table 3.6. Non-ba interrogative constructions

INTERROGATIVE TYPE	CHOICE: x or -x	CHOICE: x or y	QUESTION WORD	PARTICLE-ENDING
EXAMPLE	(3,65)	(3,66)	(3,67)	(3,59)
NEUSTIC	I-wonder	I-wonder	I-wonder	I-wonder
TROPIC	it-is-so	it-is-so	it-is-so	it-is-so
ILLOCUTIONARY FORCE	Question	Question	Question	Question

The analysis presented in this section matches the findings presented in 3.4 in that the results of these analyses confirm that the addition of the sentence-final particles disturbs the neustic of the sentences irrespective of the main clause types.

This analysis also shows how the syntactic structure of Mandarin may (a) permit certain particles to occur optionally in a sentence-final position; and (b) allow the pragmatic function of such particles to interact with the basic function of the main clause.

3.7. SUMMARIES & DISCUSSIONS

In order to give the reader a more coherent picture of the behaviour of ba, as well as the behaviour of other particles related to the discussion presented so far, this section presents a series of summary tables, each of which focuses on one particular aspect of the analysis.

3.7.1. An Overall Summary

Table 3.7

SENTENCE TYPE		E.G.	CATEGORY	NEUSTIC	TROPIC	ILLOCUTIONARY FORCE	H's OPTION	H's "no"
DECLARATIVE	unmarked	(3,43)	statement	unqualified I-say-so	it-is-so	Assertive	Ø	~ p
	+ ba	(3,44)	statement & question	qualified I-say-so : I-think-so	it-is-so	Assertive + Question	yes/no/other	~ P
IMPERATIVE	1st person	(3,47)	commitment	unqualified I-say-so	so-be-it	Commissive	Ø	prevention
	+ ba	(3,48)	commitment & question	qualified I-say-so : I-think-so	so-be-it	Commissive + Question	yes/no/other	prevention
	2nd person	(3,51)	mand	unqualified I-say-so	so-be-it	Directive	Ø	refusal
	+ ba	(3,52)	mand & question	qualified I-say-so : I-think-so	so-be-it	Directive + Question	yes/no/other	refusal
INTERROGATIVE PRT	x or -x	(3,65)	question	qualified I-say-so :I-wonder-so	it-is-so	Question	x / -x	~ x
	+ ba	(3,26)	threat	reversed I-wonder :I-insist-so	so-be-it	Directive	Ø	*
	x or y	(3,66)	question	qualified I-say-so :I-wonder-so	it-is-so	Question	x/-x/y/-y	*
	+ ba	(3,27)	threat	reversed I-wonder :I-insist-so	so-be-it	Directive	Ø	*
	question word	(3,67)	question	qualified I-say-so :I-wonder-so	it-is-so	Question	many	*
	+ ba	(3,28)	threat	reversed I-wonder :I-insist-so	so-be-it	Directive	Ø	*
	ma	(3,55)	question	qualified I-say-so :I-wonder-so	it-is-so	Question	yes/no	~ p
	+ ba	(3,29)* (3,57)*						

DEC. - Declarative
IMPERAT. - Imperative
PRT - Particle

3.7.2. Summary of the Effect of the Addition of Ba

Table 3.8

	Declarative/Imperative+ba	Type A Interrogative+ba
NEUSTIC	weakened : say -->think	changed: wonder -->insist
TROPIC	unchanged: it-is-so	changed:it-is-so-->so-be-it
ILLOCU-TIONARY FORCE	weakened: Assertive ↓ Assertive+Question	changed: Question ↓ Directive
H's OPTION	Ø --> 2 or more	>2 --> Ø
H's "NO"	-P	X
INDI-CATION	Speaker is being polite	Speaker is angry
MOTIVE	politeness	rudeness

The mirror image picture above shows the way in which the presence of ba in type A interrogative sentence gives rise to an opposite effect.

3.7.3. Summary of the Sentence Types, Speech Act Categories and Their Combinations of Neustic and Tropic

Table 3.9

SENTENCE TYPE	EXAMPLE	CATEGORY	NEUSTIC	TROPIC
declarative +Ø	(3,43)	statement	I-say-so	it-is-so
declarative+ba	(3,44)	doubtful statement	I-think-so	it-is-so
declarative+ma	(3,55)	question	I-wonder	it-is-so
1st/2nd person imperative + Ø	(3,47)& (3,51)	mand/ commitment	I-say-so	so-be-it
1st/2nd person imperative +ba	(3,48) (3,52)	doubtful mand/ commitment	I-think-so	so-be-it
type A int.+ba	(3,26)& (3,27)& (3,28)	threat	I-insist-so	so-be-it

3.7.4. A Notion of Illocutionary Hierarchies

Table 3.9 exhibits reasonably clearly that there seem to exist two distinct hierarchies, namely, an Assertive hierarchy, which has exclusively the "it-is-so" tropic, ranging from expressions that indicate the speaker's strong commitment to the factuality of the propositional content conveyed in the phrastic, to expressions that indicate the speaker's doubt about the factuality of the proposition; and a Directive/Commissive hierarchy, which has exclusively the "so-be-it" tropic component, ranging from expressions that indicate the speaker's strong commitment to the desirability of the propositional content conveyed in the phrastic component of the sentence to expressions that indicate speaker's uncertainty about such desirability.

The presence of the "I-insist-so" neustic in the Directive / Commissive hierarchy suggests that there may exist a corresponding "I-insist-so" neustic in the Assertive hierarchy. Likewise, the presence of the "I-wonder" neustic in the Assertive hierarchy may suggest the existence of a corresponding "I-wonder" neustic in the Directive/ Commissive hierarchy. Thus, more complete hierarchies with the addition of the possible combinations of the neustic and tropic as well as the likely resulting illocutionary force at the present stage would seem to be something like that presented in tables 3.10 and 3.11 below[17].

Table 3.10 Assertive Hierarchy

NEUSTIC	TROPIC	ILLOCUTIONARY FORCE
I-INSIST-SO	IT-IS-SO	(reinforced) ASSERTIVE
I-say-so	it-is-so	Assertive
I-think-so	it-is-so	Assertive + Question
I-wonder	it-is-so	Question

Table 3.11 Directive/Commissive Hierarchies

NEUSTIC	TROPIC	ILLOCUTIONARY FORCE
I-insist-so	so-be-it	(reinforced) Directive/Commissive
I-say-so	so-be-it	Directive/Commissive
I-think-so	so-be-it	Directive/Commissive + Question
I-WONDER	SO-BE-IT	QUESTION

It is expected that the expressions of the types that are capitalised in table 3.10 and table 3.11 could, in principle, be found in Mandarin. The likely candidates for the "missing elements" in the paradigms are presented below.[18]

I-insist-so (it-is-so)

This possible combination would give rise to a reinforced Assertive force, and an obvious example of this illocutionary type is exclamatives (for the syntactic description of this sentence type cf. section 2.4. Chapter II). E.g.:

(3,69) Duō nánkàn na!
how ugly a
(How ugly!)

(3,69) is classifiable as a species of Assertives in the sense that the speaker of (3,69) is clearly committed to the truth of the proposition. As Searle (1979:12) states:

> The point or purpose of the members of the Assertive class is to commit the speaker (in varying degrees) to something as being the case, to the truth of the expressed proposition.

Compared with those "neutral" Assertives that have a non-qualified "I-say-so" neustic, as in the case of statements(cf.(3,70) below) the existence of the forceful Assertive force in (3,69) is apparent.

(3,70) Nàge hěn nánkàn.
that-cl. very ugly
(That is very ugly.)

The representation for (3,69) would then be:

I-insist-so (it-is-so (that is ugly))

Another example of this illocutionary type may be shì...de, a nominalizing construction (cf. section 2.1.2.2.) E.g.:

(3,71) Wǒmen (shì) yào qù de
we be want go de
((It is the case that) we want to go.)

Compared with (3,72) below, the presence of the forceful Assertive force in (3,71) is obvious.

(3,72) Wǒmen yào qù.
we want go (We want to go.)

The mà-ending sentences (cf. also section 2.1.2.2.) are another strong candidate for this category. E.g.:

(3,73) Wǒmen yào qù mà.
we want go ma
(We want to go (who said we didn't?).)

Clearly mà gives rise to a rhetorical force and this force in turn gives rise to a forceful statement (cf. Quirk et al. 1972).

We can even have a combination of the above two as exemplified by (2,20), represented here as (3,74)

(3,74) Wǒmen (shì) yào qù de mà.
we be want go de ma
(It is the case that) we want to go (who said we didn't?).)

The neustic of (3,71), (3,73) and (3,74) may therefore well be an "I-insist-so", comparable to that of type A interrogative + ba. If statements and questions both have an "it-is-so" tropic (cf. section 3.6), then the tropic of these examples will also be the same "it-is-so" which makes them distinct from ba-ending type A interrogative sentences, as the speaker is not issuing a mand exactly, but rather the speaker is making a statement.

The full representation for (3,71),(3,73) and (3,74) would therefore be:

I-insist-so (it-is-so (we want to go)).

I-wonder (so-be-it)

An example of this class is found in one type of ne2-ending construction, namely, imperative + ne2, e.g.:

(3,75) Nǐ/Wǒ xiànzài qù ne2!(?)
you/I now go ne2
((What about if) you/I go now!(?))

(3,75) shows both the speaker's desire for the action specified in the sentence to take place (as indicated by the imperative clause of the sentence) and a certain degree of hesitation on the part of the speaker in putting forward the proposition that is conveyed in the sentence. The latter indication seems to be derived from the presence of ne2, and in this sense, the function of ne2 in (3,75) may be said to be comparable to the function of ba which weakens the "I-say-so" neustic of the main clause, resulting in an "I-wonder" neustic. And this in turn may explain why certain scholars have thought that ne2 might be an indicator of interrogativeness (cf. section 2.2.2.5,

Chapter 2). The former characteristic, on the other hand, makes (3,75) comparable to Lyons' (1977:757) example of a deliberative yes-no question (e.g., Shall I get up?). Such a question *presupposes* the disjunction of a corresponding positive or negative proposition associated with a "so-be-it" tropic. Thus (3,75) would fit the I-wonder (so-be-it) class nicely. This can be seen more clearly when compared with the ma-ending interrogative sentence below:

(3,76) Nǐ xiànzài qù ma?[19]
you now go ma (Are you going now?)

Clearly the speaker of (3,76) is wondering about the factuality of the act of hearer's going rather than wondering about the desirability of this act.

The notion of the Assertive and Directive/Commissive hierarchies presented above further suggests that a question, depending on its tropic (either "it-is-so" or "so-be-it"), belongs to either the Assertive or the Directive/Commissive hierarchy. More specifically, if the question is about the factuality of the proposition, i.e. has an "it-is-so" tropic, then this question is a species of Assertive; and if the question is about the desirability of making the proposition come true in the future, i.e. has a "so-be-it" tropic, this question is then a member of the Directive/Commissive hierarchy. The criterion that distinguishes Directive questions from Commissive questions is, as mentioned in section 3.4.2, that: when the personal pronoun in the phrastic position is first person (either specified or contextually-implied) then the sentence has a Commissive force; and when the pronoun is second person, then the force that the sentence carries is Directive. Questions are, therefore, a very special kind of illocutionary species which straddles at least three illocutionary categories.

The occurrences of the particles in the Assertive and

Directive/Commissive hierarchies are summarized in the next section.

3.7.5. Summary of the Occurrences of Particles

Table 3.12

HIERARCHY	TROPIC	NEUSTIC			
		SAY	THINK	WONDER	INSIST
Assertive	it-is-so			ma	a
Directive/ Commissive	so-be-it	Ø	ba	ne$_2$	ba

3.8. CONCLUSION

The analyses presented in this chapter suggest that the sentence-final particles have a function of interfering with the neustic of the basic sentence. Depending on the degree of disturbance in the neustic, the presence of various sentence-final particles in the sentences gives rise to a variety of nuanced expressions appropriate to different talk exchange circumstances.

It is hoped that the discovery of the "neustic weakening" function of the ba particle has shed light on some of the mysteries of the nature of ba, although the precise nature of this particle, (as well as the nature of other particles mentioned in the related discussions), awaits further and more extensive investigation.

It is also hoped that the kind of approach adopted in analyzing the particle ba in this chapter may be applicable to the analyses of other particles such as ne$_2$ in Mandarin.

Further, our analyses have shown that a satisfactory description of particle-ending expressions may be successfully reached by means of a combined approach, namely, a combination of a linguistic description (both syntactic and semantic in the present study) of the main sentence types and a pragmatic account of the particles.

As a preparation for the analysis of the post-verbal particles, the following chapter presents a classification of verbs in Mandarin. Chapter IV will show, at the same time, that a satisfactory explanation for the relation between verbs and other relevant syntactic properties has to make reference to the information provided by pragmatically oriented explanations. This is to say that pragmatics is required in a linguistic description of Mandarin not only on the semantic level, but also on the syntactic and morphological levels. The following chapter thus, in addition to presenting a classification of verbs in Mandarin, supports the argument that in many cases a linguistic theory must be supplemented by pragmatics and vice versa.

NOTES TO CHAPTER III

1. Tags are believed to be interrogative species in traditional Chinese grammar. (cf. section 2.2.1, Chapter 2).

2. No punctuation mark is indicated by Li and Thompson at the end of this sentence.

3. As above.

4. This term was suggested to Chao by L. S. Yang. (cf. Chao 1968:807 footnote).

5. The examples used in this section are taken from Shìjiè Wénxué -- a periodical published by Zhongguo Shehui Kexue Chubanshe, which contains mainly plays and short stories, i.e. the spoken form of Mandarin.

6. Student B in this case may be accused of being unreasonable by using a ma-ending interrogative sentence (a discussion on ma-ending interrogatives is presented in section 3.6.2.2.2), since he knows that both A and himself are in the same boat, and that A knows just as much/little as B himself does. B's use of the specific information seeking question here is thus a violation of Forman's Speaker Knows Best (SKB) Principle, namely "A speaker may question only a hearer-proposition" (1974:170). Consequently B's utterance may be challenged (cf. Gordon and Lakoff 1975:91).

7. Speaker's desire for confirmation does not however necessarily suggest that the speaker is presupposing that the hearer knows whether the propositional content conveyed by the declarative part of the sentence is a true state of affairs.

8. Hearer's non-response is possible and is acceptable as the speaker of a declarative + ba sentence does not necessarily presuppose the hearer's knowledge.

9. This term was suggested by Dr. P D Griffiths.

10. Although questions may be a subclass of Directives (cf. Searle 1969), the reason for using the term question force and not Directive force is, as stated by Griffiths (1985:106-7) that:"The fit is not entirely comfortable, ... In something that could obviously be a directive, such as I ORDER YOU TO SPEAK, the propositional content ('you speak') is a straightforward specification of what the addressee must do to comply. On the other hand, when ARE YOU SMITH? is asked as a question the propositional content ('you be Smith') is not a specification of what the addressee must do; the addressee is expected to do something else; namely to speak an evaluation of the expressed proposition. So, questions are, at least, an unusual type of directive. Lyons (1977) goes so far as to propose that they are not directives at all, but rather more like statements put forward doubtfully (i.e. a subcategory of assertives)."
A discussion presented later in section 3.7.4 suggests that the Question class in fact straddles across not only assertives and directives, but also commissives.

11. Mands include commands, demands, requests, orders, etc. (cf. Lyons 1977:130).

12. Under these four categories, there are various sub-maxims and super-maxims. (Cf. Grice 1975:45-46).

13. These conditions are: (a) S is observing the conversational maxims, at least the CP; (b) S is aware that q is needed to make his saying p consistent with (a); (c) S believes that it is within the competence of H to work out this supposition.

14. For detailed working out steps cf. Grice 1975:50.

15. A term used by Harnish (1977) for H's method of extrapolating from the level of what is said to what is implicated.

16. This term was also suggested by Dr. P D Griffiths.
It has to be admitted that it is not entirely clear how cases such as (3,28) can be handled. This is because (3,56) does not cover question-word questions (x-questions). The effect of the presence of ba in (3,28) is to insist that "someone must have done it". Thus for x-questions the insistence apparently transfers to a proposition that is, in some sense, presupposed.

17. These hierarchies are organized according to the degree of force.

18. What is presented here is somewhat speculative, but the material seems interesting enough to be worth inclusion.

19. A first person pronoun such as wǒ (I) is not acceptable here in (3,76), this is due to a number of pragmatic constraints discussed in section 3.6.2.4.

CHAPTER IV

VERBS IN MANDARIN

4.1. "Shící[1] Are Not Classifiable"? -- an introduction

The class of words which may be termed verbs in Mandarin has posed many problems for sinologists, as there exists another category of words (which may be called adjectives) which presents, syntactically, a considerable resemblance to verbs. Mandarin verbs and adjectives may both behave in a very similar manner, compare:

(4,1)	S	V p.	and (4,2) S	adj. p.
	Z3	pǎo le	Huā	hóng le.
	Z3	run p.	flower	red p.
	(Z3 escaped.)		(The flower(s) became red.)	

Thus it has been observed that Chinese arguably does not make a syntactic distinction between adjectives and verbs (cf. Lyons 1981:109-110).

Similarly, authors such as Chao (1968:xiii, 633, 675) treat adjectives as a species of verb; in Chao's study of the parts of speech in Mandarin, adjectives are included in the section on verbs. Although a class of adjectives is proposed by Chao (op.cit: section 8.1.3.1.), it is based on the assumption that adjectives are a sub-class of intransitive verbs.

Likewise, in Li and Thompson's treatment, adjectives are simply termed "adjectival verbs" (1981:141-146) and they are included under the heading "Types of Verb Phrases" (op.cit:section 4.3.1.).

Some scholars even go so far as to state that: "shící in Mandarin cannot be classified." (Gao 1957:82). Similarly Summers warned us in the 19th century about Mandarin:

> it will be necessary to forewarn the foreign student of the fact that Chinese words have really no classification or inflection, and that the distinctions of cases, number, person, tense, mood & c., are unknown to natives of China. (1863:40. My emphasis).

Li R (1955) holds the same view, and so do the overwhelming majority of traditional Chinese grammarians, as well as many contemporary linguists.

Facts that have led these people to reach the above conclusions include the fact that there are cases, such as those illustrated below, in which a shící may have more than one function, that is , a shící item can be used as a verb on one occasion, and behave as something else on another, as there is very little morphological differentiation between verb, adjective and noun. This is shown by the following contrasts:

adjective: (4,3) A dead cat. (English)

(4,4) Yì zhī sǐ māo (Mandarin)
one cl. dead cat
(A dead cat.)

verb: (4,5) This cat is going to die. (English)

(4,6) Zhè zhī māo yào sǐ. (Mandarin)
this cl. cat about die
(This cat is about to die/is dying.)

noun: (4,7) Death is a natural phenomenon. (English)

(4,8) Sǐ shì zìrán xiànxiàng. (Mandarin)
death be natural phenomenon
(Death is a natural phenomenon.)

It seems however that the claim that shící are not classifiable is only justified in so far as the morphological realization of shící is concerned. That is, verbs, adjectives and nouns, as in the Mandarin examples above, are not morphologically distinct.

There is no doubt that verbs and adjectives, and to some extent nouns, in Mandarin are less obviously distinguishable purely on the basis of their morphology and the gross facts about their syntactic positions, than the same categories in other languages such as English, since in the case of the latter, as exemplified by the English examples above, these categories often show some

morphological difference. These observations do not, however, in any sense, establish the claim that shící are not classifiable, since such a claim is based on only rather limited criteria, and ignores other facts such as the association with other word classes, e.g. types of particles after reduplication, directional verbs, etc..

We shall in the following section set up a test examining such relations and argue that not only are verbs and adjectives distinct, but also that there are recognizable subcategories even within a single shící type, namely within the class of verbs, our present focus of interest.

4.2. The Test

This presentation is divided into four parts:

(1) list of sample items

(2) test criteria

(3) explanation of the symbols used in the tests

(4) the tests

4.2.1. List of sample items

The list below contains two kinds of words, one type is verbal, and the other, adjectival. The latter is further divided into two classes, namely, attributive adjectives and predicative adjectives. Verbs on the other hand have been divided into six distinct classes in terms of a modified version of Yu's (1957) notionally based categories[2], namely, (1) existence of objects; (2) states of mind; (3) changes in states of affairs; (4) physical movements of objects through space without effects on other objects; (5) actions of one entity on another; (6) abstract processes.

What follows are the examples of the sample items used in what I shall call "specified uses" -- a sample of the environments in which the sample items may occur. Classes 1 -- 6 are the verbal types.

Class 7 words are the predicative adjectives and Class 8, the attributive adjectives. An effort has been made to ensure that each class of the sample items includes both monosyllabic and disyllabic words, as they require different forms of reduplication (cf. 4.2.2).

Class 1: The members of this class of verbs denote the existence of objects. The items that have been selected to represent this class of verbs are:

a) yǒu (exist)[3] as in

(4,9) Nàr yǒu rén.
there exist person
(There is/are a person/(some) people there.)

b) liú (remain) as in

(4,10) Yǒu rén zài dìshang liú le yíchuàn jiǎoyìn.
exist person at ground-top leave p. one-string footprint
(Someone has left a trail of footprints on the ground.)

c) shēngcún (subsist) as in

(4,11) Yú méi shuǐ jiù bùnéng shēngcún.
fish neg. water then neg.-able subsist
(Fish cannot live without water.)

Class 2: This class consists of verbs that denote states of mind, and these verbs are also members of Yu's first category of verbs:

a) chóu (worry) as in

(4,12) Z3 chóu méi shìr gàn.
Z3 worry neg. thing do
(Z3 worries about having nothing to do.)

b) dǒng (understand) as in

(4,13) Z3 dǒng rénqíng.
Z3 understand human-feeling
(Z3 is reasonable.)

c) xiāngxìn (believe) as in

(4,14) Z3 xiāngxìn dìqiú shì fāng de.
Z3 believe earth be square p.
(Z3 believes that the earth is square.)

Class 3: Class 3 verbs denote changes in states of affairs, i.e. they are verbs in Yu's second category. The examples are

a) xiè (wither) as in (4,15) Huàr xiè le.
flower wither p.
(The flower(s) withered.)

b) kāi (open/blossom) as in (4,16) Huā kāi le.
flower blossom p.
((The) flowers blossomed.)

c) biànzhì (deteriorate) as in (4,17) Jīdàn biànzhì le.
egg deteriorate p.
(The egg(s) went bad.)

Class 4: This class of verbs (corresponding to Yu's third category) contains ones that denote the movements of objects through space, but do not encode any information about the possible effects of such movements on other objects:

a) tiào (jump) as in (4,18) Z3 tiào.
Z3 jump (Z3 jumps.)

b) pǎo (run) as in (4,19) Z3 pǎo.
Z3 run (Z3 runs.)

c) pánxuán (circle) as in (4,20) Lǎoyīng pánxuán.
eagle circle
(The eagle circles.)

Class 5: Verbs (corresponding to the fourth of Yu's categories) that denote deliberate actions.

a) dǎ (hit) as in (4,21) Z3 dǎ L4.
Z3 hit L4 (Z3 hits L4.)

b) tuī (push) as in (4,22) Z3 tuī zìxíngchē.
Z3 push bicycle
(Z3 pushes the bicycle.)

c) ànshā (assassinate) as in (4,23) Z3 ànshā L4.
Z3 assassinate L4
(Z3 assassinates L4.)

Class 6: This class consists of verbs that denote abstract processes such as tǐyàn(experience) which are not states of mind as such, and which do not necessarily involve any physical movement either, e.g.:

a) shì (attempt) as in (4,24) Z3 shì xīn xié.
Z3 try new shoe
(Z3 tries the new shoes on.)

b) tǐyàn (experience) as in (4,25) Z3 zài nóngcūn tǐyàn shēnghuó.
Z3 at countryside experience life
(Z3 experiences life in the countryside.)

c) tǎolùn (discuss) as in (4,26) Z3 hé L4 tǎolùn wèntí.
Z3 and L4 discuss problem
(Z3 discusses problem(s) with L4.)

Class 7: Adjectives that function as predicates:

a) gāo (tall) as in (4,27) Z3 gāo.
Z3 tall
(Z3 is tall.)

b) xián (salty) as in (4,28) Cài xián.
dish salty
(The dish is salty.)

c) gāoxìng (happy) as in (4,29) Z3 gāoxìng.
Z3 happy (Z3 is happy.)

Class 8: Adjectives that are used to modify nouns attributively[4]:

a) yuán (round) as in (4,30) yuán zhuōzi
round table
(round table)

b) kōng (empty) as in (4,31) kōng píngzi
empty bottle
(empty bottle)

c) gāoshàng (noble) as in (4,32) gāoshàng pǐndé
noble moral-character
(noble personality.)

The above list of sample items is neither a complete list of the verb and adjective types in Mandarin nor a final classification of them. The class numbers (1) -- (8) are simply a very rough indication of what is involved. A more refined categorization of verbs and relevant adjective types on the basis of the test will be proposed in section 4.6.

The sample items are to be tested against criteria based on the differences between adjectives and verbs.

4.2.2. The Test Criteria

The criteria for the test are indicated by the sub-headings. The criteria are based on the main morpho-syntactic differences between verbs and adjectives.

(a) Reduplication

Reduplication is the immediate repetition of a word, e.g.:

kàn --> kànkan (have a look).

Both verbs and adjectives may be reduplicated, but there are a number of notable differences:

(1) When the reduplicated word is disyllabic, the reduplicated verb takes the form of XYXY as shown by (4,33), whereas the reduplicated adjective takes the form of XXYY as shown by (4,34), as well as the third column in table 4.1 below.

(4,33) tǎolùn --> tǎoluntǎolun
(discuss) (talk it over)

(4,34) gāoxìng --> gāogaoxìngxìng
(happy) (very happy)

(2) While in the case of verb reduplication a particle kan[5] may optionally be attached at the end of the reduplicated form, e.g.:

(4,35) shìshi kan
try-try kan (have a go)

(地)
the particle de frequently follows the reduplicated adjectives, e.g.:

(4,36) yuányuán de
round-round de (very round)

De with a reduplicated verb causes unacceptability:

(4,37)* shìshi de
try-try de

Likewise, (4,38) shows that kan does not occur with a reduplicated adjective morpheme either.

(4,38)*yuányuán kan
round-round kan

(3) At normal conversational speed, when the reduplicated verb is monosyllabic as in the case of shì(try), then the second syllable is generally pronounced with a neutral tone. When the reduplicated verb is disyllabic as in (4,33) above, as well as in the example

(4,39) kǎolǜ --> kǎolükǎolü
(consider) (think it over)

then the second syllable and the fourth syllable are also pronounced with neutral tones[6]. Whereas in the case of adjectives, the original full tones are retained in the case of monosyllables, and only the second syllable is neutral tone when the reduplicated adjectives are disyllabic. For instance:

(4,40) yuán(round) --> yuányuán (de)

vs.

(4,41) gāoxìng(happy) --> gāogaoxìngxìng(de)

Table 4.1 below contains a list of reduplicated items taken from Xiǎoxué Yǔwén Lǎngdú Jiàoxué Cānkǎo[7] (1981) illustrating this fact. Among 100 successive occurrences of reduplicated items, 58 instances are monosyllabic adjectives, 24 are monosyllabic verbs, and 17 are disyllabic adjectives. 1 instance of "double verb reduplication", namely, bèngbengtiàotiàode(bouncing and vivacious) was found. This reduplicated form is unusual in the sense that although both the morphemes bèng and tiào mean `jump', `leap', `spring' and the like, they do not occur in combination. That is, *bèngtiào is not a Mandarin word. Otherwise, bèngbengtiàotiào could have been an instance of adjective reduplication from both of its tonal pattern and its manner of reduplication (cf. (1) above). This type of verb reduplication is therefore termed "double verb reduplication" here. No instance of disyllabic verb reduplication was found in this particular text.

The scarcity of reduplicated disyllabic verbs in the text is probably due to the following facts: (a) the reading texts are meant

for primary school pupils, i.e. quite young readers; (b) the meanings denoted by disyllabic verbs in Mandarin are often of an abstract nature (cf. sample items (c) in classes 1,2,3,5 & 6. section 4.2.1)[8].

In order to achieve relatively equal numbers in the table 4.1 columns, among 58 instances of monosyllabic adjective reduplication, every 9th has been chosen for inclusion in the table, and among the 24 occurrences of monosyllabic verb reduplication, every 4th has been chosen, and every 3rd from the 17 occurrences of disyllabic adjective reduplication. The glosses in brackets indicate the basic meanings of the above items.

Table 4.1

monosyllabic adjectives	monosyllabic verbs	disyllabic adjectives
hǎohǎode (good)	mōmo (touch)	xǔxuduōduō(de) (many)
lěnglěngde (cold)	kànkan (look)	nuǎnnuanhuōhuō (warm)
mànmànde (slow)	shuōshuo (speak)	wěnwendāngdāng(de) (firm)
dāidāide (dull)	tiǎntian (lick)	gānganjìngjìng(de) (clean)
qīngqīngde (light)	bǐbikan (compare)	méngmenglónglóng (dim)
gāogāode (tall)	yǎoyao (bite)	

double verb morpheme bèngbengtiàotiào (jump)

(4) While the reduplication of adjectives (both monosyllabic and disyllabic) may take the retroflex -r immediately after the reduplication and before the addition of -de, verb reduplications do not normally accept -r. The following are some examples:

(4,42) gāogāorde (monosyllabic adjective)
(very tall)

(4,43) gānganjìngjirde (disyllabic adjective)
(very clean)

(4,44) *shìshir (monosyllabic verb)
try-try

(4,45) *tǎoluntǎolur (disyllabic verb)
discuss-discuss

(5) While the effect of adjective reduplication is to give the hearer a somewhat more vivid impression of the state or quality that is being

described in the utterances, as indicated by the intensification in the glosses of (4,34), (4,36), (4,42) and (4,43), verb reduplication on the other hand indicates "tentative aspect" (Chao 1968:204-205), that is, tentativeness on the part of the speaker[9], as shown by (4,33) and (4,35).

(6) There are some other related structures worth pointing out. They include:

(a) the use of the morpheme yi (which derives from the numeral yī (one)) between the two components of reduplicated monosyllabic verbs as in

(4,46) shì --> shì yi shi
(try) try yi try (have a go)

Yi, however, is not possible with reduplicated monosyllabic adjectives, e.g.:

(4,47) kōng --> *kōng yi kōng
empty empty yi empty

nor does yi go into reduplicated disyllabic verbs and adjectives:

(4,48)*tǎolun yi tǎolun and (4,49)*gāoxing yi gāoxìng
discuss yi discuss happy yi happy

(b) the use of the particle le in reduplicated verbs, e.g.:

(4,50) Z3 kàn le kan biǎo, méi shuō huà. (monosyllabic)
Z3 look le look watch, neg. speak
(Z3 had a glance at (his) watch, didn't say (anything).)

(4,51) Z3 shōushi le shōushi jiù zǒu le. (disyllabic)
Z3 tidy-up le tidy-up at-once leave p.
(Z3 left as soon as he had (merely) put (his) things together.)

but this feature is not found in reduplicated adjectives, e.g.:

(monosyllabic) (disyllabic)
(4,52)*màn le màn (4,53)*gāoxing le gāoxìng
slow le slow happy le happy

nor would *gāogao le xìngxìng be acceptable.

Construction (a) V yi V indicates tentativeness and (b) V le V, short duration in verb denotata. The difference between

these two constructions seems to be that the former is used in issuing mands, and the latter in descriptive sentences.

A detailed description of the reduplication of other linguistic items in Mandarin is presented by Chao (1968:198-210).

Both of the reduplicated forms XX/XYXYkan and XX/XXYYde have been selected as the criteria for the test. The former is for verb status, and the latter, for adjective status.

(b) Directional verbs

Directional verbs (or directional complements) are used, in combination with main verbs, to form compound verbs, and are pronounced in the neutral tone. Thus the possibility of suffixing a directional verb to the sample items will determine whether or not a particular item is a verb. E.g.:

(verb + dir.v.) Duān lai
carry dir.v.
(Carry (it) over here)

(adj. + dir.v.)*Gāo lai
tall dir.v.

It is for this reason that the directional verbs are selected as a test criterion for separating verbs from adjectives.

Chao (1968:458) suggested that there are four types of directional verbs in Mandarin. They are:

(i) lai (come --> hither)
qu (go --> thither)

(ii) shang (ascend --> up)
xia (descend --> down)
jin (enter --> in)
chu (exit --> out)
qi (rise --> up)
hui (return --> back)
guo (pass --> over)
kai (open --> apart/away)
long (gather --> together)

(iii) complements formed with a type (ii) followed by a type (i) complement.

(iv) verbs of motion, such as dǎo (fall). (These cannot combine with type (i) complements. Cf (iii), above.)

The same author however suspected that type (iv) might not be true directional complements except in a semantic sense, as they retain their full tones.[10] (op.cit:459). This class of directional verbs belongs to class 4 of the list of sample items (cf. 4.2.1.).

Types (i) -- (iii) are repeated in Li and Thompson (1981:58-65) with the exclusion of long (gather --> together).

In addition, there are two subtypes of type (iii) directional verbs. One has the structure of type (ii) + type (i), as shown by

(4,54) Lǎoyīng pánxuán qilai.
eagle circle type(iii)
(The eagle started circlig.)

and the other has the structure of type(ii)...type(i), as shown by

(4,55) Z3 kàn qi shū lai.
Z3 read type(ii) book type(i)
(Z3 started reading the book.)

(4,56) and (4,57) on the other hand are ungrammatical.

(4,56)*Z3 kàn shū qilai.
Z3 read book type(ii)+type(i)

(4,57)*Z3 kàn qilai shū.
Z3 read type(ii)+type(i) book

It seems that type (ii) + type (i) occurs with intransitive verbs as exemplified in (4,54), and type (ii)...type (i) occurs with transitive verbs, as exemplified by (4,55), otherwise the sentence would be ungrammatical, as exemplified by (4,56) and (4,57).

Lai, a member of type (i) is used in the test.

(c) Objects

Certain types of verbs require object noun phrases obligatorily, but adjectives do not, generally speaking, require object noun phrases obligatorily, e.g.:

verb

(4,58)Z3 kàn shū
Z3 read book
(Z3 reads books.)

(4,60)*Z3 kàn __.
Z3 read

adjective

(4,59) Z3 gāo __.
Z3 tall
(Z3 is tall.)

(d) Comparatives

Generally speaking, adjectives, but not verbs, may be compared in a bǐ-construction:

(4,61)Z3 bǐ L4 gāo.
Z3 compare L4 tall
(Z3 is taller than L4.)

(4,62)*Z3 bǐ L4 pǎo.
Z3 compare L4 run

When one wants to express that the speed of Z3's running is faster than that of L4's, an adjective kuài (fast) and a particle de (得) (this de is distinct from the nominalising de (的)) are obligatorily required. As in the following example.

(4,63)Z3 bǐ L4 pǎo de kuài.
Z3 compare L4 run p. fast
(Z3 runs faster than L4.)

4.2.3. Symbols

For the sake of clarity, the un/acceptability of the sample items in the respective test environments are presented in the form of a table. The following symbols are used in the table:

OK indicates that the combination is readily acceptable.

X indicates that the combination is not acceptable.

Degrees of acceptability for the combination of the sample morphemes and the items are assigned in the following manner:

OK = 1 X = 0

Positive numbers are used in evaluating the acceptable combinations with the criteria for verb status (namely, reduplication +kan, directional verbs, objects), and negative numbers are used for adjective status (namely, reduplication+de,and comparatives).

4.2.4. The Test

The acceptability of each sample item was cross-checked with another native speaker of Mandarin.

Table 4.2

CLASS	SAMPLE ITEM	V XXkan +	V XXkan −	adj XXde +	v Dir.v lai +	v obj. +	adj comp. −	SCORE
a	yǒu (exist)	X	X	X	X	OK	X	
1 b	liú (remain)	X	X	X	X	OK	X	2
c	shēngcún (subsist)	X	X	X	X	X	X	
a	chóu (worry)	X	X	X	X	OK	OK	
2 b	dǒng (understand)	X	X	X	X	OK	OK	0
c	xiāngxìn (believe)	X	X	X	X	OK	OK	
a	xiè (wither)	X	X	X	X	X	X	
3 b	kāi (blossom)	X	X	X	X	X	X	0
c	biànzhì (deteriorate)	X	X	X	X	X	X	
a	tiào (jump)	OK	X	X	OK	X	X	
4 b	pǎo (run)	OK	X	X	OK	X	X	5
c	pánxuán (circle)	X	X	X	OK	X	X	
a	dǎ (hit)	OK	X	X	OK	OK	X	
5 b	tuī (push)	OK	X	X	OK	OK	X	7
c	ànshā (assassinate)	X	X	X	X	OK	X	
a	shì (attempt)	OK	X	X	X	OK	X	
6 b	tǐyàn (experience)	OK	X	X	X	OK	X	6
c	tǎolùn (discuss)	OK	X	X	X	OK	X	
a	gāo (tall)	X	OK	X	X	X	OK	
7 b	xián (salty)	X	OK	X	X	X	OK	-6
c	gāoxìng (happy)	X	OK	X	X	X	OK	
a	yuán (round)	X	OK	X	X	X	OK	
8 b	kōng (empty)	X	OK	X	X	X	OK	-5
c	gāoshàng (noble)	X	X	X	X	X	OK	

OK = acceptable (of value +1 in v colunms, and -1 in adj. colunms)
X = unacceptable (of value 0)

XXkan includes XYXYkan
XXde includes XXYYde
obj. = object
comp.= comparative

4.3. A Semantic Explanation for Some of the Readily Accounted for 'Exceptions'

The symbol spaeoq [spəvk] is used in the following discussions. It stands for everything that may be denoted by the words in question. Spaeoq mnemonically stands for states, processes, actions or events, objects, and qualities that are denoted by either verbs, nouns or adjectives.

4.3.1. The non-reduplicability of pánxuán and ànshā

The non-reduplicability of the 4c and 5c sample items may be due to the fact that these words are what Vendler called achievement verbs. Achievement verbs are those which "reach an end-point, hence they cannot be said to have happened until the end-point is reached,..." (Dillon 1977:35). That is, the spaeoqs denoted by achievement verbs are all or none things, and therefore the tentativeness expressed by verb reduplication seems to be irrelevant. Take 4c pánxuán (circle), for example. If a recognizable circular movement has not yet been completed by the hypothetical flying eagle in our example (cf. the specified uses, section 4.2.1), then we cannot really use pánxuán (circle) but rather simply fēi (fly).

When English achievement verbs are in the progressive form, "they mean `is about to' and hence entail `has not yet'" (Dillon 1977:122). Contrast the following:

(a) He won a race. vs. (b) He is winning a race.

(b) means that he is about to win a race.

The same progressive form, on the other hand, can also mean some continuation of series of achievements of the same or similar kind, depending on the plurality of the object NP. For example, (c) 'He is winning races (these days)' means that he is winning races one after another. In other words, the process of winning a race is followed by another process of winning a race.

A comparable phenomenon is found in Mandarin. Take 4c pánxuán(circle) for instance

(4,64) Lǎoyīng zài pánxuán. or (4,65)Lǎoyīng pánxuán zhe.
eagle at circle eagle circle zhe
(The eagle is circling.) (The eagle is circling.)

can mean either that the eagle has not yet completed a circle, and we predict that at least a recognizable circular movement is going to be completed by the flying eagle in due course, or that the eagle is flying, continuously, in circles one after another. The former sense is comparable to (b) He is winning a race, and the latter, to (c) He is winning races.

4c pánxuán (circle) is therefore comparable to English achievement verbs such as win.

However, not all achievement verbs behave like win. For instance, notice, spot. Notice differs from win in the sense that while win may take both singular and plural object NP when in the progressive form, notice can only take plural object NP when in the progressive form, e.g.:

(d) *He is noticing a house. vs.

(e) He is noticing the houses (one after another). Similarly,

(f)*He is spotting a plane. vs.

(g) He is spotting the planes (one after another).

A parallel can be drawn between notice and (5c)ànshā (assassinate) in Mandarin.

(4,66) *Z3 zài ànshā L4.
Z3 at assassinate L4

(4,67) Z3 zài ànshā L4, W5, děng rén.
Z3 at assassinate L4, W5, et al.
(Z3 is assassinating L4, W5, et al.)

or

(4,68) Z3 ànshā zhe L4, W5, děng rén.
Z3 assassinate L4, W5, et al.
(Z3 is assassinating L4, W5, et al.)

Thus it may be suggested that there are at least two distinct types of achievement verbs. One class of such verbs may, depending on the plurality of the object NP, have two potential interpretations as exemplified by win and pánxuán(circle); and the other has one, as exemplified by notice and ànshā.

4.3.2. The unacceptability of lai

The unacceptability of lai with 5c ànshā (assassinate) and the rest of the sample items is a consequence of the fact that the spaeoqs that are denoted by these words do not involve the hither (nor thither) concept at all.

The spaeoqs denoted by 4a, 4b, 5a and 5b are of a similar nature in the sense that they are not restricted to any particular direction, thus they can take lai, as well as qu (thither). Constructions of the following kind are also often found:

(4,69) tuī lai tuī qù
push hither push thither
(To push back and forth)

Due to the nature (i.e. the circular movement) of 4c pánxuán (circle), the direction of moving either towards or away of this circular movement seems of less importance. This may be why when the native speaker wants to express the hither (or thither for that matter) direction of the basically circular movement of pánxuán (circle), type (iii) directional verbs are employed, as in

(4,70) Fēngzheng pánxuán xiàlai.
kite circle type(iii) (down-hither/toward)
(The kite is circling down.)

where lai(hither) is present, but this lai indicates the direction of xià(down), (i.e. xiàlai= down-wards), rather than the direction of 4c pánxuán (circle).

4.4. Further Semantic Differences between Verbs and Adjectives

4.4.1. Modification with gùyìde (deliberately)

Verbs, but not adjectives, accept adverbs as pre-modifiers. E.g.:

(4,71) Z3 fēikuàide pǎo zhe. (verb)
Z3 swiftly run p.
(Z3 is running swiftly.)

(4,72)*Z3 fēikuàide gāo. (adjective)
Z3 swiftly tall

Adverbs specify the mode of spaeoqs denoted by verbs, as Huang S F (1975:30) states:

> From the viewpoint of their functioning in linguistic behaviour, adverbs may be described as the principal way in which the language user characterizes the conditions and circumstances; the hows and wherefores of actions and events. ...

Many adverbs have an optional -de ending, e.g. gùyì(de) (deliberately), chōuxiàng(de) (abstractly), etc..

Although adjectives do not accept adverbs as modifiers (cf. (4,72)), they accept intensifiers and degree words (cf.(4,73) below).

Intensifiers in Mandarin include: hěn (very), tèbié (extremely), fēicháng (exceptionally) etc., as in (4,73).

(4,73) Z3 { hěn (very) / tèbié (extremely) / fēicháng (exceptionally) } gāo (tall)
(Z3 is very/extremely/exceptionally tall.)

Degree words in Mandarin include: zuì(most), bǐjiào (relatively/comparatively) etc., whose function is mainly to specify the extent of a comparison along a dimension denoted by an adjective, and whose syntactic position is pre-adjectival as shown by

(4,74) Z3, L4, W5 dōu hěn gāo, kěshi Z3 zuì gāo.
Z3, L4, W5 all very tall, but Z3 most tall
(Z3, L4 and W5 are all very tall, but Z3 is the tallest.)

Given the isolating nature of Mandarin, it is not surprising to see the lack of inflectional means for expressing degree. (cf. English, e.g. tall, taller, tallest.)

Among the numerous adverbs, the state-of-mind and manner adverb[11]

gùyì(de)(deliberately) has been selected as the focus of discussion on adverb pre-modification. The reason for this selection is that, gùyì(de) indicates that something is done on purpose, i.e. the verb modified by gùyì(de) denotes an intended spaeoq. Intentionality

"is that property of many mental states and events by which they are directed at or about or of objects and states of affairs in the world." (Searle 1983:1. My emphasis).

All the members of classes 4, 5 and 6, but none of the other classes, accept gùyì(de) (deliberately), as the denotata of these verbs are necessarily under the control of animate agents. The unacceptability of gùyìde (de) by classes 1-3, as well as by class 7 and 8 adjectives, suggests that the spæoqs denoted by these words are more likely to be unintended. 3c biànzhì (deteriorate) is such an example.

The combination of gùyì(de) with 5c ànshā (assassinate) may, (though not ungrammatical), sound odd to some speakers. (It does to me.) This is perhaps due to the fact that the spaeoq denoted by 5c ànshā (assassinate) already carries an element of intentionality, thus the modification by gùyì(de) may appear somewhat redundant. The same also applies to the members of Class 6 generally, as well as to other verbs of a similar nature, e.g.: gōngjī (attack), chǒngbài (worship, adore), píngjià (value), gēng (cultivate), etc..

I suspect that when the speaker wants to emphasize the agent's deliberateness in carrying out the spaeoq denoted by the verb, the combination of gùyì(de) and these verbs is acceptable. e.g.:

(4,75) Z3 zài gùyì(de) shì nàshuāng xié.
Z3 at deliberately try that-cl. shoe
(Z3 is deliberately trying to put on that pair of shoes.)

supposing Z3 is in a shoe shop, and the speaker believes that Z3 has no intention at all of buying the pair of shoes that he is trying on.

4.4.2. Modal Verbs

Verbs accept modal verbs more readily than do adjectives, e.g.:

verb	adjective
(4,76)Z3 yào kàn shū. Z3 will read book (Z3 will read (the) book(s).)	(4,77)*Z3 yào gāo. Z3 will tall
(4,78)Z3 yuànyi kàn shū. Z3 willing read book (Z3 is willing to read (the) book(s).)	(4,79) ?Z3 yuànyi gāo. Z3 willing tall

Modal verbs in Mandarin share some of the properties of other shící. For instance, they may be used independently as responses to questions, and some members of this class, such as yuànyi (willing), may even be grouped with class 2 sample items in the sense that they denote mental states. However, they retain their identity as modal verbs by exhibiting the following characteristics which are distinct from those of verbs:

(a) they cannot be modified by adverbs, e.g.:

(4,80) *Z3 mànmārde yuànyi kàn shū.
Z3 slowly willing read book

(b) they cannot be reduplicated, e.g.:

(4,81)*Z3 yuànyiyuànyi kàn shu.
Z3 willing-willing read book

(c) they cannot be followed by directional verbs, e.g.:

(4,82)*Z3 yuànyi qilai.
Z3 willing dir.v.

(d) they may be modified by certain intensifiers such as hěn(very) and degree words, e.g.:

(4,83)*Z3 hěn kàn shū.
Z3 very read book

but

(4,84) Z3 hěn yuànyi kàn shū.
Z3 very willing read book
(Z3 is willing to read (the) book(s).

Modal verbs may also be distinguished from adjectives by identifying the following characteristics:

(a) adjectives may, but modal verbs on their own (i.e. without the main verb) may not, be compared in a bǐ-construction generally. E.g.:

(4,85) Z3 bǐ L4 gāo. (adjective)
Z3 compare L4 tall
(Z3 is taller than L4.)

(4,86)*Z3 bǐ L4 gāi. (modal verb)
Z3 compare L4 ought to

(b) adjectives may be reduplicated, but not the modal verbs.

(4,87)*Z3 yuànyiyuànyi qù. (modal verb)
Z3 willing-willing go
but

(4,88)Z3 mànmarde zǒu zhe.
Z3 slow-slow-p. walk p.
(Z3 is walking slowly.)

Among the many modal verbs in Mandarin, e.g. néng (can, could, be able to, will, would), gāi (must, ought to), huì (can, could, may, might, will, would), kéyǐ (can, could, may, might), yīnggāi (should, ought to, must), yuànyi (be ready to, be willing to), etc., yuànyi was selected to provide the basis for discussion. The reason for this selection is, similar to that for gùyìde (deliberately) (section 4.4.1), the matter of intentionality.

The majority of verb classes, and to some extent adjectives, (mainly class 7 ones), accept yuànyi, but verbs that do not denote the intended spaeoqs, such as those in classes 1 and 3 (with the exception of 1b liú(remain)) do not accept yuànyi.

Although 2a and 2b are not readily acceptable when tested in their "specified uses" (cf.4.2.1), they are acceptable when used in such contexts as the following (take 2a for example):

(4,89) Z3 yuànyi chóu jiù ràng tā chóu ba.
Z3 willing worry then let he worry p.
(If Z3 wants to carry on worrying, then let him (don't you think so?))

In this case, yuànyì + 2a is acceptable despite the fact that the spaeoq denoted by the word chóu(worry) is not something that a sensible person would ordinarily prefer to indulge in. A sentence

like (4,90) is, on the other hand, odd.

(4,90)? Z3 yuànyi chóu.
Z3 willing worry (Z3 is willing to worry.)

The realization of the spaeoq denoted by the combination of yuànyi and 2b , on the other hand, requires the agent's willingness as well as the agent's ability to understand (dǒng) whatever is denoted by the object noun phrase that follows 2b in a sentence; in our example it happens to be rénqíng (human-feelings). Thus even if the agent is 100% willing to realize the spaeoq denoted by 2b, his ability to actually realize it might prevent him from achieving such realization, and it is in this sense that the combination of yuànyi ± 2b may be acceptable in

(4,91) Wǒ yuànyi dǒng, kě jiù shi bù dǒng.
I willing understand, but just neg. understand
(I want to understand, but I just cannot.)

but

(4,92)?Z3 yuànyi dǒng rénqíng.
Z3 willing understand human-feelings

When contrasted with the combinations of yuànyi ± 2a/2b, the combination of yuànyi ± 2c is perfectly acceptable, as shown by the

(4,93) Z3 yuànyi xiāngxìn dìqiú shì fāng de.
Z3 willing believe earth be square p.
(Z3 is willing to believe that the earth is square.)

Although the spaeoq denoted by the object NP of (4,93) is not a true state of affairs, it matters very little in the context of (4,93), since yuànyi ± 2c involves the agent's willingness and his decision to believe in the spaeoq denoted by the object NP. Of course the hearer may assume freely that Z3 might be an idiot etc..

The reason for 2a and 2b falling into this particular category is thus that the spaeoqs denoted by these words are only partially dependent on the agent's willingness to carry these spaeoqs out, whereas it is essential for the modal verb yuànyi.

Class 3 words do not generally accept the combination with yuànyi, as the majority of the subjects in these cases tend to be inanimate, thus it is hard to imagine that these subjects would have the necessary volition required for yuànyi. Thus sentences of the following kind are not normally acceptable:

(4,94)*Huār yuànyi xiè.
flower willing wither

The same is also true with 7b, as demonstrated by (4,95).

(4,95)*Cài yuànyi xián.
dish willing salty

Class 8 adjectives do not take modal verbs.E.g.:

(4,96)*Z3 yuànyi gāoshàng.
Z3 willing noble

4.5. Interpretation of the Test

Fig. 4.4 below indicates the distribution of the degree of acceptability score totals for the eight classes. Sample items that have closely similar degrees of acceptability have been grouped together.

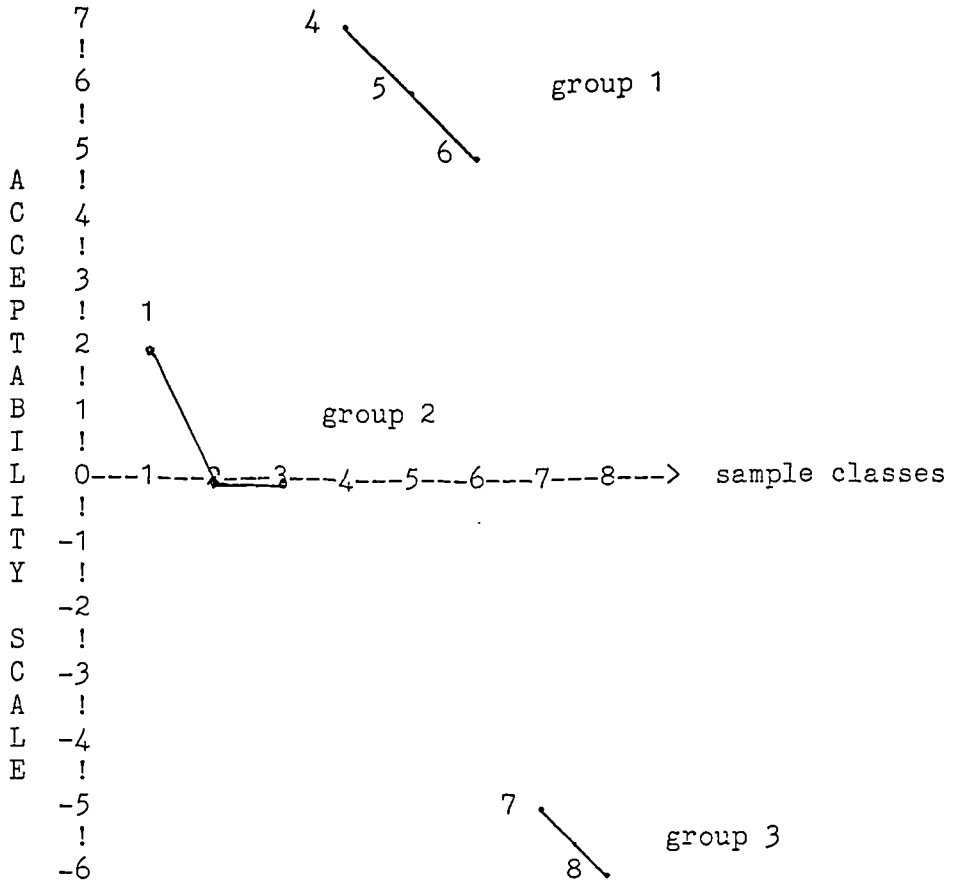


Fig. 4.1 The distribution of the classes of sample items in terms of acceptability scores

Group 1 includes those that have acceptability score totals of 7, 6 and 5, namely classes 4, 5 and 6.

Group 2 contains classes 1, 2 and 3, which have acceptability score totals between 2 and 0.

Group 3 has -5 and -6 degrees of acceptability; Classes 7 & 8 (adjectives) constitute this group.

The large gap between group 1 and group 2 provides strong grounds for regarding group 1 words as more or less straightforward verbs in Mandarin.

The other notable gap, between group 2 and group 3 indicates that adjectives are a distinct class. The group 2 words, compared with the group 1 verbs, are less "verby". The group 2 ones are also more

"adjective like" compared with group 1 verbs.

On the basis of Figure 4.1, we may term group 1 items verbs, and group 3 items adjectives.

In relation to these two groups of words, group 2 items may be termed VA(dj) words, since they share characteristics of both the verbs and the adjectives. These words are in fact the ones that have given scholars most problems, as they are both verb-like and adjective-like, yet at the same time they are neither full-blown verbs nor full-blown adjectives.

4.6. A Suggested Classification of Mandarin Verbs

The following classification distinguishes two groups of verb-like words in Mandarin. This classification is based on the syntactic combinatory properties of verbal constructions. Given the fact that there are two groups of words that share the properties of verbs (cf. 4.2.4.), these groups of words will be re-considered in turn in the following. Group 3 (i.e. classes 7 & 8), being a class of full-blown adjectives, has been excluded from the present discussion.

Group 1: the verbs

There are three notional classes of verbs belonging to group 1. The common characteristic exhibited by these classes of verbs is the involvement of the notion of Dynamicity (motion, movement, action, etc). These classes are ordered in what follows according to their degree of acceptability, as well as the degree of dynamicity involved in them. Thus, in this sense, group 1 verbs may be said to be essentially dynamic.

Group 1: straightforward verbs comprising

class 4: physical movements

class 5: actions

class 6: abstract processes

Group 1 verbs correspond roughly to Vendler's activity and accomplishment verbs.

Many[12] class 4 and class 6 verbs are comparable to Vendler's activities in the sense that there is no set terminal point for these verbs; and many class 5 verbs are, though termed actions by Yu (1957), comparable to Vendler's accomplishments in the sense that there is a terminative point. These are illustrated by the following examples which contain numeral+classifier compounds (for a description of this construction cf. Appendix E2) as their complements indicate the duration of time.

activities
class 4 Z3 pǎo le liǎngfēnzhōng.
Z3 run p. two-minute
(Z3 ran for two minutes.)

class 6 Z3 shì le liǎngfēnzhōng de xié.
Z3 try p two-minute p shoe
(Z3 tried the shoes on for two minutes.)

class 5[13] Z3 tuī le liǎngfēnzhōng de zìxíngchē.
Z3 push p two-minute p bicycle
(Z3 pushed the bicycle for two minutes.)

accomplishments
class 5 *Z3 ànshā le liǎngfēnzhōng de L4.
Z3 assassinate two-minute p. L4

Group 2: the VA(dj) words

This group comprises three classes of sample items. These words are however not verbs in the strict sense according to the test presented in 4.2, although they may be considered as a sub-class of verbs (or a sub-class of adjectives for that matter). Nevertheless they may provide some information regarding aspect in Mandarin, which will be discussed in Chapter V. These VA words have therefore also been classified according to the distribution of their acceptability scores. The characteristic of this group of VA words is, as contrasted with group 1 verbs, the lack of dynamicity, and in this sense, the VA words may be said to be essentially non-dynamic.

Group 2: VA words comprising

class 1: existence

class 2: state of mind

class 3: changes of state

Class 3 sample items (which were labelled by Yu (1957) changes of state) appear to be an "exception" in Group 2. However, this class of words may, probably more appropriately, be called "degree-inchoatives" which, like states (class 2), in perhaps most cases, do not have an intrinsic end-point[14]. Compare:

class 2	Z3 dǒng zhōngwén.	and	class 3	Huā yào xiè.
	Z3 understand Chinese			flower about wither
	(Z3 understands Chinese)			((The) flower(s) is/are withering.)

Many group 2 VA words appear to behave like either achievements or states in terms of Vendler's classification. More specifically, class3 consists mainly of achievements and classes 1 and 2 are mainly states.

Achievements may be further distinguished on the basis of the contrast between the unacceptability of zhe (a word indicating the dynamic aspect of verbal constructions) by this class of words and the acceptability of zhe by activities and acccmplishments. The following are some illustrative examples, a full list of the un/acceptability of zhe by all the classes of words in question is presented in Chapter V, section 5.3.2., tables 5.2 and 5.3.

achievements
class 3 *Jīdàn biànzhì zhe.
egg deteriorate zhe

activities
class 4 Z3 pǎo zhe.
Z3 run zhe (Z3 is running.)

class 6 Z3 shì zhe xié.
Z3 try zhe shoe (Z3 is trying the new shoes on.)

accomplishments
class 5 Z3 dǎ zhe L4.
Z3 hit zhe L4 (Z3 is hitting L4.)

4.7. Conclusion

Chapter IV has presented an account of the types of shící in Mandarin, and a reasonably detailed analysis of Mandarin verbs, as well as some of the adjectives.

On the basis of the test presented in 4.2, it was maintained that there are distinct categories of verbs and VA words, as well as adjectives. It was also shown that within the above categories there are distinct sub-classes, and these items are susceptible to classification in terms of the ontology of their denotata. Therefore the claim that "shící in Mandarin are not classifiable" (cf. Gao 1957, Li R 1955, Summers 1863) is misleading, if not misguided. The present analysis also shows that verbs are not necessarily only distinguishable on the basis of their syntactic positions as claimed by Li J-X 1932 (cf. Zhang 1956, Zhu 1980).

Explanations concerning the 'exceptions' in the test show that extra-linguistic factors such as our knowledge about the way in which the world is structured largely determine the organization of our linguistic expression. For example, we encountered both reduplicability and non-reduplicability within the same class of words, namely classes 4 and 5, and explanations for these phenomena were reached in terms of our understanding of the world. A pure linguistic account, either syntactic or semantic in our present case, although perhaps able to describe the acceptable cases, would not be able to account for the unacceptable cases, as they are neither syntactically nor semantically deviant.

This fact further supports the argument presented in chapter III, namely, in many cases, a linguistic account of a language cannot exclude pragmatics. This may be particularly so in the study of those languages such as Chinese which lack morphological means to indicate

the distinctions and the relations between word classes, as we have seen in this chapter.

The next chapter examines some of the post-verbal particles on the basis of the verb classification proposed in this chapter.

NOTES TO CHAPTER IV

1. For the definition of shící cf. section 1.2.1, Chapter 1.

2. Although the traditional view has been that shící in Mandarin are not classifiable in terms of syntactic position (cf. section 4.1), Yu (1957) has proposed a notionally based classification of Mandarin verbs which consists of the following four categories:
"(1).the existence of certain objects, either at a point or during a period of time, such as yǒu (exist)... . This also includes state of mind: chóu(worry), xiǎng(think, miss, like, love, be fond of, be keen on)...;
(2).changes of certain states of affairs at a point or during a period of time, such as xiè (wither)...;
(3). movement of objects within space, e.g. tiào(jump),...;
(4).actions -- influence of certain objects on other objects at a point or during a period of time -- such as dǎ(hit, strike, knock,etc.),...;"(op.cit:12-13. My translation)
Since the study of Mandarin verbs to be presented in this Chapter is, like the description of Mandarin sentence types presented in Chapter 2, meant to serve the main purpose of this thesis -- a pragmatically oriented analysis of post-verbal and sentence-final particles, and not a syntactic study of the particles as such, Yu's notional classification of Mandarin verbs seems to be a reasonable point of departure for this Chapter.
I have, with the aim of reaching a more refined categorization of Mandarin verbs in section 4.3, modified Yu's classification by sub-dividing his first category into what I call classes 1 and 2, and by including the notion of abstract process, namely class 6.

3. Note: yǒu also has a possessive sense in Mandarin, as in
Z3 yǒu shu.
Z3 have book (Z3 has a book/books.)

4. "A compound is a combination of two or more words bound together to form one word" (Chao 1968:359). The following are some examples of adjective+noun type compounds:

(a)hēibǎn
black-board (a blackboard)
(b)báicài
white-vegetable (Chinese cabbage)
(c)Chángchéng
long-wall (The Great Wall)

"...it is possible to tell a compound because the adjective is no longer taken literally, so that it can be modified by a redundant or even a contradictory modification." (op.cit:384). E.g.:
(d)bái/lǜ hēibǎn
white/green black-board
(a white/green blackboard)

(e)lǜ báicài
green white-vegetable
(a green Chinese cabbage)
(f)xiǎo chángchéng
small long-wall
(a small Great Wall)(e.g. referring to a miniature model/toy)
Our example phrases, however, do not behave in this manner. E.g.:
(g)*fāng yuán zhuōzi
square round table
(h)*mǎn kōng píngzi
full empty bottle
(i)*dījiànde gāoshàng pǐnde
ignoble noble character

5. This morpheme seems to be a weakened form of the full verb kàn (to read, to look at, etc.)and it is pronounced with a neutral tone. In this sense it may be termed a particle.

6. Li and Thompson (1981:30) state that:"when a volitional verb is disyllabic, the reduplicated verb does not change phonologically; for instance, qǐngjiào-qǐngjiào, tǎolùn-tǎolùn... ..." I cannot however accept the claim that the relevant syllables in reduplicated verbs are pronounced with full tone. This may be due to a difference between "Pekingese Mandarin" and "Taiwanese Mandarin".

7. Xiǎoxué Yǔwén Lǎngdú Jiàoxué Cānkǎo (Reading aloud/Reciting with expression. Teaching Reference for Primary Schools) 1981 by Shanghai Jiaoyu Chubanshe, which contains about 60 (very) short stories and poems, is meant to aid teachers of Chinese in primary schools when teaching children Mandarin pronunciation. Therefore the Pinyin transcription and tone marks are clearly indicated above every character in the texts.

8. The relative proportions also suggest that the monosyllabic adjectival type may be acquired by young children at an earlier stage than disyllabic adjectival words and monosyllabic verbal words; and the disyllabic verbal type even later. According to my own casual observations on adult Mandarin, it appears that reduplicated disyllabic verbal words occur considerably less in written material than in speech.

9. Perhaps one reason for being tentative is that the act called for is difficult and that it would be imperious to directly demand that people do difficult things. Or one might, for reasons of politeness, seek to pretend that a task was difficult -- and that its performance would therefore earn enormous gratitude -- by only manding it tentatively. Thus the speaker's use of reduplicated verb forms in imperatives may be seen as motivated by the PP (Politeness Principle. cf. Chapter 3, section 3.5.2). The following is such an example. Supposing Z3 is taking a photo of his colleagues and he is having difficulty in including everybody in the picture. Z3 then notices that L4 is standing at the edge of the group, and he says to L4

(Qǐng nǐ) wàng yòu zhànzhan.
please you towards right stand-stand
((Please) move slightly towards (your) right.)

10. Chao (1968:459) takes the requirement of le as another criterion for distinguishing type iv from other directional verbs -- the latter do not require le as regularly as do type iv and other what Chao called "ordinary complements". I however feel that this is a less reliable criterion for distinguishing directional verbs from other complements, as both the directional complements and other complements can optionally take the post-verbal le. Compare:

a).Z3 dàilai (le) lǐwù le. (type i)
Z3 bring-type i le present le
(Z3 has brought the present.)

b).Z3 chuānshang (le) xīn yīfu le. (type ii)
Z3 wear-type ii le new clothes le
(Z3 has put on new clothes.)

c).Z3 huílai (le) jiù shuì le. (type iii)
Z3 return-type iii le then sleep le
(Z3 has been asleep since he came back.)

d).Z3 pèngdǎo (le) bēizi le. (type iv)
Z3 knock-type iv le glass le
(Z3 has knocked over the glass.)

e).Z3 chībǎo (le) fàn le. (non-directional complement)
Z3 eat-full le meal le
(Z3 has eaten a full meal.)

f).Z3 xiěwán (le) xìn le. (non-directional complement)
Z3 write-finish le letter le
(Z3 has finished writing the letter.)

11. Huang S F's (1975) term.

12. The qualification many used here and in the subsequent paragraphs concerning the correspondence between the classification of English and Mandarin verbs is meant to indicate that correspondence between these two systems is only an approximation, the possibility of exceptions is by no means excluded from consideration.

13. 5(c) is an "exception" of the kind mentioned in note 12.

14. Class 3 words express changes in the subject of the sentence, and in this sense, they may, more legitimately, be called "degree-inchoatives".

CHAPTER V

POST-VERBAL PARTICLES

5.1. INTRODUCTION

As stated briefly in Chapter 1, post-verbal particles are believed by Goto (cf. Gao 1970), Mullie (1932,1937) to indicate tense. This position is challenged by Gao (1970) et al. who assert that post-verbal particles signal aspect, and xūcí morphemes, such as zhe and le, are termed aspect particles (dòngtài zhùcí) by this group of scholars. When a sentence containing such a particle is contrasted with its non-particle counterpart, the sentence does, indeed, appear to carry time information as indicated by the glosses of (5,1) and (5,2).

post-verbal particle	non-particle
(5,1) Z3 kàn le shū. Z3 read le book (Z3 read the book.)	
(5,2) Z3 kàn zhe shū. Z3 read zhe book (Z3 is reading the book.)	(5,3) Z3 kàn shū. Z3 read book (Z3 reads the book.)

Thus zhe is believed to mark the progressive or durative aspect, and is termed a progressive suffix (cf. Chao 1968:248) or durative suffix (cf. Tung and Pollard 1982:252), or durative aspect marker (cf. Li and Thompson 1981: 217 - 226). The same position is also found in ECR (1980), Lo (1975) and MCR (1963). MCR (op.cit:447) states that the suffix zhe "indicates the aspect of action, that is to say, some action in a continuous state.".

Le on the other hand is believed to mark the perfective aspect (cf. Chao 1968:246, ECR 1980:238, Lo 1975:55, MCR 1963:241).

This chapter attempts to find out in what way time information is encoded in Mandarin, and attempts to show that the function of the le particle is to signal the order of events: the post-verbal le indicates cessation, and the sentence-final le, inception.

It will also be concluded that although a sentence containing le may be used pragmatically (e.g. as in irony), le itself does not have any pragmatic function as suggested by some scholars such as Chao (1948) who stated that le indicates "obviousness".

5.2. TIME EXPRESSIONS IN LANGUAGES

It is a commonplace that probably all languages have various temporal deictic adverbs or temporal particles (cf. Lyons 1977:679), and "Certainly most, and possibly all, languages possess time words and allow their speakers to communicate regarding temporal features of experience. Also, context and paralinguistic features probably would allow implicit temporal references that might not be already codified in speech." (Wessman and Gorman 1977:45). Neither Mandarin nor English are exceptions. Table 5.1 presents a contrastive list of Mandarin and English sentences involving time adverbials.

Table 5.1

Mandarin	English
Zǎ jīngcháng fàn cuòwu. Zǎ often commit mistake (Zǎ often makes mistakes.)	John often makes mistakes.
Zǎ yuánlái shì lǎoshī. Zǎ originally be teacher (Zǎ was originally a teacher.)	John was originally a teacher.
Zǎ guòqù shēntǐ bù hǎo, Zǎ before body neg. good xiànzài hái kéyi. now fairly OK (Zǎ wasn't in good health before, but he's alright now.)	John wasn't in good health before, he's alright now.
Dāngshí Zǎ méi dǒng, then Zǎ neg. understand kěshì xiànzài dǒng le. but now understand p. (Zǎ didn't understand it then, but he understands it now.)	John didn't understand it then, but he understands it now.
Zǎ zǒngshì hěn lǎn. Zǎ always very lazy (Zǎ is always very lazy.)	John is always very lazy.

Z3 míngtiān líkāi Běijīng. — John is leaving Peking tomorrow.
Z3 tomorrow leave Peking
(Z3 is leaving Peking tomorrow.)

Z3 qùnián bìyè. — John graduated last year.
Z3 last-year graduate
(Z3 graduated last year.)

Z3 jīnnián bìyè. — John is graduating this year.
Z3 this-year graduate
(Z3 is graduating this year.)

Z3 èrshinián qián yǒu àiren. — John had a wife twenty years ago.
Z3 twenty-year ago have wife
(Z3 had a wife twenty years ago.)

etc.

It is evident from table 5.1 that, the time reference of the spaeoq[1] may be lexicalized by means of various time adverbials without even considering how tense might be grammaticalized in the verb phrases in these two languages. Given that both the so-called "tensed" and "tenseless" languages employ the lexicalization of time reference of the spaeoq, it may be speculated that lexicalization, rather than verbal particles or inflections, may be more basic to the expression of time reference. Verbal particles and inflections are, on the other hand, perhaps secondary modifications.

5.3. POST-VERBAL PARTICLES AND TIME INFORMATION

5.3.1. Post-verbal Morphemes in Mandarin Do not Obligatorily Mark Tense

Tense is a means of making linguistic reference to time. Further, whether a language has tense can be decided only on the basis of a grammatical analysis of the particular language (cf. Lyons 1977:678).

In English, the morphological variation in verbal constructions may indicate either that the time reference is past or non-past as shown by:

(5,4) John graduated last year. (past)

(5,5) John is graduating next year. (non-past)

In the case of (5,4) the morpheme -ed and the deictic time adverbial

last year indicate the past time reference, and such sentences are generally said to have past tense. In the case of (5,5), the copula is as well as the deictic time adverbial next year indicate the non-past time reference, and such sentences are said to have non-past tense. Propositions equivalent to those expressed by (5,4) and (5,5) may be realized in Mandarin as

(5,6) Z3 qùnián bìyè. (past)
Z3 last-year graduate
(Z3 graduated last year.)
and

(5,7) Z3 míngnián bìyè. (non-past)
Z3 next-year graduate
(Z3 will graduate next year.)

in both cases there is no grammaticalization of the time reference; note the identical verb form of bìyè (graduate).

In fact Mandarin does not "obligatorily relate the time of the situation being described to the time of utterance by any systematic variation in the structure of the sentence." (Lyons 1977:678-679). The following examples show that the particles zhe, le and yao are neither necessary nor sufficient as signals of tense.

(a) Zhe does not necessarily indicate present:

(5,8) Z3 míngtiān sāndiǎn zài kāfēiguǎn děng zhe nǐ.
Z3 tomorrow 3-o'clock at coffee-shop wait zhe you
(Z3 will be waiting for you at three o'clock tomorrow in the coffee shop.)

The present can be expressed without zhe:

(5,9) Z3 zhèngzài xǐzǎo.
Z3 in-process-of have-a-bath
(Z3 is having a bath (at the moment).)

(b) Le does not necessarily indicate past:

(5,10) Z3 chī le fàn jiù zǒu.
Z3 eat le rice then leave
(Z3 will leave as soon as he has had some food.)

Past does not have to be indicated by le:

(5,11) Z3 yuánlái shì zuòjiā.
Z3 originally be writer
(Z3 was originally a writer.)

(c) Yào does not necessarily indicate future:

(5,12) Z3 gāng yào zǒu, L4 jiù lái le.
Z3 about yao leave, L4 then come p.
(Z3 was just about to leave, then L4 arrived.)

Future is not always indicated by yào:

(5,13) Z3 jiānglái yě yídìng hěn gāo.
Z3 future too definitely very tall
(Z3 will also definitely be very tall in the future.)

Therefore, it may be claimed that Mandarin does not have obligatory tense marking. But see the discussion on post-verbal le (section 5.4).

5.3.2. Compatibility Between Verbs/VA words and Post-verbal Particles

Table 5.2 below shows the acceptability of zhe and le with group 1 verbs, and table 5.3 below indicates the acceptability of zhe and le with group 2 items, the VA words.

All the examples shown are restricted to the "specified uses" of the sample items (cf. section 4.2.1). It should be emphasized that these specified uses are only a sample of the environments in which these words occur. They do not include all the possible environments of these words. The class numbers indicated here correspond to the classes of words used in the test for verb-classification in Mandarin. Cf. Chapter IV.

Table 5.2[2]

Group 1 verbs	Examples	Acceptability	
		zhe	le
class 4			
a. tiào (jump)	Z3 tiào zhe. Z3 jump zhe (Z3 is jumping.)	OK	

Z3 tiào le.
Z3 jump le
(Z3 jumped.) OK

b. pǎo (run)
Z3 pǎo zhe.
Z3 run zhe OK
(Z3 is running.)

Z3 pǎo le.
Z3 run le OK
(Z3 ran.)

c. pánxuán (circle)
Lǎoyīng pánxuán zhe. OK
eagle circle zhe
(The eagle is circling.)

Lǎoyīng pánxuán le.
eagle circle le
(The eagle circled.) OK

class 5

a. dǎ (hit)
Z3 dǎ zhe L4.
Z3 hit zhe L4
(Z3 is hitting L4.) OK

Z3 dǎ le L4.
Z3 hit le L4
(Z3 hit L4.) OK

b. tuī (push)
Z3 tuī zhe zìxíngchē.
Z3 push zhe bicycle
(Z3 is pushing the bicycle.) OK

Z3 tuī le zìxíngchē.
Z3 push le bicycle
(Z3 pushed the bicycle.) OK

c. ànshā (assassinate)
*Z3 ànshā zhe L4.
Z3 assassinate zhe L4

but: Tāmen ànsha zhe dǎngyuánmen. OK[3]
they assassinate zhe party-members
(They are assassinating the party members.)

Z3 ànshā le L4.
Z3 assassinate le L4
(Z3 assassinated L4.) OK

class 6

a. shì (attempt)
Z3 shì zhe xīnxié.
Z3 try zhe new-shoe
(Z3 is trying the new shoes on.) OK

Z3 shì le xīnxié.
Z3 try le new-shoe
(Z3 tried the new shoes on.) OK

b. tǐyàn (experience)
Z3 zài nóngcūn tǐyàn zhe shēnghuó.
Z3 at countryside experience life
(Z3 is experiencing life in the countryside.) OK

Z3 zài nóngcūn tǐyàn le shēnghuó.
Z3 at countryside experience le life
(Z3 experienced life in the countryside.) OK

c.tǎolùn (discuss)
Z3 gēn L4 tǎolùn zhe wèntí.
Z3 with L4 discuss zhe problem
(Z3 is discussing the problem(s) with L4.) OK

Z3 gēn L4 tǎolùn le wèntí.
Z3 with L4 discuss le problem
(Z3 discussed the problem(s) with L4.) OK

Table 5.3[4]

Group 2 VA words	Examples	Acceptability zhe	Acceptability le
class 1			
a. yǒu (exist)	*Nàr yǒu zhe rén. there exist zhe person	X	
	?Nàr yǒu le rén. there exist le person		
but:	Nàr yǒu le rén yǐhòu,... there exist le person after (After people existed there,...)		OK[5]
b. liú (remain)	*Yǒu rén zài dìshang liú zhe exist person at ground-top remain zhe yíchuàn jiǎoyìn. one-string footprint	X	
	Yǒu rén zài dìshang liú le exist person at ground-top remain le yíchuàn jiǎoyìn. one-string footprint (Someone left a string of footprints on the ground.)		OK
c. shēngcún (subsist)	*Yú méi shuǐ jiù bù néng shēngcún zhe. fish neg. water then neg. can subsist zhe	X	
	Yú méi shuǐ jiù bù neńg shēngcún le. fish neg. water then neg. can subsist le (Fish cannot survive without water.)		OK
class 2			
a. chóu (worry)	Z3 chóu zhe méi shìr gàn. Z3 worry zhe neg. thing do (Z3 is worrying about having nothing to do.)	OK[6]	
	Z3 chóu le méi shìr gàn. Z3 worry le neg. thing do (Z3 worried about having nothing to do.)		OK

b. dǒng	*Z3 dǒng zhe rénqíng.		
(understand)	Z3 understand zhe human-feeling	X	
	Z3 dǒng le rénqíng.		
	Z3 understand le human-feeling		
	(Z3 understood human feelings.)		OK
c. xiāngxìn	*Z3 xiāngxìn zhe dìqiú shì fāngde.		
(believe)	Z3 believe zhe earth be square	X	
	Z3 xiāngxìn le dìqiú shì fāngde.		
	Z3 believe le earth be square		
	(Z3 believed that the earth was square.)		OK
class 3			
a. xiè	*Huā xiè zhe.		
(wither)	flower wither zhe	X[7]	
	Huā xiè le.		
	flower wither le		
	(The flower(s) withered.)		OK
b. kāi	*Huā kāi zhe.		
(blossom)	flower blossom zhe	X	
	Huā kāi le.		
	flower blossom le		
	((The) flower(s) blossomed.)		OK
c. biànzhì	*Jīdàn biànzhì zhe.		
(deteriorate)	egg deteriorate zhe	X	
	Jīdàn biànzhì le.		
	egg deteriorate le		
	(The egg(s) deteriorated.)		OK

From tables 5.2 and 5.3, a general pattern is evident: verbs, which carry dynamic aspect (cf. Comrie 1976:5), take both zhe and le, and VA words, on the other hand, have a preference for le rather than zhe (Admittedly it is not impossible for zhe to occur with VA words as exemplified by 2a in table 5.2. (For the explanation see note 5.)).

5.3.3. Zhe Grammaticalizes Dynamic Aspect

The rejection of zhe (which indicates progressiveness) by members of group 2, VA words, generally suggests that the progressiveness indicated by zhe is, in principle, incompatible with the non-dynamic nature of the spaeoqs denoted by the VA words. This is, to some extent, in accord with Comrie's (1976:35) observation:

verbs tend to divide into two distinct (nonoverlapping) classes, those that can appear in the progressive forms, and those that cannot. Moreover, this distinction corresponds to that between stative and nonstative verbs. Thus we can give the general definition of progressiveness as the combination of progressive meaning and nonstative meaning. Naturally, then, stative verbs do not have progressive forms, since this would involve an internal contradiction between the stativity of the verb and the nonstativity essential to the progressive.

We may thus, on the basis of this statement, arrive at the following assumption about Mandarin: the combination of verb and zhe is a combination of progressive meaning and dynamic meaning. Zhe therefore does not by itself give rise to the dynamic aspect of the verb. This position may be further supported by example (5,14) in which zhe is absent. (5,14) Z3 pǎo de shíhou L4 méi zài.
Z3 run p. time L4 neg. at
(L4 was not there when Z3 was running.)

Clearly the absence of zhe in (5,14) does not affect the dynamic aspect of the spaeoq denoted by the verb pǎo (run). An inference deducible from this fact is that the absence of zhe in a verbal construction does not disqualify the spaeoqs denoted by group 1 verbs from being dynamic. There is no alternative, non-progressive reading available for sentences such as (5,14).

5.3.4. SUMMARY

We have in this section argued that there are two contrastive aspectual types of verbs in Mandarin, namely dynamic vs. non-dynamic, and the former is inherently carried by group 1 verbs, and the latter, by group 2, the VA words.

It also was confirmed that the progressives in Mandarin are achieved by the combination of the spaeoq of dynamic verbs and the meaning of post-verbal zhe, a carrier of progressive meaning.

Le, on the other hand, appears to behave in a different way from the post-verbal zhe, an extended treatment of le is presented in the following section.

5.4. THE LE PARTICLE

5.4.1. A Syntactic Classification

The syntactic occurrences of le may, initially, be categorized into the following four types according to position:

1) Post-verbal le as in S Vt le O, e.g.:

(5,15) Z3 kàn le shū.
Z3 read le book
(Z3 did some reading, but he is no longer doing so.)[8]

2) Sentence-final le, as in S Vt O le, e.g.:

(5,16) Z3 kàn shū le.
Z3 read book le (Z3 has begun reading.)

3) Both post-verbal le and sentence-final le co-occuring in the same sentence, as in S Vt le O le, e.g.:

(5,17) Z3 kàn le shū le.
Z3 read le book le
(Z3 has done some reading.)

4) Post-verbal le or sentence-final le ? -- a case in which le occurs in a position that is both post-verbal and sentence-final, as in S Vi le, e.g.:

(5,18) Z3 zǒu le
leave le (Z3 left.)

The semantic interpretation for type 4 is claimed to be ambiguous (cf. MCR 1963, Li and Liu 1955). Li and Thompson (1981:296) observe that "When a le comes after a verb at the end of a sentence, it is difficult to determine whether it is the perfective verb suffix -le or the CRS [currently relevant state] sentence-final particle le". But we shall, in section 5.4.4, argue that the apparent ambiguities of type 4 constructions may be clarified by a notion of Temporal Journey.

For the sake of convenience, the post-verbal le will be symbolized as L, and the sentence-final le as L', and thus: type (1)

has L, type (2) L', type (3) L...L' and type (4), simply, LE.

The description presented in the following sections is carried out in terms of the classification that we have established here, and concerns constraints such as the time-reference of sentences that contain le.

5.4.2. Constraints on le constructions

We shall concentrate, in this section, on the le constructions that involve transitive verbs, namely L, L' and L...L'. LE will be dealt with later in section 5.4.4.

5.4.2.1. Post-verbal le (L)

E.g.: (5,19) Z3 kàn le shū. (= 5,15)
Z3 read le book
(Z3 did some reading, but he is no longer doing so.)

L-constructions have the following constraints on time reference:

Time adjuncts: those that do not have reference to the past time cannot occur freely in L - sentences, e.g.:

past (5,20) Z3 zuótiān kàn le shū.
Z3 yesterday read le book
(Z3 did some reading yesterday, but he is no longer doing so.)

present (5,21)*Z3 xiànzài kàn le shū.
Z3 now read le book

future (5,22)*Z3 míngtiān kàn le shū.
Z3 tomorrow read le book

Adverbs: those that do not denote past time relations are not acceptable, e.g.:

past (5,23) Z3 yǐjīng kàn le shū.
Z3 already read le book
(Z3 did some reading already, and he is no longer doing so.)

progressive (5,24)*Z3 zhèngzài kàn le shū.
Z3 in-process-of read le book

future (5,25)*Z3 kuài kàn le shū.
Z3 soon read le book

Verbs: those that indicate the spaeoq is taking place in some future time or activities and states that come into existence cannot occur in L - sentences, compare:

(5,26) Z3 kàn wán le shū.
Z3 read finish le book
(Z3 finished some reading.)

with (5,27)*Z3 zhǔnbèi kàn le shū.
Z3 prepare read le book

or (5,28)*Z3 kāishǐ kàn le shū
Z3 begin read le book

Also, stative verbs do not normally occur in L-sentences, e.g.:

(5,29)*Z3 xiàng le tā fùqin.
Z3 resemble le he father

(5,30)*Zhèi běn shū shǔyú le Z3.
this cl. book belong le Z3

A le sentence may be followed by another clause, for example one containing the conjunction jiù (then/as soon as), or equivalents such as hòulái (afterwards), which indicate specifically that an event is to follow the event stated in the first clause, as shown by:

(5,31) Z3 chī le fàn jiù zǒu.
Z3 eat le meal then leave
(Z3 is leaving as soon as he has had something to eat.)

L however cannot occur in the second clause of sentences if L is the only le particle in the entire sentence. E.g.:

(5,32)* Z3 chī fàn jiù zǒu le. (intransitive)
Z3 eat meal then go le

(5,33)* Z3 chī fàn jiù kàn le shū. (transitive)
Z3 eat meal then read le book

5.4.2.2. Sentence-Final Le (L')

L' occurs sentence finally as exemplified in

(5,34) Z3 kàn shū le. (= 5,16)
Z3 read book le
(Z3 has begun reading.)

The time reference constraints on the L sentences do not apply to L' sentences, as shown by the following examples:

Time adjuncts: there are no overt constraints on time adjuncts:

past (5,35) Z3 zuótiān kàn shū le.
Z3 yesterday read book le
(Z3 began reading yesterday, and he might or might not have stopped since then.)

present (5,36) Z3 xiànzài kàn shū le.
Z3 now read book le
(Z3 has now begun reading.)

future (5,37) Z3 míngtiān kàn shū le.
Z3 tomorrow read book le
(Z3 will begin reading tomorrow.)

Adverbs: there is no overt constraint on adverbs either, only those that denote action in progress may cause a certain degree of uncomfortableness:

past (5,38) Z3 yǐjīng kàn shū le.
Z3 already read book le
(Z3 began reading already, and he might or might not have stopped since then.)

present (5,39)?Z3 zhèngzài kàn shū le.
Z3 in-process-of read book le

future (5,40) Z3 kuài kàn shū le.
Z3 about read book le
(Z3 is about to start reading.)

Verbs: there is no constraint on verbs that denote activities and states that come into existence, e.g.:

(5,41) Z3 kāishǐ kàn shū le.
Z3 begin read book le
(Z3 has begun to reading.)

Nor is there any constraint on verbs that denote completion:

(5,42) Z3 kàn wán shū le.
Z3 read finish book le
(Z3 has finished reading.)

Also there is no constraint on the occurrence of stative verbs:

(5,43) Z3 xiàng tā fùqin le.
Z3 resemble he father le
(Z3 has come/begun to resemble his father.)

Unlike the L-sentences, L'-sentences are not normally followed by another clause (an explanation is provided below) thus

(5,44)*Z3 kàn shū le jiù zǒu.
Z3 read book le then leave

is ungrammatical, even if there is another le present after zǒu

(5,45)*Z3 kàn shū le jiù zǒu le.
Z3 read book le then leave le

The unacceptability of (5,45) indicates that L' is truly a sentence-final particle; that is, just being clause-final is not enough.

L'-sentences may however be followed by some other statements as in the following examples (notice the element of surprise in the added sentences):

(5,46) Z3 kàn shū le. Tā gāngcái hái shuō méi shìr gàn ne.
Z3 read book le he a-moment-ago contrary say neg thing do p.
(Z3's reading now! He was just complaining that he had nothing to do.)

(5,47) Xià yǔ le. Gāngcái hái chū zhe tàiyang ne.
fall rain le a-while-ago still come-out p. sun p.
(It's raining! It was sunny just a while ago!)

5.4.2.3. Post-verbal Le and Sentence-final Le Co-occurring in the Same Sentence (L...L')

The representative of this class of sentence is (5,48).

(5,48) Z3 kàn le shū le. (= 5,17)
Z3 read le book le
(Z3 has done some reading.)

The time-reference constraints on this type of sentence are identical to those on the post-verbal le sentences.

Time adjuncts: those that do not have reference to the past time cannot occur freely in L...L' sentences:

past (5,49) Z3 zuótiān kàn le shū le.
Z3 yesterday read le book le
(Z3 began reading yesterday, and he stopped after that.)

present (5,50)*Z3 xiànzài kàn le shū le.
Z3 now read book le

future (5,51)*Z3 míngtiān kàn le shū le.
Z3 tomorrow read le book le

Adverbs: those that do not denote past time reference are unacceptable.

past (5,52) Z3 yǐjīng kàn le shū le.
Z3 already read le book le
(Z3 began reading already, and he stopped after that.)

present (5,53)*Z3 zhèngzài kàn le shū le.
Z3 in-process-of read le book le

future (5,54)*Z3 kuài kàn le shū le.
Z3 about read le book le

Verbs: those that indicate the spaeoq is taking place in some future time or activities and states that come into existence cannot occur in L...L' sentences, compare:

(5,55) Z3 kànwán le shū le.
Z3 read-finish le book le (Z3 finished reading.)

with

(5,56)*Z3 zhǔnbèi kàn le shū le.
Z3 prepare read le book le

or

(5,57)*Z3 kāishǐ kàn le shū le.
Z3 begin read le book le

Also, stative verbs do not normally occur in L...L' sentences:

(5,58)*Zhèběn shū shǔyú le Z3 le.
this-volume book belong le Z3 le

Unlike the L sentences, L...L' sentences are not normally followed by another clause:

(5,59)*Z3 kàn le shū le jiù zǒu.
Z3 read le book le then leave

5.4.2.4. Summary

The constraints on le constructions are summarised by table 5.4.

Table 5.4

Constraints		L	L'	L...L'
Time adjuncts	past	OK	OK	OK
	present	X	OK	X
	future	X	OK	X
Adverbs	past	OK	OK	OK
	progressive	X	OK	X
	future	X	OK	X
Verbs	past	OK	OK	OK
	future	X	OK	X
	stative	X	OK	X
Followed by other clause containing jiu or the equivalents		OK	X	X

Table 5.4 shows that:

(a) L' constructions differ from both L and L...L' constructions in all respects except past time reference; and

(b) L is distinct from L...L' in the possibility of allowing another clause to follow.

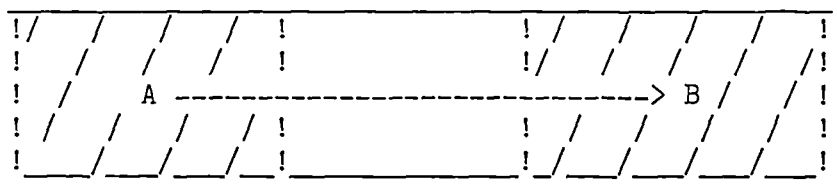
5.4.3. Le constructions and Temporal Journeys

Jessen's (1973) concept of Temporal Journey not only has a direct correspondence to Vendler's (1967) four-way classification of verbs, but also her concept of journey is, as will be seen in this section, fundamental in determining the aspectual functions of the le particle.

5.4.3.1. Jessen's Concept of Temporal Journeys

Jessen's (1973) concept of a journey involves the notions of location, direction and movement, and may be expressed in English as O go/come from A to B. O is an object, and A & B are locations/ locative states. In isolation, O, A and B carry no implication of a journey. The journey concept was developed in an attempt to provide a uniform framework for the explication of sentences expressing relationships in time and space. Graphically, what Jessen calls a three-state-journey is represented as the following:

Fig. 5.1

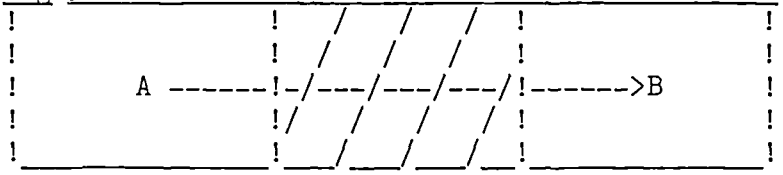


----------> -- the component of directed movement, the process of which is an essential component of journey events.

An expression such as O go from A to B, involves two locative states -- (initial) location at A and (final) location at B; "Other linguistic encodings of full, three-state journeys may instead

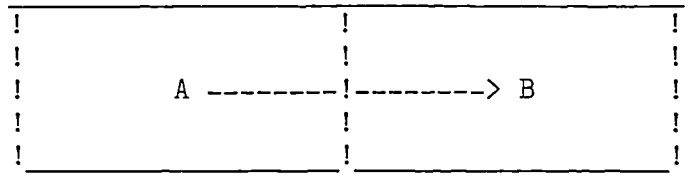
specify overtly only the intermediate state, or rather, focus upon what occupies the space between A and B ... Such is the case with 0 cross the river, ..." (op.cit:114) and such journeys may be represented as in fig. 5.2.

Fig 5.2



In what Jessen calls Border-crossing Journeys (cf. expressions such as Egor crossed the French-Italian border at 1.00.(ibid))[9], states A and B are contiguous locations and such journeys can be represented as in fig. 5.3.

Fig. 5.3



Expressions such as 0 left A/ 0 reached B, which focus on only one stage or phase of a complete three-state-journey, may be represented by fig. 5.4 and 5.5 below.

Fig. 5.4

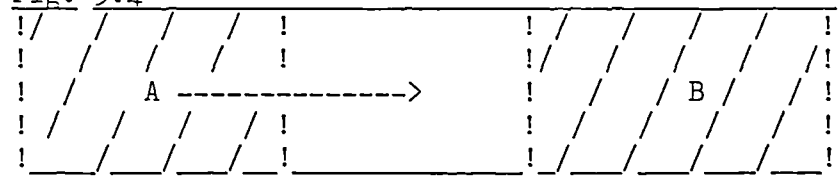
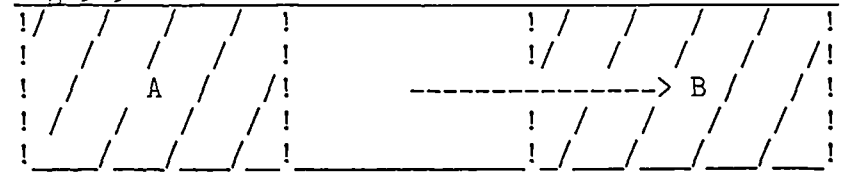


Fig.5.5



And if the remaining states in fig. 5.4 and 5.5 are not specified nor retrievable from the context, there is then no implication of a three-state-journey. "It is again a case of simple border-crossing with

only the initial or the final state specified, the other state being implicitly specified as the negation of the other." (op.cit:115).

The above shows that fig. 5.1 entails fig. 5.4 and fig.5.5. That is, O go/come from A to B entails O leave A and O reach B.

The correspondence between the notion of Journeys and Vendler's (1967) four-way classification of verbs is as follows:

states - abstract locations

accomplishments - complete three-state journeys

achievements - border-crossings

activities - may be state-like when in progressive form; accomplishments when in the simple form. Also "notice that there is also an achievement-like use of Vendler's activity terms: John sang at 1.00. What is normally implied is that John began to sing at 1.00."(Jessen 1973:177)

5.4.3.2. The Post-verbal L

5.4.3.2.1. L construction and Temporal Journey

The acceptability of past time reference by L constructions and the unacceptability of future time reference indicate that the event described by the sentence must have taken place at some point before the speech time and that the stated event no longer exists at the time of speaking. This is evidenced by the unacceptability of (5,21) which contains the present-time adverb xiànzài (now). The possibility of allowing another clause (cf. (5,31)) indicates that the stated event is to be followed by some other event, either specified or unspecified. The speaker of (5,19) is then telling us two things: (a) Z3 did some reading; (b) Z3 is no longer reading. This can be seen more clearly from the following contrast:

(5,60) Z3 kàn le (yìhuǐr) shū jiù búkàn le.
Z3 read L (a while) book then neg.-read L'
(After reading (for a while) (and having stopped), Z3 has not started reading again.)

(5,61)*Z3 kàn le shū, háizài kàn.
Z3 read L book, still read book

While the acceptable (5,60) contains in its second clause an explicit negation of the stated event in the L clause; the second clause in the unacceptable (5,61) denotes a supposed continuation of the event stated in the first clause, but the presence of the cessative L prevents (5,61) from achieving grammaticality.

L-constructions may thus be formalized in the following manner:

Formula 1 (FI): L = E --> [`E]

E = what is stated, i.e. an event takes place. The term event is not restricted to any particular kind of spaeoqs denoted by either group 1 verbs (activities and accomplishments) or group 2 VA-morphemes (achievements and states). Although in Bull's (1960) definition only those measurable instances that have definable beginnings, middles and ends are characteristic of events, we shall try to establish in the following sections that le, irrespective of verb types in the sentence, indicates ordering of events. Thus the term events used here is not only for activities and accomplishments, but also for achievements (instantaneous by nature) and states (integral instances). In this sense, the term event used here is more or less equivalent to spaeoq, and these two terms may be used interchangeably.

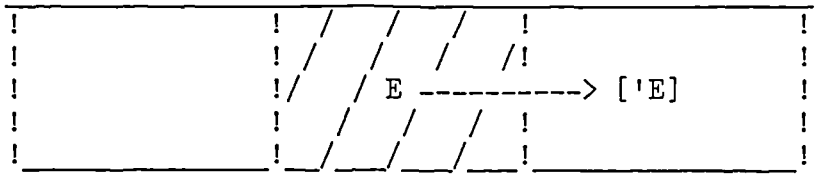
[`E] = what is pragmatically presupposed. That is, the use of (5,19) Z3 kàn le shū (Z3 did some reading) is based on the speaker's assumption/belief that Z3 is no longer reading, and if E (i.e. Z3's reading) becomes false, then ['E] (i.e. Z3's not reading) will automatically be true. This condition must be satisfied if the speaker is to use sentences involving the post-verbal L. (The term "pragmatic presupposition" used here is thus in the sense of what is possible for the hearer to deduce from an utterance, rather than say the speaker and the hearer's mutual knowledge. Cf. Levinson (1983) for discussion of types of pragmatic presuppositions.)

p -> q = p is temporally prior to q, and q is posterior to p.

The interpretation of F1 is: the stated spaeoq (i.e. E) takes place before the presupposed spaeoq (i.e. ['E]); if the negation (i.e. 'E) comes into existence then the explicitly stated event must have ceased.

In the above interpretation, the post-verbal le construction may fit into Jessen's graphical representation of a three-state-journey in the following manner:

Fig.5.6



The difference between Jessen's original representation and fig.5.6 is, however, that, in Jessen's original representation, the initial location A and/or the final location B is/are in focus, whereas in the case of these le-constructions the events being focussed upon occupy the intermediate state, and together with a presupposed ['E] constitute a border-crossing. (The shaded area represents the focussed state).

E in fig 5.6 is the only state of the journey that is in focus, indicating a specified state of Z3's reading; ['E] is a presupposed final state of the journey, representing the state of Z3's having stopped reading, i.e. Z3 exited from state E. The dividing line between state E and ['E] is an arbitrary point at which Z3 stopped reading, and at the same time, the cessation of E implies that Z3 has entered state ['E]. Consequently, it may be said that the post-verbal L has a cessative meaning that implies an inception, in our present case it is the inception of the state of Z3's having stopped reading.

The combination of the proposition of (5,19) Z3 READ and the cessative meaning of the post-verbal L gives rise to a meaning that is not simply Z3 was engaged in reading, but also asserts the cessation of Z3's reading. (5,19) is, therefore, appropriately translated as: (5,62) Z3 did some reading, but he is no longer doing so.

Fig. 5.6 above represents a border-crossing type of journey, and shares some of the characteristics of achievement verbs, as "achievement verbs are minimal journeys, that is, border-crossings" (Jessen 1973:117).

The difference between the border-crossing of achievements and of le-constructions is, however, that while the former (Jessen op.cit:121) need not be ended at some arbitrary point (compare: 'Egor crossed the border' and 'Egor crossed the border at 1.00 pm.'), the function of le, on the other hand, always indicates some arbitrary point of beginning (as in the case of sentence-final L' cf.5.4.3 below) or ending (as in the case of the post-verbal L).

In relation to speech time (ST, in Reichenbach's (1966) account), fig. 5.6 may be modified in the following manner:

Fig. 5.7

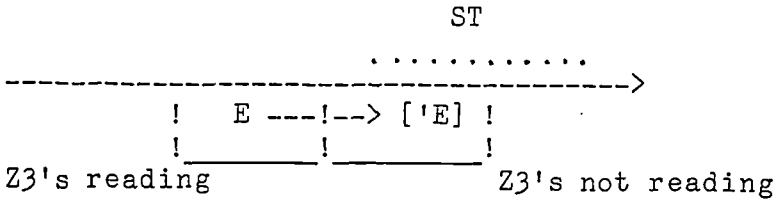


Fig. 5.7 is typical of sentences such as (5,19) which have unspecified reference time. That is, when no reference time is explicitly mentioned, the reference time will be taken to be the present; because L signals cessation before the reference time it will therefore, in such a case, be taken as past.

This assumption is supported by the unacceptability of (5,21) which contains the present-time adverb xiànzài (now), as well as the unacceptable (5,22) which contains a future time adverb.

This position can be further supported by (5,63) below which contains an explicit negation of the stated event as well as the present-time adverb xiànzài (now).

(5,63) Z3 kàn le shū, xiànzài búkàn le.
Z3 read le book, now neg.-read le
(Z3 did some reading, but he is no longer doing so now.)

Fig. 5.7 is thus also true for L constructions containing time

adverbials such as (5,64) below.

(5,64) Z3 zuótiān kàn le shū.
Z3 yesterday read le book (Z3 did some reading yesterday.)

5.4.3.2.2. L does not encode termination

According to Jessen (op.cit:121) stop encodes cessation, begin encodes inception (op.cit:123), and finish (as distinct from stop), encodes termination (op.cit:120). Further, terminatives are inceptive by nature, i.e. termination amounts to entering the goal state, and termination implies cessation but not vice versa (op.cit:121). Thus "John finished writing the letter" implies that "John stopped writing the letter", whereas, "John stopped writing the letter" does not imply "John finished writing the letter".

In Mandarin, however, we have a slightly more complicated situation. To indicate the termination of a spaeoq in Mandarin, a resultative verb compound[10] is necessarily required, and only the resultative verb compound can guarantee the attainment of goal (Tai 1984:290-1). Compare the following sets of triplets containing post-verbal le:

(5,65)a.Z3 kànwán le shū.
Z3 read-finish le book
(Z3 finished reading the book.)

b.Z3 kàn le shū.
Z3 read le book
(Z3 did some reading,but he is no longer doing so.)

c.*Z3 kànwán shū.
Z3 read-finish book

(5,66)a.Z3 tīngwán le jiǎngyì.
Z3 listen-finish le lecture
(Z3 finished listening to the lecture.)

b.Z3 tīng le jiǎngyì.
Z3 listen le lecture
(Z3 listened to the lecture, and he is no longer doing so.)

c.*Z3 tīngwán jiǎngyì.
Z3 listen-finish lecture.

(5,67)a.Z3 gàiwán le fángzi.
Z3 build-finish le house
(Z3 finished building the house.

b. Z3 gài le fánzi.
Z3 build le house
(Z3 did some building work, but he is no longer doing so.)

c.*Z3 gàiwán fángzi.
Z3 build-finish house

(5,68)a.Z3 pǎowán le.
Z3 run-finish le
(Z3 finished running.)

b. Z3 pǎo le.
Z3 run le
(Z3 ran.)

c *Z3 pǎowán.
Z3 run-finish

The (a) examples are combinations of resultative compounds and le; (b)s are non-resultative verbs and le; (c)s have resultative compounds only. Only the (c)s are unacceptable.

The (c) examples show that without the cessative meaning indicated by the post-verbal le, the attempt to convey resultative meaning alone leads to ungrammaticality. The question of the possible attainment of a goal cannot even arise. That is, spaeoqs denoted by resultative compounds such as kànwán (finish reading) do not necessarily get finished or come to their ends unless le is present. There is, therefore, no guarantee of the attainment of a goal merely in the presence of the resultative verb compound in the clause.

A comparison between the resultative+le of the (a) examples and the non-resultative, but cessative (b) examples indicates that le does not encode the termination of a spaeoq.

This leads us to the view that the combination of resultative compound and the post verbal le gives rise to a terminative meaning similar to that characterized by Jessen.

This is further supported by the tentative use of le (cf. section 4.2.2 a,(6), chapter IV) as shown by the following:

(5,69) Z3 kàn le kàn nà běn shū.
Z3 read le read that volume book
(Z3 had a look at that book.)

(5,69) may be applied to more than one kind of situation. In addition to the above gloss, (5,69) may also mean (a) Z3 merely glanced at the book; (b) Z3 opened the book and had a look at the contents (i.e. maybe read a few lines); etc. The point here is that the presence of le does not, under any possible interpretation, entail termination.

L therefore does not specify the completion of an event as claimed by Zhang et al. (1982:212) when le "is added at the end of a verb, it indicates the completion of an action."; or by Lü W et al. (1981:314) le "is used after a verb mainly to indicate the completion of an action". Similar positions are also found in Chao (1968), Wang (1954, 1971), MCR (1963).

One might at this point wonder why le may optionally be inserted after a resultative compound when the following event is overtly given, as shown by the following example:

(5,70) Z3 chīwán (le) fàn zǒu.
Z3 eat-finish le meal leave
(Z3 is leaving after he finishes the meal.)

The reason for this is a straightforward one: wán (finish), as distinct from the cessative le, encodes termination, and termination amounts to entering the goal state (cf. Jessen 1973:121). Thus finish eating implies stop eating. That is, chīwán fàn entails the cessative meaning of chī le fàn. The terminative meaning and the cessative meaning are thus compatible with each other, and therefore the presence of le in (5,70) is grammatical.

5.4.3.2.3. The function of L

It is then clear that whether or not an L construction has specific reference time (past or otherwise), the crucial requirement for such a construction is the presence of a supposed border between the

state E and the state 'E (either specified or implied). When there is no implication of a negative state 'E, the border between this state and state E would consequently be non-existent, thus such expressions would be ungrammatical as exemplified by the unacceptability of the examples such as (5,21) and (5,22).

The primary function of the post-verbal L is therefore to indicate the ending of a spaeoq which precedes some other spaeoq -- either specified by another clause as in (5,31), or presupposed as in (5,19) -- that is separate from the spaeoq specified by the post-verbal le clause. And when the ST is taken as the reference point in the absence of specific reference time, the post-verbal L may be seen to be marking the past. This is because the cessation signalled by L has to precede the ST.

5.4.3.2.4. L clause followed by another clause

This section attempts to illustrate that when an L clause is followed by another clause such as one containing jiù (as soon as) (cf. (5,31)), the post-verbal L in the first clause nevertheless, as concluded earlier in section 5.4.3.2.3., signals cessation of a spæoq which has to precede some other spæoq.

Let us first of all have a look at constructions without jiù. E.g.:

(5,71) Z3 chī le fàn zǒu.
Z3 eat L meal leave
(Z3 is leaving after he has had some food.)

(5,71) tells us that the event of Z3's leaving will take place when Z3 has had some food. Although the event of Z3's having food may or may

not have already taken place, the event of Z3's leaving has, definitely, not taken place at the moment of speaking. That is, the border-crossing between the state of Z3's having food (E) and the state of Z3's leaving (i.e. not having food ['E]) has not yet taken place, but will take place at some point in time after the ST.

Graphically (5,71) may be represented as

Fig. 5.8.

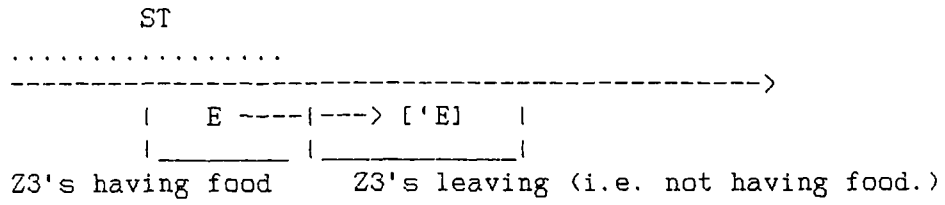


Fig. 5.8 shows that when the implicit reference time is non-past, the ST may be at any point in time, so long as it is situated before the border between the E and ['E] states. Conversely, the border-crossing has to take place after the ST.

The same is true when jiù is present:

(5,72) Z3 chī le fàn jiù zǒu.
Z3 eat L meal then leave
(Z3 is leaving as soon as he has had something to eat.)

(5,72) also tells us that the event of Z3's leaving will take place when Z3 has had some food. The only difference between (5,71) and (5,72), as a result of the addition of jiù in (5,72), is that while (5,72) highlights the immediate arrival of the second event that is supposed to follow, (5,71) does not imply such immediacy. An explicit gloss for (5,72) would be: Z3's leaving will take place immediately after Z3 has had some food.

The difference between an independent L sentence and an L clause followed by another clause is that the latter specifies clearly the nature of the next event that is to follow, whereas the former merely indicates a presupposition of a state which amounts to a negation of the proposition contained in the main clause. This negation may also be explicitly specified by means of a jiù clause, as in the following example:

(5,73) Z3 kàn le liǎngfēnzhōng de shū jiù bù kàn le.
Z3 read L two-minute p. book then neg. read p.
(Z3 stopped reading after two minutes (of reading).)

Thus formula 1 and fig. 5.6 (cf. section 5.4.3.2.1.) for L constructions generally can also handle cases such as the above. That is: the E has to cease if the ['E] is to come into existence.

Since L merely signals that the event of Z3's having something to eat has to precede the event of his leaving, so long as the presence of the border between the two states is made clear, the time at which this sequence of events takes place is less important (unlike independent L sentences where the border-crossing always takes place prior to the ST). It should now be clear why when the second clause is present the L clause is in fact compatible with non-past time adjuncts, as in the following example:

(5,74) Z3 míngtiān chī le fàn zǒu.
Z3 tomorrow eat L meal leave
(Z3 is leaving tomorrow after he has had something to eat.)

5.4.3.3. The Sentence-final L'

The unacceptability of clauses that explicitly indicate that some other events follow the events expressed by L' sentences (cf. table 5.4) tells us that the event stated by an L' sentence must still be going on at the moment of speaking. And, as (5,46) and (5,47) show, an L' sentence is used when the situation previous to the stated event has ended. For instance, in the case of (5,46), Z3 stopped being in the state of having nothing to do, and he has started reading. Similarly, (5,47) tells us that the sun stopped shining, instead it has started raining. The speaker of (5,34) is then saying two things: (a) Z3 began reading; (b) Z3 has been reading since. L' sentences, in this sense then, may be seen to be comparable to English expressions such as "John has begun reading", with a presupposed meaning of "John stopped being in the state of not reading". In the case of the sentence-final L' with non-past reference time, the meaning of such a sentence would then be something like "John will begin/start reading", and such a sentence would entail that "John will stop being in the state of not reading.".

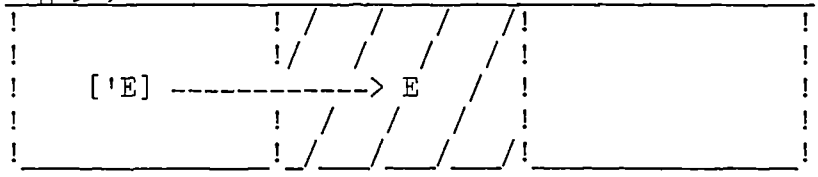
The formalization of L'-constructions would then be, utilizing the same symbols as explained in 5.4.3.2, the following:

Formula 2 (FII): L' $\subseteq$ ['E] --> E

The interpretation of FII is: a spaeoq has taken place after the presupposed event; if the negation becomes false, then the explicitly stated event must have started. (5,34) may thus be comparable to the expressions represented by fig. 5.6. in the sense that (5,34) also

focuses on only one stage of the journey. The difference is that while (5,19) relates the event to the final state B, (5,34), relates it to the initial state A. We may thus represent the meaning of (5,34) in the following manner:

Fig.5.9



E in fig 5.9 stands for the state of Z3's reading; and ['E] stands for the presupposed state of Z3's not having started reading, i.e. the state Z3 was in before he entered the state E. The dividing line between the unspecified initial state ['E] and the specified state E is an arbitrary point of the beginning of Z3's reading and this inception implies an existence of the state of Z3's not reading previous to the event in focus. Thus, fig. 5.9, like fig. 5.6 for L-constructions, is a case of border-crossing, and similarly to the way in which the cessative meaning of L implies an inception, the inceptive meaning of L' implies cessation. In (5,34) it is the cessation of the state of Z3's not reading.

The combination of the proposition of Z3 READ and the inceptive meaning of the sentence-final le (L') gives rise to the meaning of both Z3 started reading and Z3 is now engaged in reading, and the inception of the state of Z3's reading presupposes a state of Z3's not reading. The meaning equivalent of (5,34) is then:

(5,75) Z3 has begun reading.

The function of the sentence-final le may therefore be to indicate the inception of a spaeoq, which follows some presupposed spaeoq.

XH's (1963:208) statement that "le indicates the change of the state of affairs, has a signification of time." therefore, seems to stand, as this matches the claim that 'is now engaged in reading' is part of the meaning of (5,34). Also, as will be concluded in section 5.4.7, the le particle (both L and L') signals 'ordering of events', i.e. "relative tense, where the reference point for location of a situation is some point in time given by the context, not necessarily the present moment." (Comrie 1985:56). It is thus not surprising that (5,35) - (5,37) are all grammatical. (5,35) says that: Z3 began reading at some point in time yesterday, and he might or might not have stopped since then; (5,36): Z3 has, at this point in time, begun reading; and (5,37): Z3 will begin reading at some point in time tomorrow.

Another point to note about the sentence-final L' is that the inceptive meaning of L' is incompatible with another clause (such as a jiù clause) which suggests the cessation of an event that has to take place before the event specified by that other clause. Since an event cannot simultaneously be beginning and be ending, the unacceptability of

(5,76)*Z3 kàn shū le jiù zǒu.
Z3 read book le then leave

follows.

Contrast (5,76) with (5,77) below:

(5,77) Z3 kàn shū le. Xiànzài háizài kàn.
Z3 read book le. now still reading
(Z3 has begun reading. And he is now still reading.)

5.4.3.4. Post-verbal Le and Sentence-final Le Co-occuring in the Same Sentence (L...L')

L...L', as a combination of L and L', contains both the meaning of L and the meaning of L'. The unacceptability of all the non-past time references (cf. table 5.4) matches that of the post-verbal L constructions, and on the basis of this we may assume that the L part of the meaning in L...L' is

(5,78) Z3 did some reading and he is no longer doing so.

The interpretation of the L' part of the meaning may be obtained in the following manner: the sentence-final L', like other sentence-final particles, is a sentence operator, it covers the entire scope of the sentence. Thus, the second stage of meaning interpretation of 5,48 (=5,17) would be something like (where the parenthesised material in the scope of L' corresponds to the meaning of the L sentence 5,15):

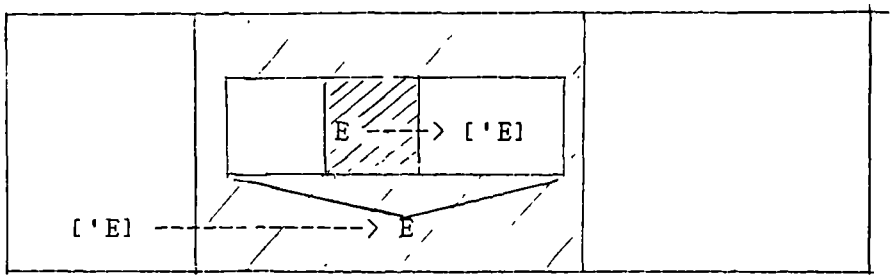
(5,79) L'(Z3 did some reading and he is no longer doing so.)

i.e. L'(...L...)

The meaning of (5,48) then has two parts: (a) Z3 did some reading, as indicated by L; and (b) the state of Z3's having stopped reading has begun, as indicated by L'.

Graphically the L...L' constructions may be represented as follows:

Fig.5.10



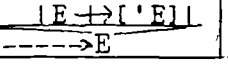
As with other types of le constructions, when there is a specific past reference time present as in (5,49), the L...L' sentence tells us that the border-crossing took place sometime yesterday.

As the cessative meaning of L is contained within the L...L' construction, the constraint against future time reference on L constructions also applies to the L...L' construction. This is exemplified by the unacceptability of míngtiān (tomorrow), which denotes future reference time, in (5,51).

The L...L' construction is therefore, like the L and L' constructions, not a complete three-state-journey, but a case of a border-crossing journey.

5.4.3.5. Summary

Table 5.5

Le types	Post-verbal L	Sentence-final L'	L...L'
Functions	cessation	inception	cessation &inception
Journeys	E --!->['E]!	['E]--!->E !	
Meanings	1) Z3 did some reading; 2) Z3 is no longer reading now.	1) Z3 began reading; 2) Z3 has been reading since then.	1) Z3 did some reading and he is no longer reading now. 2) The state of Z3's having stopped reading has begun.
Translations	Z3 did some reading but he is no longer doing so.	Z3 has begun reading.	Z3 has done some reading.

5.4.4. Le that occurs in the Position that is both Post-verbal and Sentence-final (LE)

It has long been accepted without much questioning that when a le comes in the position that is both sentence-final and post-verbal, the interpretation of such a sentence is ambiguous (Li & Liu et al. (1955), MCR (1963), Li and Thompson (1981),). This section offers a suggestion that the function of LE is, identically with that of the post-verbal le (L), to signify a transition from the positive state E to the negative state ['E] in border-crossing journeys, irrespective of the relation between the ST and the reference time.

Let us proceed by looking at some typical LE sentences with different reference times:

(a) LE with past reference time:

(5,80) Z3 zuótiān zǒu le.
Z3 yesterday leave LE
(Z3 left yesterday.)

Zǒu is an achievement verb, a verb of all-or-none nature, thus the combination of this verb and le, which signifies the order of events, would specify a transition from being at the deictically-determined place to not being at that place. (5,80) thus tells us that the event of Z3's leaving (i.e. exiting from E, the state of being in that place) has already taken place at some point in time yesterday, and that after that point state E is no longer in existence; what has come into existence is the a non-E state, which is represented by the ['E]. More specifically, what (5,80) tells us is that: up to yesterday Z3 was in the

deictically-determined place; yesterday a transition took place - a transition which is no longer in the process of happening - that resulted in him being not in that place; so he is not there now (unless he has subsequently returned).

Other examples involving achievement verbs include:

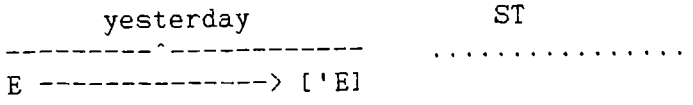
sǐ (die) as in: (5,81) Z3 sǐ le.
Z3 die le (Z3 died.)

dào (arrive) as in : (5,82) Z3 dào le.
Z3 arrive le (Z3 arrived.), etc..

(5,81)implies that Z3's dying is not at the ST taking place, it has already taken place at some point in time prior to the ST; Likewise, (5,82)means that Z3 is not arriving at the ST, Z3 arrived at some point in time prior to the ST. LE in both (5,81) and (5,82) as in (5,80) implies the entering of state ['E].

Graphically (5,80) may be represented as follows:

Fig. 5.11

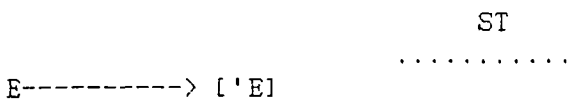


(b) LE with neutral reference time (by which I mean a sentence without any overtly specified reference time):

(5,83) Z3 zǒu le.
Z3 leave LE
(Z3 left.)

(5,83) is similar to (5,80) in that it tells us that Z3's leaving the deictically-determined place has already happened and that he is no longer at that place at the ST. The only difference between (5,80) and (5,83) is that while (5,80) specifies that the border-crossing took place yesterday, (5, 83) implies only that the border-crossing is prior to the ST. The representation for (5,83) would then be:

Fig. 5.12.



(c) LE with future reference time:

(5,84) Z3 míngtiān zǒu le.
Z3 tomorrow leave le
(Z3 is leaving tomorrow./Z3 will have left by (some point in time) tomorrow.)

(5,84) tells us that the state of Z3's being at the deictically-determined place (i.e. E) will come to an end at some point in time tomorrow, and that the state of Z3's not being at that place (i.e. ['E]) will begin at the same time. That is, the border-crossing will take place after the ST, and it will be some time tomorrow. The representation for (5,84) would thus be:

Fig.5.13

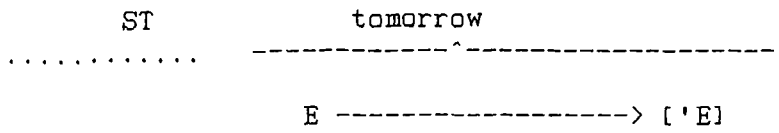


Fig. 5.11, fig. 5.12 and fig. 5.13 resemble fig. 5.6 (p.163) and fig. 5.7 (p.164) for post-verbal L constructions. In all these instances, the positive state E precedes the negative state ['E].

An inference may be deduced from the above, namely: LE is a cessative L. Consequently it may be concluded that there is in fact no such thing as LE, it is merely a cessative L.

There is, after all, a plausible way of determining that LE has cessative meaning. LE sentences are, therefore, not as indeterminate as they appear at first sight to be.

5.4.5. Conclusion

All the le-constructions involve some sort of ordering, despite some of the differences between achievements and le-constructions (cf. section 5.4.2.), and irrespective of the position of le.

Further, in a sentence lacking explicit expressions signalling the event order, le may be seen to be indispensable in indicating the ordering of the stated and the presupposed events. This position is further supported by the following pair of semantically equivalent examples:

(5,85) Z3 xiān chī fàn, ránhòu qù.
Z3 first eat rice, then go
(Z3 will eat first, and then he'll go.)

(5,86) Z3 chī le fàn qù.
Z3 eat le rice go
(Z3 will go after his meal.)

while (5,85) contains adverbials indicating explicitly the ordering of the spaeoqs, (5,86) contains the le particle and achieves the same effect.

Le, therefore, signifies the ordering of events, rather than say the completion of an action. And although L does not mark termination it marks cessation. Le may therefore be said to signal "relative tense" in the sense defined by Comrie (1985:56):

> Where the reference point for location of a situation is some point in time given by the context, not necessarily the present moment.

Further, when there is no presupposition of border and border crossing, le would not be used, otherwise it would lead to absurdity of the kind illustrated by the gentleman mentioned in the Introduction (p.6), who failed to realise the basic function of le, even though such an expression may be well-formed in terms of syntax.

This conclusion also explains why le, unlike zhe, can occur with both the Verbs and VA words (cf. table 5.2 and table 5.3), since le implies a border-crossing between two states, and a state may be denoted by either verbs or VA words (e.g. Z3 gāo meaning Z3 is in the state of being tall.).

The following section provides examples showing le in other positions besides those already discussed, further supporting the conclusion that le indicates the ordering of events.

5.4.6. MORE ON LE

5.4.6.1. Le in Post Nominal Positions

Eg.: (5, 87) Zhème duō dōngxi, bù zhī mài nǎige, xíng a, shū le.
so many thing neg. know sell which, OK p. book le
(I wonder which to sell amongst so many things, OK, the books.)

(5, 88) Z3 bùxíng, nǐ yě bùxíng, L4 gèng bùxíng, wǒ le
Z3 incapable,you too incapable,L4 more incapable,I le
(Z3 cannot do it, you cannot do it either, L4 is even worse, then I (am the only one who can do it).)

(5,89) Bù zhī gěi tā jǐge hǎo, xíng a, sānge le.
neg.know give he how-many fine,OK p. three le
(Don't know how many (I should) give to him, OK, three.)

In the case of (5,89), presumably the noun that should follow numeral+classifier has been omitted, therefore numeral+ classifier+le constructions may be treated as a subclass of the nominal+le construction. (5,87),(5,88)&(5,89)are comparable to the sentence-final L' constructions since they all express the state that something has come into existence at the speech time. That is (5,87), (5,88) and (5,89) all show that there have been processes of decision making (i.e.['E]), and only when choices are made (i.e.E), may the particle le be employed, thus the same FII: L' = ['E] --> E; accounts for these post-nominal cases.

It is also worth noting that both noun+le and numeral +classifier+le in isolation sound very strange to the native ear. E.g.: (5,90) ? Shū le. and (5,91) ? Sānge le.
book le three le

5.4.6.2. Sentence-final le with other Sentence Types

Apart from the declarative + le type of sentences that we have been discussing so far, le also occurs in imperative sentences and exclamative sentences. For example:

(a) imperative + le: (5,92) Bié shuō le!
don't talk le
(Don't talk/tell (anymore)!)

(5,93) Chūqu le!
out-dir.v. le (Go out!)

(b) exclamative + le: (5,94) Tài búxiànghuà le!
too outrageous le
(What an outrageous man/behaviour!)

(5,95) Tài hǎo le!
too good le (How wonderful!)

And it is often the case that L' in these positions is merged with the a particle that intensifies the speech act force (cf. sections

2.1.2.5, 2.2.2.4, 2.3, 2,4), resulting in la (cf. appendix B for the process of shwa-deletion).

(a) and (b) are discussed in turn in the following.

(a). Imperative + L'

Although structurally both (5,92) and (5, 93) may be classified as L', the question that arises here is: what does le actually do in imperative sentences? Does it still have the function of signifying the ordering of the spaeoqs?

According to the framework that we have developed so far, L'-sentences would have the formula of L' = ['E] --> E (i.e.FII). However, this is obviously not the case for (5, 92) and (5, 93). Take (5, 92) for example, this sentence is used when some unwelcome spaeoq (which may be either the interlocutor's unpleasant topic of conversation, or unpleasant manner of speaking) has been going on up to the point of speech time.

If Grice's maxim of quality is taken as applying to the use of the le particle, then its effect would be: use the sentence-final le only when the stated event has already begun. Le in (5, 92) might then be considered to violate this maxim, since the hearer has not yet shut up. The meaning of (5, 92) would then be an implicature arising from violation of the maxim.

This case may be comparable to the case of irony, that is, saying one thing while meaning the opposite to express the speaker's annoyance.

Imperatives are characteristically used to issue mands, and this speech act category has the form of "I-say-so (so-be-it (p))" (cf. chapter III). Thus the meaning of (5, 92) is then I say that you shut up, rather than I say that you have shut up. The same applies to

(5,93), and (5, 93) may be interpreted as I say that you go out, instead of I say that you have gone out.

In these example, the speaker's annoyance is expressed by the contradiction between the real world and the proposition that is entailed by his utterance. Le in these two examples may therefore be a case of the ironic use of the L' construction.

(b). Exclamative + L'

The interpretation L' in this construction is a straightforward inceptive one, and examples (5,94) and (5,95) are covered by

FII: = ['E] --> E.

As suggested in section 3.7.4, chapter III, exclamatives are a species of Assertive, and have a reinforced statement force. In this respect then, they are very similar to rhetoricals, since rhetoricals function as forceful statements (cf. appendix A). And this is particularly true with exclamative + L' in Mandarin. The speaker of (5,94) and (5, 95) is in fact, in addition to stating the facts (in the case of (5, 94): the outrageous man/behaviour/ etc.; in the case of (5, 95): the wonderful thing/idea/etc.), meaning something like "I am astonished that you could be so outrageous!" (5,94), "I am astonished that this wonderful thing has come about!", etc..

5.4.7. le on its own does not have a pragmatic function

As established in Chapter III, ba is a pragmatic particle and has a neustic weakening function. Le, on the other hand, as we have seen in this chapter, is an aspectual marker; the post-verbal le signals a cessation, and the sentence-final le, an inception.

Although examples in section 5.4.6.2. may lead one to wonder if le may also have some pragmatic function, the following comparison shows not.

(5, 96) Bié shuō! I-say-so (so-be-it)
neg. speak
(Don't speak/tell!)

(5,97) Bié shuō ba! I-wonder-so (so-be-it)
neg. speak ba
((It would be nice if you) don't speak/tell.)

(5, 98) Bié shuō le! I-say-so (so-be-it)
neg. speak le
(Don't speak/tell (any more)!)

Readers may recall that the function of neustic weakening and its effect of politeness are the basic criteria for recognising ba as a pragmatic particle. The presence of le in (5, 98) does not, however, affect the neustic at all. Thus le cannot be a pragmatic particle as ba is.

Further, le may be combined with the "I-wonder" meaning of ba:

(5, 99) Bié shuō le ba!
neg.speak le ba
((It would be nice if you) don't speak/tell (any more)!)

More supporting evidence for this position is the fact that exclamatives that do not contain lexical items denoting an excessive degree cannot take le. E.g.:

(5,100) *Zhēn hǎo le!
real good le

(5,101)*Duō·nánkàn le!
many ugly le

(5,102)*Hǎo dà de bízi le!
good big p. nose le

(5,103)*Tiān le!
heaven le

(5,104)*Huǒ le!
fire le

(5,100) - (5,102) talk about the extent, but not signify excessive degree, (5, 103) and (5, 104) are only nouns, giving no indication of either degree or extent; (5,105) - (5,107) below show that the inceptive le is acceptable when excessive degrees are indicated.

(5,105) Tài guì le!
too expensive le (Too expensive!)

(5,106) Kěxiào jí le!
funny extreme le (Awfully funny!)

(5,107) Zài hǎo méiyou le!
again good neg. le (Nothing could be better!)

The speaker would not use (5,105) if s/he did not believe that something is over-priced; nor would s/he use (5,106) is s/he did not think certain thing/behaviour/etc. was excessively funny; and s/he would not use (5,107) either if s/he believed that there were something better than the thing/idea in question. That is to say, (supposing the over-priced object is a book), if a book is expensive and the speaker is surprised to see the price without suspecting the book may be over priced, s/he will then use something like

(5,108) Zhēn guì!
real expensive
(It's really expensive!)

to express her/his astonishment. But when the degree of expensiveness exceeds the speaker's expectation/tolerance, then (5,105) will be used. That is, (5,105) is used when the border between the state of being just expensive and the state of being too expensive has been crossed. When there is no implication of such a border and border-crossing, i.e. when the speaker simply thinks that the book is over priced, then

(5,109) Tài guì!
too expensive
(It's too expensive!)

is to be used, but not (5,105), which contains the inceptive le.

On this interpretation, I would claim that the sentence-final le does not, in any way, have a pragmatic function as does the ba particle. What needs to be clarified is simply that the inceptive meaning of the sentence-final le may be utilised by the speaker in a particular situation to contradict the real world affairs to meet

the speaker's need, rather than the le particle itself having an ironic interpretation. The above does not exclude the possibility of a sentence containing le being used ironically, just as an interrogative form may be used rhetorically to express a speaker's annoyance etc..

Statements to the effect that le conveys obviousness (Chao 1948:195) therefore appear to be too simplistic and perhaps also misleading.

NOTES TO CHAPTER V

1. This symbol (introduced in Chapter IV) is also used throughout this chapter; as we shall see in the examples presented in later sections, the so-called verbal-particle le also occurs in positions such as post-adjectival and post-nominal.

2. The un/acceptabilities have been cross-checked with two other native speakers of Mandarin.

3. Zhe is acceptable in cases where the victims (and possibly also the assassins) are members of, say, a political or religious organization, and has a very high compatibility with dynamic verbs. The unacceptability of zhe in 5c is, however, due to the nature of the spaeoq denoted by ànshā(assassinate), since one cannot repeatedly/continously assassinate the same person, in our case L4.

4. Same as 2 above.

5. This phrase containing yǐhòu (afterwards) is more readily acceptable than
?Nàr yǒu le rén.
A certain amount of incompleteness was felt by the informants about the latter.
The meaning of "people have begun to live there" would, on the other hand, require sentences containing sentence-final le, and not a post-verbal le. Namely: Nàr yǒu rén le.
there exist person le
(People have begun to live there.)

6. The acceptability of zhe by 2a chóu(worry), an "exception" in table 2, may suggest that though this morpheme has the characteristics of non-dynamic VA words, its combination with zhe gives rise to a progressive, hence dynamic, interpretational overtone to the non-dynamic situation. In effect, the addition of zhe, a carrier of progressive meaning, results in a much more vivid verbalization of Z3's worry about having nothing to do.

7. This example is unacceptable as an isolated sentence. However, the xièzhe sequence may be acceptable in sentences such as the following:
Jìnguǎn yuángōng de zhàoliào, huāyuán lǐ de huār hái zài
despite gardener p. care, garden in p. flower still at

búduànde xiè zhe.
continuously wither zhe

(Despite the gardener's care, the flowers in the garden are still withering away (one after another).)

8. Given the fact that Mandarin does not have in/definite articles, kàn shū is normally taken as reading something of book form, which could be a magazine for instance, rather than reading a specific book.
To achieve a meaning that is similar to the English the book, a deictic demonstrative such as nà (that) is used as in
Z3 kàn le nà běn shū.
Z3 read that cl. book (Z3 read that/the book.)

The phrase some reading in the gloss of this example, as well as in many of the following examples, is used to represent this unspecified reading material, which could, but does not have to be, a book.

9. "border-crossings too can have linguistic encodings of the from...to... variety, where the initial and/or final locative states receive overt specification rather than the border separating the two: Egor crossed from France into Italy." (Jessen 1973: 114)

10. "A resultative compound verb is in bound form. The complement of the verb expresses the result of the action denoted by the first verb." (Lin 1981:235). "Since the grammatical meaning of a complement is result, there is probably a larger proportion of adjectives than of action verbs."(Chao 1968:443).

Chao's statement is in fact an understatement. Most of the complements are perhaps adjectives, and a small proportion of resultative complements are achievement verbs. Probably there is no action verb which can be used as resultative complement. E.g.:

verb + adjective	xiéhǎo write-good (complete writing)
verb + achievement	xiěwán write-finish (finish writing)
verb + action verb	*xiěkàn write-read

That is, those morphemes that belong to classes 7 and 8 used in the test for verb classification in Mandarin (cf. chapter IV) may be used as resultative verb complements.

Complements such as sǐ (dead), though they may be achievement verbs, when used in complement position, are adjectives as indicated by the fact that these items can and do modify nouns/noun phrases. E.g.: sǐ māo (a dead cat).

Wán (finish), dào (reach/arrive) and such like are another class of resultative complements, which are achievement verbs in terms of Vendler's (1967) classification. As "the general idea of completion can be expressed by complement wán..."(Chao 1968:449), wán (finish) is used in the following examples.

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSION

6.1. INTRODUCTION

Numerous particles and xūcí morphemes in Mandarin have been mentioned in this study; ba and le have been treated in greater depth than the others.

This chapter starts with a broad summary of the main findings contributed by each chapter (section 6.2), and the subsequent section, 6.3, focuses on the contributions of specific areas of various disciplines to the present study. The main theoretical issue as to whether there should be a clear-cut boundary between linguistic disciplines and pragmatics is raised in section 6.4. The final section, 6.5, indicates practical applications of this study.

6.2. FINDINGS AND CONTRIBUTIONS

It was established in chapter I that sentence-final particles do not exclusively mark sentence-mood, and post-verbal particles do not regularly mark verbal aspect either. It was also, in the same chapter, concluded that particles are not used in place of punctuation marks at all.

It was found in Chapter II that there are at least seven main structural patterns in Mandarin, alongside the well established distinction of the four sentence types, and these patterns may further be grouped into two distinct classes according to their behaviour in relation to sentence-final particles. Other so-called sentence types such as tags, echoes, rhetoricals are all found to fall into the above two categories. Sentence-final particles are therefore interdependent with sentence type.

An analysis in terms of Hare's scheme of neustic (tropic

(phrastic)), in Chapter III, led to the conclusion that ba in declarative and imperative constructions has a "neustic weakening" function. Other pragmatic notions such as the Speaker Know Best Principle (SKB), the Cooperative Principle (CP) and its Maxims of communication, and the Politeness Principle (PP) have enabled us to determine and explain HOW and WHY a speaker might/should use a ba-ending sentence.

The incompatibility between ba and particle-ending interrogative sentences was found to be due to the sets of contradicting felicity conditions and presuppositions. This finding in turn has explained certain oddities of sentences which, though syntactically well-formed, are generally less than satisfactory/unacceptable in ordinary linguistic communication.

Counterexamples to the above conclusions, i.e. non-particle interrogative + ba constructions were examined in both linguistic and pragmatic terms.

The analyses presented in chapter III account for the full range of occurrences of ba.

The analyses in Chapter III further suggested the following:

(a) The existence of a notion of illocutionary hierarchy, on the basis of the "tropic" of the sentences;

(b) The interaction of the syntactic patterns of Mandarin and the pragmatic functions of particles is not an accident, but is a result of some highly sophisticated organization, the product of human intelligence;

(c) The PP appears to be a device that motivates the speaker to be deviant from "maximally efficient communication", whereas the CP is the controlling principle. No one in linguistic communication may escape from the CP, as the result of such an attempt would only be a complete breakdown in the communication; and

(d) ba may be termed as a "neustic weakener" in terms of the function that it carries; an "illocutionary morpheme" in terms of the effect of its use; and a "politeness indicator" in terms of the motive for the speaker's use of ba.

Chapter IV presented a test examining the association of the shící members with other word classes (which served as a base for the analyses of the post-verbal particles in Chapter V).

Yu's philosophical insight into the relation between observable phenomena and members of the shící class, and his subsequent ontological classification of verbs was utilized in finding test samples and in grouping the sample items into categories based on their denotata. The result of the test indicated overwhelmingly that not only are verbs and adjectives distinct, but also that there are recognizable subcategories even within the verb class. This important finding has refuted the popular claim that "shící in Mandarin are not classifiable".

On the basis of the tests, the sample items were classified into the following classes: Verbs, VA words and Adjectives. Verbs are dynamic by nature, whereas the latter two are static.

This chapter further provided evidence to indicate that other shící types such as nouns also form distinct classes.

The most frequently used post-verbal particles, namely, zhe and le, were examined in Chapter V. The acceptability of zhe by the class of Verbs generally, and not by the VA words, confirmed that zhe grammaticalizes the dynamic aspect of verbs.

Taking as background a deeper understanding of the nature of sentence-types and verb-classes, as well as the nature of some of the sentence-final and post-verbal particles, the le particle was analyzed in detail. In terms of the position of occurrence of the particle, le-constructions were classified into the following four types: (1) L - post-verbal le; (2) L' - sentence-final le; (3) L...L'

- both L and L' occur in a single sentence; and (4) LE - le occurs in a position which is both post-verbal and sentence-final.

The combination of the semantic descriptions of sentences containing le and Jessen's (1973) notion of Temporal Journeys enabled us to conclude that the le particle signifies the ordering of events. In terms of this notion of journey, it was established that although both achievement verbs and le-constructions are border-crossings, the former are terminative, whereas the le-constructions are either cessative (L) or inceptive (L') or a combination of both cessative and inceptive (L...L'). The precise interpretation of the le-constructions has to depend on the presupposed border(s), border-crossing and any other relevant information available. When there is no implication of border-crossing, a sentence containing le is not to be used, otherwise such an utterance would cause absurdity in talk exchange, even though it may be syntactically well formed.

The discovery of the event-ordering function of le also satisfactorily explains why le, unlike zhe, can occur with not only Verbs and VA words, but also in many other environments, such as in imperative constructions.

Numerous linguistic examples containing time expressions from both English and Mandarin Chinese suggested that the lexicalization of time reference is more basic than the verbal particles and inflections to the expression of time reference in language.

It was concluded in Chapter V that the le particle, unlike ba, does not have any pragmatic function as suggested by scholars such as Chao (1948).

6.3.ROLES OF RELEVANT DISCIPLINES

Semantics, syntax, phonology and pragmatics, as well as other

related fields of study such as philosophy have played indispensable roles in the present study of the particles in Mandarin. These are summarized below.

The contributions from areas of linguistics include:

(a) The syntactic account of sentence-types in Mandarin enabled us to identify the types of constructions involving particles (cf. Chapter II);

(b) The account of Mandarin phonology enabled us to determine and reduce the number of particles by clarifying the relationship between a and its variants. (cf. Appendix B);

(c) An examination of the association between verbs and other word classes, together with the notionally-based grouping of Mandarin words, permitted a rational classification of Mandarin verbs;

(d) The semantic accounts of sentence and verbal constructions involving particles enabled us to determine the likely meaning of the particles under investigation.

However, despite these significant contributions from core linguistics, the fact is that core linguistics does not tell us what particles actually do. Consequently, a narrowly linguistic description of Mandarin does not satisfactorily explain the cases of unacceptable particle use. For instance, in the case of the unacceptable sequence of double particles in sentences (cf. section 2,2, Chapter II), the syntax of Mandarin can say no more than that this sequence is not a Mandarin syntactic pattern, and therefore it is ungrammatical. It does not however tell us why it is unacceptable.

Pragmatic theory also made a significant, and perhaps more direct, contribution to the present study of particles. The following are instances.

(a)Conversational Implicature:

Under the inspiration of Gricean pragmatic principles, and the utilization of several devices (e.g. the SKB, the PP, the CP and Maxims, and Hare's scheme of Neustic, Tropic and Phrastic), we were able to determine and explain HOW and WHY particles figure in Mandarin

and what effects are achieved by the particles in linguistic communication.

The pragmatic account of the particles under investigation is also capable of handling the counterexamples such as the occurrence of le in the imperative/exclamative-final position (cf. Chapter V).

(b)Speech Acts:

The notion of illocutionary forces and their accompanying felicity conditions not only helped us in introducing the notions of illocutionary hierarchies, but also helped us in explaining certain unacceptabilities such as the incompatibility between particle-ending interrogatives and ba, in terms of the sets of contradicting felicity conditions and presuppositions, which a pure linguistic account does not attempt to explain. (cf.Chapter III).

Apart from the above-mentioned linguistic and pragmatic devices, contributions from other disciplines to the present study of Mandarin particles include:

The ontologically founded grouping of verbs yielded a motivated classification of Mandarin verbs (something which has hitherto been lacking.); and the notion of Temporal Journeys on the other hand helped us reach the conclusion that le signifies the ordering of events.

6.4.PRAGMATICS AND/OR LINGUISTICS: A THEORETICAL ISSUE

The position that is being put forward by the present thesis is therefore evident: an adequate explanation of the behaviour of a particle in Mandarin may be achieved by means of the combination of a pragmatic account and a core linguistic one. That is, more precisely,

an adequate account of sentence-final and post-verbal particles cannot exclude the narrowly linguistic description of Mandarin, nor can it exclude the pragmatic account of the language. This conclusion, in effect, challenges the more widely propagated doctrine which suggests a broad separation of a pragmatic account from a centrally linguistic account of any individual language such as that put forward by Kempson (1977).

This `separationist' point of view could in fact be challenged more strongly with the effect of something like the following: pragmatic theories, in addition to their explanatory power for the principles of language use, are also concerned and capable of providing answers to questions relating to aspects of linguistic structure. For instance, queries such as `why do certain types of interrogatives accept particles such as ba, and others do not?'(cf. Chapter III), thus contributing to the explication of the linguistic constructions. This kind of claim is in clear contrast to statements such as the following:

> ...pragmatic theories ...do nothing to explicate structure of linguistic constructions or grammatical properties and relations ... (Katz 1977:19)

If this is so, then how can the use of the sentence-final particles in Mandarin be made explicable? And if "A pragmatic theory deals with the various mechanisms real speakers use to exploit the richness of the context in order to produce utterances whose meaning in context diverges predictably from the meaning of the sentences of which they are tokens" (op.cit:15), then is the use of the sentence-final particles not one such mechanism that real speakers employ to exploit the richness of the context?

It therefore looks as if some reconsideration may be required for claiming that a linguistic theory of a language has nothing to do with a pragmatic account of human communication, at least in the study of Mandarin and, probably, the majority of the East and South East Asian languages that possess sentence-final particles, which are indisputably grammatically relevant. Or else, "... such scope for pragmatics would fail to distinguish linguistic pragmatics from many other disciplines interested in functional approaches to language including psycholinguistics and sociolinguistics." (Levinson 1983:7). It also looks as though the term, namely, Pragmalinguistics may be proposed, alongside other hyphenated disciplines such as socio-linguistics, as a standard cover term for studies of highly pragmatic linguistic items such as the particles in Mandarin.

Thus, contrary to the 'segregationist' point of view, the study of the pragmatic function of the particles in relation to the linguistic description of sentence types and verb classes presented in this thesis has proved to be a profitable way of achieving a more adequate and unified account of linguistic items in Mandarin which would, otherwise, have been regarded as "empty".

6.5.EPILOGUE

On the basis of detailed linguistic and pragmatic analyses of ba and le, this thesis has sought to provide satisfactory explanations for the complex behaviour of the particles under investigation.

The study of the complexity of the particles in Mandarin in this thesis has been not only worthwhile, but also fascinating, particularly if one considers the possible application of this study to some other related fields. For instance, the account of the behaviour of particles presented in this study could be used to lessen the mental load of learners of Chinese (cf. Appendix D for examples of

various English expressions and their meaning equivalents in Mandarin, all of which involve an identical particle, namely, ba.), and therefore this thesis is expected to have relevance for Applied Linguistics. Also, as we said earlier, the use of particles in Mandarin is a result of some highly sophisticated mental processes. The present study may therefore provide a kind of foundation for the study of an interesting topic in language understanding, processing, and production in areas such as Psycholinguistics, and Computational Linguistics.

Needless to say, the numerous different xūcí, including all the unexamined particles, await further and more detailed investigation. The present study of some of the sentence-final and the post-verbal particles is therefore only a beginning in the field of the study of particles.

It is hoped that future researchers may benefit from this study, and make more significant contributions towards the study of Mandarin xūcí generally.

APPENDIX A
Echoes and Rhetoricals

1. Echoes

An utterance which repeats part or all of a previous utterance as a means of eliciting confirmation of parts or all of its content is called an echo. The b utterances in the following are some examples.

(1)a: Z3 shì lǎoshī. Z3 be teacher (Z3 is a teacher.)	b: Z3 shì lǎoshī ya? Z3 be teacher (y)a (Z3 is a teacher?)
(2)a: Z3 shì lǎoshī. Z3 be teacher (Z3 is a teacher.)	b: Shéi shì lǎoshī who be teacher (Who is a teacher?)
(3)a: Jiāo Z3 zhōngwén! teach Z3 Chinese (Teach Z3 Chinese!)	b: Jiāo shéi zhōngwén? teach who Chinese (Teach who Chinese?)

Structurally, echoes may also be classified in terms of types A and B sentence patterns (cf. Section 2.5): (2 & 3) belong to type A; and (1) is a species of type B, because if it lacked ya it would not be interrogative.

From a functional point of view: The speaker uttering an echo is not seeking any new information as one would normally do when using an interrogative. Instead, the speaker is asking for a repetition of part or the whole of the previous utterance, as if it had not been heard clearly. In effect the speaker's use of echoes may be seen as expressing surprise, disbelief, incomprehension etc., and not asking a question as such.

2. Rhetoricals

The sentence structures of rhetoricals are of two kinds and can be described by either Clause P or Clause (P) (cf. Chapter II, section 2.2.4.1), or more precisely, either the structure for particle interrogatives or the structure for question word interrogatives. These are illustrated here by the following:

Clause P	Clause (P)
Zhè shì lǐyóu wa?! this be reason (w)a (Is this the reason?!)	Shéi bú huì ?! who neg.can (Who cannot (do it)?!)

Consequently there is little point in treating rhetoricals as a separate syntactic category from interrogatives.

Rhetorical interrogatives are often accompanied by adverbs such as nándào(surely not), as in

(4) Zhe nándào hái bù míngbai ya?!
This adv. still neg. clear (y)a
(Isn't this perfectly clear?!)

Rhetoricals function as forceful statements in the sense that they are often used for the sake of impressing people, expressing speakers' annoyance etc., and no answer is expected by the speaker.

This deviation from the primary function of interrogative sentences also, as with echoes, seems to be a case which may be handled more adequately in terms of the theory of speech acts.

APPENDIX B
Phonologically Conditioned a

Phonological rules such as insertion and deletion often serve the function of making syllable structure confirm more to the pattern of the language concerned, and the processes that the particle a has undergone are cases in point.

For instance, glide /j/ is habitually inserted before the a particle when this particle is preceded by syllables whose final Vs have the features [+front, -low], and /w/ is inserted before a when it is preceded by syllables whose final Vs have the features [+back,-low].

The /j/-insertion in

(1) Z3 qù ya?
Z3 go ya
(Is Z3 going?)

may be accounted for by the following intervocalic glide epenthesis rule, in which $ represents syllable boundary:

$$\text{rule A: } \emptyset \text{ --> j } / \begin{bmatrix}+\text{front}\\ -\text{low}\end{bmatrix} \$ \text{ -- } [-\text{high}] \qquad (V \text{ -- } V)$$

the underlined part of (1) is pronounced as [tɕy$ja] which is a result of the application of Rule A to its underlying form of /tɕy$a/.

Similarly, the /w/-insertion in (2) below is generated by another intervocalic glide epenthesis rule, namely:

$$\text{Rule B: } \emptyset \text{ --> w } / \begin{bmatrix}+\text{back}\\ -\text{low}\end{bmatrix} \$ \text{ -- } [-\text{high}] \qquad (V \text{ -- } V)$$

(2) Z3 kàn bào wa?
[baʊ$wa]
Z3 read newspaper wa
(Is Z3 reading a newspaper?)

which has the underlying structure of /baʊ$a/.

Rule A and Rule B can be collapsed into a more general glide epenthesis rule:

$$\text{RI: } \emptyset \text{ --> } [\alpha\text{front}] / \begin{bmatrix}\alpha\text{front}\\ -\text{low}\end{bmatrix} \$ \text{ -- } [-\text{high}] \qquad (V \text{ -- } V)$$

On the other hand, (3) is accounted for by a rule of nasal gemination,

(3) Nǐ ràng Z3 jīntiān bàn na?
[ban$na]
you let Z3 today do na
(Do you want Z3 to do (it) today?)

namely,

Rule II:

$$\emptyset \rightarrow N \;/\; \underset{[\alpha \text{ back}]}{N} \;/\; \underset{[\alpha \text{ back}]}{\$} \_\_ \underset{[-\text{high}]}{V}$$

More specifically: /ban$a/ --> [ban$na]. RII also accounts for cases such as /tʃɑŋ$a/ --> [tʃɑŋ$ŋa]. The velar nasal /ŋ/ never occurs syllable initially in Mandarin, except in the case of nasal gemination.

We have thus established that ya, wa, na and ŋa can be regarded as phonologically conditioned variants of a single particle, namely, a.

There are two further cases resulting from phonological processes. They involve a following another particle. The following are examples:

(4) Z3 mǎi la?
Z3 buy le+a
(Has Z3 bought (it)?)

(5) Z3 kàn shū na?
Z3 read book neɿ+a
(Is Z3 reading the book?)

The underlying form of example (4) is

(6) Z3 mǎi le a?
Z3 buy le a
(Has Z3 bought (it)?)

The phonological structure of the underlined part is /lə$a/, and an application of a schwa deletion rule gives rise to the phonetic form of [la] in (4). This assumption is made on the basis of the meaning of (4) -- "Has Z3 bought (it)?" rather than "Does Z3 buy (it)?". In the case of the latter, due to the absence of le, the phonetic form of the relevant part would be [maj$ja], and not [maj$la] as in (6). (for the function of le, cf. Chapter 5)

The underlying form of (5) is

(7) Z3 kàn shū neɿ a?
Z3 read book neɿ a
(Is Z3 reading the book?)

The phonological structure of the underlined part is /nə$a/, and [na] is also a result of schwa deletion. This can be illustrated by the meaning contrast betwen (5) and (8).

(8) Z3 kàn shū wa.
Z3 read book a
(Does Z3 read books?)

The progressivity encoded in neɿ (cf. section 2.1.2.3) is non-existent in (8) due to the absence of neɿ.

This na (neɿ+a) is therefore distinct from the nasal gemination na (/-n+a/) discussed earlier. For the sake of discussion, the na, which is a result of nasal gemination, is assigned the number 1: na_1, and the other na, a result of schwa deletion, is assigned the number 2: na_2.

Let us reconsider example (3). The progressive meaning of ne_1 is unobtainable from na_1, as the sentence neither suggests that the hearer is engaged in the process of actually asking Z3 (to do it) at the moment of speaking, nor that Z3 is actually carrying out the action of doing (certain things understood in the context). Likewise, the na in (5) cannot be na_1, as the last segment in the main clause is /u/[u], and if any phonological change was going to happen when followed by a, it would yield wa, by the glide epenthesis rule, and not na.

Na_2, being a combination of the grammatical ne_1 and the interrogative a, is restricted in occurrence to environments where the progressive meaning of ne_1 and the interrogative meaning of a are both permitted. That is, to the final position of sentences which contain dynamic verbs as exemplified by (5). The occurrence of na_2 in sentences lacking progressive interpretation would, on the other hand, result in ungrammaticality. E.g.:

(9)*Zhè shì shénme na_2?
this be what ne+a

(10)*Zhè shì shū na_2?
this be book ne+a

Whereas a is acceptable in these positions:

(11) Zhè shì shénma[1]
this be what+a (What is this?)

(12) Zhè shì shū wa?
this be book a (Is this a book?)

An additional point concerning na_2 is that the ne_1 element in na_2 cannot be the mood modifying ne_2 (discussed in section 2.1.2.3), for its interrogative-like "I-wonder" character would result in an unacceptable redundancy when combined with the interrogative marker a, thus (15) is unacceptable.

(13)* Nǐ míngtiān qù na_2?
you tomorrow go ne_2a

Furthermore, na_2, unlike the mood modifying ne_2, cannot occur in a phrase-final position to reinforce a pause. E.g:

(14)*Zhàngfu na, zhǎobuzháo shìr, háizimen na, yòu
husband na, find-neg-find job, children na, in-addition

bù kěn niànshū.
neg. want study

NOTE

1. Shénme+a is often realised as shénma due to a process of Schwa-deletion.

APPENDIX C
Choice Interrogatives

1. x or y Choice Interrogatives

A choice indicator in an x or y interrogative is normally placed in between the two declarative clauses, but it can also occur in the position immediately preceding the verb of the first clause. Table A below summarizes the possible combinations of choice indicators in x or y interrogatives. The x or y type of interrogatives that have three or more clauses, e.g. x or y or z etc., are excluded from the summary, since their inclusion would expand table A considerably, and the present study is not an exclusive analysis of x or y interrogatives.

Table A

Choice indicators		Examples	Glosses
háishi (or)	- háishi (or)	(a)Nǐ háishi chī fàn háishi chī miàn? you or eat rice or eat noodles	You (want to) have rice or noodles?
shì (be)	- háishi (or)	(b)Nǐ shì chī fàn háishi chī miàn? you be eat rice or eat noodles	"
shì (be)	- shì (be)	(c)Nǐ shì chī fàn shì chī miàn? you be eat rice be eat noodles	"
shì (be)	- / (pause)	(d)Nǐ shì chī fàn, / chī miàn? you be eat rice / eat noodles	"
Ø	- háishi (or)	(e)Nǐ chī fàn háishi chī miàn? you eat rice or eat noodles	"
Ø	- shì (be)	(f)Nǐ chī fàn shì chī miàn? you eat rice be eat noodles	"
Ø	- / (pause)	(g)Nǐ chī fàn, / chī miàn? you eat rice / eat noodles	"
Ø	"	(h)Nǐ chī fàn, / miàn? you eat rice / noddles	"
Ø	"	(i)Fàn, / miàn? rice, / noodles	"

Note: examples (a) - (g) are taken from Huang (1957:15-16).
Also note the deletion of the subject NP from the second clause in these examples.

Háishi (or) can occur in the first clause only when that clause is joined to the following one by another háishi (or), as shown in example (a). Although this sentence does not sound quite so natural to some speakers such as myself, it is, apparently, acceptable to others such as Huang (1957).

Example (h) represents a type of x or y choice interrogative sentence in which the verb in the second clause has been omitted and the two clauses in the sentence are joined by a pause. There is, however, a morphological restriction on the NPs in both clauses in this kind of construction. In such cases, the NP in each clause is normally a single word irrespective of the number of its syllables. Thus (1) is acceptable, though both of the NPs are of more than one syllable, but not (2), where the first NP consists of two words.

(1) Nǐ chī pútao, / píngguǒ?
you eat grape, / apple
(Do you (want to) have grapes or apples?)

(2)*Nǐ chī xiǎo píngguǒ, / pútao?
you eat small apple, / grape

It should, however, be pointed out that it is not impossible to have the NP in each clause containing more than one word, in which case the NPs on either side of the pause are normally, in one way or another, in contrast, as shown by (3)

(3) Nǐ chī dà píngguǒ, / xiǎo píngguǒ?
you eat big apple, / small apple
(Do you (want to) have the big apple or the small apple?)

In sentences containing more than two clauses, it is, I think, more common to add háishi (or) in front of the last clause as shown by the following contrast.

(4) Nǐ yào hóngde, lǜde, huángde, háishi báide?
you want red-p., green-p., yellow-p., or white-p.
(Do you want to have the red one, the green one, the yellow one, or the white one?)

(5)?Nǐ yào hóngde, lǜde, huángde, báide?
you want red-p., green-p., yellow-p., white-p.

Example (i) in table A shows that the clauses on either side of the choice interrogative indicator may be as small as a single noun.

Apart from clauses containing transitive verbs as in the examples of table A, clauses containing either intransitive verbs (V_i) or ditransitive verbs (V_{dt}) can also be conjoined by a choice indicator to form x or y type interrogatives. For instance:

V_i (6) Huā sǐ háishi xiè?
flower die or wither
(Do flowers die or wither?)

V_{dt}(7) Z3 gěi L4 shū háishi bào?
Z3 give L4 book or newspaper
(Does Z3 give L4 the book or the newspaper?)

It should be noted that there is an overwhelming preference, if not an absolute principle, for deletion of the subject NP in the second (and subsequent) clause(s), if this NP is coreferential with the subject NP in the first clause. The same assumption (i.e. an x or y interrogative is formed by the conjunction of two declarative sentences with the subject NP in the second clause being deleted) is also made by Rand (1969).

Li and Thompson (1981:532-535) on the other hand regard the choice indicator as connecting constituents which may be verb phrases containing either transitive verbs or intransitive verbs, or they may be nominalized adjectives (i.e. adjectives followed by a nominalizing particle as in hóngde
red-p. (the red one).),
or serial verb constructions, or indirect objects.

The order of x or y choice interrogatives is reversible as y or x, as shown by the following pair of examples:

(8) x or y Z3 shì lǎoshī háishi xuésheng?
Z3 be teacher or student
(Is Z3 a teacher or a student?)

y or x Z3 shì xuésheng háishi lǎoshī?
Z3 be student or teacher
(Is Z3 a student or a teacher?)

The h/p appears to play two roles in an x or y choice interrogative:

(a) to indicate interrogativeness, as it does not occur in a sentence where there is already an interrogative property present. The following are some examples.

(9)* Nǐ chī fàn háishi chī miàn ma? (interrogative particle)
you eat rice or eat noodles ma

(10)*Nǐ chī shénme háishi chī miàn?[1] (question word)
you eat what or eat noodles

(11)*Nǐ chī fàn háishi miàn, duì ba? (tag)
you eat rice or eat noodles, right p.

(b) to indicate disjunction. It may be worth pointing out that non-interrogative disjunctive sentences require some other marker of disjunction. This is illustrated by the contrast between a choice interrogative (12) and its non-interrogative disjunctive counterpart (13).

(12) Z3 chī fàn <u>háishi</u> chī miàn?
Z3 eat rice or eat noodles
(Does Z3 (want to)eat rice or noodles?)

(13) Z3 chī fàn <u>huòshi</u> chī miàn.
Z3 eat rice or eat noodles
(Z3 eats either rice or noodles.)

<u>Háishi</u> is therefore exclusively for choice interrogative sentences, and the term "Choice interrogative indicator" appropriately characterizes the function of <u>háishi</u>.

2. x or -x Choice Interrogatives

An <u>x or -x</u> choice interrogative may structurally be seen as similar to an <u>x or y</u> choice interrogative in the sense that the clauses on either side of <u>háishi</u> are independent declarative clauses, and as with an <u>x or y</u> interrogative, the subject NP of the second clause has been deleted. Thus <u>x or -x</u> can plausibly be regarded as a species of <u>x or y</u>. The only difference between these two seems to be that there is an additional constraint on <u>x or -x</u> which says : the affirmative clause precedes the negative one, i.e. <u>x</u> and <u>-x</u> are not reversible, as shown by the following:

(14)*Z3 <u>bù chī fàn</u> (háishi) <u>chī fan</u>?
Z3 neg. eat rice or eat rice

The negative morphemes <u>bù</u> (not) and <u>méi(you)</u> are used in the negative part of an <u>x or -x</u> choice interrogative. For example:

(15) Z3 <u>qù bu qù</u>?
Z3 go neg. go (Is Z3 going or not?)

where <u>bù</u> is pronounced with a neutral tone, and the verb on repetition is optionally pronounced with a neutral tone (cf. Chao 1968:269-270).

Note
1.This is however acceptable with <u>shénme</u> in the second disjunct as in:
Nǐ chī fàn háishi chī <u>shénme</u>?
you eat rice or eat what
(Do you (want) to eat rice or what?)
where <u>shénme</u> is categorically used as the direct object of <u>chī</u>(to eat) in the second clause. In this case, the hearer is given the choice of, not the usual two alternatives that an <u>x or y</u> interrogative normally offers, but any number of alternatives in contrast with the object NP in the first clause. In other words, instead of <u>x or y</u>, the hearer is presented with the choice of <u>x or y1 y2 y3 y4 ... ... yn</u>.

When the negative counterpart involves either a stative verb (including modal verb) or an adjective, bù (not) normally negates the existence of the state (cf. Li and Thompson 1981:412) as in

(16) Z3 cōngming bù cōngming?
Z3 clever neg. clever
(Is Z3 clever or not?)

(17) Z3 huì bu huì huábīng?
Z3 can neg. can iceskate
(Can Z3 iceskate or not?)

Méi(you) on the other hand negates a resultative complement that is normally preceded by either nòng, zuò or bàn (cf. Chao 1968:443) as in

(18) Z3 zuòwán méi(you) zuòwán?
Z3 do-finish neg. do-finish
(Has Z3 finished or not?)

The resultative complement to the left of méi(you) may be omitted. E.g.:

(19) Z3 zuò méi zuòwán?
Z3 do neg. do finish
(Has Z3 finished or not?)

Méi(you) also negates resultative verb compounds in the second half of an x or -x choice interrogative as in

(20) Z3 kànjian méi(you) kànjian L4?
Z3 see neg. see L4
(Has Z3 seen L4 or not?)

The resultative complements and the resultative verb compounds are often followed by the particle le. In such cases, the preceding verb and the resultative verb compound to the right of méi(you) are frequently deleted as in

(21) Z3 wán le méiyou?
Z3 finish le neg.
(Has Z3 finished or not?)

(22) Z3 zuòwán le méi(you)?
Z3 do-finish le neg.
(Has Z3 finished (or not)?)

Méi on its own negates the possessive verb yǒu (have) as in

(23) Z3 méi yǒu piào.
Z3 neg. have ticket
(Z3 does not have a ticket.)

This yǒu should be distinguished from the optional you in (18-22) above; while the former possesses a full third tone and acts as an independent verb, the latter has a neutral tone, it is only a part of a word and does not have any independent function.

As with x or y choice interrogatives, x or -x choice interrogatives do not allow the co-occurrence of other interrogative properties. Thus (22) -- (23) are all ungrammatical.

(24)*Zǎ qù bu qù ma? (interrogative particle)
Zǎ go neg. go ma

(25)*Shéi qù bu qù? (question word)
who go neg. go

(26)*Zǎ qù bu qù, duì ba? (tag)
Zǎ go neg. go, right p.

3. Conclusion

It may thus be established that the x or -x choice interrogative is a kind of x or y with an additional constraint. It also appears that the two types of choice interrogatives may be sensibly analysed as containing two or more separate declarative clauses joined by a choice interrogative indicator.

APPENDIX D

English Expressions and Their Meaning Equivalents in Mandarin(M)

1. roughly)
   approximately)
   I guess) it's here.
   I should think)
   I should imagine)
   etc.

M: Zài zhèr ba.
   at here ba (It's here -ba.)

2. That's just how it is (it seems to me.
   (don't you agree?
   (etc.

M: Juìshi nàmehuíshì ba.
   just that-matter ba (That's just how it is -ba.)

3."It's at the end of the street the last house on the left, isn't it." (Brown and Levinson 1978:124)

M:Zài zhèitiáolù nèitóurde zuìhòu yíge zài zǒubiārde fángzi ba.
  at this-road that-end last one at left-side house ba
 (It's at the end of the street the last house on the left -ba.)

4."What can I say? (conversationally implicates: Nothing, it's so bad) (op.cit:228)

M: wǒ néng shuō shénme ba.
   I can say what ba (What can I say -ba.)

5. Give it to me, please.

M: Gěi wǒ ba.
   give me ba (Give it to me -ba.)

6."How about letting me have one of these!"
  (sniffing appreciatively at the smell of cookies wafting in)
(op.cit:129)

M: Ràng wǒ chī yíkuài ba.
   let me eat one-piece ba (Let me have one of these -ba.)

7. Let's have a look. (i.e. I want to have a look.)

M: Ràng wǒ kànkan ba.
   let me look-look ba (Let me have a look -ba.)

8. "I just dropped by for a minute to invite you all for tea tomorrow -- you will come, won't you?)(op.cit:132)

M: Nǐmen dōu lái ba.
   you(pl.) all come ba (You will all come -ba.)

9. Do/Please go first.

M: Xiān zǒu ba.
first-go ba (Go first -ba.)

10. I think it might rain.

M: Yào xiàyǔ ba.
will fall-rain ba (It might rain -ba.)

11. You'd better have your hair cut.

M: Nǐ gāi jiǎn tóu le ba.
you should cut hair p. ba (You should have your hair cut -ba.)

12. He may give the book to me.

M: Tā huì bǎ shū géi wǒ ba.
He will prep. book give me ba
(He is going to give the book to me -ba.)

13. Come here then.

M: Dào zhèr lái ba.
reach here come ba (Come here -ba.)

14."I'll meet you in front of the theatre just before 8.0, then."
(op.cit:120)

M: Bādiǎnzhōngqián zài xìyuàn ménkǒu jiàn ba.
8 o'clock-before at theatre gate meet ba
(See you in front of the theatre before 8.0 -ba.)

15.I have been/was wondering whether you could do me a little favour"
(op.cit 209)

M: Wǒ xiǎng nǐ kěyi bāng wǒ yìba ba.
I think you can help me little ba
(I wonder if you can do me a little favour -ba.)

16.Close the door
(if you can.
(if it can be closed.
(if it isn't already closed.
(if you want.
(etc.

M: Guānshang mén ba.
close-up door ba (Close the door -ba.)

17. It's a bit/rather chilly here, shall we shut the window?

M: Zhèr yǒudiǎr lěng, guānshang chuānghu ba.
here a-little cold, shut-up window ba
(It's a little cold here, shut the window -ba.) etc.

Appendix E
Other Types of Shící

This section is introduced with the aim of reinforcing the point that not only verbs and adjectives are classifiable. Other members of the shící, namely nouns and numeral+classifier constructions, are also distinct (i.e. shící in Mandarin are classifiable).

1.Nouns

Nouns in Mandarin are frequently marked by certain xūcí[1] morphemes such as the following:

(a) zi as in: zhuōzi (table), yǐzi (chair), dāozi (knife), júzi (orange), etc.

(b) tou as in: shítou (stone), zhěntou (pillow), zhuāntou (brick), etc.

(c) r as in: huār (flower), gēr (song), hár (child), pír (skin), etc.

(d)xing as in: zhòngyàoxìng (importance), kěkàoxìng (reliability), etc.

(e)hua as in: xiàndàihuà (modernization), gōngyèhuà (industrialization), etc.

These suffixes provide a sufficient condition for membership in the noun class, but they do not constitute a necessary condition for the morphemes being in the noun class, since there are numerous nouns such as shū(book), fēngzheng(kite), shící(notional word), zhōngwén (Chinese), which do not accept any of the above mentioned suffixes.

A second criterion for distinguishing nouns from other types of shící is that nouns in Mandarin, as perhaps in many other languages, function as subject, object or complement.

A third is that they may be modified by adjectives and numeral+classifier compounds, e.g.:

(1) yuán zhuōzi
round table
(a round table)

(2) yí ge zhěntou[2]
one cl. pillow
(one pillow)

Nouns in Mandarin are also the heads of nominal compounds as shown by:

(3) yǎnjìng
eye-glass
(spectacles)

and

(4) fēichóng
fly-worm
(insect(s))

Notes

1. For the definition and examples of xūcí cf. section 1.1.2. Chapter 1

2. The change of the first tone into the second tone of yī(one) is a result of the process of tone sandhi (cf. Chen C C 1973:section 6.3).

(3) is a case where a noun is combined with another noun forming a compound noun, and (4) is a noun combined with a verb forming a compound noun.

Pronouns and proper nouns may be treated as sub-classes of noun. Proper nouns and pronouns differ from common nouns in that they accept the plural suffix men; and proper nouns, as well as pronouns, differ from common nouns in that they are not modifiable by numeral+ classifier compounds, thus

(5)* yí ge Z3 and (6)* yí ge wǒ
one cl. Z3 one cl. I

are both ungrammatical. Otherwise they share the rest of the characteristics that are exhibited by common nouns.

2.Numeral + Classifier compounds

Apart from nouns, adjectives and verbs, there is another distinct subset of shící, namely, numeral+classifier constructions. That is, words of these two types in combination constitute a type of shící.

Numerals that are used in combination with classifiers include cardinal numbers such as yī(one), liángbǎi (two hundred), shíwàn (hundred thousand), ordinal numbers such as dìyī (first), dìèr (second), and fractions such as bàn(half), sānfēnzhīyī (one third). Classifiers on the other hand are: "various morphological forms obligatorily employed in the classification of nouns into mainly semantically based, highly structured hierarchical categories." (Loke 1983:10). In a number of Mandarin textbooks, such as Speak Mandarin (Fenn and Tewksbury 1967), classifiers are called measure words. Examples of this class of morphemes are:

zhāng (piece) as in (7) liǎng zhāng zhǐ
two piece paper
(two pieces of paper)

tiáo (strip/item) as in (8) yì tiáo xīnwén[3]
one piece news (a piece of news)

(9) yì tiáo yú
one strip fish (one fish)

(10) yì tiáo kùzi
one strip trousers
(one pair of trousers)

(11) yì tiáo féizào
one item soap (a bar of soap)

tào (set) as in (12) yí tào fángjiān
one set room (a flat)

bēi (cup) as in (13) sān bēi kāfēi
three cup coffee
(three cups of coffee) etc.

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3. The change of the first tone into the fourth tone of yī(one) is another manifestation of tone sandhi (cf. Chen 1973).

Numeral+classifier constructions are shící, since they can be used on their own (cf. Chapter 1). The answers in the following examples exemplify this point.

Q: (14) Nàr yóu jǐ ge rén ?[4] A: Liǎng ge[5].
there exist how-many cl.person two-cl.
(How many people are there?) (Two.)

Q: (15) Ní yǒu jǐ zhāng zhǐ? A: Sān zhāng.
you have how-many cl. paper three piece
(How many pieces of paper have you?) (Three (pieces).)

Being a distinct class of shící, numeral+classifier constructions occupy a distinct position from nouns within noun phrases; they are in the determiner slot. They differ from adjectives in that while adjectives may be modified by degree words (e.g. hěn gao (very tall)) numeral+classifier constructions cannot be modified by these items, thus (16) and (17) are both unacceptable.

(16)*zuì yí ge and (17)* tài sān tiáo
most one cl. too three item

Numeral+classifier constructions are also distinct from both verbs and adjectives in the following ways:

(a) while both verbs and adjectives can function as sentence predicates, numeral+classifier constructions do not have this function; this is shown by the following examples.
(18)* Z3 yí ge and (19)* Cài liǎng zhāng
Z3 one cl. dish two cl.

(b) while both verbs and adjectives can be followed by certain particles such as le, the combination of numeral+classifier cannot normally be followed by le within a noun phrase, for example:
(20)* yí ge le
one cl. le

Similarly this construction cannot be followed by zhe either, as this particle generally marks progressiveness, associated with non-stative verbs, e.g.:
(21)* yí ge zhe
one cl. zhe

(c) unlike verbs and adjectives, numeral ± classifier constructions cannot be negated by bù or méi(you), thus (22) and (23) are both unacceptable.
(22)*bùyí ge and (23)*méiyíge
neg. one cl. neg. one cl.

---

4. Similarly the change of the third tone into the second tone of yǒu(exist) is also a result of the process of tone sandhi.

5. Free-standing numeral+classifier constructions can probably be seen as being NPs with a zero N.

(d) unlike verbs and adjectives, they cannot be preceded by modal verbs either, thus the following are unacceptable.

(24)* děi liǎng ge
must two cl.

and

(25)* néng liǎng zhāng
be-able-to two cl.

(e) finally, they do not have adverbial function modifying verbs, as may the adjectives and certain classes of verbs, e.g.:

(26)* yí ge zuò
one cl. do

Perhaps the only similarity that is shared by the three shící types in question is reduplicability. In this respect numeral+classifier constructions seem to be closer to adjectives in the sense that both the reduplicated forms of numeral+classifier and adjectives may be followed by the particle de, but not the reduplicated form of verbs, which takes the particle kan (cf. example (4,35)). For instance

(27) yí ge yí ge de
one cl. one cl. de (one by one)

Given the above, the numeral+classifier constructions may legitimately be said to be distinct from other types of shící.

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