Research article
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Conditional clauses in Old Uyghur translations of Chinese Buddhist texts

Abstract: In the Old Uyghur language, conditional clauses are primarily encoded by the conditional mood marker *-sAr,* which does not convey explicit temporal meaning. As the Old Uyghur language evolved, a variety of conditional forms began to be used in conditional clauses, along with tense and mood markers in main clauses, to convey real, hypothetical, and counterfactual meanings. In the Old Uyghur translations of Chinese Buddhist texts, conditional clauses predominantly express realistic conditions, and the predicates of the main clauses are generally coded with the aorist suffix *-(V)r/ -yUr.* The main clause is largely declarative, and it may also express a variety of moods through distinct syntactic devices. Furthermore, given that Chinese Buddhist texts are an important source for Old Uyghur Buddhist literature, certain features of Chinese conditional clauses have influenced Old Uyghur, resulting in adaptive code-switching driven by contact-induced factors. Therefore, this paper primarily focuses on examining the syntactic structures of conditional clauses, conducting semantic comparisons, and exploring the impact of linguistic contact between these two languages, with the aim of elucidating various manifestations of these contact effects at the syntactic level.

Keywords: conditional clauses, Old Uyghur, Buddhist Chinese, language contact

1 Introduction

Conditional clauses are considered to be a main type of adverbial clauses from a functional point of view. The traditional definition of conditional clauses is that the occurrence of the protasis (dependent clause) is the condition for the realization of the apodosis (main clause) (Kortmann 1997, Thompson, Longacre & Hwang 2007, Hetterle 2015). In general, conditional clauses are indicated by subordinating morphemes; for example, Buddhist Chinese uses 若 (*ruò*) 'if' to mark the condition and also employs some compound circumstructures such as 若...者 (*ruò ... zhě*) or 若...时 (*ruò ... shí*) 'if', while the sequential morpheme 则 (*zé*) 'then' appears in the apodosis. As for sentence structure, in languages such as Chinese and Turkic languages, conditional clauses generally precede the main clause, exhibiting a linear distribution. However, this does not mean that the sequence of the two clauses is fixed, nor does it imply that the components used to identify the clauses are mandatory.

In Old Uyghur, predicates of the conditional clauses are coded by the conditional mood marker *-sAr* to indicate realistic or unrealistic conditional meanings.[1] The conditional marker *-sAr* takes personal markers of the possessive type, signaling the first argument of the conditional clauses. Additionally, the aspect-tense meanings are reduced from the conditional clauses, so that such distinctions can be inferred from the independent predicates. See:

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[1] It should be noted that Old Uyghur features a conditional sentence whose surface structure resembles a basic conditional construction but that conveys no actual condition. Erdal (2004) terms this *correlative relativization.* A comparable structure is also present in Buddhist Chinese, as will be discussed in detail in Section 5.

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Bir[ök]	*tsuilug ämgäklig*	*tïnlɣ-ag*	*umugsuz ïnagsïz*	*kïl-ïp*	*ig-in-tä*
CONJ	sinful and suffering	being-ACC	hopeless[2]	do-CONV	illness-POSS.3-LOC

ozgur-u	*u-ma-**sar-m(ä)n**,*	*maŋa*	*ymä*	*tirig öz*	*nägülük*	*ol?*
save-CONV	be.able-NEG-COND-1SG	I.DAT	also	life	what	COP

'If I make (this) sinful and suffering being hopeless and I cannot save (him) from his illness, what good is life to me?'

Erdal (2004: 494–499) provides a comprehensive description of conditional clauses in Old Turkic languages and highlights specific characteristics of the conditional clauses in Old Uyghur. Our analysis will examine the structural and semantic features of conditional clauses in Old Uyghur, focusing in particular on the Old Uyghur literature translated from Chinese Buddhist texts.

To provide readers with a comprehensive overview of Old Uyghur conditional clauses, this study aims to analyze the syntactic structures and diversity of Old Uyghur conditional clauses by counting the frequency of three key parameters across different texts: predicates of the conditional clauses, conjunctions in conditional clauses, and sequential markers in the main clauses. The selected texts are Old Uyghur Buddhist texts translated from various original languages and dating from different historical periods.

In theory, different combinations of these parameters could exhibit the diversity of the surface syntactic structures of conditional clauses, based on the underlying logic of Old Uyghur conditional clause encoding (see Table 1). However, a parallel comparison with the original languages revealed a regular correspondence between the syntactic structures of the original Chinese conditional sentences and their Old Uyghur equivalents. Moreover, as a result of contact with Chinese, the use of markers in the main clause of Old Uyghur conditional clauses became more frequent, reflecting the double-marking strategy of Chinese complex sentence encoding, where both the dependent and main clauses use syntactic markers. This pattern was also found in adverbial clauses of concession and in conjunctive complex sentences.

Finally, the research has aimed to enhance the understanding of the Old Uyghur conditional clause system and its place in Turkic linguistic history through parallel comparative analysis of Chinese and Old Uyghur conditional clauses. This has focused on the following aspects: the possible origins of several atypical conjunctions and structures in Old Uyghur conditional complex sentences, and the impact of language contact on the historical development of Old Uyghur. The data in Table 1 originates from four texts. These were selected based on their original languages, translation periods, and different revisions of the same text. The four texts are as follows: (*i*) Mait-H, the Hami version of *Maitrisimit* translated from Tocharian (Geng 2008); (*ii*) *Säkiz Yükmäk*, the earliest Buddhist text translated from Chinese with four different revisions (Oda 2015); (*iii*) Suv, an extensive Buddhist text translated from Chinese (Kaya 1994, 2021); and (*iv*) *Guruyoga*, a Tantric Buddhist text translated from Tibetan (Kara & Zieme 1977).

This paper is organized as follows: the syntax of the conditional clauses is studied in Section 2, while the semantics of the conditional clauses are described in Section 3. The conjunctions used in conditional and main clauses are outlined in Section 4. The correlative relativization is pointed out in Section 5. The concessive clause is analyzed in Section 6. The focus of Section 7 is the language contact between Buddhist Chinese and Old Uyghur. Finally, Section 8 provides the conclusions.

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2   A subscript 2 in the translations signifies *hendiadys* (Gr. *hen dia dyoin*, referring to a rhetorical word pair) in the Old Uyghur original.

Table 1: Coding of conditional and main clauses in various Old Uyghur Buddhist texts

Coding of conditional and main clauses		Mait-H	Säkiz Yükmäk			Suv.[3]	Guruyoga
			I.a[4]	I.b[5]	II.c[6]		
Predicates of the conditional clauses	*-sAr*	11	13	12	7	26	14
	ärsär					15	5
	bolsar					1	2
Conjunctions in conditional clauses	*birök*		2	2	3	37	
	birökči[7]						2
	qačan	1				1	1
	qačan birök	1				1	
	qaltï birök					1	
	apam					2	
Sequential markers in the main clauses	*temin ök*	2					
	ötrü	3	1	1	6	55	
Total		**18**	**16**	**15**	**16**	**139**	**24**

2 The syntax of the conditional clauses

Typical Old Uyghur conditional clauses are encoded by the conditional mood marker *-sAr* or the conditional copula *ärsär*, added to nominals. The conditional mood does not indicate tense meaning, so the predicate of the protasis is unmarked for relative or absolute tense. To specify the time of the event referred to in the conditional clause, a combination of participles with *ärsär* can be employed. Meanwhile, to maintain the personal consistency of the subject in the clause, the clause assumes that different forms of person markers can appear after the conditional mood, as shown in the following example:

(2) Mait-H. 10b/11-15 Geng 2008: pp. 340–341

*arïg-da simäk-dä   är-ip   burhan kutï-n   bul-**sar-mn**,   yana   siz-lär-ni*
forest₂-LOC   AUX-CONV   Buddhahood-ACC   obtain-COND-1SG   again   you-PL-ACC

istä-yü   kör-gäli   käl-gäy-[mn].   säkiz türlüg tüzün yol   ay-u   ber-gäy-mn.
seek-CONV   see-CONV   come-OPT-1SG   Eightfold Noble Path   tell-CONV   give- OPT-1SG

'If I obtain Buddhahood in the forest, I will come again to seek and visit you. I will explain (to you) the Eightfold Noble Path.'

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3 There are 144 cases of conditional clauses in the original Chinese text of *Sutra of Golden Light*. Among the corresponding translations in Old Uyghur, one case is mutilated, two are translated as declarative sentences, and one is translated as a causative clause. Furthermore, in one case, the temporal subordinator 时 (*shí*) 'when' is translated as a temporal compound converb *-mIšDA*, which forms *birök -mIšDA, ötrü…* together with the conditional conjunction *birök* and the main clause marker *ötrü*. If there is no Chinese counterpart, this structure in the Old Uyghur translation will easily lead to ambiguity, and it is difficult to render the conditional semantics, so we do not take this example into account here.

4 There are four different Chinese versions of *Säkiz Yükmäk*, some of which are complete and others incomplete. A total of 17 conditional clauses are found across these versions; however, the conditional clauses in version II.d are incomplete and therefore not included in this count.

5 There are 17 cases of conditional clauses in the original Chinese text, one of which is mutilated in the corresponding Old Uyghur translation and one that is translated as a declarative sentence.

6 There are a total of 17 cases of conditional clauses in the original Chinese text, and one translation is missing in the corresponding Old Uyghur translation.

7 The use of the conjunction *birökči* is mostly found in Old Uyghur tantric (tantric Buddhism) literature, and the Chaghatay literature retains this pattern of conjunctive constructions, e.g. *garči, ägärči* (cf. Johanson 2021: 923).

The copula *bol-* can also combine with *-sAr* to form a conditional copula; however, *är-* is more commonly observed. Various types of conjunctions may optionally appear at the beginning of conditional clauses (cf. Erdal 2004: 496–497). The correspondence between these conjunctions and their Chinese counterparts will be discussed in Section 4.

The coding of conditional clauses in Old Uyghur Buddhist literature exhibits notable diversity, particularly in the increasing frequency of conjunctions in these clauses. The presence of these conjunctions makes the interpretation of conditional meaning more explicit at the syntactic level. Additionally, from a translational perspective, these conjunctions are effectively in one-to-one correspondence with their counterparts in the original Chinese text. These factors may have contributed to the growing use of conjunctions. Typical conjunctions found in conditional clauses include *birök* 'if, however', *qačan* 'when, if', and *qaltï* 'for instance, if', which can appear alone or in combination. However, since the expression of conditional meaning is primarily achieved by the conditional mood marker *-sAr*, these conjunctions must co-occur with it and cannot independently convey conditional meaning (see Johanson 2021: 918).

Another notable point is that sequential markers appearing at the beginning of the apodosis became more prominent, strengthening the connection between the dependent clause and the main clause. In earlier translations from Tocharian, *temin ök* was predominantly used, while in translations from Buddhist Chinese, *ötrü* 'then, thereafter' was adopted. These markers generally correspond to the Chinese main clause markers 則 (*zé*) and 即 (*jí*) 'then', and they gradually became standardized, likely under the influence of Chinese.

3   The semantics of the conditional clauses

In this paper, the semantic distinction of the conditional clauses is drawn between *reality* and *unreality* conditional clauses, a classification based on the work of Givón (1990) and Thompson, Longacre and Hwang (2007). The crucial distinction between the two types of clauses lies in whether the propositions expressed in the conditional clauses "have truth value". In other words, if the event referred to in the protasis occurs, then the event in the apodosis will also occur. We therefore argue that propositions expressed in reality conditional clauses possess truth value. Unreality conditional clauses, however, do not have a truth value reading; they refer to "unreal" situations and are typically interpreted as counterfactual or imaginary events.

Reality conditionals can be classified into real present, habitual/generic, or past situations. In Old Uyghur, the conditional mood marker *-sAr* does not convey temporal meaning, and the expression of reality conditionals occurs in two ways: (*i*) in main clauses, where the aorist marker *-(V)r/-yUr*[8] denotes real present and habitual events; (*ii*) in conditional clauses, where the expression is formed by combining participles with a conditional copula. For instance, *-(V)r/-yUr ärsär* indicates real present and habitual events, while *-mIš ärsär* signifies past situations. For unreal conditions, the conditional clause typically employs *-dI ärsär*, with the main verb suffix *-dI* followed by *ärti* (Erdal 2004: 497). In contrast, Buddhist Chinese lacks distinct temporal distinctions, and the meaning of conditional sentences is contingent upon the context. Interestingly, Buddhist Chinese occasionally uses the volitional verb 欲 (*yù*) 'to want', 'to require' in conditional clauses to enhance the interpretation of conditionality, with the corresponding Old Uyghur form being *-AyIn tip küsä-* or *-GAlI küsä-*, as seen in example (3):

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8   The aorist has a few variations, such as *-Ar, -Ir, -Ur, -yUr,* and *-r* depending on the stem endings. In this paper, we use the forms *-(V)r* and *-yUr* to refer to all the variations.

(3a) Chi-Suv. T16, no. 665, 卷 3: 414b22-24

若<u>欲</u>生豪貴婆羅門種、剎帝利家，及轉輪王七寶具足，亦應懺悔，滅除業障。

Ruò <u>*yù*</u> *shēng háo guì pó luó mén zhǒng, chà dì lì jiā, jí zhuǎn lún wáng qī bǎo jù zú, yì yīng chàn huǐ, miè chú yè zhàng.*

'If one wishes to be born into a noble or wealthy Brahmin caste, a Kshatriya family, or to become *Cakravartī* monarch complete with the seven treasures, one must repent and eliminate karmic obstacles.'

(3b) OU-Suv. Ⅲ. 8b. 142/3-11

Üstünki yeg	*uγuš-ta tüz-tä*	*braman-lar*	*uγuš-ïn-ta*	*bäg-lär*	*uγuš-ïn-ta*
noble	caste₂-LOC	Brahmin-PL	caste-POSS.3-LOC	nobleman-PL	caste-POSS.3-LOC
*tuγ-**ayïn***	*ulatï*	*yeti*	*ärdini-kä*	*tükällig*	*čakiravart elig χan*
be.born-VOL.1SG	and	seven	treasure-DAT	completeness	*Cakravartī* king
*bol-**ayïn***	***tep***	***küsä-sär***	*ymä*	*ök*	*ökün-mäk* *yalvar-maq-lïγ*
become-VOL.1SG	QUO	want-COND.3SG	also	PTCL	repent-VN beg-VN-DER
kšanti	*qïl-maq-lïγ*	*arïγ süzök*	*sav*	*üzä*	*ayïγ qïlïnčlïγ* *kkir-i-n tabča-sï-n*
confession	do-VN-DER	purity₂	word	above	sin stain₂-POSS.3-ACC
arït-ï	*yu-mïš arït-mïš*	*k(ä)rgäk.*			
eliminate-CONV	clean₂-PTCP	necessity			

'If one wishes to be born into a noble Brahmin caste, a nobleman (*Kṣatriya*) caste, and to become *Cakravartī* monarch complete with the seven treasures, it is also necessary to eliminate and cleanse one's stains of sin through purity, repentance, practice, and words.'

In context, depending on the speaker's attitude, the main clause may express assertion, command, wishes, necessity, etc. The independent predicates can be encoded differently based on the semantics and pragmatics of the complex sentences: (*i*) the main predicates can be formed with the aorist *-(V)r/ -yUr* to express a declaration or assertion; (*ii*) the main predicates can take the imperative or optative mood *-GAy* to convey an order, request or volition, corresponding to the modal verb 當 (*dāng*) 'should' and the light verb 令 (*lìng*) 'to make' in Buddhist Chinese; (*iii*) the main predicate is expressed through the nominal modal construction *-mIš k(ä)rgäk* to express necessitative, corresponding to the modal verb 應 (*yīng*) 'must' in Buddhist Chinese; (*iv*) the main predicates can take the interrogative particle *mu* to raise questions or interrogations, cf. (4)–(9).

Declarative:

(4a) Chi-Suv. T16, no. 665, 卷 5: 425a21-22

若法界是五蘊，**即**是斷見。

Ruò *fǎ jiè shì wǔ yùn,* ***jí*** *shì duàn jiàn.*

'If the Dharma Realm is the five-skandhas, then it is the view of annihilation.'

(4b) OU-Suv. V. 15b. 374/1-5

Birök	*čïn kertü*	*nom*	*töz-i-n*	*beš yapïq-lar*	*oq*	*är-ür*
CONJ	true₂	Dharma	realm-POSS3-ACC	five-skandhas-PL	PTCL	COP-AOR.3SG
tep	*te-**sär***	*üzül-mäk*	*atlγ*	*körüm*	*bol-ur.*	
QUO	say-COND.3SG	break-VN	named	view	COP-AOR.3SG	

'If anyone says "The true Dharma Realm is the five-skandhas," (then) it's the view called annihilation.'

Imperative:

(5a) Chi-Vimala. T14, no. 475, 卷 3: 557b9-10

若後末世，有能受持讀誦、為他說者，當知皆是彌勒神力之所建立。

Ruò hòu mò shì, yǒu néng shòu chí dú song, wèi tā shuō zhě, dāng zhī jiē shì mí lēi shén lì zhī suǒ jiàn lì.

'In future times, if there are those who are able to uphold, recite, and explain it to others, (they) should know that it is all established through the divine power of Maitreya.'

(5b) OU-Vimala. U 1549 verso/18-24, Zieme 2000: p. 138

[Birök	*kä]l-mä-dök*	*üd-tä*	*[yalŋoq]-lar*	*bo*	*nom ärdin[i-g]*	*tägin-sär*
CONJ	come-NEG-PTCP	time-LOC	being-PL	this	sutra-jewel-ACC	ATTAIN-COND.3SG
tut-sar	*sözlä-sär*	*adïnagu-ka*		*nomla-sar*	*bo*	*barča maitre-nïŋ*
uphold-COND.3SG	recite-COND.3SG	others-DAT		preach-COND.3SG	this	all Maitreya-GEN
küü kälig	*ädrämlig küč-i kösün-i*	*ol*		*tep*	*bil-zünlär.*	
supernatural	virtue power₂-POSS.3	COP		QUO	know-VOL.3PL	

'If, in future times, there are beings who attain this sutra-jewel, uphold it, recite it, and preach it to others, they should know that all of this is through the power of Maitreya's supernatural force of virtue.'

Optative:

(6a) Chi-Suv. T16, no. 665, 卷 6: 432c2-3

若於此經所有句義忘失之處，我皆令彼憶念不忘。

Ruò yú cǐ jīng suǒ yǒu jù yì wàng shī zhī chù, wǒ jiē lìng bǐ yì niàn bù wàng.

'If anyone forgets the meaning of the sentences in this sutra, we will make them remember without forgetting.'

(6b) OU-Suv. VI. 29b. 456/21-23 – 30a. 457/1-4

Birök	*yänä*	*bo*	*nom ärdini*	*ič-in-tä-ki*		*kayu kayu*	*padak-lar-ï*
CONJ	and	this	sūtra treasure	inside-POSS.3-LOC-REL		any	pādaka-PL-POSS3
kayu kayu		*yörüg-lär-i*		*unït-ïl-sar*		*qal-sar*	*biz*
any		meaning-PL-POSS.3		forget-PASS-COND.3SG		remain-COND.3SG	we
qamaɣ-un		*ol*	*nomčï-nïŋ*	*köŋül-iŋ-ä*		*kir-ip*	*ötün-tür-ü*
all-INS		that	preacher-GEN	mind-POSS.2SG-DAT		enter-CONV	offer-CAUS-CONV
saqïn-tur-u			*tägin-ip*	*unït-tur-u*		*tägin-mä-gäy-biz.*	
remember-CAUS-CONV			AUX-CONV	forget-CAUS-CONV		AUX-NEG-OPT-1PL	

'And if any *pādaka* and meanings from this sutra are forgotten (by someone), we will enter that preacher's memory to make him remember and not forget.'

Voluntative:

(7) Chi-Suv. T16, no. 665, 卷 5: 425a13–14

若有疑惑者，隨汝意所問，吾當分別說。

Ruò yǒu yí huò zhě, suí rǔ yì suǒ wèn, wú dāng fēn bié shuō.

'If you have any doubts, I will explain them individually according to your wishes.'

(7b) OU-Suv. V. 14b. 372/20–23

Bar	*är-sär*	*birök*	*sezik-iŋ*	*köŋül*	*eyin*	*tap-ïŋ-ča*
existing	COP-COND.3SG	CONJ	doubt-POSS.2SG	mind	through	wish-POSS.2SG-EQU

qorqïnčsïz-ïn	*ayït-qïl⁹*	*anï*	*äšit-ip*	*m(ä)n*	*saŋa*	*adïrtla-yu*	*ber-**äyin**.*
unafraid-INS	say-PTCL	that.ACC	hear-CONV	I	you.DAT	individually-CONV	give-VOL.1SG

'If (you) have (any doubts), please feel free to speak them according to your wishes. Once I hear them, I will explain them to you individually.'

Necessitative:

(8a) Chi-Suv. T16, no. 665, 卷 3: 415b5–7

若有女人，願轉女身為男子**者**，亦**應**修習隨喜功德。

***Ruò** yǒu nǚ rén, yuàn zhuǎn nǚ shēn wèi nán zi **zhě**, yì **yīng** xiū xí suí xǐ gōng dé.*

'If a virtuous woman wishes to transform her female body into a male one, she should also cultivate (this) merit of rejoicing.'

(8b) OU-Suv. Ⅲ. 16a. 157/7–12

Kayu	*uzun*	*tonluɣ*	*tïnlɣ-lar*	*tiši*	*ät'öz-in*	*är-ip*	
any	long	robe-wearing	being-PL	female	body-INS	COP-CONV	
ärkäk	*ät'öz-in*	*bol-ayïn*	*tep*	*küsä-**sär***	*ymä*	*bo*	*oq*
man	body-INS	COP-VOL.1SG	QUO	pray-COND.3SG	also	this	PTCL
eyin	*ögirmäklig*	*yeg*	*ögrätig-dä¹⁰*	*ögrät-in-**miš***	***k(ä)rgäk.***		
through	with-pleasure	good	practice-LOC	learn-REF-PTCP	necessary		

'If any long robe-wearing being has a female body, (and) wishes to transform it into a male body, she should also cultivate this merit of rejoicing.'

Interrogative:

(9a) Chi-Suv. T16, no. 665, 卷 5: 425a25–26

若從因緣生**者**，為已生故生?為未生故生?

***Ruò** cóng yīn yuán shēng **zhě**, wèi yǐ shēng gù sheng? Wèi wèi shēng gù sheng?*

'If it is born from causes and effects, is it born because it has already been born, or is it born because it has not been born yet?'

(9b) OU-Suv. V. 15b. 374/16–18

Birök	*avant-lar-tïn*	*tïltaɣ-lar-tïn¹¹*	*tuɣ-**quča***	***är-sär***	*azu*	*tuɣ-a*	
CONJ	cause-PL-ABL	conditional-PL-ABL	be.born-PTCP	COP-COND.3SG	or	be.born-CONV	
tükät-miš	*üčün*	***mü***	*tuɣ-**qay***	*azu*	*taqï¹²*	*tuɣ-ma-yoq*	*üčün*	***mü***	*tuɣ-**qay**.*
finish-PTCP	for	Q	be.born-OPT.3SG	or	and	be.born-NEG-PTCP	for	Q	be.born-OPT.3SG

'If it is born from causes and conditions, is it born either because it has already been born, or (is it born) because it has not yet been born?'

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9   According to Li et al. (2003: 307–309), *qïl* is a morphological marker of the second person singular imperative. However, Erdal (2014:350) claims that "the particle *gIl* is commonly added to the 2nd person singular imperative and is used for emphasis. It is always spelled together with the verb form." Moreover, it has no categorical meaning and is optional. In this paper, we treat it as a particle.

10   The whole phrase *eyin ögirmäklig yeg ögrätig* is a direct counterpart of the Chinese Buddhist term 隨喜功德 (*suíxǐ gōngdé*). The Chinese Buddhist term 隨喜 (*suíxǐ*) means "when one person prays or blesses, another believer hears it and feels pleasure in his heart." There is no direct equivalent in the Old Uyghur, so the phrase *eyin ögir-mäklig yeg ögrätig* is used; i.e., *eyin* is a postposition meaning 'through, according to'; *ögirmäklig* 'joy'; and *yeg ögrätig* 'merit and virtue'. The Sanskrit equivalent of *eyin ögirmäklig* is *Skt. anumodanā*. In the Digital Dictionary of Buddhism (DDB), the English translation of 隨喜功德 (*suíxǐ gōngdé*) is the "merit of rejoicing in the progress of others"; see http://www.buddhism-dict.net/ddb.

11   The term *avant tïltaɣ* corresponds to Chinese Buddhist term 因緣 (*yīnyuán*) 'causes and conditions'.

12   The alternative Structure *azu…, azu taqï…* is conjunctive combination that is equivalent to the Chinese 為…, 為… (*wéi…, wéi…*) 'either…or…' form.

4 Conjunctions in conditional clauses

4.1 The use of *birök* in conditional clauses

In the Old Uyghur language, the use of conjunctions in conditional clause is not obligatory, as the expression of conditional semantics is primarily indicated by the conditional mood marker *-sAr*. However, throughout the historical development of Old Uyghur, there has been a gradual increase in the use of conjunctions within conditional clauses. This trend is accompanied by a more complex morphosyntactic structure of the conditional clauses, which exhibits clear analytic features. The most representative of these conditional conjunction is *birök* 'when, if, even if' (Wilkens 2021: 180). The marking of main clauses has also shown a tendency to stabilize over time.

Regarding the conditional conjunction *birök*, Erdal (2004: 496) argues that it is specific to the Old Uyghur literature, appearing not only in Buddhist texts, but in several cases also in Christian texts. Scholars have not reached a consensus on its etymological origin. Gabain (1950: 417) proposes that it is a compound of *bir* 'one' and the emphatic particle *ök*. In Buddhist texts, *birök* corresponds to the Chinese conditional conjunction 若 (*ruò*) 'seem like, you, if, regarding' (Li Wang et al. 2016). According to Pulleyblank (1991: 270), the reconstructed phonetic form of 若 (*ruò*) 'if' is /*riak/ in Late Middle Chinese and /*ɲiak/ in Early Middle Chinese, which is phonetically surprisingly similar to Old Uyghur *birök*. Furthermore, textual comparisons indicate that the use of *birök* developed in parallel with the historical evolution of Old Uyghur. For instance, in *Säkiz Yükmäk* (BT XXIII), the translators increasingly used *birök* in successive revisions of the text. Nonetheless, this does not negate the fact that the core element for expressing conditional semantics remains the conditional mood marker *-sAr*. See the following example:

(10b) Chi-*Säkiz Yükmäk* T85, no. 2897, 1422c19–20

若有眾生信邪倒見，**即**被邪魔外道、魑魅魍魎、鳥鳴百怪、諸惡鬼神競來惱亂。

***Ruò** yǒu zhòng shēng xìn xié dào jiàn, **jí** bèi xié mó wài dào, chī mèi wǎng liǎng, niǎo míng bǎi guài, zhū è guǐ shén jìng lái nǎo luàn.*

'If any sentient being holds false and distorted views, they will be tormented and harassed by evil spirits and demons, monsters and weird creatures, birds chirping, and all kinds of evil ghosts and deities.'

(10b) OU-*Säkiz Yükmäk* IIc/ 56–61, Oda 2015: pp. 128–130

Birök	*kayu*	*tïnlɣ*	*biligsiz*	*ayïɣ*	*qïlïnčlïɣ*	*är-ip*		*trs*	*tätrü*
CONJ	any	being	misguided	bad	behavior	COP-CONV		reverse	false

törö-kä	*kertgünč kertgün-**sär***	***ötrü***	*tükäl*	*törlüg*	*ayïɣ*	*qïlïnčlïɣ šmnu-lar*
view-DAT	insist.on-COND.3SG	then	all	kind	evil	behavior-*Māra*-PL

trs nomluɣ	*tirte-lär*	*oŋžïn-lar*	*yäk-lär*	*yelpik-lär*	*quš qusɣun*[13]	*qoburɣa*
anti-dharma	heretic-PL	demon-PL	demon-PL	carrion-eating-PL	bird	hawk

ulatï	*yvlaq*	*blgülüg*	*qorqïnčïɣ*	*ünlüg*	*quš-lar*	*tükäl*	*törlüg*	*yvlaq irü blgü-lär*
and	terrible	looking	horrific	voiced	bird-PL	all	kind	bad phenomena$_2$-PL

alqu	*äv barq-ta*	*közün-ü*	*käl-ip*	*örlä-t-ir.*
all	house$_2$-LOC	appear-CONV	come-CONV	rise-CAUS-AOR.3SG

'If anyone exhibits erratic and misguided behavior and firmly believes in heretical teachings, then all kinds of Māras with evil behaviors, heretics, demons, carrion-eating birds, terrible-looking birds with frightful voices and all kinds of phenomena will come and appear in all houses and will torment them.'

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13 *Quš quzɣun* refers to birds that eat rotten meat.

(11a) Chi-AKKANB. X63, no. 1220, 9c12

若自心清淨，則一切佛土皆悉清淨。

Ruò *zì xīn qīng jìng,* ***zé*** *yī qiè fú tǔ jiē xī qīng jìng.*

'If one's (the bodhisattva's) own mind is pure, then all Buddha-lands are entirely pure.'

(11b) OU- AKKANB. U 4627/G085-086, Yakup 2010: p. 242

Birök	*öz*	*köŋülüg*	*arït-**sar***	***ötrü***	*alku*	*tïnlɣ-lar*	*ymä*	*arï-yur.*
CONJ	own	mind	purify.CAUS-COND.3SG	then	whole	living being-PL	also	clean-AOR.3SG

'If (the bodhisattva) purifies his own mind, then the living beings will also be clean.'

The early version of *Säkiz Yükmäk* (Ia. and Ib.) already contains the conjunction *birök*, albeit only in a single sentence. Later, as various editions were revised, it becomes evident from the texts that later Old Uyghur translators incorporated *birök* into their translations. Furthermore, the use of conjunctions gradually increased in the translated texts Mait-H and DKPAM, which were derived from the original Tocharian texts. In particular, the conjunction takes the form of *birök-in <birök-INS>*, as exemplified in (12). In order to compare the use of *birök* and *birökin* in the Old Uyghur texts originating from languages other than Chinese, two examples translated from Tocharian, (12) and (13), are provided. The presence of *birök* in these sentences may reflect the translators' preferences or linguistic strategies. This trend suggests that the use of *birök* not only became more common, but also evolved in terms of the forms it took, reflecting the dynamic nature of language development in the Old Uyghur Buddhist texts.

(12) Mait-H. 15a/21−24, Geng 2008: p. 84

Birök-in	*bo*	*oɣul*	*äv-dä barq-ta*	*är-**sär***	*yeti*	*ärdni-(kä)*	*tükällig*
CONJ-INS	this	son	house₂-LOC	COP-COND.3SG	seven	jewel-DAT	whole

tört	*yertinčü*	*yer*	*suv-da*[14]	*ärklig*	*čkrwrty*	*elig χan*	*bol-ɣay.*
four	world	earth	water-LOC	powerful	*Cakravartin*	king	become-OPT.3SG

'If this son is at home, he will possess the seven jewels and become the powerful *Cakravartin* in all four worlds.'

(13) DKPAM. U 1035 + U 1032/ 01600−01602

Birök	*ölütči*	*tïnlɣ*	*rorap tamu-da*	*tuɣ-**sar,***	*bo*	*muntaɣ*
CONJ	murderer	being	*raurava*-hell-LOC	be.born-COND.3SG	this	this.EQU

ačïɣ	*ämgäk-lär-i-n*	*bil-miš uq-mïš*	*k(ä)rgäk.*
sour	suffering-PL-POSS.3-ACC	understand₂-PTCP	necessary

'If a murderer is born in *raurava* hell, (then) he must understand this severe suffering of his.'

It is observed that the use of these conjunctions in conditional clauses seems to have emerged as the dominant grammatical structure. Notably, in *Suv*, a circumstructure consisting of the conjunction *birök* and the conditional mood marker -*sAr* occurs slightly more often than the use of the conditional marker -*sAr* alone (see Table 1). This observation suggests that there is an increasing tendency to use such a compound structure to express conditions, reflecting the evaluation of grammatical patterns in Old Uyghur. Simultaneously, the use of conjunctions in main clauses gradually increases and stabilizes in conditional clauses. Regarding the sequential markers used in the main clauses, there is a gradual shift from the coexistence of *temin (ök)* and *ötrü* to the exclusive use of *ötrü*. Moreover, revisions of texts from various historical periods reveal that Old Uyghur translators adopted these mark-

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14 The phrase *yertinčü yer suv* is a translation of the Old Uyghur word for 'world', which mainly denotes the physical world.

ers in main clauses. It is noteworthy that by the time of the Old Uyghur version of the *Suv*, the main clause marker exclusively used the sequential adverb *ötrü*. cf. (14) – (16)[15].

(14) Mait-H. 8a/ 21–23, Geng 2008: p. 28

*Kayu üdün säkiz törlüg arïɣ tözün yol-uɣ tap-**sar-lar***
any time eight kind pure virtuous path-ACC find-COND-3PL

***temin ök** bo munča törlüg ämgäk-tin oz-ar-lar.*
immediately this this.EQU kind suffering-ABL be.free-AOR-3PL

'If they find the eightfold path of pure virtue at any time, they will immediately be free from these sufferings.'

(15) DKPAM. Mainz 678/ 01440–01442

***[Qača]n birök** ölümlüg madar aɣz-ï-n [a]č-ïp yakïn*
CONJ CONJ death monster mouth-POSS.3-ACC open-CONV close

*käl-sär ol üdün **temin** [bo] busušluɣ [ä]mgäk-in ögsirä-yürlär.*
come-COND.3SG that time immediately (this) sorrowful suffering-INS faint-AOR.3PL

'If the mouth of the death monster opens and (gradually) approaches, they will immediately faint from sorrowful suffering.'

(16a) Chi-Suv. T16, no. 665, 卷 6: 428a25-26

若供養我，則是供養過去、未來、現在百千俱胝那庾多佛。

***Ruò** gōng yǎng wǒ, **zé** shì gōng yǎng guò qù, wèi lái, xiàn zài bǎi qiān jù zhī nà yǔ duō fú.*

'If one has made offerings to me, it is as if one were making (them) to countless Buddhas of the past, future, and present.'

(16b) OU-Suv. VI. 6a.413/21-23 – 6b. 414/1-2

***Birök** maŋa tapïɣ uduɣ aɣïr ayaɣ qïl-mïš bol-sar **ötrü** üč üd-ki*
CONJ I.DAT reverence deep homage do-PTCP COP-COND.3SG then three periods-REL

burχan-lar-qa tapïɣ uduɣ aɣïr ayaɣ qïl-mïš bol-ɣay-lar.
Buddha-PL-DAT reverence₂ deep homage do-PTCP COP-OPT-3PL

'If one has shown great and respectful reverence to me, it is as if one has shown great and respectful reverence to the Buddhas of the three periods.'

4.2 The use of *qačan* and *qaltï* in conditional clauses

Apart from *birök*, the conditional conjunctions of Old Uyghur can also include *qačan* 'when' and *qaltï* 'how'. In Old Uyghur, the interrogative *qačan* 'when'[16] is primarily used to introduce temporal clauses with compound converbs, such as *-mIš-DA* [PTCP-LOC], and it can also mark conditional clauses with the conditional mood marker *-sAr*. From a cross-linguistic perspective, the distinction between time and conditionality can be neutralized, allowing them to be expressed by the same morphosyntactic operators (see Cristofaro 2005; Jumabay 2022). This cross-linguistic tendency is also evident in Chinese, particularly in Buddhist Chinese. Some scholars argue that the post-conditional particle 时 (*shí*) 'when', in the structure 若...时 (*ruò...shí*) 'if' (lit. if...when) in Buddhist Chinese, developed through

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15 These three examples are taken from the Mait-H, DKPAM, and Suv., respectively, the first two being translated from the Tocharian language. The main idea is to illustrate the variation in *temin (ök)* and *ötrü* when translated from different languages.

16 Erdal notes (2005: 215) that *qačan* is an indefinite element expressing the meaning 'at some point in time' rather than an interrogative. It often introduces temporal clauses together with the conditional marker *-sAr*.

an internal grammaticalization process (see Cao 1996; Dong 2000; Jiang 2002), while others maintain that it resulted from contact with Sanskrit during the translation of Buddhist literature (see Jiang 2011: 150-152; Li 2021, 2023). They have pointed out that, in the Chinese translations of Buddhist scriptures from the medieval period, 时 (*shí*) had already become grammaticalized as a postposition used to introduce temporal adverbial clauses. Simultaneously, it also appears in the structure 若…时 (*ruò…shí*) 'if' and is used by translators to correspond to the use of *locative absolute* or *genitive absolute* to indicate a condition (for something to occur) in the Sanskrit text.

As shown in the Old Uyghur literature, the temporal interrogative *qačan*, combined with the conditional mood marker *-sAr* had already existed in Old Uyghur Buddhist texts. However, they express time and conditionality in a somewhat ambiguous way (see Erdal 2004: 480). Sometimes, *qačan* also appears with *birök*. The use of *qačan birök… -sAr* or *qačan… -sAr* in Old Uyghur translations often corresponds to typical Chinese conditional constructions, such as 若… (*ruò*) 'if' and 若…时 (*ruò…shí*) 'if…when'. For this Chinese structure, Old Uyghur translators took into account the translation of 时 (*shí*). The Old Uyghur translators clearly understood the different syntactic functions of 时 (*shí*) in Chinese Buddhist literature and ultimately chose to use the temporal interrogative *qačan*, which has a more flexible syntactic position, to correspond to it. This also provided a syntactic environment for the further grammaticalization of *qačan*. A parallel comparison of the original Chinese texts and the Old Uyghur translations shows that many conditional clauses introduced by 时 (*shí*) were translated by the Old Uyghur translators as standard conditional constructions, such as example (16). It should be noted that, although *qačan birök* occurs in the Old Uyghur texts of Tocharian origin, it is not used as frequently as in texts of Chinese origin. We have reason to believe that by the time *qačan* began to independently introduce conditional clauses, it had already evolved from an interrogative into a conditional conjunction (see examples 17−20).

(17a) Chi-Vimala. T14, no. 475, 卷 3: 555b10
日光出**時**，即無眾冥。
*Rì guāng chū **shí**, jí wú zhòng míng.*
'If sunlight appears, then all darkness disappears.'

(17b) OU-Vimala U 1934 verso/ 03-06, Zieme 2000: p. 130
*Kün tŋri [yaruk-ï   tuɣ-**sar**]   alku   [karaŋg]u kararïg-lar[-ïg   tark]ar-ur.*
sun god   light-POSS.3 be.born-COND.3SG all   darkness₂-PL-ACC   dispel-AOR.3SG
'If the light of the sun god appears, then all darkness will be dispelled.'

(18) Mait-H. 15a/ 24-27, Geng 2008: p. 84
Qačan birök *äv-ig barq-ïɣ   qod-up   dentar   iš-i-n*
CONJ   CONJ   household₂-ACC   abandon-CONV religious   affair-POSS.3-ACC
*išlä-**sär**   tüzgärinčsiz   yeg   burχan qut-ï-n   bul-ɣay.*
do-COND.3SG   unfathomable   best   Buddhahood-POSS.3-ACC gain-OPT.3SG
'If he leaves the household to pursue religious affairs, then he will gain the unfathomably best Buddhahood.'

(19a) Chi-Suv. T16, no. 665, 卷 5: 426c5-6
若無是經，隨處隱沒。
Ruò wú shì jīng, suí chù yǐn méi.
'If there were no such sūtra, (the truth and wisdom) would remain hidden everywhere.'

(19b) OU-Suv. V. 26a. 395/24 – 396/1-2

Qačan	***birök***	*bo*	*nom*	*ärdini*	*yitlin-**sär** yoqad-**sar***		***ötrü***
CONJ	CONJ	this	sutra	jewel	perish, disappear₂-COND.3SG		then

adïn	*nomluγ*	*ärdini-lär*	*ymä*	*barča*	*orun orun*	*sayu*	*yitlin-gäy yoqad-qaylar.*
other	sutra	jewel-PL	also	all	place	each	perish, disappear₂-OPT.3PL

'If this sūtra jewel were to disappear, then all the other sūtra jewels would also disappear, in each and every place.'

(20a) Chi-Suv. T16, no. 665, 卷 6: 428a17

若人命終，多生天上，增益天眾。

Ruò *rén mìng zhōng, duō shēng tiān shàng, zēng yì tiān zhòng.*

'If that person's life ends, they will mostly be reborn in the heavens, thereby increasing the number of beings in heaven.'

(20b) OU-Suv. VI. 5b. 412/ 14-17

Qačan	*munta*	*ät'öz*	*qod-**sar-lar***	*üküš-i*	*barča*	*tŋri yer-in-tä*
CONJ	here.LOC	life	abandon-COND-3PL	most-POSS.3	all	paradise-POSS.3-LOC

tuγ-up	*tŋri*	*quwraγ-ï*	*aš-ïl-ur üstä-l-ür.*	
reborn-CONV	Buddha's	crowd-POSS.3	increase₂-PASS-AOR.3SG	

'If they abandon their lives here, most of them will be reborn in heaven and increase the size of the crowd of gods.'

In Buddhist Chinese texts, the conjunction 若 (*ruò*) 'if' is the most typical operator for conditional clauses. This conjunction evolved from a comparative marker into a conditional conjunction, similar to 假 (*jiǎ*) 'if' and 如 (*rú*) 'if', which exhibit a complementary distribution. Through the lexical mechanism of disyllabification, they can also form disyllabic conditional conjunctions, such as 假若 (*jiǎruò*) 'if' and 若如 (*ruòrú*) 'if'.

In a parallel comparison with Old Uyghur translations, we observe that the conjunction *qaltï* 'how, if', used in conditional clauses, corresponds to these Chinese conditional conjunctions. The conjunction *qaltï* appears in two different types of adverbial clauses: with the postposition *täg* 'like' to introduce comparative clauses, and with the conditional marker *-sAr* to encode conditional clauses. And the adverbial clauses in which it appears are precisely the syntactic types in which the afore-mentioned Chinese conjunctions underwent grammaticalization, as can be seen in examples (21) and (22).

Comparative clauses:

(21a) Chi-Suv. T16, no. 665, 卷 5: 425c12-13

若水中月行菩提行，我亦行菩提行。

Ruò *shuǐ zhōng yuè xíng pú tí xíng, wǒ yì xíng pú tí xíng.*

'Just as the moon reflected in the water advances on the path of Bodhi, so do I advance on the path of Bodhi as well.'

(21b) OU-Suv. V. 19b.382/ 1-3

Qaltï	*suv*	*ič-in-tä-ki*	*ay*	*tŋri*	*bodi*	*yorïq-ta*	*yorï-mïš*	***täg***
CONJ	water	inside-POSS-LOC-REL	moon	god	Bodhi	path-LOC	practice-PTCP	as

mäniŋ	*bodi*	*yorïq-ta*	*yorï-maq-ïm*	*ančulayu*	*oq*	*tet-ir.*
I.GEN	Bodhi	path-LOC	practice-VN-POSS.1SG	that	PTCL	say-AOR.3SG

'Like the moon god in the water advancing on the path of Bodhi, my advance on the path of Bodhi is similar to that.'

Conditional clause:

(22a) Chi-Suv. T16, no. 665, 卷 3: 417b22-23

若有講讀此妙經典流通之處，於其國中大臣輔相，有四種益。

Ruò *yǒu jiǎng dú cǐ miào jīng diǎn liú tōng zhī chù, yú qí guó zhōng dà chén fǔ xiāng, yǒu sì zhǒng yì.*

'If there are places where this sutra is preached, read, and circulated, it will bring four kinds of benefits to the ministers and counselors of that country.'

(22b) OU-Suv. Ⅲ. 35a.195/ 3-10

Qaltï	*bo*	*nom*	*ärdini*	*kayu kayu*	*yer*	*orun-ta*	*keŋürü*	*yorï-yur*
CONJ	this	sutra	jewel	any	place	place-LOC	widely	spread-AOR

är-sär,		*nomla-tačï*	*sözlä-täči*	*tözün-lär*	*qutluɣ-lar*	*ymä*	*bar*
COP-COND.3SG		recite-PTCP	worship-PTCL	virtuous-PL	blessed-PL	also	exist

är-sär,	***ötrü***	*ol*	*yer*	*orun-ta-qï*	*bäg-lär-kä*	*buyruq-lar-qa*
COP-COND.3SG	then	that	place	place-LOC-REL	minister-PL-DAT	commander-PL-DAT

ïnanč-lar-qa	*tört*	*törlüg*	*uluɣ*	*asïɣ tusu*	*tet-ir.*
counselor-PL-DAT	four	kind	great	benefit₂	say-AOR.3SG

'If this jewel of a sūtra is widely preached and recited and worshiped by believers in any place, the ministers and prime ministers of that region will receive four kinds of great benefits.'

The syntactic core of the corresponding forms mentioned above consists of the postposition *täg* or the conditional marker *-sAr*, while the conjunction *qaltï* is the most flexible syntactic constituent. The presence or absence of the latter does not affect the syntax or semantics of the constructions. Similar to the conjunction *birök* in conditional clauses, there is reason to believe that the Old Uyghur translators had a deep understanding of Chinese and were aware of the various functions of Chinese conditional conjunctions, using *qaltï* to correspond to them functionally. As *Suv.* indicates, *qaltï* mainly corresponds to conditional clauses of the 假 (*jiǎ*) 'if'-type, as seen in (23), or sometimes to those of the 若 (*ruò*) 'if'-type as well, as seen in (22). It can also co-occur with *birök* in syntactic structures without affecting the conditional interpretations, which seems to be an intentional choice by the Old Uyghur translators. In the context of language contact, *qaltï* is influenced by conjunctions such as 若 (*ruò*) and 假 (*jiǎ*). In specific syntactic environments, this influence further grammaticalizes *qaltï* into a conditional conjunction, leading to the formation of conditional clauses. In the following example, the co-occurrence of the conjunctions *qaltï* and *birök* corresponds to the Chinese conjunction 假使 (*jiǎshǐ*) 'if'.

(23a) Chi-Suv. T16, no. 665, 卷 9: 445a26-27

假使大火聚，滿百踰繕那；為聽此經王，直過無辭苦。

Jiǎshǐ *dà huǒ jù, mǎn bǎi yú shàn nà; wèi tīng cǐ jīng wáng, zhí guò wú cí kǔ.*

'If the blazing fire were to accumulate and cover hundreds of *yojanas*, one would still face it directly without complaint in order to listen to or learn this important scripture.'

(23b) OU-Suv. Ⅸ. 8b. 584/13-16

Qaltï	***birök***	*bar*	*är-sär*	*yalïna-yu*	*tur-ur*	*oot*	*yüg-mäk*	*yüz*
CONJ	CONJ	exist	COP-COND.3SG	blaze-CONV	stand-PTCP	fire	accumulate-VN	hundred

yočan	*yer*	*ič-in-tä*	*tolu töšä-p*	*ur-mïš*	*täg*	*äšit-gäli*
yojana	place	inside-POSS.3-LOC	full resist-CONV	hit-PTCP	as	listen-CONV

bol-ɣu	*üčün*	*bo*	*nom*	*ärdini*	*yörüg-i-n*	*ärin-mätin*	*bar-sun-lar*
COP-VN	for	this	sutra	jewel	meaning-POSS.3-ACC	be.lazy-NEG.CONV	go-VOL-3PL

ačïɣ	*ämgäk*	*te-mädin.*
bitter	suffering	say-NEG.CONV

'If there is a gathering of burning fire, as if it will resist the place of hundreds of *yojanas,* then, in order to listen to the teachings of this sūtra jewel, let them go without laziness and without saying anything about bitter suffering.'

5 The correlative constructions

In this section, we will discuss the sentences in Old Uyghur that exhibit the syntactic surface structure of conditional clauses, but do not convey a conditional meaning. In Old Uyghur, the subject of these conditional clauses often features a pronominal phrase formed by the interrogative pronoun *kim* or the indefinite pronoun *kayu* combined with the noun *tïnl(ï)ɣ* 'living beings'. The verb stem in the clause is typically suffixed with the conditional mood marker *-sAr*, or alternatively the copula form *ärsär* is used following a nominal predicate. Additionally, the subject of the main clause often contains a demonstrative pronoun structure that explicitly or implicitly refers to the subject of the subordinate clause, as illustrated in example (24). Erdal (2004: 499–504) refers to this syntactic structure as *correlative relativization*. He explains that there are two distinct uses of this structure: "(*i*) where the pronoun in the clause serves as a variable argument, and the content of the main clause applies to any value of that variable; (*ii*) where the variable has only a single value." (Erdal 2004: 499–500)

(24a) Chi-Suv. T16, no. 665, 卷 4: 422a3-4
若受持**者**，<u>是人</u>**則**為諸佛恩。
Ruò *shòu chí* ***zhě***, *shì rén zé wèi bào zhū fú ēn*
'Anyone who receives and holds this sūtra, this being is thereby repaying the kindness of all Buddhas.'

(24b) OU-Suv. IV. 70b. 336/7-10

<u>*Kim*</u>	<u>*kayu tïnlɣ-lar*</u>	*bo nom ärdini-g*	*tut-sar-lar*	*tägin-**sär**-**lär***
who	any being-PL	this sūtra treasure-ACC	hold-COND-3PL	receive-COND-3PL

<u>*ol ɣalaŋoq-lar*</u>	***ötrü***	*alqu burχan-lar-qa*	*utlï säwinč*	*tägin-miš*	*bol-ɣay-lar.*
that being-PL	then	all Buddha-PL-DAT	gratitude	devote-PTCP	COP-OPT-3PL

'Any beings who receive and hold this sūtra treasure, then those beings will devote gratitude to all Buddhas.'

Similarly, Chinese Buddhist scriptures contain a type of conditional sentence with a surface syntactic structure of 若… (*ruò*) or 若…者 (*ruò…zhě*), which also does not convey a conditional meaning. Based on a parallel comparison of the Sanskrit original and two Chinese versions of the *Saddharma-puṇḍarīka-sūtra* (法华经 (*Fǎ huá jīng*)), Nan Jiang (2011: 198, 2020: 69–73) points out that these sentence structures do not convey a conditional meaning, as scholars typically assume. Instead, they correspond to the function of the relative pronoun *yad*, which introduces relative clauses in the original Sanskrit text. She states (Jiang 2020:70): "In Sanskrit, the relative pronoun *yad* serves both a connective and a demonstrative function. It links the subordinate clause with the main clause introduced by the pronoun *tad*, forming a complex sentence with the structure *yad…, tad…* Simultaneously, *yad* functions as a demonstrative word within the subordinate clause, modifying the noun that follows, akin to a definite article." In Buddhist Chinese, 若 (*ruò*) can function as a second-person pronoun or as a demonstrative pronoun. Its semantic and syntactic functions closely resemble those of *yad*. The Chinese translators used the subject relativizer 者 (*zhě*) to render the relative clauses of the original Sanskrit, while *yad* was translated as 若 (*ruò*), resulting in the 若…者 (*ruò…zhě*) frame structure, as in example (24). The 若…者 (*ruò…zhě*) structure can also omit 者 (*zhě*), in which case 若 (*ruò*) serves as a restrictive demonstrative word, as illustrated by example (25). In the main clause, demonstrative

pronoun structures like 是人 (*shìrén*) 'this being/ these beings' or the universal quantifier adverbs 悉皆 (*xījiē*) or 皆 (*jiē*) 'all of, entirely' are employed to refer back to the subject.

(25a) Chi-Suv. T16, no. 665, 卷 5: 426a24-25
若知法界不有不無，如是眾生能解深義。
***Ruò** zhī fǎ jiè bù yǒu bù wú, rú shì zhòng shēng néng jiě shēn yì.*
'Anyone who knows that the Dharma realm is neither existent nor nonexistent, such beings will be able to understand its profound meaning.'

(25b) OU-Suv. V. 23b. 390/6-10

Kim-lär	***birök***	*nom*	*töz-i-n*		*bar*	*ymä*	*är-mäz*	*yoq*	*ymä*
who-PL	CONJ	Dharma	realm-POSS3-ACC		existent	or	COP-NEG.AOR	nonexistent	or

är-mäz   *tep*   *bil-**sär***   ***ötrü***   *ol*   *antaɣ*   *yalaŋoq-lar*   *bo*
COP-NEG.AOR   QUO   know-COND.3SG   then   that   that.EUQ   being-PL   this

tütrüm täriŋ   *nom*   *töz-i-n*   *bil-gäli uq-qalï*   *u-yur-lar.*
profound₂   Dharma   realm-POSS.3-ACC   understand₂-CONV   be.able-AOR-3PL

'Anyone who knows that the Dharma realm is neither existent nor nonexistent, then such beings will be able to understand its profound meaning.'

Based on the preceding discussion, it is evident that the correlative relativization structure in Old Uyghur closely resembles this type of complex sentence in Buddhist Chinese. Whether it represents a loan translation of the Chinese structure warrants further investigation. Specifically, the correspondence between these two syntactic structures can be summarized as follows: (1) The first layer corresponds to the strategy of the subject relativizer 者 (*zhě*) in the Chinese original. Old Uyghur translators used the relative pronouns *kim* or *kayu* to extract the subject, thereby forming right-branching analytical relative clauses, while using explicit or implicit correlative structures in the main clause to refer back, resulting in a relatively generalized form of relativization. (2) To maintain consistency with the Chinese structure, these two clauses of the correlative relativization structure are embedded within a typical frame of conditional structure {*birök ... -sAr*}, and an adverb *ötrü* is sometimes added at the beginning of the main clause, as seen in example (26). If our hypothesis is correct, this indicates that the Old Uyghur translators had a profound understanding of the language of Chinese Buddhist texts. It also suggests they may have consulted both the Chinese and Sanskrit sources in preparing their translations, and that the translation of Classical Chinese Buddhist texts likely further advanced the development and sophistication of written Old Uyghur.

(26a) Chi-Suv. T16, no. 665, 卷 4: 422a5-6
若得聽聞是經典**者**，皆不退於阿耨多羅三藐三菩提。
***Ruò** dé tīng wén shì jīng diǎn **zhě**, jiē bù tuì yú ā nòu duō luó sān miǎo sān pú tí.*
'Whoever hears this scripture, they will all never regress from *Anuttara-samyak-saṃbodhi*.'

(26b) OU-Suv. IV. 70b. 337/16-22

Birök   *kim*   *kayu tïnlɣ-lar*   *bo nom ärdini-g*   *bošɣun-**sar***   *tut-**sar***   *oqï-**sar***
CONJ   who   any being-PL   this sūtra treasure-ACC   learn-COND.3SG   hold-COND.3SG   read-COND.3SG

*nomla-**sar***   *süzök kertgünč köŋül-in*   *tïŋla-**sar*** *äšit-**sär**-lär*   ***ötrü***
preach-COND.3SG   perfect sincerity-INS   listen₂-COND-3PL   then

ol tïnl(ï)ɣ-lar   *üzäliksiz*   *üstünki yeg*   *köni tüz tuymaq atlɣ burχan qut-ïn-ga*
that beings-PL   unsurpassable   supreme   true and even Enlightenment Buddhahood-POSS.3-DAT

aɣïnč-sïz äwrilinč-siz   *bol-ɣay-lar.*
regress₂-NEG   COP-OPT-3PL

'If any beings (are ones) who learn, hold, read, preach, and hear, and listen to this sūtra treasure with perfect sincerity, then these beings will not regress from *Anuttara-samyak-saṃbodhi*.'

A similar syntactic construction is also found in Classical Tibetan. Tibetan translators consciously adopted it in their translation praxis in order to replicate the syntactic patterns of Sanskrit source texts, as exemplified by the following construction from the *Heart Sūtra* (*Prajñāpāramitā-hṛdaya Sūtra*). In (27c), the preceding clause constitutes a postposed relative clause, where the head noun is fronted to clause-initial position, marked by the relativizer *pa* after the clause-final verb. The matrix clause subsequently employs the demonstrative pronoun *de* 'that' to anaphorically reference the content of the preceding clause. Analyzing this through the lens of topic-comment articulation reveals that the inter-clausal relationship aligns with this pragmatic framework: the initial clause functions as the topical foundation, while the subsequent clause introduced by *de* provides thematic elaboration.

(27a) Skt-*Hṛdaya.* San long: Conze 1967: 150

yaḥ <u>kaścic</u> Chāriputra kulaputro vā kuladuhitā vā asyāṃ gambhirāyāṃ prajñāpāramitāyāṃ caryāṃ cartukāmas **tena**ivaṃ vyavalokitavyam.

'The son or daughter of good family who wants to course in the course of this deep Perfection of Wisdom (*Prajñāpāramitā*) should thus consider.' (Conze 1973: 140)

(27b) Chi-*Hṛdaya.* T08, no. 255, p. 850c2-3

若善男子及善女人，欲修行甚深般若波羅蜜多者，彼應如是觀察。

Ruò shàn nán zi jí shàn nǚ rén, yù xiū xíng shèn shēn bō rě bō luó mì duō **zhě**, bǐ yīng rú shì guān chá.

'If any son or daughter of a noble family (is one) who desires to cultivate this profound Perfection of Wisdom, he or she should thus consider.'

(27c) Tib-*Hṛdaya.* Kg 21, *shes phyin sna tshogs*, ka 145a4

<u>rigs kyi bu=ʼm</u>	<u>rigs kyi bu mo</u>	<u>gang la la</u>	shes rab	kyi	pha rol	tu
virtuous man=DISJ	virtuous woman	anyone	wisdom	GEN	the other shore	DAT
phyan pa	*zab mo=ʼi*	*spyod pa*	*spyad pa=r*	ʼdod=**pa**	**de**=s	
attain	profound=GEN	action	perform=LOC	desire=NOMN	that=ERG	
ʼdi ltar	*rnam pa=r*	*blta ba=r*		*bya*	*ste/*	
thus	complete=LOC	contemplate=LOC	do	SEMI-F.PTCL		

'Any son or daughter of a noble family who desires to cultivate the profound Perfection of Wisdom, he or she should contemplate thus: ...'

Through a comparative analysis of Buddhist scripture translations in Sanskrit, Chinese, Tibetan, and Old Uyghur, it has become evident that translators adopted two distinct strategic orientations for handling Sanskrit textual structures. The Tibetan translations strictly adhered to the syntactic framework of Sanskrit, employing a mirrored correspondence pattern of preposed head nouns and postposed relative clauses delimited by the clause-final marker *pa*, which were anaphorically referenced through the pronoun *de* in main clauses. The Chinese translations demonstrated greater creative adaptability in reconstructing Sanskrit correlative structures: utilizing the relativizer 者 (*zhě*) to establish parallel constructions within a conditional framework 若...者 (*ruò...zhě*). This interpretive approach resonates cross-linguistically with Haiman's (1978) theory that 'conditionals are topics.' Old Uyghur translations exhibit more complex, multi-textual referencing characteristics. Syntactically, they adopted Chinese-style methods, using the relative pronoun *kim* and participles to form subject-extracted clauses, and employed the conditional copula *ärsär* as a topic marker, while preserving the

Chinese conditional conjunction *birök* (若). This hybridity suggests that Old Uyghur translators likely consulted both Sanskrit and Chinese discursive frameworks.

Furthermore, Erdal (2004: 500–502) notes that similar syntactic structures appear in Manichaean and Qarakhanid texts, complicating the issue. If we maintain the assumption that correlative relativization constitutes a typological hallmark of Buddhist literature, this raises critical questions: Could Manichaean texts represent a selective replication (calquing) of Buddhist models, whereby Manichaean elites, positioned as a minority religious group, strategically adopted Buddhist linguistic frameworks to garner more adherents during periods of Buddhist socioreligious ascendancy? Similarly, the Qarakhanid cases might reflect linguistic replication through interreligious contact, potentially indicating the existence of cross-confessional knowledge exchange between Buddhists and Muslims at the discursive level. However, these remain tentative hypotheses, contingent upon the validity of correlative relativization being a Buddhist diagnostic feature, and they demand rigorous verification.

6 Concessive clauses in Old Uyghur

A concessive clause is one that makes a concession that is incompatible with or counter-expected. by the proposition in the main clause (see König 1988, König & Siemund 2000). Concessive clauses can be categorized into two types: definite and indefinite (Thompson, Longacre & Hwang 2007: 262). Definite concessive clauses are those simply marked by a concessive subordinator like 'although'. In Buddhist Chinese, definite concessive clauses are relatively common. They are introduced by the conjunction 雖 (*suī*) 'although, even though' or its disyllabic form 雖復 (*suīfù*), while the main clause begins with adversative conjunctions 然 (*rán*) or 而 (*ér*) 'but', etc.[17] Indefinite concessive clauses convey meanings like 'no matter what' or 'whatever' and include unspecified elements, and they often employ indefinite pronouns or question words such as whoever, whatever, whenever, or wherever (Thompson, Longacre & J. Hwang 2007: 263). In Mandarin, indefinite concessive clauses are introduced by 無論 (*wúlùn*) or 不論 (*búlùn*) 'no matter', but such clauses are relatively infrequent in Buddhist Chinese.

Erdal (2004: 495) points out that there is no need to treat concessive clauses as a specific grammatical category in Old Uyghur due to the lack of explicit formal means to express this meaning. He suggests that the semantics of such concessions should be understood from the context, while also endorsing Tekin's (1965: 49–50) treatment of *-sAr ymä* as an operator of concessive clauses. Moreover, a parallel comparison of the original Chinese and Old Uyghur reveals that, as with conditional clauses, main clauses in concessive relations can optionally include the conjunctions *inčip* 'in doing so', *yänä/yana* 'and', or *inčip yänä*. These conjunctions are functionally equivalent to the Buddhist Chinese adversative conjunctions 然 (*rán*) and 而 (*ér*) 'but', as is shown in the following examples (28) and (29).

(28a) Chi-Suv. T16, no. 665, 卷 8: p. 443b3
  食噉**雖復**多，不能令飽足。
  *Shí dàn **suīfù** duō, bù néng lìng bǎo zú.*
  'Although much food is eaten, it cannot provide a sense of fullness.'

(28b) OU-Suv. Ⅷ. 33b. 558/16-18
  *Ye-**sär**   **ymä** yänä artoq-raq   aš ičgü-lär*
  eat-COND.3SG even and   more-COM   food and drink-PL

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17   Following Li Wang et al. (2016: 101, 347), we use the term *adversative conjunction* (转折连词 *zhuǎnzhē liáncí*).

tatïq-ï-n čiväk-i-n   *bökür-ü*   *bol-maz-lar.*
nutrition-POSS.3-INS   satiate-CONV   COP-NEG.AOR-3PL
'Even if they eat lots of food, they still can't feel full through the food's nutrition.'

(29a) Chi-Suv. T16, no. 665, 卷 4: 422a28-b1

雖說種種諸法，**然**於言辭中不動不住、不去不來，能於生滅證無生滅。

Suī *shuō zhǒng zhǒng zhū fǎ,* **rán** *yú yán cí zhōng bù dòng bú zhù, bù qù bù lái, néng yú shēng miè zhèng wú shēng miè.*

'Although various kinds of Dharmas are spoken, in language and words, they neither move nor remain static, nor do they come or go. One can prove the state of no birth and no decay amidst birth and decay.'

(29b) OU-Suv. IV.72a. 339/18-22

Adroq adroq   *nom-lar-ïγ*   *nomla-**sar-lar***   ***ymä***   ***inčip***   *ol*   *sav-tä söz-dä*
kinds of   sutra-PL-ACC   declare-COND-3PL   even   but   that word₂-LOC
täprä-mädïn   *ornan-madïn*   *käl-mäk-siz-in*   *bar-maq-sïz-ïn*   *tuγ-maq*   *öč-mäk*
move-NEG.CONV   locate-NEG.CONV   come-VN-NEG-INS   go-VN-NEG-INS   arise-VN   cease-VN
nom-lar-ta   *tuγ-maq-sïz-ïγ*   *öč-mäk-siz-ig*   *tanuqla-yur-lar.*
sutra-PL-LOC   arise-VN-NEG-ACC   cease-VN-NEG-ACC   prove-AOR-3PL
'Even if they expound (many) kinds of Dharmas, in language and words, they neither move nor remain, nor do they come or go, they prove the non-arising and non-ceasing nature within the Dharma of birth and extinction.'

The above examples illustrate the correspondence in surface syntactic structures between concessive clauses in Buddhist Chinese and Old Uyghur. The Buddhist Chinese conjunctions 雖 (*suī*) and 雖復 (*suīfù*) correspond functionally to the Old Uyghur concessive structure *-sAr ymä*. Furthermore, the main clause in the Old Uyghur translation begins with *inčip yänä* or *inčip*, which is equivalent to the adversative conjunctions in Buddhist Chinese. This phenomenon indicates that, under the influence of Chinese, the Old Uyghur strategy for linking concessive and main clauses exhibited a notable shift toward a double-marking strategy.

7 Language contact between Buddhist Chinese and Old Uyghur

Buddhist Chinese represents the first large-scale contact between Chinese and foreign languages, and it culminated in a distinctive amalgamation of spoken and written forms, as well as a fusion between Chinese and the languages of the original Buddhist texts, such as Sanskrit. It also served as a source language for the translation of Buddhist scriptures into Old Uyghur. Analyzing the Buddhist written language in Old Uyghur from the perspective of Buddhist Chinese provides considerable scholarly insight, as this article discusses.

The Turkic language of the period of the Runiform inscriptions exhibits a comparatively low frequency of conjunctions in subordinate clauses. This linguistic feature differs markedly from the abundant use of conjunctions in Chinese Buddhist scriptures. In Chinese, these conjunctions appear in either monosyllabic or disyllabic forms. For instance, the Sanskrit conditional conjunction *yadi* 'if' (Jakob S. Speijer 1998: 372–374) may correspond to monosyllabic Chinese conjunctions such as 若 (*ruò*), 如 (*rú*), 设 (*shè*), or to disyllabic forms like 若如 (*ruòrú*), 假若 (*jiǎrú*), 设如 (*shèrú*), and 设若 (*shèruò*), all of which mean 'if', though they differ in their phonetic forms. Furthermore, Chinese complex sentences tend to utilize a double-marking strategy, where subordinate clauses and main clauses are marked by distinct syntactic markers. Therefore, when translating these texts into Old Uyghur,

the translators encountered the challenge of formulating a translation mechanism that, leveraging their knowledge of Old Uyghur, would effectively integrate the Chinese syntactic structures into the translated text. This challenge is evident in the Old Uyghur translations, where the Chinese conditional conjunction 若 (*ruò*) is translated as *birök, qaltï birök*, or *qačan birök*, while 假使 (*jiǎshǐ*), 设若 (*shèruò*) correspond to *qaltï birök*, etc.[18] Additionally, fixed corresponding markers were also employed in the main clauses.

As Johanson (2002: 9–11) notes, in the context of language contact, languages can develop innovative rules, and certain elements from one language can be replicated in another. One language serves as the base code, while components – such as units or structures – from the contact language are replicated to form a model code. We refer to the base code as language A, and the language from which components are borrowed as language B. This replication process can involve either *global replication* or *selective replication*. In global replication, structural features of language B – such as materials, combinations, semantics, or frequencies – are transferred into language A in their entirety. Selective replication, in contrast, necessitates adapting the copied components to fit the semantic framework of language A, ensuring that the borrowed elements align with the corresponding components of language A, while minimizing structural conflicts between the two systems.

This replication exists not only at the lexical level, but also at the syntactic level. For example, as previously discussed above, the grammaticalization of conditional conjunctions, such as those of the 若 (*ruò*) type in Buddhist Chinese, influenced the development of the Old Uyghur conjunction *qaltï*. In response to the Chinese conditional circumconstruction 若...时 (*ruò...shí*) 'if', Old Uyghur translators made adjustments to the Old Uyghur base code, resulting in the corresponding structure *qačan birök ...-sAr*. Another example can be seen in the following:

(30a) Chi-Suv. T16, no. 665, 卷 8: 439c13–14

若人誦持如是神呪請召我**時**，我聞請已，即至其所，令願得遂。

Ruò *rén sòng chí rú shì shén zhòu qǐng zhào wǒ **shí**, wǒ wén qǐng yǐ, jí zhì qí suǒ, lìng yuàn dé suì.*

'If someone chants this holy *dhāraṇī* to summon me, when I hear the summoning, I will immediately come to that place and grant their wish.'

(30b) OU-Suv. VIII. 14a. 523/13–19

Birök	*kim*	*kayu*	*kiši*	*bo*	*qutluɣ*	*drn-ïɣ*	*sözlä-yü*	*meni*
CONJ	who	any	person	this	holy	*dhāraṇī*-ACC	chant-CONV	I.ACC

oqï-yu		*tägin-**miš**-tä*	*m(ä)n*	***ötrü***	*olar-nïŋ*	*oqï-yu*
summon-CONV		AUX-PTCP-LOC	I	then	they-GEN	summon-CONV

ötün-miš	*ötüg-lär-i-n*		*äšit-ip*	*olar-qa*	*yaqïn*
wish-PTCP	summon-PL-POSS.3-ACC		hear-CONV	they-DAT	close

bar-ïp	*küsä-miš*	*küsüš-lär-i-n*	*qan-tur-ɣay-mn.*
go-CONV	wish-PTCP	wish-PL-POSS3-ACC	grant-CAUS-OPT-1SG

'If any person recites this sacred *dhāraṇī* and summons me, then upon hearing their prayers, I will come close to them and fulfill their wishes.'

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18 With a large number of semantically similar disyllabic words in the original Chinese Buddhist texts, Old Uyghur translators also opted for *hendiadys* arranged in parallel and with similar semantics. This phenomenon of disyllabization is present in both substantive and function words in Chinese Buddhist texts. For example, 因緣 (*yīnyuán*) 'causes and conditions' is rendered as *avant tïltaɣ*, 利益 (*lìyì*) 'benefits' as *asïɣ tusu*, 清净 (*qīngjìng*) 'pure and clean' as *arïɣ süzök*, 隱沒 (*yǐnmò*) 'hidden and disappearing' as *yitlin- yoqad-*, 增益 (*zēngyì*) 'tone up' as *aš- üstä-*, and 種種 (*zhǒngzhǒng*) 'kind of' as *adroq adroq* in Old Uyghur. Some scholars have noted this phenomenon in Old Uyghur, but whether the occurrence of these frequently used *hendiadys* is related to the disyllabization of Buddhist Chinese words remains to be further investigated, see Çağatay (1944), Ölmez (1998, 2017).

In the Chinese original text of example (29), the 时(*shí*) had already undergone grammaticalization from a temporal marker to a postpositional conditional particle. This formed a circumconditional construction 若…时 (*ruò…shí*) 'if' in combination with the conjunction 若 (*ruò*). In the parallel Old Uyghur translation, the translator attempted to render this using a *correlative relativization*. However, instead of translating the postpositional conditional particle 时 (*shí*) with the commonly used *birök …-sAr* construction, the translator rendered it as the temporal converb -*mIšDA* combined with the conditional conjunction *birök*. Examining the Old Uyghur translation independently, without reference to the original Chinese text, reveals that it still forms a valid temporal adverbial clause. However, when prioritizing accuracy in relation to the Chinese original, it becomes apparent that the Old Uyghur translation does not fully conform to the syntactic rules of the correlative relativization structure. From these two perspectives, we can conclude that, although the Old Uyghur translator attempted to replicate the structure of the Chinese original, the adjustments made to the Old Uyghur linguistic code were not entirely suited for the purpose.

8 Conclusions and Remarks

Scholars in the field of Old Uyghur studies have mainly focused on lexical borrowings resulting from contact between Old Uyghur and other languages such as Tokharian, Sogdian, and Sanskrit. However, syntactic influences arising from such contact have received less attention. Despite being one of the source languages for the translation of Old Uyghur Buddhist texts, Chinese has received little scholarly attention in this regard. Therefore, this study has aimed to illustrate the correspondences between conditional clauses in Old Uyghur and those in the original Chinese texts through parallel comparison. It primarily explores the syntactic structures of conditional clauses, semantic comparisons, and the influence of language contact between these two languages.

When examining conditional clauses in Old Uyghur translations of Chinese Buddhist texts, it becomes evident that the conditional mood marker -*sAr* is the core syntactic means for encoding conditional clauses in Old Uyghur, while the use of conditional conjunctions is not obligatory. However, the usage of conditional conjunctions became more frequent and varied as Old Uyghur developed. Conjunctions such as *birök*, *qačan* and *qaltï*, used independently or in combination, formed conjunction pairs that, together with the conditional mood marker, created a circumstructure for introducing conditional clauses which functionally corresponds to different phonetic forms of Chinese conditional conjunctions. Additionally, the markers used in the main clauses became increasingly stable and standardized, with the use of sequential adverbs, such as *ötrü*, that correspond to markers in the original Chinese texts such as 则 (*zé*) and 即 (*jí*).

In terms of semantics, since the original Chinese text mostly expresses realistic assumptions, the main clause predicates in Old Uyghur are primarily marked by the aorist suffixes -(V)r/-yUr, indicating that the proposition in the main clause will definitely be realized. The optative -*GAy* is used to express the speaker's hope that the proposition in the main clause will be realized. The use of participles along with the conditional copula *ärsär* to encode realistic conditional clauses is relatively limited. This may be influenced by the syntactic mechanisms of Chinese, where realistic conditionals are not encoded through tense markers. However, the encoding of irrealis and counterfactual still uses the inherent syntactic means of Old Uyghur. In addition to being predominantly declarative, the main clause can also express a variety of moods, such as imperative, interrogative, necessitative, and optative, which are encoded through different syntactic devices.

Given the multilingual community and historical environment inhabited by the Old Uyghurs, this provides us with some material for reflection. In the early stages of translating Buddhist literature, the Uyghurs basically developed a primitive written Buddhist language. Later, as more translations of Buddhist scriptures were produced, the Uyghurs continuously revised the written language system,

standardizing specific forms used for fundamental linguistic correspondences. At the same time, they made efforts to create atypical markers within the existing system to address the challenges of translating the original texts. This ultimately led to the complexity observed in the written Old Uyghur Buddhist language.

In this ongoing process of development, the translation of original Chinese texts may have contributed to the further grammaticalization of some conjunctions in Old Uyghur conditional clauses and the stabilization of their syntactic structures. Through parallel comparisons across different texts, we propose that the temporal interrogative *qačan*, which initially contained an ambiguity between tense and condition, has largely been neutralized in Old Uyghur translations of Chinese Buddhist text and become a conditional conjunction through grammaticalization. Additionally, the conditional conjunction qaltï has undergone grammaticalization, evolving from a comparative marker to a conditional marker, which aligns with the grammaticalization path of the 若 (*ruò*)-type Chinese conditional conjunctions. Furthermore, the recurring correlative relativization in Old Uyghur translations represents a replication of the Chinese correlative relativization 若...者 (*ruò zhě*), 是人... (*shì rén*), which itself is influenced by the Sanskrit *yad ..., tad ...* construction, leading to a corresponding form. Old Uyghur translators used *kim* along with indefinite pronouns as a correlate of the Chinese subject relativizer 者 (*zhě*), and matched *ol tïnl(ï)ɣ/ol yalaŋuq* with the anaphoric phrase 是人 (*shì rén*) 'this person/ these persons' in Chinese main clauses. This was then embedded into the *birök ...-sAr* conditional framing structure, which corresponds to the surface structure of 若...者 (*ruò zhě*) in Chinese, ultimately forming the correlative relativization. Finally, we suggest that the double-marking strategy employed in Chinese for encoding complex sentences, in which subordinate clauses and main clauses are severally marked by different syntactic components, has also influenced the Old Uyghur encoding strategy for complex sentences. For example, in Old Uyghur, conditional clauses such as {*birök ... -sAr, ötrü ...*}, concessive clauses {*-sAr ymä, inčip (yänä) ...*}, and causal clauses {*-mIštIn/-mIš üčün, anïn/anï üčün ...*} display a clear tendency towards an analytical structural approach.

From this study, it becomes evident that there is a perfect correspondence between certain constructions in the conditional clauses of the Old Uyghur and Chinese languages. On the one hand, we do not deny the fact that subordinate conjunctions were already used in conditional clauses in early East Old Turkic (traditionally known as Old Turkic or Orkhun Turkic) and early Old Uyghur texts. On the other hand, conjunctions were used far less frequently than in Old Uyghur translations of Chinese Buddhist texts, where they play a significant syntactic role and have a greater diversity of types. Historically, the Old Uyghur people have had close contact with the Chinese, and this contact intensified following their westward migration from the Mongolian Plateau to the western region of China. As the Old Uyghur people lived in a multilingual community where the Chinese language had a strong influence, it is unlikely that the Chinese language had no impact on Old Uyghur. We believe that contact with Chinese led to further adaptive code-switching in the Old Uyghur written language, causing it to align more closely with the linguistic characteristics of Chinese. Based on the linguistic phenomena and historical facts described above, we propose the hypothesis of syntactic-level Chinese influence on Old Uyghur in the hope of further deepening our understanding of the Old Uyghur language.

Acknowledgments

Abbreviations

1	first person		LOC	locative
2	second person		NEG	negation
3	third person		NOMN	nominalizer
ABL	ablative		NEG.CONV	negative converb
ACC	accusative		OPT	optative
AOR	aorist		PASS	passive
AUX	auxiliary verb		PL	plural
CAUS	causative		POSS	possessive
COM	comparative		PRES	present tense
COND	conditional		PST	past tense
CONJ	conjunction		PTCL	particle
CONV	converb		PTCP	participle
COP	copular		Q	question particle
DAT	dative		QUO	quotation particle *tep* 'saying'
DISJ	disjunctive conjunction		REL	relational marker *+kI*
EQU	equative		SG	singular
GEN	genitive		SEMI-F.PTCL	semi-final particle
IMP	imperative		VN	verbal noun
INS	instrumental		VOL	voluntative

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