Finiteness in Mandarin Chinese and the basic syntax of kěnéng

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In a recent article, Lin Tzong-Hong (2011) argues in favor of the [±finiteness] distinction in Mandarin Chinese by using the contrast between the modal auxiliary verb *néng* 'can, may' and the adverb *kěnéng* 'probably'. Although Chinese certainly makes the [±finiteness] distinction, the crucial problem is that Lin (2011) misanalyses the adverb *kěnéng* 'probably' as a modal auxiliary with optional subject raising, in contrast to the modal auxiliary *néng* 'can, may' for which he claims obligatory subject raising.

Our aim in this squib is simply to show that *kěnéng* is an adverb, not a modal auxiliary, and we leave aside the problems with Lin's raising analysis for modal auxiliaries proper such as *néng* (cf. the short bibliography on modal auxiliaries below).

In fact, Chinese only has an adjective *kěnéng* 'probable, possible' (cf. 1) and an adverb *kěnéng* 'probably' (cf. 2-3), but no modal auxiliary *kěnéng*, an information easily retrievable from any good grammar manual (cf. among others Lü et al. 2000). Note that adjectives in Chinese do not require the copula *shì* 'be':

(1) Zhè wánquán kěnéng / bù dà kěnéng. this completely probable/ NEG too probable 'This is entirely plausible/ is not too probable.'

Kěnéng as a sentential adverb can either precede or follow the subject (cf. 2). This well-known phenomenon is misinterpreted by Lin as "optional subject raising" of *ta* 's/he'.

- (2) {Kěnéng } tā {kěnéng} yě zhīdao zhè jiàn shì. probably 3sG probably also know this Cl matter '{Probably}, he {probably} also knows about this matter.'
- (3) Tāmen hěn kěnéng hái zài kāi -zhe huì ne! 3Pl very probably still PROG have-DUR meeting SFP 'They are very probably still in the meeting.'

Like many other adverbs, *kěnéng* can be modified by degree adverbs, e.g. *hěn* 'very' (cf. (3)).

High VP-level adverbs (e.g. $y\check{e}$ 'also' and $h\acute{a}i$ 'still' in (2-3) above) are excluded from the complement of modal auxiliaries such as $n\acute{e}ng$ 'can':

(4) Tā jīntiān yĕ {huì / yào /kĕyĭ/ néng} (*yĕ) qù Bĕijīng. 3SG today also will/ be.going.to/ may/ can also go Beijing 'She will/can/may also // is also going to go to Beijing today.'

The auxiliaries *huì* 'will', *yào* 'be going to', *néng* 'can' and *kěyĭ* 'may' cannot be combined with each other (cf. (5)). By contrast, the adverb *kěnéng* 'probably' can naturally precede any of these auxiliaries (cf. (6)).

(5) *Tā huì {kěyĭ/ néng/ yào} lái. 3SG will may/ can/ be.going.to come

- (6a) Tā kĕnéng yĕ {kĕyĭ/ néng/ yào} lai.
 3SG probably also may/ can / be.going.to come
 'She can/may probably also come. / She is probably also going to come.'
- (6b) [TopP Kěnéng [TP tā yě {kěyĭ/ néng/ yào} lai]].

 probably 3SG also may/ can / be.going.to come

 'Probably, she can/may also come. / Probably, she is also going to come.'

Recall that *kěnéng* 'probably' as a sentential adverb can also precede the subject (cf. (6b)); this confirms that (6a) is not a case of auxiliary "stacking".

Furthermore, the adverb *kěnéng* 'probably' precedes the verbal projection, negation included (cf. (8)). Auxiliaries, however, must follow negation:

- (7) Tā bù {kěyĭ/ néng/ yào} (*bù) qù Běijīng. 3SG NEG may/ can / be.going.to NEG go Beijing 'She is not going to/ may not/cannot go to Beijing.'
- (8) Tā kěnéng [bù {kěyǐ/néng/yào} (*bù) qù Běijīng]. 3SG probably NEG may/ can / be.going.to NEG go Beijing 'She is probably not going to/ may not/cannot go to Beijing.'

Note that *bù* in *bùkĕnéng* 'improbably, impossibly' is part of the adverb (cf. Lü et al. 2000: 337), not a syntactic negation to be construed with the following verbal projection, as evidenced by the acceptability of *bùkĕnéng* in the pre-subject position:

(9) Zhè ge jiǎndān de tímù , {bùkěnéng} tā {bùkěnéng} bù zhīdào zěnme zuò this CL easy SUB exercise impossibly SG impossibly NEG know how do 'This simple exercise, he impossibly does not know how to do it.'

Bùkěnéng is thus on a par with the adverbs bùxìng 'unfortunately', bùqiǎo 'regrettably' etc.

Aspect markers are excluded in the complement of modal auxiliaries. The verbal projection preceded and modified by the adverb *kěnéng*, however, can naturally contain aspect markers, such as progressive *zài* and perfective *-le*.

- (10) *Zhāngsān {kĕyĭ/ néng/ huì} zài chī Bĕijīng kǎoyā. Zhangsan may/ can / will PROG eat Peking duck
- (11a) Zhāngsān kěnéng / dàgài / yěxǔ / yídìng zài chī Běijīng kǎoyā. Zhangsan probably/ probably/ maybe/ certainly PROG eat Peking duck 'Zhangsan is probably/probably/perhaps/certainly eating Peking duck.'
- (11b) Zhāngsān kěnéng / dàgài / yěxǔ / yídìng yǐjīng dào -le Běijīng. Zhangsan probably/ probably/ maybe/ certainly already arrive-PERF Beijing 'Zhangsan has probably/probably/perhaps/certainly already arrived at Beijing.'

Kěnéng in (11) clearly behaves on a par with other sentence level adverbs, among them its quasi-synonym dàgài 'probably, approximately'.

To conclude, *kěnéng* 'probably' is not an auxiliary and hence cannot "trigger" optional subject raising, either. Instead, *kěnéng* is a sentential adverb which can either precede or follow the subject. The "pair" it forms with the modal auxiliary *néng* 'can' is reminiscent of similar pairs found in English and French: *may - maybe*, *peut - peut-être*.

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