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► Clausal Integration and the Emergence of Mitigative and Adhortative Sentence-Final Particles in Chinese

小句整合與句末緩和助詞及勸告助詞的產生

doi:10.6519/TJL.2010.8(2).3

Taiwan Journal of Linguistics, 8(2), 2010

臺灣語言學期刊, 8(2), 2010

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頁數/Page: 63-86

出版日期/Publication Date: 2010/09

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**CLAUSAL INTEGRATION AND THE EMERGENCE OF MITIGATIVE
AND ADHORTATIVE SENTENCE-FINAL PARTICLES IN CHINESE***

Foong Ha Yap, Jiao Wang, Charles Tsz-kwan Lam

ABSTRACT

This paper identifies a number of different pathways that give rise to sentence final particles in Chinese. In particular, it focuses on a strategy referred to as ‘clausal integration’. Diachronic evidence is given for the emergence of sentence final particles *er yi yi* and *ye yi yi* in Old Chinese. Additional examples are further provided from Early Modern Chinese and contemporary Chinese to show that the process of clausal integration is a highly robust, recursive process that gives rise to numerous pragmatic markers at the right periphery within the Chinese language, with possible implications for other languages as well.

* This diachronic research is part of a series of studies on stance marking strategies that have been generously supported by the Research Grants Council of the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region, China (General Research Fund 2010-2013, PolyU 551310, “Stance Marking in Asian Languages: Linguistic and Cultural Perspectives”) and earlier grants for pilot research from the Chinese University of Hong Kong (Faculty of Arts Direct Grants 2006-2007 & 2007-2008, “Development of Stance Markers in East and Southeast Asian Languages” and “Diachronic Syntax in East Asian Languages” respectively) awarded to the first author. We also wish to thank our reviewers, and participants at the following conferences for their valuable feedback: Annual Research Forum of the Linguistic Society of Hong Kong (2007); 4th Conference on New Reflections on Grammaticalization (NRG-4), Leuven, Belgium (2008); 2nd International Conference on East Asian Linguistics (ICEAL-2), Vancouver (2008); 17th Annual Conference of the International Association of Chinese Linguistics, Paris (2009). In particular, we wish to express special thanks to Edith Aldridge and Marco Caboara for helpful discussions on particles in Old Chinese.

Key words: clausal integration, sentence final particles, mitigative mood, adhortative mood

1. INTRODUCTION

Previous studies have identified four major pathways for the emergence of sentence-final particles in Chinese. The first pathway involves the grammaticalization of nominalizers, as attested in Mandarin *de* (Yap, Choi & Cheung 2010), Chaozhou *kai* (Xu & Matthews in press), and Cantonese *ge* (Yap & Matthews 2008). The second pathway involves the grammaticalization of verbs that have evolved tense-aspect mood functions, as seen in Mandarin *le* (Wang 1947; Liu 1985; Cao 1987; Huang & Davis 1989; Shi 1990; Liu, Jiang, Bai & Cao 1992; Mei 1994; van den Berg & Wu 2006; Lu & Su 2009). The third pathway involves the grammaticalization of verbs of saying, as evidenced in Taiwanese *kong* (Simpson & Wu 2002), Mandarin *shuo* (Wang, Katz & Chen 2003), and Cantonese *waa* (Chui 1994; Yeung 2006). The fourth pathway involves the integration of evaluative ‘terminal’ clauses as sentence-final particles of the preceding clause, such as Mandarin sentence final interrogative negator *bu* (Wang & Yap 2009; Yap, Lam & Wang 2009). This fourth pathway has received little attention in previous literature and is the focus of the present paper. Two examples of sentence-final particles in Old Chinese are elaborated, namely, *er yi yi* (而已矣) and *ye yi yi* (也已矣). We discuss similarities and differences in the functions of these two particles and, using examples from the Warring States period (475-221 BC), we show how clausal integration contributed to their emergence as sentence final mood particles. Using constructions involving *ba le* (罷了), *hao le* (好了), *suan le* (算了) and *de le* (得了), we further show that clausal integration is still robust in Early Modern and contemporary Chinese.

2. SOME BACKGROUND ON SENTENCE FINAL PARTICLES IN OLD CHINESE

Old Chinese had a number of sentence final particles to express different moods. The lexical origin of many of these particles is unknown. These include interrogative sentence final particle *hu* (乎) in (1), exclamative sentence final particle *zai* (哉) in (2), and assertive sentence final particle *ye* (也) in (3).

(1) 愛之，能勿勞乎？

ai zhi neng wu lao hu
love 3SG¹ can NEG work.hard SFP

‘Can you love anyone without making him work hard?’

(*Lunyu*, 14/7, Warring States)

(2) 仲尼亟稱于水，曰‘水哉，水哉！’

zhong ni ji cheng yu shui yue shui zai
Zhong Ni several.times praise about water say water SFP
shui zai
water SFP

‘More than once Confucius praised water by saying, ‘O water, water!’

(*Mengzi*, 8/18, Warring States)

(3) 吾與汝弗如也

wu yu ru fu ru ye
1SG and 2SG NEG as.good.as SFP

‘Neither of us is as good as (he is).’

(*Lunyu*, 14/9, Warring States)

Some sentence final particles are known to be of verbal or aspectual origin. For example, *yi* (已) was derived from a verb meaning ‘stop, finish’ which later developed into a preverbal marker of perfective aspect

¹ The abbreviations used in this paper are: 1=first person; 2=second person; 3=third person; ASP= aspect marker; FOC= focus marker; GEN=genitive; NEG=negator; NMZ=nominalizer; PRT=particle; Q=interrogative marker; SFP=sentence final particle; SG=singular.

(4) 是亂國已

'One can tell that this is a disordered country.'

(5) 苗則槁矣

'The sprouts had dried up.'

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(6) 勸齊伐燕有諸

quan Qi fa Yan, you zhu

urge Qi attack Yan, be it.Q

‘Is it true that you urged Qi to attack Yan?’

(*Mengzi*, 2A/9, Warring States; Pulleyblank 1995:41)

Pulleyblank claims that *zhu* (諸) was a contraction of two monosyllables *zhi hu* (之乎) into one single syllable. If so, *zhu* would have been derived from a contraction of third person pronoun *zhi* (‘it’) and the interrogative particle *hu*.³ This would explain why the sentence final expression *you zhu* yielded a tag-like question with the meaning ‘is it so?’ Whereas English tag questions retain strong verbal inflections such as tense and number, which makes them phonologically and morphosyntactically more independent of the preceding main clause, the clausal expression *you zhu* in Old Chinese lacked overt expression of verbal inflections and was thus more readily integrated into the preceding clause as a sentence final mood particle. In the present paper, we refer to this process in which evaluative ‘terminal’ clauses are used as mood particles in the preceding clause as *clausal integration*.

Pulleyblank has also identified a number of other complex examples in Old Chinese, including *er yi yi* and *ye yi yi*. These two sentence final particles were relatively productive during the Warring States period, with sufficient tokens from *Lunyu* (Analects) and *Mengzi* (Mencius) to allow us to trace their development.

3. SIMILARITIES BETWEEN *ER YI YI* AND *YE YI YI*

3.1 Function of *er yi yi*

Sentence-final particle *er yi yi* typically conveyed a strong mitigative reading in the sense of ‘just’, ‘only’ or ‘simply’—meaning ‘that’s all there is to it, nothing more’—when referring anaphorically to the situation or event in the

³ *Zhi* could also be the anaphoric demonstrative ‘that’, in which case *you zhu* (< *you zhi hu*) would be interpretable as ‘is that so?’

preceding clause, as in (7). It could also refer to a preceding proposition, as in (8).⁴

- (7) 我竭力耕田，共為子職而已矣。
 wo jie li geng tian gong wei zi zhi
 1SG exhaust strength cultivate field all for son duty
er yi yi
 SFP
 ‘I toil in the fields and all this *simply* as my duty as a son.’
 Lit. ‘I toil in the fields and all this is for my duty as a son, **that’s all**.’
 (Mengzi, 9/1, Warring States)
- (8) 學問之道無他，求其放心而已矣
 xue wen zhi dao wu ta qiu qi fang xin
 learn ask GEN way not.have others seek one’s missing heart
er yi yi
 SFP
 ‘The pursuit of learning is *simply* to recover this missing benevolent heart.’
 Lit. ‘The pursuit of learning is to recover this missing benevolent heart, **that’s all there is to it**.’
 (Mengzi, 11/11, Warring States)

3.2 Function of *ye yi yi*

Sentence final particle *ye yi yi*, on the other hand, yielded a more subtle reading than *er yi yi*. As noted in Pulleyblank (1995:118), *ye yi yi* often conveyed a sense of “new realization on the part of the speaker”, as seen in (9). This interpretation is consistent with the aspectual meaning conveyed by perfective aspect particle *yi yi*.

⁴ The term ‘mitigative’ is here used in the sense of pragmatic weakening or softening (from the Latin word *mitigare* ‘to soften’), with the intention of reducing the appearance of an overly strong tone, be this arrogant, brazen, harsh, hostile, severe, or the like (see also the Merriam-Webster’s Online Dictionary).

(9) 自反而忠矣，

zi fan er zhong yi
self reflect ER polite PRT

其横逆由是也，

qi heng ni you shi ye
he rude unreasonable like that YE

君子曰：此亦妄人也已矣。

jun zi yue ci yi wang ren ye yi yi
gentleman say this indeed wild.and.reckless person PRT

‘(If) one reflects on oneself and finds oneself polite, and someone else is still rude and unreasonable to one, as a gentleman one can say ‘**I realize then** that this person is indeed a wild and reckless fellow.’ / ‘... this person is indeed a wild and reckless fellow **then**.’

(*Mengzi*, 8/28, Warring States; Pulleyblank 1995:19)

Sentence final *ye yi yi* could also convey a sense of resignation, sometimes bordering on the verge of sulkiness, as in (10).

(10) 不曰如之何，如之何者，吾未如之何也已矣。

bu yue ru zhi he ru zhi he zhe wu mo ru zhi
NEG say deal it how deal it how NMZ 1SG NEG deal it

he ye yi yi

how SFP

‘If a man does not continually ask himself, ‘What am I to do about it, what am I to do about it’, I do not know what to do about him **then**.’

(*Lunyu*, 15/16, Warring States; see also Pulleyblank 1995:111)

In sum, sentence final particles *er yi yi* and *ye yi yi* were used to express the speaker’s subjective mood—the former to express mitigation, and the latter to express new realization of a (changed) situation. In the case of *er yi yi*, given its mitigative use, an intersubjective usage could also emerge in the course of dialogic (i.e. conversational) discourse.

4. DIFFERENCES BETWEEN *ER YI YI* AND *YE YI YI*

As noted above, *er yi yi* had a strong mitigative reading, while *ye yi yi* had a more subtle resignation reading. Their differences can be traced back to the different lexical origins of *er* and *ye*.

Er (而) can be traced back to a pronominal use. There is evidence that it was used as third and second person pronouns in Old Chinese, as seen in (11) and (12) respectively.⁵

(11) 何苦而不平

he ku er bu ping

why worry it NEG level.down.to.the.ground

‘Why worry that **it** (= the mountain) cannot be leveled to the ground?’

(*Writings of Lie Zi*, Warring States)

(12) 予豈不知而作

yu qi bu zhi er zuo

1SG how NEG know you do

‘How can I not know that **you** did (it).’

(*Shijing*, Spring & Autumn)

Er was also used as a connective marker, which over time was frequently associated with concessive readings, as in (13) from the Warring States period (475-221 BC). This concessive use of *er* persisted in the sentence

⁵ Not many examples of pronominal uses of *er* were attested in Old Chinese. As seen from (11) above, we have a rare example of third person pronoun *er* from the Warring States period, while from (12) we see an example of second person pronoun *er* from the Spring and Autumn period, which pre-dates the Warring States period. Given the chronological proximity of the two texts, and the rare number of tokens, it is not necessary to infer that the third person pronoun developed as an extension of the second person pronoun. Crosslinguistically, it is often the other way round—see for example the extension of *ya* from third person to second person in contemporary Beijing Mandarin (Zheng, this volume). There also appears to be a similar extension of *-nya* from third person (genitive) pronoun to second person in colloquial Indonesian (Englebretson 2003).

final mood particle uses of *er yi yi*, yielding the mitigative interpretations seen in (7) and (8) above. We elaborate on this further in section 5.1.

- (13) 危而不持，顛而不扶，
wei er bu chi dian er bu fu
 totter but NEG steady fall but NEG support
 則將焉用彼相矣？
ze jiang yan yong bi xiang yi
 then will what use that assistant.of.blind.man SFP
 ‘What use to a blind man is the assistant who does not steady him
 when he totters nor support him when he falls?’
 Lit. ‘(The blind man) totters **but** is not steadied; he falls **but** is not
 supported; then of what use is the blind man’s assistant?’
 (Lunyu, 16/1, Warring States)

Ye (也), as mentioned earlier, was a particle of unknown origin. It was often used as a contrastive topic marker (Zhang 1999) or focus marker (Yue 2004), as in (14).

- (14) 是歲也，狄伐魯
shi sui ye di fa lu
 this year FOC Di crusade.against Lu.
 ‘It is this year that Di crusades against Lu.’
 (Zuo zhuan, B9/30, Warring States)

For this reason, it is not surprising that *ye yi yi* frequently conveyed a contrastive or unexpected position, which Pulleyblank interpreted as ‘a new realization’ on the part of the speaker.

5. CLAUSAL INTEGRATION

We noted earlier in §2 that sentence final particles such as *you zhu* (‘is it so?’) emerged via clausal integration to the preceding clause. That is, a propositional clause describing a situation is followed by an anaphoric

question in tag-like fashion, with the meaning ‘is it [= the situation in the prior clause] thus?’, or ‘is it [= the situation in the prior clause] true?’ In what follows we will show that similar clausal integration was also evident in the evolution of *er yi yi* and *ye yi yi* as sentence final particles in Old Chinese.

5.1 Clausal Integration of *er yi yi*

From ancient texts such as *Mengzi* (or *Mencius*) from the Warring States period, we see evidence of *er yi* (而已) used as a mood particle meaning ‘that’s all’ and often used in the mitigative sense of ‘just’, ‘only’, ‘simply’, or ‘that’s all there is to it’, as in (15). As discussed in §3 earlier, *er* (而) is a concessive connective, arguably with a pronominal origin, and *yi* (已) was a verb meaning ‘stop, finish’. Thus, it appears that *er yi* (而已) may have evolved from a terminative clause expressing speaker’s emphasis on the finality of his preceding statement in the sense of “(but) that’s it; there’s nothing more (to say).” We identify the following structure for this ‘terminal’ clause as follows:

Classical Chinese: Clause-1, Clause-2, *er yi*

English translation: Clause-1, Clause-2, *(but) that’s all / that’s it.*

(15) 君子之事君也，

jun zi zhi shi jun ye,
gentlemen GEN serve king PRT,

務引其君以當道，

wu yin qi jun yi dang dao
must lead his king with correct way

志於仁而已。

zhi yu ren er yi

aim at goodness only

‘When the noble-minded serves the sovereign, he leads him in the right path, aiming at goodness **only / that’s all.**’

(*Mencius*, 12/8, Warring States)

(16) 天不言，以行與事示之，
tian bu yan, yi xing yu shi shi zhi,
 heaven NEG speak, through action and event reveal itself
 而已矣
er yi yi
 SFP (lit. ‘that’s all’)
 ‘Heaven never speaks: it reveals itself **only** through actions and
 events.’
 (Mencius, 9/5, Warring States)

We highlight the clausal integration strategy of *er yi yi* below. Note that anaphoric *er* could either be interpreted as a pronominal subject or as a connective. This ambiguity in the categorical status of *er* contributes to a defocusing of the subject NP in the terminal *er yi yi* clause, and paves the way for this clause to be reinterpreted initially as a parenthetical evaluative clause, and finally as a mitigative sentence final particle that is ‘captured’ (or integrated) into the preceding clause. This involves a process of simplification in which two independent clauses merge into a single intonation unit.

The trigger for this type of clausal integration process is fairly transparent. The independent use of evaluative 'terminal' clauses is

essentially triggered by a strong desire for expressivity (e.g. *er yi yi* ‘(and) that’s it!’ or ‘(but) that’s it!’). Parenthetical use of these evaluative clauses is triggered by a need to balance this desire for expressivity with the need to economize in terms of processing costs. Clausal integration of the evaluative clause into the preceding clause comes about as a result of strong cognitive pressures to routinize the evaluative expression as a pragmatic marker. Such routinization becomes possible when the use of these evaluative expressions occur with sufficient frequency, and is often favored because it has the advantage of retaining tangible traces of the speaker’s mood, while at the same time enhancing the speed of cognitive processing.

5.2 Clausal Integration of *ye yi yi*

Clausal integration of *ye yi yi* involves a similar strategy to that of *er yi yi*, with a slight variation. Whereas *er yi yi* was an evaluative ‘terminal’ clause that was captured (or integrated) into the preceding clause as a sentence final particle, *ye yi yi* comprised of a pre-existing sentence final focus particle *ye* in the preceding clause plus a captured evaluative ‘terminal’ *yi yi* expression. Merger of focus particle *ye* with the captured perfective particles *yi* (*yi*) yielded subjective readings, equivalent to English sentence-final inferential/conclusive adverbial *then*, as shown in (17).⁶

⁶ See Yue (2004) for more discussion of *ye* (也) as a focus marker.

- (17) 日知其所亡，
ri zhi qi suo wu
 everyday know one's SUO not.to.have
 月無忘其所能，
yue wu wang qi suo neng
 every.month NEG forget one's SUO able.to.do
 可謂好學也已矣。
ke wei hao xue ye yi yi
 can call fond.of learning PRT
 ‘(If) everyday one knows something which one did not know before
 and every month one never forgets what one has already known, one
 can be said to be curious to learn **then**.’
 (Lunyu, 19/5, Warring States)

The clausal intergration strategy of *ye yi yi* is highlighted as follows:

Stage 1:	Clause-1	FOC,	Clause-2.
	Clause-1	<i>ye</i> ,	[_ <i>yi</i> (<i>yi</i>)].
	Clause-1	<i>ye</i> ,	[_ finish ASP]
Stage 2:	Clause-1	<i>ye yi (yi)</i> .	
	Clause-1	‘ then ’.	
	Clause-1	SFP .	

Both *er yi yi* and *ye yi yi* involved clausal integration of an evaluative ‘terminal’ expression with a ‘finish’ verb, namely *yi* (已), plus perfective sentence final particle *yi* (矣). Whereas *er yi yi* involved a ‘terminal’ clause with *er* (而) either as an anaphoric pronominal subject or as a concessive connective, *ye yi yi* involved a ‘terminal’ clause with a null subject, attached to sentence-final focus particle *ye* (也) from the preceding clause, yielding a strong emphatic effect.

As seen from Table 1, the mitigative use of *er yi (yi)* continued into Middle Chinese and *er yi* is still productive in contemporary Chinese. Although *ye yi (yi)* emerged around the same time as *er yi (yi)* during the Warring States period, it was far less productive and did not survive beyond

Late Old Chinese. Nevertheless the clausal integration strategy that gave rise to both *er yi yi* and *ye yi yi* is still robust within the Chinese language, as we shall see in the next section.

Table 1. Frequency distribution of *er yi (yi)* and *ye yi (yi)* in some pre-Qin texts

Sentence final particles	Old Chinese Spring & Autumn (SA); Warring States (WS)						Middle Chinese	Modern Chinese
	<i>Shangshu</i> SA	<i>Zuozhuan</i> EarlyWS	<i>Mozi</i> EarlyWS	<i>Lunyu</i> EarlyWS	<i>Mengzi</i> Mid-WS	<i>Hanfeizi</i> LateWS		
<i>er yi</i>	0	34	10	1	4	8	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
<i>er yi yi</i>	0	0	11	12	57	19	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	
<i>ye yi</i>	0	20	0	7	0	0		
<i>ye yi yi</i>	0	0	0	8	1	0		

6. PARALLEL DEVELOPMENTS IN EARLY MODERN CHINESE

Though not very productive, *yi yi* (已矣) could occur independently without a subject in Old Chinese, as seen in (18). Like both *er yi (yi)* and *ye yi (yi)*, it could also be used as a sentence final particle when integrated into the preceding clause, as seen in (19).

- (18) 已矣乎
 yi yi hu
 finish ASP/PRT SFP
 ‘That’s it! (I should give up.)’ (Lunyu, 5/27, Warring States)

- (19) 賜也，始可與言《詩》已矣
 ci ye shi ke yu yan shi yi yi
 Ci PRT begin can with talk SHI (Book of Odes) PRT
 ‘Ci, (I) can start to talk about the Book of Odes with you **then!**’
 (Lunyu, 1/15, Warring States)

This use of *yi yi* (已矣) in sentence final position in Old Chinese is very similar to the sentence final particle *ba le* (罷了) in Early Modern Chinese, and they share the same clausal integration strategy. *Ba* (罷) is also a verb meaning ‘stop, finish’, while *le* (了) is a sentence final perfect(ive) particle. Much like *yi yi* in Old Chinese, *ba le* in Modern Chinese could be used either independently as a single clause, as in (20), or it could be integrated into the preceding clause, as in (21).

- (20) 罷了!
ba le
 finish ASP/SFP
 ‘That’s it! (I should give up.)’

- (21) 讓他慢慢走罷了
rang ta man man zou bale
 let 3SG slowly slowly walk SFP
 ‘**Just** let him walk slowly.’

(*Xi You Ji*, Ming Dynasty)

Like mitigative *er yi*, sentence final *ba le* continues to be productive in contemporary Chinese. Some scholars consider sentence final *ba le* and *er yi* as having the same meaning and function (e.g. Lu 2001; Yang 1981). However, the two forms are not always interchangeable (Fang 2006), with *ba le* being more restricted to spoken language and *er yi* to written language. Moreover, given the mitigative reading associated with concessive connective *er*, the use of sentence final *er yi* often anticipates that the hearer may be expecting something more to the situation, as seen in (22), while *ba le* does not have this function, as seen in (23).

- (22) 爸爸不想吃而已
ba ba bu xiang chi er yi
 Father NEG want eat SFP
 ‘Father does not want to eat, **(but) that’s all.**’ (The hearer may have expected that Father also does not want to sleep.)

- (23) 爸爸不想吃罷了
ba ba bu xiang chi bale
 Father NEG want eat SFP
 ‘Father does not want to eat, **that’s all.**’

7. PARALLEL DEVELOPMENTS IN CONTEMPORARY CHINESE

Similar clausal integration can also be seen in contemporary Chinese. This mechanism takes advantage of high frequency expressive clauses, often very short in length, and very light (i.e. greatly reduced) phonetically, such that it can be easily integrated into the preceding clause, to which it adds a distinctive epistemic, evaluative, or attitudinal interpretation. In this section, we will elaborate on some examples from contemporary Mandarin.

7.1 *Hao le* as Pragmatic Softener

Clausal integration appears to be a highly robust means for forming sentence final mood particles in Chinese. Here we examine another example, this time involving the development of judgmental ‘terminal’ clause *na jiu hao le* (‘That then is good’) into an adhortative sentence final particle *hao le* which signals a strong sense of encouragement and urging on the part of the speaker toward the hearer.

Lexically, *hao* (好) is an evaluative adjective meaning ‘good’. Pragmatically, or socio-interactively, it could be used in an A-not-A construction (i.e. *hao bu hao* ‘is it okay?’, literally ‘good-not-good’ with or without rising interrogative prosody), often with the intention of seeking other’s opinion or advice, as in (24), or with the intention of seeking other’s agreement or cooperation. It is also often used to express the speaker’s subjective opinion, as in (25), where *hao* is used within a comparative construction to suggest a ‘better’ course of action.

- (24) 你去幫他好不好
ni qu bang ta hao bu hao
 you go help 3SG good NEG good
 'Is it OK that you go help him?'
- (25) 你去幫他比較好
ni qu bang ta bi jiao hao
 you go help 3SG comparatively good
 'It's better that you go help him.'

Of particular interest to us here is another solicitation strategy involving *hao*, which takes the form of evaluative 'terminal' clause *na jiu hao le* ('that then would be good'), as seen in (26) below. The effect of this evaluative clause is a weak suggestion from the speaker to the hearer. Note, crucially, that this clause *na jiu hao le* can follow the main proposition *ni qu bang ta* without an intervening pause, indicating that the combined expression *ni qu bang ta na jiu hao le* falls within a single intonation unit. Such usage indicates that the two clauses have been integrated as one, with the evaluative 'terminal' clause now reinterpreted as a sentence final modal expression.

- (26) 你去幫他那就好了
ni qu bang ta na jiu hao le
 you go help 3SG that then HAO LE
 'It would be good if you go help him.'
 Lit. 'You go help him and that would be good.'

The above expression can be further reduced as in (27), by eliding the anaphoric pronoun *na* ('that').

- (27) 你去幫他就好了
ni qu bang ta jiu hao le
 you go help 3SG then HAO LE
 'It would be good if you go help him.'
 Lit. 'You go help him and then (it) would be good.'

As seen in (28), further ellipsis within the sentence final modal expression leaves behind simply *hao le* serving as a sentence final particle, with a strong adhortative meaning, indicating that the speaker is urging or encouraging the speaker into a course of action.

- (28) 你去幫他好了
ni qu bang ta hao le
 you go help 3SG HAO LE
 ‘It is best that you go help him.’

7.2 Constructions Similar to *Hao le*

A similar type of clausal integration is attested in other constructions such as *suan le* and *de le*. Like *hao le*, these two also have adhortative meaning, as highlighted from (29) to (31).

- (29) 你去幫他**那就算/得了**
ni qu bang ta na jiu {suan/de}
 2SG go help 3SG that then count/acquire (i.e. succeed/be.okay)
le
 ASP/PRT
 ‘You go help him, **and that then will be okay.**’
- (30) 你去幫他**就算/得了**
ni qu bang ta jiu {suan/de}
 2SG go help 3SG then count/acquire (i.e. succeed/be.okay)
le
 ASP/PRT
 ‘You go help him, **then it’ll be okay.**’
- (31) 你去幫他**算了/ 得了**
ni qu bang ta {suan le / de le}
 2SG go help 3SG PRT
 ‘You go help him.’ (adhortative reading)

Although *cheng le* and *xing le* are structurally very similar with *hao le*, *suan le*, and *de le*, as seen in (32) and (33), they cannot be integrated into the preceding clause as a sentence final particle, as highlighted by asterisks in (34). A possible reason is that *(na jiu) cheng le* and *(na jiu) xing le* do not occur with as high frequency as *(na jiu) hao le* nor *(na jiu) suan le* and *(na jiu) de le*. Another possible reason why *xing le* is infelicitous as an adhortative particle is that *xing le* is already used for other pragmatic functions, often conveying a sense of accomplishment ('It's done/ It's finished'), or acknowledging comprehension and acceptance to a certain degree ('I got it').⁷

(32) 你去幫他那就成/行了

ni qu bang ta na jiu cheng/xing le
 2SG go help 3SG that then succeed/be.okay ASP/PRT
 'You go help him, **and that then will be okay.**'

(33) 你去幫他就成/行了

ni qu bang ta jiu cheng/xing le
 2SG go help 3SG then succeed/be.okay ASP/PRT
 'You go help him, **then it'll be okay.**'

⁷ *Xing!* or *Cheng!* typically means *Okay!* as in (i) below. With perfect(ive) *le* added, *Xing le* or *Cheng le* generally means 'It's done / It's finished' as in (ii). In contexts such as (iii), both *xing/cheng* and *xing le / cheng le* can mean 'I got it'.

(i) A: Can you do me a favor?

B: *Xing!* / *Cheng!* (= 'Sure!') Note that we cannot say *xing le / cheng le*

(ii) A: How is your application?

B: *Xing le.* / *Cheng le.* (= 'It's done. / It's finished.') Note that we cannot say *Xing!* / *Cheng!*

Both *xing/cheng* and *xing le / cheng le* can also be used to mean "I got it" or "Fine" or "Okay", and when used repeatedly, as in (iii), can imply impatience as in 'Enough, enough'.

(iii) *Xing xing xing / Cheng cheng cheng* ('I got it')

Xing le, xing le / Cheng le, cheng le. ('I got it')

- (34) 你去幫他*成了/*行了
 *ni qu bang ta *cheng le / *xing le*
 2SG go help 3SG PRT
 ‘You go help him.’ (adhortative reading not possible)

8. SUMMARY

In this paper we have seen that clausal integration is a simple and robust process of creating sentence final particles that capture subtle nuances of speaker mood, such subtlety emerging from the retention of certain semantic features associated with the source morphemes. Ellipsis of redundant (often contextually retrievable) forms within the evaluative ‘terminal’ clause plays an important role in facilitating the process of clausal integration. This includes elision of the subject (hence null subject) in the parenthetical evaluative ‘terminal’ clause. Structurally, the sentence final position of the particle plays a crucial role as well, since the particle is then ideally positioned to host the sentence final prosody associated with the speaker’s mood. We have seen evidence of sentence final particles emerging via clausal integration in Old Chinese in the form of *er yi yi* and *ye yi yi*. This strategy is also found to be operative in Early Modern Chinese in the form of sentence final particle *ba le* and in contemporary Chinese sentence final expressions such as *hao le*, *suan le* and *de le*. Crucially, the integration of these sentence final particles into the preceding clause results in a monoclausal construction that forms one single intonation unit, suggesting that they have been integrated into the preceding clause and reanalyzed as its sentence final mood particle. Clausal integration is a robust mechanism that gives rise to syntactic reanalysis. We have shown here that it is also productive in the formation of pragmatic markers indicative of speaker mood or stance. This robust strategy is not unique to the Chinese language—it is attested in Austronesian languages such as Malay, for example. Clausal integration may prove to be a robust strategy crosslinguistically, albeit deployed to varying degrees across different languages.

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Clausal Integration and the Emergence of Sentence Final Particles

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小句整合與句末緩和助詞及勸告助詞的產生

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本文提出了漢語中產生句末助詞的不同途徑，並集中討論「小句整合」的策略。本文採用了古漢語中「而已矣」及「也已矣」的歷時證據。本文進一步提供早期現代漢語和當代漢語的例子，以證明小句整合的過程非常強大並具有遞歸性。此過程產生了中文裡許多句子右端的語用標記，對其他語言亦有一定意義。

關鍵字：小句整合，句末助詞，緩和語氣，勸告語氣