

The Usage of Post-Verbal *jiāng* 將 in the *Lao Qida*

Stephen Wadley

Portland State University

Abstract

In the báihuà texts of the Ming and Qing dynasties *jiāng* (將) appears as a post-verbal function word (助詞). This usage was common in the Ming dynasty novels and was still seen in the Qing dynasty novel *Hongloumeng* but is not found in modern Chinese.

The *Lao Qida* was a popular Chinese primer in the Northeast throughout the Ming and Qing dynasties. It was redacted several times, adding pronunciations and changing the text to reflect the changes in spoken Chinese that occurred over the time of its use. The early versions of the *Lao Qida* contain a number of sentences employing this post-verbal function word *jiāng* but it is eliminated entirely in later redactions. This paper attempts to explain why post-verbal *jiang* disappears without a trace between the early versions of the *Lao Qida* and its later redactions with the intention of shedding light on what function it served in these medieval texts.

Keywords

post-verbal *jiāng*, early Mandarin, *Lao Qida*, grammaticalization of verbs, (Chinese) syntax

1. The character *jiāng* 將

The character *jiāng* 將 has been used throughout the history of the Chinese language to represent a number of words. One common usage is as a verb with the meaning of using one's hands to 'carry, support, take, present, offer, etc'. In the *Nanbeichao* period and through the Tang dynasty this word broadened its scope and became a preposition marking the instrument of the action of the predicate. Somewhat later this preposition further evolved into what is called the "pre-transitive" marker (commonly referred to as "the *bǎ* construction," named after the currently more commonly used verb-turned-preposition used in this construction). This construction employs a preposition whose object is the same as the main verb of the predicate and serves to indicate how the object is "disposed of." As mentioned above, now the more common preposition used in this construction is *bǎ*, whose verbal meaning similarly was 'to grasp, the take into the hand.' *Jiāng* is generally thought of as the original word to take on these functions and meanings, with *bǎ* following closely behind and eventually replacing *jiāng* in the Modern Standard language.

1.1 Post-verbal *Jiāng*

By the medieval period in Chinese history all these uses of *jiāng*, as a verb meaning 'to take,' an instrumental preposition, and a pre-transitive preposition, were in use. But sometime during the *Nanbeichao* period or later, another usage of *jiāng* appeared, likely derived from the verbal meaning (see discussion below), that of a post-positional directional particle.

Although the vast majority of works dealing with *jiāng* during the medieval period look at its function as a preposition, both as an instrumental and a pre-transitive, there are a few early articles that also looked at its post-verbal function. Zhang Xiang (1953) mentions that it functioned as a particle (助詞) in the post-verbal position. Tan, Yao and Lou in their article on the usage of *jiāng* in early vernacular fiction (1957) indicate it is associated with directional complements and that it functions as a particle (助詞) that indicates the direction or progression of the verb. They give the example from *京本通俗小說* [Popular Stories from Capital Editions] purported to be from Song or Yuan times: 就地撮將黃葉去，入山推出白雲來。'Nearing the ground [one] bunches yellow leaves, entering the mountains [one] pushes out white clouds.' They state the lines 將黃葉去 and 出白雲來 are parallel, with *jiāng* 將 being parallel to the

directional particle *chū* 出 . So *jiāng* must function as a directional particle as well. They don't say however what sense the directional particle *jiāng* has. Zhu Minche (1957: 21-22) while writing about how the grammaticalization process may have occurred wherein the verb *jiāng* becomes an instrumental and pre-transitive preposition, begins by showing how the verb *jiāng* may have grammaticalized into a post-verbal directional complement. He states that *jiāng* in the post-verbal position was originally a verb in series. In Nanbeichao times there was a common pattern of *jiāng* + noun (or nominal phrase) + directional verb. Later there appeared sentences where a verb synonymous in meaning with *jiāng* appeared in front of it, being the first verb in a verbal series. The object of these verbs, since they appeared elsewhere, no longer appeared following *jiāng*, so the pattern became: verb + *jiāng* + directional complement. Since the meaning indicated by *jiāng* was already clearly expressed by the first verb, *jiāng* was no longer perceived to carry any meaning and became a verbal suffix (詞尾) somehow associated with directional complements. Though during the Tang dynasty only verbs with the meanings of 'take, snatch, carry etc.' (i.e. meanings synonymous with the verbal meaning of *jiāng*) could be used in this construction, after the Tang *jiāng* in this construction began to appear with verbs without these meanings. He takes that to mean that by that time post-verbal *jiāng* had lost all lexical meaning, functioning only as a verbal suffix that had some sort of directional meaning (Zhu 1957: 22-23). This usage of *jiāng* as a "post-verbal directional complement" was common throughout the Yuan, Ming and Qing dynasties but has not survived into present-day Standard Chinese.¹ In texts of the time it even occasionally appears in conjunction with intransitive verbs, seemingly confirming Zhu Minche's contention that it had become a grammaticalized verbal suffix after the Tang dynasty. I think Zhu Minche is essentially correct that this post-verb *jiāng* evolved from the verbal *jiāng*. But I find it intriguing that though it seems to be generally accepted that this is a post-verbal directional complement in Ming and Qing vernacular language I have found no indication from anyone what direction *jiāng* is indicating. For this paper I wish to look at the post-verbal usage of *jiāng* in the *Lao Qida* to see how it fits in with the apparent progression of the word in history of Chinese.

¹ Zhou Xiaolin (2007: 149-150) reports the number of occurrences for the following books: 老乞大諺解 11; 朴通事 18; 水滸傳 335; 金瓶梅詞話 65; 紅樓夢 19; 兒女英雄傳 25; 老殘遊記 4.

2. The *Lao Qida*

The *Lao Qida* (Korean: *Nogoltae*) is a book produced sometime during the late Yuan or early Ming dynasty as a Chinese language primer for Koreans. Originally in Chinese, it was translated into Korean, Japanese, Mongolian and Manchu and was the major Chinese language text of the Ming and Qing dynasties for non-Chinese learners in the Northeast. It was redacted several times during the late Ming and Qing dynasties, and the redacted versions provide information as to how the Chinese language spoken in the Northeast changed from the Yuan-early Ming period to the Late Ming-Qing period.²

The character *jiāng* appears ninety-nine times in the *Lao Qida*. In at least fifty of these cases, *jiāng* is still functioning as a full verb meaning “to take.” The standard sentence form for this usage is: Subj. + *jiāng* + Obj. + Directional particle (來 or 去). The object can also be pre-posed: (Subj.) + Obj. + *jiāng* + Dir. part. For example:

- (1) 你將碗碟罐兒家去。‘Take the bowls, dishes and jugs back home.’ (LQ 31.6)³
- (2) 拾來的糞將來。‘Bring the manure [you] have gathered.’ (LQ 71.2)

Though it is established that *jiāng* was grammaticalized into a function particle at least as early as the Tang dynasty, its usage in the *Lao Qida* in a majority of cases is still that of a full verb. It may also be noted that *jiāng* as a verb in the *Lao Qida* often appears in conjunction with the directional particles 來 and 去, just as Tan *et. al.* and Zhu Minche had discovered in texts from the Tang and Song periods. *Jiāng* also appears a number of times as a pre-transitive marker in the *Lao Qida*:

- (3) 伙伴你將料撈出來。‘Companions, ladle out the fodder.’ (LQ 16.9)
- (4) 那賊便將一個弓手放箭射下馬來。‘That thief shot an arrow, shooting an archer off his horse.’ (LQ 20.8)

² There are literally scores of works on the *Lao Qida* and its redactions. One of the more comprehensive is Kang Shik-Chin (1985) *Lao Qida, Piao Tongshi Yanjiu* 老乞大朴通事研究. See also: Yi T’ae-Su (2003) *Lao Qida Si Zhong Banben Yuyan Yanjiu* 《老乞大》四種版本語言研究, who includes an extensive bibliography of works done up to 2003.

³ References to the LQ: *Lao Qida* (*Nogoltae*) and Ck: *Chongkan Lao Qida* (*Chungkan Nogoltae*) are page and line numbers from, respectively: Ch’oe Se-Jin (1944) *Nogoltae Ŏnhae* and Kim Mun-Ung (1984/1795) *Chungkan Nogoltae Onhae* 重刊老乞大諺解.

2.1 The Post-verbal usage of *jiāng* in the *Lao Qida*

Jiāng appears following a verb twenty-eight times in the *Lao Qida*. In every instance it is followed by a directional particle (來/去). The main verb in all the sentences is transitive. The position of the object varies, sometimes it is located before the verb in topic position, sometimes following *jiāng*, sometimes it is understood and not included in the sentence, and in one instance it occurs between the main verb and *jiāng*.

The verbs used in conjunction with post-verbal *jiāng* generally have some notion of movement: *qiān* 牽 ‘to pull,’ *sòng* 送 ‘to deliver,’ *xí* 襲 ‘to follow (one’s tracks),’ *huí* 回 ‘to return,’ and the verb most often used with post-verbal *jiāng*, *gǎn* 趕 ‘to drive (e.g. livestock).’ These are different from the verbs having to do with ‘taking’ or ‘holding’ Zhu Minche (1957: 21) indicated were most often associated with post-verbal *jiāng* in the Tang texts. But I would argue that this, far from showing that post-verbal *jiāng* had completed the process of grammaticalization, actually indicates that *jiāng* in this text is still perceived as a verb rather than a meaningless appendage to other verbs.

As mentioned above, the *Lao Qida*, due to its popularity as a text for the learning of Chinese, went through several redactions over time in order to bring the language up to date. In making these changes, the redactors would follow the original text very closely, changing nothing in the content of the text, only replacing words and/or wording to conform to current usage. As such it is a wonderful source for seeing how language usage changed in the Northeastern Chinese cultural area over time. The *Lao Qida Chongkan* (hereafter referred to as the *Chongkan* or *Ck*) was one of these later redactions. Produced in 1795, it is close to 400 years later than what is thought to be the time the original *Lao Qida* appeared. In that time the language had changed considerably. In the intervening time period *jiāng* as a verb essentially disappears. Indeed the word in any of its usages nearly disappears from the text. Of the ninety-nine times it appears in the *Lao Qida* it remains in only six sentences in the *Chongkan*. Where it functioned as a verb in the *Laoi Qida* it is replaced in the *Chongkan* by verbs with like meanings such as *ná* 拿 ‘to take,’ *dài* 帶 ‘to carry,’ *qǔ* 取 ‘to get,’ etc. In its pre-transitive usage it is replaced in the *Chongkan* by *bǎ* 把. Where it appears post-verbally in the *Lao Qida* it disappears without any apparent replacement in the *Chongkan*. This is different than the pattern of usage in other Chinese texts where post-verbal *jiāng* remains up until nearly Republican times but seemingly as a post-verbal directional complement that doesn’t indicate a specific direction. It appears rather,

jiāng is being eliminated in the time between the *Lao Qida* and the *Chongkan* as a verb regardless of whether it appears singly or as the first or second element of a verbal series. *Jiāng* is functioning as a verb in its post-verbal position in the *Lao Qida*, and it is eliminated at the very time it is being replaced by other verbs in sentences where it appears alone, rather than as a verb in series. I will go through each of the occurrences of post-verbal *jiāng* in the *Lao Qida* to show how this is the case.

Here is a list of each of the sentences with post-verbal *jiāng* in the order they occur in the *Lao Qida* (marked with “a.”) and its equivalent sentence in the *Chongkan* (marked with “b.”).

- (5) a. 你這幾個火伴從那裏合將來。‘Where did these companions of yours join you?’ (*LQ* 12.5)
 b. 你這幾個火伴從那裏同來的。(*Ck* 32.7)

There is seemingly no need for *jiāng* as a directional complement. As a verb meaning ‘taking, carrying, getting, etc.’ it may have been used much in the sense of the English sentence “Where did you pick up these companions?”

- (6) a. 我哀告借將來。‘...I had to beg to borrow (it).’ (*LQ* 13.7)
 b. 是我懇求他借來。(*Ck* 35.10)

The verbal sense of *jiāng* is more apparent in this sentence even though it is again dropped in the *Chongkan*. “I begged, borrowed and brought (it).”

- (7) a. 大片兒切着炒將來。‘Cut (it) in thick slices and bring (it) here.’ (*LQ* 14.9)
 b. 大片切着炒來罷。(*Ck* 39.3)

This sentence makes more sense with the *jiāng* as a verb ‘to bring’ than the equivalent *Chongkan* sentence where the sentence makes no reference to bringing the meat.

- (8) a. 別處官司卻捉住那賊發將來。‘An officer from another area in fact captured the thief and sent (him) back.’ (*LQ* 19.9)
 b. 別處官府去捉住那賊發到這裏官府來。(*Ck* 52.8)

The sense of dispatching the thief back is compatible with the notion of ‘carrying’ or ‘taking’ him along.

- (9) a. 捕盜官襲將去。‘The police officer followed after (him).’ (*LQ* 20.9)
 b. 那捕盜官趕到村裏。 (*Ck* 55.7)

This sentence admittedly is problematic for the claim that *jiāng* in the *Lao Qida* is always verbal. The verb *xí* 襲 is used in the sense of 襲跡 ‘tracking (someone).’ That the *Chongkan* relates it to *gǎn* 趕 does help in my assertions since the policeman’s purpose is to capture the thief as opposed to driving him away (see discussion of *jiāng*’s use with *gǎn* below).

- (10) a. 疾快取將咱們的拄杖來。‘Quickly go and fetch our walking staffs.’ (*LQ* 22.10)
 b. 快拿咱們的拄杖來。 (*Ck* 60.10)

The verb *qǔ* 取 is a synonym of *jiāng* in its verbal sense so this usage is easily explained as a synonym compound.

- (11) a. 再牽將別個的來飲。‘Bring another one over to water (it).’ (*LQ* 25.6)
 b. 再牽別的來飲水。 (*Ck* 68.2)

Again, *qiān* 牽 as a verb is perfectly compatible with adding the notion of ‘taking, bringing.’

- (12) a. 火伴你趕將馬來。‘Companions, collect the horses.’ (*LQ* 31.1)
 b. 火伴你趕馬來。 (*Ck* 84.5)

The verb *gǎn* 趕 is the verb most commonly used with post-verbal *jiāng* in the *Lao Qida*. This sentence also adequately exemplifies why it is compatible with *jiāng* functioning as a verb in conjunction with it. Consider two sentences in English: “We drove the cattle from the pasture.” and “We drove the wolves from the pasture.” The verb “drove” is used in both sentences but the implication in the first sentence has the additional sense of “to bring” or “to take.” In both sentences “we” are chasing behind

the animals but in the first it is in order to bring them along with us to some other place, while in the second it is simply to remove them from the place they are at. Of course that meaning is possible for the first sentence as well, for instance if it is the neighbor's cattle that we did not want in the pasture. So the first sentence is ambiguous until a context is supplied. If the first sentence had read "We drove the cattle up from the pasture", its sense would lean much more heavily idea that we are bringing them along rather than driving them away, much in the same way the directional *lái* 來 in the Chinese sentence would reduce the ambiguity of the verb *gǎn* 趕, which has the same two senses as the English verb "to drive." For the *Chongkan* redactors, that was enough, without an additional verb to convey the sense of 'to take' or 'to bring.' But for the *Lao Qida* the verb is still there. As further evidence, in the Manchu version of the *Lao Qida* the verb *gǎn* is translated *bošombi* 'to drive, to expel.' This verb in Manchu has more the sense of driving something away, rather than bringing something along. In a majority of the sentences where the compound *gǎn jiāng* is used in the Chinese *Lao Qida*, the Manchu version adds another verb, which in fact is the main verb of the sentence: *bošome gamambi* 'take (to another place) driving,' *bošome gaimbi* 'take away driving,' etc.

- (13) a. 我着孩兒們做將粥來與你喫。‘I’ll have the children prepare the gruel and bring it to you to eat.’ (*LQ* 37.8)
 b. 我教孩子們做些粥來與你們喫罷。 (*Ck* 102.8)

Again the notion of “bringing” is in this sentence. In a Modern Chinese sentence it could be said: 我教孩子做粥拿來給你們吃, where the object *zhōu* 粥 comes after the verb *zuò* 做 and is followed by the verb meaning ‘to take, to bring,’ *ná* 拿. But this difference has more to do with the syntax of *Lao Qida* sentences rather than the usage of *jiāng*.

- (14) a. 如今教將來。‘I’ll have (him) bring (it) right away.’ (*LQ* 38.6)
 b. 這麼我就教小廝們送燈去。 (*Ck* 104.10)

One must assume that *sòng* 送 in the *Chongkan* is translating a verbal *jiāng* in the *Lao Qida* version.

- (15) a. 咱們趕將馬去來。‘Let’s go gather the horses.’ (LQ 39.7)
 b. 咱們趕馬到下處去。(Ck 108.2)
 (See the discussion of the verb *gǎn* above.)
- (16) a. 今早起喫飯處貼將來的銀子。‘This silver is the change from what I paid at the restaurant this morning.’ (LQ 44.6)
 b. 今早起喫飯處找來的銀子。(Ck 121.2)

Here the sense that one is ‘bringing’ the change (money) one received at another location to a new location is logical.

- (17) a. 着兩個後頭趕將頭口來。‘Have two (stay) behind to drive the stock up.’ (LQ 44.10)
 b. 着兩個在後趕牲口來。(Ck 122.1)
 (See the discussion of the verb *gǎn* above.)
- (18) a. 我兩個後頭慢慢的趕頭口去。‘We two will come slowly behind driving the livestock.’ (LQ 45.3)
 b. 我兩個後頭慢慢的趕牲口去。
 (See the discussion of the verb *gǎn* above.)
- (19) a. 到遼東這邊合將他來。‘(I) joined up with him this side of Liaodong.’ (LQ 51.6)
 b. 他在遼東這邊我同他作伴來。(Ck 144.9)
 (Used the same way as sentence (5) above.)
- (20) a. 他也有幾疋馬一處趕將來。‘He also had several horses (so we) drove them along together.’ (LQ 51.7)
 b. 他也有幾匹馬一同趕來要賣。(Ck 145.1)
 (See discussion of the verb *gǎn* above.)
- (21) a. 你這馬他們都一發買將山東賣去。‘They (wish) to buy all these horses of yours and take them to Shandong to sell.’ (LQ 52.9)
 b. 你這馬他們都要一齊買了到山東去。(Ck 148.4)

Though one could argue *jiāng* in the *Lao Qida* is parallel with *dào* 到 in the *Chongkan*, in fact directional prepositions are rarely used in the *Lao Qida*, so it is not a stretch to consider that no preposition is used here and the *jiāng* has the meaning of ‘to take,’ which again is logical since the horses are to be taken to Shandong.

- (22) a. 我去稅了送將來與你。‘I’ll go (pay) the taxes and bring (them) back to you.’
(*LQ* 60.1)
b. 我去上稅送來與你。(*Ck* 169.1)

The verb *sòng* 送 is compatible with the notion of ‘to take, to bring.’

- (23) a. 我怎麼敢買將去不爭。‘How could I dare to buy (it) and take (it) away without a thought.’ (*LQ* 60.3)
b. 我怎麼肯買了去。(*Ck* 169.7)

Mǎi ‘to buy’ doesn’t necessarily align with ‘to take, to bring,’ yet there is nothing that prevents it either. An object is implied, and once bought it is natural to ‘take it.’ The Manchu version reflects this sense: *bi adarame udafī gamambi* ‘how could I, having bought (it), take (it) away?’

- (24) a. 賣主悔將去便是不須惱燥。‘The seller will just take (it) back, there is no need to be angry.’ (*LQ* 60.8)
b. 毀了文券便好了不須爭論。

The *Chongkan* redactor has interpreted *huí* 悔 as *huǐ* 毀 ‘to destroy.’ I think it has more to do with *huí* 迴 ‘to return,’ which is normally an intransitive verb but can be used transitively (see 漢語大詞典 Volume 10, 769b, 迴 def. 10). The redactor has also chosen to regard this sentence as having a transitive verb.

- (25) a. 你卻迴將來。‘You should return (that) to me.’ (*LQ* 61.2)
b. 你卻退出來罷。(*Ck* 171.8)

Here we have the actual verb *huí* 迴, which I would argue must be considered transitive.

- (26) a. 不肯時趕將去罷。‘...if (you) are not willing, then take them away.’ (*LQ* 62.9)
b. 若不肯你就趕了去罷。(*Ck* 176.4)
(See the discussion of the verb *gǎn* above.)
(27) a. 一發買段字將去。‘(I’ll) buy satin with it and take it along.’ (*LQ* 63.5)
b. 一發買些緞子拿去賣罷。(*Ck* 178.1)

Here *jiāng* is clearly a verb in series since the object appears between the two verbs, and the *Chongkan* has replaced it with *ná* 拿 ‘to take.’

- (28) a. 都請將來。‘Invite (them) all to come.’ (*LQ* 70.8)
 b. (missing)

The verb *qǐng* 請 is transitive and is compatible with the sense of “bringing” (someone) along.

- (29) a. 引將幾個買毛施布的客人來。‘Bring in some merchants who buy nankeen cloth.’ (*LQ* 86.7)
 b. 你還引幾個買毛藍布的客人來。(*Ck* 243.9)

The verb *yǐn* ‘lead, guide’ is compatible with the idea of ‘to bring.’

- (30) a. 我買時不是買自穿的一發賣將去。‘I’m not buying (this) for myself to wear but more to take (it elsewhere) to sell.’ (*LQ* 87.2)
 b. 我買去不是自家穿的要拿去發賣。

The *Chongkan* uses *ná* 拿 ‘to take’ in its version of this sentence.

- (31) a. 我數將布去。‘I’ll go measure the cloth.’ (*LQ* 90.2)
 b. 點數了布去。(*Ck* 253.4)

Shǔ 數 is a transitive verb but a connection with ‘to bring, to take’ is admittedly not obvious. Were it not for the evidence of the other sentences, it would be hard to see how *jiāng* is being used in this sentence. But see the discussion of *shuō* below.

- (32) a. 你說將年月日生時來。‘Say the year, month and day of your birth.’ (*LQ* 94.8)
 b. 你說生年月日時來。(*Ck* 264.8)

Again though *shuō* 說 is a transitive verb, and the connection with ‘to bring, to take’ is tenuous, it doesn’t require an unreasonable stretch. In Modern Chinese, verbs compatible with the *bǎ* construction are limited to those that have a sense of ‘to

handle' either physically or metaphorically so that thought and perception verbs are not compatible, but verbs having to do with speaking—putting something out into the air such as *shuō* 說 'to speak,' *shù* 數 'to count,' are. A similar thing is happening here.

3. Conclusion

I have argued that the word represented by the form *jiāng* in the language of the *Lao Qida* is in almost all cases still a full verb meaning essentially 'to take.' This is indisputable in the 55 times it appears as a full verb. In the instances where it appears in what is described as a pre-transitive marker, it may still retain much of its verbal meaning. It is difficult to determine the precise point in which the first verbs of verbal series in Chinese were "grammaticalized" to be prepositions. Finally I argue that the 28 occurrences of *jiāng* in a post-verbal position are still instances of *jiāng* functioning as a verb. My proofs are these: Even though, as Zhu Minche (1957) notes, *jiāng* began to appear following verbs incompatible with notions of 'to take, and even with intransitive verbs in late vernacular texts, in the *Lao Qida* *jiāng* always appears following transitive verbs and only with verbs that are compatible with the notion of 'to take.' Indeed, the notion of 'to take' or 'to bring' appears to be required for most of the sentences. In a number of instances the Manchu version of the text explicitly adds a verb that has the sense of 'to take, to bring, etc.' in these sentences. In Manchu they are the main verbs of the sentence. Between the time of the *Lao Qida* and the *Lao Qida Chongkan* the verb *jiāng* ceased to be used in the language of the Northeast. It is precisely this time that *jiāng* was replaced by *bǎ* in the pre-transitive construction and was eliminated entirely in its post-verbal construction. I don't think this coincidental but rather suggest that *jiāng* was a verb in all positions in the language of the *Lao Qida*. When it became obsolete as a verb sometime during the late Ming or early Qing dynasty it was replaced by other verbs meaning 'to take' in the position of the main verb, was replaced by *bǎ* in the position of first verb in a verbal series, and was absorbed into the meaning of the main verb in the position of the second verb in a verbal series.

References

- Bennett, Paul A. 1981. The evolution of passive and disposal sentences. *Journal of Chinese Linguistics* 9: 61-89.
- Ch'oe, Se-Jin. 1944. *Nogoltae Onhae* [老乞大諺解]. Kyōngsōng: Kyōngsōng Cheguk Taehak Pōmmunhak Pu.
- Chuang, Chi-Fa. 1976. *Ch'ing-yu Lao Ch'i-ta* [Manchu *Lao Qida*]. Taipei: Wen Shih Che Ch'u-pan She.

- Gē, Yì (戈弋). 1958. Bǎzi jù (chùzhì shì) de qǐyuán [The origin of the *ba* (disposal) construction]. *Zhōngguó Yǔwén* 3: 117-118.
- Huang, Shuanfan. 1978. Historical change of prepositions and emergence of SOV order. *Journal of Chinese Linguistics* 6: 212-242.
- Huang, Shuanfan. 1986. The history of the disposal construction revisited—evidence from Zen dialogues in the Tang dynasty. *Journal of Chinese Linguistics* 14: 43-52.
- Kang, Shik-Chin. 1985. *Lao Qida, Piao Tongshi Yanjiu* [老乞大朴通事研究]. Taipei: Hsueh-sheng.
- Kim, Mun-Ung, ed. 1984/1795. *Chungkan Nogltae Onhae* [重刊老乞大諺解]. Seoul: Hongmun Gak.
- Lǚ, Shūxiāng (呂叔湘). 1948. Bǎzi yòngfǎ de yánjiū [Research into the use of *ba*]. *Zhōngguó Wénhuà Yánjiū Huikān* [Bulletin of Chinese Studies] 8: 111-130. Reprinted in Shūxiāng Lǚ (1955) *Hànyǔ Yǔfǎ Lùnwénjí*, 125-144. Běijīng: Kēxué Chūbǎnshè.
- Lǚ, Shūxiāng. 1959. *Wényán Xūzì* [Literary Particles]. Shànghǎi: Shànghǎi Jiàoyù.
- Ohta, Tatsuo. 1958. *Chuugokugo Rekishi Bunpoo* [History of the Chinese Language]. Tokyo: Koonan shoin.
- Parker, Frank. 1976. Language change and the passive voice. *Language* 52(2): 449-460.
- Tán, Yǒngxiáng (譚永祥), Wénshān Yáo (姚文珊), and Xīyuán Lóu (婁熙元). 1957. Zǎoqí báihuà xiǎoshuō lǐ jiāng de yòngfǎ [The use of *jiang* in early vernacular fiction]. In *Yǔfǎ Lùnjí*, volume 2, ed. Zhōngguó Yǔwén Zázhi shè, 163-166. Běijīng: Zhōnghuá.
- T'sou, Benjamin. 1976. *A Single Character Index to the No-geol-dae Eon-hae*. Tokyo: Computational Analyses of Asian and African Languages.
- Wadley, Stephen. 1987. A translation of the *Lao Qida* and investigation into certain of its syntactic structures. Doctoral dissertation, University of Washington.
- Wáng, Lì (王力). 1958. *Hànyǔ Shǐgǎo* [Draft History of Chinese]. Běijīng: Zhōnghuá.
- Xiàng, Xī (向熹). 1959. *Shuǐhǔ zhōng de bǎ zì jù, jiāng zì jù hé bèi zì jù* [*Ba, jiang* and *bei* sentences in *Shuǐhu*]. In *Yǔyánxué Lùncóng*, volume 2, ed. Běijīng Dàxué Zhōngwénxì Yǔyánxué Lùncóng Biānjíbù, 84-99. Shànghǎi: Shànghǎi Jiàoyù.
- Yì, T'ae-Su. 2003. *Lǎo Qīdà Sì Zhōng Bǎnběn Yǔyán Yánjiū* [A Study of Four Editions of the *Lao Qida*]. Běijīng: Yǔwén Chūbǎnshè.
- Zhāng, Xiāng (張相). 1953. *Shī Cí Qǔ Yǔcí Huìshì* [A Lexicon of Words from *Shi*, *Ci* and *Qu* Poetry]. Běijīng: Zhōnghuá.
- Zhōu, Xiǎolín. 2007. “動 + 將 + 補” 結構補義 [Further discussions on the “verb + *jiang* + resultative” construction]. *Zhōngguó Yǔwén* 2: 149-150.
- Zhù, Mínhè (祝敏澈). 1957. Lùn chūqí chùzhìshì [A discussion of the disposal construction in the early period]. In *Yǔyánxué Lùncóng*, volume 1, ed. Běijīng Dàxué Zhōngwénxì Yǔyánxué Lùncóng Biānjíbù, 17-33. Shànghǎi: Shànghǎi Jiàoyù.

《老乞大》裡跟在動詞後的“將”的用法

威哲揚

波特蘭州立大學

提要

明清白話文小說裡有個作為動尾的助詞“將”出現。這種用法在明代小說中是常見的，而且也出現在清代小說《紅樓夢》中，但在現代漢語裡就沒有再出現過。

《老乞大》是一本貫穿明清兩個朝代、在東北非常受歡迎的中國話課本，曾經過數次修訂，並加上了發音符號、更改了語言，以反映口語在使用過程中隨着時間的變化而發生的變化。該動尾助詞“將”在早期的《老乞大》版本中諸多句子裡出現過，但在晚期的修訂本中全部被刪除了。本篇論文旨在試圖解釋為甚麼動尾的“將”曾在早期《老乞大》的版本裡出現過，而在晚期《老乞大》的更改版本裡卻又消失得無影無蹤了，從而揭示動尾的“將”在中世紀（小說）文本中的使用用途和作用。

關鍵詞

詞尾“將”，早期官話，老乞大，動詞虛話，句子構造