

ON THE GRAMMATICAL CATEGORY OF POSTNOMINAL KESHI IN MANDARIN CHINESE*

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ABSTRACT

This paper argues, contrary to Zhang (2006, 2010), that the adversative coordinator *keshi* ‘however’ in Mandarin Chinese is an adverb when it occurs after the subject or topic. It is shown that while Zhang’s arguments against the treatment of *keshi* ‘however’ as an adverb based on co-occurrence patterns raise problems, they do not arise under the non-unified analysis proposed in this study. The proposal is that prenominal *keshi* ‘but’ is a conjunction whereas postnominal *keshi* ‘however’ is an adverb. The adverbial analysis of postnominal *keshi* ‘however’ receives empirical support from the general distribution of Chinese lower adverbs, which are behind the subject or topic.

Keywords: adversative, coordinator, conjunction, adverb, prenominal, postnominal

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1. INTRODUCTION

This paper aims to investigate whether the Chinese adversative coordinator *keshi* ‘but/however’, which is generally taken as a coordinating conjunction, can also be used as an adverb.¹ To find the answer to this question, we first need to look at the distribution of this conjunction and others. Consider the following data in Mandarin Chinese.

- (1) a. Ni xiang qu, **erqie** wo ye xiang qu. (‘and’ > NP)
you want go and I too want go
‘You want to go, and I want to go too.’
b. Wo qu, **huoshi/huozhe** ni lai. (‘or’ > NP)
I go or/or you come
‘I go, or you come’
c. Ni xiang qu, **danshi** wo bu xiang. (‘but’ > NP)
you want go but I not want
‘You want to go, but I do not want to.’
d. Ni xiang qu, **keshi** wo bu xiang. (*keshi* > NP)
you want go but I not want
‘You want to go, but I do not want to.’

As shown above, the canonical position for coordinating conjunctions is prenominal; they appear in front of the subject (or topic) of the second conjunct clause. In fact, certain coordinating conjunctions in Mandarin Chinese are also able to appear in a non-canonical position. For example, *keshi* ‘but/however’ can be postnominal, as illustrated in (2d) and (3b). The latter example is taken from Shi (2005:7).

¹ I use the neutral term *coordinator* in this paper when there is no need, for the time being, to determine whether *keshi* ‘but/however’ is a conjunction or an adverb. However, when I argue that *keshi* is used as a conjunction in a prenominal position, I gloss it as ‘but’, and when I argue that *keshi* is used as an adverb in a postnominal position, I gloss it as ‘however’.

- (2) a. *Ni xiang qu, wo **erqie** ye xiang qu. (*NP > ‘and’)
you want go I and too want go
‘You want to go, and I want to go too.’
b. *Wo qu, ni **huoshi/huozhe** lai. (*NP > ‘or’)
I go you or/or come
‘I go, or you come’
c. *Ni xiang qu, wo **danshi** bu xiang. (*NP > ‘but’)
you want go I but not want
‘You want to go, but I do not want to.’
d. Ni xiang qu, wo **keshi** bu xiang. (NP > *keshi*)
you want go I however not want
‘You want to go, but I do not want to.’
- (3) a. Zui-li bu shuo, **keshi** ta xin-li xiang-zhe ne.
mouth-in not say but s/he mind-in think-Dur² SFP
‘S/he did not say it, but s/he was thinking about it.’
b. Zui-li bu shuo, ta xin-li **keshi** xiang-zhe ne.
mouth-in not say s/he mind-in however think-Dur SFP
‘S/he did not say it; s/he, however, was thinking about it.’

Given that *keshi* ‘but/however’ can appear in a non-canonical, postnominal position, one might be curious about which grammatical category it should be. In this paper, I argue that postnominal *keshi* ‘however’ is an adverb, contra Zhang (2006, 2010).

The two positions of a coordinator like *keshi* ‘but/however’ are found not only in Mandarin Chinese but also in other languages such as Hungarian. Consider the following alternation, taken from Bánréti (1994:357).

² The abbreviations used in this paper are glossed as follows: Acc: accusative marker; BEI: passive marker *bei*; Cl: classifier; DE: prenominal marker *de*; Dur: durative aspect marker *-zhe*; Em: emphatic marker; Perf: perfective aspect marker *-le*; Pl: plural marker; Poss: possessive marker *-de*; SFP: sentence-final particle.

- (4) a. János a "televíziót nézte, **azonban/viszont/**
 John the TV-Acc watched however/on.the.other.hand/
tehát/ezért/ugyanis/ellenben Péter a "rádiót hallgatta.
 hence/therefore/for/contrariwise Peter the radio listened
 ‘John watched television; however/on the other
 hand/hence/therefore/for/contrariwise, Peter listened to the
 radio.’
- b. János a "televíziót nézte, Péter **azonban/viszont/**
 John the TV-ACC watched Peter however/on.the.other.hand
tehát/ezért/ugyanis/ellenben a "rádiót hallgatta.
 hence/therefore/for/contrariwise the radio listened
 ‘John watched television; however/on the other
 hand/hence/therefore/for contrariwise, Peter listened to the
 radio.’

Thus, the phenomenon that certain coordinators may stay in a postnominal position is not specific to Mandarin Chinese.

Given that in this paper I argue for a syntactic differentiation between postnominal *keshi* ‘however’ and prenominal *keshi* ‘but’, one might wonder if a semantic differentiation is possible as well.³ According to the literature available to me, it is indeed true that postnominal *keshi* ‘however’ has its own semantic/pragmatic properties, which are not shared by prenominal *keshi* ‘but’. Yao (2007:48) suggests that the adverb *keshi* ‘however’ represents “a subjective attitude that arises from the speaker’s evaluation” and is used to “enhance the subjective judgment or express emotions”. In addition, it usually has to be pronounced with stress and occurs mostly in spoken discourse. Wang (2010:104) shares the same view, indicating that the adverb *keshi* ‘however’, subjectively speaking, has the function of expressing emotions. This function turns to be prominent “when the speaker intends

³ One of the reviewers suggested to me that prenominal *keshi* ‘but’ and postnominal *keshi* ‘however’ seem to give the sentence different readings. This intuition is shared by some of my informants, who claimed that postnominal *keshi* ‘however’ conveys some degree of counter-expectation. This semantic issue is interesting and worth exploring; however, it is not entirely clear to me at the present stage, and I thus leave it for a future study.

to highlight or emphasize a certain emotion, or to achieve some kind of pragmatic effect”. From this she concludes that the adverb *keshi* ‘however’ has already undergone subjectivization (see also Qi 2006 and Kuo 2011). Alternatively, Liu and Tang (2001) analyze postnominal *ke* ‘however’ as a topical focus sensitive operator.⁴ Sun (2002:109) also suggests that the adverb *ke* ‘however’ serves the focus function. In particular, “speakers from the neighborhood of Beijing favor the use of *ke* to highlight topical focus and catch listeners’ attention”. Although the semantic/pragmatic issue is interesting and worth exploring, it is beyond the scope of the present study and will be put aside. In this paper I focus only on the syntax of *keshi* ‘but/however’.

The remainder of this paper is organized as follows. Section 2 first reviews Zhang’s (2006, 2010) unified analysis of *keshi* ‘but’ as a conjunction, and then lays out her arguments against the possibility of the adverbial analysis of *keshi* ‘however’. Section 3 differentiates coordinating conjunctions from subordinating conjunctions and adverbs. Section 4 criticizes Zhang’s arguments and proposes supporting evidence for the adverbial analysis of postnominal *keshi* ‘however’. Section 5 concludes the paper.

2. ZHANG’S (2006, 2010) UNIFIED ANALYSIS

Zhang (2006, 2010) analyzes prenominal *keshi* ‘but’ and postnominal *keshi* ‘but’ as being the same form. She argues that *keshi* ‘but’ is a conjunction and cannot be an adverb. The details of her analysis are given below.

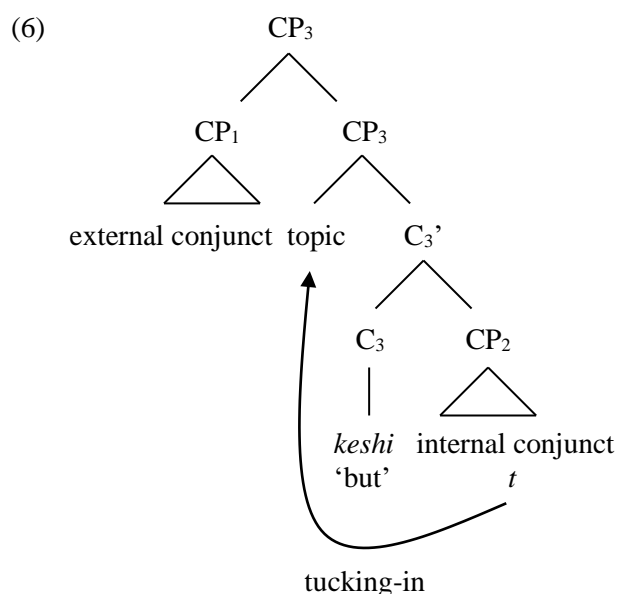
2.1 *Keshi* Exclusively as a Conjunction

Zhang’s analysis is unified in that the coordinator *keshi* ‘but’, regardless of whether it is prenominal or postnominal, is exclusively

⁴ In this study I do not make a distinction between postnominal *keshi* and *ke*. Notice that if we replace postnominal *keshi* with *ke* in (2d) and (3b), we will not see a notable change in meaning. Therefore, for me, the semantic/pragmatic explanation for *ke* as I review here also applies to *keshi* under discussion.

regarded as a conjunction. This unified analysis stems from the process of movement. Consider the following examples (Zhang 2010:14) and schematized structure (Zhang 2010:28).

- (5) a. Baoyu yao tiaowu, **keshi** wo yao hui-jia. (base)
 Baoyu want dance but I want return-home
 ‘Baoyu wants to dance, but I want to go home.’
 b. Baoyu yao tiaowu, wo_i **keshi** t_i yao hui-jia. (surface)
 Baoyu want dance I but want return-home
 ‘Baoyu wants to dance, but I want to go home.’



According to Zhang’s analysis, the alternation between a prenominal case like (5a) and a postnominal case like (5b) results from the raising of the subject (or topic) of the second conjunct clause. She assumes that a coordinator like *keshi* ‘but’ has an unvalued [topic] feature. The valuation of this feature can be achieved either by the Agree relation between the coordinator and the topic of the internal conjunct, as in (5a), or by the movement of the topic to a Spec position, as in (5b). In addition,

the proposed tucking-in structure in (6) involves multiple topics. The first conjunct clause (i.e. external conjunct) occupies the outer Spec and serves as a background topic, while the topic slot for hosting the raised NP occupies the inner Spec and serves as a contrastive topic. Zhang also claims that the proposed tucking-in analysis for constructions with multiple topics based on the Minimal Link and Local Move conditions (Richards 1997; Collins 2002) can be carried over to constructions with multiple fronted *wh*-elements in certain Slavic languages and constructions with serial verbs.

A theoretical consequence arising from the above movement analysis, as Zhang suggests, is that coordinate sentences fall into the complementation structure in (7a) rather than the adjunction structure in (7b). The following two configurations are taken from Munn (1993:13). BP refers to the Boolean Phrase.

- (7) a. [BP XP [B' B YP]] (Spec/Head BP)
b. [XP XP [BP B YP]] (Adjoined BP)

The adjunction structure in (7b) is not possible because the BP is an adjunct and moving an element out of this island as in (5b) should induce an island violation, which is, however, contrary to fact (see also footnote 18). In contrast, moving an element out of B' in (7a) is permitted since an adjunct island is not involved.

Summarizing, in Zhang's analysis, *keshi* 'but' is a conjunction which heads the projection of coordination. It stays in situ without movement. What actually moves is the initial NP of the second conjunct clause. The prenominal-postnominal alternation is caused hereby.

2.2 Arguments against the Adverbial Analysis of *Keshi*

Alternatively, one might ask if postnominal *keshi* 'however' can be analyzed as an adverb, on a par with the postnominal adverb *que* 'however'. This alternative analysis is refuted by Zhang (2006). She presents two arguments against the possibility of the adverbial analysis of *keshi* 'however'.

The first argument is based on Sledd's (1959:203) claim that "coordinators and 'conjunctive adverbs' may occur together". Precisely, Zhang points out that a conjunction and a conjunctive adverb can co-occur in a conjunct while two conjunctions cannot appear simultaneously in a conjunct (henceforth "the co-occurrence restriction"). I present these co-occurrence patterns via the following configurations.

- (8) a. conjunction adverb
b. *conjunction conjunction (co-occurrence restriction)

The relevant examples for (8) are given below (Zhang 2006:183).

- (9) a. Akiu mingtian qu Shanghai, **keshi** Daiyu **que** xia-xingqi
Akiu tomorrow go Shanghai but Daiyu however next-week
cai qu.
only go
'Akiu will go to Shanghai tomorrow, but Daiyu will go there
next week.'
b. *Baoyu yao tiaowu, **danshi** wo **keshi** yao hui-jia.
Baoyu want dance but I but want return-home
'Baoyu wants to dance, but I want to go home.'
c. *Baoyu yao tiaowu, **erqie** wo **keshi** yao hui-jia.
Baoyu want dance and I but want return-home
Intended: 'Baoyu wants to dance, but I want to go home.'

In (9a), *keshi* 'but' co-occurs with *que* 'however' in the second conjunct clause. Since the latter is an adverb, it follows from (8a) that the former is a conjunction. This conclusion is supported by the ungrammaticality of (9b-c), which indicates that *keshi* 'but' is a conjunction because it is not allowed to co-occur with another conjunction such as *danshi* 'but' or *erqie* 'and' in the same conjunct. On the other hand, if *keshi* 'but' in (9b-c) were treated as an adverb, it should be able to co-occur with a conjunction such as *danshi* 'but' or *erqie* 'and' in the same conjunct. However, this is contrary to fact, suggesting that the adverbial analysis of *keshi* 'however' is out of the question.

The term “conjunctive adverb” mentioned above, according to many English dictionaries or grammar books (e.g. Butler et al. 1995:76; Liao 2007:267), refers to an adverb that relates two independent clauses, such as *however*, *therefore*, *in addition*, etc. Consider the following examples.

- (10) a. John likes me; **however**, I don’t like him.
b. John was sick; **therefore**, he didn’t go to school.
c. John broke into my house; **in addition**, he brought a gun.

The above examples show that conjunctive adverbs appear between two independent clauses which are linked by a semicolon. Unlike conjunctions, conjunctive adverbs are unable to connect two independent clauses with a comma in between. This contrast is demonstrated below.

- (11) a. *John like me, **however** I don’t like him.
b. *John was sick, **therefore** he didn’t go to school.
c. *John broke into my house, **in addition** he brought a gun.
- (12) a. John likes me, **but** I don’t like him.
b. John was sick, **so** he didn’t go to school.
c. John broke into my house, **and** he brought a gun.

If we further compare English conjunctive adverbs with the Chinese adverb *que* ‘however’, we may find that they do not behave alike in syntax. For example, as shown in (13), while the English conjunctive adverb *however* can relate two independent clauses with an intermediate semicolon, the Chinese adverb *que* ‘however’ cannot. Moreover, while the Chinese sentence with *que* ‘however’ in (14b) is well-formed, the parallel structure in English is not, as in (14a).

- (13) a. You want to go; **however**, I don’t want to.
b. *Ni xiang qu; **que**, wo bu xiang.
you want go however I not want

- (14) a. *You want to go, I **however** don't want to.
 b. Ni xiang qu, wo **que** bu xiang.
 you want go I however not want

Since the Chinese adverb *que* 'however' is not syntactically akin to the English conjunctive adverb *however*, in this study I do not adopt the term "conjunctive adverb" to refer to a Chinese adverb like *que* 'however'. Rather, I will use the term "relational adverb" (*guanlian fuci* in Chinese; see Xing 2001; Li and Tsao 2009:150-152) when I talk about Chinese adverbs like *que* 'however', *jiu* 'then', *cai* 'only then', etc., as suggested to me by one of the anonymous reviewers. The reviewer pointed out that the additional clause which relational adverbs license is "a restrictive clause that specifies the situation in which the main clause applies". For me, a relational adverb specifies the relation between the clause where the adverb occurs and the other associated clause. For instance, *que* 'however' marks an adversative or contrastive relation while *jiu* 'then' and *cai* 'only then' may signal a conditional relation.

The second argument concerns the fact that the distribution of *keshi* 'but' is different from that of an adverb like *que* 'however', as illustrated below (Zhang 2006:183).

- (15) a. Akiu mingtian qu Shanghai, **keshi** wo xia-xingqi cai qu.
 Akiu tomorrow go Shanghai but I next-week only go
 'Akiu will go to Shanghai tomorrow, but I shall go there next week.'
 b. *Akiu mingtian qu Shanghai, **que** wo xia-xingqi cai qu.
 Akiu tomorrow go Shanghai however I next-week only go
 'Akiu will go to Shanghai tomorrow, but I shall go there next week.'

The above contrast shows that the adverb *que* 'however' cannot appear at the left edge of the second conjunct clause whereas *keshi* 'but' can. This difference thus poses a challenge for those who would like to analyze *keshi* 'but' as an adverb on a par with *que* 'however'.

3. DISTINCTION AMONG COORDINATING CONJUNCTIONS, SUBORDINATING CONJUNCTIONS AND ADVERBS

Before turning to my proposed analysis in section 4, I first try to respond to several fundamental questions raised by one of the reviewers. The questions are as follows. Is conjunction a valid syntactic category in Chinese? What's the evidence? If the answer to the first question is positive, what are the syntactic properties of a conjunction in Chinese? Does a conjunction occur only at the sentence-initial position in Chinese?

3.1 Function and Distribution of Conjunctions

Grammatical function and syntactic distribution are two key properties which can be employed to determine the syntactic category of a lexical item. In terms of the grammatical function, a conjunction is generally taken to be a syntactic category that connects lexical items, phrases or clauses.⁵ As already seen in (1), Chinese lexical items such as *erqie* 'and', *huoshi/huozhe* 'or' and *danshi* 'but' are used to connect two clauses, specifying the logical relation between them. This suggests that Mandarin Chinese does have a group of lexical items that exhibit the connecting function of conjunctions.

When it comes to the distribution, (coordinating) conjunctions are normally in the clause-initial, pre-subject position, but not in the preverbal, post-subject position. The comparison between (12) and (16) illustrates the pattern in English.

- (16) a. *John likes me, I **but** don't like him.
b. *John was sick, he **so** didn't go to school.
c. *John broke into my house, he **and** brought a gun.

⁵ Mandarin Chinese has different conjunctions that connect conjuncts of different syntactic categories. For example, *gen* 'and' can only conjoin noun phrases whereas *danshi* 'but' can only conjoin clauses. What are relevant for the present study are those which connect clauses/sentences.

The same pattern is also found in Mandarin Chinese, as already seen in (1a-c) and (2a-c).⁶ From the above discussion, it is clear that Mandarin Chinese has a group of lexical items that not only exhibit the connecting function of conjunctions but also fall under the distribution of (coordinating) conjunctions. This fact strongly points to the conclusion that Mandarin Chinese has conjunctions. No other categories in Mandarin Chinese are found to have the same function and distribution as conjunctions. Given this, I thus posit in this study that when a lexical item is claimed to be a coordinating conjunction which performs syntactic coordination, it does not only have to specify a logical relation between conjunct clauses. It should also be found to occur exclusively in the clause-initial position. Both conditions should be observed.

⁶ A reviewer gave the following counterexamples and asked why certain conjunctions may occur postnominally, which is contrary to my observation. S/he pointed out that *huozhe* ‘or’ in (i) and *bingqie* ‘and’ in (ii) are conventionally assumed as conjunctions.

(i) Ta **huozhe** bu zhide ta ai, danshi ta que ai ta.
he maybe not worth she love but he however love her
‘He is perhaps not worth her love, but he loves her.’

(ii) Ciwai, ta **bingqie** zhi-chu,
besides s/he additionally point-out
‘Also, s/he further pointed out that’

I argue, however, that the above data are not counterexamples to my analysis. If my understanding is correct, the purported conjunction *huozhe* in (i) does not mean ‘or’ but ‘maybe/perhaps’. In this case, postnominal *huozhe* here is actually an adverb rather than a conjunction. In (ii), postnominal *bingqie* is also better to be treated as an adverb which means ‘additionally/further’, contrary to its more common coordinating usage as in *Tamen changzhe ge bingqie tiaozhe wu* ‘They are singing and dancing’. A piece of evidence in support of the adverbial analysis is given below, which shows that when *bingqie* ‘additionally/further’ is used as a lower adverb, it fails to occur in front of the subject. This is in line with (15b), where the adverb *que* ‘however’ also fails to appear before the subject.

(iii) *Ciwai, **bingqie** ta zhi-chu,
besides additionally s/he point-out
‘Also, s/he further pointed out that’

In English, only one conjunction (and no more) is required to connect two conjunct clauses, as illustrated below.

- (17) a. **Although** s/he got sick, s/he still went to work.
b. S/he got sick, **but** s/he still went to work.
c. ***Although** s/he got sick, **but** s/he still went to work.

However, as pointed out by the same reviewer as mentioned at the beginning of this section, certain Chinese coordinate sentences may involve more than one conjunction to connect two conjunct clauses. An example is given below.

- (18) *Suiran* ta shengbing le, *keshi* ta rengran qu shangban.
although s/he sick Perf but s/he still go work
'Although s/he got sick, s/he still went to work.'

If *suiran* 'although' and *keshi* 'but' are conjunctions, why are they allowed at the same time in a sentence? This is contrary to the generalization made from English that only one conjunction is allowed in a coordinate sentence. For this reason, the reviewer doubted whether Mandarin Chinese has conjunctions. S/he alternatively suggested an adverbial analysis, indicating that "if all that seem like conjunctions in Chinese are adverbs, then we do not worry about why there are two conjunctions in the same sentence".

Although the generalization that only one conjunction is allowed in a coordinate sentence is indeed true for English, it is not necessarily universal as assumed by the reviewer. In fact, there might be variations among natural languages in the world.⁷ I will explore Chinese

⁷ It is common in many languages that certain coordinate structures with two conjuncts are found to have two coordinators, in either the same form or different forms. This is known as "conjunction doubling" (see, e.g. Zhang 2008, among others). That is, each conjunct is taken by one (and only one) coordinator. When two conjuncts are put together, there will be two coordinators, falling into a template like [conj. X conj. Y] or [X conj. Y conj.]. Typical Chinese examples include [*yinwei* X *suoyi* Y] 'because...so...' and [*suiran* X *keshi* Y] 'although...but...'. Although normally the use of one conjunction is enough to connect two conjuncts and we do not need two, it is also possible that in certain cases not only one conjunction but two are used to

conjunctions in more detail in subsection 3.2, and in subsection 3.3 I will argue that the adverbial analysis suggested by the reviewer is not desirable.

3.2 Coordinating Conjunctions vs. Subordinating Conjunctions

We have seen that in certain cases a Chinese coordinate sentence may involve two conjunctions. However, there is a restriction. That is, the two conjunctions in this coordinate sentence must be of different types. In (18), *suiran* ‘although’ is generally regarded as a subordinating conjunction while *keshi* ‘but’ as a coordinating conjunction. They are different types of conjunctions and thus able to co-occur in a sentence. On the other hand, if two conjunctions are of the same type, they are not allowed to co-occur in a sentence, as shown below.

- (19) a. ***Suiran jishi** ta shengbing le, ta rengran qu
 although even.though s/he sick Perf s/he still go
 shangban.
 work
 ‘Although s/he got sick, s/he still went to work.’
 b. *Ta shengbing le, **keshi danshi** ta rengran qu shangban.
 s/he sick Perf but but s/he still go work
 ‘S/he got sick, but s/he still went to work.’

Briefly, in Mandarin Chinese, the co-occurrence of two conjunctions in a coordinate sentence is possible only when they are of different types.

One might wonder how coordinating conjunctions can be differentiated from subordinating conjunctions in Mandarin Chinese. In the following, I provide two syntactic methods for making the differentiation. First, the conjunct clause led by a subordinating conjunction has to precede, but not follow, the conjunct clause led by a coordinating conjunction. This is shown in the following contrasts.

connect two clauses. In these cases, conjunctions occur in pairs. This doubling template is conventionalized, arbitrary and attested in many world languages.

- (20) a. **Suiran** wo hen chou, **danshi** wo hen wenrou.
although I very ugly but I very gentle
'Although I am ugly, I am gentle.'
- b. ***Danshi** wo hen wenrou, **suiran** wo hen chou.
but I very gentle although I very ugly
'I am gentle although I am ugly.'
- (21) a. **Yinwei** ta guo zhong, **suoyi** ta bu yong dang bing.
because he over weight so he not need serve soldier
'Because he is overweight, he need not serve the army.'
- b. ***Suoyi** ta bu yong dang bing, **yinwei** ta guo zhong.
so he not need serve soldier because he over weight
'He need not serve the army because he is overweight.'

Second, the subject NP in the first conjunct clause can be fronted to precede the subordinating conjunction. Compare (20a)/(21a) with (22a-b).

- (22) a. **Wo** suiran hen chou, danshi wo hen wenrou.
I although very ugly but I very gentle
'Although I am ugly, I am gentle.'
- b. **Ta** yinwei guo zhong, suoyi ta bu yong dang bing.
he because over weight so he not need serve soldier
'Because he is overweight, he need not serve the army.'

In contrast, the subject NP in the second conjunct clause cannot be fronted to precede the coordinating conjunction. Compare (20a)/(21a) with (23a-b).

- (23) a. ***Suiran** wo hen chou, **wo** danshi hen wenrou.
although I very ugly I but very gentle
'Although I am ugly, I am gentle.'
- b. ***Yinwei** ta guo zhong, **ta** suoyi bu yong dang bing.
because he over weight he so not need serve soldier
'Because he is overweight, he need not serve the army.'

Following Zhang (2010:29), I assume that the fronting process in subordinate conjunct clauses such as (22a-b) is a topic movement across a C-element (i.e. conjunction). It follows that *suiran* ‘although’ in (22a) and *yinwei* ‘because’ in (22b) are conjunctions in C⁰. They are not adverbs even though they are in the postnominal position.

3.3 Distribution of Chinese Adverbs

Recall that a reviewer asked if all that seem like conjunctions such as *suiran* ‘although’ and prenominal *keshi* ‘but’ in Mandarin Chinese are adverbs. I argue against this adverbial analysis. If we pay attention to the distribution of Chinese adverbs, we will find that there are lower and higher types. The difference roughly corresponds to the distinction between manner/subject-oriented adverbs and speaker-oriented adverbs under Jackendoff’s (1972) framework, the distinction between VP-internal adverbs and VP-external adverbs under McConnell-Ginet’s (1982) framework, or the distinction between event/event-internal adverbs and proposition/speech act adverbs under Ernst’s (2002) framework.

Let’s look at lower adverbs first. Liu et al. (2001) divide Chinese adverbs into seven classes based on their semantics, including time, scope, frequency, degree, mood, affirmation/negation, and condition. They also give a couple of adverbial terms for each class. I randomly select one term from each class and make a sentence for the term, as illustrated below.

- (24) a. Ta **yijing** likai le. (time)
 s/he already leave SFP
 ‘S/he already left.’
 b. Ren-ren **dou** yinggai zunshou jiaotong guize. (scope)
 person-person all should obey traffic rule
 ‘Everyone should obey traffic rules.’
 c. Ta **shichang** qiao ke. (frequency)
 s/he often skip class
 ‘S/he often skips classes.’

- d. Ta **shifen** piaoliang. (degree)
she very beautiful
'She is very beautiful.'
- e. Ta **juran** sha-le ren! (mood)
s/he unbelievably kill-Perf person
'Unbelievably, s/he killed someone!'
- f. Ta **biding** hui lai. (affirmation)
s/he certainly will come
'S/he will come for sure.'
- g. Ta-de bing-qing **zhujian** hao-zhuan. (condition)
s/he-Poss illness-condition gradually good-turn
'S/he is gradually getting well.'

As we clearly see from the above examples, all the adverbs are postnominal, appearing after the initial NP. In their investigation of Chinese adverbs, Li and Thompson (1981:319) also suggest that they "typically occur after the subject or after the topic if there is no subject". They provide the following examples.

- (25) a. Zhangsan **gang** lai.
Zhangsan just come
'Zhangsan has just come.'
- b. Zhangsan **tai** gao.
Zhangsan too tall
'Zhangsan is too tall.'
- c. Zhangsan **zhen** congming.
Zhangsan truly smart
'Zhangsan is really smart.'
- d. Zhangsan **chang(chang)** tiaowu.
Zhangsan frequently dance
'Zhangsan dances frequently.'
- e. Pingguo, Zhangsan **zhi** mai-le yi-ge.
apple Zhangsan only buy-Perf one-Cl
'Regarding apples, Zhangsan bought only one.'

The adverbs in (24) and (25) are lower adverbs. They can only stay in the post-subject position and cannot precede the subject.⁸

As pointed out by one of the reviewers, not all Chinese adverbs are postnominal. Some may appear sentence-initially, as illustrated below.

- (26) a. **Laoshi-shuo**, wo bu tongyi. (speaker-oriented)
honest-say I not agree
‘Honestly speaking, I do not agree.’
b. **Buxingde**, ta mei tongguo kaoshi. (evaluative)
unfortunately s/he not pass exam
‘Unfortunately, s/he did not pass the exam.’
c. **Xianran** ni wanquan bu dong. (evidential)
evidently you complete not understand
‘Evidently, you do not understand at all.’
d. **Zuotian** ta mei lai. (temporal)
yesterday s/he not come
‘Yesterday s/he did not come.’
e. **Yexu** ta hui aishang ni. (epistemic)
perhaps s/he will fall.in.love you
‘Perhaps s/he will fall in love with you.’

These sentence-initial adverbs are higher adverbs. They are restricted to several classes: speaker-oriented, evaluative, evidential, temporal and epistemic. Since initial items like *suiran* ‘although’ and *keshi* ‘but’ do

⁸ One of the reviewers pointed out that in Mandarin Chinese, the preverbal position (i.e. the post-subject position) is not only for adverbs. It can also host a secondary topic. In the following example, the NP *zuoye* ‘homework’ is a secondary topic.

- (i) Wo **zuoye** xie-wan le.
I homework write-finish SFP
‘I have finished writing the homework.’

Although both Chinese secondary topics and adjuncts may appear between the subject and the VP, they can easily be differentiated by cognition or conception. A topic like *zuoye* ‘homework’ is nominal with reference to an entity, while an adjunct like *yijing* ‘already’ is not. Along this line, adverbial *keshi* ‘however’ is hard to be construed as a nominal topic.

not fall into any of these classes, the analysis of *suiran* ‘although’ and *keshi* ‘but’ as being parallel to higher adverbs at the sentential level is far from settled.

All the types of higher adverbs in (26) are at the intra-sentential level. They bear no relation with another sentence. On the other hand, in English, there is another type of higher adverb such as *however*, *nevertheless*, *moreover*, *furthermore*, *in addition*, etc. which are at the inter-sentential level, as pointed out to me by one of the reviewers. Adverbs of this kind are termed as “parenthetical adverbials”, indicating “the relation which holds between the utterance in question and other utterances” (Bartsch 1976:62). For example, *however* in (27a) and (27b) indicates a contrastive relation between two independent sentences and between two independent utterances, respectively.

- (27) a. You like Helen. **However**, I don’t like her.
b. A: I like Helen.
B: **However**, I don’t.

Given that English parenthetical adverbials are in the sentence-initial position, one might wonder if Chinese initial items like *suiran* ‘although’ and *keshi* ‘but’ can be analyzed as parenthetical adverbials. I argue against this possibility, however. In what follows, I show that Chinese initial items like *suiran* ‘although’ and *keshi* ‘but’ do not behave like English parenthetical adverbials on syntactic grounds.

First, as shown in (27a-b), a sentence led by an English parenthetical adverbial such as *however* is independent and able to stand alone. In contrast, a sentence led by a Chinese initial item like *suiran* ‘although’ fails to stand alone, as evidenced below.

- (28) ***Suiran** wo hen kaixin.
although I very happy
‘*Although I am happy.’

Second, an English parenthetical adverbial such as *however* may occur in various non-initial position, as illustrated below.

- (29) a. You believe the story is true. I, **however**, have the opposite view.
 b. You believe the story is true. I argue, **however**, that it is not true.
 c. You believe the story is true. I have the opposite view, **however**.

Nevertheless, Chinese initial items such as *erqie* ‘and’, *huoshi/huozhe* ‘or’ and *danshi* ‘but’ can only occur in the initial position. Regarding this fact, recall the contrast between (1a-c) and (2a-c). Even though *keshi* ‘but/however’ seems to be an exception since it may appear after the subject as shown in (2d) and (3b), I show below that not all cases of *keshi* ‘but/however’ exhibit the prenominal-postnominal alternation. Consider the following contrast.

- (30) a. Zhangsan hen nuli, **keshi** ta shibai le.
 Zhangsan very hardworking but he fail SFP
 ‘Zhangsan worked hard, but he failed.’
 b. *Zhangsan hen nuli, ta **keshi** shibai le.
 Zhangsan very hardworking he however fail SFP
 ‘Zhangsan worked hard, but he failed.’

Since certain cases of *keshi* ‘but/however’ can only occur in the clause-initial position and do not exhibit the relatively free position like the English parenthetical adverbial *however*, I thus do not treat *keshi* ‘but/however’ as a parenthetical adverbial. Note also that the ungrammaticality of (30b) argues against the movement analysis proposed by Zhang (2010) as in (6). The fronting process assumed in (22a-b) cannot be applied here either.

It should be noted that under my analysis, not all those that have the connecting function must be conjunctions. As I have proposed in subsection 3.1, function and distribution are the two properties I adopt in this study to determine whether an item is a conjunction or not in Mandarin Chinese. For me, if a Chinese item is taken to be a conjunction, it should have both the connecting function and the ability to stay in the

initial position of a conjunct clause.⁹ Recall that I mentioned relational adverbs previously. Although they have the connecting function since they serve to specify the logical relation between two clauses, they are not conjunctions because they cannot appear in the initial position, as illustrated below.

- (31) a. Ni xiang qu, wo **que** bu xiang.
you want go I however not want
'You want to go; I, however, do not want to.'
b. *Ni xiang qu, **que** wo bu xiang.
- (32) a. Ni qu, wo **jiu** qu.
you go I then go
'If you go, then I will go.'
b. *Ni qu, **jiu** wo qu.
- (33) a. Ni qu, wo **bian** qu.
you go I then go
'If you go, then I will go.'
b. *Ni qu, **bian** wo qu.
- (34) a. Ni qu, wo **cai** qu.
you go I only.then go
'Only if you go will I go.'
b. *Ni qu, **cai** wo qu.

In a word, despite their connecting function, Chinese relational adverbs cannot be conjunctions because they do not fall under the syntactic distribution of conjunctions.

⁹ Seeming exceptions have to do with sentences like (22a-b), where the subordinating conjunctions *suiran* 'although' and *yinwei* 'because' are not in the initial position. Nevertheless, if the assumed topicalization process (Zhang 2010) as I have discussed in subsection 3.2 were not applied in these sentences, *suiran* 'although' and *yinwei* 'because' would still be able to stay in the initial position, as in (20a) and (21a). Accordingly, these subordinating elements actually have no problem to be conjunctions under my analysis.

3.4 Interim Summary

I am now ready to answer the reviewer's questions addressed at the beginning of this section. What characterizes Chinese conjunctions is that they have both the ability to connect clauses and the ability to stay in the conjunct-initial position. Since other Chinese categories do not share both of these characteristics, the category of conjunction should be an independent one in Mandarin Chinese. In addition, Chinese coordinating conjunctions and subordinating conjunctions do not behave on a par syntactically. Coordinating conjunctions can only appear in the clause-initial position. Subordinating conjunctions, on the other hand, can appear in either initial or non-initial positions. Non-initial subordinating conjunctions are preceded by a topicalized NP. Furthermore, in English, a subordinating conjunction like *although* and a coordinating conjunction like *but* are not allowed to co-occur in a coordinate sentence; however, the co-occurrence is possible in Mandarin Chinese. This suggests that the generalization which holds for English does not necessarily apply to other languages. A cross-linguistic variation is noted here.

It is concluded from the above discussion that there is a clear-cut distinction between Chinese (coordinating) conjunctions and (lower) adverbs in terms of their distribution, as shown below.

- (35) a. [conjunct1 ...], [conjunct2 conjunction NP VP]
 b. [conjunct1 ...], [conjunct2 NP adverb_{lower} VP]

What makes the distribution of *keshi* 'but/however' interesting is that it may appear either prenominally or postnominally. This implies that *keshi* 'but/however' may happen to have both grammatical categories: conjunction and adverb. When *keshi* 'but/however' falls into one of the two categories, it falls under the distribution of that category. I will argue for this line of thinking in the next section.

4. PROPOSAL

In this section, I first point out the problems with Zhang's (2006) two arguments against the adverbial analysis of *keshi* 'however'. I then propose a non-unified analysis of *keshi* 'but/however', under which prenominal *keshi* 'but' is taken as a conjunction while postnominal *keshi* 'however' is argued to be a (lower) adverb.

4.1 Critique on Zhang's (2006) Arguments

Although Zhang (2006) provides two arguments in support of her analysis that *keshi* 'but' cannot be an adverb, the two arguments are not without problems. Her first argument based on the unlikely co-occurrence of two conjunctions in the same conjunct clause encounters a problem which has to do with the following contrast.

- (36) a. *Akiu mingtian qu Shanghai, **er keshi** Daiyu xia-xingqi
Akiu tomorrow go Shanghai but but Daiyu next-week
cai qu.
only go
'Akiu will go to Shanghai tomorrow, but Daiyu will go there
next week.'
- b. Akiu mingtian qu Shanghai, **er** Daiyu **keshi** xia-xingqi cai
Akiu tomorrow go Shanghai but Daiyu but next-week only
qu.
go
'Akiu will go to Shanghai tomorrow, but Daiyu will go there
next week.'

The ungrammaticality of (36a) comes as no surprise. The sentence is ruled out due to the violation of the restriction that two conjunctions cannot co-occur in the same conjunct clause.¹⁰ However, the

¹⁰ The coordinator *er* 'but/and' is a conjunction rather than an adverb. It behaves on a par with other coordinating conjunctions in that it can only be prenominal but cannot be postnominal. This is shown in the following contrast.

grammaticality of (36b) poses a problem for Zhang's analysis since the second conjunct clause involves the co-occurrence of two conjunctions but the sentence turns out to be well-formed.

Furthermore, Zhang's first argument based on the likely co-occurrence of a conjunction and an adverb in the same conjunct clause faces a puzzle regarding the following contrast.

- (37) a. Akiu mingtian qu Shanghai, **keshi** Daiyu **que** xia-xingqi
Akiu tomorrow go Shanghai but Daiyu however next-week
cai qu.
only go
'Akiu will go to Shanghai tomorrow, but Daiyu will go there
next week.'
- b. *Akiu mingtian qu Shanghai, Daiyu **keshi que**
Akiu tomorrow go Shanghai Daiyu but however
xia-xingqi cai qu.
next-week only go
'Akiu will go to Shanghai tomorrow, but Daiyu will go there
next week.'

In Zhang's analysis, *keshi* 'but' is treated as a conjunction and predicted to be able to co-occur with an adverb like *que* 'however'. While this prediction is borne out in (37a), it is not in (37b). This suggests that Zhang's analysis has something to be desired.

Another problem with Zhang's first argument is her explanation for the ungrammaticality of (9b-c). In the case of (9b), reproduced below as (38a), I find that its unacceptability may be due to a phonological factor rather than a syntactic one as claimed by Zhang. Compare the following data.

-
- (i) a. Akiu mingtian qu Shanghai, **er** Daiyu xia-xingqi cai qu.
Akiu tomorrow go Shanghai but Daiyu next-week only go
'Akiu will go to Shanghai tomorrow, but Daiyu will go there next week.'
- b. *Akiu mingtian qu Shanghai, Daiyu **er** xia-xingqi cai qu.

- (38) a. *Baoyu yao tiaowu, **danshi** wo **keshi** yao hui-jia.
 Baoyu want dance but I but want return-home
 ‘Baoyu wants to dance, but I want to go home.’
 b. Baoyu yao tiaowu, **dan** wo **keshi** yao hui-jia.
 c. Baoyu yao tiaowu, **danshi** wo **ke** yao hui-jia.
 d. Baoyu yao tiaowu, **dan** wo **ke** yao hui-jia.

According to the judgment of the majority of my informants and myself, (38a) will sound noticeably better if the syllable *shi* is removed from *danshi* ‘but’ as in (38b), from *keshi* ‘however’ as in (38c), or from both *danshi* ‘but’ and *keshi* ‘however’ as in (38d). The intuition that repetition of the same sound *shi* should best be avoided thus leads to my conjecture that the unacceptability (or marginal acceptability) of (38a) is actually related to phonology instead of syntax. Also, the acceptability of (38b-d) casts doubt upon Zhang’s analysis in the way that all the three sentences involving two conjunctions in the second conjunct clause turn out not to be ruled out by the co-occurrence restriction.¹¹

As a matter of fact, the phonological issue here is associated with acceptability rather than grammaticality. Departing from Zhang, I am of the opinion that (38a) is actually a grammatical sentence even though phonologically it does not sound as good as (38b-d). If we resort to corpora or on-line search engines, we may find authentic data that exhibit the co-occurrence of *danshi* ‘but’ and postnominal *keshi* ‘however’ in the same conjunct clause, as illustrated below.

- (39) a. Zusi-yi-de mingzi-zhong you ge yi zi, **danshi** ta
 webspinner-Poss name-within have Cl ant word but it
 he mayi **keshi** yi-dian guanxi ye mei-you.¹²
 and ant however one-bit relation also not-have
 ‘The Chinese term for webspinners involves the character of “yi”,
 which means ants, but they do not have any relation with ants at all.’

¹¹ In Zhang’s analysis, the syllable *shi* of *keshi* is optional. This means that *keshi* is interchangeable with *ke*. It follows that *ke* in (38c-d) also counts as conjunctions for Zhang.

¹² The example is retrieved from the Academia Sinica Balanced Corpus of Modern Chinese. See <http://app.sinica.edu.tw/kiwi/mkiwi/>.

- b. Zhu-ren bu jieyi, **danshi** wo **keshi** feichang jieyi¹³
 host-person not care but I however very care
 ‘The host does not care, but I care very much about’

The above examples show that *danshi* ‘but’ and postnominal *keshi* ‘however’ are not unlikely to co-occur. But when they co-occur nearby, some native speakers of Mandarin Chinese may find the sentence less acceptable in auditory perception.

When it comes to (9c), reproduced below as (40), I argue that the sentence is actually ruled out for a semantic reason. My argument appeals to the contrast between two conjunctions: *erqie* ‘and’ and *er* ‘and/but’, as shown in (41).¹⁴

- (40) *Baoyu yao tiaowu, **erqie** wo **keshi** yao hui-jia.
 Baoyu want dance and I but want return-home
 Intended: ‘Baoyu wants to dance, but I want to go home.’

- (41) a. *Zhangsan yao qu, **erqie** wo bu qu.
 Zhangsan want go and I not go
 ‘Zhangsan wants to go, and I do not want to go.’
 b. Zhangsan yao qu, **er** wo bu qu.
 Zhangsan want go but I not go
 ‘Zhangsan wants to go, but I do not want to go.’

The above data clearly show that *erqie* ‘and’ is not interchangeable with *er* ‘but/and’. Specifically, while *er* ‘but/and’ can be used to specify an adversative/contrastive relation between the first conjunct clause and the

¹³ The example is retrieved from:
<https://www.ptt.cc/man/marriage/DB7/D61E/D4A4/M.1223960047.A.BB1.html>.

¹⁴ One of the reviewers pointed out that *erqie* ‘and’ is not a plain coordinating conjunction like *and* in English. For him/her, *erqie* ‘and’ has a meaning similar to *in addition* in English. I concur with the reviewer that *erqie* ‘and’ may not be exactly equivalent to English *and* in terms of semantics or discourse function. However, in terms of syntax, *erqie* ‘and’ has no problem to be a coordinating conjunction under my analysis, since it exhibits both properties of Chinese coordinating conjunctions mentioned in section 3: the ability to connect clauses and the ability to stay in the initial position of the second conjunct clause.

second conjunct clause (Liu et al. 2001:327), *erqie* ‘and’ cannot. To find out how *erqie* ‘and’ functions in a coordinate sentence, we may look at the examples below.

- (42) a. Zhangsan yao qu, **erqie** wo ye yao qu.
 Zhangsan want go and I too want go
 ‘Zhangsan wants to go, and I want to go too.’
 b. Zhangsan yao qu, **er** wo ye yao qu.
 Zhangsan want go and I too want go
 ‘Zhangsan wants to go, and I want to go too.’

As seen in (42a), *erqie* ‘and’ is used to mark a juxtaposed, non-adversative relation between the first conjunct clause and the second conjunct clause. And the conjunction *er* ‘and/but’ has this function too, as shown in (42b). I summarize the above discussion as in the following table.

Table (1): Comparison between *erqie* and *er*

	<i>erqie</i>	<i>er</i>
‘and’	√ ¹⁵	√
‘but’		√

Given that *erqie* ‘and’ is not able to designate an adversative/contrastive relation between the two conjunct clauses in a coordinate sentence, we predict that *erqie* ‘and’ cannot co-occur with *keshi* ‘however’ in the same sentence since this will result in semantic incompatibility. This prediction is borne out, as in (9c)/(40).

Another prediction we can make based on the findings in Table (1) is that *er* ‘and/but’ can co-occur with *keshi* ‘however’ since they are semantically compatible in being able to specify an adversative/contrastive relation between the two conjunct clauses in a coordinate sentence. This prediction is met, as evidenced below.

¹⁵ The check mark √ used in the tables of this paper means that a lexical item given in the horizontal top column has the grammatical role or property given in the left vertical column.

- (43) Baoyu yao tiaowu, **er** wo **keshi** yao hui-jia.
 Baoyu want dance but I however want return-home
 ‘Baoyu wants to dance, but I want to go home.’

Nevertheless, the above sentence constitutes a counterexample to Zhang’s analysis because the sentence, which involves two conjunctions in the second conjunct clause and violates the co-occurrence restriction, will be wrongly predicted to be ill-formed under Zhang’s analysis.

Regarding Zhang’s second argument based on the contrast in (15), reproduced below as (44), I notice that what is under comparison is prenominal *keshi* ‘but’, but not postnominal *keshi* ‘however’. In other words, the argument only holds true for prenominal *keshi* ‘but’. While I concur with Zhang’s analysis of prenominal *keshi* ‘but’ as a conjunction, I do not apply this analysis to postnominal *keshi* ‘however’. As illustrated in (45), postnominal *keshi* ‘however’ is not in contrast with the adverb *que* ‘however’. Both of them appear immediately behind the initial NP of the second conjunct clause and serve to mark an adversative/contrastive relation between the two conjunct clauses.

- (44) a. Akiu mingtian qu Shanghai, **keshi** wo xia-xingqi cai qu.
 Akiu tomorrow go Shanghai but I next-week only go
 ‘Akiu will go to Shanghai tomorrow, but I shall go there next week.’
 b. *Akiu mingtian qu Shanghai, **que** wo xia-xingqi cai qu.
 Akiu tomorrow go Shanghai however I next-week only go
 ‘Akiu will go to Shanghai tomorrow, but I shall go there next week.’
- (45) a. Akiu mingtian qu Shanghai, wo **keshi** xia-xingqi cai qu.
 Akiu tomorrow go Shanghai I however next-week only go
 ‘Akiu will go to Shanghai tomorrow, but I shall go there next week.’
 b. Akiu mingtian qu Shanghai, wo **que** xia-xingqi cai qu.
 Akiu tomorrow go Shanghai I however next-week only go
 ‘Akiu will go to Shanghai tomorrow, but I shall go there next week.’

In the present study, I propose to make a distinction between prenominal *keshi* ‘but’ and postnominal *keshi* ‘however’. The distinction lies in their grammatical category. Following the traditional, uncontroversial view, I consider prenominal *keshi* ‘but’ a conjunction. Concerning postnominal *keshi* ‘however’, I argue in the next subsection that the adverbial analysis is more desirable.

4.2 Postnominal *Keshi* as an Adverb

In this subsection, I show that the problems with Zhang’s (2006) arguments against the adverbial analysis of *keshi* ‘however’ do not arise under my adverbial analysis of postnominal *keshi* ‘however’.

First, the following contrast remains puzzling under Zhang’s analysis. If we assume that *er* ‘but/and’ and *keshi* ‘but’ are both conjunctions, we will have no idea why the co-occurrence restriction may only rule out the configuration in (46a), but not the one in (46b).

- (46) a. *[conjunction2 *er* *keshi* NP VP]
 b. [conjunction2 *er* NP *keshi* VP]

Under my proposal, however, the above contrast naturally follows. In (46a), prenominal *keshi* ‘but’ is a conjunction, and it competes with its neighboring conjunction *er* ‘but/and’ for the same syntactic position. This results in a competition effect and makes the sentence ungrammatical. In (46b), postnominal *keshi* ‘however’ is an adverb and has no problem to co-occur with a conjunction like *er* ‘but/and’.

Second, the following contrast is also a puzzle for Zhang. If her analysis is correct that *keshi* ‘but’ is always a conjunction and able to co-occur with an adverb like *que* ‘however’, I wonder why this co-occurrence pattern is only attested in (47a), but not in (47b).

- (47) a. [conjunction2 *keshi* NP *que* VP]
 b. *[conjunction2 NP *keshi* *que* VP]

My proposed non-unified analysis, on the other hand, can deal with the above contrast perfectly. In (47a), prenominal *keshi* ‘but’ is a

conjunction and able to co-occur with an adverb like *que* ‘however’. In (47b), postnominal *keshi* ‘however’ can be taken as a relational adverb, and it competes with its neighboring relational adverb *que* ‘however’ for the same syntactic position. This gives rise to a competition effect and renders the sentence ungrammatical.^{16,17}

Third, even though Zhang’s explanation along the lines of the co-occurrence restriction works for the configuration in (48a), it begs a question why the same explanation does not work for the configurations in (48b-d).

- (48) a. *_[conjunct2] *danshi* NP *keshi* VP
 b. _[conjunct2] *dan* NP *keshi* VP
 c. _[conjunct2] *danshi* NP *ke* VP
 d. _[conjunct2] *dan* NP *ke* VP

In my analysis, (48a) is odd because the co-occurrence of *danshi* ‘but’ and *keshi* ‘however’ sounds repetitive with respect to the syllable *shi*. As long as this phonological problem is gone, *dan(shi)* ‘but’ and postnominal *ke(shi)* ‘however’ have no problem to co-occur because the former is a conjunction whereas the latter is an adverb.

¹⁶ One of the reviewers pointed out that adjunction does not give rise to competition effects as heads do. For me, this will not be a problem if we assume Cinque’s (1999) theory that an adverb heads its own maximal projection AdvP. Being heads, adverbs are thus likely to induce competition effects.

¹⁷ One of the reviewers challenged my competition analysis by pointing out that in the following example which is acceptable to him/her, two synonymous adverbs may co-occur.

- (i) ^{??}Fuqin quan erzi hui-jia, dan **faner** **que** zao erzi nu-ma.
 father urge son return-home but contrarily however meet.with son angry-scold
 ‘The father urged his son to go home but turned out to be scolded by the son.’

However, many of my informants reported to me that the above sentence sounded redundant and awkward with the use of two similar adverbs. For them, the sentence will become remarkably better if one of the two adverbs is removed. Also, in (37b), if the co-occurrence of *keshi que* is replaced with *faner que*, the majority of my informants still find the sentence unnatural. Based on this judgment, I therefore maintain that my competition analysis still holds.

Fourth, Zhang's analysis runs into a problem regarding why the co-occurrence restriction may only rule out the configuration in (49a), but not the one in (49b).

- (49) a. *_[conjunct2] *erqie* NP *keshi* VP
 b. _[conjunct2] *er* NP *keshi* VP

Unlike Zhang, I attribute the ungrammaticality of (49a) to semantic incompatibility between *erqie* 'and' and *keshi* 'however'. That is, the former does not mark a semantic contrast while the latter does. This incompatibility, however, does not occur in (49b) because the conjunction *er* 'but/and' can be indicative of a contrast and thus semantically compatible with *keshi* 'however'. Moreover, (49b) is immune to the co-occurrence restriction since postnominal *keshi* 'however' is an adverb and able to co-occur with a conjunction like *er* 'but/and'.

The literature which clearly points out that postnominal *keshi* 'however' is an adverb is available in Wang (2010:102). She gives the following example.

- (50) Ni you fu, wo **keshi** diao-le shi-jin rou.
 you have luck I however lose-Perf ten-catty meat
 'You have gained weight; I, however, have lost ten catties of weight.'

Wang regards postnominal *keshi* 'however' as an adjunct, modifying its following verb and falling into the grammatical category of adverb. She claims that "adverbs can all serve as adjuncts, and when adverbs serve this function, they are generally placed after the subject" (2010:102). My adverbial analysis of postnominal *keshi* 'however' is in line with this claim.

A piece of evidence in support of my adverbial analysis of postnominal *keshi* 'however' comes from the comparison between postnominal *keshi* 'however' and a relational adverb like *que* 'however'. The comparison shows that they are similar in two ways. First, both of

them serve to specify an adversative/contrastive relation between two clauses. Second, they behave alike syntactically, as demonstrated below.

- (51) a. Zhu-rou wo chi-le, she-rou wo **keshi** mei chi.
 pig-meat I eat-Perf snake-meat I however not eat
 'Regarding the pork, I ate it; regarding the snake, I however, did not eat it.'
- b. ?Zhu-rou wo chi-le, wo she-rou **keshi** mei chi.
 pig-meat I eat-Perf I snake-meat however not eat
- c. *Zhu-rou wo chi-le, wo **keshi** she-rou mei chi.
 pig-meat I eat-Perf I however snake-meat not eat
- d. *Zhu-rou wo chi-le, she-rou **keshi** wo mei chi.
 pig-meat I eat-Perf snake-meat however I not eat
- (52) a. Zhu-rou wo chi-le, she-rou wo **que** mei chi.
 pig-meat I eat-Perf snake-meat I however not eat
 'Regarding the pork, I ate it; regarding the snake, I however, did not eat it.'
- b. ?Zhu-rou wo chi-le, wo she-rou **que** mei chi.
 pig-meat I eat-Perf I snake-meat however not eat
- c. *Zhu-rou wo chi-le, wo **que** she-rou mei chi.
 pig-meat I eat-Perf I however snake-meat not eat
- d. *Zhu-rou wo chi-le, she-rou **que** wo mei chi.
 pig-meat I eat-Perf snake-meat however I not eat

The above parallels form a solid basis for my treatment of postnominal *keshi* 'however' on a par with a relational adverb like *que* 'however', both being (lower) adverbs.

It is finally noted that in the present study I assume Zhang's (2006, 2010) treatment of (postnominal) *keshi* 'however' as a lexical unit, as depicted in (53a). The structure in (53b) is an alternative analysis, under which *ke* 'however' in its own right is a free morpheme and independent of *shi* 'be', which could be a focus marker. A third possibility, as mentioned by Yao (2007), is given in (53c), where the adverb *keshi* 'however' is reduced by omitting the syllable *shi* when it precedes the focus marker *shi* 'be'.

- (53) a. [adv *keshi*]
 b. [adv *ke*] + [_v *shi*]
 c. [adv *ke-Ø*] + [_v *shi*]

Since the exact analysis is still unclear to me at the present stage, I leave it open here, simply noting that in whatever structure spelt out above, postnominal *keshi* or *ke* is taken as an adverb in my analysis, but not a conjunction.

5. CONCLUSION

I end this paper by outlining my proposed non-unified analysis of *keshi* ‘but/however’ as in the following table.

Table (2): A non-unified analysis of *keshi* ‘but/however’

	prenominal <i>keshi</i>	postnominal <i>keshi</i>
conjunction	√	
adverb_{lower}		√

The two categories of *keshi* ‘but/however’ are in complementary distribution. What deserves particular attention is that under my proposal, when *keshi* ‘however’ occurs behind an initial NP, it is an adverb, but not a conjunction.

While Zhang (2006) argues that *keshi* ‘but’ is not an adverb, I have shown in this paper that her arguments based on co-occurrence patterns raise problems, which, however, do not arise under my treatment of postnominal *keshi* ‘however’ as an adverb. To support my adverbial analysis, I have illustrated empirical data that Chinese lower adverbs generally appear after the subject (or topic). Postnominal *keshi* ‘however’ falls under this distribution.

This study makes contribution in the following two ways. Empirically, it is shown that my proposed non-unified analysis accounts for facts better than a unified conjunction analysis. Theoretically, an implication is obtained. If my non-unified analysis of *keshi* ‘but/however’ is on the right track, this implies that the argument based

on topic movement across *keshi* ‘but/however’ as illustrated in (6) is not a valid support for the complementation structure in (7a). On the other hand, if we adopt the adjunction structure in (7b), the ungrammaticality of sentences like (2a-c) will come as no surprise since moving an NP out of the blocking domain [_{BP} B YP] will induce an adjunct island effect.¹⁸ More argumentation is required to determine if the adjunction structure in (7b) is indeed superior to the complementation structure in (7a), and I leave this issue for future research.

¹⁸ One of the reviewers pointed out that the movement is island-internal. The NP moves to the left edge of the BP island, as represented below.

(i) [_{XP} XP [_{BP} NP_i B [_{YP} *t_i*]]]

In the above case, the NP does not move out of the BP island, and an island effect should not be induced. Note, however, that according to Munn’s (1993) proposal as shown in (7b), the BP assumes no Spec position. As a result, the left edge of the BP has no available landing site for the NP. Accordingly, I assume that the NP moves out of the BP island. No matter where the NP lands, the derived structure will be ruled out as a violation of the adjunct island constraint.

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論漢語名詞後「可是」之詞類

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本文論證主語後或主題後的漢語轉折詞「可是」為副詞，而非連詞（張 2006, 2010）。針對副詞分析，張提出了一些論點加以反駁，但我們在本文指出，她的論點是有問題的。本文提議非一致性的做法，即區分名詞前「可是」與名詞後「可是」，前者為連詞，而後者則為副詞。副詞分析可獲得實證支持，因為漢語的低位副詞一般是位於主語或主題後方。

關鍵字：轉折詞、連詞、副詞、名詞前、名詞後