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.

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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) 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) 爱之，能勿勞乎？
   *ai zhi neng wu lao hu*
   love 3SG\(^1\) can NEG work hard SFP
   ‘Can you love anyone without making him work hard?’
   *(Lunyu, 14/7, Warring States)*

(2) 仲尼亟称于水，曰‘水哉，水哉！’
   *zhong ni ji cheng yu shui yue shui zai*
   Zhong Ni several times praise about water say water SFP
   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* (矣) was derived from a verb meaning ‘stop, finish’ which later developed into a preverbal marker of perfective aspect.

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\(^1\) 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.
(Pulleyblank 1995:115). Yi (已) also further developed into a sentence final aspect particle after verbless noun predicates to imply a change in knowledge, as seen in (4).

(4) 是亂國已
   shi luan  guo yi
   this disordered country SFP
   ‘One can tell that this is a disordered country.’
   (Xunzi, 10/89, Warring States; Pulleyblank 1995:19)

As seen in (5), Old Chinese had another sentence final aspect particle yi (矣) following verbal predicates (Pulleyblank 1995:19).

(5) 苗則槁矣
   miao ze  gao yi
   sprout then dry up SFP
   ‘The sprouts had dried up.’
   (Mengzi, 2A/2, Warring States; Pulleyblank 1995:117)

In addition to these well-known sentence final particles in Old Chinese, Pulleyblank (1995) also identifies a class of complex sentence final particles such as you zhu (有諸), as shown in (6).

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A reviewer pointed out that, based on sentences like (4) above, where one finds almost without exception either ye (也) or yi (矣) following the predicate nominal, Pulleyblank (1995:19) has argued that yi (已) in these usages is not the word meaning ‘to finish’ but a fusion of 也+y矣. This argument is stated more explicitly in his 1994 paper “Aspects of Aspect in Classical Chinese”. Here we maintain that sentences such as (4) above can terminate with either focus/assertive particle ye (也) independently of other sentence final particles, or it could terminate with TAM markers such as perfective sentence final particles yi (已) or yi (矣), the latter occurring with higher frequency, apparently due in part to its more grammaticalized status. Our contention here is that when all three morphemes—ye (也), yi (已) and yi (矣)—co-occur in sequence, yi (已) retains the more lexical interpretation, with the meaning ‘stop, finish’ often still available, while yi (矣) serves the more grammatical perfective aspect function. In Modern Chinese, yi (已) has largely replaced yi (矣) as the perfective sentence final particle.
Clausal Integration and the Emergence of Sentence Final Particles

(6) 勸齊伐燕有諸

quan Qi fa Yan, you zhu
urge Qi attack Yan, be it.
‘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. 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

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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).
Clausal Integration and the Emergence of Sentence Final Particles

(9) 自反而忠矣，
    zi fan er zhong yi
    self reflect ER polite PRT
其橫逆由是也，
    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 yi 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，吾末如之何也已矣。
    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) 何苦而平
he ku er bu ping
‘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).
Clausal Integration and the Emergence of Sentence Final Particles

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 crusades 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,

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)*
Clausal Integration and the Emergence of Sentence Final Particles

Given its emphatic and evaluative reading, and given its terminal position in a series of clauses, *er yi (而已)* could easily be reanalyzed as a sentence-final particle. As seen in (16), *er yi (而已)* could also be accompanied by another perfective mood particle *yi (矣)* to yield the more complex string *er yi yi (而已矣)*.

(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 intergration 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.

Stage 1: Clause-1, Clause-2, Clause-3.

Stage 2: Clause-2 + SFP.

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 yì yì ‘(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 yì yì

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

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6 See Yue (2004) for more discussion of ye (也) as a focus marker.
Clausal Integration and the Emergence of Sentence Final Particles

(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 ye, [ _ yi (yi) ].
Clause-1 ye, [ _ finish ASP]

Stage 2: Clause-1 ye yi (yi).
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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sentence final particles</th>
<th>Old Chinese</th>
<th>Middle Chinese</th>
<th>Modern Chinese</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Spring &amp; Autumn (SA)</td>
<td>Warring States (WS)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Shangshu EarlyWS</td>
<td>Zuozhuan EarlyWS</td>
<td>Menczi EarlyWS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>er yi yi</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>er yi</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ye yi</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ye yi yi</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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
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！**  
\[ba \ le\]  
‘That’s it! (I should give up.)’

(21) **讓他慢慢走罷了**  
\[rang \ ta \ man \ man \ zou \ bale\]  
‘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 does not want to eat, (but) that’s all.’ (The hearer may have expected that Father also does not want to sleep.)
Foong Ha Yap, Jiao Wang & Charles Tsz-kwan Lam

(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.
Clausal Integration and the Emergence of Sentence Final Particles

(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) 你去帮他好了
    *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) 你去帮他那就算/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) 你去帮他就算/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) 你去帮他算了/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’)
Foong Ha Yap, Jiao Wang & Charles Tsz-kwan Lam

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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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