

The language of advice in early Buddhist texts

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1. Introduction

In this paper the grammatical means employed to express advice in exemplary Buddhist texts related to the Buddhist history of Kashmir and China will be at issue. It will particularly focus on two texts from the early 5th century CE: these are the translation of the Lotus Sutra (*Miàofǎ liánhuā jīng*), the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka-sūtra*, by Kumārajīva, and the translation of the Longer Āgama Sūtra (*Cháng āhán jīng*), *Dīrghāgama*, by Buddhayaśas (and Zhú Fóniàn). Both authors show a close relation to Kashmir and to each other, and with their translations of Buddhist texts into Chinese they play a crucial role in the spread of Buddhism in China.

In Buddhist literature, as in religious literature in general, rules and regulations, and accordingly expressions of advice, i.e. expressions of deontic modality are of particular relevance. Deontic modality has been defined as being “concerned with the necessity or possibility of acts performed by morally responsible agents” (Lyons 1978: 823), i.e. it expresses an obligation imposed on an agent (frequently, but not necessarily by the speaker). Within deontic modality, usually, two different subcategories, i.e. obligation and permission are differentiated; additionally, the negative category of prohibition has to be added to this category.

In the Classical Chinese literature (Late Archaic Chinese 5th – 1st c. BCE) which evidently has a substantial influence on the composition of e.g. Kumārajīva’s translations, the expressions of deontic modality in the sense of direct commands are relatively confined. Accordingly, new linguistic means to express direct advice develop particularly in the early Buddhist literature. These will be discussed in this paper from a Chinese perspective and on the background of the modal system of Classical Chinese in order to illustrate the way in which the Buddhist translators adapted and developed the existent system of modal markers for their own particular purpose. Two examples of deontic modality from the *Miàofǎ liánhuā jīng* may serve to illustrate the modal expressions at issue in this paper:

(1) 釋迦牟尼佛告智積曰：「善男子！且待須臾。」 T09, no.262, p.35a20
Shìjiāmóuní fó gào Zhìjī yuē shàn nánzǐ, qiě dài xūyú
Śākyamuni Buddha tell Zhiji say good man, QIE wait a.while
‘Śākyamuni Buddha said to Jñānākara, “Good man, wait a little while...”’

(2) 「諸比丘衆，今告汝等，皆當一心，聽我所說： Taisho 9, n. 262, p.21b
Zhū bīqiū zhòng, jīn gào rǔ děng, jiē dāng yīxīn tīng wǒ suǒ shuō
All Bhikṣu multitude, now tell you PL, all DANG concentrate listen I REL say
‘All Bhikṣus, if I now talk to you, you should all concentrate and listen to what I say.’

In the first example, deontic modality is expressed by the modal adverb *qiě* 且, and in the second example by the modal auxiliary verb *dāng* 當; both express a polite form of advice, i.e. a polite command or suggestion. Both modal markers, the adverb *qiě* 且 and the auxiliary verb *dāng* 當, are already attested in the non Buddhist Han period (206 BCE – 220 CE) literature, although to a certain extent in a different way. The development and change of employment of these traditional markers together with the semantics of newly developed ones and their respective employment by the different authors will be at issue in this paper.

1.1 The authors

Kumārajīva (344-413), Jiūmóluóshí 鳩摩羅什 in Chinese, an erudite monk from Kucha, was one of the ‘four great translators’ of Buddhist texts into Chinese.¹ In his biography, the *Gāosēng zhuàn*, he is praised for his great intelligence. This intelligence is e.g. exemplified by the fact that he is said to have already recited a thousand gathas per day, all together 32.000 words, at the age of seven, after he left his home and followed his mother who had become a Buddhist nun. Later, at the age of nine, after he followed his mother to *Jibīn*, which is most likely a transcription of Kashmir;² he wrote a thousand gathas from morning till noon and recited another thousand from noon till evening. In Kucha he was ordained at the age of twenty, and in Kashgar he converted from Hinayana to Mahayana Buddhism. As the son of an Indian Brahmin and a princess from Kucha he learned Chinese only during his sixteen years as a captive of the General Lü Guang 呂光 who conquered and occupied Kucha in 384. When he finally arrived in Chang’an in the 12th month, at the 20th day of the third year of the era *hóngshǐ* (i.e. in February 402) he became head of a translation project in which he collaborated with around 800 monks (according to Huijiao) in order to translate or retranslate Buddhist texts into Chinese.³ Kumārajīva’s work is characterised by an unprecedented natural fluency which has never been equalled in Buddhist translation literature. According to Zürcher (1959: 69) this stylistic and literary qualities have largely to be ascribed to the Chinese redactors of these texts. Kumārajīva’s translations were most influential in later times and his translation of the Lotus Sutra remains the source for many translations into other languages such as English. With regard to his translation style the Digital Dictionary of Buddhism (DDB) notes that it “was distinctive, possessing a smoothness that reflects a prioritization on the conveyance of the meaning as opposed to precise literal rendering. Because of this, his renderings of seminal Mahāyāna texts have often remained more popular than later, more exact translations.” (DDB <http://www.buddhism-dict.net/cgi-bin/> accessed 20.12.2010).

Although less prominent as a translator than Kumārajīva, Buddhayaśas, Fótuóyěshè 佛陀耶舍 (died 413 CE), was another important translator; additionally he was a teacher of Kumārajīva. He was born in *Jibīn* 罽賓國, Kashmir, in northern India as a member of the Brahman caste, his native tongue was most likely Gandhari. His name is translated into Chinese (amongst others) as *Juémíng* 覺明 ‘Enlightened Illumination’. According to the *Gāosēng zhuàn* (Taisho 50/2059, 333c15-334b25) he left his family to renounce secular life at the age of thirteen. At the age of fifteen he was said to be able to recite sutras of several ten-thousand words and at the age of nineteen he had the reputation of knowing several million words of Hinayana and Mahayana sutras. According to the *Gāosēng zhuàn* he also studied the traditional five sciences of India grammar and composition, arts and mathematics, medicine, logic and epistemology, and philosophy (Taisho 2059, 334a2). Kumārajīva 鳩摩羅什 was his student during his time in Central Asia, and later in 408 invited him to come to China. In the year 410, the 12th year of the era *hóngshǐ*, Buddhayaśas translated the *Dharmagupta Vinaya sifēnlǜ* 四分律 in sixty fascicles (44 according to the *Gāosēng zhuàn* (2059, 334b20)), and the Longer Āgama Sūtra *Cháng āhán jīng* 長阿含經 (*Dīrghāgama*) in twenty-two fascicles. In 412 he returned home. Nothing is reported in the *Gāosēng zhuàn* about this time. He died in 413 and

¹ Together with Paramārtha of the 6th century, Xuanzang of the 7th century and Amoghavajra of the 8th century (Hureau 2003: 7)

² At the conference ‘Buddhism in Kashmir’ (September 2009), Charles Willemen pointed out that *Jibīn* 罽賓 might rather be a transcription of Gandhara than of Kashmir; however, Wolfgang Behr at the EAACL 7 conference in Venice, September 2009) argued that phonologically the traditional assumption of transcribing Kashmir is more feasible.

³ According to Hui Jiao’s *Gāosēng zhuàn* 高僧傳, Taisho 50, 2059. See also Lu (2004).

is “counted as one of the eighteen sages of Lushan”. (cmuller, [DDB \(Digital Dictionary of Buddhism: http://www.buddhism-dict.net/ddb/](http://www.buddhism-dict.net/ddb/), accessed 27.07.2011)

Zhú Fóniàn 竺佛念 (4th c.), a Chinese monk of the Eastern Jin 東晉僧 was an important early translator; a Chinese from Liangzhou well versed in Sanskrit and other Central Asian languages (Zürcher 1959: 202). He assisted in different translation projects by Indian monks such as Saṃghabhadra, Sēngqiébáchéng 僧伽跋澄, and Dharmanandi, Tánmónántí 曇摩難提 who had come to Chang'an (DDB), but he also undertook his own translations (DDB).

1.2 Modality in Pre-Tang Chinese

The Wei Jin Nanbei chao period (220-581), i.e. the early Medieval period, is most interesting for diachronic studies in Chinese, since many of the source structures of Modern Chinese grammar have their first regular appearance during that time. The structure of the language of the Buddhist texts of the Wei Jin Nanbei chao period also constitutes the basis from which the grammar typical for Tang period (618-907) Buddhist texts develops, and it is of particular interest linguistically, since it is supposed to reflect the vernacular language of the time in a much higher degree than the non-Buddhist Chinese literature. As one of the great translators of this period Kumārajīva's translations can serve well as an example for a particular variety of the language of the time; by way of comparison, the contemporary translation of the *Dīrghāgama* by Buddhayaśas and his Chinese redactor Zhú Fóniàn, is added to this analysis. However, in this paper only one aspect of the language of the two Buddhist translation texts from the beginning of the 5th century will be elucidated: i.e. the expressions of the category deontic modality, i.e. the language of advice, and their differences from or similarities with the respective expressions in the Classical and Han period literature.

In Late Archaic and in Han period Chinese (Late Archaic Chinese 5th – 2nd c. BCE; Han period Chinese 206 BCE – 220 CE), grammatical categories such as tense, aspect, and modality are expressed by lexical means and not by an inflectional verbal morphology as in the Indo-European languages, to which the source languages of the Buddhist texts translated into Chinese belong. With regard to the category modality, in Chinese at all times modal values are expressed predominantly by modal auxiliary verbs and modal adverbs (and to a certain extent by sentence final particles). Deontic modal values – these are the modal values relevant in a study of the language of advice – are apparently predominantly expressed by a small range of modal auxiliary verbs. Contrastively, epistemic values which are concerned with the knowledge or belief of the speaker are predominantly expressed by modal adverbs.⁴ In general, it seems to be the case that many of the modal adverbs have an epistemic reading as their predominant reading, e.g. the basic reading of *bì* 必 discussed below is epistemic; other adverbs are *gù* 固 ‘certainly’, *qí* 其 ‘perhaps, possibly’, and *dài* 殆 ‘probably’.⁵ Already in his short overview Wei (1999: 261) stated that modal adverbs, to which the epistemic adverbs belong, regularly appear in a high position with regard to VP, preceding the verb and other adverbials, including negative markers. According to him, they sometimes can also appear in sentence-initial position resembling other sentential adverbs. Accordingly they can be distinguished syntactically from deontic modal auxiliaries, which evidently appear in a position below that of epistemic adverbs.⁶ However, in this study only the language of advice is at issue, and accordingly it will confine itself to the analysis of deontic markers, which are mostly realised as auxiliary verbs, and only occasionally as modal adverbs.

⁴ Since these values are not connected to expressions of advice, they are excluded from this study.

⁵ But note Djamouri (2001: 150) who for the oracle bone inscriptions assumes a different than the adverbial analysis. Preceding a verb *qí* 其, together with *wéi* 唯 and *huì* 惠 are analysed as modal auxiliaries, additionally it is stated that they can be employed as copulas and as markers of focalization. In all cases *qí* 其 serves as a future marker (ibidem: 144).

⁶ This apparent syntactic distinction leads to the question whether the category of epistemic auxiliary verbs exists at all in Han period Chinese.

For Chinese, despite its considerable historical depth, studies on modal markers in general, and particularly those on their diachronic development are rare. However, as has been demonstrated in an earlier study on modality (Meisterernst 2008b, 2008c), the development of modal markers differs to a certain extent from that of well studied languages, such as e.g. English or German.⁷ This seems to apply to the modal auxiliary verb *kě* 可 / *kěyǐ* 可以 ‘can’ in the earlier stages of Chinese, and also to the auxiliary verb *dāng* 當 ‘should’, and the modal marker *bì* 必 ‘must’, which all express different shades of deontic modality and which to a certain extent display a development different from that of e.g. English or German modal markers. These differences might be due to the fact that in general strict deontic modality, i.e. strong advice, seems to be rarely expressed in a direct way in Late Archaic and Han period Chinese, no grammatical construction which has the same force as an imperative form in the Indo-European languages exists. This has already been noted in one of the very first grammars of Chinese, the *Notitia Linguae Sinicae* by Joseph Prémare (1666-1736) posthumously published 1831 in Malacca (and translated by Bridgman in 1847) ‘Chinese politeness forbids this form of command, except to subordinates or people of low rank’. Due to the literary genres of Late Archaic Chinese with its historical and philosophical texts, the absence of strong expressions of advice is self-evident. In historical texts, advice is frequently conveyed in contexts in which someone in an inferior position advises someone in a superior position and accordingly can only employ indirect forms of request or command. The only direct form of advice is attested in prohibitions which are marked by modal negative markers. However, this study is confined to expressions of obligation and permission, and accordingly negative examples will only occasionally be presented.

2. The development of deontic (root) modal adverbs in Pre-Tang Chinese

As already mentioned many of the modal adverbs have an epistemic reading: the basic reading of *bì* 必 is epistemic ‘certainly’; other adverbs are *gù* 固 ‘certainly’, *qí* 其 ‘perhaps, possibly’, and *dài* 殆 ‘probably’. However, some modal adverbs obviously appear in deontic sentences; with regard to Late Archaic Chinese this is in particular the modal adverb *qí* 其 ‘perhaps, possibly’.

2.1 The most important root modal adverbs in Late Archaic and Han period Chinese

The following adverbs are typical for Late Archaic Chinese, appearing in phrases that express different shades of advice.

a) The modal adverb *qí* 其

According to Djamouri (2001: 150) for the oracle bone inscriptions a different than the adverbial analysis has to be assumed. Preceding a verb, *qí* 其 is analysed as a modal auxiliary (together with *wéi* 唯, and *huì* 惠); additionally it is stated that it can be employed as a copula and a marker of focalization. In all cases *qí* 其 serves as a future marker (ibidem: 144).⁸ According to Pulleyblank (1995: 123) *qí* 其 as a modal particle “qualifies a statement as possible or probable rather than a matter of known fact.” But it also appears in imperative

⁷ This concerns the history of modal markers for which many linguistic studies – e.g. Traugott (1989: 36, 43) or Bybee *et al.* (1994), to mention only a few – propose a universal diachronic development from deontic modal meanings, which are assumed to be basic, to epistemic modal meanings. However, some problems with regard to this general hypothesis have been noted in Traugott (2006: 119) who states that for languages that do not possess particular markers of strong obligation, such as Japanese, the change from agent-oriented/deontic to epistemic meanings appears “to be largely irrelevant”. She also claims that the deontic > epistemic hypothesis is to a great extent based on the history of well known languages which happen to display this development such as e.g. English (Traugott 2006: 119).

⁸ See also *Gǔdài Hànyǔ xūcí cídiǎn* (2000: 407) for its qualification as a future marker.

sentences with the effect of “softening the command into a wish or exhortation” (ibidem), i.e. expressing hortatory modality or a mild advice. The *Gǔdài Hànyǔ xūcí cídiǎn* (2000: 407) lists several modal functions for adverbial *qí* 其, one of which is to indicate a wish, i.e. a hortative meaning. This is the function relevant in the present context, represented by the following examples.

(3) 君其圖之

Zuǒ Xī 23

Jūn qí tú zhī

Prince QI plan OBJ

‘You should think about that!’

At the end of the Late Archaic period the modal function of *qí* 其 gradually disappears (according to Unger (1992: 60)). The function to express deontic modality (hortatory modality) prevails longest according to Unger (see also Wei 1999: 262).

(4) 「土者，有土也，君其拜受之。」

Shǐjì: 39,1658

Tǔ zhě, yǒu tǔ yě, jūn qí bài shòu zhī

Earth NOM, have earth FIN, prince QI bow accept OBJ

‘Regarding the earth, [it means] to have the earth; you should bow and accept it.’

In the early Buddhist literature *qí* 其 is no longer relevant as a deontic modal adverb; it is not attested in the *Miàofǎ liánhuā jīng*, or the *Cháng āhán jīng* (and also not in the *Gāoséng Fǎxiǎn zhuàn*, another non-translation text from the same period)

b) The modal adverb *qiě* 且

In the Chinese linguistic literature, in preverbal, i.e. in adverbial position, *qiě* 且 is assumed to refer predominantly to either a temporary situation in the sense of *gūqiě* 姑且 ‘tentatively, for the moment’, or *zànqiě* 暫且 ‘for the moment’, or to a situation taking place in the near or distant future synonymous to the aspecto-temporal adverb *jiāng* 將. In contrast to the adverb *jiāng* 將 which in Classical and Han period Chinese is confined to its temporal function as a marker of the future, the adverb *qiě* 且 is additionally employed in modal contexts. As a modal adverb *qiě* 且 appears in demands, in optative, hortative, or imperative meanings, and may thus be best qualified as an aspecto-temporal adverb including different modal values, which have in common that they do not refer to a situation in the real world but to situations viewed with different grades of certainty in a prospective or hypothetical world.⁹ Additionally, in Han period Chinese the different (the modal and the aspecto-temporal) readings are closely connected with the situation type of the verb. The categorisation as an aspecto-temporal adverb is mainly based on its syntactic position in the sentence, i.e. the fact that it can be preceded by other modal adverbs.¹⁰ The temporal function is apparently obsolete in the Buddhist literature: it is neither attested in the *Miàofǎ liánhuā jīng* and in the *Fǎxiǎn*, nor in the *Āgama* literature. Instead, *qiě* 且 appears on a quite regular basis to express hortatory or imperative meanings, i.e. meanings of advice in the Buddhist literature, and accordingly it functions as a modal adverb which refers to situations that have not yet taken place in the real

⁹ The modal value as a hortatory or optative adverb is presented in Graham as a new development of *qiě* 且 in Han period Chinese (with four instances in the *Shǐjì*) “used to propose a course of action during the immediate future (“Let us for the moment”)” (Graham 1960: 179).

¹⁰ The syntactic status of *qiě* 且 as an adverb seems to be less controversial than that of *jiāng* 將. A more comprehensive discussion on the two adverbs and the different functions of *qiě* 且 has been presented in Meisterernst (2004) and Meisterernst (ms.).

world, but are expected or suggested to take place in the future world. This function which is already attested in the Han period literature is evidently the predominant function of *qiě* 且 in the early Buddhist literature and it still prevails in e.g. in the *Zǔtáng jī* according to one example presented in Anderl (ms: 500).

In its modal function *qiě* 且 obviously replaces the Late Archaic Modal adverb *gū* 姑 which is only very rarely attested as a temporal or modal adverb in the post Late Archaic literature; it is not attested in the Early Buddhist texts at issue here.

In the first of the following examples, *qiě* 且 appears in an advice issued in the complement of a verb of command. The speaker wishes the addressee to advise a secondary addressee to perform a particular situation. The verb selected is the telic verb *dé* 得 ‘get, receive’, contrary to examples (6) and (7) in which *qiě* 且 selects an atelic, durative verb, resulting in a temporary reading; the addressee is directly, but politely advised to act in a particular way.

(5) 願君王出武關，項羽必引兵南走，王深壁，令滎陽成皋間且得休。

Shǐjì: 8,373

Yuàn jūn wáng chū Wǔ guān, Xiàngyǔ bì yǐn bīng nán zǒu, wáng shēn bì,
Wish ruler king leave Wu guan Xiangyu certainly withdraw soldier south run, king deep
lín Xíngyáng Chénggāo jiàn qiě dé xiū
fortification, cause Xingyang Chenggao between QIE get rest

‘I wished that your majesty would go out through the Wu pass. Xiangyu will certainly withdraw his troops and move south and you could enter heavily fortified places and let the people of Xingyang and Chenggao have some rest for a while.’

(6) 「先生且休矣，吾將念之。」

Shǐjì: 92,2625

Xiānshēng qiě xiū yǐ, wú jiāng niàn zhī
Gentleman QIE rest FIN, I FUT consider OBJ

‘Sir, please have a rest for a while, I will consider it.’

(7) 「魏其老且死，易忍，且待之。」

Shǐjì: 112,2849

Wèi Qí lǎo qiě sǐ, yì rěn, qiě dài zhī
Wei Qi old FUT die, easy endure, QIE wait OBJ

‘Wei Qi is old and he will die, you can easily endure it, you had better wait a while.’

In example (8), the modal predicate is negated by the modal negative marker *wù* 勿 ‘do not’; the verb is the telic verb *yǔ* 與 ‘give’.¹¹ Negated predicates with modal *qiě* 且 are not very frequent; they are always employed with one of the modal m-negatives.

(8) 蘇復曰：「未見新印文，且勿與。」

Hànshū: 3821a1

Sū fù yuē: wèi jiàn xīn yìn wén qiě wù yǔ
Su again say: NEG_{asp} see new seal script QIE NEG give

‘Su furthermore said: “You did not see the inscription on the seal, do not give it to him for the time being.”’

¹¹ According to their initial, negative markers in Archaic Chinese are categorised into: (1) the so-called *p/f*-negatives, and (2) the so-called *m/w*-negatives. The first group consists of all negatives with a **p*-initial – reconstructed for Middle Chinese and earlier stages of Chinese – which partly develops into an *f*-initial; the second group consists of all negatives with an **m*-initial in Middle Chinese which develops into a *w*-initial. Of these two groups, the *p/f*-negatives express neutral negation without any modal values involved whereas the *m/w*-negatives usually indicate different modal values: these are predominantly deontic (root modal) values, but they can also express epistemic modality according to Djamouri. (See in particular Djamouri 1991 and Takashima 1996).

In the examples presented, the subject is in the second or third person and the predicate modified by *qiě* 且 assumes a hortatory meaning, the speaker incites the addressee to perform a particular action.¹² A second person subject appears in direct speech; i.e. in a direct demand, or advice, and a third person subject appears in an indirect speech, a reported demand, or advice. Generally, the modally modified predicate refers to a situation that has not (yet) taken place in the real world; however, it can also occasionally refer to a situation in the past presented as a prospective situation modally marked as optative. In almost all of the cases the verb is either stative, or causative, and the adverb refers to the caused state. The temporal notion of referring to a temporary situation referred to in the literature is only inherent in the modal adverb if the verb has an atelic reading.

c) The modal adverb *gū* 姑

The modal adverb *gū* 姑 ‘temporary, for the time being’ has a function similar to the modal adverb *qiě* 且 discussed above.¹³ According to Dobson (1959:51) *gū* 姑 expresses ‘momentary aspect’: “The act is conceived as taking place “for the moment, for the time being”, etc. 姑 is also used in extended sense “in a moment”, “in a short while”, “shortly” (Dobson 1959: 52). According to Gabelentz (1881, 475, § 1307) *gū* 姑 is employed in order to alleviate an order, a command and to utter a mild form of advice. According to Unger (1992: 29) it appears in hortatory or optative phrases, expressing either a request (with a 2nd person subject) or an intention (with a 1st person subject). It does not appear in all texts of the Classical literature and already during the Han period it seems to be replaced by *qiě* 且.

(9) 子姑退，吾圖之

Zuǒ Xiāng 27

Zǐ gū tuì, wú gū zhī

You GU withdraw, I plan OBJ

‘Please withdraw for the moment, I will think about it.’

(10) 子路曰：「吾姑至矣。」

Shǐjì: 37;1601

Zǐ Lù yuē wú gū zhì yǐ

Zi Lu say I GU arrive FIN

‘Zi Lu said: “I should go there.”’

Of the three adverbs *qí* 其, *qiě* 且, and *gū* 姑, only modal *qiě* 且 survives the Han period.

2.2 Adverbs with a deontic meaning in the early Buddhist literature

As already mentioned the adverb *qiě* 且 is the only one of the adverbs discussed above that still prevails in the early Buddhist literature as a modal adverb, while it apparently ceased to occur in its temporal function. In the Buddhist texts at issue most examples with modal *qiě* 且 express a direct command or a recommendation uttered by a speaker to an addressee subject which is the agent of the prospective situation expressed by the verb; the subject can be represented by a second person pronoun (as in examples (12) and (13)) or a lexical noun which functions as a term of address as in example (11). However, in the *Miàofǎ liánhuā jīng*, this adverb is only rarely attested to convey advice. Most examples are identical with the following example (11). It is more frequently attested in the *Zhèngfǎ huā jīng* and in the *Āgama* literature. Contrary to Han period Chinese where *qiě* 且 predominantly selects

¹² If the subject is in the first person, the predicate has an adhortative or optative reading.

¹³ A similar definition appears in the *Gǔdài Hànyǔ xūcí cídiǎn* (2000: 179). It is glossed in the same way as *qiě* 且 by *gūqiě* 姑且 ‘tentatively, for the moment’, or *zànqiě* 暫且 ‘for the moment’

durative verbs, which leads to the temporal analysis attested in the literature, in the early Buddhist literature no such constraints seem to exist.

(11) 釋迦牟尼佛告智積曰：「善男子！且待須臾。」 T09, no.262, p.35a20
Shìjiāmóuní fó gào Zhìjī yuē shàn nánzǐ, qiě dài xūyú
Śākyamuni Buddha tell Zhiji say good man, QIE wait a.while
‘Śākyamuni Buddha said to Jñānākara, “Good man, wait a little while...”’

(12) 「阿逸多！汝且觀是，勸於一人令往聽法，功德如此 T09, no.262, p.47a20
Āyìduō! Rǔ qiě guān shì, quàn yú yī rén líng wǎng tīng fǎ, gōng
Ajita, you QIE watch this, encourage PREP one person make go listen dharma, merit
dé rú cǐ
virtue like this
‘Ajita, look at this! If you encourage one person and make him go and listen to the dharma, the merits achieved are already like this, ...’

(13) 佛告阿難。汝且默然。思汝所業。 T01, no.1, p.20a23
Fó gào Ēnán, rǔ qiě mòrán, sī rǔ suǒ yè
Buddha tell Ananda, you QIE quiet, think you REL do
‘The Buddha told Ananda, please be quiet, think about what is allotted to you.’

Frequently *qiě* 且 appears in fixed idioms as in the following example. According to the DDB this idiom is chosen to render *Skt.* alam, āgamaya [cmuller], and as an idiom has the meaning ‘enough; enough of that’. However, the deontic meaning is still present and is confirmed by the modal negative marker *wù* 勿 in the following clause.

(14) 佛告諸比丘曰。汝等且止。勿懷憂悲。 T01, no.1, p.16c24
Fó gào zhū bǐqiū yuē: rǔ děng qiě zhǐ, wù huái yōubēi
Buddha tell PL bhikṣu say: you PL QIE stop NEG_{mod} worry grieve
‘The Buddha told the Bhikṣus: “Please stop! Do not worry and grieve!”’

Example (15) may represent a similar case: *qiě zhì* 且置 is also labelled as an idiom in the meaning ‘fitting’ in the DDB.

(15) 婆悉咤頗羅墮二人俱白佛言。且置餘論。我聞沙門瞿曇明識梵道。 T01, no.1, p.106b24
Póxīzhà, Pōluódūo èr rén jū bǎi fó yán, qiě zhì yú lùn,
Vasiṣṭha¹⁴ Bhāradvāja two man together talk Buddha say: QIE set.up more view.
wǒ wén shāmén Jùtán míng shì fàndào
I hear śramaṇa Gautama clear know way.of.purity
‘Vasiṣṭha and Bharadvāja, the two men talked to the Buddha and said: “Please relate more views, I have heard that the Shramana Gautama is conscious about the way of purity.’

In general, the employment of modal adverbs is relatively rare in order to express deontic modal values, i.e. to express advice. These values are predominantly expressed by modal

¹⁴ See Karashima (1994: 178), and Meisig (1988: 9) for this name. In Meisig (1988) a short part of the *Dīrghāgama*, the ‘Sūtra von den vier Ständen’, in Chinese *Xiǎo yuán jīng* 小緣經, the fifth sutra in the *Dīrghāgama* is translated and discussed. Meisig compares the Chinese version in the *Dīrghāgama* (which is based on a Gāndhāri-original) with the Pali version of the same sutra, its version in the *Zhōng āhán jīng*, and with another Chinese version.

auxiliary verbs, some of which already exist in Classical and Han period Chinese and which will be discussed in the following section.

3. The development of modal auxiliary verbs expressing advice

From Classical Chinese to the early Buddhist literature a change of situation can be observed in the employment of modal auxiliary verbs and it can be assumed that this change is due to the literary genre of the early Buddhist texts. Whereas in Classical and Han period Chinese, expressions of direct advice, of commands, etc. by both modal adverbs and modal auxiliary verbs are obviously relatively rare, they gain prominence in the Buddhist literature. Maybe due to the literary genres, in Late Archaic and Han period Chinese, deontic modal values are frequently expressed indirectly; e.g. the strongest form of advice is expressed by the doubly negated form *bù kě(yǐ) bù* 不可(以)不 ‘cannot not > must’ of the modal auxiliary verb *kě/kěyǐ* 可/可以 ‘can’.¹⁵ The only modal auxiliary which directly expresses strong deontic values is the modal auxiliary *bì* 必 ‘must’. *Bì* 必, however, predominantly appears as a modal adverb expressing epistemic necessity ‘certainly’. During the Han period the verb *dāng* 當 ‘match, correspond’ increasingly occurs as a deontic modal auxiliary verb, i.e. with a verbal complement, in the meaning ‘ought to, should’ (Meisterernst 2011c). However, during this period *dāng* 當 only infrequently expresses deontic modality in a strict sense, i.e. in a direct advice. Additionally, the deontic reading of *dāng* 當, i.e. the strength of advice, is weaker than that of *bì* 必, or *bù kě(yǐ) bù* 不可(以)不. With the exception of the last verb *dāng* 當, most of the means to express deontic modality in the Classical and Han period literature, i.e. the double negation of the modal auxiliary verb *kě/kěyǐ* 可/可以 and the modal auxiliary *bì* 必, apparently cease to be relevant in the early Buddhist literature,¹⁶ and new forms develop probably under the influence of the Prakrit or Sanskrit Buddhist literature. The modal auxiliary verbs relevant in the Buddhist literature still express comparatively mild and polite forms of advice. This means that only auxiliary verbs corresponding to English SHOULD – such as *dāng* 當 – expressing a milder form of command are increasing in number in the Buddhist literature, whereas auxiliary verbs corresponding to English MUST, i.e. expressions which have a strong deontic reading and which convey a direct command or advice do not display an increase in employment. Evidently the new genre of religious texts which require the possibility to express different forms of advice served to enhance the system of modal expressions resulting in the grammaticalisation of new modal auxiliary verbs from the existing lexicon of the Chinese language.

3.1 Deontic modal auxiliary verbs in Classical and Han period Chinese

a) The modal auxiliary verb *kě* 可 in double negation: *bù kě bù* 不可不, *bù kě yǐ bù* 不可以不 ‘cannot no > must’

The doubly negated variant of the modal auxiliary verb *kě* 可 with a negative marker preceding *kě* 可 and a negative marker preceding the matrix verb is one of the strongest forms to express deontic modality in Late Archaic and Han period Chinese. It usually codes a strong obligation ‘must’, and in contrast to the affirmative construction, it never expresses root possibility (for a discussion of this modal auxiliary verb see Meisterernst 2008b, 2008c). However, as a doubly negated form ‘you cannot not’, it expresses this strong obligation in an indirect way.

¹⁵ In its unmarked form *kě/kěyǐ* 可/可以 ‘can’ predominantly expresses root possibility values (Meisterernst 2008b, 2008c).

¹⁶ There are no instances either in the *Miàifǎ liánhuā jīng* or in the *Cháng āhán jīng*, in the *Fǎxiǎn*, or in the *Xiányù jīng* of *bù kě(yǐ) bù* 不可(以)不. However, there is a number of instances of *bù kě(yǐ)* 不可(以) in both the *Miàifǎ liánhuā jīng* and the *Cháng āhán jīng*; i.e. with regard to the modal auxiliary verb *kě/kěyǐ* 可/可以 only instance of simple negation expressing a prohibition are still attested.

(16) 「旦日不可不蚤自來謝項王。」 *Shǐjì: 7; 312*
dàn rì bù kě bù zǎo zì lái xiè Xiàng wáng
 morning day NEG can NEG early self come apologize Xiang king
 ‘You must come yourself early tomorrow morning and apologize to king Xiang.’

(17) 故有國者不可以不知春秋， *Shǐjì: 130; 3298*
gù yǒu guó zhě bù kě yǐ bù zhī chūn qiū
 therefore have state NOM NEG can YI NEG know spring autumn
 ‘Therefore, those who have a state / are responsible for a state must know the Spring and Autumn Annals ...’

b) The modal auxiliary verb *bì* 必 ‘must’ expressing deontic modality

With regard to its semantics, *bì* 必 is generally regarded as expressing ‘certainty’ usually translated by ‘must’ and the like if verbal, and by ‘certainly, necessarily’ if adverbial (*Gǔdài Hànyǔ xūcí cídiǎn* 2000: 23) In its deontic meaning the modal *bì* 必 expresses obligation and necessity and corresponds to a certain extent to English MUST; in its epistemic meaning it expresses inferred certainty or confidence on the side of the speaker; the latter is in many languages predominantly expressed by modal adverbs such as CERTAINLY. Although *bì* 必 in its first reading MUST seems to be the only direct marker of strict deontic modality including direct command and advice, most of the examples of *bì* 必 in the literature do not express deontic modal values, but epistemic values. In the later literature from the *Lùnhéng* on (1st c. CE), *bì* 必 is occasionally combined with *xū* 須 which expresses deontic values.¹⁷ In the early Buddhist literature, the deontic meaning of *bì* 必 is only occasionally, if at all attested.¹⁸ In its root modal reading *bì* 必 obviously has to be analysed as a modal auxiliary verb, whereas in its epistemic reading an adverbial analysis seems to be preferable. However, it has to be conceded that without any additional syntactic evidence a distinction of both categories is difficult to draw. The following two examples represent typical instances of *bì* 必 in Classical and Han period Chinese expressing a direct command with an addressee subject. Speaker and agent are not identical.

(18) 君必殺之 *Guóyǔ Jìn 8*
Jūn bì shā zhī
 Prince BI kill OBJ
 ‘You have to kill him!’

(19) 其母曰：「必致之王。」 *Shǐjì: 4, 140*
Qí mǔ yuē: bì zhì zhī wáng
 His mother say: BI send OBJ king
 ‘His mother said: “You have to send them to the king.”’

However, the subject can also be a 1st or a 3rd person subject respectively; with a 1st person subject the speaker is identical with the addressee of the request. In the following example with a 1st person subject the speaker – and the agent – of the modal situation conveys an obligation he himself is subjected to.

¹⁷ In the *Lùnhéng* in four of the six instances the combination *bìxū* 必須 appears as a full verb.

¹⁸ In the *Miàofǎ liánhuā jīng*, *bì* 必 expresses the epistemic value of strong certainty. There are a few instances of deontic *bì* 必 in *Xiányù jīng*; no instances are attested in the *Fǎxiǎn* (the only instance of *bì* 必 in this text is in attributive function). Also in the examples presented in Anderl (ms., 416f) *bì* 必 in the affirmative does not express deontic values in the strict sense.

(20) 「我必覆楚·」包胥曰：「我必存之·」

Shǐjì: 66; 2176

Wǒ bì fù Chǔ. Bāoxū yuē wǒ bì cún zhī

I BI overthrow Chu. Baoxu say I BI preserve OBJ

“I must overthrow Chu.” Baoxu said: “I must preserve it.”

c) The modal auxiliary verb *dāng* 當 ‘should’

Four different functions of *dāng* 當 are attested in Late Archaic and Han period Chinese: a) as a full verb with the basic meaning ‘match, correspond’; b) as a temporal and locative preposition ‘at’; c) as a modal auxiliary verb expressing necessity, predominantly relating deontic modal values in a wide sense, roughly corresponding to modal SHOULD in English; and d) expressing future tense. The modal functions of *dāng* 當 are regularly attested from the Han period on; and modal DANG is basically employed to express the modal values of obligation and necessity. Although it can be employed in direct commands, in Han period Chinese it predominantly appears in indirect suggestions uttered by the speaker with regard to the – frequently unspecified – agent of a mostly telic agentive verb; the obligation is based on laws, rules, and norms, but also on circumstances. A quite typical situation for the employment of modal DANG would be one in which the speaker, a political advisor, proposes a particular action to an addressee superior to him in hierarchy and accordingly a more indirect modal marker to convey the obligation has to be employed. The speaker does not necessarily expect compliance on the side of the frequently only implied agent (with experiencer and patient subjects of passivized telic verbs). In later Han period texts DANG more and more also expresses a necessity according to destiny.¹⁹ As with SHOULD in English, with DANG too, the modal force of obligation is weaker than with MUST. There is a clear tendency of DANG to express simple predictions: in deontic contexts according to predetermination by destiny, without any advisory function involved, and in epistemic contexts according to the speaker’s knowledge or belief. The following examples represent the typical functions of *dāng* 當 in Han period Chinese. In example (21), the speaker utters a request according to the law, the agent of the required action remains unspecified and the modal expresses an indirect obligation. In example (22), a direct request is uttered by the speaker to an addressee who is the agent of the required situation.

(21) 群臣議，皆曰「長當棄市」。

Shǐjì: 10,426

Qún chén yì, jiē yuē Cháng dāng qì shì

All minister discuss, all say Chang DANG abandon expose.marketplace

‘The ministers discussed, and they all said: “Chang should be executed and exposed on the marketplace.”’

(22) 「王當歃血而定從，次者吾君，次者遂·」

Shǐjì: 76,2368

Wáng dāng shà xuè ér dìng zōng,

King DANG smear blood CON establish alliance,

‘Your majesty should smear blood [on his lips] in order to establish alliance ...’

3.2 Deontic modal auxiliary verbs, verbs of advice in the early Buddhist literature

As already mentioned above, the situation with regard to the expressions of advice in the Early Buddhist literature differs considerably from that in Late Archaic and Han period Chinese. Of the above discussed modal auxiliary verbs expressing deontic values only *dāng* 當 is frequently employed in the early Buddhist texts at issue, extending its functions and increasing in frequency.

¹⁹ This is certainly one of the possible sources of its development into a simple future prediction.

The following modal auxiliary verbs are particularly relevant in the expression of advice in the early Buddhist literature and will be discussed in this section:

- a) *dāng* 當 ‘should’: weak deontic modal values
- b) *yīng* 應 ‘ought’: weak deontic modal values
- c) *xū* 須 ‘should, must’: mainly in combination with the negative marker *bù* 不: deontic modal values.

a) The modal auxiliary verb *dāng* 當

In the Buddhist literature there is an obvious tendency of DANG to express more direct obligations than in the Han period literature, often with a second or third person subject referring to the addressee and the specified agent of the required action; speaker and agent of the required action are not identical. Additionally, in the Buddhist texts *dāng* 當 frequently refers to the future. According to Gurevič in the texts from the 3rd to the 5th century the future function of *dāng* 當 is more frequently attested than the modal function (Gurevič 1974: 119); it is employed gradually replacing the future marker *jiāng* 將 of Late Archaic Chinese (ibidem: XXI, 110).²⁰ Although *dāng* 當 is one of the possible future markers in the early Buddhist literature and evidently served the purpose of translating future morphology in the Middle Indian and Sanskrit sources of the Buddhist Chinese translation texts, this did not necessarily cause its functional extension (see Meisterernst 2011c). It seems rather to be the case that the translators of the Buddhist texts employed grammatical means already present in the Chinese language and extended their function according to their translation purposes. Apparently, a future (prediction) reading of *dāng* 當 is often - but not exclusively – induced when the subject is represented by a first person subject, whereas the modal reading at issue here is often induced when the subject is an addressee, either in the second or third person, with regard to whom the obligation or suggestion is expressed.²¹ Besides other functions the modal auxiliary verb DANG evidently belongs to the class of verbs which are employed to express advice and admonishments which are typical for religious texts as in the following examples. All are clearly qualified as modal examples by the addressee subject which can be either a second person pronoun (as e.g. in (24)) or a lexical noun (as in (23)).

(23) 「諸族姓子，悉當信佛誠諦至教，勿得猶豫。」 Taisho 9, no.263, p.113a

Zhū zúxìng zǐ, xī dāng xìn fó chéngdì zhìjiào,

All good.family son, completely DANG believe Buddha truth excellent.teaching,

wú dé yóuyù

NEG_{mod} get doubt

‘All you sons of good families should believe in the Buddha’s truthful and most excellent teaching, and should not have any doubts.’

(24) 汝等但當勤修精進。』

Taisho 9, no.262, p.13b

Rǔ děng dàn dāng qín xiū jìngjīn

You PL only DANG eagerly improve diligence

‘You should only eagerly improve your diligence.’

²⁰ However, she concedes that it cannot be confined to this function, but evidently displays a wider semantic range (1974: 110, 120), i.e. it is still employed in its original modal functions. Additionally it has to be noted that *jiāng* 將 still regularly appears as a marker of the future in e.g. the *Miàfǎ liánhuā jīng* (Meisterernst 2011b), and at the same time, *dāng* 當 is frequently employed as a modal auxiliary verb as the following examples demonstrate.

²¹ See Gurevič (1974: 112, 114) according to whom the future reading with a 2nd or 3rd person subject is by far less frequent than with a 1st person subject. See also (Gurevič 1974: 120).

(25) 「諸比丘衆，今告汝等，皆當一心，聽我所說： Taisho 9, no. 262, p.21b
Zhū bīqiū zhòng, jīn gào rǔ děng, jiē dāng yīxīn tīng wǒ suǒ shuō
 All Bhikṣu multitude, now tell you PL, all DANG concentrate listen I REL say
 ‘All Bhikṣus, if I now talk to you, you should all concentrate and listen to what I say.’

The combination of *dāng* 當 with the verb *zhī* 知 ‘know’ as in example (26) and (27) is quite frequently attested in the texts at issue; it does not express a direct advice to act, but rather requires attention to a particular fact related in the subsequent speech.

(26) 汝等當知。毘婆尸佛時。人壽八萬歲。 Taisho 1, no.1, p.2a04
Rǔ děng dāng zhī, pípóshī fó shí, rén shòu bā wàn suì
 You PL DANG know, Vipasyin Buddha time, man age eight ten.thousand year
 ‘You should know, at the time of the Vipasyin Buddha, the age of a human being was eighty thousand years.’

(27) 吾當爲汝分別解說。比丘。當知諸佛常法。 Taisho 1, no.1, p.3c14
Wú dāng wèi rǔ fēnbié jiěshuō, bīqiū, dāng zhī zhū fó cháng fǎ
 I DANG for you distinguish explain, Bhikṣu, DANG know PL Buddha eternal law
 ‘I will explain [them] exactly for you. Bhikṣus, you should know the eternal laws of the Buddhas ...’

In example (28), the matrix verb is additionally marked by a manner adverb *sù* 速 ‘quickly’.

(28) 佛又告曰。汝等。若於佛·法·衆有疑。於道有疑。當速諮問。 Taisho 1, no.1, p.26b04
Fó yòu gào yuē: rǔ děng, ruò yú fó, fǎ, zhòng yǒu yí, yú dào yǒu
 Buddha again tell say: you PL, if at Buddha, dharma, assembly have doubt, at way have
yí, dāng sù zī wèn
 doubt, DANG quick consult ask
 ‘And the Buddha said again: “If you have doubts with regard to the Buddha, the dharma and the assembly, and if you have doubts with regard to the way, you should quickly ask [about it].”’

(29) 若有人問。汝誰種姓。當答彼言。我是沙門釋種子也。 Taisho ,1no. 1, p. 37a29
Ruò yǒu rén wèn, rǔ shuí zhǒngxìng, dāng dá bǐ yán, wǒ shì shāmén
 If there.is man ask, you who clan, DANG answer that word I be śramaṇa
shìzhǒng zǐ yě
 Śākya son FIN
 ‘If someone asks you to whose kin you belong, you should answer with those words: “I am a śramaṇa, a son of a Śākya.”’

In the following example the subject of *dāng* 當 is a first person subject which frequently induces a future reading of *dāng* 當. Meisig (1988: 127) translates *dāng* 當 in this example as volitional by ‘want to’ (‘wollen’). However, contextually, a modal reading cannot be excluded.

(30) 此人黠慧。先積餘糧。以供三日。吾當效彼。積糧以供五日。 Taisho 1, no.1, p.38a19
Cǐ rén xiáhuì, xiān jī yú liáng, yǐ gōng sān rì, wú dāng xiào
 This man clever, first collect more provision, in.order to provide three day, I DANG imitate
bǐ, jī liáng yǐ gōng wǔ rì

that, collect provision in order to provide five day

‘These people are clever; they first collect additional provisions in order to provide for three days. I should imitate them and collect provisions in order to provide for five days.’

Besides *dāng* 當 which is already regularly attested as a modal auxiliary verb in Han period Chinese, two other modal auxiliary verbs expressing root modal values appear more frequently in this function during or after the Han period; these are the almost synonymous verbs *yīng* 應 and *xū* 須.

b) *Yīng* 應 ‘ought, should’ as a modal auxiliary verb

Additionally to *dāng* 當, the verb *yīng* 應 appears regularly as a modal auxiliary verb in the early Buddhist literature. In Classical Chinese *yīng/yìng* 應 occurs almost exclusively as a full verb, mostly in the meaning ‘answer, react, etc.’²² Other meanings are ‘deserve to’, ‘correspond to’, and related meanings. Additionally, the modal meanings ‘ought to, should, need’ are listed (see e.g. Thesaurus Linguae Sericae <http://tls.uni-hd.de/>). Two different readings are attested for 應: *yīng* 應 ‘answer, respond, ought’, and *yìng* 應 ‘respond, echo, correspond; comply with, grant.’ (see Pulleyblank 1991). In the Classical literature, *yīng/yìng* 應 is only very occasionally attested followed by another verb, i.e. as an auxiliary verb. The number of instances of *yīng* 應 as an auxiliary verb only increases in the early Buddhist literature; and simultaneously the number of its occurrence as a full verb decreases. According to its syntactic environment, it evidently expresses different kinds of deontic modal values, from strict deontic modality, i.e. contexts of direct command and advice, to modal values connected with wishes (bouletic), or goals (teleological values).²³ There seems to be a tendency of *yīng* 應 to appear in complementary distribution with *dāng* 當. Whereas modal *dāng* 當 is more and more employed in direct commands with a second person subject in the Buddhist literature, *yīng* 應 rather seems to be employed in indirect deontic contexts with a 1st or a 3rd person subject and thus takes over functions *dāng* 當 previously had. This might be due to the fact that *dāng* 當 in particular syntactic environments functions as a marker of the future and is in these contexts replaced by *yīng* 應 in the early Buddhist literature.

In example (31) deontic modality in the strictest sense is expressed, i.e. a command, a strong advice issued by a speaker to an addressee represented by a second person pronoun. However, most of the examples with *yīng* 應 do not have a second person addressee subject. More representative for *yīng* 應 are examples (32) and (33); in (32) the speaker and the agent of the telic verb are identical, the speaker relates his own obligations according to his position; and in example (33), the obligation of a person different from the speaker is conveyed, however, the addressee of the obligation is not addressed directly.

(31) 汝等天、人、阿修羅衆，皆應到此，爲聽法故。』 Taisho 9, n.262, p.19b
Rǔ děng tiān, rén, āxiūluó zhòng, jiē yīng dào cǐ, wèi tīng fǎ gù
You PL deva, man, Asura multitude, all YING arrive this, for listen dharma reason
‘All you devas, people, Asuras, you should all come here in order to listen to the dharma.’

(32) 便作是念：『我爲衆生之父，應拔其苦難，』 Taisho 9, n. 262, p.13a
Biàn zuò shì niàn: wǒ wéi zhòng shēng zhī fù, yīng bá qí kǔnàn
Then make this thought: I be all living.being SUB father, YING pull.out its misery

²² See also Li (2004: 234f).

²³ Anderl (ms.: 417 assumes that *yīng* 應 also serves to express epistemic modality in the *Zūtáng jí* and that this function was possible “introduced by Indian Buddhist logic which was introduced to China through the translation of Sanskrit scriptures.”

“Then he thought: “I am the father of all living beings, I should pull out all their miseries [by the root], ...”

(33) 今法王大寶自然而至，如佛子所應得者皆已得之。」 T09, no.262, p.17c

Jīn fǎ wáng dà bǎo zìrán ér zhì, rú Fó zǐ suǒ yīng dé zhě
Now dharma king great precious naturally CON arrive, like Buddha son REL ought get NOM
jiē yǐ dé zhī
all already get OBJ

‘Now the great jewel of the Dharma king arrives quite naturally, it is similar to [the fact] that everything the Buddha’s sons ought to get, they have already got [it].’

Syntactically, *yīng* 應 behaves like a genuine modal auxiliary verb: aspecto-temporal adverbs precede *yīng* 應, and manner adverbs follow it. Prepositional phrases appear between *yīng* 應 and the matrix verb. In example (34) the aspecto-temporal adverb *cháng* 常 ‘always, constantly’ expressing habituality precedes *yīng* 應.

(34) 是故諸菩薩摩訶薩，於如來滅後，常應受持、讀誦、解說、書寫是經。」

Taisho 9, n.262, p.51b

Shì gù zhū púsà, móhēsà, yú rúlái miè hòu, cháng yīng
This reason all Bodhisattva, Mahasattva, at Tathāgata extinguish after, always should
shòu chí, dú sòng, jiě shuō, shū xiě shì jīng
receive keep, read present, explain say, write write this sutra

‘Therefore, all Bodhisattvas and Mahasattvas should, after the decease of the Tathāgata always hold on to this sutra and read and present, explain and discuss it, and write it down.’

In examples (35) to (37) obligations different kinds of people are subject to are related by the speaker without directly addressing the agent of the required action.

(35) 出家修道。諸所應行。凡有二業。」

Taisho 1, no.1, p.1b27

Chūjiā xiū dào, zhū suǒ yīng xíng, fán yǒu èr yè
Leave.family cultivate way, all REL YING do, altogether have two activity

‘Becoming a monk and cultivating the way, with everything one has to do there are two different kinds of activity.’

(36) 諸天及世人皆應捨五欲蠲除諸穢污淨修於梵行

Taisho 1, no.1, p.33b15

Zhū tiān jí shì rén jiē yīng shě wǔ yù juān chú zhū huìwū
PL deva and worldly people all YING abandon five wish purify remove PL filth
jìng xiū yú fànxíng
clean cultivate PREP pure.practice

‘All the devas and the worldly people ought to abandon the five wishes, purify and remove all filth, and clean and cultivate the pure practices.’

(37) 首陀羅種亦應如是篤信於佛。信法·信衆。」

Taisho 1, no.1, p.37b19

Shǒutuóluó zhǒng yì yīng rú shì dǔ xìn yú fó, xìn fǎ, xìn
Śūdra caste also YING like this firm believe PREP Buddha, believe dharma, believe
zhòng
assembly

‘The Śūdra caste should also in this way firmly believe in the Buddha, the dharma, and the assembly.’

In example (38) the direct advice conveyed to the addressee of the speech is not marked; the modal auxiliary verb *yīng* 應 appears in a relative clause marked by *zhě* 者 and is followed by a passivized verb; the agent of the verb is not specified. This would be a typical employment of the auxiliary verb *dāng* 當 in Han period Chinese. In the last clause of the sentence future is marked by *dāng* 當; the predicate has a 1st person subject.

(38) 汝今爲我等作平等主。應護者護。應責者責。應遣者遣。當共集米。以相供給。
Taisho 1, no.1, p.38b25

Rǔ jīn wèi wǒ děng zuò píngděng zhǔ, yīng hù zhě hù, yīng zé zhě zé, yīng qiǎn zhě qiǎn, dāng gòng jí mǐ, yǐ xiāng gōngjǐ
You now for I PL make equality master, YING protect REL protect, YING correct REL correct, YING banish REL banish, DANG together collect rice, in.order.to mutually provide

‘You will now be the master of equality for us; those who have to be protected protect, those who have to be corrected correct, those who have to be banished banish, we will collect rice in order to provide you in turn.’

In example (39) again, the subject of the required situation is a 1st person subject expressing a self-advice. Many examples similar to the following one are attested in *Cháng āhán jīng*, chapter 15, the *Fēn zhǒng dé jīng* 分種德經.

(39) 彼成就此法者。我等應往彼。彼不應來此。
Taisho 1, no.1, p.95a04

Bǐ chéngjiù cǐ fǎ zhě, wǒ děng yīng wǎng bǐ, bǐ bù yīng wǎng cǐ
That complete this dharma NOM, I PL YING go.to that, that NEG YING come this

‘He is one who completed this dharma, we should go there, and he should not come here.’

In the following example a strong advice is expressed by the verb *yīng* 應 and double negation, a less strong advice is expressed by the same verb and simple negation in the last clause of the sentence. Apparently double negation has in general the effect to intensify the force of obligation or advice,²⁴ while with simple negation the force of advice is not stronger than with *yīng* 應 in the affirmative. With *yīng* 應 as with SHOULD in English, the speaker does not necessarily expect compliance on the side of the addressee and the expected consequences in case of non-compliance are less severe than with MUST.

(40) 我於彼村·彼城·彼國。躬從佛聞。躬受是教。從其聞者。不應不信。亦不應毀。
Taisho 1, no.1, p. 17c03

Wǒ yú bǐ cūn, bǐ chéng, bǐ guó, gōng cóng fó wén, gōng shòu shì jiào, cóng qí wén zhě, bù yīng bù xìn, yì bù yīng huǐ
I PREP that village, that town, that state, personally follow Buddha hear, personally accept this teaching, follow his hear NOM, NEG YING NEG believe, also NEG YING slander

‘In those villages, towns, and countries, we personally follow the Buddha’s messages and accept these teaching; and when one follows those messages, one must [on all accounts] believe, and also one should not slander.’

More instances for double negation are attested in the literature at issue here.

²⁴ See also double negation with the auxiliary verb *kě(yǐ)* 可(以), where the double negation obviously causes the shift from root possibility modality to strict deontic modality.

Sometimes the modal reading of obligation or necessity is expressed by the combination *yīngdāng* 應當, a combination of two near-synonymous modal auxiliary verbs. The addition of *yīng* 應 to *dāng* 當 disambiguates a possible future reading of *dāng* 當. This combination is still attested as a disyllabic modal auxiliary verb in Modern Chinese (see Alleton 1984: 195, Li 2004: 175f).²⁵ According to Li (2004: 246) the combination *yīngdāng* 應當 appears first after the Han period and is in general rare in the Chinese literature. However, this statement is based on the non-Buddhist literature; in the early Buddhist literature *yīngdāng* 應當 is comparably frequently attested and it always expresses deontic modal values. In example (41) the speaker is at the same time the agent of the modally marked situation.

(41) 我有如是七寶大車，其數無量，應當等心各各與之，不宜差別。

Taisho 9, no. 262, p. 12c

Wǒ yǒu rú shì qī bǎo dà chē, qí shù wú liàng, yīngdāng
 I have like this seven jewel great carriage, its number not.have measure, YINGDANG
 děngxīn gè gè yǔ zhī, bù yí chābié
 equal-minded each each give OBJ, NEG appropriate difference
 ‘I have carriages like these adorned with the seven jewels, their number is measureless, I should be even-minded and give them one each, and I should not make any distinction.’

In example (42) a direct advice is expressed, the subject is a second person pronoun, the modal auxiliary selects the verb *zhī* 知 ‘know’ which is frequently attested in combination with *dāng* 當 alone.

(42) 如是衆過患，汝等應當知。』

Taisho 9, n. 262, p. 26b

Rú shì zhòng guòhuàn, rǔ déng yīngdāng zhī
 Like this all affliction, you PL YINGDANG know
 ‘All those afflictions you should know.’

The combination *yīngdāng* 應當 is not attested in the *Cháng āhán jīng* (nor in the *Fǎxiǎn*), but it is also attested in *Xiányù jīng* 賢愚經. The only instance in the *Cháng āhán jīng* is the following one with the reverse order of the two modal auxiliary verbs. In the first clause, the deontic modal negative marker expresses prohibition.

(43) 汝等勿憂。世尊滅度。我得自在。彼者常言。當應行是。不應行是。

Taisho 1, no. 1, p. 28c15

Rǔ děng wù yōu, shìzūn mièdù, wǒ dé zìzài, bǐ zhě
 You PL NEG_{mod} worry, world-honoured-one extinguish, I obtain sovereignty, that NOM
 cháng yán, dāng yīng xíng shǐ, bù yīng xíng shì
 constant talk, DANG YING do this, NEG YING do this
 ‘Do not worry, the world-honoured-one has gained extinction, I obtained sovereignty, and those always say, you should do this, you ought not do that.’

c) *Xū* 須 ‘should, must’ as a deontic modal auxiliary verb

Another modal auxiliary verb expressing deontic values is the verb *xū* 須 which is a near synonym of both *dāng* 當 and *yīng* 應. In Late Archaic Chinese it has the meanings ‘need, must; wait for’ (Pulleyblank 1991), also ‘require, need’, ‘depend on’, ‘should, must’. It predominantly appears in the meaning MUST as a full verb in the Late Archaic Literature, in

²⁵ In both Alleton (1984) and Li (2004) *yīngdāng* 應當 is classified together with *dāng* 當 as expressing basically deontic necessity, obligation.

only very few examples is it followed by another verb. In the *Shǐjì* its employment as an auxiliary verb is almost non-existent; it is more frequently attested as a modal auxiliary verb in the *Lùnhéng* from the Later Han period, not infrequently in combination with the negative marker *bù* 不, and occasionally in combination with the modal auxiliary verb *dāng* 當: *dāngxū* 當須 ‘need to, there is a need for a situation to happen’ (TLS) and with the modal adverb *bì* 必 ‘certainly’. In many of the examples *xū* 須 evidently has a teleological, i.e. goal-oriented meaning as in the following example in which a necessity to obtain a particular goal is expressed by the modal verb *xū* 須.

(44) 冶者變更成器，須先以火燔爍，乃可大小短長。 *Lùnhéng* 7/3/1
Yě zhě biàn gēng chéng qì, xū xiān yǐ huǒ fán shuò,
 Smelt NOM change complete vessel, must first with fire burn melt,
nǎi kě dà xiǎo duǎn cháng
 then can big small short long
 ‘The people who smelt and want to change and complete a vessel, they first have to burn and melt it with fire, and then it can be made big or small, short or long.’

In the early Buddhist literature *xū* 須 as a modal auxiliary verb is much less frequent than *dāng* 當 and *yīng* 應 are; it mostly appears as a full verb, as a modal auxiliary verb it is predominantly confined to a combination with the negative marker *bù* 不. The following example is one of the very few examples in which *xū* 須 probably appears as a root modal auxiliary verb in an affirmative predicate. However, the complement of *xū* 須 could still very well be analysed as a verbal complement following a full verb.

(45) 大雄猛世尊，常欲安世間，願賜我等記，如飢須教食。」 Taisho 9, n.262, p. 21a
Dà xióngměng shìzūn, cháng yù ān shìjiān, yuàn cì wǒ děng
 Great vigorous honoured.one, always want pacify world, wish bestow I PL
jì, rú jī xū jiào shí
 record, be.like starve must teach eat
 ‘The very vigorous World-honoured-one always wanted to pacify the world and wished to bestow us with the record, it is like the starved must be taught to eat.’

As a modal auxiliary verb *xū* 須 predominantly occurs in combination with the negative marker *bù* 不, expressing deontic modality in the strict sense, i.e. a direct command or advice, frequently with a 2nd person subject as in the following examples.

(46) 「止，舍利弗！不須復說。」 Taisho, 9, n.262, p.5c
Zhǐ, Shèlìfú, bù xū fù shuō
 Stop Shelifu, NEG must again speak
 ‘Stop, Śāriputra, you must not speak again!’

Similar to the *Miàofǎ liánhuā jīng*, in the *Cháng āhán jīng* *xū* 須 predominantly appears as a full verb (besides its frequent occurrences in names). Only very few examples are liable for a deontic analysis. In example (47) advice, i.e. the deontic force is first expressed by the modal negative marker *wù* 勿. The subject of the *xū* 須 clause is identical with the second person subject of the preceding negative predicate.

(47) 商主言。汝等穀草慎勿捐棄。須得新者然後當棄。 Taisho 1, no.1, p. 46a08
Shāng zhǔ yán, rǔ děng gǔ cǎo shèn wù juān qì,

Merchant chief say, you PL grain grass careful NEG_{mod} abandon throw.away

xū dé xīn zhě, ránhòu dāng qì

XU get new NOM, afterwards DANG throw.away

‘The chief merchant said: “Regarding your grains and herbs, are careful not to throw them away. You must get new ones, and only then can you throw them away.”’

In example (48) speaker, addressee, and agent of the required situation are identical, the modal verb *xū* 須 appears in complementary distribution with the verb *dāng* 當 which could have a deontic, but also – due to its 1st person subject – a future reading.

(48) 然自念言。今觀沙門瞿曇。非是時也。須待明日。當往覲問。

Taisho 1, no.1, p.87c10

Rán zì niàn yán, jīn jìn shāmén Jūtán, fēi shì shí yě. Xū dài míng rì,

So self think say, now pay.respect śramaṇa Gautama, is.not this time FIN. XU wait next day,

dāng wǎng jìn wèn

DANG go.to pay.respect ask

‘So they thought to themselves and said: “If we want to pay our respects to the śramaṇa Gautama, this is not the time. We should wait for tomorrow and then we should go and pay our respects.”’

4. Conclusion

As the preceding discussion reveals, the modal system of the two Buddhist texts from the beginning of the 5th century differs considerably from that of Late Archaic (Classical) and Han period Chinese. There does not exist any grammatical form or construction comparable to the imperative in the Indo-European languages in any stage of the Chinese language. In Late Archaic and Han period Chinese direct advice and strict commands are only rarely expressed, the only real and direct deontic marker is the auxiliary verb *bì* 必 ‘must’, which, however, predominantly functions as an epistemic adverb expressing certainty. Besides this modal auxiliary verb, only negated forms of the modal auxiliary verb *kě(yǐ)* 可(以) are employed to express a strong advice or command in an indirect way by double negation ‘you cannot not > you must’. The auxiliary verb *dāng* 當 ‘should’ of Late Archaic, but particularly of Han period Chinese, serves to express a mild, and mostly indirect form of advice: the speaker conveys a suggestion or recommendation usually with regard to an unspecified agent ‘one should’, ‘it should be done’. Additionally, modal adverbs are employed to express hortatory modality, i.e. polite forms of advice or command.

In the early Buddhist literature, due to the new literary genre of religious texts, the necessity to express different forms of advice arises and causes the development of new means to express modal values, i.e. the functional change of old and the development of new auxiliary verbs. Except for the Han period modal adverb *qiě* 且, the Classical Chinese adverbs expressing hortatory modality obviously become obsolete.

Table 1: The development of modal markers from Late Archaic to Early Medieval Chinese

Late Archaic/Han period	adverb	auxiliary verb
direct		必
indirect, polite	其，姑，且	不可(以)不，當
Early Medieval Chinese	adverb	auxiliary verb
	且	(必),(不須), (不可(以)不), 當，應，須

The most important modal auxiliary verbs in the Buddhist texts at issue here are the two near synonymous verbs *dāng* 當 ‘should’, and *yīng* 應 ‘ought, should’. *Dāng* 當 is already regularly attested as a modal auxiliary verb in the Han period literature; however, its function changes to a certain extent in the early Buddhist literature. The frequency of *yīng* 應 only increases in the Early Buddhist literature, obviously adopting some of the previous functions of *dāng* 當. While *dāng* 當 in Han period Chinese is predominantly employed to express indirect modal values and only occasionally to express direct advice, in the Early Buddhist literature it is frequently employed to express direct, though polite advice with a 2nd person pronoun ‘you should’, a function which is quite rare in Han period Chinese; additionally it frequently expresses future tense (usually with a 1st person subject). The previous function of *dāng* 當 to express indirect advice has been adopted by *yīng* 應, but identical to *dāng* 當 it can also serve to express direct advice. A combination of both auxiliary verbs is sometimes employed to disambiguate *dāng* 當 as a modal auxiliary verb. Besides these two, but less frequently, the verb *xū* 須, which predominantly appears as a full verb, is attested as a modal auxiliary verb expressing deontic modal values in the analysed texts.²⁶

These few examples demonstrate the influence the early translators of the Buddhist literature had on the development of the Chinese language. Being confronted with the difficult task to render texts from languages completely different from Chinese, i.e. languages with a rich inflectional morphology, into a language without almost any morphology at all, they had – with the help of their Chinese redactors – to rely exclusively on lexical means to express the different shades of meaning conveyed e.g. by the verbal morphology of the Indian languages. In order to succeed in this task they drew from the already existent lexicon of Chinese, extended and changed the function particularly of verbs and adverbs (but of course also of nouns) based on meanings and functions they already had, and thus enhanced the development of an entire range of new grammatical means in the Chinese language, ideally without violating the syntactic constraints of the Chinese language. Scholars such as Kumārajīva were well versed in the Classical Chinese language; however, in their translation work they evidently also included elements of the vernacular language of the time. Many of the structures of Modern Chinese make their first appearance in the Early Buddhist translation literature, and accordingly these texts, and their creators, men such as Kumārajīva and Buddhayaśas, both from or closely related to Kashmir, play a crucial role in the history of the Chinese language.

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²⁶ Another modal verb, the verb *yí* 宜 ‘fitting, right’, which also occasionally appears as an auxiliary verb expressing deontic modal values, has been omitted in the present discussion.

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