The origin and development of the “Disposal” form in Bouyei language

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1. Introduction

In modern Bouyei language, SVDO (Subject + Verb + Direct Object) is the main pattern of active sentences, but there is also another sentence pattern expressing the active voice by using a preposition (grammaticalized from a verb) to shift the direct object in front of the verb, thus forming the sentence pattern “Subject + Preposition (from a verb) + Direct Object + Predicative Verb + Other Components.” This is the so-called “disposal” construction or “disposal” form, which is akin to the ba construction in modern Chinese.

The status of using the “disposal” form in the Bouyei language differs from geographical area to another. In some places the “disposal” form is used frequently, while in other areas the regular “SVDO” construction is used less commonly. Because of the strong influence of Chinese in some places, most of the time people use the Chinese ba construction directly. This paper examines the structure of the “disposal” form in Bouyei language on the basis of the data collected in the Fuxing Township of Wangmo County and some other geographical locations in Guizhou Province. Having researched the origin and development of the ba construction in Chinese and having made a study of the structural patterns of the ?au₁ construction in the Bouyei religious scriptures, the writer has tried to probe into the origin and development of the “disposal” construction in Bouyei language.

2. The construction types of “Disposal” form

In Modern Chinese, ba (in written language sometimes jiang is used) is used as the marker of a “disposal” form. In the Bouyei language, the “disposal” form also has a marker, which is a preposition grammaticalized from a verb, inserted between the subject and the direct object. According to the existing data we have, in most of the Bouyei areas, people use ?au₁, kua₆ as the markers in the “disposal” form. Moreover, besides ?au₁ and kua₆, people in Wangmo sometimes use ðiu³ (grammaticalized from a
verb which means ‘carry, take with one hand’), and people in Pingba use *tui²* (grammaticalized from a verb which means ‘bring, take’). Since the early years of this century, as the influence of modern Chinese has increased, people directly borrowed the Chinese *ba* construction into Bouyei; thus, *ba* serves as one of the markers of “disposal” in the Bouyei language. The main syntactic framework of the “disposal” form in Bouyei is “Subject + marker (a verb-like preposition) + Direct Object + Verb.” Around this main framework, according to the grammatical function and construction of the other additional components attached, the “disposal” form in Bouyei language can be further subdivided into the following types:

2.1 *Subject + Marker + Direct Object + Verb + Complement.*

Samples from Wangmo Bouyei language:

(1) te¹ ɲon²liam²  kue⁶  şen²  şe¹  liu⁴  pai.
   s/he today M. money lose all part.
   ‘Yesterday s/he lost all her/his money.’

(2) mɯŋ²  ?au¹  va:n¹  ?jau⁴  ?di¹.
   You M. axe hide well
   ‘Please hide the axe well.’

(3) te¹  cio³  tui⁴  ko³  te¹  ?duat⁷  liu⁴  pai.
   s/he M. rice bowl soup that drink all part.
   ‘S/He drank all soup in the rice bowl.’

Samples from Zhenfeng Bouyei language:

(4) ku¹  pa⁴  pa³tu³  yuŋ²  ?di¹  leu⁴.
   I M. door close well part.
   ‘I have closed the door already.’

2.2 *Subject + Marker + Direct Object + Verb*

Samples from Wangmo Bouyei language:

(5) ɲon²liam²  pu⁴law²  kue⁶  liam²  şe¹?
   yesterday who M. sickle lose
   ‘Who lost the sickle yesterday?’
(6) mjai³ düì³ (?au¹) əa¹ luan⁶ sit⁷.
don't M. paper arbitrary throw
'Don't throw paper everywhere.'

Samples from Zhenfeng Bouyei language:

(7) te¹ pu⁴lai² kuo⁶ tur²ci² kün² ya:u⁴.
be who M. cattle eat crops
'Who let the cattle eat crops?'

2.3 Subject + Marker + Direct Object + Verb + Indirect Object

Samples from Wangmo Bouyei language:

(8) liu⁴po² düì³ te¹ ta:ŋ⁶ pu⁴ŋok⁷.
eybody M. s/he regard as simpleton
'Everybody regards her/him as a simpleton.'

(9) po²ku¹ ?au¹ te¹ ta:ŋ⁶ tsui² ?di¹ ti¹ lau¹s¹.
we M. s/he take as most good part. teacher
'We regard her/him as the best teacher.'

Samples from Zhenfeng Bouyei langauge:

(10) mi²ŋu²⁴ pu⁴lai² pa⁴ ku¹ ta:ŋ⁶ tur³¹vun³¹.
not have who M. me regard as human being
'Nobody regards me as a human being.'

2.4 Subject + Marker + Direct Object + Verb + Prepositional Phrase.

Samples from Zhenfeng Bouyei langauge:

(11) ə³ŋaŋ² ?au¹ hau⁴lia¹ ɲon²liən² te¹ thuŋ⁵ hau³ əau².
aunt M. leftovers yesterday that send to us
'Aunt gave us yesterday's leftovers.'

(12) te¹ fi⁶ düì³ (?au¹) tsuo²ni² tɕiə¹ hau³ ku¹.
s/he not M. homework hand in to me
'S/he hasn't given her/his homework to me.'
"Disposal" form in Bouyei language

Samples from Wangmo Bouyei language:

(13) pu'tla:u4 mi2 kai1 diu3 jinis5 ?da:ya4kau5 piajan2pia1 hau3
    adult not should M. will himself forcibly give
    "Children.
    'Adults shouldn't force their children to accept their will.'

Samples from Zhenning Bouyei language:

(14) ti1 pa4 lsk8 kou1 toun5 tan2 zan2.
    s/he M. son my sent arrive home
    'S/He sent my son back home.'

2.5 Subject + Marker + Direct Object + Verb + Numeral Phrase

Samples from Zhenfeng Bouyei language:

(15) ?au1 ta:n1 kua5 tan5 yon1 ?deu1.
    M. husked rice go over time sieve one
    'Take the husked rice on to the sieve to go over once.'

(16) moun2 diu3 pjak7 kua5 tan5 yian6 ?deu1.
    you M. vegetable go over time balance one
    Please put the vegetable on the balance to weighing.

(17) te1 pa4 lu3 na2 sai1 toun1 t6 leu4.
    he M. rice field plough two time already
    'He has ploughed the rice field twice.'

2.6 Subject + Marker + Direct Object + Verb + Prepositional Phrase + Verb

Samples from Wangmo Bouyei language:

(18) te1 ?au1 mit8 go5 kuan2 din'pan2 pan2.
    s/he M. knife put on millstone sharpen
    'S/he put the knife on the millstone and sharpened it.'

(19) ku1 diu3 fun7 go5 ?daun1 puan2 yuai5.
    I M. hand put inside basin wash
    'I washed my hands in the basin.'
Samples from Zhenfeng Bouyei language:

(20) te¹ ṭau¹ pjək² su⁵ ṭai¹ ṭo⁵ s/he M. vegetable put inside well wash.
    'S/he washed the vegetable in the well.'

Concerning the syntactic structure, the similarity between the "disposal" form
and the serial verb construction is quite obvious, since the markers of the "disposal"
form (which are neutralized from verbs) still refer to specific actions when they appear
in normal "SVO" sentences. Therefore, for some sentences, it is difficult to say whether
they are "disposal" forms or serial verb construction as in the following examples:

Samples from Wangmo Bouyei language:

(21) te¹ ńói³ (?au¹) təai⁵ kai⁵ ńo⁵ ńjam⁵.
    s/he take egg hen put basket
    'S/he took the eggs and put them into the basket.'

(22) te¹ ṭau¹ tsəaⁿphian⁵ ńo⁵ tuⁿa² ku¹.
    s/he take photograph put before me
    'S/he took the photograph and put it before me.'

(23) mun² ṭau¹ ńə:n¹ ńo⁵ la³, ṭau¹ mian⁶ ńo⁵ kən².
    you take husked rice put below, take flour put above
    'Please put the husked rice underneath, and the flour on the top.'

The three examples above are structurally in the "disposal" form but semantically
they are serial verb constructions; this is because in these sentences the components
before and after the "direct object" are all important to the object and neither of them
can be omitted. When we change the sentences into the ba construction, the verb ńoi³
and ṭau¹, which can serve as markers in the "disposal" form must be shifted after the
direct object to form a compound verb with ńo⁵. For example, sentence (21) above can
be changed as follows:

(21a) te¹ pa⁴ təai⁵ kai⁵ ńoi³ (?au¹) ńo⁵ ńjam⁵.
    s/he M. egg hen take put basket
    'S/He put the eggs into the basket.'

but we cannot say:
Another semantic difference between “disposal” forms and the three examples above is that ?au¹ and òiu³ absolutely dominate the noun following - they are the predicative verbs of the sentence. But the predicative verb of the “disposal” construction is the verb following the “direct object.”

The “disposal” form of Bouyei language is quite similar to the ba construction of modern Chinese in sentence structure. However, in modern Chinese, type (2) and type (6) sentences usually appear in poems and fixed phrases only. When they occur in the colloquial language, a function word or a complement of result, etc., must be added after the verb. Sometimes, the verb is reduplicated or an adverbial is added in front of it. For instance, in colloquial Chinese, such sentences as ba shou xi ‘wash hands’, ba che tui ‘push a cart’ are seldom heard - instead people usually say ba shou xi xi ‘wash hands’, ba che tui tui ‘push a cart’.

In the “disposal” construction of the Bouyei language, quite a number of pre-shifted objects have a VO relation with the verb following.

Samples from Wangmo Bouyei language:

(24) ku¹ ma³ òiu³ pai²fun² ku¹ tshuan² hau³ mun² liu⁴.
     I must M. handicraft my hand down give you all
     ‘I will teach you everything I know about handicraft.’ (tshuan² → pai²fun²)

(25) mun² kue⁶ gen² tok⁷ tpu²lau²?
     you M. money lose where
     ‘Where did you lose your money?’ (tok⁷ → gen²)

Samples from Zhenfeng Bouyei language:

(26) ku¹ ?au¹ ?dan¹ lur³sun⁵ te¹ ku³ ?dai¹ ka:m³.
     I M. cls. gun that hide inside cave
     ‘I hid the gun in the cave.’ (ku³ → sun⁵)

(27) mun² pa⁴ òi⁶ sai¹ leu⁴ lur³ pai¹ ke⁴.
     you M. dry land plough finish only then go market
     ‘You cannot go to the market before you have finished ploughing the dry land.’
     (sai¹ → òi⁶)
But in some sentences with kue⁶ as its disposal marker, the direct object does not have a VO relation with the following verb:

(28) ku¹ kue⁶ ?dan¹ tui⁴ te¹ te⁳ pai.
     I   M.   cls. rice bowl that broken part.
            ‘I broke the rice bowl.’ (or I made the rice bowl broken.) (te³ × tui⁴)

(29) mui² ku⁶ pun³ θui¹ ni⁴ wa:i⁶ leu⁴.
     You M. cls. book this broken already
            ‘You have made the book broken.’ (wa:i⁶ × θui¹)

In the two examples above, both te³ ‘break’ and wa:i⁶ ‘torn, broken’ are intransitive verbs which cannot be followed by an object, at least not by a direct object. In some ‘disposal” sentences with ?au¹ as a marker, an OV relation does not necessarily exist between the object and the verb either (see the first two examples in section 2.5 above).

In the “disposal” construction in Bouyei language, there is a limitation on the range of the object; that is, the object must be something which the marker can “dominate.” Native words such as ?au¹, δui³ and kue⁶ can usually only be followed by nouns indicating concrete and small things as their object. In most cases, the things which these nouns indicate should be things that can be carried in the ‘hand’, but sometimes they can exceed this size (e.g. in examples (10) and (11), the object is a personal pronoun te¹ ‘he’). Sometimes, a noun indicating an abstract concept can also be used as an object, e.g. example, (14). However, this sentence is obviously an imitation of Chinese and is not commonly used in spoken Bouyei. The range of the object which the Chinese loan word pa⁴ can dominate is wider than other native words, but most of the objects are also nouns indicating concrete things - only a few of them can be nouns indicating abstract things or concepts.

3. The creation and development of “Disposal” construction

The Bouyei people have not had their own written language since ancient times, so the diachronic evolution of phonetics, grammar and vocabulary in the colloquial Bouyei language cannot be maintained in documents. This is very inconvenient for the researcher when attempting to study the origins and development of the “disposal” form in Bouyei language. However, since the Bouyei language has a genetic relationship with Chinese, the study of the origin and development of ba and jiang construction in modern
Chinese can also be an aid to us in probing the development process of the “disposal” construction in the Bouyei language.

3.1 The *ba* or *jiang* construction in Chinese (also called a “disposal” form) developed from the serial verb construction with *ba* or *jiang* as one of its verbs. According to Wang Li (1980) in the Archaic and early stages of Mediaeval Chinese, i.e. before the seventh century A.D., there was no disposal form. The disposal form was created somewhere between the seventh and eighth century A.D. Guo Xiliang (1985) has mentioned that disposal form is a new sentence pattern that developed in mediaeval times.

Before the appearance of “disposal” form, people used ordinary VO sentences to express the *ba* and *jiang* constructions in the modern language. In ancient documents, *ba* and *jiang* were pure verbs which meant ‘take, carry’ and ‘send, take’ respectively. In the Tang dynasty, in poems or phrases, people used *ba* and *jiang* in such serial verb constructions as “*jiang* (or *ba*) + noun + verb + noun,” but in these serial verb constructions, *ba* and *jiang* were still verbs. Also, in the Tang dynasty, poets often used *ba* in such sentences as “*ba* + noun + verb” in poems which looks very much like a disposal construction but is in fact a kind of compressed sentence in which *ba* is still a verb meaning ‘take’. It is from this construction that *ba* as a marker of the disposal form has developed.

3.2 The origin and developmental process of the “disposal” form in Bouyei language is quite similar to that of the *ba* (or *jiang*) construction in modern Chinese. For instance, like *ba* (or *jiang*) in Chinese, the markers of “disposal” form in Bouyei language *?au*¹, *kuo*⁶ (*ku⁶*), *?iu*³, etc., are all grammaticalized from verbs and all have the function of shifting the direct object to the front of the predicative verb. In modern Bouyei language a sentence pattern with a marker *?au*¹ shifting the direct object to the front of the verb is typical and is also the most common sentence pattern of “disposal” construction. Having done some statistical analysis of the *?au*¹ sentences appearing in the Bouyei religious scriptures (widely distributed throughout Bouyei areas), the writer now has a better understanding of the status of “disposal” form in early Bouyei language.

The Bouyei religious scripture found in Bouyei villages in Zhenfeng county in Guizhou province is called *?wu*¹ *mo*¹ and is chanted by native sorcerers during funeral services or other occasions such as; religious sacrifices, offerings and religious holidays. This kind of scripture has been handed down colloquially from generation to generation by the Bouyei sorcerers. According to some studies, Bouyei scripture began
(approximately) in the Tang or Song Dynasties among the common people. It was then artistically transformed by some sorcerers and gradually developed a pattern. At the end of the Ming dynasty (or the beginning of the Qing dynasty - but not earlier than the Kangxi era of the Qing dynasty) native sorcerers who could read and write Chinese wrote down the Bouyei scripture in Han Chinese square characters. Therefore, one can now in the Bouyei areas easily find hand-written copies of Bouyei religious scripture among the common people, such as \( mo^1 \ ku^6 \text{cie}^3 \) (scripture for funeral procession) in Zhenning County and “Niu Jing Shu” in Huaxi, the suburban area of Guiyang, the provincial capital of Guizhou. As the scripture has mainly been handed down through colloquial speech, phonological differences between different generations appeared. Although sorcerers used Han Chinese square characters to write the texts, the exact phonology of several generations before, or even that of the last generation, could not be precisely determined. However, language has its own aspect of stability, and this kind of stability is mainly manifested in its basic vocabulary and grammatical structure. Compared with basic vocabulary, the evolution of grammatical structure is even slower. The Bouyei scripture was written in rhyming style, which is helpful for retaining its original syntactic structure in the course of teaching and learning. The way people used Han Chinese square characters to write Bouyei language is even more helpful to enhance the stability of its syntactic structure. On the other hand, although the scripture appears in rhyme and is mainly used in funeral activities, most of its contents were created on the basis of folk myths, legends, etc. (e.g. the myth of the deluge). Some texts have drawn their materials from folk love songs, labour songs, etc. In addition to this, as the scripture has a long history of teaching and learning through colloquial use, it is still close to the colloquial language even though it was written in rhyme. Therefore we can say that the \(?au^1\) sentences in the scripture may basically reflect some of the syntactic features of early Bouyei language.

The present writer has done a thorough statistical analysis of the “Mol scripture” found in a Bouyei village in Zhenfeng county in Guizhou province (the Bouyei language here can represent the grammatical features of the first vernacular) and “Niu Jing Shu” found in the suburban area of Guiyang (the Bouyei language here can represent the grammatical features of the second vernacular). Mol scripture has, altogether, some 9,000 lines (or sentences), and 388 lines (or sentences) of them contain \(?au^1\). In “Niu Jing Shu,” which has a total of 5,272 lines, \(?au^1\) appears in 147 lines. In these sentences, \(?au^1\) has mainly the following three grammatical functions:\footnote{In both “Mol Scripture” and “Niu Jing Shu”, there are some sentences in which \(?au^1\) appears at the end. This is a sentences pattern of typical rhyming style and will not be discussed in this paper.}
3.2.1 It is used as a predicative verb or forms a VO construction with a noun to modify another noun in the sentence:

(30) po⁸waŋ² ?au¹ laːi¹ pa², ?au¹ laːi¹ pa² tuŋ⁷ nir⁷.
father King marry many wife, marry many wife each other fight
'The king (father) had many wives, and they usually fight with each other.'
(from "Mol scripture: the King Anwang and the King Zuwang")

?au¹ means 'marry (a woman), take to wife' here.

(31) ja⁹laːu⁴ wi⁵ ?au¹ daːm², pu⁴deŋ² wi⁵ ?au¹ naː⁸.
old woman fan take chaff, young people fan take grain
'Old women fanned for getting the chaff, and young people fanned for getting the grains.' (from "Mol scripture: Jiwung")

?au¹ means 'take, get, want' here.

(32) laːu⁴ paːi⁶ noi⁶ ?au¹ tai⁴, ku¹ paːi⁶ noi⁶
everybody kneel little bit get sacrificial offerings, I kneel little bit

?au¹ tai⁴.
get sacrificial offerings
'Everybody knelt down for a while and got the sacrificial offerings, so I also knelt down for a while and got sacrificial offerings.'
(from "Niu Jing Shu: the Scripture for Starting")

?au¹ means 'take, get, want' here.

(33) tsweŋ¹ pai¹ ?au¹ me⁶ muŋ².
think of go marry mother you
'I have been thinking of marrying your mother.'
(from "Niu Jing Shu: the Scripture for Starting")

?au¹ means 'marry (a woman), take to wife' here.

3.2.2 It is used as a verb in such construction as ?au + ma'(pai') + verb and ?au + noun + ma' (pai') + verb to indicate the way or method of doing things:

(34) ?au¹ ma¹ su⁶ kuŋ² tsia⁵, ?au¹ ma¹ vaŋ⁶ kuŋ² vi².
bring come put on baking frame, bring come lay down on fire
'Bring it back and put it on the baking frame, bring it back and put it on the fire.'
(from "Mol scripture: Entering the Market in the Nether World")
(35) ?au¹ pai¹ su⁵ na² ?wa:m¹ ōau² to⁶,
take go put rice field valley our full,

=?au¹ pai¹ ?dam¹ na² ōon³ ōau² to⁶.
take go plant rice field lower area our complete
'Take them all to put in our rice field in the valley, take them all to plant in our rice field in the lower place.'
(from "Mol Scripture: Redeem the Soul of the Grains")

(36) ?au¹ kau'jeu¹ ma¹ pian⁵ ko'jan¹.
bring green vine come plait tobacco leaves
'Bring the green vine back to plait tobacco leaves.'
(from "Niu Jing Shu: Customary Song: Tobacco Harvesting")

(37) ?au¹ ma¹ hau³ tu¹ zo:n⁶ leu⁴ pi¹.
bring come give we cut whole year
'For all of these, we will have to spend a whole year to cut them.'
(from "Niu Jing Shu: Customary Song: the Song for Celebrating the Birthday of a Child")

3.2.3 It is used in such sentence patterns as ?au¹ + noun + ku⁶ (do) + noun to indicate the means of doing something and is similar to the modern Chinese sentence pattern ba......dangzuo (take something as, look on something as, treat something as). In this construction the meaning of ?au¹ has already been grammaticalized. Between the verb ku⁶ kue⁶ (do) and noun, there is no VO relationship, but they are very close to the "disposal" form in modern Bouyei language, both syntactically and semantically. e.g.:

(38) sa:u⁴ ?au¹ ōam⁴ ku⁶ ka¹, sa:u⁴ ?au¹ ta⁶ ku⁶ ōan².
begin use water do branch, begin use river do family
'Began to divide different branches by the upper and lower reach of the river, began to take river as the home.'
(from "Mol Scripture: Song of Creating Things")

(39) ?au¹ ōin¹?ba:n¹ ku⁶ ŋua⁴.
use stone slice do tile
'Make tiles with stone slices.'
(from "Mol Scripture: King Anwang and King Zuwang")

(40) ?au¹ ku³ma² ku⁶ tai⁴.
use what as sacrificial offering
'What should be used as sacrificial offering?'
(from "Mol Scripture: Redeem the Soul of the Grains")
begin use knife do horn your cattle, begin use alcohol do
liat? mun? ?ia?.
blood your cattle

'People began to use knives as your horns, cattle! Began to use alcohol as your blood.'
(from "Niu Jing Shu")

In "Mol Scripture" in some occasions the noun after ?au? can be omitted.

3.2.4 It appears in such construction as ?au? + noun (or pronoun) + verb + other component parts. This is the "disposal" form in modern Bouyei language. In this construction, ?au? has already been grammaticalized as a preposition, its function is to shift the direct object to the front of the predicative verb. In "Mol Scripture" and "Niu Jing Shu," this kind of sentence can be found, but the proportion is not high, e.g.:

M. rice box elder brother come open

'Let's open the rice box of our elder brother's.'
(from "Mol Scripture: King Anwang and King Zuwang")

M. you go through cave dark

'Let's put you into the dark cave.'
(from "Mol Scripture: Mol Hrencmen!"")

year arid M. rice field plain give him

'He was given the rice fields on the plain in arid years.'
(from "Mol Scripture: Redeem the Soul of the Grains")

ham? ti? jen?.
bury grave here

'We begged not to bury you in this graveyard, then people did not bury you in this graveyard.'
(from "Niu Jing Shu: the Scripture of Exhortation")
(46) tpeai² ?au¹ na² la³ tu¹ hau³ po⁶.
  want M. rice field below door give father
  'I want to give the rice fields near the house to my late father.'
(from "Niu Jing Shu")

As mentioned above, the frequency of use of the "disposal" form in the "Mol Scripture" and "Niu Jing Shu" is not so high, but its appearance shows that this kind of sentence pattern already existed in early Bouyei language. As we cannot find documentary materials for our textual research, therefore, up till now it has been difficult to tell the exact time of the creation of this kind of sentence pattern. However, if the inference that "the Mol scripture originated colloquially in the Tang or the Song dynasties" is reliable, then then "disposal" construction should have already existed in spoken Bouyei at least before the Tang or Song eras.

3.3 ku⁶ appears in 580 lines (sentences) in the Mol scripture. It is mainly used as a verb which means 'do, make'. ku⁶ sometimes appears in serial verb constructions, but only a very few appear in the "disposal" form serving as the marker, e.g.:

(20) me⁶ ku⁶ ?bə:n⁴ ðau² wur², me⁶ ku⁶ su¹ ðau² wa:i⁶.
  mother M. village our deserted, mother M. city our damaged
  'Our mother will make our village deserted, our mother will make our city damaged.'
(from "Mol Scripture: King Anwang and King Zuwang")

There is no difference between this kind of sentence and the "disposal" form with ku⁶ as its marker in modern Bouyei language. From the syntactic structure, we can see that this kind of sentence is basically the same as the ba construction in modern Chinese - but these two are semantically different. On the one hand, there exists a VO relationship between the object of kuə⁶ and the predicate following (in most cases), but kuə⁶ can still be easily regarded as a verb (although it does not indicate a specific action). In addition to this, only verbs such as; te³ 'break', wa:i⁶ 'damage', tok⁷ 'lose', and se¹ 'lose', can be used as predicates in the kuə⁶ construction. Therefore, in a sense the kuə⁶ construction in Bouyei can also be regarded as a kind of sentence pattern lying between the serial verb construction and the "disposal" form.

3.4 The "disposal" form with ðu⁴ as its marker is a newly developed sentence pattern which cannot be found in Bouyei religious scripture. It seems that the development of this kind of sentence pattern was influenced by the ba construction of modern Chinese. Some complicated ba sentences from Chinese can be replaced by "disposal" form with
δiu\(^3\) as the marker. On the basis of the existing materials, we observe δiu\(^3\) sentences only in the Wangmo Bouyei language.

3.5 In the Bouyei language of some areas a “disposal” form, with the Chinese loan word *ba* as its marker is very common. It is going to take or already has taken the place of the “disposal” construction with the native word ?au\(^1\) as the marker. For example, ‘keep the axe well’ can usually be translated into the Zhenfeng Bouyei language as follows:

\[?au\(^1\) va:n\(^1\) ku\(^3\) ?di\(^1\) \quad \text{or} \quad pa\(^4\) va:n\(^1\) ku\(^3\) ?di\(^1\)\]

Most people prefer the latter sentence. One thing that should be mentioned here is that in some places the Chinese *ba* construction can only be expressed by the normal active sentence pattern, i.e. “SVDO” construction, but in the Zhenfeng Bouyei language all of them can be expressed by the *ba* construction from Chinese. For example, the sentence, “Yesterday, he finished ploughing the rice field” is expressed in the Wangmo Bouyei language as:

\[(47a) \, \etaon^2\text{lian^2} \, te^1 \, \deltaai^1 \, na^2 \, liu^4 \, pai. \quad \text{yesterday} \, \text{he} \, \text{plough} \, \text{rice field} \, \text{finish} \, \text{part.}\]

However, in Zhenfeng Bouyei language it is expressed as:

\[(47b) \, \etauan^2\text{lian^2} \, te^1 \, pa^4 \, na^2 \, sai^1 \, leu^4 \, pai. \quad \text{yesterday} \, \text{he} \, \text{M.} \, \text{rice field} \, \text{plough} \, \text{finish} \, \text{part.}\]

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