The Evolution of Negative Forms in the Hunan Waxiang Dialects

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This paper uses data from sixteen localities where the Waxiang dialects are spoken in western Hunan to examine the evolution of negative forms in Waxiang. It was found that, unlike Mandarin, there is no distinction between existential and volitional forms in the Waxiang dialects. \textipa{[pa]} can be used as both adverb and independent verb and to serve all the negative constructions, except in the case of the borrowed construction \textipa{[V + Neg + COMP]}. The Mandarin volitional form \textipa{不} has been borrowed into the Waxiang dialects, which is influencing the local negative system in a number of ways.

\textipa{[pu]} came into the Waxiang dialects with the Mandarin \textipa{[V + Neg + COMP]} construction. It brought a distinction between existential and volitional to the Waxiang dialects. Some people have started to use different forms (\textipa{[pa][pa]} and \textipa{[pu]}) to differentiate between ‘(My) eyes have not recovered’ and ‘My sight is poor’. They are also starting to use different forms (\textipa{[pa][pa]} and \textipa{[pu]}) to distinguish between ‘I did not go to Changsha and ‘I am not going to Changsha’. However, there is no sign that the borrowed form \textipa{[pu]} will take the place of the local form \textipa{[pa]}, since the local form can be used in some local constructions such as \textipa{[pa][pa] + N]} and \textipa{[pa][pa] + V + COMP]}, which do not exist in Mandarin.

All data, excepted those from Yang (1999), come from my own fieldwork in 2004-2005.

Key words: Hunan Waxiang dialects, negation, grammatical evolution

The aim of this paper is to exam the usages of negative forms in the Waxiang dialects spoken in Western Hunan, and to propose a hypothesis of the path of evolution of negative forms in these dialects. All data used in this article, excepted those from Yang (1999), come from my own fieldwork in 2004-2005.

Negation is widely studied across languages. For example, Dahl examined negation in 240 languages, including Chinese (1977). Payne examined negatives in approximately
30 languages (1985). Chappell (1994) conducted a typological study of negative forms across five Chinese dialects: Mandarin, Wu, Minnan, Yue and Xiang, and concluded that all Sinitic languages possess independent negative verbs of existence and possession. This category must be added to the structural typology of negation set up by Payne (1985). The data from Waxiang will shed light on the study of the historical development of negative forms in Chinese.

The Waxiang dialects are spoken in western Hunan (Bao & Wu 1985, Wu 2000). It is found on the boundaries of counties and in mountainous areas where the Miao (called Hmong outside China) and Tujia ethnic minorities live. The remoteness of the area once made access very difficult. In China, Waxiang speakers are classified into different nationalities: Miao, Tujia and Han. Waxiang is regarded as a dialect of Han by some scholars (Wang 1982, 1985) but is considered to be a variety of the Miao language by some local people and local scholars (Zhang & Hou 1984). Most Waxiang speakers can speak south-west Mandarin as either their first or second language.

There are four sections of this paper. Section 1 will examine the contemporary usages of two negative forms in the Waxiang dialect spoken in Guzhang. Section 2 will examine in detail the contemporary usages of three negative forms in the Waxiang dialect spoken in Yuanling. Section 3 will compare the usages of negative forms from fourteen localities in the Waxiang-speaking area. Finally a hypothesis on the evolution of the negative forms in Waxiang dialects will be given in section 4.

The local negative form in the Waxiang dialects can be used as both an adverb and an independent verb. There is no distinction between the existential negative and the volitional negative, unlike in Mandarin and most of the Xiang dialects. However, the Mandarin volitional form 不 bu has been borrowed into the Waxiang dialects and which is influencing local negative system in a number of ways.

1. The usages of negative forms in the Guzhang Waxiang dialect

There are three negative forms in the Guzhang dialect. They are [pa\textsuperscript{13}], [pu\textsuperscript{13}] and [mo\textsuperscript{25}]. [mo\textsuperscript{25}] is used as a negative imperative, like Mandarin 不 bie. It will not be discussed further since the function of [mo\textsuperscript{25}] is exactly the same as Mandarin 不 bie.

Thirty-four examples of negative forms were taken from a narrative recorded on 2 July 2004. The informant, Mrs Tian, was born in 1950 and received secondary education. She comes from Yantouzhai, Gaofeng. The negative sentences were re-examined by two other informants from Gaofeng: Mrs Song, who was born in 1945 and had two years’ education, from Lijiadong, Gao Feng; and Mr Xiang, who was born in 1935 and had primary education, from Taojinzhai, Gaofeng. Table one summarizes the distribution of these thirty-four sentences.
Table 1: Distribution of negative forms based on data from the Guzhang Waxiang dialect

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Construction</th>
<th>Tian</th>
<th>Song</th>
<th>Xiang</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>([\text{pa}^{13} + \text{Adj}])</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>([\text{pu}^{13} + \text{Adj}])</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>([\text{pa}^{13} + \text{N}])</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>([\text{pa}^{13} + \text{得} + \text{N}])</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>([\text{pa}^{13} + \text{V} + (\text{N})])</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>([\text{pu}^{13} + \text{V} + (\text{N})])</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>([\text{V} + \text{pu}^{13} + \text{COMP} + (\text{O})])</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The above constructions will be discussed in turn.

1.1 Negative forms in the \([\text{Neg} + \text{Adj}]\) construction

Both negative forms can be used in the \([\text{Neg} + \text{Adj}]\) construction; see examples (1)-(5). It must be pointed out that Mrs Tian, who received secondary education, used \([\text{pu}^{13}]\) exclusively, while Mr Xiang, who was the oldest informant, used \([\text{pa}^{13}]\) exclusively. Mrs Song used both.

(1) 跟你二妹□得□□，□□□不好。
   \(\text{kai}^{55} \text{ni}^{25} \text{a}^{13} \text{mei}^{33} \text{ts}^{h} \text{uai}^{25} \text{tu}^{33} \text{kaix}^{55} \text{pu}^{41},\)
   to 2nd Sg second sister to marry to carpenter
   \(\text{va}^{25} \text{st}^{41} \text{k}^{13} / \text{pu}^{13} \text{xau}^{25}\)
   why Neg good
   Why is it no good to marry your second sister to a carpenter?

(2) 我講不好就是不好。
   \(\text{u}^{25} \text{k}^{25} \text{pa}^{13} / \text{pu}^{13} \text{xau}^{25} \text{ts}^{h} \text{so}^{25} \text{pa}^{13} / \text{pu}^{13} \text{xau}^{25}\)
   1st SG to say NEG good then to be Neg good
   I said (he is) no good. He is no good (I meant what I said).

(3) a. 我的眼珠□了三日，到如今還不好。
   \(\text{u}^{25} \text{ti}^{25} \text{ts}^{h} \text{iai}^{25} \text{ts}^{h} \text{au}^{55} \text{so}^{55} \text{nu}^{41}, \text{tau}^{25} \text{ai}^{55} \text{te}^{h}^{25}\)
   1st sg SP eye pain ASP three day up to now
   \(\text{a}^{13} \text{pa}^{13} \text{xau}^{25}\)
   still Neg good
   I have had sore eyes for three days and have not recovered yet.
b. 我眼睛不好，望不到。
1stSG eye Neg good to see Neg COMP
My sight is no good and I cannot see it.

(4) a. 今朝不凍，不要蓋被絮。
ti55 iau55 pa13/\u0015/\u0015 tau33, pa13/\u0015/\u0015 iau25 kua33 fa13/\u0015/\u0015 su55
today Neg cold Neg to need to cover quilt
It is not cold today. There is no need to have a quilt.

b. 天気還不凍，你跟被絮端出□□□?
thai55 sai55 a13 pa13/\u0015/\u0015 tau33, ni41 kai55
weather still Neg cold 2nd Sg Disposal M
fa13/\u0015/\u0015 su55 to55 tsu55 z
quilt to take out to do what
It is not cold yet; why did you get the quilt out?

(5) □子不紅不甘。
ma55 tsa pa13/\u0015/\u0015 yau13 pa13/\u0015/\u0015 ko55
Plum Neg red Neg sweet
The plums are not sweet if they have not turned red.

1.2 Negative forms in the [Neg + N] construction

[pa13] can be used in the construction [Neg + N] but not the form [pu13]; see examples (6)-(7).

(6) 鋪頭不煙賣。
p5u55 ta33 pa13/\u0015/\u0015 ye55 mai33
shop Neg cigarette to sell
No cigarettes are sold in the shop.

(7) 我口不味。
u25 k33 pa13/\u0015/\u0015 mi33
1st Sg mouth Neg taste
I have no appetite.

1.3 Negative forms in the [Neg + 得 + N] construction

[pa13] can be used in this construction but not [pu13]; see examples (8)-(9).
1.4 Negative forms in the \([\text{Neg} + \text{V} + \text{(N)}]\) construction

It can be seen from Table 1 that both \([\text{pa}^{13}]\) and \([\text{pu}^{13}]\) can be used in the construction, although people may prefer one form over the other. It is confirmed from my fieldwork that \([\text{pa}^{13}]\) can be used in this construction without any condition, but \([\text{pu}^{13}]\) is usually used as a volitional negative only.

1.5 Negative forms in the \([\text{V} + \text{Neg} + \text{COMP} + \text{(O)}]\) construction

All the examples with this construction use \([\text{pu}^{13}]\) only. It was found that \([\text{pa}^{13}]\) cannot be used in this construction at all.

(8) 我娘就講室裡窮，不得錢。
\(\text{My mother then said that my family is poor and we have no money.}\)

(9) 我不得子。
\(\text{I have no son.}\)

(10) 我□□不去買履。
\(\text{I didn’t go to buy shoes yesterday.}\)

(11) 我明朝不去買履。
\(\text{I won’t go to buy shoes tomorrow.}\)

(12) 我不喜歡飲藥方。
\(\text{I don’t like to take medicine.}\)
The following two structures exist in the Waxiang dialect but do not appear in Mrs Tian’s narrative discussed above.

1.6 [V+ (N)+ Neg]

Only [pa¹³] is accepted in this construction; see examples (15)-(16).

(15) 你食柑子不?

nji²⁵ iou²⁵ kong⁶⁵tsa pa¹³

2nd sg to eat orange Neg

Do you eat oranges?

(16) 你到高峰去不?

nji²⁵ tau²⁵ kau⁵⁵few⁵⁵ khe²⁵ pa¹³

2nd sg to go Gaofeng to go Neg

Are you going to Gaofeng?

1.7 Negative forms in the [Neg+ V+ COMP] construction

Only [pa¹³] can be used in this construction indicating that an action has not taken place.

(17) 我聽不明白。

u²⁵ pa¹³ t'ong⁵⁵ mi⁵⁵ p'ho⁴¹

1st Neg to listen clear

I didn’t catch you.

(18) 我□□不買得履。

u²⁵ k'ho³³tsiou⁵⁵ pa¹³ ma²⁵ ty⁴¹ li²⁵

1st Sg yesterday Neg to buy COMP shoes

I didn’t buy shoes yesterday.

1.8 Summary of usages of the negative forms in the Guzhang dialect

In summary, [pa¹³] and [pu¹³] in the Guzhang dialect contrast on meaning (existence
vs volition), structure (e.g. [pa₁³] cannot be used in the [V + Neg + COMP]), and grammatical function (e.g. [pa₁³] can be used as both an independent verb and an adverb, while [pu₁³] can be used as an adverb only). The following table summarizes the relationships of these two forms.

Table 2: Relationships between [pa₁³] and [pu₁³] in Guzhang Waxiang

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Construction</th>
<th>pa₁³</th>
<th>pu₁³</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[Neg + Adj]</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[Neg + N]</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[Neg + 得 + N]</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[V+ (N) + Neg]</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[Neg + V + (N)]</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[Neg+ V+ COMP]</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[V + Neg + COMP+ (O)]</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It seems that the two forms overlap in the structures [Neg + Adj] and [Neg + V + (N)], but contrast in the other constructions. In the following section, the Waxiang spoken in Yuanling will be examined in detail to see whether such contrast and overlapping also exist in Yuanling.

2. The usages of negative forms in the Yuanling Waxiang dialect

There are three negative forms in the Yuanling Waxiang dialect. They are [pa₅₃], [pa₁³] and [pu₂²]. Altogether 160 negative forms are found in Yang’s collections (1999). The distribution of these three forms in seven constructions is presented in the following table.

Table 3: Distribution of negative forms based on the data from the Yuanling Waxiang dialect

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Construction</th>
<th>pa₅₃</th>
<th>pa₁³</th>
<th>pu₂²</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[Neg + Adj]</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[Neg + N]</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[Neg + 得 + N]</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[V+ (N) + Neg]</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[Neg + V + (N)]</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[Neg+ V+ COMP]</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[V + Neg + COMP+ (O)]</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>160</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>84</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Examples of the above sentences and the implication of those sentences are provided below:

2.1 Negative forms in the [Neg + Adj] construction

All three negative forms can be used in [Neg + Adj] construction; see examples (19)-(21).

(19) 肉不□。
    \[\text{肉} \neg \text{tender}\]
    \text{The meat has not been cooked tender yet. (Yang:189)}

(20) 心頭還是不舒服。
    \[\text{心頭} \neg \text{舒服}\]
    \text{(He) doesn’t feel comfortable yet. (Yang:233)}

(21) 吾又不老。
    \[\text{吾} \neg \text{老}\]
    \text{I am not old yet. (Yang:223)}

2.2 Negative forms in the [Neg + N] construction

Two forms, [pa\(\text{53}\)] and [pa\(\text{13}\)], can be used in the construction [Neg + N] but not the form [pu\(\text{22}\)]; see examples (22)-(24).

(22) 大河漲水小河滿, 大河不水小河乾。
    \[\text{大河} \neg \text{水} \text{小河} \text{滿} ; \text{大河} \neg \text{水} \text{小河} \text{乾}\]
    \text{The small river will be full if the big river flows; the small river will be dry if there is no water in the big river. (Yang:214)}

(23) 凍天洋洋，不雪不霜。
    \[\text{凍} \text{天} \neg \text{雪} \neg \text{霜}\]
    \text{In winter the weather is warm. There is no snow and no fog. (Yang:215)}
(24) 這條不那條好。
le\textsuperscript{13} lao\textsuperscript{13} pa\textsuperscript{13} loj\textsuperscript{13} lao\textsuperscript{13} xa\textsuperscript{53}
this CL not that CL good
This one is not as good as that one. (Yang:189)

It is clear from example (23) that these two forms are interchangeable.

2.3 Negative forms in the [Neg + 得 + N] construction

Both [pa\textsuperscript{53}] and [pa\textsuperscript{13}] can be used in this construction but not [pu\textsuperscript{22}]; see examples (25)-(27).

(25) 吾真的不得書。
\textit{u}\textsuperscript{53} tse\textsuperscript{55} ti\textsuperscript{53} pa\textsuperscript{53} t o tsau\textsuperscript{55}
1\textsuperscript{st} Sg truly Neg to have book
I really don't have any book. (Yang:194)

(26) 黃老鼠給雞拜正，不得好心。
\textit{lj}\textsuperscript{13} lao\textsuperscript{53} su\textsuperscript{53} ke\textsuperscript{55} ka\textsuperscript{55} po\textsuperscript{22} ts\textsuperscript{53}，
weasel to hen pay good wishes in the New Year
\textit{pa}\textsuperscript{13} t o\textsuperscript{13} xa\textsuperscript{53} ci\textsuperscript{55}
Neg to have good heart
The weasel goes to pay respects to the hen - not with the best of intentions. (Yang:214)

(27) 去到沅陵去報案，又不得人會講客。
\textit{k}\textsuperscript{h} au\textsuperscript{22} t o\textsuperscript{22} i e\textsuperscript{55} li\textsuperscript{13} k\textsuperscript{h} ao\textsuperscript{22} pou\textsuperscript{22} j\textsuperscript{22}
to go to COMP Yuanling to go to to report the case
\textit{i} au\textsuperscript{22} pa\textsuperscript{13} te\textsuperscript{3} j\textsuperscript{53} xa\textsuperscript{53} koj\textsuperscript{53} k\textsuperscript{h} oj\textsuperscript{53}
and not have people can to speak Mandarin
(He) went to Yuanling to report the case to the authority; however (he) could not find someone who speaks Mandarin. (Yang:220)

2.4 [V+(N)+ Neg ]

Only [pa\textsuperscript{13}] can be used in this construction; see examples (28)-(29).

(28) 這碗飯食得不？
le\textsuperscript{13} j\textsuperscript{53} mo\textsuperscript{55} zou\textsuperscript{13} t o\textsuperscript{13} pa\textsuperscript{13}?
This CL rice to eat to be able to Neg
Can this bowl of rice be eaten? (Yang:197)
There is one example in which the structure is [V + (N) + Neg + 得 de]  

(30) 還有飯不得？  
ya53 ua53 mo55 pa13 to  
Still to have meal Neg to have  
Is there more rice? (Yang:196)  

2.5 Negative forms in the [Neg + V + (N)] construction  

This is the most commonly used construction found in the data. Both [pa13] and [pu22] can be used in the construction but not [pa53]. These two constructions are sometimes distinguished from each other; at other times they overlap.  

(31) 從□以後，地主也就不覓人學講客去了。  
tsuo13 le13 i53 xou22, ti22 tsu53 ia53 tiou22  
from that time on landlord also then  
pu22 mi13 n55 yo13 khoi53 ko122 la22  
Neg to look for person to speak Mandarin to go ASP  
From that time on, the landlord never asked someone to learn Mandarin. (Yang:223)  

(32) 有一條地主不會講客。  
uo13 i13 lao13 ti22 tsu53 pu22 xa53 kn53 khoi53  
to have one CL landlord Neg to be able to to speak Mandarin  
There was a landlord who could not speak Mandarin. (Yang:219)  

[pa13] can take the role of an existence negative form (example (33)). It sometimes combines with the word 得 de and can then have the same function as Mandarin 沒有 meiyou (example (34)).  

(33) 你食飯了是不食？  
lie13 zou13 mo55 lia53 ts22 pa13 zou13  
2nd sg to eat meal ASP to be Neg to eat  
Have you had a meal or not? (Yang:220)
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(34) 是不是講□不得食飯?

\[ts'\text{e}^{53} \text{pu}^{22} \text{ts'\text{e}}^{53} \text{ko}\zeta^{53} \text{zei}^{13} \text{pa}^{13} \text{to}^{13} \text{z\text{au}}^{13} \text{mo}^{55}\]

to be not to be to say 3\text{rd}\text{SG} not have to eat meal

Do you mean that he didn’t have a meal? (Yang:189)

[\text{pu}^{22}] and [\text{pa}^{13}] are interchangeable when the distinction between existence and volition does not need to be made.

(35) 唱歌不怯歌師傅，扒船不怯亂岩窩。

\[ts'\text{ho}^{55} \text{ku}^{55} \text{pa}^{13} \text{t\text{e}}^{53} \text{ye}^{53} \text{ku}^{55} \text{sa}^{55} \text{fu}^{22},\]

to sing song Neg to be afraid of song expert

\[\text{po}^{13} \text{dzue}^{13} \text{pa}^{13} \text{t\text{e}}^{53} \text{ye}^{53} \text{dz\text{o}n}^{13} \text{\text{na}}^{55} \text{\text{u}}^{55}\]

to paddle boat Neg to be afraid of not in order rock pile

You won’t be scared by the song experts when you are singing; you won’t be scared by the piles of rocks when you are paddling the boat. (Yang:208)

(36) 山歌不唱心不開，磨子不推不轉來。

\[\text{se}^{55} \text{ku}^{55} \text{\text{pu}^{22} \text{ts'\text{on}}}^{22} \text{ci}^{55} \text{\text{pu}^{22} \text{ku}^{55} \text{\text{k'ua}}^{55},}\]

folk song Neg to sing heart Neg to be happy

\[\text{mo}^{55} \text{tsa}^{22} \text{\text{pu}^{22} \text{t\text{u}}}^{55} \text{\text{pu}^{22} \text{tu}^{22} \text{ze}^{13}\}

to mill Neg to push Neg turn back

You won’t be happy if you don’t sing, (just like) the mill won’t work if you don’t push it. (Yang:209)

(37) 你曉得不曉得? 不曉得。

\[\text{lie}^{53} \text{\text{ci}a}^{53} \text{\text{to}^{13} \text{pu}^{22} \text{\text{a}c}^{53} \text{\text{to}^{13} \text{pa}^{13} \text{\text{ci}a}^{53} \text{\text{to}^{13}}\}

2\text{nd}\text{ sg} to know Neg to know Neg to know

Don’t you know or not? (I) don’t know. (Yang:189)

2.6 Negative forms in the [Neg+ V+ COMP] construction

Only [\text{pa}^{13}] can be used in this construction indicating that an action has not taken place.

(38) □三口字吾又都不講差。

\[\text{lo}^{13} \text{so}^{55} \text{\text{k'a}^{53} \text{\text{da}^{22} \text{u}^{53} \text{\text{iou}^{22} \text{\text{tau}^{55} \text{pa}^{13} \text{\text{ko}^{53} \\text{ts'\text{o}}^{55}}\}

that three CL word 1\text{st}\text{ sg also all Neg to speak wrong}

All the three words I said were not wrong (I said all three words correctly). (Yang:222)
His elder son did not see clearly and used a wooden club to beat Wu to death (accidentally). (Yang:227)

2.7 The negative form in the [V + Neg + COMP + (O)] construction

Only [pu²²] is accepted in this construction.

(I) saw (realized) that his skills are similar to mine. (Yang:230)

2.8 Summary of usages of the negative forms in the Yuanling dialect

The following table summarizes the relationships of the three negative forms in the Yuanling Waxiang dialect.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Construction</th>
<th>pa⁵³</th>
<th>pa¹³</th>
<th>pu²²</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[Neg + Adj]</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[Neg + N]</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[Neg + 得 + N]</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[V+ (N) + Neg]</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[Neg + V + (N)]</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[Neg+ V+ COMP]</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[V + Neg + COMP+ (O)]</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4 shows that [pa⁵³] can combine with adjectives and nouns but not with verbs. [pa¹³] is the most active form and can be used in any construction except [V + Neg + COMP + (O)]. The usage of [pu²²] is almost the same as 不 bu in Mandarin.
3. A comparison of the negative forms in the Waxiang dialects

In order to find out the situation of the negative forms across the Waxiang dialects, twenty sample sentences were used to survey fourteen locations in answer to the following questions:

1. There are two negative forms in the Guzhang Waxiang dialect and three in the Yuanling Waxiang dialect. How many negative forms exist in other varieties of Waxiang?
2. In Mandarin, 没 mei can be used as both verb and adverb while 不 bu can used as adverb only. When both are used as adverbs, the main distinction between them is that of existence from volition. What distinctions are there among the forms in the Waxiang dialects?

The results of the survey show that two forms are to be found in the fourteen locations surveyed: [pa$^{13}$] and [pu$^{13}$]. [pa$^{13}$] and [pu$^{13}$] sometimes overlap and sometimes stand in contrast to each other. A detailed analysis of the forms [pa$^{13}$] and [pu$^{13}$] can be seen below.

The survey confirmed that the negative forms in the Waxiang dialects only occur in the seven constructions set out in tables 1 and 2. The seven constructions are discussed in turn below.

3.1 The construction [Neg + Adj]

According to the survey, both [pa$^{13}$] and [pu$^{13}$] can be used in [Neg + Adj], as in section 1 and section 2. The questions are:

i) Are these two forms interchangeable unconditionally?
ii) How is the existential negative distinguished from the volitional negative, such as in Mandarin 眼睛沒好 Yanjing mei hao ‘(My) eyes have not recovered’ and 眼睛不好 Yanjing bu hao ‘My sight is poor’.

The answers from the survey are as follows:
For nearly all the informants, the first preference for the negative in [Neg + Adj] is [pa$^{13}$]. However, there are different answers to the question ‘Can [pa$^{13}$ + Adj] be replaced by [pu$^{13}$ + Adj]?’ Some informants said no, not at all; others said yes. It seems that older
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people or less educated people prefer [pa₁³] while younger or more educated people prefer [pu₁³]. There is no distinction between the existential negative and the volitional negative for the form [pa₁³]. However, people tend to use [pu₁³] as a volitional negative only. Table 5 summarizes the usages of the negative forms in example (41).

(41) 不紅的□子不甜。

\[ \begin{array}{l}
\text{Neg1 red SP Plum Neg2 sweet} \\
\text{Plums are not sweet unless they are red/Plums are not sweet if they have not turned red.}
\end{array} \]

There are two negative forms in this sentence, which are marked Neg 1 and Neg 2.

| Table 5: Usages of negative forms in the sample sentence
| ‘Plums are not sweet if they are not red’. |
|---------|---------|---------|---------|
| Neg 1 [pa₁³] | Neg 1 [pu₁³] | Neg 2 [pa₁³] | Neg 2 [pu₁³] |
| First preference | 14 | 0 | 10 | 4 |

The table indicates that Neg 1 [pa₁³] is the first preference exclusively, but that in four out of fourteen informants [pu₁³] is the first preference for Neg 2. To the question whether the alternative form could be used, the answer was a uniform ‘no’ for Neg 1, but some informants said ‘yes’ in the case of Neg 2. Note that there are two readings for this sentence. Neg 1 can be interpreted as both an existential negative and a volitional negative, while Neg 2 can be interpreted as a volitional negative only.

3.2 The constructions [Neg + N] and [Neg + 得 de+ N]

Without exception, only [pa₁³] is used in these two constructions across the fourteen localities. In some localities, only [Neg + 得 de+ N] is used, while in others both constructions are accepted. Below is the summary of informants’ preferences.

| Table 6: Usages of negative forms in the [Neg + (de) + N] construction |
|-----------------|-----------------|
| Preference | Informants |
| [Neg + N] only | 3 |
| [Neg + 得 de + N] only | 7 |
| Both accepted but [Neg + N] preferred | 3 |
| Both accepted but [Neg + 得 de + N] preferred | 1 |

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Both constructions are found in the Waxiang dialects, and there is no difference in their meaning. Overall, [Neg + 得 de + N] seems more popular than [Neg + N].

3.3 The construction of [Neg + V + (O)]

Both [pa₁³] and [pu₁³] can be used in this construction. [pa₁³] can be used in any sentence with a [Neg + V + (O)] construction, with one exception: four out of fourteen informants consider that only [pu₁³] can be used in the example ‘I dare not go out at night’ (example (42)). However, this rule does not apply to other auxiliary words, such as 會 hui and 能 neng.

(42) 我□不敢出門。
    u²⁵ k b₁³ pu₁³ kan⁴¹ tsʰ⁴¹ maǐ⁵⁵
    1st sg evening Neg dare to go door
    I dare not go out at night.

The form [pu₁³] is used as a volitional negative exclusively. No example was found of its use an existential form. In addition, although [pu₁³] can be used in the [Neg + V + (O)] construction as a volitional negative, [pa₁³] is preferred. In sample sentence (43a), to answer the question ‘Do you want a meal?’, all informants consider that only [pa₁³] is accepted. For sample sentence (43b), to answer the question ‘Have you had a meal?’, only two out of fourteen informants gave [pu₁³] as their first preference and only three out of twelve agreed that [pa₁³] can be replaced by [pu₁³].

(43) a. 你食飯不？不食。
    nǐ²⁵ iōu¹³ maŋ⁵⁵ pa₁³ pa₁³ iōu¹³
    2nd Sg to eat meal NEG Neg to eat
    Do you want a meal? (I) don’t.

b. 你食了飯不？不食。
    nǐ²⁵ iōu¹³ liau maŋ⁵⁵ pa₁³ pa₁³/pu₁³ iōu¹³
    2nd Sg to eat ASP meal NEG Neg to eat
    Have you had a meal? (I) haven’t.

3.4 The constructions [V + Neg + COMP] and [Neg + V + COMP]

These two constructions stand in contrast to each other. In [V + Neg + COMP], only [pu₁³] can be used, and in [Neg + V + COMP], only [pa₁³] can be used. It is interesting thing that some people use one construction only: [Neg + V + COMP]. See example (44).
(44) a. 飯少很了,我不食□。
meal to be short COMP ASP 1st sg Neg to eat enough
There is too little food; I didn’t have enough.

b. 飯少很了,我食不□我不食□。
meal to be short COMP ASP
1st sg to eat Neg enough 1st SG Neg to eat enough
Such a small amount of food; it won’t be enough for me.

Three out of fourteen informants shifted the second sentence from [V + Neg + COMP] to [Neg + V + COMP]. The same situation occurs in the following sentence:

(45) a. 我眼睛不好,望不見。
My eyes are no good; I cannot see it.

Some informants shifted the sentence to the following:

(45) b. 我眼睛不好,不望見。
My eyes are no good; I cannot see it.

3.5 The construction [V + (O) + Neg]

The survey confirmed that only [pa13] is found in this construction, as discussed in sections 1.6 and 2.3. However, the tone quality can differ from one locality to another. It can be used with a neutral tone, with the same tone as the negative form in other structures, or with another tone that differs from the negative form.

4. A hypothesis of the evolution of the negative forms in the Waxiang dialects

I propose that in the Waxiang dialects there was no distinction between existential and volitional as exists in Mandarin. [pa13]/[pə53] can be used as both adverb and
The Evolution of Negative Forms in the Hunan Waxiang Dialects

independent verb and to serve all the negative constructions, except for [V + Neg + COMP]. The evidence for this is provided in the above sections. I also propose that [pu₁₃] is a form borrowed from southwestern Mandarin, which came into the Waxiang dialects with the [V + Neg + COMP] construction and is now at the early stage of taking over the volitional usage like its corresponding form in Mandarin.

The reasons for treating [pu₁₃] as a borrowed form are as follows:

i) Some people, especially older people, do not use the [pu₁₃] form at all. [pa₁₃] is used in all constructions where a negative form occurs, except in [V + pu₁₃ + COMP], which should be considered a borrowed construction.

ii) There is a contrast between Mandarin 我看不見 Wo kan bu jian ‘I cannot see it’ [V + bu₃⁵ + COMP] and 我沒看見 Wo mei kanjian ‘I didn’t see it’ [mei₃⁵ + V + COMP]. They have different constructions and different negative forms. In the Waxiang dialects, however, the construction [pa₁₃ + V + COMP] used to be applied to express the above two readings. Even now when a [V + pu₁₃ + COMP] construction is used by one speaker, another might shift to [pa₁₃ + V + COMP], as is shown in examples (44) and (45).

iii) In the constructions where [pa₁₃] and [pu₁₃] co-exist, such as [Neg + V], [pu₁₃] is used for volitional meaning only. In addition, [pu₁₃] cannot occur in the local structures where no corresponding construction exists in Mandarin. For example, [pu₁₃] never occurs in the [Neg + (te) + N] 我不得子 ‘I have no son’; [V + (O) + Neg] 你去不 ‘Are you going’ and [Neg + V + COMP] 我不看見 ‘I cannot see it’ constructions.

I also propose that the borrowed form [pu₁₃] has created a distinction between the existential and volitional constructions in the Waxiang dialects. Some speakers have started to use different forms to distinguish between ‘(My) eyes have not recovered’ and ‘My sight is poor’, and to use different forms to distinguish between ‘I did not go to Changsha’ and ‘I am not going to Changsha’. However, the borrowed form [pu₁₃] is not likely to take the place of the local form [pa₁₃], since [pu₁₃] has shown no sign of coming into local structures and expressions. Finally, I propose that the three forms [pa₅³], [pa₁₃] and [pu₁₃] in the Waxiang dialects may all derive from the same source as lexicon source as Mandarin 不 bu, but are at different layers of the sound system. More study needs to be carried out to reconstruct the path of the evolution of these negative forms in the Waxiang dialects.
Appendix: Informants’ information (see section 3)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Year of Birth</th>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Education</th>
<th>Dialect</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bo Guangming</td>
<td>1948</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>College</td>
<td>Dongdicun, Shaojiwan, Yunaling</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chen Xianliu</td>
<td>1934</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Primary school</td>
<td>Chenjiapo cun, Chouxi, Yuanling</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dun Guanyu</td>
<td>1977</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>University</td>
<td>Xiadun, Chouxi, Yuanling</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Li Dazhen</td>
<td>1951</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>High school</td>
<td>Huangjiahe, Shaojiwan, Yuanling</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Li Shengwu</td>
<td>1932</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>No education</td>
<td>Jiaoxicun, Chuanxi, Chenxi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Li Zhenzhong</td>
<td>1929</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>High school</td>
<td>Shaojiwan, Yuanling</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Song Youying</td>
<td>1945</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Primary school</td>
<td>Gaofeng, Guzhang</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Song Dezhi</td>
<td>1973</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>College</td>
<td>Wulishancun, Shaojiwan, Yuanling</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Xiang Guangxun</td>
<td>1935</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Primary school</td>
<td>Taojincun, Gaofeng, Guzhang</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Xiang Haiyang</td>
<td>1973</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>University</td>
<td>Huixi, Yongping, Yuanling</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zhang Guangzhen</td>
<td>1938</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Primary school</td>
<td>Dapingcun, Maxipu, Yuanling</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zhang Lamei</td>
<td>1940</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Primary school</td>
<td>Shaojiwan, Yuanling</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zhang Yongkuan</td>
<td>1955</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Primary school</td>
<td>Yantouhe, Baisha, Luxi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zhang Zuming</td>
<td>1927</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>High school</td>
<td>Daping cun, Maxipu, Yuanling</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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