

Chinese Buddhist Texts and Historical Syntax

Passive Sentences in Sūtra Translations

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Abbreviations

Abbreviations in glosses

ABL	Ablative	LOC	Locative
ABS	Absolutive	M	Masculine
ACC	Accusative	MID	Middle
ADV	Adverb	NEG	Negation
ANTIPASS	Antipassive	NMLZ	Nominalizer
AOR	Aorist	NOM	Nominative
AUX	Auxiliary	NONFUT	Nonfuture
CAUS	Causative	OBJ	Objective
CL	Classifier	OBL	Oblique
CONJ	Conjunction	OPT	Optative
COP	Copula	PASS	Passive
DAT	Dative	PFV	Perfective
DISP	Disposal	PL	Plural
DU	Dual	PPP	Past participle passive
ERG	Ergative	PRF	Perfect
EXCL	Exclamatory	PROG	Progressive
F	Feminine	PRS	Present
FIN	Final particle	PST	Past
FUT	Future	PTC	Particle
GEN	Genitive	PTCP	Participle
GER	Gerund	QUOT	Quotative particle
GRND	Gerundive	REL	Relative pronoun
IMP	Imperative	SJV	Subjunctive
INDF	Indefinite	SG	Singular
INF	Infinite	TOP	Topicalizer
INJ	Injunctive	VOC	Vocative
INS	Instrumental	1	First person
INT	Interrogative	2	Second person
IPF	Imperfect	3	Third person
LCLZ	Localizer		

Abbreviations used in the running text

A	Agent	OIA	Old Indo-Aryan
Ch.	Chinese	S	Sole argument
MIA	Middle Indo-Aryan	Skt.	Sanskrit
NP	Noun phrase	TAM	Tense, Aspect and Modality
O	Patient	VP	Verb phrase

Primary sources and text editions

AAA	<i>Abhisamayālaṃkāṛālokā</i> = Wogihara (1932).
AN	<i>Aṅguttaranikāya</i> = Morris and Hardy (1885–1900).
As	<i>Aṣṭasāhasrikā</i> [<i>Prajñāpāramitā</i>].
As(Kj)	<i>Aṣṭasāhasrikā</i> by Kumārajīva = <i>Xiaopin banreboluomi jing</i> 小品般若波羅蜜經, T227 (Vol. 8, 536c12–586c7).
As(Lk)	<i>Aṣṭasāhasrikā</i> by Lokakṣema = <i>Daoxing banre jing</i> 道行般若經, T224 (Vol. 8, 425a1–478b14).
As(V)	<i>Aṣṭasāhasrikā</i> by Vaidya (1960).
As(Xz)[I]	<i>Aṣṭasāhasrikā</i> by Xuanzang no. 1 = the fourth assemblage (第四會) of <i>Da banreboluomiduo jing</i> 大般若波羅蜜多經, T220 (Vol 7, 763a1–865a27).
As(Xz)[II]	<i>Aṣṭasāhasrikā</i> by Xuanzang no. 2 = the fifth assemblage (第五會) of the <i>Da banreboluomiduo jing</i> 大般若波羅蜜多經, T220 (Vol 7, 865a28–920b17).
As(Zfn)	<i>Aṣṭasāhasrikā</i> by Zhu Fonian = <i>Mohe banre chao jing</i> 摩訶般若鈔經, T226 (Vol. 8, 508b14–536c11).
As(ZQ)	<i>Aṣṭasāhasrikā</i> by Zhi Qian = <i>Da mingdu jing</i> 大明度經, T225 (Vol. 8, 478b15–508b13).
BAU	<i>Bṛhadāraṇyaka-upaniṣad</i> . In Olivelle (1998: 36–165).
BD	The <i>Bṛhad-devatā</i> attributed to Śaunaka = Macdonell (1904).
Cic.Cat	M. Tullius Cicero, <i>In Catilinam</i> . In Clark (1905).
Cic.Ver	M. Tullius Cicero, <i>In Verrem</i> . In Peterson (1907).
CKD	Corpus of Kharoṣṭhī documents. In Baums and Glass (2002).
DB	Old Perian inscription of Darius I at Bīsutūn = Schmitt (1991).
DBBJ	<i>Da banreboluomiduo jing</i> 大般若波羅蜜多經, T220 (Vol. 5–7).
Hc	<i>Siddhahemacandra</i> = Pischel (1877).
KS	<i>Kāṭhakaśaṃhitā</i> = von Schroeder (1900).
LP	<i>Larger Prajñāpāramitā</i> .
MhV	<i>Mahāvagga</i> = Oldenberg (1879).
Mil	<i>Milindapañha</i> = Trenckner (1880).
MN	<i>Majjhimanikāya</i> = Trenckner and Chalmers (1888–1899).
MS	<i>Maitrāyaṇī Saṃhitā</i> = von Schroeder (1881–1886).
NidSa	<i>Nidānasamyukta</i> = Chung and Fukita (2020).
PD	[<i>Larger</i>] <i>Prajñāpāramitā</i> from Dunhuang = Suzuki and Nagashima (2015).
Pd	<i>Pāhuḍadohā</i> = Jain (1933).
P(Dh)	[<i>Larger</i>] <i>Prajñāpāramitā</i> by Dharmarakṣa = <i>Guang zan jing</i> 光讚經, T222 (Vol. 8, 147a1–216b8).
PE	Pillar edicts of Aśoka. In Hultsch (1925).
PG	[<i>Larger</i>] <i>Prajñāpāramitā</i> from Gilgit.
PG(C)	[<i>Larger</i>] <i>Prajñāpāramitā</i> from Gilgit by Choong (2008).
PG(S)	[<i>Larger</i>] <i>Prajñāpāramitā</i> from Gilgit by SGPMs (2021–2023).

PG(Z)	[<i>Larger</i>] <i>Prajñāpāramitā</i> from Gilgit by Zacchetti (2005: 366–400).
P(Kj)	[<i>Larger</i>] <i>Prajñāpāramitā</i> by Kumārajīva = <i>Mohe banrebuoluomi jing</i> 摩訶般若波羅蜜經, T223 (Vol. 8, 217a1–424a14).
Pl.Mer	T. Maccius Plautus, <i>Mercator</i> . In Lindsay (1903).
Pl.Per	T. Maccius Plautus, <i>Persa</i> . In Lindsay (1905).
P(Mo)	[<i>Larger</i>] <i>Prajñāpāramitā</i> by Mokṣala = <i>Fang guang banre jing</i> 放光般若經, T221 (Vol. 8, 1a1–146c29).
Pvs(K)	<i>Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikā</i> by Kimura (1986–2009).
Pvs(Xz)	<i>Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikā</i> by Xuanzang = the second assemblage (第二會) of the <i>Da banreboluomiduo jing</i> 大般若波羅蜜多經 T220 (Vol 7, 1a1–426a15).
RE	Rock edicts of Aśoka. In Schneider (1978).
RV	<i>Ṛgveda</i> = van Nooten and Holland (1994).
T	Taishō edition of the Chinese Buddhist Canon = Takakusu and Watanabe (1924–1932).
Tōh	Tōhoku Catalogue = Ui, Suzuki, Kanakura and Tada (1934).
TS	<i>Taittirīyasaṃhitā</i> = Weber (1871–1872).
ŚB	<i>Śatapathabrāhmaṇa</i> = Weber (1855).
Śrāv-bh	<i>Śrāvabhūmi</i> = ŚSB (1998–2018).
Sr	<i>Sandeśarāsaka</i> = Bhayani (1999).
SN	<i>Samyuttanikāya</i> = Feer (1884–1898).
Vajra	<i>Vajracchedikā</i> [<i>Prajñāpāramitā</i>].
Vajra(Br)	<i>Vajracchedikā</i> by Bodhiruci = <i>Jingang banreboluomi jing</i> 金剛般若波羅蜜經, T236 (Vol. 8, 752c8–757a19).
Vajra(HW)	<i>Vajracchedikā</i> by Harrison and Watanabe (2006).
Vajra(Kj)	<i>Vajracchedikā</i> by Kumārajīva = <i>Jingang banreboluomi jing</i> 金剛般若波羅蜜經, T235 (Vol. 8, 748c15–752c7).
Vajra(Pa)	<i>Vajracchedikā</i> by Paramārtha = <i>Jingang banreboluomi jing</i> 金剛般若波羅蜜經, T237 (Vol. 8, 762a1–766c11).
Vajra(S)	<i>Vajracchedikā</i> by Schopen (1989).
Vajra(Xz)	<i>Vajracchedikā</i> by Xuanzang = the ninth assemblage (第九會) of the <i>Da banreboluomiduo jing</i> 大般若波羅蜜多經, T220 (Vol. 7, 979c–985c).
Vajra(Yj)	<i>Vajracchedikā</i> by Yijing. <i>Fo shuo neng duan jingang banre boluomiduo jing</i> 佛說能斷金剛般若波羅蜜多經, T 239 (Vol. 8, 771c19–775b25).

Symbols and conventions

- ? doubtful interpretation/translation
* reconstructed form
[] supplemented information
[...] ellipsis
< > editorial addition of omitted text
() editorial restoration of lost text
{ } editorial deletion of redundant text
+ lost akṣara
∅ zero anaphora
= in distinction to the Leipzig Glossing Rules (<https://www.eva.mpg.de/lingua/pdf/Glossing-Rules.pdf>), in Sanskrit glosses, the equal sign in the metalanguage indicates unresolved sandhi. E.g.:
 yathāhaṃ (i.e. *yathā ahaṃ*)
 as=1SG:NOM
Otherwise, it indicates clitic boundaries in both the object-language and the metalanguage as is the norm in the Leipzig Glossing Rules. E.g.:
 Middle Persian
 ka=š
 when=3SG:OBL
. in glosses, the period is used in the metalanguage if the object-language is semantically segmentable. E.g.:
 puṇyaskandhasya
 merit.heap:GEN
_ in glosses, the underscore is used if the object-language is not formally/semantically segmentable and the metalanguage happens to lack an equivalent single word. E.g.:
 ṛtām
 pious_action:NOM
- in glosses, the hyphen indicates a segmentable morpheme in both the object-language and the metalanguage. E.g.:
 Dyirbal
 yara-nggu
 man-ERG
- In Indology and Buddhist Studies, Indo-Aryan vocalic liquids are traditionally marked with an underdot (*ṛ*, *ḷ*), while in Indo-European studies they are typically marked with an undercircle (*r̲*, *l̲*). Here, the former convention (i.e. underdot marks vocalic liquid) has been used.
 - In English translation, italics are used for the translation of Chinese phonetic transcriptions of Indic terms, e.g. *banreboluomi* 般若波羅蜜 = *prajñāpāramitā*. This does not apply to proper nouns.
 - All the examples from Chinese Buddhist texts are quoted from the Taishō (=T) Edition of the Chinese Buddhist Canon as contained in the CBETA corpus 《大正新

脩大藏經》中華電子佛典協會電子資料庫。 Accessible at:
<https://cbetaonline.dila.edu.tw/zh/>.

- Tibetan examples are quoted from the electronic Tibetan Canon hosted by “Resources for Kanjur & Tanjur Studies (rKTs)”, University of Vienna. Accessible at:
<https://www.istb.univie.ac.at/kanjur/rktsneu/sub/index.php>.

Part I: Preliminaries

Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1 Aims and assumptions

Chinese Buddhist translations hold a special place in Chinese literature for several reasons: they are the earliest systematic translated corpus in Chinese history, ranging from the Eastern Han (25–220 CE) to the Song (960–1279 CE) for a period of almost a millennium; they provide an enormous amount of information about the early transmission history of the Buddhist scriptures, often representing the earliest – in some cases the sole – attestations of sūtras, commentaries and disciplinary texts, of which we do not possess the original Indic source texts. Moreover, from a purely linguistic perspective, they represent one of the best “windows” into the innovative developments of Early Middle Chinese, namely the type of texts in which we find the earliest systematic use of “vernacular” elements. Buddhist scriptures are hence a precious mine of information for modern scholars working in different research fields. The last three decades have seen a renewed interest in Chinese Buddhist translations, in particular in the field of Chinese historical linguistics.¹

In recent years many articles have been dedicated to the linguistic analysis of Buddhist Chinese, in particular by Chinese scholars, following the revival of Chinese scholarship in the 1980s. One of the aspects which has attracted the interest of researchers is the role of Indic source-texts in influencing the language of the Buddhist translations. Among the various proposals arguing for the significance of Indic interference on the Chinese translations, Zhu Qingzhi’s hypothesis regarding the high number of the so-called “passive” constructions in sūtra translations is of particular interest for a number of reasons. At the outset, it would therefore seem appropriate to outline Zhu’s proposal.

Across several publications, Zhu (1993, 1995, 2008: 495, 2017: 321) has cursorily argued that the unusually high occurrence of the so-called “passive” constructions in Chinese Buddhist translations might be the outcome of the influence of the Indic source texts. Zhu’s assumption is based on the fact that passive constructions in a broad sense, namely not only finite passives but also two other non-finite formations – the resultative participle in *-ta-* and the gerundive – are highly employed in Indo-Aryan. Drawing on this assumption, similar claims have been also made by Chen (2006: 66) and Long (2009). Zhu’s hypothesis has been accepted by some scholars (Xu 2006: 109–110, Cao and Yu 2015: 208, Yu 2019: 9), while others have expressed doubts (Anderl 2017: 692, Gao 2017: 55–56); however, no systematic investigation of the issue proposed by Zhu has been carried out to the date. One could argue that dedicating an entire dissertation to this specific topic might be inordinate, but, in truth, the problem raised by Zhu deserves in-depth analysis due to the number of important theoretical it implicates. Indeed, Zhu’s claim leads to a series of questions about the notion of passivity as a grammatical category, the mechanism of language contact in the context of the Chinese Buddhist translations, the problem of morpho-syntactic alignment change in Early Middle Indo-Aryan and, lastly, the disputed syntactic and functional status of passive constructions in Middle

¹ See Anderl (2021) for a concise overview of recent Western scholarship in this field.

Chinese. The present study aims to bring some new contributions to the analysis of these issues by providing a more systematic treatment of the relationship between the passive constructions in the Chinese Buddhist translations and their “counterparts” in the Indic source-texts.

A critical aspect of this study pertains to the scope of the data considered. Linguistic studies normally deal with a large body of linguistic evidence in order to draw more certain conclusions about the distribution of specific linguistic features. The Chinese Buddhist Canon suits well such a form of linguistic investigation thanks to its enormity. Such recently digitalized corpora as CBETA² and SAT³ have facilitated the work of linguists (as well as of philologists)⁴, allowing a computational approach to the analysis of the texts, besides making them readily accessible. Hence, recent studies on the language of the Chinese Buddhist translation generally focus on relatively large bodies of data. This obviously is not an issue *per se*, the problem is that, with some notable exceptions⁵, the works addressing the influence of the Indic source-texts in Chinese translations do not take into consideration the extant Indic parallels but simply focus on hypothetical Indo-Aryan grammatical formations in general terms. Such an approach is often justified by its proponents on the premise that it is virtually impossible to prove a direct philological relationship between a Chinese sūtra and its putative source-text in terms of a hypothetical Indic “Ur-text” and its direct off-shots⁶ – not least because Chinese translations generally represent the earliest available recensions of many scriptures. As a consequence, sinologists working with the language of the Early Chinese translations have in general not considered the extant Indic parallels (the majority of which are often late Sanskrit manuscripts from Nepal and Tibet) as worthy of attention in examining Chinese translations.⁷ I believe that such a pessimistic approach towards the Indic parallels is unwarranted: even if it is true that one ultimately cannot determine any direct line of transmission between Chinese and Indic parallels, this does not exclude the possibility of making any solid deductions on the probable grammatical source formations underlying the Chinese translations. An accurate critical comparison of the various parallels (including the Tibetan translations) generally allows one to see whether a specific Chinese translation agrees with the extant Indic versions of the same text.

Since the earliest phase of Buddhism’s diffusion from its land of origin, textual transmission was characterized by a process of adaptation and transposition from the dialect used by the Buddha in his original teachings into the local dialects – sometimes also referred to (perhaps improperly, see Ollett 2017: 13) as “Prakrits” – spoken in the various Indian regions to which Gautama’s teachings were brought by missionaries

² <https://cbetaonline.dila.edu.tw/zh/>.

³ <https://21dzk.l.u-tokyo.ac.jp/SAT/ddb-sat2.php?key=&mode=search>.

⁴ Radich (2019); Lin and Radich (2021); Nehrdich (2020).

⁵ Following Karashima’s (2009) criticism of this methodological approach, a group of Chinese scholars has initiated the publishing of several works employing a comparative approach to the linguistic analysis of Chinese Buddhist translations, see Jiang (2011), Wang (2014, 2018), Wang and Zhu (2013) and Li (2019, 2021, 2023).

⁶ Schopen (2009), Seyfort Ruegg (2004: 20–22), Zacchetti (2005: 36–37, 2021: 9).

⁷ See for instance Peyraube (2017) and Anderl (2017: 692) on this methodological issue concerning early translations.

(Lüders 1954, von Hinüber 1989, Norman 1997: 138–139). Pali, the liturgical language of Theravāda Buddhism primarily attested in the *Tipiṭaka* Canon, bears witness to this process of adaptation into local varieties, representing a combination of linguistic elements from different dialects (Norman 2002). In the northwestern part of the Indian subcontinent (corresponding to parts of present-day Pakistan and Afghanistan), another local Prakrit better known as Gāndhārī, served as the vehicle for a corpus of Buddhist literature preserved on birchbark scrolls, which represent the earliest known Buddhist manuscripts (1st century BCE, cf. Salomon 1999: 154). Moreover, sensational new manuscript discoveries have further improved our knowledge of the Middle Indo-Aryan variety used as the canonical language of the Saṃmitīyas (Dimitrov 2020: 162, Tournier 2023).

The principle of adopting vernacular languages, however, was soon abandoned by some Buddhists, especially in northern communities. For reasons of prestige, texts were transposed into Sanskrit, the classical language of the Brahmanical tradition (Eltschinger 2017). At the same time, new scriptures were composed in Buddhist Sanskrit too. This process of Sanskritization was presumably gradual, involving a progressive removal of Middle Indic elements. The choice of canonical language was a key factor in determining the degree of Sanskritization evident in the extant sources affiliated with different schools. For example, the Mahāsāṃghika-Lokottaravādins retained a Sanskrit variety heavily influenced by Middle Indic (the so-called “Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit”). Other schools, such as the Dharmaguptakas or the (Mūla)Sarvāstivādins – “the most uncompromising in using Sanskrit as a canonical language” (Eltschinger 2017: 312) – moved more steadily towards standard Sanskrit (von Hinüber 1989: 360).

At first glance, a scholar seeking to study the grammar of the Chinese translations might thus appear to face a daunting challenge. On the one hand, the Chinese translations, particularly those produced between the second and sixth centuries, were based on source texts that predate many of the extant Indic manuscripts. On the other hand, as introduced above, these translations were presumably based on manuscripts composed in a variety of Prakrits or Sanskritized forms of those dialects. However, it is important to consider that the process of transposition from one Prakrit to another, and eventually to Sanskrit, primarily affected the phonological and morphological domains (Norman 1997: 97). Therefore, the fact that the early Chinese translations may have been based on Prakrit rather than Sanskrit source texts is of secondary importance in the context of a investigation on historical syntax such as the present study. All extant parallels – from the earliest Gāndhārī manuscripts to the later Tibetan and Nepalese Sanskrit manuscripts, as well as those preserved in the Pāli Canon and in other traditions – remain relevant to the grammatical analysis of the Chinese translations.

A research approach which systematically employs the Indic parallels not only demands a good knowledge of Middle Chinese, but also of Early Middle Indo-Aryan, besides requiring familiarity with the intricacies of Buddhist philology. In the last twenty years, a very small number of philologists proficient in both Chinese and Early Middle Indo-Aryan, like Seishi Karashima and Stefano Zacchetti, have produced a number of meticulous comparative works in the form of critical editions of Chinese translations and comparative glossaries (Karashima 1998, 2001, 2010, 2011a; Zacchetti 2005, 2021). The

comparative task has been also facilitated by the creation of digital comparative corpora such as the *Thesaurus Literaturae Buddhicae*.⁸ Still, a systematic comparative linguistic approach to Chinese Buddhist translations requires that one dedicates a huge amount of time to searching of parallels; for this reason, a linguist who wishes to embark on a study of the influence of Indic source-texts on translations must rely, as much as possible, on earlier comparative work conducted by philologists. As I will discuss in more in detail in Chapter 3, overlooking actual Indic parallels when discussing the issue of the Indic influence of Buddhist Chinese might lead to a series of pitfalls.

In light of this, the present study tries to integrate the philological and linguistic approaches, employing a significantly large body of comparative data as the scope of the research. More precisely, I decided to use the Chinese translations of three important *Prajñāpāramitā* scriptures – the *Vajracchedikā Prajñāpāramitā*, the *Larger Prajñāpāramitā* and the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā* – as the scope of my analysis. At first sight, *Prajñāpāramitā* literature possibly may not represent the best candidate for such linguistic investigation in terms of genre due to the constant repetition of stereotypical formulae and relatively limited presence of narrative sequences. One of its important advantages, however, is that there are numerous Chinese translations ranging from the earliest to the later phases, providing a certain degree of diachronic variation for the linguistic analysis. What is more, a considerable number of philological studies have been dedicated to Chinese *Prajñāpāramitā* texts, which thus enables one to proceed to a comparative analysis of the data with relative ease.

This study is organized along the following lines: the remainder of Chapter 1 introduces the terminology and the theoretical background, as well as some pertinent methodological problems. Chapter 2 addresses the issue of morpho-syntactic alignment in Old and Early Middle Indo-Aryan. Chapter 3 introduces the so-called “passive” constructions in Archaic and Middle Chinese. Chapter 4 presents the data from the *Vajracchedikā Prajñāpāramitā*, Chapter 5 the data from the *Larger Prajñāpāramitā*, and Chapter 6 the data from the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā*. Finally, in Chapter 7, I present an overview of the analysis of the data, drawing some conclusions as well as providing some answer to the preliminary questions outlined above.

1.2 The problem of grammatical categories

Zhu’s hypothesis raises some general questions about how Sanskrit grammatical relations were understood by ancient Chinese translators. His claim seems to imply they mechanically equated “passive”⁹ structures in Sanskrit with those in Chinese ones. However, the ancient Chinese translators unfortunately left few written traces that would enable us to investigate their comprehension of Sanskrit grammar, and the content of these traces, moreover, is only a scant analysis of nominal and verbal flexion.¹⁰ Thus, we do not possess any evidence concerning how they understood or conceptualized Sanskrit

⁸ <https://www2.hf.uio.no/polyglotta/index.php?page=library&bid=2>.

⁹ The term “passive” does not precisely describe what is meant by Zhu, who is referring to those constructions where the verbal form agrees with the patient argument. In the rest of the book I will refer to these constructions as “P-oriented”, see the discussion in Chapter 2.

¹⁰ See Brough (1973), Chaudhuri (1998: 28–29), Kotyk (2021), D’Antonio and Keidan (2022).

voice. More generally, Zhu's claim presents some difficulties as regards the notion of passivity as a descriptive category, as well as a comparative concept. In our case, it is necessary to establish what the common ground for a comparison of the category passive in Chinese and Sanskrit is, or, in other words, how is the notion of passivity to be appropriately described in an interlinguistic way. The notion of grammatical category itself is a controversial and debated topic among linguists¹¹; therefore, a brief examination (largely based on Haspelmath 2010) of this notion is here required.

Before the structuralist emancipation, it was common among linguists to use the Latin six-case model and in general Latin grammatical categories to describe the “new” languages that European scholars were encountering, following the colonial expansion of the European powers. This process of assimilating “exotic” languages through the lens of Latin was applied both to languages genealogically and typologically close to European languages, such as Indo-Aryan and Iranian, and to “caseless” languages as well. *Mutatis mutandis*, similar models of descriptive categories based on a prestige language can be found outside of the European context too: Tibetan grammar has been traditionally described by the indigenous grammarians within a Sanskrit-based framework, and with the Tibetan “cases” listed using the seven Sanskrit *vibhakti*.¹² A new perspective on the description of grammatical categories was developed at the beginning of the 20th century by the structuralists: according to them, each language should be described using descriptive categories specifically designed for that language and not aprioristically with categories designed for other languages. This approach is generally labelled “Boasian approach” after the name of the American structuralist according to whom the descriptive categories must “depend entirely on the inner form of each language” (Boas 1911: 81).

A novel view on the description of grammatical categories was inaugurated in the second half of the 20th century following the studies Chomsky. According to the generativist view, there is a set of pre-established, cross-linguistical categories from which a language may choose. The task of the linguist would be thus to describe how the linguistic phenomena of a particular language reflect the selection of these categories. In the strong Chomskyan formulation (Chomsky 1965: §1.5), these categories are assumed to be part of an innate universal grammar. However, the structuralist approach has been emphasized again in recent research¹³; the proponents for a return to the Boasian approach claim that the supposed universals of categorial universalism, regardless of the generative or nongenerative approach, are far from being universals but are rather carried from one language to another.¹⁴

As shown by this brief historical outline, the question is quite intricate and choosing a specific theoretical approach can significantly influence the direction of research. The matter of foremost importance to the present dissertation is whether the target of its analysis is a concrete instance of language contact that took place within the context of translation. The question of the categories upon which interlinguistic comparison should be based has thus to be answered with the aim of offering functional tools to solve this

¹¹ See Haspelmath (2007, 2010, 2018).

¹² See Vollman (2008a:73, 2008b).

¹³ See Dryer (1997), Haspelmath (2007, 2010, 2018) and Cristofaro (2009).

¹⁴ See Thomas (2020) for a concise overview of the different theoretical and methodological approaches of functionalism and formalism.

particular problem. This implies that the discussion should be focused on the similarities in preexisting functions between the various grammatical formations in Indo-Aryan and Chinese; considering the typological distance between the two languages, the formal similarity appears to be less relevant (cf. Weinreich 1953: 39). The importance of semantics in the interlinguistic identification of grammatical categories has also been highlighted in typological research (see Dixon 1994: 112; Haspelmath 2007); special importance has hence to be given to the semantics of the Indic and Chinese constructions that will be analysed in the following chapters.

One of the most important theoretical preliminaries of an inter-linguistic investigation of this sort is thus to describe passivity and related grammatical categories in a way that is appropriate to each of the languages involved in the analysis. To begin with, it seems appropriate to provide a typological definition of passives based on a large representative sample of languages.

1.3 The notion of passivity

The label of passive has been applied to a big cluster of different formations in various languages posited on the spectrum of detransitivity. I will use here Kazenin's (2001)¹⁵ definition of passivity as the standard definition:

A construction is called passive if:

- (i) the verbal form used in that construction is morphologically derived in some way from the form used in the unmarked (active) voice construction; and
- (ii) the agent is either unexpressed or expressed by a non-obligatory oblique phrase with the derived verbal form; and
- (iii) the subject, if any, is not the agent;
- (iv) the construction is somehow restricted vis-à-vis the unmarked (active) voice construction in its distribution; and
- (v) the propositional semantics of the construction is identical to that of the unmarked (active) voice; specifically, the number of participants. (Kazenin 2001: 899)

One can clearly see that such a definition of passivity encompasses various linguistic domains. First, passives are often characterized by **morphological** properties. It is easy to see that Kazenin's formulation is broad enough to subsume constructions that traditionally would not be considered passive from the Standard Average European perspective. According to this definition, passive morphology includes both synthetic and analytic passives; the latter typology comprises not only the auxiliaries typical of European languages, as *be* in English, *werden* 'become' in German, or verbs of motion as in Italian, but also transitive auxiliaries found particularly in Asian languages, as, for instance, is the case with *bei* 被 in Mandarin (Haspelmath 1990: 41; Keenan and Dryer 2007: 336–339). This definition clearly excludes those constructions which present transitivity alternations with syntactic and pragmatic effects which are similar to passives, but which do not present any passive marking in the verb-phrase (see the case of "notional passives" in Chinese, see Section 3.2 below; cf. also Kulikov 2011: 373 on labile verbs).

¹⁵ A definition which largely follows Haspelmath (1990: 27).

Second, passives are mainly defined in **syntactic** terms and two main syntactic processes underlie the formation of a passive: the promotion of a patient noun-phrase and the demotion of the agent or its complete removal from the clause; in other words, the patient becomes the privileged syntactic argument and the agent receives “non-canonical coding” (Van Valin 2001: 214). In many languages, these syntactic operations implied by the passive transformation have an important role in “feeding” syntactic pivots for coordination, subordination and coreferential deletability (Dixon 1979, 1994; Foley 2007). It has to be noted that promotion and demotion are not necessarily complementary and can occur independently (Kazenin 2001: 904).

These syntactic operations are strictly connected to the **semantic** features of passives: it derives from point (v) that a modification in diathesis from active to passive implies “changes in the pattern of mapping of semantic arguments onto syntactic functions (i.e. in the valency pattern) but not in the semantics of the sentence” (Kulikov 2011: 372). A change to passive thus does not change the inventory of the semantic roles in the active form, that is, the semantic roles of agent and patient are preserved in the passive. This also applies to agentless passives, for which the presence of an agent is implied albeit not expressed, drawing a line between passives and anticausatives; the absence of an agent in the latter category is connoted by a spontaneous situation, and hence decreases the inventory of semantic roles (Kulikov 2011: 392). But the semantic dimension of passives is broader still: passives are often used with an “affected” promoted argument (Shibatani 1985, 2006) and an adverse colouring is implied in the situation (cf. Li and Thompson 1981: 493; Hashimoto 1988: 336 for the adverse colouring in the Mandarin *bei* construction). The characteristics of the event are also influenced by diathesis modifications: passives are often accompanied by inactivization (Haspelmath 1990; Kazenin 2001: 908) and stativization (Givón 1981; Abraham 2006) of the action.

Finally, passives are often related to modifications of the **pragmatic** status of the arguments. A low degree of discourse relevance is generally associated with the agent of a passive (Shibatani 2006: 248), while the non-agent argument’s topic persistence (or “cataphoric persistence” in Givón’s terms) is increased by passivization (Givón 1979: 57ff, 1994, 2001: 123ff.).

From this brief discussion one can see that the notion of passivity is far from monolithic and represents “a marked system of correlations among (morpho)syntactic, semantic and pragmatic features, instantiating different points along a Detransitivization continuum” (Cennamo 2006: 313), as illustrated in Table 1.1 (based on Cennamo).

Table 1.1. The passive continuum

Agent-defocusing	(e.g. agent suppression)
Stativization	(perfective-resultative perspective on the event/marked verbal morphology)
Promotion of a non-agent	(patient/benefactive/recipient, an original direct object/indirect object)
Topicalization of a non-agent	
Affectedness of the argument	

Debates on the dialectic between the various domains of passivity are concerned with the core function of passives. The pragmatic modification of the arguments status has been often described as the primary function of passives: Shibatani (1985) takes agent defocusing as the main function, while Givón (1979, 1994, 2001) highlights the importance of topicalization. Similarly, Foley (2007: 422ff) individuates two basic functions of passives, namely the foregrounding of a non-agent and the backgrounding of an agent, highlighting the fact that in many languages foregrounding and backgrounding passives are required to create syntactic pivots. The selection of patient-promotion and agent-demotion as core functions of passives presents, however, a series of difficulties (Kazenin 2001: 907): on the one hand, with voice being a verbal category, it seems unnatural that the basic function of passives is the promotion or demotion of arguments rather than the marking of some feature of the event (cf. Keenan and Dryer 2007: 327 on the form of passives being localized within the predicate in distinction to topicalization and left-dislocation). On the other hand, diachronic analysis does not support the identification of (de-)focusing as a basic function, because passives, cross-linguistically, did not arise from markers of topicalization or focusing (Haspelmath 1990: 60–61). More generally, neither promotion of the patient nor demotion of the agent with pragmatic or syntactic functions is a distinctive feature of passives, as various different kinds of other formations are cross-linguistically employed with the same function (cf. Abraham 2006). Focusing instead on the event status of the verb and basing his analysis on historical facts, Haspelmath (1990) identifies the basic meaning of passives as the inactivization of the situation.

For the present discussion, individuating the core function of passives is not of primary concern, as both the core and secondary functions of the Indic and Chinese grammatical formations taken into consideration in the following chapters are relevant for the analysis of the interlinguistic act as well as the possible identification between them in the translation context.

1.4 The category of subject

As mentioned in the preceding section, a passive is described in syntactic terms as a transformation that derives an intransitive sentence from a transitive one. This typology of syntactic derivation generally implies the promotion of a “non-subject” noun-phrase to the “subject” position. Upon further scrutiny, however, the category of subject presents some descriptive difficulties as pertains both to the Indo-Aryan and Chinese case, as will be discussed in the following sections.

1.4.1 Subject and passives

In languages like English, the process of syntactic derivation of an intransitive from a transitive through passivization operates quite clearly: as shown in (1) the change of diathesis causes the key syntactic priorities to be transferred from the demoted agent to the promoted non-agent. In (1a) the agent controls the two coordinate clauses and triggers

conjunction reduction¹⁶, whereas in (1b) it is a patient argument which has been promoted and hence allows for the conjunction reduction.¹⁷

- (1) a. *The man_i danced and Ø_i ran away.*
 b. *The man_i was hit by the woman and Ø_i ran away.*

As shown by this example, in the English unmarked voice, or “basic voice” in Comrie’s (1988) terms, the agent argument serves as the coreferential noun-phrase for conjunction reduction, whereas in the passive it is the patient which acquires these properties and serves as the coreferential noun-phrase. This typology of distribution of the syntactic arguments with respect to the voice alternations is generally the standard in European languages, but is far from being the norm cross-linguistically. In Dyirbal, for instance, the patient argument serves as the coreferential noun-phrase for conjunction reduction in the unmarked voice (2a); as English has a passive construction, where the non-agent assumes the capacity of serving as the coreferential noun-phrase in coreferential deletion, in the same way Dyirbal has an antipassive construction (2b) in which the clause becomes intransitive and the original agent argument acquires that syntactic property of coreferential deletion, while the patient is demoted to the oblique case, or deleted.

- (2) Dyirbal
- a. *balan* *jugumbil_i* *banggul* *yara-nggu*
 CL:F.ABS woman:ABS CL:M.ERG man-ERG
balga-n, Ø_i *bani-nyu*
 hit-NONFUT Ø come-NONFUT
 ‘The man hit the woman and the woman came here.’
- b. *bayi* *yara_i* *bani-nyu,*
 CL:M.ABS man:ABS come-NONFUT
 Ø_i *bagul* *jugumbil-gu* *balgal-nga-nyu*
 Ø CL:F.DAT woman-DAT hit-ANTIPASS-NONFUT
 ‘The man came here and hit the woman.’ (Comrie 1988: 10)

It is easy to see that languages such as Dyirbal challenge the traditional notion of subject: from a Standard Average European perspective, the subject is generally the leftmost noun-phrase, as well as the obligatory argument, morphologically unmarked and agreeing with the verb; it has also the agent as its referent and initiates and controls the activity; moreover, syntactically speaking, it serves as the pivot for coordination and subordination. This last point in particular undermines the validity of the traditional subject as a valid interlinguistic grammatical category, as in ergative languages the property of creating syntactic pivots in most of the cases does not coincide with the other mentioned features (cf. Comrie 1989: Chapter 5).

¹⁶ Conjunction reduction refers to the anaphorical deletion of an argument in a coordinate construction of two or more clauses. Simply put, “[the] construction contains two or more clauses, and each of the clauses except the first is missing an argument.” (Van Valin 2001: 56).

¹⁷ See Comrie (1988: 13) for a list of syntactic subject properties acquired by the passive subject in English.

The reason for these descriptive difficulties derives in part from the grammatical category of subject itself. Its genesis is indeed deeply rooted in the European history of thought and, as a consequence, is often unbefitting as a descriptive linguistic tool outside the Standard Average European context: translated into Latin by Boethius (6th cent CE) as *subjectum* ('thrown under'), the original Greek ὑποκείμενον ('the underlying') was a technical term used by Aristotle in his theory of grammar as a descriptive attribute of the οὐσία ('the substance'), the substantial part independent from temporal modification, which in a proposition corresponded, according to Aristotle, to the ὄνομα ('the noun'), while the accidental part of the proposition was represented by the ῥῆμα ('the verb'). Such a categorization reflected the Aristotelian subdivision of reality in 'substance' and 'accidents', where the substantial substratum (ὑποκείμενον) of the proposition is constituted by nouns and the verbs mainly convey the "accidental" temporal modification. Although Aristotle's categorization was intended to be mainly philosophical and not grammatical in a narrow sense (the earliest actual linguistic speculations in Ancient Greece were rather inaugurated by the Stoic school), nevertheless it was used by medieval philosophers – who before the rediscovery of the Greek original texts thanks to the Arabs had access to the Aristotelian corpus only through Latin translations – as a practical-functional subdivision of grammar. The notion of the *subjectum* was thus processed through the mediation of Scholasticism, the Port Royal "philosophical grammar" thereafter and then in the 20th century was eventually labelled what is generally termed the "traditional subject" (Alfieri 2006; Seuren 1998: 122–133).

This notion of grammatical category, modelled on Latin grammar, is in fact a combination of definitions that pertain to different levels of linguistic analysis (syntax, semantics, pragmatics, Keidan 2017: 108) and, as a matter of fact, attempts have been made to distinguish between a "grammatical subject", a "psychological subject" and "logical subject" (LaPolla 2017: 232). Even though in European languages it is generally possible to detect the "traditional subject" by relying on one or more of the main features seen above (i.e. leftmost noun-phrase, obligatory argument agreeing with the verb, pivot for coordination and subordination, etc.), which make the subject appear as a logically primary category, its actual existence as a universal category starts to become less evident when confronted with the analysis of extra-European languages such as Dyirbal.

The traditional notion of subjecthood was only subjected to a critical analysis by functionalist linguists in the second half of the last century (Van Valin 1977, 1981; Foley and Van Valin 1984; Comrie 1989). More particularly, a seminal study by Keenan (1976) opened the field for new approaches to subjecthood. In his work, Keenan lists a series of properties relevant to define the identity of the subject, drawn from a wide selection of languages and divided into two groups of coding and behavioural properties. These two groups fundamentally represent those properties that are solely reflected on inflectional morphology and syntactic rules (cf. Dixon 1994: 127ff). Keenan's innovative multifactorial formulation of subjecthood was later developed further and implemented by functionalist scholars¹⁸ who established the basis for a distinction between the form and the content of the category of subject: if the formal linguistic features listed by Keenan can indeed be distributed differently in languages, the semantic and pragmatic content of

¹⁸ See Van Valin and LaPolla (1997: Chapter 6).

the subject is generally similar; the fact that in most languages the semantic features of agentivity and topicality tend to be coded with the same mark has facilitated the use of the subject as an intermediate descriptive category.¹⁹ The distinction between the form (the morpho-syntactic features) and the content (the semantics) of the category of subject was also an important theoretical preliminary in Dixon’s (1979, 1994: Chapter 5) description of the grammatical category. As the traditional notion of subject fails to account for the syntactical asymmetries in the creation of pivots within accusative and ergative languages, Dixon distinguishes between a “shallow-structure level” of syntax, in which the pivot operates, and a “deep-structure level” corresponding to the subject in Dixon’s terms. According to Dixon, this deep subject is essentially a semantic notion, grouping together the core semantic constituent of transitive and intransitive verbs (i.e. A and S in Dixon’s terminology, see below); this universal category of subject would mainly be semantically grounded, but it would also have important syntactic implications, determining universal conditions on imperatives, on verbs like *can*, *try*, *begin*, on control in reflexives and on causatives.

This short survey shows how there is no universally accepted definition of subject as linguists have often employed this category to describe different linguistic phenomena.²⁰ Nonetheless, the term subject is still commonly used to describe languages outside of the Standard Average European context which often do not possess a subject in the traditional sense (or at all). In this respect, the problem of the use of subjecthood as a descriptive category is relevant to both the Indic and Chinese case.

1.4.2 The lack of subject in ancient Indian grammatical sources

Since the second half of the first millennium BCE, ancient Indian grammarians developed a theoretical system of linguistic analysis of the Sanskrit language. Pāṇini’s grammatical treatise, the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*, is considered the fundamental work of the Indian grammatical tradition and together with its two main commentaries, Kātyāyana’s (third century BCE) *Vārttikakāra* and Patañjali’s (second century BCE) *Mahābhāṣya*, was in the following centuries the object of a plethora of sub commentaries, which constitute *pāṇinīya* corpus.²¹

It has been claimed by many scholars²² of the ancient Indian grammatical tradition that Pāṇini’s system lacks the grammatical notion of subject and this claim has been generally accepted by Indologists as well.²³ Part of the reason for this absence lies in the

¹⁹ A well-known counterexample is modern Japanese (Shibatani 1991, Keidan 2017: 111), where the agent and the topic are marked with two different particles (*ga* が and *wa* は).

²⁰ LaPolla (2017, 2023) individuates three major positions concerning the status of subject as a global category: 1. the subject is a universal primitive which does not need to be defined, only identified in different languages (formalist approach); 2. it is generally possible to define the subject as a syntactic relation (cf. Section 1.4.4–5 below) in each language but only in terms of the construction which manifests it (most functionalist/typological approaches); 3. there are no syntactic relations, including the subject (Radical Construction Grammar; Croft 2001).

²¹ See Cardona (1976) for a comprehensive survey of Pāṇini’s work and the *pāṇinīya* corpus.

²² See Cardona (1974: 244) and Hock (1986: 22).

²³ The *kartṛ* is the category usually identified as the candidate which best corresponds to the category of subject. This identification, however, has been often rejected; arguments against the equation are

grammatical category of subject itself rather than in some form of descriptive deficiency of the *pāṇinīya* system, that is, the notion of subject appears not entirely suitable to describe Sanskrit syntax.

Pāṇini's description of Sanskrit grammar²⁴ is based on six semantic units called *kāraḥ*, introduced in a block of 33 sūtras in the first book of the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* (1.4.23–1.4.55). In general terms, the *kāraḥ* roughly correspond to the semantic roles used by modern linguists, listed by Pāṇini in the following order: *apādānam* ('point of departure'), *saṃpradāna* ('recipient'), *karaṇa* ('instrument'), *adhikaraṇa* ('locus'), *karman* ('object'), and *kartr* ('agent'). As one would expect from a modern Indo-European perspective, the morphological coding of the *kāraḥ* relies on the nominal case categories, namely the seven *vibhaktis* in Pāṇini's system. In European terminology, the first *vibhakti* corresponds to the nominative case, the second to the accusative, the third to the instrumental, the fourth to the dative, the fifth to the ablative, the sixth to the genitive, and the seventh to the locative. In a group of sūtras from the third section of the second book, Pāṇini assigns a *vibhakti* to each *kāraḥ* as its prototypical representation²⁵, however, the relationship between *kāraḥ* and *vibhaktis* is not biunivocal, as a *kāraḥ* can be represented by different *vibhaktis* and a *vibhakti* can code different *kāraḥ*. As regards the expression of the core semantic constituents among the *kāraḥ*, the *kartr* almost corresponds to the semantic role of the agent and is expressed prototypically by the third *vibhakti* (see sūtra 2.3.18) – the instrumental – or the sixth – the genitive. The semantic role of the patient or patient, the *karman*, is prototypically coded by the second *vibhakti* (see sūtra 2.3.2.) – the accusative. Departing from what one would expect from a comparison with European ancient languages, no *kāraḥ* is associated with the nominative (the first *vibhakti*). What is more, according to Pāṇini, the coding of the *kartr* (agent) and *karman* (patient) can be expressed also by verbal endings in addition to *vibhaktis* (see sūtras 1.3.13, 3.1.67, 3.1.68 and 3.4.69). Interestingly, it derives from sūtra 2.3.1 (*anabhihite* 'if not already expressed'), that according to Pāṇini the verbal ending coding has logical precedence over *vibhakti* in assigning the *kartr* and *karman* roles (cf. Keidan 2012: 278ff). Example (3) summarizes the principles underlying the assignment of the *kartr* and *karman* in the present active and passive configurations.

- (3) a. *pacaty odanam devadattaḥ*
 cook:PRS.3SG rice:ACC D:NOM
 KARTR KARMAN {NO KĀRAKA}
 'Devadatta is cooking rice.'

summarized by Keidan (2017) under three main positions: 1. rejection of the identification of the *kartr* with the nominative case (identification presumably modelled on Latin grammar, cf. Renou 1942); 2. Cardona's (1974: 244) rejection of the applicability of the notion of "external argument" to the *kartr*; 3. the non-applicability of various of Keenan's proprieties, especially the behavioural ones, to any Sanskrit argument, see Hook (1991) and below.

²⁴ The description of Pāṇini's grammatical system is far beyond the scope of this work; for a more detailed description cf. Cardona (1974); Keidan (2007); Kiparsky (2009); Raster (2015).

²⁵ See sūtras 2.3.2, 2.3.13, 2.3.18, 2.3.28, 2.3.36.

- b. *odanaḥ* *pacyate* *devadattena*
 rice:NOM cook:PRS.PASS.3SG D:INS
 { NO KĀRAKA } KARMAN KARTR
 ‘Rice is being cooked by Devadatta.’ (Keidan 2017: 115–116)

As highlighted by Keidan (2017: 116), such a descriptive system presents a series of oddities, among which the following two are particularly relevant to the problem of the subject:

One of the morphological means of expressing the arguments’ semantic roles is the verbal endings, which is quite unusual – not to say inconsistent – with how we normally describe the morphology of the ancient IE languages.

[...] No precedence is reserved for the active voice over the passive: both are just two equiprobable distributions of *kartr* and *karman* within sentence morphology, not “derived” from each other in any way.” (Keidan 2017: 116)

These kinds of oddities, in addition more generally to other discrepancies between the language described in the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* and in its commentaries and the actual Sanskrit attested in other sources, have been traditionally criticized for being “artificial” and “unnatural” (Whitney 1884: 282; 1893: 176). However, as showed by Kulikov’s (2013) investigation of the history of Sanskrit passives and pseudo-passives, these discrepancies were possibly motivated by the diglossic environment where the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* and the commentaries were composed. In other words, the forms described by Pāṇini not attested in Vedic texts would have been calqued in Sanskrit on the basis of an (or more than one) hypothetical MIA vernacular that was the native language of the grammarians. As Keidan (2017: 112) claims, the status of grammar of the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* itself proves that the language depicted in it was no longer a native language, since “it is hardly conceivable that in an ancient society an entire tradition of grammatical studies could have arisen just for the sake of pure science and the pursuit of truth”. If it is assumed that the three oddities listed above reflect the linguistic habits of the native language of the ancient grammarians, it is possible to imagine that it was a language with poor morphology, verbal coding of the arguments and with an alignment different to the nominative-accusative one of Early Vedic.

In conclusion, two main points need to be highlighted before proceeding to the next section: first, already at the time of Pāṇini, the first *vibhakti* (i.e. the nominative) was not considered a morphological means to code either the expression of agency or the notion of subjecthood more in general. Second, it is highly probable that by the time the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* was composed, significant modifications of the morpho-syntactic alignment of Sanskrit had already taken place.

1.4.3 Syntactic properties of the subject in Old Indo-Aryan

The discussion in the previous sections sought to summarize how the actual grammatical configuration of the core syntactic arguments among world languages eludes a unified universal definition of subjecthood. A multifactorial description of the category along with a different distribution of prototypical subject properties withing a specific language is thus better suited for the purpose of interlinguistic analysis. Against this background,

speaking of “syntactic properties of the subject” may sound circular; as a matter of fact, we refer here specifically to those syntactic properties generally associated with the subject in European languages. Despite being an Indo-European language, Sanskrit stands in marked contrast with ancient European languages²⁶ as regards its distribution of syntactic properties, which, moreover, presents diachronic variances from the oldest stage of OIA, namely the language of the Vedic *Samhitās*, as well as the later stages, like the language of Vedic prose and of Sanskrit epics.

It has already been discussed above that in European languages the promoted argument of passives controls coreferential deletion among adjacent clauses. Other syntactic operations are also generally governed by the promoted argument (cf. Comrie 1988: 13). As discussed by Hock (1982, 1991: 362–366), in the language of the *Samhitās*, the nominative patient of passives, syntactically speaking, behaves similarly to the promoted subject of English. More specifically, the promoted argument of the language of the *Samhitās* has control over reflexivization and absolutive clauses. In (4a) the promoted nominative argument of *yuktāsaḥ* (the pronoun *té*) is the point of reference for the reflexive pronoun (i.e. *svéna*); note also that the promoted argument of the passive is coreferential with the active verb *vahanti*. In (5a), the controller of the absolute clause built with *niśádyā* is the patient of the main clause (namely “Agni”, although deleted). On the other hand, the point of reference of the reflexive in (4b) is a (deleted) instrumental agent, in the same way as in (5b) the controller of the absolutive clause is not the nominative patient of the main clause (i.e. *sāma*), but an external instrumental agent, deleted also in this instance.

- (4) a. *té* *satyéna* *mánasā* *dīdhiyānāḥ* *svéna*
 3PL:NOM true:INS thought:INS think:PRS.PTCP.MID.NOM.PL own:INS
yuktāsaḥ *krátunā* *vahanti*
 yoke:PPP.NOM.PL power:INS carry:PRS.3PL
 ‘Thinking with truthful thoughts, they carry on yoked with their own power.’
 (RV 7.90.5)

- b. *ātmānaḥ* *pūrvā* *tanūr* *ādéyēty*
 self:GEN previous:NOM body:NOM recover:GRND.NOM=QUOT
āhuḥ
 say:PRF.3PL
 ‘They say: “[One] should recover [one’s] own previous body.”’ (TS 6.3.2.6)

- (5) a. *ádhā* *hí* *agne* *mahnā* *niśádyā* *sadyó*
 therefore PTC A:VOC power:INS sit:GER immediately
jaiñānó *háviyo* *babhūtha*
 be_born:PRF.PTCP.MID.NOM invoke:GRND.NOM become:PRF.2SG
 ‘Therefore, Agni, having sat down with power, you have become worthy of
 being invoked as soon as you have been born.’ (RV 10.6.7)

²⁶ A comparative study of the syntactic subject behaviour in Indo-European has been recently addressed by Dahl (2022, 2024).

- b. *nāsāmā* *yajñò* *’stīti* *vā āhur*
 NEG=without.S:NOM sacrifice:NOM be:PRS.2SG=QUOT PTC say:PRF.3PL
na *vā* *āhimkṛtya* *sāma* *gīyate*
 NEG PTC without.hiñ.make:GER S:NOM sing:PRS.PASS.3SG
 ‘They say: “There is no sacrifice without Sāman, and neither Sāman is chanted
 [by people] without [them] having uttered the syllable ‘Hiñ’.”’ (ŚB 1.4.1.1)

As summarized by Hock, this typology of syntactic changes observable in transition from the earliest stratum of the Vedas to the later stages of Old Indo-Aryan can be described as a transition from “subject-oriented” to “agent-oriented” syntax.²⁷ The important ramifications of this syntactic change for the development of morpho-syntactic alignment in OIA and Middle Indo-Aryan will be discussed in detail in Chapter 2.

1.4.4 The question of subject in Chinese

The category “subject” (Ch. *zhuyu* 主語) has been regularly employed in modern Chinese linguistics on the model of the western grammatical category. Criticism against the use of this category for the linguistic description of Chinese was raised already by Mei (1961) and several attempts to define a subject category suitable for the Chinese case were made afterwards, mainly identifying the subject with the agent, the topic (see for instance Chao 1968: 92ff.), or both.²⁸ All these definitions of subject “with Chinese characteristics” tend however to mix syntax with semantics and pragmatics; as a matter of fact, Mandarin is a topic-prominent language with no grammaticalization of syntactic functions (LaPolla 1993, 1995; Van Valin e LaPolla 1997: 250–263). What, however, is meant by “grammaticalization of syntactic functions”?

It has already been observed above that in English the subject serves as the pivot for coordination and subordination regardless of its semantic role. In other words, the semantic distinction between the agent and the patient is neutralized in triggering conjunction reduction, as both the agent and the patient can serve as the coreferential noun-phrase (LaPolla 2023: 271). Similarly, a neutralization of semantic roles applies also to conjunct reduction in Dyirbal, although the pivot involves a different distribution of semantic roles. This typology of neutralization in conjunction reduction observed in English and Dyirbal is, however, restricted, as the neutralization is limited to the agent and the patient. On the other hand, other syntactic operations, such as relativization in English and Latin, are unrestricted as any semantic role can occur as the head of the

²⁷ Another piece of evidence is brought to the discussion by Hock: in the language of the *Samhitā*, in terms of word order, the promoted patient tends to be the leftmost argument of the clause, while in the later language the demoted instrumental agent generally occurs before the promoted patient. Cf. Hook (1991) on the same syntactic issues in Patañjali’s work.

²⁸ See LaPolla (1993: 765–768, 2017) for a survey of the various proposals for the definition of subject in Chinese.

relative clause. See the examples in (6) and (7), where the relative pronouns can have any semantic role and not only those belonging to the spheres of the agent and patient.²⁹

(6) English

- Mary talked to the man* a. *who* [AGENT] *bought the house down the street.*
b. *who* [PATIENT] *the dog bit.*
c. *to whom* [RECIPIENT] *Bill sold the house.*
Mary looked at the box d. *in which* [LOCATION] *the jewellery was kept.*
e. *out of which* [SOURCE] *the jewellery had been taken.*

(Van Valin e LaPolla 1997: 253)

(7) Latin

- a. *nam improbus est homo qui* [EXPERIENCER]
for worthless:NOM be:PRS.3SG man:NOM REL:NOM
beneficium scit accipere et reddere
favour:ACC know:PRS.3SG receive:INF and return:INF
nescit
ignore:PRS.3SG
‘For a man who knows how to receive a favour, but does not know how to return it, is worthless.’ (Pl.*Per* 762)

- b. *quibus* [INSTRUMENT] *est dictis dignus*
REL:ABL.PL be:PRS3SG word:ABL.PL deserving:NOM
usque oneremus ambo
ADV burden:SBJV.1PL both:NOM.PL
‘Let’s both burden him with the words he deserves.’ (Pl.*Mer* 978)

- c. *in hoc [...] bello, quale* [PATIENT] *bellum nulla*
in this:ABL war:ABL REL:ACC war:ACC any:NOM
umquam barbaria cum sua gente
ever barbarian_tribe:NOM with own:ABL people:ABL
gessit
carry:PRF.3SG
‘In this war [...] a war such as no tribe of barbarians ever fought among its own people.’ (Cic.*Cat* 3.25, Pinkster 2015b: 471)

Restricted neutralization of semantic roles for syntactic purposes does not apply only to those behavioural properties such as conjunction reduction, but also to coding properties like verb agreement. In (8a) and (9a) the verb agrees with the agent subject, whereas in the passive counterparts (8b) and (9b) the agreement is with the passive subject; also in this case, there is hence a restricted neutralization of semantic roles for (morpho-)syntactic purposes.

²⁹Unrestricted neutralization in relative clauses, however, is not necessarily the norm cross-linguistically: in Malagasy the head of the relative clause must have a specific syntactic relation within the relative clause, see Van Valin and LaPolla (1997: 261–262) and Van Valin (2001: 23).

- (8) a. *John kills the ducklings.*
 b. *The ducklings are killed by John.*

- (9) a. *pater laudat filium*
 father:NOM praise:PRS.3SG son:ACC
 ‘The father praises the son.’
 b. *fiulus laudatur a patre*
 son:NOM praise:PRS.PASS.3SG by father:ABL
 ‘The son is praised by the father.’

The discussion in Section 1.4.3 showed that Sanskrit presents a different configuration for the grammaticalization of syntactic functions from Latin: verb agreement is on the one hand regulated by the same typology of restricted neutralization of agent and patient observed in Ancient European languages, but on the other, the instrumental agent controls important syntactic operations, like control over absolute clauses and reflexivization, without any neutralization of the semantic role. It is thus easy to see that the concepts of subject and object in terms of syntactic function make sense only when the same restricted neutralization of semantic roles is found in the majority of constructions (see LaPolla 1993: 761). Outside the Standard Average European context, this syntactic requirement is often not met even among Indo-European languages such as Sanskrit. In the next section it will be shown that the use of the concept “syntactic function” is even more problematic for the Chinese case.

1.4.5 The lack of syntactic functions in Chinese

The lack of grammaticalized syntactic functions (subject, object and indirect object) in Mandarin has been convincingly proved by LaPolla (1993) by means of a series of syntactic tests. As regards the question of passivity, the most interesting facts highlighted by LaPolla pertain to the absence of any syntactic constraint on cross-clause deletion and coreference. We saw above that in English and Dyrbal the omission of coreferential deletion in clause conjunction obeys precise semantic-syntactic patterns. On the contrary, in Mandarin there is no constraint on the semantic role of the omitted noun-phrase, as shown by the following examples, wherein an agent (10a) or a patient (10b) can both serve as the coreferential noun phrase without any grammatical mark for the change of diathesis. It is rather the topic which generally controls conjunction reduction (Li and Thompson 1976: 463, 1981: 102–103), even in those cases where the topic is not one of the verb arguments as in (10c).

- (10) a. 小狗走到山底下，那個人就看見了。
xiao gou_i zou dao shan dixia,
 little dog walk to mountain bottom
na ge ren jiu kanjian le Ø_i
 that CL person then saw PFV Ø_i
 ‘The little dog went downhill and was seen by the man.’

- b. 那個人走到山底下，就看見了小狗。

na ge ren_i zou dao shan dixia,
 that CL person walk to mountain bottom
jiu Ø_i kanjian le xiao gou
 then Ø saw PFV little dog
 ‘The man went downhill and saw the little dog.’

- c. 那棵樹葉子大，所以我不喜歡。

na ke shu_i yezi da, suoyi wo bu xihuan Ø_i
 that CL tree leaves big so I NEG like Ø
 ‘That tree has big leaves, so I don’t like it (lit. that tree [topic], the leaves are big, so I don’t like it).’ (LaPolla 1993: 773–775)

Conjunction reduction (or any other grammatical construction) in Mandarin is hence not dependent on syntactic factors, but on a “complex interplay of pragmatic and semantic factors” (LaPolla 1993: 776, 1995). Most importantly for the present discussion, passivization in Mandarin does not play any role in feeding syntactic pivots.

One can thus conclude from this brief survey that Mandarin clause structure is mainly governed by pragmatic relations and information structure. Whether the predominance of pragmatic relations was a diachronic constant throughout the whole history of Chinese is, however, a debated topic. Drawing on Givón’s (1979) assumption that languages develop from having more pragmatically to more syntactically based grammatical relations, LaPolla (1990: 176ff., 2003: 29) argues that Archaic Chinese was possibly even more topic-prominent than Mandarin, for which he presents some convincing evidence regarding parallel patterns in pragmatic relations. On the other hand, Mei’s (1991) discussion on the restructuring process of transitivity relations in Early Middle Chinese makes the case for the existence of a grammatical pattern distinguishing agent and patient in preverbal position in Archaic Chinese, which was subsequently lost in Middle Chinese. For the moment, suffice it to say that, as concerns Middle Chinese (including Buddhist Chinese), grammatical relations are mainly governed by pragmatic-semantic factors as in Mandarin. One can observe this fact with extreme clarity when confronting Chinese Buddhist translations with their Sanskrit parallels as in (11).

- (11) a. 其福德不可思量。

qi fude bu ke si liang
 his merit NEG can know measure
 ‘It is not possible to know the measure of his merit (lit.: His merit [TOPIC], it is not possible to know the measure [of it].)’ (T235 749a15–16)

- b. *tasya subhūte puṇyaskandhasya na sukaram pramāṇam*
 3SG:GEN S:VOC merit.heap:GEN NEG easy:NOM measure:ACC
udgrahītum
 take:INF
 ‘Subhūti, it is not easy to take measure of the heap of merit of him.’
 (Vajra(HW) 114.14–115.1)

Example (11a) represents an instance of the *ke* 可 construction. In Archaic Chinese this typology of construction is generally employed with “patient subjects” and presents a series of constraints concerning the position of the predicate and of the arguments. Particularly relevant for our discussion are the two following features: “1. the *kě* construction is not compatible with an agent and 2. the V in the *kě* construction is never followed by an object” (Zeng, Anderl, and Heirman 2018: 231, cf. also Meisterernst 2008: 112, see Section 3.3.4 below). If one could not rely on the Sanskrit parallel in (11b) for grammatical interpretation, a standard analysis of the passage based on the classical features of the construction would presumably take the noun-phrase preceding *ke* (i.e. *qi fude* 其福德) as the “patient subject” of the verb introduced by *ke*; it follows from this that the verb-phrase following *ke* (i.e. *siliang* 思量) would be understood as a disyllabic verb-object compound. In fact, the Sanskrit accusative patient of the infinitive is not ‘his merit’, but the ‘measure of it’ (Skt. *pramāṇam*). If one follows the syntactic-semantic configuration of the Sanskrit source-passage, it is thus *liang* 量 ‘measure’, which is to be analysed as the patient of the verb modified by *ke*, while the noun-phrase preceding *ke* serves as the topic of the sentence.

This comparison with the Sanskrit parallel thus confirms that speaking of a “patient subject” does not make much sense in Middle Chinese, as the latter does not rely at all on syntactical criteria to assign the semantic roles of agent and patient, in distinction to Archaic Chinese. The first constituent of the clause (i.e. the topic) in (11a) rather sets the framework within which the predication holds; in this case there is a genitive relationship between the topic and the post verbal patient. In the next chapters we will encounter other examples of this typology of “external possessor” with affected topics corresponding to fronted genitive noun-phrases in the Sanskrit parallel. For the moment, we can draw the following preliminary conclusion: Middle Chinese was a topic-prominent language and therefore it is unlikely that morpho-syntactic factors were crucial in determining the possible process of interlinguistic identification between grammatical constructions during the translation process. One should thus, accordingly, mainly look at semantics and the information structure of the source passage as the key factor.

1.5 Passives and ergativity

The terms ergative and ergativity have already been used on several occasions in the preceding sections without providing a definition of them. As will be shown in Chapter 2, the development of split ergativity from a formally passive construction in Indo-Aryan is a key-issue concerning the questions this dissertation is aiming to answer. Thus, at the outset, it seems appropriate to provide a brief introduction to the category of ergativity and its relationship with passives.

1.5.1 The notion of ergativity

Following Dixon (1979: 59, 1994: 6), we can distinguish three types of core argument (“universal semantic-syntactic primitives” in Dixon’s terminology) which are relevant to the definition of the different typologies of morpho-syntactic alignment:

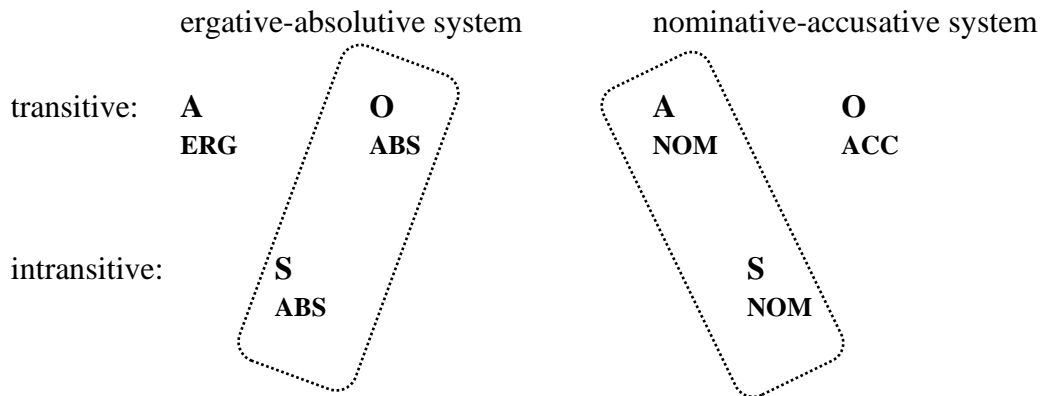
S = Sole argument

A = Agent

O³⁰ = Patient

Determining the typology of alignment to which a language belongs relies mainly on three parameters: 1. case marking, 2. agreement and 3. syntactic processes (Haig 2008: 6; see also Dixon 1994: Chapter 3 and 6 for a detailed discussion on morphological and syntactic ergativity). In its broader sense, a language is said to be **ergative** when **S** and **O** are morpho-syntactically treated in the same way, whereas a construction is **accusative** when it treats **S** and **A** in the same way. As in accusative languages the binary opposition in case marking and agreement is expressed by **nominative** (coding S and A) vs. **accusative** (coding O), in the ergative systems the **ergative** case (coding A) contrasts the **absolutive** case (coding S and O).

Figure 1.1: Representation of ergative and accusative alignments



In the preceding sections, different levels of evidence were provided to show that languages like English and Latin present accusative alignment, which we can now describe as operating on the basis of a **S/A pivot**. Conversely, Dyirbal is an ergative language with a **S/O pivot**.³¹

Very few languages among the ergative ones are purely ergative; the vast majority of languages presenting ergative alignment tend to mix ergative and accusative patterns (Moravcsik 1978: 237; Dixon 1994: 70). Two main factors are observed to trigger split patterns cross-linguistically, namely Tense/Aspect/Mood (TAM) splits and personal splits (Dixon 1994: chapter 4; Coon 2013a, 2013b). Of these two typologies of splits, only the former is relevant for this work, as modern Indo-Aryan languages are typical representatives of languages with TAM splits. More precisely, in Indo-Aryan the ergative pattern is associated with perfective constructions, whereas the accusative pattern is found with imperfective constructions. A detailed diachronic analysis of emergence of the ergativity in Indo-Aryan will be carried out in Chapter 2.

³⁰ O corresponds to P in Comrie's (1978) terminology.

³¹ The definition of alignment in English, Latin and Dyirbal obviously does not only derive from the different patterns of syntactic pivots, but relies on the interplay between the three afore-mentioned parameters (case marking, agreement, syntactic processes).

1.5.2 How to distinguish passives and ergatives?

Passives and ergatives present a series of structural similarities and defining the delimitation between the two categories has been central focus of discussion in linguistic research (Comrie 1988). In this section, the similarities and differences between them will be outlined, attempting to provide some functional parameters to distinguish them.

1.5.2.1 Similarities between passives and ergatives

In ergative constructions the patient of a transitive clause is generally marked with the same case (absolutive) as the sole argument of an intransitive clause, while the agent of a transitive clause is marked with a different case (ergative). In the same way the patient of a (promotional) passive bears the same case (nominative) of the sole argument of an intransitive, whereas the agent of a transitive, if expressed, is marked with an oblique case.

Moreover, passives and ergatives are often historically related: a passive-to-ergative reanalysis has been proposed in many cases to explain the development of ergative constructions (Chung 1978; Estival and Myhill 1988; Gildea 1997), and in particular in the Indo-Aryan and Iranian cases (Anderson 1977; Harris and Campbell 1995: 243ff; for Indo-Aryan see the discussion in Chapter 2). The ergative-to-passive hypothesis, however, presupposes that passives and ergatives are clearly distinguishable. Indeed, passive constructions are cross-linguistically characterized by some features which prototypically set them apart from ergative constructions, as will be discussed in the next section.

1.5.2.2 The Iranian case: Haig's four parameters of passivity

The issue of defining the grammatical boundaries between passives and ergatives has been addressed by Haig (2008) in a monograph dedicated to the study of alignment change in Iranian. The Iranian case is interesting, as the ergative constructions found in Middle and New Iranian are ultimately derived from the Old Iranian periphrastic construction built with the participle in **-tá-*, paralleling a similar development in Indo-Aryan. The genealogical and typological proximity between Iranian and Indo-Aryan allows one to use the conclusions drawn from Iranian to address the same systemic problem in Indo-Aryan as well. Furthermore, the relatively small amount of Old Persian data (the corpus of the Achaemenian inscriptions), makes the description of the alignment in Old Persian more straightforward, compared to OIA.³²

It is quite certain that all the Iranian languages must have gone through an ergative stage of the past tense, despite the fact that in some cases this supposed stage is not directly attested in the documented sources (as in the Khotanese case, cf. Jügel 2015: 462ff.) and that in other New Iranian languages ergatives were ultimately replaced with innovative accusative constructions (Payne 1998; Windfuhr 2009: 32). Old Iranian was originally accusative throughout all the tenses, as is the case with Ancient European languages, with the nominative case marking S and A and the accusative marking O; see example (12) for the accusative alignment in the past tense of Old Persian.

³² Haig's (2008: Chapter 2) analysis does not take the Avestan corpus into consideration.

- (12) *pasāva adam kāram frājšayam bābirum*
 thereupon 1SG.NOM army:ACC send:AOR.1SG B:ACC
 ‘Thereupon I sent an army to Babylon’ (DB 3.84)

This typology of finite past verb was probably moribund already in Old Iranian and was gradually replaced by a periphrastic construction headed by a resultative participle (Jügel 2015: 59–60, see 13). This type of construction is generally called the “*manā kartam* construction” (literally meaning ‘by me was done’) in the literature. It consists of an agent marked with the oblique (genitive) case (*manā*), a patient in the nominative case, and a resultative participle ending in agreement with the patient. Optionally, the participle can be extended with a form of the copula verb (for example *astiy*). The agent can be also expressed through clitic forms of the personal pronoun.

- (13) *ima, taya manā krtam, pasāva yaθā xšāyaθiya*
 this:NOM REL:NOM 1SG:GEN do:PPP.NOM after when king:NOM
abavam
 become:IPF.1SG
 ‘This (is) that (which) was done by me after I became king’ (DB 1.27–28)

It is generally assumed that ergative alignment of the past tense in Middle and New Iranian arose from the *manā kartam* construction and not from the finite transitive construction of (12). For instance, in the Middle Persian example (14), the agent of the transitive verb *dīdan* ‘to see’ is expressed by the oblique pronoun =š:

- (14) *ka=š nāmag dīd andōhgēn būd*
 when=3SG.OBL letter see:PST.3SG sad become: PST.3SG
 ‘When he saw the letter, he became sad.’ (*Kār Nāmag* 1.41.1, Skjærvø 2009: 228)

Later layers of the Middle Persian corpus bear witness to an incipient transition back towards accusative alignment, as is the rule in New Persian, see example (15):

- (15) *dast pad kaš kird ud guft*
 hand under armpit do:PST.3SG and say:PST.3SG
 ‘And he placed the hand under the armpit and said’ (*Ardā Wīrāz Nāmag*, Gignoux 1984: 1.20)

The *manā kartam* construction was traditionally interpreted as a passive³³, with the important exception of Benveniste (1952), who claimed for a possessive interpretation. Benveniste’s interpretation has been in general rejected, in favour of returning to the traditional passive interpretation of the construction.³⁴ But this interpretation of the *manā kartam* construction as a possessive structure has important implications for how the

³³ See Kent (1953: §275).

³⁴ See Cardona (1970), Skjærvø (1985) and Ciancaglini (1987).

diachronic development from Old Iranian alignment to New Iranian ergative alignment has to be understood. Considering the genitive agent of *manā kartam* constructions as the overt agent of a passive construction implies that it is a peripheral constituent of the sentence with no or little access to major syntactic rules. On the contrary, an ergative agent is the syntactic subject controlling the major syntactic rules. If the ergative constructions in Modern Iranian emerged from a passive structure, it is necessary to explain how an optional and syntactically peripheral passive agent became the syntactic subject in the ergative construction. The assumption of a passive origin therefore requires that large scale syntactic restructuring is explicated; it is however Haig's view that alternative explanations not accounting for large-scale syntactic changes can be identified once the nature of the *manā kartam* construction is reconsidered as non-passive. In order to re-assess the interpretation of the *manā kartam* construction, Haig (2008: 37) hence reformulates the three criteria suggested by Comrie (1988) for identifying the two different phenomena (ergative and passive)³⁵ in four parameters for cross-linguistically identifying a passive vis-à-vis an ergative:

1. **Argument structure of the verb form:** A passive verb form licenses a single core argument, semantically a Patient or Theme. The single core argument is a full subject, i.e., possesses all of the subject properties generally associated with an S in the language concerned. Semantically, however, a passive verb form implies the influence of some external agency in bringing about the event (prototypically an Agent). But expression of the Agent in an argument position is suppressed in the passive verb form.
2. **Markedness of the verb form:** Within the paradigmatic system of verb forms available in the language, a passive verb form is the marked member of a voice opposition, contrasting with the morphologically less marked active, and derivable from the latter via a productive morphosyntactic process.
3. **Syntactic status of Agent-phrase:** The implied Agent may be expressed through an Agent-phrase (though in many languages it can not). Agent-phrases are always optional; the construction is fully grammatical without one. [...] [T]he Agent-phrase displays a low degree of "integration into clause syntax". There are few, if any, syntactic rules which make direct reference to it.
4. **Pragmatic-Semantic configuration:** Passive constructions primarily serve the function of backgrounding an Agent. Thus passives are used when the Agent is, relative to the Patient, either non-topical, or low in Animacy, or when its identity is unknown/communicatively irrelevant. (Haig 2008: 37)

Summarizing the results of the evaluation of the four parameters, Haig concludes that the *manā kartam* construction can be considered a typical passive only for the first parameter (the argument structure of the verb form, while it falls short on the other three parameters. According to Haig, these difficulties regarding the evaluation of the *manā kartam* construction as a passive can be solved with an alternative to the traditional

³⁵ Comrie's original formulation consists of three criteria: 1. the assignment of some subject properties to the patient rather than to the agent is a feature of both ergative and passive, but the extent of the assignment is greater for the passive; 2. the ergative involves greater integration of the agent phrase into the syntax of the clause; 3. different markedness: the passive is a marked construction while the ergative is an unmarked construction.

passive approach.³⁶ Regardless of the specific evaluation of the status of the *manā kartam* construction in Old Iranian, Haig's four parameters of passivity synthesize a clear-cut and systematic way to delineate the grammatical boundaries between passives and ergatives. I will return to this issue again in Chapter 2 when addressing the topic of syntactic alignment in Indo-Aryan.

1.6 Summary

Although it encompasses various linguistic domains, the notion of passivity is often understood only as morpho-syntactic phenomenon. In this chapter it has been illustrated how a morpho-syntactic approach to the study of this category from such a perspective can be misleading when analysing non-European languages such as Sanskrit and Chinese. In the Sanskrit case, the category of passive is connected to the emergence of ergativity. On the other hand, morpho-syntax plays a different role in defining grammatical relations in Chinese. Therefore, one should focus on other linguistic aspects when addressing the problem of analysing the basis for the interlinguistic identification between Indic and Chinese grammatical features in the Chinese translation of the Buddhist texts. In the next two introductory chapters, these theoretical issues will be further addressed in depth, before proceeding to the analysis of the linguistic corpus in the second part of the study.

³⁶ Haig reevaluates Benveniste's possessive interpretation and postulates a reanalysis from indirect participation to agency due to the bundle of functions served by the Old Iranian genitive-dative.

Chapter 2: P-oriented constructions and morpho-syntactic alignment in Old and Early Middle Indo-Aryan

2.1 What is “P-orientation”?

A passive event can be described as a patient-oriented-process connecting two participants. If a transitive active event implies the transmission of force from a highly individuated and salient agent to a patient, a passive involves the same transmission of force to a patient which is on the contrary the highly individuated and salient participant of the event (Hopper and Thompson 1980; Sansò 2006).³⁷ Strictly in terms of verb valency, the patient represents the sole core argument of a passivized verb. In discourse structure, this implies that, in a passive, the patient is the topical element of the sentence, whereas in morpho-syntactic terms, it means that the patient is the point of reference for coding and behavioural properties. These two aspects pertaining two different linguistic levels can be subsumed under the notion of “orientation”. More precisely, following the conventional terminology introduced in Section 1.5.1, we can say that passives are morpho-syntactically characterized by O-orientation (or “P-orientation” in Comrie’s terminology), where O/P refers to the syntactic-semantic primitive of the original O argument of a passivized transitive verb.³⁸

In his publications, Zhu (1993, 1995, 2008: 495 and 2017: 321) always employs the term “passive” (Ch. *beidong* 被動) to refer to a group of Indo-Aryan constructions having a common pattern of argument-marking, showing verb agreement between the verb and the O/P, while demoting the agent to the oblique case. In Section 1.3, it was noted how the notion of passivity encompasses all linguistic domains, while Zhu’s proposal only deals with the purely morpho-syntactic dimension of the phenomenon. The use of the term “passive” to refer to O/P-oriented structures is commonly accepted in the literature (see for instance Haspelmath 1994). Moreover, O/P-orientation accurately describes the Indo-Aryan constructions discussed in this chapter for the Early Vedic period only (Hock 1986: 15, fn. 1).³⁹ Nonetheless, as will be analysed below, the same constructions do not fit into the category of passive under several parameters. I hence prefer to use the term “P-oriented” (adopted by Hock 1986 to describe the Indo-Aryan case) to highlight the morpho-syntactic aspect underlying the common character of the formations taken into consideration. Therefore, the constructions showing verb agreement between the verb and

³⁷ The notion of individuation subsumes a set of categorial oppositions such as animate vs. non-animate, human vs. non-human, referential vs. non-referential, concrete vs. abstract, singular vs. plural, definite vs. indefinite, discourse-old vs. discourse-new. (Hopper and Thompson 1980: 253). An individuated argument is typically animate, human, referential, etc.

³⁸ Cf. Lowe (2017: 2) on the related notion of subject-oriented vs. situation-oriented adjective/nouns.

³⁹ Following Dahl (2016), one can distinguish four different chronological stages of Vedic, i.e. Early Vedic, Early Middle Vedic, Middle Vedic and Late Vedic. See Dahl (2016: 69, fn. 7) for a detailed list of texts corresponding to each stage.

O will be referred as “P (i.e. O)-oriented”, whereas I will call those constructions that show agreement between the verb and A “A-oriented”.

2.2 P-oriented constructions in Indo-Aryan

In OIA (Vedic), finite passives are typically expressed within all the tense systems by means of characterized formations, distinguishing passives from bare middles (Kulikov 2006: 63). Early Vedic presents three different formations typically employed in passives: the passive aorist in *-i* and *-ran*, the stative in *-e* and *-re* (Kümmel 1996), and the present passives with the accented suffix in *-yá-*. Since the latter is the only formation which is employed regularly in Middle and Late Vedic⁴⁰ and Early Middle Indo-Aryan, I will not deal with the passive aorist and the stative.

One of the main innovations of the Indo-Aryan verbal system is the creation of a passive paradigm by means of the suffix *-yá-*, a specialization of the Proto-Indo-European intransitive suffix **-je/o-* (Fortson 2010: §5.32, §10.18). The suffix is used in the present system as a whole, including, therefore, three tenses – present, imperfect, future – and four categories of the modus irrealis – injunctive, subjunctive (disappearing in Early MIA), imperative and optative (Kulikov 2006: 69, Gotō 2013: §3.7.5). As with Old Persian (see Section 1.5.2.2), Old Indo-Aryan inherited from Indo-Iranian the formation of a category of verbal adjectives through the suffix **-tá-* and **-ná-* (*-ta-* and *-na-* in OIA), itself inherited from Proto-Indo-European **-tó-* and **-nó-*, indicating a completed action (Szemerényi 1996: 323, Fortson 2010: 109, Gotō 2013: §3.8.3).⁴¹ As a verbal adjective, the *-ta* participle has a strong non-verbal character, like the other non-finite participle formations of Old Indo-Aryan (inflecting for gender and case but not for person), and is regularly used as a predicated adjective. However, it can also serve as the verbal head of a clause, in particular when accompanied by a copular verb, with the copula typically not appearing in the third person (Macdonell 1916: 329–330, Jamison 1990, Dahl 2016: 73).⁴²

The last P-oriented construction which will be taken into consideration is another verbal adjective generally called “gerundive” (Gotō 2013: §3.8.4, also called *partizipium necessitatis* in the German grammatical tradition, cf. Stenzler 1875: §281) due to its functional similarity with the Latin gerundive. The two formations from Italic and Indo-Aryan, however, are not morphologically related (cf. Weiss 2009: 443 for the Italic gerundive). In Vedic the main gerundive formation is built with the suffix *-ya-*, but gerundives in *-enya-*, *-āyya-*, and *-tva-* are also attested. The other two widespread gerundive suffixes of Classical Sanskrit – i.e. *-tavyà-* and *-anīya-* – are attested but at first only marginally employed from Early Middle Vedic, finding greater attestation in later

⁴⁰ The only non-present finite passive surviving into late Vedic, Classical Sanskrit and Pali is the 3sg. aorist in *-i-* (Whitney 1879: §845, Geiger 1916: §177, von Hinüber 2001: §462, Oberlies 2003: 245, fn. 2, 2019: §93).

⁴¹ See Luraghi, Inglese, and Kölligan (2021) for a survey of the inflectional and derivational processes, as well as the periphrastic formations, underlying the passive voice encompassing all the branches of the Indo-European language family.

⁴² Cf. also Drinka (2009), who, on a comparative basis, argues for the important verbal value of the verbal adjective in **-tó-/*-nó-* already in Proto-Indo-European.

texts (Delbrück 1888: 396–402, Jamison 1984: 610, Gotō 2013, 141). The morpho-syntactic status of the gerundive is comparable to that of the *-ta* participle: as a verbal adjective it has a strong nominal character, but it can also be used as the verbal head of a clause accompanied by a copula.

The three formations share in the fact that with transitive verbs they show verbal agreement between the nominative patient and the verb, or the verbal head in case of the verbal adjectives, whereas the agent, if expressed, is demoted to the oblique case, i.e. the instrumental, but also the genitive for the *-ta* participle and the genitive and the dative for the gerundive (at least in Early Vedic, see below). The OIA P-oriented structures can thus be exemplified with the following examples:

(16) a. **PRESENT PASSIVE**

<i>devadattena</i>	<i>kaṭaḥ</i>	<i>kriyate</i>	/
D:INS	mat:NOM	make:PRS.PASS.3SG	
<i>kaṭāḥ</i>	<i>kriyante</i>		
mat:NOM.PL	make:PRS.PASS.3PL		

‘By Devadatta a mat is being made / mats are being made.’

b. ***-ta* PARTICIPLE**

<i>devadattena</i>	<i>kaṭaḥ</i>	<i>kṛtaḥ</i>	/
D:INS	mat:NOM	make:PPP.NOM	
<i>kaṭāḥ</i>	<i>kṛtāḥ</i>		
mat:NOM.PL	make:PPP.NOM.PL		

‘By Devadatta a mat has been made / mats have been made.’

c. **GERUNDIVE**

<i>devadattena</i>	<i>kaṭaḥ</i>	<i>kartavyaḥ</i>	/
D:INS	mat:NOM	make:GRND.NOM	
<i>kaṭāḥ</i>	<i>kartavyāḥ</i>		
mat:NOM.PL	make:GRND.NOM.PL		

‘By Devadatta a mat is / mats are to be made.’ (Hock 1986: 15)

From the point of view of frequency, the distribution of the three formations is significantly different, in particular in MIA: if the present passive represents the marked counterpart of a set of active forms in the present system, both the *-ta* participle and the gerundive (in their verbal usage) are the unmarked forms within the past tense system and the modus irrealis. The two non-finite formations hence occur at a considerably higher rate than the present passives and, as it will be seen, a significant amount of Chinese examples based on P-oriented constructions analysed in the following chapters will be the translation of *-ta* participles. This particular distribution of the P-oriented constructions is not accidental, but it is strictly connected to the morpho-syntactic changes affecting Indo-Aryan already from the earliest stage onwards, resulting in the eventual development of ergativity in MIA.

Table 2.1: OIA and MIA periodization

Old Indo-Aryan:	2nd half of the 2nd millennium BCE – 7th c. BCE
Early Vedic	<i>Ṛgveda</i>
Early Middle Vedic	<i>Atharvaveda</i> and the mantra parts of the <i>Yajurveda</i> and the <i>Ṛgvedakhilāni</i>
Middle Vedic	prose parts of the <i>Samhitās</i> and of earlier prose parts of the <i>Brāhmaṇas</i> , <i>Āraṇyakas</i> and <i>Upaniṣads</i>
Late Vedic	later prose parts of the <i>Brāhmaṇas</i> , <i>Āraṇyakas</i> and <i>Upaniṣads</i>
Middle Indo-Aryan	6th c. BCE – 11th c. CE
Early MIA	Pāli, Ardha-Māgadhī, Aśokan Prakrit, Gāndhārī
Middle MIA	Mahārāṣṭrī, literary Prakrits
Late MIA	Apabhraṃśa and Abhaṭṭha

(Approximated based on Bubeník 1996: xix; Witzel 1999; Deo 2012: 5; Dahl 2016: 69 fn. 7)⁴³

2.3 Ergativity in Indo-Aryan

Split ergative patterns are found in various New Indo-Aryan languages, with ergative alignment typically occurring with perfective forms (Dahl and Stroński 2016: 11), see example (17a) from Hindi, where A is marked by the ergative suffix *ne* and the perfective participle *paṛhī* agrees with the patient, whereas the imperfective construction in (17b) shows accusative alignment.

(17) Hindi

a. **PERFECTIVE**

maiṃ-ne kītāb paṛhī
 1SG-ERG book:ABS.F read:PST.F
 ‘I read a book.’

b. **IMPERFECTIVE**

rām sitā-ko dekhhrahāhai
 R S-OBJ see:PROG.AUX.PRS.3SG
 ‘Ram is watching Sita.’ (Verbeke 2013: 69–70)

It is generally agreed that the New Indo-Aryan ergative construction originated from the OIA verbal construction based on the *-ta* participle, as in (16b) (Dahl and Stroński 2016: 17; Verbeke 2013: 76; Dahl 2021). But the interpretation of the morpho-syntactic and functional status of the construction in the earliest texts, as well as the path to the creation of the ergative construction through MIA, are controversial.

⁴³ This table should be taken as a rough approximation, offering a tentative representation of the historical and linguistic trajectory from OIA to MIA. For a detailed overview, including a description of the historical sources of the MIA varieties, see von Hinüber (2001: Chapter 2).

2.3.1 Morpho-syntactic alignment in Old Indo-Aryan

Early Vedic originally had a unified accusative alignment in all tenses and aspects, as shown by the fact that in all the aspectual stems (present/imperfect, aorist, perfect) S, e.g. *sūryo* in (18a), and A, e.g. *savitā* in (18b) have the same morpho-syntactic encoding (nominative case), while O, e.g. *ūrdhvām ketúm* in (18b), *āhim*, *apās*, *vakṣāṇā* in (18c), is marked with the accusative case.

- (18) a. *út sūryo (S) jyótiṣā devá eti*
 up sun:NOM light:INS god:NOM go:PRS.3SG
 ‘The sun, the god, goes up with his light.’ (RV 4.13.1, Dahl 2016: 70)
- b. *ūrdhvām ketúm (O) savitā (A) devó aśrej*
 elevated:ACC banner:ACC S:NOM god:NOM erect:AOR.3SG
 ‘Divine Savitar has braced his banner upright.’ (RV 4.14.2, Dahl 2016: 70)
- c. *áhann āhim (O) ánu apās (O) tatarda*
 kill:AOR.3SG snake:ACC through water:ACC.PL split:PRF.3SG
prá vakṣāṇā (O) abhinat párvatānām
 forward belly:ACC.PL cut:IPF.3SG mountain:GEN.PL
 ‘[Indra] killed the snake, bored out the waters and split the bellies of the mountains.’ (RV 1.32.1)

In contrast with the general accusative pattern as exemplified by (18), the P-oriented constructions introduced in (16) present a different pattern of alignment and have hence attracted the interest of scholars, foremost in the case of the *-ta* participle construction. The original function of the *-ta* participle is a matter of controversy. As is the case with other resultative participles among world languages, it possesses an O(=P)-oriented meaning with transitive verbs (16b) and a S-oriented meaning with intransitive ones, see (19).

- (19) *kúva rtám pūrviyám gatám*
 where pious_action:NOM former:NOM go:PPP.NOM
 ‘Where is (my) former pious action gone?’ (RV 1.105.4, Dahl and Stroński 2016: 17)

What is more, some cases of A-oriented transitive particles are also attested (cf. Speijer 1886: §360), in particular with ingestive verbs such as *pīta-* (‘drunk, having drunk’) and *bhukta-* (‘eaten, having eaten’) which are cross-linguistically acknowledged to behave peculiarly as regards voice (see Weiss 2009: 465 for Latin and Hoffner and Melchert 2008: 339 for Hittite).⁴⁴

A peculiar feature of Vedic *-ta* participles pertains to their temporal reference: while in comparative terms the formations derived from the PIE **-tó-/*-nó* participle tend to have a past tense reference, see example (20b) from Latin, the Vedic *-ta* participles often

⁴⁴ Cf also Brugmann (1895: 118–119) and Nedjalkov and Jaxontov (1988: 23) on the behaviour of ingestive verbs with resultative participles.

denote the present tense (Jamison 1990; Dahl and Stroński 2016: 20), as in (20a), referring to the “here and now of the ritual situation” (Jamison 1990: 5). Moreover, such examples from Early Vedic as (20a) possess a stative, rather than a dynamic meaning (Estival and Myhill 1988: 450; Dahl and Stroński 2016: 20).

- (20) a. *stīrṇám* *te* *barhīḥ* *sutá* *indra* *sómah*
 strew:PPP.NOM 2SG:GEN grass:NOM press:PPP.NOM I:VOC soma:NOM
 ‘The [sacrificial] grass is strewn for you, Indra, the soma is pressed.’ (RV 3.35.7, Jamison 1990: 5)

- b. *nevius turpio* *quidam* *qui* *c. sacerdote* *praetore*
 N:NOM INDF.NOM REL:NOM C.S.:ABL governor:ABL
iniuriarum *damnatus* *est*
 assault:GEN.PL find_guilty:NOM COP:3SG
 ‘One Nevius Turpio who had been found guilty of assault when Gaius Sacerdos was governor.’ (Cic.Ver 5.108, Pinkster 2015a: 238)

Furthermore, the passive interpretation of the *-ta* participle presents some difficulties from a purely morphological perspective too. As already noted by Debrunner (1954: 576–578) – who did not consider the *-ta* participle in its origin as specifically passive nor past⁴⁵ –, the *-ta* participle, unlike the other participle formations is not made from any tense-stem but directly from the root (*kṛtaḥ* vs. present participle *kurvat*, future participle *kariṣyat*, perfect participle *cakṛvas*) and at the same time does not show active/medio-passive distinctions (cf. present active *kurvat* vs. medio-passive *kurvāṇa*, etc.).⁴⁶

2.3.1.1 Passive interpretation

Despite this series of difficulties underlying the passive interpretation of the *-ta* participle in Early Vedic, the passive to ergative hypothesis may be considered as the standard hypothesis for the origin and development of the ergative construction from OIA to NIA, being supported by many scholars, including Anderson (1977), Bubeník (1989, 1996), Cardona (1970), Comrie (1978), Dahl (2016), Dixon (1979: 99–100, 1994: 190), Hook (1991), Pray (1976) and Trask (1979). Among these, Dahl’s proposal is of particular interest, as it accounts for the descriptive difficulties underlying the passive interpretation of the OIA *-ta* participle, as well as attempting to provide a possible explanation for them on the basis of typological evidence.

Dahl’s key assumption is substantially an application of the grammaticalization chain proposed by Gildea (1997) for Proto-Cariban (i.e. verbal adjective > passive > inverse >

⁴⁵ Cf. Delbrück (1888: 382) and Szemerényi (1996: 323).

⁴⁶ See Debrunner (1954: 579): “Von Haus aus unterscheidet es sich aber von den Partizipien schon durch seine Bildung völlig, indem *-ta-* ursprünglich an die Wurzel oder den allgemeinen Verbalstamm, nicht an einen Tempusstamm tritt und gleichmäßig für aktive und mediale Verba verwendet wird, so daß die Beziehungen zur Zeitstufe und Diathesis formal nicht zum Ausdruck kommen.” The *-tavat-* participle, albeit having an active meaning and being the active counterpart of the *-ta* participle, is a derived form of the *-ta* participle through the suffix *-vat*. The morpho-syntactic distinction of voice is thus divergent from all the other participial forms. Cf. also Cardona (1970: 5–6).

ergative) and of Givón’s (2001: 167) general remarks about the relationship between inverse voice and ergativity in the OIA case, i.e. the reformulation of the traditional passive-to-ergative hypothesis into a (passive-to-)inverse pathway to ergativity.⁴⁷ It is Dahl’s view that the investigation of Vedic data shows the development of the *-ta* participle from a verbal adjective to a passive and eventually to an inverse category. Contrary to what has been claimed by some scholars (see below), the *-ta* participle would thus have never developed into a full ergative in Vedic, “implying that it reached the last stage of the grammaticalization path in the Early Middle Indo-Aryan period” (Dahl 2016: 61).

According to Dahl, in Early Vedic the *-ta* participle represents a verbal adjective. His conclusion is based on three main points: firstly, the number of *-ta* participles used as verbal heads is extremely limited in comparison with past finite forms.⁴⁸ Among the verb-headed forms, only five are attested with an overt agent in the instrumental (or genitive). This might lead one to conclude that this usage of the participle resembles the passive, as the deletion of the non-anaphoric agent is generally considered a feature of passives.⁴⁹ However, two pieces of semantic evidence force Dahl to point in a different direction. First, Dahl noted that Early Vedic *-ta* constructions, in the majority of cases, seem to have a static meaning and not a dynamic one, as one would expect from a prototypical verbal passive. Second is the choice of the auxiliary: in Early Vedic both the verb *as-* ‘be’ and *bhū-* ‘can be used as copulae in a periphrastic construction, yet the use of the “dynamic” copula *bhū-* is extremely limited in comparison with the “static” copula *as-* (see 21).⁵⁰ The omission of the overt agent plus the static semantic of the construction would thus indicate the *-ta* participle’s status of a predicated, P-oriented verbal adjective in Early Vedic.

- (21) *ástīdām* *adhimánthanam* *ásti* *prajānanam*
be:PRS.3SG=this:NOM firewood:NOM be:PRS.3SG procreation:NOM
kṛtām
make:PPP.NOM
‘The firewood is (here), the procreation is ready (lit. done).’ (RV 3.29.1, Dahl 2016: 79)

The passage to Early Middle Vedic shows a progressive tendency towards a passive behaviour: as in Early Vedic, the number of constructions with an overt instrumental/genitive is still low, in line with a passive construction, but at the same time the relative frequency of verbal-headed *-ta* participles, albeit still low, doubles.⁵¹ On the semantic side, the *-ta* participles now appear to have a strong tendency towards a dynamic reading; moreover, the marginal use of participles with experiential verbs (that do not require a second argument with a patientive meaning) and with intransitives would

⁴⁷ For a description of the term *inverse* voice cf. Givón (2001: 154–168); Keenan and Dryer (2007: 356–358).

⁴⁸ Cf. the table in Dahl (2016: 78).

⁴⁹ See the description of the three properties of “basic passives” in Keenan and Dryer (2007: 328–329).

⁵⁰ Cf. the table in Jamison (1990: 4).

⁵¹ Cf. Table 2 in Dahl (2016: 84).

suggest that in Early Middle Vedic this construction underwent a shift from a P-oriented verbal adjective to a full passive.

The situation in Middle Vedic, as described by Dahl, is slightly more intricate; since Dahl's underlying assumption is that Middle Vedic should present a shift of *-ta* participles from passive to inverse categories, I focus here only on his analysis of the putative inverse category in Middle Vedic. Dahl's point of departure is the description of the properties that can be used to identify an inverse construction given by Givón (2001: 154–157); namely, 1. inverse constructions are used in a discourse where the patient is more topical than the agent; 2. non-anaphoric agent deletion is generally rare with inverse constructions; and 3. inverse constructions are often used as switch-reference devices (focusing a less topical discourse referent). As the first property is shared by both passives and inverse constructions, Dahl considers only the latter two properties. Considering that the number of *-ta* participles without an overt agent in Middle Vedic is still significant, testing the second property means to determine whether the deleted agents are anaphoric or not. In order to do this, Dahl (2016: 96) employs two opposite dimensions of textual coherence: cataphoric persistence (“the frequency with which a given discourse referent occurs in text chunks consisting of ten successive clauses”) and anaphoric distance (“the number of clauses between the referent's occurrence in a given construction and its last previous appearance”). The value of these two dimensions would allow one to determine the degree of the agent's referential accessibility and consequently the conditions of its deletion in Middle Vedic. The results of this particular investigation show that Middle Vedic *-ta* participles present a high value of cataphoric persistence and low anaphoric distance, which allows him to conclude that omitted agents show a high degree of topicality. It is nonetheless Dahl's opinion that the relative number of omitted non-anaphoric agents, despite being low (25%), is still high in comparison to languages that present typical inverse formations. As for the second property of inverse constructions, Dahl firstly notes that Middle Vedic seems to have developed a grammaticalized distinction between animate agents, marked with the genitive (22a), and inanimate agents, marked with the instrumental (22b).

- (22) a. *devānām* *vā* *iṣṭā* *devātā* *āsann*
 god:GEN.PL PTC sacrifice:PPP.NOM.PL deity:NOM.PL be:IPF.3PL
 ‘The deities were sacrificed to by the gods.’ (TS 2.6.9.4, Dahl 2016: 94)

- b. *átho* *yáthā* *púruṣah* *snāwabhiḥ* *sāntata*
 now as man:NOM sinew:INS.PL hold_together:PPP.NOM
evám *evāitābhir* *agníḥ* *sāntato*
 thus PTC=this:INS.PL fire:NOM hold_together:PPP.NOM
 ‘Moreover, just as man is held together by his sinews, so is the fire held together by these (bricks).’ (TS 5.3.9.1, Dahl 2016: 94)

This fact, together with the high frequency of instrumental agents compared to genitive ones and the rare occurrence of nominative inanimate agents, is for Dahl good evidence for the development in Middle Vedic of the instrumental agent with *-ta* participles as a

device for the promotion of non-canonical agents (as inanimate agents). With this background, Dahl further provides some examples in which the *-ta* participle appears to be a genuine reference-switch device, as in (23).

- (23) *yá* *evám* *vidvān* *róhiṇyā* *piṅgaláyāikahāyanyā*
REL:NOM thus knowing:NOM cow:INS red:INS=one.year_old:INS
sómaṃ *krīṇāti* *tráyastrimśatā* *caivāśya* *tribhís*
soma:ACC buy:PRS.3SG thirtythree:INS and=PTC=3SG:GEN three:INS.PL
ca // *śatáih* *sómaḥ* *krītó* *bhavati*,
and hundred:INS.PL soma:NOM buy:PPP.NOM become:PRS.3SG
súkrītena *yajate*
well.bought:INS sacrifice:PRS.3SG
‘He, who knowing thus, buys the Soma with a red cow one year old, buys the Soma with three hundred and thirty-three and sacrifices with Soma for which he has paid a good price.’ (TS 7.1.6.2–3, Dahl 2016: 98)

Following Dahl’s line of reasoning, in this example the topical referent of the first clause *yá* (that is at the same time the nominative agent) is still topical in the second clause but is less topical than the patient *sómaḥ*, which is promoted to the topical position through the *-ta* participle.⁵² In conclusion, according to Dahl, Middle Vedic *-ta* participles do not represent proper passive constructions anymore, but appear to have started developing towards inverse constructions.⁵³

The most relevant fact regarding *-ta* participles in Late Vedic is the relative frequency of this construction, it being five times greater than in Middle Vedic. Considering that the Late Vedic corpus stylistically resembles Middle Vedic, it can be claimed that the *-ta* participle construction underwent a significant change in markedness in Late Vedic. However, this does not seem to be enough for Dahl to prove that a shift to another typological category has taken place and thus it is necessary to clarify whether *-ta* participles are still inverse constructions or whether they shifted to something else, possibly ergatives. This process of verification led Dahl to evaluate if the status of Late Vedic *-ta* participles is in line with the features of inverse constructions in languages with “canonical” inverse voice. The canonical language taken in analysis is Chamorro (an Austronesian language): drawing on Givón (2001: 124), Dahl (2016: 102) states that the typical frequency distribution is relatively low, “a fact reflecting that they represent marked de-transitive voice constructions”. The frequency distribution of *-ta* participles calculated by Dahl (16,5%) is indeed almost the same as the frequency distribution of inverse constructions in Chamorro (18,23%); moreover, the inverse interpretation would be also supported by the fact that all the deleted agents of Late Vedic *-ta* participles are unambiguously anaphoric.

⁵² Cf. Givón (2001: 374).

⁵³ The main counterargument individuated by Dahl (2016: 99) to his inverse interpretation of the Middle Vedic data is the relative frequency of participle constructions, which appears to be lower than in Early and Early Middle Vedic. He attributes the inconsistency of the statistical results to the stylistic differences of Middle Vedic material that tends to be more monotonous and to have fewer narrative sequences than early texts.

In summary, Dahl’s proposal integrates the traditional passive-to-ergative hypothesis by adding an intermediate stage between the passive and the ergative, a stage that would have been reached only in Early MIA.⁵⁴

2.3.1.2 Ergative interpretation

A second group of scholars claim that the source construction of the New Indo-Aryan ergative pattern had been ergative since OIA times. The passive-to-ergative hypothesis has been rejected, for example, by Klaiman (1978): following Dixon’s (1979, 1994) definition of ergativity, she proposes that the *-ta* participle construction shows an ergative alignment since the earliest stage, as O is marked with the same case as S (the nominative), as in (19).

Figure 2.1: Ergative and accusative alignments in OIA

ERGATIVE ALIGNMENT (<i>-ta</i> participle)					
<u>Transitive clause</u>			<u>Intransitive clause</u>		
<i>devadattena</i> (A)	<i>kaṭaḥ</i> (O)	<i>kṛtaḥ</i>	<i>devadatto</i> (S)	<i>rājā</i>	<i>bhūtaḥ</i>
	NOM			NOM	

ACCUSATIVE ALIGNMENT (finite past)					
<u>Transitive clause</u>			<u>Intransitive clause</u>		
<i>devadattaḥ</i> (A)	<i>kaṭam</i> (O)	<i>cakāra</i>	<i>devadatto</i> (S)	<i>rājā</i>	<i>babhūva</i>
	NOM			NOM	

According to Klaiman, however, the present passive and the gerundive cannot be considered ergative: although presenting the demotion of the agent with transitive verbs as is the case with the *-ta* participle, they do not correspond to Dixon’s definition of ergativity, since in intransitive clauses S is marked with the instrumental, see (24), and not with the nominative as in the *-ta* participle construction.

(24) a. **PRESENT PASSIVE**

mithunéna caryate
 copulation:INS make:PRS.PASS.3SG
 ‘A copulation takes place.’ (ŚB 1.9.2.8, Hock 1986: 20)

b. **GERUNDIVE**

paśúvratena bhavitavyam
 cattle.acting:INS become:GRND.NOM
 ‘One should behave like cattle.’ (MS 1.8.7, Hock 1986:20)

Klaiman’s assertion on the behaviour of the P-oriented constructions with intransitive clauses in Early OIA however, has been challenged by Hock (1986): in early Vedic texts, present passives are barred from intransitive verbs and not only *-ta* participles⁵⁵ show A-

⁵⁴ See Reinöhl (2018: 114–115) for some objections to Dahl’s proposal.

⁵⁵ It has to be noted that the ergative interpretation of *-ta* participle based on Dixon’s definition is not as straightforward as presented by Klaiman and Hock: as claimed by Stroński (2009: 90), in Classical Sankrit

orientation as in (19), but gerundives also, albeit being extremely rare and limited to the two roots *bhū-* and *jan-*,⁵⁶ see (25).

- (25) *áditir jātám* *áditir jānitvam*
 A:NOM be_born:PPP.NOM A:NOM be_born:GRND.NOM
 ‘Aditi is the born, is that which is to be born.’ (RV 1.89.10, Hock 1986: 19)

If Dixon’s definition of ergativity is indeed to be applied to OIA as done by Klaiman, at the earliest stage the gerundive construction would also be ergative and the demotion of the agent in passives and in *-tavya*-gerundives (the most productive ones) a later innovation. Furthermore, the analysis of the ergative behaviour of the gerundive is carried forward by Hock in terms of function: rather than basing the definition of ergativity on the formal criterion of the coding of the arguments as done by Dixon (and Klaiman), Hock advocates Comrie’s (1978: 370) definition which describes ergativity as “‘passive’ morphology and/or syntax without the existence of a corresponding and more basic ‘active’” (Hock’s words). According to Hock, the *-tavya*-gerundive is thus at the later stage even more “ergative” than the *-ta* participle, since its “active” usage (i.e. with an agent marked by the nominative) is barred from both transitive and intransitive verbs, while the *-ta* participle is an obligatory passive only for transitive verbs. In other words, if the construction exemplified by *devadatto rājā bhūtaḥ* is the unmarked formation of *-ta* participle structure with an intransitive verb, structures as **devadatto rājā bhavitavyaḥ* are conversely not attested. Among the three P-oriented constructions, only the present passive has a corresponding active construction, as the imperfect has its own active/passive distinction that does not involve the *-ta* participle. A similar consideration holds true for the imperative, the future and the optative as well, being the finite formations that approximately cover the semantic area of the gerundive.

On the syntactic side, some important changes regarding the P-oriented constructions can be observed from Early and Middle to Late Vedic, showing that the oblique agent of the P-oriented constructions presents a higher degree of syntactic integration. Hock takes into consideration two main facts: the control over the absolute constructions and the mutation of the first constituent of the clause. As already discussed in Section 1.4.3, in Early and Middle Vedic, when an absolute clause is controlled by a P-oriented construction, the promoted patient serves as the point of reference for the absolute clause. On the contrary, in Late Vedic the absolute clause is normally controlled by the demoted agent of the clause, not by the nominative patient.⁵⁷ A second aspect considered by Hock is the change in position of the agent in Vedic prose: in early texts, the standard first constituent of a clause built with a P-oriented construction is the patient marked by the

the *-ta* participle can occur in a predicative function with a demoted instrumental agent also in such intransitive clauses as *mayā praviṣṭaḥ* ‘I entered’.

⁵⁶ The ratio given by Hock is of 11 intransitive gerundives out of 275 in total in the *Rgveda*.

⁵⁷ Hock (1991: 363) accounts for this syntactic change in the controller of absolutes by pointing to the double pressure from the development of a demotional passive and the increasing popularity of absolute constructions: the lack of a “surface subject” with demotional passive intransitives would have made intransitives incapable of accommodating an absolute clause.

nominative, whereas in Late Vedic one can observe an inversion of tendency, with the oblique agent occurring as the first constituent (see also Hock 1982: 130–131).

According to Hock, the passage to Late Vedic would be characterized by the beginning of a progressive change from a “subject-oriented” to an agent-oriented syntax.⁵⁸ The control of the agent over absolute clauses and the change of position of the agent are all features of the progressive syntactic convergent behaviour of the three typologies of the P-oriented constructions. Such innovative syntactic convergence was presumably triggered by the gerundive, the formation showing the most innovative behaviour in the Vedic texts and most lacking in a functional active/finite counterpart. According to Hock, the P-orientation of the three structures would have been the basis for the extension of the innovative properties of the gerundive to the constructions with the present passive and the *-ta* participle. The already established syntactic convergence with the gerundive was presumably the reason why the *-ta* participle overcame the active counterpart with *-tavat-* as the basis for the new preterite.

A different proposal about the path to ergativity has been presented by Bynon (2005). In her view, a full-fledged ergative construction would have developed only in Late Vedic/Early MIA. The antecedent of the ergative construction would not be a passive, as traditionally proposed in most of the literature, but an intransitive possessive construction built with the *-ta* participle, which Bynon traces back to Indo-Iranian. This source construction was a modally marked evidential, originally arising from anticausative predicates, as in (26), and eventually spreading to transitive clauses as well.⁵⁹

- (26) *yásya grāvā api śīryáte paśúbhir*
REL:GEN pressing_stone:NOM PTC break:PRS.MID.3SG cattle:INS.PL
vyṛdhyate
be_deprived:PRS.3SG
‘The one whose pressing stone breaks is deprived of cattle. / He who breaks his pressing-stone also fails with his cattle.’ (KS 62.1–2, Bynon 2005: 56)

Bynon’s hypothesis presents some theoretical advantages. As is the case with the *manā kartam* construction in Old Iranian, resorting to the external possessor hypothesis let one avoid the difficulties of explaining the large-scale syntactic restructuring implied by the passive origin (see Section 1.5.2.2). Indeed, as noted Bynon (2005: 65–66), the genitive marking of the agent would have been crucial in determining the extension of the construction to transitive predicates, as an adnominal possessor precedes its nominal head. From this perspective, the process of reanalysis would not require one to postulate the syntactic restructuring of a peripheral constituent as the demoted agent of a passive, since the adnominal possessor was already placed in “subject position”. The possessive interpretation would also be supported by cross-linguistic evidence, considering that perfects often originate from possessive constructions (Dahl and Stroński 2016: 21).

⁵⁸ See, however, Dahl’s (2016: 100) sceptical observation on the statistical relevance of the examples brought by Hock.

⁵⁹ Some of arguments advocated by Bynon are also found in Peterson’s (1998) proposal. He argues that the MIA intransitive *-ta* participle construction is derived from a resultative construction, whereas the transitive construction derives from a possessive construction.

Other aspects of Bynon’s proposal are more debated. One matter of controversy, for instance, concerns the supposed ancient status of the genitive construction: Bynon (2005: 26) claims that the genitive marking of the agent represents the original construction and the instrumental extension would be a later development to reduce the functional ambiguity of the genitive.⁶⁰ On the other hand, Cardona (1970) and Jamison (1979) make the case for the antiquity of the construction with the instrumental. As proposed by Benveniste (1952) and Haig (2008), the possessive interpretation would also find some support in the comparison with Old and Middle Iranian (Avestan shows both the genitive and instrumental usages, Old Persian only the genitive one). No evidence for the evidential reading is however found in the Iranian case (Haig 2008: 81, fn. 29).⁶¹

Some last brief remarks about Bynon’s proposal can be made on the basis of the Buddhist Sanskrit corpus used in the second part of this dissertation. As will be discussed in the following chapters, in Buddhist Sanskrit one can find several instances of external possessor constructions with a fronted genitive constituent. Such constructions occur both with transitive verbs, see (27a), and typically with anticausative verbs, see the first clause in (27b).

- (27) a. *yadā me subhūte kaliṅgarājā aṃgapratyaṃgāny*
 when 1SG:GEN S:VOC K.king:NOM limb.extremity:ACC.PL
acchetsīn
 cut:AOR.3SG
 ‘Subhūti, when the king Kaliṅga cut off limbs and extremities **to me**. / Subhūti,
 when the king Kaliṅga cut off **my** limbs and extremities.’ (Vajra(HW) 126.10)
- b. *yato me bhagavan / jñānam utpannam*
 since 1SG:GEN blessed_one:VOC knowledge:NOM arise:PPP.NOM
na mayā jātv eva dharmaparyāyaḥ śrutapūrvāḥ
 NEG 1SG:INS ever PTC teaching.round:NOM heard.before:NOM
 ‘Since knowledge arose **for me**/ Since **my** knowledge arose, Blessed One, I
 have not heard [such a] round of teachings before.’ (Vajra(HW) 124.12–13)

Regardless of whether or not the external possessor construction (“raised possessor” in Bynon’s terms) with anticausative verbs ultimately represents the source of ergatives in Indo-Iranian, we can see that such examples as in (27) show that the external possessor construction in MIA still represented a quite distinct construction from the canonical P-oriented construction with the instrumental as exemplified by the second clause in (27b), i.e. *na mayā jātv eva dharmaparyāyaḥ śrutapūrvāḥ*. This fact appears to speak against the idea of the instrumental extension, since the external possessor construction with the genitive – the so-called “genitivus sympatheticus” (von Hinüber 2022: §245) continuing the PIE dative construction (Luraghi 2020) – was still fully functional at this stage of

⁶⁰ As concerns the marking of the agent, Peterson (1998: 211) argues that the participle construction with transitive verbs could take an instrumental of “concomitance” (“With me is a written book”). Thus, he postulates that the concomitant function of the instrumental was close to the genitive possessor construction (e.g. “I have a book written”), explaining why the genitive could also be used as the agent of a *-ta* participle construction.

⁶¹ See Stroński (2009) for a detailed discussion of Bynon’s proposal.

development. What is more, such examples show no trace of evidential reading: if one could argue that an inferential reading of (27a) could be justified by the fact that the Buddha is referring to a previous birth of his, in (27b) we know that Subhūti is clearly referring to his attaining of arhatship in the present existence (see Chapter 5 for further discussion of these two examples).⁶²

Finally, an “intermediate” (cf. Stroński 2009: 102) position between the passive and ergative interpretations has been proposed by Andersen (1986a). According to him, the alternation between the genitive and instrumental marking of the agent in the *-ta* participle construction in Vedic, see (28a) and (28b), is sensitive to pragmatic factors. The genitive patient would be used when it conveys old information (and is therefore topical, animate and definite) and the patient expresses new information, whereas the instrumental agent represents new information and the patient represents old information. According to Andersen, the topical genitive agent would therefore be used in an ergative construction, while the instrumental *-ta* construction represents a passive.⁶³ Andersen’s claim would be partially supported by the evidence collected by Dahl (2016: 95, see above) for Middle Vedic, where the genitive admittedly appears to have grammaticalized into a distinct mark for animate agents.

- (28) a. *hatā indreṇa paṇayah śayadhve*
 kill:PPP.NOM.PL I:INS P:PPP.NOM.PL lie_down:PRS.MID.2PL
 ‘You Panis lie down smashed by Indra.’ (RV 10.108.4)
- b. *hatā indrasya śātravaḥ*
 kill:PPP.NOM.PL I:GEN enemy:NOM.PL
 ‘Indra smashed the enemies.’ (RV 10.155.4)

In summary, the synchronic status of the *-ta* participle construction in OIA is difficult to interpret and has consequently received different explanations from various scholars. As the status of the construction at such an early stage is ultimately of second relevance in the present context, I refrain from taking a stance on this matter. All the proposals discussed above are valuable and highlight different dimensions of the *-ta* participle construction. For the present discussion, Hock’s hypothesis in particular has the merit of pinpointing the syntactic convergence between the three P-oriented constructions (especially the *-ta* participle and the gerundive) from a very early stage, an aspect which is of significant relevance for the present analysis.

2.3.2 Aspectual diachronic developments

OIA had a complex verbal system comprised of a large number of different forms. The morphology of these verb forms, in general terms, can be compared with their cognate

⁶² It is interesting to see, however, that the majority of the Chinese translators read the agent of (27b) as having a high degree of control over the action by using the verb *de* 得 ‘attain’ to translate *utpannam*, which would support the ergative reading of such external possessor constructions in line with Bynon’s proposal. See Chapter 5 for further discussion.

⁶³ The same hypothesis has been applied by Andersen also to Aśokan Prakrit, see below for further discussion.

formations in the Indo-European daughter languages. However, a description of the functional and semantic domains of this complex system in terms of the interplay between tense, aspect and mood, presents many challenges. Following Dahl's (2010, 2011a, 2011b, 2014, 2015, 2020) detailed studies of the Vedic verbal system, one can say that Early Vedic was built around a threefold aspectual opposition between the neutral present/imperfect, the perfective aorist and the anterior-resultative perfect, see (29).⁶⁴

(29) a. **NEUTRAL-IMPERFECT** (perfective reading)

devānām *yugé* *prathamé* *ásataḥ* *sád*
 god:GEN.PL generation:LOC first:LOC not.being:ABL being:NOM

ajāyata

be_born:IPF.3SG

‘In the (time of the) first generation of gods, being was born from not-being.’
 (RV 10.72.3, Dahl 2010: 187)

b. **NEUTRAL-IMPERFECT** (imperfective reading)

yáj *jáyathās* *tád* *áhar* *asya*
 REL:ACC be_born:PRS.INJ.2SG 3SG:ACC day:ACC 3SG:GEN

kāme *aṃśóḥ* *pīyūṣam* *apibo*
 love:LOC plant:GEN juice:ACC drink:IPF.2SG

giriṣṭhām | *tām* *te* *mātā*
 coming_from_the_mountains:ACC 3SG:ACC 2SG:DAT mother:NOM

pári *yósā* *jánitrī* *maháḥ* *pitúr*
 round maiden:NOM parent:NOM great:GEN father:GEN

dāma *āsiñcad* *ágre*
 home:LOC pour_out:IPF.3SG beginning:LOC

‘On the day when you were born you voluptuously **drank** nectar of the plant which comes from the mountains. Your mother, the young maiden, **was pouring** it abundantly out for you in the house of your great father for the first time.’ (RV 3.48.2, Dahl 2010: 204)

c. **PERFECTIVE-AORIST**

asmābhir *ū* *nú* *praticákṣiyābhūd*
 1PL:INS just now visible:NOM=become:AOR.3SG

⁶⁴ For the sake of the present discussion, we may distinguish at least four different temporal parameters: speech time (the time of the utterance), event time (the run-time of the event denoted by the verb), reference time (the time spoken about) and evaluation time (representing the perspective from which the temporal localization of the situation is evaluated), see Dahl (2010: 46–58, 2011a: 266). The perfective aspect represents a situation as complete within the reference time interval, the imperfective represents a situation as including the reference time interval, and the neutral represents a situation as overlapping with the reference time interval. Perfective and imperfective may be considered as marked categories, whereas the neutral represents an unmarked category compatible with both perfective and imperfective readings (Dahl 2010: 88, 2011a: 266). The anterior aspect refers to a situation as completed prior to or coextensive with the reference time interval, whereas the resultative aspect represents the situation as completed prior to the reference time interval (Dahl 2010: 82, 2011b: 282).

‘And now she **has come** into existence to be seen by us.’ (RV 1.113.11, Dahl 2011a: 276)

d. **ANTERIOR-PERFECT**

<i>ádhvaryo</i>	<i>drāváyā</i>	<i>tuvám</i>	<i>sómam</i>	<i>índrah</i>
A:VOC	let_flow:IMP.2SG	2SG:NOM	soma:ACC	I:NOM
<i>pipāsati</i>	<i>úpa</i>	<i>nūnám</i>	<i>yuyuje</i>	<i>vṛṣaṇā</i>
be_thirsty:PRS.3SG	unto	now	yoke:PRF.3SG	male_horse:ACC.PL
<i>hárī</i>	<i>ā</i>	<i>ca</i>	<i>jagāma</i>	<i>vṛtrahā</i>
bay:ACC	to	and	come:PRF.3SG	V.killer:NOM

‘Adhvaryu, you let the soma flow! Indra is thirsty. Now the Vṛtrakiller **has yoked** his two bay horses and **has come** hither.’ (RV 8.4.11, Dahl 2010: 355)

e. **RESULTATIVE-PERFECT**

<i>agnír</i>	<i>jāgāra</i>	<i>tám</i>	<i>ṛcaḥ</i>	<i>kāmayante</i>
A:NOM	awake:PRF.3SG	3SG:ACC	Ṛk.verse:NOM.PL	love:PRS.3PL

‘Agni **is wakeful**, him the Ṛk-verses love.’ (RV 5.44.15, Dahl 2010: 358)

In later stages of Vedic, the original threefold aspectual opposition developed into a “system based on relative temporal remoteness and evidentiality” (Dahl 2016: 69). The aspectual opposition between the imperfect and the aorist was neutralized in favour of a temporal opposition in terms of remote (imperfect) and immediate (aorist) past (Dahl 2011a, 2014; Kiparsky 1998; Speijer 1886: §334; Tichy 1997), whereas the synthetic perfect gradually developed an inferential evidential meaning (Cardona 2002; Dahl 2014, 2020). This state of affairs would also find confirmation in the description of the Sanskrit temporal system given by Pāṇini in the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*. The three finite formations were distinguished by Pāṇini on the basis of two descriptive binary pairs, namely *anadyatana* vs. *adyatana* (lit. ‘not of today’ vs. ‘of today’, i.e. remote past vs. immediate past) *parokṣa* vs. *aparokṣa* (‘imperceptible’ vs. ‘perceptible’). This tripartite finite system which describes *anadyatana/aparokṣa* (imperfect), *adyatana/aparokṣa* (aorist) and *parokṣa* (perfect) derives from *sūtras* 3.2.110, 3.2.111 and 3.2.115. And Pāṇini’s terminology here has traditionally puzzled modern scholars⁶⁵, because it does not correspond to the evidence of usage encountered in the *Ṛgveda*, as seen above, but does partially correspond to the usage of the past finite formations in Middle and Late Vedic (Dahl 2014: 237), see (30).

(30) a. **REMOTE PAST-IMPERFECT** (*anadyatana*)

<i>táśyāsīd</i>	<i>duhitā</i>	<i>gandharvāgrhītā</i>
3SG:GEN=be:IPF.3SG	daughter:NOM	gandharva.possessed:NOM
<i>tám</i>	<i>aprchāma</i>	<i>kó</i>
3SG:ACC	ask:IPF.1PL	who:NOM
<i>só</i>	<i>’bravīt</i>	<i>sudhanvāṅgirasa</i>
3SG:NOM	say:IPF.3SG	S:NOM=Ā:NOM

⁶⁵ See Whitney (1879: 295), Speijer (1886: §330), Bubeník (1997: 62–63).

‘He **had** a daughter possessed by a Gandharva. We **asked** him who he was, and the Gandharva said that he was Sudhanvan Āṅgīrasa.’ (ŚB 14.6.3.1, Dahl 2015: 48)

b. **IMMEDIATE PAST-AORIST** (*adyatana*)

<i>śākalyéti</i>	<i>hovāca</i>	<i>yājñavalkyaḥ</i>	<i>tvām</i>
Ś:VOC=thus	then=say:PRF.3SG	Y:NOM	2SG:ACC
<i>svid imé</i>	<i>brāhmaṇā</i>	<i>aṅgārā</i>	<i>vakṣāyaṇam</i>
PTC this:NOM.PL	brahmin:NOM.PL	of_A:NOM.PL	eloquent:ACC
<i>akrata</i>	<i>íti</i>		
make:AOR.3PL	QUOT		

‘Yājñavalkya said: “Śākalya, it is clear that the Brahmins from Aṅgāra **have made** you eloquent.”’ (ŚB 14.6.9.19, Dahl 2015: 48)

c. **INFERENTIAL-PERFECT** (*parokṣa*)

<i>te</i>	<i>’muṃ</i>	<i>lokaṃ</i>	<i>gatvā</i>	<i>vyatr̥ṣyaṃs</i>
3PL:NOM	that:ACC	world:ACC	come:GER	get_thirsty:IPF.3PL
<i>te</i>	<i>’vidur</i>	<i>amutaḥ</i>	<i>pradānād</i>	<i>vā</i>
3PL:NOM	know:IPF.3PL	from_there	gift:ABL	PTC
<i>iha</i>	<i>ājagāmeti</i>			
here	come:PRF.3SG=QUOT			

‘When they had come to that world, they became thirsty. Then they knew: “It [the thirst] has come here from that gift from there.”’ (KS 9.3.12–13, Dahl 2020: 270)

The aspectual distribution of the three finite formations is interesting also in the light of the parallel development of the predicative *-ta* participle. In Early Vedic, this construction has two related readings, a purely stative reading, and a resultative one, in which the predicative participle describes an event as the resulting state of a prior event, as exemplified in (31) (Condoravdi and Deo 2015: 267–268).

(31) a. **STATIVE**

<i>agníbhṛājaso</i>	<i>vidyúto</i>	<i>gábhastiyoh</i>
fire.glowing:NOM.PL	lightening:NOM.PL	hand:LOC.DU
<i>śíprāḥ</i>	<i>śīrṣásu</i>	<i>vítatā</i>
visor:NOM.PL	head:LOC.PL	spread:PPP.NOM.PL
		golden:NOM.PL

‘Lightnings glowing with fire are on your hands; visors wrought of gold are spread on your heads.’ (RV 5.54.11, Condoravdi and Deo 2015: 268)

b. **RESULTATIVE**

<i>túbhyam</i>	<i>sutó</i>	<i>maghavan</i>	<i>túbhyam</i>	<i>ābhṛtas</i>
2SG:DAT	press:PPP.NOM	M:VOC	2SG:DAT	offer:PPP.NOM

‘For you, Maghavan, it [the Soma] has been pressed, for you, it has been offered.’ (RV 2.36.5, Condoravdi and Deo 2015: 268)

Late Vedic, however, is characterized by an expansion of the aspectual readings of the *-ta* participle construction: besides maintaining the original resultative meaning, the predicative *-ta* also acquires an existential (32a) and a universal (32b) reading⁶⁶, compatible with an anterior aspect (“perfect aspect” in Condoravdi and Deo’s terminology).

(32) a. **ANTERIOR-EXISTENTIAL READING**

<i>mantrā</i>	<i>nānāprakārāḥ</i>	<i>syur</i>	<i>dr̥ṣṭā</i>
formula:NOM.PL	various.sort:NOM.PL	be:OPT.3PL	see:PPP.NOM.PL
<i>ye</i>	<i>mantradarśibhiḥ</i>		
REL:NOM.PL	seer:INS.PL		
‘The formulas, which have been seen by the sages, may be of various sorts.’			
(BD 1.34, Condoravdi and Deo 2015: 273)			

b. **ANTERIOR-UNIVERSAL READING**

<i>tasmin</i>	<i>sarvaṃ</i>	<i>pratiṣṭhitam</i>	<i>yac</i>	<i>ca</i>	<i>prāṇiti</i>
3SG.LOC	all:NOM	rest:PPP.NOM	REL:NOM	and	live:PRS.3SG
<i>yac</i>	<i>ca</i>	<i>na</i>			
REL:NOM	and	NEG			
‘On it [milk] everything has rested; that which lives and that which does not.’					
(BAU 1.5.1, Condoravdi and Deo 2015: 274)					

The passage from Early Vedic to Late Vedic was hence characterized by a shift from a threefold aspectual opposition (neutral-perfective-anterior) in the past tense based on the three finite formations (imperfect-aorist-perfect) to a binary aspectual opposition (perfective-anterior), represented by the three finite formations (which had lost their aspectual distinction), to the new anterior predicative *-ta* participle. It has been claimed that this binary aspectual opposition continued to be reflected in Early MIA, as would be the case with Pali, where the aspectual opposition would stand between the perfective preterite, diachronically continuing the OIA aorist (as well as, to a lesser extent, the imperfect and perfect),⁶⁷ and the anterior periphrastic construction with the *-ta* participle; the periphrastic construction built with transitive verbs would have ultimately developed into a simple past (Peterson 1998, 1999). Although it should be noted that in the literary Prakrits the synthetic preterites derived from OIA finite forms also rapidly disappeared in favour of the analytic construction based on the *-ta* participle (Bubeník 1996: 99–100) and are virtually no longer attested in Mahārāṣṭrī (Condoravdi and Deo 2015: 275; Hoose 2020). The data collected and discussed by Hoose (2020) confirms that the predicative *-ta* participle had acquired a perfective reading already in Pali, besides presenting the anterior reading discussed above, whereas finite presents are employed to express imperfective events in the past tense. What is more, the finite preterite appears not to be correlated with any particular aspectual meaning. The trajectory resultative > anterior >

⁶⁶ An existential (also called “experiential”) reading denotes a situation “which has occurred at one or more times at some indefinite point in the past” (Dahl 2010: 83). The universal reading describes a situation which “has held from some definite or indefinite time in the past until evaluation time” (Dahl 2010: 83).

⁶⁷ See Geiger (1916: §§157–170) and Oberlies (2019: §70).

perfective is typologically well-attested and it is thus not surprising that Pali already shows traces of this shift (Condoravdi and Deo 2015). Contrastingly, the aspectual neutrality of the preterite observed by Hoose is more peculiar and needs further scrutiny. This, however, falls far outside the scope of this work.

The table below summarizes the aspectual development of the past tense formations from Early Vedic to Early MIA discussed above.

Table 2.2: Aspect system in the past tense (OIA–Early MIA)

Early Vedic			
NEUTRAL	PERFECTIVE	ANTERIOR/RESULTATIVE	STATIVE/RESULTATIVE
Imperfect	Aorist	Perfect	- <i>ta</i> participle
Late Vedic			
PERFECTIVE		ANTERIOR/RESULTATIVE	
Imperfect (remote past)		- <i>ta</i> participle	
Aorist (immediate past)			
Perfect (inferential)			
Early MIA			
NEUTRAL		ANTERIOR/PERFECTIVE	IMPERFECTIVE
Finite preterite (mainly continuing OIA aorist)		- <i>ta</i> participle	Finite present

2.3.3 Early MIA and the path to ergativity

MIA represents a critical stage in the development of ergativity in Indo-Aryan, in that the erosion of the case endings led to a neutralization of the morphological opposition between the nominative and the accusative and created the conditions for the arising of a phonological coherent absolutive case, as exemplified by Late MIA Apabhramśa (Bubeník 1998: 142; 2016). Example (33) illustrates the use of the absolutive case in Apabhramśa to mark O (*aṅgu* in 33a) and S (*cittu* 33b) in the “ergative” configuration, as well as to mark both A and O (as well as S) in the accusative one (33c).

- (33) a. *aṅgahī* (A) *aṅgu* (O) *na* *miliu* *hali*
limb:INS.PL limb:ABS NEG touch:PPP.ABS friend:VOC
‘Limbs did not touch limb, O friend.’ (Hc 4.332.2, Dahl and Stroński 2016: 28)

- b. *piya* *virattu* *hui* *cittu* (S)
beloved:ABS become_estranged:PPP.ABS be:PST.3SG heart:ABS
pahiya *kima* *vaṭṭiyai*
traveller:VOC what make_happen:PASS
‘When the heart of the beloved has become estranged, O traveller, what is there to be done.’ (Sr 101d⁶⁸, Dahl and Stroński 2016: 28)

⁶⁸ The reading given here is based on the variant found at p. 62 of Sr.

c.	<i>taṃ</i>	<i>suhu (O)</i>	<i>indu (A)</i>	<i>vi</i>	<i>ṇau</i>
	3SG:ACC	pleasure:ABS	I:ABS	PTC	NEG
	<i>lahai</i>	<i>devihī</i>	<i>koḍi</i>	<i>ramaṃtu</i>	
	experience:PRS.3SG	goddess:INS.PL	million:ABS.PL	dally:PTCP.PRS.ABS	
	‘That pleasure even Indra does not experience, when dallying with millions of goddesses.’ (Pd 3, Dahl and Stroński 2016: 28)				

It is generally believed that Late MIA is the period in which the case syncretism that led to the creation of an absolutive case became relevant. In truth, a similar situation of case syncretism is already observable in Niya Prakrit⁶⁹, where the inflectional system shows the results of a collapse of the Old Indo Aryan nominative and accusative cases into a single direct case. In the Niya documents, where the *a*-declension has additionally come to absorb most other stem types of Old Indo-Aryan, the ending *-a* (from the masculine accusative singular *-am* by elision of the final nasal, Fussman 1989: 460) has spread as the default marker of the singular direct case (Burrow 1937: 22, Jamison 2000: 67). Akin to Apabhraṃśa (see accusative singular *taṃ* in (34c)), the pronoun *sa-/ta-* is the only formation in Niya Prakrit that consistently preserves a distinction between the nominative (masculine *se*, feminine *sa*) and the accusative (*ta* for both masculine and feminine) in the singular (Burrow 1937a: 33), continuing the stem suppletivism of its OIA source paradigm. Example (34) illustrates the marking of O and S with the direct case in both the past (34a and b) and present (34c) tenses.

- (34) a. *edaṣa* *bhagarka (A)* *uṭa (O)* *marita*
 this:GEN B:DIR camel:DIR kill:PST.3SG
 ‘Bhagarka killed his [Apge’s] camel.’ (CKD 262)
- b. *imade* *livivistarena* *anatilekha (S)* *gada*
 from_here full_statement_writing:INS order.letter:DIR go:PST.3SG
 ‘A letter of command with a full statement in writing went from here.’ (CKD 4)
- c. *atra* *načiraṃmi* *jana (A/S)* *gachaṃti* *aśpa*
 there hunting:LOC people:DIR.PL go:PRS.3PL horses:DIR.PL
vaḍavi (O) *vijaṃti*

⁶⁹ Niya Prakrit is a variety of the Northwestern MIA Prakrit generally known as Gāndhārī. It was used as the administrative language of the kingdom of Kroraina (or Shanshan 鄯善) in the Southeastern region of the Tarim Basin in the 1st to 4th centuries CE. The Prakrit corpus from Niya contains nearly one thousand legal and administrative documents, mostly written on wooden tablets. The bulk of these was found in the surroundings of the ruined sites of Niya during the Central Asian expeditions led by Sir Aurel Stein in the years 1900–01, 1906–07, 1913–14 and 1930. The documents recovered during the first three of these expeditions were edited by Boyer et al. (1920). Burrow (1937) supplemented this edition with the documents unearthed during the fourth expedition and subsequently translated the entire collection into English (Burrow 1940). Editions of the newly unearthed documents are scattered across several publications. An up-to-date catalogue of all the edited documents is found in Baums and Glass (2002–, = CKD).

mares:DIR.PL wound:PRS.3PL

‘People go there hunting, wounding the horses and mares.’ (CKD 156)

The presence of a direct case in such an early stage of MIA has been traditionally connected to Tocharian substratum interference (see for instance Wright 1998: 246). However, the progress made in the last two decades regarding the understanding of Gāndhārī morpho-syntax has shown that the collapse of the two cases into a single one in fact appears to be a general feature of North Western Prakrit, rather than a peculiarity of Niya Prakrit in particular. Indeed, the variability of the endings of the direct case (*-u*, *-o*, *-a*, *-e*, *-am*) attested in the Gāndhārī texts possibly reflects a general weakening of unstressed final vowels and the resulting graphical variation (see Fussman 1989: 460 for the language of the inscriptions and Salomon 1999: 130, 2008: 130 for the Gāndhārī Buddhist Texts). This seems to be confirmed by the fact that in some manuscripts, reasons of graphical convenience appear to have influenced the scribe’s preference of a particular ending; see, for instance, Allon (2001: 108) on the use of *u/o*. The data collected by Salomon (2008: 135–137) highlights the importance of scribal preference in the distribution of alternate endings. By contrast, Baums (2009: 202–203) argues, based on the data from the Gāndhārī commentaries on selections of canonical verses, that the Old Indo-Aryan sandhi variant *-o* of the masculine nom. sg. spread analogically to the masculine acc. sg. and neuter nom-acc. sg. Admittedly, the consistent avoidance of *-e* as the ending of the accusative betrays a certain degree of awareness of the old morphological distinctions on the part of the scribes (Salomon 2008: 138). Overall, however, the lack of any precise grammatical principle underlying the varying distributions of the endings among the texts and, more generally, the untidy distribution of the ending variants of the direct case, clearly attest to a development towards a neutralization of the morpho-syntactic opposition between the old nominative and accusative cases. The more regular phonological treatment of the direct case in the Niya documents compared to other Gāndhārī sources may be due to the fact that the Niya documents were directly composed in the local language rather than being transposed from another variety of MIA into the one we know today. The emersion of an “absolute” case due to the case syncretism might be an early phenomenon dating back already to Early MIA.

The oblique marking of the agent-phrase in the MIA ergative construction is also a matter of debate. The same considerations as those made for Vedic (see Section 2.3.1.2) have been applied by Andersen (1986b) to Aśokan Prakrit as well. As ergative and passive agents are distinguishable on the basis of their degree of animacy and definiteness, Andersen used these two parameters (animacy and definiteness/new information) to test the data from Aśoka’s inscriptions. His analysis results in a twofold pattern of agency, with the genitive marking the agent of ergative constructions, and the instrumental that of passives, see (35).

(35) a. **GENTIVE-“ERGATIVE”**

<i>aṭhavasābhisitasa</i>	<i>devānaṃpiyasa</i>	<i>piyadasine</i>	<i>lājine</i>
eight.year.anointed:GEN	D:GEN	P:GEN	king:GEN
<i>kaligā</i>	<i>vijitā</i>		
K:NOM.PL	conquer:PPP.NOM.PL		

‘The eight-year-anointed king Devanampiya Piyadasi conquered the Kalingas.’ (RE 13A, Andersen 1986b: 81)

b. INSTRUMENTAL-“PASSIVE”

esa cu kho mama anusathiyā dhammāpekhā
 this:NOM but PTC 1SG:GEN instruction:INS law.consideration:NOM
dhammakāmatā ca suve suve vaḍhitā
 law.desire:NOM and day_after_day increase:PPP.NOM.PL
 ‘By means of my instruction, this consideration for the Law (of the Buddha) and this desire for the Law are increased day after day.’ (PE 1D, Andersen 1986b: 82)

The instrumental in some instances marks an animate agent as well; in these cases, according to Andersen, it is possible to infer from the context that the instrumental agent represent the focus of the new information, as in (36).

- (36) *iyam dhammalipi devānaṃpiyena piyadasinā lājinā*
 this law.inscription:NOM D:INS P:INS king:NOM
likhāpitā
 write:PPP.CAUS.NOM
 ‘This inscription of the Law was caused to be written by the king Devanampiya Piyadasi.’ (RE 1A, Andersen 1986b: 82)

Andersen’s claim has been challenged by Bubeník (1989: 386, 1996: 173), in particular with respect to genitive marking of personal pronouns. According to Andersen (1986b: 84–85), the enclitic pronoun *me* occurs in the inscriptions 35 times; since it can morphologically represent both a genitive and an instrumental, Andersen claims that 31 out of 35 examples represent a genitive (and thus an ergative), as they convey old information, as in (37).

- (37) *saḍuvīsativasābhisitena me iyam dhammalipi*
 twenty-six.year.anoint:PPP.INS 1SG:GEN/INS this:NOM law.inscription:NOM
likhāpitā
 write:PPP.CAUS.NOM
 ‘This inscription of the Law has been caused to be written by me after I had been anointed for 26 years.’ (PE 1B, Andersen 1986b: 84)

Bubeník states that the agreement of the appositional modifier *saḍuvīsativasābhisitena* would rather point in favour of an instrumental interpretation of the enclitic. Furthermore, he notes that first and second person pronouns represent speech act participants (the speaker and the addressee in a dialogue and the speaker in the narrative context) and thus always convey old information. If Andersen’s point is correct, one would expect a contrastive use of the enclitic form and the orthotonic instrumental in context-dependent sentences.⁷⁰ The evidence collected by Bubeník would rather suggest that the two forms are used indiscriminately. Doubts about Andersen’s proposal have been raised by Bynon

⁷⁰ Bubeník gives the example of an unmarked statement as *imā me sudā* ‘I heard it’ vs. a usage with a contrastive focus *imā mae sudā* ‘It was heard by me’ (i.e. not by someone else).

(2005: 32) as well, who also claims that the evidence from the Aśokan inscriptions does not support the “ergative” hypothesis in Andersen’s terms. As noted by Stroński (2009: 103), another problem about Andersen’s claim pertains to the degree of control of the agent over the action. When Andersen mentions (in passing) the problem of the difference of control over the action performed by the genitive and instrumental agents, he expresses two contradictory points: in the article on Aśokan inscriptions he claims that the genitive agent has more control over the action (Andersen 1986b: 90–91), while in the article on Vedic he proposes the opposite (1986a: 13). In sum, the differential ergative marking (instrumental-genitive) in Early MIA is probably motivated by semantic and pragmatic factors, but the picture appears to be more complex than described by Andersen (cf. Dahl and Stroński 2016: 27).

The degree of control over the action by the oblique agent is indeed a crucial point concerning the development of ergativity in Early MIA. This issue has been addressed in particular by Peterson (1998) in a monograph dedicated to the analysis of grammatical relations in Pali and the emergence of ergativity in Indo-Aryan. A condensed version of this monograph was published the following year in German by Peterson (1999) in the form of an article. Peterson’s key assumption is that in Pali the overt agent of a *-ta* participle expressed by the instrumental is a core argument of the clause and not a peripheral element as in a proper passive structure. This would be proven by the fact that the agent of the *-ta* participle controls a series of grammatical operations. This can be observed for instance with reflexivization, as exemplified in (38a) where *attano* is referred to the instrumental agent *upāsakena*, or with control over the absolute clause, see (38b), where the instrumental agent *devadattena* controls the absolute clause. According to Peterson (1998: 183), the oblique agent of a predicative *-ta* participle displays the feature of a core element of the clause, while the nominative patient cannot be considered a promoted “subject”. This fact is particularly evident when observing the syntactic behaviour of the anaphoric agent in the case of coreferential deletion between a clause governed by a *-ta* participle and a clause governed by a finite verb as in (38c) in which the instrumental agent *vālehi* controls the finite aorists *gaṇhiṃsu* and *paripātīṃsu* that in an isolated clause would require a nominative agent.

- (38) a. *idha pana bhikkhave upāsakena attano atthāya*
 here PTC monk:VOC.PL layman:INS self:GEN sake:DAT
nivesanaṃ kārapitaṃ hoti
 dwelling:NOM make:PPP.CAUS.NOM become:PRS.3SG
 ‘And here, O monks, a layman has had a dwelling built for himself.’ (MhV 140.27–28, Peterson 1998: 131)

- b. *nanu bhante devadattena pabbajitvā saṃgho*
 now sir:VOC D:INS become_monk:GER community:NOM
bhinno
 divide:PPP.NOM
 ‘Sir. Has not Devadatta divided the community, after having become a monk?’
 (Mil 108.3–4, Peterson 1998: 149)

c.	<i>tena</i>	<i>kho pana</i>	<i>samayena</i>	<i>kosalesu</i>	<i>janapadesu</i>
	3SG:INS	PTC	time:INS	K:LOC.PL	country:LOC.PL
	<i>aññatarasmiṃ</i>	<i>āvāse</i>		<i>vassupagatā</i>	
	certain:LOC	residence:LOC		spend_rain_season:PPP.NOM.PL	
	<i>bhikkhū</i>	<i>vālehi</i>	<i>ubbālhā</i>		<i>honti</i>
	monks:NOM.PL	snakes:INS.PL	trouble:PPP.NOM.PL		become:PRS.3PL
	<i>Ø_i</i>	<i>gaṇhiṃsu</i>	<i>pi</i>	<i>paripātiṃsu</i>	<i>pi</i>
	Ø	grab:AOR.3PL	also	attack:AOR.3PL	also

‘At that time in the land of Kosala monks who had spent the rainy season in a certain residence were troubled by the snakes. [The snakes] took hold [of the monks] and attacked [them].’ (MhV 148.29–31, Peterson 1998: 182)

Similar considerations are applicable also to the Pali gerundive: the instrumental agent of the gerundive has control over reflexivization (39a) as well as absolute clauses (39b).

(39) a.	<i>na</i>	<i>bhikkhave</i>	<i>yathāparisāya</i>	<i>pātimokkhaṃ</i>
	NEG	monk:VOC.PL	according.assembly:INS	P:NOM
	<i>uddisitabbaṃ</i>	<i>sakāya</i>	<i>sakāya</i>	<i>parisāya</i>
	recite:GRND.NOM	own:LOC	own:LOC	assembly:LOC
	‘O monks! [One] should not recite the Pātimokkha according to assembly, each at his own assembly.’ (MhV 104.36–105.1, Peterson 1998: 130)			

b.	<i>tena</i>	<i>bhikkhave</i>	<i>bhikkhunā</i>	<i>ekaṃ</i>	<i>bhikkhuṃ</i>
	3SG:INS	monk:VOC.PL	monk:INS	one:ACC	monk:ACC
	<i>upasaṃkamitvā</i>	<i>ekaṃsaṃ</i>	<i>uttarāsaṅgaṃ</i>	<i>karitvā</i>	
	approach:GER	one.shoulder:ACC	upper_robe:ACC	make:GER	
	<i>ukkuṭikaṃ</i>	<i>nisīditvā</i>	<i>añjaliṃ</i>	<i>paggahetvā</i>	<i>evam</i>
	on_heels:ACC	sit:GER	joined_hands:ACC	raise:GER	thus
	<i>assa</i>	<i>vacanīyo</i>			
	3SG:GEN	speak:GRND.NOM			

‘O monks, this monk, after approaching another monk, placing his upper robe to one side, sitting down on his heels and raising his hand joined together in greeting, should speak to that [monk] thus.’ (MhV 125.36–126.1, Peterson 1998: 154)

Syntactically speaking, the MIA *-ta* participle and the gerundive constructions are thus ergative-like, but not ergative *stricto sensu*. As discussed by Peterson, and as illustrated by the few examples above, Pali syntax is governed by S/A pivots and not by S/O ones as one would expect with an ergative language in the narrow sense (see the discussion above in Section 1.5.1). Nonetheless, these two constructions do not represent passives either, as their core argument is represented by the oblique agent and not by a promoted nominative “subject”.

2.4 P-oriented constructions in light of Haig’s four parameters of passivity

Having introduced the main theoretical problems underlying the relationship between the Indo-Aryan P-oriented constructions and the development of ergativity, one can proceed to analyse the *-ta* participle and gerundive constructions in light of Haig’s four parameters of passivity to see whether they fit into a prototypical definition of passivity.

2.4.1 Argument structure of the verb form

The evaluation of the first parameter is relatively straightforward. The *-ta* participle and the gerundive are formally verbal adjectives. They can be derived from transitive and intransitive verbs, but the verbal adjectives themselves are uniformly intransitive in terms of verb valency in that, unlike a finite verb form, they cannot assign the accusative case to the patient (cf. Haig 2008: 41). Both the *-ta* participle and the gerundive share the distributional properties of adjectives, as they can be used as attributive adjectives in OIA and in MIA as well. They are, however, also used predicatively, even without the use of a copula. Moreover, their development into full-fledged verb forms was favoured by the rise of a morphologically coherent absolutive case in Early MIA and the subsequent weakening of the orientation of the P-oriented formations towards the patient argument.⁷¹ This notwithstanding, as regards the first parameter, both the *-ta* participle and the gerundive are typically passive, because they formally license a single argument, i.e. the patient.

2.4.2 Markedness of the verb form

As already discussed in the previous section, OIA had a complex verbal system with (at least) three different finite formations for the past tense in addition to the *-ta* participle construction. Morphologically speaking, the system of voice opposition in finite formations does not involve the *-ta* participle. The latter is rather the unmarked member of the opposition with the A-oriented participle in *-tavat-* (morphologically derived from the *-ta* form). In terms of functional status, the predicative *-ta* participle too does not represent the marked counterpart of any other finite formations at any stage. In Late Vedic, it developed into the only construction available to express the anterior aspect, expanding then into a perfective formation in Early MIA and gradually becoming the unmarked form for the expression of the past tense in general in MIA.

The problem of determining the degree of markedness of the gerundive construction is more complex. The functional domain of the gerundive is indeed characterized by an overlapping with other finite constructions (optative, imperative, future, *arh-* ‘be worthy

⁷¹ The most striking instance of “emancipation” from P-orientation in Early MIA is represented by the innovative preterite formation found in Niya Prakrit, which, despite being derived from the *-ta* participle periphrastic construction, shows no ergative-like marking. On the contrary, it appears that the Niya preterite was reanalysed as an active accusative-like finite construction without passing through an ergative stage (Burrow 1937: 50–51; Jamison 2000). The creation of an absolutive case (see above), however, was probably not the only factor behind the development of this innovative formation: substratum interference from Iranian (Barchi and Peschl 2022, Schoubben 2024: 373ff.) is also to be considered to account for this in divergent development.

of’ + infinitive), and determining the functional sphere of each construction thus presents more difficulties.

The major issue regarding the functional domain of the gerundive concerns its having the putative suppletive function of the optative passive: the thesis of the suppletion of the optative passive by the gerundive (and by the dative infinitive in negative clauses) in Early Vedic has been mainly advocated by Jamison (1984). But her hypothesis has been rejected by Hock (1988): the functional overlapping with the gerundive is not a prerogative of the optative but pertains to other finite formations, and the gerundive, moreover, still possesses a functional domain not shared with the other finite formations. Since the discussion between Jamison and Hock concerns the analysis of the function of the gerundive in Vedic, I will refrain from detailing the opposing positions.⁷² That said, some of the considerations made by Hock are also relevant to the analysis of the degree of markedness of the gerundive in Early MIA. As observed by Hock (1988: 82), according to Pāṇini there are some areas of use that are shared by the gerundive (*kr̥tya* in Pāṇini’s terminology) with the optative (*liṅ*) and the imperative (*loṭ*): the functions of 1. *praiṣā* ‘instruction to do something’, *atisarga* ‘permission’, *prāptakāla* ‘proper time for something’ (3.3.163) are properties of all the three formations, while the functions of 2. *arhe* ‘being worthy, deserving (to do something)’ and 3. *śaki* ‘possibility’ are shared by the optative and the gerundive only (3.3.169 and 3.3.172). On the other side, the functions of 4. *āvaśyaka* ‘necessity’ and *ādhamarṇya* ‘being indebted’ (3.3.171) are a specific area of the gerundive, while the functions of 5. *vidhi* ‘order’, *nimantraṇa* ‘summons’, *āmantraṇa* ‘invitation’, *adhīṣṭa* ‘respectful requesting’, *sampraśna* ‘deliberation, determining what should be done’, *prārthana* ‘asking for, requesting’ (3.3.161–2) pertain both to the optative and imperative but not to the gerundive.

In addition to Pāṇini’s description of the functional relationships between the gerundive, the optative and the imperative, Hock (1988: 83) also refers to Speijer’s (1886: §§342–344) classification of tense and mood with respect to the functions of the gerundive and the other finite formations. These latter (including the future and *arh-* + infinitive) and the gerundive are used in exhortations and precepts (“hortative function”), and at the same time the optative, the imperative, the future and the gerundive also present a common area of use as concerns the potential function (“purport a possibility, or a probability, on the other hand also uncertainty and impossibility or improbability”; Speijer 1886: §343). Conversely, there are also a series of functions which are specific only to the optative (hypothetical clauses, generic relative clauses and subordinate clauses of design or inevitable consequence). A last aspect has to be mentioned: some of Pāṇini’s sūtras (3.4.67, 3.4.68, 3.4.69 and 3.4.70) appear to recognize a relationship between the gerundive and the passive voice (cf. Hock 1988: 83–4; Speijer 1886: §357), which is not particularly surprising considering the P-orientation of the gerundive. Some evidence drawn from the analysis of the Classical Sanskrit corpus by Van De Walle (1993: 391) shows that the gerundive and the passive optative are not in complementary distribution, while some functional intersection of the gerundive is observed not only with the optative, but also with the imperative. In quantitative terms, gerundives are indeed highly

⁷² A summary of the discussion between Jamison and Hock on this topic is provided by Van De Walle (1993: 388–392).

employed in Classical Sanskrit and in MIA in general. And in this regard Van De Walle (1993: 392) aptly notes that, being P-oriented and demoting the agent, the gerundive serves as a convenient form of impersonal modal to express “face-threatening acts” more indirectly than the finite formations. A similar explanation has been used by Schoubben (2022) to explain the absence of imperatives and the high employment of gerundives in the Niya documents (official letters as the Niya documents require a certain degree of “politeness”). As discussed in the following chapters, gerundives are also highly employed in Buddhist texts. Therefore, although the gerundive possesses a common area of use with other finite formations, it still presents a rather distinct function in the deontic system of MIA.

Thus, as far as systemic status is concerned, neither the *-ta* participle nor the gerundive represent the marked counterpart of a “more active” formation and they hence fail to meet the second parameter of prototypical passives.

2.4.3 Syntactic status of the agent-phrase

In the previous sections, it has been illustrated that already from Late Vedic the oblique agent of the *-ta* participle and the gerundive controlled some important syntactic rules such as reflexivization and absolute clauses. On the other hand, as demonstrated by Peterson (1998: chapter 5), many grammatical operations in Early MIA are governed by pragmatic-semantic rather than syntactic criteria. More specifically, it is the topic, irrespective of its semantic role (agent or patient) and morphological coding, which appears to control Pali rules of clausal coordination and subordination (Peterson 1998: 133–147). Nonetheless, it is indisputable that with *-ta* participles and gerundives the oblique agent is the subject of major syntactic rules, not the nominative patient. Therefore the *-ta* participle and gerundive constructions both fall short of a prototypical passive in the third parameter as well.

2.4.4 Pragmatic-semantic configuration

In the previous sections it has been mentioned on more than one occasion that the agent-phrases of active transitive constructions are cross-linguistically associated with high topicality and high animacy. Moreover, active transitive agents tend to be definite, that is, they generally express an old referent in the discourse, while those of passive transitives, besides being low in topicality and animacy in comparison to transitive ones, are often indefinite, being the entry point of a new referent. For this reason, active agent-phrases are often pronominal (they refer to an old referent) and are omitted through coreferential deletion, while passive agent-phrases tend to be fully lexical noun-phrases (Andersen 1986b: 79; Du Bois 1987: 829; Haig 2008: 51).

It is doubtless that *-ta* participle and gerundives are compatible with agents low in animacy and definiteness, being commonly used in agentless constructions. At the same time, in the previous sections, many examples of *-ta* participles and gerundives with agents high in animacy have been also adduced. In this regard, according to Andersen (1986b), the different degrees of animacy and definiteness of the agents of predicative *-ta* participles would find confirmation in a different morphological encoding (genitive vs. instrumental). Andersen’s hypothesis, however, does not seem to be confirmed by the

evidence from the Buddhist Sanskrit corpus used in this work; consider (40a) and (40b), for instance, where the instrumental marks a first person pronominal agent, the highest degree on Silverstein’s (1986) animacy hierarchy, with both a *-ta* participle and a gerundive, also note that in (40b) the instrumental agent *asmābhir* controls the absolute clause built with the gerund *abhisambudhya*.

- (40) a. *mayā* *srotāpattiphalaṃ* *prāptam*
 1SG:INS stream.entry.fruit:NOM obtain:PPP.NOM
 ‘I have obtained the fruit of Stream-entry.’ (Vajra(HW) 118.12)
- b. *asmābhir* *anuttarāṃ* *samyaksambodhim*
 1PL:INS supreme:ACC perfect_awakening:ACC
abhisambudhya *sarvasatvā* *anupadhiṣeṣe*
 completely_awaken:GER all.being:NOM.PL complete:LOC
nirvāṇadhātau *parinirvāpayitavyā*
 nirvāṇa.realm:LOC lead_to_complete_extinction:GRND.NOM.PL
 ‘Having completely awakened to the supreme and perfect awakening, we should lead all the beings to complete extinction in the realm of the complete *nirvāṇa*.’ (PG(Z) 390.13–15)

In sum, in Early MIA, the agent of predicative *-ta* participles and gerundives exhibit the pragmatic and semantic features of a transitive active agent.

2.5 Summary

The *-ta* participle and gerundive constructions hold an important place in the verbal system of OIA and MIA, showing syntactic convergence since Vedic times. The results of the evaluation across the four parameters of passivity introduced in §1.5.2.2 show that the two formations diverge from prototypical passives. Although on the first parameter the *-ta* participle and the gerundive can be considered intransitive (as they license a single argument), and hence resemble passives, on the remaining three parameters they rather appear to present the features of active constructions. As a matter of fact, the traditional “passive” definition of these two constructions rests largely on the first parameter discussed above, namely the argument structure of the verb. Zhu’s hypothesis is also largely based on this traditional definition of passivity. However, as will be shown in the next chapters, the argument structure of the verb forms in Indic source texts does not represent one of the factors triggering the use of a Chinese “passive” construction in Buddhist translations.

Chapter 3: Chinese passive constructions

3.1 What does “passive” refer to in Chinese linguistics?

As in other East Asian and South-East Asian languages, Mandarin Chinese developed a set of constructions out of serial verb structures, which are generally described as “passive” in the literature (Chao 1968: 149, Li and Thompson 1981: 492, Norman 1988: 164 *inter alia*). The main passive construction is built with the marker *bei* 被, see (41), but other verbs as *rang* 讓, *jiao* 叫 and *gei* 給 are also employed in a similar fashion.

(41) 餃子被狗吃掉了。

jiaozi bei gou chi diao le
dumpling PASS dog eat down PFV

‘The dumplings got eaten up by the dog.’ (Li and Thompson 1981: 493)

The “passive” label derives from the fact that this construction is generally employed with an affected topic. But being defined as such does present some difficulties: on the one hand, the *bei* construction is “morphologically” marked by means of a grammatical marker (cf. Haspelmath 1990: 27), shows non-obligatory expression of the agent⁷³, and is restricted *vis-à-vis* the unmarked active (point i, ii and iv of Kazenin’s definition of passive, see Section 1.3); all of these features are in favour of the passive interpretation. On the other hand, the *bei* construction, as well as those with *rang*, *jiao* and *gei*, normally possesses an “adverse colouring”. This semantic flavour is not surprising *per se*, considering that the Mandarin construction is ultimately derived from a verb meaning ‘undergo, suffer’⁷⁴, but it creates some problems in that one cannot postulate an active counterpart (from which the passive is derived) in which the adverse meaning is preserved.⁷⁵ A similar theoretical problem concerns the insertion of post-verbal material into the passive clause. In many cases, as in (42a), the patient of the passive verb is not found in preverbal position, as one would expect from a passive construction, but after the verb. The topic of the clause in preverbal position, albeit being affected by the verb and thus describable as a patient in broad sense, is not a verb argument, but simply sets the framework in which the predication holds. In the same way, an affected topic can also occur with a *bei* introducing an intransitive verb, as in (42b). Therefore, in many cases it is difficult to derive the *bei* construction from an active counterpart where the propositional semantics is preserved (point v in Kazenin’s definition), cf. Hashimoto (1988).

⁷³ As a matter of fact, the non-obligatory expression of the agent is a feature only of the *bei* and *gei* constructions, while *rang* and *jiao* require the covert expression of the agent, see Peltomaa (2006: 88). See Zhang (2005) for a diachronic study of the development of *rang* and *jiao* from causative to passive.

⁷⁴ The *rang*, *jiao* and *gei* constructions also have an adverse colouring, probably inherited from the *bei* construction (Peltomaa 2006: 88; Zhang 1994: 353). According to Chappell (1980: 415), however, the *rang* passive has a neutral meaning in opposition to the adverse *bei*.

⁷⁵ A similar issue is met with in the English *get* passive and the Italian *andare* passive, which also imply an adverse colouring (Chappell 1980, Sansò and Giacalone Ramat 2016: 13).

(42) a. 我被他從身上偷了手表。

wo bei ta cong shen shang tou le shoubiao
I PASS he from body LCLZ steal PFV clock

‘I was pickpocketed of my watch by him / My watch was stolen by him from my body.’ (Hashimoto 1988: 334)

b. 看守被犯人跑了。

kanshou bei fanren pao le
jailer PASS criminal run PFV

‘The jailer suffered from the running-away of the criminal.’ (Hashimoto 1988: 335)

The synchronic and categorical status of *bei* is a matter of controversy as well. Some scholars argue that *bei* is a preposition (Bennett 1981, Chao 1968: 109, Norman 1988, Peltomaa 2006, Peyraube 1989), others regard it as an auxiliary (Haspelmath 1990: 40, Wang 1985: 94), some as a verb (Hashimoto 1988), and other scholars even refrain from assign *bei* to a category (Zhang 1994) or regard it as an “acategorical” passive marker (Li 2007). Admittedly, *bei* does not behave like a typical Chinese preposition (it can be stranded from the agent, it is not repeated for each agent in the clause), nor like a verb (it cannot be reduplicated or take aspectual markers like a verb; Hashimoto 1988; Li 2007).

3.2 Passives constructions in Archaic and Middle Chinese: Passives without marker

As already mentioned above, the modern Mandarin *bei* construction developed out of a serial verb construction which is attested with high frequency from Middle Chinese, where it can be regarded as the dominant passive construction. The passive definition has been used for other constructions in Archaic and Middle Chinese with different behavioural features and which developed from different verbal forms. A first subdivision of ancient passive constructions can be based on the use of some sort of overt marker of passivity. We can thus distinguish between passives without a marker (the so-called “notional passives”) and passives with a marker (including different subtypes of constructions).

The issue of the passives without marker is controversial and presents a lot of theoretical difficulties and ramifications. Furthermore, the Sanskrit-interference hypothesis as formulated by Zhu pertains only to passives with a marker. Therefore, I will only briefly introduce this category before moving on to passives with a marker.

In general terms, a notional passive in Ancient Chinese possesses the following features: (i) a superficially intransitive predicate (no “object” following the verb), (ii) a patient “subject”, and (iii) no overt marking of passivity (Zeng 2020: 61).

The interpretation of the pre-Qin unmarked passives, however, is not straightforward at all. A first problem concerns the syntactic status of the construction: as already discussed in Section 1.4.5, clause structure in Archaic Chinese is a debated topic and while some scholars stand for the consistent predominance of pragmatic relations and information structure in determining word order in Chinese (from Archaic Chinese to

Modern Mandarin), some others claim that Archaic Chinese, as opposed to Middle Chinese and Modern Mandarin, relied mainly on the distinction between agent and patient and can thus be better described as a subject-predicate rather than a topic-comment language. According to the former position (i.e. a predominance of pragmatic relations since Archaic Chinese), one could interpret the unmarked passives in Archaic Chinese as a topic-comment construction (also called “theme+verb construction”, see Zhang 2017, 2018) with the dislocation of the patient in preverbal position, as it is done for the so-called “pseudo-passives” in Mandarin (Li and Thompson 1981: 88–89; LaPolla 1993: 791). Archaic Chinese, however, possesses several topicalization devices to overtly mark a topicalized patient (i.e. the anaphoric pronoun *zhi* 之, the topicalizers *fu* 夫 and *zhe* 者, see Pulleyblank 1995: 69–75), a fact that would suggest that unmarked passives represent a phenomenon quite apart from the simple topic-comment construction. Example (43) illustrates the difference between a topicalized patient by means of overt marking (a, b and c) and a “genuine” notional passive (d).

- (43) a. 善政民畏之，善教民愛之。

shan zheng min wei zhi,
good government people fear it
shan jiao min ai zhi
good instruction people love it

‘Good government is feared by the people, good instructions are loved by them (lit. Good government [topic], people fear it, good instructions [topic], people love them).’ (*Mengzi*, Jin Xin I 盡心上, Caboara 2004: 98)

- b. 今夫水，搏而躍之，可使過顙。

jin fu shui, bo er yue zhi,
now TOP water strike CONJ leap it
ke shi guo sang
can lead go_over forehead

‘Now, if water is struck and made leap, one could be able to make it go over [his own] forehead. (lit. Water [topic], now if one strikes and makes it leap...).’ (*Mengzi*, Gaozi I 告子上, Caboara 2004: 100)

- c. 高者抑之，下者舉之。

gao zhe yi zhi, xia zhe ju zhi
high TOP bring_down it low TOP raise it

‘The high part is brought down, the low part is raised up (lit. The high part [topic], one brings it down, the low part [topic], one raises it up).’ (*Daodejing*, Caboara 2004: 101)

- d. 吳師大敗。

Wu shi da bai
W military greatly be_defeated

‘The military of Wu was greatly defeated.’ (*Zuozhuan*, Dinggong 5 定公五年, Zeng 2020: 62)

A second debated aspect regarding notional passives, as exemplified by (43d), concerns their phonological and morphological dimensions. A large number of verbs employed in notional passive constructions belong to the class of the so-called “labile”⁷⁶ verbs (Kulikov 2003, 2011: 373), i.e. verbs which can be used transitively or intransitively without any change in their morphology. A common pattern of verb lability observed cross-linguistically is the causative/inchoative pattern, a pair describing the same basic situation but with the causative verb including an agent which causes the situation and the inchoative presenting the situation as occurring spontaneously (Haspelmath 1993). Verbs of “breaking” and “opening” typically present a causative/inchoative pattern cross-linguistically, see for instance example (44) from English.

- (44) a. *John opened the door.* (causative)
 The door opened. (inchoative) (Kulikov 2011: 373)
 b. *The girl broke the stick.* (causative)
 The stick broke. (inchoative) (Haspelmath 1993: 90)

There is a certain degree of consensus among scholars that in Middle Chinese this typology of semantic alternation in typical labile verbs is reflected in the phonological opposition between unvoiced and voiced initials. The unvoiced/voiced alternation would correspond to the causative/inchoative opposition, see for instance the verb *bai* 敗 from (43d), where the causative/inchoative opposition would be substantiated in the two Late Han Chinese readings (Schuessler 2007: 154) *pas* ‘ruin, destroy’ (with initial unvoiced *p*) and *bas* ‘go to ruin’ (with voiced initial *b*). All scholars appear to concur that the origin of such voicing alternation ultimately derives from the presence of an original prefix (of disputed phonological value) for which the comparative evidence in Tibeto-Burman would suggest a very early presence in Archaic Chinese (Pulleyblank 1973: 114–116, 2000: 31, Mei 1989, 2012, Baxter 1992: 218–221, Sagart and Baxter 2012, LaPolla 2003: 23, Schuessler 2007: 48–50, Handel 2012, Hill 2019: 145–146). Thus, at least for this group of typical labile verbs used in notional passive constructions, it is not entirely correct to talk of an “unmarked” construction, as the derivational affixation process and the phonological opposition to derive from it are simply hidden by the logographic nature of Chinese characters.

Lastly, it has been commonly argued that notional passives actually do not possess a passive nature. Indeed, the inchoative element of a typical labile verb pair expresses an event as occurring spontaneously, whereas a passive, albeit agentless, always implies the existence of an external agent causing the situation.

⁷⁶ Labile verbs are a much-discussed topic in typological research. Unfortunately, the terminology used in the literature is not quite standardized and labile verbs are alternatively named. Thus, in Chinese linguistics they are often called “ergative” verbs, following Cikoski’s (1978) seminal article. See Zeng (2020: 29, fn. 5) for a brief overview of the different terminology employed to describe this phenomenon.

3.3 Passives constructions in Archaic and Middle Chinese Passives with marker

Besides the *bei* 被 construction, at least three other different constructions with overt marking in Archaic and Middle Chinese are commonly described as passives, namely the *yu* 於 construction, the *jian* 見 construction and the *wei* 為 construction. Each of these can be divided into different subtypes depending on various parameters, such as the presence of an overt agent and the use of other additional markers. These constructions originated through grammaticalization of original verbs, even though the synchronic status of these verbs in each stage of development is much disputed (as we also saw with the Mandarin *bei* construction). It appears that one of the conditions that allowed the grammaticalization of these transitive verbs into passive markers was their “inward semantic meaning” (Zeng 2020), in that the energy flows from the patient to the agent (cf. Chao 1968: 711). Each of the four constructions, however, has very distinctive features that are strictly connected to their diachronic development. As will be shown in the following chapters, the relative distribution of the various constructions in the corpus examined in this study is surprisingly homogeneous. Hence, assessing functions and features of the various constructions (in particular of those to occur more frequently in the present corpus) is of primary relevance. This issue could be addressed in different ways. I prefer to give a diachronic overview of the various constructions proceeding stage for stage from Archaic Chinese to Middle Chinese, rather than describing each construction alone, as such a method makes it possible to provide a description of the relationship between the various constructions, focusing on both the similarities and the differences. In describing the various stages of development, I generally follow Aldridge’s (2013: 40) subdivision of the periods of Archaic and Middle Chinese (Table 3.1).⁷⁷

3.3.1 Archaic Chinese

3.3.1.1 Pre-Archaic Chinese

No marked passive construction is attested in the language of the oracle bones (Peyraube 1989: 336, Pan 1982: 247, Zeng 2020: 278). One can observe that the verb *yu* 于, meaning ‘go’, see (45a), appears to already be on the verge of being grammaticalized into a preposition introducing locative complements with double orientation, being used with verbs that are followed by a destination (45b), or a source (45c) (Zeng 2020: 253). In Archaic Chinese, the graph 于 represents a phonologically and semantically distinct preposition from the graph 於, the preposition featured in the Archaic Chinese *yu* 於 construction (Pulleyblank 1986). The two forms became confused in later times, with the former being gradually supplanted by the latter in later texts.⁷⁸

(45) a. 壬寅卜，王于商。

Ren Yin bu wang yu Shang

⁷⁷ Cf. Anderl (2017) on the problems of the periodization of Middle Chinese.

⁷⁸ See Zeng (2020: 247–249) for an overview on the different hypotheses regarding the relationships between the two graphs.

R divine king go S

‘Divining at [the time] Ren Yin, the king went to Shang.’ (*Heji* 33124, Zeng 2020: 251)

b. 王往于田。

wang wang yu tian

king go to field

‘The king went to the field.’ (*Heji* 557, Zeng 2020: 251)

c. 方其来于沚?

Fang qi lai yu zhi

F PTC come from Z

‘Did Fang come from Zhi?’ (*Heji* 6728, Zeng 2020: 252)

Table 3.1: Archaic and Middle Chinese periodization

Pre-Archaic:	14th c. BCE – 11th c. BCE	(Shang)
Early Archaic:	10th c. BCE – 6th c. BCE	(Zhou)
Late Archaic:	5th c. BCE – 3rd c. BCE	(Warring States)
Early Middle Chinese:	2nd c. BCE – 2nd c. CE	(Han)
Middle Chinese:	3rd c. CE – 6th c. CE	(Six Dynasties)
Late Middle Chinese:	7th c. CE – 10th c. CE	(Tang)

3.3.1.2 Early Archaic Chinese

The language of the bronze inscriptions is substantially a continuation of the same situation observed in the case of the oracle bones as concerns the use of marked passives. It has been claimed (Pan 1982: 247, 2005: 14, Peyraube 1989: 336) that the bronze inscriptions already show the usage of *yu* 於 to introduce an agent as in (46). However, the nature of the *yu* construction is debated, as will be discussed in the next section while presenting more evidence from Late Archaic Chinese.

(46) 弔(叔)毳易(錫)貝于王妣。

Shubi xi bei yu wang si

S offer shell by king concubine

‘The shell was offered to Shubi by the king’s concubine.’ (*Jicheng* 9888)

3.3.1.3 Late Archaic Chinese

It has been commonly argued that the *yu* 於 + Agent (= *yu* A) construction represents the earliest marked passive construction in Archaic Chinese (Wang 1958; Pan 1982; Peyraube 1989 *inter alia*). Late Archaic Chinese certainly presents many instances of *yu* 於 introducing an agent as in (47).

(47) 勞心者治人，勞力者治於人。

lao xin zhe zhi ren,

work mind NMLZ govern person
lao li zhe zhi yu ren
 work strength NMLZ govern by person

‘Those who labour with their minds rule others, those who labour with their strength are ruled by others.’ (*Mengzi*, Teng Wen Gong I 滕文公上)

The passive interpretation of *yu* in such instances has been disputed. As a matter of fact, in Late Archaic Chinese the preposition *yu* does not only introduce locative complements and agents, but also a rather wide range of other complements, including different types of undergoers⁷⁹ (patient, recipient, benefactive, see Mei 2018: 296). See for instance example (48), where *yu* is employed to introduce both agents and patients in similar semantic contexts.

(48) a. 初王姚嬖于莊王。

chu Wang Yao bi yu Zhuang wang
 beginning W favour by Z king

‘At the beginning, Wang Yao was favoured by the King Zhuang.’ (*Zuo zhuan*, Zhuanggong 19 莊公十九年, Zeng 2020: 258)

b. 嬖於婦人。

bi yu furen
 favour to women

‘[The Emperor Zhou] favours women.’ (*Shiji*, Yin benji 殷本紀⁸⁰, Zeng 2020: 258)

c. 信人則制於人。

xin ren ze zhi yu ren
 trust others CONJ control by others

‘If [he] trusts others, he will be controlled by others.’ (*Han Feizi*, Beinei 備內, Zeng 2020: 258)

d. 夫制於燕者蘇子也。

fu zhi yu Yan zhe Suzi ye
 TOP control to Y TOP S FIN

‘Who will control the state of Yan is Suzi.’ (*Zhangguoce*, Yance 燕策, Zeng 2020: 258)

As concluded by Zeng (2020: 265), the passive interpretation of such examples relies on the context of the sentence rather than on being marked by *yu*, which in Late Archaic Chinese appears to have developed into an oblique marker “indicating an

⁷⁹ Following Van Valin (2001: 30), *undergoer* comprises not only the patient of action verbs, but also other thematic relations (instrument, experiencer, stimulus theme, recipient, source...) within the active-passive opposition according to the argument structure of different verbs.

⁸⁰ The *Shiji* should rather be considered as belonging to Early Middle Chinese. Nonetheless, this passage serves as a good example to illustrate the double interpretation of *yu* in contrast with (48a).

‘indirect/loose/marginalized’ relationship or some other additional information (e.g. location, agent, object of comparison)” (see also Mei 2018: 298–299 for similar considerations).

Late Archaic Chinese is also characterized by the emergence of another important passive construction, namely the *jian* 見 + Verb (= *jian* V) construction. *Jian* is a verb with full a lexical meaning denoting visual perception, but it is semantically and pragmatically not neutral, being unvolitional, uncontrollable and unintentional, which are traits typically associated with passive experiencers. Consider the contrast in (49) in the case of another verb of visual perception, *shi* 視, which is contrarily volitional and intentional, being compatible with an agentive experiencer (Zeng 2020: 118; Peyraube 1989: 341).

(49) 視之而弗見。

shi zhi er fu jian
look it CONJ NEG see

‘We look [for them], but do not see [them].’ (*Liji*, Zhongyong 中庸, Zeng 2020: 116)

The unvolitional and uncontrollable nature of *jian*, the association with a passive experiencer, and the “inward orientation” of the verb were presumably the basis for a semantic extension of the verb from visual perception to a more general meaning of ‘experience, encounter, receive’. The verbal nature of *jian* in this construction is shown by the fact that it can take both a verb and a noun as its object, see (50a) and (50b) (Yao 1999; Zeng 2020: 137–138). In some instances, *jian* is employed in combination with *yu* A, as in (50c).

(50) a. 昔者越國見禍，得罪于天王。

xi zhe Yue guo jian huo,
past TOP Y state encounter disaster
de zui yu tian wang
commit crime to heaven king

‘In the past, the state of Yue suffered disaster offending the heavenly king.’
(*Guoyu*, Wuyu 吳語, Zeng 2020: 135)

b. 盆成括見殺。

Pen Chengkuo jian sha
P encounter kill

‘Pen Chengkuo was killed (lit. suffered killing).’ (*Mengzi*, Jin Xin II 盡心下, Peyraube 1989: 339)

c. 吾長見笑於大方之家。

wu chang jian xiao
I at_long encounter laugh
yu dafang zhi jia
by great.accomplishment GEN master

‘I would have been laughed at long by masters of great accomplishment (lit. forever experience being laughed).’ (*Zhuangzi*, Qiushui 秋水, Aldridge 2013: 42)

In addition to the *jian* construction, the *wei* 為 construction also makes its appearance in Late Archaic Chinese.⁸¹ The use of *wei* as a copula, as in (51a) and (51b) (cf. Peyraube and Wiebusch 1994) is presumably derived from its use as a lexical verb with the sense of ‘rule, make, hold an official position’ (51c). The copula usage of the verb *wei* could have originated from the disposal construction *yi* 以 X *wei* 為 Y, as in (51d), which would provide an explanation from the distinctive features of the copula *wei* (agent-induced, dynamic reading, subjective, Zeng and Anderl 2019).

- (51) a. 其神化為黃熊。

qi shen hua wei huang xiong
his soul change become yellow bear

‘His soul became a yellow bear.’ (*Zuozhuan*, Zhaogong 7 昭公七年, Zeng 2020: 199)

- b. 民為貴，社稷次之，君為輕。

min wei gui, sheji ci zhi,
people COP important god_of_land_and_grain next it
jun wei qing
sovereign COP light

‘The people are the most exalted [in a state]; the gods of the land and grain are next; the sovereign is the least.’ (*Mengzi*, Jinxi II 盡心下, Zeng 2020: 199)

- c. 顏淵問為邦。

Yan Yuan wen wei bang
Y ask rule country

‘Yan Yuan asked about [how to] rule a state.’ (*Lunyu*, Wei Ling Gong 衛靈公, Zeng 2020: 191)

- d. 以羽為巢。

yi yu wei chao
use feather make nest

‘[The bird] builds its nest with the feathers.’ (*Xunzi*, Quanyue 勸學, Zeng 2020: 191)

In many instances, however, the complement of the copula *wei* appears to be verbal (52a). An agent can also be overtly expressed by inserting it before the verb (52b).

- (52) a. 晉人虎狼也，若背其言，臣死，妻子為戮。

Jin ren hu lang ye, ruo bei qi yan,

⁸¹ According to Peyraube (1989: 338), the statistical evidence from Late Archaic Chinese would show that the construction with *jian* appeared later than the one with *wei*, cf. also Wei (1994: 304).

J people tiger wolf FIN if disobey his oath
chen si, qizi wei lu
 servant die wife.child COP kill
 ‘The people of Jin are tigers and wolves, if [you] go against his oath, your servant [i.e. I] will die, [my] wife and children will be killed.’ (*Zuozhuan*, Wen Gong 13 文公十三年)

- b. 止，將為三軍獲。
zhi, jiang wei san jun huo
 stop will COP three army capture
 ‘[If] you stop, [you] will be captured by the three armies.’ (*Zuozhuan*, Xiang Gong 18 襄公, Pulleyblank 1995: 37)

Such examples admittedly create some troubles for the interpretation of both *wei* and its complement. As regards the latter, there are different levels of evidence which favour a nominal interpretation. The majority of the forms occurring in the *wei* V construction in Later Archaic Chinese are restricted to a relatively limited set of verbs, such as *lu* 戮 ‘kill’, *xiao* 笑 ‘laugh’, *qin* 擒 ‘capture’, etc., which can also be interpreted as action nouns (Wei 1994: 304, Zeng and Anderl 2019: 102, Zeng 2020: 54). The nominal nature of the complement of the *wei* construction can be observed also from its syntactic behaviour. In (53a) *wei lu* 為戮 parallels the same exact structure as *wei shengren* 為聖人, where *shengren* ‘sage’ clearly represents a noun, suggesting that *lu* also belongs to the same word class. In (53b), a nominal element (*tianxia* 天下 ‘world’) is inserted between *wei* and the putative verbal complement (*lu* 戮 ‘despise’), but its nominal nature is revealed by the fact that it is modified by an adjective (*da* 大 ‘great’) and preceded by the genitive particle *zhi* 之 (Zeng and Anderl 2019: 106, Zeng 2020: 215).

- (53) a. 其為聖人於晉，而為戮於秦也。
qi wei shengren yu Jin, er wei lu yu Qin ye
 he COP sage at J CONJ COP kill at Q FIN
 ‘He was a sage in Jin, but became somebody to be killed in Qin.’ (*Han Feizi*, Shuo nan 說難, Zeng and Anderl 2019: 103)

- b. 身死國亡，為天下之大僂。
shen si guo wang, wei tianxia zhi da lu
 I die state perish become world GEN big disgrace
 ‘I will die and the state will perish, it will become the world’s big disgrace.’
 (*Xunzi*, Zheng lun 正論, Aldridge 2013b: 65)

Another piece of evidence supporting the hypothesis for the nominal nature of the complement following *wei* is connected to the emergence of a new subtype of the *wei* construction, namely the *wei A suo* 所 V construction. As shown above in some cases, as in (53b), the A and V in the *wei* A V construction stand in a clear genitive relationship. This form of relation can also be postulated when there is no overt genitive marking by

means of the particle *zhi*. However, in some other instances, analysing the A V syntagm as being within a relative clause relationship (meaning ‘the one V-ed by A’) seems more cogent (cf. Zeng 2020: 216), see for instance (53a) above and (54).

(54) 不為酒困。

bu wei jiu kun

NEG COP wine trouble

‘Not being troubled by wine. (lit. not becoming one troubled by wine).’ (*Lunyu*, Zi Han 子罕, Zeng 2020: 216).

Suo is an important nominalizer in Archaic Chinese and often serves to build relative clauses, as in (55a). One aspect of particular interest is that in Later Archaic Chinese both “A *suo* V” and “A *zhi suo* V” can replace “A V” in the *wei* A V construction (Zeng and Anderl 2019: 108), see (55b).

(55) a. 仲子所居之室，伯夷之所築與？

Zhongzi suo ju zhi shi, Boyi zhi suo zhu hu

Z NMLZ live GEN room B GEN NMLZ build FIN

‘The room Zhongzi lives in, [is it] the place Boyi built?’ (*Mengzi*, Tengwengong II 滕文公下, Zeng 2020: 225)

b. 負石自投於河，為魚鰲所食。

fu shi zi tou yu he, wei yu bie suo shi

hold stone self jump in river COP fish turtle NMLZ eat

‘Carrying a stone, [he] jumped into the river, becoming the food of fishes and turtles [lit. what is eaten by fishes and turtles].’ (*Zhuangzi*, Dao Zhi 盜跖, Zeng and Anderl 2019: 108)

The introduction of the nominalizer *suo* to mark the constituent following *wei* has been linked by Aldridge (2013b: 66) to the loss of affixional morphology in Late Archaic Chinese, which marks embedded nominalization. In other words, the use of *suo* in the *wei* construction would have arisen to overtly mark that the constituent following *wei* was nominal. Despite not being substantiated with direct evidence, Aldridge’s proposal is certainly very intriguing, because it provides a functional explanation for the emergence of this innovative construction. In sum, all these pieces of evidence suggest that in Late Archaic Chinese the *wei* construction represents a copula construction taking a nominal/nominalized complement (Wei 1994, Aldridge 2013b, Zeng and Anderl 2019, Zeng 2020).⁸²

Late Archaic Chinese is also important as it involves the semantic development of the verb *bei* as regards its use in the *bei* construction in later stages of the language. The word

⁸² The majority of the remaining scholars tend to interpret *wei* as an auxiliary selecting a verb-phrase (Wang 1958, Cikoski 1978, Yang and He 2001 *inter alia*). Such interpretation, however, is not easily applicable to the *wei* A V construction. To overcome this problem, Peyraube (1989) proposes that *wei* is an auxiliary selecting the verb-phrase in *wei* V, but a preposition selecting the agent in *wei* A V. A different proposal has been provided by Pulleyblank (1995: 37), who claims that the *wei* construction represents a special type of pivot construction.

bei originally had a full lexical value, being used both as noun meaning ‘blanket’ and as verb with the sense of ‘cover’. The process by which the semantic range of this verbal form was extended from ‘cover’ to ‘suffer’ – the meaning from which the passive construction is derived – is not patent. Zeng (2020) has proposed that the key factor underlying this semantic extension is the atypical ditransitive nature of the verb *bei*. Her proposal can be summarized as follows:

- (i) the verb *bei* was originally used with the sense of ‘cover’, as in (56a);
- (ii) the same usage is found with clothes/weapons as the verbal object, with the meaning of ‘put on’, either on oneself (i.e. ‘wear’), as in (56b), or on someone else, as in (56c);
- (iii) the usage, however, is not limited to clothes/weapons, see (56d); in particular, *bei* is also found with recipient/benefactive “subjects”, and in these circumstances the meaning of the verb can be interpreted as ‘receive’, see (56e);
- (iv) when used in a negative context, *bei* acquires the meaning of ‘suffer, undergo’, see (56f).

(56) a. 以其煙被之，則凡水蟲無聲。

yi qi yan bei zhi, ze fan shui chong wu sheng
 use its smoke cover it CONJ all water moth NEG voice
 ‘Using the smoke to cover it, all water moths have no voice (i.e. die).’ (Zhouli, Qiuguan 秋官, Zeng 2020: 154)

b. 乃祖吾離被苴蓋。

nai zu Wu Li bei shan gai
 you ancestor W wear straw coat
 ‘Your ancestor Wu Li wore a coat made of straw.’ (Zuo zhuan, Xianggong 14 襄公十四年, Zeng 2020: 157)

c. 相被冕服。

xiang bei mian fu
 assistant put_on cap robe
 ‘The assistants put the cap and the robe [on the king].’ (Shangshu, Guming 顧命, Zeng 2020: 157)

d. 澤被生民。

ze bei shengmin
 benefit cover living_things
 ‘Benefits are extended to all living things [lit. cover all living things].’ (Xunzi, Chen dao 臣道, Zeng 2020: 159)

e. 子孫被其澤。

zi sun bei qi ze
 son grandson receive their benefit

‘The sons and grandsons received their benefits.’ (*Guanzi*, Xing shi jie 形勢解, Zeng 2020: 160)

- f. 今兄弟被侵。

jin xiongdi bei qin
now brothers undergo attack

‘[If his] brothers have now to undergo an attack...’ (*Han Feizi*, Wu du 五蠹, Peyraube 1989: 344)

Zeng’s proposal is not entirely convincing, since, as she herself observes (2020: 165), *bei* does not behave like a typical ditransitive verb, in that it rarely appears in the canonical ditransitive structure (i.e. verb+recipient+patient). That said, her hypothesis does have the merit of pointing out that the verb *bei*, as is the case with *jian*, possesses an “inward orientation” when used with a fronted recipient, a precondition for the further development of the *bei* construction.

Another debated aspect of the *bei* construction is that, in distinction to the *wei* construction, the A in *bei* A V generally does not appear in the construction in its earlier stages. According to Zeng (2020: 172ff), this observation is not entirely true: as a matter of fact, there are already instances of an A preceding the verb in Late Archaic Chinese, but they are always in clear genitive relationship with the main complement selected by *bei*, see (57a) and (57b) where the complement of *bei* is preceded by an adnominal noun phrase marked by the genitive particle *zhi*. The development of the construction from *bei* V to *bei* A V would have hence passed through a process of reanalysis through which the genitive noun phrase becomes an actual agent (see below).

- (57) a. 被眾口之譖。

bei zhong kou zhi zen
suffer many mouth GEN slander

‘[He] suffered slander from a large number of people.’ (*Han Feizi*, Jianjie shichen 姦劫弑臣, Zeng 2020: 173)

- b. 必被庶人之恐。

bi bei shu ren zhi kong
definitely suffer common people GEN fear

‘[He] certainly suffers being an object of fear to common people.’ (*Zhanguoce*, Zhaoce 趙策, Zeng 2020: 173)

3.3.2 Middle Chinese

3.3.2.1 Early Middle Chinese

In terms of the typologies of the attested passive structures, Early Middle Chinese is for the most part a continuation of the situation in Late Archaic Chinese, but the respective ratios of their usage differ considerably. According to the figures given by Tang (1987), the proportion of the *yu*, *jian* and *wei* constructions decreases, while the use of *wei* A *suo* V becomes significantly higher (cf. Cheng 2009, An 2010), see (58).

- (58) a. 漢軍卻，為楚所擠。

Han jun que, wei Chu suo ji
H army retreat COP C NMLZ push_back
'The Han army retreated and was pushed back by the Chu [army].' (*Shiji*,
Xiang Yu benji 項羽本紀)

- b. 衛太子為江充所敗。

Wei taizi wei Jiang Chong suo bai
W prince COP J NMLZ defeat
'The prince Wei was defeated by Jiang Chong.' (*Hanshu*, Huo Guang zhuan
霍光傳)

- c. 范雎為須賈所讒。

Fan Sui wei Xu Jia suo chan
F COP X NMLZ slander
'Fan Sui was slandered by Xu Jia.' (*Lunhen*, Biandong 變動)

The *wei* construction also starts to show some important developments as concerns its syntactic status. One can see, at this stage, that in many cases the complement of *wei* in the *wei* A *suo* V is difficult to analyse as a noun phrase, as a locative complement can appear after the V, see (59a), the V can be modified by an adverb, see (59b), and the construction can be followed by a post-verbal complement, whether a resultative complement, as in (59c), or an "object", as in (59d).

- (59) a. 救鄭，為楚所敗河上。

jiu Zheng, wei Chu suo bai he shang
save Z COP C NMLZ defeat river on
'[He went to] save Zheng and was defeated by Chu near the Yellow River.'
(*Shiji*, Shi'er zhuhou nianbiao 十二諸侯年表, Zeng 2020: 235)

- b. 初呂母子為縣吏，為宰所冤殺。

chu Lü mu zi wei xianli,
early L mother son COP county_official
wei zai suo yuan sha
COP prime_minister NMLZ wrong kill
'In the beginning, the son of Empress Lü held a position as an official of the state and was wrongfully killed by the prime minister.' (*Hanshu*, Wang mang zhuan xia 王莽傳下, Zeng 2020: 236)

- c. 是以兵破士北，為秦所禽滅。

shiyi bin po shi bei,
therefore troops defeat soldier defeat
wei Qin suo qin mie
COP Q NMLZ overrun destroy

‘Therefore, the troops were defeated, the soldiers escaped and [the state] was overrun and destroyed by Qin.’ (*Shiji*, Zhang Shizhi Feng Tang liezhuan 張釋之馮唐列傳, Zeng 2020: 236)

d. 而為匈奴所閉道。

er wei Xiongnu suo bi dao
CONJ COP X NMLZ close way

‘[I] have the road blocked by the Xiongnu.’ (*Shiji*, Dayuan liezhuan 大宛列傳, Peyraube 1989: 346)

The behaviour of the V in such examples is hardly compatible with a noun-phrase, being either a nominalized verb or an action noun. For this reason, it is generally argued that at this stage the original *wei* copula construction had been grammaticalized into a passive construction whereby *wei* and *suo* serve as passive markers (Wang 1958, Peyraube 1989, Liu 1992, Zeng and Anderl 2019, Zeng 2020).

Drawing on Wei (1994) and Aldridge (2013b), I contend, however, that at this stage *wei* still serves, syntactically speaking, as a verb. The difference from the earlier stage is that *wei* does not select a noun-phrase, but a sentence (cf. Anderl 2017: 692). From this perspective, considering the “object” of *wei* as an embedded clause would explain the unusual behaviour of the V in the construction, as it truly serves as the main verb of the embedded clause.

I take the opposite stand to the majority of scholars and argue that the *wei* A *suo* V construction was already becoming moribund in late Early Middle Chinese. A process of reanalysing the construction might have led to the reinterpretation of the object of the copula from a noun-phrase to a sentential object, rendering vestigial the marking with *suo*.⁸³ As observed by Aldridge (2013b: 60), Early Middle Chinese marks the beginning of the progressive loss of the nominalizer *suo* as an independent marker of relativization. In Section 1.4.5 it has been mentioned that Archaic Chinese probably relied on the syntactic distinction between agent and patient to a significant degree. One of the grammatical reflections of this semantic distinction is the use in Archaic Chinese of the two different nominalizers *zhe* 者 and *suo* 所 in relative constructions to refer respectively to the agent and the patient. In Early Middle Chinese, the grammatical distinction between agent and patient relatives started to break down, affecting also the twofold system of nominalization; in Late Middle Chinese the particle *di* 底 became the linker between a relative clause and the head nominal (eventually replaced by the variant graph *de* 的 in Mandarin).⁸⁴ The explicit marking of the two thematic roles in relative clauses was thus

⁸³ This could also explain why the verb *jian* 見 starts to appear in the same position of *suo* 所 within the *wei* construction with no apparent functional distinction. A possible early example often discussed in the literature (Wu 1988, Zeng 2020: 244) is found in the *Zhuangzi* 莊子 (Zhile 至樂): 烈士為天下見善矣 ‘Men of ardor are regarded by the world as good’, even though the precise semantic/syntactic interpretation of 見善 is not unambiguous. Clear examples of the *wei* A *jian* V construction are nonetheless found in later sources (including Chinese Buddhist translations), see Wu (1988) and below.

⁸⁴ A systematic discussion on the various grammatical effects derived by the loss of distinction between agent and patient is given by Mei (1991).

lost in the new construction.⁸⁵ The particle *di* 底 would have ultimately replaced *zhe* when the nominalizer had already assumed the functions associated with Mandarin *de* (to mark the possessor and the modifier, and to serve as the linker of the relative clause).

Other evidence in support of this hypothesis is drawn from the fact that in later stages the other passive constructions (*jian* and *bei*, see below) also present syntactic convergence with the *wei* construction in selecting an embedded clause. In the following chapters, I will also discuss evidence from the Buddhist corpus analysed in this study which reveals that, despite *wei* A *suo* V still being employed as a copula construction in Chinese Buddhist translations, we also have examples proving that the original construction had been reanalysed as taking a sentential complement.

The use of *bei* also increases in comparison to Late Archaic Chinese, although the proportion is still relatively small (Peyraube 1989: 347). In this stage, as is the case with the *jian* construction, an overt agent generally does not occur in the construction, see (60a). Similar to Late Archaic Chinese, there are instances where some adnominal material in a genitive relationship with the complement of *bei* is inserted, see for instance the use of the possessive pronoun *qi* 其 in (60b).

- (60) a. 信而見疑，忠而被謗。

xin er jian yi, zhong er bei bang
honest CONJ encounter suspect loyal CONJ undergo slander
‘[Qiu Ping] was honest but was met with suspicion, he was loyal but suffered
slandering.’ (*Shiji*, Qu Yuan Jia sheng liezhuan 屈原賈生列傳, Wang 1958:
412)

- b. 往者匈奴數為邊寇，百姓被其害。

wang zhe Xiongnu shu wei biankou,
past TOP X several do invasion
baixing bei qi hai
people suffer their harm
‘In the past, Xiongnu invaded the borders several times, and the local people
suffered their harm.’ (*Hanshu*, Xuandi ji 宣帝紀, Zeng 2020: 174)

3.3.2.2 Middle Chinese

The *wei* A *suo* V construction is the predominant passive construction in Middle Chinese (Tang 1987, Peyraube 1989, Liu 1992, Chen et al. 2012, Zheng 2016), see for instance (61).

- (61) 庾太尉少為王眉子所知。

Yu taiwei shao wei Wang Meizi suo zhi
Y minister young COP W NMLZ know
‘Minister Yu was known by Wang Meizi when he was young.’ (*Shishuo xinyu*,
Shangyu 賞譽, Peyraube 1989: 347)

⁸⁵ In Mandarin, the referent of the nominalization with regards to its thematic role is inferable on the basis of the clausal semantic/pragmatic configuration, see Li and Thompson (1981: 575–579).

The innovative syntactic developments already observed in Early Middle Chinese continue to occur in Middle Chinese as well, see (62a) and (62b) where the V is respectively followed by a locative and a resultative complement.

- (62) a. 先主為曹公所追於當陽長阪。

xian zhu wei Cao gong suo zhui
former lord COP C duke NMLZ chase
yu Dangyang Changban
at D C

‘The former lord [i.e. Liu Bei] was chased by the duke Cao at Chanban [near] Dangyang.’ (*Sanguozhi*, Zhao Yun zhuan 趙雲傳, Liu 1992: 319)

- b. 未及與其衆合，而為鮮卑所射死。

wei ji yu qi zhong he,
NEG be_able_in_time with his troops rejoin
er wei Xianbei suo she si
CONJ COP X NMLZ shoot die

‘He was not able to rejoin his troops in time and was shot dead by the Xianbei.’ (*Sanguozhi*, Liang Xi zhuan 梁習傳, Liu 1992: 319)

Interestingly, there are also some examples of the *jian* construction which appear to select an embedded clause, see example (63) where the verb *huiru* 毀辱 is followed by the “object” *shenmiao* 神廟.

- (63) 必見毀辱神廟。

bi jian huiru shenmiao
certainly suffer revile temple

‘[I] will certainly suffer the reviling of the temple.’ (T200 254a24–25, An 2009: 135)

The use of the *bei* construction also increases, occurring with or without an overt agent, see (64a) and (64b).

- (64) a. 孔融被收，中外惶怖。

Kong Rong bei shou, zhong wai huangbu
K undergo arrest inside outside frighten

‘Kong Rong was arrested, [and the people] inside and outside were frightened.’ (*Shishuo xinyu*, Yanyu 言語, Wang 1958: 413)

- b. 亮子被蘇峻害。

Liangzi bei Su Jun hai
L undergo S kill

‘Liangzi was killed by Su Jun.’ (*Shishuo xinyu*, Fangzheng 方正, Wang 1958: 413)

3.3.2.3 Late Middle Chinese

Late Middle Chinese is characterized by the rise of the *bei* construction. Syntactically speaking, the *bei* construction in Late Middle Chinese has already become equivalent to the *wei* construction (Peyraube 1989: 355), see example (65) where an instance of the *wei* A *suo* V construction is paralleled by another instance of the *bei* A *suo* V in the same context.

- (65) a. 不為怨敵之所侵害。

bu wei nu di zhi suo qinhai
 NEG COP hateful enemy GEN NMLZ attack
 ‘[They] are not attacked by hateful enemies.’ (T310 108a20)

- b. 不被怒敵之所侵擾。

bu bei nu di zhi suo qinrao
 NEG suffer hateful enemy GEN NMLZ harass
 ‘[He] is not harassed by hateful enemies.’ (T310 108a25)

In many cases, moreover, post-verbal material occurs after the verb of the *bei* A V structure, as it is for the *wei* construction; see for instance (66a) with a directional complement following the verb, and (66b) where an “object” (i.e. *gen* 根) in possessive relation with the affected topic (i.e. *peng* 蓬) occurs after the verb (cf. also Wang 1958: 414).

- (66) a. 早被妻兒送墳墓。

zao bei qi er song fenmu
 early undergo wife son send tomb
 ‘He was sent to the tomb by his wife and children earlier.’ (*Damuganlian bianwen*, 690, Peyraube 1989: 357)

- b. 縱有衰蓬欲成就，旋被流沙剪斷根。

zong you shuai peng yu chengjiu,
 even_if exist feeble clump desire grow
xuan bei liu sha jian duan gen
 soon undergo moving sand cut broken root
 ‘Even if there were a feeble clump [of bamboo] trying to grow, soon [its] roots were cut by the moving sand.’ (*Wang Zhaojun bianwen*, 911, Peyraube 1989: 356)

The fact that, at this stage, *bei* selects an embedded clause is also supported by other pieces of evidence. An anaphoric pronoun *zhi* 之 coreferential with the topic affected by *bei* is often placed after the verb of the embedded clause, as in (67a). It appears thus that the verb in the embedded clause has the true features of an actual verb, as the syntactic slot of the “object” must be occupied. In other cases, as in (67b), the embedded clause selected by *bei* also contains in turn another “passive” construction, the *jian* construction in this instance (or, alternatively, *jian* serves here as a variant of *suo*).

(67) a. 被池主見之。

bei chi zhu jian zhi
undergo pool owner see them

‘[The heavenly fairies] were seen by the pool owner.’ (*Soushenji*, 1230, Peyraube 1989: 358)

b. 今被平王見尋討。

jin bei Ping wang jian xuan tao
now undergo P prince undergo search ask_for

‘[I] am now being searched and asked for by prince Ping.’ (*Wu Zixu bianwen*, 836, Peyraube 1989: 357)

Other transitive inactive verbs⁸⁶, such as *zao* 遭, *meng* 蒙, *shou* 受, are also used similarly to *bei*, see (68), although the various verbs are not pragmatically equivalent: *zao* and *shou* generally occur only with adverse situations, whereas *meng* tends to occur with non-adverse situations, and *bei* is unmarked (compatible with both adverse and non-adverse situations, cf. Zhang 2011).

(68) 時時愛被翁婆怪，往往頻遭伯叔嗔。

<i>shi shi</i>	<i>ai</i>	<i>bei</i>	<i>wengbo</i>	<i>guai</i> ,
often	be_inclined	undergo	parents_in_law	reproach
<i>wang wang</i>	<i>pin</i>	<i>zao</i>	<i>boshu</i>	<i>chen</i>
often	frequently	suffer	uncle	blame

‘I am often subjected to the reproach of my parents in law, I often suffer being blamed by my uncles.’ (*Fumu enzhong jing jiangjing wen*, 457, Peyraube 1989: 358)

3.3.4 The *ke* 可 construction

The passive status of the *ke* construction (as well as that of other syntactically similar constructions such as *yi* 易, *nan* 難 and *zu* 足) is a matter of controversy (Ma 1898, Wang 1958, Pan 1982 *inter alia*). The passive label associated with the *ke* construction derives from its syntactic features, which can be summarized as follows (Pulleyblank 1995: 23, Meisterernst 2008: 92, Zeng, Anderl, and Heirman 2018: 231):

- (i) with transitive verbs, the argument preceding *ke* is the patient of the verb modified by *ke*;
- (ii). an agent never occurs in the construction;
- (iii). the verb modified by *ke* is not followed by an “object”, not even the anaphoric pronoun *zhi*;
- (iv). no other passive markers (*yu*, *jian*, *wei* and *bei*) are employed in the *ke* construction.

⁸⁶ Peyraube’s (1989: 358) definition of “naturally passive verbs” is somewhat opaque as it leaves open how something can be described as “natural” in linguistic terms. I prefer to use Haspelmath’s (1990: 40–42) definition which accounts for both the semantic and syntactic features of this kind of verbs.

Example (69) illustrates the syntactic features of the *ke* construction, as well as the main semantic functions, i.e. expressing root possibility (69a) and deontic modality (69b) (Meisterernst 2008, 2008b, Zeng, Anderl, and Heirman 2018: 230).

(69) a. 乃言底可績。

nai yan di ke ji
you speech accomplished can yeld_result

‘Your words can finally be realized.’ (*Shangshu*, Shun dian 舜典, Zeng, Anderl, and Heirman 2018: 230)

b. 時哉弗可失！

shi zai fu ke shi
time EXCL NEG should lose

‘Now it’s the time! It should not be lost.’ (*Shangshu*, Tai shi I 泰誓上, Zeng, Anderl, and Heirman 2018: 230)

In pre-Qin texts, the syntactic conditions of the *ke* construction described above are rarely violated, see for instance the use of an agent “subject” in (70a). Such violations, however, are found at a considerably higher frequency in Early Middle Chinese, see the use of the post-verbal anaphoric pronoun in (70b).

(70) a. 吾亦不可復見吾君矣。

wu yi bu ke fu jian wu jun yi
I also NEG should again meet I king FIN

‘I cannot face my king again!’ (*Gongyang zhuan*, Xuan Gong 6 宣公六年, Zeng, Anderl, and Heirman 2018: 231)

b. 君之使不可殺之。

jun zhi shi bu ke sha zhi
king GEN emissary NEG should kill him

‘The emissary of the king cannot be killed.’ (*Shiji*, Sima Rangju liezhuan 司馬穰苴列傳, Onishi 2008: 154)

This kind of syntactic anomalies are generally described as instances of deletion of *yi* 以 in the *keyi* 可以 construction (Wang 1989: 243, Onishi 2008: 153). Onishi’s remarks on the “subject agent” *ke* constructions in Han texts are particularly interesting: according to his data, in the *Shiji* 史記 there are 84 instances of “subject agent” *ke* constructions. Onishi notes that 60 of these instances occur within dialogue sections; an observation which leads him to conclude that this new usage “firstly originated in the vernacular level and then gradually spread to the literary language”. In this regard, a tempting approach is to address the problem in light of the syntactic developments that affected the passage from Archaic to Middle Chinese. As is the case with the loss of the opposition between the nominalizers *suo* 所 and *zhe* 者 in relative clauses, here too we encounter the general progressive shift to a topic-comment language, which started to affect Chinese syntax in Early Middle Chinese, and it is possible that this would account for the loss of the

semantic/syntactic constraints which characterize the *ke* construction in Archaic Chinese. As the preverbal and post-verbal positions were no longer governed by syntactic factors but by pragmatic ones, any element could be fronted to the topical preverbal position, whereas an “object”, which in the standard Archaic construction must precede the *ke* and the verb, could be placed in post-verbal position (cf. the discussion in Section 1.4.5).

3.4 Passive constructions in Chinese Buddhist translations

Chinese Buddhist translations represent an important (if not the most important) corpus for Middle Chinese (Mair 1994, Anderl 2017). Therefore, the study of passive constructions in Buddhist translations has constituted an important part of research regarding the diachronic development of the Chinese passives from a general perspective (see in particular the seminal works of Wu 1983 and Tang 1987). Two aspects concerning the status of passive constructions in Buddhist literature have especially attracted the attention of the scholars. In the first instance, Buddhist texts present a wider range of subtypes within the constructions than are found in non-Buddhist sources, as well as a higher rate of employment. Significant attention has been given to the study of the two subtypes of the *wei* construction, namely the *wei A zhi suo V* construction and the *wei A suo jian V* construction (Wu 1983, Liu 1992: 320–324, Zhu 2013). It appears that the use of these two subtypes in place of the standard *wei A suo V* is mainly motivated by the syllabic structure of the verb forms and by the “metric” patterns of the text, with the two subtypes mainly used with disyllabic verb forms and the “traditional” construction with monosyllabic verb forms.

The second main aspect of the debate on the status of Buddhist passives is related to the first point: what is the main reason underlying the high number of passive constructions in Buddhist translations and their peculiar features? Some scholars believe that is primarily due to internal reasons, thus arguing for vernacular influence (Wu 1983). Zhu (1993, 1995), Chen (2006) and Long (2009) alternatively claimed that the influence of the Indic source text could account for the divergent distribution, as well as for the particular subtypes of passives found in Buddhist translations, whereas Gao (2005) argues that the imperfect learning of the foreign translators could have also played a significant role.⁸⁷

As argued in Barchi (2024a), the “Sanskrit-hypothesis” about the use of the passive constructions in the Chinese Buddhist translations is debatable in terms of language-contact theory, and for this reason, the vernacular explanation seems the more tenable. I do not intend to illustrate this point here; rather I aim to make some points concerning the methodological approach to the linguistic analysis of the Chinese Buddhist translations with specific reference to the issue of passive constructions. The majority of scholars have used Chinese Buddhist translations as a linguistic source for the diachronic development of Middle Chinese without attributing too much importance to the fact that these texts are the outcome of a translation effort and thus potentially bear the grammatical influence of the Indic-source texts. I believe that such a research approach is legitimate: Chinese

⁸⁷ See Gao (2010) for an excellent review of the scientific literature in Chinese on passive constructions in Buddhist texts.

Buddhist translations are primarily the product of the Chinese linguistic environment and, secondly, the potential distortive influence of the Indic source-texts appears to be limited to a specific set of grammatical features. A comparison with the extant Indic parallels can be a helpful secondary tool to investigate the language of the Buddhist texts, especially in those instances where the syntax is particularly obscure, but it is by no means a prerequisite. However, the case is different if one aims to resort to the Indic source-texts to account for the grammatical singularities of the Buddhist texts: in that case a comparison with the extant Indic parallels must be the first step taken to substantiate any claim in this regard. Unfortunately, scholars have often failed to do this (cf. Karashima 2009: 63–64 on this problem). In the next few pages, I will use the case of the so-called *A suo V* construction to illustrate this methodological problem.

It is commonly argued that a reduced form of the *wei A suo V* construction without the overt use of the copula, i.e. the *A suo V* construction, is often employed in Middle Chinese texts. This construction would be mostly found in Buddhist texts, but some examples also occur in non-Buddhist sources. Example (71) is the standard example in the scientific literature of an *A suo V* construction⁸⁸ from a non-Buddhist text (see for instance Wu 1983, Liu 1992: 321 and Zhu 1995: 29).

(71) 臣之辛苦，非徒蜀之人士及二州牧伯所見明知。

<i>chen</i>	<i>zhi</i>	<i>xinku</i> ,	<i>fei</i>	<i>tu</i>	<i>Shu</i>	<i>zhi</i>	<i>renshi</i>	<i>ji</i>	<i>er</i>
I	GEN	misery	NEG	only	S	GEN	people	and	two
<i>zhou</i>		<i>mubo</i>		<i>suojian</i>		<i>mingzhi</i>			
prefecture		senior_official		NMLZ		understand			

‘My misery [can] be understood not only by the common people of Shu and the senior officials of the two prefectures.’ (*Sanguozhi*, Yang Xi zhuan 楊戲傳)

According to Zhu (1995: 31), the high use of this construction in Chinese Buddhist translations is the result of grammatical interference from Indic source-texts. Zhu’s line of argument is as follows: Sanskrit “passives” (present passive, *-ta* participle, gerundive) must be marked morphologically and would have hence been systematically translated in Chinese by means of the marker *suo*. On the other hand, the instrumental/genitive marking of the agent would have lacked a counterpart in Chinese and, therefore, the *wei* in the *wei A suo V* construction was easily omitted. From a theoretical point of view, Zhu’s claim is very debatable, since the marking of the agent in Sanskrit is as obligatory and morphologically relevant as the marking of the verb form. However, I would like to focus on other problematic aspects of Zhu’s article as they are more relevant to the methodological problem I am here trying to illustrate.

A first point concerns the grammatical analysis of the examples of the *A suo V* construction given in his article. In at least two cases, one does not need to postulate the omission of the copula. In (72a) the *suo*-phrase (i.e. *suo zhishi* 所識知) is the object of a (negated) existence verb (i.e. *wu* 無) and, therefore, is more readily understandable as a

⁸⁸ In truth, I do not think (71) can actually be considered a good case of deletion of *wei*, as the negator *fei* 非 etymologically represents the contraction *bu wei* 不唯 (negation + copula), and can hence be considered as having the same function as *bu wei* 不為, cf. Pulleyblank (1995: 106).

relative clause (‘something which is discerned’) or an action noun (‘discernment’⁸⁹, cf. Karashima 2010: 472). Similarly, analysing the various occurrences of the *suo*-phrase 所愛敬 (‘what is cherished’) in (72b) as relative clauses (which can admittedly be in a relationship of identity with the preceding noun-phrases) is more convincing than assuming the presence of a reduced passive construction.⁹⁰

(72) a. 命盡神去，載出野田，或火燒之，身體臭腐，無所識知。

ming jin shen qu, zaichu yetian,
life exhaust soul depart carry open_field
huo huo shao zhi, shenti chou fu wu suo shizhi
or fire burn it body stink rot NEG NMLZ discern
‘[When] life is exhausted and the soul departs [from the body], [he is] carried in an open field or the fire burns it, the body is stinking and rotten [and] there is nothing which is discerned [anymore].’ (T154 83a4–5, Zhu 1995: 29)

b. 有四法在世間人所愛敬。云何為四？少壯之年，世間人民之所愛敬；無有病痛，人所愛敬；壽命，人所愛敬；恩愛集聚，人所愛敬。

you si fa zai shijian ren suo aijing.
exist four dharma among mundane people NMLZ cherish
yunhe wei si? shaozhuang zhi nian, shijian renmin
what COP four youth.vigour GEN age worldly people
zhi suo aijing; wu you bingtong, ren suo
GEN NMLZ cherish NEG exist illness people NMLZ
aijing; shouming, ren suo aijing; en'ai jiqu,
cherish longevity people NMLZ cherish affection collection
ren suo aijing
people NMLZ cherish

‘There are four *dharmas* that are cherished among mundane people. What are the four [*dharmas*]? The age of youth and vigour is what is cherished by

⁸⁹ A second occurrence of the same expression in the same sutra (83a12–13) supports this interpretation: 猶如瓦石不聞聲、香、味、細滑，亦不見色及與五欲無所識知 ‘Like a tile [or] a stone, he does not hear sounds, [does not perceive] smell, taste and touchable objects, nor does he see form; and as regards the five desires, there is nothing which is discerned [anymore]’. The expression 無所識知 occurs diffusely in early Chinese Buddhist translations and mostly seems to be used with the same meaning as in (72a), see for instance T78 888a21–22 地獄中罪竟，復為人即愚癡，無所識知與畜生同伍 ‘In hell the negative karma is exhausted, [then] he is reborn as a human being [that is] just dull [and] has no discernment, just like an animal’; T125 597a13–14 我等愚惑無所識知，唯願世尊受我等懺悔 ‘We are dull and without discernment, we only beg the World-honoured One to accept our repentance’; T125 784c27–28: 初十幼小無所識知 ‘In the first ten [years they are] little kids without discernment’.

⁹⁰ This interpretation is bolstered by the fact that 所愛敬 most likely translates an adjectival form akin to Skt. *priya*-. An Indic parallel of the passage is found in the *Anityatāsūtra* included in the Sanskrit manuscript of the *Tridaṇḍamālā* (Matsuda 2024: 12.3–11): *catvāra ime bhikṣavo dharmā iṣṭāḥ kāntāḥ priyā manaāpā lokasya | te ca sarve aniṣṭaparyavasānāḥ | katame catvāraḥ | ārogyaṃ bhikṣava iṣṭaṃ kāntaṃ priyaṃ manaāpaṃ lokasya | [...] yauvanam iṣṭaṃ kāntaṃ priyaṃ manaāpaṃ lokasya | [...] jīvitam iṣṭaṃ kāntaṃ priyaṃ manaāpaṃ lokasya | [...] sampattir iṣṭā kāntā priyā manaāpā lokasya*. A Tibetan parallel appears in the translation of the “first” *Anityatāsūtra* (*Mi rtag pa nyid kyi mdo*, Tōh 309: 155a4–b1).

mundane people; the lack of illness is what is cherished by people; longevity is what is cherished by people; the collection of affection is what is cherished by people.’ (T125 637c9–12, Zhu 1995: 29)

The biggest objection to Zhu’s hypothesis, however, pertains to the methodology he employs to analyse the data: the examples given in the article are never compared with any extant Indic parallel. Even though it is true that the “translation/source-text” direct relationship between a given Chinese translation and its Indian parallels cannot be proved beyond any doubt, a comparison with the Indic parallels nonetheless remains fundamental to any claim regarding the phenomena of linguistic interference. Even when limiting the scope to the relatively small sample provided by Zhu, if one looks for Indic parallels, one finds the overall picture is not as straightforward as portrayed in his article.

Some of the examples selected by Zhu are quoted, for instance, from the *Za ahan jing* 雜阿含經 (T99), which is attributed by the catalogues to the Indian translator Guṇabhadra (Ch. Qiunabatu 求那跋陀, 394–468).⁹¹ The *Za ahan jing* is a complete Chinese translation of the *Samyuktāgama*⁹², which otherwise survives only in Sanskrit fragments, mainly from the Sarvāstivāda manuscripts of the Turfan-Funden⁹³ and in Gāndhārī (Glass 2007). The only other complete recension of the Connected Discourses⁹⁴ that is available is the Pali *Samyuttanikāya*, the third section of the *Suttapiṭaka*.⁹⁵ Through a comparison with the sūtras in the *Nidānasamyukta* and *Parivṛājakasamyukta*, it emerges that Guṇabhadra’s translation closely follows the sequence of the Sanskrit fragments.⁹⁶ The example quoted by Zhu can be thus compared with the parallels in the Sanskrit fragments; when the passage belongs to a portion of text not surviving in Sanskrit, the *Samyuttanikāya* can also be employed to look for Pali parallels.

The first example from the Chinese *Samyuktāgama* quoted by Zhu belongs to sūtra no. 288 of T99, which corresponds to sūtra no. I.6 in the Central Asian fragments of the *Nidānasamyukta* and to the *Nalakalāpiyasutta* of the Pali *Samyuttanikāya* (SN II.112–115). One can see that the relevant construction in (73a) is the *suo*-phrase *shi suo dingdai* 世所頂戴 and that the Chinese translation appears to abridge the Indic source-passage.

⁹¹ Guṇabhadra recited the sutra (possibly reading a manuscript brought to China by Faxian 法顯) to Baoyun 釋寶雲 (376–449), who later led the translation team that translated the text, see Glass (2008) and Lettère (2023: 101–102).

⁹² A second shorter translation of the *Samyuktāgama* is preserved in the Chinese Canon: *Bieyi za ahan jing* 別譯雜阿含經 (T100). Furthermore, a third text consisting of an anthology of twenty-five sutras presumably translated and compiled by An Shigao 安世高 (fl. ca. 148–180), is preserved under the name of *Za ahan jing* (T101) in the Canon, see Glass (2007: 28).

⁹³ See Chung (2008) for an overall survey of all the Sanskrit fragments of the *Samyuktāgama*. The most important fragments belong to a set of twenty-five sūtras from the *Nidānasamyukta* and a set of six sūtras from the *Parivṛājakasamyukta*, see Waldschmidt (1957), Tripāṭhī (1962), Bongard-Levin et al. (1996), Chung and Fukita (2020).

⁹⁴ I use the term “Connected Discourses” here following Glass’s (2007: 26, fn. 4) definition, namely referring to the *Samyuktāgama*/*Samyuttanikāya* collection in the abstract.

⁹⁵ See Glass (2007: 26–36) for a thorough overview of the parallels of the Connected Discourses in Pali, Chinese, Sanskrit, Tibetan, Gāndhārī and Uyghur.

⁹⁶ See Enomoto (1986, 1997) and Waldschmidt (1957b, 1980). See Glass (2007: 39–42) on the problem regarding the corrupt sequence of the sūtras in T99.

Unfortunately, the precise Sanskrit passage corresponding to the *suo*-phrase is missing in the Central Asian manuscript, but it can be supplied on the basis of the Chinese translation and of a similar formula occurring in the Pali *Rathavinītasutta* of the *Majjhimanikāya*.⁹⁷ The Chinese *suo*-phrase seems to correspond to an active clause built with an active participle (i.e. *sabrahmacāriṇo mūrdhnā pariharanta*) and should be hence taken as a relative clause. Note also that the accusative object of the active participle (i.e. *āyusmantam mahākoṣṭhilaṃ*) is fronted in topical position.

(73) a. 如無價寶珠，世所頂戴，我今頂戴尊者摩訶拘絺羅亦復如是。

ru wujia baozhu, shi suo dingdai, wo
like priceless precious.pearl people NMLZ carry_on_the_head I
jin dingdai zunzhe Mohejuchiluo yifu rushi
now carry_on_the_head venerable M too likewise
'Like a priceless precious pearl which is carried by people on the head, now I carry the venerable Mahākoṣṭhila on the head in the same way too.' (T99 81b13–14, Zhu 1995: 30)⁹⁸

b. *cailoṇḍukam ivāyusmantam mahākoṣṭhilaṃ*
turban:ACC like=venerable:ACC M:ACC
sabrahmacāriṇo mūrdhnā pariharanta
fellow_students:NOM.PL head:INS carry:PTCP.PRS.NOM.PL
āyusmato mahākoṣṭhilasya labheran darśanaṃ
venerable:GEN M:GEN take:OPT.3PL vision:ACC
labheran paryupāsanaṃ teṣāṃ syur
take:OPT.3PL honour:ACC 3PL:GEN be:OPT.3PL
lābhāḥ sulabdhāḥ
gain:NOM.PL fortunate.gain:NOM.PL
'Those fellow students who were to get to see and honour the venerable Mahākoṣṭhila carrying the venerable Mahākoṣṭhila on the top of the head like a turban, for them it would be gains, fortunate gains.' (NidSa 110.1–4)⁹⁹

⁹⁷ MN I.150.17–22: *celaṇḍukena ce pi sabrahmacārī āyasmantaṃ puṇṇaṃ mantāṇiputtaṃ muddhanā pariharantā labheyyuṃ dassanāya labheyyuṃ payirupāsanaṃ, tesam pi lābhā tesam pi suladdham*.

⁹⁸ As in the Pali *Rathavinītasutta*, this formula occurs twice in T99, the second time at the end of the sūtra (81b29–c2). Unlike the Pali parallel, where the formula is repeated identically, the passage is reformulated quite differently to the first occurrence: 猶如世間無價寶珠，人皆頂戴，汝今如是，普為一切諸梵行者之所頂戴恭敬奉事 'Just like a mundane priceless precious pearl, [which] all the people carry on the top of the head, so now in the same manner you are carried on the top of the head by all the young students [in order] to pay [you] respect [and] to serve [you].'

⁹⁹ In the first edition of the Central Asian manuscript fragments, Tripāthī (1962: 111.9–112.5) transcribes and reconstructs the passage as *cailoṇḍuka ivāyusmantam m(ahākoṣṭhilaṃ ye sabrahmacāriṇo mūrdhnā pariharanta āyusmato mahākoṣṭhilasya labheran ca darśanaṃ labheran ca paryupāsanaṃ te)ṣā(m) syur lābhāḥ sulab(dhā)ḥ*. In their new edition, Chung and Fukita (2020: 110.1–4) improve Tripāthī's reading but more cautiously refrain from reconstructing 24 missing akṣaras: *cailoṇḍuka ivāyus(ma)ntam m(a)h(ākoṣṭhilaṃ sa)brahmacāri(ṇo) + + + + + (paryupā)saṃanaṃ teṣāṃ syur lābhāḥ sulab(dhā)ḥ*. The passage quoted and glossed in the running text combines the new edition with Tripāthī's reconstruction in the light of the Pali parallel.

In the second case, the *suo*-phrase in (74a) (i.e. *ji suo ainian* 極所愛念) does not even correspond to a verb form in the Pali parallel in (74b), but to the adjectival pair *piyaṃ manāpaṃ*.

- (74) a. 正有一子，極所愛念；若食其肉，可得度難，莫令在此三人俱死。
zheng you yi zi, ji suo ainian;
 only exist one son extremely NMLZ love
ruo shi qi rou, ke de du nan,
 if eat his flesh can attain overcome adversity
mo ling zaici san ren ju si
 NEG let here three people together die
 ‘[We] only have one son, [who is] extremely beloved [by us]; if [we] eat his flesh, [we] might be able to overcome adversities, and [this] would not make the three [of us] die here together.’ (T99 102b24–26, Zhu 1995: 30)

- b. *yannuna mayam imam ekaputtakam piyam*
 what_if 1PL:NOM this:ACC one.little_son:ACC dear:ACC
manāpaṃ vadhitvā vallūraṇ ca soṇḍikaṇ
 beloved:ACC kill:GER dried_flesh:ACC and peppered_meat:ACC
ca karitvā puttamaṃsāni khādantā evan
 and make:GER son.flesh:ACC.PL eat:PTCP.PRS.NOM.PL thus
taṃ kantārāvasesaṃ nitthareyyāma || mā
 3SG:ACC desert.remaining:ACC cross_over:OPT.1PL NEG
sabbeva tayo vinassimha
 all:NOM.PL=PTC three:NOM.PL perish:PST.1PL
 ‘What if we were to make it through the rest of the desert in such way, [namely by] eating the flesh of [our] son after having killed this only dear and beloved son [of ours], and having made dried and peppered meat [with his flesh]. May the three [of us] not perish all [in this way].’ (SN II.98.19–22)

The third example is interesting because we are indeed probably dealing with an actual example of the (*wei*) A *suo* V construction with deletion of the copula due to “metrical reasons”, as the four-character pattern of the text could have determined the deletion of the copula (cf. He 2007). However, it is important to observe that the two *suo*-phrases in (75a) (i.e. *di/shui chong suo shi* 地/水蟲所食) here as well correspond to an active clause (i.e. *ye rukkhaniṣṣitā / udakaniṣṣitā pāṇā te naṃ khādeyyuṃ*) in the Pali parallel in (75b).

- (75) a. 若依於地，地蟲所食，若依於水，水蟲所食。
ruo yi yu di, di chong suo shi,
 if lay on ground earth worm NMLZ eat
ruo yi yu shui, shui chong suo shi
 if lay on water water worm NMLZ eat
 ‘If [the skinned cow] lays on the ground, it is eaten by the earth-worms; if it lays on water, it is eaten by water-worms.’ (T99 102c8–9, Zhu 1995: 30)

- b. *rukkhañ ce nissāya tiṭṭheyya ye*
 tree:ACC if lean_on:GER stand:OPT.3SG REL:3PL
rukkhanissitā pāṇā te naṃ
 tree.live:PPP.NOM.PL creatures:NOM.PL 3PL:NOM this:ACC
khādeyyuṃ || udakañ ce nissāya tiṭṭheyya ye
 eat:OPT.3PL water:ACC if lean_on:GER stand:OPT.3SG REL:3PL
udakanissitā pāṇā te naṃ
 water.live:PPP.NOM.PL creature:NOM.PL 3PL:NOM this:ACC
khādeyyuṃ
 eat:OPT.3PL
 ‘If it were to stay on a tree, those creatures living on the tree would eat it. If it were to stay in the water, the creature living in the water would eat it.’ (SN II.99.16–18)¹⁰⁰

The last example provided by Zhu that I intend to discuss is the most peculiar. The passage is quoted from Mokṣala’s translation of the *Larger Prajñāpāramitā* (see Chapter 5). The syntax of (76a) is undoubtedly obscure, as the passage appears to be constituted of two semi-clauses, the latter one being some sort of *suo*-phrase governed by the agent of the first semi-clause, i.e. *wo* 我. Zhu (1995: 31) proposes that the “passive” value of the verb in the Indic source text was marked with *suo* in a first stage of the translation process, maintaining the original syntax of the Indian sentence (something similar to **rushī hua bī chū weiceng (wei) wo suo jian* 如是花比初未曾(為)我所見). The word order of the clause would have been then reversed in a more idiomatic active sentence, but the translator must have forgotten to delete the “marker” *suo*, producing this bizarre translation. A comparison with the Sanskrit parallel in (76b) shows that the explanation is probably quite different. First of all, it seems that Mokṣala (as well as Dharmarakṣa¹⁰¹) either had a different source-text than that which is attested in the extant Sanskrit parallels,¹⁰² or misunderstood the syntax of the text, as it appears that the instrumental *mayā* was analysed as controlling both the clauses, whereas in the Sanskrit parallel the verb *pracaranti* refers to the ‘flowers’ (*puṣpāṇi*). Second, the *suo*-clause is clearly used

¹⁰⁰ It is here difficult to find a perfect match between T99 and the Pali parallel: in Pali the same pattern is repeated four times, one time for each of the elements *kuḍḍa* ‘wall’, *rukkha* ‘tree’, *uda* ‘water’ and *ākāsa* ‘air’. In Chinese the pattern occurs only three times with *dī* 地 ‘earth’, *shuǐ* 水 ‘water’ and *kōng* 空 ‘air’.

¹⁰¹ Dharmarakṣa (T222 213c27–28) reads 昔吾曾遊遍諸天宮，初未覩見如此輩華，向所散華，此為化華，不從樹生也 ‘In the past I have travelled to heavenly palaces, such kind of flowers have never been seen before, the flowers which are strewn, these are [magically] created, they do not come forth from trees.’ Kumārajīva’s and Xuanzang’s translations are closer to the Sanskrit parallel: 是諸天子所散花，天上未曾見如是花比，是花是化花，非樹生花 ‘These flowers strewn by the gods, flowers of this aspect have never been seen in heavens, these flowers are [magically] created flowers, they are not born [from] trees.’ (T223 277a14–15); 今所散花於諸天處曾未見有，是花微妙，定非草樹水陸所生，應是諸天為供養故從心化 ‘The flowers now strewn in the heavenly abodes have never been seen before, these flowers are marvellous, [they] are certainly not born from shrubs, trees, water [or] earth, they must have been magically created from the mind of the gods as a form of worshipping.’ (T220 141a23–25).

¹⁰² The manuscript of the *Larger Prajñāpāramitā* from Gilgit (see Section 5.1 below) reads: PG 131v.6–7 *na punar imāṇi mayā sarvadevabhavaneṣu dṛṣṭapūrvāṇi pracaramāṇāni | yānīmāni puṣpāṇi devair avakīrṇāni nirmitānīmāni puṣpāṇi nemāni puṣpāṇi stambhaniryātāni | na jalajāni na sthalajāni*.

here to render the Sanskrit compound *dr̥ṣṭapūrvāṇi*, which is in turn embedded into a correlative construction.

- (76) a. 我數至天上，初未曾所見如是花比，是諸天子所散花者，不從樹生，化花耳。

wo shu zhi tianshang,
I many reach heaven
chu wei ceng suo jian rushi hua bi,
beginning NEG before NMLZ see such flower aspect
shi zhu tianzi suo san hua zhe, bu cong shu
those INDF god NMLZ strew flower TOP NEG from tree
sheng hua hua er
arise create flower FIN

‘I went to the heavens many [times], flowers with such aspect¹⁰³ which I have never seen before, those flowers strewn by gods do not come forth from trees, [they] are [magically] created.’ (T221 41a15–16, Zhu 1995: 31)

- b. *na punar imāni puṣpāṇi mayā*
NEG PTC this:NOM.PL flower:NOM.PL 1SG:INS
sarvadevabhavaṇeṣu dr̥ṣṭapūrvāṇi pracaranti
all.god.abode:LOC.PL seen.before:NOM.PL appear:PRS.3PL
yānīmāni puṣpāṇi devaputirai
REL:NOM.PL=this:NOM.PL flower:NOM.PL god:INS.PL
abhyavakīrṇāni nirmitānīmāni puṣpāṇi
strew:PTCPL.PRS.NOM.PL create:PPP.NOM.PL=this:NOM.PL flower:NOM.PL
na vṛkṣagulmalatānirjātāni
NEG tree.shrub.creeper.come_forth:PPP.NOM.PL

‘These flowers that appear in the heavenly abodes, I have not seen them before, these flowers strewn by gods are magically created, they do not come forth from trees, shrubs and creepers.’ (Pvs(K) II–III.20.21–23)

This brief excursion into the A *suo* V construction illustrates that there is no concrete evidence supporting the direct influence of the Sanskrit P-oriented constructions on the use of this construction in Chinese translations. In this section, I tried to use this issue to emphasise the correct methodological approach to the inter-linguistic analysis of Chinese Buddhist translations. In the next three chapters, the analysis of Chinese translations will be carried out uniformly by comparing them with their Indic parallels.

3.5 Summary

The passive definition has been applied by scholars to different constructions with different diachronic developments, which can thus hardly be described as a single linguistic phenomenon. The term “construction” itself is not without problems, as for Archaic Chinese one cannot truly talk of “constructions”. The grammaticalization process

¹⁰³ Cf. Karashima (2010: 34) on *bi* 比 translating Skt. *ākāra* ‘aspect, attribute’.

of the verbs from lexical items into constructions is observable only from Early Middle Chinese after certain syntactic conditions were met. For this reason, some scholars prefer distinguishing between the “passive meaning” which could be expressed by such verbs and the “passive constructions” derived from them (see for instance Zeng 2020, cf. Abraham 2006). Whether or not these grammaticalized constructions fit into the standard definition of passivity discussed in Chapter 1 is ultimately a matter of second relevance for the present discussion. Two points, rather, need to be highlighted before proceeding with the investigation of Chinese Buddhist translations.

First, although deriving from verbs with different meanings and having different paths to grammaticalization, the various passive constructions present a significant degree of syntactic convergence in Middle Chinese, from which one can conclude that they possess some functional overlap. In this regard, the examples brought by Zeng (2020: 25) are particularly interesting: while commenting on a passage from the *Zuozhuan* 左轉 given in (77a), Du Yu 杜預 (222–285 CE) (77b) and Kong Yingda 孔穎達 (574–648) (77c) explain the *wei* sentence in the root quotation with both *jian* and *bei*, suggesting that the three constructions were perceived as equivalent in Middle Chinese.

- (77) a. 雞其憚為人用乎？人異於是。

<i>ji</i>	<i>qi</i>	<i>dan</i>	<i>wei</i>	<i>ren</i>	<i>yong</i>	<i>hu?</i>	<i>ren</i>	<i>yi</i>
cock	PTC	fear	COP	people	use	INT	people	different
<i>yu</i>	<i>shi</i>							
in	this							

‘Is the cock afraid of being used by men? People differ in that respect.’
(*Zuozhuan*, Zhao Gong 22 昭公二十二年)

- b. 雞犧雖見寵飾，終當見殺；人被寵飾，則當貴盛。

<i>ji</i>	<i>xi</i>	<i>sui</i>	<i>jian</i>	<i>chong</i>	<i>shi,</i>	<i>zhong</i>	<i>dang</i>
cock	sacrifice	although	suffer	favour	decorate	end	will
<i>jian</i>	<i>sha;</i>	<i>ren</i>	<i>bei</i>	<i>chong</i>	<i>shi,</i>	<i>ze</i>	<i>dang</i>
suffer	kill	person	undergo	favour	decorate	CONJ	will
<i>gui</i>	<i>sheng</i>						
precious	flourishing						

‘Although the cock is favoured and decorated, it will be killed; however, the person who is favoured and decorated, he will become eminent.’ (*Chunqiu jing ji jie* 春秋經傳集解)

- c. 雞被寵飾，終當見殺；若人被寵飾，則當貴盛。

<i>ji</i>	<i>bei</i>	<i>chong</i>	<i>shi,</i>	<i>zhong</i>	<i>dang</i>	<i>jian</i>	<i>sha;</i>
cock	undergo	favour	decorate	end	will	suffer	kill
<i>ruo</i>	<i>ren</i>	<i>bei</i>	<i>chong</i>	<i>shi,</i>	<i>ze</i>	<i>dang</i>	<i>gui</i>
if	person	undergo	favour	decorate	CONJ	will	precious
<i>sheng</i>							
flourishing							

‘Although the cock is favoured and decorated, it will be killed; however, if a person is favoured and decorated, he will become eminent.’ (*Chunqiu zheng yi* 春秋正義)

Second, although the three constructions present similar patterns, one needs to consider that the three verbs (*jian*, *wei* and *bei*) could be still used in their original function, even after the process of grammaticalization had led to the creation of the innovative passive constructions. According to the model proposed by Hopper and Traugott (2003: 125), the process of grammaticalization is characterized by the phenomenon of “layering”: the emergence of new layers of grammaticalization does not necessarily entail that the old layers are discarded, but new and old layers can continue to coexist in synchrony. In the next chapters it will be shown that this scenario applies to our case as well: in Chinese Buddhist translations the three “passive” verbs are employed in the innovative passive constructions as well as with their original lexical value. The employment of the passive construction in translating the Indic source-texts is thus determined by the interplay between the older and newer layers of grammaticalization.

Part II: Corpus analysis

Chapter 4: A study of the Chinese translations of the *Vajracchedikā Prajñāpāramitā*

4.1 Textual background

The *Vajracchedikā Prajñāpāramitā* is one of the texts belonging to the *Prajñāpāramitā* (‘Perfection of Wisdom’) literature, a textual family of great historical significance and one of the most important Mahāyāna scriptures in general. The sūtra enjoyed broad popularity in all of Asia, being translated into various languages¹⁰⁴ and the subject of a plethora of commentaries produced both in India and beyond.¹⁰⁵ This is especially true in East Asia, where it became one of the key texts of many Buddhist schools (Chan Buddhism above all).¹⁰⁶

As for many other sūtras, the first attested recension of the *Vajracchedikā* is not represented by an Indic manuscript but by a Chinese translation, Kumārajīva’s (T235) in this case. The earliest attested Indian manuscript testimony, dating around the end of the 5th or the beginning of the 6th century, is a Central Asian manuscript discovered by Sir Aurel Stein in 1900 and firstly edited by Pargiter (1916). A new edition of the manuscript has been published by Harrison (2015) by using x-ray scanning to decipher the manuscript, which had deteriorated considerably since Pargiter’s time.¹⁰⁷ Unfortunately the manuscript is missing 5 folios of the original 19 and many of those which are preserved are in a poor state of conservation.

Two other important ancient Indian manuscripts of the *Vajracchedikā* are preserved and, albeit both incomplete, possess similar temporal and geographic coordinates, dating back to the 6th–7th centuries and originating in the area of Greater Gandhāra. By a fortunate coincidence, the two manuscripts complement one another.¹⁰⁸ The first manuscript, edited thrice by Chakravarti (1956), Dutt (1959: 141–170) and Schopen (1989), belongs to the group of Mahāyāna sūtras found in 1931 at Gilgit in Pakistan (see discussion below in Section 5.1). The second manuscript, edited by Harrison and Watanabe (2006), was presumably discovered in the Bamiyan area and is now preserved in the Schøyen Collection (MS 2385) (Watanabe 2001).

Four other Sanskrit editions of the text have been published (all based on later manuscripts): the first one is the *editio princeps* by Müller (1881) which was based on manuscripts he obtained from Japan, China and Tibet. Using Müller’s work as his base, Conze (1957) published a new edition by emending Müller’s reading on the basis of a second bilingual Tibetan blockprint kept in the SOAS Library, making also reference to the Central Asian manuscript, Asaṅga’s commentary (Tucci 1956), the Tibetan translation and Kumārajīva’s translation. Conze’s work remains the most scholarly relevant edition based on later manuscripts, despite presenting many issues of accuracy

¹⁰⁴ See Conze (1978: 60–64) for a list of translations in ancient Asian languages.

¹⁰⁵ Cf. Tucci (1956); in his comprehensive study Mayer (1999) analyses 80 commentaries to the *Vajracchedikā*.

¹⁰⁶ See McRae (2003: 62).

¹⁰⁷ See Harrison (2015) for a description of the status of conservation of the manuscript.

¹⁰⁸ See Harrison and Watanabe (2006: 96–97).

(Schopen 1989: 97). No use of new manuscripts was made in the remaining two works by Vaidya (1961) and Joshi (1978) which, therefore, cannot be considered new editions in a proper sense (see Harrison and Watanabe 2006: 92).¹⁰⁹ Several other fragments from Central Asia of the *Vajracchedikā*, as well as complete manuscripts from Nepal, have been also identified, see Harrison and Watanabe (2006: 93–94) for a complete list. A convenient synoptic edition including the most important works cited so far, as well as part of the remaining manuscript fragments, is provided in Watanabe (2009a).

The Chinese Canon contains six translations of the *Vajracchedikā*:

1. Kumārajīva (Ch. Jiumoluoshi 鳩摩羅什, 343–413), *Jingang banreboluomi jing* 金剛般若波羅蜜經, T235 (Vol. 8, 748c15–752c7), translated in 402 CE, hereafter = Vajra(Kj) (meant as *Vajracchedikā* by Kumārajīva);
2. Bodhiruci (Ch. Butiliuzhi 菩提流支, death 527 CE), *Jingang banreboluomi jing* 金剛般若波羅蜜經, T236 (Vol. 8, 752c8–757a19), translated in 509 CE, hereafter = Vajra(Br);
3. Paramārtha (Ch. Zhendi 真諦, 499–569 CE), *Jingang banreboluomi jing* 金剛般若波羅蜜經, T237 (Vol. 8, 762a1–766c11), translated in 562, hereafter = Vajra(Pa);
4. Dharmagupta, *Jingang neng duan banreboluomi jing* 金剛能斷般若波羅蜜經, T238 (Vol. 8, 766c12–771c18), translated in 605 CE;
5. Xuanzang 玄奘 (602–664), the ninth assemblage (第九會) of the *Da banreboluomiduo jing* 大般若波羅蜜多經, T220 (Vol. 7, 979c1–985c25), translated in 648 CE, hereafter = Vajra(Xz);
6. Yijing 義淨 (635–713 CE), *Fo shuo neng duan jingang banreboluomiduo jing* 佛說能斷金剛般若波羅蜜多經, T239 (Vol. 8, 771c19–775b25), translated in 703 CE, hereafter = Vajra(Yj).

To these we can add the Tibetan translation, which I have consulted for some passages of difficult interpretation: Śīlendrabodhi and Ye shes sde, 'Phags pa shes rab kyi pha rol tu phyin pa rdo rje gcod pa zhes bya ba theg pa chen po'i mdo, *Derge bKa'* 'gyur, ka 121a1–132b, Tōh 16, translated ca. 800 CE.

4.2 Methodological preliminaries

As concerns the Sanskrit text used for the survey, I will follow the criterion of combining the two manuscripts used by Harrison (2006) in his English translation of the *Vajracchedikā* based on the two manuscripts from Greater Gandhāra: for the first half of the text (§§1–16c¹¹⁰), the Sanskrit text of the Schøyen manuscript as edited by Harrison and Watanabe (2006, hereafter = Vajra(HW)) will be used, while for the second part (§§17a–32b) I shall turn to the text of Schopen's (1989, hereafter =

¹⁰⁹ The third volume (1–64) of the 5-volume compendium on the *Vajracchedikā* by the *Rushi foxue yanjiushi* 如是佛學研究室 (1995–1996) includes a reproduction of Müller's Sanskrit text in roman script.

¹¹⁰ The division of the paragraphs is based on Müller's (1881: 15–46) edition of *Vajracchedikā*. See Müller (1881: 18); Harrison and Watanabe (2006: 90, fn. 2).

Vajra(S)) edition of the Gilgit manuscript. In cases where the recension from the two manuscripts from the Greater Gandhāra does not provide a parallel for the Chinese translations, the text will be also compared to Harrison’s (2015) and Conze’s (1957) editions.

The analysis of the Chinese translations will not include that of Dharmagupta. Although this translation is a precious source of information on translation procedures in Sui and early Tang times, because it is an unfinished translation, it is impossible to use it as a sample for the linguistic analysis of Middle Chinese. The translation represents an intermediate stage of the translation process, some sort of literal rendering of the Sanskrit source-text which strictly follows the Indic syntax (Zacchetti 1996, Watanabe 2009b: 265–268).¹¹¹

The Sanskrit text has been compared word-for-word with the five Chinese translations, looking in particular for the treatment in Chinese of the Indic P-oriented constructions, as well as paying attention to grammatical structures in the Indic parallel that correspond to the passive constructions in the Chinese translations.

4.3 Text analysis

4.3.1 -ta participles

The grammatical rendition in Chinese of -ta participles is generally consistent in all the five translations. In the vast majority of cases, when the -ta participle serves as the verbal head of a clause, the Chinese translation has an active clause, i.e. the agent is placed in preverbal position without any grammatical marker of passivity, see for instance (78), (79) and (80).

(78)

Vajra	<i>mayā</i>	<i>srotāpattiphalaṃ</i>	<i>prāptam</i>
	1SG:INS	stream.entry.fruit:NOM	obtain:PPP.NOM
	‘I have obtained the fruit of stream-entry.’ (Vajra(HW) 118.12)		

Vajra(Kj) 我得須陀洹果。

<i>wo</i>	<i>de</i>	<i>xutuohuanguo</i>
I	attain	srotāpatti.fruit
‘I have attained the fruit of <i>srotāpatti</i> .’ (749b26–27)		

Vajra(Br) = Vajra(Kj) (753c6–7)

Vajra(Pa) = Vajra(Kj) (763a6)

Vajra(Xz) 我能證得預流果。

<i>wo</i>	<i>neng</i>	<i>zhengde</i>	<i>yuliuguo</i>
I	can	obtain	enter.stream.fruit

¹¹¹ Watanabe (2009b: 270–326) even reconstructs an entire Sanskrit recension of the *Vajracchedikā* on the basis of Dharmagupta’s translation.

‘I can obtain the fruit of stream-entry.’ (981a26)

Vajra(Yj) 我得預流果。

wo de yuliuguo

I obtain enter.stream.fruit

‘I have obtained the fruit of stream-entry.’ (772c9–10)

(79)

Vajra *jñātās te subhūte tathāgatena dṛṣṭās*

know:PPP.NOM.PL 3PL:NOM S:VOC tathāgata:INS see:PPP.NOM.PL

te subhūte tathāgatena

3PL:NOM S:VOC tathāgata:INS

‘The Tathāgata knows them, Subhūti, the Tathāgata has seen them.’

(Vajra(HW) 128.9–10)

Vajra(Kj) 須菩提如來悉知悉見。

Xuputi rulai xi zhi xi jian

S thus.come fully know fully see

‘Subhūti, the Thus-come fully knows and fully sees [them].’ (749b3–4)

Vajra(Br) 須菩提如來悉知是諸眾生如來悉見是諸眾生。

Xuputi rulai xi zhi shi zhu zhongsheng

S thus.come fully know those INDF being

rulai xi jian shi zhu zhongsheng

thus.come fully see those INDF being

‘Subhūti, the Thus-come fully knows those beings, the Thus-come fully sees those beings.’ (753b6–7)

Vajra(Pa) 須菩提如來悉知是人悉見是人。

Xuputi rulai xi zhi shi ren xi jian

S thus.come fully know those people fully see

shi ren

those people

‘Subhūti, the Thus-come fully knows those people, the Thus-come fully sees those people.’ (762c6–7)

Vajra(Xz) 善現如來以其佛智悉已知彼，如來以其佛眼悉已見彼。

Shanxian rulai yi qi fozhi xi

S thus.come with his buddha.knowledge fully

yi zhi bi, rulai yi qi foyan

already know them thus.come with his buddha.ey

xi yi jian bi

fully already see them

‘Subhūti, the Thus-come has already fully known them with his Buddha-knowledge¹¹², the Thus-come has already fully seen them with his Buddha-eye.’ (980c15–16)

Vajra(Yj) 妙生如來悉知是人悉見是人。

Miaosheng rulai xi zhi shi ren
S thus.come fully know those people
xi jian shi ren
fully see those people
‘Subhūti, the Thus-come fully knows those people, fully sees those people.’ (772b13)

(80)

Vajra *mayā satvā mocitā*
1SG:INS being:NOM.PL liberate:PPP.NOM.PL
‘I have liberated beings.’ (Vajra(S) 105.10)

Vajra(Kj) 我當度眾生。

wo dang du zhongsheng
I will liberate being
‘I will liberate beings.’ (752a6)

Vajra(Br) 我度眾生。

wo du zhongsheng
I liberate being
‘I liberate beings.’ (756b7–8)

Vajra(Pa) = Vajra(Br) (765c21–22)

Vajra(Xz) 我當度脫諸有情。

wo dang dutuo zhu youqing
I will liberate INDF being
‘I will liberate beings.’ (985a7–8)

Vajra(Yj) 如來度眾生。

Rulai du zhongsheng
thus.come liberate beings
‘The Thus-come liberates beings.’ (775a4)

¹¹² The instrumental amplification found in Xuanzang’s translation is paralleled in later Sanskrit manuscripts, see Conze (1957: 43.3–5): *jñātās te subhūte tathāgatena buddhajñānena, drṣṭās te subhūte tathāgatena buddhacakṣuṣā*, cf. Harrison and Watanabe (2006: 100).

In many instances the *-ta* participle serves either as a nominalized verb, see (81), or as the verbal head of a relative clause, see (82). In these cases, the passage is often translated into Chinese by means of the nominalizer *suo* 所.

(81)

Vajra *yathāhaṃ* *bhagavan* *bhagavato*
 as=1SG.NOM blessed_one:VOC blessed_one:GEN
 bhāṣitasyārtham *ājānāmi*
 say:PPP.GEN=meaning:ACC understand:PRS.1SG
 ‘Blessed One, as I understand the meaning of what you [lit. the Blessed One] have said.’ (Vajra(HW) 117.9)

Vajra(Kj) 如我解佛所說義。

ru *wo* *jie* *fo* *suo* *shuo* *yi*
 as I understand Buddha NMLZ say meaning
 ‘As I understand the meaning of what the Buddha has said.’ (749b13–14)

Vajra(Br) = Vajra(Kj) (753b19)

Vajra(Pa) = Vajra(Kj) (762c18)

Vajra(Xz) 如我解佛所說義者。

ru *wo* *jie* *fo* *suo* *shuo* *yi* *zhe*
 as I understand buddha NMLZ say meaning NMLZ
 ‘As I interpret the meaning of what the Buddha has said.’ (981a3)

Vajra(Yj) = Vajra(Kj) (772b24)

(82)

Vajra *yā* *sā* *tathāgatena* *lakṣaṇasampad*
 REL:NOM 3SG:NOM tathāgata:INS feature.possession:NOM
 bhāṣitā *saivālakṣaṇasampat*
 preach:PPP.NOM 3SG:NOM=PTC=no.feature.possession:NOM
 ‘The very thing which the Tathāgata has preached as the possession of distinctive features is a non-possession of distinctive features.’ (Vajra(HW) 115.10–11)

Vajra(Kj) 如來所說身相，即非身相。

rulai *suo* *shuo* *shenxiang*, *ji* *fei* *shenxiang*
 thus.come NMLZ preach body.feature CONJ NEG body.feature
 ‘The distinctive feature of the body preached by the Thus-come is just a non-distinctive feature of the body.’ (749a23)

Vajra(Br) 如來所說相，即非相。

rulai suo shuo xiang, ji fei xiang
thus.come NMLZ preach feature CONJ NEG feature
‘The distinctive feature preached by the Thus-come is just a non-distinctive feature.’ (753a21)

Vajra(Pa) 如來所說身相勝德，非相勝德。

rulai suo shuo shenxiang shengde, ji
thus.come NMLZ preach body.feature superior.attribute CONJ
fei xiang shengde
NEG feature superior.attribute
‘The superior attribute of a distinctive feature of the body preached by the Thus-come is just a non-superior attribute of a distinctive feature.’ (762b21)

Vajra(Xz) 如來說諸相具足，即非諸相具足。

rulai shuo zhu xiangjuzu, ji fei
thus.come preach INDF feature.possession CONJ NEG
zhu xiangjuzu
INDF feature.possession
‘The possession of a distinctive feature preached by the Thus-come is just a non-possession of a distinctive feature.’ (980b28–29)

Vajra(Yj) 如來說勝相，即非勝相。

rulai shuo shengxiang, ji fei shengxiang
thus.come preach superior.feature CONJ NEG superior.feature
‘The superior attribute preached by the Thus-come is just a non-superior attribute.’ (772b2)

The use of *suo* in this type of sentences, however, is not triggered by the presence of *-ta* participles in the source text *per se*, as the same use of *suo* is found with Sanskrit relative clauses with finite active verb forms, see (83), or even to translate clauses without overt marking of relativization, see (84).

(83)

Vajra *yac ca tathāgato bhāṣati*
REL:ACC and tathāgata:NOM preach:PRS.3SG
trīsāhasramahāsāhasro lokadhātur iti |
trigalactic.megagalactic:NOM world.system:NOM QUOT
adhātuḥ sa tathāgatena bhāṣitas
non.system:NOM 3SG:NOM tathāgata:INS preach:PPP.NOM
‘And what the Tathāgata preaches as a ‘trigalactic megagalactic world-system,’ that has been preached by the Tathāgata as a non-system.’ (Vajra(S) 106.33–107.1)

Vajra(Kj) 如來所說三千大千世界，則非世界。

rulai suo shuo sanqian daqian shijie,
thus.come NMLZ preach trigalactic megagalactic world.system
ze fei shijie
CONJ NEG world.system
‘The trigalactic megagalactic world-system, which the Thus-come
preaches, is a non-world-system.’ (752b10–11)

Vajra(Br) = Vajra(Kj) (756c16–17)

Vajra(Pa) = Vajra(Kj) (766b2–3)

Vajra(Xz) 如來說三千大千世界，即非世界。

rulai shuo sanqian daqian shijie,
thus.come preach trigalactic megagalactic world.system
ji fei shijie
CONJ NEG world.system
‘The trigalactic megagalactic world-system, which the Thus-come
preaches, is just a non-world-system.’ (985b23–24)

Vajra(Yj) 如來所說三千大千世界，說為非世界。

rulai suo shuo sanqian daqian shijie,
thus.come NMLZ preach trigalactic megagalactic world.system
shuo wei fei shijie
preach COP NEG world.system
‘The trigalactic megagalactic world system, which the Thus-come
preaches, [he] preaches it as a non-world system.’ (775b4)

(84)

Vajra *api nu sa kulaputro vā*
PTC 3SG:NOM good_family.son:NOM PTC
kuladuhitā vā tato nidānaṃ bahu
good_family.daughter:NOM PTC 3SG:ABL cause:ACC much
punyaṃ prasunuyāt
merit:ACC produce:OPT.3SG
‘Would that son or daughter of a good family generate a lot of merit because
of that?’ (Vajra(HW) 117.16–118.1)

Vajra(Kj) 是人所得福德，寧為多不？

shi ren suo de fude, ning wei duo bu
these people NMLZ attain merit INT COP much NEG
‘The merit attained by these people would be a lot or not?’ (749b19)

Vajra(Br) 是善男子、善女人所得福德，寧為多不？

shi shannanzi shannüren suo de fude,
 this good.son good.daughter NMLZ attain merit
ning wei duo bu
 INT COP much NEG
 ‘The merit obtained by this son [or] daughter of a good [family] would be a lot or not?’ (753b24–25)

Vajra(Pa) 是善男子、善女人因此布施生福多不？

shi shannanzi shannüren yin ci bushi
 this good.son good.daughter because this donation
sheng fu duo bu
 generate merit much NEG
 ‘Would this son [or] daughter of a good [family] generate a lot of merit on the basis of this donation or not?’ (762c24)

Vajra(Xz) 是善男子或善女人由此因緣所生福聚，寧為多不？

shi shannanzi huo shannüren you ci yinyuan
 this good.son or good.daughter from this cause
suo sheng fuju, ning wei duo bu
 NMLZ generate merit.heap INT COP much NEG
 ‘Will the heap of merit generated by this son or daughter of a good [family] because of this be a lot or not?’ (981a10–12)

Vajra(Yj) 得福，多不？

de fu, duo bu
 attain merit much NEG
 ‘Would they attain a lot of merit? [lit. Attained merit, would it be a lot or not?’ (772b28–29)

Example (85) (= example (27b) discussed in Chapter 2) is particularly noteworthy because it includes two instances of *-ta* participles occurring in close proximity. As concerns the first (i.e. *utpannam*), it appears that Kumārajīva and Bodhiruci understood it as some sort of nominalized verb (see the use of *suo* 所), whereas the other three translators took it as a full-fledged verb, governed by the enclitic agent *me*. The interpretation of the Chinese translators, however, is peculiar in all cases. All the translations seem to imply a certain degree of control of *me* over the verb-form *utpannam*, but the non-causative form of the verb *utpadyate* generally has an intransitive meaning and can thus license only a single argument, i.e. the nominative *S jñānam* (see the discussion in Chapter 2 in light of Bynon’s proposal). In light of this, the genitive *me* should be here understood either as an external possessor or an adnominal genitive referring to *jñānam*, which, incidentally, corresponds to the Tibetan interpretation of the passage (i.e. 126a: *bcom ldan ’das bdag gi ye shes skyes tshun chad...* ‘Blessed One, since my knowledge arose...’). The second participle, i.e. *śrutapūrvah*, is also very interesting, as it resembles the similar compound

dṛṣṭapūrvāṇi in example (76b) discussed in Chapter 3. In this case also, the verb-form is rendered by all translators as an active construction.

(85)

Vajra *yato me bhagavan / jñānam utpannam*
 since 1SG:GEN blessed_one:VOC knowledge:NOM arise:PPP.NOM
na mayā jātv eva dharmaparyāyaḥ śrutapūrvāḥ
 NEG 1SG:INS ever PTC teaching.round:NOM heard.before:NOM
 ‘Since knowledge arose for me [or ‘since my knowledge arose’], Blessed One, I have not heard [such a¹¹³] round of teachings before.’ (Vajra(HW) 124.12–13)

Vajra(Kj) 我從昔來所得慧眼，未曾得聞如是之經。

wo cong xilai suo de huiyan,
 I since long_ago NMLZ attain wisdom.ey
weiceng de wen rushi zhi jing
 ever attain hear such GEN discourse
 ‘Since the attainment of the wisdom-eye long ago, I have never been able to hear such a discourse.’ (750a29–b1)

Vajra(Br) 我從昔來所得慧眼，未曾得聞如是法門。

wo cong xilai suo de huiyan, weiceng
 I since long_ago NMLZ attain wisdom.ey ever
de wen rushi famen
 attain hear such teaching
 ‘Since the attainment of the wisdom-eye long ago, I have never been able to hear such a teaching.’ (754b14–15)

Vajra(Pa) 我從昔來至得聖慧，未曾聞說如是經典。

wo cong xilai zhide shenghui, weiceng wen
 I since long_ago reach holy.wisdom ever hear
shuo rushi jingdian
 say such discourse
 ‘Since I reached holy wisdom long ago, I have never heard the preaching of such a discourse.’ (763c16–17)

¹¹³ In his English translation, Harrison (2006: 149, fn. 65) emends *eva* with *evamrupa*, following Müller’s and Conze’s editions as well as the Chinese translations (Ch. *rushu* 如是), cf. Harrison and Watanabe (2006: 125, fn. 384). The Tibetan translation of the passage (i.e. 126a: *bdag gis chos kyi nam grangs ’di sngon nam yang ma thos so*) seems however to follow either the reading of Vajra(HW) or of Vajra(S) (p. 99: *na me jātv ayam dharmaparyāyaḥ śrutapūrvāḥ*). If one takes *’di sngon*, ‘before this, long ago’, as a single syntactic-semantic unit translating Sanskrit *pūrvā*, the translation appears to follow Vajra(HW), with no element corresponding to Sanskrit *eva*; on the other hand, if one separates the compound, with *sngon*, ‘prior’, translating *pūrvā* and *’di*, ‘this’, as an attribute of *chos kyi nam grangs*, ‘round of teaching’, and translating thus Skt. *ayam*, the translation seems closer to Vajra(S).

Vajra(Xz) 我昔生智以來，未曾得聞如是法門。

wo xi sheng zhi yilai, weiceng de wen
I past generate knowledge ago ever attain hear
rushī famen

such teaching

‘Since I produced knowledge in the past, I have never been able to hear such a teaching.’ (982b5)

Vajra(Yj) 我從生智以來，未曾得聞如是深經。

wo cong sheng zhi yilai, weiceng de wen
I since generate knowledge ago ever attain hear
rushī shen jing

such profound discourse

‘Since I produced knowledge, I have never been able to hear such a profound discourse.’ (773b6–7)

There are only two instances in which a *-ta* participle is translated with a Chinese passive construction. In the first instance, the participle is employed in a periphrastic construction with a future copula, see (86). The interesting element here is that the *wei* construction, employed by Kumārajīva, Bodhiruci and Yijing, is paralleled by a “*bei*-like” construction built with a transitive inactive verb, namely *shou* 受 in Paramārtha and *zao* 遭 in Xuanzang.

(86)

Vajra ye te subhūte kulaputrā vā
REL:NOM.PL 3PL:NOM S:VOC good_family.son:NOM.PL PTC
kuladuhitaro vā imān evaṃrūpām
good_family.daughter:NOM.PL PTC this:ACC.PL such.form:ACC.PL
sūtrāmtān udgrahīṣyaṃti [...] te paribhūtā
discourse:ACC.PL hold:FUT.3PL 3PL:NOM despise:PPP.NOM.PL
bhaviṣyaṃti suparibhūtāś ca bhaviṣyaṃti
become:FUT.3PL roundly_despise:PPP.NOM.PL and become:FUT.3PL
‘Those sons or daughters of good families who will hold such discourses [...] will be despised, will be roundly despised.’ (Vajra(HW) 130.8–9)

Vajra(Kj) 善男子、善女人受持[...]此經，若為人輕賤。

shannanzi shannüren shouchi [...] ci jing, ruo wei
good.son good.daughter hold this discourse if COP
ren qingjian
people despise

‘The sons [or] daughters of good [families] holding [...] this discourse, if they were despised by people...’ (750c24–25)

Vajra(Br) 若善男子、善女人受持[...]此經，為人輕賤。

ruo shannanzi shannüren shouchi [...] ci jing,

if good.son good.daughter hold this discourse
wei ren qingjian
 COP people despise
 ‘If the sons [or] daughters of good [families] holding [...] this discourse
 were despised by people.’ (755a14–15)

Vajra(Pa) 若有善男子、善女人受持[...]如是等經，此人現身受輕賤等。
ruo you shannanzi shannüren shouchi [...] rushideng
 if exist good.son good.daughter hold such
jing, ci ren xianshen shou
 discourse these people present.life receive
qingjian deng
 despise so_forth
 ‘If there were sons or daughters of good [families] holding [...] such
 discourse, these people would suffer being despised in this present
 existence and so forth.’ (764b19–20)

Vajra(Xz) 若善男子或善女人於此經典受持[...]若遭輕毀極遭輕毀。
ruo shannanzi huo shannüren yu ci jingdian
 if good.son or good.daughter at this discourse
shouchi [...] ruo zao qinghui ji zao qinghui
 hold if suffer despise extremely suffer despise
 ‘If sons or daughters of good [families] were to hold this discourse [...] they
 would suffer being despised, they would suffer being extremely
 despised.’ (983b8–10)¹¹⁴

Vajra(Yj) 若有善男子、善女人於此經典受持[...]或為人輕辱。
ruo you shannanzi huo shannüren yu ci jingdian
 if exist good.son or good.daughter at this discourse
shouchi [...] huo wei ren qingru
 hold someone COP people despise
 ‘If there were sons [or] daughters of good [families] holding [...] this
 discourse, they would be despised by people.’ (774a1–2)

The second instance is more peculiar. As in (86), the participle is employed in an agentless periphrastic construction with an overt copula. In this case, however, only Paramārtha employs a passive construction to translate it:

(87)

Vajra *evam aparimāṇāṃś ca satvān*
 thus immeasurable:ACC.PL and being:ACC.PL

¹¹⁴ The unidiomatic repetition of *ruo* 若, as well as the combination of *ruo* 若 and *huo* 或 in Yijing’s translation below, represents a literal rendering of the Sanskrit correlative construction.

*parinirvāpayitavyāḥ*¹¹⁵ *na* *ca* *kaścit* *satvaḥ*
 extinguish:GRND.NOM.PL NEG and INDF:NOM being:NOM
parinirvāpito *bhavati*
 extinguish:PPP.NOM become:PRS.3SG

‘And¹¹⁶ after I have brought immeasurable living beings to final extinction in this way, no living being whatsoever has been brought to extinction.’
 (Vajra(HW) 114.4–5)

Vajra(Kj) 如是滅度無量無數無邊眾生，實無眾生得滅度者。

rushi *miedu* *wuliang* *wushu* *wubian*
 thus extinguish immeasurable incalculable limitless
zhongsheng, *shi* *wu* *zhongsheng* *de* *miedu*
 being in_reality NEG being attain extinction
zhe
 NMLZ

‘Having led immeasurable, incalculable and limitless beings to extinction in this way, in reality there is no being who has obtained the final extinction.’ (749a9–10)

Vajra(Br) 如是滅度無量無邊眾生，實無眾生得滅度者。

rushi *miedu* *wuliang* *wubian* *zhongsheng,*
 thus extinguish immeasurable limitless being
shi *wu* *zhongsheng* *de* *miedu* *zhe*
 in_reality NEG being attain extinction NMLZ

¹¹⁵ The reading of the manuscript from the Schøyen collection is problematic, as a nominative gerundive predicate cannot take the accusative *satvān* as its object. Harrison (2006: 143, fn. 31) emends *parinirvāpayitavyāḥ* to the Buddhist hybrid gerund *parinirvāpayitvā* following Pargiter (1916: 180). The formula occurs a second time in the sūtra, in this case the Gilgit manuscript (Vajra(S) 101.7b.6) has the more Sanskritic gerund *parinirvāpya* (the corresponding folio in the Central Asian manuscript is unfortunately missing). Nonetheless, there is still something fishy about Kumārajīva’s and Bodhiruci’s translations of the passage: in the translation of the second occurrence of this formula both the translators employ the aspectual marker *yi* 已 (751a12 *miedu yiqie zhongsheng yi* 滅度一切眾生已; 755b5 *rushi miedu yiqie zhongsheng yi* 如是滅度一切眾生已), which generally translates Sanskrit gerunds, while in the translation of the first occurrence of the formula, i.e. in (87), there is no trace of an underlying Sanskrit gerund. It is thus possible to hypothesize that Kumārajīva and Bodhiruci were working with a manuscript very close to the recension of the manuscript from the Schøyen collection. Possibly they also had to make sense of the same problematic reading; this could explain the different translations of the same formula.

¹¹⁶ No adversative conjunction is found in the manuscript from the Schøyen Collection. Harrison (2006: 143) adds “but” in the English translation following Conze (1957: 29.2): *evam aparimāṇan api sattvān parinirvāpya*. *Api* does not occur in Pargiter’s (1916: 180) edition either, nor in the first three Chinese translations. Dharmagupta’s, Xuanzang’s and Yijing’s follow the later Sanskrit manuscripts which include *api* in the translation (Ch. *sui* 雖), as does the Tibetan translation (121b): *de ltar sems can tshad med pa yongs su mya ngan las ’das kyang sems can gang yang yongs su mya ngan las ’das par gyur pa med do*.

‘Having led immeasurable and limitless beings to extinction in this way, in reality there is no being who has obtained the final extinction.’ (753a5–6)

Vajra(Pa) 如是涅槃無量眾生已，無一眾生被涅槃者。

rushi niepan wuliang zhongsheng yi,
thus lead_to_nirvāṇa immeasurable being finish
wu yi zhongsheng bei niepan zhe
NEG single being undergo nirvāṇa NMLZ
‘After having led immeasurable beings to *nirvāṇa* in this way, there is not [even] a single being which has undergone *nirvāṇa*.’ (762b6–7)

Vajra(Xz) 雖度如是無量有情令滅度已，而無有情得滅度者。

sui du rushi wuliang youqing ling miedu
CONJ liberate thus immeasurable being lead extinction
yi, er wu youqing de miedu zhe
finish CONJ NEG being attain extinction NMLZ
‘Even after having liberated immeasurable beings in this way, leading [them] to extinction, there is no being who has attained the final extinction.’ (980b7–8)

Vajra(Yj) 雖令如是無量眾生證圓寂已，而無有一眾生入圓寂者。

sui ling rushi wuliang zhongsheng zheng
CONJ lead thus immeasurable being reach
yuanji yi, er wu you yi
perfect.extinction finish CONJ CONJ exist single
zhongsheng ru yuanji zhe
being enter perfect.extinction NMLZ
‘However, after having led immeasurable beings to the perfect extinction in this way, nevertheless there is not a single being who has entered the perfect extinction.’ (772a16–17)

The use of *bei* in (87) allows Paramārtha to keep *satvaḥ* (Ch. *zhongsheng* 眾生) as the patient in the translation too, while in all other translations the Chinese equivalent of *satvaḥ* serves as an agent obtaining the final extinction.¹¹⁷ Interestingly, a similar pattern of distribution of agentivity/passivity is found in another passage. In (88), a passage structurally and stylistically resembling (87), all the translators use the A-oriented nominalizer *zhe* 者, except for Paramārtha who employs the P-oriented

¹¹⁷ One can define an animacy hierarchy of the verbal arguments in the Chinese translations of this passage on the basis of the level of control over the verb, i.e. *de* 得 > *ru* 入 > *bei* 被. The passage occurs a second time around the middle of the sūtra. While Paramārtha still uses *bei* (764c15) in this second occurrence, Kumārajīva (751a13), Bodhiruci (755b5) and Yijing (774a20) employ different transitive verbs: *shi* 實 ‘realize’ in place of *de* 得 (Kumārajīva and Bodhiruci) and *zheng* 證 ‘reach’ in place of *ru* 入 (Yijing). Nonetheless, the overall structure of the passages remains substantially the same.

nominalizer *suo* 所. Also in this case, Paramārtha thus appears to be the only translator highlighting the “passive” dimension of the action.¹¹⁸

(88)

Vajra *na* *sa* *kaścit* *satvo* *yas* *tathāgatena*
 NEG 3SG:NOM INDF:NOM being:NOM REL:NOM tathāgata:INS
 mocitaḥ
 liberate:PPP.NOM
 ‘There is no being the Tathāgata has liberated.’ (Vajra(S) 105.11–12)

Vajra(Kj) 實無有眾生如來度者。

shi *wu* *you* *zhongsheng* *rulai* *du* *zhe*
 truly NEG exist being thus.come liberate NMLZ
 ‘Truly there is no being the Thus-come has liberated.’ (752a7)

Vajra(Br) = Vajra(Kj) (756b9)

Vajra(Pa) 實無眾生如來所度。

shi *wu* *zhongsheng* *rulai* *suo* *du*
 truly NEG being thus.come NMLZ liberate
 ‘Truly there is no being that has been liberated by the Thus-come.’
 (765c23)

Vajra(Xz) 無少有情如來度者。

wu *shao* *youqing* *rulai* *du* *zhe*
 NEG INDF being thus.come liberate NMLZ
 ‘There is not any being the Thus-come has liberated.’ (985a9)

Vajra(Yj) 曾無有一眾生是如來度者。

ceng *wu* *you* *yi* *zhongsheng* *shi* *rulai* *du*
 ever NEG exist one being COP thus.come liberate
 zhe
 NMLZ
 ‘There has never been a being that the Thus-come has liberated.’
 (775a4–5)

4.3.2 Gerundives

Since the functional domain of the gerundive covers a wide section of the modality spectrum (as discussed in Section 2.4.2), various constructions are employed in

¹¹⁸ One cannot exclude that the *zhe* used in the four translations represents an instance of the literary construction *suo ... zhe* (see for instance *suo wei guguo zhe* 所謂故國者 ‘What one calls “an ancient kingdom”’ Mengzi, Liang Hui Wang II 梁惠王下), where the *zhe* at the end of the noun-phrase stands for the patient of the verb nominalized by *suo* and not for the agent. In our case, the nominalizer *suo* would have been deleted and thus needs to be implied.

Chinese translations to render Sanskrit gerundives. In most instances, the main verb is introduced by one of the deontic modal auxiliaries *ying* 應, *dang* 當 and *yingdang* 應當.¹¹⁹ In general, however, no passive marker is employed in translation, see for instance (89) and (90).

(89)

Vajra *iha* *subhūte* *bodhisattvayānasamprasthitair* *evam*
 now S:VOC bodhisattva.path.set_out:PPP.INS.PL thus
cittam *utpādayitavyam*
 thought:NOM produce:GRND.NOM
 ‘Now, those who have set out on the bodhisattva path should produce a thought in this way.’ (Vajra(HW) 113.7–114.1)

Vajra(Kj) 諸菩薩摩訶薩應如是降伏其心。

zhu *pusa* *mohesa* *ying* *rushi* *xiangfu* *qi*
 INDF bodhisattva mahāsattva should thus control their
xin
 mind
 ‘The *bodhisattvas mahāsattvas* should control their mind in this way.’
 (749a5–6)

Vajra(Br) 諸菩薩生如是心。

zhu *pusa* *sheng* *rushi* *xin*
 INDF bodhisattva produce thus thought
 ‘The bodhisattvas produce this kind of thought.’ (753a1)

Vajra(Pa) 須菩提，善男子、善女人發菩提心行菩薩乘，應如是發心。

Xuputi *shannanzi* *shannüren* *fa* *puti* *xin*
 S good.son good.daughter arouse bodhi intention
xing *pusa* *sheng*, *ying* *rushi* *fa* *xin*
 walk bodhisattva vehicle should thus arouse thought

¹¹⁹ Besides its original modal value, the modal auxiliary *dang* also started to acquire a future reading in Early Middle Chinese, possibly developing either from the bleaching of the unmarked deontic modal meaning and the strengthening of the future meaning implied in the deontic meaning, or from its marked epistemic meaning, see Meisterernst (2011). The functional proximity and the semantic overlapping between the future tense and the expression of deontic modality (including the gerundive) in Sanskrit have been discussed above and it is thus not surprising that *dang* is employed to translate Sanskrit gerundives. However, *dang* is mainly employed in the *Vajracchedikā* translations, as well as in the other Chinese Buddhist translations, to render Sanskrit futures (to the extent that in Dharmagupta’s translation all the futures are mechanically marked with *dang*, see Zacchetti 1996). This specialization as the marker of the future tense is probably at the basis of the replacement of *dang* 當 by *ying* 應 to express the deontic meanings generally associated with *dang* in Early Middle Chinese non-Buddhist texts, see Meisterernst (2012) and Xiong and Meisterernst (2019). Both the temporal future and modal deontic readings thus are in general possible when *dang* is employed to translate gerundives.

‘Subhūti, the son [or] daughter of a good [family], who have aroused the intention for *bodhi* [and] proceed on the bodhisattva vehicle, should arouse a thought in this way.’ (762b1–2)

Vajra(Xz) 善現，諸有發趣菩薩乘者應當發起如是之心。

Shanxian, zhu you faqu pusa sheng zhe
S INDF exist undertake bodhisattva vehicle NMLZ
yindang faqi rushi zhi xin
should arouse such GEN thought
‘Subhūti, those who have undertaken the bodhisattva vehicle should arouse such a thought.’ (980b1–2)

Vajra(Yj) 若有發趣菩薩乘者，當生如是心。

ruo you faqu pusa sheng zhe, dang
if exist undertake bodhisattva vehicle NMLZ should
sheng rushi xin
produce such thought
‘If somebody has undertaken the bodhisattva vehicle, he should produce this kind of thought.’ (772a12–13)

(90)

Vajra *te mayā sarve anupadhiśeṣe nirvāṇadhātau*
3PL:NOM 1SG:INS all:NOM.PL complete:LOC nirvāṇa.realm:LOC
parinirvāpayitavyāḥ
extinguish:GRND.NOM.PL
‘I should lead all of them to complete extinction in the realm of the complete nirvāṇa.’ (Vajra(HW) 114.3–4)

Vajra(Kj) 我皆令入無餘涅槃而滅度之。

wo jie ling ru wuyu niepan er
I all lead enter without.remainder nirvāṇa CONJ
miedu zhi
extinguish them
‘I will extinguish all of them while leading them to enter *nirvāṇa* without remainder.’ (749a8–9)

Vajra(Br) = Vajra(Kj) (753a5)

Vajra(Pa) 我皆安置於無餘涅槃。

wo jie anzhi yu wuyu niepan
I all place at without.remainder nirvāṇa
‘I will place all [of them] in the *nirvāṇa* without remainder.’ (762b5–6)

Vajra(Xz) 我當皆令於無餘依妙涅槃界而般涅槃。

wo dang jie ling yu wuyuyi
I should all lead at without.remaining.basis
miao niepanjie er banniepan
marvelous nirvāṇa.realm CONJ completely_extinguish
'I will completely extinguish all [of them] while leading [them] to the
marvellous realm of *nirvāṇa* without a remaining basis.' (980b6)

Vajra(Yj) 我皆令入無餘涅槃而滅度之。

wo jie ling ru wuyu niepan er
I all lead enter without.remainder nirvāṇa CONJ
miedu zhi
extinguish them
'I will extinguish all of them while leading them to enter *nirvāṇa* without
remainder.' (772a15–16)

The active configuration of the sentence is also chosen by the translators in some instances in which the Sanskrit agent is deleted but to be inferred from the context¹²⁰, see (91), in which the expression of modality relies also on the prohibitive particles *mo* 莫 and *wu* 勿.

(91)

Vajra na khalu punaḥ subhūte-r-evam draṣṭavyam
NEG PTC again S:VOC-thus see:GRND.NOM
'Again, Subhūti, one should not see [things] in this way.' (Vajra(S) 105.10–11)

Vajra(Kj) 須菩提，莫作是念。

Xuputi, mo zuo shi nian
S NEG make this thought
'Subhūti, do not think so!' (752a6)

Vajra(Br) = Vajra(Kj) (756b8)

Vajra(Pa) 須菩提，汝今不應作如是念。

Xuputi, ru jin bu ying zuo rushi nian

¹²⁰ One can debate the extent to which the inference of the second person agent by Chinese translators is legitimate here. In those case in which Subhūti is the addressee of a strong prohibition by the Buddha, the construction with *mā* plus the injunctive (see for instance Vajra(HW) 116.5 *mā tvam subhūte evam vocat*) is employed in place of the gerundive. The construction with the injunctive is translated by the Chinese translators using the prohibitive particles *mo* and *wu* as in (104): Vajra(Kj) 749a28, Vajra(Br) 753a26, Vajra(Pa) 762b26, Vajra(Xz) 980c6, Vajra(Yj) 772b7. There is no doubt that the two constructions (gerundive vs *mā* + injunctive) possess different shades of deontic meaning and, hence, are not functionally equivalent. The inference of the second person agent in (91) by Chinese translators is thus arguable. The Tibetan translation (131a): does not include any second person pronoun: *rab 'byor de de ltar mi blta 'o*.

S you now NEG should make such thought
'Subhūti, now you should not think so.' (765c22)

Vajra(Xz) 善現，汝今勿當作如是觀。

Shanxian, ru jin wu dang zuo rushi guan
S you now NEG should make such view
'Subhūti, now you should not see it in this way.' (985a8)

Vajra(Yj) 汝莫作是見。

ru mo zuo shi jian
you NEG make this view
'Do not see it this way!' (775a3–4)

The root possibility modal *ke* 可 parallels the other deontic modals (*ying* 應 and *dang* 當) in translating Sanskrit agentless gerundives, see for instance (92).

(92)

Vajra *yo* *'sau* *tathāgatena* *dharmo* *deśitaḥ*
REL:NOM that:NOM tathāgata:INS dharma:NOM teach:PPP.NOM
agrāhyaḥ *so* *'nabhilapyah*
grasp:GRND.NOM 3SG:NOM express:GRND.NOM
'That dharma which the Tathāgata has taught as ungraspable is ineffable.'
(Vajra(HW) 117.11–12)

Vajra(Kj) 如來所說法，皆不可取不可說。

rulai suo shuo fa, jie bu ke qu
thus.come NMLZ say dharma both NEG can grasp
bu ke shuo
NEG can say
'The dharma that the Thus-come has preached cannot be grasped and cannot be said.' (749b16)

Vajra(Br) = Vajra(Kj) (753b21–22)

Vajra(Pa) 是法如來所說，不可取不可言。

shi fa rulai suo shuo, bu ke qu bu
this dharma thus.come NMLZ say NEG can grasp NEG
ke yan
can express
'This dharma that the Thus-come has preached cannot be grasped [and] cannot be expressed.' (762c20–21)

Vajra(Xz) 如來應正等覺所證所說所思惟法，皆不可取不可宣說。

rulai ying zhengdengjue suo zheng

thus.come worthy completely.awakened NMLZ awaken
suo shuo suo siwei fa,
 NMLZ say NMLZ think dharma
jie bu ke qu bu ke xuanshuo
 both NEG can grasp NEG can express
 ‘The dharma, which the Thus-come, Worthy One, Perfectly Awakened
 One has awakened to, said and thought, cannot be grasped [and] cannot
 be expressed.’ (981a6–7)

Vajra(Yj) 佛所說法，不可取不可說。

fo suo shuo fa, bu ke qu bu ke
 buddha NMLZ say dharma NEG can grasp NEG can
shuo
 say
 ‘The dharma that the Buddha has preached cannot be grasped [and]
 cannot be said.’ (772b25)

4.3.3 Present passives

The ratio of present passives to the other two P-oriented constructions is significantly lower. I do not take into consideration those verbs which formally possess passive morphology but have an intransitive meaning similar to one of the existence verbs, as for instance *vidyate* or *saṃvidyate*. In this respect, it is not clear whether the existential/intransitive reading should also be applied to the verb *prakāśate* in (93). This example is not only interesting from a linguistic perspective, but also for its import to textual transmission and its possible doctrinal implications. The Central Asian fragment (the earliest Sanskrit manuscript) has the future form *prakāśiṣyate* (Harrison 2015: 856), which has the intransitive meaning of ‘become visible, appear’. In this earliest manuscript, the verb can thus be regarded as an instance of a “quasi-existence” verb of the same kind as (*saṃ*)*vidyate*. Vajra(Kj) and Vajra(Br) appear to confirm this reading, as the corresponding element in the two translations is the existence verb *you* 有. Both the manuscripts from Greater Gandhāra have the formally active causative form *prakāśayiṣyati* (in Vajra(S) 100.34), and the later manuscripts the corresponding *ātmanepada* form *prakāśayiṣyate* (Conze 1957: 15). Since the only morphological element distinguishing the third person singular future active and passive forms of this verb is the vowel of the ending and since the middle endings are moribund and are often replaced by the active in Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit (Edgerton 1953: §37.1), the *prakāśayiṣyati* forms in Vajra(HW) and Vajra(S) can be considered as finite passives as is the case in the later manuscripts. It seems that Vajra(Pa) and Vajra(Xz) were translated from a source-text with the causative form, as they read *xianshuo* 顯說 ‘expound’ and *kai* 開 ‘explain’. No passive marker is however employed in these two Chinese translations.

(93)

Vajra *yatra* *pr̥thivīpradeśe* *idaṃ* *sūtram*
REL earth.spot:LOC this:NOM discourse:NOM
prakāśayiṣyati
reveal:FUT.PASS.3SG
‘That spot of earth in which this discourse will be revealed.’ (Vajra(HW) 130.4)

Vajra(Kj) 在在處處若有此經。
zaizai chuchu ruo you ci jing
wherever where exist this discourse
‘Wherever this discourse is placed.’ (750c20–21)

Vajra(Br) = Vajra(Kj) (755a11–12)

Vajra(Pa) 隨所在處顯說此經。
suisuo zai chu xianshuo ci jing
where stay place reveal this discourse
‘Wherever this discourse is revealed.’ (764b16–17)

Vajra(Xz) 若地方所開此經典。
ruo difangsuo kai ci jingdian
where place.spot¹²¹ divulge this discourse
‘The spot of earth in which this discourse is divulged.’ (983b5)

Vajra(Yj) 所在之處若有此經。
suo zai zhi chu ruo you ci jing
NMLZ stay GEN place where exist this discourse
‘The place in which there is this discourse.’ (773c27)

This passage from the *Vajracchedikā* was the topic of an article by Schopen (1975), focusing on the actual meaning of the word *caityabhūta* without mentioning the issue of the verb forms discussed here. The change from the “quasi-existence” verb in the earliest Sanskrit manuscript and the early Chinese translations to the causative form in the later manuscripts, later Chinese translations and Tibetan translation (127b *ston pa* ‘teach’) could also bear some implications for the analysis of the development of the “cult of the book”. The causative form in the later recensions implies a notion of active agency in the promotion of the sūtra, which is in line with the pattern of the self-laudatory-reference of the sūtra in the rest of the text.

The most common finite passive verb-form occurring in the sūtra is by far the passive form of the root *vac-*, always employed in the expression *tena ucyate*, translated in Chinese without the use of any passive marker, see for instance (94).

¹²¹ Cf. Hirakawa (1997: 291), who gives *pr̥thivī-pradeśa* as the underlying form of *difangsuo* 地方所. Alternatively, one can consider *suo* as a nominalizer taking the verb-phrase 開此經典, translating the Sanskrit relative clause.

(94)

Vajra *tenocyate* *srotāpanna* *iti*
3SG:INS=say:PRS.PASS.3SG stream.enterer:NOM QUOT
‘Therefore it is said “a stream enterer”.’ (Vajra(HW) 118.14)

Vajra(Kj) 是名須陀洹。

shi *ming* *xutuohuan*
that name srotāpanna
‘It is named *srotāpanna*.’ (749b29)

Vajra(Br) = Vajra(Kj) (753c7)

Vajra(Pa) 故說須陀洹。

gu *shuo* *xutuohuan*
therefore say srotāpanna
‘Therefore one says “*srotāpanna*”.’ (763a8)

Vajra(Xz) 故名預流。

gu *ming* *yuliu*
therefore name stream.entry
‘Therefore it is named “stream-entry”.’ (981a28)

Vajra(Yj) = Vajra(Xz) (772c11)

The verb *upalabhyate* is the second most used finite passive verb occurring in the *Vajracchedikā*, generally translated into Chinese as *de* 得 ‘attain’, and often with the modal *ke* 可, see for instance (95) and (96).

(95)

Vajra *atītaṃ* *subhūte* *cittaṃ* *nopalabhyate* /
past:NOM S:VOC thought:NOM NEG=apprehend:PRS.PASS.3SG
anāgataṃ *cittaṃ* *nopalabhyate* /
future:NOM thought:NOM NEG=apprehend:PRS.PASS.3SG
pratyutpannaṃ *nopalabhyate*
present:NOM NEG=apprehend:PRS.PASS.3SG
‘Subhūti, a past thought is not apprehended, a future thought is not apprehended, a present [thought] is not apprehended.’ (Vajra(S) 103.22–24)

Vajra(Kj) 須菩提，過去心不可得，現在心不可得，未來心不可得。

Xuputi, *guoqu* *xin* *bu* *ke* *de*, *xianzai* *xin*
S past thought NEG can attain present thought
bu *ke* *de*, *weilai* *xin* *bu* *ke* *de*
NEG can attain future thought NEG can attain

‘Subhūti, a past thought cannot be attained, a future thought cannot be attained, a present thought cannot be attained.’ (751b27–28)

Vajra(Br) = Vajra(Kj) (751b 26–27)

Vajra(Pa) = Vajra(Kj) (765b7–8)

Vajra(Xz) 善現，過去心不可得，未來心不可得，現在心不可得。

Shanxian, guoqu xin bu ke de, weilai xin
S past thought NEG can attain future thought
bu ke de, xianzai xin bu ke de
NEG can attain present thought NEG can attain
‘Subhūti, a past thought cannot be attained, a future thought cannot be attained, a present thought cannot be attained.’ (984b16–7)

Vajra(Yj) 妙生，過去心不可得，未來心不可得，現在心不可得。

Miaosheng, guoqu xin bu ke de, weilai xin
S past thought NEG can attain future thought
bu ke de, xianzai xin bu ke de
NEG can attain present thought NEG can attain
‘Subhūti, a past thought cannot be attained, a future thought cannot be attained, a present thought cannot be attained.’ (774b28–29)

(96)

Vajra *aṇur api tatra dharmo na samvidyate*
minute:NOM PTC there dharma:NOM NEG know:PRS.PASS3SG
nopalabhyate
NEG=apprehend:PRS.PASS.3SG
‘Not even a minute dharma is found or is apprehended there.’ (Vajra(S)
104.27–28)

Vajra(Kj) 乃至無有少法可得。

naizhi wu you shao fa ke de
even NEG exist small dharma can attain
‘There is not even a small dharma that can be attained.’ (751c22–23)

Vajra(Br) = Vajra(Kj) (756a24)

Vajra(Pa) 乃至無有如微塵法，如來所捨，如來所得。

naizhi wu you ru weichen fa,
even NEG exist such tiny.particle dharma
rulai suo she, rulai suo de
thus.come NMLZ abandon thus.come NMLZ attain

‘There is not even a dharma such as a tiny particle that the Thus-come has abandoned¹²², that the Thus-come has attained.’ (765c5–6)

Vajra(Xz) 於中少法，無有無得。

yuzhong shao fa, wu you wu de
therein minute dharma NEG exist NEG attain
‘Therein a minute dharma is not something that exists, is not something that is attained.’ (984c20)

Vajra(Yj) 此中無有少法可得。

cizhong wu you shao fa ke de
here NEG exist minute dharma can attain
‘Here there is not a minute dharma that can be attained.’ (774c20)

The only other instance of present passives is represented by the doublet *prajñāpyamānaḥ prajñāpyate* (present passive participle + present passive) in (97).

(97)

Vajra yāvat satvadhātuḥ prajñāpyamānaḥ
as_far being.realm:NOM declare:PTCP.PRS.PASS.NOM
prajñāpyate
declare:PRS.PASS3SG
‘As far as the realm of beings is declared while being declared.’
(Vajra(HW) 114.3)

Vajra(Kj) -

Vajra(Br) 所有眾生界眾生所攝。

suo you zhongshengjie zhongsheng suo she
NMLZ exist being.realm being NMLZ include
‘Including the beings of [all] the realms in which there are beings.’
(753a4)

Vajra(Pa) 乃至眾生界及假名說。

naizhi zhongshengjie ji jiaming shuo
as_far being.realm reach nominally declare
‘As far as the realm of beings [one] reaches to nominally declare.’
(762b4–5)

Vajra(Xz) 乃至有情界施設所施設。

naizhi youqingjie shishe suo shishe
as_far being.realm define NMLZ define

¹²² This short expansion by Paramārtha is not reflected by any other parallel.

‘As far as a declaration of the realm of beings is declared.’ (980b5)

Vajra(Yj) 盡諸世界所有眾生。

jin zhu shijie suo you zhongsheng

all INDF world NMLZ exist being

‘All the existing beings of all the worlds.’ (772a15)

4.3.4 The *wei* 為 construction

Above in (86), it was observed that the copula *wei* is employed in an instance of the *wei* V construction. Other examples are found in the five translations of the *Vajracchedikā*, although they do not translate any Indo-Aryan P-oriented constructions. In this section I will illustrate the use of the copula *wei* in the Chinese translations of the *Vajracchedikā*, discussing the cases in which the copula *wei* can be considered as being used within a genuine *wei* construction and those in which it simply serves as a copula.

Before illustrating the use of *wei* as a copula, it might be helpful to provide an example in which *wei* is used as a preposition. In (98) the preposition *wei* introduces a recipient placed in preverbal position.

(98)

Vajra *parebhyo deśayet samprakāśayed*

other:DAT.PL teach:OPT.3SG fully_explain:OPT.3SG

‘[If he] were to teach [it] and fully explain [it] to others.’ (Vajra(HW) 118.6–7)

Vajra(Kj) 為他人說。

wei ta ren shuo

to other people teach

‘[If he] were to teach [it] to other people.’ (749b22)

Vajra(Br) = Vajra(Kj) (753c2)

Vajra(Pa) 為他正說，顯示其義。

wei ta zheng shuo, xianshi qi yi

to other accurately teach explain its meaning

‘[If he] were to accurately teach [it] to others [and] explain its meaning.’ (763a1)

Vajra(Xz) 廣為他宣說，開示。

guang wei ta xuanshuo, kaishi

extensively to other teach explain

‘[If he] were to extensively teach [it] to others and explain [it].’ (981a19)

Vajra(Yj) 為他演說。

wei ta yanshuo
to other teach

‘[If he] were to teach [it] to others.’ (772c4)

However, the most common use of *wei* is as a copula, expressing an equivalence meaning (i.e. relation of identity); see for instance (99), where the use of *wei* by Kumārajīva and Bodhiruci is paralleled by the use of the copula *shi* 是 by Paramārtha.

(99)

Vajra *sacet subhūte teṣāṃ bodhisatvānāṃ dharmasaṃjñā*
if S:VOC 3PL:GEN bodhisattva:GEN.PL dharma.idea:NOM
pravartsyate sa eva teṣāṃ ātmagrāho
occur:FUT.3SG 3SG:NOM PTC 3PL:GEN self.seizing:NOM
bhavet
become:OPT.3SG

‘If, Subhūti, the idea of a dharma were to occur to them, that would surely be seizing upon a self by them.’ (Vajra(HW) 116.14–117.1)

Vajra(Kj) 是諸眾生，若心取相，則為著我。

shi zhu zhongsheng, ruo xin qu xiang, ze
those INDF being if mind seize concept CONJ
wei zhuo wo
COP cling self

‘Those beings, if [their] mind were to seize a notion, then that would be clinging to a self.’ (749b6–7)

Vajra(Br) 是諸菩薩，若取法相，則為著我。

shi zhu pusa, ruo qu faxiang, ze
those INDF bodhisattva if seize dharma.concept CONJ
wei zhuo wo
COP cling self

‘Those *bodhisattvas*, if they were to seize the notion of a dharma, then that would be clinging to a self.’ (753b11–12)

Vajra(Pa) 是諸菩薩，若有法想即是我執。

shi zhu pusa, ruo you faxiang ji shi
those INDF bodhisattva if exist dharma.notion CONJ COP
wozhi
self.grasp

‘Those *bodhisattvas*, if [they] were to have the notion of a dharma, that would be grasping on a self.’ (762c11–12)

Vajra(Xz) 若菩薩摩訶薩有法想轉，彼即應有我執。

ruo pusa mohesa you faxiang zhuan,

if bodhisattva mahāsattva exist dharma.concept occurrence
 bi ji ying you wozhi
 he CONJ should exist self.grasp
 ‘If a *bodhisattva mahāsattva* were to have an occurrence of the concept of a dharma, then the grasping on a self should occur to him.’ (980c22–23)

Vajra(Yj) 若彼菩薩有法想，即有我執。

ruo bi pusa you faxiang, ji you
 if that bodhisattva exist dharma.concept CONJ have
 wozhi
 self.grasp
 ‘If that *bodhisattva* were to have the concept of a dharma, that would be to have a grasping on a self.’ (772b16–17)

As shown in the last example, the copula *wei* (as well as *shi* 是) is often employed in combination with the conjunctions *ze* 則 and *ji* 即; see in particular Vajra(Kj), Vajra(Br) and Vajra(Pa). In (100), the copula is followed by a nominal element, but in other cases the syntagm *ze wei* 則為/*ji wei* 即為 takes a verbal element or even a sentence as its complement. This fact is clearly observable in a group of examples which consist of the formula that states that the Buddha acknowledges the merit of the people practising “the cult of the book”. The formula occurs three times in the sūtra. I have already partially quoted one of the occurrences in (79), I provide here all the three occurrences to give a better overview of the use of the copula. For reasons of space, however, I do not provide here the glosses and the English translation of all the quotations.

	(100a)	(100b)	(100c)
Vajra	<i>ye imeṣv evaṃrūpeṣu</i> <i>sūtrāṃtapadeṣu</i> <i>bhāṣyamāṇeṣv</i> <i>ekacittaprasāda-</i> <i>mātram api</i> <i>pratilapsyaṃte /</i> <i>jñātās te subhūte</i> <i>tathāgatena</i> <i>drṣṭās te subhūte</i> <i>tathāgatena</i> (Vajra(HW) 116.8–10)	<i>ye kulaputrā vā</i> <i>kuladuhitaro vā imaṃ</i> <i>dharmaparyāyam</i> <i>udgrahīṣyaṃti /</i> <i>dhārayiṣyaṃti /</i> <i>vācayiṣyaṃti /</i> <i>paryavāpsyāṃti /</i> <i>jñātās te subhūte</i> <i>tathāgatena</i> <i>drṣṭās te</i> <i>subhūte tathāgatena</i> (Vajra(HW) 128.8–10)	<i>ye imaṃ</i> <i>dharmaparyāyam</i> <i>udgrahīṣyaṃti /</i> <i>dhārayiṣyaṃti /</i> <i>vācayiṣyaṃti /</i> <i>paryavāpsyāṃti /</i> <i>jñātās te subhūte</i> <i>tathāgatena drṣṭās te</i> <i>subhūte tathāgatena</i> (Vajra(HW) 129.8–10)
Vajra(Kj)	是人[...]聞是章句， 乃至一念生淨信	若有善男子、善女人 能於此經受持讀誦，	若有人能受持讀 誦，廣為人說，如

	者，須菩提，如來 悉知悉見。(749b1– 4)	則為如來以佛智慧， 悉知是人，悉見是 人。(750c3–5)	來悉知是人，悉見 是人。(750c14–15)
Vajra(Br)	聞是修多羅，乃至 一念能生淨信，須 菩提，如來悉知是 諸眾生，如來悉見 是諸眾生。(753b5– 7)	若有善男子、善女人 能於此法門受持讀誦 修行，則為如來以佛 智慧悉知是人，悉見 是人，悉覺是人。 (754c21–23)	若有人能受持讀誦 修行此經，廣為人 說，如來悉知是 人，悉見是人。 (755a4–5)
Vajra(Pa)	若有善男子、善女 人聽聞正說如是等 相此經章句，乃至 一念生實信者，須 菩提，如來悉知是 人，悉見是人。 (762c5–7)	若有善男子、善女 人，受持讀誦修行， 為他正說如是經典， 如來悉知是人，悉見 是人。 (764a27–29)	若復有人，於未來 世，受持讀誦，教 他修行，正說是 經，如來悉知是 人，悉見是人。 (764b10–11)
Vajra(Xz)	彼菩薩摩訶薩[...]乃 能聞說如是色經典 句，當得一淨信 心，善現，如來以 其佛智悉已知彼， 如來以其佛眼悉已 見彼。 (980c12–16)	若善男子或善女人於 此法門受持、讀誦、 究竟通利，及廣為他 宣說、開示、如理作 意，則為如來以其佛 智悉知是人，則為如 來以其佛眼悉見是 人，則為如來悉覺是 人。 (983a4–7)	若有於此法門受 持、讀誦、究竟通 利，及廣為他宣 說、開示、如理作 意，即為如來以其 佛智悉知是人，即 為如來以其佛眼悉 見是人，則為如來 悉覺是人。 (983a21–5)
Vajra(Yj)	是人乃能於此經典 生一信心，妙生， 如來悉知是人，悉 見是人。 (772b11–13)	若有善男子、善女人 能於此經受持讀誦， 為他演說，如是之 人，佛以智眼悉知悉 見。(773c12–14)	若有人能受持讀 誦，廣為他說，如 來悉知悉見是人。 (773c21–23)

Looking at all the examples synoptically, there appears not to be any specific pattern for the employment of the copula: Kumārajīva and Bodhiruci use the copula only in (100b), Xuanzang employs it in both (100b) and (100c), while it is not used at all by Paramārtha and Yijing, despite the fact that the three Sanskrit passages are virtually the same. On the basis of the absence of a pattern, I would dismiss the explanation

given by Wang (2018: 201–204) for the use *wei* in this group of examples, i.e. to keep the “subject” of this long passage in “subject position” (more correctly, to maintain topic consistency)¹²³ in to in the second clause as well. The fact that the copula occurs only optionally would show that its employment is not motivated by syntactic demands. It is more reasonable to conclude that the use of the copula *wei* in this cluster of examples is connected to the conjunctions *ze* 則 and *ji* 即, and the syntagms *ze wei* and *ji wei* are used as emphasers, which explains why they are employed only optionally in this context.¹²⁴

The syntagm *ze wei* is also found in three of the Chinese translations of (101), i.e. Vajra(Kj), Vajra(Br) and Vajra(Pa). In this case, it is more difficult to tell whether the copula serves as an emphaser, as in (100), or if it is genuinely employed in a passive construction. The verb in the Sanskrit source-passage (i.e. *kṣapayaṣyamti*), which corresponds to a Chinese verb (*xiaomie* 消滅) preceded by a copula, is morphologically active, referring to the genitive possessor *teṣāṃ satvānām*, and entails a strong causative meaning. On the other hand, the syntax of the Sanskrit source-passage is quite complex and it is possible that some of the translators employed the *wei* construction to maintain the topic consistency in the passage. Alternatively, one could also take the verb *xiaomie* as an intransitive anticausative verb with the sense of ‘be vanished, disappear’ referring to ‘the demeritorious acts of the former births’ (Ch. *xianshi zuiye* 先世罪業) with *ze wei* again serving as an emphaser.

(101)

Vajra	<i>yāni</i>	<i>teṣāṃ</i>	<i>satvānām</i>	<i>paurvajānmikāni</i>
	REL:NOM.PL	3PL:GEN	being:GEN.PL	of_former_birth:NOM.PL
	<i>karmāṇi</i>	<i>kṛtāny</i>	<i>apāyasamvartanīyāni</i>	<i>drṣṭa</i>
	act:NOM.PL	do:PPP.NOM.PL	hell_leading:NOM.PL	present:LOC
	<i>eva dharme</i>	<i>paribhūtatayā</i>	<i>pūrvajānmikāny</i>	
	PTC	existence:LOC	being_despised.DAT	of_former_birth:NOM.PL
	<i>aśubhāni</i>	<i>karmāṇi</i>	<i>kṣapayaṣyamti</i>	
	demeritorious:NOM.PL	act:NOM.PL	exhaust:FUT.3PL	
	‘The acts leading to hell which those beings have done in former births, by being despised, they will exhaust the demeritorious acts of their former births in this existence.’ (Vajra(HW) 130.10–11)			

Vajra(Kj) 是人先世罪業應墮惡道，以今世人輕賤故，先世罪業則為消滅。

<i>shi</i>	<i>ren</i>	<i>xianshi</i>	<i>zuiye</i>	<i>yingsuiedao,</i>
those	people	former.life	demeritorious.act	leading.evil.way

¹²³ The *wei* construction is without doubt generally used with patients in topical position, as will be shown in the next chapters. It has been often proposed that one of the functions of passives, cross-linguistically, is to maintain inter-clausal topic consistency, which roughly corresponds to Wang’s point, as I will discuss more in detail in Chapter 7. This, however, does not seem to be the case of example (100).

¹²⁴ See Karashima (2010: 440) for the use of the extended form *shi jiwei* 是即為 / *shi zewei* 是則為 in Lokakṣema’s translation of the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā*.

yi jinshi ren qingjian gu, xianshi
 with present.life people despise cause former.life
zuiye ze wei xiaomie
 demeritorious.act CONJ COP eliminate

‘The demeritorious acts of former existences which lead to hell [done by] these people, by being despised by [other] people in the present existence, those demeritorious acts of former existences will be eliminated.’ (750c25–26)

Vajra(Br) = Vajra(Kj) (755a16–17)

Vajra(Pa) 此人現身受輕賤等，過去世中所造惡業應感生後惡道果報，以於現身受輕苦故，先世罪業及苦果報則為消滅。

ci ren xianshen shou qingjian deng,
 these people present.life suffer despise so_forth
guoqushi zhong suo zao eye yingganshenghouedao
 former.life during NMLZ do evil.act lead_to_rebirth_in_hell
guobao, yi yu xianshen shou qingku gu,
 retribution use at present.existence suffer despise cause
xianshi zuiye ji kuguobao ze
 former.life demeritorious.act and painful.retribution CONJ
wei xiaomie
 COP eliminate

‘[As for] the karmic retribution, leading to rebirth in hell, [deriving from] the evil acts that these people, [who] suffer despising in the present existence, did [in a former existence], by suffering despising in the present [existence], the demeritorious acts and the painful retribution of the former existences will be eliminated.’ (764b20–23)

Vajra(Xz) 是諸有情宿生所造諸不淨業，應感惡趣，以現法中遭輕毀故，宿生所造諸不淨業皆悉消盡。

shi zhu youqing susheng suo zao bujingye,
 these INDF being former.life NMLZ do impure.act
yingganequ, yi xianfa zhong zao qinghui
 lead_to_hell with present.existence during suffer despise
gu susheng suo zao zhu bujingye jie
 cause former.life NMLZ do INDF impure.act all
xi xiaojin
 completely exhaust

‘The impure acts that these beings have done in former existences, leading to the hells, by suffering despising in the present existence, those impure acts made in former existences will be completely exhausted.’ (983b10–13)

Vajra(Yj) 是人於前世中造諸惡業，應墮惡道，由於現在得遭輕辱，此為善事，能盡惡業。

shi ren yu qianshi zhong zao zhu eye,
those people at former.life during do INDF evil.act
yingsuiedao, you yu xianzai de zao qingru,
lead_to_hell from at present attain suffer despise
ci wei shanshi, neng jin eye
these COP good.act be_able exhaust unwholesome.act
‘The evil acts, leading to the hells, which these people have done in
former existences, by suffering the despising in the present [existence],
they will become good deeds and [they] will be able to exhaust the evil
acts.’ (774a3–4)

A last instance of the syntagm *ze wei* is also worth discussing. In (102), both Vajra(Kj) and Vajra(Br) use the syntagm before *shi* 是, which could be parsed as a demonstrative pronoun or another copula. In the latter case, the syntagm *ze wei* would then have a purely emphatic function. Interestingly, *ze wei shi* 則為是 in Vajra(Kj) and Vajra(Br) is paralleled by *ze shi* 則是 in Vajra(Yj). The syntagm *ji cheng* 即成 in Vajra(Pa) possibly has the same function also: the verb *cheng* ‘become’ translates the dynamic copula *bhavati* in the source-text, a dynamic meaning which would be also conveyed by the copula *wei*. What is more interesting here, however, is Xuanzang’s translation: in this case we have an instance of the *wei A zhi suo V* construction. Here, *wei* clearly serves as a copula selecting a nominalized verb-phrase: the nominal value of the phrase, corresponding to the gerundive *vandanīyah* in the source-text, is confirmed by the presence of the genitive particle *zhi* 之 in front of the nominalizer *suo*.¹²⁵

(102)

Vajra *yatra prthivīpradeśe idaṃ sūtram*
REL.LOC earth.spot:LOC this:NOM discourse:NOM
prakāśayiṣyati / pūjanīyah sa prthivīpradeśo
reveal:FUT.PASS.3SG worship:GRND.NOM 3SG:NOM earth.spot:NOM
bhaviṣyati sadevamānuṣāsurasya lokasya
become:FUT.3SG with.god.men.demigod:GEN world:GEN
vandanīyah pradakṣiṇīkaraṇīyaś ca
venerate:GRND.NOM circumambulation.make:GRND.NOM and
sa prthivīpradeśo bhaviṣyati / caitya sa
3SG:NOM earth.spot:NOM become:FUT.3SG shrine:NOM 3SG:NOM
prthivīpradeśo bhaviṣyati
earth.spot:NOM become:FUT.3SG

¹²⁵ There is another occurrence akin to this passage in the sūtra (Vajra(HW) 130.15.1–3). The treatment by the five translators is virtually the same as in (102), see Vajra(Kj) 750a6–8, Vajra(Br) 754a19–21, Vajra(Pa) 763b19–22, Vajra(Xz) 981c28–9 and Vajra(Yj) 773a18–20.

‘The spot of earth, in which this discourse will be revealed, will become a spot of earth worthy of worship, worthy of veneration and worthy of being circumambulated by the world with its gods, human beings and asuras, it will become a shrine.’ (Vajra(HW) 130.4–6)

Vajra(Kj) 在在處處若有此經，一切世間天、人、阿修羅所應供養，當知此處則為是塔，皆應恭敬作禮圍繞以諸華香而散其處。

zaizai chuchu ruo you ci jing, yiqie shijian
 wherever where exist this discourse all world
 tian ren axiuluo suo ying gongyang, dang
 god human asura NMLZ should worship will
 zhi ci chu ze wei shi ta, jie
 know this place CONJ COP that/COP? shrine all
 ying gongjing zuo li weirao yi
 should venerate make ritual circumambulation with
 zhu hua xiang er sa qi chu
 INDF flower incense CONJ strew that place

‘Whatever place where this discourse is found should be worshipped by all the gods, human beings and *asuras* in the world, that place should be known as such a shrine that everyone should venerate and circumambulate by strewing various flowers and incenses on it.’ (750c20–23)

Vajra(Br) = Vajra(Kj) (755a11–4)

Vajra(Pa) 隨所在處顯說此經一切世間天、人、阿修羅等皆應供養、作禮右遶，當知此處於世間中即成支提。

suisuo zai chu xianshuo ci jing yiqie
 where stay place reveal this discourse all
 shijian tian ren axiuluo deng jie
 world god men asura so_forth completely
 ying gongyang zuo li yourao,
 should worship make ritual circumambulation
 dang zhi ci chu yu shijian zhong ji
 will know this place at world in CONJ
 cheng zhiti
 become caitya

‘In whatever place this discourse is revealed, all the gods, human beings and *asuras* in the world should venerate and circumambulate [it], that place will be known as a *caitya* in the world.’ (764b16–9)

Vajra(Xz) 若地方所開此經典，此地方所當為世間諸天及人、阿素洛等之所供養、禮敬右遶，如佛靈廟。

ruo difangsuo kai ci jingdian, ci difangsuo
 REL place.spot explain this discourse this earth.spot
dang wei shijie zhu tian ji ren asuluo
 will COP world INDF god and men asura
deng zhi suo gongyang lijing yourao,
 so_forth GEN NMLZ worship venerate circumambulate
ru folingmiao
 like buddha.shrine
 ‘The spot of earth in which this discourse is explained will become [a
 place] worshipped and circumambulated by gods, human beings and
asuras like a Buddha-shrine.’ (983b5–7)

Vajra(Yj) 所在之處若有此經，當知此處則是制底一切世間天、人、阿蘇羅
 所應恭敬，作禮圍繞，以諸香花供養其處。

suo zai zhi chu ruo you ci jing,
 NMLZ stay GEN place which exist this discourse
dang zhi ci chu ze shi zhidi yiqie
 will know this place CONJ COP caitya all
shijie tian ren asuluo suo ying gongjing
 world god men asura NMLZ should venerate
zuo li weirao, yi zhu xiang
 make ritual circumambulation with INDF incense
hua gongyang qi chu
 flower worship that place
 ‘The place in which this discourse is found will be known as a *caitya*,
 venerated and circumambulated with various incenses and flowers by
 the gods, human beings and *asuras* in all the worlds.’ (773c27–29)

The most interesting example of passive constructions contained in the five Chinese translations of the *Vajracchedikā* is illustrated in (103), already partially discussed in Chapter 2 as (27b). The Sanskrit source-passage consists of an active clause with a nominative agent (*kalimgarājā*), a finite active verb (the aorist *acchetsin*) and an accusative patient (*aṃgapratyaṃgāni*), whereas an external possessor (*me*) is fronted in topical position.¹²⁶ In all the Chinese translations, the element corresponding to the

¹²⁶ It is also possible to analyse the clitic *me* as an adnominal possessor of the accusative *aṃgapratyaṃgāni*, as done for instance by Harrison (2006: 149). However, as discussed by Haig (2008: 64–70) through his analysis of Old Persian data, where the genitive case has absorbed all or part of the original functions of the dative, as in Indo-Iranian, it is often difficult to draw a clear distinction between the attributive adnominal interpretation and the external possession interpretation. In this case, the fact that the genitive/dative pronoun occurs as the second constituent of the clause and not in the proximity of the head of its putative noun-phrase (i.e. *aṃgapratyaṃgāni*) supports the external-possession interpretation in terms of Haspelmath’s (1999: 109) definition of “external-possession construction”: “In an external-possession construction, a possessive modifier does not occur as a dependent constituent of the modified NP, but NP-externally as a constituent of the clause.”

Sanskrit external possessor (i.e. *wo* 我) is also kept in topical position, being then followed by the copula *wei* 為, which introduces a second active clause.

(103)

Vajra *yadā* *me* *subhūte* *kalīṅgarājā* *aṃgapratyaṃgāny*
 when 1SG:GEN S:VOC K.king:NOM limb.extremities:ACC.PL
acchetsīn
 cut:AOR.3SG
 ‘Subhūti, when the king Kālīṅga cut off limbs and extremities to me.’
 (Vajra(HW) 126.10)

Vajra(Kj) 須菩提，如我昔為歌利王割截身體。

Xuputi, ru wo xi wei Geliwang gejie shenti
 S when I formerly COP K.king cut body
 ‘Subhūti, when in a past time the king Kālīṅga cut the body into pieces
 to me.’ (750b14–15)

Vajra(Br) = Vajra(Kj) (754c3)

Vajra(Pa) 須菩提，昔時我為迦陵伽王斬斫身體。

Xuputi, xi shi wo wei Jialingqiewang zhanzhuo
 S formerly time I COP K.king cut_off
shenti
 body
 ‘Subhūti, when in a past time the king Kālīṅga cut off the body to me.’
 (764a6–7)

Vajra(Xz) 善現，我昔過去世曾為羯利王斷支節肉。

Shanxian, wo xi guoqu shi ceng wei
 S I formerly past time already COP
Jieliwang duan zhijie rou
 K.king cut limb flesh
 ‘Subhūti, when in a past time the king Kālīṅga cut off the flesh of the
 limbs to me.’ (982c2)

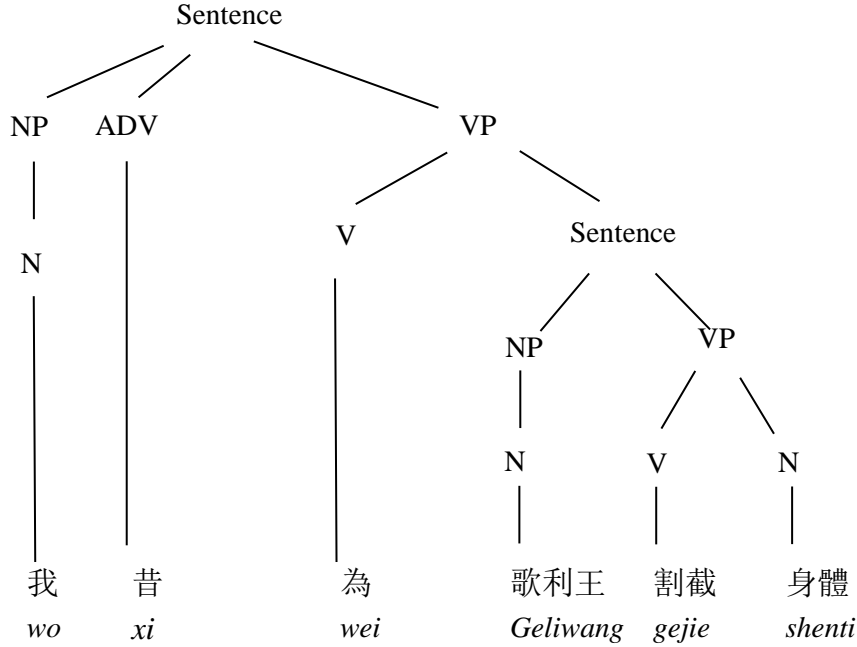
Vajra(Yj) 如我昔為羯陵伽王割截支體。

ru wo xi wei Jielingqiewang gejie zhiti
 when I formerly COP K.king cut limb.body
 ‘When in a past time the king Kālīṅga cut off the limbs and the body to
 me.’ (773b23–24)

As discussed in Chapter 3, I believe that analysing *wei* as a copula (or at least as a full-verb) taking either a nominalized verb-phrase or a sentence, as in (103), is the simplest and most clear-cut way of coherently addressing the various types of usages

of the *wei* construction from a syntactic perspective. The syntactic structure of (103) thus can be parsed as in Figure 4.1 (I use here Vajra(Kj) as the standard example, but the same basic analysis can be applied to all the other translations).

Figure 4.1: Syntactic structure of (103)



4.4 Summary

The analysis of the data from the Chinese translations of the *Vajracchedikā* shows there is no direct relationship between the presence of a P-oriented construction in the Sanskrit source-text and the use of passives in Chinese translations, as only a small number of the Sanskrit P-oriented constructions correspond to Chinese passives in the translation. What is more, in certain cases, as for instance in (103), the Chinese passive construction corresponds to an active sentence in the Sanskrit source-text. The use of passive constructions in the Chinese translations with respect to the Sanskrit source-text, hence, appear motivated by a complex interplay of several factors. They not only pertain to the syntax of the source-passage but also to its semantics and pragmatics, as for instance when an affected topic is present. In the next two chapters it will be shown that this general consideration also applies to the analysis of longer texts.

Chapter 5: A study of the Chinese translations of the *Larger Prajñāpāramitā*

5.1 Textual background

A detailed discussion concerning the textual background of the *Larger Prajñāpāramitā* (hereafter = LP), including a list of the various parallels in Sanskrit, Tibetan, Chinese and in other languages is provided in Zacchetti (2005, 2015: 184–190). Since the textual history of the sūtra is not the main object of my study, I will only address some general issues.¹²⁷

The first problem concerns the name *Larger Prajñāpāramitā* itself and the relationship with the extant texts that can be grouped under this category. Zacchetti (2005: 36, 2015: 177–178, 2021: 23) uses the definition “textual (or scriptural) family” in connection with *Larger Prajñāpāramitā* to denote the sense of “a group of texts that share a number of common features in structure, content, wording, etc. They exhibit a family resemblance, so to speak, fluid and not always easy to define, but significant enough to set them apart from other texts [...] as a distinct group” (2005: 36). The members of this textual family, according to Zacchetti, can be divided and grouped on the basis of two different parameters: the first parameter is the one on which the classical classification of LP is based, namely its size. According to this division, we have three classical versions (or “redactions” in Conze’s terms) distinguished on the basis of the number of stanzas (Skt. *śloka*), namely in 100,000 stanzas (*Śatasāhasrikā*, hereafter = *Śata*), in 25,000 (*Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikā*, hereafter = *Pañca*) and in 18,000 (*Aṣṭādaśasāhasrikā*, hereafter = *Aṣṭādaśa*).

This division, based on Xuanzang’s translations (and to a lesser extent on the Tibetan Kanjur and on the Nepalese manuscripts), has been often taken as the normative standard in the study of the *Prajñāpāramitā* literature. Such an approach, however, is problematic: historically speaking, Xuanzang’s subdivision reflects a later stage in the textual development of the sūtra. The analysis of the historical sources, as well as the state of the earliest Chinese translations of LP, show that the text was rather fluid in the beginning, ranging from 17,000 to 22,000 stanzas, and was simply designated as the ‘Larger Version’ (Ch. *dapin* 大品).¹²⁸ We do not possess traces of the threefold canonical classification prior to the 6th century CE, an attestation that, incidentally, comes from a Chinese source.¹²⁹ As claimed by Zacchetti, there is no

¹²⁷ The fundamental work on the relationship of LP with other *Prajñāpāramitā* texts is Conze (1978), although many of Conze’s claims need to be reviewed, especially in light of Zacchetti’s (2005, 2015, 2021) work. See also Nattier (2003: 62, fn. 19) and Zacchetti (2005: 36, fn. 144) for bibliographical information concerning research on the issue in Japanese scholarship.

¹²⁸ Cf. the name of Kumārajīva’s translation of the sūtra *Mohe banre boluomi jing* 摩訶般若波羅蜜經, namely *Mahāprajñāpāramitā* ‘Larger Prajñāpāramitā’. The name given in the Sanskrit manuscript from Gilgit (see below) is simply *Prajñāpāramitā*, which also supports that the most historically accurate title of the sūtra is *Larger Prajñāpāramitā* (Zacchetti 2015: 187). The colophon of the Gilgit manuscript has been edited thrice by von Hinüber (1980, 2004: 17–18, 2017).

¹²⁹ This early mention of the classification is found in Bodhiruci’s *Jingang xian lun* 金剛仙論 (T1512). See Zacchetti (2005: 40, fn. 167) for the complete citation and translation of the original passage.

reason to believe that this threefold classification reflects the textual situation of the sūtra in India or Central Asia. Coeval Sanskrit manuscripts, on the contrary, present a textual stage closer to the older form of LP. The name *Larger Prajñāpāramitā* thus represents a more historically accurate description of the earliest status of the text than the use of one of the three versions (i.e. *Śata*, *Pañca* and *Aṣṭādaśa*).¹³⁰

A second subgrouping of texts belonging to the LP “family” can be outlined on the basis of the content and the wording of the texts. This different approach aims to outline the possible line of transmissions (called by Zacchetti “recensions”) of the text. Before presenting the groups pinpointed by Zacchetti according to this parameter, it is however necessary to give an overview of the attested texts belonging to LP, focusing on the texts that are particularly relevant for the present investigation.

A significant number of Sanskrit manuscripts of LP have survived; they differ considerably in terms of their temporal and geographical coordinates, as well as regards their size. A comprehensive discussion on the textual and historical relationships of all the extant Sanskrit manuscripts falls beyond the scope of this work. I will thus only briefly introduce the Sanskrit sources that I employed.¹³¹ The first Sanskrit source belongs to the group of manuscripts discovered in 1931 in Gilgit¹³², hereafter = PG (meant as [*Larger*] *Prajñāpāramitā* from Gilgit), among which there are three manuscripts of LP preserved in the National Archives of India. The first one is a nearly complete birch bark manuscript which was originally given the serial numbers 24, 25 and 28; the other two are given the serial numbers 26–27, and 50 and 52.¹³³ The first manuscript is the larger and most studied among the three and can be dated on palaeographical grounds to the 6th–7th centuries.¹³⁴ It is accessible in three facsimile editions: the first two by Vira and Chandra (1966–1970 and 1995), the most recent by Karashima et al. (2016), which includes high-quality colour photographs and is part of a wider editorial project on the Gilgit corpus by the National Archives of India and the International Research Institute for Advanced Buddhism (Soka University). A facsimile edition of the other two fragmentary LP manuscripts from

¹³⁰ See also Bongard-Levin and Hori’s (1996) discussion on the issue.

¹³¹ See Zacchetti (2005: 17–19, fns. 53–54) for a partial list of the extant Sanskrit manuscripts. Among the findings not yet known to Zacchetti at the time, one should mention several Central Asian fragments preserved in the National Library of China (edited by Ye 2013a), as well as a Gilgit/Bamiyan type I manuscript from the Kurita collection, identified by Karashima (2017: 13; cf. also DiSimone 2023: 156, fn. 129). Moreover, the two Central Asian fragments, vert. 42 and 43, from the Pelliot Collection, tentatively classified by Hartmann and Wille (2014: 216) as a “*Prajñāpāramitā* text”, have recently been confirmed by Athanaric Huard (p.c.) to contain portions of the LP.

¹³² See von Hinüber (1979, 2014) and Fussman (2004) for a description of the circumstances under which the manuscripts were discovered and for a detailed discussion of the Gilgit corpus.

¹³³ von Hinüber (2014: 102–103), Karashima (2019). The folios classified under serial no. 52 include two portions of text with parallels in LP, which von Hinüber (2014:108) classifies as 52d.3 and 52d.4.

¹³⁴ There are two types of standardized scripts used in the Gilgit corpus, which Sander (1968: 122–123, 137) refers to as Gilgit/Bāmiyān type I (also called “round Gupta,” since both are attested in Afghanistan) and type II (also called “Proto-Śāradā”, Sander 1989: 108). The former probably developed in the 6th century (Sander 1968: 123), while the latter gained general acceptance in Gilgit after the middle of the 7th century (Melzer 2014: 230). In the Gilgit corpus, the distribution of the two scripts does not appear to be random: type I is used for Mahāyāna texts, whereas type II appears in manuscripts associated with the milieu of the (Mūla-)Sarvāstivādins (Sander 2007: 130, fn. 62; Melzer 2014: 231; Kudo 2019: 173).

Gilgit (i.e., nos. 26–27 and 50 and 52) is available in Karashima and Tamai (2019). Based on my consultation of this latter volume, none of the passages cited in the present work are paralleled in these two fragmentary manuscripts.

Until recently, only some portions of the main manuscript from Gilgit had been critically edited: the initial part (folios 1–27r) by Zacchetti (2005: 366–400); folios 124v–129v and 202r–205r by Choong (2008: 313–337, 2006: 109–133); and the final portion (folios 218v–263, 265r–308) by Conze (1962, 1974).¹³⁵ In recent years, a group of Japanese scholars publishing under the name Daijō kyōten shisō kenkyūkai 大乘經典思想研究会 (‘Study Group on the Philosophy of Mahāyāna Scriptures’, hereafter SGPMS) has undertaken the transliteration of the remaining folios, publishing so far transliterations of folios 27v–37v (SGPMS 2021), 38r–53r (SGPMS 2022), and 53v–72v (SGPMS 2023). In the following, I use Zacchetti’s edition (hereafter PG(Z)), Choong’s (2008) transliteration of chapter 14 (hereafter PG(C)), as well as the three editions by SGPMS (hereafter PG(S)). While quoting text portions from these editions, I checked them against the facsimile edition by Karashima et al. (2016) and corrected them when necessary. Moreover, to quote portions of text found in folios whose transliteration has not yet been published, I made supplemental transliterations of passages in PG.

A second early Sanskrit manuscript of LP, consisting of 69 folios, was discovered in the Mogao caves at Dunhuang and is now in the possession of the British Library. The manuscript is written on palm-leaf with the Gilgit/Bāmiyān type I and was thus presumably written in Northern India and later brought to Dunhuang.¹³⁶ An edition of the manuscript has been published by Suzuki and Nagashima (2015), hereafter = PD, meant as the [Larger] *Prajñāpāramitā* from Dunhuang.

The last important Sanskrit source employed in the present work is the Sanskrit *Pañca*. This recension of the sūtra has been described in the literature as the “revised *Pañca*”¹³⁷ due to the structure of the text: the most peculiar feature of this recension is that the text of the sūtra is framed within a commentary named, *Abhisamayālaṅkāra*. The entire text is divided into eight parts, called *abhisamayas*, which are in turn subdivided into smaller sections. Around two-fifths of the text was edited by Dutt (1934) on the basis of four Nepalese manuscripts. A new critical edition of the whole text has been published by Kimura (1986–2009), hereafter = Pvs(K) (meant as *Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikā* by Kimura).¹³⁸

¹³⁵ The manuscript originally consisted of 308 folios, out of which only 10 are missing, see Karashima (2016: vii). The comparison of the Gilgit manuscript with the other Sanskrit, Chinese and Tibetan parallels, as proved by Zacchetti (2005: 19–23), shows that Conze’s (1974: xv, 1978: 34–35, 40) claim about the manuscript consisting of two sūtras, namely *Pañca* for the first part (folios 1–187v) and *Aṣṭādaśa* for the remaining portion (187v–308r), is not correct. The apparent gap in the sequence of the folios between what Conze thought to be end of chapter 37 of the *Pañca* and the beginning of chapter 48 of the *Aṣṭādaśa* is due to the error of a scribe who wrote 48 in place of 38. In fact, there is no gap between 187 verso and 188 recto, and the manuscripts consist of a single text.

¹³⁶ In terms of contents, script and orthography, the manuscript from Dunhuang is quite close to PG, see Suzuki and Nagashima (2015: 593) and Karashima (2016: viii).

¹³⁷ See for instance Watanabe (1994: 386). See Zacchetti (2021: 72–73) on this problematic label.

¹³⁸ See Bongard-Levin and Hori (1996: 23) for information on the manuscripts (18th century) of this recension. Cf. Zacchetti (2005: 28) for further remarks on this recension.

There are six Chinese translations of LP. The two earliest translations were produced in close temporal proximity (late 3rd century CE) by Dharmarakṣa (Ch. Zhu Fahu 竺法護, ca. 233–311, translated in 286 CE) and Wuluocha 無羅叉 (*Mokṣala?, translated in 291 CE), namely *Guang zan jing* 光讚經, T222 (Vol. 8, 147a1–216b8), hereafter = P(Dh) (meant as [Larger] *Prajñāpāramitā* by Dharmarakṣa), and *Fang guang banre jing* 放光般若經, T221 (Vol. 8, 1a1–146c29), hereafter = P(Mo) (meant as [Larger] *Prajñāpāramitā* by Mokṣala). The sūtra was translated a third time in 404 by Kumārajīva, *Mohe banreboluomi jing* 摩訶般若波羅蜜經, T223 (Vol. 8, 217a1–424a14), hereafter = P(Kj) (meant as [Larger] *Prajñāpāramitā* by Kumārajīva). As mentioned above, Xuanzang’s translation of LP (660–663 CE) already reflects the later subdivision into the three versions (*Śata*, *Pañca*, *Aṣṭādaśa*), being the first three divisions (Ch. *hui* 會) of Xuanzang’s monumental work in 600 fascicles, i.e. *Da banreboluomi jing* 大般若波羅蜜多經, T220 (Vol. 5–7), hereafter = DBBJ.¹³⁹

There are Tibetan translations of all the three versions of the LP (*Śata*, *Pañca*, *Aṣṭādaśa*). Since I have not systematically consulted any Tibetan source for my analysis of the LP, I mention here only the existence of two different translations of the *Pañca* included in the Kanjur and Tanjur.¹⁴⁰

Going back to the classification of the members of the LP textual family, Zacchetti (2005: 42–44, 2021: 23–32) divided the various texts in four subgroups, labelled by him as “recensions”, on the basis of the analysis of content and wording. The first subgroup includes the Gilgit LP, the Tibetan (Kanjur) *Pañca* and the Sanskrit *Śata*¹⁴¹, to which could possibly be added the Dunhuang LP. The second recension is represented by Xuanzang’s translations of *Pañca* and *Śata*. The Nepalese recension of *Pañca*, as preserved in *Abhisamayālaṅkāra*, stands in contrast to the first subgroup and represents the third one together with some fragments from Sri Lanka.¹⁴² The last subgroup is formed by the three earliest Chinese translations of LP (i.e. P(Dh), P(Mo), P(Kj)). Although it is hard to conclude whether these three texts form a recension in the same terms as the texts in the other subgroups, textually speaking, they often agree in contrast to the later expanded recensions. From my partial analysis of the texts, it appears that P(Mo) and Xuanzang’s *Pañca* tend to be textually closer to one another than to P(Dh) and P(Kj), or at least on many occasions the wording of the two translations seems to be similar, despite the expansions of the latter.

A second system of classification (Zacchetti 2005: 22–23, 2021: 22, Karashima 2016: viii) of texts belonging to the LP textual family has been proposed on the basis of whether or not a text contains the story of the Bodhisattva Sadāprarudita (cf. Zhao

¹³⁹ See Zacchetti (2005: 30–3, 51–73) for a detailed discussion on the historical background of the Chinese translations of LP.

¹⁴⁰ See Bongard-Levin and Hori (1996: 25), Zacchetti (2005: 29–30, 2015: 190, 2021: 24–26) and Karashima (2016: viii) on the Tibetan translations of LP.

¹⁴¹ Part of the Nepalese *Śata* was edited by Ghoṣa (1902–1914), the remaining portion by Kimura (2009–2010). On the general similarities between the Tibetan *Pañca* and the Sanskrit *Śata* see also Conze (1978: 35) and Bongard-Levin and Hori (1996: 26). See Vetter (1993: 48) on the similarities between the opening passages of the sūtra among the texts of this group.

¹⁴² See von Hinüber (1983: 191).

2020). The first group (texts which contain the story) includes P(Mo), P(Kj)¹⁴³, the Tibetan *Aṣṭādaśa*, the Tibetan (Kanjur) *Pañca* and Xuanzang's translation of *Śata*. The second group is formed by PG, Xuanzang's *Pañca* and *Aṣṭādaśa*, the Nepalese recension of *Pañca*, the Tibetan (Tanjur) *Pañca*, the Tibetan and Sanskrit *Śatas*.

5.2 Methodological preliminaries

The size of the LP corpus and its intricate textual pattern require a different methodological approach for the collection and analysis of the linguistic data from the one employed for the *Vajracchedikā*. As discussed above, the number of texts included in the LP family is considerably high and only a portion of them could be used in my work for reasons of space and time. The approach to the analysis of the LP employed is twofold; for the first part of the sūtra, corresponding to the text of the Gilgit manuscript edited by Zacchetti in PG(Z) and to the first three chapters of P(Dh), P(Mo), P(Kj) and Xuanzang's *Pañca*, I employed a method of analysis similar to the one used for the *Vajracchedikā*. This means that the Sanskrit parallels (PG(Z) were compared with PD and Pvs(K) during the process) were investigated to look for P-oriented constructions, which I subsequently compared with the parallel passages in Chinese translation to evaluate how they were understood and translated. The astounding critical apparatus provided by Zacchetti (2005) for the first sections of the sūtra allowed me to look at the various parallels in detail for this part of my analysis.

A different approach was required for the rest of the sūtra due to the lack of a detailed critical apparatus and to the significant size of the corpus. In this case, I employed a reverse method: the Chinese translations were used as the basis of the analysis searching, in this case, for Chinese passive constructions. The passages containing passives were then compared with the equivalent passages in the other Chinese translations, as well as in the Sanskrit parallels.

Moreover, a particular textual feature regarding P(Dh) has posed some problems to the methodological approach to the linguistic analysis of LP: as already mentioned above, P(Dh) ends at the end of chapter 27 (ten fascicles in total in the *Taishō* edition), which means that this translation lacks almost the last two thirds of LP, taking P(Kj) (90 chapters in 27 fascicles) as the standard of a complete Chinese version of LP. The historical evidence available does not allow one to conclude whether P(Dh) became defective after its translation or if was rather an unfinished translation; what we know for certain is that the text was incomplete already from an early period, at least since

¹⁴³ Since P(Dh) ends abruptly at chapter 27, it is not possible to know whether its original source-text included the story. Based on the structural similarities with P(Mo) and P(Kj), it is however possible to postulate that this recension (in terms of Sanskrit source-text) agreed with the other early Chinese translations in this regard too.

Dao'an's time¹⁴⁴, and this heavily influenced the fortune of the text.¹⁴⁵ For this reason, I decided to limit the analysis to the portion of text which corresponds to the extant text of P(Dh) in addition to the other Sanskrit and Chinese parallels.

For reason of time, no systematic use of Tibetan sources and of the Sanskrit *Śata* and *Aṣṭā* has been made. For the same reason, I limited the analysis of DBBJ to the translation of the *Pañca* (i.e. the second *hui* 會 of DBBJ), hereafter = Pvs(Xz), meant as *Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrika* by Xuanzang.

5.3 Text analysis: Introductory remarks

As introduced above, the first part of LP – corresponding to PG and to the three chapters of four the Chinese translations – has been used as a sample to investigate how P-oriented constructions were analysed and translated into Chinese. As done for the *Vajracchedikā*, the aim of this part of the analysis is to show that case marking and verbal agreement *per se* are not the linguistic factors which determine the use of passive constructions in Chinese translations. Since this issue has already been addressed in detail in the analysis of the *Vajracchedikā*, few examples from the LP will suffice to show that the translation of P-oriented constructions is regulated, in general terms, by the same principles observed for the *Vajracchedikā*.

Examples (104), = example (40b), and (105) exemplify well the irrelevance of morpho-syntactic marking of arguments (demotion of the agent/promotion of the patient), as well as the non-importance of verbal agreement (main verb agreeing with the agent or with the patient) in determining the use of a passive construction in Chinese translation. This couplet of examples is built with the same verb (the causative *parinirvāpayati*), a gerundive in the first case and a future active in the second (cf. Section 2.4.2 on the functional overlapping between the gerundive and the future). The agent and the patient are also the same in the two passages, namely first-person plural pronoun (agent) and the noun *sattva*- (patient). The morphological encoding of both the agent and patient, however, differs according to the verbal form employed, instrumental *asmābhiḥ* and nominative *sattvāḥ*, with the gerundive and nominative, *vayaṃ* and accusative *sattvān* with the future. The Chinese translations of the two passages are nevertheless identical in essence.

¹⁴⁴ Dao'an 道安 (312–385), important figure in the history of Chinese Buddhism and author of the *Zongli zhongjing mulu* 綜理衆經目錄 ‘Comprehensive Catalog of Scriptures’, the first historical catalogue of Chinese Buddhist works. The text is not extant but has been incorporated in Sengyou's 僧祐 (435–518) *Chu sanzangji ji* 出三藏記集 ‘Compilation of Notes on the Translation of the Three Baskets’ (T2145) (Zürcher 2007: 30). The version of P(Dh) received by Dao'an when he compiled his work in 376 was already damaged and incomplete (Zacchetti 2005: 52).

¹⁴⁵ The early history of P(Dh) could support the hypothesis that the text became defective some time after its translation. The fact that the text ends precisely at the end of chapter 27 and not in the middle of a passage as one would expect from a defective manuscript, as well as the existence of a colophon testifying that the document was a genuine translation, suggest however that Dharmarakṣa could not complete the translation for some reason (due to an incomplete Indic manuscript, for instance). See Zacchetti 2005: 61–62, fns. 55–58, for a detailed discussion on the historical evidence regarding the incomplete status of P(Dh).

(104)

LP *asmābhir anuttarāṃ samyaksambodhim*
1PL:INS supreme:ACC perfect_awakening:ACC
abhisambudhya sarvasatvā anupadhiśeṣe
completely_awaken:GER all.being:NOM.PL complete:LOC
nirvāṇadhātau parinirvāpayitavyā
nirvāṇa.realm:LOC lead_complete_extinction:GRND.NOM.PL
‘Having completely awakened to the supreme and perfect awakening, we
should lead all beings to complete extinction in the realm of complete
nirvāṇa.’ (PG(Z) 390.13–15)¹⁴⁶

P(Dh) 我等當逮阿耨多羅三耶三菩阿惟三佛，教化眾生至泥洹界，令滅度。

wodeng dang dai anouduoluosanyesanpu aweisanfo,
we should attain anuttarasamyaksambodhi abhisambuddha
jiaohua zhongsheng zhi nihuanjie, ling miedu
convert being arrive nirvāṇa.realm lead extinction
‘We should become *abhisambuddha* [by] attaining
anuttarasamyaksambodhi, [we should] convert beings [and] bring them to
the realm of *nirvāṇa*, leading them to extinction.’¹⁴⁷ (152c17–18)

P(Mo) -

P(Kj) 我等當得阿耨多羅三藐三菩提，度一切眾生令得無餘涅槃。

wodeng dang de anouduoluosanmiaosanputi, du
we should attain anuttarasamyaksambodhi liberate
yiqie zhongsheng ling de wuyu niepan
all being lead attain without remainder nirvāṇa
‘We should attain the *anuttarasamyaksambodhi*, liberating beings [and]
leading them to attain *nirvāṇa* without remainder.’ (222a21–22)

Pvs(Xz) 我當證阿耨多羅三藐三菩提，方便安立一切有情於無餘依涅槃界。

wo dang zheng anouduoluosanmiaosanputi, fangbian

¹⁴⁶ PD 602.32–34 *asmābhir anuttarāṃ samyaksambodhim abhisambudhya sarvasatvā anupadhiśeṣe nirvāṇadhātau parinirvāpayitavyāḥ*. Pvs(K) I-1.58.23–25 *asmābhir anuttarāṃ samyaksambodhim abhisambudhya sarvasattvā nirupadhiśeṣanirvāṇadhātau parinirvāpayitavyā*.

¹⁴⁷ 逮阿耨多羅三耶三菩阿惟三佛 can be considered an instance of “double translation” of the syntagm *samyaksambodhim abhisambudhya*: the gerund *abhisambudhya* is reproduced twice in the translation by means of the verb *dai* 逮 ‘attain’ and by the phonetic transcription *aweisanfo* 阿惟三佛 (*abhisambudh-*) at the end of the syntagm. I followed Zacchetti’s (2005: 333) translation of this expression as ‘become *abhisambuddha* attaining *anuttarasamyaksambodhi*’. See Zacchetti (2005: 333, fn. 45) for the presence of *jiaohua* 教化 (translating Skt. *paripācayati*) and for the absence of an element corresponding to *anupadhiśeṣa* in P(Dh). Cf. Nattier (2024) on the different usages of the term “double translation” in modern scholarship.

we should awaken anuttarasamyaksambodhi skilfully
 anli yiqie youqing yu wuyuyi niepanjie
 place all being at without.remaining.basis nirvāṇa.realm
 ‘We should awaken to the *anuttarasamyaksambodhi*, skilfully placing all
 beings into the realm of *nirvāṇa* without remainder.’ (12c9–10)

(105)

LP *vayaṃ* [...] *anuttarāṃ samyaksambodhim*
 1PL:NOM supreme:ACC perfect_awakening:ACC
abhisambuddhyāprameyā(n) *asaṃkhyeyā(n)*
 completely_awaken:GER=unlimited:ACC.PL incalculable:ACC.PL
aparimāṇān satvān parinirvāpayiṣyāmaḥ
 immeasurable:ACC.PL being:ACC.PL lead_complete_extinction:FUT.1PL
 ‘Having completely awakened to supreme and perfect awakening, we will lead
 immeasurable, unlimited and incalculable beings to complete extinction in the
 realm of complete nirvāṇa.’ (PG(Z) 390.34–37)¹⁴⁸

P(Dh) 吾等當[...]得成阿耨多羅三耶三菩阿惟三佛，度脫滅度無量無限不
 可計數眾生之類。

wudeng dang [...] *decheng anouduoluosanyesantu*
 we will attain anuttarasamyaksambodhi
aweisanfo, dutuo miedu wuliang wuxian
abhisambuddha liberate extinguish immeasurable unlimited
bukejishu zhongsheng zhi lei
 incalculable being GEN kind
 ‘We will [...] become *abhisambuddha*, attaining
anuttarasamyaksambodhi, [we will] liberate and [lead to] extinction
 immeasurable, unlimited and incalculable kinds of beings.’ (152c22–26)

P(Mo) 我[...]當成阿惟三佛，使不可計阿僧祇人令得泥洹。

wo [...] *dang cheng aweisanfo, shi bukeji*
 we will become abhisambuddha lead incalculable
asengqi ren ling de niehuan
asaṃkhyeya people lead attain nirvāṇa
 ‘We [...] will become *abhisambuddha*, leading incalculable and
asaṃkhyeya people to attain *nirvāṇa*.’ (5b10–13)

P(Kj) 我[...]度脫無量阿僧祇眾生令得涅槃。

wo [...] *dutuo wuliang asengqi zhongsheng ling*
 we liberate immeasurable asaṃkhyeya being lead
de niepan

¹⁴⁸ PD 603.1–6 *vayaṃ* [...] *anuttarāṃ samyaksambodhim abhisambudhyāparimāṇān aprameyān asaṃkhyeyāṃ satvāṃ parinirvāpayiṣyāma*. Pvs(K) (I-1.59.2–6) *vayaṃ* [...] *anuttarāṃ samyaksambodhim abhisambudhya aprameyān asaṃkhyeyān aparimāṇān sattvān parinirvāpayiṣyāma*.

attain nirvāṇa

Pvs(Xz) 我當[...]方便安立無量無數無邊有情於無餘依般涅槃界。

No systematic use of passive markers is made to translate *-ta* participles into Chinese either. In (106), a verbal *-ta* participle is used immediately after a finite verb (i.e. after *pratiṣṭhāpayiṣāmo*) with no difference in terms of passive marking (the *suo* 所 in P(Dh) is to be understood as translating the relative clause rather than the *ta*-participle).

LP *vayam* *atra* *catvāri* *pātrāṇi* *pratiṣṭhāpayiṣāmo*
1PL:NOM PTC four:NOM.PL bowl:NOM.PL bestow:FUT.1PL
yāni *paurvakair* *mahārājaiḥ* *paurvakeṣu*
REL:NOM.PL former:INS.PL great.king:INS.PL former:LOC.PL
tathāgateṣu *pratiṣṭhāpitāni*
tathāgata:LOC.PL bestow:PPP.NOM.PL
‘We will bestow [upon the Bodhisattva] the bowls that were bestowed by the
great kings of the past upon the Tathāgatas of the past.’ (PG(Z) 386.24–26)¹⁴⁹

<i>wodeng</i>	<i>dang</i>	<i>li</i>	<i>si</i>	<i>mei</i>	<i>zhi</i>	<i>bo,</i>	<i>si</i>
we	will	set_up	four	CL	GEN	bowl	four
<i>tianwang</i>	<i>qian</i>	<i>yi</i>	<i>suo</i>	<i>fengjin</i>	<i>guoqu</i>		
heaven.king	formerly	DISP	NMLZ	bestow	past		
<i>dasa'ajie</i>	<i>aluohe</i>	<i>sanyesanfo</i>					
tathāgata	arhat	samyaksambuddha					

‘We will set up the four bowls, those having been formerly bestowed by the four heavenly kings upon the *Tathāgatas*, *Arhats*, *Samyaksambuddhas* of the past.’ (151c10–11)¹⁵⁰

¹⁴⁹ Pvs(K) I-1.51.13–15: *vayam asmai bodhisattvāya catvāri pātrāṇi dāsyāmaḥ yathā dattāni pūrvakair mahārājaiḥ pūrvakānām tathāgatānām.*

P(Mo) 我曹亦當復以四鉢奉上菩薩，如前王法，奉諸佛鉢。

wocao yi dangfu yi si bo fengshang pusa,
we also will DISP four bowl present bodhisattva
ru qian wang fa feng zhu fo bo
like former king way bestow INDF buddha bowl
‘We will also present four bowls to the Bodhisattva, as it was the way of
the past kings, [who] bestowed bowls upon Buddhas.’ (4b19–20)

P(Kj) 我等當以四鉢奉上菩薩，如前天王奉先佛鉢。

wodeng dang yi si bo fengshang pusa,
we will DISP four bowl present bodhisattva
ru qian tianwang feng xian fo bo
like formerly heaven.king bestow past buddha bowl
‘We will present four bowls to the Bodhisattva, as the heavenly kings
formerly bestowed bowls upon Buddhas of the past.’ (221a24–25)

Pvs(Xz) 我等今者當以四鉢奉此菩薩，如昔天王奉先佛鉢。

wodeng jinzhe dang yi bo feng ci pusa,
we now will DISP bowl bestow this bodhisattva
ru xi tianwang feng xian fo bo
like formerly heaven.king bestow past buddha bowl
‘We will now bestow four bowls upon this Bodhisattva, as the heavenly
kings formerly bestowed bowls upon Buddhas of the past.’ (11a11–12)

Similarly, finite passives are in general translated without the use of passive markers. In (107), the source-text includes a triplet of P-oriented verb forms (i.e. *bhāṣitaṃ bhāṣyate bhāṣiṣyate*). Only P(Kj) and Pvs(Xz) appear to translate all three elements, while P(Dh) seems to translate only *bhāṣyate* or possibly *bhāṣitaṃ* (*suo shuo* 所說), and P(Mo) appears to translate *bhāṣyate* / *bhāṣitaṃ* (*suo ke shuo* 所可說) and *bhāṣiṣyate* (*fu dang suo shuo* 甫當所說). Also in this case, the use of *suo* is not directly connected with the P-orientation of the verb, but rather translates the Sanskrit relative clause.

(107)

LP	yat	kiṃcit	pūrvasyān	diśi
	REL:NOM	INDF:NOM	eastern:LOC	direction:LOC
	gaṃgānadīvālukupameṣu	lokadhātuṣu	sarvabuddhair	

problem concerns the use of *yi* 以: on the basis of the comparison with the other Chinese translations, I would conclude that the coverb serves here as the object marker of the classical disposal construction (Pulleyblank 1995: 49, Peyraube 1994: 273); the object marked by the disposal marker is in this case a verb-phrase nominalised through *suo*. The syntax of the passage is however not very clear: the object of the disposal marker is placed after the main verb instead of before it, as in the canonical construction. What is more, the object of the disposal marker corresponds to the same object of the main verb. The construction with *yi* is thus here probably a rendition of the Sanskrit relative construction.

G.river.sand.equal:LOC world.realm:LOC all.buddha:INS.PL
bhagavadbhir *bhāṣitaṃ* *bhāṣyate*
blessed_one:INS.PL teach:PPP.NOM teach:PRS.PASS.3SG
bhāṣiṣyate
teach:FUT.PASS.3SG

‘Whatever all the Buddhas, Blessed Ones have taught, are teaching and will teach in the eastern direction, in many world-realms as the sands of the river Ganges.’ (PG(Z) 383.37–39)¹⁵¹

P(Dh) 八維上下如來所說經法。

ba wei shang xia rulai suo shuo jingfa
eight direction up down thus.come NMLZ teach discourse
‘The discourse that the Thus-comes taught in the eight directions, up and down.’ (151a4)

P(Mo) 十方諸佛所可說法、甫當所說。

shi fang zhu fo suo ke shuo fa
ten direction INDF buddha NMLZ can teach discourse
fu dang suo shuo
future will NMLZ teach
‘The discourse that the Thus-comes of the ten directions taught, [and] what they will teach in the future.’ (4a6)

P(Kj) 十方如恒河沙等世界中，諸佛所說法，已說、今說、當說。

shi fang ru Henghe sha deng shijie zhong, zhu
ten direction like G.river sand equal world in INDF
fo suo shuo fa, yi shuo jin shuo
buddha NMLZ teach discourse already teach now teach
dang shuo
will teach

‘The discourse that Buddhas teach in as [many] worlds in the ten directions as the sands of the river Ganges, they taught it, they teach it now, they will teach it.’ (220b29–c1)

Pvs(Xz) 過去、未來、現在十方諸佛所說法門。

guoqu weilai xianzai shi fang zhu fo suo
past future present ten direction INDF buddha NMLZ
shuo famen
teach teaching

¹⁵¹ Pvs(K) I-1.40.18–19: *yat kiñcit pūrvasyāṃ diśi buddhair bhagavadbhir bhāṣitaṃ bhāṣyate bhāṣiṣyate ca.*

‘The teaching that the various Buddhas teach in the ten directions in the past, in the future and in the present.’ (10a1)

5.4 The *wei* 為 construction

Among the constructions that are traditionally described as passives, the most employed in Chinese translations of the LP is decidedly the *wei* 為 construction, in particular the *wei* 為 A *suo* 所 V construction. The examples collected are variegated and differ considerably as regards the Sanskrit forms they translate. Therefore, I attempted to group them together on the basis of semantic, pragmatic and morpho-syntactic parameters.

5.4.1 Group 5.1

The first group consists of four examples in which the *wei* construction is used to translate expressions of praise or reproof. This first group is particularly interesting from the perspective of the Sanskrit parallels: the most relevant fact is that the elements serving as the so-called “A” of the *wei* A *suo* V construction in Chinese translations correspond to genitive experiencers or benefactives in the Sanskrit parallel, i.e. *sadevakasya lokasya* in (108), *buddhānām bhagavatām, sarvabodhisattvānām sarvaśrāvakānām* and *pratyekabuddhānām* in (109) and *bahujanasya* in (110). On the contrary, in (111), in which the Sanskrit genitive argument is fronted in topical position, it is the nominative *buddhā bhagavanto* which corresponds to the A of the *wei* A *suo* V construction, whereas the fronted genitive argument *asya bodhisattvasya mahāsattvasya* corresponds to the patient of the construction.

(108)

LP	<i>nāpi</i>	<i>tādṛśam</i>	<i>ātmabhāvaṃ</i>	<i>parigrhṇanti</i>	<i>yena</i>
	NEG=even	such_like:ACC	existence:ACC	take:PRS.3PL	REL:INS
	<i>nindyā</i>	<i>bhavanti</i>	<i>sadevakasya</i>	<i>lokasya</i>	
	blame:GRND.NOM.PL	become:PRS.3PL	with.god:GEN	world:GEN	

‘Nor [do they] take hold of such an existence by which they become blameworthy for the world with its gods.’ (Pvs(K) I-1.91.7–8)¹⁵²

P(Dh) 亦不身故而受於色，所以身故而自破壞諸天、世人、阿須倫。

<i>yi</i>	<i>bu</i>	<i>shen</i>	<i>gu</i>	<i>er</i>	<i>shou</i>	<i>yu</i>	<i>se,</i>	<i>suo</i>
also	NEG	body	cause	CONJ	receive	at	appearance	NMLZ
<i>yi</i>	<i>shen</i>	<i>gu</i>	<i>er</i>	<i>zi</i>	<i>pohuai</i>	<i>zhu</i>	<i>tian</i>	<i>shiren</i>
use	body	cause	CONJ	self	discredit	INDF	god	human

axulun
asura

¹⁵² PG(S) I.172.27–173.2: *na tathā rūpam ātmabhāvaṃ parigrhṇanti || yenātmabhāvena nindanīyā bhavyeṣu sadevamānuṣāsurasya lokasya.*

‘Nor [do they] receive such¹⁵³ a body, [namely] a body by which they discredit themselves (?) to gods, humans and *asuras*.’¹⁵⁴ (158b6–7)

P(Mo) 所受身體諸根具足，人不憎惡，常為諸天、阿須倫所敬愛。

suo shou shenti zhu gen juzu, ren bu
NMLZ receive body INDF faculties possession human NEG
zengwu, chang wei zhu tian axulun suo jing'ai
blame always COP INDF god asura NMLZ love
‘The body which [they] have received is endowed with all the faculties,¹⁵⁵
humans do not censure it, it is always loved by gods and *asuras*.’ (8c21–23)

P(Kj) 所受身體，不為人、天、阿修羅所憎惡。

suo shou shenti, bu wei ren tian axiuluo suo
NMLZ receive body NEG COP human god asura NMLZ
zengwu
blame
‘The body which [they] have received is not censured by humans, gods and *asuras*.’ (227a25–26)

Pvs(Xz) 所受身形諸根具足容顏端正，為諸天、人、阿素洛等之所敬愛。

suo shou shenxing zhu gen juzu

¹⁵³ *Yu se* 於色 presumably agrees better with the reading *rūpam* in PG, even though the precise interpretation remains difficult. Alternatively, one can take it as Dharmarakṣa’s translation of Skt. *tādṛśa*, with Ch. *se* 色 ‘appearance’ corresponding to Skt. *drśa* ‘appearance’.

¹⁵⁴ Dharmarakṣa’s translation of the passage is quite obscure and appears to diverge from the other Chinese parallels, but this may possibly be due to a literal rendition of the Sanskrit source-passages. Except for P(Dh), all the Chinese translations have a *wei A suo V* construction expressing the state of being pleasant to the gods, either through a litotes (‘non-blameworthy’, as in the Sanskrit parallel) or in a positive form (Ch. *jing'ai* 敬愛 ‘beloved’). P(Dh) reads instead the verb *zi pohuai* 自破壞, followed by what syntactically seems to be the object of this verb, i.e. 諸天世人阿須倫. The problem of the obscurity of this verb-phrase, which at first glance appears to mean ‘[they] destroy by themselves the gods, the humans and the *asuras*’, can be solved if one considers that the Sanskrit genitive syntagm *sadevakasya lokasya* expresses a recipient or an indirect object rather than an agent. *Zi pohuai* is thus likely not a very idiomatic rendering of Skt. *nindyā/nindanīyā* and the following noun-phrase is the indirect object of this verb. An instance of *wei A suo V* construction occurs in P(Dh) in the passage immediately before (158b5): 不為眾人所見憎惡，亦不貧匱 ‘They are not blameworthy for a multitude of people, nor are they poor’, corresponding to Pvs(K) I-1.91.6–7 *nāpi manuṣyadāridryavipattim anubhavanti* ‘nor experience they the misfortune of poverty of the humans’. I was not able to find any decisive evidence to decide whether the use of this construction here by Dharmarakṣa (not present in all the other Chinese parallels) was due to a different reading in the Sanskrit manuscript used by him or to a translation choice.

¹⁵⁵ P(Mo) agrees with Pvs(Xz) reading 諸根具足, possibly corresponding to an hypothetical Skt. *paripūrṇendriya* (lacking in all the other parallels, see however (110) below). Syntactically, I take it as an attribute of *shenti* 身體. See Zacchetti (2005: 46) on the “modular structure” of the LP possibly being behind the irregular distribution among the various parallels of this “textual brick”.

NMLZ receive body.shape INDF faculties possession
rongyan duanzheng, wei zhu tian ren asuolu
 appearance graceful COP INDF god human asura
deng zhi suo jing'ai
 so_forth GEN NMLZ love

‘The bodily shape which [they] have received is endowed with all the faculties, their appearance is graceful, they are loved by the various gods, humans, *asuras* and so forth.’ (21a17–19)

(109)

LP *sa drṣṭa eva dharme buddhānām*
 3SG:NOM present:LOC PTC existence:LOC buddhas:GEN.PL
bhagavatām priyo bhavati manāpaś ca
 blessed_one:GEN.PL dear:NOM become:PRS.3SG beloved:NOM and
sarvabodhisattvānām ca sarvaśrāvakānām ca
 all.bodhisattvas:GEN.PL and all.hearers:GEN.PL and
pratyekabuddhānām ca priyo bhavati
 solitary_buddhas:GEN.PL and dear:NOM become:PRS.3SG
manāpaś ca
 beloved:NOM and

‘He becomes, in this present existence, dear and beloved by the Buddhas, the Blessed Ones; he becomes dear and beloved by all the bodhisattvas, hearers and solitary buddhas.’ (Pvs(K) I-1.103.11–13)¹⁵⁶

P(Dh) 應時現在則為佛世尊所見愛敬及諸開士、一切聲聞、緣覺所見欽奉。

yingshi xianzai ze wei fo shizun suojian
 righ.time present CONJ COP buddha world.honoured NMLZ
jing'ai ji zhu kaishi yiqie shengwen
 beloved and INDF awakened.hero all hearer
yuanjue suojian qinfeng
 dependent_arising.awakened NMLZ revere

‘Exactly in the present time, [he] is loved by all the Buddhas, World-honoured Ones and he is revered by all the awakened heroes, hearers and those awakened [by contemplation] on dependent arising.’ (160c16–18)

P(Mo) 便為現在諸佛、菩薩、羅漢、辟支佛之所愛敬。

bian wei xianzai zhu fo pusa luohan
 moreover COP present INDF buddha bodhisattva arhat
bizhifo zhi suo jing'ai
 pratyekabuddha GEN NMLZ beloved

¹⁵⁶ PG(S) I.226.22–25: *sa drṣṭa eva dharme buddhānām bhagavatām priyo bhavati manāpaś ca | sarvabodhisattvānām ca | sarvaśrāvakānām ca | sarvapratyekabuddhānām ca priyo bhavati manāpaś ca.*

‘Moreover, [he] is loved by the Buddhas, *bodhisattvas*, *arhats* and *pratyekabuddhas*.’ (10a28–29)

P(Kj) 是菩薩摩訶薩現世為十方諸佛所愛念，亦為一切菩薩一切聲聞、辟支佛所愛念。

shi pusa mohesa xianshi wei shi fang
that bodhisattva mahāsattva present.world COP ten direction
zhu fo suo ainian, yi wei yiqie
INDF buddha NMLZ cherish also COP all
pusa yiqie shengwen bizhifo suo ainian
bodhisattva all hearer pratyekabuddha NMLZ cherish
‘That *bodhisattva mahāsattva* in the present world is cherished by the Buddhas in the ten directions, he is also cherished by all the *bodhisattvas* and by all the *pratyekabuddhas*.’ (229b10–12)

Pvs(Xz) 是菩薩摩訶薩於現法中得十方諸佛之所護念，亦得一切菩薩摩訶薩、聲聞、獨覺之所敬愛。

shi pusa mohesa yu xianfa zhong
that bodhisattva mahāsattva at present.existence in
de shi fang zhu fo zhi suo hunian,
attain ten directions INDF buddha GEN NMLZ hold_in_mind
yi de yiqie pusa mohesa shengwen
also attain all bodhisattva mahāsattva hearer
dujue zhi suo jing'ai
alone.awakened GEN NMLZ love
‘This *bodhisattva mahāsattva* in the present existence attains to be held in mind by various Buddhas in the ten directions, he also attains to be beloved of all the *bodhisattvas mahāsattvas*, the hearers and the solitary awakened ones.’ (26b29–c2)

(110)

LP te taiḥ paṇisuddhair indriyaiḥ samanvāgatā
3PL:NOM 3PL:INS purified:INS.PL faculty:INS.PL endowed_with:NOM.PL
bahujanasya priyāś ca bhavanti
many.people:GEN dear:NOM.PL and become:PRS.3PL
manaṇpāś ca
beloved:NOM.PL and
‘They, endowed with purified faculties, become dear and beloved by many people.’ (Pvs(K) I-1.86.12–13)¹⁵⁷

¹⁵⁷ PD 607.4–7: *te taiḥ paṇisuddhair ātmabhāvair bahujanasya prītiprasādaṃ janayaṃti | te bahujanasya prīyāś ca bhavanti manāpāś ca*. PG 30v.5–6: *te taiḥ paṇisuddhair ātmabhāvai bahujanasya prītiprasādaṃ janayaṃti || te bahujanasya prīyāś ca bhavanti | manāpāś ca* (= PG(S) I.158.1–3, which reads *prītipramādaṃ* to be emended to *prītiprasādaṃ*).

P(Dh) 以此精進諸根，無數人所見敬愛。

yi ci jingjin zhu gen, wushu ren
with this cultivate INDF faculty incalculable people
suojian jing'ai
NMLZ love

‘By means of cultivating the faculties, [they become] beloved by incalculable people.’ (157c1–2)

P(Mo) 諸根特異，眾生見者莫不敬喜。

zhu gen teyi, zhongsheng jian zhe mo bu jingxi
INDF faculty superfine being see NMLZ NEG NEG rejoice
‘[Their] faculties are superfine, if beings see [them], there is none [among them] who does not rejoice.’ (8b10–11)

P(Kj) 諸根淨利故，眾人愛敬。

zhu gen jingli gu, zhongren aijing
INDF faculty purified cause many.people cherish
‘Since [their] faculties are purified, many people cherish [them].’ (226b24)

Pvs(Xz) 諸根猛利清淨端嚴，眾生見者無不愛敬。

zhu gen mengli qingjing duanyan,
INDF faculty powerful purified upright
zhongsheng jian zhe wu bu aijing
being see NMLZ NEG NEG cherish
‘[Their] faculties are powerful, purified and upright, if beings see [them], there is none who does not cherish [them].’ (20a25–26)

(111)

LP asya bodhisattvasya mahāsattvasya buddhā
3SG:GEN bodhisattva:GEN great.being:GEN buddha:NOM.PL
bhagavanto varṇaṃ bhāṣante asya
blessed_one:NOM.PL praise:ACC say:PRS.3PL 3SG:GEN
bodhisattvasya mahāsattvasya na bhāṣante
bodhisattva:GEN great.being:GEN NEG say:PRS.3PL
‘The Buddhas, the Blessed Ones praise that bodhisattva great-being, [they] do not praise that bodhisattva great-being.’ (Pvs(K) I-1.97.6–8)¹⁵⁸

P(Dh) 某開士為諸佛世尊所歎。

mou kaishi wei zhu fo shizun suo
INDF awakened.hero COP INDF buddha world.honoured NMLZ
tan
praise

¹⁵⁸ PG(S) I.199.19–20: asya buddhā bhagavanto varṇaṃ bhāṣante asya na varṇaṃ bhāṣante.

‘An awakened hero is praised by the Buddhas, World-honoured Ones.’¹⁵⁹
(159a25)

P(Mo) 菩薩為諸佛所稱譽者，不稱譽者。

pusa wei zhu fo suo chengyu zhe, bu
bodhisattva COP INDF buddha NMLZ acclaim NMLZ NEG
chengyu zhe
acclaim NMLZ

‘The bodhisattva is acclaimed by the Buddhas, he is not acclaimed.’ (9b13–14)

P(Kj) 是菩薩為諸佛所稱譽，所不稱譽。

shi pusa wei zhu fo suo chengyu, suo
that bodhisattva COP INDF buddha NMLZ acclaim NMLZ
bu chengyu
NEG acclaim

‘This bodhisattva is acclaimed by the Buddhas, he is not acclaimed.’ (228a7–8)

Pvs(Xz) 此菩薩摩訶薩已為諸佛稱譽，此菩薩摩訶薩未為諸佛稱譽。

ci pusa mohesa yi wei zhu fo
this bodhisattva mahāsattva already COP INDF buddha
chengyu, ci pusa mohesa wei wei zhu
acclaim this bodhisattva mahāsattva NEG COP INDF
fo chengyu
buddha acclaim

‘This *bodhisattva mahāsattva* has already been acclaimed by the Buddhas, this *bodhisattva mahāsattva* has not been acclaimed by the Buddhas.’ (22b9–10)

Table 5.1: Wei constructions in Group 5.1

(108)	LP <i>nindyā bhavanti sadevakasya lokasya</i>	
	P(Dh) -	
	P(Mo) 為諸天、阿須倫所敬愛	(為 A 所 V)
	P(Kj) 為人、天、阿修羅所憎惡	(為 A 所 V)
	Pvs(Xz) 為諸天、人、阿素洛等之所敬愛	(為 A 之所 V)
(109)	LP <i>buddhānāṃ bhagavatāṃ priyo bhavati manaāpaś ca sarvabodhisattvānāṃ ca manaāpaś ca sarvabodhisattvānāṃ ca</i>	

¹⁵⁹ This section of the sūtra is structured by listing a series of formulae which are first stated affirmatively and then negatively. This pattern is followed in all the parallels and P(Dh) does not make an exception; however, the negative part of this specific formula is oddly missing in P(Dh).

P(Dh) 為佛世尊所見愛敬及諸開士、一切聲聞、緣覺所 (為 A 所見 V)
見欽奉

P(Mo) 為現在諸佛、菩薩、羅漢、辟支佛之所愛敬 (為 A 之所 V)

P(Kj) 為十方諸佛所愛念，亦為一切菩薩一切聲聞、辟
支佛所愛念 (為 A 所 V)

Pvs(Xz)-

(110) LP *bahujanasya priyāś ca bhavanti manaāpāś ca*

P(Dh) 無數人所見敬愛 (A 所見 V)

P(Mo) -

P(Kj) -

Pvs(Xz) -

(111) LP *buddhā bhagavanto varṇaṃ bhāṣante asya
bodhisattvasya mahāsattvasya buddhā bhagavanto na
varṇaṃ bhāṣante*

P(Dh) 某開士為諸佛世尊所歎 (為 A 所 V)

P(Mo) 菩薩為諸佛所稱譽者，不稱譽者 (為 A 所 V)

P(Kj) 是菩薩為諸佛所稱譽，所不稱譽 (為 A 所 V)

Pvs(Xz) 此菩薩摩訶薩已為諸佛稱譽，此菩薩摩訶薩未
為諸佛稱譽 (為 A V)

5.4.2 Group 5.2

A second group can be formed by assembling the four examples centred on the role of the *pāpamitra/kalyāṇamitra* ‘evil friend/good friend’. In this set of examples, the Sanskrit agent – corresponding to the A of the *wei A suo V* construction – is in nominal composition with the *-ta* participle.

(112)

LP	<i>sacet</i>	<i>subhūte</i>	<i>navayānasamprasthito</i>	<i>bodhisattvo</i>
	if	S:VOC	newly.path.set_out:PPP.NOM	bodhisattva:NOM
	<i>mahāsattvaḥ</i>	<i>prajñāpāramitāyāṃ</i>	<i>carann</i>	
	great.being:NOM	wisdom.perfection:LOC	course:PTCP.PRS.NOM	
	<i>anupāyakuśalo</i>	<i>bhaven</i>	<i>na</i>	<i>ca</i>
	non.expedient.skillfull:NO	become:OPT.3SG	NEG	and
M				
	<i>kalyāṇamitrahastagato</i>	<i>bhaved</i>	<i>uttrasyet</i>	
	good.friend.hand.go:PPP.NOM	become:OPT.3SG	tremble:OPT.3SG	
	<i>saṃtrasyet</i>	<i>saṃtrāsam</i>	<i>āpadyeta</i>	
	be_frightened:OPT.3SG	fear:ACC	fall_into:OPT.3SG	

‘Subhūti, if a bodhisattva great-being who has newly set out on [his] path, while coursing in the perfection of wisdom, is not skilful in the expedients and

has not got into the hands of a good friend, he would tremble, he would be frightened, he would be terrified.’ (Pvs(K) I-2.6.19–21)¹⁶⁰

P(Dh) 假使新學大乘菩薩摩訶薩於般若波羅蜜不解漚愁拘舍羅者，不親善師，或恐或怖或懷畏懼。

jiashi xin xue dasheng pusa mohesa yu
if new train great.vehicle bodhisattva mahāsattva at
banreboluomi bu jie ouhejusheluo zhe, bu
prajñāpāramitā NEG understand upāyakuśala TOP NEG
qin shanshi, huo kong huo bu
be_close good.teacher or be_afraid or be_frightened
huo huai weiqu
or carry_in_heart fear
‘If a *bodhisattva mahāsattva* who has been newly training in the great vehicle does not understand [being] *upāyakuśala* in the *prajñāpāramitā* and he is not close to a good teacher, he would be afraid, or frightened, or would carry fear in his heart.’ (175a27–29)

P(Mo) 新學大乘菩薩，未得般若波羅蜜漚愁拘舍羅，不與善知識相隨，或恐或怖。

xin xue dasheng pusa, wei de
new train great.vehicle bodhisattva NEG attain
banrebuoluomi ouhejusheluo, bu yu shanzhishi
prajñāpāramitā upāyakuśala NEG at good.friend
xiangsui, huo kong huo bu
go_along_with or be_frightened or be_terrified
‘The *bodhisattva* who has been newly training in the great vehicle, not having attained [being] *upāyakuśala* in the *prajñāpāramitā* and not going along with a good friend, he would be frightened or terrified.’ (17b18–20)

P(Kj) 若新發大乘意菩薩於般若波羅蜜無方便，亦不得善知識，是菩薩或驚或怖或畏。

ruo xin fa dasheng yi pusa yu
if new arouse great.vehicle intention bodhisattva at
banreboluomi wu fangbiang, yi bu de shanzhishi,
prajñāpāramitā NEG expedient also NEG attain good.friend
shi pusa huo jing huo bu huo
that bodhisattva or be_alarmed or be_terrified or
wei
be_afraid

¹⁶⁰ PG(S) III.103.8–11 *sacet subhūte navayānasamprasthito bodhisatvo mahāsatvaḥ prajñāpāramitāyām anupāyakuśalo bhaven naiva kalyāṇamitrahastagato bhavet uttrasyet samtrasyet samtrāsam āpadyeta.*

‘If a *bodhisattva* who has aroused the intention [of setting out on] the great vehicle is not [skilful] in the expedients in the *prajñāpāramitā* nor attains a good friend, this *bodhisattva* would be alarmed or terrified or would be afraid.’ (240a15–17)

Pvs(Xz) 新趣大乘諸菩薩摩訶薩修行般若波羅蜜多時，若無方便善巧及不為善友所攝受者，聞說如是甚深般若波羅蜜多，其心有驚有恐有怖。

<i>xin</i>	<i>qu</i>	<i>dasheng</i>	<i>zhu</i>	<i>pusa</i>	<i>mohesa</i>
new	undertake	great.vehicle	INDF	bodhisattva	mahāsattva
<i>xiuxing</i>	<i>banreboluomiduo</i>	<i>shi,</i>	<i>ruo</i>	<i>wu</i>	<i>fangbian</i>
practice	prajñāpāramitā	while	if	NEG	expedient
<i>shanqiao</i>	<i>ji</i>	<i>bu</i>	<i>wei</i>	<i>shanyou</i>	<i>suo</i>
skilful	and	NEG	COP	good.friend	NMLZ
<i>zhe,</i>	<i>wen</i>	<i>shuo</i>	<i>rushi</i>	<i>shen</i>	<i>shen</i>
TOP	hear	say	such	very	profound
<i>qi</i>	<i>xin</i>	<i>you</i>	<i>jing</i>	<i>you</i>	<i>kong</i>
their	heart	exist	alarm	exist	fear
					<i>bu</i>
					exist
					terror

‘If the *bodhisattvas mahāsattvas* who have undertaken [the path] of the great vehicle, while practicing the *prajñāpāramitā*, are not skilful in the expedients and are not supported by a good friend, hearing the reciting of [such a] very profound *prajñāpāramitā*, alarm arises in their hearts, fear arises in their hearts, terror arises in their hearts.’ (54a11–14)

(113)

LP	<i>katham</i>	<i>bhagavan</i>	<i>bodhisattvo</i>	<i>mahāsattvaḥ</i>
	how	blessed_one:VOC	bodhisattva:NOM	great.being:NOM
	<i>pāpamitrāparigrhīto</i>	<i>bhavati</i>	<i>yena</i>	
	evil.friend.assist:PPP.NOM	become:PRS.3SG	REL:INS	
	<i>pāpamitrāparigraheṇemaṃ</i>	<i>prajñāpāramitānirdeśaṃ</i>		
	evil.friend.assistance:INS=this:ACC	wisdom.perfection.exposition:ACC		
	<i>śrutvā</i>	<i>uttrasyati</i>	<i>saṃtrasyati</i>	<i>saṃtrāsam</i>
	hear:GER	tremble:OPT.3SG	be_frightened:OPT.3SG	fear:ACC
	<i>āpadyate</i>			
	fall_into:OPT.3SG			

‘How, Blessed One, does a bodhisattva great-being become assisted by an evil friend by whose assistance, having heard the exposition of the perfection of wisdom, he would tremble, he would be frightened, he would be terrified?’ (Pvs(K) I-2.14.10–12)¹⁶¹

P(Dh) 唯天中天，云何菩薩摩訶薩而為惡師之所攝錄，隨惡師教聞說般若波羅蜜，或恐或怖而心懷懼？

¹⁶¹PG(S) III.115.24–116.2: *katham bhagavan bodhisattvo mahāsattvaḥ pāpamitrāhastagato bhavati || yena pāpamitreṇa parigrhītena imaṃ prajñāpāramitānirdeśaṃ śrutvottrasyati saṃtrasyati santrāsam āpadyate.*

wei tianzhongtian, yunhe pusa mohesa er
 VOC god.among.god how bodhisattva mahāsattva CONJ
wei eshi zhi suo shelu, sui eshi
 COP evil.teacher GEN NMLZ control follow evil.teacher
jiao wen shuo banreboluomi, huo kong huo
 teaching hear say prajñāpāramitā or be_afraid or
bu er xin huai qu
 be_frightened CONJ heart carry_in_the_heart fear
 ‘God among the gods, how does a *bodhisattva mahāsattva* become controlled by an evil teacher [and] following the teaching of the evil teacher, hearing the reciting of the *prajñāpāramitā*, [how does] he carry fear in the heart whilst being afraid or being frightened?’ (177a15–17)

P(Mo) 何等為菩薩學般若波羅蜜無漚愁拘舍羅，為惡知識，聞說般若波羅蜜為恐怖？

hedeng wei pusa xue banreboluomi wu
 how COP bodhisattva training prajñāpāramitā NEG
ouhejusheluo, wei ezhishi, wen shuo banreboluomi
 upāyakauśalya COP evil.friend hear say prajñāpāramitā
wei kong bu
 COP be_afraid be_frightened
 ‘How is it that a *bodhisattva* who has been training in the *prajñāpāramitā* has no *upāyakauśalya* and becomes [controlled¹⁶²] by an evil friend, and hearing the reciting of the *prajñāpāramitā* becomes afraid and frightened?’ (17c24–26)

P(Kj) 云何菩薩摩訶薩行般若波羅蜜無方便，隨惡知識，聞說是般若波羅蜜驚畏怖？

yunhe pusa mohesa xing banreboluomi wu
 how bodhisattva mahāsattva practice prajñāpāramitā NEG
fangbian, sui ezhishi, wen shuo shi
 expedient follow evil.friend hear say that
banreboluomi jing wei bu
 prajñāpāramitā be_alarmed be_frightened be_terrified
 ‘How does a *bodhisattva mahāsattva* who is practicing the *prajñāpāramitā* not have [the skilfulness] in the expedients, and [how], following an evil teacher, is he alarmed, frightened and terrified in hearing the reciting of that *prajñāpāramitā*?’ (241a2–4)

Pvs(Xz) 世尊，云何菩薩摩訶薩修行般若波羅蜜多時，為諸惡友所攝受故，聞說如是甚深般若波羅蜜多，其心有驚有恐有怖？

¹⁶² The syntax of the passage is quite here obscure; it is probably necessary to reconstruct a verb corresponding to Skt. *parigrhīta*, possibly introduced by *suo*, as in the other Chinese translations.

<i>shizun,</i>	<i>yunhe</i>	<i>pusa</i>	<i>mohesa</i>	<i>xiuxing</i>
world.honoured	how	bodhisattva	mahāsattva	practice
<i>banreboluomiduo</i>	<i>shi,</i>	<i>wei</i>	<i>zhu</i>	<i>eyou suo</i>
prajñāpāramitā	while	COP	INDF	evil.friend NMLZ
<i>sheshou gu,</i>	<i>wen</i>	<i>shuo</i>	<i>rushi</i>	<i>shen shen</i>
control cause	hear	say	such	very profound
<i>banreboluomiduo,</i>	<i>qi</i>	<i>xin</i>	<i>you</i>	<i>jing you kong</i>
prajñāpāramitā	his	heart	exist	alarm exist fear
<i>you bu</i>				
exist	terror			

‘World-honoured One, how do alarm, fear and terror arise in the heart of a *bodhisattva mahāsattva* while practicing the *prajñāpāramitā* by means of becoming controlled by an evil friend and after hearing the reciting of [such a] very profound *prajñāpāramitā*?’ (56a6–9)

(114)

LP *pūrvajinakṛtādhikārā* *bahubuddhakoṭiṣv*
former.victor.done.service:NOM.PL many.buddha.myriad:LOC.PL
avaropitakuśalamūlā *vā* *kalyāṇamitrapariṅhitā* *vā*
planted.merit.root:NOM.PL PTC good_friend.assist:PPP.NOM.PL PTC
te kulaputrāḥ *kuladuhitaraś* *ca*
3PL:NOM good_family.son:NOM.PL good_family.daughter:NOM.PL and
‘Those sons or daughters of good families who have performed services for the victorious ones of the past, who have planted roots of merit under many myriads of Buddhas or who are assisted by a good friend.’ (Pvs(K) II–III.16.10–11)¹⁶³

P(Dh) 於過去佛已造之行，供養無數百千諸佛殖眾德本，為善知識所見將護善男子、善女人。

<i>yu</i>	<i>guoqu</i>	<i>fo</i>	<i>yi</i>	<i>zao</i>	<i>zhi</i>	<i>xing,</i>	<i>gongyang</i>
at	past	buddha	already	do	GEN	deed	worship
<i>wushu</i>	<i>bai</i>	<i>qian</i>	<i>zhu</i>	<i>fo</i>	<i>zhi</i>	<i>zhong</i>	
incalculable	hundred	thousand	INDF	buddha	plant	manifold	
<i>deben,</i>	<i>wei</i>	<i>shanzhishi</i>	<i>suojian</i>	<i>jianghu</i>			
merit.root	COP	good.friend	NMLZ	protect			
<i>shannazi</i>	<i>shannüren</i>						
good.son	good.daughter						

‘[Those] sons [or] daughters of good [families] who have served Buddhas of the past¹⁶⁴, who have worshipped incalculable hundreds of thousands of

¹⁶³ PG 130r.6: *pūrvajinakṛtādhikārāś ca satvāḥ bahubuddhakoṭiṣv avaropitakuśalamūlā kālyāṇamitrapariṅhitāś ca kulaputrā kuladuhita(ra)ś ca*.

¹⁶⁴ I take 於過去佛已造之行 as a literal rendering of the Skt. compound *pūrvajinakṛtādhikāra*: *guoqu* 過去 = *pūrvā*, *fo* 佛 = *jina*, *yi zao* 已造 = *kṛtā*, *xing* 行 = *adhikāra*.

Buddhas planting manifold roots of merit, who are protected by a good friend.’ (213a25–27)

P(Mo) 前世於無央數諸佛所而作功德，與善知識相隨者，善男子、善女人。

qian shi yuwuyangshu zhu fo suo er
former world countless INDF buddha place CONJ
zuo gongde, yu shanzhishi xiangsui zhe,
produce merit with good.friend go_along NMLZ
shannazi shanniiren
good.son good.daughter

‘[Those] sons [or] daughters of good [families] who have produced merit in the presence of countless Buddhas of the past, who go along with a good friend.’ (40b17–19)

P(Kj) 善男子、善女人多見佛，於諸佛所多供養，種善根，親近善知識。

shannanzi shanniiren duo jian fo, yu zhu fo
good.son good.daughter much see buddha at INDF buddha
suo duo gongyang, zhong shangen, qinjin
presence much worship plant good.root become_close_with
shanzhishi
good.friend

‘[Those] sons [or] daughters of good [families] who have seen Buddhas to a great extent, who have greatly worshipped Buddhas, planted good roots, and who are close to a good friend.’ (276b17–19)

Pvs(Xz) 無量諸善男子、善女人等，已於過去無數佛所發弘誓願，種諸善根，聰慧利根善友所攝。

wuliang zhu shannanzi shanniiren deng, yi
immeasurable INDF good.son good.daughter so_forth already
yu guoqu wushu fo suo fahong zanyuan,
at past incalculable buddha place give_rise vow
zhong zhu shangen, conghui ligen shanyou
plant INDF good.root wise sharp.faculty good.friend
suo she
NMLZ be_affiliated

‘[Those] sons [or] daughters of good [families], who have given rise to the vow in the presence of incalculable Buddhas of the past, have planted various good roots, who are affiliated with good friends, and are wise and endowed with sharp faculties.’ (140a29–b2)

Table 5.2: *Wei* constructions in Group 5.2

(112)	LP <i>na ca kalyāṇamitrahastagato bhavet</i> P(Dh) - P(Mo) - P(Kj) - Pvs(Xz) 不為善友所攝受	(為 A 所 V)
(113)	LP <i>pāpamitraparigrhīto bhavati</i> P(Dh) 為惡師之所攝錄 P(Mo) 為惡知識[*所攝] P(Kj) - Pvs(Xz) 為諸惡友所攝受	(為 A 之所 V) (為 A 所 V) (為 A 所 V)
(114)	LP <i>kalyāṇamitraparigrhitā</i> P(Dh) 為善知識所見將護 P(Mo) - P(Kj) - Pvs(Xz) 善友所攝	(為 A 所見 V) (A 所 V)

5.4.3 Group 5.3

The third group consists of three examples which do not possess any particular semantic or structural similarity. The only common basis for their grouping is that the A of the *wei* construction is animate in all examples.

(115)

LP	<i>vyākṛto</i>	<i>'yam</i>	<i>āyusman</i>	<i>śāriputra</i>	<i>bodhisattvo</i>
	predict:PPP.NOM	this:NOM	venerable:VOC	Ś:VOC	bodhisattva:NOM
	<i>mahāsattvaḥ</i>	<i>pūrvakais</i>		<i>tathāgatair</i>	<i>arhadbhiḥ</i>
	great.being:NOM	former:INS.PL		tathāgata:INS.PL	noble:INS.PL
	<i>samyaksaṃbuddhaiḥ</i>		<i>ye</i>	<i>'py</i>	<i>etarhi</i>
	completely_awakened:INS.PL		REL:NOM.PL	also	now
	<i>daśadiśi</i>	<i>loke</i>	<i>tiṣṭhanti</i>		<i>dhriyante</i>
	ten.direction:LOC	world:LOC	stand:PRS.3PL		be_firm:PRS.PASS.3PL
	<i>yāpayanti</i>	<i>te</i>	<i>'pi</i>	<i>tathāgatā</i>	<i>arhantaḥ</i>
	live:PRS.3PL	3PL:NOM	also	tathāgata:NOM.PL	noble:NOM.PL
	<i>samyaksaṃbuddhās</i>		<i>taṃ</i>		<i>bodhisattvaṃ</i>
	completely_awakened:NOM.PL		3SG:ACC		bodhisattva:ACC
	<i>mahāsattvaṃ</i>	<i>vyākurvanti [...]</i>	<i>eṣu</i>		<i>samādhiṣu</i>
	great.being:ACC	predict:PRS.3PL	this:LOC.PL		concentration:LOC.PL
	<i>sthito</i>	<i>bodhisattvo</i>	<i>mahāsattvo</i>		
	stand:PPP.NOM	bodhisattva:NOM	great.being:NOM		
	<i>vyākriyate</i>		<i>tathāgatair</i>		<i>arhadbhiḥ</i>
	predict:PRS.PASS.3SG		tathāgata:INS.PL		noble:INS.PL
	<i>samyaksaṃbuddhaiḥ</i>				
	completely_awakened:INS.PL				

‘Venerable Śāriputra, this bodhisattva great-being has been given a prediction by the Tathāgatas, Noble Ones, Completely Awakened Ones of the past. Those Tathāgatas, Noble Ones, Completely Awakened Ones who stand, are firm and live in the ten directions in the present world, also give prediction to that bodhisattva great-being [...] Is the bodhisattva who has stood in these concentrations being given prediction by Tathāgatas, Noble Ones, Completely Awakened Ones?’ (Pvs(K) I-1.185.17–28)¹⁶⁵

P(Dh) 舍利弗，欲知往古怛薩阿竭、阿羅訶、三耶三佛則為授此等菩薩摩訶薩決，及今現在十方世界諸現在怛薩阿竭、阿羅訶、三耶三佛悉已授此諸菩薩摩訶薩決。[...]菩薩摩訶薩住是三昧，為往古三耶三佛所授決乎？

Shelifu, yu zhi wanggu dasa’ajie aluohe
 Ś desire know past tathāgata arhat
 sanyesanfo ze wei shou cideng
 samyaksaṃbudda CONJ COP give this.kind
 pusa mohesa jue, ji jin xianzai
 bodhisattva mahāsattva determination and now present
 shi fang shijie zhu xianzai dasa’ajie aluohe
 ten direction world INDF present tathāgata arhat
 sanyesanfo xi yi shou ci zhu pusa
 samyaksaṃbudda fully already give this INDF bodhisattva
 mohesa jue [...] pusa mohesa zhu
 mahāsattva determination bodhisattva mahāsattva dwell
 shi sanmei, wei wanggu sanyesanfo suo
 that samādhi COP past samyaksaṃbudda NMLZ
 shoujue hu
 give_determination INT

‘Śāriputra, one desires (?) to know ¹⁶⁶ that the *Tathāgatas*, *Arhats*, *Samyaksaṃbuddas* of the past surely have given the determination [of future buddhahood] to these *bodhisattvas mahāsattvas*. Furthermore, all the present *Tathāgatas*, *Arhats*, *Samyaksaṃbuddas* in the ten directions of the present world have [also] already fully given the determination to these various *bodhisattvas mahāsattvas*. [...] Is the *bodhisattva mahāsattva*, who

¹⁶⁵ PG(S) III.89.6–90.10: *vyākṛto vatāyam āyuṣmaṃc chāradvatīputra bodhisatvo mahāsatvaḥ taiḥ pūrvakais tathāgatair arhadbhiḥ samyaksaṃbuddhaiḥ ye ’pi te etarhi daśadiglokadhātuṣu tathāgatā arhantaḥ samyaksaṃbuddhāḥ tiṣṭhati dhryamte yāpayanti | te ’pi tathāgatā arhanta samyaksaṃbuddhāḥ tam bodhisatvaṃ mahāsatvaṃ vyākurvanti [...] atra samādhiṣu sthito bodhisatvo mahāsatvo vyākryate tathāgatair arhadbhiḥ samyaksaṃbuddhaiḥ.*

¹⁶⁶ *Yu zhi* 欲知 (‘desire to know’) does not have a parallel element in Pvs(K) or in PG; it seems however to correspond to *dang zhi* 當知 in P(Kj) and Pvs(Xz), possibly being the translation of a Skt. impersonal gerundive. The volitive verb *yu*, as peculiar as it may seem, is thus probably used by Dharmarakṣa to translate a Sanskrit modal verb.

stands in these *samādhis*, being given the determination by the *Tathāgatas*, *Arhats*, *Samyaksambuddhas* of the past?’ (173a13–21)

P(Mo) 若有菩薩摩訶薩行是三昧者，已為過去佛所授決已，今現在諸佛亦授其決已[...]諸有住是三昧者，為已從過去諸佛授記已耶？

ruo you pusa mohesa xing shi sanmei
if exist bodhisattva mahāsattva practice those samādhi
zhe, yi wei guoqu fo suo shou
NMLZ already COP past buddha NMLZ give
jue yi, jin xianzai zhu fo yi
determination stop now present INDF buddha also
shou qi jue yi [...] zhu you
give them determination stop INDF exist
zhu shi sanmei zhe, wei yi cong guoqu zhu
stand those samādhi NMLZ COP already from past INDF
fo shou ji yi ye
buddha give assurance stop INT

‘If there is a *bodhisattva mahāsattva* practicing those *samādhis*, to him has already been given the determination [of future buddhahood] by the past Buddhas; now the various present Buddhas also give the determination to him. [...] Have those who stand in those *samādhis* already been given the assurance [of future buddhahood] by the Buddhas from the past?’ (16b14–20)

P(Kj) 當知諸菩薩摩訶薩行是三昧者，已為過去諸佛所授記，今現在十方諸佛亦授是菩薩記。[...]菩薩摩訶薩住是諸三昧已，從過去佛受記耶？

dang zhi zhu pusa mohesa xing shi
should know INDF bodhisattva mahāsattva practice those
sanmei zhe, yi wei guoqu zhu fo suo
samādhi NMLZ already COP past INDF buddha NMLZ
shou ji, jin xianzai shi fang zhu fo
give assurance now present ten direction INDF buddha
yi shou shi pusa ji [...] pusa
also give those bodhisattva assurance bodhisattva
mohesa zhu shi sanmei yi, cong guoqu
mahāsattva stand those samādhi stop from past
fo shou ji ye
buddha give assurance INT

‘One should know that the *bodhisattvas mahāsattvas* practicing those *samādhis* have been bestowed by the Buddhas of the past with the assurance [of future buddhahood]; now the present Buddhas in the ten directions also bestow upon those *bodhisattvas mahāsattvas* the assurance.

Pvs(Xz) 若菩薩摩訶薩安住如是諸三摩地，當知已為過去諸佛之所授記，亦為現在十方諸佛之所授記。[...]為定別有諸菩薩摩訶薩安住如是諸三摩地，已為過去、現在諸佛所授記耶？

‘If a *bodhisattva mahāsattva* abides in those *samādhis*, [he] should be known as having been bestowed with the assurance [of future buddhahood] by the Buddhas of the past; the present Buddhas in the ten directions also bestow upon him the assurance. [...] Is it that the distinctly existing *bodhisattvas mahāsattvas* abiding in those *samādhis* have been bestowed with the assurance by the past and present Buddhas?’ (51b24–c4)

LP *sarvākārajñatām* *anuprāpya* *dharmacakram*
all.disposition.knowledge:ACC attain:GER dharma.wheel:ACC
pravartayati *apravartanīyaṃ*
turn:PRS.3SG non.turn:GRND.ACC
sarvaśrāvakapratyekabuddhair
all.hearer.solitary_buddha:INS.PL
devanāgayakṣagandharvāsuraḥkinnaramahoragamanuṣyāmanuṣyāsur
eṇa
god.nāga.yakṣa.gandharva.asura.garuḍa.kinnara.mahoraga.human.nonhuman
.asura:INS
lokena
world:INS
‘Having attained the knowledge of all the dispositions, [he] turns the wheel of
dharma, which cannot be turned by hearers or solitary Buddhas nor by the

world with its gods, nāgas, yakṣas, gandharvas, asuras, garuḍas, kinnaras, mahoragas, men, spirits and asuras [sic].’ (Pvs(K) I-2.45.28–30)¹⁶⁷

P(Dh) 已能逮得薩芸若慧，便轉法輪；已轉法輪，則為一切聲聞、辟支佛、天、龍、鬼神、世間人民有所加益。

yi neng daide sayunruohui, bian zhuan
already able reach sarvajña.knowledge then turn
falun; yi zhuan falun, ze wei yiqie
dharma.wheel already turn dharma.wheel CONJ to(?) all
shengwen bizhifo tian long guishen shijian
hearer pratyekabuddha god serpent demon worldly
renmin you suo jia yi
people exist NMLZ add profit

‘Having been able to obtain the *sarvajña*-knowledge, [he] turns the wheel of dharma; having turned the wheel of dharma, [he] causes profit (?)¹⁶⁸ to hearers, *pratyekabuddhas*, gods, serpents, demons and worldly people.’ (185b13–15)

P(Mo) 逮一切智已，便能轉法輪，非羅漢、辟支佛及諸天、龍、閼叉、阿須倫及世間人所能轉。

dai yiqie zhi yi, bian neng zhuan
reach all wisdom stop then be_able turn
falun, fei luohan bizhifo ji zhu
dharma.wheel NEG arhat pratyekabuddha and INDF
tian long yuecha axulun ji shijian ren suo
god serpent yakṣa asura and worldly people NMLZ
neng zhuan

¹⁶⁷ PG 77v.12–13: *sa sarvākārājñatām anuprāpya dharmacakram pravartayaty apravartanīyaṃ sarvaśrāvakaṃ pratyekabuddhai{h}r devair yakṣai nāgair yāva sarvadevamānuṣāsuraṇa lokena.*

¹⁶⁸ The syntax of Dharmarakṣa’s translation is, again, obscure: the verb *pravartayati* is repeated a second time in what appears to be a translation of an absolutive clause (*yi zhuan falun* 已轉法輪), while it is not clear how the gerundive *appravartanīya* was syntactically understood by Dharmarakṣa (apparently it does not grammatically agree either with the bodhisattva who turns the wheel or with the wheel which is turned). The translation of the gerundive itself is puzzling: the verb *pravartayati* ‘turn’ was possibly misread as *pravardhayati* ‘increase, make prosper’ (*jiayi* 加益) (the complete gerundive form would be **appravardhanīya* in place of the *appravartanīya* attested in the Sanskrit parallel). The syntagm *you suo jiayi* 有所加益 occurs another time in a previous passage of P(Dh) (157a4–7): 開士大士[...]便轉法輪，為無央數不可稱計眾生之類開導利誼，有所加益... ‘Awakened heroes, great heroes [...] turn the wheel of dharma, and lead immeasurable and incalculable types of beings to profit [and make them] have prosperity (?)...’ corresponding to Pvs(K) I-1.83.32–84.2) *santi śāriputra bodhisattvā mahāsattvā ye [...] dharmacakram pravartayanty aprameyānām asaṃkhyeyānām sattvānām cārtham kṛtvā* ‘Śāriputra, there are bodhisattvas great-beings who [...] turn the wheel of dharma and, after having caused benefit to immeasurable and incalculable beings...’. In this case the *wei* in P(Dh) is probably to be analysed as the preposition introducing a recipient rather than the copula; thus, it is possible that the structural similarity of the two passages could have also influenced Dharmarakṣa’s translation of example (116).

be_able turn

‘Having reached omniscience, [he] is able to turn the wheel of dharma, the one which cannot be turned by *arhats* and *pratyekabuddhas* [or] by gods, serpents, *yakṣas*, *asuras* and worldly people.’ (21a24–26)

P(Kj) 得一切種智已，轉法輪，聲聞、辟支佛及天、龍、鬼神、阿修羅、世間人民所不能轉。

de yiqiezhongzhi yi, zhuan falun,
attain all.dispositions.knowledge stop turn dharma.wheel
shengwen bizhifo ji tian long guishen axiuluo
hearer pratyekabuddha and god serpent demon asura
shijian renmin suo bu neng zhuan
wordly people NMLZ NEG be_able turn
‘Having attained the knowledge of all the dispositions, [he] turns the wheel of dharma, which cannot be turned by hearers and *pratyekabuddhas* [or] by gods, serpents, demons, *asuras* and worldly people.’ (247b29–c1)

Pvs(Xz) 是菩薩摩訶薩不久當得一切智智，為天、人等轉正法輪，如是法輪，聲聞、獨覺、天、魔、梵等所不能轉。

shi pusa mohesa bu jiu dang de
that bodhisattva mahāsattva NEG long shall attain
yiqiezhizhi, wei tian ren deng zhuan
omniscience for god people so_forth turn
zhengfalun, rushi falun, shengwen
true.dharma.wheel such dharma.wheel hearer
dujue tian mo fan deng suo
alone.awakened god demon brahman so_forth NMLZ
bu neng zhuan
NEG be_able turn
‘That *bodhisattva mahāsattva* shall soon attain omniscience and turn the wheel of the true dharma for gods, people and so forth; such a wheel of dharma is not the one that hearers, solitary awakened ones, gods, demons and *brahman*s are able to turn.’ (68a21–23)

(117)

LP *svapnasya sa subhūte niryāṇam icched*
dream:GEN 3SG:NOM S:VOC going_forth:ACC wish:OPT.3SG
yo ’lakṣaṇānām dharmāṇām niryāṇam
REL:NOM unmarked:GEN.PL dharma:GEN.PL going_forth:ACC
icchet vistareṇa kartavyam evaṃ marīcyā
wish:OPT.3SG in_full do:GRND.NOM thus mirage:GEN
māyāyāḥ pratiśrutkāyāḥ pratibhāsasya pratibimbasya
illusion:GEN echo:GEN image:GEN reflection:GEN
gandharvanagarasya tathāgatanirmitasya sa subhūte

gandharva.city:GEN tathāgata.create:PPP.GEN 3SG:NOM S:VOC

niryāṇam icched yo 'lakṣaṇānām

going_forth:ACC wish:OPT.3SG REL:NOM unmarked:GEN.PL

dharmāṇām niryāṇam icchet

dharma:GEN.PL going_forth:ACC wish:OPT.3SG

‘Subhūti, one who wishes for the going forth of the unmarked dharmas is one who wishes for the going forth of a dream, the same applies also to [the going forth] of a mirage, of an illusion, of an echo, of an image, of a reflection, of a city of *gandharvas*. Subhūti, one who wishes for the going forth of the unmarked dharmas is one who wishes for the going forth of the creation of a Tathāgata.’ (Pvs(K) I-2.105.21–24)¹⁶⁹

P(Dh) 無有相欲令生者¹⁷⁰，則為欲令夢幻出生。

wu you xiang yu ling sheng zhe,

NEG possess mark wish make be_born TOP

ze wei yu ling meng huan chusheng

CONJ COP wish let dream illusion be_born

‘Wishing for the bringing to birth of the unmarked [dharmas] is exactly the same as wishing for the bringing to birth of a dream [or] an illusion.’ (199b11–13)

P(Mo) 欲出生無相法者，為欲出生夢、幻、炎、響、光影，欲出生無相法者，為欲出生如來之所作化。

yu chusheng wuxiang fa zhe, wei yu

wish come_forth unmarked dharma TOP COP wish

chusheng meng huan yan xiang guangying, yu

come_forth dream illusion mirage echo reflection wish

chusheng wuxiang fa zhe, wei yu chusheng

come_forth unmarked dharma TOP COP wish come_forth

rulai zhi suo zuohua

thus.come GEN NMLZ create

‘Wishing for the coming forth of the unmarked dharmas is the same as wishing for the coming forth of a dream, of an illusion, of a mirage, of an echo, of a reflection. Wishing for the coming forth of the unmarked dharmas is the same as wishing for the birth of something created by a Thus-come.’ (29c20–22)

¹⁶⁹ PG 98r.9–10: *svapnasya sa subhūte niryāṇam icched ya alakṣaṇānām dharmāṇām niryāṇam icchet evaṃ māyāyā marīcyā pratiśrutkāyā pratibhāsasya tathāgatanirmitasya sa subhūte niryāṇam icched ya a{na}{la}kṣaṇānām dharmāṇām niryāṇam icchet.*

¹⁷⁰ In distinction from the earlier versions, the Taishō Canon adds here the six characters 則為欲令生者, an addition which is clearly defective.

P(Kj) 若人欲使夢出，是人為欲使無相法出，若人欲使幻、焰、響、影、化出，是人為欲使無相法出。

ruo ren yu shi meng chu, shi ren
 if person wish_for lead dream go_forth that person
wei yu shi wuxiang fa chu, ruo ren
 COP wish lead unmarked dharma go_forth if person
yu shi huan yan xiang ying huachu, shi
 wish lead illusion mirage echo reflection creation that
ren wei yu shi wuxiang fa chu
 person COP wish lead unmarked dharma go_forth
 ‘If a person wishes to make a dream come forth, [that is like] that person wishing to make the unmarked dharmas come forth. If a person wishes to make an illusion, a mirage, an echo, a reflection and a [magical] creation come forth, [that is like] that person wishing to make the unmarked dharmas come forth.’ (260a7–9)

Pvs(Xz) 善現，諸有欲令無相之法有出住者，則為欲令幻事、陽焰、響、像、光影、空花、變化，空亦有出住。

Shanxian, zhu you yu ling wuxiang zhi fa
 S INDF exist wish make unmarked GEN dharma
you chuzhu zhe, ze wei yu ling
 exist go_forth NMLZ CONJ COP wish make
huanshi yangyan xiang xiang guangying konghua
 illusion mirage echo image reflection air.flower
bianhua kong yi you chuzhu
 creation void although exist go_forth
 ‘Subhūti, wishing to make the unmarked dharmas come forth is exactly the same as wishing to make an illusion, a mirage, an echo, an image, a reflection, a flower in the sky or a [magical] creation come forth, although they are void.’ (89c23–25)

Table 5.3: Wei constructions in Group 5.3

(115) LP *vyākṛto [...] pūrvakais tathāgatair arhadbhiḥ*
samyaksambuddhaiḥ [...] tathagata arhantaḥ
samyaksambuddhās [...] vyākurvanti vyākriyate
tathāgatair arhadbhiḥ samyaksambuddhaiḥ

P(Dh) -

-
 為往古三耶三佛所授決

(為 A 所 V)

P(Mo) 為過去佛所授決

(為 A 所 V)

-
 為已從過去諸佛授記

(為 A V)

P(Kj) 為過去諸佛所授記

(為 A 所 V)

- -
- Pvs(Xz) 為過去諸佛之所授記 (為 A 之所 V)
 為現在十方諸佛之所授記 (為 A 之所 V)
 為過去、現在諸佛所授記 (為 A 所 V)
- (116) LP *apravartanīyaṃ sarvaśrāvakaḥpratyekabuddhair devanāgayaḥśaṅgandharvāsuraḥgaruḍakinnarāmahoragama nuṣyāsuraṇa loka*
 P(Dh) 為一切聲聞、辟支佛、天、龍、鬼神、世間人民有所加益 (為 A 所 V)
 P(Mo) 非羅漢、辟支佛及諸天、龍、閼叉、阿須倫及世間人所能轉 (非 A 所 V)
 P(Kj) -
 Pvs(Xz) 為天人等轉正法輪如是法輪，聲聞、獨覺、天、魔、梵等所不能轉 (為 A 所 V)
- (117) LP *tathāgatanirmitasya*
 P(Dh) -
 P(Mo) 為欲出生如來之所作化 (為 A 之所 V)
 P(Kj) -
 Pvs(Xz) -
-

5.4.4 Group 5.4

A last group can be formed by collecting nine examples in which the A of the *wei A suo V* construction is non-animate (or less animate than O).

- (118)
 LP *ye ca tena raśmyavabhāṣena sprṣṭās*
 REL:NOM.PL and 3SG:INS ray.light:INS touch:PPP.NOM.PL
te sarve niyatā abhavann
 3PL:NOM all:NOM.PL lead:PPP.NOM.PL become:AOR.3PL
anuttarasyāṃ sanyaksambodhau
 supreme:LOC complete_awakening:LOC
 ‘The [beings] touched by that ray of light were all led to the supreme complete awakening.’ (PG(Z) 368.16–18)¹⁷¹

P(Dh) 其有群萌為光所照，悉皆寂然存于無上正真之道。

<i>qi</i>	<i>you</i>	<i>qun</i>	<i>meng</i>	<i>wei</i>	<i>guang</i>	<i>suo</i>	<i>zhao</i> ,
there	exist	many	being	COP	light	NMLZ	illuminate
<i>xi</i>		<i>jie</i>	<i>jiran</i>		<i>cun</i>	<i>yu</i>	<i>wushang</i>
completely		all	peacefully		be_placed	at	supreme

¹⁷¹ Pvs(K) I-1.2.30–31: *ye ca sattvās tena mahatā raśmyavabhāṣena sphuṭā avabhāsitās te sarve niyatā abhūvann anuttarāyāṃ samyaksambodhau*.

zheng zhen zhi dao
right true GEN way

‘The multitude of beings found there, by being illuminated by [that] light,¹⁷²
all became peacefully established in the supreme, right and true Way.’
(147c1–2)

P(Mo) 一切眾生見光明者，亦畢志發無上正真道意。

yiqie zhongsheng jian guangming zhe,
all beings see radiance NMLZ
yi bi zhi fa wushang zheng zhen dao yi
also all resolve arouse supreme right true way intention
‘All beings, by seeing [that] light, also all resolved [themselves] to arouse
the intention for the supreme, right and true Way.’ (1b21)

P(Kj) 若有眾生遇斯光者，必得阿耨多羅三藐三菩提。

ruo you zhongsheng yu si guang zhe,
there exist beings come_across that light NMLZ
bi de anouduoluosanmiaosanputi
certainly attain anuttarasamyaksambodhi
‘The beings found there, coming across that light, certainly attained
anuttara-samyaksambodhi.’ (217b24–25)

Pvs(Xz) 其中有情遇斯光者，必得無上正等菩提。

qizhong youqing yu si guang zhe,
therein beings come_across that light NMLZ
bi de wushang zhengdeng puti
certainly attain supreme correct bodhi
‘The beings found there, coming across that light, certainly attained the
supreme, correct bodhi.’ (2a3–4)

(119)

LP na punar bodhisattvo mahāsattvaḥ kāmagaṇair
NEG PTC bodhisattva:NOM great.being:NOM desire.quality:INS.PL
lipyate
smear:PRS.PASS.3SG

¹⁷² As also noted by Zacchetti (2005: 259, fn. 130), in P(Dh), the copula construction *wei guang suo zhao* 為光所照 alternates with the equivalent expression *mengzhi guangming* 蒙值光明 ‘being covered in radiance’ in 147b27. According to Zacchetti, these two different translations of a similar formula might be due to a different reading in the Sanskrit manuscript used by Dharmarakṣa, with the copula construction possibly being closer to reading of the Nepalese recension, i.e. *tena mahatā raśmyavabhāsenā sphuṭā avabhāsitās*, while the second reading closer to Gilgit *tena raśmyavabhāsenā sprṣṭās*. The fact that all the other Chinese parallels have the same reading for the formula on both occasions, however, would suggest that this is simply a case of translation inconsistency by Dharmarakṣa.

‘The bodhisattva great-being, however, is not smeared by the qualities of desire.’ (Pvs(K) I-1.53.3)¹⁷³

P(Dh) 其菩薩摩訶薩不為五欲之所沾污。

qi pusa mohesa bu wei wuyu zhi suo
that bodhisattva mahāsattva NEG COP five.desire GEN NMLZ
zhanwu
contaminate
‘That *bodhisattva mahāsattva* is not contaminated by the five desires.’
(152a10–11)

P(Mo) 無所沾污。

wu suo zhanwu
NEG NMLZ contaminate
‘There is no contamination.’ (4c14)

P(Kj) 是菩薩摩訶薩不染於欲。

shi pusa mohesa bu ran yu yu
that bodhisattva mahāsattva NEG be_polluted in desire
‘That *bodhisattva mahāsattva* is not polluted in regard to the desires.’¹⁷⁴
(221b20–21)

Pvs(Xz) 此菩薩摩訶薩[...]不為五欲之所染污。

ci pusa mohesa [...] bu wei wu yu
this bodhisattva mahāsattva NEG COP five desire
zhi suo ranwu
GEN NMLZ pollute
‘This *bodhisattva mahāsattva* [...] is not polluted by the five desires.’
(11b15–16)

(120)

LP *santi śāriputra bodhisattvā mahāsattvā*
exist:PRS.3PL Ś:VOC bodhisattva:NOM.PL great.being:NOM.PL
ekajātīpratibaddhā
one.birth.bind:PPP.NOM.PL

¹⁷³ PG(Z) 387.28–31: *bodhisattvā mahāsattvā [...] na ca taiḥ sārddham saṃvasanti na lipyamte*.

¹⁷⁴ Kumārajīva’s translation of the passage may appear to be an instance of the Archaic Chinese “passive” construction with *yu*, but this would be highly unexpected at this stage of linguistic development. I believe that the use of the coverb *yu* takes a locative complement and not an agent here. As discussed in Barchi (2024b), the expression *na lipyate kāmāiḥ* could be interpreted both as a passive with an oblique agent or an intransitive with a locative complement. Kumārajīva’s translation possibly reflects the second interpretation.

‘Śāriputra, there are bodhisattvas, great-beings, bound to one [more] birth.’
(Pvs(K) I-1.81.25)¹⁷⁵

P(Dh) 或有菩薩摩訶薩[...]一生補處。

huo you pusa mohesa [...] yishengbuchu
some exist bodhisattva mahāsattva one.birth.bound
‘There are some *bodhisattvas mahāsattvas* [...] bound to one [more] birth.’
(156a14–15)

P(Mo) -

P(Kj) 舍利弗，有一生補處菩薩。

Shelifu, you yishengbuchu pusa
Ś exist one.birth.bound bodhisattva
‘Śāriputra, there are *bodhisattvas* bound to one [more] birth.’ (225b5–6)

Pvs(Xz) 是菩薩摩訶薩即為一生所繫。

shi pusa mohesa ji wei yisheng suo
those bodhisattva mahāsattva CONJ COP one.birth NMLZ
ji
bind
‘Those *bodhisattvas mahāsattvas* who are bound to one [more] birth.’
(18a17–18)

(121)

LP *santi śāriputra bodhisattvā mahāsattvāś [...]*
exist:PRS.3PL Ś:VOC bodhisattva:NOM.PL great.being:NOM.PL
upāyakaśalyabalena <na>¹⁷⁶
means_skill.power:INS NEG
dhyānasamādhisamāpattivaśena vā
meditation.concentration.attainment.influence:INS PTC
cāturmahārājakāyikānām api devānām sabhāgatāyai
four.great.king.belonging_to:GEN.PL PTC god:GEN.PL assembly:DAT
upapadyante
reach:PRS.3PL
‘Śāriputra, there are bodhisattvas, great-beings [...] who through skill in means and not by means of the attainment of meditation and concentration are reborn among the four great heavenly kings.’ (Pvs(K) I-1.83.3–6)¹⁷⁷

¹⁷⁵ PG(S) I.137.21–22: *asti śāradvatīputra bodhisattvā mahāsattvā ekajātīpratibaddhā*.

¹⁷⁶ The negation is missing in both Dutt’s (1934: 64.12–15) and Kimura’s editions, but it can be restored on the basis of PG and the Chinese translations, also considering that it could have easily got missed by haplogy with the last syllable of the instrumental ending of the preceding word.

¹⁷⁷ PG(S) I.137.2–7: *asti śāradvatīputra bodhisattvā mahāsattvā [...] te upāyakaśalena na teṣāṃ vaśenopapadyate | te cāturmahārājakāyikānām devānām sabhāgatāyai upapadyante*.

P(Dh) 或有菩薩摩訶薩[...]行大哀漚怛拘舍羅，不隨禪教而有所生，其人即生四大天王天上。

huo you pusa mohesa [...] xing da'ai
 some exist bodhisattva mahāsattva practice great.compassion
ouhejusheluo, bu sui chan jiao er you
 upāyakauśalya NEG follow dhyāna teaching CONJ exist
suo sheng, qi ren ji sheng
 NMLZ be_born those people promptly be_born
sidatianwang tianshang
 four.great.heaven.king heaven

‘There are *bodhisattvas mahāsattvas* [...] for whom there is a birth [by means of] practicing the *upāyakauśalya* of great compassion, not by following the *dhyāna*-teachings¹⁷⁸, these are promptly reborn in the heaven of the heavenly great kings.’ (156b18–22)

P(Mo) 復有菩薩[...]以漚怛拘舍羅，不為禪所稽留，來生四王天。

fu you pusa [...] yi ouhejusheluo, bu wei
 moreover exist bodhisattva with upāyakauśalya NEG COP
chan suo jiliu, lai sheng siwangtian
 dhyāna NMLZ hinder come be_born four.king.heaven

‘Moreover, there are *bodhisattvas* [...] who by means of the *upāyakauśalya* and not being hindered by the *dhyānas*, are born in the heaven of the four [great] kings.’ (7c10–12)

P(Kj) 舍利弗，有菩薩摩訶薩[...]以方便力故不隨禪生，或生四天王天處。

Shelifu, you pusa mohesa [...] yi fangbian li
 Ś exist bodhisattva mahāsattva with mean power
gu bu sui chan sheng, huo sheng
 cause NEG follow dhyāna be_born or be_born
sitianwang tianchu
 four.heaven.king heaven

‘Śāriputra, there are *bodhisattvas mahāsattvas* [...] who by means of the power of the expedient means, and not by following the *dhyānas*, are born in the heaven of the four heavenly kings.’ (225c3–6)

Pvs(Xz) 舍利子，復有菩薩摩訶薩[...]是菩薩摩訶薩有方便善巧故，不隨靜慮、無量、無色勢力而生，或生四大王眾天。

Shelizi, fu you pusa mohesa [...] shi
 Ś.son moreover exist bodhisattva mahāsattva those

¹⁷⁸ The peculiar reading *bu sui chan jiao* 不隨禪教 is also found in Lokakṣema’s translation of the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā* T224 455b16; as in the passage from P(Dh), *chanjiao* 禪教 corresponds to *dhyānavāśena* in the Skt. parallel, see Karashima (2010: 60).

pusa mohesa you fangbian shanqiao gu,
 bodhisattva mahāsattva exist mean skill cause
bu sui jinglü wuliang wuse shengli
 NEG follow concentration immeasurable formless influence
er sheng, huo sheng sidawangzhongtian
 CONJ be_born or be_born four.great.king.manifold.god
 ‘Son of Śāri, there are *bodhisattvas mahāsattvas* [...] those *bodhisattvas mahāsattvas* are born again by means of the skill in means, not following the influence of the concentrations, of the immeasurables nor of the formlesses, they are born [among] the four great heavenly kings.’
 (18b18–22)

(122)

LP *sādhv sādhv āyusman subhūte tadyathāpi nāma*
 well well venerable:VOC S:VOC just_as
bhagavataḥ putra auraso mukhato
 blessed_one:GEN son:NOM legitimate:NOM mouth:ABL
jāto dharmajo dharmanirmīto
 be_born:PPP.NOM dharma.born:NOM dharma.create:PPP.NOM
dharmadāyādo nāmiśadāyādaḥ pratyakṣacakṣudharmeṣu
 dharma.heir:NOM NEG=flesh.heir:NOM present.eye.dharma:LOC.PL
kāyasākṣī
 body.witness:NOM
 ‘Well [said], venerable Subhūti, well [said], just like [your are] a legitimate son of the Blessed One, born from his mouth, born from the dharma, created from the dharma, an heir of the dharma, not an heir of the flesh, a bodily witness of the dharmas directly in front of his eyes.’ (Pvs(K) I-1.155.4–5)¹⁷⁹

P(Dh) 善哉，善哉，須菩提，審如仁者為世尊子，從法門生，常以順法，為法所化，因法而與，不為榮冀，自然因緣證于法身。

shan zai, shan zai, Xuputi, shen ru renzhe
 well EXCL well EXCL S truly like you
wei shizunzi, cong famen sheng, chang
 COP world.honoured.son from dharma be_born always
yishun fa, wei fa suo hua, yin
 according dharma COP dharma NMLZ create because
fa er yu, bu wei rongji, ziran
 dharma CONJ gift NEG COP prosperity personally
yinyuan zheng yu fashen
 cause.condition witness at dharma.body

¹⁷⁹ PG(S) II.148.13–16: *sādhv sādhv āyusman subhūte tadyathāpi nāma tvam bhagavataḥ putra auraso mukhato jāto dharmajo dharmanirmīto dharmadāyādo nāmiśadāyādaḥ pratyakṣacakṣurdharmeṣu kāyasākṣī*.

‘Well [said], well [said], Subhūti, surely you are like a son of the World-honoured One, born from the dharma, always [acting] according to the dharma, one who is created by the dharma, a gift because of the dharma¹⁸⁰ [and] not because of prosperity, naturally witnessing the dharma-body as regards causes and conditions.’¹⁸¹ (166c17–19)

P(Mo) 善哉，善哉，如須菩提為是佛子，為從佛生，為從法化生，則為法施非為思欲施，隨其證而為說法。

shan zai, shan zai, ru Xuputi wei shi fozi,
well EXCL well EXCL you Subhūti COP that buddha.son
wei cong fo sheng, wei cong fa
COP from buddha be_born COP from dharma
huasheng, ze wei fashi fei wei siyushi,
create CONJ COP dharma.gift NEG COP desire.gift
sui qi zheng er wei shuo fa
follow it witness CONJ COP preach dharma

‘Well [said], well [said] you, Subhūti, are like a son of a Buddha, born from the Buddha, created from the dharma, truly are a gift of the dharma, not a gift of desire, one who, while following and witnessing the dharma, preaches it.’ (13c13–15)

P(Kj) 善哉，善哉，汝真是佛子，從佛口生，從見法生，從法化生，取法分不取財分，法中自信身得證。

shan zai, shan zai, ru zhen shi fozi,
well EXCL well EXCL you truly COP buddha.son
cong fo kou sheng, cong jianfa sheng,
from buddha mouth be_born from present.dharma be_born
cong fa huasheng, qu fafen, bu
from dharma create receive dharma.inheritance NEG
qu caifen, fa zhong zixinshen dezhen
receive wealth.inheritance dharma in personally witness

¹⁸⁰ *Yinfa er yu* 因法而與 corresponds to *dharmadāyāda* in the Skt. parallel; Skt. *dāyāda* ‘heir’ is literally to be analysed as ‘the one receiving (*ā-da-* ‘receive’) the portion/inheritance (*dāya*)’, which corresponds exactly to the Ch. translation in P(Kj) and Pvs(Xz) (*qu*[...] *fen* 取[...]分 ‘take [...] the portion’, *shou*[...] *fen* 受[...]分 ‘receive [...] the portion’. In both P(Dh) and P(Mo), the compound *dāyāda* appears however to be understood by the translators as having the meaning of ‘giving’ or ‘gift’ (*yu* 與 and *shi* 施).

¹⁸¹ *Ziran yinyuan* 自然因緣 is another instance of an obscure term occurring in Dharmarakṣa’s translations. The term seems to correspond to *pratyakṣa* in the Skt. parallel and could thus represent an instance of “double translation” in Boucher’s (1998: 489) terminology, namely an Indo-Aryan word which was translated twice in Chinese, probably on account of the fact that Dharmarakṣa’s assistants were unable to decide between two possible meanings of a single word as pronounced by Dharmarakṣa, hence providing both of them in the translation. In this case, the confusion would have been between *pratyakṣa* (自然 ‘personally’) and *pratyaya* (因緣 ‘cause’).

‘Well [said], well [said], you truly are a son of the Buddha, born from the mouth of the Buddha, born from the present dharma, created from the dharma, taking a dharma inheritance [and] not taking a wealthy inheritance, personally witnessing the dharmas.’ (234a9–11)

Pvs(Xz) 善哉，善哉，誠如所說汝真佛子，從佛心生，從佛口生，從佛法生，從法化生，受佛法分不受財分，於諸法中身自作證。

shan zai, shan zai, cheng ru suo shuo ru
well EXCL well EXCL sincerely like NMLZ say you
zhen fozhi, cong foxin sheng, cong
truly buddha.son from buddha.heart be_born from
fokou sheng, cong fofa sheng,
buddha.mouth be_born from buddha.dharma be_born
cong fa huasheng, shou fofafen
from dharma create receive buddha.dharma.inheritance
bu shou caifen yu zhu fa zhong
NEG receive wealth.inheritance at INDF dharma in
shenzi zuozheng
personally experience

‘Well [said], well [said], you truly are a son of the Buddha, born from the heart of the Buddha, born from the mouth of the Buddha, born from the Buddha-dharma, created from the dharma, receiving a Buddha-dharma inheritance, not a wealthy inheritance, personally experiencing the dharmas.’ (45a11–14)

(123)

LP avidyātrṣṇābhyām abhiniviśya ubhābhyām
ignorance.craving:INS.DU be_intent_on:GER both:INS.DU
antābhyām saktās te ubhāv
extreme:INS.DU attach:PPP.NOM.PL 3PL:NOM both:ACC.DU
antau na jānanti na paśyanti
extreme:ACC.DU NEG know:PRS.3PL NEG see:PRS.3PL

‘Having devoted [themselves] to ignorance and craving, attached to both the extremes, they do not know and do not see the two extremes.’ (Pvs(K) I-1.188.27–28)¹⁸²

¹⁸² PG(S) III.93.27–94.1: *avidyāyām abhiniviśyobhayor antayoḥ saktās te na jānanti na paśyanti*. The two instrumental duals *avidyātrṣṇābhyām* and *antābhyām* in Pvs, instead of the expected locatives as in PG, can be explained in light of the use in MIA of the instrumental case (especially the plural) as a generalized oblique (Pischel 1900: §371; von Hinüber 2001: §321; Oberlies 2019: §36). Instrumentals used as locatives are already found in the language of the Upaniṣads (Salomon 1991: 58) and are well-attested in Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit (Edgerton 1953: 44), Pāli (Lüders 1954: §§220–225), and Gāndhārī (Lenz 2003: 56). Except for Xuanzang, who translated the passage with a locative meaning, all the other translators appear to have stuck to a literal rendition of the instrumentals found in the Nepalese manuscript (see the use of the *wei A suo V* construction). See Barchi (2024b) for a similar issue concerning the use of the verb *lipyate*.

P(Dh) 以依無明為兩盲俱，則為不知而無所見。

yi yi wuming wei liang mang ju,
by_means_of depend ignorance COP two illusion bound
ze wei bu zhi er wu suo jian
CONJ COP NEG know CONJ NEG NMLZ see
‘Being bounded by the two illusions by means of depending on ignorance,
[they] do not know, [and] there is nothing which they see.’ (173c21–22)

P(Mo) 於中作癡行，為兩際所得而不知不見。

yuzhong zuo chi xing, wei liang ji suo
therein make foolish action COP two extreme NMLZ
de er bu zhi bu jian
possess CONJ NEG know NEG see
‘Making foolish actions therein, [they] become possessed by the two
extremes and do not know and do not see [them].’ (16c18–19)

P(Kj) 是凡夫為二邊所縛，是人不知不見。

shi fanfu wei er bian suo fu, shi
that common.man COP two extreme NMLZ bind that
ren bu zhi bu jian
person NEG know NEG see
‘Those common men become bound to the two extremes, those people do
not know and do not see [them].’ (239a1–2)

Pvs(Xz) 彼由無明及愛勢力，分別執著斷常二邊，由此不知不見。

pi you wuming ji ai shili,
they due_to ignorance and craving influence
fenbie zhizhuo duan chang er bian,
respectively be_attached_to nihilist eternalist two extreme
you ci bu zhi bu jian
due_to this NEG know NEG see
‘Due to the influence of ignorance and craving, they are respectively
attached to the two extremes of nihilism and eternalism; due to this they
do not know and do not see [them].’ (52b21–23)

(124)

LP bodhisattvo mahāsattvaḥ [...] imam eva kāyam
bodhisattva:NOM great.being:NOM this:ACC PTC body:ACC
ūrdhva(m)¹⁸³ pādatalād adhaḥ keśamastakān
upward feet.sole:ABL downward hair.top:ABL

¹⁸³ I have no way of checking the manuscripts used by Kimura, but this emendation seems necessary based on the reading in PG. The same stock-phrase occurs diffusely in Buddhist sources, see for instance AN V 109.19.

nakharomatvakparyantaṃ pūrṇaṃ nānāprakāraśyāsūcer
 nails.hair.skin.border:ACC filled:ACC manifold:GEN=impurity:GEN
yathābhūtaṃ pratyavekṣate
 as_it_is insepct:PRS.3SG

‘A bodhisattva great-being [...] contemplates this very body as it is in truth, from the sole of the feet upwards and from the top of the hair downwards, having the nails, the body hair and the skin as its boundaries, filled with impurity.’ (Pvs(K) I-2.77.21–24)¹⁸⁴

P(Dh) 菩薩摩訶薩自察其身從頭至足，有身髮髓腦，惡穢不淨具足充滿。

pusa mohesa zi cha qi shen cong
 bodhisattva mahāsattva self inspect that body from
tou zhi zu, you shenfa sui nao, ehui
 head to feet possess body.hair marrow brain filth
bujing juzu chongman
 impure completely filled

‘A bodhisattva mahāsattva inspects his body from the head to the feet, with body hair, marrow and brains, completely filled with filth and impurities.’ (193b25–27)

P(Mo) 菩薩觀身，從頭至足，但有不淨。

pusa guan shen, cong tou zhi zu, dan you
 bodhisattva look body from head to feet only possess
bujing
 impurity

‘A bodhisattva looks at the body from the head to the feet, all [filled with] impurities.’ (25a16)

P(Kj) 菩薩摩訶薩觀內身，從足至頂，周匝薄皮，種種不淨充滿身中。

pusa mohesa guan neishen, cong zu zhi
 bodhisattva mahāsattva look inner.body from feet to
ding, zhouza bao pi, zhongzhong bujing
 top_of_head encircle thin skin every_kind impurity
chongman shen zhong
 fill body in

‘A bodhisattva mahāsattva looks at the body internally from the feet to the top of the head, encircled by skin, every sort of impurity filling it.’ (253c24–25)

¹⁸⁴ PG 88v.9: *bodhisatvo mahāsatvaḥ prajñāpāramitāyāṃ carann imam evaṃ kāya{ṃ}m ūrdhvaṃ pādatalād adhaḥ keśamastakā nakharomatvakparyantaṃ pūrṇaṃ nānāvidhasyāsūcer yathābhūtaṃ pratyavekṣate.*

Pvs(Xz) 菩薩摩訶薩[...]審觀自身，從足至頂種種不淨充滿其中，外為薄皮之所纏裹。

pusa mohesa [...] shenguan zi shen, cong zu
 bodhisattva mahāsattva examine self body from feet
zhi ding zhongzhong bujing chongman qizhong,
 to top_of_head every_kind impurity fill therein
wai wei pao pi zhi suo changguo
 outside COP thin skin GEN NMLZ envelop
 ‘A bodhisattva mahāsattva [...] examines his own body from the feet to the top of the head, being enveloped by thin skin, every sort of impurity filling it.’ (78b4–10)

(125)

LP *bodhisattvo mahāsattvo yadā mṛtaśarīrāṇi*
 bodhisattva:NOM great.being:NOM when dead.body:ACC.PL
paśyati śmaśāna utsṛṣṭāni
 see:PRS.3SG burial_ground:LOC cast:PPP.ACC.PL
ṣaḍrātramṛtāni vā saptarātramṛtāni vā tāni
 six.night.dead:ACC.PL PTC seven.night.dead:ACC.PL PTC 3PL:ACC
kākair vā khādyamānāni kurarair vā
 crow:INS.PL PTC devour:PTCP.PRS.PASS.ACC.PL eagle:INS.PL PTC
grdhair vā sṛgālair vā vṛkair vā śvabhir
 vulture:INS.PL PTC jackal:INS.PL PTC wolf:INS.PL PTC dog:INS.PL
vā tadanyair vā nānāvidhaiḥ prāṇakajātaiḥ
 PTC other:INS.PL PTC various:INS.PL animal:INS.PL
khādyamānāni
 devour:PTCP.PRS.PASS.ACC.PL
 ‘When the bodhisattva great-being sees dead bodies cast in the burial grounds, six-night dead or seven-night dead, devoured by crows, eagles, vultures, jackals, wolves, dogs and other various animals.’ (Pvs(K) I-2.78.20–23)¹⁸⁵

P(Dh) 菩薩摩訶薩觀人壽終，遭是寒熱，日炙風飄，死至一日若至二日三日四日五日六日七日，為鳥鳥所食，狐、狼、熊羆、虎豹、鷄梟、狗犬所食。

pusa mohesa guan ren shouzhong, zao
 bodhisattva mahāsattva look person dead torment
shi han re, ri ling feng piao, si zhi
 that cold heat sun burn wind blow die to
yi ri ruo zhi er ri san ri si

¹⁸⁵ PG 89r.4–5: *punar aparaṃ subhūte bodhisattvo mahāsattvaḥ yadā paśyati śivapathikāyām u{ṃ}jhitāni mṛtaśarīrāṇi ṣaḍāhamṛitāni vā saptarātramṛtāni vā kākair vā khādyamānāni kaṃkair vā kurarair vā grddhair vā vāntāśair vā sṛgālair vā śvabhir vā tada{ṃ}nyair vā nānāvidhaiḥ prāṇikajātaiḥ khādyamānāni*. Cf. Schmithausen (2020: II.339, fn. 2350) for a partial transcription of this passage.

one	day	up	to	two	day	three	day	four
ri	wu	ri	liu	ri	qi	ri,	wei	niaowu
day	five	day	six	day	seven	day	COP	crow
suo		shi	hu	lang	xiongpi	hubao		chixiao
NMLZ		eat	jackal	wolf	bear	tiger		owl
gouquan		suo	shi					
dog		NMLZ	eat					

‘[When] the *bodhisattva mahāsattva* looks at a dead person, [his body] tormented by cold and heat, the sun dries his [body], the wind blows over it, one-day dead, up to two, three, four, five, six, and seven-day dead, eaten by crows, jackals, wolves, bears, tigers, owls and dogs.’ (193c14–17)¹⁸⁶

P(Mo) 菩薩觀人，初死之日至于五日，臃脹爛臭，體壞汁流，互相澆灌，無有淨處，或為飛鳥走獸所食。

pusa		guan	ren,	chu	si	zhi	ri	zhi
bodhisattva		look	person	initially	die	GEN	day	up
yu	wu	ri,	pangzhang	lanchou,	ti	huai	zhi	
to	five	day	swollen	festering	body	decay	humor	
liu,	huxiang		jiaonan,	wu	you	jing	chu,	huo
flow	one_another		pour	NEG	exist	clean	spot	or
wei	feiniao		zoushou	suo	shi			
COP	bird		animal	NMLZ	eat			

‘[When] the *bodhisattva* looks at a person, one-day dead, up to five-day dead, swollen and festering, the humours of the decaying body flowing and pouring all over, not a single uncorrupted spot anymore, eaten by birds and animals.’ (25a21–23)

P(Kj) 菩薩摩訶薩若見是棄死人身，若六日若七日，烏鴟、鷙鷃、豺狼、狐狗、如是等種種禽獸攫裂食之。

pusa		mohesa	ruo	jian	shi	qi	si
bodhisattva		mahāsattva	when	see	that	abandon	dead
ren		shen,	ruo	liu	ri	ruo	qi
person		body	or	six	day	or	seven
wuzhi		diaojiu		cailang	hugou	rushi	deng
crow		vulture		wolf	jackal	such	kind
zhongzhong		qin	shou	juelie	shi	zhi	
every_kind		bird	beast	tear_apart	eat	it	

¹⁸⁶ In a parallel passage of the so-called **Yogācārabhūmi* of Saṅgharakṣa (*Xiuxingdao di jing* 修行道地經, T606), Dharmarakṣa employs an instance of the *wei* A *jian* V construction (a variant of *wei* A *suo* V): 便到塚間，坐觀死人，計從一日，乃至七日，或身臃脹，其色青黑，爛壞臭處，為蟲見食 (T606, 212 a14–16).

‘When the *bodhisattva mahāsattva* sees a dead body abandoned for six or seven days, crows, vultures, wolves, jackals and various other animals of this sort tear apart his body and eat it.’ (254a11–13)

Pvs(Xz) 若菩薩摩訶薩[...]往澹泊路觀所棄屍，死經一日或經二日乃至七日，為諸鷗鷺、烏鵲、鷄梟、虎豹、狐狼、野干狗等種種禽獸或啄或攫，骨肉狼籍，齧掣食噉。

<i>ruo</i>	<i>pusa</i>	<i>mohesa</i>	[...]	<i>wang</i>	<i>danpolu</i>	<i>guan</i>
when	bodhisattva	mahāsattva		go	resting.road	look
<i>suo</i>	<i>qi</i>	<i>shi,</i>	<i>si</i>	<i>jing</i>	<i>yi</i>	<i>ri</i>
NMLZ	abandon	corpse	die	already	one	day
<i>jing</i>	<i>er</i>	<i>ri</i>	<i>nazhi</i>	<i>qi</i>	<i>ri,</i>	<i>wei</i>
already	two	day	up_to	seven	day	COP
<i>wuque</i>	<i>zhixiao</i>	<i>hubao</i>	<i>hulang</i>	<i>yegangou</i>	<i>deng</i>	
crow	owl	tiger	wolf	jackal	so_forth	
<i>zhongzhong</i>	<i>qin</i>	<i>shou</i>	<i>huo</i>	<i>zhuo</i>	<i>huo</i>	<i>jue,</i>
every_kind	bird	animal	or	peck	or	rip_apart
<i>gu</i>	<i>rou</i>	<i>langji,</i>	<i>cuo</i>	<i>che</i>	<i>shidan</i>	
bone	flesh	dispersed	bite	pull	devour	

‘When the *bodhisattva mahāsattva* [...], at a resting place¹⁸⁷ looks at an abandoned corpse, one day dead, or two days dead, up to seven days dead, being pecked and ripped apart by vultures, crows, owls, tigers, wolves, jackals and other various birds and animals, the bones and flesh dispersed [all over], bitten, pulled and devoured.’ (78b24–29)¹⁸⁸

(126)

LP	<i>bodhivṛkṣān</i>	<i>me</i>	<i>tādṛḡgandho</i>	<i>niścared</i>
	awakening.tree:ABL	1SG:GEN	such.odour:NOM	emanate:OPT.3SG
	<i>yas</i>	<i>taṃ</i>	<i>gandhaṃ</i>	<i>ghrāyeta</i>
	REL:NOM	3SG:ACC	odour:ACC	smell:OPT.3SG
	<i>tasya</i>	<i>sarvakāyasya</i>	<i>na</i>	<i>rāgo</i>
	3SG:GEN	whole.body:GEN	NEG	passion:NOM
	<i>na</i>	<i>dveṣo</i>	<i>bādheta</i>	<i>na</i>
	NEG	anger:NOM	vex:OPT.3SG	NEG
			<i>moho</i>	<i>bādheta</i>
			delusion:NOM	vex:OPT.3SG

¹⁸⁷ *Danbo lu* 澹泊路 is a term which appears to be used only by Xuanzang and in post-Xuanzang texts (mostly by his disciples). It is probably a calque of Skt. *śivapathika* (Hirakawa 1997: 746), presumably parsed as a *śīvan* ‘lying, resting’ and *pathika* < *pathin* ‘road’. The precise etymology of the Indic term is in turn obscure (see Edgerton 1953 s.v. *śivapathika*). Note that the precise corresponding term in Pvs(K) is *śmaśāna*, but PG reads indeed *śivapathika*.

¹⁸⁸ In a parallel passage of the *Yogācārabhūmi*, Xuanzang virtually employs the same translation with *bei* 被 in place of *wei* 為: 被諸烏鵲、餓狗、鷄鷺、狐狼、野干種種暴惡傍生禽獸之所食噉 (T1579 416a4–6) = Śrāv-bh I.192.13–15: *kākaḥ kuraraiḥ khādyamānaṃ ḡḍhrāiḥ śvabhiḥ sṛgālair vividhair vā tiryagjātigataiḥ prāṇibhir bhakṣyamāṇam abhinirhriyamāṇam vā*. Cf. also T1579 429b8–10. This, again, confirms that at a certain stage of development of the passive construction *bei* and *wei* could be used interchangeably.

‘From my tree of the awakening such an odour will emanate which whoever will smell it, his body will not be vexed by passion, anger or delusion.’ (Pvs(K) II–III.10.16–18)¹⁸⁹

P(Dh) 坐佛樹下而出香時如是色像，令諸眾生聞此香熏不為婬怒癡所見縛。

zuo foshu xia er chu xiang shi rushi
sit buddha.tree under CONJ emanate odour time such
sexiang, ling zhu zhongsheng wen ci xiangxun bu
kind let INDF being smell this odour NEG
wei yin nu chi suojian fu
COP passion anger delusion NMLZ bind

‘While sitting under the Buddha-tree, such an odour will emanate, making all beings who smell this odour become unbound by passion, anger and delusion.’¹⁹⁰ (212a21–22)

P(Mo) 使我佛樹中出香，一切眾生聞其香者無有三毒。

shi wo foshu zhong chu xiang, yiqie zhongsheng
let I buddha.tree in emanate odour all being
wen qi xiang zhe wu you san du
smell that odour NMLZ NEG exist three poison

‘An odour shall emanate from my Buddha-tree; when all the beings will smell that odour, there will not be the three poisons [for them anymore].’ (39b28–29)

P(Kj) 我菩提樹當出如是香，眾生聞者無有婬欲瞋恚愚癡。

wo putishu dang chu rushi xiang, zhongsheng wen
I bodhi.tree shall release such odour being smell
zhe wu you yinyu chenhui yuchi
NMLZ NEG exist passion anger delusion

‘My *bodhi*-tree shall release such an odour; when the beings will smell [it], there will not be passion, anger and delusion [for them anymore].’ (275a21–23)

¹⁸⁹ PG 128r.6–7: *bodhivṛkṣāc ca me tādrśo gandho niścariṣyati yena satvās taṃ gandha{ṃ}m āghrāsyanti teṣāṃ na rāgadoṣamohā vyāva{si}{dhi}ṣyanti* (= PG(C) 331.5–7 *bodhivṛkṣānn me tādrśo gandho niścariṣyati yena satvās taṃ gandhaṃ mā ghrāsyanti teṣāṃ na rāgadoṣamohā nyāvasiṣyanti*).

¹⁹⁰ The syntax of Dharmarakṣa’s translation is peculiar again: the most singular fact is the position of the temporal mark *shi* 時 between the modified element *xiang* 香 and modifier *rushisexiang* 如是色像 (which one would expect to appear in front of the modified element and not after it). Syntactically speaking, it is also worth mentioning that the copula construction serves itself as the sentential predicate of the clause being the object of the causative verb *ling* 令. The apparent confusion between *bandheta* (opt.mid.3sg, ‘fasten’, Ch. *fu* 縛) and *bādheta* (opt.act.3sg ‘vex’) could be Kharoṣṭhī-induced. On the other hand, confusion between the roots *bādh-* and *bandh-* is commonly attested also in Pali sources, cf. Norman (1980: 38).

Pvs(Xz) 我當居止大菩提樹，其樹高廣眾寶莊嚴，所出妙香，有情聞者貪瞋癡等心疾皆除。

wo dang juzhi da putishu, qi shu gaoguang
 I shall stay great bodhi.tree that tree tall
 zhongbao zhuangyan, suo chu miao xiang,
 many.jewel ornamented NMLZ emanate exquisite odour
 youqing wen zhe tan chen chi
 being smell NMLZ passion anger delusion
 deng xinji jie chu
 so_forth mind.affliction completely be_eliminated

‘I shall stay under the great *bodhi*-tree, a tall tree ornamented with many jewels, an exquisite odour emanating from it; if there were beings smelling it, passion, anger, delusion and the other mental afflictions would completely be eliminated.’ (138a3–5)

Table 5.4: Wei constructions in Group 5.4

(118)	LP <i>tena raśmyavabhāsenā sprṣṭās</i> P(Dh) 為光所照 P(Mo) - P(Kj) - Pvs(Xz) -	(為 A 所 V)
(119)	LP <i>kāmaguṇair lipyate</i> P(Dh) 為五欲之所沾污 P(Mo) 所沾污 P(Kj) - Pvs(Xz) 為五欲之所染污	(為 A 之所 V) (所 V) (為 A 之所 V)
(120)	LP <i>ekajātipratibaddhā</i> P(Dh) - P(Mo) - P(Kj) - Pvs(Xz) 為一生所繫	(為 A 所 V)
(121)	LP <i>dhyānasamādhisamāpattivaśenā</i> P(Dh) - P(Mo) 為禪所稽留 P(Kj) - Pvs(Xz) -	(為 A 所 V)
(122)	LP <i>dharmanirmīto</i> P(Dh) 為法所化 P(Mo) - P(Kj) - Pvs(Xz) -	(為 A 所 V)

- (123) LP *ubhābhyām antābhyām saktās*
P(Dh) 為兩盲俱 (為 AV)
P(Mo) 為兩際所得 (為 A 所 V)
P(Kj) 為二邊所縛 (為 A 所 V)
Pvs(Xz) -
- (124) LP *nakharomatvakparyantaṃ*
P(Dh) -
P(Mo) -
P(Kj) -
Pvs(Xz) 為薄皮之所纏裹 (為 A 之所 V)
- (125) LP *kākair vā khādyamānāni kurarair vā gṛdhair vā śṛgālair vā vṛkair vā śvabhir vā tadanyair vā nānāvidhaiḥ prānakajātaiḥ khādyamānāni*
P(Dh) 為鳥鳥所食，狐、狼、熊羆、虎豹、鷄梟、狗犬所食 (為 A 所 V)
P(Mo) 為飛鳥走獸所食 (為 A 所 V)
P(Kj) -
Pvs(Xz) 為諸鷗鷺、鳥鵲、鷄梟、虎豹、狐狼、野干狗等種種禽獸或啄或攫，骨肉狼籍，齧掣食噉 (為 AV)
- (126) LP *tasya sarvakāyasya na rāgo bādheta na dveṣo bādheta na moho bādheta*
P(Dh) 不為姪怒癡所見縛 (為 A 所見 V)
P(Mo) -
P(Kj) -
Pvs(Xz) -
-

5.5 Other constructions

It has been seen above that in example (118) the verb *jian* 見 is employed by Mokṣala similarly to the verb *jian* of the passive construction. In that case, in distinction to the passive construction, the object of *jian* is a noun (*guangming* 光明) and not a verb(-phrase) or a sentential object as in the standard passive construction.¹⁹¹ Besides this example, I found only one other instance for the use of *jian* as a verb with “inward orientation”, see its usage by Dharmarakṣa in (127) in which the verb *jian* clearly has the sense of ‘suffer’, and its object can be analysed here either as verb or a noun. The verb *jian* in P(Dh) is paralleled in other translations by *shou* 受, which, as discussed in the previous chapters, is one of the transitive inactive verbs employed in the passive construction along with *bei*. The verb *shou*, however, appears to be used purely as a lexical item here, with the meaning of ‘experience, undergo’, and not as a grammatical

¹⁹¹ The use of transitive inactive verbs to translate the formula of beings touched by the light emitted by Buddhas is not unparalleled, see Li (2023: 32–33) on this usage in the translations of the *Larger Sukhāvatīvyūha*.

marker, as its object clearly is a noun (P(Mo): *qinku* 勤苦; P(Kj): *qinku* 懃苦; Pvs(Xz): *zhongku* 重苦).¹⁹²

(127)

LP *ekaikasya* *sattvasyārthāyāhaṇ*
 every_single_one:GEN being:GEN=benefit:DAT=1SG:NOM
gaṅgānadīvālukopamān kalpān niraye paceyaṃ
 G.river.sand.equal:ACC.PL eon:ACC.PL hell:LOC roast:OPT.1SG
yāvan na sa sattvo buddhajñāne
 until NEG 3SG:NOM being:NOM buddha.cognition:LOC
pratiṣṭhāpita
 establish:PPP.NOM.SG
 ‘For the sake of the benefit of every single being I shall roast in hell for as [many] aeons as the sands of the river Ganges until [every single] being has been placed in the Buddha-cognition.’ (Pvs(K) I-2.93.15–16)¹⁹³

P(Dh) 因一切人故，恒河沙劫在於地獄若見考署，終不懈怠，當令彼人成於佛乘，以得滅度。

yin yiqie ren gu, Hengheshajie zaiyu diyu
 because all people because G.river.sand.kalpa at hell
ruo jian kaoshu, zhong bu xiedai, dang ling
 when suffer roast end NEG indolent will let
pi ren cheng yu fosheng, yi de
 those people ride on buddha.vehicle to attain
miedu
 extinction

‘For the sake of all the people, I [shall] suffer roasting in hells for [as many] *kalpas* [as] the sands of the river Ganges, never indolent; I will let those people ride the Buddha-vehicle in order to attain extinction.’ (197b15–17)

P(Mo) 我當為一一眾生故，在地獄中恒邊沙劫代受勤苦，一一眾生皆得佛道令般泥洹。

wo dang wei yiyi zhongsheng gu, zai diyu zhong
 I shall for ever_single being cause at hell in
Hengbiansha jie dai shou qinku, yiyi
 G.side.sand kalpa instead experience suffering every_single
zhongsheng de fodao ling bannihuan
 being attain buddha.path lead parinirvāṇa

¹⁹² The use of the disyllabic form *daishou* 代受 (lit. ‘to experience in someone’s stead’) in P(Mo) also supports the semantic analysis of the verb, as the verbs employed in the standard grammaticalized construction generally present a monosyllabic form.

¹⁹³ PG 94v.6: *ekaikasyāhaṃ satvasyārthāya gaṅgānadīvālukopamān kalpān narakeṣu pacyeya yāvan na sa satvo buddhajñāne pratiṣṭhāpito*.

‘For the sake of every single being, I shall experience sufferings in their stead in hells for as [many] *kalpas* as the sands of the Ganges river; every single being [will] attain the Buddha-path leading to *parinirvāṇa*.’ (28a26–28)

P(Kj) 我為一一眾生故，如恒河沙等劫地獄中受懃苦，乃至是人得佛道入涅槃。

wo wei yiyi zhongsheng gu, ru
I for every_single being cause like
Hengheshadengjie diyu zhong shou qinku,
G.river.sand.equal.kalpa hell in experience suffering
naizhi shi ren de fodao ru niepan
until that person attain buddha.path enter nirvaṇa
‘For the sake of every single being, I [shall] experience sufferings in hells for as many *kalpas* as the sands of the river Ganges until those people [will] attain the Buddha-path and enter *nirvāṇa*.’ (258a13–15)

Pvs(Xz) 我為饒益一一有情，假使各如無量無數殞伽沙劫在大地獄受諸重苦 [...]乃至令彼諸有情類乘於佛乘而入圓寂。

wo wei raoyi yiyi youqing, jiashi ge
I to bring_benefit every_single being just_as every
ru wuliang wushu jingqiesha jie zai
like immeasurable incalculable G.sand kalpa at
da diyu shou zhu zhongku [...] naizhi
great hell experience INDF heavy.suffering until
ling bi zhu youqing lei cheng yu
let those INDF being kind ride on
fosheng er ru yuanji
buddha.vehicle CONJ enter perfect.extinction
‘In order to bring benefit to every single being, I [shall] experience various heavy sufferings in the great hells for as many immeasurable and incalculable *kalpas* as the sands of the Ganges, until I [will] make those kinds of beings ride the Buddha-vehicle and enter perfect extinction.’ (84b28–c4)

Other transitive inactive verbs are used similarly in the four translations of LP, see for instance the use of *zao* 遭 by Dharmarakṣa in (125), i.e. *zao shi han re* 遭是寒熱. The same semantic use of *shou* 受 is attested elsewhere in the Chinese translations of LP, as in example (128) below. This example is interesting also because it shows that the use of *jian* in Dharmarakṣa’s translation of (127) is paralleled in P(Dh) itself by other verbs such as *ren* 忍 ‘bear’ and *shou* 受 in the same syntactic position. Hence, one can conclude that the *jian* in (127) is to be considered as a full-fledged verb with the semantic value of ‘experience, undergo’.

(128)

LP	<i>yāvantah</i>	<i>sattvā</i>	<i>nairayikā</i>	<i>vā</i>
	as_many:NOM.PL	being:NOM.PL	hellish:NOM.PL	PTC
	<i>tairyagyonikā</i>	<i>vā</i>	<i>yamalaunikā</i>	<i>vā</i>
	of_animal.origin:NOM.PL	PTC	of_the_Y.world:NOM.PL	PTC
	<i>duḥkhāṃ</i>	<i>vedanāṃ</i>	<i>vedayanti</i>	<i>teṣāṃ</i>
	painful:ACC	feeling:ACC	feel:PRS.3PL	3PL:GEN
	<i>arthāya</i>	<i>tāṃ</i>	<i>duḥkhāṃ</i>	<i>vedanāṃ</i>
	benefit:DAT	3SG.ACC	painful:ACC	feeling:ACC
	<i>ekaikasyāpy</i>	<i>aham</i>	<i>sattvasyārthāya</i>	
	every_single_one:GEN=PTC	1SG:NOM	being:GEN=benefit:DAT	
	<i>kalpakoṭīniyutaśatasahasrāṇi</i>		<i>nairayikaṃ</i>	<i>vā</i>
	aeon.myriad.million.hundred.thousand:ACC.PL		hellish:ACC.SG	PTC
	<i>tairyagyonikaṃ</i>	<i>vā</i>	<i>yamalaunikāṃ</i>	<i>vā</i>
	of_animal.origin:ACC	PTC	of_the_Y.world:ACC	PTC
	<i>duḥkham</i>	<i>anubhaveyaṃ</i>		
	pain:ACC	experience:OPT.1SG		

‘As many beings belonging to hell, having an animal origin or belonging to the world of Yama feel a painful feeling, for their benefit I shall feel that painful feeling [...] For the benefit of every single being, I shall experience the pain deriving from being in hell, having an animal origin or being in the world of Yama for hundreds of thousands of millions of myriads of aeons.’
(Pvs(K) I-2.29.3–7)¹⁹⁴

P(Dh) 其有眾生，在於地獄、餓鬼、畜生，勤苦毒痛考掠之處，吾為此類忍勤苦患，令得安隱。[...]吾身為一人故，在於地獄受勤苦痛考掠之毒，百千億姪諸劫之數，不以為劇。

<i>qiyu</i>	<i>zhongsheng,</i>	<i>zaiyu</i>	<i>diyu</i>	<i>egui</i>	<i>chusheng,</i>		
there	being	at	hell	hungry.ghost	animal		
<i>qinku</i>	<i>dutong</i>	<i>kaolüe</i>	<i>zhi</i>	<i>chu,</i>	<i>wu</i>	<i>wei</i>	<i>cilei</i>
suffering	pain	roasting	GEN	state	I	for	this.kind
<i>ren</i>	<i>qinku</i>	<i>huan,</i>	<i>ling</i>	<i>de</i>	<i>anyin</i> [...]		
endure	suffering	affliction	let	attain	tranquillity		
<i>wu</i>	<i>shen</i>	<i>wei</i>	<i>yiyi</i>	<i>ren</i>	<i>gu,</i>	<i>zaiyu</i>	
I	personally	for	every_single	person	cause	at	
<i>diyu</i>	<i>shou</i>	<i>qinku</i>	<i>tong</i>	<i>kaolüe</i>	<i>zhi</i>	<i>du,</i>	
hell	experience	suffering	pain	roasting	GEN	torment	
<i>bai</i>	<i>qian</i>	<i>yigai</i>	<i>zhu</i>	<i>jie</i>	<i>zhi</i>	<i>shu,</i>	<i>bu</i>
hundred	thousand	million	INDF	kalpa	GEN	number	NEG
<i>yi</i>	<i>wei</i>	<i>ju</i>					
take	COP	strenuous					

¹⁹⁴ PG(S) III.137.10–14: *satvā nairayikā vā tairyagyonikā vā yāmalaukikā vā duḥkhāṃ vedanāṃ vedayanti, teṣāṃ aham arthāya tāṃ duḥkhāṃ vedanāṃ vedayeyaṃ* [...] *ekaikasyāḥam satvasya kṛte kalpakoṭīniyutaśatasahasrāṇi tan nairayikaṃ duḥkham anubhaveyaṃ.*

‘Those beings there, [namely] the ones in the hells, the hungry ghosts and the ones of animal origin being in a state of suffering pain and roasting, for those kinds [of beings] I [shall] endure suffering and afflictions, making them attain tranquillity. [...] For the sake of every single person, I [shall] personally experience the torment of suffering and roasting in hell for hundreds of thousands of millions of *kalpas*, [but I will] not consider [it] strenuous.’ (180c17–22)

P(Mo) 我當為泥犁、薜荔中罪人所受苦痛，我當為眾生代受無央數劫苦痛。

wo dang wei nili, bili zhong zuiren suo shou
I will for niraya preta in sinner NMLZ receive
tongku, wo dang wei zhongsheng dai shou
suffering I will for being instead experience
wuyangshu jie kutong
countless kalpa suffering

‘The suffering which I will experience for the sake of the sinners among the *niraya*-[beings] and the *pretas*, I will experience [it] for countless *kalpas* for the sake of beings in their stead.’ (19b10–11)

P(Kj) 我當代十方一切眾生，若地獄眾生、若畜生眾生、若餓鬼眾生，受苦痛，為一一眾生無量百千億劫代受地獄中苦。

wo dang dai shifang yiqie zhongsheng, ruo diyu
I will instead ten.direction all being or hell
zhongsheng ruo chusheng zhongsheng ruo egui
being or animal.origin being or hungry.ghost
zhongsheng, shou tongku, wei yiyi zhongsheng
being receive suffering for every_single being
wuliang bai qian yi jie dai
immeasurable hundred thousand million kalpa instead
shou diyu zhong ku
experience hell in pain

‘I will experience suffering instead of all the beings in the ten directions, the hellish beings, those of animal origin and the hungry ghosts. For the sake of every single being, [I will] experience the pain in hell for hundreds of thousands of millions of *kalpas* in their stead.’ (243c4–7)

Pvs(Xz) 一切地獄、傍生、鬼界及人、天中諸有情類所受苦惱，我當代受令彼安樂。[...]我為饒益一有情故，經於無量百千俱胝那庾多劫，受諸地獄種種重苦。

yiqie diyu bangsheng guijie ji ren tian
all hell animal ghost.realm and people heaven
zhong zhu youqing lei suo shou kunao, wo

in INDF being kind NMLZ receive suffering I
dang dai shou ling bi anle [...] *wo wei*
 will instead experience lead those tranquillity I for
raoyi yi youqing gu, jing yu wuliang
 bring_benefit one being cause spend at immeasurable
bai qian judi nayouduo jie, shou zhu
 hundred thousand koṭi nayuta kalpa receive INDF
diyu zhongzhong zhongku
 hell every_kind heavy.suffering
 ‘All the suffering received by all the beings in hell, the ones of animal origin, the ones belonging to the realm of [hungry] ghosts, the humans and the various kinds of beings in the heavens, I will experience it in their stead, and I will lead them to tranquillity. [...] For the sake of bringing benefit to a single being, I [shall] receive every sort of heavy pain experienced in hell for immeasurable hundreds of thousands of *koṭis* of *nayutas* of *kalpas*.’ (60b8–12)

Similarly, the verb *bei* 被 is also used by Xuanzang with the meaning of ‘undergo’, see for instance example (129).

(129)

LP *lakāro mukhaḥ sarvadharmāṇām lokottīrṇatvāt*
 la.letter:NOM door:NOM all.dharma:GEN.PL world.transcendence:ABL
tṛṣṇālatāhetupratyayasamudghātivāt
 craving.creeper.cause.condition.remove:ABL
 ‘The *la* letter is the door by which all the dharmas have transcended the world, by which the cause and conditions of the creeper of craving have been removed.’ (Pvs(K) I-2.85.30–31)¹⁹⁵

P(Dh) 羅之門，皆悉超度一切世法、恩愛報應因緣。

luo zhi men, jiexi chaodu yiqie shi fa
 la GEN door completely transcend all world dharma
en'ai baoying yinyuan
 affection result cause
 ‘The door of *la*: completely transcending all the worldly dharmas, [and] the results [and] causes of craving’ (195c24–25)

P(Mo) 六者羅，羅者得度世愛枝，各因緣已滅。

liu zhe luo, luo zhe dedu shi ai
 six TOP la la TOP cross_over world craving
zhi, ge yinyuan yi mie
 branch every cause already extinguish

¹⁹⁵ PG 92r.3–4: *lakāro mukhaṃ sarvadharmāṇām loko(t)īrṇatvāt tṛṣṇālatāhetupratyayasamudghātivat.*

‘The sixth is *la*; *la*, crosses over the branches of worldly craving, once every cause has been extinguished.’ (26b19–20)

P(Kj) 邏字門，諸法度世間故，亦愛支因緣滅故。

<i>luo</i>	<i>zi</i>	<i>men,</i>	<i>zhu</i>	<i>fa</i>	<i>du</i>	<i>shijian</i>
la	letter	door	INDF	dharma	cross_over	world
<i>gu,</i>	<i>yi</i>	<i>ai</i>	<i>zhi</i>	<i>yinyuan</i>	<i>mie</i>	<i>gu</i>
cause	also	craving	branch	cause	extinguish	cause

‘The door of the *la* letter, by means of which dharmas cross over the world, also by means of which the extinction of the causes of the branch of craving [occurs].’ (256a12–13)

Pvs(Xz) 入硎字門，悟一切法出世間故，愛支條緣永被害故。

<i>ru</i>	<i>luo</i>	<i>zi</i>	<i>men,</i>	<i>wu</i>	<i>yiqie</i>	<i>fa</i>	<i>chu</i>
enter	la	letter	door	realize	all	dharma	transcend
<i>shijian</i>	<i>gu,</i>	<i>ai</i>	<i>zhitiao</i>	<i>yuan</i>	<i>yong</i>	<i>bei</i>	
world	cause	craving	branch	cause	perpetually	suffer	
<i>hai</i>		<i>gu</i>					
annihilation		cause					

‘Entering the door of the letter *la*, by means of which [one] realizes that all the dharmas transcend the world, by means of which the causes of the branch of craving eternally suffer annihilation.’ (81c16–17)

5.6 Summary

As also observed for the analysis of the Chinese translations of the *Vajracchedikā*, there appears not to be any particular direct relationship between the P-oriented constructions in the Sanskrit source-text and the Chinese passives in the translations, since the vast majority of P-oriented constructions are translated with active constructions. At the same time, passive constructions are employed to translate P-oriented constructions in many cases, but they also translate active A-oriented constructions, see examples (111) and (115). In the case of *jian* and the other transitive inactive verbs, the use of these “passive” verbs seems to be motivated by lexical demands rather than grammatical ones.

What is more, the analysis of the data shows quite clearly that it is neither the demotion of the agent to the oblique case nor the promotion of the patient to the direct case in the Sanskrit source-text that triggers the selection of the passive construction in Chinese translation: in examples (111) and (126), the patient of the Chinese construction corresponds to a genitive experiencer or benefactive/malefactive in the Sanskrit parallel, whereas in examples (112), (113), (114), (117), (120) and (122) the Sanskrit agent is in composition with the verb. This would suggest that semantic-pragmatic factors are more relevant than morpho-syntactic ones in determining the use of the Chinese passives, in particular as regards the *wei* construction.

More generally, one can see that the majority of the examples collected here do not seem to represent befitting examples of passive constructions, because the degree of

grammaticalization of the verb employed in the examples (whether the copula or *jian*/transitive inactive verbs) is generally quite low. As a matter of fact, in most cases one can analyse *wei* or *jian*/transitive inactive verbs as fully lexical items. A more detailed discussion of this issue will be carried out in Chapter 7, also in the light of the data analysed in Chapter 6.

Chapter 6: A study of the Chinese translations of the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā*

6.1 Textual background

It is generally argued on the basis of philological, textual and historical evidence that the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā* (or better its textual subfamily) represents the earliest text in a hypothetical chronology of the *Prajñāpāramitā* literature.¹⁹⁶

In distinction to the *Larger Prajñāpāramitā*, there are only few extant early manuscript testimonies of the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā*. A fragmentary manuscript dating back to the 1st century has survived in Gāndhārī, edited by Falk and Karashima (2012, 2013).¹⁹⁷ It represents the earliest *Prajñāpāramitā* text available to date. Sanskrit fragments of a Kuṣāṇa period manuscript (edited by Sander 2000, 2002) dating to the second half of the 3rd century and likely recovered around Bāmiyān, are the next earliest testimony. A single fragment written in South Turkestan Gupta, which can be dated to the 8th–9th c., has been found in Xinjiang (edited by Ye 2013b). Finally, fragments of the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā* have been recently identified among the manuscripts discovered during the excavation of the archaeological site at the ancient city of Mes Aynak in Afghanistan (DiSimone 2023: 153–168). They are written in Gilgit/Bamiyan type I and can thus be dated to the 6th–7th century and represent the first manuscript testimony of the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā* ever to have been found in Greater Gandhāra.

The complete Sanskrit text of the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā* survives only in late Nepalese manuscripts (11th–12th century).¹⁹⁸ There are three editions of the Nepalese *Aṣṭasāhasrikā*: the first edition in Devanāgarī script by Mitra (1887–1888), a revised romanised edition by Wogihara (1932) and a third convenient edition in Devanāgarī compiled from the former ones by Vaidya (1960). In Wogihara’s work the base text is presented together with Haribhadra’s commentary (the *Abhisamayālaṃkāṛālokā Prajñāpāramitāvyākhyā*), while in Vaidya it is edited separately. The three editions are quite dated and all present some issues of accuracy.¹⁹⁹ Especially in the case of Vaidya, it is not clear whether he consulted any manuscripts directly or simply re-edited the previous works.²⁰⁰ Wogihara’s work probably remains the most accurate edition, but for the sake of expediency in the following the Sanskrit text will be quoted from Vaidya (hereafter = As(V)), also providing page and line numbers to Wogihara’s edition (hereafter = AAA, i.e. *Abhisamayālaṃkāṛālokā*).²⁰¹

¹⁹⁶ Lancaster (1975), Conze (1978: 1–2), Nattier (2003: 62, fn.19), Zacchetti (2015: 177).

¹⁹⁷ Cf. Karashima (2013c).

¹⁹⁸ Cf. DiSimone (2024) on the recent identification of a single folio belonging to a 12th c. manuscript.

¹⁹⁹ A notable instance of inaccuracy is a gap in Mitra’s edition caused by the accidental omission of one folio, reproduced in both Wogihara’s and Vaidya’s editions (Conze 1952: 261–262, 1978: 46, Karashima 2013b).

²⁰⁰ On the philological value of Vaidya’s editions, see Silk’s (2022: 272, fn. 14) criticism, who considers them “philologically worthless” and urges scholars not to use them.

²⁰¹ As I was able to realize while comparing the two editions, Wogihara’s work is in fact not exempt from typos and mistakes which Vaidya seems instead to have corrected.

The Chinese Canon contains seven translations of the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā*:

1. Lokakṣema, *Daoxing banre jing* 道行般若經, T224 (Vol. 8, 425a1–478b14), translated in 179 CE, hereafter = As(Lk);
2. Zhi Qian, 支謙 (fl. ca. 220–257) and Dharmapriya (Ch. Tanmopi 曇摩婢), *Damingdu jing* 大明度經, T225 (Vol. 8, 478b15–508b13), hereafter = As(ZQ);
3. Zhu Fonian 竺佛念 (fl. late 4th c.–beginning 5th c. CE), *Mohe banre chao jing* 摩訶般若鈔經, T226 (Vol. 8, 508b14–536c11), translated in 382 CE, hereafter = As(Zfn);
4. Kumārajīva, *Xiaopin banreboluomi jing* 小品般若波羅蜜經, T227 (Vol. 8, 536c12–586c7), translated in 408 CE, hereafter = As(Kj);
5. Xuanzang, the fourth assemblage (*di si hui* 第四會) of DBBJ, T220 (Vol. 7, 763a1–865a27), translated in 660–663 CE, hereafter = As(Xz)[I];
6. Xuanzang, the fifth assemblage (*di wu hui* 第五會) of DBBJ, T200 (Vol. 7, 865a28–920b17), hereafter = As(Xz)[II];
7. Dānapāla (Ch. Shihu 施護, ?–1017), *Fomu chusheng sanfazang banreboluomiduo jing* 佛母出生三法藏般若波羅蜜多經, T228 (Vol. 8, 587a1–676c15), translated in 982–984? CE.

As discussed by Karashima (2011b, 2013c), and indirectly by Nattier (2010), Zhi Qian’s and Zhu Fonian’s translations probably represent “modified versions” of Lokakṣema’s translation rather than new translations from an Indic source-text.²⁰² The existence of two translations by Xuanzang is also noteworthy: the fourth assemblage of DBBJ is in 29 chapters and can be regarded as a real *Aṣṭasāhasrikā* in terms of size, while the fifth assemblage, although related to the preceding one content-wise, is half of the size of the first translation and was evidently based on a Sanskrit original in 4000 lines, as also confirmed by the catalogue found in the final part of the *Fayuan zhulin* 法苑珠林 (T2122 1024c7, see Zacchetti 2015: 183).²⁰³ Moreover, both translations lack the story of the Bodhisattva Sadāprarudita at the end of the sūtra, standing apart from all the other testimonies of the textual subfamily (Zacchetti 2015: 183).

The Tibetan translation of the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā* (*’Phags pa shes rab kyi pha rol tu phyin pa brgyad stong pa*, Tōh 12) has been transmitted in three different recensions (Shōji 2014). I made sporadic use of the Tibetan translation in the *Derge bKa’ ’gyur* (ka 1b1–286a6) only.

²⁰² The text of Zhi Qian’s translation contained in the Taishō Canon consists of two parts, namely the first chapter (including an interlinear commentary) and the rest of the sūtra. The different vocabulary and translation style show that the two parts are the work of two different writers, see Nattier (2008b). Cf. also Lancaster (1969).

²⁰³ The *Fayuan zhulin* 法苑珠林 (T2122) is a huge work (100 fascicles) of an encyclopaedic nature compiled by the monk Daoshi 道世 (ca. 596–683?). Its final portion consists of a catalogue whose fourth part, called Banruo bu 般若部, ‘Section on Prajñā [pāramitā]’ (T2122 1024b18–1025a16), is “a table of contents” (Zacchetti 2015: 179) of DBBJ, listing the size of the Sanskrit source text of each of the assemblages.

As already discussed in the previous chapters, the various Indic parallels and Chinese translations are not to be understood as the translations of a single Ur-text but represent different stages of development of discrete recensions of the text. Karashima (2011a: xii-xiii) proposes a grouping of the various extant *Aṣṭasāhasrikā* texts, dividing them into four stages (or recensions²⁰⁴) of development.

6.2 Methodological preliminaries

For the analysis of the Chinese translations of the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā*, I followed a similar approach to the one used for the second part of the *Larger Prajñāpāramitā*: the Chinese translations used as the primary sample in the search for passive constructions were compared with the Sanskrit parallel and the other Chinese translations. Karashima's (2011a) critical edition of Lokakṣema's translation has greatly facilitated this task. As Zhi Qian's and Zhu Fonian's translations were probably not translated from an Indic source text, I have not taken them into consideration as a sample for the analysis; the parallels from these two translations, however, are always provided in the footnotes. Dānapāla's translation has not been used either since it is too late for the relevant period of analysis.

6.3 The *wei* 為 construction

As is the case with the translations of the *Larger Prajñāpāramitā*, the *wei* 為 construction represents the most commonly employed passive construction in the Chinese translations of the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā*. In this case too, the examples are manifold and diverge considerably from each other with respect to the Sanskrit parallels. Therefore, to group the various instances together, I follow a similar principle as that in Chapter 5, arranging the various examples on the basis of semantic, pragmatic and morpho-syntactic parameters.

6.3.1 Group 6.1

A high number of the examples of the *wei* construction corresponds to verb-forms based on the root *grah-* 'seize, control' in the Sanskrit parallel. These verb-forms occur with both animate and non-animate agents. In most cases, the Sanskrit parallel has a *-ta* participle; in two instances, however, the parallel Sanskrit form is represented by an action noun (132) and by a finite active verb (133).

(130)

As	<i>yatra yatra</i>	<i>vā</i>	<i>amanuṣyagr̥hītaḥ</i>	<i>kaścid</i>	<i>bhavet</i>
	wherever	PTC	sprit.possess:PPP.NOM	INDF:NOM	become:OPT.3SG
	<i>puruṣo</i>	<i>vā</i>	<i>strī</i>	<i>tatra tatra</i>	<i>tasmin</i>
	man:NOM	PTC	woman:NOM	PTC	there
	<i>maṇiratne</i>		<i>praveśitamātre</i>	<i>so</i>	'manuṣyas
	jewel:LOC		introduced.as_soon_as	3SG:NOM	spirit:NOM

²⁰⁴ Karashima uses the label "version", I preferred however to be consistent with the use of "recension" as intended by Zacchetti (2005), see discussion in Chapter 5.

tato 'pakrāmet
 then go_away:OPT.3SG
 'Wherever a man or a woman should be possessed by a spirit, as soon as that jewel were to be introduced, that spirit would go away.' (As(V) 49.10–11=AAA 274.8–10)

As(Lk) 若男子、若女人持摩尼珠著其身上，鬼神即走去。

ruo nanzi ruo nüren chi monizhu zhuo qi shen
 or man or woman hold maṇi.jewel touch his body
shang, guishen ji zouqu
 LCLZ spirit CONJ go_away
 '[If] a man or a woman were to hold [this] maṇi-jewel attached to the body, the spirit would promptly go away.' (435c28–436a1)²⁰⁵

As(Kj) 若男、若女、若大、若小為非人所持，寶珠至其處，非人則去。

ruo nan ruo nü ruo da ruo xiao
 or man or woman or big or little
wei feiren suo chi, baozhu zhi qi chu,
 COP spirit NMLZ take jewel be_placed their place
feiren ze qu
 spirit CONJ disappear
 'A man or a woman, either big or little, who is taken by a spirit, [if] a jewel were to be placed on them, the spirit would disappear.' (545b18–19)

As(Xz)[I] 設有男子、或復女人為鬼所執，身心苦惱，若有持此神珠示之，由珠威力鬼便捨去。

she you nanzi huofu nüren wei gui suo
 assume exist man or woman COP spirit NMLZ
zhi, shenxin kunao, ruo you chi ci
 hold body.mind suffering if exist hold this
shenzhu shi zhi, you zhu weili gui
 magic.jewel show it due_to jewel power spirit
bian shequ

²⁰⁵ Lokakṣema appears to have misinterpreted the syntax of the Indic source-text; the whole sequence (435c27–436a1) is formed by two relative clauses which parallel each other: 若持有所著，所著處者，鬼神不得其便，不為鬼神所中害。若男子、若女人，持摩尼珠著其身上，鬼神即走去 = As(V) 49.9–11 (AAA 274.6–10): *tadyatra yatra sthāpyeta tatra tatra manuṣyā vā amanuṣyā vā avatāraṃ na labheran / yatra yatra vā amanuṣyagrhitāḥ kaścid bhavet puruṣo vā strī vā tatra tatra tasmin maṇiratne praveśitamātre so 'manuṣyas tato 'pakrāme*. It seems that Lokakṣema understood the beginning of the second relative construction (*yatra yatra vā amanuṣyagrhitāḥ* / 不為鬼神所中害) as syntactically belonging to the first relative construction. As(ZQ) and As(Zfn) follow As(Lk): 有是寶者，其德無等所著處，鬼神不得其便，不為所中。若士女持明月珠所著，鬼神即去(485b20–22); 其有是寶，無有與等者。在所著處，鬼神不得其便，不為鬼神所害。若男子、女人，無大無小，其得邪者，持是摩尼珠著身，其鬼神即走去 (517c8–11).

CONJ leave

‘Assuming there was a man or a woman, held by a spirit, their body and mind suffering, if they were to hold this magic jewel showing it [to the spirit], through the power of the jewel, the spirit would promptly leave.’
(782a26–28)

As(Xz)[II] = As(Xz)[I] (878a15–16)

(131)

As *yatra khalu punaḥ subhūte bodhisattvayānikaḥ*
where PTC furthermore S:VOC bodhisattva.path_belonging:NOM
pudgalaḥ prajñāpāramitopāyakaśalyaparigrhīto
person:NOM wisdom.perfection.means.skill.take_hold_of:PPP.NOM
‘Furthermore, Subhūti, a person who belongs to the path of the bodhisattva and who is taken hold of by the perfection of wisdom and the skills in means.’
(As(V) 80.13=AAA 364.7–9)

As(Lk) 若有菩薩持般若波羅蜜者。

ruo you pusa chi banreboluomi zhe
if exist bodhisattva hold prajñāpāramitā NMLZ
‘If there is a *bodhisattva* who holds the *prajñāpāramitā* [in mind].’
(439b17–18)²⁰⁶

As(Kj) 若菩薩為般若波羅蜜所護。

ruo pusa wei banreboluomi suo hu
if bodhisattva COP prajñāpāramitā NMLZ protect
‘If a *bodhisattva* is protected by the *prajñāpāramitā*...’ (549a18–19)

As(Xz)[I] 甚深般若波羅蜜多方便善巧所攝受故。

shen shen banreboluomiduo fangbian shanqiao suo
very profound prajñāpāramitā mean skill NMLZ
sheshou gu
support cause
‘By means of being supported by [such a] very profound *prajñāpāramitā* and by skill in means...’ (795c24–25)

As(Xz)[II] 若一菩薩由深般若波羅蜜多所攝受故。

ruo yi pusa you shen banreboluomiduo
if one bodhisattva by profound prajñāpāramitā
suo sheshou gu
NMLZ support cause

²⁰⁶ As(ZQ) 持明度者 (487a15); As(Zfn) 若有菩薩持般若波羅蜜者 (521a19).

‘If a bodhisattva by means of being supported by [such a] profound *prajñāpāramitā*.’ (882b22–23)

(132)

As *tathāgato* *’py* *arhan* *samyaksambuddha*
tathāgata:NOM also worthy:NOM completely_awakened:NOM
udyogam *āpatsyate* *’nuparigrahāyeti*
exertion:ACC get_in:FUT.3SG help:DAT=QUOT
‘The Tathāgata, Worthy One, Completely Awakened One will also exert himself to help [them].’ (As(V) 124.19–20=AAA 527.13–14)

As(Lk) 是者，以為怛薩阿竭阿羅呵三耶三佛之所制持。

shi zhe, yi wei dasa’ajie aluohe sanyesanfo zhi
that TOP DISP COP tathāgata arhat samyaksambuddha GEN
suo zhichi
NMLZ sustain
‘Those [people] are sustained by the *Tathāgata*, *Arhat*, *Samyaksambuddha*.’ (448c18–19)²⁰⁷

As(Kj) 諸佛亦復勤作方便而守護之。

zhu fo yifu qinzuofangbian er shouhu zhi
INDF buddha also exert practice CONJ protect them
‘The Buddhas will also exert [themselves] to protect them.’ (557b28)

As(Xz)[I] 諸佛世尊亦勤方便慈悲護念。

zhu fo shizun yi qin fangbian
INDF buddha world.honoured also exert exertion
zibei hunian
compassion protect
‘The Buddhas, World-honoured Ones, will also exert [themselves] to compassionately protect [them].’ (814b1–2)

As(Xz)[II] 諸如來應正等覺亦勤方便護念攝受。

zhu rulai ying zhengdengjue yi qin
INDF thus.come worthy completely.awakened also exert
fangbian hunian sheshou
exertion protect support
‘The Thus-comes, Worthy Ones, Completely Awakened Ones also exert [themselves] to support and sustain [them].’ (893a8–9)

(133)

As *yad utainām gambhīrām prajñāpāramitām*

²⁰⁷ As(ZQ): -; As(Zfn): -.

namely=this:ACC profound:ACC wisdom.perfection:ACC
nānugrahīṣyati nānuvartīṣyate nānuparivārayiṣyati
 NEG=learn:FUT.3SG NEG=pursue:FUT.3SG NEG=devote_oneself:FUT.3SG
 ‘Namely, he will not learn, pursue nor devote himself to this profound
 perfection of wisdom.’ (As(V) 143.5–6=AAA 534.7–8)

As(Lk) 便厭不欲學，棄捨去。

geng yan bu yu xue, qishe qu
 moreover dislike NEG want learn abandon disappear
 ‘Moreover, he dislikes and does not want to learn [this *prajñāpāramitā*],
 and he abandons [it].’ (451c3–4)²⁰⁸

As(Kj) 若不為般若波羅蜜所護。

ruo bu wei banreboluomi suo huo
 if NEG COP *prajñāpāramitā* NMLZ protect
 ‘If he is not protected by the *prajñāpāramitā*.’ (560a26–27)

As(Xz)[I] 於深般若波羅蜜多不能長時信樂。

yu shen banreboluomiduo bu neng changshi
 at profound *prajñāpāramitā* NEG be_able constantly
xinle
 have_faith
 ‘[He] is not able of constantly having faith in the profound
prajñāpāramitā.’ (819c23–24)

As(Xz)[II] = As(Xz)[I] (896c25–26)

(134)

As *sa ca prajñāpāramitayā upāyakauśalyena ca*
 3SG:NOM and wisdom.perfection:INS means.skill:INS and
aparigṛhīto bhavati veditavyam
 non.take_hold_of:PPP.NOM become:PRS.3SG know:GRND.NOM
etat subhūte ayam bodhisattvo ’ntarā
 this:NOM S:VOC this:NOM bodhisattva:NOM in_the_middle
vyadhvani vyavasādam āpatsyata iti
 midway:LOC falling:ACC fall_into:FUT.3SG QUOT
 ‘And as regards that bodhisattva who is not taken hold of by the perfection of
 wisdom and by skill in means, one should know this: “This bodhisattva will
 fall down midway.”’ (As(V) 143.27–29=AAA 586.17–20)

As(Lk) 不得深般若波羅蜜，不學漚沱拘舍羅，是菩薩終不能逮薩芸若，便
 中道厭。

²⁰⁸ As(ZQ) 如是少信樂 (492c23). As(Zfn) -.

bu de shen banreboluomi, bu xue
 NEG attain profound prajñāpāramitā NEG learn
ouhejusheluo, shi pusa zhong bu neng
 upāyakauśalya that bodhisattva ever NEG be_able
dai sayunruo, bian zhongdao yan
 reach sarvajña CONJ midway be_fatigued
 ‘Not attaining the profound *prajñāpāramitā* and not learning
upāyakauśalya, that *bodhisattva* is never able to reach [being] *sarvajña*,
 being fatigued midway.’ (451c20–22)²⁰⁹

As(Kj) 不為般若波羅蜜方便所護故，當知是人未得薩婆若中道退轉。

bu wei banreboluomi fangbian suo hu
 NEG COP prajñāpāramitā mean NMLZ protect
gu, dang zhi shi ren wei de saboruo
 cause should know that person NEG attain sarvajña
zhongdao tuizhuan
 midway retrogress
 ‘Since he is not protected by the *prajñāpāramitā* and by [skillful] means,
 one should know that this person has not attained [being] *sarvajña* and has
 fallen back midway.’ (560b17–19)

As(Xz)[I] 不攝受甚深般若波羅蜜多方便善巧，當知彼類中道退沒。

bu sheshou shen shen banreboluomiduo
 NEG support very profound prajñāpāramitā
fangbian shanqiao, dang zhi bilei zhongdao
 mean skill should know that.kind midway
tuimo
 fall_down
 ‘However, he is not supported by [such a] very profound
prajñāpāramitā [and] skill in means, one should know that he has fallen
 down midway.’ (820a17–19)

As(Xz)[II] -²¹⁰

(135)

As *prajñāpāramitayā ca parigrhītas tat*
 wisdom.perfection:INS and take_hold_of:PPP.NOM 3SG:ACC
pratisaṃlānam avirahitaṃ karoti
 seclusion:ACC non.be_deprived:ACC make:PRS.3SG
prajñāpāramitayā
 wisdom.perfection:INS

²⁰⁹ As(ZQ) 學不逮此深法，終不能逮一切智，便中道厭 (493a5–6). As(Zfn) -.

²¹⁰ Cf. 復能攝受甚深般若波羅蜜多方便善巧 (897a15–16).

‘And one who is taken hold of by the perfection of wisdom causes that [meditative] seclusion to be not devoid of the perfection of wisdom.’ (As(V) 172.13–14=AAA 705.17–19)

As(Lk) 復深入是中，未常有離時，為般若波羅蜜所護。

fu shen ru shizhong, weichang you li shi,
moreover deep enter therein never exist leave time
wei banreboluomi suo hu
COP prajñāpāramitā NMLZ protect
‘Moreover, one who deeply enters there and never leaves it is protected by the *prajñāpāramitā*.’ (456b29–30)²¹¹

As(Kj) -

As(Xz)[I] -

As(Xz)[II] -

(136)

As *bodhisattva mahāsattvaḥ prajñāpāramitāyāṃ*
bodhisattva:NOM great.being:NOM wisdom.perfection:LOC
caran upāyakauśalyaparigrhītaḥ tāvat tāṃ
course:PTCP.PRS.NOM means.skill.grasp:PPP.NOM as_far 3SG:ACC
paramāṃ bhūtakoṭiṃ na sāksātkaroti
highest:ACC reality.limit:ACC NEG realize:PRS.3SG
‘The bodhisattva great-being who courses in the perfection of wisdom and who is grasped by skill in means, he does not realize that supreme limit of reality until [his wholesome roots are matured].’ (As(V) 185.10–11=AAA 755.17–19)

As(Lk) 菩薩行般若波羅蜜為漚和拘舍羅所護，自於其地，不中道取證。

pusa xing banreboluomi wei ouhejusheluo suo
bodhisattva course prajñāpāramitā COP upāyakauśalya NMLZ
hu, zi yu qi di, bu zhongdao quzheng
protect self at that stage NEG midway realize
‘The *bodhisattva* coursing in the *prajñāpāramitā* and protected by *upāyakauśalya*, being by himself on that stage (?), does not realize middle way.’ (458c18–20)²¹²

As(Kj) 菩薩行般若波羅蜜方便所護故，不證第一實際。

²¹¹ As(ZQ): 自深入者，為明度所護，未常離時 (496a16–17). As(Zfn): 若有持般若波羅蜜者不離守中 (529a28–29).

²¹² As(ZQ): 如是行明度，為變謀明慧所護，自於其地不中道取證 (497c11–13). As(Zfn): 菩薩摩訶薩行般若波羅蜜者，以為漚和拘舍羅之所護持，自於本際不中道取證 (531c14–16).

pusa xing banreboluomi fangbian suo hu
 bodhisattva course prajñāpāramitā mean NMLZ protect
gu, bu zheng diyi shiji
 cause NEG realize foremost reality
 ‘By means of coursing in the *prajñāpāramitā* [and] being protected by the means, the *bodhisattva* does not realize the foremost reality.’ (569a17–18)

As(Xz)[I] 菩薩亦復如是行深般若波羅蜜多，攝受殊勝方便善巧[...]終不中道證於實際。

pusa yifu rushi xing shen banreboluomiduo,
 bodhisattva also thus course profound prajñāpāramitā
sheshou shusheng fangbian shanqiao [...]
 grasp excellent means skill
zhong bu zhongdao zheng yu shiji
 ever NEG midway realize at reality
 ‘A *bodhisattva* also coursing in this way in the profound *prajñāpāramitā*, grasping the excellent skill in means [...] will not ever realize reality midway.’ (835a7–9)

As(Xz)[II] = As(Xz)[I] (907b25–27)

(137)

As *sacet subhūte kaścid eva puruṣo vā strī*
 if S:VOC INDF:NOM PTC man:NOM PTC woman:NOM
vā dārako vā dārikā vā amanuṣyeṇa grhīto
 PTC boy:NOM PTC girl:NOM PTC spirit:INS control:PPP.NOM
bhaved āviṣṭaḥ
 become:OPT.3SG seize:PPP.NOM
 ‘Subhūti, if a man, or a woman, or a boy, or a girl is controlled [and] seized by a spirit.’ (As(V) 189.31–190.1=AAA 767.27–768.1)

As(Lk) 若男子、女人為鬼神所下，若為所持。

ruo nanzi nüren wei guishen suo xia, ruo wei
 if man woman COP spirit NMLZ subjugate if COP
suo chi
 NMLZ hold
 ‘If a man or a woman is subjugated by a spirit, or if he is controlled [by it].’ (459c27)²¹³

As(Kj) 若男若女為鬼所著。

ruo nan ruo nü wei gui suo zhao
 if man or woman COP spirit NMLZ seize

²¹³ As(ZQ) 或時男女為鬼神所取 (498b19); As(Zfn) = As(Lk) (533a13–4).

‘If a man or a woman is seized by a spirit.’ (570a16)

As(Xz)[I] 若諸菩薩見有男子、或有女人、或有童男、或有童女現為非人之所魅著。

ruo zhu pusa jian you nanzi huo you nüren
if INDF bodhisattva see exist man or exist woman
huo you tongnan huo you tongnü xian wei
or exist boy or exist girl now COP
feiren zhi suo meizhao
spirit GEN NMLZ possess
‘If a *bodhisattva* sees that there is a man, or a woman, or a boy, or a girl
who is possessed by a spirit.’ (836c19–20)

As(Xz)[II] 若諸菩薩見有男子、或有女人現為非人之所魅著。

ruo zhu pusa jian you nanzi huo you nüren
if INDF bodhisattva see exist man or exist woman
xian wei feiren zhi suo meizhao
now COP spirit GEN NMLZ possess
‘If a *bodhisattva* sees that there is a man or a woman who is possessed
by a spirit.’ (908c28–29)

(138)

As *anena satyena satyavacanena iyaṃ strī vā*
this:INS truth:INS truth.utterance:INS this:NOM woman:NOM PTC
puruṣo vā dārako vā dārikā vā yena
man:NOM PTC boy:NOM PTC girl:NOM PTC REL:INS
amanuṣyagraheṇa grhīto vā āviṣṭo vā
spirit.control:INS control:PPP.NOM PTC seize:PPP.NOM PTC
so ’pākṛāmatu
3SG:NOM run_away:IMP.3SG
‘By means of this truth, by means of the utterance of truth, that one who has
controlled and seized a woman, or a man, or a boy or a girl with his spirit
control, may he run away.’ (As(V) 190.10–11=AAA 768.17–19)

As(Lk) 是男子、女人何等鬼神所取持乎?

shi nanzi nüren hedeng guishen suo quchi hu
that man woman what spirit NMLZ seize INT
‘By what sort of spirit has that man or that woman been seized?’
(460a10–11)²¹⁴

As(Kj) 以此實語力故，今是男女為非人所持者，非人當疾去。

yi ci shiyu li gu, jin shi nan

²¹⁴ As(ZQ) -: As(Zfn) 是男子女人為何鬼神所持 (533a26).

use this truth.utterance power cause now that man
nü wei feiren suo chi zhe, feiren dang
 woman COP spirit NMLZ control TOP spirit should
jiqu
 disappear

‘By means of the power of these words of truth, as regards that man or that woman now controlled by a spirit, the spirit should disappear.’
 (570a23–25)

As(Xz)[I] 願是男子、或此女人、或此童男、或此童女不為非人之所擾
 惱，彼隨我語即當捨去。

yuan shi nanzi huo ci nüren huo ci tongnan
 wish that man or this woman or this boy
huo ci tongnü bu wei feiren zhi suo raonao,
 or this girl NEG COP spirit GEN NMLZ torment
bi sui wo yu ji dang shequ
 that according I word CONJ should leave
 ‘[I] wish for that man, or this woman, or this boy, or this girl not to be
 tormented by a spirit; may that [spirit] promptly leave following my
 utterance.’ (837a3–5)

As(Xz)[II] 願是男子、或此女人不為非人之所擾惱，彼隨我語即當捨去。

yuan shi nanzi huo ci nüren bu wei feiren
 wish that man or this woman NEG COP spirit
zhi suo raonao, bi sui wo yu ji
 GEN NMLZ torment that according I word CONJ
dang shequ
 should leave
 ‘[I] wish for that man, or this woman, or this boy, or this girl not to
 be tormented by a spirit; may that [spirit] promptly leave following
 my utterance.’ (909a5–6)

(139)

As *kalyāṇamitravirahitasya pāpamitrāparigrhīṭasya*
 good.friend.abandon:PPP.GEN evil.friend.take_hold_of:PPP.GEN
 ‘Of one who leaves a good friend and who has been taken hold of by an evil
 friend’ (As(V) 193.20=AAA 777.15–16)

As(Lk) 亡以善知識，以更得惡知識。

mang yi shanzhishi, yi geng de ezhishi
 loose DISP good.friend DISP(?)²¹⁵ instead attain evil.friend

²¹⁵ Cf. Karashima (2010: 490).

‘[He] loses a good friend and becomes acquainted with an evil friend instead.’ (460c24)²¹⁶

As(Kj) 是菩薩若離[...]善知識遇惡知識。

shi pusa ruo li [...] shanzhishi yu ezhishi
that bodhisattva if leave good.friend meet evil.friend
‘If that bodhisattva leaves [...] a good friend and meets an evil friend.’
(570c15)

As(Xz)[I] 棄捨善友為惡知識所攝受。

qishe shanyou wei ezhishi suo sheshou
abandon good.friend COP evil.friend NMLZ support
‘[He] abandons a good friend and is supported by an evil friend.’
(838a21–22)

As(Xz)[II] -

(140)

As *yo bodhisattvo mahāsattvaḥ*
REL:NOM bodhisattva:NOM great.being:NOM
kalyāṇamitravirahito bhavati
good.friend.abandon:PPP.NOM become:PRS.3SG
pāpamitraparighṭas ca bhavati sa
evil.friend.take_hold_of:PPP.NOM and become:PRS.3SG 3SG:NOM
gambhīrāṇi gambhīrāṇi sthānāni prajñāpāramitāyāṃ
very_profound:NOM.PL point:NOM.PL wisdom.perfection:LOC
bhāṣyamāṇāyāṃ na śṛṇoti
preach:PTCP.PRS.PASS.LOC NEG hear:PRS.3SG
‘The bodhisattva great-being who has left a good friend and who has been taken hold of by an evil friend does not listen to the very profound points while the perfection of wisdom is preached.’ (As(V) 206.24–25=AAA 810.10–13)

As(Lk) 若有菩薩遠離於善師，是菩薩所聞般若波羅蜜深事不欲聞也。

ruo you pusa yuanli yu shanshi, shi
if exist bodhisattva distance at good.friend that
pusa suo wen banreboluomi shenshi bu
bodhisattva NMLZ hear prajñāpāramitā deep.matter NEG
yu wen ye
wish hear FIN

²¹⁶ As(ZQ) -. As(Zfn) 以為離善師，以為得惡師 (534a6–7).

‘If there was a *bodhisattva* who distances himself from a good friend, this *bodhisattva* would not wish to hear the profound matters when he hears the *prajñāpāramitā*.’ (464a17–19)²¹⁷

As(Kj) 有菩薩離善知識為惡知識所得，是人聞深般若波羅蜜中義。

you pusa li shanzhishi wei ezhishi suo
exist bodhisattva distance good.friend COP evil.friend NMLZ
de, shi ren bu wen shen banreboluomi
take that person NEG hear profound prajñāpāramitā
zhong yi
in meaning

‘[If] there was a *bodhisattva* who distances himself from a good friend [and] becomes taken by an evil friend, this person would not listen to the profound meaning in the *prajñāpāramitā*.’ (573b10–12)

As(Xz)[I] 若菩薩摩訶薩遠離善友為諸惡友之所攝持，不聞般若波羅蜜多甚深義處。

ruo pusa mohesa yuanli shanyou wei
if bodhisattva mahāsattva distance good.friend COP
zhu eyou zhi suo shechi, bu wen
INDF evil.friend GEN NMLZ control NEG hear
banreboluomiduo shen shen yichu
prajñāpāramitā very profound point

‘If a *bodhisattva mahāsattva* should distance himself from a good friend [and] become controlled by an evil friend, he would not listen to the very profound points of the *prajñāpāramitā*.’ (844a29–b1)

As(Xz)[II] 若諸菩薩遠離善友，惡友攝持，不聞般若波羅蜜多甚深義處。

ruo zhu pusa yuanli shanyou, eyou
if INDF bodhisattva distance good.friend evil.friend
shechi, bu wen banreboluomiduo shen
control NEG hear prajñāpāramitā very
shen yichu
profound point

‘If a *bodhisattva* should distance himself from a good friend [and] an evil friend should control him, he would not listen to the very profound points of the *prajñāpāramitā*.’ (912c2–3)

(141)

As kalyāṇamitrapariṣhītā hi bodhisattvā
good.friend.take_hold:PPP.NOM.PL PTC bodhisattva:NOM.PL
mahāsattvāḥ kṣipram eva anuttarāṃ

²¹⁷ As(ZQ) 闍士若遠離善師，為邪所亂愁毒，以不深解明度 (500b15-16). As(Zfn) -.

great.being:NOM.PL quickly PTC supreme:ACC
samyaksambodhim abhisambudhyante
 complete_awakening:ACC awaken:PRS.3PL
 ‘The bodhisattvas great-beings who are taken hold of by a good friend quickly
 awaken to the supreme complete awakening.’ (As(V) 243.26–27=AAA
 943.3–4)

As(Lk) -

As(Kj) 若菩薩為善知識所護念者，疾得阿耨多羅三藐三菩提。
ruo pusa wei shanzhishi suo hunian zhe,
 if bodhisattva COP good.friend NMLZ hold_in_mind NMLZ
ji de anouduoluosanmiaosanputi
 quickly attain anuttarasamyaksambodhi
 ‘If the *bodhisattvas* are held in mind by a good friend, [they] quickly attain
 the *anuttarasamyaksambodhi*.’ (581c27–28)

As(Xz)[I] -

As(Xz)[II] -

Table 6.1: Wei constructions in Group 6.1

(130)	<i>As amanuṣyagr̥hītaḥ</i>	
	As(Lk) -	
	As(Kj) 為非人所持	(為 A 所 V)
	As(Xz)[I] 為鬼所執	(為 A 所 V)
	As(Xz)[II] = As(Xz)[I]	(為 A 所 V)
(131)	<i>As prajñāpāramitopāyakaśalyaparigr̥hīto</i>	
	As(Lk) -	
	As(Kj) 為般若波羅蜜所護	(為 A 所 V)
	As(Xz)[I] 甚深般若波羅蜜多方便善巧所攝受	(A 所 V)
	As(Xz)[II] 由深般若波羅蜜多所攝受	(由 A 所 V)
(132)	<i>As anuparigrahāya</i>	
	As(Lk) 為怛薩阿竭阿羅呵三耶三佛之所制持	(為 A 之所 V)
	As(Kj) -	
	As(Xz)[I] -	
	As(Xz)[II] -	
(133)	<i>As anuparivārayiṣyati</i>	
	As(Lk) -	
	As(Kj) 為般若波羅蜜所護	(為 A 所 V)

- As(Xz)[I] -
 As(Xz)[II] -
- (134) *As prajñāpāramitayā upāyakaūśalyena ca aparigṛhīto bhavati*
 As(Lk) -
 As(Kj) 不為般若波羅蜜方便所護 (為 A 所 V)
 As(Xz)[I] -
 As(Xz)[II] -
- (135) *As prajñāpāramitayā parigṛhītas*
 As(Lk) 為般若波羅蜜所護 (為 A 所 V)
 As(Kj) -
 As(Xz)[I] -
 As(Xz)[II] -
- (136) *As upāyakaūśalyaparigṛhītaḥ*
 As(Lk) 為漚呬拘舍羅所護 (為 A 所 V)
 As(Kj) 方便所護 (A 所 V)
 As(Xz)[I] -
 As(Xz)[II] -
- (137) *As amanuṣyeṇa grhīto bhaved*
 As(Lk) 為鬼神所下，若為所持 (為 A 所 V)
 As(Kj) 為鬼所著 (為 A 所 V)
 As(Xz)[I] 為非人之所魅著 (為 A 之所 V)
 As(Xz)[II] = As(Xz)[I] (為 A 之所 V)
- (138) *As amanuṣyagraheṇa grhīto*
 As(Lk) 何等鬼神所取持 (A 所 V)
 As(Kj) 為非人所持 (為 A 所 V)
 As(Xz)[I] 為非人之所擾惱 (為 A 之所 V)
 As(Xz)[II] = 為非人之所擾惱 (為 A 之所 V)
- (139) *As pāpamitrāparigṛhītasya*
 As(Lk) -
 As(Kj) -
 As(Xz)[I] 為惡知識所攝受 (為 A 所 V)
 As(Xz)[II] -
- (140) *As pāpamitrāparigṛhītaś bhavati*
 As(Lk) -
 As(Kj) 為惡知識所得 (為 A 所 V)

(為 A 之所 V)

As(Xz)[II] -

(141) *As kalyāṇamitraparigrhītā*

As(Lk) –

As(Kj) 為善知識所護念

(為 A 所 V)

$$As(Xz)[I] -$$

As(Xz)[II] -

6.3.2 Group 6.2

A group of nine examples which are semantically akin to the verbs in Group 5.1, can be formed using passages in which the *wei* construction translates verbs with the sense of ‘support’, control’, ‘bear in mind’. Also in this case, the majority are formed with *-ta* participles; example (149) is built with a present passive, whereas in (145) the *wei* construction is employed to translate an action noun.

(142)

As	yo	vā	kalyāṇamitropastabdho	sattvo
	REL:NOM	PTC	good.friend.support:PPP.NOM	(bodhi)sattva:NOM

mahāsattvo bhavet

great.being:NOM become:OPT.3SG

‘That [bodhi]sattva great-being who is supported by a good friend.’ (As(V)

71.5=AAA 336.2-3)

As(Lk) 若久在善師邊者。

<i>ruo</i>	<i>jiu</i>	<i>zai</i>	<i>shanshi</i>	<i>bian</i>	<i>zhe</i>
if	for_a_long_time	stay	good.friend	side	NMLZ

'If [he] stays for a long time at the side of a good friend.' (438b13)²¹⁸

As(Kj) 若與善知識相隨者。

<i>ruo</i>	<i>yu</i>	<i>shanzhishi</i>	<i>xiangsui</i>	<i>zhe</i>
if	with	good.friend	go_along	NMLZ

‘If [he] goes along with a good friend.’ (548a10–11)

As(Xz)[I] 為多善友所攝受者。

<i>wei</i>	<i>duo</i>	<i>shanyou</i>	<i>suo</i>	<i>sheshou</i>	<i>zhe</i>
COP	much	good.friend	NMLZ	support	NMLZ

‘One who is much supported by a good friend.’ (791b29)

As(Xz)[II] = As(Xz)[I] 880c29

²¹⁸As(ZQ) 若在善友邊久者 (486b10); As(Zfn) 在善師邊者 (520a20).

(143)

As *mārādhiṣṭhito* *vā* *subhūte* *sa* *kulaputro*
M.control:PPP.NOM PTC S:VOC 3SG:NOM good_family.son:NOM
vā *kuladuhitā* *vā* *bhaviṣyati* [...]
PTC good_family.daughter:NOM PTC become:FUT.3SG
gambhīreṣu *dharmeṣu* *nāśya* *śraddhā*
profound:LOC.PL dharma:LOC.PL NEG=3SG:GEN faith:NOM
nāśya *prasādaḥ*
NEG=3SG:GEN confidence:NOM
‘Subhūti, that son or daughter of a good family will be controlled by Māra,
[...] he will not have faith and confidence in the profound dharmas.’ (As(V)
92.18–19=AAA 403.1–3)

As(Lk) 以為魔所中，是男子、女人不信不樂。

yi wei mo suo zhong, shi nanzi nüren bu
DISP COP M NMLZ possess that man woman NEG
xin bu le
believe NEG rejoice
‘Possessed by Māra, that man or woman does not have faith nor rejoice.’
(441c15–16)²¹⁹

As(Kj) 須菩提，是癡人一為魔所使，二於深妙法不信不解。

Xuputi, shi chiren yi wei mo suo shi,
S that foolish.person first COP M NMLZ lead
er yu shenmiao fa bu xin bu
second at profound dharma NEG believe NEG
jie
understand
‘Subhūti, that foolish person [will] firstly be led by Māra, secondly he
[will] not have faith in the profound dharmas, nor understand them.’
(551b2–3)

As(Xz)[I] 一者為諸邪魔所扇惑故，二者於甚深法不信解故。

yi zhe wei zhu xie mo suo shanhuo
first TOP COP INDF evil demon NMLZ upset
gu, er zhe yu shen shen fa bu
cause second TOP at very profound dharma NEG
xin jie gu
believe understand cause
‘Firstly, because [they] are upset by evil demons; secondly, because
[they] do not have faith in the very profound dharmas, nor understand
them.’ (801b29–c1)

²¹⁹ As(ZQ) 為邪所中故 (488b2); As(Zfn) 以為魔所中 (523b10).

As(Xz)[II] 一為邪魔之所扇惑，二於深法不能信解。

yi wei xie mo zhi suo shanhuo, er
first COP evil M GEN NMLZ upset second
yu shen fa bu neng xin jie
at profound dharma NEG be_able believe understand
‘Firstly, [they] will be upset by the evil Māra; secondly, [they] will not
be able to have faith in the profound dharmas, nor understand them.’
(885a17–18)

(144)

As *sa kulaputro vā kuladuhitā vā*
3SG:NOM good_family.son:NOM PTC good_family.daughter:NOM PTC
pāpamitrahastagato vā bhaviṣyati
evil.friend.hand.go:PPP.NOM PTC become:FUT.3SG
‘That son or daughter of a good family will be in the hands of an evil friend.’
(As(V) 92.21=AAA 403.6–7)

As(Lk) 隨惡師所言。

sui eshi suo yan
follow evil.teacher NMLZ say
‘[He] follows what an evil teacher says.’ (441c18)²²⁰

As(Kj) 是癡人得惡知識。

shi chiren de ezhishi
that foolish.person attain evil.friend
‘That foolish person [will] attain an evil friend.’ (551b4)

As(Xz)[I] 諸惡知識所攝受故。

zhu ezhishi suo sheshou gu
INDF evil.friend NMLZ control cause
‘Because [he] is controlled by an evil friend.’ (801c2)

As(Xz)[II] 為惡友之所誘誑。

wei eyou zhi suo youkuang
COP evil.friend GEN NMLZ lure
‘[He] is lured by an evil friend.’ (885a19)

(145)

As *sarve te bhagavan buddhānubhāvena*
all:NOM.PL 3PL:NOM blessed_one:VOC buddha.power:INS
buddhādhiṣṭhānena buddhaparigraheṇa ca imāṃ

²²⁰ As(ZQ) 隨惡師言 (488b4); As(Zfn): 隨惡師所言 (523b13).

buddha.control:INS buddha.protection:INS and this:ACC
prajñāpāramitāṃ *śroṣyanti*
wisdom.perfection:ACC hear:FUT.3PL
‘Blessed One, they all hear this perfection of wisdom through the power,
control and protection of the Buddha.’²²¹ (As(V) 111.8–9=AAA 484.13–14)

As(Lk) 菩薩摩訶薩若有念誦者[...]以為諸佛威神之所擁護。

pusa mohesa ruo you niansong zhe [...]
bodhisattva mahāsattva if exist read_aloud NMLZ
yi wei zhu fo weishen zhi suo yonghu
DISP COP INDF Buddha power GEN NMLZ protect
‘If there is a *bodhisattva mahāsattva* reading aloud [this perfection of
wisdom], [that would happen] by means of being protected by the power
of the Buddhas.’ (446a18–19)²²²

As(Kj) 若有誦般若波羅蜜，當知是菩薩佛護念故能誦通利。

ruo you song banreboluomi, dang zhi shi
if exist recite *prajñāpāramitā* should know that
pusa fo hunian gu neng song
bodhisattva buddha hold_in_mind reason be_able recite
tongli
be_well_versed
‘If there is a *bodhisattva* reciting the *prajñāpāramitā*, he should be known
as skilled in reciting by means of being held in mind by the Buddhas.’
(555a19–20)

As(Xz)[I] 若菩薩乘善男子等，於深般若波羅蜜多書寫[...]皆是十方諸佛神力慈悲護念。

ruo pusasheng shannanzi deng, yu shen
if bodhisattva.vehicle good.son so_forth at profound
banreboluomiduo shuxie [...] jie shi shifang
prajñāpāramitā write completely COP ten.directions
zhu fo shenli zibei hunian
INDF buddha power compassion hold_in_mind
‘If sons of good [families] and so forth who ride the [vehicle] of the
bodhisattva write [such] a profound *prajñāpāramitā* [...] that all
happens through the power, the compassion and being held in mind by
the buddhas of the ten directions.’ (808a26–28)

²²¹ The list of actions performed thanks to the power of the Buddha is considerably larger, here I give only the first one for reasons of space. The same structure occurs (in the Sanskrit source text as well as in As(Lk)) twice in close proximity, firstly uttered by Śāriputra (the example given in the main text) and subsequently in the Buddha’s reply.

²²² Again at 446a21. As(ZQ) 是明度，若念誦持學書者，諸佛威神皆共擁護之 (490a21–22); As(Zfn): - .

As(Xz)[II] = As(Xz)[I] (889c7–9)

(146)

As *mārādhiṣṭhitās* *te* *subhūte* *bodhisattvā*
M.control:PPP.NOM 3PL:NOM S:VOC bodhisattva:NOM.PL
veditavyāḥ
know:GRND.NOM.PL
‘Those bodhisattvas should be known as controlled by Māra.’ (As 124.6–7=AAA 526.16–17)²²³

As(Lk) 是為魔所得已。

shi *wei* *mo* *suo* *de* *yi*
those COP M NMLZ take finish
‘Those [people] have been taken by Māra.’ (448c15)²²⁴

As(Kj) 當知是人[...]為魔所攝。

dang *zhi* *shi* *ren* [...] *wei* *mo* *suo* *she*
should know those people COP M NMLZ control
‘One should know that those people [...] are controlled by Māra.’
(557b23–24)²²⁵

As(Xz)[I] 有愚癡人為魔所使。

you *yuchi* *ren* *wei* *mo* *suo* *shi*
exist foolish people COP M NMLZ lead
‘There are foolish people who are led by Māra.’ (814a15–16)

As(Xz)[II] -²²⁶

(147)

As *veditavyam* *etat* *subhūte* *tato* ’nyair
know:GRND.NOM this:NOM S:VOC from_that other:INS.PL
bodhisattvair *mahāsattvaiḥ* *mārādhiṣṭhito*
bodhisattva:INS.PL great.being:INS.PL M.control:PPP.NOM
batāyaṃ *bodhisattvo* *mahāsattva* *iti*
alas=this:NOM bodhisattva:NOM great.being:NOM QUOT

²²³ The same construction also occurs as uttered by Subhūti (As(V) 123.30–31=AAA 526.2–3): *veditavyam idaṃ bhagavan mārādhiṣṭhitās te bodhisattvā bhaviṣyanti*.

²²⁴ Cf. Subhūti’s statement at 448c12-3: 是人以為魔所得. As(ZQ) -; As(Zfn) -.

²²⁵ Cf. Subhūti’s statement at 557b22: 為魔所攝.

²²⁶ The Buddha’s reply here lacks a parallel, which is however found in Subhūti’s statement 有愚癡者為魔所魅 (892c26–27).

‘For that reason, Subhūti, this should be known by the other bodhisattvas, great-beings: “Alas, this bodhisattva great-being is controlled by Māra.”’
(As(V) 192.25–26=AAA 775.22–24)

As(Lk) 當知為魔所壞。

dang zhi wei mo suo huai
should know COP M NMLZ spoil
‘It should be known that [he] is spoiled by Māra.’ (460c3)²²⁷

As(Kj) 當知是菩薩為魔所著。

dang zhi shi pusa wei mo suo zhuo
should know that bodhisattva COP M NMLZ seize
‘One should know that this *bodhisattva* is seized by Māra.’ (570c2)

As(Xz)[I] 善現，當知是諸菩薩魔所執持。

Shanxian, dang zhi shi zhu pusa mo
S should know that INDF bodhisattva M
suo zhici
NMLZ grasp
‘Subhūti, one should know that this *bodhisattva* is grasped by Māra.’
(837c21)

As(Xz)[II] -

(148)

As *yac ca tena māreṇa pāpīyasā mārakāyikābhir*
REL:NOM and 3SG:INS M:INS devil:INS M.attendant:INS.PL
vā devatābhir abhinirmiteṇa mārādhiṣṭhiteṇa vā
PTC deity:INS.PL conjure:PPP:INS M.control:PPP:INS PTC
bhikṣuṇā nāmadheyam udīritam
monk:INS name:NOM utter:PPP:NOM
‘The name uttered by the monk who is conjured by the devil Māra or by his assistant deities, or who is controlled by Māra.’ (As(V) 193.10–11=AAA 776.25–27)

As(Lk) 如魔所教，若魔天共作是比丘，為魔所迷。

ru mo suo jiao, ruo motian gong zuo shi
follow M NMLZ teach or M.deity together conjure that
biqiu, wei mo suo mi
bhikṣu COP M NMLZ deceive

²²⁷ As(ZQ) - ; As(Zfn) 為魔所壞 (533c15).

‘Following the teaching of Māra, or that *bhikṣu* conjured up by the Māra-deities all together, [the bodhisattva] is deceived by Māra.’ (460c17–18)²²⁸

As(Kj) 便隨惡魔所著，比丘信受其語。

bian sui e mo suo zhuo, biqiu xinshou qi
thus follow evil M NMLZ seize bhikṣu believe his
yu
word

‘Thus, following the seizing by the evil Māra, the *bhikṣu* believes in his [i.e. Māra] words.’ (570c11)

As(Xz)[I] 如是惡魔或魔眷屬或魔所執，諸沙門等記說。

rushi e mo huo mojuanshu huo mo suo
thus evil M or M.attendant or M NMLZ
chi, zhu shamen deng jishuo
hold INDF śramaṇa and_so_forth declare
‘The *śramaṇa*, who is thus held by the evil Māra, by the attendants of Māra or by a demon, proclaims.’ (838a14–15)

As(Xz)[II] 如如惡魔記彼名號。

ruru e mo ji bi minghao
just_as evil M declare him name
‘Just as the evil Māra proclaims the name to him.’ (909b24)

(149)

As *ye ca khalu punaḥ subhūte bodhisattvā*
REL:NOM.PL and PTC furthermore S:VOC bodhisattva:NOM.PL
mahāsattvāḥ prajñāpāramitāyām carantas
great.being:NOM.PL wisdom.perfection:LOC course:PTCP.PRS.NOM.PL
tathāgatair arhadbhiḥ samyaksambuddhair
tathāgata:INS.PL noble:INS.PL completely_awakened:INS.PL
anugṛhyante samanvāhriyante
support:PRS.PASS.3PL bring_to_mind:PRS.PASS.3PL
‘Subhūti, those bodhisattvas great-beings who course in the perfection of wisdom and who are supported and brought to mind by the Tathāgatas, Noble Ones, Completely Awakened Ones.’ (As(V) 221.18–20=AAA 851.2–5)

As(Lk) -

As(Kj) 若菩薩行般若波羅蜜時，為諸佛所念。

²²⁸ As(ZQ) 若邪天共作是除鐘，為之所迷 (498c13–14); As(Zfn) 如魔所教者，為從魔天今作比丘，為魔所迷 (533c28).

ruo pusa xing banreboluomi shi, wei zhu
 if bodhisattva course prajñāpāramitā while COP INDF
fo suo nian
 buddha NMLZ hold_in_mind
 ‘If a bodhisattva, while coursing in the *prajñāpāramitā*, is held in mind
 by the various Buddhas.’ (576b22–23)

As(Xz)[I] 若菩薩摩訶薩能如是行甚深般若波羅蜜多常為諸佛[...]守護憶念。

ruo pusa mohesa neng rushi xing
 if bodhisattva mahāsattva be_able thus course
shen shen banreboluomi chang wei zhu
 very profound prajñāpāramitā constantly COP INDF
fo [...] *shouhu yinian*
 buddha protect hold_in_mind
 ‘If a *bodhisattva mahāsattva* can course in this very profound
prajñāpāramitā in such a way and is [...] constantly protected and held
 in mind by the Buddhas.’ (852b18–20)

As(Xz)[II] 是諸菩薩常為諸佛[...]憶念守護。

shi zhu pusa chang wei zhu fo
 those INDF bodhisattva constantly COP INDF buddha
ynian shouhu
 hold_in_mind protect
 ‘Those *bodhisattvas* are constantly [...] protected and held in mind
 by the Buddhas.’ (916a17–19)

(150)

As *tathāgatasamanvāhṛtaḥ sa bodhisattvo*
 tathāgata.hold_in_mind:PPP.NOM 3SG:NOM bodhisattva:NOM
mahāsattvo veditavyaḥ yo ’syām
 great.being:NOM know:GRND.NOM REL:NOM 3SG:LOC
prajñāpāramitāyām caran
 wisdom.perfection:LOC course:PTCP.PRS.NOM
 ‘That bodhisattva, great-being, who courses in the perfection of wisdom
 should be known as held in mind by the Tathāgata.’ (As(V) 233.31–32=AAA
 890.8–10)

As(Lk) 菩薩如是行者[...]是菩薩為諸佛所念。

pusa rushi xing zhe [...] *shi pusa wei*
 bodhisattva thus course TOP that bodhisattva COP
zhu fo suo nian
 INDF buddha NMLZ hold_in_mind

‘The *bodhisattva* coursing in this way [...] is held in mind by the Buddhas.’ (470a8–9)²²⁹

As(Kj) 當知是菩薩為諸佛所念。

dang zhi shi pusa wei zhu fo suo
should know that bodhisattva COP INDF buddha NMLZ
nian
hold_in_mind
‘One should know that *bodhisattva* as held in mind by the Buddhas.’
(579b3–4)

As(Xz)[I] 是菩薩摩訶薩常為如來應正等覺共所護念。

shi pusa mohesa chang wei rulai
that bodhisattva mahāsattva constantly COP thus.come
ying zhengdengjue gong suo hunian
worthy completely.awakened together NMLZ hold_in_mind
‘That *bodhisattva mahāsattva* is constantly held in mind by [all] the
Thus-comes, Worthy Ones and Completely Awakened Ones together.’
(859b21–22)

As(Xz)[III] 是諸菩薩[...]常為如來應正等覺共所護念。

shi zhu pusa [...] chang wei rulai
those INDF bodhisattva constantly COP thus.come
ying zhengdengjue gong suo
worthy completely.awakened together NMLZ
hunian
hold_in_mind
‘Those *bodhisattvas* [...] are constantly held in mind by [all] the
Thus-comes, Worthy Ones, Completely Awakened Ones together.’
(920b3–5)

(151)

As *tathāgatasamanvāhṛtasya hi subhūte bodhisattvasya*
tathāgata.hold_in_mind:PPP.GEN PTC S:VOC bodhisattva:GEN
mahāsattvasya nānyā gatiḥ pratikāṅkṣitavyā
great.being:GEN no=other:NOM destiny:NOM expect:GRND.NOM
anyatrānuttarāyāḥ samyaksambodheḥ
except=supreme:LOC complete_awakening:LOC
‘Subhūti, for that bodhisattva great-being who is held in mind by the
Tathāgata no other destiny can be expected except for [dwelling] in the
supreme complete awakening.’ (As(V) 234.3–4=AAA 890.14–15)

²²⁹ As(ZQ) 為諸佛所念(503b9); As(Zfn) -.

As(Lk) -

As(Kj) 須菩提，菩薩為諸佛所念者，不生餘處，必當立於阿耨多羅三藐三菩提。

Xuputi, pusa wei zhu fo suo nian
S bodhisattva COP INDF buddha NMLZ hold_in_mind
zhe, bu sheng yuchu, bi dang li yu
TOP NEG be_born other.place must will stand at
anoduoluosanmiaosanputi
anuttarasamyaksambodhi
'Subhūti, a *bodhisattva* who is held in mind by the Buddhas is not born in other place except for staying in *anuttarasamyaksambodhi*.' (579b4–5)

As(Xz)[I] 若菩薩摩訶薩常為如來應正等覺所護念者，定證無上正等菩提。

ruo pusa mohesa chang wei rulai
if bodhisattva mahāsattva constantly COP thus.come
ying zhengdengjue suo hunian zhe,
worthy completely.awakened NMLZ hold_in_mind TOP
ding zheng wushang zhengdeng puti
certainly awaken_to supreme complete bodhi
'If a *bodhisattva mahāsattva* is constantly held in mind by the Thus-come, Worthy One, Completely Awakened One, he [will] certainly awaken to the supreme complete *bodhi*.' (859b23–24)

As(Xz)[II] 諸菩薩眾若為諸佛所護念者，定證無上正等菩提。

zhu pusa zhong ruo wei zhu fo suo
INDF bodhisattva group if COP INDF buddha NMLZ
hunian zhe, ding zheng wushang
hold_in_mind TOP certainly awaken_to supreme
zhengdeng puti
complete bodhi
'A group of *bodhisattvas* held in mind by the Buddhas [will] certainly awaken to the supreme complete *bodhi*.' (920b5–6)

Table 6.2: Wei constructions in Group 6.2

(142) As *kalyāṇamitropastabdhō*

As(Lk) -

As(Kj) -

As(Xz)[I] 為多善友所攝受

(為 A 所 V)

As(Xz)[II] = As(Xz)[I]

(為 A 所 V)

- (143) *As mārādhiṣṭhito*
 As(Lk) 為魔所中 (為 A 所 V)
 As(Kj) 為魔所使 (為 A 所 V)
 As(Xz)[I] 為諸邪魔所扇惑 (為 A 所 V)
 As(Xz)[II] 為邪魔之所扇惑 (為 A 之所 V)
- (144) *As pāpamitrahastagato bhaviṣyati*
 As(Lk) -
 As(Kj) -
 As(Xz)[I] 諸惡知識所攝受 (A 所 V)
 As(Xz)[II] 為惡友之所誘誑 (為 A 之所 V)
- (145) *As buddhānubhāvena buddhādhiṣṭhānena
 buddhaparigraheṇa*
 As(Lk) 為諸佛威神之所擁護 (為 A 之所 V)
 As(Kj) -
 As(Xz)[I] -
 As(Xz)[II] -
- (146) *As mārādhiṣṭhitās*
 As(Lk) 為魔所得 (為 A 所 V)
 As(Kj) 為魔所攝 (為 A 所 V)
 As(Xz)[I] 為魔所使 (為 A 所 V)
 As(Xz)[II] -
- (147) *As mārādhiṣṭhito*
 As(Lk) 為魔所壞 (為 A 所 V)
 As(Kj) 為魔所著 (為 A 所 V)
 As(Xz)[I] 魔所執持 (A 所 V)
 As(Xz)[II] -
- (148) *As mārādhiṣṭhitena*
 As(Lk) 為魔所迷 (為 A 所 V)
 As(Kj) -
 As(Xz)[I] 魔所執 (A 所 V)
 As(Xz)[II] -
- (149) *As tathāgatair arhadbhiḥ samyakṣambuddhair
 anugrhyante samanvāhriyante*
 As(Lk) 為諸佛所念 (為 A 所 V)
 As(Kj) 為諸佛守護憶念 (為 A V)
 As(Xz)[I] 為諸佛憶念守護 (為 A V)
 As(Xz)[II] -
- (150) *As tathāgatasamanvāhṛtaḥ*

As(Lk) 為諸佛所念	(為 A 所 V)
As(Kj) 為諸佛所念	(為 A 所 V)
As(Xz)[I] 為如來應正等覺共所護念	(為 A 所 V)
As(Xz)[II] = As(Xz)[I]	(為 A 所 V)
(151) <i>As tathāgatasamanvāhṛtasya</i>	
As(Lk) -	
As(Kj) 為諸佛所念	(為 A 所 V)
As(Xz)[I] 為如來應正等覺所護念	(為 A 所 V)
As(Xz)[II] 為諸佛所護念	(為 A 所 V)

6.3.3 Group 6.3

In the next three examples the *wei* construction translates *-ta* participles of verb-roots connected to the sphere of eyesight. See also *adhiṣṭhitas* in (153) (semantically belonging to Group 6.2), which has parallels in both As(Xz)[I] and As(Xz)[II].

(152)

As	<i>tadāhaṃ</i>	<i>dīpaṃkareṇa</i>	<i>tathāgatenārhatā</i>
	then=1SG:NOM	D:INS	tathāgata:INS=worthy:INS
	<i>samyaksambuddhena</i>	<i>vyākṛto</i>	<i>'nuttarāyāṃ</i>
	completely_awakened:INS	predict:PPP.NOM	supreme:LOC
	<i>samyaksambodhau</i>		
	complete_awakening:LOC		
	‘Then I was predicted to [attain] the supreme complete awakening by the Tathāgata, Worthy One, Completely Awakened One, Dīpaṃkara.’ (As(V) 24.22–23=AAA 182.19–20)		

As(Lk) 我便為提和竭羅佛所受決。

<i>wo</i>	<i>bian</i>	<i>wei</i>	<i>Tihejieluo</i>	<i>fo</i>	<i>suo</i>	<i>shoujue</i>
I	CONJ	COP	D	buddha	NMLZ	predict
‘Moreover, I was predicted by the Buddha Dīpaṃkara.’ (431a7–8) ²³⁰						

As(Kj) 時燃燈佛記我。

<i>shi</i>	<i>Randeng</i>	<i>fo</i>	<i>ji</i>	<i>wo</i>
at_that_time	D	buddha	predict	me
‘At that time, the Buddha Dīpaṃkara predicted [the supreme awakening] to me.’ (541c13)				

As(Xz)[I] 時然燈佛即便授我無上正等大菩提記。

<i>shi</i>	<i>randeng</i>	<i>fo</i>	<i>jibian</i>	<i>shou</i>	<i>wo</i>
at_that_time	D	buddha	CONJ	give	me

²³⁰ As(ZQ) 我時持之錠光佛受我決 (483b29); As(Zfn) 我便為提和竭羅佛所授決 (513b26–27).

wushang zhengdeng da puti ji
 supreme complete great bodhi prediction
 ‘At that time, the Buddha Dīpaṃkara gave the prediction of the
 supreme, complete, great *bodhi* to me.’ (772c1–2)

As(Xz)[II] 時彼如來與我受記。

shi bi rulai yu wo shouji
 at_that_time that thus.come to me predict
 ‘At that time, that Thus-come predicted [the supreme awakening] to
 me.’ (872b2–3)

(153)

As *ya imāṃ prajñāpāramitām udgrahīṣyanti [...]*
 REL:NOM.PL this:ACC wisdom.perfection:ACC learn:FUT.3PL
jñātās te śāriputra tathāgatena /
 know:PPP.NOM.PL 3PL:NOM Ś:VOC tathāgata:INS
adhiṣṭhātās te śāriputra tathāgatena /
 sustain:PPP.NOM.PL 3PL:NOM Ś:VOC tathāgata:INS
dṛṣṭās te śāriputra tathāgatena /
 see:PPP.NOM.PL 3PL:NOM Ś:VOC tathāgata:INS
vyavalokitās te śāriputra tathāgatena buddhacakṣuṣā
 behold:PPP.NOM.PL 3PL:NOM Ś:VOC tathāgata:INS buddha.eye:INS
 ‘Śāriputra, those who learn this perfection of wisdom [...] are known by the
 Tathāgata, are sustained by the Tathāgata, are seen by the Tathāgata, are
 beheld by the Tathāgata with the Buddha-eye.’ (As(V) 112.4–8=AAA
 487.13–18)

As(Lk) 最後若書持經卷者，當知是輩悉為怛薩阿竭眼所見已。

zuihou ruo shuchi jingjuan zhe,
 as_far_as if preserve_in_writing scripture NMLZ
dang zhi shibei xi wei dasa’ajieyan
 should know those completely COP tathāgata.eye
suo jian yi
 NMLZ see stop
 ‘As far as writing and preserving the scripture, one should know those
 [who do that] as completely seen by the Tathāgata-eye.’ (446a24–25)²³¹

As(Kj) 若善男子、善女人能受持讀誦般若波羅蜜[...]當知是人佛眼所見。

ruo shannanzi shanniuren neng shouchi dusong
 if good.son good.daughter be_able hold recite
banreboluomi [...] *dang zhi shi ren*
 prajñāpāramitā should know that person

²³¹ As(ZQ): 最後書持卷者，當知是輩，如來眼所見是至德 (490a23); As(Zfn): -..

foyan suo jian
buddha.eye NMLZ see
'If a son [or] a daughter of a good [family] is able to hold and recite the *prajñāpāramitā* [...] one should know that person as seen by the Buddha-eye.' (555a22–4)

As(Xz)[I] 住菩薩乘善男子等[...]常為如來佛眼觀見、識知、護念。
zhu pusa sheng shannanzi deng [...] [...]
stay bodhisattva vehicle good.son so_forth
chang wei rulai fojian guanjian shizhi
constantly COP thus.come buddha.eye see know
hunian
hold_in_mind
'Those sons of good [families] and so forth who are in the *bodhisattva* vehicle [...] are constantly seen, known and held in mind by the Thus-comes through the Buddha-eye.' (808b13–16)

As(Xz)[II] 若菩薩乘善男子等能書般若波羅蜜多[...]常為諸佛之所護念。
ruo pusa sheng shannanzi deng [...] neng
if bodhisattva vehicle good.son so_forth be_able
shu banreboluomiduo chang wei zhu fo
write prajñāpāramitā constantly COP INDF buddha
zhi suo hunian
GEN NMLZ hold_in_mind
'If sons of good [families] [belonging] to the *bodhisattva* vehicle, are able to write the *prajñāpāramitā* [...] they are constantly held in mind by the Buddhas.' (889c23–25)

(154)

As *tathāgatāvalokitāḥ* khalu punar ānanda te
tathāgata.behold:PPP.NOM.PL PTC furthermore Ā:VOC 3PL:NOM
bodhisattvā mahāsattvā veditavyāḥ
bodhisattva:NOM.PL great.being:NOM.PL know:GRND.NOM.PL
'Furthermore, Ānanda, those bodhisattvas, great-beings should be known as beheld by the Tathāgata.' (As(V) 227.5–6=AAA 868.28–29)

As(Lk) 諸佛悉視護之。
zhu fo xi shihu zhi
INDF buddha completely look_after them
'All the buddhas look after them.' (468b29)²³²

As(Kj) 當知是人為如來所見。

²³² AS(ZQ) -; As(Zfn) -.

dang zhi shi ren wei rulai suo jian
 should know those people COP thus.come NMLZ see
 ‘One should know those people as seen by the Thus-come.’ (577c11–12)

As(Xz)[I] 慶喜當知如來現見。

Qingxi dang zhi rulai xianjian
 Ā should know thus.come see
 ‘Ānanda, one should know that the Thus-come sees [them].’ (855a8–9)

As(Xz)[II] = As(Xz)[I] (917c6–7)

Table 6.3: Wei constructions in Group 6.3

(152)	<i>As ahaṃ dīpaṃkareṇa tathāgatenārhatāṃ samyaksaṃbuddhena vyākṛto</i>	
As(Lk)	我便為提和竭羅佛所受決	(為 A 所 V)
As(Kj)	-	
As(Xz)[I]	-	
As(Xz)[II]	-	
(153)	<i>As jñātās te tathāgatena adhiṣṭhitās te tathāgatena dṛṣṭās te śāriputra tathāgatena vyavalokitās te tathāgatena</i>	
As(Lk)	為怛薩阿竭眼所見	(為 A 所 V)
As(Kj)	佛眼所見	(A 所 V)
As(Xz)[I]	為如來佛眼觀見、識知、護念	(為 A V)
As(Xz)[II]	為諸佛之所護念	(為 A 之所 V)
(154)	<i>As tathāgatāvalokitāḥ te bodhisattvā mahāsattvā</i>	
As(Lk)	-	
As(Kj)	為如來所見	(為 A 所 V)
As(Xz)[I]	-	
As(Xz)[II]	-	

6.3.4 Group 6.4

Group 6.4 is akin to Group 5.1 in Chapter 5: the *wei* construction is used in these examples to translate expressions of praise. As in the translations of the *Larger Prajñāpāramitā*, the A of the *wei* construction in (156) and (157) corresponds to a genitive argument in the Sanskrit parallel.

(155)

As *upasaṃkrāntānāṃ ca teṣāṃ rājñāṃ [...] ālapitukāmatā*
 attack:PPP.GEN.PL and 3PL:GEN king:GEN.PL converse.desire:NOM
bhaviṣyati abhibhāṣitukāmatā bhaviṣyati

occur:FUT.3SG speak.desire:NOM occur:FUT.3SG
pratisaṃmoditavyaṃ ca te maṃsyante
 greet:GRND.NOM and 3PL:NOM think:FUT.3SG
 ‘And those kings who attacked [those who bring to mind the perfection of wisdom] [...] will [instead] desire to converse [with them], they will desire to speak [to them], they will think of greeting [them].’ (As(V) 38.15–17=AAA 238.25–239.1)

As(Lk) 往至彼間，若王所[...]便與共好語，與共談言，與共笑歡喜。
wangzhi bijian, ruo wang suo [...] bian yugong
 go there where king place CONJ together
haoyu, yugong tanyan, yugong xiao huanxi
 well.speak together talk together smile rejoice
 ‘Having gone there,²³³ where the kings are [...] [they] will talk gently together, they will converse together, they will joyfully smile together.’
 (433c16–18)

As(Kj) 若至國王[...]所，皆歡喜問訊，與共語言。
ruo zhi guowang [...] suo, jie huanxi wenxun,
 if arrive king place completely joyfully salute
yugong yuyan
 together talk
 ‘If [they] were to go where kings are [...] they will joyfully salute [them], they will talk together.’ (543c20–21)

As(Xz)[I] 若有欲至國王[...]處，[...]定為王等歡喜問訊、供養恭敬、尊重讚歎。
ruo you yu zhi guowang [...] chu, [...]
 if exist wish arrive king place
ding wei wang deng huanxi wenxun
 certainly COP king so_forth joyfully salute
gongyang gongjing zunzhong zantan
 revere venerate admire praise

²³³ The gen.pl. *-ta* participle *upasaṃkrāntānām* can theoretically agree either with the kings or with the genitive malefactive phrase governing the preceding clause (given below in example (159)), namely *teṣāṃ ca enāṃ prajñāpāramitāṃ punaḥ punaḥ samanvāharatāṃ vā svādhyāyatāṃ vā* ‘those paying attention to and reciting this perfection of wisdom again and again’. From the context, it seems more logical that it is the kings who are approaching the practitioners with malevolent intent and not the other way around. And yet, all the Chinese translations favour the opposite interpretation. The Tibetan translation, by contrast, appears to follow the correct syntactical analysis: *der rgyal po [...] nye bar ’ongs na yang de dag smra bar ’dod cing gdam zer bar ’dod de yang dag par dga’ bar bya’o snyam du sems par ’gyur ro* (Tōh 12, 43b4) ‘Even though kings [...] were to attack [them], they would wish to talk [to them] instead, converse [with them] and they would think of greeting [them].’

‘If [they] were to wish to go where the kings [...] are, they will certainly be saluted with joy, revered, venerated, admired and praised by the kings and so forth’ (778a24–26)

As(Xz)[II] = As(Xz)[I] (875b2–4)

(156)

As *sa* *kulaputro* *vā* *kuladuhitā* *vā*
 3SG:NOM good_family.son:NOM or good_family.daughter:NOM or
 priyo *bhaviṣyati* *mātāpitṛṇām*
 dear:NOM become:FUT.3SG mother.father:GEN.PL
 mitrāmātyajñātisālohitaśramaṇabrāhmaṇānām
 friend.relative.kinsman.blood_relative.ascetic.brahmin:GEN.PL
 hitānām *ca*
 friend:GEN.PL and
 ‘That son or daughter of a good family will become dear to mother and father,
 to friends, relatives, kinsmen, blood relatives, ascetics, brahmins and friends.’
 (As(V) 42.18–19=AAA 253.14–16)

As(Lk) 是善男子、善女人，父母皆重，若沙門、道人皆哀，若知識、兄弟、外家、宗親，皆尊貴敬愛之。

shi *shannanzi* *shannüren*, *fumu* *jie*
 that good.son good.daughter father.mother completely
 zhong, *ruo* *shamen* *daoren* *jie* *ai*, *ruo*
 respect or śramaṇa way.follower completely love or
 zhishi *xiongdi* *waijia* *zongqin* *jie* *zungui*
 friend sibling grandparent relative completely honour
 jing'ai *zhi*
 revere them

‘That son [or] daughter of a good [family], their father and mother will respect them, they will be beloved of śramaṇas and followers of the way, friends, siblings, grandparents and relatives will honour and revere them.’
 (434c17–19)

As(Kj) 是善男子、善女人[...]為父母所愛，為宗親、知識、沙門、婆羅門所敬。

shi *shannanzi* *shannüren* [...] *wei* *fumu* *suo* *ai*,
 that good.son good.daughter COP father.mother NMZL love
 wei *zongqin* *zhishi* *shamen* *poluomen* *suo* *jing*
 COP relative friend śramaṇa brāhmaṇa NMZL revere

‘That son [or] daughter of a good [family] will be loved by father and mother, will be revered by relatives, friends, śramaṇas and brāhmaṇas.’
 (544c1–3)

As(Xz)[I] 是善男子、善女人等恒為父母、師長、親友、國王、大臣及諸沙門、婆羅門等之所敬愛。

shi shannanzi shannüren deng heng wei
 that good.son good.daughter so_forth always COP
fumu shizhang qinyou guowang dachen ji zhu
 father.mother elder friend king minister and INDF
shamen poluomen deng zhi suo jing'ai
śramaṇa brāhmaṇa so_forth GEN NMLZ revere
 'That son [or] daughter of a good [family] will always be revered by [his] father and mother, elders, friends, kings, ministers, *śramaṇas* and *brāhmaṇas*.' (780a23–25)

As(Xz)[II] = As(Xz)[I] 876b24–26

(157)

As *tadyathāpi nāma subhūte kaścid eva puruṣaḥ [...]*
 just_as S:VOC INDF:NOM PTC person:NOM
bahujanasya ca priyo manaāpaś ca bhavet
 many.people:GEN and dear:NOM beloved:NOM and become:OPT.3SG
 'Just as if there were a man [...] dear and beloved by many people.' (As(V) 183.20–30=AAA 751.8–24)

As(Lk) 譬若人[...]為眾人所敬。

piruo ren wei zhongren suo jing
 just_as person COP many.people NMLZ revere
 'Just as a person [...] respected by many people.' (458b29–c3)²³⁴

As(Kj) 譬如人[...]為人愛念。

piru ren [...] wei ren ainian
 just_as person COP people love
 'Just as a person [...] beloved to people.' (568c24–27)

As(Xz)[I] 譬如有人[...]眾人敬伏悉皆欽仰。

piru you ren [...] zhongren jingfu xijie qinyang
 just_as exist person many.people love completely respect
 'Just as if there were a person [...] whom many people love and completely respect.' (834b12–19)

As(Xz)[II] 譬如有人[...]眾人無不敬愛。

piru you ren [...] zhongren wu bu jing'ai
 just_as exist person many.people NEG NEG love

²³⁴ As(ZQ) 譬如人[...]為眾人所敬 (497b24–26); As(Zfn) = As(ZQ) (531b19–22).

‘Just as if there were a person [...] whom no one [among] many people does not love.’ (907a25–b1)

(158)

As *sprhaṇīyās* *te* *sattvā* *ye*
envy:GRND.NOM.PL 3PL:NOM being:NOM.PL REL:NOM.PL
sattvasārā *anuttarāṃ* *samyaksambodhim*
being.best:NOM.PL supreme:ACC perfect.awakening:ACC
abhisambhotsyante
awaken:FUT.3PL
‘Enviably, the best of beings are those beings who will awaken to the supreme perfect awakening.’ (As(V) 215.5–6=AAA 829.10–11)

As(Lk) 欲為十方天下人作導首，是人難得。

yu wei shifang tianxia ren zuo daoshou,
should COP ten.direction world people make leader
shi ren nande
that person difficult_to_attain
‘[They] should be made leaders by the people of the worlds in the ten directions, those persons are difficult to find.’ (465c7–8)²³⁵

As(Kj) 是人則為世間之所貪慕，是人當得調御眾生。

shi ren ze wei shijian zhi suo tanmu, shi
those people CONJ COP world GEN NMLZ envy those
ren dang de diaoyu zhongsheng
people will be_able tame being
‘Those people are envied by the world; those people will be able to tame beings.’ (575a7–8)

As(Xz)[I] 諸餘有情皆應願樂。

zhu yu youqing jie ying yuanle
INDF remaining being all should desire
‘All the remaining beings should desire [them].’ (848c29–849a1)

As(Xz)[II] 是諸有情世間敬愛，當能調御一切有情。

shi zhu youqing shijian jing'ai, dang neng
those INDF being world love will be_able
diaoyu yiqie youqing
tame all being
‘The beings in the world love those [people], they will be able to tame all beings.’ (914b13–14)

²³⁵ As(ZQ) 欲為十方作明度導者乎 (501a21–22); As(Zfn) -.

Table 6.4: Wei constructions in Group 6.4

(155)	As <i>ālapitukāmatā bhaviṣyati abhibhāṣitukāmatā bhaviṣyati</i> As(Lk) - As(Kj) - As(Xz)[I] 為王等歡喜問訊、供養恭敬、尊重讚歎 (為 A V) As(Xz)[II] = As(Xz)[I] (為 A V)
(156)	As <i>priyo bhaviṣyati mātāpitṛṇām</i> <i>mitrāmātyajñātisālohitaśramaṇabrāhmaṇānām</i> <i>hitānām ca</i> As(Lk) - As(Kj) 為父母所愛，為宗親、知識、沙門、婆羅門所敬 (為 A 所 V) As(Xz)[I] 為父母、師長、親友、國王、大臣及諸沙門、婆羅門等之所敬愛 (為 A 之所 V) As(Xz)[II] = As(Xz)[I] (為 A 之所 V)
(157)	As <i>bahujanasya ca priyo manaāpaś ca bhavet</i> As(Lk) 為眾人所敬 (為 A 所 V) As(Kj) 為人愛念 (為 A V) As(Xz)[I] - As(Xz)[II] -
(158)	As <i>sprhaṇīyās</i> As(Lk) 為十方天下人作導首 (為 A V) As(Kj) 為世間之所貪慕 (為 A 之所 V) As(Xz)[I] - As(Xz)[II] -

6.3.5 Group 6.5

In seven examples, the O of the *wei* construction corresponds to a fronted Sanskrit genitive patient.

(159)	As	<i>utpannotpannās</i>	<i>caiṣām</i>	<i>upadravā</i>	<i>rājato</i>	[...]
		appear:PPP.NOM.PL	and=3PL:GEN	calamity:NOM.PL	king:ABL	
		<i>imām</i>	<i>prajñāpāramitām</i>	<i>samanvāharatām</i>	<i>vā</i>	
		this:ACC	wisdom.perfection:ACC	pay_attention:PTCP.PRS.GEN.PL	PTC	
		<i>svādhyāyatām</i>	<i>vā</i>	<i>punar</i>	<i>evāntardhāsyanti</i>	
		recite:PTCP.PRS.GEN.PL	PTC	moreover	PTC=disappear:FUT.3PL	
		<i>teṣām</i>	<i>ca</i>	<i>enām</i>	<i>prajñāpāramitām</i>	<i>punaḥ punaḥ</i>
		3PL:GEN	and	this:ACC	wisdom.perfection:ACC	again_and_again
		<i>samanvāharatām</i>		<i>vā</i>	<i>svādhyāyatām</i>	<i>vā</i>

pay_attention:PTCP.PRS.GEN.PL PTC recite:PTCP.PRS.GEN.PL PTC
 ye tatropasamkrāmeyur avatāraprekṣiṇo
 REL:NOM.PL there=attack:OPT.3PL entrance.looking:NOM.PL
 'vatāragaveṣiṇo rājāno [...] na te 'vatāraṃ
 entrance.seeking:NOM.PL king:NOM.PL NEG 3PL:NOM entrance:ACC
 lapsyante
 take:FUT.3PL

‘The calamities from a king occurring to those [...] paying attention to and reciting this perfection of wisdom will disappear; those kings [...] who should attack them, while they pay attention to and recite this perfection of wisdom again and again, looking for a weak point and seeking for it, will not take advantage of them.’ (As(V) 38.10–14=AAA 17–24)

As(Lk) 若時有縣官起，若橫為縣官所侵，當誦念般若波羅蜜若坐若經行時，縣官終不能危害。

ruoshi you xianguan qi, ruo heng wei xianguan
 when exist official occur if suddenly COP official
 suo qin, dang tongnian banreboluomi ruo zuo
 NMLZ attack will recite prajñāpāramitā if sit
 ruo jingxing shi, xianguan zhong bu neng weihai
 if walk while official ever NEG be_able harm
 ‘When [problems with] the officials should occur to them and they are suddenly attacked by the officials, if they should recite the *prajñāpāramitā* while sitting or walking around, the officials would never be able to harm them.’ (433c12–14)²³⁶

As(Kj) 若官事起，誦念般若波羅蜜，官事即滅，諸求短者，皆不得便。

ruo guanshi qi, tongnian banreboluomi, guanshi
 if official occur recite prajñāpāramitā official
 ji mie, zhu qiu duan zhe, jie
 CONJ vanish INDF seek proximity NMLZ completely
 bu debian
 NEG take_advantage

‘If [problems with] the officials should occur [to them], [by] reciting the *prajñāpāramitā*, the problems with the officials would promptly disappear; if [the officials] should seek to approach them, they would not be able to take advantage [of them].’ (543c17–18)

As(Xz)[I] 若遭官事、怨賊逼迫，至心誦念甚深般若波羅蜜多，若至其所，終不為彼譴罰加害，欲求其短，皆不能得。

ruo zao guanshi yuanzei bipo, zhixin tongnian

²³⁶ As(ZQ) -: As(Zfn) 若時時遭縣官、若為縣官所侵，當誦念般若波羅蜜，往到其所，終不得危害 (515c26–28).

if meet official robber attack pay_attention recite
shen shen banreboluomiduo, ruo zhi qi suo,
 very profound prajñāpāramitā if arrive their place
zhong bu wei bi qianfa jiahai, yu qiu
 ever NEG COP they punish harm wish seek
qi duan, jie bu neng de
 their proximity completely NEG be_able attain
 ‘If they should meet with attacks from officials and robbers, by means
 of paying attention and reciting [such a] very profound
prajñāpāramitā, when they should approach them, [the officials and
 robbers] would never be able to punish and harm them; if they should
 seek to approach them, they would not be able to do it.’ (778a19–22)

As(Xz)[II] =Xz[I](875a26–29)

(160)

As *ye kecid bhagavan sattvāḥ [...]*
 REL:NOM.PL INDF:NOM.PL blessed_one:VOC being:NOM.PL
prajñāpāramitāyāṃ carīṣyanti na teṣāṃ māro vā
 wisdom.perfection:LOC course:FUT.3PL NEG 3PL:GEN M:NOM PTC
mārakāyikā vā devatā avatāraṃ lapsyante
 M.attendant:NOM.PL PTC deity:NOM.PL entrance:ACC attain:FUT.3PL
 ‘Blessed One, those beings [...] who will be coursing in the perfection of
 wisdom, they will be taken advantage neither by Māra nor by his attendant
 deities.’ (As(V) 39.30–32= AAA 244.13–16)

As(Lk) 其有行般若波羅蜜者[...]亦不為魔及魔官屬所得便。

qi you xing banreboluomi zhe [...] *yi bu wei*
 those exist course prajñāpāramitā NMLZ also NEG COP
mo ji moguanshu suo debian
 M and M.attendant NMLZ take_advantage
 ‘Those who course in the *prajñāpāramitā* [...] are not taken advantage of,
 neither by Māra, nor by his attendants.’ (434a19–20)²³⁷

As(Kj) 世尊若有眾生行般若波羅蜜[...]魔若魔天不得其便。

shizun ruo you zhongsheng xing banreboluomi
 world.honoured if exist being course prajñāpāramitā
 [...] *mo ruo motian bu de qi bian*
 M or M.deity NEG attain them advantage

²³⁷ As(ZQ) 其有求[...]終不為邪眾所害也 (484c12); As(Zfn) 其有行般若波羅蜜者[...]亦不為魔及魔天所得便 (516a26–27).

‘World-honoured One, if there are beings coursing in the *prajñāpāramitā* [...] neither Māra nor his attendant deities take advantage of them.’ (544a16–18)

As(Xz)[I] 若諸有情修行般若波羅蜜多，一切惡魔及彼眷屬伺求其短不能得便。

ruo zhu youqing xiuxing banreboluomiduo,
if INDF being practice prajñāpāramitā
yiqie e mo ji bi juan shuci
all evil M and that subordinate attendant
qiu qi duan bu neng de bian
seek their proximity NEG be_able attain_advantage
‘If beings practice the *prajñāpāramitā*, neither evil Māra nor his subordinates and attendants, trying to approach them, are able to take advantage [of them].’ (778c9–11)

As(Xz)[II] =Xz[I] (875c10–12)

(161)

As *evam prajñāpāramitāparigrhīṭasya kulaputrasya vā*
thus wisdom.perfection.take_hold:PPP.GEN good_family.son:GEN PTC
kuladuhitur vā anena paryāyeṇa na kaścit
good_family.daughter:GEN PTC this:INS way: INS NEG INDF
paryanuyogo bhaviṣyati
censure:NOM occur:FUT.3SG
‘Thus, in this way, censure will not occur to the son or daughter of a good family who is taken hold by the perfection of wisdom.’ (As(V) 42.13–14=AAA 253.3–4)

As(Lk) 般若波羅蜜所擁護故，其所欲形、試者，便自去。

banreboluomi suo yonghu gu, qi suo yu xing
prajñāpāramitā NMLZ protect cause they place wish deride
shi zhe, bian zi qu
test NMLZ CONJ from depart
‘By means of being protected by the *prajñāpāramitā*, somebody who would wish to deride [and] test [them] will go away.’ (434c11–12)

As(Kj) -

As(Xz)[I] 是故，不為一切異學論難所屈。

shi gu, bu wei yiqie yixue lunnan suo
that cause NEG COP all different.school criticism NMLZ
qu
discourage

‘Because of that, [they] will not be discouraged by criticism from any other school.’ (780a10)

As(Xz)[II] -

(162)

As *bahūni* *caiṣāṃ* *devatāsahasrāṇi* *prṣṭhataḥ prṣṭhato*
many:NOM.PL and=3PL:GEN god.thousand:NOM.PL back
'*nubaddhāni* *bhaviṣyanti*
follow:PPP.NOM.PL become:FUT.3PL
‘Many thousands of gods will follow them.’ (As(V) 100.27=AAA 438.12–13)

As(Lk) 若干百天、若干千天常隨侍之。

ruogan *bai* *tian* *ruogan* *qian* *tian* *chang* *suishi*
many hundred god many thousand god always follow
zhi
them
‘Many hundreds of gods, many thousands of gods always follow them.’
(443c15–16)²³⁸

As(Kj) 若干百千諸天皆共隨從。

ruogan *bai* *qian* *zhu* *tian,* *jie* *gong*
many hundred thousand INDF god completely together
suicong
follow
‘Many hundreds of thousands of gods follow together.’ (553a3)

As(Xz)[I] 是善男子、善女人[...]常為無量百千天神恭敬、圍遶、隨逐、守護。

shi *shannanzi* *shannüren* [...] *chang* *wei* *wuliang*
that good.son good.daughter always COP incalculable
bai *qian* *tianshen* *gongjing* *weirao* *suizhu*
hundred thousand god venerate circle follow
shouhu
protect
‘That son [or] daughter of a good [family] [...] will always be venerated, circumambulated, followed and protected by incalculable hundreds of thousands of gods.’ (804b10–12)

As(Xz)[II] 諸有情[...]常為無量百千天神恭敬、圍遶、隨逐、守護。

zhu *youqing* [...] *chang* *wei* *wuliang* *bai*
INDF being always COP incalculable hundred

²³⁸ As(ZQ) 學是者[...]諸尊天常隨之 (489a20); As(Zfn) -.

qian tianshen gongjing weirao suizhu shouhu
 thousand god venerate circle follow protect
 ‘[Those] beings [...] will always be venerated, circumambulated,
 followed and protected by incalculable hundreds of thousands of gods.’
 (886c24–27)

(163)

As *mā khalv asyāḥ kācid duḥkhā vedanā*
 NEG PTC 3SG:GEN INDF:NOM unpleasant:NOM feeling:NOM
duḥkho vā sparśa utpadyeta cakṣuṣo vā
 unpleasant:NOM PTC contact:NOM arise:OPT.3SG eye:ABL PTC
śrotrato vā ghrāṇato vā jihvāto vā
 ear:ABL PTC nose:ABL PTC tongue:ABL PTC
kāyato vā manasto vā vātato vā
 body:ABL PTC mind:ABL PTC wind:ABL PTC
pittato vā śleṣmato vā saṃnipātato vā
 bile:ABL PTC phlegm:ABL PTC disorder:ABL PTC
daṃśato vā maśakato vā sarīṣpato vā
 sting:ABL PTC mosquito:ABL PTC reptile:ABL PTC
manuṣyato vā amanuṣyato vā āpātato vā
 human:ABL PTC spirit:ABL PTC falling_over:ABL PTC
utpātato vā aniṣṭanipātaḥ śarīre nipatet
 calamity:ABL PTC disastrous_crash:ABL body:ABL fall_upon:OPT.3SG
 ‘May any unpleasant feeling arising from unpleasant contact from the eye, ear,
 nose, tongue, body, mind, from wind, bile, phlegm, from the disorder [of the
 humours], from a sting [of insects], from mosquitoes, reptiles, humans, spirits,
 from anything falling upon her, from calamities or disastrous crashes not occur
 to her.’ (As(V) 125.10–13=AAA 529.19–530.1)

As(Lk) -

As(Kj) 無諸苦患、風雨、寒熱、蚊蚋、毒螫。

wu zhu kuhuan feng yu han re wenmang du
 NEG INDF suffering wind rain cold heat mosquito poison
shi
 sting
 ‘[May] any suffering [from] wind, rain, cold, heat, mosquitoes and
 poisonous sting not [occur to her].’ (557c2–3)

As(Xz)[I] 勿為蚊虻、蛇、蠍、風、雨、人、非人等非愛所觸，勤加修飾，
 令離眾病，六根清淨，無諸憂苦。

wu wei wenmang she xie feng yu ren
 NEG COP mosquito snake scorpion wind rain person
feiren deng fei'ai suo chu, qinjia

spirit and_so_forth unpleasant NMLZ touch diligently
xiushi, ling li zhong bing, liu gen
 look_after let be_freed many disease six faculty
qingjing, wu zhu youku
 purify NEG INDF suffering
 ‘May [she] not be touched by mosquitos, snakes, scorpions, wind, rain,
 men, spirits and other unpleasant [things], diligently looking after [her
 may we] free [her] from various diseases; [may her] six faculties be
 purified, [may she be] without suffering.’ (814b12–14)

As(Xz)[II] = As(Xz)[I] (893a16–18)

(164)

As *kiyadrūpasya bhagavan bodhisattvasya mahāsattvasya*
 what_kind:GEN blessed_one:VOC bodhisattva:GEN great.being:GEN
upasaṃkrāmati māraḥ pāpīyān viheṭhanābhiprāyaḥ
 attack:PRS.3SG M:NOM devil:NOM hurting.intention:NOM
 ‘Blessed One, what kind of bodhisattva great-being does Māra the devil attack
 with the intention of hurting [him]?’ (As(V) 206.16–17=AAA 809.26–27)

As(Lk) 何等菩薩為魔所亂?

hedeng pusa wei mo suo luan
 what_kind bodhisattva COP M NMLZ disturb
 ‘What kind of *bodhisattva* is disturbed by Māra?’ (464a12–13)²³⁹

As(Kj) 世尊，何等菩薩為惡魔所亂?

shizun, hedeng pusa wei e mo suo
 world.honoured what.kind bodhisattva COP evil M NMLZ
luan
 disturb
 ‘World-honoured One, what kind of *bodhisattva* is disturbed by the evil
 Māra?’ (573b5–6)

As(Xz)[I] 何等菩薩摩訶薩[...]為諸惡魔之所擾亂?

hedeng pusa mohesa [...] wei zhu emo
 what.kind bodhisattva mahāsattva COP INDF evil.M

²³⁹ As(ZQ) - ; As(Zfn) - . The Skt. construction built with a genitive patient and the verb *upasaṃkrāmati* occurs repeatedly in this section. As(Lk) and As(Kj) treat the syntagm differently in the various cases, possibly in light of different syntactic and pragmatic reasons. See for instance the active translation in As(Lk) 魔不遍行亂菩薩 (464a11) and As(Kj) 惡魔不必普欲惱亂一切菩薩 (573b4–5). By contrast, in both As(Xz)[I] and As(Xz)[II] (the parallel of the example given in the main text is lacking here but occurs elsewhere) the Sanskrit construction is systematically translated with the *wei* construction. There is no evidence suggesting that the various Chinese translations represent different underlying source-constructions.

zhi suo raoluan

GEN NMLZ harm

‘What kind of *bodhisattva mahāsattva* [...] is harmed by the evil Māra?’
(844a13–14)

As(Xz)[II] -

(165)

As *asyāpy ānanda bodhisattvasya mahāsattvasya māraḥ*
3SG:GEN=also Ā:VOC bodhisattva:GEN great.being:GEN M:NOM
pāpīyān upasaṃkrāmati viheṭhanābhiprāyaḥ avatāraṃ
devil:NOM attack:PRS.3SG hurting.intention:NOM entrance:ACC
cāsyā labhate
and=3SG:GEN attain:PRS.3SG

‘Ānanda, that bodhisattva great-being is attacked by Māra the devil with the intention of hurting, and he is taken advantage of.’ (As(V) 206.31–32=AAA 810.8–10)

As(Lk) 菩薩為弊魔所得便。

pusa wei bimo suo debian
bodhisattva COP evil.M NMLZ take_advantage

‘The bodhisattva is taken advantage of by the evil Māra.’ (464a17)²⁴⁰

As(Kj) 如是之人，惡魔惱亂而得其便。

rushi zhi ren, emo naoluan er de qi bian
such GEN person evil.M disturb CONJ attain his advantage
‘The evil Māra disturbs and takes advantage of such a person.’ (573b7)

As(Xz)[I] 是菩薩摩訶薩修行般若波羅蜜多時，便為惡魔之所擾亂。

shi pusa mohesa xiuxing banreboluomiduo shi,
that bodhisattva mahāsattva course prajñāpāramitā while
bian wei emo zhi suo raoluan
also COP evil.M GEN NMLZ disturb

‘That *bodhisattva mahāsattva* is also disturbed by the evil Māra while coursing in the *prajñāpāramitā*.’ (844a18–19)

As(Xz)[II] 是諸菩薩修學般若波羅蜜多，便為惡魔之所擾亂。

shi zhu pusa xiuxue banreboluomiduo, bian
that INDF bodhisattva practice prajñāpāramitā also
wei emo zhi suo raoluan
COP evil.M GEN NMLZ disturb

²⁴⁰ As(ZQ) -; As(Zfn) -

‘Those *bodhisattvas* practicing the *prajñāpāramitā* are disturbed by the evil Māra.’ (912c2–3)

Table 6.5: Wei constructions in Group 6.5

(159)	<i>As utpannotpannās caiṣām upadravā rājato ’vatāraṃ lapsyante</i>	
	As(Lk) 為縣官所侵	(為 A 所 V)
	As(Kj) -	
	As(Xz)[I] 為彼譴罰加害	(為 AV)
	As(Xz)[II] = As(Xz)[I]	(為 AV)
(160)	<i>As māro vā mārakāyikā vā devatā avatāraṃ lapsyante</i>	
	As(Lk) 為魔及魔官屬所得便	(為 A 所 V)
	As(Kj) -	
	As(Xz)[I] -	
	As(Xz)[II] -	
(161)	<i>As prajñāpāramitāparigrhītasya kulaputrasya vā kuladuhitur vā [...] na kaścit paryanuyogo bhaviṣyati</i>	
	As(Lk) -	
	As(Kj) -	
	As(Xz)[I] 為一切異學論難所屈	(為 A 所 V)
	As(Xz)[II] -	
(162)	<i>As devatāsahasrāṇi ’nubaddhāni bhaviṣyanti</i>	
	As(Lk) -	
	As(Kj) -	
	As(Xz)[I] 為無量百千天神恭敬、圍遶、隨逐、守護。	(為 A V)
	As(Xz)[II] = As(Xz)[I]	(為 A V)
(163)	<i>As duḥkhā vedanā duḥkho vā sparśa utpadyeta</i>	
	As(Lk) -	
	As(Kj) -	
	As(Xz)[I] 為非愛所觸	(為 A 所 V)
	As(Xz)[II] = As(Xz)[I]	(為 A 所 V)
(164)	<i>As upasaṃkrāmati māraḥ pāpīyān</i>	
	As(Lk) 為魔所亂	(為 A 所 V)

As(Kj) 為惡魔所亂	(為 A 所 V)
As(Xz)[I] 為諸惡魔之所擾亂	(為 A 之所 V)
As(Xz)[II] -	
(165) As <i>māraḥ pāpīyān upasaṃkrāmati [...]</i> <i>avatāraṃ cāśya labhate</i>	
As(Lk) 為弊魔所得便	(為 A 所 V)
As (Kj) -	
As(Xz)[I] 為惡魔之所擾亂	(為 A 之所 V)
As(Xz)[II] = As(Xz)[I]	(為 A 之所 V)

6.3.6 Group 6.6

In three instances, the P of the *wei* construction corresponds to a fronted accusative object in the Sanskrit parallel.

(166)

As	<i>kulaputrasya</i>	<i>kuladuhitur</i>	<i>vā</i>	<i>imāṃ</i>
	good_family.son:GEN	good_family.daughter:GEN	PTC	this:ACC
	<i>prajñāpāramitāṃ</i>	<i>bhāṣamāṇasya</i>	<i>catasṛṇām</i>	
	wisdom.perfection:ACC	speak:PTCL.MID.GEN	four:GEN.PL	
	<i>parśadām</i>	<i>agrato</i>	<i>nāvalīnacittatā</i>	
	assembly:GEN.PL	in_front_of	NEG=shrinking.mind.state:NOM	
	<i>bhaviṣyati</i>	<i>mā</i>	<i>khalu</i>	<i>mām</i>
	become:FUT.3SG	NEG	PTC	1SG.ACC
	<i>paryanuyuñjīta</i>	<i>upālamhābhīprāya</i>	<i>iti</i>	
	ply_with_questions:OPT.3SG	reprove.intention:NOM	QUOT	
‘A son or a daughter of a good family preaching this perfection of wisdom in front of the four assemblies will have an unshrinking mind, thinking: “No one with the intention of reproving me shall ply me with questions.”’ (As(V) 42.8–10=AAA 252.17–20)				

As(Lk) 善男子、善女人書般若波羅蜜於四部弟子中說時，其心都盧無所難，若有形者、若欲試者終不畏。

<i>shannanzi</i>	<i>shanniüren</i>	<i>shu</i>	<i>banreboluomi</i>	<i>yu</i>	<i>si</i>	<i>bu</i>
good.son	good.daughter	write	prajñāpāramitā	at	four	group
<i>dizi</i>	<i>zhong</i>	<i>shuo</i>	<i>shi,</i>	<i>qi</i>	<i>xin</i>	<i>dulu</i>
disciple	in	preach	while	his	mind	at_all
<i>suo</i>	<i>nan,</i>	<i>ruo</i>	<i>you</i>	<i>xing</i>	<i>zhe</i>	<i>ruo</i>
NMLZ	trouble	if	exist	deride	NMLZ	if
<i>shi</i>	<i>zhe</i>	<i>zhong</i>	<i>bu</i>	<i>wei</i>		
test	NMLZ	ever	NEG	be_afraid		
‘A son [or] a daughter of a good [family] who were to copy the <i>prajñāpāramitā</i> or recite it in front of the four groups of disciples, their						

mind will not be troubled at all; if one were to deride them or wish to test them, they will never be afraid.’ (434c9–11)²⁴¹

As(Kj) 是善男子、善女人於四眾中說般若波羅蜜時，其心不畏有來難問及詰責者。

shi shannanzi shannüren yu si zhong zhong
those good.son god.daughter at four assembly in
shuo banreboluomi shi, qi xin bu wei
preach prajñāpāramitā while their mind NEG be_afraid
you lai nanwen ji jieze zhe
exist come strictly_question and accuse NMLZ
‘That son [or] daughter of a good [family] preaching the *prajñāpāramitā*
in front of the four assemblies, their mind will not be afraid of someone
approaching [them] to strictly question and accuse [them].’ (544b23–25)

As(Xz)[I] 若善男子、善女人等於四眾中宣說如是甚深般若波羅蜜多，心無怯怖，不為一切論難所伏。

ruo shannanzi shannüren deng yu si zhong
if good.son good.daughter so_forth at four assembly
zhong xuanshuo rushi shen shen banreboluomiduo,
in recite such very profound prajñāpāramitā
xin wu qiebu, bu wei yiqie lunnan suo
mind NEG shrinking NEG COP all critique NMLZ
fu
overcome
‘If a son [or] a daughter of a good [family], and so forth, were to recite
[such a] very profound *prajñāpāramitā* in front of the four assemblies,
their mind will not be shrinking, nor they will be overcome by all
critiques.’ (780a2–4)

As(Xz)[II] = As(Xz)[I] (876b5–7)

(167)

As yadi cen māṃ vyālā bhakṣayeyuḥ tebhya eva
if 1SG:ACC beast:NOM.PL devour:OPT.3PL 3PL:DAT PTC
tad dānaṃ dattaṃ bhavatu
3SG:NOM gift:NOM give:PPP.NOM become:IMP.3SG
‘If beasts should devour me, may [this] be a gift given to them.’ (As(V)
178.26–27=AAA 739.5–6)

As(Lk) 設有啖食我者，為當布施。

²⁴¹ As(ZQ) 若於四部弟子中說經時，其心無所難，若形試者終不畏 (485a1–2); As(Zfn) 善男子、善女人於四輩弟子中說般若波羅蜜，其心都無所難，若形試者終不畏 (516c7–9).

she you danshi wo zhe wei dang bushi
 if exist devour me NMLZ COP should gift
 ‘If [they] should devour me, shall [that] be a gift.’ (457c20–21)²⁴²

As(Kj) 我今若為惡獸所噉，我當施與。

wo jin ruo wei e shou suo dan, wo dang
 I now if COP evil beast NMLZ devour I should
shiyu
 donate
 ‘If now I were to be devoured by evil beasts, I should donate [myself to them].’ (568a6)

As(Xz)[I] 諸有惡鬼及惡獸等欲噉我身，我當施與，令其充足。

zhu you e gui ji e shou deng yu
 INDF exist evil demon and evil beast so_forth wish
dan wo shen, wo dang shiyu ling qi
 devour my body I should donate make them
chongzu
 be_sated
 ‘[If] evil demons and wicked beasts sought to devour my body, I should offer [myself] to satisfy their hunger.’ (832c24–25)

As(Xz)[II] 諸惡獸等欲噉我身，我當施與，令其充足。

zhu e shou deng yu dan wo shen,
 INDF evil beast so_forth wish devour my body
wo dang shiyu ling qi chongzu
 I should donate make them be_sated
 ‘[If] demons and beasts sought to devour my body, I should offer [myself] to satisfy their hunger’ (906a19–20)

(168)

As *yadi cen māṃ kecij jīvitād vyaparopayeyuḥ tatra*
 if 1SG:ACC INDF:NOM.PL life:ABL deprive:OPT.3PL then
na mayā vyāpādakrodharoṣā utpādayitavyāḥ
 NEG 1SG:INS malice.anger.fury:NOM.PL produce:GRND.NOM.PL
 ‘If someone should deprive me of the life, I should feel no malice, anger or fury.’ (As(V) 179.3–4=AAA 740.1–2)

As(Lk) 正令我為賊所殺，我不當有瞋恚。

zhengling wo wei zei suo sha, wo bu dang
 even_if I COP thief NMLZ kill I NEG should
you chen hui

²⁴² As(ZQ) 設有噉我者，為當布施 (497a3); As(Zfn) 設有噉我者，當為布施 (530c20).

exist malice anger
 ‘Even if I were to be killed by thieves, I should not have malice or anger.’
 (457c24–25) ²⁴³

As(Kj) 若有奪我命者，是中不應生瞋恚。
ruo you duo wo ming zhe, shi zhong bu
 if exist seize my life NMLZ that in NEG
ying sheng chen hui
 should generate malice anger
 ‘If someone were to take my life away, [even] in that case I should not
 have malice or anger.’ (568a11)

As(Xz)[I] 或有因斯害我身命，我終於彼不生瞋恨。
huoyou yin si hai wo shenming,
 someone because this harm my life
wo zhong yu bi bu sheng chen hen
 I ultimately at this NEG generate malice hatred
 ‘[If] because of this someone should threaten my life, I ultimately
 [will] not have malice and hatred towards them.’ (833a4–5)

As(Xz)[II] 或有因斯害我身命，我當於彼不生瞋恨。
huoyou yin si hai wo shenming,
 someone because this harm my life
wo dang yu bi bu sheng chen hen
 I should at this NEG generate malice hatred
 ‘[If] because of this someone should threaten my life, I will not have
 malice and hatred towards them.’ (906a27–28)

Table 6.6: Wei constructions in Group 6.6

(166)	<i>As kaścit paryanuyuñjīta upālamhābhiprāya</i>	
	As(Lk) -	
	As(Kj) -	
	As(Xz)[I] 為一切論難所伏	(為 A 所 V)
	As(Xz)[II] = 為一切論難所伏	(為 A 所 V)
(167)	<i>As vyālā bhakṣayeyuḥ</i>	
	As(Lk) -	
	As(Kj) 為惡獸所噉	(為 A 所 V)
	As(Xz)[I] -	
	As(Xz)[II] -	
(168)	<i>As kecij jīvitād vyaparopayeyuḥ</i>	(為 A 所 V)

²⁴³ As(ZQ) 設殺我，我不當瞋恚 (497a6); As(Zfn) 設殺我者，我不瞋恚 (530c24).

As(Lk) 為賊所殺

As(Kj) -

As(Xz)[I] -

As(Xz)[II] -

6.3.7 Group 6.7

The examples in this group share in certain common features, in both semantic and morpho-syntactic terms: the verbs translated with the *wei* construction generally have an adverse meaning; at the same time, in these examples, the O of the *wei* construction corresponds to a nominative patient in the Sanskrit parallel. However, in (174) the *wei* construction is employed to translate a *-ta* participle compounded with the agent (i.e. *dṛṣṭijālapratichannāṃś*) serving as the substitute of a relative clause, whose object is coreferential with an accusative object (i.e. *sattvān*) in the matrix clause.

(169)

As	<i>yah</i>	<i>kulaputro</i>	<i>vā</i>	<i>kuladuhitā</i>	<i>vā</i>
REL:NOM	good_family.son:NOM	PTC	good_family.daughter:NOM	PTC	
	<i>imāṃ</i>	<i>prajñāpāramitāṃ</i>	<i>udgrahīṣyati [...]</i>	<i>na</i>	<i>ca</i>
this:ACC	wisdom.perfection:ACC	learn:FUT.3PL	NEG	and	
	<i>krodhābhibhūto</i>	<i>bhaviṣyati</i>	<i>na</i>	<i>ca</i>	
anger.overcome:PPP.NOM	become:FUT.3PL	NEG	and		
	<i>mānābhibhūto</i>	<i>bhaviṣyati</i>			
pride.overcome:PPP.NOM	become:FUT.3PL				
‘A son or a daughter of a good family, who will learn this perfection of wisdom [...]					
will not be overcome by anger and will not be overcome by pride.’ (As(V)					
27.5–8=AAA 197.13–19)					

As(Lk) 善男子、善女人學般若波羅蜜者[...]瞋恚不起，自貢高不生。

<i>shannanzi</i>	<i>shanniüren</i>	<i>xue</i>	<i>banreboluomi</i>	<i>zhe [...]</i>	<i>chenhui</i>
good.son	good.daughter	learn	prajñāpāramitā	NMLZ	anger
<i>bu</i>	<i>qi,</i>	<i>zigonggao</i>	<i>bu</i>	<i>sheng</i>	
NEG	arise	pride	NEG	originate	
‘For a son [or] a daughter of a good [family] learning the <i>prajñāpāramitā</i>					
[...] anger will not arise, nor will pride originate.’ (431b27–c1) ²⁴⁴					

As(Kj) 是人[...]不為我慢所覆，不為瞋恚所使。

<i>shi</i>	<i>ren [...]</i>	<i>bu</i>	<i>wei</i>	<i>woman</i>	<i>suo</i>	<i>fu,</i>	<i>bu</i>	<i>wei</i>
that	person	NEG	COP	pride	NMLZ	veil	NEG	COP
<i>chenhui</i>	<i>suo</i>	<i>shi</i>						
anger	NMLZ	lead						

²⁴⁴ As(ZQ) 入經如行者[...]瞋恚貢高諸惡不生 (483c21–23); As(Zfn) 是善男子、善女人學持誦般若波羅蜜者[...]瞋恚不起，自貢高不生 (514a11–13).

‘That person [...] is not veiled by pride, nor he is led by anger.’ (542a22–25)

As(Xz)[I] 若善男子、善女人等能於般若波羅蜜多至心聽聞[...]不為慳嫉、忿恨、覆惱、諂誑、矯等隱蔽其心。

<i>ruo</i>	<i>shannanzi</i>	<i>shannüren</i>	<i>deng</i>	<i>neng</i>	<i>yu</i>
if	good.son	good.daughter	so_forth	be_able	at
<i>banreboluomiduo</i>	<i>zhixin</i>	<i>tingwen</i> [...]	<i>bu</i>	<i>wei</i>	
<i>prajñāpāramitā</i>	attentively	hear	NEG	COP	
<i>qianji</i>	<i>fenhen</i>	<i>gainao</i>	<i>chankuang</i>	<i>gao</i>	<i>deng</i>
jealousy	hatred	hypocrisy	flattery	pride	so_forth
<i>yinbi</i>	<i>qi</i>	<i>xin</i>			
hinder	his	mind			

‘If a son [or] a daughter of a good [family] and so forth, were able to attentively hear the *prajñāpāramitā* [...] jealousy, hatred, hypocrisy, flattery, pride and so forth would not hinder their mind.’ (773c2–7)

As(Xz)[II] = Xz[I] (872c23–8)

(170)

As	<i>saced</i>	<i>bhagavan</i>	<i>strī</i>	<i>vā</i>	<i>puruṣo</i>	<i>vā</i>
	if	blessed_one:VOC	woman:NOM	PTC	man:NOM	PTC
	<i>āśīviṣeṇa</i>	<i>daṣṭo</i>	<i>bhavet</i>		<i>tasya</i>	<i>tan</i>
	viper:INS	bite:PPP.NOM	become:OPT.3SG	3SG:GEN	3SG:ACC	
	<i>mañiratnaṃ</i>	<i>daśyeta</i> /	<i>tasya</i>	<i>saha</i>	<i>daṃśanenaiva</i>	
	jewel:ACC	show:OPT.3SG	3SG:GEN	with	sight:INS=PTC	
	<i>mañiratnasya</i>	<i>tad</i>	<i>viṣaṃ</i>	<i>pratihanyeta</i>		
	jewel:GEN	3SG:ACC	poison:ACC	counteract:OPT.3SG		
	<i>vigacchet</i>					
	disappear:OPT.3SG					

‘Blessed One, if a woman or a man were bitten by a viper and someone showed that jewel to them, just the sight of it would counteract the poison, which would disappear.’ (As(V) 49.20–22=AAA 274.25–28)

As(Lk) 中有為蛇所齧者，若男子、若女人，持摩尼珠示之，見摩尼珠毒即去。

<i>zhongyou</i>	<i>wei</i>	<i>she</i>	<i>suo</i>	<i>nie</i>	<i>zhe,</i>	<i>ruo</i>	<i>nanzi</i>	<i>ruo</i>
someone	COP	snake	NMLZ	bite	NMLZ	or	man	or
<i>nüren,</i>	<i>chi</i>	<i>monizhu</i>	<i>shi</i>	<i>zhi,</i>	<i>jian</i>	<i>monizhu</i>		
woman	DISP	mañi.jewel	show	them	see	mañi.jewel		
<i>du</i>	<i>ji</i>	<i>qu</i>						
poison	CONJ	disappear						

‘If someone were bitten by a snake, either a man or a woman, and [someone] showed them a *maṇi*-jewel, by looking at the *maṇi*-jewel the poison would disappear.’ (436a6–8)²⁴⁵

As(Kj) 若男、若女、若大、若小為毒虫所螫，以珠示之，毒即除滅。

ruo nan ruo nü ruo da ruo xiao wei du
if man or woman or big or little COP poison
chong suo shi, yi zhu shi zhi, du ji
reptile NMLZ bite DISP jewel show them poison CONJ
chumie
eliminate

‘If a man or a woman, old or young, were bitten by a reptile and [someone] showed them [that] jewel, the poison would disappear.’ (545b23–24)

As(Xz)[I] 設有男子、或復女人為毒所中，楚痛難忍，若有持此神珠令見，珠威勢故毒即消滅。

she you nanzi huofu nüren wei du suo
if exist man or woman COP poison NMLZ
zhong, chutong nan ren, ruo you chi ci
possess pain difficult bear if exist DISP this
shen zhu ling jian, zhu weili gu du
mighty jewel let see jewel power cause poison
ji xiaomie
CONJ vanish

‘Assuming there was a man or a woman taken by poison, their suffering unbearable, if someone showed them this mighty jewel, the poison would disappear through the power of the jewel.’ (782b4–6)

As(Xz)[II] = As(Xz)[I] (878a21–23)

(171)

As	<i>ekaiko</i>	<i>bodhisattvo</i>	<i>gaṅgānadīvālukopamān</i>
	every_single:NOM	bodhisattva:NOM	G.river.sand.equal:ACC.PL
	<i>kalpāms</i>	<i>tiṣṭhan</i>	<i>gaṅgānadīvālukopamān</i>
	aeon:ACC.PL	exist:PTCPL.PRS.NOM	G.river.sand.equal:ACC.PL
	<i>kalpān</i>	<i>anyeṣv</i>	<i>anyeṣu</i>
	aeon:ACC.PL	other:LOC.PL	other:LOC.PL
	<i>trisāhasramahāsāhasreṣu</i>	<i>lokadhātuṣu</i>	<i>sarvair</i>
	trigalactic.megalactic:LOC.PL	world.system:LOC.PL	all:INS.PL
	<i>ākruṣṭo</i>	<i>’bhīhataḥ</i>	<i>paribhāṣitaḥ</i>
	scold:PPP.NOM	strike:PPP.NOM	rebut:PPP.NOM

²⁴⁵ As(ZQ) 眾毒向已，持珠示之，諸毒即滅 (485b24); As(Zfn) 若蛇蟻所齧，持是摩尼珠著之，毒即自去 (517c18–19).

‘Every bodhisattva existing in as many aeons as the sands of the river Ganges, scolded, struck and rebuked for as many aeons as the sands of the river Ganges by all [those in] as many trigalactic megalactic world systems as the sands of the river Ganges.’ (As(V) 84.3–5=AAA 374.17–20)

As(Lk) -

As(Kj) -

As(Xz)[I] 是諸菩薩各住殑伽沙數大劫，恒為十方殑伽沙數三千大千世界有情呵毀、凌辱、刀杖加害。

shi zhu pusa ge zhu Jingqiesha shu
that INDF bodhisattva each stay G.sand number
dajie, heng wei shi fang Jingqiesha
great.kalpa always COP ten direction G.sand
shu san qian da qian shijie youqing
number three thousand great thousand world being
hehui lingru dao zhang jiahai
despise persecute sword stick harm

‘That *bodhisattva* existing in as many *kalpas* as the sands of the Ganges, always despised, persecuted and harmed with swords and sticks by beings of as many trigalactic megalactic world systems as the sands of the Ganges in the ten directions.’ (797c16–18)

As(Xz)[II] -

(172)

As *sa tayā jarayā tena ca vyādhinā*
3SG:NOM 3SG:INS old_age:INS 3SG:INS and sickness:INS
kṣapito
waste_away:PPP.NOM
‘He who is wasted away by old age and sickness.’ (As(V) 145.9=AAA 590.1)

As(Lk) 是人老極無勢力故。

shi ren lao ji wu shili gu
that person old extremely NEG strength cause

‘Because that person is extremely old and without strength.’ (452a16–17)²⁴⁶

As(Kj) 是人已為老病所侵。

shi ren yi wei lao bing suo qin
that person already COP old_age disease NMLZ overcome

²⁴⁶ As(ZQ) 人年老而身病 (493a16); As(Zfn) -.

‘That person has already been overcome by old age and disease.’ (560c17–18)

As(Xz)[I] 極老病故。

ji *lao* *bing* *gu*
extremely old sick cause
‘Because he is extremely old and sick.’ (820b25)

As(Xz)[II] 是老病人。

shi *lao* *bing* *ren*
that old sick person
‘That old sick person.’ (897a27)

(173)

As *tadyathāpi nāma* *subhūte* *arhan* *bhikṣuḥ* *kṣīṇāsravo* [...]
just_as S:VOC worthy:NOM monk:NOM dried.flow:NOM
asaṃhāryo *bhavati* *māreṇa* *pāpīyasā*
non.mislead:GRND.NOM become:PRS.3SG M:INS devil:INS
‘Subhūti, just as a worthy one, a monk, whose outflows are dried up [...], who is not to be misled by Māra the devil.’ (As(V) 164.4–5=AAA 675.13–15)

As(Lk) -

As(Kj) 如漏盡阿羅漢[...]不為惡魔所制。

ru *lou* *jin* *aluohan* [...] *bu* *wei* *emo* *suo*
like outflow dry_up arhat NEG COP evil.M NMLZ
zhi
govern
‘Like an *arhat* whose outflows are dried up [...] who is not controlled by the evil Māra.’ (564c2–4)

As(Xz)[I] 如阿羅漢，諸有所為[...]一切惡魔不能傾動。

ru *aluohan* *zhu* *you* *suo* *wei* [...] *yiqie*
just_as arhat INDF possess NMLZ do all
emo *bu* *neng* *qingdong*
evil.demon NEG be_able shake
‘Just as an *arhat* who is accomplished²⁴⁷ [...] all the evil demons are not able to shake him.’ (827a1–2)

As(Xz)[II] = As(Xz)[I] (901b21–3)

²⁴⁷ Here 諸有所為 presumably translates Skt. *abhisamṣkrta* ‘accomplished’.

(174)

As *sa* *divyena* *cakṣuṣā* *vyavalokayan*
3SG:NOM heavenly:INS eye:INS examine:PTCP.PRS.NOM
aprameyān *asaṃkhyeyān* *aparimeyān*
immeasurable:ACC.PL incalculable:ACC.PL illimitable:ACC.PL
aparimāṇān *sattvān*
without_measure:ACC.PL being:ACC.PL
ānantaryakarmasamanvāgatān *paśyati* [...]
immediate.karma.endowed_with:ACC.PL see:PRS.3SG
drṣṭijālapratichannāmś
view.net.hinder:PPP.ACC.PL
‘Examining with his heavenly eye, he sees incalculable beings, [some]
endowed with the karma [leading to] immediate [retribution in hell], [...]
[some others] hindered by the net of false views.’ (As(V) 200.9–11=AAA
793.16–19)

As(Lk) -

As(Kj) -

As(Xz)[I] 以天眼觀諸世間，見有無邊諸有情類[...]或為見網之所覆蔽。
yi *tianyan* *guan* *zhu* *shijian*, *jian* *you* *wubian*
with heaven.eye look INDF world see exist illimited
zhu *youqing* *lei* [...] *huo* *wei* *jianwang* *zhi*
INDF being kind some COP view.net GEN
suo *fubi*
NMLZ envelop
‘With his heavenly eye, [he] looks at various worlds and sees unlimited
kinds of beings [...] some are enveloped in the net of false views.’
(841a11–13)

As(Xz)[II] 以天眼見有情類[...]或為見網之所覆蔽。
yi *tianyan* *jian* *you* *youqing* *lei* [...] *huo* *wei*
with heaven.eye see exist being kind some COP
jianwang *zhi* *suo* *fubi*
view.net GEN NMLZ envelop
‘With his heavenly eye, he sees unlimited kinds of beings [...] some
are enveloped in the net of false views.’ (911a11–13)

(175)

As *tadyathāpi nāma* *puruṣaḥ* *saviṣeṇa* *śalyena* *viddho*
just_as man:NOM poisonous:INS arrow:INS hit:PPP.NOM
nānyaṃ *manasikāraṃ* *utpādayati*
NEG=other:NOM thought:NOM arise:PRS.3SG

‘Just as a man, hit by a poisoned arrow, does not have any other thought.’
(As(V) 242.11–12=AAA 936.11–12)

As(Lk) -

As(Kj) 譬如有人為毒箭所中，更無餘念。

piru you ren wei du jian suo zhong, geng
just_as exist person COP poison arrow NMLZ hit again
wu yu nian
NEG other think

‘Just as a man hit by poisoned arrow has no other thought.’ (581b18–19)

As(Xz)[I] -

As(Xz)[II] -

(176)

As *kathaṃ bodhisattvo mahāsattvaḥ prajñāpāramitāyāṃ*
how bodhisattva:NOM great.being:NOM wisdom.perfection:LOC
caran [...] *adhr̥ṣyaś* *ca bhaviṣyati*
course:PTCP.PRS.NOM non.assail:GRND.NOM and become:FUT.3SG
māreṇa vā mārakāyikābhir vā devatābhiḥ
M:INS PTC M.attendant:INS.PL PTC deity:INS.PL
‘How will a bodhisattva great-being, coursing in the perfection of wisdom [...] be unassailable by Māra or by his attendant deities?’ (As(V) 245.1–3=AAA 945.9–12)

As(Lk) -

As(Kj) 云何菩薩行般若波羅蜜[...]不為諸魔所壞。

yunhe pusa xing banreboluomi [...] bu wei zhu
how bodhisattva course prajñāpāramitā NEG COP INDF
mo suo huai
demon NMLZ corrupt

‘How is a *bodhisattva*, who courses in the *prajñāpāramitā* [...] not corrupted by demons?’ (582a28–b1)

As(Xz)[I] -

As(Xz)[II] -

(169) *As krodhābhibhūto bhaviṣyati*
mānābhibhūto bhaviṣyati
 As(Lk) -
 -
 As(Kj) 為我慢所覆 (為 A 所 V)
 為瞋恚所使 (為 A 所 V)
 As(Xz)[I] 為慳嫉、忿恨、覆惱、諂誑矯等隱蔽 (為 A V)
 其心
 As(Xz)[III] = As(Xz)[I] (為 A V)

(170) *As āśīviṣeṇa daṣṭo bhavet*
 As(Lk) 為蛇所齧 (為 A 所 V)
 As(Kj) 為毒虫所螫 (為 A 所 V)
 As(Xz)[I] 為毒所中 (為 A 所 V)
 As(Xz)[III] = As(Xz)[I] (為 A 所 V)

(171) *As sarvair ākruṣṭo 'bhihataḥ paribhāṣitaḥ*
 As(Lk) -
 As(Kj) -
 As(Xz)[I] 為十方殞伽沙數三千大千世界有情呵
 毀、凌辱、刀杖加害 (為 A V)
 As(Xz)[III] -

(172) *As tayā jarayā tena ca vyādhinā kṣapito*
 As(Lk) -
 As(Kj) 為老病所侵 (為 A 所 V)
 As(Xz)[I] -
 As(Xz)[III] -

(173) *As asaṃhāryo bhavati māreṇa pāpīyasā*
 As(Lk) -
 As(Kj) 為惡魔所制 (為 A 所 V)
 As(Xz)[I] -
 As(Xz)[III] -

(174) *As dṛṣṭijālapracchannāṃś*
 As(Lk) -
 As(Kj) -
 As(Xz)[I] 為見網之所覆蔽 (為 A 之所 V)

- As(Xz)[II]= 為見網之所覆蔽 (為 A 之所 V)
- (175) As *saviṣeṇa śalyena viddho*
 As(Lk) -
 As(Kj) 為毒箭所中 (為 A 所 V)
 As(Xz)[I] -
 As(Xz)[II] -
- (176) As *adhr̥ṣyaś ca bhaviṣyati māreṇa vā mārakāyikābhir*
vā devatābhiḥ
 As(Lk) -
 As(Kj) 為諸魔所壞 (為 A 所 V)
 As(Xz)[I] -
 As(Xz)[II] -
-

6.3.8 Group 6.8

A last group of three examples is represented by syntactically active clauses in the Sanskrit parallel which are translated with the *wei* construction. What is more, in (179), Lokakṣema and Kumārajīva both appear to have shifted the agency from the bodhisattva to Māra.²⁴⁸

- (177)
- | | | | | | |
|----|-----------------------------|-------------------------|-------------------------|-------------------------|-------------------------|
| As | <i>na</i> | <i>te</i> | <i>kauśika</i> | <i>kulaputrā</i> | <i>vā</i> |
| | NEG | 3PL:NOM | K:VOC | good_family.son:NOM.PL | PTC |
| | <i>kuladuhitaro</i> | | <i>vā</i> | <i>viṣamāparihāreṇa</i> | |
| | good_family.daughter:NOM.PL | | PTC | adversity:INS | |
| | <i>kālaṃ kariṣyanti</i> | <i>na</i> | <i>viṣeṇa</i> | <i>kālaṃ kariṣyanti</i> | |
| | die:FUT.3PL | NEG | poison:INS | die:FUT.3PL | |
| | <i>na</i> | <i>śastreṇa</i> | <i>kālaṃ kariṣyanti</i> | <i>nāgninā</i> | <i>kālaṃ kariṣyati</i> |
| | NEG | sword:INS | die:FUT.3PL | NEG=fire:INS | die:FUT.3PL |
| | <i>nodakena</i> | <i>kālaṃ kariṣyanti</i> | <i>na</i> | <i>daṇḍena</i> | <i>kālaṃ kariṣyanti</i> |
| | NEG=water:INS | die:FUT.3PL | NEG | staff:INS | die:FUT.3PL |
| | <i>na</i> | <i>paripakrameṇa</i> | <i>kālaṃ kariṣyanti</i> | | |
| | NEG | assault:INS | die:FUT.3PL | | |

²⁴⁸ The Sanskrit passage can be read as a transitive active clause ‘[He] will tighten the bond of Māra’, as it was also done by Conze (1973: 230). Considering that the active endings are generally also used for medio-passive inflection in Middle Indo-Aryan (i.e. *kariṣyati* for *kariṣyate*), one could also read it as an intransitive clause, i.e. ‘That bond of Māra will tighten’, which I believe corresponds to the translation in As(Xz)[I]. The former interpretation is syntactically more cogent, as the controller of the verb remains the same of the preceding verbs, but one can postulate a reanalysis process by some translators from anticausative intransitive to passive with the “ascension” of the possessor, i.e. Māra: ‘That bond of Māra will tighten’ > ‘That bond of Māra will be tightened’ > ‘That bond will be tightened by Māra.’ Obviously, one cannot exclude that the Sanskrit source passage used by Lokakṣema and Kumārajīva simply had a different reading from the attested Sanskrit parallel.

‘Kauśika, those sons or daughters of good families will not die from adversities, poison, sword, fire, water, staff nor assault.’ (As(V) 38.7–10=AAA 238.13–17)

As(Lk) 其人終不中毒死，不於水中溺死，不為兵刃所中死。

qi ren zhong bu zhong du si, bu yu
that person ever NEG by poison die NEG in
shui zhong nisi, bu wei bingren suo zhongsi
water in drown NEG COP weapon NMLZ kill
‘That person will never die by means of poison, drowning in water, or being killed by weapon.’ (433c11–12)²⁴⁹

As(Kj) 是善男子、善女人毒不能傷，火不能燒，終不橫死。

shi shannanzi shannüren du bu neng shang,
that good.son god.daughter poison NEG be_able harm
huo bu neng shao, zhongbu hengsi
fire NEG be_able burn ever untimely_die
‘As regards that son [or] daughter of a good [family], poison cannot harm them, fire cannot burn them, and they will never die an untimely death.’ (543c15–16)

As(Xz)[I] 是善男子、善女人等現在不為一切毒藥、厭禱、呪術之所傷害，火不能燒，水不能溺，諸刀杖等亦不能害，乃至不為四百四病之所殀殁。

shi shannanzi shannüren deng xianzai bu
that good.son good.daughter so_forth present NEG
wei yiqie duyao yandao zhoushu zhi suo
COP all poison curse spell GEN NMLZ
shanghai, huo bu neng shao, shui bu
harm fire NEG be_able burn water NEG
neng ni, zhu dao zhang deng yi bu
be_able drown INDF blade staff so_forth also NEG
neng hai, naizhi bu wei sibaisi bing zhi
be_able harm up_to NEG COP 404 disease GEN
suo yaomo
NMLZ perish

‘Those sons or daughters of good [families], and so forth, will not be harmed in the present by any poison, curse or spell; fire cannot burn them, water cannot drown them, swords and staffs and other [weapons] cannot harm them, nor will they succumb to the four hundred and four diseases.’ (778a15–18)

²⁴⁹ As(ZQ) 其人終不為邪毒、水、火、兵刃、王法、所橫死 (484b20–21); As(Zfn) 其人終不橫死、終不中毒死、終不於溺死、終不兵死 (515c25–26).

As(Xz)[III] 諸毒藥、水、火、刀兵、災橫、疾疫皆不能害。
zhu duyao shui huo daobing zaiheng jiyi
 INDF poison water fire weapon adversity disease
jie NEG neng hai
 completely bu be_able harm
 ‘Poison, water, fire, weapons, adversities and diseases cannot harm them.’ (875a25–26)

(178)

As *te ca prajñāpāramitāṃ prāpya sarvajñatāyāṃ*
 3PL:NOM and wisdom.perfection:ACC attain:GER omniscience:LOC
sthāsyanti
 stand:FUT.3PL
 ‘And having attained the perfection of wisdom, they will abide in omniscience.’
 (As(V) 143.21=AAA 585.16–17)

As(Lk) -

As(Kj) 為般若波羅蜜所守護故，中道不退。
wei banreboluomi suo shouhu gu, zhongdao bu
 COP prajñāpāramitā NMLZ protect cause midway NEG
tui
 revert
 ‘Owing to being protected by the *prajñāpāramitā*, he does not revert midway.’ (560b11–12)

As(Xz)[I] -

As(Xz)[II] -

(179)

As *tad eva mārabandhanaṃ gāḍhīkariṣyati*
 so PTC M.bond:ACC tighten:FUT.3SG
 ‘So [he] will tighten the bond of Māra.’ (As(V) 191.19–20=AAA 772.6–7)

As(Lk) 用是故，知為魔所固。

yong shi gu, zhi wei mo suo gu
 use that cause know COP M NMLZ fasten
 ‘Because of that [he] is known as being fastened by Māra.’ (460b4–5)²⁵⁰

As(Kj) 為魔所縛轉更牢固。

²⁵⁰ As(ZQ): 為邪所困 (498c2); As(Zfn): 為魔所困 (533b19).

wei mo suo fu zhuan geng laogu
 COP M NMLZ tie turn more firm
 ‘[He] is tied by Māra more firmly.’ (570b12)

As(Xz)[I] 由斯魔縛轉復堅牢。

yousi mo fu zhuan fu jianlao
 thus M tie turn further firm
 ‘Thus, the bond of Māra becomes firmer.’ (837b8)

As(Xz)[II] -

Table 6.8: Wei constructions in Group 6.8

(177) <i>As viṣamāparihāreṇa kālāṃ kariṣyanti na viṣeṇa kālāṃ kariṣyanti na śastreṇa kālāṃ kariṣyanti nāgninā kālāṃ kariṣyati nodakena kālāṃ kariṣyanti daṇḍena kālāṃ kariṣyanti na paripakrameṇa kālāṃ kariṣyanti</i>		
As(Lk) -	-	
	為兵刃所中死	(為 A 所 V)
As(Kj) -	-	
	-	
As(Xz)[I] 為一切毒藥厭禱呪術之所傷害		(為 A 之所 V)
	-	
	-	
	為四百四病之所殞歿	(為 A 之所 V)
As(Xz)[II] -		
(178) <i>As prajñāpāramitāṃ prāpya</i>		
As(Lk) -		
As(Kj) 為般若波羅蜜所守護		(為 A 所 V)
As(Xz)[I] -		
As(Xz)[II] -		
(179) <i>As mārabandhanaṃ gāḍhīkariṣyati</i>		
As(Lk) 為魔所固		(為 A 所 V)
As(Kj) 為魔所縛		(為 A 所 V)
As(Xz)[I] -		
As(Xz)[II] -		

6.4 Other constructions

As is the case with the Chinese translations of the *Vajracchedikā* and *Larger Prajñāpāramitā*, transitive inactive verbs are mostly used as purely lexical items, see for instance the use of *zao* 遭 by As(Xz)[I] in (159)²⁵¹ or the use of *bei* in (180).

(180)

As *paropakrameṇa jīvitāntarāyaṃ so 'nuprāpnuyāt*
 other.attack:INS life.hinderance:ACC 3SG:NOM reach:OPT.3SG
naitat sthānaṃ vidyate
 NEG=this:NOM possibility:NOM consider:PRS.PASS.3SG
 ‘It is impossible that he should lose his life due to the attack of another.’ (AS(V)
 27.27–28=AAA 202.16–17)

As(Lk) 正使入軍，不被兵。

zhengshi ru jun, bu bei bing
 if enter battle NEG suffer kill_with_weapon
 ‘If [they] should enter into battle, [they] would suffer being killed by a
 weapon.’ (431c11–12)²⁵²

As(Kj) 若被惱害，無有是處。

ruo bei naohai, wu you shi chu
 or suffer harm NEG exist that possibility
 ‘There is no possibility that [they] would suffer harm.’ (542b4)

As(Xz)[I] 若在軍旅刀箭所傷，失命喪身，終無是處。

ruo zai junlü dao jian suo shang,
 or at battle sword arrow NMLZ hurt
shi ming sang shen, zhong wu shi chu
 lose life lose body ever NEG that possibility
 ‘There is no possibility that [they] would lose their life [or] get killed
 being hurt by sword or arrow in battle.’ (774a26–27)

As(Xz)[III] 若在軍陣刀箭所傷，失命喪身，終無是處。

ruo zai junzhen dao jian suo shang,
 or at battle sword arrow NMLZ hurt

²⁵¹ The verb-phrase *zao guanshi yuanzei bipo* 遭官事怨賊逼迫 can be syntactically analysed in two different ways on the basis of constituent analysis of *guanshi yuanzei bipo* 官事怨賊逼迫. One can parse it as a noun-phrase: the relationship between the two constituents would be hence adnominal. Or, it can be understood as the sentential object of *zao* 遭, with the first constituent (*guanshi yuanze* 官事怨賊) being a noun serving as the agent of the second verbal element (*bipo* 逼迫). The two different constituent structures would thus be: 1. [_{VP} [_V 遭] [_{NP} 官事怨賊 [_N 逼迫]] _{VP}] and 2. [_{VP} [_V 遭] [_{S1} [_N 官事怨賊] [_V 逼迫] _{S1}] _{VP}]. The latter analysis favours the interpretation of *zao* as a passive marker, because its object is a sentence and not a noun-phrase.

²⁵² As(ZQ): 若兵刃向者，不中其身 (484a1); As(Zfn): 正使入軍，不被兵 (514a23–24).

shi ming sang shen, zhong wu shi chu
lose life lose body ever NEG that possibility
‘There is no possibility that [they] would lose their life [or] get killed
being hurt by sword or arrow in battle.’ (873a26–27)

Two examples, (181) and (182), are of special interest. In these two cases, Xuanzang employs the transitive inactive verb *meng* 蒙 in the same exact syntactic context of the copula *wei*. In (181) *meng* and *wei* are even used in two adjacent clauses built with the same predicate and arguments.

(181)

As *ye caināṃ prajñāpāramitāṃ*
REL:NOM.PL and=this:ACC wisdom.perfection:ACC
kulaputrāḥ kuladuhitaraś
good_family.son:NOM.PL good_family.daughter:NOM.PL
codgrahīṣyanti [...] tāṃś ca te buddhā
and=learn:FUT.3PL 3PL:ACC and 3PL:NOM buddha:NOM.PL
bhagavantaḥ samanvāhariṣyanti parigrahīṣyanti ca |
blessed_one:NOM.PL bring_to_mind:FUT.3PL uphold:FUT.3PL and
na hi śāriputra buddhasamanvāhṛtānāṃ
NEG PTC Ś:VOC buddha.bring_to_mind:PPP.GEN.PL
buddhapariṅhītānāṃ ca kulaputrāṇāṃ
buddha.uphold:PPP.GEN.PL and good_family.son:GEN.PL
kuladuhitṛṇāṃ ca śākyam antarāyaṃ
good_family.daughter:GEN.PL and possible:NOM obstacle:ACC
kartum
create:INF

‘Those sons or daughters of good families who will learn this perfection of wisdom [...] will be brought to mind and upheld by the Buddhas, Blessed Ones. For, Śāriputra, it is not possible to create an obstacle to those sons or daughters of good families who are brought to mind and upheld by the Buddhas.’ (As(V) 110.31–111.4=AAA 483.22.–484.3)

As(Lk) 菩薩摩訶薩已為得護，佛所授者，舍利弗，弊魔不能得中道斷之。

pusa mohesa yi wei de hu,
bodhisattva mahāsattva already COP attain protection
fo suo shou zhe, Shelifu, bimo bu nengde
buddha NMLZ hold NMLZ Ś evil.M NEG be_able
zhongdao duan zhi
midway disrupt them

‘The *bodhisattvas mahāsattvas* have already attained protection; supported by the Buddha, Śāriputra, the evil Māra cannot disrupt [them] midway.’ (446a14–15)²⁵³

²⁵³ As(ZQ): 佛所授定，邪不能斷也 (490a20); As(Zfn) -.

As(Kj) 諸佛皆共護念是菩薩故，惡魔不能得便。

zhu fo jie gong hunian shi
 INDF buddha completely together hold_in_mind that
pusa gu, emo bu neng debian
 bodhisattva cause evil.M NEG be_able take_advantage
 ‘Since all the Buddhas hold in mind those *bodhisattvas*, the evil Māra cannot take advantage of them.’ (555a15–16)

As(Xz)[I] 若諸菩薩於深般若波羅蜜多書寫[...]法爾應為十方世界一切如來應正等覺現說法者之所護念，若蒙諸佛所護念者，惡魔法爾不能留難。

ruo zhu pusa yu shen banreboluomiduo
 if INDF bodhisattva at profound prajñāpāramitā
shuxie [...] fa'er ying wei shifang shijie
 copy truly shall COP ten.direction world
yiqie rulai ying zhengdengjue xianshuo
 all thus.come worthy completely.awakened explain
fa zhe zhi suo hunian, ruo meng
 dharma NMLZ GEN NMLZ hold_in_mind if receive
zhu fo suo hunian zhe, emo
 INDF buddha NMLZ hold_in_mind NMLZ evil.M
fa'er bu neng liunan
 truly NEG be_able hinder
 ‘If *bodhisattvas* should copy [...] the profound *prajñāpāramitā*, they truly shall be held in mind by all the Thus-comes, Worthy Ones, Completely Awakened Ones of the world in the ten directions who are explaining the dharma; if they should be held in mind by the Buddhas, the evil Māra would truly not be able to hinder them.’ (808a17–21)

As(Xz)[II] 若諸菩薩行深般若波羅蜜多，法爾皆蒙十方無量無邊世界一切如來應正等覺共所護念，若蒙如來應正等覺所護念者，惡魔法爾不能留難。

ruo zhu pusa xing shen banreboluomiduo,
 if INDF bodhisattva course profound prajñāpāramitā
fa'er jie meng shifang wuliang
 truly completely receive ten.direction immeasurable
wubian shijie yiqie rulai ying
 unlimited world all thus.come worthy
zhengdengjue gong suo hunian, ruo
 completely.awakened together NMLZ hold_in_mind if
meng rulai ying zhengdengjue suo
 receive thus.come worthy completely.awakened NMLZ

hunian zhe, emo fa'er bu neng liunan
 hold_in_mind NMLZ evil.M truly NEG be_able hinder
 'If *bodhisattvas* should course in the profound *prajñāpāramitā* they truly shall be held in mind by the Thus-comes, Worthy Ones and Completely Awakened Ones of immeasurable and unlimited worlds in the ten directions. If they should be held in mind by the Thus-comes, Worthy Ones and Completely Awakened Ones, the evil Māra would truly not be able to hinder them.' (889b27–c1)

(182)

As ye te 'vinivartanīyā bodhisattvā
 REL:NOM.PL 3PL:NOM irreversible:NOM.PL bodhisattva:NOM.PL
mahāsattvāḥ sarvasaṅgavigatāḥ teṣāṃ te
 great.being:NOM.PL all.attachment.free:NOM.PL 3PL:GEN 3PL:NOM
buddhā bhagavanto [...] dharmam deśayanti
 buddha:NOM.PL blessed_one:NOM.PL law:ACC explain:PRS.3PL
udānaṃ codānanti
 hymn:ACC and=utter:PRS.3PL
 'Those *bodhisattvas*, great-beings, who are irreversible and free from all attachments, the Buddhas Blessed Ones [...] explain the law and utter praises to them' (As(V) 223.1–3=AAA 854.27–855.1)

As(Lk) 有行菩薩道，未得阿惟越致者，諸佛亦復讚歎。

you xing pusadao, wei de aweiyuezhi zhe,
 exist course bodhisattva.path NEG attain avaivartika NMLZ
zhu fo yi fu zantan
 INDF buddha also moreover praise
avaivartika, the Buddhas also praise [them].' (467c6–7)²⁵⁴

As(Kj) 諸佛說法時，稱揚、讚歎諸阿毘跋致菩薩。

zhu fo shuo fa shi, chengyang zantan
 INDF buddha preach dharma while glorify praise
zhu aweiyuezhi pusa
 INDF avaivartika bodhisattva
 'The Buddhas, when preaching the dharma, glorify and praise the *avaivartika bodhisattvas*.' (576c18–19)

As(Xz)[I] 有菩薩摩訶薩已於無上正等菩提得不退轉[...]是菩薩摩訶薩蒙諸如來應正等覺，為眾宣說甚深般若波羅蜜多時，在大眾中自然歡喜、稱揚。

you pusa mohesa yi yu wushang
 exist bodhisattva mahāsattva already at supreme
zhengdeng puti de butuizhuan [...] shi pusa

²⁵⁴ As(ZQ): 有行闍士道，未得不退轉者，亦復讚歎 (502a24); As(Zfn): -.

complete bodhi attain irreversibility those bodhisattva
mohesa meng zhu rulai ying
 mahāsattva receive INDF thus.come worthy
zhengdengjue, wei zhong xuanshuo shen
 completely.awakened to assembly preach very
shen banreboluomiduo shi, zai dazhong
 profound prajñāpāramitā while at great.assembly
zhong ziran huanxi chengyang
 in spontaneously joyfully glorify
 ‘The *bodhisattvas mahāsattvas* who already attained irreversibility from
 the supreme, complete *bodhi* [...] these *bodhisattvas mahāsattvas* are
 spontaneously and joyfully glorified at the great assembly by the Thus-
 comes, Worthy Ones, Completely Awakened Ones, while they are
 preaching the very profound *prajñāpāramitā* to the assembly.’ (853b2–
 6)

As(Xz)[II] 若諸菩薩已於無上正等菩提得不退轉[...]是諸菩薩蒙諸如來應正
 等覺在大眾中自然歡喜稱揚

ruo zhu pusa yi yu wushang zhengdeng
 if INDF bodhisattva already at supreme complete
puti de butuizhuan [...] shi pusa meng
 bodhi attain irreversibility those bodhisattva receive
zhu rulai ying zhengdengjue, zai
 INDF thus.come worthy completely.awakened at
dazhong zhong ziran huanxi chengyang
 great.assembly in spontaneously joyfully glorify
zantan
 praise

‘If *bodhisattvas* who already attained irreversibility from the supreme,
 complete *bodhi* [...] these *bodhisattvas* are spontaneously and joyfully
 glorified at the great assembly by the Thus-comes, Worthy Ones,
 Completely Awakened Ones.’ (916b20–22)

The *bei* 被 A *suo* 所 V construction, cf. example (65b) in Chapter 3 and fn. 188, is well-attested in Late Middle Chinese. The use of another transitive inactive verb (i.e. *meng*) in the same construction is thus not remarkable *per se*; nonetheless these two examples confirm the fact that in Late Middle Chinese the copula *wei* and the transitive inactive verbs were functionally equivalent in the context of passive constructions. One can only propose some very tentative explanations for the use of *meng* instead of *wei* in these two cases: in the case of (182), it seems reasonable to assume that the presence of the preposition *wei* introducing a recipient (i.e. *wei zhong* 為眾) and the syntactic complexity of the passage made it preferable to opt for a different verb to avoid grammatical ambiguities.

Table 6.9: “Passive” constructions in (182) and (183)

(181)	As	<i>te buddhā bhagavantaḥ samanvāhariṣyanti</i>	
		<i>parigrahīṣyanti ca buddhasamanvāhṛtānām</i>	
		<i>buddhaparigṛhītānām ca kulaputrāṇām</i>	
		<i>kuladuhitṛṇām</i>	
	As(Lk)	為得護佛所授	(為 A 所 V)
	As(Kj)	-	
	As(Xz)[I]	為一切如來應正等覺之所護念	(為 A 之所 V)
		蒙諸佛所護念	(蒙 A 所 V)
	As(Xz)[II]	蒙如來應正等覺共所護念	(蒙 A 所 V)
		蒙如來應正等覺所護念	(蒙 A 所 V)
(182)	As	<i>te buddhā bhagavanto udānaṃ udānayanti</i>	
	As(Lk)	-	
	As(Kj)	-	
	As(Xz)[I]	蒙諸如來應正等覺[...]自然歡喜稱揚	(蒙 A V)
	As(Xz)[II]	= 蒙諸如來應正等覺[...]自然歡喜稱揚	(蒙 A V)

6.5 Summary

The analysis of the data from the Chinese translations of the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā* substantially confirms the conclusions drawn from the analysis of the other two texts in the previous chapters: the use of a passive in the Chinese translations is not merely triggered by the presence of a P-oriented constructions in the Sanskrit source-text (in many instances it is not a prerequisite at all), but it appears to be mainly motivated by the pragmatic-semantic configuration of the passage. The data presented in this chapter are particularly relevant because, besides representing a wider set of examples, also contain some instances of transitive inactive verbs serving as proper passive markers, i.e. taking sentential objects. In the next chapter, I will compare the data analysed in this chapter with those from Chapter 4 and 5 and present a number of broader diachronic issues of syntactical, pragmatic and semantic nature.

Chapter 7: Results

7.1 A brief synopsis

At this point, after having analysed 13 translations corresponding to 102 fascicles of the Taishō Canon, ranging from the second half of the 2nd century CE to the beginning of the 8th century CE (see Table 7.1), one is able to provide some answers to the questions posed at the beginning of this work.

Table 7.1: Translators' periodization

Lokakṣema	(fl. 168–186)
Dharmarakṣa	(fl. 265–309)
Mokṣala	(active end of the 3rd c.)
Kumārajīva	(344–413)
Bodhiruci	(death 527)
Paramārtha	(499–569)
Xuanzang	(602?–664)
Yijing	(635–713)

It has been seen that the notion of passivity encompasses several linguistic domains, and the constructions labelled as “passives” in Middle Indo-Aryan and Middle Chinese do not necessarily overlap in the passive continuum. While the Indo-Aryan constructions are typically passive in terms of argument structure of the verb-form, the Chinese constructions taken into consideration contrarily fit into the cross-linguistic definition of passivity as mainly concerns the pragmatic-semantic aspect. In fact, it was shown that the Indo-Aryan P-oriented constructions are strictly connected to the emergence of TAM split ergativity in Late MIA and New Indo-Aryan and can hardly considered as passives as regards their functional and syntactic status, despite presenting promotion of the patient and demotion of the agent. Against this background, it is unsurprising that morpho-syntactic rationales never appear among the factors which trigger the use of a Chinese passive with respect to the presence of a P-oriented construction in the corpus analysed in Chapters 4, 5 and 6. The use of passive constructions in Chinese translations seems to be regulated, rather, by an interplay of pragmatic and semantic factors. In this chapter, the data collected in the preceding chapters will be compared in detail, with the aim of illustrating what part the different morpho-syntactic, pragmatic and semantic features play in the use of passives in Chinese translations. Other conclusions shall additionally be drawn as regard the use of passive constructions in Middle Chinese.

7.2 Morpho-syntactic factors

7.2.1 Verb forms distribution

Table 7.2 illustrates the distribution of the different Sanskrit verbal (and non-verbal) forms underlying the Chinese passives in the translations of the three sūtras. Such a

table presents some limitations, as it is quantitatively opaque in representing the number of translators who translated each Sanskrit item with a Chinese passive. In other words, a Sanskrit form is always counted as a unit in the table regardless of the fact that it was translated only by one translator or by all of them. Moreover, the table does not show which type of Chinese passives translate the Sanskrit verb forms (in near all cases we are dealing with the *wei* construction). But these two aspects will be discussed in further detail below.

Table 7.2: Verb forms

	Vajra	LP	As	
<i>ta</i> -participle	2	9	31	42
gerundive	1	2	3	6
finite active	1	5	14	20
finite passive		2	1	3
passive participle		1		1
adjective		2	2	4
noun		3	3	6

First, the ratio of the different verb forms is substantially the same among the three sūtras, confirming that this distribution appears to be a general tendency and not an accident. Second, one can clearly see that the *-ta* participles are the lion's share, while finite passives and gerundives are marginal.²⁵⁵ In this regard, the most significant fact is that finite actives are by far the second most common verb form, showing that P-orientation itself is not the leading factor in determining the use of passives in Chinese translations. The high correspondence between *-ta* participles and the Chinese passive is hence potentially influenced by other factors, as will be discussed below.

7.2.2 Argument marking

In the first part of this study, it was discussed how the promotion of the patient to the nominative and the demotion of the agent to the instrumental/genitive entailed in P-orientation has been proposed as a factor underlying the use of passives in Chinese translations. Table 7.3 presents the distribution of the Sanskrit verb arguments corresponding to the agent and patient in Chinese passive constructions in terms of morpho-syntactic marking.

One can see that the majority of Sanskrit agents corresponding to A in Chinese are actually “unmarked” morphologically speaking, as they are thematic stems serving as the first member of participle compounds. This is probably due to the fact that *-ta* participles are the most used verb-form translated with Chinese passives, as we saw above (agents of *-ta* participles are commonly expressed as first members of a compound since Vedic times, cf. Jamison 1979). Instrumental marking is the second in ranking, but it is closely followed by the nominative (used in active constructions),

²⁵⁵ One should also note that almost all the gerundives taken into consideration are used distinctly as adjectives and not as full-fledged verbs and therefore that they could have been placed in the same column together with the other adjectives.

whereas genitive marking (the other “oblique” case) is rather marginal, being used in our corpus to mark experiencer agents (Group 5.1 and Group 6.4) which are relatively low in agentivity (cf. Van Valin 2001: 31). As concerns the marking of the patient, the nominative is by far the most common case corresponding to Chinese O, but there is also a significant number of genitive and accusative patients. Thus, also in this case, the variability in the marking of verb arguments shows that morpho-syntactic encoding *per se* is not a factor triggering the use of passives in Chinese translations.

Table 7.3: Argument marking

		Vajra	LP	As	
A	NOM	1	3	12	16
	INS		6	14	20
	GEN	1	3	3	7
	COMP ²⁵⁶		8	21	29
	LOC		1		1
	ACC			2	2
	DEL ²⁵⁷	2	3	2	7
O	NOM	3	16	36	55
	GEN	1	2	9	12
	ACC		1	3	4

7.3 Pragmatic factors

In Section 1.3, it was briefly discussed how passivization normally increases the topic persistence of the patient. As regards the Chinese case, it has been proposed that one of the functions of Chinese passives is to maintain inter-clausal topic consistency or, in other words, to create “pragmatic pivots” (Lü 1942: 40²⁵⁸, Wang 2018: 202–204). On the basis of my database, the pragmatic status of the patient in the Sanskrit source-passage appears to play a part in determining the use of a passive construction in Chinese. This fact can be clearly observed in those cases where a Chinese passive construction corresponds to an active clause in the Sanskrit parallel. In many of these examples, the patient is represented by a non-canonical argument (in passive terms), marked with the genitive or the accusative cases and invariably fronted in topical

²⁵⁶ I.e. thematic stem serving as the first member of a participle compound.

²⁵⁷ I.e. non-anaphorically deleted.

²⁵⁸ Lü (1942: 40) speaks of “following the sentence structure of the context” (Ch. *suishun shangxiawen de jufa* 隨順上下文的句法, cf. Zeng 2020: 33), which sounds like a consideration of a syntactic rather than pragmatic nature. However, we saw that Chinese clause structure is mainly governed by pragmatic relations and information structure and is not dependant on syntactic factors. What Lü is referring to, thus, is better defined as “topic consistency”. Cf. Pinkster (2015a: 251) on the use of passives as devices for maintaining topic consistency and as switch-reference devices in Latin.

position.²⁵⁹ In table 7.4 and 7.5, I have again collected all these examples with fronted non-nominative patients to provide a better overview of this phenomenon.

Table 7.4: Fronted genitive patients

-
- (103) Vajra *yadā me subhūte kalimgarājā aṃgapratyaṃgāny acchetsīn*
 Vajra(Kj) 如我昔為歌利王割截身體。
 Vajra(Br) = Vajra(Kj)
 Vajra(Pa) 昔時我為迦陵伽王斬斫身體。
 Vajra(Xz) 我昔過去世曾為羯利王斷支節肉。
 Vajra(Yj) 如我昔為羯陵伽王割截支體。
- (111) LP *asya bodhisattvasya mahāsattvasya buddhā bhagavanto varṇaṃ bhāṣante*
 P(Dh) 某闍士為諸佛世尊所歎。
 P(Mo) 菩薩為諸佛所稱譽者。
 P(Kj) 是菩薩為諸佛所稱譽。
 Pvs(Xz) 此菩薩摩訶薩已為諸佛稱譽。
- (126) LP *tasya sarvakāyasya na rāgo bādheta na dveṣo bādheta na moho bādheta*
 P(Dh) 諸眾生[...]不為婬怒癡所見縛。
- (159) As *utpannotpannās caiṣām upadravā rājato teṣāṃ ca [...] ye tatropasaṃkrāmeyur avatāraprekṣiṇo 'vatāragaveṣiṇo rājāno*
 As(Lk) 為縣官所侵。
 As(Xz)[I] 遭官事怨賊逼迫[...]終不為彼譴罰加害。
 As(Xz)[II] = As(Xz)[I]
- (160) As *na teṣām māro vā mārakāyikā vā devatā avatāraṃ lapsyante*
 As(Lk) 其[...]不為魔及魔官屬所得便。
- (161) As *prajñāpāramitāparigrhītasya kulaputrasya vā kuladuhitur vā [...] na kaścit paryanuyogo bhaviṣyati*
 As(Xz)[I] 不為一切異學論難所屈。
- (162) As *caiṣām devatāsahasrāṇi [...] 'nubaddhāni bhaviṣyanti*
 As(Xz)[I] 為無量百千天神恭敬、圍遶、隨逐、守護。
 As(Xz)[II] = As(Xz)[I]
- (163) As *mā khalv asyāḥ kācid duḥkhā vedanā duḥkho vā sparśa utpadyeta*
 As(Xz)[I] 勿為蚊虻、蛇、蠍、風、雨、人非、人等非愛所觸。
 As(Xz)[II] = As(Xz)[I]
- (164) As *kiyadrūpasya bhagavan bodhisattvasya mahāsattvasya upasaṃkrāmati māraḥ pāpīyān viheṭhanābhiprāyaḥ*
 As(Lk) 何等菩薩為魔所亂？
-

²⁵⁹ The only exception is represented by Xuanzang's translation in (115), where an instance of *wei* construction is used to translate an active clause with a non-fronted accusative patient, i.e. *te 'pi tathāgatā arhantaḥ samyaksaṃbuddhas taṃ bodhisattvaṃ mahāsattvaṃ vyākurvanti*.

- As(Kj)何等菩薩為惡魔所亂？
 As(Xz)[I] 何等菩薩摩訶薩[...]為諸惡魔之所擾亂？
 (165) As *asyāpy ānanda bodhisattvasya mahāsattvasya māraḥ pāpīyān upasaṃkrāmati viheṭhanābhiprāyaḥ avatāraṃ cāsyā labhate*
 As(Lk) 菩薩為弊魔所得便。
 As(Xz)[I] 是菩薩摩訶薩[...]便為惡魔之所擾亂。
 As(Xz)[II] = As(Xz)[I]

Table 7.5: Fronted accusative patients

- (166) As *mā khalu māṃ kaścit paryanuyuñjīta upālabhābhiprāya*
 As(Xz)[I] 不為一切論難所伏。
 As(Xz)[II] = As(Xz)[I]
 (167) As *yadi cen māṃ vyālā bhakṣayeyuḥ*
 As(Kj) 我今若為惡獸所噉。
 (168) As *yadi cen māṃ kecij jīvitād vyaparopayeyuḥ*
 As(Lk) 正令我為賊所殺。

The presence of a topical patient in the Sanskrit source-passage, therefore, seems to factor in triggering the use of a passive in Chinese translations. On the other hand, Middle Chinese allows patients to be topicalized by mere fronting or by means of other discourse devices (cf. Haspelmath 1990: 26 and Abraham 2006: 11 on this issue from a broader cross-linguistic perspective). If one looks at examples in Table 7.4 and Table 7.5, it is possible to see that the use of passives is not generalized and, in many cases, the passive translation is followed only by a single translator (cf. Gao 2017: 48ff), while the others simply front the patient. See for instance Kumārajīva's translation of (165), i.e. 如是之人，惡魔惱亂而得其便，in which the patient is placed in topical position by mere fronting. In some instances, the anaphoric pronoun *zhi* 之 is also placed at the end of the clause to mark coreferentiality with the fronted patient, see for instance Kumārajīva's translation in (125) which stands in contrast to the others in its use of anaphoric *zhi* instead of the *wei* construction.

(183) = (125)

- LP *tāni* [i.e. *mṛtaśarīrāṇi*] *kākair vā khādyamānāni kurarair vā ḡḍhrair vā śṛgālair vā vṛkair vā śvabhir vā tadanyair vā nānāvidhaiḥ prāṇakajātaiḥ khādyamānāni*
 P(Dh) 人[...]為鳥鳥所食，狐、狼、熊羆、虎豹、鷄梟、狗犬所食。
 P(Mo) 人[...]為飛鳥走獸所食。
 P(Kj) 是棄死人身[...]為鷄、鷗鷺、豺狼、狐狗、如是等種種禽獸攫裂食之。
 Pvs(Xz) 所棄屍[...]為諸鷗鷺、烏鵲、鷄梟、虎豹、狐狼、野干狗等種種禽獸或啄或攫，骨肉狼籍，齧掣食噉。

In sum, the majority of passive sentences in Chinese translations correspond to clauses with topical/fronted patients in the Sanskrit source-texts. The presence of a topical patient is hence a central factor influencing the use of a passive in translation, although it does not automatically trigger it, as testified by the heterogeneous use of passives by the translators illustrated in Table 7.4 and 7.5. Apart from reasons of stylistic choice, we can conclude that the use of passives is also influenced by other semantic rationales, as will be discussed below.

7.4 Semantic factors

7.4.1 Degree of animacy

In Section 1.5.2.2, it was mentioned that in prototypical passive constructions the patient generally is high in animacy relative to the agent (Haig 2008: 179–181; see Comrie 1989: Chapter 9 and Payne 1997: 150 on the notion of “animacy”). The degree of animacy of an argument can be determined on the basis of Silverstein’s (1986) animacy hierarchy, presented in Figure 7.1 in the more recent formulation by Corbett (2000: 56). As one can see, the top of the hierarchy is occupied by personal pronouns (first, second and third person in decreasing order), going subsequently through different degrees of animacy among humans and then non-humans. Following Haig (2008: 180), I also added the definite/indefinite distinction (pronouns are inherently definite), which, as seen in Section 2.3.3 (Andersen’s hypothesis concerning the genitive/instrumental differential marking in Aśoka’s inscriptions), is also relevant in characterizing passive patients, as they convey old information and for this reason are generally definite.

Figure 7.1: The animacy hierarchy

1st person (speaker)	>2nd person (addressee)	> 3rd person	> kin	> human	> animate	> inanimate
DEFINITE > INDEFINITE						

Table 7.6 shows the degree of animacy of the Sanskrit patients corresponding to O in Chinese passive constructions with respect to the agent (i.e. more or less animate than the patient). In those cases in which the patient is as animate as the agent, the evaluation has been based on the degree of definiteness. In the second part of the table, the ratio of the patients in terms of animacy hierarchy has been also provided.

As can be seen, almost the totality of Chinese passive constructions occurs with an patient that is highly animate and definite, with a fair number of personal pronouns (first and third person) and a very high number of human arguments as concerns the distribution along the animacy hierarchy. Therefore, one can conclude that Chinese passives appear to be used when the patient in the Sanskrit source passage is high in animacy and definiteness, in addition to being topical.

Table 7.6: Degree of animacy of patients

	Vajra	LP	As	
Higher	3	22	52	77
Lower	1	2	1	4
1st	1	2	4	7
2nd				
3rd		5	11	16
human	2	15	39	56
animate				
inanimate	1	2		3

7.4.2 Adverse colouring

An association between the Mandarin passive construction with *bei* and an adverse emotional colouring has been diffusely identified in the literature, as mentioned in Section 1.3.²⁶⁰ Wang (1958: 416–420) noted an analogous relationship between the *bei* construction and adverse colouring in Middle Chinese, supporting his claim with some statistical evidence. In the same work (Wang 1958: 419), he also goes on to claim that this association is not only limited to *bei* but that it also applies to the *wei* construction. Some more statistical evidence regarding the predominance of adverse colouring for the *bei* construction in the Tang and Song periods has been provided by Choi (2002) in a more recent study.²⁶¹ Table 7.7 illustrates the distribution of the passive constructions in my database in terms of adverse colouring.²⁶² The majority of the examples do indeed have an adverse connotation but nearly half of them do not present such a feature. Considering this, the adverse colouring of the sentence does not appear to be a decisive factor as concerns the use of passive constructions in Chinese in the database.

Table 7.7: Adverse colouring distribution

		Vajra	LP	As	
adverse	<i>wei</i> construction	2	8	31	41
	other		3	1	4
non-adverse	<i>wei</i> construction	1	13	20	34
	other	1		2	3

²⁶⁰ Chao (1968: 703), Li and Thompson (1981: 493–500), Chappell (1986a), Hashimoto (1988: 336).

²⁶¹ Caboara (2004: 41) provides some data for unmarked passives in *Mengzi*, showing that less than one third of the cases possess adverse meaning.

²⁶² I have considered only the adverse connotation of the entire sentence and not the specific adverse meaning of the verb as a lexical item.

7.4.3 Aktionsart, aspect and use of the copulas

In Chapter 3, it was discussed how the *wei* construction arose as a copula construction taking a nominalized complement. Using “O *wei* A (*suo*) V” as the standard formula, the root meaning of the construction can be defined as: O is/becomes somebody/something V-ed by A. As I will attempt to argue, there is reason to believe that the original meaning of the construction, expressing identity relation with a resultant state (or possibly the change into a resultant state if one wants to consider the original dynamic meaning of the copula *wei*), might account for the use of the *wei* construction in many instances.

Table 7.8: Event types representation

	\pm dynamic	\pm durative	\pm telic
State	–	+	–
Activity	+	+	–
Accomplishment	+	+	+
Achievement	+		+
Semelfactive	+	–	–

At the outset, it seems necessary to introduce the concept of “Aktionsart”, also called “lexical aspect” (Siewierska 1991) or “situation aspect” (Smith 1997) in the literature. Generally speaking, the temporal properties of a verb are not only conveyed by the grammatical markers of aspect but are also inherent to the semantics of the verb. Scholars (Comrie 1976, Smith 1997, *inter alia*) have commonly acknowledged five types of events, i.e. state, activity, accomplishment, achievement and semelfactive, which can be described on the basis of three aspectual parameters, namely dynamicity, duration and telicity. *States* (know, believe, have) are durative and homogeneous non-dynamic situations. *Activities* (run, walk, swim) are dynamic and durative events with no inherent end-point. *Accomplishments* (draw a circle, build a house) are also dynamic and durative, but possess an inherent endpoint. *Achievements* (recognize, arrive, die) are dynamic and non-durative events with an endpoint. Lastly, *semelfactives* (cough, wink, hiccup) are punctual events which end by returning to their initial state, being capable of being repeated. Table 7.8 (based on Peck, Lin, and Sun 2013: 665) illustrates these five event types according to the three binary features [\pm dynamic], [\pm durative] and [\pm telic].

Aktionsart directly interacts with aspect: in many languages, stative verbs are incompatible with the perfective aspect or have a restricted semantic range (Comrie 1976: 50). In other languages, Aktionsart can exert constraints on aspectual morpho-syntax, with achievements being morphologically marked with respect to the imperfective aspect and, vice-versa, durative event-type requiring special morphology with perfective formations (see Bakker 1994 on Ancient Greek). As concerns the present discussion, it is important to note (as already mentioned in Chapter 1 and 2) that passives often entail stativization, describing a state resulting from an action rather than the action itself. This particularly applies to *-ta* participles, which are by definition

resultative and are often ambiguously interpretable as eventive or stative. See, for instance, example (184) from English.

(184) *The lawn was mowed.*

a. *The lawn was the object of an event of mowing.* (eventive)

b. *The lawn was in the state of having been mowed.* (stative)

(Baglini 2012: 29)

A final issue further complicating the picture concerns the use of copulas with participles and gerundives. In Chapter 2, it was discussed how these two formations serve as verbal heads, in particular if occurring with the copulas *as-* and *bhū-*. Of the two copulas, *as-* has a more neutral and static meaning, whereas *bhū-* originally entailed a dynamic connotation. When accompanying a *-ta* participle or a gerundive, it is often difficult to determine whether *bhū-* serves as the copula of a periphrastic construction or as a content word (with the meaning of ‘become’) taking a predicated verbal adjective; this is particularly true of those cases in which the eventive interpretation of the *-ta* participle and the gerundive is not overtly evident (see Hoose 2020: 212–213 for a similar methodological issue).²⁶³

Starting the discussion of my database with the last point, one can note that in some cases, namely (109), (110), (156) and (157), the *wei A suo V* construction is used to translate adjectival predicates introduced by the copula *bhū-* (cf. Table 7.2). In such instances, the sentence clearly expresses a state (i.e. the state of being dear or beloved, Skt. *priya-*, *manāpa-*), or the change into such if one wants to take *bhū-* as a dynamic copula. It has already been mentioned that almost all the gerundives in the database clearly behave like adjectives and one can therefore interpret them as predicated verbal adjectives, occurring with or without the copula *bhū-*. A non-eventive/stative reading moreover seems to be the most cogent reading for a large number of the *-ta* participles in the database. The *-ta* participles in Group 5.2, Group 6.1, Group 6.2 and Group 6.3 all appear to describe resultant states (the state of being assisted by a good/bad friend, the state of being possessed by Māra, the state of being known and predicted by the Tathāgata, and so forth) rather than the corresponding actions, possessing a strong adjectival status. What is more, these group of examples show the most generalised use of the *wei* construction among the translators. The same stative interpretation is to be applied to (118), i.e. the state of being ‘touched by a ray of light’ (*raśmyavabhāsenā sprṣṭās*), to (120), i.e. the state of being ‘bounded to one more birth’ (*ekajātīpratibaddhā*), to (123), i.e. the state of being ‘attached’ (*saktās*), to (169), i.e. the state of being ‘overcome by anger and by pride’ (*krodhābhibhūto* and *mānābhibhūto*) and to (172), i.e. the state of being ‘wasted away by old age and sickness’ (*tayā jarayā tena ca vyādhinā kṣapito*). Even in some cases where the situation apparently has a strong eventive connotation, such as in (170) and (175), and where the verbs are achievements in terms of Aktionsart and are hence non-durative and telic, the *-ta* participle seems to convey a resultant state, i.e. the state of having

²⁶³ On the contrary, Jamison (1990: 15) notes that in the language of the *Brāhmanas* the use of the copula *bhū-* is quite evidently used to create an aspectual distinction between the copula-less stative predicated *-ta* participles and eventive ones, see for instance *hutām bhavati* ‘it gets offered’.

been bitten (*daṣṭo*) and pierced (*viddho*), rather than the action of biting and piercing. Incidentally, the structure of (170) is the same as in (130), where the stative value of the *-ta* participle is probably more evident. Both the examples are hypothetical clauses: in the apodosis a man or a woman is presented as in distress because of being possessed by a spirit (130) or having been bitten by a venomous snake (170), and in the protasis the miraculous effects of the exposition to a precious jewel on that man or woman are described. The structural resemblance with (130) would support the stative interpretation of this *-ta* participle. Some of the finite passives in the database also appear to suggest a stative interpretation, see for instance (119), where the verb *lipyate* describes the state being smeared rather than the action of smearing.

Against this background, one can tentatively conclude that the use of a construction consisting of a copula (i.e. the *wei* construction) followed by a nominalised verb-phrase (i.e. *suo* V), literally expressing the identity relation with a resultant state (or the change into it if one wants to account for the original dynamic meaning of the copula *wei*), could also represent an attempt to convey the non-eventive and resultative meaning of the Sanskrit source-expressions in Chinese translations. The contrast between an eventive *-ta* participle and a stative one and the respective translation strategies in Chinese (Xuanzang's translation) is exemplified in (185).

(185) a. = (78) **EVENTIVE**

mayā srotāpattiphalaṃ prāptam

‘I have obtained the fruit of Stream-entry’

我能證得預流果。(Vajra(Xz))

‘I can obtain the fruit of Stream-entry.’

b. = (153) **STATIVE**

*jñātās te śāriputra tathāgatena adhiṣṭhitās te śāriputra
tathāgatena dṛṣṭās te śāriputra tathāgatena vyavalokitās te
śāriputra tathāgatena buddhacakṣuṣā*

‘They are known by the Tathāgata, they are sustained by the Tathāgata, they are seen by the Tathāgata, they are beheld by the Tathāgata with the Buddha-eye.’

常為如來佛眼觀見識知護念。(As(Xz)[I])

‘[They] are constantly seen, known and held in mind by the Thus-comes with the Buddha-eye.’

常為諸佛之所護念。(As(Xz)[II])

‘[They] are constantly held in mind by the Buddhas.’

c. = (79) **STATIVE**

jñātās te subhūte tathāgatena dṛṣṭās te subhūte tathāgatena

‘They are known by the Tathāgata, Subhūti, they are seen by the Tathāgata.’

如來以其佛智悉已知彼，如來以其佛眼悉已見彼。

(Vajra(Xz))

‘Subhūti, the Thus-come has already fully known them with his Buddha-knowledge, the Thus-come has already fully seen them with his Buddha-eye.’

One can see that in (185a), where the eventive status of the *-ta* participle construction is quite evident, the selected configuration is active, whereas the series of *-ta* participles in (185b), which can be read as statives, are translated with the *wei* A V and the *wei* A *zhi suo* V constructions respectively. On the other hand, the same passage, as in (185b), is translated by Xuanzang in (185c) with an active construction, highlighting the perfective aspect of the *-ta* participles (see the use of *yi* 已). This would suggest that, with respect to the temporal and aspectual features, the interpretation of *-ta* participles was far from univocal for Chinese translators (even for the same translator as in this case) and that the selection of an active or passive configuration was in many cases ultimately a matter of translation-choice.

One could argue that the stative reading of the *-ta* participles in the database is possible only when the other conditions for a non-ergative interpretation (patient and high in topicality and animacy, etc., see the opposition between (185a) and (185b)) are met, that is, a “genuine” passive interpretation. Against this background, the key factor determining the use of the *wei* construction might as well be, in the end, the passive status of the source-sentence rather than the stative reading. Nonetheless, the fact that the *wei* construction is also used to translate adjectival predicates (typically implying and oblique argument) shows that the scope of usage of the construction is wider than mere passivity and the connection to stative situations appears to provide a key to understanding this phenomenon from a broader perspective.

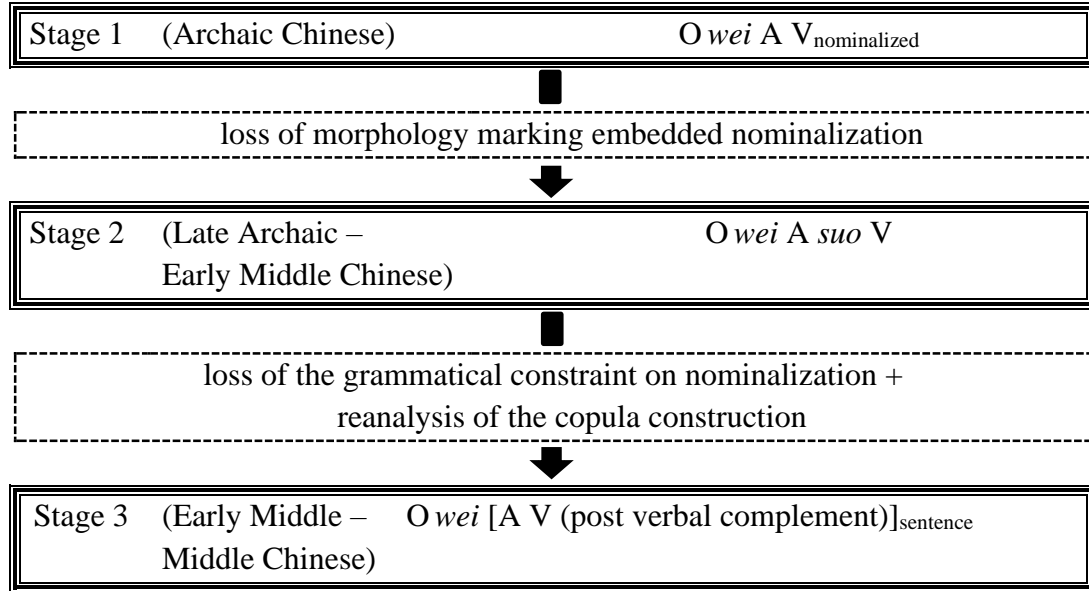
Although the majority of examples of *wei* constructions (in particular the *wei* A *suo* V construction) in the database are liable to be interpreted as states, there still a significant number of instances in which the reading seems to be more eventive. As I proposed in Section 3.5, I believe that a possible explanation can be provided by accounting for different layers of grammaticalization: the stative reading of the *wei* construction would derive from the older layer, as the *wei* construction originally was a copula construction taking a nominalized verb-phrase, whereas the “eventive passive” could represent the result of newer layer of grammaticalization. The issue concerning the different layers of grammaticalization coexisting in the same stages of developments is also related to the syntactic status of the *wei* construction, as will be discussed in the next section.

7.5 The process of reanalysis of the *wei* construction: A proposal

As introduced above, the functional relationship between the *wei* A V and *wei* A *suo* V constructions presents a series of issues. The latter represents the vast majority of instances of the *wei* construction in the present database, but there is also a fair number of examples belonging to the former too. In Chapter 3 it was discussed how the progressive replacement of the former construction by the latter one in Early Middle Chinese has been linked in the literature to the loss of morphology marking embedded nominalization, as proposed by Aldridge (2013b: 65–66), with the nominalizer *suo*

serving as the marker of nominalization for the element following the copula. Such a proposal provides a convincing explanation for the emersion of the *wei A suo V* construction; nonetheless, it presents some difficulties as pertains to the coexistence of the two constructions (the innovative one with *suo* and the old one without it) in Middle Chinese.

Figure 7.2: The process of reanalysis of the copula construction



The corpus analysed in this work provides some sets of examples where the two types of the copula construction are employed in the same exact syntactic context: As regards the translations of LP, in (111) and (126) Xuanzang uses the *suo*-less construction, whereas *wei A suo V* is found in all other translations. In (124), Mokṣala and Kumārajīva both use *wei A suo V*, while Dharmarakṣa translates the very same syntagm with *wei A V*. The translations of As present a similar situation. In (145), Xuanzang (both translations) use *wei A V* in contrast to *wei A suo V* in Kumārajīva's translation. In (153), the *wei A V* construction is used only in As(Xz)[I], whereas all the other translations (including As(Xz)[II]) employ *wei A suo V*. In (157), Lokakṣema translates the passage with *wei A suo V* and Kumārajīva with *wei A V*; in (158) the situation is reversed. Xuanzang employs *wei A V* in both translations of (159), while Lokakṣema uses *wei A suo V*. In (169), it is again Xuanzang who uses *wei A V* in contrast to Lokakṣema and Kumārajīva

The relatively small amount of data collected here does not suffice to make any conclusive claims about the general development of the two sub-types of the *wei* construction in Middle Chinese. One may tentatively conclude, however, that the rather arbitrary presence or absence of *suo* in this kind of construction (see in particular the use by Xuanzang summarized in the paragraph above) may be because this construction was already becoming moribund in late Early Middle Chinese and was vestigial in Middle Chinese. Against this background, a process of reanalysis of the construction can be envisaged, whereby the copula *wei* was reinterpreted from selecting a noun phrase or a nominalized verb phrase to selecting a sentential complement, rendering the marking with *suo* superfluous. (see Figure 7.2). On the one

hand, this would account for variant construction featuring the “passive” verb *jian* 見 in place of the nominalizer *suo*. On the other hand, resorting to the reanalysis of the construction would explain the appearance, already in Early Middle Chinese, of other constituents (patients, resultative and locative complements...) after the nominalized verb. See again example (186), corresponding to (59) in Chapter 3.

- (186) = (59) a. **LOCATIVE COMPLEMENT**
 三救鄭，為楚所敗河上。
 ‘[He went to] save Zheng and was defeated by Chu near the Yellow River.’
- b. **RESULTATIVE COMPLEMENT**
 初，呂母子為縣吏，為宰所冤殺。
 ‘In the beginning, the son of Empress Lü held a position as an official of the state and was wrongfully killed by the prime minister.’
- c. **RESULTATIVE COMPLEMENT**
 是以兵破士北，為秦所禽滅。
 ‘Therefore, the troops were defeated, the soldiers escaped and [the state] was overrun and destroyed by Qin.’
- d. **PATIENT**
 而為匈奴所閉道。
 ‘[I] have the road blocked by the Xiongnu.’

The presence of post-verbal material in this type of construction raises some problems as regards the interpretation of *suo* V as a nominalization. This is because the presence of post-verbal complements requires the embedded verb to be a full-fledged verb and not a nominalized one. Such a phenomenon may be due to the progressive loss of the original grammatical meaning of *suo*, which started to gradually lose its original function of a nominalizer within the copula construction, becoming a vestigial mark of the original construction and eventually disappearing. The *Jiantuo guowang jing* 健陀國王經 (T506) includes a remarkable instance of a passive construction that exemplifies this development²⁶⁴: the verb *jian* is used within the *wei* construction in place of *suo*, while at the same time the “nominalized” verb is followed by postverbal material.

- (187) 我實無狀，食此人少稻，今為其見捶折我角。
 wo shi wuzhuang, shi ci ren shao dao, jin wei
 I in_fact guilty eat this person little rice now COP
 qi jian chui zhe wo jiao
 that suffer break I horn

²⁶⁴ The passage is quoted by Wu (1988), who attributes the translation to An Shigao, following the attribution in the Taishō Canon. However, this ascription is almost certainly spurious in light of both external (Ui 1971: 441) and internal evidence (Gao and Meng 2018: 66). The text is a very short sūtra and possibly represents a Chinese apocryphon, excerpted from or inspired by an *avadāna* story.

‘I am in fact guilty, [since] I ate some of the rice of this person, now I got my horns broken by him.’ (T506 774a18–19)

Almost the totality of examples of the *wei* construction collected in the database fall into the category of the canonical “pre-passive” construction (i.e. no other constituents placed in post-verbal position). The only two clear instances of passive constructions with post-verbal material are (103) and Xuanzang’s translation of (169)²⁶⁵, given here again as (188) and (189). One should note that the type of passive construction exemplified in these two examples appears to be the Middle Chinese antecedent of the subtype of Mandarin passive construction named “passive of bodily effect”, namely a type of external possessor construction where the possessor serves as the topic and the possessum (in the form a body part) is placed in post verbal position (see Chappell 1986b on the semantic and syntactic constraints of the Mandarin construction).

(188) = (103)

- Vajra *yadā me subhūte kaliṅgarājā aṃgapratyaṃgāny acchetsīn*
 ‘Subhūti, when the king Kaliṅga cut off limbs and extremities to me.’
- Vajra(Kj) 須菩提，如我昔為歌利王割截身體。
 ‘Subhūti, when in a past time the king Kaliṅga cut the body into pieces to me.’
- Vajra(Br) = Vajra(Kj)
- Vajra(Pa) 須菩提，昔時我為迦陵伽王斬斫身體。
 ‘Subhūti, when in a past time the king Kaliṅga cut off the body to me.’
- Vajra(Xz) 善現，我昔過去世曾為羯利王斷支節肉。
 ‘Subhūti, when in a past time the king Kaliṅga cut the flesh of the limbs off to me.’
- Vajra(Yj) 如我昔為羯陵伽王割截支體。
 ‘When the in a past time the king Kaliṅga cut off the limbs and the body to me.’

(189) = (169)

- As *yaḥ kulaputro vā kuladuhitā vā imāṃ prajñāpāramitām udgrahīṣyati [...] na ca krodhābhibhūto bhaviṣyati na ca mānābhibhūto bhaviṣyati*
 ‘A son or a daughter of a good family, who will learn this perfection of wisdom [...] will not be overcome by anger and will not be overcome by pride.’
- As(Xz)[I] 若善男子、善女人等能於般若波羅蜜多至心聽聞 [...] 不為慳嫉、忿恨、覆惱、諂誑、矯等隱蔽其心。

²⁶⁵ Lokakṣema’s translation of (158), namely 欲為十方天下人作導首, could also represent an instance of the canonical passive *wei* construction with the insertion of post verbal material (i.e. 導首). The same applies to (182) Xz[II] as discussed above. Gao (2023: 16) argues that as concerns *debian* 得便 occurring in (160), *bian* should be analysed as the post verbal object of a canonical passive construction. I believe that *debian* should be taken as a verb-object construction (Li and Thompson 1981: 73); hence, *debian* serves as a unverbbed form, syntactically speaking.

‘If a son [or] a daughter of a good [family] and so forth, were able to attentively hear the *prajñāpāramitā* [...] jealousy, hatred, hypocrisy, flattery, pride and so forth would not hinder their mind.’

The alternation of the two variants of the *wei* construction (with and without nominalization by means of *suo*) in translating the same source-passage hints at the vestigial use of *suo* in this type of construction. This claim however needs to be supported with more evidence and more data, in particular from non-Buddhist sources, a task which falls far out of the scope of this work.

7.6 The issue of figures

Table 7.9 presents the distribution of the passive constructions analysed in Chapters 4, 5 and 6 among the various Chinese translations, also providing the length of each translation in terms of fascicles (*juan* 卷) of the Taishō Canon.

Table 7.9: Passive constructions distribution

		Passive constructions	Fascicles
Vajra	Vajra(Kj)	2	1
	Vajra(Br)	2	1
	Vajra(Pa)	3	1
	Vajra(Xz)	3	1
	Vajra(Yj)	2	1
LP	P(Dh)	16	10
	P(Mo)	15	6
	P(Kj)	7	8
	Pvs(Xz)	17	25
As	As(Lk)	27	10
	As(Kj)	29	10
	As(Xz)[I]	33	18
	As(Xz)[II]	20	10
		176	102

One can see that the use of passive constructions is more or less consistent among the translators within each *sūtra* (possibly with the sole exception of P(Kj)) and also among the three *sūtras*, even though the number of passive constructions occurring in LP is, with due proportions, significantly lower than in Vajra and As.

The figures given here can be compared to those provided by (Gao 2017: 47; 2023), who, especially in the second study, has employed the Chinese translations of the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā* (As(Lk), As(ZQ), As(Zfn), As(Kj) and As(Xz)[I]) to present a brief analysis of the development of the Chinese passive constructions in Middle Chinese. Gao’s analysis agrees with the present study in individuating the *wei* construction as the most employed type of passive construction by a large margin. The figures provided by Gao, however, are higher than those given in the present survey: 44 passive constructions in As(Lk), 78 in As(Kj) and 127 in As(Xz)[I]. For reasons of

space, Gao provides only a handful of examples of the passive constructions used in her corpus, so it is difficult to assess with certainty what the reasons for such difference in numbers are. The majority of the examples analysed in Gao's article are the same found in Chapter 6 of this book. On the basis of those few cases quoted by Gao but not taken into consideration in this work, it is possible to partially outline some different rationales underlying the selection of the passive constructions used in the respective corpora.

First, since the aim of this study is to investigate Chinese passive constructions in relation to their Indo-Aryan counterparts, focusing on the underlying source expressions attested in the Indic parallels, I have excluded examples for which no corresponding passage is found in the extant Sanskrit manuscripts. This is the case, for instance, with one of the examples quoted by Gao (2023: 25) from As(Xz)[I].²⁶⁶ The passage belongs to the simile of the indebted man who keeps company with a king, which is found in all the Chinese translations (except for Dānapāla's), but lacks parallels in Sanskrit and Tibetan (Karashima 2011a: 103, fn. 566).²⁶⁷

A second point that appears to partially motivate the higher number given by Gao is the treatment of the A *suo* V construction. As discussed in Section 3.4, it is often argued that the A *suo* V construction represents a reduced version of the *wei* A *suo* V construction, which would be commonly employed in Buddhist literature in place of the full-fledged construction *metri causa*. As a matter of fact, in Middle Chinese *suo* is still commonly used as a nominalizer/relativizer. Therefore, it is not always possible to distinguish a nominalized verb-phrase/relative clause from a putative instance of A *suo* V construction. Due to this, I did not include cases of A *suo* V constructions in the present corpus, unless the comparative evidence from other Chinese translations strongly supported such interpretation. One of the examples of A *suo* V construction provided by Gao (2023: 21) exemplifies the difficulties underlying the assessment of the status of such putative cases of A *suo* V constructions. In her article, Gao quotes a passage from As(Kj), which in (190) is further compared with the parallels from the Sanskrit source text and the other Chinese translations (As(Xz)[II] lacks a precise parallel).

(190)

As	<i>vivekasya</i>	<i>tathāgato</i>	<i>varṇavādī</i>
	detachment:GEN	tathāgata:NOM	praise.speaker:NOM

²⁶⁶ As(Xz)[I]: 佛設利羅亦復如是，由深般若波羅蜜多所熏修故，為諸天、人、阿素洛等供養恭敬、尊重讚歎 (782a17–19). It presumably translates a formula akin to *evam eva tathāgataśarīrāṇi prajñāpāramitāparibhāvitāni pūjām labhante* as in Pvs(K) II–III.92.14–15.

²⁶⁷ As(Lk) 435c17–25; As(Kj) 545b10–17; As(Xz)[II] 878a6–12. The simile establishes the relative superiority of the Prajñāpāramitā (symbolized by the king) in comparison to the relics of a Tathāgata (symbolized by the indebted person). It appears in almost all versions of the LP, including its commentary namely the **Mahāprajñāpāramitopadeśa* (*Da zhidu lun* 大智度論, T1509 477a2ff.). The Sanskrit version of the simile in Pvs(K) II–III.92.8–10 reads: *tad yathā 'pi nāma bhagavan dhanikabhayabhītaḥ puruṣo rājānam upatiṣṭhet sa rājānam sevamāno yebhya evāśya bhayaṃ bhavati tair eva sevyate na ca tebhya bibhēti* 'Like a person who, afraid of his creditors, keeps company with a king, [by] serving the king he is also served by those of whom he is afraid, and he no longer fears them.'

‘The Tathāgata is one who praises detachment.’ (As(V) 194.9=AAA 779.21–22)

As(Lk) 遠離法正當爾怛薩阿竭、阿羅訶、三耶三佛所稱譽。

<i>yuanlifa</i>	<i>zhengdanger</i>	<i>dasa’ajie</i>	<i>aluohe</i>
distancing.dharma	truly(?)	tathāgata	arhat
<i>sanyesanfo</i>	<i>suo</i>	<i>chengyu</i>	
samyaksaṃbuddha	NMLZ	praise	

‘The correct dharma of distancing truly is something praised by the Tathāgata, Arhat, Samyaksaṃbuddha.’ (461a8–9)

As(Kj) 遠離行者，如來常所稱讚。

<i>yuanlixing</i>	<i>zhe,</i>	<i>Rulai</i>	<i>chang</i>	<i>suo</i>	<i>chengzan</i>
distancing.practice	TOP	thus.come	always	NMLZ	praise

‘The practice of distancing is something always praised by the Thus-come.’ (570c27)

As(Xz)[I] 此遠離行，一切如來應正等覺共所稱讚。

<i>ci</i>	<i>yuanlixing,</i>	<i>yiqie</i>	<i>Rulai</i>	<i>Ying</i>
this	distancing.practice	all	thus.come	worthy
<i>Zhengdengjue</i>	<i>gong</i>	<i>suo</i>	<i>chengzan</i>	
completely.awakened	together	NMLZ	praise	

‘This practice of distancing is something praised by all the Thus-comes, Worthy Ones, Completely Awakened Ones.’ (838b14–15)

As(Xz)[II] -

From the comparison, one can see that it is not only As(Kj) which presents the use of the A *suo* V construction, but the same translation choice is shared by all the translators. Assuming the presence of a deleted copula would admittedly help to clarify the syntax of the passage, it appears dubious that all the translators used the same type of reduced version of the *wei* construction, unless one wants to postulate a strong case of intertextual interference (see Nattier 2008a: 26) with Kumārajīva and Xuanzang closely following the reading of Lokakṣema’s translation. In fact, a better explanation can be provided by looking at the Sanskrit parallel: the Indic source form corresponding to the Chinese verbal expressions is not a verb *strictu sensu*, but an agent noun, i.e. *varṇavādin* ‘one who praises’. The three cases of A *suo* V found in Chinese, thus, can be understood as an (unidiomatic) attempt at reproducing the nominal status of the source expression by means of the use of the nominalizer *suo*. According to Gao, there are 13 instances of A *suo* V construction in As(Lk); if one considers such cases potentially dubious and not includes them in the total, one obtains figures closer to the ones provided above.

Notwithstanding, the figures given by Gao for As(Kj) and As(Xz)[I] remain significantly higher, even when the A *suo* V constructions are excluded. This

asymmetry can be explained (at least to a certain extent) by the fact that later translations, particularly those by Xuanzang, commonly present largely expanded readings, especially as concerns laudatory or deprecatory formulae, which often include a set of synonymic *wei* constructions. Thus, in such cases, the presence of a higher number of *wei* constructions does not reflect a particular translation approach or an internal diachronic development of the passive constructions, but it simply represents a later stage of textual transmission. In light of these considerations, in the present corpus I have generally included only a single instance of *wei* construction among those repeated in such type of formulae, usually the one closest in meaning to the parallels found in the early translations.

More difficult it is to explain the striking discrepancy between the data collected in this book and the figures given by Wu (1983) regarding the *wei* A *suo* V construction in the *Chu yao jing* 出曜經 (T212, 30 fascicles): Wu reports 67 occurrences of *wei* A *suo* V and 310 (!) occurrences of *wei* A *suo* V. Even taking into account the important differences of the texts in terms of genre (*Prajñāpāramitā* texts vs. *Dharmapada-Udāna*-type text) and the possible influence on the employment of certain grammatical features, such an enormous gap is probably to be explained with the different criteria applied to determine what should or should not be considered an example of the *wei* A *suo* V construction. The definition I have employed is probably narrower than that used by Wu. This is probably because the actual syntactic/functional nature of many examples regarded as passive constructions can often be determined with certainty only by looking to their Indic parallels. Consider, for example, Mokṣala's translation of (128), here given again as (191)

(191) = (128)

LP *yāvantaḥ sattvā nairayikā vā tairyagyonikā vā yamalaunikā vā duḥkhāṃ
vedanāṃ vedayanti teṣāṃ ahaṃ arthāya tāṃ duḥkhāṃ vedanāṃ
vedayeyam [...] ekaikasyāpy ahaṃ sattvasyārthāya
kalpakoṭīniyutaśatasahasrāṇi nairayikaṃ vā tairyagyonikaṃ vā
yamalaunikāṃ vā duḥkham anubhaveyam*

‘As many beings belonging to hell, having an animal origin or belonging to the world of Yama feel a painful feeling, [in the same way] I shall feel that painful feeling [...]. For the benefit of every single being, I shall experience the pain deriving from being in hell, having an animal origin or being in the world of Yama for hundreds of thousands of millions of myriads of aeons.’

P(Mo) 我當為泥犁、薜荔中罪人所受苦痛，我當為眾生代受無央數劫苦痛。

‘The suffering which I will experience for the sake of the sinners among the *niraya*-[beings] and the *pretas*, I will experience [it] for countless *kalpas* for the sake of beings in their stead.’

Mokṣala's translation could be interpreted, theoretically, as an instance of the *wei* A *suo* V construction, since the formal requirements for the construction are all met: the hypothetical O (i.e. *wo* 我) is placed before the copula, the hypothetical A is placed

between the copula and the nominalizer, the verb-phrase (V + post verbal complement) immediately follows the nominalizer. Thus, the passage could be translated, not quite literally, as ‘My suffering will be endured by those sinners among the *niraya*[-beings] and *pretas*’. A comparison with the Sanskrit and Chinese parallels, however, shows that *wei* is to be understood here as a preposition introducing a benefactive complement (‘for the sake of’). Nonetheless, an example of this kind could likely have been counted as a genuine instance of the *wei* A *suo* V construction in a study focusing on a very large set of data and not resorting to the comparison with the Indic parallels. Without a doubt, other instances of this sort, which would have been undetected without resorting to the comparison with the parallels, have been discarded by me because of similar considerations and hence this partially explains the difference in figures. This highlights, once again, the importance of a philological approach to the linguistic analysis of Chinese Buddhist translations.

7.7 *Suo* 所, *zhi suo* 之所 and *suojian* 所見

A final brief point of discussion concerns the systemic relationship between the three variants of nominalization: *suo* 所, *suojian* 所見 and *zhi suo* 之所. *Suojian* 所見 functions as a disyllabic variant of *suo* (as well as of *jian* 見) in the *wei* A *suo* V construction. It appears to emerge during the Eastern Han period and gradually falls out of use in texts composed after the mid-fifth century (Wu 1981, 1983), being replaced by *zhi suo* 之所 as the disyllabic variant of *suo*. *Suojian* 所見 is not used indiscriminately in early Chinese Buddhist translations; rather, it seems to be a feature associated with specific translators or translation groups, most notably Dharmarakṣa (cf. Wu 1988). In fact, Dharmarakṣa is the only translator in my corpus who employs *suojian*.

Table 7.10: Distribution of *suo* 所, *zhi suo* 之所 and *suojian* 所見

	Monosyllabic verbs	Disyllabic verbs
<i>suo</i> 所	57	36
<i>zhi suo</i> 之所	-	27
<i>suojian</i> 所見	1	5

The data collected from the present corpus, as illustrated in Table 7.10, seem to confirm the evidence from the other Buddhist and non-Buddhist sources (see Wu 1983, Tang 1987, Yang and He 2001: 381–383, Zhu 2013): the disyllabic forms *zhi suo* and *suojian*²⁶⁸ are mostly employed with disyllabic verbs, while there does not appear to be any particular constraint on the use of monosyllabic or disyllabic verbs with the one-syllable *suo*, even though monosyllabic verbs are more commonly employed with *suo* than disyllabic ones. As discussed by Zhu (2013), one also needs to take into consideration the overall metrical pattern of a passage and not only the nominalized

²⁶⁸ I also included in the figures the example from P(Dh), mentioned in fn. 154, which does not appear among the glossed examples.

verb-form: the use of the mono- or disyllabic nominalizer can be determined by the metric requirements of the whole sentence and not simply by the verb.

7.8 Conclusions

One should use the closing remarks of such an investigation to attempt at a final answer to the main question posited at the beginning of the dissertation: is the use of Chinese passives in sūtra translations in some way influenced by the presence of P-oriented constructions in the Indic source-texts? In a strict sense, the answer is clearly negative: P-orientation as morpho-syntactic phenomenon embodying the demotion of the agent to the oblique case and the promotion of the patient to the direct does not play any part in directly triggering the use of a passive in Chinese translations, since only a small number of Indic P-oriented constructions correspond to Chinese passives, while active sentences are translated with Chinese passives as well. On the contrary, it was seen that the use of passives in Chinese translation seems determined by pragmatic-semantic factors (i.e. the presence of a highly animate and topical patient).

At the same time, the analysis of the data shows that *-ta* participles are translated with the lion's share of Chinese passives. As discussed above, *-ta* participles, in their fundamental meaning, express resultant states and many of the participles translated with the *wei* construction can be read as stative situations. If one considers that the *wei* construction (in particular the *wei A suo V* construction) also expresses a resultant state in its original meaning, the stative reading could account for the partial correlation between the *-ta* participles and the *wei* constructions. From this perspective, the presence of *-ta* participles could indeed be a factor influencing, in a broader sense, the use of the *wei* construction in translation. Therefore, the problem rather is to evaluate the extent to which such an influence on the translators is to be ascribed to interference from the Indic source-text or to a precise translation choice of the translator. If the use of the *wei A suo V* construction to a certain degree still represented a "living" trait in the language of Lokakṣema and Dharmarakṣa, such an extensive usage by Xuanzang was presumably vestigial, at a stage when the construction had probably already died out from the living language. Hence, one can assume that *wei A suo V* construction eventually became a standard feature of the scriptural language inaugurated by Kumārajīva and developed by Xuanzang, translating in particular *-ta* participles under specific pragmatic-semantic conditions.

Such a conclusion, however, needs to be corroborated by further evidence since the data sample analysed in this work is relatively small. Future research will need to evaluate if the trends in the usage of passives pinpointed here by examining the *Prajñāpāramitā* texts are consistent with other texts as well or whether the genre factor significantly affects the usage of passives, as the figures given by Wu (1983) discussed in Section 7.6 might suggest. A comparison with non-Buddhist texts would be also required to confirm whether the usage of the *wei* construction in post-Kumārajīva translations indeed represents an archaism typical of the Buddhist "translationese". As the reader can see from these conclusions, this work represents only a small contribution to a broader research issue which still needs to be thoroughly investigated.

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