

STUDIES IN MIDDLE CHINESE GRAMMAR :  
THE LANGUAGE OF THE EARLY YEULUH

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## CHAPTER I

### INTRODUCTION

The Chinese language is not only a major world language, but also a uniquely well-documented language. "From the viewpoint of the collection of data", as Paul B. Denlinger has put it, "Chinese historical linguistics is a lush, tropical field."<sup>1</sup>

Moreover, there has been in China a long tradition of detailed and scholarly philology<sup>2</sup> which has served as a sound basis for Chinese and non-Chinese linguists in the twentieth century when they began to examine Chinese from the standpoint of modern linguistics.

The traditional Chinese philologists were concerned largely with the exegesis of Old Chinese (OC) texts from the classical period.<sup>3</sup> Their grammatical studies were often concerned with textual problems. Their phonetic investigations frequently had to do with literary rhymes and the study of the writing system. They were less interested in the spoken language and the language of dialects. In this century, linguists like Luo Charngpeir<sup>4</sup> Doong Torngher, Wang Lih, Chao Yuen Ren, Karlgren, and Maspero have done much work on spoken language and dialects, while not neglecting the study of Old Chinese. Middle Chinese (MC)<sup>5</sup> has not been so much studied, particularly from the viewpoint of grammar. It is with Middle Chinese grammar that this thesis is concerned.

In the development from OC to NC (New Chinese), Chinese has changed comparatively slowly. Many writers have emphasised the "continuity" of the Chinese language.<sup>6</sup> Although the mechanisms of linguistic change are not yet completely understood, it can be speculated that cultural and political homogeneity on the one hand, and

the effect of a conservative writing system on the other, have something to do with retarding change.<sup>7</sup>

But it is true that too much can be made of the unchangingness of the Chinese language, as it can be of Chinese history. Linguists and historians both have to look for the interesting diversities within larger uniformities. For the linguist, there are significant changes to observe in the phonology and grammar (not to mention vocabulary) of the MC period. There is quite a jump between the language of the Six Dynasties prose and the language of Yuan drama.

Before going any further, let us consider the problems involved in the use of terms like "style", "literary", "colloquial", "classical", and "vernacular".

Take firstly the study of language and languages in general. We need to distinguish between (a) synchronic and (b) diachronic linguistics; that is between (a) studying a language at one place and period, and (b) comparing related or unrelated languages at different places and/or periods. Methodologically (a) precedes (b). Granted that we are making a synchronic study of one particular language, we then need to consider the different styles of that language.

The style of a language varies according to the status and requirements of the speaker (or writer - see below for the spoken/written language dichotomy.) Different styles involve grammatical, phonological, and lexical variation. Stylistic variation is clearly felt by the speakers of a language, but it is not so easy to describe objectively. One useful analogy is to regard style as a spectrum ranging from casual or informal to non-casual or formal.<sup>8</sup> Another analogy is Martin Joos' two-dimensional table, reproduced by Chao in his Language and Symbolic Systems.<sup>9</sup> A third interpretation, from a different angle, is given by Chao

in his Grammar of Spoken Chinese.<sup>10</sup> Here he lists eight "types of discourse...in the order of connectedness, from the more artificially composed to the actual bits of speech as used in daily living".

The dichotomy between spoken and written language should be kept carefully distinct from the concept of style. In a general sense, written language tends to come on the formal end of the style spectrum, spoken language on the informal end. But written language can be informal (as in the case of realistic fictional dialogue) and spoken language can be highly formal (as in the case of a church sermon).

What is the difference between written language and spoken language? In some ways writing is a transcription of speech. But for two reasons it can never be an exact transcription. Firstly, no conventional writing system represents all the features of speech. In particular, writing fails to reproduce stress or intonation, or else merely hints at them with a restricted number of punctuation marks. As a result, writing develops different means to make up the deficiency. Secondly, writing and speaking often have different functions.<sup>11</sup> This means that even if we could write exactly as we speak, we might not want to.

Complicating further the distinction between speech and writing is their mutual influence on each other. Obviously, speech influences writing. But influence in the opposite direction is common. Words acquire "spelling pronunciations", bookish grammatical structures are revived in speech. Speech influenced by writing is particularly common in a society like the Chinese one, where high value has long been placed on written culture.<sup>12</sup>

In the study of any language, it is far easier to examine delicate stylistic features in a language now spoken than in a language at some historical stage. For one thing, we must rely on written records, without always being

sure, or even able to find out, to what extent a written text is an accurate reflection of the spoken language of its period.<sup>13</sup>

Turning again to Chinese, we find that the difficulty mentioned in the previous paragraph is particularly crucial. Because of the nature of the Chinese script, it has been assumed by some that written OC may have been a rather distant reflection of spoken OC. However there is a majority opinion that an OC text such as Mencius does reflect spoken OC more or less closely, bearing in mind the inherent differences between speech and writing discussed above.<sup>14</sup>

But during the MC period the spoken and written languages increasingly diverged. The written language gradually became a formalized literary language, based mainly on Confucian texts of the middle and late OC period. This is the written language now known in China as wenyan 文言, in the West as Classical Chinese or Literary Chinese. (Henceforth I abbreviate it as LC.)<sup>15</sup> LC is still to some extent in competition with written NC as a written norm. Throughout the MC and NC period LC influenced both the written and the spoken language.

Let us consider the differences between LC and NC, setting aside phonological ones.<sup>16</sup> There are considerable lexical differences. More importantly, there are extensive grammatical differences, involving sets of different grammatical forms. Note however that many of the structures and functions of grammatical forms are the same, even if the forms themselves have changed.<sup>17</sup>

Finally, we should discuss the words "vernacular" and "colloquial" as they are used in relation to Chinese.<sup>18</sup> They are used to refer to written and spoken NC (sometimes MC) in contrast to (written) LC. A negative definition of "colloquial Chinese" is "that which is not literary Chinese". This is the definition used by M.A.K. Halliday in his The



Language of the Chinese "Secret History of the Mongols":  
 "The Language of the "Secret History", however, is not  
 "literary Chinese": this is in fact its significant feature,  
 and therefore the language in which it is written is  
 designated, by opposition to "literary", as "colloquial  
 Chinese".<sup>19</sup>

The Chinese term bairhuah 白話 corresponds to  
 "colloquial Chinese", but from the view of a literary  
 historian like Hu Shih<sup>20</sup> can also be taken in a broader  
 way to describe LC texts of a certain type. In my analysis,  
 I shall prefer not to use the term "colloquial" of Middle  
 Chinese, since MC by definition is taken to be a spoken  
 language, or the written version of it, in contrast to LC.

After the above attempt to examine some of the different  
 aspects of language and linguistic description, I wish to  
 consider the concept of "mixed style" as applied to Chinese.  
 A text of the NC (or MC) period which has many LC features  
 as well as NC (or MC) ones can be described as having  
 "mixed style".<sup>21</sup> Let us take an example from the writing  
 of modern Chinese linguists. Chao's Yeuyan Wenntyj<sup>22</sup> 語言  
 問題 can be described as written NC. Some of Leu  
 Shwushiang's 呂叔湘 articles can be described as (written)  
LC.<sup>23</sup> But take the case of Jou Faagau's 周法高 Jonggwo  
Guuday Yeufaa<sup>24</sup> 中國古代語法. (I am of course considering  
 Jou's own style, not that of the numerous OC and MC  
 quotations which he gives). Here we have a language which,  
 although basically NC, has many LC usages. Much Chinese  
 writing is like this, varying across a wide range from "pure"  
NC to "pure" LC.<sup>25</sup>

In the case of recent writing it is comparatively easy to  
 recognize and describe those LC features which contribute to  
 style mixture. But because of our lack of accurate knowledge  
 about spoken MC, it is often hard to interpret what might

appear to be style mixture. The apparent mixture can arise from the following rather different circumstances:

(1) Some apparently OC and LC grammatical forms were still current in spoken LC.<sup>26</sup>

(2) There are competing forms in the same text, in which case either - (2a) there is a genuine style mixture as described above,<sup>27</sup> or (2b) two different written forms in fact have come to be pronounced the same, so that the "mixture" is merely graphic.<sup>28</sup>

More often than not, one can only speculate on which of these circumstances apply. My object will be to record such forms rather than to make definite conclusions on their stylistic function.

This introduction is intended to serve as an outline of some of the problems involved in Chinese historical linguistics. In the next chapter, I turn to a more specific discussion of the MC texts to be examined in the body of the thesis.

NOTES TO CHAPTER I

1. Paul B. Denlinger, "Chinese Historical Linguistics: The Road Ahead", JAOS 81 (1961), 1-7, at p.1.
2. For an account of Chinese traditional philology, see Wang Lih 王力, Jonggwo Yeuyanshyue Shyy 中國語言學史, (Peking, 1967). The work was originally published as a series of articles in CKYW, 1963-1964.
3. For the term "Old Chinese" see note (5) below.
4. In general, National Romanization will be used throughout the thesis for transcribing Chinese characters. However in the case of Chinese authors like Chao Yuen Ren who write frequently in Western languages, I use the transcription which they themselves adopt. In matters of capitalization, solid-writing and the like, I follow the conventions used in Y.R. Chao, A Grammar of Spoken Chinese (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1968). This work is henceforth abbreviated as Chao, GSC.
5. I use the following abbreviations for stages in the Chinese language: OC - Old Chinese (Karlgren's "Archaic Chinese"). MC - Middle Chinese (Karlgren's "Ancient Chinese"). NC - New or Modern Chinese. NC is used in the specialized sense of the standard language based on the Peking Dialect, as distinct from other dialect groups.

I am applying Jou Faagau's 周法高 periodization, as given in his article "Jonggwoyeu de tehjyr her fajaan chynghshyng" 中國語的特質<sup>和</sup>發展情形, Hannshyue Luennjyi 漢學論集, (Hongkong, 1964), 109-133. Jou further subdivides OC, MC, NC (shangguuchyi, jongguuchyi, jinn-daychyi 上古期中古期近代期) into three periods each (chyanduann, jongduann, howduann 前段中段後段). These

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## 5. (continued)

could be translated as "early", "middle" and "late". For each of the nine periods thus set up, he lists characteristic linguistic features.

His subdivision of the MC period is as follows (his dates are approximate):

Early MC (100 - 600 A.D.)

Middle MC (600 - 900 A.D.)

Late MC (900 - 1200 A.D.)

I shall abbreviate these subdivisions as EMC, MMC, and LMC respectively.

6. For instance Gau Mingkae 高名凱, "Luenn Hannyeu 論 漢 語 Yeufaa .de Lihshyy Jihcherngshinq", Beeijing Dahshyue 語 法 的 歷 史 繼 承 性 Shyuebaw, 1955, 167-183. See also Takahashi Kumpei 高橋君平, Kango Keitai Bumpō Ron (Tokyo, 1963), 607-627. 漢 語 形 体 文 法 論
7. On the possible effect of social and cultural factors on the rate of linguistic change, see Harry Hoijer, "Linguistic and Cultural Change", 455-462 of Dell Hymes ed., Language in Culture and Society (New York, 1964). Hoijer's article was originally written in 1948. There is a useful five-page annotated bibliography.
8. On style in general, see Enkvist, Spencer and Gregory, Linguistics and Style (London, 1964); Thomas A. Sebeok ed., Style in Language (New York and London, 1960). Sebeok's book has a voluminous bibliography.
9. Yuen Ren Chao, Language and Symbolic Systems (Cambridge, U.K., 1968), 129-30. The table given by Chao is from Martin Joos, "Five Clocks", IJAL 28, 2 (1962).
10. Chao, GSC, 17.

11. See Charles F. Hockett, A Course in Modern Linguistics (New York, 1958), 546-9; Josef Vachek, The Linguistic School of Prague (Indiana University Press, Bloomington and London, 1966), 101-103, 110 n.9.
12. Leonard Bloomfield, Language (London, 1967; first ed. 1933) 487-9; Y.R. Chao, "What is Correct Chinese?", JAOS 81 (1961), 171-177.
13. This helps to explain the different emphases in the linguistic and in the literary study of style. "There is basically only one study of style. Because of the circumstance that literature in the form of written text does not usually include elements of vocal expression, the study of literary style has come to be more associated with those elements of the language which are more tangible from the text, namely diction, phraseology, etc. Linguists, on the other hand, ... find style to depend very much upon elements of voice dynamics and perhaps more so than those of words and constructions." Chao, Language and Symbolic Systems, op. cit., 128.
14. See Bernhard Karlgren, "Excursions in Chinese Grammar" BOMFEA 23 (1951), 107-133. See especially 107-113 and 129-133.
15. Following Chao, GSC, and Chao's other works, in which he uses the abbreviation L.
16. LC has no separate pronunciation of its own. "The same sentence in wenyan has as many ways of pronunciation as there are dialects [of modern spoken Chinese]". (Chao, Mandarin Primer (Harvard University Press, 1961. First ed. 1948), p.8.  
The "literary pronunciations" (dwuin 讀音) of some dialects (e.g. the Southern Min dialect of Lungtu) are

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16. (continued)  
 used in reading aloud texts in LC or NC alike. See  
 Søren Egerod, The Lungtu Dialect (Copenhagen, 1956), 71.  
 Paradoxically, LC forms can thus have a more modern  
 pronunciation than their NC cognates. A number of such  
 cases are discussed by Paul Demiéville in his  
 "Archaïsmes de Prononciation en Chinois Vulgaire", TP  
 40 (1951), 1-59. Demiéville's article is henceforth  
 referred to as Demiéville, "Archaïsmes".
17. This point is made by Gau Mingkae and Takahashi Kumpei  
 in their works cited in n.(6) above. See also Chao,  
GSC, 13 : "..., it is in matters of grammar that the  
 greatest degree of uniformity is found among all the  
 dialects of the Chinese language. Apart from some minor  
 divergencies... [in word order], and apart from  
 differences in suffixes and particles for which, however,  
 fairly close equivalents can be set up between dialects,  
 one can say that there is practically one universal  
 Chinese grammar. Even taking wenyan into consideration,  
 we shall find that the only important differences are  
 that wenyan has more free monosyllabic words and less  
 use of compounds and that its prepositional phrases of  
 locality and origin can follow instead of always  
 preceding the main verb. Otherwise it has substantially  
 the same grammatical structure as, not only the dialect  
 of Peiping, but any dialect." At many points in the  
 book, Chao gives examples of basically identical  
 structures in LC and NC.
18. Demiéville uses the French term "vulgaire" (in contrast  
 to "littéraire").
19. M.A.K. Halliday, The Language of the Chinese "Secret  
 History of the Mongols" (Oxford, 1959), 16. Pp.15-17  
 have a general discussion of style, speech, and writing.

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19. (continued)  
This work of Halliday's is henceforth referred to as "Halliday, Secret History".
20. Hu Shih, 胡適, Bairhuah Wenshyue Shyy 白話文學史, (Hongkong, 1959 ed.), Author's Preface (tzyhshih 自序), 9-10. (The preface is dated 5/6/1928).
21. For some references to mixed style, see A.A. Dragunov, Untersuchungen zur Grammatik der modernen chinesischen Sprache (Berlin, 1960; original Russian edition Moscow and Leningrad, 1952), 224; John Lyman Bishop, The Colloquial Short Story in China (Cambridge, Mass., 1966), pp.5, 12; Lin Taur 林燾, Review of Gau Mingkae, Hannyeu Yeufaa Luenn 漢語語法論 (Shanghai, 1948). Lin Taur's review is in YCHP 34 (1948), 281-286. See 285-286; Gau Mingkae, "Tarngday Charnjia Yeuluh Suoojiann .de Yeufaa Cherngfen" 唐代禪家語錄所見的語法成分, YCHP 34 (1948), 49-84. See pp.49-51. (This article by Gau is henceforth referred to as Gau, "Yeuluh" ); Ch'ên, Chinese Literature: A Historical Introduction (New York, 1961), 467; Gerty Kallgren, Studies in Sung Time Colloquial Chinese as Revealed in Chu Hi's Ts'uanshu (Stockholm, 1958), 6-7. (Henceforth referred to as Kallgren, Studies.)  
A Chinese expression for style mixture is "bannwen bannbair" 半文半白.
22. Y.R. Chao, Yeuyan Wennty 語言問題 (Taiwan, 1959).  
The colloquial nature of the writing is to be explained both by Chao's preference for such a written style, and by the fact that the book originally consisted of a lecture series.
23. Leu Shwushiang 呂叔湘, Hannyeu Yeufaa Luennwen-jyi 漢語語法論文集 (Peking, 1955), e.g. the article  
(continued)

23. (continued)  
pp.59-68. Leu's work is henceforth referred to as Luennwen-jyi.
24. Jou Faagau 周法高, Jonggwo Guuday Yeufaa  
中國古代語法 (Taipei, three vols. to date;  
Part I, 1961; Part II, 1962; Part III, 1959).  
Henceforth referred to as Jou I, Jou II and Jou III  
respectively.
25. "Pure" is not an exact term to use, since in practice  
even the most colloquial text might have some literary  
features as well.
26. For example, yeu 與 in the MC of the Buddhist yeuluh  
(as a preposition).
27. For instance, the use of both du and jie 都皆 (in the  
meaning "all") in the yeuluh.
28. A possible example is the alternation in the yeuluh of  
tsyygeh 此箇 and jehgeh 這箇.



## CHAPTER II

THE TEXTS

One of the most significant results of the Buddhist "conquest" of China was its influence on literary form and style. Literary historians have traced the Buddhist role in the development of prose fiction. Linguists have been interested in the colloquial aspects of the Buddhist works, many of which displayed MC features at a time when Literary Chinese had become firmly established as a written medium, whether in the form of the elaborate, metrically regular parallel prose (pyanwen 駢文) popular during the Six Dynasties period, or of the guuwen 古文 style propagated in the eighth century and later.<sup>1</sup>

Buddhist translation literature first appeared at the beginning of the MC period, and grew in an increasing flood from the third century onwards.<sup>2</sup> In his Bairhuah Wenshyue Shyy 白話文學史, Hu Shih discusses the impact of this literature. He lists a number of reasons for the new literary forms:

(1) The current pyanwen style would not suit the new Buddhist material.

(2) The early foreign translators found it easier not to write in the pyanwen style.

(3) Many of the translators' Chinese assistants were from the uneducated lower classes and thus unable to write in the formal upper class style.

(4) By their very nature, religious texts are concerned with communication rather than ornamentation, with easy understanding rather than "guuyea" 古雅.<sup>3</sup>

To this could be added a fifth factor: many of the early translations were made by groups of people, whereby an oral translation would be agreed on first and then written down (see Zürcher, Buddhist Conquest, e.g. 202-204).

This Six Dynasty translation literature has been drawn upon by linguists such as Jou Faagau and Ōta Tatsuo 太田長夫 in their historical grammars to illustrate EMC grammatical change.<sup>4</sup>

However it cannot be claimed that literature of this type reflects a Middle Chinese strikingly different from OC or the newly established LC. Nor can this be said of the poetry of the succeeding Tarnng period, although once again there are many individual MC features. Jou Faagau points out that "the Chyuan Tarnng Shy 全唐詩 contains more [colloquial] material than the Chyuan Tarnng Wen 全唐文". He briefly mentions examples from Bor Jiuyih 白居易, Harn Yuh 韓愈, and Leou Tzongyuan 柳宗元.<sup>5</sup> Ōta Tatsuo and Wang Lih 王力 give many examples of MC usages from Tarnng poetry.<sup>6</sup> In the seventh century novelette Youshian Ku 遊仙窟, the verse sections contain MC elements, while the prose parts are written almost entirely in LC.<sup>7</sup>

The earlier Buddhist translation literature may well have had some influence on the Tarnng poets' choice of colloquial forms, especially in the case of writers such as Bor Jiuyih who were interested in Buddhism.<sup>8</sup> Even opponents of Buddhism like Harn Yuh must have been acquainted with some of the translation literature. In fact Harn Yuh, in his guuwen 古文 movement, aimed at a prose style which (like the Buddhist style) emphasized simplicity and lack of ornament. But the means he used to this end - going back to the OC classics - was different.<sup>9</sup>

It is not until the later period of the Tarnng, and the early Song, that we find prose that is more colloquial: in two forms which are each blends of both Buddhist and Chinese culture, the biannwen 變文, and the yeuluh 語錄 of the Charn or Zen<sup>10</sup> 禪 school of Buddhism.

The biannwen, found at Duenhwang and dating from the eighth to tenth centuries,<sup>11</sup> have often been described as

showing colloquial features. "The biannwen were the popular literature of the T'ang and the Five Dynasties; in them is preserved much material in the vernacular (koouyeu 口語) of the time."<sup>12</sup> Works have been published dealing with the vocabulary of the biannwen<sup>13</sup> which would help greatly in a systematic grammatical study of the biannwen, but that study still remains to be carried out.

For over fifty years, the early yeuluh of the Charn Buddhists have been known as early examples of colloquial writing - of texts representing, to some degree, MC rather than LC. To them (rather than to the biannwen) has been applied the description "Mandarin colloquial texts",<sup>14</sup> although not every writer has regarded them - as did Maspero in 1914 - as "les plus anciens ouvrages contenant des passages de langue parlée que j'aie rencontrés".<sup>15</sup>

It is hard to make a final judgement as to whether the biannwen or the yeuluh are the earlier examples of colloquial writing. Such a judgement depends both on the degree of "colloquialness" - both types of writing vary in style between OC and LC - and on an accurate dating of the texts concerned. Some of the colloquial yeuluh record the sayings of Charn priests of the ninth century, but in their present form date from one or more generations later. Even if it is possible to speculate that they accurately represent the MC of the time of the ninth century masters, it is hard to prove that this was so. These texts, in their present forms, may have been written in tenth or eleventh century MC. Some of them exist in editions compiled even later, in China and Japan. Although such editions may be faithfully based on earlier editions extant at the time, it would be wrong (as Demiéville and Ōta have pointed out)<sup>16</sup> to regard them unquestioningly as examples of T'ang and Song colloquial writing.

However, many writers have regarded the early yeuluh as useful and valuable examples of Middle Chinese usage. The pioneering study was by Henri Maspero in his 1914 article, "Sur quelques textes anciens de chinois parlé", BEFEO 14,4, 1-36<sup>17</sup> (henceforth cited as: Maspéro, "Textes"). Maspéro studied five texts in detail, and alluded to others. In the forties, Leu Shwushiang made a number of references to the yeuluh in various linguistic articles.<sup>18</sup> Gau Mingkae also referred to them, and in 1948 published an article in which he described four additional texts: "Tarnghday Charnjia yeuluh suo jian de yeufaa chernghenn" 唐代禪家語錄所見的語法成分, YCHP 34, 49-84, with brief English summary 316-7. Gau's article is henceforth cited as: Gau, "Yeuluh".<sup>19</sup>

In 1951, Paul Demiéville made a somewhat critical reference to Gau's "Yeuluh" in "Archaïsmes".<sup>20</sup> Mentions - in general brief - of Maspéro's and Gau's articles and the works they described were made by Y.R. Chao (1947, 1948); Gerty Kallgren, Ōta Tatsuo, Iriya Yoshitaka 入矢義高, Wang Lih 王力 (all 1958); Halliday, Jou Faagau (1959); Jou Faagau (1963); Waley (1964); and Hatano Tarō 波多野太郎 (1965).<sup>21</sup>

Two opposite and extreme views on the nature of the yeuluh were put by Ch'ên Shou-Yi and Paul Kratochvíl, respectively.<sup>22</sup> Ch'ên refers to them as "the unadorned verbatim records of sayings in the vernacular". On the other hand, Kratochvíl (referring probably both to the biannwen and the yeuluh) writes: "There are literary pieces within the realm of popular literature written in what is claimed to be a close reflection of the language of as early as the T'ang period, but...they are written in a way which makes them almost useless as documents of the language. The authors of most of them had had some

traditional education which included training in wényán, and as there had been no other generally recognized norm of writing, their style is a mixture of wényán and unsystematic attempts to render the [spoken] language."

Of the writers mentioned above, Demiéville, Ōta, Jou (1963), and Waley all oppose an over-early dating for those yeuluh which are based on the sayings of the ninth century Charn masters. They rejected the view of Maspero and Gau that these texts should be considered as authentically ninth-century works.

The term yeuluh is a useful descriptive label for a compilation of a Charn master's dialogues and lectures (it was later applied also to Taoist and Neo-Confucianist works of the same genre). The yeuluh were written down by direct or indirect disciples, often after the master's own death. They often include brief prefatory and concluding biographical summaries. The predominance of dialogue and reported speech must have provided one of the impetuses away from LC tradition. Also it is possible that disciples took notes during the lectures and that direct transcription had an effect on the written style. (This would be partly analogous to the group translations mentioned above, Chapter II, p.13.) The important histories of the Charn School, starting with the Tzuutarng Jyi 祖堂集 (952) and the Jiingder Chwandeng Luh (completed 1004, published 1011) 景德傳燈錄 are essentially collections of various different yeuluh, gathered together, arranged chronologically according to Charn lines of descent, and supplemented with other material.<sup>23</sup> Linguistically, these works share the same style as the yeuluh, and are equally important as grammatical source material. Moreover, their dating is less controversial than in the case of some of the individual yeuluh, and they thus provide relatively stable guide-lines for textual comparison.<sup>24</sup>

Although yeuluh (Japanese goroku) is a useful and generally-accepted term, it must be admitted that its use is somewhat anachronistic when applied to the earlier examples of the form. The term did not come into use until the late Tarnng-Wuuday period, when many of the earlier works were renamed from simple luh 錄 (or equivalents) to yeuluh.<sup>25</sup> One early term was yeuyaw 語要: see Chwandeng Luh, T.51, 293b25ff., where what is now known as the Hwangboh Shan Duannjih Charnshy Chwanshin Faayaw 黃蘗斷際禪師傳心法要 is referred to simply as the Hwangboh Yeuyow. The series of short works generally now known together as Shernhuey Yeuluh 神會語錄 (dating from round the latter part of the eighth century) were not originally so called: the title was first applied by twentieth century scholars when they were rediscovering the texts.<sup>26</sup>

Finally - before examining in detail the text-histories of the yeuluh described by Maspero - I wish to mention and tentatively cast doubt on one of the standard definitions of yeuluh (quoted in identical form in both Tsyrahe 辭海 and Jongwen Dahtsyrdan 中文大辭典). According to the definition, the compilers of the first yeuluh used a comparatively non-LC style because they were "unskilled in the literary style" (bu tong yu wen 不通於文). However many of the Charn monks were highly literate men who had disciples in the highest social and cultural milieu. Yampolsky points out (speaking of the early ninth century Liowitzuu Tarnjing 六祖壇經) that even in Hueyneng's doctrine of direct transmission there is room for numerous learned references to traditional Buddhist scriptures.<sup>27</sup> Moreover, as Yoshikawa Kōjiro 吉川幸次郎 says in his book on Yuan 元 drama, in a survey of the development towards vernacular literature up to the Yuan, it is by no means a simple thing to introduce innovations on the basis of an

entrenched writing system. It requires literate inventiveness to find ways of writing hitherto unwritten language.<sup>28</sup>

The yeuluh literature of the Charn Buddhists was certainly one of several important currents of colloquial writing which led ultimately to the written vernacular of the Yuan and later dynasties. Even Song Neo-Confucianists such as Ju Shi 朱熹 may have undergone some influence from their Buddhist rivals in the formation of the prose style of the Neo-Confucian yeuluh. Galen Eugene Sargent has listed some of the Buddhist texts known to Ju Shi; they included a number of Charn texts.<sup>29</sup>

Below is a description of the five works studied in Maspero's "Textes" and in the present thesis. The sources for the following account (apart from the editions of the five yeuluh themselves) were: Maspero, "Textes"; Miura and Sasaki, Zen Dust; Ui Hakuju 宇井伯壽, Zenshū Shi Kenkyū 禪宗史研究 (3 vols; Tokyo, 1939-1943); Komazawa Daigaku Toshokan 駒澤大學圖書館, Shinsan Zenseki Mokuroku 新纂禪籍目錄 (Tokyo, 1962); Wilhelm Gundert transl., Bi-yān-lu, 2 vols to date (München, 1960, 1967). Gundert's work is cited henceforth as Gundert, BYL. For the abbreviations T., ZZ, and Tokyo Trip. see Bibliography of Primary Sources.

Jennjou Linjih Hueyjaw Charnshy Yeuluh, 鎮州臨濟慧照禪師語錄, also known as Linjih Luh 臨濟錄

This work contains sermons, dialogues, and bibliographical material concerning Linjih Yihshyuan 臨濟義玄 (810/815-866). It was compiled by Linjih's disciple Sanshenq Hueyran 三聖慧然 (n.d.) and revised by another disciple Shinghuah Tswenjeang 興化存獎 (830-888). The date of the first publication is unknown; however some passages in Linjih Luh are very similar to the CDL sections on Linjih (T.51, 290a-291a; 446c-447a). The

Tianshenq Goangdeng Luh (TGL) 天聖廣燈錄 of 1036 has material on Linjih which is almost exactly the same in wording as the Linhjeh Luh, although having a different section arrangement. (TGL is in ZZ, 2B:8, 4-5. The section on Linjih is 8,5,342Ab-352Ba).

Linhjeh Luh was published in 1120, and was included (probably by the end of the Song) in the Syhjia Yeuluh 四家語錄, on which see Zen Dust, 406-407; Sargent, op.cit., 13. Linhjeh Luh was also included in the Shiuhkai Guutzuensuh Yeuyaw 續開古尊宿語要 (1238) and its successor the Chorngke Guutzuensuh Yeuluh 重刻古尊宿語錄 (1267: also known as the Guutzuensuh Yeuluh 古尊宿語錄 and henceforth abbreviated as GY).

Four modern editions of Linhjeh Luh were used for the present study:

- (a) Jiuann 4-5 of GY: Tokyo Trip. 34 (騰) 4, 72b-81b. No annotation.
- (b) T.47, 496b-506c. Some textual variants given. This is the edition usually referred to in this thesis and is cited as LJL.
- (c) Rinzairoku 臨濟錄, ed. Asahina Sōgen 朝比奈宗源 (Tokyo, 1957; first ed. 1935). Includes some annotation; kambun transliteration; free Japanese translation; brief index of subject matter and proper names. Cited henceforth as Asahina, Rinzairoku.
- (d) Kunchū Rinzairoku 訓註臨濟錄, ed. Yanagida Seizan 柳田聖山 (Kyoto, 1960). Includes copious annotation; kambun transliteration (but no free Japanese translation, except as far as it is given in individual notes); substantial index of subject matter, proper names, grammatical and lexical items. See RBS 6, No.649, for Demiéville's glowing review of Yanagida's edition. It is henceforth cited as Yanagida, Rinzairoku. Reference is made to page number, section number, and note number. In the original



the notes are not numbered: I have assigned them numbers for the sake of convenience.

Hwangboh Shan Duannjih Charnshy Chwanshin Faayaw

黃蘗山斷際禪師傳心法要, also known as

Chwanshin Faayaw 傳心法要.

Hwangboh Duannjih Charnshy Woanling Luh

黃蘗斷際禪師宛陵錄, also known as Woanling

Luh 宛陵錄.

Both of these works record the words - sermons and dialogues - of Hwangboh Shiyunn 黃蘗希運 (d. c.850). The compilation of both is attributed to the high Tang official 裴休 (797-870) who was associated with Buddhism and with Hwangboh. Chwanshin Faayaw has a preface in Peir's name, dated 857. It is, however, possible that other students of the master wrote the Woanling Luh, and perhaps also the Chwanshin Faayaw.

In 1048, Woanling Luh was added to the section about Hwangboh in CDL. In the thirteenth century, most of Woanling Luh and the second half of Chwanshin Faayaw were included in GY. Both works were included in the Syhjia Yeuluh 四家語錄.

Woanling Luh exists in two versions. The GY version ((a) below) is about twice as long as the Ming version which forms the basis of the (b) and (c) editions. Apart from a few short sections unique to it, the Ming version is the same as the first half of the GY version. In this thesis, reference is made principally to the longer version, (a).

Modern editions:

Chwanshin Faayaw 傳心法要

(a) Tokyo Trip. 34 (騰) 4, 24a-27a. No annotation.

(b) T.48, 379c-384a. Some textual variants given. This is the edition referred to in this thesis, and is cited as CF.

Ui Hakuju's edition (Denshin Hōyō 傳心法要, Tokyo, 1936) was not accessible for the present study.

Woanling Luh

- (a) Jiuann 3 of GY: Tokyo Trip. 34 (騰) 4, 68a-72b. No annotation. Cited as WL.
- (b) Tokyo Trip. 34 (騰) 4, 27b-29b. No annotation.
- (c) T.48, 384a-387b. Some textual variants given.

Jawjou Jenjih Charnshy Yeuluh 趙州真際禪師語錄, also known as Jawjou Yeuluh 趙州語錄.

This work, the longest of the five, contains sermons, dialogues, poetry, and biographical material, which all concern Jawjou Tsorngsheen 趙州從諗 (778-897). Miura and Sasaki (Zen Dust, 344-345) reject the attribution (accepted by Maspero) to a supposed disciple of Jawjou, Wenyeuan 文遠. However they surmise that the work was in circulation by the end of the tenth century. It was included in the Guutzuensuh Yeuyaw 古尊宿語要 (1144), and later in GY (1267).

Modern editions:

- (a) Jiuann 13-14 of GY: Tokyo Trip. 34 (騰) 5, 9b-20b. No annotation.
- (b) Jōshū Zenji Goroku 趙州禪師語錄, ed. Suzuki Daisetsu 鈴木大拙 and Akizuki Ryūmin 秋月龍珉 (Kyoto, 1966; first ed. Kamakura, 1962). Includes introduction; some textual variants; kambun transliteration (but no free Japanese translation); substantial index of subject matter, proper names, some grammatical and lexical items; a table comparing parallel passages in Jawjou Yeuluh, TTJ, and CDL. This is the edition referred to in the thesis; it is cited henceforth as JJY.

Parng Jiushyh Yeuluh 龐居士語錄.

This work is in three jiuann: the first is mainly prose (dialogues and biography); the second and the third are entirely poetry. The work concerns the layman Parng Yunn

: no exact dates are known for him, but he was

active in the period c.785-806. He studied under both Maatzuu Dawyih 馬祖道一 (709-788) and Shyrtour Shichian 石頭希遷 (700-790). (Compare the section on Parng in TTJ, 99a16-b24.)

The compilation of the Parng Jiushyh Yeuluh is attributed to Parng's friend Yu Dyi 于頔 (d.818), a fellow official and Charn devotee.

About a third of the material of the first jiuann is found (arranged in a different order) in the Tzongmen Toongyaw 宗門統要 (1133), and in the 1320 recension of that work, the Tzongmen Toongyaw Shihjyi 宗門統要續集. The latter work, henceforth cited as TTS, is found in Tokyo Trip. 33 (雲) 9-10. The TTS section on Parng Yunn is Tokyo Trip. 33 (雲) 9, 93b-96a.

However, the first complete surviving edition of Parng Jiushyh Yeuluh did not appear until 1637.

In the present thesis, only the first jiuann is examined in detail. Only one modern edition was used, cited henceforth as PJY : ZZ 2A: 25, 1, 28Aa-41Ba. This edition has no annotation, and - unlike the texts previously described - is unpunctuated except for Japanese kunten 訓點.

The texts described above, which form the corpus to be described below, are taken to represent Late MC, and may well also reflect features of Middle MC. Waley's opinion on the language of TTJ is as follows: "The language of the book is the type of (late 8th century?) colloquial that was apparently the lingua franca of the Zen monasteries and is the medium in which Zen discourses were recorded for centuries to come." He also surmises that the considerable differences between this "lingua franca" and the language of the Duenhwang texts is due to regional factors. "This may be because the latter reflects the north-western dialect (including that of Ch'ang-an) whereas Zen language reflects

the language of the south and south-east, where the Zen sect was strongest."<sup>30</sup>

In the chapters below, the term MC refers, unless otherwise stated, only to the five texts in the corpus.

Finally, mention should be made of the length (in characters) of each of the texts. This is shown in the table below, together with three approximate percentages to facilitate frequency comparisons. The figures for PJY refer to the first jiuann only. The WL figures exclude the last 138 characters, which are found also at the end of CF: I have preferred not to count the same passage twice.

	<u>LJL</u>	<u>CF</u>	<u>WL</u>	<u>JJY</u>	<u>PJY</u>
Length: total number of characters	14,561	6,369	9,147	20,979	4,659
0.3% (approximation)	44	19	27	63	14
0.2% (approximation)	29	13	18	42	9
0.1% (approximation)	15	6	9	21	5

In Europe, too, religious texts were amongst the first to use elements of the vernacular languages, as a more communicative alternative to Latin, the prevailing literary language. For this point, see Erich Auerbach, transl. by Ralph Manheim, Literary Language and its Public in Late Latin Antiquity and in the Middle Ages (London, 1965), 281-2.

4. For instance, Shu III 335: Shu Jintao 太田貞夫 Chūzokyo Betsushi 中國詩學史文庫 (Tokyo, 1954), 244. (Henceforth cited as Shu, Jintao).

5. Jao Tsung-tsu, "Mandarin's de tsai-jr..." 中國話的源流 (cited above, Chapter 1, note 5), p. 127.

6. Shu, Jintao, passim; Wang Lin 王力, Shangwen Shixian 漢語史稿, vol. 2 (Jingfeng 甲稿), (Peking, 1958), passim. (The second work is henceforth cited as Wang, Shixian).

7. See Arthur Waley, "Colloquial in the Yuchien 11th", ASOAS 29 (1966), 359-365, at p. 365. (continued)

## NOTES TO CHAPTER II

1. Another aspect of the Buddhist conquest was its effect on traditional philology, in helping to foster the study of tones and rhymes. See Jou Faagau, "Fwojiaw dongchwan duey Jonggwo Inyunshyue jy Yiingsheang" 佛教東傳對中國音韻學之影響, Jonggwo Fwojiaw Shyy Luennjyi 中國佛教史論集, 775-808. See also R.H. van Gulik, Siddham: An Essay on the History of Sanskrit Studies in China and Japan (Nagpur, 1956).
2. See Erik Zürcher, The Buddhist Conquest of China, 2 vols. (Leiden, 1959).
3. Bairhuah Wenshyue Shyy (cited above, Chapter I, note 20) p.114. (The translation here and henceforth is my own unless stated to the contrary.)  
In Europe, too, religious texts were amongst the first to use elements of the vernacular languages, as a more communicative alternative to Latin, the prevailing literary language. For this point, see Erich Auerbach, transl. by Ralph Manheim, Literary Language and its Public in Late Latin Antiquity and in the Middle Ages (London, 1965), 281-2.
4. For instance, Jou III, 115; Ōta Tatsuo 太田辰夫, Chūgokugo Rekishi Bumpō 中國語歴史文法 (Tokyo, 1958), 244. (Henceforth cited as Ōta, Bumpō).
5. Jou Faagau, "Jonggwoyeu de tehjyr...." 中國語的特質 ... (cited above, Chapter I, note 5), p.127.
6. Ōta, Bumpō, passim; Wang Lih 王力, Hannyeu Shyygao; 漢語史稿, vol.2 (jongtseh 中冊), (Peking, 1958), passim. (The second work is henceforth cited as Wang, Shyygao).
7. See Arthur Waley, "Colloquial in the Yu-hsien k'u", BSOAS 29 (1966), 559-565, at p.565. (continued)

## 7. (continued)

- Verse forms by their nature are on the one hand more restricted than literary prose forms (by the need for metre and/or rhyme), but on the other hand less restricted in that they appeal more to the ear of the reader than does literary prose, and therefore often need to use colloquial and vivid language in an innovatory way. On the comparable development of vernacular verse in Europe, see Auerbach (*op. cit.*, note 3 above), 277.
8. Arthur Waley, The Life and Times of Po Chü-i (London, 1949), e.g. 97-100.
9. For a different view of Harn Yuh's prose style see Duh Jonqling 杜仲陵, "Liuehluenn Harn Yuh de shumian yeuyan yeu dangshyr koouyeu de guanshih" 略論韓愈的書面語言與當時口語的關係, Yeuyan Yanjiow 語言研究, vol.4 (October, 1959), 55-63.
10. The Japanese term "Zen" 禪 is the most widely-used form of the word in the West. I prefer to use the Chinese form in discussing Chinese texts.
11. Only some of the biannwen MSS are dated clearly. Those which are thus dated are from the tenth century. The dates refer not to the date of composition but to the date of copying. (Arthur Waley, Ballads and Stories from Tun-huang (London, 1960), 244.)
12. Jeang Liihorng 蔣禮鴻, Duenhwang Biannwen Tzyhyih Tongshyh, 敦煌變文字義通釋 (revised edition, Shanghai, 1960), Preface, p.2. Cf., also Waley, Ballads and Stories from Tun-huang, *op. cit.*, 239.
13. For instance, Jeang Liihorng, *op. cit.*; Iriya Yoshitaka 入矢義高, "Tonkō Hembun Shū' Kōgo Goi Sakuin 敦煌變文集 口語語彙索引" (Kyoto, 1961). Jeang's work

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gives detailed comments on the vocabulary; Iriya's is an index of colloquial features, without commentary. These works are cited henceforth as Jeang, Tongshyh; Iriya, BWJ Index.

14. Chao Yuen Ren, Mandarin Primer (Cambridge, Mass., 1961), page 9. (First edition, 1948).

15. Henri Maspero, "Sur quelques textes anciens de chinois parlé", BEFEO 14, 4 (1914), 1-36, at p.2. Henceforth cited as Maspero, "Textes".

16. Demiéville, "Archaïsmes", 17, n.2; Ōta, Bumpō, 410.

17. I am not aware of any European scholars before Maspero who appreciated the linguistic interest of the yeuluh. In China and Japan, the yeuluh had long been of philological interest, but perhaps had not been regarded as forerunners of bairhuah. Maspero's immediate predecessor was Chavannes, who in his series in T'oung Pao, "Inscriptions et Pièces de Chancellerie Chinoise de l'Époque Mongole" (1904-5, 1908) had described the colloquial style of the Yuan. (He was more interested in the historical than the linguistic aspects of the texts.) On page one of "Textes", Maspero acknowledges Chavanne's work.

Maspero was at that time stationed in Hanoi studying in particular Buddhism and linguistics, and the combination bore fruit in the article of 1914.

At least twice in later writing, Maspero referred back to his 1914 article. In his preface to Ting-Ming Tchen's Étude Phonétique des Particules de la Langue Chinoise, Maspero says that although it had been "fairly easy" to recognize the general features of the late Tarng spoken language, all efforts to penetrate further back into the spoken language had failed. (P.III).

In his article "Le Chinois" (published after his death) for the new edition of Meillet and Cohen, eds., Les

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## 17. (continued)

Langues du Monde (Paris, 1952), he writes: "La langue Parlée est connue par des textes écrits depuis le VIII<sup>e</sup> siècle de notre ère: dès cette époque, elle était presque exactement ce qu'elle est aujourd'hui." (P.601).

18. Leu, Luennwen-jyi; e.g., Linjih Luh 臨濟錄 is cited on p.89.

19. Gau referred to the yeuluh again afterwards: for instance in his article "Yeufaa Tzarshyh" 語法雜識 YCHP 40 (June, 1951), 89-129, at pp. 90-1.

20. "Archaïsmes", 17, fn.2.

21. Chao, Cantonese Primer (Cambridge, Mass., 1947), p.7; (then in Mandarin Primer (1948), p.8); Kallgren, Studies, e.g. 5; Ōta, Bumpō, 410-413; Iriya, "Kanzanshi Kanki" 寒山詩管窺, THGH 28 (March, 1958), 81-138, at 128; Wang, Shyygao, e.g. 293; Halliday, Secret History, 123; Jou III, e.g. 112; Jou, "Jonggwoyeu de Tehjyr...." (cited above in Chapter I, note 5), p.127; Waley, RBS 4, no.685; Hatano, "Sairon Shijishi 'Sha' - Chin Jibun Shi 'Kinjishi "Sha" Teki Raigen' Dokugo", 再論指示詞 "這" - 陳治文氏「近指指示詞“這”的來源」讀后 Nihon Chūgoku Gakkai Hō, 17 (1965) 183-199.

22. Ch'ên, Chinese Literature (New York, 1961), 368; Kratochvíl, The Chinese Language Today (London, 1968), 22.

23. Henceforth abbreviated as TTJ and CDL, respectively. I refer to the Taishō Tripitaka (= T.) version of CDL: T.51, 196b-467a. For the TTJ, I refer to the text in Hyosōng Cho Myōng-gi Paksa Hwagap kinyōn Pulgyo sahak nonch'ong 曉城趙明基博士華甲紀念佛教史學論叢 (Seoul, 1965). I did not have access to Yanagida Seizan's 柳田聖山 five-volume mimeographed edition of TTJ (Kyoto, nd.). It is this edition to which Ōta

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23. (continued)

Tatsuo refers in his 'Sodō Shū' Kōgo Goi Sakuin

「祖堂集」口語語彙索引 (Kyoto, 1962), henceforth

cited as Ōta, TTJ Index. Each one page of the Seoul edition corresponds exactly to six pages of Yanagida's edition.

On TTJ, see also Arthur Waley's posthumously-published article "A Sung Colloquial Story from the Tsu-t'ang Chi", AM 14, 2 (1969), 242-246; Ōta Tatsuo, Zhungguo Lidai Kouywen 中國歷代口語文 (Tokyo, 1957), 120-129 (henceforth cited as Ōta, Kouywen). TTJ is cited frequently in Ōta, Bumpō.

24. No detailed comparison is attempted here; however some reference is made to TTJ and CDL parallel passages: compare the remarks on parallel passages in Chapter III. A complete grammatical study of TTJ and CDL would be arduous but rewarding.
25. Compare Demiéville's remarks on the term yeuluh: p.7 of "Deux documents de Touen-houang sur le dhyāna chinois" (see Bibliography of Secondary Sources for fuller details).
26. For lucid accounts of the current state of Shernhuey studies, Philip B. Yampolsky, The Platform Sutra of the Sixth Patriarch (New York, 1967), 24-25; Isshū Miura and Ruth Fuller Sasaki, Zen Dust (New York, 1966), 392-396. The latter work, which is particularly useful because of its long section on Charn bibliography, is henceforth cited as Miura and Sasaki, Zen Dust.
27. Yampolsky, *op.cit.*, 111-112.
28. Yoshikawa Kōjirō 吉川幸次郎, Gen Zatsugeki Kenkyū 元雜劇研究 (Tokyo, 1954; first ed. 1948), 396.

29. Galen Eugene Sargent, "Tchou Hi contre le Bouddhisme", Mélanges publiés par L'Institut des Hautes Études Chinoises 1 (1957), 1-156. On the general development of the vernacular written language down to the Yuan, see also Yoshikawa, op.cit.; Igor de Rachewiltz, "Some Remarks on the Language Problem in Yüan China", Journal of the Oriental Society of Australia, Vol.5, Nos.1 and 2 (December, 1967), 65-80.
30. Arthur Waley, "A Sung Colloquial Story from the Tsu-t'ang Chi", AM 14, 2 (1969), 242-246, at p.243.

CHAPTER III

GRAMMATICAL INTRODUCTION

In their studies of the yeuluh, Maspero and Gau Mingkae were concerned to describe only those elements of grammar which they regarded as colloquial. They did not try to analyze the grammar of the texts as wholes.<sup>1</sup>

The object of this thesis is to give a more comprehensive description of all "listable" word classes, using this term in the sense of Y.R. Chao and Jou Faagau.<sup>2</sup> The corpus to be described includes most of the material studied by Maspero, but not the second and third jiuann of PJY. Originally it was intended to study Gau's material as well, but this intention was abandoned because of the doubtfulness of Gau's corpus in regard to text history. In fact, the language described by Gau does seem very similar to that of the five texts studied here, notwithstanding the remarks of Ōta Tatsuo.<sup>3</sup>

A thorough study of the language of the yeuluh might be modelled on Halliday's Secret History, which is in many ways the most elaborate analysis yet undertaken of a single Chinese text. Although mainly concerned with grammar (in the traditional sense of "morphology and syntax"), Halliday has considerable material on "Lexis" (Chapter VII) and "Phonology and Transcription" (Chapter VIII). No attempt is made in this thesis to deal with either "lexis" (that is, the open class of unlistable words) or with phonology.

There is a small amount of rhymed material in the corpus under study which might permit some phonological investigation; in the absence of that, the standard

transcriptions of MC, such as those of Karlgren or Pulleyblank, could have been used. However, there seemed no point in such a transcription not based directly on the material under examination. The transcription used by Karlgren and some of his pupils (including Kallgren) for literary Chinese in general, is mainly a device for use when characters cannot be printed alongside. That problem does not arise here. Chinese and Japanese scholars can and do cite grammatical material from any period without committing themselves as to the phonology. Western scholars of Chinese grammar have also often used NC transcriptions, even in discussing the language of earlier periods. In this thesis, discussion could be undertaken almost entirely without transcription, if it were not for the typological convenience of citing forms in romanization, and of indicating sentence divisions and other information in the romanized version. Hence I have risked the anachronism of using Gwoyeu 國語 transcriptions.

The absence of phonological discussion and of an exact MC transcription is not meant to undervalue the role of phonology in grammatical studies. It is, however, the fact that Chinese lends itself, by its nature, to a grammatical analysis with little reference to morphophonemics.<sup>4</sup> The traditional writing system to some extent compels such an approach; but the script does reflect to a considerable degree the linguistic facts. Hockett's words concerning general linguistics are particularly applicable to Chinese: "In grammatical study we are concerned with morphemes and their arrangements, but not, save in an ancillary way, with the phonemic shapes which represent morphemes."<sup>5</sup>

What is the purpose of studying the grammar of a closed corpus, such as the group of texts here considered? One purpose is to account convincingly for the forms used in the corpus, considered purely by themselves. Apart from any other objections to this as a sole approach, there is the difficulty of statistical inadequacy. Unless the corpus is very large, there simply will not be enough information in it to solve many of the grammatical problems. Moreover, it will be hard to decide whether such and such a form is regular in the language, because there may be only a few random examples of it.

There are at least three other purposes behind a study such as the present one: firstly, to facilitate understanding of other texts of the same period; secondly, to enable comparison with earlier and later periods of the language in question; and thirdly, as some contribution to the difficult but interesting topic of universal grammar. In the third case, "universal grammar" should at least include an attempt at a single grammar for any one language throughout its recorded history; and at most can contribute to a single grammar for all natural languages.

It may not be possible, or desirable, to study a closed text completely without reference to other periods of the same language, or to some theory of general linguistics. Even Halliday, takes into account NC and Modern Cantonese, although his grammar (Secret History) is otherwise notable for its strict application of internal criteria, for which he was criticised by Waley and Langendoen.<sup>6</sup>

George A. Kennedy deliberately began his study of the grammar of Mencius as if he was breaking a code; but even this fruitful demonstration depended on taking

for granted traditional divisions based on paragraphs and Chinese full stops. Not many pages after the beginning of his study, Kennedy began to take into account meaning, not merely frequency and relative position.<sup>7</sup>

Presuming that the student at least partly understands an MC text, his understanding of the meaning and the grammar can develop side by side. Any study of historical texts takes place without appeal to the "feeling of the native" which so much assists the understanding of present-day languages. As a substitute, help can be gained from parallel passages within the corpus and in other texts which cover the same material. Moreover, the opinions of later grammarians and translators are valuable.<sup>8</sup>

In the case of the five texts under study here, there are parallel passages for a number of sections in the corpus. Parallel passages in other texts should be expected to include contexts and sentences which are largely similar; in the references made below to TTJ, CDL, TGL, TTS, and BYL, the use of the term "parallel passage" implies that the context in these latter texts is similar to that of the corpus under study.<sup>9</sup> The differences and similarities which appear after examination of parallel passages often provide considerable help in grammatical analysis.

Iriya Yoshitaka has criticised Jang Shiang's use of parallel passages in his Shy-Tsyr-Cheu.<sup>10</sup> The great danger in the use of parallel passages is that the passages being compared may in fact use different grammatical means to express a meaning which is generally the same. Alternatively, the parallel passage may provide more or less details, or even conflicting information. However, used with caution, parallel passages do provide meaningful insight.

A number of grammarians have covered or touched on Middle Chinese grammar: there are the three general historical grammars of Wang Lih, Jou Faagau, and Ōta Tatsuo,<sup>11</sup> the last of which is particularly useful because of its wide range of carefully chosen source material, and because it provides Japanese translations for all its examples. Then there are references in specialized studies by Chinese linguists such as Gau, Leu, Jang, Jeang Liihorng and Liou Shyhru; by Japanese scholars such as Ōta, Shimura, Uchida, Iriya, Yoshikawa, and Hatano; and finally by Western scholars such as Maspero, Karlgren, Kallgren, Demiéville, Halliday, Crump and Dew.<sup>12</sup>

In the analysis which follows, the grammatical model used is broadly phrase structure grammar, based largely on Halliday's Secret History and Chao's GSC. The principal rival approach is that of transformational-generative grammar. This approach has so far been applied mainly to the study of present-day languages.<sup>13</sup> It depends even more than older grammatical models on the possibility of eliciting large numbers of "well-formed" sentences from informants.<sup>14</sup> It is thus particularly difficult to apply generative grammar to a fairly short closed corpus. The present thesis does not attempt a generative analysis, and may suffer somewhat from what Sandra Annear Thompson has called "the constricting assumptions of a classificatory model of description" (Lg 45 (1969), 439).

The MC texts can be divided into successively smaller units (sentence, clause, phrase, and character). Each unit can be assigned to particular classes. The grammar consists in identifying the units and classes, enumerating the members of each class, and explaining the structures in which the forms occur.

The Chinese script permits simple identification only of the smallest unit: the character. Identification of the larger units is based partly on some of the forms which occur only in certain positions, such as final particles; but mainly on a consideration of the meaning of the text, with the aid of the punctuation and interpretation supplied by later commentators.

In the next chapter, an overall description will be given of MC clause and sentence structure, as it appears in the texts under study. In Chapter V, verb structure is treated; in Chapter VI, noun structure; and in Chapter VII, adverbs and particles are treated. Chapter VIII consists of a comparison between MC (as described in this thesis) and ENC (as described in Halliday's Secret History).



NOTES TO CHAPTER III

1. For instance, in his section on prepositions, Gau states his intention of quoting "only those usages which differ from guuwen 古文" ("Yeuluh", 62). Ōta's TTJ Index, Iriya's BWJ Index, and Kallgren's Studies are examples of the same type of selectiveness.
2. Chao, GSC, 496-497; Jou Faagau ("Fa-kaō Chou"), "Word Classes in Classical Chinese", pp.594-598 of Proceedings of the Ninth International Congress of Linguists 1962 (The Hague, 1964).
3. Ōta, Bumpō, 410, 413. In a general discussion of the problems of linguistic source material, Ōta singles out Gau's treatment ("Yeuluh", 63) of daa 打 as preposition in MC. Ōta points out that the example given by Gau comes from a badly-authenticated text: he denies that daa as preposition could be regarded - on the strength of an isolated example in such a text - as a feature of MC. Ōta's general point seems valid, although he does not refer to the earlier section of his own book (Bumpō, 252) where the earliest example given of daa as preposition is taken from a text of as early as the Song-Yuan period. Apart from isolated points such as this one, the language of the texts described by Gau is very much the same as that of the texts described in the present thesis. See Chapter VI, n.5 for a mention of Demiéville's perhaps unjustified criticism of Gau's sources on the grounds of their range of second- and third-person pronouns.

4. That is, especially in the case of MC and NC. Of course morphophonemics has a somewhat greater importance in OC grammar.
  5. Charles F. Hockett, A Course in Modern Linguistics (New York, 1958), 147. Even in Halliday's Secret History, the grammatical description is presented almost without reference "save in an ancillary way" (e.g. p.123 on negatives and interrogatives) to the phonological description.
  6. Pp.525-527 of Arthur Waley, "Notes on the Yüan-ch'ao pi-shih", BSOAS 23, 3 (1960), 523-529; D. Terence Langendoen, The London School of Linguistics (Cambridge, Mass., 1968), 66.
  7. Kennedy, "Word-classes in Classical Chinese": pp.323-433 of Tien-yi Li ed., Selected Works of George A. Kennedy (New Haven, 1964). The article was originally published in a shorter form in Wennti 9 (April, 1956).
  8. Parallel passages and grammatical works are discussed in the text of Chapter III. Some reference will be made in this note to translations from the yeuluh, of which there are very few apart from short extracts. Compare also Ruth Fuller Sasaki, "A Bibliography of Translations of Zen (Ch'an) Works", Philosophy East and West 10, 3/4 (1960-61), 149-166, where Mrs Sasaki laments the paucity and low quality of Charn translations in general.
- Complete translations of texts in the present corpus:
- LJL: Japanese translation by Asahina Sōgen 朝比奈宗源 (Rinzairoku) described above in Chapter II.
- CF and WL: English translation by John Blofeld, The Zen Teaching of Huang Po (London, 1958).

(continued)

## 8. (continued)

In Chapter II, mention was made of complete kambun versions of LJL, JJY, and PJY. At best these can only be regarded as "semi-translations" from Chinese into Japanese, although still very useful for the student.

Numbers of - usually brief - extracts from the present corpus and other MC Charn texts have been translated into English, French, and German. Some of these translations can be found in the Bibliography of Secondary Sources under Chan; de Bary; Demiéville; Dumoulin; Gernet; Lu; Miura and Sasaki; Suzuki; Suzuki, Fromm and De Martino; Waley; Wu Chi-yu; John C.H. Wu; Yampolsky.

Wilhelm Gundert's masterly BYL must be singled out for special mention. His careful German translation and voluminous notes and commentary provide much help in the linguistic study of the yeuluh, even though Gundert himself is more concerned with the philosophy rather than the grammar of Charn.

9. For these abbreviations, see Chapter II and the Bibliography of Primary Sources. TGL parallel passages are used for comparison with LJL only; TTS parallel passages are used for PJY only; TTJ, CDL and BYL parallel passages are all used for LJL, JJY, and PJY. In the case of JJY, no detailed page reference is given for the parallel passages, since the Suzuki/Akizuki edition incorporates its own parallel passage table, to which reference can easily be made.
10. Pp.142-144 of Iriya Yoshitaka 入矢義高, [Review of Jang Shiang, Shy-Tsyrr-Cheu], Chūgoku Bungaku Hō 1 (1954), 137-156.

11. Wang, Shyygao; Jou I, II, III; Ōta, Bumpō. Jou's work covers mainly OC, but sometimes also EMC and MMC.
12. For fuller details, see the Bibliography of Secondary Sources.
13. However, as examples of stimulating generative treatments of historical and diachronic syntax, see Robin T. Lakoff, Abstract Syntax and Latin Complementation (Cambridge, Mass., 1968); E. Closs, "Diachronic Syntax and Generative Grammar", Lg 41, (1965), 402-415.
14. See p.194 of A.C. Graham, "Some Basic Problems of Within Classical Chinese Syntax", AM 14, 2 (1969), 192-216.

#### Romanization:

- (1) Marking of boundaries: // = sentence boundary  
/ = clause boundary  
/ = phrase boundary
- (2) Context of sentence: [ ] = narrative  
[ ] = dialogue (direct speech)  
[ ] = speech (direct speech)

Quotation marks outside sentences or clause boundaries indicate that the preceding (or following) clause or clauses are part of the same passage or direct speech. Quotation marks inside sentences or clause boundaries indicate the beginning (or end) of the passage of direct speech.

## CHAPTER IV

CLAUSE AND SENTENCE STRUCTURE

In this chapter a brief survey is given of MC clause and sentence structure, and of the parts of speech used in the description, with their abbreviations. References are made to the relevant sections in the following three chapters: for example, 7.12 refers to the twelfth numbered section in Chapter VII.

A few examples are given in this chapter, and cross-reference is made to some examples in later chapters. Within each of the three following chapters, the examples are numbered consecutively: Ex. 5:25 refers, for instance, to the 25th numbered example in Chapter V. Numbered examples are almost always complete clauses or complete sentences.

Examples are cited both in romanization and in characters. The conventions for each form of citation are described below.

Romanization:

- (1) Marking of boundaries: // = Section boundary<sup>1</sup>  
 / = Sentence boundary  
 / = Clause boundary
- (2) Context of sentence: Unmarked = narrative  
 " " = dialogue (direct speech)  
 "" "" = sermon (direct speech)<sup>2</sup>

Quotation marks outside sentence or clause boundaries indicate that the preceding (or following) clause or clauses are part of the same passage of direct speech. Quotation marks inside sentence or clause boundaries indicate the beginning (or end) of the passage of direct speech.

Quotes from poems are marked: (verse). In a few cases passages are cited which are themselves quotations from earlier works, previous to the yeuluh, and I then identify them as such. (See, for example, the section on yan 焉 in 7.11).<sup>3</sup>

(3) Other conventions: Hyphens are used (a) to link elements of the noun group (6.1, 6.6), and (b) to link free verbs to following complements and postverbs. Compound words are written solid. Capitals are used (a) for sentences-initial letters (a "luxury" notation, since the beginning of a sentence is already marked by // or /); and (b) for proper names. Colons are used at the end of clauses introducing direct speech. Repeated full-stops (...) indicate omissions.

#### Characters

The Chinese characters are given together with the punctuation used in the particular edition cited. Although such punctuation represents later editorial opinion, it provides assistance in problems of segmentation into clauses and sentences and may legitimately be drawn upon. LJL, CF, and WL have full-stops only (o). For JJY, Suzuki and Akizuki give full-stops, commas, and quotation marks (ㄝㄝ). The kambun transliterations given by Suzuki and Akizuki (and in Asahina's and Yanagida's editions of Linjih Luh) provide fuller Western-style punctuation, such as question marks. Although I have drawn on these versions as aids to interpretation, information from them is not included in the citation of characters in the thesis.

PJY has no punctuation: for it, the characters alone are cited.

MC clauses are of two basic types: verbal clauses, and non-verbal clauses.

Verbal clauses have the following basic structure. (Abbreviations are discussed below; brackets indicate optional elements) (A) (N)/(A) V (N) (ve) (p).

The first N is the subject (abbreviated as S); the second N is the object (O), ordinary or cognate.<sup>4</sup>

The part of the clause to the right of // is the predicate (P).

In addition to this, there are clauses with two subjects (S1, S2); and clauses with two objects; (a) indirect and direct objects after double-object verbs; (b) ordinary object plus cognate object.

A free adverb (Af); bound adverb (a); series of adverbs. (For Af, see 7.2; for a, see 7.1; for adverb series, see 7.5. Bound adverbs are subdivided into preverbal adverb (apr), final adverb (afi), and conjunctive adverb (aco).

N free noun (Nf), including pronoun (Npn) and quasi-pronoun; noun group; or noun phrase. (Cross references: Npn, 6.1, 6.5.1, 6.5.3; quasi-pronoun, 6.5.2; noun group, 6.1, 6.6-6.9; noun phrase, 6.1. The noun group is a structure containing auxiliary noun (nau), postpositive noun (npo), or determinative noun (ndt). Determinative nouns are further subdivided into demonstrative determinatives (nd) and numeral determinatives (nn)).

V free verb (Vf), including classificatory verb (Vcl) and think verb (Vth); or verb phrase. For Vcl, see V, n.3; for Vth, see 5.9, 5.9.2.

The verb phrase is a structure containing one or more of the following bound verbs in addition to the central free verb:

preposition	<u>vp</u>	(5.8)
link verb	<u>v1</u>	(5.9.1)
auxiliary verb	<u>vau</u>	(5.10)

V (cont'd)

complement vc (5.12)

postpositive verb vpo (5.11)

Included in the verb phrase may be (1) objects of vp, vl, vpo. (2) adverbs between the bound verbs and the free verb.

ve endverb (5.13)

p final particle (7.9, 7.11, 7.12)

Non-verbal clauses are of two sub-types

(a) S P non-verbal clauses.

(b) minor clauses.

(a) S P non-verbal clauses are sometimes of the form (N1)

(A) N2 (yee 也). N2 can be an interrogative expression:

e.g. the second sentence of LJL 505b18-19: /Gueishan biam wenn: /"Hwangboh shyshiong duoshao-jonq"/ Shy yun: /"Chibae-jonq"/ Gueishan then asked: "How many followers does Hwangboh have?" Linjih replied: "Seven hundred."

。瀉山便問。黃藥師兄多少衆。師云。七百衆。

Sometimes instead of N2 there may be one of a special type of A which can occur predicatively: e.g. yeuma 與麼, tzuohmasheng 作麼生 (7.3). For an example, see Ex. 5:28.

(b) Minor clauses consist of a single N functioning as question, answer, vocative, or exclamation. Minor clause questions and answers could be derived transformationally from verbal clauses.

Example of minor clause question: CF 380c17:

"/Her guh/" 何故 "Why?" See LJL 505b18-19 (cited above) for an example of minor clause answer.

See JJY 6.6, 74.8 for examples of shiongdih 兄弟 "Brothers!" as vocative minor clause. See the section on sheng 生 in 7.11 for examples of exclamatory minor clauses. See also the discussion of jeh 這 (6.7.1).



A special type of exclamatory minor clause has reduplicated N.<sup>5</sup> E.g. LJL 503b15-16, 18, 27: /"Tzeir tzeir"/ 賊 賊 "Thief!" Compare also JJY 3.9, 86.9. This reduplication could be interpreted equally as well as one or as two minor clauses.

Clauses can be divided according to function into three groups: (1) Main clauses, or free clauses; (2) Subordinate clauses, or bound clauses; (3) Embedded clauses.

(1) A main clause may function alone as a complete simple sentence, or it may follow one or more other clauses (main or subordinate), forming with them a compound sentence. A main clause is normally unmarked; but it may be marked by a conjunctive adverb (7.1) and/or a final particle (7.9, 7.11, 7.12).

(2) A subordinate clause is always marked as such by the presence of apr and/or afi (7.1). A subordinate clause is normally followed by another clause or clauses and does not form a simple sentence by itself.<sup>6</sup>

(3) An embedded clause may function as subject or object of another clause, and is sometimes marked by particles dii 底 or jee 者 (7.10). An important type of unmarked embedded clause is the clause object after a think verb (5.9, 5.9.2, 7.12).

An important sub-category is a clause (or clauses) embedded as object of a think verb such as yun 云 preceding (quoted) direct speech. Such cases are treated (for the sake of convenience) as separate sentences and marked by sentence boundaries.

An embedded clause may function attributively before N and may be marked by particles dii 底 or jy 之 (7.10).

NOTES TO CHAPTER IV

1. Section boundaries are based partly on the divisions made by Asahina and Yanagida (for LJL), by Blofeld (for CF and WL), by Suzuki (for JJY); and partly on the section indications in the T., Tokyo Trip., and ZZ editions (which show a new section by beginning a new line). Except in the case of the longer sermons in LJL, CF, and WL, each section is fairly short, and the change from section to section is usually clearly marked by a change of speakers or of subject matter.
2. "Sermon" includes mainly the direct speech in sections which begin with a phrase such as /Shy nae yun:/ 師乃云 "The Master then said:" (e.g. LJL 497a29). However a "sermon" is sometimes initiated by a question leading not to a dialogue, as normally happens, but to a long reply without further interruption from the questioner (e.g. WL 69a15).
3. Quotations from earlier works have not been excluded from the corpus. They are almost always taken from Buddhist works of the MMC period and share most of their linguistic features with those of the rest of the corpus. The reverse is not true: the quotations from earlier works lack such typical yeuluh features as the interrogative pronoun sherma 什麼.
4. A cognate object is normally a noun group of the structure nn N or nn nau occurring after a verb which never takes an ordinary object; or as a second object after a transitive verb with an ordinary object. (See 6.8.2 and 6.8.4).

5. Reduplication is an important formative process in MC, as in NC. See 5.6, 5.7 on verb and verbal clause reduplication; 6.2 on distributive reduplicate nouns; 7.1 7.3 on adverb reduplication.

6. Clauses of the form /Wey... ...(guh)/ 為...故  
 "Because ... .." occur sometimes as subordinate clauses, sometimes as main clauses functioning as simple sentences. For the former, see Ex. 5:35, Ex. 5:37. For the latter, see JJY 25.8.

## CHAPTER V

VERB STRUCTURE

5.1 The maximum verb form consists of several layers around a nucleus. The nucleus itself is a free verb (Vf), either simple or compound; or a classificatory verb (Vc). Then, on either side of the nucleus, can be a bound verb, respectively auxiliary verb and complement.<sup>1</sup>

5.2 The structure is then vau-Vf-vc. To that can be added a further layer of bound verbs of different types:

(1) before the nucleus, prepositive verb plus N; where prepositive verb has two different types, (1a) preposition (vp), and (1b) link verb (v1).<sup>2</sup>

(2) After the nucleus; (2a) endverb (ve) which can follow an intervening noun, and is thus different from vc;

(2b) postverb (vpo) with an object, forming a "postpositive complex group" (Halliday, Secret History, 104).<sup>2A</sup> Of these only vc is capable of occurring with a potential/resultative der form.

5.3 Examples of combinations of bound verbs:

Ex. 5.1: /...vau vp N VF : LJL 500c1 :

◦ 我要共爾商量。 "/woo yaw gonq eel shangliang/"

"I want to discuss (something) with you."

Ex. 5.2 : /...A vau Vf vpo N" : JJY 80.2-3

「你不得喚作火。 /"Nii buh der huann tzuoh huoo/"

"You should not call it fire."

5.4 Free verbs are either simple (monosyllabic) or compound (bisyllabic).<sup>3</sup> An example of the latter is shangliang 商量 ("to discuss, consult") in Ex. 5:1 above. Another example is the commonly occurring liibay 禮拜 "to bow" (e.g. LJL 504a12).<sup>4</sup> However, most free verbs in the MC of the yeuluh are simple - i.e. monosyllabic.

Some of the bisyllabic verbs (especially those ending in der 得) could be analyzed either as compound or free verbs, or as monosyllabic free verbs plus vc. One test is frequency of occurrence. In a transformational grammar of a modern language, separability could be used as a criterion: the ability (in the case of NC) to insert particles le 了, guoh 過, der 得, etc. In MC, however, on the one hand, leau 了 has not yet developed completely as a verbal suffix; and on the other hand, the forms with der occur too rarely in our sample to help provide complete paradigms of all occurring verbs. It is only rarely that a set of minimal pairs occurs in the same context (see also Ex. 5:64), as in the section LJL 499b17-19 where juangyan 莊嚴 is used twice as a (compound) free verb, and twice as a verb consisting of free verb plus vpo der :  
for example

Ex. 5:3 : LJL 499b18-19: "/\*ruoh jiauw ta juangyan / yih-chieh-wuh jyi juangyan-der/\*". 若教他莊嚴。一切物即莊嚴得。 "If you make it ornamented, everything else can be ornamented."

5.5 There is some class overlap between nouns and verbs - more exactly, the same character is used for two different word-classes, which may or may not be regarded as forming the "same word" in two different functions. Verbs can function as subjects and objects - that is to say, they can be nominalized.

Examples of nominalization:

Ex. 5:4 : LJL 499c12 : "/\*Shin ruoh yeou yih/...""  
。心若有異。 "If there are differences in the mind,..."

Ex. 5:5 : LJL 499c13 : "/\*Shin buh yih guh/jyi..../\*"  
。心不異故。即 "Because the mind is not differentiated, therefore....". (Yih is verb in 5:5, object noun in 5:4.)

Ex. 5:6 : LJL 497a7 : "/\*Huey yeu buh huey doulai shyh tsuoh/\*"  
。會與不會都來是錯。 "Understanding

and misunderstanding are both mistakes." (Here the word tsuoh in postverbal position could likewise be regarded as a verb nominalized into an object.)

5.6 Verb reduplication of various types occurs. One type is AVAV.

Ex. 5:7 : LJL 496c6 : "Suh daw/suh daw" 。速道速道。  
"Tell me quickly!" Another type is VV.

Ex. 5:8 : LJL 504c24-25 : "Jeh-hann lai-lai chiuh-chiuh/yeou sherma leauchyi" 。這漢來來去去有什麼了期。

"This fellow keeps coming and going back and forwards - will there be no end to it?"

Ex. 5:9 - LJL 496c11 : "Wey jenqjiuh jee kann kann" 。未證據者看看，"Whoever has not yet come to this realization should try to perceive it." (WU, Golden Age, 198).<sup>5</sup>

5.7 A-not-A question forms do not occur - but there are transitional examples in indirect questions (see Chapter 7.12) which are forerunners of such forms.

Ex. 5:10 : LJL 500a29 : "kann nii shyh buh shyh" 。看你識不識。"...see if you understand it or not."

### 5.8 Prepositions

Below is a list of MC prepositions, with sample translations. Prepositions with no indication of text occur in all five texts. Brackets after the other prepositions indicate the texts in which they occur. Asterisks indicate occasional use without object.

<u>shiang</u> *	向	"to, at"				
<u>duey</u>	對	"to, at"	( <u>LJL</u>	<u>WL</u>	<u>JJY</u> )	
<u>yu</u>	於, 于	"to"				
<u>yeu</u> *	與	"to, with, for"				
<u>torng</u> *	同	"(together) with"	( <u>LJL</u>	<u>WL</u>	<u>JJY</u>	<u>PJY</u> )
<u>gonq</u> *	共	"(together) with"	( <u>LJL</u>	<u>WL</u>	<u>JJY</u>	<u>PJY</u> )
<u>tzay</u>	在	"at"				
<u>tsorng</u>	從	"from"				
<u>tzyh</u>	自	"from"	( <u>LJL</u>	<u>CF</u>	<u>WL</u>	<u>JJY</u> )

<u>yii</u> <sup>*</sup>	以	"with"	
<u>in</u> <sup>*</sup>	因	"because of"	(cf. 6.5.3 on <u>insherma</u>
		"on the basis of"	and <u>inher</u> )
<u>jiang</u> <sup>*5A</sup>	特	"with"	
<u>baa</u>	把	"with"	( <u>LJL</u> <u>WL</u> <u>JJY</u> <u>PJY</u> )
<u>bey</u> <sup>*</sup>	被	"by" (English passive) <sup>6</sup>	
<u>wey</u>	為	"for, because of"	(cf. 6.5.3 on <u>weysherma</u> . See also 7.1 on <u>wey</u> as adverb.)
<u>naejyh</u>	乃至	"including, even"	
<u>jyh</u>	至	"to"	
<u>tzuoh</u>	作	"as"	
<u>swei</u> <sup>*</sup>	隨	"according to"	( <u>LJL</u> <u>WL</u> <u>JJY</u> )
<u>ying</u>	應	"according to"	( <u>LJL</u> <u>WL</u> <u>JJY</u> )
<u>jwo</u>	著	"based on"	<u>WL</u>
<u>woang</u>	往	"to"	( <u>LJL</u> <u>WL</u> <u>JJY</u> )
<u>daw</u>	到	"to"	

Ex. 5:11 : LJL 503b6 : /Shy lairyh yow tornq Puuhuah fuh jai/. 師來日又同普化赴齋。"The next day, Linjih again attended a maigre feast with Puuhuah."

Ex. 5:12 : PJY 31Aa2 : /"Luh tsornq sherma chuh chiuh?"/  
路從什麼處去 "Where does the road come from?"

Ex. 5:13 : WL 69b1 : ""/Guh jy yihchieh-ju-faa jie you shin tzaw"/". 故知一切諸法皆由心造。 Hence we know that all the various dharma are created by the mind."

Ex. 5:14 : JJY 11.1 : /"Ruher der buh bey ju-shinq huoh"/. 「如何得不被諸境惑」 "How does one manage not to be deluded by the various states?"

For examples of yu, see Ex. 6:18 ; for yeu, see Ex. 6:40 , Ex. 6:51 ; for gongq, see Ex. 5:1; for tzay, see Ex. 5:19; for yii, see Ex. 5:64 ; for jiang, see Ex. 6:34 , Ex. 6:62 ; for shinq, see Ex. 6:27.

### 5.9 Link Verbs and Think Verbs

(1) Link verbs (v1) and think verbs (Vth) are a class of verbs which share in common the feature of occurring as V1 in a ..V1 (N) V2.. structure. The structure as a whole is interpreted as one clause (but not as a clause with preposition as described in 5.8, or as two separate clauses with verbal expressions in series).

The difference between the two classes of link verb and think verb is seen from the differing interpretation of the V2.. in the structure: in the case of link verbs, the V2... can be taken as predicate after N as subject (while N simultaneously functions as object of V1) - hence Malmqvist's and Chao's use of the term "pivotal" construction; in the case of "think verbs" (to use Chao's term), (N)V2... can be taken as a (S)P object (clause object) to V1, similar in many ways to the occurrence of quoted direct speech after yun 云, iue 曰, wenn 問, etc.<sup>7</sup>

In MC and NC, there is some overlap between (1) link verbs and (2) think verbs. For NC, compare Chao's examples (GSC, 127)

(1) Woo ting.jiannota chanq de heen hao.

我聽見他唱的很好

(2) " " " ta " " " "

(1) "I (can) hear him singing well" (i.e., with my own ears)

(2) "I hear that he sings well" (i.e., but I haven't yet verified it).

For MC, compare the following examples:

Ex. 5:15 : LJL 505b27 : (1) /jiann hershanq kann jing/  
。見和尚看經。 "...saw a monk reading a sūtra."

Ex. 5:16 : LJL 500a18 : (2) ""/Woo jiann ju-faa kong  
shianq/" "。我見諸法空相。 "As I see it, all  
dharma are devoid of characteristics."

There is a parallel English distinction between

(1) link verbs; (2) think verbs; (3) verbs preceding or



following quoted direct speech. For example:

- (1) He told John to come.
- (2) He told us John was coming.
- (3) "John is coming", he told us.

### 5.9.1 Link Verbs

Below is a list of MC link verbs. All of the link verbs below are found in LJL and JJY; occurrences elsewhere are indicated in brackets. Asterisks mark link verbs which sometimes occur without an intervening noun.

<u>chiing</u> *	請	"ask"	( all three )
<u>chii</u> *	乞	"beg"	( none )
<u>yaw</u> *	要	"want"	( <u>CF</u> <u>PJY</u> )
<u>yuann</u> *	願	"want"	( <u>CF</u> )
<u>ling</u> *	令	"order"	( all three )
<u>minq</u> *	命	"order"	( all three )
<u>jiaw</u> *	教	"make"	( all three )
<u>farnq</u>	妨	"hinder"	( none <sup>8</sup> )
<u>sheu</u> *	許	"allow"	( <u>CF</u> )
<u>chiuann</u>	勸	"advise"	( none )
<u>huann</u>	喚	"can, tell"	( <u>PJY</u> )
<u>jiann</u> *	見	"see"	( <u>CF</u> <u>PJY</u> )
<u>yeou</u> *	有	"there is <u>N</u> who/which"	( all three )
<u>wu</u> *	無	"there is no <u>N</u> who/which"	( all three )
<u>der</u>	得	"get (someone) to"	( <u>PJY</u> )
<u>wen</u>	聞	"hear"	( none )
<u>yuh</u>	遇	"meet"	( none )
<u>day</u>	待	"wait for"	( all three )
<u>shyh</u>	是	"it is <u>N</u> who/which"	( cf. 7.8 ) ( all three )

### Examples of Link Verbs

Ex. 5:17 : JJY 12.8 : /"Chiing hershanq dar huah."/

「請和尚答話。」 "I ask you to answer", - "Please answer."

Ex. 5:18 : LJL 504a17 : /"Genq yaw dih-ell-shaur eh shoei po tzay"/ 。更要第二杓惡水潑在。 "Do you want the second ladle of dirty water to be poured out too?"

Ex. 5:19 : JJY 76.5-6 (showing both .v1 V.. and .v1 N V.. in the same passage). ⁄Yeou seng tzay bian lih ⁄Shy ling day shyngjee yeu⁄Seng day yun:⁄ [two sentences omitted]  
⁄Shy yow ling Wenyeuan day jy ⁄ 。有僧在邊立。師令代行者語。僧代云「……」。師又令文遠代之。

"There was a monk standing nearby. Jawjou told him to paraphrase the śramana's words. The monk paraphrased them thus: [two sentences omitted]. Jawjou then told Wenyeuan to paraphrase the words." (See JJY 103.5 for another example of ling with missing link.)

Ex. 5:20 : JJY 14.11 : ⁄"Tsorng shanq jyh jin/jyi shin shyh for⁄Buh jyi shin/hwan sheu shyueren shangliang yeewu"⁄  
 「從上至今,即心是佛。不即心,還許學人商量也無。」

"From previous times till now (it has been said that) mind is Buddha. Are students allowed to discuss (the idea that) mind is not Buddha?"

Ex. 5:21 : PJY 30Ba3 : ⁄Chuan huann shyhjee dean char⁄  
 川喚侍者點茶 "Tzerchuan called an attendant to make tea."

For examples of jiaw 教, see Ex. 5:3, Ex. 6:11, Ex. 6:53, WL 72b1; for jiann 見, see Ex. 5:15; for yeou 有, see Ex. 5:19; for wu 無, see Ex. 6:11.

### 5:9:2 Think Verbs

Below is a list of MC think verbs.

<u>jiann</u>	見	"see, realize"
<u>kann</u>	看	"see, realize"
<u>wen</u>	聞	"hear"
<u>cherngwen</u>	承聞	"hear"
<u>ting</u>	聽	"hear"
<u>shinn</u>	信	"believe"
<u>shyh</u>	識	"realize, know"
<u>hoei</u>	悔	"regret"
<u>wanq</u>	忘	"forget"

<u>wuh</u>	悟	"realize"
<u>daw</u>	道	"say"
<u>yan</u>	言	"say"
<u>shuo</u>	說	"say"
<u>pah</u>	怕	"fear"
<u>koong</u>	恐	"fear"
<u>jy</u>	知	"know"
<u>shyh-cheu</u>	識取	"realize"
<u>dar</u>	達	"understand"
<u>dar-der</u>	達得	"understand"
<u>wey sheen</u>	未審	"have not yet found out, - don't know yet."
<u>jiangwey</u>	將謂	"think (mistakenly)"
also written	將為	

#### Examples of Think Verbs

Ex. 5:22 : JJY 5.1 : ~~Wenn~~: ~~"Cherngwen hershanq chin jiann Nanchyuan/Shyh foou"~~ 問「承聞和尚親見南泉，是否。」<sup>7</sup> "Someone asked: "I've heard it said that you have personally visited Nanchyuan. Is that right?"

Ex. 5:23 : WL69b13-14 : "~~Ruoh yan fordaw shyh shiioushyue erl der/rutsyy jiannjee chyuan wu jiausheh~~"  
。若言佛道是修學而得。如此見解全無交涉。"Some may say that the Way of the Buddha can be attained by practice and study, but such an opinion is completely irrelevant."

Ex. 5:24 : LJL 500 a1 : "~~Koong ren sheng duannjiann/chyuanchiee lih shiu yan~~" 恐人生斷見。權且立虛言。"Fearing that people would develop ideas of annihilation, he (the Tathāgata) set up empty names as an expedient."

Ex. 5:25 : LJL 497b24-5 : "~~nii chiee shyh-cheu lonq guangyiing dii ren shyh ju-for jy beenyuan~~"。你且識取弄光影底人。是諸佛之本源。"...if you realize that the person playing with the shadow is the fundamental source of all the Buddhas...."

Ex. 5:26 : LJL 497c12 : " /Jyy wey dawliou buh dar san-jyyjye kong / suooyii.... / " 祇為道流不達三祇劫空。所以……

..... "It is simply because you don't understand that the Three Aeons are empty that...." 我將謂是箇人。元來是揲黑豆老和尚。

Ex. 5:27 : LJL 505b27-28 : /"Woo jiangwey shyh geh-ren / Yuanlai shyh aan heidow lao hershanq" /

"I thought it was a man, but it turned out to be just an old monk picking up black beans."

Ex. 5:28 : PJY 28Aa8 : /" Jy tzyy rennma/fangshyy wenn tzyy" / 知子怎麼方始問子 "I asked you only

because I knew what you were like." (Here the predicate after tzyy is non-verbal; see 7.3.)

Further examples : jiann 見, see Ex. 5:6; kann 看, see Ex. 5:10; Ex. 6:26; daw 道, see Ex. 6:56; shuo 說, see Ex. 6:25; jy 知, see Ex. 6:46; wey sheen 未審, see Ex. 6:77, 6:83.

#### 5.10 Auxiliary Verbs

Auxiliary verbs (vau) precede free verbs in the structure vau (A) V (where V can be Vf or one of the bound prepositive verbs including vau itself): that is to say, there is no possibility of an intervening noun. The rest of the clause (or clauses) following could be regarded as object of the vau.<sup>9</sup> In the case of prepositions, there is usually an intervening noun; in the case of link verbs and think verbs, there may be an intervening noun, and hence there may not always be a way to draw a firm line between vau and link/think verbs merely by using the criterion of intervening noun.

In his Secret History (94-5, 210-212), Halliday applies strictly the "intervening noun" criterion, and verbs such as (1) bey 被, jiang 將, dang 當, duey 對, yong 用; (2) yaw 要, sheu 許, yuhyaw 欲要,

jiaw 教, chiing 請, mean 免, pah 怕, shyh 試, huey 會; (3) der 得; are listed separately respectively under both (1) vau and vp; (2) vau and link/think verbs; (3) vau, vp, and link/think verbs.

I have instead treated sheu, jiaw and chiing as link verbs whether followed immediately by a noun or not. (See Ex. 5:17 for chiing N V; see the following example for chiing V):

Ex. 5:29 : JJY 81.4 : /"Chiing daa-poh shiukong lai"/  
「請打破虛空來。」 "Please go ahead and smash the air!"

A transformational solution to this problem would be to assume an underlying "missing link" (such as nii 你) between chiing and daa-poh, deleted in the surface structure.<sup>10</sup>

The domain of the vau can extend over two or more following clauses. See for instance LJL 499b24-26; WL 69a4; JJY 47.8. In LJL 498a6-7 the domain of neng 能 extends over the following 6 clauses.

Below is a list of MC auxiliary verbs, including some adverbial combinations, with sample translations. Here and in 5.11 below, each word occurs in all texts unless marked with a cross (x).

		LJL	CF	WL	JJY	PJY
<u>der</u> 得	"can, must" <sup>11</sup>					
<u>buh der</u> 不得	"cannot"					
<u>jyrder</u> 直得	"must"					x
<u>buh der buh</u> 不得不	"must"					
<u>der buh</u> 得不	"succeed in not..."					x
<u>shiu</u> 須	"it is necessary to"					
<u>jyrshiu</u> 直須	" "					x
<u>chiehshui</u> 切須	" "				x	x
<u>weishiu</u> 唯須	" "	x			x	x
<u>shiu yaw</u> 須要	" "	x		x	x	x

		<u>LJL</u>	<u>CF</u>	<u>WL</u>	<u>JJY</u>	<u>PJY</u>
<u>buh yong</u> 不用	"there is no use!..."					
<u>her yong</u> 何用	"what is the use!..."				x	x
<u>nii</u> 擬	"plan to, about to"					
<u>keen</u> 肯	"willing to"					x
<u>yaw</u> 要	"want to"		x	x		
<u>yuh</u> 欲	"want to"		x			x
<u>chyou</u> 求	"seek to"		x	x	x	x
<u>yuhchyou</u> 欲求	"seek to"	x		x	x	x
<u>yuhder</u> 欲得	"want to"					
<u>gaan</u> 敢	"venture to"				x	
<u>yih</u> 易	"easy to"		x	x		x
<u>nan</u> 難	"difficult to"					
<u>jiee</u> 解	"know how to"					
<u>neng</u> 能	"able to"					
<u>kee</u> 可	"may, able to"					
(kee yii occurs only as two verbs - <u>vau</u> plus <u>vp</u> (e.g. <u>CF</u> 381a26-28))						
<u>kan</u> 堪	"fit to"		x			
<u>her</u> 合	"fit to"		x			x
<u>ing</u> 應	"should"					
<u>shyh</u> 試	"try to"		x	x	x	
<u>mean</u> 免	"avoid"		x			x
<u>her lau</u> 何勞	"why trouble to"		x	x		x
<u>buh lau</u> 不勞	"not worth the trouble"		x	x	x	x
<u>shii</u> 喜	"like to"	x	x	x		x
<u>ay</u> 愛	"like to"	x	x		x	x
<u>hao</u> 好	"suitable for"		x			
<u>lai</u> 來	"come in order to"					
<u>chiuh</u> 去	"go in order to"					

Examples of Auxiliary Verbs

- Ex. 5:30 : JJY 64.10 : /"Ruher der jiann"/ 「如何得見。」  
 "How can you see it?"
- Ex. 5:31 : LJL 504c13 : /"Buh der woang byechuh chihuh."/ "不得往別處去。" "You don't have to go elsewhere."
- Ex. 5:32 : JJY 1.7 : /"Jeh-lao hershanq bey woo yih wenn / jyrder wu yan kee duey"/ 「這老和尚,被我一問,直得無言可對。」  
 "After just one of my questions, this old monk could think of no reply."
- Ex. 5:33 : CF 382a3 : ""/Farnren duo buh keen kong shin"/"。凡人多不肯空心。" "Many ordinary people are unwilling to empty their minds."
- Ex. 5:34 : LJL 506a1-2 ; ""/Jyy shyh nianday shenyewan / buh yuh jeu-syh hershanq"/"。祇是年代深遠,不欲舉似和尚。  
 "It is only because it was so long ago that I don't want to bring the matter up with you."
- Ex. 5:35 : CF 383c7-8 : ""/Wey eel buh neng rushyh / shuiyaw jiang shin shyue charn/shyue daw""/。為爾不能如是,須要將心學禪學道。" "It is because you cannot be like this that you need to use your mind to study Charn and the Way."
- Ex. 5:36 : JJY 104.5-6 : /"Wu chihuh shyh jy how / fernshau leau /buh yong jinqtaur shehlih"/"。吾去世之後,焚燒了,不用淨淘舍利。After my death, when I have been burnt, there is no need to clean the remains."
- Ex. 5:37 : PJY 30Aa6-7 : /"Wey woo yeu shy torng tsan/ fang gaan jieh wenn"/ 為我與師同參方敢借問  
 "It is just because I am visiting you that I venture to trouble you with my questions."
- Ex. 5:38 : PJY 30Ba16-17 : /"Shiu shyh renma /shyy der"/  
 須是恁麼始得 "It must be like that or it won't do."
- Ex. 5:39 : LJL 499a18-19 : ""/Eel ruoh yuh der rufaa / jyrshiu shyh dahjanqfuer1/shyy der"/"。爾若欲得如法,直須是大丈夫始得。" "If you want to attain truth, you must be an exceptional person."

Ex. 5:40 : JJY 12.4 : "/jufang nan jiann / yih shyh/Woo jehlii yih jiann / nan shyh "。諸方難見易識,我者裏易見難識。" "Everywhere else, it is hard to see but easy to understand. Here where I am, it is easy to see but hard to understand."

Ex. 5:41 : LJL 497a13 : "/Naageh her show ren tian gonqyeang"。那箇合受人天供養。 "Which of them is fit to receive offerings from man and heaven?"

Ex. 5:42 : PJY 28Ba2 : "/Laoueng ruoh buh kan Chyifeng/kan tzuoh geh-sherma"。老翁若不堪齊峰堪作箇什麼 "If I am not suitable for you, what am I suitable for?" (The first kan above is a free verb, the second a vau.)

Further examples: nii 擬, see Ex. 5:72; yaw 要, see Ex. 5:1; jiee 解, see LJL505a4; kee 可, see Ex. 5:32.

### 5.11 Postverbs

Postverbs occur either immediately after the main verb, or following an intervening noun. They are always followed by a nominal expression, often consisting of Nf npo. By contrast, complements are only optionally followed by an object.

Some of the postverbs also occur, with similar meanings, as prepositions. Preverbal and postverbal position of this class of words in MC depends on two factors:

(1) The influence of LC, in which "prepositions for 'place or time toward or at' (as well as 'arrive at')" are in the postverbal position, while "prepositions for 'place from' or 'time from'" may occur postverbally or preverbally.

(Chao, GSC, 754). The following example comes from the narrative section at the end of LJL:

Ex. 5:43 : LJL 506c12 : "/Chyi jiyuan yeujiuh tzay-yu



shyngluh/ 其機緣語句載于行錄。 "The Charn dialogue on that occasion is recorded in the Shyngluh."

(2) Development towards the "given/new" differentiation of ENC and NC, whereby a postverb is used before a noun which is new in the context.<sup>12</sup>

Ex. 5:44 : JJY 2.8 : /Shy suey jiang yih-jy-shye day-tzay tour-shanq/ chu chiu/ 師遂將一隻鞋戴在頭上出去。 "Jawjou put a shoe on his head and went out."

Postverbal tzay 在 occurs most often after the verb luoh 落, used figuratively as in the following example:

Ex. 5:45 : JJY 26.6 : /"Farn yeou yanjiuh/jeu shoou/dongq tzwu/jinn luoh-tzay shyueren woang-jong/" 「凡有言句,舉手動足,盡落在學人網中。"Whenever mere words are used, at every turn one falls into the traps of scholars." Luoh-tzay also occurs in the literal usage:

Ex. 5:46 : PJY 28Ab10 : /"Luoh-tzay shennchuh" 落在甚處 "Where do they fall?" (namely, the snow-flakes of the preceding context. Unfortunately, Parng's reaction to the monk's question was a non-verbal one, and we are deprived of the chance of seeing the position of tzay in the answer to the question.)

Below is a list of postverbs occurring in the five texts: none of them occur frequently.

			<u>LJL</u>	<u>CF</u>	<u>WL</u>	<u>JJY</u>	<u>PJY</u>
<u>tzyh</u>	自	"from"					x
<u>jyh</u>	至	"to"	x	x		x	
<u>daw</u>	到	"to"	x	x			
<u>shiang</u>	向	"to"		x			
<u>syh</u>	似	"to"					
<u>tzay</u>	在	"at"					
<u>yu</u>	於	"to"					
<u>yu</u>	于	"to"			x	x	x
<u>yeu</u>	與	"to"					
<u>tzuoh</u>	作	(see examples)					x

LJL    CF    WL    JJY    PJY

wei    為    (see examples)

cherng    成    (see examples)    x    x    x

Examples of Postverbs

Ex. 5:47 : PJY 28Ab9 : /Shan minq shyr-charnkeh shiang  
sonq-jyh menshoou/ 山命十禪客相送至門首

"Yawshan told ten Charn guests to accompany Parnq as far as the gate."

Ex. 5:48 : WL 6965-6 : ""/Renn nii shyue-daw san-cherng  
syh-guoo shyr-dih ju-vey / hersha jyy shianq farnshenq-jong  
tzuoh /"" 。任徧學到三乘四果十地諸位。合殺祇向  
凡聖中坐。 "Even if you study to the point of master-

ing the Three Vehicles, the Four Grades of Sainthood, and the Ten Stages of Progress, you will still erroneously cling to "profane" and "sacred" as separate concepts."

Ex. 5:49 : LJL 500a29-b1 : ""/Eel ruoh shyh-der shyh  
jinq/baa-der/biann pau-shianq gengtzyy-lii/"" 。爾若識得  
是境。把得便拋向坑子裏。 "If you realize that it's  
merely a state, grasp it and throw it away into the cesspit."

Ex. 5:50 : CF 382b28-29 : ""/Du weytserng yeou shyrfaa  
jyyshyh-yu ren"/ 。都未曾有實法指示於人。 "So far  
you have used no true method to instruct people."

Ex. 5:51 : PJY 30Aa18 : /Yuh shyng shyr yeu jiushyh /  
疏行食與居士 "Dahyuh handed food to Parnq."

Ex. 5:52 : LJL 503a13 : ""/Huann-tzuoh sherma wuh /""  
。喚作什麼物。 "What is it called?"

Ex. 5:53 : WL 68a12 : ""/Ming jy wei tzuu /"" 。名之  
為祖。 "He was called Patriarch."

Ex. 5:54 : CF 382c18 : ""/Buh jy duo jy duo jiee fan-  
cherng iongseh/"" 。不知多知多解翻成壅塞。 "You  
don't realize that knowledge and wisdom turn out to be  
obstacles."

Further examples: shiang 向, see V, n.13; yu 于,  
see Ex. 5:43; tzuoh 作, see Ex. 5:2, Ex. 6:33;  
syh 似, see Ex. 5:34.<sup>13</sup>

### 5.12 Complements

Below is a table of the complements in the corpus, arranged according to the constructions which occur.

Abbreviations are as follows: V : free verb; C : complement; B : buh 不 ; D : der 得 ; O : object.<sup>14</sup>

For convenience, leau 了 and leau yee 了也 are included in the table, although they are final particles. Combinations of complements with endverbs are marked in footnotes. Brackets around figures indicate cases where complements take part in nominalizing constructions concluding with dii 底 , chuh 處 , and jee 者 . The bracketed figures are included in the unbracketed totals alongside.

Not included in the table is the only case in the texts of a predicative complement (Chao, GSC, 355-358):

Ex. 5:55 : PJY 28Aa18 : /"Yih-deeng-mei shyan chyn wei shy tarn-der-miaw"/ 一等沒絃琴惟師彈得妙  
"You are the only one who can play a stringless lute well."

#### Examples of Complements

##### 1 V C

Ex. 5:56 : PJY 28Bb11-12 : /"Jiowjong jeh-yih-jiuh wu ren daw-der"/ 就中這一句無人道得 "Ultimately, no-one can say this sentence."

Ex. 5:57 : WL 71a2 : ""/Mih/ biann shy-chiueh /""  
。覓便失却。 "Seeking will get you nowhere."

(See also Ex. 5:61 below.)

##### 2 V C O

Ex. 5:58 : CF 384a12-13 : /"Jongryh chy fann / weytserng yeau-jwo yih-lih-mii / Jongryh shyng / weytserng tah-jwo yih-piann-dih /"。終日喫飯未曾咬著一粒米。終日行未曾踏著一片地。 "Although you eat all day, you won't bite a single grain of rice; although you walk all day, you won't touch a single piece of ground."



Notes to Complement Table

- a. Chiueh is written 錄 once only (PJY 28Bb2). For this the TTS parallel passage has 却 (96a7).
- b. One of these is LJL 505b8: /Yeou yih-ren jiang chiu leau yee"/ 有一人將去了也  
"Someone took it away (from me)." (Luk's translation is "Someone is carrying it." (Ch'an and Zen Teaching, Series 2, 86.) This does not seem accurate. Compare Yanagida's Japanese version: "aru otoko ga toriagete shimatta". (Rinzairoku, 213, Section 132, n.3.) I interpret this as /vI N Vf ve p/, where p is leau yee. The TGL parallel passage has simply ...jiang chiu yee/ (TGL 343Aa12). The CDL parallel passage (290b10) is the same as LJL.
- c. One of these (WL 72a10) is followed by ve lai. The Vf is again jiang.
- d. One of these (JJY 36.11) has Vf jiang and ve chiu.
- e. PJY 29Bb10: "/Jyh-jiang yih-wenn lai"/ 致將一問來  
"Go ahead and ask a question." Interpreted as /Vf vc N ve/.
- f. One of these (JJY 17.8) has wey 未 instead of buh.
- g. One of these (JJY 6.5) has ve chiu.
- h. JJY 81.4, with ve lai (cited above, Ex. 5:29).

Ex. 5:59 : PJY 28Bb10 : /"Genq daw-cheu yih-jiuh/"

更道取一句 "Say something else...."

### 3 V O C

Ex. 5:60 : JJY 2.7 : /Chyuan nae jeu chyuan-huah leau /

yun : / , 泉乃舉前話了, 云 .."Nanchyuan quoted the previous story and said :"

Ex. 5:61 : PJY 29Ab5-6 : /Ling fang nhian banq chii /

shyh baa-juh / iue : / 靈方拈棒起士把住日

"No sooner had Baeling raised the stock than Parng grasped it and said :"  
(Compare PJY 29Ab7, where nhian and chii are used in the more frequent V C O construction.)

### 4 V C leau

Ex. 5:62 : JJY 75.7 : /"Hershanq tzoong shee-chiueh-

leau / yonq geh-sherma chiuh." / 「和尚總捨却了, 用箇

什麼去。」 "When you have cast everything away, what use will that be?"

### 5 V C O leau

Ex. 5:63 : JJY 73.12 : /"Jee-geh-shyseng chy-chiueh

fann leau/" 「者箇師僧, 喫却飯了。 "This monk has finished eating."

### 6 V D C

Ex. 5:64 : LJL 503c6-8 : //Shy wenn yuannjuu:/"Sherma

chuh lai"/ Juu yun:/"Jou-jong tiaw hwangmii chiuh lai " /

Shy yun :/"Tiaw-der-jinn ma." / Juu yun : /"Tiaw-der-jinn." /

Shy yii janq miann-chyan huah yih-huah / yun:/"Hwan tiaw-

der jeh-geh ma." / Juu biann he. / Shy biann daa // 師問

院主。什麼處來。主云。州中糶黃米去來。師云。糶得盡麼。主云。糶得盡。師以杖面前畫一畫云。還糶得這箇麼。主便唱。師便打。

"Linjih asked the monastery-superintendent: "Where have you been?" The superintendent said: "Selling rice in town." Linjih said: "Did you sell it all?" "Yes", he replied. Linjih drew a drawing in front of himself with his staff, and asked: "Did you sell

this?" The superintendent gave a shout, and Linjih beat him." (This is one of the few cases where complements can be observed in several different constructions in the same passage. Note that the meaning of der here is result, not possibility.)

7 V B C

Ex. 5:65 : LJL 502c29 : ""/ koou tzoong donq-buh-der/"  
 。口總動不得。" ..you won't be able to open your mouths at all." (See also Ex. 5:67.)

8 V B C O

Ex. 5:66 : PJY 28Ba11 : /"Hao-geh-wennshiunn/ wenn-buh-jwo ren"/ 好箇問訊問不著人 "What a good question! It's not something that you can ask people."

9 V O B C

Ex. 5:67 : WL 70b3 : ""/Chian-chorng-guansuoo suoo-buh-der / Wann-janq-sherngsuoo suoo ta buh-juh /"" 。千箇關鎖鎖不得。萬丈繩索索他不住。

"..a thousand locks could not stay him, nor a hundred thousand feet of rope bind him." (Blofeld, The Zen Teaching of Huang Po, 107.)

Ex. 5:68 : JJY 47.1 : /"Feidann laoseng / tzuohjia yih dar nii buh-der"/ 非但老僧，作家亦答你不得。  
 "I'm not the only one; not even a master could give you an answer."

5.13 Endverbs

The endverbs in MC are lai 來 and chiuh 去.<sup>15</sup> They are found in the construction ..V (N) ve (p)/. They add the meaning of direction and/or purpose to the preceding free verb.

		LJL	CF	WL	JJY	PJY
1	<u>..V lai (p)/</u>	22	2	6	28	11
2	<u>..V N lai (p)/</u>	9	0	3	21	4

		<u>LJL</u>	<u>CF</u>	<u>WL</u>	<u>JJY</u>	<u>PJY</u>
3	<u>..V chiuu (p) / , /</u>	22	4	4	29	5
4	<u>..V N chiuu (p) / , /</u>	7	3	2	20	2

Examples of Endverbs

- 1 Ex. 5:69 : LJL 499a13 : " / Ruoh yeou ren chu lai / "
- 。若有人出來 "If someone comes forward..."
- 2 Ex. 5:70 : WL 70Aa7 : / "Shyun lingyang chih lai" /
- 尋 羶 羊 氣 來。 "I would follow the antelope's scent."
- 3 Ex. 5:71 : PJY 28Bb12 : / Lih shaoshyr / chiuuh chu
- chiuh / 立 少 時 却 出 去 "He stood there for a
- short time, but then went out again."
- 4 Ex. 5:72 : JJY 50.12 : / "Shyueren nii shianq nanfang
- shyue shietzyy forfaa chiuh/ru her" / 「學人擬向南方
- 學些子佛法去, 如何。」 "I am about to go to
- the south to study some Buddhism there - what do you think
- of that?"



NOTES TO CHAPTER V

1. Auxiliary verb: Chao, GSC, 731-748; Halliday, "Categories", 203; Simon's "preverb" ("Verb Complex" 573-576); Ōta's "hodōshi" 補動詞 (Bumpō, 194-204).  
Complement: Chao, GSC, 350-358, 435-480; Halliday's "postpositive verb" ("Categories", 203-205); Simon's "verb operator" ("Verb Complex", 562, 564); Ōta's "jodōshi" 助動詞 (Bumpō, 210-240).
2. Preposition, Chao, GSC, 749-767; Halliday's "prepositive verb" ("Categories, 208-209); Simon's "coverb" ("Verb Complex", 565-567); Ōta's "kaishi" 介詞 (Bumpō, 249-267).  
Link verb: Chao, GSC, 125-9, 706-7, 729, 733-5; Halliday's "free verb, sub-class (c)", which includes think verbs as well ("Categories", 201, 203, 205); Simon's "linkverb" ("Verb Complex", 570-3); Ōta's "kengo dōshi" 兼語動詞 (Bumpō, 240-8).
- 2A. See 5.12 for two cases (chu and chii, once each) where vc does follow the object, and for thirteen cases of Vf Object buh vc.  
Endverb: Simon, "Verb Complex", 565; Chao's "particles of purpose" and "directional complements" (GSC, 479-80, 809); dealt with by Ōta under "jodōshi" (Bumpō, 221-2) and "joshi" 助詞 (ib., 391-2).  
Postverb: Simon, "Verb Complex", 564; Chao's "bound phrase complements", (GSC, 352-3); Halliday's "prepositive verb, sub-class (b)" ("Categories", 208-209), subsuming under the one head those prepositions (in the terminology of this thesis) which can function as well as postverbs; dealt with by Ōta under "jodōshi" (Bumpō, 236-8).

3. Further subdivision of free verbs in MC is not undertaken in detail here; the main division would be between transitive verbs (including double-object verbs) and intransitive verbs (including adjectives). Classificatory verbs are a sub-class of (transitive) free verbs. MC classificatory verbs include shyh 是, "to be"; wei 為, "to be", "to act as"; ru 如 and syh 似, "to be like"; yeou 有, "there is"; wu 無, "there is not". See 7.6 for the negative adverbs used with classificatory verbs.
4. Liibay could alternatively be regarded as a verb-object compound. See JJY 89.2 : /...lii shami san-bay/ 禮沙彌三拜, mentioned also under "verbal nau" in 6.8. Compare also LJL 503b25-26, where liibay occurs twice, and the TGL parallel passage (344Ab3) which has instead the simple verb lii in each case.
5. Such cases of V V usually occur at the end of a spoken passage, and often section-finally. The meaning is emphatic and/or imperative, as distinct from the tentative verbal reduplicate in NC. Such reduplicates might be regarded as cases of clause reduplication, rather than of verb reduplication within the same clause. Contrast Ex. 5:8, where the reduplication has a frequentative meaning (see also Chapter IV, p.45; Chapter VI, n.16).
- 5A. Jiang and, more rarely, baa are used both as instrumental prepositions and "pre-transitive" or "disposal" prepositions; historically the instrumental use came first. See Wang, Shyygao, 410-418; Leu, Luennwen-jyi, 125-144; Ōta, Bumpō, 258-262; Kouywen, 76 n.15, 143 n.23.
- Some parallel passages: JJY 3.8 baa : CDL jiang; PJY 30A9 jiang: TTS 94b13 yii 以.

6. Bey can also be analysed as a link verb. On the historical development of bey, see Wang, Shyygao, 424-429; Ōta, Bumpō, 202, 244-246. Transformationally, bey clauses of the form N1 bey N2 V might be derived from N2 V N1 clauses: compare the CDL parallel passage to JJY 80.1 : CDL: N1..V N2.. : JJY : N2...  
bey N1 V...
7. On "nominalized sentences occurring as direct objects" see Anne Yue Hashimoto, Embedding Structures in Mandarin, POLA Report 12 (1966), 53-86. For this type of sentence in general, see Robin S. Lakoff, Abstract Syntax and Latin Complementation (Cambridge, Mass., 1968).
8. E.g., LJL 496b23. Buh farng 不妨 (e.g., PJY 28Bb1) can be taken as an adverb. Compare Jeang, Tongshyh, 114.
9. Dew (Verb Phrase, 25) does not recognize a separate category of "auxiliary verb"; what are here regarded as vau are included by him amongst adverbs.
10. This solution is corroborated by parallel passages to Ex. 5:29:BYL 184a20, which provides the link shy 師 (quasi-pronoun, "you"). For the same passage, CDL and TTJ provide the link hershanq 和尚, "you". Other parallel passages show similar alternations:
- (1) JJY 7.5, no link: BYL 191b18, link
- (2) LJL 504a12, no link: CDL 290c29, no link:  
TGL 352 Ba11, link.
- (3) PJY 28Ba17, no link: TTS 96a6, link.
11. For herder 何得, "how?", see 6.5.3; for jengder 爭得, "how?", see 7.7.
12. On "given/new", see Halliday, Secret History, 80, 81, 90, 93, 100, 106, 116.

(continued)

13. Syh occurs only after the verbs shuo 說, "tell", and jeu 舉, "quote (an instance or incident) to", with the addressed person as object of syh. Jeu-syh and shuo-syh might be regarded as compound free verbs; the fact that jeu-syh occurs (once only - PJY 30Bb4) clause-finally (in fact, section-finally) could be evidence for interpretation as a compound. On the other hand, in parallel passages there are several cases of syh corresponding to vp or vpo shiang 向 :
- (1) JJY 81.10 : /Shy jeu-shiang seng / yun/. Compare  
 (3) JJY 78.5 : /Yeou seng jeu-syh shy/. 有僧舉似師。
- (2) JJY 28.6 : /"Buh shuo-syh ren"/ :: TTJ : /"Buh shiang-nii daw"/ 「不說似人。」 不向你道
- (3) JJY 79.12 : /jeu-syh N / yun / :: CDL : /wey<sup>謂</sup> N yun / ::  
TTJ : /shiang<sup>向</sup> N yun /
- (4) PJY 30Ab17 : ..jeu-shiang N"/ :: TTS 95a20 :  
 ..jeu-syh N chiuh tzay"/ (chiuh tzay is ve p; see Note 15 below).

Further references to syh : Ōta, TTJ Index, 51b, has cross-references to five verbs followed by syh, including the two mentioned above; Iriya, BWJ Index, 26a, refers to shuo-syh and one other; see also Jang Shiang, Shy-Tsyr-Cheu, 303-305; Ōta, Kouywen, 125 n.63.

14. For the historical development of der, see Wang, Shyygao, 301-304; Leu, Luennwen-jyi, 59-68; Ōta, Bumpō, 229-236; Kouywen, 25 n.132, 69 n.63, 85 n.202, 101 n.65, 103 n.85, 109 n.22, 125 n.49.

Parallel passages of relevance to complements and leau (yee):

- (1) Presence or absence of vc: (1a) LJL 497b14:  
V-der: CDL 446c21 : V; (1b) JJY 2.2 : V-chiueh<sup>却</sup>  
N: TTJ : V N.

(continued)

## 14. (continued)

(1c) LJL 503c24, TGL 344Bb1 : V-jwo N :: TTJ 121c10, CDL 318a11 : V N.

(1d) LJL 504a10, TGL 352Ba8 : V-chii N :: CDL 290c26 : V N.

(2) Different vc in the same context :

(2a) cheu : chiueh (JJY 209.8 : CDL) (2b) chiueh:duann (LJL 505c6:CDL 290c13).

(2c) juh : cheu : der (LJL 503c21 : TTJ 121c8 : CDL 318a10)

(3) leau, leau yee, yee.

(3a) LJL 505b19-20 : ..V N leau yee" / :: TGL 343Ab15 : .. V N leau" /

(3b) leau yee : yee; see 5.12, Complement Table, Note b.

On the development of leau in general, see Wang, Shyygao 304-7, 447-8; Ōta, Bumpō, 383-390; Kouywen, 73n.39, 79n.81, 129n.88.

15. Compare Ōta's subdivisions of lai and chiuh in his TTJ Index. Under both he has a subdivision labelled "mokuteki" 目的, ("purpose"), and for chiuh he has a subdivision "kekka" 結果, ("result").

There are a number of parallel passages showing presence and absence of ve: e.g. LJL 503a20 : /"Woo wey ruu kann jeh-laohann" / . 我為汝勘造老漢。 "I'll examine this fellow for you" - "Let's examine his behaviour".

The TGL parallel passage (343Ab2-3) has for this:

/"Woo yeu ruu kann jee-laohann chiuh" / . 我與汝勘者老漢去。 For a similar example, see note 13 above. For the combination of endverb chiuh with particle tzay 在, see 7.11 below.

## CHAPTER VI

NOUN STRUCTURE6.1 Free Nouns, Pronouns, Noun Groups and Noun Phrases

The simplest form of noun is the free noun (see 6.2 for some brief remarks on the internal structure of the free noun.) The free noun (Nf) functions as subject or object in a clause (sometimes as a vocative or non-verbal sentence). Also, it can function as (marked or unmarked) attribute before another free noun, together forming a noun phrase functioning as subject or object. Two or more free nouns can occur in a (marked or unmarked) coordinative construction, in an additive sense. (Sometimes in an alternative sense, which can be marked with huoh 或 : see 7.10). Two free nouns can occur in an (almost always unmarked) coordinative construction, in the sense of apposition.

Pronouns (Npn) - see 6.5) are free nouns in that they occur in the above constructions. But they do not normally occur within the noun group. (However, see 6.5.3 and 6.8.3 on V geh sherma; 6.9 on Npn npo.) Proper nouns (personal names and place names) also share this restriction with pronouns. (But see JJY 78.4-6 for ell 文珠; 6.8.3 on V geh N; 6.9 on constructions with npo.) Pronouns and proper names can, however, be attribute before a noun group. In such a case, the construction is Npn noun group, forming an attribute head noun phrase.

The noun group (see 6.7, 6.8, 6.9) is a specific case of subordination, and can be regarded as a series of attributes and heads. The term "noun group" is reserved here for structures with ndt, npo, or nau; while the term "noun phrase" is reserved for other subordinate constructions and for coordinate constructions. (The

other subordinate constructions include embedded attributive clauses, marked by ji, dii, jee, chuh, and suoo.) As we have seen, a noun group can occur within a larger noun phrase. In addition, a noun group can itself contain a noun phrase instead of a free noun.

Apposition may be regarded as a special type of coordination or of subordination. It involves a pronoun or personal name as first constituent; or a noun being quoted (e.g. Ex. 6:8).

Examples of pronoun-noun and pronoun-noun group in apposition:

<u>CF</u> 382c11:	<u>ruu ju-ren</u>	汝諸人)	All meaning
<u>JJY</u> 20.7, 58.1	<u>nii ju-ren</u>	你諸人)	"all you people"
<u>JJY</u> 75.5	<u>niideeng ju-ren</u>	你等諸人)	
<u>JJY</u> 22.8	<u>nii tzyhjii</u>	你自己	"you yourself" (see 6.8.3 on <u>ruugeh tzyhjii</u> ) 汝箇自己
<u>WL</u> 71b8	<u>ruudeeng biichiou</u>	汝等比丘	"you Bhikshus" contrast attributive <u>ruudeeng</u> 汝等 <u>WL</u> 68b14 <u>ruudeeng shin</u> 汝等心

Examples of personal name-noun in apposition:

<u>CF</u> 383c26	<u>Ming shanqtzuoh</u>	明上座	"Abbot Ming"
<u>LJL</u> 505a11	<u>Linjih yih-ren</u>	臨濟一人	"only Linjih"
<u>WL</u> 68a11	<u>Kee dahshy yih-ren</u>	可大師一人	"Master Kee" (This example has two layers of apposition.)
<u>LJL</u> 502c27	<u>Linjih laohann</u>	臨濟老漢	"old Linjih"
<u>LJL</u> 505b18, 21	<u>Hwangboh shyshiong</u>	黃蘗師兄	"Brother Hwangboh" (functioning as quasi-pronoun "you" cf. 6.5.2).
<u>JJY</u> 56.8-9	<u>Shami Wenyeuan</u>	沙彌文遠	"the monk Wenyeuan" (A case of apposition in a different order to the other cases above.)

6.2 No detailed description is here attempted of the morphology of free nouns. In summary, they are simple (monosyllabic) or compound (polysyllabic, usually bisyllabic). Some compound free nouns may be regarded alternatively as noun phrases. The interpretation of a word like laohann 老漢 as a compound (rather than as a subordinate noun phrase consisting of unmarked verbal attribute plus head) is shown by the solid-writing.

Two sub-classes of compound free nouns may be mentioned: (1) with suffixes, and (2) distributive reduplicates.

- (1) Members of this sub-class end with suffixes tzyy 子, tour 頭, erl 兒. Some forms with suffixes alternate with apparently synonymous simple free nouns without suffix. (E.g., JJY 86.11, 86.12: shyitzyy 席子, alternating with 86.12: shyi 席.) (For an example of erl, see Ex. 5:32.)
- (2) Some nouns (including a few which otherwise occur as ndt, nau and npo) occur in reduplicative form either as subject, attributively, or as object of vp (e.g. LJL 502b1, chuhchuh 處處). Below are some references to examples of distributive reduplicates: buhbuh 步步: JJY 76.7; chuhchuh 處處: LJL498c28, 29, WL 69a11, JJY 15.7, PJY 28a9; faafaa 法法: CF 382b15; jiajia 家家: JJY 61.11; jiannjiann 劍劍: WL71a13; niannniann 念念: LJL 497b7, 500c22, CF 384a15, WL 72a7, 19, 20; renren 人人: PJY 29Ba16, 17; shinshin 心心: WL 70b1, b8, 17; shyrshyr 時時: CF 384a15; (ndt reduplicates) - shieshie 些些: only one occurrence, JJY 94.12-95.1 (verse).

Ex. 6:1 : /jiasha shyngshianq shieshie yeou/

。袈裟形相些些有。"Nur der gelbe Umhang gibt noch so was wie Form." (Gundert, BYL, p.72,



translating the (identical) version of the sentence cited in BYL, J.36, p.174c24-25).<sup>1</sup>

yihyih 一一 "one by one" PJY 30Ab17.

(nau reduplicates) - gehgeh 箇箇 "every one"

WL 69a11; joongjoong 種種 "every kind" LJL 502b8,

CF 380b16, WL 69a1, JJY 30.11; keke 顆顆 "every

ball" (of mercury) WL 69a11 (ke does not occur in

the corpus as nau, but examples of other MC texts'

use of ke as nau are given in Liou Shyhru's

Lianqtsyr Yanjiow, 量詞研究, pp.116-117).

piannpiann 片片 "every flake" (of snow) PJY 28Ab10.

These forms can be distinguished from noun reduplicates occurring in non-verbal sentences, which are really examples of emphatic clause reduplication.

6.3 The noun groups and noun phrases discussed above all have the value of a single noun in the clause structure. Henceforth they will be referred to simply as N. There are other combinations of nouns which do not form a single N in the clause structure. They are (1) vocative plus subject, (2) double-subject, (3) double-object, after a double-object verb, (4) cognate object, with or without another object, (5) N1, N2 in alternative questions (see 7.12).

#### 6.4 Place Words and Time Words

Another noun sub-class is that of place words and time words. They include some simple nouns, but mainly compound nouns, especially with ndt and npo. Place words and time words commonly occur as subject or as second subject in a double-subject construction. In this respect they are like adverbs. Unlike adverbs, they can also function as objects of free verbs and, more particularly, of prepositions (for instance tsornng 從, daw 到, and tzay 在) and as attributes.

In parallel passages, there are alternations between place words and time words on the one hand alone, and on the other preceded by prepositions.<sup>2</sup>

## 6.5 Pronouns

### 6.5.1 Personal Pronouns

By far the most frequent first person pronoun in the five texts is woo 我, which occurs as subject, object, and attributively. As attribute, woo almost never occurs in a marked construction with particle jy 之: however see a few cases below. These three uses are abbreviated below as S, O and A respectively.

Below are listed the figures for woo in the five texts:

<u>LJL</u>	69	x
<u>CF</u>	24	x
<u>WL</u>	36	x (four of which are <u>woo jy N</u> )
<u>JJY</u>	90	x
<u>PJY</u>	21	X

Below are examples of woo from each text:

Ex. 6:2 : LJL 505a18 (O) : /"weinah fwu-chii woo" /  
維那扶起我。 "Deacon, lift me up!"

Ex. 6:3 : CF 383a1-2 (A) : /"wo tsyy-tzongmen bu luenn tsyy-shyh" / 。我此宗門不論此事。 "In this school of ours, we don't discuss this matter."

Ex. 6:4 : WL 70b8 (A) : /"shyr-fang shyhjieh buh chu woo jy yih-shin" / 。十方世界不出我之一心。  
"All the worlds do not go beyond my own single mind."

Ex. 6:5 : JJY 27.10 (A) : /"nii wenn woo jiafeng/"

「你問我家風。 "If you ask about my customs...."  
(Here the woo occurs in contrast with nii and later with hershanq and laoseng.)  
和 尚 老 僧  
你

Ex. 6:6 : PJY 31Aa5 (O) : /"Tzuohjuu jih wu woo / wu ren / shyh sheir jeang / sheir ting" / 座主既無我  
無人是誰講誰聽 "Since you don't admit that there is either an 'I' or an 'Other', who is doing the talking and listening?"

Wu 吾 occurs in three of the five texts:

<u>LJL</u>	7 x
<u>JJY</u>	4 x
<u>PJY</u>	1 x

There seems to be no difference in function or meaning between woo and wu. In the parallel passages there are some alternations between the two words, and also between them and quasi-pronouns (see 6.5.2).<sup>3</sup> Examples of wu:

Ex. 6:7 : LJL 505a7-8 (A) : "/tzyy yii chy wu sanshyr-banq leau yee" / 子已喫吾三十棒了也。

"...you've already suffered my thirty blows." (For this, compare the CDL and TGL parallel passages in n.3(b)).

Ex. 6:8 : JJY 24.1, 64.7 (S) : /"Fwo jy yih-tzyh wu buh shii wen" / 佛之一字, 吾不喜聞。 "The word 'Buddha' is the only word I don't like hearing." (The TTJ parallel passage is the same.)

Ex. 6:9 : JJY 93.12 (O) : /yeu wu shyuan ger / (verse) "...far different from me." , 與吾懸隔。

Mooujea 某甲<sup>4</sup> is found as a first person pronoun in four out of the five texts. It does not occur in WL.

Exact figures are:

<u>LJL</u>	9 x
<u>CF</u>	1 x
<u>JJY</u>	18 x
<u>PJY</u>	7 x

One of the JJY examples (91.3) has a variant juanjea

專甲. Suzuki follows instead the Ming edition of GY.

Although mooujea is thus quite rare, it does occur in all three functions. Examples:

Ex. 6:10 : LJL 505b11 (A) : /Wey sherma chiueh tzay mooujea shoou-lii" / 為什麼却在某甲手裏。 "But why is it in my hand?"

Ex. 6:11 : JJY 31.12, 32.1 (O) /"Shyhlai wu ren jiaw mooujea lai" / 適來無人教某甲來。 "Just now no-one told me to come."

Ex. 6:12 : PJY 29Ba13 : (S) /"Renma shuo huah / mooujea jyi der/" 怎麼說話某甲即得 "I don't mind you talking like that."

The commonest second person pronouns are eel 爾 and nii. Nii is written in two different ways: 你 and 爾.<sup>5</sup> The distribution is as follows:

	<u>nii</u>	<u>eel</u>
	你	爾
LJL		4
CF		130
WL*		24
JJY**	159	56
PJY	9	

\* Includes two cases of nii jy N 爾之N

\*\* Includes two cases of niideeng 你等

Four examples follow:

Ex. 6:13 : CF 382b23-24 (0) : /"Woo buhtserng janq eel/" 我不曾障爾。 "I have not hindered you."

Ex. 6:14 : JJY 7.9-10 (S) : /Shy suey jyr seng shoou/ yun:/ "Nii jiann geh-sherma"/ 師遂執僧手, 云「你見箇什麼?」 Jawjou then grasped the monk's hand and said: "Do you see anything?"

Ex. 6:15 : PJY 31Ab4-5 (S) : /"Nii tzuohmasheng"/ 你作麼生 "What about you?"

Ex. 6:16 : WL 70b13-14 (A) : ""/Naejyh chian-twu yih shuo jie buh li nii jy beenshin/" 乃至千途異說。皆不離爾之本心。 "Even the thousand different theories don't go beyond your own mind."

The pronoun ruu 汝, occurs much less frequently.

Detailed figures are listed below:

LJL 29 x (two of which are ruudeeng 汝等)

CF 25 x

WL 38 x (two of which are ruudeeng, and one of which is ruu geh-tzyhjii 汝箇自己)

JJY 3 x

PJY 10 x

Examples -

Ex. 6:17 : WL 69A18 (A) : "Jyi rujin yanyeu jee jenq shyh ruu shin" 〇即如今言語者正是汝心。

"It is precisely what you said just now that is your mind."

(For an example as object, see Ex. 6:18 below.)

Two other second person pronouns are tzyy 子 and aheel 阿爾. Tzyy occurs as follows:

LJL 6 x (e.g. Ex. 6:7)

WL 1 x

JJY 2 x

PJY 5 x (e.g. Ex. 5:28)

Aheel occurs only once (CF 383a19).

There is no third person pronoun which matches the high frequency of woo and nii. Ta occurs as follows:

LJL 45 x

CF 12 x

WL 32 x

JJY 28 x

PJY 6 x

Ta is found as subject and object, and also in a special attributive usage with a demonstrative meaning.<sup>6</sup> Examples:

Ex. 6:18 : WL 68b19 (O) : "Jee-geh faa chii shyh ruu yu yanjiuh-shanq jiee-der ta" 〇者箇法豈是汝於言句上解得他。"How can you understand this dharma with mere words?"

Ex. 6:19 : JJY 80.11 (S) : "Ta hwan jyy sherli yeewu" 〔他還指箇梨也無〕 "Did he point at you?"

Ex. 6:20 : WL 71a20-72b1 (A) : "Yow yushyh banq ta shyr-fang ju-for" 〇又於是謗他十方諸佛。"Moreover, in this way you will slander all those various Buddhas of the ten directions."

Chyi 其, jy 之, chyu 渠, and i 伊 are four other forms which can be dealt with under third person pronouns, while in various respects they are more limited in function than the pronouns so far described. Below is a table of their occurrences:

	<u>chy</u> i	<u>j</u> y	<u>ch</u> yu	<u>i</u>
<u>LJL</u>	14	9	5	7
<u>CF</u>	3	13	0	0
<u>WL</u>	12	6	0	0
<u>JJY</u>	19	23	3	15
<u>PJY</u>	2	5	1	3

Chyi and jy - characteristic features of OC and LC - occur in narrative, rather than in quoted speech.

Sometimes they also occur in the sermons as in Ex. 6:21.

For jy as a subordinative particle, see 7.10.

Chyu and i are very rarely used. I is used mainly as object of the link verb jiaw 教 and as object of the preposition shiang in the phrase shiang i daw 向伊道, "say to him/them".<sup>7</sup>

Examples of the above four pronouns:

Ex. 6:21 : LJL 501a16 : ""/jy chyi shyeh jenq""~~∕~~  
 。知其邪正。 "...know the right and the wrong of it."

Ex. 6:22 : WL 68a3 : ~~∕~~"Der jee moh tseh chyi shuh~~∕~~"  
 。得者莫測其數。 "As to those who have obtained (the law from me) no-one could state their number."

Ex. 6:23 : JJY 26.4 : ~~∕~~Shy bai jaang/shiaw jy~~∕~~  
 。師拍掌笑之。 Jawjou clapped his hands and laughed about it.

Ex. 6:24 : LJL 501b29-cl : ""/woo jyibiann chu kann chyu / chyu buh shyh woo~~∕~~"  
 。我即便出看渠。渠不識我。  
 "...I come out to see them, but they didn't recognize me."

Ex. 6:25 : JJY 93.6 : ~~∕~~Chyu shuo for yeou nan / woo shuo chyu yeou tzai~~∕~~ (verse) 。渠說佛有難, 我說渠有災。  
 "If they see the Buddha is in difficulties, I say that they are suffering a disaster."

Ex. 6:26 : LJL 503c21 : ""/Day i daa ruu / jie-juh / songq yih-songq / kann ta tzuohmasheng"~~∕~~ 。待伊打汝。  
 接住送一送。看他作麼生。 "As soon as he [Dershan] hits you [Lehpau], return blow for blow and see how he responds."

Ex. 6:27 : JJY11.11 : /"Hu yuh charnshy daw lai/shianq  
i daw sherma" / 「忽遇禪師到來,向伊道什麼。」 "If you  
 happen to see a Charn master coming, what do you say to  
 him?" (See also JJY 82:11-12 for an example of i in minimal  
 contrast with woo and nii.)

Brief mention may be made of four other pronominal  
 forms: tzyhjii 自己 (e.g. LJL 502a29, CF 382b14, and  
 JJY 22.8); tzyhjia 自家 (e.g. JJY 56.10); beentzyh  
 本自 (e.g. JJY 54.9); gehtzyhjia 各自家 (e.g. JJY 6.7).

### 6.5.2 Quasi-Pronouns

Quasi-pronouns are free nouns which function with  
 pronominal reference.<sup>8</sup> Below is a list of quasi-pronouns  
 meaning "you":

- jaanglao 長老 (e.g. WL 70a1, LJL 506a7)  
hershanq 和尚 (e.g. LJL 504a12, JJY 9.10)  
shy 師 (e.g. JJY 26.6, PJY 28Aa18, 30Aa16)  
ahshy 阿師 (e.g. PJY 29Ab17, 29Ba14)  
ahshiong 阿兄 (e.g. LJL 505b24, PJY 29Ba18)  
sherli 蘭梨 (e.g. JJY 70.1, PJY 28Bb3)  
ueng 翁 (e.g. PJY 30Aa2)

The following two quasi-pronouns are used in the  
 meaning "I":

- laoseng 老僧 (e.g. LJL 503c17, forming a minimal pair  
 with nii; WL 70a8, JJY 7.3, PJY 28Aa7)  
shanseng 山僧 (e.g. LJL 500b16, 502a14)

### 6.5.3 Interrogative Pronouns

One of the most distinctive features of MC is the use  
 of the interrogative pronoun sherma, which will be  
 discussed here in some detail.<sup>9</sup>

In the modern editions of the five texts, sherma is  
 almost always written 什麼. (However, 甚麼 is  
 found twice in WL and once in PJY. See below on shenn  
 甚 ).

An overall survey of the occurrence of sherma (written both 什麼 and 甚麼) is given below:

<u>LJL</u>	61 x
<u>CF</u>	9 x
<u>WL</u>	23 x
<u>JJY</u>	213 x
<u>PJY</u>	28 x

Sherma is used in two principal functions, object (O) and attribute (A). It is not used as subject, and in this respect is more restricted than other pronouns. There follows a table showing the two functions:

	<u>O</u>	<u>A</u>
<u>LJL</u>	23 x	38 x
<u>CF</u>	2 x	7 x
<u>WL</u>	5 x	18 x
<u>JJY</u>	107 x	106 x
<u>PJY</u>	18 x	10 x

Below is a subdivision of the uses as object:

	<u>LJL</u>	<u>CF</u>	<u>WL</u>	<u>JJY</u>	<u>PJY</u>
(1) <u>..V sherma</u>	13	1	0	38	5
(2) <u>..V geh 箇 sherma</u> <u>(ve)</u>	3	0	1	13	8
(3) (a) <u>..wey sherma</u> <u>(A) V..*</u>	5 (a4, c1)	1 (a)	3 (a2, b1)	49 (a37)	4 (a)
(b) <u>因 sherma</u>				(b12)	
(c) <u>緣 sherma</u>					
(4) <u>..huann sherma tzuoh N</u>	0	0	0	1	0
(5) <u>..vp sherma V..</u> <u>..vl sherma V..</u>	2	0	0	7	1

\* including also a few cases before non-verbal predicate, and two cases where wey sherma is itself the predicate.

Examples: (numbers in brackets refer to the five functions above)

Ex. 6:28 : JJY 30.1 (1) : "Nii ming sherma" "你名什麼?"  
"What is your name?"



Ex. 6:29 : PJY 29Bb17-18 (2) : /Shan moh nhiann-chii ann-shanq chytyzyy/yun:/ "Hwan jiann jeh-geh ma" / Shyh iue: / "Juann" / Shan iue: / "Jiann geh-sherma" / 山驀拈起案上尺子云還見這箇磨士曰見山曰見箇什麼

Songshan suddenly picked up the ruler on the table and said: "Do you see this?" Parng replied: "Yes". Songshan said: "What do you see?"

Ex. 6:30 : LJL 505a17 (2) : /"Jyue yee wey jeu/kuenn geh-sherma" / 。鑿也末學。困箇什麼。 "How can you be tired before even lifting your hoe?"

Ex. 6:31 : WL 72A17 (3) : /"Jih shyh shyue-buh-der / wey sherma daw:..." / 。既是學不得。為什麼道 "But if (such things) are unlearnable, why is it said:..."

Ex. 6:32 : JJY 53.12 (3) : /"In sherma shianq yuann-lii mah laoseng" / 「因什麼向院裏罵老僧。」 "Why did you come to the courtyard to abuse me?"

Ex. 6:33 : JJY 12.11 (4) : /"Jih shyh wu yan/huann sherma tzuoh jiu" / 。既是無言，喚什麼作句。 "Since there are no words, how can we talk of 'phrases'?"

Ex. 6:34 : LJL 506b21 (5) : /"Tsorng shanq ju-shenq jiang sherma wey ren" / 。從上諸聖將什麼為人。 "What did the ancient sages do for men?"

Below is a subdivision of the uses of sherma as attribute:

	<u>LJL</u>	<u>CF</u>	<u>WL</u>	<u>JJY</u>	<u>PJY</u>
(6) <u>..V sherma N..</u> (including <u>vp</u> and <u>v1</u> )	26	6	11	60	4
(7) <u>..V geh sherma N</u> /	2	0	0	0	0
(8) <u>sherma chuh</u> 什麼處	10	0	6	42	5
(9) <u>..sherma N V..*</u>	1	1	1	4	1

\* including one case of sherma N as a non-verbal sentence.

Examples

Ex. 6:35 : CF 383a14 (6) : /"Mih sherma dawlii/"  
 。覓什麼道理。 "What principle are you looking for?"

Ex. 6:36 : LJL 503b8-9 (6) : /"Shiahann, forfaa shuo sherma tsushih/"  
 。瞎漢。佛法說什麼麤細 "You blind fellow! What has the Buddha's law got to do with 'coarseness' (or 'fineness')?"

Ex. 6:37 : LJL 504c21-22 (7) : /"Eel jiann geh-sherma dawlii/"  
 。爾見箇什麼道理。 "What sort of a principle can you see?"

Ex. 6:38 : PJY 28Ba6 (8) : /"Shyh sherma chuh chiu lai/"  
 是什麼處去來 "Where have you come from?"

Ex. 6:39 : JJY 30.10 (9) : /"For tzuu mieh how/sherma ren chwan/"  
 。佛祖滅後，什麼人傳。 "After the nirvana of the Buddhas and the Patriarchs who will transmit (the law)?"

Sherma, and especially geh-sherma, are often used in rhetorical questions, and in citative questions. For an example of the latter see Ex. 6:36 above, where the word tsu has been mentioned in the previous context. The construction is reminiscent of the English "What's all this about.....?"

Finally, mention should be made of the rare use of shenn 甚 as interrogative pronoun functioning as attribute, especially in the phrase shenn chuh 甚處 "where". Shenn is also found occasionally as adverb meaning "extremely", e.g. LJL 497c3, WL 71B17, JJY 97-7.

	<u>LJL</u>	<u>CF</u>	<u>WL</u>	<u>JJY</u>	<u>PJY</u>
(6a) <u>shenn</u> N "which N"	1	1	0	1	1
(8a) <u>shenn chuh</u> Place word "where"	4	0	1	5	1

Ex. 6:47 : XL 68a13 (10) : /"Von shang but kav dan /  
 voo nei kav dery" / 我尚不可得。非我何可得。  
 even self has no objective existence, how much less has  
 other-than-self." (Blafeld, Zen Teaching of Huang Po, 76.)

Examples

Ex. 6:40 : CF 383c11 (6a) : " /Chiee yeu eel beentii yeou shenn jiausheh/" 。 且 與 爾 本 體 有 甚 交 涉 。 "What connection has it with your original substance?"

Ex. 6:41 : WL 69b18-19 (8a) : /"Woang shenn chuh chiuh"/ 。 往 甚 處 去 。 "Where are you going to?"

Three interrogative pronouns remain to be discussed in detail: her 何, sheir 誰, and ahsheir 阿誰.<sup>10</sup> The uses of these three pronouns are listed in the table on the following page. The numbers used in the table for each function correspond to the numbers already given above in the section on sherma, with three extra numbers added.

A number of expressions containing her are regarded as compound and not included in the table; e.g. herbih 何必, herguh 何故, heryii 何以, heryiiguh 何以故, hertserng 何曾, and ruher 如何。

Examples of her

Ex. 6:42 : JJY 102.8-9 (3) : /"Jinryh jiann mooujea lai/ inher chii jie"/ 。 今日見某甲來, 因何起接。<sup>7</sup> "When you saw me coming today, why did you get up to receive me?"

Ex. 6:43 : LJL 506b27-28 (5) : /"Shanqtzuoh tsornq her erl lai /" 。 上座從何而來。 "Where are you from?"

Ex. 6:44 : CF 383a13-14 (6) : /"Hershanq suo yanjyi jee shyh her dawlii"/ 。 云和尚所言即者, 是何道理。 "What is the doctrine you refer to?"

Ex. 6:45 : WL 69A4 (8) : " /Herchuh mih for/" 。 何處覓佛。 "Where can one search for the Buddha?"

Ex. 6:46 : JJY 94.9 (9) : /Buh jy her day bye shi tian/ (verse), 不知何代別西天。 "No-one knows when it left the Western Paradise."

Ex. 6:47 : WL 68a13 (10) : " /Woo shanq buh kee der / fei woo her kee der/" 。 我尚不可得, 非我何可得。 "If even self has no objective existence, how much less has other-than-self." (Blofeld, Zen Teaching of Huang Po, 70.)

	<u>her</u> 何					<u>sheir</u> 誰					<u>ahsheir</u> 阿誰				
	<u>LJL</u>	<u>CF</u>	<u>WL</u>	<u>JJY</u>	<u>PJY</u>	<u>LJL</u>	<u>CF</u>	<u>WL</u>	<u>JJY</u>	<u>PJY</u>	<u>LJL</u>	<u>CF</u>	<u>WL</u>	<u>JJY</u>	<u>PJY</u>
(1) ..V X* <u>h</u>									2		2	1		2	1
(3) (a) <u>yunher</u> 云何	5	3	4	1											
(b) <u>inher</u> 因何	(c)	(a)	(a)	(b)											
(c) <u>yuanher</u> 緣何															
(5) <u>..vp X V..</u> <u>..vl X V..</u>	2		2	10				1	1	5					
(6) <u>..V X N..</u> (including <u>vp</u> and <u>vl</u> )	8	7	7	18	1				1						
(8) <u>herchuh</u> 何處， <u>hersuoo</u> 何所，	1	4	13		3										
(9) <u>..X N V..</u>		1		3		1				2					
(10) (N) X V	6	9	14	5	2	1	2	7	13	6		3		1	
(11) <u>..X buh V..</u>	3	2		12	3										
(12) Non-verbal sentences									3	2					

\* X stands for the word in question = her, sheir, or ahsheir, as the case may be

Ex. 6:48 : PJY 28Ba8 : /"Her buh daw chi"/

何不道七 "Why not say 'seven'?"

Sherma and her overlap in some of their usages as can be seen from the tables above, namely usages (3), (5), (6), (8) and (9). In usage (10), sherma is used nominally and her adverbially. In the case of the two words before a noun, they sometimes occur alternatively before the same noun. For example, in CF 383a13-14, V her dawlii is followed by V sherma dawlii. However, the first sentence is a factual question, the second is a rhetorical one.<sup>11</sup>

#### Examples of sheir

Ex. 6:49 : JJY 24.9 (1) : /"Niann jee shyh sheir"/

「念者是誰。」 "Who is the thinker?"

Ex. 6:50 : PJY 30Bb18-31Aa1 (5) : /"Shyh sheir buh huey"/

是誰不會 "Who is it that doesn't understand?"

Ex. 6:51 : JJY 14.6 (6) : /"For yeu sheir ren wei

farnnao"/ 「佛與誰人為煩惱。」 "For whom are the Buddha's desires roused?" (Suzuki, Essays I, 358).<sup>12</sup>

Ex. 6:52 : LJL 496c29 (9) : "/Sheir ren wey woo shyng-

der"/ 。誰人為我行得。 "Who can do it for me?"

Ex. 6:53 : CF 382b20 (10) : "/Jyi sheir jiaw eel duann"/

。即誰教爾斷。 "Who told you to eliminate things?"

Ex. 6:54 : JJY 18.3 (12) : /Shy yun:/ "Sheir"/

。師云「誰。」 The Master said: "Who?"

#### Examples of ahsheir

Ex. 6:55 : JJY 31.7 (1) : /Shy yun:/ "Tseh ahsheir"/

Shyue yun:/ "Tseh tzyhjii"/ 。師云「測阿誰。」學云「測自己。」

Jawjou said: "Penetrate whom?" The pupil said "Oneself."

Ex. 6:56 : CF 382b25 (10) : "/ahsheir daw shyh"/

。阿誰道是[ ] "Who says that is so?"

Sheirjia occurs only once in the five texts - in a

sentence in LJL alternating with ahsheir: 阿誰

Ex. 6:57 : LJL 496b17-18 : //Wenn:// "Shy chang sheirjia  
 cheu/Tzongfeng syh ahsheir" / 。 問師唱誰家曲。宗風嗣  
 阿誰。

"Whose song do you sing? Whose  
 tradition do you follow in?"

This expression is not listed in Ōta Tatsuo's TTJ Index.  
 However, several examples are given by Jang Shiang (Shy-Tsyr-  
Cheu, 343). Yanagida Seizan refers to this section of  
 Jang and interprets sheirjia as a compound, with jia as  
 suffix. (Rinzairoku, p.13, Section 9, n.2.) Maspero  
 ("Textes", p.26) translates Ex. 6:57 and gives it as an  
 example of the use of ahsheir, without expressing any  
 opinion on the nature of sheirjia. (Gau Mingkae ("Yeuluh")  
 does not deal at all with sheir or ahsheir.)

Compare also the parallel passage cited in Note 12.

#### 6.6 The Noun Group

The maximum form of the noun group is: ndt nau N (npo).  
ndt (determinative noun) can be subdivided into nd  
 (demonstrative determinative) and nn (numeral determinative),  
 either or both of which may occur (if both, in the order  
nd nn). Less complex forms of the noun group are ndt N (npo)  
 and nau N.

Determinative nouns are described in 6.7 below:  
 demonstrative determinatives in 6.7.1 and numeral  
 determinatives in 6.7.2 and 6.7.3.

Auxiliary nouns (nau) in combination with determinatives  
 are covered in 6.7. They are described in more detail in  
6.8. The structure nau N is described in 6.8.3.

Postpositive nouns (npo) are covered in 6.9.

#### 6.7.1 Demonstrative Determinatives

The most frequent demonstrative determinatives (nd) are  
jeh/jee 這, 者, "this", and tsyy 此, "this". Much

rarer are nah 那, "that"; naa 那, "which"; and ahnaa 阿那, "which". These five words will be treated in detail further on in this section, and are also included in the tables 6.7.3.

Other nd:

Dih 第, ordinal nd, preceding nn as shown in 6.7.3 below. The tables do not include dihyih 第一 in its functions of (a) adverb (intensive before negatives, e.g. LJL 499c6, CF 382c8); or (b) predicate (e.g. WL 68a9).

Ju 諸, "the various". Found in all texts in the construction ju N.

Yihchieh 一切, "all". Mainly in the construction yihchieh N, but also as free noun "everything" (e.g. CF380c24, WL 69a12, JJY 46.1), and (once only) in the structure yihchieh nau N (WL 72a20: the nau is deeng).<sup>13</sup>

Shyh 是, "this"; occurs once before nau (LJL 505b17, shyh-ban shyh, 是般事, "this kind of thing"); rarely as subject, "this" (e.g. CF 382a8,9,10); and in a few compounds such as shyhryh 是日, "on the same day", and rushyh 如是, "thus". Otherwise, the character shyh is used for the frequently-occurring classificatory verb and link verb "to be". (Sy 斯 is found only in the rare compound rusy 如斯, "thus").

Bii 彼 is found only as placeword "there" (e.g. LJL 504b12,13) and in a few compounds, such as the placeword biijong 彼中, "there" (e.g. JJY 88.1).

See 6.9 on the attributive use (resembling an nd use) of chyan 前 and other words normally functioning as postpositive nouns.

#### Jeh/jee and tsyy

The characters 這 and 者 are both used, apparently synonymously, for the nd "this". The distribution amongst the five texts is as follows:

	<u>LJL</u>	<u>CF</u>	<u>WL</u>	<u>JJY</u>	<u>PJY</u>
<u>jeh</u> 這	46	0	0	17	22
<u>jee</u> 者	0	2	13	86	0

In JJY, the only text which has both forms side by side, there is no difference in usage matching the graphic distinction.<sup>14</sup> In the discussion and the table below, I have accordingly subsumed the two characters under the same heading. (The character 者 is also used for the particle jee, for which see 7.10.)

It can be seen from the table below that jeh and tsyy share only five out of the eleven constructions listed: namely, (1), (2C), (2D), (3), and (6). Moreover, in the case of (2C) and (6), jeh and tsyy, respectively, predominate. However, in the case of (1) and (3), there are a number of passages where one or other nd is used before the same nouns with no detectable difference of context or meaning: e.g. PJY 28Ba1: tsyy-yih-jiuh 此一句 : PJY 28Bb11: jeh-yih-jiuh 這一句 .<sup>15</sup>

Note the overall predominance of tsyy in CF and WL, and of jeh in the three other texts.

Mention should be made of a subdivision of jeh in use (1), found in LJL, JJY, and PJY: namely, forming a non-verbal, exclamatory, sentence of the form /"Jeh N"/ with the meaning "What a N!". (E.g. JJY 24.9 : /Shy chyh: /"Jee-liu" / 〇師叱「者驢」 "What an ass!" cursed Jawjou.)<sup>16</sup> Tsyy does not occur in this particular usage.

The table below does not include a few compounds in which tsyy occurs: the adverbs intsyy 因此 (e.g. JJY 100.12) and rutsyy 如此 (e.g. CF 380a11); the placewords tsyyjian 此間 (e.g. LJL 505b20) and tsyyjong 此中 (e.g. WL 71b20).<sup>16A</sup> Nor does it include the OC and LC idiom tsyy jy shyh yee 此之是也 (e.g. LJL 501a26). Of these expressions, only rutsyy is found at all frequently.



## 6.7.1 (cont'd)

	JEH/JEE 這者					TSYY 此				
	LJL	CF	WL	JJY	PJY	LJL	CF	WL	JJY	PJY
(1) <u>X<sup>a</sup>N</u> <sup>b</sup>	22		1	33	10	19	39	26	20	4
(2A) <u>X geh N</u> 箇	3		5	3	5					
(2B) <u>X nau<sup>c</sup>N</u>	1									
(2C) <u>X geh</u> 箇	5			33	1	1			1	
(2D) <u>X nn nau<sup>c</sup>Nf</u>	4					2				
(2E) <u>X nn geh</u> 箇				1						
(3) <u>X nn N</u>	2		2	7	1	2	6		1	4
(4) <u>X lii</u> "here", placeword 裏	9	2	5	19	3					
(5) <u>X bian</u> "over here", placeword 邊				6						
(6) <u>..X(A)V..</u> <sup>d</sup>				1	2	6	9	12	8	1
(7) <u>..VX..</u> <sup>e</sup>						3			3	
	46	2	13	103	22	33	54	38	33	9

<sup>a</sup> X indicates the nd in question.

<sup>b</sup> Including three cases of tsyy jy shyr 此之時 (LJL 1X, CF 2X)

<sup>c</sup> That is, where nau is not geh.

<sup>d</sup> Including a few cases of S1 in double-subject clauses and of subject in non-verbal sentences.

<sup>e</sup> That is, object of free verb; includes also two occurrences as object of preposition.

Examples of the different uses of jeh and tsyy

- Ex. 6:58 : LJL 504b15 (1) : /"Jeh-seng shyhlai yeou sherma yanjiuh/" 〇 這僧適來有什麼言句。 "What did this monk [Linjih] say just now...."
- Ex. 6:59 : CF 382c21 (1) : /"Jenru jy jong du wu tsyy-shyh/" 〇 真如之中都無此事。 "In the Absolute there is no such thing."
- Ex. 6:60 : WL 68B8 (2A) : ""/Syh jee-geh-jiannjee yeou sherma yonqchuh/" 〇 似者箇見解。有什麼用處。 "What is the use of a view like this?"
- Ex. 6:61 : LJL 499c4 (2B) : ""jeh-ban-yeehwu jingmo"" 這般野狐精魅 "this kind of fox sprite"
- Ex. 6:62 : JJY 37.6 (2C) : /"Laoseng weytserng jiang jee-geh shyh ren"/ "老僧未曾將者箇示人" 〇 "I haven't pointed this out to people yet."
- Ex. 6:63 : LJL 498c29 (2C) : ""/Tsyy-geh shyh hwo Wenshu/" 〇 此箇是活文殊。 "This is the living Mañjuśrī."
- Ex. 6:64 : LJL 499b22 (2D) : ""jeh-yih-shuang-yeen"" 這一雙眼 "This pair of eyes"
- Ex. 6:65 : LJL 497b22-3 (2D) : ""/Tsyy-san-joong-shen shyh mingyan/"<sup>17</sup> 〇 此三種身是名言。 "These three kinds of body are [merely] names."
- Ex. 6:66 : JJY 23.7-8 (2E) : /"Chwu-chiueh jee-leang-geh/yeou bae chian wann yih"/ "除却者兩箇，有百千萬億" 〇 "Apart from these two, there are millions (more)."
- Ex. 6:67 : WL 68b19 (3) : ""/Jee-yih-men ming-wei wuwei faamen/" 〇 者一門名為無為法門。 "This Gateway is called the Dharma Gate of Non-Activity."
- Ex. 6:68 : PJY 28Ba1 (3) : "tsyy-yih-jiuh" 此一句 "this phrase"
- Ex. 6:69 : CF 382b22-23 : /"Eel biann shianq jeelii sheng jiee"/ 〇 爾使何者裏生解。 "Here you give rise to conceptual thought".

Ex. 6:70 : JJY 73.6-7 /Shy yun:/ "Naabian jiann" / Way yun:/ "Jeebian jiann" / 師云「那邊見。」外云「者邊見。」  
Jawjou said: "Where do you see (Linjih)?" Jou replied: "Over here."

Ex. 6:71 : JJY 57.11-12 (6) : /"Jyy jee biann shyh chaantyi" / 「只者便是闡提。」 "This is what Shanti is."

Ex. 6:72 : LJL 501a10 (6) : "" /Tsyy shyh juu kann juu / "" 此是主看客。 "This is 'Host Looking at Guest'".

Ex. 6:73 : LJL 501a23-24 (7) : "" /cheu tsyy wei shyh tzuumen forfaa yee / "" 取此為是祖門佛法也。

"...they regard this as the buddha-dharmā of the Patriarchs."

Nah, naa, and ahnaa 那, 阿那

These words occur extremely rarely in the MC of the present corpus.<sup>18</sup> Apart from their use as nd, naa is found (also rarely) as adverb "how", sometimes in the construction naa der V 那得. Naa der can be taken either as A vau, or as a compound A. (On nah as final particle see 7.12.)

Only JJY has a fairly wide range of usage for the three words. It is the only text which has nd nah. The distribution in the table below is strikingly imbalanced (in text occurrence and function) as compared with the distribution of jeh and tsyy. (This imbalance was not pointed out by Maspero, who stated: "Les démonstratifs tchö et na sont employés exactement comme aujourd'hui, seuls ou suivis d'une numérale [nau, in the terminology used here] (généralement 個, 箇 ko); ..." ("Textes", 15.)

The functions in the table below are numbered according to the numbers used above in the table for jeh and tsyy. However (6) is not strictly comparable: preverbal jeh and tsyy are nominal, whereas preverbal naa is adverbial. In row (6), an asterisk indicates naa der.

	<u>NAA</u> 那					<u>AHNAA</u> 阿那					<u>NAH</u> 那				
	<u>LJL</u>	<u>CF</u>	<u>WL</u>	<u>JJY</u>	<u>PJY</u>	<u>LJL</u>	<u>CF</u>	<u>WL</u>	<u>JJY</u>	<u>PJY</u>	<u>LJL</u>	<u>CF</u>	<u>WL</u>	<u>JJY</u>	<u>PJY</u>
(1) <u>XN</u>				1		1			1					3	
(2A) <u>X geh N</u> 箇		1		3											
(2C) <u>X geh</u> 箇	7			5		1			1					1	
(3) <u>X nn N</u>														1	
(4) <u>X lii</u> , "there", placeword														2	
(5) <u>X bian</u> 裏 "over there", "				2										1	
(6) <u>XV</u> 邊	1	1	3	1											
Totals:	8	2	3	12	0	2	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	8	0

Examples of nah, naa, and ahnaa

- Ex. 6:74 : JJY 82.12-83.1 (1) "Jenq yeuma shyrr sheng-tzay naa-tour" / . . . / "Yeuma/jyi tzay nah-tour yee" /  
 。正與麼時，生在那頭。 . . . 「與麼即在那頭也。」 "Just at that time, on which side did it arise?" . . . "In that case, it was on that side."
- Ex. 6:75 : LJL 504a22-23 (1) : /Shyrell-miann Guan'in ahnaa-miann jenq" / 。十二面觀音。阿那面正。  
 "Which of Avalokiteśvara's twelve faces is the real one?"<sup>19</sup>
- Ex. 6:76 : JJY 20.9 (1) : "Nii tzay ahnaa-tour" /  
 。你在阿那頭。 "On which side are you?"
- Ex. 6:77 : CF 383a3-4 (2A) : "Wey sheen jyi naa-geh-shin shyh for" / 。未審即那箇心是佛。 "I don't know yet which 'Mind' is Buddha."
- Ex. 6:78 : JJY 6.11 (2A) : "Nii wenn naa-geh-shyr" / /  
 。你問那箇時。 "Which time are you asking about?"
- Ex. 6:79 : JJY 64.9 (2C) : /"Jinn-chiueh jinshyr/moh wenn nah-geh" / 「盡却今時，莫問那箇。」 "When the present is exhausted, don't ask about that."
- Ex. 6:80 : LJL 504a5-6 (2C) : /"Tsorng shanq-lai yih-ren shyng banq/yih-ren shyng he/Ahnaa-geh chin" /  
 。從上來一人行棒一人行唱。阿那箇親。  
 "Traditionally, some [Charn teachers] have always used blows, some have used shouts. Which of the two is more authentic?"<sup>20</sup>
- Ex. 6:81 : JJY 78.8-9 (3) : /Yow wenn nah-yih-ren" /  
 。又問那一人 "Then he asked the other monk: . . ."  
 [nah here refers to the second of two people.]
- Ex. 6:82 : JJY 103.4-5 (4) : /"Jehlii yii tzuoh-chiueh laoseng/Nahlii wenn sherma faa" / 這裏已坐却老僧。  
 那裏問什麼法。 "You've already silenced me here; what dharma are you asking about there?"

Ex. 6:83 : JJY 74.11 (5) : /"Wey sheen nahbian shyh ruher"/ 「未甯那邊事如何。」 "I don't yet know what things are like over there." [For naa in use (5), see Ex. 6:70 above.]

### 6.7.2 Numeral Determinatives

The most important numeral determinatives (nn) are the simple (monosyllabic) numerals yih 一, ell 二, leang 兩, san 三, syh 四, wuu 五, liow 六, chi 七, ba 八, jeou 九, shyr 十, bae 百, chian 千, wann 萬, together with the compound nd in which they take part (no discussion is devoted to the morphology of compound numerals, which is similar to that of NC.)<sup>21</sup>

Occurrences of these numerals in the noun group are tabulated below in 6.7.3, in which are also listed the infrequently occurring nd jii 幾, bann 半, sheuduo 許多, rusheuduo 如許多, and ruohgan 若干 (On the adverb rusheu 如許, see 7.3.)

Three other words which could be taken as nn are duoshao 多少, "how many"; shietzyy 些子, "a few"; and shuh 數, "several".

Duoshao 多少 occurs a few times in four of the texts (not at all in CF). Apart from its use as nn, duoshao is found as predicate in non-verbal sentences (e.g. JJY 8.11, 2 X).

Shietzyy 些子 is found only twice as nn: JJY 50.12 and PJY 28Bb15. It is also found twice as free noun: WL 70a1 and JJY 96.1, in both cases as cognate object. (For shieshie 些些, see 6.2.)

There are two cases of shuh 數 as nn, both in LJL:  
501c1: shuh-nau-N; 505c1: shuh-N.

In JJY there are three cases of numeral suffixes:

100.5: shyr-lii-yiilai 十里已來, "about ten li";

100.7: syhshyr-nian-lai 四十年來, "about forty years";

4.6 : bashyr-yu-yuan-shannjyshyh 八十餘員善知識  
"over eighty Charn students".

In the table below, these three noun groups are simply counted as nn N, nn N, and nn nau N, respectively.

Yih....wann, and compounds, are also sometimes found as free nouns, as adverbs, and as members of compounds which are not nn. (Such cases are not covered in the tables in 6.7.3.) As free nouns they occur as subject or object (often as quasi-quotes: see Ex. 6:48), or as complete non-verbal sentences (in answer to a question, e.g. JJY 8.11, or as a numerical series, e.g. JJY 43.1,2). In JJY 90.8,9 there are two cases of multiplication, with numerals as subject and predicate in non-verbal sentences.

For numerals used as adverbs, see for example JJY 41.12 and Ex. 5:32 above.

Examples of numerals in compounds: yihshyr 一時, "at once", adverb (e.g. JJY 1.12); yihryh 一日, "one day", adverb (e.g. LJL 505a23). Compare also the adverb dihyih 第一 mentioned at the beginning of 6.7.1.

In 6.7.3, JJY noun groups with nn are tabulated first: JJY has the widest range of constructions. Then on the next page a table is given which covers the other four texts.

## 6.7.3

Numerals and  
Auxiliary Nouns

	JJY		(jeh/dih <sup>a</sup> ) X nau <sup>c</sup> N		X geh	x verbal nau
	(jeh/dih <sup>a</sup> ) X <sup>b</sup> N		X geh N	(jeh/dih <sup>a</sup> ) X nau <sup>c</sup> N	X geh	x verbal nau
	這	第	箇	這	箇	
(-) <sup>d</sup> yih 一	9	70 5	10	32	11	9
(-) <sup>d</sup> san. <sup>e</sup> shyr 三-十		95 4	1	2		3
(-) <sup>d</sup> ell 二		31 3				
leang 兩		11		2	4 1	
(-) <sup>d</sup> bae 百 chian 千 wann 萬		38	2	3		
jii 幾		3 1	1			
bann 半		3	1			
sheuduo 許多		1				
rusheuduo 如許多		1				
ruohgan 若干						

## Notes to 6.7.3

a

Figures at bottom left of main total indicate occurrences with preceding jeh, tsyy, or nah. Figures at bottom right of main total indicate occurrences with preceding dih. The main total includes such cases. 這, 者, 此, 那, 第

<sup>b</sup> X stands for the numeral noun in question.

<sup>c</sup> That is, nau apart from geh.

d (cont'd)

numeral and for yih (etc.) as last element in compound numerals.

<sup>e</sup> That is, (-)<sup>三</sup>san, (-)<sup>四</sup>syh, (-)<sup>五</sup>wuu  
(-)<sup>六</sup>liow, (-)<sup>七</sup>chi, (-)<sup>八</sup>ba, (-)<sup>九</sup>jeou, (-)<sup>十</sup>shyr.

<sup>d</sup> (-) indicates that a combined total is given for yih (etc.) as simple



6.7.3 (cont'd)	<u>(jeh/dih<sup>a</sup>) X<sup>b</sup>N</u>				<u>X geh N</u>				<u>(jeh/dih<sup>a</sup>) X nau<sup>c</sup>N</u>				<u>X geh</u>				<u>X verbal nau</u>			
	<u>1</u> LJL	<u>2</u> CF	<u>3</u> WL	<u>5</u> PJY	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>5</u>
(-) <sup>d</sup> <u>yih</u>	96 2 2			32 4	9	1	1	2	24 4	2	3	5					9		2	5
(-) <sup>d</sup> <u>san<sup>e</sup>.shyr</u>	111 3	60 2	87	5					11 2		6	1	2	2			4			7
(-) <sup>d</sup> <u>e11</u>	21 2 2	2	25 2	1					1 1	1										3
<u>leang</u>	3	2	1	5					2				2							
(-) <sup>d</sup> <u>bae</u> <u>chian</u> <u>wann</u>	24	12	31	2					4	1	2	2								
<u>jii</u>	1		3	1		1														
<u>bann</u>	4																			
<u>sheuduo</u>	1								1	1										
<u>rusheuduo</u>		1																		
<u>ruohgan</u>																				

For notes (a) to (e) see previous page

In 6.8.4 is a detailed list of the various auxiliary nouns (apart from geh) which are represented in the above tables as nau.

As for geh,<sup>22</sup> some figures are given above in the second and fourth columns of the tables; some other figures have been given earlier on in the chapter; and geh without preceding ndt will be discussed in 6.8.3 (cf. also 6.2 on gehgeh). Below is a table which brings together these various totals. If the totals for geh are compared with the totals for all the other nau (third and fifth columns above) it can be seen that in LJL, JJY, and PJY, geh has a frequency considerably higher than the other nau combined. However, in the other two texts (in which auxiliary nouns are rarer), geh does not have the same predominance.

	<u>LJL</u>	<u>CF</u>	<u>WL</u>	<u>JJY</u>	<u>PJY</u>
(1) <u>nn geh N</u>	9	2	1	15	2
(2) <u>nn geh</u>	4	2	0	15	0
(3) <u>nd geh N</u>	3	1	5	6	5
(4) <u>nd geh</u>	14	0	0	41	1
(5) <u>V geh sherma (N)</u>	5	0	1	13	8
(6) <u>V geh N</u>	13	3	2	12	7
(7) other uses (see <u>6.8.3</u> )	1	0	1	7	4
	49	8	10	109	27

### 6.8.1 Auxiliary Nouns

As can be seen in 6.7.1, and in 6.7.3, ndt N is far more frequent than ndt nau N. Only a partial reason for this is the absence of nau when the ndt is a numeral used ordinally (e.g. CF383c19: liow-tzuu 六祖, "the Sixth Patriarch" - not "six patriarchs"), or where the noun group is a set phrase of the type sanjieh 三界, "the three worlds", i.e. the Buddhist tridhātu (e.g. LJL 499<sub>a24</sub>).

The main reason would seem to be that nau in this construction was optional in MC, or at any rate in written MC.<sup>23</sup> There are some cases where the same noun is used now with, now without nau: see JJY 90.10 and 79.10:

yih-portzyy 一婆子; JJY 90.12: yih-geh-portzyy. 一箇婆子

Many nau are also found as free nouns. In some cases, such words occur after ndt (i.e. without another N following). Only when geh takes part in such a construction have I analyzed the group as ndt nau. In other cases there is no convincing evidence (such as ndt nau N, with the same nau, in the preceding context) against a simple ndt N analysis. Such a case is JJY 79.8 :

/"Woo jeelii yih-di yee wu/" 「我者裏一滴也無。

"There's not a single drop here where I am." (or "I don't have a single drop here.") In this instance, shoei 水, "water", does occur in what precedes; and admittedly in WL the group yih-di-shoei 一滴水, "a drop of water", is found twice (see 6.8.4). Certainly this type of example is the forerunner of the NC "pronominal" use of minor noun groups, whether or not it is regarded as such in MC.

Another borderline problem is provided by those noun phrases with structure ndt N1 N2 which give rise to alternate analyses (a) ndt N1 / N2, with ndt N1 a noun group functioning attributively before the head N2: i.e. a noun phrase.

(b) ndt nau N2: i.e. a noun group.

Shyrell-miann Guan'in 十二面觀音 (cited above, Ex. 6:75) seems a clearcut example of analysis (a). Other cases are not so easy to decide on: e.g. JJY 9.10, LJL 503c26-7.

JJY 9.10 : yih-tarng shyseng 一堂師僧

LJL 503c26-7 : jeh-yih-tarng seng 這一堂僧

The contexts suggest interpretation (a) "the monks in (this) whole hall and also (b) "(this) hallful of monks". There is little semantic distinction between the two interpretations. Charles Luk's translation (Teaching II, 109 : "Do the monks read sūtras in this hall?") suggests a third interpretation - a double-subject construction. Asahina's Japanese translation suggests (a): "kono dōnai no sōtachi", この堂内の僧たち, Asahina, 朝比奈宗源 Rinzairoku, 143).

### 6.8.2 Verbal Auxiliary Nouns

In Table II of 6.8.4 are listed ten verbal nau which are found in the construction V (N) nn nau. These nau could be regarded, alternatively as ordinary object nouns, but they have more in common with cognate objects. All verbal nau can be regarded as cognate objects. (The reverse is not true - cognate objects of the type shuh-lii (LJL 505c1, "several lii") are not listed below as verbal nau.)

There are a few cases of preverbal noun group comparable in meaning to (postverbal) cognate object (e.g. LJL 505a18, WL 72a17). The WL example is "/yih-kuah kuah-chiueh N" 一踏跨却N "... strode over N with a single stride." The first kuah is a verb nominalized by the preceding nn. For a similar case postverbally, cf. LJL 496c2: /He yih=he/ 喝一喝 "[Linjih] gave a shout...." Compare also Ex. 6:26.<sup>24</sup>

### 6.8.3 Auxiliary Nouns not Preceded by Determinatives

In the geh table at the end of 6.7.3 are shown (under headings (5) and (6)) statistics for the construction V geh N, where N can be free noun, noun phrase, or the interrogative pronoun sherma. Geh N has indefinite meaning, and may be regarded as a contraction of yih-geh N, which,

however, can itself occur postverbally. Parallel passages offer some support for this theory of contraction.<sup>25</sup>

For examples of use (5) see Exs. 6:29, 6:30, 6:37. For use (6) see LJL 504b20, 498a11, JJY 25.6, 36.9, 42.1, 75.6, 97.6.

Thirteen cases of geh remain to be discussed:

(a) (8x) noun phrase haogeh N 好箇, "a good N; what a good N!". (LJL 503b26-27; JJY 9.6, 48.1, 62.8, 84.5, 84.5-6; PJY 28Ab8, 28Ba11.) Compare the construction with nn instead of nau: hao yih N (e.g. JJY 45.6:  
 ≠ "dahshah hao yih-wenn" ≠ 「大煞好一問。」 "What an extremely good question!" Contrast this with PJY 28Ba11  
hao geh-wennshiunn 好箇問訊 "What a good question!"

(b) (2x) ruu geh N 汝箇: WL 69a5: ruu geh-tzyhjii  
 汝箇自己, "you yourself, your self"; PJY 30Ab12: ruu geh-pwutour 汝箇撲頭, "your cap".

(c) (1x) (JJY 32.1-2) tzaogeh 早箇, "long ago";  
 adverb, apparently synonymous with the adverb tzao.

Compare LJL 498a12: "/woo tzao V leau yee"/  
 。我早 V 了也。 , almost exactly the same as the JJY  
 ≠ "Woo tzaogeh V leau yee" ≠ <sup>26</sup> 。我早箇 V 了也。

(d) (1x) PJY 28Ab14: /Geh-swuren piinpiin ruh yuann/  
Tao geh-sherma ≠ 箇俗人頻頻入院討箇什麼 "When  
 a layman keeps coming into the yard, what does he expect  
 to find"? Maspero ("Textes", 15) cites the first three  
 words of the example: "un lai<sup>3</sup>que". The TTS parallel  
 passage (93b14) omits the geh. Compare the discussion  
 below on di 滴, iy 隻, and shuang 雙.

(e) (1x) JJY 94.12: /N geh yee wu/ (verse) 。N箇也無。 ,  
 "There is not a single N". Here I take the N and the geh  
 as S1 and S2 in a double-subject construction.

Three of the other nau occur in constructions of type (d):

di 滴 CF 384a11: di-shoei 滴水  
jy 隻 JJY 106.6 (verse): jy-leu 隻履  
shuang 雙 JJY 93.1 (verse): shuang-lin 雙林  
 JJY 106.1 (verse): shuang-yeau 雙眼

However the words with shuang could be taken as compounds. Compare LJL 499c26: shuang-lin, and also JJY 90.1, shuang-tzwo 雙足 .

Finally, mention should be made of WL 70a7:

hao jy-liehcheuan 好隻獵犬 "a good hunting dog".

This is of type (a) above.

#### 6.8.4 Table of Auxiliary Nouns (excluding Geh)

##### I Auxiliary Nouns in Structures ndt nau N and N ndt nau

(N ndt nau shown in brackets with asterisks. Such cases are included in the unbracketed totals for each nau.)<sup>27</sup>

	LJL	CF	WL	JJY	PJY
<u>ban</u> 般	<u>13</u> e.g.499b19	<u>1</u> 383b12			
<u>been</u> 本	<u>1</u> 502c16	<u>1</u> 383c20			
<u>charng</u> 場					<u>1</u> 28Ba4
<u>cheng</u> 當				<u>1</u> 86.11	
<u>chorng</u> 重	<u>5</u> (3*) 501a14,c15 500c25-26 506a17		<u>1</u> 70b3		
<u>chuann</u> 串				<u>1</u> 44.9	
<u>chyr</u> 池				<u>1</u> 93.1	
<u>dann</u> 碩					<u>1</u> 31Aa12
<u>deeng</u> 等			<u>1</u> 72a20		<u>1</u> 28Aa18

	<u>LJL</u>	<u>CF</u>	<u>WL</u>	<u>JJY</u>	<u>PJY</u>
<u>di</u> 滴 (cf. also 6.8.3)			<u>2</u> 70b7, 71b17	<u>1</u> 46.8	
<u>duei</u> 堆				<u>1</u> 13.1	
<u>doou</u> 斗			<u>1</u> ( <u>1*</u> ) 72a8	<u>1</u> ( <u>1*</u> ) 95.1	
<u>duenn</u> <sup>28</sup> 頓 (cf. II below)	<u>1</u> 496c29				
<u>feng</u> 封				<u>1</u> 100.8	
<u>huh</u> 斛			<u>1</u> ( <u>1*</u> ) 72a8		<u>1</u> 28Ab2
<u>jang</u> 張				<u>1</u> 18.12	
<u>janq</u> 丈			<u>1</u> 70b3		
<u>jian</u> 間				<u>1</u> 97.3	
<u>jing</u> 莖				<u>2</u> 82.9 103.9	
<u>jiuh</u> 具	<u>1</u> 504b19				
<u>jiuh</u> 勺	<u>1</u> 497a19				
<u>jiuhtzyy</u> 勺子	<u>2</u> 499a6 500a27-8				
<u>joong</u> 種 (cf. also 6.2 on <u>joongjoong</u> )	<u>11</u> e.g. 497b22	<u>1</u> 383b11	<u>4</u> e.g. 69b1	<u>1</u> 21.9	
<u>ju</u> 株	<u>1</u> 504c12				

	<u>LJL</u>	<u>CF</u>	<u>WL</u>	<u>JJY</u>	<u>PJY</u>
<u>jy</u> 隻 (cf. also 6.8.3)	<u>1</u> 503b15			<u>7</u> 39.1, 2.8, 60.12 75.5, 78.5 81.1, 94.4	
<u>jy</u> 枝				<u>3</u> (1*) 14.4, 14.4- 5, 104.8	
<u>koou</u> 口	<u>1</u> 498c13-14				
<u>leang</u> 兩	<u>1</u> 498b20				
<u>lih</u> 粒		<u>1</u> 384a13			
<u>liing</u> 領				<u>1</u> 43.11	
<u>pian</u> 篇					<u>1</u> (1*) 31Ab14
<u>piann</u> 片 (cf. also 6.2 on <u>piannpiann</u> )	<u>1</u> 503a3	<u>1</u> 384a13		<u>1</u> 89.6	
<u>ren</u> 人			<u>2</u> 69b20, 70a6		
<u>shaur</u> 枸	<u>1</u> 504a17 (cited as <u>5:18</u> )				
<u>shiah</u> 下				<u>1</u> 18.12	
<u>shuang</u> 雙 (cf. also <u>6.8.3</u> )	<u>1</u> 499b22			<u>1</u> 95.9	
<u>shuh</u> 束				<u>1</u> 92.3	
<u>suoo</u> 所				<u>1</u> (1*) 103.9-10	



	<u>LJL</u>	<u>CF</u>	<u>WL</u>	<u>JJY</u>	<u>PJY</u>
<u>tour</u> 頭	$\frac{1}{503b18}$			$\frac{10}{1.9-10,38.12,74.580.12,82.683.3, 86.486.8, 92.2}$	
<u>twan</u> 團			$\frac{1}{69a11}$		
<u>tyau</u> 條				$\frac{1}{97.1}$	
<u>wen</u> 文	$\frac{1}{504a9}$				$\frac{3}{29Ab1030Bb15-16}$
<u>yuan</u> 員				$\frac{1}{4.6 \text{ (citedin 6.7.2)}}$	

## II Verbal Auxiliary Nouns (see 6.8.2)

	<u>LJL</u>	<u>CF</u>	<u>WL</u>	<u>JJY</u>	<u>PJY</u>
<u>banq</u> 棒				$\frac{2}{58.6,91.7}$	$\frac{1}{30Ba7}$
<u>bay</u> 拜 (cf. Chapter V, n.4)				$\frac{1}{89.2}$	
<u>biann</u> 遍				$\frac{1}{21.11}$	
<u>chyuan</u> 拳	$\frac{1}{504c22}$				
<u>duenn</u> 頓 (cf. I above)	$\frac{2}{503a23,504c28}$				
<u>gwo</u> 擱	$\frac{1}{505a27}$			$\frac{1}{89.7}$	$\frac{1}{28Ba3}$
<u>jaang</u> 掌	$\frac{2}{504a20505c4}$			$\frac{3}{3.7,58.8,91.1}$	$\frac{3}{28Ab10-1129Aa1-229Aa2-3}$
<u>jyu</u> 掬					$\frac{3}{29Aa8,9}$

	<u>LJL</u>	<u>CF</u>	<u>WL</u>	<u>JJY</u>	<u>PJY</u>
<u>sheng</u> 聲	<u>1</u> 506b17		<u>2</u> 71a2,3	<u>2</u> 25.3, 44.7	<u>3</u> 28Ab18, 29Aa1,5
<u>shiah</u> 下	<u>6</u> 505a7,8, 505b1,2,4, 506b26			<u>2</u> 15.10, 57.5	<u>4</u> 28Bb2, 29Aa1, 29Ba3

### 6.9 Postpositive Nouns

The frequently occurring postpositive nouns in the corpus are:

jong 中, lii 裏, ney 內, "inside"; way 外, "outside"; shanq 上, "top"; shiah 下, "bottom"; chyan 前, "front"; and how 後, "back".

These npo are found in the structure (ndt)(nau)N npo. The resultant noun group is a transient place word or time word (6.4) which can function as subject (or second subject), as object (especially of vp and vpo), or attributively.

Npo are also found in some compound place words and time words with the structure N npo or ndt npo; e.g., place words jehlii 這裏, tsyyjian 此間, tianshiah 天下; time word yehlii 夜裏.

Words which function as npo can also function as free nouns - themselves place words or time words - and occur as subject, object, or attribute. In the attributive use (e.g. JJY 37.12: chyan jiuh 前句, "the previous phrase") such words could alternatively be treated as ndt.

There is only one example of a compound npo: JJY 41.3: neylii 內裏. Liisheu 裏許 (e.g. LJL 502c11),

chyantour 前頭 (e.g. LJL 500a28) and howtour 後頭 (e.g. WL 70a8) are place words and time words, and are not found as postpositive nouns occurring in noun groups after free nouns.

Chuh 處 following a personal name could be described as npo. For examples see LJL 505a25, CF 382b26, WL 69b20, JJY 39.1, PJY 29Ab8.

Personal pronouns and quasi-pronouns are sometimes followed by tsyyjian 此間 or jehlii 這裏 (e.g. LJL 505b20: hershanq tsyyjian 和尚此間; JJY 75.1: woo tsyyjian 我此間; JJY 79.8: woo jeelii 我者裏. The latter example is cited in full in 6.8.1.) These phrases could be taken as cases of noun group (Npn npo), or of double subjects, or simply of noun phrase, with attributive Npn. Compare Chao's analysis of NC -.jell as localizer (i.e. npo) in such constructions (GSC, 626-627).<sup>29</sup>

## NOTES TO CHAPTER VI

1. A footnote in BYL gives shieshietzyy 些些子 as a variant for shieshie yeou 些些有. (On shietzyy 些子 see 6.7.2).

2. For example, JJY 79.10 : /"Tairshan luh shianq sherma chuh chiuh"/ 臺山路向什麼處去  
The TTJ parallel passage to this is /"Jawjou luh sherma chuh chiuh"/ 趙州路什麼處去

Compare also

(a) LJL 497b12 : N lii V <sup>裏</sup> :: CDL 446c18-19 :  
shianq N lii V <sup>向</sup>

(b) PJY 29Aa5 : /"Jehlii V <sup>這裏</sup> :: TTS 96a13 :  
/"Shianq jehlii V <sup>向 這裏</sup>

(c) LJL 504c15 : /"Sherma chuh lai" / <sup>什麼 處 來</sup> ::  
TGL 342Ab17 : /"Tsorong sherma chuh lai" / <sup>從 什麼 處 來</sup>

(In both texts the answer to the question lacks tsorong : /"Hwangboh chuh lai" / <sup>黃 藥 處 來</sup>).

(d) JJY 78.1 : Q. /"Tsorong sherma chuh lai" / <sup>從 什麼 處 來</sup>  
A. /"Nanfang lai" / <sup>南方 來</sup>

The TTJ parallel passage is :

Q. /"Sherma chuh chiuh"/ <sup>什麼 處 去</sup> A. /"Nanfang chiuh"/ <sup>南方 去</sup>

(See Ex. 5:72 for place word nanfang as object of vp ; see JJY 102.9 for an example of nanfang as attribute.)

For other references to place and time words, see

6.5.3 (sherma chuh, herchuh 什麼處, 何處);

6.7.1 (jehlii etc. 這裏);

6.9 (npo in place and time words).

3. Parallel passage alternations between first person pronouns and quasi-pronouns:

(a) LJL 504c23 : woo :: CDL 290b5 : woo ::  
TGL 342Ba8 : wu.

(b) LJL 505a8 (Ex.6.7) : wu :: CDL 290b29 :  
woo :: TGL 342Bb5 : wu.

(c) LJL 505a8, CDL 290c1, TGL 342Bb6, and  
BYL 176a2 all have wu.

(d) JJY 83.3 : the second woo :: TTJ mooujea  
某甲 .

(e) JJY 43.11 : woo :: CDL laoseng 老僧 .

(f) JJY 89.4 : laoseng :: CDL woo.

4. Etymologically related to moou 某 as pronoun (e.g. the Taypyng Goangjih 太平廣記 example given by Ōta, Bumpō, 100) and to the BWJ pronoun mooujii 某乙 (see Jeang, Tongshyh, 3-4; Iriya, BWJ Index, 6b).

On these pronouns, see also Jou III, 230-233;

Maspero, "Textes", 17-18; Gau "Yeuluh", 67-68, 70;

Ōta, Kouywen, 109 n.19, 123 n.21; 147 n.72; Ōta,

TTJ Index, pp.9b-10a (moou 某 ; mooujea 某甲,

mooujeadeeng 某甲等, mooujuanjea 某專甲) and p.40b (juanjea 專甲).

Ex. 6:12 is cited by Maspero ("Textes", 18); but he mistranslates the jyi der 郎得 idiom.

For other examples of mooujea, see Ex. 6:42,

7:14.

5. On the development of the second-person pronouns, see Demiéville, "Archaïsmes", 5-14, 59; Wang, Shyygao, 272; Ōta, Bumpo, 108-110.

The Tokyo Trip., and the Asahina versions of Linjih Luh have 爾 instead of 爾. The Yanagida version has 你 throughout; there is a note (Rinzairoku, p.11, sec.7, n.12) that 爾 is a kokuji 国字 and that its use is incorrect. The TGL parallel passages to LJL have both 爾 and 你. The two plates reproduced by Suzuki and Akizuki from Jawjou Yeuluh in Song editions of Guutzuensuh Yeuyaw and GY both have 你.

Demiéville (op.cit., 59, addenda) mentions one example of 你 in Stein 778 (Meisha Yoin 鳴沙餘韻, Plate 85, II), and points out that the Japanese edition (T.85, 1323b27) wrongly gives 爾. (Demiéville does not mention two other cases of 你 in the Meisha Yoin reproduction of Stein 778 - Plate 85, II, line 20, 29 - for which the Taishō edition likewise gives 爾.)

A similar case is Liowitzuu Tarnjing 六祖壇經 which has only one occurrence of 你 (Meisha Yoin, Plate 102, p.6, line 11). Of the three modern editions of this work which I consulted, only one (Wing-tsit Chan, The Platform Scripture, 38) gives 你 correctly. Yampolsky's edition gives 爾 (The Platform Sutra of the Sixth Patriarch, Text, p.4, line 2.) The T.48 edition (337c23) has the misprint 作.

Iriya's BWJ Index does not list 你; but it does include (27b) five occurrences of ahnii 阿你 and one of ahnii geh 阿你箇. (Compare my mention of aheel in CF, 6.5.1, p.81).

Ōta's TTJ Index gives examples of pronouns 你 (18a) and 阿你 (52b). TTJ also uses the character 你 as a final particle, equated by Ōta with TTJ 嚕 and 尼. (On 嚕 in the present corpus, see 7.12).

## 5. (continued)

Demiéville, after a number of more justified criticisms of Gau's "Yeuluh" texts, concludes rhetorically: "Et comment faire fond sur des documents où, comme dans le seul Taishō no.1986A, on trouve pour „tu" à la fois 爾 et 爾, et pour „il" à la fois 他, 它, 伊 et 渠 (Kao, art.cit., p.68-9)?" ("Archaïsmes", p.17,n.). As far as the alterations between 爾, 爾 and 他, 它 are concerned, this is the type of dilemma facing any linguist (including Maspero, whom Demiéville regarded as more circumspect than Gau in his choice of texts) who uses modern editions of old works because of lack or inaccessibility of contemporary manuscripts or editions. As for the presence in one text of ta 他, i 伊, and chyu 渠, such an alteration is found also in LJL, JJY, and PJY, texts which Demiéville regarded as carefully-chosen. TTJ and CDL also show alternations between the three pronouns.

Finally, mention should be made of some parallel passages to the present corpus:

- (a) JJY 30.9 你 :: CDL 汝 .
- (b) JJY 74.5 你 :: TTJ 汝 .
- (c) JJY 73.3 你 :: TTJ 汝等 .
- (d) JJY 2.8 子 :: CDL 汝 .
- (e) LJL 504a9 爾 :: TGL 345Ba17 爾 .  
(For this, Tokyo Trip. has 爾; Asahina and Yanagida both have 汝.)
- (f) PJY 28Ab12 你 :: TTS 95b19 爾 :: BYL 179b21 汝 .

6. Suzuki and Akizuki give the kambun reading kano for such cases in JJY. See also Yanagida, Rinzairoku, p.15, sec.10, n.7; Ōta, Kouywen, 79 n.87, 145 n.61; Waley, The Life and Times of Po Chū-i (London, 1949), p.224, Additional Note to p.122.

7. An example of interchange between ta 他 and i 伊 in parallel passages: LJL 504c11:ta :: TGL 342Ab14 : i.
8. See n.3 (e) and (f) for two examples of parallel passage alternation between woo and laoseng. A further example is LJL 505b24 laoshiong 老兄, for which TGL 343Ba2 has ruu 汝.
9. See Gau Mingkae, "Yeufaa Tzarshyh", 89-93; Jeang, Tongshyh, 129; Ōta, Bumpō, 127-8; Ōta, Kouywen, 105 n.109, 109 n.10.

In his BWJ Index (22-23), Iriya gives examples of

是沒, 什沒, 甚沒, and 甚處. Ōta (TTJ Index, 45b) gives examples of 什摩 and 甚摩.

Parallel passages show some alternations between sherma chuh and shennchuh:

(a) JJY 89.9 甚處 :: TTJ 什摩處

(b) PJY 28Ab10 甚處 :: TTS 95b18 甚處 :: BYL 179b18 什麼處

Interchanges involving sherma and her 何 (see also 6.5.3, p.89):

(a) PJY 29Bb1 為什麼不 :: TTS 94b6 何不.

(b) JJY 102.9 因何 :: CDL 為什麼.

(c) LJL 505a17 因箇什麼 :: CDL 290b17 何言因.  
(cited as Ex. 6:30)

For the last example, compare the discussion in 6.5.3, p.86.

See 7.3 on tzuohmasheng 作麼生 and tzuoh sherma 作什麼.

10. For other words with prefix ah, see 6.5.1, p.81 (aheel 阿爾), 6.5.2 (ahshy 阿師, ahshiong 阿兄), 6.7.1, pp.95-98 (ahnaa 阿那).

General references to ah 阿: Maspero, "Textes", 13, 25-26; Gau, "Yeuluh", 61; Ōta, TTJ Index, 52b; Iriya, BWJ Index, 27-28; Wang, Shyggao, 221-222; Jou II, 209-213;



## 10. (continued)

Ōta, Bumpō, 83-85; Ōta, Kouywen, 143 n.13, 147 n.64; Paul Ratchnevsky, "Zur Frage der Präfigierung im archaischen und alten Chinesisch", pp.45-80 of Ratchnevsky ed., Beiträge zum Problem des Wortes im Chinesischen, Vol.II (Berlin, 1964); M.W. Sofronow, "Die wortbildenden Präfixe und Suffixe im Mittelchinesischen", pp.109-138 of Ratchnevsky ed., Beiträge..., Vol.II. Sofronow (op.cit., 114) cites Ex. 6:75.

11. Contrast the following examples of rhetorical shenn, shennma, and her:

Ex. 6:40 : ...yeou shenn jiausheh 有甚交涉  
 CF 383c8 : ...yeou shennma jiausheh 有甚麼交涉  
 WL 69a10 : ...yeou her jiausheh 有何交涉

Compare these with the semantically equivalent negative forms:

WL 69b15 : ...mei jiausheh 沒交涉  
 WL 71b1 : ...wu jiausheh 無交涉 (See 7.6 on negative adverbs and verbs.)

Other examples of related rhetorical and negative forms are the auxiliary verbs her yong 何用, buh yong 不用, her lau 何勞, buh lau 不勞 (5.10). Another example is LJL 497b12-13: ...yeu Shyhjia buh bye 與釋迦不別, for which the TGL parallel passage has:

...yeu Shyhjia her bye 與釋迦何別 (TGL 346Aa5).

See Chao, GSC, 652, 655, on rhetorical versus "bona fide" interrogatives; on the relationship between negative forms and corresponding positive forms as "back formations" in rhetorical questions, see GSC, 455-457, 472, 743.

12. The CDL parallel passage to this is: /Wey sheen for shyh sheirjia farnnao"/ 未甯佛是誰家煩惱  
 "I don't know for whom the Buddha's desires are roused."  
 See 6.5.3, p.90 on sheirjia.

13. Yihchieh and ju can occur together: e.g. WL 72a14:  
yihchieh-ju-for 一切諸佛 "all the various Buddhas".

14. The two cases of jee 者 in CF (382b22-24) have a footnote giving the variant jeh 這 in one of the early Japanese editions. The Tokyo Trip. version (26a11) has jee 者. The version of the second half of Chwanshin Faayaw found in GY (66b10, 11) also has jee 者.  
 There is some variation in the different editions of Woanling Luh. An example is WL 68b19, where jee 者 is found twice (cited above as Ex. 6:18 and 6.67). For these, both the Tokyo Trip. Ming version of Woanling Luh (28a18) and the Taishō Ming version (385b25, 27) have jeh 這.

Orthography in other MC texts: TTJ and BWJ use three characters for the demonstrative: 這, 者, and 遮.

(See Ōta, TTJ Index, 38-39; Iriya, BWJ Index, 19-20).

CDL regularly has 遮 (for instance in the CDL parallel passages to JJY and LJL: compare n.15(a) and n.16A(a) below.) The TGL parallel passages to LJL have 者 (compare also n.15(a) and n.16 below).

General references to the etymology of jeh 這:

Gau, "Yeuluh", 63-66; Wang, Shyygao, 283-284; Ōta, Bumpō, 120-123; Chern Jyhwen, article in CKYW, 1964; Hatano Tarō, review article on Chern Jyhwen's work (for the last two items, see Bibliography of Secondary Sources for fuller details.)

15. Compare also the following parallel passages:

(a) LJL 504a11 這僧 :: CDL 290c28 遮僧 :: TGL 352Ba10 此僧.

(b) PJY 28Ba18-b1 這回 :: TTS 96a6 此迴.

16. The exclamatory use of jeh is comparable to the exclamatory reduplication mentioned above in Chapter IV (p.45). One of the passages mentioned there is LJL 503b15-16: /Shy yun:/ "Jeh tzeir" / Puuhuah yun : / "Tzeir tzeir" / 師云這賊。普化云賊賊。  
The CDL parallel passage to this (280b28) has : /Linjih iue:/ "Tzeir tzeir" / Shy [Puuhuah] yih iue : / "Tzeir tzeir" / 臨濟曰賊賊。師亦曰賊賊。  
(The TGL parallel passage is the same as LJL, except that it has 者 instead of 這。)
- 16a. However, tsyyjian and tsyyjong are similar in meaning to jehlii, and should perhaps have been compared statistically with jehlii. There are some parallel passage alternations: e.g.  
(a) JJY 45.11 者裏 :: CDL 遮裏 :: TTJ 此間。  
(b) JJY 82.5 此間 :: TTJ 這裏。
17. The CDL parallel passage to this has san-joong 三種 instead of tsyy-san-joong-shen 此三種身 (CDL446c25). A few lines before (497b20), LJL has tsyy-san-joong-shen corresponding to CDL 446c23 tsyy-san-shen 此三身。 Compare n.23 below on the presence and absence of auxiliary nouns.
18. There is one parallel passage showing interchange of naa-geh 那箇 and ahnaa 阿那 : JJY 77.6 : naa-geh :: TTJ : ahnaa.  
Nah, naa and ahnaa all occur in TTJ, BWJ, and CDL. This series of demonstratives derives etymologically from OC eel 爾 and ruoh 若 : see Gau Mingkae, "Yeufaa Tzarshyh", 125-129; Wang, Shyygao, 280-281, 284-285, 294-295; Leu, Luennwen-jyi, 179-181; Jou III, 151-155; Ōta, Bumpō, 123-127; Uchida Michio 内田道夫, "Shiji to Gimon" 指示と疑問, Tōhoku Daigaku Bungakubu Kenkyū Nempō 東北大學文學部研究年報 9 (1959), 112-142; Demiéville, "Archaïsmes", 15.

19. The CDL parallel passage (291a2) is exactly the same. The TTJ parallel passage rephrases the question as follows:  
 "Tzuohmasheng shyh beenlai miann" 作摩生是本來面  
 (TTJ 128a14-15).
20. The CDL parallel passage (290c22-23) is exactly the same. The TTJ parallel passage has a differently phrased question: TTJ 121c4: "Hwan yeou chinsu yeewu" 還有親疎也無 . Compare also the answers to the respective questions: LJL 504a6 and CDL 290c23:  
 "Tzoong buh chin" 總不親 :: TTJ 121c5 : /leang-geh tzoong buh chin" 兩個總不親 . These are different grammatical constructions, both meaning: "Neither of them is authentic."
21. Compound numerals are of two main constructions: attribute-head compounds (e.g. syhshyr 四十 , "forty"; JJY 100.7, cited in 6.7.2); and coordinative compounds, either additive (e.g. shyrell 十二 , "twelve", in Ex. 6:75) or alternative (e.g. PJY 30Ba2: sanleang-buh 三兩步 , "two or three steps". WL 68a3 shows a compound numeral which includes both methods of construction: shan-jong syhwuubae-ren 山中四五百人 , "the four or five hundred people on the mountain". See Chao, GSC, 566-578; Barron Brainerd and Fred C.C. Peng, "A Syntactic Comparison of Chinese and Japanese Numerical Expressions", pp.53-81 of H. Brandt Corstius, ed., Grammars for Number Names (Dordrecht, 1968). Brainerd and Peng's article is an interesting "universal grammar" covering medieval and modern Chinese and Japanese numerals.

22. In the present corpus, geh is always written 箇 . But 個 occurs in some of the editions of the Woanling Luh: e.g. WL 69b15 箇 :: Tokyo Trip. 29a17 個 :: Taishō Trip. 386c29 個 . Maspero ("Textes", 15) cites examples of 個 from the ZZ edition of Woanling Luh, and from the ZZ edition of Chwanshin Faayaw (neither of which were used for the present study). However, on pp.15 and 16 of "Textes" he wrongly cites 個 for PJY 28Ab14 (quoted here in 6.8.3) and PJY 28Ab4. In fact, both have 箇 . TTJ (the Seoul edition) has only 个 , listed in Ōta's index as 箇 although his edition of Tzuutarng Jyi is based on the same version as the Seoul edition; BWJ has three forms 箇 , 個 , and 个 (see Ōta's and Iriya's index entries for geh itself; for the individual ndt such as jeh 這 and yih 一 (for noun groups beginning with ndt); and for the various adverbial compounds such as tzaogeh 早箇 , discussed here in 6.8.3. An example of TTJ 个 was given in n.20 above. See also n.23.)
23. Parallel passages showing ndt N :: ndt nau N alternations:
- (a) LJL 497b20 :: CDL 446c23, cited above in n.17.
- (b) JJY 49.9 者漢 :: TTJ 这个漢 .
- (c) JJY 55.11 一錢 :: TTJ 一个錢 .
- (b) and (c) are given with 箇 in Suzuki/Akizuki's parallel passage section. I follow the Seoul edition.
- (d) PJY 28Ab9 十禪客 :: TTS 95b18 and BYL 179b15 十禪客 (cited as Ex. 5:47)
24. Ex. 6:26 (LJL 503c21) has ...song yih-song 送一送 ; the TTJ parallel passage to this (121c8) has ...daa yih-shiah 打一下 . Another interesting parallel passage is the following:
- LJL 505a27 : ...yu koou-shanq daa yih-gwo 於口上打一摑 ::

24. (continued)

TGL 343Aa3 : ...yu koou-shanq gwo 於口上摑 .

In the present corpus, gwo is not found as a verb, but only as a (verbal) nau (see 6.8.4, p.108). The TGL passage does, however, show gwo as a verb.

25. Parallel passages showing (nn) nau N alternations:

(a) JJY 42.1 : V geh-N :: CDL V yih-geh-N

(b) PJY 28Bb18-29Aa1 : V yih-geh-N :: TTS 95b16 :

V geh-N

(c) JJY 60.12-61.1 : V yih-jy-N :: TTJ : V jy-N.

(d) PJY 30Ab12\* : ruu geh-pwutour 汝箇撲頭 ::

TTS 95b6: Nii yih-geh-pwutour 爾一箇撲頭

\* (cited 6.8.3, p.105)

However, some passages show alternations instead between geh N and N alone, especially in the case of V (geh) sherma. (\*V yih-geh-sherma does not occur.)

(e) JJY 55.8 : V geh-N :: TTJ : V N

(f) PJY 28Bb17 : VN :: TTS 95b16 : V geh-N

(g) LJL 500c6 : V sherma :: TGL 349Ab11 : V geh-sherma

(h) JJY 79.8 : V geh-sherma :: CDL : V sherma

(i) LJL 504c21-22\* : V geh-sherma N :: TGL 342Ba6 :

V sherma N

\* (cited as Ex. 6:37)

(j) PJY 28Ba2\* : V geh-sherma :: TTS 94a3 : V sherma

\* (cited as Ex. 5:42)

(k) JJY 48.3 : ...yeou sherma :: JJY 68.6 :

...yeou geh-sherma

(l) JJY 84.5-6 : /"Hao geh-chuhsheng"/ 「好箇畜生」 ::

TTJ: /"Tay hao chuhsheng"/ 太好畜生

See Leu Shwushiang's 1945 article, "Geh tzyh de yinqyong fannwei, fuhlenn danweytsyr-chyan yih de tuoluoh" 個字的應用範圍, 附論單位詞前舌的脫落

pp.69-94 of Luennwen-jyi.

26. Geh as adverbial suffix: TTJ Index (48a) and BWJ Index (25a) both give examples of tzaogeh. Other TTJ examples are miaogeh 妙个 (e.g. 89c28), fenminggeh 分明个 (e.g. 86b24-25) and mingminggeh 明明个 (e.g. 106a5). Compare also jengeh 真箇 in Dew's Verb Phrase, 73.
27. On the development of nau, see Liou Shyhru, Lianqtsyr Yanjiow; E.H. Schafer, "Noun Classifiers in Classical Chinese", Lg 24 (1948), 408-413; Wang, Shyygao, 234-247; Ōta, Bumpō, 152-163.
28. LJL 496c29 : V yih-duenn-banq 一頓棒. The CDL and TGL parallel passages have V yih-duenn : that is, duenn as verbal nau. In NC, too, duenn doubles as ordinary nau and verbal nau (see Chao, GSC, 593, 595, 617).
29. Halliday (Secret History, 112, 217) classes yihban 一般, "like", as a postpositive noun. Such an interpretation might be possible for MC yihban (e.g. CF 383c17, WL 70b5) and shiangsyh 相似 (e.g. LJL 499b23; CF 382c3; WL 69a10; JJY 41.9; PJY 30Ab13). But it often seems preferable to regard these two compounds as verbs, occurring in the constructions vp N V, where vp is yeu 與, ru 如, or syh 似. For example : LJL 501c23-24, and WL 69a10 : ...yeu ruu buh shiangsyh 與汝不相似 "not the same as you". For TTJ examples of shiangsyh, see Ōta, TTJ Index, 35b; shiangsyh is not listed in Iriya's BWJ Index, but it is found in BWJ (e.g. 131.8). See also Ōta, Bumpō, 192, 194.

## CHAPTER VII

ADVERBS AND PARTICLES7.1 Bound Adverbs

Bound adverbs mark the clause in which they occur as bound (subordinate) or free (main). Preverbal adverbs and final adverbs occur only in subordinate clauses.

Conjunctive adverbs occur only in main clauses and mark the link either with a preceding subordinate clause, a preceding main clause in the same sentence, or with a (different) preceding sentence. In the latter case, the link is contextual, not grammatical.

In other words, preverbal and final adverbs always presuppose a following main clause; conjunctive adverbs do not presuppose a preceding subordinate clause.

No statistics are given in the discussion of bound adverbs below. Unless otherwise stated, all bound adverbs are found in all five texts.

Some preverbal adverbs (apr) occur either before or after the subject of the clause. (They are marked below with an asterisk.) There seems to be some trace of a given/new distinction (compare 5.11 and Chapter 5, n.12) whereby the subject precedes the apr if the subject is "given" in the context, and otherwise follows it. The majority of preverbal adverbs, however, occur only clause-initially. Tsair <sup>兒</sup> must follow the subject.

Below is a list of the most important apr:

- |                   |            |   |
|-------------------|------------|---|
| * <u>ruoh</u> 若   | "if"       | (Ex. 5:3, 5:42, 5:49)   |
| <u>ruohyee</u> 若也 | "if"       | ( <u>CF</u> and <u>WL</u> only)   |
| <u>ru</u> 如       | "if"       |   |
| * <u>swei</u> 雖   | "although" |   |
| <u>sweiran</u> 雖然 | "although" | ( <u>LJL</u> only, and only in the expression <u>sweiran rutsyy</u> 雖然如此 "that may be so, but....") |



* <u>jih</u>	既	"since"	(Ex. 6:6, 6:31, 6:33)
<u>jihruoh</u>	既若	"since"	(WL only)
<u>tsair</u>	纔	"as soon as"	(cf. German "erst als").
<u>sheshy</u>	設使	"even if"	
<u>shyy</u>	使	"even if"	
<u>tzong</u>	縱	"even if"	
<u>jyrrau</u>	直饒	"even if"	(Ex. 7:1)
<u>day</u>	待	"as soon as"	(e.g. Ex. 6:26)
<u>wey</u>	為	"because"	(Ex. 5:35, 5:37)
<u>tsorng</u>	從	"since"	
<u>tzhytsorng</u>	自從	"ever since"	

The last five words are verbal in origin; see 7.8. See 7.10 on dann 但, farn 凡, and suoo 所.

Final adverbs (afi) occur at the end of clauses, and mark such clauses as subordinate. Etymologically, final adverbs are nominal. The clause preceding an afi can be regarded as attribute to a following head. In this case, the afi and what precedes it together form a noun phrase, functioning as subject or first subject of the following main clause.<sup>1</sup>

The following afi are found in MC:

<u>shyr</u>	時	"when"	
<u>jy shyr</u>	之時	"when"	
<u>guh</u>	故	"because"	(e.g. 5:5) (also <u>jy guh</u> )
<u>tsyh</u>	次	"when"	
<u>how</u>	後	"after"	(e.g. 6:39) (also <u>jyhow</u> )
<u>yiihow</u>	已後	"after"	
<u>yiilai</u>	已來	"since"	
<u>chuh</u>	處	"if"	(e.g. LJL 500c19-20)

On jee 者 as a possible final adverb, see 7.10.

Conjunctive adverbs (aco) almost always occur immediately before the verb in the main clause, i.e., after the subject, if there is one. However, jyi 即 and

yow 又 can precede the subject, (see Ex. 5:20 and 6:17).

Below is a list of conjunctive adverbs:

<u>jyi</u>	卽	"then"	( <u>Ex. 5:3</u> , <u>5:20</u> , <u>6:12</u> )
<u>tzer</u>	則	"then"	
<u>biann</u>	便	"then"	( <u>Ex. 5:49</u> , <u>5:64</u> , <u>6:69</u> )
<u>jiyibiann</u>	卽便	"then"	( <u>Ex. 6:24</u> )
<u>biannjyi</u>	便卽	"then"	
<u>biannnae</u>	便乃	"then"	
<u>yih</u>	亦	"also"	( <u>Ex. 5:68</u> )
<u>yee</u>	也	"also"	( <u>Ex. 6:30</u> )
<u>yow</u>	又	"moreover"	( <u>Ex. 5:11</u> , <u>6:20</u> , <u>6:81</u> )
<u>joan</u>	轉	"the more...."	
<u>jinn</u>	盡	"all"	( <u>Ex. 5:45</u> )
<u>jinnjie</u>	盡皆	"all"	
<u>jie</u>	皆	"all"	( <u>Ex. 5:13</u> , <u>6:16</u> )
<u>shijie</u>	悉皆	"all"	
<u>jieshi</u>	皆悉	"all"	
<u>du</u>	都	"all"	( <u>Ex. 5:50</u> , <u>6:59</u> )
<u>dulai</u>	都來	"all"	( <u>Ex. 5:6</u> )
<u>erl</u>	而	"however"	
<u>chiueh</u>	却	"however"	( <u>Ex. 5:71</u> , <u>6:10</u> )
<u>ranhow</u>	然後	"afterwards"	
<u>sweihow</u>	隨後	"afterwards"	
<u>suooyii</u>	所以	"therefore"	( <u>Ex. 5:26</u> )
<u>fang</u>	方	"only then"	( <u>Ex. 5:37</u> )
<u>shyy</u>	始	"only then"	( <u>Ex. 5:38</u> , <u>5:39</u> )
<u>suey</u>	遂	"then"	( <u>Ex. 5:44</u> , <u>6:14</u> )

## 7.2 Free adverbs

Free adverbs do not take part in the marking of clauses in the same way as bound adverbs. They can occur in free or subordinate clauses, sometimes together with apr or aco. (on such adverbial sequences see 7.5).

Below is a list of previously cited examples including instances of free adverbs:

<u>yii</u>	已	"already"	<u>Ex. 6:7</u>
<u>shyuan</u>	懸	"by far"	<u>Ex. 6:9</u>
<u>shyhlai</u>	適來	"just now"	<u>Ex. 6:11</u>
<u>tzao</u>	早	"long ago"	<u>6.8.3(c)</u>
<u>genq</u>	更	"again, even more"	<u>Ex. 5:18</u>
<u>chin</u>	親	"in person"	<u>Ex. 5:22</u>
<u>chyuan</u>	全	"completely"	<u>Ex. 5:23</u>
<u>suh</u>	速	"quickly"	<u>Ex. 5:7</u>
<u>jyy</u>	祇	"only"	<u>Ex. 5:48</u>
<u>wei</u>	惟, 唯	"only"	<u>Ex. 5:55</u>
<u>rutsyy</u>	如此	"thus"	<u>Ex. 5:23</u>
<u>yushyh</u>	於是	"thus"	<u>Ex. 6:20</u>

In the sections below, some other free adverbs will be mentioned. In 7.3, adverbs such as yeuma 與麼 will be discussed which function as free adverbs and also have other functions. In 7.6, negatives and intensifiers will be treated. In 7.7 there will be a discussion on the morphology of free and bound adverbs. Finally, the free adverb hwan 還 will be covered in 7.12 in its function as a marker of questions.

### 7.3

Some adverbs can function predicatively and even attributively in addition to functioning in the normal preverbal position. They include tzuohma 作麼 and tzuohmasheng 作麼生, "how"; yeuma 與麼 and rennma 恁麼, "thus"; rutsyy 如此 and rushyh 如是, "thus"; and reduplicated adverbs ending in dih 地.

The figures for tzuohma and tzuohmasheng are as follows:

Totals	12	3	33	5	13
--------	----	---	----	---	----

The most frequent predicative function is yeuma 與麼 / rushyh 如是 (or yeuma 與麼 / rushyh 如是) / yeuma 與麼 / rushyh 如是.

<u>tzuohmasheng</u> 作麼生	<u>LJL</u>	<u>CF</u>	<u>WL</u>	<u>JJY</u>	<u>PJY</u>
Adverbial	4	1	2	14	2
Predicative*	17	0	1	11	8
Totals	21	1	3	25	10

\*

The structures are:  $\neq$ Clause/tzuohmasheng/ $\neq$  $\neq$ (N) tzuohmasheng/ $\neq$ 

<u>tzuohma</u> 作麼	<u>LJL</u>	<u>CF</u>	<u>WL</u>	<u>JJY</u>	<u>PJY</u>
Adverbial	0	0	0	1	2
Predicative*	2	0	0	6	2
Totals	2	0	0	7	4

\*

Structures as above

There is also one occurrence (PJY 29Aa3) of tzeensheng 怎生, in adverbial function. The TTS parallel passage for this has tzuohmasheng.<sup>2</sup>

Yeuma and rennma are found as follows: rennma  
 與麼 總麼 怎麼  
 occurs only in PJY.

	<u>與麼</u> <u>yeuma</u>					<u>總麼</u> <u>rennma</u>
	<u>LJL</u>	<u>CF</u>	<u>WL</u>	<u>JJY</u>	<u>PJY</u>	<u>PJY</u>
Adverbial	10	0	1	13	0	5
Predicative	1	1	1	30	5	8
Attributive	1	3	1	10	1	1
Totals	12	4	3	53	6	14

The most frequent predicative function is  $\neq$ Yeuma/  
 則 也 即 也  
tzer Clause (yee) $\neq$  (or  $\neq$ Yeuma/jyi Clause (yee) $\neq$ )

"If that is so, then....", "In that case....".

CF 382b16-17 has  $\neq$  "若 與 麼 則 Ruoh yeuma/tzer Clause". This is in minimal contrast with 382b16  $\neq$  "若 如此 則 Ruoh rutsyy/tzer Clause 也"  $\neq$  and 382b17  $\neq$  "如是 則 Rushyh/tzer Clause 也"  $\neq$ .

All three sentences have the same basic structure.

Yeuma and rennma also occur as predicate in main clauses: e.g., JJY 68.10. No discussion is devoted to the phonology of the two words: in meaning they appear the same. TTJ, like PJY, has both forms occurring, sometimes in the same sections.

Rutsyy and ruher also occur adverbially and predicatively; rutsyy can also occur attributively, sometimes marked by the particle jy.<sup>3</sup>

Reduplicated adverbs ending in dih<sup>地</sup> occur in four of the five texts: LJL 14 X, CF 1 X, WL 2 X, and JJY 7 X. Examples are: LJL 497b6, 498b8, 499a19, and 501a17; CF 383c13; WL 69a5, 70a1; JJY 3.6. These adverbs likewise occur adverbially, predicatively and attributively.

#### 7.4 Clause Position

The position of bound adverbs has already been treated in 7.1. Free adverbs usually occur immediately before the verb, but there are some free adverbs which occur before the subject and stress it: fu 夫, furu 夫如, ru 如, and jyyru 祇如. These adverbs are sometimes linked with a jee occurring after the noun; see also 7.10 below. 者

#### 7.5 Adverbs in Succession

Two or more adverbs can occur in succession. This is especially the case when one of the adverbs is a negative one, see 7.6. Another example is:  
Ex. 7:1 LJL 503c4-5 :  $\neq$  Jyrrau daw-der/yee jyy shyh geh-muhjyue"  $\neq$  。直 饒 道 得 。也 祇 是 箇 木 椽 。 "Whatever

you say, it's nothing but a wooden stake." See also  
Ex. 6:20.

### 7.6 Negative adverbs

The most common negative adverb is buh 不. Other negative adverbs are wey 未, "not yet"; weytserng 未曾, and buhtserng 不曾 "never"; weycharng 未嘗, "never"; moh 莫 (negative imperative adverb); wuh 勿 (negative imperative adverb) which only occurs in CF in this meaning; see below for its other use. Moh 莫 occurs a few times in the LC sense of "there is no-one who...." (e.g. Ex. 6:22; see also 7.12.)

Buh is the negative before the classificatory verb, shyh 是, but not normally before yeou 有 (compare however WL 70a20 where buh yeou 不有 contrasts with buh wu 不無). The normal negative of yeou is wu 無. Of rare occurrence are the phrases wu yeou 無有 (LJL 5 X, CF 4 X, WL 6 X, JJY 2 X, PJY 0 X); wuh 勿 (LJL 4 X, JJY 3 X, PJY 1 X); and most interesting of all, mei 沒 (LJL 501b9; CF 381b15, 2 X; WL 69b15; JJY 3.12; PJY 28Aa10, 18). (PJY 28Aa18 is cited above as Ex. 5:55.)

The WL example (69b15) is mei jiausheh 沒交涉, which contrasts with WL71b1: wu jiausheh 無交涉. The JJY example (3.12) is mei liang 沒量, which contrasts with JJY 85.1: wu liang 無量.<sup>4</sup>

Fei 非 occurs in all texts as a negative.

Negatives are often preceded by intensive adverbs such as genq 更, jie 皆, dann 但, dihyih 第一 and tzoong 總.

### 7.7 The Morphology of Adverbs

In 7.3 we have already seen some adverbs ending in ma 麼. There is one other of these: jyyma 祇麼 "do nothing but..." This is found only in LJL (5 X).

Ex. 7:2 : LJL 500c7 : "Jyyma buh shinn/biann shianq way chyout" 。 祇麼不信便向外求，"It is because you persist in your disbelief that you seek outwards." Other examples are: LJL 499a8; 502c1; 500a12-13.

Some adverbs finish with dih <sup>地</sup> (7.3); ran 然 ; lai 來 ; ee1 爾 .

Other adverbs are compounds of two adverbs which can occur alone: see, for example jiyibiann 即使 and biannjyi 便即 in 7.1 above.<sup>5</sup>

### 7.8

A number of compound adverbs can be interpreted as other parts of speech. The interpretation as adverbs is based on judgement as to their frequency on occurrence in set phrases. These overlaps are considered under four headings:

- (a) V N; (b) placewords and timewords; (c) noun groups; (d) verbs.

(a) The first verb in a verb series (or a preposition) followed by a noun object may function adverbially. For example, see wey sherma, in sherma, yunher 云何, etc. discussed above in 6.5.3. Another case is that of rutsyy and ruher (7.3). Two other examples are shianqhow 何後 "afterwards", e.g. LJL 505b22; and yeoushyr 有時 "sometimes", e.g. LJL 504a26 (2 X), 504a27 (2 X).

(b) Placewords and timewords frequently occur before the verb, in the same position as many adverbs. However, unlike ordinary adverbs, they can occur as objects of verbs. Some potential placewords and timewords in fact only occur in the preverbal position, and thus might be considered as adverbs. One such example is yihryh 一日 "one day", e.g. LJL 503a18.

(c) An example of a noun group occurring adverbially is shyhguh 是故 "for this reason". This type of word could alternatively be regarded as an ordinary subject, or second subject.

(d) Day 待, wey 為, and tsorng 從 (7.1) are examples of adverbs which are verbs or prepositions in origin. For an example of day see Ex. 6.26. For examples of wey and jyywey 祇為, see Ex. 5.26, 5.35 and 5.37.

Other verbs which function adverbially include shiu 虛, "vainly" (e.g. LJL 502b27); tsuoh 錯, "mistakenly" (e.g. JJY 60.4); fenming 分明, "clearly" (e.g. LJL 497a9).

## 7.9 Particles

In the following three sections, MC particles will be discussed. In 7.10, coordinating, subordinating, and nominalizing particles will be discussed. In 7.11, yee 也, and other final particles are treated, except for interrogative particles which are covered in 7.12. In 7.12, I have included, for the sake of convenience, a discussion of questions formed without particles.

Because particles form such an integral part of any discussion of Chinese grammatical change, detailed statistics are given for the particles below.

### 7.10 Coordinating, Subordinating and Nominalizing Particles

#### Coordinating Particles

Yeu 與 "and" occurs as follows: LJL 5 X, CF 10 X, WL 8 X, JJY 5 X, PJY 1 X. For examples see LJL 496c1, JJY 48.4, PJY 28Aa11, and Ex. 5:6 quoted above.

Since yeu is also a vp and vpo, ambiguity may arise as to the interpretation of yeu. 與 For instance, in



LJL 499c13 (N yeu N bye) it might be possible to treat yeu as a preposition or a coordinating particle. The former interpretation seems preferable in the light of LJL 499c27 (yeu N bye: i.e. without a first noun).

Jyueu 之 與, "and" is found only three times in the texts: WL 2 X, PJY 1 X.

Ex. 7:3 : WL 70b9 : ""Ruoh ran/shuo sherma ney jyueu way"" . 若然說什麼內之與外。 "If that is so, what is all this talk about 'inside' and 'outside'?"

Jyi 及, "and" occurs twice in CF, and once each in WL and JJY. Yii 以 "and" is found only once: JJY 50.6.

Huoh 或 "or" is found only once (CF 383c6) as coordinative particle; the word is also used as a pronominal adverb.

Deeng 等 "et cetera" is found as a coordinative particle after a series of nouns in LJL (2 X), CF (3 X), WL (7 X). See 6.5.1 for niideeng 你等 and ruudeeng 汝等.

#### Subordinating Particles

The two particles dii 底 and jy 之 occur in all five texts. The distribution is shown in the table on the following page. As can be seen, they share some functions but each have separate functions as well. Only in (1) and (3) do both occur, and in (3) jy clearly predominates.

For examples of the various uses of dii, see

- (1) LJL 502c16, CF 383b4, JJY 9.5, PJY 29Ba2;
- (2) LJL 506a1, JJY 57.6;
- (3) JJY 29.7;
- (4) LJL 505b16, WL 70b9, JJY 57.7.

For an instance of dii and jy in the same sentence (in functions (2) and (3) respectively) see Ex. 5:25.

底 之	LJL	CF	WL	JJY	PJY
	dii jy	dii jy	dii jy	dii jy	dii jy
1. ...V(0) X N = N	26 8	2 10	4	34 6	2 4
2. ...V(0) X = N	7			7	
3. N X N = N	10	7	13	2 11	
4. N X = N	2		1	4	1
5. Npn X N = N		2	6	1	
6. 之 時 之 故 jy shyr, jy guh		3	5	2	
之 後 之 中 jy how, jy jong					
7. 如 此 之 rutsyy jy N,	6		3		
如 斯 之 rusy jy N					
Totals:	35 24	2 22	1 31	47 20	3 4

There is one case of dii 底 not mentioned in the above table: LJL 497b28: lihlihdii 歷歷底. This is the adverbial use for which otherwise dih is normally used. In fact lihlihdih 歷歷地 does occur in the same text: 498b8, 499c10.

No figures are given here for unmarked attribute-head constructions, which are frequent. They are of the types (1), (3), (5), (6) and (7). Two examples already cited of the unmarked constructions are Ex. 5:27 (1), and Ex. 5:41 (3).

#### Nominalizing Particle

The nominalizing particle jee 者 is found in all five texts: LJL 41 X, CF 38X, WL 65 X, JJY 45 X, PJY 5 X. It is thus least frequent in JJY and PJY and most frequent in WL. The most common constructions are (fu)ru N jee and N jee; V (0) jee, sometimes preceded by adverbs dann 但, suoo 所 and farn 凡. When such verbal constructions come before a main clause, the

jee can alternatively be taken, in some cases, as a final adverb: for example, LJL 498c3-4; WL 69a13; JJY 100.3.

Following a noun (LJL 10 X; CF 16 X; WL 19 X) the effect of the jee is that of stress or citation; see for example, CF 380a22 and WL 68b5. Previously quoted examples of jee are Ex. 5:9; 6:17; 6:22; 6:44; 6:49.

The above figures for jee do not include three commonly occurring compounds: shyngjee 行者 (e.g., LJL 497a3); shyhjee 侍者 (e.g., WL 71a9; Ex. 5:21); and shyuejee 學者 (e.g., LJL 501a18).

### 7.11 Final Particles

The most important final particle is yee 也, which occurs sentence-finally, at the end of verbal or non-verbal clauses. It shows completion, change of state, and in the case of non-verbal sentences, has copular meaning. Yee is most frequent in CF, and least frequent in LJL. The frequency in the other three texts is between these extremes.

The character 也 is also used for the adverb yee "also" (7.1). Furthermore, it occurs in the compound adverb ruohyee 若也 (7.1) and in the interrogative particles yeewey 也未 and yeewu 也無 (7.12). These two particles are to be distinguished from yee as adverb followed by the negative adverb wey 未 or the negative classificatory verb, wu 無, combinations which also occur, (e.g. JJY79.8, cited 6.8.1).

In the table on the next page are shown the different uses of yee as final particle. Below is an example of yee in use (2), in a non-verbal question clause:

Ex. 7:4 JJY 49.12 : "Dong bih -shanq guah hwulu/ duoshao-shyr yee" 東壁上掛葫蘆, 多少時也。

"How long has the bottle-gourd been hanging on the eastern wall?"

## yee 也 as Final Particle

	<u>LJL</u>	<u>CF</u>	<u>WL</u>	<u>JJY</u>	<u>PJY</u>
(1) Non-verbal clause: statement <sup>a</sup>	4	10	6	2	3
(2) Non-verbal clause: question <sup>b</sup>	0	0	0	4	1
(3) Verbal clause: statement <sup>c</sup>	8	16	23	54	12
(4) Verbal clause: question <sup>b</sup>	2	1	0	3	0
Totals:	14	27	29	63	16

## Notes to table -

- a. ..(N1) (A) N2 yee/
- b. In this use the clauses already have interrogative words as question markers (e.g., duoshao in Ex.7:4). This use is similar to one of the uses of ye 耶, 邪, for which see below.
- c. Seven times after endverb chih 去 (LJL 1 X; JJY 6 X). Fourteen times (WL 1 X; JJY 12 X; PJY 1 X) after yeuma 與 麼 or rennma 恁 麼 in the preceding clause: cf. 7.3.

Not included in these figures are cases of leau yee 了 也, for which see 5.12.<sup>6</sup>

There are a few other non-interrogative final particles, all of rare occurrence.

Yii 矣 is found only in JJY (5 X; e.g. 9.1) and PJY (3 X; e.g. 31Ab9).

Eel 耳 occurs in LJL (1 X; e.g. 502c27) and CF (3 X; e.g. 380b9).

Erlyii 而已 is found in CF (6 X; e.g. 380b14); JJY (1 X; 104.4); PJY (1X; 30Ab13).

Yan 焉 occurs in LJL (3 X; e.g. 506c18); and JJY (3X; e.g. 31.4).<sup>7</sup>

Kann 看, tentative particle, is found in all texts except CF: LJL 8 X; WL 1 X, e.g. 72a10; JJY 2 X, e.g. 28.1; PJY 3 X, e.g. 29Ab3.) An example of this use of kann is Ex. 7:5.

Ex. 7:5 : LJL 506b2-3 : /"Dann jeu kann"/。但舉着  
 "Try and tell me!" (Compare Asahina's translation:  
 "Mā, itte minasai 「まあ、言つてみなを」(Rinzairoku, 175)).

Jwo 着 , imperative particle, occurs in CF (1 X;  
 384a9 and JJY (7 X; e.g. 22.10, 45.5, 64.1). Another  
JJY example follows:

Ex. 7:6 : JJY 34.1 : /"Daa-chiueh jwo"/「打却着」  
 "Hit it!"

Tzai 哉 , exclamatory particle, is found in LJL  
 (4 X; e.g. 503a3); CF (1 X; 381c1); PJY (2 X; 29Ba11).

Tzay 在 , exclamatory particle, occurs in all  
 texts: LJL 10 X; CF 2 X; WL 3 X; JJY 20X; PJY 6 X.  
Tzay is often found after the verb yeou, and in some  
 cases tzay might be interpreted as a free verb following  
 link verb yeou (see for example, LJL 505a10-11, 505b24,  
JJY 11.8.) But there are other cases where tzay is  
 clearly a final particle: an example is given below:

Ex. 7:7 : LJL 505c6 : /"Yiihow tzuoh-chiueh tianshiah  
 ren shertour chiuh tzay"//。已後坐却天下人舌頭去在。

"Later on, you will certainly silence the  
 tongues of all the people in the world."

For another example of tzay, see Ex. 5:18.<sup>8</sup>

Finally, mention should be made of the exclamatory  
 particle sheng 生 . It occurs most frequently in the  
 construction tay V sheng / (LJL 5 X; JJY 2 X).

Ex. 7:8 : LJL 505b21 : /"Tay duo sheng"//。太多生。  
 "It's too many!"

There is one case of dahshah 大 煞 V O sheng  
 (JJY 35.12). There is one example of keelian sheng  
 可 憐 生 (JJY 65.11). There is also an example of  
hersyh sheng 何 似 生 (PJY 30Ba16). Finally, there  
 are three examples in LJL of shialeu sheng 瞎 屨 生  
 "Blind fool!" (LJL 497c24, 499b21, 501c16). Compare  
 also tzuohmasheng 作 麼 生 (7.3).<sup>9</sup>

## 7.12 Interrogative Particles and Other Question Forms

In MC there are two main kinds of questions: direct questions and embedded questions.

Direct questions are of the following four types:

- (1) unmarked questions;
- (2) questions with interrogative pronouns, determinatives, and adverbs;
- (3) questions with final particles;
- (4) disjunctive questions.

Embedded questions consist of a think verb (5.9.2) followed by a question of types (2), (3) and (4) above. Such questions then function as embedded clause objects of think verbs. The think verb is usually wey sheen 未審 but can also be daw 道, jy 知, and others.

### (1) Unmarked questions

Below is an example of an unmarked direct question, together with its answer:

Ex. 7:9 : LJL 503c17-18 : / suey wenn shyhjee: /

Shyhlai shyh ruu he laoseng" / Shyhjee yun: / "Shyh" /

遂問侍者。適來是汝喝老僧。侍者云是。

....then he asked the attendant: "Was it you who called me just now?" The attendant said: "Yes". Compare also

JJY 7.5, which in the BYL parallel passage (191b11-12) has a final particle foou 否, and is thus a question of type (3).

Some unmarked questions have negative adverbs such as moh 莫。

Ex. 7:10 : JJY 18.10-11 : / "Moh biann shyh shyueren

beenfen shyh" / 「莫便是學人本分事。」 "Isn't that the student's own affair?"

See below on moh in combination with final particle.

### (2) Questions with Interrogative Words

This common type of question is marked by interrogative pronouns (e.g., sherma 什麼, (6.5.3)),

interrogative determinatives (6.7.1, 6.7.2: e.g., naa 那), and interrogative adverbs (7.3: e.g. ruher 如何).

### (3) Questions with Final Particles

In the table on the following page are listed occurrences of six final interrogative particles. Before proceeding to a discussion of these, brief mention should be made of five other rarely occurring interrogative particles.

Hwu 乎 occurs only four times altogether: CF 1 X, 383b3; WL 2 X, 69b18, 71a19; JJY 1X, 101.7.

Yu 歟 is found twice, in JJY only (14.9, 99.3).

Ye 耶, 邪 occurs in CF (3 X, e.g. 383a5), WL (1 X, 68a20), JJY (2 X, both 101.9), PJY (2 X, both 28Aa11). The JJY and PJY occurrences are in disjunctive questions (see 7.12).<sup>10</sup>

Ni 嚮 occurs only twice: JJY 86.8 and PJY 28Ab16. The latter example is cited by Maspero ("Textes", 27) who translates it, however, as a statement.

Finally, nah 那 occurs twice as a final particle: LJL 504a4, 505a17. For the latter, Yanagida's edition (Rinzairoku, 208), has ye 耶 instead of nah. The CDL parallel passage (290b16) has ye 邪, and has the sentence beginning with moh shyh 莫是. Asahina (Rinzairoku, 162) gives 耶, and has a note about the nah 那 variant.<sup>11</sup>

Final Particles ma 麼, yeewu 也無, yiifoou 已否, foou 否, buh 不, yeewey 也未.

Questions with these particles have three basic forms.<sup>12</sup> (The numbers refer to the table on the next page.)

- |     |                    |                          |
|-----|--------------------|--------------------------|
| (a) | (1), (2), (3)      | <u>還</u><br>..hwan V..p/ |
| (b) | (4), (5), (6), (8) | ..V..p/                  |
| (c) | (7)                | <u>莫</u><br>..moh..V..p/ |

Table of Final Particles

	<u>ma</u> 麼					<u>yeewu</u> 也無					<u>yiifoou</u> 已否					<u>foou</u> 否					<u>buh</u> 不					<u>yeewey</u> 也未				
	LJL	CF	WL	JJY	PJY	LJL	CF	WL	JJY	PJY	LJL	CF	WL	JJY	PJY	LJL	CF	WL	JJY	PJY	LJL	CF	WL	JJY	PJY	LJL	CF	WL	JJY	PJY
(1)	7		1	12	5	6			52	1	1							3	8	6				1						
(2)									1																					
(3)									3																					
(4)	7			15	5	1			1				1			2	1	9	3	4				1						4
(5)	1			1	1															1										
(6)																	1	1	2											
(7)	2			3	4	2			1	12						1		1	4	1										
(8)									2																					1
Totals	17		4	32	13	8			71	1	1		1			3	2	14	18	11				2					4	1

- (1) 還 ..hwan V..p/
- (2) 還得 clause/hwan der p/
- (3) (1) as embedded question

- (4) ..V..p/
- (5) 得 clause/der p/
- (6) 便 是 clause/(biann) shyh p/
- (7) 莫 ..moh..V..p/
- (8) (4) as embedded question



The totals for (a), (b) and (c) are given below:

	<u>LJL</u>	<u>CF</u>	<u>WL</u>	<u>JJY</u>	<u>PJY</u>
(a)	14	0	4	77	12
(b)	11	2	11	30	11
(c)	4	0	4	20	3
Totals	29	2	19	127	26

It can be seen how frequently hwan is used in questions. As an adverb, it does occur in clauses apart from questions, but not at all frequently: (LJL 8 X; CF 2 X; WL 4 X; JJY 4 X; PJY 2 X).

Hwan 還 as a question marker does not normally precede another adverb; however it can precede auxiliary verbs (e.g., JJY42.7), prepositions (e.g., JJY44.11), think verbs (e.g., JJY91.9) and link verbs (e.g., JJY37.8). Questions of types (b) and (c) normally do have an adverb before the verb apart from hwan: either mo 莫 itself or some other adverb such as tserng 曾 (e.g., JJY 77.2), tzoong 總 (e.g., JJY 20.5), tzao 早 (e.g., JJY 19.8).

For an interesting example of the same question with and without hwan, see JJY 80.7-8:

Ex. 7:11 : /"Huey ma"/.../"Hwan huey ma"/ 會麼。?  
 還會麼?, both meaning "Do you understand?"

Yeewu 也無 and yiifoo 已否 are interpreted as compound particles. The yee of the former does not indicate completion or past aspect, and questions with yeewu are answered by clauses without final particle. However, it is possible that yeewey should be interpreted as yee (final particle of completion) plus wey 未 (interrogative particle). The following example provides some evidence for this second interpretation:

Ex. 7:12 : JJY 52.2 : /"Chy jou leau yeewey"/ Yun:/  
 "Chy jou yee"/ 「喫粥了也未」云「喫粥也」"Have you  
 eaten your rice gruel yet?" "(I) have eaten (it)".

For examples of the use of interrogative particles  
 (listed according to the numbered functions in the table  
 on the previous page) see (1) Ex. 5:20, 5:64, 6:29;  
 (2) JJY 10:10; (3) JJY 22:3; (4) Ex. 7:11; (5) PJY  
28Ab6; (6) Ex. 5:22; (7) PJY 30Bb10; (8) JJY 33.11-12.

#### (4) Disjunctive Questions

A disjunctive question consists normally of two  
 coordinated free clauses: the clauses are the same except  
 for one contrasting V or N, between which a choice is  
 sought. In the answer, one or other of the contrasting  
 elements can be repeated; or both can be repeated (or  
 understood) in a construction with adverbs such as  
jiuh 俱 "both", or tzoong buh 總不 "neither".

The main forms of the disjunctive question are thus:

(1) /..N1 V../..N2 V../

(2) /..V1 N../..V2 N../

There are two examples of (3) V/buh V disjunctive  
 questions: LJL 500a29 (cited previously as Ex. 5:10)  
 (embedded); and JJY 57.6 (direct).

There are three cases of (4) V N1 N2: LJL 503b4;  
JJY 17.12; JJY 82.9 (cited below, Ex. 7:16).

Some disjunctive questions are marked by the  
 presence in one or both clauses of shyh 是, wei 為,  
weishyh 為是, or weifuh 為復.<sup>13</sup> (Examples:  
LJL 503b4; CF 383a4-5, cited below as Ex. 7:14; WL 68b1,  
72a8, 72a15; PJY 30Bb2; JJY 85.2).

The particle ye 耶 occurs four times in  
 disjunctive questions: see page 139 above.

Below is a table showing the occurrences of  
 disjunctive questions, followed by examples of (1), (2),  
 and (4). For (3), see Ex. 5:10.

	<u>LJL</u>	<u>CF</u>	<u>WL</u>	<u>JJY</u>	<u>PJY</u>
<u>Direct</u>	8	1	3	15	4
<u>Embedded</u>	6	1	0	1	0

Ex. 7:13 : LJL 503b29 (1) : /"Binjia yeou guoh/  
juujia yeou guoh"/.../"E11 jiuu yeou guoh"/  
。賓家有過。主家有過。……。二俱有過。

"Is the guest or the host at fault?"..."Both are at fault."

Ex. 7:14 : CF 383a4-5 (1) : /"Weifuh jyi farnshin  
shyh for / jyi shenqshin shyh for"/  
為復即凡心是佛。即聖心是佛。

"Is it the ordinary mind or the saintly mind which is Buddha?"

Ex. 7:15 : LJL 504c17 (2) : /"Buh jy mooujea yeou  
guoh wu guoh"/。不知某甲有過無過。 "I don't know  
if I'm at fault or not." (Compare LJL 504c18 and  
504c20 where the same question recurs, embedded after  
wenn 問 and daw 道 respectively.)

Ex. 7:16 : JJY 82-9 (4) : /"Jinryh chy sheng tsay  
shwu tsay"/ 「今日喫生菜熟菜。」 "Are we eating  
raw vegetables or cooked vegetables today?"

Some coordinated clauses of the same type as the above examples are not questions: in such clauses the coordination is additive rather than alternative. For an example, see JJY 45.8.

Not covered in the above description or table is LJL 505a10-11. It is, however, similar to the other disjunctive questions:

Ex. 7:17 : LJL 505a10-11 : /"Hwangboh dangshyr jyy  
juu Linjih yih-ren / genq yeou ren tzay"/。黃檗當時  
祇囑臨濟一人。更有人在。

"At the time, was Hwangboh entrusting Linjih only, or was he referring to someone else as well?" The CDL parallel passage (290c1) has, for the second clause: "/weifuh bye yeou yihjyy" / 為復別有意旨 "...or is there some other significance?"

For this type of sentence, see also the TTJ example given by Ōta (Bumpō, top of page 322).

2. Ōta's TTJ Index (49b) gives examples of 作學 (生); Iriya's BWJ Index (25a) gives examples of 息 (生). There may be an etymological connection between tauchua (sheng) and tauch sherna 作什麼. Tauch sherna has two main functions: (1) simple sentence meaning "What are you doing?" (e.g., JJY 3.12); (2) in the structure clause/tauch sherna with the meaning "why, how is it that clause". (2) is similar to the predicative function of tauchua (sheng). Example: LJL 505a5: /shen shan -lii tzei sheuduo/tauch sherna/ 深山裏栽許多作什麼? "What is the point of planting so many [trees] deep in the mountains?" The parallel passages in TGL (342Bb2) and SL (175c26) agree with LJL. But CDL 290b28 has tauchua instead of tauch sherna.

Further examples of parallel passage interchange between tauchua and tauch sherna:

JJY 42.1 : tauchua :: CDL: tauch sherna  
LJL 505a24 : tauchua :: TGL 352Aa7 : tauch sherna

Other parallel passages:

JJY 82.4 : tauchua sheng V :: TTJ : 阿以生 V heroysheng  
JJY 50.1 : 作何 R ruher :: TTJ : 何 R tauchua sheng  
JJY 75.3 : clause :: TTJ : clause tauch sherna  
JJY 41.7 : clause tauchua :: CDL : clause  
JJY 41.6-7 : V sherna :: CDL : V tauch sherna

See Ex. 5:13 and 5:26 for previously-cited examples of predicative tauchua sheng.

(continued)

## NOTES TO CHAPTER VII

1. The attribute-head relationship is marked by subordinating particle jy in the case of the three afi jy shy, jy guh, and jy how. Figures for these three adverbs and for the npo jy jong 之中 are given in 7.11.

2. Ōta's TTJ Index (49b) gives examples of 作摩 (生); Iriya's BWJ Index (25a) gives examples of 恁 (生). There may be an etymological connection between tzuohma (sheng) and tzuoh sherma 作什麼. Tzuoh sherma has two main functions: (1) simple sentence meaning "What are you doing?" (e.g., JJY2.12); (2) in the structure /clause/tzuoh sherma/ with the meaning "Why, how is it that clause". (2) is similar to the predicative function of tzuohma(sheng). Example: LJL 505a5: /Shen shan -lii tzai sheuduo/tzuoh sherma/ 。 深山裏栽許多作什麼。 "What is the point of planting so many [trees] deep in the mountains?" The parallel passages in TGL (342Bb2) and BYL (175c26) agree with LJL. But CDL 290b28 has tzuohma instead of tzuoh sherma.

Further examples of parallel passage interchange between tzuohma and tzuoh sherma:

JJY 42.1 : tzuohma :: CDL:tzuoh sherma

LJL 506a24 : tzuohma :: TGL 352Aa7 : tzuoh sherma

Other parallel passages:

JJY 82.6 : tzuohmasheng V :: TTJ : V hersyhsheng 何似生

JJY 50.1 : N ruher 如何 :: TTJ : N tzuohmasheng

JJY 75.3 : clause :: TTJ : clause tzuoh sherma 什麼

JJY 41.7 : clause tzuohma :: CDL : clause

JJY 41.6-7 : V sherma :: CDL : V tzuoh sherma

See Ex. 6:15 and 6:26 for previously-cited examples of predicative tzuohmasheng.

(continued)

## 2. (continued)

On sheng see 7.11 and note 9.

Other interrogative adverbs in MC include ruher 如何; jeng 争 (e.g. WL 72a6); jengder 争得 (e.g. PJY 29Ab10); jengsyh 争似 (e.g. CF 383c1); jengshianq 争向 (JJY 36.11 only); ian 焉 (CF 381b6 and JJY 89.11 only); her 何 and herder 何得 (see 6.5.3).

3. Previously cited examples: yeuma, Ex. 6:74; rennma, Ex. 5:28, 5:38, 6:12. Compare also Ex. 7:3: /Ruoh ran/ 若然. Parallel passages:

- (1) JJY 58.11-12 : yeuma 4 X :: TTJ : yeuma 4 X ::  
CDL : rennma 4X.
- (2) LJL 504c17 : yeuma :: CDL 290a28 : rennma ::  
TGL 342Ba2 : rennma
- (3) PJY 30Aa7 : rennma :: TTS 94b8 : yeuma  
(but PJY 28Ab15 and the TTS parallel passage  
(93b14) each have rennma twice.)

General references to yeuma and rennma: Yanagida, Rinzairoku, p.27, sec.20, n.4; Ōta, TTJ Index, 59b, 38a, 39a, 47a (written 與摩, 与摩, and 任摩; see also 伊摩, 53b); Iriya's BWJ Index does not mention the words; Maspero, "Textes", 23-25; Gau, "Yeuluh", 64-66; Jang, Shy-Tsyr-Cheu, 355; Ōta, Kouywen, 113 n.77, 125 n.42; Uchida, "Shiji to Gimon", passim; Průšek, "La fonction de la particule ti dans chinois médiéval", Archiv Orientální 15 (1946), 303-340, at pp.309-312.

Belonging to the same etymologically-related series of words as yeuma and rennma are the adverbs rusheu 如許 (JJY 55a4) and ruohwei 若為 (e.g. CF 383a22, JJY 92.12). On ruohwei, see Ōta, TTJ Index, 47b; Iriya, BWJ Index, 24b; Jang, Shy-Tsyr-Cheu, 96-98; Gau, "Yeufaa Tzarshyh", 125-129; Waley, "Colloquial in the Yu-hsien k'u", 560-561, 564.

(continued)

## 3. (continued)

As for rutsy and ruher, see the previously-cited examples 5:23 (rutsy) and 5:14, 5:30, 5:72, 6:83 (ruher). For rutsy jy 如此之, see 7.11.

4. Buh yeou: Ōta, Bumpō, 301; Chao, GSC, 664-665; Paul L.M. Serruys, "A Grammatical Note on the Use of Pu-yu 不有 in Literary Chinese", Phi Theta Annual 4 (June 1953), 1-15.

Wu yeou: Ōta, TTJ Index, 57b; Bumpō, 301-302.

Wuh: contrasts with wu and mei in parallel passages:

LJL 498c25-26: 勿 :: LJL 500a22: 無

LJL 496b25 : 勿交涉 :: LJL 501b9 : 没交涉

Compare also Ōta, Kouywen, 127 n.74. Ōta's TTJ Index (57b) has five sub-divisions for the wuh entry:

" 禁辞 "; "= 無 "; " 勿奈何 (= 無奈何 );

" 勿量 (= 無量 )" [compare 没量, p.9];

" 勿交涉 ".

Mei: Ōta, TTJ Index, 9b; Iriya, BWJ Index, 6a; Ōta, Bumpō, 301-303, 396-397, 408-409; Demiéville, "Archaisms", 15-21.

5. See 7.3, note 2 for two interrogative adverbs ending in der 得 - the der could be regarded as an adverbial suffix.

Mention should also be made of reduplicate adverbs not ending in dih 地 of the form XX or XXYY. Like -dih adverbs, such adverbs can function attributively and predicatively as well as preverbally. Examples:

yihyih 嗑嗑 : LJL 500b15; dihdih 的的 : LJL 501b20,

JJY 3.12; jaujaulingling 昭昭靈靈 : LJL 502b12.

See 7.10 for a mention of lihlih 歷歷 which occurs both with and without dih.

6. Leau 了 and leauyee 了也 share some of the characteristics of both complement and final particles. For convenience, both words have been included in the Complement Table (5.12). They occur only in LJL (leau 4 X, leau yee 18 X) and in JJY (leau 12 X, leau yee 8 X).

Favouring an interpretation of leau as complement (or as verb suffix: a category not otherwise recognized) are the occurrences in the structures V leau O and V buh leau.

Favouring an interpretation of leau and leau yee as final particles is their occurrence in clauses which already have complements: once in LJL (504b20) and four times in JJY (e.g. Ex. 5:62, 5:63, 2.6).

Leau can occur in a clause before the last clause in a sentence (e.g. Ex. 5:60, 5:62). Leau yee always occurs sentence-finally.

Compare also note b to the Complement Table.

7. Two of the occurrences of yan in LJL (498a18, 502c20) are in the same repeated quotation from the Lehdaw Ge 樂道歌 of Nanyueh Mingtzann 南嶽明瓚 (n.d.; a disciple of Puujih 普寂 (651-739)). Lehdaw Ge is found in T.51, 461b-c. The quotation is from 461b21: fyuren shiaw woo<sup>h</sup> jyh nae jy yan<sup>h</sup> 。 愚人笑我智乃知焉。 "Fools may laugh at me, but wise men will understand."

8. Parallel passages with and without tzay:

- (1) JJY 60.4 : ..V O <sup>去</sup> chiuh tzay<sup>h</sup> :: CDL : .. V O chiuh<sup>h</sup>  
(chiuh is ve)
- (2) LJL 505b24 : ..V O tzay<sup>h</sup> :: TGL 343Ba2: ..V tzay<sup>h</sup>
- (3) PJY 28Ba18 : .. V h :: TTS 96a6 : ..V tzay<sup>h</sup>
- (4) PJY 30Ab10 : ..V tzay<sup>h</sup> :: TTS 95b5 : ..V<sup>h</sup>
- (5) Ex. 7:17 : LJL has tzay, CDL lacks it.

(continued)



## 8. (continued)

On tzay in CDL, see Leu Shwushiang, "Shyh Jiingder Chwandeng Luh jong tzay, jwo ell juhtsyrr" 釋景德傳燈錄中在, 著二助詞, pp.1-11 of Luennwen-jyi.

9. On sheng as suffix, see Ōta, TTJ Index, 11b (大 ... 生), 15b (太 ... 生), 14b (多知生), 23b (可憐生), 25a (何似生); Iriya, BWJ Index, 7b (大煞生), 14a (何似生). See note 2 above on TTJ tzuohmasheng and BWJ tzeensheng. Other references to suffix sheng: Jang, Shy-Tsyrr-Cheu, 168-170; Uchida, "Shiji to Gimon", 138-141; Ōta, Kouywen, 135 n.18; Waley, "Colloquial in the Yu-hsien k'u", 561; Shimura Ryōji 志村良治 "Setsuji no 'sei' ni tsuite" 接辞の「生」について Tōyōgaku 19 (May, 1968), 82-91.

Malmqvist mentions a structure in the modern dialect of Syhchuan which might well be compared to the "discontinuous" MC tay...sheng ("The Syntax of Bound Forms in S'ich'uanese", BOMFEA 33 (1961), 125-199, at p.174). The structure is thai V-hen-la : e.g. 太 大 很 了 "it's far too big". Hen-la, described as a complement, occurs without thai only in subordinated clauses - otherwise thai must occur in conjunction with it.

10. The use of ye as final particle in question-word questions is like the use of yee 也 in similar questions (see 7.11, p.136). There are some parallel passage alternations between yee and ye in such questions and also between yee/ye and no final particle : (absence of p is shown below by the symbol  $\emptyset$ ).

(continued)

## 10. (continued)

<u>JJY</u> 9.1	:	<u>yee</u>	::	<u>CDL</u>	:	<u>ye</u>
<u>JJY</u> 1.5	:	<u>yee</u>	::	<u>TTJ</u>	:	∅ :: <u>CDL</u> : <u>ye</u>
<u>JJY</u> 74.10	:	<u>..chii..</u> <sup>豈</sup>	::	<u>CDL</u>	:	<u>..chii..ye</u>
<u>LJL</u> 496b21	:	<u>yee</u>	::	<u>TGL</u> 345Aa6	:	∅
<u>LJL</u> 504b29	:	∅	::	<u>TGL</u> 342Ab5	:	<u>yee</u>

11. The other example (504a4) is 𠵹 "Yea nah" 𠵹 啞那。  
 "Are you dumb?" The TGL parallel passage to this (345Ab8) is the same; the CDL parallel passage (290c25) has simply 𠵹 "Yea" 𠵹 啞。 General references to nah : Ōta, TTJ Index, 17b; Ōta, Bumpō, 377; Wang, Shyygao, 454-455.
12. References to question forms : Wang, Shyygao, 448-458; Jeang, Tongshyh, 124-125; Ōta, Bumpō, 360-366, 405-409; Ōta, Kouywen, 91 n.7, 123 n.15, 123 n.23, 147 n.68, 153 n.31; Demiéville, "Archaisms", 21-22, 59.
- The six interrogative particles listed in the table (and wu 無 mentioned below) all derive from negative forms; thus even these particle questions could be derived transformationally from disjunctive questions, with the meaning "Statement OR NOT Statement". The "or" is represented in the MC particles by yee 也 and yii (written 乙 and 以); and also by yeu 與 - see Ōta, Kouywen, 147 n.68. (Compare also the single occurrence of yii 以 as co-ordinating particle in JJY.) Finally, BWJ (but not TTJ) has mo 磨 and yeema 也摩 as interrogative particles.
- On hwan as a marker of questions, see Yanagida, Rinzairoku, p.22, sec.15, n.4; TTJ Index, 26b; Ōta, Kouywen, 123 n.23. Iriya's BWJ index does not have a separate entry for hwan. However, a check of the 43 examples given for the above-mentioned nine particles

(continued)

## 12. (continued)

in BWJ revealed that only two are marked by hwan (BWJ 186.7, 190.14 : both in the same story : Lushan Yeuangong Huah 廬山遠公話 ).

The frequency of hwan in TTJ (and in the present corpus) as against the apparent BWJ infrequency seems one of the most distinctive features separating the two types of language.

Gundert often translates hwan forms more elaborately than may be necessary : see for example BYL 182a10 : ~~/Hwan yeou forfaa yeewu/~~ 還有佛法也無。 for which Gundert's translation (BYL, II, 254) is "gibt es da wohl auch noch ein Gesetz des Buddha, oder aber nicht?".

Parallel passages show a wide interchange amongst the various interrogative particles. The interchanges are listed below, and examples are then given of each.

Texts on the left of :: have the particle on the left of the pairs A., B. etc. For instance TGL 348Ba4 has foou; LJL 499c21 has yiifoou.

- A. yeewu ↔ foou  
 B. foou ↔ ma  
 C. yeewu ↔ ma  
 D. foou ↔ yiifoou  
 E. buh ↔ foou  
 F. buh ↔ yeewu  
 G. 無  
wu ↔ yeewu

- A. JJY 58.11, 58.12; TTJ :: CDL  
 A. TTJ :: JJY 74.4  
 B. JJY 78.8 :: TTJ  
 B. CDL :: JJY 81.3; TTJ

(continued)

## 12. (continued)

C.	<u>JJY</u> 84.7	::	<u>TTJ</u>
C.	<u>TTJ</u>	::	<u>JJY</u> 29.8
C.	<u>PJY</u> 29Aa12	::	<u>TTS</u> 95a7
D.	<u>TGL</u> 348Ba4	::	<u>LJL</u> 499c21
E.	<u>TTJ</u>	::	<u>JJY</u> 81.3
E.	<u>TTS</u> 95a19	::	<u>PJY</u> 30Ab14
F.	<u>TTJ</u>	::	<u>JJY</u> 64.8
G.	<u>TGL</u> 345Ab18	::	<u>LJL</u> 504b9

13. References to weifuh and other disjunctive question markers : Yanagida, Rinzairoku, p.168, sec.94, n.4; Ōta, TTJ Index (47b-58a) and Iriya, BWJ Index (30b) give examples of wei 為, weifuh 為復, and weidang 為當 in one or both clauses of the question. In addition, Iriya gives examples of weishyh 為是 in this function.

## CHAPTER VIII

A COMPARISON BETWEEN THE MC OF THE YEULUH  
AND THE ENC OF YUANCHAUR BIHSHYY8.1

The Yuanchaur Bihshyy 元朝秘史 (YCBS) is a free Chinese translation of the thirteenth century Mongolian original. The Chinese version was made for the use of Chinese interpreters studying Mongolian, some time in the period 1369 to 1404: according to de Rachewiltz, within a few years after 1389.<sup>1</sup> YCBS thus reflects the language of the end of the ENC period (1200-1400).

In his studies of the Mongolian and Chinese texts of the "Secret History", Erich Haenisch suggested that a number of features in YCBS had been influenced by the original Mongolian version. He used for this the German term "Mongolismen". However, in M.A.K. Halliday's important study of the language of the YCBS, the number of features attributed to Mongolian influence is reduced.<sup>2</sup> Halliday regards the ENC of the text as a direct predecessor of Modern Chinese, and makes many comparisons showing up the similarities and differences between the two.

Halliday makes occasional reference to MC and LC, but does not attempt any detailed comparison. In this chapter such a comparison will be undertaken between the findings of Halliday and the description given in this thesis.

As a text for comparison, YCBS is appropriate both because of its intrinsic importance as an early colloquial text and because of the convenience of Halliday's Secret History in undertaking the comparison. In form

YCBS is not completely comparable to the MC of the yeuluh. The former consists of a connected narrative; the latter of a series of short, often disconnected, dialogues and sermons. However, both have in common the predominance of dialogue passages. As for word frequency, YCBS is more than twice as long as LJL, and more than one and a half times as long as JJY.<sup>3</sup> Bearing these figures in mind, some idea can be gained of the expected frequency of any particular grammatical word. For example, the interrogative particle ma 麼 occurs nine times in YCBS, seventeen times in LJL. It is thus four times as frequent in LJL.

The categories used in the description of MC are intentionally similar to those used by Halliday in his Secret History. This is not merely a descriptive convenience: in fact the major categories do seem to be the same. What differences there are lie in the exponents of each category.<sup>4</sup>

A comparison of the two languages involves firstly, listing the exponents of the various grammatical categories (some of which are present in both languages, some in only one or the other) and secondly, estimating the relative frequency of the exponents, and stating whether the frequency is significant.<sup>5</sup>

As another example of comparative frequency, let us consider occurrences of the subordinating particles dii 底 (dih 的 in YCBS) and jy 之.

	<u>LJL</u>	<u>CF</u>	<u>WL</u>	<u>JJY</u>	<u>PJY</u>	<u>YCBS</u>
<u>dii/dih</u> 底, 的	35	2	1	47	3	836
<u>jy</u> 之	24	22	31	20	4	22

Of the MC text, LJL has dii most frequently. but in YCBS dih occurs more than nine times as frequently. In the case of jy, the YCBS frequency is lower than any of the MC texts.<sup>6</sup>

References to YCBS are to the examples given by Halliday (Secret History, especially 125-155) and to a few additional examples chosen from the same edition as that used by Halliday: Syhbuh Tsongkan 四部叢刊, third series (Shanghai, 1936), ten tseh 册, twelve jiuann 卷. YCBS is referred to in the same way as Halliday refers to it: by giving respectively (1) jiuann in Roman figures; (2) page number; (3) overall paragraph number (figure 1-282); (4) piece number within the paragraph (ranging from 4-70).

Thus the reference VIII.5b; 198.13 refers to piece 13 of paragraph 198, which is on page 5b of jiuann 8.

## 8.2

In this section, a comparison will be made between MC and ENC verbs. Topics in the following sections will be pronouns (8.3); demonstrative determinative nouns and numeral determinative nouns (8.4); auxiliary nouns and postpositive nouns (8.5); adverbs (8.6); and particles (8.7).

There is not a great deal of difference between exponents of prepositions, link verbs, think verbs, auxiliary verbs, and postverbs. In the sections 5.8-5.11 no detailed figures were given for each bound verb: hence no detailed comparison of frequency is undertaken. Halliday regards the prepositions jiang 將 and baa 把 as markers of ergative voice (Secret History, 81-82). Such an analysis might be possible for MC as well.

Most of the MC complements are found in YCBS. But YCBS has a wider range of complements than the MC texts do. In YCBS, complements occur more frequently with potential/resultative der/buh 得不. Examples of YCBS vc which do not occur in MC are buu 捕 (12 X) and shoou 守 (7 X). Combinations of complements such as shiahlai 下來 are frequent in YCBS, but only occur in MC when a complement is followed by an endverb. The most important difference in complements is the frequent occurrence in YCBS of jiang 將, which is found once only in this function in MC (see Halliday, Secret History, 103-104, 143, 214).<sup>7</sup>

### 8.3 Pronouns

There are many differences between the pronominal systems of MC and ENC.

In the case of the personal pronouns, wu 吾, mooujea 某甲, tzyy 子, eel 爾, i 伊, chyu 渠, do not occur in YCBS (Nii is written 你 throughout YCBS). In YCBS ruu 汝 occurs only three times, and jy 之 occurs only nine times. Seven of the occurrences of jy are in jiuann XII, which has in general more LC forms than the other eleven jiuann.

Chyi 其 is found as a pronoun in YCBS (it also occurs seven times as a preverbal adverb, once each in compound adverbs inchyi 因其 and weychyi 為其, and once each in the compound final adverbs chyijian 其間 and dihchyijian 的其間).

Halliday lists these adverbial uses, but does not mention the personal pronoun use. He does give one example which happens to include this use (Secret History, 128: VID.2.3.3) but without commenting on the use of chy.



Other examples of pronoun chyí in YCBS are VIII.5b; 198.14, 17, 18.

For its part, YCBS has nine personal pronouns not found in MC which exhibit two categories also not found in MC: exclusive/inclusive first person plural; singular/plural first, second, and third person. (Tzar 咱, tzarmeei 咱每; woomeei 我每, aan 俺, aanmeei 俺每, niimeei 你每, nin 您, ninmeei 您每, tameei 他每).<sup>8</sup>

YCBS does not use ta 他 in the demonstrative meaning which sometimes occurs in MC.

The interrogative pronouns sherma 什麼, shenn 甚, her 何, and sheir 誰 are common to both languages. Her is rare in YCBS except in compound adverbs such as ruher 如何 and rutsy 如此. Only MC has ahsheir 阿誰 and sheirjia 誰家.

#### 8.4 Determinative Nouns

Jeh 這 and tsyy 此 occur in both MC and ENC. Tsyy 此 is rare in YCBS. Nah 那 is far more common in YCBS than it is in the yeuluh. (As we have seen in 6.7.1, nah is found only eight times, all in JJY. The occurrences of this demonstrative are very few compared with the occurrences of jeh 這 and tsyy 此). In YCBS, however, nah occurs as frequently as jeh: see Secret History, 124, n.1. On the other hand, neither naa 那 nor ahnaa 阿那 are found in YCBS.

In MC and in ENC demonstrative determinatives are only rarely followed in the noun group by auxiliary nouns. Halliday says (Secret History, 109) "these words are not followed by auxiliary nouns"; but then in note 3 he amends this: "Actually  $\check{J}e_2$  (172 occurrences) is found once, na (175) four times, followed by auxiliary noun." In MC, the total occurrences of nd nau (N) are

LJL 17, CF 1, WL 5, JJY 47, PJY 6.<sup>9</sup>

The numeral system is largely similar in the two languages. In both there is an equal possibility of nn nau N and nn N (see Secret History, 109-110).

### 8.5 Auxiliary Nouns and Postpositive Nouns

In all texts, the only exponent of nau which occurs frequently is geh 箇. In ENC, as in MC, geh can occur postverbally without preceding determinative.

Of the other auxiliary nouns, some are common to both languages (e.g. jy 隻, shiah 下); some are found in only one of the two (e.g. MC duenn 頓, ENC jian 件). There is very little overlap in the verbal auxiliary nouns: of the nine which occur in MC, only two occur in ENC; of the nine which occur in ENC, only two occur in MC (for the ENC figures, see Secret History, 216-217).

The monosyllabic postpositive nouns of MC are found also in ENC.<sup>10</sup> In addition, ENC has a set of bisyllabic postpositive nouns which, as we have seen, do not occur in ENC (except for the single case of neylii 內裏).

Chyantour 前頭 occurs in ENC as npo; in MC only as placeword. ENC compound postpositive nouns such as shangtour 上頭 and howmiann 後面 are absent in MC.

### 8.6 Adverbs

Bound adverbs are largely similar in the two languages: some, such as sheyhshyy 設使, occur only in MC; some, such as bihjyi 比及, occur only in ENC. The final adverbs are mainly the same: in ENC there are such adverbs as a 呵,<sup>11</sup> dihyuanguh 的緣故, and shangtour 上頭 which do not occur in MC (see Secret History, 217-225).

Conjunctive adverbs are mainly the same in both languages: MC alone has such adverbs as biannjyi 便即, and jinnjie 盡皆; ENC alone has guhjiow 故就, jiowbiann 就便, and jiow 就.

Neither yeuma 與麼 nor rennma 怎麼 are found in YCBS.<sup>12</sup> MC tzuohma 作麼 and tzuchmasheng 作麼生 match ENC tzeensheng 怎生 and tzeenshengban 怎生般: the words are etymologically related. As we have seen (7.3) tzeensheng does occur once in the MC corpus (PJY 29Aa3) and in BWJ.

The negative adverbs buh 不, wey 未, weytserng 未曾, and buhtserng 不曾 are found in both languages.

Moh 莫 occurs only once in YCBS as a negative imperative adverb; it also occurs in several compound adverbs (Secret History, 122). YCBS has shiou 休 as negative imperative adverb, which is not found in the MC corpus.

Mei 沒, which occurs very rarely in MC (7.6) occurs not at all in YCBS.

### 8.7 Particles

The two subordinating particles dii 底, and jy 之 have been mentioned above in 8.1. Halliday makes no mention of adverbial particle dih 的 in YCBS. The particle jee 者 is treated by Halliday as a final adverb marking a conditional clause (Secret History, 91). The character jee 者 is also used for one of the ENC imperative particles not occurring in MC (see page 160).

The final particle yee 也 occurs in YCBS, and is treated by Halliday as a sub-type of postpositive verb marking tense (for which YCBS has also yeou 有, yeoulai 有來 and lai. Lai in this use is to be distinguished from its other postpositive verb uses.)

Yeou and yeoulai are not found as final particles in MC; lai occurs only as an endverb.

Leau yee 了也 is found only in MC; but, on the other hand, the YCBS perfective and imperfective aspectival particles leau 了 and jwo 着 do not occur in the same functions or with the same frequency in MC. Their etymons in MC are leau 了 and jwo 著. Jwo is interpreted best as a complement in MC and does not normally have any continuative meaning. Leau is restricted in its range of MC texts (LJL and JJY only) and occurs very rarely indeed compared with its 1010 occurrences in YCBS.

The final particles yii 矣, eel 耳, erlyii 而已, yan 焉, kann 看, tzai 哉, and tzay 在 (all fairly rare in MC) are not found at all in YCBS.

YCBS has four imperative particles (tzar 咱, jee 者, jwo 著, and yeejee 也者) none of which is found in MC.

In YCBS, the particle sheng 生 is found only in the compound adverb haosheng 好生 "very" (Secret History, 115; 151, VID.3.11.8) and in tzeensheng(ban), referred to above, page 159.

Of the interrogative particles, ma 麼 and foou 否 occur in both languages (more frequently in MC). Hwu 乎, yu 與, ye 耶, 邪, ni 嚟, nah 那,<sup>13</sup> yeewu 也無, yiifoou 已否, buh 不, and yeewey 也未 occur only in MC. Madaw 麼道 occurs only in YCBS.<sup>14</sup>

Moh 莫 occurs in the compound mohbuhshyh 莫不是 in YCBS questions (e.g., Secret History, 131, VID.2.6.2).

Hwan is not mentioned by Halliday as a question marker.

V buh V question forms are found only twice in YCBS (Secret History, 87). Halliday makes no mention of disjunctive questions or of question embedding.

For particles deeng and meei, see 8.3 and note 8.

NOTES TO CHAPTER VIII

1. Igor de Rachewiltz, "Some Remarks on the Dating of the Secret History of the Mongols", MS 24 (1963), 185-206; see p.204.
2. Erich Haenisch, Untersuchungen über das Yüan-ch'ao Pi-shi (Leipzig, 1931); "Beiträge zur Geschichte der Chinesischen Umgangssprache", MSOS, 35, Erste Abteilung (1932), 106-135. Halliday discusses Haenisch's views on "Mongolisms" in Secret History, 40-41, 88n., 93n., 118n., and elsewhere. The first of the two Haenisch works mentioned above is cited in the following notes as Haenisch, Untersuchungen. Other works cited below are Arthur Waley's "Notes on the Yüan-ch'ao pi-shih", BSOAS 23 (1960), 523-529 (henceforth cited as Waley, "Notes") and Tsay Meeibiau 蔡美彪, Yuanday Bairhuah Bei Jyiluh 元代白話碑集錄 (Peking, 1955; henceforth cited as Tsay, Jyiluh).
3. 

	<u>LJL</u>	<u>CF</u>	<u>WL</u>	<u>JJY</u>	<u>PJY</u>	<u>YCBS</u> (approx.)
Length: total number of characters	14,561	6,369	9,147	20,979	4,659	35,000
0.3% (approx.)	44	19	27	63	14	105
0.2% (approx.)	29	13	18	42	9	70
0.1% (approx.)	15	6	9	21	5	35
4. There is some risk of circularity here; as said in Chapter III (p.33), one of the several aims of studying a closed corpus is to enable comparisons with different stages of the language (and also with
- (continued)

4. (continued) other languages). To some extent, the very selection of descriptive frames is influenced by such a purpose (see Halliday, Secret History, 115 on taking a "squint" at Modern Pekingese to help with a difficulty of analysis in ENC). It might be possible to give each category in any one stage of the language a code name, such that no other category at any different period would have the same name. But there is much point in using the "same" names providing one remembers that only a general kinship is implied, and that each category is defined by reference to the other categories in its system, and is to that extent unique. For example, when the pluralizing particle meei/men became common in LMC, the status of ordinary (non-plural) nouns and pronouns was affected as much as the new plural forms.

Many of the differences between my analysis of MC and Halliday's of NC are terminological.

Halliday refers, for instance, to jeh 這 in the structure jeh N 這 N as a "nominal adverb"; I have taken it instead as a determinative noun. I have not used the categories of voice, mood, and aspect; but some of the particles described in Chapter VII could be assigned at any rate to the class of modal particles. The absence of passive voice and of imperfective aspect (and largely of perfective aspect) in MC reflects a fundamental difference in the languages, rather than a terminological one.

(continued)

5. The comparison sketched in this chapter is not so detailed as this plan suggests. I mention chiefly those points which have been given a detailed description in Chapters V, VI, and VIII above. One of the main omissions is any reference to clause and sentence structure. Halliday's clause descriptions could apply largely to MC, and then comparison could be made as to the frequency of the different types of clauses and sentences. (One conclusion might concern the frequency of unmarked "genitival" clauses - see Note 6 below.) On the other hand, some features of the present description are not mentioned by Halliday, not necessarily because they would not fit into a description of YCBS: e.g., place words, time words, reduplication.
6. The YCBS figures for jy include 10 cases listed on p.226 of Secret History (jy as "nominal" and "clausal" genitival particle) and 12 cases of jy in final adverbs (such as jyhow 之後) listed on pp.220-223. A detailed comparison of the different functions of dii/dih and jy would reveal some differences between MC and ENC. One difference would lie in the frequency of unmarked attributive clauses, which are not uncommon in MC but of which there are only "a few" in YCBS (see Secret History, p.90, especially note 2). On the other hand, there are 400 occurrences of clausal genitival dih and jy in YCBS. Another important difference is the use of the subordinating particles to mark attributive pronouns. YCBS attributive pronouns are regularly marked by

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## 6. (continued)

dih; MC attributive pronouns are never marked by dii, and only 6 times by jy (all in WL: woo jy 我之 4 X; nii jy 爾之 2 X). According to Ōta (Bumpō, 355), Npn dii N dates only from the Sonq; the absence of the structure in the MC corpus might then represent negative evidence for pre-Sonq dating of the texts.

7. On jiang as complement, see Ōta, TTJ Index (30a); Iriya, BWJ Index (16b); Jang, Shy-Tsyr-Cheu, 316-318; Ōta, Bumpō, 170; J.L. Crump, "On Chinese Medieval Vernacular", Wennti 5 (November, 1953), 65-74; Waley, "Notes", 525.

8. Apart from its use as a pronoun plural marker, meei also occurs 109 times as a noun plural marker, after kinship terms, names, and other nouns. All 109 nouns have animate reference, and 108 have human reference. The only trace of this category in the MC corpus are the compound pronouns niideeng and ruudeeng (see 6.5.1, p.80). Deeng occurs in both languages (more frequently in YCBS) as a coordinating particle after a series of nouns (the MC occurrences are listed in 7.10, p.133; the YCBS ones on p.226 of Secret History). On the differences and similarities between deeng and meei/men, see Ōta, Bumpō, 345-348.

9. The difference in the frequency of this structure in MC and ENC may reflect no significant linguistic difference. The same might be said of a number of other points of difference mentioned in this

(continued)



9. (continued) *Interpretations of gongxi, and yongxi* chapter, where linguistic features are found in MC and again in Modern Chinese, but are missing from the ENC of the YCBS: for instance, mei 沒 and adverbial particle dih/dii 的地底. Such words occurred only rarely in the MC corpus, and it may be merely statistical accident that they are not found in YCBS.
10. An important monosyllabic YCBS postpositive noun not found in MC is 行 (53 X). Halliday (Secret History, 113-114) and Haenisch (Untersuchungen, 87) give shyng-type readings for this word; Ōta (Kouywen, 83 n.92) and Waley ("Notes", 523-524) indicate a pronunciation of type harng.
11. Haenisch thinks that YCBS a is descended from the ah 阿 of MC ahsheir, ahnaa etc., which he analyzes not as compound words, but as clause particle followed by interrogatives. For this view, see Untersuchungen, 82-85. This interpretation does not seem very convincing; it would not apply to a sentence such as Ex.6:55 without a complicated reinterpretation of what seems a simple V O clause.
12. In some ENC texts, but not in YCBS, the character 恁 is used for the second-person pronoun otherwise written 您. For example see Tsay, Jyiluh, 20, n.3.
13. Nah does occur as final particle in other ENC texts: see Haenisch, Untersuchungen, 83, 90-91; Tsay, Jyiluh, 29, n.4.

14. For various interpretations of madaw, see Tsay, Jyiluh, 24, n.3; Ōta, Kouywen, 73 n.26; Haenisch, Untersuchungen, 14; Halliday, Secret History, 86-87; Waley, "Notes", 525-527.

The main object of this thesis has been to give a fairly detailed grammatical description of a corpus of five Middle Chinese texts. It was hoped that the descriptive framework applied would be sufficient for that purpose, and that it might also enable comparison with other texts from outside the corpus, of the same and of different periods.

Within the corpus, it appears that the Hwanghai texts (CF and WL) form a group in some ways more linguistically conservative than the other three texts. This conclusion is arrived at by calculating the percentage frequency of particular important forms within each of the five texts, and then ranking the five texts in frequency order. When there are rival synonymous forms, one inherited from OE and LC, one developed in the MC period, such a comparison becomes especially relevant. Below is an example of this procedure, comparing the demonstrative determinative nouns jeu/jes and isyi. The Arabic numerals indicate percentage frequency within each text (compare the Table in Chapter II, p.24). The Roman numerals indicate frequency ranking among the five texts, with I as the highest.

	<u>LJL</u>	<u>CF</u>	<u>WL</u>	<u>JHY</u>	<u>PJY</u>
	III	V	IV	I	II
<u>jeu/jes</u>	0.32	0.03	0.14	0.49	0.47
	III	I	II	V	IV
<u>isyi</u>	0.23	0.85	0.42	0.16	0.19

CONCLUSION

The main object of this thesis has been to give a fairly detailed grammatical description of a corpus of five Middle Chinese texts. It was hoped that the descriptive framework applied would be sufficient for that purpose, and that it might also enable comparison with other texts from outside the corpus, of the same and of different periods.

Within the corpus, it appears that the Hwangboh texts (CF and WL) form a group in some ways more linguistically conservative than the other three texts. This conclusion is arrived at by calculating the percentage frequency of particular important forms within each of the five texts, and then ranking the five texts in frequency order. When there are rival synonomous forms, one inherited from OC and LC, one developed in the MC period, such a comparison becomes especially relevant. Below is an example of this procedure, comparing the demonstrative determinative nouns jeh/jee and tsyy. The Arab numerals indicate percentage frequency within each text (compare the Table in Chapter II, p.24). The Roman numerals indicate frequency ranking among the five texts, with I as the highest.

	<u>LJL</u>	<u>CF</u>	<u>WL</u>	<u>JJY</u>	<u>PJY</u>
	III	V	IV	I	II
<u>jeh/jee</u>	0.32	0.03	0.14	0.49	0.47
	III	I	II	V	IV
<u>tsyy</u>	0.23	0.85	0.42	0.16	0.19

From this we can see that the rankings for jee/jeh are reversed for tsyy, and that CF and WL have the highest frequency of tsyy and the lowest frequency of jeh/jee.

Similar comparisons reveal that the second-person pronoun ruu is more than twice as frequent in CF and WL than it is in LJL and PJY, and far more frequent than in JJY; that CF and WL rank highest with interrogative pronoun her, lowest with sherma; that they rank highest with ndt N and lowest with ndt nau N; highest with subordinating particle jy and lowest with dii; highest with nominalizing particle jee; and highest with final particle yee.

Some words are found in all five texts, but are rarer in CF and WL: endverbs lai and chiuh, adverbs yeuma and tzuohmasheng (tzuohma is not found at all in CF or WL).

A comparison with other Charn Buddhist texts (such as the Tzuutarng Jyi) reveals many similarities amongst various Charn texts of the period before the Yuan dynasty. The language of the early yeuluh became, in fact, a lingua franca for succeeding generations of Charn writers.

On the other hand, the Duenhwang texts, from the North-West of China, form a somewhat different system, although the Charn and the Duenhwang languages have many points in common, especially by contrast with the predominant written language of the period, Literary Chinese.

The Early New Chinese of the Yuanchaur Bihshyy also has many grammatical forms in common with the yeuluh language, including some pronouns, demonstratives, auxiliary nouns, complements, and interrogatives. But YCBS marks the transition to several important new grammatical features: the development of the plural marker; the development of inclusive/exclusive first-person pronouns; the completed shift of leau and jwo from complements to aspectival particles. Also, the YCBS language shows the increasing importance of some grammatical structures which had already been present, to a less significant degree, in Middle Chinese: in particular, the increased frequency of negative/potential complement forms; and the increasing use of the subordinating particle dih as marker of clause and noun (including pronoun) attribution.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

The bibliography includes most of the works cited in the thesis, and some other works which, while not cited, were useful. The bibliography does not include some of the works cited only once or a few times in the body of the thesis: bibliographical information for such works is given at their first mention.

The arrangement of the bibliography is as follows:

BIBLIOGRAPHY OF PRIMARY SOURCES

Tripitaka Editions

Primary Sources

Abbreviations for Primary Sources

BIBLIOGRAPHY OF SECONDARY SOURCES

Secondary Sources

Abbreviations for Secondary Sources

Periodical Abbreviations

4. Fuzuguo Duanzhi Chanshi Sijuan Lu 佛光大藏  
 圓覺經附釋疏  
 also known as Sijuan Lu 曾嚴錄  
 T.48, 379a-383a.
5. Huangshu Duanzhi Chanshi Xianlu Lu  
 黃書斷際釋疏先錄  
 also known as Xianlu Lu 先錄  
 5a. Sijuan 3 of 91: Tokyo 1312, 24 (18) 4, 36a-72b.  
 5b. Tokyo 1312, 24 (18) 4, 27b-29b.  
 5c. T.48, 383a-387b.
6. Huangshu Shan Duanzhi Chanshi Chuanxin  
 黃書山斷際釋疏傳心法要  
 also known as Chuanxin Fayao  
 傳心法要  
 6a. Tokyo 1312, 24 (18) 4, 25a-27a.  
 6b. T.48, 379a-384a.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY OF PRIMARY SOURCES

The following abbreviations are used below for editions of the Tripitaka:

- T. Taishō Shinshū Daizōkyō 大正新修大藏經  
(Tokyo, 1914-1922)
- Tokyo Trip. Dainihon Kōtei Zōkyō 大日本校訂藏經  
(Tokyo, 1880-1885)
- ZZ Dainihon Zokuzōkyō 大日本續藏經  
(Kyoto, 1905-1912)

## PRIMARY SOURCES IN ALPHABETICAL ORDER

- |  | <u>Abbreviation</u> |
|--|---------------------|
| 1. <u>Chorngke Guutzuensuh Yeuluh</u><br>重刻古尊宿語錄<br>also known as <u>Guutzuensuh Yeuluh</u><br>古尊宿語錄 . <u>Tokyo Trip.</u> 34<br>(騰) 4-6. | <u>GY</u>           |
| 2. <u>Duenhwang Biannwen Jyi</u> 敦煌變文集,<br>ed. Wang Jonqmin 王重民 and others<br>(two vols., Peking, 1957.)                                 | <u>BWJ</u>          |
| 3. <u>Duenhwang Dwosuoo</u> 敦煌掇瑣,<br>ed. Liou Fuh 劉復 (Peking, 1930).   |                     |
| 4. <u>Fwoguoo Yuanwuh Charnshy Bihyan Luh</u> 佛果<br>圓悟禪師碧巖錄<br>also known as <u>Bihyan Luh</u> 碧巖錄<br>T.48, 139a-225c.                   | <u>BYL</u>          |
| 5. <u>Hwangboh Duannjih Charnshy Wuanling Luh</u><br>黃蘗斷際禪師宛陵錄<br>also known as <u>Wuanling Luh</u> 宛陵錄.                                 |                     |
| 5a. <u>Jiuann 3 of GY: Tokyo Trip.</u> 34<br>(騰) 4, 68a-72b.   | <u>WL</u>           |
| 5b. <u>Tokyo Trip.</u> 34 (騰) 4, 27b-29b.  |                     |
| 5c. T.48, 384a-387b.   |                     |
| 6. <u>Hwangboh Shan Duannjih Charnshy Chwanshin</u><br><u>Faayaw</u> 黃蘗山斷際禪師傳心法要,<br>also known as <u>Chwanshin Faayaw</u><br>傳心法要.      |                     |
| 6a. <u>Tokyo Trip.</u> 34 (騰) 4, 24a-27a.  |                     |
| 6b. T.48, 379c-384a.   | <u>CF</u>           |

Abbreviation

7. Jawjou Jenjih Charnshy Yeuluh  
趙州真際禪師語錄  
 also known as Jawjou Yeuluh  
趙州語錄.
- 7a. Jiuann 13-14 of GY: Tokyo Trip.  
 34 (騰) 5, 9b-20b.
- 7b. Jōshū Zenji Goroku JJY  
趙州禪師語錄  
 ed. Suzuki Daisetsu 鈴木大拙  
 and Akizuki Ryūmin 秋月龍珉  
 (Kyoto, 1966; first ed.  
 Kamakura, 1962).
8. Jennjou Linjih Hueyjaw Charnshy  
Yeuluh 眞州臨濟慧照禪師語錄  
 also known as Linhjeh Luh 臨濟錄
- 8a. Jiuann 4-5 of GY: Tokyo Trip.  
 34 (騰) 4, 72b-81b.
- 8b. T.47, 496b-506c. LJL
- 8c. Rinzairoku 臨濟錄, ed. Asahina,  
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- 8d. Kunchū Rinzairoku 訓註臨濟錄, Yanagida,  
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9. Jiingder Chwandeng Luh CDL  
景德傳燈錄, also known as  
Chwandeng Luh 傳燈錄. T.51,  
 196b-467a.
10. Liowitzuu Tarnjing 六祖壇經.
- 10a. Meisha Yoin, Plates 102-103.
- 10b. T.48, 337a-345b.
- 10c. Wing-tsit Chan, The Platform  
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- 10d. Philip B. Yampolsky, The Platform  
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11. Meisha Yoin 鳴沙餘韻, ed. Yabuki  
 Keiki 矢吹慶輝 (Tokyo, 1930).
12. Parng Jiushyh Yeuluh 龐居士語錄. PJY  
ZZ 2A: 25, 1, 28Aa-41Ba.
13. Shernhuey Hershanq Yijyi 神會和尚遺集  
ed. Hu Shih 胡適 (Shanghai, 1930).
14. Tianshenq Goangdeng Luh TGL  
天聖廣燈錄  
 also known as Goangdeng Luh 廣燈錄.  
ZZ 2B: 8, 4-5.



Abbreviation

15. Tzongmen Toongyaw Shiuhjyi TTS  
 宗門統要續集  
 Tokyo Trip. 33 (雲) 9-10.
16. Tzuutarng Jyi 祖堂集. Hyosong TTJ  
 Cho Myong-gi Paksa Hwagap kinyon  
 Pulgyo sahak nonch'ong  
 曉城趙明基博士華甲紀念佛教史學論叢  
 (Seoul, 1965).
17. Yuanchaur Bihshyy 元朝秘史. YCBS  
 Syhbuh Tsongkan 四部叢刊  
 Third Series (Shanghai, 1936).

ABBREVIATIONS IN ALPHABETICAL ORDER

Asahina, <u>Rinzairoku</u>	8c
<u>BWJ</u>	2
<u>BYL</u>	4
<u>CDL</u>	9
<u>CF</u>	6b
<u>GY</u>	1
<u>JJY</u>	7b
<u>LJL</u>	8b
<u>PJY</u>	12
<u>TGL</u>	14
<u>TTJ</u>	16
<u>TTS</u>	15
<u>WL</u>	5a
Yanagida, <u>Rinzairoku</u>	8d
<u>YCBS</u>	17

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ABBREVIATIONS FOR SECONDARY SOURCES

Chao, <u>GSC</u>	<u>A Grammar of Spoken Chinese</u>
Demiéville, "Archaïsmes"	"Archaïsmes de prononciation en chinois vulgaire"
Dew, <u>Verb Phrase</u>	<u>The verb phrase construction in the dialogue of Yuan tzarjiuh</u>
Gau, "Yeuluh"	"Tarngday charnjia yeuluh suoo jiann de yeufaa cherngfen"
Gundert, <u>BYL</u>	<u>Bi-yän-lu</u>
Halliday, "Categories"	"Grammatical Categories in Modern Chinese"
Halliday, <u>Secret History</u>	<u>The Language of the Chinese "Secret History of the Mongols"</u>
Iriya, <u>Tonkō Index</u>	<u>'Tonkō Hembun Shū' Kōgo Goi Sakuin</u>
Jang, <u>Shy-Tsyrr-Cheu</u>	<u>Shy-Tsyrr-Cheu Yeutsyr Hueyshyh</u>
Jeang, <u>Tongshyh</u>	<u>Duenhwang Biannwen Tzyhih Tongshyh</u>
<u>Jou I, Jou II, Jou III</u>	<u>Jonggwo Guuday Yeufaa (Part I, 1961; Part II, 1962; Part III, 1959)</u>
Kallgren, <u>Studies</u>	<u>Studies in Sung Time Colloquial Chinese as Revealed in Chu Hi's Ts'üanshu</u>
Leu, <u>Luennwen-jyi</u>	<u>Hannyeu Yeufaa Luennwen-jyi</u>
Liou, <u>Lianqtsyr Yanjiow</u>	<u>Wey Jinn Nanbeeichaur Lianqtsyr Yanjiow</u>
Luk, <u>Teaching II</u>	<u>Ch'an and Zen Teaching, Series Two</u>
Maspero, "Textes"	"Sur quelques textes anciens de chinois parlé"
Ōta, <u>Bumpō</u>	<u>Chūgokugo Rekishi Bumpō</u>
Ōta, <u>Kouywen</u>	<u>Zhungguo Lidai Kouywen</u>
Ōta, <u>TTJ Index</u>	<u>'Sodō Shū Kōgo Goi Sakuin</u>
Simon, "Verb Complex"	"Some remarks on the structure of the verb complex in Standard Chinese"
Suzuki, <u>Essays I</u>	<u>Essays in Zen Buddhism (First Series, 1949)</u>
Wang, <u>Shyygao</u>	<u>Hannyeu Shyygao</u>
Wu, <u>Golden Age</u>	<u>The Golden Age of Zen</u>

PERIODICAL ABBREVIATIONS

<u>AM</u>	<u>Asia Major</u>
<u>BEFEO</u>	<u>Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient</u>
<u>BOMFEA</u>	<u>Bulletin of the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities</u>
<u>BSOAS</u>	<u>Bulletin of the School of Oriental and Africian Studies</u>
<u>CKYW</u>	<u>Chung-kuo Yü-wen</u> [ <u>Jonggwo Yeuwen</u> ]
<u>JA</u>	<u>中國語文</u> <u>Journal Asiatique</u>
<u>JAOS</u>	<u>Journal of the American Oriental Society</u>
<u>Lg</u>	<u>Language</u>
<u>MS</u>	<u>Monumenta Serica</u>
<u>MSOS</u>	<u>Mitteilungen des Seminars für Orientalische Sprachen</u>
<u>RBS</u>	<u>Revue Bibliographique de Sinologie</u>
<u>THGH</u>	<u>Tōhō Gakuhō</u> 東方學報
<u>TP</u>	<u>T'oung Pao</u>
<u>TPS</u>	<u>Transactions of the Philological Society</u> (London)
<u>YCHP</u>	<u>Yen-ching Hsüeh-pao</u> [ <u>Ianjing Shyuebaw</u> ] 燕京學報