

Fuzhou Negatives and Their Interaction with Aspect, Modality and Mood

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Abstract

In general, there are five negatives in the Fuzhou 福州 topolect: 唔[ɨŋ⁵⁵], 袂[ma²⁴²], 無[mo⁵³], 未[mui²⁴²] and 莫[mɔŋ²⁴]. Each of these displays unique features in constructions and encodes particular meanings, especially within the discussion of aspect, modality and mood.

First, 唔 is the most often-seen negative in this topolect. Generally, it negates the subjective intention, and within modality, it shows prohibition and unwillingness. Second, 袂, a portmanteau morph, fuses a negative marker and a modal verb 會[a²⁴²] (“capable/possible”). It indicates the impossibility of doing something (epistemic or deontic modal), e.g. 袂來[li⁵³](not come) shows the impossibility of coming, and denies properties in objects, and 袂開車[k^hui³³ ts^hia³³](cannot drive) means unable to drive. Third, 無 negates the occurrence of events (perfective aspect). 無 also shows habitual aspectual meaning, as in 無食薰[sie²⁴ hoŋ⁴⁴](do not smoke). Fourth, 未 expresses irrealis events (viz., the event has not been realized yet), as in 未看[k^haŋ³¹](have not seen yet). Lastly, 莫 is used exclusively in the imperative mood, e.g. 莫啼[t^hiɛ⁵³](Do not cry). Aside from occurring alone, 唔 and 袂 can be combined with verbs to form complex-negatives, as in 唔通(should not/may not), and 袂

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使(should not/may not). They are used as deontic modal verbs showing an inhibition.

In summary, this paper primarily deals with the meanings that negatives contribute (or encode) when they interact with other elements in sentences. The discussion includes aspectual meanings, the difference between epistemic/deontic modality and mood.

Keywords: aspect, deontic modality, epistemic modality, mood, Fuzhou 福州
topolect

1. Introduction

An event must be defined and identified within the frame of time and space. Several components related to time and space are involved in narrating an event.

First, one must choose a predicate; second, set an interval of time in which the predicate occurs, known as the “event frame”; and third, consider a situation or set of conditions under which the predicate occurs, called an “event world” (Chung and Timberlake 1985). Among these, the “event frame” approximately refers to the aspect and the “event” refers to the modality world.

Most Western languages manifest the above-mentioned components with verbal categories, inflection or conjugation, syntactically or morphologically. However, there is no guarantee that every language describes the three components in the same way. For languages with no such verbal categories (at least overtly), there may be another way out, such as evoking the use of negatives. This is the primary concern of this paper.

Here, the issue to be discussed goes deeply inside the perspectives of 3.aspect, 4.modality, and 5.mood of Fuzhou negatives.¹ They contribute to the meaning that goes beyond lexicon and the basic function of negation. Each

1 The language data comes from the author, who is a native speaker.

section starts with an outline of the topic in question. Before discussing the grammatical facts of Fuzhou negatives, the complicated phonetic alternation of the Fuzhou topolect regarding onsets and finals is mentioned briefly in section 2.

2. Morphophonemic Alternation in the Fuzhou Topolect

The well-known phenomena of phonetic alternation in the Fuzhou topolect are rather variegated and manifested in the change of onsets. The phonetic alternation of onsets is called “onset assimilation”; i.e. “+in a string of words, the rhyme of preceding words may assimilate in part or in full the following onsets, and the mechanism contributes a conditioned regular sound change of onsets.” The process is a kind of preverative co-articulation.”²

Onset assimilations yield some weakened sounds that may be new or the same as the phonemes in the inventory of consonants as shown in table (1). In general, those weakened sounds have something in common: laxity in articulatory facial musculature and softness in pronunciation. The places of articulation come into contact so fleetingly that the airstreams in the oral cavity cannot be completely controlled. Hence, the point of articulation is hard to define and the speech sounds are blurred. Examples are given below:

2 The phonetic mechanism is a mechanism with the action involved in making one sound continue into the next. The opposite situation is “Anticipatory Co-articulation” in which an articulator that is not necessarily involved in a given sound will nearly always start moving toward its position in the next sound in which it is the primary articulator. (Ladefoged 1993)

Table (1) The Onset Assimilation in Fuzhou Topolect (Chen 1998: 8)

Fuzhou Onsets in Isolation	Assimilated Onsets	
	After [a, ε, o, œ] ³	After [ŋ] ⁴
p, p ^h	β	m
t, t ^h , s	l	n
ts, ts ^h	z	nz
k, k ^h , h, 0 ¹⁹	0	ŋ
m, ŋ	No change	No change

茶杯 (tea cup)

ta⁵³, pui³³ → ta³³ β ui³³

花店 (flower shop)

hua⁴⁴, taiŋ²¹³ → hua⁵³ laiŋ²¹³

牙刷 (toothbrush)

ŋ ai³³, sou²¹³ → ŋ ai⁴⁴ lou²¹³

老鼠 (mouse)

no³³, ts^hy³³ → no²¹³ zy³³

眼鏡 (glasses)

ŋ iaŋ³³, kiaŋ⁵³ → ŋ iaŋ³³ ŋ iaŋ³¹

3. Aspect

“Aspect” is used in both a narrower sense, in which it refers to grammatical categories which have to do with the structure of a situation or the speaker’s perspective, and a wider sense, in which it also covers lexical and notional (semantic) categories relating to the classification of situation (Brown and Miller 1999). In terms of the two viewpoints of aspect, lexical and grammatical, the situation types to be discussed below can be established.

Vendler’s (1967) distinction of “states,⁶ activities,⁷ achievements⁸ and

3 When words end up with vowels like [a, e, o, ə], they are so-called “yin-rhyme group” (陰聲韻).

4 When words end up with velar nasal [ŋ], they are in the so-called “yang-rhyme group” (陽聲韻).

5 Zero-onset.

6 States, which endure or persist over stretches of time, differ from accomplishment and activities

accomplishment”⁹ is the classic for “lexical aspects.” Vendlerian categories are based on semantic concepts: binary temporal features, [static-dynamic],¹⁰ [telic-atelic],¹¹ [durative¹²-instantaneous]. In terms of these distinctive features, the situation types are characterized as (1):

(1) Situation types for Lexical aspects: (Smith 1999)

- **State**: static, durative
- **Activity**: dynamic, durative, atelic
- **Accomplishment**: dynamic, durative, telic
- **Achievement**: dynamic, instantaneous, telic

The lexical aspect is the “inherent aspectual meaning” for Comrie (1976). The different lexical information of a verb indicates different kinds of situations. Furthermore, the verb’s meaning interacts with its complements and together determine the aspectual type. In (2) and (3), the verb “run” has different aspectual types because of the presence or absence of its complement “to the school” :

in that they “cannot be qualified as actions at all.” They involve no dynamics. Though it may arise, or be acquired, as a result of change, and though it may provide the potential for change, the state itself does not constitute a change. (Mourelatos 1978: 416)

- 7 Activities have an essential feature “homogeneous.” Vendler comments: “any part of the process is of the same nature as the whole.” The time stretch of activities is inherently indefinite, for they involve no culmination or anticipated result. (Mourelatos 1978: 416)
- 8 Achievements capture either the inception or the climax of an act; they can be dated. Or they can be indefinitely placed within a temporal stretch. However, they cannot in themselves occur over or throughout a temporal stretch. (Mourelatos 1978: 416)
- 9 Accomplishments have duration intrinsically and are not homogeneous. To quote Vendler (1967), “in case I wrote a letter in an hour, I did not write it, say, in the first quarter of that hour.” (Mourelatos 1978: 416)
- 10 Dynamic denotes an action, process, etc. as opposed to a state. (Matthews 1997: 107)
- 11 Telic (=purposive) mainly accounts for the meanings of verb, which refers to the behavior with a specific end in view. (Matthews 1997: 373) On the contrary, atelic refers to the behavior without a specific end in view.
- 12 Durative is an aspect indicating a process, etc. seen as continuing for an appreciable time. Opp. punctual. (Matthews 1997: 107)

(2) She ran. (Atelic = non-bounded)

(3) She ran to the school. (Telic = bounded)

For the “grammatical aspects,” the types are still categorized according to the semantic information (Brown and Miller 1999): (i) “**progressive**” tends to be confined to dynamic verbs due to the fundamental meaning “on-going process,” and turn into imperfective; (ii) “**habitual**” covers roughly “**iterative**”¹³ and refers to the situation occurring regularly or something done consistently; (iii) “**completive**” stresses mainly the completion of an action or a process, and (iv) “**perfective**” and “**imperfective**” deal with the completeness and integrity of an action or event.

3.1. 無 and Lexical Aspects

This section addresses the issue of how a language, where the aspectual characters are not marked morphologically or verbal lexemes may be polysemous, encodes an aspect. One of the compensatory measures is the manipulation of negatives, as shown in the Fuzhou topolect. The Fuzhou negative that encodes aspects is 無 [mo⁵³].

Tsao (1998) argues that in Taiwanese Minnan, 無[bo²] is a “viewpoint aspect” in which the speaker places his subjective opinion. Intrinsicly, 無 is a modal morpheme and has its aspectual meaning realized by combining with “dynamic situations” as its complements. If the complement is a “stative situation,” 無 retains a modal meaning. It seems that aspect is not the primary function of 無. Examples of 無 in Taiwanese Minnan, according to Tsao, are given below (Tsao 1998: 324):

(4) 無 + activity = emphatic / aspectual meaning

~ 無 theh 所費 hoo 伊

bo⁵ t^heh⁸ soo² hui³ hoo⁷ i¹

Not take money to him

(~ did not give him a daily allowance.)

13 Iterative indicates repetition. (Matthews 1997: 189)

- (5) 無 + accomplishment = emphatic / aspectual meaning

伊無修理彼臺冷氣

i¹ bo⁵ siu¹-li² hit⁴ tai⁵ ling²-k^hi³

He not fix that CL air-conditioner

(He did not fix that air-conditioner.)

- (6) 無 + achievement = emphatic / aspectual meaning

~攏無看著蝦仔隻，蝦仔影

long² bo⁵ k^hoaⁿ³ tloh⁸ he⁵-a² chiah⁴, he⁵-a² iaⁿ²

all not see Aspect shrimp CL, shrimp shadow

(~saw no shrimp at all, not even its shadow.)

- (7) 無 + states = subjective presumption (modal meaning)

伊無ti厝

i¹ bo⁵ ti⁷ ch^hu³

He not in house

(He was not at home.)

Also, the notion of aspects, viz., “situation types” belongs to “lexical aspects”; consequently, we can infer that the aspectual meaning of 無 comes from the “lexical aspects.” In addition, once the aspectual meaning is realized, the event is regarded as an integer. Along with the derived aspectual meaning, the proposition is highlighted as well.

The phenomenon of 無 in Taiwanese Minnan shown above has its parallel in the Fuzhou topolect. The dynamic situation complement contributes the aspectual meaning to 無, viz., looking at an event as a whole. The proposition is asserted and stressed, too. Examples in the Fuzhou topolect are listed below:

- 無 + activity = emphatic modal meaning / perfective aspectual meaning

- (8) 媽媽今日無去買菜

ma³³ ma³³ kiŋ³¹-naŋ³¹ mo³¹ (k^h)o²¹ mɛ³³-ts^hai³¹

Mom today not go buy things

(Mom did not go to the market today.)

無 + accomplishment = emphatic modal meaning / perfective aspectual meaning

(9) 伊昨暝下晝無行邁學校

i⁴⁴ so³¹ maŋ⁵³ a⁵³-lau³¹ mo³³ kiaŋ⁵³-ŋau³¹ xau³¹-(x)au⁵³

He yesterday afternoon not walk arrive school

(He did not get to school yesterday afternoon.)

無 + achievement = emphatic modal meaning / perfective aspectual meaning

(10) 伊無發現我來了

i⁴⁴ mo³¹ xua²⁴-xieŋ²⁴² ŋuai³³ li⁵³ lau³³

He not notice I came particle

(He did not realize my coming.)

無 + states = subjective presumption

(11) 我無希望汝離開

ŋuai³³ mo³¹ xi³¹-uoŋ²⁴² ny³³ lie²⁴²-(k^h)ui³³

I not hope you leave

(I did not want you to leave.)

These show that the “situation type” would be the primary concern for determining the function of 無. Only when combined with dynamic situations, 無 gets its perfective aspectual meaning. Note that these dynamic situations have the same focus on the wholeness phase of the event in the proposition.

When followed by an activity, 無 denies entirely the existence of that event. Accomplishments have an internal endpoint. When followed by an accomplishment, 無 expresses the failure of the action. The action is terminated, however, but the outcome is stressed. 無 also emphasizes the termination and complete phase of achievements whose inception and terminal point almost overlap. 無 denies the occurrence of the referred event or action. When the stative complement follows 無, the modal sense is more apparent. 無 expresses the speaker’s subjective opinion.

3.2. 無 and Grammatical Aspects

In Tsao's analysis, 有 in Taiwanese Minnan is a modal, and derives its aspectual meaning when combining with dynamic situations (events). More precisely, a perfective is derived, and the essence of a perfective means that the event referred to reaches the completive state at least before the speech moment, as (12-1) (Tsao 1998: 326):

(12-1) 伊有食牛肉

i¹ u⁷ chiah⁸ gu⁵ bah⁴

He have eat beef meat

(He ate the beef. — Perfective sense)

However, in my opinion, the “perfective” may not be the end of the derivation. It is possible for the composition of numbers of “perfective” events to bring forth the habitual meaning, which is regarded as an aspect under Comrie's (1976) analysis. (12-1) has yet another interpretation as given in (12-2). For this reason, it seems to be quite reasonable to regard “habitual” as a subset of grammatical aspect under “perfective.”

(12-2) 伊有食牛肉

i¹ u⁷ chiah⁸ gu⁵ bah⁴

He have eat beef meat

(He is a beef-eater. — Habitual sense)

The primary function of 無 is to emphasize the “absence of existence and possession,” especially in the light of “realis events or states.” In other words, 無 mostly negates an event that occurred in the past or an accomplished fact. Like 有, 無 has a habitual meaning in the same context. We can see the dual function of 無 by examining the Fuzhou topolect examples in (13), and Taiwanese Minnan examples in (14). The combination of 無 and the dynamic situation may be ambiguous because of the derived aspectual meanings.

(13) 伊無食肉

i⁴⁴ mo³³ sie³¹ ny⁵³

He not have meat

(He did not have meat. — experience) (He does not eat meat. —

habit)

(14) 伊無運動

i⁴⁴ mo³³ uŋ³¹ tuŋ³³

He not exercise

(He did not exercise. — experience) (He does not exercise. — habit)

In Chinese topolects, such as Southern Min and Fuzhou, negatives have the function of expressing the habitual. The analysis above supports the chain that the Fuzhou negative 無 interacts not only with lexical aspect, but also with grammatical aspect.¹⁴

4. Modality

Modality is a category covering indications either of a kind of speech act or of the degree of certainty with which something is said. It is also a semantic category expressing the attitude of the speaker towards what is expressed in the sentence (Matthews 1997). In the world of modality, the modal formation is not limited to the verb form. It can also be expressed by a variety of formal or lexical means in conjunction with contextual factors, such as: “sentence types (15),” “sentence adverbial (16),” “modal auxiliary (17),” and “syntactic construction (18).”

(15) Get out! (Command)

(16) **Hopefully** we will be there by six. (Sentence adverbial)

(17) You **must** leave now. (Modal auxiliary verb)

(18) I **have to go** (“have + infinitive” construction)

A widely-accepted approach that deals with modal verbs is the inspection from two dimensions: deontic and epistemic. By way of “deontic” and “epistemic,” the speaker expresses his attitude toward the possibility and

14 In Liu (1997), the discussion of 無 and 未 in Mandarin, Southern Min and Hakka has found that these two negatives are in complementary distribution; that is, 無 is a realis negative and 未 is an irrealis negative.

necessity towards what is discussed. Each of them contains several implications. What is outlined in Table (2) are the modal verbs in Mandarin Chinese.

Table (2) Mandarin Chinese Modal Verbs

Deontic Modal (Root meaning)		Epistemic Modal	
Meaning	Example	Meaning	Example
Capability	Can 會[hui]、能[neng]	Contingency	Must, may, will, would 應該[yinggai]、 會[hui]、要[yao]
Will	Will, would 要[yao]、 願意[yuanyi]		
Obligation	Must, may, Ought to, should 要[yao]、必須[bixu]、 應該[yinggai]		
Permission	Can, may 能[neng]、 可以[keyi]		

Deontic modal verbs principally indicate an agent exercising authority; that is, the speaker's permission for or insistence on the event. The source can be either executed from the subject (能 / 會 / 願意 / 敢) or discharged by the speaker (可以 / 應該 / 要). They denote the presence or absence of an obligation and a recommendation.

On the other hand, a Greek word for "knowledge and understanding," epistemic, indicates factual necessity, probability and possibility. The speaker is the epistemic source and estimates the possibility or necessity of the occurrence of the event (可能 / 應該 / 會 / 要).

In fact, the intermediate zone between deontic and epistemic is continuous (Quirk, et al 1985). Though “deontic” is said to be the root meaning, (e.g. “will” means “volition,” “can” indicates “ability” and “must” denotes “obligation”), some peripheral meanings turn up under the urge of pragmatic inference. Table (3) and examples (19) through (24) depict this phenomena:

Table (3)

Deontic modals ~ Epistemic modals
(Authority ~ Contingency)
Permission ~ Possibility
Obligation ~ Necessity
Capability ~ Volition

- (19) You **may** come in. (Permission)
 (20) She **may** come or may not. (Possibility)
 (21) You **must** have a pass for entering. (Obligation)
 (22) He **must** be tired after such a long journey. (Necessity)
 (23) I **can** type very fast. (Capability)
 (24) I **can** stay here until you come back. (Volition)

Each modal verb represents two opposed meanings on the continuity, and they are interchangeable under certain grammatical conditions. In the conversion, the two meanings may either integrate or trigger the ambiguity. Furthermore, the two opposed meanings are seemingly mutually entailed. This may verify that the meaning reflects the thinking (Qiu 1995). Take “permission” and “possibility” for example. Qiu comments that:

An event not prohibited by human authority and laws occurs is so-called permission...an event not prohibited by outside circumstances occurs is so-called possibility...and the “source” is the cause of modal

category conversion. (Qiu 1995)

If the “source” comes from the “inside” of the speaker or the subject, the modal verb implies “control” and refers to “permission, capability, obligation, and volition.” On the contrary, if the source comes from the “outside,” the modal verb implies “inference and estimation,” and refers to “possibility and necessity.”

4.1. Modality Interacts with Negatives

The possibility and necessity carried by modals can be mutually switched by adding a negative. Figure (1) shows the switch between them, and the interaction with the negatives. Negating a modal in a proposition (P) would bring about the contradictory; A contradicts O and I contradicts E. The contradictory swings between necessity and possibility, as shown in (25) (26) (Horn 1989):

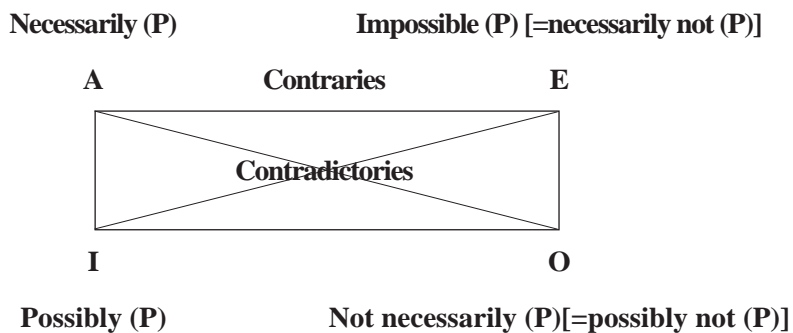


Figure (1) (a) A contradicts O: “necessarily (P) = possibly **not** (P)”

(b) I contradicts E: “possibly (P) = necessarily **not** (P)”

(25) A: It may be cold in winter. (Necessarily (P))

O: It may not be cold in winter. (Possibly not (P))

(26) I: He might be home now. (Possibly (P))

E: He might not be home now. (Necessarily not (P))

In the Fuzhou topolect, in the affixal negation, the negative is attached mainly to the modal verbs, as in 唔使[ŋ⁵³-nai³³], 唔肯[ŋ⁵³-ŋiŋ³³], and 袂使[mɛ⁵³-sai³³]. Though the formation, [negative + modal], is unproductive due to the closed set of modal verbs, many of them occurring with high frequency and from time to time viewed as “negative compounds” which are used as a single unit.

In line with the idea of Table (2), the semantic properties of Fuzhou modal verbs with negatives can be rendered as in Table (4), and the relevant examples are in (27) to (32). The deontic contains implications of “incapability, prohibition, absence of obligation, and unwillingness,” and the epistemic “absence of necessity and impossibility.”

Table (4) Fuzhou Negative-Modal Verbs

Deontic	Meaning	Example
Modal 義務	Incapability	袂白[mɛ ⁵³ -β ai ²⁴] (Cannot, unable)
	Prohibition	唔通[ŋ ³³ -nø yŋ ³³] 袂使[mɛ ⁵³ -sai ³³] 不准[bu ²⁴ -zuŋ ³³] 袂使得 [mɛ ⁵³ -sai ³³ -li ²⁴] (Cannot, should not, must not)
	Absence of Obligation	無應該 [mo ³¹ -iŋ ⁵³ -kai ³³] 無必要 [mo ³¹ -bi ⁵³ -iu ³¹] 無須要 [mo ³¹ -sy ⁵³ -iu ³¹] 唔使[ŋ ⁵³ -nai ³³] (must not, should not, may not, need not)
	Volition (Unwillingness)	Insistence on not- action 唔肯[ŋ ⁵³ -ŋ iŋ ³³] 唔要[ŋ ³³ -ni ⁵³]

		無願意[mo ³¹ -uoŋ ⁵³ -ei ³¹] (Unwilling) Willingness on not-action 唔愛 / 無愛 / 袂愛 / 無一定卜 (Not insist, not necessarily want)
Epistemic Modal 認知	Absence of necessity Impossibility	無一定會[mo ³¹ -i ²¹ -teiŋ ²⁴ -a ²⁴²] (Not necessarily will) 無可能[mo ³¹ -k ^h o ³¹ -neiŋ ⁵³] (May not, cannot, impossible)

(27) 伊袂白講英文

i⁴⁴ mɛ²¹-β ei³¹ kouŋ⁴⁴ iŋ³³-uŋ⁵³

He cannot know speak English

(He cannot speak English. — Incapability)

(28) 今晡不准汝看電視

kiŋ³³-muo³³ bu²⁴ tsuŋ³³ ny³³ ŋ aŋ³¹-nieŋ³¹-nei²⁴²

Tonight not allow you watch the television

(You are not allowed to watch TV tonight. — Prohibition)

(29) 我們會使先行，無須要等伊

na²¹-a³³ ε³¹-lai³³ seiŋ³³-ŋ iaŋ⁵³, mo³¹ sy³¹-iu²¹ tiŋ³³ i⁴⁴

We can first go no need wait him

(We can go now, and do not have to wait for him. — Absence of obligation)

(30) 我無願意見伊

ŋ uai³³ mo³¹ uoŋ⁵³-ei³¹ kieŋ³¹ i⁴⁴

I not want to see him

(I do not want to see him. — Unwillingness)

(31) 批今日無一定會送邁

p^hiε³³ kiŋ⁵³-naŋ³¹ mo²¹-i³¹-teiŋ²⁴² ε³¹ søyŋ³¹ ŋ au²¹

Letter today not certain will send arrive

(It is not at all certain that the letter will arrive today. — Absence of necessity)

(32) 天這麼¹⁵暗，伊無可能討有路

t^hieŋ⁴⁴ tsiaŋ²⁴² aŋ³¹, i⁴⁴ mo³¹-k^ho³¹-neiŋ⁵³ t^ho³³ u²¹ tuo²⁴²

Sky such dark he not possible find have road

(It is so dark that he can find no route. — Impossibility)

4.2. Fuzhou Modal Negatives

Two of the Fuzhou negatives, 唔 / 袂, can contribute modality in and of themselves (table (5)), as exemplified in examples (33) through (37).

Table (5) Fuzhou Modal Negatives

Deontic Modal 義務類		Epistemic Modal 認知類	
Meaning	Negative	Meaning	Negative
Incapability 無能力	袂[mɛ ⁵³] (Cannot, unable)	Absence of necessity 推測	袂[mɛ ⁵³] (Not necessarily will)
Prohibition 禁止	唔[iŋ ⁵³] (Cannot, may not, must not)	Impossibility 不可能	袂[mɛ ⁵³] (may not, cannot, impossible)
Volition (Unwillingness) 無意願	唔[iŋ ⁵³] (Unwilling, not necessarily want)		

(33) 伊袂做

i⁴⁴ mɛ⁵³ tso³¹

He cannot do

(He is incapable of doing it. — Incapability)

15 這麼[tsi³¹ maŋ³³]here is fused into one morpheme [tsiaŋ²⁴²].

(34) 唔乞伊白傳

ŋ⁵³ k^hy³³ i⁴⁴ pei³¹-tuŋ⁵³

not let him know

(Do not let him know. — Prohibition)

(35) 我唔聽這樣其音樂

ŋuai³³ ŋ³³-niaŋ³³ tsu³¹-uaŋ³¹ e²¹ iŋ³³-ou²⁴

I not listen such kind of music

(I will not listen to this kind of music. — Unwillingness)

(36) 天真清，今日袂盪雨

t^hieŋ⁴⁴ tsieŋ⁴⁴ ts^hiŋ⁴⁴, kin⁵³-naŋ³¹ me²¹ touŋ⁵³-y³³

Sky very clear today would not rain

(The sky is clear and will not rain today. — Absence of necessity)

(37) 伊真無閒，最近袂來討我

i⁴⁴ tsieŋ³¹ mo³³ eiŋ⁵³, tsui⁵³-køyŋ²⁴² me³³ li⁵³ t^ho³³ ŋuai³³

He very not idle recently would not come find me

(He is so busy that he will not call on me these days. — Impossibility)

4.3. 未 / 固未 Shows Irrealis

未 is an old-fashioned negative which is preserved in many Chinese topolects. (The corresponding expression in Mandarin is *hai meiyou* 還沒有.) It clearly indicates the irrealis in all possible worlds, as in (38).

(38) 未開花

mui³¹ k^hui³³ xua⁴⁴

Not yet blossom flowers

(Not blossom yet)

Just like 猶未 in Taiwanese Minnan, in the Fuzhou topolect 固未[ku³¹ mui²⁴²] is used to negate the expectation. 固未 constantly invokes the speaker's anticipation toward the event involved. It shows that at the moment of speaking or in the referential time, the expectancy does not come to pass or

come to an end. In terms of its compatibility with “situation types,” basically 固未 goes well with all kinds of situation types, which encode “the irrealis of expectation.” Examples are provided in (39) through (42):

(39) 固未 with states

伊固未了解汝其意思

i⁴⁴ ku³¹-mui⁵³ liu²⁴-kai³³ ny³³ e²¹ i⁵³-løy³¹

He still not understand your meaning

(He still does not understand what you mean.)

(40) 固未 with Activities

固未學行，就想跑

ku³¹-mui²⁴ ɔ²⁴ kiaŋ⁵³, tsiu⁵³ suoŋ³³ mie³¹

Still not learn walk, then want run

(Learn to walk before you can run.)

(41) 固未 with accomplishments

我功課固未寫完

ŋuai³³ kuŋ⁵³-ŋuo³¹ ku³¹-mui⁵³ sia³³ uoŋ⁵³

I homework still not write finish

(I have not finished my homework yet.)

(42) 固未 with achievements

批固未寄邁臺北

piε³³ ku³¹-mui⁵³ kiε³¹-(k)au³¹ tai³¹-pøy²⁴

Letter still not send arrive Taipei

(The letter has not reached Taipei yet.)

In the Fuzhou topolect, all negatives, 無唔未袂, can denote the meaning of modality. It is important to note that there is no one-to-one correspondence between the forms (characters or morphemes) and the meaning that they carry. The same form may have more than one meaning.

5. Mood

Mood is a grammatical category different from modality, and it is always interpreted in sentence structures, and denotes categories of meaning, not of form. Moods have the function to show “will, fact, and thought” and express certain attitudes of the mind of the speaker towards the contents of the sentence. Jespersen (1992: 313) observes that when speaking of “mood,” only the attitude of mind is shown in the form of the verb: mood thus is a syntactic, not a notional category.

First, the “imperative mood” is a will-mood, and used to express the will of the speaker and meant to affect the conduct of the receiver. It is always a strictest command, and means “permission,” and, the negative is “prohibition” as shown below (Jespersen 1992: 314):

(43) Take that (if you like)! — Imperative

= I allow you to take that!

= I have no objection to your taking that.

= I do not mind if you take that.

(44) Do not take that! — Imperative

= I forbid you to take that!

= I have severe objection to your taking that.

= I wish you would not take that.

Second, the “indicative mood” is a “fact-mood,” and used to represent something as a fact, not simply a matter of fact. When one says, “twice three is seven,” the statement is a representation of a fact, though opposed to the real fact “six.”

Third, the “subjunctive mood” is distinct from “indicative” in meaning; nevertheless, the difference is not clear in language use. “Subjunctive” is a “thought-mood” as opposed to a downright statement, and it is mentioned with a certain hesitation or doubt or uncertainty as to its reality, imaginary or

unreal. (45) shows the contradiction — the “indicative” is used with the meaning of the “subjunctive.”

(45) Take care that you are not caught. (Jespersen 1992: 316)

5.1. 莫 As an Imperative Mood

“Mood” is a kind of meaning and is realized in a statement. Logically, every statement with “mood” can have a negative counterpart. In Chinese, “negative indicative” and “negative subjunctive” are differentiated by structures. For example, (46)(48)are indicative; (47)(49)are subjunctive, and the “imperative” may be expressed lexically.

(46) 大家都來了

Da jia dou lai le

Everyone all come LE (Everyone has come.)

(47) 萬一他明天真的來了……

Wan yi ta ming tian zhen de lai LE...

If he tomorrow really come LE... (If he should come tomorrow...)

(48) 大家都沒來

Da jia dou mei lai

Everyone all not come (Everyone has not come.)

(49) 萬一他明天真的沒來……

Wan yi ta ming tian zhen de mei lai...

If he tomorrow really not come... (If he should not come tomorrow...)

As far as Fuzhou negatives are concerned, 莫 /moʔ/, corresponding to 別 in Mandarin Chinese, is the negative adverb with imperative mood expressing command, dissuasion and prohibition. 莫 /moʔ/ cannot be used in isolation, and functions mainly in imperative sentences. The sentence meaning is transparent and compositional. It attaches to verb and is meant to dissuade or discourage someone from doing something, as in (50).

(50) 莫啼！

mo²⁴ thiε⁵³ !

Not cry (Do not cry.)

6. Conclusion

In this paper, we have explored the interpretation of Fuzhou negatives in sentences. First, the difference between lexical aspects and grammatical aspects is discerned. Note that 無 is the negative which interacts with aspectual meaning when combining with dynamic elements in sentences. It denotes the perfective meaning and derives habitual meaning.

Second, Fuzhou negatives also reflect denotic and epistemic modal meanings in sentences. As discussed above, 袂 shows incapability, prohibition and unwillingness. 無 can show the absence of obligation, unwillingness, absence of necessity and impossibility. 唔 can show prohibition, absence of obligation and unwillingness. Third, the discussion of the mood meaning shows that the imperative mood is expressed by a special Fuzhou negative 莫.

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福州話否定詞與時貌、情態 和語氣的互動

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摘要

一般而言，福州話有五個單純否定詞：唔、袂、無、未、莫。每個否定詞在詞組或句構中都有獨特性，特別是在時貌，情態與語氣系統中也具有個別性的意義與功能。

首先，「唔」是最常見的否定詞，主要否定主語的意願；在情態的理論架構下，表現禁止和不願意的意義。第二，「袂」是融合詞素 (portmanteau morph)，是肯定標記與情態助動詞「會」的合體，表「沒有能力 / 不可能」。表「不可能」時，是「知識 epistemic / 義務 deontic」情態的否定，如「袂來 (不會來)」表「不可能來」，「袂開車 (不會開車)」表示沒有開車的技術與能力。除了上述，「唔 / 袂」單獨使用外，也能和某些動詞組成複合否定詞 (complex negative)，是義務類情態動詞，其否定意義為「禁止」，如「唔通 (不行)，袂使 (不可以)」。第三，「無」否定「動作行為的發生」，表示完成 (perfective aspect) 的時貌意義；「無」另外具有習慣 (habitual) 的時貌意義，如「無食薰 (不抽煙 / 沒有抽煙的習慣)」。第四，「未」表示「未然 irrealis」的時貌意義，如「未看 (還沒看)」，表示預期中的動作或事件還沒發生。最後「莫」則專門用在命令句，屬於命令 (imperative) 的語氣。

本文探討福州話否定詞在句中，與前後成分的互相影響之下，所產生的語義貢獻。文中分析包括：否定產生的時貌 (aspect) 意義，其知識性與義務性情態 (epistemic and deontic modality) 的不同，語氣 (mood) 的差別，以

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及不同否定詞所揭露之不同語意的討論。

關鍵詞：時貌、義務性情態、認知性情態、語氣、福州方言