YU Xinle 余心樂 SONG Yilin 宋易麟. 1996. *Gu Hanyu xuci cidian* 古漢語虛詞詞典. Jiangxi: Jiangxi jiaoyu chubanshe.

漢代否定詞（未）的語法

Barbara Meistererst

Centre de Recherches Linguistique sur l'Asie Orientale, Paris, University of Gent

提要

本文想討論否定詞（未）的句法和語義.作者假定，否定詞（未）的分析跟與動詞的體有密切的關係.（未）在形態學裏屬於情態否定詞（modal m/w negatives）.從語義的角度來講，否定詞（既）處于互補關係的，而且這兩個副詞是和現代漢語動態詞尾（-了）和否定詞（沒有）可以比較的.根據本文的分析，否定詞（未）通常要求終止形動詞充當其補足語.在這一點上它和現代漢語否定詞（沒有）具有相似性.但它的用法不像（沒有）那末廣泛.另外否定詞（未）也可以修飾非終止形動詞.這樣非終止形動詞的動態經常變化成爲終止的動詞.除此之外，當它修飾靜態動詞和情態動詞時，否定詞（未）就會具有情態否定詞的功能，表示確切的語氣並將示其同別的情態否定詞的關係.

關鍵詞

漢代漢語 否定詞 動詞的體 終止形 非終止形 情態動詞 情態性

THE NEGATIVE WEI 未 IN HAN PERIOD CHINESE

Barbara Meistererst

Centre de Recherches Linguistique sur l'Asie Orientale, Paris, University of Gent

ABSTRACT

In this article, the syntactic and the semantic constraints on the employment of the negative wei 未 in Han period Chinese are at issue and it will be assumed that the interpretation of the negative wei 未 is closely connected to the situation type of the verb it modifies. The negative wei 未 in Classical and Han period Chinese belongs morphologically to the category of modal negatives. Regarding its semantics it has been assumed that the negative wei 未 appears in complementary distribution with the aspecto-temporal adverb yi 已 (and with ji 已) and that the two adverbs display the same dichotomy as the aspectual suffix -le 了 and the negative meiyou 沒有 in modern Mandarin. Based on this assumption the article demonstrates that in fact the negative wei 未 predominantly selects an event as its complement just as has been shown for the negative meiyou 沒有 in Modern Mandarin, though it is less restricted in its employment than meiyou 沒有 in Modern Mandarin. But wei 未 can also select an atelic complement, which then frequently changes its situation type from atelic to telic. Additionally, in combination with state verbs and with modal auxiliaries it can also attain a modal reading indicating the epistemic modal value of Inferred Certainty (assertion) and thus displaying its relation with the other modal negatives.

1. INTRODUCTION

In this article, the syntactic and the semantic constraints on the employment of the negative wei 未 in Han period Chinese are at issue.[1] The data is mainly taken from the *Shiji* (around 100 BC), a text which retains many linguistic

structures of the Classical language and which frequently quotes from or paraphrases Classical texts; but also additionally from the *Hanshu* (1st c. AD), which – as a second historical text – often quotes or paraphrases the *Shiji*. Accordingly, although this study intends to provide a synchronic analysis of the employment of the negative *wei* 未 in Han period Chinese, the structures presented here do not necessarily differ considerably from the structures typical for the Classical language.

1.1 Negation in Classical and Han period Chinese

Traditionally, two different categories of negatives are distinguished in the Classical Chinese language, all of which are still present in Han period Chinese. According to their initial, the negatives are categorised into: 1. the so-called p/f-negatives, and 2. the so-called m/w negatives. The first group consists of all negatives with a *p-initial – reconstructed for Middle Chinese and earlier stages of Chinese – which develops into an f-initial; the second group consists of all negatives with an *m-initial in Middle Chinese which develops into a w-initial. The p/f-negatives express neutral negation without any modal values involved whereas the m/w-negatives usually indicate different modal values: these are mainly deontic (root modal) values expressing the will, ability, permission or obligation to perform some action or bring about some state; but they can also express epistemic modality involving a speaker-oriented qualification or modification of the truth of a proposition.[2]

The most important p/f-negatives are: 1. *bu* 不 (*pət, *put)[3] which as a neutral negative simply denies the situation the verb refers to independently of the mode or the aspect of the verb. Although historically this negative was typical for intransitive verbal predicates establishing a descriptive relation between the subject and the predicate,[4] in Classical and Han period Chinese it occurs with different kinds of verbal predicates. The second important neutral[5] negative is *fu* 弗 (*put) which is historically typically employed to modify transitive verbs.[6] During the Han period it was by virtue of a taboo frequently replaced by *bu* 不. Another important p/f-negative is *fei* (*puj) 非, the negative typical for nominal predication but not confined to it.[7]

The most important m/w-negatives are: 1. *wu* (*muə̆) 無 with its variants *wu* 毋 and *wu* 无 which originally represented two distinct morphemes: 1. a modal

negative, properly written *wu* 毋, and 2. a verb meaning 'not have', properly written *wu* 無 (or *wu* 无).[8] As a modal negative it can express either root modal values (involving will, ability, obligation, or prohibition) or epistemic modal values which is according to Djamouri (1991: 54) the original function of the negative *wu* 毋.[9] The second important modal negative is *wu* (*mut) 勿 which also historically mainly functions as the negative of transitive verbs and which accordingly is analysed analogically to *fu* 弗 in the linguistic literature.[10] The negative *wei* (*mujʰ) 未 which will be discussed below also belongs to the category of m/w-negatives which are assumed to involve modal values.

1.2 The negative *wei* 未 in Classical and Han period Chinese

The negative *wei* 未 is generally assumed to include an aspectual or temporal meaning and according to some scholars, in particular Pulleyblank, it forms – as a morpheme indicating the negative of the perfective aspect – a contrastive pair with the adverb *ji* (*kjʰ) 既 (and the adverb *yi* (*ɟɨ/ji) 已) which is traditionally assumed to function as an adverb indicating the perfective aspect. Pulleyblank (1994: 323) supports his hypothesis with the assumption that *wei* (*mujʰ) 未 etymologically seems to be a fusion of the negative root *m- in the negative *wu* 無 'not have' and the adverb *ji* 既 'already' meaning 'not already' > 'not yet' or 'never'.[11] Another support for this hypothesis is the fact that *wei* 未 is found in combination with the final *ye* 也 which often indicates an unchanged, continuing state in contrast to *ji* 既, which is found with the final *yi* 矣 which often indicates a change of state. Thus sentences with *wei* 未 and the adverbs *ji* 既 or *yi* 已 are assumed to form a similar dichotomy to that of sentences with *meiyou* 沒有 and with verbs followed by the suffix -*le* 了 in Modern Mandarin.

The following two examples exemplify this dichotomy:

(1) 「盜已至・聚彊・今發近縣不及矣.

Dao	yi	zhi,	zhong qiang,	jin	fa	jin	xian	bu	ji	yi.
Bandit	already	arrive,	army strong,	now	send	near	district	NEG	arrive	FIN

Shiji: 6,270

"The bandits have already arrived and their army is strong, and if you now mobilize the nearby districts, they will not arrive."

(2) 未至越，越殺其王降，漢兵亦罷．

Wei zhi   Yue, Yue sha qi wang xiang,   Han bing yi   ba
NEG arrive Yue, Yue kill its king surrender, Han soldier also stop

"Before they arrived (They had not yet arrived) in Yue, (when) the people of Yue had killed their king and surrendered and the Han troops in turn withdrew."

Shiji: 108;2860[12]

The differences between both structures have already been mentioned shortly in Meisterernst (2005) and a very general schema of the dichotomy of *ji* 既 / *yi* 已 and the negative *wei* 未 in comparison with the structure in Modern Mandarin was presented there:

Classical and Han period Chinese   **Modern Mandarin**

a) *ji* 既 / *yi* 已 VP$_1$ (*yi* 矣)[13], VP$_2$ V$_1$ – *le* 了, VP$_2$

a') (*ji* 既 /) *yi* 已 VP (*yi* 矣)   V$_1$ – *le* NP$_{\text{quantified object}}$

b) *wei* 未 VP$_1$ (*ye* 也), VP$_2$ *mei (you)* 沒 (有) VP$_1$, VP$_2$

b') *wei* 未 VP$_1$ (*ye* 也)   *mei (you)* 沒 (有) VP$_1$

According to most grammars, the basic notion of *wei* 未 is to denote a situation in the past which has not yet started or come to its completion at reference time. In most of these cases it is glossed by *meiyou* 沒有 in the linguistic literature. For some occurrences, particularly in combination with modal verbs such as *neng* 能 'can, be able to', *ke* 可 'can', and *zu* 足 'suffice' it is glossed by *bu* 不 and often denotes a situation which will never be completed or take place.[14] In these cases it can imply a tenseless categorial judgement.[15] An additional and somewhat different analysis is found in Harbsmeier (1981), who demonstrates that *wei* 未 can assume a logical function besides its so-called temporal or aspectual functions.[16] According to his examples this function seems to be restricted to a particular syntactic environment, namely to a confined range of verbs.[17] These differences in meaning according to the verb employed clearly show that the semantics of the verb play a vital role in the interpretation of *wei* 未

and consequently, in this paper, they will be the basis for the analysis of the syntactic and semantic constraints of the negative *wei* 未.

2. ASPECT AND SITUATION TYPE IN HAN PERIOD CHINESE

There is no obvious morphological system of the verb distinguishing different aspects in the transmitted written Classical Chinese language. The interpretation of a verb as perfective or imperfective depends mainly on the situation type (lexical aspect / Aktionsart) of the verb phrase. The same verb can, depending on the situation type and the complex structure of the verb phrase, express a perfective or an imperfective situation. This fact challenges the hypothesis that there are particular morphemes such as for instance the adverb *ji* 既 (and its synonym *yi* 已) 'already' and its so-called negative counterpart *wei* 未 'not yet, never' that serve to indicate the grammatical aspect of the verb in the first place. In the following I will hypothesize that the employment of the negative *wei* 未 is restricted by the situation type of the verb it selects and that the different notions of the negative result from these syntacto-semantic constraints. The system adopted for this analysis is a slightly altered version of the one proposed by Vendler (1967) who distinguishes four different categories of situation types: States, activities, accomplishments and achievements. States and activities are both atelic and focus neither on the initial nor the final point of the situation, but in contrast to states, activities are assumed to start and to end and they require an input of energy to be maintained. Accomplishments are telic; they include an activity with its final point while achievements focus only on the final point and are accordingly sometimes considered punctual[18].

In the following I will give a few examples for the different situation types in Han period Chinese, taken from the *Shiji*:[19]

1) States

(1) ___ (F)[20]

(3) 梁孝王者，李景弟也，其母寶太后愛之．

Liang Xiao wang zhe, Xiao Jing di   ye, qi mu   Dou
Liang Xiao king ZHE, Xiao Jing younger-brother FIN, his mother Dou

SJ: 107;2839[21]

2) Activities   a) (I) ///////// (F);   b) (I //////// F)

tai-hou   ai   zhi
royal-mother love him

"King Xiao of Liang was the younger brother of Xiao Jing and his mother, the royal lady Dou, loved him."

(4) 漢王方食 ‧ 曰 ︰「子房前！

Han wang fang shi jue zi Fang qian
Han king just eat say zi Fang advance
"The king of Han was just eating and said: 'Come in, Zi Fang.'"

Shiji: 55:2040

3) Accomplishments[22]   (I) //////// F

(5) 武王渡河 ‧ 中流 ‧ 白魚躍入王舟中 ‧ 武王俯取以祭 ‧

Wu wang du He, zhong liu, bai yu yue ru wang zhou zhong, Wu wang
Wu king cross He, middle float, white fish leap enter king boat middle, Wu king

fu   qu yi ji
bow-the-head take with sacrifice

"Wu wang crossed the He and while they were floating in the middle a white fish leaped into the king's boat and Wu wang bent down to it to take it for a sacrifice."

Shiji: 4;120

4) Achievements   (I //////////) F

(6) 襄王母薨死 ‧ 後母曰惠后 ‧

Xiang wang mu   zao si, hou mu yue Hui hou
Xiang wang mother early die, later mu say Hui hou
"Xiang wang's mother died early and the later mother's name was Hui hou."

Shiji: 4;151

More recent analyses, for instance Lyons (1977: 707) distinguish only three different categories: *states* and *processes* (activities) as atelic and *events*

(including accomplishments and achievements) as telic. The structure of situation types (lexical aspects / Aktionsarten) is compositional (Verkuyl 1993), with individual predicates as well as various kinds of prepositional phrases and noun phrases contributing to the overall aspectual structure of a particular sentence.[23] The interplay of the verb and its arguments and additionally the employment of adverbs play an important role in situation type shifts, for example, from telic to atelic and vice versa.

The following analysis will show that the employment of the negative *wei* 未 generally seems to be restricted to verbs of a particular situation type: namely mainly to verbs denoting events. It can also be employed with state verbs (or more precisely predicates), which — when modified by *wei* 未 — often but not exclusively change their situation type from state to event. In this regard it behaves indeed similarly to the negative *mei you* 沒有 in Modern Mandarin, which, as Lin (2003) has shown, selects an event as its complement, too.

2.1 Negation and situation type in Han period Chinese

Although the discussion of the logical implications of negation has a long tradition in the philosophical and linguistic literature dating back until Aristotle,[24] the interrelations between situation type and negation are as yet not at all clear. The semantics of the verb and its interpretation regarding the grammatical aspect — perfective versus imperfective — contribute to the scope of the negative, namely to its focalising the initial or the final point of the situation, if one of these is visible in the verb;[25] and consequently it also contributes to the interpretation of the negated situation and its relation to its affirmative counterpart. As far as the telicity of the predicate — an important characteristic in distinguishing situation types — is concerned, it can be stated that a negated atelic situation, a state or a process, remains atelic, whereas a negated telic situation, namely an event, seems to lose its telicity and becomes atelic. According to Smith (1997: 256) with accomplishment verbs the negative refers to the process preceding the final point and including the initiation of the process, while with achievement verbs it refers to the preliminaries of the achievement or the achievement itself. With a resultative interpretation, the negative usually refers to the result. But with all event verbs the result of the negation is always a derived state predicate (Smith 1997: 258) which is atelic. The following discussion of the particular implications

of the negative *wei* 未 with regard to the situation type of the verb will hopefully help to elucidate the interrelation of negation and situation type in Chinese.

Although the negative *wei* 未 generally seems to be particularly confined to events (including states and activities that attain an eventive reading) on the one hand and – occasionally – to genuine states on the other hand, this does not imply that event verbs have in general to be negated by the negative *wei* 未. Many eventive verbs are frequently negated by the negative *bu* 不 which can be employed to universally modify verbs of all situation types. Contrastively to predicates with the negative *wei* 未, no modal or aspectual values are involved with the negative *bu* 不, it simply denies the particular occurrence of the situation the verb refers to without focussing on either its initial or its final point; the attainment of the situation referred to by the verb following reference time is not implied. Apparently, predicates negated by *bu* 不 are less confined to a particular syntactic environment than predicates negated by *wei* 未.

In the following example (7) the typical telic (event) verb *zhi* 至 'to reach' is negated by the neutral negative *bu* 不:

(7) 所聞諸侯削地，罪不至此，此恐不得削地而已。」

Suo wen zhu-hou xiao di, zui bu zhi ci, ci kong bu de
REL hear feudal-lord chop-off land, guilt NEG reach this, this fear NEG can

xiao di er yi
chop-off land CON finish

Shiji: 106;2826

"What he had heard about feudal lords being deprived of land, [in those cases] the offence did not go as far as this, and therefore he is afraid that the mere seizure of land cannot be the end of it."[26]

But, equally in examples (8) and (9) the typical atelic verbs *ai* 愛 'to love' as a state and *shi* 食 'to eat' as an activity are negated by *bu* 不:

(8) 其好殺伐行威不愛人如此。

Qi hao shafa xing wei bu ai ren ru ci
His like kill attack carry-out power NEG love man like this

Shiji: 122;3148

"He liked to kill, to attack, to show his power and not to love others like this."

(9) 「耕事方急，一日不作，百日不食。」

Geng shi fang-ji, yi ri bu zuo, bai ri bu shi
Plough affair just urgent, one day NEG make, hundred day NEG eat

Shiji: 43;1802

"Doing the ploughing is quite urgent now, if one does not carry it out even for a day, for a hundred days one will not have anything to eat."

In all these examples the negated predicate refers to the non-occurrence of a particular situation in general without referring to either its initial or its final point. A change of state of the situation is not anticipated following reference time nor is a categorical denial of the situation implied. In example (8) with the emotive state verb *ai* 愛 'to love' and in (9) with the activity verbs *zuo* 作 'to make' and *shi* 食 'to eat' the situation referred to by the verb is atelic whether negated or not, whereas in example (7) with a genuine telic verb, the predicate in its negated form is a derived state which is atelic in contrast to the achievement where – with an achievement verb such as *zhi* 至 'to reach' – the focus always lies on the final point of the situation. In example (9) with the activity verbs *zuo* 作 'to make' and *shi* 食 'to eat' both predicates are additionally marked by a preverbal duration phrase which is only possible with genuine activity verbs.[27]

3. THE DISTRIBUTION OF WEI 未

The semantics of the verb in Modern Mandarin – including its situation type – have been at issue in many linguistic studies in recent years (e.g. by Ma 1992, Smith 1991, Ross 2002, Lin 2003, 2004 and others). These studies have shown that the distinction of different situation types plays a vital role in the analysis of the Chinese verb phrase particularly with regard to the distribution of the aspectual suffixes. Although such aspectual suffixes do not exist in Classical and Han period Chinese, the situation type of the verb is just as important for the interpretation of the verb phrase during these periods as it is in Modern Mandarin. As the situation type places constraints on the distribution of aspectual suffixes in Modern Mandarin it also places constraints on the employment of different kinds of adjuncts including the so-called temporal and aspectual adverbs and the

negative *wei* 未. Between the situation type of the verb and its adjunct there exists a twofold dependency relation: 1. the situation type of the verb places constraints on the employment of adjuncts; 2. the employment of adjuncts can determine – and change – the situation type.

3.1 The negative *wei* 未 and event verbs

Situation types are not always clearly distinguishable – particularly the differentiation between activities and accomplishments on the one hand and accomplishments and achievements on the other hand can be quite difficult – and verbs can assume different situation types according to their syntactic environment. Verbs denoting events are always telic,[28] they usually – but not exclusively – focus on the final point of the situation and they imply a change of state. They tend to express a perfective situation when unmarked or a resultant state when adverbially modified by *ji* 既 and *yi* 已.[29] When modified by *wei* 未 the non attainment of the situation – namely the change of state – referred to by the verb at reference time is focussed on, but additionally, in most cases this change of state is still anticipated; the situation itself is viewed in its entirety and as punctual.

a) events with *wei*

未 (I //////I) F	‖	F
wei V	‖	V
reference time (RT)	‖	following RT

To the left to the double slash, the non-attainment of the situation at reference time is indicated whereas to its right, the still anticipated attainment of the situation following reference time is indicated.

3.1.1 The negative *wei* 未 with genuine event verbs

Events can be expressed by genuine event verbs which can be divided into achievement verbs such as *ding* 定 'to establish', *mie* 滅 'to destroy', *si* 死 'to die' (and its synonyms), *zhi* 至 'to reach', *de* 得 'to attain, to get', *sha* 殺 'to kill', *cheng* 成 'to complete, to accomplish, to achieve' and many others and accomplishment verbs such as e.g. *zhu* 築 'to build', *wang* 往 'to go to', *du* 渡 'to cross' etc. All event verbs are – if not otherwise marked – telic and they include at

least the final point (F) of the situation, like those found in the following examples.

(10) 冬，未葬，而群公子畏誅，皆出亡。

Dong, wei zang, er qun gong-zi wei zhu, jie chu wang
winter, NEG bury, CON all prince fear punish, all go-out flee
"In the winter, when he had not yet been buried, all the princes were afraid of being executed and they fled into exile."

Shiji: 32,1505

(11) 我未定天保，何暇寐！

Wo wei ding tian bao, he xia mei
I NEG establish heaven protect, how leisure sleep
"I did not establish the heavenly shelter yet so how could I be at leisure and sleep!"

Shiji: 4,129

(12) 天下未集，群公懼，穆卜，…

Tianxia wei ji, qun gong ju, mu bu
Empire NEG gather, all duke fear, ceremonious divine
"The empire was not consolidated yet and all dukes were frightened and ceremoniously they consulted the oracle, …"

Shiji: 4,131

(13) 逐其賊，未得也。

Zhu qi ze, wei de ye
Pursue his assassin, NEG get FIN
"One pursued the assassins but had not got them yet."

Shiji: 58,2085

(14) 是以行之百有餘年，德化至今未成 Hanshu: 22,1072

Shi-yi, xing zhi bai you yu nian, de hua zhi jin wei cheng
Therefore execute OBJ hundred and more year, virtue change until now NEG achieve
"Therefore they executed it for more than hundred years, but until now alterations in virtuous behaviour have not yet been achieved."

In examples (10) to (14) the attainment of the situation expressed by the verb at reference time is negated. All situations imply a change of state following reference time which is still expected. In example (14) reference time is explicitly indicated by the temporal adverbial *zhi jin* 至 今 'until now'. In contrast to the preceding examples, in example (15), the usually implied change of state can no longer be expected to take place, although the predicate also clearly refers to a situation which has not been attained at reference time.

(15) 元雖未伏誅‧不宜立嗣‧」
| | | | | | | |
Yuan sui   wei   fu-zhu,   bu   yi   li   si   *Hanshu*: 53;2422
Yuan although NEG receive-death-sentence, NEG appropriate establish successor
"Although Yuan had not received the death sentence, it was not appropriate to establish him as successor."

This is one of the rare examples of an event verb referring to a situation without implying a change of state following reference time. The employment of the negative *wei* 未 in this example apparently indicates the non-attainment of a situation contrary to expectation and accordingly a modal evaluation of the situation is involved.

In all the examples the affirmative counterpart of the negative predicate would refer to a completed, i.e. a perfective situation and the negative refers to the completion, the final point of the situation which is typically visible in an achievement verb, or to the non-attainment of a resultant state. The predicate itself is no longer telic, but a derived stative, as it is generally the case with negated event verbs.

3.1.2 The negative *wei* 未 with verbs that can have an activity and an event reading

Besides these genuine event verbs, some verbs have – depending on their syntactic environment – to be analysed as either atelic activity verbs or telic event verbs. These are verbs like *yan* 言 'to speak, to utter', *jian* 見 'to be visible, to appear' – this verb has a second reading *xian* 見 'to appear' –, *xing* 行 'to walk, to set off' etc. These verbs can be modified by *wei* 未 as well. Modified by *wei* 未, the verb usually has to be interpreted as an event verb as in the following two examples (16) and (17):

(16) 口雖未言‧聲疾雷霆‧…
Kou   sui   wei yan, sheng ji   lei   ting   *Shiji*:118;3090[30]
Mouth although NEG utter, sound quick thunder clap
"Although his mouth has not yet uttered a word the sound of his voice is as loud as a clap of thunder, ..."

(17) 若客‧所謂知其一未睹其二‧見其外不識其內者也‧
Ruo ke,   suo wei zhi   qi yi   wei   du qi er,   jian qi wai   *Hanshu*: 87;3559
Like guest, REL call know its one NEG see its two, see its outside NEG know its
nei   zhe   ye
inside NOM FIN
"As far as my guest is concerned, this is what is called to know one [aspect], but to have not yet recognised the second, to see the outside but not to know the inside."

In both examples, the predicate does not refer to an ongoing activity which seems to be the most likely interpretation of these verbs when unmodified, but rather to an event that did not yet take place, therefore the verb in its unmodified form has to be interpreted as telic and the situation is viewed from an external point of view. While examples with the verb *yan* 言 'to speak' modified by the negative *wei* 未 are very rare, examples with *du* 睹 'to see' are frequently found proportionally to the total amount of occurrences of this verb. This may lead to the conclusion that the basic situation type of *yan* 言 has to be determined as activity while that of *du* 睹 has to be determined as event.[31] Without a close inspection of the syntactic constraints of the verbs mentioned, their actual situation type is difficult to define as will be exemplified by the following verb *xing* 行 'to walk, to set off'.

(18) 吳楚反書聞‧兵未發‧竇嬰未行‧言故吳相袁盎‧
Wu Chu fan   shu wen, bing   wei   fa,   Dou Ying wei   xing, yan
Wu Chu revolt letter hear, soldier NEG send-out, Dou Ying NEG go,   speak
gu   Wu xiang   Yuan Ang   *Shiji*: 106;2830
former Wu prime-minister Yuan Ang

"When the letter of revolt of Wu and Chu came to his attention and when he had not yet sent out troops and Dou Ying had not yet set off, he talked to the former prime minister of Wu, Yuan Ang."

The first wei 未 in this example modifies a typical event verb fa 發 'to send, to emit', and the second wei 未 which is the relevant one here modifies the verb xing 行 'to walk, to act; to set off'. In this example the verb has clearly attained the event reading 'to set off', namely the situation is represented as telic and from an external point of view. But this verb also has an atelic reading 'to walk'. This can be evidenced by the fact that in case the predicate contains a duration phrase, this duration phrase always refers to situational duration, namely to the duration of the situation the verb actually refers to, and not to resultant state duration.[32]

(19) 龐涓行三日，大喜，曰：
Pang Juan xing san ri, da xi, yue

Shiji: 65,2164

"When Pang Juan march three day, great delight, say"

"When Pang Juan had marched for three days, he was highly delighted and said:"

In example (19), the verb xing 行 'to march' is clearly atelic; the postverbal duration phrase refers to the marching itself and not to a state resulting from the situation 'set off'. This analysis is supported by the fact that the verb xing 行 can even be modified by a preverbal duration adverb such as jiu 久[33] which is impossible with true event verbs. Accordingly one can assume that the basic situation type of a verb such as xing 行 is atelic although it is often found in a telic reading and modified by adverbs which are typical for event verbs such as ji 既/yi 已 'already' and wei 未.[34] Cases such as these raise the question whether it is better to assume two different verbs, an atelic verb 'to walk, to march' and a derived telic verb 'to set off'.[35]

But, as will be shown in the next paragraph, occasionally the negative wei 未 can – just as well as the adverbs ji 既/yi 已 'already' – not only modify verbs such as those mentioned above but also genuine activity verbs such as zhan 戰 'to fight'.

3.2 The negative wei 未 with genuine activity verbs

Activities are expressed by atelic process verbs that do not focus on either the initial or the final point, such as shi 食 'to eat', zhan 戰 'to fight', xue 學 'to learn, to study' jiao 教 'to teach', you 游 'to wander, to travel', xing 行 'to march'. In contrast to a state, an activity requires an input of energy to be maintained. As the following examples will show, occasionally activity verbs can also be negated by the negative wei 未; but when negated with wei 未 they no longer refer to an activity in progress but to a situation viewed in its entirety from a perfective perspective. They can be represented as follows:[36]

b) activities with   wei 未((I) //////// (F))perf   ((I) ////// (F))perf
                      wei V   V
      reference time   (RT)   following RT

(20) 兵未戰而先見敗徵，此可謂知兵矣．

Shiji: 7,304[37]

Bing wei zhan er xian jian bai zheng, ci ke wei zhi bing yi
Soldier NEG fight CON before see defeat sign, this can call soldier FIN

"Recognizing the signs of defeat even if the army has not fought yet - this [indeed] can be called knowing the art of warfare."

(21) 朕之不德，海內未洽，乃以未教成者疆吾連城，即股肱何勸？

Shiji: 60-2107

Zhen zhi bu de,   hai nei   wei   xia,   nai   yi   wei   jiao cheng
I ZHI NEG virtue, sea within NEG permeate, then yi   NEG teach complete
zhe   qiangjun lian   cheng,ji   gu   gong   he   quan
NOM force ruler connect city,   then thigh upper-arm how exhort

"That I am not virtuous did not yet become known within the seas; and if one thereupon forces someone who is not yet instructed to perfection to become ruler of several connected cities, how should the Great Ministers exhort him then?"

(22) 陛下讓文武，躬自切，及皇子未數。

| Bixia | rang wen wu, | gong zi | qie,ji | Huang zi wei jiao. |

Majesty yield civil military, body himself cut, reach Huang zi NEG teach

"Your Majesty yields to civil and military affairs and wears himself out to the extent that your Majesty's son has not been instructed yet."

Shiji: 60;2110

In these examples, also, as in the preceding ones with genuine event verbs, the VP refers to the non-attainment of an event which is represented in its entirety from a perfective viewpoint and not from the imperfective viewpoint as an ongoing process. In example (21) this interpretation is particularly supported by the telic verb *cheng* 成 'to complete, achieve' following *jiao* 教 'to teach'. In this respect activities negated by *wei* 未 clearly differ from those negated by *bu* 不 which represent the situation from an imperfective perspective with the negative referring to the ongoing process as can be seen in example (9). Instances with activity verbs are in general not very frequent, and they are clearly not representative for verbs modified by the negative *wei* 未.

3.3 The negative *wei* 未 and state verbs

Similar to *mei you* 沒有 in Modern Mandarin, the negative *wei* 未 selects those state verbs as its complement which possibly allow a telic, namely a change of state, reading such as *lao* 老 'old', *wan* 晚 'late' etc. It never selects those state verbs as its complement that do not allow a change of state reading such as emotive state verbs like *ai* 愛 'to love' and others which are usually negated by *bu* 不; consequently the employment of the negative *wei* 未 plays an important role in distinguishing the two different classes of state verbs.[38] State verbs in a telic reading usually receive an inchoative meaning: they focus on the initial point of the situation in contrast to event verbs which focus on the final point. They do not refer to permanent attributes but to single episodes or to transient properties.[39] In contrast to *mei you* 沒有, *wei* 未 in Han period Chinese can also serve to negate modal auxiliaries such as *ke* 可 'can', *neng* 能 'can, be able to', *ken* 肯 'be willing' which are usually considered as being stative. Additionally it can serve to negate a few verbs that can be either stative or eventive such as *you* 有 'to have' – and *zhi* 知 'to

know'. Nevertheless, since – as already mentioned above – it cannot occur with emotive state verbs such as *ai* 愛 'to love', it is subject to certain constraints regarding state verbs. While a VP consisting of an eventive verb negated by *wei* 未 almost exclusively seems to refer to the non-attainment of an event which by definition implies an expected change of state with state verbs this does not always seem to be the case.

3.3.1 The negative *wei* 未 with state verbs (adjectives)

As already mentioned, in predicates with state verbs (adjectives) which can attain a change of state reading, the negative frequently but not exclusively refers to the initial point of the situation which is usually the point visible in state verbs of this kind. Since in a genuine stative situation neither of the endpoints of the situation is focussed on, these situations can no longer be regarded as genuinely stative. They have to be considered events with the focus on the initial point of the situation and accordingly they can be depicted quite similarly to events negated with *wei* 未.

c) states with *wei* 未

```
               wei 未 I
    wei V               I
                ‖       ‖
reference time (RT)   following RT
```

The following two examples represent typical state verbs which modified by *wei* 未 attain a telic meaning and imply a change of state: 1. 'becoming old', 2. 'be too late'. Both verbs refer to situations in the future; a change of state is still anticipated.

(23) 其後將霸，未老而死

| Qi | hou | jiang ba, | wei lao er | si |

His behind FUT hegemony, NEG old CON die

"His successors will have the hegemony but they will die before they become old (they will not yet be old when they die)"

Shiji: 43;1787[40]

(24) ... 即 不 解 乃 力 戰 而 死 ， 未 晚 也 。   *Shiji*: 123;3177[41]

Ji bu jie nai li zhan er si, wei wan ye

"... but if they (the troops) are not disbanded it will not be too late to fight to the death with all our strength."

In contrast to the preceding examples, in the following example (25) a change of state cannot necessarily be anticipated, and most likely the verb refers to a genuine state without any change of state reading implied.

(25) 齊 ， 霸 國 之 餘 業 也 ， 地 大 人 眾 ， 未 易 獨 攻 也 。

Qi, ba guo zhi yu ye, di da ren zhong, wei yi du gong ye

Shiji: 80;2428

Qi, hegemon state SUB remaining inheritance FIN, land big man many, NEG easy alone attack FIN

"Qi is the remaining legacy of a hegemon state, its territory is large and its people numerous, it is not easy to attack it alone."

But as in example (15) a modal evaluation of the situation, here the epistemic modal value of inferred certainty, seems to be involved.

3.3.2 The negative *wei* 未 with modals

Frequently, the negative *wei* 未 occurs negating a modal predicate consisting of a modal auxiliary and a main verb. The modal auxiliaries negated by *wei* 未 are mainly *ke* 可 'can', *neng* 能 'can, be able to', *de* 得 'can' which all express the root modal values of ability, and the auxiliary verb *zu* 足 'suffice' which indicates the possibility of establishing a situation the preconditions of which are fulfilled.[42] Usually the root modal values of ability are agent oriented and accordingly require verbs that have an agentive subject as their complement. But since ability can generalise to root possibility which is not confined to internal ability but can also include external conditions (Bybee *et al.* 1994: 178), the subject does not obligatorily assume the thematic role of the agent. The verbs modified by these modals are predominantly event verbs or process / activity verbs

and occasionally state verbs that allow a change of state reading, but – negated with *wei* 未 – never verbs that by definition exclude a change of state reading.[43] In a predicate with a telic matrix verb this verb clearly retains its telicity characteristics, but the modal predicate in its entirety has to be considered stative. The situation a modal predicate refers to is non-factual, meaning it does not factually occur in the real world, although there is some probability that it may occur in the real world at a future point of time.

In the following examples the negative *wei* 未 modifies a predicate consisting of a modal auxiliary and a main verb: in (26) the main verb *fa* 伐 'to attack' is an event verb and in (27) the VP *ting zheng* 聽 政 'to conduct the governmental affairs' is an activity verb which, negated by *wei* 未, attains an eventive reading, but since the negative *wei* 未 refers to the auxiliary and not to the main verb the situation type does not have to shift from atelic to telic.

(26) 「天 方 開 楚 ， 未 可 伐 也 。   *Shiji*: 42;1769

Tian fang kai Chu, wei ke fa ye

Heaven just open Chu, NEG can attack FIN

"Heaven is just open(ing) / has just opened for Chu, it cannot be attacked yet."

(27) 武 靈 王 少 ， 未 能 聽 政 ， 博 聞 師 三 人 ， 左 右 司 過 三 人 。

Wu Ling wang shao, wei neng ting zheng,   bo   wen shi san ren, zuo you si   guo   san ren,

Shiji: 43;1803

Wu Ling king young, NEG can listen government, extensive hear teacher three man, left right control mistakes three man

"The king Wu Ling was still young and was not yet able to conduct his duties in government, he consulted extensively his three teachers for advice and three men of the entourage who controlled his mistakes."

In example (28), the modal modifies a change of state state verb *tian tan* 恬 惔 'to be at rest and peace':

(28) 今上治天下，未能恬倓。

| Jin | shang | zhi | tianxia, | wei | neng | tian | tan |

Now above govern empire, NEG can quiet peaceful

Shiji: 6;257

"Well, [the way] Your Majesty governs the empire, you <u>cannot be at rest and peace</u>."

Although modal verbs are generally stative, negated by *wei* 未 , very often a change of state is anticipated as in examples (26) and (27). Accordingly, modal verbs apparently behave quite similarly to the above discussed state verbs (adjectives) that allow a change of state reading. In the following example, the VP consists of the modal verb *neng* 能 alone without any other verb contributing to the interpretation of the predicate. As in the preceding examples, in example (29) the auxiliary *neng* 能 alone has to be interpreted as a state verb which negated by *wei* 未 implies an expected change of state.

(29) 冬，晉侯會諸侯於溫，欲率之朝周，力未能，恐其有畔者，乃使人言周襄王狩于河陽。

Dong, *Jin* *hou* *hui* *zhu-hou* *yu Wen,* *yu* *shuai zhi* *chao* *Zhou.*

Winter, Jin marquis gather feudal lord in Wen, wish lead OBJ audience Zhou.

Li *wei* *neng* *kong qi you* *pan* *zhe,* *nai shi* *ren yan* *Zhou Xiang*

Strength NEG can, fear its there-is rebel ZHE, then send man talk Zhou Xiang

wang shou *yu Heyang*

king inspection-tour at Heyang

Shiji: 39;1668

"In the winter the marquis of Jin gathered the feudal lords in Wen and he wished to lead them to the court of Zhou. But his strength <u>was not (yet) sufficient</u> and he feared that there would be some rebels amongst them and thereupon he sent someone to tell king Xiang of Zhou to go on an inspection tour in Heyang."

In the following example, *wei* 未 is followed by the modal adverb *bi* 必 'necessarily':

(30) 「能行之者未必能言，能言之者未必能行．」

Neng xing zhi *zhe* *wei* *bi* *neng yan,* *neng yan zhi* *zhe* *wei*

Can do OBJ ZHE NEG necessarily can speak, can speak OBJ ZHE NEG

bi *neng xing*

necessarily can do

Shiji: 65;2168

"Those who can do it <u>cannot necessarily talk about it</u>; those who can talk about it <u>cannot necessarily do it</u>."

This example represents what Harbsmeier calls the 'logical' *wei* 未 . In most of Harbsmeier's examples for 'logical' *wei* 未 , the negative modifies either a modal, a state verb (adjective) or one of the verbs discussed below, which can be interpreted either as stative or as eventive.

As already mentioned, as far as the combination with modals is concerned, the employment of *wei* 未 in Han period Chinese differs considerably from that of *mei you* 没有 in Modern Mandarin. Since modals clearly have to be determined as stative in Han period Chinese, the employment of the negative *wei* 未 is evidently less restricted than that of *meiyou* 没有 in Modern Mandarin. This gives rise to the question whether modals during the period under consideration – although stative in the first instance – show semantic characteristics different from the modals in Modern Mandarin, a question that has to be postponed to a separate study. In all preceding examples the negative *wei* 未 clearly refers to a stative situation, usually but not necessarily implying a change of state following reference time. When no change of state following reference time can be anticipated, the notions of the negative apparently include a modal evaluation of the situation.

3.3.3 The negative *wei* 未 with verbs that can be either stative or eventive

Frequently *wei* 未 appears to modify verbs which are generally regarded as stative, but which in Classical and Han period Chinese can – depending on their syntactic environment – attain an eventive reading as well. These are verbs such as *you* 有 'to have, there is' or *zhi* 知 'to know'. As the following examples will show, modified by the negative *wei* 未 , the verbs as such can attain either a non-stative, event reading or a categorical or a stative reading. The entire predicate always has

to be analysed as stative. With an event reading of the verb a future change of state is implied whereas with a stative reading it is not.

(31) 時時怨望屬王死，時欲畔逆，未有因也。

Shiji: 118;3082

Shi shi yuan wang Li wang si, shi yu pan ni, wei you yin ye

Time time resent look-at Li king die, time wish rebel revolt, NEG have depend-on FIN

"From time to time he resentfully looked back at king Li's death, and occasionally he wished to rebel, but as yet he had not had any opportunity [to do so]."

In this example, the verb has an eventive reading; a change of state is anticipated following reference time.

(32) 天下未有不能自治而能治人者也，此百世不易之道也。

Shiji: 112;2952⁴⁴

Tianxia wei you bu neng zi zhi er neng zhi ren zhe ye, ci bai shi bu yi zhi dao ye

Empire NEG have NEG can self govern CON can govern man ZHE FIN, this hundred generation NEG change SUB way FIN

"In the whole world there has never been anyone who was not able to govern himself, but was able to govern others; this is a principle that has not changed in hundreds of generations."

In this example, the verb evidently has a stative meaning and the predicate expresses a categorical denial of the situation referred to by the verb. Possibly these cases can be considered as derived cases in which a possible change of state is explicitly excluded, i.e. a modal evaluation of the situation is involved. In the following two examples (33, 34) a change of state is anticipated and expected at a time following reference time:

(33) 武王曰：「女未知天命，未可也。」

Wu wang yue ru wei zhi tian ming, wei ke ye

Shiji: 4;120⁴⁵

Wu king say you NEG know heaven decree, NEG possible FIN

"King Wu said: 'You do not (yet) know heaven's decree, it is not yet possible.'"

(34) 烏孫國分，王老，而遠漢，未知其大小，素服屬匈奴日久矣。

Shiji: 123;3169⁴⁶

Wusun guo fen, wang lao, er yuan Han, wei zhi qi da xiao, su fu shu Xiongnu ri jiu yi

Wusun land divide, king old, CON far Han, NEG know his great small, always submit attach Xiongnu day long FIN

"But the state Wusun was divided, the king was old and far away from Han, he did not yet know its size, and it was a long time since they used to be subjected and attached to the Xiongnu."

while in (35) the change of state is not necessarily anticipated, it is hoped for and accordingly a modal evaluation of the situation, an assertion, is included.

(35) 重耳曰：「羽毛齒角玉帛，君王所餘，未知所以報。」

Shiji: 39;1659

Chong'er yue yu mao chi jue yu bo, jun wang suo yu, wei zhi suo yi bao

Chong'er say feather fur tooth horn precious-stone silk, ruler king REL surplus, NEG know REL with repay

"Chong'er said: 'Feathers and fur, teeth, horn, precious stones and silk, Your majesty has in abundance, I do not know how to repay you.'"

4. CONCLUSION

As the preceding discussion has clearly shown, *wei* 未 mostly selects events as its complement and consequently its main function is to negate the occurrence or existence of an event. This is even the case with most of the state verbs which – modified by *wei* 未 – usually receive an inchoative and accordingly an eventive reading. Apparently it never occurs in purely attitudinal sentences which are usually negated by *bu* 不 or modifying emotive state verbs which do not imply a change of state. Even in those cases in which no direct change of state is anticipated it very often seems to be implied: it can be either explicitly excluded

('never') or implicitly be wished for as in example (35). In those cases, obviously, a modal evaluation of the situation is included. This modal notion of *wei* 未 is mainly found with state verbs including modals and the verbs *you* 有 'to have, there is' and *zhi* 知 'to know'. Apparently *wei* 未 is less restricted in its employment with state verbs as for instance *mei you* 沒 有 in Modern Mandarin but also as the Han period adverbs *ji* 既 and *yi* 已 'already' which can be employed with state verbs (adjectives) as well but are quite rare in combination with modals and with state verbs such as *you* 有 'to have' and *zhi* 知 'to know'. Although sentences modified by *ji* 既 and *yi* 已 can – when referring to a resultant state – occasionally be regarded as stative as well, in general they have to be analysed as non-states; an analysis which is often supported by the employment of the final *yi* 矣 which indicates a change of state. In contrast to those sentences, sentences with the negative *wei* 未 are often characterized by the final *ye* 也, which basically marks tense neutral attributive non active sentences with a reinforced assertive modality of the sentence.[47] This analysis of *ye* 也 agrees well with the fact that *wei* 未 - in correlation with *ye* 也 – is quite frequently found in combination with modal auxiliaries such as *ke* 可,[48] *zu* 足 but also with the modal verbs *neng* 能, *gan* 敢, *de* 得 etc. or with the verbs *you* 有 and *zhi* 知.[49] This kind of assertive modality attributed to the final *ye* 也 is clearly also involved in predicates negated by *wei* 未, and it seems to be the main function of *wei* 未 when no change of state is anticipated, i.e. in those cases in which Harbsmeier analyses the function of the negative as 'logical'. Consequently, the final can be analysed as reinforcing this particular notion of the negative. The exclusive employment of the final *ye* 也 in combination with predicates negated by *wei* 未 further supports the hypothesis that the situation type of a negated predicate is always stative. In general, negated predicates are – if modified by a final at all – predominantly found in combination with the final *ye* 也.[50] This general predominance of the final *ye* 也 with negated predicates provides further evidence for the analysis of the situation type of a negated predicate as stative independently of the original situation type of the verb. But this state is apparently a transient and not a permanent state attributed to a person or an object. Without finally establishing the difference between modals in Classical and Han period Chinese and Modern Mandarin, one can certainly assume that a modal predicate has to be regarded as

stative, but apparently it also belongs to the category of states that allow a change of state reading.

In recapitulation, the negative *wei* 未 can be characterised as follows:

- It predominantly selects an event as its complement; If it selects an atelic complement this often changes its situation type from atelic to telic.

- It never occurs in purely attitudinal sentences or modifying verbs that do not allow a change of state reading.

- It is connected to the other modal m/w-negatives by indicating the epistemic modal value of Inferred Certainty (assertion).

- The epistemic modal value is mainly found with state verbs including modals and the verbs *you* 有 and *zhi* 知.

- It often selects predicates containing a modal auxiliary as its complement. The matrix verb of the predicate is subject to the same constraints as a predicate consisting only of the negative and the verb.

- The negated predicate in its entirety is stative.

- Predicates negated by *wei* 未 are confined to the final *ye* which supports the stative interpretation of the predicate and reinforces the modal value of the negative.

NOTES

1. I already entered this subject in Meisterernst (2005) in the framework of an analysis of the employment of the adverbs *ji* 既 and *yi* 已, but a comprehensive analysis of the negative *wei* 未 had been postponed to a separate study which is presented here. Accordingly some similarities to Meisterernst 2005 in the introductory remarks could not be avoided.

2. For this definition of the different modal values see Barbiers *et al.* (2002: 1).

3. All Middle Chinese reconstructions are taken from Pulleyblank (1991).

4. Djamouri (1991: 15) remarks: "BU apparaît essentiellement dans des énoncés « attributifs », s'appliquant soit à des verbes proprement intransitifs, soit à des caractérisants traduisant une propriété descriptive, en position prédicative, ...".

5. In the case of *fu* 弗 Pulleyblank assumes that in preclassical texts such as the *Shujing* it may have been "one of a set of particles ending in *-t associated with an aspectual distinction between a continuing state or an action going on (*bù* 不) and realization of a potentiality or a change of state (*fú* 弗)" (1995: 105).

6. Djamouri (1991: 15) defines: "FU ne s'applique qu'à des prédicats verbaux employés transitivement, dans une relation active, ...". This negative has been extensively discussed in the linguistic literature. Since in Classical texts it often occurs modifying transitive verbs with an omitted object pronoun, many scholars (e.g. Ding Shengshu 1935, Boodberg 1937, Lü Shuxiang, Wang Li, Kennedy 1947, Graham 1952, Mulder 1959, Mei Tsu-lin 1980) have assumed that *fu* 弗 is a fusion of *bu* 不 and the object pronoun *zhi* 之. This hypothesis has been rejected by Pulleyblank (1995: 79, 104) and particularly by Djamouri (1991: 31f.) who demonstrates that – in the inscriptions – *fu* 弗 is not a derivation of *bu* 不 and that it frequently occurs in combination with transitive verbs with a visible object. For a discussion of the different analyses of *fu* 弗 see Pulleyblank (1978, 1991a) and more recently Wei Pei-chüan (2001). As regards the fusion hypothesis Pulleyblank concedes that during the Warring States period (475-221 BC) "*fú* and *wù* 勿 see below) had the function of incorporating the object pronoun *zhi* 之" (1991a: 37).

7. Unger (1987: 6) and Pulleyblank (1995: 22) assume that *fei* 非 may be a fusion of *bu* 不 and *wei* 唯, the copula of preclassical Chinese.

8. Regarding these variants Pulleyblank (1995: 107) notes that "The morphemes were already homophonous in late Zhou times and are confused in many texts such as the *Mencius*, but were very likely pronounced differently at an early period."

9. According to Takashima (in Ito and Takashima 1996), the *p-* and the *m*-negatives are historically distinguished (in the inscriptions) by the involvement of the will and the ability of control by human beings.

10. Pulleyblank (1995: 108) remarks: "*Wù* 勿 (EMC mut) 'do not', bears the same relation to prohibitive *wú* 毋 (無) as *fú* 弗 (EMC put) does to *bù* 不. That is, the ancestral forms of the two graphs on the oracle bones appear to have an aspectual

distinction, while in the Warring States period there is a reason to think that the final –t of *wù* 勿 may have been interpreted as the incorporated object pronoun *zhi* 之. For a more detailed discussion see Pulleyblank (1991a).

11. Another reconstruction is the one by Serruys 1969 as a fusion of *bu* 不 and *ji* 既, quoted by Djamouri (1991: 9).

12. This instance is also found in *Hanshu*:52, 2398.

13. The final *yi* 矣 can also appear in subordinate clauses but it is less frequent than in matrix clauses.

14. Examples for this structure can be found e.g. in He et al. (1985) and in *Gudai Hanyu xuci cidian* (2000).

15. See also Dobson (1959: 43) who describes the difference between *bu* 不 and *wei* 未 as follows: "The difference is between particular denial (an envisaged instance), and universal denial (all envisaged instances)." Accordingly, *wei* 未 in these cases could be considered a universal negative.

16. Harbsmeier (1981: 42): "In this section I want to demonstrate that there also is a non-temporal 'gnomic' use of *wei* which is naturally related to but clearly distinct from the basic *temporal* 'not yet'. In this 'gnomic' sense, *wei* comes to mean 'not necessarily', 'not quite', etc. like the non-temporal 'still' ... Gnomic *wei* will be seen to refer to a 'logical' rather than a temporal progression."

17. The range of examples Harbsmeier presents is confined to particular verbs such as the modals *ke* 可 'can' and *zu* 足 'sufficient, suffice', the verb *zhi* 知 'know', and some stative verbs. But he does not explicitly refer to a particular confinement regarding the verbs employed with *wei* 未. Additionally to Harbsmeier's non-temporal analysis of *wei* 未, the *Gudai Hanyu xuci cidian* (2000: 602 (四)) presents a short analysis of *wei* 未 which accounts for this notion of *wei* 未 as well.

18. This analysis is presented by Comrie (1976: 46f).

19. Although taken from a Han period text, examples corresponding to the ones presented here can be found in any Classical text and in later texts as well. Apparently, even if morphological distinctions existed in Early Chinese, some of which are assumed to distinguish different situation types of the verb, e.g. stative vs. non-stative situations, according to the transmitted data a productive derivational system of different situation types cannot be established. But even if

such a system existed during the early history of Chinese it certainly already had lost its productivity during the period under consideration.

20. I refers to the initial and F to the final point of the situation. This notation is derived from Smith (1991, 1997).

21. A similar instance – not a literal quotation – is found in *Hanshu*: 52:2375.

22. Regarding accomplishments, e.g. Tai (1984) and Ross (e.g 2002) assume that they do not exist in Modern Mandarin. This hypothesis is challenged in Lin (2004) who assumes "that monosyllabic verbs like *hua* 'draw', *xie* 'write' and *gai* 'build' are true accomplishment verbs that have an in-built telos in their lexical semantics. In any case, the line between activities and accomplishments on the one hand and accomplishments and achievements on the other hand is generally difficult to determine and usually depends to a high degree on the syntactic environment, the argument structure, the employment of adverbs etc. of the verb.

23. See note (22) above.

24. A comprehensive study of the history of studies on negation can be found in Horne (1989).

25. This has been shown by the following example in Smith (1997: 256) "(74) I have not yet read this article." on which she comments: "The perfective specifically denies that the speaker completed reading the article; the imperfective, on the other hand, denies that the action was initiated (Rassudova 1982:62)."

26. An almost literal quotation of this sentence is found in *Hanshu*: 35;1907

27. The syntactic and semantic constraints of duration phrases during this period are comprehensively discussed in Meisterernst (2003).

28. This qualification is supported by most authors in the linguistic literature. For a contrastive view on this distinction see Comrie (1976: 46f) who only accepts accomplishments as being telic, since they alone include both, the process and the final point of the situation while achievements focussing only on the final point of the situation have to be regarded as punctual. For a recent discussion on the employment of negatives and the categories of telicity and atelicity see Hsieh (2001: 20).

29. The syntacto-semantic constraints on the employment of these two adverbs have been comprehensively discussed in Meisterernst (2005).

30. A parallel of this instance is found in *Hanshu*: 45;2172.

---

31. The determination of the situation type of the verbs *jian* 見 'to see' and *xian* 見 'to be visible, to appear' is quite complicated, as it is in general for verbs of perception, and a discussion of this would require too much space to be given here. But in combination with the negative *wei* 未 it usually has to be analysed as referring to an event.

32. *Situational duration* contrasts to *resultant state duration*, which refers to the state which results from the situation expressed by the verb. *Situational duration* is typical for atelic verbs whereas *resultant state duration* is confined to telic verbs as in the following example with the telic verb *li* 立 'to establish, to enthrone':

(i) 是時，單于立三歲矣．

shi shi,   Chanyu li   san   sui   yi

this time, Chanyu had been established for three years

Hanshu: 94;3782

"At this time the Chanyu had been established for three years."

Accordingly duration phrases can serve to determine the situation type of a verb: if they refer to *situational duration*, the verb has to be atelic whereas it has to be telic when they refer to *resultant state duration*. Duration phrases in Han period Chinese are comprehensively discussed in Meisterernst (2003).

33. This is quite rare but an example can be found in *Hanshu*: 48;2258.

34. The *syntacto-semantic constraints* of this verb are more comprehensively discussed in Meisterernst (ms).

35. A derived telic verb has to be distinguished from a genuine telic verb by the fact that a postverbal duration phrase never refers to a *resultant state duration* but always to *situational duration*, and consequently marks the verb as atelic, whereas with a genuine telic verb a postverbal duration phrase can only refer to *resultant state duration*.

36. The outer brackets indicate that the activity which is represented by its usual schema is regarded in its entirety from an external perspective.

37. A parallel of this instance, a near quotation, is found in *Hanshu*: 31;1802.

38. Occasionally, emotive state verbs are negated by one of the modal m/w-negatives. If the negative *wei* 未 appears at all modifying an emotive state verb, which is extremely rare, the semantics of the verb evidently has changed.

39. See Lin (2003: 433). Attitudinal predicates are like individual level predicates and single episode predicates comparable to stage-level predicates: stable versus transient properties.

40. The same sentence is found in *Shiji*: 105;2787.

41. An almost identical duplicate of the instance is found in *Hanshu*: 61;2701.

42. It can also occasionally occur with the verb *yu* 欲 'to wish' which expresses the root modal value of volition and with the auxiliary verb *keng* 肯 'to be prepared / willing to' which also indicates volition.

43. Emotive state verbs which usually exclude a change of state reading can – in the affirmative – occasionally occur in combination with modal auxiliaries such as *neng* 能 and *ke* 可. But since the combination of a modal auxiliary and a matrix verb is apparently subject to the same constraints as the matrix verb alone, auxiliaries modifying emotive state verbs cannot be negated by *wei* 未.

44. A near quotation of this example is found in *Hanshu*: 58;2621.

45. The first clause of this example, but with the personal pronoun *er* 爾 'You' is found in *Shiji*: 4;107.

46. A paraphrase of this instance is found in *Hanshu*: 96;3902, the negated clause with *wei* 未 is identical with the one in the *Shiji*.

47. In Classical texts, main clauses or simple sentences with *wei* 未 are usually marked by the final *ye* 也, while it is omitted in subordinate clauses with *wei* 未. In the Han period text *Shiji*, this rule is applied less strictly than in Classical texts.

48. 可 : 16 + *ye*, 11 - *ye* in *Shiji*. The employment of the final *ye* 也 is not restricted to the negative *wei* 未 modifying modals such as *ke* 可, *neng* 能 and *de* 得, it is also found in combination with the negative *bu* 不; but in contrast to predicates negated by *wei* 未 which are confined to the final *ye* 也, those negated by *bu* 不 can appear with the final *yi* 矣 as well.

49. 有 : 31 + *ye*, 38 - *ye*; 知 : 11 + *ye*, 14 - *ye*. Here again the final particle *ye* 也 is apparently less strictly employed in a Han period text than in the Classical texts.

50. Although predicates negated by the modally neutral negative *bu* 不 can also occasionally occur with the final *yi* 矣, they are predominantly found either without any final at all or with the final *ye* 也. Occasionally, they are found with finals indicating a particular mode of speech.

REFERENCES

ALLETON, Viviane. 1972. *Les adverbes in chinois moderne*. La Hague. Paris: Maison des Science de l'Homme.

BACHE, Carl. 1982. Aspects and Aktionsart: toward a semantic distinction. *Linguistics* 18: 57-72.

BARBIERS, Sjef, BEUKEMA, Frits, VAN DER WURFF, Wim (eds). 2002. *Modality and its Interaction with the Verbal System*. Amsterdam; Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

BYBEE, Joan, PERKINGS, Revere and PAGLIUCA, William. 1994. *The Evolution of Grammar. Tense, Aspect and Modality in the Languages of the World*. Chicago, London: The University of Chicago Press.

CHAN, Marjorie K.-M. 1980. Temporal Reference in Mandarin Chinese: An Analytical-Semantic Approach to the Study of the Morphemes LE 了, ZAI 在, ZHE 著, and NE 呢. *Journal of the Chinese Language Teachers Association* 15, 3: 33-79.

COMRIE, Bernard. 1976. *Aspect*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

DJAMOURI, Redouane. 1991. Particules de Négation dans les inscription sur Bronze des la Dynastie des Zhou. *Cahier Linguistique Asie Orientale* XX, 1: 5-76.

DOBSON, W.A.C.H. 1959. *Late Archaic Chinese*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Gudai Hanyu xuci cidian 古代漢語虛詞詞典. ('1999), 2000. Beijing: Shangwu yinshuguan.

HARBSMEIER, Christoph. 1981. *Aspects of Classical Chinese Syntax*. London; Malmö: Curzon Press.

HE Leshi 何樂士 et al. 1985. *Gudai Hanyu xuci tongshi* 古代漢語虛詞通釋. Beijing.

HORN, Laurence R. 1989. *A Natural History of Negation*. Chicago; London: University of Chicago Press.

HSIEH Miao-Ling. 2001. *Form and Meaning: Negation and Question in Chinese*. Diss. University of Southern California.

ITO, M. 伊藤道治, TAKASHIMA, K. 高島謙. 1996. *Studies in Early Chinese Civilization*. Osaka: Kansai Gaidai Univ.

LIN Jo-Wang. 2003. Aspectual selection and negation in Mandarin Chinese. *Linguistics* 41, 3: pp.425-459.

____. 2004. On Accomplishment Verbs in Chinese. (manuscript).

LIU Jingnong 劉景農. 1994. *Hanyu wenyan yufa* 漢語文言語法. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju chuban.

LYONS, John. 1977. *Semantics*, 2 vols. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

MA Qingzhu 馬慶株. 1992. *Hanyu dongci he dongci xing jiegou* 漢語動詞和動詞性結構. Beijing: Beijing Hanyu xue yuan.

MEISTERERNST, Barbara. 2003. The Syntax of Duration Phrases in Han period Chinese, *Acta Orientalia Hungarica*, 56, 2-4: 117-136.

____. 2005. Some remarks on the syntax and the semantics of the so-called aspectual markers *ji* and *yi*. *Journal of Chinese Linguistics*, 33, 1: 68-113.

____. 2005. One verb, different meanings: situation type in Han period Chinese. Revised version of a paper presented at the AREC (Association Recherches et Enseignement du chinois) 2005, Paris, May 2005 (ms.).

PULLEYBLANK, Edwin G. 1978. Emphatic Negatives in Classical Chinese. In *Ancient China: Studies in Early Civilization*, ed. by Roy, David T. and Tsien Tsuen-hsuin, 115-136. Hongkong: Chinese University Press.

____. 1991. *Lexicon of Reconstructed Pronunciation in Early Middle Chinese, Late Middle Chinese, and Early Mandarin*. Vancouver: UBC Press.

____. 1991a. Some Notes on Morphology and Syntax in Classical Chinese. In *Chinese Texts and Philosophical Contexts. Essays dedicated to Angus C. Graham.*, ed. by Rosemont, Henry, Jr., 21-45. LaSalle, Illinois: Open Court Pub.

____. Aspects of Aspect in Classical Chinese. In *Papers of the First International Congress on Pre-Qin Chinese Grammar*, ed. by Gassmann, Robert and He Leshi, 313-363. Yuelu shushe.

____. 1995. *Outline of Classical Chinese Grammar*. Vancouver: UBC Press.

ROSS, Claudia. 2002. Aspectual Category Shift. *Journal of Chinese Linguistics*, 2: 343-369.

SASSE, Hans-Jürgen (ed.). 1991. *Aspektsysteme*. Köln: Institut für Sprachwissenschaft, Universität Köln.

SMITH, Carlota. 1981. Semantic and Syntactic Constraints on Temporal Interpretation. In *Syntax and Semantics*, ed. by Tedeschi, P.J. and Zaenen, A. Volume 14: 213-238.

____. 1991, 1997. *The Parameter of Aspect*. Dordrecht; Boston; London: Kluwer Academic Publishers.

TAI, James H.-Y. 1984. *Verbs and times in Chinese: Vendler's four categories in Lexical Semantics*. Ed. by D. Testen, V. Mishra, and J. Drogo, 289-296. Chicago: Chicago Linguistic Society.

TANG Chih-Chen Jane. 2001. Functional Projections and Adverbial Expressions in Chinese. *Language and Linguistics*, 2.2: 203-241.

TENG Shou-hsin. 1973. Negation and Aspect in Chinese. *Journal of Chinese Linguistics*, 1, 1: 14-37.

____. 1979. Progressive aspect in Chinese. *Computational Analysis of Asian and African languages*, 11.

UNGER, Ulrich. 1987. *Grammatik des Klassischen Chinesisch*. Vol. 3, Münster, (unpublished).

VENDLER, Zeno. 1967. *Linguistics and Philosophy*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.

VERKUYL, H.J. 1993. *A Theory of Aspectuality: the Interaction between Temporal and Atemporal Structure*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

____. 1999. *Aspectual Issues: Studies on Time and Quantity*. Stanford, Calif.: CSLI Publications.

WANG Haifen 王海棻 et al. 1996. *Gu Hanyu xuci cidian* 古漢語虛詞詞典. Beijing: Beijing daxue chubanshe.

WEI Pei-Chuan 魏培泉. 2001. 'Fu', 'wu' binghe shuo xin zheng〈弗〉、〈勿〉併合說新証. New Evidence for the Hypothesis of *Fu*, *Wu* as Fusion Words. *The Bulletin of the Institute of History and Philology*, 72, 1:121-215

YANG Bojun 楊伯峻, HE Leshi 何樂士. 1992. *Gu Hanyu yufa ji qi fazhan* 古漢語語法及其發展. Beijing: Yuwen chubanshe.