

Negation and the causative verb *shi* 使 in Han period Chinese¹

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1. Introduction

The purpose of this paper is to discuss the syntax and the semantics of the causative verb *shi* 使, particularly in combination with negatives. The focus rests on a purely synchronic study of the employment of this verb in Han period Chinese and not on its diachronic development from a full verb to a marker of the causative construction in the evolution from synthetic causative constructions in Ancient Chinese to analytic ones in later periods. This study is based mainly on three Han period texts: the *Shiji* (around 100 BC); the *Hanshu* (first century AD) and the *Lunheng* (first century AD).

1.1 A short introduction to causativity

Causation is among the basic categories found in all languages. In the extensive linguistic literature on causatives it is possible to distinguish different types of causatives: these are, e.g. lexical causatives and productive causatives² as found in Shibatani (1976). In the first category, lexical causatives, the causative situation is realized as an atomic unit³ while in the second, productive causatives, it is realized either morphologically, often with a limited productivity, or by periphrastic means, being limitlessly productive. A causative predicate can be defined as encoding two situations: 1) the situation of causing; and 2) the caused situation. Lexical causatives and productive causatives can be distinguished by the thematic role of the causee. With lexical causatives the causee is patientive while with productive causatives it can be agentive (serving as the agent of the caused event). With lexical causatives and a patientive causee, the execution of the caused situation is entirely dependent on the causer's activity; in most cases this entails a spatio-temporal overlap of the causing and the caused situation which leads to the conceptualization of the entire causative situation as one single situation; whereas with productive causatives the causee is characterized by a certain degree of autonomy, of volition of its own; the causing and the caused situation do not need to coincide spatio-temporally and thus cannot be regarded as one single situation.⁴ With lexical causatives the causation can usually be considered direct while with productive causatives it can be considered indirect. Generally, a causative predicate is characterized by a change of valency of the verb: an additional argument, the causer is introduced as a subject argument.

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² See Shibatani and Pardeshi (2001: 89) who define the two different categories as follows: 'Lexical causatives represent a situation where the causee is conceptualized as a patient, and productive causatives express a situation where the causee is also the agent, one who acts as a volitional entity in carrying out the caused event'.

³ See Shibatani (2001: 2).

⁴ See Shibatani and Pardeshi (2001: 89).

- (1) a. The door opened.
 b. John opened the door.⁵

In example (1a) the verb ‘open’ functions as an intransitive verb with only one (the internal) argument, which assumes the role of the patient or undergoer (experiencer)—the verb is non-causative; while in (1b) the verb ‘open’ has two arguments—the second, the agent argument appears as the external argument while the patient argument appears as internal argument—the verb is transitive and a lexical causative verb.

- (2) a. Peter killed Mary.
 b. Peter made Mary kill Bill.

In example (2a) the situation ‘kill Mary’ is expressed by a transitive (lexical causative) predicate with two arguments, comparable to (1b): the external argument represents the role of the agent and the internal one the role of the patient; in (2b) two distinct situations are expressed by a productive causative predicate: first the causing situation ‘Peter made’ and second the caused situation ‘Mary kill Bill’. The predicate is ditransitive with two internal arguments: 1) ‘Mary’, the causee and the agent of the caused situation, and 2) the VP ‘kill Bill’. In example (2a) the causation is direct while in (2b) it is indirect.

1.2 Causativity in Archaic and Han period Chinese

As in English, in Classical Chinese and the language of the Han period both lexical causatives and productive causatives are commonly used to express causative situations. Lexical causatives in Classical and Han period Chinese express a causative situation synthetically by a causative verb as in example (3) with the verb *sha* 殺 ‘to kill’:

- (3) 兩臣殺二君，二君之死亦當報之。 *Lunheng*: 63.1.30
Liang chen sha er jun, er jun zhi si yi dang bao
 Two minister kill two prince, two prince ZHI death also ought avenge
zhi
 OBJ
 ‘If the two ministers had killed the two princes, one must have avenged the death of the two princes.’

Productive causatives express a causative situation analytically, by adding a causative verb such as *ling* 令 ‘to order’, *ming* 命 ‘to order’ or *shi* ‘to order’, etc. to the predicate as in example (4) with the verbs *shi* and *ling* 令:

- (4) 使之完廩，火燔其下。令之浚井，土掩其上。 *Lunheng*: 9.4.5
Shi zhi wan lin, huo fan qi xia. Ling zhi jun jing,
 Cause OBJ complete granary, fire burn its down. Cause OBJ dig well,
tu yan qi shang.
 earth cover its above
 ‘They made him complete a granary, but [let] a fire burn underneath. They let him dig a well, but [let] earth cover it from above.’

The verbs *wan* 完 ‘to complete’ and *jun* 浚 ‘to dig’, which serve to express the caused situation, are both transitive.

⁵ See Shibatani (1976: 3), who quotes these examples given by Fillmore (1968) in the framework of his case grammar.

Besides this, in Classical and Han period Chinese, there are many intransitive verbs which—in a regular and productive process—can be made causative by transitivization without any morphological marking of the verb involved; this is comparable to covert⁶ causatives in English, as in example (5) where two, usually intransitive, verbs *shen* 沈 ‘deep’⁷ and *gao* 高 ‘high’, appear transitively in the causative reading: ‘to deepen’ and ‘to heighten, make high’ respectively:

- (5) 足下深溝高壘，堅營勿與戰。 *Shiji*, 92; 2615
zu xia shen gou gao lei, jian ying wu yu zhan
 foot below deep moat high rampart, strong camp NEG participate battle
 ‘You should deepen the moats, make the ramparts higher, strengthen the camps and not join them in a battle.’

These verbs belong to the class of covert causatives in Classical and Han period Chinese which, according to Shibatani and Pardeshi (2001), have to be labelled as lexical causatives.⁸ This synthetic causative structure has been replaced by an analytic structure over the history of the Chinese language.⁹

It would also seem possible that Ancient Chinese underwent a process of causativization by morphological means. Various hypotheses have been proposed in the linguistic literature, based mainly on variants in pronunciation of a character which correlate with a non-causative and a causative reading or on cognates representing a non-causative and a causative verb. These phenomena have led to the assumption that different affixes may have had the function of deriving a causative verb from a non-causative verb.¹⁰ The following example with the verb *lai* 來 ‘to come’ represents this category:

- (6) 修身正行，不能來福； *Lunheng*, 2.2.2
Xiu shen zheng xing, bu neng lai fu
 Improve body correct conduct, NEG can come(caus) happiness
 ‘By improving oneself and correcting one’s conduct, one cannot bring about happiness.’

The character *lai* 來 had two different variants of pronunciation in Ancient and Middle Chinese, *laj* (*lai*) for the intransitive variant ‘to come’, and *laj^h* (*lai*)

⁶ Covert causatives are also labelled ‘labile causatives’ as, for example, in Shibatani and Pardeshi (2001: 107): ‘When intransitive verbs take the same shape as transitive forms, as in English *open* (intr.): *open* (tr.) ... they are called “labile”’. See also n. 8.

⁷ Occasionally for these verbs different, but morphologically related, forms are assumed for Ancient Chinese. These morphological differences in Ancient Chinese are assumed to be reflected by different tones in Middle Chinese. Regarding the verb *shen* 沈, according to Pulleyblank (1991: 280), in Early Middle Chinese (c. sixth century AD) a variant in the departing tone *im^h* existed for the nominal derivation ‘depth’, but this pronunciation variant is not relevant in the current context.

⁸ Shibatani and Pardeshi (2001: 107) define lexical causatives as follows: ‘Pure lexical causatives are those in which there is no identifiable causative marking vis-à-vis their non-causative counterparts. Most, if not all, languages have basic (causative) transitive verbs that have no identifiable causative marking ... Some of these have intransitive (anticausative or decausative) counterparts ... When intransitive verbs take the same shape as transitive forms, as in English *open* (intr.): *open* (tr.) ... they are called “labile”’.

⁹ According to Wang (1980: 404 ff.) the development of the analytic causative structures which replaced this synthetic structure begun during the Han period, but they are not established as a particular verbal category before the Tang period. See also Xu (2003: 2) and Li and Thompson (1976: 480).

¹⁰ For a short summary of these studies see Xu (2003: 1 ff.), who gives examples and discusses different hypotheses on this subject.

for the causative variant ‘encourage to come’.¹¹ Obviously the second variant is relevant to this example.¹² Although it is generally agreed in the linguistic literature that a morphological distinction, for instance of different verbal categories e.g. by affixation but also by infixation, existed in Ancient Chinese, it is not at all clear how productive this morphology actually was. However, by the Han period it had already lost its productivity and the distinction of different verbal forms for a causative or a non-causative variant of a verb has to be regarded as purely lexical.¹³

This article is concerned only with a confined class of productive causatives with the causative verb *shi* 使.

1.3 *The causative verb shi 使 in Classical and Han period Chinese*

According to Pulleyblank (1991, 1995), in Classical Chinese the verb *shi* 使 represents the concrete semantic concepts of: 1) ‘to send’, ‘to employ’; and 2) the more abstract causative notions ‘to make’, ‘to cause’. Additionally, it can be employed as a verb of command. All these semantic notions are also attested in Han period Chinese. Syntactically, the verb *shi* 使 is attested principally in two different structures: 1) as a verb with three NP arguments or two NP and one PP argument respectively: [_S NP₁[_{VP} V NP₂ NP₃/PP]]; and 2) with two NP and one VP argument: [_S NP₁ [_{VP} V₁ NP₂ V₂P]]. The latter was labelled the complement-structure by Yue (1999).

1. [_S NP₁ [_{VP} V NP₂ NP₃/PP]]

- (7) 先王以為然，具符節南使臣於趙。 *Shiji*, 80: 2431
xian wang yi-wei ran, ju fujie nan shi chen yu Zhao
 former king consider-as be-so, provide pass south send minister to Zhao
 ‘Our late king agreed, and he provided me with a passport and sent me south to Zhao.’

2. [_S NP₁ [_{VP} V₁ NP₂ V₂P]]

- (8) 有報人之志，使人知之，殆也。 *Shiji*, 67: 2198
you bao ren zhi zhi, shi ren zhi zhi, dai ye
 have repay man ZHI intention, cause people know OBJ, danger FIN
 ‘To have the intention to repay someone and let him know it, this is dangerous.’

In both structures, NP₁ represents the causer or agent, NP₂ the causee, or the agent of V₂P, and NP₃/PP or VP the goal respectively. As examples (1) and (2) demonstrate, the NP₁ does not need to be realized in the surface structure of

¹¹ Pulleyblank (1991) reconstructs *laj* for the first reading and *laj^h* for the second reading in Early Middle Chinese. The departing tone of the second reading results from a *-s-suffix which among others is supposed to belong to the morphological means to express causativity. See, for instance, Xu (2003: 2) who provides a résumé of the linguistic discussion on this topic. According to Pulleyblank both readings can be represented by the character variant 徠. Only the first reading *lai* persists in Modern Mandarin where this verb still appears occasionally in a causative sense *lai diar cha* 來點兒茶 ‘bring some tea’ as found in Chao (1968: 675) together with a few more intransitive verbs which can occur transitively in a causative sense.

¹² The verb *zheng* 正 ‘to be correct, to correct’ in the first clause of example (6) belongs to the category of covert causatives identical with the verbs in example (5).

¹³ See Matisoff (1976: 419) who introduces, for a comparable situation in Lahu, the informal term ‘Fossil causatives’.

the sentence if it is already realized in one of the preceding clauses or if it can be assumed from the context. In the second structure, the causee, represented by NP₂, is identical with the agent or experiencer—depending on the situation type—of V₂ which refers to the caused situation, the goal. The concrete semantic notions ‘send’, and ‘employ’ are mainly represented by the first structure [_S NP₁ [_{VP} V NP₂ NP₃/PP]], while the verb of command and the more abstract causative meanings ‘cause’, or ‘make to’, are always represented by the second structure [_S NP₁ [_{VP} V₁ NP₂ V₂P]]. The grade of agenthood and of control of NP₁ (the causer) differs according to the grade of concreteness of the verb *shi* 使, and according to the semantics of V₂.¹⁴ For the second, the more abstract causative notions of *shi* 使 serve as the derivational source of *shi* 使 as a marker of the analytic causative construction which replaces the synthetic construction frequently found in Ancient Chinese.¹⁵

The following examples demonstrate the contrast between a synthetic and an analytic causative construction:

(a) Example for a synthetic causative construction with the usually stative intransitive verb *gao* 高 ‘high’, which can be transformed into a causative verb by adding a direct patientive object as an additional argument:¹⁶

(9 = 5) 足下深溝高壘，堅營勿與戰。 *Shiji*, 92: 2615
zu xia shen gou gao lei, jian ying wu yu
 foot below deep moat high rampart, strong camp NEG participate
zhan
 battle
 ‘You should deepen the moats, make the ramparts higher, strengthen the camps and not join them in a battle.’

The respective analytic causative construction would be:

(9a) * ... 使壘高
shi lei gao
 cause ramparts high

Examples such as these, which can be considered as the predecessors of the analytic causative construction in Middle Chinese *shi* 使 (*ling* 令) + NP + V as discussed in particular by Wei Pei-chüan (2000) are not particularly frequent in Han period texts such as the *Shiji*. The following may serve as examples for this construction:

(10) 且苟所附之國重，此必使王重矣。 *Shiji*, 69: 2267
qie gou suo fu zhi guo zhong, ci bi shi
 furthermore if-really REL attach ZHI state important, this certainly cause
wang zhong yi
 king important FIN

¹⁴ See Wei Pei-chüan (2000: 837 f.).

¹⁵ See Xu Dan (2003).

¹⁶ These constructions are labelled covert (or labile) causatives, which involve conversion by means of a zero derivation. All these examples involve a hidden abstract causative verb that has been incorporated lexically into the main verb (cf. Hale and Keyser 1993). The hidden abstract causative verb will emerge as the main verb in analytic causatives in modern Chinese. (see Chinfu Lien 2002)

‘And furthermore if the states you attach yourself to are important this will certainly make you important as well.’

- (10a) 如能起行，杖短能使之長？ Lunheng, 28.17.29
Ru neng qi xing, zhang duan neng shi zhi chang
 If can rise go, stick short can cause OBJ long
 ‘And if he could get up and go, but the stick was short, could it (Heaven) make it long again?’

In the first clause of (10) the stative verb *zhong* 重 ‘important’ is employed without any additional argument, while in the second clause it is employed in a causative construction with *wang* 王 ‘king’ as its argument. In (10a), the inner argument is represented by the object pronoun *zhi* 之. In the following example (11) the stative verb *gao* 高 ‘high’ is employed in a causative construction with *shi* 使 but the structure is different to example (10) since the internal argument NP, the object pronoun *zhi* 之, is found following V_2 and not preceding it. In example (10), the causee is patientive, and in example (11) the causee (NP₂), which is omitted, is agentive.

- (11) 楚民俗好庫車，王以為庫車不便馬，欲下令使高之。 Shiji, 119: 3100
Chu min su hao bi che, wang yi-wei bi che bu
 Chu people customary like low car, king consider-as low car NEG
bian ma, yu xia ling shi gao zhi
 convenient horse, wish below command cause high OBJ
 ‘The people of Chu always liked float cars but the king considered them inconvenient for the horses and wanted to give the order to have them made higher.’

1.3.1 *The employment of negatives with the causative verb shi 使*

As far as the employment of negatives is concerned, only the second syntactic structure [_S NP₁ [_{VP} V₁ NP₂ V₂P]] is relevant here, and in most instances the verb *shi* 使 is found in the sense of ‘to cause’, ‘to make to’, verbs that have a strong root modal (deontic) value.¹⁷ In negative constructions with the verb *shi* 使 both the modal negatives, the so-called **m*-negatives, expressing mainly the root modality of a negative obligation, i.e. a prohibition, such as *wu* (muǒ), 無¹⁸ its variant *wu* (muǒ)毋, and *wu* (mut) 勿,¹⁹ and the modally neutral

¹⁷ Horne (1989: 325).

¹⁸ Those cases in which *wu* 無 is verbal ‘not to have’ as in the following example which is a quotation from the *Lunyu*, are excluded here.

(i) 故曰「聽訟，吾猶人也，必也使無訟乎」。Shiji, 122: 3131
Gu yue: ting song, wu you ren ye, bi ye shi wu song hu
 therefore say: listen litigation, I like man FIN, necessary FIN cause not-have litigation FIN
 ‘The Master said, “In hearing litigations, I am like any other body. What is necessary, however, is to cause the people to have no litigations”.’ (Analects XII,13, Legge (1971: 257)).

Although this example is a quotation from a Classical Chinese text, the employment of *wu* 無 is representative for the Han period as well.

¹⁹ These negatives are called **m*-negatives as they are reconstructed with the labial nasal **m*- in Ancient Chinese (in contrast to the **p*-negatives which are reconstructed with the labial stop **p*-). In Early Middle Chinese these initials are still present. The reconstructions are those for Early Middle Chinese given by Pulleyblank (1991).

so-called **p*-negatives, namely *bu* (pət) 不, occur in Han period Chinese.²⁰ Two different positions are available for the negatives—whether modal or not:

1) preceding *shi* 使:

(12) (NP₁) NEG *shi* NP₂ V₂P

勿使王背德也。

Shiji, 60: 2118

wu shi wangbei de ye
NEG cause king turn-back virtue FIN

not to cause the king to turn his back on virtue

and 2) preceding V₂:

(13) (NP₁) *shi* NP₂ NEG V₂P

使天下無以古非今。

Shiji, 87: 2546

shi tian-xia wu yi gu fei jin
cause heaven-below NEG with old criticize new

He made sure that the empire did not criticize the present with the past

So far as modal negatives preceding *shi* 使 are concerned, Harbsmeier (1981) assumes that this particular feature can be accounted for as a case of Neg-raising, i.e. the availability of a lower clause reading or understanding for a higher clause negative. Accordingly, the Neg-raising hypothesis explains the fact that ‘prohibitive (imperative) negatives’—these are the modal **m*-negatives—can occur in non-imperative contexts because they are raised from their normal position as an imperative negative preceding V₂ to the higher position, preceding, for example, a causative verb where they cannot be analysed as genuine imperative negatives. Harbsmeier’s hypothesis would presuppose that examples (12) and (13) are semantically equivalent and that example (12) should be translated ‘to cause the king not to turn his back on virtue’. In this paper, the semantic implications of the two different syntactic structures are discussed and an analysis alternative to Harbsmeier’s is proposed. According to this analysis, the two different structures are distinguished not only syntactically but also semantically, and they are not interchangeable.²¹ The negative has—according to its position—scope either over the whole VP, including *shi* 使 and V₂, or only over V₂. In the first case, the whole VP [_{VP} *shi* (NP) V₂] is analysed as a negated analytic causative construction, as opposed to a synthetic one as represented by the following example:

(14) 距關，毋內諸侯，秦地可盡王也。

Shiji, 7: 311

ju guan, wu nei zhu-hou, qin di ke jin wang
guard pass, NEG enter feudal-lord, Qin region can completely king
ye
FIN

‘If I guarded the pass and did not let the feudal lords enter, I could be king over the whole Qin empire.’

²⁰ See Djamouri (1991: 43) ‘WU1 (*wu* 勿) est une négation à contenu modale. Elle apparaît fréquemment dès la période pré-archaïque. ... WU1 exprime fondamentalement une obligation dans une relation intersubjective forte’. And for *wu* Djamouri remarks (1991: 46): ‘L’emploi de la négation WU2 毋 est très certainement celui qui a posé le plus de problèmes. Il est généralement admis que cette négation, tout comme WU1 勿, exprime fondamentalement une valeur prescriptive en chinois archaïque’. But he assumes (1991: 53) that *wu* 毋 in the bronze inscriptions is not a deontic modal but that the obligation which it shows is internal to the subject-predicate relationship and he proposes a categorization of *wu* 毋 as an epistemic negation (1991: 55).

²¹ Harbsmeier’s Neg-raising hypothesis has been disputed in Van Auken (1994: 198 f.), particularly in relation to the volitional verb *yu* 欲 ‘to wish’.

In this example, the modal negative modifying a causative construction with the verb *nei* 內 ‘inside’ in its causative sense ‘bring in, let enter’—although expressing root modality (volition)—is clearly found in a non-imperative context, which provides some evidence for the fact that these negatives do not necessarily have to be interpreted as imperative negatives.²² Synthetic causatives like these are on a higher scale of compactness: they are more direct than analytic causatives.²³

A negated synthetic causative construction has to be contrasted semantically with the corresponding affirmative causative construction: the whole causative situation is directly negated. An analytic causative construction of the first structure—(NP₁) NEG *shi* NP₂ V₂P—with the negative preceding the causative verb can be analysed accordingly. It has to be contrasted to its corresponding affirmative variant: the whole causative situation is negated; whereas in the second structure with the negative preceding V₂—(NP₁) *shi* NP₂ NEG V₂P—only V₂ is negated and has to be contrasted to its corresponding affirmative variant: only the caused situation is negated. Accordingly, analytic causative constructions with the negative preceding the causative verb V₁ correspond more closely to a synthetic causative construction and can be considered more compact and consequently more direct than those with the negative preceding V₂.

2. Examples of the causative verb *shi* 使 in combination with a negative

In general the construction with the causative verb *shi* 使 modified by a negative either preceding *shi* 使 or V₂ is not particularly frequent in Classical and Han period texts. In the *Shiji* and the *Hanshu*—which both show a greater variety regarding the employment of negatives than the *Lunheng*—four different negatives are found in a construction with the verb *shi* 使: these are the modal (mainly root (deontic) but also occasionally epistemic modal) negatives *wu* 無, its variant *wu* 毋, and *wu* 勿 and the modally neutral negative *bu* 不. Root modalities imply the notions of volition, ability, permission or obligation with respect to the realization of a situation, and in the case of a modal negative they imply the prohibition of a situation or the inability to attain a situation or the wish that a situation may not take place. Regarding the distribution of the modal and the neutral negatives, during the Classical period (sixth–third centuries BC), the employment of modal negatives apparently decreases and they only rarely appear in later Classical and Han period texts.²⁴ In the *Shiji*, a text which retains many structures of the Classical language, modal negatives still appear fairly frequently, while in the Han period text *Lunheng* they are extremely rare.²⁵

2.1 Examples with a negative preceding *shi* 使

Examples of the first structure with a negative preceding *shi* 使, are not particularly frequent in Han period texts. In the *Shiji* and the *Hanshu* all four

²² For the use of modal negatives in imperative and non-imperative or indirect imperative contexts see Lü Shuxiang (1955, 1999).

²³ This term is used by Dixon (2000: 74 ff.), who speaks of the continuum of the formal aspect of causative mechanisms in terms of ‘compactness’ ... (Shibatani and Pardeshi 2001: 109 f.).

²⁴ The tendency for *bu* 不 to become more frequent during the Classical period has already been shown by Yue (1999) for the negatives in the complement-structure, preceding V₂P.

²⁵ In the *Lunheng*, the neutral negative *bu* 不 is more frequently employed in both structures than all modal negatives together; there is only one instance of a modal negative preceding *shi* 使, while there are far more examples with *bu* 不 preceding *shi* 使.

negatives *wu* 無, *wu* 毋, *wu* 勿, and *bu* 不 appear in a comparable distribution, and the distribution of modal and neutral negatives is almost identical, i.e. the neutral negative is used almost as frequently as the three modal negatives together; whereas in the *Lunheng* negatives are almost exclusively confined to the neutral negative *bu* 不: there is only one instance of the modal negative *wu* 毋 preceding *shi* 使 in this text.

Table 1 shows the distribution of the respective negatives in the *Shiji*, the *Hanshu* and the *Lunheng*:

Table 1.

	<i>wu</i> 無	<i>wu</i> 毋	<i>wu</i> 勿	<i>bu</i> 不
<i>Shiji</i>	6	2	4	11
<i>Hanshu</i>	6	7	4	10
<i>Lunheng</i>	0	1	0	13 (+ 17 不能使)

(a) Examples with *shi* 使 in the sense of ‘to send, to order’:

In these cases the negative clearly only modifies the verb *shi* 使. Apparently, in the texts under consideration, *shi* 使 in its concrete sense is usually modified by the neutral negative *bu* 不.

- (15) 則王何不使辯士以此若言說秦? *Shiji*, 69: 2271
ze wanghe bu shi bian shi yi ci ruo yan shui
 then king why NEG send eloquent noble with this such word persuade
Qin
Qin
 ‘Then why don’t you send eloquent nobles to persuade Qin with those words?’

In this example no direct order is expressed, and a deontic modality can only be assumed under a pragmatic point of view, in which the simple question with *he bu* 何不 can be regarded as an indirect speech act expressing a weak request; the negative clearly modifies *shi* 使. The subject, the agent, has control over the situation (see also in the following example):

- (16) 然則王何不使可信者接收燕、趙，令涇陽君、高陵君先於燕、趙?
Shiji, 69: 2270²⁶
ran ze wanghe bu shi ke xin zhe jie shou Yan, Zhao,
 like-this then king why NEG send can trust NOM join receive Yan Zhao,
ling Jingyang jun, Gaoling jun xian yu Yan, Zhao
 send Jingyang lord, Gaoling lord go-before PREP Yan, Zhao
 ‘Accordingly, why don’t you send a trustworthy person to win over Yan and Zhao and to send the rulers of Jingyang and Gaoling to appear in Yan and Zhao?’

²⁶ This is a near quotation from *Zhanguo ce* 419/201/28, a text probably written by unknown authors during the Zhanguo period (475–221 BC) and originally compiled by Liu Xiang (79–8 BC) during the Former Han period. Many quotations from this text, either as literal quotations or as paraphrases of the text, are found in the *Shiji*.

(17) 「曲沃吾先祖宗廟所在，而蒲邊秦，屈邊翟，不使諸子居之，我懼焉。」

Shiji, 39: 1641

Quwo wu xian zu zong miao suo zai, er Pu bian Qin,

Quwo I former ancestor ancestral temple REL be, CON Pu border Qin,

Qu bian Di, bu shi zhuzi ju zhi, wo ju yan

Qu border Di, NEG order all son live OBJ, I fear here

‘Quwo is where the ancestral temples of our ancestors are and Pu borders on Qin and Qu on Di and if I do not order all my sons to live there I will fear them here.’

In these examples the modally neutral negative *bu* 不 is found in a question in examples (15) and (16), and in a subordinated conditional clause in example (17), all of which do not explicitly involve root modality. The negative clearly refers only to *shi* 使, and not to the following complement; they are clear and unambiguous instances of NEG *shi* V₂. In all the examples *shi* 使 appears with its concrete meanings ‘send’ or ‘order’.

(b) Examples with *shi* 使 in the derived sense ‘to cause, to make, to let (allow)’

In this case the whole VP [_{VP} *shi* (NP) V₂] is analysed as an analytic causative construction as opposed to a synthetic one, which in its negated form has to be contrasted semantically with the corresponding affirmative causative construction. Both NP₁ and NP₂ are not necessarily visible in the surface structure. In the following examples, the negative *bu* 不, which is modally neutral, precedes the causative verb *shi* 使.

1) Examples with the modally neutral negative *bu* 不:

(18) 上曰『終不使不肖子居愛子之上』，明乎其代太子位必矣。 *Shiji*, 55: 2046²⁷

shang yue zhong bu shi bu xiao zi ju ai zi zhi shang,

above say end NEG cause NEG resemble son sit love son ZHI above,

ming hu qi dai taizi wei bi yi

clear FIN his replace crown-prince position certain FIN

‘The emperor says that he will never let an unworthy son have a position above his beloved son, and it is quite clear that he certainly will assume the crown prince’s position!’

This example can be regarded as a negated analytic variant of the affirmative synthetic variant 居 X Y as illustrated by example (18a):

(18a) 晉君乃止，居昭公乾侯。

Shiji, 33: 1542

Jin jun nai zhi, ju Zhao gong Ganhou

Jin ruler then stop, rest Zhao duke Ganhou

‘The prince of Jin then stopped and made the duke of Zhao rest in Ganhou.’

In this example the verb *ju* 居 ‘to live in, to dwell’, which usually only requires a locative argument, occurs in a synthetic causative construction with two arguments, which is quite rare.

²⁷ An almost identical parallel to this example is found in *Hanshu*, 40: 2034.

In both examples the subject/causer has control over the situation; the causee has the characteristic [+human]. Similarly, in the following example (19) the verb *wang* 王 ‘to be king, to rule’,²⁸ which usually occurs as an intransitive verb ‘to be king’ or a transitive verb ‘to rule something’ is employed in an analytic causative construction ‘to make somebody king’:

- (19) 且天不使孔子王者，本意如何？ *Lunheng*, 28.17.48
Qie tian bu shi Kongzi wang zhe, ben yi
 Furthermore Heaven NEG make Kongzi king NOM, original meaning
ru he
 like what
 ‘And furthermore, if Heaven did not make Kongzi king, what did this originally mean?’

This example again can be considered as a negated analytic causative construction corresponding to the affirmative synthetic causative construction in (19a):

- (19a) 後與項羽約，先入秦關王之，... *Lunheng*, 9.11.29
Hou yu Xiang Yu yue, xian ru Qin guan wang zhi,
 Later with Xiang Yu arrange, early enter Qin pass be-king OBJ
 ‘Later he agreed with Xiang Yu that the first person to enter the gates of Qin was to be made king ...’.

Cases like these are—as with the verb *ju* 居 in example (18)—not very frequent.

The following example shows a negated analytic causative form, ‘not to make somebody mistrust somebody or something’, contrasted with an analytic affirmative form: 使疑之 ‘to make somebody distrust somebody or something’:

- (20) 田光曰：「吾聞之，長者為行，不使人疑之。」 *Shiji*, 86: 2530²⁹
Tian Guang yue: wu wen zhi, zhang zhe wei xing, bu shi
 Tian Guang say: I hear OBJ, elder ZHE make conduct, NEG cause
ren yi zhi
 people doubt OBJ
 ‘Tian Guang said: “I have heard that an excellent man in doing something does not make others distrust him”.’

- (20a) 夫為行而使人疑之，... *Shiji*, 86: 2530³⁰
Fu wei xing er shi ren yi zhi
 FU make action CON cause man distrust OBJ
 ‘Well, if my actions make others distrust me, ...’.

With the originally transitive verb *yi* 疑 ‘to mistrust somebody, to doubt somebody or something’, a synthetic causative construction is not possible. In the next example, with the usually transitive verb *zhi* 知 ‘to know’, neither the causer nor the causee appears in the surface structure of the sentence:

²⁸ Two different pronunciations can be distinguished for this character: 1) wuan for the nominal reading ‘king’ and 2) wuan^h for the verbal reading ‘to be king, to rule’ (Pulleyblank 1991: 318 f.).

²⁹ This example is a paraphrase from *Zhanguo ce* 440/215/13. The last clause, the causative clause, is identical to the one in *Zhanguo ce*.

³⁰ This sentence is an almost identical paraphrase of *Zhanguo ce* 440/15/15.

- (21) 而少年慕其行，亦輒為報仇，不使知也。 *Shiji*, 124: 3185³¹
er shaonian mu qi xing, yi zhe wei bao qiu, bu
 CON few year admire his conduct, also then for revenge enemy, NEG
shi zhi ye
 cause know FIN
 ‘And the young men admired his conduct and thereupon they took
 revenge on his enemies without letting him know.’

In all of these instances of *shi* 使 in its derived meaning, the negative clearly refers to the causative construction with *shi* 使 and V₂; Neg-raising can hardly be assumed. The subject, therefore, can be—but does not have to be—a control subject; the agenthood and control force are weaker than in the instances of *shi* 使 in its concrete sense ‘to order, to send’; the negative refers to the causative predicate as a whole. In all of the examples the V₂ is or can be transitive: in (18) it has a locative argument, in (19) it is either intransitive or has a patient argument, and in (20) and (21) it has a patient (or theme) argument. The causative construction serves to add an additional argument to the VP. In (21), although V₂ is obviously transitive, all NPs are omitted: neither the causee nor the object NP of the verb *zhi* 知 ‘to know’ are overtly realized in the surface structure. In none of the examples is a modal notion involved: the negative seems to be neutral (if root modality is involved, then it must be a very weak notion of ability or volition).

2) Examples with one of the modal negatives *wu* 無, *wu* 毋 and *wu* 勿:

In the following examples one of the modal negatives serves to modify *shi* 使. Examples (22)–(25) serve to demonstrate the modal negative *wu* 勿, which clearly indicates root modality, and examples (27)–(32) serve as examples for the modal negative *wu* 無 and its variant *wu* 毋 which usually—but not exclusively—indicate root modality.

- (22) 「無儻德」者，勿使王背德也。 *Shiji*, 60: 2118
wu fei de zhe, wu shi wang bei de
 NEG turn-the-back virtue NOM, NEG cause king turn-the-back virtue
ye
 FIN
 “‘Not turning his back on virtue/letting someone turn his back on virtue’
 means not to cause the king to turn his back on virtue.’”

In the second clause of example (22) a paraphrase of the preceding clause is provided: a predicate, which does not necessarily have to be analysed as a causative construction, is paraphrased as a causative, the negative refers to *shi bei* 使背 as a paraphrase of *fei* 儻 ‘to turn the back on’, the causee has the characteristic (human) and is agentive. In the paraphrase the negative *wu* 無 is replaced by the negative *wu* 勿 which clearly indicates root modality. The grade of control of the causer is not evident in this case. The V₂ is transitive as in the first clause. The analytic causative construction introduces an additional argument. The two following examples are syntactically and semantically similar to (22).

³¹ A parallel of this example is found in *Hanshu*, 92: 3703.

- (23) 「悉若心，無作怨」者，勿使從俗以怨望也。 *Shiji*, 60: 2118
Xi ruo xin, wu zuo yuan zhe, wu shi cong su
 exhaust your heart, NEG make resent NOM, NEG cause follow custom
yi yuan wang ye
 CON resent expect FIN
 ‘“To exhaust your heart without causing resentment” means not to make someone follow the customs and thus cause resentment.’
- (24) 又曰「臣不作威」者，勿使因輕以倍義也。 *Shiji*, 60: 2116
you yue chen bu zuo wei zhe, wu shi
 furthermore say subject NEG make power NOM, NEG cause
yin qing yi bei yi ye
 depend-on light CON turn-the-back righteousness FIN
 ‘If it is furthermore said “subjects do not use power” this means not to let them rely on frivolity and to turn their backs on righteousness.’

As in (22)–(24), in (25) the V_2 is again transitive and the causative construction allows an additional argument to be added to the verb.

- (25) 令吏民勉農，盡地利，平繇行水，勿使失時。 *Hanshu*, 29: 1685
Ling li min mian nong, jin di li, ping yao
 Order official people encourage peasant, exhaust earth profit, level service
xing shui, wu shi shi shi
 conduct water, NEG make neglect time
 ‘One has to employ the officials and the people and to encourage the peasants to exhaust the profits of the land, and to unify the service and to regulate the water in order not to let them miss the appropriate time.’

In the following examples, the causative verb is modified by the modal negative *wu* 無 and its variant *wu* 毋. Statistically, these negatives are more frequent than *wu* 勿.

- (26) 不如逃之，無使罪至。 *Shiji*, 39: 1641³²
bu ru tao zhi, wu shi zui zhi
 NEG be-like escape OBJ, NEG cause guilt arrive
 ‘It would be better to let him escape in order not to let guilt arise/not to make guilt arise.’

This example can be paraphrased by ‘not to do anything to make guilt arrive’; it contrasts with the positive ‘to make guilt arrive’ and it does not show a contrast between ‘guilt will arrive’ and ‘guilt will not arrive’. The negative refers to *shi zhi* 使至 and to neither *shi* 使 nor to *zhi* 至 alone. In this case the V_2 is intransitive: this is one of the constructions which can—to a certain extent—be compared with the analytic causative constructions in Middle Chinese discussed in Wei (2000). In the synthetic causative construction NP_2 would be the direct object of V_2 . The NP_2 , the causee, has the characteristic (human) and is the theme of V_2 . In all preceding examples, the causer is omitted, and its control force does not seem to be very evident.

³² This instance is a quotation from the Classical text *Zuo zhuan* (*Shisanjing zhushu*: 1786) which—like the *Zhanguo ce*—is one of the literary sources for the author of the *Shiji*. These examples show that no major changes occurred in the syntax of the discussed causative construction from the Classical to the Han period. For this reason they are quoted here. Although they cannot be considered as dating from the Han period, they are still representative for this period.

- (27) 「吾使生居一郡，能無使虜入盜乎？」 *Shiji*, 122: 3141
wu shi sheng ju yi jun, neng wu shi lu ru
 I cause sir dwell one province, be-able NEG cause barbarian enter
dao hu
 plunder FIN
 ‘If I let you be governor of a province, will you then be able not to let
 the barbarians in to plunder?’

In both examples (26) and (27) the causative construction is negated by the modal negative *wu* 無, indicating prohibition. Here, as in the preceding cases, the causative construction can be analysed as a negated analytic causative construction which contrasts with the analogous affirmative construction. In example (27) the control force of the causer is questioned. The causee has the characteristic [+human] and is agentive. Again the V_2 is intransitive.

- (28) 「事已構，可遂殺楚使者，無使歸，而疾走漢并力。」 *Shiji*, 90; 2601³³
Shi yi gou, ke sui sha Chu shi zhe, wu shi gui,
 affair already complete, can then kill Chu envoy REL, NEG let return,
er ji zou Han bing li
 CON hasty run Han combine force
 ‘Since the matter is already resolved it is now possible to kill the Chu
 envoy in order not to allow him to go back; and then you should run
 hastily to the Han to join their forces.’

Here again, we have a complex causative predicate; neither NP₁, the causer, nor NP₂, the causee, are mentioned. The verb is intransitive and the causee is agentive. In the two following examples the V_2P is passive.

- (29) 願大王孰察卞和、李斯之意，而後楚王、胡亥之聽，無使臣為箕子、接輿所笑。
yuan da wang shu cha Bian He, Li si zhi yi, er hou
 wish great king careful examine Bian He, Li Si ZHI idea, CON put-
Chu wang, Huhai zhi ting, wu shi chen wei Jizi
 behind Chu king, Huhai ZHI listen, NEG cause minister PASS Jizi
Jieyu suo xiao
 Jie yu PASS laugh
 ‘I wish that you, great king, will carefully examine the ideas of Bian
 He and Li Si and that you will ignore the decisions of the king of Chu
 and Huhai in order not to let me become the laughing stock of Jizi and
 Jieyu.’

Here the contrast is between: ‘not cause to become’ and ‘cause to become’, and not ‘become the laughing stock’ or not. The V_2P is passive, which can be considered equivalent to an intransitive predicate. The negative expresses root modality; the causee has the characteristic [+human] and is patientive. In the next example the V_2P is passive again.

³³ In an almost identical parallel in *Hanshu*, 34: 1885 *wu* 無 is replaced by *wu* 毋. This may be due to the fact that in the *Hanshu* quite frequently the more conservative variant of a character or word appears than in the *Shiji* which shows a tendency towards simplification in this respect.

³⁴ In an almost identical parallel in *Hanshu*, 51:2344 *wu* 無 is again replaced by *wu* 毋.

- (30) ... 若早自殺，毋徒使母子為太子所魚肉也。 *Shiji*, 39: 1645
ruo zao zi sha, wu tu shi mu zi wei tai zi suo
 if early self kill, NEG alone cause mother son PASS crown-prince PASS
yu rou ye
 fish meat FIN
 ‘... if only I had committed suicide earlier in order not to let mother and son be treated like fish or meat by the crown prince.’

The negative *wu* 毋 in this example may be interpreted as expressing epistemic modality.³⁵

In the following examples the V_2 is transitive.

- (31) ... 無使易種于茲邑。 *Shiji*, 66; 2179³⁶
wu shi yi zhong yuzi yi
 NEG cause exchange seed in this city
 ‘... and we will not let them transplant their seeds to this city.’
- (32) 遼東太守即約滿為外臣，保塞外蠻夷，無使盜邊。 *Shiji*, 115: 2986
Liaodong tai shou ji yue Man wei wai chen, bao
 Liaodong great governor then contract Man be outside vassal, protect
sai wai Man Yi wu shi dao bian
 border outside Man Yi NEG cause raid border
 ‘... and the governor of Liaodong agreed that Man become a foreign vassal in order to protect the frontiers from the Man and Yi and not to let them raid the borderlands.’

In this example again, the verb is transitive with a direct locative argument. In most of these cases, whether or not the NP_2 is realized in the surface structure, the negative implies root modality and it always refers to the verb *shi* 使 and to the following V_2 . Very often the causer of the situation, NP_1 , is omitted, its control force over the caused situation is not necessarily very high and frequently it is perceived indirectly rather than directly.

All these cases can be analysed as analytic causative constructions, the negative modifies *shi* $V_2P = VP_{\text{causative}}$ and neither *shi* 使 nor V_2 alone.³⁷ Syntactically, this construction is formed in analogy with the syntactic constraints of *shi* 使 in its concrete sense ‘to order, to send’; the NP which would represent the object of a synthetic causative construction is found in the normal position of NP_2 in the construction with *shi* 使 in its concrete meanings ‘to order, to send’ and assumes the role of the agent or experiencer of V_2 . This construction allows a wider range of syntactic realizations with more arguments than are usually required by the verb. This analysis can also be supported by the fact that temporal and aspectual adverbials can appear preceding *shi* 使 but not preceding V_2 . In all cases the causative construction implies that *the causer*

³⁵ See Djamouri (1991: 5) who assumes that this is the historically fundamental function of *wu* 毋.

³⁶ This instance is a paraphrase from one of the oldest parts, *Shang shu* 商書, of the *Shang shu* (*Shisanjing zhushu*: 171). The instance in *Shang shu* is almost literally quoted in the *Zuo zhuan* (*Shisanjing zhushu*: 2167). In both texts, the pre-classical chapter of the *Shang shu* and the Classical *Zuo zhuan* the causative verb *bi* 俾 ‘to cause, to enable’ is found which is replaced by *shi* 使 in the *Shiji*.

³⁷ For a number of negated analytic causative constructions in Middle Chinese see Wei (2000: 833).

does not make the causee do something as opposed to the causer makes the causee do something. This can be paraphrased as: ‘the causer does not do anything to make the causee do something’, which emphasizes the occasional lack of control force regarding the causer. Although the causation is indirect, it is less indirect than in the second structure.

The examples clearly show that in general a distinction between a causative predicate negated by a modal negative and one negated by a neutral negative can be assumed. In most cases with a modal negative, the predicate expresses a weak root modality, i.e. a mainly indirect prohibition or a wish that a situation may not take place. But since the occurrence of modal negatives decreases during the Classical and Han periods and the neutral negative becomes predominant, one can assume that the inherent prohibitive meaning of a negative causative construction alone becomes sufficient and does not need to be supported by a modal negative.

2.2 Examples with a negative in the complement of *shi* 使 modifying V_2

In this section I will present some examples of the second structure with the causative verb *shi* 使 and a negative—(NP₁) *shi* NP₂ NEG V₂P—this time modifying V₂, as additional evidence for the hypothesis presented in the preceding section, i.e. that both structures—(NP₁) NEG *shi* NP₂ V₂P and (NP₁) *shi* NP₂ NEG V₂P—differ not only syntactically but also semantically. This construction has been comprehensively studied by Yue-Hashimoto (1999), based on a large corpus of Classical texts and with particular attention to the distribution of negatives. In this structure, in all texts under investigation the use of neutral negatives clearly outnumbered that of modal negatives; in the *Shiji* and the *Lunheng*, only the modal negative *wu* 無 is found, while in the *Hanshu* both variants *wu* 無 and *wu* 毋 appear in the second structure. Table 2 shows the distribution of the respective negatives preceding V₂P in the *Shiji*, the *Hanshu* and the *Lunheng*.

Table 2

	<i>wu</i> 無	<i>wu</i> 毋	<i>wu</i> 勿	<i>bu</i> 不
<i>Shiji</i>	12 ³⁸	0	0	22
<i>Hanshu</i>	3	4	0	34
<i>Lunheng</i>	0 ³⁹	0	0	6 ⁴⁰

a) Examples with *shi* 使 in the sense of ‘to send, to order’

Examples with *shi* 使 in its concrete sense followed by a negative are quite rare, in most cases it appears in its purely causative meaning.

³⁸ Instances with *wu suo* 無所 are omitted from this table.

³⁹ There are a few instances in which the negative *wu* 無 appears following *shi* 使, but in all of these cases *shi* 使 most likely has to be analysed as a conditional conjunction and accordingly they are excluded here.

⁴⁰ Instances of *bu* 不 in conditional sentences with *shi* 使 as a conditional conjunction are omitted from this table.

- (33) 因令韓、魏賀秦，使三國無攻，而不借兵食於西周矣。 *Shiji*, 75: 2356
yin ling Han, Wei he Qin, shi san guo wu
 thereupon cause Han, Wei congratulate Qin, order three state NEG
gong, er bu jie bing shi yuxi Zhou yi
 attack, CON NEG borrow weapon food in west Zhou FIN
 ‘Thereupon he caused Han and Wei to congratulate Qin and he ordered
 the Three States not to attack and he did not borrow troops and food
 from West Zhou.’

Here the modal negative *wu* 無 serves to express a prohibition (root modality).

b) Examples with *shi* 使 in the sense ‘to cause’

1) Examples with the modally neutral negative *bu* 不

In the following examples, the modally neutral *bu* 不 is employed to modify V₂P. This structure is the most common one in the *Shiji* and the *Hanshu*.⁴¹ In the *Lunheng* it is comparably rare, the neutral negative appears more frequently in the first structure, preceding *shi* 使.

- (34) 誅殺忠臣而立無節行之人，是內使群臣不相信而外使鬥士之意離也，...
Shiji, 88; 2568.
zhu sha zhong chen er li wu jie xing zhi
 punish kill loyal minister CON establish not-have principle conduct ZHI
ren, shi nei shi qun chen bu xiang xin er wai
 man, this inside cause all minister NEG each-other trust CON outside
shi dou shi zhi yi li ye
 cause fight noble ZHI intention separate FIN
 ‘To punish and kill loyal ministers and to establish people who do not
 observe principles in their conduct will, within the state, cause all minis-
 ters not to trust each other and abroad it will cause the intentions of the
 fighting nobles to dissipate ...’

- (35) ... 別疏骨肉，使蕃臣不自安。 *Shiji*, 122; 3141⁴²
bie shu gu rou, shi fan chen bu zi an
 separate separate bone flesh, cause all subject NEG self pacify
 ‘... and separated the close relatives and caused all foreign vassals not
 [to be able] to keep peace for themselves.’

In examples (34) and (35) the negative is clearly neutral; V₂P does not refer to a situation that is prohibited from taking place but to a negative situation that is caused to take place. If modality is involved it is only a weak notion of ability.

- (36) 「君與鬥，廷辱之，使其毀不用。」 *Shiji*, 101: 2739
jun yu dou, ting ru zhi, shi qi hui bu
 prince participate fight, court disgrace OBJ, cause his slander NEG
yong
 employ

⁴¹ According to Yue-Hashimoto (1999: 337) the negative *bu* 不 ‘came into use in VP₂ governed by the causative verb *shi* at a later date than did the prohibitive markers. This emergence of a new negative marker employed in VP₂ governed by the verb under investigation marks a major distinction in the grammar of the Former Eight Dukes versus that of the Latter Four Dukes’.

⁴² This example is also found in *Hanshu*, 59: 2642.

‘You should fight him and disgrace him at court to make sure that his slanders will not be followed.’

In this example (and in (37)) the difference between a modal negative and the modally neutral negative is less clear. Perhaps, in example (36), the employment of the neutral negative *bu* 不 is related to the passive construction in V₂P;⁴³ on the other hand it may merely reflect the tendency of *bu* 不 to become the more frequently employed negative in causative constructions.

(37) 夫布衣韋帶之士，修身於內，成名於外，而使後世不絕息。

Hanshu, 51: 2327

Fu bu yi wei dai zhi shi, xiu shen yu nei, cheng
PA linen dress leather belt ZHI official, improve body in inside, complete
ming yu wai, er shi hou shi bu jue xi
name in outside, CON cause later generation NEG cut-off descendant
‘Well, a poor man of low origin improves himself inside and achieves a good name outside, and he makes sure that in the later generations the line of descendants will not be cut off.’

(38) 蘇秦乃誡門下人不為通，又使不得去者數日。 *Shiji*, 70: 2280

Su Qin nai jie men xia ren bu wei tong, you shi
Su Qin then warn door below man NEG for contact, furthermore cause
bu de qu zhe shu ri
NEG can go-out REL several days
‘Su Qin thereupon advised the retainers not to arrange contacts for him and furthermore to make sure that he could not leave for several days.’

In all examples with the modally neutral negative *bu* 不 a slight notion of ability or the lack of ability is involved. In examples (38) and (39), the modal notion is explicitly expressed by the modal auxiliary *de* 得 ‘can’.⁴⁴ In all cases, the negative refers immediately to V₂. In all examples the grade of control of the agent is much higher than in the first structure, with a negative preceding *shi* 使. In the following example, two negatives, the modal negative *wu* 無 and the neutral negative *bu*, 不 are employed to the effect that V₂P is an affirmative VP:

(39) 使神人百物無不得極，猶日怵惕懼怨之來也。 *Shiji*, 4: 141

shi shen ren bai wu wu bu de ji, you ri chu
cause spirit people hundred thing NEG get pole, yet day anxious
ti ju yuan zhi lai ye
fear afraid resentment ZHI come FIN
‘He will make sure that the spirits, the people, and the hundred things will, whatever happens, reach their climax and yet anxiously he daily worries that resentment might arise.’

2) Examples with a modal negative

In the following instances the V₂P is modified by a modal negative.

⁴³ But see examples (29) and (30) above with a passive construction in the complement of a negated analytic causative construction.

⁴⁴ Examples of the structure *shi* (NP₂) *bu de* 不得 V (NP₃) are quite frequent in the *Hanshu* (10 instances in total).

- (40) 始皇可其議，收去詩書百家之語以愚百姓，使天下無以古非今。

Shiji, 87: 2546

Shi Huang ke qi yi, shou qu shi shu bai
 Shi Huang possible his proposal, gather-in remove song book hundred
jia zhi yu yi yu bai xing, shi tian-xia
 school ZHI word in-order-to stupid hundred clan, cause heaven-below
wu yi gu fei jin
 NEG with antiquity criticize today

‘Shi Huang approved of his proposal and he let the Book of Songs, the Book of Documents and the words of the hundred schools be removed in order to keep the hundred clans in ignorance and thus he made sure that the empire did not criticize the present with the past.’

In this example the negative clearly expresses root modality. As in the first structure discussed above, the NP₂ does not have to be realized in the surface structure of the sentence as is illustrated by the following examples:

- (41) 單于若稱書意，明告諸吏，使無負約，有信，...

Shiji, 110: 2897⁴⁵

Chanyu ruo cheng shu yi, ming gao zhuli, shi wu
 Chanyu if correspond-to letter idea, clear tell all official, cause NEG
fu yue you xin
 turn-back-on contract have trust

‘If you, Chanyu, really mean what you express in the letter and if you clearly tell it to all the officials in order to make sure that they do not turn their backs on the contract and we have reliability ...’

- (42) 昔武王克商，通道九夷百蠻，使各以其方賄來貢，使無忘職業。

Shiji, 47: 1922⁴⁶

xi Wu wangke Shang, tong dao jiu Yi bai Man, shi ge
 once Wu king defeat Shang, open way nine Yi hundred Man, cause each
yi qi fang hui lai gong, shi wu wang zhi ye
 with his region goods come tribute, cause NEG forget duty work
 ‘Once Wuwang had defeated the Shang, he opened the way for the Nine Yi and the hundred man tribes, he made them each come with their local goods to pay their tribute and he made sure that they did not forget their duties and work.’

In (42) both clauses with a causative construction are employed contrastively, in the first clause, the caused situation is intended to take place while in the second it is intended not to take place.

- (43) 聖人別其生，使無相獲。

Shiji, 128: 3232

sheng ren bie qi sheng, shi wu xiang huo
 wise man separate his life, cause NEG each-other catch

‘The wise men separated the living beings and made sure that they did not hurt each other.’

Example (44) differs from the preceding ones insofar as an interrogative precedes *shi* 使:⁴⁷

⁴⁵ The same instance is found in *Hanshu*, 94A: 3758.

⁴⁶ A parallel instance is found in *Shiji*, 47: 1922.

⁴⁷ In examples (15) and (16), the interrogative *he* 何 appears in the first structure, preceding the negated causative verb *shi* 使 in its concrete sense ‘to order, to send’.

- (44) 何以使秦無為雌而可? 』 Shiji, 75: 2361
he-yi shi Qin wu wei ci er ke
 how cause Qin NEG be female CON can
 ‘How can we make sure that Qin will not be the weaker part?’

Examples with an interrogative pronoun in the second structure—the negative precedes V_2 —are extremely rare. But as has been shown in examples (15) and (16) in section 2.1 above, there are a few instances with an interrogative in the first structure, namely with the negative preceding the causative verb, though most of them appear with *shi* 使 in its concrete sense ‘to send’. These two different constructions clearly reveal the semantic differences between the first ((NP₁) NEG *shi* NP₂ V₂P) and the second ((NP₁) *shi* NP₂ NEG V₂P) structure. Unfortunately, the texts under consideration—including a number of classical texts—do not contain a single example with a modal negative in the first structure, and therefore the following example from the *Lunheng* with the neutral negative *bu* 不 will be presented here as a contrastive example to (44) to demonstrate the semantic differences between the constructions.

- (45) 天神何不使人尊敬? Lunheng, 16.16.27
Tian shen he bu shi ren zun jing
 heaven ghost why NEG cause man honour respect
 The heavenly ghosts, why do they not make human beings deferential and respectful?
 which can be interpreted as: ‘The heavenly ghosts are supposed to make human beings deferential and respectful.’

The use of an interrogative preceding the causative construction quite clearly reveals the semantic differences between both syntactic structures. A structure with a negative preceding V_2 would differ remarkably:

- (45a) *天神何使人不尊?
tian shen he shi ren bu zun
 heaven ghost why cause man NEG honour
 ‘The heavenly ghosts, why do they cause human beings to be without deference?’
 which can be interpreted as: ‘The heavenly ghosts cause human beings to be without deference.’

This interpretation clearly shows that both example (44) and the construed example (45a) are not semantically identical with (45). In (45), the agent is clearly assumed not to cause a positive situation which he is supposed to cause, namely ‘to cause human beings to be deferential and respectful’, whereas in (45a) he is supposed to cause a negative situation which he is not supposed to cause: ‘to cause the human beings to be without deference’. Because of the semantics of V_2 P, the situation is different in example (44) here quoted again as (46):

- (46 = 44) 何以使秦無為雌而可? 』 Shiji, 75: 2361
he-yi shi Qin wu wei ci er ke
 how cause Qin NEG be female CON can
 ‘How can we make sure that Qin will not be the weaker part?’
 which can be interpreted as: ‘We are supposed to cause Qin to be the stronger part.’

In this example, the negated V_2 P has a positive meaning ‘to be not weak = to be strong’, contrasting to V_2 P in the construed example (46a) where the affirmative VP has a negative meaning ‘to be weak’:

- (46a) *何以無使秦為雌而可? 』
he-yi wu shi Qin wei ci er ke
 how NEG cause Qin be female CON can
 ‘How can we not cause Qin to be the weaker part?’
 which can be paraphrased as: ‘We make Qin the weaker part.’

Accordingly, in (46), the agent is assumed to cause the negative situation ‘not being the weaker part’, and in this case he is supposed to cause the negative situation; while in the contrasting example with the negative preceding *shi* 使, the agent is—at least under the same contextual conditions—assumed to cause the positive situation ‘being the weaker part’ although he is not supposed to do it.

In examples (40)–(44) the V₂P is negated by the negative *wu* 無 which is the only modal negative in this construction in the *Shiji* indicating root modality. The negative precedes and modifies V₂P: the causer (NP₁) causes the causee (NP₂) not to do something/makes sure that the causee does not do something. The subject in these cases is clearly more agentive than in the first structure: it performs the activity of causing the situation referred to by V₂P to take place or not and its control force is stronger than in the first structure. At the same time, the role of the causee is more agentive than in the first construction where the causer simply does not perform the activity of causing the situation the complement of *shi* 使 refers to. Therefore the relation between the causer and the caused situation (including the causee) is less close, and the causation—although it is indirect in both cases—is even more indirect in the second structure than in the first. The second structure can be paraphrased: ‘The causer does everything to make the causee not do something’.

Both expressions evidently contain different semantic implications.

3. Conclusion

Semantically, the verb *shi* 使 can be employed with two different notions: 1) the concrete notion ‘to send, to order’; and 2) the derived and more abstract notion ‘to cause’. Occasionally, both interpretations are possible and only contextually or according to the grade of agenthood of the agent can precedence be given to the one or the other of them.

Syntactically, *shi* 使 can be employed with the following arguments: 1) the direct object = the Theme or Patient; and 2) the Goal. The second argument can be realized as an NP, a PP or a VP. Only the last case is relevant here, because only in this case are two different positions available for the negative. The two different syntactic structures can be represented as follows:

1. with the negative preceding *shi* 使 (only in its derived meaning ‘to cause’):
 [S NP₁ [VP NEG [VP *shi* (NP₂) V (NP₃)]]]

The VP is analysed as an analytic causative construction with a visible causative verb. This construction allows an additional argument to be introduced to the predicate.

2. with the negative preceding V₂P (not depending on the meaning of *shi* 使):
 [S NP₁ [VP *shi* [S (NP₂) [VP Neg [VP V (NP₃)]]]]]

Semantically, the first structure can be paraphrased as:

‘NP_{1causer} does not do anything to make NP_{2causee} V (do something)’.

The agenthood and the control force of the agent are weak; the agent does not need to have the characteristic [+human].

Contrastively, the second can be paraphrased as:

'NP_{1causer} does everything to make the NP_{2causee} not do V (do something)'.

The syntactic and the semantic analyses show that both structures have to be clearly distinguished. In the second structure, the agenthood of NP₁ and its control force are much higher than in the first structure and apparently the NP₁ has to have the characteristic [+human].⁴⁸ Accordingly, the truth value of the two structures is different, even if the semantic differences are not always easily distinguished.

So far as the modal values of the negative are concerned, in both structures, the function of the modal and the modally neutral negatives can be clearly distinguished. While the modal negatives in all cases retain their root modal value, often expressing an indirect prohibition or a wish, the neutral negative does apparently maintain its neutral value in the first structure, while in the second structure a weak notion of ability (root modality) seems to be implied, sometimes explicitly expressed by the modal auxiliary *de* 得 'can'.

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⁴⁸ This corresponds well to what Horne (1989: 316) assumes in general for the two different structures of negation: 'Such paradigms reflect the interaction of two general principles: (a) negative force weakens with the distance of the negative element from the constituent with which it is logically associated, and (b) negative force strengthens with the degree of incorporation (or morphological absorption) of the negative element. The former principle is at work within the NRP (neg-raising-principle), while in principle the latter is exemplified in affixal negation ...'.

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