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 $?au^1$ 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 $?au^1$, $ku\vartheta^6$ as the markers in the "disposal" form. Moreover, besides $?au^1$ and $ku\vartheta^6$, people in Wangmo sometimes use $\eth iu^3$ (grammaticalized from a

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verb which means 'carry, take with one hand'), and people in Pingba use *tu²* (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 ŋon²lian² **kuə⁶**   ɕen²   ɕe¹   liu⁴   pai.
     s/he today   M.   money   lose   all   part.
     'Yesterday s/he lost all her/his money.'

(2) mɯŋ² **ʔau¹**   va:n¹   ʔjau⁴   ʔdi¹.
     You   M.   axe   hide   well
     'Please hide the axe well.'

(3) te¹ **ðiu³** tui⁴   ko³   te¹   ʔduat⁷ 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 ɣɯp⁷ ʔdi¹   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) ŋon²lian² pu⁴laɯ²   **kuə⁶** liam² ɕe¹?
     yesterday who   M.   sickle lose
     'Who lost the sickle yesterday?'

(6) ɱjai³ ðiu³ (ʔau¹)   θa¹   luan⁶   ɕit⁷.
    don't M.   paper arbitrary throw
    'Don't throw paper everywhere.'

Samples from Zhenfeng Bouyei language:

(7) te¹ pu⁴lai² **kuə⁶**   tɯ²ɕi² kɯn²   ɣa: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 **ðiu³**   te¹   ta:ŋ⁵   pu⁴ŋok⁷.
     everybody M.   s/he   regard as simpleton
     'Everybody regards her/him as a simpleton.'

(9) po²ku¹ **ʔau¹** te¹   ta:ŋ⁵   tsui⁵ ʔdi¹   ti¹   lau⁴sɹ¹.
     we   M.   s/he   take as most   good   part. teacher
     'We regard her/him as the best teacher.'

Samples from Zhenfeng Bouyei langauge:

(10) mi²ʔju²⁴ pu⁴lai² **pa⁴**   ku¹   ta:ŋ⁵   tɯ³¹vɯn³¹.
     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) ə⁵ȵaŋ² **ʔau¹** hau⁴liə¹   ŋon²lian²   te¹   θuaŋ⁵ hau³   ðau².
     aunt   M.   leftovers yesterday   that send   to   us
     'Aunt gave us yesterday's leftovers.'

(12) te¹   fi⁶   **ðiu³ (ʔau¹)**   tsuo²ȵi²   tɕiao¹ hau³ ku¹.
     s/he   not   M.   homework   hand in to   me
     'S/he hasn't given her/his homework to me.'

Samples from Wangmo Bouyei language:

(13) pu⁴la:u⁴ mi²   kai¹   **ðiu³**   ji⁵tsɿ⁵   ʔda:ŋ¹kau⁵   tɕhiaŋ²tɕia¹   haɯ³
     adult   not   should   M.   will   oneself   forcibly   give

     ɕi²la:n¹.
     children
     'Adults shouldn't force their children to accept their will.'

Samples from Zhenning Bouyei language:

(14) ti¹   **pa⁴**   lək⁸   kou¹   ɬoŋ⁵   taŋ²   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) **ʔau¹**   θa:n¹   kua⁵   ta:u⁵   ðaŋ¹   ʔdeu¹.
     M.   husked rice go over time   sieve one
     'Take the husked rice on to the sieve to go over once.'

(16) mɯŋ²   **ðiu³**   pjak⁷   kua⁵   ta:u⁵   ɕiaŋ⁶   ʔdeu¹.
     you   M.   vegetable go over time   balance   one
     Please put the vegetable on the balance to weighing.

(17) te¹   **pa⁴**   lɯ³   na²   sai¹   θoŋ¹   to⁶   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   **ʔau¹**   mit⁸   ɕo⁵   kɯn²   ðin¹pan²   pan².
     s/he M.   knife   put   on   millstone   sharpen
     'S/he put the knife on the millstone and sharpened it.'

(19) ku¹   **ðiu³**   fuŋ²   ɕo⁵   ʔdaɯ¹   pɯn²   θuai⁵.
     I   M.   hand   put   inside   basin   wash
     'I washed my hands in the basin.'

Samples from Zhenfeng Bouyei language:

(20) te¹ ?au¹ pjak⁷   su⁵   ?dai¹ ?bo⁵   θua⁶.
     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   ðiu³ (?au¹)   tɕai⁵ kai⁵ ɕo⁵   ?jam⁵.
     s/he   take   egg   hen   put   basket
     'S/he took the eggs and put them into the basket.'

(22) te¹ ?au¹ tsau⁵phian⁵   ɕo⁵ tu¹na³   ku¹.
     s/he take   photograph   put   before   me
     'S/he took the photograph and put it before me.'

(23) muɯŋ² ?au¹   θa:n¹   ɕo⁵ la³,   ?au¹ mian⁶ ɕo⁵   kuɯn².
     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 *ðiu³* and *?au¹*, which can serve as markers in the "disposal" form must be shifted after the direct object to form a compound verb with *ɕo⁵*. For example, sentence (21) above can be changed as follows:

(21a) te¹   pa⁴   tɕai⁵ kai⁵   ðiu³ (?au¹)   ɕo⁵   ?jam⁵.
      s/he   M.   egg   hen   take   put   basket
      'S/He put the eggs into the basket.'

but we cannot say :

(21b)* te¹   ɲa⁴   tɕai⁵   kai⁵   ɕo⁵   ʔjam⁵.
       s/he   M.   egg   hen   put   basket
       'S/He put eggs into the basket.'

Another semantic difference between "disposal" forms and the three examples above is that *ʔau¹* and *ðiu³* 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 **ðiu³** pai²fuŋ² ku¹ tshuan² hau³ muɯŋ² liu⁴.
     I   must M.   handicraft my   hand down give   you   all
     'I will teach you everything I know about handicraft.' (tshuan² → pai²fuŋ²)

(25) muɯŋ² **kuə⁶** ɕen²   tok⁷   tɕɯ²lau²?
     you   M.   money lose   where
     'Where did you lose your money?' (tok⁷ → ɕen²)

Samples from Zhenfeng Bouyei language:

(26) ku¹ **ʔau¹** ʔdan¹ lɯ³suŋ⁵ te¹   kɯ³   ʔdai¹   ka:m³.
     I   M.   cls.   gun   that   hide   inside   cave
     'I hid the gun in the cave.' (kɯ³ → suŋ⁵)

(27) muɯŋ² **pa⁴** ði⁶   sai¹   leu⁴   luɯŋ³   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 → ði⁶)

But in some sentences with *kuə⁶* as its disposal marker, the direct object does not have a VO relation with the following verb:

(28) ku¹ kuə⁶ ʔdan¹ tui⁴   te¹   te³   pai.
     I   M.   cls.   rice bowl   that   broken   part.
     'I broke the rice bowl.' (or I made the rice bowl broken.)(te³ ✕ tui⁴)

(29) muɯŋ² ku⁶   puɯn³   θuɯ¹   ni⁴   wa:i⁶   leu⁴.
     You   M.   cls.   book   this   broken   already
     'You have made the book broken.' (wa:i⁶✕ θuɯ¹)

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 *ʔau¹* 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 *ʔau¹, ðiu³* and *kuə⁶* 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 moderns

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 γau^1, $ku\vartheta^6$ (ku^6), $\eth iu^3$, 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 γau^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 γau^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 θu^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 *mo¹ ku⁶çie³* (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 *ʔau¹* 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 *ʔau¹*. In "Niu Jing Shu," which has a total of 5,272 lines, *ʔau¹* appears in 147 lines. In these sentences, *ʔau¹* has mainly the following three grammatical functions[1]:

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[1]In both "Mol Scripture" and "Niu Jing Shu", there are some sentences in which *ʔau¹* 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) po⁶waŋ² ʔau¹ laːi¹   pa²,   ʔau¹ laːi¹   pa²   tɯk⁷   niŋ³.
    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")

ʔau¹ means 'marry (a woman), take to wife' here.

(31) ja⁶laːu⁴ wi⁵   ʔau¹ ðam²,   pu⁴ðeŋ²   wi⁵   ʔau¹ nat⁸.
    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")

ʔau¹ means 'take, get, want' here.

(32) laːu⁴   paːi⁵   noi⁶   ʔau¹ tai⁴,   ku¹ paːi⁵ noi⁶
    everybody   kneel   little bit get   sacrificial offerings,   I   kneel little bit

    ʔau¹   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")

ʔau¹ means 'take, get, want' here.

(33) tswaŋ¹   pai¹   ʔau¹   me⁶   mɯŋ².
    think of go   marry   mother you
    'I have been thinking of marrying your mother.'
    (from "Niu Jing Shu: the Scripture for Starting")

ʔau¹ means 'marry (a woman), take to wife' here.

3.2.2   It is used as a verb in such construction as ʔau + ma¹(pai¹) + verb and ʔau + noun + *ma¹ (pai¹)* + verb to indicate the way or method of doing things:

(34) ʔau¹ ma¹ su⁵   kɯn² tɕia⁵,   ʔau¹ ma¹   vaːŋ⁶   kɯn² 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) ʔau¹ pai¹ su⁵ na²   ʔwa:m¹ ðau² to⁶,
    take go put rice field   valley our full,

ʔau¹ pai¹ ʔdam¹ na²   ðoŋ³   ðau² 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) ʔau¹ kau¹jeu¹ ma¹   pian⁵ ko¹jan¹.
    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) ʔau¹ ma¹   haɯ³ tu¹ zo:n⁵ 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 ʔau¹ + 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 *ʔau¹* has already been grammaticalized. Between the verb *ku⁶/ kuə⁶* (do) and noun₁, 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 ʔau¹ ðam⁴ ku⁶ ka¹,   sa:u⁴ ʔau¹ ta⁶ ku⁶ ða:n².
    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) ʔau¹ ðin¹ʔba:n¹ ku⁶ ŋua⁴.
    use stone slice do tile
'Make tiles with stone slices.'
(from "Mol Scripture: King Anwang and King Zuwang")

(40) ʔau¹ ku³ma² ku⁶ tai⁴.
    use what as sacrificial offering
'What should be used as sacrificial offering?'
(from "Mol Scripture: Redeem the Soul of the Grains")

(41) ɕa:u⁴ ʔau¹ mit⁸ kuə⁶ kau¹ mɯŋ² ɕiə², ɕa:u⁴ ʔau¹ lau³   kuə⁶
     begin   use   knife do   horn your   cattle, begin use alcohol   do

liat⁸   mɯŋ² ɕiə².
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 *ʔau¹* can be omitted.

3.2.4   It appears in such construction as *ʔau¹* + noun (or pronoun) + verb + other
component parts. This is the "disposal" form in modern Bouyei language. In this
construction, *ʔau¹* 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.:

(42) ʔau¹ ʔbip⁷   pi⁴   ma¹ ya:i¹.
     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")

(43) ʔau¹ mɯŋ²   ʔduan⁴ ka:m³ lap⁷.
     M.   you   go through cave   dark
     'Let's put you into the dark cave.'
     (from "Mol Scripture: Mol Hrencmenl")

(44) pi¹   ðeŋ⁴ ʔau¹ na²   toŋ⁶   ɣai³ te¹.
     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")

(45) θin⁵ mi² ʔau¹ mɯŋ² tsaŋ⁵ ti⁶   jen⁴,   la:i⁵ mi² ʔau¹ mɯŋ²
     beg not M.   you   bury   grave here,   people not M.   you

ham¹   ti⁶   jen⁴.
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) tɕai² ?au¹ na² la³ tu¹ haɯ³ 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 ?ba:n⁴ ðau² wɯ²,   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 ðiə³ 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

ðiu³ as the marker. On the basis of the existing materials, we observe ðiu³ 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 *?au¹* as the marker. For example, 'keep the axe well' can usually be translated into the Zhenfeng Bouyei language as follows:

> **?au¹** va:n¹ kɯ³ ?di¹   or   **pa⁴** va:n¹ kɯ³ ?di¹

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) ŋon²lian²   te¹   ðai¹   na²   liu⁴   pai.
         yesterday   he   plough   rice field   finish   part.

However, in Zhenfeng Bouyei language it is expressed as:

(47b) ŋuan²lian²   te¹   **pa⁴**   na²   sai¹   leu⁴   pai.
         yesterday   he   M.   rice field   plough   finish   part.

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