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DOES ARCHAIC CHINESE HAVE A MARKED
SUBJUNCTIVE MOOD: SOME EVIDENCE FROM
MODAL NEGATORS

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ABSTRACT

This paper proposes that the distinction between indicative and subjunctive mood is expressed systematically in Archaic Chinese in negated context based on an analysis of modal negation in matrix and embedded clauses. We address the questions where subjunctive mood is hosted syntactically, and what kind of verbs require subjunctive mood in their complements. We propose that both imperatives and subjunctives are hosted in and licensed by an irrealis ModP within TP, but are interpreted in a higher projection in CP. Additionally, we demonstrate that there is a systematic distinction between indicative and subjunctive mood in the employment of the negative complementizers *fěi* and *wěi*. We also show that both imperatives and subjunctives are only overtly expressed in the negative, imperatives are not marked by sentence-final particles, or by any other syntactic means.

KEYWORDS

Archaic Chinese Modal negation Imperative Subjunctive mood
Syntax

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1. INTRODUCTION

This paper proposes that the distinction between indicative and subjunctive mood is expressed systematically in Archaic Chinese (AC) in negated contexts. The proposal is based on the fact that irrealis mood can be related to the *m*-negators in AC, which are connected to modality, mostly deontic modality, but also to (high) focalization, and other functions, which are hosted in the CP/TP layer. The default deontic reading of a negator is presented in (1).

(1) 王必勿與。 (*Zhanguo ce* 20.10.18, LAC-EMC)

Wáng bì wù yǔ.

king certainly NEG_{deontic} give

‘You certainly should not give [it] away.’

In addition to their function as markers of deontic modality, prohibition, modal negators appear in the complement of a small class of verbs in AC without necessarily expressing deontic meaning in a strict sense. These verbs belong to the class of verbs, which require subjunctive mood in their embedded complements in languages with a morphological indicative-subjunctive distinction. The verbs that most frequently show this constraint are preference predicates, directives, etc. These predicates are standardly analyzed as involving preference based on comparison of alternatives (Portner 2018, 81), which is a definition of subjunctive mood. Verbs belonging to this group in AC are, e.g., the volitional verbs *yù* 欲 and *yuàn* 願. They require a modal negator in their complement as in example (2a); the affirmative counterpart in (2b) remains unmarked. In contrast, in the Romance language Portuguese, subjunctive mood is always required in the complement of the volitional verb *querer* ‘want’ as in (2c).

(2)a. 里克欲納我。 (*Guoyu*, Jin 2)

Lǐ Kè yù nà wǒ.

Li Ke want enter 1SG

‘Li-Ke wants to bring me in.’

b. 襄仲欲勿哭，…… (*Zuozhuan*, Wen 15)

Xiāng Zhòng yù wù kù, ...

Xiang Zhong want NEG_{mod} cry

‘Xiang-Zhong wanted not to cry, ...’

- c. O João quer que ele vá
 The John want.IND.PRES.3SG that he go.SBJV.PRS.3SG
 ao cinema.
 to.the movies
 ‘John wants him to go to the movies.’

(Ambar 2016, 126)

The examples demonstrate that subjunctive mood is expressed systematically in AC (Early Archaic Chinese [EAC], 10th–6th c. BCE, Late Archaic Chinese [LAC] 5th–3rd c. BCE, see Peyraube 1996)¹ in negated contexts. In the ensuing discussion we will particularly address the following questions:

- i) Where is the subjunctive mood hosted syntactically? Is it located in MoodP_{irrealis} within TP as Cinque (2001) proposes, or is it located in CP?
- ii) What is the relation between deontic modality, subjunctive and imperative mood?
- iii) What kind of verbs require subjunctive mood in their complement?
- iv) Are there subjunctive complementizers in non-negated contexts?

Example (2a) has shown that embedded clauses marked for subjunctive in their negated form are usually not marked for mood in the affirmative form. Similarly, negative imperatives are marked by modal negators, while affirmative imperatives generally seem to be unmarked. This will be discussed in section 3.1. One possible reason for the lack of marking of imperatives could be that they might have been marked by affixation in earlier stages of Chinese, similar to the Tibetan verbal system. This is an issue that cannot be answered at the present stage of research.

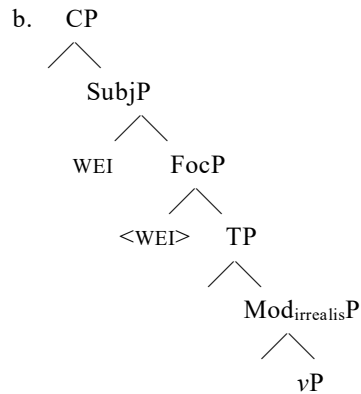
In this brief study we will confine ourselves to the discussion of subjunctive mood in negated contexts in matrix and embedded clauses. Subjunctive mood and imperatives in non-negative contexts will merely be addressed by way of comparison. We will not pursue the question whether subjunctive mood can be marked, e.g., by modal adverbs such as *shùjī* 庶幾 ‘probably, possibly’ or by particular syntactic constructions such as

nominalization. Adverbs such as *shùjī* have been proposed to express irrealis mood (Gu 2019; Unger 2019).

Our proposal for AC is as follows: The deontic modal negators of AC are not imperative operators hosted in ForceP, because negation has narrow scope with respect to force: ForceP > NegP (Han 2001, 290). This accounts for both matrix directive/deontic readings and embedded deontic/irrealis readings, including cases with a clear imperative reading with a second person addressee, and subjunctive readings. In AC, imperative marking is covert; similar to *wh*-words, imperative markers do not move overtly to a position in C in Chinese. The C position can be occupied by overt markers including negators in rhetorical questions and by complementizers, though. An example for an overt complementizer can be seen in (3).

(3)a. 微君言，臣故將謁之。 (*Han Feizi* 36.05)

Wēi jūn yán, chén gù jiāng yè zhī.
If.not ruler speak subject therefore FUT visit OBJ
'If you had not mentioned it, I would have visited you.'



The paper is organized as follows: in section 2, we introduce the category of subjunctive mood; section 3 discusses modal negation and imperatives, modal negation in embedded clauses, and the two complementizers *fēi* 非 and *wēi* 微 as marking indicative and subjunctive mood respectively; section 4 concludes the discussion.

2. SUBJUNCTIVE MOOD

In this section we provide a concise overview of the cross-linguistic literature on subjunctive mood relevant for the syntactic analysis proposed in this discussion. Most of the research conducted on mood is based on Indo-European languages, which partly show a grammaticalized indicative-subjunctive distinction in the verbal morphology. This is not the case in Chinese; nevertheless, the expression of irrealis mood seems to be fully grammaticalized in particular contexts. These contexts frequently correspond to contexts in which subjunctive mood is required in languages with grammaticalized mood distinctions. First, we will introduce some definitions of subjunctive in the, mostly semantic, literature. According to Portner (2018, 70) the contrast between subjunctive and indicative can be defined as contrast between comparison and truth.

Comparison: The subjunctive mood is associated with grammatical contexts which express a comparison between alternatives in which the clause is true and some other relevant alternatives. The comparison-based approach has been connected explicitly to ordering semantics.

Truth: The indicative is associated with contexts which imply that the clause is true throughout some designated set of possible worlds.

(Portner 2018, 70)

The distinction between comparison and truth is illustrated by the examples in (4) from Portner (2018, 75f). In French, the factive verb *savoir* ‘know’ in (4a) is a verb of knowledge and belief, which normally selects indicative mood. It implies that the speaker is committed to the truth of their utterance in all possible worlds. The verb *vouloir* ‘want’ in (4b) is a volitional, i.e., a preference verb, which usually selects subjunctive mood. The speaker wishes that of all possible alternatives the one that Marie is happy is true; i.e., the argument is true only “throughout the best-ranked subset of the worlds compatible with the modal base” (Portner 2018, 70).

(4) a. Pierre sait que Marie est heureuse.

Pierre knows that Marie is.INDIC happy

(Portner 2018, 75, [44a])

b. Pierre veut que Marie soit heureuse.

Pierre wants that Marie is.SUBJ happy

(Portner 2018, 76, [54a])

The following subjunctive governors have been identified cross-linguistically (e.g. Portner 2018, 81): 1) preference predicates, which is born out in LAC; 2) directive predicates, which is partly born out in LAC.

Numerous predicates, such as commissive predicates, negations of indicative selecting predicates, causatives and implicatives, and modal predicates (*idem*) are problematic or ambiguous. Causatives and implicatives typically select subjunctive mood; but this is not the case in Greek. In LAC, causative predicates seem to be non-selective, because both neutral and modal negations alternate. This follows Ambar's (2016, 137) definition of selection, "whenever indicative and subjunctive alternate, selection is not at stake." The examples in (5) demonstrate the non-selectiveness of the causative verb *shǐ* 使 in LAC. *Shǐ* allows alternation between subjunctive mood, which is marked by the modal negator *wù* 勿 in (5a), and indicative mood with the neutral negator *bù* 不 in (5b) (see also section 3.2).

(5)a. 晉侯使卻至勿敢爭。 (*Zuozhuan*, Cheng 11)

Jìn hóu shǐ Xì Zhì wù gǎn zhēng.

Jin lord order Xi Zhi NEG_{mod} dare fight

'The lord of Jin ordered Xi-Zhi not to dare to fight.'

b. 楚王將死矣，使民不安其土，…… (*Zuozhuan*, Zhao 25)

Chǔ wáng jiāng sǐ yǐ, shǐ mǐn bù ān qí tǔ, ...

Chu king FUT dieSFP cause people NEG peace POSS soil

'If the king of Chu will die, this will cause the people not to keep their soil in peace, ...'

The subjunctive is selected cross-linguistically, when the ordering source is non-null, i.e., the context of evaluation is non-realistic following a Kratzer-style modal semantics (Portner 2018, 82, citing Giorgi and Pianesi 1997, 17). Kratzer style semantics assume that modal accessibility relations are "defined from conversational backgrounds which function as modal bases and ordering sources" (Portner 2018, 82). In this context a verb such as 'want' is treated like a strong modal with a doxastic modal

base and a bouletic ordering source. The definition resembles that of deontic modals, which also have a non-realistic conversational background “since normally not all rules in a system of rules are presupposed to be always followed.” (Portner 2018, 83)

According to Villalta (e.g., 2000), subjunctive mood in Spanish requires comparison of contextual alternatives. Since the semantics of verbs such as ‘want’ are based on alternatives, they show focus sensitivity and can be compared to other focus markers such as ‘only’. “Both *want* and *only* make reference to a domain of quantification C of contextually determined alternatives” (Villalta 2000, 253). In example (6) the implied alternatives to ‘Marcela coming to the picnic’ are less favorable for the speaker than her coming to the picnic.

- (6) Victoria quiere que Marcela venga al picnic.
 Victoria wants that Marcela come.SUBJ to.the picnic
 ‘Victoria wants Marcela to come to the picnic.’

(Villalta 2000, 239)

A similar effect can be seen in LAC with preference predicates (sec. 3.2), but also with the two negative complementizers *fěi* and *wěi* (sec. 3.3).

Giannakidou (cf. Portner 2018, 96) proposes an operator that licenses indicative and subjunctive clauses as veridical or non-veridical; the definition of veridicality is in (7). Verbs such as ‘want’ as in example (4) are non-veridical, because wanting *S* does not imply that *S* is true in every possible future world. Portner (idem) formulates Giannakidou’s analysis in the following terms: “a. A subjunctive clause S_{subj} is licensed as the argument of a non-veridical operator. b. An indicative clause S_{indic} is licensed as the argument of a veridical operator.”

(7) Veridicality:

Suppose O is a propositional operator associated with individual model P_θ . Then O is VERIDICAL if, for every argument Φ , $O(\Phi)$ entails that $P_\theta \subseteq [[\Phi]]$ (Portner 2018, 97).

Portner (1997; cf. Portner 2018, 99) proposes that indicative and subjunctive have the function of marking the modal parameters of the

clause. He assigns explicit meanings to complementizers and attitude verbs which shift the modal parameters of a complement clause based on the meaning of the matrix predicate. Portner argues that the parameter constitutes a pair consisting of an accessibility relation and a modal force; “the force parameter F_V ... matches the universal quantification over worlds”. This is realized in the lexical semantics of veridical verbs such as ‘think’ and non-veridical verbs such as ‘want’. Since the lexical semantics of these attitude verbs correspond to universal quantification, they are necessity modals: ‘ \square necessary’. This contrasts with possibility modals, which correspond to existential quantification (Portner 2009, 52). Portner proposes that the quantification over possible worlds is not introduced by the matrix verb, but by the complementizer it selects, which triggers quantification within the modal parameters. The matrix verb sets the contextual parameters, while the complementizer introduces the appropriate modal operator (Portner 2018, 100). However, the selection of mood is mostly attributed to the selecting verb (see e.g., Villalta 2000, 250), and Chinese demonstrates that a complementizer is not necessary to introduce an appropriate modal operator. In LAC and EMC, clauses embedded e.g. by the attitudinal verb *zhī* 知 ‘know’ as in (8) do not show an overt complementizer in contrast to the clauses embedded by *know* in the English translation. Accordingly, the Chinese data supports the hypothesis that the verb itself selects the complementizer and determines sentential mood.

The examples also show that in LAC, the embedded clause was formally nominalized by the genitive marker *zhī*, whereas it is not in the Middle Chinese example. Aldridge (2013) has proposed the loss of morphological case marking starting at the beginning of the EMC period.²

(8) a. 君子是以知平公之失政也。 (*Zuozhuan*, Xiang 26)

Jūnzǐ shìyǐ zhī-Ø Pínggōng
Gentleman therefore know-Ø Pingduke

zhī shī zhèng yě.
GEN lose government SFP

‘Therefore the gentleman knew that Duke Ping had lost the government.’

b. 以是知今佛欲說法華經。 (*Taishō* 9, 262, 5b, EMC, 5th c. CE)

Yǐshì zhī-Ø jīn fó yù shuō fāhuájīng.
 Therefore know-Ø now Buddha wishexplain Lotussutra
 ‘Therefore they knew that the Buddha now wished to explain
 the Lotussutra.’

Subjunctives and imperatives have been related to each other; e.g., Italian subjunctives can express orders, wishes, etc. (Portner 1997, 192f; c.f. Portner 2018, 113) as in the examples below. In both examples the subjunctive is used in place of the imperative form. Portner (*idem*) considers these examples as a subtype of the imperative sentence mood.

- (9) a. Tenga le mani a posto.
 hold.SUBJ.3SG the hand in place
 ‘Keep your hands in place.’
 b. Il Signore ci protegga.
 The Lord us protect.SUBJ.3SG
 ‘May the Lord protect us.’

(Portner 2018, 113)

In Han (2001) the choice of subjunctive in these imperatives is accounted for by an [irrealis] feature contained in a specific subjunctive operator in C^0 which selects a subjunctive complement. Han proposes the analysis in (10b) for the subjunctive operator based on Spanish, Italian, and Greek; (10a) from Spanish shows subjunctive mood following a directive verb.

- (10) a. Ordeno que no me deis el libro.
 Order that NEG me give-2PL.SUBJ thebook.
 ‘I order you not to give me the book.’

(Han 2001, 316 [50])

- b. $[_{CP} [_C \text{Subj-Op}_i] [_{NegP} [_{Neg}] [_{FP} [_F \text{clitic}] [_{IP} [_I V_i] [_{VP} \dots]]]]]]$

(Han 2001, 317 [52])

This operator is different from the imperative operator, for which Han assumes that it is “a place holder at LF for illocutionary force, which gets filled in by pragmatics” (Han 2001, 305).

Different kinds of operators have been proposed in the literature (Portner 2018, 142f), including a force indicating operator, in order to account for subjunctive mood. Following the Split-CP hypothesis (Rizzi 1997) shown in (11), Force is one of the projections in the left periphery of a sentence.

(11) ... Force ... (Topic) ... (Focus) ... Fin IP

Rizzi's Split-CP hypothesis is relevant for the high focus position proposed for LAC below. Mood distinctions, such as indicative, subjunctive, conditional, etc. of the realis/irrealis type are connected to a rudimentary form of tense, i.e., finiteness (Rizzi 1997, 284). Ambar (2016, 151f) on the other hand proposes that the left periphery includes a speech act layer. This layer involves the relation between speaker and hearer and it includes an EvaluativeP and an AssertiveP above TP in the left periphery preceding both the *wh*- and a Focus phrase. She relates subjunctive mood to the EvaluativeP, and AssertiveP to indicative mood, referring to “what the speaker knows” (Ambar 2016, 154), in the following order of functional heads (Ambar 2016, 152):

(12) XP* EvaluativeP AssertiveP XP* WhP FocP XP* TP

Ambar hypothesizes that “Evaluative derives nonveridicality; Assertive derives veridicality” (Ambar 2016, 154). In order to argue for a relation between evaluation and subjunctive, Ambar shows that verbs like *want* accept degree operators which are typical in evaluatives as in example (13) from Spanish, in which the subjunctive clause contains a degree adverb. This illustrates that these verbs have evaluative features which consequently derive subjunctive complements.

(13) Qiero *tanto/muito* que
 want.INS.PRS.1SG so much/very that
 chege a Primavera.
 arrive.SUBJ.PRS.3SG the spring

(Ambar 2016, 153)

AssertiveP encodes speaker knowledge, it is connected to the common ground, relating the speaker's epistemic attitude. Ambar concedes that AssertiveP can play a role in certain subjunctive contexts, e.g., in emotive contexts (Ambar 2016, 155), in which the speaker may choose a less certain attitude towards the utterance. When the speaker chooses indicative mood, they are certain that their assumptions are justified.

Han (2001) in a syntactic approach to imperatives and subjunctives proposes an imperative operator in C^0 , which has to precede negation. She provides ample cross-linguistic evidence demonstrating that the force operator has to have scope over negation and that negation is not allowed to scope over the operator. This is exemplified in (14a) (Han 2001). This syntactic constraint is a strong argument against an analysis of the modal negators in Chinese as markers of the imperative. As (14b) shows, the clause has the same scope relations as Han's English example.

(14) a. Don't call!

≈ I require that you not call.

≠ I do not require that you call.

(Han 2001, 307)

b. 毋壅利…… (Zuozhuan, Xiang 11)

wú yòng lì ...

NEG_{mod} obstruct benefit

'You should not obstruct benefits ...'

≈ I require that you not obstruct benefits.

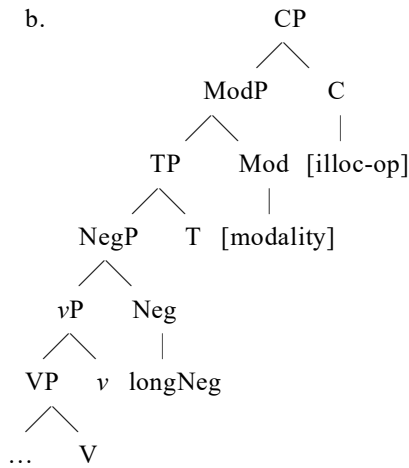
≠ I do not require that you obstruct benefits.

Additionally, negation always operates on the propositional content of a sentence and not on its illocutionary force (Han 2001, 290), an insight already proposed in Frege ([1884] 1960). A similar operator also derives subjunctive readings. Han (2001, 317) claims that the subjunctive operator does not encode illocutionary force, but irrealis mood. The illocutionary force of subjunctives as directives is implied pragmatically. According to this analysis, irrealis mood would be located outside of TP, contrary to Cinque's (2001) cartographic proposal; the relevant projections for the present discussion are in (15). Cinque proposes an evaluative moodP in the CP layer, and irrealis mood in the TP layer as in (15a). Han (2007) proposes

two different projections for deontic negation in Korean, a ModP, accounting for the fact that the negator can express deontic modality, and a CP hosting illocutionary force. This can be seen in (15b).

In the following analysis we borrow the idea of a subjunctive operator in CP above FocP, corresponding to the position of EvaluativeP in Ambar (2016). Our SubjP is similar to Han's (2001) subjunctive phrase which encodes irrealis mood, but differs from Han's (2007) high ModP which has illocutionary force. Since imperatives in AC do not differ from prohibition, we assume, similar to Han (2001), that the imperative and directive readings together with the illocutionary force of the imperative are implied pragmatically in LAC. However, Han's (2007) proposal supports the idea of two different positions for negation, one in the CP and one in the TP layer for Chinese. This is advocated for in the following discussion.

- (15) a. MoodP_{speech act} > MoodP_{evaluative} > ModP_{epistemic} >
 TP_(Past) > TP_(Future) > MoodP_{irrealis} > ModP_{alethic} > ...



3. MODAL NEGATORS IN ARCHAIC CHINESE

In this section, modal negators will be discussed. We focus particularly on the syntax of deontic negators, the relation of deontic modality and imperative readings, and on modal negation in the complement of preference and directive verbs. Additionally, we discuss the

two copulas/focus markers *fēi* and *wēi*. We propose that subjunctive marking requires a ModP within TP, which hosts the modal feature necessary for licensing subjunctive mood. This ModP can be overt or covert: i.e., the ModP is overt in the complement of verbs selecting subjunctive mood, whereas it is covert following a complementizer marked for modality by its initial, i.e., by the negative prefix **m-*.

Table 1 *m/w*-negation markers

Word	Mandarin	Old Chinese	Meaning	Derivation	Proposed function
無	wú	*ma	not have		
無	wú	*mo	don't		
無	wú	*ma	volitional prefix		
无	wú	*ma	not have		
毋	wú	*mo	don't		
勿	wù	*mut	'don't', 'not ... it'	V _{tr} ; (勿 *mut+之 *tə)	modal final
沒	méi/mò	*m ^h ut	dive, drown, die		
靡	mǐ	*m(r)ajʔ	not have		
蔑	miè	*m ^h et	not have (destroy)	possible derivation of <i>mǐ</i> 靡 (Schuessler 2007)	modal final
亡 (罔)	wáng	*maŋ	not have (disappear)		
微	wēi/wéi	*məj	small, it is not	*m+唯/惟 * ^g wij/wi (copula)	
未	wèi	*m(ə)t-s	not yet	*m+既 * ^k [k]ə[t]-s 'complete'	irrealis final
莫	mò	*m ^h ak	there is no X such as X/none, nothing	<m+distributive-k (*wək 或 <γóu *wəʔ 有 +distributive -k)	
Non-modal					
非	fēi	*pəi (*pəʔ) prob.<*pui	is not	不 *p(ə)+唯/惟 *(^g w)ij/wi (copula)	

The table above provides an overview of the negators in Archaic Chinese morphologically belonging to the *m*-group with their respective reconstruction and fusion proposals.³ *m*-negators have been connected to modality in the linguistic literature, whereas *p*-negators express non-modal negation (e.g., Djamouri 1991; Takashima 1996). Most of the complex negators of Archaic Chinese have been reconstructed as fusions of a negative prefix with a verbal head, such as a copula, or a modal auxiliary (Yen 1977; Baxter and Sagart 2014; Jacques 2019; Meisterernst 2020a among others). The non-modal negator *fēi* 非 is added to the discussion in order to show the distinction between modal and modally neutral focus marking and complementation.

In this discussion, we will concentrate on two different groups of negators: 1) the most commonly employed modal negators *wù* (*mut*) 勿, and *wú* (*ma/mo*) 毋/無; 2) the negative copulas/focus markers *fēi* 非 and *wēi* 微; the latter most clearly display a contrast between indicative and subjunctive. The negators *wù* 勿, *wú* 毋/無, and *fēi* are already attested in the Pre-Archaic Inscriptions. Djamouri (1991; 2004) proposes a distinction between transitive (*wù* 勿) and intransitive (*wú* 毋/無) modal negation.⁴ In the LAC both negators predominantly express prohibition; their semantic function is “NECESSARY not $p \square \neg p$ ”. The necessity operator scopes over negation, expressing deontic modality, often identified as negative imperative mood. Imperative mood and deontic modality both belong to irrealis mood. If clauses with modal negation were imperatives, this would imply that they would likely be members of the same clause types as positive imperatives. However, the presence of a particular negator, marking prohibitives, and the absence of a marker of declarative imperatives in Chinese, suggest that clauses with modal negation constitute a special syntactic category, a possibility proposed in Portner (2018, 128). If prohibitives constitute their own category, this would provide a possible explanation for the lack of mandatory marking of non-negated imperatives.

In addition to marking prohibition, and appearing in imperative contexts, we propose that the modal negators *wù* (*mut*) 勿, and *wú* (*ma/mo*) 毋/無 mark subjunctive mood in the complement of a confined group of verbs, mostly preference predicates. Both negators are bi-morphemic synthetic negators, i.e., fusions of a negative prefix and a modal head (Meisterernst 2020a).⁵ In EMC, a replacement of the synthetic negators by

analytic NEG+AUX combinations starts to express deontic modality and possibly also subjunctive mood. On the other hand, a tendency to a fusion of NEG+AUX can be observed throughout the history of Chinese.⁶ This leads to new synthetic forms in Modern Mandarin vernaculars and other Sinitic languages. One example is the negator *bié*, supposedly merged from *bù yào* 不要 ‘don’t’. *Bié* has been proposed to be a marker of subjunctive mood in Modern Mandarin in Yip (2016). Synthetic deontic markers in Southern Min have been proposed to function as markers of the imperative mood (Lien 2015). Example (16) shows the bi-morphemic negator *mai*³ in Southern Min.

(16) 你[勿愛]共我問。 (Lien 2015, 193)

Li² mai³ kah⁷ goa² mng⁷.

2SG don’t with 1SG ask

‘Don’t ask me about it.’

The negative copulas/focus markers *fēi* and *wēi* (see sec. 3.3) have been reconstructed as *p*- and *m*-negations of the copula/focus marker *wéi* 唯 in Archaic Chinese (e.g., Yen 1977). Both markers also function as complementizers, where they particularly exemplify the systematic distinction between indicative and subjunctive in the negators of AC.

3.1 Deontic Markers and Imperatives in Archaic Chinese

In this section we briefly introduce the relation of the deontic negators of AC to imperative sentence mood. The examples in (17) represent the original functions of the modal negators, the examples in (19) the relation between modal negation and imperative mood, and the examples in (20) provide evidence for the syntactic position of the modals in TP and against an overt marking of imperative mood in AC.

The morphological distinction between modal and non-modal negators is typical for the system of negators of pre-Archaic and AC; in EMC it increasingly changes to analytic negation NEG+AUX. Only two deontic negators are still regularly attested in the MC Buddhist literature; the prohibitive negator *wù* 勿 (**mut*), which was already attested in the Shang bone inscriptions, and the new deontic negator *mò* 莫, which grammaticalized into a modal negator at the end of the LAC period. *Wù*

勿 (**mut*) originally had focalizing and predicative functions (Djamouri 2004). As a focalizer, it can appear in a high CP position in AC. This function is obsolete in LAC, but can still be seen in marked contexts, e.g., rhetorical questions, in which both modal negators *wú* 毋 and *wù* 勿 appear in a high position preceding high CP adverbs (Meisterernst 2020a), exemplified in (17). In (17a), Djamouri (2004) analyzes the negator *wù* as marker of predication with focalizing function. The examples (17b-d) demonstrate that the negators *wú* 毋 and *wù* 勿 are still permitted in a high position in LAC, in a functional projection within CP and above TP in combination with high adverbs (in the following, the relevant negators and adverbs appear in bold face for easy identification). Since both modal negators *wù* 勿 and *wú* 毋 appear indiscriminately, no distinction is made in the discussion and they are represented by WU in the tree diagram in (18).

- (17) a. 勿王自望戎。 (*Heji* 7, 218, OBI, from Djamouri 2001, 161)
Wù wáng zì wàng róng.
 NEG king personally inspect fight
 ‘It must not be the king who personally inspects and fights.’
- b. 毋或如東門遂不聽公命，殺適立庶。 (*Zuozhuan* Xiang 23)
Wú huò rú Dōngmén Suì bù tīng
 NEG_{mod} **someone** be.like Dongmen Sui NEG listen
 gōng mìng, shā dí lì shù.
 duke order kill heir enthrone son.of.concubine
 ‘We should not be like Dongmen Sui who did not listen to the duke’s order and killed the righteous heir and enthroned the son of a concubine.’
- c. 今季孫乃始血，其毋乃未可知也。 (*Hanfei zi, shuo lin shang*)
 Jīn Jì sūn nǎi shǐ xuè,
 now Ji sun then start blood
 qí **wú nǎi wèi** kě zhī yě.
 MODNEG_{mod} NAI NEG_{asp} possible known SFP
 ‘Now Ji sun started to bleed, so it shouldn’t be the case that it is not known yet.’
- d. 君祀無乃殄乎？ (*Zuozhuan*, Xi 10)

Jūn sì wú nǎi tiǎn hū?

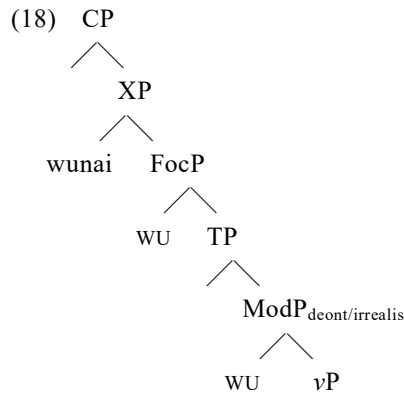
Ruler sacrifice NEG_{mod} NAI interrupt SFP

‘The ruler’s sacrifices, they could hardly be interrupted?!’

e. [CP [PolP WUNAI [Pol’ [ModPepist [TP [Vp]]]]]]

Meisterernst (2020a, 10) proposes that *wù* focalizes the entire CP contrary to Djamouri (2004) ‘It must not be the case that the king personally inspects and fights’. The negator is analyzed as a verbal head which takes a CP/TP complement. Meisterernst (2020a) proposes that the marker of predication *wù* grammaticalizes into a deontic modal negator hosted in ModP in TP in EAC after losing its focalization function. In (17b), the modal negator precedes the existential subject quantifier *huò* 或, which usually follows the subject in a deontic example. In (17c–d) the high CP adverb *nǎi* 乃 ‘thus, thereupon’ follows the negator *wú* 毋/無; the examples have an epistemic interpretation. In (17c) the modal adverb *qí* 其, which can have epistemic meanings, precedes the phrase *wúnǎi*, which is followed by the aspectual negator *wèi* 未. *Qí* can appear very high in the functional structure (Gu 2019), as an epistemic adverb usually following the subject. It can precede the subject, when the subject appears in contrastive focus (Gu 2019, 98); a subject in contrastive focus is in (17d). The position of *wúnǎi* preceding the aspectual negator *wèi* shows that the phrase is located higher than OuterAspP. Meisterernst (2020a) proposes that the negator *wèi* takes OuterAspP as its complement, following Travis’ (2010) distinction of an InnerAspP in the VP layer hosting telicity, and an OuterAspP in the functional domain expressing grammatical aspect. None of the examples has an imperative reading. A simplified analysis of the examples is given in (17e). It follows Meisterernst (2018), who proposes that NEG+ADV appear in a high polarity phrase, which reverses the semantics of a sentence from NEG to POS in rhetorical questions. All instances involve strong speaker attitude and different modal values.

The analysis of the different positions the modal negator can assume is in (18). A deontic negator is hosted in ModP in TP, and a negative focus marker is hosted in FocP. The position in CP remains unspecified, it can be either ForceP, SubjP, or PolP in rhetorical questions (Meisterernst 2018; 2020a). We assume that the combination of WU with a modal particle is also merged directly in this position.



In LAC, the modal negators express prohibition by default. Prohibition can be expressed by imperative mood or by other markers of mood or modality cross-linguistically. Example (19a) shows a sequence of prohibitions, marked by modal negation, and their unmarked affirmative counterparts. Meisterernst (2020a) demonstrates that the semantics and scope factors of modal negators are always NECESSARY > NOT, i.e., the negator has narrow scope with respect to the modal head. Imperative mood in affirmative contexts is not marked overtly in LAC, either by word order, or by specific sentence final particles. This raises an interesting question with respect to clause typing (Cheng 1991) in LAC. Whereas interrogatives and exclamatives are marked by SFPs, similar to Modern Mandarin, this does not seem to be the case for imperatives.⁷ This is different from Korean, where imperatives are marked as a particular clause type by a SFP, similar to declaratives and interrogatives.⁸ As the examples in (19b–d) demonstrate, imperatives can be marked by different SFPs in LAC. These are *yě* 也 in (19b), typical for nominalization and non-dynamic predication, and *yǐ* 矣 in (19c), expressing the perfective, or change of state, and the SFP *zāi* 哉, typical for exclamations (Unger 2019), which can appear alone or in combination with *yě*, always in the order *yě zāi* as in (19d) (Unger 2019, 1177). The reverse order does not seem to be attested. This argues for a higher position of *zāi* than of *yě*. The SFP *yǐ* is mostly connected with perfect/perfective change of state readings (e.g., Pulleyblank 1995 and others), or with finiteness, i.e., with projections lower than those for

exclamatives, questions, and imperatives. The different positions within a split CP can be seen in (11).⁹

- (19) a. 載書曰：“凡我同盟，毋蘊年，毋壅利，
救災患，恤禍亂……” (*Zuozhuan*, Xiang 11)
Zài shū yuē: “fán wǒ tóng méng,
record book say altogether 1SG together covenant
wú yùn nián, wú yòng lì,
NEG_{mod} accumulate harvest NEG_{mod} obstruct benefit
jiù zāi huàn, xù huò luàn ...”
rescue disaster worry care misfortune chaos
‘The record said: “Together we make a covenant not
to store up the harvest, not to obstruct benefits...; but
rescue from disaster and worry, care for misfortune
and chaos ...”’
- b. 三軍之士皆聽瞻也。 (*Lüshi chungiu* 19,3) (cf. Unger 2019, 1141)
Sān jūn zhī shì jiē tīng Chān yě.
three army GEN office all listen Chan SFP
‘Officers of the three armies, listen to me!’
- c. 子往矣，无乏吾事。 (*Zhuangzi* 3,12) (cf. Unger 2019, 1141)
Zǐ wǎng yǐ, wú fá wú shì.
You walk SFP NEG_{Mod} lack 1SG affair
‘Walk on, don’t hinder me in my work!’
- d. 正女身也哉！ (*Zhuangzi* 10,4) (cf. Unger 2019, 1177)
Zhèng rǔ shēn yě zāi!
correct 2SG body SFP SFP
‘Hold yourself upright!’

According to these data, we conclude that SFPs do not seem to be indicative of imperative mood and that imperative mood is not marked overtly in the syntax of LAC. This is different from questions, which can be marked by SFPs as overt head of the ForceP (Rizzi 1997). However, the syntactic constraints of clause typing in LAC are still subject to numerous questions and require further research.

The examples in (20) illustrate the default position of deontic/irrealis *wù* 勿 in TP. *Wù* as a rule follows the epistemic adverbs

bì 必 ‘certainly’ in (20a), and *yì* 亦 in (20b); these adverbs regularly precede temporal and aspectual adverbs such as the future marker *jiāng* 將 (Meisterernst 2015a). (20c) shows replacement of a synthetic modal negator by NEG+AUX (Meisterernst 2020a and references therein). The examples demonstrate that neither the negator nor the verb move up to a position in C^0 in overt syntax, in contrast to many languages which require overt movement to a C head in imperatives. This provides direct evidence for the lack of overt movement to a C^0 position in LAC.

- (20) a. 王必勿與。 (*Zhanguo ce* 20.10.18)
 Wáng **bì** wù yǔ.
 king **certainly** NEG_{deontic} give
 ‘You certainly should not give it away.’
- b. 亦勿輕罵學佛道者，求其長短。 (*Taishō* 9, 262, p. 38b, EMC, 5th c. CE)
 Yì wù qīng mà xué fó
also NEG_{mod} light abuse learn Buddha
 dào zhě, qiú qí chángduǎn.
 way REL search POSS long.short
 ‘...and he also must not take lightly and abuse those
 who study the Buddha way and search for their shortcomings.’
- c. 公不得已彊行！ (*Shiji*: 96, 2678)
 Gōng **bù dé** yǐ qiǎng xíng!
 prince NEG DE finish force go
 ‘You cannot/may not stop to force yourself to go!’

3.2 Modal Markers in Embedded Clauses

In this section, we will discuss a number of verbs which require or allow the presence of modal negators in their embedded complements. We propose that these modal negators mark subjunctive mood. We also demonstrate that verbs can be distinguished into those selecting subjunctive mood according to Ambar’s (2016) definition, and those, which merely allow subjunctive mood. Verbs which allow both modal and modally neutral markers in their complements show a distinction between irrealis and realis mood of the complement clause depending on the negator chosen. Lü (1982) already stated that a limited number of ‘non-indicative’ verbs required modal negators in embedded negated clauses in AC. Van

Auken (2004, 193f) labels these verbs Indirect Prohibitives in her discussion of the negative marker *wú* 毋/無/无. Meisterernst (2015b) proposed that the complements of these verbs are in subjunctive mood, but did not provide any arguments for it.¹⁰ In this discussion, we will provide syntactic arguments for the subjunctive hypothesis and for the grammaticalized expression of subjunctive mood not on the verb, but by modal negators. Cross-linguistically, preference predicates and directives are verbs which regularly select subjunctive complements. These are usually not confined to negated complements though. Preference predicates in LAC are the desiderative verbs *yù* 欲 ‘wish’ and *yuàn* 願 ‘wish’, but also the verb of recommendation *bùrú* 不如 ‘not like’ > ‘would rather’. Directives are verbs of warning such as *shèn* 慎 ‘careful’ (Meisterernst 2015b). Other verbs which require subjunctive mood are directives such as *qǐng* 請 ‘beg’, *jiào* 教 ‘teach’ (Yue-Hashimoto 1999; Yip 2016). Causative verbs, which also often require subjunctive mood cross-linguistically, are attested with both modal and non-modal negators in AC (Yue-Hashimoto 1999; Meisterernst 2006; Aldridge 2016a). The same accounts for the verb of warning *jìn* 禁 ‘prohibit, detain’. But negative markers in the complement of these verbs are altogether rare (Peyraube 2001, 181). Similar to the imperative, subjunctive mood is by default not marked in affirmative embedded clauses. Yue-Hashimoto (1999) proposed an imperative reading of embedded clauses with modal negation with a covert second person pronoun. This has been convincingly argued against in Aldridge (2016a) and Yip (2016). Deontic reading is possible because the subject of the embedded clause, the causee, is the non-volitional agent or experiencer of the modal situation (Meisterernst 2015b). Both volitional verbs *yù*, and the younger *yuàn* can appear in a control and a causative construction. Since we argued above that modal negation is hosted in a ModP within TP, the mandatory presence of the modal negator in the complement of *yù* shows that the embedded clause must at least be a TP. This contrasts with possibility modal verbs, which in LAC by default select a *v*P complement. In their default construction, they do not allow more than *v*P internal material in their complement, i.e., the internal argument, possible light verbs, etc. (e.g., Meisterernst 2020b). In example (21a), the common LAC volitional verb *yù* 欲 appears in the control structure, the subjects of *yù* 欲 and of the complement verb are identical.

No external source is present to issue the prohibition for a subject different from the subject of the volitional verb. Most examples with the verb *yù* 欲 display this structure (Van Auken 2004, 194), but it is not mandatory. (21b-c) show a different non-overt subject in the complement clause (also Aldridge 2016a); in (21c) *yù* embeds a (nominalized) TP. Aldridge (2016b) proposes that nominalized embedded clauses may be non-assertive, which suggests that subjunctive mood may have been marked in embedded clauses in AC also in the affirmative, but this question is beyond the scope of the present discussion.

- (21) a. 我欲無貳，而能謂人已乎？ (*Zuozhuan*, Xi 9)
 Wǒ yù wú èr, ér néng wèi rén yǐ hū?
 1SG wish NEG_{mod} disloyal CON able talk people SFP Q
 ‘I wish not to be disloyal, but can I talk to others then?’
- b. ……欲隱勿見。 (*Shiji*: 61, 2162, EMC)
 … yù yǐn wù xiàn.
 … wish hide NEG_{mod} cause.to.appear
 ‘…and he wanted him to hide and not to appear.’
- c. 欲人之愛己也，必先愛人。 (*Guoyu*, Jin 4)
 Yù rén zhī ài jǐ yě, bì xiān ài rén.
 wish man GEN love self SFP necessary first love man
 ‘If one wishes that people love one, then one must love people first.’

The younger volitional verb *yuàn* 願¹¹ in example (22) appears in the typical causative construction, which selects a TP with their own subject (Aldridge 2016a). The causee is not identical with the subject of *yuàn*, the causer of the prohibition. In example (22a) the subject is in genitive case, the selected complement clause is nominalized (Ambar 2016, 156 discusses similar structures in subjunctive embedded clauses in Portuguese). The negator is followed by the focus sensitive adverb *dú* 獨 ‘only’, providing additional evidence for the comparison of contextual alternatives (Villalta 2000) typical for subjunctive mood. In (22b) from EMC, the subject is not in genitive case; the loss of genitive case is one of the morphological changes which start at and characterize the beginning of the EMC period according to Aldridge (2013).¹² The causative structure

seems to be the predominant structure with a modal negator in the complement of *yuàn* 願 in EMC.¹³ The example in (22c) demonstrates that subjunctive mood is not marked in the non-negated complement of *yuàn*. In all examples, the speaker wishes the addressee to select one possible world, the world, where the causee considers the issue, from alternative worlds where they don't. In all examples, irrealis mood scopes over negation 'MOOD>NEG' NECESSARY/SHOULD/WOULD NOT in the embedded clause, identical to the examples of deontic modality in matrix clauses.

- (22) a. 臣願王之毋獨攻其地，而攻其人也。 (*Zhanguo ce* 5.12.3)
 Chén yuàn wáng zhī wú dú gōng
 1SG wish king GEN NEG_{mod} alone attack
 qí dì, ér gōng qí rén yě.
 POSS territory CON attack POSS people SFP
 'I wish that you will not only attack its land but also its people.'
- b. 曰：“魏聽臣矣，然願王勿伐。” (*Shiji* 71, 2311, EMC)
 Yuē: “Wèi tīng chén yǐ, rán yuàn wáng wù fá.”
 say Wei listen.to.subject SFP but wish king NEG_{mod} attack
 '...say, "Wei has already listened to me, but I wish that your majesty will not attack."'
- c. 願大王圖之。 (*Zhanguo ce*, Dong Zhou)
 Yuàn dà wáng tú zhī.
 wish great king consider 3OBJ
 'I wish that your majesty would consider it.'

A subjunctive complement is also by default selected by the verb *shèn* 慎 'be careful to' as in (23). In all examples, the subjects of the matrix verb and the complement clause are identical. Nevertheless, the mandatory presence of a modal negator requires at least a TP complement.¹⁴ In the Buddhist literature, most of the complements of *shèn* are negated, overtly marked for subjunctive mood. In (23b), *shèn* and its complement clause are embedded by the desiderative verb *yuàn*; (23c) demonstrates again that subjunctive mood is unmarked in a non-negated complement clause. The semantics of the complement of *shèn* is similar to the semantics of the complement of the desiderative verbs discussed in (21)

and (22): within a comparison of alternatives, the best possible alternative is suggested; irrealis mood has scope over negation.

- (23) a. 不可，子慎勿復言。 (*Zhanguo ce* 18.2.15, LAC-EMC)
 Bù kě, zǐ shèn wù fù yán.
 NEG can you careful NEG_{deontic} again speak
 ‘It is not possible, be careful not to mention it again.’
- b. 願君慎勿出於口。 (*Shiji*: 69, 2245, EMC)
 Yuàn jūn shèn wù chū yú kǒu.
 wish prince careful NEG_{mod} let.out PREP mouth
 ‘I wished you were careful not to let it slip from your mouth.’
- c. 疆場之事，慎守其一，…… (*Zuozhuan*, Huan 17)
 Jiāngchǎng zhī shì, shèn shǒu qí yī, ...
 Border.defense GEN affair careful defend POSS one ...
 ‘In border defence affairs, one should be careful to keep unity...’

Subjunctive mood, i.e., modal negation, is also selected by the negation of the verb *rú* 如 ‘be like’: *bù rú* 不如 ‘not like’ > ‘would rather’, explicitly expressing a comparison: ‘A is not like/does not compare to B’ > ‘B is better than A’, comparison of alternative possible worlds being a defining feature of subjunctive mood. In contrast to *shèn*, which still shows predominantly modal negation in its complement in MC, this is not the case with *bù rú*. Although the expression is still regularly attested in the Buddhist literature, examples with a negated complement as in (24a) are extremely infrequent, (218 examples of *bù rú bù* and none of *bù rú wù*). (24b) is one of the infrequent instances of non-modal negation in the complement of *bù rú*, only attested from EMC on. (24c) again demonstrates that the non-negated complement is not marked overtly for the subjunctive, although the semantics of comparison and choice with respect to alternative possible worlds are the same as in the negated version.

- (24) a. 無損於怨，而厚於寇，不如勿與。 (*Zuozhuan*, Xi 14)
 Wú sǔn yú yuàn, ér hòu yú kòu,
 NEG_{mod} decrease PREP anger CON generous PREP robber
 bùrú wù yǔ.

not.like NEG_{mod} give

‘It would not diminish the anger, but be generous towards robbers, one should rather not give it to them.’

- b. 不如不戰而屈人之兵。 (*Hou Hanshu*: 71, 2305, EMC)

Bùrú bù zhàn ér qū rén zhī bīng.

not.like NEG fight CON exhaust people GEN soldier

‘One should rather not fight and exhaust one’s soldiers.’

- c. 不如戰也，…… (*Zuozhuan*, Xi 28)

Bùrú zhàn yě,

not.like fight SFP

‘One should better fight, ...’

In the following, we discuss a few verbs which do not select subjunctive mood according to Ambar’s (2016) definition, i.e., they allow, but do not require modal negation. Accordingly, they alternate between subjunctive and indicative complements depending on whether they are marked by modal or by modally neutral negators. The first one is the verb of control and prohibition *jìn* 禁 ‘prohibit’ / *jīn* ‘control, restrain’ (Pulleyblank 1991). The second verb is the causative verb *shǐ* 使 ‘send, cause, make to’.¹⁵ (25a) shows a modal negator, the complement clause of *jìn* appears in subjunctive mood. The negator *bù* in (25b) is modally neutral, and the complement clause of *jìn* is not marked for subjunctive mood. The semantic differences between the two examples are: the complement clause of *jìn* in (25a) is clearly deontic, issuing a prohibition; the complement clause of *jìn* in (25b) refers to a factual occurrence happening under particular conditions. In this example, no evidence for a TP layer is present, because *bù* can attach directly to vP (Meisterernst 2020a).

- (25) a. 禁舊客勿出於宮。 (*Zuozhuan* Zhao 18)

Jìn jiù kè wù chū yú gōng.

Prohibit old guest NEG_{mod} leave PREP palace

‘He forbade older visitors (not) to leave the palace / he announced the prohibition “older visitors were not allowed to leave the palace”.’

- b. 使襄子於晉陽也，令不行，禁不止，…… (*Han Feizi*, Nan 1)

Shǐ Xiāngzǐ yú Jìn Yáng yě,

Suppose Xiangzi PREP Jin Yang SFP
 líng bù xíng, jìn **bù** zhǐ.
 order NEG march warn NEG stop
 ‘Suppose that Xiangzi, when it comes to Jin Yang,
 orders not to march, warns not to stop, ...’

The mood ambiguity of the complements of some verbs, which was briefly mentioned in section 2 and exemplified in (5), is clearer with causative verbs than with the directive *jìn*. Causative verbs display an evident difference between embedded clauses with a modal negator and those with the modally neutral *bù*. The two kinds of complement clauses do not differ in overt syntax. In the two examples (26a, b), the addressee is prohibited to perform the event expressed by the embedded predicate, and the complement clauses have irrealis mood expressing deontic modality. The matrix verb rather has the semantics of ‘order, command’ than merely expressing causativity: ‘to convey the NECESSITY NOT to by order’. Irrealis mood scopes over negation again. The semantics of *shǐ* and its complement in (26c, d) are different. The verb is causative and the complement expresses a factual situation induced by the causer, which is expressed in indicative mood. In (26c), the negator precedes the possibility modal verb *huò* ‘gain, can’; this is the regular scope relation with respect to dynamic modals in contrast to necessity modals.

- (26) a. 晉侯使卻至勿敢爭。 (*Zuozhuan*, Cheng 11)
 Jìn hóu shǐ Xì Zhì **wù** gǎn zhēng.
 Jin lord order Xi Zhi NEG_{mod} dare fight
 ‘The lord of Jin ordered Xi Zhi not to dare to fight.’
- b. ……而長者使余勿言。 (*Zuozhuan*, Ai 16)
 … ér zhǎng zhě shǐ yú **wù** yán.
 …CON elder NOM order 1SG NEG_{mod} speak
 ‘... but the chief told me not to talk about it.’
- c. 使其鬼神不獲歆其禋祀。 (*Zuozhuan*, Xiang 9)
 Shǐ qí guǐ shén **bù** huò xīn qí yīn sì,
 cause POSS ghost god NEG gain smell POSS sacrifice sacrifice
 ‘and caused the gods not to be able to receive and enjoy the sacrifices.’

d. 使民不安其土。 (*Zuozhuan*, Zhao 25)

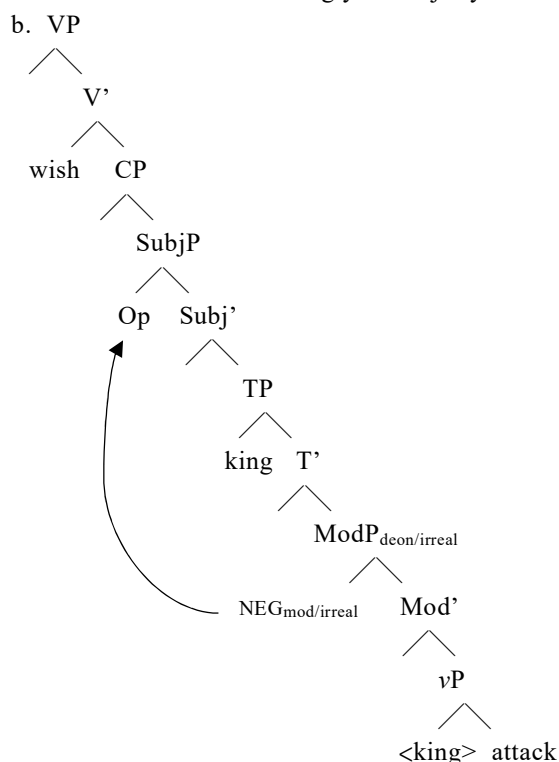
shǐ mǐn bù ān qí tǔ.

cause people NEG peace POSS soil

‘... this will cause the people not to keep their soil in peace.’

The examples demonstrate that numerous verbs in LAC select irrealis complement clauses. These verbs belong to the same category as the verbs which select grammatically marked subjunctive mood in some Indo-European languages. Accordingly, we propose that LAC has a closed class of verbs which select subjunctive mood. Different from the Indo-European languages, mood and modal differences are not marked in verbal morphology, but by the choice of negator in AC. No overt complementizers are involved in the derivation of subjunctive mood. The LAC data provides direct evidence for the proposal that it is the verb which selects the mood of its complement. Subjunctive mood is overtly marked in a negated complement. At the present state of research, we assume that subjunctive mood in non-negated contexts is expressed by an evaluative operator in the CP layer as proposed in Ambar (2016), licensed by a covert $\text{Mod}_{\text{irrealisP}}$. Negation is always within the scope of the subjunctive or irrealis operator (see also Han 2001). The examples discussed have a null subjunctive operator, whether the complement is negated or not. We propose that in the examples discussed in this section, the modal negator appears overtly, i.e., irrealis mood is spelled out by an interpretable modal feature on $\text{Mod}_{\text{deont/irrealis}}$ within the TP, based on work by Meisterernst (2020a, b). Mod also selects a null operator which subsequently moves to [Spec, SubjP] in order to check the subjunctive feature. If the $\text{Mod}_{\text{irrealis}}$ feature is not available in TP, the complement clause is in indicative mood. Those verbs that do not select subjunctive mood only have subjunctive complements in irrealis contexts, involving a deontic ModP, otherwise, they have indicative complements referring to the factual world. The syntactic analysis of subjunctive mood in embedded clauses is in (27b). In contrast to the analysis in (18), in (27b) the negator (negator+modal particle in (18)) is not base-generated in CP in an XP which can have different functions. In (27b), XP is defined as SubjP which hosts an evaluative operator to which the modal operator in $\text{Mod}_{\text{deont/irreal}}$ moves in order to check the subjunctive feature.

- (27) a. 然願王勿伐。 (*Shiji*: 71, 2311, EMC)
 Rán yuàn wáng wù fá.
 but wish king NEG_{mod} attack
 ‘...but I wish that the king/your majesty will not attack.’



3.3 Copulas, Focalization and Subjunctive Mood

This section is devoted to the negative copulas/focus markers and conditional complementizers *fēi* 非 and *wēi* 微. They are negative derivations of the copula *wéi* 維/唯/惟 of Pre- and EAC; their respective initials **p-* and **m-* mark mood distinctions (e.g., Yen 1977). In order to demonstrate the syntactic similarities between the copula *wéi* and its negative counterparts, first *wéi* will be introduced. Djamouri (2004) claims that the copula *wéi* can focalize the subject, object, recipient and locative (Djamouri 2004, 149) in Pre- and EAC (Inscriptions). In LAC, the copula function of *wéi* is obsolete and it mostly occurs as a focalizer. Moving to

the left periphery and functioning as a cleft or topic marker is a natural extension of a copula (Van Gelderen 2013, 243), and this obviously also happened to LAC *wéi*. The negative copula *fēi* 非 prevailed as a copula in LAC though. Syntactically *fēi* is similar to *wéi*, and it appears in complimentary distribution with NEG+*wéi* (Djamouri 1987, 256) already in the Oracle Bone Inscriptions. In LAC, *fēi* additionally functions as a focus marker and a conditional complementizer in realis contexts; its modal variant *wēi* 微 appears in irrealis contexts. We propose that *fēi* functions as an indicative and *wēi* as a subjunctive complementizer.

Two different syntactic positions are available for focus markers in LAC, one in CP (Meisterernst 2018; Aldridge 2019), one at the edge of vP (Aldridge 2010). A vP-internal focus position can be argued for by the position of the focalized element below temporal adverbs such as *jiāng* 將 in (28b), which shows an object focus construction, i.e., a copula (cleft) construction (Meisterernst 2010). In (28a), the subject is focalized in a rhetorical question. It immediately follows the modal particle *qǐ* 豈, a CP particle (Force or PolP), similar to *wúnǎi* in (18), and the focus marker *wéi*, which is a C head. The subject is in Spec, TP. Only the high focalization structure is relevant in the present context. The analysis of (28a) is in (28c); we assume that *wéi* in C has focus functions and that it takes a CP/TP as its complement, with the subject moving to the Spec of CP/TP. This analysis deviates to a certain extent from Aldridge (2019, 21).¹⁶

- (28) a. 豈唯寡君賴之。 (Zuozhuan, Xiang 2)
 Qǐ wéi guǎ jūn lài zhī.
 MOD/Q FOC lonely ruler profit OBJ
 ‘... will only the lonely ruler profit from it?’
- b. 將唯命是從，…… (Zuozhuan, Zhao 12)
 Jiāng wéi mìng shì cóng,
 FUT FOC/COP order SHI follow
 ‘They will only listen to your order ...;’
- c. [CP 豈 [CP(FOC)唯[CP/TP 寡君 [vP <寡君> [vP 賴之]]]]]
 [CP MOD/Q [CP(FOC) [CP/TP lonely ruler
 [vP <lonely ruler> [vP profit OBJ]]]]]

In the following, we discuss the two negative markers *fēi* 非 ‘is not, unless’ and its modal variant *wēi* 微 ‘were it not for’. The markers are used in indicative, realis, and subjunctive, irrealis predication respectively. For the negative copula *fēi* 非, a fusion of BU+COP, 不*_{pə}+唯*_{G^{wij}/wi}, has been proposed (e.g., Jacques 2000), which is functionally identical with *bù wéi* 不惟. It is the *p*-variant of *wēi* 微, *wēi/wéi* 微 (*m*+唯*_{G^{wij}/wi}) ‘were it not for’ (Yen 1977).¹⁷ We start with the main functions of the negator *fēi*. Djamouri (1991) assumes that *fēi* functions as a ‘polemic’ negative marker, but also as conditional/concessive marker; the latter is the relevant function in the present context. In AC, *fēi* is most frequently attested as a negative copula, connecting a nominal predicate with a subject, exemplified in (29a). In (29b), *fēi* is followed by a causal CP; the first causal clause is contrasted to the second.

- (29) a. 不書，非公命也。 (*Zuozhuan*, Yin 1)
 Bù shū, **fēi** gōng mìng yě.
 NEG report NEG.COP duke order SFP
 ‘It is not reported; it is not the duke’s order.’
- b. 非不能事君也，然據有異焉。 (*Zuozhuan*, Zhao 26)
fēi bù néng shì jūn yě,
 NEG.COP NEG able serve ruler SFP
 rán jù yǒu yì yán.
 but hold have different PREP.OBJ
 ‘... it is not, because they cannot serve him, but because they have to hold on to something different there.’

In the examples in (30), *fēi* has focalizing functions. In (30a), it appears in the copula (cleft) construction in complimentary distribution with *wéi*; in (30b), *fēi* focalizes the subject; and in (30c), it appears as a negative conditional complimentizer, taking a CP and not a DP as its complement. We assume that the function as a high focus marker is a grammaticalization of the function as a copula.

- (30) a. 諺曰：“非宅是卜，唯鄰是卜。” (*Zuozhuan*, Zhao 3)
 Yàn yuē: “**fēi** zhái shì bǔ,
 saying say NEG.COP dwelling SHI divine

wéi lín shì bǔ.”

COP neighborhood SHI divine

‘The saying says: It is not the dwelling we are divining;
it is the neighborhood.’

- b. 非我有成，其在人乎？ (*Zuozhuan*, Xiang 30)

Fēi wǒ yǒu chéng, qí zài rén yě?

if.not 1SG have success MOD be.at people Q

‘If it is not me who has success / If I do not have success,
then it must depend on others.’

- c. 國家無事，非遇水旱之災，民則人給家足。 (*Shiji* 30, 1420, EMC)

Guó jiā wú shì,
state family not.have affair

fēi yù shuǐ hàn zhī zāi,

unless meet water drought GEN misfortune

mín zé rén jǐ jiā zú.

people then man supply family suffice

‘If the state did not have any difficulties, and unless they met
with floods or droughts, regarding the entire population, everyone
was well provided and the families had sufficient supplies.’

The *m*(modal)-variant of *fēi*, the negator *wēi/wéi* 微 ‘were it not for’ is not attested in the Oracle Bone Inscriptions, but early instances appear in EAC. It is not very frequent in comparison with *fēi* even in LAC, and its frequency decreases after the LAC period. It by default expresses irrealis and counterfactual meanings. Occasionally it combines with the concessive complementizer *suī* 雖 ‘even if, although’ as in (31e). Similar to *fēi*, *wēi* can have a CP or a DP complement: in (31a), *wēi* functions as subjunctive copula taking a CP; in (31b) it takes a DP. In (31c), it functions as a counterfactual C-head, and in (31e), it combines with the concessive complementizer *suī*. In EMC, the number of conditional markers increases considerably, and *wēi* has gradually been replaced by conditional complementizers in combination with NEG. The particular contribution of *wēi* as a negative irrealis conditional is to express which conditions function as the premise for the possible worlds in which the event (or its negation) expressed in the matrix clause may happen. Contrastingly, *fēi* introduces the conditions under which the event expressed in the matrix

clause happens in the actual world. Thus, the mood of sentences with *wēi* clearly differs from that of those with *wéi* 唯 in (29) and with *fēi* in (30). The examples with *fēi* show indicative mood, those with *wēi* show subjunctive mood.

(31) a. 微我無酒、以敖以遊。 (*Shijing, Beifeng*, EAC)

Wēi wǒ wú jiǔ,

were.not.for 1SG not.have wine

yǐ áo yǐ yóu.

YI wander YI saunter

‘Were it not for the fact that I have no wine,
I would wander and saunter about.’

b. 微我，晉不戰矣！ (*Guoyu, Zhouyu zhong*)

Wēi wǒ, Jìn bù zhàn yǐ!

were.not.for 1SG Jìn NEG fight SFP

‘Were it not for me, Jin would not have fought!’

c. 微君言，臣故將謁之。 (*Han Feizi* 36.05)

Wēi jūn yán, chén gù jiāng yè zhī.

if.not rulerspeak subject therefore FUT visit OBJ

‘If you had not mentioned it, I would have visited you.’

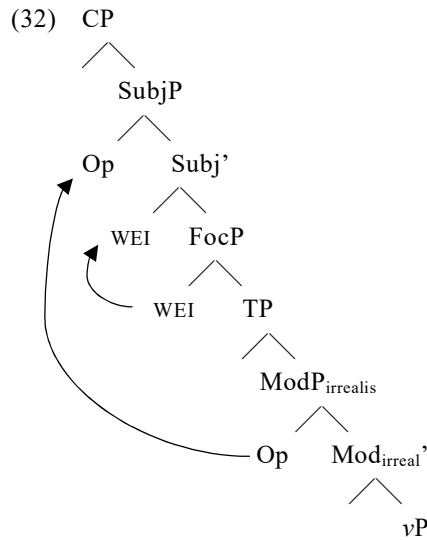
d. 雖微秦國，天下孰弗患？ (*Guoyu, Jin* 3)

Suī wēi Jìn guó, tiānxià shú fú huàn?

although were.not Jìn state empire which NEG_{tr} worry

‘Even if it weren’t for the state of Jin, who in the empire
wouldn’t worry about it?’

The analysis for *wēi* is in (32). *Wēi* moves up from an outer focus position to the position of SubjP via head movement in order to obtain the evaluative interpretation specific for subjunctives (Ambar 2016). The subjunctive operator needs to agree with the null operator in Mod_{deont/irreal}.¹⁹ In contrast to the analysis of subjunctive mood in embedded clauses and of imperatives, the head of Mod_{deont/irreal} is covert in subjunctives with *wēi*. This analysis proposes a unified account for the derivation of operator movement from ModP to SubjP for all complex modal negators discussed in this paper.



By way of contrast, we briefly discuss the concessive conjunction *suī* 雖, supposedly another derivation of *wéi* with an *s- prefix: *swij (*s-qwij [Baxter and Sagart 2014]) with a gerundial meaning ‘while being xxx’ (Jacques 2019, 23f), which grammaticalizes into a topic or focus marker and a concessive conjunction. As a focalizer of sentence initial elements, *suī* shows considerable overlap with the negators *fēi* and *wēi*, but it differs with respect to mood distinctions. Example (33a) shows the focus function of *suī* preceding a sentence-initial topicalized object. As a concessive complementizer, *suī* can appear in realis and irrealis contexts (Unger 2019, 1280f), and both *m-*, and *p-*negators are attested in a *suī*-clause, with the modally neutral negator *bù* in realis contexts being more frequent though.²⁰ The distinction is shown in the examples (33b, c); in (33b), the modal negator *wù* 勿 appears expressing concessions in the irrealis, i.e., subjunctive mood. The example (33c) with the negator *bù* refers to a realis situation in indicative mood. Without negation, the distinction between indicative and subjunctive is covert and has to be determined from context. *Suī* apparently does not select mood itself; mood has to be selected by a separate head in CP/TP. Whether there are other mood selecting complementizers apart from *fēi* and *wēi* is an open question and subject to more research going beyond the scope of the present study.

- (33) a. 雖執鞭之士，吾亦為之 (*Lunyu* 7,12)
 Suī zhí biān zhī shì,
 SUI hold whip GEN official
 wú yì wéi zhī.
 1SG also do OBJ
 ‘... then I would become even a simple, whip-holding servant.’
- b. 約絕之後，雖勿與地可。 (*Zhanguo ce*, Chu 1, LAC-EMC)
 Yuē jué zhī hòu, suī wù yǔ dì kě.
 contract break GEN after SUI NEG_{mod} give land possible
 ‘After breaking the contract, even if we wouldn’t give the land,
 it would be possible.’
- c. 情雖不同，毋絕其愛親之道也， (*Zuozhuan*, Wen 15)
 Qíng suī bù tóng,
 emotion SUI NEG identical
 wú jué qí ài qīn zhī dào yě,
 NEG_{mod} interrupt POSS love relative GEN way SFP
 ‘Although the emotions are not the same,
 one should not interrupt the way of loving one’s relatives.’

In this section, we discussed three different aspects of modal and mood marking in AC. We first showed the different functions of the modal prohibitive markers with their respective positions in TP and CP. In addition, we briefly addressed the question of imperative marking in negated and non-negated contexts. In the second section we provided evidence for the presence of subjunctive mood in the complement of preference and directive verbs. This was contrasted with the mood distinctions in the complement of causative verbs. We proposed that imperative and subjunctive mood are hosted in a covert functional projection in CP and have to be licensed by an overt modal negator in TP. In the last section we discussed the grammaticalization of two negative focus markers into complementizers. These complementizers mark indicative or subjunctive mood according to their respective initials. They have been compared with a cognate complementizer without any selectional restrictions. In our analysis, we proposed a unified account for prohibitives (negated imperatives), subjunctives embedded by preference and directive verbs, and the subjunctive mood expressed by the

complementizer *wēi*, as being derived by operator movement from $\text{Mod}_{\text{deont/irreal}}$ to SubjP. In the case of imperatives and embedded subjunctives, $\text{Mod}_{\text{deont/irreal}}\text{P}$ is overt; in the case of the complementizer *wēi* it is covert.

4. CONCLUSION

In this brief survey we have provided evidence for the systematic marking of irrealis and subjunctive mood by modal negators in LAC. Subjunctive mood, similar to the imperative, is overtly marked in negative contexts. Possible syntactic marking of subjunctives, e.g., by adverbs or particles or by nominalization has been excluded from this study. All negative markers start out as predication and focalization markers with different semantics (Djamouri 2004), i.e., as verbal heads (Meisterernst 2020a). According to their initial, they display a clear distinction between modal, mainly irrealis and deontic meanings, and non-modal meanings. Focalization includes functions of contrastiveness and comparison, comparison being a defining feature of subjunctive mood. This semantic feature may have triggered the grammaticalization into mood markers. Only negators morphologically marked for mood/modality license irrealis and subjunctive meanings, and imperative readings.

Strong arguments for the proposal of a grammaticalized subjunctive mood in AC come from verb classes, which cross-linguistically select subjunctive mood, and which require modal negators in their complement in AC. These are preference predicates and, to a certain extent, directives. In contrast to many of the Indo-European languages which have grammaticalized subjunctive mood, embedded clauses in Chinese do not require complementizers. Accordingly, we propose that subjunctive mood is selected by the verb itself. For those verbs, which allow both subjunctive and indicative mood, a clear distinction in the semantics of their complements can be perceived.

In order to account for the difference between subjunctive mood and deontic readings, we propose two different heads, a covert SubjP, similar to the EvaluativeP proposed in Ambar (2016) and an overt irrealis/deontic ModP in TP; the latter is mandatory to license subjunctive mood. The modal operator moves up from ModP to SubjP to check the subjunctive feature. In the case of the complementizer *wēi*, we propose that the Subj

head is overt, grammaticalized from a Foc head, and that ModP is covert; the same kind of operator movement as for covert SubjP is assumed. The comparison with the mood neutral cognate concessive complementizer *suī* argues in favor of a mandatory ModP in order to license irrealis and subjunctive readings. The complementizer itself obviously does not select irrealis mood. More research is necessary to support this hypothesis. We also did not discuss possible overt markings of subjunctive/irrealis mood and modality in non-negated contexts. But at the present stage of research, it seems safe to assume that imperatives are not typed overtly as a special kind of clause in LAC, contra Cheng's (1991) clause typing hypothesis, different from e.g., interrogatives, and exclamatives. But this topic requires more research. Two possible reasons can be assumed for the distinction between interrogatives, exclamatives and imperatives: 1) Before the introduction of sentence final particles in EAC imperatives were marked morphologically by an *-s-suffix similar to the Tibetan morphological system; 2) Chinese is a language in which prohibitives constitute a particular syntactic category.

NOTES

1. Texts selected from the Early Middle Chinese (EMC) period (ca. 2nd c. BCE to 6th c. CE), the period where most of the syntactic features of Modern Mandarin start to develop, are marked. If no period is indicated for the data, they are representative for the LAC period.

2. Chan (2017) proposes that the use of *zhī* in nominalized structures is subject to prosodic constraints. They show that there are more instances of *zhī* in the text *Lunheng* from Eastern Han than in the earlier *Shiji* from Western Han. One reviewer claimed that this provides an argument against the hypothesis that nominalization with *zhī* decreased in frequency in EMC.

3. Negators with bilabial nasal initials are omnipresent in the history of the Tibeto-Burman languages (see Post 2015 and references therein).

4. A more traditional analysis of these negators (most recently Wei 2001) is that *wù* is a merger of *wú* with the object pronoun *zhī* 之.

5. For a comparison see Han (2007) on Korean negator *mal*.

6. This corresponds well to the proposal that Chinese constantly underwent changes from more synthetic to more analytic and back again to more synthetic (Feng and Liu 2019).

7. One of the reviewers asked about the reasons for this particular behavior and about possible cross-linguistic parallels. According to my informants, multi-functional SFPs in Modern Mandarin and Chinese dialects can be used for the marking of imperatives, but they do not seem to be mandatory. The situation in AC is different because of the clear morphological marking of prohibitives, but not of imperatives. This is also the case in Teiwa, a Papuan language (Portner 2018, 128; cf. Klamer 2012), in which prohibitives receive a special marking by a particular negative verb.

- a. Yi, iqaan ba tewar!
Yes dark seq walk
'Yes [it's getting] dark so go!'
- b. wat wrer gaxai!
Coconut climb do.not
'Don't clime the coconut [tree]!'

Klamer (2012) treats the sentences in a. and b. as different types. We cannot exclude that AC displayed a similar feature and that prohibitives constituted a particular clause type. Non-negative imperatives might have been marked by an **-s* suffix, similar to imperatives in Tibetan, but this is pure speculation.

8. In Korean, all clause types including imperatives are marked by SFPs. (Portner 2018, 133; cf. Pak 2008.)

- a. Cemsin-ul mek-ess-ta.
lunch-acc eat-past-decl
'I ate lunch.'
- b. Cemsin-ul mek-ess-ni?
lunch-acc eat-past-int
'Did you eat lunch?'
- c. Cemsin-ul mek-e-le!
lunch-acc eat-imp
'Eat lunch!'

9. The function of the different SFPs in LAC is far from being clear. Pulleyblank (1995, 116f) proposes that both *yě* and *yǐ* express sentential

aspect. If this turned out to be correct, their position would indeed be lower than that of SFPs expressing force.

10. Yen (1977) already used the term subjunctive mood for the function of modal negators, but he did not provide any specific arguments for it.

11. According to Peyraube (2001, 183) it is not attested in EAC, and it is still quite infrequent in LAC.

12. For a different view see Chan (2017), note2.

13. Van Auken (2004) assumes that the control structure is the predominant structure in LAC for both volitional verbs.

14. The CBETA database of Buddhist Chinese lists 1446 instances of *shèn wù* 慎勿 and 375 of *shèn bù*, but only three of the latter appear before the 6th c. CE.

15. For a discussion of *shǐ* as an ECM verb see Aldridge (2016a).

16. We do not argue against Aldridge (2019). We merely do not intend to complicate our analysis with the details of her analysis, which are irrelevant in the present discussion. In contrast to a bi-clausal copula construction, this focus construction is mono-clausal.

17. There is no detailed analysis of a distinction between modal and modally neutral negators in Archaic Chinese in Yen (1977).

18. The analysis has been clarified due to the request of one reviewer, who also asked whether *wēi* and *fēi* can be distinguished according to their position wrt. to the subject. Similar to *fēi*, *wēi* is occasionally preceded by a subject topic. *Fēi* and *wēi* do not seem to be distinguished syntactically in this function.

19. This is subject to more research. We will only briefly introduce the issue here.

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上古漢語中是否存在有標之虛擬語氣：
一些從情態否定詞而來的證據

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摘要

基於情態否定詞在主句和補句裡的分析，本文將探討古代漢語句法中的虛擬語氣與陳述語氣的區別。我們探究虛擬語氣的句法位置以及何種動詞在補語分句中要使用虛擬語氣。我們提出，在上古漢語中，CP 裡面的祈使連符的位置為隱性，虛擬語氣需要被顯性 TP 層的 ModP 認證。而且，我們表明連詞“非”與“微”的區別是：“非”是標示已然語氣，“微”標示未然語氣。我們也發現只有在否定句中，祈使語氣和虛擬語氣需要顯性的標記。肯定祈使句既不需要特別句末助詞，也不需要其它句法標記。

關鍵詞

古代漢語 情態否定詞 祈使語氣 虛擬語氣 句法