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From Synthetic to Analytic Modal Negation: Modal Negative Markers from Han to Tang

By Barbara Meisterernst, Berlin

Summary: In the following discussion a comprehensive analysis of the modal negative markers of Han period Chinese expressing deontic modality, i.e. prohibition, and their development in the early Buddhist literature is at issue. Significant changes can be observed in the system of modal marking during these periods. In Archaic Chinese a complex system of synthetic modal negative markers exists, equally marked morphologically by the initial **m-* but displaying different functions; these markers are subjected to considerable changes in their employment during and after the Han period. Additionally, a tendency develops to replace or to supplement the synthetic modal negative markers by a system of analytic marking, i.e. by the negated forms of modal auxiliary verbs during the times at issue.

1 Introduction

In this paper, the diachronic development of the modal negative markers expressing deontic modality from Late Archaic to Early Medieval Chinese is at issue. Significant changes can be observed in the system of modal marking during these periods possibly due to the influence of the Buddhist literature, in which modal marking plays a central role (Meisterernst 2012). Deontic modality, i.e. predominantly the category Prohibition can be expressed analytically by negated modal auxiliary verbs, or synthetically by modal negative markers. In Early and in Late Archaic Chinese a complex system of synthetic modal negative markers, morphologically marked by the initial *m-*, exists, (distinguishable from modally neutral negative markers marked by the initial *p-*). The most important of these modal negative markers are *wú (muǎ)* 無/无, *wú (muǎ)* 毋 and *wù (mut)* 勿 (Wang 1980, Djamouri 1991, Takashima 1996, Gassmann/Behr 2005, Xu 2006). In the Late Archaic language, these markers are the most important means to express the deontic modal value of Prohibition. In early Medieval Chinese only the negative marker *wù* 勿 (in the Archaic period confined to transitive verbs) of the three central *m-*negatives with their diverse functions prevails as a regular marker of strict deontic modality (prohibition); besides *wù* 勿, the negative marker *wú* 無 is still attested expressing root possibility values. During the

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Han period, in addition, the negative quantifier *mò* 莫 makes its appearance as a modal prohibitive negative marker. Other markers, e.g. *bié* 別 develop only later (JIANG/CAO 2005).

(1) 佛告諸比丘曰。汝等且止。勿懷憂悲。 *Taishō* 1, 1, p. 16c
Buddha tell PL bhikṣu say: you PL QIE stop NEG_{mod} worry grieve
'The Buddha told the Bhikṣu: "Please stop! Do not worry and grieve!"'

(2) 便下語之：「居士！莫悔也！ *Taishō* 4, 2, p.419a
Then below say OBJ: layman! NEG_{mod} regret SFP
'Then he uttered the following: "Layman, don't have any regrets!"'

At the end of the Late Archaic period there is a tendency to replace or to supplement the synthetic modal negative markers of Late Archaic Chinese (DOBSON 1964) by a system of analytic marking, i.e. by the negated forms of the modal auxiliary verbs *dé* 得, *kě* 可, and *néng* 能.

(3) 公不得已彊行！」 *Shǐjì*: 96, 2678
Prince NEG DE finish force go
'You cannot / may not stop to force yourself to go!'

The importance of negation for the modal interpretation of auxiliary verbs has already been pointed out by Lü (1942), and with the reduction of the system of synthetic negative modal marking the combination of NEG + AUX becomes a relevant part of the system of deontic modal markers. Besides the expression of PROHIBITION, other deontic values can be expressed by the combination NEG + AUX to the effect that positive deontic modality, i.e. strong obligation, can be expressed indirectly by the combination of AUX + double negation: NEG + AUX + NEG + VERB. This tendency is already attested in Late Archaic Chinese with the modal verb *kě* 可 (PEYRAUBE 1999, MEISTERERNST 2008), which in the structure 'NEG *kě(yǐ)* 可(以) NEG V' expresses the strongest form of obligation in Late Archaic Chinese.

The following discussion is devoted to a comprehensive analysis of mainly the semantics of the different variants of synthetic negative modal markers from the Han to the Tang periods in comparison with analytic modal negation with the modal verb *dé* 得.

The data for the Han period is taken mostly from the *Shǐjì* (ca. 100 BCE) and the *Lùnhéng* (1st century CE), and for the early Buddhist literature it is taken from three more or less contemporary texts, the *Gāosēng Fǎxiǎn zhuàn* (Taisho 51, 2085), a travel report of the Chinese monk *Fǎxiǎn*, the *Miàofǎ liánhuā jīng* (Taisho 9, 262), translated by Kumārajīva, both compiled at the beginning of the 5th century, and the *Xiányú jīng* (Taisho 4, 202), completed in 445.

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2 Negative markers in Han period Chinese

2.1 The negative marker *wú* 毋

The following examples (4) and (5) present a Han period definition of the negative marker *wú* 毋 provided by the Eastern Han (25–220 CE) author WANG Chong (1st century CE) in the *Lùnhéng*. WANG Chong's definition of *wú* 毋 corresponds to that as a deontic marker in modern terms with a strong performative, i. e. an addressee (or speaker) oriented modality; however, according to the examples provided—a number of instances with *wú* 毋 precede the definition in (4)—, the prohibition rather seems to be subject (or agent) oriented, conveying obligation, than addressee (or speaker) oriented conveying permission.[1]

(4) 毋者，禁之也。丹朱、殷紂至惡，故曰「毋」以禁之。 *Lùnhéng* 42.5.9
Do.not TOP, prohibit OBJ SFP. Dan Zhu, Yin Zhou extreme bad, therefore call do.not in.order.to prohibit OBJ
'With regard to *wú* 毋 'don't', it means 'prohibit something'. Dan Zhu and Zhou of Yin were extremely bad people; therefore one says 'don't' in order to prevent them.'

(5) 諸言「毋」者，教人重慎，勉人為善。禮曰：「毋摶飯，毋流歠。」
Lùnhéng 68.18.36
All say *wú* REL, teach man important careful, urge man do good. Book. of.Rites say: NEG_{mod} roll rice, NEG_{mod} flow liquid
All those [passages] that say 'do not' teach men to be serious and careful, to urge men to do the good thing. The book of Rites says: "Don't roll up the rice, don't swill down the soup."'

In many regards *wú* 毋 is employed similarly to *wù* 勿—and according to XU (2006) it is in fact often replaced by the latter in the transmitted versions of unearthed texts—; i. e. it occurs in the complement of volitional verbs, in combination with causative verbs; frequently it is purely deontic in imperative contexts.[2] Contrastingly to *wù* 勿, *wú* 毋 is not basically confined to the selection of transitive verbs, i. e. it does not add an argument to the verb, and with transitive verbs the object is usually not omitted. However, in the

[1] Both categories belong to the category of participant-external modality (VAN DER AUWERA and PLUNGIAN 1998). BYBEE *et al.*'s (1994) define agent oriented modality as corresponding to OBLIGATION and speaker oriented modality as corresponding to PERMISSION.

[2] XU (2006, p. 217) shows that *wú* 毋 is frequently attested in causative constructions (with a causative verb or with the volitional verb *yuàn* 願), or in embedded clauses in the unearthed texts she investigates, whereas *wú* 無 is employed as the negative existential verb 'not have'. However, she assumes (2006, p. 219) that in the transmitted versions of parallel texts *wú* 毋 was frequently replaced by *wú* 無.

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Lùnhéng, in which *wù* 勿 is extremely infrequent, *wú* 毋 is employed in the same way as *wù* 勿; i. e. it seems to replace *wù* 勿. Additionally to *wú* 毋, the variant *wú* 無 is attested e. g. in the *Shǐjì* in the same manner as *wú* 毋. While both variants of *wú* 無 / 毋 are attested as both the negative existential verb 'not.have' and as a modal negative marker, this is not the case with *wù* 勿. Another difference between *wú* 毋 / 無 and *wù* 勿 is the fact that *wú* 毋 / 無 contrary to *wù* 勿 regularly expresses root possibility, a possibility induced by general external conditions.[3] In the Buddhist literature at issue here, the variant *wú* 毋 is not attested, accordingly, its history will be discussed here only with a few examples.

The following are a few examples of deontic *wú* 毋 in speech parts, orders, etc with an addressee subject which is at the same time the agent (with agentive event verbs), or the experiencer (with state verbs / emotive verbs, etc.)—of the verb. In general more stative predicates seem to be selected by *wú* 毋, than by *wù* 勿, a fact in general in favour of epistemic interpretations (as proposed for *wú* 毋 by DJAMOURI 1991), conveying the commitment of the speaker to the truth of the utterance. It frequently appears in the transmitted versions of the ritual texts of the Late Archaic period, in which directives according to the rites are expressed as in example (6);[4] in these instances no concrete speaker can be assumed. Both transitive and intransitive verbs (ex. (7) and (8)) are attested. In example (8), a true performative analysis seems to be less likely due to the semantics of the stative verb. All examples refer to situations which have not yet taken place in the real world, but are requested or assumed to take place in a future world or under particular conditions.

(6) 臨財毋苟得，臨難毋苟免，很毋求勝，分毋求多。

Lǐjì (*Shísānjīng* 1230 中)

Approach wealth NEG_{mod} reckless get, approach difficulty NEG_{mod} reckless avoid, quarrel NEG_{mod} seek victory, divide NEG_{mod} seek many

'When you approach wealth, don't do it recklessly, when you approach difficulties, don't avoid them carelessly, in a quarrel don't seek for victory, in dividing don't seek too much.'

(7) 「**毋**入相國產殿門。」 *Shǐjì*: 9, 409

NEG_{mod} enter chancellor state Chan palace gate

'Do not let the chancellor Chan enter the palace gates.'

[3] According to BYBEE *et al.* (1994, p. 178) root possibility "reports on general enabling conditions and is not restricted to the internal condition of ability, but also reports on general external conditions, such as social or physical conditions."

[4] These can belong to either of the two categories covenant or prescriptive language discussed in VAN AUCKEN (2004, p. 192f.).

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(8) 子胥曰：「王毋喜！」 *Shǐjì*: 41,1743
Zu Xu say: king NEG_{mod} happy
'Zi Xu said: "You should not be happy / there is no reason to be happy, Your Majesty!"'

In the following example the verb *ràng* 讓 which can be both transitive and intransitive (see also with *wù* 勿) is negated by *wú* 毋, here in combination with the modal adverb *qí* 其, expressing mild deontic modality.

(9) 今楚大國而固遇子，子其毋讓，此天開子也。」 *Shǐjì*: 39, 1659
Now Chu large state CON certain meet master, master MOD NEG_{mod} refuse, this heaven open master SFP
'Now, Chu is a large state and has made sure to receive you, you should not step back, this means that heaven has opened up for you.'

In the following examples, *wú* 毋 appears in combination with a verb of warning, a volitional verb in the widest sense, and with a semi-modal verb; in example (10), with *shèn* 慎 'careful' in a performative context the modal negative follows *shèn* 慎, and in (11) with *gǎn* 敢 'dare', it precedes *gǎn* 敢.[5] In both cases the subjects of the first verb, i. e. the addressee subject of *shèn* 慎, and the non-addressee subject of *gǎn* 敢, are identical with that of the verbs in their respective complements but differ from the speaker who issues the prohibition. In example (10) with *shèn* 慎, the negative marker has scope only over the verb in the complement of *shèn* 慎, whereas in example (11) it has scope over *gǎn* 敢 and its complement; semantically, the negation of *gǎn* 敢 results in a prohibition of the situation expressed by the verb embedded by *gǎn* 敢. In combination with the verb *gǎn* 敢 the modal negative *wú* 毋 is already attested in the Bronze Inscriptions, e. g. in the *Máogōng dǐng*.

(10) 莊生曰：「可疾去矣，慎毋留！ *Shǐjì*: 41,1754
Zhuangsheng say: can quick leave SFP, careful NEG_{mod} stay
'Zhuangsheng said: "You have to leave quickly, be careful not to stay!"'

In the following example the verb in the complement of *gǎn* 敢 is transitive without an overt object, i. e. *wú* 毋 is employed in the same way as *wù* 勿 frequently is. The entire phrase appears in the complement of the verb of command *chì* 敕 'decree', and is accordingly performative although the obligation is not imposed directly on the subject.

[5] Modal negative markers in the complement of *gǎn* 敢 seem to be extremely infrequent (there is one instance in *Huainan zi* 19/204/1 of *gǎn wù* 敢勿 in a rhetorical question), *gǎn wú* 感毋 does not seem to be attested at all, and there are only very few instances of *gǎn wú* 敢無; in genuine modal contexts the negative marker always precedes the verb *gǎn* 敢.

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(11) 故敕成王自一話一言，政事無非，毋敢變易。 *Lùnhéng* 45.13.36
Therefore admonish Cheng king self one speech one word, government affair not.have wrong, NEG_{mod} dare change change
'Therefore he admonished King Cheng to stick to every speech and word, and, since the government was without fault, not to dare to change anything.'

The negative marker *wú* 毋 is also regularly attested with the causative verbs *shǐ* 使 and *líng* 令 in both positions, preceding and in the complement of the modal verb.[6] However, these verbs are not confined to modal negative markers; they also appear with modally neutral negations.[7]

2.2 The negative marker *wù* 勿 in Han period Chinese

The negative marker *wù* 勿 belongs to the category of *m*-negatives and is the modal counterpart of the negative marker *fú*弗 in the category of *p*-negatives. Similar to *fú* 弗, *wù* 勿 originally seems to negate transitive verbs, in Late Archaic Chinese often without an overt object. It unambiguously exhibits modal functions belonging to the class of deontic markers expressing prohibition (see DJAMOURI 1991). The differences between *fú*弗 and *bù* 不, and *wù* 勿 and *wú* 毋 have been discussed comprehensively and controversely in the literature; I will here merely refer to the distinctions made between the two modal negative markers. PULLEYBLANK (1995, p. 108) assumes that the original distinction between the two negative markers *wú* 毋 and *wù* 勿 was an aspectual one, indicated by the final -t which was later reanalysed as representing an incorporated object pronoun *zhī* 之. Some scholars accordingly assume that *wù* 勿 is a fusion of *wú* 毋 and *zhī* 之 (*miwət* < **miug* + *tiəg* BOODBERG 1934, MULDER 1959, GRAHAM 1952, Lü Shuxiang, cf. DJAMOURI 1991, p. 9).[8] According to TAKASHIMA (1996), *wù* 勿 *mjət* has the modal function [+ will], non-stative/eventive, "should not", "ought not, don't", and thus corresponds to *fú* 弗 in the class of p- negatives. The analysis of *wù* 勿 as an eventive negative marker accounts well for its selection of transitive agentive verbs. In Pre-Qin Chinese *wù* 勿 appears in prohibitions, i. e. in speech parts, in direct imperatives or performatives, in this function it is already at-

[6] Negative markers in combination with the causative verb *shǐ* 使 have been discussed e. g. in MEISTERERNST 2006, see also the references therein.

[7] See MEISTERERNST 2006 for statistics in Han period texts.

[8] The parallel analysis of *fú* 弗 has been refuted in ALDRIDGE 2010 for phonological reasons. She rather takes up and modifies GASSMANN's (1993) approach to analyse *fù* 弗 as the negative marker of causative predicates, i. e. a fusion of the negative marker *bù* 不 and the causative verb *shǐ* 使 (**slieg*). ALDRIDGE takes this analysis further in proposing a fusion of the negative marker with the assumed causative **s*- prefix deriving causative/agentive verbs.

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tested in the *Máogōng dǐng* 毛公鼎 (Djamouri 1991),[9] but also on a regular basis in combination with verbs of command, verbs of speaking, volitional verbs, including verbs of recommendation, or warning, such as e. g. *shèn* 慎 'be careful'; in combination with the semi-modal verb *gǎn* 敢 'dare' when it expresses a prohibition,[10] or with modal verbs of possibility, e. g. *néng* 能, etc. However, according to Xu (2006, p. 223f.) the modal negative *wù* 勿 is much less frequently employed in the unearthed texts than in the transmitted texts, despite its early appearance in the Bronze Inscriptions. In the transmitted parallels *wú* 毋 was frequently replaced by *wù* 勿 which became the predominant negative marker in later texts and became fixed in its prohibitive function (Xu 2006, p. 227). True and direct deontics expressed by *wù* 勿, i. e. performatives, have an addressee subject and an external source, the speaker, issuing the prohibition; the subject and the causer of the prohibition, the one who issues the obligation, are not identical. In most cases the subject is the agent of an event or activity verb, but also experiencer subjects with state verbs such as *yōu* 憂 are attested.

The following examples are from the Han period text *Shǐjì*, in example (12) both predicates are deontic; the first clause of the example contains an intransitive verb with the modal negative *wú* 毋 (see example (10)) in the complement of *shèn* 慎; in example (13) the verb *ràng* 讓 is negated by *wù* 勿, and accordingly it is analysed as a transitive verb, contrastingly to example (9) with the same verb negated by *wú* 毋.

a) *Wù* 勿 in combination with transitive verbs

(12) 「可疾去矣，慎**毋留**！即弟出，**勿問**所以然。」 *Shǐjì*: 41, 1754
Possible quick go.away SFP, careful NEG_{mod} stay! If younger.brother go.out, NEG_{mod} ask REL YI be.like
'You have to leave quickly, be careful not to stay! And if your younger brother is getting out, don't ask how!'

(13) 文侯曰：「先生臨事**勿讓**。」 *Shǐjì*: 44, 1840
Wen marquis say: Gentleman approach affair NEG_{mod} refuse
'The Marquis Wen said: "[Please], Sir, do take care of the affair, don't refuse it.'

In the following two examples, the deontic meaning is but indirectly present. Frequently in the *Shǐjì*, but also in the Late Archaic literature, the

[9] In the *Máogōng dǐng* a series of negated predicates with *wù* 勿, *wú* 毋, and *wú* 毋 in combination with the modal verb *gǎn* 敢 (Djamouri 1991) is attested.

[10] If the the verb *gǎn* 敢 can really be considered a modal verb in examples like the one discussed above, it probably belongs to the category of volitional verbs; according to Li (2001) it appears from the Tang period on as a possibility modal.

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deontic reading seems to be reduced to a purely causative reading. In these instances the modal force of the negative marker seems to be diminished and it functions similarly to those cases where it appears in the complement of a causative verb. This provides an argument for an analysis of *wù* 勿 as the negative marker especially of causative verbs, similar to the analysis proposed for *fú* 弗 in ALDRIDGE (2010, see also GASSMANN 1993). Causative/agentive verbs are assumed to include a causative light verb in their complex syntacto-semantic structure (HAYLE/KEYSER 1993 and many others). An analysis of *wù* 勿 as the negator of a causative light verb V_1 would argue for the location of the modal negative *wù* 勿 within an articulated *v*P.[11] Semantically, indirect deontic readings are available for *wù* 勿 due to the fact that it is not confined to performatives, but can also—and frequently does—appear with non-addressee, agent or causer subjects. In example (14) the topic represents the theme of the prohibited situation; the deontic meaning is not very evident. In example (15) the causer of the negated situation appears as the subject of the verb embedding the negated predicate; the theme of the negated predicate is not overtly present.

(14) 秦人六百石以上奪爵，遷；五百石以下不臨，遷，**勿奪爵**。 *Shǐjì*: 6, 231
Qin man six hundred stone CON above deprive rank, transfer; five hundred stone CON below not participate, transfer, NEG_{mod} deprive rank
'Of the man of Qin those with six hundred stones [of income] and more were deprived of their ranks and transferred; those of five hundred stones or less who did not attend [the funeral] were transferred, but were not deprived of their rank.'

(15) 帝不忍致法於王，赦其罪，廢**勿王**。 *Shǐjì*: 10, 426
Emperor NEG bare bring.about law PREP king, pardon his crime, dismiss NEG_{mod} be.king
'The emperor could not bear to apply the law to the king and pardoned his crime, but dismissed him and did not let him remain king.'

b) *Wù* 勿 in combination with volitional and causative verbs

In the following examples, the negative marker is attested in combination with a small range of volitional and causative verbs. The occurrence of *wù* 勿 (and *wú* 毋 in the complement of one of these verbs had already been stated in Lü (1942). Some of these verbs are attested with both modally neutral and modal negative markers, others seem to be confined to the selection of a modal negative marker (both *wú* 毋 and *wù* 勿 are available) in their complement; i. e. they require the subjunctive mood in their complement, identi-

[11] It is possible that the modal negative markers are in general generated in the *v*P similar to the modal auxiliary verbs.

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cally to e.g. many English verbs of the same kind (see Lü 1984 who introduces the label 'non-indicative' for this phenomenon).[12] Verbs that by default select a modal negative marker in their complement are volitional verbs, i.e. *yù* 欲 'wish, desire' and *yuàn* 願 'wish for, desire', the verb of warning *shèn* 慎 'careful', the verb of recommendation *bùrú* 不如 'not be like > rather', and the prohibitive verb *jìn* 禁 'prohibit'.[13] However, negative markers in the complement of these verbs are altogether rare (Peyraube 2001, p. 181 with regard to volitional verbs). This discussion is confined to the verbs which apparently require the subjunctive mood in their complement.

In the following examples the negative marker *wù* 勿 appears in the complement of a volitional verb, in example (16) with a ditransitive verb, the direct object is not expressed. Two different structures are represented by the two volitional verbs *yù* 欲 and *yuàn* 願.[14] In example (16) with the verb *yù* 欲, the most common volitional verb of Late Archaic Chinese, the subjects of *yù* 欲 and of the complement verb are identical, it is a typical control structure, no external source is present to issue the prohibition for a subject different from the subject of the volitional verb.[15] Most examples with the verb *yù* 欲 display this structure (see also Van Aucken 2004, p. 194); however, there are also a few counterexamples, as can be seen in (17), where *yù* 欲 evidently takes an entire TP with a different non-overt subject as its complement. With the younger volitional verb *yuàn* 願[16] in examples (18) and (19), the subject of the verb in the complement of *yuàn* 願, the addressee and causee, is not identical with the subject of *yuàn* 願, the speaker and the causer of the prohibition; this is the typical structure of a causative verb (Aldridge forthcoming) which selects a TP with its own subject.[17] These examples display a

[12] These verbs are discussed in the context of the negative marker *wú* 毋, 無, 无 in Van Aucken (2004, p. 193f) under the label Indirect Prohibitives. She also briefly discusses their employment in combination with auxiliary verbs of ability.

[13] Only very occasionally a modally neutral negative marker appears in the complement of some of the mentioned verbs, e.g. there are altogether three instances of *bù* 不 in the complement of *shèn* 慎 in Late Archaic texts.

[14] According to Unger (1987, p. 18f.) *yuàn* 願 is a more polite synonym to *yù* 欲. Additionally, in Late Archaic (Classical) Chinese it appears less frequently as an independent verb than *yù* 欲 (1987, p. 21).

[15] Volitional verbs belong to the category of participant-internal modals, similar to the modal verbs of possibility expressing ability; contrastingly to deontic modals they have a causer subject, which represents the source of the wish (Durbin 2006).

[16] According to Peyraube (2001, p. 183) it is not attested in the Early Archaic literature and also in the Late Archaic literature it is still quite infrequent.

[17] Unger (1987, p. 20) provides a few examples for this structure, e.g. a complement sentence with an overt subject in the genitive, formally nominalized by *zhī* 之, in the affirmative. The same structure—with a subject in the genitive case—is also attested with *yuàn* 願.

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structure compatible with a deontic reading, because the subject of the complement, the causee, is the non-volitional agent or experiencer of the modal situation, the typical structure of deontic modals (DURBIN 2006), whereas the subject of the volitional verb functions as its causer. In example (18) the subject is not marked for genitive case whereas in (19) it is. This structure seems to be the predominant structure with a modal marker in the complement of *yuàn* 願, at least in the later literature including the early Buddhist texts;[18] however, in the affirmative the control structure, represented by the verb *yù* 欲 here, seems to be predominant.

(16) 欲予秦，秦城恐不可得，徒見欺；**欲勿予**，即患秦兵之來。
Shǐjì: 74, 2439
Wish give Qin, Qin city fear NEG can obtain, only PASS cheat; wish NEG_{mod} give, then worry QIN soldier SUB come
'If we want to give it to him, I am afraid Qin's cities cannot be obtained, and we will only be cheated; if we do not want to give it to him, then we have to worry that Qin's soldiers will arrive.'

(17) … 則以法刑斷其兩足而黥之，**欲隱勿見**。 *Shǐjì*: 61, 2162
… then YI law punish cut his both feet CON tattoo OBJ, wish hide NEG_{mod} cause.to.appear
'… then he had him punished according to the law and had both his feet cut off and tattooed him, and he wanted him to hide and not to appear.'

(18) 「子歸，言之於王曰『魏聽臣矣，然願王**勿伐**』。 *Shǐjì*: 71, 2311
Sir return, tell OBJ PREP king say Wei listen.to subject SFP, but wish king NEG_{mod} attack
'Sir, you return and tell the king the following, "Wei has already listened to me, but I wish the king not to attack."'

(19) 願先生之**勿患**也。」 *Lùnhéng*: 7, 24
Wish sir SUB NEG_{mod} worry SFP
'I wish you would not worry, sir!'

In examples (20) and (21) the modal negative *wù* 勿 appears in the complement of *shèn* 慎; in example (20) *shèn* 慎 itself occurs in the complement of the volitional verb *yuàn* 願. In both cases the subject of both *shèn* 慎 and the verb in its complement is the addressee and causee; in example (21) the verb is ditransitive; the direct object is expressed, the indirect object is non-overt.

[18] VAN AUCKEN presents an example of *yuàn* 願 in the control structure from Lunyu, and she assumes that it is the predominant structure in Classical Chinese for both volitional verbs. However, the precise syntactic and semantic constraints of the two volitional verbs and their diachronic development still have to be worked out.

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(20) 願君慎勿出於口。 *Shǐjì*: 69, 2245
Wish prince careful NEG_{mod} let.out PREP mouth
'I wished you were careful not to let it slip from your mouth.'

(21) 「謹守成皋，則漢欲挑戰，慎勿與戰，毋令得東而已。 *Shǐjì*: 7, 329
Careful guard Chenggao, then Han wish challenge battle, careful NEG_{mod} give battle, NEG_{mod} cause get east CON finish
'Do carefully guard Chenggao; and if Han then wants to challenge you to fight, be careful not to give him battle, just do not let them get to the east.'

A negated verb in the complement of the verb *jìn* 禁 'prohibit' is extremely infrequent, but it also requires a modal negative marker, including analytic modal negation with *bù dé* 不得 'cannot' as in example (22). Syntactically, the verb is employed in the typical causative structure, the subject of *jìn* 禁, the causer, is not identical with the subject in its complement, the addressee or causee. Identical to the synthetic modal negative marker, the analytic one is also assumed to be generated within *v*P (Meisterernst 2013).

(22) 禁不得祠。 *Shǐjì*: 6, 253
Prohibit NEG can sacrifice
'And he prohibited that they perform sacrifices [there].'

c) *Wù* 勿 in combination with the semi-modal verb *gǎn* 敢

The semi-modal auxiliary verb *gǎn* 敢 can be selected by modally neutral and by modal negative markers. In prohibitions it is selected by the latter. In the following example two different modal negative markers precede *gǎn* 敢; this case differs from the other instances of modal marking in this section insofar as the modal negative precedes the verb *gǎn* 感 and not the embedded verb in its complement. Additionally, all predicates are true deontics, expressing performative modality imposed by an oath which requires prescriptive language. This example at least partly displays the reported difference between the negative markers *wú* 無 and *wù* 勿; the first verb in the complement of *gǎn* 敢 is intransitive, the second is transitive with an overt object, both times the predicate is negated by *wú* 無; the third verb in the complement of *gǎn* 敢 is transitive without an overt object and is negated by *wù* 勿. This example reveals that it is possibly not the modal verb *gǎn* 敢 which determines the choice of the modal negative marker, but the matrix verb in the complement of *gǎn* 敢.[19] The addressee subject is in all instances the agent of the prohibited situation.

[19] A comprehensive analysis of the modal negatives in Early and Late Archaic Chinese with all their possible combinations with other modal markers is not at issue in this paper; a discussion of the relation between negative markers and modal verbs is postponed to a separate study.

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(23) 作胖誓，曰：「陳爾甲胄，**無敢**不善。**無敢**傷牲。馬牛其風，臣妾逋逃，**勿敢**越逐，敬復之。 *Shíjì*: 33, 1524
Make Bi oath, say, display your armour helmet, NEG_{mod} dare NEG good. NEG dare hurt stable. Horse ox MOD bolt, servant concubine escape flee, NEG_{mod} dare exceed pursue, respect return OBJ
'He made the Bi oath which said: "Display your armour and helmets, do not dare to act badly, do not dare to harm your stables. If horses and cattle will bolt, if servants and maids escape, do not dare to go too far in pursuing them and bring them back respectfully."'

As the examples demonstrate in the transmitted texts of Late Archaic and Han period Chinese the negative marker *wù* 勿 basically displays four different functions: 1, the most important of these is its function as a marker of true deontic modality in performatives with a second person addressee subject—the non-volitional agent or experiencer of the situation—, and mostly an event verb, although other verb types are also possible; 2, the derived function in subject or agent oriented contexts, i. e. in more indirect deontics; 3) the function to express the subjunctive or irrealis mood in dependent predicates, i. e. in the complement of volitional and causative verbs; 4) an almost purely causative function, in which the modal force of the negative marker is apparently reduced to a subjunctive mood, similar to a complement of a volitional verb.

In Late Archaic and Han period Chinese *wù* 勿 almost exclusively selects transitive verbs, or verbs that can be transitivized, i. e. causativized as its complement, the object can be overtly present either in its default postverbal or in topic position, or non-overt, and accordingly *wù* 勿 seems to have a causativizing function with regard to its complement verb as its basic characteristic. If this hypothesis were correct it would explain the number of examples without an overt object, the causativizing effect of *wù* 勿 would make it superfluous; this means that there would be no necessity for the assumption of an object pronoun integrated in the negative marker. Although both negative markers *wú* 毋 and *wù* 勿 are located in the same position (most likely within *v*P), they differ with regard to the constraints they have on their complement verb. For *wú* 毋, the more existential and stative negative marker the complement verb can also be a BE-verb, whereas for *wù* 勿, as the more causative and dynamic marker, it basically is a DO/CAUSE-verb.

3 Modal negative markers in the Early Buddhist literature

As already mentioned, the variant *wú* 毋 of the negative marker *wú* 無 is not attested in the Early Buddhist literature, the variant *wú* 無 appears in different—mostly verbal—functions and as the negative marker of the

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existential verb *yǒu* 有; negation of *yǒu* 有 by *bù* 不, which is not unusual in Late Archaic Chinese, is extremely rare in the early Buddhist literature. Additionally, *wú* 無 selects modal verbs of possibility on a regular basis, expressing both true deontic and root possibility meanings. In general, prohibition is relatively infrequently expressed by the modal negative marker *wú* 無. Because *wú* 無in its modal functions frequently expresses root possibility, its analysis has been postponed to a separate study and the following discussion is basically confined to the employment of the modal negative markers *wù* 勿 and *mò* 莫; *mò* 莫evidently replaces a number of functions previously expressed by the modal negatives *wú* 毋 and *wù* 勿, although the latter is still frequently attested particularly in the *Miàofǎ liánhuā jīng*.

3.1 The modal negative marker *wù* 勿 in the early Buddhist literature

The negative marker *wù* 勿 evidently appears more or less in the same functions in the early Buddhist literature as in the Late Archaic and Han period literature, i. e. to express true deontic modality in performatives, a prohibition with transitive verbs with and without an overt object, and with a—frequently agentive—addressee subject, but also verbs with experiencer subjects can be selected by *wù* 勿. Additionally, it more frequently appears with intransitive verbs for which a reference for a non-overt object is difficult to determine; the verb does not necessarily seem to be transitivized, i. e. causativized as it usually is in Late Archaic and in Han period Chinese; the distinction between stative and dynamic negation seems to have become less relevant. Examples with a purely causative, subjunctive reading of *wù* 勿 independent from a verb requiring a subjunctive complement seem to be rare if existent at all; as could be expected the morphological distinction between a causative and a non-causative marker has become opaque at the time at issue. *Wù* 勿 still appears in the complement of volitional verbs, verbs of warning, command, and in combination with causative verbs, expressing the subjunctive mood.

a) *Wù* 勿 with transitive verbs with or without an overt object

In the first example, two modal negative markers are attested: in the first clause the modal negative *mò* 莫 is followed by the modal verb *dé* 得 and the state verb *zhù* 住; in the second clause *wù* 勿 selects the transitive (transitivized) emotive verb *tān* 貪 'be greedy, desire' with an overt object. Most of the examples have an overt 2nd person addressee subject; the verb can be an event, a state, or an activity.

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(24) 『汝等莫得樂住三界火宅，**勿貪**麤弊色聲香味觸也。 *Taishō* 9, 262, p. 13b
You PL NEG_{mod} can happy dwell three world fire house, NEG_{mod} desire coarse worthless shape tone scent taste feeling SFP
'You must not be happy to stay in the burning house of the threefold world! Do not desire coarse and worthless shapes, tones, scents, tastes, and feelings!

In example (25) the negative marker *wù* 勿 modifies the existential verb *yǒu* 有, which in Late Archaic Chinese is regularly negated by *wú* 無 or by *bù* 不, only three instances of *wù yǒu* 勿有 are attested (not a single one in the *Shǐjì*); the combination only becomes more frequent in the Medieval literature, particularly in Buddhist texts and argues for a loss of the distinction between existential, or stative and dynamic negation.

(25) 汝等**勿有疑**，我為諸法王，普告諸大眾， *Taishō* 9, 262, p. 10b
You PL NEG_{mod} have doubt, I be all dharma king, universal talk all great crowd
'Don't have doubts; I am the king of the dharma and talk to the great assemblies.'

In example (26) the object of the transitive verb *qīnjìn* 親近 appears in topic position. The phrase *wù qīnjìn* 勿親近 is listed in the Digital Dictionary of Buddhism as a fixed term with the meaning 'dismiss' for Sanskrit *parivarjayet*, but the example evidently requires a deontic reading of *wù* 勿. Contrastingly to the preceding examples and to example (28) the addressee subject is not overtly present in examples (26) and (27). In example (27), the subject is not a direct addressee, the modal is not performative, but still strictly deontic. The addressee is identical to the subject of the modal predicate.[20] In cases like these, the deontic reading is rather subject than speaker oriented. In the examples (26) and (27) two conjoined VPs are selected by *wù* 勿 and the negative marker has scope over both of them. This is not very frequent with *wù*勿 and it is apparently an innovation. In Late Archaic texts the negative marker has scope over only one VP, if a consecutive and conjoined VP is additionally negated the negative marker is repeated or replaced by a different marker.[21] In example (28) a prepositional phrase with the preposition *yú* 於 appears between the negative marker and the verb.[22]

[20] According to the semantics of the two verbs the subject can be considered either as an experiencer or as agentive.

[21] The following may serve as an example for the repetition of the negative marker.
(i) 簡主曰：『勿輕勿重。 *Han Fei zi* 35
Jian master say NEG_{mod} light Neg_{mod} heavy
'Master Jian said: "Don't make them [the taxes] either light or heavy."

[22] This position of the prepositional phrase does not argue against the location of the modal negative marker *wù* 勿 within *v*P.

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(26) 寡女處女，及諸不男，皆**勿親近**，以為親厚。 *Taishō* 9, 262, p. 37b
Widow girl, and all NEG man, all NEG_{mod} become.close, make close.friend
'Widows and unmarried girls and all non-male persons, to all of them don't become attached or make them to your close friends.'

(27) 無懷嫉妒諂誑之心，亦**勿輕罵學**佛道者，求其長短。*Taishō* 9, 262, p. 38b
NEG_{mod} cherish jealous flatter deceit SUB heart, also NEG_{mod} light abuse learn Buddha way REL, search POSS long.short
'… he must not harbour a jealous, flattering and deceitful heart, and he also must not take lightly and abuse those who study the Buddha way and search for their shortcomings.'

(28) 汝等有智者，**勿**於此**生疑**。 *Taishō* 9, 262, p. 43c
You PL have wisdom REL, NEG_{mod} PREP this grow doubt
'You, who possess wisdom, don't raise doubts about this!'

b) *Wù* 勿 in combination with verbs that permit an intransitive analysis

Contrastingly, in the following example an intransitive analysis can possibly be assumed for the verb *yōu* 憂 and the disyllabic combinations with it. The verb *yōu* 憂 'to worry' can be both transitive and intransitive. That both the transitive and the intransitive analyses are possible with *yōu* 憂 is supported by the fact that it is regularly negated by *wú* 毋, which is not confined with regard to the verb it selects, in the unearthed texts of the Late Archaic literature discussed in Xu (2006). In the example presented below, no obvious reference for a deleted object pronoun can be determined from the preceding context, accordingly the intransitive analysis has been chosen.

(29) 小夫人言。王**勿愁憂**。但於城東作高樓。 *Taishō* 51, 2085, p. 861c
Small wife say, king NEG_{mod} distress, but PREP city east build high tower
'The concubine said: "Don't be distressed, Your Majesty, just build a high tower east of the city."'

In the following example (one of the altogether 15 examples of independent *wù* 勿 in *Xiányú jīng*), three different deontic markers occur: the deontic adverb *qiě* 且, expressing a mild obligation, the modal negative *wù* 勿, and the modal auxiliary verb *xū* 須 'need, must', expressing an obligation. The non-overt 2nd person addressee subject is the agent of all three predicates.

(30) 世尊告曰：「且住**勿解**，須待食竟。」 *Taishō* 4, 202, p. 401a
World.honoured.one tell say: MOD remain NEG resolve, need wait meal end
'The World-Honoured-One said: "Just stay and don't separate, you must wait until the end of the meal.'

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c) *Wù* 勿 in combination with modal and causative verbs

Similar to Late Archaic Chinese, the modal negative marker occurs on a regular basis in the complement of a verb of wishing, warning, etc.[23] In the early Buddhist literature, the volitional verb *yuàn* 願 continues to appear in the causative structure, i.e. a causer wishes to prohibit an addressee, the causee, to perform the situation expressed by the matrix verb. In many of the examples, the addressee is expressed overtly in the complement of *yuàn* 願. In the *Miàofǎ liánhuā jīng*, the modally neutral negative marker *bù* 不 appears occasionally in the complement of *yuàn* 願, in *Xiányú jīng* negative markers in the complement of *yuàn* 願 are confined to the modal negative markers *wù* 勿 and *mò* 莫.[24] Negative markers in the complement of the volitional verb *yù* 欲 are extremely infrequent. Both verbs by default require the subjunctive mood in its complement in Late Archaic and Han period Chinese (see also VAN AUCKEN 2004). The fact that in the *Miàofǎn liánhuā jīng* this rule does not seem to be observed consequently any longer might indicate a tendency to confuse modal markers with and replace them by the non-modal marker *bù* 不 even without a modal auxiliary verb and; a less strict requirement on the mood of the complement of volitional and causative verbs can be assumed.

(31) 「法王無上尊，唯說願**勿**慮。 *Taishō* 9, 262, p. 6c
Dharma king not.have high honour, only speak wish NEG_{mod} ponder
'Dharma king, no one is more highly honoured, only speak we wish you not to ponder!'

(32) 『唯願大王！寧殺我身，**勿害**我母。』 *Taishō* 4, 202, p. 356c
Only wish great king rather kill I body NEG_{mod} harm I mother
'I only wished that you, great king, rather kill me, don't harm my mother.'

In the following examples, the modal negative marker appears in the complement of the verb of warning *shèn* 慎 in the same structure as in Late Archaic and Han period Chinese, i.e. the addressee functions as the subject of both *shèn* 慎 and of the verb in its complement. In example (33), the entire phrase is selected by the causative verb *líng* 令. *Shèn* 慎 still seems to require the subjunctive mood in its complement with a modal negative marker; modally

[23] In the *Xiányú jīng* the combination of the negative *wù* 勿 with a causative verb, or a verb of warning, wishing etc. is relatively frequent (22 instances, most of them with *shèn* 慎, *yuàn* 願, or *líng* 令, contrastingly to 15 instances with independent *wù* 勿).

[24] In an affirmative complement of *yuàn* 願 the modal auxiliary verb *dāng* 當 expressing deontic (root) modality (MEISTERERNST 2011, 2012) is occasionally attested.

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neutral negative markers are attested neither in the *Miàofǎ liánhuā jīng*, nor in the *Xiányú jīng*.[25]

(33) 以是本因緣，今說法華經，令汝入佛道，**慎勿**懷驚懼。
Taishō 9, 262, p. 26c
With this original condition, now talk *Fǎhuā* sutra, make you enter Buddha way, careful NEG_{mod} worry afraid fear
'Because of these original conditions I now teach the Lotussutra in order to make you enter the way of the Buddha, take care not to be worried and afraid!'

(34) 今日來者**慎勿**與**語**。 *Taishō* 51, 2085, p. 864a
Today day come REL careful NEG_{mod} give speech
'With regard to the one who is coming today, let's be careful not to talk to him.'

In the *Miàofǎ liánhuā jīng* modal negative markers in combination with causative verbs, i. e. the causative verb *ling* 令, are only infrequently attested, and never in combination with the modal negative marker *wù* 勿; there occur only a few instances with the modal negative *wú* 無 in the complement of *ling* 令. In the *Xiányú jīng*, only the modal negative marker *mò* 莫 seems to be attested (once) in the complement of *ling* 令. Contrastingly several instances of the negative marker *wù* 勿 preceding *ling* 令 occur, occasionally in the complement of *yuàn* 願 or *shèn* 慎.[26] In example (35) the fact that the causative verb appears in a decree certainly accounts for the employment of a modal negative marker.

(35) 便**敕**宮內：「懃意守護，**勿令**外人得見之也。 *Taishō* 4, 202, p. 357b
Then decree palace interior careful mind guard guard, NEG_{mod} make outside man can see OBJ SFP
'… then he made the imperial decree for the inner palace: "Guard them carefully, and don't let outsiders be able to see them."'

As the examples have demonstrated, in the early Buddhist literature *wù* 勿 is attested predominantly in the same functions as in the Late Archaic and the Han period literature, with the exception of function 4), the purely causative function, which seems to have become irrelevant. Additionally, the apparent loss of a distinction between a more existential and stative, and a more causa-

[25] *Yǔ* 與 in example (34) is frequently analysed as a preposition similar to *yǐ* 以; both have in common that they can appear without their complement. However, it has been shown that YI has rather to be analysed as an applicative head than a preposition (Aldridge 2012) and it cannot be excluded that the same holds true for *yǔ*與 in examples such as the one presented here.

[26] The auxiliary verb *dé* 得 appears quite frequently in the complement of a verb of command or a volitional or causative verb. The analysis of its precise function has been postponed to a separate study.

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tive and eventive negation, represented by the negative markers *wú* 毋 and *wù* 勿, allows the selection of intransitive verbs by *wù* 勿 without the necessity to assume a non-overt object. Furthermore, a less strict constraint with regard to the subjunctive mood in the complement of a volitional or causative verb can possibly be perceived, to the effect that the subjunctive mood in the complement of volitional and causative verbs is not always marked by a modal negative anymore. Syntactically, *wù* 勿 apparently acquires the capacity to negate over two consecutive VPs.

3.2 The modal negative marker *mò* 莫

3.2.1 The history of the negative adverb *mò* 莫

The negative marker *mò* 莫 'none' belongs to a small and closed class of adverbs which all have a final -k and which have the function to quantify over the subject (the other adverbs with final -k are *huò* 或 'some', *gè* 各 'each', and *shú* 孰 'which'). All of them usually quantify over the subject (HARBSMEIER 1981), but they are, though functionally comparable, subject to different syntactic and semantic constraints. It has been assumed that *mò* 莫 may be a fusion of an m- negative marker and the quantifier *huò* 或 (MULDER 1959, HARBSMEIER, 1981); others assume it to be a fusion of *wú* 無 and *qí* 其 (BOODBERG 1934). It can be translated by 'no one, none, nothing'. Syntactically, *mò* 莫 behaves like a preverbal adverb (not allowed in topic-position), with other syntactic elements being inserted between the subject and the quantifier.[27] The subject quantified by *mò* 莫 can be specified, i. e. indicating a particular pluralic entity, or unspecified, indicating all possible entities. The subject quantified by *mò* 莫 refers to a pluralic set the individual elements of which are not specified. Accordingly, the quantifier mo 莫 negates this set in its entirety and, independently of their being specified or not, singular individuals of this pluralic entity can never be identified. This accounts for *mò* 莫 in general, but also in the particular structures in which it regularly occurs, such as the comparative structure, structures involving another negative marker, or those with a modal verb.

But during the late Warring States and the Han period the negative *mò* 莫 starts to acquire a wider range of grammatical functions, for instance it appears as a modal—prohibitive—negative comparable to *wú* 毋 '(do) not!' and accordingly it becomes part of the system of modal negatives which is

[27] For an innovative and different approach see ALDRIDGE (2010) who assumes that *mò* 莫 can function as the subject itself in Late Archaic Chinese.

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subject to considerable alterations from the late Warring States period on. However, unambiguous examples for modal *mò* 莫 are still rather infrequent (see also Jiang/Cao (2005, p. 132, quoting Ōta 1958).

(36)「莫如商鞅反者！」 *Shǐjì*: 68, 2237
NEG_{mo} be-like Shang Yang revolt NOM
'Do not revolt like Yang of Shang.'

Harbsmeier (1981, p. 96) analyses *mò* 莫 as a fusion of *wú* 無/毋 'not have' and *huò* 或 'one/someone'; this analysis qualifies *mò* 莫 as an existential quantifier. According to him the later development of the modal meaning supports his hypothesis, since the homonymity of the verb *wú* 無 'not have' with the modal negative *wú* 毋 provides a basis for a reanalysis of *mò* 莫 and its development as a modal marker. But this hypothesis does not account for the functional change or extension from a subject quantifier to an adverbially employed negative marker. Additionally, the employment as a deontic marker in performatives requires a 2nd person addressee subject, which does not necessarily constitute a pluralic set, but often represents a single individual.

Although the diachronic development of *mò* 莫 is not at issue in this discussion which concentrates on its function as a modal negative marker in the early Buddhist literature, the following example will be presented for modal *mò* 莫 in non-Buddhist texts; in this example, the subject could be a 2nd person addressee, but this does not necessarily have to be the case to argue for a deontic reading.

(37) 子羔曰：「不及，莫踐其難．」 *Shǐjì*: 37, 1601
Zi Gao say: NEG arrive, NEG_{mo} come-to its difficulty
'Zigao said: "If it has not come up yet, do not approach the difficulties." '[28]

3.2.2 The modal negative marker *mò* 莫 in the early Buddhist literature

The modal negative marker *mò* 莫 evidently appears in the same functions as the modal negative markers *wù* 勿 and *wú* 毋 in Late Archaic and Han period Chinese and the modal marker *wù* 勿 in the Buddhist literature. It expresses deontic modality in the strictest sense, including performative modality in imperatives, but also the subjunctive mood in the complement of volitional verbs, including verbs of warning and of command.

[28] These two examples from the *Shǐjì* are also briefly discussed in a note in Jiang/Cao 2005, p. 132.

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a) The modal negative marker *mò* 莫 with transitive verbs, with and without an overt object, and with intransitive verbs

The first group of examples represents strict deontic modality in speech parts with a second person addressee subject. In example (38) the 2nd person pronoun is not marked for plural, and in a Buddhist text it can thus be assumed to be singular, although it has to be conceded that plural does not have to be marked obligatorily. Similar to *wù* 勿 in examples (26) and (27), *mò* 莫 takes two consecutive VPs as its complement without being repeated. The addressee in performatives with *mò* 莫 can be the agent of a transitive event verb with an overt object—this is the case in most of the examples—, but also an experiencer subject as in examples (41) and (42).

(38) 汝**莫毀破**三世佛戒，**污染**三寶父母師長。」 *Taishō* 4, 202, p. 381a
You NEG_{mod} destroy destroy three world Buddha precept, spoil three jewel parent elder
'Don't destroy the Buddha's precepts of the three periods and [don't] defile the parents and elders of the three jewels.'

In the following example the same transitive verb occurs twice in a prohibition, the first negated by the modal negative marker *mò* 莫, and the second by *wù* 勿. In the first instance, with *mò* 莫, the complex object appears in its default post-verbal position, and in the second, with *wù* 勿, it appears in topic position.[29] In this and in the next example the addressee subjects are not overtly present.

(39) 亦**莫親近**屠兒魁膾，畋獵漁捕，為利**殺害**，販肉自活， 賣女色，如是之人，皆**勿親近**。 *Taishō* 9, 262, p. 37c
Also NEG_{mod} become.close butcher executioner, hunter fisherman, for advantage kill harm, trade meat self live, display sell woman beauty, be.like this SUB man, all NEG_{mod} become.close
'Also don't become close to butchers and executioners, hunters and fishermen, to those who kill or harm for their own advantage, or trade with meat to make a living, to those who display or sell the beauty of women, to all such people don't become close.

(40) 『**莫絕殺**我，稍割食之，可經數日。 *Taishō* 4, 202, p. 356c
NEG_{mod} cut.off kill I, gradual cut eat OBJ, can pass.through several day
'Don't kill me by cutting me off, but cut off [flesh] piece by piece and eat it, so that it lasts for several days.'

[29] In this example *wù* 勿 retains its basic causative function, because no object pronoun appears in postverbal position. Usually a topicalized object leaves a trace, the object pronoun *zhī* 之, in the canonical object position which does not appear when one of the negative markers *fú* 弗 or *wù* 勿 is present.

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In the following example, the object appears in topic position; in example (42) the noun phrase *jūshì* 居士 refers to the addressee and corresponds to a 2nd person subject.

(41) 諸有所須盆器米麵鹽醋之屬，莫自疑難。 *Taishō* 9, 262, p. 17a
All have REL need pen utensil rice flour salt vinegar SUB belong, NEG_{mod} self doubt difficult
'For all what you need in the way of pans and utensils, rice, flower, salt and vinegar, don't worry about it!'

(42) 便下語之：「居士！莫悔也！ *Taishō* 4, 202, 419a
Then below say OBJ: layman! NEG_{mod} regret SFP
'Then he uttered the following: "Layman, don't have any regrets!"'

examples: warum Plural, es kommt doch nur eins (43)? Oder bezieht es sich auch auf die folg.?

In the following examples, an intransitive analysis of the verb seems to be most conclusive. In example (43), the addressee subject is represented by the singular 2nd person pronoun and in the second clause permission is expressed by *dé* 得.

(43) 「汝莫憂惱！我今當令汝得出家。 *Taishō* 4, 202, p. 377b
You NEG_{mod} worry worry! I now FUT make you can leave family
'Don't worry! I will let you now leave home/become a monk.'

In the following example, the addressee subject is not expressed. The verb *tān* 貪, which in example (44) is negated by *mò* 莫 can also be negated by the modal negative *wù* 勿.

(44) 莫貪色聲香味觸也，若持禁戒，必能取道。 *Taishō* 4, 202, p. 381a
NEG_{mod} desire shape tone scent taste feeling SPT, if grasp instructions certainly able.to take way
'Don't desire shape, tone, scent, and feeling! And if you stick to the instructions, you certainly have to do it according to the right way.'

b) The negative marker *mò* 莫 in combination with volitional and causative verbs

In example (45) the modal negative *mò* 莫 appears in the complement of the volitional verb *yuàn* 願 in a causative construction, the causee is not overtly expressed. Identical to the modal negative marker *wù* 勿, *mò* 莫 is attested on a regular basis in the complement of *yuàn* 願 particularly in the *Xiányú jīng*; it is not attested in the *Miàofǎ liánhuā jīng*.[30] Accordingly, it is evidently employed to mark the subjunctive mood.

[30] Contrastingly, in the *Miàofǎ liánhuā jīng* the modally neutral negative marker *bù* 不 is very occasionally attested in the complement of *yuàn* 願.

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(45)『我雖入海，不久當還，唯願莫大憂念於我。』 *Taishō* 4, 202, p. 411c
I although enter sea, NEG long DANG return, only wish NEG_{mod} great worry think PREP I
'Even if I go to the sea, I will return before long, I only wish you not to worry a lot about me.'

In the following example, the negative marker *mò* 莫 appears in the complement of the verb *shèn* 慎 identically to the negative marker *wù* 勿 discussed above. The subject is a 2nd person pronoun, and the verb *shèn* 慎 is selected by the modal auxiliary verb *dāng* 當, in this example expressing mild deontic, i. e. performative modality (MEISTERERNST 2012). The verb *shèn* 慎 by default selects modal negative markers; however, the modal negative marker *mò* 莫 is not attested in the complement of *shèn* 慎 in the *Miàofǎ liánhuā jīng*. In the *Xiányú jīng*, three instances of *mò* 莫 are attested in this construction in contrast to seven with the modal marker *wù* 勿.

(46)『汝當慎莫與迦葉佛沙門講論道理。 *Taishō* 4, 202, p. 422c
You DANG careful NEG_{mod} with Kāśyapa śramaṇa discuss principle
'You should be careful not to discuss the principles with Kāśyapa and the śramaṇas.'

In the following example, the negative marker *mò* 莫 occurs in the complement of the causative verb *líng* 令. This is in fact the only instance of this modal negative marker in the texts at issue in this position; in the complement of *líng* 令 negation is usually expressed either by *wú* 無 with a few instances in the *Miàofǎ liánhuā jīng*, or by the modally neutral negative marker *bù* 不. It cannot be excluded that *mò*莫 retains its original function as a subject quantifier in this example.

(47)『若我福相應為王者，令我民眾獲自然穀，莫復作此。』
Taishō 4, 202, p. 403b
If I merit correspond be king NOM, make I people get self.existent grain, NEG_{mod} again work this
'If my merit corresponds to that of a true king it will let my people have self existent grain so that it does not have to work for it any longer.'

Mò 莫 seems to occupy the same or a very similar position as the the modal negative marker *wù* 勿 does at least in the early Buddhist literature, after it apparently lost its basic causative function. However, it differs from the position of *wù* 勿 in the Late Archaic and Early Medieval literature, where the scope of *wù* 勿 seems to be confined to only one VP. This similarity in position during the time when *mò* 莫 regularly appears as a modal negative marker in different functions may have allowed the reanalysis as a modal negative marker comparable to *wú* 無 as soon as *mò* 莫 was permitted to

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quantify over a singular individual. The analysis of *mò* 莫 as a modal negative marker does not involve any syntactic change in the surface structure, it depends entirely on the loss of its quantificational function, which apparently mainly depends on the semantics of the subject, namely, its being quantifiable or not. If the subject e. g. refers to a singular second person pronoun or its equivalents, which are evidently not quantifiable, an analysis of a *mò* 莫 as a modal negative marker is required. Similar to *wù* 勿, *mò* 莫 frequently appears in deontic contexts in the strictest sense, i. e. in performatives. It selects the same kind of verbs as *wù* 勿 in the Late Archaic, Han period and early Buddhist literature, but due to the functional differences between the two, no causativizing effects are attested with *mò* 莫, and it appears equally with transitive and intransitive verbs. Identically to *wù* 勿 it marks the subjunctive mood in the complement of volitional and occasionally causative verbs.

4 Analytic expressions of prohibition with the modal verb *dé* 得

In this section, only a few examples of the modal verb *dé* 得 in combination with negative markers will be presented to demonstrate that expressions of prohibition are not confined to modal negative markers, but can also be performed by the combination of modal verbs, usually verbs expressing possibility, with modally neutral or modal negative markers leading to a more analytic expression of negation.[31] The modal auxiliary verb *dé* 得 grammaticalized from a full verb with the meaning 'gain, acquire, win, achieve', *huòdé* 獲得 'get' (Wang 1980, p. 302, Ōta 1987, p. 217), which is a typical achievement verb, and accordingly differs considerably from the state verb *néng* 能 'be able to', and also from the state verb *kě* 可 'be possible'. Supposedly due to its lexical aspect, Dobson (1959, p. 53) assumes that a verb embedded by *dé* 得 has resultative aspect. Different possibility functions of *dé* 得 are distinguished in Li (2001) according to the syntactic environment of *dé* 得. The strict deontic readings of permission and prohibition only become more frequent during the Han period and are confined to particular syntactic constraints, such as rhetorical questions, the combination with negative markers, and in the complement of volitional and causative verbs. The appearance of *dé* 得 with double negation in the construction Neg Mod_{aux} Neg *bù dé bù* 不得不 only becomes more frequent during the Han period (there are a few Late Archaic examples, e. g. in *Xùnzǐ*) and corresponds according

[31] A study of analytic negation structures depends on a precise analysis of the semantics of the respective modal auxiliary verbs and will accordingly only be touched upon here.

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to Li (2001, p. 28) to double negation with the modal auxiliary verb *kě* 可 in the same construction *bù kě bù* 不可不.

The modal verb *dé* 得 apparently predominantly expresses circumstantial possibility with both a volitional and a non-volitional agent in the affirmative. In a number of examples, both, a possibility and a deontic reading are conceivable.

a) Neg + *dé* 得 in combination with transitive and intransitive verbs

In example (48)—in a context of etiquette—the negated modal predicate *bù dé* 不得 is ambiguous: both readings, a root possibility, i. e. an ability reading, and a deontic reading are available; the same holds true for examples (49) and (50), whereas examples (51) and (52), both with the modal negative marker *wù* 勿 preceding *dé* 得, evidently have a deontic reading due to the negative marker. Example (53) with the neutral negative marker *bù* 不 preceding *dé* 得 is obviously deontic.

(48) 入見則**不得**復歸，亡國之勢也。」 *Shǐjì*: 113, 2971
Enter appear then NEG DE again return, vanish country SUB circumstance SFP
'If you enter and go for an audience you may not / will not be able to return again, these are the circumstances of a vanishing country.'

(49) 公**不得已**彊行！」 *Shǐjì*: 96, 2678
Prince NEG DE finish force go
'You cannot / may not stop to force yourself to go!'

(50) 又女人身猶有五障：一者、**不得作**梵天王， *Taishō* 9, 0262, p.35c
Moreover woman body still have five obstacle: one NOM, NEG DE make Brahman heaven king
'Moreover the femanle body still has five obstacles: the first, she may not/cannot become a heavenly Brahman king, …'

(51) 『汝等勤作，**勿得懈息**。』 *Taishō* 9, 262, p. 17a
You PL diligent work, NEG_{mod} can relax
'Work diligently and don't be lazy!'

(52)「當精進一心，我欲說此事，**勿得有疑悔**，佛智叵思議。 *Taishō* 262, 41a
Should diligent concentrate, I wish tell this affair NEG_{mod} DE have doubt regret, Buddha wisdom NEG_{mod} think meaning
'You should be diligent and concentrate, because I wish to explain this affair, don't have any doubts or regrets, the Buddha' wisdom cannot be conceptualized.'

(53) 淨人益食**不得相喚**。但以手指麾。 *Taishō* 51, 2085, p. 857b
Server add food NEG DE mutual call.out, only with hand show wave
'If the servers are supposed to add food, one must not call them, only wave with the hands.'

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A few more examples with modal negative markers in combination with the modal verb *dé* 得 are presented in the discussion above.

b) Modal negation with *bù dé* 不得 in the complement of volitional and causative verbs

First a few Han period examples where this structure becomes more frequently attested are presented (it is occasionally also attested in late Late Archaic texts, e. g. the *Lǚshì chūnqiū*). In example (54) the analytic modal negative marker *bù dé* 不得 appears in the second complement of the causative verb *ling* 令, and in (55) in the second complement of the causative verb *shǐ* 使. In example (56) it appears in the complement of the causative phrase *yǒu zhào* 有詔 'there was the instruction'.

(54) 皆令自齎糧食，咸陽三百里內**不得**食其穀。 *Shǐjì*: 6, 269
All order self provide provision food, Xianyang three hundred mile within NEG DE eat DEM grain
'They were all ordered to provide themselves with food and within three hundred miles of Xiangyang not to eat those grains.'

(55) 秦王乃使人遣白起，不得留咸陽中。 *Shǐjì*: 73, 2337
Qin king then order man dispatch Bo Qi, NEG DE stay Xianyang middle
'Then the king of Qin ordered someone to dispatch Bo Qi and not let him stay in Xianyang.'

(56) 尹夫人與邢夫人同時並幸，**有詔不得**相見。 *Shǐjì*: 49,1984 (褚少孫)
Yin wife and Xing wife same time together in.favour, there.is instruction NEG DE each.other see
'Yin's wife and Xing's wife were in favour at the same time and there was the instruction that they were not to see each other.'

Altogether, analytic modal negation is merely infrequently attested in the early Buddhist literature. In examples (57) and (58) the analytic modal negative marker appears in the complement of a causative verb or a verb of warning. Only a very small number of instances is found of this construction.

(57) 若有伺求法師短者，**令不得便**。」 *Taishō* 9, 262, p. 59a
If there.are spy search dharma teacher shortcoming NOM, make NEG DE cause
'If there are any who spy on the teachers of the dharma and search for their shortcomings, we will not let them do so.'

(58) 復念世尊制**戒不得**自殺。 *Taishō* 51, 2085, p. 863a
Again think World.Honoured.One warn NEG DE self kill
'Then he remembered that the World Honoured One gave the warning not to kill oneself.'

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5 Conclusion

The conclusions made here can only be preliminary, since more analytic modal expressions have to be included in a study on the expressions of prohibition in the early Buddhist literature and on the changes of the system of modal negative markers in general. However, at this stage it can be stated that two almost entirely equivalent modal negative markers are attested to different degrees in the early Buddhist texts at issue in this investigation, i.e. the *Miàofǎ liánhuā jīng*, the *Gāosēng Fǎxiǎn zhuàn*, and the *Xiányú jīng*, these are the modal negatives *wù* 勿 and *mò* 莫. Additionally, *wú* 無 is occasionally attested as a deontic negative marker, its variant *wú* 毋 is not attested. As Xu's (2006) study on modal negation in Late Archaic Chinese demonstrates, the data with regard to negative markers can differ considerably in the unearthed manuscripts and the transmitted texts; however, at least in the catalogued manuscripts of Buddhist texts in the Turfan collection (Schmitt/Thilo 1975, Schmitt/Thilo 1985), no alternative variants of the mentioned negative markers seem to be attested.[32]

The functions available to both negative markers in the early Buddhist literature are: 1, to express strict deontic, speaker oriented, performative modality, with a 2nd person addressee subject; but also 2, more indirect deontic, subject, or agent oriented, modality in prescriptive contexts; and 3, to express the subjunctive mood in the complement of volitional, and occasionally causative verbs. The purely causative function attested e.g. in the Late Archaic Literature and in the *Shǐjì* with *wù*勿, does not seem to be relevant any longer. The verbs selected by both modal negative markers are identical, i.e. they select mostly agentive event verbs, but also occasionally verbs with an experiencer subject; both *wù* 勿 and *mò* 莫 can select more stative verbs and are thus able to replace *wú* 毋 entirely. As can be expected for a deontic modal marker, the verbs in its complement are confined to change of stage verbs. The functions of both modal negative markers do not differ considerably from those of the modal negatives of Late Archaic and Han period Chinese; however, the constraints on the employment of the synthetic modal markers of Late Archaic Chinese seem to be less strict than during the earlier periods. In the early Buddhist literature analytic forms—which already are occasionally attested in earlier texts—and modally neutral negative markers seem to become more prominent.

[32] This is only a very tentative remark, since the variants are at present only available via the catalogue entries by Schmitt/Thilo 1975 and 1985, which cover only a limited number of the Buddhist fragments of different periods collected in the Turfan collection in Berlin. More studies are certainly necessary to confirm this claim.

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