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Guangshun Cao,
Hsiao-jung Yu (Eds.)

LANGUAGE CONTACT AND CHANGE IN CHINESE

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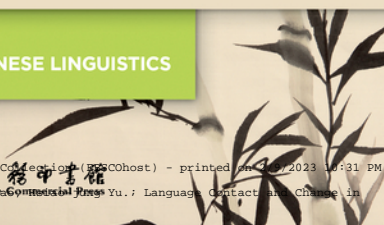**TRENDS IN CHINESE LINGUISTICS**

Guangshun Cao, Hsiao-jung Yu (Eds.)
Language Contact and Change in Chinese

Trends in Chinese Linguistics

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Volume 1

Language Contact and Change in Chinese

Edited by
Guangshun Cao, Hsiao-jung Yu

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Foreword

From the 14th–13th century BCE until the present, Chinese has had more than five thousand years of written records. Historical documents indicate that China has been in contact with languages from other language families for over two thousand years. The earliest contact between Chinese and another language can be dated back to the first century BCE, when the Xiongnu people (the Huns) founded their empire on the grasslands of northern China. Throughout Chinese history, the Chinese have interacted with many other ethnic groups, and the Chinese language has been in contact with various languages belonging to other families. In this sense, the history of China may be seen as a history of the Chinese language in constant contact with other languages.

From the 1980s on, a tremendous amount of research has been devoted to grammatical change in the Chinese language. Researchers have conducted synchronic studies on the linguistic structures of different dynastic periods, as well as diachronic studies on the development of those structures. These studies have enhanced our understanding of the process, mechanism and development of Chinese syntactic change. In the beginning of the 21st century, some researchers began to pay attention to the external mechanism at work in Chinese language development – language contact in the history of the Chinese language.

Historically there are three major episodes of large scale language contact in China. The earliest one for which there are extant written documents dates from the Late Han Dynasty (circa 200 CE) to the Tang Dynasty (618–907), and involves the case of Buddhist texts translated into Chinese from Sanskrit (Pali/Prakrits). The second episode involves contact between Chinese speakers and those of various branches of Altaic languages including Khitan, Jurchen, and Mongolian, which took place from the Song Dynasty (960–1279) to the Yuan Dynasty (1279–1368). The third episode is the contact between Chinese and Manchu speakers during the Qing Dynasty (1644–1911).

When we look at the regions in which Chinese people reside or neighbor with minority groups in southwestern and/or northwestern China during the Modern Period, we can see that there has been continuous language contact between the Chinese and non-Chinese. There are features found in these languages comparable to certain phenomena observed in historical documents and texts.

The abundance of extant Chinese written materials has allowed linguists to trace and study the emergence and development of these new contact-induced features, i.e., atypical linguistic elements in the Chinese language. Thus, the use of written documents to study the evolution of the new conduct-induced features is highly significant to understanding the impact/influence of language contact in the history of Chinese syntax.

There are two axes by which we may observe the linguistic development of these contact-induced features in Chinese: a "horizontal", differential axis and "vertical", evolutionary axis. The former adopts a synchronic perspective which focuses on the atypical linguistic features that emerged in each dynastic period and the changes they triggered for the Chinese language of that particular period; the latter employs a diachronic perspective which analyses the impact of these changes on the development of the Chinese language. The key considerations in studying language contact and change in the history of the Chinese language include the emergence of atypical linguistic features, and the location and approximate time period or dynastic period in which these features appeared and were used. More importantly, these considerations include the process and mechanisms involved in the development of these atypical features, and ultimately, their impact on the development of the Chinese language.

The study of language contact and change in the history of the Chinese language has attracted more and more Chinese linguists' and scholars' attention. The articles collected in this volume were originally published as journal articles by Shangwu Publishing House. They comprise studies of the three major language contact episodes in China, namely the language in translated Chinese Buddhist sutras and texts of the Medieval period, the 'Yuan Dynasty colloquial language' (*Yuan baihua*), and the Chinese language under the Manchus' control during the Qing Dynasty. One article concerns the language contact study of linguistic features in certain Sinitic languages (or "Chinese dialects") in the Modern Period. Some articles give special attention to a given period and discuss the linguistic changes triggered by language contact during that period, while others analyze the nature and features of the contacts of different periods and consider their impact on the historical development of the Chinese language. It is our hope that these articles may provide a general picture of the kinds of research done by Chinese linguists in the study of contact and change in the history of the Chinese language.

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Guangshun Cao and Hsiao-jung Yu
25-03-2017

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Contents

List of Abbreviations

1, 2, 3	1st, 2nd, 3rd person pronoun	LOC	locative case
1PL	1st personal pronoun plural	m	marker
2PL	2nd personal pronoun plural	M	masculine
3PL	3rd personal pronoun plural	Madv	manner adverb
1SG	1st personal pronoun singular	MMW	mimetic word
2SG	2nd personal pronoun singular	MW	measure word
3SG	3rd personal pronoun singular	NEG	negative
ABL	ablative	NMZ	nominalizer/nominalization
ACC	accusative	NOM	nominative case
ADJ	adjective	OBJ	object/objective case
ADV	adverb	OW	onomatopoetic word
AFF	affirmative	PART	particle
AUX	auxiliary	PASS	passive voice
CAUS	causative	PERF	perfect
CL	classifier	POST	postposition/postpositional case
CONJ	conjunction	PREP	preposition/prepositional phrase
COP	copular	PRES	present tense
Dadv	degree adverb	PRO	expletive pronoun
DAT	dative	PROG	progressive
DECL	declarative mood	Q	question marker
DEM	demonstrative	QUOT	quotative (quotative case or quotative mood)
EXPER	experiential		
FUT	future tense	REL	relative(izer)
GEN	genitive	SKT	Sanskrit
IMPERF	imperfect	St	standard
INSTR	instrumental case	TOP	topic

Hsiao-jung Yu (遇笑容)

Theory and fact – A study of the translated Buddhist scriptures of the Medieval Period from the perspective of language contact

Abstract: The Buddhist scriptures from the Medieval Period were primarily translated by Central Asian monks. There are certain special, inauthentic linguistic elements or features in the language of the translated scriptures. These are the result of imperfect learning of Chinese due to the interference of the mother tongues of these foreigners. The Chinese they used was essentially an intermediary language, or interlanguage. Borrowing and interference are two separate types of language contact that trigger grammatical changes. There are various mechanisms involved. In the language of the translated scriptures, of the elements and features borrowed from the original Sanskrit only found in the translated Buddhist scriptures, only some of the interference features have had an impact on Chinese syntactic development. Interference thus is the mode of language contact that causes language change in Chinese, and is the result of the foreigners' imperfect acquisition of Chinese. These non-Chinese linguistic elements or interlanguage features were accepted into Chinese and triggered grammatical changes in Chinese.

Keywords: Historical Chinese grammar, the language in early translated Buddhist scriptures, language contact

1 Introduction

Throughout Chinese history, China has been continuously in contact with a substantial number of languages belonging to other families, which has led to three major episodes of large-scale language contacts and greatly impacted the development of the Chinese language. The three major episodes of large-scale language contacts are: (1) from the Late Han Dynasty (circa 200 CE) to the Tang Dynasty (618–907), also known as the Medieval Period – when large volumes of Buddhist sutras were translated into Chinese from Sanskrit; (2) from the Song Dynasty (960–1279) to the Yuan Dynasty (1279–1368) – when Chinese was in

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contact with the Khitan, Jurchen and Mongolian languages; (3) the Qing Dynasty (1644–1911) – when China was ruled by the Manchus. In this study, focus is given to the first major language contact which occurred during the Medieval Period. The spread of Buddhism during this time is regarded as a major event in Chinese cultural history, and is the single most important foreign influence on Chinese civilization before the impact of the West in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. This language contact involved the large-scale translation of Buddhist scriptures into Chinese from Sanskrit. This first major language contact left significant marks on the development of the Chinese language. Additionally, over the last two decades, the subject of Buddhist influence on the Chinese language has attracted Chinese linguists' attention. Most of the research on this subject has focused on particular sentence construction(s) and the emergence of the evolution of functional words, what syntactic changes can be observed in the language of the translated Chinese Buddhist scriptures, whether the changes are related to the influence of the original language(s) such as Sanskrit in transmitting Buddhist teachings to the Chinese, and so on. However, from a language contact perspective, there seems to be lack of a more comprehensive understanding of the linguistic changes observed in the translated Buddhist scriptures including the emergence of ungrammatical elements, developing processes and mechanisms, and the impact on the development of the Chinese language. In this paper, we will conduct a preliminary discussion of Buddhist influence on the development of Chinese syntax based on previous research done over the past ten to fifteen years on the language in the translated Buddhist scriptures during the Medieval Period.

2 The translators and the language in their translation works

Buddhist ideologies were imported into China primarily through large-scale Chinese translations of Buddhist scriptures from Sanskrit or Pali, or Prakrits (hereafter Sanskrit). According to *Gaoseng Zhuan* 高僧传 (*Biographies of Eminent Buddhist Monks*), from the Late Han Dynasty to the early Tang Dynasty, many monks traveled from Central Asia to China, and approximately two hundred of them served as leading figures in the work of translating Buddhist texts. Among the 2,278 Buddhist scriptures translated from Sanskrit into Chinese, there are approximately fifty-six million Chinese characters in 7,046 *juan* 'chapters' (see Liang 1957). The language in many of these Buddhist works has a strong vernacular flavor, so these translated works provide a rich source for the study of language contact and Chinese language development.

The translation of Buddhist scriptures was done by monks from three different backgrounds including those (1) from Central Asian, (2) who were ethnically Central Asian but grew up in China, and (3) who were native Chinese. Their language backgrounds varied, and yet atypical linguistic features can be observed in all their works. These special linguistic components comprise various types. The earliest Buddhist scripture translators were mostly monks and Buddhist practitioners from Central Asian and India. It is known that a good number of the translation projects were carried out in translation centers (*yichang*, 译场), where Central Asian monks/practitioners had Chinese assistants to help with translating the Buddhist scriptures into Chinese. Regardless of whether the Buddhist scriptures were translated by a single hand or through the collective effort of foreign monks/practitioners and Chinese, there are marks of atypical linguistic features found in the Chinese translation of the Buddhist scriptures. Chinese linguists generally agree that at least some of these features are due to the influence of the languages of the original Buddhist scriptures, such as Sanskrit. The degrees of influence vary in accordance with the translators' individual differences, the specific translation center, and the nature of the scriptures.

Anshigao 安世高 (148–180 CE) and Zhi Qian 支谦 (222–252 CE) were significant Buddhist translators from Central Asia during the Medieval Period. According to *Gaoseng Zhuan*, Anshigao went to China and settled at the Han capital of Luoyang in 148 CE He was very intelligent, learned Chinese after he arrived in China and translated Buddhist texts into Chinese. He was the first person who established a translation center to translate Buddhist texts into Chinese. Zhi Qian, born in north China, was originally from the Yuezhi (Kushans) tribe. His grandfather immigrated to China during the reign of Emperor Huan (132–167 CE) in the Eastern Han Dynasty and served in the court. Zhi Qian started attending Chinese school at the age of ten and began to learn foreign languages at 13; he was famous for knowing six languages. He translated a good number of Buddhist texts into Chinese.

Both of the translators were from Central Asia. Anshigao went to China from Central Asia. He learned Chinese after settling in China. Even though the Chinese record states that he was very intelligent, and he learned Chinese soon after he arrived in China, Chinese was not his mother tongue. In his translation works, certain interlanguage errors can be identified. As for Zhi Qian, his grandfather was naturalized when he took his family from Central Asia to China. The historical record clearly demonstrates that Zhi Qian was a third-generation Chinese who went to Chinese school at 10 and started studying foreign languages at 13. Even so, there are atypical syntactic components in his translation works. This could be related to the language of his family or those around him, or to his knowledge of multiple languages.

From the late Sui (581–618 CE) and early Tang (618–960 CE) Dynasties, the number of Chinese Buddhist practitioners and monks increased. The well-known Chinese monk Xuanzang 玄奘 (602–664) is a representative figure. His knowledge of Sanskrit and Buddhism was probably the most advanced among all the Chinese. For seventeen years, he travelled to many places in Central Asia and India to study Sanskrit and brought a number of Buddhist scriptures back to China. There is no doubt that Xuanzang was a native speaker of Chinese. However, there are still atypical syntactic features present in the Buddhist scriptures translated by him.

Though domestic Chinese monks translated a number of Buddhist scriptures/texts into Chinese, over the past twenty years, Chinese linguists and scholars have paid attention primarily to the early Central Asian Buddhist translators. One of the key reasons is because a sizable number of these translators served as leading figures in Buddhist sutra/text translation during the Medieval Period, and made tremendous contributions via their translation works. Linguistically, the language in the translated Buddhist scriptures/texts has a colloquial flavor that is a very precious source for Chinese linguistic study, as most of the written scriptures were written in classical Chinese. In addition, the great number and richness of translated Chinese scriptures/texts are very attractive to linguists interested in conducting various kinds of studies. One of the main attractions for Chinese linguists is the study of atypical syntactic features appearing in the translated scriptures, regardless of the language background of the Central Asian Buddhist translators – whether they learned Chinese as an adult, such as Anshigao, or were born in China, such as Zhi Qian. In our study of the Central Asian Buddhist translators' works, we have focused on the atypical linguistic features in one sutra, and juxtaposed the Sanskrit scriptures with their Chinese counterparts to conduct a comparative study. Additionally, we have studied special linguistic features commonly found in several sutras to analyze their linguistic behaviors. Based on our observations, we think the atypical syntactic components are more or less related to the interference of the translators' mother tongue and are thus interlanguage errors.

The translation from Buddhist scriptures into Chinese was a challenging task. Not only was it difficult for the early translators to find the exact equivalent words to explain Buddhist concepts and terminology in Chinese, but the word order, syntactic system and structure of Chinese are very different from those of Sanskrit. The translators often encountered multiple layers of difficulties in formulating sentences while conveying Buddhist teachings in the texts. Such translation problems were indicated by several Medieval translators such as Zhi Qian, Dao An (314–385), Kumarajiva (344–413), Seng You (445–518), and so on. Zhi Qian emphasized "the difficulties of transmitting the truth through translations"

(*chuan shi bu yi*, 传实不易)[1] while Dao An pointed out the "five ways of losing the essence" (*wu shi ben*, 五失本) and "three difficulties" (*san bu yi*, 三不易) in discussing the challenges of translating the original Buddhist languages into proper Chinese, i.e., "[doing] justice to the original text" (see Harbsmeier 2015: 260–273). Due to the various kinds of considerably distinctive elements in the Buddhist texts, including differences in terminology and sentence constructions between Sanskrit/Pail and Chinese, despite the presence of Chinese assistants in the translation centers, the early Chinese translations of the Buddhist texts read awkwardly. Based on our study, we think that certain characteristics can be observed in the early Central Asian translators' works:

(1) The Chinese Buddhist texts of the Medieval Period were mainly translated by foreign monks or practitioners who were Chinese language learners.

(2) The awkward translation in the translated Chinese Buddhist texts of the Medieval Period is due to the influence of Sanskrit; it owes to interference from the translators' imperfect learning of Chinese (i.e., the result of second language acquisition).

(3) The atypical linguistic features in the Medieval translated Chinese Buddhist texts are either caused by interlanguage errors, or by learners' fossilized errors committed by Central Asian translators.

An interesting phenomenon is worth noting. From the Tang Dynasty onwards, when Chinese domestic monks who had studied Sanskrit (such as Xuanzang) joined the translation project, certain atypical linguistic features found in the Medieval Period continued to appear in the translated Buddhist scriptures. The causes of these phenomena are more complicated than those mentioned above. It could be related to the monks' imperfect learning of the target language, Sanskrit, or the Chinese monks' imitation of the language and/or style of the Buddhist texts translated by foreign (i.e., non-Chinese) monks. For Chinese monks, translating the Buddhist texts also involves a second language acquisition process. The only difference is that the target language for Chinese monks is Sanskrit (vs. Chinese) and the origin of the errors is the interference of the target language (vs. the mother tongue in the case of foreign translators). The continuous existence of certain awkward sentence structures in later translated Chinese Buddhist texts could also be due to the fact that these texts occupied the religious canon, and the early translators held important and unique positions in translating the Buddhist scriptures/texts. As a result, the terminology they adopted, and the sentence structures they rendered in translation gradually became fixed, and some

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1 Some of the translation in the parenthesis are from (Harbsmeier 2015: 259–273).

of them even became a sort of convention in the Chinese Buddhist texts. Overall, the language in the translated Chinese Buddhist texts is Chinese, but it is a form of Chinese with interlanguage features and an outcome of language contact.

3 Seven distinctive syntactic features in the translated Chinese Buddhist scriptures of the Medieval Period

There are two types of contact-induced language changes: borrowing and interference. Borrowing refers to linguistic features of languages that are superadded onto another language; interference involves changes in grammatical development induced by other languages. Since the unusual syntactic changes in the Medieval Chinese Buddhist texts are basically triggered by imperfect learning of a second language, the nature of the language in translated Buddhist texts is that of interlanguage. Interlanguage is a language that contains linguistic features of both the mother tongue and target language in its grammatical system; it exists within a continuum of change. The second language learner's interlanguage is systematic yet flexible. If we take the entire translated Chinese Buddhist texts of the Medieval Period as one entity (i.e., not taking into account the translators' identification, style, and/or where and when they translated their works, etc.), we may find several distinctive linguistic features that commonly appear in the language of the translated scriptures during the Medieval Period:

1) Addition: The superfluous usage of the interrogative word *yunhe* 云何 'how'
In the translated Chinese Buddhist scriptures, the interrogative word *yunhe* is used to translate the Sanskrit word *kim* 'what'. *Yunhe* is a question word in the Chinese language; however, it appears at the beginning of some of the interrogative sentences in the scriptures despite its lack of an interrogative function. Example (1), for instance, is an interrogative sentence without *yunhe*. The rather awkward and redundant *yunhe* is due to external influence through the medium of borrowing (see Yu 2003, 2004a, 2004b, 2005).

(1) <u>云何</u>　有　痴　究竟，　　无　痴　　究竟？
    yunhe　you　chi　jiujing　　wu　chi　jiujing
    yunhe　have　crazy　extremity　no　crazy　extremity
    'Crazy to the extreme or not crazy to the extreme?'
    Zengyi Ahanjing 增壹阿含经 (*The Ekottara Agama*, 'Numbered Discourses' 19)

2) Misplacement: The cause marker *gu* 故 used at the end of sentences
In the Chinese language, one can use the preposition "*yin* 因" or place *gu* at the beginning of the second clause, as in "…, *gu*…" However, *gu* often appears at the end of the second clauses in many of the translations, and such sentence final *gu* serves as a case marker. One of the reasons for the presence/use of the sentence final *gu* in the translated scriptures is due to a direct translation of the Sanskrit ablative case marker *iti* indicating 'cause' (Erik 1987; Takasaki 1993; Wang 2004).

(2) 是　　为　　善　　知识，　多　　　闻　　经　　　故。
　　shi　　wei　shan　zhishi　　duo　　wen　　jing　　gu
　　DEM　is　　good　mentor　much　know　sutra　CAU
　　'This [person] is a good mentor because he knows much about sutra.'
　　Fo shuo yiri moni bao jing 佛说遗日摩尼宝经 (*Kaśyapaparivarta* 12)

3) The position of coordinating conjunctions
In the Chinese coordinate structure, the two connected parts are usually joined next to each other by coordinating conjunctions. In the translated Chinese Buddhist texts, however, there are cases where the conjunction and the second part are disjoined from the first connected part. For example:

(3a) 尔时　　　真净　　　王　　　在　　大殿　　　上　　　坐，
　　 Er shi　　Zhenjing　wang　zai　　dadian　　shang　zuo,
　　 that time　NAME　　　king　in　　the hall　LOC　　sitting,
　　 及　　诸　　　媒女。
　　 ji　　zhu　　cainü
　　 and　those　female maid
　　 'At that time, King Zhenjing and the [imperial palace] female maids were sitting in the hall.'
　　 Zengyi Ahanjing 增壹阿含经 (*The Ekottara Agama*, 'Numbered Discourses' 15)

"King Zhenjing" and "female maids" are two connected parts. If we follow the Chinese word sequence, these two parts should be joined next to each other as shown in (3b):

(3b) 尔时　　　真净　　　王　　　及　　诸　　　媒女　　　　在　　大殿
　　 Er shi　　Zhenjing　wang　ji　　zhu　　cainü　　　　zai　dadian
　　 that time　NAME　　　king　and　those　female maid　in　　the hall

上　　坐,
shang　zuo
LOC　　sitting
'At that time, King Zhenjing and the [imperial palace] female maids were sitting in the hall.'

4) Duplication of the source language and overlapping: The copular construction "N, N *shi*" and "*shi* N *shi*"

The word order of the copular construction in Chinese is "N *shi* N". In translated scriptures, the *shi* 是 is placed at the end of the sentence as in example (4). Jiang Lansheng (2003) notes that there are a large number of "N, N *shi*" sentences in the translated Buddhist scriptures. The emergence of this construction reflects influence from the Sanskrit language. There are also "*shi* N *shi*" constructions, and such double application of *shi* is related to Sanskrit influence.

(4) 诸　　根　　澹泊,　　　亦　　难陀　　比丘　　是。
　　　zhu　　gen　　danbo,　　yi　　Nantuo　biqiu　shi
　　　Various　roots　indifferent　also　NAME　　monk　is
　　　'[The one who takes] various roots (i.e., the various sense organs)
　　　indifferently is also the monk Nantuo.'
　　　Zengyi Ahanjing 增壹阿含经 (*The Ekottara Agama*, 'Numbered Discourses' 3)

5) Word order: the case of the Disposal Construction

The disposal construction originated from the serial verb construction. The serial verb construction is a construction commonly seen in documents from, during, and after the Han Dynasty. Between the Han and Tang, this construction went through a series of developments. The construction is $V_1O_1V_2O_2$ (See Peyraube 1989); in the case where $O_1=O_2$, the repeated object can be omitted as V_1V_2O. However, the usage of the verb *qu* 取 in the serial verb construction in translated Buddhist texts presented a different word order: *qu* OV, as illustrated in example (4).

(5) 是　　时　　目连　　即　　　　　前　　　　捉　　手
　　　shi　　shi　　Mulian　ji　　　　　qian　　　zhuo　shou
　　　that　time　NAME　immediately　go-forward　hold　hand
　　　将　　至　　　门　　外,
　　　jiang　zhi　　men　wai

take   arrive   door   outside

还   取   门   闭   前   白 佛   言：

huan qu men bi   qian   bai fo   yan

return QU door close go-forward tell Buddha say

不   净   比丘， 已   将   在   外。

bu   jing biqiu yi   jiang zai   wai

NEG clean monk already take put-to outside

'At that time, Mojinlin immediately moved forward grabbing [that person's] hands and taking him outside. Upon returning [he] closed the door, went forward and told the Buddha, "[I] took the unclean bhiksha outside."'

Zengyi Ahanjing 增壹阿含经 (*The Ekottara Agama*, 'Numbered Discourses' 44)

In the above example, the full meaning of *qu* was grammaticalized, and the *qu* functions like a preposition. This new form developed into the disposal construction, or the pre-verbal *ba* 把 construction. Chinese is an SVO language, so the omission of O2 instead of O1 violates the Chinese syntactic system. This different word order of the serial verb construction could be due to the influence of the Sanskrit SOV word order (see Cao and Yu 2000).

6)   The violation of semantic constraints: the case of "V (O) + *yi* 已" construction
The postverbal *yi* in the "V (O) + *yi* 已" construction denotes completed action. There are two types of verbs in the Chinese language: continuous verbs (*chixu dongci* 持续动词, e.g., *chi* 吃 'to eat') and instantaneous verbs (*shunjian dongci* 瞬间动词, e.g., *si* 死 'to die'). Prior to the Medieval Period, only continuous verb could appear in this construction. However, in the translated scriptures, such constraints on Chinese verbs are not observed. Both groups of verbs can appear in this construction. The translators failed to recognize the fact that placing the second type of verb in the pre-existing Chinese construction violates the grammatical rule (Jiang 2001).

7)   Higher frequency of existing Chinese construction
A. The Passive Construction
The frequency of the Passive Construction in the Chinese of translated Buddhist scriptures is noticeably higher than in Chinese texts of the Medieval Period (Zhu 1992). From our comparative study, in which we juxtaposed the Sanskrit scriptures with their Chinese counterparts, it is clear that many of the usages of the passive construction come from the original language of the scriptures.

B. The Plural Markers

The Chinese language is not an inflectional language, so categories such as number (singular or plural) are usually not expressed by grammatical means. Sanskrit, on the other hand, is a highly inflected language that has three numbers: singular, plural and dual. In the language of translated Chinese Buddhist sutras, the higher frequency use of *cao/deng* 曹/等 as plural markers could be associated with the influence of Sanskrit.

In the above seven kinds of atypical syntactic features in the translated Chinese Buddhist scriptures, #1–#4 are of the borrowing type and #5–#7 are of the interference type. The superfluous usage of the interrogative word *yunhe* (#1), misplacement of *gu* (#2), and coordinating conjunction that does not connect two parts adjacently (#3) are features borrowed from Sanskrit. The linguistic features of the translators' mother tongue act as a kind of default and were carried over into the translated Buddhist texts. The last one in borrowing is duplication/overlapping *shi* in the Copular Construction (#4). It presents a different kind of borrowing and combines the copular construction from both Sanskrit and Chinese. The other group of atypical linguistic features present various types of interference including word order confusion (V_1V_2O vs. V_1OV_2) in the disposal construction (#5), failure to observe semantic constraint such as in the case of "V (O) + *yi*" construction (#6), and overuse of the passive construction and plural markers (#7). The 5th and 6th type of interference not only changed original Chinese constructions but also triggered developments in Chinese grammar in later periods. The last interference type presents another type of interference. No foreign element is involved; it is built on existing Chinese constructions. The passive construction and plural markers did exist in the Chinese languages prior to the Medieval Period. Due to the influence of Sanskrit, the use of these constructions in translating Buddhist texts appeared with higher frequency. Whether the ungrammatical components are of the borrowing or interference types, all of them are due to the translators' imperfect learning of the Chinese language.

4 Medieval Buddhist language influence on the development of the Chinese language

The contact between Sanskrit and Chinese was the first large-scale language contact in the history of the Chinese language, and it took place mainly in the Medieval period, which lasted from the 3rd to 6th centuries. During that period, over 170 translators were involved in translation, and approximately 2,300 Buddhist scriptures were translated from Sanskrit into Chinese. Given such an extensive language contact situation, what impact did Sanskrit have on the development of the Chinese language?

As demonstrated above, the language of the Medieval translated Chinese Buddhist scriptures is a form of interlanguage. It retains linguistic components of both source and target languages. A key vehicle of the spread of Buddhism in China was the translation of Buddhist scriptures into Chinese. As most of the Buddhist scripture translators of the Medieval Period were Central Asian monks or practitioners, the atypical linguistic features may have come from the influence of their mother tongue. In the study of Buddhist influence on the Chinese language, we may conduct synchronic and diachronic studies. Through a synchronic study, we can examine how many syntactic features in the translated scriptures were distinct from the language in the domestic texts of the same period. Through a diachronic study, we can trace the development of these distinctive features and study when they emerged, were maintained and/or disappeared in the Chinese language. Over the past ten to fifteen years, researchers have been able to identify a good number of unusual inauthentic linguistic features in the language of the translated Buddhist scriptures of the Medieval Period that resulted from language contact. However, most of them existed only for a short period, and only very few features triggered grammatical change in Chinese and finally merged with the Chinese syntactic systems.

Typologically, the Chinese language is distinct from Sanskrit. It has been widely observed that almost anything can be adopted into one language from another (Hagège 1993). In the translated Chinese Buddhist scriptures, we find that certain syntactic features in the translated Chinese Buddhist scriptures emerged in Chinese and then, within a short time, ceased to be used; however, certain special, atypical, "foreign" linguistic features such as the *ba* construction with its preverbal object (thus SOV) were maintained for more than one thousand years to eventually become integral parts of the Chinese language. What is it about the language contact between Sanskrit and Chinese that led to such diverse development paths? What are the processes and mechanisms involved in the emergence, maintenance, replacement or disappearance of these linguistic features?

In investigating these topics, it will be necessary to take into account the distinction between borrowing and interference.[2] In the case of the Chinese language contact with Sanskrit, all the distinctive features are related to imperfect learning. The features "borrowed" from Sanskrit disappeared, such as the redundant usage of *yunhe* in interrogative sentences, while certain

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2 The borrowing in this paper is different from that discussed in Thomason (2001). Thomason made the distinction between shift-induced interference, in which imperfect learning plays a role, and contact-induced changes in which imperfect learning plays no role (or "borrowing"). In this paper, imperfect learning plays a role in both interference and borrowing.

features interfering with the development of Chinese language constructions were maintained. The violation of the constraints on the verbs in the Chinese construction "V (O) + *yi*" is one of the examples. From pre-Qin times (before 221 BCE) and the Former Han Dynasty (206 BCE–8 CE), the verb in this construction could only be a continuous verb. The translators' failure to place the instantaneous verbs in the pre-existing Chinese construction violates the grammatical rule. However, the new form of "V (O) + *yi*" construction went from frequently appearing in the translated Buddhist scriptures only during the Medieval Period, to becoming used in both Buddhist texts and Chinese literary works during the Tang Dynasty. The *yi*, denoting completed action, was later replaced by another perfective verb *liao* 了 in late Tang; the perfective verb *liao* developed into a perfective aspect marker, the modern Chinese *le*1 了. "*Qu* OV", the former *ba* construction, went through a similar path as "V (O) + *yi*" – it first appeared in translated Chinese Buddhist scriptures, and was later used in Chinese literary works. The word *qu* was replaced by *jiang* 将, *chi* 持, or *ba* 把; all of these words are derived from verbs meaning 'take' or 'grab'. The BA construction is one of the most important Chinese constructions in modern Chinese.

To this date, we still do not have a clear picture of the processes and mechanisms involved in the interference features that merged with the Chinese language. But we can see that the process seems to begin with the function of *yi* changing from a perfective verb to a perfective aspect in the "VO *yi*" construction, and *qu* from a full verb into a preposition in the *ba* construction. We can also see that this functional lexical change first emerged in translated Buddhist scriptures and later spread into the Chinese language. In order to have a fuller understanding of the impact of the first extensive language contact in the history of the Chinese language, we need to first divide the translation works into different groups based on the translators' language backgrounds, the translation style adopted by the translators (e.g., literal vs. refined style), and the different periods when the scriptures were translated (e.g., Medieval, Tang, or post-Tang periods). We then need to examine what atypical linguistic features appear in which Buddhist scriptures, by whose hand, and to what extent. A syntactic study of these sutras can give us a holistic picture and detailed account of the distinctive features. And a diachronic study will allow us to trace the development of these features and examine the mechanisms by which they triggered grammatical changes in later periods. A diachronic study will also demonstrate to us which features become extinct and when, and most importantly, what came to be accepted by Chinese people and how.

5 Further discussion

In discussing social predictors of contact-induced change, Sarah Thomason (2001: 66–69) noted that there are two types of changes. Type A: Special linguistic features of language X are introduced into language Y by their own native speakers. (Thomason's example: Most of the people who introduced Turkish interference features into Greek were native speakers of Greek.) Type B: Second language learners' imperfect acquisition brings errors into the use of the target language. The special linguistic errors discussed in this paper belong to Type B. The special interference features in the translated Chinese Buddhist sutras were introduced via the imperfect learning of non-native speakers of Chinese. Due to practical needs and the urgency of converting Chinese people, the non-native speakers had to use the Chinese language. As a result, they inevitably duplicated grammatical patterns in their mother tongue while translating the sutras. The contact situation as mentioned is extensive and intricate. After repeated exposure to Buddhist teachings, along with rote memorization and frequent recitation of the sutras, the language became more natural. During the Tang Dynasty, certain features began to find their way from specific groups of people into the lives of the literati and commoners, males and females, old and young, and several such features have merged with the Chinese language to survive until this day, such as the BA construction (i.e., *qu* OV).

In summary, the language in translated Chinese Buddhist texts involves second language acquisition, whereby the Central Asian translators brought their own language's features into the Chinese language. A key factor involved in the study of this first major language contact situation in China is who is initiating the language change. Whether the initiator is a source or target language speaker may have a decisive influence on contact-induced changes. We hope this study has adequately described the first major language contact in China and contact-induced language change via second language acquisition.

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On the origin of the Chinese reflexive *ziji* from the perspective of the Medieval Chinese Buddhist scriptures

Abstract: Before the Eastern Han Dynasty (25 AD–220 AD), the Chinese reflexive *zi* 自 'self, oneself' differed greatly from the personal pronoun *ji* 己 'one's own, oneself' both in distribution and function. In the Chinese Buddhist scriptures translated since the Eastern Han Dynasty, however, a new usage of *zi* as a possessor emerged, and *zi* and *ji* began to co-occur in a possessor position which later led to the combination of the two words into a single compound *ziji* no later than the Sui Dynasty (581 AD–ca. 618 AD). This paper holds that the new possessor feature of the word *zi* was derived from the Sanskrit word *sva* due to the influence of the translators' mother tongue.

1 Introduction

In recent years, one of the major topics in studies of the Chinese language from a perspective of generative grammar has been the reflexive *ziji* 自己 'oneself'. Some of its uncommon features, such as the allowance for Long-Distance Binding and the indefinite reference, have challenged Chomsky's Government and Binding Theory. Many solutions (cf. e.g., Cheng 1994, 1999a; Hu 1998) have been put forth to deal with the theoretical inconsistency, among which the research done by Cheng (1999a: 197–230; 1999b) and Dong (2002a) is particularly remarkable. Instead of the common approach of studying *ziji* in Mandarin Chinese from a synchronic perspective, Cheng and Dong investigate its origin from a diachronic perspective.

They use *Zuo Zhuan* (*Zuo's Commentary on the Spring and Autumn Annals*, compiled no later than 389 BC) and *Shiji* (*The Records of the Grand Historian*, compiled around 109 BC) as the sources of their respective investigations, and draw the conclusion that before the Eastern Han Dynasty (25 AD–220 AD),[1] *zi* 自 'self, oneself' and *ji* 己 'one's own, oneself' had many distinct features which can be described as follows:

(1) On referential features: *zi* is bound within its local domain following Binding Condition A, whereas *ji* is free in its local domain but bound by noun phrases (NPs) in higher domains, i.e., Long-Distance Binding.

(2) On distributions: *zi* can only precede verbs and prepositions and is used as an object or an adverbial modifier, but not as a subject or a possessor. *Ji*, on the other hand, can appear in all positions where a pronoun can be, for example as the object of verbs and prepositions, as a subject, or as a possessor.

(3) On the functions: although both *zi* and *ji* can be used for anaphora, *zi* can express emphasis while *ji* cannot, and *ji* can express indefinite reference but *zi* cannot.

According to Cheng (1999a: 197–230; 1999b) and Dong (2002a), since the reflexive *ziji* in Mandarin Chinese is derived from the combination of the reflexive *zi* and pronoun *ji* in Classical Chinese, *ziji* retains the syntactic features of both *zi* and *ji*. This indicates that the discrepancy between the Chinese reflexive *ziji* and the reflexives in other languages such as English is caused by their different lexical features. As a result, the discrepancy of *ziji* is at a lexical level and does not contradict Chomsky's Binding Theory.

It should be recognized that the research findings of Cheng and Dong have solved the theoretical problem to some extent, as they have proved the validity of the Binding Theory in the Chinese language. However, Cheng and Dong only proposed that *ziji* came from the combination of *zi* and *ji,* and did not explain why and how *zi* and *ji,* as two complementary words in distribution with different syntactic functions, can be combined and share their syntactic features with *ziji*. In general, the components should have similar distributional features and share the same syntactic position before they can be combined to establish a new compound. As for *zi* and *ji*, no cases of their co-occurrence have been found in the digital database of texts from the Pre-Qin period (2100 BC–221 BC) and the Han Dynasty (206 BC–220 AD). We do find approximately 10 uses of *zi-ji* existing in the

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1 To be more specific, the time division should be the late Eastern Han Dynasty before the introduction of Buddhism into China. In this paper, it can be seen from the selected examples that changes in the use of *zi* and *ji* can already be observed in early Chinese Buddhist translations of the Eastern Han Dynasty shortly after the introduction of Buddhism into China.

digital database of texts of the time, but all of them are consecutive uses of the preposition *zi* and pronoun *ji*.[2] For example,

(1) 初　　　　　　　辅　　幼主，　　　　政　　　　　　　自　　已　　出。
     chu　　　　　　*fu*　*youzhu*　　　*zheng*　　　　*zi*　*ji*　*chu*
     at the beginning　assist　young ruler　government order　from　self　come out
     'At the beginning, [Huo Guang] assisted the young ruler, and the government orders came from him.'
     (*Hanshu*, Huo Guang zhuan 汉书·霍光传 [The biography of Huo Guang in *Book of Han*])[3]

How then were *zi* and *ji* combined, and how did they gradually develop into a fixed compound? This question was not resolved by Cheng and Dong and is the major issue to be discussed in this paper. Based on the linguistic facts provided by Medieval Chinese Buddhist scriptures, we suggest that the crucial factor for the formation of *ziji* is the occurrence of the new use of *zi* in Medieval Period.

2 The new uses of *zi*

As mentioned above, the apparent differences between *zi* and *ji* started to disappear after the introduction of Buddhism into China in the late Eastern Han Dynasty. *Zi* gradually gained more functions as it began to replace *ji* in certain contexts and converged with *ji* with regards to certain features. These changes were reflected in the earliest Chinese Buddhist translations of the Eastern Han Dynasty.

2.1 *Zi* as a possessor

The use of *zi* in a possessor position first appeared in Chinese Buddhist translations of the Eastern Han Dynasty. This can be seen in (2) and (3).

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2 For more examples of the successive use of the preposition *zi* and pronoun *ji*, see Wei (1990: 177–178).

3 Yan Shigu, a commentator of *Book of Han* in the Tang Dynasty, noted: "*Zi* means from."

(2)

色、	声、	香、	味、	细滑，		自	意	得	乐。
se	sheng	xiang	wei	xihua		zi	yi	de	le
color	sound	scent	taste	exquisiteness-smoothness		own	senses	get	joy

'Color, sound, scent, taste and exquisite and smooth [touch], one's own senses feel joy.'
(*Qichu Sanguan Jing* 七处三观经[*Qichu Sanguan Sutra*], translated by An Shigao, 2/878b)[4]

(3)

或	见	自	字，	或	见	乞	食。
huo	jian	zi	zi	huo	jian	qi	shi
one	see	own	name	one	see	beg	food

'One can see his/her own name (see who s/he was), and one can see [oneself] begging for food.'
(*Daoxing Bore Jing* 道行般若经 [*Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā Sūtra*], translated by Lokakṣema, 8/460b)

This type of use as a possessor is also very frequently found in Chinese Buddhist translations done after the Eastern Han Dynasty, such as (4) to (8) below.

(4)

即	自	割	髀	肉，	令	与	鸽	重	等，	鸽
ji	zi	ge	bi	rou	ling	yu	ge	zhong	deng	ge
then	self	cut	thigh	flesh	cause	with	pigeon	weight	equal	pigeon

踰	自	重。
yao	zi	zhong
exceed	own	weight

'Then [the king] cut flesh from his thigh and made it weigh the same as the pigeon, and the weight of the pigeon exceeded his own weight.'
(*Liudu Jijing* 六度集经[*Ṣaṭpāramitāsaṃgraha Sūtra*], translated by Kang Senghui, 3/1c)

(5)

将	入	自	舍，	敷	座	令	坐。
jiang	ru	zi	she	fu	zuo	ling	zuo
take	enter	own	lodge	set	seat	cause	sit

'[He] takes [ananda] into his own lodge, lays out the seat and makes [ananda] sit.'
(*Shi Song Lü*十诵律 [*Daśādhyāya Vinaya*], translated by Punyatāra and Kumārajīva, 23/26c)

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4 This refers to the sentence in Taisho Tripitaka, in which the first number refers to the volume while the second number after "/" refers to the page number. The letter "a", "b" or "c" refer to the upper, middle and lower column on the page.

(6)　有　　　一　　比丘，　便　于　自　口　　中　　行　　淫。
　　you　yi　biqiu　bian　yu　zi　kou　zhong　xing　yin
　　there be　one　Bhikṣu　then　in　own　mouth　in　do　coition
　　'There came a Bhikṣu, and then he masturbated with his own mouth.'
　　(*Mohe Sengqi Lü*摩诃僧祇律[*Mahāsāṃghika Vinaya*], translated by
　　Buddhabhadra and Faxian, 22/234a)

(7)　今　　当　　试　汝　有　自　业力，　无　自　业力。
　　jin　dang　shi　ru　you　zi　yeli　wu　zi　yeli
　　now　should　test　you　have　own　karma　NEG　own　karma
　　'I now should test whether or not you have your own karma.'
　　(*Zabaozang Jing*杂宝藏经[*Sajyuktaratnapitaka Sūtra*], translated by Kekaya
　　and Tan Yao, 4/458a)

(8)　彼　人……　畏　　其　自　脚　蹋　地　　令　　坚，
　　bi　ren　wei　qi　zi　jiao　ta　di　ling　jian
　　that　man　be afraid of　his　own　feet　step　ground　cause　hard
　　其　麦　不　生。
　　qi　mai　bu　sheng
　　his　wheat　not　grow
　　'That man... is afraid that using his own feet to step on the ground will
　　cause it to become hard and his wheat will thus not grow.'
　　(*Baiyu Jing*百喻经 [*Sutra of One Hundred Buddhist Parables*], translated by
　　Guṇavṛddhi, 4/555c)

2.2 *Zi* used for indefinite reference

Meanwhile, in Chinese Buddhist translations of the Eastern Han Dynasty, *zi* is
also found to be used for indefinite reference. This type of use continues to occur
in translations done after the Eastern Han Dynasty. This is exemplified in (9) to
(11) below.

(9)　沙门　　复　　有　二　事　著。　　何等　为　二　事?
　　Shamen　fu　you　er　shi　zhu　hedeng　wei　er　shi
　　śramana　again　have　two　thing　entangle　what　be　two　thing
　　自　　有　过　不　肯　　悔，　反　　念
　　zi　you　guo　bu　ken　hui,　fan　nian
　　oneself　have　mistake　not　would like to repent　contrarily　regard

他　　　人　　　恶。
ta　　ren　　e
other　people　evil
'There are again two things entangling the sramana. What are the two things?
One commits mistakes, but refusing to repent, rather regards others as evil.'
(*Yiri Monibao Jing* 遗日摩尼宝经 [*Kāśyapaparivarta Sūtra*], translated by
Lokakṣema, 12/192c)

(10) 人　　无　　病，　在　高　　处，
　　　ren　　wu　　bing,　zai　gao　　chu
　　　people　NEG　sick　at　high　place
　　　自　　　在　　下　　处，　不　　为　　说　　　法，　　　应当　　　学。
　　　zi　　　zai　xia　chu　　bu　　wei　shuo　　fa　　　yingdang　xue
　　　oneself　at　low　place　NEG　for　explain　Dharma　should　　learn
　　　'Those who are not sick are at the high places; one is at the low places, and
　　　does not explain the Dharma to the people, and ought to learn.'
　　　(*Shisong Lü* 十诵律 [*Daśādhyāya Vinaya*], translated by Punyatāra and
　　　Kumārajīva, 23/139c)

(11) 云何　自　　　炽燃、炽燃　于　　法，　　勿　　他　　炽燃？
　　　yunhe　zi　　　chiran　chiran　yu　　fa　　　wu　　ta　　chiran?
　　　why　　oneself　burn　　burn　　PREP　Dharma　NEG　others　burn
　　　'Why does one burn himself and in Dharma, but not others?"
　　　(*Changehan Jing* 长阿含经 [*Dīrghāgama*], translated by Buddhayāśas and
　　　Zhu Fonian, 1/15b)

It should be emphasized here that both of the two new uses of *zi* as presented
above emerged along with the introduction of Buddhism into China and trans-
lation works of Buddhist scriptures into Chinese. There are two lines of evidence
to support this idea: First, the new uses of *zi* first appeared in Chinese Buddhist
translations of the Eastern Han Dynasty, and were very commonly used in Chinese
Buddhist translations but not in contemporary non-Buddhist texts.[5] Second, as

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5 According to current research on Medieval Chinese non-Buddhist texts, the use of *zi* as a
possessor has no reliable evidence except for the sentence in (12). Wei (1990: 171) pointed out
another example as presented below:

唯　　此　　三　　人　　　（肃宗）　　　特　　　　以　　宝　　　剑，
wei　ci　　san　ren　　　（Su zong）　　te　　　　yi　　bao　　　jian
only　this　three　people　(King Suzong)　on purpose　PREP　precious　sword

the following sections show, the successive and coordinative use of *zi* and *ji* in the form of *ziji* also mainly appeared in Medieval Chinese Buddhist translations due to a convergence of their functions.

Of course, as Buddhist influence increased, *zi* as a possessor even occasionally appeared in non-Buddhist texts, as attested by the famous sentence quoted by Lü (1984: 23) as in (12):

自	手	署	其	名	曰：……
zi	*shou*	*shu*	*qi*	*ming*	*yue*
self	hand	write	their	name	as

'Only to these three people, King Suzong gave them the precious swords on purpose, and wrote by himself their names on the swords as…'
(*Hou Hanshu*, Han Leng zhuan 后汉书·韩棱传 [The Biography of Han Leng in *Book of Late Han*])

But Professor Weihui Wang (personal communication) argues that the *zi shou shu* in this sentence should be punctuated as *zi, shou sh*u instead of *zi shou, shu* and the *zi* is still used for emphasis, not as a possessor. Dong and Cai (1994: 670) also listed three other examples, which are:

a.
关	东	有	贤	女，	自	字	苏来卿。
guan	*dong*	*you*	*xian*	*nü*	*zi*	*zi*	*Sulaiqing*
pass	east	have	good	lady	self	name	Su Laiqing

'East of the pass, there is a good lady, who calls herself Su Laiqing.'
(*Jingwei Pian* 精微篇 [A poem of subtlety], by Cao Zhi)

b.
东	家	有	贤	女，	自	名	秦罗敷。
dong	*jia*	*you*	*xian*	*nü*	*zi*	*ming*	*Qin Luofu*
east	family	have	good	lady	self	name	Qin Luofu

'In the family in the east, there is a good lady who calls herself Qin Luofu.'
(*Yutai Xin Yong*, Gushi wei Jiao Zhongqing qi zuo 玉台新咏·古诗为焦仲卿妻作 [A classical poem for Jiao Zhongqing's wife in *Yutai Xin Yong*])

c.
中	有	双	飞	鸟，	自	名	为	鸳鸯。
zhong	*you*	*shuang*	*fei*	*niao*	*zi*	*ming*	*wei*	*yuanyang*
in		have	double	fly	bird	self	name	as	yuan-yang

'There are birds flying in couple, they call themselves Yuan-Yang.'
(*Yutai Xin Yong*, Gushi wei Jiao Zhongqing qi zuo 玉台新咏·古诗为焦仲卿妻作 [A classical poem for Jiao Zhongqing's wife in *Yutai Xin Yong*])

The *zi* 字 and *ming* 名 after *zi* should be verbs in the three sentences above, so *zi* should also not be a possessor here.

(12) 辽   被   甲   持   戟，…… 大   呼   自   名。
　　　Liao pi   jia   chi   ji   da   hu   zi   ming
　　　Liao wear armour carry lance   loudly call own name
　　　'Liao, wearing the armour and carrying the lance,… loudly called out his own name.'
　　　(*Sanguo Zhi*, Zhang Liao zhuan 三国志·张辽传 [The biography of Zhang Liao in *Records of the Three Kingdoms*])

However, all in all, there are only a few cases of the possessor use of *zi* in non-Buddhist texts. In addition, a special example of *zi* in the structure of Long-Distance Binding can be found in *The Records of the Three Kingdoms*, as in (13).

(13) 权   惧   亮   自   疑，   深   自   解说。
　　　Quan ju   liang zi   yi   shen   zi   jieshuo
　　　Quan be afraid of Liang self doubt thoroughly self explain
　　　'Quan was afraid of Liang's doubting him (Quan) and thoroughly explained [to Liang].'
　　　(*Sanguo Zhi*, Liu Fang zhuan 三国志·刘放传 [The Biography of Liu Fang in *Records of the Three Kingdoms*])

According to the standard Chinese used at that time, sentence (13) would normally be expressed as "*Quan ju Liang yi ji* 权惧亮疑己 'Quan was afraid of Liang's doubt in him'". The special use of *zi* in (13) is seldom found even in Chinese Buddhist translations, which indicates that this kind of use of *zi* was not influenced by the translation of Buddhist scriptures. One possible explanation might be that, due to the convergence of the functions of *zi* and *ji*, the language users deduced that *zi*, like *ji*, could be used in Long-Distance Binding. However, since this type of use is very rare, it might simply be a case of occasional misuse.

2.3 Summary

Since the Eastern Han Dynasty, the new uses of *zi* encroached upon and took over the original territory of *ji* in some contexts, causing the two words to share certain syntactic features. *Zi* started to appear in the position of the possessor and act as the subject, and it gained a function for indefinite reference. In contrast, *ji* maintained its own features without gaining any new functions from *zi*. While becoming increasingly similar to each other, *zi* and *ji* still had many distinct features. For example, *ji* could not be used for emphasis whereas *zi* could, and *zi*

often preceded the verb or the preposition when it was the object, which was the opposite of *ji*. The functional convergence of the two words enabled them to be combined in a coordinative structure.

The following sections will investigate why the new uses of *zi* occurred in the Medieval Chinese Buddhist translations.

3 The origin of the new uses of *zi*

As well explained in the literature, new meanings or uses of words usually occur gradually in language use, and thus the process of generating new meanings and uses can often be observed in various types of texts. If a word, especially a common word, abruptly gains a new meaning or use, external factors are usually involved. As for the word *zi,* its new uses first and mainly appeared in Buddhist scriptures. This suggests that it was very likely due to the influence of the translation of Buddhist texts. Theoretically, there are two factors that can account why the translation of Buddhist texts can generate new uses for Chinese words. The first factor is the translators' misuse of Chinese vocabulary, and the second factor is influence from the translators' native language (or the source language).

Issues concerning the misuse of Chinese words will be discussed in another paper, but one example is offered below in (14) to give a general idea.

(14) 若　　到　　彼　　国，　王　　必　　被　　觉，　　见　　执
　　　ruo dao bi guo wang bi bei jue jian zhi
　　　if　arrive that state king must PASS discover PASS catch
　　　不　　疑。
　　　bu yi
　　　NEG doubt
　　　'If I arrive in that state, the king will definitely discover me, and I will be caught without a doubt.'
　　　(*Sheng Jing* 生经 [*Jātaka*], translated by Dharmarakṣa, 3/79a)

In (14), *wang bi bei jue* means 'I will definitely be discovered by the king' instead of 'the king will definitely be discovered'. It seems that the translator misused *bei* for *jian*. Although both *bei* and *jian* can be used as a marker of the passive voice, *jian* can also be used to refer to the first person 'me'. For example, the *jian zhi* in (14) actually means "*zhi wo* ('catch me')". *Bei* does not have this type of usage as a reference to the first person, and the agent can only be put after *bei*. Hence,

the correct expression of the meaning of sentence (14) should be *bi bei wang jue*, otherwise the relation between the agent and the patient will be confused.

To a large extent, misuses in Chinese Buddhist translations like the one above are caused by incorrect deductions regarding the use of near synonyms, which is very likely to happen when the translator's native language is not Chinese.[6] Thus, it is possible that *zi* was misused as *ji* by the translator. Misuses are the mistakes of individuals, and should rarely be seen in the texts, but the new uses of *zi* appeared frequently in Chinese Buddhist translations from the Eastern Han Dynasty to the Medieval Period. Supposing that the first case of misuse was widely accepted by society, and this new use of *zi* had a foundation in the spoken language, it is still hard to explain why the new feature only occurred in Buddhist scriptures but was seldom found in non-Buddhist texts. In addition, translators must have acquired Chinese before they started translating, but if they did not learn the new uses of *zi* as established forms in the spoken language, how could they have made the same mistake generation after generation?

As discussed above, the problem cannot be solved by simply regarding the new uses of *zi* as mere cases of misuse. A more appropriate explanation is that those new uses were due to the influence of the translators' native language or the source language of the Buddhist scripture. This is the major issue to be discussed in the following subsections.

3.1 The influence of the translators' native language

The translators, whose native language belongs to the Indo-European language family (including Sanskrit), may have brought some features of their mother tongue into Chinese via translation. Even in translations widely known for their fluency and accuracy, such as the *Lotus Sūtra* translated by Kumārajīva, "interesting features of the languages of the Western Region" (quoted from Zan Ning, *The Biographies of Eminent Monks of the Song Dynasty,* 50/724b) can be discovered. This kind of impact from the translator's native language is usually imposed on the semantics and functions of a specific existing word. Two examples are given below to illustrate the influence on semantics (15) and functions (16), respectively, based on a comparison between Sanskrit and Chinese.

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6 Wang (2003) pointed out that in *Xunshi Pinghua* 训世评话, the author, whose native language is Korean, confused the meaning and function of some Chinese words, such as *kan* 看 'look' and *jian* 见 'see', *wen* 闻 'hear' and *ting* 听 'listen', etc. Wang's examples of the translator's misuse are of the same type as the misuses in this paper and can be referred to for comparison purposes.

The verb *chi* 持 originally means 'to hold', but as illustrated in (15), in the Chinese Buddhist scriptures it has the meaning of 'to memorize'.[7]

(15)　佛　　　语　　　优波离：“汝　诵　　毗尼　　不？”
　　　fo　　*yu*　　*youboli Ru*　*song*　*pini*　*fou*
　　　Buddha　speak　Upali　you　chant　vinaya　Q
　　　答　　言：“诵，　但　杂碎　　　句　　　难　　　持。”
　　　da　*yan Song*　*dan*　*zasui*　　*ju*　　*nan*　　*chi*
　　　answer　say　chant　but　unrhythmic　sentence　difficult　memorize
　　　'The Buddha spoke to Upali, "Have you chanted vinany or not?" (Upali)
　　　answered, "I chanted, but unrhythmic sentences were difficult to memorize."'
　　　(*Mohe Sengqi Lü*, 摩河僧祇律 [*Mahāsāṃghika Vinaya*], translated by
　　　Buddhabhadra and Faxian, 22/448a)

This *chi*, with the meaning of 'to memorize', only occurs in Buddhist scriptures and is very rare in non-Buddhist texts. This implies that this meaning of *chi* may have proliferated during the translation process. In Sanskrit, the verb *dhṛ* has the original meaning of 'to hold' and the extended meaning of 'to memorize'. It is presumed that the multiple meanings of *dhṛ* influenced *chi* and brought about the proliferation of the new meaning of 'to memorize'.

In (16), the word *yunhe* is originally an interrogative word according to Yu (2003). It can be used either as an interrogative pronoun or an interrogative adverb, and must function as a syntactic constituent that exhibits an interrogative mood in non-Buddhist texts. In Chinese Buddhist translations, *yunhe* can also be used as an interrogative auxiliary as exemplified below.

(16)　云何　　须菩提！其　福　　　　宁　　　　多　　不？
　　　yunhe　*xu pu ti*　*qi*　*fu*　　*ning*　　*duo*　*fou*
　　　AUX　Subhuti　his　happiness　could it be　more　Q
　　　'Subhuti! Could his happiness be more or not?'
　　　(*Daoxing Bore Jing* 道行般若经 [*Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā Sūtra*],
　　　translated by Lokakṣema, 8/439b)

In Sanskrit, there is an interrogative word *kim* which is usually used to mark the interrogative mood or helps form an interrogative sentence. Its function is similar to that of "do" in English[8], such as "Do hunters roam about in this wood?" We

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7 Karashima (1998: 46) already listed this new meaning of *chi*.

8 For more details on this function of *kim*, please see Monier-Williams (1899: 282).

assume that the translator, Lokakṣema, took *yunhe* as the Chinese counterpart of the Sanskrit word *kim* in his translation work, thus bringing about the special use of *yunhe* as an auxiliary to help form an interrogative sentence in the Chinese Buddhist translations.

Fundamentally, this kind of influence on the function of words can be regarded as a misuse by the translator. Suppose a Sanskrit word S has two meanings/functions, Sa and Sb, while the Chinese word C has one meaning/function Ca and Ca=Sa. The translator may commit false analogical reasoning regarding the linguistic features of C by giving it a meaning/function Cb which is equal to Sb. As a result, a new meaning/function is imposed on C, though there may not be any relation between Ca and Cb.[9]

Since analogical reasoning usually refers to the effects on semantic and functional interactions between different words of the same language, the interaction between different languages due to language contact is referred to as *transfer* in this paper.[10] In the translation activities involving Chinese Buddhist scriptures, this type of transfer was apparently mono-directional; that is, only some features in Sanskrit were transferred into Chinese but not vice versa. Given shared conditions and mental mechanisms, different translators can end up effecting similar phenomena over the course of carrying out Sanskrit-Chinese translation. As a result, the occurrence of language transfer in the translation of Buddhist scriptures should be more frequent and repetitive compared to that of misuse. It is our assumption that, if a certain linguistic phenomenon appeared only or mostly in Chinese Buddhist translations, and has a high frequency of continuous use over a long period but is rarely found in non-Buddhist texts, this phenomenon is very likely to have been influenced by the source language via language transfer.[11]

9 Since this kind of false deduction is generated by a common mental mechanism that humans share, it should not only occur in the translation of Buddhist scriptures but also exist in the language contact of other languages. Please refer to Weinreich (1963: 48) as well as Heine and Kuteva (2005: 2–5) for further discussions on semantic loan and grammatical replication.

10 For more examples and detailed discussions of the language *transfer* in Chinese Buddhist scriptures, see Zhu (2008).

11 This assumption is not constrained to the lexical level but also fit for analysis on the syntactic level. For instance, there are many post-positioned attributes or attributive clauses in Chinese Buddhist translations, but not in non-Buddhist texts, which obviously is another case of language transfer owing to Sanskrit's word order.

3.2 The Sanskrit origin of the new uses of *zi*

Since the features of the new uses of *zi* can satisfy many requirements of language transfer, we hold that they have been significantly influenced by the source language (which is Sanskrit in many cases) during the translation process via the mechanism of language transfer.

Results of comparison between Sanskrit and Chinese indicate that, in Chinese Buddhist scriptures, many *zi* came from the translation of the Sanskrit word *sva*. The following is a list of *sva*-related words cited from the dictionary of Ogihara (1979: 1532–1541):

SKT	CHN	Glossing
sva – kāraṇa	自因	*ziyin*, 'self-reason'
	自性	*zixing*, 'self-character'
sva – kleśa	自烦恼	*zifannao*, 'self-worry'
sva – guṇa	自功德	*zigongde*, 'self-merits'
sva – darśana	自见	*zijian*, 'self-view'
sva – pakṣa	自分	*zifen*, 'self-condition'
	自法	*zifa*, 'self-rule'
	自宗	*zizong*, 'self-recognition'
	自伴侣	*zibanlü*, 'self-company'
sva – lābha	自财利	*zicaili,* 'self-treasure'
	自所得	*zisuode*, 'self-gain'
	自所有物	*zisuoyouwu*,'self-possession'
sva – liṅga	自相	*zixiang*, 'self-form'
sva – vāda	自论	*zilun*, 'self-opinion'
	自法	*zifa,* 'self-rule'
sva – viṣaya	自国境	*ziguojing*, 'self-region'
sva – śakti	自能	*zineng*, 'self-ability'
	自功力	*zigongli*, 'self-power'

The Chinese translations in the list given by Ogihara (1979) are all words taken from the Chinese Buddhist scriptures based on comparative analyses of the Sanskrit and Chinese version of Buddhist scriptures. From these Chinese translations of their Sanskrit counterparts, we can see that all the *zi* are used as possessors, though *ji* ought to be used according to the standard Classical Chinese of that time. Only in a few cases of the translation of *sva*-related words was *ji* chosen as the counterpart of *sva* in Ogihara's dictionary (e.g., *sva-kārya*: *ji-shi* 己事 'self-affair'; *ji-wu* 己务 'self-issue', etc.) whereas in all the other cases *sva* was translated as *zi*. It is instructive to first look at the functions of *sva* before answering why all the translators prefer *zi* to *ji*.

According to Monier-Williams' dictionary (1899: 1275), *sva* has the following uses:

1) 'Own, one's own, my/your/his/her own, our/their, etc'. It can refer to all three persons and is usually at the beginning of a compound. For example,

(17) *tamṃ   svād   āsyād   asṛjat*
     He   his   mouth   create, give birth
     M.SG.ACC M.SG.ABL   SG.ABL   3.SG. IMPERF
     'He created him from his own mouth.'

2) Sometimes, the use of sva is similar to that of 'my, thy, his, our'. For example,

(18) *rājā   bhrātaraṃ   sva-gṛham   preṣyām-āsa*
     King   brother   his-house   send
     SG.NOM   SG.ACC   SG.ACC   3.SG. PERF
     'The king sent his brother to his (the king's brother's) house.'

3) In oblique cases, *sva* can be used as reflexives (referring to all persons in a singular form). For example,

(19) a. *svaṃ   dūṣayati*
        Self   to contaminate
        SG.ACC   3.SG.CAUS.PRES
        'He contaminates himself.'

     b. *svaṃ   nindanti*
        self   blame
        SG.ACC   3.PL.PRES
        'They blame themselves.'

4) 'oneself, myself, the ego'. For example,

(20) *sva*ṃ   ca   Brahma   ca
     Myself   and   Brahma   and
     SG.NOM   SG.NOM
     'the Ego and the Brahma'

From the examples above, we can see that *sva* and the original functions of *zi* have two features in common: first, both of them can be used as reflexives; second, both of them are in the preverbal position when they serve as the object (in Sanskrit, the most common position of an object is the preverbal position). The second shared feature is of particular significance, for it is a formal feature which is easily

observable from the surface by translators. Since *ji* must be in the post-verbal position (except when used as an object of a verb in negative sentences in Old Chinese), translators would undoubtedly favor *zi* over *ji* for the translation of *sva,* while transferring its possessor feature onto *zi,* as indicated by 1) and 2) above. In fact, according to Speijer (1886: 198), the major use of *sva* in Sanskrit is the possessor. In addition, *sva* can also function as the subject, though Monier-Williams (1899) did not offer a complete sentence as an example of this function. Observe that the *sva* in 4) above is in the nominative case, and its meaning, the ego, usually has indefinite reference, which matches the new use of *zi* as an indefinite subject.

3.3 Summary

Considering the distribution of the new uses of *zi* and the special features of the Chinese Buddhist scriptures as well as their likely influence on the development of the Chinese language, we believe that *zi* began to function as a possessor or an indefinite subject after the Eastern Han Dynasty. Although there is still the possibility that the translators confused the meaning/function of *zi* and *ji*, it is more likely that the new uses came from the influence of the native language of the translators; that is, they were transferred from the uses of *sva* in Sanskrit.

These new uses of *zi* provided the condition for *zi* and *ji* to be combined into a coordinative form which later evolved into a compound.

4 The formation of *ziji*

Before the Eastern Han Dynasty, there were no cases of *zi* and *ji* used as a juxtaposed, coordinative structure. Since the late Eastern Han Dynasty, along with the introduction of Buddhism into China and the occurrence of the new uses of *zi,* the co-occurrence of *zi* and *ji* in a successive form started to appear. This section will analyse the use and formation of *ziji* in texts.

4.1 The use of *ziji* in Medieval Chinese texts

The successive form of *ziji* can be classified into two types: the first is the combination of the preposition *zi* and *ji* to form a prepositional phrase, and the second is the combination of *zi* and *ji* as a coordinative structure.

4.1.1 The successive form of the preposition *zi* and *ji*

This type of the successive form of *zi* and *ji* can be found in the period between the Pre-Qin period and the Eastern Han Dynasty. This is attested by example (1) in Section 1. After the Eastern Han Dynasty, this structure was still in use. For instance,

(21)　用　　　人　　　　　之　　言，　若　　自　　己　　　出。
　　　yong　*ren*　　　　*zhi*　*yan*　*ruo*　*zi*　*ji*　　*chu*
　　　use　　other people　GEN　word　as if　from　oneself　come out
　　　'Use other people's words, as if they come out of himself.'
　　　(*Shangshu*, Zhong Hui zhi gao, Weikong zhuan 尚书·仲虺之诰·伪孔传
　　　[Fake Kong Anguo's comments for the suggestions given by Zhong Hui in
　　　The Book of Documents])

This type of *ziji* is consistent with the form used before the Eastern Han Dynasty. It is mainly found in non-Buddhist texts and is relatively rare in Buddhist scriptures. The prepositional feature of *zi* is very evident. Wei (1990: 179) assumes that this PREP structure is the origin of the reflexive *ziji*, as it shares some similar features with *zi* and may be a "re-analysed compounded pronoun". However, Wei's assumption, in which the preverbal *ziji* functions as an adverb in the PREP structure, contradicts the fact that the early uses of *ziji* which can be regarded as the origin of reflexive *ziji*, were mainly as possessors, as we will see in the following.

4.1.2 The combined form of *zi* and *ji* as a coordinative structure

The earliest evidence of this type of *ziji* is identified in a Chinese Buddhist scripture translated in the Eastern Han Dynasty as exemplified in (22).

(22)　菩萨　　　　　者，　　自己　　　界，　　于　　法　　　　身　　而
　　　Pusa　　　　*zhe*　*ziji*　　*jie*　*yu*　*fa*　　　*shen*　*er*
　　　bodhisattva　PART　self-self　realm　PREP　Dharma　body　CONJ
　　　甚　　净。[12]
　　　shen　jing
　　　very　clean

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12 The punctuation of this sentence is questionable. The reason why *jie* is separated from *yu* is that all the other 19 cases of *jie* in this scripture are used as nouns, which is the same as the *jie* in *sanjie* 三界 'three-realms'. Additionally, in the preceding context, there are uses of *jijie* 己界 'own-realm' and *yiqierenjie* 一切人界 'every-people-realm' which can be used as references for the explanation of this sentence.

'Bodhisattva, in his own realm, his Dharma body is very clean.'
(*Dunzhentuoluo Suo Wen Rulai Sanmei Jing* 伅真陀罗所问如来三昧经
[*Druma Kiṃnara Rāja Paripṛcchā*], translated by Lokakṣema, 15/363a)

After the Eastern Han Dynasty, the occurrence of this type of *ziji* increased, but was still mostly used in Buddhist translations. After investigating all the sutra and vinaya texts from the CBETA online database of Chinese Buddhist scriptures, we discovered that there are altogether 150 cases of *ziji* found in texts translated before the Tang Dynasty (618–907 AD), among which 120 cases are the combined form of *zi* and *ji* as a coordinative structure, functioning as possessors. Some examples are listed below from (23) to (27).

(23) 察　　于　　外　　死　　身，　内　　省　　<u>自己</u>　躯。
　　　cha　*yu*　*wai*　*si*　*shen*　*nei*　*xing*　*ziji*　*qu*
　　　observe PREP outside dead body inside self-reflect self-self body
　　　'Observe the dead body outside, and self-reflect on my own body inside.'
　　　(*Fo Wubai Dizi Zi Shuo Benqi Jing* 佛五百弟子自说本起经 [*Sthaviragāthā*],
　　　translated by Dharmarakṣa, 4/193b)

(24) 拘牢婆　　王　　曰：　"今　　我　虽　　　到　　自己
　　　Julaopo　*wang*　*yue*　*jin*　*wo*　*sui*　　*dao*　*ziji*
　　　Koravya king say now I although arrive self-self
　　　境界……"
　　　jingjie
　　　country-border
　　　'The King Koravya said, "although I arrive in my own country..."'
　　　(*Zhongehan Jing* 中阿含经 [*Majjhima Nikaya Āgama*], translated by
　　　Samghadeva, 1/625c)

(25) 以　　<u>自己</u>　女　　　置　　淫女　　　　楼　　　上。
　　　yi　*ziji*　*nü*　*zhi*　*yinnü*　　*lou*　*shang*
　　　PREP self-self daughter put immoral woman building on
　　　'[The king] put his own daughter in the building of the immoral women.'
　　　(*Da Zhuangyan Lun Jing* 大庄严论经 [*Sūtrālaṃkāra-Śāstra*], translated by
　　　Kumārajīva, 4/272c)

(26) 其　弟子　　便　入　　闇　　中，　误　　偷
　　　qi　*dizi*　*bian*　*ru*　*an*　*zhong*　*wu*　*tou*
　　　his disciple then enter darkness inside by mistake steal

自己　　衣　　钵。
ziji　*yi*　*bo*
self-self　robe　alms bowl
'His disciple then entered the darkness and stole his own robe and alms bowl by mistake.'
(*Mohe Sengqi Lü* 摩诃僧祇律 [*Mahāsāṃghika Vinaya*], translated by Buddhabhadra and Faxian, 22/251b)

(27) 其　　迦兰陀　　竹　　林　　处所，
　　　qi　*jialantuo*　*zhu*　*lin*　*chusuo*
　　　PART　Kalandaka　bamboo　forest　place
　　　是　彼　长者　　　　自己　之　　物。
　　　shi　*bi*　*zhangzhe*　*ziji*　*zhi*　*wu*
　　　be　that　senior person　self-self　GEN　property
　　　'The place of the bamboo forest of Kalandaka is the property of that senior person himself.'
　　　(*Fobenxing Jijing* 佛本行集经 [*Abhiniskramanasūtra*], translated by Jñānagupta, 3/861a)

There are also sentences in which *ziji* functions as the subject, object, and adverbial, but the number of those cases totals no more than 30. The use of *ziji* as an indefinite subject is found to occur in reliable records from as late as the Sui Dynasty (581–618 AD). One example is given in (28).

(28) 自己　　得　心　多　　种　　利，
　　　ziji　*de*　*xin*　*duo*　*zhong*　*li*
　　　self-self　get　mind　various　type　benefit
　　　复　　能　　向　　他　　作　法　　　饶。
　　　fu　*neng*　*xiang*　*ta*　*zuo*　*fa*　*rao*
　　　then　can　PREP　other　do　dharma　interest
　　　'After one gets various types of benefits in his mind, he can give the others Dharma interests.'
　　　(*Fobenxing Jijing* 佛本行集经 [*Abhiniskramanasūtra*], translated by Jñānagupta, 3/802c)

An example of the early use of *ziji* as an object is given in (29).

(29) 汝　云何　　度　　　人　　出家，　　不　教　法　　律，
　　　ru　*yunhe*　*du*　　　*ren*　*chujia*　　*bu*　*jiao*　*fa*　　*lü*
　　　you　why　ferry over　people　leave home　NEG　teach　dharma　vinaya

但	令	执	作	供给	<u>自己?</u>
dan	*ling*	*zhi*	*zuo*	*gongji*	*ziji*
only	order	hold	make	supply	self-self

'Why do you help people to leave home and take up vows, but not
teach them the Dharma and vinaya and only order them to work to
provide for yourself?'
(*Mohe Sengqi Lü* 摩诃僧祇律 [*Mahāsāṃghika Vinaya*], translated
by Buddhabhadra and Faxian, 22/319a)

An example of the use of *ziji* as an adverbial for emphasis can be seen in (30).

(30)

使	太子	身	自己	察	之。[13]
shi	*taizi*	*shen*	*ziji*	*cha*	*zhi*
cause	crown prince	body	self-self	observe	PRO

'Make the crown prince observe them by himself.'
(*Puyao Jing* 普曜经 [*Lalitavistara*], translated by Dharmarakṣa, 3/500c)

It is understandable that the *ziji* used as a coordinative structure should usually
appear as a possessor. Due to the new uses of *zi* occurring after the Eastern Han
Dynasty, *zi* and *ji* can be seen as synonyms with the same meaning and function as
when used as possessors. Due to the trend of bi-syllabilization in the Chinese lan-
guage and the textual requirement for Buddhist scriptures to be in four-character
clauses, synonyms were often combined, thus providing more opportunities for
zi and *ji* to co-occur as a coordinative structure in the possessor position. In con-
trast, since the syntactic positions of *zi* and *ji* are not the same when used as
objects, and *zi* does not have adverbial function, they must accommodate one
another's features if *zi* and *ji* are to be combined at the position of an object or
an adverbial. This increases the difficulty of constructing a combined form at
these two positions and decreases the frequency of use. As for being an indefinite
subject, although both *zi* and *ji* have this function, in reality the frequency of
indefinite subject use is not high in the world's languages, so the frequency of use
of *ziji* as an indefinite subject would not be very high either. Of course, with the
lexicalization of *ziji,* the boundary between the two would gradually disappear
and the unbalanced distribution of each function of *ziji* would naturally change,
but all of this happened after the Medieval Period. In sum, when forming a fixed

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13 From a syntactic perspective, in this sentence, the three words *shen*, *zi* and *ji* should all be in
the coordinative structure. But from the perspective of Buddhist scriptural requirements regard-
ing rhyme and syllable, this sentence should be punctuated as "shi tai zi shen, zi ji cha zhi 使太
子身, 自己察之" in order to form four-character clauses.

reflexive, *ziji* can only occur in the position of a possessor, which is also the initial syntactic environment of its lexicalization.

4.2 The lexicalization of *ziji*

As already mentioned, there are 120 cases of *ziji* as a possessor in coordinative structure found in the sutras and vinayas translated between the Eastern Han Dynasty and the Sui Dynasty. The high frequency of use of *ziji* in coordinative structure in the Medieval Period led to its lexicalization. Although *ziji* mostly appeared in Buddhist scriptures in the Medieval texts and was not accepted by all of society, it became a familiar word in the sangha and among the Buddhist followers and others who had close ties to Buddhism. This is seen in the sentence below.

(31) 清信士　　　佛弟子　　　　　　冯翊　　王国　　典祠令
      qingxinshi fodizi　　　　　　 Feng Yi wangguo dianciling
      upasaka　 Buddhist disciple Feng-Yi kingdom manager of sacrifices
      李和之，　仰　　　　　为　七世父母　　　　　及　<u>自己</u>　身，
      Li Hezhi yang　　　 wei qishifumu　　　 ji ziji　shen
      Li-Hezhi respectfully for all living beings and self body
      敬　　　　造　　　像　四　区。
      jing　　　 zao　　 xiang si qu
      respectfully make statue four CL
      'The upasaka and Buddhist disciple, Feng Yi, and the manager of
      sacrifices in the kingdom, Le Hezhi, respectfully made four statues for all
      living beings and themselves.'
      (*Quan Houwei Wen*, Zaoxiang ji, juan 54 全后魏文·造像记·卷54
      [The record on statue making in *All Writings of the Late Wei Dynasty*, vol. 54])

The evidence indicates that the compound *ziji* was introduced to all of society via the Buddhist community or social groups related to Buddhism, and familiarity with *ziji* as a compound in the spoken languages may have also advanced the lexicalization of *ziji*.

In our opinion, *ziji* was completely lexicalized no later than the end of the Medieval Period. This is supported by the use of a related form *ji-zi* 己自 in which the word order is simply reversed. At the initial phase of the formation of bi-syllabic words as coordinative structures, the existence of a phrase with reversed word order was a common phenomenon in the history of the Chinese language. This indicates that the word has not become one single word as a fixed

form. On the other hand, whether a bi-syllabic phrase as a coordinative structure has a counterpart in reverse word order can be seen as an important criterion for judging its lexicalization process (Dong 2002b: 126). *Ziji*, before its completion of lexicalization, had a reverse form of *ji-zi*.

  There are at least three types of *ji-zi* as illustrated in (32) to (34).

(32) 随   人   欲   杀   王，   王   子綦 匿   王，
    sui   *ren*   *yu*   *sha* *wang* *wang* *Ziqi* *ni* *wang*
    Sui Nation people want kill king Wang Ziqi hide king
    己   自   为   王   以   当   之。
    ji   *zi* *wei*   *wang* *yi*   *dang* *zhi*
    self self become king PREP take PRO
    'The people of Sui wanted to kill the king. Wang Ziqi hid the king and replaced the king to take the risk (the danger of being killed).'
    (*Shij*, Wu Zixu liezhuan *i* 史记·伍子胥列传 [The Biography of Wu Zixu in *Records of the Grand Historian*])

(33) 刻   己   自   责，   至   诚   动   众。
    ke   *ji*   *zi* *ze*   *zhi* *cheng* *dong* *zhong*
    restrict self self blame very cordial move everyone
    'Discipline himself and blame himself. He is very cordial, which moves everyone.'
    (*Hanshu*, Du Zhou zhuan 汉书·杜周传 [The Biography of Du Zhou in *Book of Han*])

(34) 见   诸   受   恼   者，   过   于   己自   处。
    jian *zhu* *shou* *nao* *zhe*   *guo* *yu*   *jizi*   *chu*
    see many get angry PART pass PREP self-self place
    'See many people who get angry, passing his own place (where he is).'
    (*Dazhuang Yanlun Jing* 大庄严论经 [*Sutralaṃkara-Śastra*], translated by Kumārajīva, 4/258b)

In (32), *ji* is the subject and *zi* is an adverbial for emphasis. In (33), *ji* and *zi* are the objects of the verbs *ke* ('to restrict') and *ze* ('to blame') respectively. Sentence (34) is the only example here where *ji* and *zi* coexist in a coordinative structure. The first two types of *ji-zi* came from the functions of *ji* and *zi* that already existed in Buddhist and non-Buddhist texts. The third type mainly appears in Chinese Buddhist scriptures, and only this type of *jizi* can be seen as the reverse form of *ziji*. According to our studies, the use of *jizi* almost disappeared in the Sui Dynasty, and only one example (35) of *jizi* is found in the Buddhist scriptures translated in the Sui Dynasty.

(35)

我	等……	亦	复	不	为	<u>己自</u>	身	命，
wo	*deng...*	*yi*	*fu*	*bu*	*wei*	*jizi*	*shen*	*ming*
I	PL	also	again	NEG	for	self-self	body	life

但	为	一切	诸	众生	等。
dan	*wei*	*yiqie*	*zhu*	*zhongsheng*	*deng*
but	for	all	many	living beings	PL

'We...again, not for our own bodies and lives, but for all living beings.'
(*Wusuoyou Pusa Jing* 无所有菩萨经 [Avalokitesvara Satra], translated by Jñānagupta, 14/694a)

Meanwhile, there are about 20 examples of *ziji,* and no more examples of *jizi* have been found in texts created during and after the Tang Dynasty. It is believed that *ziji* had already become a fixed bi-syllabic word no later than the Sui Dynasty. Before the Tang Dynasty, however, it was only a loosely combined compound; that is, it had not yet been completely lexicalized.

Apart from the one remaining case of *jizi* use in the Sui Dynasty, there are another two lines of evidences which can explain why its lexicalization process was not completed before the Tang Dynasty: First, in *Buddhacarita,* which was translated around the same period, there are 12 uses of *ziji,* among which only one (28) is used as the subject, while all the others are used as possessors. This imbalance is related to the fact that the lexicalization of *ziji* occurred at the possessor position, but also indicates that *ziji* had not yet been free from the constraint on its syntactic position, and was thus not yet a completely independent word. Second, although there are many uses of *ziji* in texts from this period, they are still mainly in the Buddhist scriptures, which implies that *ziji* was not yet completely accepted by all of society at that time.

One related question is: Since *zi* and *ji* were combined as synonyms, why was the outcome of the combination *ziji,* not *jizi*? On this issue, Cheng (1999a: 225) offered one explanation. "According to the Barrier Theory, the compound structure [NP [NP *zi* [NP *ji*]]] constructs some barriers. The movement of words cannot move over more than one barrier; thus, only when *zi* is at the beginning of the structure can it satisfy the requirements of general grammar. To put it in another way, there is no need to move over two barriers when *zi* is in the front." Cheng's explanation is based on the assumption that the *zi* in the compound structure is a typical reflexive, so it needs to move. But based on our research, it was in the possessor position that *ziji* became fixed in its use, and both *zi* and *ji* were possessors, not reflexives, in origin. Cheng's explanation still cannot resolve the problem. There may be certain rules regarding the word order in which two units can be combined, but one cannot deny that the final outcome of this process varies in

different situations. More research is necessary on the factors which decided the word order of *ziji*.[14]

4.3 Summary

The new functions gained by *zi* caused an increase in the appearance of the combined form of *zi* and *ji* as a coordinative structure. Ultimately, the high frequency of use of this new form led to the lexicalization of *ziji* into a fixed bi-syllabic word. Whether or not *jizi* existed can be used as a criterion to test how complete the lexicalization process was. Until the time of the Sui Dynasty, *ziji* had already been in fixed use, although it had not yet been fully lexicalized.

At the very beginning of the process of lexicalization, the main function of *ziji* was a possessor, but as the lexicalization process gradually advanced, it also came to take other roles such as the indefinite subject etc. Cheng (1999a, 1999b: 197–230) and Dong (2002a) both hold the view that *zi* and *ji* each contributed some features to *ziji*, thereby causing the complicated use of *ziji* in Mandarin Chinese. In general, this argument seems to be true and much supporting evidence can be found. For example, *ziji* can be a post verbal object (example 29) which indicates the adaptation of *ji*'s function to *zi*. Moreover, the case of *ziji* as an adverbial in (30) is evidence of *ji's* accommodating the function of *zi*. Even so, two statements should be made here: first of all, *ziji* did not obtain all the functions of *zi* and *ji* as soon as it became a fixed bi-syllabic word. The functions were gained gradually in later times, and further studies on the use of *ziji* since the Tang Dynasty are required in order to offer a more detailed explanation of the development of *ziji* in the later period. Second, the functions of *ziji* as a possessor or indefinite subject were the contributions of both *zi* and *ji* and not *ji* alone.

5 Conclusion

The preceding sections have discussed issues concerning the formation of *ziji* and its origin. After the Eastern Han Dynasty, *zi* developed some new uses as possessors or indefinite subjects, which is a prerequisite for the combined form *ziji*.

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14 We may say that due to the higher frequency of use of *ziji* than *jizi*, the word order was fixed as *ziji*. However, there is still no answer to this question; that is, if *zi* and *ji* coexist as a coordinative structure with the same grammatical features, then why is the frequency of use of *ziji* higher than that of *jizi*?

With regards to the origin of those new uses, the main topic of our discussion, the differences between the use of *zi* in Chinese Buddhist translations and non-Buddhist texts, together with the commonly seen phenomenon of language transfer in Buddhist translations, suggest that the new uses of *zi* developed as a result of language contact over the course of translating Buddhist scriptures. The comparison between Chinese and Sanskrit texts supported our hypothesis.

This research on the formation of *ziji* helps us to further understand that Chinese Buddhist scriptures as translated texts contain many foreign substances, including the misuses of the translator and features transferred from the source language. These foreign substances were uncommon linguistic phenomena and often regarded as bearing traces of the spoken language. Past studies exaggerated the spoken features of Chinese Buddhist scriptures and ignored their uniqueness.[15] Our next task is to discover what those foreign substances are and analyze their potential influences on the Chinese language.

Moreover, the language contact caused by the translation of Buddhist scriptures is the first large-scale language contact in the recorded history of the Chinese language. Its impact on the development of the Chinese language may be far larger than what we had originally expected. As in the case of *ziji*, if there were no translations of Buddhist scriptures, the combined form of *ziji* might not have appeared. Regardless of the strength of the trend of bi-syllablization, given their highly distinctive features, the combination of the two words *zi* and *ji* could not have been an easy task. In fact, if the syllabic requirement is the only requirement to satisfy, the Chinese language has many other choices. For example, according to the Linguistic Research Group of the Chinese Department of Peking University (1995: 552) and Chen and Li (1996: 4356), the reflexives in Chinese dialects include many words other than *ziji*, such as *ziger* 自个儿, *geger* 各个儿, *zijia* 自家, *geren* 个人, *jiaji* 家己, *gezi* 各自, *gejia* 各家, *dangen* 单根, *sijia* 私家 etc. Although many conspicuous influences such as loanwords (phonetic and semantic) in the Chinese Buddhist scriptures have already been studied, a lot of subtle influences still need to be investigated.

Finally, the new uses of *zi*, the formation of *ziji* as a coordinative structure, and the fixed use of *ziji* all appeared mainly in Chinese Buddhist scriptures or Buddhism-related texts. Preliminary investigations indicate that in the Tang Dynasty and the Five Dynasties (897–979 AD), fixed use of *ziji* mainly occurred in Buddhism-related vernacular texts, such as the *Tan Jing* 坛经 (*Platform Sutra*), the *Dunhuang Bianwen* 敦煌变文 (*Transformation texts of Dunhuang*), and the *Zutang*

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15 Zhu (2001) has clearly put forth this point of view, which is repeated here with the formation of *ziji* as supporting evidence.

Ji 祖堂集 (*Collection from the Patriarchs' Hall*). It can be assumed that *ziji* finally developed into a common word in the Chinese language via such a route: It was first created in the translation and spread of Buddhist scriptures before it was gradually accepted by monks and Buddhist followers, and then finally accepted by the majority under the influence of the spread of Buddhism and related vernacular literature. This assumption is in accordance with Mair's (1994) argumentation in his discussion of the critical influence Buddhism has had on Chinese Mandarin. Dong (2000) has also pointed out that the spread of spoken vocabulary from Chinese Buddhist scriptures to non-Buddhist texts followed the same procedure.

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Chirui Hu (胡敕瑞)
The origin and development of negative exclusive particles in the Chinese language

Abstract: This paper uses the categorization of grammatical focus as a means by which to derive two types of linguistic markers signifying exclusion in the Chinese language, namely, affirmative exclusive particles (*wei/du*唯独) and negative exclusive particles (*chu/*she 除舍). This paper focuses on the origin and development of negative exclusive particles; their usage in denoting the meaning "except" originates from the borrowing of loan words which occurred in the translation of Buddhist scripture from Sanskrit to Chinese, whereas their usage in denoting "besides" is a result of linguistic reanalysis. This paper also explores the relationship between the two types of exclusive particles, arguing that they are deeply interconnected. Lastly, this paper points out that the origin and development of negative exclusive particles is a typical example of grammaticalization – its origin is characterized by linguistic borrowing as a result of language contact, and its development is a result of linguistic reanalysis.

Keywords: historical linguistics, exclusive particle, language contact, reanalysis, translation of Buddhist scripture into Chinese

1 Two types of exclusive particles and two observation methods

1.1 Two types of exclusive particles

Scholars differ on the definition of grammatical focus.[1] Some have put forth the view that grammatical focus refers to *new* information provided in discourse,

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1 Jeanette (1999) categorizes focus into psychological focus, semantic focus and contrastive focus. He operates according to the broad definition of focus. However, our investigation is restricted to the narrow definition of focus. Strictly speaking, even the narrow sense of focus is not exactly the same as emphasis, but this paper does not distinguish between them.

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while others opine that focus refers to the phrase which is being discussed; still others think that focus refers to the relationship between the objects being emphasized and those that are not emphasized. König (1991) and Bos (1999) adopt the third working definition, categorizing focus particles into inclusive particles and exclusive particles.[2] Examples of inclusive particles are words such as *also*, *too* and *even*, which correspond to the Chinese words *ye* 也 and *lian* 连. They imply that possibilities exist beyond the specified range provided. Examples of exclusive particles are *only*, *merely* and *just* (corresponding to *zhi* 只 and *jin* 仅), which imply a range of possibilities that is restricted to that which has been stated.

(1)   It's <u>also</u> available on Monday.
(2)   It's <u>only</u> available on Monday.

The word *also* in sentence (1) implies that Monday is just one of the days on which the subject is available. On the other hand, the word *only* in sentence (2) implies that the subject is available on no day other than Monday.[3] We noticed that inclusive particles like the conjunction *also* roughly correspond to the preposition *besides*, while exclusive particles like *only* correspond approximately to the preposition *except*. Therefore, the meaning conveyed by sentences (1) and (2) above are similar to (3) and (4) below, respectively:

(3)   It's available on days <u>besides</u> Monday
(4)   It's not available <u>except</u> on Monday

Sentence (3) implies that Monday is not the only day on which the subject is available, essentially conveying the same meaning as sentence (1), for both emphasize the inclusiveness of time periods. Sentence (4), just like sentence (2), also implies that Monday is the only time period in which the subject is available. Both of them emphasize exclusiveness.

Sentence (4) and (2) both emphasize exclusiveness, but sentence (4) contains the negative word *not* while sentence (2) does not. This is because sentence (2) uses the word *only* to express the meaning of exclusion from a positive angle, while sentence (4) uses the word *except* to express the same meaning from a negative angle.

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2 "Inclusive" is identical to "additive" while "exclusive" is identical to "restrictive" – these are synonym pairs.
3 Johan (1999) argues that the main function of inclusive particles such as *also* is to determine the presuppositions of the utterance while that of exclusive particles such as *only* is to determine the meaning of an utterance.

1.2 Two observation methods

The difference between affirmative exclusive particles and negative exclusive particles reflects different ways of observing things. "The same object or situation, when observed via different methods, will construct different images in our minds due to a difference in emphasis" (Shen and Wang 2000). For example, Diagram (1) below can be observed by the two different methods depicted by Diagrams (2) and (3):
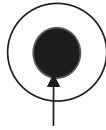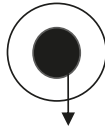
Diagram 1   Diagram 2   Diagram 3

Diagram (2) depicts a perspective from the outside-in, like a camera lens which zooms in towards Diagram (1). From this perspective, our minds first picture the surrounding white ground (or shading), and then the black figure (or profiling) stands out. Diagram 3, on the other hand, depicts a perspective from the inside-out, like a camera lens which zooms out. In this case, we would first picture the black figure and then the surrounding white ground. Due to the fact that the background and foreground are shown in two different manners, logically, there are two methods of signifying exclusion. Accordingly, there are two different ways to express exclusion in language, for example:

(5) 四周　　　　都　是　白　的，　　只有　　中间　　　是　黑　的。
　　sizhou　　　*dou shi bai de*　　*zhiyou zhongjian shi hei de*
　　surroundings all be white-NOM only center be black-NOM
　　'The surroundings are white; <u>only</u> the center is black.'

(6) <u>除了</u>　中间　　　是　黑　的，　四周　　　　都　是　白　的。
　　chule zhongjian shi hei de　　*sizhou dou shi bai de*
　　Except center be black-NOM surroundings all be white-NOM
　　'<u>Except for</u> the center, which is black, the rest is white.'

Example (5) first describes the surrounding whiteness and then proceeds to describe the blackness at the center, putting into words what Diagram (2) depicts. Example (6) first describes the black center and then excludes it from the discussion, thus expressing in language what Diagram (3) depicts. Example (5) reports "the center is black" as new information and emphasizes it from a positive

perspective. In this case, language users usually employ a word with the meaning component of "only" to mark the focus. Example (6) treats "the center is black" as old information and emphasizes it from a negative perspective. In this case, language users usually employ a word with the meaning component of "except" to mark the focus.

Old Chinese employs only affirmative exclusive particles but not negative ones. On the contrary, in Early Modern Chinese, negative exclusive particles can mean not only "except" but also "besides". This difference between Old Chinese and Modern Chinese is explained by the origin and development of negative exclusive particles, i.e., how the word *chu* 除 began to mean "except" and how it came to convey the meaning of "besides". This paper will focus on these two questions.

2 The origin of negative exclusive particles

2.1 The affirmative exclusive particles in Old Chinese

In Modern Chinese, both affirmative exclusive particles (e.g., *zhi* 只, *zhiyou* 只有) and negative exclusive particles (e.g., *chu* 除, *chule* 除了) are used, whereas only affirmative ones are employed in Old Chinese. Commonly used examples include *wei* 唯, *du* 独, *yi* 繄, *dan* 但,[4] as used in:

(7) 用   之   则   行，   舍   之   则   藏，
     Yong zhi ze   xing   she   zhi ze   cang
     use   3   then work abandon 3   then retreat

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4 In oracle bones and bronze inscriptions, we can see "隹" and "叀", which are the original character forms of *wei* 唯. And its character forms in Old Chinese can be "惟" and "维" as well. For example, *yu sui yu Jin chu-ru, yu wei li shi shi* 余虽与晋出入，余惟利是视 'although I have relationship with Jin Guo, I seek nothing but profit' (*Zuo Zhuan* 左传 [*The Spring and Autumn Annals*], Duke Cheng 13); *jiang kong jiang ju, wei yu yu ru* 将恐将惧，维予与女 'when you were in trouble, I was the only person who was with you' (*Shijing* 诗经 [*The Book of Songs*], Xiaoya, Gufeng). The affirmative exclusive particles "*wei* 唯, *du* 独, *yi* 繄, *dan* 但" are interchangeable. For example, *yi bo-jiu shi lai* 繄伯舅是赖 (*Zuo Zhuan* 左传 [*The Spring and Autumn Annals*], Duke Xiang 14) = *wei Wujiu yu Yan shi cong* 唯无咎与偃是从 (*Zuo Zhuan* 左传 [*The Spring and Autumn Annals*], Duke Xiang 27); *ru shi ruo ru ci shi, dan wen fo gongde zhi xiang* 如是若入此室, 但闻佛功德之香 (*Weimojie Suo Shuo Jing* 维摩诘所说经[*Vimalakirtinirdesa Sutra*], translated by Kumarajiva, Script II) = *ru shi ruo you zhi ci shi zhe, wei le dacheng gongde zhi xiang* 如是若有止此室者, 惟乐大乘功德之香 (*Shuo Wugou Cheng Jing* 说无垢称经 [*Vimalakirtinirdesa Sutra*], translated by Xuanzang, Script 4).

唯	我	与	尔	有	是	夫。
wei	*wo*	*yu*	*er*	*you*	*shi*	*fu*
only	1	and	2	have	this	PART

'Responding to the call of duty when enlisted, and keeping a low cover when sidelined; <u>only</u> you and I are capable of doing so.'
(*Lunyu* 论语 [*The Analects*], Transmission)

(8)

诸	君子	皆	与	驩	言,
zhu	*junzi*	*jie*	*yu*	*Huan*	*yan*
every	gentleman	all	with	Huan	talk

孟子	独	不	与	驩	言,	是	简	驩	也。
Mengzi	*du*	*bu*	*yu*	*Huan*	*yan,*	*shi*	*jian*	*Huan*	*ye*
Mencius	only	not	with	Huan	talk	this	simplify	Huan	DECL

'All of the learned men <u>but</u> Mencius speak to Huan; this is because Mencius does not hold Huan in high regard.'
(*Mengzi* 孟子 [*Mencius*], Li Lou II)

(9)

尔	有	母	遗,	繄	我	独	无。
er	*you*	*mu*	*yi*	*yi*	*wo*	*du*	*wu*
2	have	mother	give gift	only	1	only	not have

'You have a mother to whom you could send gifts of food; <u>only</u> I do not.'
(*Zuo Zhuan* 左传 [*The Spring and Autumn Annals*, Duke Yin I])

(10)

匈奴	匿	其	壮士	肥	牛	马,
xiongnu	*ni*	*qi*	*zhuangshi*	*fei*	*niu*	*ma*
Xiongnu	hide	3.GEN	warrior	fat	cattle	horse

但	见	老	弱	及	羸	畜。
dan	*jian*	*lao*	*ruo*	*ji*	*lei*	*chu*
only	see	old	weak	and	thin	livestock

'The Xiongnu conceal their strong warriors and healthy livestock, revealing <u>only</u> frail and aged persons in addition to emaciated animals.'
(*Shiji* 史记 [*Records of the Grand Historian*, the biography of Liu Jing and Shusun Tong])

We can hardly find negative exclusive particles in Old Chinese. *Chu* 除 and *she* 舍 are both used as verbs rather than exclusive particles in Old Chinese.

(11)

抚	民	以	宽,	除	其	邪	虐。
fu	*min*	*yi*	*kuan*	*chu*	*qi*	*xie*	*nue*
comfort	people	with	benevolence	rid	3.GEN	evil	violence

'To propitiate the people by means of benevolent methods, and to <u>rid</u> them of their evil and violent tendencies.'
(*Shangshu* 尚书 [*Book of Documents*, Weizi zhi ming])

(12)

除	病	瘦	死	丧		忧	患,
chu	*bing*	*shou*	*si*	*sang*		*you*	*huan*
exclude	illness	thinness	death	mourning		worry	trouble
其	中	开	口	而		笑	者,
qi	*zhong*	*kai*	*kou*	*er*		*xiao*	*zhe*
it	in	open	mouth	CONJ		laugh	NOM
一	月	之	中	不过		四	五
yi	*yue*	*zhi*	*zhong*	*buguo*		*si*	*wu*
one	month	GEN	inside	no more than		four	five
日	而	已	矣。				
ri	*er*	*yi*	*yi*				
day	CONJ	stop	PART				

'<u>Excluding</u> the days spent in illness, bereavement and depression, less than four to five days in a month were spent in hearty laughter.'
(*Zhuangzi* 庄子 [*The Book of Chuang Tzu*, Daozhi])

(13)

女	无	亦	谓	我	老耄	而	舍	我。
ru	*wu*	*yi*	*wei*	*wo*	*lao-mao*	*er*	*she*	*wo*
2	not	also	call	1	old	CONJ	abandon	1

'You <u>forsake</u> me because you perceive me to be old and in decline.'
(*Guoyu* 国语 [*Discourses of the States*, Discourses of Chu I])

(14)

如	欲	平	治	天下,				
ru	*yu*	*ping*	*zhi*	*tianxia*				
if	desire	peace	govern	under heaven				
当	今	之	世,	舍	我	其	谁	也。
dang	*jin*	*zhi*	*shi,*	*she*	*wo*	*qi*	*shui*	*ye*
When	today	GEN	world	abandon	1	AUX	who	DECL

'If there be one to govern the country, who <u>but</u> I am able to assume that great responsibility?'
(*Mengzi* 孟子 [*Mencius,* Gongsun Chou II])

The markers *chu* 除 and *she* 舍 used in examples (12) and (14) appear to resemble negative exclusive particles, and indeed there are scholars who view them as such.[5] However, we view *chu* 除 and *she* 舍 as used in (12) and (14) as the infinitives "to remove" and "to abandon".[6] In Old Chinese, *chu* 除 and *she* 舍 do not convey the meaning "except".

The first recorded use of *chu* 除 to denote exclusion could have been either of the following: In *Qimin Yaoshu*, Zashuo 齐民要术·杂说 (The Miscellaneous chapter of *Essential Skill to Benefit the People*): *Yiqie dan yi ci fa, chu chongzai wai, xiao xiao han bu quan zhi sun* 一切但依此法，除虫灾外，小小旱不全至损 'If you follow this method, you won't suffer that much from light droughts, <u>unless</u> there is an insect invasion' (Xiang 1993: 288; Feng 2000: 419); In *Sanguo Zhi*, Zhang, Yan, Cheng, Kan, Xue Zhuan 三国志·张严程阚薛传 (The Biography of Zhang, Yan, Cheng, Kan and Xue chapter of *Records of the Three Kingdoms*): *Zi chen xi ke shi zhi zhi shi, Zhuya <u>chu</u> zhou xian jia qu, jie xu ba yue yin hu, renmin jihui zhi shi, nan nü zi xiang ke shi, nai wei fuqi, fumu bu neng zhi* 自臣昔客始至之时，珠崖除州县嫁娶，皆须八月引户，人民集会之时，男女自相可适，乃为夫妻，父母不能止 'In the State of Zhuya, <u>except for</u> official weddings, people usually found their marriage partners when they held a gathering, and even their parents could not prevent the situation from happening' (Wang 2003). However, the *Miscellaneous* chapter of *Essential Skill to Benefit the People* has been verified by scholars (Liu 1989; Wang 2006) to have been written in the Tang Dynasty and not by Jia Sixie of the Northern Wei Dynasty. The example shown in the *Records of the Three Kindoms* does not face a similar dispute of authorship, but this usage of *chu* 除 to denote exclusion has earlier examples. As early as the Eastern Han Dynasty, for instance, signifiers such as *chu* 除 and *she* 舍 were already employed when Buddhist scriptures were translated from Sanskrit into Chinese. The examples below are sourced solely from Lokakṣema's translation of the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā* (*Daoxing Bore Jing* 道行般若经) in the Eastern Han Dynasty:

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5 Shuda Yang (1984: 296) argues that *she* 舍 in "*she wo qi shui?* 舍我其谁？ 'who <u>but</u> I am able to assume that great responsibility?'" (*Mengzi* 孟子 [*Mencius*], Gongsun Chou Ⅱ) is a preposition denoting exclusion. He also treats *she* 舍 in "*fu bu-neng xing shengren zhi shu, ze <u>she</u> wei tianxia yi he shi zai?* 夫不能行圣人之术，则舍为天下役何事哉？ 'If one cannot govern his people in a perfect way, what could he do <u>other than</u> being enslaved by his people?'" (*Shiji* 史记 [*Records of the Grand Historian*]) as a preposition. However, in the annotations for *Records of the Grand Historian*, Sima Zhen said: "*She* 舍 means 'to abandon' or 'to stop'." We agree with Sima Zhen.
6 In addition, example (12) is in *Zhuangzi*, Zapian 庄子·杂篇 (Zapian Chapter of *Zhuangzi*) and Zapian is generally treated as a counterfeit work written by someone at a later period.

(15) <u>除</u>　其　　宿罪　　　不　请,　余　　不　能　　动。
chu　qi　suzui　　bu　qing　yu　　bu　neng　dong
except　3.GEN　old crime　not　ask　other　not　can　act
'<u>Other than</u> those committed in the past, all other offenses are not to be taken into account.'
(Script 2)

(16) <u>除</u>　　是　阎浮利　地　　上　　满　　其　　中　　怛萨阿竭
chu　shi　yanfuli　di　shang　man　qi　zhong　dasaajie
except　this　Jambu　land　on　fill　it　in　Tathagata
舍利,　　　　　正使　　天中天　　　三千　　　　大　国土
sheli　　　zheng shi　tian zhong tian　san qian　　da　guotu
Buddhist relic　even if　devātideva　three_thousand　big　territory
满　其　中　舍利　　　　为　　　一　分,　般若波罗蜜经
man　qi　zhong　sheli　　wei　yi　fen　boreboluomijing
fill　it　in　Buddhist relic　become　one　part　Heart_Sutra
为　　二　分,　我　从　二　分　中　　取　　般若波罗蜜。
wei　er　fen　wo　cong　er　fen　zhong　qu　boreboluomi
become　two　part　1　from　two　part　in　take　Heart Sutra
'The Buddhist relics which fill Saha Land <u>aside</u>, even if the lands of 3000 empires were to be filled with one-part Buddhist relic and two-parts Heart Sutra, I will choose the Heart Sutra.'
(Script 2)

(17) <u>舍</u>　诸　　佛,　　是　菩萨摩诃萨　无　有　　与　　等　　者。
she　zhu　fo　shi　pusa mohesa　wu　you　yu　deng　zhe
Except　every　Buddha　this　Bodhisattva　not　exist　with　equal　NOM
'<u>Other than</u> the Buddhas, this Bodhisattva has no equal.'
(Script 7)

(18) <u>舍置</u>　佛　　　道地,
she-zhi　fo　daodi
except　Buddha　realm
众　　罗汉、　　　辟支佛地道　不　及　　是　菩萨道地。
zhong　luohan　pizhifo daodi　bu　ji　shi　pusa daodi
every　Arhat　Pratyeka Buddha realm　not　match　this　Bodhisattva realm
'<u>Other than</u> the realm of the Buddha, the realms of the Arhat and the Pratyeka-Buddha pale in comparison to that of the Bodhisattva.'
(Script 8)

Chu 除 and *she* 舍 in the above sources are all examples of exclusive particles, corresponding to the English word *except* (this will be verified later in this paper via cross-referencing with the original Sanskrit). Since Lokakṣema's translation of the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā* has many alternative translations from later periods, the interchangeable usage of *chu* 除 and *she* 舍 can be observed in these alternative texts. For example:

(19) 除 诸 佛，
chu zhu fo
except every Buddha
无 有 与 摩诃萨 等 者。
wu you yu mohesa deng zhe
not exist with Mahasattva equal NOM
'<u>Other than</u> the Buddhas, none can be compared to the Mahasattva Buddha.'
(*Mohe Bore Chao Jing* 摩诃般若钞经 [*Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā*], translated by Dharmapriya, Script 5, in Former Qin Dynasty)

(20) 除 如来 住，
chu rulai zhu
except Tathagata stage
于 余 菩萨 及 诸 声闻 独觉
yu yu pusa ji zhu shengwen dujue
among others Bodhisattva and every Sravaka Pratyeka Buddha
等 住 为 最 为 胜 为 尊 为 高。
deng zhu wei zui wei sheng wei zun wei gao
equal stage be best be superb be senior be high
'<u>Other than</u> the Tathagata Buddha, Sravaka and the Pratyeka-Buddha are of the highest echelon among the remaining Bodhisattva.'
(*Da Boreboluomiduo Jing* 大般若波罗蜜多经 [*Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā*], translated by Xuanzang, Script 565, in Tang Dynasty)

Examples (19) and (20) are alternative translations of (17) and (18), respectively. It can be observed that *chu* 除, *she* 舍 and *she-zhi* 舍置 are used interchangeably.[7]

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7 The meaning of exclusion of *she* 舍 and *zhi* 置 is seldom included in various dictionaries. However, *she* 舍, *zhi* 置 and *chu* 除 are used interchangeably frequently in translations. For example, <u>*chu* bi biqiu ji biqiuni, po you yi youposai, du yi bi'an yi fou</u> 除彼比丘及比丘尼，颇有一优婆塞，度疑彼岸以不 (*Za Ahan Jing* 杂阿含经 [*Saṁyukta Āgama*], translated by Gunabhadra, Script 10) = <u>*zhi* biqiuni</u>, you yi youposai xiu zhu fanxing, yu ci fa-lv-du huyi fou 置比丘尼，有一优婆塞修诸梵行，于此法律度狐疑不 ([*Saṁyukta Āgama*], translated by Gunabhadra, Script 34); *A'nan! Wo wei ru suo shuo jing, <u>she-zhi</u> boruoboluomi* 阿难! 我为汝说经，舍置般若波罗蜜 (*Daoxing Bore*

The interchangeable usage of the negative exclusive particles *chu* 除, *she* 舍 and *zhi* 置 is analogous to the interchangeability of the affirmative exclusive particles *wei* 维, *yi* 紧 and *dan* 但 (see Footnote 4 for details).

Insofar as how negative exclusive particles originated, current research is few and inadequate. Wang (2003) investigated the origin of the particle *chu* 除 and argues that *chu* 除 as used in *Zuo Zhuan* 左传 (*The Spring and Autumn Annals*) and *Guoyu* 国语 (*Discourses of the States*) is "regularly placed at the back of disyllabic verbs", and that "in terms of syntactic structure, (it) regularly occupies the complement position of verb-complement construction, denoting the verb's end-result or the direction it takes". *chu* 除, originally serving this function, eventually loses its semantic content and survives as a particle. Wang further argues that due to the "expansion and deepening of our understanding of the world, our language requires a precise method of describing the consequences of exclusion; this induces the extension of the construction involving *chu* 除 and results in the emergence of the exclusive particle *chu* 除."

Our investigation of pre-Qin literature reveals that *chu* 除 is not only placed at the back of such disyllabic verb phrases as *fen-chu* 粪除, *sao-chu* 扫除 and *fu-chu* 祓除, but also occupies the front position of such verb phrases as *chu-qu* 除去, *chu-jian* 除翦 and *chu-li* 除立. To neglect the usage of *chu* 除 in the front position of disyllabic verb phrases, and to argue a case for its semantic shift by focusing only on its usage in the back position of disyllabic verb phrases is inappropriate. Even if it were true that *chu* 除 regularly occupies the back position of disyllabic verb phrases and functions as the complement in verb-complement constructions, this cannot explain the emergence of the preposition *chu* 除, for the preposition *chu* 除 always appears in the initial position of clauses or phrases and never appears in the back position of disyllabic verb phrases.[8] As for attributing the origin of the preposition *chu* 除 to the "expansion and deepening of our understanding of the world", this does not fully explain how the construction involving *chu* 除 came about; neither does it help in explaining why the preposition *chu* 除 originated in Medieval Chinese rather than in Old Chinese. In addition, it is almost impossible to clarify the origin and development of negative exclusive particles when focusing solely on the construction involving *chu* 除 and neglecting other constructions (e.g., the construction involving *she* 舍) which coexist with it.

Jing 道行般若经 [*Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā*], translated by Lokakṣema, Script 9); *A'nan! wo suo shuo fa, wei-chu boruoboluomi* 阿难! 我所说法, 唯除般若波罗蜜 (*Xiao Pin Boruoboluomi Jing* 小品般若波罗蜜经 [*Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā*], translated by Kumarajiva, Script 9).

8 Another argument against Wang's viewpoint is that the preposition *chu* 除 perhaps emerged earlier than the verb-complement construction. It is generally accepted that the verb-complement construction emerged in Wei-Jin Dynasty. However, as early as the Eastern Han Dynasty, the preposition *chu* 除 was already employed.

2.2 The negative exclusive particles in Medieval Chinese

We speculate that the *chu/she* 除/舍 exclusive particles most probably originated from the borrowing of Sanskrit grammar during the translation of Buddhist scriptures into Chinese. Every case of grammaticalization has its cause, and only by understanding its cause can we accurately explain the entire process of a certain instance of grammaticalization. "Traditional research on grammaticalization is mostly undertaken under the assumption that language develops on its own. To a large extent, this methodology is based on the monogenetic model of the development of language. In reality, just as Hopper and Traugott (1993) have emphasized, "'the view that language develops only via a monogenetic progression is a mistaken one', because such a methodology neglects numerous phenomena of language development as a result of language contact with other languages" (Wu 2006). The borrowing of loan words and constructions resulting from language contact is an important driving force of grammaticalization that cannot be neglected. Negative exclusive particles in the Chinese language originated from the borrowing of loan constructions when Buddhist scriptures in Sanskrit were translated into Chinese. By researching Sanskrit-Chinese translation, we can verify that such particles as *chu* 除 and *she* 舍 are transliterations of such Sanskrit exclusion signifiers as *sthāpayitvā* and *muktvā*. For example, Examples (17) and (19) above are alternative translations of the Sanskrit passage below[9]:

(21) tat kasya hetoḥ tathā hi Subhūte nāsti tad anyeṣāṃ sattvānāṃ tādṛsaṃ
      maitrīsahagatam cittaṃ yathā tasya bodhisattvasya mahāsattvasya
      sthāpayitvā buddhān bhagavataḥ (AAA, p. 793)[10]

何	以	故?	其	余	人	无	有	是	慈,
he	*yi*	*gu*	*qi*	*yu*	*ren*	*wu*	*you*	*shi*	*ci*
what	by	reason	3.GEN	other	people	not	have	this	kindness

除	诸	佛,
chu	*zhu*	*fo*
except	every	Buddha

无	有	与	摩诃萨	等	者。
wu	*you*	*yu*	*mohesa*	*deng*	*zhe*
not	exist	with	Mahasattva Buddha	equal	NOM

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9 Not all the original versions of Buddhist scriptures were written in Sanskrit. However, the majority of them were written in Sanskrit or some other languages which belong to the same language family as Sanskrit.

10 AAA=*Abhisamayālam. kārākokā*, *Prajñāpāramitāvyākhyā*, the work of Haribhadra, together with the text commented on, ed. U. Wogihara, Tokyo1932, The Toyo Bunko; Reprinted Tokyo 1973, Sankibo Buddhist Store Ltd.

'For what reason? No one else possesses such kindness of heart; <u>other than</u> the Buddhas, none can be compared to the Mahasattva Buddha.' (*Mohe Bore Chao Jing* 摩诃般若钞经 [*Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā*], translated by Dharmapriya, Script 5, in the Former Qin Dynasty)

何	以	故？						
he	*yi*	*gu*						
What	by	reason						

其	余	人	无	有	能	及	是	慈，
qi	*yu*	*ren*	*wu*	*you*	*neng*	*ji*	*shi*	*ci*
3.GEN	other	people	not	exist	can	reach	this	kindness

<u>舍</u>	诸	佛，	是	菩萨摩诃萨	无	有	与	等	者。
she	*zhu*	*fo*	*shi*	*pusa mohesa*	*wu*	*you*	*yu*	*deng*	*zhe*
except	every	Buddha	this	Bodhisattva	not	exist	with	equal	NOM

'For what reason? No one else can equal such kindness of heart; <u>other than</u> the Buddhas, Mahasattva Buddha has no equal.' (*Daoxing Bore Jing* 道行般若经 [*Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā*], translated by Lokakṣema, Script 7, in Eastern Han Dynasty)

The Sanskrit *sthāpayitvā* is translated as *chu* 除 and *she* 舍. Another Sanskrit word *muktvā* has also been translated as *chu* 除 and *she* 舍:

(22) <u>muktvā</u> bhiksavas tathāgatam nānyah saktah purnam maitrāyanīputram arthato vā vyañjanato vā paryādātum (the version amended by Kern-Nanjio, p.206)

<u>自舍</u>	如来，	无	能	尽	其	言论	之
zi-she	*rulai*	*wu*	*neng*	*jin*	*qi*	*yanlun*	*zhi*
Except	Tathagata	none	can	exhaust	3.GEN	opinion	GEN

辩。
bian
arguement

'<u>Other than</u> the Tathagata Buddha, none can expound on Buddhist philosophy with such eloquence and immaculate attention to detail.' (*Miao Fa Lianhua Jing* 妙法莲华经 [*Lotus Sutra*], translated by Kumarajiva, Script 4, in Later Qin Dynasty)

<u>舍除</u>	如来，	菩萨大士	辩才 质疑，
she-chu	*rulai,*	*pusadashi*	*biancai zhiyi*
except	Tathagata	Bodhisattvas	eloquence

未	曾	有	如	满愿子	者。
wei	*ceng*	*you*	*ru*	*Manyuanzi*	*zhe*
not	once	exist	as	Manyuanzi	NOM

'<u>Other than</u> the Tathagata Buddha, none amongst the Bodhisattvas can speak with such eloquence.'
(*Zheng Fa Hua Jing* 正法华经 [*Lotus Sutra*], translated by Dharmaraksa, Script 5, in Western Jin Dynasty)

Kumarajiva's Translation of the Lotus Sutra and *Dharmaraksa's Translation of the Lotus Sutra*, also alternative translations of the same scripture, use *zishe* 自舍 and *shechu* 舍除 to translate *muktvā*. The Sanskrit passage in Example (22) takes the following form as recorded in the copy discovered by archaeologists in the Kashgar Fields:

(23) <u>sthāpayitvā</u> ca bhikṣavas tathāgato na kenacic chakyaṃ pūrṇaṃ maitrāyaṇīputraṃ paryādapayitum (O. Kashagar)

Examples (22) and (23) are different editions of the same Sanskrit text. Their difference lies in the fact that (22) uses the word *muktvā* while (23) uses *sthāpayitvā*. However, both *sthāpayitvā* and *muktvā* were translated as *chu* 除 and *she* 舍. The words *sthāpayitvā* and *muktv*ā are synonyms, both being verbs (meaning "to put aside" or "to remove") as well as prepositions ("except").[11] When Buddhist scripture was translated from Sanskrit into Chinese during the Eastern Han Dynasty, the Chinese words *chu* 除 and *she* 舍 could already be used as verbs in the same way as their Sanskrit counterparts from which they were transliterated. The Sanskrit-Chinese Dictionary (Williams 1951: 1515) states that the root √*sthā* of *sthāpayitvā* can be translated into the Chinese verbs *chu* 除 and *zhi* 置, and that the root √*muc* of *muktvā* can be translated into such verbs as *she* 舍, *chu* 除 and *shechu* 舍除 (1047). However, the Chinese language of the Han Period still did not have words which could correspond to the prepositional usage of *sthāpayitvā* and *muktvā*. Early translators who encountered the prepositional usage of the words *sthāpayitvā* and *muktvā* in Examples (22) and (23) had no available Chinese words at their disposal to translate them. They most probably turned to using the words *chu* 除 and *she* 舍, which could be used as verbs just as *sthāpayitvā* and *muktvā* could. By grafting the prepositional usage of *sthāpayitvā* and *muktvā* onto the Chinese words *chu* 除 and *she* 舍, this inadvertently gave rise

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11 Sanskrit-English Dictionary edited by Monier Williams gives clear indication of the two uses of sthāpayitvā and muktvā (p. 821, p. 1263).

to the first Chinese prepositions which could denote exclusion.[12] This method of translation by means of borrowing can be considered a form of contact-induced grammaticalization (Heine and Kuteva 2005). Contact-induced grammaticalization includes ordinary grammaticalization as well as replica grammaticalization. Ordinary grammaticalization refers to the process during which the target language borrows a grammatical item from the source language. However, the means of developing that item in the target language is not affected by the source language. Replica grammaticalization refers to the process during which the target language borrows not only a certain grammatical item but also the means of developing such an item from the source language. Negative exclusive particles in the Chinese language seem to resemble the result of replica grammaticalization, because the Chinese language not only borrows them from Sanskrit but also models its usage on the source language. The Chinese translators of Sanskrit scripture noticed that *sthāpayitvā* and *muktvā* remain in the same form regardless of whether they are used as verbs or prepositions; since their verb usage could be translated into *chu* 除 and *she* 舍, their prepositional usage could also be translated as *chu* 除 and *she* 舍. This form of replica grammaticalization as a result of language contact is similar to a certain kind of semantic change arising from the similarity between two polysemous words; the only difference here is that grammatical function is spread not within a single language but between languages.[13] Besides, as discussed by western linguists, replica grammaticalization usually takes place in spoken languages, while the exclusive particles denoting "except" in Medieval Chinese arise from the translation between two written languages.

The use of *chu* 除 and *she* 舍 as exclusive particles originates from the translation of Buddhist scripture from Sanskrit to Chinese.[14] Not only does their semantic content correspond exactly with the Sanskrit words *sthāpayitvā* and *muktvā*, their usage as exclusive particles is also identical, and they are mostly employed in negative sentences. In addition, just as how *muktvā* and *sthāpayitvā* in alternative

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12 We have to admit that there is a possibility that the prepositional usage of *chu/she*除舍 derived from their verbal usage. However, we have not seen any evidence for this case. The fact is that their prepositional usage was induced by language contact during the translation of Buddhist scriptures into Chinese.

13 This kind of semantic change was first defined by Jiang Shaoyu (1989). It refers to this kind of case: one word is polysemous and has two senses ("a" and "b") while the other word only has one ("a"); then the sense "b" is derived from the second word as well, for the two words share the same sense "a".

14 However, in the original Chinese literature in the Eastern Han Dynasty, the prepositional usage of *chu/she* 除舍 is very rare. We do not see a high frequency in domestic Chinese literature until Wei-Jin Dynasty. The reason is that it usually takes some time for the target language to assimilate the effects resulting from language contact.

translations of the same text (such as examples (22) and (23)) can be used inter-changeably, *she* 舍 and *chu* 除 in alternative translations are also interchange-able. Such uncanny coincidences point convincingly to the fact that the origin of exclusive particles such as *chu* 除 and *she* 舍 was affected by the translation of Buddhist scriptures from Sanskrit to Chinese. We would otherwise be unable to explain their sudden and overwhelming emergence in Chinese translations of Buddhist scriptures.

In such Chinese translations, exclusive particles include not only *chu* 除 and *she* 舍 but also such words as *zhi* 置, *she-zhi* 舍置, *she-chu* 舍除 and *chu-que* 除却:

(24) 置　　是　　所　　供养　　者，　此　　不　　足　　言　　耳。
　　 she　*shi*　*suo*　*gongyang*　*zhe*　*ci*　*bu*　*zu*　*yan*　*er*
　　 except　this　AUX　provide　NOM　this　not　worth　say　PART
　　 'Other than the one whose needs are taken care of, these do not deserve mention.'
　　 (*Bozhou Sanmei Jing* 般舟三昧经 [*Pratyutpanna Samādhi Sūtra*], translated by Lokakṣema, Part II, in Eastern Han Dynasty)

(25) 舍置　　佛道地，
　　 she-zhi　*fo dao-di*
　　 except　Buddha realm
　　 众　　罗汉、　辟支佛地道　　　　不　　及　　是　　菩萨地道。
　　 zhong　*luohan*　*pizhifo daodi*　　*bu*　*ji*　*shi*　*pusa-daodi*
　　 every　Arhat　Pratyeka-Buddha　not　match　this　Bodhisattva
　　 　　　　　　realm　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　realm
　　 'Other than the realm of the Buddha, the realms of the Arhat and the Pratyeka-Buddha pale in comparison to that of the Bodhisattva.'
　　 (*Daoxing Bore Jing* 道行般若经 [*Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā*], translated by Lokakṣema, Script 8, in Eastern Han Dynasty)

(26) 舍除　　如来　　菩萨大士　　辩才质疑，　未　　曾　　有　　如
　　 she-chu　*rulai*　*pusa dashi*　*biancai zhiyi*　*wei*　*ceng*　*you*　*ru*
　　 except　Tathagata　Bodhisattvas　eloquence　not　once　exist　as
　　 满愿子　　者。
　　 Manyuanzi　*zhe*
　　 Manyuanzi　NOM
　　 'Other than the Tathagata Buddha, the oratorical prowess of the other Bodhisattvas pale in comparison to that of Manyuanzi.'
　　 (*Zheng Fa Hua Jing* 正法华经 [*Lotus Sutra*], translated by Dharmaraksa, Script 5, in Western Jin Dynasty)

(27) 此   无作   中，   除却   心   俱   道   共   无作，
　　　ci　*wu zuo*　*zhong*　*chu-que*　*xin*　*ju*　*dao*　*gong*　*wuzuo*
　　　this　inaction　in　except　heart　and　Dao　together　not act

　　　余   者   皆   名   无作业   矣。
　　　yu　*zhe*　*jie*　*ming*　*wuzuo-ye*　*yi*
　　　remain　NOM　all　name　inaction　PART

　　　'In the midst of inaction, <u>except for</u> the heart and tao which are
　　　collectively called inaction, all other parts are called inaction.'
　　　(*Dacheng Yizhang* 大乘义章 [*Mahayana huang*], Script 7, by Huiyuan, in
　　　Sui Dynasty)

Although these exclusive particles differ from one another, all of them contain the meaning component of "exclusion". With the passage of time, the monosyllabic markers such as "*chu* 除, *she* 舍, *zhi* 置" in Medieval Chinese gradually converged into *chu* 除 in Early Modern Chinese; the disyllabic markers *she-zhi* 舍置, *she-chu* 舍除 and *chu-que* 除却, too, underwent selection to converge into *chu-que* 除却 in Early Modern Chinese and were eventually replaced by *chu-le* <u>除了</u>.[15] As a result, negative exclusive particles in Modern Chinese are predominantly *chu* 除 and *chule* 除了.

3 The development of negative exclusive particles

3.1 A new usage of the negative particle in Early Modern Chinese

Chu 除 in the sense of *except* appeared in the Chinese language as a result of contact with Sanskrit, while *chu* 除 in the sense of *besides* arose in a later time period. In the previous section we have investigated how the Medieval Chinese word *chu* 除 came to mean *except*; now we will discuss how *chu* 除 came to mean *besides* in Early Modern Chinese.

　　Chu 除 in the sense of "to exclude" is similar to subtraction, while its sense of "to add" is similar to addition. These two senses of the word *chu* 除 describe different events, which can be represented by Diagrams 4 and 5 below:

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15 For example, <u>*chule shen zhishi li, bian shuo he tian ren*</u> 除了身只是理，便说合天人 '<u>Except for</u> human's desire, there is nothing but natural justice. So we suggest combining them' (*He'nan Chengshi Yi Shu* 河南程氏遗书 [*Posthumous paper of Madam Chen in He'nan*], Script 2); <u>*chule zhe-ge ma, bie-ge-de dou bu hao*</u> 除了这个马，别个的都不好 '<u>Except for</u> this horse, others are not good at all' (*Lao Qida* 老乞大); *nimen dong-fu li,* <u>*chule*</u> *na liang-ge shitou shizi ganjing, zhi pa lian mao-er gou-er dou bu ganjing* 你们东府里，除了那两个石头狮子干净，只怕连猫儿狗儿都不干净 'In your palace, nothing is clean <u>other than</u> the two stone lions – not even the cats and dogs' (*Honglou Meng* 红楼梦 [*Dream of the Red Chamber*], Script 66).
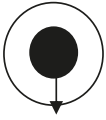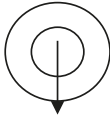
Diagram 4   Diagram 5

Diagram 4 depicts exclusion. The color at its core differs from that at its periphery, signifying two parts with differing natures that are antagonistic to each other. When this antagonism is expressed with language, one of those parts will be rejected whereas the other will be affirmed. Chinese language speakers commonly use the adverb *dou* 都 to emphasize this antagonism[16]:

(28a) 除了　　中间　　　是　黑　的，　　四周　　　　都　不　是
       chule　zhongjian　shi　hei　de　　sizhou　　　dou　bu　shi
       except　center　　be　black-NOM　surroundings　all　not　be
       黑　　的。
       hei　　de
       black-　NOM
       'Except for the center, which is black, the surroundings are not at all black.' (the original form)

(28b) 除了　　中间　　　不　是　白　的，　　四周　　　都　是
       chule　zhongjian　bu　shi　bai　de　　sizhou　　dou　shi
       except　center　　not　be　white-NOM　surroundings　all　be
       白　的。
       bai　de
       white-NOM
       'Except for the center, which is not white, the surroundings are all white.' (the derived form)

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16 Not only is the close relationship between *dou* 都 and the meaning of exclusion reflected in the co-occurrence of *dou* 都 and the negative exclusive particles *chu/she* 除舍，but also it gives rise to the interchangeablity of dou 都 and the affirmative exclusive particles *wei/du* 唯独. For example, *qi duo diyu san e'dao zhe, <u>jie</u> bu he gu er* 其堕地狱三恶道者，皆不和故耳 (*Bo Niepan Jing* 般泥洹经 [*Mahāyāna Mahāparinirvāṇa Sūtra*], Script I) = *tianxia ren qu diyu qinshou e'gui dao zhe, <u>dan</u> zuo xiang yu bu he gu* 天下人趣地狱禽兽饿鬼道者，但坐相与不和故 (*Fo Bo Niepan Jing* 佛般泥洹经 [*Mahāyāna Mahāparinirvāṇa Sūtra*], translated by Bai Fazu, Script , in Western Jin Dynasty); <u>*dou*</u> *you san bing: lao, bing, da-xiao-bian* 都有三病：老、病、大小便 (*Fo Shuo Gu Lai Shi Shi Jing* 佛说古来世时经) = <u>*wei*</u> *you ru shi bing: wei han-re, da-xiao-bian, yu yin-shi, lao* 唯有如是病：谓寒热、大小便、欲饮食、老 (*Zhong Ahan Jing* 中阿含经 [*Madhyamāgama Sutra*], translated by *Samghadeva*, Script 13).

Difference, and the resulting antagonism, is the foundation on which exclusion is built. When one is different from the other, they form a complementary set. Using "+" to signify affirmation, "−" to represent negation, "C" to symbolize a complementary set, exclusion can be summarized as such:

the excluded part   the non-excluded part   the whole set

{+}	{−}	C<+, −>
{−}	{+}	C<−, +>

Diagram 5 depicts addition. The color at its core is the same as that at its periphery, and therefore no antagonism exists within a uniform whole. When two objects of identical natures are combined, their relationship is that of addition. When this addition is expressed using language, both parts must either be rejected or accepted at the same time. The adverb *ye* 也 is commonly used in the Chinese language to emphasize this uniformity:

(29a) <u>除了</u>　中间　　是　白　的，
　　　chule　*zhongjian*　*shi*　*bai*　*de*
　　　besides　center　　be　white- NOM
　　　四周　　　　也　是　白　的。(the original form)
　　　sizhou　　　*ye*　*shi*　*bai*　*de*
　　　surroundings　also　be　white-NOM
　　　'Other than the center, which is white, the surroundings are white as well.'

(29b) <u>除了</u>　中间　　不　是　黑　的，
　　　chule　*zhongjian*　*bu*　*shi*　*hei*　*de*
　　　besides　center　　not　be　black-NOM
　　　四周　　　　也　不　是　黑　的。(the derived form)
　　　sizhou　　　*ye*　*bu*　*shi*　*hei*　*de*
　　　surroundings　also　not　be　black-NOM
　　　'Other than the center, which is not black, the surroundings are not
　　　black either.'

Uniformity is the foundation upon which a relationship characterized by addition is built. One is the same as the other, and both form a union of sets. Using "+" to represent affirmation, "−" to mean negation, "∪" to symbolize a union, addition can be summarized as such:

the excluded part   the non-excluded part   the whole set

| {+} | {+} | ∪<+, +> |
| {−} | {−} | ∪<−, −> |

3.2 The origination of the new usage in Early Modern Chinese

Having clarified the difference between exclusion and addition, we will now investigate why *chu* 除 can be used to denote both exclusion and addition. In Medieval Chinese, *chu* 除 was used only in the sense of exclusion and was not yet used to denote addition. Did its usage to denote addition develop from its usage to denote exclusion, or did it come from elsewhere?

As mentioned above, with time, negative exclusive particles converged into *chu* 除 and *chu-que* 除却 as used in Early Modern Chinese. As for when *chu* 除 and *chu-que* 除却 began to imply addition, Jiang and Wu (1997: 501) opine that they first began to do so in the Song Dynasty; Feng (2000: 420) proposes the Five Dynasties era, whereas Ma (2002: 328) believes it to be the Tang Dynasty. At the same time, Ma noticed that this usage of *chu* 除 and *chu-que* 除去 first appeared in interrogatives. For example[17]:

(30) 除却   麻姑，   更   有   谁？
      chu-que   Magu   geng   you   shui
      except   Magu   more   exist who
      'Other than Magu, who am I left with?'
      (*Magu Shan* 麻姑山 [*Magu mountain*], by Liu Yuxi, in Tang Dynasty)

(31) 除却   苏州，   更   是   谁？
      chu-que   Suzhou   geng   shi shui
      except   Suzhou   more   be   who
      'Other than Suzhou, who am I left with?'
      (*Ji Liu Suzhou* 寄刘苏州 [*Poem sent to Liu Yuxi(Suzhou)*], by Bai Juyi, in Tang Dynasty)

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17 Examples (30)–(32) were drawn from Ma Beijia (2002: 328–329). Some other examples are as follows:

  chu wo, geng shui? 除我，更谁？ 'Other than me, is there anyone else?' (*Bichuni Pinaye* 苾刍尼毘奈耶, translated by Yijing, Script 17, in Tang Dynasty); *chu suo yi gen, geng you he fa?* 除所依根，更有何法？ 'Other than what you rely on, is there any other principle?' (*Apidamo Shunzheng Lilun*阿毘达磨顺正理论 [*Abhidharma Kosa Sastra*], translated by Xuanzang, Script 6); *chu ci er wai, geng you he xin?* 除此二外，更有何心？ 'Other than these two thoughts, is there any other thought?' (*Jushe Lun Shu*俱舍论疏 [*Notes to the Abhidharma Kosa Sastra*], Script 1, by Fabao, in Tang Dynasty).

(32) 除却　　刘　与　吴，　谁　人　　来　　问　我？
　　　chu-que　Liu　yu　Wu　shui　ren　lai　wen　wo
　　　except　Liu　and　Wu　who　people　come　ask　1
　　　'<u>Other than</u> Liu and Wu, who will come to consult me?'
　　　(*Lan Fang Er Shou Cheng Liu Mengde Wu Fangzhi* 懒放二首呈刘梦得吴
　　　方之 [*Two poems presented to Liu Yuxi(Mengde) and Wu Fangzhi*], by Bai
　　　Juyi, in Tang Dynasty)

The question of whether *chuque* 除却 implies addition in the above three examples is open to further discussion. This is because despite being expressed in the form of an interrogative, (30)–(32) are in fact rhetorical questions, which are devices used to emphasize one's assertion more strongly. For this reason, *chuque* 除却 in (30)–(32) can still be viewed as implying exclusion, for example:

(33) 除却　　麻姑，　再　　　没　有　　别人。
　　　chu-que　Magu　zai　mei　you　bieren
　　　except　Magu　anymore　not　have　others
　　　'<u>Other than</u> Ma Gu, there is no one else.'

(34) 除却　　苏州，　再　　　没　有　　别人。
　　　chu-que　Suzhou　zai　mei　you　bieren
　　　except　Suzhou　any more　not　have　others
　　　'<u>Other than</u> Suzhou, there is no one else.'

(35) 除却　　刘　与　吴，　没　有　别人　来　　问　　我。
　　　chu-que　Liu　yu　Wu　mei　you　bieren　lai　wen　wo
　　　except　Liu　and　Wu　not　have　others　come　consult　me
　　　'<u>Other than</u> Liu and Wu, no one else is coming to consult me.'

However, it is possible to reanalyze examples (30)–(32) as true questions rather than rhetorical ones, and the usage of *chuque* 除却 to denote addition is a result of a reanalysis of such types of interrogatives.

　　　Firstly, because examples (30)–(32) each include an interrogative word with arbitrary reference, they are provided with the conditions for reanalysis. The interrogative word *shui* 谁 may be interpreted in two ways: either it does not belong to the same category as the NP at the start of the sentence it is in, or it shares the same category as that NP. If *shui* 谁 does not belong to the same category as the NP before it, the excluded part and the non-excluded part will form a complementary set, and the sentence should therefore be construed as a

rhetorical question, with *chuque* 除却 interpreted to denote exclusion. However, if *shui* 谁 and the NP in front of it belong to the same category, then the excluded and non-excluded parts will form a union set, and the sentence should accordingly be viewed as a genuine interrogative, with *chuque* 除却 denoting addition, for example:

(36) 除却　　麻姑，　另外　　还　有　谁?
　　 chu-que Magu lingwai hai you shui
　　 besides Magu moreover also exist who
　　 'Other than Magu, who else is there?'

(37) 除却　　苏州，　另外　　是　谁?
　　 chu-que Suzhou lingwai shi shui
　　 besides Suzhou moreover be who
　　 'Other than Suzhou, who else is there?'

(38) 除却　　刘　与　吴，　还　有　谁　来　问　我?
　　 chu-que Liu yu Wu hai you shui lai wen wo
　　 besides Liu and Wu also exist who come consult me
　　 'Other than Liu and Wu, who else would come and consult me?'

In addition, interrogatives of the same type as examples (30)–(32) frequently use the adverb *geng* 更 in tandem with *chu-que* 除却. *Geng* 更, when used in such interrogatives, tends to imply addition, and this also provides such interrogatives with room for reanalysis.

   Furthermore, because interrogatives of the same type as examples (30)–(32) are not rare occurrences but in fact exist in large quantities, the high frequency with which they are used gives us an even greater reason to reanalyze these interrogatives. This is because linguistic phenomena which rarely occur cannot serve as a paradigm for reanalysis. Reanalysis is usually undertaken for high-frequency linguistic phenomena. Interrogatives of the same type as examples (30)–(32) can be frequently seen in Early Modern Chinese works, sometimes making many appearances in a single book. An example of such a book is *Recorded Sayings of the Ancient Worthies* 古尊宿语录 (*Gu Zunsu Yulu*) written by Yi Zangzhu 颐藏主 in the Song Dynasty[18]:

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18 *Recorded Sayings of the Ancient Worthies* was edited by Yi Zangzhu in Song Dynasty, but the majority of its contents come from Tang Dynasty.

(39) <u>除却</u> 荒凉， 更 何 守？
chu-que huangliang geng he shou
except wilderness more what defend
'<u>Other than</u> wilderness, what are we defending?'
(Script 14)

(40) <u>除却</u> 着衣、 吃饭、 屙屎、 送尿， 更 有
chu-que zhuo-yi chi-fan e-shi song-niao geng you
except put on clothes eat meal defecate urinate more have
什么 事？
shenme shi
what thing
'What else <u>other than</u> putting on clothes, eating and defecating?'
(Script 15)

(41) 不 知 <u>除却</u> 王维 手， 更 有 何 人
bu zhi chu-que Wang Wei shou geng you he ren
not know except Wang Wei hand more exist what person
画 得 成？
hua de cheng
draw AUX done
'<u>Other than</u> Wang Wei, I do not know if there is another person who can draw this so well.'
(Script 47)

These examples, like the ones above, can be subject to reanalysis. Once a statement previously construed as a rhetorical question is discovered to be in fact a true question after reanalysis, its use of *chu-que* 除却 no longer implies exclusion and instead denotes addition.

 Question words provided these interrogatives with the semantic conditions for reanalysis, while the high frequencies with which these interrogatives are employed provide the value and requisite range for their reanalysis. By reinterpreting these interrogatives as true questions instead of rhetorical ones, the markers *chu-que* 除却 and *chu* 除, which originally denoted only exclusion, developed the additional sense of addition. For example:

(42) 除却　　扬眉　　　　动目　　一切　之　　事　　之外，
chu-que yang-mei　　dong-mu yiqie zhi　shi　zhi wai
besides　raise eyebrow　move eye　all　GEN　thing　aside
直　　　将　　心　　来。
zhi　　jiang　xin　　lai.
directly　take　heart　AUX
'<u>Apart from</u> raising your eyebrows and moving your eyes, please reveal
your true thoughts.'
(*Zu Tang Ji* 祖堂集 [Zu Tang Ji], Script 5, by Jing and Yun, in Southern Tang
Dynasty)

(43) <u>除却</u>　　这个　色，　还　　更　　有　　色　　也　　无？
chu-que zhe ge　se　hai　geng　you　se　ye　wu
besides　this-CL color　also　more　exist color PART NEG
'<u>Besides</u> this matter, what else is there?'
(*Zu Tang Ji* 祖堂集 [Zu Tang Ji], Script 18, by Jing and Yun, in Southern
Tang Dynasty)

(44) 不　　知　　<u>除</u>　　此　　外，　南朝　　　　　　皇帝
bu　zhi　chu　ci　wai,　nanchao　　huangdi
not　know　besides this　aside　Southern Dynasty　emperor
更　　有　　何　　意旨？
geng　you　he　yi zhi
more　have　what　will
'<u>Besides</u> this, what else does the Emperor of the Southern Dynasty
desire?'
(*Jindai Hanyu Yufa Ziliao Huibian* 近代汉语语法资料汇编 [*Compilation of
modern Chinese grammar data*], Chapter on Song Dynasty)

(45) <u>除</u>　　此　之外，　也　少　　一　　拳　　不得。
chu　ci　zhi wai ye　shao yi　quan　bu-de
besides　this aside　also lack　one　punch　impossible
'<u>In addition to</u> this, receiving a punch to the body is mandatory.'
(*Fayan Chanshi Yulu* 法演禅师语录 [*Fayan's saying*], Script 1, by Cai
Liang, in Song Dynasty)

4 The two types of exclusive particles and their interconnectedness

4.1 The phenomena of the two types of exclusive particles

The two types of exclusive particles ("*chu/she* 除舍" and "*wei/du* 唯独") convey emphasis from negative and positive angles, respectively. The *chu/she* 除舍 type expresses exclusion from a negative angle and by rejecting the excluded. The *wei/du* 唯独 type expresses exclusion from a positive angle and by means of affirmation. The *wei/du* 唯独 type is naturally linked to affirmation, while the *chu/she* 除舍 type is naturally linked to negation. This can be observed in Chinese literature and through the comparison between the two groups below:

(46a) 为　　断　　老　　　病　　死　　　苦，　是　菩萨菩提。
wei　duan　lao　　bing　si　　ku　　shi　pusaputi
for　　end　oldness　illness　death　pain　be　Bodhisattva
'That which can end aging, illness, death and suffering <u>is</u> the Bodhisattva.'
(*Weimojie Suo Shuo Jing* 维摩诘所说经 [*Vimalakirtinirdesa Sutra*],
translated by Kumarajiva, Script II, in Later Qin Dynasty)

(46b) 唯　菩萨菩提，　能　断　　一切　老　　　病　　死　　　苦。
wei　pusaiputi　　neng　duan　yiqie　lao　　bing　si　　ku
only　Bodhisattva　can　end　all　　oldness　illness　death　pain
'<u>Only</u> Bodhisattva can end all forms of ageing, illness, death and suffering.'
(*Shuo Wugou Cheng Jing* 说无垢称经 [*Vimalakirtinirdesa Sutra*],
translated by Xuanzang, Script 3, in Tang Dynasty)

(47a) 自　非　佛　　智，　　余　岂　能　　知。
zi　fei　fo　　zhi　　yu　qi　　neng　zhi
if　not　Buddha　wisdom　other　AUX　can　know
'<u>Without</u> the Buddha's wisdom, who could possibly know about it?'
(*Dacheng Qixin Lun Lueshu* 大乘起信论略述 [*An Outline of the Mahāyāna śraddhotpada śāstra*], Script 2, by Tankuang, in Tang Dynasty)

(47b) 除　　佛　　智慧，　　无　　能　知　　者。
Chu　　fo　　zhihui　　wu　　neng　zhi　　zhe
except　Buddha　wisdom　not exist　can　know　NOM
'<u>Other than</u> the Buddha's wisdom, no one else is able to know about it.'
(*Nanyue Si Da Chanshi Li Shiyuan Wen* 南岳思大禅师立誓愿文
[*Sida's vows*], Script 1, by Huisi, in Chen Dynasty)

In examples (46a) and (46b), which are alternative translations of the same Buddhist scripture, *shi* 是 and *wei* 唯 can be used interchangeably.[19] In examples (47a) and (47b) – also alternative translations of the same text – *fei* 非 and *chu* 除 can be used interchangeably. The link between "*chu-she* 除舍" and negation, as well as the link between "*wei-du* 唯独" and affirmation, can also be observed in the vocabulary of the Chinese language, as evinced by the lexicalization of *danshi* 但是 and *chufei* 除非. Because "*chu-she* 除舍" is akin to negation while "*wei-du* 唯独" is akin to affirmation, *chu* 除 and *fei* 非 therefore are combined into a compound, as are *dan* 但 and *shi* 是.[20] On the contrary, *chu-shi* 除是 and *dan-fei* 但非 are not easily lexicalized, because "*chu-she* 除舍" does not share a natural connection with affirmation, and "*wei-du* 唯独" is not naturally linked to negation.[21]

4.2 The interconnectedness of the two types of exclusive particles

Although the *chu/she* 除舍 exclusive particles and the *wei/du* 唯独 exclusive particles signify exclusion from different angles, they nevertheless achieve the same end result and are deeply connected. In alternative translations of the same Buddhist scriptures, we find numerous examples of *chu* 除 and *wei* 唯 used interchangeably:

19 *Wang-shi zhi bu-huai, yi bo-jiu shi lai* 王室之不坏, 繄伯舅是赖 (*Zuo Zhuan* 左传 [*The Spring and Autumn of Annals*], Duke Xiang 14); *er you mu yi, yi wo du wu* 尔有母遗, 繄我独无 (*Zuo Zhuan* 左传 [*The Spring and Autumn of Annals*], Duke Yin 1). The correlation between *shi* 是 and *du* 独 is identical to the correlation between *shi* 是 and *wei* 唯.
20 We can also find typological evidence for the link between *chu/she* 除舍 and negation. For example: The words denoting "unless" in Western Flemish and Dutch both derive from negation.
tenwoare 'unless' < t-en-woare [it-NEG-be.3SG. PST. SUBJ]
tenzij 'unless' < t-en-zij [it-NEG-be.3SG. PRES. SUBJ]   (Croft 2000: 137)
21 Actually, we could find "*chu shi* 除是"in Early Modern Chinese works. For example, *chu shi Ma xiucai lai, wo jiu hao le* 除是马秀才来, 我就好了 'I wouldn't be OK unless Ma *xiucai* comes here' (*Dong Qiang Ji* 东墙记, in Yuan Dynasty); *chu shi de zhe-ban jun-qi he wo yi-ge gege, keyi po de lian-huan jia ma* 除是得这般军器和我一个哥哥, 可以破得连环甲马 'I could defeat them only if I get the particular kind of weapon and my brother' (*Shui Hu Quan Zhuan* 水浒全传 [*Water Margin*], Script 55). However, in these sentences, *chu* 除 and *shi* 是 are not on the same syntactic level. It seems that the origin of *chu-shi* 除是 at a later period is due to the analogical extension of *chu-fei* 除非.

(48a)　除　　一　　比丘　　谓　　尊者　　阿难，　　世尊　　记　　说　　彼，
<u>*chu*</u>　*yi*　*biqiu*　*wei*　*zunzhe A'nan,*　*Shizun*　*ji*　*shuo bi*
except　one　Bhiksu　call　master　Anan　Buddha　record　say　it
现　　法　　当　　得　　无　　知　　证。
xian　*fa*　*dang*　*de*　*wu*　*zhi*　*zheng*
now　doctrine　should　get　not　know　prove
'<u>Other than</u> a Bhiksu named Anan, the Buddha has already named them in advance.'
(*Za Ahan Jing* 杂阿含经 [*Saṁyukta Āgama*], translated by Gunabhadra, Script 45, in Liu Song Dynasty)

(48b)　唯　　一　　苾刍　　现　　居　　学　　位，
<u>*wei*</u>　*yi*　*bichu*　*xian*　*ju*　*xue*　*wei*
only　one　Bhiksu　now　be at　learn　stage
世尊　　已　　为　　授　　记，
Shizun　*yi*　*wei*　*shou*　*ji*
Buddha　already　for　give　mark
见　　法　　得　　法　　当　　证　　满果。
xian　*fa*　*de*　*fa*　*dang*　*zheng*　*man-guo*
Now　doctrine　should　doctrine　should　prove　full fruit
'<u>Only</u> one Bhiksu named Anan has been given a name in advance by the Buddha.'
(*Jie Xia Jing* 解夏经 [*Jie Xia Sutra*], translated by Faxian, Script 1, in Song Dynasty)

(49a)　魔　　及　　魔天、　释梵、　四　　天王、　　沙门、　　婆罗门，
mo　*ji*　*motian*　*shifan*　*si*　*tianwang*　*shamen*　*poluomen*
Māra　and　Māra　Shifan　four　heavenly king　Sramana　Brāhmaṇa
人　　及　　非人　　能　　解　　此　　深义　　者，
ren　*ji*　*feiren*　*neng*　*jie*　*ci*　*shen-yi*　*zhe*
human　and　not human　can　understand　this　philosophy　NOM
除　　如来等正觉　　及　　如来圣众
<u>*chu*</u>　*rulai deng zhengjue*　*ji*　*rulai sheng-zhong*
except　Tathagata　　and　Tathagata supreme assembly
受　　吾　　教　　者。
shou　*wu*　*jiao*　*zhe*
accept　1　creed　NOM
'No one could understand the profound implication, <u>except for</u> the Tathagata Buddha and his followers.'
(*Zeng Yi Ahan Jing* 增壹阿含经 [*Ekottaragama Sutra*], translated by Samghadeva, Script 12, in Eastern Jin Dynasty)

(49b)
天	及	魔、	梵、	沙门、	梵志、
tian	*ji*	*mo*	*fan*	*shamen*	*fanzhi*
heaven	and	Māra	Brahman	Sramana	Brāhmaṇa

一切	余	众,
yiqie	*yu*	*zhong*
all	other	people

能	知	此	义	而	发遣	者,
neng	*zhi*	*ci*	*yi*	*er*	*fa qian*	*zhe*
can	know	this	philosophy	and	persuade and send	NOM

唯	有	如来、	如来弟子
wei	*you*	*rulai*	*rulai dizi*
only	exsit	Tathagata	Tathagata's follower

或	从	此	闻。
huo	*cong*	*ci*	*wen*
could	follow	this	philosophy

'<u>Only</u> the Tathagata Buddha and his followers could understand the implication.'

(*Zhong Ahan Jing* 中阿含经 [*Madhyamāgama Sutra*], translated by Samghadeva, Script 25, in Eastern Jin Dynasty)

Chu 除 as used in examples (48a) and (49a) are instead translated as *wei* 唯 in examples (48b) and (49b). The fact that the same meaning can be conveyed by different particles is adequate proof of their interconnectedness.

The interconnectedness of the *chu/she* 除舍 particles and the *wei/du* 唯独 particles can likewise be observed in such constructions as *chu-wei* 除唯 and *wei-chu* 唯除, which comprise both the affirmative *wei* 唯 and the negative *chu* 除. Examples of these phrases are numerous:

(50)
彼	不	成	及	阿罗汉	后心	亦	不	成,
bi	*bu*	*cheng*	*ji*	*a'luohan*	*hou xin*	*yi*	*bu*	*cheng*
that	not	accomplish	and	Arhat	last heart	also	not	accomplish

除唯	次第	缘	事	可	成。
chu-wei	*cidi*	*yuan*	*shi*	*ke*	*cheng*
except	order	cause	thing	can	accomplish

'With that he cannot make it, and with the last heart of Arhat, he cannot make it either. Only with samanantara-pratyaya he can make it.'

(*She Dacheng Lun* 摄大乘论 [*Mahāyāna Samgraha Sastra*], translated by Buddhasanta, Script I, in Northern Wei Dynasty)

(51) 除唯　　不善　　　恶作　　睡眠，　余　　皆　具　有。
chu-wei　bu-shan　　e-zuo　shuimian　yu　jie　ju　you
Except　unkindness　evilness　sleep　　other　all　all　exist
'Everything is present <u>except for</u> unkindness, evil deeds and sleep.'
(*Apidamo Shunzheng Lilun* 阿毘达磨顺正理论 [*Abhidharma Kosa Sastra*],
translated by Xuanzang, Script 11, in Tang Dynasty)

(52) 除唯　　意　所　行　　色，　一切　色　聚
chu-wei　yi　suo　xing　se　yiqie　se　ju
except　mind　AUX　image　thing　all　　thing　assemble
有　色　诸　　根　所　摄　　者。
You　se　zhu　gen　suo　she　zhe
have　thing　various　root　AUX　control　NOM
<u>'Other than</u> that which is dreamt of by the human imagination,
everything can be perceived by our senses.'
(*Yujia Shi Di Lun* 瑜伽师地论 [*Yogācārabhūmi Sastra*], translated by
Xuanzang, Script 3, in Tang Dynasty)

The examples involving *wei-chu* 唯除 are as follows:

(53) 举　国　　人民　悉　不　杀　生、　不　饮　酒、
ju　guo　renmin　xi　bu　sha　sheng,　bu　yin　jiu
all　nation　people　all　not　kill　life　　not　drink　achoholic beverage
不　食　葱　蒜，　　唯除　　旃荼罗。
bu　shi　cong-suan　wei-chu　zhantuluo
not　eat　onion garlic　except　Zhantuluo
'<u>Except for</u> the evil *Zhantuluo*, no one in the entire nation kills sentient beings,
nor does anyone consume alcohol or heavily-flavored garlic and onion.'
(*Gaoseng Faxian Zhuan* 高僧法显传 [*The Biography of Faxian*], by Faxian,
in Eastern Jin Dynasty)

(54) 唯除　　瞿昙　颜貌　　　端正，
wei-chu　Qutan　yanmao　duanzheng
except　Gautama　appearance　good
其余　无　　及　此　摩纳　者。
qi yu　wu　ji　ci　mona　zhe
other　not exist　reach　this　Mnavaka　NOM
<u>'Except for</u> the handsome Gautama, no one else could hold a candle to
the handsome lad in terms of physical appearance.'
(*Chang Ahan Jing* 长阿含经 [*Dirghagama Sutra*], translated by
Buddhayasa, Script 1, in Later Qin Dynasty)

(55)　此　　正　　　等　　觉　　如来　　　　佛陀　　三句　　　妙义，
　　　ci　zheng　deng jue　rulai　　　　　Fotuo　san ju　miao-yi
　　　this　Correct　peerless　enlightenment　Buddha　three-CL　philosophy
　　　无　　能　　究竟　　宣扬　　　　决择，　唯除　　诸　　佛。
　　　wu　neng　jiujing　xuanyang　jueze　wei-chu　zhu　fo
　　　None　can　finally　spread　decide　except　every　Bodhisattvas
　　　'<u>Except for</u> the Bodhisattvas, no one was able to expound clearly on the deep implications of the Buddha's three sentences.'
　　　(*Shuo Wugou Cheng Jing* 说无垢称经 [*Vimalakirtinirdesa Sutra*], translated by Xuanzang, Script 5, in Tang Dynasty)

One who does not realize that *wei-chu* 唯除 is formed by combining an affirmative exclusive particle with a negative one will easily mistake *wei* 唯 for a function word. In actuality, although the word order of *wei-chu* 唯除 is different from that of *chu-wei* 除唯, the meaning which they convey is identical, i.e., they are both markers signifying exclusion. Neither is there any difference between the semantic contents of *wei-chu* 唯除, *wei* 唯 and *chu* 除.[22] In alternative translations of the same Buddhist text, *wei* 唯, *chu* 除 and *wei-chu* 唯除 can be seen to correspond exactly to one another:

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22 *Wei-chu* 唯除, *wei* 唯 and *du* 独 can be used interchangeably. For example, <u>*wei-chu Anoudaduolong wang, wu ru ci shi*</u> 唯除阿耨达多龙王, 无如此事 (*Qishi Jing* 起世经 [*Aggañña Sutta*], translated by Jnanagupta, Script 1) = <u>*wei Anoudalong, wu you ci huan*</u> 唯阿耨达龙, 无有此患 (*Chang Ahan Jing* 长阿含经 [*Dirghagama Sutra*], translated by Buddhayasa, Script 9) – '<u>Only</u> Anoudalong doesn't suffer from this'; *ru shi bianhua,* <u>*wei-chu jian-zhe neng xin zhi*</u> 如是变化, 唯除见者乃能信之 (*Qishi Yinben Jing* 起世因本经 [*Aggañña Sutra*], translated by Dharmagupta, Script 9) = *shui dang xin shi-jian you qi ri chu shi,* <u>*du*</u> *you jian-zhe xin zhi er* 谁当信世间有七日出时, 独有见者信之耳 (*Da Lou Tan Jing* 大楼炭经, translated by Fali, Script 5, in Western Jin Dynasty) – '<u>Only</u> those who have seen such changes will believe them'.

　Wei-chu 唯除, *chu* 除 and *she* 舍 can be used interchangeably as well. For example, *wo bu jian zhu-tian, mo, fan, shamen, poluomen ji shi-ren shi ci can shi mi er neng xiao hua,* <u>*wei-chu*</u> *rulai yi ren* 我不见诸天、魔、梵、沙门、婆罗门及世人食此残石蜜而能消化, 唯除如来一人 (*Sifen Lu* 四分律 [*Dharmagupta Vinaya*], translated by Buddhayasa, Script 10, in Yao Qin Dynasty) = *wo zhong bu jian shamen, poluomen, tian ji renmin neng xiao ci bing,* <u>*chu*</u> *rulai zhi zhen deng zheng jue* 我终不见沙门、婆罗门、天及人民能消此饼, 除如来至真等正觉 (*Zeng Yi Ahan Jing* 增壹阿含经 [*Ekottaragama Sutra*], translated by Samghadeva, Script 20) – 'No one can digest this cake <u>except for</u> the Tathagata Buddha'; <u>*wei-chu*</u> *rulai, wei you sheng wen ji yu pusa er neng zhi ci da shi hui bian* 唯除如来, 未有声闻及余菩萨而能制此大士慧辩 (*Shuo Wugou Cheng Jing* 说无垢称经 [*Vimalakirtinirdesa Sutra*], translated by Xuanzang, Script 2) = <u>*zi-she*</u> *rulai, wei you sheng wen ji pusa neng zhi qi le shuo zhi* 自舍如来, 未有声闻及菩萨能制其乐说之 (*Weimojie Suo Shuo Jing* 维摩诘所说经 [*Vimalakirtinirdesa Sutra*], translated by Kumarajiva, Script I) – '<u>Except for</u> the Tathagata Buddha, no one could be as wise and eloquent as him'.

(56a) 唯　一　苾刍　现　居　学　位，
wei yi bichu xian ju xue wei
only one Bhiksu now be at learn stage
世尊　已　　为　授　记，
Shizun yi wei shou ji
Buddha already for give mark
见　法　　得　法　当　证　满果。
xian fa de fa dang zheng man-guo
Now doctrine should doctrine should prove full fruit
'Only one Bhiksu named Anan has been given a name in advance by the Buddha.'
(*Jie Xia Jing* 解夏经 [*Jie Xia Sutra*], translated by Faxian, Script 1, in Song Dynasty)

(56b) 除　一　比丘　谓　尊者　阿难，　我　记　说　彼　于
Chu yi biqiu wei zunzhe A'nan wo ji shuo bi yu
except one Bhiksu call master Anan 1 record say it at
现　法　当　得　无　知　证。
xian fa dang de wu zhi zheng
now doctrine should get not know prove
'Other than a Bhiksu named Anan, the Buddha has already named them in advance.'
(*Za Ahan Jing* 杂阿含经 [*Saṁyukta Āgama*], translated by Gunabhadra, Script 45, in Liu Song Dynasty)

(56c) 唯除　一　比丘，　我　亦　本　已　记　于
wei-chu yi biqiu wo yi ben yi ji yu
except one Bhiksu 1 also originally already mark at
现法　中　得　究竟　智。
xian-fa zhong de jiujing zhi
presence in obtain final wisedom
'Only one Bhiksu by the name of Anan has his name bestowed by the Buddha; he will definitely be able to attain enlightenment.'
(*Zhong Ahan Jing* 中阿含经 [*Madhyamāgama Sutra*], translated by Samghadeva, Script 29, in Eastern Jin Dynasty)

(57a) 所有　龙宫，　恶风　暴　起，
suoyou longgong e-feng bao qi
all dragon palace evil wind suddenly rise

吹　　其　　宫　　内，　　失　　宝饰衣，
chui　qi　　gong　nei　shi　bao shi yi
blow　3.GEN　palace　in　lose　jewel embellished clothes
龙　　身　　自　　　现　　以为　　苦恼，
long　shen　zi　　xian　yiwei　ku'nao
dragon　body　naturally　display　take as　distress
唯　阿耨达　　龙王　　　无　　如　是　患。
wei　A'nouda　longwang　wu　　ru　shi　huan
only　Anavatapta　Dragon King　not have　as　this　suffering
'The typhoon suddenly rises in all dragon palaces, which makes
all other dragons lose their majestic robes and reveal their true
snake-like selves. Only the Dragon King Anavatapta doesn't suffer
from this.'
(*Chang Ahan Jing* 长阿含经 [*Dirghagama Sutra*], translated by
Buddhayasa, Script 18, in Later Qin Dynasty)

(57b)　除　　阿耨达多　　龙王，　　　其余　诸　　龙，
　　　　chu　A'noudaduo　longwang　qi-yu　zhu　long
　　　　except　Anavatapta　Dragon King　other　every　dragon
游戏　乐　　时，　有　　热风　　来，　　吹　　其　　身体，
youxi　le　shi　you　re-feng　lai　chu　qi　shenti
play　happy　ADV　exist　hot wind　come　blow　3.GEN　body
即　　　　失　天　　形，
ji　　shi　tian　xing,
at that time　lose　heaven　appearance
现　　蛇　　形　　相，　　　有　如　是　苦。
xian　she　xing　xiang　you　ru　shi　ku
display　snack　shape　appearance　have　as　this　pain
'Except for the Dragon King Anavatapta, all other dragons lose their
majestic robes in the face of a typhoon, and their draconic forms give
way to reveal their true snake-like selves.'
(*Qishi Jing* 起世经 [*Aggañña Sutra*], translated by Jnanagupta, Script 1,
in Sui Dynasty)

(57c)　唯除　　阿耨达多　　龙王，　　　其余　诸　　龙，
　　　　wei-chu　A'noudaduo　longwang　qi yu　zhu　long
　　　　except　Anavatapta　Dragon King　other　every　dragon
游戏　乐　　时，　有　　热风　　来，　　吹　　彼等　　身，
youxi　le　shi　you　re feng　lai　chui　bi deng　shen
play　happy　ADV　exist　hot wind　come　blow　3 PL　body

即　　　　失　天　　色,
ji　　　*shi*　*tian*　*se,*
at that time　lose　heaven　appearance
现　　蛇　　形　　色,　　　　有　如　是　苦。
xian　*she*　*xing*　*se*　　　*you*　*ru*　*shi*　*ku*
display　snack　shape　appearance　have　as　this　pain
'<u>Except for</u> the Dragon King Anavatapta, all other dragons lose their
majestic robes in the face of a typhoon, and their draconic forms give
way to reveal their true snake-like selves.'
(*Qishi Yinben Jing* 起世因本经 [*Aggañña Sutra*], translated by
Dharmagupta, Script 1, in Sui Dynasty)

The fact that groups (56) and (57) use *wei* 唯, *chu* 除 and *wei-chu* 唯除 inter-changeably is strong proof of the fact that no difference exists between the three; the fact that *wei-chu* 唯除 is formed by combing *wei* 唯 with *chu* 除 further shows the interconnectedness between the functions of the *wei/du* 唯独 type and the *chu/she* 除舍 type.

5 Afterword: typology and grammaticalization

5.1 Different types of exclusive particles between Old Chinese and Modern Chinese

In typology, a principle exists which states that if a certain language contains markers denoting negation, it must also contain markers denoting affirmation; the reverse, however, is not true (Talmy 2000). For example, if a language contains markers akin to "before", it definitely contains markers denoting "after"; if a language has a word for "except", it will have a word that means "only", but not vice versa. This is due to the fact that "before" and "except" are markers denoting negation and a rejection of reality, whereas "after" and "only" denote affirmation and an acknowledgement of reality. Affirmative words usually arise earlier in a language, whereas most words denoting negation appear later and are derived from affirmative words. Modern Chinese has both affirmative exclusive particles (such as *zhi* 只 and *zhiyou* 只有) and negative exclusive particles (such as *chu* 除 and *chule* 除了). If we were to compare only Modern Chinese to Indo-European languages such as English, we would very likely believe that similar exclusive markers are shared between Chinese and the Indo-European

languages and thus categorize the exclusive markers of Chinese together with Indo-European ones. However, through the investigation of the historical development of exclusive markers in the Chinese language, we discover that Old Chinese only had affirmative exclusive particles, and negative exclusive particles did not come into being until Medieval Chinese. It would therefore be untrue to say that both types have co-existed, as they now do, since Old Chinese. Thus, typology is inseparable from historical linguistics; if one is not cognizant of the historical development of the language which one studies, one will easily commit gross simplifications.

5.2 A result of two different mechanisms of grammaticalization

Grammaticalization is a crucial theory in linguistics, and has several causative mechanisms: up to the present moment, analogical extension, reanalysis and borrowing are the three mechanisms with universal recognition from linguists. To perceive all linguistic development as a result of analogical extension would be a gross oversimplification of grammaticalization theory. The origin and development of the *chu/she* 除舍 exclusive particles in the Chinese language is the result of two different mechanisms of grammaticalization. The sudden appearance of the *chu/she* 除舍 exclusive particles in Medieval Chinese is clearly influenced by the translation of Buddhist texts from Sanskrit to Chinese; the Chinese language borrowed such exclusive particles as *sthāpayitvā* and *muktvā* from Sanskrit. This borrowing occurs indirectly through translation between two written languages, and is different from borrowing which occurs directly through contact between different spoken languages. Indirect borrowing is a form of long-distance borrowing, with the source language and target language located geographically far from one other. Direct borrowing, on the other hand, is a form of close-distance borrowing, with the source and target languages geographically proximal. Although indirect borrowing is a unique and peculiar phenomenon in language contact, it is a form of language contact worthy of our attention. Even more noteworthy is the fact that loan words do not stay the same after entering the environment of their new language; the *chu/she* 除舍 exclusive particles developed a new usage denoting addition in a period following that of Medieval Chinese. In the special situation of the interrogative, the *chu/she* 除舍 particles are reanalyzed to produce its usage denoting addition. The development of the *chu/she* 除舍 particles is a classic example of grammaticalization: its origin is characterized by language contact and borrowing, while its modern development is the result of reanalysis.

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The postpositions *suo* 所 and *bian* 边 in translated Chinese Buddhist scriptures of the Medieval Period

Abstract: In the translated Chinese Buddhist scriptures of the Medieval Period, *suo* 所 and *bian* 边 can be used in two structures: "PREP + NP *suo/bian* + VP" or "VP + PREP + NP *suo/bian*". When the NP is a noun that primarily refers to a person's identity or a pronoun, *suo* and *bian* have been grammaticalized into postpositions that refer to object argument from the localizer word and have gained case marker function through metonymy and reanalysis. This usage of *suo* and *bian* is not only the result of the evolution of Chinese relative components, but is also influenced by some of the classic language from the original scriptures.

Keywords: the translated Chinese Buddhist scriptures of the Medieval Period, *suo*, *bian*, localizer words, object postposition, case marker

1 Foreword

Tatsuo Ōta ([1988] 1991) noted that *suo* and *xu* in the Medieval Period have two special usages as auxiliary nouns. "The first usage: [these words] mean place, front, and refer to a nearby place (another similar word is *bian*). They have since lost their lexical meaning, and simply mean 'to'. This usage is similar to the usage of *xing* in the Yuan Dynasty. Another usage is the abbreviated form of the word *suoyou* which means 'the thing for'…, 'everything one possesses'…" (Tatsuo Ōta 1991: 12).

At the same time, Jiang (1999) also found in the fictions of the Wei-Jin period that *xu* can be used as a genitive marker. Later, Liang (1994), Cao (1999) and other scholars thoroughly studied and provided new evidence for the use of *suo* and *xu* as genitive markers in Chinese translations of the Buddhist scriptures of the Medieval Period. Jiang (1999: 87) pointed out in her paper that "the original meaning of *suo* and *xu* placed after nouns or pronouns sometimes are bleached." The use of *suo* and *xu* as genitive markers is related in a certain way to their loss of

lexical meaning. Inspired by Tatsuo Ōta and Jiang Lansheng and other scholars, this paper will primarily take as its basic corpus medieval Chinese translations of Buddhist scriptures to discover the usage of *suo* (and another word, *bian*, which has the same function), which appears after NP as an attached form, when NP is a noun that mainly refers to the person's identity, a pronoun, or a few other nouns. This paper will focus on analysing the characteristics of sentence structures, and investigate the origin of *suo* and *bian* as genitive markers and how they came into use.

The translation from Chinese text to English will follow the grammatical structure of Chinese to illustrate the changes that occurred in the usage of these structural auxiliary words.

2 Syntactic distribution characteristics

Based on whether or not the "NP *suo/bian*" can be an object of the preposition, and may be placed before or after a VP, we can divide it into three categories:

2.1 S + PREP + NP *suo/bian* + VP

"PREP + NP *suo/bian*" is placed in front of the VP as an adverbial. The preposition is limited to *yu*. Based on the nature of the NP, the sentence can be divided into three sub-categories.

2.1.1 NP is a noun or noun phrase that refers to a person's identity

A. The examples of *suo*

(1) 自今 以后， 于 众僧 所，若 老 若 少，
zijin yihou yu zhongseng suo ruo lao ruo shao
from now on to monks OBJ such as old people such as young people
等 心 恭敬， 不 生 分别。
deng xin gongjing bu sheng fenbie
(have) the same mind respecting not have differences
'From now on, [I] shall have the same mind in respecting the monks, and not have differences with them.'
(*Dazhuangyan Lunjing* 大庄严论经, translated by Kumārajīva)

(2)　彼　　阿育王　　于　佛　　　　所　极　　　生　　敬　　　信，
　　　bi　Ayuwang　yu　fo　　　　suo　ji　　　sheng　jing　　xin,
　　　that　Ashoka　to　the Buddha　OBJ　extremely　give　respect　trust
　　　合掌　　　　　　向　　比丘　　　作礼。
　　　hezhang　　　　xiang　Biqiu　　zuoli
　　　palms together　towards　Bhikkhus　pay homage
　　　'Ashoka respects [and] and trusts the Buddha to the extreme, and he brings
　　　his palms together towards the Bhikkhus to pay them homage.'
　　　(*Za Ahan Jing* 杂阿含经 [*Samyutta-nikaya*], translated by Gunabhadra)

B.　The example of *bian*

(3)　若　比丘　　于　比丘尼　　边　强　　行淫　者，
　　　ruo　Biqiu　　yu　Biqiuni　　bian　qiang　xingyin　zhe
　　　if　Bhikkhu　to　Bhikkhuni　OBJ　force　rape　　hypothetical conditional marker
　　　比丘　　得　　　波罗夷
　　　Biqiu　　de　　boluoyi
　　　Bhikkhu　commit　the parajika
　　　'If a Bhikkhu raped a Bhikkhuni, he will be convicted of the crime of parajika.'
　　　(*Moheseng Qilü* 摩诃僧祇律 [*Mahasangha-vinaya*], translated by FaXian)

Sometimes, *suo* and *bian* may appear alternately. For example:

(4)　是　　故，　　诸　比丘　若　有　　　智者，
　　　shi　gu　　zhu　Biqiu　ruo　you　　zhizhe
　　　this　reason　Bhikkhus　if　　there is　a wise man
　　　恒　　于　佛　　　所，作　　　敬重心，　　　稀有之心，
　　　heng　yu　fo　　　suo　zuo　　jing zhong xin　xiyou zhi xin
　　　often　to　Buddha　OBJ　generate　respected mood　rare of heart
　　　于　法　　　僧　　　边，亦　须　　生　　　于
　　　yu　fa　　　seng　　bian　yi　xu　　sheng　　yu
　　　to　buddha　dharma　monks　OBJ　also　need to　generate　DO
　　　敬重　　之心。
　　　jingzhong　zhi xin
　　　respected　mood
　　　'For this reason, Bhikkhus, if there is a wise man who often generates
　　　a mood of respect and has a rare heart for the buddha, he also needs to
　　　generate a mood of respect for dharma and the monks.'
　　　(*Fobenxing Jing* 佛本行集经, translated by Jnanagupta)

2.1.2 NP is a pronoun

A. The example of *suo*

(5) 婆罗门　　言：我　是　帝释，　　　　　　　　我　于　汝　<u>所</u>
Poluomen yan wo shi dishi 　　　　　　　*wo yu ru suo*
Brahman said I am Sakra-devanam-Indra I to you OBJ
甚　　生疑心，　故　来到　此。
shen sheng yixin gu laidao ci
deeply suspicious so come here
'Brahman said: "I am Sakra-devanam-Indra, and I'm deeply suspicious of
you, so [I] came here."'
(*Yinse Nü Jing* 银色女经, translated by Buddhasanta)

B. The example of *bian*

(6) 波婆伽梨　虽　　害　于　我，我　于　其　<u>边</u>，永无　　瞋恨。
Bopojiali sui hai yu wo wo yu qi bian yongwu chenhen
Bopojiali though hurt to me I to him OBJ never hatred
'Though Bopojiali persecuted me, I will never hate him.'
(*Xianyu Jing* 贤愚经, translated by Hui Jue et al.)

(7) 车匿，　　我　今　向　　汝，亦　大　欢喜。
Che Ni wo jin xiang ru yi da huanxi
Chandaka I now to you also very like
以　　　如是　业，
yi ru shi ye
because of this karma
汝　于　我　边，心　　　　大　孝顺，
ru yu wo bian xin da xiaoshun
you to me OBJ in your mind very filial piety
大　爱　敬　　我。
da ai jing wo
very love respect me
'Chandaka, I like you very much now. Because of this karma, you show
filial piety and respect to me.'
(*Fobenxing Jijing* 佛本行集经, translated by Jnanagupta)

2.1.3 NP is one of the other nominal components

A.   The example of *suo*

(8) 王　　　闻　　是　　已，　　　于　三宝　　　所，　深　　　生
wang　*wen*　*shi*　*yi*　　*yu Sanbao*　*suo*　*shen*　*sheng*
the king　heard　this　already　to　Triratna　OBJ　deeply　generated
敬信，　　　作礼　　还　　　　　宫。
jingxin　　*zuoli*　*huan*　　*gong*
respecting　saluted　returned　the palace
'When the king heard this, he was full of respect for Triratna, then he returned to the Palace.'
(*Zabaozang Jing* 杂宝藏经, translated by Kiṃkārya and Tan Yao)

B.   The example of *bian*

(9) 菩萨　　　　见　　　已，　　生　　　大　欢喜、
Pusa　　　*jian*　　*yi*　　*sheng*　*da*　*huanxi*
Bodhisattva　has seen　already　generated　very　happiness
希有　胜上　　　　　　奇特之心，　于　此　袈裟
xiyou　*shengshang*　　*qite zhixin*　*yu ci*　*jiasha*
rare　most excellent　supreme　strange mind　to　this　Kasaya
染色　　衣
ranse　*yi*
stained　clothes
边，　复　　更　　倍　　生　　殷重　　　　至到
bian fu　*geng*　*bei*　*sheng*　*yin zhong*　　*zhidao*
OBJ　again　more　doubly　birth　respectful effort　the most
欢喜之心。
huanxi zhi xin
happiness mind
'When the Bodhisattva saw the man, he felt very happy, and he is full of love for this Kasaya.'
(*Fobenxing Jijing* 佛本行集经, translated by Jnanagupta)

2.2 S + VP + NP *suo/bian*

"PREP + NP *suo/bian*" as a complement is after VP only with preposition *yu*. NP is only limited to refer a person. For example:

(10)

诸	比丘	言：	稀有世尊，	提婆达多	恒
zhu	*Biqiu*	*yan*	*xiyou shizun*	*Tipodaduo*	*heng*
many	Bhikkhus	said	Rare Bhagavat	Devadatta	often

起	恶心
qi	*exin*
produces	evil heart

于	如来	所，	如来	云何	犹故	活	之？
yu	*Rulai*	*suo*	*Rulai*	*yunhe*	*yougu*	*huo*	*zhi*
to	Bhagavat	OBJ	Bhagavat	why	still	let live	him

'Many Bhikkhus said: "Rare Bhagavat, Devadatta often produces an evil heart in Bhagavat. Why do you still keep him alive?"'
(*Zabaozang Jing* 杂宝藏经, translated by Kiṃkārya and Tan Yao)

2.3 NP *suo* + VP

In our investigation of the corpus of the Chinese translations of Buddhist Scriptures, we found only one example of this format. It can be regarded as an ellipsis of the preposition *yu*.

(11)

如	是	之	幢相，	不	害	于	外物，
ru	*shi*	*zhi*	*chuangxiang*	*bu*	*hai*	*yu*	*wai wu,*
like	such a	of	solemn appearance	not	affected	by	external things

内	有	慈悲心，	常	救	护	一切。
nei	*you*	*cibeixin*	*chang*	*jiu*	*hu*	*yiqie*
inside	have	compassion	often	save	protect	everything

是故
shi gu
(because of) this reason

彼人	所，	不应	生	怖畏。
bi ren	*suo*	*bu ying*	*sheng*	*bu wei*
that person	OBJ	should not	generate	fearing

'His appearance is so solemn and not affected by the outside world. He has a heart of compassion, and he always rescues and protects everyone. So we shouldn't be afraid of him.'
(*Dazhuangyan Lunjing* 大庄严论经, translated by Kumārajīva)[1]

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1 "*Bi ren suo* ('that person objective case maker')"; if taken in isolation, this example could easily be misinterpreted as an agent subject of a later VP. However, through the context we can

2.4 Summary

From the syntactic distribution of *suo* and *bian* in the above sentences, we can observe the following phenomena and characteristics:

(a) *Suo* can appear in more diverse constructions than *bian*.

(b) *Suo* appeared earlier than *bian*. Sporadic examples may be seen in the translation of Buddhist scriptures of the Eastern Han Dynasty. However, *bian* did not appear until the translation of Buddhist scriptures in the Three Kingdoms, particularly in *Fobenxing Jijing* which appeared later and in which *bian* was used more than before.

(c) The syntactic position of *suo* and *bian* is fixed. They appear only after a noun that is the object in the preposition structure either as an adverb or a complement.

(d) In the structure "PREP + NP *suo/bian*", the preposition is forced to appear where only one preposition *yu* can appear. There are few exceptions. See example (11).

(e) In the structure "PREP + NP *suo/bian*", NP is a noun that mainly refers to the person's identity or a pronoun; the other referents include only a small number of NPs.

The semantic meaning of "PREP (*yu*) + NP *suo/bian*" in the whole structure has already changed; it refers not to the location where the action or event happened, but rather the object that is acted upon or deals with relations. Example 3 does not mean that the Buddhist monk raped another woman next to the Buddhist nun. It states that the Buddhist monk raped the Buddhist nun. Obviously, "*suo/bian*" in such sentences is no longer a localizer word with its original lexical meaning, but has already grammaticalized into a postposition. This paper will focus on "*suo/bian*" as a postposition argument.

3 The source of postposition *suo/bian* and its formation process

3.1 The source of postposition *suo/bian*

Suo/bian, a postposition, refers to location. Tatsuo Ōta and Jiang Lansheng have already pointed this out, and I agree with their point of view. But Jiang focused

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determine its grammatical function and semantic properties. This usage is rare. It also illustrates how the structure is more stringently restricted by syntactic conditions.

on how *suo* and *xu*, which originally referred to location, developed as a genitive maker. This paper will focus on how the sentence structure *suo/bian* moved from a location reference to an object relation.

Incidentally, although *xu* is closely related to *suo* in terms of source and usage and both share much in common, in the corpus we studied, we only found one sentence with *xu* that had the same usage as *suo*. This paper will discuss specifically how the sentence structure *suo/bian* appeared and developed into an object marker.[2]

3.2 The formation process of postposition *suo/bian*

3.2.1 The syntactic function of *suo/bian*

Suo/bian as a location marker is generally placed after an NP and combines with it to refer to a specific location. The structure "NP + *suo/bian*" is a modifier structure.

"NP + *suo/bian*" can appear in three syntactic positions (and refers to its syntactic function):

A.   Localizer subject:

(12) 时，   王头   边   有   一器。
      shi   *wang tou*   *bian*   *you*   *yi qi*
      at that time   King's head   side   had   a utensil
      'At that time, on one side of the King's head was a utensil.'
      (*Dazhuangyan Lunjing* 大庄严论经, translated by Kumārajīva)

(13) 过去   久远   无量   世   时，
      guoqu   *jiuyuan*   *wuliang*   *shi*   *shi*
      in the past   long time ago   immeasurable   world   at the time
      雪山   边   有一仙人，
      xue shan   *bian*   *you yi xianren*
      next to the snow mountain   there was a fairy

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2 Tatsuo Ōta (1991) cited two examples of *xu*. He thought the function and meaning were the same as *suo*. It also referred to "place", "front" or "to". The two examples are: (1) *Yong wu fu xin zai zhu wu xu* ('Never has fuxin in wu' in *Sheng jing* 5 Da3 104xia) (2) *Wang you da en zai wo xu* ('The king had great grace for me' in *Jiu za piyu jing shang Da 4 514 zhong*).

名　　　　提婆延，　是　　婆罗门　　种。
ming　　　*Tipo yan, shi*　*poluomen*　*zhong*
name was Tipoyan　　was　Brahman　Caste
'A long, long time ago, next to the snow mountain there was a fairy whose name was Tipoyan, and he belonged to the Brahmin caste.'
(*Zabaozang Jing* 杂宝藏经, translated by Kiṃkārya and Tan Yao)

B.　　Localizer object:

(14)　往　　　至　　佛　　　　　所，　　　　而　　白　　佛　　　言：
　　　wang　*zhi*　*fo*　　　　*suo*　　　　*er*　*bai*　*fo*　　*yan*
　　　go　　to　the Buddha dwelling place　and　said　Buddha　saying
　　　"云何　舍利弗、　目连　　　　淫　　牧牛女？"
　　　yunhe　*shelifo*　*Mulian*　　　*yin*　*muniu nü*
　　　why　Sariputta　Moggallana　raped　Cowherd girl
　　　'[He] went to the Buddha's residence, and said to Buddha: "Why did Sariputta and Moggallana rape the cowherd girl?"'
　　　(*Zabaozang Jing* 杂宝藏经, translated by Kiṃkārya and Tan Yao)

In this format, "NP + *suo/bian*" usually acts as a localizer object after motion verbs such as *dao* 到 'to go to', *wang* 往 'to go to', *zhi* 至 'to go to', *yi* 诣 'to go to', *xing* 行 'to walk to', *xiang* 向 'to go towards', *lai* 来 'to come to', *laiyi* 来诣 'to come to', *wangyi* 往诣 'to go to', *wangdao* 往到 'to go to', *xiangdao* 向到 'to walk to', *zhidao* 至到 'to go to', *laizhi* 来至 'to come to', *wangzhi* 往至 'to go to', *xingzhi* 行至, 'to walk to', etc. It also can be an object after other verbs. For example:

(15)　坐　　彼　　水　　边。
　　　zuo　*bi*　*shui*　*bian*
　　　sat by　that　water　side
　　　'[The Buddha] sat by the river.'
　　　(*Fobenxing Jijing* 佛本行集经, translated by Jnanagupta)

C.　　Prepositional object:

(16)　在　　　此　　池边　　共　　　食　牛　不？
　　　zai　*ci*　*chi bian*　*gong*　　*shi*　*niu*　*bu*
　　　Beside　this　pool　　together　eat　beef　or not
　　　'Have they ever eaten beef by the pool?'
　　　(*Baiyu Jing* 百喻经, translated by Qiu na pidi)

(17) 以   其绳   罽   取，   置于   水   边
     yi   *qi sheng* *juan* *qu*   *zhi yu*   *shui*   *bian*
     with   a rope   net   to fetch   lay onto   water   side
     'Capture [fish] with ropes and nets, and then place them on the riverside.'
     (*Eyuwang Jing* 阿育王经 [*Ashokavadana*], translated by Sanghapala)

In the first syntactic environment, "NP + *suo/bian*" as a subject or object is the main argument of the sentence. It is more independent, so its meaning cannot be changed easily in such a syntactic position.

In comparison, consider the final syntactic environment. With "NP +*suo/bian*" as an object after a preposition, the meaning of the prepositional structure "PREP+ *suo/bian*" will be affected and restricted by the whole sentence structure, especially by the semantic type of the sentence's main verb. Its meaning thus changes. When the main verb is not a movement verb, existential verb, or knowledge verb, "PREP + *suo/bian*" as a modifier or a complement of the verb will obviously undergo change in meaning and become an object argument from a localizer argument.

3.2.2 Metonymy: location → object

Hopper and Traugott (2003:2) pointed out: "Metonymic change involves specifying one meaning in terms of another that is present, even if only covertly, in the context. It is largely correlated with shifts to meanings situated in the subjective belief state or attitude toward the situation, including the linguistic one."

The premise of transformation from a location marker to an object marker can be understood as a kind of conceptual metonymy. This metonymic model exists in many examples seen across languages. Below are two examples in modern Chinese:

(18) 北京   就   售   台   武器   一事
     Beijing *jiu*   *shou* *tai*   *wuqi*   *yishi*
     Beijing   regarding sell   Taiwan weapon   matter
     向   华盛顿   提出   抗议。
     xiang   *Huashengdun* *tichu*   *kangyi*
     towards Washington   bring bout protest
     'The Chinese government protested against the American government about the sale of weapons to Taiwan.'

(19) 对于   你   提出   的   这   个   问题，
     Duiyu   *ni*   *tichu*   *de*   *zhe*   *ge*   *wenti*
     Regarding you   put forward   NMZ   DEM   CL   question

上面	没有	给出	明确	的	意见。
shangmian	*meiyou*	*geichu*	*mingque*	*de*	*yijian*
the leaders	did not	give	a clear	NMZ	answer

'The leaders did not give a clear answer to the question you put forward.'

Therefore in terms of medieval scriptures, the "NP + *suo/bian*", "PREP + NP + *suo/bian* +VP" or "VP+ PREP + NP + *suo/ bian*" structures were translated as location markers via the same metonymic process as shown above.

As a preposition phrase, "PREP + NP *suo/bian*" changed from expressing location to expressing object through the metonymic mechanism. Such was its beginning. Next, we need to further explain why "NP + *suo/bian*" in the structure "PREP + NP *suo/bian* + VP" or "VP + PREP + NP *suo/bian*" was grammaticalized and how the process of grammaticalization was achieved.

3.2.3 Reanalysis

At first the structure "PREP + NP + *suo/bian*+VP" or "VP + PREP + NP *suo/bian*" referred to "something that happened in a location", or to "some action took place or happened at a location". "PREP + NP *suo/bian*" only provides the background of events as a localizer argument. It was not the main argument of the sentence. The behaviour of VP does not have a direct semantic relation with *suo/bian* as a preposition object.

Following the appearance of the metonymic change, the original localizer argument "NP + *suo/bian*" became an object marker, which has a closer relationship with the VP. It not only had background information about the event but also integrated the whole event. In this case, although the whole structure "PREP + NP *suo/bian* +VP" or "VP + PREP + NP *suo/bian*" had not changed, the semantic relations "PREP + NP *suo/bian*" between the VP did change. In the translations of Buddhist scriptures in the Medieval Period, the preposition "*yu + suo/bian*" is represented by an object and gets its meaning from a location.

When the NP itself in the "NP *suo/bian*" is a noun or a pronoun that refers to a person, "NP *suo/bian*" has the same syntactic function and semantic meaning as an NP. They all indicate the object involved in the action. In this case, the prepositional phrase in the structure "PREP + NP *suo/bian* +VP" or "VP + PREP + NP *suo/bian*" may be reanalysed as follows:

"PREP + (NP+ *suo/bian*)"	→	"PREP + NP + *suo/bian*"
↓		↓
(modifier + centre word)	→	(centre word + attached components)

That is, after re-analysis, *suo/bian* becomes a postposition from a centre word. It has grammaticalized into an attached form from a content word.

In the new semantic relation, *suo/bian* in "NP + *suo/bian*" has in fact become a redundant component. Structural changes are always behind semantic changes. Therefore, the original structure of *suo/bian* will be preserved while its semantic relation has changed. As an attached form, it remains after the NP.

It is worth noting that as far as we can tell based on our examinations of the corpus of Medieval Period translations of Buddhist scriptures, "*yu* +NP + *suo/bian*" and "VP + *yu*+ NP *suo/bian*" have almost always changed their semantic relations. However, the same structure with other prepositions, such as *zai*, *cong*, *xiang* remained unaffected.[3] This shows that the generation of new semantic relations is not only related to the whole sentence patterns, but also has relation with some special prepositions. We hypothesize that this is because *yu* is more grammatical than *zai*, *cong*, *xiang*.

3.2.4 The coexistence of old and new formats

Previously, there was already a format "PREP + NP + VP" referring to the object or affective relation in Chinese. After the generation of the new format "PREP + NP *suo/bian* + VP" which referred to the object or affective relation, the two forms expressing the same semantic meaning were used at the same time. For example:

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3 In *Fobenxing Jijing*, there are sentences such as *Wo shi bugan xiang taizi bian tongda ci yu* ('I really cannot let the prince understand these words'). / *Wo jingeng cong a shei bian qiu meihao zhi shi* ('I know now whom to ask for more good food'). Although *xiang* as a preposition referred to the object in the Medieval Period, it is more commonly used as a motion verb meaning 'to go to…'. The meaning of *bian* referred to a localizer in a sentence was still significant. in the Buddhist sutra, there were the following examples: "*Ershi* ('At that time') *douyi* ('name of a place') *Poluomen* ('Brahman'), *shi* ('was') s*helifosuo* ('Sharifutsu') *jiu shan zhishi* ('old good friends'), *lazhi* ('came to') *shelifu* ('Sharifutsu') *suo* ('place'), *zuo shiyan* ('said such words'): *Zunzhe* ('Nagasena'), *yu* ('approval') *wo* ('me') *chujia* ('to be a monk'). *Shelifu* ('Sharifutsu') *dayan* ('answered'): *Ci shi haoshi* ('This is a good thing'), *ru Poluomen chang yu shamen xiangfan* ('you Brahman often argued with monks'), *he chu de xinxin* ('Where did you get confidence')? *Cong shui wen fa* ('from who heard Dharma'), *fa huanxi xin* ('birth happy feelings')? *Shizun* ('Buddha') *bian* ('localizer or object') *ye* ('mood')? *Zhu* ('every') *biqiu* ('Bhikkhu') *bian* ('localizer or object') *ye* ('mood')? *Poluomen* ('Brahman') *yan* ('said'): "*Wo yi wu xinxin* ('I neither have confidence'), *fu wu huanxi* ('and have joy'), *yi bu cong ta wen* ('nor heard from others'). *Dan wo sha mu* ('But I killed mother'), *yu chu ci zui* ('wanted to get rid of this sin'), *shi gu chujia* ('because of this, I became a monk'). Therefore, such examples can be seen to refer to at least two meanings (localizer or object).

(20) 汝　　于　我　所　常　　生　　　怨害，
ru　yu　wo　suo　chang　sheng　yuan hai
you　for　me　　often　generate　heart of hatred
然　　我　于　汝　都　　无　　　恶心。
ran　wo　yu　ru　dou　wu　　e xin
but　I　for　you　all　have no　evil heart
'You often have a heart of hatred for me, but I have no evil heart for you.'
(*Pusa Benyuan Jing* 菩萨本缘经 [*Bodhisattva Benyuanjing*], translated by Zhi Qian)

(21) 如来　　　常　　于　提婆达多　生　　　慈愍心，
Rulai　　chang　yu　tipodaduo　sheng　cimin xin
Tathagata　often　for　Devadatta　generates　kind heart
而　　提婆达多　于　如来　　　所　恒　　怀　恶心。
er　tipodaduo　yu　rulai　　suo　heng　huai　exin
but　Devadatta　for　Tathagata　　always　has　evil heart
'Tathagata is always full of compassion for Devadatta, but Devadatta is always full of malice for Tathagata.'
(*Zabaozang Jing* 杂宝藏经, translated by Kiṃkārya and Tan Yao)

The coexistence of these two sentence patterns, on the one hand, shows that they have the exact same semantic meaning. On the other hand, it shows that the type of sentence that represents an object relation may have another source; that is, the localizer relationship.

4　The nature and function of *suo/bian*

How should we think about the nature and function of "*suo/bian*"?

According to the syntax position where *suo/bian* is located, should *suo/bian* be taken as a more grammaticalized affix?

From our point of view, it is not appropriate to use *suo/bian* as a suffix. First, we note that in many sentences, *suo/bian* comes behind a long NP. It is not a suffix which is involved in word-building at a lexical level. Therefore, it is obviously inappropriate to take *suo/bian* in its strict affix sense. There are such examples as follows:

(22) 以　　我　前世　　修行　　之　时，　　虽　　　于　父母、
yi　　wo　qianshi　xiuxing　zhi　shi　　sui　　yu　fumu
Because　I　previous life　practice　of　at the time　although　for　parents

师长　　　所、沙门、　　　　婆罗门，　生
shizhang　suo　shamen　　　poluomen　sheng
teachers　　　　Buddhist monk　Brahmin　generated

忠孝心，
zhongxiao xin
a heart of loyalty and filial piety

恭敬　　　礼拜，　　然而　　不能　　为　　　　施　　　床坐，
gongjing　libai　　ran'er　buneng　wei　　　shi　　chuangzuo
respect　worship　but　　can't　for (them)　arrange　a seat

熅昵　　　敷具。
yunnuan　fuju
warm　　robe

'In the past, although I was full of a filial heart for my parents, teachers, Buddhist monks and Brahmins, I failed to provide them with a comfortable mattress.'
(*Zabaozang Jing* 杂宝藏经, translated by Kiṃkārya and Tan Yao)

In the case of (20), *suo* is in the middle of a longer noun phrase with coordinate relation. Compare the previous with the following example:

(23)　以　　　我　前身　　　　虽复　　　　善　于
　　　Yi　　wo　qianshen　　suifu　　　shan　yu
　　　Because　my　previous life　though　am kind　for

父母、　师长、　　沙门、　　　　　婆罗门，
fumu　　shizhang　shamen　　　　poluomen
parents　teachers　Buddhist monk　Brahmans

忠孝　　　恭敬　　　　礼拜，
zhongxiao　gongjing　　libai
am loyalty and filial piety　respect worship

为　施　　　床　　　敷，　然　于　其　　所，
wei　shi　　chuang　fu　　ran　yu　qi　　suo
for　arrange　seat　　robe　but　for　them

不能　　广　　设　　看馔饮食　　　　　以　　　用　供养。
buneng　guang　she　yaoshan-yinshi　　　yi　　　yong　gongyang
can't　　lot of　arrange　delicious food drinks　in order to　use　as support

'In the past, although I was full of filial heart and provided a comfortable mattress for my parents, teachers, Buddhist monks and Brahmins, I failed to provide them with an abundance of delicious food.'
(*Zabaozang Jing* 杂宝藏经, translated by Kiṃkārya and Tan Yao)

In example (22) and (23) their syntactic and semantic situations are roughly the same. However, *suo* did not appear in the same position, but was used as an anaphora in the component after the pronoun "*qi*".

Another reason that we do not use *suo/bian* as an affix is that its creative function is not very strong.

This writer's point of view is that since *suo/bian* are derived from localizer words, the original sentence expresses new semantic relations, though it still remains in its original position and no longer represents any specific localizer meaning. In this case, *suo/bian* has actually grammaticalized into an adherent form. In the structure "PREP + NP *suo/bian* + VP" or "VP + PREP + NP *suo/bian*", *suo/bian* as an adherent form, it can be thought of as a postposition with the function of a case marker (that refers to an object).

Therefore, in the "new" structure "PREP + NP *suo/bian* + VP" or "VP + PREP+ NP *suo/bian*" which refers to an objective semantic relation, *suo/bian* is organized as a circumposition with preposition *yu*. Together they commonly mark the objective argument.

We also note that in our corpus of medieval scriptures, the use frequencies of "PREP + NP *suo/bian* + VP" and "VP + PREP + NP *suo/bian*" are not the same. Examples of the former appear much more than the latter. Obviously, this is related to the general trend in which after the Han Dynasty, Chinese preposition phrases were moved before the verbs. When the preposition phrases are before verbs, prepositions which are not in the introductory position are not in accord with the relator principle, so adding a post localizer word may fill the vacant introductory position (Liu 2003). *Suo/bian* refers to the objective relations that are formed from localizer words. Its usage is in accord with the relator principle.

5 Other discussion

5.1 Comparison of Sanskrit and Chinese

In the above, we discussed the usage of *suo/bian* as a postposition. Such usage is more commonly seen in medieval scriptures. Current research on local literature from the same period does not reveal the same usage of *suo/bian*. Does this mean that it is a linguistic phenomenon unique to the medieval scriptures? Or is it the result of effects imposed by the original language?

With regards to this issue, although we cannot provide a clear answer right now, we may perhaps arrive at a deeper understanding through an in-depth comparison of Sanskrit and Chinese. Even now, through the results of a comparative

study of Sanskrit and Chinese, we can still make a preliminary study and discuss this issue.[4]

Fahua jing 法华经 (*Lotus Sutra*) is an important classic of Mahayana Buddhism. Currently, there are three Chinese translations. The three are *Positive Lotus Sutra* translated by Dharmarakṣa during the Western Jin Period (265–316), *Lotus Sutra* translated by Kumārajīva (344–413 CE), and Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtra translated by Jñānagupta and Dharmagupta of the Sui Dynasty (581–618). There is of course also the original Sanskrit *Lotus Sutra*.

Predecessors (H. Kern and Nanjō Bunyū, Unrai Wogihara, Jiang Zhongxin, etc.) have done excellent emendation on the Sanskrit text of *Lotus Sutra*. Karashima Seishi, Daniel Boucher et al. have done thorough research on the Sanskrit text.

By comparing the *Positive Lotus Sutra* translated by Dharmarakṣa and *Lotus Sutra* translated by Kumārajīva, which are different translations of the same Sanskrit text, we note that some *suo* in the "NP + *suo*" correspond with the localizer or genitive in Sanskrit. For example:

(24) *Suo* corresponds with Sanskrit's localizer:
   (a.) "*Positive Lotus Sutra* chapter 1" translated by Dharmarakṣa:

   欲 知 　　　 佛 道, 　　　常 　　调 　清净。　仁 乐
   Yu zhi 　　　 *fo dao,* 　　　 *chang diao qingjing. Ren yue*
   Want to know　Buddha's way　always keep clean　Benevolence
   圣 典,
   sheng dian,
   sacred [Buddhist] scriptures
   实 　为 　　要 妙。 　在 诸 　佛所, 　　　所 作 　　　已 　　　办。
   Shi　wei yao miao. Zai zhu fo suo,　suo zuo　yi　ban.
   Really is most best　at Buddha's [place]　what they did already done
   故 　为 　斯 类, 　　　　说 　　方 　等 　经。
   Gu wei si lei,　　　 shuo　fang deng jing.
   So　for　these persons　speak　vaipulya.
   'If you want to know Buddhism, should [you] be required to maintain a clean heart. The music of love and the sacred [Buddhist] scriptures are the most beautiful. Work has been done at Buddha's [place], so now I will tell these persons the vaipulya.'

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4 Discussions involving comparison material provided courtesy of Dr. Nan Jiang.

(b.) "*Lotus Sutra* chapter 1" translated by Kumārajīva:

有	佛 子		心	净，	柔软	亦	利根，
You	*fo zi*		*xin*	*jing,*	*rouruan*	*yi*	*ligen,*
Have	Buddha disciples		heart	pure	soft	and	clever

无量		诸 佛所，
wuliang		*zhu fo suo,*
innumerable		Buddha

而	行 深 妙 道。	为	此	诸	佛子，
er	*xing shen miao dao.*	*wei*	*ci*	*zhu*	*fo zi*
and	practice Buddhism	for	these	many	Buddha disciples

说	是	大 乘 经。
shuo	*shi*	*dacheng jing*.
speak	this	Mahayana sutras.

'Because these Buddhist disciples have a pure heart, and are able to practice Buddhism, so I taught the Mahayana sutras to them.'

(25) Sanskrit texts:

Bhavanti ye ceha sadā viśuddhā
vyaktā śucī sūrata buddha-putrāḥ /
kṛtādhikārā bahu-buddha-koṭiṣu
*vaipulya-sūtrāṇi vadāmi teṣ*ām //50//

Bahu-buddha- koṭiṣu: (bahu-buddha-koṭī) f.pl.L means "in boundless million Buddhas' place". Dharmarakṣa translated it into "*Zai* ('in') *zhufu* ('Buddhas') *suo* ('place')", Kumārajīva translated it into "*Wuliang* ('Boundless') *zhufu* ('Buddhas') *suo* ('place')". The only difference is that ZhuFahu used a prepositional structure which is more in line with typical Chinese expressions to translate the localizer structure "bahu-buddha-koṭiṣu", while Kumārajīva only used "*yu* + NP *suo*" to translate the same phrase.

In the two translations of *Lotus Sutra*, we cannot find any examples of the typical use of *suo* as a postposition represented by an object relation. As a result, we cannot directly examine the situation that this paper refers to when comparing the Sanskrit and Chinese versions. But we can further examine the usage of *suo* by comparing the Sanskrit and Chinese versions which we found in the typical examples shown below.

There is a Chinese translation of *Zhuanji Baiyuanjing* (*Avadānaśatakam*, 'The sutra of one hundred karmic tales') by Zhi Qian in which we found a portion of the Sanskrit version. In this Chinese translation, "*yu* + NP *suo*" refers to a localizer relation. We ought to pay special attention to "*yu* + NP *suo*", which is an objective relation that also corresponds to the Sanskrit genitive and localizer relation. For example:

In chapter 1 of *Zhuanji Baiyuanjing*, we find the following sentence:

(26) 时　　　诸　大众　　睹　　　斯　变　　已，
　　　shi　　*zh*　*dazhong*　*du*　　*si*　*bian*　*yi*
　　　at that time　all　public　have seen　this　change　(mood)
　　　叹　　未曾有，　　　　深　　王　佛所，　　生　　　信敬心。
　　　tan　*weicengyou*　　*shen*　*yu fo suo*　*sheng*　*xinjing xin*
　　　sighed　there is not [change]　deeply　to　the Buddha　produced　respect
　　　'At the time, the public had not seen this change, and they sighed that
　　　never before was there such a situation. They (the public) were full of faith
　　　in the Buddha.'

Sanskrit and translation:

atha　　*sa*　　*maha-jana-kayas*　*tat*　　　*pratiharyam*　*dṛṣṭva*
ADV　　PRON　M.SG.N.　　　　PRON.AC.　N.SG.AC.　GER.
therefore　these　public　　　　　this　　　change　　have seen
kilakila-prakṣveḍa ...
ADJ.M.SG.N.
to be happy and jumped
tataḥ　　*sa*　　*maha-jana-kayo*　*labdha-prasado*　*bhagavataḥ*
ADV　　PRON　M.SG.N.　　　　M.SG.N.　　　　M.SG.G.
therefore　this　public　　　　　have respected　to the Buddha

Based on the above example, we find that the genitive either refers to a possessive relationship, or as in Sanskrit, represents object relationships. "NP *suo/bian*" in the Chinese translation refers to NP as a person or NP as a pronoun. Its function in Sanskrit is used with great consistency.

"NP *suo(xu)/bian*" was used to indicate the location before Buddhist scriptures spread into China.[5] But the new usage of *suo(xu)/bian* as a case marker did not emerge until the Medieval Period. Based on the corpus we examined, our view is that this new usage was found in the translation of Buddhist scriptures. This shows that to a certain extent it was indeed influenced by the original language.

But in our view, this effect is not a simple direct borrowing. That is, as an objective case maker, the function of *suo/bian* in medieval Chinese translations of Buddhist Scriptures was not directly borrowed from the original language. The function of *suo/bian* was expanded from a localizer case maker to an objective

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5 For reference purposes, Jiang (1998), Zu (2001) made a more comprehensive in-depth study.

case maker. This new function was used widely in medieval Chinese translations of Buddhist Scriptures. Influence from the original language may have played a greater catalytic and facilitating role in this process. The evolution of *suo/bian* was mainly produced and executed internally in Chinese and had its own evolutional and developmental mechanisms. A correlation analysis and discussion will be demonstrated later on in this paper.

In the following section, we would like to include material from two early Chinese literary works that were produced before Buddhism spread through China. Such material may help us to observe the earlier development of *suo*.

(27) 丞　　某　讯　丙，　辞 曰：“甲亲子，诚　　不孝　　甲所，
　　　Cheng mou xun bing ci yue *Jiaqinzi, cheng buxiao jiasuo,*
　　　毋（无）它　坐罪。”
　　　wu (wu) ta zuozui
　　　'The county officials questioned him. His statement read: "[I am] Jia's own son; indeed, unfilial Jia has no other offense. (*Jia* means the first person)"'
　　　(*Shuihudi Qinmu Zhujian* 睡虎地秦墓竹简, Fengzhenshi 封诊式
　　　[*The bamboo slips of tomb of Qin*])

(28) 午　言　　之　赵王　　　张敖　　所。
　　　Wu yan zhi ZhaoWang Zhang'ao suo
　　　Wu spoke this ZhaoWang Zhang'ao to
　　　'Wu told this to Zhang Ao.'
　　　(*Shiji*, Tianshu liezhuan 史记·田叔传)

Suo in these two examples is also worthy of our attention. Although in the underlined sentence the preposition did not appear, according to normative practice in ancient Chinese, we believe that the prepositions were omitted in the above sentences. This shows that the evolution of *suo* from location to object is based on the evolution of the Chinese language. The occurrence of such a usage in example (27) and (28) indicates the original usage of *suo* in the Six Dynasties. It refers to an objective relation.

5.2 When did the usage of *suo/bian* as a postposition began to decline? Why did this usage disappear?

All these issues need further exploration. We have considered several translations of scriptures from the Tang Dynasty and have also found some examples in the translations of scriptures from the Middle Tang Dynasty. Examples include:

(29) (诸外道)　　于　如来　　　所　　　生　　　奇特心。
　　 (zhu waidao)　yu　RuLai　　suo　　sheng　　qitexin
　　 (heretics)　　 to　Tathagata　case maker　produce　curiosity
　　 'The heretics are full of curiosity about Tathagata.'
　　 (*Da Bao Ji Jing* 大宝积经, translated by Bodhiruci)

However, in *Dunhuangbianwen ji* and *Zutang ji* of the Late Tang Dynasty and the Five Dynasties, we did not find any such examples. This may mean that the usage of *suo/bian* as a postposition declined.

5.3 Summary

In the Song and Yuan Dynasties, the function of postposition *hang* 行had a similar function in the Medieval Period as the *suo/bian* function. According to Jiang Lansheng's research, *hang* 行originated from the localizer *shang* 上 due to a sound change in *shang*上.

   In the Yuan and Ming dynasties, there were still some similar words such as *gendi* 根底 and *genqian* 根前, etc.[6] In modern Chinese, *zheli/nali* 这里/那里, *zher/nar* 这儿/那儿 used after NP sometimes does not refer to location. For example:

(30) 昨天　　　我　跟　王　　老师　　那儿　　　借了　　　几本
　　 zuotian　wo　gen　wang　laoshi　nar　　　jiele　　jiben
　　 yesterday　I　from　Wang　teacher　case maker　borrowed　some
　　 书。
　　 shu
　　 books
　　 'Yesterday I borrowed some books from teacher Wang.'

This shows that while at different times, the localizer words are different, they still occupy the same syntactic position. They shared the common tendency of developing an equivalent or comparable function, that is:
suo/bian ——————　*hang(shang)* ——————　*gendi/genqian* ——————
(Medieval Period)　　 (Song and Yuan dynasties)　(Yuan and Ming dynasties)
zheli/nali ,zher/nar
(modern Mandarin)

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6 In the Song and Yuan dynasties, the markers *xing* and *gendi/genqian* came from the development of postposition marker that now can indicatea variety of such markers. Although it is different from *suo*/*bian*, there is no doubt that its main function is as an objective case marker.

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Variant reduplication and four-character state adjectives in *Yuan Zaju*

Abstract: In this paper, a thorough analysis is provided concerning the phonological structure types of four-character state adjectives related to variant reduplication in *Yuan Zaju*, some of which are shown to be formed via multiple variant reduplications of monosyllabic words. The multiple variant reduplications, which are motivated by linguistic iconicity, accelerated the lexicalization of reduplicative forms and enhanced their descriptiveness to best serve the need to depict the constancy and consistency of a state (i.e., a condition or way of being). The paper reveals that variant reduplication of a monosyllabic word can be done either in a forward way (i.e., from the left side) or in a backward way (i.e., from the right side), and further explains that the principle of syllabic initial changes in the forward reduplication and syllabic final changes in the backward reduplication aims to preserve the very original syllabic frame in the reduplicative forms. Furthermore, this paper elucidates with detailed examples the significance and practical applications of the Variant Reduplication Theory in the field of the diachronic study of the Chinese lexicon.

Keywords: variant reduplication, state adjectives, forward syllabic initial changes, backward syllabic final changes, split sound

1 Introduction

There is an amazing variety of onomatopoetic words and mimetic words (usually labeled as image-descriptive words) in the *zaju* and *sanqu* of the Yuan Dynasty (sometimes abbreviated as *Yuanqu*, which typically refers to a kind of popular stage play in the Yuan Dynasty and the scripts or libretti), which can be generally categorized as state adjectives. The onomatopoetic (hereafter OW) or mimetic words, consisting of not only one or two syllables but also three or four, were widely used in *Yuanqu* to make the lines funny, vivid and appealing. Such significant phenomena specific to that historical period can help us obtain a clear and

lively profile of the Chinese language in everyday use around the Yuan Dynasty. Consider one passage with the metrical topic *youhulu* 油葫芦 of the first section of the *Yuan Zaju Moheluo* 魔合罗:

恰便似画出潇湘水墨图，淋的我湿渌渌。更那堪吉丢古堆波浪渲城渠，你看他吸留忽剌水流乞留曲律路，更和这失留疏剌风摆希留急了树，怎当他乞纽忽浓的泥，更和他疋丢扑搭的淤。我与你便急章拘诸慢行的赤留出律去，我则索滴羞跌屑整身躯。

(1) 恰　　便　似　画　　出　潇湘　　　水墨图，
　　qia　bian　si　hua　chu　xiao-xiang　shuimo tu
　　exactly　just　as　draw　up　River Name　ink paintings
　　淋　　的　我　湿渌渌。
　　lin　de　wo　shilulu
　　shower　de　1SG　all wet
　　更　那　堪　　吉丢古堆　波浪　渲　城渠，
　　geng　na　kan　jidiugudui　bolang　xuan　chengqu
　　yet　that　endure　OW　　waves　pour　city canal
　　你　看　他　吸留忽剌　水流　乞留曲律　路，
　　ni　kan　ta　xiliuhula　shuiliu　qiliuqulü　lu
　　2SG　look　3SG　OW　　flows　OW　　road
　　更　　　和　这　失留疏剌　风　摆　希留急了　树，
　　geng　he　zhe　shiliushula　feng　bai　xiliujiliao　shu
　　even more　with　this　OW　　wind　sway　OW　　tree
　　怎　当　　他　乞纽忽浓　的　泥，
　　zen　dang　ta　qiniuhunong　de　ni
　　how　withstand　3SG　OW　　de　mud
　　更　　　和　他　疋丢扑搭　的　淤。
　　geng　he　ta　pidiupuda　de　yu
　　even more　with　3SG　OW　　de　mud
　　我　与　你　便　急章拘诸
　　wo　yu　ni　bian　jizhangjuzhu
　　1SG　and　2SG　just　OW
　　慢　行　　的　赤留出律　去，
　　man　xing　de　chiliuchulü　qu
　　slow　move　de　OW　　go
　　我　则索　滴羞跌屑　整　身躯。
　　wo　zesuo　dixiudiexie　zheng　shenqu
　　1SG　have to　OW　　whole　body

'Rain pours down and cold wind blows, making my road home so muddy and painful. The rain water forms rapid currents, which rush into the city canal. I feel as if I am walking in a world of mire. I try my best to continue the journey with water and sludge all over me, and I hobble along the slippery road.'

The passage depicts a person trudging along a muddy road in the heavy rain, and uses ten four-character onomatopoetic or mimetic words as follows:

吉丢古堆,	吸留忽剌,	乞留曲律,	失留疏剌,	希留急了,
ji diu gu dui	*xi liu hu la*	*qi liu qu lü*	*shi liu shu la*	*xi liu ji liao*
乞纽忽浓,	疋丢扑搭,	急章拘诸,	赤留出律,	滴羞跌屑.
qi niu hu nong	*pi diu pu da*	*ji zhang ju zhu*	*chi liu chu lü*	*di xiu die xie*

Wording and phrasing of this kind may be considered a bit affected and exaggerated elsewhere. However, they help the audience to empathize well with the scene and facilitate chanting or singing in the play, which reflects the light-hearted and jocular style of folk literature. Therefore, it provides linguists with many colloquial state adjectives in daily use and other invaluable data regarding the Chinese language during a certain historical period. The onomatopoetic or mimetic words (belonging to the state adjectives) have various construction types, complicated and unique phonological structures, all of which call for thorough study. Such a study should analyze and make conclusions about the unique morphology and lexicalization process of the state adjectives. In addition, it should trace the origin and process of the diachronic changes behind related linguistic phenomena, so as to properly link them across time. This will bring about a more comprehensive understanding of Chinese morphology and lexicalization together with the regularities, as well as a more authentic and insightful explanation of similar phenomena in some Chinese dialects or other languages. The study of the internal structures of the state adjectives will also lead the traditional study of Chinese exegesis to a new horizon.

Previous studies have strongly emphasized surface-level word formation, structure types and grammatical functions of the onomatopoetic or mimetic words in *Yuanqu*, while by and large neglecting to probe into word formation regularities related to phonology (or morphophonemics) and deep morphological structures, resulting in a lack of systematic research on the issue. This paper argues that many of the onomatopoetic or mimetic words with more than two syllables in *Yuanqu* were developed from the sound-change reduplication process of monosyllabic or disyllabic words. Therefore, this paper focuses on the onomatopoetic or mimetic words with four syllables in *Yuanqu* related to sound-change reduplication, analyzes their phonological structures or patterns, and investigates their historical origins and motives for change, aiming to explore reduplicative forms behind the interplay at the phonological, morphological and semantic levels.

2 Reduplication and variant reduplication

Reduplication is one of the means of deriving new forms in language. Generally speaking, the forms that underwent the reduplication process are referred to as the base forms and the structures created by reduplication the reduplicative forms.

There are two major groups in the reduplicative forms: the invariant and the variant. The invariant reduplicative forms refer to those that preserve the phonological traits of the base forms, including the same syllabic initials, syllabic finals and tones, like *kankan* 看看 'to take a look', *kuaikuai* 快快 'very quickly', *jiajia* 家家 'every family', and *dongdong* 咚咚 'the sound of continuous knocking'. The variant reduplicative forms are those with certain parts containing varied phonological traits or sound changes, such as different syllabic initials, syllabic finals or tones. For instance, *diexie* 蹀躞 (different initial consonants, 'to pace or walk in small steps'), *qianquan* 缱绻 (different syllabic finals, 'to be tenderly attached'), *manmanr* 慢慢儿 (the second *man* changed to a high level tone, 'quite slowly'). Therefore, so-called variant reduplication is the same concept as the sound-change reduplication mentioned in the introduction of this paper.

Variant reduplication can generally be divided into two types: forward reduplication and backward reduplication. In forward reduplication, base forms precede the reduplicated parts. In backward reduplication, the reduplicated parts come first and the base forms follow. The current investigation shows that forward reduplication involves syllabic initial changes, while backward reduplication is related to syllabic final changes (For more details, see Zhu 1982).

2.1 The criteria for judging whether a multi-syllabic word is a variant reduplicative form

Sun (1998) argues that some of the so-called *lianmianci* 连绵词 'continuous words' are actually reduplications of monosyllabic words in Old Chinese. For example, *zhuan* 转 — *zhanzhuan* 辗转, *kuo* 阔 — *qikuo* 契阔, *quan* 卷 — *qianquan* 缱绻, *wan* 婉 — *yanwan* 燕婉, *mu* 沐 — *maimu* 霡霂, *yu* 豫 — *youyu* 犹豫, *chu* 躇 — *chouchu* 踌躇, *lü* 旅 — *lulü* 庐旅, and *yi* 邑 — *yanyi* 厌邑. He also proposed three criteria to distinguish a reduplicative form from other lexical items:

(1) Whether there is a syllable (or morpheme) in the disyllabic word that can be used independently elsewhere. If so, it is possible that the disyllabic word is derived from that morpheme.

(2) Whether there are some relations in meaning between the syllable (or morpheme) and the disyllabic word. If semantic relations do exist and are

considered as being typical only when seen between this syllable (or morpheme) and the disyllabic word, then it is safe to say that the disyllabic word is a derivative of the morpheme.

(3) The phonological relationship between the two parts of a disyllabic word should be considered. If they represent the same phoneme (which in the written language is a phenomenon called tautology), and conform to criteria (1) and (2), it is a reduplicative word. If the pronunciations are not identical, but the differences can be categorized with a considerable number of parallel instances, the disyllabic form can also be distinguished as a reduplicative word (Sun 1998: 216).

If the above criteria are applied, all of the continuous words in Sun's examples may be regarded as backward reduplicative forms of some monosyllabic words. The three criteria are adopted in this paper as the fundamental standards in testing reduplicative forms.

2.2 Forward and backward reduplication at work

According to the above arguments, some of the continuous words in Old Chinese are variant reduplicative forms of monosyllabic words. In other words, the double syllabic initials (*shuangsheng* 双声) and the overlapping syllabic finals (*dieyun* 叠韵) are results of the syllabic final change reduplication and the syllabic initial change reduplication, respectively. If there is one and only one morpheme in a double syllabic initial or overlapping syllabic final continuous word that can be used independently (as a free morpheme), this continuous word is a reduplicative form of that morpheme. The examples of variant reduplications in Sun (1998) belong to the backward syllabic final change type, and here instances of the forward syllabic initial changes are added.

die 蹀 — *diexie* 蹀躞

Tested by Sun's three-step criteria, *diexie* is a variant reduplicative form of *die*. First of all, *die* is a monosyllabic verb that can be used independently, denoting to step or tramp and indicating the motion of either a human or horse.

> 《广雅·释诂一》：“蹀，履也。”
> *Guangya*, shigu 1: "*die* means to step."
> 《淮南子·俶真》：“足蹀阳阿之舞，而手会绿水之趋。”
> *Huainanzi*, chuzhen: "His feet step with the beats of *Yang'e*, and his hands wave the rhythm of *Lüshui*."

《赭白马赋》: "眷西极而骧首，望朔云而蹀足。"（南朝宋 颜延之）

Zhebaima fu: "[The steed] cherishes the memory of the far-away western lands and raises its head. Seeing the clouds in the north sky, it stamps its hoofs." (Yan Yanzhi, Liu Song Dynasty)

Secondly, there is an inherent semantic association between *die* 'to step or tramp' and *diexie* 'to move with small steps', both of which denote walking; in addition, only *die* in *diexie* has this kind of semantic association with *diexie*. Thirdly, *die* 蹀 and *xie* 躞 are not homophones, but have the same syllabic finals. Therefore, it is safe to say that *diexie* is a variant reduplicative form of *die*, wherein *die* is the base form and *xie* is the variant. *Diexie* was developed via forward syllabic initial change reduplication.

tuan 团 — *tuanluan* 团圞

Tuan means round or circular, and the Chinese character *luan*, which is not seen in *Shuowen* 说文, was first found in *Guangyun* 广韵. In *Guangyun*, *luan* is level tone and belongs to the *huan* 桓 final group with the following interpretation "*tuanluan, yuan ye* 团圞, 圆也 '*tuan luan* literally means round'". That the interpretation is such, instead of "*luan, yuan ye* 圞, 圆也", shows that *luan* is probably not a free morpheme which can be used independently and does not have the meaning "being round or circular" in and of itself. A reasonable explanation is as follows: *tuanluan* is regarded as an overlapping syllabic final continuous word, as a whole means "being round or circular", and originates from the meaning of *tuan*, whereas *luan* is a syllable without overt semantic content and independent syntactic function. *Tuanluan* has the same meaning as *tuan*; *tuan* and *luan* have the same syllabic final but different syllabic initials, which means they are overlapping syllabic final forms. In conclusion, *tuanluan* is a forward syllabic initial change reduplicative form of *tuan*.

xu 须 — *xuyu* 须臾

Both *xu* and *xuyu* have the meaning "(in/for) a moment or a while" as in sentences like "*Wu chang zhongri er si yi, buru xuyu zhi suoxue ye* 吾尝终日而思矣, 不如须臾之所学也 'I used to think all day long, which I found not as good as studying for a while'" in *Xunzi* 荀子, Quanxue 劝学 and "*Xianneng bu daici er ju, pibuneng bu daixu er fei* 贤能不待次而举, 罢不能不待须而废 'The promotion of the competent should not be delayed by the rigid hierarchical sequence [of the society], and the expelling of the incompetent should not be postponed even for seconds'" in *Xunzi* 荀子, Wangzhi 王制 annotated by Yang Jing 杨倞 with the note "*xu, xuyu ye*" (须, 须臾也, '*xu* is *xuyu*'). The meaning of *xuyu* originated from *xu*, though *yu*

is not a free morpheme; *xu* and *yu* have different syllabic initials but the same syllabic final (both belong to the *hou* 候 group of Old Chinese phonology), which means they are overlapping syllabic final forms. Therefore, *xuyu* is a forward syllabic initial change reduplicative form of *xu*.

In particular, some monosyllabic words have undergone both forward and backward reduplication, and the morpheme *xu* in Chinese discussed above is but one instance. In a forward reduplication with syllabic initial change, *xuyu* was produced; then, in a backward reduplication with syllabic final change, *sixu* 斯须 was yielded.[1]

xu 须 — *sixu* 斯须

Sixu also means '(in/for) a moment or a while'. For example, "*Liyue buke sixu qushen* 礼乐不可斯须去身 'A person cannot live without *li* and *yue* even for seconds'" in *Liji* 礼记, Jiyi 祭义 was annotated by Zheng Xuan 郑玄 as "*sixu, you xuyu ye* 斯须, 犹须臾也", which can be translated as '*sixu* equals *xuyu*'. As a free morpheme, *si* 斯 in and of itself does not have a meaning related to "(in/for) a moment or a while". In Old Chinese, *si* and *xu* had the same syllabic initials belonging to the *xin* 心 initial group, and such a pair was traditionally treated as having a double syllabic initial relationship. *Sixu* is a backward syllabic final change reduplicative form of *xu*.

The monosyllabic word *xu* reduplicated to *xuyu* in a forward reduplication with syllabic initial change and *sixu* in a backward reduplication with syllabic final change. This fact reminds us that some monosyllabic words may undergo reduplication both in a forward way and in a backward way to form two synonyms, which is distinguished from the process wherein a disyllabic word is produced by the forward syllabic initial change reduplication and then reduplicated with a backward syllabic final change to form a four-character word (see below). This discovery has broadened our views on traditional Chinese studies on variant reduplication.

3 Serial reduplication

It is quite common for an invariant reduplicative form to undergo further reduplication. For instance, *xiaoshou dongde tonghongtonghongtonghong de*

小手冻得通红通红通红的, 'the little hands are red through and through with cold', *shuashuashuashua yizhen jiaobusheng* 刷刷刷刷一阵脚步声, 'a burst of footsteps with rustling sounds', *gudugudugudu guanle yiduzi liangshui* 咕嘟咕嘟咕嘟灌了一肚子凉水, 'gulp down cold water to fill up one's belly', and *zuizuizuizui* 最最最最, 'supreme; by far the most'. Is it possible for a variant reduplicative form to reduplicate once again? The answer is in the affirmative. In this section, there will be a detailed discussion with empirical analysis to support this argument, including the serial reduplication of monosyllabic verbs, adjectives, nouns and onomatopoeic words changing from monosyllabic forms to disyllabic forms and then to forms with three or four syllables, with one example from each type for brevity's sake.

3.1 Multiple variant reduplications of the monosyllabic verb

die 蹀 – *diexie* 蹀躞 – *diexiexie* 跌躞躞 / *dixiudiexie* 滴羞蹀躞

In the preceding section, it was shown that *diexie* is a variant reduplicative form of *die*. *Die* is the base form, and *xie* is the variant. *Diexie* is an instance of forward syllabic initial change reduplication.

Die was originally a verb. Beyond its verbal function, its reduplicative *diexie* can be used as a state adjective to describe the state of a horse pacing. For example:

(2) 丈夫　　生　　世　　会　　几　　　　时,
　　　zhangfu sheng shi hui ji shi
　　　man　　 live　 world will how many time
　　　安　　能　　蹀躞　垂　　羽翼?
　　　an neng diexie chui yuyi
　　　how can OW lower wings
　　　'How many years will a man live the world? He should not hesitate and lower his wings.'
　　　(*Ni Xinglunan* 拟行路难 Shi zhi liu 诗之六, by Bao Zhao, Liu Song Dynasty)

Here *diexie* is metaphorically related to a situation in which a person is restricted and unable to realize his or her aspirations.

(3) 蹀躞　驺　　先　　驾,
　　　diexie zou xian jia
　　　OW drive front horse

笼铜　　鼓　　报　　衙。
longtong　gu　bao　ya
OW　　drum　report　yamen
'The horse paces forward, and the drum rolls to inform the people about the initiation of local government activity.'
(*Tong liuershiba yuanzhang shujiu yanhuai ganshi shushi zeng er junzi* 同刘二十八院长述旧言怀感时书事赠二君子, by Liu Zongyuan, the Tang Dynasty)

(4)　四　　蹄　　蹀躞　　如　　流星，
　　　si　ti　diexie　ru　liuxing
　　　four　hoofs　OW　like　shooting star
　　　两　　耳　　尖修　　　如　　削　　竹。
　　　liang　er　jianxiu　ru　xue　zhu
　　　two　ears　sharp and long　like　sharpened　bamboo
　　　'The hoofs [of the horse] move as quickly as shooting stars, and the ears looks like sharpened bamboo shoots.'
　　　(*Ti Huamatu Shi* 题画马图诗, by Sahdula, the Yuan Dynasty)

Until the Yuan Dynasty, *diexie* yielded not only a number of variations, but also reduplicative forms with three or four syllables. Its variants can be generally divided into two groups: one consisting of *diexie* 跌屑, *diexie* 叠屑, *dixie* 滴屑, *tiexie* 铁屑, etc., and the other comprising *dusu* 笃簌, *dusu* 笃速, *dusu* 都速, etc.[2] Considering that *dusu* 都速 can be used as *dusu* 笃速, the tone of the second group is probably no longer the entering tone (i.e., the tone group with certain plosive syllabic finals that once existed in Old Chinese). The difference in manner of articulation between *diexie* and *dusu* is −roundedness vs. roundedness. Moreover, with virtually no exceptions, all the variants are not used as free morphemes in syntactic structure, and they are mainly used in three-character or four-character constructions. (The examples below are from *Yuan Zaju*.)

Three-Character Forms

(A)　Predicate and complement construction "verb/adjective + AB": *chandusu* 颤笃簌, *zhandusu* 战笃速, *huangdusu* 慌笃速, etc.

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2 The word *duosuo* 哆嗦 used in present-day Chinese is a modern variant of *dusu* 笃速 and also means the same. The vernacular word *dese* 嘚瑟 in Pekinese should be formed by the syllabic final change of *duosuo*, and its meaning "being complacent" is related to *duosuo*.

The verbs or adjectives in (A) have meanings related to those of AB. In other words, AB is used to describe the state of the preceding verbs or adjectives.

(5) 伯伯　　 也，　 早　　 吓　　 得　　 你　　 颤　　 笃簌
　　 bobo　 *ye*　　 *zao*　 *xia*　 *de*　 *ni*　 *chan*　 *dusu*
　　 old man　 mood　 early　 scare　 de　 2SG　 shiver　 OW
　　 魂魄　　 悠悠。
　　 hunpo　 *youyou*
　　 soul　　 drift away
　　 'My uncle, it will soon make you shiver and frighten you out of your wits.'
　　 (*Taohuanü* 桃花女, Zhuansha yizhe 賺煞一折)

(6) 教　　 我　　 战　　 笃速　 如　　 发　　 疟，
　　 jiao　 *wo*　 *zhan*　 *dusu*　 *ru*　 *fa*　 *nue*
　　 make　 1SG　 shiver　 OW　 like　 out　 malaria fever
　　 汗　　 淋漓　　 似　　 水　　 浇。
　　 han　 *linli*　　 *si*　 *shui*　 *jiao*
　　 sweat　 dripping　 like　 water　 pour
　　 'It makes me shiver as if I had malaria fever and sweat as if I were soaked in water.'
　　 (*Luolilang* 罗李郎, Wutongshu erzhe 梧桐树二折)

(7) 他　　 为甚的　　 便　　 慌　　 笃速，
　　 ta　 *weishende*　 *bian*　 *huang*　　 *dusu*
　　 3SG　 why　　　 then　 nervous　 OW
　　 一　　 句　　　 句　　 紧　　 支吾。
　　 yi　 *ju*　　　 *ju*　　 *jin*　 *zhiwu*
　　 one　 sentence　 sentence　 tight　 hum and haw
　　 'Why does he look so nervous and why is he equivocating so?'
　　 (*Shennuer* 神奴儿, Hongxiuxie sanzhe 红绣鞋三折)

(B) Incomplete reduplicative forms ABB (which involve the reduplication of the second syllables or characters of AB): *dususu* 笃速速, *dususu* 笃簌簌, *diexiexie* 跌躞躞, *diexiexie* 叠屑屑, *dixiexie* 滴屑屑, *tiexiexie* 铁屑屑, etc.

(8) 我　　 数　　 日　　 前　　 笃速速　 眼　　 跳，
　　 wo　 *shu*　 *ri*　 *qian*　 *dususu*　 *yan*　 *tiao*
　　 1SG　 several　 days　 before　 OW　　 eye　 jump

昨	夜	里	便	急	爆	灯花。
zuo	*ye*	*li*	*bian*	*ji*	*bao*	*denghua*
yesterday	night	inside	then	hurry	explode	candlewick

'Several days ago, my eyelids twitched, and last night, there were a few intense rounds of candlewick explosions.'

(*Xue Rengui* 薛仁贵, Dianqianhuan sizhe 殿前欢四折)

(9)
风	飕飕	遍身	麻,
feng	*sousou*	*bianshen*	*ma*
wind	OW	whole body	numb

则	我	这	笃簌簌	连身	战,
ze	*wo*	*zhe*	*dususu*	*lianshen*	*zhan*
and	1SG	this	OW	all body	tremble

冻钦钦	手	脚	难	拳。
dongqinqin	*shou*	*jiao*	*nan*	*quan*
OW		foot	hand	hard	bend

'I feel my whole body frozen stiff in the chilly wind. It is so cold that I am trembling all over and cannot even bend my arms and legs.'

(*Wuhou Yan* 五侯宴, Sanzhe 三折)

(10)
那	厮	热拖拖	的	才	出气,
na	*si*	*retuotuo*	*de*	*cai*	*chuqi*
that	guy	OW	de	just	breathe

那	厮	他	跌蹳蹳	的	恰	还魂。
na	*si*	*ta*	*diexiexie*	*de*	*qia*	*huanhun*
that	guy	3SG	OW	de	just	back to life

'This guy just recovered his breath, and that guy is about to regain consciousness.'

(*Yan Qing Boyu* 燕青博鱼, Jinzhaner erzhe 金盏儿二折)

(11)
叠屑屑	魂飞	胆落,	扑速速	肉颤	身摇。
diexiexie	*hunfei*	*danluo*	*pususu*	*rouchan*	*shenyao*
OW	soul fly	courage fall	OW	flesh shiver	body shake

'I feel my soul depart from me in such a desperate situation, and I cannot help but tremble all over.'

(*Moheluo* 魔合罗, Xiqianying erzhe 喜迁莺二折)

(12)
涎邓邓	眼睛	剜,	滴屑屑	手	脚	卸,
xiandengdeng	*yanjing*	*wan*	*dixiexie*	*shou*	*jiao*	*xie*
OW		eye	pull out	OW	hand	foot	strip

磣可可　心　　肝　　摘。
chenkeke xin gan zhai
OW　　heart liver pluck
'[The two vile creatures'] eyes are pulled out, their arms and legs stripped, and their guts plucked.'
(*Li Kui Fujing* 李逵负荆, Litingyan sizhe 离亭宴四折)

(13) 铁屑屑　手腕　　软，　直挺挺　　腿　怎　拳。
tiexiexie shouwan ruan zhitingting tui zen quan
OW　　　wrist　　soft　totally stiff leg how bend
'My hands cannot be held firmly and my legs are too stiff to bend.'
(*Tieguai Li* 铁拐李, Shawei erzhe 煞尾二折)

(C)　Predicate and complement construction "verb/adjective +BB":
zhansusu 战簌簌, *huangsusu* 慌速速, *jisusu* 急簌簌, etc.

The words in (C) are blended forms of (A) and (B), with the verbs or adjectives expressing the primary semantic features from (A) and the reduplication part of the second syllables or characters from (B). Only if the association between (A) and (B) is established can the deep structure of (C) be made clear. That is, the second syllables or characters are isolated from the first in the disyllabic form after reduplication and used in the same context (as AB in (A)) to describe the state of verbs or adjectives. This is a kind of construction with unique structures.

Four-Character Forms

(A)　A'B'AB constructions: (a) *dixiudiexie* 滴羞蹀躞, *dixiudiexie* 滴羞跌屑；
　　(b) *dixiudusu* 滴羞笃速, *dixiudusu* 滴羞都苏.

The four-character construction A'B'AB is the reduplication of the continuous word AB via backward syllabic final change. A'B' and AB have the same syllabic initial, and share certain features in common regarding their syllabic finals in (a) (-roundedness) but not in (b) (-roundedness vs. roundedness).

(14) 吓　　的　我　手儿　脚儿　滴羞蹀躞　战笃速。
xia de wo shouer jiaoer dixiudiexie zhandusu
scare de 1SG hand foot OW　　　tremble
'I am so scared that I am trembling from head to foot.'
(*Zhao Li Rangfei* 赵李让肥, Guayugou sizhe 挂玉钩四折)

(15) 今日　　今日　　羞辱，　　　　不由　　　我　　滴羞跌屑　　怕怖。
jinri　jinri　xiuru　　　　buyou　　wo　dixiudiexie　pabu
today　today　humiliation　cannot help　1SG　OW　　　　fear
'The humiliation today frightened me.'
(*Houtinghua* 后庭花, Douhama erzhe 斗蛤蟆二折)

(16) 吓　　　的　我　　心儿　胆儿　　　急獐拘猪　　　的　自　　昏迷，
xia　　de　wo　xiner　daner　　jizhangjuzhu　de　zi　　hunmi
sacre　de　1SG　heart　gallbladder　OW　　　　　　de　self　muddled
手儿　　脚儿　滴羞笃速　的　似　　呆痴。
shouer　jiaoer　dixiudusu　de　si　　daichi
hand　foot　OW　　　　de　like　fool
'I am so frightened that my mind is drifting away and my body is numb.'
(*Xue Rengui* 薛仁贵, Yaominge sanzhe 尧民歌三折)

(17) 吓　　　的　我　　慌慌张张　　　　　手　　脚　　滴羞都苏　战。
xia　　de　wo　huanghuangzhangzhang　shou　jiao　dixiudusu　zhan
scare　de　1SG　panic　　　　　　　　hand　foot　OW　　　　tremble
'It makes me panic, so my body trembles.'
(*Qingshan Lei* 青衫泪, Zuitaiping erzhe 醉太平二折)

All the A'B'AB constructions in the above examples function as adverbials. Considering that the syllabic initial is the same and the syllabic finals are partly the same in (a), while only the syllabic initials are the same but the syllabic finals differ in (b), A'B'AB should have originally been reduplicated based on AB in (a). That is to say, *diexie* is the direct origin of the A'B'AB constructions via syllabic final change in (a) and (b).

(B) A + *li* 里 + AB: *dielidiexie* (蹀里蹀斜, *diexie* 蹀斜 is one of the variants of *diexie* 蹀躞)

(18) 虽然　　　有　　这　小　　丫头　　　迎儿，
suiran　you　zhe　xiao　yatou　　　yinger
although　have　this　young　maid servant　NAME
奴家　　见　他　拿　东　　拿　西，
nujia　jian　ta　na　dong　na　xi
1SG-Fem　see　3SG　take　east　take　west

蹀里蹀斜，	也	不	靠	他。
dielidiexie	*ye*	*bu*	*kao*	*ta*
OW	also	NEG	rely on	3SG

'There is a maid servant named *yinger*, but I realize that she cannot handle things right, and so I should not expect much help from her.'
(*Jin Ping Mei Cihua* 金瓶梅词话, Diyihui 第一回)

Unlike syllabic final change reduplication in (A), the second syllable in (B) has nothing to do with either syllables or characters of the former continuous word. It is only an added syllable to preserve the four-character frame. The A *li* AB had not yet come into being during the time of *Yuanqu*, but it later gradually developed into a fixed pattern and is still productive in modern Chinese, creating words like *luoliluosuo* 罗里罗唆, *huanglihuangzhang* 慌里慌张, *duoliduosuo* 哆里哆嗦, *lalilata* 邋里邋遢, *angli'angzang* 肮里肮脏, *guliguguai* 古里古怪, and so on (for more details, see Shi 2005).

In brief, the monosyllabic word *die* 蹀 reduplicated via forward syllabic initial change to produce *diexie* 蹀躞, which can function as a verb or a state adjective. The variants of *diexie* such as *diexie* 叠屑 and *dusu* 笃速 reduplicated the second syllable or character to create three-character incomplete reduplicative forms *diexiexie* 叠屑屑, *dususu* 笃速速, etc. *Diexie* and its variants reduplicated both syllables or characters via backward syllabic final change, leading to the complete reduplicative forms of *dixiudiexie* 滴羞蹀躞, *dixiudusu* 滴羞笃速, etc. During the reduplication from *diexie* to its A *li* AB constructions, the second syllable of the four-character forms gradually became an infix which was not affected by phonological change of the whole structure. The three-character and four-character forms usually function as state adjectives. The pathway of change is:

die (A) – *diexie* (AB) – *diexiexie* (ABB) / *dixiudiexie* (A'B'AB) – *dielidiexie* (A *li* AB)

3.2 Multiple variant reduplications of the monosyllabic adjective

tuan 团 – *tuanluan* 团栾 – *tituanluan* 剔团栾 / *tiliutuluan* 剔留突栾

Tuan reduplicated to produce *tuanluan* (团圞, also written as 团栾) during a forward syllabic initial change, and the reduplicative form *tuanluan* maintains the adjectival function of *tuan*, and can also be used as a verb, meaning 'to reunite'. For example:

(19) 积翠　　　　匜游　　　　　　　　花　　匜匝，
　　　jicui　　　　*huyou*　　　　　　　*hua*　　*keza*
　　　amass green　tour with the emperor　flower　surround
　　　披香　　　　　　寓值　　　月　　团圝。
　　　pixiang　　　　*yuzhi*　　*yue*　*tuanluan*
　　　NAME of a palace　night shift　moon　circular
　　　'He went sightseeing with the emperor, and they saw beautiful, verdant scenery decorated with many blooms. He used to work the night shift in the *pixiang* Palace where the full moon could be seen.'
　　　(*Zayan Ji Du Shiyi* 杂言寄杜拾遗, by Ren Hua, the Tang Dynasty)

(20) 兄弟　　团圝　　乐，　　羁孤　　　　远近　　归。
　　　xiongdi　*tuanluan*　*le*　　*jigu*　　　　*yuanjin*　*gui*
　　　brother　reunite　happy　lonely people　far near　back
　　　'Brothers reunited happily and people living in other places came back home.'
　　　(*Luanhou Shanzhong Zuo* 乱后山中作, by Du Xunhe, the Tang Dynasty)

The adjective *tuan* underwent both forward syllabic initial change and backward syllabic final change to yield a partial reduplicative form *tituanluan*. For example:

(21) 剔团圝　　的　睁察　　杀人　眼。
　　　tituanluan　*de*　*zhengcha*　*sharen*　*yan*
　　　circular　　de　stare　　　murder　eye
　　　'He stares with his glaring and inhuman eyes.'
　　　(*Dong Xixiang* 董西厢, Juan er 卷二, the Jin Dynasty)

(22) 把　　剔团圝　　明月　　　深深　　拜。
　　　ba　*tituanluan*　*mingyue*　　*shenshen*　*bai*
　　　ACC　circular　　bright moon　deep　　salute
　　　'We deeply bow before the brilliant full moon.'
　　　(*Qiangtou Mashang* 墙头马上, Erzhe 二折)

Ti 剔 and *tuan* 团 have the same syllabic initial but different syllabic finals, and *ti* is a syllable created in the backward syllabic final change reduplication of *tuan*. In other words, *tituanluan* is a direct variant of *tuantuanluan* 团团栾, which is supported by a parallel case of *titou* 剔透 as in "*xintitou, xinghenuan* 心剔透, 性和暖 'the heart is brilliant, and the character gentle and soft'" in *Yizhihua* 一枝花, Yongbie 咏别, by Liu Tingxin 刘庭信, the Yuan Dynasty.

Titou is an adjective meaning clever or smart, which is derived from *tou* and has nothing to do with any possible meaning of *ti*. *Ti* and *tou* have the same syllabic initial and different syllabic finals, and *ti* is a syllable created through the backward syllabic final change reduplication of *tou*. It is no coincidence that *ti* precedes characters with the t- syllabic initial such as *tuan* or *tou*.[3]

Tituanluan is a three-character reduplicative form that developed via a process whereby *tuan* underwent variant reduplication both forwards and backwards, partly similar to *xuyu* 须臾 and *sixu* 斯须 discussed in Section 1. Although both *tituanluan* and *xuyu / sixu* involve a bidirectional variation, the outcomes differ in that the reduplication of *xu* gave rise to a pair of synonyms, but the reduplication of *tuan* produced a three-syllable state adjective. This may be one of the effects of the multi-syllable tendency of state adjectives in the Yuan and Ming Dynasties.

Deng (2007) recorded the quasi-reduplication phenomenon in the Jian'ou and Gaizhu dialects of Fujian Province of China, which pertains to the variant reduplication discussed in this paper. Fortunately, there still exists a complete collection of outcomes of variant reduplication in those dialects, including once-reduplicative AB, three-character twice-reduplicative A'AB and four-character twice-reduplicative A'B'AB. For example:

Jian'ou dialect	疤	pa^1	pa^1la^1	$pi^1pa^1la^1$	$pi^1li^1pa^1la^1$
	糊	ku^3	ku^3lu^3	$ki^3ku^3lu^3$	$ki^3li^3ku^3lu^3$
Gaizhu dialect	喔	$k'ua^3$	$k'ua^3la^3$	$k'i^3k'ua^3la^3$	$k'i^3li^3k'ua^3la^3$
	哈	ha^2	ha^2la^2	$hi^2ha^2la^2$	$(ha^2la^2hi^2li^2)$

Obviously, the *tituanluan* mentioned above parallels trisyllabic reduplication in the Jian'ou and Gaizhu dialects, which means that the variant reduplication phenomenon in *Yuan Zaju* probably has a certain degree of universality and is not restricted to the Northern dialects of China.

The *fanqie* split-sound word of *tuan* is *tuluan* 突欒. Song Qi 宋祁 of the Song Dynasty said in his work *Song Jingwengong Biji* 宋景文公笔记, Shisu 释俗: "Sun Yan invented the *fanqie* method, and recorded *tuan* as *tuluan*…(孙炎作反切, 谓'团'曰'突欒'……)". Hong Mai 洪迈 of the Song Dynasty observed in *Rongzhai Sanbi* 容斋三笔, Qiejiaoyu 切脚语: "The sound [of a Chinese character] may be symbolized as other two split-sound characters, which is occasionally seen in written texts of Confucius classics or history, such as *peng* 蓬 called *bolong*

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3 *Ti* 剔 is a symbol without meaning that is used to represent the outputs of the backward syllabic final change of *tuan* 团, *tou* 透 or other monosyllabic words with [t-] initial. However, it was misunderstood later in history as a degree adverb because of its distribution preceding adjectives similar to typical degree adjectives in Chinese.

勃笼 *...* *tuan* called *tuluan*. (世人语音有以切脚而称者，亦间见之于书史中。如以'蓬'为'勃笼'......'团'为'突栾'。)" Split-sound words are the result of disyllabic change of monosyllabic words in which the monosyllabic words expanded their former phonological structures into two-syllable structures. Most of the split-sound words do not have Chinese characters as symbols of their own, but are represented by some borrowed homonymic characters. *Fanqie* words and disyllabic variant reduplicative words are similar in that both of them are products of disyllabicization of monosyllabic words, and the sounds of the upper character and the latter character are alike. For this reason, they are sometimes treated as the same kind of words in practice and in everyday use. For example, the backward syllabic final change of *tuanluan* should yield the four-character *tiliutuanluan* 剔留团栾; however, the form *tiliutuanluan* has not been found in historical literature so far, unlike *tiliutuluan* 剔留秃栾 or *tiliutulu* 剔留秃鲁.

(23)　身　　 长　 一　　 丈，　 膀　　　 阔　　 三　　 停，
　　　 shen *chang* *yi* *zhang* *bang* *kuo* *san* *ting*
　　　 body　 high　 one　 MW　 shoulders　 wide　 three　 MW
　　　 横　　 里　　 五　 尺，　 竖　　 里　　 一　　 丈，
　　　 heng *li* *wu* *chi* *shu* *li* *yi* *zhang*
　　　 lateral　 inside　 five　 MW　 vertical　 inside　 one　 MW
　　　 剔留秃栾，　 恰　　 似　　 个　 西瓜　　　　 模样。
　　　 tiliutuluan *qia* *si* *ge* *xigua* *muyang*
　　　 very round　 just　 like　 CL　 watermelon　 appearance
　　　 'He is a big guy around 7 feet tall with tremendously strong shoulders and his overweight body is about 3.5 feet wide, which makes him a ball-shaped creature that looks just like a huge watermelon.'
　　　 (*Dujiao Niu* 独角牛, Erzhe 二折)

(24)　看　　 他　 两　　 个　 眼，　 剔留秃鲁　　　 的，
　　　 kan *ta* *liang* *ge* *yan* *tiliutulu* *de*
　　　 look　 3SG　 two　 CL　 eye　 rolling around　 Mood
　　　 他　 是　 个　 真　　 贼。
　　　 ta *shi* *ge* *zhen* *zei*
　　　 3SG　 be　 CL　 true　 thief
　　　 '[I] look at his sneaky shifty eyes, and [I am sure that] he is the real thief.'
　　　 (*Jiang Sangshen* 降桑椹, Yizhe 一折)

There is no *tuan* 团 in *tiliutuluan*, leaving the semantic content with no overt origin or independent character or syllable as a carrier. Thus, the degree of lex-icalization of *tiliutuluan* is higher because the meaning of the semantic origin

is contained within the whole construction. The change from *tuluan* 突欒/禿欒 to *tulu* 禿魯 was probably motivated by phonological assimilation in continuous words, resulting in the overlapping syllabic final form *tulu*.

3.3 Multiple variant reduplications of the monosyllabic noun

gu 轂 – *gulu* 轂轆 / *gulu* 骨碌 – *gululu* 骨碌碌 / *jiliugulu* 急留骨碌

Gulu indicates a wheel (of a cart or chariot), also written as *gulu* 軲轆. It is suspected that *gulu* may be a variant reduplication of *gu*, which originally referred to the hub (the part of a wheel to connect the axle and the spoke ribs) and later the whole wheel. It is within reason to consider *gulu* the product of reduplication with forward syllabic initial change of *gu*. This word is written as *gulu* 轂轆 or *gulu* 軲轆 when it functions as a noun, and *gulu* 骨碌 when used as a verb. The partial reduplication of *gulu* is *gululu*, and the complete reduplicative forms are *jiliugulu* 急留骨碌 or *jiliugulu* 急留古鲁. Those three-character and four-character forms are state adjectives, depicting the motion of rolling or rotating.

(25) 莫不　　　　要　　亏图　咱　　性命，
　　　　mobu　　　　*yao*　　*kuitu*　*zan*　*xingming*
　　　　is it possible　want　harm　1SG　life
　　　　骨碌碌　怪　　　　眼　睁，　　早　　吓　　的　咱　　先　　挺。
　　　　gululu　*guai*　　*yan*　*zheng*　*zao*　*xia*　*de*　*zan*　*xian*　*ting*
　　　　roll　　monstrous　eye　open　early　scare　de　1SG　first　stiff
　　　　'I am afraid that he will kill me. When he rolls his monstrous eyes I freeze.'
　　　　(*Zhusha Dan* 朱砂担, Yizhe 一折)

(26) 我　　则　　见　一　　个　　镘儿　　　　　　乞丢磕塔
　　　　wo　*ze*　*jian*　*yi*　*ge*　*maner*　　　　　　*qidiuketa*
　　　　1SG　just　see　one　CL　coin-side without characters casted　OW
　　　　稳，
　　　　wen
　　　　stable
　　　　更　　　和　　一　　个　字儿　　　　　　　急留骨碌　滚。
　　　　geng　*he*　*yi*　*ge*　*zier*　　　　　　*jiliugulu*　*gun*
　　　　still　with　one　CL　coin-side with characters casted　OW　　roll
　　　　'I just saw that one copper coin stop turning with its non-character side up, while the other one is still rolling about with its character side up.'
　　　　(*Yan Qing Boyu* 燕青博鱼, Erzhe 二折)

(27) 直　　杀　　的　　马头　　　　前　　急留古鲁，
zhi　sha　de　matou　　　qian　jiliugulu
until　fight　de　horse head　front　OW

乱　　滚滚　　死死死　　　　死人　　　　头。
luan　gungun　sisisi　　　siren　　　tou
mess　roll　dead dead dead　dead people　head

'[I will] fight until [my] dead foes' heads are rolling about before my steed.'
(*Qi Yingbu* 气英布, Sanzhe 三折)

Another instance of multiple variant reduplications of monosyllabic words involves such forms as "*jiao* 角 – *jiaoluo* 角落 / *geluo* 阁落 / *gala* 旮旯 – *geluoluo* 阁落落 / *jiligala* 犄里旮旯". *Gala* 旮旯 is a dialectal variation of *jiaoluo* / *geluo*. The above forms are widely used in Chinese nowadays, so more examples would be redundant. Among others, *jiaoluo* and *geluo* remain as nouns, and only *jiligala* has acquired the new function as a state adjective.

3.4 Multiple variant reduplications of the monosyllabic onomatopoetic word

The phenomenon of multiple variant reduplications of the monosyllabic onomatopoetic word prevails in *Yuan Zaju*, which usually involved a split-sound step followed by the variant reduplication. For example:

shua 刷 – *shula* 疏剌 – *shulala* 疏剌剌 / *shiliushula* 失留疏剌

Shua, which can be used to imitate the sound of wind, is split to produce a disyllabic word *shula*. Although *shula* is not found by itself in *Yuan Zaju* (its equivalent *shuashua* 刷刷 is used instead), there are ample examples of the construction *shulala*, which should be a partial reduplication of *shula*. For example:

(28) 听　　疏剌剌　　晚风，　　风声　　　落　　万　　　　　松。
ting　shulala　wanfeng　　fengsheng　luo　wan　　　song
hear　OW　　night wind　wind sound　fall　a ten thousand　pine tree

'Listen, the night wind blows, whistling through the thick of the pine trees.'
(*Zhangsheng Zhuhai* 张生煮海, Yizhe 一折)

The four-character constructions *shiliushula* 失留疏剌 and *xiliushula* 吸留疏剌 are complete reduplicative forms of *shula* 疏剌:

Recall the sentence: "*geng hezhe shiliushulafengbaixiliujiliao shu* 更和这失留
疏刺风摆希留急了树" in *Moheluo, section 1*. It is believed that the Chinese char-
acter *ji* 急 in this sentence is an erroneously written form of the character 忽, and
xiliuhuliao 希留忽了 is a variant of *xiliuhula* 吸留忽刺.

A great number of variant reduplicative forms based on onomatopoetic
words in *Yuan Zaju* are still popular today in the Northern Regions of China. For
instance, the reduplication of the onomatopoetic *hua* 哗, which mimics the sound
of wind or pouring water, follows the regularity of split-sound before reduplica-
tion to develop three-character and four-character constructions.

hua 哗 – *hula* 忽刺 – *hulala* 忽刺刺 – *xiliuhula* 吸留忽刺 / *xilihula* 吸里忽刺

In modern Chinese, the forms have changed.

hua 哗 – *huala* 哗啦 – *hualala* 哗啦啦 / *xilihuala* 稀里哗啦

Ba 叭 in *Yuanqu* is used to describe the sound of gabbing or knocking, and its
reduplication path based on split-sound is as follows:

ba 叭 – *bula* 不刺 – *bulala* 不刺刺 – *biliubula* 必留不刺 / *bilibula* 必力不刺

Since the forms are quite common in modern Chinese, examples are not given
here.

There are a great number of variant reduplicative forms in the modern Beijing
dialect, such as *kuang* 哐 – *kuanglang* 哐啷 – *kuanglanglang* 哐啷啷 – *qingling-
kuanglang* 清零哐啷, etc. Please refer to Meng (1983) for more examples.

As far as we are concerned, in the processes of both split-sound and variant
reduplication, the second syllable usually begins with [l-] in the output forms,
which are often called l-embedding words.[4] The reason for preferring [l-] may be
as follows: (1) on the phonetic or physiological level, the [l-] is a lateral sound that
can be articulated with ease; (2) on the phonological level, [l-] as a syllabic initial
can be combined with almost any syllabic finals in Chinese to form acceptable
syllables, which means it is versatile and has a wide range of application.

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4 Wang (1994) argues that the embedding-l words are disyllabic single morpheme words, often
seen in the manuscripts of the Song Dynasty and *Yuanqu*. The formation of the embedding-l
words was before the confluence of the *jing* 精 initial group and the *jian* 见 initial group. He
further pointed out that the split-sound process usually made use of cadences and phonetic con-
trast, resulting in a pattern in which the first syllable is unstressed with lower pitch and the
second syllable is stressed with higher pitch.

3.5 Reduplicative patterns of the four-character state adjectives in *Yuan Zaju Moheluo*

Based on the above discussions on variant reduplication and related regularities, it is not difficult to analyze the structure and semantic content of the ten four-character state adjectives in *Yuan Zaju Moheluo*. Apart from the *xiliuhula*, *shiliushula*, *xiliuhuliao* 希留急了 (as an erroneously written form of *xiliuhuliao* 希留忽了) and *dixiudiexie* explained above with examples, the remaining six are as follows.

Jidiugudui 吉丢古堆: *jidiugudui* is a backward syllabic final change reduplicative form of *gudui* 古堆 (which indicates a bulge or the condition of bulging), and the construction is used in song verses to describe the rolling of waves.

Qiliuqulü 乞留曲律: *qu* 曲 was reduplicated to *qulü* 曲律 via forward syllabic initial change; following, *qulü* underwent another process of reduplication to yield *qiliuqulü* via backward syllabic final change, and is used in singing verses to describe a zigzag or twisting path.

Qiniuhunong 乞纽忽浓: *hunong* 忽浓 is a split-sound form of a monosyllabic dialectal adjective in Chinese pronounced as level tone [xuŋ] (which still exists in some dialects of Henan and Hubei of China, used to describe the softness of food). The dialectal adjective [xuŋ] means the softness of things (usually foods), as in "*xuŋ shizi haochi*" ([xuŋ] 柿子好吃, 'soft persimmons are delicious'). *Hunong* reduplicated to *qiniuhunong* via backward syllabic final change. *Qi* 乞 and *xi* 希 have similar pronunciations. *Qiniuhunong* is used in *Yuanqu* to describe the muddiness of a road.

Pidiupuda 疋丢扑搭: The onomatopoetic *puda* 扑搭 reduplicated to *pidiupuda* via backward syllabic final change, and is used in song to describe the sound of tramping or walking in a muddy field.

Jizhangjuzhu 急章拘诸: *ju* 拘 reduplicated to *juzhu* 拘诸 via forward syllabic initial change, and *juzhu* reduplicated to *jizhangjuzhu* via backward syllabic final change; this word depicts the feeling of nervousness or embarrassment. *Juzhu* is also written as *juzhu* 拘猪 or *juzhu* 拒住 in *Yuanqu*.

Chiliuchulü 赤留出律: *chu* 出 means to slip while walking, and is sometimes written in the form of the character 趉. It reduplicated to *chulü* 出律 via forward syllabic initial change, and *chulü* then reduplicated to *chiliuchulü* via backward syllabic final change; it is used to describe one's troubled state when walking down a slippery road.

3.6 Syllabic frame preservation in the variant reduplicative process

We have noticed that there is a strong tendency in variant reduplication: syllabic initial change is correlated with forward reduplication, and syllabic final change

with backward reduplication. Why is this the case? Based on this research, we believe that it is motivated by the urge to preserve the very original syllabic frame in the reduplicative forms, including the syllabic initial, final and tone of the base form. That is to say, in order to preserve the syllabic initial of the base form, the only option left is to change the syllabic final in the backward reduplication, while in order to preserve the syllabic final, the only option left is to change the syllabic initial of the base form in the forward reduplication. According to this principle, the syllabic initial and final remain the same as the base form, though reduplication lengthens or multiplies the total number of syllables. In conclusion, reduplication is based on the base form and restricted by its syllabic frame, which prevents arbitrary changes that may alter the original syllabic frame.

Liu (1988) introduced the reduplication in Sino-Tibetan languages involving variant reduplication in languages used by ethnic minorities in South China. Judging by his samples, there are no such restrictions as discussed above in languages with variant reduplication phenomena. Therefore, there exist individual as well as common features among different languages of the Sino-Tibetan family when applying variant reduplication as a phonological and morphological means of deriving new words or expressing particular grammatical meanings.

4 Motives for multiple reduplication and its grammatical meanings

 In this section, the motives of multiple variant reduplications are discussed with a focus on the factors that motivate a monosyllabic word to modify its form and reduplicate several times. Other related issues are discussed, including the possible unique grammatical meanings of variant reduplicative forms compared to forms created by invariant reduplication. Hereafter, AB/BA constructions are called once-reduplicative forms, ABB and A'AB three-character twice-reduplicative forms, and A'B'AB four-character twice-reduplicative forms.

4.1 Derivation and descriptiveness

Once-reduplicative forms are mainly outputs of the process whereby monosyllabic words expand their former phonological structure into disyllablic structures, and with onomatopoetic repetition as a sole exception, their grammatical functions are not usually the same as the input monosyllabic words. For instance, *die* 蹀 is a verb, while *diexie* 蹀躞 can function as a verb or state adjective; *tuan* 团

is a qualifying adjective, and *tuanluan* 团栾 can function as a qualifying adjective or a state adjective (which further developed a verbal function meaning 'to gather or reunite'). Some of the once-reduplicative forms of nouns preserved the noun status, such as *jiao* 角 – *jiaoluo* 角落, but some took on new functions, as in the case of *gu* 榖 – *gulu* 榖辘 / *gulu* 骨碌. The first *gulu* is a noun and the second is a verb. The once-reduplicative forms of onomatopoetic words remain onomatopoetic words; for example, *hua* 哗 – *huala* 哗啦 and *pa* 啪 – *pipa* 劈啪.

With hardly any exceptions, outputs of twice-reduplication including three-character and four-character constructions are state adjectives, which means they are stripped of their original functions. Except for a few nouns, the outputs have no other functions except for the state adjectival function. Among various kinds of monosyllabic words apart from the onomatopoetic words, the reduplicative forms of monosyllabic qualifying adjectives are most likely to obtain descriptiveness. Reduplicative forms of verbs are the next most likely, while reduplicative forms of nouns are the least likely to obtain descriptiveness.

From the above discussion, it is safe to say that variant reduplication is a morphological means of deriving state adjectives with more descriptive effects. When reduplication does not grant the new form any descriptiveness effects, the outputs of the first reduplication tend to reduplicate again; when three-character forms are not enough to achieve the descriptive effect, four-character forms are used instead; some of the once-reduplicative forms have already obtained a certain degree of descriptive force, yet are not sufficient (and consist of several grammatical functions except for the state adjectival one), and so another reduplication may happen. Therefore, multiple variant reduplications serve well to satisfy the need to reinforce the descriptive effects of lexical items. The variant reduplication forms are usually more grammaticalized than invariant reduplicative forms, partly because the boundaries of the syllables are vaguer in variant reduplicative forms, making the whole constructions more like multi-syllabic single morpheme words.

4.2 Iconicity as a motive

Zhang (1997, 2001) observed that the correlation between reduplicative forms and their meanings are not arbitrary, but motivated by linguistic iconicity. Iconicity refers to the correlation and similarity between the linguistic item (including its structure) and the represented concepts together with their referents and respective structures in the physical world. The multiple variant reduplications can be accounted for by linguistic iconicity. Consider the examples below:

(a) *pa* 啪   *papa* 啪啪   *papapapa* 啪啪啪啪
(b) *pa* 啪   *pala* 啪啦   *palapala* 啪啦啪啦 / *pilipala* 劈里啪啦

The examples in (a) are invariant reduplicative forms, depicting the repeating sounds in the real world with short time intervals between them. *Pala* in (b) depicts the combination of stressed and unstressed sounds, unlike the homogeneity of *pala*. *Palapala* is more consistent than *papapapa*, but still has considerable time intervals between its *pa* sounds. *Pilipala* most optimally imitates serial and continuous sounds with hardly any intervals. Compared with invariant reduplicative forms, the variant reduplicative forms are more efficient at depicting the continuous state, and achieve the effect of resemblance and vividness while better suiting the speaker's need for more subjectivity.

5 The significance of variant reduplication

This section is mainly on the significance and practical applications of variant reduplication in the field of the diachronic study of Chinese lexicon.

5.1 Variant reduplication and the continuous words

The regularities of variant reduplication have shed new light on the research of continuous words. Both the double initial and the overlapping final continuous words can be accounted for as variant reduplicative forms on the phonological level. If it is applied to the traditional Chinese philology of the Chinese language, we can explain some lexical or grammatical phenomena in Old Chinese literature more efficiently and accurately and optimize our knowledge about traditional exegesis. For example:

Shijing 诗经, Binfeng qiyue 豳风 七月: "*Yizhiri bifa, erzhiri lilie* 一之日觱发，二之日栗烈 'The chilly wind blows in November, and it turns freezing cold in December'". According to the interpretation of Mao Heng 毛亨, "*Bifa, fenghan ye* 觱发，风寒也 '*bifa* refers to the coldness of wind'".

In fact, *bifa* 觱发 is a reduplicative form of *fafa* 发发 via backward syllabic final change, and *lilie* 栗烈 is a reduplicative form of *lielie* 烈烈 via a process of the same type. Upon referencing the annotation of Zheng Xuan, it is certain that there is a particular semantic correlation between them.

Shijing 诗经, Xiaoya siyue 小雅 四月: "*dongri lielie, piaofeng fafa* 冬日烈烈，飘风发发 'It is biting cold in winter days, and the high wind roars'". Zheng Xuan noted: "*Lielie, you lilie ye* 烈烈，犹栗烈也 '*lielie* is *lilie*'".

The annotation of Zheng Xuan only says *lielie* and *lilie* are a pair of synonyms, but does not hint at their possible semantic relation. Applying the variant reduplication theory, it is not difficult to figure out the covert semantic correlation between *bifa* and *fafa*, *lilie* and *lielie*, and further notice that the two pairs are not synonyms in the common understanding of the concept, but a variant reduplicative form and an invariant reduplication form with the same origin. Invariant reduplicative forms such as *fafa* and *lielie* are widely used in *Shijing*. For example:

Shijing 诗经, Xiaoya liao'e 小雅 蓼莪: "*Nanshan lielie, piaofeng fafa* 南山烈烈，飘风发发 'The wind in South Mountain is strong, and it blows with a whirring sound'". According to Mao Heng's interpretation, "*Fafa, ji mao* 发发，疾貌 'fafa describe the state (of wind) of being swift and strong'".

By contrast, the variant reduplicative forms like *bifa* and *lilie* are rare. It appears that the variant reduplication theory can help us break through the restrictions of traditional exegesis and lead the traditional study of Chinese exegesis of the lexicon to a new horizon.

5.2 Variant reduplication as a morphological key

The study of directionality and multiple processes of variant reduplication grants us the key to analyzing the phonological and morphological structures of variant reduplicative forms and discovering the shortcuts to finding the morpheme that determines the semantic core of a whole construction. As far as we are concerned, the types of variant reduplication are as follows:

AB (*diexie* 蹀躞)
BA (*yanwan* 燕婉)
AB/BA (*xuyu*/*sixu* 须臾/斯须)
A'AB (*tituanluan* 剔团栾)
A'B'AB (*dixiudiexie* 滴羞蹀躞; *xilihula* 吸力忽剌)

The types comprise forward syllabic initial change, backward syllabic final change, the coexistence of the two processes to create two syllable reduplicative forms of the same meaning, and the syllabic initial change and backward syllabic final change in sequence to create three or four syllable reduplicative words. When we come across four-character forms like *jizhangjuzhu* 急章拘诸 (also written as 急獐拘住or急章拒猪) that seem difficult to analyze, we first observe that *jizhang* 急章 is a variant of *juzhu* 拘诸 via backward reduplication; then, we find that there

is an overlapping syllabic final relationship between *ju* 拘 and *zhu* 诸. Since the latter may be a forward syllabic initial change reduplicative form of the former, the syllable *zhu* has no meaning on its own and *ju* is the semantic core in the four-character construction. In this way, it is not hard to reach a reasonable explanation of this word with the help of several examples within the proper contexts.

The concept of variant reduplication can help prevent the misinterpretation caused by a surface-level reading during the exegesis of words in historical literature. For example, in *Songshi* 宋史, *Bingzhi* 兵志, there is a word written in the form of *titiao* 踢跳, as in the sentence: "*Changzuodeng naiyi paizi titiao shanshuo, zhenyi xianghuan, zeima jingkui* 昌祚等乃以牌子踢跳闪烁，振以响环，贼马惊溃 'General Liu Changzuo and his fellowmen order the shield soldiers to jump and dash while rattling metal rings, and the enemy's horses startle and run away'". This word is traditionally understood as *ti* 踢 and *tiao* 跳, i.e., to kick and jump. Nevertheless, as we ponder over this sentence, we see that *titiao* means to jump up and down without necessarily signifying the act of *ti* 踢 'to kick'. One may naturally conclude, then, that *titiao* should be a reduplicative form of *ti* via backward syllabic final change. In time, *titiao* began to stand for jumping and kicking, largely because the former misinterpretation had become entrenched in pragmatic contexts. However, we should distinguish between the original meaning and later ones in order to recognize the historical change of some lexical items. The first character *ti* 剔 in *tituanluan* 剔团欒, *titou* 剔透 and *titiao* 踢跳 is not actually the verb *ti*, but a syllable produced based on the [t-] initial monosyllabic *tuan* 团, *tou* 透 and *tiao* 跳 via backward syllabic final change. Only with the help of the Variant Reduplication Theory can those forms that were formerly misinterpreted be analyzed thoroughly.

5.3 Variant reduplication contributing to the exegesis of folk words

The Variant Reduplication Theory is also of great value in the exegesis of folk words to help explain forms that were formerly regarded as unexplainable, and correct mistakes made in previous research. This theory may prove very eye-opening for the traditional research field.

As mentioned above, the three- or four-character state adjectives may be formed via variant reduplication of disyllabic words, multiple reduplications of monosyllabic words or variant reduplication after a split-sound process of monosyllabic words. Unfortunately, the phenomena were more or less neglected in the past, leaving previous works with superficial and erroneous understandings of related linguistic phenomena. Let us look at an example in *Song Jin Yuan Ming Qing Quci Tongshi* 宋金元明清曲辞通释, also named *Tongshi* 通释 for short.

zhititiao 纸提条, 纸题条

(29) 我　　将　　这　　第三　　封　　扯　　做　　　纸题条。
    wo　jiang　zhe　disan　feng　che　zuo　　zhititiao
    1SG　ACC　this　third　CL　strip　become　paper fragment
    'I tore the third letter into pieces.'
    (*Jianfubei* 荐福碑, Zuitaiping erzhe 醉太平二折, by Ma Zhiyuan)

(30) 把　　衣服　　扯　　得　　似　　纸提条。
    ba　yifu　　che　de　si　zhititiao
    ACC　clothes　drag　de　like　paper fragment
    'His clothes were torn into pieces.'
    (*Huanlaomo* 还牢末, Wuyer erzhe 梧叶儿二折)

Tongshi explains: "*zhititiao* 纸提条 equals *zhitiaor* 纸条儿 'a piece of paper', also written as *zhititiao* 纸题条. *Ti* 提 and *ti* 题 are meaningless characters." We argue that *zhititiao* 纸提条 or 纸题条 originated from *zhitiaotiao* 纸条条, and *titiao* 提条 or 题条 is the variant reduplicative form of the monosyllabic word *tiao* 条 via backward syllabic final change reduplication.

tituanluan 剔团栾, *tituluan* 剔秃栾

(31) 断　　人　　肠　　的　　是　剔团栾　月　　色　　挂
    duan　ren　chang　de　shi tituanluan　yue　se　gua
    break　person　bowel　NOM　be　very round　moon　color　hang
    妆楼。
    zhuanglou
    boudoir
    'One sees the full moon cast its light upon the boudoir, and feels heartbroken.'
    (*Dou'e Yuan* 窦娥冤, Hunjianglong yizhe 混江龙一折)

(32) 剔秃栾　　一　　轮　　天　　外　　月。
    tituluan　yi　lun　tian　wai　yue
    very round　one　CL　sky　out　moon
    'So round is the moon in the sky.'
    (*Qingjiangyin* 清江引, Tuoyong 托咏, short lyric, the Yuan Dynasty)

According to *Tongshi*, *tituanluan* means 'being in a perfect round or circular shape' or simply 'very round'. *Ti* 剔 is an adverb describing roundness, just like *shen* 甚, *ji* 极, *hen* 很, *ting* 挺 or *diliur* 滴溜儿. *Tuanluan* is the state of being round.

Now we know that *ti* is a backward syllabic final change reduplicative form of *tuan*, and *luan* is a forward syllabic initial change reduplicative form of *tuan*. Thus, *tuanluan* equals *tuantuantuan*. Because the syllable *ti* often proceeds *tuanluan* or *tou* (透, as in *linglongtitou* 玲珑剔透), occupying the adverbial slot in the constructions, it is misunderstood to be an adverb. In the poem *Dabieshan* 大别山 'Mt. Dabie' written by Zang Kejia, we find such a line:

(33) 流　　　泉　　　到处　　　　卖弄　　　清响，
　　　 liu　 *quan*　 *daochu*　 　 *mainong*　 *qingxiang*
　　　 flow　 spring　 everywhere　 show off　 clear sound
　　　 把　 石子　　　冲　　洗　　　得　 光滑　　　剔亮。
　　　 ba　 *shizi*　　 *chong*　 *xi*　　 *de*　 *guanghua*　 *tiliang*
　　　 ACC　 small rock　 rush　 wash　 de　 smooth　　　very bright
　　　 'The spring water flows around with clear gurgling sounds, scrubbing down small rocks and turning them into shiny cobblestones.'

Here, *tiliang* 剔亮 means very clear, where *ti* is used as a degree adverb as a result of reanalysis based on the grammatical distribution of *ti* in later times.

In addition, *daidahai* 呆答孩, *daidahai* 呆打孩 and *daidahai* 呆打颏 all denote being inert or dumbfounded. *Dahai* 答孩, *dahai* 打孩 and *dahai* 打颏 are split-sound forms in *Yuanqu* of the adjective *dai* 呆. *Qilinqin* 七林侵 and *qilinqin* 七临侵 both mean *qinqin* 骎骎, in which *qilin* 七林 and *qilin* 七临 are split-sound forms of *qin* 骎. Yet *Tongshi* also fails to explain forms of this kind.

The above are but some of the benefits of applying the Variant Reduplication Theory, and remind us to pay more attention to word formation related to phonological phenomena at a time when academic focus in mainly on word formation at the grammatical level. Indeed, we should emphasize the study of language as a comprehensive field linking linguistic phenomena of the past and the present and involving the association of both diachronic and synchronic levels in linguistic research. This endeavor will surely broaden our vision and push the limits of the study of morphology and lexicon.

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Yonglong Yang (杨永龙)

The correlation between the Chinese purpose construction "VP + *qu* (去, 'go')" and SOV languages

Abstract: The purpose construction "VP + *qu* (去, 'go')" in Chinese is correlated with SOV languages based on the following evidence: (1) "VP + *qu*" was originally found in translated Chinese Buddhist Sutras in the Six Dynasties period (220–589 A. D.) with ensuing occurrences in Zen classics and literature that were influenced by Altaic languages. (2) As found in historical corpora, "VP + *qu*" coexists with "D (destination) + *qu*", while "*qu* + VP" coexists with "*qu* + D". (3) SOV languages such as the Jurchen language, the Mongolian language in *Menggu Mishi* 蒙古秘史 (*The Secret History of the Mongols*), and some Chinese-based mixed languages have "D + GO" and "VP + GO", while SVO languages such as those of the Miao-Yao and Zhuang-Dong groups have "GO + D" and "GO + VP". (4) The "*qu* + VP + *qu*" construction arose through the fusion of the purpose constructions "VP + *qu*" and "*qu* +VP".

Keywords: Purpose construction, SOV language, "VP + *qu* (去, 'go')", language contact

1 Introduction

1.1 The purpose construction

According to Cristofaro (2008), the purpose construction contains two linked events, namely, a main event coded as the main clause, and a dependent event coded as

the purpose clause. The main event is performed with the goal of obtaining the realization of the dependent event. In a typical purpose construction, the motion verb functions as the predicate of the main clause that shares the same act or with the dependent clause,[1] as in (1) (the purpose clause is indicated by square brackets in the examples):

(1)   I went downtown [to buy books]. (Cristofaro 2008)

In her paper, Cristofaro (2008) mentioned the serial verb construction in Mandarin Chinese, and cited an example from Li and Thompson (1973: 98): "*ni gui-xialai qiu Zhang-san,* 'You knelt down and/in order to beg Zhang-san'". She pointed out that examples of this kind can be classified as either a coordinate sentence or purpose sentence depending on the context. As a matter of fact, the more typical purpose construction in Chinese that corresponds with (1) is (2) "*qu* (去, '*go*') + D (destination) + VP", and also (3) "*qu* (去, '*go*') + VP", which does not contain a motion destination:

(2)   我　去　城里　　[买　书]　　了。
　　　Wo　qu　chengli　mai　shu　　le
　　　I　　go　city　　　buy　book　PERF
　　　'I went to the city to buy books.'

(3)   我　去　[买　书]　　了。
　　　Wo　qu　[mai　shu]　le
　　　I　　go　buy　　book　PERF
　　　'I went to buy books.'

As pointed out by Greenberg's universal 15 (1966: 84) "In expressions of volition and purpose, a subordinate verbal form always follows the main verb as the normal order except in those languages in which the nominal object always precedes the verb." Thus with respect to the word order of the motion verb and the purpose clause, the purpose constructions in English and Chinese share a prominent similarity in that the motion verb comes before the purpose clause. Therefore, "to go" comes first, and then "to buy books", which is consistent with the principle of temporal sequence. The first verb can not only be "*qu* (去, 'go')", but can also be other motion verbs or even non-motion verbs, for instance, "*shang* (上, 'go up')" in

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1 It is true that this is only one kind of purpose construction. Cristofaro (2008) also mentioned another kind of purpose construction in which non-motion predicates may be involved, in which case main and dependent events need not share a participant. This paper does not cover this type of purpose construction.

"*shangjie [maicai]* (上街买菜, 'to go to the street to buy vegetables')" and "*mai* (买, 'buy')" in "*mai cai [chi]* (买菜吃, 'to buy vegetables to eat')". This word order exists in ancient Chinese literature, for instance "*Huizi xiang liang, Zhuangzi wang [jian zhi]* (惠子相梁，庄子往见之, 'Huizi being a minister of state in Liang, Zhuangzi went to see him.')" in *Zhuangzi* 庄子. In addition to this "*GO* + VP" (*GO* indicates a verb which means 'to go' in any languages) inherited from ancient times, Chinese has another purpose construction that is in reverse word order (see 1.2 below).

1.2 Three types of purpose constructions in the Chinese language

As mentioned above, "*GO* + VP" is inherited from ancient times, and the purpose construction has a reverse word order in Chinese, i.e., "VP + *qu* (去, 'go')". However, as a fellow SVO language like Chinese, English has no analogous construction.

(4)　我　　[买　书]　　去　了。
　　　Wo　mai　shu　qu　le
　　　I　　buy　book　go　PERF
　　　'＊ I bought books to go.'
　　　'I went to buy books.'

As shown in the examples above, in the "VP + *qu* 去" structure, the event that occurred afterwards is expressed first, which may be explained by the "intention-goes-first" norm. However, such an explanation does not have universal application beyond "*qu*" and "*lai* (来, 'to come')" to extend to other verbs.[2] For instance, "*shang jie [mai cai]* (上街买菜, 'to go into the street to buy vegetables')" cannot be expressed as "*＊[mai cai] shang jie* (买菜上街, '＊to buy vegetables go into the street')",[3] and "*[mai cai] chi* (买菜吃, 'to buy vegetable to eat')" not "*＊chi [mai cai]* (吃买菜, '＊to eat buy vegetables')". This fact demonstrates the limitation of the "intention-goes-first" norm in explaining "VP + *qu*", which can be further supported by evidence from another type of purpose construction "*qu* (去, 'go') + VP + *qu* (去, 'go')" in Chinese.

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2 Generally, "*lai* 来 'come'" and "*qu* 去 'go'" are used in a parallel way, and the same is true when used in the purpose construction. Therefore, the analysis of "*qu* + VP" and "VP + *qu*" in this paper is applicable to "*lai* + VP" and "VP + *lai*" in general. However, the difference between "*lai*" and "*qu*" cannot be ignored, and thus further study specifically on the difference is necessary.

3 If "*maicai* 买菜 'to buy vegetables'" is the conversation topic, this clause is feasible as in "*Mai cai shang jie, mai riyong pin dehua jiu qu chaoshi* 买菜上街，买日用品的话就去超市 'To buy vegetables, I'll go to the street; to buy daily necessities, I'll go to the supermarket'". However, this is another construction which is different from this paper's focus and thus will not be discussed here. When the first verb is "*xiang* 想 'want'" as in the case of "*xiang chifan* 想吃饭 'wish to eat meal'", though it follows the sequential order in time, it does not pertain to the construction that this paper intends to discuss.

(5) 我　去　买　书　　去　了。
　　Wo　qu　mai　shu　qu　le
　　I　go　buy　book　go　PERF
　　'*I went to buy the books go.'
　　'I went to buy the books.'

At this point, it is a mistake, by analogy with "*qu* + VP + *qu*", to produce a pattern like "**shang jie mai cai shang jie* (上街买菜上街, '*to go into the street to buy vegetables to go into the street')". Two questions then arise: are the three types of purpose construction, namely, "VP + *qu*", "*qu* + VP", and "*qu* + VP + *qu*", synonymous? If they are synonymous, where do they come from?

1.3　Previous studies and the research objective

Scholars have already conducted investigations on the correlations and differences among those constructions. Ding *et al.* (1961: 113) pointed out: "*Wo qu mai cai* (我去买菜, literally 'I go buy vegetables')", "*Wo mai cai qu* (我买菜去, literally 'I buy vegetables go')", and "*Wo qu mai cai qu* (我去买菜去, literally 'I go buy vegetables go')" are synonymous, and "*qu*" can occur before or after the verb, or simultaneously in both positions.

Some other scholars, however, believe that their meanings are different. Lü (1944: 163–164) focused on the degree of grammaticalization of "*qu*" in these constructions and argued that: (i) the "*qu*" in "*qu* + VP" can be a complete verb and collocate with a VP that expresses a purpose, or be a verb with weak motion meaning; (ii) the "*qu*" in "VP + *qu*" has even weaker motion meaning to the extent that it becomes an auxiliary word; (iii) as for "*qu* + VP + *qu*", the second "*qu*" merely expresses phase, a phase indicates a future event.

Lu (1985: 18–31) focused on the constructions and concluded that: (i) "VP + *qu*" in modern Chinese is a polysemous construction with various types of semantic relations, among which only the type expressing purpose can be replaced with "*qu* + VP"; meanwhile, "*qu* + VP" cannot always be replaced with "VP + *qu*". (ii) Even if the two types of construction are syntactically interchangeable, pragmatically they are not. This fact, according to Lu, is reflected in the differences between written and spoken language, and even in the differences between the Beijing dialect and Mandarin. Lu (1985: 31) pointed out: "Northern dialects, especially the Beijing dialect, prefer to use 'VP + *qu*' instead of '*qu* + VP', while "*qu* + VP" is mainly used in Southwest Mandarin, *Xiajiang* Mandarin, *Min*, *Yue*, *Xiang*, and *Wu* dialects. These two types of constructions were both absorbed into written Mandarin." (iii) Regardless of their assimilation into Mandarin, a division

of labor is established between the two, with "*qu* + VP" emphasizing the agent's engagement in certain events and "VP + *qu*" emphasizing the agent's motion. (iv) With respect to "*qu* + VP + *qu*", Lu (1985: 31) suggested that "the emergence of this sentence pattern has yet to be explored. It emphasizes both the agent's engagement in certain events and the moving trend of the agent's motion".

Despite their different approaches, Lü (1944) and Lu (1985) agree that the three constructions are different in their meanings.

This issue is worthy of further investigation; however, a sweeping generalization is unlikely because "VP + *qu*" and "*qu* + VP" are themselves polysemous constructions. As for the "*qu*" among them, some are strong in motion meaning, while others are weak.

This paper mainly focuses on the typical purpose constructions of "VP + *qu*" and "*qu* + VP", where "*qu*" possesses strong motion meaning. Based on our investigation of the literature, this paper concludes that as purpose constructions, "VP + *qu*", "*qu* + VP", as well as "*qu* + VP + *qu*" generally have similar meaning. Their co-occurrence in the Beijing dialect, however, may have caused a division of labor, such as slight differences in pragmatic effects or language styles. With regards to this issue, this article will not engage in any further discussion; instead, it will explore the origin of the "VP + *qu*" construction from the perspective of language contact and word order typology.

2 The diachronic analysis of "VP + *qu*"

2.1 Observation of various editions of *Lao Qida* and *Piao Tongshi*

As a textbook for Koreans learning Chinese, *Lao Qida* 老乞大 (*The Old Sinologist*) has three types of versions: (A) *Guben Lao Qida* 古本老乞大 (*The Old Version Lao Qida*), roughly representing the northern Chinese of the Yuan Dynasty (1206–1368 A.D.); (B) *Fanyi Lao Qida* 翻译老乞大 (*The Translated Lao Qida*) and the *Lao Qida Yanjie* 老乞大谚解 (*The Interpreted Lao Qida*), roughly representing the northern Chinese of the early Ming Dynasty (1368–1644 A.D.); (C) *Lao Qida Xinshi* 老乞大新释 (*The New Interpretation of Lao Qida*) and *Chongkan Lao Qida* 重刊老乞大 (*The Reprinted Lao Qida*), roughly representing the northern Chinese of the Qianlong period (1736–1796 A.D.) in the Qing Dynasty (see Zheng, Liang, and Zheng 2002, Li 2003). We found that in (A) and (B), instances of "*qu* + VP" were rare, and "VP + *qu*" was by far the most dominant in terms of quantity. The *Guben Lao Qida* only has 3 cases of "*qu* + VP", but 79 cases of "VP + *qu*". When it came to (C), the cases of "*qu*

+ VP" substantially increased, while those of "VP + *qu*" dropped sharply. The *Lao Qida Xinshi* has 15 cases of "VP + *qu*" rewritten as "*qu* + VP". Below are the examples.

(6) a. 那般　　呵　更　　好，
　　　　naban　he　geng　hao
　　　　That　if　more　good
　　　　俺　也　　待　卖　<u>这几个　马　　去。</u>
　　　　an　ye　　dai　mai　zhe jige　ma　　qu
　　　　I　　also　will　sell　these　　horse　go
　　　　'That's better, I will sell these horses too.'
　　　　(*Guben Lao Qida*)

　　　b. 这么的呢　　狠　　好，
　　　　zheme de ne　hen　hao
　　　　this　　　　　very　good
　　　　我　也　　要　<u>去　卖　这几个　马</u>。
　　　　wo　ye　　yao　qu　mai　zhe jige　ma
　　　　I　　also　will　go　sell　these　　horse
　　　　'This is very good, I will sell these horses too.'
　　　　(*Lao Qida Xinshi*)

Like *Lao Qida*, another textbook *Piao Tongshi* 朴通事 (*The Interpreter Piao*) also has different versions that reflect Ming (1368–1644 A.D.) and Qing (1644–1911 A.D.) Dynasty differences. The Ming Dynasty version of *Piao Tongshi Yanjie* 朴通事谚解 (*The Interpreted Piao Tongshi*) shows a similar tendency as found in versions of *Lao Qida* from the Yuan and Ming dynasties, where "VP + *qu*" dominates with a total number of 74 cases in contrast with only 9 cases of "*qu* + VP". When it comes to the Qing Dynasty version of the *Piao Tongshi Xinshi* 朴通事新释 (*The New Interpretation of Piao Tongshi*), the cases of "VP + *qu*" drop sharply where 12 cases "VP + *qu*" are replaced by "*qu* + VP" (Zhang 2010).

(7) a. 张三　　　<u>买　羊　　去</u>。(*Piao Tongshi Yanjie*)
　　　　Zhangsan　mai　yang　qu
　　　　Zhangsan　buy　sheep　go
　　　　'Zhangsan went to buy sheep.'

　　　b. 可　教　张三　　<u>去　买　一只　羊</u>。(*Piao Tongshi Xinshi*)
　　　　Ke　jiao　Zhangsan　qu　mai　yizhi　yang
　　　　can　ask　Zhangsan　go　buy　a　　sheep
　　　　'You can ask Zhangsan to buy a sheep.'

It cannot be a pure coincidence that "VP + *qu*" happened to decrease while "*qu* + VP" happened to increase in various editions of *Lao Qida* and *Piao Tongshi*. Li and Jiang (2000) and Li (2003) found that the language of the *Guben Lao Qida* was under the obvious influence of Mongolian, while the language of other editions from the Qing Dynasty reflected a trend of being less influenced and turning back to standard Chinese. Hence we can assume that the substitution of "*qu* + VP" for "VP + *qu*" is a reflection of this trend. More specifically, the dominant status of "VP + *qu*" during the Yuan and Ming dynasties is correlated with the influence of Mongolian. The decline of "VP + *qu*" and the rise of "*qu* + VP" is a result of the waning influence of Mongolian and the growing influence of standard Chinese. This assumption will be corroborated by a wider range of language materials in what follows.

2.2 Diachronic study of purpose constructions in other literature of the Yuan and Ming Dynasties and their North-South differences

Liu and Jiang (1995) is a comprehensive compilation of literature from the Yuan and Ming dynasties. We used it as the corpus to collect statistics on the frequency of "VP + *qu*" and "*qu* + VP", and exclude the materials in this compilation that contained no cases of those purpose constructions. Please see Table 1.

Based on comparisons of frequency and support from other materials, the following facts can be observed.

First, the *Baihuabei* 白话碑 (*The Colloquialism Stele of the Yuan Dynasty*) and *Yuan Dianzhang* 元典章 (*The Decrees of the Yuan Dynasty*) only contain "VP + *qu*" but no "*qu* + VP". Upon further investigations of Cai (1955) and Zu and Li (2004), we still find that "VP + *qu*" is dominant, with proportions of 6: 0 and 30: 4, respectively. As is well known, the traces of Mongolian influence are pervasive in those two materials.

Second, *Yuan Zaju* 元杂剧 (*The Northern Drama*) and *Nanxi* 南戏 (*The Southern Drama*) in the Yuan Dynasty have different characteristics. Some pieces of *Yuan Zaju* have identical proportions of "VP + *qu*" and "*qu* + VP". For instance, *Fen'er Jiumu* 焚儿救母 has 3: 3. However, in pieces written by writers in Northern China, especially those associated with the Altaic ethnic groups, the cases of "VP + *qu*" are in the majority. For instance, Guan Hanqing 关汉卿's work *Tiao Fengyue* 调风月 contains only "VP + *qu*"; Shi Zizhang 石子章's work *Zhuwu Tingqin* 竹坞听琴 contains 33 cases of "VP + *qu*" and only 1 case of "*qu* + VP"; Li Zhifu 李直夫's work *Hutou Pai* 虎头牌 contains 22 case of "VP + *qu*" and 7 case of "*qu* + VP". As for the Southern Drama, the cases of "*qu* + VP" are in the majority.

Table 1: Frequency of "VP + *qu*" and "*qu* + VP" in Yuan and Ming Dynasties.

		qu + VP	VP + *qu*
Literary Works from the Yuan Dynasty	*Baihuabei* 白话碑	0	2
	Yuan Dianzhang 元典章	0	3
	Tiao Fengyue 调风月	0	2
	Shagou Quanfu 杀狗劝夫	14	21
	Fen'er Jiumu 焚儿救母	3	3
	Xiao Suntu 小孙屠	6	1
	Xuanhe Yishi 宣和遗事	2	2
	Xinbian Wudaishi Pinghua 新编五代史平话	5	0
	Luzhai Yishu 鲁斋遗书	33	0
Literary Works from the Ming Dynasty	*Menggu Mishi* 蒙古秘史	19	5
	Yu'en Lu 遇恩录	3	0
	Muzhai Chuxue Ji 牧斋初学集	3	0
	Huangming Zhaoling 皇明诏令	8	1
	Tuanyuan Meng 团圆梦	21	10
	Zhengtong Linrong Lu 正统临戎录	24	7

For instance, *Xiao Suntu* 小孙屠 contains 6 cases of "*qu* + VP" and 0 case of "VP + *qu*", *Pipa Ji* 琵琶记 contains 85 cases of "*qu* + VP" and 2 cases of "VP + *qu*". Another example of *Shagou Quanfu* 杀狗劝夫 can offer a more obvious contrast. In the *Yuan Zaju* version of *Shagou Quanfu* 杀狗劝夫, the cases of "VP + *qu*" outnumber those of "*qu* + VP". In contrast, the *Nanxi* version of the same story, titled as *Shagou Ji* 杀狗记, contains merely 5 cases of "VP + *qu*" but 82 cases of "*qu* + VP". This North-South difference supports the above assumption.

Third, the *Xinbian Wudaishi Pinghua* 新编五代史评话 and *Luzhai Yishu* 鲁斋遗书 only contain "*qu* + VP". The author of the former work, *Xinbian Wudaishi Pinghua,* cannot be identified. "Though it has always been regarded as a work from the Song Dynasty, in fact, it may not be reliable." (Liu et al. 1992: 18). The second work, *Luzhai Yishu*, done by the famous Confucian scholar Xu Heng 许衡, only contains two pieces of his works, namely *Zhishuo Daxue Yaolüe* 直说大学要略 and *Daxue Zhijie* 大学直解, which are textbooks used to explain *Daxue* (大学, 'The Great Learning'). Despite the occasional occurrence of characteristics of Mongolians speaking Chinese, those two pieces contain no "VP + *qu*", which seems to be evidence against the above assumption. However, such "counterevidence" can be explained when we take into account the background of the author Xu Heng. Xu Heng highly praised the Neo-Confucian scholars the Cheng brothers

二程 and Zhu Xi 朱熹 from the Song Dynasty. As a result, Xu's thoughts and interpretations of the essentials of *Daxue* were mostly consistent with *Zhuzi Yulei* 朱子语类. Similarly, Xu's language style was highly likely to be similarly influenced by *Zhuzi Yulei*. As will be discussed in the following, *Zhuzi Yulei Jilüe* 朱子语类辑略 contains no cases of the purpose construction "VP + *qu*".

Fourth, although in general the cases of "*qu* + VP" are in the majority during the Yuan and Ming dynasties, the percentage of "*qu* + VP" increased significantly from 65% in the Yuan Dynasty to 77% in the Ming Dynasty according to the statistics seen in Table 1. More importantly, different materials from the Yuan Dynasty show regional disparity. However, the materials from the Ming Dynasty consistently indicate the dominant status of "*qu* + VP", including *Menggu Mishi*, a Chinese translation from Middle Mongolian, and *Zhengtong Linrong Lu*, recorded by Ha Ming, a Mongolian. This diachronic difference again constitutes evidence for the above hypothesis.

The above analysis of the regional and diachronic differences shows that the stronger the Mongolian influence, the greater number of cases of "VP + *qu*" and vice versa. Accordingly, it is quite reasonable to infer that the Chinese "VP + *qu*" construction bears Mongolian influence by virtue of language contact.

Language contact can either promote the development of a pre-existing language structure or facilitate the generation of a new structure. The question thus arises: did Mongolian influence facilitate the generation of "VP + *qu*" or encourage its flourishing? To answer this question, an investigation of material predating the Yuan Dynasty is needed.

2.3 "VP + *qu*" before Yuan Dynasty

The earliest cases of the purpose construction "VP + *qu*" are found in Chinese translations of Buddhist Sutras in the Six Dynasties period (220–589 A.D.). In total, there are more than 20 cases. Indigenous literature from the same time period, such as *Shishuo Xinyu* 世说新语, *Yanshi Jiaxun* 颜氏家训, contains no cases of "VP + *qu*".

(8) 若　　比丘　　淫欲　　炽盛，
　　ruo　biqiu　yinyu　zhisheng
　　that　monk　lust　　flaming
　　往　　语　　所爱　　比丘　　言：　"我　　淫欲　　炽盛。"
　　wang　yu　suo ai　biqiu　yan　　wo　yinyu　zhisheng
　　go　　tell　loved　monk　say　　I　　lust　　flaming

彼	答：	"作淫	去。"	彼	即	往	作淫。
bi	*da*	*zuo yin*	*qu.*	*Bi*	*ji*	*wang*	*zuo yin*
He	reply	have sex	go	he	then	go	have sex

'That monk was filled with flaming lust and went to tell
the monk he loved: "I'm filled with flaming lust". He
replied: "Go to have sex." Then he went to have sex.'
(*Dazheng Zang*，No.1441. CBETA)

The verb "*qu* 去" originally meant 'to leave'，and then came to mean 'to go'. The expression "*wang zuoyin* (往作淫, literally 'go have sex')", consistent with "*qu* + VP", closely follows "*zuoyin qu* (作淫去, literally 'have sex go')", which not only indicates that "*qu*" is equivalent to "*wang* (往, 'go')" , but also that "*zuoyin qu*" has become a purpose construction.

 Dunhuang Bianwen 敦煌变文 and *Zutang Ji* 祖堂集 are the most important language materials from the Late Tang and Five Dynasties period (836–960 A.D.). They both contain many cases of the purpose construction "VP + *qu*", whose frequency is higher than that of "*qu* + VP". *Dunhuang Bianwen Jiaozhu* 敦煌变文校注 contains 35 cases of "VP + *qu*" versus 10 cases of "*qu* + VP". *Zutang Ji* contains 58 cases of "VP + *qu*" versus 14 cases of "*qu* + VP".

(9)	师	问：	"汝	去	何处？"
	shi	*wen*	*ru*	*qu*	*hechu*
	master	ask	you	go	where

	对曰：	"向诸方	学	佛法	去。" (*Zutang Ji*)
	duiyue	*Xiang zhufang*	*xue*	*fofa*	*qu.*
	reply	go around	learn	Buddhist doctrine	go

'The Master asked: "Where do you want to go?" He replied: "I will
go all around to learn Buddhist doctrine."'

The language of *Dunhuang Bianwen* and *Zutang Ji* is northern standard Chinese. Although the latter is generally considered to have been "occasionally infiltrated by elements of the southern dialect" (Mei 1994), the dominant position of "VP + *qu*" in this work is worthy of further investigation and the impact of Sutras translated into Chinese cannot be excluded.

 There are few cases of "VP + *qu*" in materials from the Song Dynasty (960–1279 A.D.), and those that appear are mainly seen in northern literature. For instance, *Sanchao Beimeng Huibian* 三朝北盟会编 contains 3 cases of "VP + *qu*" but 21 cases of "*qu* + VP", *Liu Zhiyuan Zhu Gongdiao* 刘知远诸宫调2 cases of "VP + *qu*" versus 2 cases of "*qu* + VP", and *Dong Xixiang* 董西厢1 case of "VP + *qu*" and no "*qu* + VP". Meanwhile southern literary works, such as *Zhuzi Yulei Jilüe* and

Zhang Xie Zhuangyuan 张协状元 contain many cases of "*qu* + VP" but no cases of the purpose construction "VP + *qu*".[4]

(10)　儿子弟兄　因为　　县中　　税赋　未了，　须索　理会　　　去。
　　　er'zi dixiong　yinwei　xianzhong　fushui　weiliao　xusuo　lihui　　qu
　　　we brother　because　county　　tax　　unpaid　must　deal with　go
　　　'Because the tax is unpaid to the county, we brothers have to go to deal with that matter.'
　　　(*Liu Zhiyuan Zhu Gongdiao*)

Since the purpose construction "VP + *qu*" existed before the Yuan Dynasty, Mongolian influence could only promote its development and not bring it into existence. The question then arises: what brought about the existence of "VP + *qu*"? Was it due to the development of Chinese itself or the result of language contact? The above analysis shows that the earliest purpose construction "VP + *qu*" is found in the translations of Buddhist Sutras. Hence, its generation was likely to be influenced by the original languages of Buddhist Sutras. Those languages, including Sanskrit and Pali, generally use SOV word order, though not strictly so. Subsequently, the cases of "VP + *qu*" mainly appeared in Zen quotations and northern literature readily influenced by the Altaic languages. The ethnicities that once ruled northern China, such as the Xianbei, Khitan, Jurchen, Mongolian, and Manchu, all use SOV Altaic languages. Therefore, the generation and flourishing of "VP + *qu*" in Chinese are likely to be related to those SOV languages. This inference, of course, is made in accordance with external observations of the language materials. More direct evidence will come from analyzing the language structure itself, in what follows.

3 The correlation between "VP + *qu*" and "D + *qu*"

3.1 Two types of correlations

By observing the language structures themselves, when the sentences involve the end point of motion or destination (referred to as "D"), we can find two types of correlations corresponding to "*qu* + VP" and "VP + *qu*", respectively.

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4 Some cases of "VP *qu*" in *Zhuzi Yulei Jilüe* seem to express purpose, but actually do not. For instance, in the following passage from Vol. 2, "*ye zi bujie zhu le, zi yao zuo qu* 也自不解住了，自要做去 'He also should not stop. He must go on doing it'", "*zuo qu*" means to do something without stopping.

(11) Type One： (a) *qu* + D   (b) *qu* + D + VP   (c) *qu* + VP
      Type Two： (a) D + *qu*   (b) D + VP + *qu*   (c) VP + *qu*

Type One is the one that is most commonly seen from ancient Chinese to modern Chinese, for instance:

(12) a. 你   去   哪里?   我   去   北京。
         ni   qu   nali?   wo   qu   Beijing.
         you   go   where   I   go   Beijing
         'Where are you going? I'm going to Beijing.'

      b. 去   北京   干   什么?   去   北京   上学。
         qu   Beijing   gan   shenme   qu   Beijing   shangxue
         go   Beijing   do   what   go   Beijing   attend school
         'What will you go to Beijing to do? I will go to Beijing to go to school.'

      c. 去   干   什么?   去   上学。
         qu   gan   shenme   qu   shang xue
         go   do   what   go   attend school
         'What will you do? Go to school.'

The D here follows the verb "*qu*". When D in sentences like (12b) does not appear, the sentence structure changes to those like (12c), which clearly indicates the structural correlations among "*qu* + VP", "*qu* + D + VP" and "*qu* + D". In SVO languages like Chinese, this type of correlation is very common and straightforward. The following section will focus on the Type Two correlation.

3.2 Type two correlation in *Lao Qida* and *Zutang Ji*

In the *Guben Lao Qida* and *Zutang Ji*, the cases of "D + *qu*" are as common as "VP + *qu*". When D is required in "VP + *qu*", the usual structure is "D + VP + *qu*". Examples from the *Guben Lao Qida* are given here:

(13) a. 俺   沿路   相合着   做伴当   大都   去。
         an   yanlu   xianghezhe   zuo ban dang   Dadu   qu
         we   on the way   together   as friends   Dadu   go
         'We will go to Dadu as friends on the way.'

b. 恁　大都　为　甚么　勾当　去?
   nen　Dadu　wei　shenme　goudang　qu
   you　Dadu　do　what　thing　go
   'What are you going to do in Dadu?'

c. 我　将　这几个　马　卖　去。
   wo　jiang　zhejige　ma　mai　qu
   I　take　these　horse　sell　go
   'I'm going to take these horses to sell'

In the expressions above, *nali* 那里 'where' and *Dadu* 大都 'the capital of the Yuan Dynasty', come before the verb "*qu*" as its destinations.

Zutang Ji also contains many cases of "D + *qu*" and "D + VP + *qu*" correlated with "VP + *qu*", for instance:

(14) a. 峰　云：　"什么处　去?"　对云：　"湖南　去。"
   Feng　yun　Shenmechu　qu　duiyun　Hunan　qu
   Feng　say　where　go　reply　Hunan　go
   'Feng asked: "Where are you going?" He replied: "I am going to Hunan."'

b. 师　曰：　"什摩处　去？"
   shi　yue　Shenmechu　qu
   master　ask　where　go
   对曰：　"江陵　受戒　　　　　　　去。"
   duiyue　Jiangling　shoujie　　　　　qu
   reply　Jiangling　initiated into monkhood　go
   'The Master asked: "Where are you going?" He replied: "I am going to Jiangling to be initiated into monkhood."'

c. 师　问　雪峰：　"什摩处　去　来？"　　对曰："斫槽　去
   shi　wen　Xuefeng　shenmechu　qu　lai　duiyu　zhuocao
   master　ask　Xuefeng　where　go　PAST　reply　cut manger
   来。"
   qu　lai
   go　PAST
   'The master asked Xuefeng: "Where did you go?" He replied: "I went to make a manger."'

When asking where people are going, one may want to know about either their destination or what they will do. The same is true when replying. In this sense,

the VP that expresses what others do is similar to the destination argument of "*qu*". The above examples all use "D + *qu*" in the interrogation, and in the reply, they use "D + *qu*" (14a), "D + VP + *qu*" (14b), and "VP + *qu*" (14c), respectively. It is evident that the three have a close relationship.

3.3 The earliest "D + *qu*"

The Chinese translations of Buddhist Sutras in the Six Dynasties containing the earliest "VP + *qu*" also contain "D + *qu*", for instance:

(15) 男　　问　　亿耳：　"汝　　欲　　那　　去?"
　　　nan　wen　Yi'er　Ru　　yu　　na　　qu
　　　man　ask　Yi'er　you　want　where　go
　　　答言：　"欲　　至　　王萨薄　　聚落。"
　　　dayan　Yu　　zhi　Wangsabo　juluo
　　　reply　want　go　Wangsabo　settlement
　　　'The man asked Yi'er: "Where do you want to go?" He replied: "I want to go to the settlement of Wangsabo."'
　　　(*Dazheng Zang*，No. 1435; CBETA)

Ancient Chinese has traces of SOV word order, one of which is that interrogative pronouns as objects come before the verbs. The structure used to enquire about the destination is "D + *GO*", for instance:

(16) 有　　大　　罪　　三，　将　　安　　适? (*Guoyu*)
　　　you　da　　zui　san　jiang　an　　shi
　　　have　major　crimes　three　will　where　go
　　　'With these three major crimes, where can I go?'

Given the above analysis, the question arises: Does "D + *qu*" in the translated Buddhist Sutras come from the object fronting of interrogative pronouns in ancient Chinese? Since they both put the location argument before the verb, it seems natural that they should have a complementary relationship. However, some points need clarification. First, this word order in ancient Chinese is limited to the cases where interrogative pronouns function as objects, while the D of "D + *qu*" can be either interrogative pronouns or nominal expressions that designate locations, such as the aforementioned *Hunan* 湖南, *Dadu* 大都 and so on. Second, object fronting in ancient Chinese gradually declined and disappeared, while

"D + *qu*" is used more extensively and became an established structure in northern dialects. Even today, when two Beijing natives meet, the following dialogue can oftentimes occur.

(17) A: 哪儿   去? B: 家   去。
       na'er *qu*   *jia*   *qu*
       where go   home go
    'A: Where are you going? B: I'm going home.'

Therefore, even if "D + *qu*" is closely related to the object fronting of interrogative pronouns in ancient Chinese, we can only conclude that "D + *qu*" associates with the SOV word order to some degree. It is obvious that the later extension of the use of "D + *qu*" should be attributed to influence from the Altaic languages and translations of Buddhist Sutras.

4 The purpose constructions in neighboring languages and correlation types

This section concerns the following questions: What is the word order of purpose constructions with verbs meaning "go" in neighboring languages throughout history and at present? Are they consistent with the aforementioned two correlation types? Unfortunately, historical data is limited for languages that had contact with Chinese, and some newly discovered texts from ancient ethnic groups cannot yet be interpreted, such as the Khitan scripts. At present, only a few scattered materials can be used, such as Jurchen works, *Menggu Mishi*, and so on. To offset the shortage of historical material, we can observe modern neighboring languages from the perspective of word order types, to find out whether those constructions are consistent with the aforementioned correlation types.

4.1 Type two correlation in Jurchen language and Medieval Mongolian

The currently accessible materials show that the Jurchen language and Middle Mongolian are SOV languages. The correlational constructions are "D + *GO*" and "VP + *GO*". Below are examples in the Jurchen language (Jin and Jin 1980).

(18) a. 唐玄宗幸太原。(*Dasong Deshengtuosong Bei*)
　　Ta-aN þiE-iEn tzu-uN tai N-y-iEn du g« n« bie.
　　Tang Xuanzong Taiyuan LOC go
　　'Emperor Xuanzong of Tang went to Taiyuan.'

　b. 跟随余人去叩头呀。(*Yongningsi Bei*)
　　Fun tS« nialma da xa bie k« k«N l« mei ge n« gisa. «ri
　　other people ACC follow kowtow go
　　'Followed others to kowtow.'

The following examples come from the Middle Mongolian work *Menggu Mishi:*

(19) a. <u>ᵗᵘ合阿</u>　　<u>斡惕</u>
　　那里　　去
　　that place go
　　'go there'

　b. <u>额客边</u>　　<u>迭兀捏舌里颜</u>　<u>额邻</u>　<u>斡惕</u>。
　　母 自的行　 弟 自的行　　寻　　去
　　mother own　brother own　　look for　go
　　'Go to look for your own mother and brother.'

4.2 Type two correlation in modern Chinese-based mixed languages

In western China, there exist some languages with mixed features. Given their origin, they are likely the results of language contact either between Chinese and Altaic languages or between Chinese and Tibeto-Burman languages. The deep contact between those languages gave rise to a number of SOV grammatical features similar to Altaic and Tibeto-Burman languages, such as SOV word order and case markers. Meanwhile, the basic vocabulary of the mixed languages comes mainly from Chinese. As such, these languages can be referred to as Chinese-based mixed languages. Such Chinese-based mixed languages also have "D + *qu*", "D + VP + *qu*" and "VP + *qu*". The following examples are taken from the Linxia and Dao dialects.

　Located in central Gansu, Linxia is a multi-ethnic area that includes groups such as the Han, Tibetan, Hui, Dongxiang, Baonan, Sala, Mangghuer, and so on. The vocabulary of the Linxia dialect mainly comes from Chinese, while its basic

word order is SOV. The structures relevant to this paper are "D + *qu*", "VP + *qu*" and "D + VP + *qu*", for instance (Ma 1984; Wang 1993; The Research Team 1996):

(20) a.　你　　东西　　哈　　我　　哈　　还　　　给。
　　　　　ni　　dongxi　ha　　wo　　ha　　huan　gei
　　　　　you　things　ACC　I　　DAT　return　give
　　　　　'Please return my things to me.'

　　　b.　我　学　　　下　　　过了　　屋里　　去　　呢。
　　　　　wo　xue　　xia　　guole　wu li　　qu　　ne
　　　　　I　　school　finish　PERF　house　go　　FUT
　　　　　'After school is over, I'm going home.'

　　　c.　我　饭　　吃　　罢　　了　　　街上　　　浪　　去　　呢。
　　　　　wo　fan　　chi　　ba　　le　　　jie shang　lang　qu　　ne
　　　　　I　　meal　eat　　over　PERF　street　　play　go　　FUT
　　　　　'After the meal, I'll go to the street to play around.'

Dao dialect is a mixed language used in the area around Hekou town of Yajiang county in Sichuan province. Yeshes Vodgsal Atshogs has conducted a series of studies on this dialect. The basic vocabulary of this dialect mainly comes from Chinese. Its syntactic structure corresponds with Tibetan and has such corresponding features as SOV word order, tense, aspect, and mood markers for verb, and case markers for noun and pronoun (Atshogs 2004). The Dao dialect also has "D + *qu*", "VP + *qu*" and "D + VP + *qu*" in which the V needs the nominalization marker.

(21) a.　我　拉萨　　去　ko.[5]
　　　　　wo　Lhasa　qu　ko.
　　　　　I　　Lhasa　go　EXPER
　　　　　'I have been to Lhasa.'

　　　b.　我　成都　　　耍tʂhu　去　ʂ
　　　　　wo　Chengdu　shua　　qu　shi
　　　　　I　　Chengdu　play　　go　be
　　　　　'I'll go to Chengdu to play around.'

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5 This example was given by Yeshes Vodgsal Atshogs personally. Thanks for his help.

c. 我 柴   砍tʂhu 去 成   不   se.
   wo chai   kan   qu cheng bu se
   I firewood cut   go can not PART
   'I can't go to cut firewood.'

According to Atshogs (2001), "tʂhu" corresponds with the nominalization marker "*sa*" of Tibetan, but it originated from Chinese *chu* 处 'place', which originally indicated the location and action. Since it needs nominalization markers, this kind of purpose clause belongs to the deranked purpose clause in Cristofaro (2008), in which the motion verb "*qu*" is the main verb. In SOV languages, the natural position for the main verb is at the end of the sentence. Hence, the natural pattern can only be "VP + *qu*" instead of "*qu* + VP" for purpose constructions containing a motion verb.

4.3 Purpose construction in modern minority languages

Among modern day minority languages in China, the Altaic and Tibeto-Burman languages are SOV languages and contain "D + *GO*" and "VP + *GO*", as (22) (23), while the Miao-Yao and Zhuang-Dong languages are SVO languages containing "*GO* + D" and "*GO* + VP", as (24) (25).

(22) Dongxiang language (Liu 2009)
   a. tʂɯ ɕin   ni   pidzɯ !
      you letter ACC write
      'You write a letter!'

   b. maɣaʂɯ bi badza   ətʂɯ-nə.
      tomrow I market go-FUT
      'I will go to market tomorrow.'

   c. bi unba-lə   ətʂɯnə.
      I   swim-SUB go-FUT
      'I will go to swim.'

(23) Qiangic Language (Sun 2009)
   a. ŋɑ⁵⁵ tsuə³³ thia⁵¹.
      I   water drink
      'I drink water.'

   b.   no^{55} ɑ^{55} i^{31} kəu^{51}?
        you   where   go
        'Where are you going?'

   c.   tsuŋ^{13}tʃ^{31} y^{31}me^{33} tian^{55}tha^{33} kə^{33} ʂ^{31}!
        we   corn   plant   go   PART
        'Let's go to plant corn.'

(24) Miao Language (Wang 2009)
   a.   vi^{11} pu^{53} u^{55}.
        I   open   door
        'I will open the door.'

   b.   moŋ^{55} moŋ^{11} haŋ^{35} tei^{13}?
        you   go   where
        'Where are you going?'

   c.   vi^{11} moŋ^{11} ɣu^{35} ļhei^{53} zaŋ^{55}.
        I   go   hill   mow   grass
        'I'll go to the mountains to mow grass.'

(25) Zhuang Language (Wei and Qin 2009)
   a.   dam^{1} pjak^{7}
        Plant   vegetable
        'to plant vegetables'

   b.   mµN^{2} pai^{1} kjaµ^{2}?
        you   go   where
        'Where are you going?'

   c.   te^{1} ŋon^{2}nei^{4} pai^{1} ku^{6} hoùŋ^{1}?
        he   today   go   do   work
        'Does he go to work today?'

As evidenced by the above analysis, "VP + *qu*" and "D + *qu*" share a close relationship, which ultimately is a relationship with SOV languages. Similarly, the "*qu* + VP" and "*qu* + D" are correlated with SVO languages. Therefore, the aforementioned Type One correlation is in fact a relationship that corresponds with SVO languages, while Type Two corresponds with SOV languages.

5 The interchangeability and integration of the two purpose constructions

From early on, as an SVO language Chinese already had "GO + D" and "GO + VP" constructions. Via language contact and interethnic integration, the users of SOV languages brought "D + GO" and "VP + GO" into Chinese. When those constructions were assimilated and developed, they coexisted with the original "GO + D" and "GO + VP" constructions of Chinese. However, the two types of constructions were different in their origins, which gave rise to the syntactic restrictions on "VP + qu" as pointed by Lu (1985). Since "VP + *qu*" and "*qu* + VP" are purpose constructions of different word orders, their relationship is similar to that between SVO and SOV, which only differ in word order but not in meaning. Generally, these two types of constructions are interchangeable and mutually complementary across different times and different regions. Even in modern Chinese dialects, as pointed out by Lu (1985), the southern dialects mainly use "*qu* + VP",[6] while northern dialects use "VP + *qu*". Of course, the opposition between the two types of constructions is not absolute. Especially given the close contact between Chinese and other SOV languages, those two types will harmoniously coexist in Chinese. The dialogue from *Zutang Ji* aptly demonstrates their coexistence:

(26) 师　　　问　黄蘗：　"去　什摩处?" (VO)
　　　shi　　*wen*　*Huangnie*　*Qu*　*shenmechu*
　　　master　ask　Huangnie　go　where
　　　对云："择菜　　　　去。" (OV)
　　　duiyun　*Zaichai*　　　*qu*
　　　reply　trim vegetables　go
　　　'The Master asked Nie Huang: "Where are you going?" (He) replied: "I am going to trim vegetables for cooking."'

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6 The Wu dialect is slightly special, for it is more inclined to use "VP + *qu*" as pointed out by experts in the field; this is a topic worthy of further investigation. However, Danqing Liu has informed me of the following: (1) According to the written transcription of recordings, the cases of "*qu* + VP" are in the majority in the Shanghai dialect, though "VP + *qu*" and "*qu* + VP + *qu*" are relatively common. (2) In view of the supernormal topicalization of the patient component, the Wu dialect shows the tendency of becoming an SOV language, with the decline of the VO word order. However, it has not yet reached the level of syntactic object fronting as in the northwest dialects. Considering its syntactic object, it is still a VO language. Liu's opinions offer a good explanation of this peculiarity in the Wu dialect. Our thanks go to Danqing Liu for his insightful suggestions.

(27)　问　　僧：　　"什摩处　　去?"　(OV)
   wen　seng　Shenmechu　　qu
   ask　monk　where　　　　go
   对云：　"去　　　娥媚　　礼拜　普贤。" (VO)
   duiyun　Qu　E'mei　　libai　Puxian
   reply　　go　Mount Emei　pray　Samantabhadra
   '(Someone) asked the monk: "Where are you going?" (He) replied: "I am
   going to Mount Emei to pray to Samantabhadra."'

Not only are these two types of constructions interchangeable and co-occurring, but they can also fuse together. Such a fusion is not uncommon in the history of the Chinese language. For instance, the special copular sentence "S + *shi* (是, 'be') + N +*you* (有, 'have')/ *bianshi* (便是, 'just be')" is fused from "S + *shi* (是, 'be') + N" in SVO order and "S + N + *you* (有, 'have')/ *bianshi* (便是, 'just be')" in SOV order during the Yuan and Ming dynasties (Jiang 2003). Also, "*ru* (如, 'resemble') + N + *xiangsi* (相似, 'resemble')" in the translations of Buddhist Sutras from the Six Dynasties period is fused from "*ru* (如, 'resemble') + N" in SVO order and "N + *xiangsi* (相似, 'resemble')" in SOV order (Yang 2010). Relevant examples of such fusions are listed as follows:

(i) "*qu* + N + *qu*", fused from "*qu* + N" and "N + *qu*".

(28)　你　　且　　躲避，　　我　　要　　去　　那里　　去。(*Wudeng Huiyuan*)
   ni　qie　duobi　　wo　yao　qu　nali　　qu
   you　just　hide　　I　　will　go　there　go
   'You just hide away, and I'll go there.'

(ii) "*qu* +D + VP + *qu*", fused from "*qu* + D + VP" and "D + VP + *qu*".

(29)　我　不　可　　　着　　汝　　这般底，
   wo　bu　ke　　zhuo　ru　zheban di
   I　　not　allow　let　you　like this
   向后　　　　　去　别处　　　打风颠　　去　也。(*Zutang Ji*)
   xianghou　　qu　biechu　　dafengdian　qu　ye
   from now on　go　other place　go crazy　　go　PART
   'I won't allow you to behave like this. From now on you go to
   another place to go crazy.'

(iii) "*qu* + VP + *qu*", fused from "*qu* + VP" and "VP + *qu*".
This construction is very common in northern literature of Yuan, Ming and Qing dynasties and was discussed in detail by Hei (2003).

(30) 我　再　　去　应举　　　　　　　　　　　去　来。(*Poyao Ji*)
　　　wo　zai　　qu　yingju　　　　　　　　　　qu　lai
　　　I　　again　go　take imperial examination　go　FUT
　　　'I will go again to take the imperial examination.'

The fusion of elements from two different languages brings about a new expression which may not conform to or may even conflict with the preexistent grammatical system. The existing grammatical framework may not be able to offer an explanation of that new expression. Consequently, with regards to the same "*qu* + VP + *qu*" construction, influential linguists have quite varying understandings. As mentioned before, Lü (1944: 164) believed that the second "*qu*" is a pure form of phase (the phase as referred to in 1.3), while Lu (1985: 31) was inclined to think that "it emphasizes motional tendency of the agent". Concerning their origins, the two "*qu*" in the construction are repetitions of the same "*qu*". However, the repetition of "*qu*" is not stable enough, and the possible result is that it is either phased out gradually or adapts to the overall grammatical pattern of Chinese. The most economical means of adaptation is to adjust to existing grammatical patterns, making the two have different semantic functions. Such adaptation cannot be achieved by the language itself. However, it can be achieved by the language users' re-construal of those fused structures, such that the re-analysis can be conducted in line with the existing grammatical pattern. For instance, the first "*qu*" can be analyzed as a particle or the second "*qu*" as a complement or modal particle.

　　　Through a case study of "VP + *qu*" and "*qu* + VP", this paper reveals that even the most commonly used syntactic structures of Chinese may contain some traces of deep influence from Altaic or other SOV languages. The influence of language contact on Chinese is more complex and extensive than we might have imagined and is worthy of further exploration.

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Shengli Zu (祖生利)

On the *Han'er Yanyu* of the Yuan Dynasty

Abstract: In 1953, it was Tatsuo Ōta who first raised the question of *Han'er yanyu* 汉儿言语 in the history of spoken Chinese. Based on his pioneering study, the article focuses on the *Han'er yanyu* of the Yuan Dynasty. Applying the general theory of language contact, the article discusses many important issues about *Han'er yanyu*, such as the nature of *Han'er yanyu*, the relation between *Han'er yanyu*, Mongolian Pidgin Chinese and Standard Chinese, the formation, development and the areas of use of *Han'er yanyu*, the historical texts that reflect *Han'er yanyu*, etc. Finally, some important lexical and syntactic characteristics of *Han'er yanyu* are listed.

Keywords: *Han'er yanyu*, language contact, creolization

1 About *Han'er yanyu*

Since at least the Medieval Period, because of wars and conquests, large-scale language contacts took place between the northern Chinese language and the Altaic languages that lasted between eight to nine hundred years, during which the Altaic people such as the Xianbei, Khitans, Jurchens, Mongols, and the Manchus successively established regimes that ruled over northern China and even the entire country. Tatsuo Ōta was the first to name as *Han'er yanyu* 汉儿言语 the northern Chinese language under the contact influence of the Altaic languages since the Medieval Period (Ōta [1954] 1991b: 184). Based on textual research, he proposed that the word "*Han'er*" was used as early as around the fifth to sixth century, and was a general term for "the Han Chinese or Sinicized ethnic groups in the northern China". *Han'er yanyu* is a vulgar variety of the Chinese language which was used among the northern Han Chinese and the northern ethnic groups; it gradually developed since the Wei-Jin period (around the third to the sixth century), and had features that reflected profound influence from the Altaic languages. Upon tracing back the history of the *Han'er yanyu*, Ōta suggested that

it came into preliminary form during the Northern Dynasties (368–581), gradually developed after the Tang (618–907) and Song (960–1279) Dynasties, flourished in the Yuan Dynasty (1271–1368), was replaced by *Guanhua* 官话 'Mandarin/Standard Chinese' and then died out after the Ming Dynasty (1368–1644).

The present research, based on Ōta's pioneering study, focuses on issues of the *Han'er yanyu* in the Yuan Dynasty. During the Yuan Dynasty, the word "*Han'er*" referred to the northern Han Chinese, including Sinicized northern ethnic groups such as the Khitans and the Jurchens, who were under the rule of the Jin Dynasty (also known as the Jurchen Dynasty, 1115–1234). *Han'er yanyu*, literally meaning 'language of the Han Chinese', was originally used by the northern ethnic groups to refer to the Chinese language spoken by the Han Chinese, as shown below:

> 这必阇赤一十（八）个孩儿教汉儿田地里学言语文书去也。……教参学底时分呵，……只教汉儿言语说话者。会汉儿言语呵，若不汉儿言语里说话，却蒙古言语里说话,一番一简子打者。(1233年太宗立国子学诏,《析津志辑佚•学校》引)
>
> 'These 18 Mongolian children, who will become translators in the future, were sent to the places of the *Han'er* ('Han Chinese') to learn the latter's language and script...During the learning process, ...these Mongolian Children were only allowed to speak *Han'er yanyu* ('the Chinese language'). If [they] were able to speak the *Han'er yanyu* but spoke the Mongolian language instead, [they] would get hit by a wooden plank.' (The imperial edict of 1233 of Taitzong on founding the Imperial School, quoted from *Xijinzhi jiyi*, Chapter "*School*")

The *Han'er yanyu* of the Yuan Dynasty this article focuses on, however, refers specifically to the Chinese variety that formed under the influence of the Mongolian language and prevailed in the northern areas (such as the Dadu region) of China during the late Yuan Dynasty. This *Han'er yanyu* was the product of language contact between the Mongolian language and the northern Chinese language of the Yuan Dynasty, and has notable features which reflect interference from the Mongolian language.

2 The nature of the *Han'er yanyu*

In his article, Ōta ([1954]1991b) offered the following descriptions of the nature of the *Han'er yanyu*: "It is obvious that this colloquial language, i.e., *Han'er yanyu*, was used among *Han'er*, as well as between the northern ethnic groups and *Han'er*. Yet surprisingly, it was also used as the lingua franca among northern ethnic groups who had different native languages, and it even gained currency in extremely remote areas" (1991b: 198). "It seems that the *Han'er yanyu* in this era [i.e., the Yuan Dynasty] was more commonly used among the northern ethnic

groups than in the past…it is doubtless that such type of Chinese language is vulgar, or non-standard." "Not only the *Han'er*, but many Mongols also spoke the *Han'er yanyu*" (1991b: 201–202). "It is evident that because the *Han'er yanyu* was used as a medium of communication, it became the lingua franca at that time" (1991b: 203).

According to the general theory of language contact, it is very likely that the *Han'er yanyu* that Ōta described is a type of pidgin language, i.e., a Chinese-based pidgin or a pidgin Chinese. This is based on the general definition of pidgin as a type of inter-language[1] that emerges when two or more speech communities are in an entirely new contact situation which lacks effective bilingual or multilingual assistance, have limited need for communication (such as the need for trade), and the community members who are involved in the contact situation cannot or are not willing to learn the language(s) used by other speech communities due to the influence of (certain) social factor, such as politics, economy and culture, etc. The lexicon of a pidgin often comes from one of the languages that are involved in the contact (which is called the lexifier language), and the grammar is a mixture of several contact languages. Because of limited communicative goals and scope, the lexicon and grammar of a pidgin are often reduced and simplified to a great extent, and it often doesn't have complicated and elaborate morphological structures. A pidgin is not anyone's native language, but is used as a second language (or even a third or fourth language). The descriptions of the nature of *Han'er yanyu* offered by Ōta correspond to the general features of a pidgin: it was used as an inter-language in the communications among the northern ethnic groups who had different native languages; its lexicon was mainly from the colloquial speech of the northern Chinese language, and was thus vulgar; and its grammar was blended with many grammatical features from the Altaic languages, and was therefore "non-standard".

However, Ōta also mentioned that *Han'er yanyu* was not only used among different speech communities (i.e., between Han Chinese and the ethnic minorities, and among the ethnic minorities themselves), but also among the Han Chinese – it was used as a native language within a certain range of the northern Han Chinese communities. Therefore, it crossed the pidgin stage and more closely approximated a creole. According to the general theory of language contact, a creole develops from a pidgin. Under a long-term, continuous contact situation, through expansion, the structure (including the pronunciation, lexicon and grammar) and the scope of use of a pidgin will gradually become complicated

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1 Translator's note: "inter-language" here refers to a language created or used for communication between speakers of different native languages.

and elaborate. Eventually, it will completely meet its users' needs for daily communication and expression, and become the first language of a newly formed speech community. A marked difference between a creole and a pidgin is that the former is the native language of a newly formed speech community, whereas the latter is not anyone's native language. Therefore one can say that a creole is a nativized pidgin.

However, there are also some creoles that have not gone through a pidgin stage, but develop directly from gradual variations of a lexifier language (Thomason 2001). *Han'er yanyu* represents one such case: it was more or less creolized, but did not develop from a pidgin, such as the Mongolian pidgin Chinese, for it did not undergo a process of lexicon and grammar expansion, but instead gradually evolved from the northern Chinese language. It took the northern Chinese language as the lexifier language, while simultaneously assimilating words from languages of other ethnic groups, incorporated grammatical features from the Altaic languages, such as the Khitan, Jurchen, Mongolian, and the Uighur languages, and became the native language that was commonly used by the northern Chinese people (including the Han Chinese and Sinicized people such as the Khitans, Jurchens, Mongols and Uighurs).

3 The relationship between *Han'er yanyu*, Mongolian Pidgin Chinese and Pure Chinese

Beyond "*Han'er yanyu*", there also existed the so-called "Mongolian Pidgin Chinese" and "Pure Chinese" of the Yuan Dynasty. Briefly speaking, "Mongolian Pidgin Chinese" was a pidgin Chinese that was spoken by the Mongols during the Yuan Dynasty; its lexicon was from the northern Chinese language, and its grammar was mainly from the Mongolian language.[2] Both *Han'er yanyu* and the Mongolian Pidgin Chinese were variants of the Chinese language that developed under intense language contact. "Pure Chinese"[3] was the standard Chinese, and referred to a state whereby the Chinese language was not influenced [actually an idealized situation] or was only slightly influenced by other languages.

The relationship among "*Han'er yanyu*", "Mongolian Pidgin Chinese" and "Pure Chinese" is shown in the following graph:

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2 See Zu (2007) for a detailed discussion of the "Mongolian Pidgin Chinese" in the Yuan Dynasty.
3 This word is from the postscript of *Xun Shi Pinghua* (Li Bian 1473): "[The Chinese language in] *Lao Qida* and *Piao Tongshi* includes so many Mongolian expressions, [hence it is] not pure Chinese."

Substrate L —— Interference $\longrightarrow$ TL$_1$ $\longrightarrow$ TL (Superstrate L)
(Mongolian language)   (Mongolian Pidgin Chinese)   (Pure Chinese)

TL$_2$
(*Han'er yanyu*)
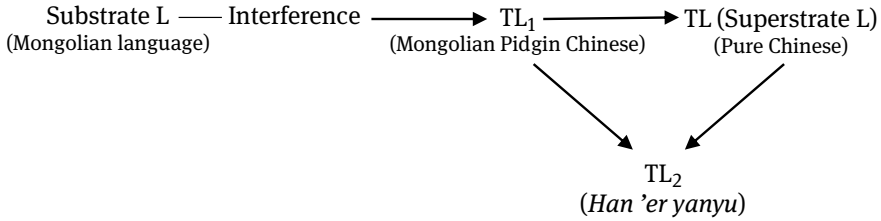
Mongolian Pidgin Chinese was a product of the early stage of the Mongols' imperfect learning of Standard Chinese ("Pure Chinese"). During the process of learning the Target Language (i.e., standard Chinese), the Mongols created many non-standard Chinese expressions due to interference from the Substrate Language (i.e., their native Mongolian language). Words and syntactic structures used by each individual were drastically different and quite unstable. However, those features that were commonly and repetitively used, for instance, the use of location words such as *li* 里 'in' and *gendi* 根底 'root, bottom' to mark the category of the "case"; the use of *you* 有 'to have, to exist' to indicate judgment (like "be") and as the time and aspect marker; the use of *he* (呵, a modal particle) to mark suppositive clauses which indicate suppositive relation; and the use of *zhe* (者, a modal particle) as the imperative marker, etc., likely became stable and distinctive features of this pidgin. A huge part of the lexicon of this pidgin (TL$_1$) was from the northern Chinese language, whereas its grammar was a mixture of grammatical features from both the Mongolian and the Chinese languages, with the original grammatical rules greatly reduced and simplified. On the other side of the contact, however, "Pure Chinese", which occupied a linguistically superior position, accepted certain characteristic elements from Mongolian Pidgin Chinese through mechanisms such as "negotiation",[4] and eventually became *Han'er yanyu* – a TL$_2$ that is neither the same as the TL (i.e., the "Pure Chinese"), nor completely identical to the TL$_1$ (i.e., Mongolian Pidgin Chinese). Compared to "Pure Chinese", *Han'er yanyu* was mingled with a lot of components that were from other languages and was apparently non-standard. Compared to Mongolian

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4 Thomason (2001: 142) sums up seven mechanisms of contact-induced language change: code-switching, code alternation, passive familiarity, negotiation, second-language acquisition strategies, bilingual first-language acquisition, and deliberate decision. As for the mechanism of "negotiation", she suggests that: "The quotation marks that surround the name of this mechanism are meant as a warning that the term is not to be taken literally, in the sense of deliberate, conscious negotiation between speakers of languages in contact, with discussions and mutual decisions about changes…The 'negotiation' mechanism is at work when speakers change their language (A) to approximate what they believe to be the patterns of another language or dialect (B)." "The most striking cases of 'negotiation' are those in which nobody in the contact situation knows anybody else's language…prototypical pidgin genesis situations are the classic examples."

Pidgin Chinese, because substantial inference from the substrate language did not exist, the Mongolian syntactic features in *Han'er yanyu* were much simpler and more mechanical, and thus did not show as much diversity in its individual differences. Only those elements that carried distinctive features could be merged through "negotiation" into the *Han'er yanyu*, were accepted by both (or multiple) contact parties, and finally become part of the common native language of both the Han Chinese and the Sinicized Mongols (and the Semu people).

4 *Han'er yanyu* in the Yuan Dynasty: formation, development and the area and scope of use

As Ōta sketched out, *Han'er yanyu* gradually formed under the continuously and successively intense contact influence from the Altaic languages in the north after the Northern Dynasties, and its formation was a cumulative historical process. Before the Tang Dynasty, the *Han'er yanyu* that emerged under the influence of the Altaic languages such as the Xianbei language became the lingua franca of the newly emerged Han Chinese in the northern areas where intense language contacts had taken place (Yan Zhitui, in the *Pronunciation Issues in Admonitions for the Yan Clan*, indicates that for the Chinese language of the time, "the pronunciation in the south was affected by the Wu and Yue dialects, whereas speech in the north was mixed with linguistic features from the northern tribes"). From the Tang Dynasty to the Song Dynasty, the influence of the Altaic languages was weaker; therefore, during those four hundred years, due to the impact of the dominant standard Chinese, the *Han'er yanyu* probably returned to the standard Chinese to some extent, and showed a tendency of "decreolization". During the time of the Liao, Jin and Yuan Dynasties, the contact between the northern Chinese language and the Altaic languages entered a new and stronger stage. This was especially the case in the area of Beijing, which was where standard modern Chinese originated, had one of the highest concentrations of Khitan, Jurchen, and Mongolian populations, and experienced extremely intensive language contact.

Due to the lack of document records, we cannot currently determine specific details about the *Han'er yanyu* in the Liao and Jin Dynasties. Yet from the only remaining record of the "Khitan Chinese", as shown below, it is not difficult to infer that the use of location words as the case marker and the SOV word order were probably two of the common features of the Altaic pidgin Chinese, for example[5]:

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5 The context is as follows: Hong mentioned that the vice-envoy Bu told him "A Khitan child just started studying the Chinese language textbook, and he often inverts the word order of the

(1) 月　　明　　　里　　和尚　　门子　　　打，
    yue　ming　li　heshang　menzi　da
    moon　bright　LOC　monk　door-suffix　hit
    水底　　　　里　　树　　上　　老鸦　坐
    shuidi　　li　shu　shang　laoya　zuo
    water-bottom　LOC　tree　LOC　crow　sit
    'The birds perch on the tree in the middle of the pond; under the moonlight
    a monk knocks at the door.'
    (*Yi Jian Zhi* 夷坚志, Section C, Volume 18, by Hong Mai, written in the Song
    Dynasty)

The *Han'er yanyu* in the northern area of the Yuan Dynasty gradually formed
on the basis of the *Han'er yanyu* of the Liao and Jin Dynasties and under the
strong influence of the Mongolian language (and the Semu languages). The
contact between the Mongolian language and the Chinese language in the Yuan
Dynasty can be roughly divided into three stages (for detailed discussion, see
Zu 2005):

The early stage (1211–1260): the era when the Mongols launched a military con-
quest and implemented early-stage administration of the Central Plain area; this
period also marked the beginning of large-scope language contact. The urgency
of military, political, commercial and social needs hastened the early emergence
of a group of bilinguals who mainly worked on (written and spoken) language
translations. Linguistically speaking, a large quantity of Mongolian loanwords
appeared and Mongolian Pidgin Chinese started to emerge, as shown below:

(2) 道人　　每　　内中　　　不　　吃　　酒肉、
    daoren　mei　neizhong　bu　chi　jiurou
    Taoist　PL　among　don't　eat　wine and meat
    无　妻　男　底　　人　　告　天　　者。
    wu　qi　nan　de　ren　gao　tian　zhe
    no　wife　son　PART　people　pray　God　PART-IMP

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original sentences, and substitutes monosyllabic words in the original sentences with disyllabic
or polysyllabic words from colloquial speech. For instance, the verse lines *niao su chi zhong shu*
鸟宿池中树, *seng qiao yue xia men* 僧敲月下门 are said [by him] as *yue ming li heshang menzi da*
月明里和尚门子打, *shuidi li shu shang laoya zuo* 水底里树上老鸦坐 ('the birds perch on the tree
in the middle of the pond; under the moonlight a monk knocks at the door')." The word *niao*
鸟 'bird' is called *laoya* 老鸦, *seng* 僧 'monk' is called *heshang* 和尚, and *men* 门 'door' is called
menzi 门子, etc., and all of these words (used by him) are disyllabic colloquial words.

不	是	那般	底	人，	吃	酒、	吃	肉、
bu	*shi*	*naban*	*de*	*ren*	*chi*	*jiu*	*chi*	*rou*
not	are	like	PART	people	eat	wine	eat	meat

有	妻	男	呵，	仙孔		八合识
you	*qi*	*nan*	*he*	*xiankong*		*baheshi*
have	wife	son	PART-HYP	immortal kyun (person)		baqši (master)

你	不	拣择	出来	那	甚么！
ni	*bu*	*jianze*	*chulai*	*na*	*shenme*
you	do not	pick	out	PART	what

'For those Taoist priests who don't drink, eat meat, and have wife and children, let them pray to the heavens [for the Mongolian royal family], whereas for those who violate the taboos and commandments, drink and eat meat, and have wives and children; Master Immortal (i.e., Qiu Chuji), why don't you catch them!'

(1235 *nian Chongyang Wanshougong shengzhi bei* 1235 年重阳万寿宫圣旨碑 [Činggisid's Imperial edict of 1235 to Chongyang Wanshou Temple, recorded on the stele])

In this instance, the dative-locative case marker *li* 里, the marker of the imperative mood of verb *zhe* 着, the postposition *he* 呵 which indicates suppositions, and the special rhetorical question structure *bu...nashenme* 不...那甚么 are all examples from the Mongolian grammar, and *kong* 孔 and *baheshi* 八合识 are Mongolian loanwords.

The middle stage (1260–1294): i.e., the 30 or so years when Kublai Khan reigned. During this period, the ruling center of the Great Mongolian Empire was moved to the Han areas in the Central Plain, the Han administrative systems were adopted, the Han traditions were inherited and continued, national unification was accomplished, and economic and social order was gradually recovered and experienced stable development. The Mongolian and Semu people had settled down at the Han areas, multiple ethnic groups began to live together, and inter-marriage between the Mongols and the Han Chinese gradually became common. The Mongolian Imperial School, the National Capital Confucian School, and local official schools that mainly focused on teaching the Mongolian and Chinese languages grew vigorously, and bilingual talents sprung up in large numbers. The Mongols gradually understood the Han culture, and many Mongols "admired and imitated the Chinese customs" and adopted Chinese names. Linguistically speaking, Mongolian Pidgin Chinese and "pure Chinese" entered into an interactive "negotiation" process, and some of the features of Mongolian Pidgin Chinese entered the *Han'er yanyu*, as seen in the Confucian classics written in colloquial Chinese:

(3) 谩   了   上头   人   呵,
    Man   le   shangtou   ren   he
    Cheat   PERF   upper-rank   people   PART-HYP
    天   也   不   可怜见。   有   一等   人
    tian   ye   bu   kelianjian   you   yideng   ren
    Heaven   even   do not   have-mercy-on   there-are   one category   people
    常常的   做   歹   勾当,……
    changchangde   zuo   dai   goudang
    often   do   bad   things
    便   如   掩   着   那   耳朵   了   去   偷
    bian   ru   yan   zhe   na   erduo   le   qu   tou
    just   as   cover   PROG   that   ears   finish   go   steal
    那   铃   的   也似。
    na   ling   de   yesi
    that   bell   PART   like-POST
    'If [one has] deceived the superiors and the elders, then even the heavens
    will not pity [him]. There is a type of person who often does bad things…
    like the one who covers his ears while stealing the small bell.'
    (*Zhishuo Daxue Yaolüe* 直说大学要略 [The Interpretation of *Essential points
    of Great Learning*], by Xu Heng)

In this example, the postposition *he* 呵 which indicates suppositions, the postposition *(de) yesi* (的) 也似 which indicates comparisons, and the idiomatic expressions *tian kelianjian* 天可怜见 and *zuo dai goudang* 做歹勾当 are all features from Mongolian Pidgin Chinese.

    The late stage (1295–1368): from the time of Emperor Cheng Zong's accession to the throne to the end of the Yuan Dynasty. During this period, the Mongolian rulers were gradually Confucianized, some Mongolian Emperors, such as Ren Zong, Wen Zong and Shun Di, grew up in the Han areas and were well-trained in sinology. The continuous expansion of the size and quantity of the government-supported schools, especially the restoration of the long-suspended Imperial Examination, promoted the vigorous spread of sinology among the Mongols, and there came to be a large number of Mongolian Confucian scholars who were knowledgeable sinologists. For a long time, the Mongols who moved to the Central Plain area were in contact and intermarried with the Han people, and were thus gradually sinicized. Linguistically speaking, the contact between the Mongolian language and the Chinese language continued to deepen, such that eventually, in the Yuan Dynasty, the *Han'er yanyu* was formed, as reflected by the language of *Guben Lao Qida* 古本老乞大 (*Earliest Edition of the Old Sinologist*):

(4) 天　　　可怜见，　　　　　身已　安乐　　　呵，
　　tian　　*kelianjian*　　　*shenji*　*anle*　　*he*
　　Heaven　have-mercy-on　body　in health　PART-HYP
　　也　　　到　　　　　　得　　　　　有。......
　　ye　　*dao*　　　　　*de*　　　　*you*
　　maybe　arrive-on-time　be able to　AUX-PRES/FUT
　　'If the heavens pities [me], and if [my] body is not sick, perhaps [I] can arrive.'
　　俺　汉儿人　　［上］　学　　文书　　　来
　　an　*han'erren*　*shang*　*xue*　*wenshu*　*lai*
　　I　Chinese　LOC　learn　textbooks　PART-PFV
　　的　　　上头，
　　de　　*shangtou*
　　particle　CAUS
　　些小　汉儿　　言语　　省的　　　有
　　xiexiao　*han'er*　*yanyu*　*xingde*　*you*
　　a bit　Chinese　language　understand　AUX-PRES/FUT
　　'I've learned the texts from the Chinese, so I know a bit of the Chinese
　　language.'

In this example, the postposition *he* 呵 which indicates supposition, the tense auxiliary at the end of the sentence *you* 有, the locative case marker *shang* 上, the postposition *(de) shangtou* (的)上头 which indicates causality, and the idiomatic expression *tian kelianjian* 天可怜见 all are features that reflect interference from the Mongolian language.

It is an indisputable fact that in the Yuan Dynasty, or even earlier, a variety of the Chinese language – the *Han'er yanyu* – existed in the northern areas. Yet it is not easy to answer such questions as: To what extent and in which speech communities was the *Han'er yanyu* used?[6] And what was the boundary between the *Han'er yanyu* and the "Pure Chinese"?

First of all, in terms of the duration and intensity of contact, the regional differences between the north and the south were obvious. In the northern area, especially areas near Dadu, language contact started the earliest and was more intense, whereas in the southern area, language contact started later and was less intense. As mentioned before, since the Liao Dynasty, areas to the north of the Yellow River were long under the rule of the Altaic ethnic groups. In 1215, the Mongolian army first conquered Yanjing, then successively took areas such as

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6 Ōta ([1953] 1991a), note 24: "'*Han'er yanyu*' is certainly a class dialect, yet because it was used only in northern China, it also had properties of a regional dialect".

Hebei, Shandong, and Shanxi; by 1234, the Mongols conquered all the land that had previously belonged to the Jin Dynasty (i.e., Jurchen Dynasty) to the north of the Huai River. However, except for regions such as Yunnan and Sichuan, the southern area remained under the rule of the Song Dynasty for a long time. As a result, large-scale contact with the Mongolian language there started much later. By the time Guangdong was taken and the unification of the nation was accomplished in 1279, 60 years had passed (since the contact first started in the north). The intensity of language contact in the north was also very different from that in the south, primarily because of the uneven distribution of the Mongolian population. The largest national population of the Yuan Dynasty in record was over 60,000,000, of which 80% was concentrated in regions to the south of the Yangtze River, and over half of the northern population resided in the Central Plain area. The total population of Mongols in China was only about 400,000, and was mainly concentrated in the two capitals and their surrounding areas, as well as the core of the Central Plain area, i.e., the Hebei, Shandong and Henan provinces. Dadu city had the highest concentration of Mongols, who took up more than 10% of the city's entire population. However, there were very few Mongols in the south: the further south one went, the fewer Mongols one would meet. The second reason was related to the ethnic discrimination policies implemented by the Mongols. After the fall of the Southern Song Dynasty, the Han Chinese who used to live in regions to the south of the Yangtze River, i.e., regions that were previously ruled by the Southern Song Dynasty, were categorized as Nanren ('Southerners'), and were assigned different political status from the Han Chinese who were previously under the rule of the Jin Dynasty (i.e., Jurchen Dynasty). After the reign of the Shizu Emperor (i.e., Kublai Khan), the policy was institutionalized whereby Southerners were not allowed to hold positions as chief ministers in the central government, and almost no Southern intellectuals became governors of northern states and counties. The lack of access to governmental positions naturally curbed the Southern intellectuals' enthusiasm to learn the Mongolian language, which in turn weakened the impact of the Mongolian language on the Chinese language in southern China. As a matter of course, then, in the Yuan Dynasty, the *Han'er yanyu* gained currency mainly in areas that were densely populated by the Mongols – i.e., the two capitals and their nearby regions, and some other areas such as the Hebei, Shandong and Henan provinces. However, even in these areas, because of differences in the Mongols' living arrangements, the conditions of use for *Han'er yanyu* still showed noticeable variance. The Mongols in places such as the Hebei, Shandong and Henan provinces were mainly soldiers from the garrison troops, and the total number of Mongolian soldiers deployed in these areas was less than 100,000. They lived in compact communities of limited scope, or in larger, mixed communities together with the Han people. In

addition, the implementation of the *Tuntian* system, which required the garrison troops to settle and farm, and marriages with the Han females all caused these Mongolian soldier households to gradually merge with the local Chinese peasant households, from whom they barely differed. Therefore in the above-mentioned regions, *Han'er yanyu* probably only gained currency in certain areas and communities, and its influence was not powerful enough to expel the "Pure Chinese" completely out of those areas, replace the latter and become the primary language of daily life for all the community members.[7]

However, the situation in the two capitals and their surrounding areas was different. As the political, economic, trading and cultural centers, these areas saw the highest concentration of Mongols and the strongest influence of the Mongolian language. Many Semu people who spoke different languages also lived there. As a result, daily communication among different ethnic groups urgently required a "compromised" language. The Chinese language, being backed up by the dominant population and culture, naturally became the

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[7] However, a conjecture like this might also run into the danger of overly underestimating the influence of *Han'er yanyu*. In the aforementioned quote, Ōta indicates that "it is surprising that even among northern ethnic groups who had different native languages, [the *Han'er yanyu*] was still used as the lingua franca, and it even gained currency in extremely remote areas." In the documents that were unearthed from the Black City Ruins in the Ejin Banner of the Inner Mongolia, especially in the private letters among family members, one could often find the typical feature *you*有 of the *Han'er yanyu* in the Yuan Dynasty:

要	赵二哥		与	你	带	钞，
yao	*zhao'erge*		*yu*	*ni*	*dai*	*chao*
ask-for	Zhao Second-brother		to	you	bring	money
不	肯	带	有。			
bu	*ken*	*dai*	*you*			
do not	will	bring	AUX-PRES			

'I asked Second-brother Zhao to bring you some money, but he was not willing to.' (F2: W18)

On the other hand, even in regions where the "Pure Chinese" prevailed, features from the *Han'er yanyu* were sometimes seen, for instance:

道童，	先生	有	么？	俺	师父	有。
daotong	*xiansheng*	*you*	*me*	*an*	*shifu*	*you*
littleTaoist	master	be-at home	PART-Q	my	master	be-at home

'"Little Taoist, is your Taoist master at home?" "My master is at home."'
(*Dandaohui*,erzhe 单刀会·二折, the Yuan Dynasty)

In this quotation, the possession verb you 有 in Chinese is used as an existential verb which also comes from Mongolian.

superstrate language. In comparison to the Xianbei, the Khitans and the Jurchens, however, the Mongols were more persistent in keeping their own language and culture, and always kept the Han culture at an arm's length; this not only protected them from being rapidly assimilated by the Han people, but also left a deep imprint on the *Han'er yanyu* of Mongolian structural features. Perhaps it could be inferred that, by the later Yuan Dynasty, at least in Dadu city, a large number of Mongols and Semu people had already merged with the Han people and become a new speech community – they shared as their primary language of daily life a common type of language, the *Han'er yanyu*, as has been shown in *Guben Lao Qida*.

5 The Mongolian language features in the Yuan Dynasty *Han'er yanyu*

5.1 Lexicon

The lexicon of the *Han'er yanyu* mainly came from the spoken northern Chinese language, but also included many Mongolian loanwords. Most of the loanwords were proper nouns and nouns related to politics, law, and culture, such as the Mongolian posthumous names Chinggis 成吉思 (*Chengjisi*),[8] öködej 月阔歹 (*Yuekuodai*), Arisin 阿里鲜 (*Alixian*), and Kötöl 阔端 (*Kuoduan*); the Mongolian geographic names Qara-qorum 合剌和林 (*Helahelin*), and Čaqan-naqur 察罕恼儿 (*Chahannao'er*); the Mongolian official names and titles Qa·an 哈罕 (*Hahan*), Qatun 合敦 (*Hedun*), Baqaturu 拔都鲁 (*Badulu*), Noyan 那延 (*Nayan*), ǰaruqoči 札鲁火赤 (*Zhaluhuochi*), Daruqači 达鲁花赤 (*Daluhuachi*), Kelemürči 怯列麻赤 (*Qieliemachi*); and words related to politics and law, e.g., Aldaši 按答奚 (*andaxi*), ǰasaq 札撒 (*zhasa*), ayimaq 爱马 (*aima*), buralci 不兰奚 (*bulanxi*), Kešik 怯薛 (*qiexue*), ordo 斡鲁朵 (*woluduo*), Auruq 奥鲁 (*aolu*). The Mongols believe in Shamanism, and they worship Möngke Tenggeri 'Eternal Heaven' as the highest deity; therefore "*mei shi bi cheng tian* 每事必称天 'everything is ascribed to Heaven'" (*Mengda beilu·Section Jisi*). The idioms such as "*tian ke lian jian* 天可怜见 'Heaven pities and protects us'" and "*tian shi zhe* 天识者 'Heaven must know'" were also often seen in the Yuan Dynasty *Han'er yanyu*. There were also some loanwords that were basic Mongolian

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8 Translator's note: in this paragraph, Chinese pronunciations of the Mongolian loanwords are given in brackets and italicized.

words, such as Qulaqai 虎剌孩 (*hulahai*, 'thief'), Sauqa 撒花 (*sahua*, 'gift'), Anda 安答 (*anda*, 'good friend'), Yabu 牙不 (*yabu*, 'to walk') etc., but very few of these words, like Quduy 胡同 (*hutong*, 'lane'), ǰam 站 (*zhan*, 'station') and Dayi 歹 (*dai*, 'bad, rebellious'), were actually incorporated into the Chinese language, replaced the original Chinese word of the same meaning, and ultimately passed on.[9]

Because of interference from the substrate language, some words in the *Han'er yanyu* either underwent semantic changes or were expressed in circumlocutory ways. For example, the word *zhiying* 祇应 meant 'to serve' in the Song Dynasty Chinese, yet in the Yuan Dynasty, it became the translation of the Mongolian word Siusu (the transliteration in Chinese was *shousi* 首思), which referred specifically to the provisions provided to couriers by those in charge of the courier stations. For another example, *qiao* 敲 (originally meaning 'to knock' in Chinese) meant 'to put to death', *tian qili* 添气力 (originally meaning 'to increase strength' in Chinese) meant 'to offer manpower, and money and goods', *wu tili* 无体例 (originally meaning 'no rules' in Chinese) meant 'to break the law', *zuo zei shuo huang* 做贼说谎 (originally meaning 'to steal and lie' in Chinese）meant 'to carry out illegal activities', *yaozuiguo* 要罪过 (originally meaning 'to request guilt' in Chinese) meant 'to punish somebody for a crime', etc.

5.2 Grammar

Through mechanisms of language contact such as "negotiation", many Mongolian grammatical features were absorbed into the *Han'er yanyu* in the Yuan Dynasty; some of the examples are listed below:

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9 Romaine (1988: 34): "Generally, only a very small part of the vocabulary of the lexifier language is taken into the core of the pidgin lexicon." Windford (2003: 51): "In addition to social factors, there are structural (linguistic) constraints which condition the degree and type of lexical borrowing. The most general constraint involves the well-known 'hierarchy of borrowability', according to which open-class content items like nouns and adjectives lend themselves most easily to borrowing, while closed-class function items like pronouns and conjunctions are least likely to be adopted. Hierarchies of borrowing were proposed as early as the nineteenth century by Whitney (1881), and later by Haugen (1950b) and Muysken (1981b). The most comprehensive of these is the following, from Muysken: nouns> adjectives > verbs > prepositions > co-ordinating conjunctions > quantifiers > determiners > free pronouns > clitic pronouns > subordinating conjunctions."

5.2.1 The plural suffix *mei* 每: used after nonhuman objects, or in "VP de *mei*" (used after a participle form of a verb)

(5) 这　　头口　　每　多　有　　　　　　不　　吃　的。
zhe　toukou　mei　duo　you　　　　　　bu　　chi　de
these　livestock　PL　much　have ('there are')　do not　eat　PART
'These horses usually will not eat [rice straw].'
(*Guben Lao Qida* 古本老乞大 [*Earliest Edition of the Old Sinologist*])

(6) 他的　奴婢　　　　　　　　　死的每　死　了,
tade　nubi　　　　　　　　　sidemei　si　le
his　slaves and maid-servants　died PL　die　PART-PERF
有的每　　都　　桃（逃）走　了。
youdemei　dou　taozou　　　le
living-PL　all　escape　　　PART-PERF
'Among his slaves and maid-servants, some died, and those who were alive all ran away.'
(*Heicheng chutu wenshu* 黑城出土文书 [*The unearthed documents from Black City Ruins*], F105: W3)

5.2.2 Location words used as case marker

(7) (这　　段子)　官尺　　　里　　二　　丈　　八,
zhe　duanzi)　guanchi　　li　　er　zhang　ba
this　satin　　official ruler　INSTR　two　MW　eight
裁衣　　　　尺　　里　　二　　丈　　　五。
caiyi　　　chi　li　　er　zhang　　wu
clothes-cutting　ruler　INSTR　two　quantifier　five
'If an official ruler is used to measure this satin, [its length] is 2.8 *zhang*; if using a cloth ruler, [its length] is 2.5 *zhang*.'
(*Guben Lao Qida* 古本老乞大 [*Earliest Edition of the Old Sinologist*])

(8) 俺　一等　不惯　　　的　　人　　根底
an　yideng　buguan　　de　　ren　　gendi
we　such　unaccustom　MOD　people　OBJ
多　　有　　　　　过瞒　　有。
duo　you　　　　　guoman　you
usually　have ('there be')　cheat　AUX-PRES

'[People who used to do business, like you] often deceive people who did not used to [do business], like us.'
(*Guben Lao Qida* 古本老乞大 [*Earliest Edition of the Old Sinologist*])

5.2.3 The imperative modal particle *zhe* 者 is frequently used at the end of sentences

(9) 布　　　帐子　　　　疾忙　　　打起　　者，
　　　bu　　*zhangzi*　　*jimang*　　*daqi*　　*zhe*
　　　cloth　bed-curtain　hurriedly　put up　PART-IMP
　　　铺陈　　　　整顿　　　　者，
　　　puchen　　*zhengdun*　*zhe*
　　　bed clothes　arrange　　PART-IMP
　　　房子　　里　　搬　　　入　　　去　　者。
　　　fangzi　*li*　*ban*　　*ru*　　*qu*　*zhe*
　　　house　LOC　move　enter　go　PART-IMP
　　　'Hurry up, set up the cloth bed-curtain, make the bed, and move into the house.'
　　　(*Guben Lao Qida* 古本老乞大 [*Earliest Edition of the Old Sinologist*])

5.2.4 The modal particle *he* 呵 is frequently used as the marker of subordinate clauses which indicate supposition

(10)　是　　好　　弓　　呵，　　　怕　　　　甚么　　拽！
　　　shi　*hao*　*gong*　*he*　　*pa*　　　*shenme*　*zhuai*
　　　is　good　bow　PART-HYP　be afraid　what　draw
　　　'If it is a good bow, how come it fears to be drawn!'
　　　(*Guben Lao Qida* 古本老乞大 [*Earliest Edition of the Old Sinologist*])

5.2.5 The verb *you* 有 is frequently used at the end of sentences

(11)　如今　　　那　　贼　　现　　在　官司　　　牢　　　里
　　　rujin　　*na*　*zei*　*xian*　*zai*　*guansi*　*lao*　　*li*
　　　at present　that　thief　now　at　official　prison　in
　　　禁　　　着　　　　有。
　　　jin　　*zhe*　　　*you*
　　　lock up　PROG　AUX-PRES ('V-zhe you', construction of present
　　　　　　　　　　　　progressive)
　　　'Now the thief is held in the government's prison!'
　　　(*Guben Lao Qida* 古本老乞大 [*Earliest Edition of the Old Sinologist*])

5.2.6 The post-positioned localizer *shang/(de) shangtou* 上/(的)上头 used to indicate causality

(12) 饥荒　　的　　　　上头，
　　　Jihuang　de　　　　shangtou
　　　Famine　(suffer)ing　CAUS
　　　生　　出　歹人　　　来。
　　　sheng　chu　dairen　　lai
　　　emerge　out　evil person　　PART-past tense
　　　'Because of the famine, many bad people have appeared.'
　　　(*Guben Lao Qida* 古本老乞大 [*Earliest Edition of the Old Sinologist*])

5.2.7 The modal particle *yezhe* 也者 used at the end of sentences to indicate certainty

(13) 他　有　福分　　　　呵，
　　　ta　you　fufen　　　he
　　　he　has　good fortune　PART-HYP
　　　官人　　也　做　　　也者。
　　　guanren　ye　zuo　　yezhe
　　　official　also　become　PART-AFF
　　　'If he has good fortune, he can also be an official.'
　　　(*Guben Lao Qida* 古本老乞大 [*Earliest Edition of the Old Sinologist*])

5.2.8 Dominant word order: the SOV word order

(14) 大医　　根底　重重的　　　　酬谢　　也。
　　　taiyi　gendi　zhongzhongde　chouxie　ye
　　　doctor　OBJ　heavily　　　　reward　PART-AFF
　　　'[When getting better several days later, I will] give the imperial physician a good reward.'
　　　(*Guben Lao Qida* 古本老乞大 [*Earliest Edition of the Old Sinologist*])

(15) 俺　家　　里　书信　有　那　没？
　　　an　jia　li　shuxin　you　na　mei
　　　my　family　LOC　letter　have　PART　no

书信　　有。
Shuxin　you
letter　have
'"Is there a letter for my family?" "Yes, there is a letter."'
(*Guben Lao Qida* 古本老乞大 [*Earliest Edition of the Old Sinologist*])

5.2.9 The Chinese-Mongolian mixed structures abound

(16)　你的　师傅　　是　　甚么　　人？
　　　　nide　shifu　shi　shenme　ren
　　　　your　master　COP　what　　person
　　　　是　　汉儿　　人　　有。
　　　　shi　han'er　ren　you
　　　　COP　Chinese　person　AFF
　　　　'"Who is your teacher?" "He is a Han Chinese."'
　　　　(*Guben Lao Qida* 古本老乞大 [*Earliest Edition of the Old Sinologist*])

(17)　只　　把　　　我　这　旧　弟兄
　　　　zhi　ba　　wo　zhe　jiu　dixiong
　　　　almost　BA-PREP　we　these　old　brothers
　　　　伴当们　　　根底　半点　　　也　　不　　　睬。
　　　　bandangmen　gendi　bandian　ye　bu　cai
　　　　friend-PL　OBJ　the least bit　even　does not　pay attention
　　　　'He hardly pays any attention on us – his old brothers and friends.'
　　　　(*Piao Tongshi* 朴通事, with the annotation in Hangul)

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Guangshun Cao (曹广顺) and Dandan Chen (陈丹丹)

A study of the special syntactic features in *Yuan baihua*

Abstract: The Yuan Dynasty is the most unique period in the history of Chinese. Mongolian had intense contact with Chinese because of Mongolian control of China. But to what extent Mongolian influenced Chinese remains controversial. In this paper, we compare and contrast the special syntactic features in *Guben Lao Qida*, *Yuanchao Mishi*, and *Yuan Dianzhang-Xingbu*, examine their Mongolian originals and principles of usage, and discuss some related issues from a new perspective, such as how to define Chinese vernacular documents of the Yuan Dynasty and *Han'er yanyu*, the characteristics of *Yuan baihua*, as well as the relationship between *Yuan baihua* and pure Chinese, etc.

Keywords: language contact, *Yuan baihua,* special syntactic features, interlanguage

1 Introduction

During the Yuan Dynasty, large-scale language contact took place between the Mongols and Han Chinese because of Mongol rule. There is a large number of extant historical documents related to this language contact. For many years, linguists have paid increasing attention to *Yuan baihua*,[1] concentrating on the nature of *Yuan baihua*, its special syntactic features, and the influence of its special syntactic features on Chinese. In this paper, we rethink these questions and seek additional insight by comparing the usage of special linguistic features within the three *Yuan baihua* documents: *Guben Lao Qida* 古本老乞大 (*Earliest Edition of the Old Sinologist*), *Yuanchao Mishi* 元朝秘史 (*The Secret History of the Mongols*), and *Yuan Dianzhang* 元典章 (*The Code of the Yuan*), Xingbu 刑部 (The Board of the Punishments).

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1 *Baihua* is a term usually used to refer to vernacular language, in contrast to classical Chinese. *Yuan baihua* refers to the vernacular language in the Yuan Dynasty that was recorded and transmitted in written texts.

We claim that *Yuan baihua* is just an interlanguage mainly used by Mongols that came into being as they learned Chinese. We claim also that the special syntactic features of *Yuan baihua* did not have a deep and long-lasting influence on Chinese. With the end of the Mongols' rule, these special syntactic features were used less and less until they died out in the early Ming Dynasty.

2 The special syntactic features in *Yuan baihua*: from *Guben Lao Qida*

Guben Lao Qida was discovered in 1998 by professor Nam Gwon-Hee of Kyungpook National University in Korea. According to Lee (2003), this edition records the authentic language of *Lao Qida* in the Yuan Dynasty, and reflects the northern Mandarin of the late Yuan Dynasty. *Lao Qida* was a Chinese language textbook for Koreans, and recorded the experiences of a Korean who went to Dadu (the capital of the Yuan Dynasty) to do business. It was composed of dialogues of daily life, and indicated how high frequency words were used at that time.

The special syntactic features in *Yuan baihua* refer to some Chinese syntactic structures in the Yuan Dynasty that were distinct from those of the standard Chinese and arose due to the influence of the Mongolian language. The special syntactic features in *Guben Lao Qida* are illustrated as follows:

2.1 OV word order

2.1.1 The main verb is a common transitive verb

Chinese has VO as its basic word order. Generally speaking, the object follows the main verb. In contrast, Mongolian has OV as its basic word order, and the object precedes the main verb. In *Guben Lao Qida*, there are a few cases in which the object is found in the preverbal position. This could be a result of Mongolian influence.

(1) 咱每　　为　父母　　心　　尽了，　不曾　落后。
    zanmei　wei　fumu　xin　　jinle　　buceng　luohou
    we　　　be　parents　heart　do-PART　never　fall behind
    'As parents, we have fully expended ourselves and never fallen behind.'

(2) 主人家，　　　别处　　　快　　镟刀　　借　　　一　　个　去。
     zhurenjia　*biechu*　*kuai*　*mandao*　*jie*　*yi*　*ge*　*qu*
     shopkeeper elsewhere sharp knife   borrow one CL go
     'Shopkeeper, go elsewhere to borrow a sharp knife.'

It is difficult to distinguish this OV word order from Chinese patient-topic sentences. Lee (2003) gave five criteria for determining if the basic word order of these sentences was OV, but he also admits that it is very difficult to strictly distinguish between the patient-topic sentences and OV word order sentences. So far, a better standard has not been found to determine whether a sentence is a Chinese patient-topic sentence or OV word order sentence. In most cases, one has to make this judgment based on his/her linguistic intuition. Based on both Lee's criteria and our linguistic intuition, in *Guben Lao Qida* there are less than 20 sentences with OV order, which comprises about 1.6% of all the sentences.

2.1.2 *You* 有 sentences

You sentences are a typical special syntactic feature of *Yuan baihua*. We investigate them separately because of their large quantity and complicated usage. In *Guben Lao Qida you* sentences can be divided into two different types involving different situations. The first situation involves the verb *you* meaning 'to possess or to exist (there is)'.

(3) 为什么　　　　这般的　　歹　　人　　　有？
     weishenme　*zhebande*　*dai*　*ren*　*you*
     why   such   bad   people have
     'Why are there such bad people like this?'

(4) 恁　　这　布　　　里头　长短　　　不等，
     nen　*zhe*　*bu*　*litou*　*changduan*　*budeng*
     you   these cloth in   length   different
     有　　勾　　　五十　尺　的　　　有　　　么？
     you　*gou*　*wushi*　*chi*　*de*　*you*　*me*
     have enough fifty   feet PART have PART
     'These cloths of yours differ in length; are there any that measure fifty feet?'

The other situation is more specialized and involves *you* in reference to a person or object's position; the meaning is similar to *zai* 'at'.

(5) 这　店　里面　卖　毛施布　的　高丽　客人　李舍
zhe　dian　limian　mai　maoshibu　de　Gaoli　keren　Lee She
this　store　in　sell　cloth　PART　Korean　guest　name

有　么？
you　me
have　PART

'It there a Korean guest Lee She selling cloth in this store?'

(6) 店　在　那里？　兀那　西头　有。
dian　zai　nali　wuna　xitou　you
store　at　where　that　west　have
'Where is the store? It is in the west.'

In *Guben Lao Qida*, the percentage of *you* sentences is not high, and most of the *you* sentences use standard Chinese VO word order. According to our calculations, there are 132 *you* sentences in *Guben Lao Qida*; 18 of these use OV word order, 112 of them use VO word order, and in 2 of them the verb *you* appears twice (as in example 4).

2.2 Special copular sentences

In Chinese, the word order of copular sentences is "S+*shi* 是+O", with the copula *shi* between S and O. In *Guben Lao Qida*, there are some other kinds of copular sentences whose structures are more special, as illustrated in the following:

S +O+*shi* 是
(7) 这　伴当　便　是，夜来　才　来到。
zhe　bandang　bian　shi　yelai　cai　laidao
this　friend　ADV　be　yesterday　ADV　came here
'This is the friend, he came here yesterday.'

(8) （这　马）　一　主儿　的　不　是，
(zhe　ma)　yi　zhur　de　bu　shi
(these　horses)　one　owner　PART　not　be
这　四　个　伴当　是　四　个　主儿。
zhe　si　ge　bandang　shi　si　ge　zhur
this　four　CL　creatures　be　four　CL　owner
'These horses don't belong to one owner, the four horses belong to four owners.'

In *Guben Lao Qida* there are 9 "S+O+*shi*", of which 3 are negative sentences (as in example 8), 4 feature *bian* preceding *shi* (as in example 7), and 1 has the object as a pronoun.

S +O+*you* 有

(9)　你　　了不得，　我　俍罗　　有。
　　　ni　*liaobude*　*wo*　*louluo*　*you*
　　　you　great　　I　　servant　be
　　　'You are great, I'm a servant.'

Mongolian has no copula between the subject and predicate, and uses an auxiliary following the predicate to express affirmative judgment. The auxiliary is equivalent to the Chinese "*shi/you* 是/有", and the typical word order of a copular sentence is "S+O+ *shi/you*", as illustrated in (9). There are only 2 examples of "S+O+ *shi/you*" in *Guben Lao Qida*.

S +*shi* 是+O+*you* 有

(10)　这　蓡　　　是　新罗　蓡　　　有，也　着中。
　　　zhe　*shen*　*shi*　*Xinluo*　*shen*　*you*　*ye*　*zhuozhong*
　　　this　ginseng　be　Korean　ginseng　be　also　good
　　　'This ginseng is Korean ginseng and is also good.'

(11)　（你的　师傅　是　什么　人？）　是　汉儿人　　有。
　　　nide　*shifu*　*shi*　*shenme*　*ren*　*shi*　*Han'erren*　*you*
　　　your　teacher　be　what　person　be　Han people　be
　　　'(What kind of person is your teacher?) He is Han.'

Jiang Lansheng (2003) argues that this special copular sentence is obviously the overlap of Chinese and Mongolian copular sentences. That is: "S+*shi*+O" ＋ "S+O+*you*"→ "S+*shi*+O+*you*". There are 5 "S+*shi*+O+*you*" in *Guben Lao Qida*.

In *Guben Lao Qida* there are 149 copular sentences, of which 133 use "S+*shi*+O", 9 use "S+O+*shi*", 2 use "S+O+*you*", and 5 use "S+*shi*+O+*you*". To sum up, there are only 16 special copular sentences, about 10.7% of the total copular sentences, which proves that special copular sentences were not popularly used at that time.

2.3 With *you* at the end of a sentence

Another special usage of *you* in *Guben Lao Qida* is that it can be used at the end of the sentence as a particle or tense and aspect marker.

(12)

恁	是	高丽人，	却	怎么	汉儿	言语	说	的	好	有？
nen	*shi*	*Gaoliren*	*que*	*zenme*	*Han'er*	*yanyu*	*shuo*	*de*	*hao*	*you*
you	be	Korean	but	how	*Han'er*	*yanyu*	speak	PART	well	have

'You are Korean; why do you speak *Han'er yanyu* so well?'

(13)

你	道的	是，	我	也	心里	那般	想	着	有。
ni	*daode*	*shi*	*wo*	*ye*	*xinli*	*naban*	*xiang*	*zhe*	*you*
you	speak	right	I	also	in my heart	so	think	PART	have

'You are right, I think so, too.'

You in (12) (13) is distinct from the verb *you* in the declarative sentences mentioned above. Apart from *you*, there are other main verbs in the sentences, and the sentences still stand despite the deletion of the sentence-final *you*.

Lee (2003) argues that this *you* is a particle that comes at the end of a declarative, interrogative, or other types of sentence and expresses affirmative mood. Zu (2007) argues that this *you* is the tense and aspect marker of a verb and expresses present, future and past, or perfective, progressive. Both of them argue that *you* originates from a literal translation of the sentence-final Mongolian auxiliary.

In *Guben Lao Qida* there are about 1,200 sentences, of which 45 have *you* at the end of the sentence; this comprises about 3.6% of all the sentences. The usage of *you* seems to lack obvious rules and demonstrates great randomness, as in (14):

(14)

这	桥	便	是	我	夜来	说的	桥，
zhe	*qiao*	*bian*	*shi*	*wo*	*yelai*	*shuode*	*qiao*
this	bridge	ADV	be	I	yesterday	mentioned	bridge

比	在前	哏	好	有。……
bi	*zaiqian*	*gen*	*hao*	*you*
exceed	before	much	good	have

这	桥梁、	桥柱	比	在前	哏	牢壮。
zhe	*qiaoliang*	*qiaozhu*	*bi*	*zaiqian*	*gen*	*laozhuang*
this	beam	timber	exceed	before	much	strong

'This bridge is the one I mentioned yesterday; it is much better than the prior bridge. . .The beam and timber of the bridge are much stronger than those from before.'

In (14) the two sentences were spoken by the same person. Both of them were comparative sentences, and both of the adjectives were modified by the adverb "*gen*", but the speaker chose two different structures, one with *you* at the end of

the sentence, the other without *you*. This poses sufficient proof that there were no obligatory rules for using *you*.

2.4 Using the postposition location word to indicate object, location, etc.

Mongolian is a language with cases, and Mongolian nouns and pronouns use different case markers to mark their syntactic relationship with other words, such as possessive, accusative, locative, instrumental, ablative, and comitative to express object, location, instrument, possession, etc. Since Chinese lacks equivalent grammatical markers, Chinese uses word order and prepositions to express similar grammatical categories. In *Guben Lao Qida*, however, the postpositions *gendi* 根底 and *shang/hang* 上/行 emerged to express object, location, etc.

NP + *gendi* + VP

In *Guben Lao Qida gendi* is used to indicate object, as the Chinese preposition *xiang/dui* 向/对. There are 4 "NP+*gendi*+VP":

(15) 你　　谁　　根底　　　　□　　　　　文书　　来？
　　　ni　　*shui*　*gendi*　　*missing word*　*wenshu*　*lai*
　　　you　who　bottom-OBJ　(learn)　　　Chinese　PART
　　　'From whom do you learn Chinese?'

(16) 大医　　根底　　　　重重的　　　　酬谢　　也。
　　　taiyi　*gendi*　　　*zhongzhongde*　*chouxie*　*ye*
　　　doctor　bottom-OBJ　heavily　　　reward　PART
　　　'You should express your warmest thanks to the doctor.'

NP+*shang/hang*+VP

In *Guben Lao Qida*, *shang/hang* can be used to indicate object and location, as with the Chinese prepositions *zai* 在, *dao* 到 in examples (17) and (18) below; *shang/hang* can also be used as possession, such as the Chinese particle *de* 的 in example (19). According to our calculations, there are 4 "NP+*hang*+VP", all of which indicate object. There are 4 "NP+*shang*+VP", of which 1 indicates object, 2 indicate location, and 1 indicates possession.

(17) 每日　　　学长　　　将　那　顽　　学生　　师傅
meiri　　　xuezhang　　jiang　na　wan　　xuesheng　shifu
every day　head student　PREP　those　naughty　students　teacher
行　　　呈着。
hang　　　chengzhe.
on-OBJ　tell-PART
'Every day the head student reported the naughty students to the teacher.'

(18) 这　间壁　　肉案　　　　上　　买　猪肉　去。
zhe　jianbi　　rou'an　　　　shang　　mai　zhurou　qu
this　next door　butcher's shop　on-LOC　buy　pork　　go
'Go next door to the butcher's shop to buy some pork.'

(19) 谁　是　舅舅　上　　孩儿，谁　是　姑姑　上　　孩儿？
shui　shi　jiujiu　shang　hai'er　shui　shi　gugu　shang　hai'er
who　be　uncle　on-GEN　kid　who　be　aunt　on-GEN　kid
'Who is uncle's kid? Who is aunt's kid?'

In most cases *Guben Lao Qida* used preposition to indicate object, location, etc. The frequency of the above postpositions is so low as to not be worth mentioning.

2.5　Using the postposition location word *shang/shangtou* 上/上头 to indicate causality

(20) 俺　汉儿人　　□　　　学　文书　　　　　来
an　Han'er ren　missing word　xue　weshu　　　　lai
I　Han people　　　　　　learn　language and writing　PART
的　上头，　些小　汉儿　言语　省的　有。
de　shangtou　xiexiao　Han'er　yanyu　xingde　you
PART　on -CAUS　a little　Han'er　yanyu　know　have
'Because I learn *Han'er yanyu* from Han people, so I know a little *Han'er yanyu*.'

(21) 消化　　不得　上头，　脑痛　　头眩，　不　思　　饮食。
xiaohua　bude　shangtou　nao tong　tou xuan　bu　si　　yinshi
digest　cannot　on-CAUS　headache　dizzy　not　think of　diet
'Because of indigestion, [he] has a headache, feels dizzy, and has a poor appetite.'

Zu (2004) argues that *shang/shangtou*, which indicate causality, is translated as the Middle Mongolian causal postposition *tula* and the instrument case marker of adjectival verbs *-ar/-bar*. In *Guben Lao Qida* there are 7 sentences with *shang/shangtou* to indicate causality.

Shang/shangtou can also be used together with the Chinese prepositional causal conjunction *yin* 因 and *wei* 为 to create a frame causal structure, "*yin/wei...shang/shangtou*", as in the following examples:

(22) 为　　　这　　上，　　　买　　的　　　人　　　少。
　　　wei　　*zhe*　*shang*　　*mai*　*de*　　*ren*　　*shao*
　　　because　this　on-CAUS　buy　PART　people　few
　　　'Because of this, there are few people who want to buy them.'

(23) 因　　　那　　上头　　　众人　　　　再　　　不曾　　　劝，
　　　yin　　*na*　*shangtou*　*zhongren*　*zai*　　*buceng*　　*quan*
　　　because　that　on-CAUS　everybody　again　no longer　persuade
　　　信着　　他　　胡使　　钱。
　　　xinzhe　*ta*　*hushi*　*qian*
　　　let　　him　waste　money
　　　'Because of that, nobody persuaded him any longer and let him waste his money.'

There are 4 examples of this overlapping structure in *Guben Lao Qida*.

2.6 Using the postposition word *he/shi* 呵/时 to indicate conditional

(24) 有人　　　问着，　　一　　句　　话　　也　　说　　　不得　时，
　　　youren　*wenzhe*　*yi*　*ju*　*hua*　*ye*　*shuo*　*bude*　*shi*
　　　someone　ask　　　one　CL　word　also　speak　not　if
　　　教　　别人　　将　　咱每　　做　　甚么　　人　　看？
　　　jiao　*bieren*　*jiang*　*zanmei*　*zuo*　*shenme*　*ren*　*kan*
　　　let　others　PREP　us　　do　what　　people　look at
　　　'If someone asks in Chinese and we cannot answer one word, how will the others look at us?'

(25) 你　一般　身材　做　袄子 呵，细　褶儿 尽 句　　也。
ni　yiban shencai zuo　aozi he　xi　zher jin gou　　ye
you like shape make coat if thin pleat all enough PART
'If use this cloth to make a coat for a man whose body is like yours, it is enough to make one with thin pleats.'

There are 39 sentences of this structure. At the same time, there are 11 Chinese structures, as in (26), (27):

(26) 若　无　　　　免帖，　　　　　　　定然　　吃　三下。
ruo　wu　　miantie　　　　　　　　dingran chi sanxia
if not have card to forgive punishment must beat three times
'If one doesn't have a card to be absolved of punishment, he must be beaten three times.'

(27) 如　马　　来处　不明，　　卖主　一面　　承当。
ru　ma　　laichu buming　　maizhu yimian chengdang
if horse origin unknown sellers all be responsible for
'If the horses are of unknown origin, the sellers will be responsible for everything.'

Compared to the situations mentioned above, the use of *he/shi* to indicate conditional had emerged before the Yuan Dynasty (Sun 2006), and continued to be used during the Yuan period as its numbers increased. As for the type of the language contact, this is also distinct from the types of those mentioned above. The types mentioned above are questions of "yes/no" in Chinese, while "*he/shi*" is a matter of "more/less". The "more/less" question reflects the promotion of the development of Chinese, and not the acceptance of new structures of other languages.

In *Guben Lao Qida* there are also some sentences with both Chinese conditional conjunction and *he/shi*, as in (28), (29):

(28) 若是　稻穰　　时，这　头口每　多　有　不吃　的。
ruoshi daorang shi zhe　toukoumei duo you buchi de
if straw if these animals most have not eat PART
'If there is only straw, most of the animals will not eat it.'

(29) 他每　若　是　歹人，　来历　不明　　呵，怎生　　能勾
tamei ruo shi dairen　laili buming he zensheng nenggou
they if be bad guy origin unknown if how can

到　这里　来?
dao zheli lai
get   here   come
'If they were bad guys of unknown origin, how can they come here?'

There are 17 examples of this kind of structure in *Guben Lao Qida*.

As the above statistics and analysis demonstrate, *Yuan baihua* was in fact influenced by Mongolian; there did emerge some syntactic features distinct from standard Chinese, and the use of some function words did quantitatively change. As mentioned above, these special syntactic features did not enter the mainstream in their time, since they were limited in quantity and their usage was restricted.

In *Yuan baihua*, when one used the special structures influenced by Mongolian, one did not give up the Chinese means of expression, especially when it involved basic grammatical categories such as word order, where the Chinese means of expression had absolute advantage.

3 The Mongolian originals and principles of usage of these special syntactic features: from *Yuanchao Mishi*

Yuanchao Mishi (*The Secret History of the Mongols*) is the official history compiled by Yuan court authorities in the 13th century. It was originally named *Mongqol-un Ni'uča, Tobča'an.* The earliest extant edition is the *Siyiguan* 四夷馆 version printed during the Ming Dynasty. It was published in 1382, and renamed *Yuanchao Mishi*.

In *Yuanchao Mishi,* the translation is also a form of Chinese that has been influenced by Mongolian. *Yuanchao Mishi* takes a tri-part form comprising the Mongolian original, in-line glossary, and the translation; through this work, we are provided with rather ideal conditions for understanding the relationship between a Chinese translation and its Mongolian original. Below, by comparing the translation and the in-line glossary of *Yuanchao Mishi*, we will examine the Mongolian background and principles behind the translators' usage of the special syntactic features in *Yuan baihua*.

3.1 *You* sentences

(30)　听得　　不儿罕山　　　野物　广　　　有。
　　　tingde   Bu'erhanshan   yewu   guang   you
　　　'It is said that there is a lot of wildlife in Mount Burhan.'

不峒(罕)［ᵗ罕　　］·（哈）［ᵗ合］ₗₑ敦讷　　戈ˢ劣额孙　戈ˢ鲁兀黎　撒亦秃
Bur(han)[qan]-(ha)[qa]ldun-nu　　　görō'esün　görü' üli　sayitu
ᵗ合札儿　撒因　客延。
qaǰar　sayin　keyen.²
山　　　名　　的　　野物　　可　捕　　好有的　地　　好　么道
Shan　ming　de　yewu　ke　pu　haoyoude　di　hao　medao
Mountain　name　PART　wildlife　be　hunt　have　　　place　good　be said

(31)　也速该　亲家，我　家里　有　个　女儿　年　幼小　　哩，去
　　　Yesugai　qinjia　wo　jiali　you　ge　nv'er　nian　youxiao　li　qu
　　　看　来。
　　　kan　lai
　　　'Yesügai in-law, I have a daughter who is young; go look at her.'
　　　也速该　ᵗ忽答　格儿图儿　米讷　斡都牙　斡勤 米讷 兀出 兀坚 备由
　　　Yesügai　quda　ger-tür　minu　oduy-a　ökin minu üčü' ügen buiyiu
　　　ᵗ忽答　兀者秃该
　　　quda　üǰetügai
　　　名　　亲家　家　　里 我的　去来　　女子　　我的　小　　有
　　　Ming　qingjia　jia　li　wode　qulai　nvzi　wode　xiao　you
　　　Name　in-law　family　in　my　go- PART　daughter　my　　young　have
　　　亲家　　看
　　　qingjia　kan
　　　in-law　look

As in *Guben Lao Qida*, *you* can be used to express possession and existence in the *you* sentences of *Yuanchao Mishi*. In (30)–(31), all the *you* in the in-line glossary follow the objects. But in the translation, only in (30) does the object precede *you*, while in (31) *you* is changed to precede the object, which means example (31) went with the standard Chinese structure.

3.2 The copular sentences

(32)　我　　是　　王 罕。
　　　wo　shi　Wang Han
　　　'I am Ong Qan.'

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2 The Latin transliterations of (30)–(35) are cited from Adarjav (2005) *The new translation and explanatory notes of the Secret History of the Mongols*.

必　王中罕　　備由
bi　*Ong Qan*　*buiyiu*
我　人名　　　有
wo　*renming*　*you*
I　　name　　have

In *Yuanchao Mishi*, the situation of the copular sentences is similar to that of the *you* sentences, since over the course of translation, the Mongolian structure was changed to the standard Chinese structure. According to our calculations, over the course of translation, all the copular sentences were changed from "S+O+*you*" to "S+*shi*+O".

3.3 Other situations

(33)　其　婿　见　人　来，　走　了。
　　　qi　*xu*　*jian*　*ren*　*lai*　*zou*　*le*
　　　'Her husband saw someone come, then he left.'
　　　额ᠲ列　亦讷　土跶阿主兀
　　　er-e　inu　tuta'aǰu'u
　　　丈夫　　他的　走　　了　　有来
　　　zhangfu　*tade*　*zou*　*le*　*youlai*
　　　husband　her　leave　PART　have- PART

As the particle or tense and aspect marker, *you* may or may not be used in the translation. Take *youlai* 有来 for example: in *Yuanchao Mishi* there are 188 *youlai* in the in-line glossary, of which only 20 remain in the translation; this comprises about 10% of the total.

(34)　王罕、　　札木合　　两　　个　根底，帖木真　　　知感。
　　　Wanghan Zhamuhe liang ge gendi Tiemuzhen zhigan
　　　'Temüǰin said to To'orini Qan and ǰamuq-a with gratitude.'
　　　脱斡ᠲ邻勒ᠲ罕　札木ᠲ合　　ᠲ豁牙ᠲ里　帖木真　不识ᠲ怜　鸣诘列ᠲ
　　　To'orini　Qan,　ǰamuq-a　qoyar-I　Temüǰin büširen　ügülerün
　　　人名　皇帝　　人名　　两个　　行　　名　　知　　说
　　　renming　*huangdi*　*renming*　*liangge*　*hang*　*ming*　*zhi*　*shuo*
　　　Name　emperor　name　two-hang　　name　thank　say

(35)　俺　可以　掳　他
　　　an　*keyi*　*lu*　*ta*
　　　'We can capture them.'

必答　　帖迭泥　　哈兀a鲁牙　　客额罢。
bida　　teden-I　　ha'uluy-a''　　ke'eba.
咱每　　他每行　　　尽掳咱每　　说　　了
zanmei　tameihang　jinluzanmei　shuo　le
we　　them-hang　capture-we　said

In the translation of *Yuanchao Mishi*, the usage of postposition location words seems to be highly random. In (34) in the in-line glossary, *hang* is used to translate the Mongolian case marker indicating object; in the translation, however, *gendi* is used. In (35) *hang* is in the in-line glossary, while in the translation *hang* disappears. This is because in Mongolian, the subject and object are located on the same side of a verb, so case markers are necessary to clarify the complex relations between nouns and pronouns. In Chinese, word order is the most important syntactic means; in (35) the subject and object can be distinguished by word order, so postpositional location words do not need to be added.

As indicated by the above analysis, the special syntactic features do have roots in Mongolian and arose due to the influence of Mongolian over the course of its translation into Chinese. But in most cases, the translators preferred standard Chinese syntactic structures rather than the special syntactic features.

4　The distribution of special syntactic features in *Yuan baihua* from *Yuan Dianzhang-Xingbu*

The full title of *Yuan Dianzhang* is *Dayuan Shengzheng Guochao Dianzhang* 大元圣政国朝典章. It is a collection of the laws and decrees of the Yuan Dynasty. The *Xingbu* chapter is particularly useful for our purposes because it mainly comprises the recordings of real legal cases. It appears that many of the confessional statements were recorded just as they were spoken by various plaintiffs, defendants, and witnesses. Those involved came from a range of social classes, from Mongolian noblemen to Han commoners. By examining how people from different backgrounds spoke, we make the case that ethnicity, class, and gender all factored into the use of the special syntactic features in *Yuan baihua*.

Case 1 (Vol. 3):
（老郝娘）
"有　　　后母　　　韩端哥，　　不　知　　主　　何　　情意，
you　　houmu　　Han Duange　bu　zhi　zhu　he　qingyi
there is　stepmother　name　　　not　know　think　what　idea

用	铁	鞋锥	于	俺	孙女
yong	*tie*	*xiezhui*	*yu*	*an*	*sunnv*
use	iron	awl	on	my	granddaughter

郝丑哥		舌头	上，	烙讫		三下；
Hao Chouge		*shetou*	*shang*	*laoqi*		*sanxia*
name		tongue	on	brand- PART		three times

脊背	上，	烙讫		七十二下。
jibei	*shang*	*laoqi*		*qishi'er xia*
back	on	brand- PART		72 times

小厮		郝骂儿	也	烙了		七	锥子。"
xiaosi		*Hao Ma'er*	*ye*	*laole*		*qi*	*zhuizi*
grandson		name	also	brand- PART		seven	awl

(Grandma Hao): '[I have] a stepmother Han Duange. I don't know what she was thinking. She branded my granddaughter Hao Chouge's tongue three times, and branded her back seventy-two times. My grandson Hao Ma'er was also branded seven times.'

（邻居）

"你	昨日	城里	来的		晚了。	您	两	个	孩儿
ni	*zuori*	*chengli*	*laide*		*wanle*	*nin*	*liang*	*ge*	*hai'er*
you	yesterday	city	come-PART		late	you	two	CL	children

偷出	小荳，	客人	处	换	梨儿	吃。"
tou chu	*xiaodou*	*keren*	*chu*	*huan*	*lier*	*chi*
stole	red beans	passenger	location	trade	pears	eat

(Neighbor): 'Yesterday you came back late, and your two children stole some red beans and traded them with the passengers for some pears to eat.'

（郝丑哥）

"我	是	换了		五	个	梨儿	吃	来。"
wo	*shi*	*huanle*		*wu*	*ge*	*lier*	*chi*	*lai*
I	did	trade-PART		five	CL	pears	eat	PART

(Hao Chouge): 'I did trade for five pears to eat.'

Case 2 (Vol. 4):

（常三姐）

"你	吃	人	打	骂，	做	不得	男子汉。
ni	*chi*	*ren*	*da*	*ma*	*zuo*	*bude*	*nanzihan*
you	PREP	people	beat	scold	be	not	manly

我	每日	做	别人	饭食，	被	人	欺负。"
wo	*meiri*	*zuo*	*bieren*	*fanshi*	*bei*	*ren*	*qifu*
I	everyday	cook	others	dishes	PREP	people	bully

(Chang Sanjie): 'You are beaten and scolded by others, you are not manly. I cook for others every day and am bullied by them.'

"我	死活	不	根	你	去。"
wo	*sihuo*	*bu*	*gen*	*ni*	*qu*
I	anyway	not	PREP	you	go

'I will not follow you anyway.'

All of the persons in case (1) and (2) are Han commoners, and most of them are Han women. All of them used standard Chinese grammar. As seen in the cases of the first ten volumes of *Yuan Dianzhang-Xingbu*, Han commoners seldom used those special syntactic features. It can thus be seen that Han commoners seldom or never used the special syntactic features in daily life. Even when facing the interrogators (who were probably Mongolian), they still used pure Chinese.

Case 3 (Vol. 4):

（张千户）

"晚夕	吴	县尹	睡着	的	时分，	你	教	我
wanxi	*Wu*	*xianyin*	*shuizhao*	*de*	*shifen*	*ni*	*jiao*	*wo*
at night	surname	official title	fell asleep	PART	time	you	let	me

知	者，	我	杀	那个。	杀了	呵，
zhi	*zhe*	*wo*	*sha*	*nage*	*shale*	*he*
know	PART	I	kill	him	kill-PART	if

'他	自抹死	也。'	么道	你	官人每	根底	说者。"
ta	*zimo si*	*ye*	*medao*	*ni*	*guanrenmei*	*gendi*	*shuozhe*
he	commit suicide	PART	said	you	officials	bottom-OBJ	tell-PART

(Qianhu Zhang): 'When Wu Xianling falls asleep, you let me know, and I will kill him. After that, I will say "He committed suicide", and you will tell this to the officials.'

（姓崔的达鲁花赤）

我的	伴当	吴	县令，	你的	二十一	件	罪过	要
wode	*bandang*	*Wu*	*xianling*	*nide*	*ershiyi*	*jian*	*zuiguo*	*yao*
my	friend	surname	official title	your	21	CL	crimes	will

告	有。
gao	*you*
sue	have

'(The Daruyači whose surname is Cui): My friend Wu Xianling, you will be sued for 21 crimes.'

Case 4 (Vol. 7):

刘阿孙	道：	"刘	提举	那	厮，
Liu Asun	*dao*	*Liu*	*Tiju*	*na*	*si*
name	said	surname	official title	that	petty man

十二三	年	不曾	来	我	行	宿卧。	我	根	你	去。"
shiersan	*nian*	*buceng*	*lai*	*wo*	*hang*	*suwo*	*wo*	*gen*	*ni*	*qu*
12 or 13	years	not	come	me	on-LOC	sleep	I	PREP	you	go

'Liu Asun said: "Liu Tiju, that petty man, has not slept with me for twelve or thirteen years. I will go with you."'

Case 5 (Vol. 4):

"那	达鲁花赤	是	甚么	人	有？"	么道	圣旨
na	*daluhuachi*	*shi*	*shenme*	*ren*	*you*	*medao*	*shengzhi*
that	Daruyači	be	what	people	have	say	imperial edict

问	呵，
wen	*he*
ask	PART

回奏：	"姓	崔	的	汉儿	人	有。"	么道	奏	呵，
huizou	*xing*	*Cui*	*de*	*Han'er*	*ren*	*you*	*medao*	*zou*	*he*
answer	surname	Cui	PART	*Han'er*	people	have	say	report	PART

"事	从	这的每	起	有。	敲了	者。"	么道，	圣旨
shi	*cong*	*zhedemei*	*qi*	*you*	*qiaole*	*zhe*	*medao*	*shengzhi*
things	from	these	up	have	kill-PART	PART	say	imperial edict

了也。
liaoye
over

'The imperial edict asked: "Who is the Daruyači?" Answer: "A Han person whose surname is Cui." The imperial edict: "All the things are from these. Kill him."'

In cases (3) and (4), the Daruyači whose surname is Cui and Qianhu Zhang are the officials, and Liu Asun is the wife of the official Liu Tiju. They all either hold some governmental position or have a place in high society. All of their speech included some special syntactic features, i.e., using the postpositional *gendi, hang* to indicate object and location, *medao* as a postpositional direct or indirect speech marker, and OV word order such as "*nide ershiyi jian zuiguo yao gao you*". Case (5) is part of an imperial edict and memorial to the throne written by a Mongolian official. Almost all the sentences in case (5) include the special syntactic features under discussion.

5 Further considerations

In the above sections, we have presented some instances of the special syntactic features in *Guben Lao Qida*, *Yuanchao Mishi*, and *Yuan Dianzhang-Xingbu*.

As seen in *Guben Lao Qida*, it is obvious that the so-named special syntactic features only existed in a few word order structures and words, which co-existed with mainstream Chinese expressions and comprised only a small percentage. (Although in the above discussion we did not list all the special syntactic features of *Guben Lao Qida*, the main kinds have been calculated and analyzed.)

According to our investigation of *Yuanchao Mishi*, the special syntactic features probably originated over the course of translation from Mongolian to Chinese due to the influence of Mongolian. However, it was not obligatory to use them. On most occasions, the translator chose not to use the special syntactic structures and words.

Yuan Dianzhang-Xingbu provides us with a sample of different social strata's usages of special syntactic features during the Yuan period. According to our understanding, there are hardly any special syntactic features in the discourse of commoners, and some in the discourse of officials and their relations, while they are frequently seen in almost every single line of the texts made by the upper-class Mongolians such as imperial edicts.

The three types of documents we investigated are known as the vernacular Chinese language of the Yuan period. According to Zu (2001), the vernacular Chinese documents of Yuan period includes *Zaju*, *Zhugongdiao*, *Pinghua*, *Zhengtong Linronglu*, *Lao Qida*, *Piao Tongshi*, *Xiaojing Zhijie*, etc. Li (2001: 65) points out that the vernacular Chinese documents of the Yuan period can be divided into two types: the pure vernacular Chinese as in *Yuan Zaju*, and the vernacular Chinese of a literal translation style as in *Yuan Dianzhang*, *Tongzhi Tiaoge*, *Piao Tongshi* and *Xiaojing Zhijie*, most of which were official documents. The vernacular inscriptions of the Yuan period belong to the latter type.

Tatsuo (1991: 181–211) argues that the documents of literal translation, direct interpretation, conversation textbooks, documentary records and *Yuanchao Mishi* translation corpora represented the *Han'er yanyu*, a common language used among Northern ethnic groups and the Han people which should be considered an unrefined, non-standard version of the Chinese language.

Zu (2007) also observes that there existed a common language among Northern ethnic groups and the Han people, but defines it as a Mongolian Pidgin Chinese with the Northern Chinese language as its super stratum and Mongolian as its substrate language.

To sum up the above viewpoints, all the documents written in a vernacular, non-standard style in the Yuan period can be generally labeled as Yuan

vernacular documents, which reflected the *Han'er yanyu*, a Pidgin language used among Northern ethnic groups and the Han people. With regards to these conclusions, however, some points still must be made clear. What are the Yuan vernacular documents? What is the *Han'er yanyu*? How does one prove that it is the common language of the Northern ethnic groups? Is it a pidgin language?

As can be seen from the above comparison of the three kinds of documents, the so-named Yuan vernacular documents are a collection of the texts containing the special syntactic features. Different texts and different users differ conspicuously in their use of the special syntactic features. These features are most abundant in materials closely associated with the rulers (e.g., imperial edicts), such that Chinese words and Mongolian grammar were mixed together. Some government officials (including the translator of *Yuanchao Mishi*) might choose to use the special syntactic features, but the amount varied with each individual. The texts in *Guben Lao Qida* and the female relations of officials only occasionally used the special syntactic features. If we categorize these literary materials as Yuan vernacular documents, their characteristics can be summarized as follows: (1) They resembled the spoken language at that time; (2) They contained the special syntactic features to varying degrees. However, we notice that the two kinds of texts are at extreme odds with one another and are nearly two different languages. Comparing *Yuan Zaju* 'opera' with literal translations in *Yuan Dianzhang* and the vernacular inscriptions of the Yuan period, the former is practically pure Chinese, while the latter is a blended language or pidgin, which is perhaps a reflection of the special linguistic circumstances of the Yuan period. The Mongolian reign influenced the Chinese language deeply and resulted in a split into two major varieties of the language which were used by different social strata: pure Chinese and the variety of Chinese influenced by the Mongolian language. Therefore, it is vague to say that these two varieties resembled the spoken language; in reality, some people spoke comparatively pure Chinese and some spoke Mongolian-style Chinese.

Therefore, if we label this kind of documents *Han'er yanyu*, the internal distinctions will be neglected and *Han'er yanyu* will be rendered a practically meaningless concept. If we analyze different documents and their qualitatively different content, it is clear that texts such as imperial edicts should be regarded as a pidgin language consisting of simplified Mongolian grammar and Chinese lexicon, which came into being to satisfy the need for communication between the Mongolian and Chinese communities. Nevertheless, this kind of communication using Mongolian-style Chinese was restricted to particular situations, such as the passing on of the Mongolian rulers' orders and the translation of Chinese texts to Mongolian. There is no evidence that the Han people of the Yuan period had learned to use the Mongolian-style Chinese language to

communicate with Mongolian people. Therefore, the so-named Mongolian-style Chinese found in texts such as imperial edicts was probably not used in daily communication at that time, though it certainly had some pidgin features. It is therefore unsafe to define this version of Chinese as a pidgin language. The language used by some officials (including the translator of *Yuanchao Mishi*) was obviously influenced by Mongolian, but both the lexicon and the grammar were fundamentally Chinese. The individual differences were apparent, and the frequency of the special syntactic features was quite low compared with the Chinese equivalents, with hardly any regulations determining their use or nonuse. *Guben Lao Qida* and the records of the female relations of some officials were in almost pure Chinese, with a sparse intermingling of a small number of Mongolian influenced sentences. In conclusion, the Mongolian-style Chinese used by Mongolian governors bore the structural features of a pidgin language, but there is no evidence for its use in daily communication. As their special features indicate, the other two kinds were two versions of the Chinese language that reflected the Mongolians' different stages of Chinese language learning, from beginning to mastery.

What is the relationship between this kind of *Yuan baihua* and the Chinese language? A common explanation is that *Yuan baihua* came into being as Mongolian permeated Chinese, and then faded away with the return to Chinese. The term permeation refers to "the gradual entrance of a thing or force into another" (*Modern Chinese Dictionary*). The permeation of Mongolian to Chinese means that certain elements of the Mongolian language came into the Chinese language and triggered particular changes in Chinese. By contrast, the term change usually refers to the altering of the internal system of Chinese. In the above analysis, we have pointed out that Mongolian-style Chinese, narrowly defined, only existed in government documents related to rulers of the Yuan period, while the variant of Chinese, broadly defined, was used in communication with the Mongolian communities. Under these two situations, the main users were Mongolian. Whether correct or not, such use had nothing to do with the internal system of the Chinese language, and did not involve the diffusion of Mongolian into Chinese. Yu (2015: 161) analyzes the special syntactic features in the translation of Buddhist scriptures and claims that[3]:

> The approach of functional grammar stresses distinguishing between grammatical creation and grammatical change, arguing that new uses in pragmatic contexts constitute creation and that only with regulations and social acceptance of new grammar is there change.

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3 This article was published in Chinese. The English translation of Yu's quotation is provided by FENG He.

> If we consider the Chinese language in the translations of Buddhist scriptures as an interlanguage (i.e., an unstable version of the target language created during the learning process which has both source language and target language features, and gradually approaches the target language via ongoing reconstruction), then the special syntactic features were but mistakes or false creations made by western region monks due to their yet incomplete acquisition of Chinese. Only if the creations were introduced into Chinese and accepted by the Chinese speakers, did they truly constitute "change" and influence the Chinese language.

The above analysis can also be applied to the so-named *Yuan baihua*. Even if they became a pidgin language, the special syntactic features are independent from the Chinese language, and had yet to diffuse into Chinese or cause any change in Chinese. Only when the special syntactic features influenced by Mongolian were accepted by the Chinese community and entered the Chinese grammar, could there be said to be diffusion. As Yu pointed out, the mistakes made by American students learning Chinese would never be regarded as the evidence of English influence on the Chinese language. If there is no retrieval, then there is no permeation to speak of. "Retrieval" simply refers to the fact that the erstwhile committers of the mistakes no longer make those mistakes. Some have completely acquired Chinese completely, while others have ceased to use Chinese.

In the field of diachronic linguistics, our primary concern is whether the Mongolian language diffused into the Chinese language. There are some results from former research (i.e., Jiang 1999), but such cannot adequately reflect and thoroughly reconstruct the whole picture of Mongolian-Chinese contact. Deeper and broader investigation is needed.

Apparently, the special syntactic features of the Chinese of the Yuan period originated from the intervention of Mongolian. Long before the Mongolian reign of the Chinese mainland, Han communities already had extensive contact with northern minor communities. But did this language contact result in some kind of common language or *Han'er yanyu* used by the different communities of North China? Given limited historical materials, we have no idea what the *Han'er yanyu* looked like before the Yuan period. Based on studies of the Yuan documents, if we presuppose a common language did exist, it was unlikely to be used by the Han people, and was perhaps not used in communications between the Han community and other minor communities (this is supported by the evidence of *Yuan Dianzhang*). It also could not possibly have been used by the Mongolians before their mother tongue was abandoned. The remaining cases involved the Mongolian-style Chinese used by Mongolians toward Han people and the Chinese language with traces of Mongolian influences. If *Han'er yanyu* refers to both cases, it would lack the consistency to be a common language as we have discussed above. If it refers to the Mongolian-style Chinese, it

would only be a "language" used by a certain group in a very specific circumstance, and the users and scope of use would be far fewer and narrower than those of the common language. If it refers to the Chinese language with traces of Mongolian influences, it would merely be a version of Chinese with individual differences, which was too unestablished to be a pidgin language let alone a common language.

Or could it generally refer to the unstable state of the Chinese language that is intermingled with non-Chinese elements and used by non-Chinese speakers to communicate with the Han people? If so, then the common language could only be defined as a version of Chinese used by northern minority communities and influenced by their native languages. The lexicon and grammar of this language were still Chinese and inevitably featured some linguistic mistakes while in use, but none of the mistakes were so fixed as to form a new rule.

Therefore, there is no consensus based on the current research as to the existence of the common language called *Han'er yanyu*, its features, and the relationship between *Han'er yanyu* and the Chinese language.

Interlanguage, pidgin language and creole language usually form a continuum of change motivated by language contact. In the interlanguage phase, the incomplete acquisition of the second language learners leads to a good many mistakes, which are idiosyncratic and have patterns but no rules. In a pidgin language, the individual variations are entrenched as a system. Only when a pidgin language becomes the native language of some community, and its structures are refined and standardized, does it change into a creole language. Determining the position of *Yuan baihua* on this continuum requires a deep and thorough investigation. Our investigation indicates that *Yuan baihua* did not become a creole language or even a pidgin language.

The above discussions are but some thoughts we had after analyzing the special language phenomena in three kinds of vernacular documents of the Yuan period. With regards only to the materials we investigated, the documents of the Yuan period can be classified into two types: the type resembling the spoken Chinese of that period and the type influenced by Mongolian. In the type influenced by Mongolian, different documents may reflect different degrees of influence, but no reliable evidence was encountered over the course of analysis suggesting that those special language phenomena have been fixed. As such, the type influenced by Mongolian should still occupy the interlanguage phase. The present studies are not sufficient to give a satisfactory answer to questions such as whether the interlanguage became the common language of the northern communities of China in the Yuan period, when it came into being and further developed, and what its lexicon and grammatical systems were.

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Dandan Chen (陈丹丹)

On the special syntactic features in the vernacular imperial edicts of the early Ming Dynasty (1368–1424)

Abstract: This paper focuses on the vernacular imperial edicts of *Huangming Zhaoling* 皇明诏令 and *Dagao Wuchen* 大诰武臣. It discusses the special syntactic features in the vernacular imperial edicts of the early Ming Dynasty, such as using '*he*' (呵) to indicate conditions, '*shang/shangtou*' (上/上头) to indicate causality, etc. These special syntactic features are regarded as the remains of similar features from the Yuan Dynasty, and they have distinct vernacular characteristics.

1 Introduction

In recent years, language contact has become one of the hot issues in the research field of the historical Chinese linguistics. This is especially true of the language contact of the Yuan Dynasty (1271–1368). Linguists have noticed that Mongolian had an influence on Chinese and published a series of articles. Most of them agree that the Chinese of the Yuan Dynasty did show some special syntactic features that are different from standard Chinese due to the influence of the Mongolian language. But these special syntactic features died out with the end of the Mongols' rule (Tatsuo 1991; Li 2001; Cao and Chen 2009; Cao and Yu 2010, 2014; Zu 2009, 2011; etc.).

In fact, these special syntactic features remained in some vernacular documents of the early Ming Dynasty (1368–1424). These features are found in the vernacular imperial edicts of *Huangming Zhaoling* 皇明诏令 (Imperial edicts of the Ming Dynasty), *Dagao Wuchen* 大诰武臣 (Imperial pronouncements to military officials), the confessional statements of *Nichen Lu* 逆臣录 (The trial records of the rebels), and other vernacular documents in some corpora and sketchbooks. However, the relevant research results are few. Jiang (1988) introduced some

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vernacular syntactic phenomena in the imperial edicts of *Huangming Zhaoling*. At the end of her article, she said that she only gave a brief introduction to some linguistic characteristics of the vernacular imperial edicts of *Huangming Zhaoling*, and that most of them were just examples. Jiang noted that she hoped to arouse researchers' interest in *Huangming Zhaoling* through this introduction. Twenty years have passed by now, but there are still few relevant research results based on this material.

This paper focuses on the vernacular imperial edicts of *Huangming Zhaoling* and *Dagao Wuchen*, discusses the special syntactic features in the vernacular imperial edicts of the early Ming Dynasty from the perspective of language contact, and aims to give a preliminary outline of the phenomena of language contact in the early Ming Dynasty. We claim that these special syntactic features are the remains of similar features from the Yuan Dynasty, and they have distinct vernacular characteristics.

2 The introduction to the vernacular imperial edicts of the early Ming Dynasty

Huangming Zhaoling, comprising 21 volumes, is a collection of the imperial edicts from the year in which Chu Yuan-chang, the first emperor of the Ming Dynasty, ascended the throne (1368), to the 18th year of the emperor Jiaqing (1539). In contrast with the language style of most of the other imperial edicts, which are written in the classical style, the language style of some imperial edicts in the early Ming Dynasty (1368–1424) is more casual. This can be seen in the *Jieyu wuchen chi* 戒谕武臣敕 [An official admonition to the military officials], *Yu wuchen xu jun chi* 谕武臣恤军敕 [An imperial edict to the military officials for placating the army], *Jieyu guanjunguan chi* 戒谕管军官敕 [An official admonition to the military officials], *Yuzhi junren hushen chi* 御制军人护身敕 [An imperial edict to the soldiers] of the Hongwu period (1368–1398), and the *Yu tianxia wuchen chi* 谕天下武臣敕 [An imperial edict to all the military officials] of the 7th year of emperor Yongle (1409). Most of them are promulgated to military officials, and are vernacular and easy to understand because of the low literacy of the military officials.

Dagao Wuchen, with 32 items, is a collection of imperial pronouncements to military officials promulgated by Ming Taizu Chu Yuan-chang, all of which comprise laws and regulations for rectifying administration and fighting malfeasants. The language style of *Dagao Wuchen* is vernacular and easy to understand, and Chu Yuan-chang explained why he used spoken Chinese in the preface of *Dagao Wuchen*:

In this imperial pronouncement, I will tell you all the laws and regulations in plain Chinese. If you again harm the military and soldiers, that means you made a mistake on purpose. Don't say you didn't see this document, or you don't understand it. This document is not written in difficult classical Chinese, so how don't you understand it? [Since] I speak in plain Chinese like so, all will understand, no matter old or young, smart or foolish.

3 Some examples of the special syntactic features in the vernacular imperial edicts of the early Ming Dynasty

There are some special syntactic features[1] in the vernacular of the imperial edicts of the early Ming Dynasty. According to past research, almost all these special syntactic features had already existed in the Yuan Dynasty, and comprise substratum interference due to the influence of the Mongolian language (Cao and Chen 2009; Cao and Yu 2010, 2014; Chen 2010; Zu 2002, 2003, 2004, 2007, 2009, 2011; etc.). The special syntactic features are illustrated as follows:

3.1 Using the location word *shang/shangtou* 上/上头 to indicate causality

Since VO is its basic word order, Chinese displays some head-initial characteristics. Chinese causal conjunctions, such as *yin* 因, *wei* 为, *yinwei* 因为, etc., have always been placed at the beginning of causal clauses. In *Yuan baihua*,[2] however, some examples are found whereby causality is expressed using the postposition location word *shang/shangtou*, as in (1):

(1) 从年　　时　　天旱，　田禾　不收，　　　饥荒　　的　　上头,
　　congnian shi tianhan tianhe bushou jihuang de shangtou
　　last year time drought crops poor harvest famine PART on-CAUS

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1 The special features in the early Ming Dynasty refer to some Chinese syntactic structures that were distinct from those of the standard Chinese and arose due to the influence of the Mongolian language.
2 *Baihua* is a term usually used to refer to vernacular language, in contrast to classical Chinese. *Yuan baihua* refers to the vernacular language in the Yuan Dynasty that was recorded and transmitted in written texts.

生出　　歹　人　　来。
shengchu dai ren lai
emerge　bad people come
'Last year because of the drought, poor harvest and famine, some bad
people emerged.' (*Guben Lao Qida³*)

In *Huangming Zhaoling* and *Dagao Wuchen*, the location word *shang/shangtou*
can also be used at the end of the causal clause to indicate causality, as in the
following examples:

(2) 者额　是　云南　　　的　　土　官，　有　缘故　上，
　　Zhe'e shi Yunnan de tu guan you yuangu shang
　　name　be　place name PART local official have reason on-CAUS
　　发　　他　全家　在　昌国　　　住坐。
　　fa ta quanjia zai Changguo zhuzuo
　　banish his family in place name live
　　'Zhe'e is the local official in Yunnan. For some reason, his family is
　　banished to Changguo.' (*Dagao Wuchen,* item 13)

(3) 眷恋　　　　　　开平　王　上头，　且　　　饶
　　juanlian Kaiping wang shangtou qie rao
　　take into consideration name King on-CAUS tentatively spare
　　他　性命，　　则　发去　广西　　　地面　里　安置。
　　ta xingming ze faqu Guangxi dimian li anzhi
　　his life　　and banish place name place in banish
　　'(Chang Mao is the son of King Kaiping) Since we take King Kaiping into
　　consideration, we tentatively spare his (Chang Mao's) life, and banish him
　　to Guangxi.' (*Dagao Wuchen,* item 2)

Shang/shangtou can be used together with the Chinese prepositional causal con-
junction *yin* and *wei* to create a frame causal structure, '*yin/wei…shang/shang-
tou*', both in *Yuan baihua* and the vernacular imperial edicts of the early Ming
Dynasty, as in the following examples:

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3 *Lao Qida* was the Chinese language textbook for Koreans, which has many different editions.
Guben Lao Qida was regarded to reflect Chinese of the Yuan Dynasty.

(4) 因着 法度 不 均平 的 上头， 管民官 无
yinzhe *fadu* *bu* *junping* *de* *shangtou* *guanminguan* *wu*
because law NEG fair PART on-CAUS officials NEG
所 遵守。
suo *zunshou*
PART obey
'Because the laws are unfair, the officials don't know how to obey them.'
(*Yuandianzhang-xingbu*[4])

(5) 因 论 亲 上, 不曾 罪 他，
yin *lun* *qin* *shang* *buceng* *zui* *ta*
because be relative on-CAUS didn't punish him
只 贬去 辽东 做 都指挥， 着 他 重新
zhi *bianqu* *Liaodong* *zuo* *duzhihui* *zhuo* *ta* *chongxin*
only banish place name be official name let him again
立功。
ligong
win honor
'Because we are relatives, I didn't punish him, only banished him to
Liaodong to be a *Duzhihui,* with the hope he will win honor again.'
(*Dagao Wuchen,* item 4)

(6) (常茂) 年纪 小 时， 为 他 是 功臣
(Chang Mao) *nianji* *xiao* *shi* *wei* *ta* *shi* *gongchen*
name age young when because he be the meritorious
的 儿子， 又 是 亲 上头，……， 着 与 诸王
de *erzi* *you* *shi* *qin* *shangtou* *zhuo* *yu* *zhu wang*
PART son and be relative on-CAUS let with princes
同处 读书， 同处 饮食。
tongchu *dushu* *tongchu* *yinshi*
together study together dine
'When Chang Mao was young, since he is the son of the meritorious, and
he is also my relative, I let him study and dine with the princes.'
(*Dagao Wuchen,* item 2)

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4 *Yuandianzhang* is a collection of the laws and decrees of the Yuan Dynasty. The *Xingbu* chapter records real legal cases, in which many of the confessional statements spoken by various plaintiffs, defendants, and witnesses were recorded.

Zu (2004a) considers the *Shang/shangtou*, which indicates causality, 'as being translated from the Middle Mongolian causal postposition *tula* and the instrument case marker of adjectival verbs *-ar/-bar*'.

3.2 Using the modal particle *he* 呵 to indicate conditions

As in §3.1, in Chinese conditional sentences, prepositional conditional conjunctions, such as *ru* 如, *ruo* 若, *ruoshi* 若是, etc., have always been used. In *Yuan baihua*, however, the modal particle *he* is usually used to indicate conditions, and the position is usually at the end of the conditional clause, as in (7):

(7)　似　　这般　　有　　罪过　　的　　　歹人每
　　　si　zheban　you　zuiguo　de　　dairen-mei
　　　like　this　have　guilt　PART　bad people-PL
　　　放了　　　　呵，被害　　的　　人每，
　　　fang-le　　he　beihai　de　　ren-mei
　　　release-PART　if　be hurt　PART　people-PL
　　　冤气　　无　　处　　伸告，　　伤着　　　　和气。
　　　yuanqi　wu　chu　shengao　shang-zhe　heqi
　　　grievance　NEG　place　appeal　destroy-PART　peace
　　　'If the bad people who have guilt like this are released, the people who have been hurt have nowhere to appeal their grievance. This will destroy the peace.' (*Yuandianzhang-xingbu*)

In *Huangming Zhaoling* and *Dagao Wuchen*, we found some examples showing that the modal particle *he* can also be used to indicate causality:

(8)　今后　　　　守御　　军官每　　能　以　此　为　戒，
　　　jinhou　　shouyu　junguan-mei　neng　yi　ci　wei　jie
　　　from now on　guard　official-PL　can　take　this　be　lesson
　　　依着　　我的　言语　呵，做　都督
　　　yizhe　wode　yanyu　he　zuo　dudu
　　　follow　my　words　if　be　official name
　　　封公　　封侯　　有　　　什么　　难处！
　　　fenggong　fenghou　you　　shenme　nanchu
　　　knighted　　　there are　what　difficulty
　　　'From now on, if the officials can take this as a lesson and follow my words, there is no difficulty in becoming a *Dudu* or being knighted.' (*Huangming Zhaoling*)

He can also be used together with the Chinese prepositional conditional conjunction *ruo* and *ruoshi* to create a frame causal structure, '*ruo/ruoshi...he*', as in the following examples:

(9) 若　　还　　出征　　　　呵，　下营　　　　　　　处　　军士每
　　　<u>ruo</u>　hai　chuzheng　　<u>he</u>　xiaying　　　　　chu　junshi-mei
　　　if　　also　go for a battle　if　military camp name　place　soldier-PL
　　　荒地　　　　与　官人
　　　huangdi　yu　guanren
　　　wasteland　to　official
　　　立　　帐房、　　煮　　马料、　　切　草、　　铺铺、　　　　做饭。
　　　li　　zhangfang　zhu　maliao　　qie　cao　　pupu　　　　zuofan
　　　put up　tent　　　cook　horses'food　cut　grass　make the bed　cook
　　　'If they go to battle, the soldiers of *xiaying* should put up the tents, cook the horses' food, cut grass, make the bed, and cook for the officials in the wasteland.' (*Huangming Zhaoling*)

(10) 若是　　丈夫每　　　不　　在　家里，　他　妇人家　自　　　　去
　　　<u>ruoshi</u>　zhangfu-mei　bu　zai　jiali　ta　furenjia　zi　　　　qu
　　　if　　husband-PL　NEG　be　home　their　wives　themselves　go
　　　关　　呵，　......，　那　害人的　　仓　　　　官　　又　　斛面
　　　guan　<u>he</u>　　na　hairende　chang　　　guan　you　humian
　　　take　if　　　that　bad　　warehouse　official　again　instrument
　　　上　　打减了　　　几　　升。
　　　shang　dajian-le　　ji　　sheng
　　　on　　cut down-PART　several　litres
　　　'If the husbands are not at home, their wives go to take the salary, ..., the bad warehouse officials will cut several litres down.' (*Dagao Wuchen,* item 9)

We also found some examples where only *ruo* or *ruoshi* are used in the conditional clauses, as in (11):

(11) 若是　　懒隋　不　　用心，　　　　又　　不　　依　　法度，　便
　　　<u>ruoshi</u>　landuo　bu　yongxin　　　you　bu　yi　fadu　bian
　　　if　　lazy　NEG　deal seriously　also　NEG　obey　law　and
　　　打　罢了　做　军，　　去　边塞　　　守御。
　　　da　bale　zuo　jun　　qu　biansai　　shouyu
　　　flog　end　be　soldier　go　borderland　guard
　　　'If one is lazy and doesn't deal with it seriously, or doesn't obey the laws, flog him and banish him to be a soldier to guard the borderland.' (*Huangming Zhaoling*)

But the examples as (11) are few. Taking *Dagao Wuchen* as an example, there are 30 conditional sentences in *Dagao Wuchen*, of which 6 examples use only *he* to indicate conditions, 20 use '*ruo/ruoshi...he*', and only 4 use *ruo* or *ruoshi*.

3.3 The special position of adverbs

In Chinese, degree adverbs usually precede adjectives. In *Yuan baihua*, however, some degree adverbs precede the verbs, modifying the whole predicate, as in (12):

(12) 马每   分外   吃   得   饱。
      ma-mei   fenwai chi de   bao
      horse-PL   very   eat PART   full
      'The horses are very full.' (*Guben Lao Qida*)

This usage of the degree adverb can also be found in the vernacular imperial edicts of the early Ming Dynasty, as in (13):

(13) 印信   是   个   关防，   军职   衙门   的   更   是
      yinxin shi ge   guanfang junzhi   yamen   de   geng shi
      seal   be   CL   seal   military   government PART even   be
      紧要，   必须   十分   掌   得   仔细。
      jinyao   bixu   shifen zhang de   zixi
      important   must   very   take   PART   carefully
      'The official seal is very important. This is especially true of the military and government offices. They must be taken very carefully.'
      (*Dagao Wuchen,* item 31)

3.4 Using the postposition quotation marker *medao* 么道

Since OV is its basic word order, Mongolian always uses postpositional quotation markers when other people's words are quoted. A postpositional quotation marker *medao* emerged in *Yuan baihua*, as in (14):

(14) 杀了   呵， "他 自抹   死   也。"   么道。
      sha-le   he   ta   zimo   si   ye   medao
      kill- PART   if   he   commit suicide dead PART   quotation marker

你　　官人每　　　　根底　　　　说　　者。
ni　　*guanren-mei*　　*gendi*　　　*shuo*　*zhe*
you　official-PL　　bottom-OBJ　tell　PART

'When he was killed, you said "he committed suicide." You tell this word to the officials.' (*Yuandianzhang-xingbu*)

We also found a handful of examples in the vernacular imperial edicts of the early Ming Dynasty, as in (15):

(15)　似　　他　　这般　　害　　　　军　　　呵,
　　　si　*ta*　*zheban*　*hai*　　　*jun*　　*he*
　　　like　him　such　　persecute　soldiers　if
　　　却　　便　　似　　自家　打破　　　锅子　　要饭　吃　　么道。
　　　que　*bian*　*si*　*zijia*　*dapo*　　*guozi*　*yaofan*　*chi*　*medao*
　　　but　just　like　self　break up　pot　　beg　　eat　quotation marker
　　　'If one persecutes the soldiers like him, it is just like a saying "To break your own pot and go begging".' (*Dagao Wuchen*, preface)

3.5　Using OV word order

Different from Chinese VO order, Mongolian takes OV as its basic word order. There are some OV word order sentences in *Yuan baihua*, as in (16):

(16)　为什么　　　这般的　　歹　人　　　有?
　　　weishenme　*zhebande*　*dai*　*ren*　　*you*
　　　why　　　such　　　bad　people　there are
　　　'Why are there such bad people like this?' (*Guben Lao Qida*)

This can also be found in the vernacular imperial edicts of the early Ming Dynasty, as in (17):

(17)　军官　　不　　知　　　　受　　守御　之　　道,
　　　junguan　*bu*　*zhi*　　　*shou*　*shouyu*　*zhi*　*dao*
　　　offcials　not　understand　receive　guard　　PART　principle
　　　因此　富贵　　身家　　都　　亡了　　的　　也　　有,
　　　yinci　*fugui*　*shenjia*　*dou*　*wangle*　*de*　*ye*　*you*
　　　so　　property　life　　all　　lose　　PART　also　there is

止	亡了	身	的	也	有。
zhi	*wangle*	*shen*	*de*	*ye*	*you*
only	lose	life	PART	also	there is

'The officials who don't understand the principles of guard may lost either both lives and properties or only lives.' (*Huangming Zhaoling*)

It is difficult to distinguish these OV word order sentences from Chinese patient-topic sentences. But in (16) and (17), the main verb is 'there is/are', which is seldom used in OV word order sentence in standard Chinese.

4 The nature of the special syntactic features of the early Ming Dynasty

All of the special syntactic features of the early Ming Dynasty mentioned above are discussed in the previous articles written by linguists in which they describe *Yuan baihua*. The linguists hold that the special syntactic features emerge due to the influence of the Mongolian language. Mongolian takes OV as its basic word order. It has case markers, uses the postposition words to indicate conditions, and uses the postpositional quotation marker, etc. Chinese, however, has no corresponding syntactic categories. Instead, it uses postpositional location words or modal particles to express the related syntactic phenomena.

The nature of *Yuan baihua* has long been a subject of controversy. Some scholars argue that no later than the late Yuan Dynasty, *Yuan baihua* (also called *Han'er Yanyu* 汉儿言语[5]) had already become the common language of northern areas such as Dadu,[6] and that it had emerged from direct or indirect language contact between the Chinese and Mongolian languages (Tatsuo 1953; Zu 2009, 2011; etc.). Some scholars, after comparing different types of documents from Yuan Dynasty, have argued that *Yuan baihua* may be divided into different types. The special syntactic features were used mostly by the Mongolian rulers and those close to them. However, no documents have proven that Han commoners adopted

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5 *Han'er Yanyu* was how Ōta Tatsuo (1953) referred to the northern Chinese language which was under the influence of contact with the Altaic languages since the Medieval period. *Han'er* refers to Han Chinese from northern China or Sinicized people from the northern ethnic groups. *Han'er Yanyu* is a vernacular variety of Chinese language that is used among northern Han Chinese and other northern ethnic groups.

6 Dadu was the capital of the Yuan Dynasty, which was located at the center of modern Beijing.

the special syntactic features and used them in daily life. Therefore, the language with these special syntactic features might not be the common language of Northern China (Cao and Chen 2009, Chen 2010, etc.).

We believe that these so-called special syntactic features have distinct vernacular characteristics in the early Ming Dynasty. To meet the low literacy of most of the military officials, Chu Yuan-chang emphasized: 'This document is not written in difficult classical Chinese, so how don't you understand it? [Since] I speak in plain Chinese like so, all will understand, no matter old or young, smart or foolish. Don't break the laws and regulations again with the excuse that you don't understand the words. '

When we compare *Dagao*[7] with *Dagao Wuchen*, we can find many of the vernacular features of *Dagao Wuchen* in its specific content:

(18) a. 山西　　洪洞　　　　　县　　姚小五　　妻　　史灵芝，
       Shanxi　Hongtong　　　xian　Yao Xiaowu　qi　Shi Lingzhi
       Shanxi　name of county　county　name　　　　wife　name
       系　有　　夫　　　妇人。
       xi　you　fu　　furen
       be　have　husband　woman
       'Shi Lingzhi, the wife of Yao Xiaowu in Hongtong county of Shanxi province, is a woman with a husband.' (*Dagao*)

    b. 郑国　　　　公　　常茂，　　他　是　开平　　王
       Zhengguo　gong　Chang Mao　ta　shi　Kaiping　wang
       place name　duke　name　　　he　be　name　　king
       庶出　　　　　　的　孩儿。
       shuchu　　　　de　hai'er
       born of concubine　PART　son
       'Chang Mao, duke of Zhengguo, is the son of King Kaiping's concubine.' (*Dagao Wuchen*)

(19) a. 今　之　所　犯，　法　所　难　　留。
       jin　zhi　suo　fan　fa　suo　nan　liu
       now　PART　NOM　break　law　NOM　difficult　show mercy
       'All the laws have difficulty showing any mercy to these crimes.' (*Dagao*)

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7 *Dagao*, imperial pronouncements promulgated by Chu Yuan-chang, for all the officials.

b. 似　这等　无　理　呵，　　　怎地　不　杀　他。
　 si　*zhedeng*　*wu*　*li*　*he*　　*zendi*　*bu*　*sha*　*ta*
　 like　this　NEG　reason　modal particle　how　NEG　kill　him
　 'How can I not kill one who does bad things like this?' (*Dagao Wuchen*)

Both of the two examples in (18) are copular sentences; in *Dagao*, the copular *xi* is used, which is the typical copular in classical Chinese. In *Dagao Wuchen*, however, the copular *shi* is used, which is a typical copular in vernacular Chinese. The content of (19a) and (19b) are both admonitions warning the people not to break any law, or they will be executed. (19a) is written in classical Chinese, while (19b) is very vernacular, as though someone were warning someone else in daily life.

Cao and Yu (2014) have discussed some special syntactic features that arose due to language contact and are found in the translated Chinese Buddhist sutras during the Medieval Period (3rd–7th century) and *Yuan baihua*; they argued:

> Language change, caused by language contact, should also be divided into two levels – innovation and evolution. Innovation is the effect of language contact on the language structure of the recipient language, and there appears some heterogeneous components in the recipient language. Evolution is the part caused by the language contact which makes certain components of the source language (pronunciation, vocabulary, syntactic structure, etc.) accept the language structure. This influence is finally accepted by the recipient language, and becomes a part of the recipient language system.

If 'the influence on the language structure of the recipient language' is 'change', all the language changes that occurred due to language contact in translated Chinese Buddhist sutras from the Medieval Period and *Yuan baihua* should be regarded as 'changes'. However, if we observe these two types of changes from historical perspectives, we might see a different picture. As Cao and Yu (2014) point out, 'in the perspective of historical development, these changes were temporary, which were the branches of historical development, and disappeared soon after a brief appearance. ... Because of the synchronic and diachronic limitations for Chinese language as a whole, they are not changes, only some temporary "evolution", or more like some mistakes, ... so, in synchronic perspective, we prefer to regard these influences on recipient language as language changes due to language contact; while within the scope of diachronic development, according to the nature of inter-language and its role in the development of Chinese history, it is possible to judge whether they are inter-language mistakes or real evolution.'

The special syntactic features in vernacular imperial edicts of the early Ming Dynasty discussed above, inherited from related syntactic phenomena of *Yuan*

baihua, have very clear vernacular characteristics. These language changes can be said to be a kind of 'innovation' for *Yuan baihua*. But whether or not these 'innovations' have been accepted by Chinese after more than one hundred years of build-up awaits further consideration and study. The materials used in this article are mainly based on vernacular imperial edicts in the early Ming Dynasty. Due to limitations of length and genre, some of the syntactic phenomena may not be included. We hope to use more vernacular documents of the early Ming Dynasty in future research and gain a more comprehensive understanding of language contact in the early Ming Dynasty.

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Yunbing Li (李云兵)
The influence of language contact on word order of some minority languages in Southern China

Abstract: This paper holds the view that word order change in some minority languages in southern China is caused by language contact. Word order changes discussed in this paper include the word order of object and verb, manner adverb and verb, degree adverb and adjective, noun and noun, adjective and noun, possessive attribute and noun, demonstrative and classifier (or noun phrase), adjective and comparative standard, noun and relative clause.

Minority languages in southern China mainly include languages in the Sino-Tibetan, Austro-Asiatic and Austronesian families, among which the Tibeto-Burman languages, Kam-Tai languages, Hmong-Mien languages and Ge-Yang languages traditionally belong to the Sino-Tibetan family; the Mon-Khmer languages and Viet-Muong languages belong to the Austro-Asiatic family; and the Taiwan Austronesian languages and Huihui language in Hainan Island belong to the Austronesian family.

Among the minority languages in southern China, the Kam-Tai, Hmong-Mien, Ge-Yang, Viet-Muong, Bai and Huihui languages have been considerably influenced by Chinese. The Tibeto-Burman languages (except for the Bai language) and Taiwan Austronesian languages are influenced by Chinese dialects at different levels; however, their syntactic structures are less influenced by Chinese syntactic structures. This paper will discuss the influence of language contact on the word order of minority languages in southern China.

1 Language contact and language change

Language influence caused by language contact can be uni-directional or bi-directional. Some instances are due to the influence of the mother tongue on

the target tongue or vice-versa, while other instances are caused by their mutual influence on one another. In southern China, language influence mainly involves the impact of Chinese on minority languages.

The process by which language contact induces language influence and then language penetration is a long one. In addition, it may undergo a phase-like stage of variation. The influence of a mother tongue upon a target tongue is usually unstable. In other words, the difference between a mother tongue and a target tongue gradually decreases until they are assimilated and the stage of variation gradually disappears with further language acquisition and improvement of language proficiency. The stage of variation in which a target tongue influences a mother tongue is relatively stable. As the influence deepens, the mother tongue which has been influenced cannot revert back to its original state, and the variable state remains. The mother tongue that has experienced language variation changes into another dialect or vernacular, which is manifested as borrowing, penetration or reanalyzing of grammatical devices, grammatical categories, semantic categories and syntactic structure types. In addition, its pragmatic rules and language system change, and there may even be language mixing.

Long and significant language contact and influence tend to produce two kinds of results: language users totally shift to the target language and the mother tongue disappears, or the two languages are assimilated uni-directionally or bi-directionally in terms of their language typology. Thus, a language area is formed where the mother tongue is preserved, but actually changes into another type of langue. Grammatically, it is manifested as two or more languages sharing one or more than two grammatical system(s), with one system mixing with another one. Both of the results are caused by language contact, namely, contact-induced change (Thomason and Kaufman 1988; Thomason 2001; Heine and Kuteva 2005; Wu 2007).

2 Word order universals in modern linguistic typology

The study of word order universals aims to deduce common features and implied common features of human language based on language sample statistics. According to the statistics and analyses of Greenberg's 30 language samples (Greenberg 1963), Hawkins' 100 language samples (Hawkins 1983) and Dryer's 940 language samples (Dryer 1991), most of the world's languages have the following basic word orders: SVO, SOV, VSO, VOS, OSV, and OVS. According to

the similarity principle, the order of object and verb in the above languages is VO and OV, and VO languages tend to apply prepositions while OV languages tend to apply postpositions. Some word order universals in OV and VO languages are shown as follows:

VO languages	OV languages
O+V	V+O
Madv+V	V+Madv
Dadv+ADJ	ADJ+Dadv
G+N	N+G
ADJ+N	N+ADJ
DEM+N/NP	N/NP+DEM
St+m+ADJ	ADJ+m+St
REL+N	N+REL

The above universals are not absolute, because there are exceptions when making individual and cross-language comparisons. Because of these exceptions, many linguists try to explain these basic word order patterns from different views, such as views based on syntax, semantics, linear sequence, and diachronic grammaticalization. These explanations are all based on the internal structure of language and play an important role in understanding word order change in a language. However, whether or not these explanations are effective requires further study. Southern China is a special area where multiple minority groups live together, interact extensively, and have a long history of language contact and profound mutual language influence. To study typology features in this area, one needs all the more to study reasons for word order changes. New explorations of and attempts in methodology are necessary in order to explain language universals in this area. Therefore, in addition to considering internal linguistic factors, language contact must also be considered.

3 The influence of language contact on word orders

In southern China, Chinese and minority languages have been continuously interacting since the Qin Dynasty, after which Chinese has been the dominant language. Chinese has always influenced minority languages more than the other way around. Over two millennia of language contact and language influence, some minority languages have borrowed a large amount of Chinese vocabulary together with some Chinese syntactic structures and word orders.

The basic word orders of languages in southern China mainly include SVO, SOV, and VSO. SVO word order is found in Chinese, Kam-Tai, Hmong-Mien, Ge-Yang, Mon-Khmer, Viet-Muong, the Bai language and Karen of Tibeto-Burman and Huihui language in Austronesian; SOV is found in Tibeto-Burman languages (except for Bai and Karen); and VSO is found in Taiwan Austronesian languages.

3.1 Language contact and basic word orders of southern minority languages

Only recently was it discovered that the Bai language of Tibeto-Burman and Huihui language in Austronesian languages have gone through profound word order change. Language contact between Bai and Chinese has lasted at least 1,200 years and can be dated back to the Nanzhao period of the Tang Dynasty. Language contact between Huihui and Chinese has occurred at least since the Song Dynasty (1,000 years ago). Under long-term language contact with and influence from Chinese, the basic word order of Bai has changed from SOV to SVO, while the basic word order of Huihui has changed from VSO to SVO. For example:

Bai Language	ŋɔ³³ji²¹	pɯ³³ n̠i²¹.	'I find that person.'
	1st find that one		
Huihui Language	thai¹¹mai³³	za:u³³ ʔa:u¹¹.	'Younger sister washes the
	younger sister	wash clothe	clothes.'

As far as Bai is concerned, its word order remains consistent with most Tibeto-Burman languages apart from some significant changes in its basic word order and word order typology of its comparative sentences. As for Huihui, it has retained a large number of cognates found in Austronesian languages, while its phonetics and grammar have experienced fundamental change and are the same as that of Cantonese and even the Li and Lingao languages of Kam-Tai.

3.2 Language contact and word order of manner adverbs

The basic word order of manner adverb (Madv) and verb in Tibeto-Burman is Madv+V, which conforms to the universals of word order statistics. In Chinese,

the word order of Madv and verb should be V+Madv, but in fact it is expressed as Madv+V. In Kam-Tai, Hmong-Mien, Ge-Yang, Mon-Khmer and Viet-Muong, the word order of Madv and verb also should be V+Madv; however, some languages keep V+Madv, and quite a few others remain as Madv+V, which is consistent with Chinese.

Only a few languages in Kam-Tai follow the V+Madv word order. For example:

Dai Language	het^8 tsi^{5}nan^4	'do like that'	kɯt^8 sɯ^{5}hɯ^2	'how think'
	do like that		think how	
Maonan Language	sot^7 ja:i^6	'speak like this'	vɛ^{4}jau^1	'how to do'
	speak like this		do how	
Li Language	tha:i^3 doŋ^{1}ra^3	'how to write'	vu:k^7 doŋ^{1}nei^2	'do like this'
	write how		do like this	

Under the influence of Chinese, the word order of most languages in Kam-Tai has changed to Madv+V. For example:

Zhuang	pan^{2}laɯ^2 sa:n^1	'how to weave'	pan^{2}nei^4 ɣam^3	'like this chop'
Language	how weave		like this chop	
Shui	he^{4}nau^2 tjoŋ^6	'how to bring	nau^2 he^4	'how to do'
Language	do how bring up	up'	how do	

Within the Kam-Tai languages, only Dai in Xishuangbanna, Maonan and Li follow Mad+V, while the others all follow V+Madv, which is fairly consistent with that of the Chinese and Tibeto-Burmese languages. The distribution of Kam-Tai and Tibeto-Burman is different, however; they have experienced language contact with Chinese for thousands of years, so it is safe to assume that the change of word order in Kam-Tai is the result of Chinese influence.

Chinese influence on the word order change between manner adverb and verb in Kam-Tai can be seen from changes in the Mak language, namely, V+Madv→V+Madv+V→V+Madv. For example:

Mak Language	vi^4 thaŋ^{5}na:i^6 → vi^4 thaŋ^{5}na:i^6 vi^4 → thaŋ^{5}na:i^6 vi^4	'do like this'
	do like this do like this do like this do	

Only a few dialects of Hmong within the Hmong-Mien languages follow V+Madv, and a majority of languages or dialects follow Madv+V, which is also influenced by Chinese. For example:

Hmong Language	gey^{31} li^{33}dʑaɯ^{33}	'how to read'
	read how	
	sau^{33} li^{33}vɦai^{35}	'write like that'
	write like that	
Bunu Language	ɦiau^{221}tau^{221} vaŋ^{221}	'how to say'
	how say	
	ɦiau^{221}ɔŋ^{33} θu^{221}	'do like that'
	like that do	
Mien Language	hai^{24}jɛn^{42} wəi^{24}	'how to do'
	how do	
	wə^{35}hau^{24} hup^{44}	'drink like that'
	like that drink	

Manner adverbs in Ge-Yang follow Mad+V. For example:

Gelao Language	sɑ^{55}tsɑŋ^{13} ʐu^{21}	'how to say'	sɑ^{55}tsɑŋ^{13} thɑ^{55}	'how to do'
	how say		how do	
Lathi Language	tje^{35}ȵe^{44} tje^{35}	'do like this'	tje^{35}na^{44} hje^{55}	'how to say'
	like this do		how say	

Within the Mon-Khmer and Viet-Muong languages, the majority of languages follow Madv+V, some languages follow both Madv+V and V +Madv, and some only follow Madv+V. For example:

Wa Language	gaɯ lai ʐuh na̱ n	'study like that'
	study like that	
	diak ʐuh ka̱ h mɔ̱ ʔ	'how to fry'
	fry how	
Jing Language	nɔi^{45} la:m^{22}tha:u^{33}	'how to say'
	say how	
	kat^{45} la:m^{22}tha:u^{33}	'how to clip'
	clip how	
Lai Language	tsi^{31} van^{31}ni^{55}	'do like this'
	do like this	
	li^{33} və^{41}ndɯ^{55}	'say like that'
	say like that	
	van^{31}ni^{55} tsi^{31}	'do like this'
	like this do	
	və^{41}ndɯ^{55} li^{33}	'say like that'
	like that say	

Bugeng Language ɣɯ³¹nei⁴⁴ n̩o u⁴⁴   'do like this'
                 like this do
                 ɣɯ ³¹lo²⁴   pjo²⁴   'say like that'
                 like that say

Lai is an endangered language, and its word order of manner adverb and verb is Madv+V and V +Madv and in a critical transformation state. Bugeng is also an endangered language, and its word order of manner adverb and verb has changed from V +Madv to Madv+V.

The word order of manner adverb and verb in Taiwan Austronesian languages is Mad+V. For example:

Amis Language   mana tʃa katajra   'how not to go'
                 how   not go
                 mana tajni   'how to come'
                 how   come
Bunun Language   pauntin makaðkað   'do like this'
                 like this do
                 pauntan mapataʃ   'say like that'
                 like that say

The above word order is inconsistent with the statistics of linguistic universals; whether or not it is influenced by Chinese needs further study.

3.3 Language contact and the word order of degree adverbs

According to the statistics of word order universals, the order of degree adverb (Dadv) and adjective (ADJ) in SVO languages is ADJ+Dadv. The order in Chinese should be ADJ+Dadv, but in actuality it is Dadv+ADJ. Kam-Tai, Hmong-Mien, Ge-Yang, Mon-Khmer and Viet-Muong follow the same word order as Chinese, namely, Dadv+ADJ.

The majority of Kam-Tai languages employ ADJ+Dadv, while a few employ Dadv+ADJ. For example:

Dai Language   vaːn¹ tɛ⁴   'very sweet' hɔn⁴ tɛ⁴   'very hot'
                 sweet very   hot very
Lajia Language   khjaːŋ¹ aːk⁷ 'very high' tsɛːt⁷ aːk⁷ 'very ache'
                 high   very   ache very

Buyi Language	xɯn⁶ di¹	'very good'	xɯn⁶ sa:ŋ¹	'very tall'
	very good		very tall	
Kam Language	hən⁴ ka:i¹	'very far'	hən⁴ ni⁵	'very small'
	very far		very small	

It can be seen from the examples that all the languages with the word order of Dadv+ADJ, like Buyi, Kam and so on, have borrowed degree adverbs from different Chinese dialects. This indicates that they are the result of Chinese influence.

The majority of Hmong-Mien languages follow ADJ+Dadv, and their degree adverbs are normally native words. For example:

Hmong Language	ʂɑŋ⁵³ thɯ³⁵	'extremely quick'
	quick extremely	
	n̺tɕha⁵³ hen⁵³	'very dread'
	dread very	
Jiongnai Language	ʐoŋ³³ vaŋ³³	'very beautiful'
	beautiful very	
	ŋkheŋ⁴⁴ vaŋ⁴⁴	'very high'
	high very	
Mien Language	njɛn³⁵ n̥ ən³⁵	'very much'
	much very	
	nai⁴² n̥ ən³⁵	'very long time'
	long time very	

Some languages in Hmong-Mien follow Dadv+ADJ, among which most of the degree adverbs are loanwords from Chinese. For example:

Baheng Language	hẽ ⁵³ tɕiɣ⁴⁴	'very red'	sɔ̃ ⁵⁵ ljo³⁵	'the biggest'
	very red		most big	
She Language	khje⁴² ha²²	'extremely dread'	tsji⁵³ khuŋ⁴²	'the fattiest'
	extremely dread		most fat	
Mien Language	hən⁵³ɬɔŋ³⁵	'very cold'	tsui²⁴lɔŋ²⁴	'the best'
	very cold		most good	

Some Ge-Yang languages follow ADJ+Dadv. For example:

Gelao Language	ɛ¹³ hen⁵⁵	'very much'	ʋ³³ ŋkɑu²¹	'extremely good'
	much very		good extremely	
Lathi Language	a⁴⁴ qei⁴⁴ vua³⁵	'very hot'	a⁴⁴ ljua³¹ vua³⁵	'very deep'
	prefix hot very		prefix deep very	

And some other Ge-Yang languages follow Dadv+ADJ, and their degree adverbs are loanwords from Southwest Mandarin Chinese. For example:

Mulao	xai³¹ ŋo³³ ei²⁴	'very good'	xai³¹ ŋo³³ ty²⁴	'very hot'
Language	very prefix good		very prefix hot	
Buyang	hən⁵³ ɛt⁵³	'very small'	hən⁵³ maːt⁴³	'very new'
Language	very small		very new	
Pubiao	tin⁵³ khən⁴⁴	'very high'	lau³³ɕi³¹ ɳin⁴⁴	'very fat'
Language	toply high		frankly fat	

Some languages in Mon-Khmer and Viet-Muong languages follow ADJ+Dadv. For example:

De'ang Language	doŋ lut	'extremely long'
	long extremely	
	khrɛŋ tɤ	'the hardest'
	hard most	
Jing Language	naŋ¹¹ kwa⁴⁵	'excessively heavy'
	heavy excessively	
	thəːm³³ ɳat⁴⁵	'the most fragrant'
	fragrant most	

However, some languages in Mon-Khmer and Viet-Muong follow Dadv+ ADJ. Their degree adverbs are related to those of the Kam-Tai languages instead of being borrowings from Chinese, and a new word order forms via Kam-Tai under the indirect influence of Chinese. For example:

Bulang Language	tɕat³³ kaʔ²¹ qhak³⁵	'very red'	tɕat³³ kaʔ²¹ ʑuŋ³⁵	'very light'
	very prefix red		very prefix light	
Khmu Language	dʑat haʔ	'very hot'	dʑat vah	'very wide'
	very hot		very wide	

Some Taiwan Austronesian languages follow ADJ+Dadv. For example:

Paiwan Language	matsam arava	'very peppery'	laləqəɭ arava	'very cold'
	peppery very		cold very	
Seediq Language	naqah rioŋ	'very bad'	ego rioŋ	'very much'
	bad very		much very	

And there are still some Taiwan Austronesian languages that follow Dadv+ADJ. Whether this is the result of language influence is still inconclusive. For example:

Amis Language	ʃa	maltiəŋaj	'the oldest'		
	most	old			
	ʃa	makapahaj	'the most beautiful'		
	most	beautiful			
Bunong Language	maʃtan	madavuʃ	'fairly sweet'		
	fairly	sweet			
	maʃtan	maɬauʃkav	'fairly tall'		
	fairly	tall			

3.4 Language contact and the word order of head nouns

Statistics show that when a noun (N) modifies another noun, the head noun (N $_{(head)}$) precedes the noun modifier, namely, N $_{(head)}$ + N. It word order in Chinese should be N $_{(head)}$ + N, but it is generally N+ N $_{(head)}$. Some languages in Kam-Tai, Hmong-Mien, Ge-Yang, Mon-Khmer and Viet-Muong follow N $_{(head)}$ + N, while some follow N+ N $_{(head)}$.

A majority of Kam-Tai languages follow N $_{(head)}$ + N. For example:

Zhuang Language	no⁶	vaːi²	'beef'	kjau³	mau¹	'pig head'
	meat	cattle		head	pig	
Maonan Language	ŋaːu¹	kwi²	'buffalo horn'	naːn⁴	mu⁵	'pork'
	horn	buffalo		meat	pig	

However, under the influence of Chinese, the word order of nouns in a few Kam-Tai languages follows N+ N $_{(head)}$. For example:

Zhuang Dialect	kai⁵	pun¹	'chicken feather'	waːi²	kau¹	'buffalo horn'
	chicken	feather		buffalo	horn	
Biao Language	kaːi⁵	jaŋ²	'chicken feather'	wa²	kɔːk⁹	'buffalo horn'
	chicken	feather		buffalo	horn	

Some Hmong-Mien languages follow N $_{(head)}$ + N. For example:

Hmong Language	ɴqai³¹mpua⁴⁴	'pork'	ko⁴³	ȵo³¹		'cattle horn'
	meat pig		horn	cattle		
Bunu Language	ŋka¹³ mpai⁴¹	'pork'	kjuŋ³³ȵuŋ¹³			'cattle horn'
	meat pig		horn cattle			
Baheng Language	ɴqɦɛ³³mpe⁵⁵	'pork'	tɦɤ³³qɔ̃³⁵	ŋɦ³³	the	'cattle horn'
	meat pig		CL	horn	cattle	

Some Hmong-Mien languages have shifted to N+ N $_{(head)}$ due to long-term influence from Chinese. For example:

Jiongnai Language	mpe³⁵ ŋkai³³	'pork'	ȵɔ³³ kjaŋ⁴⁴	'cattle horn'
	pig meat		cattle horn	
She Language	pui³¹ kwei⁵³	'pork'	njɔ⁵³ kaŋ²²	'cattle horn'
	pig meat		cattle horn	
Mien Language	tuŋ²³¹ɔ⁵²	'pork'	ŋoŋ³¹ tɕoːŋ³³	'cattle horn'
	pig meat		cattle horn	

A majority of Ge-Yang languages follow N $_{(head)}$+N. For example:

Gelao	ʔlei³¹ gɯ³¹	'thatched	pan³¹ ȵi³¹	'cattle pen'
Language	house couch grass	cottage'	pen cattle	
Mulao	xa²⁴ ȵa³¹	'thatched	xa²⁴ ȵa³¹	'cattle pen'
Language	house couch grass	cottage'	pen cattle	
Lathi	kho⁵⁵ qo⁵⁵	'thatched	a⁴⁴ luaŋ⁵⁵qua⁵⁵	'cattle pen'
Language	house couch grass	cottage'	prefix pen cattle	

However, due to Chinese influence, N+ N $_{(head),}$ and N $_{(head)}$ +N also coexist in some Ge-Yang languages. For example:

Gelao Language	zɤu³³mpɑu⁵⁵	'earlobe'	lɤ¹³ sɑŋ³³	'hair'
	ear mallet		head hair	
Mulao Language	ȵa³¹ xau³¹	'cattle horn'	naŋ²⁴ u³³	'dog meat'
	cattle horn		dog meat	

3.5 Language contact and the word order of adjectives

Word order universals show that the word order of adjectives and nouns in SVO languages is N+ADJ. Chinese generally follows ADJ+N, and languages in Kam-Tai, Hmong-Mien, Ge-Yang, Mon-Khmer and Viet-Muong basically follow N+ADJ, while some follow ADJ+N.

The majority of Kam-Tai languages follows N+ADJ. For example:

Zhuang Language	fai⁴ huŋ¹	'big tree'	saɯ¹ mo⁵	'new book'
	tree big		book new	
Kam Language	jaːn² məi⁵ʹ	'new house'	nam⁴ luʹ	'clear water'
	house new		water clear	

Li Language	ploŋ³ pa:n¹	'new house'	pa¹ lo:k⁷	'black dog'
	house new		dog black	
Biao Language	tan³ jau⁵	'new clothes'	ki⁴ muk⁷	'black pig'
	clothes new		pig black	

But the Biao language, due to a great influence from Cantonese because of long-standing language contact, shows the same tendency as Chinese with regards to word order type, and has N+ ADJ and ADJ+N coexisting. For example:

Biao Language	fa³ mu³	'spotted dog'	mu³ fa³	'spotted dog'
	dog flower		flower dog	

Hmong-Mien languages basically follow N+ ADJ. For example:

Hmong Language	tl̥ ei³¹ ko⁴³	'hot water'	ntou⁴³ la⁴³	'red fabric'
	water hot		fabric red	
Bunu Language	aŋ³³ khuŋ⁴⁴	'hot water'	nta³³ ləŋ³³	'red cloth'
	water hot		cloth red	
Jiongnai Language	uaŋ⁴⁴ khjaŋ⁴⁴	'hot water'	nte⁴⁴ θi³⁵	'red cloth'
	water hot		cloth red	
She Language	ɔŋ⁵³ khaŋ²²	'hot water'	te²² sji³¹	'red cloth'
	water hot		cloth red	
Mien Language	wam³³ tɕo:m³³	'hot water'	dje³³ si⁵⁵	'red cloth'
	water hot		cloth red	

However, for languages that are strongly influenced by Chinese, N+ADJ and ADJ+N coexist due to the fact that the order of N+ADJ once shifted to ADJ+N and was co-used with ADJ+N. For example:

She Language	tsu³¹ kjɔ²²	'white rice'	kjɔ²² tsu³¹	'white rice'
	rice white		white rice	

Due to long-term language contact with the Hakka dialect, the She language shares the same word order as Chinese. This is the result of language contact and influence. Adjectives in Younuo follow ADJ+N, which Pinghua (a dialect of Chinese) also follows; this is also due to their long-term language contact. For example:

Younuo Language	khuŋ³³ ŋ³³	'hot water'	tshun³⁵nɔ³³	'red cloth'
	hot water		red cloth	

Ge-Yang languages basically follow N+ADJ. For example:

Gelao Language	ʔlei³¹ mi³¹	'new house'	ŋo⁵³ pla³¹die³⁵	'red flower'
	house new		flower red	
Mulao Language	le²⁴ xa²⁴ mi⁵¹	'the new house'	ŋo³³ zau⁵³	'red flower'
	CL house new		flower red	
Lathi Language	kho⁵⁵ mu³⁵	'new house'	mjo³¹ tjo⁴⁴	'red flower'
	house new		flower red	
Pubiao Language	n̥hiŋ⁵³ ʐuŋ³³	'new house'	tai⁵³ liu²¹⁴	'large tree'
	house new		tree large	

Due to the borrowing of some structural particles from Southeast Mandarin Chinese, the order of adjectives and nouns in Ge-Yang languages has changed to ADJ+N. For example:

Gelao Language	tɕɯ²¹ li³³ mpɑ³³	'thin pig'
	thin Aux pig	
	liɒ²¹ li³³ qen³³	'slippery road'
	slippery Aux road	
Mulao language	ɣa⁵³ ti³³ tɕy³¹	'long rope'
	long Aux rope	
	zau³¹ ti³³ ve⁵³	'red fruit'
	red Aux fruit	

The above changes have caused some languages to follow ADJ+N even if structural particles are not applied in these languages. For example:

Gelao Lanuage	pei²¹ tɕhi⁵⁵	'double-dealing person'
	fake person	
	sɑu⁵⁵ lɯ⁵⁵	'hardhearted'
	bad heart	
Mulao Language	n̥e⁵³ naŋ²⁴	'yellow dog'
	yellow dog	
	ei²⁴ ɣo⁵³	'good person'
	good person	

3.6 Language contact and the order of genitives

For SOV languages, the universal for genitive word order is G+N. This is the case for Tibeto-Burman languages and consistent with the statistics of word order

universals. The word order universals of SVO languages is N+G, but Chinese follows G+N; Kam-Tai, Hmong-Mien, Ge-Yang should be N+G, but in fact many of them follow G+N.

A majority of Kam-Tai languages follow N+G. For example:

Zhuang Language   an¹ɣaːn² po⁶luŋ²   'old uncle's house'
                  house   old uncle
                  pu⁶   plaɯ²   'whose clothes'
                  clothes who
Kam Language   nəŋ⁴   jaːu²   'my younger brother'
                  brother I
                  nan¹ maːu⁶   'his that one'
                  one he
Li Language   ka³   hou¹   'my knife'
                  knife I
                  daŋ¹ hou¹   'my face'
                  face   I

However, a few languages in Kam-Tai follow G+N. For example:

Lajia Language   ta²lak⁸ kjai³kjei¹   'my younger brother'
                 I   younger brother
                 tsi¹tie² ka⁴ lai⁶   'the thing of myself'
                 I self   Aux thing
                 ma² seu¹   'your book'
                 you book
                 ŋuːi² ka⁴ lieːk⁸   'uncle's house'
                 uncle Aux house
Biao Language   tsia¹ ȵan⁶ȵa⁵   'my younger brother'
                 I   younger brother
                 lan²   kɛ⁶ haŋ⁶ȵa²   'others' stuff'
                 others Aux stuff
                 a¹tsɔ³   ken⁵ løk¹⁰   'old uncle's house'
                 old uncle CL   house
                 tsan² kɛ⁶ tan³   hu⁵   'whose clothes'
                 who Aux clothes trousers

The genitive structures in Lajia and Biao follow G+N regardless of whether or not there are borrowed structural particles; this shows that the word order of genitives in Lajia and Biao is influenced by Chinese.

Another type of word order also exists; that is, when Chinese structural particles are borrowed in a language, the word order follows G+N. However, when there are no structural particles, the order follows N+G, which illustrates the fact that the G+N word order results from Chinese influence. For example:

Limkou Language bɔi^3 mə^2 'your old sister'
old sister you
hau^2 kə^3 lan^2 'my house'
I Aux house
vɔ^3 hau^{2}lo^4 'our village'
village we
kə^3 kə^3 jua^3 'his clothes'
he Aux clothes

Cun Language kɯn^1 bɛk^{2}dɛ^1 'old uncle's house'
house old uncle
dɛ^1 ki^1 na^5 'his father'
father Aux he
naːu^1 na^5 'his cattle'
cattle he
an^5 di^2 vɛŋ^4 'whose clothes'
who Aux clothes

All Hmong-Mien languages follow G+N. For example:

Hmong Language ko^{55} ni^{44} khou^{44} 'my shoes'
I Aux shoe
la^{13} ni^{44} tsa^{31} 'others' money'
others Aux money

Bunu Lanuage tu^{13} tuŋ^{44} 'old brother's child'
old brother child
tɕuŋ^{43}mɔ^{232} 'my horse'
I horse

Mien Language je^{33} pjau^{52} 'my home'
I home
mwei^{21}jou^{231} 'your younger brother'
you younger brother

The Ge-Yang languages follow N+G. For example:

Gelao Language ʔlei^{31} ei^{55} 'my home' a^{55}ba^{33} ei^{55} 'my father'
home I father I

Mulao Language xa^{24} zə^{53} 'my home'   pə^{33} zə^{53} 'my father'
home I   father I

Pubiao Language ɕɯ^{53} kɯ^{53} 'his book'   pje^{214} kau^{53} 'my father'
book he   father I

However, with the borrowing of structural particles from Southeast Mandarin Chinese, genitive attributes in some languages precede the noun, and the word order thus have changed changes to G+N. For example:

Gelao Language phɒ^{55} li^{33} tshei^{55} 'father's money'
father Aux money
zə^{21} li^{33} mpə^{21} tsɑu^{33} 'the paddy of the field'
field Aux food paddy

Mulao Language mo^{31} ʨi^{33} lai^{53} la^{33} 'your child'
you Aux CL child
zə^{53} ʨi^{33} le^{53} lu^{31} 'my clothes'
I Aux CL clothes

3.7 Language contact and the word order of demonstratives

According to the statistics, demonstratives (DEM) in SOV languages are prepositional, whereas in SVO languages they are postpositional. Chinese demonstratives are prepositional. For many languages in Kam-Tai, Hmong-Mien, Ge-Yang, Mon-khmer and Viet-Muong, demonstratives are postpositional. However, they are prepositional in a few languages.

Demonstratives in most Kam-Tai languages are postpositional. For example:

Zhuang Language so:ŋ^{1} dak^{7} mou^{1} nei^{4} 'this two pigs'
two CL pig this
θa:m^{1} pau^{1} vun^{2} han^{4} 'that three persons'
three CL person that

Kam Language tu^{2} kwe^{2} na:i^{6} 'this buffalo'
CL buffalo this
ja^{2} oŋ^{1} məi^{4} ʨa^{5} 'that two trees'
two CL tree that

Shui Language ɣa^{2} la:k^{8} tsa^{5} 'that two children'
two child that
ɣa^{2} to^{2} ni^{4} fa^{2} na:i^{6} 'this two female goats'
two CL female goat this

Yanghuang Language   to² məm⁶ na:i⁶   'this fish'
                     CL fish   this
                     to² ka:i⁵   tsa⁵   'that chicken'
                     CL chicken that

However, demonstratives in some languages can be both prepositional and post-positional, as induced by language contact and influence. For example:

Li Language   nei² ɬau³khɯːŋ²   'this two (trees)'
              this two CL
              ɬau³khɯːŋ² nei²   'this two (trees)'
              two CL   this

For languages more deeply influenced by Chinese, their demonstratives are all postpositional due to their language contact and influence. For example:

Cun Language   hɛi³ lət⁵ na:u¹   'this cattle'   hɔ⁵ dan⁵ nam³kai⁴ 'that river'
               this CL cattle   that CL   river

Demonstratives in most Hmong-Mien languages are postpositional. For example:

Hmong Language   lo⁴³tʂhau⁴⁴ na⁵⁵   'this clothes'
                    CL clothes this
                    pei⁴³ lo⁴³nti²⁴ i⁵⁵   'that three bowls'
                    three CL bowl that
Bunu language   ȵtɕo²¹shi⁴¹   nɔŋ⁴³   'this clothes'
                    CL   clothes this
                    pe³³ luŋ³³ pe⁵⁴ uŋ³³   'that three bowls'
                    three CL bowl that
Jiongnai Language   ðaŋ³¹ au⁵³   ne⁵³   'this clothes'
                    CL   clothes this
                    pa⁴⁴ laŋ⁴⁴ xoŋ⁴⁴ mi⁴⁴ 'that three bowls'
                    three CL   bowl that

However, due to long-term language contact and influence, demonstratives in a few languages have become postpositional. For example:

Baheng Language   ŋ³¹ qɛ⁵³ ɤ³¹   'this clothes'
                  this CL clothes
                  ŋ⁵⁵ pɤ³⁵ lã³⁵ a⁴⁴tɛ³¹ 'that three bowls'
                  that three CL bowl

She Language	ne³³ tha⁵³ ɔ³³	'this clothes'
	this CL clothes	
	ɣ³³ pa³³ naŋ²² fuŋ²²	'that three bowls'
	that three CL bowls	
Mien Language	na³⁵ phin³⁵ lwəi³³	'this clothes'
	this CL clothes	
	wə³⁵ pau³³ ʈa⁵³ wan³⁵	'that three bowls'
	that three CL bowls	

The demonstratives in most Mon-Khmer and Viet-Muong languages are postpositional. For example:

Wa Language	ra̱ ŋaiˀ ʔi̱n	'this two days'
	two day this	
	phua̱n pla̱h ʔa̱n	'that five pieces'
	five piece that	
Khmu Language	sɯaŋ rḁi nai	'those pig'
	pig CL those	
	trak r̥ai gi	'these buffalo'
	buffalo CL these	
De'ang Language	ple luˀ ʔɯ	'this fruit'
	fruit CL this	
	lɛˀ tʊ ʔɯ	'this pig'
	pig CL this	
Jing Language	kɔn³³ ŋɯəi²² kiə³³	'that person'
	CL person that	
	kɔn³³ ɣa²² nai²²	'this chicken'
	CL chicken this	
Lai Language	mbja:k n̥ɔ³³ ndɯ⁵⁵	'that house'
	CL house that	
	laŋ¹³ sau⁵⁵ ni⁵⁵	'this three'
	CL tree this	

However, demonstratives for those languages that are significantly influenced by Chinese can be prepositional or postpositional. They are in a critical state, and some of them have already moved to precede nominal phrases. For example:

Bugeng Language	mbi^{44} nei^{44}	'this (dog)'
	CL this	
	mbi^{44} lo^{24}	'that (cat)'
	CL that	
	nei^{44} mbo^{44}	'this (peach)'
	this CL	
	lo^{24} mbo^{44}	'that (pear)'
	that CL	
Kkemet Language	e^{35} au^{31} mɔ^{31}	'this three (peach)'
	this three CL	
	ɛ^{35} ɕɛn^{55} mɔ^{31}	'that five (pears)'
	that five CL	
Busing Language	ʔɤ liu tɤ̌k	'these grasses'
	these CL grass	
	ʔoŋ liu tʃi lěk	'those pigs'
	those CL pig	

3.8 Language contact and the word order of comparative sentences

The comparative sentence is one type of comparative construction, which includes subject attribute, adjective property, comparative standard (St) and marker (m). Subject attribute generally plays the role of subject or topic (T) in typical comparative sentences.

Comparative sentences in Chinese are fairly complex, and their word order is ADJ+m+St as in the dialects of Yue, Min, Hakka, the Northern Mandarin of the Jiaodong area of Shangdong, south-west area of Shangdong, and northern Hengtai area of Shangdong, and the Jianghuai Mandarin of the Huangxiao area of Hubei. There are many examples of ADJ+m+St in Old and Middle Chinese documents. However, with the development of the Chinese preposition "*bi*比", the order of comparative sentences in Mandarin-speaking areas has changed to m+St+ADJ from ADJ+m+St since the Yuan, Ming and Qing dynasties. In modern Mandarin speaking areas, the order of m+St+ADJ is preserved in most areas and the order of ADJ+m+St is only preserved in a minority of areas. Similarly, in written form, m+St+ADJ is used in most cases and ADJ+m+St is only used in rather formal written languages. According to the statistics of word order universals, comparative sentences in Tibeto-Burma languages follow St+m+ADJ, and those in Kam-Tai, Hmong-Mien, Ge-Yang, Austro-Asiatic languages and Taiwan Austronesian languages follow ADJ+m+St.

Comparative sentences in the Tibeto-Burman languages mainly follow St+m+ADJ, and the comparative standard is marked by obvious accusative markers in many languages. Although the word order of these languages is relatively flexible, the order of St+m+ADJ is not affected. The order of comparative sentences is changed in a few languages due to their long-term language contact with Chinese and the borrowing of the Chinese comparative marker "*bi*比". This change can be paradigmatically seen in the Bai language:

Jianchuan Bai Language	ŋɯ^{55}mo^{33} tse^{44} pi^{31}ŋɯ^{55}ti^{55} jo^{44}ɣo^{13}.
	my mother still m my father enthusiasm
	'My mother is more enthusiastic than my father.'
Zhaozhuang Bai Language	pɯ^{55} the^{44} pi^{33} pɔ^{33} ka^{35}.
	his younger brother m he tall
	'His younger brother is taller than he is.'

Comparative sentences in the Kam-Tai languages should follow ADJ+m+St, and some of them actually have kept this order. For example:

Dai Language	van^{2}ni^{78} hɔn^4 lə^1 van^{2}sɯn^2.
	today hot m the day before yesterday
	'Today is hotter than the day before yesterday.'
Li Language	ri:n^3 na^1 ɬeɲ^{1}mɯ:n^1 dua^3 kɯ^3 meɯ^1.
	skirt she beautiful m Aux you
	'Her skirt is more beautiful than yours.'

A large number of Kam-Tai languages follow both ADJ+m+St and m+St+ADJ, and the preposition "*bi*比" in different Chinese dialects is borrowed as a comparative marker in the structure of m+St+ADJ. This is obviously the result of Chinese influence. For example:

Zhuang	pou^4 nei^4 sa:ŋ^1 kva^5 pou^4 han^4. (ADJ+m+St)
Language	CL this tall m CL that
	'This person is taller than that one.'
	va:i^2 tak^8 ɕai^1 na^2 pei^3 va:i^2 me^6 va:i^5. (m+St+ ADJ)
	cattle male plough field m cattle female fast
	'The bull ploughing the field is faster than bossy.'
Kam	oŋ^1 məi^4 na:i^6 pha:ŋ$^{1'}$ ta^6 oŋ^1 ʈa^5. (ADJ+m+St)
Language	CL tree this high m CL that
	'This tree is higher than that one.'

ma:u⁶ pi³ n̠a² jan̠³′. (m+St+ ADJ)

he   m you strong

'He is stronger than you.'

For languages heavily influenced by Chinese, their comparative markers are all loanwords from different Chinese dialects, and the word order of their comparative sentences is m+St+ADJ. For example:

Biao Language   tsia¹ kɛ⁶ pi¹ man² kɛ⁶ lɛ¹.

I   Aux m he   Aux good

'Mine is better than her.'

Cun Language   mɔ³ bɛi³ na⁵ mɛi.

you m   he tall

'You is taller than he is.'

Comparative sentences in Hmong-Mien languages should also be ADJ+m+St; however, a few languages follow both ADJ+m+St and m+St+ADJ, and the marker "*bi*比" in the latter structure is borrowed from Southwest Mandarin Chinese. For example:

Hmong Language   tsɛ³⁵   ŋi¹¹ɤ⁴⁴   ɕhaŋ⁴⁴ tsɛ³⁵   qɛ³³.

house tile good m   house twitch-grass

'Tile-roofed houses are better than thatched houses.'

nen⁵⁵ pi⁵⁵ vi¹¹ xhi³³.

he   m I tall

'He is taller than me.'

A majority of Hmong-Mien languages follow the pattern of m+St+ADJ, and their comparative markers are all the Chinese loanword "*bi*比". For example:

Younuo Language   vɔ²² pi²² naŋ²² ljou³³, naŋ²² pi²² ŋ¹³ l̥e³⁵.

I m he   old   he m   you young

'I am older than him, and he is younger than you.'

She Language   ɤ³³ ka²² tɔŋ³¹ pji³¹ ne³³ ka²² tɔŋ³¹ hin²².

that CL tree m this CL   tree high

'That tree is higher than this one.'

Mien Language   na³⁵ t̠wai³⁵ pjaŋ³¹   pəi³⁵ wə³⁵ t̠wai³⁵ pjaŋ³¹   ka⁴²mə⁴².

this CL   flower m   that CL   flower beautiful

'This flower is more beautiful than that one.'

Theoretically, comparative sentences in Ge-Yang languages should follow ADJ+m+St, but in fact, only Lathi and Buyang have kept this pattern. For example:

Lathi Language   se^{31} lo^{44} quŋ^{35} vua^{35} se^{31} li^{35}ŋo^{44}.
                  tail rabbit short m   tail cat
                  'The rabbit's tail is shorter than the cat's.'
Buyang Language   van^{54}ni^{11} qa^{0}ʔbot^{11} ma^{24} van^{54}nɛ^{11}.
                  today   cold   m   yesterday
                  'Today is colder than yesterday was.'

However, with the loanword of "*bi* 比" from Southwest Mandarin Chinese, certain comparative sentences in Buyang languages follow m+St+ADJ. For example:

Buyang Language   a^{0}taːp^{11} paːi^{54} ni^{11} pi^{33} a^{0}taːp^{11} n̻a^{11} qa^{0}naŋ^{11}.
                  CL   paddy this m CL   that   heavy
                  'This load paddy is heavier than that one.'

The comparative markers in most Ge-Yang languages are borrowed from Southwest Mandarin Chinese, and their comparative sentences follow m+St+ADJ. For example:

Gelao Language   ntai^{33} i^{33} pi^{33} ntai^{33} mu^{31} su^{33}.
                  cattle I   m   cattle you big
                  'My cattle is bigger than yours.'
Mulao Language   lai^{53} n̻o^{53} pi^{31} lai^{53} my^{24} luŋ^{24}.
                  CL   horse m CL   pig big
                  'The horse is bigger than the pig.'
Pubiao Language   pje^{44} kau^{53} pi^{55} pje^{44} mi^{33} lu^{214}.
                  bowl I   m   bowl you big
                  'My bowl is bigger than yours.'

Comparative sentences in Mon-Khmer and Viet-Muong languages should follow ADJ+m+St, and several of them have kept this word order. For example:

Wa Language   ma̠iʔ lha̠uŋ kha̠iŋ nɔ̠h.
                  you   tall   m   he
                  'You are taller than him.'
Blang Language   ɯʔ^{35} hɔn^{35} l̥ɤʔ^{35} ɔŋ^{33} al^{35} nɤm^{331}.
                  I   old   m   younger brother two year
                  'I am two years older than my younger brother.'
Jing Language   kaːi^{45} nai^{22} naŋ^{11} həːn^{33} kaːi^{45} kiə^{33} haːi^{33} kən^{33}.
                  CL   this heavy m   CL   that two jin
                  'This one is two jin (1/2 kilogram) heavier than that one.'

However, comparative sentences in some Mon-Khmer languages follow both ADJ+m+St and m+ADJ+St, and the marker in the pattern of m+ADJ +St is a loanword from Southwest Mandarin Chinese (the preposition "*bi*比"). For example:

Lai Language	vi^{31} thau^{13} ŋaːn^{33} ndɔ^{53} mbi^{55} nam^{13}.	
	old brother old m younger brother two year	
	'The old brother is two years older than his younger brother.'	
	tɕə^{33} ɕiu^{53} ʔɔ^{53}tsɔ^{55} pi^{55} tɕə^{33} ʐu^{13} taːi^{53} kəŋ^{53}.	
	time harvest grain m time plant maize cold	
	'The time of harvesting grain is colder than the time of planting maize.'	
	Namely: Autumn is colder than Spring.	
Bugeng Language	khen^{44} o^{55} ni^{44} tho^{31} tsei^{31} la^{44}mɯ^{55}.	
	bowl I Aux big m your	
	'My bowl is bigger than yours.'	
	sɯ^{31} nei^{44} pi^{31} sɯ^{31} lo^{24} keŋ^{24} ɣo^{44}.	
	tree this m tree that more high	
	'This tree is higher than that one.'	
Mang Language	ʔu^{51} gɣaŋ^{51} dɔŋ^{51} mi^{31}.	
	I tall m you	
	'I am taller than you.'	
	mə^{31} θa^{51}θua^{35} ʔə^{31}min^{51} pi^{55} mə^{31} θa^{51}θua^{35} ʔə^{31}ʔɣ^{51} me^{55}.	
	CL clothes this m CL clothes that new	
	'This piece of clothing is newer than that one.'	

Huihui language, an Austronesian language in Hainan Island, is a variant of Chamic languages. Under the influence of Chinese, the Huihui language follows both ADJ+m+St and m+ADJ+St, and its comparative marker, the preposition "*bi* 比", is borrowed from the Army Speech (Jun Hua) of Hainan Island. For example:

Huihui Language	nau^{33} ma^{43} laːu^{32} ha^{33}.	
	he fat m you	
	'He is fatter than you.'	
	ʔa^{11}ko^{33} pi^{11} ʔa^{11} thai^{11} pioŋ^{32} thua^{11}thun^{33}.	
	old brother m younger brother old two year	
	'The old brother is two years older than his younger brother.'	

3.9 Language contact and the word order of relative clauses

Cross-linguistic statistics show that the dominant word order of a relative clause and a noun is REL+N in SOV languages and N+REL in SVO languages. For Tibeto-Burman languages, the dominant order is REL+N with some languages following N+REL. Moreover, there are head-internal relative clauses and some rare types of relative clauses in a few languages. Relative clauses in Tibeto-Burma languages are all marked by their modifiers; as a result, no obvious language contact can be traced. The order of relative clauses in Chinese should be N+REL; however, almost all Chinese languages follow REL+N. Relative clauses in Kam-Tai, Hmong-Mien, Ge-Yang, Mon-khmer and Viet-Muong, Taiwan Austronesian languages and Huihui languages basically follow both N+REL and REL+N. Almost all the head nouns of the relative clauses in Taiwan Austronesian languages are modified by their markers; as such, there is no clear evidence of their language contact.

Head nouns in Kam-Tai, Hmong-Mien, Ge-Yang, Mon-khmer and Viet-Muong language are hardly modified by markers, and language contact and language influence can be clearly found in some languages.

A majority of Kam-Tai languages follow N+REL, and some of them need to use structural auxiliaries as a marker. For example:

Dai Language	kun^2	au^1	pa^1		'the person who catch fish'
	person	catch	fish		
	$ɔn^5nɔi^4$	$leŋ^4$	ho^2		'the child who grazes cattle'
	child	herd	cattle		
Mak Language	tiu^2	i^1	se^3	tam^3	'the fabric that my old sister wove'
	CL	fabric	old sister	weave	
	$d̠in^1$	$ȵe^3$			'the person who cries'
	person	cry			
Li Language	$ɬuːk^7 uːŋ^1 ɯ^3$	$tshat^7$	$riːn^3$	$phaːn^3$ ma^2 $man^1 guːŋ^1$	hou^1.
	girl	REL wear	skirt	flower that is	younger sister I
	'That girl who wears the color skirt is my younger sister.'				

The relative clauses in some languages of Kam-Tai follow both N+REL and REL+N, and structural auxiliaries borrowed from various Chinese dialects are used as markers in the pattern of REL+N. This is clearly the result of Chinese influence. For example:

Limkou Language	fia^4	sui^1	'the cereals that cooked'
	cereal	cook	

leŋ¹hun² hɔ²   ba¹   'the person who catches fish'
person   catch fish
vin¹ kə³   nok⁸   'the bird that flies'
fly REL   bird
vəi²hən¹   sa¹   kə³ mun³
the year before plant REL Chinese banana
'the Chinese banana that had been planted in the year
before last'

Kam Language   tu² pən³   'the one [bird] that flies'
CL fly
muŋ⁴ phja¹′ ma⁴   'the one [person] who
CL   feed horse   feeds horses'
pən³ tji⁶   mok⁸   'the bird that is flying'
fly   REL bird
soŋ⁵′ ɳaːu⁶ wu¹ ɕaːŋ² tji⁶   uk⁹   'the clothes that had
put on   up bed REL clothes   been put on bed'

The order of the relative clauses in a few languages of Kam-Tai is REL+N. For these languages, structural auxiliaries borrowed from various Han languages dialects are used as markers. For example:

Biao Language   ŋaːm³ ɔ¹   in⁵   kɛ⁶ mui¹ tsu² ma²
just   buy come back REL that CL   horse
'the horse that was just bought'
Cun Language   ka⁵ tsa⁵   di²   hɔ⁵   lət⁵ si⁵ phɔ³ naːu¹
lay being REL   that CL   is male Aux
'the one [cattle] that is laying is male'

In fact, a relative clause in a same Kam-Tai language with different dialects may follow orders. For example:

Wuming Zhuang Language   ɣok⁸ bin¹   'the bird that is flying'
bird fly
hau⁴   naŋ³   'the cereals that cooked'
cereals cook
Lianshan Zhuang Language pɛn¹ kɛ⁰ lik⁸ jɔːk⁸ 'the little bird that is flying'
fly   REL little bird
tsaŋ¹ kɛ⁰ ŋaːi²   'the cereals that cooked'
cook REL cereals

As for relative clauses in Hmong-Mien languages, except for a few dialects following N+REL, the rest all follow REL+N whether or not they are marked by their own auxiliary words or loan auxiliary words. For example:

West Hmong Language   tai⁵⁵ tsi⁵⁵ qɯ⁵⁵ ku¹¹ ɑ³³tʂhɑɯ⁵⁵ɳu⁵⁵
some corn   REL   the day before yesterday
pi⁵⁵ dʑo³¹ i⁵⁵
we plant that
'the corn that we planted the day before yesterday'

Middle Hmong Language   ɕaŋ⁵⁵ ten⁵⁵ mɑ³¹ pɑŋ³¹ to¹¹ tu¹¹ təu⁴⁴ qha³³
CL   before cut REL   some tree oak
'those oaks that we cut once before'

Jiongnai Language   maŋ³³ tʃaŋ²² ðjɔŋ²² tjaŋ⁴⁴ θe³⁵ mi⁴⁴
you talk REL CL   speech that
'the words that you said'

Baheng Language   ɳu³¹ ɣ³¹ tɕiɣ⁴⁴ ti⁴⁴ lɦɛ̃³³ ta³⁵qa³¹
wear clothes red REL CL   child
'that child who wears the red clothes'

Mien Language   wə³⁵ tau³¹ sa⁵³ ʈu⁵³ nin³¹ wə³⁵ phin³⁵ lwəi³³
that CL girl wear REL that CL   clothes
'the piece of clothes that the girl wears'

Relative clauses in Ge-Yang languages should be N+REL; however, only a few of them actually follow this pattern. For example:

Lathi Language   saŋ⁵⁵ a⁴⁴ŋ³⁵ m⁵⁵ min³⁵ phin⁵⁵ vei⁴⁴ n⁴⁴to³¹ n⁴⁴to³¹ ljo³¹?
CL   snake you beat die   that big   big   not
'Is the snake that you beat to death big or not?'

Pubiao Language   qa¹³ʈau⁴⁴ naŋ⁵⁵ qa³³tsaŋ⁴⁴ mje⁵³ doŋ⁵³ ʑin⁴⁴ la⁴⁴.
person   catch bullfrog along river go   Aux
'The person who caught the bullfrog along the river went away.'

Relative clauses in some Ge-Yang languages can follow the patterns of N+REL and REL+N. In the latter pattern, structural particles borrowed from Southwest Mandarin Chinese are used as markers. This is a result of Chinese influence. For example:

Mulao Language   tsi⁵³ xai³¹ ɣo⁵³ ku²⁴ py²⁴ na³¹
one CL   person drink wine this
'This person who is drinking wine.'

xai³¹ lau²⁴   luŋ²⁴ ty³³   ti³¹ zai³¹ n̠y³³n̠y³³   ti³³
CL   sister-in-law old   birth REL fat   expressive Aux
lai⁵³ la³³   na³¹.
CL   child this
'This chubby child to whom my old sister-in-law born gave birth.'

Buyang Language   lɛ⁴³ ʔpau⁵³ le¹² tsɔk⁵⁵   tan⁵³ʔti:ə⁵³ mei¹² khi:ə⁵³ la⁵⁵.
CL   child   wear clothes red   that   go   Aux
'That child who wears red clothing went away.'
mo⁴³ ʔta⁵³ ti⁵⁵   ŋu:ə⁴³   hən⁵³ tu:i⁵³.
he   say   REL speech very   right
'What he said – that is quite the cheese.'

Relative clauses in a few Ge-Yang languages use structural particles as markers which are borrowed from Southwest Mandarin Chinese, and their relative clauses follow REL+N. For example:

Gelao Language   su³³i̥⁴² lɛ²¹   li³³   tɕhi⁵⁵   tshu⁵⁵ su³³u⁴²   ə⁴².
I   find   REL person   is   he   not
'The person for whom I am looking is not him.'
ɑ³³mʋ²¹ sen³³ li³³   sʅ³³ qɑŋ¹³ ɕi¹³   sɯ³³   plʋ¹³ mu⁵⁵
mother buy   REL one CL   shoe fabric red   new
nu⁴² ʋ³³   tsu²¹ ŋkɑu²¹.
that good   look real
'The new red fabric shoes that my mother bought are really pretty.'

The majority of Mon-khmer and Viet-Muong languages use structural particles as markers and a few of them do not. However, no matter whether or not markers are used, their basic order of the relative clauses is N+REL. For example:

Wa Language   ʔin mɔh   ʔɯɯp   pa̠   ku̠ ih   ʔɣ̠ʔ
this is   cereal REL   cook   I
'This cereal that I cooked.'

De'ang Language   kiap tin tɕhup   ʔo   gɔːi   la̠ʔ khrum   tɕoŋ.
shoe   wear   I   under beneath   bed
'The shoes that I wore are under the bed.'

Lai Language   tɕɔŋ⁵⁵ tshe¹³   le³³   lam³³   tɕɔŋ³³tɕɯːk⁵³ tɕən⁵⁵   mɔŋ⁵⁵.
some   person REL   guard Yamen   AUX   hear
'Those persons who guarded Yamen – they had heart.'

However, due to the fact that some languages of Mon-khmer and Viet-Muong use structural particles borrowed from Southwest Mandarin as markers, the order of their relative clauses has changed from N+ REL to REL+N. For example:

Lai	ʔaːi⁵⁵	ʐu¹³	ndi³³	tuk³¹	pjɔ⁵⁵	mban⁵⁵.		
Language	we	plant	REL	bean	good	extremely		

'The bean that we planted is extremely good.'

ʔi⁵⁵	saːi⁵³	li³³	quːn⁵⁵	haːi¹¹	muɔ³¹	ndi³³	tɔ³³qɔŋ³³	ʔo³³.
he	can	tell	son	hurt	mother	REL	story	not

'He can't tell the story that the son hurt his mother.'

4 Conclusions

The above discussion indicates that abnormal word order in minority languages of Southern China very obviously bears the influence of Chinese dialects; this can be seen from the word order of degree adverb and verb, adjective and noun, genitive and noun, adjective and comparative standard, and noun and relative clause of the languages of Kam-Tai, Hmong-Mien, Ge-Yang, Mon-Khmer, Viet-Muong, and the Huihui language of the Austronesian family. For these languages, language influence has been brought about through grammatical loanwords which include degree adverbs, structural auxiliaries and prepositions. These loanwords have in turn caused word order change and language change in these languages.

The word order of manner adverb and verb, adjective and noun, demonstrative and classifiers or nominal phrase in the Kam-Tai, Hmong-Mien, Ge-Yang, Mon-Khmer and Viet-Muong languages and Huihui language in Austronesian also shows indirect language contact and language influence. On one hand, their word order shows a certain inconsistency with the statistics of cross linguistic universals. On the other hand, there is no obvious evidence to show language influence from Chinese or Chinese dialects. It can be said, then, that this phenomenon should be due to language contact and influence, a kind of indirect language contact and influence. It can be assumed that the borrowing of some grammatical words (such as degree adverbs, structural auxiliaries and prepositions and so on) in many languages of Kam-Tai, Hmong-Mien, Ge-Yang, Mon-Khmer, Viet-Muong and Huihui language in Austronesian have induced some word order change (such as involving manner adverbs and nouns, adjectives and nouns, demonstratives and classifiers or the word order of nominal phrases). In other words, within a language, various changes that later take place independently are triggered by the elements that earlier were directly borrowed into the language. Such changes

still belong to the dimension of language evolution induced by language contact; that is, they are innovations induced by language contact.

Language contact and influence have scant influence on the word order of Tibeto-Burman languages except for the Bai language and Taiwan Austronesian languages. In the Bai language, the word order of objects and verbs, adjectives and comparative standards has changed due to language contact and influence. Over the course of language contact, language structure, language attitudes, and social factors may register a certain impact on language evolution as induced by language contact. Although the Bai language is a member of the Tibeto-Burman languages, its language structure greatly differs from the Chinese structure. However, the Bai language has had long and frequent contact with Chinese since the Nanzhao period of the Tang Dynasty, and its various word order changes have been impacted by social factors instead of language structures and language attitudes. Some Tibeto-Burman languages also have been in contact with Chinese for a long time; for example, language contact between the Qiang language and Chinese has been sporadic since the Han Dynasty. However, the Qiang language is scarcely influenced by Chinese due to their sporadic language contact and very different language structure. The same is true for the Tibetan language. With the rise of Tubo, language contact between Tibetan and Chinese began during the Tang Dynasty. However, the word order of Tibetan is not directly influenced by Chinese because the areas of language contact were remote and because of their considerably different structure types. In addition, Taiwan Austronesian languages have experienced similar language contact; over the course of language contact with Chinese, most languages of the Pingpu ethnic group have shifted over to Chinese due to the influence of language structure and language attitudes. Meanwhile, the language of the Gaoshan ethnic group is not directly influenced by Chinese despite its long-term contact with Chinese. There are two reasons for this: their language contact areas are remote and their language structures are very different. Thus, it can be seen that linguistic factors and social factors should be the two major reasons to induce language contact and language change.

Linguistic factors include system characteristics, syntactic markers and structure typology of a language. System characteristics include the phonetic system, lexical system and grammatical system. The grammatical system includes morphology and morphological form. Over the course of language contact, almost every single minority language in Southern China has absorbed a large amount of vocabulary and phonemes from various Chinese dialects, which indicates that Chinese vocabularies and phonemes are quite acceptable to minority languages. Chinese and the languages of Kam-Tai, Hmong-Mien, Ge-Yang, Mon-Khmer, Viet-Muong, and the Huihui language in Austronesian, remain rather monotone in terms of their morphology and morphological form, and thus the borrowing

and ablation of their morphology and morphological form does not occur over the course of their language contact and influence. Compared with Chinese, the Tibeto-Burman languages and Taiwan Austronesian languages share rather rich morphology and morphological form; they are hardly influenced by Chinese via the process of language contact due to their greatly different grammatical systems.

Syntactic structure of human languages is more or less marked in the course of discourse, and syntactic markers in some languages hide, become less required or even disappear, while in some languages, they appear, become more required or even become essential. Cross-linguistic studies indicate that among human languages, unmarked structures have a higher frequency and wider distribution than marked ones. Although unmarkedness and markedness are opposites in language comparison and comparative studies, it does not mean that they are symmetrical. Studies concerning second language acquisition show that unmarked structures are more easily learned than the marked ones. Syntactic markers in Chinese tend to hide or disappear in the process of discourse; this is true for languages in Kam-Tai, Hmong-Mien, Ge-Yang, Mon-Khmer, most languages in Viet-Muong, and Huihui language in Austronesian. As a result, they are easily influenced by Chinese over the course of language contact, and their word order thus easily changes. On the contrary, syntactic structures in the Tibeto-Burman languages are hardly influenced by Chinese and their word order has remained practically the same over the course of language contact with Chinese. This is because syntactic structures in these languages are highly marked. The same is true for Taiwan Austronesian languages.

Structure types in this paper mainly include syntactic structure and word order structure. Over the process of language contact and influence, grammatical borrowing usually happens to languages or dialects with similar structures and rarely happens to those with very different structure types. The languages of Kam-Tai, Hmong-Mien, Ge-Yang, Mon-Khmer, Viet-Muong, and Huihui in Austronesian language are influenced by Chinese, and their word order also changes because they all belong to SVO and share a lot of similarities with Chinese in terms of language structure types. The basic word order for Tibeto-Burman languages is SOV, and Taiwan Austronesian languages are mainly OSV; they differ greatly from Chinese in terms of morphology and morphological form, and their structures types also differ. Therefore, Chinese has no obvious influence on the word order of Tibeto-Burman languages and Taiwan Austronesian languages. If there is indeed an influence, it is the mother tongue's shift to Chinese, as seen in some languages of the Qiang ethnic groups and Pingpu ethnic groups in Taiwan.

Social factors include the intensity of language contact and language attitudes. Language attitudes can hinder changes induced by contact as well as accelerate the speed of language change. Although this social factor is highly difficult

to assess, its impact on changes induced by language contact cannot be ignored. The intensity of language contact mainly refers to the history of the language user's sociolinguistics, which includes the length of time of language contact, the native speaker's study of the target language, the development of bilingualism, language attitudes and language policy. The length of time of language contact may determine the level of target language acquisition, the development of bilingualism, and language change induced by language contact. Language changes induced by language contact are more likely to happen if the language contact lasts longer, the target language is studied more and the bilingual system develops better, as seen in the Bai language. Language changes may even cause people to abandon their native tongue and turn to other languages; for example, language shifts have occurred among some Qiang speakers and Taiwan Pingpu speakers. Language prestige plays a decisive role in determining the direction of language change induced by language contact. Language prestige is also known as language power. Languages with lower prestige (namely, weak languages) tend to be assimilated by those with higher prestige (namely, dominant languages). Compared with Chinese, many languages in Kam-Tai, Hmong-Mien, Ge-Yang, Mon-Khmer, Viet-Muong and Huihui language in Austronesian are languages with lower prestige, so their word order is gradually approaching that of Chinese. Compared with Chinese, Tibeto-Burman languages and Taiwan Austronesian languages are also weak languages. However, there is no obvious change in their word order due to some linguistic factors. Language policy mainly involves compulsive language policy, and plays a decisive role in determining language contact during a period of time or within a certain area. Abundant examples may illustrate this point, such as the Ming and Qing Dynasty's conquest over the Hmong-Mien ethnic groups of south and south-west Hunan, north and north-west Guangxi, during which these groups were forced to abandon their mother tongues and use various Chinese dialects. To a certain degree, the outcome of language contact and influence is determined by the language speakers' sociolinguistic background instead of the structure of the language itself. Although it is essential to take into account pure linguistic factors such as syntax, semantics, linear sequence, and synchronic grammaticalization and so on, they are not necessarily the most important factors. Language influence occurs primarily through social and not linguistic factors, and the direction and degree of language influence is also determined by social factors. As far as language facts are concerned, the same is true for the influence of a language's characteristics on another language.

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Second language acquisition and contact-induced language change in the history of the Chinese language

Abstract: The two major language contacts in the history of the Chinese language involve the translations of Chinese Buddhist texts in the Medieval Period and *Yuan baihua*. Both contacts are related to second language acquisition, and dozens of linguistic changes emerged during the contacts. The basic mode leading to linguistic change is duplication of the most distinctive syntactic features of the model language. Language contact caused by second language acquisition is one of the important types in the study of language contact; its special characteristics are salient, and it is an important subject within the study of language contact that should be given more attention.

1 Introduction

For some time, scholars have been aware that in language evolution there are two modes of transmission: (1) vertical transmission of features from the ancestral language and (2) horizontal assimilation of features via contact with other languages. In the case of Chinese, due to long-standing contact between languages of very different grammatical (morphological and syntactic) types throughout the history of the Chinese language, these contacts have impacted Chinese linguistic development both synchronically and diachronically. Consequently, any study of contact involving Chinese cannot fail to be significant and valuable.

Since the 1980s, some Chinese linguists have increasingly looked upon external factors. Some of these studies focused on the language in translated Buddhist sutras and texts during the Medieval Period (3rd–10th centuries), while others looked primarily at cases of Chinese and Altaic language contact

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that occurred when China was under the Mongols' and Manchus' control. See Cao (2012, 2013, 2015), Yu (2004, 2008, 2011, 2013), Cao and Yu (2000, 2015), Cao and Chen (2009), Hu (2009, 2010), Yu and Cao (2007), Zu (2007, 2009, 2013, 2015), and Takekoshi (2014, 2015). These studies cover the three major language contact periods in Chinese history. They are: Buddhist influence during the Medieval Period (3rd–7th c.), the Mongols' conquest of China (1271–1368), and the Manchus' takeover of China (1644–1911). All three contact cases are related to second language acquisition. This study will focus on the first and second contact situations, i.e., the Buddhist and Mongolian influences on the development of the Chinese language.

Throughout Chinese history, a number of non-Chinese ethnic groups with languages belonging to various language families have come in contact with Chinese speakers. The earliest contact can be traced back to the third century B. C. when the *Xiongnu* 匈奴, a Turkish-speaking group, founded the first steppe empire on the grasslands of northern China. They were conquered by the Han in the first century B. C. In subsequent periods, China made contact with the *Xianbei* 鲜卑 and Tobgach 拓跋 (both are primarily Mongolian-speaking groups), as well as other ethnic groups. Historical records regarding these contacts are scarce. In contrast, there are a good number of extant documents and texts for studying language contact between Chinese and other language families when Central Asian Buddhist missionaries came to China and translated Buddhist scriptures into Chinese during the Medieval Period, when the Mongols took over all of China from 1271 to 1368, and when the Manchus ruled over China from 1644 to 1911.

This paper visits the atypical syntactic features that have been identified in translated Chinese Buddhist sutras and the *Yuan baihua* 元白话 'Yuan Dynasty colloquial language'.

2 The first two major language contact periods in Chinese history

2.1 Translated Chinese Buddhist texts of the Medieval Period and *Yuan baihua*

Translated Chinese Buddhist texts
Buddhism was imported into China primarily through large-scale Chinese translations of Buddhist sutras from Sanskrit, Pali, or Prakrits (hereafter referred to as Sanskrit). Between the second and tenth century, over 170 translators were

involved. Approximately 2,300 Buddhist sutras that contain fifty-six million characters in 7,046 *juan* 'fascicles' were translated from Sanskrit into Chinese. While Buddhist teachings have greatly influenced Chinese culture and philosophy, they have also led to certain fundamental changes in Chinese syntax and stimulated the production of a large number of new lexical items (see Cao and Yu 2010).

Yuan baihua

The Yuan Dynasty (1271–1368) was founded by the Mongols, who controlled most of the immensely populous Chinese region as legitimate holders of imperial power for almost a century. As the ruling house, the Mongols instituted the Mongolian language as the sole official language. Due to the need for communication between the Mongols and the Chinese, a language with a mixture of Chinese and Mongolian emerged. This "Mongolian Chinese" is known as *Yuan baihua*, was also called *Han'er yanyu* 汉儿言语 in the 13th–14th centuries, and refers to the "Chinese" language with Chinese and Mongolian linguistic features.

2.2 Distinctive Linguistic Phenomena in Translated Buddhist Texts and *Yuan baihua*

Over the past two decades, scholars have been able to identify 19 distinctive linguistic phenomena that appeared in the translated Buddhist texts (Zhu Q. 2001; Zhu G. 2011; Yu 2004). Examples include (a) the postverbal *yi* 已 denoting completed action; (b) the Disposal Construction "*qu* 取 OV"; (c) the Copular Construction with "Subject, Noun, *shi* 是"; (d) the special usage of the interrogative word *yunhe* 云何; (e) the cause marker *gu* 故 used at the end of sentences; (f) the genitive marker *suo/xu* 所/许; (g) higher frequency use of *cao/deng* 曹/等 as plural markers; and (h) excessive frequency of the Passive Construction.

Linguists point out 12 atypical syntactic components in *Yuan baihua*. For example: (a) the SOV word order; (b) the distinction between the inclusive *women* 我们 'we' and exclusive *zanmen* 咱们 'first personal plural pronouns'; (c) the postpositioned object case marker *gendi* 根底; (d) the suffixes encoding the causative *shang-* /*shangtou* 上/上头; (e) the plural marker *mei* 每; (f) the use of the existential verb *you* 有 at the end of a sentence; (g) the particle indicating direct quotation *medao* 么道.

These distinctive linguistic phenomena are mainly reflected in changing Chinese word order, Chinese sentence patterns, or adding non-Chinese syntactic features into Chinese.

3 The categories of distinctive linguistic phenomena induced by language contact in Chinese history

By studying the two major language contact situations in China, we can observe four categories at work in the translated Chinese Buddhist sutras. They are: duplicating patterns from the source language, over-generalizing rules in the target language, misapplying existing patterns in the target language, and excessive use of existing patterns in the target language. Among the four categories, the most important one is duplicating patterns from the source language; 10 out of 19 special features are of this mode. In *Yuan baihua*, the primary, if not sole mechanism, is duplicating patterns from the source language (see Cao and Yu 2010, 2014).

3.1 The four categories in the translated Chinese Buddhist scriptures

3.1.1 Duplicating patterns from the source language

Among the 19 distinctive linguistic phenomena found in the translated Buddhist texts, ten of them are duplication from the source language. The duplication mode can be divided into three types. The first type is inserting a linguistic component into Chinese sentences such as the superfluous usage of the Chinese interrogative word *yunhe* 云何 'how'. The second type involves placing *gu* 故 'therefore' at the end of sentences serving as a sort of causative case marker. The third type is the typical duplication type – word order inversion such as in the Copular Construction and OV word order (vs. VO word order in Chinese).

Among the above three types of duplication, two of them are related to word order. Chinese is an SVO language, while Sanskrit is an SOV language and the verb is placed in sentence final position. In translated Chinese Buddhist scriptures, quite a few sentences are awkward because of their (nonstandard) word order.

A. The first duplication type: Inserting a linguistic component into Chinese sentences

In the translated Buddhist sutras, some of the interrogative sentences have a superfluous *yunhe* 云何 'how' placed at the beginning of the sentence to translate

the Sanskrit word *kim* 'what' in Chinese sutras. This new usage of *yunhe* has no interrogative function in the sentence, and only serves as a marker to indicate that the sentence is asking a question. For example:

(1) 云何　　有　　痴　　究竟，　　无　　痴　　究竟？
　　 yunhe　you　chi　jiujing　　wu　chi　jiujing
　　 Yunhe　have　crazy　extremity　no　crazy　extremity
　　 'Crazy to the extreme or not crazy to the extreme?'
　　 (*Zengyi Ahanjing* 增壹阿含经 [*The Ekottara Agama*], 'Numbered Discourses' 19)

Example (1) is an alternative question sentence, where the appearance of *yunhe* in the sentence final position is redundant.

B. The cause marker *gu* 故 used at the end of sentences

(2) 是　　为　　善　　知识，　　多　　闻　　经　　故。
　　 shi　wei　shan　zhishi　duo　wen　jing　gu
　　 DEM　is　good　mentor　much　know　sutra　CAUS
　　 'This [person] is a good mentor because he knows much about sutra.'
　　 (*Fo shuo yiri moni bao jing* 佛说遗日摩尼宝经 [*Kaśyapaparivarta*] 12)

To express reasons in the Chinese language, one can use the preposition '*yin* 因' or place *gu* in the beginning of the second clause, "..., *gu*...". In the translated sutras, *gu* is placed at the end of the sentence, "..., ... *gu*". It functions as a causative case marker.

C. Word order

The word order of the copular construction in Chinese is "N *shi* N". In example (3), the *shi* is placed at the end of the sentence (Jiang L. 2003; Jiang S. 2008).

(3) 诸　　根　　澹泊，　　亦　　难陀　　比丘　　是。
　　 Zhu　gen　danbo　yi　Nantuo　biqiu　shi
　　 Various　roots　indifferent　also　NAME　monk　is
　　 '[The one who takes] various roots (i.e., the various sense organs) indifferently is also the monk Nantuo.'
　　 (*Zengyi Ahanjing* 增壹阿含经 [*The Ekottara Agama*], 'Numbered Discourses' 3)

In example (4), the object is placed before the verb:

(4) 到   彼   已，   比丘   当   供食   饭浆   汤药
     Dao   *bi*   *yi*   *biqiu* *dang*   *gongshi* *fanjiang* *tangyao*
     Arrive there PERF   monk   would   provide   food   medicine
     衣被。
     yibei
     clothing
     '[Upon] arriving there, [my acquaintances] will provide the food, medicines,
     and clothing for [that group of] monks.'
     (*Binaiye* 鼻奈耶 [*Vinaya sutra*] 1)

"Monks" in example (4) is the object of the verb "provide", and the reverse word order is due to the influence of Sanskrit.

3.1.2 Overgeneralizing existing rules in the target language: the case of the postverbal *yi* 已 denoting completed action

The verb *yi*, meaning 'complete, finish' first appeared in pre-Qin texts. Prior to the Medieval Period, Chinese used two different structures to denote the completion of an action. If the verb is a continuous verb (*chixu dongci* 持续动词, e.g., *chi* 吃 'to eat'), then *yi* 'to complete' is placed after the continuous verb as "V (O) *yi* construction"; if the verb is an instantaneous verb (*shunjian dongci* 瞬间动词, e.g., *si* 死 'to die'), the *yi* is placed before the instantaneous verb as in "*yi* V (O)", with the *yi* functioning as an adverb. In the translated Buddhist scriptures, however, the translators did not recognize the differences between the two groups of verbs and used only the "V (O) *yi*" construction to denote completed action. This is due to the translators' failure to discern between the two types of verbs in the Chinese language; as a result, they overgeneralized the regular rule of denoting completed action (see Jiang S. 2008; Karashima 1997, 2000).

3.1.3 Misapplication of existing patterns in the target language

The emergence of the *ba* 把 construction involves the development of a pre-existing Chinese structure, the serial verb construction ($V_1O_1V_2O_2$). Between the Han and Tang, this construction underwent a series of changes. Peyraube (1989) points out that when $O_1=O_2$, the repeated object can be omitted. In the Chinese texts during the Medieval Period, O_1 is omitted and, the structure is V_1V_2O. However, in the translated Chinese scriptures, O_2 is omitted as shown in example (5). In the

cases where the full meaning of V$_1$ is grammaticalized as in example (6), this new form developed into the disposal construction (see Cao and Yu 2000).

(5)　儿　　语　　母　　　曰，　速　　　放　　我　　去，
　　er　yu　mu　　yue　su　　fang　wo　qu
　　son　tell　mother　say　hurry　let　me　go
　　若　　違　　我　　情，　當　　　取　　母　　　殺。
　　ruo　wei　wo　qing　dang　qu　mu　　sha
　　if　reject　my　will　must　QU　mother　kill
　　母　　　报　　儿　　言，　宁　　　取　　我　　杀，
　　mu　　bao　er　yan　ning　　qu　wo　sha
　　mother　reply　son　say　rather　QU　me　kill
　　不　　忍　　见　　汝　　为　　　他　　所　　　害。
　　bu　ren　jian　ru　wei　ta　suo　hai
　　NEG　bear　see　you　PASS　him　NMZ　hurt
　　'The son said to his mother, "Let me go right away. If you disregard my will, then I must kill you." The mother replied to the son, "I would rather be killed by you; I can't bear to see you hurt by him."'
　　(*Chuyao jing* 出曜经 [*Dharmapada*] 4)

(6)　是　　时　　目连　　即　　　　前　　　　捉　　手
　　shi　shi　Mulian　ji　　　qian　　　zhuo　shou
　　That　time　NAME　immediately　go-forward　hold　hand
　　将　　至　　门　　外，
　　jiang　zhi　　men　wai
　　take　arrive　door　outside
　　还　　取　　门　　闭　　　前　　　　白　佛　　　言：
　　huan　qu　men　bi　qian　　　bai　fo　　yan
　　return　QU　door　close　go-forward　tell　Buddha　say
　　不　　净　　比丘，　已　　　将　　在　　外。
　　bu　jing　biqiu　yi　　　jiang　zai　　wai
　　NEG　clean　monk　already　take　put-to　outside
　　'At that time, Mojinlin immediately moved forward, grabbed [that person's] hands and took him outside. Upon returning [he] closed the door, went forward and told the Buddha, "[I] took the unclean bhiksha outside."'
　　(*Zengyi Ahanjing* 增壹阿含经 [*The Ekottara Agama*], 'Numbered Discourses' 44)

In example (6), the full meaning of *qu* was grammaticalized, and it functions like a preposition. This new form developed into the disposal construction, or the pre-verbal *ba* 把 construction. Chinese is an SVO language, so the omission of O$_2$ instead of O$_1$

violates its syntactic system. This different word order of the serial verb construction could be due to the influence of the Sanskrit SOV word order (Cao and Yu 2000).

3.1.4 Excessive use of existing patterns in Chinese

The excessive use of existing Chinese patterns in the translated Buddhist scriptures can be seen in two Chinese constructions: the passive construction and the expanded use of existing Chinese words as plural markers.

Scholars have noticed that the frequency of passive construction in the translated Buddhist scriptures is noticeably higher than in Chinese texts of the Medieval Period (see, for example, Zhu 1992). The primary function of the passive construction in Chinese is to denote adversity. The use of the passive voice in Sanskrit does not have this constraint. It can be used in sentences with transitive verbs or the so-called "Impersonal Construction", in which the verb is intransitive. This may explain why there is a significantly higher frequency of passive sentences in the Chinese sutras (Cao and Yu 2014).

In Classical Chinese, the words *deng* 等, *bei* 輩 and *cao* 曹 have various functions. One of these functions is to denote that 'there is more than one' (e.g., *wudeng* 吾等, *wobei* 我輩, *wocao* 我曹 'we') by placing such a word after a personal noun or personal pronoun. In Sanskrit, however, numeration is quite complicated. There are singulars, duals, and plurals for nouns, pronouns and adjectives. Linguists have pointed out that the expansion of using *deng* and *cao* as plural markers in Chinese sutras is due to Sanskrit influence (see Zhu 1992).

3.2 The primary category in *Yuan baihua*

Among the 12 distinctive linguistic phenomena induced by language contact in *Yuan baihua* as mentioned earlier, two categories can be observed: duplicating patterns from the source language and overgeneralizing rules in the target language. In *Yuan baihua*, almost all of these phenomena are related to duplication of Mongolian word order, sentence patterns or constructions.

3.2.1 Duplicating patterns from the source language

A. Inserting the particle indicating direct quotation *medao* 么道
The lexicon *medao* 么道 is placed at the end of a direct quotation in *Yuan baihua*. It is necessary to add a marker after a direct quotation in Mongolian, a feature the Chinese language does not have. For example:

(7) "如今　　有　　　的　　　房舍，　　人口，　　田产，　　财物，
　　　rujin　*you*　*de*　*fangshe*　*renkou*　*tianchan*　*caiwu*
　　　now　　have　POS　house　　people　　land　　belongings
　　　应　　有　　　的　　　物件，　　胡　总管　　　的　　媳妇，
　　　ying　*you*　*de*　*wujian*　*Hu*　*zongguan*　*de*　*xifu*
　　　all　　have　POS　things　　Hu　manager　POS　wife
　　　孩儿　　根底　分付　　与　　者。
　　　hai'er　*gendi*　*fenfu*　*yu*　*zhe*
　　　child　DAT　assign　give　PART
　　　么道，　圣旨　　　　　了　　　也。
　　　medao　*shengzhi*　*liao*　*ye*
　　　QUOT　imperial edict　PERF　PART
　　　'The imperial edict said: "Now the house, servants, land, belongings and all
　　　the things [he] had are assigned to manager Hu's wife and child/children."'
　　　(*Yuan Dianzhang* 元典章 [*The Code of the Yuan*], Xingbu san 刑部三
　　　[The Board of the Punishments 3])

B. Localizers and words used to indicate grammatical cases

In *Yuan baihua*, Chinese words indicating locations (e.g.,'up, down, in, out, etc.')
such as *shang* 上 'up, on' and *shangtou* 上头 'up, above', or *li* 里 'in' are used as
suffixes encoding causative. *Hang* 行 serves as the ablative marker, and *gendi* 根
底 as the postpositioned object case marker (see Zu 2009).

(8)　管　　　民　　　官　　　每　　不　　肯
　　　guan　*min*　*guan*　*mei*　*bu*　*ken*
　　　control　people　official　PL　NEG　willing
　　　治　　约　　的　　上头，　　有　　气力　　富豪
　　　zhi　*yue*　*de*　*shangtou*　*you*　*qili*　*fuhao*
　　　take　care　DE　CAUS　　have　power　rich
　　　民　　户　　　　　里　　窝藏　　着。
　　　min　*hu*　*li*　*wocang*　*zhe*
　　　people　household　LOC　hide　AFF
　　　'Because the control officers are not willing to take care [of this matter],
　　　[the robbers] are hiding in the rich and powerful people's households.'
　　　(*Yuan Dianzhang* 元典章 [*The Code of the Yuan*], Xingbu san 刑部三
　　　[The Board of the Punishments 3])

(9)　皇帝　　圣旨　　　　　里，
　　　huangdi　*shengzhi*　*li*
　　　emperor　imperial edict　CAUS incidents

若	有		事		发	并		公事,
ruo	*you*		*shi*		*fa*	*bing*		*gongshi*
if	there are		incidents		occur	and/or		public

先	斩		后		奏。
xian	*zhan*		*hou*		*zou*
First	execute/kill		afterwards		report to the emperor

'Because of the emperor's imperial edict, ... if there are incidents and/or public incidents occur, [I may] execute [people] first before reporting back to the emperor.'

(*Yuan Dianzhang* 元典章 [*The Code of the Yuan*], Xingbu shisi 刑部十四 [The Board of the Punishments 14])

(10)

每日	清早晨	起来,	到	学	里,
meiri	*qingzaochen*	*qilai*	*dao*	*xue*	*li*
Every day	early morning	get up	go	school	LOC

师傅	行	受了	生文	书。
shifu	*hang*	*shoule*	*shengwen*	*shu*
teacher	ABL	receive	new	lesson

'Every morning [when I] get up, [I] go to school to learn a new lesson from the teacher.'

(*Guben Lao Qida* 古本老乞大 [*Earliest Edition of the Old Sinologist*])

(11)

……却	将	他	胡	家	的	亲	子
que	*jiang*	*ta*	*Hu*	*jia*	*de*	*qin*	*zi*
however	jiang	he	Hu	family	DE	own	son

胡	总管	根底	杀	了	有。
Hu	*zongguan*	*gendi*	*sha*	*le*	*you*
Hu	manager	GEN	kill	PERF	AFF

'...however [he] did kill manager Hu, the son of the Hu family.'

(*Yuan Dianzhang* 元典章 [*The Code of the Yuan*], Xingbu san 刑部三 [The Board of the Punishments 3])

To indicate object and reasons, Chinese and Mongolian adopt different linguistic structures. Chinese preposes the word before nouns and Mongolian uses case markers placed after nouns to indicate the grammatical relationship. In *Yuan baihua*, Chinese localizers are placed after nouns to take over the functions of prepositions. Scholars generally agree that the postposed localizers in *Yuan baihua* function like case markers due to the influence of the Mongolian language.

C. Word order – the typical type of duplication

Chinese features SVO order; however, there are a good number of inverse word order examples in *Yuan baihua*. The inverse word order is the typical type of duplication with high frequency in *Yuan baihua*. The following are two types of word order inversion: Copular Construction and OV word order.

Copular construction:

(12)　这　　缎子　　外路　　　　的　不　　是，
　　　zhe　duanzi　wailu　　　　de　bu　　shi
　　　This　satin　　other place　DE　NEG　COP
　　　服地　　　　缎子　　有。
　　　fudi　　　　duanzi　you
　　　local place　satin　　COP
　　　'This satin is not from another place; it is from here.'
　　　(*Guben Lao Qida* 古本老乞大 [*Earliest Edition of the Old Sinologist*])

The Copular Construction in Chinese is "N *shi* 是　N" (see Jiang L. 2003), however, in *Yuan baihua*, we find cases where the Chinese copula "*shi* 是" is placed after a noun as "N, *shi* 是", which reflects Mongolian word order (see example 12). There are also cases where "*you*" (which maybe came from Mongolian) is used in a sentence final position which can also serve as a copula such as the "*you* 有" in example (12) and (13).

(13)　五岳……　咱每　　的　神祈（祇）　有。
　　　Wuyue　　zanmei　de　shenzhi　　you
　　　NAME　　we　　　DE　god　　　　COP
　　　'Wuyue is our god.'
　　　(1306 *nian Huozhou Huoyuemiao lingzhibei* 1306 年霍州霍岳庙令旨碑
　　　[Imperial Script of Huoyue temple of Huozhou in the year of 1306])

There are also examples where both "*shi*" and "*you*" are used in the same sentence as copulas, as shown in example (14).

　　In *Guben Lao Qida* 古本老乞大 (*Earliest Edition of the Old Sinologist*), there is a dialogue in which a student is asked who his teacher is. The student responds with both *shi* and *you*. The "*shi*" before the noun is from Chinese and the "*you*" after it reflects Mongolian influence:

(14) 是   汉儿人   有。
     Shi   *Han'er ren*   *you*
     COP   Chinese   COP
     '[My teacher] is Chinese.'

OV word order:

In *Yuan baihua*, objects are placed before the verb, which violates the Chinese VO word order rule. For example:

(15) 如今   有   的   房舍，   人口，   田产，   财物，
     rujin   *you*   *de*   *fangshe*   *renkou*   *tianchan*   *caiwu*
     Now   have   POS   house   people   land   belongings
     应   有   的   物件，   胡   总管   的   媳妇，
     ying   *you*   *de*   *wujian*   *Hu*   *zongguan*   *de*   *xifu*
     all   have   POS   things   Hu   manager   POS   wife
     孩儿   根底   分付   与   者。
     hai'er   *gendi*   *fenfu*   *yu*   *zhe*
     child/children   DAT   assign   give   PART
     'Now the house, servants, land, belongings and all the things [he] had are assigned to manager Hu's wife and child/children.'
     (*Yuan Dianzhang* 元典章 [*The Code of the Yuan*], Xingbu san 刑部三 [The Board of the Punishments 3])

In example (15), "the house, servants, land, belongings and all the things" are the direct objects of the verb "assigned" and "manager Hu's wife and child/children" are indirect objects. In Chinese, these objects are placed after the verb, and yet due to the OV word order in Mongolian, the word order is reversed in *Yuan Baihua*. This is related to the Mongols' imperfect learning of Chinese.

3.2.2 Overgeneralizing rules in the target language

The Old and Middle Chinese words indicating a "plurality" of persons were *deng*, *bei* and *cao*. After the Northern Song (950–1127), *mei* 每 (or *men*) replaced the above forms as a plural marker for people. In *Yuan baihua* however, the use of *mei* expanded beyond only marking people to including animate nouns, such as *mamei* 马每 'horses', and even to inanimate nouns such as *simei* 寺每 'temples', and *qianmei* 钱每 'money'. The expansion of using *mei* as a plural marker beyond marking people is due to the Mongolian influence on the Chinese language plural marker when speaking Chinese.

To sum up, in the study of the two major language contact situations in Chinese history, there are a good number of syntactic changes that can be observed in the translated Chinese Buddhist scriptures of the Medieval Period and in *Yuan baihua*. The emergence of special linguistic features is related to the influence of the language in Buddhist scriptures and Mongolian, and is associated with imperfect learning due to second language acquisition. Of the 30 grammatical phenomena shown above, most of them evidently came from duplication of word order or grammatical constructions of the language of the Central Asian translators of the Buddhist sutras or the language used by the ruling house of the Yuan Dynasty, Mongolian. Moreover, the mechanism of duplication is especially evident in *Yuan baihua*.

4 Language contact and change in the two major language contacts in China

The special linguistic features in both translated Chinese Buddhist texts of the Medieval Period and *Yuan baihua* were produced by non-Chinese speakers who learned Chinese, and came about through their acquisition of Chinese as a second language. The special features observed in the translated scriptures and *Yuan baihua* are due to interference: some are interlanguage errors, and others seem to have arisen as learners' fossilized errors committed by Central Asian monks or Mongols learning Chinese. Learner errors include duplicating patterns or structures from the mother tongue, extending patterns or structures of the target language, etc. In the examples we have shown above, the distinctive linguistic features in the translated Chinese Buddhist sutras during the Medieval Period and in *Yuan baihua* contain features from both the source and target languages.

4.1 Contrastive analysis and special linguistic features in translated Chinese Buddhist texts and *Yuan baihua*

In Second Language Acquisition, contrastive analysis and error analysis can be used to evaluate linguistic features of two languages and explain why some features of a target language are more difficult to acquire than others. Chen (2007: 78) points out that: (A) the greater the distance between two languages' syntactic structure, the harder it is for learners to acquire the structure; (B) the greater the

distance between the two languages' lexical structure, the harder it is for learners to learn the target language.

The features in translated Buddhist scriptures and in *Yuan baihua* happen to be the most distinctive parts of both source and target languages. It is inevitable that a second language learners will be affected by his/her mother tongue. The greater the linguistic difference is between two languages, the greater the chance for negative language transfer from the mother tongue to the target language (Yu 2011). What we have seen in the distinctive linguistic features discussed above coincides with general trends observed in contrastive analysis study. The basic mode for inducing interlanguage errors in the Buddhist scripture translation and *Yuan baihua* is duplication (see Cao 2015).

4.2 Second language acquisition and language contact in the history of the Chinese language

In discussing language contact and contact-induced change, Thomason (2001: 66–69) noted that there are two types of changes. Type A: special linguistic features of language X are introduced into language Y by their own native speakers. Type B: second language learners' imperfect acquisition results in erroneous use of the target language.

Both of the major language contacts in the history of the Chinese language discussed in this paper are associated with second language acquisition (Type B). The distinctive linguistic features in translated Chinese Buddhist scriptures of the Medieval Period and *Yuan baihua* resulted from the imperfect learning of the Chinese language learners. The atypical Chinese structures, word order, sentence patterns were brought into the Chinese language from the mother tongues of the translators of Buddhist scripture and the Mongols. Due to the immediate and practical needs of spreading Buddhism or communicating with the Chinese, the Central Asian monks and Mongols had to use the Chinese language they acquired whether or not they made errors. The special and high social or political status held by the translated Buddhist scriptures and the Mongolian language (established as the sole official language by the ruling house) during the Medieval Period and the Yuan Dynasty made it possible for the variants of the Chinese language ("Buddhist Chinese" or "Mongolian Chinese") to be used and spread in China. In the translated Buddhist scriptures however, the unauthentic Chinese features were not found in any domestic Chinese documents of the Medieval Period, and they became extinct within a short period of time. Only very few of them (such as the *ba* construction and VO *yi* pattern) were

accepted and triggered grammatical changes in Chinese. The special features in *Yuan baihua* did have linguistic effects on the Chinese language during the 97 years of ruling over all of China (Cao and Yu 2015). However, after the Mongols lost power in China, *Yuan baihua*, the colloquial language of the Yuan Dynasty, fell out of use. Only a few Mongolian lexical items are still in use in some areas of China.

In summary, our studies of the language in translated Chinese Buddhist texts and *Yuan baihua* make it clear that the main characteristics of language contact in the history of the Chinese language are:

(1) It involves second language acquisition when the source language speakers bring their own language's features into the recipient language.

(2) Special syntactic features resulting from imperfect learning involve the linguistic aspects that are the most distinct in the source vs. target language.

(3) The most common mode of errors involves duplicating source language patterns including word order, sentence structures and grammatical scope.

(4) These special linguistic features were in use for such a long time because of historical, social, religious, political, economic and other conditions and factors.

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Postscript

Approximately three years ago, encouraged by Western linguists who work on Chinese linguistics, the Commercial Press in Beijing, China and De Gruyter Mouton in Berlin, Germany decided to publish a set of books with articles on research in Chinese linguistics, entitled *The Trends of Chinese Linguistics*. All of the articles were originally written in Chinese and published by the Commercial Press, Beijing. We were invited to serve as editors for Volume 1, *Language Contact in the History of the Chinese Language*.

It has been a learning process to witness the challenges of translating these articles on historical Chinese linguistics into English and managing the various tasks involved in editing these articles. With the collaboration of the contributors and encouragement from various parties, this volume can finally be presented to our readers.

We would like to express our most sincere gratitude to the Chief Editor of Commercial Press, Dr. Hongbo Zhou, the press editors Dr. Ying He and Dr. Wenying Dai, as well as all the press editors involved in editing this volume for their unfailing support. We would also like to thank Dr. Dandan Chen for making the time and effort to contact contributors and communicate with various parties.

Each contributor oversaw the first draft of his/her article, including its English translation and formatting. The presentation of this volume owes to two doctoral students' conscientious efforts and devotion in working with us to review English translation and formatting issues—the primary duty of Mr. Isaac Wang was to edit the English translations, while Ms. Feng Xie's was to work on the formatting.

We are most grateful for having had this opportunity to work with the publishing houses in China and Germany, contributors, and friends to serve our fellow linguistics colleagues and students. Thank you all!

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Index