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AMBIGUITIES OF THE EVALUATIVE ADVERB *JIU*

A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO THE GRADUATE DIVISION OF THE
UNIVERSITY OF HAWAII IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE
REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

IN

EAST ASIAN LANGUAGES AND LITERATURES (CHINESE)

DECEMBER 2003

By

Yuan Tian

Dissertation Committee:

Tao-chung Yao, Chairperson
Robert L. Cheng
Ying-che Li
Chin-tang Lo
Kimi Kondo-Brown
Cynthia Ning

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Dedication

To My Family

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

First and foremost, this research could not have been accomplished without the love and care of my family. Without their help and support, I would not have been able to complete this project.

I would like to express my gratitude to the members of my committee for their advice and great support. Each of them has helped me in a unique way. Tao-Chung Yao, my academic adviser, has taught me an immense amount about teaching and researching throughout all these years. He played a major role in forming my interest in the area of teaching Chinese as a second language. I want to thank Professor Robert Cheng for helping me to choose the research topic and form the main structure of my dissertation. He substantially influenced my research on Chinese linguistics. I wish to thank Professor Ying-che Li for being so extremely generous with his time and advice, always making himself available throughout this project. I could not imagine a more enjoyable and rewarding academic experience than working with him on this project. I thank Cynthia Ning very much for giving me critical comments that have helped me enormously in developing my understanding of the problems in my dissertation. I am grateful to

Professor Chin-tang Lo for his very welcome perspective from studies of Chinese literature during this entire endeavor. I wish to express my deep appreciation to Kimi Kondo-Brown for being willing to join my committee at such a late date and for offering thoughtful advice on all matters related to the statistical analysis.

I want to thank Susie Cheng, Shan Li and Kuang-tien Yao for their generous time and efforts in the data of my research. I thank Roderick Gammon for allowing me to use his software in doing the data analysis. I also want to thank Professor Mary Scoggin for kindly spending time to proofread part of my final draft. My gratitude is extended to Matt Olson for his constant help and friendship throughout all these years. I am particularly indebted to Evelyn Nakanishi for being extremely helpful throughout this project, which has made my life easier.

ABSTRACT

This dissertation is based on research that investigates uses of the evaluative adverb *jiu* in evaluating time and quantity. Uses of *jiu* in Beijing Mandarin and Taiwan Mandarin are compared and contrasted. In Beijing Mandarin, *jiu* indicates “early”, “a short time”, or “small quantity” in some cases, and “late”, “a long time”, or “large quantity” in others. In Taiwan Mandarin *jiu* primarily indicates “early”, “a short time”, and “small quantity”. These differences cause ambiguities and comprehension problems in communication and language learning.

My research aims at finding disambiguating factors in Beijing Mandarin and Taiwan Mandarin via three tasks. First, reasons for ambiguities are investigated by comparing different meanings of *jiu* in Beijing Mandarin and Taiwan Mandarin. Second, the significance of stress when disambiguating meanings in spoken Mandarin is investigated via a listening test. Third effective, disambiguating factors are explored through analysis of a language corpus and listing adverbs that have semantic and pragmatic meanings similar to *jiu*.

A language corpus of around one and a half million vocabulary items was used to find actual textual examples of the evaluative adverb *jiu* in Beijing Mandarin and Taiwan Mandarin. This corpus includes two groups of novels:

those written by native Taiwanese writers called Bensheng Ren (native resident) who were born and educated in Taiwan, and those written by native Beijing Mandarin speakers. Two software programs PCTMD - Personal Computer Taiwanese-Mandarin Database (Cheng and Gammon, 1998) and Sentence Searcher (TM) (Gammon, 1998) were used to search the corpus for all sentences containing *jiu*. These sentences were sorted into various categories according to their meanings and functions in order to investigate the similarities and differences of *jiu* in Beijing Mandarin and in Taiwan Mandarin. This process identified reasons for the ambiguities.

A listening test was developed to test the significance of stress when distinguishing different meanings of *jiu* in oral communication. Twenty native Beijing Mandarin speakers and twenty native Taiwan Mandarin speakers participated in the test. The results show that in Beijing Mandarin stress plays an important role in distinguishing meaning in ambiguous situations. Stress does not, however, work effectively in Taiwan Mandarin.

In written communication in the selected texts, a clear context is effective in disambiguation. Besides context, *jiu*'s versatile meanings and functions in Beijing Mandarin are compared to similar adverbs preferred in Taiwan Mandarin such as *zhi*, *cai* and *yijing* in the speaker's evaluation of time and quantity.

As above, using stress in oral communication and giving clear context in written communication are effective disambiguating strategies. For Chinese foreign language pedagogy we recommend that *jiu* be presented in various patterns or constructions instead of as an individual function word.

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CHAPTER ONE INTRODUCTION

1.1 Introduction

This dissertation analyzes meanings of the evaluative adverb *jiu* that indicate such functions as, sequential immediacy, speaker's evaluation of time, quantity or scope, and explores means of disambiguation uncovered by native speakers. My interest in this issue stems from my own experience as a Chinese teacher. In one of my elementary level classes I found problems in teaching the evaluative adverb *jiu*. When introducing *jiu* (就) and *cai* (才), a pair of evaluative adverbs, I followed the rules given in the textbook: "The adverb *jiu* indicates that the action referred to happened or will happen sooner, more quickly or more smoothly than expected"; "The adverb *cai* is used to indicate that the action referred to did or will not happen as soon, as quickly or as smoothly as expected" (Liu, et. al. 1981). The examples are:

- (1) Women jinnian *jiu* qu.

我們今年就去。

We can go as early as this year.

(2) Tade haizi wusui jiu kaishi xue hua huar le.

他的孩子五歲就開始學畫畫兒了。

His child started to learn to paint when he was only five years old.

(3) Zhe ge gushi laoshi zhi nian le yi bian, women jiu tingdong le.

這個故事老師只念了一遍，我們就聽懂了。

The teacher only read the story once, and we understood it right away.

(4) Ni zenme xianzai cai lai.

你怎麼現在才來。

Why did you come so late?

(5) Wo zai lushang zoule yi ge duo xiaoshi cai dao zher.

我在路上走了一個多小時才到這兒。

I walked for over an hour before I finally got here.

(6) Ta dao shudian qule san ci cai madao zhe ben xiaoshuo.

他到書店去了三次才買到這本小說。

He went to the bookstore three times before he finally got his novel.

However I found a sentence in a student's homework in which *jiu*'s meaning and function were contradictory to the above rules:

(7) Ta lai de shihou jiu ba dian.

他來的時候就八點。

(It was just/already eight o'clock when he came.)

According to the rules, *jiu* “indicates that the action referred to happened or will happen sooner, more quickly or smoothly than expected” (Liu, et. al., 1981). However one cannot tell, by looking at this sentence, whether “eight o'clock” is earlier than expected or not. Therefore the meaning of this sentence is ambiguous. It can have three meanings: first, “the time he came, eight o'clock, is earlier than expected”; second, “the time he came, eight o'clock, is later than expected”; third, it is a confirmation or an emphasis of the time he came. These three interpretations become explicit in the following contexts:

(7.1) Ta lai de shihou jiu ba dian, hai you hen duo shijian keyi zuo zhunbei.

他來的時候就八點，還有很多時間可以作準備。

He came as early as eight o'clock. So we still have enough time to prepare.

(7.2) Ta lai de shihou jiu ba dian, shui shuo ta lai de zao ne?

他來的時候就八點，誰說他來得早呢？

It was already eight o'clock when he came. Who said he came early?

(7.3) Ta lai de shihou jiu ba dian, wo ji de hen qingchu.

他來的時候就八點，我記得很清楚。

The time he came was indeed eight o'clock. I remember that very clearly.

These sentences show that *jiu* carries versatile usages and functions instead of just “indicating that the action referred to happened or will happen sooner, more quickly or smoothly than expected” (Liu, et. al. 1981). When the context or additional construction is not given, the variety of *jiu*'s usages and functions might cause ambiguities. Also noteworthy is that the rules given in the textbook regarding *jiu* do not mention the significance of *jiu*'s relative position in the sentence. As an adverb, its relative position to the modified verb may affect its meaning. Current research has thus far neglected *jiu*'s relative position in the sentence.

For example, Integrated Chinese (Yao, et. al. 1997) points out that *jiu* means “only” before a noun:

(8) Women ban ren hen shao, jiu qi ge xuesheng.

我們班人很少，就七個學生。

We have very few students in our class, only seven.

(9) Women dou bu hui Riwen, jiu ta yi ge ren hui.

我們都不會日文，就他一個人會。

None of us can speak Japanese. Only he can.

(10) San ben shu wo kanwanle liang ben, jiu yi ben shu mei kan le.

三本書我看完了兩本，就一本書沒看了。

I've finished reading two books among three. Only one is left.

Wang (1956) and Paris (1985) also argue that *jiu* shares the same meaning as *zhi* (只, only) and *cai* (才, only) to indicate a small number. For example:

(11) Mai zhexie dongxi jiu huale liang kuai qian.

買這些東西就花了兩塊錢。

It cost only two dollars to buy all these things.

(12) Wo jiu you wu kuai qian.

我就有五塊錢。

I only have five dollars.

They explain that the *jiu* in these two sentences indicate the speaker's evaluation of the amount of money; in (11) “the money spent on all of these things is not much” (Wang, 1956), while in (12) “the money I have is too little” (Paris, 1985).

However the meanings of (11) and (12) are ambiguous. (11) can be interpreted as “these things are too cheap” by adding the following context:

(11.1) Mai zhexie dongxi jiu huale liang kuai qian, wo hai yiwei yao yong hen duo qian ne.

買這些東西就花了兩塊錢，我還以為要用很多錢呢。

It cost only two dollars to buy all these things. I thought it would have cost much more.

It can also be interpreted as “two dollars are too much for this stuff” by adding the following context:

(11.2) Ta zhi geile wo san kuai qian, keshi mai zhexie dongxi jiu huale
liang kuai qian, zhi shengxia yi kuai qian, shenme ye maibuliao le.
她只給了我三塊錢，可是這些東西就花了兩塊錢，只剩下一塊
錢，什麼也買不了了。

She only gave me three dollars, but these things already cost me as
much as two dollars. The one dollar left is not enough for anything.

Besides indicating that “the money I have is just a little”, (12) can also be
interpreted as “I have enough money in hand”:

(12.1) Wo jiu you wu kuai qian, shui shuo zhe ben wu kuai qian de shu tai
gui le women maibuqi.

我就有五塊錢，誰說這本五塊錢的書太貴了我們買不起。

Who said this five-dollar book was too expensive for us to buy. I
have five dollars right in hand.

It can also be used to express “I have the five dollars you need”:

(12.2) Bie zhao le, wo jiu you wu kuai qian, ni naqu yong ba.

別找了，我就有五塊錢，你拿去用吧。

Stop looking. I have five dollars right here. Take it.

As in the different contexts above, *jiu* indicates that the action was taken or will be taken sooner, more quickly, or more smoothly than expected; the action happened or will happen later, more slowly, or with more difficulty than expected; or the quantity (such as money) referred to is larger or smaller than expected. When the context is unclear, the various meanings and functions of *jiu* may cause ambiguities.

How do we resolve these ambiguities? In oral communication, stress is an effective way. As Chao (1968) says, because the adverb must come immediately before the verb, if the scope refers to more than one expression that is not the verb, there is possibility of ambiguity, which may sometimes be resolved by different stresses. For example:

(13) Zhe hua wo dou bu dong.

這話我都不懂。

I understand no part of this statement.

(14) Zhe hua wo dou bu dong.

這話我都不懂。

Even I don't understand this statement.

In (13), the stress is on *dou*, therefore the sentence means “I understand no part of this statement.” In (14), the stress is on *wo* and the sentence means “Even I don't understand this statement.”

Chao (1968) points out that if ambiguities cannot be resolved by stress, they may be resolved by context. He also notes that if context cannot resolve the problems then the sentence has to be reworded.

Both Lü (2002) and Beijing University [Here after as BU] (1982) discuss the significance of stress in indicating the speaker's evaluation of time and quantity. For “only” to indicate a small quantity, the stress is on *jiu*. When the stress is on the subject and *jiu* has a neutral tone, it indicates large quantity or emphasizes that the subject fulfills the action of the predicate. When stress cannot resolve ambiguities, one may rely on the clarity of the context.

If context does not resolve ambiguities, the sentence can be reworded by using an equivalent of *jiu* or another appropriate adverb such as *zhi* (只, “only”), *cai* (才, “only”) or *yijing* (已經, “already”), etc. This demonstrates that “it is

common for a language to have many alternate ways of saying ‘the same’ thing.”
(Labov, 1970)

The above explanations resolve some ambiguities; however another problem comes up. When a native Taiwan Mandarin speaker is asked to describe the meaning of (11) and (12), his answer is that (11) means the speaker has “two dollars”, while (12) means the speaker has “five dollars”, without the speaker’s evaluation. *Jiu* in these two sentences confirms the amount of money the speaker possesses. It does not express the speaker’s evaluation of the quantity. Shown the sentences (11.3) and (11.4), he replaces *jiu* with *zhi* (只, “only”) in (11.1) to indicate “a small quantity” and *yijing* (已經, “already”) in (11.4) to indicate “a large quantity”:

(11.3) Mai zhexie dongxi zhi huale liang kuai qian, wo hai yiwei yao yong
hen duo qian ne.

買這些東西只花了兩塊錢，我還以為要用很多錢呢。

It cost only two dollars to buy all these things. I thought it would
have cost much more.

(11.4) Ta zhi geile wo san kuai qian, keshi mai zhexie dongxi yijing huale liang kuai qian, zhi shengxia yi kuai qian, shenme ye mai buliao le. 她只給了我三塊錢，可是這些東西已經花了兩塊錢，只剩下一塊錢，什麼也買不了了。

She only gave me three dollars, but these things already cost me as much as two dollars. The one dollar left is not enough to buy anything.

This raises the question of why the Taiwan Mandarin speaker chooses to use *zhi* and *yijing* instead of *jiu*. Why doesn't he recognize the different meanings of (11.1), (11.2), (12.1) and (12.2)? Why doesn't he recognize the significance of stress? Are there differences between Taiwan Mandarin and Beijing Mandarin? Doesn't stress differentiate meanings in Taiwan Mandarin as it does in Beijing Mandarin? Why does the speaker need to add more context or to use a specific adverb to make the meaning clear? Are the meanings and uses of *jiu* different in Taiwan Mandarin from those in Beijing Mandarin? Is this the reason why additional explanations of *jiu*, including its relative positions with quantity/time words, as well as the function of stress in differentiating meanings, are not put into the textbooks? All these questions have inspired my research on the evaluative adverb *jiu* in Beijing Mandarin and Taiwan Mandarin.

1.2 Purpose and Significance of This Study

This research is concerned with the evaluative adverb *jiu* with different meanings and usages in Beijing Mandarin and Taiwan Mandarin when it is used to indicate the speaker's evaluation of time and quantity. In Beijing Mandarin, *jiu* can be used to indicate both "large quantity" and "small quantity". A simple sentence without any context such as "Tamen jiu shi ge ren" (他们就十个人) has different meanings in different situations. If the specific situation is not given, one cannot tell its exact meaning; in other words the meaning is ambiguous. This ambiguity arises especially when *jiu* precedes the time or quantity that it evaluates. This is characteristic of Beijing Mandarin. However previous researchers have never studied this topic. Therefore the first objective of this study is to demonstrate that the meaning of *jiu* in the structure of "*jiu*+" is regionally based. The second is to demonstrate that stress differentiates meanings in Beijing Mandarin but not in Taiwan Mandarin. The third is to uncover the various effective means to disambiguate *jiu* in different constructions.

1.3 Null Hypothesis:

Three hypotheses are made for this study:

- 1) The above usages of *jiu* that exist in Beijing Mandarin do not exist in Taiwan Mandarin. Therefore when the context is unclear, ambiguities will arise in Beijing Mandarin but not in Taiwan Mandarin.
- 2) Stress differentiates meanings in Beijing Mandarin but not in Taiwan Mandarin.
- 3) Various effective means of disambiguation, besides stress, exist, which are first explicate context and second to restate using alternatives or other appropriate adverbs to the ambiguous *jiu*.

1.4 Scope and Delimitation of the Study:

This research focuses on studying the evaluative adverb *jiu* when it indicates the speaker's evaluation of time (early/late, long time/short time) and quantity (large quantity/small quantity). Other usages of *jiu* are not discussed in this dissertation.

This study's research methods are:

1. Analysis of similarities and differences in meanings and functions of the evaluative adverb *jiu*, in spoken Beijing Mandarin and Taiwan Mandarin, by

searching for the usages of *jiu* in a language corpus consisting of a total of one million and a half words of novels written by Beijing and Taiwan writers.

In this corpus two groups of novels are used. One comprises novels written by writers born and educated in Taiwan called Bensheng Ren (native resident). The other group comprises novels written by writers who are native Beijing Mandarin speakers. The software programs PCTMD, or Personal Computer Taiwanese-Mandarin Database (Cheng and Gammon, 1998), and Sentence Searcher (TM) (Gammon, 1998) were used to search all sentences with *jiu* in this database.

Sentences using *jiu* to indicate evaluation of time and quantity were then identified manually. Those sentences were analyzed to investigate the similarities and differences of using *jiu* in Beijing Mandarin versus Taiwan Mandarin. From this, the ambiguities' sources were uncovered.

2. Check the function of stress in Beijing Mandarin and Taiwan Mandarin by giving a listening test to Beijing Mandarin speakers and Taiwan Mandarin speakers. Twenty Beijing and twenty Taiwan Mandarin speakers were tested separately. They were asked to listen to a tape of 25 groups of sentences with *jiu* in spoken Beijing Mandarin. In each group there were two sentences with a stress in different positions. *Jiu* in these sentences was used to indicate the speaker's evaluation of time and quantity. These forty subjects were asked to interpret the

meaning of each sentence. The results demonstrate that stress has a unique function in indicating *jiu*'s meaning in Beijing Mandarin.

3. A database search is made to collect the usages of *jiu* (就, “only”), *cai* (才, “only”), *zhi* (只, “only”) and *yijing* (已經, “already”). The database is comprised of novels written in Beijing Mandarin and Taiwan Mandarin. Disambiguation clues were analyzed in the written language, which cannot rely on phonological stress.

1.5 Organization of Remaining Chapters

The remaining chapters will first, review related researches; second, demonstrate ambiguities with *jiu* occur in Beijing Mandarin but not in Taiwan Mandarin in which *jiu* is not used as “only”; third, demonstrate stress is an effective way to differentiate meanings in Beijing Mandarin but not in Taiwan Mandarin; forth, demonstrate giving enough contextual clues and using equivalentents and other appropriate adverbs (Chao, 1968) can disambiguate the meaning of the sentences.

A 1.5 million words corpus was collected for data search in this study. Chapter III introduces the different meanings of *jiu* in Beijing Mandarin and Taiwan Mandarin through a frequency test. Chapter IV shows the significance of

stress with the results from a listening test. Chapter V analyzes other disambiguation strategies besides stress via an extensive data search in the corpus. Chapter VI summarizes the results of this study.

The reasons for ambiguity regarding the evaluative adverb *jiu* may be related to its relative position in a sentence. When *jiu* precedes the scope or quantity, its meaning is ambiguous if the context is unclear. It can indicate a limit in the scope of the subject, a distinction between a small quantity and a large quantity, or that the subject fulfills the request of the predicate.

CHAPTER TWO REVIEW OF RELATED RESEARCH

In the introduction I pointed out that in sentences where there is no context or the context is unclear, *jiu* might be ambiguous in its indication of the evaluation of time and quantity. In order to find out the origin of such ambiguities, we may trace how *jiu* has developed into a versatile function word. In order to answer this question, this chapter reviews related studies in the following areas:

1. Evolution of *jiu* from a verb to a conjunction and other function words (Li, 2003)
2. Evolution of *jiu* into a scope-limiting adverb (Wang, 1984)
3. *Jiu*'s evaluation of time and quantity (Wang, 1958)

2.1 Evolution of *Jiu* (to Approach) into a Conjunction

Li's (2003) study discusses the evolution of *jiu* (to approach) into a conjunction and demonstrates a common developmental pathway of grammaticalization for many similar morphemes evolving into function words. In summarizing *jiu*'s historical development, Su (2003) states "*jiu* (to approach) became a versatile conjunction, mostly connecting two clauses indicating "immediacy" in successive occurrence of two events". The basic meaning of the

classical verb *jiu* is “to approach a (high) place” as seen in (15). Its interpretation then shifts from “approach” to “be close” as in (16). It then extends from “be close” to “reach, succeed” as in (17) (Li, 2003):

(15) Chu gong, *jiu* guanfu; chu shang, *jiu* shijing; chu nong, *jiu* tianye.

(“Guoyu, Qiyu”)

處工，就官府；處商，就市井；處農，就田野。(《國語，齊語》)

Dealing in labor, approach the government; dealing in commerce, approach the marketplace; dealing in agriculture, approach the field.

(“Guoyu, Qiyu”)

(16) (Ru sha wu dao,) yi *jiu* you dao. (“Lun Yu”)

(如殺無道,) 以就有道。(《論語》)

(As if the virtueless are killed) in order to approach (be close to?) the men of virtue. (Lun Yu)

(17) San ku yi *jiu*, (jun gu gao zhen wei le yi.) (“Zhan guo Ce, Qi Ce”)

三窟已就, (君故高枕為樂矣。)(《戰國策，齊策》)

Three caves were already finished. (Now you may repose comfortably.)

(“Intrigues of the Warring States, Qi State Four”)

Looking at (15) and (16) as Li (2003) points out, from the cognitive perspective, the relation between “approach” and “be close” fits a well-known metaphor that discourse space (i.e. “be close”) is physical space (“approach”). The extension of the idea from “to be close” to “to reach, succeed” as in (16) and (17) fits another metaphor, which is “soon-to-be-realized (i.e., “to reach, succeed”) is proximal (i.e. “be close”)” (Lakoff, 1987). Therefore in (15) – (17) and the following (18)-(19), we may see how *jiu* has transformed from a verb into a conjunction: *jiu*+locative goal in (15) → *jiu*+regular goal in (16) → *jiu*+no direct goal in (17) → *jiu*+ main verb such as *zhu* (煮, to cook) in (18) and *xiaochen* (銷沉, to dissipate) in (19) (Li, 2003):

(18) Seng bu ke; bi yu jiu zhu shi. (“Yi Jian Zhi, Bing Zhi”)

僧不可; 必欲就煮食。(《夷堅志·丙志》)

The monk would not allow it; he definitely wanted to cook and eat right away. (“Yi Jian Record, the Third Record”)

(19) Li tian wu xi jiu xiaochen. (“Huang Taizi Fei Ai Ce Wen”)

离天渥兮就銷沉。(《皇太子妃哀策文》)

When the rain falls from the sky, it quickly dissipates. (“Huang Taizi Fei Ai Ce Wen”)

This function of *jiu* in (18) and (19) demonstrates the origin of the idea of “immediacy” (in “right away” and “quickly”) which necessarily refers to a succeeding event closely adjacent to a preceding event. Notice that in (18) and (19), *jiu* occurs in the second clause, while in (20) it occurs in the first clause where its interpretation is no longer “right away” or “quickly”. It shows that the same *jiu* may function as two seemingly different metonymies through the same image-schema transformation, which demonstrates that the two different functions of *jiu* have come about as a result of different spatial ordering. (Li 2003)

(20) *Jiu* fu dong zheng, bi bu qing wei yi. (“San Guo Zhi, Shu Shu, Fa Zheng Zhuan”)

就复東征，必不傾危矣。（《三國誌，蜀書，法正傳》）

Even if (we) renew the Eastern Campaign, (we) will definitely not risk any danger. (“Chronicles of the Three Kingdoms, Record of Shu, Fa Zheng Biography”)

2.2 Evolution of *Jiu* into a Scope-Limiting Adverb

Wang (1984) was one of the first scholars to point out that, in the late Qing Dynasty, the adverb *zhi* (只, only) was often replaced by *jiu* in Beijing Mandarin to indicate an action or a state being restricted to a certain scope. The

following examples are from *Honglou Meng* (The Dream of the Red Chamber).

(39) Bu shi xinde jiu shi jiachang jiude.

不是新的，就是家常舊的。

It is not new. It's just everyday old stuff.

(40) Wo ye jide jiaoshanglai le, jiu zhi jibude jiao gei shei le.

我也記得交上來了，就只記不得交給誰了。

I also remember that it was turned in. I just cannot remember who(m) I gave it to.

(41) Jiu shengle zhe yi ge.

就剩了這一個。

Only this one is left.

In the sentences above *jiu* means *zhi* (只, “only”). In (39) *jiu* restricts the “stuff” to “everyday old stuff”. In (40) *jiu* indicates that the only thing “I cannot remember” is “who(m) I gave it to”. In (41) *jiu* restricts “this one” is the only one left. Notice that in (40), *jiu* and *zhi* are used together. This kind of redundancy tends to be a transitional phenomenon when word soon to lose its place in the

language. In the following sentences, *zhi* can also be replaced by *jiu* to indicate restriction. However, the two examples demonstrate that *zhi* is still used in this novel:

(42) Limian *zhi* baozhe liang jian ban jiu mian'ao yu pixie.

裡面只包著兩件半舊棉襖與皮鞋。

Only two old cotton jackets and a pair of leather shoes are wrapped inside.

(43) Baoyu bu jie he yi, zai chuang wai *zhi* shi tun sheng jiao “hao meimei”.

寶玉不解何意，在窗外只是吞聲叫“好妹妹”。

Baoyu still couldn't figure out what she meant, so he just stood outside the window, quietly calling “my good little sister”.

Although Wang Li did not mention what *jiu* and *zhi* restrict generally, it is obvious from the above sentences that *jiu* restricts the scope of an object (“everyday old stuff” in (39)), the result of an action (“remember to whom we gave it” in (40)) and the quantity (“this one” in (41)).

Su (2003) also points out that “by the time of Song, *jiu* has become a typical adverb, used to express time, indicate a connection, restrict the range or

scope, and confirm”. The example she provides below illustrates the restriction of scope:

(44) Zhenghe zhong, zhao mei zhou zhi Shenxiao Gong, *jiu* yi dao guan wei zhi.

政和中，詔每州置神霄宮，就以道觀為之。《夷堅志·三志·己九》

During the mid-Zhenghe period, an imperial decree was issued that every prefecture should establish a Shenxiao Temple, but the Taoist temples were just used instead. (“Yi Jian Zhi · San Zhi · Yi Jiu”)

In contemporary Chinese the scope that *jiu* limits includes people or objects and action or state.

2.3 Scope

2.3.1 Scope of People and Objects

Ma and Chang (1980) point out that *jiu* restricts the scope of people and objects and has the same meaning as *zhi* (只, “only”), *zhiyou* (只有, “only”), *jin* (僅, only) and *jing* (淨, “only” or “all”), but is much stronger in tone than the rest:

(45) Tamen dou shi beifang ren, jiu wo shi nanfang ren.

他們都是北方人，就我是南方人。

They are all Northerners, only I am a Southerner.

(46) Jiu san nian de shijian, shu dou cheng yin le.

就三年的時間，樹都成蔭了。

The trees gave shade after only three years.

(47) Wo zheli jiu shengxia liang kuai qian le, pa bu gou ba.

我這裡就剩下兩塊錢了，怕不夠吧。

I have only two dollars left. I'm afraid it is (likely) not enough.

(48) Dou zhaodaole, jiu sheng Er Gazi hai mei zhaozhao.

都找到了，就剩二嘎子還沒找著。

All were found; only Er Gazi was not.

(49) Jiu nide baoshou hua duo.

就你的保守話多。

Only you have so many reservations.

Jiu in (45) emphasizes that “I” am the “only” person from the south. In (46) the period is limited to “just” three years, a short time. In (47) *jiu* emphasizes that “two dollars” are all the money that remain, no more. In (48) *jiu* indicates that “Er Gazi” is the “only” one not found. In (49) *jiu* limits the people with reservations to just “you”.

After Ma and Chang, BU (Beijing University, 1982) argues that *jiu*, similar to *zhi* (只, only) and *zhiyou* (只有, only), not only limits the scope of people and objects but also excludes others:

(50) Ai, guniang, erzi, guye dou zoule, *jiu* shengxia wo zheme yi ge lao gui!

唉，姑娘，兒子，姑爺都走啦，就剩下我這麼一個老鬼！

Alas, my daughter, my son and my son-in law have all gone; I am the

only wretch left.

(51) Wo you bu long, ni dang shi *jiu* ni zhangle erduo.

我又不聾，你當是就你長了耳朵。

I'm not deaf. You think only you have ears!

(52) Ta hai yiwei jiu tamen yi ge chang xianzai neng shengchan zhe zhong chanpin ne; shijishang, renjia hao ji ge chang zao zai ji ge yue qian jiu yijing neng shengchan le.

他還以為就他們一個廠現在能生產這種產品呢；實際上，人家好幾個廠早在幾個月前就已經能生產了。

He thought that only their factory could produce this type of product.

In fact, several other factories had been able to produce it for several months already.

One can see that *jiu* is sometimes placed right before the noun or pronoun that it restricts, as in (50) and (51). Sometimes it precedes the structure “Verb + Object”, as in (52) where it limits not the verb but the object that follows. In (50) *jiu* indicates that “I” am the “only” one left. In (51) *jiu* indicates that “you think” you are the “only” one who has ears. In (52) *jiu* indicates that “their factory” was the “only” one that “could produce this type of product”. In these sentences, the tone of voice will be somewhat weakened if *zhi* etc. is used.

2.3.2 Scope of Action and State

Besides limiting the scope of people and objects, *jiu* also restricts the scope of action or state as stated. Biq (1988) calls this “limiting usage”. For example:

(53) Wo *jiu* xihuan youyong.

我就喜歡游泳。

I only like swimming.

(54) Ta *jiu* xihuan Zhang San.

他就喜歡張三。

He likes only Zhangsan.

(55) Zhang San *jiu* kan dianshi, bu kan baozhi.

張三就看電視，不看報紙。

Zhang San only watches TV, but does not read the newspaper.

(56) Zhe ge difang *jiu* chan mei, bu chan biede kuangwu.

這個地方就產煤，不產別的礦物。

This place produces only coal, no other minerals.

In (53) everything except “swimming” has been excluded from the scope of his hobbies. In (54) other people except “Zhang San” have been excluded from those he likes. In (55) Zhang San’s activity is limited only to “watching TV”. In (56), the mineral that is produced in this place is limited to “coal”.

When the limited scope refers to a certain quantity, *jiu* limits that quantity to a small amount. Wang (1956), Lü (2002), Paris (1981), Li (1982), Biq (1988) and Chu (1998) all point out that *jiu* indicates small quantity when it limits quantity, and is thus interchangeable with *zhi* and *cai*. For example:

(57) Ta lao liang kour jiu / *cai* / *zhi* (you) yi ge erzi.

他老兩口就/才/只有一個兒子。

The old couple has only one son.

(58) Shujia shang jiu / *cai* / *zhi* you name ji ben shu.

書架上就/才/只有那麼幾本書。

Only those several books are on the shelf.

(59) Wo jiu / *cai* / *zhi* you wu kuai qian, bu gou mai shu de.

我就/才/只有五塊錢，不夠買書的。

I only have five dollars, which is not enough to buy any books.

(60) Tamen jiu / zhi / cai you yidianr qian.

他們就/只/才有一點兒錢。

They have only a little money.

(61) Zhang San jiu / cai / zhi kanwanle di san zhang.

張三就/才/只看完了第三章。

Zhang San has only finished reading Chapter 3.

Sentence (57) means the couple has only one son. Sentence (58) means the books on that shelf are few. In (57)-(61) are all considered to be small quantities.

2.4 Evaluating Time and Quantity

In modern Chinese, when functions as an evaluative adverb *jiu*'s meaning depends upon its position in a sentence. Zhu Dexi's (1982) research about *cai* (才) has inspired me to study *jiu* and the importance of its positioning in the sentence. Zhu points out that as an evaluative adverb of quantity, time and condition, *cai*'s relative position determines the speaker's different evaluation. If *cai* precedes the time words, it indicates 'early'; after them, it means "late". For example:

(62) *Cai* si dianzhong tian *jiu* liang le.

才四點鐘天就亮了。

Dawn broke at only four o'clock.

(63) Si dianzhong tian *cai* liang.

四點鐘天才亮。

The dawn only breaks after four o'clock.

(64) *Cai* shiba sui jiu jiehunle.

才十八歲就結婚了。

(He / She) got married when she was only eighteen.

(65) Shiba sui *cai* jiehun.

十八歲才結婚。

(He / She) just got married after eighteen.

Cai precedes time words in (62) and (64), and follows them in (63) and (65). Therefore “four o’clock” is early in (62) and late in (63); “eighteen” years old is early in (64), and late in (65). The relative position of *cai* in the sentences completely determines the different meanings it indicates.

Cai precedes the quantity word to indicate a small quantity. However when it follows the quantity word it indicates a large quantity. For example:

(66) *Cai* mai shi ben, yiding bu gou.

才買十本，一定不夠。

You only bought ten books. That's definitely not enough.

(67) Mai shi ben *cai* gou.

買十本才夠。

You have to buy as many as ten books; only then it is enough.

Cai precedes “ten books” in (66), and follows “ten books” in (67). Therefore, “ten copies” is a small amount in (66) and a large amount in (67).

In my study I assume that *jiu* shares the same characteristics with *cai*, but its relative position in a sentence is different in determining different meanings. Unlike *cai*, when *jiu* follows time or quantity, it unambiguously indicates “early”, “fast”, “short time” or “small quantity”. When *jiu* precedes time or quantity words in certain contexts it indicates the opposite, which is “late”, “slow”, “long time” or “large quantity”. Therefore if the context is unclear, the meaning of *jiu* is ambiguous. In Beijing Mandarin stress is an effective way to disambiguate in this

situation. Lu and Ma (1985) suggested using stress to distinguish different meanings of *jiu*.

First, if there is no other word before *jiu*, it must mean “small quantity” whether the stress is on *jiu* or the quantity words. For example, both of the following sentences stress a small quantity.

(68a) Jiu shi ge ren.

就十个人。

Only ten people.

(68b) *Jiu* shi ge ren.

就十个人。

Only ten people.

Second, if there is some word before but it is not stressed as “Tamen” in (69a) and (69b), *jiu* means “small quantity”. *Jiu* is stressed in (69a), and “shi” is stressed in (69b):

(69a) Tamen *jiu* shi ge ren.

他们就十个人。

They only have ten people.

(69b) Tamen *jiu* shi ge ren.

他们就十个人。

They only have ten people.

Third, if the word in front of *jiu* is stressed and the word after it is not, *jiu* must mean “large quantity” such as in (70):

(70) Tamen *jiu* shi ge ren.

他们就十个人。

They have as many as ten people.

Fourth, if both the word before and after *jiu* are stressed (no matter if the stress is on *jiu* or the quantity word after *jiu*), it must mean “small quantity”. For example:

(71a) Tamen *jiu* shi ge ren.

他们就十个人。

They only have ten people.

(71b) Tamen *jiu* shi ge ren.

他们就十个人。

They only have ten people.

However Chen Xiaohe (1994) disagrees with Lu and Ma (1985). He argues that *jiu* may either refer to the quantity word in front of it or the one after it and in both situations it indicates a small quantity. Although in (70) *jiu* seems to indicate that “ten people” is not a small number, it is the comparison that makes the number “ten people” a big number. For example, in (72) a group of “ten people” becomes a big group by comparing “ten (people)” with “one (group)”. In (73) five bottles of soda become really a lot for two people when comparing “five (bottles of soda)” with “two (people)”. In (74) a five-year-old child who is able to recognize over two hundred characters becomes an amazing feat by comparing “two hundred (characters)” with “five (year-old child)”.

(72) Tamen yi ge xiaozu *jiu* shi ge ren.

他们 一个小组就十个人。

They have ten people in just one group.

(73) Liang ge ren *jiu* hele wu ping qishui.

两个人就喝了五瓶汽水。

Just two people drank five bottles of soda.

(74) Wu sui de haizi *jiu* neng ren liangbai duo zi.

五岁的孩子就能认两百多字。

A five year old child can read as many as 200 characters.

Although Chen Xiaohe (1994) and Lu and Ma (1985) disagreed with each other, both of them have acknowledged that *jiu* can either indicate a large quantity or small quantity. Stress might be an effective disambiguation function in oral communication. In reading however, if the context or other indication is not given there may be ambiguities. The purpose of this study is to find both reasons for ambiguities and revealing conditions and patterns for disambiguation. The following review of related research reveals the ambiguities of *jiu* by comparing its two positions in a sentence.

(1) + *jiu*: condition / time / quantity + *jiu*

(2) *jiu*+: *jiu* + time / quantity

2.4.1 + *Jiu*

This section discusses previous research, ascertaining that when *jiu* follows the condition, time, or quantity that it evaluates, the meaning is definite without ambiguities.

2.4.1.1 Condition

Cheng (1997), Ma and Chang (1980) and Lü (2002) compare *jiu* with *cai* and conclude that *jiu* indicates a sufficient condition, while *cai* indicates a necessary condition. Moreover, in order to clarify meaning, *jiu* co-occurs with *ruguo* (如果, if), *zhiyou* (只要, only if), *fanshi* (凡是, every, any) or *ruoshi* (若是, if), while *cai* co-occurs with *deiyao* (得要, have to), *chufei* (除非, unless), *zhiyou* (只有, only if) and *bixu* (必須, must). The conjunctions with which *jiu* and *cai* co-occur are not interchangeable. For example:

(75) Yaoshi ni lai wo jiu qu.

要是你來我就去。

If you come, I'll go right away.

(76) Bixu ni lai wo cai qu.

必須你來我才去

You must come; only then I'll go.

“Your coming” is a sufficient condition for “I’ll go” in (75), while it is a necessary condition in (76). Sentence (75) means your coming is enough for me to go, but even if you cannot come I still may go. Sentence (76) means your coming is an absolute condition for me to go, and I definitely will not go without your coming.

Wang (1956), Li (1982) and Paris (1981) compare *jiu* and *cai* from the degree of the requirement that they indicate. *Jiu* indicates that the condition required is lenient, lowly required, or insufficient while *cai* indicates that the condition required is strict, highly required, or sufficient. For example:

(77) Ni yonggong jiu neng xuedehao. (Mei shenme liaobuqi de.)

你用功就能學得好。(沒什麼了不起的。)

As long as you work hard, you can learn well. (Nothing is too hard.)

(78) Ni yiding yao yonggong cai neng xuedehao. (Xiang toulan ke buxing.)

你一定要用功才能學得好。(想偷懶可不行。)

Only if you work hard can you learn well. (Being lazy is not an option.)

(79) Ta dale ni, ni jiu da ta ma? (Ta da ni, ni ye bu yiding yao da ta.)

他打了你，你就打他嗎？(他打你，你也不一定要打他。)

Did you then hit him because he hit you? (His hitting you is not a necessary reason for you to hit him.)

(80) Ta da le wo, wo cai da ta. (Fouze wo jue bu hui da ta.)

他打了我，我才打他。(否則我決不會打他。)

It is only because he hit me that I hit him. (If not, I absolutely wouldn't have hit him.)

Jiu in (77) indicates that it is not hard for “you” to learn well if you work hard, while *cai* in (78) indicates it is not easy for “you” to learn well because you have to work hard. *Jiu* in (79) indicates his hitting you is not a sufficient reason for “you” to hit “him”. *Cai* in (80) indicates his hitting me is the only reason for “me” to hit “him”, which also indicates that if “he” hadn’t hit me, I definitely wouldn’t have hit “him”.

Biq (1984) and Chu (1998) share the same sample sentences and ideas but discuss different aspects of the functions of the adverbs. Chu argues that *jiu* and *cai* have discourse functions and indicate sufficient condition and necessary condition respectively. For example:

(81) Zhang San lai, Li Si cai qu.

張三來，李四才去。

Only if Zhang San comes, will Li Si then go.

(82) Zhang San lai, Li Si jiu qu.

張三來李四就去。

Zhang San comes, then Li Si will go.

From the discourse point of view “Zhang San’s coming” is necessary for “Li Si” to go in (81), while it is sufficient for “Li Si” to go in (82).

Biq argues that in both sentences above, the focused phrase is the antecedent part of the conditional “Zhang San lai” (Zhang San comes) because as focusing adverbs, *jiu* and *cai* relate the focused phrase to the rest of the sentence in different ways. “*Cai* brings the focused antecedent to the consequent as a necessary condition, *jiu* brings the focused antecedent to the consequent as a sufficient condition.” (Biq, 1988)

As above, all previous studies agree that *jiu* and *cai* indicate conditions. However the question remains about the relation between indicating conditions and evaluations of time and quantity. Cheng’s (1997) research points out that *jiu* indicates “easy” and *cai* indicates “difficult”. These indications are in fact related to these of sufficient condition and necessary condition respectively, because sufficient condition means that once you have reached a certain standard you can achieve the goal that you are pursuing. Even if you have not reached that standard yet, you still have the possibility of achieving that goal. Necessary condition means that if you have not reached a certain standard yet, you certainly cannot achieve the goal that you are pursuing. Meanwhile, even if you have reached that standard, it still does not mean that you can achieve that goal. In this case *cai* indicates “difficult” while *jiu* indicates “easy”. Therefore when the conditions that *jiu* and *cai* indicate refer to quantity or time, *cai* always indicates that the requirement is more than expected - a large quantity, or a late or long time - while

jiu indicates the requirement is lower than expected - a small quantity, or an early or short time.

2.4.1.2 Evaluation of Time

Jiu, in evaluating the speaker's attitude towards time, indicates "early", "fast", "soon" or "a short time".

2.4.1.2.1 Early

Previous researchers all agree that *jiu* indicates that the speaker feels the time is "earlier" than expected and *cai* indicates that the speaker feels the time is "later" than expected. For example:

(83) Wo jiao ta ba dianzhong lai, ta qi dianzhong *jiu* lai le.

我叫他八點來，他七點就來了。(Wang, 1956)

I asked him to come at eight, but he came as early as seven.

(84) Wo jiao ta liu dianzhong lai, ta qi dianzhong *cai* lai.

我叫他六點來，他七點才來。(Wang, 1956)

I asked him to come at six, but he came as late as seven.

(85) Ta yi-jiu-wu-ling nian *jiu* dao Beijing laile.

他 1950 年就到北京來了。(Wang, 1956)

He came to Beijing as early as 1950.

(86) Ta yi-jiu-wu-ling nian *cai* dao Beijing lai.

他 1950 年才到北京來。(Wang, 1956)

He came to Beijing as late as 1950.

The time “seven o’clock” in (83) and (84) is the same, but it is earlier than expected in (84), and later than expected in (84). The year 1950 is the same in (85) and (86), but it is earlier than expected in (85), and later than expected in (86).

2.4.1.2.2 Fast

Jiu indicates that the evaluated time is “faster” than expected while *cai* indicates that it is “slower” than expected (Wang, 1956). For example:

(87) Ta chile fan *jiu* laile.

他吃了飯就來了。

He quickly came after he had his meal.

(88) Ta chile fan cai lai.

他吃了飯才來。

He came only after he finished his meal.

Sentence (87) means “he” came without any delay, which is “quickly”, while (88) means he came late and actually “he” should have come without eating.

2.4.1.2.3 Soon or Short Time

Jiu indicates something has occurred only for a short time or will happen soon. *Cai* indicates the opposite. For example:

(89) Ta xue qi zixingche, xuele san ge xiawu jiu xuehuile.

他學騎自行車，學了三個下午就學會了。(Wang, 1956)

It took him only three afternoons to learn to ride a bicycle.

(90) Ta xue qi zixingche, xuele san ge xiawu cai xuehui.

他學騎自行車，學了三個下午才學會。(Wang, 1956)

It took him as many as three afternoons to learn to ride a bicycle. (It took too long!)

In (89) the speaker feels that “three afternoons” is shorter than expected, while in (90) it is longer than expected.

(91) Wanfan shenme shihou hao?

A: 晚飯什麼時候好？

When will the dinner be ready?

Wanfan jiu hao.

B: 晚飯就好。

It'll be ready soon.

(92) Wanfan shenme shihou haode?

A: 晚飯什麼時候好的？

When was the dinner ready?

Wanfan cai hao.

B: 晚飯才好。

It is just now ready.

Jiu in (91) indicates that the dinner will be ready “soon”, which is in the near future. *Cai* in (92) indicates that the dinner was just then prepared (not as early as expected), which is in the past.

2.4.1.3 Evaluation of Quantity

In the speaker's evaluation of quantity, *jiu* indicates "small quantity" or "low proportion", while *cai* indicates "large quantity" or "high proportion".

2.4.1.3.1 Small Quantity

In evaluating the speaker's attitude towards quantity, *jiu* indicates that the quantity is smaller than expected, while *cai* indicates that the quantity is larger than expected. For example:

(93) Ta chile liang wan fan *jiu* bu chile.

他吃了兩碗就不吃了。(Paris, 1981)

He stopped eating after finishing only two bowls of rice.

(94) Ta chile liang wan fan *cai* bu chile.

他吃了兩碗才不吃了。(Paris, 1981)

He finished two bowls of rice. Only then he stopped eating.

The quantity "two bowls of rice" is the same in (93) and (94). However, the quantity indicated is considered not much in (93), and too much in (94), due to the different implications of *jiu* and *cai*. Furthermore:

(95) Gei ta hao shao qian ta jiu laile.

給他好少錢他就來了。(Li, 1982)

Although I gave him very little money, he came immediately.

(96) Gei ta hao duo qian ta cai laile.

給他好多錢他才來了。(Li, 1982)

Only after I gave him a lot of money did he come.

A small quantity such as in (95) definitely co-occurs with *Jiu*, while a large quantity such as in (96) co-occurs with *cai*. Consider also:

(97) Zhang San chi san ge pingguo jiu bao.

張三吃三個蘋果就飽。(Biq, 1987)

Zhang San was full after eating only three apples.

(98) Zhang San chi san ge pingguo cai bao.

張三吃三個蘋果才飽。(Biq, 1987)

Zhang San was full only after eating three apples.

The same “three apples” means just a few in (97), while it means many in (98). Finally:

(99) You yibai ge ren jiu keyi youdai.

有一百個人就可以優待。(Cheng, 1997)

As long as you have a hundred people, you can have privileges.

(100) You yibaige ren cai neng youdai.

有一百個人才可以優待。(Cheng, 1997)

Only when you have a hundred people can you have privileges.

In (99), “one hundred” is not a large number and is easy to reach, while in (100) it becomes a large number that is not easy to reach, due to the different implications of *jiu* and *cai*.

2.4.1.3.2 Low Proportion

Jiu, when comparing two quantities, indicates a low proportion. *Cai* indicates a high proportion (Ma and Chang 1980 and Cheng 1997). For example:

(101) Mei yibai ge xuesheng you san ge xiansheng, jiu keyi shenqing buzhu.

每一百個學生有三個先生就可以申請補助。(Cheng, 1997)

As soon as you have one hundred students and three teachers, you can apply for a subsidy.

(102) Mei yibai ge xuesheng, you san ge xiansheng, cai keyi shenqing

buzhu.

每一百個學生有三個先生才可以申請補助。(Cheng, 1997)

Only with one hundred students and three teachers can you apply for subsidy.

The same standard “one hundred students with three teachers” in the above sentences is a low ratio and easy to reach in (101), while it is a high ratio and not easy to reach in (102).

(103) Ta yi ge ren jiu ganle san ge ren de huor.

他一個人就幹了三個人的活兒。

He did as many as three people’s work by himself.

(104) Tamen ban yigong shi ge ren, women ban yi ge xiao zu jiu shi ge ren.

他們班一共十個人，我們班一個小組就十個人。

They have ten people altogether in their class, while in our class a small group already has as many as ten people.

(105) Ta santian cai lai yi ci, ni yi tian jiu lai le san ci.

他三天才來一次，你一天就來了三次。

He comes only once in three days, while you come as many as three times in one day.

There is a comparison in each sentence above, but it is not a ratio. In (103) and (104), *jiu* indicates a large quantity, in the work done and the number of students “our class” has. In (105), *jiu* indicates high frequency, and *cai* low frequency.

Previous research has shown that when *jiu* follows condition, time or quantity, it indicates sufficient condition, early, fast, soon, a short time, a small quantity or a low ratio. It is unambiguous. This demonstrates that *jiu* is unambiguous in the structure of “condition / time / quantity + *jiu*”.

2.4.2 *Jiu* +

The studies on + *jiu* are thorough and clear. However, those on *jiu* + are not. The following two sentences are quoted from Wang (1956) and Paris's (1985) research:

(11) Mai zhe xie dongxi *jiu* huale liang kuai qian.

買這些東西就花了兩塊錢。

It cost only two dollars to buy all these things.

(12) Wo *jiu* you wu kuai qian.

我就有五塊錢。

I only have five dollars.

Jiu in these two sentences indicates the speaker's evaluation of an amount of money. Wang argues that in (11) the money spent on "all these things" is not much. Paris argues that in (12), *jiu* shares the same meaning with *zhi* (只, "only") and *cai* (才, "only") to indicate that the money "I" have is just a little. However these two researchers have failed to realize that the meaning of *jiu* in these two sentences is ambiguous. In (11) *jiu* can either indicate that "two dollars" are too much for "these things" or that "these things" are too cheap. In (12) *jiu* can either

indicate that the money “I” has is too little, or it emphasizes that the subject (“I”) fulfills a certain requirement (can afford five dollars). The meaning becomes clear if the clues are clear:

(11.1) Mai zhe xie dongxi jiu huale liang kuai qian, wo hai yiwei yao yong
hen duo qian ne.

買這些東西就花了兩塊錢，我還以為要用很多錢呢。

It cost only two dollars to buy all these things. I thought it would have
cost much more.

(11.2) Ta zhi geile wo san kuai qian, keshi mai zhe xie dongxi jiu huale
liang kuai qian, zhi shengxia yi kuai qian, shenme ye maibuliaole.

她只給了我三塊錢，可是這些東西就花了兩塊錢，只剩下一塊
錢，什麼也買不了了。

She only gave me three dollars, but these things already cost me two
dollars. The one dollar left is not enough for buying anything.

(12.1) Wo jiu you wu kuai qian, zai duo de mei you le.

我就有五塊錢，再多的沒有了。

I only have five dollars, no more.

(12.2) Wo *jiu* you wu kuai qian, shei shuo zhe ben shu tai gui le, women maibuqi.

我就有五塊錢，誰說這書太貴了，我們買不起？

Who says this book was too expensive for us to buy? I myself have (as many as) five dollars.

As a result, when the context is not clear, the meaning of *jiu* is ambiguous. The following review explores every meaning that *jiu* indicates in the form of “*jiu* +”.

2.4.2.1 Limiting the Scope

As mentioned previously, Wang (1930) points out that *zhi* (only, 只) in Beijing Mandarin is often replaced by *jiu* to indicate that an action or a state is restricted to a certain scope. Subsequent researchers have pointed out that *jiu* restricts the scope of people and objects or restricts the scope of action or state.

2.4.2.2 Small Quantity or Large Quantity

Cheng (1998) points out that in the Beijing dialect, *jiu* not only expresses small quantity but also expresses large quantity. Therefore each of the following sentences has two meanings:

(106) Zhe shi ge xuesheng, jiu you san ge nusheng.

這十個學生，就有三個女生。(Cheng, 1997)

1. Only three out of these ten students are girls.
2. Of these ten students, as many as three are girls.

(107) Zhe shi ge xuesheng, xiecuo ziji mingzi de, jiu you san ge.

這十個學生，寫錯自己名字的，就有三個。(Cheng, 1997)

1. Of these ten students, only three wrote their names incorrectly.
2. Of just these ten students, as many as three wrote their names incorrectly.

Without context, “three girls” may or may not be considered many in both (106) and (107). Therefore if the context is unclear, the meaning of *jiu* is ambiguous.

BU (1982) argues that in spoken Mandarin, stress is the main way to differentiate meanings in the situation. The following example is given:

(108) Zhege xingqi ta jiu laiguo liang hui.

這個星期他就來過兩回。(BU, 1982)

Just this week he came twice.

This week he came only twice.

If *jiu* is stressed then (108) means that the speaker thinks coming twice this week is not enough. If *jiu* lacks stress then the speaker thinks that coming twice this week is more than enough with the stress on the word in front of *jiu*.

Regarding the function of stress, Lü (2002) gives a pattern of “*jiu* + Verb + Quantity”. If *jiu* is stressed it indicates that the quantity is small, while if *jiu* is in a neutral tone and the word before *jiu* is stressed then it indicates that the quantity is large. For example:

(109) Ta *jiu* yaole san zhang piao, mei duo yao.

他就要了三張票，沒多要。(Lü, 2002)

He only asked for three tickets, no more.

(110) Ta *jiu* yao le san zhang piao, mei sheng ji zhang le.

他就要了三張票，沒剩幾張了。(Lü, 2002)

He alone asked for three tickets, which didn't leave many for others.

(111) Lao Zhou *jiu* jiangle yi ge xiaoshi, xiabian *jiu* taolun le.

老周就講了一個小時，下邊就討論了。(Lü, 2002)

Lao Zhou only talked for one an hour. Then the discussion started.

(112) Lao Zhou *jiu* jiangle yi ge xiaoshi, bieren dou mei shijian tan le.

老周就講了一個小時別人都沒時間談了。(Lü, 2002)

Lao Zhou alone talked for one hour, which didn't leave much time for others.

“Three tickets” are considered a few in (109), with the stress on *jiu*, while it becomes many in (110), with the stress on “ta” (he). A talk of “one hour” is considered to be short in (111), with the stress on *jiu*, while it is long in (112), with the stress on “Zhou” (a person’s last name). Obviously stress is an effective means to communicate unambiguously in speech.

However not all researchers agree that *jiu* can either express a large quantity or a small quantity. Chen Xiaohe (1994) disagrees with Lu Jianming and Ma Zhen’s arguments (1985). Lu and Ma (1985) believe that *jiu* as an evaluative adverb can both mean “a large quantity” and “a small quantity”. If there is no other word before *jiu*, it means “a small quantity” whether the stress is on *jiu* or the quantity words. If there is a word before *jiu* but it is not stressed, *jiu* means “a small quantity”. If the word before *jiu* is stressed and the word after *jiu* (including *jiu*) is not stressed, it means “a large quantity”. If both words before and after *jiu* are stressed (whether the stress is on *jiu* or on the quantity word), the sentence indicates “a small quantity”.

2.4.2.3 Fulfilling a Certain Requirement

Ma and Chang (1980) and Lü (2002) point out that *jiu* in the following sentences indicates that the subject fulfills a certain requirement. In other words, there is no need to look elsewhere:

(113) Ni yaode cailiao, wo shoutou jiu you.

你要的材料，我手頭就有。(Lü, 2002)

I indeed have at hand the material you want.

(114) Zhe ge huase jiu hao.

這個花色就好。(Lü, 2002)

This color is indeed good.

(115) Zher jiu hen anjing.

這兒就很安靜。(Lü, 2002)

Here is indeed quiet.

(116) Na zhong guige jiu heshi.

那種規格就合適。(Lü, 2002)

That kind of specification is indeed suitable.

(117) Zhe ge wenti ni bu bi zhao ren qu wen, ta jiu shi zhuanjia.

這個問題不必找人去問，他就是專家。(Ma and Cheng, 1980)

You don't need to ask anybody else this question. He is in fact your expert.

(118) Yao xuan ta, bieren bu shuo, wo jiu bu tongyi.

要選他，別人不說，我就不同意。(Ma and Cheng, 1980)

Select him? Even I in fact won't agree to that, not to mention anyone else.

(119) Ni xiang kan gudian xiaoshuo, bu bi dao tushuguan qu jie, wo jiali jiu you.

你想看古典小說，不必到圖書館去借，我家裡就有。

(Ma and Cheng, 1980)

If you want to read classical novels, you don't need to go to the library.

I in fact have them at my home.

(120) Shei shuo mei you zidian, zhe ge shujia shang jiu you liang-san ben ne.

誰說沒有字典，`這個書架上就有兩三本呢。(Ma and Cheng, 1980)

Who said there is no dictionary? There are in fact two to three copies on this shelf.

Sentence (113) means that you can borrow “the material” from me, so you don’t need to ask anybody else. Sentence (114) indicates that “this color” is good enough, so there is no need to look at others. Sentence (115) means that “here” is the place that we have been looking for. Sentence (116) indicates that “that kind” is suitable for our need. Sentence (117) suggests that “he” is the expert on this question. In (118) *jiu* emphasizes that “I” will be the one who disagrees. In (119) *jiu* indicates that you can borrow the novels you want from me. *Jiu* in (120) indicates that “you” can find dictionaries right on this shelf.

However when the context is unclear, the meaning of *jiu* is ambiguous. In each of the following sentences *jiu* has two meanings, due to unclear contexts. It can either indicate the limit of the scope or that the subject fulfills a certain requirement (BU1982 and Lü2002):

(121) Zhe kuai dili *jiu* zhong yumi.

這塊地裡就種玉米。(BU, 1982)

This is the land that produces corn.

This land only produces corn.

(122) Ta *jiu* xihuan shuxue.

他就喜歡數學。(Lü, 2002)

He is the one who likes math.

He only likes math.

(123) Lao Zhao *jiu* xueguo fayu.

老趙就學過法語。(Lü, 2002)

Lao Zhao is the one who has learned French.

Lao Zhao has only learned French.

Both BU (1982) and Lü (2002) suggest that when *jiu* is stressed in (121)-(123), it indicates that the scope is limited to “corn”, “math” or “French”. If the subject is stressed, *jiu* indicates that the subject fulfills a certain requirement, such as “grows corn” in (121), “likes math” in (122), and “learned French” in (123).

When the context is unclear, the meaning of *jiu* is ambiguous because it can limit the scope of a subject, indicate a small or large quantity, or fulfill a certain requirement of the subject.

2.5 Conclusion

This chapter reviews development of *jiu* from a verb to a conjunction, and then to an evaluative adverb, which limits the scope of objects or action and evaluates time and quantity. By reviewing related research, I discuss the reasons for the ambiguities of the adverb *jiu* and its relative position in a sentence. When *jiu* follows the condition, time or quantity that it evaluates, it indicates a sufficient condition, such as “early”, “fast”, “soon”, “a short time”, “a small quantity” or “a low ratio”. The meaning is clear and unambiguous. However when *jiu* precedes scope or quantity, its meaning is ambiguous if the context is unclear. It indicates a limiting of the scope of the subject, a distinction between a small quantity and a large quantity, or the fact that the subject fulfills a certain requirement. What remains to be explored is if the meaning of *jiu* in the structure of *jiu*+ is a specific characteristic of the Beijing Mandarin. The following chapters will study the following topics: 1) Ambiguities of *jiu* occurring in Beijing Mandarin but not in Taiwan Mandarin: Chapter III; 2) Stress as an effective function of speech to disambiguate meanings in Beijing Mandarin but not Taiwan Mandarin: Chapter

IV; 3) Giving clues and other adverbs (Chao, 1968) to disambiguate the meanings of *jiu*: Chapter V.

CHAPTER THREE COMPARATIVE USE OF *JIU* IN BEIJING MANDARIN AND TAIWAN MANDARIN

In Chapter Two I reviewed current research on *jiu* and its evolution from a verb to a conjunction and into an adverb. Besides indicating that “the action referred to happened or will happen sooner, more quickly or more smoothly than expected” (Liu, et. al. 1981), *jiu* has versatile meanings and usages when specifying time and quantity. This chapter aims at analyzing similarities and differences in the meanings and functions of *jiu* as an evaluative adverb in spoken Beijing Mandarin and Taiwan Mandarin. Based on this, some reasons for ambiguities are uncovered. A language corpus was developed to collect the necessary data. This chapter includes the discussion of the corpus, the method of the data search, the criteria for categorization, the results of the data search and a conclusion.

3.1 Corpus

The language corpus consists of novels and plays written by Beijing and Taiwan writers and totals 1,469,309 Chinese characters shown in Table 1. Two groups of novels are included. One is written by native residents of Taiwan,

Chen Yingzhen (陳映真) and Dongfang Bai (東方白). The other is by native Beijing Mandarin speakers Lao She (老舍) and Wang Shuo (王碩). These writers and their works are fully representative of authentic Beijing and Taiwan Mandarin.

Table 1. Writers and Their Works

Origin	Writers	Works	Character	Words
Taiwan	Chen Yingzhen (陳映真)	Clan of Generals 《將軍族》	8,188	6,565
		The Red Star 《紅星》	15,617	13,917
		The Mountain Path 《山路》	16,354	13,729
	Dongfang Bai (東方白)	The Three – Piece Sword 《三拆劍》	479,177	407,272
Beijing	Lao She (老舍)	Four Generations Under One Roof 《四世同堂》	405,953	361,549
		Rickshaw Boy 《駱駝祥子》	133,968	124,848
		The Teahouse 《茶館》	37,848	32,573
		The Saleswomen 《女店員》	41,418	34,220
		Spring Flowers and Fall Fruits 《春華秋實》	78,864	66,812
		The Longxu Ditch 《龍須溝》	37,608	31,090
	Wang Shuo (王碩)	Fulfillment and A Quick Death 《過把癮就死》	62,723	52,796
		I Am Your Father 《我是你爸爸》	151,591	131,415
	TOTAL			1,469,309

3.1.1 Chen Yingzhen (陳映真) and His Three Novels

Chen Yingzhen (陳映真), a local Taiwanese writer, was born in Taiwan in 1936 and is well known for using typical Taiwan Mandarin in his prose. Famous for his short stories and essays, he was a leading proponent of the Local Literature Movement in the 1960s and 1970s. Therefore the language style of his novels represents that of Taiwan Mandarin in the 1960s and 1970s. Cheng Yingzhen focuses his writing on depicting life in the rural villages of Taiwan. His representative novels include “Jiangjun Zu” (《將軍族》, “Clan of Generals”), “Hong Xing” (《紅星》, “The Red Star”) and “Shan Lu” (《山路》, “The Mountain Path”). This language corpus collected these three novels as representative of Taiwan Mandarin in 1960s and 1970s. In “Shan Lu” he tells ordinary, simple stories with a deep sympathy for the people living at the bottom rungs of society. “Clan of Generals” tells of a love story between two musicians. One is an aged man from Mainland China; the other is a prostitute young enough to be his daughter. “The Mountain Path” is about grief over the death of the innumerable young Taiwanese who devoted their lives to their beliefs in 1950’s. “The Red Star”, also called “Dang Hongxing Zai Qi Gu Lin Shanqu Chenluo” (《當紅星在七古林山區沉落》, “When the Red Star Fell to the Mountains in Qi Gu Lin”) tells

the tale of a young man whose elder brother sacrificed his life for the cause in the fifties, and who experiences many hardships in looking for his brother's body. These three short stories are written in 43,211 characters and 40,159 words.

3.1.2 Dongfang Bai (東方白) and His Novels

Dongfang Bai (東方白), another Taiwan Mandarin author, was born in Taipei in 1939. His real name is Lin Wende (林文德). He graduated from the Department of Agricultural Engineering of National Taiwan University. Later he earned his Master's and Ph.D. degrees in Engineering in Canada. He has since taught in the Department of Hydro-electric Power in the Center of Environmentalism in Alberta. He started to write when he was only 15. The majority of his works are swordsman fiction. He is well known for writing typical Taiwan Mandarin in his martial art fiction. By reading his fiction one can tell he is using vernacular language to make the story vivid and close to normal people's life and feelings. This is one of the reasons that his martial art fiction has become popular in Mainland China since the 1980s. His works include "Wu Xian Qin" (《無弦琴》, "The Stringless Instrument"), "Zhi Shou" (《紙手》, "The Paper Hand"), "Long Zai Jiang Hu" (《龍在江湖》, "The Dragon in Rivers and Lakes"),

“Tie Xue Fei Dao” (《鐵血飛刀》, “Iron Blood and Flying Knife”), “Wan Jian Zhi Wang” (《萬劍之王》, “The King of Ten Thousand Swords”) and “San Chai Jian” (《三拆劍》, “The Three-Piece Sword”). Most of these works were completed during the 1980s and the 1990s. Among them “The Three-Piece Sword” is the most popular one to readers in Mainland China. It can be found on most websites designed for book reading. The reasons that this study includes “The Three-Piece Sword” are first, that it represents Dongfang Bai’s works and second, that it shows the linguistic features of Taiwan Mandarin during the 1980s and the 1990s. The total character count in this novel is 479,177 characters, representing 407,272 words.

3.1.3 Lao She (老舍) and His Works

Lao She (老舍, 1899-1966) was born and educated in Beijing from elementary school to college. His real name is Shu Qingchun (舒慶春). He has different pen names, such as Ru Qing (蘆青), Hong Lai (鴻來) and Fei Wo (非我). In 1918 he graduated from Beijing Shifan Xuexiao (北京師範學校, Beijing Normal School) and became the principal of an elementary school, and a high school instructor thereafter. In 1924 he went to teach Chinese at London

University's Oriental College. Six years later he returned as a professor to Qilu Daxue (齊魯大學, Qilu University) in Jinan, and Shandong Daxue (山東大學, Shandong University) in Qingdao. The majority of his works are novels and plays, approximately 8 million characters in total. Lao She's writing style draws material from the daily life of city residents and uses the language of ordinary people to describe normal life in Beijing. This gives his works real "Beijing flavor" ("京味兒") and also earns his name as a "people's artist". The idioms and dialectic-specific usages of Beijing Mandarin called Lao Beijing Hua (the Old Beijing Language) were very popular before the 1970s, and are found everywhere in his novels and plays. Some of the old Beijing style greetings "Ning na" (your honored) and "gege ya" (Brother) are seldom in use today. In order to show the linguistic features of Beijing Mandarin before the 1970s, this study collects Lao She's two famous novels and four popular plays. They are: "Luotuo Xiangzi" (《駱駝祥子》, "Rickshaw Boy"), "Si Shi Tong Tang" (《四世同堂》, "Four Generations Under One Roof"), "Cha Guan" (《茶館》, "The Teahouse"), "Nu Dianyuan" (《女店員》, "The Saleswomen"), "Chun Hua Qiu Shi" (《春華秋實》, "Spring Flowers and Fall Fruits") and "Longxu Gou" (《龍須溝》, "The Longxu Ditch"). All of these works successfully describe the real life of Beijing residents.

“Four Generations Under One Roof” comprises around 600,000 characters, divided into 100 chapters. This study collected sixty-seven of these chapters, composed of around 400,000 characters, to be included in the database. The two novels and four plays comprise 1,083,941 characters and 960,151 words in total.

3.1.4 Wang Shuo (王碩) and His Novels

Wang Shuo (王碩), was born in 1958 in northeastern China. He moved to Beijing with his family when he was just six months old and graduated from high school there. He served in the army for four years and then moved back to Beijing. He became a professional writer in 1983. His novels were very popular in the 1980s and 1990s. As of today he has written 25 novels and several TV dramas (adapted from his best selling novels), comprising approximately 1,600,000 words in total. The reason that this study collects Wang Shuo’s novels as representative of Beijing Mandarin is that Wang Shuo writes in a vulgar vernacular style throughout his works. His works are called “Pingmin Wenxue” (平民文學, Ordinary People’s Literature) or “Beijing Flavor Literature”. The language style he uses shows the features of Beijing people’s language in the 1980s and early 1990s. For example Guo Ba Yin Jiu Si (過把癮就死, Fulfillment and a Quick

Death), Da Sa Ba (大撒把, Let Go) and Wanr De Jiushi Xintiao (玩兒得就是心跳, Enjoy Yourself with Rapid Heart-beat), which also became titles of his novels, were very popular Beijing Hua (北京話, Beijing Dialect) in the late 1980s and the early 1990s. The second reason is that his novels demonstrate the era of the 1980s and 1990s. For many years people's positions were clearly defined in China's society. Those who idled without regular jobs were not accepted by society. With the new era and the onset of dramatic political change, the social environment became more moderate. More and more people have gravitated to the edges of Chinese society.

Wang Shuo's works present these peoples' lives, feelings, and love as seldom described in previous works. His critics comment that a most distinguishing feature of Wang Shuo's language is sarcasm and denigrate his works as "Pizi Wenxue" (痞子文學, Ruffian's Literature) or "Xiankan Wenxue" (閑侃文學, Gossip Literature). The two novels included in this corpus are well known as representatives of his novels: "Guo Ba Yin Jiu Si" (《過把癮就死》, "Fulfillment and A Quick Death") and "Wo Shi Ni Baba" (《我是你爸爸》, "I Am Your Father") which comprise 214,314 characters and 184,211 words in total.

3.1.5 Text Format

All data was downloaded from the Internet and saved as a text file in GB Simplified format. During research all data was converted into Big-5 Traditional format. Lao She's (老舍) novels and plays were downloaded from New Times Information Net (新時代資訊網: <http://www.cj888.com>) at <http://www.cj888.com/book/xian/lu/laoshe/index.html>. Wang Shuo's (王碩) two novels were downloaded from Made By Jun Wang (俊網製造: <http://myliber.myrice.com>) at <http://myliber.myrice.com/wangshuo.htm>. Chen Yingzhen's (陳映真) three novels were downloaded from Yi Hai Book Market (逸海書城) at <http://www.easysea.com/xiandai/index1/137.htm>. Dongfang Bai's (東方白) "San Chai Jian" (《三拆劍》) was downloaded from the web of New Times of Internet (網絡新時代: <http://www.mypcera.com/>) at <http://www.mypcera.com/book/newwu2/dongfangbai/scj/index.html>.

3.2 Data Search Software

The Personal Computer Taiwanese-Mandarin Database (PCTMD) (Cheng and Gammon, 1998) was used to count the number of characters and words composing each of the works in the corpus. Sentence Searcher (TM) (Gammon,

1998) is designed to search plain-text files and retrieve all sentences that match the criteria specified. It is sensitive to 1-Byte, GB and Big-5 characters.

The process of searching for sentences with *jiu* is to input the character *jiu* and choose the PRC Chinese (GB Double Byte) as the character encoding of the searched document, since the material in the corpus was saved as GB files. After the search all the sentences with *jiu* were sorted and ordered. The following sample shows the typical format of the data search results.

The first paragraph in the examples below gives the following information: First, the name of the program, Sentence Searcher, edition 0.5; second, that the data search was conducted on April 17, 2003; third, that the time duration for this search was eleven seconds; fourth, and that 450 sentences were found in total. The second paragraph shows that the criterion for the data search was to find all the sentences containing the character 就 (*jiu*). The third paragraph shows that only one file was searched, and it was saved in a folder in the C Drive, WINDOWS\Profiles\YuanTian\Desktop\Lunwen\Dis\corpus\Beijing\Beijing\guobayin\guobayin.txt. The last paragraph is a brief description of the key points in this search, including the file destination, number of sentences found, and time duration for the data search.

The Chinese sentences containing *jiu* are all sorted and numbered, with *jiu* centered in the page and lined up to form a column. I added the *pinyin* and English translation to each of the sentences. The original search results did not include *pinyin* or translation. This sample shows the first four sentences out of a total of 450 of the search result. The first sentence shows that the data search has identified the title of this novel as a sentence containing *jiu* which is Guo Ba Yin Jiu Si (《過把癮就死》, Fulfillment and A Quick Death). Zhong Huan Shuju (《中華書局》, Chinese Publishing House) is the company that has put this novel on the Website.

Sentence Searcher 0.5 Output File

Created on 4/27/03

Search Duration 00:00:11

Total Sentences that Matched Search Criteria: 450

Searched for sentences that contain EITHER '就'

Searched in 1 file(s):

C:\WINDOWS\Profiles\Yuan

Tian\Desktop\Lunwen\Dis\corpus\Beijing\Beijing\guobayin\guobayin.txt

C:\WINDOWS\Profiles\Yuan

Tian\Desktop\Lunwen\Dis\corpus\Beijing\Beijing\guobayin\guobayin.txt

Number of matched sentences: 450

Search Duration: 00:00:11

zhonghua shu ju Guo Ba Yin	Jiu	Si
1) 中華書局……過把癮	就	死
Chinese Bookstore……	Fulfillment and A Quick Death	
Du Mei	jiu	xiang yi jian bingqi, yi bing Guan Yu Guan laoye shou zhong
2) 杜梅	就	像一件兵器，一柄关羽关老爷手中
Du Mei	is	just like a weapon, a sword in Guan Yu -Master Guan's hand
		de na zhong ji wei huali fengli wubide da dao
		的那種極為華麗鋒利无比的大刀—
		an incomparably sharp sword.

—zhe shi ta gei wo liu xia de na yi momie

de yin xiang

—这是她給我留下的難以磨滅的印象。

This is the indelible impression she gave me.

Keyi shuo zhe zhong guanxi shi lao bu

3) 可以說這種关系是牢不

It can be said that this type of relationship

ke po he jian ru panshi de

jiu

xiang meiyou jishi huan yao de shangkou

shabu he xue jia

可破和堅如磐石的，

就

像没有及时換藥的傷口紗布和血痂

is unbreakable and solid as a rock,

it is

just like that of a bandage that has remained

too long unchanged on a wound, that has

stuck

zhan zai yiqi yiyang, renhe jie kai ta de

xiaoxin

粘在一起一樣，任何揭開它的小心

together with the scab, so that even the most

yi yi de xingwei dou jiang jiqi si pi lie rou

de tongchu

翼翼的行為都將引起撕皮裂肉的痛

楚。

delicate attempt to remove the bandage

results in a rending pain.

Du Mei shi zai yi ge zui xiaohun,

4) 杜梅是在一个最銷魂、

Du Mei, during a tender, sweet

zui rongqing miyi shike zhi hou tichu

最柔情蜜意時刻之后提出

moment when all the cares of the

world were lost to me,

zhe yi shenqing de, zhe

jiu

shi ta de shenqing juyou yi zhong shunli

chengzhang de luo

這一申請的，這

就

使她的申請具有一種順理成章的邏

proposed marriage. This

made her proposal seem both logical and

ji xing bing chongman fa zi neixin de zhen-

cheng

輯性并充满发自内心的真誠。

full of sincerity (coming from her heart).

3.3 Categorization

The categorization of the sentences was done manually in three steps. First, as discussed in the previous chapter, *jiu* in modern Chinese is used mainly as a conjunction, an adverb, and a preposition. Its usages as a noun and a verb occur

only in some fixed compounds and constructions such as in *chengjiu* (成就, success) and in *ban tui ban jiu* (半推半就, yield with a show of reluctance). Therefore the first step to take in analyzing all the material is to sort all of the sentences into four categories: conjunction, adverb, preposition, and verb or noun, and then find out the main uses of *jiu* in Beijing Mandarin and Taiwan Mandarin.

Second, since this study focuses on *jiu* as an adverb, based on Lü Shuxiang's (1994) analysis and categorization, all sentences with *jiu* as adverb were sorted into four categories to find out the main uses of *jiu* as an adverb in Beijing Mandarin and Taiwan Mandarin. The four categories are emphasis, sequential immediacy, evaluation of time and quantity, and limiting scope of object/action. Third, in order to clarify ambiguities of *jiu*, the subcategory of evaluation of time/quantity was divided into two categories: *+jiu* and *jiu+*, and then assessed to find out if *jiu+* is dialectic-specific.

3.3.1 Comparison of the Main Usage of *Jiu*

The following comparison of *jiu* in Beijing Mandarin and Taiwan Mandarin is made according to *jiu*'s four classifications: 1. conjunction, 2. adverb, 3. preposition, 4. verb and noun.

3.3.1.1 Conjunction

Chu (1998) points out that with a few apparent exceptions, the use of *jiu* has to do with the linking of clauses. Lü (2002) argues that *jiu* continues the previous sentence and draws a conclusion. Liu (2001) also points out that *jiu* is often used in the second clause to function as the link. For example,

(124) Jiran ni bu kan qiusai, wo jiu qu zhao bieren le. (Su 2003)

既然你不看球赛，我就去找别人了。

Since you don't want to watch the game, I'll ask someone else.

According to Chu (1998), Lü (2002) and Liu (2001)'s argument, in (124), *jiu* is used in the second clause “Wo *jiu* qu zhao bieren le” to continue the first clause “Jiran ni bu kan qiusai”. It shows that “I'll ask someone else” is conditioned on “you don't want to watch the game”.

Su (2003) gave the above example in her study. She believes that *jiu* as a conjunction has four categories: conditionals, causality, purpose and special constructions. However, there are overlaps among these categories. For example,

she defines (124) as belonging to the conditional complex, but meanwhile it may also be categorized as a causal complex, namely is “I’ll ask someone else” because “you don’t want to watch the game”. A similar problem is also found in (125) given by Su:

(125) Yao xiang huode chenggong, jiu dei nuli qu zuo.

要想获得成功，就得努力去做。

In order to make a success, one has to work hard at it.

Su argues that (125) is a purpose complex, in which “mak(ing) a success” is the purpose for “work(ing) hard to fulfill it”. However this sentence can also be categorized as a conditional complex, in which “work(ing) hard” is a condition for “mak(ing) a success”. Therefore, since there is no clear distinction between condition and cause, condition and purpose, and so forth, this study prefers the argument of *jiu* being a link between two clauses.

Lü (2002) and Liu (2001) give constructions in which *jiu* works in conjunction with another conjunction or adverb such as *zhiyao* (只要, as long as), *ruguo* (如果, if), *yao(shi)* (要是, if), *weile* (为了, in order to), *yinwei* (因为,

therefore), *yaobu* (要不, if not; either……or), *chule* (除了, besides), *bushi*……
(jiu)shi (不是……(就) 是, if it is not……, then it is) , *bi(qi)*……*(lai)* (*ke*) (比
(起)……(來)(可), compared to) to indicate supposition, condition, cause or aim,
etc. The following analysis will use examples drawn from the language data to
demonstrate how *jiu* works in these constructions to function as a link.

(126) *Zhiyao* ying ta yi zhao, ni shifu de xinyuan bu *jiu* keyi liao le ma?

(“San Chai Jian”)

只要贏他一招，你師傅的心願不就可以了了嗎？（《三拆劍》）

Wouldn't it then fulfill your master's wishes as long as you win him
by one strike? (“The Three-Piece Sword”)

In (126), *jiu* works with *zhiyao* to indicate a condition. (Chu, 1998)
zhiyao……*jiu* indicates “fulfill(ing) your master's wish” is conditioned on your
“winning him by one strike”.

Wang (1988) and Paris (1987) point out that both *ruguo*……*jiu* and
zhiyao……*jiu* indicate that the first clause is a sufficient condition for achieving
the result in the second clause. *Ruguo*……*jiu*, however, also indicates supposition

in some circumstances, such as in the above sentence (127).

(127) Song Zhenshan dao: “Bu cuo, ruguo ling shi qin lai, jiu xu jiexia
laofu ershi zhao.” (“San Chai Jian”)

宋鎮山道：“不錯，如果令師親來，就須接下老夫二十招”。

(《三拆劍》)

Song Zhenshan said, “Right. If your master comes himself, then he
must fence off my (this old man’s) twenty attacks”.

(“The Three-Piece Sword”)

In (127), *ruguo* ……*jiu* indicates the first clause is a sufficient condition of the second condition, in other words, your master’s “showing up” is a condition of receiving “twenty strikes”.

(128) Zeng Meilan shuo, ta yaoshi zai waitou, shei dui Xiao Jiang
zheyang, ta jiu tong shei pinming. (“Hong Xing”)

曾梅蘭說，他要是在外頭，誰對小姜這樣，他就同誰拼命。

(《紅星》)

Zeng Meilan said that if he were out of prison, and if any one treated

Little Jiang like this, he would fight him to the death.

(“The Red Star”)

According to Chu’s (1998) argument, the clause after *yaoshi* is a condition of the clause after *jiu*. In (128), *yaoshi* ……*jiu* indicates that “Zeng Meilan” would definitely risk his life to fight for “Xiao Jiang” “if he were outside”, but since he is in prison, then the fight is just a supposition.

(129) *Yao* ni yi lian ji tian, bu jian shei shei, jiu you duanding ta yiding shi bei zhualè qule. (“Shan Lu”)

要你一連幾天，不見誰誰，就又斷定他一定是被抓了去了。

(《山路》)

If you did not see someone for several days in a row, you (then) would assume that he/she must have been captured.

(“The Mountain Path”)

In spoken Chinese, *shi* is sometimes omitted, such as in (129), using *jiu* or *jiushi* does not make any difference. The clause after *jiu* “assum(ing) that he/she must have been captured” is a result of the supposition in the clause after *yao* – “you did not see someone for several days in a row”.

(130) Wansheng weile jiashi xinyuan, zhi qiu lao yezi yi yan, jiu shou ci
liang duo le. (“San Chai Jian”)

晚生為了家師心願，只求老爺子一言，就受賜良多了。

(《三拆劍》)

In order to fulfill my master’s cherished desire, I only ask for one
word from you. My desire will then be fulfilled.

(“The Three-Piece Sword”)

In (130) *weile* ……*jiu* indicates “ask(ing) for one word from the old man”
is to fulfill the purpose of satisfying the “master’s cherished desire”.

(131) Liang ge qing yi nuzi yin Huoling Shengmu zhiyao tamen shi ta yi

zhao, yinci jiu zhu shou hou tuile yi bu. (“San Chai Jian”)

兩個青衣女子因火靈聖母只要他們試他一招，因此就住手後退
了一步。(《三拆劍》)

The two women in blue thus stopped fighting, falling back a step,
since Mother Huoling asked them to try him with only one strike.

(“The Three-Piece Sword”)

In (131) *yinci……jiu* indicates that the reason that the “two women in blue” stopped fighting is that “Mother Huoling asked them to try him with only one strike”.

(132) Wo a-ge bian pao bian wang hou reng shitou, jingcha yiwei ta reng

de shi shouliudan, fefen pa xia, yao bu jiu wang hou che ren.

(“Hong Xing”)

我阿哥邊跑邊往後扔石頭，警察以為他扔的是手榴彈，紛紛爬
下，要不就往後撤人。(《紅星》)

My brother threw rocks back while running. The police thought he

was throwing grenades, so they lay down one after another, or else
drew back. (“The Red Star”)

In (132) *yaobu jiu* indicates what the police did when “my brother threw back stones”. *Yaobu* and *jiu* together show that the result was that either they lay down on the ground or they drew back.

(133) Zhu Qiulan hui mou yi xiao dao: “Wo bi qi Yue Xiangong lai, jiu
cha duo le.” (“San Chai Jian”)

竺秋蘭回眸一笑道：“我比起岳相公來，就差多了。”

(《三拆劍》)

Zhu Qiulan looked back and smiled, “Compared to Master Yue, I’m
indeed far behind.” (“The Three-Piece Sword”)

In (133), *biqu……lai, jiu……* indicates that Zhu Qiulan knows that, in comparison to Mr. Yue, her skill is much inferior. The use of *bi* thus results in a comparison.

(134) *Chule* ta ziji, *jiu* shei ye bu hui zhidaole. (“San Chai Jian”)

除了他自己，就誰也不會知道了。(《三拆劍》)

Except for himself, then no one else would know it.

(“The Three-Piece Sword”)

Chule ……*jiu* can mean either “besides” or “except”. In (134) it indicates “except”, which excludes “himself”.

(135) Mo song zhe koujue, chu jian zhi shi, *bushi* jian shi shao pian,

jiushi bianhua yong lao, zong juede wufa zuodao qiadao haochu.

(“San Chai Jian”)

默誦著口訣，出劍之時，不是劍勢稍偏，就是變化用老，總覺得無法做到恰到好處。)(《三拆劍》)

(He) read the mnemonic rhyme silently. When he drew his sword he felt that either the aim of his sword was a little off, or he was short of variations in his fight. He felt that he could never do it right.

(“The Three-Piece Sword”)

Bushi……*jiushi* means “either……or”, which is an option. In (135) it indicates that the reason that “he could not succeed” is either that “the aim was a little off” or “he was short of variations in his fight”.

In some circumstances the word that works in conjunction with *jiu* is omitted if the context is clear. For example in (136) *ruguo* (如果, if) is omitted. According to the context in the novel this sentence is the same as “如果你借給我，我就做你的老婆。” (If you lend [the money] to me, I will be your wife.)

(136) Ni jie gei wo, wo *jiu* zuo nide laopo. (“Jiangjun Zu”)

你借給我，我就做你的老婆。（《將軍族》）

You lend (the money) to me, then I will be your wife.

(“Clan of Generals”)

In (137) although *bi* (比, compare) is not used, from the context we notice a comparison between “lights in the stores on both sides of the street”, and “this end of then street, with very few people”.

(137) Zhe shi da jie shang liang bian dianpu, hai you bushao dengguang,
dan daole jie wei zhe yi duan, ke *jiu* yi pian lengqing, xingren xishao.
("San Chai Jian")

這時大街上兩邊店舖，還有不少燈光，但到了街尾這一段，可就一片冷清，行人稀少。)(《三拆劍》)

At the moment, there are still a lot of lights in the stores on both sides of the street. However, it then becomes cold and cheerless at this end of the street, with very few pedestrians.

("The Three-Piece Sword")

Jiushi can also occur in the first clause and work in conjunction with *ye* to indicate resumption, such as in (138) and (139). Here *jiushi*……*ye* is interpreted as "even if/though".

(138) Zhe xie nian lai, ta pingshi hen shao chumen, *jiushi* chu qu, ye mei
you dangede zheme jiu de. ("San Chai Jian")

這些年來，他平時很少出門，就是出去，也沒有耽擱得這麼久的。(《三拆劍》)

He seldom went away during these years. Even if he went away, he would not have been delayed for this long.

(“The Three-Piece Sword”)

(139) Ni yuan lai shi ke, xianzai yi shi zhongwu, jiushi yao zou, ye yinggai zai shexia yongguo bianfan zai qu. (“San Chai Jian”)

你遠來是客，現在已是中午，就是要走，也應該在舍下用過便飯再去。(《三拆劍》)

You are a guest from far away. Since it is already lunch time, even if you need to go, you should have a simple meal in my house before you leave. (“The Three-Piece Sword”)

3.3.1.2 Adverb

According to Liu (2001), *jiu* is often used as an adverbial, indicating time, quantity and scope. It is also used as a conjunction in a complex sentence. The usages of *jiu* as an adverb will be discussed in detail in 3.3.2.

3.3.1.3 Preposition

According to Lü (2002), *jiu*, as a preposition, introduces the object or scope of an action, as in (140); it indicates the discussion does not exceed what is talked about; It may also mean “in terms of”, and indicates the topic or aspect of discussion, such as in (141), *jiu* indicates that the topic discussed is “morality”.

(140) Keshi fuqin zongshi jiu shi lun shi de suibian daying ta ji ju, bing

wei you ci yinshen jieti fahui, sihu hai youxie xian ta guo duo

daraole ta. (“Wo Shi Ni Baba”)

可是父親總是就事論事地隨便答應他幾句，並未由此引申借題發揮，似乎還有些嫌他過多打擾了他。（《我是你爸爸》）

However his father always responds to him in a few words by

judging his case as it stands. He did not use the occasion to

exaggerate matters. On the contrary, he seems to feel he is bothering

him more than necessary. (“I Am Your Father”)

(141) *Jiu* daoyi shang shuo, ye yi-bu-rong-ci, wufa tuiwei.

(“San Chai Jian”)

就道义上说，也义不容辞，无法推诿。(《三拆劍》)

In terms of morality, he is also duty-bound and his responsibility is in no way to be shifted to others. (“The Three-Piece Sword”)

3.3.1.4 Verb or Noun

As discussed in Chapter Two, before the pre-Qin *jiu* was used exclusively as a verb. In modern Chinese *jiu* is mainly used as a conjunction or an adverb. Its usage as a verb still occurs in some fixed phrases such as in (142), *ban-tui-ban-jiu* (半推半就, yield with reluctance). In (143) *jiu* (就, approach) combines with *xue* (学, study) to form a conventional compound meaning “go to school”. *Jiu* also works in conjunction with a few other words such as *zhi* (職, position, occupation), *wei* (位, seat) to express “assume the position” or “take the seat”. As a noun *jiu* does not occur independently. It only occurs in compounds such as *chengjiu* (成就, success) in (144).

(142) Du Mei ban-tui-ban-jiu, zui shizhong yingzhe.

(“Guo Ba Yin Jiu Si”)

杜梅半推半就，嘴始终硬着。(《過把癮就死》)

Du Mei yielded with reluctance yet verbally held firm.

(“Fulfillment and A Quick Death”)

(143) Dizhu jia gebi dahu renjia you ge shaoye, nianling xiang fang, jiu

xue gaodeng gongye xuexiao. (“Hong Xing”)

地主家隔壁大户人家有个少爷，年龄相仿，就学高等工业学校。

(《紅星》)

A young master from a rich family lived next door to the landlord.

He was almost the same age and attended a technology institute.

(“The Red Star”)

(144) Yue Shaojun dao: “Xiaodi zhe dian chengjiu, qishi dou shi jiejie

suo ci.” (“San Chai Jian”)

岳少俊道：“小弟這點成就，其實都是姐姐所賜。”(《三拆劍》)

Yue Shaojun said, “My (your younger brother’s) little success is in

fact a gift from you (my elder sister).

(“The Three-Piece Sword Divided”)

3.3.1.5 Comparison of Beijing and Taiwan Data

The results of the data search are shown in Tables 2-5 below. Table 2 shows the results of the data search from Wang Shuo’s two novels. The total number of sentences containing *jiu* is 1,333, in which that the adverb *jiu* has the highest frequency at 62.4%, or 832 sentences. Conjunctional *jiu* is the second most often used at 36.5% or 486 sentences. Verbal *jiu* is the third at 0.85% or 9 sentences. Prepositional *jiu* is the fourth at 0.3% or 4 sentences. Nominal *jiu* is the fifth at 0.15% or 2 sentences. These results prove that in Beijing Mandarin the main uses of *jiu* are primarily as an adverb and as a conjunction. These two combined make up 98.9% of all the sentences containing *jiu* in the corpus. The uses as a preposition, a verb and a noun compose only 1.1% or 15 sentences.

Table 2. Results of Searching Wang Shuo’s (王碩) Works

	Total	Conjunction	Adverb	Preposition	Noun/Verb
Number of Sentences	1,333	486	832	4	11 = (2+9)
Percentage	100%	36.5%	62.4%	0.3%	0.8% = (0.15+0.85)%

Table 3 shows the results of the data search from Lao She's two novels and four plays. The total number of the sentences containing *jiu* is 3,678. First, the use of *jiu* as adverb has the highest frequency at 49.61%, or 1,825 sentences. Second, the use of *jiu* as a conjunction has the second highest frequency at 48.5%, or 1,784 sentences. Third, the occurrence of *jiu* as a verb is 0.9% or 33 sentences. Fourth, the occurrence of *jiu* as a preposition is 0.65% or 24 sentences. Fifth, the use of *jiu* as a noun is 0.08% or 3 sentences. Compared to the results from Wang Shuo's novels, the occurrence of *jiu* as an adverb in Lao She's works as well is the most frequent in the corpus; the occurrence of *jiu* as a conjunction is close to that of *jiu* as an adverb. However, the results from Wang Shuo's works show that the percentage of adverb is obviously higher than what is found in Lao She's works.

Table 3. Results of Searching Lao She's (老舍) Works

	Total	Conjunction	Adverb	Preposition	Noun/Verb
Number of Sentences	3,678	1,784	1,825	24	36 = (3+33)
Percentage	100%	48.5%	49.61%	0.65%	0.98% = (0.08+0.9)%

Table 4 shows that the total number of sentences containing *jiu* in Chen Yingzhen's novels is 138, where the number of sentences with *jiu* as an adverb is 117 and the frequency reaches 84.8%, far ahead of other uses of *jiu*. The

occurrence of *jiu* as a conjunction is 14.5%, or 20 sentences. The rate for *jiu* as a verb is 0.7%, only one sentence. No sentence is found with *jiu* as a preposition. As mentioned in the previous section, Chen Yingzhen's works represent characteristics of Taiwan Mandarin in the 1960s and 1970s. The results in this table show that the main uses of *jiu* in that period of time are as adverb and conjunction, and further that the occurrence of *jiu* as an adverb is much higher than that of *jiu* as a conjunction.

Table 4. Results of Searching Chen Yingzhen's (陳映真) Works

	Total	Conjunction	Adverb	Preposition	Noun/Verb
Number of Sentences	138	20	117	0	1 = (0+1)
Percentage	100%	14.5%	84.8%	0	0.7% = (0+0.7)%

Table 5 shows that in Dongfang Bai's novel, the number of sentences containing *jiu* is 2,189, among which 1,292 sentences are found containing *jiu* as an adverb, while 875 sentences are found with *jiu* as a conjunction. The frequency of these two is 59% and 40% respectively. The use of *jiu* as a verb still holds the third position with 15 sentences at 0.65%. Prepositional *jiu* is the fourth with 6 sentences at 0.3%, and nominal *jiu* is the least seen in the corpus with only one sentence found, for a rate of 0.05%.

Table 5. Results of Searching Dongfang Bai's (東方白) Works

	Total	Conjunction	Adverb	Preposition	Noun/Verb
Number of Sentences	2,189	875	1,292	6	16 = (1+15)
Percentage	100%	40%	59%	0.3%	0.7% = (0.05+0.65)%

Table 6 presents the comparison of the results found in works of Beijing Mandarin and Taiwan Mandarin writers. As shown, the total number of sentences containing *jiu* found in Beijing writers' works is 5,011, while in Taiwan writers' works is 2,327. The use of *jiu* as an adverb has the highest frequency at 53% in Beijing Mandarin and 60.6% in Taiwan Mandarin. The frequency of the use of *jiu* as a conjunction makes up 45.3% in Beijing Mandarin and 38.5% in Taiwan Mandarin. The rate of occurrence of *jiu* as a preposition is 0.6% in Beijing Mandarin and 0.3% in Taiwan Mandarin. The rate for *jiu* as verb and noun is 0.8% and 0.1% in Beijing Mandarin, and 0.66% and 0.04% in Taiwan Mandarin.

Table 6. Results for Comparing Usages of *jiu* in
Taiwan Mandarin and Beijing Mandarin

		Total	Conjunction	Adverb	Preposition	Noun/Verb
Beijing	Number of Sentences	5,011	2,270	2,657	28	47 =(5+42)
	Percentage	100%	45.3%	53%	0.6%	0.9% =(0.1+0.8)%
Taiwan	Number of Sentences	2,327	895	1,409	6	17 =(1+16)
	Percentage	100%	38.5%	60.6%	0.3%	0.7% =(0.04+0.66)%

As a result, we conclude:

- A. The main uses of *jiu* in modern Chinese are as an adverb and a conjunction, since these two combined compose 98.3% in Beijing Mandarin and 99.1% in Taiwan Mandarin.
- B. In modern Chinese, the use of *jiu* as a verb, noun, or preposition only occurs in a few fixed constructions.
- C. The rate of occurrence of *jiu* as a conjunction in Taiwan Mandarin is much lower than that of *jiu* as an adverb, while in Beijing Mandarin neither differs much.

3.3.2 Comparison of *Jiu* as an Adverb in Beijing Mandarin and Taiwan

Mandarin

Since this study focuses on the use of *jiu* as an adverb, the following analysis sorts all the sentences with adverbial *jiu* into four categories: emphasis, sequential immediacy, evaluation of time and quantity, and limiting scope of object/action.

3.3.2.1 Emphasis

According to Lü (2002), when *jiu* is used to emphasize or confirm a fact, it can be occasionally replaced by *jiushi* (就是, indeed), but *jiushi* holds a stronger tone than *jiu*. Both are translated as “indeed”, “in fact” or “right(ly)”. For example, in (145) *jiu* emphasizes that it is “right at this moment” that “a female voice suddenly calls out”. In (146) *jiu* emphasizes that “she was right beside me” and not anywhere else, but pretended that I was not there. In (147) *jiushi* confirms the speaker’s assumption that it is hard to survive in the real world, which is full of “sinister and mean friends”.

(145) Jiu zai cishi, tu ting yi ge furen shengyin he dao: “Lan Er, gan

shenme duo zai xiao jiuguan li, hai bu chulai.” (“San Chai Jian”)

就在此時，突聽一個婦人聲音喝道：“蘭兒，幹什麼躲在小酒館裏，還不出來。”（《三拆劍》）

Right at this moment, a female voice suddenly calls out, “Lan Er, what are you doing hiding in the little bar? Why don’t you come out?” (“The Three-Piece Sword”)

(146) Ta jiu zhan zai wo shenbian, ke yangzi haoxiang mei wo zhe ge ren shide. (“Guo Ba Yin Jiu Si”)

她就站在我身邊，可樣子好像沒我這個人似的。（《過把癮就死》）

She stood right beside me, but acted as if I did not exist at all.

(“Fulfillment and A Quick Death”)

(147) Jianghu pengyou, jiushi zheyang yinsun. (“San Chai Jian”)

江湖朋友，就是這樣陰損。（《三拆劍》）

Friends among the real world are indeed so sinister and mean.

(“The Three-Piece Sword”)

However, *jiu* and *jiushi* (就是, indeed) are not always interchangeable. For example, in *Wo jiushi ni yao zhao de na ge ren* (我就是你要找的那個人, I'm indeed the one that you are looking for), *jiushi* can not be replaced by *jiu*.

3.3.2.2 Sequential Immediacy

Jiu is used to indicate that as soon as the first event takes place, the second event will follow. For example, *jiu* in (148) indicates that the two actions “lowering her head” and “walking away” happen sequentially and immediately. In (149) *jiu* indicates that the action bringing in the tea occurs right after taking seats, although the two actions were conducted by different subjects. In (150) *jiu* indicates that two situations occur one after the other: “became a long-term farm laborer” follows “graduating from the Japan government ‘public school’”.

(148) *Ta mei gan tai yan kan ta, di dou jiu zou.* (“San Chai Jian”)

她沒敢抬眼看他，低頭就走。(《三拆劍》)

She dared not look up to see him, just lowering her head and walking away. (“The Three-Piece Sword”)

(149) Liang ren fen bin zhu luozuo, yi ming xiao tong *jiu* pengshang

liang zhan xiang ming. (“San Chai Jian”)

兩人分賓主落座，一名小童就捧上兩盞香茗。(《三拆劍》)

As soon as they took their seats as host and guest, a boy brought in two cups of fragrant tea. (“The Three-Piece Sword”)

(150) Ri Zhi “gong xuexiao” biye yihou, Xie Qidan *jiu* dao xiang zhong

yi ge dizhu jia dang xiao changgong kan niu. (“Hong Xing”)

日制“公學校”畢業以後，謝其淡就到鄉中一個地主家當小長工看牛。(《紅星》)

After graduating from the Japan government “public school”, Xie Qidan went to a landlord in the country and became a long-term farm laborer, taking care of the cows. (“The Red Star”)

3.3.2.3 Evaluation of Time and Quantity

According to Liu (2001), *jiu* as an evaluative adverb is used to indicate evaluation of time and quantity. It can be used both before time and quantity words, to indicate “early”, “a short time” or “a small quantity”, and after time and

quantity words to indicate “late”, “a long time” or “a large quantity” in some circumstances. This is discussed in detail in Chapter V.

3.3.2.4 Limitation of Scope of Object/Event

As Chu (1998) has argued *jiu* has the uses of indicating limitation of the scope of object and event. This has been discussed in Chapter II. What has not been discussed is whether *jiushi* can also be used to limit the scope of object or event. *Jiushi* has the same functions as *jiu*; however the tone is stronger (Lü, 2002). For example, in (151) *jiushi* indicates that there are only two people in her family - she and her husband, nobody else. *Jiu* can be used to replace *jiushi* in this sentence and indicate the same meaning, but the tone is softer than *jiushi*.

(151) Bai fa laoyu dao: “*jiushi* wo lao pozi he laoban liang ren, laoban

hua chuan wei ye, lei le yi tian, yijing shui le.” (“San Chai Jian”)

白髮老嫗道：“就是我老婆子和老伴兩人，老伴劃船為業，累了一天，已經睡了。《三折劍》)

The old woman with white hair said, “It is just me and my old hubby.

My hubby’s occupation is boat rowing. He worked all day long and

became so tired that he has gone to sleep already.”

(“The Three-Piece Sword”)

3.4 Results of Comparison

3.4.1 Results of Comparing Beijing Mandarin and Taiwan Mandarin

Tables 6 through 9 present results of the data search for *jiu* as an adverb. The data is collected into four categories: emphasis, sequential immediacy, evaluation and limitation. The function of *jiu* as an adverb in Beijing Mandarin and Taiwan Mandarin in the four categories are compared in this section.

3.4.2 Comparison of *jiu* as an Adverb in Beijing and Taiwan Mandarin

Table 7 below shows that in Wang Shuo’s novels the usage of *jiu* for emphasis has the highest frequency, 46.1%. *Jiu* for sequential immediacy has the second highest occurrence, 22.3%. These two combined make up 68.4%. *Jiu*’s usages for evaluation and limitation are the same, 16% each. These two types compose 32%. This shows that the main uses of *jiu* as an adverb are for emphasis and sequential immediacy in Wang Shuo’s Beijing Mandarin.

Table 7. Results of Searching Wang Shuo's (王碩) Works

	Total	Emphasis	Sequential Immediacy	Evaluation	Limitation
Number of Sentences	831	383	185	130	133
Percentage	100%	46.1%	22.3%	16%	16%

Table 8 below shows the results of the data search for four categories of *jiu* as an adverb in Lao She's novels and plays. The total number of sentences containing *jiu* as an adverb is 1,823, among which the category of sequential immediacy has the highest frequency at 31.8%. Emphasis is the second most often used at 29.7%. These two categories together compose 61.5%. Uses indicating evaluation and limitation make up 24% and 14.5%, and these two combined are equal to 38.5%. The results show that in Lao She's Beijing Mandarin, the main uses of *jiu* as an adverb are also for sequential immediacy and emphasis.

Table 8. Results of Searching Lao She's (老舍) Works

	Total	Emphasis	Sequential Immediacy	Evaluation	Limitation
Number of Sentences	1,823	542	579	438	264
Percentage	100%	29.7%	31.8%	24%	14.5%

Comparing the result of Wang Shuo and Lao She's works, we are able to chart the uses of *jiu* in Beijing Mandarin between the 1960s-1970s and the 1980s

– 1990s. In both eras, indicating emphasis and sequential immediacy are the main usages of *jiu* as an adverb.

The results from searching Chen Yingzhen's works are shown in Table 9. The total number of sentences containing *jiu* as an adverb is 117, among which indicating emphasis has the highest frequency at 45.3%, so the three main uses of *jiu* as an adverb are for indicating emphasis, sequential immediacy, and evaluation. The rate of occurrence for indicating sequential immediacy is 22.2%, which is very close to that of indicating evaluation. The rate of occurrence of indicating limitation is lowest, 7.7%.

Table 9. Results of Searching Chen Yingzhen's (陳映真) Works

	Total	Emphasis	Sequential Immediacy	Evaluation	Limitation
Number of Sentences	117	53	26	29	9
Percentage	100%	45.3%	22.2%	25%	7.7%

Table 10 shows that in Dongfang Bai's novel, the total number of sentences containing *jiu* as an adverb is 1,294. The rate indicating emphasis makes up more than half of the total amount. This demonstrates that in Chen Yingzhen's novels, indicating emphasis is the main use of *jiu* as an adverb. Indicating sequential immediacy has the second highest frequency, 23.4%. The

frequency of indicating evaluation takes the third position, 21%, which is still close to the second. *Jiu* as indicating limitation is the least often seen, at only 1.8%.

Table 10. Results of Searching Dongfang Bai's (東方白) Works

	Total	Emphasis	Sequential Immediacy	Evaluation	Limitation
Number of Sentences	1,294	694	303	274	23
Percentage	100%	53.6%	23.4%	21%	1.8%

The comparisons of *jiu* in Beijing Mandarin and Taiwan Mandarin are shown in Table 11 below.

- A. Indicating emphasis and sequential immediacy are the two main uses of *jiu* as an adverb in both Beijing Mandarin and Taiwan Mandarin.
- B. *Jiu*'s usages indicating evaluation and limitation are similarly low in both Beijing Mandarin and Taiwan Mandarin.
- C. Table 10 shows that in both Beijing Mandarin and Taiwan Mandarin, indicating emphasis has the highest frequency; indicating sequential immediacy has the second highest frequency; indicating evaluation of time and quantity has the third highest frequency and indicating

limitation of the scope has the fourth highest frequency. The rate of occurrence of *jiu* indicating emphasis in Taiwan Mandarin comprises a much higher percentage than it does in Beijing Mandarin. The frequencies of *jiu* indicating immediacy and evaluation are very close to each other in Beijing Mandarin and Taiwan Mandarin.

Table 11. Results for Comparing *jiu* as an Adverb in Taiwan Mandarin and Beijing Mandarin

		Total	Emphasis	Sequential Immediacy	Evaluation	Limitation
Beijing Mandarin	Number of Sentences	2,654	925	764	568	391
	Percentage	100%	34.9%	28.8%	21%	15%
Taiwan Mandarin	Number of Sentences	1,411	978	329	303	32
	Percentage	100%	69.3%	23.3%	21%	2.3%

3.4.3 Comparison of *Jiu* as an Evaluative Adverb in Beijing Mandarin and Taiwan Mandarin

Additional study of the uses of *jiu* compares sentences containing *jiu* as an evaluative adverb indicating the evaluation of time or quantity. All the sentences are divided manually into two categories. One has the time or quantity phrase that

jiu evaluates preceding *jiu*; the other has the time and quantity phrase following *jiu*. These two categories are simplified as “+*jiu*” and “*jiu*+” in Table 12 below.

The results of the data search of Beijing Mandarin are shown in Table 11 below. The total number of sentences containing *jiu* as an evaluative adverb is 568, among which 503 sentences are “+*jiu*” and 65 sentences are “*jiu*+”. It is obvious that the main use of *jiu* as an evaluative adverb is when *jiu* follows the time or quantity, since “+*jiu*” composes 88.6% while “*jiu*+” only makes up 11.4%.

Table 12. Comparison of +*jiu* and *jiu*+
in Indicating Evaluation of Time/Quantity in Beijing Mandarin

	Number of Sentences	Percentage
Total	568	100%
+ <i>jiu</i>	503	88.6%
<i>jiu</i> +	65	11.4%

Meanwhile the results of the data search of Taiwan Mandarin shown in Table 13 found no sentence fitting the pattern *jiu*+. In all the 303 sentences containing *jiu* as an evaluative adverb, the time or quantity phrase precedes *jiu*.

Table 13. Comparison of +*jiu* and *jiu*+
in Indicating Evaluation of Time/Quantity in Taiwan Mandarin

	Number of Sentences	Percentage
Total	303	100%
+ <i>jiu</i>	303	100%
<i>jiu</i> +	0	0

3.5 Conclusion

This chapter uncovers similarities and differences of the uses of *jiu* in Beijing Mandarin and Taiwan Mandarin by searching *jiu*'s frequency of occurrence in various categories. Representative works of Beijing Mandarin and Taiwan Mandarin are collected for the database, in which Wang Shuo's two novels represent the features of Beijing Mandarin in the 1980-90s while Lao She's novels and plays represent them in the 1960-70s. Dongfang Bai's novel represents the features of Taiwan Mandarin in the 1980-90s while Chen Yingzhen's novels represent them in 1960-70s. The results of the data analysis show that in both Beijing Mandarin and Taiwan Mandarin, the main uses of *jiu* are as an adverb and a conjunction. As an adverb, the main uses of *jiu* indicate emphasis and sequential immediacy in both Beijing Mandarin and Taiwan Mandarin. As an evaluative adverb, the uses of *jiu* are divided into two categories, one with *jiu* following the time or quantity it evaluates, the other with *jiu* preceding the time and quantity it evaluates. In Beijing Mandarin the former structure, *+jiu*, is the main use of *jiu*, while the latter structure, *jiu+*; only has the frequency of 10%. In Taiwan Mandarin all the sentences containing *jiu* as an evaluative adverb fit in *+jiu*, and no sentence was found to fit *jiu+*. This proves

that first, *jiu+* is less often seen than *+jiu*; second, *jiu+* only occurs in Beijing Mandarin, not in Taiwan Mandarin; therefore, it is a regional difference. As discussed in Chapter Two, ambiguities only occur in *jiu+*. The following two chapters will focus on linguistic means in communicating unambiguously.

CHAPTER FOUR THE STRESS FUNCTION IN BEIJING MANDARIN AND TAIWAN MANDARIN

In Chapter Three the meanings and functions of *jiu* in Beijing Mandarin and Taiwan Mandarin were compared by searching and analyzing the language database. The results showed that 65 out of 568 sentences in which *jiu* indicates the evaluation of time or quantity are in the form of *jiu+*. In Taiwan Mandarin however, no such usage is found. This demonstrates that the form of *jiu+* exists in Beijing Mandarin but not in Taiwan Mandarin. In other words it is a regional feature.

In this chapter a listening test is used to discover if stress has the function of differentiating meaning of *jiu* in both Beijing Mandarin and Taiwan Mandarin. The background of the test subjects, the development of the questionnaire, the procedure of the test, the results of the data collection, and the analysis are described in this chapter.

4.1 Subjects

The subjects participating in the test were twenty Beijing Mandarin speakers and twenty Taiwan Mandarin speakers. The criteria for being chosen as a subject were:

- A. Adult (over 17 years old)
- B. Born and educated in either Beijing or Taiwan
- C. Native Beijing Mandarin or Native Taiwan Mandarin speaker, but not both

In order to ensure accurate results, only native Taiwan Mandarin speakers born and raised there were chosen to participate in the Taiwan Mandarin speakers' portion of the test.

4.1.1 Beijing Mandarin Speakers

Each participant was given an ID number to ensure protection of their personal information. Table 14 shows the subjects' ID number, age, educational background, place of birth, and language background. The range in the subjects'

age was from 20 to over 50 years old. The majority of the subjects were between thirty and forty:

20 – 30 years old	———	4 people
31 – 40 years old	———	12 people
41 – 50 years old	———	2 people
Over 50 years old	———	2 people

The range of the subjects' educational background is from high school to university. The majority of them graduated from university:

High School	———	3 people
Community College	———	1 person
University	———	16 people

All subjects were born and educated in Beijing; therefore their native language is absolutely Beijing Mandarin. Half of them have a very strong Beijing accent. They have worked in Beijing since graduation.

Table 14. Background of Beijing Mandarin Speakers

ID	Age	Education	Birthplace	Place of Education	Native Language
1	55	High School	Beijing	Beijing	Beijing Mandarin
2	54	University	Beijing	Beijing	Beijing Mandarin
3	34	University	Beijing	Beijing	Beijing Mandarin
4	38	University	Beijing	Beijing	Beijing Mandarin
5	22	University	Beijing	Beijing	Beijing Mandarin
6	45	High School	Beijing	Beijing	Beijing Mandarin
7	42	University	Beijing	Beijing	Beijing Mandarin
8	33	Community College	Beijing	Beijing	Beijing Mandarin
9	30	University	Beijing	Beijing	Beijing Mandarin
10	40	University	Beijing	Beijing	Beijing Mandarin
11	36	University	Beijing	Beijing	Beijing Mandarin
12	33	University	Beijing	Beijing	Beijing Mandarin
13	35	University	Beijing	Beijing	Beijing Mandarin
14	40	High School	Beijing	Beijing	Beijing Mandarin
15	24	University	Beijing	Beijing	Beijing Mandarin
16	23	University	Beijing	Beijing	Beijing Mandarin
17	35	University	Beijing	Beijing	Beijing Mandarin
18	40	University	Beijing	Beijing	Beijing Mandarin
19	34	University	Beijing	Beijing	Beijing Mandarin
20	36	University	Beijing	Beijing	Beijing Mandarin

4.1.2 Taiwan Mandarin Speakers

Table 15 below shows the background of the twenty Taiwan Mandarin speakers. First, the subjects' age range from 18 to 72 years old. The majority was from 30 to 50 years old:

Under 20 years old	———	1 person
20 – 30 years old	———	3 people
31 – 40 years old	———	6 people
41 – 50 years old	———	3 people
Over 50 years old	———	7 people

The range of the subjects' educational background is from high school to Master's Degree. The majority graduated from university:

High School	———	4 people
Community College	———	1 person
University	———	12 people
Graduate School Students	———	2 people
Master's Degree	———	1 person

All subjects were born and educated in Taiwan and are living in the United States now. They are called native Taiwanese. They have been speaking Taiwanese since they were born. They learn and speak Mandarin only at school.

Therefore sixty percent of them have a very strong Taiwanese accent when they speak Mandarin. Although most of them live in the United States all year around, they live in Taiwanese community. This allows them to communicate in their native language and Taiwan Mandarin regularly.

Table 15. Background of Taiwan Mandarin Speakers

ID	Age	Education	Birth Place	Place of Education	Native Language
1	25	Graduate School	Taiwan	Taiwan	Taiwanese
2	52	University	Taiwan	Taiwan	Taiwanese
3	72	High School	Taiwan	Taiwan	Taiwanese
4	18	University	Taiwan	Taiwan	Taiwanese
5	35	University	Taiwan	Taiwan	Taiwanese
6	43	University	Taiwan	Taiwan	Taiwanese
7	40	University	Taiwan	Taiwan	Taiwanese
8	41	University	Taiwan	Taiwan	Taiwanese
9	28	University	Taiwan	Taiwan	Taiwanese
10	35	University	Taiwan	Taiwan	Taiwanese
11	37	University	Taiwan	Taiwan	Taiwanese
12	32	University	Taiwan	Taiwan	Taiwanese
13	67	High School	Taiwan	Taiwan	Taiwanese
14	68	High School	Taiwan	Taiwan	Taiwanese
15	42	University	Taiwan	Taiwan	Taiwanese
16	30	Master Degree	Taiwan	Taiwan	Taiwanese
17	66	Community College	Taiwan	Taiwan	Taiwanese
18	64	University	Taiwan	Taiwan	Taiwanese
19	65	High School	Taiwan	Taiwan	Taiwanese
20	32	Graduate School	Taiwan	Taiwan	Taiwanese

4.2 Questionnaire

The questionnaire includes 25 pairs of sentences. However the total number of questions that the subject must answer is 50, because each sentence has two contrasting meanings in using *jiu* to indicate the speaker's evaluation of time or quantity. (Appendix B) These meanings are differentiated by putting stress either on *jiu* in one context or on a word before *jiu* in the other. Thus each sentence is read twice in the recording, with the stress in different positions. The sentences are then randomly ordered.

4.2.1 Sentences and Questions

As discussed in Chapter Two, ambiguities occur when *jiu* precedes the time or quantity phrase and is used to indicate quantity, time or scope. Therefore all the sentences collected in this questionnaire must first have *jiu* preceding the time or quantity word; second, they must include all the three categories of quantity, time and scope. (Appendix C) As a result there are 9 sentences in which *jiu* is used to indicate the evaluation of quantity, 14 sentences in which *jiu* is used to indicate the evaluation of time, and 2 sentences in which *jiu* is used to indicate limitation of the scope.

Some sentences in the questionnaire are taken from the previously discussed sentences in Chapter Two. Other sentences were created by the researcher based on the structures discussed in Chapter Two.

4.2.1.1 Evaluation of Quantity

Two categories were analyzed for using *jiu* to indicate the evaluation of quantity. One has *jiu* preceding a quantity word. The other has *jiu* preceding a quantity word and simultaneously following another quantity word.

4.2.1.1.1 *jiu* + quantity word

This category includes five categories: whole and part, possessive sentence, transaction sentence, quantity in a set time, and distribution sentence.

Whole and part: The sentence below shows that if *pingguo* (蘋果, apple) separates a whole, three spoiled apples are part of it. (G represents Group in the following sentences.)

Pinguo libian lan de jiu san ge.

G1. 蘋果裡邊爛的就三個。

Meaning: (stress on 蘋果) Even among the apples, three have spoiled.

(stress on jiu) Only three apples have spoiled.

Possessive Sentence: The sentence below shows that *jiu* either indicates that “five dollars” is a small amount with the stress on *jiu*, or “Even I have five dollars” with the stress on *wo* (我, I).

Wo jiu you wu kuai qian.

G2. 我就有五塊錢。(Wang, 1956)

Meaning: (stress on 我) Even I have five dollars

(stress on jiu) I have only five dollars.

Transaction Sentence: The sentence below shows that the amount of the transaction is “two dollars”. When the stress is on *jiu*, it means that two “dollars” is cheap for “these things”. When the stress is on *mai* (買, buy), it means that “just these things (have already) cost me two dollars”.

Mai zhexie dongxi jiu hua liang kuai qian.

G3. 買這些東西就花兩塊錢。 (Wang, 1956)

Meaning: (stress on 這) Just these things have cost me two dollars.

(stress on *jiu*) These things only cost me two dollars.

Quantity in a set time: In the sentence below, *kaixue* (開學, the first day of school / school starts) is a set time. *Ji shi ge ren* (幾十個人, several tens of people) is the quantity completed at that time. Therefore this sentence shows that the number of people who came to register is not a small number, when the stress is on *kaixue*. It indicates the number of people who came to register is only ten people, when the stress is on *jiu*.

Kaixue na tian jiu you ji shi ge ren lai baodao.

G4. 開學那天就有幾十個人來報到。

Meaning: (stress on 開學) Several tens of people came to register
even on the first day of school.

(stress on *jiu*) Only tens of people came to register on the
first day of school.

Distribution Sentence: The context of the sentence below is that everybody (or some of these people) asked for some tickets. Among them, “he” asked for three tickets. One situation is that “the tickets he asked for” are too many, with the stress on *ta* (他, he). The other is that “the tickets he asked for” are not many, with the stress on *jiu*.

Wo tingshuo ta jiu yao (le) san zhang piao.

G5. 我聽說他就要(了)三張票。(Lü, 2002)

Meaning: (stress on 他) I heard that even he asked for three tickets.

(stress on *jiu*) I heard that he asked for only three tickets.

4.2.1.1.2 quantity word + *jiu* + quantity word

When *jiu* connects two quantity words the structure indicates an average quantity. For example in the following sentences (G6) and (G7) the first quantity word is *yi*, so *jiu* indicates the number of people per group in the first sentence, and the amount of production per acre in the second sentence.

Women ban yi ge xiaozu jiu wu ge ren.

G6. 我們班一個小組就五個人。(Lü, 2002)

Meaning: (stress on 一) In our class, just one group already has five members.

(stress on *jiu*) In our class, each group has only five members.

Zhe hui yi mu di jiu da san bai jin.

G7. 這回一畝地就打三百斤。

Meaning: (stress on 一) This time just one acre has already produced three hundred pounds.

(stress on *jiu*) This time one acre produced only three hundred pounds.

In (G8) and (G9) the first quantity is not *yi*. It is “forty cups” and “ten people”. So *jiu* indicates the average of broken cups among every forty cups and the average number of beginners among every ten people.

Mei sishi ge beizili jiu you yi ge shi pòde.

G8. 每四十個杯子裡就有一個是破的。

Meaning: (stress on 四十) One out of every forty cups already is broken. (indicating “many”)

(stress on *jiu*) Only one out of every forty cups is broken.

Shi ge ren de ban jiu wu ge shi chuxuezhe.

G9. 十個人的班就五個是初學者。

Meaning: (stress on 十) As many as five out of ten in a class are beginners.

(stress on *jiu*) Only five out of ten in a class are beginners.

4.2.1.2 Evaluation of Time

There are also two categories included in using *jiu* to indicate an evaluation of time. One is “time when”. The other is “time spent”.

Time When: The following sentences (G10)-(G13) show the time when the action takes place or ends. In (G10) *jiu* preceding a time word indicates that the time he came was late when the stress is on *ta*, while it was early when the stress is on *jiu*. In (G11), if the stress is on *jiu*, it means that the speaker thinks he stayed till seven o'clock yesterday, which was not late at all. If the stress is on *zuotian* (昨天, yesterday), it indicates that the speaker is confirming that he did stay as late as seven o'clock yesterday. Sentence (G12) means the time he stopped working for others is not early, which indicates that he should have quit earlier if the stress is on *gei* (給, for). It means the time he quit working for others is still not very late, if the stress is on *jiu*. Sentence (G13) means "eight o'clock" is later than expected with the stress on *xie*, and earlier than expected with the stress on *jiu*.

Ta lai de shihou *jiu* ba dian.

G10. 他來的時候就八點。

Meaning: (stress on 他)

When he came, it was already eight o'clock.

(stress on *jiu*)

When he came it was only eight o'clock.

Ta zuotian zai zher jiu daidao qi dian.

G11. 他昨天在這兒就呆到七點。

Meaning: (stress on 昨) He did stay as late as seven o'clock
yesterday.

(stress on *jiu*) Yesterday he stayed just till seven o'clock.

Gei renjia dagong jiu dadao ershiwu sui

G12. 給人家打工就打到二十五歲。

Meaning: (stress on 打工) He had been employed by others even until
he was twenty-five years old.

(stress on *jiu*) He had been employed by others only until
he was twenty-five years old.

Xie zuoye jiu xiedao ba dian.

G13. 寫作業就寫到八點。

Meaning: (stress on 寫) The homework took him as long as three
hours to finish.

(stress on *jiu*) The homework took him only three hours
to finish.

Time Spent: Sentences (G14)-(G19) show the amount of time spent. In sentences (G14) and (G15), when the stress is on *junxun* (軍訓) and *caipai* (彩排), the sentence means the time spent on “military training” and “rehearsal” is longer than expected. If the stress is on *jiu*, it means the time is not as long as expected.

In sentences (G16), (G17), (G18) and (G19), when the stress is on *ta* (他, he), *laozhou* (老周, Old Zhou), *na* (那, that) and *jintian* (今天, today), the sentence means the time spent on “his performance”, “Lao Zhou’s lecture”, “his remembering” and “his being quiet” is longer than expected respectively. When the stress is on *jiu* the sentence means that the time spent on all of the above is not as long as expected.

Junxun jiu junxunle ban ge yue.

G14.軍訓就軍訓了半個月。

Meaning: (stress on 軍) Even the military training took half a
month.

(stress on *jiu*) The military training took only half a month.

Caipai *jiu* caipaile san tian.

G15. 彩排就彩排了三天。

Meaning: (stress on 彩) Just the rehearsal took as long as three days.

(stress on *jiu*) The rehearsal took only three days.

Zhe ci yanchu, ta *jiu* yan yi ge xiaoshi.

G16. 這次演出，他就演一個小時。

Meaning: (stress on 他) Just he alone performed as long as one hour in this performance.

(stress on *jiu*) He performed only one hour in this performance.

Xiawu kaihui lao zhou jiu jiangle yi ge xiaoshi.

G17. 下午開會老周就講了一個小時。(Lü, 2002)

Meaning: (stress on 周) Just Lao Zhou talked for as much as one hour at the afternoon meeting.

(stress on *jiu*) Lao Zhou talked for only one hour at the afternoon meeting.

Na duan hua ta jiu beile ershi fenzhong.

G18. 那段話他就背了二十分鐘。

Meaning: (stress on 那) Just that paragraph took him twenty minutes to remember.

(stress on *jiu*) It took him only twenty minutes to remember that paragraph.

Ta jintian jiu liang ge xiaoshi mei ku mei nao.

G19. 他今天上午就兩個小時沒哭沒鬧。

Meaning: (stress on 今) This morning he was quiet for as long as two hours.

(stress on *jiu*) He kept quiet for only two hours this morning.

Average Time: Sentences (G20)-(G23) show an average time. In (G20) the sentence means that he comes often enough every day when the stress is on *yi* (一, one), and not quite often with stress on *jiu*. Sentence (G21) means “two trips” are frequent enough for each day, with the stress on *yi* (一, one). It means “two trips” are not many for each day when the stress is on *jiu*. Sentence (G22) means “three games for the first half of the year” are enough when the stress is on *shang* (上, above). It means the games are not many with the stress on *jiu*. Sentence (G23) means the “he came” quite often, with the stress on *shang* (上, above). It means he did not come very often, with the stress on *jiu*.

Ta yi tian jiu lai liang ci.

G20.他一天就來兩次。

Meaning: (stress on 一) He came as often as twice a day.

(stress on *jiu*) He came only twice a day.

Ta yi tian jiu yunle liang tang.

G21. 他一天就運了兩趟。

Meaning: (stress on 一) He moved as often as two trips in a day.

(stress on *jiu*) He moved only two trips a day.

Shang ban nian jiu zuzhile san chang qiusai.

G22. 上半年就組織了三場球賽。

Meaning: (stress on 上) During the first half of the year we had as many as three games.

(stress on *jiu*) We had only three games during the first half of the year.

Shang xingqi ta jiu laiguo liang ci.

G23. 上星期他就來過兩次。

Meaning: (stress on 上) Just last week he came as often as two times.

(stress on *jiu*) Last week he only came twice.

Limitation of Scope: Sentences (G24) and (G25) show the uses of *jiu* when indicating the scope. In (G24), if the stress is on *jiu*, the sentence means the production of “the piece of land” is limited to corn. On the other hand in (G25), *jiu* limits the number of books that “I” can borrow. If the stress is on *jiu* then (G24) indicates that the speaker wants to confirm that “the piece of land” does grow corn and (G25) indicates that “I” am the one who has privileges to borrow these books. Therefore when the stress is on *jiu*, the scope is limited. When the stress is not on *jiu* it functions as an adverb indicating emphasis.

Zhe kuai di jiu zhong yumi.

G24. 這塊地就種玉米。(BU, 1982)

Meaning: (stress on 這) This is the piece of land that grows corn.

(stress on *jiu*) This piece of land only grows corn.

Wo jiu neng jie zhe ji ben shu.

G25.我就能借這幾本書。(Paris, 1981)

Meaning: (stress on 我) I'm the one who has privileges to borrow these books.

(stress on *jiu*) I can only borrow these books, (no more).

4.2.2 Recording and Test Format

A native speaker of Beijing Mandarin was asked to read the above 25 sentences and record her voice on tape. When she read, she put emphasis on either *jiu* or the word before *jiu* to alter the meaning of the sentence. So if a sentence has two meanings she read it twice, once with a stress on *jiu* and once with the stress on the word preceding *jiu*. In order for the test to be more effective the answer must be the subject's initial reaction. Therefore the two meanings of each sentence are not ordered together. For example the two meanings of the sentence “蘋果裡邊爛的就三個” (Among the apples, there have spoiled.) are randomly ordered as No.1 and No. 30.

Each subject was given a five-page answer sheet as in Appendix C. Before listening to the tape the requirements of the test were explained by the researcher.

For each question there are multiple-choice answers on the answer sheet. The subject was asked to listen to each sentence carefully and circle the correct answer on the answer sheet.

After the listening test, the subjects were asked not to make any changes on the answer sheet. They were asked to give some information about their language backgrounds. (Appendix A) The information includes, as mentioned above, their birthplace, native language, and education backgrounds.

The time for the test is 15 minutes including the two minutes for completing the language background sheet. The interval between each sentence is 3 seconds.

4.3. Results of the Data Search

4.3.1 Data Collection

An Excel file was created to input the data. Since there are two choices in answering each question, the answers presented in the Excel file are As and Bs (Appendix D and E). If the subject did not respond to a question, the answer to that question was recorded as an empty space in the file. For example, native

Taiwanese subject number 10 did not give an answer to questions 13 and 15, so these spaces in Appendix E, Results for Testing Taiwan Mandarin Speakers, are empty. Since the subject's personal information is not to be publicized, their names are not shown in the table. Each one was given an ID number. The first column shows the ID numbers. The second column shows the correct answer to each question. Columns 3 through 23 show the subjects' answers to the fifty questions.

4.3.2 Beijing Mandarin Speakers

The result of Beijing Mandarin speakers shows that every subject correctly answered 47 questions. They are questions numbered 1, 3 to 6, 8, 10 to 16, 18 to 26, 28 to 30, 33 to 47 and 49 to 50. Therefore all of the subjects answered at least 94% of the questions correctly. (Appendix D)

Among the 20 subjects, five people gave one to three incorrect answers. Subject 1 failed in the second, the seventh, and the ninth question. Subject 7 failed in the seventeenth question. Subject 18 failed in the twenty-seventh question. Subject 14 failed in the thirty-first question. Subject 15 failed in the thirty-second and forty-eighth questions. (Appendix D)

I followed up on the test to discover the cause of the incorrect answers. The above five people agreed to have an interview after the test. They were presented with the questions they answered incorrectly without being shown their original answers. Then I played the tape one more time and asked them to answer those questions. To my surprise, all of them except subject 1 gave the correct answer to those questions. They claimed that they either did not pay attention to the recording or thought about one answer but circled the other. Subject 1 explained that he was so curious about the regulations given at the start of the test that he did not pay much attention to the first several questions. By the time he calmed down enough to look at the answers he had already missed questions. So he just made guesses without knowing which one was correct. Therefore disregarding the subjects' carelessness, we can say that all of them answered the questions correctly.

4.3.3 Taiwan Mandarin Speakers

The result of Taiwan Mandarin speakers shows that none of the subjects answered all the questions correctly. Among the 50 questions only three of them (question 15, 27 and 41) were answered correctly by all the subjects. None of the

subjects answered question 18, 22 and 28 correctly. For example, subject 1 gave 22 wrong answers and did not answer 5 questions, which is to say his rate of correctness was only 46% (as shown in Table 19), not even half of the total. Subject 2 gave 24 wrong answers and left two answers blank. His percentage of correctness was just 44%, not up to 55% either. The 20 subjects' correctness ranges from 38% to 56%, with 8 people's correctness under 50%. (Appendix E)

In following up the test, each subject interviewed to find out the possible reasons for the mistakes. Few of them could give correct answers even though I repeated the questions with clear emphasis on the stresses in the sentences.

When shown the interpretation behind the stress of each sentence, most subjects gave this feedback: instead of using stress to indicate different meanings, *zhi* (只, only) should replace *jiu* to mean "only", and *yijing*.....*le* (已經.....了, already) should use *jiu* to indicate large quantity. This demonstrates that Taiwan Mandarin speakers do not use stress to differentiate meanings in these sentences.

4.4 Statistical Analysis

4.4.1 Reliability Analysis

In order to examine if the test used for the present study is reliable, the reliability was calculated. It turned out that the reliability (internal-consistency reliability calculated by Cronbach alpha) was 0.972, suggesting that the reliability of this test is very high.

4.4.2 Descriptive Statistics

Table 16 compares the descriptive statistics for both language groups (I.E., Beijing Mandarin speakers and Taiwan Mandarin speakers) in terms of means and standard deviations. As Table 16 shows, the mean score for the Beijing Mandarin group was 49.6, which was very close to the full score 50. On the other hand, the mean score for the Taiwan Mandarin group was 24.1, less than 50% of the possible total score. The table also shows that the standard deviation of the Beijing Mandarin group was lower than that of the Taiwan Mandarin group (i.e., 0.60 and 2.05, respectively), indicating that the Beijing Mandarin speakers' responses were more homogeneous than those of the Taiwan Mandarin speakers.

Table 16. Descriptive Statistics

Language	Mean	Standard Deviation	Number of Cases
Beijing Mandarin	49.60	.60	20
Taiwan Mandarin	24.10	2.05	20
Total	36.85	13.00	40

4.4.3 Analysis of Variation (ANOVA)

In order to investigate whether the mean difference between the two groups was significant, a one-way ANOVA (analysis of variation) was performed (with the language group as the independent variable and the test score as the dependent variable).

As the ANOVA Table (Table 17) shows, the ANOVA revealed a significant difference in the means of total scores of the two language groups ($F = 2853.29$, $P < 0.0001$ and $df = 1$). The observed power, which is the probability of correctly rejecting the null hypothesis, was 1.00. This suggests that the observed power was maximum. The η^2 value indicates that the language background variable explains 98.7% of the variance of the total test scores.

Table 17. ANOVA TABLE (Tests of Between-Subjects Effects)

Source	SS	df	MS	F	Sig	η^2	Power
Language	6502.500	1	6502.500	2853.291	.000	.987	1.000
Error	86.600	38	2.279				

4.5 Conclusion

In this chapter, in order to find out if stress plays a function of differentiating meanings in both Beijing Mandarin and Taiwan Mandarin, a listening test was conducted with 40 subjects (20 Beijing Mandarin speakers and 20 Taiwan Mandarin speakers respectively). The results of the test have shown that, first, Beijing Mandarin speakers recognize *jiu*'s versatile meanings through stress; and second, that stress does not differentiate the versatile meanings of *jiu* in indicating the evaluation of time or quantity in spoken Taiwan Mandarin. These results suggest that stress plays a significant role in listening comprehension in Beijing Mandarin.

CHAPTER FIVE DISAMBIGUATING FACTORS

The results in Chapter Four demonstrate that stress on *jiu* is effective in differentiating meaning in oral communications. However stress is not a factor in reading. As mentioned in Chapter Two, if ambiguities cannot be resolved by stress, it may be resolved by context. If context cannot resolve problems, the sentence has to be reworded (Chao, 1968), which is that *jiu* can be replaced by its equivalents or similar adverbs. This chapter focuses on finding disambiguating factors in two aspects: context and alternatives to *jiu*.

5.1 Context in Differentiating Meanings

There are a variety of means of establishing context including giving a key word, a pattern, or clues. The most effective way to find out how context is clarified in language is to study the 66 sentences found in the language database in Chapter Three, and find out how the context works in differentiating the versatile meanings of *jiu*. The following analyses include two parts: *jiu* as indicating quantity and *jiu* as indicating time.

5.1.1 Evaluation of Quantity

In certain contexts, *jiu* indicates a large quantity, while in other contexts it indicates a small quantity. Five categories are included in indicating a large quantity and four categories are included in indicating a small quantity.

5.1.1.1 Large Quantity

1. ……*jiu* + large quantity

When *jiu* is followed by large quantity, such as *xuduo* (許多, a lot), *henduo* (很多, many), *tebie duo* (特別多, extremely a lot), *xiangdang duo* (相當多, rather a lot), *bushao* (不少, quite a few), *wushu* (無數, countless), etc, there is no need to provide any other clue since the meaning is not at all ambiguous. For example in (152) *xuduo* expresses very clearly that the money spent on “this” is a lot.

(152) Zhe ge *jiu* feile *xuduo*. (“Luotuo Xiangzi”)

這個就費了許多。(《駱駝祥子》)

This has cost a lot. (“Rickshaw Boy”)

2. ……*jiu* + *yijing*(已/已經, already) / *dei* (得, have to, must)+quantity (+了, le)

As mentioned in the last chapter, when following up the test results of Taiwan Mandarin speakers most of them gave the same feedback. If *yijing* (已經, already) is between *jiu* and the quantity word then the meaning clearly indicates a large quantity. For example in (153) *yi* (已, already, alternative of *yijing* in literary Chinese), is used to indicate that having abortion twice at this young age is abnormal. *Yijing*……*le* indicates that it has reached a considerable amount or quantity. Besides *yijing*, *dei* (得, have to, must) is also used to serve the same function, as in (154) where *dei* indicates that “some tens of dollars” is too much for Xiangzi to afford for taking Hu Niu to the doctor. *Dei* is more often used in spoken language.

(153) *Suiran ta shi san sui jiu pole shen, ershi'er sui jiu yi duoguo liang*

ci tai, keshi na bing bu shi ta zijide zui'e. (“*Si Shi Tong Tang*”)

雖然她十三歲就破了身，二十二歲就已墮過兩次胎，可是那並不是她自己的罪惡。(《四世同堂》)

Although she lost her virginity when she was only thirteen, and had

already undergone two abortions by the time she was twenty-two,
that was not her fault at all. (“Four Generations Under One Roof”)

(154) Yaoshi nanchan dehua, dei dao yiyuan qu, na jiu dei jishi kuai le.

(“Luotuo Xiangzi”)

要是難產的話，得到醫院去，那就得幾十塊了。(《駱駝祥子》)

If she has dystocia and we have to take her to the hospital, then that
will cost several tens of dollars. (“Rickshaw Boy”)

3. short time / small quantity or scope + *jiu* (*shi* (是, is) / V) + quantity

When words indicating a short time or immediacy, such as *mashang* (馬上, right away), *yihuir* (一會兒, a while), *bujiu* (不久, soon), *yixiazi* (一下子, at once), *buzhi* (不止, no less than), *cai* (才, only) or *zhi* (只) or *zhiduo* (至多, at most) + (time period) combine with *jiu*, the sentence means that a certain amount of quantity is reached very quickly or in a short time. This also indicates that the quantity reached is larger than expected. For example in (155), *mashang* indicates that earning “forty dollars” is easily accomplished. In (156) *bujiu* indicates that it is an immediate result of the Japanese invasion that “half of the people from

Northern China” will die. In (157) and (158), *yixiazi* indicates that the money “fifty million” is earned and the iron “two pounds” is collected easily in a short period of time. In (159), *cai* + “three years” indicates that the quantity of the production within “three years” is much more than expected. In (160) *zhiduo* + “two years” indicates that Xiangzi is able to accomplish his goal (starting rickshaw rental company) with many rickshaws within a short period of time. In (161) *buzhi* indicates that “eighty thousand” they earned is much more than expected. Meanwhile *zhuan* (專, only) + *yi* (一, one) limits the scope of action to one enterprise, which also gives the clue that by not mentioning “their” (the Guan family) other incomes, the money “they” earned from this one enterprise is already more than eighty thousand dollars.

(155) Wo shi shuo, duile, ni yaoshi xiang kuaikuai maishang che dehua,
wo gei ni ge hao zhuyi: qi shang yi zhi hui, shilai ge ren, zhiduo ershi
ge ren, yi yue meiren liang kuai qian, ni shi tou yi hui; zhe bushi
mashang jiu you sishilai de kuai?

我是說，對了，你要是想快快買上車的話，我給你個好主意：
起上一只會，十來個人，至多二十個人，一月每人兩塊錢，你

使頭一會；這不是馬上就有四十來的塊？(《駱駝祥子》)

I'm saying that, oh, if you want to buy a rickshaw quickly, I will give you a good idea. You can start a savings club, with ten or twenty people at most. If you collect two dollars per person every month, and you borrow the money first, won't you get about forty dollars immediately? ("Rickshaw Boy")

(156) Zheyang, Huabei de renmin hui zai bujiu jiu si qu yi da ban!

("Si Shi Tong Tang")

這樣，華北的人民會在不久就死去一大半！(《四世同堂》)

This way, more than half of the people in Northern China will die soon! ("Four Generations Under One Roof")

(157) Lao Liu, ni kan, yixiazi jiushi wuqianwan, lian ni ye bu neng zai

shuo wo bu ban hao shi ba? ("Chun Hua Qiu Shi")

老劉，你看，一下子就是五千萬，連你也不能再說我不辦好事吧？(《春華秋實》)

Lao Liu, look! (We've got) fifty million at once! Even you cannot

say that I am not doing anything good, right?

(“Spring Flowers and Fall Fruits”)

(158) Zai qi hao de zayuan li, jihu meiyou yi jia neng yixiazi jiu cou chu
er jin tie laide. (Si Shi Tong Tang)

在七號的雜院裡，幾乎沒有一家能一下子就湊出二斤鐵來的。

(《四世同堂》)

In No.7 compound, almost no family can collect two pounds of iron
right away. (“Four Generations Under One Roof”)

(159) Jiefang cai san nian, nimen jiu zuochu name duo gongye pin lai,
gan mingrge zai you yi ge wu nian jihua, liang ge wu nian jihua,
Zhongguo bu jiu zhenzheng gongyehuale ma? (“Chun Hua Qiu Shi”)

解放才三年，你們就做出那麼多工業品來，趕明兒個再有一個
五年計劃，兩個五年計劃，中國不就真正工業化了嗎？

(《春華秋實》)

It has been liberated for only three years, and you have already
produced so many industrial products. If in the near future, there is

another five-year plan, then there will be two five-year plans. China is going to become really industrialized, isn't it?

(“Spring Flowers and Fall Fruits”)

(160) Lale ban nian, ta de xiwang geng da le: zhao zheyang xiaqu, ganshang er nian, zhiduo er nian, ta jiu you keyi mai liang che, yi liang, liang liang...ta ye keyi kai che changzi le! (“Luotuo Xiangzi”)
拉了半年，他的希望更大了：照這樣下去，幹上二年，至多二年，他就又可以買輛車，一輛，兩輛…他也可以開車廠子了！
(《駱駝祥子》)

After driving the rickshaw for half a year, his hope is becoming bigger: If he keeps on in the same way, two years, at most two years from now, he can buy a rickshaw again, one rickshaw, two rickshaws ... he can also start a rickshaw rental company!
(“Rickshaw Boy”)

(161) Zhuan yi zhizao anchang yi xiang shiye lai shuo, ta gei ta jiu nong

lai buzhi bawan. (“Si Shi Tong Tang”)

專以製造暗娼一項事業來說，他給她就弄來不止八萬。

(《四世同堂》)

In the enterprise of creating prostitution alone, he has made no less

than eighty thousand for her. (“Four Generations Under One Roof”)

4. *yi* (一) + Verb/Noun……*jiu* (+Verb) + quantity

As Lü (2002) points out the pattern of “*yi* + Verb + *jiu* + quantity” (一+動+就+數量), in which *jiu* is in neutral tone and the verb is stressed, indicates that the speaker believes the quantity is large, as in *yi gan jiu bantian* (一幹就半天, Once (he) works, (he’ll work) for half a day), *yi jiang jiu yi da pian* (一講就一大篇, Once (he) talks, (he’ll) keep talking for a long time), and *yi mai jiu haoxie* (一買就好些, Once (he) shops, (he’ll) buy a lot). In (162) *yi+zhang* (張, open)+*zui* (嘴, mouth)+*jiu+yao* (要, ask for) indicates that “the sales person asked for too much as soon as he opens his mouth”.

(162) Gangcai ya, mai yishang de yi zhang zui, jiu yao siwan-wu, bu dajiar. (“Longxu Gou”)

剛才呀，賣衣裳的一張嘴，就要四萬五，不打價兒。

(《龍須溝》)

Just now, the dress salesman even asked for forty-five thousand as soon as he opens his mouth. There was no way to bargain.

(“The Longxue Ditch”)

Besides a verb, *yi* is sometimes followed by a noun such as in (163). *Qi* (氣) means “breath”. *Yi qi* (一氣), means “in one breath”.

(163) Ta ben shi wenmang gen xiazi yiyang, xian erjin na qi bao lai yiqi jiu nian ba da zhang! (“Nu Dianyuan”)

她本是文盲跟瞎子一樣，現而今拿起報來一氣就念八大張！

(《女店員》)

She was originally illiterate as a blind person. But now, as soon as she picks up the newspaper, she can read eight pages with one breath.

(“The Saleswomen”)

5. Contextual Clarification with *Jiu*

When there is no cooccurring word or pattern for figuring out the meanings of *jiu*, there must be some clues in the context to disambiguate. For example in (164), by looking at the sentence “Ta *jiu* neng xiecheng si-wushi duan” (他就能寫成四五十段, he can complete forty to fifty paragraphs), no one can tell whether “forty to fifty paragraphs” implies many or few. However with the hint in the previous clause “Zheyang de duan wen bu shifen nan xie” (這樣的短文不十分難寫, This type of short essay is not too difficult to write), we can figure out that it is very easy to finish writing in a short time, therefore, “forty to fifty paragraphs” are not many in this case.

(164) Zheyang de duan wen bu shifen nan xie, mangle yi ge zao bantian,

ta *jiu* neng xiecheng si-wushi duan; guan yi zongti: “Bishou Wen”.

(“Si Shi Tong Tang”)

這樣的短文不十分難寫，忙了一個早半天，他就能寫成四五十段；冠以總題：“七首文”。(《四世同堂》)

It is not very hard to write this kind of short essay. He would write as many as forty to fifty passages in the early part of the day and cap

them with a general title “Short Daggar Essays”.

(“Four Generations Under One Roof”)

The following examples (165)-(171) show that clues are found in the larger context in the plays and the novels. The background of (165) is that after the government issues a new policy to protect people who accuse the merchants of unscrupulous practices, the City Expenditure Oversight Committee starts to receive many letters in a few days.

(165) Shi Jieyue Jiancha Weiyuan Hui san tian de gongfu jiu jie dao le

liang qian duo feng jianju jian shang de xin!” (“Chun Hua Qiu Shi”)

市節約檢查委員會三天的功夫就接到了兩千多封檢舉奸商的
信！（《春華秋實》）

The City Expenditure Oversight Committee has within three days
received over two thousand letters accusing the merchants of
unscrupulous practices. (“Spring Flowers and Fall Fruits”)

The background of (166) is Xiangzi, a poor rickshaw man, trying to save every cent for his plan to purchase a new rickshaw. Therefore the “two to three dollars” that he is looking forward to is a big saving for him.

(166) Yushang jiaoji duo, fanju duo de zhur, pingjun yi yue you shang

shilai ge fanju, ta *jiu* keyi bai lao liangsan kuai de che fan qian.

(“Luotuo Xiangzi”)

遇上交際多，飯局多的主兒，平均一月有上十來個飯局，他就可以白落兩三塊的車飯錢。)(《駱駝祥子》)

If he encountered some bosses who socialized a lot with many dinner parties, and had a dozen dinner parties every month, he would freely save two to three dollars for food and transportation. (“Rickshaw Boy”)

The context of (167) is that Xiangzi is calculating the money he can save for purchasing a rickshaw, the cost of which is around one hundred dollars. He is pretty happy that fifty to sixty dollars to be saved by the end of the year is close to the amount he needs.

(167) Jiashang ta mei yue shengchu ge kuair ba jiao de, yexu shi san tou

wu kuai de, yi nian jiu neng shengqi wu-liushi kuai!

(“Luotuo Xiangzi”)

加上他每月省出個塊兒八角的，也許是三頭五塊的，一年就能剩起五六十塊！（《駱駝祥子》）

Plus he saves a dollar or so per month, maybe three to five dollars. He will save up to fifty or sixty dollars in one year!

(“Rickshaw Boy”)

The context of (168) in Lao She’s four-act play “The Longxu Ditch” is about a miserable life for people living around the Longxu Ditch. It is hard to get into this area because there is no road. It is a miracle for the people to see that the new government has actually built two roads for them.

(168) Wo jiu shuo, zanmen fang qian fang hou, zheme yi lai, jiu you

liang tiao malu, malu dou xiu hao, wo wen Er Gazi, gai zenme banle?

(“Longxu Gou”)

我就說，咱們房前房後，這麼一來，就有兩條馬路，馬路都修

好，我問二嘎子，該怎麼辦了？（《龍須溝》）

I am saying that at the front and the back of our house, will be two roads. When they are all built, I asked Er Gazi, how are we going to make use of them? (“The Longxu Ditch”)

The context for (169) is that there is a factory trying very hard to improve its production. Increasing production by three fold is a big improvement.

(169) Ni kan, wo zhe ge zhuyi yaoshi neng xing a, zuo li shang de daolun

zhou *jiu* neng zeng chan san bei! (“Chun Hua Qiu Shi”)

你看，我這個主意要是能行啊，做犁上的導輪軸就能增產三倍！

（《春華秋實》）

Look, if my idea works, making guiding wheel axels on the plow will increase production three times!

(“Spring Flowers and Fall Fruits”)

The context of (170) is that Xiangzi is very excited in realizing that adding up all the money saved, he is very close to his goal. Therefore “eighty dollars” is more than he expected.

(170) Zhen yao coushang san-sishi kuai, zai jiashang Liu Si Ye shou li na
sanshi duo, he ziji xianzai youde na ji kuai, qibu *jiushi* bashi laide
kuai? (“Luotuo Xiangzi”)

真要湊上三四十塊，再加上劉四爺手裡那三十多，和自己現在有
的那幾塊，豈不就是八十來的塊？（《駱駝祥子》）

If add thirty to forty dollars more, plus the thirty in Liu Si Ye’s hand,
combined with those several dollars I have in hand, won’t it be eighty
something dollars already? (“Rickshaw Boy”)

The context of (171) is that the Guan family in Lao She's novel "Four Generations Under One Roof" is excited about having found an easy way to earn big money.

(171) Yi qian tao jiu yijing shi yiqian kuai! ("Si Shi Tong Tang")

一千套就是一千塊！(《四世同堂》)

One thousand sets are already one thousand kuai!

("Four Generations Under One Roof")

5.1.1.2 Indication of Large Quantity with *Jiu*

The following Table 18 shows the percentage of the above five categories of *jiu* in indicating large quantity. Through data search, 39 sentences have been found to contain *jiu* indicating large quantity. The most frequent pattern with 41.03% is "yi + V/N.....*jiu* (+ V) + quantity" in 16 sentences. The second and third frequent categories are "context" and "short period of time/small quantity or scope + *jiu* (*shi*/V) + quantity", which have 11 and 9 sentences, with 28.21% and 23.08%. Only two examples for ".....*jiu* + large quantity" and one example ".....*jiu* + yi(*jin*)/*dei* + quantity" are found.

Table 18. *Jiu* Indicating a Large Quantity in *jiu*+

Category	Sentence	Percentage
…… <i>jiu</i> + large quantity	1	2.56%
…… <i>jiu</i> + <i>yi(jing)/dei</i> + quantity	2	5.13%
short time/small quantity or scope + <i>jiu (shi/Verb)</i> + quantity	9	23.08%
<i>yi</i> + Verb/Noun…… <i>jiu</i> (+Verb) + quantity	16	41.03%
Context	11	28.21%
TOTAL	39	100%

5.1.1.3 *Jiu* Indicating Small Quantity in *jiu*+

The results of the data search show that there are four patterns of *jiu* indicating small quantity are “*buguo*(不過)/*ye* (也) +*jiu*(*shi*(是)/*you* (有) /other Verbs)+quantity”, *jiu*(*shi*/Verb)+……*lia*(倆)/*ji*(幾)/*yi*(一)/*zhexie*(這些)…… (+*er*(兒)), and *jiu*+*sheng* (剩)/*zhiyou* (只有)/*dan* (單) (+Verb) + quantity and Context.

1. *buguo* (不過)/*ye* (也)+*jiu* (*shi* (是)/*you* (有)/other Verbs)+quantity

Buguo (不過) means “only” or “just”. *Buguo* + *jiu* (or sometime times *jiushi*) indicates that the quantity is smaller than expected. In (172) *buguo* + *jiushi* indicates that “I” did not blame “you” as much. In (173), *jiu* indicates that the size of the wound is not big. *Jiu* is replaced sometimes by *jiushi*, such as in (174)

where *jiushi* indicates that Xiao Ma is too young to be a rickshaw. *Ye+jiu+you* indicates the quantity is not large, as in (175) where it indicates that Xiangzi feels that the account book is too light for the money it carries.

(172) Wo buguo *jiushi* shuo ni ji ju ma, ni ai ting ting, ni yao gen wo

dingzui …… (“Wo Shi Ni Baba”)

我不過就是說你幾句嘛，你愛聽聽，你要跟我頂嘴……

(《我是你爸爸》)

I only said a few words to you. If you want to listen, do it.

If you talk back to me, …… (“I Am Your Father”)

(173) Zhade dao bu lihai, ye *jiu* zhijia name da yi ge kou, meishi, jiu shi

yifu dou zha pole, renjia yao pei ne. (“Wo Shi Ni Baba”)

扎得倒不厲害，也就指甲那麼大一個口，沒事，就是衣服都扎

破了，人家要賠呢。(《我是你爸爸》)

The wound was not pricked badly. The hole is just as big as a nail,

No problem. Only the clothes has a hole. They were asking for new

clothes. (“I Am Your Father”)

(174) Xiao Ma ye jiushi shi ersan sui, lian shang ting shou, shen shang chuande hen yuan, bizi dongde tong hong, guazhe liang tiao bai biti, erduo shang dai zhe yi dui bo ermaor. (“Luotuo Xiangzi”)

小馬也就是十二三歲，臉上挺瘦，身上可是穿得很圓，鼻子凍得通紅，掛着兩條白鼻涕，耳朵上帶着一對破耳帽兒。

(《駱駝祥子》)

Xiao Ma is only twelve or thirteen years old, has a very skinny face, but what he is wearing makes him look rounded. His nose is frozen to red, with two lines of white sniffles. He is wearing a pair of shabby ear muffs over his ears. (“Rickshaw Boy”)

(175) Keshi you yi tian Fang daxiaojie jiao ta qu gei fangjin shi kuai qian, ta zixi kanle kan na ge xiao zhezi, shangmian you zi, you xiao hong yin; tonggong, heng, ye jiu you yi xiao da shouzhi name chen ba. (“Luotuo Xiangzi”)

可是有一天方大小姐叫他去給放進十塊錢，他細細看了看那個小折子，上面有字，有小紅印；通共，哼，也就有一小打手紙那麼沉吧。(《駱駝祥子》)

But one day when Ms. Fang asked him to deposit ten kuai into it (the account), he took a careful look at the small deposit booklet. There were characters and red seals on it; All together, it was just as heavy as a bunch of toilet paper. (“Rickshaw Boy”)

2. *jiu* (*shi*/Verb)+……*lia* (倆)/*ji* (幾)/*yi* (一)/*zhexie* (這些)……(+*er* (兒)) +
quantity

When *jiu* or *jiushi* precedes *lia* (倆, two people/animal/objects), *ji* (幾, several), *yi* (一, one), and *zhexie* (這些, these) it indicates that the quantity is not large. For example in (176), *jiushi+zhexie* limits the amount of staff that “I” have. In (177), *jiushi + lia* indicates the quantity of the chickens are “only two” and are much less than expected. In (178), *jiushi + zhe + ji* indicates that “books are only a few”.

When a verb follows *jiu*, the above pattern also indicates a small quantity. For example in (179), *jiu+guo+yi* indicates that the celebration “*guo*” for the new year is “only once” a year. In (180) *jiu+qiu+yi* indicates that what “I” ask for is not many, just a shirt and some food.

(176) Wo de dongxi jiushi zhexie, wo mei na Cao jia yi cao yi mu.

(“Luotuo Xiangzi”)

我的東西就是這些，我沒拿曹家一草一木。(《駱駝祥子》)

My stuff is only much. I did not touch a grass or a piece of wood from the Cao family. (“Rickshaw Boy”)

(177) Yeye, jiushi zhe lia xiao gongjir ya? (“Nu Dianyuan”)

爺爺，就是這倆小公雞兒呀？(《女店員》)

Grandpa, is it only these two little roasters? (“The Saleswomen”)

(178) Lin Hui: “Jiushi zhe ji ben ba?” (“Chun Hua Qiu Shi”)

林輝：“就是這幾本吧？”(《春華秋實》)

Lin Hui, “Is it only these books?” (“Spring Flowers and Fall Fruits”)

(179) Yi nian dao tou jiu guo zheme yi hui nian ya!

(“Chun Hua Qiu Shi”)

一年到頭就過這麼一回年呀！(《春華秋實》)

We only celebrate the new year once throughout the whole year!

(“Spring Flowers and Fall Fruits”)

(180) Wo jiu zai qiu yi jian shi, gei wo zhao jian xiaogua, he yidian chide!

(“Luotuo Xiangzi”)

我就再求一件事，給我找件小褂，和一點吃的！（《駱駝祥子》）

I only ask for one more thing. Find one shirt and some food for me!

(“Rickshaw Boy”)

3. *jiu+sheng* (剩)/*zhiyou* (只有)/*dan* (單) (+Verb) + quantity

As a verb, *sheng* and *zhiyou*, and the adjective *dan* all follow *jiu* in the pattern of *jiu+sheng/zhiyou/dan*+quantity to indicate small quantity. For example in (181), *jiu+sheng* indicates that “I” am “the only one” remained in here. In (182) *jiu+zhiyou* indicates that the distance is “only *wuchi* (五尺, five feet)” not far. In some situations a verb follows *jiu+sheng/zhiyou/dan* and precedes quantity, as in (183) where *dan+shuo* (說) +*san* (三) indicates that the topic is “only three camels”.

(181) Jiu sheng nin yi ge ren la? (“Longxu Gou”)

就剩您一個人啦？(《龍須溝》)

Only you alone is left here? (“The Longxu Ditch”)

(182) Yi mai menkan, ta kanjian yi dui dongxi, li ta ye jiu zhiyou

wu chi yuan. (“Si Shi Tong Tang”)

一邁門檻，他看見一堆東西，離他也就只有五尺遠。

(《四世同堂》)

Upon entering the gate, he saw a pile of things, just five feet away.

(“Four Generations Under One Roof”)

(183) Jiu dan shuo san tiao huo luotuo, ye buneng, jue buneng, zhi zhi

san shi wu kuai da yang! (“Luotuo Xiangzi”)

就單說三條活駱駝，也不能，絕不能，只值三十五塊大洋！

(《駱駝祥子》)

Just talking about three live camels, they will not, definitely not be

worth only thirty-five dollars!) (“Rickshaw Boy”)

4. Contextual Clarification of *Jiu*

Some sentences found in the corpus do not fit in the above three categories. The meanings and functions of *jiu* in these sentences are determined by context. For example in (184), common sense tells us that “three big bowls of food” must be worth more than “ten cents”. Therefore, “ten cents” is only a little money. Moreover this is a sentence said by Liu Si Ye (劉四爺), a very stingy person. Therefore what he complains about is that the rickshaw men are enjoying the food without paying enough money. In (185) and (186), we know a fifteen-year-old girl is worth much more than “ten ounces of silver”. In (187), according to the context, the person who took Xiangzi’s rickshaw should pay more than “one kuai and forty mao”.

(184) San ge hai wan de xi chizhe, jiu chu yi mao qian de renqing?

(“Luotuo Xiangzi”)

三個海碗的席吃着，就出一毛錢的人情？（《駱駝祥子》）

They eat three huge bowls of food but only spend ten cents for friendship? (“Rickshaw Boy”)

(185) Shiwu sui de da guniang, jiu zhi shi liang yinzi ma? (“Cha Guan”)

十五歲的大姑娘，就值十兩銀子嗎？（《茶館》）

A fifteen-year-old girl is only worth ten ounces of silver?

(“The Teahouse”)

(186) Zi gu yi lai, na you …… ta jiu gei shi liang yinzi? (“Cha Guan”)

自古以來，哪有……他就給十兩銀子？（《茶館》）

From the old days, never…… can he give only ten ounces of silver?

(“The Teahouse”)

(187) Ou, gancui jiu gei yi kuai si mao qian! (“Luotuo Xiangzi”)

嘔，幹脆就給一塊四毛錢！（《駱駝祥子》）

Oh, simply just give him one kuai and four mao! (“Rickshaw Boy”)

5.1.1.4 Summary of *Jiu* Indicating Small Quantity

Table 19 shows the percentages of the above four categories of *jiu* indicating small quantity. In total 19 sentences were found containing *jiu* as indicating small quantity. Two patterns have the highest frequency: “*buguo/ye*

+*jiu (shi)/you/other Verb+quantity*” and “*jiu (shi/Verb)+lia/ji/yi/zhexie+ quantity*”.

The occurrence of “context” is the third. The pattern of *jiu+sheng/zhijou/dan*

(+Verb) + quantity has the least frequency among all the sentences.

Table 19. *Jiu* Indicating a Small Quantity in *jiu+*

Category	Sentence	Percentage
<i>buguo/ye+jiu (shi)/you/other Verb+quantity</i>	5	27.78%
<i>jiu (shi/Verb)+lia/ji/yi/zhexie + quantity</i>	9	50%
<i>jiu+sheng/zhijou/dan (+Verb) + quantity</i>	1	5.56%
Context	3	16.67%
TOTAL	18	100%

5.1.2 Indication of Time

In some circumstances *jiu* indicates “late” and “long time”, while in other contexts it indicates “early” or “short time”. Five categories are included in indicating a large quantity and four categories are included in indicating a small quantity.

5.1.2.1 Indication of “late” and “long time”

1. *jiu+dei*(得)+time

Dei (得) indicates “reach certain amount”, in the pattern of *jiu+dei*+time, in other words “late” or “long time”. In (188), *jiu+dei+badian* (八點, eight o’clock) indicates that the time when the sun rises is very late.

(188) Tian duan, yi chu taiyang *jiu dei* ba dian, ganjin zou ni de!

(“Luotuo Xiangzi”)

天短，一出太陽就得八點，趕緊走你的！（《駱駝祥子》）

The daytime is short. Once the sun comes out, it is already eight o’clock. You should hurry up and leave! (“Rickshaw Boy”)

2. *yi* (一)/*jiu* (幾)+Verb+*jiu*(*shi*是)/Verb)+time

As above “*yi*+verb+*jiu*(*shi*/Verb)+quantity” indicates large quantity, the similar pattern “*yi* (一, one)+Verb+*jiu*(*shi*是, is)/Verb)+time” indicates “long time”. For example in (189), (190), and (191), *yi+xie+jiushi+liang san tian* (兩三天, two to three long days), *yi+chuqu+jiushi+yi tian* (一天, a whole day), and *yi+zou+jiushi+yi tian* (一天, a whole) indicate that time is longer than expected.

In (192), *zhuan* (轉, turn)+*jiushi+yi tian* (一天, one day) indicates that for Xiangzi it is very easy to kill “a whole day”.

(189) *Yiqian ta shenme ye bu pa, xianzai ta hui zhao anxian zizai: gua*

feng xia yu, ta dou bu chu che; shen shang you dian suantong, ye yi

xie jiushi liang-san tian. (“Luotuo Xiangzi”)

以前他什麼也不怕，現在他會找安閒自在：颶風下雨，他都不出車；身上有點酸痛，也一歇就是兩三天。(《駱駝祥子》)

Before now he was afraid of nothing. Right now he is very good at seeking relaxation and ease: If the wind blows or it rains, he will not go out to drive; If he has ache in his body, he will even take off for two to three days long. (“Rickshaw Boy”)

(190) *Ni yi chuqu jiushi yi tian, wo lian wor bu gan dong, yi yuanzi*

qiong gui, pa diule dongxi. (“Luotuo Xiangzi”)

你一出去就是一天，我連窩兒不敢動，一院子窮鬼，怕丟了東西。(《駱駝祥子》)

Once you go out, you will be out for the whole day. I dare not move

from my house. I'm afraid of losing things since this compound is full of poor souls. ("Rickshaw Boy")

(191) Ta zhihao zai Li Kongshan tangdao tade chuangshang de shihou, qihuhude naqi xiao san yu xiao pibao zou chuqu, yi zou jiushi yi tian.

("Si Shi Tong Tang")

她只好在李空山躺到她的床上的時候，氣呼呼地拿起小傘與小皮包走出去，一走就是一天。(《四世同堂》)

She can only pick up her little umbrella and her little bag, and leaves angrily when Li Kongshan lies down on her bed. Once she leave she will be away for a whole day. ("Four Generations Under One Roof")

(192) You chi jiu chi, you he jiu he, you huor jiu zuo, shoujiao bu xianzhe, ji zhuan jiushi yi tian, ziji ding hao xue la mo de lu, yi wen

san bu zhi, zhi hui lazhe mo zou. ("Luotuo Xiangzi")

有吃就吃，有喝就喝，有活兒就作，手腳不閒着，幾轉就是一天，自己頂好學拉磨的驢，一問三不知，只會拉着磨走。

(《駱駝祥子》)

If he has food, he will eat. If he has work, he will work. His hands and feet are always occupied. Just turining around a few times and it's already a whole day. The best is to learn from a donkey that can only drag a millstone and pretend not to know anything.

(“Rickshaw Boy”)

3. Contextual Clarification of *Jiu*

By just looking at the sentence below, one cannot necessarily tell Xiangzi's true feeling about how long or how short “one thousand days” are. By checking previous context in the novel we found that Xiangzi is eager to purchase a rickshaw for himself, as soon as he can. Therefore “a thousand days” is for him a long time.

(193) Mengran yi xiang, yi tian yaoshi neng sheng yi jiao dehua, yi bai

yuan *jiushi* yiqian tian, yiqiantian! (Luotuo Xiangzi)

猛然一想，一天要是能剩一角的話，一百元就是一千天，一千天！（《駱駝祥子》）

Suddenly he realized that if ten cents are saved everyday, one

hundred dollars would need a thousand days, a whole thousand days!

(“Rickshaw Boy”)

5.1.2.2 Summary for “late” and “long time”

Table 20 shows the search results of *jiu* indicating “late” and “long time” preceding the time word. The pattern of “*yi/ji* +Verb+*jiu*(*shi*/Verb)+time” has the highest frequency, whereas the other two categories have only one sentence for each.

Table 20. *Jiu* Indicating “late” and “long time” in *jiu*+

Category	Sentence	Percentage
<i>jiu+dei</i> +time	1	20%
<i>Yi/ji</i> +Verb+ <i>jiu</i> (<i>shi</i> /Verb)+time	3	60%
Context	1	20%
TOTAL	5	100%

5.1.2.3 *Jiu*'s Indication of “Early” and “Short time”

The results of the data search show that there are two patterns to indicate “early” and “short time”. One is *ye* (也) *jiu* (+Verb)+ time word. The other is *jiu* + “early” adverb.

1. *ye* (也, also) *jiu* (+Verb) + time word

(*Ye*)*jiu* indicates that time is early or short. In (194), “*ye jiu + shiyi dianzhong*” (十一點鐘, eleven o’clock) indicates that the time “he” came is “only eleven”. In (195), “*ye jiu + you* (有, have) + *liang dian ban zhong* (兩點半鐘, two thirty)” indicates the time when ten people came is “just two thirty”, earlier than expected. In (196), “*jiu+ji nian* (幾年, several years)” indicates that “I” will not work for “only a few more years”.

(194) Ta yi qi zou huilai, jinlai wu men, dagai ye jiu gang jiao shiyi dianzhong. (“Luotuo Xiangzi”)

他一氣走回來，進來屋門，大概也就剛交十一點鐘。

(《駱駝祥子》)

He was so irritated that he walked back immediately. When he entered the door, it only turned eleven o’clock. (“Rickshaw Boy”)

(195) Ye jiu you liang dian ban zhong ba, yigong laile shi ge ren.

(“Luotuo Xiangzi”)

也就有兩點半鐘吧，一共來了十個人。(《四世同堂》)

It is just two thirty. All together ten people have come.

(“Four Generations Under One Roof”)

(196) Ye jiu zai gan ji nian ba. (“Guo Ba Yin Jiu Si”)

也就再幹幾年吧。(《過把癮就死》)

(I'll) just work for another several years!

(“Fulfillment and A Quick Death”)

2. *jiu* + “early” adverb

In (197) *zaozao* is an adverb meaning “early”. It follows *jiu* to indicate that “they” donate the money much earlier than other people do.

(197) Zai quanguo renmin wei sheng hui cou fenzi de rechao gang kaishi,

tame jiu zaozao de juan chu le yi ge yue de shenghuo fei, mei deng

jiedao dama shangmen xuanchuan. (“Wo Shi Ni Baba”)

在全國人民為盛會湊份子的熱潮剛開始，他們就早早地捐出了

一個月的生活費，沒等街道大媽上門宣傳。(《我是你爸爸》)

When people from all over the country have just started the

enthusiasm of collecting money from each person, they have already very early donated their one-month living expenses and did not wait until the aunt working in the street committee to come to their door to solicit. (“I Am Your Father”)

5.1.2.4 Summary of *Jiu*'s “early” and “short time”

Table 21 shows that the pattern of *ye jiu* (+Verb) + time word is more frequently seen than “*jiu* + “early” adverb.

Table 21. *Jiu* Indicating “early” and “short time” in *jiu*+

Category	Sentence	Percentage
<i>ye jiu</i> (+Verb) + time word	3	75%
<i>jiu</i> + “early” adverb	1	25%
TOTAL	4	100%

5.1.2.5 Comparison of *Jiu*'s usages

Table 22 shows the frequency of all the above 14 categories. Since context is used as a means of identifying meanings in the category of “large quantity”, “small quantity” and “late/long time”, these three categories can be combined into one “context”. As a result, five categories have the highest frequency: 1) short time/small quantity or scope + *jiu* (*shi*/Verb)+quantity; 2) *y i*+ Verb/Noun

.....*jiu* (+Verb) + quantity; 3) *buguo/ye* + *jiu*(*shi*)/*you*/other Verb + quantity; 4) *jiu* (*shi*/Verb) +*lial/ji/yi/zhexie*(+*er*) + quantity; 5) Context. Other six categories: 6) *ye jiu* (+Verb) + time word; 7) *jiu+sheng/zhijou/dan* (+Verb) + quantity; 8)*jiu* + large quantity; 9)*jiu* + *yi(jing)/dei* + quantity; 10) *jiu+dei*+time; 11) *ye jiu* (+Verb) + time word; 11) *jiu* + adverb indicating “early”, were found to be rarely used by Beijing Mandarin speakers.

Table 22. *Jiu* Indicating Quantity and Time

Category	Percentage	Sub-Category	Sentence	Percentage
Large Quantity	59% <i>jiu</i> + large quantity	1	1.51%
	 <i>jiu</i> + <i>yi(jing)/dei</i> + quantity	2	3.03%
		short time/small quantity or scope + <i>jiu</i> (<i>shi</i> /Verb) + quantity	9	13.64%
		<i>yi</i> + Verb/Noun..... <i>jiu</i> (+Verb) + quantity	16	24.24%
		Context	11	16.67%
Small Quantity	27%	<i>buguo/ye+jiu</i> (<i>shi</i>)/ <i>you</i> /other Verb+quantity	5	7.58%
		<i>jiu</i> (<i>shi</i> /Verb)+..... <i>lial/ji/yi/zhexie</i>(+ <i>er</i>) + quantity	9	13.64%
		<i>jiu+sheng/zhijou/dan</i> (+Verb) + quantity	1	1.51%
		Context	3	4.54%
Late Long Time	8%	<i>jiu+dei</i> +time	1	1.51%
		<i>yi/ji</i> +Verb+ <i>jiu</i> (<i>shi</i> /Verb)+time	3	4.54%
		Context	1	1.51%
Early Short Time	6%	<i>ye jiu</i> (+Verb) + time word	3	4.54%
		<i>jiu</i> + adverb indicating “early”	1	1.51%
TOTAL			66	100%

5.2 Alternative of *jiu* in indicating the meaning of “only”

5.2.1 Addition of Explicit Adverbs

To identify the meaning and usage of *jiu*, in Chapter Four we saw that Taiwan Mandarin speakers use *jiu* together with *yijing……le* (已經……了, already) to indicate large quantity or “late” or “long time”. In the above (165) - (171), if “*jiu yijing……le*” is used, their meanings become explicit.

(165’) Shi Jieyue Jiancha Weiyuan Hui san tian de gongfu *jiu yijing*

jie dao le liang qian duo feng jianju jian shang de xin!”

(“Chun Hua Qiu Shi”)

市節約檢查委員會三天的功夫就已經接到了兩千多封檢舉奸商的
信！)(《春華秋實》)

The City Expenditure Oversight Committee has within three days
already received over two thousand letters accusing merchants of
unscrupulous practice. (“Spring Flowers and Fall Fruits”)

(166') Yushang jiaoji duo, fanju duo de zhur, pingjun yi yue you shang
shilai ge fanju, ta jiu yijing keyi ba lao liangsan kuai de che fan qian
le. ("Luotuo Xiangzi")

遇上交際多，飯局多的主兒，平均一月有上十來個飯局，他就 已
經可以白落兩三塊的車飯錢。)(《駱駝祥子》)

If he encountered someone who socialized a lot with many dinner
parties, and had some ten dinner parities for every month, he would
have already been able to save two to three dollars for food and
transportation. ("Rickshaw Boy")

(167') Jiashang ta mei yue shengchu ge kuair ba jiao de, yexu shi san
tou wu kuai de, yi nian jiu yijing neng shengqi wu-liu shi kuai le!
("Luotuo Xiangzi")

加上他每月省出個塊兒八角的，也許是三頭五塊的，一年就 已
經能剩起五六十塊了！(《駱駝祥子》)

Plus he saves a dollar or so per month, maybe three to five dollars. He
will have already saved up to fifty to sixty dollars in a year!
("Rickshaw Boy")

(168') Wo jiu shuo, zanmen fang qian fang hou, zheme yi lai, jiu yijing

you liang tiao malu le, malu dou xiu hao, wo wen Er Gazi, gai zenme
ban le? ("Longxu Gou")

我就說，咱們房前房後，這麼一來，就已經有兩條馬路了，馬路
都修好，我問二嘎子，該怎麼辦了？（《龍須溝》）

What I am saying is that the front and the back of our house,
therefore will have two roads already. When they are all built, I ask Er
Gazi how are we going to use them? ("The Longxu Ditch")

(169') Ni kan, wo zhe ge zhuyi yaoshi neng xing a, zuo li shang de

Daolun zhou jiu yijing neng zeng chan san bei le!

("Chun Hua Qiu Shi")

你看，我這個主意要是能行啊，做犁上的導輪軸就已經能增產
三倍了！（《春華秋實》）

Look, if my idea works, the? The production of guiding wheel will
increase for three times! ("Spring Flowers and Fall Fruits")

(170') Zhen yao coushang sansishi kuai, zai jiashang Liu Si Ye shou li na

san shi duo, he ziji xianzai you de na ji kuai, qi bu jiu yijing shi ba

shi laide kuai le ? (“Luotuo Xiangzi”)

真要湊上三四十塊，再加上劉四爺手裡那三十多，和自己現在有的那幾塊，豈不就已經是八十來的塊了？（《駱駝祥子》）

If add thirty to forty kuai, plus the thirty in Liu Si Ye's hand, combined with those several kuai I have in hand, won't it already be eighty something kuai? (“Rickshaw Boy”)

(171') Yi qian tao jiu yijing shi yi qian kuai! (“Si Shi Tong Tang”)

一千套就已經是一千塊了！（《四世同堂》）

One thousand sets are already one thousand kuai!

(“Four Generations Under One Roof”)

In (193), if *jiu yijing**le* is used, it indicates that the time spent saving is long.

(193') Mengran yi xiang, yi tian yaoshi neng sheng yi jiao de hua, yi bai

yuan *jiu yijing shi yi qian tian le*, yi qian tian! (“Luotuo Xiangzi”)

猛然一想，一天要是能剩一角的話，一百元就已經是一千天

了，一千天！)(《駱駝祥子》)

Suddenly he realized that if one dime is saved everyday, one hundred

dollars would need a thousand days, a whole thousand days!

(“Rickshaw Boy”)

5.2.2 Functions of Synonyms and Similar Adverbs

In Chapter Four the Taiwan Mandarin speakers gave their feedback after the listening test. In Taiwan Mandarin on the one hand, *zhi* and *cai* are often used to indicate “small quantity”, “short time”, and “early”. On the other hand, *yijing* is used to indicate “large quantity”, “long time”, and “late”. This demonstrates that Taiwan Mandarin speakers prefer to use synonyms, such as *zhi* and *cai*, and

synonymous adverbs such as *yijing* to disambiguate many functions and usages of *jiu*. In order to demonstrate that *zhi*, *cai*, and *yijing* are synonyms or synonymous adverbs of *jiu* in Taiwan Mandarin, data analysis is needed to find out if the frequency of *zhi*, *cai*, and *yijing* in Taiwan Mandarin are the same as that of *jiu* in Beijing Mandarin.

5.2.2.1 *zhi* and *jiu*

Jiu in the above sentences (185) - (187) will be replaced by *zhi* by Taiwan Mandarin speakers in order to avoid ambiguity.

(185') Shiwu sui de da guniang, zhi zhi shi liang yinzi ma?

("Cha Guan")

十五歲的大姑娘，只值十兩銀子嗎？(《茶館》)

A fifteen-year-old girl is only worth ten ounces of silver?

(The Teahouse)

(186') Zi gu yilai, na you ta zhi gei shi liang yinzi? (“Cha Guan”)

自古以來，哪有……他只給十兩銀子？(《茶館》)

From the old days, never…… can he give only ten ounces of silver?

(“The Teahouse”)

(187') Ou, gancui zhi gei yi kuai si mao qian! (“Luotuo Xiangzi”)

嘔，干脆只給一塊四毛錢！(《駱駝祥子》)

Oh, simply give him only one dollars and forty cents!

(“Rickshaw Boy”)

5.2.2.2 *Zhi* in Taiwan Mandarin

In order to demonstrate that in Taiwan Mandarin *zhi* replaces *jiu* when preceding a time and quantity word, we need to find out if the frequency of *zhi* in Taiwan Mandarin is the same as that of *jiu* in Beijing Mandarin. A total of 191 sentences were found with *zhi* preceding quantity and time words when indicating the evaluation of time and quantity. As mentioned above, the database for Taiwan Mandarin comprises 519,336 characters. Therefore the frequency of *zhi* is 0.0368%.

344 sentences with *zhi* were found in Beijing Mandarin. Additionally, as above, 21 sentences with *jiu* were found to indicate evaluation of time and quantity. So in all there are 365 sentences in which *jiu* or *zhi* indicates evaluation of time and quantity. The database for Beijing Mandarin comprises 949,937 characters. Therefore the frequency of this usage is 0.0384%, almost equal to *zhi*'s rate of occurrence in Taiwan Mandarin. This demonstrates that in Taiwan Mandarin, *zhi* is the alternative of *jiu* to indicate the evaluation of time and quantity. It also demonstrates that Beijing Mandarin speakers also prefer to use *zhi* in most cases. Only in rare cases, do they use *jiu* where they intend to mean “only”.

Table 23. Frequency of “only” in Beijing Mandarin and Taiwan Mandarin

	Sentences containing <i>zhi</i>	Sentences containing <i>jiu</i>	Total Number of Characters	Frequency
Taiwan Mandarin	191		519,336	0.0368%
Beijing Mandarin	344	21	949,937	0.0384%

5.2.2.3 *Cai* and *jiu*

In Chapter Two, when reviewing Wang (1980), Paris (1985), and Chu's (1998) studies on *jiu*, we mentioned that all of them believe that in indicating a small quantity, *jiu*, *zhi*, and *cai* are interchangeable. Therefore we conducted a data search for sentences with *cai* preceding quantity or time phrases to indicate "small quantity" or "early/short time". As a result 733 sentences were found containing *cai*. Among them only 15 sentences were found with *cai* preceding quantity or time phrases to indicate "small quantity" or "early/short time". The rate of occurrence of these 15 sentences in Taiwan Mandarin is 0.0029%.

Since we are considering that when indicating a meaning of "small quantity" *jiu*, *cai*, and *zhi* are interchangeable (Wang 1980, Paris 1985 and Chu 1998), we considered these 15 sentences as ones in which *cai* can be changed into *jiu* to indicate the same meaning, concluding that *cai* is an alternative of *jiu*. First we found out that all fifteen sentences found in Taiwan Mandarin are interchangeable with *jiu*. Second, the 15 sentences with *cai* plus the 119 sentences also found in Taiwan Mandarin with *zhi* number 206 sentences. Comparing these 206 sentences with 519,336 characters of the whole data of the Taiwan Mandarin. The rate of occurrence of sentences with either *zhi* or *cai* preceding the

quantity or time phrases to indicate the meaning of “small quantity” or “early/short time” is 0.0397%. This number is still quite close to the frequency of using either *jiu* or *zhi* to indicate “small quantity” or “early/short time” in Beijing Mandarin, which is 0.0384%. Therefore we can conclude that *cai* is another alternative of *jiu* in Taiwan Mandarin.

5.2.2.4 *Yijing* and *jiu*

In both chapters One and Four we mentioned that Taiwan Mandarin speakers point out that in Taiwan Mandarin *yijing* is used to replace *jiu* to indicate “large quantity” and “late/long time” when preceding quantity or time phrases. In order to find out if *yijing* is an alternative of *jiu* in Taiwan Mandarin, we used the same method of data search to collect sentences containing *yijing* in the language corpus of Taiwan Mandarin. As a result we collected 437 sentences containing *yijing*. Among these sentences 53 sentences with *yijing* preceding the quantity or time phrases indicated “large quantity” or “late/long time”. Therefore the frequency of *yijing* indicating “large quantity” or “late/long time” is 0.0102%. Early in this chapter we mentioned that 44 sentences were found in Beijing Mandarin with *jiu* preceding the quantity or time phrases to indicate “large

quantity” or “late/long time”. Its frequency in Beijing Mandarin is 0.0046%. The frequency of *yijing* in Taiwan Mandarin is two times bigger than that of *jiu* in Beijing Mandarin. Thus we conclude that *yijing* is an alternative of *jiu* in Taiwan Mandarin; meanwhile it occurs more frequently than *jiu* does in Beijing Mandarin when preceding the quantity and time phrases to indicate “large quantity” or “late/long time”.

5.2.2.5 Frequency of Different Categories of *Zhi*, *Cai* and *Yijing*

The standard of sorting the sentences found are based on the ten categories for developing the questionnaire in the listening test in Chapter Four. These ten categories are: 1. whole and part; 2. possessive sentence; 3. transaction sentence; 4. quantity in a set time; 5. distribution sentence; 6. average quantity; 7. time when; 8. time spent; 9. average time; and 10. limitation of scope. As a result, for *zhi* there is no sentence found for average time. For *cai* no sentence is found for four categories: possessive sentence, transaction, average quantity and average time. For *yijing* no sentence is found for five categories: possessive sentence, transaction, distribution, average quantity, and average time. Therefore where was

no sentence found containing *zhi*, *cai* or *yijing* for the category of average time. Meanwhile we also find that whole and part, time when, and time spent have the highest rate of occurrence.

1. Whole and Part

(198) Ni zhege an, zhi ni yi ge ren. (“Hong Xing”)

你這個案，只你一個人。(《紅星》)

You are the only one in this case. (“The Red Star”)

(199) Hua cai shuo dao yiban, Li Sao huran yang qi lian lai, ta lianshang

yijing yin you xiaorong! (“San Chai Jian”)

話才說到一半，黎嫂忽然仰起臉來，她臉上已經隱有笑容！

(《三拆劍》)

Only after half of her talk, Li Sao looked up and there was a hiding smile on her face. (“The Three-Piece Sword”)

(200) Wu Zhang po zhuozi, yijing you san zhang zuomanle ren.

(“San Chai Jian”)

五張破桌子，已經有三張坐滿了人。(《三拆劍》)

Among five shabby tables, three have been occupied.

(“The Three-Piece Sword”)

2. Possessive

(201) Zhe yibai zhaofa, zhenzheng shuyu ta de, zhiyou zuihou ershi zhao.

(“San Chai Jian”)

這一百招法，真正屬於他的，只有最後二十招。(《三拆劍》)

Among these one hundred strikes, only the last twenty strikes indeed

belong to him. (“The Three-Piece Sword”)

3. Transaction

(202) Ce ge zi zhiyao san wen qian jiu gou le. (“San Chai Jian”)

測個字只要三文錢就夠了。(《三拆劍》)

It only costs three cents of money to divine by means of characters.

(“The Three-Piece Sword”)

(203) Na shihou, yi tian de gongzi shiyi yuan, yi jia di ye cai baqian yuan, yiqian yuan keyi maixia liang fen di. (“Hong Xing”)

那時候，一天的工資十一元，一甲地也才八千元，壹仟元可以買下兩分地。（《紅星》）

At that time, the salary per day is eleven yuan. It only cost eight thousand per jia (2.4 acre) of land. One thousand yuan can buy two fen (0.3 acre) of land. (“The Red Star”)

4. Quantity in a Set Time

(204) Huzhao Sun peixiao dao: ”xiao laoer fengquan zhuwei yi ju, nimen shen zai juejing, muqian zhiyou yi tiao shenglu.” (“San Chai Jian”)

虎爪孫陪笑道：“小老兒奉勸諸位一句，你們身在絕境，目前只有一條生路。”（《三拆劍》）

Tiger’s claw Sun smiled and said, “I just want to give everybody an advice, that you are in impasse, there is only one way out at this moment.” (“The Three-Piece Sword”)

(205) You yici, Zeng Meilan daiti lao fu dao Xingzhu de Nanliao qu

“fenggong” ershi tian, dangshi cai shiliu-qi sui de Zeng Meilan jiu
liyong shanggong zhi yu, qu Xingzhu haijun jiguan zhao ta er xiong.

(“Hong Xing”)

有一次，曾梅蘭代替老父到新竹的南寥去“奉公”二十天，當時才十六、七歲的曾梅蘭就利用上工之余，去新竹海軍機關找他二兄。（《紅星》）

Zeng Meilan once replaced his father to work for the government in
Nanliao at Xingzhu for twenty days. At the time of only sixteen or
seventeen years old Zeng Meilan went to visit his second elder
brother in the Navy Office when he got off from the office hours.

(“The Red Star”)

(206) Lu Daozhang, shengfu bingjia changshi, ni yijing shiguo san zhao,

xianzai yangui zhengzhuan, haishi you xiongdi xiang zhu daxia
lingjiao le. (“San Chai Jian”)

陸道長，勝負兵家常事，你已經試過三招，現在該言歸正傳，
還是由兄弟向祝大俠領教了。（《三拆劍》）

Master Lu, winning or losing a battle is commonplace for a military commander. You've already tried three strikes. Now it's time to return to the subject. Let me - your brother learn from you - Knight-errant Zhu. ("The Three-Piece Sword")

5. Distribution

(207) Jiali qiong, liangge haizi zhineng chi yi ge biandang. ("Hongxing")

家裡窮，兩個孩子只能吃一個便當。(《紅星》)

The family is so poor that two children can eat only one box of food.

("The Red Star")

(208) ziji cai fale ji jian, duifang liangren, que jingran qiang gongle shi

duo zhao! ("San Chai Jian")

自己才發了幾劍，對方兩人，卻竟然搶攻了十多招！(《三拆劍》)

He has only done several strikes while his counterpart has already

attacked for over ten strikes! ("The Three-Piece Sword")

6. Average quantity

(209) Huoling Shengmu yinwei yankan jifang lianlian shili, dui Song

Zhenshan ke shuo hen zhi ru gu, jianshi lunzhuang rufei, zhaozhao jin

ji, Song Zhenshan zai ta san jian zhizhong, dagai zhi huan yi jian,

jianshi huanman, zhenqi fufu, ta xianzai wanquan zhangzhe duonian

lianjian, yi neili fengjie duifang gongshi. (“San Chai Jian”)

火靈聖母因為眼看己方連連失利，對宋鎮山可說恨之入骨，劍

勢輪轉如飛，招招進擊，宋鎮山在她三劍之中，大概只還一劍

，劍勢緩慢，真氣拂拂，他現在完全仗著多年練劍，以內力封

解對方攻勢。（《三拆劍》）。

Mother Huoling hated Song Zhenshan to the marrow of her bones

since she saw her side was being defeated again and again. The force

of her sword turned like flying. She attacked Song Zhenshan with

every strike. Song Zhenshan could only fought back for one strike in

her three strikes. The tendancey of his sword went slowly. His energy

drifted. Now he blocked and desoveld opponents’s attacks totally

depending on his many years’ of sword practice.

(“The Three-Piece Sword”)

7. Time When

(210) Na nian ta zhiyou shier sui, zai jiashang shiliu nian, rujin suan lai,

gai yi shi ershiba sui de ren le. (“Jiangjun Zu”)

那年他只有十二歲，再加上十六年，如今算來，該已是二十八歲的人了。（《將軍族》）

He was only twelve at that year. Plus sixteen years, he must be twenty-eight years only now. (“Clan of Generals”)

(211) Cai guo shangwu shiyi dian, Tongluo paichusuo jiu laile yi ge

jingcha, yao Zeng Meilan shang paichusuo zou yi tang.

(“Hong Xing”)

才過上午十一點，銅鑼派出所就來了一個警察，要曾梅蘭上派出所走一趟。（《紅星》）

It was only past eleven p.m. in the morning, did the Tongluo Police send a policeman to ask Zeng Meilan to go to the police.

(“The Red Star”)

(212) Zuowan yexu bei ta niang liuzhu, jintian yi zao, yiding hui ganle
lai, rujin yijing daole wuke, bu keneng lian ta de yingzi ye meiyou.

(“San Chai Jian”)

昨晚也許被她娘留住，今天一早，一定會趕了來，如今已經到了午刻，不可能連她的影子也沒有。(《三拆劍》)

Last night maybe she was kept in her mother's place. She would have come back early this morning. Right now it is already lunchtime. It is impossible that she is not around.

(“The Three-Piece Sword”)

8. Time Spent

(213) Cong ta shuai chu Duan Boyang, dao shan chu jianzhen, qianhou
zhibuguo shi zha ge yan de shijian. (“San Chai Jian”)

從他摔出段伯陽，到閃出劍陣，前後只不過是眨個眼的時間。

(《三拆劍》)

From the time he threw Duan Boyang away till he swayed away from the arrow's battle, it was just a time for blinking eyes.

(“The Three-Piece Sword”)

(214) Ta xiangzhe: yi ge shengzhang, yi ge kuwei, cai buguo shi wunian

xianhou de shi! (“Jiangjun Zu”)

他想著：一個生長，一個枯萎，才不過是五年先後的事！

(《將軍族》)

He is thinking that one is growing and the other is fading. It takes

just about five years! (“Clan of Generals”)

(215) Na miaotiao renying qingsheng xiao dao: “Wo zai zheli yijing

gonghou ni yi ke zhi jiu le.” (“San Chai Jian”)

那苗條人影輕聲笑道：“我在這裡已經恭候你一刻之久了！”

(《三拆劍》)

The person in good shape whispered and laughed, “I’ve been

expecting here for a quarter now.” (“The Three-Piece Sword”)

9. Limitation of Scope

(216) Ta Zhi Shuole zhe ji ju hua, jiu congcong de zoule. (“San Chai Jian”)

他只說了這幾句話，就匆匆地走了。(《三拆劍》)

He only said these few words and left immediately.

(“The Three-Piece Sword”)

(217) Ta huran gen na ge shou gezi bufan dile ge yanse, liang ren fan qi

changpao, cong yaojian weizhe de qiandai li, taomole bantian, cai

taochu wu feng yinzi, he dadaxiaoxiao de sui yin, yiqi fang zai zhuo

shang. (“San Chai Jian”)

他忽然跟那瘦個子布販遞了個眼色，兩人翻起長袍，從腰間圍著的錢袋裡，掏摸了半天，才掏出五封銀子，和大大小小的碎銀，一齊放在桌上。(《三拆劍》)

He suddenly cast a meaningful glance to that skinny cloth dealer.

The two persons turned over their long gown. It took him quite a long time to draw out from the money bag on their waist and pulled out only five feng of silver and all kinds of small changes, and put them altogether on the table. (“The Three-Piece Sword”)

(218) Xiang dangnian zanmen ba ge ren, zai Bagong Shan shang jieyi,
rujin sheng xialai de, yijing zhiyou zanmen san ge, zuo jian shanju,
ye shi haoshi. (“San Chai Jian”)

想當年咱們八個人，在八公山上結義，如今剩下來的，已經只
有咱們三個，做件善舉，也是好事。（《三拆劍》）

Remember that year we eight people became brothers in the
Bagong Mountain. Right now only we three are left. It is a good
thing if we can do a good deed. (“The Three-Piece Sword”)

5.3 Conclusion

In Chapter Three, 66 sentences were found with *jiu* preceding quantity or time phrases to indicate “large quantity”, “small quantity”, “late”, “long time”, “early”, or “short time”. Through analysis of these 66 sentences we identified 14 categories according to structure. The five most frequently occurring categories as shown in Table 24 are: short period of time/small quantity or scope + *jiu*(*shi*/Verb) + quantity; *yi* + Verb/Nou……*jiu* (+Verb)+quantity; *buguo/ye+jiu* (*shi*)/*you*/other Verb+quantity; *jiu* (*shi*/Verb)+ … … *lia/ji/yi/zhexie* … … (+*er*)+quantity; and context. Other categories are not as frequently seen as these five categories.

Table 24. Most Frequent Occurring Categories

Category	No. of Sentence	Percentage (of 66 sentences)
<i>yi</i> + Verb/Noun..... <i>jiu</i> (+Verb) + quantity	16	24.242%
Context	15	22.727%
short time/small quantity or scope + <i>jiu</i> (<i>shi</i> /Verb) + quantity	9	13.636%
<i>jiu</i> (<i>shi</i> /Verb)+..... <i>lia</i> / <i>ji</i> / <i>yi</i> / <i>zhexie</i>(+ <i>er</i>) + quantity	9	13.636%
<i>buguo</i> / <i>ye</i> + <i>jiu</i> (<i>shi</i>)/ <i>you</i> /other Verb+quantity	5	7.576%
Total	54	81.81%

Besides developing context, rewording is another effective way to disambiguate (Chao, 1968). Through data search we have found out that *zhi*, *cai* and *yijing* are alternatives of *jiu* in Taiwan Mandarin.

CHAPTER SIX CONCLUSION

The previous chapters presented data analysis regarding uses of *jiu*. This chapter will first summarize the previous chapters and then address the significance and implications of this study for linguistic research and language teaching. The chapter will close with suggestions for further research.

6.1 Summary

In this study the various functions and uses of *jiu* are given a unified analysis. My interest in this study stems from my own experience in teaching Chinese. In Beijing Mandarin *jiu* can be used to indicate “large quantity” or “small quantity”, “early” or “late”, “short time” or “long time” in addition to its well-known functions and uses. If the specific context is not given, one cannot tell its exact meaning; in other words, the meaning is ambiguous. *Jiu*'s ambiguities relate to its relative position in a sentence. When *jiu* follows quantity and time phrases, the meaning is explicit, without ambiguities. When *jiu* precedes quantity and time phrases, ambiguities may occur if specific context is not given. Three tasks have been undertaken to distinguish various usages of *jiu* in written

materials and spoken data: First, similarities and differences in meanings and functions of the evaluative adverb *jiu* in colloquial Beijing and Taiwan Mandarin have been analyzed by searching for usages in a language corpus consisting of modern and identified novels written by Beijing and Taiwan writers; Second, the function of stress in Beijing Mandarin and Taiwan Mandarin has been investigated by giving a listening test to Beijing and Taiwan speakers to find out if stress differentiates meaning in sentences with *jiu*; Third, *jiu*'s synonymous adverbs and other similar elements that can not rely on phonological stress were analyzed in written materials.

In order to explain the reasons for its multifunction and resultant ambiguities, we traced the stages of its development from a verb to a conjunction, and then to an adverb indicating evaluation of quantity and time and limitation of scope in Chapter II. The basic meaning of the classical verb *jiu* is “to approach a high place” (Li, 2003). Its extension of meaning was “close to” (Li, 2003). During the Pre-Qin, *jiu* was just a verb. After the Han Dynasty, it emerged as a function word similar to *ji* and *bian*. In Pre-modern Chinese (960CE — 1911CE), *ji* and *bian* were only used in literary contexts, while *jiu* occurred in colloquial Chinese. In modern Chinese *jiu* as a conjunction and an adverb continues to carry versatile

functions: 1) It indicates that an event takes place in a short period of time. 2) It indicates that as soon as the first event takes place or the first situation occurs, the second event or situation takes place immediately (i.e. “sequential immediacy”). 3) It links clauses and indicates the second clause is a continuity of the first clause. 4) It indicates a new situation appears in a short or shorter time than expected.

During the late Qing Dynasty, *jiu* developed into an evaluative adverb indicating limitation of scope, and evaluation of quantity or time. The scope that *jiu* is used to limit are people, objects, action or state. When *jiu* is used to indicate quantity or time, it can either precede or follow them. *Jiu*'s relative position in the sentence may be a reason for ambiguity. When *jiu* follows quantity or time phrases, its meaning is clear. When *jiu* precedes quantity or time phrases without context, it may cause ambiguities, because it can either indicate “small quantity” or “large quantity”, “early” or “late”, “short time” or “long time”.

In order to demonstrate that the functions of “*jiu*+” exhibit regional differences and to uncover aspects of its ambiguities, I analyzed similarities and differences in meanings and functions of *jiu* in Beijing Mandarin and Taiwan Mandarin. The language corpus I collected consisting of novels and plays written by Beijing Mandarin and Taiwan Mandarin speakers, totals 1.5 million characters.

Chen Yingzhen's novels represent Taiwan Mandarin in the 1960s and the 1970s, and Dongfang Bai's novels represent that of the 1980s and the 1990s. Lao She's novels and plays represent Beijing Mandarin in the 1960s and the 1970s, and Wang Shuo's novels represent that of the 1980s and the 1990s.

The software PCTMD and Sentence Searcher were used to search and sort all the sentences containing *jiu*. As a result of data searching, 5,011 sentences were found in the works of Beijing Mandarin, and 2,327 sentences were found in that of Taiwan Mandarin.

All sentences containing *jiu* were categorized into four categories according previous research on *jiu*. They are conjunction, adverb, preposition and noun/verb. By searching the frequency of each category, we find that in both Beijing Mandarin and Taiwan Mandarin, conjunction and adverb are the main uses of *jiu* in modern Chinese. *Jiu*'s function as a preposition, a noun or a verb does not occur frequently due to its early departure from a verb or a noun discussed in Chapter II.

In these novels there are 4,065 sentences using *jiu* as adverb in Beijing Mandarin and Taiwan Mandarin. They have been sorted into four categories according to *jiu*'s adverbial functions analyzed by previous researchers. The four

categories are emphasis, sequential immediacy, evaluation of quantity or time, and limitation of scope. Beijing Mandarin and Taiwan Mandarin both exhibit the two main functions of *jiu* as an adverb based on frequency of occurrence, emphasis and sequential immediacy. *Jiu*'s functions in evaluation of quantity or time and limitation of scope are similarly low in frequency in both Beijing Mandarin and Taiwan Mandarin.

Among the 4,065 sentences, 871 sentences are found with *jiu* functioning as evaluative adverb. These 871 sentences are sorted into two categories *+jiu* and *jiu+*. In Taiwan Mandarin there are 303 sentences containing *jiu* as evaluative adverb in the structure *+jiu* and no sentence is found in the *jiu+* structure. In Beijing Mandarin, 66 sentences are found in the structure *jiu+*, and 503 sentences are in *+jiu*. Therefore this demonstrates first that *jiu+* is a regional variation in Beijing Mandarin; and second, that the main uses of *jiu* as evaluative adverb are *+jiu* in both Beijing Mandarin and Taiwan Mandarin.

In order to see if stress on *jiu* has the function of differentiating meaning in both Beijing Mandarin and Taiwan Mandarin, a listening test was developed. Twenty Beijing Mandarin speakers and twenty Taiwan Mandarin speakers participated in this test. The criteria for selection as subjects were: first, adults;

second, born and educated in either Beijing or Taiwan; third, either native Beijing Mandarin or native Taiwan Mandarin speakers.

The test includes 25 sentences covering 10 categories in which *jiu* indicates evaluation of quantity or time in the structure *jiu+*. The categories are: 1) whole and part, 2) possessive sentence, 3) transaction sentence, 4) quantity in a set time, 5) distribution sentence, 6) average quantity, 7) time when, 8) time spent, 9) average time, 10) limitation of scope. Each of the 25 sentences has two meanings. One indicates “small quantity” or “early” or “short time”. The other indicates “large quantity” or “late” or “long time”. Therefore, there are actually 50 sentences in total. A native speaker of Beijing Mandarin was asked to read these sentences and record her voice on tape. When she read, she put stress on either *jiu* or the word before *jiu* to alter the meaning of the sentence.

Each subject was given a five-page answer sheet. For each sentence there are multiple-choice answers on the answer sheet. The subject is asked to listen to each sentence carefully and circle the correct answer. After the test, the subject is also asked to fill out a questionnaire about his or her language background.

The result of the listening test shows that the mean score for the Beijing Mandarin group was very close to the full score. On the other hand, the mean

score for the Taiwan Mandarin group was less than 50% of the possible total score. This demonstrates that stress differentiates meaning in Beijing Mandarin but it does not in Taiwan Mandarin. The feedback given by the Taiwan Mandarin subjects indicates that the most preferred means for disambiguating in Taiwan Mandarin are clarifying the context or rewording through use of synonymous adverbs or other similar elements, as Chao (1968) previously suggested.

Chapter V focuses on identifying and analyzing disambiguating means in two aspects: context and alternatives to *jiu*. It was found useful to study the 66 sentences collected in Chapter III, with *jiu* indicating evaluation of quantity and time. Based on different structures of the 66 sentences, we categorize them into 11 categories. Sentences in each category are calculated for their frequency. As a result 5 categories have the highest frequency: 1) short time/small quantity or scope + *jiu* (*shi*/Verb)+quantity; 2) *yi*+Verb/Noun.....*jiu* (+Verb)+quantity; 3) *buguo/ye+jiu* (*shi*)/*you*/other Verb+quantit; 4) *jiu* (*shi*/Verb)+.....*lia/ji/yi/zhexie*(+*er*) + quantity; 5) Context. Among all these, context was found to be the most useful means. Another 7 categories include: 6) *ye jiu* (+Verb) + time word; 7) *jiu+sheng/zhilyou/dan* (+Verb) + quantity; 8)*jiu* + large quantity; 9)*jiu* + *yi(jing)/dei* + quantity; 10) *jiu+dei*+time; 11) *ye jiu* (+Verb) + time word; 12) *jiu*

+ adverb indicating “early”, were found to be rarely used by Beijing Mandarin speakers.

Rewording is another useful way to disambiguate. Through data search, we have found that *zhi*, *cai* and *yijing* are useful and frequent alternatives to *jiu* in Taiwan Mandarin. 21 sentences in Beijing Mandarin use *jiu*+ to indicate small quantity/early/short time. In these 21 sentences, *jiu* (or *jiushi*) can be all replaced by *zhi*. This demonstrates that *jiu* and *zhi* are often interchangeable in Beijing Mandarin. In Taiwan Mandarin, the frequency of *zhi* in the structure *zhi*+quantity/time and the frequency of *cai* in the structure *cai*+quantity/time are almost equal. This demonstrates that *zhi* and *cai* are alternatives to *jiu* in Taiwan Mandarin in indicating small quantity/early/short time. In a similar data search, we also find that in indicating “large quantity”, “late” or “long time”, *yijing* is a frequently alternative to *jiu* in Taiwan Mandarin.

As above, *jiu*, *zhi*, *cai* and *yijing* are variants belonging to different systems – Beijing Mandarin and Taiwan Mandarin. Their alternation “is an example of ‘dialect mixture’ or ‘code switching’” according to Labov’s variable rules (Labov, 1970). Therefore, the rewording here has demonstrated that “it is

common for a language to have many alternate ways of saying ‘the same thing’.”

(Labov, 1970)

6.2 Significance and Implications

6.2.1 Central Findings

As above, the central findings of the uses of *jiu* in this current study are:

1. The main uses of *jiu* in both Beijing Mandarin and Taiwan Mandarin are as a conjunction and an adverb.
2. The two main uses of *jiu* as an adverb in both Beijing Mandarin and Taiwan Mandarin are indicating emphasis and sequential immediacy.
3. *Jiu* as an adverb in indicating the evaluation of quantity or time has low frequency in both Beijing Mandarin and Taiwan Mandarin.
4. As an evaluative adverb, the main use of *jiu* is +*jiu* in both Beijing Mandarin and Taiwan Mandarin. However the use of *jiu*+ only exists in Beijing Mandarin, not in Taiwan Mandarin.
5. Stress plays a significant role in differentiating meanings of *jiu* in Beijing Mandarin but not in Taiwan Mandarin.

6. In identifying different meanings, disambiguating factors include either developing clear context or using alternative adverbs. In Taiwan Mandarin, *zhi*, *cai* and *yijing* have semantic and pragmatic meanings similar to *jiu*.

The above findings will benefit future research on *jiu* and teaching *jiu* effectively to non-native speakers. It tells people the main uses of *jiu* as a word, an adverb and an evaluative adverb respectively. It also tells language teachers and students that first, in indicating evaluation of time and quantity, the uses of *jiu* in Beijing Mandarin are different from those in Taiwan Mandarin; second, in order to avoid ambiguities, using stress, context and alternative adverbs are effective communication strategies; and third, teaching and learning *jiu* in context or sentence structures is more effective than teaching or learning it as an isolated word.

6.2.2 Research Methods

The research methods of this study have pointed out a new direction for linguistic research. For instance, collecting enough amount of language data will provide strong evidence to demonstrate or prove a language theory or a linguistic

rule; using a listening test will provide an effective way to test the findings; analyzing the uses of a word without leaving its living context or the structures in which it is used to occur will help better understanding its grammatical, semantic and pragmatic meanings and uses.

6.3 Suggestions for Further Research

To close this dissertation, I want to indicate briefly some topics for further research on *jiu*.

First, as demonstrated in Chapter Three, we have concluded that as an evaluative adverb, *jiu*'s uses in Beijing Mandarin are different from those in Taiwan Mandarin. One set of research questions stemming from this would be what has made them different from each other? Did they diverge from a common point, and if so when and where? How has the disparity developed?

Second, through comparison of Beijing Mandarin and Taiwan Mandarin, we have also concluded that *jiu*+ is dialectal. Other research topics stemming from this would be what are the uses of *jiu* in other dialects such as Shanghainese, and Cantonese, etc? We may use the same research design as we have done for the

current study to compare the uses of *jiu*+ in various dialects and draw out general uses of *jiu*.

Third, in developing a language corpus, instead of downloading data from the internet, we may consider collecting data from recording conversations from real life, movies, talk shows on radios or TVs, etc. Analyzing the living data may lead another new direction for the study of *jiu*.

In sum, there are still many topics relating to the use of *jiu* that are worth studying. It is hoped that the current study will help people understand more about *jiu*, and that these findings will benefit both the field of Chinese linguistics and that of Teaching Chinese as a Second Language.

APPENDIX A

Your Language Background (您的語言背景)

Please give your language background in the following
(請填寫您的語言背景):

1. Age
(年齡):

2. Birthplace
(出生地):

3. Native Language – Mandarin or a dialect
(母語 - 普通話或某地方言):

4. Education
(受教育程度):

5. Where did you have your education?
(受教育地區):

6. Occupation
(職業):

APPENDIX B

Recorded Sentences

The following 50 sentences will be recorded in a tape and read by a native Beijing Mandarin speaker (The word with the stress is highlighted).

1. 我就有五塊錢。
2. 蘋果裡邊爛的就三個。
3. 他來的時候就八點。
4. 下午開會，老周就講了一個小時。
5. 我聽說他就要了三張票。
6. 這塊地就種玉米。
7. 那段話他就背了二十分鐘。
8. 我就能借這幾本書。
9. 上星期他就來過兩次。
10. 這次演出，他就演一個小時。
11. 我們班一個小組就五個人。
12. 他昨天在這就呆到七點。
13. 他今天上午就兩個小時沒哭沒鬧。
14. 買這些東西就花了兩塊錢。

15. 這回一畝地就打三百斤。
16. 開學那天就幾十個人來報到。
17. 他一天就運了兩趟。
18. 他一天就來兩次。
19. 給人家打工就打到二十五歲。
20. 軍訓就軍訓了半個月。
21. 上半年就組織了三場球賽。
22. 十個人裏就五個是初學者。
23. 蘋果裏邊爛的就三個。
24. 彩排就彩排了三天。
25. 這塊地就種玉米。
26. 寫作業就寫到八點。
27. 我就能借這幾本書。
28. 每四十個杯子裏就有一個是破的。
29. 下午開會，老周就講了一個小時。
30. 我就有五塊錢。
31. 這次演出，他就演一個小時。
32. 他來的時候就八點。

33. 他昨天在這就呆到七點。
34. 我聽說他就要了三張票。
35. 買這些東西就花了兩塊錢。
36. 那段話他就背了二十分鐘。
37. 他一天就來兩次。
38. 我們班一個小組就五個人。
39. 寫作業就寫到八點。
40. 上星期他就來過兩次。
41. 開學那天就幾十個人來報到。
42. 這回一畝地就打三百斤。
43. 軍訓就軍訓了半個月。
44. 他一天就運了兩趟。
45. 十個人裏就五個是初學者。
46. 他今天上午就兩個小時沒哭沒鬧。
47. 彩排就彩排了三天。
48. 給人家打工就打到二十五歲。
49. 每四十個杯子裏就有一個是破的。
50. 上半年就組織了三場球賽。

APPENDIX C

Answer Sheet

Please listen to the sentences carefully before you answer the questions.

Please choose the most appropriate answer to the question from answer A and B, and then put your answer in the blank.

(請在回答每個問題之前仔細聽錄音中的句子，然後從 A 和 B 當中選擇你認為最適合的答案填入空格內。)

1) 這句話的意思是：

A 你不用到處去借了，我這兒就有五塊錢。

B 我只有五塊錢，再多的沒有了。

答案是()

2) 這句話的意思是：

A 蘋果裏個爛的，不算太多。

B 蘋果裏已經發現有三個爛的了，當然別的水果裏可能爛的更多。

答案是()

3) 這句話的意思是：

A 他來的時候就已經八點了。

B 他八點才來。

答案是()

4) 這句話的意思是：

A 老周自己就講了一個小時，夠長的。

B 老周只講了一個小時，不算太長。

答案是()

5) 這句話的意思是：

A 他只要了三張票，沒多要。

B 他要了三張票，要得夠多的。

答案是()

6) 這句話的意思是：

A 要是想找玉米的話，這塊地裏就有。

B 這塊地裏只種玉米，不種別的。

答案是()

7) 這句話的意思是：

A 背那一段，他只用了二十分鐘。

B 單是那麼一段，他就用了二十分鐘，用的時間不短。

答案是()

8) 這句話的意思是：

A 我可以借這幾本書，你就不能借。

B 我只能借這幾本書，借不了更多的了。

答案是()

9) 這句話的意思是：

A 上個星期他只來過兩次。

B 單單是上個星期他就來過兩次。

答案是()

10) 這句話的意思是：

A 單是他自己就要演一個小時，夠長的。

B 他只演一個小時，不太長。

答案是()

11) 這句話的意思是：

- A 我們班一個小組五個人，別的班一個小組只有三個人。
- B 我們班一個小組只有五個人。

答案是()

12) 這句話的意思是：

- A 他昨天在這兒只呆到七點鐘。
- B 他昨天在這兒呆到七點鐘才走。

答案是()

13) 這句話的意思是：

- A 他上午有兩個小時沒哭沒鬧，堅持的時間不算短。
- B 他上午只安靜了兩個小時，除此之外一直在哭鬧。

答案是()

14) 這句話的意思是：

- A 買這些東西還要花兩塊錢，夠貴的。
- B 買這些東西只花兩塊錢。

答案是()

15) 這句話的意思是：

A 這回一畝地只打三百斤，好像少量一點兒。

B 這回一畝地能打三百斤呢！

答案是()

16) 這句話的意思是：

A 開學那天有幾十個人來報到呢，人不算少了。

B 開學那天只有幾十個人來報到，人太少了。

答案是()

17) 這句話的意思是：

A 他能運兩趟，別人可能運不了兩趟。

B 他一天只運兩趟，別人可能運三四趟呢。

答案是()

18) 這句話的意思是：

A 他一天來兩次，別人恐怕來不了兩次。

B 他一天只來兩次。

答案是()

19) 這句話的意思是：

A 給人家打工打到二十五歲，歲數不算小了。

B 給人家打工只打到二十五歲，還小呢。

答案是()

20) 這句話的意思是：

A 軍訓了半個月，時間太長了。

B 才半個月的軍訓，時間不算長。

答案是()

21) 這句話的意思是：

A 組織了三場球賽，夠多的了。

B 才組織了三場球賽，太少了。

答案是()

22) 這句話的意思是：

A 每十個人裏才有五個初學者，比例不算高。

B 每十個人裏就能有五個初學者，比例太高了。

答案是()

23) 這句話的意思是：

A 蘋果裏只有三個爛的，還不算多。

B 蘋果裏已經有三個爛的了，別的可能爛的更多。

答案是()

24) 這句話的意思是：

A 彩排了三天，時間可不算短了。

B 只彩排了三天，不算長。

答案是()

25) 這句話的意思是：

A 這塊地裏只種玉米，不種別的。

B 要是想找玉米的話，這塊地裏就有。

答案是()

26) 這句話的意思是：

A 寫作業寫到了八點，太晚了。

B 寫作業只寫到八點，還早呢。

答案是()

27) 這句話的意思是：

A 我可以借這幾本書，你就不能借。

B 我只能借這幾本書，借不了更多的了。

答案是()

28) 這句話的意思是：

A 每四十個裏有一個是破的，比例不算高。

B 每四十個裏有一個是破的，比例太高了。

答案是()

29) 這句話的意思是：

A 老周只講了一個小時，不算太長。

B 老周自己就講了一個小時，夠長的。

答案是()

30) 這句話的意思是：

A 我這兒就有五塊錢，你不用到處去借了。

B 我只有五塊錢，再多的沒有了。

答案是()

31) 這句話的意思是：

A 他只演一個小時，不算長。

B 光他就要演一個小時，別人都安排不上了。

答案是 ()

32) 這句話的意思是：

A 他來的時候就已經八點了。

B 他八點才來。

答案是 ()

33) 這句話的意思是：

A 他昨天在這兒呆到七點才走。

B 他昨天在這兒呆到七點就走了。

答案是 ()

34) 這句話的意思是：

A 光他就要了三張票，沒剩多少了。

B 他只要了三張票，沒多要。

答案是 ()

35) 這句話的意思是：

A 買這些東西還要花兩塊錢，夠貴的。

B 買這些東西只花兩塊錢。

答案是 ()

36) 這句話的意思是：

A 單是那麼一段，他就背了二十分鐘，用的時間不算少。

B 背那一段，他只用了二十分鐘。

答案是 ()

37) 這句話的意思是：

A 他一天來兩次，別人可能只來一次。

B 他一天只來兩次，別人可能得來三四次呢。

答案是 ()

38) 這句話的意思是：

A 我們班一個小組只有五個人。

B 我們班一個小組五個人，別的班可能人數可能還要少一些呢。

答案是 ()

39) 這句話的意思是：

A 光寫作業就寫到了八點，也太晚了。

B 解作業只寫到八點鐘，還早呢。

答案是 ()

40) 這句話的意思是：

A 他來過兩次，別人可能只來過一次。

B 他只來過兩次。

答案是 ()

41) 這句話的意思是：

A 開學那天來報到的人數不算少。

B 開學那天來報到的人數比較少。

答案是 ()

42) 這句話的意思是：

A 一畝地打三百斤，不算少了。

B 一畝地只打三百斤，少了一點兒。

答案是 ()

43) 這句話的意思是：

A 軍訓半個月，時間太長了。

B 半個月的軍訓，時間不算長。

答案是 ()

44) 這句話的意思是：

A 他一天運兩趟，別人可能要運三四趟呢。

B 他一天運兩趟，別人可能只運一趟。

答案是 ()

45) 這句話的意思是：

A 初學者的比例比較高。

B 初學者的比例比較低。

答案是 ()

46) 這句話的意思是：

A 他上午有好一段時間沒哭沒鬧。

B 他上午只安靜了兩個小時。

答案是 ()

47) 這句話的意思是：

A 彩排三天，時間不算短。

B 彩排三天，時間不算長。

答案是()

48) 這句話的意思是：

A 給人家打工打到二十五歲，不算小了。

B 給人家打工只打到二十五歲，還小呢。

答案是()

49) 這句話的意思是：

A 破杯子的比例比較高。

B 破杯子的比例不算高。

答案是()

50) 這句話的意思是：

A 上半年三場球賽，次數不少了。

B 上半年只有三場球賽，太少了。

答案是()

APPENDIX D

Results of Testing Beijing Mandarin Speakers

Subject Item	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	
1	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A
2	B	A	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B
3	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A
4	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B
5	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A
6	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B
7	A	B	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A
8	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B
9	A	B	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A
10	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B
11	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	B	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A
12	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B
13	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A
14	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B
15	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A
16	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B
17	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	B	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A
18	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B
19	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A
20	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B
21	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A
22	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B
23	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A
24	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B
25	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B
26	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B
27	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	A	B	B
28	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A

(Continued) Results of Testing Beijing Mandarin Speakers

29	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A
30	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B
31	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	B	A	A	A	A	A
32	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	B	A	A	A	A
33	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A
34	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B
35	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A
36	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B
37	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A
38	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B
39	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A
40	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B
41	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A
42	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B
43	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A
44	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B
45	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A
46	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B
47	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A
48	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	B	A	A	A	A
49	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A
50	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B

APPENDIX E

Results of Testing Taiwan Mandarin Speakers

Subj Key Item	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	
1	A	A	B	A	B	A	A	A	A	B	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	B
2	A	B	B	B	B	B	B	A	B	B	B	B	B	B	A	B	B	B	B	B	A
3	A	A	A	A	B	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A
4	B	A	A	A	B	A	B	A	B	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A
5	B	B	B	A	B	A	B	B	B	B	B	A	B	B	B	A	B	B	B	B	B
6	B	A	A	A	A	A	B	A	B	A	A	A	A	A	A	B	A	A	A	A	A
7	B	B	B	B	A	B	A	B	A	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B
8	B	A	A	A	A	B	A	A	B	A	A	A	A	A	A	B	A	A	A	A	B
9	B	B	B	B	B	B	A	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	A	B	B	B	A	B
10	B	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	B	A	A	A	A	—	B	—	A	A	A	A	A
11	A	A	B	A	A	A	A	A	B	A	A	A	A	A	A	B	A	A	A	A	A
12	A	B	B	B	B	B	A	B	B	B	B	A	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B
13	A	A	A	A	—	A	A	A	B	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A
14	A	—	B	A	B	B	A	B	B	B	B	B	B	—	B	B	B	—	B	B	B
15	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B
16	B	A	—	A	A	A	B	A	A	A	—	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A
17	A	A	A	A	A	A	B	A	A	A	B	A	A	B	A	A	A	A	A	A	B
18	B	A	A	A	A	A	—	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A
19	A	A	A	A	A	B	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A
20	B	A	A	B	A	—	A	A	B	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	B	A	A	A
21	A	A	A	A	—	A	B	A	B	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A
22	B	—	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	—	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A
23	B	B	B	B	B	A	B	B	B	B	A	B	B	B	B	B	B	A	B	B	B
24	B	—	A	B	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	—	B	A	A	A	A	A	A
25	B	B	A	B	B	A	B	B	B	B	B	B	A	B	B	B	B	B	A	B	B
26	B	A	A	A	A	B	A	A	A	A	—	A	A	—	A	A	A	A	A	A	A
27	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A
28	A	—	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	—	B	B	—	B	B	B	B	B	B	B

(Continued) Results of Testing Taiwan Mandarin Speakers

29	B	B	B	A	B	B	B	B	B	B	A	A	B	B	B	B	B	A	B	B	
30	B	—	A	A	A	A	B	A	A	A	A	B	A	A	A	A	B	A	A	A	B
31	B	B	B	A	A	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B
32	B	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	B	A	A	A	A	B	A	A	A	A	A	A
33	A	A	A	A	B	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A
34	B	A	A	A	A	A	A	B	A	B	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	—	A	A
35	A	A	A	B	A	A	B	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	B	B	A	A	A	A	A
36	B	A	B	A	A	A	A	A	A	—	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	—	A	A
37	A	B	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A
38	A	B	—	B	B	B	—	B	B	B	B	B	B	A	B	B	B	B	B	B	B
39	A	B	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	B	A	A	A	A	B	A	A	A	A	A	B
40	B	A	A	A	A	B	A	A	B	A	A	A	A	B	A	B	A	A	A	A	A
41	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A
42	B	A	A	A	A	B	A	B	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A
43	A	A	A	A	A	B	B	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A
44	A	B	B	A	B	B	B	B	B	B	—	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	—	B	B
45	A	B	A	A	A	A	A	A	B	B	B	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	B	A	A
46	B	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	B	A	B	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A
47	A	A	A	A	A	A	B	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A
48	B	A	A	A	B	A	A	B	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A
49	A	A	B	A	A	A	A	B	A	A	A	A	A	A	B	A	A	A	A	A	A
50	B	A	A	B	A	A	A	A	A	B	A	A	B	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A

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