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

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ABSTRACT

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

KEYWORDS

Archaic Chinese   Modal negation   Imperative   Subjunctive mood   Syntax

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上古漢語中是否存在有標之虛擬語氣：
一些從情態否定詞而來的證據

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摘要

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

關鍵詞

古代漢語   **情**態否定詞   **祈**使語氣   **虛**擬語氣   **句**法