

論文の英文要旨

論文題目	<i>'-de-liao'</i> and <i>'-bu-liao'</i> in Mandarin Chinese — Potential and Modality —
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This paper discusses *'-de-liao / -bu-liao'* and *'-de / -bu-de'*, which are classified as potential complements in Mandarin Chinese. These potential complements typically express 'I listen to something and I can understand / I listen to something but I cannot understand' as in (1). That is, they express actions with the preceding verb and results with the complement. However, in this thesis, I examine the potential complements which express 'can eat / cannot eat' or 'must not eat' as in (2ab).

(1) 听得/不懂 'listen and can understand / listen and cannot understand'

listen-DE/NEG-understand

(2)a. 吃得/不了 'can eat / cannot eat' / b. 吃不得 'must not eat'

eat-DE/NEG-LIAO_{poten}

eat-NEG-DE_{permi}

Potential complements have a variety of forms, and many predicates are used as complements. The potential complements *'-de-liao / -bu-liao'* and *'-de / -bu-de'* examined in this article are given a special status among previous studies, because both of them are especially concerned with grammaticalization and modality. Accordingly, it seems that *'-de-liao / -bu-liao'* and *'-de / -bu-de'* are linguistically worth being analyzed: *'liao'* and *'de'* are verbs which have the content meanings 'finish' and 'obtain'. However, they only express 'can / cannot' by being used as complements with their meanings bleached. Additionally, their forms are able to express the meanings of deontic modality or epistemic modality.

It can be said that previous research of ‘-de-liao / -bu-liao’ and ‘-de / -bu-de’ have been wide-ranging, and have examined them from various points of view. However, there are overlooked phenomenons and unsolved problems. The main reason for this is fragmentary descriptions and analyses of their forms. Therefore, this research systematically and consecutively describes and analyzes them.

This paper mainly discuss the meanings of ‘-de-liao / -bu-liao’ and ‘-de / -bu-de’. Both forms express some meanings of potential and modality, as below.

Table 1. Meanings of ‘-de-liao / -bu-liao’ and ‘-de / -bu-de’

	‘-de-liao / -bu-liao’	‘-de / -bu-de’
‘potential’	potential with situation	potential with psychology
‘deontic modality’	unnecessary	not permitting
‘epistemic modality’	probability, evidentiality	—

I discuss ‘potential’ in Chapter 2, ‘deontic modality’ in Chapter 3 and ‘epistemic modality’ in Chapter 4. For the main part of the analysis, I reveal meanings by exploring their connections with kinds of preceding predicates, constructional features of sentences and syntactic features. I use the CCL corpus made by the Center for Chinese Linguistics PKU to collect data, and I analyze the meanings by organizing these data by quantity.

Table 2 found below shows grammatical and constructional features of potential meaning, which I discuss in Chapter 2. The most important feature of ‘potential’ is volitionality of preceding verbs. The difference between ‘potential with situation’ and ‘potential with psychology’ is that the former makes mention of agency and the latter makes mention of acceptance / reception. ‘Potential with situation’ means that ‘if an agent tries to do something, a result appears or does not appear due to a temporal condition’. ‘Potential with psychology’ means that ‘an agent has already perceived or supposes to perceive and it is difficult to keep perceiving due to psychological factor’.

Table 2. Grammatical and constructional features of ‘-de-liao / -bu-liao’ and ‘-de / -bu-de’ with potential

		potential	
potential	form	‘-de-liao / -bu-liao’	‘-bu-de’
complement	meaning	‘potential with situation’	‘potential with psychology’
preceding predicate	semantic role	[+ volitional]	[+ volitional]
		agency	acceptance / reception
	kind	action verb	perception verb
construction of sentence	topic-comment	±	—
grammatical feature	element	—	—

‘-de-liao / -bu-liao’ expressing potential with situation has both subject-predicate constructions and topic-comment constructions, while ‘-bu-de’ expressing potential with psychology only has subject-predicate constructions.

Table 3 with grammatical and constructional features of deontic modality is below. This I discuss in Chapter 3. The forms with deontic modality have preceding verbs with volitionality. Deontic modality is different from potential in expressing performatively. The deontic modality ‘necessary’ means that ‘as a feature of the element located in topic position, the event which is expressed by comment is not necessary’ and ‘not permitting’ means that ‘as a feature of the element located in topic position, the event which is expressed by comment is not permitted’.

Table 3. Grammatical and constructional features of ‘-*bu-liao*’ and ‘-*bu-de*’ with deontic modality

		deontic modality	
potential	form	‘- <i>bu-liao</i> ’	‘- <i>bu-de</i> ’
complement	meaning	‘unnecessary’	‘not permitting’
preceding predicate	semantic role	[+volitional]	[+volitional]
	kind	verb which expresses use or consumption	action verb (adjective)
construction of sentence	topic-comment	+	+
grammatical feature	element	quantity expression	—

Both ‘-*bu-liao*’ and ‘-*bu-de*’ expressing deontic modality only have topic-comment constructions. ‘-*bu-liao*’ with ‘unnecessary’ has to be syntactically contained in the object.

Table 4, which displays grammatical and constructional features of epistemic modality, is next and its discussion is in Chapter 4. Epistemic modality can be only expressed by ‘-*bu-liao*’ and requires a verb with non-volitionality. In addition to non-volitionality, ‘-*bu-liao*’ expresses probability combined with non-durative verbs. When combined with durative verbs, ‘-*bu-liao*’ expresses deduction. The epistemic modality ‘probability’ means that ‘through a situation which the speaker is recognizing, the speaker affirmably states the necessity or probability’. Deduction has two subcategories: logical deduction and manner. Logical deduction means that ‘through a situation which the speaker is recognizing, the speaker logically infers the final conclusion’ and manner means that ‘the speaker states the current situation from evidence in front of the speaker’.

Table 4. Grammatical and constructional features of ‘-*bu-liao*’ with epistemic modality

		epistemic modality	
potential complement	form	‘- <i>bu-liao</i> ’	‘- <i>bu-liao</i> ’
	meaning	‘probability’	‘deduction’ (logical deduction, manner)
preceding predicate	semantic role	[-volitional]	[-volitional]
		[-durative]	[+durative]
	kind	non-durative non-volitional verb	static adjective
construction of sentence	topic-comment	±	(+)
grammatical feature	element	—	—

‘-*bu-liao*’ expressing epistemic modality has subject-predicate constructions and topic-comment constructions. For deduction, ‘-*bu-liao*’ communicates manner when quantity expressions are combined, while ‘-*bu-liao*’ relates a logical deduction when separate.

Finally, in Chapter 5 and Chapter 6, I discuss central meanings and meaning shift from potential with situation to modality in ‘-*de-liao* / -*bu-liao*’ and ‘-*de* / -*bu-de*’. It would appear that the central meanings of ‘-*de-liao* / -*bu-liao*’ are potential with situation and epistemic modality, whereas for ‘-*de* / -*bu-de*’ it is deontic modality. In addition, the use of epistemic modality expressed by ‘-*de-liao* / -*bu-liao*’ and the usage of deontic modality expressed by ‘-*de* / -*bu-de*’ are both derived from potential with situation. As a result, I consider potential with situation and modality to be similar as both include the feature of implying situation. I also examine the factors of ‘-*bu-liao*’ expressing epistemic modality and ‘-*bu-de*’ expressing deontic modality in terms of meaning contained in potential complements, semantic roles and historical changes of form.

This paper gives consideration to previous research and aims to build on their analyses in several respects. However, it only summarizes meanings and grammatical or constructional features because of a space constraint.

The ‘*liao*’ and ‘*de*’ of potential complements ‘-*de-liao* / -*bu-liao*’ and ‘-*de* / -*bu-de*’ change

from content words to functional words. In addition, they also have the meaning of modality. Therefore, they are considered to undergo the phenomenon of grammaticalization. However, the function words of Mandarin Chinese are not paradigmatic grammatical forms in a pure sense, and the potential complements that I deal with in this paper have some grammatical and constructional restrictions. In future research, they require contemplation from the perspective of function words and grammaticalization.