

## ON DAKE AND SHIKA

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### Summary

The present paper focuses its attention on the subtle difference in the semantic properties of the so-called delimiting particles of Japanese, DAKE and SHIKA, which are often given an identical translation in English, ONLY.

In order to demonstrate what may tentatively be called the "delimiting power" of these two particles — SHIKA being "more delimiting" than DAKE — a simple model of DAKE/SHIKA processing which functions on the surface string of adverbial particles is presented, and the resulting difference in the connotations pertaining to DAKE and SHIKA are discussed in relation to other particles such as HODO, WA, and MO.

1.

Suppose we have a question:

(1) Ikura motteta? (How much did you have?)

There are a number of possible answers:

(2) 100 yen motteta. (I had 100 yen. )

(3) 100 yen HODO motteta. (I had about 100 yen. )

(4) 100 yen WA motteta. (I had at least 100 yen. )

(5) 100 yen MO motteta. (I had as much as 100 yen. )

- (6) 100 yen DAKE motteta. (I had only/just 100 yen. )  
 (7) 100 yen SHIKA mottenakatta. (I had only 100 yen. )

The most 'straightforward' answer is (2) which merely states that the speaker (addressee) had 100 yen. The rest of the answers, (3)-- (7), differ from (2) in that, besides stating that the speaker had 100 yen, they express various 'attitudes' of the speaker towards the specific amount of money, 100 yen, in each of the five cases (3) - (7). That is to say, for example, (3) would be used in the case where the speaker is not sure as to how much he then had. As for (4), there is a connotation "Although I'm not sure whether I had 200 yen", whereas in (5) the speaker expresses some surprise at the fact that he did have as much as 100 yen then. The answers (6) and (7) are somewhat similar with regards to the connotations they have, i. e. they both indicate that the speaker did not have more than 100 yen. This is reflected in the fact that both these sentences are often given an identical translation "I had only 100 yen. " \_\_\_\_\_ inaccurately, however.

The inaccuracy may be best demonstrated by giving what I consider to be the accurate translations. The translation of (6) would be like "I had just/exactly 100 yen: no more. " while that of (7) would be something like "I had only 100 yen (and no more), although I should have had/I wish I had more. " Similarly:

- (8) Dare ga kita? (Who came?)  
 (9) Taroo ga kita. (Taroo came. )  
 (10) Taroo DAKE kita. (Only Taroo came. )  
 (11) Taroo SHIKA konakatta. (Only Taroo came. )

The most adequate translation of (10) would be "Taroo came (, and that's it). " whereas for (11) it would be better to say "Nobody came, except Taroo (, although I wish the others had come too, or although the others also should have come). "

Thus demonstrated, it may be clear that there is a subtle difference between the sentences (6) and (7) and also (10) and (11), or rather, between the two particles DAKE and SHIKA, both of which are often labelled iden-

tically as 'delimiting' particles.<sup>1</sup>

In this paper I would like to focus my attention on DAKE and SHIKA and try to discuss some of their semantic characteristics.

2.

I have, at the beginning of this paper, given sentences (2) - (7) as 'a number of possible answers' to the question (1). This, however, presents a problem. For example, why should one say "100 yen HODO motteta." when a person is asking him "Ikura motteta?" and not "Ikura HODO motteta?" Why should one say "100 yen DAKE motteta?" in reply to the question "Ikura motteta?" and not "Ikura DAK E motteta?" If we go on arguing in this manner, we would end in saying that the only proper answer to (1) is (2), a simple "100 yen motteta."

Despite this fact we know that the sentences (3) - (7) are quite probable, perhaps so much so that (2) would sound almost blunt. Then what happens when one chooses from among (3) - (7) instead of (2), the 'neutral' answer, let us say, in answering the question "Ikura motteta?" What is the exact process of the production of 'non-neutral' sentences such as are represented by (3) - (7)? What is the nature of the 'various attitudes of the speaker... in each of the five cases (3) - (7)'?

A possible interpretation may be that such a process of answer-selection consists of two consecutive stages. For example, when one answers (5) 100 yen MO motteta. to the question (1) he looks for the corresponding straightforward answer (2) 100 yen motteta. as a first-stage process. He then goes on to the second-stage process of finding the proper 'attitude towards the fact that he then had 100 yen.'

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<sup>1</sup>Tokieda, M., Nihonbunpoo: koogohen Iwanamizensho 114, Iwanamishoten, Tokyo, 1950. We understand here and henceforth that the particle SHIKA always is accompanied by a negation form nak.

This is done by comparing the specific amount 100 yen with the list of what may be called 'preset' amount—which may be anything from 0 to  $+\infty$ . Let us assume that the preset amount in this case was 50 yen. The comparison with 100 yen will indicate that the amount of money which the speaker then possessed is greater than the preset amount, thus calling for the use of MO (SAE). Simultaneously with the selection of this particular particle MO (SAE), the 'attitude' of the speaker towards this specific amount 100 yen (in contrast with 50 yen) will be introduced. This would be something like "I'm surprised I had that much money. (I didn't expect to have possessed that amount.)"

In the same manner, this two-stage process may be applied to the sentences with DAKE and SHIKA. For SHIKA, the preset amount would be, for example, 200 yen, i. e. the actual amount is less than the preset value. The implied attitude would therefore be "I should have had more money," or "I would like to have possessed more." For DAKE, we may have the preset amount at 100 yen. (Note that we are here dealing with DAKE with and only with its original sense, or, in other words, not in the sense DAKE-WA. The double semantic value of DAKE will be discussed in the next section.) Consequently the implication of the attitude that goes with DAKE may be considered to have a 'neutral' character.

To summarize, given sentences (2), (6) and (7):

(2) — the neutral answer — would have no specification of the preset value, and hence no comparison, nor any resultant implication of the 'attitude':

(6) — the DAKE form — would have the preset value which is the same as the actual value, and therefore when the comparison is made the implied 'attitude' bears the neutral character:

(7) — the SHIKA form — would have the preset value somewhere higher than the actual value and the comparison results in the implication of a non-neutral 'attitude.'

The latter two sentences containing additional particles typically undergo an extra step of the 'preset-value-comparison' (and consequential 'attitude selection') process in the course of sentence generation.

3.

Let us consider some more about the semantic properties of DAKE and SHIKA. Suppose a man goes to a book store with 1000 yen and sees a book whose price is 2000 yen, he would most probably say to himself

(12) 1000 yen SHIKA motteinai kara kono hon (2000 yen) wa kaenai.

(Since I have only 1000 yen I cannot buy this book (2000 yen). )

(13) 1000 yen DAKE SHIKA motteinai kara kono hon (2000 yen) wa kaenai.

(Since I have only 1000 yen I cannot buy this book (2000 yen). )

(14) 1000 yen (DAKE) SHIKA motteinai kara hoka no hon o kaoo.

(Since I have only 1000 yen I shall buy some other book. )

In such a case

(15) \* 1000 yen DAKE motteiru kara kono hon (2000 yen) wa kaenai.

(Since I have just 1000 yen I cannot buy this book (2000 yen). )

would be rather awkward.

Similarly, if he sees a book of 500 yen he might say

(16) (\*) 1000 yen DAKE motteiru kara kono hon (500 yen) wa kaeru.

(Since I have just 1000 yen I can buy this book (500 yen). )

although this, too, is strictly speaking not quite acceptable when the sentence is interpreted in its original sense, i. e. not in the following sense:

(17) 1000 yen DAKE WA motteiru kara kono hon (500 yen) wa kaeru.

(Since I have at least 1000 yen I can buy this book (500 yen). )

The SHIKA version, here, would be both syntactically and semantically impossible:

(18) \* 1000 yen SHIKA motteinai kara kono hon (500 yen) wa kaeru.

(Since I have only 1000 yen I can buy this book (500 yen). )

The above examples (12) - (18) present various uses of DAKE and SHIKA in different discourse situations, some of which are acceptable but some are not quite or not at all so. Let us examine them one by one.

(18) — the SHIKA form — is definitely unacceptable due to the semantically incorrect use of SHIKA in this particular situation. Meanwhile (12)- (14) — also SHIKA forms — are quite acceptable because of the proper selection of the particles in relation to the amount of money he

possessed and to the price of the book.

As for the DAKE form, (16) is not quite acceptable when it is used in its original sense, i. e. not in the sense of (17) which, having another particle WA attached after DAKE, is acceptable. Of course this does not mean that sentences like (16) do not occur in our everyday life. Rather, the fact seems to be that while DAKE forms are more frequently found in objective, down-to-business types of speech, e. g. official instructions, while DAKE-WA forms are more popular in informal everyday conversations. Therefore when DAKE is used by itself in ordinary situations it is often in the sense of DAKE + WA. But here, we shall consider only those DAKE forms that retain the original semantic value of DAKE.

Now, we may proceed and discuss about (15) in comparison with (16) in the above defined sense of DAKE. These two sentences differ only in that the former is of the situation where the subject cannot buy the book (because it costs more than what he has), while the latter is of the situation where he can (because the book costs less than what he has). Yet no native speaker of Japanese would hesitate to say that (15) is more acceptable than (16). Furthermore, it is very interesting to note that (13) and (17), the DAKE + SHIKA and DAKE + WA counterparts of (15) and (16) respectively, would unanimously be considered acceptable by the same speakers.

At this stage it seems reasonable to say that there are situations where while sentences in which SHIKA -neg is used all by itself are considered acceptable, those with DAKE, and DAKE only, are usually not, and that this seems to point to a difference between the two particles.

In Japanese, DAKE can be followed by SHIKA, but never the other way around.<sup>2</sup> The fact that DAKE can and can only be followed by SHIKA suggests a 'hierarchical' characteristic of these 'delimiting' particles. Thus we may tentatively describe DAKE as being 'less delimiting' and SHIKA as 'more delimiting.'

This is in line with the concept of two-stage process proposed in Section 2 where DAKE forms—the 'less delimiting'—undergo the process of 'preset-value-comparison' but the implied 'attitude' is of a

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<sup>2</sup>There are various rules with regards to the sequential ordering of the particles. Some are preceded and/or succeeded by others with great freedom while others, like SHIKA, are very restricted in their behaviour as far as the sequential ordering is concerned.

neutral character, whereas SHIKA forms——the 'more delimiting'——also undergo the process of 'preset-value-comparison' and comes out with the implication of a non-neutral 'attitude. '

The rule seems to be that the 'less delimiting' may be followed by the 'more delimiting' but not vice versa, hence DAKE-SHIKA but not SHIKA-DAKE. In the following section I shall try to present a simple model to demonstrate the difference in 'the delimiting power' of the two particles and to account for the process whereby they are encoded and decoded.

4.

Let us take the following sentences and see how the model works.

- (19) Ch. 5 o yomimasu. (We'll read Ch. 5.)  
 (20) Ch. 5 DAKE yomimasu (We'll read just Ch. 5.)  
 (21) Ch. 5 SHIKA yomimasen. (We'll read only Ch. 5.)

For (19) —— a neutral sentence without DAKE or SHIKA —— there would be an instruction of the following sort in the course of processing this sentence: "Look for the chapter that is going to be read and stop when such a chapter is found. " (See the schematic representation of the model below. For convenience's sake let us assume that the book consisted of eight chapters. )

Ch.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
processing					YES			

(19) Ch. 5 o yomimasu.

{ "YES" indicates: "will be read"  
 " || " indicates: "stop"  
 blank indicates: "unprocessed"  
 The processing is performed from left to right.

Since the processing will stop after checking Ch. 5, the rest of the chapters will be left unprocessed, implying that in this 'neutral' type sentence no special attention is paid to the chapters other than the chapter that is going to be read.

For (20) —the DAKE form— the instruction would be "Sort each chapter as to whether it is to be read or 'skipped' and stop when all the chapters are processed." Here, the attention is also paid to the chapters other than Ch. 5 although the instruction is simply to "skip", which will be later reflected in the implication of a 'neutral attitude.'

Ch.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
processing	/	/	/	/	YES	/	/	/

(20) Ch. 5 DAKE yomimasu.

"/" indicates: "skip"

For (21) the process will be double-fold. The first stage process will be identical with that for (20) except that it does not "stop" after processing Ch. 8 but returns to the beginning for the second stage process the instruction for which will be something like "Look for all the chapters that are not marked as YES and mark them NO. If there is YES (as the result of the first stage process) let it remain as it is in the second stage." The chapters that are left "skipped" in the processing of (20) — the DAKE form — are in (21) — the SHIKA form — checked by this second stage process and the status that these chapters will not be read are reassured.

Ch.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
processing: 1st stage	/	/	/	/	YES	/	/	/
processing: 2nd stage	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO

(21) Ch. 5 SHIKA yomimasen.

{ "NO" indicates: "will not be read"  
 { "↻" indicates: "continue to next stage processing"

Incidentally, this double-fold process is reflected in a possible paraphrase of (21):

(21') Ch. 5 o yomi, hoka no chapter wa yomimasen.

(We'll read Ch. 5: we won't read the other chapters.)

The different manner of processing for DAKE and SHIKA forms thus demonstrated seems to be in accordance with the difference in the 'delimiting power' of these two particles.

Let us look at some more examples:

(22) Ch. 5 KURAI SHIKA yomemasen.

(We can only read Ch. 5 at best.)

(23) Ch. 5 DAKE KURAI yomemasu.

(We can read at least Ch. 5.)

(24)\* Ch. 5 KURAI DAKE yomemasu.

(25)\* Ch. 5 SHIKA KURAI yomemasen.

(KURAI here is taken in the sense 'at least' and not in the sense 'about/or something.')

Now that we have another particle KURAI in addition to DAKE and SHIKA, the processing will be either two- or three-fold, and it is performed for each of the particles in the order they appear in the pertinent sentence.

A similar schematic representation as before is shown below. The labels for status are the same as in the previous chart except for an addition of a new indication MB which stands for "May Be," meaning that chapters

with this indication "may be read (but may be not)." MB is 'stronger' than "skip," i. e. "skip" may be overridden by MB in the next stage,<sup>3</sup> but is 'weaker' than YES or NO, i. e. MB can be replaced by YES or NO but not vice versa.

Ch.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	
(22)	1st stage	MB	MB	MB	MB	YES	MB	MB	MB
	2nd stage	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO
(23)	1st stage	/	/	/	/	YES	/	/	/
	2nd stage	MB	MB	MB	MB	YES	MB	MB	MB
(24)*	1st stage	MB	MB	MB	MB	YES	MB	MB	MB
	2nd stage	( no place for "/" )							
(25)*	1st stage	/	/	/	/	YES	/	/	/
	2nd stage	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO
	3rd stage	( MB cannot replace NO )							

I shall not go over the description of the process for (22) and (23): they are processed in basically the same manner as for (19) - (21). Note that (24) and (25), which are both labelled unacceptable, are also shown to be unacceptable in processing. In (24) the instruction "skip" of the second stage processing for DAKE cannot be performed since the indications MB are already given beforehand. Thus the processing cannot go any further and the semantic unacceptability of the sentence is shown. For (25), since

<sup>3</sup>The overridden particle seems to leave some semantic effect with the final status of the pertinent item; in this sense the situation can be said to be oversimplified in the final yes-no representation in the chart.

the second stage processing of SHIKA completes itself with the indications of YES and NO for all the chapters there is no room for the operation of the processing for the following KURAI, hence the unacceptability of (25).

Let us try one more:

(26) Ch. 5 DAKE KURAI SHIKA yomemasen.

(We can only read Ch. 5 at best.)

Ch.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1st stage	/	/	/	/	YES	/	/	/
2nd stage	MB	MB	MB	MB	YES	MB	MB	MB
3rd stage	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO

(26) Ch. 5 DAKE KURAI SHIKA yomemasen.

Of the examples cited above, the DAKE forms always had positive verbs. What about DAKE forms in which the particle is followed by a negative verb? Let's try with

(27) Ch. 5 DAKE yomimasen.

(Only Ch. 5 we won't read.)

Ch.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
processing	/	/	/	/	NO	/	/	/

(27) Ch. 5 DAKE yomimasen.

The procedure is essentially the same. However, because the verb phrase is negative the instruction would be "Look for the chapter that will not be read, etc." Ch. 5, which will not be read, will be looked for, skipping the rest of the chapters which are of no special concern in this case and the processing will stop when the last chapter is looked up.

5.

The semantic properties of DAKE and SHIKA may be summarized as follows:

- 1) Although both particles are alike in their 'delimiting' function, SHIKA is more 'delimiting' than DAKE. This is demonstrated in connection with a simple model of DAKE/SHIKA processing which functions on the surface string of adverbial particles.
- 2) As can be demonstrated by the model, DAKE leaves 'unspecified' 'the rest', i. e. the items or parts that are not selected for delimitation by DAKE, while SHIKA (with a neg-form) requires an extra stage of processing whereby some sort of 'specification' is given to 'the rest' that has not been selected by SHIKA in the first stage.
- 3) The sentences with DAKE and SHIKA, in the course of their semantic process in production and/or perception undergo a typical procedure of 'preset-value-comparison' which brings about the various connotations pertaining to these particles. DAKE may be said to have a 'neutral' connotation, or something like "This is it. I'm neither glad nor sorry about it.": SHIKA, on the contrary, has a non-neutral connotation, often of the type "I wish this was not so, " or "It shouldn't be like this. "

#### References

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