

Some remarks on the language of Kumārajīva's translation of the Lotus Sutra

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1. Introduction

In this paper a few peculiarities of the language of Kumārajīva's translation of the Lotus Sutra will be discussed. This analysis of the language of the *Miāofǎ ližnhuā jīng*, the Lotus Sutra (*Saddharmapuṇḍarīka-sūtra*), is based on a previous - more general - investigation of the temporal and aspectual structures of Early Buddhist texts in which the language of the *Miāofǎ ližnhuā jīng*, a translation text, is particularly compared to the language of the *Gāosēng Fǎxiǎn zhuān*, a text which is originally written in Chinese. This comparative study has revealed that although both texts were written at the same time (at the beginning of the 5th century), the text written by Kumārajīva is evidently more conservative in its grammatical structure than the original Chinese text written by *Fǎxiǎn*. Although Kumārajīva also regularly employs the newly developed aspectual structures which only emerged after the Han and during the Wei Jin Nanbei chao periods, his translations are apparently to a great extent influenced by his obviously excellent knowledge of the Classical Chinese language and he frequently employs e.g. temporal adverbs which are typical for the Classical Chinese language (600-300 century BCE), rather than employing the typical Han period (206 BCE-220 CE) or later variants. However, also many constructions which are typical for Han period Chinese are attested in his translation. The paper will present examples for both, the innovative structures employed by Kumārajīva, but also for the more conservative structures and it will show that although his language certainly differs from that of the Classical Chinese literature, it is considerably influenced by it.

2. Kumārajīva and his work

Kumārajīva, Jiūmóluóshí 鳩摩羅什 in Chinese, an erudite monk from Kucha, was one of the 'four great translators' of Buddhist texts into Chinese together with Paramārtha of the 6th century, Xuanzang of the 7th century and Amoghavajra of the 8th century (Hureau 2003: 7). In his biography, the *Gāosēng zhuān*, 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 Kashmir, 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 and at the 20th day of the third year of the era *hongshi* (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.¹ A similar project had already been established for about three hundred years in Luoyang in the Baima-monastery (Dutt 1962, 1988, p. 303-306 cf. Singh 2008). Besides his translations Kumārajīva is also reported to have written some genuine Chinese texts.

Although not all of the texts attributed to Kumārajīva have actually been composed by him, he was still one of the most eminent translators of his time.² He was the most productive among a number of translators active during the same period, these are: Fótuóyēshè 佛陀耶舍, Zhú Fóniàn 竺佛念, Dào Luè 道略, Tǐnmóyēshè 曇摩耶舍, Lóngshùpúsà 龍樹菩薩, Típópúsà 提婆菩薩, Hēilǐbǎnmó 訶梨跋摩, Qiúnǎbǎnmó 求那跋摩, Mǎmíngpúsà 馬鳴菩薩, Fúruòduōluó 弗若多羅, Tiānqīnpúsà 天親菩薩, Shèngzhěnlóngshù 聖者龍樹, and Sēngzhào 僧肇. His translations, although having been criticized by some of his contemporaries for their free paraphrases of the original texts (and also for the fact that he was not a native speaker of Chinese)³ 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). Besides the Lotus-Sutra he also translated amongst others the Diamond Sūtra *Jīngāng jīng* 金剛經, the Amitābha-sūtra *Āmítuó jīng* 阿彌陀經, the Vimalakīrti-nirdeśa-sūtra *Wéimó jīng* 維摩經, the Madhyamaka-kārikā *Zhōng lùn* 中論⁴ and the Mahā-prajñāpāramitā-sāstra *Dā zhìdù lùn* 大智度論.⁵

2.1 A linguistic study of Kumārajīva’s Lotus Sutra

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

¹ According to Hui Jiao’s *Gāosēng zhuān* 高僧傳, Taisho 50, 2059. See also Lu (2004).

² For a detailed analysis see Hureau (2003).

³ See Yang Lu (2004:37) who states: “Sengrui, for example, commented on the impact Kumārajīva’s limited ability in the Chinese language had on the quality of his translations in the prefaces to the *Da zhi du lun* and *Mūlamadhyamakārikā*, both of which were translated by Kumārajīva.”

⁴ The *Zhonglun* 中論 [*Mūla-madhyamaka-kārikā*] T 1564.30 is Nāgārjuna’s (2nd-3rd c.) most important work and has been translated by Kumārajīva’s translation who includes a commentary that stays close to the root text, merely unpacking the arguments (see DDB <http://www.buddhism-dict.net/cgi-bin/xpr-ddb.pl?9f.xml+id%28%27b9f8d-6a39%27%29> accessed 30.12.2010).

⁵ The *Dā zhìdù lùn* 大智度論 is not supposed to be an authentic text by Nāgārjuna. The DDB states: The *Dazhidulun* contains many elements hard to reconcile with the authentic Nāgārjuna, and, like the *Twelve Gate Treatise*, no mention of it is found anywhere outside Eastern Asia. Some scholars speculate that this may have been Kumārajīva’s own commentary (DDB <http://www.buddhism-dict.net/cgi-bin/xpr-ddb.pl?9f.xml+id%28%27b9f8d-6a39%27%29> accessed 30.12.2010.)

language of the time. In this paper only one aspect of Kumārajīva's language will be elucidated: i.e. the expressions of the categories tense and aspect in verbal predicates, and their differences from or similarities with the respective expressions in the Classical and Han period literature.

Verbal predicates refer to events or to situations of different types which are all characterised by an aspectual and a temporal meaning. In the Indo-European languages, and accordingly also in the source languages from which the Chinese Buddhist texts are translated, these meanings are realised in the morphology of the verb. The category Aspect (i.e. grammatical aspect) is defined as indicating the viewpoint from which a situation is presented: this is basically the perfective-imperfective distinction; whereas tense is defined as locating a situation on the time axis. Besides the categories tense and aspect, which are usually realised by grammaticalized morphemes, a third category exists which refers to the event structure of a situation; different labels have been proposed for this category, e.g. Lexical Aspect (in contrast to grammatical aspect), Situation type, or Aktionsart. Languages do not need to mark tense or aspect in their verbal systems (and many languages actually do not mark these categories morphologically), but the third category, the lexical aspect, which deals with the structure of the event the predicate refers to is always inherent in the semantics of a verb or predicate, and is accordingly considered basic. In Chinese the category tense has apparently at no time been expressed in the morphology of the verb - contrastively to e.g. the Indo-European languages; however, it has been assumed that Ancient Chinese had the capacity to mark different verbal categories, including aspectual meanings, by affixation (Sagart 1999). But the evidence provided as yet for this hypothesis is not sufficient to establish a coherent and productive morphological system for the early stages of Chinese, comparable e.g. to that of the Indo-European languages.⁶ Since neither tense, nor aspect, are visibly marked in the morphology of the verb in Classical and Han period Chinese, other grammatical means have to be assumed to indicate temporal and aspectual relations; these are predominantly the semantics of the verb, i.e. the event structure of the predicate, and additional lexical means such as adverbial phrases, sentence-final particles, etc. Especially adverbial phrases have the capacity to express even subtle temporal and aspectual relations (see Meisterernst ms.). In contrast to Classical and Han period Chinese, Modern Chinese exhibits a productive system of aspectual suffixes indicating different aspectual notions. This system starts to develop at the end of the Han and particularly during the Wei Jin Nanbei chao periods and successively gains more prominence in the Buddhist literature during the Tang period. The employment of these suffixes in Modern Mandarin is closely related to the semantics of the verb, i.e. to the event structure, or the lexical aspect of the verb they attach to.⁷ Of particular relevance for the lexical aspect or situation type is the semantic feature of *telicity* (*boundedness*) which refers to the temporal

⁶ There is general agreement on the development of the departing tone *qù shēng* 去聲 from a former suffix *-s*, for which many different functions have been assumed (e.g. Downer 1959, Schuessler 2007). One of these functions, i.e. the possible distinction of a perfective from an imperfective variant (Unger ms.) or the indicating of the past/passive (Schuessler 2007: 42), might be relevant in this context, but here again, evidence for a *qù shēng* reading in a predicate at issue is difficult to obtain.

⁷ Accordingly the different verb classes have been subject to a variety of linguistic studies on Modern Chinese syntax and semantics (see e.g. Tai 1984, Smith 1991, 1997, and many more). See also the references in Meisterernst 2005, 2008, ms.).

boundaries, i.e. the natural initial and final point of a situation. In Vendler's (1967) seminal study on verbs and times, four different verbal categories are distinguished: *states*, *activities*, *accomplishments* and *achievements*. States and activities are atelic or unbounded, excluding the initial and the final points from the temporal structure of the predicate. Accomplishments and achievements are telic: achievements merely include the final change of state point, while accomplishments also include the process part of the situation. These semantic features do not only govern the employment of the aspectual suffixes of Modern Mandarin, but they also constrain the employment of the closed class of aspecto-temporal adverbs which mark the predicate temporally or aspectually and accordingly serve a similar purpose as the aspect and tense markers of e.g. the Indo-European languages (see Meisterernst 2005, 2008, ms.). These adverbs belong to the class of genuine adverbs which can be separated by the verb only by a small range of syntactic elements, including prepositional phrases, and manner adverbs. But, in contrast to aspectual or temporal markers in the morphology of the verb, the aspecto-temporal adverbs of Chinese are not obligatory.

3. Aspectual structures in early Buddhist Chinese⁸

During the Classical and Han period, temporal and aspectual meanings are basically expressed by aspecto-temporal adverbs.⁹ Many of the adverbs employed during the Han period are still attested more or less unchanged in the early Buddhist Chinese literature in both, genuine Chinese and translation texts. However, as one important innovation, the introduction of the source structure of the aspectual suffixes of Modern Chinese, the structure: $V_1 (NP) V_2$, can be observed during this period. This structure serves to express completion, the resultative, or the perfective similar to and together with the Classical employment of the aspecto-temporal adverbs *jì* 既 and *yǐ* 已 which serve the same purpose. Within the closed class of aspecto-temporal adverbs, changes are less obvious during the Wei Jin Nanbei chao periods. Some of the Classical and Han period adverbs retain their functions with only minor alterations, others show semantic changes or are on their way of disappearing. The position of the aspecto-temporal adverbs with relation to the verb is unchanged identical to the position of temporal adverbs expressing a point of time (TA) 'at X time' 'from X time on' etc. and the position and syntax of duration phrases 'for X time'. In general, their basic syntactic constraints do not change from Classical to Wei Jin Nanbeichao Chinese despite the changes in the Chinese syntax which have been assumed to develop under the influence of the Buddhist translation literature. As another innovation, additional to the above mentioned innovation $VP_1 (NP_{Obj}) VP_2$, the occasional employment of two modal auxiliary verbs as markers of the future tense can be observed during the period at issue here. In the following study the conservatism and innovations in the expression of temporal and aspectual meanings in Kumārajīva's translation of the Lotus Sutra will be presented. With its long narrative passages this text displays many different grammatical features and is accordingly particularly apt for a linguistic study of temporal and aspectual relation.

⁸ Some of the material presented in the following has already been discussed in Meisterernst (2011a).

⁹ If any morphological markers of aspectual relations were still present in Classical Chinese, they were certainly not productive anymore.

3.1 Perfective, completive, resultative

In Classical and Han period Chinese completion and the resultative, notions related to the perfective aspect, can only be expressed productively by aspecto-temporal adverbs, i.e. the aspecto-temporal adverbs *jì* 既 and *yǐ* 已 ‘already’.¹⁰ Contrastively, during the Wei Jin Nanbeichao period two different structures are available to express these notions: 1, the same aspecto-temporal adverbs as in Classical and Han period Chinese, and 2, the newly developed construction $V_1 + (NP_{obj}) V_2$ which exhibits the same functions. In the early stages of the development of this structure, different verbs of which only *liǎo* 了 survives are available for the position of V_2 which all have the common meaning ‘to finish’. The different possible syntactic patterns to mark completion or the resultative in Wei Jin Nanbei chao Chinese are exemplified below.

Structure 1a: $V_1 (NP_{obj}) V_2$

V_2 can be represented by different verbs, the only relevant of which in the *Miàofǎ lǐzhūā jīng* is the verb *yǐ* 已.

(1) 佛見此已便作是念

T09, no.262, p.13a26

Fó jiàn cǐ yǐ biàn zuò shì niàn

Buddha see this finish then make this thought

‘... after the Buddha had seen this, he thought to himself ...’

Structure 1b: ADV $V_1 (NP_{obj}) V_2$

V_1 is additionally modified by the aspecto-temporal adverb *jì* 既, never by adverbial *yǐ* 已.

(2) 既得此已，心大歡喜，自以爲足，而便自謂：

T09, no.262, p.17b23

Jì dé cǐ yǐ, xīn dà huānxǐ, zì yǐwéi zú, ér biàn zì

Already get this YI, heart great be-happy, self consider sufficient, CON then self

wèi

say

‘After we got this, we were very happy in our hearts and considered it sufficient, and

then we said to ourselves:’

Structure 2: ADV V (NP_{obj})

The verb is only modified by one of the aspecto-temporal adverbs *jì* 既 or *yǐ* 已.

(3) 既到本國，與八萬四千菩薩圍繞至淨華宿王智佛所，白佛言：

T09, no.262, p.56b22

Jì dào běn guó, yǔ bā wàn sì qiān púsà,

Already arrive origin country, with eight ten-thousand four thousand bodhisattva,

wéirǎo zhì jìng huāsù wǎng zhì fó suǒ, bái fó

encircle arrive Pure Flower Constellation King Wisdom Buddha place, talk Buddha

yǎn

¹⁰ Additionally, some of the sentence-final particles have traditionally been assumed to display aspectual functions, in particular the sentence-final particle *yǐ* 矣 (Pulleyblank 1994, 1995), but they are not part of the verb phrase.

say

'After he had arrived in his original country, he went, encircled by 84.000 bodhisattvas, to the place of the Buddha Pure Flower Constellation King Wisdom, and said to the Buddha:'

(4) 父知子心，漸已廣大，欲與財物。

T09, no.262, p.18b2

Fù zhī zǐ xīn, jiàn yǐ guǎng dà, yù yǔ cǐ wù

Father know son heart, gradually already wide great, wish give properties

'The father knew that his son's heart had already gradually become wider and bigger and he wished to give him his properties.'

3.1.1 The structure V_1 NP_{obj} V_2 in the *Miàofǎ ližnhuā jīng*

As the source structure of the aspectual suffix *-le* 了 in Modern Mandarin, the structure V_1 NP_{obj} V_2 has been comprehensively and controversially discussed in the linguistic literature.¹¹ It has been assumed that the sentence final position of the second verb (V_2) is due to the fact that in the Chinese Buddhist texts it often serves to translate a sentence-final gerundial verb in Sanskrit (Cheung 1977: 66), but Mei (1981: 70) already provided convincing evidence against this hypothesis based on the general syntactic constraints of Chinese.¹² In the Medieval Buddhist literature, different synonymous verbs can fill the slot of V_2 . These are the verbs: *yǐ* 已 'finish, stop, complete', *jìng* 竟 'finish, complete', *qì* 訖 'finish, cease', *bì* 畢 'finish', and *liǎo* 了 'finish, complete' all expressing different notions of 'finish, complete'.¹³ Of all these variants *yǐ* 已 is the only relevant V_2 in the *Miàofǎ ližnhuā jīng*, although some of the other variants are occasionally attested in this position in other contemporary Buddhist texts.¹⁴ *Yǐ* 已 appears as both the aspecto-temporal adverb 'already' and the V_2 in the construction V_1 NP_{obj} V_2 . However, as already mentioned, contrastively to the aspecto-temporal adverb *jì* 既, *yǐ* 已 is not attested as an adverb in structure 1b.¹⁵ As a V_2 , *yǐ* 已 can combine with verbs of different situation types (Aktionsart), but the predicate it attaches to is predominantly telic or bounded, i.e. it expresses either an accomplishment or an achievement. The V_2 *yǐ* 已 serves to express that the final change of state point of the situation has been obtained and that the situation is completed or terminated. Frequently it attaches to predicates consisting of an activity verb (which is atelic and unbounded), such as *shuō* 說 'say, recite', or *zuò* 作 'make', with a definite / quantified NP as its inner argument which presents a boundary to the situation and changes the situation type of the entire predicate from atelic to telic,

¹¹ It has for instance been studied by Cheung 1977; Zhao 1979; Mei 1981, 1999; Jiang 2001, 2007, Karashima 2007, Meisterernst 2011a among many others.

¹² This argument has been pursued and supported by studies in particular by Jiang (2001, 2007) and by Meisterernst (2011a).

¹³ The functions of these five verbs have been analysed in Jiang (2001). In Mei (1981: 68) different glosses provided in the early lexicographical literature are presented.

¹⁴ However, all of these verbs can appear as independent predicates. In the *Miàofǎ ližnhuā jīng*, *liǎo* 了 is attested several times in verbal compounds such as *míngliǎo* 明了 'understand', but it is never attested as V_2 in the construction V_1 NP V_2 .

¹⁵ Additionally the character *yǐ* 已 writes a variant of the preposition and connector *yǐ* 以 and, if only rarely, the final particle *yǐ* 已.

i.e. to an accomplishment.¹⁶ The following verbs are attested in the structure V_1 NP_{obj} V_2 in the texts at issue:

1. V_2 已

Situation type	<i>Miàofǎ liǐzhūā jǐng</i>
Telic	放；授；令；(知) ¹⁷ ；滅度；過；盡；見；聞；死；得；拾；具足；破；到；受；起；責；(聽)；持；出；滿；解；饒益；白；畢；散；
Atelic	說；供養；行；知；思維；作；尊；具足；讚；誦；白；讚歎

As the table shows, the predominant number of verbs consists of telic achievement verbs; some of the verbs appear in both categories. However, the following examples will reveal that the predicates built with verbs of the second category as V_1 , i.e. the atelic verbs, also frequently obtain a telic reading in the structure V_1 NP_{obj} V_2 , since their object-NPs are predominantly definite, which shifts the situation type of the entire predicate from activity to accomplishment as in example (5) with the verb *shuō* 說 ‘tell, preach’ which is followed by an object NP explicitly marked as definite by the demonstrative pronoun *shì* 是.

(5) 諸比丘尼說是偈已，白佛言：「世尊！ T09, no.262, p.36b7

Zhū bīqiūnī shuō shì jì yǐ, bǐ fó yǔn: Shì zūn

All bhiksunī say this gāthā YI, tell Buddha say: World Honoured

‘After all the bhiksunīs had recited this gāthā, they said to the Buddha: “World Honoured One!”’

Example (6) with verb *zuò* 作 ‘make’ which is also atelic when isolated, is of the same structure as example (5), again the object-NP is marked as definite by a demonstrative determiner. This verb also belongs to the prototypical verbs to which 已 can be attached. The clause with 已 refers to a telic situation which has come to its natural final point, namely the final point of one particular and quantifiable situation expressed by the predicate. After the final point has been reached, a change of situation takes place.

(6) 作是念已，疾走而去。 T09, no. 262, p.16c21

Zuò shì niàn yǐ, jí zǒu ér qù

Make this thought YI, quick run CON leave

‘After he thought that, he left quickly.’

In contrast to the preceding examples in which the verb in isolation is atelic and only becomes telic in combination with its internal argument, the definite object-NP, the

¹⁶ According to Jiang (2001: 76) the employment in combination with continuous verbs such as *shuō* 說 or *zuò* 作 (持續動詞) can be considered as the original function of 已 as V_2 for which a few examples are already attested in Han period Chinese and the second function which expresses completion (with achievement verbs) has been derived from this function. See also Mei (1999). For a further discussion of this topic see Jiang 2007, Meisterernst 2011a).

¹⁷ The brackets indicate that these verbs can have both a telic and an atelic reading. Situation type in general is compositional, i.e., it is determined by the verb and its arguments and adjuncts, in particular by the semantics of the inner argument of the verb.

verbs in the following examples are genuine telic, i.e. achievement verbs. The verb *dé* 得 ‘get, obtain’ in example (7) represents a prototypical achievement verb. Identical to the preceding examples, the inner argument consists of a definite NP, but with an already telic verb no change of situation type is involved.

(7) 得是六根清淨已，更增壽命二百萬億那由他歲， T09, no.262, p.51a6
Dé shì liù gēn qīngjìng yǐ, gèng zēng shòu mìng èr
 Get this six sense organ purify YI, otherwise accumulate longevity mandate two
bǎi wàn yì nǚyóutā suì,
 hundred ten-thousand hundred thousand nayuta (million) year, ...
 ‘After he had obtained the purification of the six sense organs, he once more accumulated his longevity to two hundred ten thousand million nayutas of years..’

In example (8) *yǐ* 已 is attached to a VP composed of the verb of perception *wén* 聞 ‘hear about’ which also usually expresses an achievement and a definite object-NP. The *yǐ* 已 -clause refers to a completed situation, a resultant state in the future, which demonstrates that the construction is not confined to past contexts.

(8) 願爲解說，除我等疑，及未來世諸善男子聞此事已，亦不生疑。 J
 T09, no.262, p.41c27
Yuàn wèi jiě shuō, chú wǒ děng yí, jí wèilǐ shì zhū shàn
 With therefore explain say, remove I PL doubt, when future generation all good
nǚnzǐ wén cǐ shì yǐ, yì bù shēng yí
 male hear this affair YI, also NEG grow doubt
 ‘We request you therefore to explain in order to remove our doubts, so that all good men in future generations who will have heard about this affair, will also not develop doubts.’

Besides transitive VPs as in the examples presented above, *yǐ* 已 can also attach to intransitive VPs as a V_2 , which are passive (or maybe middle) constructions (with a patient subject),¹⁸ or intransitive constructions with an agentive subject. In example (9) the verb *gòngyǎng* 供養 ‘make offerings’ is attested in an intransitive construction, the inner argument is present in subject position, which is not obligatory. The subject in (9) is not marked for definiteness, but it can be assumed to be quantifiable; the situation type of the predicate is telic, but in a passive construction which always represents a situation as completed, rather the resultant state is focussed on; the situation reaches its natural final point when all the flowers available for the occasion have been used up.

¹⁸ In the linguistic literature this constructions can also be referred to as ergative or unaccusative, in contrast to unergative constructions which have an agentive subject.

(9) 華供養已，各以宮殿奉上彼佛，而作是言： T09, no.0262, p.23b6
Huā gòngyǎng yǐ, gè yǐ gōng diàn fèng shàng bǐ fó, ér zuò
 Flower offer YI, each with palace palace present above that Buddha, and make
shì yǔn
 this word

'After the flowers had been offered, they each presented their palace to the Buddha and made this speech:'

In the following examples the V_1 is additionally marked by the aspecto-temporal adverb *jì* 既 'already'; these examples belong to the structure 1b which is generally confined to achievement verbs.¹⁹ The verbs appearing in this structure are *dé* 得 'get, obtain', *zhī* 知 'recognise', evidently in its achievement reading, and the verb *wén* 聞 'hear' in its achievement reading. Already in Classical and Han period Chinese the aspecto-temporal adverb *jì* 既 by default modifies telic, achievement verbs, and state verbs, focussing either on the final or - with state verbs - the initial point of change. As the following discussion will show, in the texts under investigation, in a manner characteristic for each text, *jì* 既 predominantly or exclusively selects achievement verbs. Semantically this structure seems to be redundant, since both *yǐ* 已 as V_2 and adverbial *jì* 既 basically serve the same purpose, i.e. to indicate that the first of two situations has been completed before the next one starts.

(10) 既得此已，心大歡喜，自以爲足，而便自謂： T09, no.262, p.17b23
Jì dé cǐ yǐ, xīn dà huānxǐ, zì yǐwéi zú, ér biàn zì
 Already get this YI, heart great be-happy, self consider sufficient, CON then self
wèi
 say

'After we got this, we were very happy in our hearts and considered it sufficient, and then we said to ourselves:'

As this example demonstrates, occasionally both structures 1a and 2 are merged which leads to the assumption that the functions of preverbal *jì* 既 and *yǐ* 已 and of verbal *yǐ* 已 as V_2 in the structure V_1 (NP_{obj}) V_2 (and the other predecessors of *liǎo* 了 attested in this position) cannot be regarded as completely identical. Nevertheless, in the linguistic literature, predicates modified by preverbal *jì* 既 and *yǐ* 已 are, despite their syntactic differences, regarded as functionally comparable to those marked by the verbal suffix *-le* 了 indicating the perfective aspect in Modern Mandarin. This comparison is based mainly on the similar etymological sources of *jì* 既, *yǐ* 已, and *-le* 了 and on the semantic similarities of the predicates modified by one of the Classical morphemes *jì* 既 and *yǐ* 已 and by Modern *-le* 了 respectively.²⁰

¹⁹ This structure, which retains Classical characteristics is only very rarely attested in other early Buddhist texts. Only one instance of the structure 1b is attested in the *Fǎxiǎn* and it is not at all attested in the *Zhèngfǎ huā jīng* where the aspecto-temporal adverb *jì* 既 is in general quite infrequent. In the *Zǐ āhūn jīng*, only three identical instances of structure 1b occur.

²⁰ See Pulleyblank (1995:112): "In Modern Mandarin the verbal suffix *-le* is used to indicate perfectivity, that is, that an event is looked upon as complete or a bounded whole. In the Classical language an equivalent role is played by the preverbal particles *jì* 既 and *yǐ* 已. Modern *-le* is derived from the verb *liǎo* 了 'to finish, dispose of' and classical perfective adverbs have a similar etymology."

3.1.2 Adverbial modification by the aspecto-temporal adverbs *jì* 既 and *yǐ* 已

In Classical and Han period Chinese the aspecto-temporal adverbs *jì* 既 and *yǐ* 已 are the only lexical means to indicate the perfective, the resultative, and the completive aspect explicitly.²¹ They usually select a telic predicate, mainly with an achievement verb, always focusing on the final change of state point and the initial point of the resultant state. According to their capacity to focus on the initial point of a resultant state, they can, in analogy, also focus on the initial point of a genuine state as long as the state is changeable and very occasionally they can also select an activity, always viewing the situation in its entirety from an external, i.e. perfective perspective. In the *Miàofǎ ližnhuā jīng* both aspecto-temporal adverbs are attested mainly with telic, but - as in Classical and Han period Chinese - also with atelic verbs.²² In general, the adverb *jì* 既 seems to be more confined in its employment with regard to the situation type of the verb than the adverb *yǐ* 已. Additionally, and in contrast to *yǐ* 已, *jì* 既 predominantly appears in subordinate clauses, identical to *yǐ* 已 as *V*₂, whereas *yǐ* 已 as an aspecto-temporal adverb frequently marks the resultative in matrix clauses. The following verbs are attested with the aspecto-temporal adverbs *jì* 既 and *yǐ* 已.

a) The aspecto-temporal adverb *jì* 既

Situation type	<i>Miàofǎ ližnhuā jīng</i>
Telic	飽; 得; 疲; 益; 聞; 出; (知); 入; 起; 滿; 信伏; 滅度; 見; 到; 遇
Atelic	遠; 讚歎; 久; 幼稚; 長大; 知; 玄

b) The aspecto-temporal adverb *yǐ* 已

Situation type	<i>Miàofǎ ližnhuā jīng</i>
Telic	盡; 得; 具足; 知見; 從; 教化; 出; 滿足; 成; 除; (知); 失; 燒, 救; 離; 見; 通; 集; 度; 聞; 成就; 辦; 斷; 起; 說; 有; 信解受持; 畢; 授; 至; 死; 趣; 施; 滅度; 報; 信解
Atelic	供養; 具足; 知; 慇懃; 朽邁; 廣大; 二十年 (NP); 辦; 說; 有; 如; 能破; 作

The following two examples represent typical achievement verbs modified by adverbial *jì* 既. Examples like these do not differ from the examples in Classical and Han period texts.

(11=3) 既到本國，與八萬四千菩薩圍繞至淨華宿王智佛所，白佛言：

T09, no.262, p.56b22

²¹ The particular aspectual function of the sentence final particle *yǐ* 矣 will be left out from this discussion.

²² Contrastively, in the contemporary genuine Chinese text, the *Gāosēng Fǎxiàn zhuān*, *jì* 既 and *yǐ* 已 are confined to telic verbs which can be due to the fact that the text is much shorter than the *Miàofǎ ližnhuā jīng*, but also to the fact that it is less conservative than the latter.

Jì dào běn guó, yǐ bā wàn sì qiān púsà,
 Already arrive origin country, with eight ten-thousand four thousand bodhisattva,
wéirǎo zhì jìngluāsù wǎng zhì fó suǒ, bō fó
 encircle arrive Pure Flower Constellation King Wisdom Buddha place, talk Buddha
yǔn
 say

'After he had arrived in his original country, he went, encircled by 84.000 bodhisattvas, to the place of the Buddha Pure Flower Constellation King Wisdom, and said to the Buddha.'

(12) 既得阿羅漢道，自謂滅度， T09, n.262, p.29a18

Jì dé āluóhàn dào, zì wèi mièdù,
 Already get arhat way, self mean extinction,

'When we obtained the way of an Arhat we thought we had gained extinction.'

Both adverbs *jì* 既 and *yǐ* 已 can be combined and modify a verb in a subordinate clause as in example (13), but also in matrix clauses.²³ In this combination the completion of the first situation is emphasized more explicitly than in the examples with *jì* 既 alone. The verbs attested in this combination are all telic achievement verbs, i.e. verbs to which *yǐ* 已 as a V_2 can also attach.

(13) 時二使人即求窮子，既已得之，具陳上事。 T09, no.262, p.17a12

Shí èr shǐ rén jí qiú qióng zǐ, jì yǐ dé zhī, jū
 Time two envoy man then search poor son, already already get OBJ, together
chén shàng shì
 explain above affair

'At the time the two envoys were looking for the impoverished son, and when they found him, they together explained the above [mentioned] affair [to him].'

In the following examples, the adverb *yǐ* 已 on its own modifies the verb indicating completion or the resultative. In contrast to the adverb *jì* 既 which in the analysed texts is confined to the subordinate clause,²⁴ the adverb *yǐ* 已 predominantly modifies the verb of a matrix clause or of a clausal object following verbs of meaning and saying such as *wèi* 謂 'mean' or *yǔn* 言 'say'. In example (14) the adverb modifies the typical achievement verb *dé* 得 'get, obtain' in a matrix predicate.

(14) 今法王大寶自然而至，如佛子所應得者皆已得之。 T09, no.262, p.17c9

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

'Now the values of the Dharma king all arrive quite naturally, it is similar to [the fact] that everything the Buddha's sons ought to get, they have already got [it].'

²³ In *Zhānzhēn jīng* two instances of the combination *jì yǐ* 既已 in a matrix clause are attested (T02, no.99, p-164b12 and T02, no.99, p.167c07).

²⁴ See also Gurevič (1974: 95).

In example (15) the verb *zhī* 知 ‘(get to) know, recognise’ in a matrix clause is marked by *yǐ* 已. Although the verb *zhī* 知 can also refer to an achievement ‘realize, learn (to know)’, in this example the verb is evidently stative, referring to the resultant state of knowing. The employment of *yǐ* 已 in combination with this verb in its state reading is well attested in the Han period literature.

(15) 於無量億劫，行此諸道已，道場得成果，我已悉知見，如是大果報
 T09, no.262, 5c22
Yú wú liàng yì jié, xíng cǐ zhū dào yǐ, dào chǎng dé chéng guǒ, wǒ yǐ xī zhī jiàn, rú shì dà guǒ bào
 At not-have measure hundred thousand kalpa, got this all way YI, Buddhist rites
dé chéng guǒ, wǒ yǐ xī zhī jiàn, rú shì dà guǒ bào
 get achievement, I already completely know see, be.like this great retribution
 ‘In the immeasurable hundred thousands of kalpas, after he had conducted all these ways, he had achieved his goal at the place of enlightenment; I have already completely known and seen those great retributions.’

In example (16) the disyllabic verb *fèngshì* 奉侍 ‘serve’ which by default has an atelic reading is modified by *yǐ* 已, the situation is viewed from an external, i.e. perfective viewpoint as completed.²⁵

(16) 前已奉侍億百千佛，從億百千佛發意立願，
 T09, no.263, p.100b23
Qiǎn yǐ fèngshì yì bǎi qiān fó,
 Former already serve hundred-thousand hundred thousand Buddha,
cóng yì bǎi qiān fó fāyì lì yuàn
 follow hundred-thousand hundred thousand Buddha have.intention establish wish
 ‘Formerly, they already served the millions of Buddhas, and according to the millions of Buddhas they have made their intentions and vows ...’

The presented examples demonstrate that in the early Buddhist literature the structures representing the resultative, completive and perfective show on the one hand an important innovation with the structure V_1 (NO_{obj}) V_2 , but on the other hand - with regard to the employment of the aspecto-temporal adverbs *jì* 既 and *yǐ* 已 - they are most conservative.²⁶ However, with the appearance of the structure V_1 (NO_{obj}) V_2 there is an obvious tendency for the aspecto-temporal adverb *jì* 既 to be replaced by the new structure, and for the adverb *yǐ* 已 to appear in a matrix clause for which the new structure is not available.²⁷

3.2 Adverbial modification by aspecto-temporal adverbs indicating past tense

²⁵ Since the verb *fèngshì* 奉侍 ‘serve’ is attested with a postverbal duration phrase expressing situational duration in T09, no. 263, p.105b09, its default reading is evidently atelic; with a telic achievement verb the duration phrase can only express resultant state duration.

²⁶ However, it has to be conceded that contrastively to Classical and Han period Chinese sentence with one of the adverbs *jì* 既 and *yǐ* 已 are usually not concluded by the final particle *yǐ* 矣 anymore (there is one instance in the *Zhèngfǎ huā jīng*). In general, this final particle is only attested very infrequently in the texts at issue.

²⁷ According to Gurevič (1974: 95) *yǐ* 已 can occur in both independent sentences and subordinate clauses. However, in most of the examples presented it appears in a matrix clause.

a) The Classical adverb *chǔng* 嘗:

In Classical and Han period Chinese the adverb *chǔng* 嘗 is usually employed to indicate the singular occurrence of a situation located in the past which can be either atelic or telic. This adverb belongs syntactically to the same category as the adverbs *jì* 既 and *yǐ* 已, but it is less confined with regard to the situation type of the selected verb; i.e. verbs of all situation types can be modified by *chǔng* 嘗. Its basic function is evidently to express temporal relations. The temporal analysis can be supported by the fact that sentences with *chǔng* 嘗 can be additionally marked by temporal adverbials explicitly locating the situation on the time axis. The adverb *chǔng* 嘗 quite early became homophonous with the adverb *cháng* 常 expressing habituality and possibly the two have occasionally been employed interchangeably,²⁸ but as has been shown in a study on these adverbs (Meisterernst ms.) the two different readings depend on the semantics of the verb and other syntactic evidence. Even if a habitual reading can be assumed for the predicate, *chǔng* 嘗 always locates the habitual situation in the past.

In the early Buddhist literature *chǔng* 嘗 is obviously already obsolete; it only appears very occasionally in combination with the aspectual negative marker *wèi* 未;²⁹ in this combination it is also most frequently attested in the Classical and Han period literature, but only very few instances occur in the *Miàofǎ lìzhūā jīng* and other Buddhist texts from the same period.

(17) 又見佛子，未嘗睡眠，經行林中，懇求佛道。 T09, no.262, p.3b1
You jiàn fó zǐ, wèi chǔng shuìmián, jīng xíng lín zhōng, qín
Again see Buddha son, NEG_{asp} CHANG sleep, pass go forest middle, diligent
qiú fó dào
seek Buddha way

‘Again I see the sons of the Buddha who have never closed their eyes to sleep; they walked around (performed ca kamana) in the forests diligently seeking the Buddha way.’

Example (17) above represents the only instance of *chǔng* 嘗 in the *Miàofǎ lìzhūā jīng*.³⁰

In general, in the early Buddhist literature *chǔng* 嘗 is regularly replaced by the aspecto-temporal adverb *céng* 曾 which is attested either independently or in combination with the aspectual negative marker *wèi* 未.

b) The Han period adverb *céng* 曾:

The aspecto-temporal adverb *céng* 曾, which occasionally serves to gloss the adverb *chǔng* 嘗 discussed above, has to be distinguished from the adverb *zēng* 曾 ‘then, even, just’ which is frequently combined with a negative marker and which serves to

²⁸ Dobson (1959: 54), who operates with the category aspect in his analysis of the Chinese verb system, analyses *chǔng* 嘗 as an adverb indicating customary aspect: “The act is viewed as being one of habit rather than of a specific occurrence.”

²⁹ See also Gurevič (1974: 109). The particular semantics of this combination are discussed below.

³⁰ Another instance is attested in the *Zhèngfǎ huā jīng* T09, no.263, p.115c14. In the *Zǐ āhǔn jīng* the combination *wèi chǔng* 未嘗 is slightly more frequent.

emphasize the negative force of the predicate. The aspecto-temporal adverb *céng* 曾 corresponds to *céngjīng* 曾經 ‘once’ in Modern Mandarin, and to *chǎng* 嘗 in Classical and Han period Chinese to which it is synonymous (Pulleyblank 1995: 119); it refers to situations of different types in the past (*Gǔdài Hànyǔ xūcí cídiǎn* 2000: 47). It only becomes more frequently attested in the Han period literature - however, in the *Shǐjì* (ca. 100 BCE) it is still very rare - and it obviously replaces *chǎng* 嘗 in the early Buddhist literature. In its function as an aspecto-temporal adverb it indicates a singular situation located temporally in the past independently of the situation type of the verb selected.³¹ It is predominantly attested in subordinate temporal clauses which serve to provide background information, but it can also appear in a matrix clause. Identically to *chǎng* 嘗, *céng* 曾 also combines with the aspectual negative marker *wèi* 未.

The adverb *céng* 曾 is frequently attested in the *Miào fá lìzhǎn huā jīng*, in the predominant number of instances in combination with the negative marker *wèi* 未: *wèi céng* 未曾, but also on its own.³² Occasionally it appears in combination with the aspecto-temporal adverb *yǐ* 已 in the order *yǐ céng* 已曾. In the following section a few examples of the aspecto-temporal adverb *céng* 曾 and its respective combinations will be discussed. The first example represents the adverb *céng* 曾 on its own modifying a telic, i.e. achievement verb, referring to a situation in the past.

(18) 佛曾親近百千萬億無數諸佛，盡行諸佛無量道法， T09, no.262, p.5b28

Fó céng qīn jìn bǎi qiān wàn yì
Buddha CENG personally approach hundred thousand ten-thousand hundred-
wú shù zhū fó, jìn xíng zhū fó wú
thousand not.have number all Buddha, completely go all Buddha not.have
liàng dào fǎ
measure way dharma

‘The Buddha has in the past personally approached a hundred, a thousand, ten thousand, a million, a countless number of Buddhas and has completely carried out an immeasurable number of methods to obtain *nirvāṇa*.’

In example (19) and (20) two atelic verbs are modified by *céng* 曾, in example (19) it is the atelic verb *gòngyǎng* 供養 ‘make offerings’ and in (20) the existential state verb *wú* 無 ‘not have’.

(19) 若人有福，曾供養佛，志求勝法，為說緣覺。 T09, no.262, p.3a02

Ruò rén yǒu fú, céng gòngyǎng fó, zhì qiú shèngfǎ,
If man have good.fortune, CENG offer Buddha, intention seek superior.dharma,
wèi shuō yuǎnjúé
therefore talk *pratyekabuddha*

‘If a man has a good fortune and has once made offerings to the Buddha, and with all his will seeks the excellent stage of attainment, he preaches therefore the [way of the] *pratyekabuddha*.’

³¹ See Gurevič (1974: 105) who defines *céng* 曾 as indicating that an action or a fact takes place at some undefined moment in the past.

³² It is also attested in the the *Zhèngfǎ huā jīng*, and in the *Zǐ āhǎn jīng*, but not in the *Fǎxiǎn*.

(20) 常演說法，曾無他事。

T09, no.262, p.20a16

Chǎng yǎnshuō fǎ, céng wú tā shì
Constantly deliver.speech law, CENG not.have other affair

‘I constantly talked about the law, and never did I occupy myself with anything else.’

Example (21) shows an irregular word order with regard to the two adverbs: the modal adverb *yì* 亦 which is supposed to precede the aspecto-temporal adverb follows it.

(21) 我在十六數，曾亦爲汝說。

T09, no.262, p.26c25

Wǒ zài shí liù shù, céng yì wèi rǔ shuō

I be.at ten six number, CENG also for you tell

‘I myself was among the sixteen, and once I also preached for you.’

According to the general rule that aspecto-temporal adverbs follow modal adverbs in Han period Chinese the expected word order would be [modal | aspectual] *yì céng* 亦曾. This word order is attested in a manuscript version of this part of the text on the manuscript Ch 647 from the Turfan collection in Berlin which dates before 550 CE (Thilo 1985: 46), i.e. from the time when the *Miàofǎ lìzhūā jīng* had originally been composed. The word order *céng yì* 曾亦 in example (21) is unique in the early Buddhist literature, and accordingly it can be assumed that the word order variant in the manuscript represents the correct order. The regular word order is e.g. attested in the *Zhāhǎn jīng* and it is also attested with other modal adverbs such as *bì* 必.³³

In the following examples *céng* 曾 appears in combination with negative markers, i.e. predominantly with the aspectual negative marker *wèi* 未 in the combination *wèi céng* 未曾; this is the successor of the combination *wèi chǎng* 未嘗.³⁴ Similarly to the aspecto-temporal adverbs *jì* 既 and *yǐ* 已 discussed above, the aspectual negative marker *wèi* 未 ‘not yet’ chooses an event as its complement; it is attested in complimentary distribution with *jì* 既 and *yǐ* 已 and refers to the non-obtainment of a situation.³⁵ In combination with the aspecto-temporal adverbs *chǎng* 嘗 and *céng* 曾, the negative marker *wèi* 未 also selects mainly telic verbs as its complement, but it is not confined to them; i.e. although it is only infrequently attested with state verbs (adjectives), it is regularly attested with the existential verb *yǒu* 有 ‘there is, have’ expressing categorical denial in the past, present, and future. In the combination *wèi*

³³ The regular word order is attested in the following example from the *Zhāhǎn jīng* thus providing more evidence for the irregularity of the word order in the example (21) from the *Miàofǎ lìzhūā jīng*:

(i) 我長夜輪轉生死以來，亦曾更受如是之苦，其數無量， T02, no.99, p.241c16

Wǒ chǎng yè lúnzhuǎn shēngsǐ yǐ lǐ, yì céng gèng shòu rú shì

I long night turn.wheel born die CON come, also CENG further receive be.like this

zhī kǔ, qí shù wú liàng

SUB suffer, its number not.have measure

‘Since then for long nights I turned the wheel of life and death, I also once additionally received all kinds of bitterness of immeasurable numbers.’

³⁴ Very occasionally, *céng* 曾 is attested in combination with negative markers different from *wèi* 未 in the early Buddhist literature, i.e. with the negative marker *bù* 不 following *céng* 曾. The combination is not attested in the *Miàofǎ lìzhūā jīng* or the *Fǎxiǎn* and in the entire Āgama literature there appear merely four instances.

³⁵ *Jì* 既 and *yǐ* 已 refer to the obtainment of the respective situation.

céng 未曾 the semantics of the aspecto-temporal adverb *céng* 曾 adds to the semantics of the negative marker: the predicate refers either to a habitual or continuous situation in the past, which continues up to reference time, or it expresses a categorical denial of the situation referred to by the verb which is valid for all times. However, contrary to a predicate negated by *wèi* 未 alone, which by default denies the existence of an event but usually still anticipates the change of state point the verb refers to, this is not the case when *wèi* 未 co-occurs with the aspecto-temporal adverbs *chǔng* 嘗 or *céng* 曾. Examples such as the following are omnipresent in the early Buddhist literature.

(22) 是諸大眾，得未曾有，歡喜合掌，一心觀佛。 T09, no.262, p0002b16

Shì zhū dà zhòng, dé wèi céng yǒu, huānxǐ hé zhǎng, yī xīn guān

This all great mass, get NEG_{asp} CENG have, happy join palms, one heart look.at
fó

Buddha

'All these people got what they never had before, they were happy and joined their palms and looked at the Buddha with one mind.'

(23) 我自昔來，未曾從佛聞如是說； T09, no.262, p. 6b09

Wǒ zì xīlǎi, wèi céng cóng fó wén rú shì shuō

I since ancient.times, NEG_{asp} CENG from Buddha hear be.like this talk

'Since ancient times I have never heard such a speech from the Buddha.'

In the following examples the aspecto-temporal adverb *yǐ* 已 is combined with the aspecto-temporal adverb *céng* 曾. Like *yǐ* 已 alone, the combination *yǐ céng* 已曾 also predominantly modifies telic verbs; however, it differs from *yǐ* 已 insofar as its function is rather temporal than aspectual. Karashima (2001: 329) glosses it as 'formerly, in the past' which suggests a purely temporal interpretation. Most frequently the combination *yǐ céng* 已曾 modifies the verb *gòngyǎng* 供養 'offer' in the Buddhist literature as in the following example, but it is not confined to this verb.³⁶ *Yǐ céng* 已曾 is apparently the successor of the combination *yǐ chǔng* 已嘗 which is occasionally attested in Han period texts. It explicitly locates the completed situation at some point in the past, i.e. both adverbs retain their particular semantics in this combination. Identically to *yǐ* 已 alone, the combination of the two adverbs frequently appears in independent sentences or matrix clauses.³⁷

(24) 『是十六菩薩沙彌，甚為希有，諸根通利，智慧明了，已曾供養無量千萬億數諸佛。 T09, no.262, p.25a20

Shì shí liù púsà shā mí, shèn wéi xī yǒu, zhū gēn

This ten six bodhisattva, novice (rāmanera), very be rarely have, all sense

tōnglì, zhì huì míng liǎo, yǐ céng gòngyǎng wú

sharp-intelligence, wisdom knowledge bright clear, already once offer not-have

³⁶ In the Āgama-literature *yǐ céng* 已曾 is only infrequently attested and never with the verb *gòngyǎng* 供養.

³⁷ In the *Zhèngfǎ huā jīng* the combination appears in both orders *yǐ céng* 已曾 and *céng yǐ* 曾已. Of the texts at issue here, the *Zhèngfǎ huā jīng* is the only one in which the reverse order is attested, but according to the CBETA search engine (www.cbeta.org), it is also attested in other texts.

liàng qiān wàn yì shù zhū fó
 measure thousand ten-thousand hundred thousand many all Buddha
 ‘These sixteen bodhisattvas and novices are of a very rare kind, all their sense organs are very sharp and their wisdom is bright and clear, they already offered once to the immeasurable several thousands, ten-thousands, and hundred thousands of Buddhas.’

In example (25), two different predicates are modified by *yǐ céng* 已曾: the first consists of the two verbs *zhī* 知 ‘know’ and *jiàn* 見 ‘see’; both verbs can have a telic (achievement) and an atelic reading, but modified by *yǐ* 已, the telic reading has to be preferred. In the last clause, the atelic activity verb *zuò* 作 is modified by *yǐ céng* 已曾. As has been shown above in example (6), this verb attains a telic (accomplishment) reading when its inner argument (independently of whether it appears in subject or in object position) is definite (see Krifka 1998). This is not the case in example (25), but since the predicate is modified by *yǐ* 已 the situation is represented as completed from a perfective viewpoint.

(25) 我等已曾於此法如實知見，於六內入處觀察無我，我等已曾作如是意解：

T02, no.99, p.74a29

W děng yǐ céng yú cǐ fǎ rú shí zhī jiàn, yú liù nèirùchǔ guān
 I Pl YI CENG at this law be.like reality know see, at six internal.senses watch
chǔ wúwǒ, wǒ děng yǐ céng zuò rú shì yì jiě
 investigate no-self, I Pl YI CENG make be.like this thought explanation

‘When we once with this dharma learnt and recognised according to the facts and with the six internal senses investigated the selflessness, we achieved to make the following explanation:

c) The adverb *běn* 本

The adverb *běn* 本 is listed in Shadick (755ff.) as a PA, a predicate adjunct of quality with the meaning ‘originally, really’. It is classified together with a number of other adverbs which can be categorised as modal adverbs according to their position with regard to the verb phrase such as the above mentioned modal adverbs *bì* 必 ‘necessarily, certainly’, and *yì* 亦 ‘indeed, in fact’. In Dobson (1964: 68) it is listed as a late Han replacement of *shǐ* 始 ‘for the first time, first’ “in the aspectual position”.³⁸ The adverbial meaning ‘originally’ is clearly derived from the nominal meaning *běn* 本 ‘trunk, base, foundation’. The adverb *běn* 本 is already attested in the *Hǎn Fēi zǐ* and several times in the *Shǐjì*, but in these instances it is evidently not yet grammaticalized as an adverb indicating the past tense comparable to *céng* 曾.³⁹ In its

³⁸ As has been shown in Meisterernst (ms.) *shǐ* 始 evidently belongs to the aspectual adverbs in Han period Chinese which display a close relation with the verb they modify.

³⁹ Only one example in the *Shǐjì* shows an employment which might have served as a source for the development of *běn* 本 as marker of the past:

(i) 君本誅諸呂，迎代王，今又矜其功，受上賞，
Jūn běn zhū zhū Lyǔ, yíng Dài wǎng, jīn yòu jīn qí gōng, shòu shàng shǎng
 Prince originally punish PL Lyu, welcome Dai king, now again boast his success, receive superior reward

original meaning the adverb *běn* 本 still prevails in the Early Buddhist literature as in example (26). However, according to the examples in the *Zhèngfǎ huā jīng* (286 CE), the earlier translation of the Lotus Sutra, *běn* 本 obviously appears higher in the adverbial hierarchy and differs accordingly syntactically from the other aspecto-temporal adverbs discussed above. This can be evidenced by the fact that, when the adverb *běn* 本 is attested in combination with other aspecto-temporal adverbs, it always precedes them. Additionally, it also precedes the modal adverb *yì* 亦, which in its default position is followed by a genuine aspecto-temporal adverb, as has been shown above in example (21) and in note (29).⁴⁰ According to the syntactic constraints displayed in the *Zhèngfǎ huā jīng*, the adverb *běn* 本 in these examples cannot be included into the class of genuine aspecto-adverbs which are located lower in the hierarchy of adverbs; it rather has to be analysed as a sentential, probably a ‘subject-oriented’, adverb. Unfortunately, in general, combinations with other adverbs - in particular with *yì* 亦 or other modal adverbs - are quite rare in the literature. Accordingly, without any additional syntactic evidence, the exact position of the adverb *běn* 本 in its original function in these texts is difficult to determine, but according to its semantics it can be assumed that in the Pre-Buddhist literature it does not yet function as an aspecto-temporal adverb. However, as the examples demonstrate, there is an obvious extension of the functions of *běn* 本, and in the 5th century texts it can evidently also be employed in the same position as the other genuine aspecto-temporal adverbs thus functioning as a marker of the past tense. As with the other aspecto-temporal adverbs indicating the past tense, there does not seem to be any constraint on the situation type of the predicate modified by *běn* 本, it can be both atelic and telic.

The following example represents the adverb *běn* 本 in its original meaning. In example (26) the adverb precedes the relativizer *suǒ* 所 as most adverbs do; only very few adverbs including some of the aspecto-temporal adverbs, are licensed in the position following *suǒ* 所.

(26) 諸子各乘大車，得未曾有，非本所望。 T09, no.262, p.13a01

Zhū zǐ gè chéng dà chē, dé wèi céng yǒu, fēi běn suǒ wàng
All son each mount great carriage, get NEG_{asp} CENG have, is.not originally REL

look.for

‘Each of the sons mounted a large carriage and got what he never had before, and this was not what they originally had hoped for.’

In the following examples, no additional syntactic evidence argues for or against the analysis of *běn* 本 as an aspecto-temporal adverb, but semantically, the original

‘Once (originally) you punished the Lüs and invited the King of Dai, now you are boastful with your merits and receive the emperor’s rewards, ...’

⁴⁰ In the non-Buddhist literature, instances which exhibit the combination of the two adverbs *běn* 本 and *yì* 亦 are extremely rare. In the only instance in the *Sānguó zhì* the adverbs show the same word order as in the *Zhèngfǎ huā jīng*, no instances for the reverse order are attested in this text. In the Buddhist literature, according to the CBETA (www.cbeta.org) search engine, both orders are attested. In the *Zhōng āhǔn jīng* from the end of the 4th century, the reverse order *yì běn* 亦本 is attested which argues for an extension of the function of *běn* 本.

notion is not necessarily present anymore. In all instances the predicate evidently refers to a singular situation in the past. Both atelic (state and activity verbs) and event verbs (achievement and accomplishment verbs) can be selected by *běn* 本.

(27) 我本著邪見，爲諸梵志師， T09, no.262, p.11a10
Wǒ běn zhuó xié jiàn, wèi zhū fànzhì shī
 I formerly attack bad view, for PL brahmacārī teacher
 'I was formerly attached to bad views and was a teacher for the brahmacārī.'

(28) 其佛本坐道場，破魔軍已，垂得阿耨多羅三藐三菩提， T09, no.262, p.22b20
Qí fó běn zuò dào chǎng, pò mó jūn yǐ, chuí dé ānòuduō luó sānmiào sānpútí
 That Buddha once sit site.of.enlightenment, defeat devil troop FINISH,
 almost get anuttarā-samyak-sa bodhi
 'That Buddha once sat at the place of enlightenment, and after he had defeated the troops of evil and almost attained anuttarā-samyak-saṃbodhi, ...'

The temporal adverb *běn lái* 本來, which is according to Wu (1996) typical for the *Dūnhuǎng biànwén* literature - together with the adverb *yuanlai* 元來 - is not attested in the *Miàofǎ lìzhūā jīng*, although it is attested with a few examples in other Buddhist texts from the period.⁴¹

With regard to the aspecto-temporal adverbs indicating the past tense, a change in the lexicon can be observed. The Classical and Han period adverb *chǎng* 嘗 has become obsolete and has almost completely been replaced by the synonymous adverb *céng* 曾 which is also occasionally attested in the Han period literature. Additionally, the sentential (and modal) adverb *běn* 本 'originally, really' extends its functions and can be analysed as a marker of the past under the condition that it follows the syntactic constraints for aspecto-temporal adverbs, i.e. that it appears in the position following modal adverbs.

3.3 Adverbial modification by aspecto-temporal adverbs indicating present or simultaneity and future

a) The adverb *fāng* 方 expressing simultaneity in Buddhist texts

In Han period Chinese *fāng* 方 can express functions comparable to those of the marker of the continuous aspect *-zhe* 着 and the progressive (or durative) marker *zài* 在 in Modern Mandarin.⁴² But in contrast to the two markers of Modern Mandarin which show a different distribution according to the situation type of the verb they select, this is not the case for *fāng* 方 which is not confined in the selection of the

⁴¹ It is also not attested in the *Fǎxiǎn*, but there are a few instances of *běnlái* 本來 in the *Zhèngfǎ huā jīng* and a single instance in the *Zhī āhǔn jīng*. Other adverbs which indicate past tense in the *Dūnhuǎng biànwén*, i.e. the adverbs *zǎogē* 早箇, *zǎoyǐ* 早已, and *zǎoshì* 早是, are not attested in the *Miàofǎ lìzhūā jīng* and the other texts mentioned above, although there are a few examples for adverbial *zǎo* 早 - always in the meaning 'early'.

⁴² It has to be distinguished from the preposition *fāng* 方 which regularly introduces temporal adverbials in Han period Chinese, but does not seem to be attested in the *Miàofǎ lìzhūā jīng*.

situation type of the verb it modifies. However, different parts in the temporal structure of the situation are focused on according to the situation type of the verb modified by *fāng* 方: with durative verbs (activities and states (and accomplishments)) *fāng* 方 focuses the durative part of the situation and with non-durative verbs, i.e. with achievement verbs, *fāng* 方 occasionally focuses a point imminent to the change of state point, but predominantly it emphasizes a point immediately following the change of state point, i.e. the beginning of a resultant state (Meisterernst ms.). One typical example with an activity verb may serve to elucidate the Han period function of *fāng* 方 to focus the ongoing process part of the situation, aspectually comparable to the English progressive form.

(29) 漢王方食，曰：「子房前！
Hàn wáng fāng shí, yuē zǐ Fāng qián
 Han wang just eat, say zi Fang before
 'The king of Han was eating just then and said: "Come in."'

Contrastively to atelic verbs, in most of the examples with telic, i.e. achievement verbs *fāng* 方 rather refers to the point immediately following the change of state, i.e. it refers to the initial point of the state resulting from the preceding change of state as in the following example.

(30) 「天方開楚，未可伐也。
Tiān fāng kāi Chǔ, wèi kě fá yě
 Heaven FANG open Chu, NEG_{asp} can attack FIN
 'Since heaven has just opened for Chu, it cannot be attacked yet.'

In the early Buddhist literature at issue here the aspecto-temporal adverb *fāng* 方 is in general not very frequent and its function as a marker of the continuous or the progressive aspect is obviously obsolete, even if the temporal structure of the verb licenses a progressive reading. Contrastively, the function of *fāng* 方 to refer to the initial point of a resultant state is still productive, although not very frequently attested as in the following example (31). Identical to example (30) *fāng* 方 modifies an achievement verb referring to the beginning of the resultant state of the situation: 'just now, just then'. However, in contrast to example (30), *fāng* 方 modifies the predicate of the matrix clause whereas in the Han period literature it predominantly modifies the predicate of a subordinate clause. But identical to the Han period examples, *fāng* 方 in these instances usually expresses simultaneity.

(31) 而我等不知真是佛子。今我等方知世尊，
ér wǒ děng bù zhī zhēn shì fó zǐ. Jīn wǒ děng fāng zhī
 But I PL NEG know really be Buddha son. Now I PL FANG know
shìzūn
 world.honoured.one
 'But we did not know that we were really Buddha sons. Now we just have recognized the World Honoured One.'

⁴³ The adverb *fāng* 方 is attested in the same phrase, although in a different context in *Hànshū*: 40; 2029.

⁴⁴ The same instance is also attested in *Shuō Yuàn*: 12.

This is the only example of the kind in the *Miàofǎ ližnhuā jīng*. However, depending on the situation type of the verb, different other functions are attested with the aspecto-temporal adverb *fāng* 方 in the early Buddhist literature. Apparently confined to achievement verbs *fāng* 方 can appear in the matrix clause of a complex temporal sentence, meaning ‘only then’, “emphasising the need for S2 to happen before S1” (TLS, http://tls.uni-hd.de/home_en.lasso, accessed 03.05.2010). This function is evidently derived from the function represented by example (30) and is licensed by the change in the syntax of *fāng* 方 from predominantly subordinate to superordinate clauses represented by example (31).⁴⁵ Additionally *fāng* 方 is attested with accomplishment predicates in the early Buddhist literature (but not in the *Miàofǎ ližnhuā jīng*). But, in contrast to the Han period examples in which *fāng* 方 focuses the process part of the situation expressed by an activity or accomplishment predicate, in the instances attested in the Buddhist literature, it rather focuses on the situation in its entirety excluding its final points. The situation is usually located in the very recent past; it takes place almost simultaneously and is relevant to the main narrative string, and it is represented from an external perspective in a perfective viewpoint.⁴⁶

Occasionally *fāng* 方 is combined with *dāng* 當 which is briefly discussed below as a newly introduced marker of the future in the early Buddhist literature.⁴⁷ The combination of both indicates future tense and combines with both telic and atelic verbs. This combination is not attested in the *Miàofǎ ližnhuā jīng*.⁴⁸

b) The aspecto-temporal adverb *jiāng* 將 expressing future

Both adverbs expressing future in Classical and Han period Chinese *jiāng* 將 and *qiě* 且 are syntactically proper adverbs.⁴⁹ In Classical and Han period Chinese they serve to locate a situation to the right of the time conceived as the present time of the narrative on the time axis (or to the right of speech time) and accordingly they are deictic referring to a point of time in the distant, near, or the immediate future; additional modal values depend on the semantic interrelation of the subject and the verb. Predicates modified by *jiāng* 將 and *qiě* 且 serve to predict that an individual situation is expected to take place in the future real world, but they can also - in hypothetical contexts - refer to situations which are supposed to happen or not to happen under particular circumstances. Despite the fact that these adverbs are deictic, referring to a time in the future, they differ syntactically from purely deictic temporal adverbials referring to a point of time and evidently belong to the same category as the other aspecto-temporal adverbs discussed in this paper. Their hierarchical position is identical to that of the other aspecto-temporal adverbs, although they are sometimes labelled as modal adverbs which would usually place them in a higher

⁴⁵ In this function it is also attested in the *Zūtzng jí* (Anderl 2004: 554)

⁴⁶ In the TLS (http://tls.uni-hd.de/home_en.lasso, accessed 04.05.2010) this function is probably captured by the gloss ‘PRECED, padV, first, just’.

⁴⁷ In Karashima (1998:133) the combination *fāng dāng* is glossed ‘will, is going to’, i.e. as a marker of the future.

⁴⁸ It is also not attested in the *Fǎxiǎn*, but a few instances appear in the *Zhèngfǎ huā jīng* and in the Āgama-literature In the TLS (http://tls.uni-hd.de/home_en.lasso, accessed 04.05.2010) it is glossed as ‘will, going to V’, in the Buddhist literature.

⁴⁹ This has already been shown in Meisterernst (2004).

position in the hierarchy of adverbs.⁵⁰ In the *Miàofǎ lìzhnūā jīng*, evidently only one of the two Classical and Han period adverbs is employed on a regular basis to indicate the future tense: this is the adverb *jiāng* 將, although it is supposed to be the older of the two aspecto-temporal adverbs *jiāng* 將 and *qiě* 且.⁵¹ None of the markers expressing future in the *Dūnhuǒng biànwén* according to Wu (1996) are attested in the *Miàofǎ lìzhnūā jīng*; these are: *kàn* 看 and several combinations with *kàn* 看: *kànkàn* 看看, *kànjiāng* 看將, *kànjí* 看即 and *yǎnkàn* 眼看. In the following examples (32) and (33) the aspecto-temporal adverb *jiāng* 將 selects a telic, an achievement verb.

(32) 「若說是事，一切世間天、人、阿修羅皆當驚疑，增上慢比丘將墜於大坑。」

T09, no.262, p.6c16

Ruò shuō shì shì, yīqiè shìjiàn tiān, rén, Āxiūluo jiē dāng jīng yí,
If speak this affair, all world deva, man, Asura all will startle doubt,
zēng shàng màn bǐqiū jiāng zhuì yú dà kēng
increase above arrogant monk JIANG fall in great pit

‘If I speak of this affair, all the devas, human beings and Asuras of the world will all be startled and will doubt, and the most supercilious monks will fall in a great pit.’

(33) 「世尊，爾時長者有疾，自知將死不久。」

T09, no.262, p.17a29

Shìzūn, ěr shí zhǎng zhě yǒu jí, zì zhī jiāng sǐ bù
World-Honoured-One, that time elder NOM have illness, self know JIANG die NEG
jiǔ
long

‘World-Honoured-One, at that time the old man was sick and he knew for himself that he was going to die before long.’

c) The aspecto-temporal adverb *qiě* 且 expressing future

In contrast to the adverb *jiāng* 將 which in Classical and Han period Chinese is confined to its aspecto-temporal function, the adverb *qiě* 且 is additionally employed in modal contexts, i.e. generally in demands, in optative, hortative, or imperative meanings. In Han period Chinese the adverb *qiě* 且 may best be qualified as an aspecto-temporal adverb including also 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. 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; in this function it is employed synonymously with *jiāng* 將.⁵² The different (the modal and the aspecto-temporal) readings are closely connected with the situation type of the

⁵⁰ *Jiāng* 將 is also occasionally labelled as auxiliary verb, but some of its syntactic constraints argue against this analysis.

⁵¹ This contradicts Gurevič (1974: 163) who states that *jiāng* 將 in this function is only rarely attested in the texts of the 3rd to the 5th century and is replaced regularly by *dāng* 當 as a marker of the future.

⁵² 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.). The modal value as a hortative 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).

verb. In the following examples, *qiě* 且 expresses hortative or imperative meanings and accordingly it functions as a modal adverb which refers to situations that have not yet taken place in the real 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 *Miàofǎ ližnhuā jīng* and its still prevails in e.g. in the *Zǔtǎng jí* according to one example presented in Anderl (2004: 500). In its purely temporal function *qiě* 且 is apparently obsolete in the Buddhist literature: it is neither attested in the *Miàofǎ ližnhuā jīng*, nor in the *Fǎxiǎn*, or in the *Āgama* literature. Most examples are similar to example (34), i.e., they express a direct command or recommendation to an addressee who is the agent of the prospective situation expressed by the verb and can be represented by a second person pronoun (as in example (34)) or a lexical noun which functions as a term of address.

(34) 釋迦牟尼佛告智積曰：「善男子！且待須臾。」 T09, no.262, p.35a20
Shìjiāmóunífó gào Zhìjī yuē shàn nǚnzǐ, 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 ..."

d) The modal auxiliary verb *dāng* 當 as a future marker

In Classical texts the character *dāng* 當 mainly represents a full verb ‘match, correspond to’ and a preposition ‘at’, whereas in the Han period literature it increasingly occurs as a modal auxiliary verb ‘ought, should’ which is an extension of its meaning as a full verb. The basic meaning of *dāng* is glossed in the *Shuō wén jiě zì* as ‘*tǐzhǎn xiāng zhí* 田相值’ (cf. GDHYXCCD 2000: 87) ‘fields correspond to each other’. According to Dobson (1962: 280) it is first attested in the *Shāngshū*; and in this instance it is labelled by him as a “the positive injunctive form”, i.e. in his terminology as a ‘modal determiner’ (see also Li 2004: 219). As an auxiliary verb *dāng* 當 expresses root obligation, i.e. root necessity, a necessity according to laws, conventions, agreements etc.⁵³ It frequently selects agentive verbs which fits well the constraints proposed by Coates’ (1983: 66) for the English modal SHOULD in its root meaning. This kind of modality is less strong than the deontic meaning of strict obligation; it usually rather implies a suggestion than a command.

The predominant function of *dāng* 當 in Han period Chinese to express root obligation (necessity) still prevails in pre-Medieval Chinese,⁵⁴ while a new function develops besides the strictly modal values; this is the marking of a situation which is supposed to happen in the future as in example (35) from the *Miàofǎ ližnhuā jīng*, i.e. a prediction.⁵⁵ In this example *dāng* 當 appears in the last of a succession of predicates

⁵³ According to Anderl (2004: 431) *dāng* 當 (in the *Zǔtǎng jí*) represents “obligation, necessity (expresses the speaker’s conviction that an event will take place in the future)”. In the *Gǔdài Hànyǔ xūcí cídiǎn* (2000) *dāng* 當 is classified as a modal adverb. See also Li (2004: 219) who assumes ‘deontic necessity’ as the earliest modal meaning of *dāng* 當. For a comprehensive discussion of the syntax and the semantics of the modal marker *dāng* 當 and its development into a future marker see Meisterernst (2011b).

⁵⁴ Gurevič (1974) lists two different modal values for *dāng* 當 in 3rd to 5th century Chinese: 1. to express ‘necessity’ and to express a ‘command’.

⁵⁵ According to Anderl (2004: 411) *dāng* 當 indicates that a situation “is bound” to happen, that “an action or state will certainly take place in the future”. According to Meisig (1987: 550) in Buddhist

referring to the past, the present and the future. Past and present are indicated by an aspecto-temporal and a temporal adverb respectively, whereas the future tense is marked by the auxiliary verb *dāng* 當.

(35) 『我所說經典無量千萬億，已說、今說、當說，而於其中， T09, no.262, p.31b17
Wǒ suǒ shuō jīng diǎn wú liàng qiān wàn yì,
 I REL tell classic scripture not-have measure thousand ten-thousand hundred
yǐ shuō, jīn shuō, dāng shuō, ér yú qí zhōng,
 thousand, already tell, now tell, DANG tell, CON at its middle,
 ‘Of all the immeasurable thousands, ten-thousands, hundred thousands sūtras I have
 recited, which I have already recited, recite now, and will recite, among all these, ...’

This new function apparently develops from the basic function of modal *dāng* 當 which is to indicate the strong or weak (subjective) root meaning of obligation (necessity), namely, that a situation has to be realised necessarily in the future world.⁵⁶ From this, a function to refer to future contexts in a more neutral way develops. According to Gurevič in texts from the 3rd to the 5th century this function of *dāng* 當 is more frequently attested than the modal function (Gurevič 1974: 119), and it is employed replacing the future marker *jiāng* 將 of Classical Chinese (ibidem: XXI, 110), but she concedes that it cannot be confined to this function, but displays a wider semantic range (1974: 110, 120).⁵⁷ In general, the future tense is closely related semantically to the category of modality, and, as pointed out in Bybee *et al.* (1994:263), modal markers of obligation belong to the lexical sources which have the capacity to develop into markers of the future.⁵⁸ In the following a few examples for *dāng* 當 referring to the future will be presented. In example (36) *dāng* 當 serves to predict that a situation will take place in the future. An additional temporal adverbial supports the temporal reading of *dāng* 當. Apparently, a future (prediction) reading is often induced when the subject is represented by a first person pronoun, but not confined to it as in example (36) and (37), whereas the modal reading 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.⁵⁹

(36) 『如來於今日中夜，當入無餘涅槃。』 T09, no.262, p.4b02
Rúlái yú jīn rì zhōng yè, dāng rù wúyú nièpǎn

Chinese *dāng* 當 expresses the imperative, the potentialis and the future “sollen, moegen, koennen”, the hortative and/or optative and possibly functions as a ‘Temporalpartikel’ (Meisig 1988: 215).

⁵⁶ Nevertheless occasionally epistemic meanings are also attested usually induced by a particular syntactic context (see Meisterernst 2011b).

⁵⁷ Gurevič (1974: 120) concludes her comprehensive analysis with the following three basic functions of *dāng* 當 in the Buddhist literature of the 3rd to the 5th century: 1) indicating future, including intention, in a personal clause / sentence; 2) indicating necessity in an impersonal clause / sentence; 3) indicating a command, the imperative in mainly personal, but occasionally also in impersonal clauses / sentences. However, she concludes that the situation is more complicated than this classification shows.

⁵⁸ See also Li (2004: 27) who assumes in a table modified from van der Auwera & Plungian (1998: 111) “postmodal meanings coming from either possibility or necessity” (one of these postmodal meanings is future).

⁵⁹ 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 (1974: 120).

Tathāgata PREP today day middle night, DANG enter not.have.rest nirvāna
'Today, in the middle of the night, the Tathāgata will enter remnantless nirvāna.'

In example (37) and (38) *dāng* 當 appears in the apodosis of a conditional sentence. Frequently modal or temporal markers referring to the future appear in this position, in (37) with a third and in (38) with a first person subject.

(37) 若說是事，一切世間諸天及人皆當驚疑。』 T09, no.262, p.6c8
Ruò shuō shì shì, yīqiè shìjiàn zhū tiān jí rén jiē dāng jīng yí
If talk this matter, whole world PL deva and man all DANG startle doubt
'If I talk about this matter, the entire world, all the devas and human beings will be astonished and doubtful.'

(38) 汝今善聽，當爲汝說。』 T09, no.262, p.7a14
Rǔ jīn shàn tīng, dāng wèi rǔ shuō
You now good listen, DANG for you talk
'If you now listen carefully, I will talk for you.'

In the following example (39) the agentive subject expresses its future intentions. The verb is telic.

(39) 汝等於此火宅、宜速出來，隨汝所欲，皆當與汝。』 T09, no.262, p.12c11
Rǔ děng yú cǐ huǒ zhè, yí sù chū lǐ, suí rǔ suǒ yù,
You PL PREP this fire house, appropriate quick go.out come, then you REL wish,
jiē dāng yǔ rǔ
all DANG give you
'You must quickly leave this burning house, and then, whatever you want, I will give it to you.'

e) The modal auxiliary verb *yù* 欲 as a future marker

Another modal verb which occasionally occurs as a future marker in the early Buddhist literature is the modal verb of volition *yù* 欲 'wish to, intend to' which - contrary to *dāng* 當 - is already regularly attested in its modal function in Classical Chinese.⁶⁰ This verb has been discussed shortly in Peyraube (2001) where he treats it as an auxiliary verb according to his definition of auxiliary verbs, i.e. if it is followed by a VP, taking the VP as its complement.⁶¹ In the *GDHYXCCD* (2000: 787) it is labelled as an auxiliary verb which originally functions as both a full verb with the meaning 'wish, desire', and an auxiliary verb with the meaning 'need, want', and which further grammaticalizes into a marker of the future '*jiāngyào* 將要'. It is the most frequently attested of all auxiliary verbs of volition (Peyraube 2001: 180), and it expresses the "intention, or the desire to accomplish an action, or a wish" (ibidem); in Classical (Late Archaic) Chinese it is predominantly employed in "affirmative

⁶⁰ See also Anderl (2004: 423f) who states that in the *Zūtzng jí* the modal function is predominant, although a few cases of *yù* 欲 in its derived function, "indicating imminent action or near future" are attested in this text, too.

⁶¹ Peyraube concedes that the status of volitives in the linguistic literature has been debated and that in many approaches they are labelled as full verbs (2001: 177).

declarative sentences” (Peyraube 2001: 281). According to Peyraube (2001: 180), the future meaning is not present yet in Classical Chinese, and only develops during the Six Dynasties period, i.e. the time at issue in this paper. This development agrees well with cross-linguistic observations according to which a close connection exists between expressions of desire and the marking of future. Many future markers have been derived from expressions of desire, as has already been stated in Lyons (1977: 815) and furthermore in Bybee *et al.* (1994:254) who claim that “A common agent-oriented pathway to future begins with desire.” However, in the *Miàofǎ lìzhūā jīng*, this new function of *yù* 欲 is rare, and it is apparently confined to predicates with a [-human] subject. Additionally these predicates frequently express a non-desirable situation.⁶²

(40) 是佛滅後，法欲盡時，有一菩薩，名常不輕。 T09, no.262, p.51b13
Shì fó miè hòu, fǎ yù jìn shí, yǒu yī púsà,
 This Buddha extinguish after, dharma YU exhaust time, there is one bodhisattva,
míng Chángbùqīng
 name Changbuqing
 ‘After this Buddha had entered extinction, and when the law was about to expire, there was a bodhisattva named Never Disparage.’

Occasionally, the volitional auxiliary verb is combined with the aspecto-temporal adverb *jiāng* 將 to indicate future.⁶³ However, in the following example from the *Miàofǎ lìzhūā jīng* the auxiliary verb *yù* 欲 appears in its modal meaning ‘want to, wish to’ selected by the aspecto-temporal adverb *jiāng* 將; the subject is evidently [+human] and in this instance an analysis of *yù* 欲 as a grammaticalized future marker can be excluded.

(41) 「爾時長者將欲誘引其子而設方便，密遣二人， T09, no.262, p.17a07
ěr shí zhǎngzhě jiāng yù yǒu yǐn qí zǐ ér shè
 That time elder NOM FUT want entice draw his son CON establish
fāngbiàn, mì qiǎn èr rén,
 expedient.means, secrete send two man
 ‘At that time, since the old man wanted to entice his son and draw him [near again], he employed an expedient means, and sent two men in secret, ...’

Of the two aspecto-temporal adverbs of Classical and Han period Chinese marking future *jiāng* 將 and *qiě* 且, the younger one, the adverb *qiě* 且 has become obsolete as

⁶² For modal auxiliary verbs in general comprehensive studies of their exact semantic and syntactic constraints and their diachronic development are still a desideratum, and many of the hypotheses stated here have to be confirmed by more detailed investigations.

⁶³ This is the case in the following example from the *Fǎxiǎn*:

(i) 日將欲中衆僧則出鉢。與白衣等種種供養。 T51, no.2085, p.858b28
Rì jiāng yù zhōng zhòng sēng zé chū bō, yù bāiyī děng
 Sun JIANG YU middle all monk then go.out bowl, participate layman PL
zhǒngzhǒng gòngyǎng
 all.kind offer.sacrifice
 ‘When the sun is coming up to midday all monks bring out the bowl and participate in the different kinds of offerings of the laymen.’

an aspecto-temporal adverb and has only prevailed as a modal adverb in the early Buddhist literature, whereas the older of the two adverbs, the adverb *jiāng* 將 is still productively employed. As an innovation, the two modal auxiliary verbs *dāng* 當, expressing obligation and necessity, and *yù* 欲, expressing volition, are - under particular syntactic constraints - starting to develop as markers of the future tense.⁶⁴ The adverb *fāng* 方 which among other functions expresses the continuous or progressive aspect in Han period Chinese when it selects activity or state verbs has become obsolete in this function in the early Buddhist literature even if the selected verb licenses a progressive or continuous reading. Apparently, it has not been replaced by another construction to express the same functions. It is still attested in combination with atelic and telic verbs, but changes in its syntax and its semantics can be observed.

4. Conclusion

The preceding discussion on the central temporal and aspectual markers in the *Miàofǎ lìzhǔhuā jīng* demonstrates that the language of Kumārajīva's translation of the Lotus Sutra is evidently strongly influenced by the Classical Chinese language. Additionally, a comparison with other contemporary Buddhist texts has shown that Kumārajīva's language is syntactically more conservative than e.g. the language of the genuine Chinese text *Gāosēng Fǎxiǎn zhuàn*.⁶⁵ On the basis of the preceding analysis and on comparative material from the same period it can be stated that except for the one innovation of the construction V_1 (NP) V_2 , and a few lexical innovations or reanalyses of existent function words, the temporal and aspectual system displays an evident continuation of the temporal and aspectual structures in Classical and Han period Chinese. No real paradigmatic change from this period can be detected in the language of the 5th century represented here by the *Miàofǎ lìzhǔhuā jīng* by Kumārajīva. Although not all of the predominant aspecto-temporal adverbs are still employed to the same degree or in exactly the same function, the system of aspecto-temporal adverbs as such does not exhibit any substantial changes, e.g. no changes in the basic word order of adverbs occur. Still it has to be conceded that the category of 'progressive', or 'simultaneity' regularly expressed by *fāng* 方 in the *Shǐjì* and in Modern Mandarin by the aspectual suffix *-zhe* 着 or the marker *zài* 在 does not seem to be marked explicitly even if the situation type of the verb licenses a progressive reading. Only the function *fāng* 方 had in combination with achievement verbs seems to have survived and extended to a certain extent to activity verbs.⁶⁶ Besides some lexical innovations, with regard to the aspecto-temporal adverbs, apparently modal auxiliary verbs start to be employed as markers of the future tense in addition to and occasionally in combination with the aspecto-temporal adverb *jiāng* 將 of the Classical Chinese language. In general the syntactic and semantic constraints of the closed class of aspecto-temporal adverbs did not change in early Medieval Chinese and provides some evidence for the conservatism of a basic system

⁶⁴ A comprehensive analysis of the exact syntactic and semantic constraints of the modal auxiliary verb *dāng* 當 and of its diachronic development has been presented in Meisterernst (2011b), an analysis of the modal verb *yù* 欲 is still a desideratum and has been postponed to separate studies.

⁶⁵ This corresponds well to the assumptions on the development of a *gǔdài bǐzhūà wén* presented by Zhu Qingzhi in this volume.

⁶⁶ A close study of the least 'Classical' text of the three texts at issue, the *Gāosēng Fǎxiǎn zhuàn* did not display any obvious alternative constructions on the level of V to express the progressive.

of the Chinese language, the adverbial system, in a period of linguistic changes. But since the *Miàofǎ lìzhūhuā jīng*, and a few other contemporary Buddhist texts analysed for comparison, only represent a small part of the literature at the time, no final conclusions can be drawn yet.⁶⁷

(80) Tables of the aspectual system in Early Medieval Chinese in comparison to Han period Chinese

Table 1: The aspecto-temporal system in Han period Chinese

Temporal and aspectual categories in Han period Chinese	Syntactic category: Adverb	Syntactic category: verbal construction	Syntactic category: auxiliary verb
completion, resultative, perfective	既, 已	-	-
past	嘗, 曾	-	-
progressive	方	-	-
simultaneity	方	-	-
future	將, 且	-	-

Table 2: The aspecto-temporal system in Early-Medieval Chinese

Temporal and aspectual categories in Early Medieval Chinese	Syntactic category: Adverb	Syntactic category: verbal construction	Syntactic category: auxiliary verb
completion, resultative, perfective	既, 已	V ₁ (NP _{Obj}) V ₂ (almost exclusively 已)	-
past	曾, 本	-	-
progressive	-	-	-
simultaneity	方	-	-
future	將	-	當, 欲 (only under particular syntactic conditions)

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⁶⁷ A more comprehensive analysis of the aspectual and temporal system at the time has been presented in a paper on “Verb classes and aspectual marking in early Buddhist Chinese texts” (Meisterernst 2009, ms).

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Online resources:

- Chinese Buddhist Electronic Text Association: <http://www.cbeta.org/>.
 Digital Dictionary of Buddhism: <http://www.buddhism-dict.net/ddb/>.

TLS Thesaurus Linguae Sericae: <http://tls.uni-hd.de/>.