NEGATION IN CHINESE

A Thesis

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by

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Introduction

Baffled by the seeming complexity and irregularity of negative constructions in Chinese, grammarians of the language have in general avoided explicit treatment of the problem. Those grammarians who did mention negation merely cited a few sample sentences from famous novels, sentences which may be highly literary or peculiar to the styles of specific authors. They presented the part-of-speech classification of each word, pointing out the negative elements, be they syntactic or semantic.¹ No systematic study or revealing discussion of the negatives in this language has ever been attempted.

To the layman, negation is a matter of meaning rather than form. Negation involves a refusal or the denial of a statement. In spite of certain apparent irregularities, however, a careful analysis of Chinese sentences shows negation to be as syntactically predictable as any other aspect of the grammar. For example, since nouns or pronouns are not negatable, we do not find such sentences as (1) and (2) in this language.

1. *Bú dàjiā dōu lái. 
Neg every-all come
one
Not all will come.

2. *Nǐ shì wǒde péngyǒu, bù tā. 
you are my friend Neg he
You are my friend, not he.

¹
There are sentences like (3), with a noun directly following a negative, but in such sentences the verbs preceding the nouns have been deleted. The affirmative counterpart of (3) is not (4) but (5).

   Neg mother then Neg you
   If there is not your mother then there will not be you.

   Mother then you

5. Yǒu mama jiù yǒu nǐ.
   Have mother then have you
   If there is mother, there will be you.

This shows that the occurrence of negation in a Chinese sentence is syntactically restricted.

Traditional studies of negation include discussions of negative inferences from sentences which themselves are not formally identifiable as negative. Such discussions would deal with the interpretation of a sentence like (6), pointing out its synonym with sentence (7).

6. Nándào wǒ jiù xiǎng qù ma?
   Hard to say I then willing go question
   You think I'd like to go?

7. Wǒ bù xiǎng qù.
   I Neg willing go
   I am not willing to go.
It is up to the semanticist to give a negative interpretation to the former sentence. In order to restrict the present study, our interests will be confined to syntactically marked negation. Inferences of negative import which are not formally represented in the sentence are outside of our present concern. Negation is to be understood in terms of those formal features which systematically correspond to semantic negation.

In this study, the author attempts to describe negatives in Mandarin through a formal descriptive apparatus and to assign the negatives to their proper position in the grammar. In order to be able to concentrate on negatives, the discussion of parts of the grammar non-essential to negation is kept to a minimum. In some places, certain grammatical restrictions not directly associated with negation are assumed to have been provided for by the complete Chinese grammar.

1. Levels of negation

Chinese has been thought to be a monosyllabic language: in this view, every syllable is a word. Parallel to this misconception, the process of negation in Chinese has been thought of in terms of the insertion of a negative word in front of the word which is to be negated. No consideration was given to such questions as whether there are different levels of negation or whether the domain of negation was the sentence or some sub-part
of a sentence. In the following sections a distinction is made between two types of word negation on the one hand, and the negation of sentences on the other hand. For the two types of word negation, the terms 'negative word' and 'negated word' are proposed.

1.1 Negative words.

Negative words are the words which contain one of the literary negatives and another morpheme (X). Both are bound forms. Most of the negative words are remnants of a once active negation process in the literary language. Such negative morphemes as ㄆ, ㄈ and ㄆ have changed from free to bound morphemes in the present day language with the X following the negative morpheme also having lost its original meaning. Examples of negative words include the examples given in (8)-(11).

8. ㄆ(have not)  ㄆ xīn  (Neg heart, purposelessly)
    ㄆ lūn  (Neg discuss, regardless)
    ㄆ guǒ  (Neg fruit, with no result)

9. ㄆ(not yet)  ㄆ lái  (Neg come, future)
    ㄆ bi  (Neg must, not necessarily)
    ㄆ miǎn  (Neg spare, can not avoid being)

10. ㄈ(not)  ㄈ dàn  (Neg but, not only)
    ㄈ cháng (Neg often, unusually)
There are still a number of frequently used words containing the most frequently used negative morpheme ｂｕ． The parts following ｂｕ in these words are also bound forms, such as

11. ｂｕ(not)  
    ｂｕ ɡuŏ  (Neg pass, nevertheless)  
    ｂｕ rán  (Neg so, otherwise)  
    ｂｕ déyī  (Neg X, can not but)

1.2 Negated word

The negated words are derived, diachronically, from a combination of the negative morpheme (Neg) and another bound morpheme (X). Negated words differ from negative words in that the X in the negative word, such as ｂुrán (Neg +X, otherwise) has lost its original meaning completely, while in a negated word, the X still retains its initial meaning and can be used as a free form. Instances of negated words are also to be distinguished from sentence negation, because negated words—which are all stative verbs--function syntactically like ordinary verbs. An example of negated word is ｂुhăo (no good, bad) which is of the form Neg + hăo(good). This morpheme hăo does not change its meaning when preceded by the negative morpheme ｂｕ, and ｂуhăo functions as a whole. Negated words are interpreted here as lexical items listed separately in the lexicon, bearing the syntactic feature Negation. They are not interpreted as resulting from general syntactic processes.
The string Tā bù hǎo, is thus ambiguous in at least two ways; the former derivation corresponds to the meaning 'He is bad', the latter to 'He is not good.' The need for classifying bù hào as a negated word in the former sentence becomes clearer when we look at sentence (12).

12. Tā hěn bù hǎo
   He very Neg good
   He is very bad.

Only when bù hào is a negative word, meaning 'bad', can we give the intensifier a proper interpretation. If we regard Tā bù hǎo as a negated sentence, having the meaning 'He is not good,' the presence of the intensifier before bù renders the sentence uninterpretable.

Other examples of negated words are given in (13). In these cases the associated stem morphemes are not themselves verbs.

13. bù xìng (Neg+fortune, misfortune)
    bù dàodé (Neg+moral, immoral)
1.3 Sentence negation

An account of negation in Chinese sentences needs to concern itself with the observation that more than one syntactic negation can appear in a single utterance. This suggests that negation in Chinese sentences may occur at different levels, that a distinction exists between sentence negation and constituent negation. It appears, however, that apparent cases of multiple negation in Chinese can all be interpreted as occurrences of sentence negation at various levels in a complex sentence.

A simple affirmative sentence consists of a noun phrase (NP) followed by a verb phrase (VP). Included in the verb phrase are the optional elements aspect (ASP) and adverb (ADV), in that order, followed by the verb (V). The negative morpheme in a sentence always precedes the leftmost element in the verb phrase; that is, negatives are never found after the aspect or after the adverb in a verb phrase. The hypothesis that any constituent in a sentence can be negated is thus clearly untrue.

The rule for introducing negative morphemes into Chinese sentences is the first phrase-structure rule of the grammar, namely (14).

\[(14) \: S \rightarrow \text{NP} \: \text{(Neg)} \: \text{VP}\]
In other words, simple sentence negation is achieved by selecting the optional element Neg in a sentence. Sentences containing more than one syntactic negative are complex sentences, formed by conjoining sentences or by embedding one sentence into another. The 'contained' sentences are independently designated as being affirmiative or negative.

Embedding verbs in Chinese include the auxiliary verbs (Vaux)², the quotative verbs (Vquo), the telescoping verbs (Vtel), the emphatics (Vemp) and the imperatives (Vimp). The nature of the embedding structures themselves is not of direct concern to this study. The author's intention here is to demonstrate that negation in a complex sentence is achieved by no other device than embedding the negated simple sentences. Negation of complex sentences is not done by a negation transformation rule nor by negating the complex sentences; sentence negation is done by selecting the optional element Neg in the PS-rules be it a simple sentence or a complex sentence. Examples of sentences containing the embedding verb yuányì are given as items (15)-(19) below.

15. Wǒ yuányì qù
   I willing go
   I am willing to go.

16. Wǒ bù yuányì qù.
    I Neg willing go
    I am not willing to go.
17. Wǒ yuányì bú qù.
    I willing Neg go
    I am willing not to go.

18. Wǒ bú yuányì bú qù.
    I Neg willing Neg go
    I am not willing not to go.

    I Neg willing he go
    I am not willing that he goes.

Simple as sentence (15) may look, it is a complex sentence. It is derived from embedding the simple sentence Wǒ qù into the matrix sentence Wǒ yuányì, where yuányì is an auxiliary verb. In Chinese an Vaux has most of the properties of a main verb. It takes the verb aspect; it can be modified by adverbs; it can be negated and it can also be the only verb in a complete sentence. An auxiliary verb differs from a non-auxiliary verb in that it can directly precede other verbs. In sentence (15) the Vaux yuányì serves as the main verb in the matrix sentence and the verb in the embedded sentence is an action verb. A scheme for the deep structure of sentences (15)-(19) is given as item (20). Parentheses around the Neg constituent indicate optionality.
If the subjects of both the matrix and the constituent sentences are identical, the one in the constituent sentence is deleted. In (15), no Neg has been chosen. Sentences (16) and (17) are the results of choosing the Neg in the matrix sentence and in the constituent sentence respectively. For sentence (18), Neg was chosen in both the matrix and the constituent sentences. Sentence (19)--the deep structure of which is represented as item (21)--is an example of an embedded construction with yuányì in which the subjects do not match.
Almost any sentence can be embedded to a quotative verb. Again, both the embedding and the embedded sentence may be negative. Sentences with the quotative verb are given as (22)-(25) below.

22. Wǒ xiāngxìn tā lái.
    I believe he come
    I believe that he will come.

23. Wǒ xiāngxìn tā bú lái.
    I believe he Neg come
    I believe that he will not come.

24. Wǒ bú xiāngxìn tā lái.
    I Neg believe he come
    I do not believe that he will come.

25. Wǒ bú xiāngxìn tā bú lái.
    I Neg believe he Neg come
    I do not believe that he will not come.

In sentence (22), Neg is chosen in neither the matrix nor the embedded sentence. The embedded sentence in (23) and the matrix in (24) are negated. Both are negated in sentence (25).
Telescoping verb sentences permit analyses similar to those given to auxiliary and quotative verb sentences, but the telescoped constructions are more restricted. The sentences embedded to a telescoping verb must be imperative. Since imperative sentences are themselves complex (as will be shown in a later section), a telescoping verb sentence is therefore a doubly embedded sentence. Examples of telescoped sentences are given as items (26)-(29).

   He Asp tell I speak  
   He told me to speak.

27. Tā yǒu jiào wǒ bié shuōhuà.  
   He Asp tell I Neg Vimp speak  
   He told me not to speak.

28. Tā méi jiào wǒ bié shuōhuà.  
   He Neg Asp tell I Neg Vimp speak  
   He did not tell me not to speak.

29. Tā méi jiào wǒ bié bù shuōhuà.  
   He Neg Asp tell I Neg Vimp Neg speak  
   He did not tell me to break my silence.

A scheme for the deep structure of sentences (29)-(30) is given as item (30).
Sentence (26) is a complex affirmative sentence. It is formed by embedding an affirmative constituent sentence into an affirmative imperative sentence (S1 in the tree diagram). This complex imperative sentence is again embedded into the matrix sentence whose main verb is a telescoping verb. Sentence (27) differs from (26) in that the S1 has been negated; in (28) both S and S1 are negative. In sentence (29), all possible instances of Neg have been chosen.

The subject of S2, which has to be identical with that of S1, is deleted. The Vimp is optionally deleted in an affirmative sentence. A morphophonemic rule changes bú děi to bié.

A type of embedding construction which does not allow the constituent sentence to be negative is illustrated by sentences with the verb qǐng meaning 'invite'. It happens that the verb is homophonous with a telescoping verb
meaning 'ask'. Thus sentence (31) is ambiguous, depending on whether qing is the telescoping verb or the 'transitive action verb' meaning 'invite'. Sentence (32) is a paraphrase of one sense of (31). The verb dêi shows that the matrix verb is a telescoping verb, since sentences embedded to telescoping verbs must be imperative. Sentence (33), containing a negative imperative as the embedded sentence, is also interpretable only as a telescoping verb sentence. Sentence (34), where the embedded sentence is a negative non-imperative, is ungrammatical.

31. Tā qìng wǒ chī fàn
He ask I eat rice
He orders me to eat.
   Invite
He invites me to dinner.

32. Tā qìng wǒ dêi chī fàn
He ask I Vimp eat rice
He orders me to eat.

33. Tā qìng wǒ bié chī fàn
He order I Neg Vimp eat rice
He orders me not to eat.

34. *Tā qìng wǒ bù chī fàn

Similar restrictions are imposed on sentences embedded to directional verbs. In the present case, too, ambiguities are found in affirmative sentences which do not exist in the corresponding negative sentences. This is so because directional verbs may function either as embedding verbs or as simple verbs, and because superficially embedding and conjoining of sentences,
since they involve mere juxtaposition, may be identical. An analysis of sentences (35)-(38) illustrates this point.

35. Tā qù qíngháng qù qū qián qù mái cài lái
   He to bank go withdraw money go buy grocery to
   zuò fān.
   cook rice
He goes to the bank to withdraw money, in order to
buy grocery, in order to cook.

36. Tā bù qù yǐnháng bù qù qián bù qù mái cài bù
    He Neg     Neg     Neg
    lái zuò fān.
    He is not going to the bank, he is not going to with-
draw money. He is not going to buy grocery. He is
not going to cook.

37. Tā bù qù yǐnháng qù qū qián qù mái cài lái zuò fān.
    Neg
He is not going to go to the bank to withdraw money
to buy grocery or cook.

38. Tā bù qù yǐnháng qù qū qián bù qù mái cài lái zuò fān.
    Neg
He is not going to the bank to withdraw money. He
is not going to buy grocery to cook.

Superficially these four sentences differ only in the number and location of the negative morphemes. Sentence (35) is ambiguous in that it can be a successively embedded sentence the structure of which is given as item (39), or it can be a conjunction of four sentences, each of which has the subject tā.
Semantically, the four component sentences of (39) are not independent of each other. There is a continuity of time among the four actions. The sentence is translatable as 'He goes to the bank first, then goes to withdraw some money, then to buy groceries, and finally to cook (the groceries which he bought with the money he withdrew from the bank)'. The implication is that the preceding event is done for the purpose of facilitating the following one.

When (35) is interpreted as a conjunction of four sentences, the actions identified by the four component sentences are not regarded semantically as having any specific relationship with each other. In the conjoined sense, the meaning of
(35) would not be affected if the sentences were presented in a different order.

Now if directional verbs cannot take negative constituent sentences, then (36) can only be interpreted in the conjoined sense; and this is in fact the case. Sentence (36) can only be interpreted as having the structure shown in item (40). It is a conjunction of four sentences, each of which happens to be negative.

40.

```
S
  /\      /
 S1   S2
      /
 NP Neg VP    NP Neg VP
      /   /       /   /       /   /
  V NP V Comp V NP V Comp V NP
 S3
      /       /
 NP Neg VP
      /
  V NP
      /
  V NP
 S4
      /
 NP Neg VP
      /
  V NP
```

The negative counterpart of (35) is (37), in which the Neg is chosen only in the matrix sentence. Sentence (38) can be interpreted as a conjunction of two sentences, each of which is itself negative but which contains a non-negative embedded sentence. The phrase-marker for sentence (38) is given as item (41).
2. The negatives .borderColor(128,128,128) bú, méi and bié borderColor(255,255,255)

The most common variants of the morpheme for syntactic negation (Neg) are .borderColor(128,128,128) bú, méi and bié. Of the three, .borderColor(128,128,128) bú and méi are regarded as environmentally determined variants, while bié is interpreted as an elided equivalent of .borderColor(128,128,128) bú followed by the imperative verb děi.

2.1 Méi

The morpheme  borderColor(128,128,128) yōu has many functions in Chinese grammar, but whenever a verb phrase begins with  borderColor(128,128,128) yōu, the preceding negative morpheme has the form méi. The use of  borderColor(128,128,128) yōu as an existential verb is shown in sentence (42), the negative form of

 borderColor(255,255,255) Ta bú qu yín- ta qu qū qiān ta bú qu mái cái ta lái zuè fān
which is (43). Its use as a possessive verb is illustrated in sentence (44), whose negative counterpart is (45). Uses of you as part of adjectival verb, as the comparative marker, and as a verbal aspect, are presented in (46-7), (48-9), and (51-1) respectively. It should be pointed out that any you following the negative morpheme méi may be deleted.

42. Yǒu rén lái.
   Exist man come
   Someone is coming.

43. Méi yǒu rén lái.
   Neg
   No one is coming.

44. Wǒ yǒu sān běn shū.
   I have three measure book
   I have three books.

45. Wǒ méi yǒu sān běn shū.
   Neg
   I do not have three books.

46. Zhèi gǔshī hěn yōuyì.
   This story very interesting
   This story is very interesting.

47. Zhèi gǔshī hěn méiyōuyì.
   Neg
   This story is very uninteresting.

48. Wǒ yǒu tā nèim gāo.
   I have he that tall
   I am at least as tall as he is.

49. Wǒ méi yǒu tā nèim gāo.
   I Neg
   I am not as tall as he is.
50. Wǒ yǒu qù.
   I Asp. go
   I went.

51. Wǒ méi yǒu qù.
   I Neg Asp go
   I did not go.

2.2 Bié

Bié is the reduced form of the negative morpheme bù followed by the imperative verb děi. The imperative verb (Vimp) is one of the embedding verbs; imperative sentences, as mentioned above in the discussion of telescoping verbs, are therefore always complex. A superficially simple but formally quite complex sentences is sentence (52), whose structure is given as item (53).

52. Nǐ bié jiào tā bié qù.
   You Neg. Imp tell he Neg. Imp go
   Do not tell him not to go.
The imperative verbs are 喜 and 得. Of the negated forms

不喜 and 不得, the latter may, by an optional morphophonemic

rule, be changed into 顶. (The forms with 喜 represent

recent importations into Mandarin from other dialects. The

basic Mandarin forms are 得 and 顶.)

2.3 Bu

If the leftmost element in a verb phrase is anything

but 有, the lexical item replacing the grammatical formative

Neg is always 不. In non-imperative sentences, the negative

morpheme remains in just this position, unless it is immedi-

ately followed by one of the so-called 'resultative' or

'potential' verbs. These are complex verbal constructions

of the form V+de+V. Just in case the negative morpheme
immediately precedes one of these verbs, it is required to replace the de. The required transformation is presented as rule (54).

54. Neg V de V $$\leftrightarrow$$ \emptyset 2 1 3

Examples of potential verbs and their negated equivalents are given in (55) and (56).

55. kàn-dé-jiàn
    look-de-see
    can see

      chī-dé-bāo
      eat-de-full
      can eat one's fill

56. kàn-bú-jiàn
    look-Neg-see
    can not see

      chī-bú-bāo
      eat-Neg-full
      can not eat one's fill

3. Verb aspects and the final particle le

Chinese verbs have no tenses but they do have aspects. The progressive aspect marker zài expresses an action which is taking place at a specific time either in the past or at present. In (57) and (58) the actions are understood as taking place at a specific time, but such information is provided by time adverbials, not by verbal elements. In both sentences the progressive aspect is expressed by zài.
57. Wǒ zuōtian qùde shí-hou, tā zài chīfàn.
   I yesterday go time he eat
   Yesterday the time I went there, he was eating.

58. Tā xiàn-zài zài chīfàn.
   He now Asp eat
   He is eating now.

The other two aspects, the simple past and the perfective⁵, may be briefly summarized here. The simple past and the perfective aspects have the form of yǒu and yǒu+guō⁶ respectively. When either of these aspects is chosen, the negative form méi, with its + yǒu feature, is required. The negated simple past, then, is méi yǒu, and the negated perfective aspect is méi yǒu+guō. It will be recalled that after méi, the yǒu may be deleted.

Negation of progressive-aspect sentences is shown in sentences (59)-(60). Negation of sentences containing the other aspects, with the selection of the méi variant of Neg, is shown in sentences (61)-(64).

59. Tā zài shāngkè.
   He Asp in class
   He is in class./

60. Tā Neg zài shāngkè.
    Tā bù zài shāngkè.
    He is not in class.

61. Tā yǒu chī guō fàn le.
    He Asp eat rice final particle (F-pt)
    He has eaten.
62. Tā méi yǒu chī guò fàn.
   He has not eaten.

63. Tā yǒu chī fàn le.
   He Asp eat rice (F-pt)
   He ate.

64. Tā méi yǒu chī fàn.
   He did not eat.

Although sentences (61) and (63) end in the particle le, their negative counterparts do not. This le is not the aspect particle le but the final particle le. The function of this final particle is to denote a change of status. Its semantic role can be seen by comparing the translations of sentences (65) and (66).

65. Tā wǔ suì.
   He five year
   He is five years old.

66. Tā wǔ suì le.
   He five year F-pt
   He has become five years old.

Sentence (65) is merely a statement of fact; sentence (66) adds the meaning that until recently he was not five, but now he has reached that age. Note that a final particle can be chosen with a negative sentence as well, as shown in sentence (67).
67. Tā bù pān le.
He Neg fat F-pt
He is not fat any more.

This sentence implies that he was fat before, but not any more.
The final particle, however, is not compatible with the sentences containing both the negative and the past or perfect aspect. This incompatibility is perhaps a semantic one: it does not make sense to talk about change of status when nothing has happened.

Sentence (68) appears to be a counter-example to the above claim, since it contains a negative morpheme, the simple past aspect morpheme, and the final particle le. Sentence (68), however, is a complex sentence, derived by embedding a time expression into a simple sentence. The noun phrase in the embedded sentence can be either null or the impersonal shíjiān, and the main verb can be yǒu. The underlying phrase-marker proposed for (68) is (69).

68. Tā yǒu sānnián méi yǒu mǎi shū le
He V three years Neg Asp buy book F-pt
He has not bought books for three years.
The final particle, thus, does not belong to the matrix sentence but to the embedded sentence; it is the matrix sentence which contains the Neg and the simple past aspect morpheme. The restrictions that have just been discussed hold for the embedded time expression as well as for any other sentence. The embedded sentence may itself be past and negated, but in that case it may not contain a final particle. Sentence (70), analyzed as (71), may not contain a final particle.

70. Tā méi yǒu mǎi shū méi (yǒu) sānnián.  
He Neg Asp buy book Neg Asp 3-yrs 
It has not been three years since he last bought books.
4. Emphasis

Sentence emphasis is distinguished formally and semantically from contrastive stress on sub-constituents of sentences. Sentence emphasis has the function of reinforcing the truthfulness of a statement, while contrastive stress brings parts of sentences to focus. The emphatic morpheme in Chinese is shi, a homophone of the copular verb shi. Since this morpheme is negatable, it is treated in this analysis as a special type of embedding verb and is therefore included in the VP.

The structure of the emphatic sentence (72) is given in the form of the phrase marker (73).
72. Ta (bu) shi yong zuoshou xiezi.
He Neg Emp with lefthand write
It is (not) true that he writes with his left hand.

73.

NP Neg VP

Emp Sl

manner

NP Adverbial V

V NP

ta (bu) shi ta yong zuoshou xiezi

The fact that the emphasis verb has as its co-constituent the entire embedded sentence expresses the observation that it is the entire sentence that is being emphasized. A special semantic rule is needed for interpreting the negation of emphatic sentences. A negative emphatic sentence—one with bu shi in the matrix—means that the embedded sentence is emphatically not true. A formal restriction on emphatic structures is that sentences embedded to the emphatic verb shi cannot themselves be emphatic sentences.
5. Negation and some transformations

In simple sentences, with some exceptions to be discussed below, it is always the left-most element of the VP which immediately follows the negative morpheme, whatever this left-most element might be. This supports the claim that the Neg is associated with the VP as a whole rather than with particular sub-constituents of VP, such as, e.g., the main verb. In sentences which permit permutation of the constituents of the VP, the negative morpheme remains in the position before the VP. This can be seen in examples (74) and (75).

74. Wǒ bú zhù zài zhèr.
    I Neg live at here
    I do not live here.

75. Wǒ bú zài zhèr zhù.
    I Neg at here live
    I do not live here.

The unchanging position of Neg is also seen in the negation of the so-called 'ergative' sentences, as is seen in examples (76)-(83).

76. Tā dài tāde dìdì lái.
    He bring his brother come
    He is bringing his brother here.

77. Tā bā tāde dìdì dài lái.
    He Erg his brother bring come
    He will bring his brother.
78. Tā bù dāi tàde dīdī lái. 
   Neg
   He is not bringing his brother here.

79. Tā bù bā tàde dīdī dāi lái. 
   Neg Erg
   He will not bring his brother.

80. Tā yǒu dā wǒ. 
   He Asp hit me 
   He hit me.

81. Wǒ yǒu bèi tā dā. 
   I Asp Erg he hit 
   I was hit by him.

82. Tā měi yǒu dā wǒ. 
   Neg
   He did not hit me.

83. Wǒ měi yǒu bèi tā dā. 
   Neg Erg
   I was not hit by him.

The ergative transformations carry out various word-order changes in transitive-verb sentences, marking the underlying subject and object with bèi and bā respectively. That the insertion of these markers is into the constituent VP is demonstrated by the position of Neg in the resulting sentences.

Exceptions, in the superficial structure of sentences, to the occurrence of Neg before the VP as a whole appear when the VP contains a location adverb which is a true preposition phrase. (The zài zhèr of examples (74-5) is a verbal construction.) Preposition phrases are obligatorily positioned in front of the VP and, if there is one, in front of the Neg as well. This can be seen in examples (84)-(86); sentence (85) is ungrammatical.
6. Adverbs

The distribution of adverbs in Chinese is apparently quite complex. Sections 1.1 and 1.2 above presented some examples of lexical negation, succeeding sections have been devoted to syntactic negation. Some adverbs may appear under more or less unlimited environments as far as negation is concerned. Some may precede a lexically negative word but are not found in syntactically negative sentences; some may appear only in negative sentences; and so on.

Adverbs are classified according to their potential positioning relative to Neg as shown in the following table. It should be noticed that the post-Neg environment (Neg__) identifies the negative morpheme and that the pre-Neg environment (__Neg) identifies the negative feature contained in negative and negated words. The features by which these words have been described are to be understood in their obligatory sense. That is, the feature [+Neg__] means that the lexical item in question occurs only after the negative morpheme; the feature
[---Neg] means that the item cannot occur before a negative or negated word. Adverbs of Class I, then, are unrestricted with respect to the negativity environment.

87. I. No restrictions

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<td>Shifen</td>
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<td>Hen</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Feichang</td>
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II. [-Neg Neg]

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III. [-Neg ]

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<td>Xiangdang</td>
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IV. [+Neg ]

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V. [+Neg ]

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Conclusion

The concept of negation, in Chinese as presumably in all languages, appears on two levels: the negative vs. affirmative character of sentences, and the negative vs. affirmative (or neutral) character of words. A negative sentence contains the negative morpheme as one of its immediate constituents; a negative (or 'negated') word contains [+Neg] as one of its lexical features.

The negative morpheme in Chinese has its place after the subject and before the verb phrase. Exceptions to this generalization in the superficial structure of sentences involve (i) the positioning of preposition phrases which are location adverbs
within the verb phrase, and (ii) the positioning of the negative morpheme in complex verbs of the type known as 'resultative' or 'potential' verbs. Prepositions are moved obligatorily in front of the negative morpheme; the negative morpheme is moved to the position between the two verb stems of a potential verb.

Sentences which contain more than one instance of sentence negation are achieved by embedding or conjoining two or more sentences in each of which the selection or non-selection of the negative morpheme is made independently. There are, however, embedding constructions, such as those involving directional verbs, which disallow the choice of the negative morpheme in the constituent sentence.

The same grammatical formative, Neg, results in all three of the phonological variants of the negative morpheme. The two lexical items listed as having the grammatical category +Neg are bù and méi. They differ from each other in that méi occurs only before yǒu, bù occurs only elsewhere. The negative word bié is introduced by a morphophonemic rule which changes the combination of bù plus the imperative verb děi into bié.

Adverbs are subclassified according to their potential occurrence in syntactically and lexically negative environments.
Rules

In this section are presented phrase structure rules and sample lexical entries of direct relevance to grammatical observations appearing in the present thesis. Since the thesis has concerned itself only with the basic characterization of negative sentences in Chinese, no transformations are included here.

A Chinese sentence consists of a noun phrase followed by a verb phrase, with an optional intervening negative and an optional final particle. Thus the first PS-rule is (88).

88. \( S \rightarrow \text{NP} (\text{Neg}) \text{VP} (\text{Fp}) \)

The verb phrase in turn is expanded by a complicated branching rule into the main verb and various optional preceding and following constituents. Preceding the verb are the aspect markers and various types of intensive adverbs. Following the verb are verbal complements, objects, and sentences. The Ps-rule for VP is (89).

89. \( \text{VP} \rightarrow (\text{Asp}) (\text{ADV}) \text{V} (\text{Vcomp}) (\text{NP}) (\text{S}) \)

The aspect markers are progressive, past and perfect.
90. Asp → \{ zài \}
    ① yǒu
    ② yǒu guò

Nouns are subcategorized by means of such optional subcategorization rules as 92-95.

91. N → CS

92. [+N] → [+Count]
93. [+Count] → [+Animate]
94. [+Animate] → [+Human]
95. [-Count] → [+Abstract]

Lexicon (Arranged in alphabetical order)

bēn  [+Measure word, +___[+Count], +___[-Animate]
bing (but) [+ADV, +___Neg, -Neg___, ...]
bù (no) [+Neg, -___yǒu, ...]
būdàodé (immoral) [+V, +Neg, + [+Human], ...]
būdéyì (can not but) [+ADV, +Neg, -Neg___, ...]
būhāo (bad) [+V, +Neg, +___#, ...]
būxìng (unfortunate) [+V, +Neg, + [+Human]___, ...]
cài (vegetable) [+N, +Count, -Abstract, +jīng___, ...]
dājiā (everyone) [+Pron, +Human, -Count, +#___, ...]
dǐ [ +V, +Imp, +___S, -Asp___, ...]
fàn (rice) [+N, +Count, -Animate, +Wǎn___, ...]
fēicháng (extraordinary) [+ADV, +Neg, -Neg__, ...]
gùshì (story) [+N, +Count, -Animate, +gē__, ...]
hǎo (good) [V, +Neg__, +__#, ...]
hěn (very) [+ADV, +Neg__, +__Neg, ...]
jiào (call) [+V, +__S, +Asp__, +NP__, ...]
jiū (then) [+ADV, -Neg__, ...]
kàn déjìan (can see) [+V, +Resultative, +__NP, ...]
lái (come) [+V, [+Animate], +Asp__, +__#, ...]
lí (from) [+Prep, -Neg__, ...]
mǎi (buy) [+V, [+Human]__, +__NP, +Asp__, ...]
māma (mother) [+N, +Human +Count, +#__, ...]
méi (no) [+Neg, +__yǒu, ...]
nǐ (you) [+Pron, -Count, ...]
pényǒu (friend) [+N, +Count +Animate +wèi__, ...]
qián (money) [+N, +Count +kuài__, ...]
qù (go) [+V, [+Animate]__, +__Vcomp +Asp__, ...]
qū (withdraw) [+V, [+Human], +Asp__, ...]
shí (to be) [+V, +NP__, +__NP, Asp__, ...]
shì [+V, +Emp, +__S, -Asp__, ...]
shìfēn (very) [+ADV, +Neg__, +Neg__, ...]
shuōhuà (speak) [+V, +Asp__ +__S, + [+Human]__, ...]
tā (he) [+Pron, +Human, +#__, ...]
tài (two) [+ADV, -Neg__Neg, ...]
wèibì (not necessarily) [+ADV, +Neg, -__Neg, ...]
wu̍nhíng (purposelessly) [+ADV, +Neg, -___ Neg, ...]
xīăng (think) [+V, +Asp___, + [+Human]___, +_S, +__NP, ...]
xīāngdāng (rather) [+ADV, -Neg___, +___ Neg, ...]
yōuyīsi (interesting) [+V, -Asp___, +_#, ...]
Yuān (far) [+V, -Asp___, +___#, ...]
Yuānyī (willing) [+V, +Asp___, + [+Human]___, +_S, ...]
zāi (is__ing) [+Asp, +Present, ...]
zuò (make) [+V, + [+Human]___, +__NP, Asp___, ...]
Footnotes

1 A typical example of this type of analysis can be found in J. X. Li and S. R. Liu's *Teaching Materials of the Chinese Language*, Shanghai 1957.

2 The terminologies used here are those of Y. R. Chao's.

3 The historical syntactic negation morpheme variants such as fǒu, fēi, mò, wèi etc. are not included in this discussion.

4 Resultative or potential verbs are verbs of the form X de Y, where X is a verb and Y is a resultative or directional compliment. For detailed discussion see: Y. R. Chao *Mandarin Primer*, pp. 44; 145; Anne Y. Hashimoto "Resultative verbs and other problems", POLA No. 8 pp. 36-94; A. T. Tsai "Chinese potential verb form" POLA No. 7.


6 ibid.
Bibliography


Hashimoto, A. Y. "Resultative verbs and other problems," *Project on Linguistic Analysis Report (POLA) No. 8* (The Ohio State University), pp. 35-94.


