Mechanisms of Contact-induced Linguistic Creations in Chinese Buddhist Translations*

WU JUAN

School of Humanities, Tsinghua University, 30 Shuangqing Road, Beijing, 100084, P.R. China
E-mail: juanwu@mail.tsinghua.edu.cn

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ABSTRACT

While it has long been noted that Chinese Buddhist translations contain many new lexical and syntactic elements that were created due to the contact between Indic and Chinese languages during the translation process, few attempts have been made to systematically explore the major mechanisms of such contact-induced creations. This paper examines six mechanisms of contact-induced lexical creations and three mechanisms of contact-induced syntactic creations in Chinese Buddhist translations. All of these mechanisms have parallels in non-Sinitic language contacts. The parallels demonstrate that Chinese Buddhist translations and non-Sinitic language contacts show striking similarities in the ways in which they brought about new lexical and syntactic elements.

KEYWORDS

While commenting on the role of translation in the shaping of Chinese civilization, China's preeminent Indologist, the late Professor Ji Xianlin 季羨林 (1911–2009), notes:

> 'If compared to a river, the river of Chinese civilization has had its ebbs and flows, but it has never dried up, because there was fresh water flowing into it. There were many times when fresh water flowed into this river. The two largest inflows came separately from India and the West. Both inflows owed their success to translation. The *elixir vitae* that enables Chinese civilization to maintain perennial youth is translation. Translation is enormously useful!'[1]

This paper deals with one of the two largest foreign inflows mentioned above by Professor Ji, namely the project of translating Indian Buddhist scriptures into Chinese, which lasted from the mid-2nd century CE up to the 11th–12th centuries CE. In this paper I do not explore Chinese Buddhist translations from a religious studies perspective, that is to say, not using them as sources for understanding the Buddhism of India or China. Rather, I would like to approach them from a linguistic perspective, in hopes of demonstrating their value in elucidating the impact translation can have on language. More precisely, I seek to answer two questions:

First, what are the major mechanisms of contact-induced creations that can be observed in Chinese Buddhist translations? Here contact-induced creations refer to new language elements that were created due to the contact of Indian and Chinese languages during the translation process. Identifying the major mechanisms of contact-induced creations in Chinese Buddhist translations is essential for our understanding of both temporary and lasting impacts that the translation of Indian Buddhist texts has made on the Chinese language.

Second, what are the similarities and differences between the mechanisms of contact-induced creations in Chinese Buddhist translations and the mechanisms found in non-Sinitic language contacts? This question may help us determine to what extent Chinese Buddhist translations can be regarded as unique, when compared with language contacts in other cultures.

With these questions in mind, I organise my discussion as follows: I will begin with some theoretical background concerning language contact through translation. After this, I will look into various mechanisms of contact-induced creations in Chinese Buddhist translations. I will focus first on the lexical level and then on the syntactic level. In presenting examples of contact-induced creations in Chinese Buddhist translations, I will correlate them with similar linguistic phenomena found in non-Sinitic language contacts. In the concluding section, I will summarize my results and consider what insights Chinese Buddhist translations can offer to the study of language contact through translation in general.

LANGUAGE CONTACT THROUGH TRANSLATION:
SOME THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

Before looking at examples of contact-induced creations in Chinese Buddhist translations, let me briefly introduce two concepts. The first is language contact through translation. Language contact, in its simplest definition, refers to a kind of situation in which an individual or a group of people use 'more than one language in the same place at the same time' (Thomason 2001: 1). Translation

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[1]   See Ji 1995: 3 (translation mine).

represents a particular kind of language contact. When a translator translates a text from a source language into a target language, by using his/her own bilingual skills, the translator brings source and target languages into contact. Such contact is called 'language contact through translation' (see, for instance, Kranich, Becher and Höder 2011). The second concept is contact-induced language change. What kind of language change can be classified as contact-induced? According to Sarah Thomason, a leading expert on language contact, 'any linguistic change that would have been less likely to occur outside a particular contact situation is due at least in part to language contact' (Thomason 2001: 62). Usually contact-induced language change appears as a result of transferring certain linguistic elements or features from one language into another. In the case of language contact through translation, as some linguists put it, no matter how good or how bad a translation is, there is always a 'shining-through' of source-language features in the translation text (Teich 2003: 145). Here I give two examples, both concerning religious translations in premodern Europe, to show how this linguistic transfer works in language contact through translation.

The first example concerns idiomatic borrowing. As is well known, among English translations of the Bible, the King James Version (alias King James Bible) has had the greatest influence on the English language. Because the King James Version used to be the daily reading of millions of people in the English-speaking world, through this version of the Bible many Hebrew and Greek idioms gained widespread currency and became part of everyday English conversation. Expressions such as 'know for a certainty', 'how are the mighty fallen', 'to everything there is a season', 'a thorn in the flesh', 'see through a glass, darkly', to mention but a few, all were imported from Hebrew or Greek into English through the King James Bible (see Crystal 2010: 263–291).

The second example is about syntactic borrowing. In the late Middle Ages (c. 14th–16th cent.), when Latin religious texts were translated into Old Swedish, some Latin syntactic elements were consequently also imported into Old Swedish. For instance, Medieval Latin has a polymorphemic causal conjunction *pro eo quod* ('because'), which has no parallel in Old Swedish. Latin-Swedish bilingual clerics, by translating each of the three Latin morphemes into Old Swedish based on semantic equivalence (i.e., using Old Swedish *for* ['for'], *by* ['ablative/dative form of the demonstrative'] and *at* ['complementizer'] to render Latin *pro*, *eo* and *quod,* respectively), created the new expression *for by at* ('because'), which eventually became the standard causal conjunction in Old Swedish (see Kranich, Becher and Höder 2011: 19–26).

These are examples of contact-induced changes in Western languages. So far as I am aware, modern linguists working on language contact have not paid due attention to Chinese Buddhist translations, which in fact constitute an extremely valuable and rich source for understanding how translation can influence language. In what follows I will provide some representative examples of contact-induced lexical and syntactic creations in Chinese Buddhist translations, particularly focusing on the underlying mechanisms they reflect.

MECHANISMS OF CONTACT-INDUCED LEXICAL CREATIONS IN CHINESE BUDDHIST TRANSLATIONS

The translation of Indian Buddhist scriptures into Chinese, which lasted for nearly ten centuries, is one of the most spectacular cross-cultural enterprises in human civilization. During this period, foreign missionaries from various regions including Western Central Asia, Eastern Central Asia, the Indian subcontinent and Southeast Asia came to China and dedicated themselves to this en-

terprise for the sake of spreading Buddhism. Most (though not all) foreign Buddhist missionaries did not have excellent command of the Chinese literary language and tended to work closely with local Chinese assistants, who had almost never fully mastered any Indic language. As a result, the vast majority of Chinese Buddhist translations were products of collaboration, in which both foreign monks and Chinese assistants made indispensable endeavours. Besides foreign missionaries, there were also Chinese monk-translators, among whom the most famous were Faxian 法顯 (c. 337–418), Xuanzang 玄奘 (600/602–664) and Yijing 義淨 (635–713).

Regarding the source languages of Chinese Buddhist translations (i.e., the languages of their Indic originals), scholars nowadays generally agree that many (though not all) Chinese Buddhist translations produced in the early centuries of the Common Era were translated from Indic texts composed not in Classical Sanskrit, but in various Prākrits (of which the best known is Gāndhārī) or in various mixtures of Prākrit and Sanskrit.[2] After the 6th–7th centuries CE, as the tendency of Sanskritization gradually became dominant in India, the Indic texts from which Chinese Buddhist translations were made were generally highly Sanskritized, only occasionally with traces of the underlying Prākrits.[3]

Regarding the target language, some scholars call the language of Chinese Buddhist translations 'Buddhist Scriptural Chinese' (Zürcher 2012 [1999]: 11) or 'Buddhist Chinese' (Zhu 2008). This is a peculiar type of Chinese literary language. It has two basic features. First, it contains numerous vernacular elements. These vernacularisms have been studied in detail by previous scholars (see for instance, Zürcher 1977, 1991, 1996; Karashima 1996a, 1996b, 1997). Second, it contains a huge amount of contact-induced new language elements. This second feature is the focus of the present paper. Let us now look at the major mechanisms of contact-induced creations in Chinese Buddhist translations. The examples given below are not meant to be exhaustive, but only to illustrate the major mechanisms. I will first discuss lexical creations and then syntactic creations.

1. Phonemic loan

In Chinese Buddhist translations, as in many other language-contact situations, the most noticeable type of lexical creation is a loanword, also called phonemic loan or transliteration. A loanword maintains either entirely or partially the phonetic form (i.e. the sound) of its foreign origin. Loanwords are extremely common in language contact. English has many religious and non-religious loanwords borrowed from Latin (Durkin 2014: 105–119, 254–263). In Chinese Buddhist texts, most loanwords are transliterations of Indian Buddhist terminology, and only a small number of loanwords belong to non-religious vocabulary. The table below lists some representative examples of loanwords in Chinese Buddhist translations. Among them, *fó* 佛, *mílè* 彌勒, *chán* 禪,

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[2] On Prākrit features of Indic originals of early Chinese Buddhist translations, see for instance, Karashima 1992: 262–275; 2006; 2007; 2013; Boucher 1998; Nattier 2008: 21–22.

[3] Both von Hinüber (1989: 350) and Salomon (2001: 248) have convincingly argued that the Sanskritization of Buddhist literature already took place during the 2nd–3rd centuries CE under the Kuṣāṇas. von Hinüber (1989: 354) further noted that the Sarvāstivādins and Dharmaguptakas 'seem to have followed the same pattern of development, which may have reached the final stage that is Sanskrit at about 500 AD'. Professor Seishi Karashima kindly informed me, 'the Mahāsāṃghika-Lokottaravādins used Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit which became closer and closer to Classical Sanskrit, if we look at the Sanskrit manuscripts of the *Mahāvastu* of various periods' (email communication, 1 February 2019).

tǎ 塔, *mó* 魔, *bǐqiū* 比丘, *jiāshā* 袈裟 and *shělì* 舍利 are all Buddhist terms, whereas *chànà* 剎那, *pōlí* 頗梨, *nàluó* 那羅, *nàtóu* 那頭, *màn* 鬘 and *mòlì* 末利 are all non-religious words. While most loanwords listed below have Prākrit or Sanskrit origins, some (for instance, *fó* 佛 and *mílè* 彌勒) have Central Asian origins. Despite such differences, all loanwords preserve, to a greater or lesser extent, the sounds of their foreign origins.

Table 1: Examples of Phonemic Loans in Chinese Buddhist Translations

Loanword	Reconstruction of Eastern Han Chinese (EHC)[4]	Reconstruction of Early Middle Chinese (EMC)[5]	Prākrit, Sanskrit or Central Asian Origin[6]
佛 ('buddha')	*bjət	*but	Central Asian *but[7]
彌勒 ('Maitreya')	*mjiei lək	*mjið/mji lək	Tocharian Metrak, Maitrāk, or Bactrian *Mētraga[8]
禪 ('meditation')	*dźjan	*dʑian	Pkt. jhāna / jhāṇa (corresponding to Skt. dhyāna, 'meditation')
塔 ('pagoda')	*thəp	*tʰap	Pkt. thupa / thuva (corresponding to Skt. stūpa, 'pagoda')
魔 (devil')	*ma	*ma	Skt. māra or Pkt. mara
比丘 ('monk')	*bjiəi khju	*pji' kʰuw	Pkt. bhikkhu / bhikhu (corresponding to Skt. bhikṣu, 'monk')
袈裟 ('monastic robe')	*kra sra	*kaɨ/kɛː ṣaɨ/ṣɛː	Skt. kaṣāya ('monastic robe')
舍利 ('bodily relics')	*śja- ljiəi-	*ɕia' liʰ	Skt. śārīra ('bodily relics')
剎那 ('instant')	*tshrat na	*tʂʰaɨt/tʂʰɛːt naʰ	Skt. kṣaṇa ('instant, moment')
頗梨 (var. 玻璃, 'glass')	*pha ljiəi	*pʰa li	Pkt. phalia (corresponding to Skt. sphaṭika, 'crystal')
那羅 ('dancer')	*na la	*naʰ la	Pkt. naḷa / nala (corresponding to Skt. naṭa, 'actor, dancer')
那頭 ('serpent')	*na dou	*naʰ dəw	Pkt. *nādo / *nā'o (corresponding to Skt. nāgo, 'serpent')[9]
鬘 (var. 蔓, 'garland')	*mja/mjwɛn	*maɨn/mɛːn	Skt. mālā ('garland')
末利 ('jasmine')	*mat ljiəi	*mat liʰ	Skt. mallikā ('jasmine')

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[4] Throughout this paper, the reconstructed pronunciations of Eastern Han (25–200 CE) Chinese are quoted from Coblin 1983.

[5] The reconstructed pronunciations of Early Middle Chinese are quoted from Pulleyblank 1991. The term 'Early Middle Chinese' used by Pulleyblank refers to the language underlying the rhyme dictionary *Qieyun* 切韻 (601 CE), which represents the standard language 'common to educated speakers from both north and south in the period of division that came to an end with the Sui reconquest of the south in 589' (ibid.: 2).

[6] In this paper I use Pkt. and Skt. to denote Prākrit and Sanskrit respectively. On the Prākrit origins of *bǐqiū* 比丘, *chán* 禪 and *tǎ* 塔, see Karashima 2010: 35, 57, 475; on the Prākrit origins of *nàluó* 那羅 and *bōli* 玻璃, see Karashima 2001: 187; 2014: 323.

[7] On the Central Asian (probably old Tocharian) origin *but* of *fó* 佛, see Bernhard 1970: 59; Ji 1992.

[8] See Bailey 1946: 780; Ji 1992: 29; 1998: 57–68; Karashima 2006: 356; 2010: 316.

[9] See Bailey 1946: 784; Karashima 1994: 17; 2006: 360–361.

2. Loan translation

Loan translation, also called calque, is basically a morpheme-for-morpheme translation. For instance, German *Wolkenkratzer*, French *gratteciel* and Spanish *rascacielos* are all loan translations of English *skyscraper* (Haugen 1950: 214); German *Heilige Geist* and English *Holy Spirit* are loan translations of Latin *Spiritus Sanctus* (Bynon 1977: 233). The difference between phonemic loans and loan translations is this: in the case of phonemic loan, what is imported from source language into target language is the sound and meaning of a word, whereas in the case of loan translation, what is imported is the lexical structure and meaning of a word. There are mainly three types of loan translation in Chinese Buddhist texts:

The first type comprises loan translations of Indic compounds or phrases. For instance, *shìjiè* 世界 is a word-for-word translation of the Sanskrit compound *lokadhātu* ('world system') or its Prākrit equivalents, with *shì* 世 and *jiè* 界 separately rendering *loka* ('world') and *dhātu* ('realm'). While both *shì* 世 and *jiè* 界 are indigenous Chinese elements, their combination is a contact-induced neologism. Likewise, *sì-shèngdì* 四聖諦 is a word-for-word translation of the compound *caturāryasatyāni* ('Four Noble Truths') or the synonymous phrase *catvāry āryasatyāni*, with *sì* 四, *shèng* 聖 and *dì* 諦 separately rendering *catur/catvāri* ('four'), *ārya* ('noble') and *satyāni* ('truths'). Similar instances include: *fǎlún* 法輪 (< Skt. *dharmacakra* ['Dharma-wheel'] or its Prākrit equivalents), *tiānyǎn* 天眼 (< Skt. *divyacakṣus* ['divine eye'] or its Prākrit equivalents), *ròuyǎn* 肉眼 (< Skt. *māṃsacakṣus* ['physical eye'] or its Prākrit equivalent, *lìgēn* 利根 (< Skt. *tīkṣṇendriya* ['of sharp faculties'] or its Prākrit equivalents), *tánzhǐ* 彈指 (< Skt. *acchaṭāsaṃghāta*, ['snap of fingers, i.e., a jiffy'] or its Prākrit equivalents), *zuòyì* 作意 (< Skt. *manasi-√kṛ* ['to reflect on'] or its Prākrit equivalents), *zuòzhèng* 作證 (< Skt. *sākṣāt-√kṛ* ['to make visible before the eyes, i.e., to realize'] or its Prākrit equivalents), and so on. Loan translations of compounds or phrases are common in language contact. For instance, German *herunter-laden* was calqued from English *down-load*, French *presqu'île* from Latin *paen-insula* (lit. 'almost-island'), English *loan-word* from German *Lehn-wort*, and English *marriage of convenience* from French *mariage de convenance* (Haspelmath and Tadmor 2009: 39).

The second type comprises loan translations of Indic words containing prefixes or suffixes. Take for example Indic words with negative prefixes. Before the arrival of Buddhism, Archaic Chinese only had verbs of negation and negative adverbs, but did not have negative prefixes. When Indian Buddhist texts were translated into Chinese, through loan translation, some negative prefixes were introduced into the Chinese language (Zhu 2003: 14–18). For instance, *wèilái* 未來 is a loan translation of Skt. *anāgata* ('not come, i.e., future') or its Prākrit equivalents, with *wèi* 未 and *lái* 來 separately rendering the negative prefix *an-* and the past participle *āgata* ('come, arrived'). Similar instances include: *wúshàng* 無上 (< Skt. *anuttara* ['without a superior, i.e., supreme']), *wúlòu* 無漏 (< Skt. *anāsrava* ['without outflow']), *wúmíng* 無明 (< Skt. *avidyā* ['ignorance, the state of being unwise']), *wúxué* 無學 (< Skt. *aśaikṣa* ['one who no longer needs religious training, i.e., an *arhat*']), *bùjiǔ* 不久 (< Skt. *acira* ['not long']), *bùsīyì* 不思議 and *bùkěsīyì* 不可思議 (< Skt. *acintya* or Pkt.

acintiya ['unconceivable']),[10] *fēixiǎng* 非想 (< Skt. *asaṃjñā* ['non-conception, the state of being unconscious']),[11] *fēijiā* 非家 (< Skt. *anagārikā* ['homeless life']),[12] and so on.

Moreover, verbs with the gerundive suffix *-tavya/-anīya/-ya* in Indic Buddhist texts were often (though not always) translated as '*yìng* 應 + Verb', including, for instance, *yìngzuò* 應作 (< *karaṇīya*, 'to be done'), *yìngshuō* 應說 (< *vaktavya* ['to be said'] or *nirdeṣṭavya* ['to be expounded']), *yìngjiàn* 應見 (< *draṣṭavya* ['to be seen']), *yìngzhī* 應知 (< Skt. *jñātavya* ['to be known']), and *yìng-gòngyǎng* 應供養 (< *vandanīya*, 'to be venerated').[13] Loan translations of words with prefixes or suffixes can also be found in other language-contact situations. For instance, Middle English verbs *out-bake*, *out-dry*, *out-fight*, *out-hear*, *out-take* and *out-term* were calqued respectively from Latin *excoquō* ('to boil'), *exsiccō* ('to dry up'), *expugnō* ('to overcome'), *exaudiō* ('to hear'), *ēripiō* ('to snatch away') and *exterminō* ('to banish'), with the English prefix *out-* rendering the Latin prefix *e-/ex-* (Schröder 2011: 126–127). Latin *quālitās* ('quality') and *quantitās* ('quantity') were calqued separately from Greek

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[10] For instance, Kumārajīva's 5th-century translation of the Vimalakīrtinirdeśa ('Exposition of Vimalakīrti') has the following sentence (T. 475 [xiv] 548b20–21): 舍利弗！此室常現八未曾有難得之法。誰有見斯不思議事而復樂於聲聞法乎! ('Śāriputra! This room always manifests the eight unprecedentedly rare *dharma*s. Who could see these inconceivable things and still take pleasure in the *śrāvaka* Dharma!' [tr. quoted from McRae 2004: 130]). The Sanskrit parallel to the latter part of this Chinese sentence reads (Study Group on Buddhist Sanskrit Literature 2006: 72, folio 44a7): *ka imām acintyadharmatāṃ paśyañ śrāvakadharmatāyai spṛhayet* ('Who, seeing such inconceivable things, would desire for the *śrāvaka*-Dharma'), in which *acintya-* ('unconceivable') matches with the term 不思議 used by Kumārajīva. As for examples where 不可思議 corresponds to Skt. acintya, see Karashima 1998: 27–28; 2001: 25.

[11] An example from Bodhiruci's 6th-century translation of the *Vajracchedikā Prajñāpāramitā* ('Perfection of Wisdom that Cuts like a Diamond') reads (T. 236 [viii] 759a19–20): 何以故? 我想、眾生想、壽者想、受者想，即是非想 ('Why is that? The idea of self, the idea of living beings, the idea of a soul, and the idea of a recipient are all non-conceptions'), whose Sanskrit parallel reads (Harrison and Watanabe 2006: 125, §14c, folio 40v5–6): *tat kasya heto<ḥ> yāsāv ātmasaṃjñā saivāsaṃjñā <|> yā satvasaṃjñā jīvasaṃjñā pudgalasaṃjñā saivāsaṃjñā* ('Why is that? Any such conception of self is indeed non-conception. Any conception of a living being, any conception of a soul, any conception of a person, is indeed non-conception'), in which *asaṃjñā* ('non-conception') matches with the term 非想 used by Paramārtha.

[12] For instance, Xuanzang's 7th-century translation of the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa* has the phrase 以清淨信，棄捨家法，趣於非家 (T. 476 [xiv] 587a16), whose Sanskrit parallel reads (Study Group on Buddhist Sanskrit Literature 2006: 121, folio 74b5): *śraddhayāgārād anagārikāṃ pravrajitaḥ* ('out of faith, gone from the household into homeless life'), in which *anagārikāṃ* ('homeless life') matches with the term 非家 used by Xuanzang.

[13] The combination '*yìng* 應 + Verb' used to translate Sanskrit or Prākrit gerundives generally follow the syntactic rules of Chinese. For instance, Kumārajīva's translation of the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa* has the sentence (T. 475 [xiv] 553a9): 是應作，是不應作 ('This should be done [and] this should not be done'). Its Sanskrit parallel reads (Study Group on Buddhist Sanskrit Literature 2006: 96, folio 58b1): *idaṃ karaṇīyam idam akaraṇīyam* ('This is to be done [and] this is not to be done'), in which *karaṇīya* ('to be done') and *akaraṇīya* ('not to be done') match respectively with 應作 and 不應作. Also in Kumārajīva's translation we find (T. 475 [xiv] 541c13): 唯羅睺羅! 不應說出家功德之利 ('O Rāhula! You should not expound the benefits of renunciation'). Its Sanskrit parallel reads (ibid.: 31, folio 18b6): *na bhadantarāhulaivaṃ pravrajyāyā guṇānuśaṃsā nirdeṣṭavyā yathā tvaṃ nirdiśasi |* ('Venerable Rāhula! The benefits and virtues of renunciation are not to be expounded in the same way that you expound'), in which *nirdeṣṭavya* ('to be expounded') matches with 應說. Bodhiruci's translation of the *Vajracchedikā Prajñāpāramitā* has the sentence (T. 236 [viii] 761b6): 由法應見佛 ('One should see a Buddha from the Dharma'). Its Sanskrit parallel reads (Schopen 1989: 105, folio 11a1): *draṣṭavyo dharmato buddho* ('A Buddha is to be seen from the Dharma'), in which *draṣṭavya* ('to be seen') matches with 應見. Also in Bodhiruci's translation we find (T. 236 [viii] 759c11–12): 一切世間天人阿脩羅等皆應供養 ('The whole world with its gods, humans and *asura*s should all worship [that piece of ground]'). Its Sanskrit parallel reads (Harrison and Watanabe 2006: 130, §15c, folio 45r5): *sadevamānuṣāsurasya lokasya vandanīyaḥ* ('It is to be venerated by the world with its gods, humans and *asura*s'), in which *vandanīya* ('to be venerated') matches with 應供養. In this regard I thank an anonymous reviewer for recommending Dr. Yezi Mu's PhD thesis *Tense and Aspect in Early Chinese Buddhist Texts: A Typological Approach*, which is, however, unfortunately inaccessible to me.

ποιότης / *poiótēs* ('suchness') and ποσότης / *posótēs* ('muchness'), with the Latin suffix *-tās* denoting abstractness rendering the Greek suffix -της / *-tēs* ('-ness').

The third type of Chinese Buddhist loan translation may be called (folk-)etymological transla-tion, since it is based on a particular tradition of Indian semantic analysis, known as *nirvacana*. As Max Deeg (2008: 97) has aptly put it, 'A typical *nirvacana*-analysis breaks a word down into two (or more) verbal elements (roots).' For instance, *wénwù* 聞物 (lit. 'hearing things'), is a pseudo-etymological translation of the city-name Śrāvastī (or its Prākrit forms), with *wén* 聞 ('to hear') and *wù* 物 ('thing') separately rendering *śrāv-* (< √*śru*, 'to hear') and *-vastī* (correlated with *vastu*, 'thing').[14] The name Śrāvastī does not really mean 'hearing things'. The breaking down of this name into two parts (*śrāv* + *[v]astī*) is the result of applying the *nirvacana* method of Indian semantic analysis. Likewise, the Indian master Paramārtha's (499–569) translation of the names Kāśya-pa and Maudgalyāyana separately as *yǐnguāng* 飲光 ('drinking light') and *shòu-húdòu* 受胡豆 ('receiving foreign beans [i.e., beans imported from the West]') also resulted from applying the *nirvacana* method of Indian semantic analysis (see Funayama 2008: 155–156). *Yǐnguāng* 飲光 is based on an interpretation of Kāśyapa as being derived from √*pā* ('to drink') + √*kāś* ('to shine');[15] *shòu-húdòu* 受胡豆 is based on an interpretation of a Prākrit form (*Mudgalāna or *Muggalā-na?) of Maudgalyāyana as being derived from *mudga* ('mung bean') + √*lā* ('to receive'). Similar instances include: *chí-míngwén* 持名聞 ('bearing fame') as a translation of Yaśodharā, with *chí* 持 and *míngwén* 名聞 separately rendering *-dharā* (< √*dhṛ*, 'to bear') and *yaśas* ('fame'); *néngrén* 能仁 (lit. 'capable benefactor') as a translation of Śākyamuni, with *néng* 能 and *rén* 仁 separately rendering *śākya-* (< √*śak*, 'to be capable') and *-muni* ('sage'); both *xīxīn* 息心 ('[one who] appeases his mind') and *jìzhì* 寂志 ('[one who] tranquilizes his mind') as translations of Pkt. *śamaṇa* or *samaṇa* (< Skt. *śramaṇa*, 'monk'); *shìxīn* 逝心 ('[one who] gets rid of one's mind') and *fànzhì* 梵志 ('brahman') separately translating Skt. *brāhmaṇa* and Pkt. *braṃmaṇa* or *brammaṇa*.[16]

In terms of their lexical structure, many (though not all) such pseudo-etymological loan trans-lations adopt the 'Verb + Object' (VO) structure. That is to say, when applying the *nirvacana* analysis to an Indic word, breaking the word down into two components and rendering each component into Chinese, ancient translators seem to have tended to place the verbal component before the nominal component to form a Chinese translation, even if in the original Indic word the verbal component comes after the nominal component.[17]

Deeg (2008: 85) has already pointed out that such applications of etymological analysis are not unique to Chinese Buddhist translations, but also found in European Biblical translations. In order

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[14] On *wénwù* 聞物, see Nattier 2008: 91. On the Tibetan etymological translation of Śrāvastī as *mnyan yod* (lit. 'hearing existence'), which is based on the *nirvacana*-analysis of dividing Śrāvastī into two parts (*śrāv-* [< √*śru*, 'to hear'] and *-asti* [< √*as*, 'to exist']), see Nattier 2008: 91 n. 216; Deeg 2008: 89.

[15] Another rendering *hùguāng* 護光 ('guarding light') is based on the interpretation of Kāśyapa as derived from √*pā* ('to guard') + √*kāś* ('to shine'). On various renderings of the name Kāśyapa, see Brough 1975: 582.

[16] On *chí-míngwén* 持名聞 and *néngrén* 能仁, see Karashima 1998b: 47, 301; Deeg 2008: 103. On *xīxīn* 息心 and *jìzhì* 寂志 based on an interpretation of Pkt. *samaṇa* / *śamaṇa* as √*sam* ('to appease') + *maṇa* (< *manas*, 'mind'), or as *śama(ṇa)* + *maṇa*, see Karashima 2016a: 112–113. On *shìxīn* 逝心 'probably based on an interpretation of *brāhmaṇa* as *bāhati*, *baheti* ('annihilates') or *bahi* ('outsides') + *maṇa* ('mind')' and *fànzhì* 梵志 probably based on an interpretation of Gāndhārī *braṃmaṇa* / *brammaṇa* as *braṃ-* / *bram-* + *-maṇa*, see Karashima 2016a: 107–108.

[17] For instance, while Kāśyapa was interpreted as consisting of *kāśya-* (< √*kāś* ['to shine']) and *pa-* (√*pā* ['to drink']), it was translated not as *guāngyǐn* 光飲 but as *yǐnguāng* 飲光 ('drinking light'); while Yaśodharā was interpreted as consisting of *yaśas-* ('fame') and *-dharā* (< √*dhṛ*, 'to bear'), it was translated not as *míngwén-chí* 名聞持 but as *chí-míngwén* 持名聞 ('bearing fame').

to illustrate more concretely the similarity between Buddhist and non-Buddhist applications of this translation method, here I offer several examples drawn from Notker Labeo's (c. 950–1022) translation of Boethius' early 6th-century *De Consolatione Philosophiae* ('The Consolation of Philosophy') from Latin into Old High German (OHG).[18] It has been noted that in translating Latin terminology Notker sometimes 'divides the Latin term with its complex of significations into its component parts and provides Old High German translations for each, thus rendering more clearly the varying semantic relationships within the complex' (Frakes 1988: 127). For instance, Notker coined OHG *hinafértig* as an etymological translation of Latin *transitōriō* (dative singular of *transitōrius*, 'transitory'), with *hina-* ('away from here') and *-fértig* ('finished', derived from OHG *faran* ['to go'] = Modern German *fahren*) separately rendering *trans-* ('across, beyond') and *-itōriō* (correlated with Latin *eō* ['to go']).[19] He coined OHG *gûotuuíllig* on the model of Latin *benevolus* ('benevolent'), with *gûot-* ('good') and *-uuíllig* ('willed') separately replacing *bene-* and *-volus* (derived from *volō* ['to wish, to be willing to']).[20] He also coined OHG *uuídere zíhenta* as an etymological translation of Latin *reclamantem* ('protesting', derived from *reclāmō* ['to protest']), with *uuídere* ('against' = Modern German *wider*) and *zíhenta* (derived from OHG *zīhan* ['to say'] = Modern German *zeihen*) separately rendering *re-* ('back') and *-clāmō* ('to shout'),[21] and OHG *úneruúlta* as an etymological translation of Latin *inexpleta* (feminine form of *inexplētus*, 'unfilled'), with *ún-*, *er-* and *-uúlta* (derived from OHG *fullen* ['to fill'] = Modern German *füllen*) separately rendering *in-*, *ex-* and *-pleta* (derived from Latin *pleō* ['to fill']).[22]

3. Hybrid loan

Hybrid loan is also called loan-blend, since it is a blend of transliteration and translation of a foreign word or phrase. Hybrid loans are common in language contact. For instance, German *Grapefrucht* is a hybrid loan from English *Grapefruit*, Pennsylvania German *Bockabuch* from English *pocketbook* (Haugen 1950: 219), Pennsylvania German *was-ewe(r)* from English *whatever* (Weinreich 1953: 52), Dutch *software huis* from English *software house*, etc. Hybrid loans are abundant in Chinese Buddhist translations. For instance, *fànxíng* 梵行 ('pure conduct, chastity') is a hybrid loan from Skt. *brahmacarya* (or its Prākrit equivalents), with *fàn* 梵 (EHC: *b(r)jam; EMC: *buamʰ) transliterating *brahma-* (or rather, Pkt. *braṃ- / bram-*) and *xíng* 行 ('conduct') translating Skt. *-carya* or Pkt. *-cariya / -yirya* ('conduct');[23] *púsà-fǎ* 菩薩法 ('qualities of a bodhisattva') is a hybrid loan from Skt. *bodhisattvadharma* (or its Prākrit equivalents), with *púsà* 菩薩 (EHC: *bo sat; EMC: *bɔ sat) being an abbreviated transliteration of *bodhisattva* (or rather, Pkt. *bosisat[va]*) and

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[18] Although Notker Labeo's translation of *De Consolatione Philosophiae* does not belong to the category of Biblical translations, it can still be used as a source to demonstrate the similarity between Buddhist and non-Buddhist (not particularly Biblical) applications of etymological analysis in translating foreign terminologies.

[19] See Reinmuth 1937: 6; Tax 1990: 262, line 27. However, according to the *Oxford Latin Dictionary* (Glare 2012: 2166), *transitōrius* is actually derived from *transi-* (< *transeō*, 'to cross over') + *-tōrius* (*-tōr* [a suffix denoting agent] + *-ivs*).

[20] On OHG *gûotuuíllig* < Latin *benevolus*, see Reinmuth 1937: 6; Tax 1988: 151, line 15.

[21] On OHG *uuídere zíhenta* < Latin *reclamantem*, see Reinmuth 1937: 13; Tax 1986: 15, line 22.

[22] On OHG *úneruúlta* < Latin *inexpleta*, Reinmuth 1937: 9; Tax 1986: 50, line 16.

[23] On Gāndhārī *brama-/bramma-yirya* (corresponding to Skt. *brahmacarya*), see Brough 1962: 120, 129.

fǎ 法 a translation of *dharma*;[24] *pútí-shù* 菩提樹 ('tree of awakening') is a hybrid loan from Skt. *bodhivṛkṣa* (or its Prākrit equivalents), with *pútí* 菩提 (EHC: *bo dei; EMC: * bɔ dɛj) transliterating *bodhi-* ('awakening') and *shù* 樹 translating *-vṛkṣa* ('tree'); *dà-bǐqiū-zhòng* 大比丘眾 ('big assembly of monks') is a hybrid loan from the Sanskrit phrase *mahat~ bhikṣusaṃgha~* (or its Prākrit equivalents), with *dà* 大 and *zhòng* 眾 separately translating *mahat* ('big') and *saṃgha* ('assembly'), and *bǐqiū* 比丘 (EHC: *bjiəi khju; EMC: *pjiʼ kʰuw) transliterating *bhikṣu* (or rather, Pkt. *bhikkhu* or *bhikhu*).[25]

Hybrid loans may contain redundant elements. Deeg (2008: 96) has rightly noted two types of 'redundant hybrid loanword' in Chinese Buddhist translations: in the first type, a hybrid loan-word consists of a transliteration and its semantic synonym; in the second type, a hybrid loan-word consists of a transliteration and a generic term. In some cases, the addition of a redundant element (either a semantic synonym or a generic term) serves a prosodic purpose, i.e., to turn a hybrid loanword into a disyllabic or polysyllabic form. Examples of the first type include, for instance, *jìsòng* 偈頌 (lit. '*gāthā*-hymn') as a rendering of Skt. *gāthā* ('verse'), with *jì* 偈 (EHC: *gjiat; EMC: *giajʰ) transliterating *gāthā* (or Gāndhārī *gadha*) and *sòng* 頌 being a redundant synonymous element,[26] *chándìng* 禪定 (lit. '*dhyāna*-concentration') as a rendering of Skt. *dhyāna* (or its Prākrit equivalents), with *chán* 禪 (EHC: *dźjan; EMC: *dʑian) transliterating *dhyāna* (or rather, Pkt. *jhāna / jhāṇa*) and *dìng* 定 being a redundant synonym,[27] and *sānmèi-dìng* 三昧定 (lit. '*samādhi*-concentration') for Skt. *samādhi* (or its Prākrit equivalents), with *sānmèi* 三昧 (EHC: *səm mət; EMC: *sam məjʰ) transliterating *samādhi* and *dìng* 定 being a redundant synonym.[28] Examples of the second type of redundant hybrid loanword include, for instance, *bùnàlì-huā* 不那利華 as a rendering of a Prākrit form (similar to **puṇari*) of Skt. *puṇḍarīka* ('white lotus'), with *bùnàlì* 不那利 (EHC: *pju na ljiəi; EMC: *put na liʰ) transliterating the Prākrit form and *huā* 華 ('flower') being a redundant generic term,[29] and *píshěshě-guǐ* 毘舍闍鬼 as a rendering of Skt. *piśāca* ('a kind of fresh-eating demon'), with *píshěshě* 毘舍闍 (EHC: *bjiəi śja dźja; EMC: *bji çiaʰ dzia) transliterating *piśāca* and *guǐ* 鬼 ('demon') being a redundant generic term.[30]

Redundant hybrid loans are also found in other language-contact situations. The Polish linguist Alicja Witalisz (2013: 331) has shown that in American Polish (i.e., the Polish used by the Polish diaspora in the United States) there is a type of 'redundant compounds', which 'exhibit a hybrid nature, being composed of an English compound word and a Polish lexeme that is semantically equivalent to one of the constituents of the English compound', thus similar to the first type of redundant hybrid loanword in Chinese Buddhist translations discussed above. For instance, American Polish *downtown miasta* (lit. 'downtown of town') is a redundant hybrid loan from

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[24] On *púsà* 菩薩 as a transliteration of Gāndhārī *bosisat(va)*, see Karashima 2010: 351. The term *púsà-fǎ* 菩薩法 does not always correspond to *bodhisattvadharma*. Sometimes it corresponds to *bodhisattvacaryā* ('conduct of a bodhisattva'; see Karashima 1998b: 313).

[25] On *dà-bǐqiū-zhòng* 大比丘眾 corresponding to *mahat~ bhikṣusaṃgha~*, see Karashima 2001: 47. On *bǐqiū* 比丘 as a transliteration of Pāli *bhikkhu* or Gāndhārī *bhikhu*, see Karashima 2010: 35.

[26] The word 偈 can be read either as *jì* (EMC: *giajʰ [Pulleyblank 1991: 143]) or as *jié* (EMC: *giat/giat [Pulleyblank 1991: 154] or *giat/kiat [Schuessler 2009: 231]). Nattier (2004: 3) has pointed out that the reading *jié*, instead of the often-used reading *jì*, 'would have led to the use of this character to transliterate Skt. *gāthā*.'

[27] On *chán* 禪 as a transliteration of Pkt. *jhāna / jhāṇa*, see Karashima 2010: 57.

[28] On *sānmèi-dìng* 三昧定 for *samādhi*, see Karashima 1998b: 367.

[29] On *bùnàlì-huā* 不那利華, see Karashima 2010: 51.

[30] On *píshěshě-guǐ* 毘舍闍鬼, see Karashima 2001: 193. Yet another well-known example of this type is *qíshějué-shān* 耆闍崛山 for the mountain-name *Gṛdhrakūṭa* (see Deeg 2008: 96; Karashima 2010: 356).

American English *downtown*, American Polish *wieprzowy pork chop* (lit. 'pork pork chop') from American English *pork chop*, and American Polish *knickers spodnie* (lit. 'knickerbockers knickers') from American English *knickerbockers*.

4. Semantic extension

According to the classic definition by Uriel Weinreich, semantic extension refers to 'the extension of the use of an indigenous word of the influenced language in conformity with a foreign model' (Weinreich 1953: 48). The difference between phonemic loan, loan translation, and semantic extension is this: in the cases of phonemic loan and loan translation, a new word is imported into the target language, whereas in the case of semantic extension, a new meaning is imported into an existing word in the target language. An example used by Weinreich to illustrate semantic extension is the word *tahym* in the Yakut language, which originally meant 'water level' but was later extended to mean all levels, both concrete and abstract, as a result of modelling on Russian *уровень* that denotes 'level' in any sense. Another example is Old English *heofon*, which originally meant 'sky, abode of deities', whereas Medieval Latin *caelum* had three meanings, 'sky, abode of deities, and Christian Heaven'. When Latin Christian texts were translated into Old English, based on the equation of the first two meanings of *caelum* and *heofon*, translators consequently imported the third meaning ('Christian Heaven') into *heofon* (Hock 1991: 398).

The phenomena of semantic extension are ubiquitous in Chinese Buddhist translations. For instance, the term *zhōngguó* 中國 (lit. 'middle country, central kingdom') was originally used to refer to the royal domain of the Western Zhou (1045–771 BCE).[31] During the Eastern Zhou period (770–256 BCE), this term came to refer to the 'feudal states in the middle and lower reaches of the Yellow River', and was 'also used in classics as a cultural concept to differentiate the Huaxia from the barbarians' (Wilkinson 2000: 132). From the Late Han onwards, ancient translators used *zhōngguó* 中國 to render Skt. *madhyadeśa* (or its Prākrit forms), whose literal meaning is also 'middle country' but actually refers to the central part of north India. By doing so, the translators imported a new meaning ('central north India') into the term *zhōngguó* 中國 and thus expanded its semantic range.[32] Another example is the binome *shāshēng* 殺生, which originally only meant 'to kill animals' in Archaic Chinese. When ancient translators used *shāshēng* 殺生 to render Skt. *prāṇātipāta* ('killing any living being, whether an animal or a human') based on their shared meaning of 'killing animals', they consequently extended the semantic range of *shāshēng* 殺生 to denote the killing of any life-form. The semantic extension of *shāshēng* 殺生 is notably similar to the aforementioned example of *tahym* in Yakut given by Weinreich. Furthermore, in Archaic Chi-

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[31]   For instance, in the hymn 'Min Lao' 民勞 of the *Shījīng* 詩經 ('Classic of Poetry') we find: 惠此中國，以綏四方 ('be kind to this central kingdom, and so give peace to the [states of] the four quarters' [tr. quoted from Karlgren 1945: 75]), in which *zhōngguó* 中國 means the royal domain as opposed to the 'four quarters' (i.e., the lands ruled by feudal lords).

[32]   An example from Lokakṣema's 2nd-century translation of the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā* reads (T. 224 [viii] 455c17): 從欲處、色處、空處，從彼間來生中國 ('From the sphere of desire, the sphere of form and the sphere of emptiness, from there he came to be reborn in the middle country [i.e., Madhyadeśa, central north India]') (see Karashima 2010: 647); see also Kumārajīva's early 5th-century translation of the *Mahāprajñā-pāramitopadeśa* (T. 1509 [xxv] 89c23–24): 唯中國迦毘羅婆淨飯王后能懷菩薩 ('Only the queen of King Śuddhodana of Kapilavastu in the middle country [i.e., Madhyadeśa] can conceive the bodhisattva'), in which *zhōngguó* 中國 clearly means central north India.

nese the term *báiyī* 白衣 originally meant 'white clothes' and 'a white-clad person, i.e., a commoner (in contrast to an aristocrat)'.[33] In Buddhist Sanskrit literature the compound *avadātavasana* (or *avadātavastra*) can mean both 'cleansed [and therefore white] clothes' and 'a white-clad person, i.e., a Buddhist layperson' since Buddhist laypeople in ancient India were usually dressed in white, whereas Buddhist monks were dressed in reddish-brown robes. When ancient translators used *báiyī* 白衣 to render Skt. *avadātavasana* (or *avadātavastra*) based on the shared meaning of 'white clothes', they consequently imported a new meaning ('Buddhist layperson') into *báiyī* 白衣, thus expanding its semantic range.[34]

5. Double translation

Double translation (also called 'doublet', 'double reading', 'double rendering', 'Doppelung' or 'Doppelübersetzung' by Septuagint scholars) refers to the phenomenon that a word or an expression (or a part thereof) in the source language is translated twice in the target language.[35] Erik Zürcher was probably the first scholar to use the term 'double translation' in the context of discussing Chinese Buddhist translations. Zürcher (1959: 336 n. 140) pointed out that *dùwújí* 度無極 (lit. 'crossing [over into] infinitude'), a rendering of Skt. *pāramitā* (or its Prākrit equivalents), is a double translation, in which *dù* 度 (for 渡, 'to cross') is a translation of *pāramitā* based on an etymological interpretation that takes this Indic term to be derived from *pāram* (accusative of *pāra* ['the other shore']) plus *itā* ('gone'), and *wújí* 無極 is a retranslation of *amitā* ('unlimited') that forms the latter part of *pāramitā*.[36] Another prime example of double translation is the term *yuányījué* 緣一覺 (lit. '[one who is] awakened by a cause and by oneself').[37] Seishi Karashima

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[33] For instance, in his *Records of the Great Historian* (*Shǐjì* 史記), Sima Qian 司馬遷 (c. 145–86 BCE) writes: 公孫弘，以春秋，白衣為天子三公 ('Gongsun Hong who, because of his knowledge of the *Spring and Autumn Annals*, advanced from the rank of commoner to that of one of the three highest ministers in the government' [tr. quoted from Watson 1993: 358]), in which *báiyī* 白衣 (lit. 'white-clad') means 'commoner'.

[34] The term *báiyī* 白衣 occurs three times in Zhi Qian's (fl. 220–257) translation of the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa*. In two of the three occurrences, it finds a parallel in the extant Sanskrit version of this text. The first sentence reads (T. 474 [xiv] 521a5): 雖為白衣，奉持沙門 ('Though being white-clad [i.e., being a Buddhist layman], he upheld [the precepts of] a *śramaṇa*'). Its Sanskrit counterpart reads (Study Group on Buddhist Sanskrit Literature 2006: 15, folio 9a4): *avadātavastradhārī śramaṇeryāpathasaṃpannaḥ* ('Wearing white clothes, perfect in the modes of behavior of a *śramaṇa*'), in which *avadātavastra* ('white clothes') corresponds to *báiyī* 白衣 used by Zhi Qian. The second sentence reads (T. 474 [xiv] 521c16): 賢者！莫為居家白衣說法如賢者所說 ('Wise Man! Please do not preach the Dharma to white-clad householders [i.e., Buddhist laymen] in the same way as you do for a wise man'). Its Sanskrit counterpart reads (ibid.: 21, folio 12a6): *na bhadantamaudgalyāyana gṛhibhyo 'vadātavasanebhya evaṃ dharmo deśayitavyo yathā bhadanto deśayati |* ('Venerable Maudgalyāyana! The Dharma should not be preached to white-clad householders in the same way as one preaches [it] for a venerable man'), in which *avadātavasanebhya* ('for white-clad ones, i.e., for Buddhist laymen') corresponds to (為…) 白衣 used by Zhi Qian. The term *báiyī* 白衣 can also be a translation of *gṛhin* or *gṛhastha* meaning 'householder' (see Karashima 1998b: 8–9; 2001: 10).

[35] For various terms and definitions of this phenomenon that have been proposed by Septuagint scholars, see Vorm-Croughs 2014: 141–143.

[36] Nattier (2004: 8–9) places *dùwújí* 度無極 in the category of 'overlapping translation', and uses the term 'double translation' to refer specifically to a type of translation 'in which two quite different interpretations of a single term are given'. In my discussion, I follow Zürcher in using the term 'double translation' in a broader sense, encompassing the category of 'overlapping translation' discussed by Nattier.

[37] Norman (1997: 104) explains Pkt. *pacceyabuddha* (equivalent of Skt. *pratyayabuddha*) as 'one who is awakened by a specific cause, a specific occurrence (not by a Buddha's teaching)'.

has convincingly argued that the 3rd-century translator Zhi Qian coined this term to render Gāndhārī *praceabudha*, a Prākrit form of Skt. *pratyekabuddha*, 'of which *pracea* might have been understood by Zhi Qian as meaning both 'single, by oneself' (< *pratyeka*) and 'cause' (*pratyaya*) and so he rendered it as *yuányījué* 緣一覺 ('one, who perceives causation and oneness') by mixing the two meanings together' (Karashima 2016b: 343).[38] Other instances of double translation that have been identified by previous scholars include, to mention but a few, *shì-zhī-míngfù* 世之明父 ('wise father of the world'), with *míng* 明 ('wise') and *fù* 父 ('father') rendered from the same Prākrit word, which was first understood as **-vidu* ('wise') and then as **-pitu* ('father'),[39] *huìshèng* 慧乘 ('wisdom-cum-vehicle'), with *huì* 慧 and *shèng* 乘 rendered from the same Prākrit word (**jāna/jāṇa*), which was first understood as corresponding to Skt. *jñāna* ('wisdom') and then as corresponding to Skt. *yāna* ('vehicle'),[40] *Guānshìyīn* 觀世音 (lit. '[one who] observes sounds of the world') for Skt. *Avalokitasvara* [another name for *Avalokiteśvara*] ('[one who] observed sounds'), with *avalokita-* ('observed') first translated as *guān* 觀 and then its latter part *-lokita* retranslated as *shì* 世 (< Skt. *loka*, 'world'),[41] and *xìnjiě* 信解 (lit. 'faith and liberation') for Skt. *adhimukti* ('strong inclination towards'), with the entire term *adhimukti* first translated as *xìn* 信 and then its latter part *–mukti* ('liberation') retranslated as *jiě* 解.[42]

Double translation also appears in other religious translations. Scholars working on the Septuagint (referring broadly to ancient Greek translations of the Hebrew Bible) have long devoted attention to this phenomenon (see Vorm-Croughs 2014: 141–143). In studying the Septuagint of Amos, for instance, W. Edward Glenny (2009: 68) has noted that the translator shows a clear predilection to use two Greek words to render one Hebrew word, 'which could be motivated by a lack of understanding of the source text or a desire to convey completely what is in the source text'. One of the examples used by Glenny (2009: 127) to illustrate this phenomenon is as follows: when translating the Hebrew expression בְּגָדִים חֲבֻלִים *begâdîm ḥaḇulîm* ('clothes taken in pledge') in Amos ii 8, the translator gives two Greek words δεσμεύοντες σχοινίοις / *desmeúontes schoiníois* ('binding together with cords') for the Hebrew word חֲבֻלִים *ḥaḇulîm* ('taken in pledge'). Glenny explains, 'both of these Greek words could be translations of Hebrew words with the same radicals as the Hebrew particle (חבל [*ḥḇl*] meaning 'to bind' or 'chord [sic]')' (ibid.: 127).[43] That is to say, the translator interpreted the Hebrew word חֲבֻלִים *ḥaḇulîm* twice, first in the sense of 'binding' and then in the sense of 'cord', thus resulting in a double Greek translation ('binding together with cords') for this Hebrew word.[44] This example is remarkably similar to *yuányījué* 緣一覺, *míngfù* 明父 and *huìshèng* 慧乘, since they all show the same mechanism of giving two different interpretations of one single term in the source-text.

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[38] The term *yuányījué* 緣一覺 also appears in Dharmarakṣa's translation of the *Lotus Sūtra*. For more detail, see Karashima 1998b: 566; Boucher 1998: 490–491.

[39] See Karashima 1992: 119; Boucher 1998: 490; Nattier 2004: 8–9.

[40] On the *yāna / jñāna* confusion in Buddhist texts (particularly in the *Lotus Sūtra*), see Karashima 2015. On the term *huìshèng* 慧乘, see ibid.: 169–170.

[41] On *Guānshìyīn* 觀世音 (<*Avalokitasvara*), see Karashima 2016a: 113.

[42] On *xìnjiě* 信解 (<*adhimukti*), see Karashima and Nattier 2005: 370.

[43] Square brackets are added by the present author.

[44] I thank Professor Jonathan Silk and Professor Max Deeg respectively for correcting my romanization of Hebrew and Greek words.

6. Disyllabification

Disyllabification represents a major change in the history of the Chinese language, which marks the transition from Archaic Chinese (c. 1250–200 BCE) to Early Middle Chinese (c. 1st century BCE–6th century CE).[45] In Archaic Chinese, lexicon was primarily monosyllabic, but from the 2nd/1st century BCE onwards, more disyllabic words appeared. The tendency of disyllabiﬁation can be seen in almost all kinds of Chinese literary works produced in the early centuries of the Common Era.[46] Various theories have been proposed to account for the emergence of disyllabiﬁcation at the end of the Late Archaic period.[47] During the medieval period, the translation of Indic Buddhist scriptures into Chinese became an undeniable factor that accelerated the disyllabiﬁcation process. The preference for four-character prosody that is often seen in Chinese Buddhist translations clearly contributed to the increase of disyllabic words.[48] Disyllabification, as such, is a complex phenomenon. It is impossible to go into much detail within the scope of the present paper. Here I introduce the three most prevalent methods of creating disyllabic words in Chinese Buddhist translations.

The first method is to combine a monosyllabic transliteration with a redundant monosyllabic synonym. For instance, *chàtǔ* 剎土 is formed by *chà* 剎 (EHC: *tshrat; EMC: *tʂʰaɨt/tʂʰɛːt; transliteration of Skt. *kṣetra*, 'land') and *tǔ* 土 (translation of *kṣetra*); *jìsòng* 偈頌 is formed by *jì* 偈 (EHC: *gjiat; EMC: *giajʰ; transliteration of Skt. *gāthā* or Pkt. *gadha*, 'verse') and *sòng* 頌 (translation of *gāthā*); *tánshī* 檀施 is formed by *tán* 檀 (EHC: *dan; EMC: *dan; transliteration of Skt. *dāna* or Pkt. *dana*, 'donation') and *shī* 施 (translation of *dāna / dana*); *sēngzhòng* 僧眾 is formed by *sēng* 僧 (EHC: *səng; EMC: *səŋ; transliteration of Skt. *saṃgha*, 'assembly') and *zhòng* 眾 (translation of *saṃgha*); *móguǐ* 魔鬼 is formed by *mó* 魔 (EHC: *ma; EMC: *ma; transliteration of Skt. *māra* or Pkt. *mara*, 'devil') and *guǐ* 鬼 (a redundant synonym to *mó* 魔).[49] This method of disyllabification represents a very special kind of process, which is different from the processes of disyllabification usually seen in indigenous Chinese literature.[50]

The second method is to combine a monosyllabic translation with a redundant monosyllabic synonym or near-synonym. For instance, in the disyllabic translation *bìngyì* 病疫 for Skt. *vyādhi*

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[45] On disyllabification as one of the most salient changes that mark the transition from Archaic Chinese to Medieval Chinese, see Meisterernst 2017: 500–502.

[46] The disyllabification tendency is common to both Buddhist and non-Buddhist Chinese literature. For previous studies on the disyllabification process in non-Buddhist Late Archaic and Medieval Chinese literature, see for instance, Cheng 1992; Dong 2011: 48–285.

[47] For an outline of these theories (of which the most influential theory explains disyllabification as making up for 'the loss of consonant clusters, a phonological change from Archaic Chinese to Medieval Chinese'), see Feng 2017: 109–111.

[48] On the frequency of four-character prosody in some Chinese Buddhist translations, see for instance, Zürcher 1977: 178; 1991: 280–281, 284, 286, 290; 1996: 11–12; Nattier (2008: 18) observes that 'four-character prosody' represents 'a mark of literary rather than vernacular usage'.

[49] Disyllabic words created through the first method also belong to the first type of hybrid redundant loanword discussed above. But the first type of hybrid redundant loanword contains not only disyllabic hybrids, but also polysyllabic hybrids (such as 三昧定 [lit. '*samādhi*-concentration] for Skt. *samādhi* ['concentration'], and 僧那鎧 [lit. '*saṃnāha*-armour'] for Skt. *saṃnāha* ['armour']).

[50] According to the detailed study by Dong (2011), within indigenous Chinese literature, there are three major ways in which disyllabic words emerged, first, 'through the reinterpretation of phrases containing two mono-syllabic lexical words', second, through the fossilization of 'syntactic structures comprising a grammatical word and a lexical word', and third, through the 'reanalysis of non-constituent adjacent elements' (ibid.: 5–8).

('disease'), both *bìng* 病 ('illness') and *yì* 疫 ('epidemic') are synonymous renderings of *vyādhi*, and thus either may be deemed redundant; in the disyllabic translations *chíhù* 持護 and *hùchí* 護持 for derivatives of Skt. *(anu-)pari-√grah* ('to hold'), *chí* 持 ('to hold') is a translation of *(anu-)pari-√grah* and *hù* 護 ('to guard') is a redundant near-synonym.[51]

The third method is to shorten a polysyllabic transliteration or translation into a disyllabic form. For instance, *tánhuā* 曇花 is a disyllabic abbreviation of *yōutánbō-huā* 優曇鉢華 (< Skt. *uḍumbarapuṣpa*, 'flower of the fig tree'), in which 優曇鉢 (EHC: *ʔju dam pat; EMC: *ʔuw dəm/dam pat) is a transliteration of *uḍumbara* and 華 ('flower') a translation of *puṣpa*; *mùlián* 目連 is a disyllabic abbreviation of 目犍連 or 目揵連 (EHC: *mjok kjan/gjan ljan; MC: *mjuk kjɐn/gjɐn ljän;[52] a transliteration of Maudgalyāyana or its Prākrit equivalents); *quánbiàn* 權便 is a disyllabic abbreviation of *shànquán-fāngbiàn* 善權方便 (a full translation of *upāyakauśalya*, 'skill in expedients'). The interrogative *jiǔrú* 久如 (lit. 'long like') is a disyllabic abbreviation of the phrase *jiǔjìn-rúhé* 久近如何 ('how long is the duration'), which in turn is a full translation of Skt. *kiyac ciram*, or *kiyac cireṇa*, or *kiyac cira-* (all meaning 'how long').[53]

Disyllabic words created through the first method belong to the category of redundant hybrid loanwords. As we saw above, this category is not unique to Chinese Buddhist translations, since similar redundant hybrid forms also occur elsewhere (for instance, in American Polish). As for the second method, it is not unique to Chinese Buddhist translations either, and similar phenomena can be found, for instance, in the Septuagint. Glenny (2007) has noted that the translator of the Septuagint of Amos sometimes used two Greek near-synonyms to render one Hebrew term. In Amos iii 15 the translator rendered the Hebrew verb וְהִכֵּיתִי *wᵉhiḵetî* ('I will smite') into Greek συγχέω καί πατάσσω / *synchéō kai patássō* ('I will demolish and will smite'), in which πατάσσω / *patássō* ('smite') and συγχέω / *synchéō* ('demolish') separately convey the literal and contextual meanings of the same Hebrew verb. By adding the seemingly redundant Greek verb συγχέω / *synchéō*, 'the translator takes precaution to communicate the full meaning of the Hebrew verb' (Glenny 2007: 532). As for the third method, namely disyllabic abbreviation, it does not seem to be unique to Chinese Buddhist translations either. Although I have not found the same phenomena in Western religious translations, it is worth noting that abbreviated loanwords (either disyllabic or polysyllabic) are abundant in modern Japanese (for instance, *hōmu* for *platform*, *neru* for *flannel*, *biru* for *building*, *depāto* for *department*, *terebi* for *television*, etc.).

So far we have seen six major mechanisms of contact-induced lexical creations in Chinese Buddhist translations: phonemic loan, loan translation, hybrid loan, semantic extension, double translation, and disyllabification.[54] None of these mechanisms is really unique to Chinese Buddhist translations, since almost all of them have parallels or partial parallels in other language-contact situations (either in modern language contacts, or in premodern Western translations such as the Septuagint and Notker's translations). Unlike the five other mechanisms, disyllabification represents a full-scale development of the Chinese language as a whole that took place from the 2nd/1st

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[51] On *bìngyì* 病疫 (< *vyādhi*), *chíhù* 持護 and *hùchí* 護持 (< *[anu-]pari-√grah*), see Karashima 2010: 45, 79; Karashima 2001: 116–117.

[52] Pulleyblank (1991) provides no phonological reconstruction for *jiàn* 犍 or *qián* 揵. The Middle Chinese (MC, around 600 CE) reconstructions given here are based on Schuessler 2009.

[53] For discussion on the Indic origins of *jiǔrú* 久如, see Wu 2009.

[54] My discussion above has not included erroneous translations that resulted from a translator's misreadings or misinterpretations of Prākrit originals. On such erroneous translations, see for instance, Boucher 1998: 458–476; Nattier 2004: 7; Karashima 2006: 362–363; 2016b: 344–349.

century BCE onwards. Although this development initially occurred independently of language contact, it was subsequently greatly accelerated by the translation of Buddhist texts and thus particularly noticeable in Chinese Buddhist translations.[55] In terms of its widespread scale and long-term impacts, disyllabification is a process indeed unique to Chinese. However, the three basic methods of creating disyllabic words in Chinese Buddhist translations introduced above certainly cannot be regarded as unique, since similar phenomena also appear in the Septuagint or in modern language contacts (for instance, American Polish and abbreviated Japanese loanwords). Furthermore, while the majority of the lexical creations discussed above were confined to Buddhist contexts, some neologisms gained wider currency and eventually entered the common lexicon of Chinese. These include, to list but a few, *tǎ* 塔 ('pagoda') and *mó* 魔 ('devil') from the category of Buddhist phonemic loans, *chànà* 剎那 ('instant'), *pōlí* 頗梨 or *bōli* 玻璃 ('crystal, glass'), *màn* 鬘 ('garland') and *mòlì* 末利 or 茉莉 ('jasmine') from the category of non-religious phonemic loans, *shìjiè* 世界 ('world-realm'), *ròuyǎn* 肉眼 ('physical eye'), *tánzhǐ* 彈指 ('snap of fingers') and *zuòzhèng* 作證 ('to realize, to testify') from the category of loan translations of Indic compounds (i.e., the first type of loan translation), *guòqù* 過去 ('past'), *xiànzài* 現在 ('present'), *wèilái* 未來 ('future'), *wúshàng* 無上 ('supreme'), *bùjiǔ* 不久 ('not long') and *bùkěsīyì* 不可思議 ('unconceivable') from the category of loan translations of Indic words containing prefixes (i.e., the second type of loan translation), the disyllabic *móguǐ* 魔鬼 and *hùchí* 護持 created through combining a monosyllabic transliteration or translation with a near synonym, and the disyllabic *quánbiàn* 權便 and *tánhuā* 曇花 created through abbreviating a polysyllabic translation or transliteration.[56] All these lexical creations have circulated beyond Buddhist contexts, and have finally become part of the common Chinese vocabulary still in use even today.

MECHANISMS OF CONTACT-INDUCED SYNTACTIC CREATIONS IN CHINESE BUDDHIST TRANSLATIONS

Over the past decades, scholars have identified a number of syntactic innovations in Chinese Buddhist translations, which are absent or rarely seen in Classical Chinese. Some of these innovations may be explained as contact-induced language changes, or more precisely, changes at least accelerated (or extended) by the contact between Chinese and Indic languages during the translation of Buddhist texts. In this section I will discuss three examples: the indefinite use of the interrogative pronoun *hé* 何 ('what'), the aspect marker *yǐ* 已 signaling that the natural endpoint of a telic action had been reached, and the disposal structure '*chí* 持 ('to hold') + Object + Verb'. I choose to focus on these examples because they represent three basic mechanisms of syntactic innovations in Chinese Buddhist translations. While discussing these examples, I will correlate them with similar (or partly similar) phenomena found in other language-contact situations.[57]

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[55] The strong tendency of disyllabification in Chinese Buddhist translations may also reflect a development in vernacular Chinese. On the vernacular features of Chinese Buddhist translations (particularly those produced before the 6th cent.), see Zürcher 1977, 1996; Zhu 1992: 101–122; Mair 1994; Karashima 1996a; Nattier 2008: 17–19.

[56] The binome *fāngbiàn* 方便, a standard translation of Skt. *upāya* ('stratagem, expedient'), also entered the common lexicon of Chinese.

[57] For an overview of previous scholarship concerning the influence of language contact on the historical development of Chinese syntax, see Cao and Yu 2015. Recently Meisterernst (2018: 124–125) has aptly observed

1. Importation of New grammatical function

The indefinite use of the interrogative pronoun *hé* 何 illustrates the mechanism of importing a new grammatical function from the source language (Sanskrit or Prākrit) into the target language (Chinese). In pre-Buddhist Archaic Chinese, *hé* 何 was most often used as an interrogative pronoun, adjective or adverb, meaning 'what, which, why, how' (see Peyraube and Wu 2005). Although the use of *hé* 何 as an indefinite pronoun is attested in indigenous Archaic Chinese literature, such usage is rare and much less common than the use of *hé* 何 as an interrogative.[58] In comparison, the indefinite use of *hé* 何 is far more common in Buddhist translations (especially those produced before the 7th–8th centuries).[59] For instance, in Kumārajīva's 5th-century Chinese translation of the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtra* ('Scripture of the Lotus of the True Dharma') we find:[60]

(1) 其人雖不問、不信、不解是經，我得阿耨多羅三藐三菩提時，隨在何地，以神通力、智慧力引之，令得住是法中。(T. 262 [ix] 38c8–11 [*juan* 5])

Although these people do not inquire about this scripture, nor do they believe it, nor do they understand it, when I attain supreme perfect awakening, no matter in what place [one may be], I will guide him through my supernatural power and power of wisdom, and will make him abide in this teaching.[61]

In this sentence the word *hé* 何 is not an interrogative, but an indefinite pronoun, just like English 'what' used in the indefinite sense. In a Sanskrit version of the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka sūtra* we find the following counterpart to the Chinese sentence above:

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that in the current linguistic debate there are two different approaches to explaining syntactic innovations in Buddhist translations: the first approach focuses on external factors, i.e., to attribute these innovations to the influence of 'the syntax of the source languages from which the texts were translated', and the second approach focuses on internal factors, i.e., to explain these innovations as 'native Chinese developments caused by changes in the Chinese language'. It seems to me that these two approaches are not necessarily incompatible with each other. It is certainly possible that a syntactic innovation was triggered by some morphological change within the Chinese language, but accelerated by the language contact of Chinese and Indic languages during the translation. In such a situation, a syntactic innovation was both internally triggered and externally accelerated. In fact, in my opinion, one cannot generalize the role (whether a trigger or an accelerator, or no role at all) played by language contact in studying syntactic innovations of Chinese Buddhist translations, because any evaluation of the role of language contact can only be made on a case-by-case basis after careful examination (which certainly involves a comparison of Chinese translations with their extant Sanskrit or Prākrit parallels). In this paper I do not intend to claim that the three examples (namely the indefinite *hé* 何, the aspect marker *yǐ* 已 and the disposal 持OV) could not have appeared without language contact. Rather my purpose is to show how language contact may account for the frequent appearances of these syntactic elements or structures in Chinese Buddhist translations.

[58] For an in-depth analysis of *wh*-words used as indefinites in Archaic Chinese, see Aldridge 2010a: 25–27. Aldridge has found 'twelve examples in archaic period texts of *wh*-words used as negative polarity items', which indicates the 'relative paucity of negative polarity uses of *wh*-words' in archaic period. Moreover, she has listed three examples of *shéi* 誰 ('who') and *shú* 孰 ('who') used as indefinites in archaic conditional clauses (ibid.: 26), without mentioning the similar use of *hé* 何 in conditional clauses. Overall it would be safe to say that the indefinite use of *hé* 何 is attested but rare (or at least infrequently found) in Archaic Chinese.

[59] For some other examples of the indefinite use of *hé* 何 in Buddhist texts, see Wu 2008: 142–151.

[60] All translations of Chinese, Sanskrit and Gāndhārī textual quotations are mine, unless otherwise specified.

[61] The counterpart in Dharmarakṣa's translation of the *Lotus Sūtra* does not contain any interrogative or indefinite pronoun (see T. 263 [ix] 109b12–15 [*juan* 7]).

kiṃ cāpy ete sattvā imaṃ dharmaparyāyaṃ nāvataranti na budhyante | api tu khalu punar aham etām anuttarāṃ samyaksaṃbodhim abhisaṃbudhya yo yasmin sthito bhaviṣyati taṃ tasminn eva ṛddhibalenāvarjayiṣyāmi pattīyāpayiṣyāmy avatārayiṣyāmi paripācayiṣyāmi | (Kern and Nanjio 1908–1912: 288.3–6)

These beings do not at all penetrate or understand this Dharma-discourse. However, having attained the supreme perfect awakening, wherever one will be staying, I will convert exactly that one in that place through my supernatural power, and will make him believe and penetrate [this Dharma-discourse], and will bring him to spiritual maturity.

Although Kern–Nanjio's edition is based on Sanskrit manuscripts that considerably postdate Kumārajīva 5th-century Chinese translation, this edition can at least give us some clue about the syntactic structure of the Indic original underlying the Chinese sentence. The Sanskrit parallel to the Chinese phrase *suí-zài-hédì* 隨在何地 ('no matter in what place [one may be]') is *yo yasmin sthito bhaviṣyati* ('wherever one will be staying'). Due to the doubling of the relative, both *yaḥ* and *yasmin* acquire an indefinite meaning. The expression *zài-hédì* 在何地 ('in what place') corresponds to *yasmin* ('where, wherever', locative singular of *yad*), and *hé* 何 corresponds to the relative pronoun stem *yad* ('which, whichever') on the semantic level.[62]

The use of *hé* 何 as an indefinite pronoun is also seen in other Chinese Buddhist translations. Below are two examples drawn respectively from Kumārajīva's 5th-century translation of the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa* or 'Teachings of Vimalakīrti' (T. 475) and Dharmaruci's 6th-century translation of the *Jñānālokālaṃkāra* or 'Ornament of the Light of Knowledge' (T. 357). Each example is accompanied with its Sanskrit counterpart:

(2) 隨諸眾生應以何國入佛智慧而取佛土。隨諸眾生應以何國起菩薩根而取佛土。(T. 475 [xiv] 538a23–25 [*juan shang*])

[A bodhisattva] seizes a buddha-land according to the land through which sentient beings enter into the wisdom of a buddha. [A bodhisattva] seizes a buddha-land according to the land through which sentient beings generate the roots [for becoming] bodhisattvas.[63]

yādṛśena buddhakṣetrāvatareṇa satvā buddhajñānam avataranti tādṛśaṃ buddhakṣetraṃ parigṛhṇāti | yādṛśena buddhakṣetrāvatareṇa satvānām āryākārāṇīndriyāṇy utpadyante tādṛśaṃ buddhakṣetraṃ parigṛhṇāti | (Study Group on Buddhist Sanskrit Literature 2006: 9, folio 5b2–3)

[A bodhisattva] seizes that sort of buddha-land, by entering into which sentient beings enter into the wisdom of a buddha. [A bodhisattva] seizes that sort of buddha-land, by entering into which sentient beings generate faculties with noble aspects.[64]

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[62] By saying that *hé* 何 corresponds to the Skt. relative pronoun, I do not mean to suggest that *hé* 何 obtains the full functions of a relative pronoun, but, rather, that *hé* 何 matches with the Skt. relative pronoun stem *yad* in terms of their shared lexical meaning, namely that both *hé* 何 and *yad* mean 'which, whichever' in this context.

[63] The counterparts in Zhi Qian's and Xuanzang's translations of the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa* do not contain any interrogative or indefinite pronoun (see T. 474 [xiv] 520a11–13 [*juan shang*]; T. 476 [xiv] 559a18–21 [*juan 1*]).

[64] I translate *yādṛśena buddhakṣetrāvatareṇa* (lit. 'through which sort of entrance into a buddha-land') loosely as 'by entering into which [buddha-land]' to make my translation sound more like natural English.

(3) 如是依名說何等法，彼法非此處，不離此處。如是，文殊師利，如來如實知一切
法本來不生、不起、不滅。(T. 357 [xii] 246b16–19 [*juan xia*])

Thus [if one] speaks of any *dharma* [i.e., any state of existence] by name, that *dharma* neither belongs to this place nor leaves this place. Thus, O Mañjuśrī, the Tathāgata knows, according to reality, that all *dharma*s are by nature unborn, non-arising and non-perishing.[65]

nāmnā yo dharmo 'bhilapyate so 'pi dharmo na deśastho na pradeśasthaḥ | evam ete mañjuśrīḥ sarvadharmās tathāgatena jñātā ādita evājātā anutpannā aniruddhāḥ | (Study Group on Buddhist Sanskrit Literature 2004: 118, folio 21b4–5)

Any *dharma* which is expressed by name, is neither situated in a region nor situated in a place. Thus, O Mañjuśrī, the Tathāgata knows from the very beginning that all *dharma*s are unborn, unoriginated and unobstructed.

In the example from Kumārajīva's translation of the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa*, *yǐ-héguó* 以何國 (lit. 'through which land') correspond to *yādṛśena buddhakṣetrāvatareṇa* (lit. 'through which sort of entrance into a buddha-land') in the Sanskrit version, with *hé* 何 matching with the relative *yādṛśa-* ('which kind of, whichever kind of') on the semantic level. In the example from Dharmaruci's translation of the *Jñānālokālaṃkāra*, *hédĕng-fǎ* 何等法 ('which *dharma*') corresponds to *yo dharmo* in the Sanskrit version, with *hédĕng* 何等 matching with the relative *yo* (*yaḥ*, 'which, whichever') on the semantic level.

In all three examples above, *hé* 何 and *hédĕng* 何等 function as an indefinite pronoun, with no interrogative meaning. When the translators used *hé* 何 (or *hédĕng* 何等) to render the Sanskrit relative pronoun *yad* (or its derivatives) based on their semantic overlap (i.e., their shared meaning of 'which, what'), they consequently imported the indefinite function of the Sanskrit relative pronoun into *hé* 何, as shown below in *Figure 1*.

Relative Pronoun *yad*   Interrogative Pronoun *hé* 何
in Source Language (Sanskrit or Prākrit)   in Target Language (Chinese)

'which, what'   ⟸ Semantic Identification ⟹   'which, what'

Indefinite Function   Transfer / Importation ⟹   **New**: Indefinite Function
('whichever, whatever')   ('whichever, whatever')
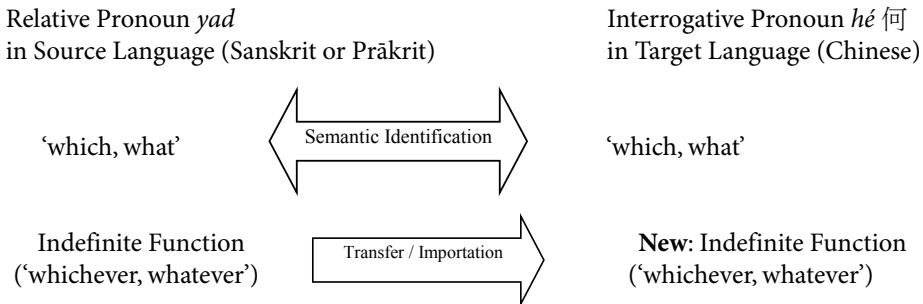
Figure 1: Indefinite Use of Hé 何 as a Result of Contact-Induced Grammatical Transfer

Now one may ask: Can the development of an interrogative into an indefinite pronoun happen independently of language contact? In principle, the answer is yes. As Bernd Heine and Tania

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[65] The counterparts in two other Chinese translations of the *Jñānālokālaṃkāra*, separately made by Saṃghadeva (6th cent.) and Fahu (early 11th cent.), do not contain any interrogative or indefinite pronoun (see T. 358 [xii] 251b20–21; T. 359 [xii] 257b26–28 [*juan* 2]).

Kuteva (2002: 250–251) have shown, an interrogative can become an indefinite pronoun without any dependence on language contact, and there are indeed such cases in the world's languages. However, in the case of *hé* 何, its indefinite use is rare (though not absent) in Pre-Buddhist Archaic Chinese, and arguably uncommon in indigenous non-Buddhist Chinese works composed in medieval times. In contrast, the indefinite use of *hé* 何 appears frequently in Buddhist translations. Such frequency was likely to have resulted from the influence exerted by the language of Indic source-texts during the translation process, or more precisely, by Sanskrit or Prākrit relative pronouns.[66]

A similar case occurs in the translation of Portuguese texts into Tariana (an Amazonian language used in northwestern Brazil) for Roman Catholic church services. The Portuguese word *que* ('what, which') can be used both as an interrogative pronoun and as a relative pronoun, whereas the Tariana word *kwana* is normally only used as an interrogative pronoun. According to Alexandra Aikhenvald's study, when translating the texts for Catholic church services from Portuguese into Tariana, young Tariana speakers used *kwana* to render Portuguese *que*, and consequently imported the relative-pronoun function into *kwana* (see Aikhenvald 2002: 183–184; Heine and Kuteva 2005: 251). The biggest difference between the change undergone by *kwana* and that undergone by *hé* 何 is this: unlike the Tariana interrogative *kwana*, the Chinese interrogative *hé* 何 did not develop into a relative pronoun during the translation process, but only acquired the indefinite function as a result of contact-induced grammatical transfer.

2. Expansion of existing grammatical function

The structure 'Verb (+ Object) + *yǐ* 已' (hereafter 'V(O)已'), in which *yǐ* 已 marks the completion of an action, appears widely and frequently in Chinese Buddhist translations.[67] There are two types of V(O)已 in Buddhist translations. In the first type, the verb used before *yǐ* 已 is atelic (for instance, *shíyǐ* 食已 ['after having eaten']), and *yǐ* 已 serves as an aspectual secondary predicate to supply an endpoint for the atelic event. Aldridge and Meisterernst (2018) have convincingly

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[66] An anonymous reviewer kindly suggests that the indefinite use of *hé* 何 in Buddhist translations does not have to be attributed to any Indian origin, since it can reflect a native syntactic development of Chinese, which was then employed to translate functional items in the source-texts. This is certainly possible. However, given the relative paucity of the indefinite use of *hé* 何 in Classical Chinese literature (see above n. 58), we still have to explain why such usage occurs widely and frequently in Buddhist translations (for more examples of the indefinite *hé* 何 in Buddhist texts, see Wu 2008: 142ff.). Of course, one may speculate that the indefinite *hé* 何 already appeared with frequency in the vernacular language before entering into written texts. But it is almost impossible to substantiate such a speculation, because apart from Chinese Buddhist texts we do not have any other corpus, which can provide us with 'knowledge about any spoken variety of Chinese in the first millennium of the Common Era' (Meisterernst 2018: 123–124). In my view, the frequent use of the indefinite *hé* 何 in Buddhist translations was due at least partly to the influence of the language of Indic source-texts. Since most foreign missionary translators did not attain excellent mastery of literary Chinese, it seems unlikely that they were familiar with the rare examples of the indefinite *hé* 何 in Classical Chinese literature. Thus the chance that they directly adopted the indefinite *hé* 何 from Classical Chinese is low. Rather it seems more likely to me that they were familiar with the interrogative *hé* 何, and used it to translate Indic relative pronouns based on their shared lexical meaning of 'which, what', thus consequently importing the indefinite function of Indic relative pronouns into *hé* 何.

[67] For previous studies on the structure V(O)已 in Buddhist translations, see, for instance, Karashima 1998a; 2010: 568–571, s.v. 已 (yǐ)(1); Mei 1999; Jiang 2007; Meisterernst 2011; Wei 2015; Aldridge and Meisterernst 2018.

argued that this type of *yǐ* 已 grammaticalized from the verb *yǐ* 已 ('to end, to terminate'). The grammaticalization took place in Early Middle Chinese before the arrival of Buddhism, and was triggered by 'the loss of derivational affixes distinguishing telic from atelic verbs' that occurred in Late Archaic Chinese.[68] In the second type of V(O)已, *yǐ* 已 follows a telic verb (for instance, *sǐyǐ* 死已 ['after having died']), or it follows a combination of an atelic verb with a definite quantified inner argument (for instance, *shuō-cǐjìyǐ* 說此偈已 ['after having recited this *gāthā*']).[69] This type of *yǐ* 已 serves as an aspect marker to signal that the natural endpoint of a telic event had been reached. Two different opinions have been proposed regarding the origin of the second type of *yǐ* 已. One opinion holds that it was a syntactic innovation resulting from the contact between Chinese and Indic languages during the translation processes.[70] Another opinion holds that it was 'a wholly indigenous Chinese development', a natural extension of the first type of *yǐ* 已 (i.e., the *yǐ* 已 occurring with atelic verbs and supplying an endpoint to atelic events).[71]

I take a middle way between the two opinions. Given that several examples of the second type of V(O)已 have recently been identified in Pre-Buddhist Chinese literature (Wei 2015: 224–225), there can be little doubt that this type of *yǐ* 已 emerged as a native development of Chinese. But meanwhile, given the relative paucity of the second type of V(O)已 in Pre-Buddhist Chinese literature and its considerable frequency in Buddhist translations,[72] it seems likely to me that its frequency was due at least partly to the influence of the language of Indic source-texts. Thus when explaining the frequency of the second type of V(O)已 in Buddhist translations, we should take into account the influence of language contact. Karashima (2010: 568) has amply shown that in both types of V(O)已 found in Buddhist translations, *yǐ* 已 'generally correspond[s] to a gerund in Sanskrit texts'. In Sanskrit, a gerund denotes an action that precedes the action expressed by the principal verb of the sentence. Below are two examples of V(O)已 quoted from Dharmarakṣa's 3rd-century translation of the *Saddharma puṇḍarīkasūtra* (T. 263). Each example is accompanied with its Sanskrit counterpart:

(4) 佛告諸比丘：「 於時，五百百千億大梵天眾讚歎佛已，啓勸令佛轉大法輪…… 」(T. 263 [ix] 91b20–21 [*juan* 4])
The Buddha told the monks: 'At that time, five thousand trillion deities of the heaven of the great Brahmā, having praised the Buddha, implored and requested the Buddha to turn the great wheel of the Dharma…'

atha khalu bhikṣavas te mahābrahmāṇas taṃ bhagavantaṃ mahābhijñājñābhi bhuvaṃ tathāgatam arhantaṃ samyaksaṃbuddhaṃ saṃmukham ābhiḥ sārūpyābhir gāthābhir ab-hiṣṭutya taṃ bhagavantam etad ūcuḥ | pravartayatu bhagavān dharmacakraṃ pravartayatu sugato dharmacakraṃ… (Kern and Nanjio 1908–1912: 178.1–3)

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[68] See Aldridge and Meisterernst 2018: 166–173.

[69] Meisterernst (2011) suggests that the combination of an atelic verb (such as *shuō* 說 ['to say, to recite']) with a definite inner argument (such as *cǐjì* 此偈 ['this *gāthā*']) expresses a telic activity that has come to its natural endpoint, i.e., the endpoint of 'one definite and quantifiable situation expressed by the predicate.'

[70] This opinion is represented by Jiang 2007, though in Jiang's analysis the second type of *yǐ* 已 occurs only with telic and punctual verbs, not with the combination of an atelic verb and a definite inner argument.

[71] See Aldridge and Meisterernst 2018: 160. This opinion is represented by Aldridge and Meisterernst 2018, who have developed the proposals of Mei 1999 and Meisterernst 2011.

[72] The paucity of the second type of V(O) 已 in Pre-Buddhist Chinese literature is noted by Wei (2015: 225).

[The Buddha said,] 'Then, O Monks, the deities of the heaven of the great Brahmā, having praised the Blessed One, the Superior One with the Knowledge of the Great Supernatural Knowledges, the Tathāgata, the Arhat, the Perfectly-Awakened one, in [his] personal presence, with suitable stanzas, said this to the Blessed One: 'O Blessed One, please turn the wheel of the Dharma! O Sugata, please turn the wheel of the Dharma! …'

(5)   適見佛已，尋時即往。(T. 263 [ix] 90b12–17 [*juan* 4])
Having just caught sight of the Buddha, they immediately approached [him].

dṛṣṭvā ca punar yena sa bhagavān mahābhijñājñānābhibhūs tathāgato 'rhan samyak-saṃbuddhas tenopasaṃkrantā | (Kern and Nanjio 1908–1912: 169.3–4)
Furthermore, having seen [the Blessed One], they approached the Blessed One, Tathāgata, Arhat, the Perfectly Awakened One, the Superior One with the Knowledge of the Great Supernatural Knowledges.

In Example (4), *zàntàn* 讚歎 ('to praise') is an atelic verb, and the phrase '讚歎…已' corresponds to the gerund *abhiṣṭutya* ('having praised'). In Example (5), *jiàn* 見 ('to see') is a telic verb, and the phrase '見…已' corresponds to the gerund *dṛṣṭvā* ('having seen'). In Pre-Buddhist literary Chinese, V(O)已 first involved with atelic verbs, and later also with telic verbs (Aldridge and Meisterernst 2018). Comparatively speaking, before the arrival of Buddhism, the first type of V(O)已 (V = an atelic verb) was more common, while the second type of V(O)已 (V = a telic verb) was relatively rare. Since most foreign missionary translators only had limited knowledge of literary Chinese, it is likely that they were more familiar with the first type of V(O)已, and that not all of them were aware of the existence of the second type of V(O)已 in Chinese. For translators who were aware of the existence of the second type of V(O)已, they directly adopted it from literary Chinese. But for translators who were unaware of, or did not know, the existence of the second type of V(O)已 in Chinese, they may well have come up with the second type of V(O)已 by analogy with the first type of V(O)已. To be sure, for modern linguists, the categories of atelic and telic verbs are clear-cut and can be easily differentiated. However, in the eyes of foreign missionaries (especially those unaware of the existence of the second type of V(O)已 in Chinese), there may have appeared to be no fundamental difference between the first type of V(O)已 (V = an atelic verb) and the second type of V(O)已 (V = a telic verb). Given that all Indic (Sanskrit or Prākrit) verbs, whether telic or atelic, can form gerunds, when foreign missionaries translated the gerunds of Indic atelic verbs into the first type of V(O)已, they would have likewise translated the gerunds of Indic telic verbs in a similar way and consequently introduced the second type of V(O)已 into translation texts. By doing so, foreign translators applied the aspect marker *yǐ* 已 to virtually any Chinese verb, whether telic or atelic, thus effectively expanding the usage of *yǐ* 已. This may account for the frequency of the second type of V(O)已 in Buddhist translations. The mechanism suggested above is illustrated below in *Figure 2*.

A partly similar case occurs in the language contact between Slovenian and German speakers in Trieste. According to Heine and Kuteva (2005: 52), the language contact in this region 'had *inter alia* the effect that the Slovenian pattern of reflexive marking was replicated to some extent by German speakers'. In Standard German, while a reflexive verb such as *waschen* ('to wash') takes a reflexive pronoun, a non-reflexive verb such as *lernen* ('to learn') does not take a reflexive pronoun. In Slovenian, both types of verbs can take the reflexive marker *se*. Following the model of

Gerunds   V(O)已
in Source Language (Sanskrit or Prākrit)   in Target Language (Chinese)
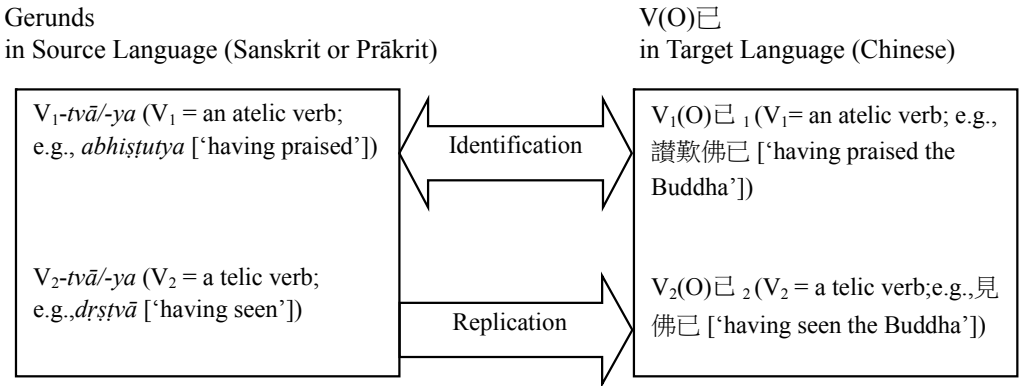

Figure 2: V(O) 已 as a Result of Contact-Induced Grammatical Expansion

the Slovenian reflexive marker *se*, the German speakers in Trieste likewise used the reflexive pronoun *sich* with non-reflexive verbs such as *lernen*, thus consequently expanding the usage of the reflexive pronoun *sich* by applying it to virtually all verbs (whether reflexive or not) and to all three persons (first, second and third).[73] Of course, this example does not involve any aspect marker and is thus not strictly parallel to the case of V(O)已 discussed above. Nevertheless, the expansion of the usage of the reflexive pronoun *sich* in the language of German speakers in Trieste does bear a similarity to the expansion of the usage of the aspect marker *yǐ* 已 in Chinese Buddhist translations, since both cases of expansion belong to contact-induced grammatical changes.

3. Replication of syntactic relation

The disposal structure '*chí* 持 + Object + Verb' (hereafter '持OV') frequently found in early Buddhist translations may illustrate the mechanism of transferring syntactic relation (or more precisely, the OV word order) from the source language (Sanskrit or Prākrit) into the target language (Chinese). In Classical Chinese, the predominant word order is 'Subject + Verb + Object' (SVO).[74] In Sanskrit and Prākrit, the typical word order is 'Subject + Object + Verb' (SOV), though there are many deviations from this typical word order.[75] Below I will argue that the frequent use of the disposal structure 持OV in early Buddhist translations was due at least partly to the influence of verb-final clauses or sentences in Indic source-texts. While *chí* 持 is often used as a verb meaning 'to hold' in Classical Chinese, it does not function as a verb in the structure 持OV discussed here; rather, it is more like a preposition (similar to *yǐ* 以) used to bring the object to the front of the

[73] Heine and Kuteva (2005: 52) note that the reflexive pronoun *sich*, 'which is restricted to third-person referents, was extended to second and first persons, e.g. *wir waschen sich*' by the German speakers in Trieste, as a result of replicating the Slovenian reflexive marker *se*.

[74] On the basic SVO order of Classical Chinese, see Peyraube 1996: 165–168; 1997; Aldridge 2010b.

[75] In fact, both verb-final and non-verb-final structures can be found in Sanskrit and Prākrit texts. On the free verb-final order (rather than rigid verb-final order) of Sanskrit and Prākrit, see Bubenik 1991; Hock 1997: 103–105.

verb.[76] The disposal structure 持OV already occurs in Lokakṣema's 2nd-century Chinese trans-
lation of the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā* or 'Perfection of Wisdom in Eight Thousand Verses'
(T. 224).[77] The following are four sentences quoted from T. 224, all containing the structure 持
OV, along with their counterparts in a Sanskrit version of the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā*. The
latter two sentences also have counterparts in a Gāndhārī *Prajñāpāramitā* manuscript that has
been dated, 'based on a C14 test, to 47~147 C.E., which means that this manuscript is probably
contemporary with the original text of Lokakṣema's Chinese translation (translated in 179 C.E.).'[78]

(6) 中又爲蛇所齧者，若男子、若女人持摩尼珠示之，見摩尼珠，毒即去。(T.224
    [viii] 436a6–8 [*juan* 2])[79]
    As for someone among [them] who is bitten by a viper, if a man or a woman <u>shows him the</u>
    <u>*maṇi g*em</u>, as soon as he sees the *maṇi* gem, the poison will immediately go away. (under-
    lines added)[80]

    saced bhagavan strī vā puruṣo vā āśīviṣeṇa daṣṭo bhavet <u>tasya tan maṇiratnaṃ da<r>śyeta</u>
    | tasya saha daṃśanenaiva[81] *maṇiratnasya tad viṣaṃ pratihanyeta vigacchet |* (Mitra 1888:
    97.6–7 = Wogihara 1932–1935: 274.25–28)
    O Blessed One, if a woman or a man were bitten by a viper, <u>one should show him/her that</u>
    <u>gem</u>. Exactly at the sight of that gem, the poison would be removed and would go away.

(7) 正使菩薩摩訶薩持心了知，當作是學[82]知：「盡，無所有。」(T. 224 [viii] 438c5–6
    [*juan* 3])[83]
    If a *bodhisattva-mahāsattva* <u>comprehends the thought thoroughly</u>, he shall perceive it as
    follows: '[The thought] is extinct, without existence.'

    sacet punar bodhisattvo mahāsattvo yac cittaṃ pariṇāmayati <u>tac cittam evaṃ saṃjānīte</u>
    <u>*evaṃ samanvāharati* |</u> *tac cittaṃ samanvāhriyamāṇam eva kṣīṇaṃ kṣīṇam ity evaṃ saṃ-*
    jānīte viruddhaṃ vigataṃ vipariṇatam ity evaṃ saṃjānīte… (Mitra 1888: 142.21–143.2 =
    Wogihara 1932–1935: 342.10–13)
    Moreover, if a *bodhisattva-mahāsattva* <u>perceives and concentrates in this way upon the</u>
    <u>thought</u> which matures: he perceives the thought being concentrated upon as follows, '[It
    is] just extinct, extinct,' [and] as follows, 'It is stopped, departed, deteriorated' …

(8) 若善男子、善女人持般若波羅蜜經卷與他人，使書，若令學，若為說，及至阿惟
    越致菩薩書經卷，授與之……(T. 224 [viii] 437b18–20 [*juan* 3])[84]

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[76] *Yǐ* 以 has been treated either as a light verb (Aldridge 2010b), or as a preposition/postposition (Peyraube 1997). On
the relationship between *chí* 持 and *yǐ* 以, see discussion below.
[77] For a detailed list of examples of such prepositional use of 持 in T. 224, see Karashima 2010: 70–74.
[78] See Karashima 2010: 759–760.
[79] See also a translation of this Chinese sentence and its Sanskrit parallel in Karashima (2011: 105 n. 586).
[80] All underlines in the sentences quoted here and below are added by the present author.
[81] Emended to *darśanenaiva* (see Mitra 1888: 97 n.1; Wogihara 1932: 274).
[82] The variant reading 覺 should be adopted here (see Karashima 2011: 137).
[83] See also a translation of this Chinese sentence and its Sanskrit parallel in Karashima (2011: 137 n. 67).
[84] See also a translation of this Chinese sentence and its Sanskrit parallel in Karashima (2011: 121 n. 732).

If a good man or a good woman gives scriptural scrolls of the *Prajñāpāramitā* to other people, making them copy it, or making them study it, or explaining it for them, and even [goes so far as to] write its scriptural scrolls for non-retrogressing *bodhisattva*s and give them [the scrolls] …

yaś cānyaḥ kaścit kauśika kulaputro vā kuladuhitā vā teṣāṃ sarveṣām anuttarāyāṃ samyaksaṃbodhau cittam utpādya tebhya imāṃ prajñāpāramitāṃ likhitvā dadyāt | yo vā kauśika kulaputro vā kuladuhitā vā avinivartanīyāya bodhisattvāya mahāsattvāyaināṃ prajñāpāramitāṃ likhitvā upanāmayed… (Mitra 1888: 128.18–129.1 = Wogihara 1932–1935: 315.17–22)

O Kauśika, if someone else, either a son of good family or a daughter of good family, having raised the thought of all these beings up to the supreme perfect awakening, should give them this perfection of wisdom after having copied it, or, O Kauśika, if someone, either a son of good family or a daughter of good family, should present this perfection of wisdom to an irreversible *bodhisattva-mahāsattva* after having copied it…

te (5-38:) + + + + + [.. *saṃmasaṃbo*]*sae prathidaṇa*
ima prañaparamida likhita dajati
yo ya aveva (5-39:) + + + +
.. sa imayeva prañaparamida likhita uvaṇamea (Gāndhārī parallel cited from Falk and Karashima 2013: 146, 148)[85]

'…their intent upon […supreme awakening], should give this perfection of wisdom after having copied it. If someone…should present exactly this perfection of wisdom to an irreversible…after having copied it…' (My translation)

(9) 從是輩中，若有一菩薩出，便作是言：「我欲疾作佛。」正使[86]欲疾作佛，若有人持般若波羅蜜經卷書、授與者，其福轉倍多。(T.224 [viii] 437c16–19 [*juan 3*])[87]

Suppose that a *bodhisattva* emerges from them (i.e., from these irreversible *bodhisattva*s) and says, 'I wish to become a *buddha* quickly.' When [a *bodhisattva* thus] wishes to become a *buddha* quickly, if someone writes a scriptural scroll of the *Prajñāpāramitā* and gives [it to this *bodhisattva*], that person's merit would be much greater.

ataḥ khalu punaḥ sa kauśika kulaputro vā kuladuhitā vā bahutaraṃ puṇyaṃ prasaved yas teṣām avinivartanīyānāṃ bodhisattvānāṃ mahāsattvānāṃ kṣiprataraṃ anuttarāṃ samyaksambodhim abhisamboddhukāmebhya imāṃ prajñāpāramitāṃ pustakalikhitāṃ kṛtvā dadyād upanāmayet sārthāṃ savyañjanām upadiśet iha ca tān prajñāpāramitāyām avavaded anuśiṣyāt (Mitra 1888: 131.4–9 = Wogihara 1932–1935: 319.4–10)

Furthermore, O Kauśika, a son of good family or a daughter of good family would acquire greater merit, if he or she, having written this perfection of wisdom down in a book,

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[85] According to the conventions listed by Falk and Karashima (2013: 101), '(5-38:) + + + + +' means that line 5-38 has lost the birch-bark needed for ca. 5 *akṣara*s up to the standard left-side border; '(5-39:) + + + +' means that line 5-39 has lost the birch-bark needed for ca. 4 *akṣara*s counting from a hypothetical right-side border; '..' denotes an illegible *akṣara*.

[86] On *zhèngshǐ* 正使 meaning 'if, when' in the present context, see Karashima 2010: 632.

[87] See also a translation of this Chinese sentence and its Sanskrit parallel in Karashima 2011: 125 n. 759.

should give [and] present it to those who wish to attain more quickly the supreme perfect awakening among irreversible *bodhisattva-mahāsattva*s, if he or she should explain [this perfection of wisdom] with its meaning and with its letters, and if he or she should admonish and instruct [those irreversible *bodhisattva-mahāsattva*s] in regard to this perfection of wisdom.

teṣa sarveṣa avevaṭiaṇa (5-52:) + + + + + .. + .. + + + + + +
[*ku*]*lap*(*u*)*tro va kuladhita vi*
ima prañaparamida likh[*ita*] *uvaṇa(m)e*
(5-53:) + + + + [*ña*]*ṇa uvatidiśea* (Gāndhārī parallel cited from Falk and Karashima 2013: 160)[88]
'Among all the irreversible…a son of good family or a daughter of good family…should present this perfection of wisdom after having copied it…should explain with its letters…' (My translation)

In all four examples, *chí* 持 is not used as a verb meaning 'to hold' but instead serves as a disposal marker indicating the preverbal position of the object. In the Sanskrit and Gāndhārī parallels quoted above, we find no word meaning 'to hold' that can match *chí* 持 in its literal sense. Let us look at these examples one by one.

   In Example (6), the phrase 持摩尼珠示之 ('show him the *maṇi* gem') corresponds to the Sanskrit verb-final clause *tasya tan maṇiratnaṃ da<r>śyeta* ('one should show him that *maṇi* gem'), in which the noun *mónízhū* 摩尼珠 ('*maṇi* gem'), the verb *shì* 示 ('show') and the pronoun *zhī* 之 ('him') match respectively with *tan maṇiratnaṃ* ('that gem'), *da<r>śyeta* ('one should show') and *tasya* ('to him'), whereas *chí* 持 has no direct counterpart in the Sanskrit clause.

   In Example (7), the phrase 持心了知 ('comprehend the thought thoroughly') corresponds to the Sanskrit verb-final clause *tac cittam evaṃ saṃjānīte evaṃ samanvāharati* ('[a bodhisattva] perceives and concentrates in this way upon the thought'), in which the noun *xīn* 心 ('thought') and the verb *liǎozhī* 了知 ('comprehend thoroughly') match respectively with *tac cittam* ('that thought') and *saṃjānīte samanvāharati* ('perceives and concentrates upon'), whereas *chí* 持 has no direct counterpart in the Sanskrit clause. The word *chí* 持 certainly does not mean 'to hold' here, since it is impossible for anyone to hold an abstract object such as 'thought'.

   In Example (8), the phrase 持般若波羅蜜經卷與他人 ('give scriptural scrolls of the *Prajñāpāramitā* to other people') corresponds to the Sanskrit verb-final clause *tebhya imāṃ prajñāpāramitāṃ likhitvā dadyāt* ('[if one] should give them this perfection of wisdom after having copied it'), in which 般若波羅蜜 (EHC: *pan nja: pa la mjiət ; EMC: *pan ɲɨak pa la mjit; transliteration of Gāndhārī *prañaparamida*, 'perfection of wisdom'), the verb *yǔ* 與 ('give') and the pronoun *tārén* 他 人 ('other people') match respectively with *imāṃ prajñāpāramitāṃ* ('that perfection of wisdom'), *dadyāt* ('one should give') and *tebhyaḥ* ('to them'), whereas *chí* 持 has no direct counterpart in the Sanskrit clause. The Gāndhārī parallel to this Chinese phrase reads *ima prañaparamida likhita dajati* ('[if one] should give this perfection of wisdom after having copied it'), which contains nothing matching *chí* 持 either.

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[88] According to Falk and Karashima (2012: 26), [a] denotes that letter 'a' is only partially preserved; (b) denotes that letter 'b' is not preserved but reconstructed. On the symbols '+' and '..', see above n. 85.

In Example (9), the clause 若有人持般若波羅蜜經卷書授與者 ('If someone writes a scriptural scroll of the *Prajñāpāramitā* and gives [it]') corresponds both to the Sanskrit verb-final clause *imāṃ prajñāpāramitāṃ pustakalikhitāṃ kṛtvā dadyād upanāmayet* ('[if one] should give [and] present this perfection of wisdom after having written it down in a book'), and to the Gāndhārī verb-final clause *ima prañaparamida likh*[*ita*] *uvaṇa(m)e* ('[if one] should present this perfection of wisdom after having copied it'). In this Chinese clause, the noun 般若波羅蜜經卷 ('scriptural scroll of the perfection of wisdom') matches with the Sanskrit *imāṃ prajñāpāramitāṃ* ('this perfection of wisdom') and with the Gāndhārī *ima prañaparamida* ('this perfection of wisdom'). The penultimate verb *shū* 書 ('to write') matches with the Sanskrit gerund phrase *pustakalikhitāṃ kṛtvā* (lit. 'having made it written down in a book') and with the Gāndhārī gerund *likhita* (< Skt. *likhitvā*, 'having copied').[89] The final verb *shòuyǔ* 授與 ('give') matches with the Sanskrit principal verbs *dadyād upanāmayet* ('one should give [and] present'), and with the Gāndhārī principal verb *uvaṇa(m)e* ('one should present'). Neither the Sanskrit clause nor the Gāndhārī clause contains anything directly corresponding to the word *chí* 持. Since the Gāndhārī manuscript has been dated back to '47~147 C.E.' (Karashima 2010: 760), roughly contemporary with the Indic source-text used by Lokakṣema, it is likely that the Indic originals of the above-cited Chinese sentences had basically the same syntactic structures as those found in the Gāndhārī manuscript.[90]

In light of the Sanskrit and Gāndhārī parallels, we may suggest that in all four examples above the word *chí* 持 was not translated from any Indic verb (or verbal derivative) meaning 'to hold', but was added by Lokakṣema to shift the object to the preverbal position, presumably for the sake of replicating or imitating the OV word order in the Indic source-text he used. Here I do not mean to suggest that the structure 持OV originated from language contact. In fact, as some scholars have rightly argued, the disposal markers (*chí* 持, *jiāng* 將 and *bǎ* 把) may well have grammaticalized from verbs in serial verb constructions by analogy with the already existing *yǐ* 以 disposal structures.[91] Since both processes (grammaticalization and analogy) took place within Chinese independently of language contact, there can be little doubt that the disposal structure 持OV emerged as a native development of Chinese. But meanwhile, it should be noted that the theory of the native origin of 持OV does not suffice to account for the frequent appearance of 持OV in early Chinese Buddhist translations. We still have to explain what motivated early translators (such as Lokakṣema) to frequently adopt the disposal structure 持OV instead of the regular VO structure.[92] In my opinion, Lokakṣema's preference for 持OV over the VO structure was motivated by his intent to make the word order of his translation in line with the OV word order of the Indic original. Thus, while the emergence of 持OV was indeed a native development, the frequent use of 持OV in early Chinese Buddhist translations may well have been a contact-induced phenomenon, as a result of the influence of the verb-final word order of the language of Indic source-texts.

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[89] On the Gāndhārī gerund (absolutive) ending *-ita* (= Skt. *-itvā*), see Salomon 2000: 89, 102.

[90] As for its pedigree, the Gāndhārī manuscript 'can be regarded as representing the forerunner to the one Lokakṣema knew' (Falk and Karashima 2012: 20).

[91] On the theory that the *yǐ* 以 constructions in Archaic Chinese served as a model for the establishment of *chí* 持 / *jiāng* 將 / *bǎ* 把 disposals, see Mei 1990; Peyraube 1996: 170–174. The parallel between *chí* 持 and *yǐ* 以 is particularly notable in the examples (6) and (8), where *chí* 持 appears in combination with ditransitive verbs, with the direct object following *chí* 持 instead of the verb (I thank an anonymous reviewer for drawing my attention to this parallel). In the examples (7) and (9), *chí* 持 is used simply to mark the preverbal object.

[92] For many more examples of the disposal structure 持OV in T. 224, see Karashima 2010: 70–74.

A somewhat similar case occurs in the language contact between Latin and Old Swedish in the late Middle Ages. While in Classical Latin the basic word order is verb-final (namely SOV), in Old Swedish the dominant word order in main and subordinate clauses was normally verb-second. Höder and Zeevaert (2008: 170) have observed that from the 14th to the 16th century the verb-late word order in Old Swedish subordinate clauses emerged as a 'salient innovative pattern'. This verb-late word order 'is likely to be a contact-induced innovation', which arose 'in the context of the adaptation of continental European – i.e., Latin-based – text types', or more precisely, in Old Swedish translations of Latin religious texts (ibid.: 177–180). Such verb-late word order became even more frequently used in Late Old Swedish translations, probably because 'later translators aim at producing texts in the vernacular that are formally equivalent to the foreign originals' (ibid.: 177). The frequency of the verb-late word order in Old Swedish translations and the frequency of the disposal structure 持OV in Lokakṣema's translation may share a similar reason, since both frequencies were caused at least partly by language contact, precisely under the influence of the verb-final word order in source-texts.

CONCLUSION

This paper has discussed some major mechanisms of contact-induced innovations in Chinese Buddhist translations. Regarding lexical creations, there are six basic mechanisms: phonemic loan, loan translation, hybrid loan, semantic extension, double translation, and disyllabification. Regarding syntactic creations, there are at least three basic mechanisms: importation of new grammatical function (as illustrated by the indefinite use of the interrogative pronoun *hé* 何), expansion of existing grammatical function (as illustrated by the use of the aspect marker *yǐ* 已 with both atelic and telic verbs), and replication of syntactic word order (as illustrated by the frequent use of the disposal structure 持OV). The following conclusion may be drawn from the discussion above:

The six mechanisms of contact-induced lexical creations are not unique to Chinese Buddhist translations, since almost all of them have parallels or partial parallels in other language-contact situations (either in modern language contacts, or in premodern Western translations such as the Septuagint and Notker's corpus). Although disyllabification, a major development marking the transition from Archaic Chinese to Middle Chinese, is indeed unique to the Chinese language in terms of its widespread scale, the basic methods of creating disyllabic words in Chinese Buddhist translations (namely, the addition of a redundant element to a monosyllabic term, and the abbreviation of a polysyllabic term into disyllabic form) are nevertheless not unique and have parallels elsewhere (either in the Septuagint or in modern language contacts). Second, the three mechanisms of contact-induced syntactic creations are also not unique to Chinese Buddhist translations, since they all have parallels or partial parallels in other translation activities that took place in different cultural contexts (for instance, in the translation of Portuguese texts into Tariana for Roman Catholic church services in Brazil, in the language contact between Slovenian and German speakers in Trieste, and in the translation of Latin texts into Old Swedish in the Middle Ages). Taken as a whole we may conclude that, as far as the mechanisms of contact-induced linguistic creations are concerned, Chinese Buddhist translations and non-Sinitic language contacts show some striking similarities in the ways in which they brought about new lexical and syntactic elements.

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