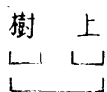


OUTLINE OF GRAMMAR

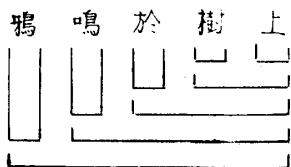
Chapter 1. Principles Operative Throughout

1.1 Grammatical forms

The main task in the grammatical analysis of a passage of literary Chinese, as of a spoken utterance or a written passage of any language, is to identify all the meaningful units into which it can be divided and to show how they are organized into larger and larger wholes. All such meaningful units will be called grammatical forms or forms for short. Forms which are composite and hence divisible into smaller forms will be called constitutes. The smaller meaningful forms which join to make a constitute will be called constituents. Thus 樹上 shù shàng "the top of a tree — tree top" 1(1) is a constitute with 樹 "tree" and 上 "top" as constituents. We will diagram this as follows:



When forms join in a constitute in this way they are said to stand in construction with each other. Forms are organized hierarchically so that the constituents of a form are themselves frequently divisible into constituents. The division is almost always into two parts. The two or more forms into which a larger form is divided will be called its immediate constituents or ICs for short. As an example, let us take the first sentence in Text 1. The ICs of the sentence are 鴉 and 鳴於樹上. The ICs of 鳴於樹上 are 鳴 and 於樹上. The IC analysis of the whole sentence can be diagrammed as:



The smallest forms arrived at when the process of segmentation of a composite form has reached its limit are its ultimate constituents. A technical linguistic name for an ultimate constituent is a morpheme.

Grammar 1.1

In the above diagram each ultimate constituent is represented by a rectangle with the upper side opening under a character.

The vast majority of morphemes in literary Chinese consist of one syllable which is represented by one Chinese character as in the case of 鴉 and all the morphemes in the above example. There is also a class of morphemes running into the thousands that consist of two syllables which individually are meaningless except as abbreviations for the whole morpheme. We shall call such morphemes binomes. Examples are 從容 "carefree" 12(2) and 蝴蝶 "butterfly" 27(6.3). More examples will be given in Gr. 6. These morphemes or ultimate constituents of discourse consisting of one or two syllables will be called simple words. It is also necessary to establish a class of composite words (often called compounds) consisting of two or more simple words. These are illustrated in Gr. 6. The two or more syllables of composite words are meaningful constituents in contrast to the meaningless syllables of binomes.

1.2 Free content words and bound function words

Section 1.1 has described some general features of the organization of grammatical forms. Here we will say something about the forms themselves as revealed in the distinction between free and bound forms. This distinction is arrived at by asking with regard to any form: "Can this form by itself function as the predicate (Gr. 1.41) of a sentence and as an independent utterance?" If it can, it is a free form. If it cannot, it is a bound form. Applying this criterion to two sample words in Text 1, 凶 hsiung "to be inauspicious" and 鴉 yā "a crow," we find that 凶 functions as a predicate in 鴉之鳴凶 "The cry of the crow is inauspicious" and that 鴉 is a predicate in 今鳴者鴉也 "In the present case the one who is singing is a crow."† Further, the question 鳴者誰也 "Who is the one crying out?" can be answered by 鴉也 or simply 鴉 "It is a crow." Similarly the answer to a question "Is the call of the crow auspicious or inauspicious?"

†The particle 也 is usual with such a predicate but it is not essential to it. See Gr. 10.3311 b.

Grammar 1.2

can be: 凶 "Inauspicious." Thus, by our definition, 凶 and 鴉 are free forms. Since they are of one morpheme each, they are free words. By contrast the words 之, 者, and 也 which occurred in the examples could never possibly by themselves be predicates or independent utterances. They are bound forms.[†]

Free words are the main carriers of meaning in discourse, they are the words that refer to the world outside of speech. We will therefore call them content words. By contrast the bound words add little or no content to an utterance, no additional information about the world outside speech. Their role is almost entirely grammatical: modifying, completing, substituting for, or joining free forms. We will call them function words. Chinese scholars have called them 虛字 hsü tzü "empty words" in contrast to 實字 shih tzü "full words," their term for our content words.

With some function words the form produced when one of them is added to a free form is not itself free but needs the addition of still another free form in order to become free. Thus when the bound word 而 érh is placed before the free word 走 "run away," the resultant form 而走 is still a bound form. It needs to be preceded by another free form like 棄甲曳兵 "discard armor, trail weapons" to make the larger free form 棄甲曳兵而走 "discarding [their] armor and trailing [their] weapons [they] ran away." 10(7). Words like these, which have to be associated with two free forms if the resultant form is to be free, will be called conjunctions. They will not be counted as constituents. In the diagrams there is no open rectangle to represent them.

1.3 Levels of organization

We proceed now to a further examination of the organization of grammatical forms. In Gr. 1.1 it was stated that simple one-morpheme words are the smallest grammatical forms and that some larger forms can be classified with them as words. Here we will identify three types of still larger forms, that is, three levels of syntactic organization

[†]We shall have occasion later to recognize some "free" words as having limitations on their freedom, and shall speak of classes of semi-free words.

Grammar 1.3

above the word. One is the simple sentence which is the commonest unit of utterance, as in most languages. The simple sentence usually consists of a subject-predicate (S-P) constitute (Gr. 1.41). The ICs of a simple sentence, i.e. the subject and the predicate, can both be free words, but they can also be word groups functioning as syntactic equivalents of single words. These word groups (and also constituents within them consisting of two or more words) will be called phrases. For instance, 風來 fēng lái "A breeze comes" is a sentence, whose ICs are simple words. These can be expanded into the phrases: 清風 ch'īng fēng "a fresh breeze" and 徐來 hsü lái "slowly comes," resulting in an enlarged sentence: 清風徐來 "A fresh breeze slowly comes" 24(6).

At the other extreme from the simple word the largest unit that is amenable to grammatical analysis is what will be called the composite sentence form.

We thus have the following four levels of organization:

Level I Words. These can occur as ICs of phrases, and of simple sentences or clauses (see Level IV below). All the characters in our examples so far, 風 "wind," 鴉 "crow," 於 "on," 者 "the one who," etc. represent simple words.

Level II Phrases. These word groups can occur as syntactic equivalents of word-constituents of a larger phrase or of a simple sentence. The minimal phrase has two words as its ICs. All the ICs in our examples so far are phrases if they consist of more than one word. These include: 清風 "fresh breeze," 徐來 "slowly comes," 於樹上 "on the top of the tree," 鳴者 "the one who is singing."

Level III Simple sentences. The simple sentence is a form that is not in construction with any other form and of which the favorite type is a single subject-predicate (S-P) constitute. Its ICs are words or phrases of various types including S-P constitutes (Gr. 10.213 and 10.34). It will be convenient to use the term expressions to refer to words and phrases collectively as opposed to sentences.

Level IV Composite sentences. The composite sentence is a form that is

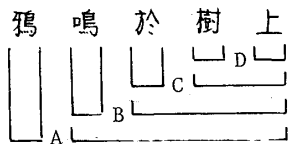
Grammar 1.3

not in construction with any other form and whose ICs are two or more S-P forms. As constituents of such a sentence these S-P forms are not simple sentences, nor are they phrases. We will call them clauses. As an example we may take the following from Text 1(6-7): 鳴者鴉也 以故擊之 "The cawer was a crow; for this reason [I] hit it," where 鳴者鴉也 and 擊之 are clauses joined by 以故. The status of expressions like 以故 will be discussed later.

This outline of grammar will consist mainly of four parts devoted to grammatical forms at these four levels: words in Chapters 2-6, phrases in Chapters 7-9, the simple sentence in Chapter 10, the composite sentence in Chapter 11. Before beginning fuller discussion of the first level, the word, we must introduce a set of principles that operate at more than one level.

1.4 Construction types

We started by saying that our task is to identify meaningful units. So far we have shown that grammatical forms are arranged in hierarchies, and almost entirely by binary division. Now we need to consider more closely just where in a given composite form the cuts should be made. Let us look again at the sentence analyzed in Gr. 1.1.



The understanding of this sentence depends on our understanding the nature of the connections at A, B, C, and D by which the ICs are joined into meaningful constitutes. It also depends on our knowing that the individual words are capable of being ICs of certain constitutes and not of others. We need to know, for instance, that the word 於 must be followed by an expression that in certain respects is like 樹上 and that the resulting constitute must precede or follow a word like 鳴; conversely that the possibility of being in construction with a succeeding expression beginning with 於 is a peculiarity of a word like 鳴. Put in more general terms, we need two kinds of information. 1. We need to know with what different meanings gram-

Grammar 1.4

matical forms can associate in a certain order as ICs of larger forms. We shall distinguish five such meaningful associations, for which the technical term is construction types. 2. We need to know what limitations there may be on the freedom of any particular word or larger grammatical form to associate with any other word or form in any of the five construction types. If regular patterns of association can be discerned, and if individual words or forms are found to occur according to one pattern of association rather than to another, this will make it possible to establish word classes (parts of speech) and other form-classes. These will greatly facilitate our task of breaking composite forms into their meaningful parts.

Coming now to the construction types, we find they are of two main kinds. One kind is uncentered (or exocentric); in this neither of the ICs has the same privileges of occurrence as the constitute (i.e. neither can perform the function of the whole constitute within a larger grammatical form). Types I and II are of this kind. The other kind is centered (or endocentric); in this, at least one of the ICs (called a center) has much the same privileges of occurrence as the constitute in which they occur. Types III, IV, V are of this kind.

For instance, in the centered phrase 清風 "fresh breeze," 風 fēng is the center, since grammatically speaking fēng can be used alone wherever the phrase can be used at all, without drastically changing the meaning. Thus, the sentence 風徐來 "a breeze slowly comes" has much the same meaning as 清風徐來 "a fresh breeze slowly comes." If, however, we discard the center of the phrase and retain the other IC the result is quite different, for 清 "fresh" cannot do duty for 清風 "fresh breeze." 清徐來 "fresh slowly comes" would be unlikely to occur, and if it did, it would mean something quite different from 清風徐來.

1.41 Construction type I. The predicative or subject-predicate (S-P) construction type

The subject is a topic presented for comment. The predicate is a comment on the subject. The predicate tells us such things as: what the

Grammar 1.4

persons or things or situations referred to in the subject do or what they resemble; how numerous they are, what qualities they have; of what genus of persons or things they are a species. Subject and predicate are both free grammatical forms. S-P is the characteristic construction type of the simple sentence. This means that a simple sentence (other than a minor sentence Gr. 10.14) consists primarily of two constituents, subject and predicate, which are either single words or phrases, and that the elaboration of the most complicated simple sentence occurs largely at the phrase level within the subject and the predicate. Constitutes created by the S-P construction type will be called S-P constitutes. They occur at the levels of phrase, simple sentence and composite sentence (as clauses). Since they are most often found at the simple sentence level, we will illustrate these first. The symbol € will be used as a mark between subject and predicate. Here and elsewhere the form under discussion will usually be underlined when it appears as part of a larger form.

Examples of S-P constitutes:

1.411 Simple sentence level

a. 鴉 鳴 於 樹 上
 [] € []

"A crow was cawing on the treetop."
 1(1).

b. 人 之 智 高 於 鳥 之 智
 [] € []

"Man's intelligence is higher than
 a bird's." 1(8).

1.412 Phrase level

我 疾 作
 [] € []

"As for me, the illness is active
 — My illness is playing up." 5(4).

The S-P phrase 疾作 has a role as predicate similar to that of the one word 凶 in 鴉之鳴凶 "the singing of the crow is unlucky" 1(5).

1.413 Composite sentence level

鴉 得 飲 其 渴 遂 解
 [] € [] € []

"The crow was able to drink; his
 thirst accordingly was relieved."
 4(15).

The two S-P constitutes here are clauses.

Grammar 1.4

1.42 Construction type II. The directive or transitive verb-object (V-O) construction type

A transitive verb is a word that normally must be followed by a free expression called its object which is substitutable by the bound word 之 chih (Gr. 3.11). The grammatical meaning of the construction is that the object is the goal of the action or attitude expressed by the verb. The verb is said to govern the object.† The verb-object phrase can become a constituent of a larger form; this is usually not true of the transitive verb alone. This limitation leads us to call a transitive verb a semi-free form and to classify the construction type as uncentered. Nothing can ever intervene between a transitive verb and its object.‡

V-O constitutes occur usually at the phrase level and are most commonly employed as centers of predicates. The type of expression that can be an object depends on the class of verb (Gr. 7). Constitutes created by the V-O construction type will be called verb-object or V-O constitutes. The symbol → will be used as a mark between verb and object.

Examples of V-O constitutes

1.421 Phrase level

兒 擊 之
□ □ → □
□ □

"The boy hit it."

The V-O phrase has a role as predicate similar to that of the one word 生 in 吾生 "I shall live." 5(11).

1.422 Word level

司 馬
□ □ → □
□ □

"superintend the horses — commander of cavalry" 17(21).

This is a composite word.

†The order of verb-object can be reversed but this results in a transformation by which what was an object becomes a subject and the verb an intransitive verb predicate. See Gr. 5.31 and Comm. 4 D.

‡The occasional occurrence of 夫 between V and O is explained in Voc. 5(11)

Grammar 1.4

1.43 Construction type III. The coordinative or head-head (H-H) construction type

The constituents are two or more free grammatical forms of the same part of speech or form-class, each of which has the same privileges of occurrence as the constitute of which it is a part. They will all be called heads. The meaning of the construction is that the constituents form a unit with a single syntactic role which could be played by any one of them. Semantic types can be distinguished: cumulative (X and Y), alternative (X or Y), and at the composite sentence level adversative (X but not Y). The constituents can be immediately juxtaposed or they can be connected by conjunctions. The conjunctions usually remove any ambiguity there might be as to the type of construction and the grammatical nature of the constitute and its constituents. As noted at the end of Gr. 1.2 we treat the conjunctions as markers that are not constituents. This appears in the diagrams where no rectangles correspond to them.

The order of coordinate constituents is reversible without change of meaning, though one order is often more idiomatic than others. Thus the conventional order of the Confucian virtues is 仁, 義, 禮, 智 jén, yì, lǐ, chih, "Humanity, moral principle, propriety, moral judgment." And while 智 禮 義 仁 would mean the same thing it would sound as queer as "Charity, hope, and faith" would in English. Constitutes created by the H-H construction type will be called compound forms, head-head or H-H constitutes or simply compounds. The symbol + will be used as a mark between head and head.

Examples of H-H constitutes

1.431 Word level

山 水
□ + □
□

"mountains and rivers — landscape"

6(0)

1.432 Phrase level

Grammar 1.4

1.4321 Noun phrase

犬 馬
└─┬─┘
└─┬─┘

"hounds and horses" 8(7)

1.4322 Verb phrase

害 人 且 傷 畜
└─┬─┘ + └─┬─┘
└─┬─┘

"harms people and hurts domestic animals" 3(1)

1.433 Composite sentence level

知 者 樂 水 仁 者 樂 山
└─┬─┘ + └─┬─┘
└─┬─┘

"The wise delight in rivers; the good delight in mountains." 6(16)

The two S-P forms here are clauses.

1.44 Construction type IV. The subordinative adjunct-head (A-H) construction type

The constituents are a free form preceded by another free form or by an appropriate bound form. The second IC is the center. It is called the head and the first IC is its adjunct (some writers use the terms modifiér or attribute for the adjunct). The adjunct is said to modify the head. The grammatical meaning of this construction type is that the adjunct narrows down the reference of the head by limiting it to a specific individual or a species of the genus, by attributing to it a certain characteristic or manner, or by showing the prior conditions or intention from which it results.

Adjunct-head constitutes occur at all levels. At the phrase and composite sentence levels conjunctions can generally be used between adjunct and head when the adjunct is a free form. We do not count them as constituents. Constitutes created by the subordinative construction type will be called complex forms or adjunct-head or A-H constitutes. The symbol > will be used as a mark between the adjunct and the head.

Examples of A-H constitutes

Grammar 1.4

1.44 Word level

大 夫
 [] > []
 []

"a great person — a minister (of state)" 11(27)

1.442 Phrase level

1.4421 Nominal phrases

a. 明 月
 [] > []
 []

"the bright moon" 2(2)

b. 鵲 之 鳴
 [] > []
 []

"the cawing of a magpie" 1(5)

1.4422 Verb phrases other than those with coverbal adjuncts

a. 初 上
 [] > []
 []

"was just rising" 2(2)

b. 竭 力 以 事 大 國
 [] > []
 []

"[We] have made every effort to satisfy the great states." 8(3)

c. 棄 甲 曳 兵 而 走
 [] [] > []
 []

"[The soldiers], throwing down their armor and trailing their weapons, ran away." 10(7)

1.4423 Verb phrases containing coverbal adjuncts

At the phrase level, when the adjunct is a V-O and the head another verb or V-O, the A-H construction type gives rise to an important form. Certain verbs have become so specialized in the role of verb in an adjunct V-O that they largely cease to be used as predicate verbal heads. Thus 以 yǐ "to take," "to employ," which in 11(1) is a full verb (聖人以治天下為事者也 "A sage is one who takes bringing order into the world to be his business") commonly occurs in an adjunct V-O with the meaning "with" or "by" as in 以石擊鴉 "with a stone hit a crow" 1(2). Other TVs that have developed specialized uses and meanings of this sort are: 因 "because of"; 為 wèi "for the sake of"; 自,

Grammar 1.4

由 and 從 "from"; 於 "among, in." We will call these words coverbs and the V-Os in which they figure, coverbal phrases or coverbals. The verbal head to which a coverbal is adjunct will be called a nucleus. One feature distinguishing a coverbal from an adjunct full verbal is that the conjunctions 而 érh and 以 yǐ which frequently are used between an adjunct verbal and the head verbal in a verb phrase (as in 曳兵而走 above) are rarely used between a coverbal and the nucleus it modifies. Coverbs can usually be translated into English by prepositions.† Some coverbals occur more frequently as complements after the nucleus (Gr. 1.4521 and Gr. 9.4).

Phrases with adjunct coverbals

爲 之 說 牆 上 所 書 之 義	"for him explained the meaning of
└───┐ > └───┐	what was written on the wall"
└──────────────────┘	3(11)
從 何 處 來	"From what place do [you] come?"
└───┐ > └───┐	16(2.4).
└──────────────────┘	

1.443 Simple sentence level

1.4431 Sentence adjunct (SA) modifying sentence head

- a. Some of the coverbals described above occur before the subject of a sentence. They then stand in A-H construction with the body of the sentence and will be called sentence adjuncts (SA). Some of them, notably those with the coverbs 當, 方, 及, usually express the time setting of the sentence. See Gr. 10.412. Those with the coverb 於 often function as conjunctions.

於 是 馮 諼 不 復 歌	"Thereupon Féng Hsüān did not sing
└───┐ > └───┐	again." 14(13).
└──────────────────┘	

- b. A nominal (Gr. 2 and 8) can also function as a sentence adjunct without being the object of a coverb.

†Y. R. Chao establishes a separate construction type which he calls "V-V or verbs in series," mainly to account for these "preposition-verbs."

Grammar 1.4

院 中 樹 影 滿 地
 ┌───┐ > ┌──────────┐
 └───┘

"In the courtyard tree shadows
 covered the ground." 2(3).

- 1.4432 Predicates can be modified by certain function words which we will call predicate adjuncts (PAs). See Gr. 4.3.

大 夫 各 愛 其 家
 ┌───┐ ┌───┐ > ┌──────────┐
 └───┘ └───┘

"The great ministers each is con-
 cerned about his own family."
 11(28).

- 1.4433 Various initial particles function as adjuncts, sometimes to the body of a sentence, sometimes to the body of a predicate. See Gr. 10.62.

- 1.444 Composite sentence level.

河 內 凶 則 移 其 民 於 河 東
 ┌───┐ > ┌──────────┐
 └───┘

"Hónèi has a bad harvest; then [I] move the people of that region to Hótūng."

- 1.45 Construction type V. The complementive or verb-complement (V-C) construction type

The constituents are usually two verbals (V or V-O), or a verbal followed by a coverbal or a nominal. The first constituent is the center. The second is the complement. This construction occurs at the word level and at the phrase level. The grammatical meaning of the construction is that the complement supplements the center verbal by expressing a result, a direction, an area of application, an instrument, a motive, or a comparison. Constitutes created by the complementive construction type will be called verb-complement or V-C constitutes. The symbol < will be used as a mark between the center and the complement.

- 1.451 Word level

At the word level the complementive construction type usually creates a composite verb whose second IC is a verb expressing result or direction. The composite verb may be transitive or intransitive. It will be called a resultative or a directional composite verb as the case may be. Such

Grammar 1.4

verbs are common in MC and are frequently imported into late L. Prototypes are to be found in classical texts but they are rare.

1.4511 Verb < resultative complement

說 明
□ < □

"explain so as to make clear — to elucidate" 28(27).

逃 亡
□ < □

"to run away so as to disappear — to escape, to abscond" 14 S(16)

1.4512 Verb < directive complement

馳 下
□ < □

"to gallop so as to go down — gallop down, gallop off" 17(12,13).

1.4513 Nominal or verbal center < suffix

In the above examples the complement is a verb, i.e. a free form. By analogy suffixes, i.e. bound words that follow a center in a composite word, can be considered as standing in quasi-complementive construction with that center.

Forming nominal words

獅 子
□ < □

"a lion" 33(34).

Forming verbs of manner

填 然
□ < □

"to act with a booming sound" 10(7).

1.452 Phrase level

At the phrase level the complement is either a coverbal (CV-0) or a nominal.

1.4521 Complement a coverbal

Under Type IV we used the term coverb for certain verbs that specialize in the formation of adjunct V-0s before a nucleus verbal head and called the CV-0 phrase a coverbal. Just as some coverbals occur as sentence adjuncts (Gr. 1.4431), some are complements. The commonest are those with the coverb 於 yú (sometimes written 于 or replaced by

Grammar 1.4

乎 hū). In its rare uses as a main verb 於 means "to occupy [a certain place or position]." As coverb it expresses direction and is translatable by the prepositions "to," "at," "into," "among," "than," etc. Coverbals with 以, 焉, 因, 自, etc. also occasionally occupy the complement position.

Examples of coverbal complements:

鳴 於 樹 上
[] < []

"was cawing on the treetop" 1(1).

延 之 以 三 旌 之 位
[] < []

"Invest him with the rank of
'Three Pennons.'" 13(18).

1.4522 Complement a nominal

If the complement is a nominal it is usually possible to insert a coverb between the nucleus verbal (V or V-O) and the complement. An intransitive verb like 入 jù "enter" can be followed by 井 chǐng "a well" or by 於井 yú chǐng. 入井 and 入於井 both mean "enter (or fall into) a well." It seems reasonable to consider 井 in 入井 an elliptical coverbal. This distinguishes a nominal complement from an object. It can be further distinguished by the fact that while an object can be substituted by 之 a complement never can be. 之 after the intransitive verb 入 would make it transitive in a causative sense meaning "caused him (or it) to enter" and not "entered it." Thus in 23(16) we have 門者 . . . 起而入之 "The gatemen, getting up, let him in."

Examples of nominal complements:

壁 垓 下
[] < []

"built an earthwork camp at
Kāihsià" 17(1).

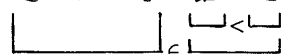
大 王 反 國
[] ∈ [] < []

"The great king returned to his
state." 13(6).

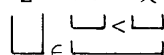
1.453 Simple sentence or clause level

We will consider final particles as standing in quasi-complementive construction with the subject or predicate they complete.

Grammar 1.4

追 我 者 誰 也


"The one pursuing me, who is it?"
 5(7).

吾 死 矣


"I am already dead — I am doomed
 to die." 5(5).

1.5 Parts of speech and class cleavage

We now take up a topic whose importance was noted in Gr. 1.4. This is the establishment of parts of speech. In the absence of any system of inflection we can only classify words according to their syntactical behavior. The syntactical behavior of a word can be described under two heads: 1) the range of roles it fills in constitutes formed according to the five construction types; 2) the selection of other words with which it can stand in construction. Applying this to content (i.e. free) words we find that, in principle, within the limits of semantic compatibility, 1) they can all function as subject, predicate, transitive verb, or object or as head or adjunct, or center or complement to another free word; 2) they can all stand in construction with any other word, bound or free.

From this one might conclude that the content words are so free that they defy classification. However, individually content words do in fact vary quite markedly in their syntactical behavior. Some of them for instance are far more likely to function as subjects or objects than as predicates. Some are more likely to function as predicates. However, such predilections alone are insufficient to form a basis for classification. This leaves as our chief means of classifying content words the pattern of their association with function (i.e. bound) words. The reasons for this are twofold: a) Function words have specialized syntactic roles. They are either adjuncts or conjunctions or coverbs or particles or prefixes or suffixes. Moreover, as Y. R. Chao has emphasized, whereas content words form open classes with no limit to their number short of the total lexicon, function words form closed classes of listables. It is possible to make a list of each class of function words that is approximately complete. b) Within their special-

Grammar 1.5

ized roles function words are discriminative in their association with content words. For instance we shall find that most bound adjuncts are committed to being adjuncts to some classes of content words and not to others, and that conjunctions are selective of one or both of the words or phrases they join.

We shall therefore classify content words primarily by their normal association with function words and only secondarily by their predilection for certain syntactic roles. Chapters 2, 3, and 4 will be concerned with the classification of words according to these criteria.

In defining parts of speech by formal criteria we are following a cardinal principle of modern linguistics designed to avoid the endless pitfalls that attend classification by meanings referring to the objective world. This is not to deny that words are symbols with meanings which relate to the world we live in.

It must be admitted that the function words are rarely indispensable. Many good writers employ them as little as possible. This means that in assigning words to parts of speech in the Vocabularies we have sometimes had to consider what function words could be used with certain content words rather than limit ourselves to those which can actually be found in our limited selection of Texts.

The classes of content words that can be set up by our formal criteria are sufficiently stable to be a useful guide in reading a text. However, since the classes of function words are much more stable and their operation is regular to the point of inflexibility, a writer can employ them as it were to coerce the flexible content words into temporary estrangement from their intrinsic character. In such cases a word of one class is being employed as though it belonged to a different class. Such crossing of the boundaries between word classes is possibly more frequent even than in English, which is the extreme example of the phenomenon in Western languages. It will be discussed in Chapter 5, Class Cleavage.

2. For the purpose of the present discussion nouns and noun-like words will be grouped together and called "nominal words." Some writers call them "substantives." The term "nominal" or "nominal form" will later be used to include nominal words and nominal phrases. The following criteria distinguish nominal words (with some exceptions noted under the subclasses):
- a. They usually function as subjects or objects; less frequently as nominal predicates. They also occur as heads or, less frequently, as adjuncts, in nominal phrases which have one of these functions. Still less frequently some of them function as adjuncts to verbs or as sentence adjuncts. They cannot govern objects or stand in construction with coverbals.
 - b. As predicates they are negated by the negative equational conjunctive verb 非 fēi "is not, are not," and not by the negative adverb 不 pū "not." They can be given emphasis by the final particle 也 yěh. They cannot be followed by the final particle 矣 yǐ.
 - c. They can be joined to form a compound nominal phrase by the conjunctions 與 yǔ 6(2) or 及 chí 2(9). See Gr. 8.3 below. They cannot be joined by the coordinative conjunctions 且 ch'ieh and 亦 yì.
 - d. As head or adjunct in a complex nominal phrase they can be and usually are joined to another free constituent by the conjunction 之 chih. See Gr. 8.42. They cannot be so joined by the conjunction 而 érh.

The subclasses of nominal words are: 1. nouns; 2. names of persons, places, and times; 3. place and time words; 4. pronouns.

2.1 Nouns. Additional criteria:

- a. A noun can be modified by an adnoun as in: 彼羊 pǐ yáng "that sheep;" 他人 t'ā jén "other people."
- b. A noun can be modified by an indefinite quantity word. E.g. 若干人 jò-kān jén "several people."

Grammar 2.1

c. Some nouns can be modified by a numeral and a measure word. E.g. 畝田 16(3.1) "ten mǔ of arable land." The use of numerals and measure words with nouns is much less frequent in L than in MC. When they are used they occur predominantly in apposition following the noun. E.g. 馬三匹 mǎ sān p'ǐ "[the] horses [are] three members — three horses" rather than 三匹馬. Strictly speaking, such apposition is an S-P construction.

A noun is thus differentiated from other nominal words by the possibility of modification by adnouns, quantity words and numeral-measure phrases.

A subdivision of nouns can be made as follows:

2.11 Fully free nouns

Most nouns satisfy the requirement (Gr. 1.2) of being able to function as a predicate or an independent utterance and thus are absolutely free forms. E.g. 鐵劍也 "A chiā is a chièn (sword)." Voc. 14(5). 子非魚 "You are not a fish." 12(3). 戰國策書名 "'The Chàn-kúo ts'è' is the name of a book." 18(16).

2.12 Semi-free nouns

These usually have to combine with another form as head or adjunct in order to constitute a free form.

2.121 Measure words (sometimes called classifiers)

These usually occur with a numeral, a quantity word or an adnoun as adjunct. The phrase constitutes so formed commonly occur as adjuncts to nouns (Gr. 8.4122) or in predicative apposition to nouns (Gr. 8.11). They can also be subjects, predicates (especially second predicates) and objects. Their use with nouns is not mandatory as it is in MC. Chōu Fǎ-kāo has collected an impressive number of early examples in his Historical Grammar, Part III (1959), pp. 326-336. Their use increases rapidly after Hàn.

Among the measure words in our Texts are:

a. Standard measures of length, area and capacity

八尺 "eight feet" 22(1); 數里 "several lǐ (Chinese miles)" 6(11);

Grammar 2.1

千里 "a thousand li" 17(19), 22(11); 十畝 "ten mǔ (Chinese acres)."

b. Measures for individual things, groups and categories

八百餘人 "eight-hundred and more individuals" 17(5); 青松四五樹
"of pines, four or five trees" 16(3.3); 各項 "each item" 18(20); 四
隊 "four companies" 17(11); 四種 "four kinds" 18(11); 一滴 "one drop"
27(6.8).

c. Measures for occurrences

十餘次 "ten and more times" 4(13); 數閱 "several reprises" 17(4).

d. Measures that are containers

盤殮 "a platter of food" 16(4.5); 樽酒 "a jar of wine" 16(4.5). As
noted in Comm. 2(1) and 7(1) the numeral "one" can be omitted before
a measure.

2.122 A few nouns of high frequency and extreme generality of meaning almost
always require an adjunct which can be an S-P form. They might be
called "head-nouns." These include: 時 "an occasion or period of
time" Voc. 2(9); 處 "a place" Voc. 6(4); 故 "a reason or cause" Voc.
1(7); 謂 "a meaning" Voc. 5(12); 事 "an affair, a matter" Voc. 5(21).

2.2 Names of persons, places, and times. These are nominal words that nor-
mally cannot be modified by an adnoun, a numeral or quantity word, or
a measure word. Since they refer to unique individuals, there is no
occasion for specifying which or how many. When they are modified by
numerals they become nouns with such meanings as "a person (or place
or time) like so-and-so." For example: 一薛居州獨如宋王何 "A
single (person like) Hsüeh Chū-chōu alone can do to the King of Sùng
what — what influence can a single (good) man like Hsüeh Chū-chōu have
over the King of Sùng (if the rest of his courtiers are evil)?" I(6).

2.21 Names of persons. The names carried by most educated Chinese are the
following:

a. The 姓 hsiing "clan name." After the beginning of the Hàn period this
was not distinguished from the 氏 shih "family name," and both words

Grammar 2.2

had this latter connotation. The 姓 is normally of one syllable, such as 劉 Liú, 張 Chāng, etc., but there are quite a number of family names of two or more syllables. E.g. 司馬 Ssū-mǎ, 歐陽 Ōu-yáng Voc. 25(0).

- b. The 名 míng or personal name, given by the family. This is normally of either one or two syllables. Usually one syllable, or a radical in one graph, is common to all members of one generation of a family. Thus the 名 of two famous brothers of the 蘇 family in the 11th century both contained the element 車 as generational indicator: 蘇軾 Sū Shìh Voc. 24(2), and 蘇轍 Sū Ch'è. Another famous literary family in the 16th century included three brothers: 袁宗道 Yüán Tsūng-tào, 袁宏道 Yüán Húng-tào, 袁中道 Yüán Chūng-tào, where the character 道 is a generational indicator. The common element is often pre-established by the adoption of a verse or other literary text the successive words of which prescribe the common character for many generations. Collateral lines follow the same code, and by this means dozens of brothers and cousins of a given generation can have the common element in their names and recognize affinity, even though complete strangers.

- c. The 字 tzù, style or courtesy name, usually given by friends. It usually bespeaks some desirable moral or intellectual quality for the bearer.

- d. The 號 hào, an appellation or sobriquet. This was often taken from the name of a scholar's garden or studio, or alluded to some association of the person. Names are usually given in the form of S-P phrases as predicate. For example: 此人姓徐名渭字文長號青藤別署天池山人田水月 "This person, his family name was Hsü, his personal name was Wèi, his style Wén-ch'áng (Good at composition), his sobriquet Ch'iēng-t'éng (Green Wisteria); his other signatures or pen names were, T'ien-ch'ih-shān Jén (The man of T'ien-ch'ih Mountain) and T'ien shuǐ yüeh.

- 2.22 Names of places are limited in their occurrences as subjects. They occur with nominal predicates, but rarely with verbal predicates except for the verbs 有 yǔ "has" or "there is" and 無 wú "has not" or "there is not."

Grammar 2.2

Examples:

南昌故郡 Nán-ch'āng kù chūn "Nánch'āng is an ancient commandery."
(王勃滕王閣序).

王曰齊無人耶 Wáng yüeh Ch'í wú jén yéh "The king said, 'In Ch'í are there no men? — is there a shortage of (good) men?'" B(4).

As objects, place names occur most frequently governed by the coverbs 於, 自, 由, 從 or by a few verbs like 去 ch'ü "to leave" 8(11,12); 自 tzü "to go from"; 踰 yü "to cross" 8(12); 過 kuo "to go past, to visit"; 圍 wéi "to surround."

Examples:

舜生於諸馮遷於負夏卒於鳴條 Shùn shēng yü Chū-féng, ch'ien yü Fù-hsià, tsü yü Míng t'iao "Shùn was born at Chūféng, moved to Fùhsia, died at Míngt'iao." Mencius 4 b1.1.

孟子自齊葬於魯 Mèng-tzū tzü Ch'í tsàng yü Lǔ "Mencius went from Ch'í and buried [his mother] in Lǔ." Mencius 2 b7.1.

When a place name follows directly after an IV or a V-O it is a complement with 於 implied:

項王至[於]陰陵 "King Hsiang arrived at Yinling" 17(7).

Place names sometimes connote military or political entities. Then, of course, they can be subjects and objects of a wider range of verbs. For example,

秦滅六國 Ch'in mièh lù kuo "Ch'in destroyed the Six States." Here it is clearly a question of the Ch'in army destroying the armies of the Six States.

2.23 Names of times

These are names connoting specific periods of time and specific portions of larger time units. They occur frequently as sentence adjuncts, as adjuncts to verbs and as objects of coverbs.

2.231 Periods in the absolute span of time

1. Dynasties. For example 明 Míng Voc. 2(2) refers specifically to the

Grammar 2.2

period 1368-1643, when China was ruled by the 朱 Chū family with the dynastic name 明.

2. Reign periods. For example 開元 K'āi-yüán is the name of the period 713-741; 康熙 K'āng-hsi is the name of the period 1662-1722. Cf. 淳熙 Ch'ún Hsi Voc. 18(9).
3. Years are identified by terms of the sexagenary cycle: 甲子 Chiǎ-tzŭ, 乙丑 Yǐ-ch'ou, etc. See Voc. 24(15). When the name of a reign period is also given, a particular year is clearly identified. For example 開元甲子 K'āi-yüán chiǎ-tzŭ "The chiǎ-tzŭ year (No. 1 in a cycle of 60) in the reign period K'āi-yüán." This is the year 724.

2.232 Portions of larger time units

1. Seasons of the year: 春, 夏, 秋, 冬 Ch'un, Hsià, Ch'iu, T'ung, "spring, summer, autumn, winter."
2. Months of the year. Apart from the numbers one to twelve, there are literary names for the months, e.g. 臘 là 23(27). See Mathews Dictionary, p. 1176.
3. Days of the month. The first, the fifteenth, and the last day of the lunar month have names: 朔 Shuò, 望 Wàng 10(10), 晦 Hui 34(62).
4. The five watches of the night are the five 更 kēng, lit. "changes (in the number of times the watchman shakes his rattle)." 三更 "the midnight watch" 27(10.2) and 五更 "the dawn watch" are frequently met in literature.
5. The portions of the day. These tend to fall into contrasting pairs.
 - a. 旦 tàn "sunrise, dawn, in the morning" 22(6) or 朝 chāo "sunrise, the morning" 22(2), K1, contrasts with 夕 hsi "moonrise, the evening" 2(1), K1, or 暮 mù "nightfall, the evening" 22(9).
 - b. 晨 ch'én "early morning, daybreak" 27(4.1) contrasts with 昏 hūn "dusk, evening" 27(12.1).
 - c. 晝 chòu "daytime, when it is light" or 夙 sù "early morning, pre-dawn" contrasts with

夜 yèh "nighttime, late at night" 16(1.3).

d. 午 wǔ midday, noon." 日中 jìh chūng "midday."

The traditional twelve equal divisions of the day and night use the names of the twelve "earth branches" 子, 丑 etc. 18(5). It is in contrast to these twelve 時 that the modern twenty-four hours are called 小時.

- 2.3 Place and time words. These are nominal words that normally cannot be modified by an adnoun, a numeral or quantity word, or a measure word.

2.31 Place words

These denote relative positions in space. They are extremely versatile.

They occur as subjects (especially with the verb 有), objects, and nominal predicates, as heads and adjuncts in nominal phrases. They very often become verbs and adjuncts to verbs (adverbs) by class cleavage. In the case of 上, 中, and 下 the alternation of noun and verb use is so frequent that distinctive tones were formerly employed to mark it.

- a. 上 shàng "above, the upper part" 1(1), 12(1), 16(36), 18(11)
 中 chūng "the middle" 2(1), 23(10)
 下 hsià "below, the lower part" 2(9), 3(5,7), 19(2), 20(15)
- b. 前 ch'ién "the front, in front" 25(5), 28(29), 32(4)
 後 hòu "the rear, behind"
- c. 間(間) chiēn "space between, between" 23(10), 32(2), 33(11,24)
- d. 左 tsǒ "the left, to the left" 7(6)
 右 yù "to the right, the right" 7(6)
- e. 內 nèi "within, the inside" 10(2)
 外 wài "the outside, without" 14(27)
- f. 東 tūng "the east, to the east"
 西 hsi "the west, to the west" 6(3)
 南 nán "the south, to the south"
 北 pěi "the north, to the north"
- g. 側 ts'è "the side, to one side" 24(9)
 旁 p'áng "the side, beside" 24(5)

Grammar 2.3

h. 底 tǐ "the bottom, the underside" 24(9)

頂 tiǐng "the top"

i. 邊 piēn "the edge" 27(7.1)

2.32 Timewords

These denote relative positions in time. They commonly occur as SAs, or as subjects (of 有 and 無); also (especially the single-syllable words) as adjuncts to nominals or verbs and objects of the coverbs 自 and 於. The first six also function as placewords (see 2.31 above).

上	shàng	"before, above (in time)" 26(52)
中	chūng	"middle" 34(48)
下	hsià	"later, below (in time)" 26(52), 29(2)
前	ch'ién	"other time, before, formerly" 23(11), 25(11), 26(32)
後	hòu	"the time after" 18(21), 26(32)
間	chiēn	"the time between" 18(9)
先	hsiēn	"before, earlier" 7(4)
古	kǔ	"long ago, antiquity" 6(16), 21(11), 34(48)
古之時		"ancient times" 26(20)
古者	kǔ-chě	"of old" 18(7), "the remote past" 31(17)
昔	hí	"the past, in the past, formerly" 31(6)
昔日	hí-jìh	"in past days, days gone by" 30(6)
昔者	hí-chǐ	"in former times" 8(6)
今	chiñ	"at present, now, in the present instance" 1(6)
今者	chiñ-chě	"nowadays"
今日	chiñ-jìh	"today" 5(4)
當世		"the present age" Comm. 34(4)
當日		"the time in question, that time" 34(54)
向(嚮, 鄉)	hsiàng	"former times, formerly, previously" 23(16), 25(7), 26(49)
曩	nāng	"the past, in the past" K11
疇昔	ch'óu-hí	"former days, in the past" 31(25)
昨日	tsó-jìh	"yesterday" 23(14)
昨夜	tsó-yèh	"last night" 27(11.1)
明	miñg	"the next day" 22(8), "tomorrow" 23(11,12)

Grammar 2.3

- 旦日 tàn-jìh "tomorrow, the next day" 22(6)
 未來 wèi-lái "the future" 31(7,24)
 將來 chiāng-lái "the future" 34(59)
 初 ch'ú "(in) the beginning" 28(11). As adverb the meaning is
 "just then, for the first time, only then." See 22(14).

2.4 Pronouns. These substitute for other nominal words and phrases.

All the criteria for nominal words apply to pronouns except that they cannot be modified by adjuncts and they cannot function as adjuncts to verbs. As adjuncts to nominals they can, in principle, be joined to the head by the conjunction 之. In fact this rarely occurs. Its use can be important, however, to distinguish a pronoun from an adnoun. Compare, for instance, 彼宮 pǐ kūng "that palace" where 彼 is an adnoun, and 彼之宮 "that [person]'s palace." By the above definition the bound words 其, 之, 者, 自 and 相 are not pronouns. They are discussed in Chapter 4. Pronouns fall into four categories.

2.41 Demonstrative pronouns. In addition to pointing out the thing they substitute for, these indicate whether it is near to or remote from the speaker or from other things in the situation. They can all function as adnouns. See Gr. 4.2211.

2.411 "This," or "these"; "the aforesaid." Referring to something nearby.

a. 此 tz'ü (*tsjār) Voc. 3(13). This is the commonest demonstrative pronoun. It refers occasionally to persons 14(15), 17(21); places 27(3.4, 10.9), 28(9); times 27(4.7); but most often to actions and situations, etc., substituting for preceding sentences and even paragraphs.

b. 是 shìh (*ḍieg) Voc. 6(4). This rarely refers to particular persons, places and times. It is used rather to refer to sentences of a narrative or expository nature.

c. 斯 szū (*sǐēg) Voc. 6(7). This is much less common than 此 and 是. It usually refers to particular persons, places and times and not to preceding sentences. It was the "near" demonstrative pronoun in the dialects of the "Analects" and parts of the Lǐ Chǐ. The great familiarity of those works may account for its survival.

Grammar 2.4

- d. 茲 tzū (*tsiəg) Voc. 33(40). This is mainly used in referring to times and places.

2.412 "That," "those." Referring to something at a distance.

彼 pǐ (*pia) Voc. 17(12). This usually refers to specific individuals. It is mainly used in contrasting one or a group of persons or things with another individual or group. The four occurrences in our Texts, 17(18), 19(4), 26(6), 26(12), are of this kind.

彼 and 此 often occur in contrast within the one sentence as in 26(12).

2.413 "Something else."

他 t'ō (t'ā) 王顧左右而言他 "The king, looking to the left and right (with embarrassment) spoke of other things." Mencius 1b6.3.

2.42 Personal pronouns. The use of personal pronouns is extremely limited when compared with MC or with English. There is no third person pronoun at all. It is part of the Confucian respect for others to refer to people by title or name. Very occasionally the demonstrative pronouns 此, 是 and 彼 are used to refer to persons. In our Texts there are not more than ten cases of this. They are all in some way condescending or derogatory references. As for first and second person pronouns the social situations in which they can be used are rarely recorded in writing. See Gr. 2.424 below.

2.421 First person

- a. 吾 wú (*ngo) Voc. 3(13). "I," "my," "me." This occurs as subject 5(5), 12(8), or as adjunct in a nominal phrase 13(23), 17(21). In this latter use it can be joined to the head by 之 but this is rare and there are no instances in our Texts. It is rarely used as an object.
- b. 我 wǒ (*nga) Voc. 4(6). "I," "we," "me," "us," "my," "our." This occurs in our Texts most frequently as adjunct (never with 之) in a nominal phrase 15(1), 21(6); next as object 5(7), 12(8); next as subject 5(4), 12(9); occasionally as nominal predicate 5(13), 12(4). It is generally preferred to 吾 when the reference is plural. Thus it is

Grammar 2.4

used to refer to the army or the government or people of a state by a person identifying himself with the community 20(1), 30(6).

- c. 余, 予 yǔ (*d̥io) "I," "me." These seem to be two graphs for the same word yǔ which is used as subject 32(4), 33(1), and as object 24(2), 33(4).

2.422 Second person

- a. 汝(女)jǔ (*ńio) Voc. 2(8). "Thou," "thee," "you." This is commonly used as subject or object, or adjunct.
- b. 而 érh (*ńiag) Voc. 26(31). This is mainly used in the adjunct position as in our one occurrence. Chōu Fǎ-kāo suggests it may be a fusion of 汝之 ńi[o ɬi]əg. This is plausible since 汝 is never followed by 之 in early classical texts.
- c. 乃 nǎi (*nəg) Voc. 27(8.4). Also mainly used as adjunct, as in our one occurrence. Chōu thinks this too may be a fusion of 汝之.
- d. 若 jò (*n̥iak) Voc. 17(4). This appears as subject in 17(21) and as object in 17(4).
- e. 爾(尔)ěrh (*ńia) Voc. 27(33). This is found predominantly in the adjunct position, sometimes joined to the head by 之 as in 32(20).

2.423 Plural forms. Personal pronouns have no specifically plural forms such as 們 in MC. There are, however, several nouns meaning a group of some sort that are sometimes placed after pronouns as heads to produce a plural meaning. The only example in our Texts is 吾輩 in 6(17-19). Literally this means "our generation" or "our group," but in practice it is used to mean "we."

2.424 Humble and honorific forms. Until modern times the first and second person pronouns could only be used in addressing juniors or social inferiors. In all other situations references to oneself had to be self-abasing and addresses and references to others to be deferential. Apart from referring to oneself by one's 名 (e.g. 文 14(14)) and to another by title (e.g. 大王 17(17), 22(11)), the following forms were used.

2.4241 Humble forms of reference to oneself. These are nouns, not pronouns,

Grammar 2.4

which often, however, can only be translated conveniently by "I," "me," "my."

- a. 臣 ch'én Voc. 11(13). "The minister, the vassal, the slave." This is used in addressing a ruler (directly or through an intermediary) with the meaning: "your minister," "your humble servant." See 13(7, 10, 13), 14(27), 17(17), 22(10).
- b. 妾 ch'ieh "the concubine," "[your] servant." This is the female equivalent of 臣. It was used by a woman in addressing any gentleman.
- c. 僕 p'ú Voc. 5(6). "The servant," "your servant." See 23(26, 29).
- d. 不才 pū ts'ái "[this] untalented one." See 23(2, 5, 6).
- e. 小人 hsiǎo-jén Voc. 5(15). "[This] little person." Comm. 5(19).
- f. 愚者 yü-chě "This stupid one." L(9).
- g. 寡人 kǔa-jén Voc. 10(1). "The one lacking (in virtue)." This was used by princes.

2.4242 Honorific forms. These being nouns, like the humble forms, are really third person forms.

- a. 子 tzŭ Voc. 5(0) Nc. "[You] Sir." See 7(9), 12(3 etc.).

Note that in Text 12 when Chūang-tzŭ quotes the words of Hui-tzŭ about himself: 子... 安知魚之樂 he changes the respectful 子 to 汝.

- b. 君 chŭn Voc. 5(14). "You, sir" (to a guest) 16(4.4); "you" (to a lover) 16(5.2).

君請擇 "I beg the lord to choose" (a subject to a king) 8(17).

君美甚 "The lord is very handsome" (a wife to a husband) 22(3).

- c. 公 kŭng Voc. 14(12). "gentlemen" 17(12), "the gentleman" 17(19).

- d. 先生 hsiēn-shēng Voc. 14(18). "Elder, senior" 14(18, 19).

- e. 長者 chǎng-chě Voc. 17(19). "Elder, senior" 23(1, 4, 26, 31).

2.43 Interrogative pronouns

- 2.431 何 hó Voc. 1(3). "What (thing, meaning, reason)."

Grammar 2.4

a. As nominal predicate

In five cases 何也 (or 哉) means 何[故]也 "what reason" 10(5), 11(22), 19(3), 26(28), 30(23).

In two cases it means: 何[物]也 (or 哉) "what thing — what sort of thing":

且今之所謂孚者何哉 "However the so-called 'respect' of today is what — what is it?" 23(7).

夫所謂先王之教者何也 "Now the so-called 'teaching of the former kings,' what is it?" 26(44).

b. As object of a nucleus verb it regularly precedes the verb: 何謂 "means what?" 5(11), 21(4).

何好 ... 何能 "likes what ... is capable of what?" 14(2).

何市 "what shall [I] buy?" 14(20).

何先 "what shall we put first?" 21(11).

何如 "what is it like — what sort of thing is that?" 10(9), 17(16).

In these cases 如 must be distinguished from the 如 in 如之何, for which see Voc. 8(4).

c. As object 何 regularly precedes a coverb. The resultant form will be treated as an adverb.

人何以能羣 "By what means (= How) are human beings able to form communities?" 19(5)

d. As adverb. Often 何 alone is employed with the same force as 何以 and 何焉. E.g. 何患乎無君 "Why worry about having no ruler?" 8(11)

e. 何 often occurs as a complement (equivalent to 以何) in a type of idiomatic verbal phrase which takes the following forms:

虞兮奈若何 "My dear Yü, in what way can I save you?" 17(4)

誰能奈我何 "Who can affect me in any way?" 16(3.8)

薛居州獨如宋王何 "A single Hsüeh Chū-chōu can influence the King of Sòng in what way?" 1(6)

如之何則可 "In what way can I deal with the problem so that all will be well?" 8(4)

奈之何 "[Under the circumstances] how can one deal with the problem — what else can be expected?" 26(19)

市義奈何 "To 'purchase [a reputation for] justice' will help [me] in what way?" 14(28)

雖不逝可奈何 "Since Chūi (my charger) cannot run away, how can I save him?" 17(4)

亡 (= 無)[可]奈何 "There is no possibility of doing anything about it." 23(15)

The verbs 奈 (nài) and 如 (jú) in these sentences appear to be variants of the same word. 若 is also used for it. It should be noted that in the second and last sentences 何 does not pose a question with one particular solution but makes a reference to any and every possibility. 何 can also be viewed as a second object. See Gr. 7.53.

For 何 as adnoun see Gr. 4.2211 e.

2.432 曷 hó (*g'at) Voc. 26(35). "What." This is similar to but less common than 何. Our only examples are in 26(35) where it is an adverb "why."

2.433 奚 hsi Voc. G(4). "What." This also is a less common equivalent of 何. Our only example is in G(4) where it combines with 烏 to form an adverb "why."

2.434 誰 shuí Voc. 5(7). "who," "whom," "anybody," "whoever."

A favorite question form is an equational sentence with shuí as the nominal predicate.

追我者誰也 "The one pursuing me is who? — Who is the one pursuing me?" 5(7). Cf. 14(15), 23(14).

誰 also occurs as subject in an equational sentence. See Comm. 14(14).

For 誰 as object of a coverb, see I(5).

2.435 孰 shú Voc. 22(2). "which one (person or thing)?"

Grammar 2.4

Besides its use as subject and object shú frequently occurs in the predicate adjunct position. See 4.3112g. Our texts have no example of shú as subject. As object we have: 孰從而聽之 "from whom (which persons) will they hear about them (the true doctrines of human kindness, etc.)?" 26(13). Also 26(16).

2.44 Indefinite pronouns

- a. 某 mǒu Voc. 23(25). "so-and-so," "such-and-such a person."
- b. 或 huò Voc. 8(15). "somebody," "someone," "some," "a certain person" M(1); "something." For use as a PA see Gr. 4.3112e.
- c. 莫 mò Voc. 15(4). "nobody," "none," "not one."

子曰莫我知也乎 "The Master said, 'Nobody appreciates me!'" L. Y. 14.37.

The five occurrences of this word in our texts are best treated as PAs rather than pronouns. See Gr. 4.3112f.

- d. 己 chǐ Voc. 21(2). "one," "oneself," "himself," "yourself."

As an object: 不患人之不己知 'Don't worry about others not appreciating oneself' 21(2). See also 25(5), 26(1).

As adjunct in a nominal phrase: 己所不欲勿施於人 "What you yourself do not desire, don't transfer it to others" 21(9).

- e. 人 jen Voc. 1(4). "somebody else," "another," "others." This is illustrated in the two sentences under d. where it contrasts with 己.

Chapter 3. Verbs and Other Predicatives

3. This chapter includes all words whose basic function is to be a predicate or an independent utterance. By definition these are all free words. We include also two classes of words that must be considered semi-free since normally they must be associated with a succeeding free form in order to function as predicates. These are transitive verbs and equational conjunctive verbs.

3.1 Verbs, transitive and intransitive

The following criteria distinguish verbs (other than verbs of manner, equational verbs and numerals) and verb-object phrases.

- a. Verbs and verb-object phrases[†] most commonly occur as predicates or as heads or adjuncts in verbal phrase predicates. They can be objects of certain verbs called auxiliary verbs, adjuncts in nominal phrases, subjects of some verbs and of nominal predicates.
- b. They can be modified by bound adverbs, notably by adverbs of negation of which the commonest is 不 pū. When negated by 非 fēi they become nouns by class cleavage.
- c. They can be modified by adjunct coverbals and followed by complement coverbals.
- d. They can be joined by the coordinative conjunctions 且 ... 且 Voc. 3(8) and 既 ... 且 Voc. 3(6) to form a compound verbal nucleus. They cannot be joined by 與 and 及.
- e. As heads or adjuncts in a complex verbal nucleus they can be joined by the subordinative conjunctions 而 Voc. 3(9) or 以 Voc. 1(2). As adjuncts in a complex nominal phrase with certain exceptions they can be joined to the head by the conjunction 之. When preceded by 之 as heads in a nominal phrase they become nouns by class cleavage.

[†] In many respects a verb-object constitute is a wordlike form intermediate between a word and a phrase. The present five criteria all apply equally to verbs and to V-O phrases.

Grammar 3.1

The main division of verbs is into transitive verbs and intransitive verbs. Some verbs have dual class membership. See Gr. 5.4.

3.11 Transitive verbs

- a. These are semi-free forms that govern succeeding free forms called objects which are substitutable by the bound word 之. The resulting V-O constitute is a free form that most often occurs as a predicate.
- b. The object of a transitive verb can be substituted by 所 before the verb. The resultant form is a nominal phrase.
- c. Subclasses of transitive verbs including auxiliary verbs and pre-pivotal verbs can be established according to the type of object they govern. These are discussed in Chapter 7 under the heading "V-O Phrases."
- d. A twofold classification of TVs can be made according to whether or not the verb can be modified by an adverb of degree, for which see Gr. 4.2319.

- 3.111 Transitive verbs that cannot be modified by an adverb of degree. This is by far the larger class. Most of them express some sort of activity, physical or mental, directed at a person or thing.

擊鴉 "He struck a crow." 1(3)

知吉凶 "He knows what is lucky and what is unlucky." 1(9)

3.112 Attitude verbs

These are TVs that can be modified by an adverb of degree. They express the state of mind of the subject with regard to the object. The Texts provide two examples of the use of an adverb of degree with such verbs:

尤喜舉 ... 宋 ... 明 ... 事 "I especially enjoyed discussing Sung and Ming history." 33(7)

頗喜詞章 "I greatly delighted in belles-lettres." 33(12)

The following is a list of common attitude verbs with a reference to one occurrence in the Texts: 愛 "to love" 11(14), 惡 "to hate" 11(47), 畏 "to be afraid of" 13(14), 貪 "to covet" 13(21), 憐 "to pity" 17(18), 懼 "to fear" 25(7), 患 "to be anxious about" 21(2); 恥 "to be ashamed

Grammar 3.1

of" 23(31), 怡 "to find pleasure in" 23(29), 厭 "to loathe" 23(31), 疑 "to be suspicious of" 24(20), 緩 "to neglect" 25(8), 悔 "to regret" 25(14), 恨 "to hate" 27(10.6), 悲 "to feel sad about" 27(8.7), 慊 "to be satisfied with" 33(11), 喜 "to take delight in" 33(12), 孝 "to act as a son towards" 11(13).

Most attitude verbs can govern an [S]-P object. E.g. 懼有伏焉 "I feared that there might be an ambush there." 20(18). See Gr. 7.2.

- 3.12 Intransitive verbs. These are verbs that do not normally govern an object. Followed by 之 they become transitive in a causative sense (Gr.5.32). In the rare cases where 所 precedes an IV it usually substitutes for a complement expressing location. No coverb 於 is needed. (Gr.8.22d)

3.121 Intransitive action verbs

These are intransitive verbs that cannot be modified by an adverb of degree. They express various kinds of action and change undertaken or undergone by the referent of the subject without affecting any other person or thing. The following sampling gives an idea of the range of meanings: 行 "to travel" 2(9), 飛 "to fly" 4(10), 走 "to run" 10(7), 出 "to emerge" 3(11), 入 "to enter" 13(14), 進 "to advance" 18(5); 退 "to retreat" 33(34), 起 "to get up" 11(3), 居 "to sit down" 24(7), 生 "to be born" 5(9), 死 "to die" 5(5), 歎 "to sigh" 3(12), 泣 "to weep" 17(4), 語 "to talk" 18(13), 慮 "to think of the future" 9(2).

Intransitive action verbs are often followed by a complement (usually expressing direction or interest) in the form of a coverbal or a nominal. If the complement is a nominal it cannot be substituted by 之 but by 焉. We supply an appropriate coverb.

出[自]門 "go out [of] the gate" 21(9)

入[於]朝 "entered [into] the court" 22(10)

死[爲]國 "died [for the sake of] the country"

3.122 Intransitive affective verbs

These can be modified by an adverb of degree but cannot be followed by a

Grammar 3.1

complement expressing comparison.

The following are some examples of affective verbs in the Texts: 怡 "to be pleased" 6(10), 患 "to be worried" 8(11), 憂 "to feel anxious" 14(18), 敬 "to be respectful" 21(10), 厭 "to be satiated" 23(31), 喜 "to be pleased" 33(37).

Such verbs express an emotional reaction of the subject, usually without referring to a specific outside cause of that feeling. A cause or occasion can be indicated by a complement.

何患乎無君 "Why be worried over not having a ruler?" 8(11)

急於此四者 "Concerned over these four things." 30(13)

Most affective verbs can also function as attitude verbs governing an object which expresses the occasion of the feeling. Take for example the two following uses of 懼 Voc. 28(18). See Gr. 5.42.

且疑且懼 "I was full of doubts and afraid." 33(37)

懼有伏焉 "I feared that there was an ambush there." 20(18)

We shall see later (Gr. 5.322) that some affective verbs can also become transitive in a causative sense.

懼[之]以禍福 "They frighten him (the emperor) with (threats of) disaster and (promises of) prosperity." 25(4)

The only example in the Texts of an affective verb modified by an adverb of degree is 甚恐 "He was very frightened." 2(6)

3.123 Stative verbs

These are intransitive verbs that can be modified by adverbs of degree and can also be followed by complements expressing comparison or a field of application.

Examples with an adverb of degree:

遊者甚衆 "The excursionists were very numerous." 6(4)

書中情意甚殷 "The warmth of feeling in (your) letter is very great." 23(3)

Grammar 3.1

設立尤多 "The foundings of academies were especially numerous."

28(22)

山之最高處 "The highest place in the mountains." 6(5)

Examples with a complement of comparison:

貴於屠羊之肆也 "More honorable than a sheep-butcher's business."

13(19)

少[於]孔子 "younger than Confucius" L(16)

Example with a complement of field of application:

耳習於鐘鼓 "Their ears are accustomed to bells and drums." L(4)

The term "stative" means "expressive of bodily or mental state." Stative verbs predicate various qualities as inhering in their subjects: physical, mental, moral, esthetic, social. The range can be illustrated from the Texts: 近 "near" 9(4), 遠 "far" 16(4,5), 熱 "hot" 16(3.5), 涼 "cold" 16(3.6), 實 "substantial" 14(27), 虛 "unsubstantial" 23(23), 智 "wise" 1(8), 敏 "clever" 21(9), 愚 "stupid" 14(18), 善 "good" 5(0), 惡 "evil" 11(46), 固 "firm" 7(9), 安 "secure" (9(2), 當 "proper" 19(12), 神 "divine" 6(9), 知足 "contented" 14(11), 可 "permissible" 5(4), 甚 "great" 2(6).

Stative verbs are the equivalent of adjectives in English. They are called verbs because they conform to the basic distribution pattern of all verbs. They are called stative to distinguish them from verbs that express action or feeling or manner.

3.2 Verbs of manner

These express the manner or style of an action or a person or creature in action. They differ formally from stative verbs in that they cannot be modified by adverbs of degree nor can they be followed by a complement of comparison. They are never negated. They occur most frequently as adjuncts to verbs, and in the Vocabularies they have sometimes been classified as adverbs. But they are not adverbs in the strict sense, since they are free words and can function as predicates and as second predicates. They can be joined to a verb by 而. Verbs of manner usu-

Grammar 3.2

ally have a distinctive form. Many of them are binomes. Frequently they are marked by a distinctive suffix: 然, 焉, 爾, 如 or 乎 which can be appended to a single syllable or to a binome.

3.21 Verb of manner as predicate

祭掃[者]各紛然 "The sacrificers and grave-sweepers [at] each [grave] are swarming about." 27(6.2)

3.22 Verb of manner as second predicate

鱸魚出遊從容 "The shū fish have come out to play so carefree." 12(2)

3.23 Verb of manner as adjunct to another verb (i.e. as adverb)

惘惘然不知所從事 "Being in a state of indecision I didn't know what I should devote myself to." 33(36). Also K(11).

3.3 Equational conjunctive verbs

This is a class of words that could well be described as conjunctions derived from verbs by class-cleavage. They display few verbal characteristics. There is the possibility of their being negated by 不 but in practice this is very rarely found. We have one case of a predicate beginning with 非 being joined to another by 而 31(24). And that is all. Their relation to the nominal that follows them falls under none of the five construction types. It is not an object. It is not a complement. These words come close to fitting the general definition of conjunctions — that their sole function is to mark the grammatical relationship between two forms without themselves being constituents in construction with either of them. Yet they are not conjunctions as we have defined these. They do not mark coordinative and subordinative constructions, but rather constructions of the S-P type in which P is a nominal form. They are similar to the English verbs that Hockett (p. 196) calls connectors, of which the commonest is the verb "to be." In all cases if they are removed and the final particle 也 is added, what remains is an equational S-P with a pure nominal P. Yet the equational verbs bring with them something of the meaning they had as transitive verbs, and we cannot say that their sole function is as grammatical markers. The term "impure markers" used by Hockett (p. 192)

could be applied to them.[†] This will appear as we examine them one by one.

- 3.31 爲 wéi Voc. 5(12) "is," "are." This is derived from a transitive verb meaning "to make," "to function as." Among the equational verbs 爲 and 非 are the nearest to being pure markers. Even so 爲 changes the character of the predication form from what it is with a pure nominal predicate. The nature of the contrast varies with content and context. We will give one example: 滕小國也 "T'éng is a small state" 8(1). This is a general statement made with an air of detachment and timelessness. It is presented as a basic premise for an argument. We could paraphrase: "The basic truth about T'éng is that it is a small state." By contrast 滕爲小國 could be paraphrased: "At the present time T'éng in fact only amounts to a small state." The two forms clearly offer the writer a choice that is important for the effectiveness and style of his composition.

The particle 也 is not generally used with 爲.

The use of 爲 or another conjunctive verb is essential in the following cases:

- a. When the subject in the equational S-P becomes a pivot object of the TV 以 or of another pre-pivotal verb noted in Gr. 7.42. In these cases the degree of "impurity" varies.

聖人以治天下爲事 "The sages took governing the world to be their responsibility" 11(1). Similarly in 14(30), 25(8,10), 26(6).

- b. When the equational S-P is to become nominalized as subject in another S-P.

白話文學之爲中國文學之正宗 ... 可斷言也. "Vernacular literature's being (or becoming) the main line of descent of Chinese literature is predictable" 34(59).

[†] Some Chinese grammarians call them 準判斷詞 chǔn p'àn-tuàn-tz'ú "quasi-determinators" or 準繫詞 chǔn hsi-tz'ú "quasi-connectors." Y. R. Chao calls them "classificatory verbs." A recent term is "link verb."

c. When the equational S-P is to become nominalized as object of a verb.

長者聞之得不厭其為迂[者]乎 "When you hear this can you refrain from disliking my being such an unrealistic person?" 23(31)

d. In the common pattern used for expressing a "passive" meaning.

堂為阮元所立 "The school was that which was established by Jǔán Yǔán" 33(23). Cf. 34(56). See Comm. 4 D.

3.32 非 fēi Voc. 4(7) "is not," "are not." This appears to be a fusion of 不 and 惟 18(14), meaning "is not." The equational verb 為 is usually negated by putting 非 in its place. Similarly an equational S-P with pure nominal predicate can only be negated by inserting the negative equational verb 非 between S and P. See Gr. 6.3f.

子非魚 "You are not a fish." 12(3)

Symmetrical contrasting positive and negative nominal predicates often form compound sentences.

此天之亡我非戰之罪也 "This is Heaven's destroying me; not a fault (of my own) in fighting" 17(9). Also 6(19), 8(15), 25(12), 26(4).

Less commonly 非 is contrasted with 為 in the same way. There are no examples in our Texts.

3.33 謂 wèi Voc. 5(11) "means," "is called." This comes from a TV which is quite acrobatic in its various modes of behavior. Seven of these are differentiated in the Vocabulary. The meaning "is called" comes from the "TV (pre-pivotal) b." use noted there by carrying one step further the transformation described in Comm. 26(1); that is to say, by dropping the substitute 之 in a form like 博愛之謂仁. 謂 brings to the equative conjunctive function so much more definite a meaning of its own than 為 does, that it might be called a quasi-equational verb.

兵法謂用兵之法也 "'Pīng-fǎ' means the method of using weapons" 18(5). See also 18(7), 18(23).

3.34 曰 yǔēh Voc. 1(3) "is called," "are called," "means," "is." This is de-

rived from the quotation verb 曰 which introduces direct discourse.

3.341 It is used in supplying the name of a person or thing.

a. 明有奇巧人曰王叔遠 "In this Míng period there has been a man of remarkable skill called Wáng Shú-yüán" 24(1). Here 有 has an S-P object.

b. [泰山]亦曰泰岱 "T'aishān is also called T'àitài" 28(4).

3.342 It is used in identifying a list of items.

五行一曰水二曰火三曰木四曰金五曰土 "The Five Elements (or Five Forces): No. 1 is water, no. 2 is fire, no. 3 is wood, no. 4 is metal, no. 5 is earth." 書經洪範. Cf. 34(6).

3.35 稱 ch'ēng Voc. 14(23) "is called," "is named," "has the title," "is entitled." This word is mainly used when supplying a name or title.

[四書]亦稱四子書 "The Szù Shū are also called the Szù Tzū-shū" 18(9). See also 18(5), 18(10), 28(2).

3.36 猶 yú Voc. 4(4). This is a most elusive word. It seems to have been originally an IV "to be equal." As an equational conjunctive verb it has the meaning "to be equivalent to," "to approximate."

以若所為求若所欲猶緣木而求魚也 "To seek what you desire by the course you are following is equivalent to climbing a tree to seek for fish" Mencius 1a7.16. See 31(33), 34(23,24).

3.37 如 jú Voc. 8(14) "to be like," "to resemble." This is a very tricky word. In the Vocabulary we have with much hesitation called it a transitive verb when it means "to be as good or as great as" and a co-verb when it means "as" or like." It seems never to be followed by 之 (except when the meaning is "to have an effect on" and we have treated it then in Voc. 8(4) as a different word altogether). It might have been better to treat the verb as always an equational verb, but this would have called for even more explaining of elliptical expressions than we have done already in the Commentary.

a. 從之者如歸市 [者] "Those who followed him were like [people] going to market." 8(14)

Grammar 3.3

- b. 使民如承大祭 "[Let your] handling of the people be like officiating (reverently) at the grand sacrifice" 21(9). Also 10(4), 11(4), 31(20).

3.38 若 jò Voc. 3(13) "to be like," "to resemble." As an equational verb this is interchangeable with 如 and presents the same problems.

- a. 門庭若市 "The forecourt (of the palace) resembled a marketplace." 8(14)

- b. 愛人若愛其身 "[They] love others as they love themselves." 11(32). Also 23(28).

3.4 The quotation verb and the citation verb

3.41 The quotation verb 曰 yüeh Voc. 1(3) "said: ' . . .'" Apart from its derived use as an equational verb (Gr. 3.34) 曰 is used only to introduce direct discourse. It has been discussed briefly in Comm. 1(3).

曾子曰唯 "Tsêng-tzŭ said: 'Yes.'" 21(4)

In argument and exposition Chinese writers frequently make a point by posing a question and introducing the answer by 曰. No particular speaker is involved and in the translation it is not even necessary to use quotation marks.

人何以能羣曰分 "How are men able to form communities? By class division." 19(5)

3.42 The citation verb 云 yün Voc. 6(16) "says: ' . . .'"

This is mainly used to introduce a quotation within a quotation. We may say that 曰 is equivalent to double quotation marks and 云 to single quotation marks.

馮諼曰君云視吾家所寡有者臣竊計 Féng Hsüān said: "Your Lordship said, 'Watch out for what my household is short of.' I ventured to calculate that ..." 14(27). Also 6(16), 34(69).

As a final particle 云 is often used to close a citation.

3.5 Numerals

Numerals are a unique class of free words that are more like verbs than nouns, as will appear below from the examination of their structure

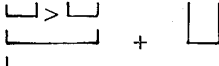
and functions.

3.51 The structure of numerals

The digits are: 一 yī, 二 èrh, 三 sān, 四 szù, 五 wǔ, 六 lù, 七 ch'ī, 八 pā, 九 chiū.

The numeral "measures" are 十 shíh "ten," and multiples of ten: 百 pò (coll. pǎi) "hundred," 千 ch'iēn "thousand," 萬 (万) wàn "ten-thousand - myriad."[†] Beyond these are 億 yì and 兆 chāo, which should be 100,000 and 1,000,000. However, the value given to them has varied and they are used more for hyperbolical estimates than for exact numbers. Their place has often been taken by 十萬 100,000, 百萬 1,000,000, 千萬 10,000,000, 萬萬 100,000,000. See 32(4). As measure words 十, 百, etc. require digital adjuncts. The only such adjunct that can be omitted is 一.

Numbers 11 to 9999 are phrases consisting of a digital adjunct modifying a measure which can stand in coordinate construction with a succeeding smaller numeral. In early Chōu the coordinative conjunction 有 (= 又) yù "and in addition" was used to mark all the coordinate linkages. Later its use became sporadic. There is only one occurrence in our texts:

三 十 有 四


"Three tens and in addition four - thirty-four" 24(17)

Numerals 11 to 19 are [一]十[有]一, etc.

20 is 二十. A simple form, 廿 nièn, is sometimes used. See 18(19).

Similar forms 卅 and 卌 exist for 30 and 40. The latter is rarely used.

Numerals 21 to 29 are 二十[有]一, etc.

Numerals 30 to 99 follow the same principles.

[†]The term "measure" for the numerals ten and the powers of ten is adopted from Y. R. Chao. Since these words do not satisfy most of the criteria laid down in Chapter 2 for nominal words including measures, the term "measure" is being used here loosely as a convenience.

Grammar 3.5

The application of the principles to higher numbers will be illustrated by a few examples.

[一]百[有]二 = 102

[一]百[有]二十 = 120. E.g. 百二十城 "A hundred and twenty cities" 22(11).

三千[有]七百[有]三十[有]五 = 3735

Composite numbers are thus essentially the same as in MC. The chief peculiarities of numerals in L are:

1. Nothing exactly corresponds to 零 líng in MC though 有 sometimes serves a similar function.
2. Before a measure 一 can be dropped.
3. A digit after a measure at the end of a number cannot usually imply an omitted 十 as it can in MC. Thus 三百三 usually means 303 whereas in MC it usually means 330. In MC 303 is 三百零三.

3.52 Ordinal numbers

Generally no special form is used for ordinal numbers. Thus 卷二 could mean "there are two volumes" or, as in 28(26), "Volume two — the second volume." In F(3)-(5) there are three sentences which end 是一樂 "This is my joy number one," 是二樂 "This is my second joy," etc.

Optionally 第 can be used to mark an ordinal number as in 19(0).

Sometimes 初 is used to mean "the first" as in 28(24).

3.53 Fractions

Fractions in L are expressed in much the same way as in MC.

爾之土地佔亞洲三分之二 "Your territory occupies two out of three parts (2/3) of Asia."

This can be abbreviated to 亞洲三二.

The abbreviated form appears in the common expression 萬一 "one part of ten-thousand — 1/10,000 — an extremely small amount" 30(10).

The same pattern underlies the expressions 其一 and 其三. Thus in

Grammar 3.5

26(18) we are told that there were four classes of subjects in ancient times and that 教者 "those engaged in teaching" 處其一 "occupied (or constituted) one of them."

3.54 The syntactic roles played by numerals

3.541 As a predicate

3.5411 Predicate within a sentence or a clause

- a. 詩三百 "The Songs are three hundred." 21(3)
- b. 伏屍百萬 "The prostrate corpses (on the battlefield) are a million." J(8)
- c. 名詞雖異其道則一 "Although the names vary, yet the principle is one (and the same)." 18 S(B8)
- d. 其所以爲聖一也 "That by which they (all) are sages is one (and the same thing)." 26(33).

3.5412 Predicate within an S-P phrase object

- a. 有兵四十萬 "[He] had soldiers four hundred thousand." 17 S(15)
- b. 貽余核舟一 "[He] presented me with [peach-]stone boat, one — with a peachstone boat." 24(2). Also 24(16).

3.542 As adjunct to a nominal

3.5421 Adjunct to a noun without an intervening measure

- a. 乃有二十八騎 "Then [he] had (only) twenty-eight mounted men." 17(8)
- b. 千言 "a thousand words" 33(9)
- c. 三人 "three people" 21(6)

There are many idiomatic phrases of this type such as 四時 19(8), 四境 22(11), 百川 N(4).

3.5422 Adjunct to a measure, with or without a noun head

- a. 一杯羹 "a cup of soup" 17 S(24)
- b. 地方千里 "The territory is a thousand li square." 22(11)

Grammar 3.5

3.5423 When several alternatives have been mentioned in a text they can be referred to by placing the nominal substitute 者 as head to a numeral.

斯三者 "these three (alternatives)" 21(11). See also 8(17), 21(11).

3.543 As adjunct to a verb

- a. 可以一戰 "You may do battle once" 20(10)
- b. 使其一悟 "Granted his once awakening" 25(13)
- c. 一正君而國定矣 "Once (= as soon as) you have rectified [what is wrong in the mind of] the ruler the state will be stabilized" Mencius 4a 20.
- d. 再拜 "He prostrated himself twice" 23(18). Note: 再 is a special L adverbial form meaning "twice." Its use in 32(24) and 33(38) meaning "then" and "again" is from MC.
- e. 必三勝之 "[I] will certainly defeat them three times." 17(10)
- f. 四射 "[He] shot four times." 5(23)

3.55 Approximate numerals

The Texts illustrate several ways in which an approximate number can be expressed.

3.551 By placing two numerals in alternative coordinate construction

3.5511 Smaller number first

- a. 一二官支 "one or two of the sense organs" 31(20)
- b. 兩三窠 "two or three plants (of green beans)" 16(3.4)
- c. 四五樹 "four or five trees (of blue pine)" 16(3.3)

3.5512 Larger number first. This is less common.

全世界億萬衆 "the masses of the whole world (by their) hundred thousands and ten-thousands" 32(20)

3.552 By modifying a numeral measure by the indefinite quantity word 數

- a. 數十國 "several tens of countries" 29(11)
- b. 數千里 "several thousand li" 23(1)

Grammar 3.5

3.553 By placing one of the indefinite quantity words 餘, 奇, or 許 in co-ordinate construction after a numeral or a numeral-measure phrase. The linkage can be marked by 有.

- a. 十餘日 "ten and more days" 18(21)
- b. 八百餘人 "eight hundred and more men" 17(5)
- c. 八尺有餘 "eight feet and then a surplus — more than eight feet" 22(1)
- d. 八分有奇 "a little more than eight-tenths (of an inch)" 24(3)
- e. 高可二黍許 "high possibly two grains and a bit — possibly a little more than two grains high" 24(3)

3.554 By placing an approximate measure in alternative coordinate construction with the next larger measure

殺數十百人 "[He] killed from several tens to a hundred men — say eighty to a hundred men" 17(15).

3.6 Indefinite quantity words

These have already appeared in construction with numerals. Some additional uses are illustrated here.

3.61 Simple quantity words

These rarely occur as predicates.

3.611 幾 chǐ Voc. 16(5.5) "some," "a few," "how many?"

a. As adjunct to a noun

子來幾日矣 "You arrived already how many days — How many days is it since you arrived?" Mencius 4a 14.2.

b. As adjunct to a measure

幾升米 "several catties of rice" or "How many catties of rice?"

3.612 數 shù Voc. 6(11) "an indefinite number," "a number of," "several"

a. As adjunct to a noun

數月 "several months" 22(14)

Grammar 3.6

- b. As adjunct to a measure

數里 "several lǐ" 17(14)

- c. As adjunct to a verb

公子數請之 "The prince invited him several [times]." 史記 77. Here 數 is read shùo. It is the adverbial use of the stative verb which occurs as predicate in G(8) where presumably it should also be read shùo.

3.613 餘 yú Voc. 4(13) "more," "extra," "surplus"

- a. As adjunct to a noun or a measure

餘力 "surplus strength — remaining strength" 30(5)

- b. As object of the verb 有

有餘 "there will be a surplus" 7(3), 32(20)

- c. After a numeral or a measure as in 3.553

3.614 許 hsǔ Voc. 24(3) "whatever," "somewhat," "some more."

This occurs after a numeral or measure as in 3.553 and as head in the complex word 幾許 as in 3.62 d.

3.615 奇 chí Voc. 24(3) "a surplus," "more"

Used after a numeral-measure phrase. See Gr. 3.553.

3.62 Composite words

These are free forms that usually occur as adjuncts to nouns or measures; sometimes as objects or predicates or as adjuncts to verbs.

- a. 若干 jù-kān (or 如干 jú-kān) Voc. 33(29) "so many," "a few"

西書若干種 "several kinds of Western books" 33(29)

- b. 多少 tō-shǎo Voc. 16(1.4) "how many"

知多少 "[Who] knows how many?" 16(1.4)

- c. 幾時 chī-shíh Voc. 16(5.5) "[After] how many seasons?" "When?"

此水幾時休 "After how many seasons will this river cease (to flow)?"

Grammar 3.6

16(5.5). Here 幾時 is adjunct to a verb.

- d. 幾何 chī-hó Voc. 26(43) and 幾許 "How many whatever — How many,"
"How long." The question tends to be rhetorical with an implied answer
"very few" or "a very short time."

幾何其不胥而為夷也 "How long (can it continue), their not completely
becoming barbarians?" 26(43)

In these words 何 and 許 seem to be indefinite substitutes for a numeral
"measure" or some other measure.

3.7 Interjections

These are more free than any other words in the sense that they always
function as independent utterances and are never in construction with
another grammatical form. They are like independent sentences except
that they do not conform to the S-P pattern. Syntactically they may
be classified as minor sentences. Interjections express moods and
emotional reactions. The following occur in our texts:

- a. 嘻 Hsī "Ah." Expressing admiration and amazement. 24(19)
b. 噫 Yī "Oh!" Expressing concern or alarm. 26(13)
c. 嗚呼 wū-hū "Alas!" Expressing pained surprise, sadness, sorrow.
26(27), 31(3)
d. 惡 wū "Aha!" "Oho!" "Tut." "Hm." Expressing derision, depreca-
tion, impatience, disgust.
e. 嗟 Chūēh, chīēh "Ah!" "Oh!" Expressing self-depreciation 31(4),
admiration 32(4).
f. 於 wū "Oh!" Expressing awe, wonder. 34(62)

3.8 Predicate substitutes

Just as pronouns substitute for nominal words the following words sub-
stitute for verbal predicates.

- 3.81 諾 nò Voc. 14(3) "Yes." This is usually an independent utterance
meaning "What you have said is all right," or "I approve," "Approved."

Grammar 3.8

It expresses a condescending acquiescence on the part of a superior addressed to an inferior. It appears to be derived from a TV 若 "to approve" and sometimes is used as an IV "to agree," "to accede."

3.82 唯 wěi Voc. 21(4) "Yes." This is usually addressed by an inferior to a superior with the meaning "Yes, Master, I understand" or "I will carry out your command."

3.83 否 fǒu (*piǔg) Voc. 27(3.3). This is frequently an independent utterance or a substitute for a coordinate clause meaning "No," "or no," "or not." The graph was originally used for the common negative adverb pū (*piǔg) and continued to be used for it occasionally even after the graph 不 was borrowed from a word meaning "to fly up" and came into common use.

爾餓否 "Are you starving or not." 27(3.3)

知否 "Do [you] know or don't [you]." 27(11.5)

否非若是 "No! It is not like this." J(5)

3.84 然 rán 5(21) "It is like that, "it is so." We assume that rán represents a fusion of 如 with a nominal predicate substitute pronounced something like "an."

河東凶亦然 "When Hótūng has a bad year it is also like that — I act in a similar way." 10(3). Also 11(23,27).

曰未然 "It is not so — it is not credible." M(2)

獨曾子有子不然 "Only in the cases of Tsēng-tzū and Yú-tzū is it not so — does the book (Lún Yǔ) not use the style." M(7)

然豈可以 ... 使吾君有妄施之名乎 "This may be so, but ... could I cause my lord to have a name for wrongly bestowing (honors)!" 13(21)

The conjunctions listed in Gr. 11.121 which contain 然 clearly derive from this use: "This may be so, yet"

Chapter 4. Function Words

4. In Chapters two and three we have classified all the content words in literary Chinese and noted their syntactic capabilities. The present chapter is an inventory of all the commoner function words used in literary Chinese. Most of them are specialized grammatical uses of words that are basically verbs. A few are derived from nouns. A very small group of them are exclusively function words with no known source in a free word.

Most of the function words are specialized as to the syntactic level at which they operate, the part of speech or form class of the words and word groups with which they associate, and the construction type in which they participate. The classification here adopted is according to these three factors in that order.

Many of the function words are treated quite fully in the Vocabularies and Commentaries. In some cases all that is given here, therefore, is a cross reference.

4.1 Level I. Word-forming function words

These are prefixes (adjuncts to words) and suffixes (quasi-complements to words) whose sole or main function is to mark the form class of the words in which they are ICs.

4.11 Forming nominal words

4.111 Prefixes

The one example in our Texts of a prefix to a noun is 王 wáng Voc. 33(2).

王母 "my grandmother" 33(2)

4.112 Suffixes

The one nominal suffix is 子 tzǔ Voc. 5(0).

Grammar 4.1

The suffix 子 which is of high frequency in MC occurs only sporadically in L. The only occurrence in our texts is that of 獅子 "a lion" 33(34). Chōu Fǎ-kāo has collected a number of examples in his Historical Grammar 1962, pp. 259-262. N.b. In 舟子 boatman 24(12) and 士子 scholar-person 28(19), 子 is a noun head.

4.12 Forming verbs

4.121 Action verbs

4.1211 Prefixes that transform a transitive into an intransitive verb with a passive meaning

a. 見 chièn Voc. 4(2)

不見黜於禹 "[They] were not expelled by Yǔ" 26(32). Also 見怡 "appreciated" 23(29).

b. 被 pèi Voc. 17(20)

學生亦有被拘者 "There were also students who were arrested" 18(20).

4.1212 The suffix 取 ch'ü Voc. 15(1) forms a resultative verb.

呼取[之]盡餘杯 "Call so as to get [him] to finish up the remaining cups (of wine with us) — Call [him] to finish the wine with us." 16(4.8)

4.1213 The suffix 以 yǐ transforms certain stative verbs into auxiliary verbs. Cf. Gr. 4.122 below.

可以 Voc. 5(4) "may, can"

易以 Voc. 26(35) "to find it easy to — be able to"

難以 Voc. 29(8) "to find it difficult to — be unable to"

足以 Voc. 13(13) "to be able to, suffice to"

4.1214 Suffixes forming verbs of manner (often used as adverbs)

The following suffixes are often added to binomes and to single syllables to mark a verb of manner (for which see Gr. 3.2): 然 ján Voc. 5(20), 乎 hū Voc. 30(5), 如 Voc. 8(14), 爾 ěrh Voc. 26(15), 焉 yén Voc. 6(13).

Grammar 4.1

填然 "to sound like thunder" 10(7)

侃侃如 "to be straightforward," "outspoken" L. Y. 10.2.1. Cf. 30(27).

騶騶乎 "to go at a gallop" 30(5)

4.122 Stative verbs

Several words that are themselves basically stative verbs function as prefixes that transform a transitive verb into a stative verb.

4.1221 可 k'ö Voc. 5(4). As prefix this produces a stative verb like an English adjective with the suffix -able or -ible.

可恃 "reliable" 25(5)

不可忍 "unbearable," "intolerable" 23(10)

4.1222 易 yì Voc. 26(35) and 難 nán 24(18). As prefixes these produce stative verbs like English adjectives with the suffix -able or -ible or the prefix and suffix un — able.

易明 "easy to be understood — intelligible" 26(46)

易行 "easy to be practiced — practicable" 26(46)

難測 "hard to fathom — unfathomable" 20(18)

4.1223 足 tsú Voc. 7(3). As prefix this produces a stative verb like an English adjective with the suffix -worthy.

足取 "worthy to be taken — choice-worthy — worth having — worthwhile" 34(24)

4.2 Level II. Phrase-forming function words

4.21 Function words that form V-O phrases

4.211 The object substitute 之 chih Voc. 1(2) can substitute for any object of any transitive verb or coverb to form a V-O or CV-O phrase. The criterion by which an expression is identified as an object is that it can be substituted by 之. 之 regularly follows the verb except when there is a negative adverb. See Gr. 12.112.

Example of 之 preceding the verb that governs it:

良人未之知也 "The husband had not realized this." H(7)

4.212 Coverbs

A coverb is a transitive verb which with its object functions as an adjunct or complement to a nucleus verb, or as an adjunct to a sentence. Such a V-O is called a coverbal phrase, or coverbal, for short. When used as a coverb a word has a meaning different from what it would have as a nucleus verb. It is usually translatable by an English preposition or by an -ing form. A coverbal phrase cannot function as a predicate nucleus and is therefore not a free form. In this it differs from the adjunct verbal in a complex nucleus (Gr. 9.12) since that is indeed a full nucleus verbal which would be an intelligible predicate even if the head verbal were removed. While all coverbs occur at least occasionally as nucleus verbs, in the case of some of the commoner coverbs this is very rare indeed. Coverbals normally are not joined to the nucleus verb by 而. When the object of one of the common coverbs is clear from the context it is often omitted (Gr. 12.21).

The various uses of coverbals are illustrated in Gr. 9.3, 9.4 and 10.4. Here we will merely list the commoner coverbs, grouping them according to their predominant use and giving one or two examples of the full verb from which each coverb is derived.

4.2121 Coverbs that generally form adjunct coverbals

- a. 以 yǐ Voc. 1(2) "using, with, by means of, because of, on account of, in the capacity of, according to"

As nucleus verb "to use, employ, take"

柳下惠 ... 進不隱賢必以其道 "Hùì of Liu-hsià ... when advanced to office did not conceal his virtue: he always applied his moral principles." Mencius 2a 9.2.

子曰視其所以觀其所由 "The Master said: 'Observe what (methods) a man employs; what (goals) a man follows.'" L. Y. 2.10.

- b. 為 wèi Voc. 3(11) "on behalf of, for the sake of, for, because of"

As nucleus verb "to be for or in favor of":

冉有曰夫子為(wèi)衛君乎 "Jǎn Yǔ said: 'Is our Master for the

Grammar 4.2

(incumbent) Lord of Wèi — Does our Master support the claims of the Lord of Wèi?" L. Y. 7.14.1.

- c. 因 yīn Voc. 14(23) "relying on, according to, because of, on account of, on the basis of, by way of, taking advantage of"

As transitive nucleus verb "to rest on, rely on, follow":

因人之力而敝(pì)之予仁 "To avail oneself of another person's strength (help) and then to harm him is not civilized." 左傳僖 30. Also 24(1).

- d. 從 ts'úng Voc. 8(14) "from"

As nucleus verb "to follow" see 8(14), 17(3), 20(6), 21(6).

- e. 用 yùng Voc. 10(14) "by means of, because of"

As nucleus verb "to use, to employ" see 18(5), 24(16).

- f. 與 yǔ Voc. 6(2) "with, together with, in company with"

As nucleus verb "to be with, in sympathy with, to associate with, to be compared with":

吾與黜也 "I am with Tiěn — I associate myself with Tiěn — I approve of Tiěn's ambition." L. Y. 11.25.7. Also 26(33).

The coverbal use needs to be carefully distinguished from the use of 與 as coordinative conjunction. See Gr. 4.2221 and 8.31.

- g. 由 (繇) yú Voc. 15(5), 24(21) "from"

As nucleus verb "to proceed from, to follow, to come from" see 15(5), 31(23).

- h. 自 tzù Voc. 11(2) "following, from"

As nucleus verb "to follow, to come from"

晨門曰奚自子路曰自孔氏 "The gatekeeper (lit. morning [opener of the] gate) said: 'Whom do [you] come from?' Tzū-lù said, '[I] come from Mr. K'üŋg.'" L. Y. 14.41.

4.2122 Coverbs that generally form complement coverbals

Grammar 4.2

- a. 於 (于) yú Voc. 1(1) "to, into, at, in, on, by, in regard to, than"

As nucleus verb "to be present in, to be located at, to occupy":

由之瑟奚爲於丘之門 "Yú's sè (Comm. 29(17)), why is it at my door —
Why is Yú's sè (or the sound of Yú's sè) in my house?" L. Y. 11.14.
For 丘 see 21 S(3).

吾何爲於此 "Why have I come to be in this (perilous situation)?"

史記 47. Cf. 21 S(29) where for purposes of the translation exercise
於 is changed to 至. Also I(2). Also L. Y. 4.5.3 and 4.7.

- b. 如 jú Voc. 8(14) and 若 jù Voc. 3(13) "as, like, as though."

In Gr. 3.37 reservations were expressed about treating these words as
TVs and CVs. Our conclusion is that in a case like [字]細若蚊足
"[The characters] were as fine as the foot of a mosquito" 24(15) it is
better to treat 若蚊足 as a coverbal complement than to treat the
sentence as an elliptical form of [字之]細若蚊足[之細] "The fineness
of the characters was like the fineness of a mosquito's feet." In or-
der to do this we make a distinction between an equational verb meaning
"to be like, to resemble" and a transitive verb "to be as good as, as
great as," the latter being the source of the coverb meaning "as," etc.

Examples of the nucleus verb "as good as," etc. will be found in 10(4),
19(3), 22(7,8,10), 25(5), 26(4).

4.2123 Coverbs that generally form coverbal sentence adjuncts (Gr. 10.412)

- a. 當 tāng Voc. 2(9) "at, on, facing."

As nucleus TV "to be on or at, to face, to encounter, to match":

前有大蛇當徑 "Ahead [of us] there is a great snake occupying the path."
史記 8. Also 17(9,19).

- b. 方 fāng Voc. 29(11) "at," "just when."

The verbal origin of this coverb is obscure. The word occurs as a verb
in early texts with various meanings such as "to begin," "to place side
by side." It is sometimes glossed as equivalent to 向 "facing." The
coverbal 方今 "at the present" occurs several times in the 史記.

Grammar 4.2

- c. 及 chí Voc. 6(4) "at, by [the time]."

As nucleus TV "to reach, come up to" see 13(4), 22(3).

- 4.2124 Apart from the above words which occur with sufficient frequency as co-verbs to be classified as function words, many other transitive verbs occur sporadically in a comparable use. Examples are: 將 chiāng Voc. 8(11), 迨 tài Voc. 34(54), 緣 yüán Voc. 16(4.3).

- 4.2125 The following words that with their objects (expressed or implied) frequently form adjunct coverbals modifying the quotation verb 曰 form a special group:

- a. 謂 wèi Voc. 5(11) "to, addressing" 13(16)
- b. 告ào Voc. 2(7) "announcing to, informing" 8(8)
- c. 問 wèn Voc. 5(6) "asking, inquiring" 21(4)
- d. 對 tuì Voc. 8(5) "replying to, responding to" 10(6), 14(12)

4.22 Function words that form noun phrases

4.221 Adnouns, i.e. adjuncts to nominals

These are either demonstrative modifiers that delimit the reference of the noun head, pointing to a certain individual or group of individuals, or specifying modifiers indicating how inclusive the reference is.

The conjunction 之 cannot be employed between an adnoun and a head.

4.2211 Demonstrative adnouns

- a. 之 chíh Voc. 1(2) "that." This is found in the "Song Classic," Chūang-tzŭ, Mò-tzŭ and other works.

之人也物莫之傷 "As for that man, among things none can harm him."
Chūang-tzŭ 1.33

- b. 夫 fú Voc. 5(11) "that, this, the"

In all occurrences in the Texts this word has largely lost its demonstrative force and become a particle. The following are clear examples of the adnoun use:

夫人不言言必有中 "This man does not (often) speak; when he does speak

Grammar 4.2

he always hits the mark." L. Y. 11.13.3. (within a subject)

汝不知夫螳螂乎 "Don't you know about the praying mantis (and its habits)?" Chūang-tzū 4.59. Cf. Comm. 14(16). N.b. 螳螂 t'áng-láng is a binome. (within an object)

c. 該 kāi Voc. 18(20) "the said, the aforesaid." This is limited to the late official documentary style.

該約 "the said treaty" 18(20)

d. 第 tì Voc. 19(0) "the __th." This marks an ordinal number.

e. The demonstrative pronouns 此, 是, 斯, 茲, 彼, 他 which are treated in Gr. 2.41 can all be used as adnouns, as also can the interrogative pronoun 何 and (less frequently) 曷, 奚, 誰 which are treated in Gr. 2.43. 孰 cannot be so used.

此馬 "this horse" 17(19)

彼一將 "that commander" 17(12)

斯二者 "these two (alternatives)" 8(17)

他日 "another day" 23(22)

何賞 "what reward" 13(7)

Of the indefinite pronouns (Gr. 2.44) only 某 can be used as an adnoun.

4.2212 Specifying adnouns

a. 諸 chū Voc. 11(27) "the (plural), the group of — the various"

諸客 "all the retainers" 14(14). Also 14(22,28).

b. 闔 hó Voc. K(2) "the whole"

c. Adnouns derived from predicate adjuncts

Certain PAs of scope (see Gr. 4.311) frequently occur before a nominal subject giving the illusion that they are adnouns. Of these 舉 chǔ Voc. 18(20) "all, the whole" 30(23), and 各 kè Voc. 11(28) "each" have become naturalized as adnouns, especially in late L. On 凡 fán Voc. 15(4) see Comm. 15(4). On 獨 tú Voc. 4(7) see Comm. 17(17). On 惟

Grammar 4.2

(唯) wéi Voc. 6(17), 18(24) see Comm. 26(17).

4.2213 The following expressions that are common in late literary texts might be called quasi-adnouns:

- a. 其餘 ch'í-yü Voc. 28(7) "the remaining"
- b. 其他 ch'í-t'ā Voc. 28(30) "other"
- c. 所謂 sǒ-wèi Voc. 22(15) "the so-called." See 30(14,15,16,17), 31(27, 33), 33(11,24).

4.222 Conjunctions that form noun phrases

4.2221 Coordinative

- a. 與 yǔ Voc. 6(2) "together with, and"

父兄與君 "father, older brother and lord" 11(33). Also 6(2), 18(9), 26(2,8), 30(2).

與 is basically a transitive verb "to associate with, to be compared with"; it is also a common coverb meaning "along with, in company with." See Gr. 9.3. It is important to distinguish the different uses. In some cases a trace of the verbal meaning remains in the conjunctive use. Thus in 22(6) the last sentence can be translated, "I and Mr. Hsü, which (of us) is (more) handsome?" or "When I and Mr. Hsü are compared, which (of us) is (more) handsome?"

- b. 及 chí Voc. 6(4) "and going on to, and including, and also."

漢軍及諸侯兵 "the Hàn army and the troops of the various feudal lords" 17(1). Also 28(6,8,26), 32(11), 33(6).

- c. 並 píng Voc. 24(17). This word, which became interchangeable with 并 18(20), is occasionally used to join nominals as well as verbals.

For examples of noun phrases formed by 與, 及 and 並 see Gr. 8.31.

4.2222 The subordinative conjunction 之 chíh Voc. 1(2)

The conjunction 之 joins two free forms in a nominal phrase. The head is always a nominal, either being so intrinsically or by class cleavage imposed by 之. When the adjunct is a verbal it retains its basic

character.

吾頸之長 "my neck's length" 4(7). Here the SV 長 becomes a noun "length."

為樂之至於斯 "the making of music's reaching this (level of perfection)" 21(5). Here the verbal phrase 至於斯 becomes what in English would be called a verbal noun. For noun phrases formed by 之 see Gr. 8.42.

4.223 Nominalizing substitutes

4.2231 其 ch'í Voc. 2(7). The nominalizing adjunct substitute.

其 can substitute for any adjunct that can be joined by 之 to the head which it modifies. In doing so it incorporates the conjunction 之.

The head is always a nominal either intrinsically or by class cleavage imposed by 其.

Usually 其 substitutes for a nominal that occurred earlier in the text.

Examples:

其友 "his friend" 2(7) (其 substitutes for 一兒之)

其中 "its middle — the middle of it" 3(9) (其 substitutes for 虎阱之)

其渴 "its thirst" 4(15) (其 substitutes for 鴉之, the SV 渴 becomes a noun)

其至 "their arrival" 6(4) (the IV 至 becomes a noun)

Sometimes 其 substitutes for an [S]-P constitute. In 其源 "its source" 25(1), 其 substitutes for the S-P: 宦者亂人之國 "Eunuchs cause disorder in a man's (i.e. a ruler's) state." The phrase 其源 then implies: "The source of [the fact that] eunuchs disorganize a ruler's state — the source of the disorganization that eunuchs produce in a ruler's state."

Sometimes the antecedent of 其 cannot be precisely identified. Thus in 其本 "the root of the matter" 12(7), 其 refers to the whole preceding argument.

4.2232 者 chě Voc. 1(6). The nominalizing head substitute.

者 substitutes for a head that can be derived by inversion from the subject of an S-P form. The main uses of 者 are explained in some detail in Comm. 3 Ca and 3 Cb 4. For 者 following a nominal form see Comm. 14(1). Phrases containing 者 are illustrated in Gr. 8.4121 c., 8.4217, 8.4222, 8.4223.

4.2233 所 sǒ Voc. 3(11). The nominalizing object substitute.

所 substitutes for an object that has been placed before the verb which governs it, thus producing an S-P transform in which P is a verb with passive meaning. 所 further transforms this into a nominal phrase "that which is" See Comm. 3 C b and Gr. 8.2, 8.4216, 8.4223.

4.23 Function words that form verb phrases

4.231 Adverbs, i.e. adjuncts to verbals

Included here are words of high frequency with a specialized meaning as adjuncts to verbals. They are employed with the various types of verb treated under Gr. 3.1. The adverbs of negation in Gr. 4.2311 are used with all such verbs. The adverbs of degree in Gr. 4.2319 are used only with stative, attitude and affective verbs. The adverb of implicit object 相 in Gr. 4.2317 is used only with TVs and CVs. The rest are rarely used with stative verbs and mainly with the transitive and intransitive verbs that cannot be modified by adverbs of degree.

Apart from the words included here (bound adverbs), nominal words and verbs and other predicatives can be used on an ad hoc basis as adjuncts to verbs. These are treated in the chapter on "Verb phrases" under Gr. 9.22. They can be described as content words used adverbially. In the Vocabularies the label ADVERB is sometimes loosely applied to them.

4.2311 Adverbs of negation

- a. 不 pū Voc. 1(9) "not." This is the simple negative adverb. It is neutral as to time and aspect. We have marked it consistently as having the first tone, which is a reading pronunciation. In speech it

Grammar 4.2

normally is given tone two before a word with tone four, and tone four before all other tones.

- b. 弗 *fú* Voc. 11(6). Before late Chōu this word, pronounced **p̥i̯wət*, was interchangeable with 不, which was pronounced **p̥i̯ug* or **pwət*. In late Chōu and Hàn 弗 appears (with a few exceptions) to have been employed regularly when a preposed object substitute 之 **t̥i̯əg* was implicit between the negative adverb and the verb. It has been suggested that the final -t in **p̥i̯ət* was doing duty also for the initial t- in **t̥i̯əg* so that 弗 equalled 不之 "not it." In all the occurrences of 弗 in our texts 11(6,9), 29(5,6,7,8), 22(8) it could be replaced by 不之. E.g. 弗敢專也 "[I] do not dare to monopolize them" 20(5). After Hàn 弗 again became interchangeable with 不.

- c. 未 *wèi* Voc. 7(8) "not yet." This is a negative adverb that denies completion of an action.

未成一人之蛇成 "[When his drawing of a snake] had not yet been finished, another man's snake was finished." 7(8)

吾未見好德如好色者也 "I have never seen one whose fondness for virtue is as great as his fondness for the other sex." 21(8)

The other common negative words are all verbs. See Gr. 3.32 for 非, 7.23 for 無, 亡, 无, and 7.32 for 無, 毋, 勿.

4.2312 Adverbs of aspect

In the total absence of aspectual suffixes like those employed in MC (了, 着, 過), literary Chinese makes frequent use of adverbs of aspect.

- a. Inchoative aspect, expressing incipient action

將 *chiāng* Voc. 8(11) "about to, going to"

我將去之 "I am going to leave it (my state)" 8(11). Also 13(3), 21(1,12,14), 23(2), 26(37), 39(10), 30(5), 31(6,21,23).

且 *ch'iěh* Voc. 3(1) "about to, on the point of"

引酒且飲之 "[He] took the wine and was about to drink it" 7(5). Also 31(7,33).

Grammar 4.2

- b. Progressive aspect, expressing action in progress at the time in question

方 fāng Voc. 29(11) "at the time, just then, just now, just when"

余方游學省會 "I was just then off studying in the provincial capital" 33(22). Also 31(7).

正 chèn Voc. 9(6) "just then, just now." See 30(4,10)

適 shìh Voc. 23(23) "just then, just now"

適自相公家來 "[I] am just on my way from His Honor's house" 23(23).

- c. Imperfective aspect, expressing action that occurred before the time in question

嘗 ch'áng Voc. 14(17) "at some time in the past, once in the past, sometimes ... has (or had)"

嘗一日行千里 "Sometimes in one day [my horse] has travelled a thousand li" 17(19).

嘗貽余孩舟一 "Once he gave me a peachstone boat" 24(2). Also 26(15), 30(2,11), 31(25).

未嘗 "never in the past" 14(17), 17(9)

何嘗 "whenever" 29(18)

曾 ts'éng Voc. 16(4.3) "has (or have) ... -ed"

曾 ... 考授英國醫士 "[I] have received an English medical degree by examination." 30(1)

不曾 "has not ... -ed" 16(4.3)

何曾 "whenever"

一滴何曾到九泉 "Whenever has a single drop (of sacrificial wine) reached (the inhabitants of) the Nine Springs?" 27(6.8)

- d. Perfective aspect, expressing action completed before the time in question

已 yǐ Voc. 12(8) "already"

Grammar 4.2

臣之爵祿已復矣 "My rank and salary have already been restored" 13(7).
Also 17(2), 25(4.8), 27(3.5, 10.3), 29(10,11), 30(7,21,22), 32(26), 33(22).

既 chī Voc. 3(6) "already"

兵刃既接 "The blades of the weapons have already clashed" 10(7).
Also 31(26). Also used as a conjunction "when, as soon as" Gr. 11.2111.

既已 chī-yǐ Voc. 12(8) "already"

- 4.2313 Adverbs of frequency, duration, relative position in time, and succession. A few of these such as 時, 日, 初, 昔, 今, strictly speaking are adverbial uses of nominal words but they are so frequently used that they have become naturalized as adverbs.

a. Adverbs of frequency

常 ch'áng Voc. 17(3) "constantly, regularly"

屢 lǚ Voc. 28(34) "repeatedly"

每 měi Voc. 23(30) "frequently." Also a conjunction "whenever" Gr. 11.2112.

時 shíh Voc. 2(9) "sometimes, frequently" 21(1), 23(1)

間 chièn Voc. 22(14) "intermittently"

輒 ché Voc. 30(3) "often, immediately." Also a conjunction Gr. 11.2112.

日 jìh Voc. 5(4) "daily"

旦暮 tàn-mù Voc. D "at dawn and dusk, constantly"

再 tsài Voc. 20(17) "twice, again"

再四 tsài-szù Voc. 34(3) "over and over again"

b. Adverbs of duration

長 ch'áng Voc. 4(7) "for a long time" 23(29); "continuously" 14(24)

經年 chīng-nièn Voc. 23(27) "all the year"

姑 kū Voc. 23(15) "for the time being, for the moment"

少頃 shǎo-ch'iǎng Voc. 2(5) "for a few moments" 19(10)

須臾 hsū-yü Voc. K(12) "for a moment"

c. Adverbs expressing relative position in time

初 ch'ü Voc. 2(2) "for the first time, just" 22(14). Contrast the SA

Grammar 4.2

"in the beginning" Gr. 2.32.

- 始 shǐh Voc. 9(3) "for the first time, then only" 16(4.4)
 先 hsiēn Voc. 7(4) "first, previously" 31(8)
 先行 hsiēn-hsiáng Voc. 31(20) "antecedently, first"
 首 shǒu Voc. 4(5) "first" 28(29)
 次 tz'ù Voc. 4(13) "next" 28(30)
 復 fù Voc. 13(23) "again, beyond this"
 更 kèng Voc. 23(2) "again, further" 28(22,32)
 仍 jéng Voc. 18(15) "as before, still, again" 18(15,21), 29(19)
 終 chūng Voc. 7(10) "in the end, finally"
 卒 tsú Voc. 17(9) "finally, at last"
 昔 hsi Voc. 8(6) "formerly." Contrast the SA use "In earlier times."
 今 chiñ Voc. 1(6) "now, at the present time. SA "Nowadays."
 又 yù Voc. 13(7) "again" 23(9,16,25)
 卽[刻] chí Voc. 5(13) "at the time, immediately" 23(9,13,25). Also a conjunction "then." Gr. 11.2125

d. Adverbs expressing succession or simultaneity in time

- 先後 hsiēn-hòu Voc. 30(22) "one after another"
 歷 lì Voc. 24(11) "successively" 28(35)
 接踵 chiēh-chūng Voc. 30(6) "in unbroken succession" 34(50)
 逐漸 chú-chiēn Voc. 31(21) "gradually"
 同時 t'úng-shíh Voc. 18(20) "simultaneously"

4.2314 Adverbs expressing the nature of the relation between several actors and of the commitment of the actor to an action. These are mostly derived from verbs.

a. The mode of association of several actors

- 兼 chiēn Voc. 11(0) "concurrently, all together, all at the same time"
 交 chiāo Voc. 11(47) "reciprocally, interactingly"
 共 kùng Voc. 16(5.4) "cooperatively, unitedly"
 偕 hsiéh Voc. 33(26) "side by side, together, in company"
 同 t'úng Voc. 18(20) "together, on an equal footing"
 分別 fēn-piéh Voc. 34(4) "separately"
 並 piāng Voc. 24(17) "side by side, at the same time"

Grammar 4.2

b. The thoroughness with which an action is performed

週 chōu Voc. 30(8) "completely, thoroughly, universally"

參 ts'ān Voc. 18(2) "partly, in part, selectively" 32(14)

略 lüèh Voc 30(2) "slightly, summarily, in general" M(4)

c. Whether an action is intentional or not

故 kù Voc. 1(7) "intentionally, on purpose" 13(14), 23(18,19,20)

偶 ǒu Voc. 16(2.0) "by chance, unexpectedly"

4.2315 Adverbs expressing an attitude of deference or politeness

竊 ch'ieh Voc. 11(24) "humbly." Lit. "stealthily." Often best left untranslated. 14(27), 29(12)

伏 fú Voc. 13(10) "humbly." Lit. "prostrating myself."

幸 hsiŋ Voc. 17(3) "favoringly, kindly, be so good as to" 23(22)

請 ch'ing Voc. 7(4) "please" 8(17), 12(7), 23(11)

4.2316 Interrogative adverbs

All these except group e. are basically coverbals in which the object is one of the interrogative pronouns 何, 曷, 奚, 誰 and 孰 listed in Gr. 2.43 or a pronoun latent in a fusion word. Most of them are inverted forms 何以, 奚焉, etc. The coverb is sometimes omitted. If the answer called for is given in full and in a form matching the question, it too will contain a corresponding coverbal. Thus in 19(5) there is a question: 人何以能羣 "By means of what are men able to form communities?" A full matching answer would be 人以分能羣 "Men are able to form communities by means of social distinctions." But the laconic answer in the Text employs the single word 分 "social distinctions."

Such deviations from the form of the question are rather the rule than the exception. Very frequently, of course, questions are rhetorical and no answer is expected. Full matching answers occur in the first example under 安 and the first under 惡乎 in c. below.

a. Adverbs that ask "wherewith" or "how"

The full forms are 何以 hó-yǐ Voc. 1(3), 曷以 hó-yǐ, 奚以 hsi-yǐ meaning "wherewith, whereby, by what means, how, in what way."

Grammar 4.2

何以戰 "With what will [you] fight?" 20(4). Also 1(10), 2(10), 19(5,6), 23(2).

An example of an elliptical form is:

徐公何[以]能及君也 "How could Mr. Hsü equal you?" 22(3). See also 11(7), 29(22) and 26(35).

"How" questions can also be asked by the figurative use of the "place question" adverbs 安, 焉, 惡. See below under c.

b. Adverbs that ask "Why"

The full forms are 何以, 何焉 hó-wèi 17(18); 奚焉 hsi-wèi Voc. G(4).

夫子何焉不執弓 "Why is the master not holding his bow?" 5(17)

An example of an elliptical form is:

何[焉]患乎無君 "Why be concerned over having no lord?" 8(11).

Also 何[焉] 20(2), 23(2); 曷[焉] 26(35).

For the emphatic disruption of 何焉, see Gr. 12.1

c. Adverbs that ask "where," "wherein," "whither" or "whence"

By a figurative use in which "wherein" comes to mean "in what way" these also develop the meaning "how."

The one-syllable adverb 焉 yēn appears to be a fusion of the coverb 於 and a pronoun. See Voc. 6(13). 安 and 惡 may be similar fusion forms. Or possibly they are interrogative pronouns with coverbs implied. This would explain the occasional occurrence of 惡乎 "whereat?" (乎 being a variant of 於).

焉 yēn 6(13)

天下之父歸之其子焉往 "If all the fathers adhere to him (King Wén 文), where (else) will the sons go?" Mencius 4a 13.2.

未能事人焉能事鬼 "If you have not been able to serve living people, how can you serve the dead?" L. Y. 11.11.

安 ān 7(9)

當今生民之患果安在哉在於知安而不知危 "At the present time wherein after all lies the (hidden) threat to the people? It lies in their being accustomed to security and not accustomed to danger." L(1).

Sometimes when 安 means "how," a play on words seems to be involved:

子安能為之足 "Where and how can you make feet for it (the snake)?" 7(9)

惡[乎] wū[-hu] 11(35)

惡乎淫淫於蔡蔡人殺之 "Where did he (the Marquis of Ch'ín) commit adultery? He committed adultery in Ts'ài and the authorities in Ts'ài killed him." 公陽傳桓 6

惡施不孝 "How will [they] display unfiliality?" 11(35)

d. Adverbs that specifically ask "whence"

何自 hó-tzù, 何從 hó-ts'úng, 何由 hó-yú "wherefrom, whence"

亂何自起 "Whence does disorder arise?" 11(12,31)

e. Adverbs that ask "when"

何時 "when," 幾時 "how long"

此水幾時休此恨何時已 "When will this water cease to flow? When will this heartache end?" 16(5.5,6)

4.2317 The adverb of implicit object: 相 hsiāng Voc. 7(2)

a. When the members of a plural subject are set off against each other as implied object 相 can be translated "mutually, each other."

Before a transitive verb

上下相孚 "Those above and those below trust each other." 23(5)

Also 11(12,22), 16(5,8), 24(5), 26(24).

Before a coverb

相對飲 "[We will] facing each other drink — We will drink together."

16(4.7). Also 7(2), 33(31).

With coverb understood

Grammar 4.2

饑民夜相[與]泣 "The famished people weep with each other (= together) all night." 27(3.16). Also H(6), 32(24).

- b. When 相 simply indicates that the goal of the verb or coverb is an object other than the subject, the context determines what or who it refers to.

兒童相見不相識 "The children saw [me] but didn't recognize [me]." 16(2.3)

通甫相語曰 "T'üng-fü to me said '....'" 33(31)

4.2318 The adverb of subject interest: 自 tzü Voc. 11(2)

- a. Before a transitive verb or coverb with no object expressed 自 shows that the subject is also the implied object.

臣自愛不愛君 "The minister loves himself and doesn't love his lord." 11(13). Also 14(1), 17(22), 26(15), 32(19), 33(9).

- b. Before an intransitive verb or a V-O phrase 自 shows that the subject is acting independently or in his own interest, i.e. "by himself" or "for himself."

自以爲不如 "[He] independently formed the opinion that [he] was not as handsome [as Mr. Hsü]." 22(8). Also 23(6), 33(6).

自爲詩 "[He] composed a poem for himself." 17(4). Also 16(3.7), 29(22), 31(10).

4.2319 Adverbs of degree. These are employed to modify stative, affective and attitude verbs, and occasionally the verbs 有 and 無.

- a. 頗 p'o Voc. 28(31) "quite, fairly, somewhat"

頗便 "quite convenient"

- b. 甚 shen Voc. 2(6) "very"

This is the commonest adverb of degree. Being basically a stative verb meaning "great, much" it is often used as a predicate or a second predicate.

王之蔽甚矣 "Your Majesty's obfuscation is indeed great." 22(12).

Grammar 4.2

(predicate)

天下幸甚 "[Then] all the people will be fortunate, very." 30(28).

(second predicate)

It can also have another adverb of degree as adjunct.

愛余尤甚 "[He] loved me especially much." 33(4)

As adverb of degree we have:

甚高 "very high" 13(17), 甚殷 "very full" 23(3). Also 2(6), 6(4), 34(60).

c. 尤 yú Voc. 23(6) "especially"

尤多 "especially numerous" 28(22), 34(36). Also 30(2), 33(7), 34(42).

d. 極 chí Voc. 28(27) "extremely"

e. 至 chih Voc. 3(13) "perfectly"

至善 "being perfectly good" or "perfect goodness" 9(1)

f. 益 yì Voc. 23(2) "increasingly"

益親 "increasingly intimate" 25(6)

g. 最 tsui Voc. 6(5) "most," "-est"

最貴 "most noble" 19(2). Also 28(5), 32(4), M(2).

h. 太 t'ai Voc. 8(0) "great, greatest, too, too much"

此不亦畏之太甚而養之太過歟 "Is not this indeed to fear it (war) too much and to coddle them (the people) too excessively?" L(8)

4.232 Conjunctions that form composite nuclei

These are illustrated in Gr. 9.1. Here we will merely list the words.

4.2321 Coordinative conjunctions

a. 且 ... 且 ... ch'ieh ... ch'ieh ... Voc. 3(8) "both ... and"

b. 既 ... 且 ... ch'ì ... ch'ieh ... Voc. 3(6) "both ... and"

c. 并 ping Voc. 24(17) "and"

Grammar 4.2

4.2322 Conjunctions that are primarily subordinative but which can also be coordinative

a. 而 erh Voc. 3(9). Calls for an "-ing" form in the adjunct verb.

b. 以 yǐ Voc. 1(2) "in such a way as to," "in order to," "and"

4.3 Level III. Predicate- and sentence-forming function words

Function words that are ICs of predicates or simple sentences and clauses

4.31 Predicate adjuncts. These resemble adverbs in that they can modify a verbal predicate. We distinguish them from adverbs, however, because, as noted in Comm. 5 Ac, they can also modify nominals, as adjuncts to a nominal predicate. Moreover, when they precede verbal predicates they do not affect the meaning of the verb itself but rather modify the predication as a whole. PAs are of two types. PAs of scope specify the scope of a predicate with reference to its subject or, less frequently in the case of a TV predicate, with reference to the object. PAs of quality or intensity indicate the degree of certainty with which the predication is made.

4.311 PAs of scope

4.3111 PAs of scope that can refer either to the subject or to an object

a. 皆 chiēh Voc. 2(4) "in all cases, all, both, entirely, all equally"

左右皆笑之 "Those present all laughed at him." 14(8) (referring to the subject)

漢皆已得楚乎 "Has Hàn already won over all of the Ch'ü army?" 17(2) (referring to the object)

四海之內皆兄弟 "The people everywhere are all [like] brothers [to a true gentleman]." 21(10) (referring to the subject of a nominal predicate)

b. 悉 hsi Voc. 14(22) "all without exception, completely"

召諸民當償者悉來合券 "To summon all the people who had to pay without exception to come and match their tallies." 14(22) (referring to the subject, which is a pivot)

立憲法悉照美國憲法參照中國性質立定 "In establishing a constitution [we should] set it up as a whole according to the American constitution and in parts according to Chinese conditions." 34(14)
(object)

c. 舉 chǔ Voc. 18(20) "all without exception." Also as adnoun 30(23).

百姓 ... 舉欣欣然有喜色 "The people ... all without exception will be joyful and have happy faces." Mencius 1b 1.7. (subject) For 欣 see Voc. K(7).

d. 盡 chīn 10(1) "exhaustively, all without exception"

其妻問所與飲食者則盡富貴[者]也 "When the wife asked about the people with whom he ate and drank, it turned out [they] were all people of wealth and rank." H(2) (referring to the subject of a nominal predicate)

盡殺[之]以快天下之心 "[They] killed them all in order to please the populace." 25(10) (object)

e. 一律 yī-lǜ Voc. 32(7) "without exception to the rule"

f. 凡 fán Voc. 15(4) "in all, all told, altogether, all in all." This frequently occurs before a numeral-measure phrase (i.e. nominal) predicate.

初集凡四卷 "The first collection in all was four volumes." 28(25)
(subject)

孔子之去魯凡十四歲 "Confucius' absence from Lǔ all told was fourteen years." 21 S(32) (subject)

Less often with a verbal predicate, and referring to the object.

凡殺三人傷五人 "In all [he] killed three men and wounded five."

漢書文三王傳 (object)

N.b. 凡 frequently occurs before a subject (especially a derived subject that is a preposed object) with the meaning "In all cases of, all."

凡可以得生者何[以]不用[之] "All the means by which men can preserve their lives, why don't they employ [them]?" 15(4)

Grammar 4.3

We can rationalize this use of the PA 凡 by assuming a kernel S-P 道凡
 可以得生 "Methods [of all kinds] all can be used to preserve [one's]
 life" from which to derive the nominal phrase 凡可以得生者 "the meth-
 ods that can all be used to preserve [one's] life — all means that can
 preserve one's life."

The nominalizing 者 can always be supplied as in the following example:

凡吾所謂道德[者]合仁與義言之 "In all cases of what I call tào and
té, I speak of them in conjunction with jén and yì." 26(8). Note that
 here 合 is a coverb.

g. 獨 tú Voc. 4(7) "alone, as a solitary exception, only"

人皆有兄弟我獨亡 "Others all have brothers; I alone have not."
 21(10) (subject)

古之人 ... 窮則獨善其身達則兼善天下 "The men of old ... when un-
 successful only improved themselves; when successful they at the same
 time improved everybody in the world." Mencius 7a 9.6. (object)

For 窮 see 26(19).

Sometimes 獨 adds emphasis to a rhetorical question.

籍獨不愧於心乎 "(Under such circumstances) shall I alone not feel
 ashamed in my heart?" 17(18)

N.b. Occasionally 獨 occurs before a subject with the meaning "It was
 only, there was only," as though the text read 獨有.

獨曾子最後死 "Only Tsēng-tzū died after everybody else." M(11)

N.B. 獨 also occurs as an adverb. See 21 §(22).

4.3112 PAs of scope that always refer to the subject

a. 俱 chū Voc. 17(14) "both," "all," "together"

赤泉侯人馬俱驚 "The Marquis of Redspring's troops all took alarm."
 17(14). See also 25(9), 27(4.7).

b. 均(鈞) chūn Voc. 18(14) "all equally, all"

外國人均稱我國人曰漢人 "Foreigners regularly in naming us said 'Men

Grammar 4.3

of Hàn.'" 18(14)

c. 遍(徧) pièn Voc. 14(23) "all individually, all one by one"

其他凡百積弊難以遍舉 "The other numerous accumulated defects are difficult to take up one by one." 29(8)

d. 各 kè Voc. 11(28) "in each case, each of them." Also used as an ad-noun 34(48).

大夫各愛其家 "The great officers in each case love their own families." 11(28)

楫左右舟子各一人 "On the left and right of the sweep (SA) the boatmen in each case was one man — there was one boatman on each side of the sweep." 24(12) (nominal predicate) Also 18(18), 24(1).

e. 或 huò Voc. 8(15) "in some cases, some of them"

民或飽 "The people in some cases were well fed." 27(3.11). Also 31(18,23).

f. 莫 mò Voc. 15(4) "in no case, none." As pronoun see Gr. 2.44 c.

左右皆泣莫能仰視 "Those present all wept; none could look up to observe (him)." 17(4). Also 15(4), 22(11).

g. 孰 shú Voc. 22(2) "who or which (usually of two)"

吾與徐公孰美 "I and Mr. Hsü, which is more handsome?" 22(6). Also 29(20).

畫孰最難者 "Of paintings, which are the hardest to do?" Text D

4.3113 PAs of scope that always refer to an object or a nominal predicate

a. 唯(惟,維) weí Voc. 6(17), 18(24) "only, merely"

吾惟守分而已 "I merely maintain my allotted place in life, that's all." 23(30). Also 30(9), 33(14).

N.b. 惟 often attracts the object to a position before the verb, giving the illusion that it is an adnoun.

惟怪之欲聞 "[They] only the bizarre, that, wish to hear about — they

Grammar 4.3

only want to hear about things that are strange." 26(17). Also 30(13) where 惟 is enlarged to 徒惟.

- b. 徒 t'ú "only" J(12), 34(9)
- c. 直 chíh "only, simply" 27(9.3)
- d. 只 chíh "only" 16(4.6, 5.7), 27(5.3)
- e. 僅 chiñ "only" 14 S(6)
- f. 但 tàn "only" 16(4.2), 27(8.2)

4.312 PAs of quality

These express the degree of certainty with which a predication is made or the intrinsic inevitableness of what is said.

- a. 固 kù Voc. 7(9) "certainly, actually"

子固非魚也 "You certainly are not a fish" 12(6). (nominal predicate)

夫才德不稱固自知之矣 "That [my] ability and virtue do not match [my position] certainly in myself [I] am aware of that." 23(6)
(verbal predicate)

- b. 誠 ch'éng Voc. 9(6) "truly"

子誠齊人也 "You truly are a man of Ch'i." Mencius 2a 1.2. (nominal predicate) Also 22(10).

- c. 信 hsiñ Voc. 21 S(15) "indeed, truly"

水信無分於東西 "Water truly will not distinguish between east and west (it flows downhill in either direction)." Mencius 6a 2.2.
(verbal predicate)

- d. 實 shíh Voc. 14(27) "actually, in fact." See Comm. 32(15) and Comm. 33(1).

- e. 亦 yì Voc. 4(7) "indeed, in fact"

不亦君子乎 "Is [that] not indeed to be a gentleman" 21(1).

嗚呼其亦不思而已矣 "Alas, in fact [they] do not think things over, that is all!" 26(27)

Grammar 4.3

f. 必 pì Voc. 5(15) "necessarily, always, certainly"

三人行必有我師焉 "When three people are walking along there will always be a teacher for me among them." 26(6)

g. 果 kǔo Voc. 14(17) "after all, in the end"

客果有能也 "This retainer after all does have some ability." 14(17)

h. 似 szù Voc. 4(9) "seemingly"

i. 彷彿 fǎng-fú Voc. 27(10.2) "seemingly"

j. 庶幾 shù-chī Voc. K(5) "probably, possibly"

k. 殆 tài Voc. 31(6) "possibly, probably"

l. 可 k'ǒ Voc. 5(4) "perhaps, approximately"

m. 幸而 hsing-érh Voc. 26(32) "fortunately"

n. 本 pěn Voc. 9(3) "originally, really"

昔本有此國 "In former times there really was such a country." 31(6)

4.32 Particles

The Vocabulary entries identify the main uses of the particles. All except the prosodic particles are also treated in some detail with illustrations in Gr. 10.6. Here we will simply list them.

4.321 Final particles that color the meaning of the word or word group they follow.

4.3211 Declarative final particles

a. 也 yěh Voc. 1(6)

b. 矣 yǐ Voc. 5(5)

c. 而已 érh-yǐ Voc. 21(4). This is sometimes lengthened to 而已矣.

d. 耳 ěrh Voc. 10(1) and 爾 ěrh Voc. 26(15). Both of these represent a fusion of 而已.

e. 焉 yén Voc. 6(13)

4.3212 Interrogative final particles

Grammar 4.3

- a. 歟 (與) yŭ Voc. 6(2)
- b. 乎 hŭ Voc. 6(18)
- c. 諸 chŭ Voc. 11(27). Represents a fusion of 之乎.
- d. 邪 yéh Voc. 21 S(29)
- e. 耶 yēh Voc. 31(8)

4.3213 Exclamatory final particles

- a. 哉 tsāi Voc. 3(13)
- b. 夫 fú Voc. 5(11)

4.3214 Citatory final particles

- a. 云 yŭn Voc. 6(16)
- b. 云爾 yŭn-ěrh

4.322 Initial particles that color the meaning of the word or word group they precede

4.3221 Preceding a subject

- a. 夫 fú Voc. 5(11). This is derived from the adnoun noted in Gr. 4.2211 b.
- b. 蓋 kài Voc. 31(2)

4.3222 Preceding a predicate

- a. 蓋 kài Voc. 31(2)
- b. 其 ch'í Voc. 2(7)
- c. 豈 ch'ǐ Voc. 3(13)

4.3223 Preceding an object

- 夫 fú Voc. 5(11)

4.323 Prosodic particles

These are syllables employed for rhythmical effects in poetry or rhythmical prose. They are used extensively in the 詩經 "Song Classic" and the 楚辭 Ch'ŭ Tz'ù "Poetry of Ch'ŭ."

Grammar 4.3

兮 hsi Voc. 17(4). This sometimes divides a line of verse into two parts, sometimes marks the end of a line, and sometimes in addition adds exclamatory force. It is most common in the poetry of Ch'ü and in the 賦 fù form derived from it. It is used sporadically by later poets writing various types of verse. It occurs in 17(4) and 27(1) in two songs in the Ch'ü style.

思 szü Voc. 4(5). This is one of a number of syllables used in the "Song Classic" to fill out verses. See 21(3).

4.4 Level IV. Function words forming composite sentences

These are all conjunctions. Most of them are pure conjunctive markers. Some are conjunctive adverbs.

4.41 Conjunctions that occur between the clauses that they join, preceding the subject (if expressed) of the second clause

4.411 Coordinative

4.4111 Cumulative

而 ér Voc. 3(9) "and" (see also Gr. 4.2322)

且 ch'ieh Voc. 3(9) "moreover" (see also Gr. 4.2321)

4.4112 Adversative

而 ér Voc. 3(9) "but"

然 rán Voc. 5(21) "but," "however"

然而 rán-ér Voc. 30(10) "however"

雖然 suí-rán Voc. 5(21) "although this is so," "however"

願 kù Voc. 30(21) "but"

但 dàn Voc. 16(4.2) "only," "but"

惟 wéi Voc. 18(24) "only"

4.4113 Disjunctive

抑 yì Voc. 6(18) "or"

4.412 Subordinative

4.4121 Between an adjunct clause of time and a head clause of consequence

而 ér Voc. 3(9) "and as a result," "then"

Grammar 4.4

- 而後 ér-hoü Voc. 5(23) "and afterwards," "then and only then"
 然後 ján-hoü Voc. 6(7) "this being so, afterwards," "and only then"
 †則 tsé Voc. 4(6) "then," "so then"

4.4122 Between an adjunct clause expressing a hypothetical condition and a head clause expressing an inference

- 則 tsé Voc. 4(6) "then"
 然則 ján-tsé Voc. 26(37) "this being so, then"
 斯 szū Voc. 31(12) "this being so, then," "then"
 此 tz'ü Voc. L(10) "under these circumstances, then"

4.4123 Between an adjunct clause of concession and a head clause expressing a contrasting conclusion

- 而 ér-h Voc. 3(9) "yet"
 然 ján Voc. 5(21) "yet"

4.4124 Between an adjunct clause expressing a cause and a head clause expressing an effect

- 故 kù Voc. 1(7) "therefore"
 以故 yǐ-kù Voc. 1(7) "for this reason," "therefore"
 是故 shih-kù Voc. 1(7) "for this reason," "therefore"
 是以 shih-yi L(4-5), M(11) "because of this," "therefore"
 因[此] yīn-tz'ü Voc. 14(23) "accordingly"
 用[此] yùng-tz'ü Voc. 10(4) "therefore"

4.42 Conjunctions that precede the subject of the first clause in a composite sentence

4.421 Coordinative

The following conjunctions deny that the relation between the subject and the predicate of the first clause is unique and lead to expectation of a second clause in which the same predicate is asserted of a different subject. There is usually a correlative conjunction in the second clause drawn from those listed under Gr. 4.441.

† For an exercise devoted to the use of this conjunction see page 148.

Grammar 4.4

非獨 fēi-tú Voc. 4(7) "not only"
非惟 fēi-wéi Voc. 6(17) "not only"
不惟 pū-wéi Voc. 26(15) "not only"

4.422 Subordinative

4.4221 Before an adjunct clause expressing a hypothetical condition

使 shǐh Voc. 4(6) "Let it be that." 使 is a pre-pivotal verb with the subject of the clause as its pivot object, but it comes to be felt as a conjunction.

若 (or 如) 使 jò-shǐh Voc. 29(19) "if we grant that"

設 shè Voc. 3(3) "supposing"

卽 chí Voc. 5(13) "even if"

4.4222 Before an adjunct clause that concedes a hypothetical and improbable situation, or a situation contrary to the known facts

縱 tsùng Voc. 4(7) "allowing that," "even if"

假 chiǎ Voc. 18(13) "even if there were," "even if it were"

The above two, like 使, are basically pre-pivotal verbs.

卽 chí Voc. 5(13) "even if"

4.43 Conjunctions that follow the subject of a first clause

4.431 Coordinative

The conjunctions listed under Gr. 4.421 above, 非獨, etc. follow the subject when in the second clause a different predicate is asserted of the same subject.

4.432 Subordinative

4.4321 In a temporal clause

These emphasize that the event referred to in the adjunct clause occurs prior to that in the head clause.

a. Referring to one occasion

既 chī Voc. 3(6) "when," "as soon as" (as adverb: "already")

b. Referring to all possible occasions

Grammar 4.4

每 měi Voc. 23(30) "whenever" (as adverb: "frequently")

4.4322 In a conditional clause

如 jú Voc. 8(14) "if"

若 jò Voc. 3(13) "if"

苟 kǒu Voc. 15(3) "if"

非 fēi Voc. 4(7) "unless," "if not" E.g. Gr. 12.1122c.3.

4.4323 In a concessive clause

雖 súi Voc. 4(4) "although"

4.44 Conjunctions that follow the subject (if expressed) of a second clause

4.441 Coordinative

亦 yì Voc. 4(7) "and," "also"

且 ch'ieh Voc. 3(9) "and," "also"

亦且 yì-ch'ieh 19(2) "and also"

且亦 ch'ieh-yì "and also"

又 yù Voc. 13(7) "moreover," "also"

4.442 Subordinative

4.4421 In a head clause following a time clause

a. Referring to one occasion

乃 nǎi Voc. 2(8) "then," "thereupon," "consequently"

遂 suì Voc. 2(9) "then," "subsequently," "accordingly"

因 yīn Voc. 14(23) "and accordingly," "and then"

即 chí Voc. 5(13) "then," "so"

便 pièn Voc. 16(3.6) "then," "so"

曾 tsēng Voc. 24(17) "then," "in fact," "actually"

b. Referring to all possible occasions

必 pì Voc. 5(15) "necessarily," "always" (also occurs as PA)

輒 ché Voc. 30(3) "immediately," "always" (also occurs as adverb)

4.4422 In a head clause following a conditional clause

即 chí Voc. 5(13) "then"

Grammar 4.4

必 pì Voc. 5(15) "then necessarily"

4.4423 In a head clause following a concessive clause

猶 yú Voc. 4(4) "then still"

仍 jéng Voc. 18(15) "still"

亦 yì Voc. 4(7) "still"

必 pì Voc. 5(15) "certainly," "always"

而 ér Voc. 3(9) "yet"

Chapter 5. Class Cleavage

So far we have noted the following characteristics of content words in literary Chinese:

- a. They are free to the point that in principle every content word can be an independent utterance and can perform all the syntactical functions that any other content word can perform. One limitation on this general freedom is the need of transitive verbs for an object and of certain nominal words for an adjunct or a head if they are to stand as independent utterances.
- b. In practice it is possible to classify content words in parts of speech, roughly according to the syntactical functions which they most often perform, and more precisely according to the function words with which they are normally associated.

We come now to the phenomenon of cleavage or overlap of the classes so established. This can be observed in the Texts when a word that has been assigned to one class in the Vocabulary occurs in an association with a function word that is a criterion of another class. For example, if two words assigned to the class of verbs are joined by the conjunction 與 which can only join nouns and nominal phrases, they become temporarily nouns. Thus 富 13(20) and 貴 13(19) which are basically stative verbs "to be wealthy" and "to be noble" when joined by 與 become nouns so that 富與貴 is a nominal phrase meaning "wealth and nobility." See Gr. 5.222.

In this chapter we are concerned only with content words, and only when the environment imposes on them a temporary change of part of speech affiliation. This is a different matter from the derivation of one word from another though sometimes the one process leads to the other. Thus if a word of one part of speech is frequently subject to class cleavage it may develop a distinctive pronunciation or be represented by a distinctive graph or it may acquire both of these distinctive features when used with its secondary meaning. Then we have a new derived word. So

Grammar 5

we have the TV 騎 ch'í Voc. 17(3) "to sit astride a horse" and the noun 騎 ch'í Voc. 17(5) "a mounted man"; the noun 賓 pīn Voc. 21(9) "a guest" and the verb pīn (also written 賓 or 賓) Voc. B(3) "to receive guests." Such derived words are regularly given separate entries in the Vocabularies whereas the fruits of class cleavage are not usually mentioned. Some of the formal distinguishing features of derived words will be discussed briefly in the next chapter.

The present chapter does not attempt an exhaustive treatment of the conditions under which class cleavage takes place. It will show, however, that there is nothing haphazard or ambiguous about the process. Each subsection isolates the effect of the presence of one factor in the environment of a word. Sometimes several factors reinforce each other. Thus a nominal word that becomes a transitive verb because of the presence of an object may very well also be modified by one or more adverbs.

5.1 Nominal word into verb by class cleavage

- 5.11 A nominal word becomes a transitive verb when it is followed by the object substitute 之 or by a form that is substitutable by 之, i.e. an object.
- a. 士兵之 "The soldiers will weapon them — will strike them with their weapons." 18(3)
 - b. 公將鼓之 "The duke was about to drum them — to order them to advance by the sounding of the drums." 20(12)
 - c. 手之舞之足之蹈之 See Comm. 34(14).
 - d. 汝必師之 "You must teacher him — regard him as the right teacher for you — become his student." 21 S(5)
 - e. 闔室毒之 "His whole household treated this as poison — were disgusted with this." K(2)
 - f. 孟嘗君客我 "Lord Mèng-ch'áng has retainered me — has made me his retainer." 14(9)
 - g. 今也欲治其心而外天下國家 "Today these people want to discipline their minds but they treat as something outside the world and the na-

Grammar 5.1

tion — but they exclude the world and the nation [from their concern]." 26(38)

h. 人其人廬其居 "[Let us] men their men and inn their dwellings — make real men of their men (secularize their clergy) and make inns of their lodgings (secularize their monasteries)." 26(54)

i. 用夷禮則夷之 "[If they] use barbarian ritual forms then [we should] barbarian them — treat them as barbarians." 26(40)

j. 苟利於民不必法古 "If [a policy] is beneficial to the people it doesn't need to model (itself on) antiquity." N(1)

k. 不父其父 "They do not treat as fathers their fathers." 26(39)

l. 是正之 "Affirm or correct them" 34(70)

In all the above sentences we could supply the coverb 以 before the noun that is being verbalized and supply a verb after it. For instance sentence a. could be expanded to 士[以]兵[擊]之 "The soldiers [with] weapons [will strike] them," and in sentence d. we could have [以]師[視]之 "[as] a teacher [view] him."

In examples a. to c. the noun expresses an instrument in action; in examples d. to l. the noun expresses a way of viewing or a manner of treating something or somebody. All cases of nouns becoming transitive verbs can probably be interpreted in one or the other of these two ways.

5.12 A nominal word becomes an intransitive verb under the following conditions:

5.121 When preceded or followed by the conjunction 而

a. 晨而求見 "[It being still] very early in the morning he sought an audience." 14(24)

b. 項王乃復引兵而東 "So King Hsiàng again leading his troops went east." 17(8)

c. 由周公而上上而為君 "Starting from the Duke of Chōu and going back up (to higher antiquity) they (the followers of the Royal Way) were on top and acted as rulers." 26(52)

5.122 When preceded by an adverb, as for instance by 不

Grammar 5.1

- a. 人不知而不愠不亦君子乎 "When others do not appreciate [a person] and yet [he] is not indignant, is [he] not behaving as a true gentleman!" 21(1)
- b. 如君不君臣不臣 "If the ruler does not act as a ruler, if the minister does not act as a minister" 21 S(15)

5.123 When preceded by an adjunct coverbal

朱熹 ... 爲之章句 "Chū Hsī ... for them made divisions into chapters and verses." 18(9). Here 爲 may be a verb with two objects. Gr. 7.52.

5.124 When followed by a complement

- a. 邑於岐山之下 "He established a city at the foot of Mount Ch'í." 8(12)
- b. 壁[於]垓下 "They encamped at Kāihsià." 17(1)
- c. 火於秦 "[They] made fire in Ch'ín — there was burning (of books) in the Ch'ín period." 26(10)
- d. 臣焉而不君其君 "They hold positions as ministers there but they do not treat their lords as lords." 26(39)
- e. 馮諼客[於]孟嘗君 "Féng Hsüān is accepted as a retainer by Lord Mèng-ch'áng." 14(0)

5.2 Verb into noun by class cleavage

5.21 A transitive verb becomes a noun when it follows a transitive verb other than an auxiliary verb and can be substituted by 之, i.e. when it becomes an object.

- a. 孔子使子貢求救於楚 "Confucius sent Tzū-kùng to seek help in Ch'ü." 21 S(31). Cf. Text 3(10).
- b. 病忘 "To suffer from forgetfulness" K(0,1)
- c. 不孝不慈亡有 "Being unfilial and being unpaternal will not have existence." 11(36)

5.22 An intransitive verb (whether of the action or stative type) becomes a noun under the following conditions:

Grammar 5.2

- 5.221 When it is preceded by the conjunction 之 or the adjunct substitute 其, i.e. when it becomes the head of a nominal phrase of the type treated in Gr. 8.4221 b. and c. An action IV so transformed is usually translated by an English -ing form; an SV by an English abstract noun form.
- a. 雲之浮鳥之飛 "the floating of the clouds, the flying of the birds" 6(6)
 - b. 天地之大 "the greatness of heaven and earth" 6(7)
 - c. 人之微 "the littleness of man" 6(9)
 - d. 魚之樂 "the joy of fishes" 12(0,2)
 - e. [其]安危出其喜怒 "[His (the king's)] safety or peril proceeds from (= depends upon) their (the eunuchs') happiness or anger." 25(7). We assume from the context that 其 is implied before 安.
- 5.222 When it is joined by the conjunction 與 or 及 with another word
- 仁與義 "humaneness and morality" 26(2,8,9)
- 5.223 When preceded by a transitive verb other than an auxiliary verb or by a coverb and thus functioning as an object. The noun so produced usually refers to a class of individuals as though the verb (usually an SV) were followed by 者
- a. 民扶老[者]携幼[者] "The people supported [their] aged and led by the hand [their] young." 14(31)
 - b. 甚矣人之好怪[者]也 "How great is men's fondness for the abnormal!" 26(17)
- 5.224 When followed by 也 at the end of a sentence, calling for a nominal predicate
- 是亦走也 "This too indeed is running away." 10(10). See Gr. 10.3312a.
- 5.3 Verb of one class into verb of another class
- 5.31 A transitive verb becomes intransitive when it is preceded by a form that was its object in a previous sentence, or that, in the light of the context, might well have been its object in a previous sentence. In

Grammar 5.3

such cases the verb is naturally translated by an English passive voice form. See Comm. 4 D.

- a. 其渴遂解 "Its thirst thereupon was quenched." 4(15). Cf. 我何以解吾渴 4(8)
- b. 物格而后知至. "When things are investigated then and only then knowledge is extended." 9(8). Cf. 致知在格物 9(7).
- c. 券徧合 "The tallies were all matched." 14(23). Cf. 來合券 14(22).
- d. 一人蛇先成 "One man's snake was finished first." 7(5). Cf. 先成[其蛇]者 7(4).
- e. [人]興於詩 "[Man] is aroused by the Songs." 21(7). Here the subject of what we may assume as a kernel sentence becomes a complement. The kernel sentence would be 詩興人 "The Songs arouse man." The same interpretation applies to example f.

Also 復 13(7), 盡 17(1), 破 17(9).

- f. 文倦於事情於憂 "I, Wén, am wearied by affairs and troubled by anxieties." 14(18)

Here we have to view 倦 and 憤 as transitive (causative) derivatives from stative verbs that have become intransitive with a passive meaning, for which see Gr. 5.323. Similarly in the clause in the same segment 沉於國家之事 "Being drowned by affairs of state and household ..." we take 沉 to be a transitive derivative from an IV meaning "to sink," which now becomes an intransitive and means "to be sunk." Other examples of the passive of transitive derivatives from stative verbs are 意誠, 心正, and 家齊 in 9(8).

- 5.32 An intransitive verb becomes transitive with a causative meaning when followed by 之 or by a form that is substitutable by 之, i.e. an object.

We shall consider the various types of intransitive verb separately.

- 5.321 IVs that cannot be modified by adverbs of degree, i.e. the "action" type of IV as distinguished from affective and stative verbs. These

Grammar 5.3

become causative in the sense that the subject-actor causes the person or thing represented by the object to perform the action expressed by the verb.

- a. 起而入之 "He (the gatekeeper) got up and caused him (the guest) to go in — He got up and admitted him." 23(16)
- b. 走馬 "He caused his horse to run — He galloped his horse." 23(13)
- c. 行大賞罰 "to cause to operate great rewards and punishments — to execute (a program of) great rewards and punishments." 29(1)
- d. 客進兵法 "[Whenever] a retainer causes a method of military action to come forward — Whenever a retainer presents a book on strategy or tactics" 18(5)
- e. 出記 "caused to come out his accounts — brought out his accounts" 14(14). Also 處 26(21).

5.322 Affective verbs. These intransitive verbs express the state of the feelings of the subject. They become causative in the sense that the subject causes the feelings described by the verb to arise in the object.

- a. 驚數千年之睡獅 "startles the several thousand year sleeping lion" 32(27)
- b. 山光悅鳥性 "The glow of the mountains gladdens the hearts of the birds." 27(4.5)
- c. 懼[之]以禍福 "[They (the eunuchs)] cause [him (the king)] to be afraid on account of disaster and good fortune (which they are able to control) — They threaten [him] with disaster." 25(4)

5.323 Stative verbs. These intransitive verbs that express states and qualities become causative with two different meanings.

5.3231 When transitivized they may show that the subject brings about a change in the nature of the object. George Kennedy called this a factitive type of causative use.

- a. 明明德 "causing the bright virtue to shine" 9(1)

Grammar 5.3

- b. 足食 "Make sufficient the foodstuffs" 21(11)
- c. 甘言媚詞 "He sweetens his words and makes persuasive his language." 23(8)
- d. 以快天下之心 "in order to make happy the hearts of all the people" 25(10)
- e. 欲强其國 "wanted to strengthen his state" 10 S(3)

Also 固 25(3), 利 N(1).

5.3232 They may show that the person referred to in the subject in his mind imputes a certain quality to the object. Kennedy called this a putative type of causative use.

- a. 吾妻之美我者私我也 "The reason for my wife's thinking me handsome is that she considers me to be of personal concern to her." 22(9)
- b. 子貢聞而怪之 "Tzū-kūng hearing it, thought it strange." K(13). Cf. 14(15).
- c. 故易之 "Therefore I consider it easy." Text D
- d. 貴之 "value them highly" N(7). Also 厚 23(23), 怪 K(13).

Note: Intransitive verbs that have become transitivized can again become intransitive with a "passive" meaning as noted under Gr. 5.31 above. The "passive" form of the causative use of a stative verb is quite common.

5.4 Verbs with dual class membership

The principles illustrated in Gr. 5.31 and 5.32 by which a transitive verb becomes intransitive with a passive meaning and by which any intransitive verb becomes transitive with a causative meaning are unambiguous and universal in their application. There need be no doubt as to which is the basic part of speech affiliation and which arises by class cleavage. There is another type of alternation in the part of speech affiliation of certain verbs in which it is often difficult to determine which part of speech is basic. Many verbs with one and the same sound and graph can sometimes function as transitive verbs and

Grammar 5.4

sometimes as intransitive verbs. That is to say, sometimes the action expressed is directed toward a specific goal, sometimes it is presented only as an activity of the subject-actor. In illustrating this we will again treat separately verbs that can be modified by adverbs of degree and those that cannot.

5.41 Verbs that cannot take adverbs of degree

For each word we will give an example first of the intransitive verb and then of the transitive verb.

- a. 笑 IV: 孟嘗君笑而受之 "Lord Mèng-ch'áng laughed and accepted him." 14(3)
TV: 左右皆笑之 "Those present all laughed at him." 14(8)
- b. 思 IV: 仰首而思 "Raising its head it reflected." 4(5)
TV: 暮寢而思之 "Lying down in the evening he thought about it." 22(9)
- c. 察 IV: 舜察於人倫 "Shùn was discriminating with regard to the principles of human relations." Mencius 4b 19.2. See Voc. A(4).
TV: 察鄰國之政 "If we look into the government of neighboring states" 10(4)

Also 謀 Voc. 3(2) IV "to make plans"; TV "to plot against"
戲 Voc. 2(1) IV "to play"; TV "to tease"
食 Voc. 14(1) IV "to eat"; TV "to eat (something)"

5.42 Verbs that can take adverbs of degree

For each word we will first give an example of the intransitive (i.e. affective) verb, then of the transitive (i.e. attitude) verb. Most words of this type can be used in both modes. The relative frequency of the two uses varies very much with individual words.

- a. 懼 Affective: 且疑且懼 "I was both skeptical and fearful." 33(37)
Attitude: 懼禍之心日益切 "His fearing disaster daily became increasingly acute." 25(7)
- b. 悅 Affective: 天下之士皆悅 "The gentlemen in the world all will be delighted." Mencius 2a 5.1

Grammar 5.4

Attitude: 百姓悅之 "The people were delighted with him." Chūang-tzū 24.93

c. 喜 Affective: 且驚且喜 "I was alarmed and at the same time pleased."
33(37)

Attitude: 頗喜詞章 "I rather enjoyed belles lettres." 33(12).

N.b. In Súi this use had a distinguishing ch'ü tone.

Chapter 6. The Formal Structure of Words

6. The total absence of inflection means that strictly speaking there is very little that can be called morphology in the grammar of literary Chinese. The vast majority of words are simple words which are invariable monosyllables each represented by a single invariable graph. This chapter is concerned with the exceptions to this general rule. We will first discuss certain formal features of simple words, that is, words consisting of one morpheme, including those with a single syllable and those with two syllables; then we will consider the structure of composite words consisting of more than one syllable, each representing a morpheme; finally we will list a few words that are recognized to be fusion words, in which two morphemes are represented by one syllable.

6.1 Simple words

6.1.1 Words of one syllable

Phonetic and graphic change is used to mark the derivation of one word from another.

6.1.1.1 The phonetic and graphic marking of words derived by semantic extension

It has been assumed in this book that the student is already acquainted with the general principles upon which Chinese characters are constructed, that most characters can be divided into a phonetic element and a signific or radical element, and that the signific is often used to distinguish a derived word with an extended meaning and a similar sound, as for instance in 方 fāng "square," 舫 "a (square-shaped) boat," 房 "a (square) building or a room." He is presumed to know that significs are also used to distinguish a word from another word of similar sound which has borrowed its character, as for instance 萊 lái in which 艹 was added to 來 after this picture of grain in ear was borrowed for the less picturable but more common word lái "to come." Also to distinguish a word from a word whose graph it has borrowed, as when 捨 shě "to part with" added 扌 to distinguish it from the

picturable word 舍 "a cottage" whose graph it had borrowed. In these last two cases of course there is no question of derivation. In the vocabularies we have occasionally drawn attention to such features.

It was not until the sounds of Chinese words in the Súi and Chōu periods had been systematically reconstructed, mainly in the present century, Bernhard Karlgren being the grand master of this effort, that a much fuller understanding of the relation between meaning, sound and symbol became possible. Karlgren led the way in identifying families of words in which codifiable changes of sound show that words are often cognate even when totally unrelated graphs are used to represent them, as in 鮮 hsiēn (*sɿ̃an) "fresh" and 新 hsiñ (*sɿ̃ēn) "new." The alternation of a and ě is found in other similar pairs of cognate words. We will not attempt here any detailed treatment of such phenomena but simply refer the student to The Chinese Language, Ronald Press, New York, 1949, Easy Lessons in Chinese Writing, Stockholm, 1958, and Grammata Serica Recensa, Stockholm, 1957, all by Bernhard Karlgren.

6.112 The phonetic and graphic marking of words derived by class cleavage

In Chapter 5 we examined the phenomenon of class cleavage, whereby a content word that has been assigned to one word class (noun, transitive verb, etc.) occasionally behaves like a word of a different class. The examples cited there involved no phonetic or graphic change. It was noted, however, that when a word is frequently used in what may be called a second syntactic role a distinctive pronunciation sometimes becomes associated with this use and must be considered as sign of a distinct word. Our vocabularies contain many examples of such function-distinctive pronunciations which are regularly used in reading and speaking today.

In recent years several writers[†] have focussed attention on evidence

[†]Notably 王力 Wáng Lì in pages 211-218 of his 漢語史稿 (1958), G. B. Downer in his article "Derivation by Tone-change in Classical Chinese," in the Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, v. 22, pp. 258-290, London (1959), and Chōu Fā-kāo in pp. 5-96 of his Historical Grammar, Part II (1962).

that such "split pronunciations" 破音 p'ò yīn have had a long history going back perhaps as far as the late Chōu period, that this process of derivation by sound change ceased to develop long ago and that many such distinctions have been lost. More than this, the general principle has been observed according to which the ch'ü or falling tone is distinctive of the derivative use (by class cleavage) of a word which in its primary use has a level, rising, or entering (jü) tone and that in the case of words which are basically in the ch'ü tone the distinction was made by voicing the initial.[†] Thus in the case of 好, the pronunciation hǎo marks the primary use as a stative verb meaning "good" while hào marks the derivative putative use "to view as good — to like."

Of importance for us is the evidence offered by such alternative pronunciations that Chinese writers recognized the existence of word classes even though they made no general statements about them.

In pre-modern books the less common pronunciation of a word (not necessarily that of a word derived by class cleavage) was often marked by a circle at the corner of the character in the following manner:



These circles correspond to the Súi-T'áng tones, 1 being the 平 level tone (of which the first and second tones of MC are variants), 2 the 上 rising tone (MC tone 3), 3 the 去 falling tone (MC tone 4), and 4 the 入 entering tone. See Comm. 18(11). This system of marking deviant tones is said to have originated in the later Hàn period and to have been widely used in the post-Hàn period.

Thus 好 indicates the SV use pronounced in the shǎng tone which in MC is hǎo while 好 indicates the TV (putative) use pronounced in the ch'ü tone which survives today as hào. Since such marked alternative pronunciations have been used with several hundred high frequency words, they contribute significantly to the understanding of texts.

[†] Since there are no voiced initials in MC these distinctions survive haphazardly, sometimes by the contrast of aspiration and nonaspiration.

Grammar 6.1

The scholars who have studied split pronunciations have grouped them by meaning in several different and sometimes conflicting ways. Here we will illustrate only their use to mark the main types of class cleavage which were treated in Chapter 5. These account for the great majority of cases, and on these there is a large measure of agreement.

In the following tables the romanized syllables all represent MC sounds, including the tones. Where the Súi-T'áng tone or initial was different this is indicated in parentheses. Alternative graphs for the derived word are given after the meaning.

6.1121 Nominal word to verb

a. Nominal to transitive verb

Basic N	Derived TV	Voc. Entry
文 wén "writing, literature"	wèn "embellish, gloss over"	1(9)
子 tzǔ "son"	tzù "to treat as a son"	5(0)
王 wáng "king"	wàng "rule over as a king"	8(0)
名 míng "name"	míng (falling) "to name"	13(21)
間 chiēn "interstice"	chièn "to intervene"	18(9)
種 chǔng "a seed"	chùng "plant seeds in"	18(11)
賓 piñ "a guest"	piñ "receive (guests)" 賓 賓	21(9)
妻 ch'ī "wife"	ch'ì "give away as a wife"	22(2)

b. Nominal to intransitive verb

Basic N	Derived IV	Voc. Entry
子 tzǔ "son"	tzǔ (falling) "to breed sons"	5(0)
弟 tì (rising) "younger brother"	t'ì (falling tone, same initial) "to act as a younger brother should" 悌	11(15)
魚 yǔ (level) "a fish"	yǔ (falling) "to fish" 漁	12(0)
衣 yī "clothes"	yì "to put on one's clothes"	20(5)
朝 chāo (unvoiced initial) "morning"	ch'áo (level tone, voiced initial) "to go to court"	22(10)

Grammar 6.1

6.1122 Verb to nominal word

a. Transitive verb to nominal word

	Basic TV		Derived N	Voc. Entry
使 shǐh	"to send"	shǐh	"an emissary"	4(6)
將 chiāng	"to lead"	chiāng	"a leader of troops"	8(11)
從 ts'úng	"to follow"	tsùng	(initial like the TV) "a follower"	8(14)
乘 ch'éng	"to drive, ride"	shèng	(initial like the TV) "a team of horses"	14(9)
論 lùn	(level) "to discuss"	lùn	"a discussion"	20(0)
傳 ch'úan	"to transmit"	ch'úan	(initial like the TV) "a (transmitted) record"	25(0)

b. Intransitive verb (action or stative) to nominal word

	Basic IV		Derived N	Voc. Entry
高 kāo	"high"	kāo	(falling) "height"	1(8)
行 hsiáng	"to walk, act"	hsiáng	"action, conduct"	2(9)
思 szū	"to think, reflect"	szù	"thought"	4(5)
長 ch'áng	"long"	ch'áng	(falling) "length"	4(7)
處 ch'ü	"to dwell"	ch'ü	"a place"	6(4)
難 nán	"difficult"	nàn	"difficulty"	13(4)
厚 hòu	(level) "thick"	hòu	"thickness"	23(23)

6.1123 Intransitive verb to transitive verb

a. Action IV to TV

	Basic IV		Derived TV	Voc. Entry
飲 yǐn	"to drink"	yǐn	"to give to drink"	4(2)
來 lái	"to come"	lài	"cause or induce to come" 徠 勑	14(5)
沈 ch'én	"to sink"	ch'én	"to drown"	14(18)

Grammar 6.1

b. Stative verb to transitive verb

	Basic SV		Derived TV	Voc. Entry
齊 ch'í	"even, equal"	ch'í	(falling) "make even or orderly"	9(6)
好 hǎo	"good, beautiful"	hào	"to be fond of"	10(6)
惡 è	(entering âk) "to be evil"	wù	(âg) "to hate"	11(33)
空 k'ūng	"empty"	k'ùng	"to make empty"	27(4.6)

6.12 Words of two syllables

Included here are the words of two syllables representing one morpheme which we have called binomes (Gr. 1.1).

These words may be characterized as follows:

Sound. They all consist of two syllables. Either the two whole syllables are identical in sound, or the initials are identical, or the finals are identical. In the first case we speak of reduplication, in the second of alliteration, in the third of rhyming.

Meaning. They may be said to have no meaning beyond the association of a striking and memorable sound with the object or activity of which they are tokens. As parts of speech they are either nouns (usually names of birds, animals, insects, plants or of cultural objects) or verbs of manner (Gr. 3.2). As names they are vocal labels. As verbs of manner they associate a sound with the characteristic action or appearance of somebody or something. Thus when a charming young lady is described in the first piece in the "Song Classic" as 窈窕 miáo-tiáo, all we are being told is that she is just the way a charming young lady ought to be. Such words can be thought of as "quiddity words" (I think this was suggested to me in a student's essay) which convey the "whatness" or "essence" of whatever they are in construction with. Not surprisingly some of them are onomatopoeic.

Graph. The secondary importance of the written symbols for binomes is evident from the fact that many, perhaps most, of them have been represented by several pairs of different characters. For example, 匍匐 23(17) appears also as 匍伏, 扶服, 扶伏, 蒲服, 蒲伏, 蒲伏.

Grammar 6.1

A few examples from the Texts will illustrate the formal features and the part of speech uses. Some alternative graphs are given in parentheses.

6.121 Reduplicatives

侃侃 (衍衍) k'ǎn-k'ǎn "upright," "straightforward" 30(27)

營營 yíng-yíng This was used originally of insects and has been variously explained as the swarming or humming or buzzing of insects. 27(10.7)

施施 shīh-shīh "to walk in a jaunty self-satisfied manner" H(7)

It is difficult to be sure whether certain words are binomes in the narrow sense we have adopted. We treat the reduplication of free words like 𠄎𠄎 14(28) as a special form of coordination. But sometimes we cannot be sure whether a repeated syllable is a free word or merely part of a binome. The issue is confused by the widely held conviction that every Chinese character must have an intrinsic meaning, which leads some lexicographers and commentators to look for meanings which are probably not there.

The following may be a true binome or it may be an iterative (coordinate) repetition of a single meaningful word.

擾擾 jǎo-jǎo "in confusion." 擾 means "to disturb" K(11).

6.122 Alliteratives

彷彿 (髣髴, 仿佛) "vaguely resembling something," "as seen in the distance or in a dream" 27(10.2)

頔頔 hsiéh-háng (Súi: yiet-yang) "to soar and descend (of a bird's flight)," "to undulate." Dictionaries say that hsiéh is to fly up and háng to fly down! 30(23)

慷慨 (忼慨) k'āng-k'ai "with the manner of a tragic hero." It is said to be the sound of flapping wings. 17(4)

鬱鬱 yī-yü This is said to be used for 怫鬱 fú-yü and to mean "anxious," "worried," "feelings pent-up," "stifled or suppressed." 26(23)

Grammar 6.1

6.123 Rhyming binomes

從容 tsūng-júng "moving about freely" 12(2)

匍匐 p'ú-fú "in the manner of a baby crawling" 23(17)

6.124 Binomes with no common phonetic feature

蝴蝶 hú-tiěh "a butterfly" 27(6.3)

襁褓 chiāng-pǎo "swaddling clothes" F(5)

6.2 Composite words

In Gr. 1.1 we equated a morpheme, i.e. an ultimate constituent of discourse, with a word. But because all morphemes are words it does not follow that all words are single morphemes. So far in this chapter we have examined words of one morpheme, consisting of one or two syllables. Now we will consider words consisting of two or more syllables, each representing a morpheme and hence consisting of more than one word, i.e. composite words.

Nothing is more difficult than to define the limits of what combinations can be included under the term "composite word." We have used the following criteria.

1. A composite word is a word group before and after which it is possible to pause in reading but within which no pause is possible.
2. The constituent words stand in construction with each other according to one of the five construction types, though in some cases the form is elliptical and in some the normal order is reversed.
3. Each constituent word contributes to the meaning of the whole, but this meaning is so specialized that a knowledge of the constituents and of the construction type is not necessarily sufficient for understanding the meaning of the whole. This meaning cannot be inferred but must be learned. It can sometimes be guessed but not with any certainty. Thus all composite words (like all simple words) are idioms. For example take 面目 mièn-mù 17(18). The individual words mean "face" and "eye." They stand in coordinative construction. However, the meaning is not

Grammar 6.2

"face and eye" but "personal dignity," or "self-respect." It is "the appearance that one presents to others and one's own reaction to what that will be." Or consider 門人 mén-jén. This looks like "gateman" but it means "a disciple," "a pupil" or "a retainer," i.e. 門下之人 "a person below his superior's gate." By contrast 門者 is usually not "that which is a gate" but "gateman," "gatekeeper," i.e. 守門者 "he who guards the gate." These examples will show that a composite word falls within the definition of a word as an ultimate constituent of discourse, a form not subject to grammatical analysis. A composite word can be analyzed, but in practice it is not and should not be analyzed. It functions as a whole, with a single meaning that is an item to be learned.

The above criteria would lead to the inclusion in this class of words of many idiomatic expressions for which no single English word is available as a translation. We have excluded such expressions from the category and listed them in the Vocabularies as IDIOMS. Composite words are relatively rare in classical texts, though in many writers one detects a weakness for pairs of nouns and verbs that are in varying degree tautological. The frequency of occurrences of composite words varies from period to period. In our selections from the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries they become almost as common as in writings in the vernacular style.

The construction of most composite words is shown in the Vocabularies.

Here we will cull a few examples of each type of construction.

6.21 Verb-Object (V-O) composite words

6.211 V-Os with normal word order

屠羊 "slaughter sheep — a sheep-butcher" N

司馬 "superintend horses — commander of cavalry — Minister of War"

N

知足 "appreciate sufficiency — contented, satisfied" SV

寄食 "entrust eating — rely for food, be dependent" IV

經年 "to through the year — all year" ADV

接踵 "touch the heel — consecutively" ADV

Grammar 6.2

6.212 V-Os with inverted order

6.2121 Constituents free words

布衣 "to wear cloth" — "a cloth-wearing (as opposed to silk-wearing) person (of the lower social orders)" N J (9)

肉食 "to eat meat." Usually followed by 者, giving "meat-eater--aristocrat" N 20(2). These are also analyzable as A-H forms, like the examples in Gr.6.231.

6.2122 Constituents a coverb and its object

A number of adverbs and conjunctions are formed by inverting a coverbal phrase. See Gr. 4.2316.

奚為 "what for, wherefore" — "why" ADV G(4)

何以 "because of what" — "why" ADV I(3)

是以 "on account of this" — "therefore" CONJ L(5), M(11).

6.22 Coordinative constructions (H-H)

6.221 Compounds of synonyms

宮室 (N + N) N "mansions and houses — buildings" 19(7)

居處 (IV + IV) N "dwell and occupy a place — social position" 13(17)

耆老 (SV + SV) N "aged and old — elders" 8(8)

把持 (TV + TV) TV "grasp and hold — control" 25(4)

疏遠 (SV + SV) SV "remote and far — distant" 25(5)

6.222 Compounds of antonyms

禍福 (N ~ N) N "disaster or happiness — fortune" 25(4)

安危 (SV ~ SV) N "safe or unsafe — security" 29(1)

勝負 (IV ~ IV) N "win or lose — success" L(16)

先後 (TIMEWORD ~ TIMEWORD) ADV "before or after — successively" 30(22)

6.23 Subordinative constructions (A-H)

6.231 Both constituents free words

田父 (N > N) N "field father — a peasant" 17(7)

天下 (N > PLACEWORD) N "beneath heaven — the population, the empire" 9(5)

下陳 (PLACEWORD > N) N "lower ranks — women attendants" 14(27)

Grammar 6.2

- 良人 (SV > N) N "good man — goodman, husband" (H(1))
 謀臣 (IV > N) N "a minister who plans — a strategist" 17 S(29)
 役民 (IV > N) N "people who serve (usually in the army or on corvée service) — conscripts" L(15)
 念珠 (TV > N) N "beads for remembering (Buddha) — a rosary" 24(11)
 大言 (SV > IV) IV "to talk big — to boast"

6.232 One constituent a function word

- 不敏 (ADV > SV) SV "not clever — slow-witted" 21(9)
 可忍 (PREFIX > TV) SV "bearable" 23(10)
 足多 (PREFIX > SV) SV "worthy to be considered excessive — to be denigrated" N(3)
 難測 (PREFIX > TV) SV "hard to fathom — unfathomable" 20(18)
 諸夏 (ADNOUN > N) N "all the (people of) Hsià descent — the Chinese people" 26(41)
 宦者 (N > NOMINAL HEAD SUBSTITUTE) N "those who are servants (in the court) — eunuchs" 25(0)

6.24 Verb-Complement constructions (V-C)

6.241 Both constituents free words

6.2411 With resultative complement

The following composites adumbrate the important form in MC in which a verb is closely linked with a succeeding verb (usually an SV) with the possibility of inserting 得 or 不 between the two. They are given in the Vocabularies as coordinative constructions, but they lend themselves easily to the complementive interpretation. The distinction between the coordinative, the subordinative, and the complementive constructions is never sharp where verbs are concerned unless formal markers are present.

- 追及 "to pursue to the point of reaching" 17(7)
 平定 "to pacify to the point of being settled — to bring under control" 17 S(8)
 竭盡 "to use up and exhaust — to exercise to the full" 29(24)

Grammar 6.2

推倒 "to push so as to upturn — to throw down, overthrow" 32(8)

6.2412 With directional complement

This also is a characteristic form in MC found only sporadically in L.

歸來 "let us go home come along — let us go back home" 14(5)

奔出 "to rush forth" 23(23)

6.242 Second constituent a bound word

In Gr. 1.451 we proposed to treat suffixes as quasi-complements. We have seen in Gr. 4.1 that the list of suffixes is quite short.

With nouns we have 子 as in 弟子 meaning "a disciple" M(1) and 孺子 meaning "a child" 4(6).

With verbs we have 以 forming certain auxiliary verbs as in 足以 "able to," and the suffixes that form verbs of manner: 然, 如, as in 欣然 "in a happy, cheerful manner" K(7).

6.3 Fusion words, i.e. two morphemes represented by one syllable with one graph

Chinese scholars have long been aware that certain words represent the running together of two words in rapid speech so that part of the sound of one or of both is elided, just as "will not" becomes "won't" in English. These words, called by George Kennedy fusion words, have been much studied in recent years and the interpretation of a few of them is firmly established.

The following occur in our texts.

		Voc.	Late Chōu		Fusion of	References to Texts and Grammar
a.	諸	chū	11(27) *t̃io	之 於	*t̃i[əg]io	30(4), 34(12)
b.	諸	chū	11(27) *t̃io	之 乎	*t̃i[əg g']o	I(2)
c.	焉	yén or yēn	6(13) *gian	于 + an(?)	*gi[wo]ân	10(1), 20(2) Gr. 4.2316 c.

Grammar 6.3

		Voc.	Late Chōu	Fusion of		References to Texts and Grammar
d.	然	ján	5(21)	*n ^í jan	如+ an(?) *ní[o]án	Gr. 3.84, 4.12, 4.4, 11.12, 11.2
e.	耳	ěrh	10(1)	*n _ɿ æg	而已 *ní[əg z]iæg	10(1)
f.	非	fēi	4(7)	*piwər	不惟 *p[_ɿ üŋ d]iwar	Gr. 3.32
Just as 非 is a fusion of 不惟 it seems almost certain that 無 must derive from a negative adverb beginning with *m- (MC: w- as in 未) plus the verb 有 (just as 有 in MC is negated by 沒 méi). So far the reconstructed early sounds do not fit such a description.						
g.	莫	mò	15(4)	*māk	無或 *m[iu ɣw]ək	Gr. 4.3112 f
h.	弗	fú	11(6)	*piwət	不之 *p _ɿ üŋ t̃[iəg]	Gr. 4.2311
i.	勿	wù	8(16)	*miwət	毋之 *miwo t̃[iəg]	Gr. 7.32c
j.	而	érh	26(31)	*níæg	汝之 *ní[o f _ɿ]æg	Gr. 2.422b
k.	乃	nai	27(84)	*næg	汝之 *ní[o f _ɿ]æg	Gr. 2.422b
l.	爾	ěrh	26(15)	*n ^í är	如此 *ní[o ts'ɿ]ar)	Gr. 4.1214
m.	盍	hó	24(2)	*g'äp	何不 *g'ä p[_ɿ üŋ]	

N.b. The possibility noted in Voc. 24(2) that the particle 盍 may be the same word as hó "why not" is highly speculative and should not be pressed.

Chapter 7. Verb-object (V-O) Phrases

7. This and the next two chapters are all concerned with grammatical forms at the phrase level, that is, the level between the word and the simple sentence.

A phrase was defined in Gr. 1.3 as "a word group functioning as the syntactic equivalent of a single word." Having in Chapters 2, 3, 4 identified certain word classes or parts of speech, we can now add to our definition of a phrase by saying that a phrase is the syntactic equivalent of a word of a particular form class, either a nominal word or a verb. A peculiarity of phrases as opposed to free words is that their form class is usually unambiguous and class cleavage is much less likely to occur. One type of phrase is not given separate consideration and that is an S-P form when it functions neither as a simple sentence nor as a clause in a composite sentence but as a subject, a predicate, an object or a head or adjunct in a nominal or verbal phrase. Such a form by our definition must be considered to be a phrase, but there is nothing about its internal structure that is not treated in the chapter on the Simple Sentence.

V-O phrases could have been included under verb phrases in Chapter 9. We treat them here separately because a transitive verb and its object stand in a particularly close-knit construction. Nothing can ever come between them, and normally a transitive verb cannot occur without an object.[†] In short a verb-object constitute functions very much like a composite word and we could well recognize it as belonging to a level intermediate between a word and a phrase. In effect this is what we are doing by giving V-Os a separate chapter.

In Gr. 3.11, the section on transitive verbs, we put off to the present

[†] When a verb that is sometimes transitive is employed without an object we do not speak of class cleavage but rather of there being two distinct words, one a TV and one an IV, represented by the same sound and graph. See Gr. 5.4. Or we might speak of words with dual membership in the class of TVs and the class of IVs.

Grammar 7.

chapter the classification of verbs by the type of object they govern. The five types of object governed by transitive verbs were briefly mentioned in Comm. 5 B. More details will be given here.

7.1 Object a nominal word or phrase

- 7.11 All transitive verbs (and intransitive verbs in a causative use) except some auxiliary verbs are capable of governing a nominal word or nominal phrase object. Many verbs, notably those expressing physical actions, can govern only nominal objects. The nominal phrase objects that most verbs can govern can take any of the forms illustrated in Chapter 8, except those of the type treated under Gr. 8.4221 which are discussed under 7.2 below.

殺數十百人 "[He] killed from several tens to a hundred men." 17(15)

物有本末 "Things have roots and branches." 9(3)

說畏難而避寇 "I, Yüeh, feared trouble and fled from the invaders."

13(14)

7.2 Object an [S]-P[†] or nominalized S-P phrase

Certain verbs in addition to governing the kinds of nominal objects that all transitive verbs can govern can alternatively govern an [S]-P phrase object[‡] or an S-P constitute nominalized by the insertion of the conjunction 之 between S and P or by substituting 其 for S. These latter are the noun phrases included under Gr. 8.4221. The verbs that have this special aptitude are verbs of knowing, thinking and perceiving, verbs of asking and saying, attitude verbs, and coverbs. The verbs 有 and 無 can govern S-P constitutes, but their behavior differs from that of the other groups in certain respects.

7.21 With verbs of knowing, thinking, perceiving

7.211 With S-P phrase object

[†]This formula is intended to mean S-P or [S]-P, the second referring to a predicate of which the subject is understood.

[‡]Many grammarians refer to an [S]-P object as a clause. We reserve that term for an [S]-P constitute that is in H-H or A-H construction with another [S]-P constitute. See Gr. 1.33 and Gr. 11, especially the footnote on page 857.

Grammar 7.2

- a. 知 chīh Voc. 1(9) "to know"

安知我知魚之樂 "How do you know that I know the happiness of fishes?"
12(4). The double underlining marks a nominalized S-P object as
object of the verb in the S-P object. Also 17(10), 33(11).

- b. 惟 wéi Voc. 18(24) "to think, expect, hope"

惟皇上採擇焉 "[We] hope His Majesty will select [policies] from among
them." 29(24)

- c. 度 tò Voc. 17(9) "to calculate, consider"

項王自度不得脫 "King Hsiàng figured to himself [that he] would not
be able to escape." 17(9)

- d. 視 shih Voc. 6(6) "to gaze at, inspect, observe"

吾視其轍亂 "I observed that their tracks were in disorder." 20(18)

- e. 見 chièn Voc. 4(2) "to see"

但見羣鷗日日來 "[I] only see flocks of gulls come day after day —
And all I have seen is flocks of gulls arriving day after day."
16(4.2). Also 4(2).

- f. 聞 wèn Voc. 8(10) "to hear, to smell"

聞雞鳴 "[He] heard the cock crow." 23(13)

When the object is long or is in the nature of an apothegm it is some-
times set off by the anticipatory use of the object substitute.

吾聞之也君子不以其所以養人者害人 "I have heard it (said) that the
gentleman (ruler) does not harm the people with that by which he
should support them." 8(10)

7.212 With nominalized S-P as object

- a. 先王知兵之不可去也 "The former kings realized the indispensability
of military power." L(3)

- b. 不圖為樂之至於斯也 "[I] had not imagined the making of music's
reaching this (perfection)." 21(5). Also 望 10(11).

Grammar 7.2

7.22 Verbs of asking and saying

It was noted in Comm. 1(3) that the quotation verb 曰 and the citation verb 云 are unique and do not govern objects. The following verbs do govern objects which can best be translated by indirect discourse forms.

a. 問 wèn Voc. 5(6) "to ask"

王問誰可使者 "The king asked who was the one who could be sent — The king asked who would be a suitable emissary." 史記 81

In the common patterns 問之曰 "inquiring of him said," and 問曰 "asking said," 問 behaves like a coverb. When 問 is directly followed by what is said, it is a full verb, and what is said, usually an S-P form, is its object.

b. 言 yán Voc. 1(4) "to say"

言師孫樂去 "[The boy] said that his master had gone to gather simples." 27(5.2)

7.23 With attitude verbs (See Gr. 3.112)

7.231 With [S]-P phrase object

a. 懼有伏焉 "I feared there was an ambush there." 20(18)

b. 但悲[吾]不見九州同 "[I] am only sad that [I] shall not see all our country united." 27(8.2)

7.232 With nominalized S-P phrase object

a. 孟嘗君怪其疾 "Lord Mèng-ch'áng was amazed at his speed." 14(25)

b. 不患人之不己知 "Do not worry at others' not appreciating you." 21(2). Also 厭 23(31), 疑 24(20).

7.24 With coverbs

歐洲富強之本不盡在於船堅礮利 "The foundation of the wealth and strength of Europe does not entirely reside in ships being solid and cannon being effective." 30(11). Also 9(1) where 於 is understood. All the common coverbs can govern S-P objects.

7.25 With 有 yǒu Voc. 2(5) "to have," "there is, there are," and 無 wú Voc. 7(9)

Grammar 7.2

(or 亡 wáng Voc. 11(36), 罔 wǎng Voc. 24(1), 无 wú) "there is not, there are not" See diagram in Comm. 5 Bb.

有忠臣碩士列於朝廷 "There are loyal officials and fine scholars drawn up in ranks in the audience hall." 25(5)

今無一人還 "Today there is not one of them who has returned." 17(18).
Also 14(1), 21(1)

An S-P object after 有 and 無 differs from the S-P objects of other verbs in the following respects: 1. the subject in the S-P object cannot be omitted, neither can it be substituted by 其; 2. the S-P object tends to break up into two parts, its subject becoming the object of 有 and its predicate becoming a new sentence with subject understood. This is especially evident when a subject or SA precedes 有 as in 3(1) and 14(1). The breakup of the S-P is often made complete by placing a complement after 有 and its immediate object, as in the following example.

今有人於此驩若愛其子 "Now here is a man. [He] loves his son with great affection." Mò-tzū 27

7.3 Object a verb or verb phrase

A verb that governs another verb as its object is an auxiliary verb. As with any other V-O constitute, nothing can come between an auxiliary verb and its object, and the object can be substituted by 之.

7.31 The verbs considered below are predominantly used as auxiliary verbs, but occasionally they will be found with nominal or S-P objects, with a related but different meaning. The verbal objects are underlined.

a. 能 néng Voc. 1(9) "to be able to, capable of"

莫能仰視 "None were able to raise their heads and look (at him)." 17(4). Also 20(3), 14(1).

b. 敢 kǎn Voc. 5(22) "to dare, to venture, to presume"

不敢當其賞 "[I] do not presume to consider myself worthy of the reward." 13(10). Also 23(12).

c. 欲 yù Voc. 4(2) "to want, to desire"

Grammar 7.3

我欲之楚 "I want to go to Ch'ü." G(3). Also 17(16), G(1).

With nominal object:

天欲其生而惡其死 "Heaven wishes them to live and hates for them to die." 11 S(15). Also I(2).

d. 願 yüàn Voc. 13(23) "to wish to," "[I] should like," "[I] am willing to"

我願為諸君快戰 "I wish in your honor, gentlemen, to make a (last) quick sortie." 17(10)

願之 "I am willing to do it." 14(19). Also 14(1), J(2).

e. 可, 可以 k'ǒ, kǒ-yǐ Voc. 5(4) "can, to be able, to be allowed to, to be permitted to, to be all right to, to be in a position to, it is possible to"

可以一戰 "We are in a position to make a fight of it." 20(10). Also 11(11,48), 25(9).

f. 足以 tsú-yǐ Voc. 7(3) "to be sufficient to, to be able to"

予 ... 不足以言革命獨立之大義 "I am unable to formulate the grand principles of revolution and independence." 32(4). Also 13(13), 34(2).

g. 得 té Voc. 4(4) "to succeed in, to get to do, to be able to, to be capable of"

不得免焉 "[We] have not succeeded in gaining freedom from them." 8(7). Also 4(4), 11(46), 23(31), 29(23).

As TV with nominal object:

不得其傳焉 "It (the Royal Way) did not obtain its transmission from him (Mencius) — It was not passed on from Mencius." 26(50)

With S-P predicate:

得長者時賜一書 "[I] have had the privilege of your from time to time sending me a letter." 23(1)

h. 肯 k'ĕn Voc. 16(4.7) "to be willing to, to agree to"

Grammar 7.3

掉頭不肯入 "[The official] shook his head and was unwilling to enter." 27(3.8). Also 16(4.7).

i. 忍 jěn Voc. 5(20) "to bear to"

不忍殺之 "[I] cannot bear to kill him." 17(19). Also 5(20).

7.32 The negative imperative auxiliary verbs

a. 無 wú Voc. 7(9). This is the same word as the indicative "there is not" in Gr. 7.25 but used in the sense "let there not be — do not — don't." The negative imperatives are also used in indirect discourse with such meanings as "should not" "so that ... would not."

使人給其食用無使乏 "[He] sent someone to supply her with food and necessities so that [she] should not be allowed to be destitute." 14(13). Also 10(11).

b. 毋 wú Voc. 27(8.4). This is a graph proper to the imperative use.

毋忘告乃翁 "Don't forget to inform (me) your father." 27(8.4). Also 32(19).

c. 勿 wù (*miwət) Voc. 8(16). This also is proper to the imperative use. In late Chōu and Hàn it is used regularly where one would expect 毋 之. This has led to the theory that the final -t in *miwət did duty for the initial t- in an elided 之 *tjəg.

己所不欲勿施於人 "That which you yourself do not want, do not impose it on others." 21(9)

賢者能勿喪耳 "The sages are able not to lose it, that is all." 15(6)

d. 莫 mò (*māk) Voc. 15(4). This is less used.

莫惜金繡衣 "Don't be so concerned about your robes of gold thread (your official career and dignity)." 27(9.1)

7.33 Other less common auxiliary verbs

a. 決 chüéh Voc. 17(10) "to resolve, to decide"

今日固決死 "Today I am firmly resolved to die." 17(10). Also 33(24).

b. 謀 móu Voc. 3(2) "to plan to, to scheme to"

日人力謀承繼德人 ... 之權利 "The Japanese schemed to succeed to the Germans' rights and privileges." 18(19). Also 3(2).

7.4 Object a pivot[†]

In a pivotal construction the (pivot) object of a first (pre-pivotal) verb is concomitantly the subject of a second (post-pivotal) verb. This construction has been described with a diagram in Comm. 5 Bd. Here we will examine the verbs that frequently occur in the pre-pivotal or post-pivotal position. In the examples the pre-pivotal verbs are underlined.

7.41 Pre-pivotal verbs of ordering, summoning, permitting, causing, urging, begging. Most of these tend to be specialized in this function. The post-pivotal verbs that follow these are unlimited in number and variety.

- a. 戰必令人執兵 "In warfare it is necessary to order men to bear arms." 18(3). Also 17(6,10).
 - b. 命更納之 "[He] ordered an underling to receive it (the gift, viz. bribe)." 23(21)
 - c. 使齊人傳語 "Will [he] have a man of Ch'í teach him (to speak the language of Ch'í)?" I(2)
 - d. 勢使之然 "The whole situation causes it to be so." 25(12)
 - e. 姑容我入 "Just for once permit me to come in!" 23(15)
 - f. 丈人止子路宿 "The old man kept Tzŭ-lù to stay the night." L. Y. 18.7.3.
 - g. 顧謂顏回紀之 "Turning around [Confucius] told Yén Húi to make a record of it." K(13)
- Also 許 32(6), 勸 27(9.1,2).

Sometimes a pivot appears to be omitted. See Gr. 12.22.

- h. 乞[皇上]下明詔 "We beg [His Majesty] to issue a luminous edict." 29(1)

[†]The useful term "pivot" is another borrowing from Y. R. Ch'ao.

Grammar 7.4

Sometimes two or more pivotal constructions will be found in one sentence. Comm. 14(22) has a diagram of such a sentence.

7.42 A very common post-pivotal verb is 為. It is frequently correlative to a pre-pivotal verb of a standard type. Here 為 is the equational conjunctive verb discussed in Gr. 3.31, especially 3.31 a.

7.421 為 correlative to pre-pivotal verbs of appointing

a. 立之為楚懷王 "[Hsiàng Liáng] set him up as King Húai of Ch'ü." 17 S(10)

b. 齊無人耶使子為使 "Are there no (proper) men in Ch'í? They commissioned (a miserable creature like) you to be ambassador!" B(4)

c. 趙王 ... 拜[蘭]相如為上大夫 "The King of Ch'ao appointed [Liñ] Hsiāng-jú to be Chief Minister." 史記 81

7.422 為 correlative to pre-pivotal verbs of dividing, changing, transforming
乃分軍為三 "So they divided the army to make three [parts] — So they divided their troops into three groups." 17(15)

7.423 為 correlative to pre-pivotal verbs of naming

a. 因即名人為兵 "Accordingly then [we] name men to be piñg (weapon-wielders) — Accordingly then men are called piñg." 18(3)

b. 後人因謂妻之父為泰山 "Later men therefore called one's wife's father to be T'àishān — Subsequently, therefore, a wife's father became referred to as T'àishān." 28(17)

7.424 為 correlative to 以 as pre-pivotal verb

寡人不敢以先王之臣為臣 "I do not dare to take my predecessor's minister to be my minister." 14(30). Also 11(1), 26(6), 28(9).

7.43 The equational conjunctive verbs 曰 and 謂 are also occasionally used as post-pivotal verbs like 為.

外國人均稱我國人曰漢人 "Foreigners all denominate the people of our country to be 'men of Hàn' — all call our people 'men of Hàn.'" 18(14)

Grammar 7.5

7.5 Double objects

Certain verbs normally govern two objects, the first representing a recipient or sufferer of something that is conveyed or done, the second representing what is conveyed or done. This type of construction is diagrammed in Comm. 5 Be and Comm. 24(2).

7.51 Two objects after verbs of telling and giving

Most of the verbs that govern two objects are verbs of giving, telling, teaching, asking, blaming, etc.

7.511 In the simplest form the V-O phrase has three ICs: 1. verb; 2. nominal object, usually representing a person who is the recipient; 3. object (usually but not always nominal) representing the thing conveyed. The first object corresponds to an indirect object in English; the second to an English direct object. The second object is underlined throughout.

a. 王賜晏子酒 "The king gave Yèn-tzū some wine." 晏子春秋雜下

Also 7(1), 24(2).

b. 公子姊 ... 數遺魏王及公子書 "The prince's sister repeatedly sent the king of Wèi and the prince letters." 史記 77

c. 公語之故且告之悔 "The duke described to him the facts of the case and further told him of his remorse." 左隱 1

d. 梁乃教羽兵法 "[Hsiàng] Liáng then taught [Hsiàng] Yǔ the art of war."

17 S(5)

7.512 Occasionally the second object is moved forward and becomes the object of the coverb 以 in an adjunct coverbal. This pattern must not be confused with that in which 以 is a pre-pivotal verb as in 14(30), which is quoted in Gr. 7.424.

秦亦不以城予趙趙亦終不予秦璧 "Neither did Ch'ín with the cities present Chào, nor did Chào ever give Ch'ín the jade disk." 史記

81. Also 14(23), which is quoted in Gr. 9.313.

以[之 (= 馬)] 賜公 "[I] will give [him (my horse)] to you." 17(19)

7.513 Far more often the second object remains in its place after the first

Grammar 7.5

object, but becomes the object of 以 in a complement coverbal. This form can often be reflected in a translation by using an English verb with postposition, like "endow ... with," "instruct ... in." See Comm. 7(1).

- a. 子路人告之以有過則喜 "As for Tzū-lù, when anyone informed him of his being at fault he rejoiced." Mencius 2 a 8.1
- b. 暴見於王王語暴以好樂暴未有以對也 "I, Pao, was received in audience by the king. The king told me of his being fond of music and I had nothing with which to reply." Mencius 1 b 1.1

Also 33(13), 26(21)

7.514 Occasionally the second object is placed directly after the verb, in which case the first object becomes the object of 於 in a coverbal complement.

- a. 齊景公問政於孔子 "Duke Ching of Ch'í enquired about government of Confucius." L. Y. 12.11
- b. 遺十金於子墨子 "[He] gave ten [talents] of gold to the Master, Mò-tzū." Mò-tzū 46.17

The one example in the Texts, 32(4), is elliptical, as noted in the Commentary.

7.52 Two objects after the TV 為 wéi Voc. 5(12) "to make or do"

The first occurrence of this form in the Texts is in 7(7):

吾能為之足 "I can make (for) it feet."

The following places in the Texts have also been interpreted in this way: 14(8), 17(22), 26(21,22,23).

In Comm. 7(7) we noted the possibility of interpreting 為之 as an adjunct coverbal (wèi ch'ih). By the principle stated in Gr. 5.123 this would require 足 to function as a verb, and the literal translation would go: "I can for it foot (= make feet)." None of my Chinese informants have come out strongly for one interpretation over the other except in the following case (which is used as an example in Gr. 5.123), where 為 is

Grammar 7.5

treated as a coverb, but I have doubts about that.

朱熹 ... 爲之章句 "Chū Hsī for them made chapters and verses." 18(9)

7.53 Two objects after the TVs 奈(奈) nài (*nad) Voc. 14(28), 如 jú (*ńio) Voc. 8(4), and 若 jò (*ńiak). These appear to be three pronunciations of one word meaning "to do (something) to or for or about (somebody)," "to have an impact on." They occur most frequently in the rhetorical question form:

如 X 何 "[One] can (or will) do to X what? — What can one do to (or for or about) X?" Here X is the first object (a person or a situation) and 何 is the second object. Since the common element in all cases of this pattern is 何, it has been illustrated under Gr. 2.431 e. The following are well known examples:

不能正其身如正人何 "[If a man] cannot put himself straight what can he do about putting others straight?" L. Y. 13.13

不曰如之何如之何者吾未如之何也已 "One who doesn't say 'What shall I do about it? What shall I do about it?' I have never been able to do anything about him." L. Y. 15.15

For another interpretation of this form see Gr. 2.431e and Voc. 8(4).

Chapter 8. Noun Phrases

8. A noun phrase is the syntactic equivalent of a noun and as such it usually functions as a subject, an object, an equational predicate or a head or adjunct in a larger noun phrase.

8.1 Noun phrases of the S-P construction type, i.e. appositional phrases

The term "in apposition" is used to describe the relation between S and P when an equational S-P constitute occurs as a constituent of a simple sentence or of a larger noun phrase.

- 8.11 A nominal expression followed by a modified measure phrase in apposition to it

青松四五樹 "the pines are four or five trees — four or five pine trees" 16(3.3)

食客三千人 "the retainers who eat (at his board) are three thousand individuals — three thousand retainers" 14 S(2). Also 18(16).

- 8.12 A title, rank, office, or function followed by a personal name in apposition with it

騎將灌嬰 "The cavalry general, Kùan Yīng" 17(6)

我國代表王正廷 "Our representative, Wáng Chèng-t'ing" 18(20)

8.13 Two noun phrases

快艦飛車 ... 西人之所恃以凌我者 "Warships and railroad trains ... (that is to say) the things the Westerners have relied on to oppress us with" 30(6). This whole phrase is a preposed object of 有 .

8.2 Nominal phrases formed by the object substitute 所

The meaning of 所 phrases is discussed in Comm. 3 Cb. Here we will simply illustrate the range of their use. It should be noted that a 所 phrase is the equivalent of an English noun clause.

Grammar 8.2

8.21 Nominal phrases in which 所 substitutes for the object of a transitive verb

a. 所 with an unmodified transitive verb

所書 "what was written" 3(11)

所欲 "what is desired" 15(1)

所學 "what is studied" 29(6)

所先後 "what is (or should be) put first or put last" 9(4) Note
that here 所 compels timewords to become transitive verbs.

b. 所 with a transitive verb modified by an adverb

所寡有 "what is possessed in a small quantity" 14(21)

所不欲 "what is not desired" 21(9)

c. 所 with an auxiliary verb and the verb object it governs

所能為 "what is able to be done" 8(15)

d. 所 with 謂 when it governs two objects

所謂亂 "what is called 'disorder'" 11(13)

所謂戰勝於朝廷 "what is called 'a battle victory in the court.'" 22(15)

e. 所 substituting for a pivot

所使學[不死之道]者 "the one who had been sent to learn [the art of long life]" A(2)

8.22 Nominal phrases in which 所 substitutes for the object in a coverbal

a. In a coverbal adjunct to a V-O

所以為聖 "what is used in becoming a sage — that by which they are sages" 26(33)

所以養人 "that with which one takes care of people" 8(10)

b. In a coverbal which is followed by another coverbal and then the head transitive verbal

所以為君市義 "that by which I purchased for the Prince (a reputation for) justice"

Grammar 8.2

c. In a coverbal adjunct to an IV

所自起 "that from which arises — whence arises" 11(2)

所以聞 "that by which one is known" 13(15)

d. When 所 substitutes for a complement in a kernel sentence no coverb is used. We supply 於 to make clear the nature of the phrase.[†]

所[於]居 "where [at] dwells" 6(2)

所[於]在 "where [at] is located" 17(15)

e. Similarly other coverbs are sometimes omitted

所[與]關 "where [with] is related" 30(26)

所[自]起 "what [from] arises" 19 S(8)

Nominal phrases beginning with 所 can be expanded by adding a nominal as remote adjunct (which can be viewed as derived from the subject of a kernel S-P), or by adding a nominal as head (which can be viewed as restoring the object for which 所 substitutes). These procedures will be illustrated under complex nominals. See Gr. 8.4216, 8.4223 a, and b.

8.3 Nominal phrases of the coordinative construction type, i.e. compound nominal phrases (H-H) in which the heads are nominal words, or phrases

8.31 A phrase is unambiguously nominal and compound when ICs of the same form class are joined by the conjunction 與, 及, or 並. The use of 與 in such phrases must be carefully distinguished from its use in an adjunct coverbal. See Gr. 4.2221a.

仁與義 "kindness and justice" 26(2)

荀與揚 "Hsün and Yáng" 26(51)

朝與國 "a court and a state" 31(29)

The presence of 與 nominalizes verbal ICs that it joins:

不變法 ... 與變法 ... 孰得孰失 ... "Not to change the laws (and so to ...) and to change the laws (and so to ...), ... which (of these

[†]呂叔湘 cites an example of 所於 from 韓愈送楊少君序: 以官為家罷則無所於歸 "[I] kept up my family by means of my office; when I lost it I had not whither to turn." See also 莊子 15.15 无所於恃虛之至也

Grammar 8.3

two alternatives) will be a success and which will be a failure?"
29(20)

漢軍及諸侯兵 "the Hàn army and also the troops of the feudal lords"
17(1)

王父及母 "my grandfather and my mother" 33(6)

對聯題名並篆文 "the matching verses, the name (of the artisan), and
the seal form characters" 24(17)

8.32 When there is no danger of ambiguity it is sufficient to place nominals
side by side to form a compound nominal

水火有氣而無生 "Fire and water have volatility but are without life"
19(1)

飢寒毒熱不忍 "the hunger, cold, fumes or heat are insupportable"
23(1)

鳥獸木石罔不象形 "Birds, beasts, trees, rocks, in no case did he not
reproduce the shape." 24(1)

8.4 Nominal phrases of the subordinative construction type

8.41 Phrases that do not admit of the conjunction 之 between adjunct and head

8.411 Phrases that are not transforms of S-P forms

8.4111 Adjunct an adnoun: head a nominal word or phrase. For a full listing
of adnouns see Gr. 4.221.

諸家 "all the artists" 28(27)

是處 "this place"

何物 "what thing" 31(9)

他日 "another day" 23(22)

此四大綱 "these four leading principles" 30(23)

8.4112 Adjunct a name; head a noun

張生 "student Chāng" 6(2)

齊國 "the state of Ch'í"

李尚書 "Board President Lǐ" 33(25)

Grammar 8.4

8.412 Phrases that can be viewed as transforms by inversion of S-P kernel forms

8.4121 Adjunct a numeral or indefinite quantity word

a. Head a measure

八扇 "eight wings (or leaves — hinged sections of windows)" 24(5)
Kernel 扇八 "the window-leaves are eight." Cf. 窗八 "the windows are eight" 24(17).

四隊 "four companies" 17(11) Kernel 隊四 "the companies are four"

十餘次 "ten and more times" 4(13)

八百餘人 "eight hundred and more men" 17(5)

若干種 "several kinds" 33(29)

數重 "several layers" 17(1)

b. Head a noun (other than a measure) or a nominal phrase

四大綱 "four great principles" 30(23) Kernel 大綱四 "the great principles are four."

四方 "the four directions" 27(1.3)

九泉 "the Nine Springs" 27(6.8)

c. Head substituted by 者

二者 "the two (alternatives)" 8(17), 15(1,2)

三者 "the three" 21(11)

四者 "the four (basic principles)" 30(19)

8.4122 Adjunct itself a complex form consisting of a numeral and a measure;
head a noun

四種聲調 "four types of intonation" 18(11)

[一]樽酒 "a jar of wine" 16(4.5) Note that the numeral 一 can be omitted.

十畝田 "ten mǔ of land" 16(3.1) If 之 were used it would imply
十畝[田]之田 "a farm of ten mǔ of land."

Similarly in 萬鍾之祿 "a salary of 10,000 measures (of grain)" 13(20)

Grammar 8.4

something like 米 ^ˇmi "rice" is implied after 鍾.

8.4123 Adjunct a one-syllable stative verb

a. Head a noun

明德 "bright virtue" or "virtue that is bright" 9(10) Kernel

S-P 德明

聖人 "a wise man" 11(1) Kernel S-P [此]人聖

b. Head substituted by 者

長者 "one who is senior" 17(19)

8.42 Phrases that admit of the conjunction 之 between adjunct and head

In practice 之 is generally not used when the resultant constitute would consist of only three syllables.

8.421 Phrases that are not transforms of a kernel S-P

The adjunct can always be substituted by 其 which incorporates the conjunction 之.

8.4211 Nominal adjunct; noun head

鄭人 "a man of Chèng" 5(2)

人主 "a lord of men" 25(5)

人之智 "the wisdom of man" 11(8)

臣之妻 "my wife" 22(10)

鄰國 "the states of the neighbors — the neighbor states"

8.4212 Nominal adjunct; placeword or timeword head

數月之後 "after several months" 22(14)

岐山之下 "the foot of Mount Ch'i" 8(12)

8.4213 Timeword or placeword adjunct; noun head

今日之事 "the business of today" 5(12)

後之人 "men of later times" 26(13)

8.4214 Pronoun adjunct; nominal head

吾故人 "my old friend" 17(21)

Grammar 8.4

我頭	"my head" 17(22)
乃翁	"your old man — your father" 27(8.4)
己所不欲	"what is not desired by oneself" 21(9)
而父子之道	"your doctrine concerning the relations of father and sons" 26(31)

8.4215 其 substituting for an adjunct of the above types

其僕	"his servant" 5(10)
其本	"its root — the beginning of it (of the matter)" 12(7)
其穉	"my tender age" 33(26)

8.4216 Nominal word adjunct (substitutable by 其); 所 phrase as head

The adjunct nominal is identifiable with the subject of a kernel sentence.
See Comm. 3 Cb 2.

我所欲 "what is desired by us — what we desire" 15(1) Kernel:
我欲之

身之所能為 "what can be done by the individual" 8(15) Kernel:
身能為之

亂之所自起 "the whence arises of disorder — the source of disorder" 11(2)

其所以為君 "whereby they are princes" 26(30) Kernel: 某人以此為
君 "so-and-so is a prince because of this"

8.4217 Nominal (remote) adjunct; verbal predicate nominalized by 者 (Gr. 8.4222) as head

The remote adjunct identifies the class of persons or objects to which 者 refers. See Comm. 3 Ca 2.

醫之攻人之疾者 "a doctor who is treating somebody's illness" 11(14)

齊國之美麗者 "the (most) handsome of (all the men of) the state of Ch'í" 22(4) Also 22(13), 24(9).

核挑[之]修狹者 "a peach stone that was long and narrow" 24(17)

女子[之]好者 "girls of the more attractive sort" 21 S(20)

8.4218 Adjunct an [S]-P form; head one of the group of semi-free "head" nouns

Grammar 8.4

of abstract meaning that rarely if ever occur as a predicate without an adjunct: 時, 處, 事, 謂, 意, 語 or 者 substituting for such a word.
See Gr. 2.122.

美國革命獨立之義 "the principles by which America made a revolution and became independent" 32(4)

[人]不可少頃舍禮義之謂也 "the idea of man not being able to give up lǐ and yì for even a moment" 19(10)

國家勵精圖治之時 "a time of the nation's arousing its spirit and planning for good government" 30(4)

Many time expressions imply 時 as head, e.g.

由孔子而來至於今[之時] "[the period] starting from Confucius and coming on down to today" 31(21)

列國並立之勢 "the situation in which there is a set of states of equal status" 29(12)

時局變遷之故 "reasons for changes in the situation" 30(3). See Gr. 8.4223 a (3).

矯枉過正之處 "places in which the straightening of the crooked has gone far beyond what is appropriate" 34(67). Also 之語 18(13).

8.422 Phrases that can be viewed as transforms of S-P forms

8.4221 Subject as adjunct; verbal predicate as head

The transformation is generally achieved by inserting 之 between S and P.
The adjunct is substitutable by 其. The head becomes a nominal translatable by an English -ing form.

a. Predicate head with a V-O center

人之不已知 "other people's not appreciating oneself" 21(2)

天之亡我 "heaven's destroying me" 17(9)

夷狄之有君 "the having of princes by the Yí and Tí — for the Yí and Tí to have princes" 26(41)

b. Predicate head with an IV center

鴉之鳴 "the cawing of a crow" 1(15)

其夭死 "his early dying — his early death" 26(23)

c. Predicate head with an SV center

吾頸之長 "my neck's being long — the length of my neck" 4(7)

君之美 "your beauty" 22(7)

民之多於鄰國 "the people's being more numerous than those of neighbor states" 10(11)

行之之難 "the difficulty of doing it" 30(26) Kernel: 行之難
"doing it is difficult"

d. Equational predicate with a conjunctive verb as head. See Gr. 3.31 b and c.

其為迂 "my being an unrealistic person" 23(31)

其非老大 "its not being an aged person" 31(7)

8.4222 Verbal predicate as adjunct; subject as head

The head can be substituted by 者. The adjunct is translatable by an English adjective clause.

a. V-O predicate as adjunct

懼禍之心 "a mind that fears disaster" 25(7) Kernel S-P 心懼禍

立國自強之策 "a plan that will set the state on its feet and make us strong" 29(2)

行之之人 "men who will do it" 30(26)

With 者 as head

治亂者 "those who put order into disorder" 11(7)

能為文收責於薛者 "one who can for me collect what is owing (me) in Hsüeh" 14(14)

b. IV predicate as adjunct

舍客 "a guest who lodges (in one's house)" 7(2)

資焉之家 "families that are helped by them" 26(19)

With 者 as head

祠者 "one who had been sacrificing" 7(1)

Grammar 8.4

不孝者 "one who is unfilial" 11(32)

不喝死而重危者 "one who is not stifling to death and in great danger"
29(11)

c. SV predicate (with more than one syllable) as adjunct. Cf. Gr. 8.4123.

小大之獄 "small or big law cases" 20(9)

With 者 as head

可進者 "that which is presentable" 22(14)

習[於]計會者 "one who is expert at keeping accounts" 14(14)

甚於生者 "that which is greater than life" 15(3)

d. S-P predicate as adjunct; noun head

徑寸之木 "a piece of wood whose diameter is an inch" 24(1)

With 者 as head

私家出資[以 or 而]設立者 "those [academies] that private families
provided funds to establish" 18(22). We posit a kernel sentence
which has a derived subject: [此書院]私家出資[以]設立[之].

8.4223 Both ICs nominals. The constitute can be viewed as a transform by in-
version of an S-P in which the predicate is a nominal. The head can
be substituted by 者. The adjunct is translatable by an English ad-
jective clause.

a. Adjunct a 所 phrase with or without adjunct before 所; specifying head
a nominal, identifiable with the subject in a kernel equational S-P.
The specifying head of course ultimately refers to the object which is
being substituted by 所. Thus 我所欲者 (implying something like 我
所欲之魚) is a transform of 魚我所欲也 15(1). This in turn is a
transform of 我欲魚.

(1) With an adjunct before 所

籍所殺[之]漢軍 "The Hàn troops that were killed by [Hsiàng] Chí"
17(20) Kernel: 漢軍[烏]籍所殺.

先秦諸國所記[之]戰國時事 "the events of the Warring States period

Grammar 8.4

that were recorded by the former feudal state of Ch'ín and the various other feudal states" 18(16). The Commentary has a diagram of this.

其所[於]居之土地 "the territory that was inhabited by them" 31(10)

(2) Without an adjunct before 所 as in Gr. 8.21

所贈[之]金 "the money that was given" 23(16) Kernel: [此]金[其]所贈

所載[之]宦者之禍 "the disasters (caused) by eunuchs that are recorded" 25(11)

所以安內攘外之大經 "the great principles by which to make the interior (of the country) secure and to repel outside (invaders)" 30(7)

(3) Forms with 故 as head could be included here instead of under Gr. 8.4218 by treating them as elliptical.

時局[之所以]變遷之故 "the reasons for which the (political and social) situation current at any one time changes" 30(3)

b. In all cases the head can be substituted by 者 (see Comm. 3 Cb 4) and the remote adjunct by 其. A kernel S-P can always be produced by dropping 者 and replacing it by 此 as subject.

其所以養人者 "that with which he should nourish people" 8(10)
Kernel 此其所以養人.

吾家所寡有者 "that which is fewly possessed by my household — that which is in short supply in my house" 14(21)

狄人之所欲者 "that which the Tí desire" 8(9)

西人之所恃以凌我者 "that which was relied on by the Westerners in order to oppress us" 30(6). See diagram in Commentary.

其所與飲食者 "those with whom [he] drank and ate" H(2)

所謂先王之教者 "what is called 'the teaching of the former kings'" 26(44)

[吾]妾之[所以]美我者 "the reason [for which my] concubine flatters

me" 22(9). 者 substitutes for 之故.

c. Adjunct a noun or name; nominal head substituted by 者. The constitute can be viewed as a transform by inversion of an equational S-P form.

聖人者 "one who is a wise man" 26(21). Kernel: 此聖人也

馮諼者 "a certain person who is (called) Féng Hsüān" 14(1). This means something like 馮諼之此人, a transform of 此人馮諼也. See Comm. 14(1).

昔者 "the past" Kernel: 時昔 "the time was the past."

熊掌者 "the one (of the two alternatives) which is bear paws" 15(1)
Kernel: 其一熊掌也. Here 者 is used to substitute for a subject clearly implied by the context but one that it would be awkward to give in full.

主者 "one who is a host" 23(9)

Chapter 9. Verb Phrases

9. A verb phrase is the syntactic equivalent of a verb or a V-O form and as such it usually functions as a predicate. It can also serve as a subject (Gr. 10.212), an object (Gr. 7.3), or a head or adjunct in a larger verb phrase (to be seen below in this chapter), or as a head (Gr. 8.4221) or adjunct (Gr. 8.4222) in a noun phrase.

The indispensable part of a verbal phrase is what will be called the verbal nucleus. This is in distinction to adjuncts (which may be either adverbials or coverbals) and to complements (which may be either coverbals or nouns).

The verbal nucleus can be simple (consisting of a single verb or V-O), or composite (consisting of two or more verbs or V-Os) in coordinative or subordinative construction.

The simple nucleus needs no discussion here.

We will consider first the composite nucleus, then adverbials, then adjunct coverbals and finally complements.

9.1 Composite nuclei

When two or more nucleus verbals (V-Os, IVs or SVs) are juxtaposed, with or without conjunctions, and can be read without pause, the whole constitutes what we will call a composite nucleus. The possibility of reading a composite nucleus without pause[†] is what distinguishes it from a string of predicate sentences (Comm. 3A), and from a composite sentence (Comm. 4). Composite nuclei are distinguishable from composite words (verbs) by the fact that in such words no pause is even possible between the constituents, no conjunction can be used, and the meaning cannot be inferred from the constituents. (Gr. 6.2)

[†] Should the question be asked "How do we know that a given group of words can or cannot be read without pause?" the answer is "We either know or we don't know." In other words, this is something that must be learned from a teacher. Fortunately the "feel" for such phrasing can be acquired with relative ease by reciting texts after a teacher or a tape recording as suggested in the preamble to Gr. 10.

Grammar 9.1

Composite nuclei can be roughly classified as compound or complex though the distinction is not as sharp as it is in the case of composite noun phrases. The conjunctions used in composite nuclei are listed in Gr. 4.232. Information given there will not be repeated here.

9.11 Compound nuclei marked by conjunctions

9.111 The order of the ICs of a coordinative phrase is generally reversible.

The conjunctions which are unambiguously coordinative are 且 ... 且 ... with action verbs and 既 ... 且 ... with stative verbs. 且 alone can be used with action or stative verbs. 且 and 既 are basically adverbs of aspect, meaning respectively "about to" and "already." See Gr. 4.2312a and d. As conjunctions they lose almost completely their aspectual meaning. These conjunctions stress the fact that the actions or qualities expressed by the verbs cohere, reinforcing each other if they are compatible, or creating tension if they are incompatible.

且驚且喜 "both startled and pleased" 33(37)

既大且著 "both big and clear" 3(6)

孔子貧且賤 "Confucius was poor and of low social status." 21 S(8)

9.112 The conjunctions 而 and 以 are basically subordinative (see Gr. 9.12 below) but often the subordinative force is so weak that they do little more than group verbals in pairs. Similar ambiguity attends the English "and" which, while basically coordinative, is often used subordinatively with a hint of "in order to" as in "Go and see who is at the door."

This usage is especially common with stative verbs.

順而祥 ... 愛而公 "well adjusted and fortunate ... loving and fair"
26(47)

It also occurs with V-Os.

禁惡而勸愛 "suppress hatred and encourage love" or "suppressing hatred encourage love" 11(46)

When contrasting expressions are joined by 而, the close connection so indicated often emphasizes the adversative character of the phrase.

Grammar 9.1

草木有生而無知 "Plants and trees have life but do not have intelligence." Cf. 19(1).

以 is also used coordinatively but is never adversative.

9.12 Complex nuclei marked by conjunctions

These consist of two verbals of the same class in a fixed order, the first being adjunct to the second.

9.121 With the conjunction 而

The conjunction 而 is mainly employed when the adjunct verbal expresses an action or event that accompanies or precedes the action of the head verbal. The adjunct thus sometimes qualifies the head as to manner, or means, or cause.

棄甲曳兵而走 "casting away their armor and dragging their weapons they run away" 10(7)

渡江而西 "crossing the river went west" 17(11)

引兵而東 "leading his troops went east" 17(8)

懼[之]以禍福而把持之 "frightening him with (talk of) what will happen to him they get him into their clutches" 25(4)

木處而顛 "dwelling in trees [they] tended to tumble down" 26(22)

鼓琴而歌 "striking his ch'in [he] sang" F(1)

9.122 With the conjunction 以

When the conjunction 以 joins an adjunct verbal to a head verbal the adjunct may express:

a. an action accompanying the action of the head

白衣冠以送之 "They all wore mourning clothes to see him off (on a mission certain to end in his death)." 史記 86

b. an action that will result in the action of the head

無求生以害人[者] "There are none who seek to preserve their life in such a way as to damage their virtue." 21(12). Also 30(16)

c. an action consciously intended to produce the action of the head

Grammar 9.1

攻異國以利其國 "They attack other states in order to benefit their own states." 26(23)

9.13 Composite nuclei without conjunctions

When no conjunctions are used, the content of the expression determines the analysis. This often leaves the reader teetering between a coordinative and a subordinative interpretation. When in doubt it is probably safer to adopt a coordinative interpretation since this is non-committal and does not rule out a secondary subordinative interpretation based simply on the order in which the constituents are strung together.

9.131 Nuclei that favor a coordinative interpretation

與[之]坐談 "with [him] sat and talked" 22(6)

罔不因勢象形 "In no case did [he] not follow closely the stance and reproduce the shape (of the object he portrayed)." 24(1)

陳涉首起兵反秦 "Ch'én Shè was the first (noun as adverbial) to raise an army and rebel against the Ch'ín empire." 17 S(1)

9.132 Nuclei that favor a subordinative interpretation

In the following examples conjunctions will be added in brackets to make the favored construction explicit.

- a. Phrases beginning with directional verbs are usually subordinative with a meaning of purpose. Little ambiguity is possible here.

官來[以]勘災 "The magistrate has come to investigate famine conditions." 27(3.1)

其子往[以]學禮焉 "The son went to learn about ritual from him (Confucius)." 21 S(6)

莫能仰[以]視 "None of them could (bear to) raise their heads to observe (the hero weeping)." 17(4)

- b. In many cases the first verbal clearly modifies the second.

夜披衣[而]坐 "Throughout the night he sat with his coat loosely thrown over his shoulders (ready to start without delay)." 23(13)

- c. When a nucleus has three verbals the first two usually form one IC and

Grammar 9.1

the third the other. The construction type of the first pair tends to be different from that of the nucleus as a whole.

甘言媚詞[而]作婦人狀 "sweeten their words and make their phraseology attractive in such a way as to ape the manner of women." 23(8).
(X + Y >> Z)

吾聞康先生上書[以]請變法[而]不達 "I hear that Mr. K'ang presented a petition to ask for reform of the laws but did not get anywhere." 33(31) (X > Y ++ Z)

In the following sentence two interpretations seem equally feasible as suggested by the conjunctions in brackets.

不撫愛[且 or 而]子其民 "[You] do not cherish and love your people and treat them as your sons." or "[You] do not, cherishing and loving your people, treat them as your sons." 14(28) (X + Y ++ Z) or (X + Y >> Z)

.2 Adverbs and adverbials

These all stand in subordinative construction with a nucleus head verbal.

.21 Bound adverbs of aspect, of negation, of time, of interrogation, of implicit object, of subject interest, and a miscellaneous group have been discussed in Gr. 4.23 and will not be treated further here. Two other groups of adjuncts that could also be classified as adverbs but which can modify predicates other than verbal predicate have been called predicate adjuncts and are treated in Gr. 4.31.

.22 Here we will consider nominal words and verbs and other predicatives used to modify verbs. Strictly speaking, these are not adverbs by our definition (according to which an adverb is a specialized bound function word), but content words used adverbially. Such uses are sometimes noted in the vocabularies, especially when they call for a translation that departs from the basic meaning of the word. Here we will simply group a few examples of nouns and verbs as adjuncts to verbs.

.221 Nominal words and phrases as adjuncts to verbs, grouped by meaning

.2211 Expressing time and duration

Grammar 9.2

Most of the timenames in Gr. 2.232 (esp. 1 and 5), and the timewords in Gr. 2.32 can be used.

夜間 "during the night [he] heard" 17(2)

春眠 "in the springtime [I] had been sleeping" 16(1.1)

9.2212 Expressing place

All the placewords in Gr. 2.31 as well as many nouns can be used.

東渡 "cross (the river) in an eastward direction" 17(16)

木處 "[they] dwelt in trees" 26(22)

野戰 "fight in the open country" 11 S(14)

官至 "in office he attained" 28(39)

心恥之 "in his heart [he] was ashamed of it" 23(15)

9.2213 Expressing in what capacity or by what agency the action is performed

霸有天下 "as hegemon [I] controlled the world" 17(9)

酒酣 "[they] were mellow from wine" 14 S(13)

賈利之 "[You] as a merchant exploit them." 14(28)

力謀 "with energy planned (schemed) to" 18(19)

9.222 Verbs and other predicatives as adjuncts to other verbs

Included here as adjuncts are verbs or predicatives of a different class from that of the head verb. When a verb functions as adjunct to a verb of the same class the resulting constitute is a complex nucleus.

9.2221 Verbs of manner

填然鼓之 "with a booming sound drummed them forward" 10(7)

決然捨去舊學 "[I] resolutely gave up my old studies" 33(39)

9.2222 Stative verbs

遠謀 "plan for the distant (future)" 20(3)

疾走 "run hurriedly" 23(28)

微側 "leaned slightly to the side" 24(9)

熟視 "looked intently" 22(8)

能久安長治 "will be able to be secure for a prolonged period and be well governed for a long time" 29(19)

Grammar 9.2

善待之 "treated him well" 21 S(10)

深感 "feel deeply" 23(5)

正如 "just like" 31(20)

反害夫子 "to harm my teacher in a way contrary to nature" 5(20)

9.2223 Numerals

五六揖 "[he] bowed five or six times" 23(21)

一戰 "fight once" 20(10)

9.3 Adjunct coverbals

These are described in Gr. 1.4423. Here we will illustrate the main meanings of coverbals formed by the common coverbs, which were listed in Gr. 4.2121. The information provided there will not be repeated here.

9.31 以 yǐ

9.311 Identifying an instrument that is used

以戰喻 "illustrate by means of (an example from) warfare" 10(6)

Also 8(10), 18(2).

9.312 Expressing a reason for an action

君子不以言舉人 "The gentleman does not promote a man on account of his words." L. Y. 15.22. Also 10(9).

9.313 Giving instrumental form to what could otherwise be a second object (representing a gift or thing said) of a verb of giving or saying. Y. R. Chao would call 以 in this use (and similarly 將 in 9.35 below) a pretransitive verb.

以責賜民 "with the debts presented the people — presented the people with what they owed — forgave the people their debts." 14(23)

Also 23(5). In 26(50) the object is resumed by 之 after the verb.

9.32 為 wéi

Identifying the beneficiary of an action, etc.

誰 ... 能為文收責 "Who is able, for (me) Wén, to collect what is owing to me?" 14(14)

Grammar 9.3

Also 13(18), 14(27), 17(12), 18(20), 29(1).

9.33 與 yǔ

9.331 Identifying who or what accompanies or cooperates in an activity

[人主]欲與疏遠之臣圖左右之親近 "[The ruler] (now) wants, in association with the ministers who are remote from him, to make plans against his familiars who surround him." 25(8)

法與時變 "Laws change with the times." N(3). Also 17 S(16,25), 20 S(1).

9.332 Identifying those in relation with whom a course of action is pursued

君子 ... 與人恭而有禮 "The gentleman in his relations with others is respectful and polite." 21(10)

9.333 Identifying that with which a comparison is being made

神情與蘇黃不屬 "[His] demeanor, compared with [that of] Sū and Húang, is not of the same type — His demeanor is not of the same type as Sū and Húang." 24(10)

9.34 從 ts'ung and 自 tzù

Identifying a point of origin

客從外來 "A guest came from outside — A guest came who was an outsider (and could give a disinterested opinion)." 22(6)

康先生 ... 新從京師歸 "Mr. K'āng has recently returned from the capital." 33(31). Also 16(2.4), 27(10.9), 33(28).

須從八事入手 "It is necessary to start with these eight topics." 34(5). For 自 see Comm. 11(2).

9.35 將 chiāng

This word performs the same function as 以 in 9.313 above.

欲將驗方呈進 "They wish to bring a well-tested prescription and present it — They wish to present a well-tested prescription." 29(23)

9.36 於 yú

Grammar 9.3

- 9.361 Indicating the range of possibilities within which the statement made in the nucleus applies. This is the usual meaning of 於 in an adjunct coverbal.

於斯三者何先 "Among these three which should be put first (for elimination)!" 21(11)

不知於帖括外更有所謂學 "[I] did not realize that among fields outside the scope of classical quotations there was something that can be called scholarship." 33(11)

Also 30(2), 31(33), 33(33), 34(3).

- 9.362 Indicating location in place or time

子於是日哭則不歌. "If on a given day the master wept, then he did not sing [on that same day]." L.Y.7.9.2

9.4 Complements

Complements are described in general terms in Gr. 1.45 and Comm. 3 B. A complement in a verb phrase is a nominal or coverbal form that stands in complementive construction with a preceding verb or verb-object nucleus which is the indispensable center of the construction. It is always possible to insert a coverb between the nucleus and a nominal complement. The complement can never be substituted by 之. More simply, perhaps, we may say that a complement is a coverbal following a nucleus, the coverb sometimes being omitted but understood.

Complements have a great variety of meanings. With action verb nuclei they express the direction, location, source, instrument, agent or beneficiary of the action. With stative verb nuclei they define that with respect to which the quality expressed by the verb applies, or a person or thing with which the subject is being compared in respect of that quality. In fact a complement can express anything bearing on the meaning of the verb other than a direct goal of its action which is expressed by an object substitutable by 之.

We will consider complements according to the coverb used or implied. These coverbs are listed in Gr. 4.2122.

9.41 於(于) yǔ

9.411 After a V-O nucleus

9.4111 Coverb expressed

移其民於河東 "[I] move its inhabitants (the inhabitants of Hónèi) to Hótuāng." 10(2)

項梁殺一人避難於吳 "Hsiàng Liáng killed somebody. He took refuge from the consequences in Wú." 17 S(6). Also 14(14).

客之美我者欲有求于我也 "The reason why my friends say I am handsome is that they want to make demands on me." 22(9)

9.4112 Coverb understood

民 ... 迎君[於]道中 "The people came out to welcome their lord in the highway." 14(31)

9.4113 When the object of the nucleus verb is substituted by 之, this can fuse with the coverb 於, giving rise to the fusion form 諸. See Gr. 6.3a.

情動於中而形諸言 "The feelings stir within and [man] embodies them in words." 34(12)

每欲 ... 指陳時事上諸當道 "I frequently have wanted to make a statement on the current situation and offer it to those in authority." 30(4)

9.412 After an IV nucleus

9.4121 Coverb expressed

a. With a nucleus verb that is intrinsically an IV

戰于長勺 "[They] fought a battle at Ch'áng-chó." 20(11)

孔子自周反於魯 "Confucius returned from Chōu to Lǔ." 21 S(10)

從於昭王 "[He] went as an attendant to King Chāo." 13(2)

君請擇於斯二者 "May it please Your Majesty to choose between these two." 8(17)

b. With an IV of passive meaning that is derived from a TV

興於詩 "[Man] is stimulated by the Songs." 21(7)

Grammar 9.4

年十七舉於鄉 "At the age of seventeen I was recommended by the province (as a candidate for the metropolitan examination)." 33(25)

9.4122 Coverb understood

壁[於]垓下 "Encamped [at] Kāihsià." 17(1). Also after 飲 in 17(3) and after 陷 in 17(7).

9.413 After an SV nucleus

9.4131 Coverb expressed

a. The complement indicates someone or something credited with a lower degree of the quality expressed by the SV than the subject has.

季氏富於周公 "The Chì family was more wealthy than the Duke of Chōu." L. Y. 11.16.

人之所欲莫甚於生 "The things that men desire in no case are greater than life." 15(4)

b. The complement indicates the field or area to which the quality or capacity expressed by the SV applies.

我國 ... 不急於此四者 "Our country ... is not urgently concerned about these four (policies that I am advocating)." 30(13)

其心志安於斬刈殺伐之際 "Their minds and wills are impervious to the scenes of hewing, slashing, hacking and cleaving (of the battle-field)." L(4)

苟利於民 ... 苟周於事 "If [a government] is beneficial to the people ... if [it] is thoroughly alert to all exigencies" N(1)

9.4132 Coverb understood

曾子少[於]孔子 "Tsēng-tzŭ was younger than Confucius." M(2)

9.414 When the object of the complement coverb is a substitute, the coverb sometimes fuses with this, giving rise to the fusion form 焉. See Gr. 6.3c.

9.4141 After a V-O nucleus

盡心焉 "[I] devote my mind to it." 10(1)

Also 20(18), 21(6), 26(50).

9.4142 After an IV nucleus

居焉 "[He] settled therein." 8(12)

Also 8(3), 20(2), 26(19), 29(24).

知者作法愚者制焉 "The wise promulgate laws; the ignorant are controlled by them." 史記 68.

9.42 如 jú 若 jò

It has been pointed out that sometimes it is simpler to consider 如 and 若 as complement coverbs even though it is possible by supplying words to treat them as conjunctive equational verbs. In the following examples the complementive analysis seems best.

君子之交淡若水 小人之交甘若醴 "The friendship of a gentleman is tasteless (not effusive but pure and disinterested) like water; the friendship of the vulgar is sweet (effusive but insincere and selfish) like new wine." Chūang-tzū 20.41.

貴出如糞土 賤取如珠玉 "[When commodities are] expensive [they] are offered for sale like manure and dirt; [when] cheap [they] are bought up like pearls and jade." 史記 129

Also 11(33), 24(14,15).

9.43 以 yǐ

9.431 When a coverbal with 以 is placed in the complement position this usually is a dislocation for emphasis or for the sake of euphony.

事之以皮幣不得免焉 ... 以犬馬 ... 以珠玉 "We supplied them with furs and silks and were not freed from their demands; we supplied them also with hounds and horses; ... we even supplied them with pearls and jade and still we were not freed" 8(7)

Also 25(4), 13(18).

Grammar 9.4

9.432 Occasionally a "second object" becomes a complement with 以.

魏王不敢任公子以國政 "The King of Wèi did not dare entrust the prince
with the administration of the state." 史記 77

See Gr. 7.513 and compare 9.313 above.

The following coverbs are relatively rare in occurrence.

9.44 比 pǐ Voc. 14(6)

食之比門下之客 "Feed him on a par with my other retainers." 14(6)

9.45 自 tzù Voc. 11(2)

9.451 Coverb expressed

三月公至自齊 "In the third month the duke arrived from Ch'í." 春秋
昭 26

9.452 Coverb understood

亂何自起起[自]不相愛 "Whence does disorder arise? [It] arises from
[people] not loving each other." 11(12)

Chapter 10. The Simple Sentence

10. The simple sentence was defined in Gr. 1.3 as "a form that is not in construction with any other form and of which the favorite type is a single S-P constitute." Not being in construction with another form means that a sentence is bounded by pauses. In pre-modern literary texts these pauses were generally not indicated by punctuation marks, and an important part of a student's training consisted of reciting texts aloud (讀 tú) after a teacher with attention to the pauses (句 chù) between "sentences," and to the lesser pauses (讀 tòu) between phrases. These two words together form a composite word 句讀 chù-tòu, meaning "to punctuate" or "punctuation." The Western student of literary Chinese would do well to undergo some training of this sort. Apart from such oral drill the student learns to recognize sentences by becoming familiar with the range of possibilities in sentence structure. Words that tend to occur at the beginning or the end of sentences or phrases are particularly helpful as markers. Final particles in particular perform a function very much like that of punctuation marks; however, since their use is not prescriptive and many writers employ them sparingly the help they offer is quite limited. Classical style prose easily falls into metrical patterns in which two or more successive sentences have the same number of syllables. Quite often parallelism of internal structure is also observed in such sentences. Our texts do not include examples of the "parallel prose style" 駢體文 p'ien-t'í-wén in which these phenomena are most prominent, but almost every text contains some examples. E.g. 7(4-7). They are especially evident in Texts 9, 11, 19 and of course in the poems in 16 and 27. As noted in Comm. 16(0) most metrical lines in poetry coincide with sentences. In fact the same word, chù 句, is used for both. Such metrical groupings and parallelisms can often be recognized before the reader has made out the syntax of a passage and can lead him to a clear understanding of it. Text N is a case in point.

One exception must be made to the definition of a sentence as an S-P con-

struction which is not in construction with any other grammatical form. Certain elements occurring at the beginning of sentences, mostly nominals or coverbals in form, are being treated here as sentence adjuncts (SA). They were briefly noted in Gr. 1.4431. We distinguish these SAs from subjects because they are not topics to be commented on, but subordinate modifiers of the sentence supplying a setting in space or time or stating some limitations that restrict the meaning of the sentence. Without them the sentence is still a sentence whereas if a subject is removed, either there is no sentence left or it is completely changed as, for instance, into an imperative. We will say that the body of a simple sentence is an S-P constitute but that this can become head to a sentence adjunct. Thus the ICs of a simple sentence can be either S and P or SA and S-P. Sentence adjuncts in coverbal form resemble subordinate clauses and are easily transformed into clauses, but they do not usually employ subordinating conjunctions, and being bound forms, could not occur as independent sentences. Sentence adjuncts will be treated in 10.4 below.

Similarly in 10.5 we shall treat a predicate adjunct as an IC of the predicate, not of the nominal or verbal or S-P phrase that is the body of the predicate.

Finally, there are particles that affect the mood and tempo of the sentence which can be placed in construction with the subject, the predicate, or the sentence adjunct. They will be discussed in 10.6.

Note: Much of the analysis of the simple sentence applies equally well to S-P forms functioning as clauses and phrases. These will be included in the examples.

10.1 Full sentences, predicate sentences, and minor sentences

10.11 Our definition of a simple sentence spoke of a single S-P constitute as the favorite type. This means that normally the body of a simple sentence consists of a subject which proposes a topic followed by a predicate that comments on that topic as in: 吾死矣 "I am going to die" 5(5).

Grammar 10.1

The notion of a sentence being simple has nothing to do with its length. Simple sentences can be quite long and involved, by elaboration at the phrase level. For example segment (5) in Text 9 is a sentence of fourteen words. Apart from the last five words, segment (1) of Text 29 is a sentence of forty-four words. They are both simple sentences, each analyzable into one S-P constitute. By contrast a composite sentence can consist of only two or three words, as for example: 出無車 "[When I] go out [I] have no chariot." 14(7).

10.12 In reading a simple sentence it is always possible to pause between S and P. When a writer wishes to emphasize the subject he may impose such a pause by using a particle (see Gr. 10.611 below), or by inserting a conjunction. The effect is to set forth the subject as a topic for consideration in the form of a conditional clause: "If you care to consider S, well then you will find that one can say P about it." This latter method, as noted in Comm. 5 Ad, is particularly common with equational sentences.

- a. 漢高誘註凡三十三卷即今通行本 "The annotated [edition] by Kāo Yü of Hàn, in all thirty-three volumes, is of course the edition in circulation now." 18(17)
- b. 嚮之所謂可恃者乃所以爲患也 "Those who formerly were considered reliable turn out to be the means of creating disaster." 25(7)
- c. 其學乃吾與子所未夢及 "His teaching is, so it seems, something that you and I have never even dreamt of." 33(31). Also 34(53).
- d. 斯則僕之褊哉 "This, then, is my narrowmindedness." 23(29). Cf. 31(30).

The conjunction 則 is more common before verbal and S-P predicates.

- e. 學校則教及詞章詩字 "[When we examine] the schools, [well], the instruction includes belles lettres and poetry" 29(6). Also 29(5,7), 34(41,42).

Sometimes both a particle and a conjunction are used.

- f. 其小之也則宜 "His belittling them then, is inevitable." 26(6)

Grammar 10.1

10.13 In practice a great many simple sentences appear to consist of predicates without subjects immediately preceding them. In most cases this is because the subject in the preceding sentence or sentences is understood to be operative in them. In Comm. 2 A we proposed calling these "predicate sentences." They are especially common in narrative passages. For example:

- (1) 一兒忽覺有人隨之 (2) [兒]甚恐 (3) [兒]急告其友 (1) "One boy suddenly sensed that somebody was following him." (2) "[He] was very frightened." (3) "Anxiously [he] told his friend." 2(5-7)
- (1) 昭王反國 (2) [昭王]將賞從者 (3) [昭王]及屠羊說 (1) King Chao returned to his state." (2) "[He] prepared to reward those who had followed him." (3) "[He] came to Sheep-butcher Yüeh." 13(3,4).

The numbered S-Ps and [S]-Ps are independent sentences because they are separated by full pauses and not joined by conjunctions or by symmetry. The fact that they have a common subject does not make them into a composite sentence. Such unity as it gives is less a matter of syntax than of rhetoric. Such strings of "predicate sentences" are like paragraphs. For other examples see 8(12), 14(9).

Occasionally a subject is omitted even when it is different from that of the preceding sentence. The first seven words in 17(15) are an example of such a sentence. Fortunately these cases are rare. Gr. 12.212.

10.14 Minor sentences

What linguists call "minor sentences" must be distinguished from "predicate sentences." They are simple sentences which are not in S-P form. They are either self-contained exclamatory ejaculations called interjections, or they are questions, answers, commands or brief expressions of approval, disapproval, acknowledgment. They usually occur in direct discourse. All except interjections can be viewed as predicates for which subjects could be supplied. Here, however, there is no unique form that has already been expressed and can be said to be "understood" as in the case of the "predicate sentences."

Grammar 10.1

Examples of minor sentences

10.141 Commands

強之 "Press him!" 13(8)

視吾家所寡有者 "Look out for what my household is short of!" 14(21)

左 "Go to the left!" 17(7). Also 23(18).

進 "Step forward!" 23(18)

10.142 Questions

爲誰 "Who is it?" 23(14)

信乎 "Is it credible?" M(1)

何如 "What was it like — How was that?" 17(16)

10.143 Replies to questions

其僕曰庾公之斯也 "His charioteer (replying) said: 'Yü-kūng-chih-szū [is the person pursuing you].'" 5(8)

曰責畢收乎 ... 曰收畢矣 "Have the amounts due all been collected?"
"Collected in full." 14(25,26)

10.144 Expressions of approval, disapproval, etc.

曰諾 "O.K." 14(3,29)

曰善 "Good!" 22(13). Also 21 S(24)

曰然哉然哉 "Just so, Just so." 21 S(24)

10.145 Interjections. These are never anything but minor sentences. Examples that occur in our texts are collected in Gr. 3.

10.2 Types of subject

There are two main types of subjects: 1) primary subjects whose only syntactic function is as subject; 2) derived or pre-stated subjects which can be viewed as resulting from the transformation of a kernel sentence and can be resumed by a substitute in the predicate. This of course does not mean to imply that the kernel sentence existed before the transform, or even that the writer had it in mind before he started.

Grammar 10.2

Derived subjects could be called subjects that are resumed in the predicate.

10.21 Primary subjects

10.211 Nominal words and phrases are the commonest subjects. All the nominal phrases described in Chapter 8 can function as subjects. They can in principle take any kind of predicate.

- a. 齊師伐我 "The army of Ch'i attacked us." 20(1)
- b. 人之害多矣 "The dangers to human life were many." 26(20)
- c. 王父父日以課之 "My grandfather and my father daily instructed me in [them (the books just mentioned)]." 33(15)

10.212 Verbs and verb phrases

- a. 死生有命富貴在天 "Dying and being alive have fixed terms; being wealthy and being noble depend upon heaven." 21(10)
- b. 飢寒毒熱不可忍 "The being hungry, cold, asphyxiated and sweltering were unbearable." 23(10)
- c. 安危出其喜怒 "[His] being safe or in peril proceeded from their being pleased or angry." 25(7)
- d. 夫信不然之物而誅無罪之臣不察之患也 "Now to believe in something that was not so and to kill a blameless minister was a calamity that came from not discriminating." A(4)
- e. 由孔子而來至於今為童子時代 "Starting from Confucius and coming on down and ending at the present time has been the youthful period (of China's history)." 31(21)

10.213 S-P and [S]-P constitutes

10.2131 With equational nominal predicate

- a. 大王反國非臣之功 "Your Majesty returning to your state was not my merit" or "That your Majesty returned to your state" 13(10)
- b. 富貴多士貧賤寡友事之固然也 "When [one] is wealthy and noble [he will have] many gentlemen [retainers]; when poor and lowly [he will

Grammar 10.2

have] few friends: [this] is the way things always are." 14 S(22)

10.2132 With predicates in which the verb is 有 or 無

謀必得事必成有術乎 "The designs of necessity are achieved, the tasks of necessity are completed, has an art? — Is there an art for ensuring that plans will always be carried out and tasks always completed?"

晏子春秋 3.12. For a similar subject with 無 see 19(8).

10.2133 With stative verb predicates

不能以朝之老少而指[之]為國之老少明矣 "[That one] cannot take the age of a dynasty and indicate [that] to be the age of a state is clear." 31(29). See also 34(59).

10.214 Zero subject

Some verbal predicates usually or regularly occur without subjects since no specific identifiable subject can be or needs to be named.

10.2141 When 有 or 無 is used to express existence or nonexistence, occurrence or nonoccurrence

- a. 猶有不孝者乎 "Will there still be those who are unfilial?" 11(32)
- b. 有美人名虞 "There was a beauty named Yü." 17(3)
- c. 無以為家 "There isn't the wherewithal to keep a family going." 14(10)

10.2142 In general statements presented as applying to all men or all things

興於詩立於禮成於樂 "[Man is] aroused by poetry; uplifted by ritual; perfected by music." 21(7)

10.2143 In the description of an artifact, when the emphasis is on the existence or achievement of the finished object, the artificer as subject is not mentioned.

旁開小窗 "In the sides were opened some little windows." 24(5)

10.2144 In describing some natural processes

三年春不雨夏六月雨 "In the third year [of the reign] in the spring, [it] did not rain; in the sixth month of summer [it] rained." Tsö,

Hsi 3

Grammar 10.2

10.22 Derived subjects

10.221 Derived subjects that can be viewed as preposed elements. These are words or phrases that can be resumed by substitutes in the predicate.

10.2211 Derived subjects that can be viewed as preposed adjuncts of the primary subject in the kernel sentence

聖人[其]法與時變[其]禮與時化 "(In the case of) the Sages, [their] laws were changed with the times, [their] rites were modified (in keeping) with the customs." N(3)

10.2212 Derived subjects that are resumed as objects of the nucleus verb

a. 己所不欲勿 (= 毋之) 施於人 "What one does not desire for himself, one should not pass it on to others." 21(9)

b. 昔日西人之所恃以凌我者我今亦有之 "Everything that in former days the Westerners relied on to oppress us with, today we also have it." 30(6)

Frequently the PA 凡 occurs with preposed objects. See Gr. 4.3111f.

10.2213 Derived subjects that are resumed as objects of coverbs

a. In adjunct coverbals

有餘者與之約還本之日 "Those who had a surplus (beyond their daily needs), with them [I] agreed on a date for return of the capital amount." 14 S(13)

b. In complement coverbals

晉國天下莫強焉 "The state of Chih, the [states of the] world in no case are stronger than it." Mencius 1a5.1. For 焉 see Voc. 6(13).

10.2214 Derived subjects that are resumed as adjuncts of the object of the nucleus verb. See Comm. 13(19).

不能與息者取其券而燒之 "As for those who could not pay their interest, I took their I.O.U.s and burned them." 14 S(14)

10.222 Derived subjects that can be viewed as the result of the reorganization of a kernel sentence. The effect of such reorganization is to give

prominence to the element which becomes head in the nominal phrase subject.

- 10.2221 The adjunct in a nominal predicate can become a predicate itself, the residue of the sentence being reorganized in a nominal phrase subject.

- a. 夫楚王之爲人也形尊而嚴 "Now the King of Ch'ü's being a man was: appearance, dignified and severe." Chüang-tzū 25.5. We can reconstruct the following kernel sentence: 楚王爲形尊而嚴之人 "The King of Ch'ü was a man whose appearance was dignified and stern." The transformation emphasizes 爲人 "is what manner of man."
- b. 其 (= 先王之教之) 爲道易明 "It's being a doctrine is easily understood — As a doctrine it is easy to understand." 26(46)

The degree to which 爲 departs from being a mere conjunctive verb varies. Thus one phrase of this type has been treated as an SA expressing a time condition. See Comm. 25(14). At times the distinction between a derived subject and a sentence adjunct becomes blurred.

- 10.2222 A coverbal with 於 can become the head of a nominal phrase subject.

- a. Resumable as complement coverbal of direction

寡人之於國也盡心焉而已矣 "My attitude to my state is that I give my mind to it exclusively." See Comm. 10(1).

- b. Resumable as adjunct coverbal meaning "among"

其 (= 古昔之中國者之) 於國家之體質也有其一部而缺其一部 "As for their (the Chinas of the past) partaking of the true nature of a nation, they had part of it, they lacked another part." 31(19) Kernel sentence: 古昔之中國者於國家之體質有其一部 "The Chinas of the past, among the essential elements of a nation, had some but lacked others."

- 10.2223 When an adjunct coverbal with 以 expressing "reason" is postposed as a predicate (Gr. 10.332), the residue of the kernel sentence can be reorganized as a nominal phrase subject.

天下所以久不安者唯以吾兩人耳 "That because of which the world for a long time has not been peaceful is only because of us two."

Grammar 10.2

17 S(25) The 所以 could be omitted as it is in J(12). Kernel sentence: 天下唯以吾兩人久不安. See also C(1).

10.3 Types of predicate

10.31 Verbal predicates. See Comm. 1 A, B, C.

Just as most subjects are nominals, by far the largest number of predicates are verbal. These range from a single intransitive verb of any type noted in Gr. 3.12 or a V-O of any type noted in Chapter 7, to phrases with any of the elaborations noted in Chapter 9 including composite nuclei, adverbs, adjunct coverbals and complements. Thus we have a range of verbal predicates from a single word as in G(4): 吾馬良 "My horse is good" to a verb phrase like the predicate diagrammed in Comm. 14(22).

10.32 Numeral and quantity word predicates

It was noted in Gr. 3.541 and Gr. 3.62 that these verblike words can function as predicates and examples were given. Such predicates are formally distinct from those noted in Gr. 10.3332.

10.33 Nominal predicates. See Comm. 1 D.

10.331 Pure equational nominal predicates. These were described in some detail in Comm. 5 A. Here we will give additional examples and note some special uses of this form.

10.3311 Explicitly nominal in form

- a. In this form the predicate is usually a nominal word or a noun phrase of any type included in Chapter 8. No conjunctive verb intrudes between S and P. The meaning is either 1) "all S" is equated with "all P" (i.e. S and P are identical or synonymous) or 2) "all S" is equated with "some P" (i.e. S is subsumed as a subclass of P).

Examples of predication of identity

上者下之師也 "Those above are the teachers of those below." C(3)

此天之亡我非戰之罪也 "This is heaven destroying me, not an error of war (strategy)." 17(9)

Examples of subsumption

滕小國也 "T'éng is a small state." 8(2)

夫義者所以限禁人之爲惡與義者也 "Now moral principle is (one of) the means by which to limit and prevent people from being evil and wicked." C(2)

Examples that can be variously interpreted as cases of identity or subsumption

徐公齊國之美麗者也 "Mr. Hsü was the handsomest man in Ch'í" or "Mr. Hsü was one of the handsomest men in Ch'í." 22(4)

b. A nominal predicate is usually but not invariably followed by the particle 也. Examples without 也:

君子之德風小人之德草 "The essential nature of the gentleman [is to be like] the wind; the essential nature of the inferior man [is to be like] the grass (which bends when the wind blows)." L. Y. 12.19.
The saying as quoted in Mencius 3a2.4 has ... 風也 ... 草也.

其文詩書易春秋 "Its literary manifestations are the 'Song Classic,' the 'Document Classic,' the 'Classic of Changes,' and the 'Springs and Autumns.'" 26(45)

字孝達 "His style was Hsiào-tá." 28(33). See also 29(6), N(6).

c. When a term is being defined the subject is often followed by the nominalizing substitute 者.

君者善羣也 "That which is 'being a ruler' is being good at creating a community." 19(12)

君者出令者也 "The one who is a ruler is one who issues orders." 26(29).

A fuller form is the common formula 所謂...者.

夫所謂先王之教者何也 "Now that which is called 'the teaching of the former kings' is what?" 26(44)

d. When a term that is to be defined or discussed has already been men-

Grammar 10.3

tioned or is a well-known topic of general interest it is sometimes followed by 也者.

夫國也者何物 "Now that [of which it is said] '[It is] a state' (國也) is what sort of thing?" 31(9)

- e. A nominal predicate is negated by the conjunctive verb 非

其所謂道非吾所謂道也 "What is called 'Tào' by them is not what is called 'Tào' by me." 26(7).

Frequently a positive and a negative nominal predicate are placed side by side, forming a compound sentence.

此庸夫之怒也非士之怒也 "This is the anger of a common fellow, not the anger of a gentleman." J(11)

- f. When the subject in an equational sentence is long and involved it is often resumed by the pronoun 是 or 此 before the predicate.

是亦走也 "This (the above described running away but stopping after fifty paces) also is running away." 10(10). Also 30(13).

- g. Occasionally 是 occurs as nominal predicate, resuming something that preceded its subject.

所謂封泰山禪梁父是也 "What is called 'making the fēng sacrifice on T'àishān and the shàn sacrifice on Liángfù was this (i.e. was the ancient imperial ceremony referred to above)." 28(9)

3312 Tacitly nominal

The equational sentence pattern illustrated above might be generalized symbolically as X [者] Y [也]. It is so powerful a form that verbs and verb phrases and even S-P forms can be accommodated to it, being treated like nominal phrases.

- a. A stative verbal as equational predicate

爲人上者不可不順[者]也 "Those stationed above others [are people who] cannot not be obeyed." C(6)

夫大國難測[者]也 "Now a great state is [something that] cannot easily be fathomed (in its strategy)." 20(18)

Grammar 10.3

The 也 in L calls for a nominal predicate just as 是 does in M C. In MC there are the alternative forms: 這瓜甜 "This melon is sweet" and 這瓜是甜的 "This melon is a sweet one." The example is from Y. R. Ch'ao, p. 933.

b. A V-O as equational predicate

是舍本而圖末也 "This (such a course of action) is to set aside what is basic and to make plans for what is secondary." 30(13)

c. An S-P or [S]-P phrase as equational predicate

老子之小仁義非毀之也其[所]見者小也 "L'ao-tz'ü's belittling of jen and yí, was not that he (wanted to) destroy them; [it] was that what he could see of them was little." 26(4)

君逆寡人者輕寡人與 "The reason for your lord's opposing me is that he makes light of me?" J(4).

10.332 Impure equational nominal predicates. Comm. 5 Ab.

10.3321 A conjunctive equational verb is sometimes inserted between S and nominal P. The form has been discussed and illustrated in 3. The final particle 也 is generally not used.

利民為本 "Profiting the people is the essential thing." N(1)

從之者如歸市[者] "Those who followed him were like [people] going to market." 8(14)

10.3322 A coverbal with 以 which could take the adjunct position before the nucleus verb in a sentence expressing the reason for something is sometimes postposed as a predicate, the rest of the sentence being nominalized by the addition of 者 representing "之故."

... 安陵以五十里之地存者徒以先生[之故]也 "The reason 者 for Añlíng with its fifty li of territory surviving is only because of (以) you, Sir." J(12). The following kernel sentence can be reconstructed: 安陵徒以先生[之故]以五十里之地存 "Añlíng simply because of you survived with its fifty li of territory."

Also 17 S(25), 30(23), C(1).

Grammar 10.3

10.333 Nonequational nominal predicates

10.3331 Descriptive

居右者椎髻 "The one on the right was a mallet-topknot — was mallet-coiffured — the one on the right had a mallet-shaped topknot." 24(13).
 女色而已 "Woman is no more than sex." 25(1)

中峨冠而多髯者 "The one in the middle who was high hat and bushy beard—who had a high hat etc." 24(7)

Note: The presence of 而 suggests that the nominals are being verbalized. See Gr. 5.121,122.

10.3332 Quantitative

象數十萬人 "The population was several hundred thousand persons." 17(17).

Also 八人 33(4). Cf. J(8).

10.34 S-P phrase predicates. See Comm. 6 A.

其人視端容寂 "As for the man in question, the gaze was fixed, the facial expression intent." 23(14)

秦穆公國小地僻其霸何也 "As for Duke Mù of Ch'ín, his state was small, his territory out-of-the-way. What was the reason for his attaining the hegemony?" 21 S(11). Also 13(17), J(8).

10.35 Second or supplementary predicates. See Comm. 4 C. What we are calling a second predicate is an expression that stands in predicative construction with a preceding S-P form that would still be a complete sentence or clause without it.

There are two varieties:

10.351 Second predicates that are nominal forms expressing length, size, quantity or number of times. Y. R. Chao (Grammar p. 905) calls these "cognate objects."

鄒忌修八尺有餘 "Tsòu Chi was tall [to the extent of] eight feet and more." 22(1)

吾騎此馬五歲 "I have ridden this horse five years." 17(19)

Grammar 10.3

Also 百里 14(31); 數重 17(1); 三百餘年矣 34(39); 數年 I(4).

Sometimes the S-P is formally nominalized, in which case the predicate becomes an ordinary quantitative nominal predicate as in Gr. 10.3322.

逮事王父者十九年 "My being able to serve my grandfather was nineteen years." 33(3)

10.352 Second predicates that are stative verbs or verbs of manner. Y. R. Chao (Grammar p. 471) calls these "free predicative complements."

10.3521 Stative verbs, especially SVs expressing degree, as second predicates

君美甚 "You are handsome, very." 22(3)

人主以爲去己疏遠 "The ruler considers them to be separated from him very far." 25(5).

畏之太甚而養之太過 "to fear it (war) too much and to coddle them (the people) excessively." L(8).

Also 太甚 33(4); 井井有條 28(27).

10.3522 Verbs of manner (usually binomes) as second predicates

魚出遊從容 "The fishes have come out and are darting about so care-free." 12(2)

五馬立踟躕 (ch'ih-ch'ú) "The five horses stood, shifting back and forth." 陌上桑

10.4 Sentence adjuncts (SA)

These are expressions that precede and modify the body of a sentence.

They indicate a time or place setting or the standard or authority in accordance with which the assertion in the body of the sentence is made. They are mostly nominals or coverbals, but we shall note one or two that are V-O in form.

10.41 SAs expressing a time setting

10.411 Timenames and timewords

Examples of these word classes are given in Gr. 2.23 and 2.32.

Grammar 10.4

己丑年十七年舉於鄉 "In chǐ-choŭ (1889) [my] age was seventeen; [I] was recommended (as a candidate for the metropolitan examination) by the province." 33(25)

昔者太王居邠 "In times past King T'ài dwelt at Pīn." 8(6)

明日徐公來 "The next day Mr. Hsü came." 22(8)

10.412 Coverbals with 當, 方 29(11), 及 6(4), 34(37,38), 自, 從, 於

夫當今生民之患果安在哉 "Nowadays the great danger for the people, after all where does it lie?" L(1)

Also 當是時 "At this time" 34 (38)

自是決然舍去舊學 "From this time on [I] definitely renounced the old learning." 33(39)

自古宦者亂人之國 "From ancient times eunuchs have caused disorder in the rulers' states." 25(1)

In 29(11) there are three such SAs, in 33(34) two.

10.413 Verb phrases expressing a period of time stretching from some point in the past to a later time, often the present. These range from long verb phrases like the phrase which functions as a subject in example e. in Gr. 10.212 to elliptical forms consisting of a short coverbal.

自百年以來也完全成立者壯年之事也 "From a hundred years ago and coming on [down to the present], to be fully developed has been a matter of being middle-aged (or mature)." 31(13,14)

至今史記之文能成誦八九 "Until today I can recite eighty or ninety percent of the text of the Shih-chi."

由周公而上 ... "Starting from (the time of) the Duke of Chōu and going on back" 26(52)

10.414 Nominal phrases with 時 or a timeword as head

孔子之時周室微 "At the time of Confucius the House of Chōu was in decline." 21 S(33)

明清時設立尤多 "In Míng and Ch'īng times the establishments (of

academies) were especially numerous." 28(22).

10.415 V-O phrases

後有頃 "Afterwards there was a short period of time — Shortly after." 14(10)

久之 "Prolonged it — A long time later." 4(9)

10.416 S-P forms nominalized by the insertion of 之 between S and P

Examples of such nominal phrases are given in Gr. 8.4221. When a phrase of this type takes the adjunct position before a sentence it performs the function of an adjunct clause of time.

鳥之將死其鳴也哀人之將死其言也善 "When a bird is about to die its song is sad; when a man is about to die his words are good." L. Y.

8.4.2. A literal translation will go: "[Given] a bird's being about to die"

天之亡我我何渡焉 "When heaven is destroying me, why should I cross (the river and try to recover my fortune)?" 17(18)

忠臣之事君也莫先於諫 "When a loyal minister serves a lord, nothing is more important than admonishing [him]." 22 S(10). Also 25(14), 26(40), M(4,9), N(2).

Sometimes such a nominal SA is given a conditional force by prefixing 如 .

如古之無聖人 "If in ancient times there had been no sages" 26(27). See also 31(6,7).

10.42 SAs expressing a place setting

10.421 Placenames and placewords. For these word classes see Gr. 2.22 and 2.31.

歐洲中古時各國皆有俚語 "In Europe, in the Middle Ages, each country had its vernacular language" 34(48)

10.422 Coverbals

於崇吾得見王 "In Ch'úng I was able to have an audience with the king." Mencius 2b 14.2

Grammar 10.4

- 10.423 Verb phrases of the same type as those in Gr. 10.413

江淮以南無凍餓之人亦無千金之家 "South of the Húai and the Chiāng there are no people who freeze or starve to death, neither are there any wealthy families." 史記 129

- 10.424 Nominal phrases with a placeword as head

數千里外得長者時賜一書 "From several thousand li away [I] have been favored by your from time to time sending me a letter." 23(1). Also 31(20).

- 10.43 SAs expressing the standard or the authority by which the assertion in the sentence is made

楚國之法必有重賞大功而後得見 "According to the law of Ch'ü [a subject] necessarily must have a substantial reward and great merit and only then is granted an audience." 14(12)

軍法父子俱從軍有死事得與喪歸 "According to military regulations, if father and son together serve in the army, if one dies [the other] is allowed to accompany the corpse home." 史記 107. Also 29(24).

- 10.44 SAs in nominal form expressing a condition, that is, performing the function of an adjunct conditional clause

故其大者亡國其次[者]亡身 "Therefore, [if the disaster is] one of the biggest [it] will destroy the state; [if] of the next size [it] will destroy the person [of the ruler]." 25(10). This seems to imply something like: [患若為]其大者.

[不調若為]甚者必解而更張之 "[If the out-of-tuneness is] a great one, [then] one needs must unstring it (the instrument) and string it again." See Comm. 29(17).

- 10.45 SAs, usually coverbal in form, that are conjunctive in force. They can be treated as conjunctions which are commonly used macrosyntactically.

於是乘其車 ... 過其友 "Thereupon he mounted his chariot ... and went to visit his friends." 14(9)

從此 "From this time on," "From here on"

由是 "From this," "Hence"
 因此 "Because of this"
 是故 "For this reason, therefore"
 既而 "Shortly afterwards" 33(31)

10.5 Predicate adjuncts (PA)

These modifiers of the predicate have been treated as a part of speech and are adequately illustrated in 4.31. Syntactically they belong here since we treat a PA as an IC of a predicate, not of a noun or verb phrase.

10.6 Particles

Since intonation in Chinese is largely preempted for giving distinctive phonetic shape to individual syllables and has little to do with controlling the meaning of word groups, and since literary texts were traditionally unpunctuated, the purposes served by intonation and punctuation in English require other means in Chinese. One of these is the use of bound words called particles, which color the meaning of the word group they precede or follow, giving it declarative, interrogative or exclamatory force. The Chinese term for a particle is 語氣詞 yǔ-ch'ì tz'ú "word that adds an air or spirit to what is said." They give emphasis to sentences or constituents of sentences, partly by interrupting the flow of discourse when they themselves are spoken, partly because they are always followed by pauses. Occurring mostly at the beginning or the end of a sentence, they also assist the reader in finding the main divisions of his text. The few that stand in adjunct construction with a sentence constituent will be called initial particles; those in complementive construction will be called final particles. The only syntactically indispensable particles are those that mark questions. The others either reinforce a syntactic pattern or add an emotional tone. Most writers employ particles so sparingly that when they are used they are strongly emphatic.

10.61 Final particles

10.611 也 yěh Voc. 1(6). This is the particle with the highest frequency, whose effective use has been considered a touchstone of good style. The most general description of its function is that it affirms the form it follows and usually marks this as being in construction with another form, before or after it. These two possibilities may be symbolized as $X - Y$ 也 and X 也 $- Y$. In the first case Y 也 is a predicate or a head clause. In the second case X 也 is a subject, an SA, an adjunct coverbal, or an adjunct clause. 也 is sometimes placed after a simple sentence to relate it to another sentence, as for instance when a reply implies a question that has been posed or when a sentence expresses an opposite or contradictory opinion to that of the preceding sentence.

The meanings expressed by constructions marked by 也 are always concerned with judgments, opinions and attitudes regarding facts, never with the succession of events in time. In this it contrasts with the other common final particle 矣, which is always concerned with the completion of an action or of a change in a situation.

It must be emphasized that 也 is never syntactically indispensable, though in some types of constructions it is rarely dispensed with. Its use slows down the flow of discourse, giving it an air of judiciousness and authority. In dialogue it sometimes acts as a safeguard against brusqueness and impoliteness. Its use is thus governed in part by considerations of rhythmic euphony which are not amenable to the sort of analysis we have set out to provide.

10.6111 也 concluding the second of two forms that stand in construction with each other ($X - Y$ 也)

a. The commonest use of 也 is as a marker of an equational nominal predicate.

今日之事君事也 "The business of today is the business of our lord." 5(21).

此所謂亂也 "This is what may be called a state of disorder." 11(17).

For other examples see Gr. 10.3311.

Grammar 10.6

Questions asking "what" or "why" are often couched in equational form and end in 也.

寡人之民不加多何也 "[That] my people do not increase is for what reason? — Why do not my people increase?" 10(5). This does not make 也 an interrogative particle. The interrogative word is 何. Cf. 14(25), 17(2).

As noted in Gr. 10.331 the presence of 也 sometimes gives a verbal or an S-P form the force of a nominal predicate.

江東雖小 ... 亦足王也 "Although Chiāngtūng is small ... it is [a region] worth being king of." 17(17). See also 24(11), 25(13), 26(46), 34(59).

The cause of or reason for something often takes the form of a quasi-nominal predicate marked by 也.

妾之美我者畏我也 "The reason why my concubine credits me with being handsome is that [she] is afraid of me." 22(9). Also 13(14), 30(10), 31(22).

b. 也 sometimes occurs after the head clause in a complex sentence in which the adjunct clause expresses condition, concession or cause.

二者不可得兼[則]舍生而取義者也 "If [we] cannot have both of them [we] will part with life and hold to our moral principles." 15(2). Also 6(9), 31(26).

全體雖粗具然未能得其用也 "Although the whole bodily frame (of the infant) is in a general way complete, yet it is still unable to perform its functions." 31(20). Also 23(10), 25(14), 31(17).

故宮室不可得而居也 "For this reason regular buildings will not be able to be lived in — And as a result men will be unable to live in proper houses (as opposed to caves and trees)." 19(10). Also 15(3), 26(32).

10.6112 也 concluding the first of two forms that stand in construction with each other, setting it off and arousing expectation of a completion (X 也 — Y).

Grammar 10.6

a. After a subject

某也賢 "So-and-so is a good man." 23(25).

斯道也何道也 "This teaching is what sort of teaching?" 26(49).

Also 10(1), 26(6,51), 31(2,19).

b. After a sentence adjunct

今也 "Nowadays" 26(38,43).

孔子之作春秋也 "When Confucius made the Ch'ün-ch'ü" 26(40).

Also 6(4), 22 S(10), 31(1,13).

c. After an adjunct coverbal phrase

左右以君賤之也 "The attendants, because their lord had treated him as of no account, ..." 14(4).

d. After an adjunct clause

孟嘗君怪其疾也衣冠而見之 ... "Lord Mèng-ch'áng was amazed at his speed, so, putting on his formal clothes he gave him an audience" 14(25). Also 11(19,20,21), 26(24).

10.6113 也 concluding a sentence that is syntactically independent but which is closely related in meaning to what precedes

This might be called the macrosyntactic use of the particle, comparable to the macrosyntactic use of a conjunction noted in Chapter 11. While 也 is certainly not a conjunction as we have defined conjunctions, in such cases it performs a conjunctive function.

a. 也 after the answer to a question

牛馬為用何也曰人能羣彼不能羣也 "Oxen and horses are utilized (by men). Why? One may answer: 'Men are able to form communities. They are not.'" 19(3.4). Also 26(28).

In the above use the question is in equational sentence form and this is echoed in the answer. The particle is also used when the question is not in equational form:

孟嘗君曰客何好曰客無好也 "Lord Mèng-ch'áng said, 'What does this

Grammar 10.6

client like (to do)?' The reply: 'Nothing in particular.'" 14(2).
Also 22(3,7).

- b. 也 after a sentence that concludes and clinches an argument or ex-
position

遂不受也 "Accordingly (the end of the whole matter was that) he did
not accept." 13(24). Also 12(9), 19(10), 26(19).

- c. When 也 concludes an independent sentence there seems to be a correla-
tion with the presence of certain classes of words, notably negative
adverbs and verbs that govern S-P or nominalized S-P objects.

(1) With negative adverbs, especially when the sentence stands in con-
trast with a positive sentence of related meaning

吾負之未嘗見也 "I have slighted him. [I] have never given him an
audience." 14(17). Note that 矣 can never be used after 未.

Also 20(5,6), 29(11).

(2) With verbs that govern S-P objects

萬鍾之祿吾知其富於屠羊之利也 "An emolument of ten thousand pecks,
I know it is worth more than the profit of a sheep-butcher." 13(20).

Also 21(2,5,8), 23(4), 31(23), 33(24).

- 10.612 矣 yǐ Voc. 5(5). This particle is employed after a verbal predicate
to show that an action there expressed has been completed or is ex-
pected to be completed, or that a change of quality or quantity there
described has been achieved.

10.6121 The time reference can be past, present, or future. The particle
often reinforces an adverb of aspect.

- a. Past

牛山之木嘗美矣 "The trees on Ox Mountain had at one time become a
beautiful forest." Mencius 6a 8.1.

- b. Present

臣之爵祿已負矣 "My rank and salary have already been restored." 13(7).

Grammar 10.6

甚矣人之好怪 "How great has become man's fondness for the bizarre!" 26(17). Also 17(9), 23(1,11), 29(3), F(4). See Gr. 12.1121.

c. Future

吾生矣 "I am going to be alive."

10.6122 矣 sometimes emphasizes a command or an expression of intention.

先生休矣 "Sir, be rested! — Take a rest!" 14(29). Also 20(13), 21(9).

10.6123 矣 sometimes concludes the head clause in a conditional sentence.

知所先後則進道矣 "If you know what should come first and what last you will have approached the true Way." 9(4). Also 25(13), 26(27).

10.613 焉 yén Voc. 6(13). As a particle the function of this word is purely expletive. It rounds out a predicate that otherwise for some reason would sound incomplete or end abruptly. We have seen in Gr. 9.414 that 焉 is primarily a fused form of a complement with 於 (the fusion is analyzed in Gr. 6.3 c) meaning something like "in it" or "among them." For example:

三人行必有我師焉 "When three persons travel together, there will certainly be my teacher (sc. a teacher for me) among them." 21(6)
Here 焉 has a clear syntactic function.

Now let us examine another sample:

或且疑其死期之將至焉 "Some even suspect the approach of the time of his death to him." 31(23). Here it is possible to find a syntactic meaning in 焉 "to him," but it is quite tenuous and the word is certainly unnecessary for the meaning of the sentence. 焉 is well on its way to being a particle.

The loss of syntactic meaning is complete in the following example:

常聞四書目經史子集焉 "[I] have constantly heard of the four classes of books, the chīng, the shīh, the tzŭ, the chí." 18(10). No translation is possible for 焉. It cannot mean "among them" because only "four classes of book" are involved. In fact it cannot have a syntactic meaning, because a complement cannot be in con-

Grammar 10.6

struction with a nominal predicate, which this is. 焉 is clearly used to fill out a line of verse that has to have five syllables.

10.614 Restrictive particles

- a. 而已 *érh-yǐ* Voc. 21(4). Literally 而已 means "and then it is finished." It can be rendered in general as "and that is all," or "and nothing else," or "is nothing more." It can often be loosely translated by "only" or "merely."

女色而已 "As for woman, she is sex and that is all — Woman is pure sex." 25(1)

The completeness with which 而已 has become a particle is evident from the fact that although syntactically it should be the head of a composite nucleus, here it is attached to a nominal predicate.

- b. 而已 is frequently followed by 矣, which intensifies the force of the verb 已 with which it is cognate:

夫子之道忠恕而已矣 "The master's teaching is (comprised in the virtues) *chūng* and *shù* and that is all there is." 21(4)

- c. 耳 (爾) *ěrh* Voc. 10(1). This is a fusion of 而已. See Gr. 6.3 e.

直不百步耳是亦走也 "[They] only didn't run a hundred paces, that is all; that is also running away." 10(10). Here 耳 as the fusion form of 而已 reinforces the restrictive function of the predicate adjunct 直 which precedes it.

10.615 Interrogative particles

These are employed almost exclusively with questions that in form demand an answer "Yes" or "No." Questions that seek specific information use either interrogative pronouns (Gr. 2.43) or interrogative adverbs (Gr. 4.2316). Interrogative particles very rarely occur with either of these.

- 10.6151 歟 (與) *yú* Voc. 6(2). This final particle is mostly employed with rhetorical questions. Its use normally connotes a sense of doubt in the mind of the inquirer and solicits affirmation.

子欲子之王之善與 "So you desire the goodness of your king? — So you

wish your king to be good?" I(1)

此不亦畏之太甚而養之太過歟 "Is this not indeed to fear it (war) too much and to coddle them (the people) excessively?" L(8)

10.6152 耶 yēh Voc. 31(8); 邪 yéh Voc. 21 S(29).

These two particles, though of slightly different phonetic shape, are mutually interchangeable. They are synonymous with 歟 (與) and are also used primarily in rhetorical questions.

齊無人耶 "Could it be that there is no (other qualified) man in Ch'í?" B(4)

吾道非耶 "Could it be that my way is wrong?" 21 S(29)

10.6153 乎 hū Voc. 6(18); 諸 chū Voc. 11(27).

a. 乎 can be used equally readily for true interrogations and rhetorical questions. However, when it is accompanied by a negative adverb or by the rhetorical initial particle 豈 the question it asks is always rhetorical.

(1) In a true question

馮公有親乎 "Does Mr. Fēng have close kin?" 14(12)

漢皆已得楚乎 "Has the Hàn army captured all the Ch'ü troops?" 17(2)

(2) In a rhetorical question

若非吾故人乎 "Are you not my friend of old times?" 17(21)

豈有相公此時出見客乎 "How could his lordship ever come out to receive a visitor at this time of day?" 23(14)

如籌海軍鐵路之難尚毅然成之況於農桑之大政 . . . 豈尚有不為者

乎 "Even things as difficult as the creation of a navy and of a railway system [our government] has accomplished with resolution. When important policies concerning agriculture and sericulture are in question . . . could there still be the possibility of our not executing them?" 30(26)

(3) When it is used in conjunction with 其, 乎 softens the assertive tone of the sentence.

Grammar 10.6

嗚呼我中國其果老大矣乎 "Alas! Has our China really become so aged and feeble?" 31(3)

b. 諸 is a fusion of 之 and 乎. It is analyzed in Gr. 6.3 b.

則使齊人傳諸使楚人傳諸 "Then [would he] hire a man of Ch'í to teach him, or a man of Ch'ü to teach him?" I(2)

10.616 Exclamatory particles

10.6161 哉 tsāi Voc. 3(13). This is the most frequently used exclamatory particle. It is used mainly after a stative verb to show that the quality expressed by the verb is present in a superlative degree. When the stative verb predicate is placed before the subject, the exclamatory force becomes even greater.

a. With normal S-P order

嘻技亦靈怪矣哉 "Hsi! Its craftsmanship is indeed quite extraordinary and unique!" 24(19)

歐洲其能匹哉 "How can Europe possibly be our match!" 30(20)

b. When the predicate is preposed for emphasis

美哉我少年中國乎 "How beautiful (wonderful) will be our youthful China!" 31(35)

10.6162 夫 fú Voc. 5(11). This particle is used in much the same way as 哉, but with much less frequency.

a. After an SV predicate

爾責於人終無已夫三年之喪亦已久矣夫 "Your reproof of others, will it never have an end! The observance of three years' mourning is certainly quite long enough by any standard!" 禮記檀弓

b. After an interjection

嗟乎天清地白 ... "Ah! The sky is clear and the ground is without shadows" 32(27)

10.617 Citatory final particles

a. 云 yün Voc. 6(16). When it is used to close a quotation, 云 indicates

Grammar 10.6

that what has been said is hearsay or only an approximation to fact or merely an example.

子曰汝安知魚樂云者 "When you said something like 'How do you know the joy of fishes?'" 12(8)

蓋大蘇泛赤壁云 "It might well be entitled something like 'The Elder Sū drifting on the river by the Red Cliff.'" 24(2)

凡吾所謂道德云者合仁與義言之也 "In all cases when (whenever) I speak of *tào* and *té*, I always speak of them in conjunction with *jén* and *yí*." 26(8)

b. 云爾 *yün-ěrh* Voc. 6(16)

(1) As shown in Voc. 26(15), 爾 looks like a fusion of 如此 "like this." This fits very well in the following sentence.

吾師亦嘗師之云爾 "[They] even say such things as 'Our teacher also once regarded them (*Lǎo-tzǔ* and Buddha) as his teachers.'" 26(15)

(2) As seen in 10.614 c. above, 爾 is used interchangeably with 耳 to represent the fusion of 而已. In Voc. 6(16) under 云 it is pointed out that 爾 is sometimes combined with 云 with this meaning. The following sentence is an example.

而今乃始萌芽云爾 "All we can say is that only now is [it (our country)] beginning to sprout." 31(34)

10.62 Initial particles

10.621 夫 *fú* Voc. 5(11)

This word is basically a demonstrative adnoun (Gr. 4.2211 b.). It tended early to lose its precision as adjunct to a particular noun and to become a prelusive sound preparing the reader for the novelty, importance, or length of what ensues.

a. At the beginning of a sentence, introducing the sentence adjunct or subject.

夫三旌之位吾知其貴於屠羊之肆也 "Now as regards the rank of the Three Pennons, I know, of course, that it is nobler than that of

a sheep-butcher." 13(19)

夫戰勇氣也 "Now as regards war, it is a matter of courage." 20(17)

b. Introducing an object

乃歌夫長劍歸來者也 "It is none other than the one who chanted,
'Long sword, come home!'" 14(16). See the Commentary. Also 30(2).

10.622 蓋 kài Voc. 24(2). This particle either gives what follows a tentative tone or else functions like 夫 as a prelusive sound.

a. At the beginning of a sentence, preceding the sentence adjunct or subject

蓋其用事也近而習其為心也專而忍 "For as we know, in regard to their activity, they are close [to the emperor] and familiar [with his ways]; and in regard to their intentions, they are single-minded and patient." 25(27)

蓋吾國言文之背馳久矣 "Now the ever-increasing divergence of the spoken and written forms of our language has been of long standing." 34(34)

b. Preceding a predicate

是語也蓋襲譯歐西人之言也 "As for this expression (used by the Japanese), it is probably derived from statements made by Europeans." 31(2)

10.623 其 ch'í Voc. 2(7). 其 comes before a predicate, changing it from a declarative statement into an expression of desire, intention, exhortation or invitation to agreement.

a. Giving an imperative or optative mood to the sentence

我皇漢民族四萬萬男女同胞 ... 其革命其以此革命為人人應有之義務其以此革命為日日不可缺乏之飲食 "Imperial Hàn people, four hundred million comrades of both sexes, ... may you all make revolution! May you all look upon this revolution as an obligation everyone should shoulder! May you all look upon this revolution as your daily, indispensable food!" 32(16,17,18)

Grammar 10.6

b. Intensifying an exclamatory sentence

嗚呼其亦不思而已矣 "Alas! It is simply that [they] do not think hard enough, and that is all." 26(27). Also 26(32,55); 31(3).

c. Adding to the rhetorical force of a question

其孰從而求之 "From whom could they request it!" 26(16). Implied answer, "From no one!"

d. Inviting agreement

後三年吳其墟乎 "After three years, Wú will become a heap of rubble (won't it)?" 史記 41. Implied answer, "Yes, most likely."

e. Performing the usual function of 豈, for which see below

歐洲其能匹哉 "Can Europe possibly be its match?" 30(20). Implied answer, "Definitely not."

f. Giving a hypothetical conditional force to an adjunct clause

其小之也則宜 "Then should he disparage it, it will only be appropriate — It is then natural for him to disparage it." 26(6)

10.624 豈 ch'í Voc. 3(13). The use of this particle turns a declarative sentence into a rhetorical question such that if the question contains a negative the implied answer is positive, and vice versa. Frequently it is correlative to 哉 or 乎 to emphasize the rhetorical question form. Sometimes 豈 is substitutable by 其. Sentence e. in 10.623 is an example of this.

a. 豈尚有不為者乎 "How could there still be the possibility of not doing it?" 30(26). The answer, "It could never be!" is implied.

b. 豈嘗有國家哉 "Was there ever a (real) nation (in ancient China)?" 31(25). Implied answer, "Of course not!"

Chapter 11. The Composite Sentence

11. In Gr. 1.3 we defined a composite sentence as "a form that is not in construction with any other form and whose ICs are two or more S-P forms." To this was added the statement: "As constituents of such a sentence these S-P forms are not simple sentences, nor are they phrases. We will call them clauses."[†] Clauses are formally joined in the larger constitute in an H-H or A-H construction. By "formally joined" we mean that the linkage is marked by conjunctions or by a contrived similarity of structure that we will refer to as symmetry.

When the first clause contains a conjunction we will speak of it as tightly linked to the following clause or clauses. When there is no conjunction in the first clause and the linkage is not formalized until we reach a conjunction in a second clause we will speak of the clauses as loosely linked. This can be reflected by using a semicolon in the translation.

With symmetrical clauses the conjunctive feature is present in both constituents and the result is a form of tight linkage.

Actually some of the conjunctions that are used in the second clause of a composite sentence can also be used simply to show that the sentence or sentences they introduce are related in meaning to the sentence or sentences that precede. Conjunctions like 以故, 則 and 然 in fact frequently introduce whole paragraphs. This is what Y. R. Chao calls the macrosyntactic use of a conjunction. Such conjunctions usually, overtly or covertly, contain a substitute element, often a pronoun that refers to the previous sentence or sentences. Only when the reference

[†]This definition of a clause is narrower than that employed by many grammarians. The only subordinate clauses recognized here correspond to adverbial clauses in English. The literary Chinese forms equivalent to what in traditional English grammar are called noun clauses and adjective clauses are S-P phrases and noun phrases. Thus we have encountered S-P phrases as subjects (Gr. 10.213) and as objects (Gr. 7.2), all of them translatable by English noun clauses. Similarly the noun phrases under Gr. 8.2 and 8.4216 can be translated by noun clauses in English, while those under Gr. 8.4217, 8.4222, and 8.4223 can be translated using an English adjective clause.

is limited to the immediately preceding S-P do we treat that as an adjunct clause loosely linked to the S-P introduced by the conjunction. After each section that illustrates the loose linkage of clauses, references will be given to examples of the macrosyntactic use of the conjunctions.

Texts 18, 28 and 34 illustrate modern Chinese punctuation applied to texts in the literary style. It will be noted that some of the word groups set off by periods or interrogation marks include several S-P constituents not joined by any formal markers at all. The extreme examples are 28(13-16), (29-30), (35-37); 34(26-28), (44), (56-58). These are not composite sentences as we have defined them but rather rhetorical groupings. In some cases such as 28(35-36) they are strings of what we have called "predicate sentences," in which unity is given by a common subject understood. They also include sentences with different subjects, 28(37) being an example.

Note that a form that would be a composite sentence if it were not in construction with another form is "lowered" to the level of a phrase. For examples see Gr. 10.2131 b and 11.213 b.

All of the conjunctions employed in composite sentences are listed under Gr. 4.4 in groups according to the position they occupy in a sentence.

11.1 Compound sentences

Two clauses linked so as to emphasize some similarity or difference in their meaning or to present them as alternatives.

11.11 Cumulative. Emphasizing similarity.

11.111 Tight linkage

A conjunction in the first clause emphasizes that the two clauses do not express incompatible alternatives as might have been thought. There is usually a correlative conjunction of the type listed under Gr. 11.112 in the second clause.

The common conjunctions, all meaning "Not only ... but also ...," are:

非獨 ... 亦 ... Voc. 4(7)

Grammar 11.1

非唯 ... 且亦 ... Voc. 6(17)
不唯 ... 而又 ... Voc. 26(15)

- a. Same subject in the different clauses. The conjunction follows the subject.

吾輩非唯樂山且亦樂水 "We not only delight in hills but also in rivers." 6(17)

- b. Different subjects. The conjunction precedes the subject of the first clause.

非獨賢者有是心也人皆有之 "Not only sages have this mind, all men have it." 15(6). Here the PA 皆 makes a correlative conjunction unnecessary. See also 4(7).

11.112 Loose linkage

One of the following conjunctions is used in the second clause:

而 Voc. 3(9), 亦 Voc. 4(7), 且 Voc. 3(1), 亦且, 且亦, 又 Voc. 13(7).
These all mean "and" or "also."

其為道易明而其為教易行也 "As a doctrine it is easy to understand and as a teaching it is easy to apply." 26(46). Also 24(11), 26(34), 30(13), 34(46,47 ... 55).

大王反國說亦反屠羊 "The King has returned to his state; [I,] Yüeh, have also returned to my sheepbutchery." 13(6). Also 10(3), 15(1,2), 18(10), 28(4), 34(50).

時余以少年科第且於... 訓詁詞章學頗有所知 "By this time I had passed (two) examinations while in my teens and also knew quite a bit about the fields of exegetics and belles lettres." 33(33). Also 23(23), 30(26).

人有氣有生有知亦且有義 "Man has volatility, has life, has intelligence, and furthermore has moral sense." 19(2)

且無行之之難又有行之之人 "Moreover there is no difficulty about carrying it out; also there are people to carry it out." 30(26). Also 18(16), 34(59).

Grammar 11.1

Macrosyntactic use:

而 "moreover" 29(9), L(7)

且 "moreover," "besides" 17(18), 23(7), 31(25), 33(29)

又 "and besides," "beyond this," "in addition" 24(16); 28(5-6), (37)

11.113 Clauses linked by symmetry. See Comm. 6 Cc.

有士民有商民有農民有工民 "There was the ruling class, there was the merchant class, there was the farming class, there was the artisan class." 18(7). Also 20(18), 28(26).

11.12 Adversative. Emphasizing a contrast or difference between the clauses.

11.121 Loose linkage

The following conjunctions can be used in the second clause: 而, 然 Voc. 5(21), 然而 Voc. 30(10), 雖然 Voc. 5(21), 惟 Voc. 18(24). 但 Voc. 16(4.2), 顧 Voc. 30(21). They can be variously translated: "but," "yet," "however."

由是則生而有不用也 "If certain courses of action are followed, a man will save his life, yet there are some of them that are not followed." 15(5). Also 19(3), 24(17), 30(13), 34(20).

未嘗敗北遂霸有天下然今卒困於此 "I had never been defeated and so was hegemon of the world; but now finally I am caught here." 17(9)

輒埋頭鑽研顧頗喜詞章 "I always studied hard (at the classics) but I rather enjoyed belles-lettres." 33(12).

Macrosyntactic use:

然 "However," "But" 13(21), 29(2), 34(3,59)

然而 "However," "But" 30(10)

但 "But" 29(23)

顧 "But" 30(21)

11.122 Clauses linked by symmetry

不患人之不己知患不知人也 "Don't worry about others' not appreciating you; worry about your not appreciating others." 21(2). Also 21(9,12), 29(12), 31(29).

Grammar 11.1

11.13 Disjunctive. Two clauses presenting alternatives.

Alternative questions can be marked by 抑 Voc. 6(18).

求之與抑與之與 "[Does he] seek it (information) or [do they] give it (to him)?" L.Y. 1.10.1. Also 6(18).

The predicate adjunct 或 "in some cases" or "sometimes" Voc. 8(15) occasionally points up alternatives.

或為家族之國或為酋長之國 ... "In some cases they were states controlled by families and clans, in some cases they were states controlled by tribal chieftains." 31(18)

11.2 Complex sentences

In the discussion of composite verbs in Gr. 6 and composite verbal nuclei in Gr. 9 we found that the distinction between compound and complex forms is not as sharp and exclusive where verbs are concerned as it is with nominal words and phrases. Since most clauses have verbal predicates it is not surprising that the same ambiguity is often found in composite sentences. Moreover the description of a subordinative constitute as consisting of a center which can play the role of the whole, preceded by an adjunct modifier that can be discarded without drastic change in the meaning of the whole (Gr. 1.4), does not apply very well in the case of some complex sentences, especially those in which the clauses are loosely linked.

A more workable description is that what is said in an adjunct clause affects the meaning of the head clause, so that the meaning of the whole sentence is that of the head clause as modified by the adjunct clause, the order of the clauses being fixed. By contrast, in a compound sentence the meaning of one clause does not affect that of the other; the coordinative construction simply draws attention to the similarities or differences between the meanings of the clauses, the order of the clauses being, in principle, immaterial.

11.21 Complex sentences with an adjunct clause of time

The event or state of affairs expressed by the head clause is subsequent

Grammar 11.2

to, and conditioned by, or a consequence of that in the adjunct clause.

11.211 Tight linkage

This places emphasis on the adjunct clause as a precondition.

11.2111 The adjunct referring to a single event

The conjunction used in the adjunct clause is 既 (Voc 3(6) "when," "as soon as," "once," "since." Conjunctions often used in the head clause are 而, 則 and 然後 for which see Gr. 11.212.

既克公問其故 "When they had defeated (the enemy) the duke asked the reason (for Ts'áo Kùei's conduct)." 20(16)

四者既得然後修我政理 ... "When these four have been achieved, then and only then can we revamp our system of government" 30(20)

In 31(29) 既 has a figurative meaning and must be translated "since."

11.2112 When the adjunct refers to a recurrent event or a habitual action this can be made explicit by the conjunction 每 23(30) "whenever." This is often followed in the head clause by a correlative 輒 ché Voc. 30(3) "then immediately," "then always" or 必 Voc. 5(15) "then necessarily," "then always."

伯宗每朝其妻必戒之曰 ... 子好直言必及於難 "Whenever Pó Tsūng went to court his wife always warned him, saying, 'You are too fond of speaking frankly. You will certainly come to harm.'" 左成 15.

11.212 Loose linkage

This places emphasis on the head clause as consequent on the adjunct clause. See Comm. 6D. Only the context shows whether a single or a recurrent event is involved. The common conjunctions used will be taken up one by one.

11.2121 則 Voc. 4(6) "then," "then of course," "thereupon," "whenever ... then" See Comm. 6 Da.

- a. 門者拒不入則甘言媚詞作婦人狀 "A gatekeeper bars his way and will not admit him, so then he speaks ingratiatingly and adopts the manner of a woman" 23(8).

Grammar 11.2

- b. 抵暮則前 ... 受金者出 ... 曰 "At nightfall then (ironically) the individual who had accepted the money came out and said, ..." 23(11) Also 6(13), 23(14,16-21).
- c. 故 ... 左右者日益親則忠臣日益疏 "Thus those about him daily became closer and as a result (not surprisingly) loyal officials daily became more remote." 25(6)
- d. 河內凶則移其民於河東 "Hónèi has a bad year; then of course I move its people to Hótūng." 10(2) The context makes it possible to translate "[Whenever] Hónèi has a bad year" or "[If] Hónèi has a bad year" Also 24(6), 29(4). Such sentences could be put under Gr. 11.2221.
- e. 使子路反見之至則行矣 "He (Confucius) sent Tzŭ-lù back to see him again. When [he] got there, lo and behold, [the old man] had already (矣) gone." L. Y. 18.7.4. Here the time we are concerned with in the head clause is not the time of the old man's departure but of Tzŭ-lù's finding him gone.

Macrosyntactic use:

"This being so" 23(2); "Thus" 30(7).

然則 "So then," "Thus then." 26(37,52), 31(34). 然 is a predicate substitute that resumes what precedes, but it tends to form an enlarged conjunction.

11.2122 乃 2(8) "then," "thereupon," "consequently."

- a. 左乃陷大澤中 "[They] went to the left and consequently fell into a great marsh." 17(7). Also 17(15), 4(2), 18(21).
- b. 平明漢軍乃覺之 "[When] dawn [came] the Hàn army then became aware of it (of the departure of Hsiàng Yŭ)" 17(6). Here a sentence adjunct functions as adjunct clause. See also 17(4,5). In 2(9), 18(15) the same thing happens with 遂 in the head clause.
- c. 先生不羞乃有意欲為收責乎 "You, Sir, are not embarrassed (by my neglect) and so (or but even) have the idea of wanting to collect debts for me?" 14(19)

Grammar 11.2

Macrosyntactic use:

"So" 8(8), 17(2,6,11), 22(13).

"Then" 17(2,8,16,20,22), 20(4).

"However," "But then" 7(6).

11.2123 遂 Voc. 2(9) "then," "subsequently," "accordingly," "and so"

改設學堂書院之名遂廢 "They established 'hsüeh-t'áng' in their place; and so the term 'shū-yüàn' was discarded." 28(23). Also 4(15), 17(9), 34(51).

Macrosyntactic use:

"So then" 7(10), 20(15).

"And so in the end" 13(24), 17(13).

11.2124 因 Voc. 14(23) "and accordingly," "and then"

以責賜諸民因燒其券 "[He] forgave the people their debts and accordingly burned their I.O.U.s." 14(23)

11.2125 卽 Voc. 5(13) "then," "so" and 便 Voc. 16(3.6) "then," "so"

熱卽池中浴涼便岸上歌 "[When] it is hot then [I] swim in the pond; [when] it is cool then [I] sing on the bank." 16(3.5)

11.2126 而 "and as a result"

禹抑洪水而天下平 "Yü curbed the great flood and as a result the world was untroubled" Mencius 3 b 9.11.

11.2127 而後(后) 5(23) and 然後 6(7) "then and only then"

知止而後有定 "Know where to come to rest; only then will you have a settled [purpose]." 9(2). Also 5(23), 10(8), 6(7), 23(21), 25(4).

11.2128 曾 Voc. 24(17) "then in fact." See L. Y. 11.23.2.

11.2129 輒 30(3) "then immediately" 30(3), 33(18).

11.213 Clauses linked by symmetry

The reference is always to all possible occasions, not to a single event.

a. 食無魚 ... 出無車 "[When I] eat there is no fish [When I]

Grammar 11.2

go out there is no chariot." 14(5,7)

- b. 渴飲而飢食 "[When man] is thirsty [he] drinks, and [when] hungry [he] eats." 26(34). Here two such composite forms became composite phrases joined by 而 in a larger compound sentence.

In the above two examples the symmetry lies not within the two clauses themselves (as in Gr. 11.223) but in the placing of two composite forms in close proximity.

11.22 Complex sentences with an adjunct clause of condition

The adjunct clause expresses a hypothetical or as yet unrealized condition that modifies the head clause.

- 11.221 Tight linkage of clauses. A conjunction in the adjunct clause, with or without a correlative marker in the head clause. Conjunctions before the subject of the adjunct clause are: 使 Voc. 4(6) or 若使 Voc. 29(19) or 如使 or 如 (rare). After the subject of the adjunct clause: 如 Voc. 8(14), 若 Voc. 3(13) or 苟 or 非 Voc. 4(7). The correlative conjunction in the head clause is normally 則, occasionally 斯 31(12), or the PA 必 Voc. 5(15) "necessarily," "always."

11.2211 Conjunction preceding the subject (if expressed) of the adjunct clause

如使人之所欲莫甚於生則凡可以得生者何不用也 "Let it be that what men desire in no case is greater than life, then all means that will secure life, why are they not employed?" 15(4). Also 4(6), 11(32,45), 29(19), 34(46). With 猶 Voc. 4(4) "then still" in the head clause 11(32,34,37,41).

11.2212 Conjunction following the subject (if expressed) of the adjunct clause

- a. 王如知此則無望民之多於鄰國也 "If the king really understands this, then he will not expect his subjects to be more numerous than (those of) neighboring states." 10(11). Also 3(13), 29(18,19). In 26(27) and 31(6,7) the adjunct clause takes the form of a nominalized S-P. See Gr. 10.416.
- b. 苟得其養無物不長 "If they obtain their proper nurture there are no things that will not grow." Mencius 6 a 8.3. Also N(1).

Grammar 11.2

- c. 非變通舊法無以爲治 "Unless [we] are adaptable in regard to the old laws there will be no way to create an orderly society." 29(21)

The PA 必 sometimes has conjunctive force in the adjunct clause, e.g. in 21(11) where it gives the meaning "if indeed."

11.222 Loose linkage of clauses

11.2221 A particular possibility envisaged

戰則請從 "If you go to war then I beg to accompany you." 20(10). This sentence could also be placed under Gr. 11.212 with the meaning "When you go out to do battle." The context rules out "Whenever you do battle."

11.2222 A general hypothesis considered

羣而無分則爭 "If, a community being formed, there are no distinctions (of rank or function) then there will be contention." 19(10). Also 11(3,6,9), 15(5), 19(7,12,13), 26(11,30), 29(13,14,16), 30(18), 34(59).

- 11.2223 The PA 必 sometimes has the force of a conjunction in the head clause.
入於彼必出於此 "[If a person] enters that (party), [he] necessarily leaves this." 26(12). Also 18(3), 21(6), 29(15), 30(24).

11.223 Clauses linked by symmetry without conjunctions. See Comm. 6 Db.

The reference is always to a general truth, and the sentence is often proverbial in character.

一家仁一國興仁 "If the one family (that of the ruler) displays respect for others, the whole state will display such respect." 大學 Comm. 9.3.

無禮何以正身無師吾安知禮之爲是也 "If there are no ritual forms how shall (we) regulate ourselves; if there are no teachers, how shall we know that the ritual forms are correct?" 19 S(5). Also 26(26,53), 14 S(22).

- 11.224 Occasionally a sentence occurs which clearly expresses a condition and consequence and yet is unmarked by conjunction or symmetry. It has to be treated as elliptical. Thus in 10(4) we need to supply 則 be-

fore 無如 and in 15(2) before 舍生. Also 10(4), 30(2).

11.23 Complex sentences with an adjunct clause expressing concession. A conjunction is usually indispensable in the adjunct clause, so the linkage is generally tight.

11.231 An actual or probable situation conceded in the adjunct clause as favorable to a certain conclusion. A contrary or negative outcome expressed in the head clause. The common conjunction in the adjunct clause is 雖 Voc. 4(4) which regularly follows the subject. Note that the corresponding conjunction in MC, 雖然, is coordinative in L. See Gr. 11.121.

11.2311 Conjunction in the adjunct clause only

雖欲言無可進者 "Although they wished to speak there were no (censurable) matters that they could bring forward." 22(14). Also 21(19), 25(8), 26(33,34), 31(19).

11.2312 Conjunctions in both clauses or a conjunction in the adjunct clause and a rhetorical form in the head

江東雖小 ... 亦足王也 "Although Chiāngtūng is a small area ... still it is worth being king over." 17(17)

Also with 亦 in the head clause: 11(23,27), 14 S(16), 29(23), 34(24); with 抑亦 "yet still" 34(25); with 而 "yet" 25(5,14), 31(17); 猶 "still" 4(4); 然 "yet" 31(20), 33(11); 仍 Voc. 18(15) "still" 18(21); 則 18 S(B 8); 必 20(9), 21 S(5). In 26(16) the head clause is a rhetorical question; in 21(9) it is a rhetorical request.

11.232 A hypothetical and improbable situation conceded in the adjunct clause as leading to a certain conclusion. A contrary outcome expressed in the head clause.

The common conjunctions in the adjunct clause usually precede the subject. They are:

縱 Voc. 4(7) "even allowing that," "even if"

假 Voc. 18(13) "even if it were so that"

即 Voc. 5(13) "even if"

The head clause is frequently a rhetorical question. Otherwise it may contain one of the following conjunctions: 而, 又, 而又, 亦.

縱彼不言籍獨不愧於心乎 "Even if they say nothing (embarrassing), will I of all people not be ashamed in my heart!" 17(18). Also 縱... 亦 ... 4(7); 假 ... 亦 ... 24(20); 即 ... 而 ... 23(9); 即 ... 也 23(10); 即 ... 29(10).

- 11.233 A complex sentence with concessive adjunct clause can itself become a head clause in construction with an adjunct clause of condition. See 21 S(15) and 34(24).

- 11.24 Composite sentences with an adjunct clause expressing the cause of or reason for what follows

The adjunct clause is loosely linked with a head clause expressing the effect or result.

The sentences considered here differ from those in Gr. 11.21 in that there the emphasis is on sequence in time whereas here the writer is concerned with logical and psychological consequences.

The conjunctions employed usually occur before the subject (if expressed) in the head clause, but are also found as adjuncts to the verbal nucleus. The minimal form, which is the one generally used in complex sentences, is 故 Voc. 1(7) "therefore," "thus," "so." Other forms are 以此, 是以, 以故, 是故. These all seem to stem from a fuller form 以此故 "for this reason — therefore." A late form is 以此之故 "for the reason of this — for this reason," which is used macrosyntactically in 34(61).

彼竭我盈故克之 "Their [martial spirit] was exhausted, ours was full; therefore we overcame them." 20(17). The adjunct clause is an adverbative compound of two S-Ps. Also 11(14,15, etc.), 13(10), 15(3), 18(5), 19(2,10), 20(18), 26(52), 33(15).

Very often 故 is used macrosyntactically. See 19(7,8,9,13), 11(40,44,46, 47,48), 25(6,15), 26(3), 29(5,6), 30(19), 31(17,21).

The other conjunctions occur in complex sentences as follows: 以故 1(7), 17(7); 是以 18 S(A7); 是故 L(3).

Macrosyntactic uses are: 以此 23(29); 是故 15(6), 26(29,47,48).

Similar conjunctions involve use of the coverbs 因[此] yīn Voc. 14(23), 用[此] yòng Voc. 10(4), and 由[此] yú Voc. 15(5).

臣子一例用敢竭盡其愚. "Ministers and sons come under the same principle; for this reason [we] have dared to exert to the full our simple minds." 29(24). This use of 用 (= 用此) can be found in the Chōu period. The use of 因 in a clause expressing result or effect is late but it is easy to see how it derives from the use noted in Gr. 11.2124. Examples will be found in 18 S(A6), 28(17), 34(4).

由此 "from this," "hence" is found in Chōu. In 18(15) we have the similar form 由是.

Other ways of expressing the relation between a reason and its result will be found in Gr. 9.312, 10.2223, 10.3322, and 10.3312 c.

11.25 Composite sentences expressing preference

The correlative conjunctions 與其 ... 不如 Voc. 34(62) and 與其 ... 寧 (níng) ..., both meaning "Rather than ... it is better to ...," are used. Like 使, 縱, etc., these words are basically verbs and the literal meanings are "if we compare (與) its ... it is not as good as (不如 22(8)) ...," "if we compare its ... it is preferable to (寧) ..." but the formulae are now so stereotyped that we can treat them as conjunctions.

禮與其奢 (shē) 也寧儉 (chiě) "In the matter of ritual performances, rather than being extravagant it is better to be frugal." L. Y. 3.4.3. There is one example with 不如 in 34(62).

Chapter 12. Dislocation and Ellipsis

12. In the preceding ten chapters we have taken up the word, the phrase, the simple sentence and the composite sentence, in all cases applying the principles laid down in Chapter 1 regarding syntactic level, part-of-speech classification and construction types. So far as possible we have selected examples at each level which exhibit the normal unemphatic word order that goes with each of the five construction types, and have shown complete forms in which every word called for by the construction at each level is present. We have had occasion to notice some cases of deviation from the basic word order (dislocation) and some cases in which forms do not have maximum completeness (ellipsis). In this chapter we shall attempt a systematic review of such cases, to show that such departures from the basic forms are neither frequent nor haphazard and that they are classifiable and therefore recognizable. This is not to deny, of course, that individual writers sometimes take liberties with the language, but the exercise of such license is probably no more frequent than it is in other languages.

12.1 Dislocation

12.11 Forms which can be understood only as dislocations of kernel forms

12.111 Regular syntactic transformations

12.1111 Interrogative pronoun objects usually precede the governing verb or co-verb.

a. V-O phrases

客何好 "The guest is fond of what?" 14(2)

何市 "What shall I buy?" 14(20)

何如 "What is it like?" "How's that?" "What do you think of that?"

10(9), 17(16). This is to be distinguished from 如何, which is usually an abridged form of 如之何 "What's to be done about it?"

See Gr. 2.431 e and 7.53.

b. Certain adverbs and the conjunction 是以 (i.e. composite words) are

Chapter 12.1

formed by the inversion of coverbals according to this principle.

何以 "How?" This is an interrogative adverb from the kernel

以何 "by means of what."

Similarly with 奚以, 曷以, etc. See Gr. 4.2316 and 6.2122.

Cf. the formation of certain nouns by inversion of a V-O. See Gr. 6.2121.

- 12.1112 A pronoun object regularly precedes the governing verb after an adverb or auxiliary verb of negation. After Hàn this rule becomes relaxed.

人之不己知 "other people's not appreciating one" 21(2)

良人未之知也 "The husband did not know it." H(7)

- 12.112 Optional dislocations for emphasis

- 12.1121 Subject and predicate interchanged

- a. The most frequent inversion of this kind gives prominence to an SV predicate followed by an exclamatory particle. This is so frequent that it practically becomes the rule.

大哉孔子 "How great is Confucius!" L. Y. 9.2. Kernel 孔子大

甚矣人之好怪也 "How great is men's love for the exotic!" 26(17)

美哉我少年中國乎 "How beautiful will our youthful China be!" 31(35)

- b. An interrogative quantity word predicate is sometimes preposed

幾何其不胥而為夷也 "How long will it be, their not all together becoming barbarians!" 26(43)

- 12.1122 An object other than a pronoun placed before the verb that governs it

- a. The object alone so preposed

雖不得湯藥親嘗 "Although they do not get the medicine to taste in person — Although they do not have [the honorable responsibility] of tasting in person the medicine [for their sick father]"

- b. The preposed object immediately resumed by the pronoun 是 in apposition to it

周有大賚善人是富 "When the Chōu house held a great distribution of largess, the good men, them, [they] enriched." L. Y. 20.1.4

Chapter 12.1

c. Or by the object substitute

又何賞之有 "Further what reward, it, should there be? — What further reward should there be?" 13(7). Kernel 又有何賞

博愛之謂仁 "All-embracing love, it, [we] call goodness." 26(1). See discussion in the Commentary.

非夫人之為勸而誰為 "Unless this man him-for I am moved to tears, whom-for (should I be moved to tears)? — If I am not moved to tears on account of (the death of) this man, for whom then (should I wail)?" L. Y. 11.9.3

d. Since objects are frequently preposed to stress their uniqueness, a PA that further stresses this uniqueness is often added.

官惟簿手執 "The magistrate merely his register in his hand held — The magistrate merely held his register in his hand." 27(3.10)

唯命是聽 "Only [your] command, that will I obey." 左昭 25. This formula practically became a composite word meaning "to obey." For another example of this rather archaic pattern see the quotation in 26(42).

惟怪之欲聞 "Only the eccentric, that, do [they] wish to hear about." 26(17)

Sun Yat-sen obviously had very strong feelings when he wrote:

徒惟堅船利礮之是務 "Merely only solid ships and powerful cannon, them, these, does [China] concern herself with." 30(13)

12.1123 Subject and complement interchanged

船頭坐三人 "On the prow sat three men." 24(7). Kernel 三人坐[於]船頭. See Commentary for discussion of this form.

12.1124 Complement placed before the verb

a. Complement of direction

江海寄餘生 "To the rivers and lakes [I] consign my remaining years." 27(10.10)

Chapter 12.1

b. Complement of comparison

恨莫[於]此為甚 "My regrets in no case than this are greater." 33(22).
See Commentary.

12.1125 Adverb of degree preposed

人... 最為天下貴[者] "Man in the highest degree is the noble creature of the world." 19(2). See Commentary.

尤不才為甚 "Especially I am excessive (in respect to this weakness) — I am especially bad (in this respect)." 23(6) See Commentary.

12.1126 Interrogative adverb split for emphasis, the coverb 為 wèi being placed after the nucleus verbal.

我何度為 "I what should cross (the river) for? — What should I cross (the river) for?" 17(18). See Commentary.

何用文為 "What on earth do they employ literary embellishing for?" 34(9). See Commentary.

12.1127 Predicate adjunct preposed

今獨臣有船 "Today, alone, I have a boat — Today I alone have a boat." 17(17). See Commentary.

我孰與城北徐公美 "I, which of us, (when) compared with Mr. Hsú from north of the city is (more) handsome?" 22(2). See Commentary.
The translation here brings out the latent verbal force of 與 when it appears to be a mere conjunction, as noted in Gr. 4.2221. It can of course be translated "and," but the literal rendering "I, which of us, and Mr. Hsú is handsome?" would be no improvement.

12.12 Forms which can be intelligibly analyzed according to one of the construction types without rearrangement, but which can also be viewed with profit as transforms of a form of another construction type.

12.121 Complex nominal phrases that can be viewed as transforms of an S-P form.

12.1211 S-P to S > P. This always requires the insertion of 之.

Grammar 12.1

天之亡我 "Heaven's destroying me" 17(9). All the forms illustrated in Gr. 8.4221 are of this type.

12.1212 S-P to P > S

a. Predicate a verbal

(1) Some phrases do not admit of the insertion of 之.

十人 "ten men"

明月 "the bright moon" or "the moon that is bright"

All the forms illustrated in Gr. 8.412 are of this type.

(2) Some phrases admit of the insertion of 之 but its use is optional, depending upon the demands of clarity and euphony.

行[於]道之人 "a person tramping the roads" Mencius 6 a 10.6

All the forms illustrated in Gr. 8.4222 are of this type.

b. Predicate a nominal

These are phrases in which the head is or could be substituted by 者.

Since 者 specifically substitutes for a subject, its use implies a transformation of S-P to P > S.

所贈之金 "the money that was given" 23(16)

君者 "one who is a prince" 19(12)

All the forms illustrated in Gr. 8.4223 are of this type.

12.122 S-P forms that can be viewed as inversions from a V-O form

物格 "things are investigated" 9(8)

This transformation by which a transitive verb becomes intransitive is illustrated in Gr. 5.31.

12.123 The derived or predated subjects that in Gr. 10.22 we viewed as resulting from a transformation of a kernel sentence exhibit another variety of dislocation, which includes two types:

- a. Cases in which a single word or phrase is preposed as subject and resumed by a substitute in the predicate. One subtype that was not il-

Grammar 12.1

illustrated in Gr. 10.221 is a preposed pivot object such as the following:

其賢者使[之]使賢王 "The best people, [we] have [them] go as emissaries to the best kings." B(7)

- b. Those in which a more extensive reorganization of a kernel sentence is carried out. Examples of this are to be found in Gr. 10.222.

12.2 Ellipsis

The many words that have been supplied within brackets in the Commentaries fall into two categories: 1. those that are essential to the form in which they occur and are therefore supplied mentally by every competent reader; 2. those that are not essential to the form but that round it out and make it more explicit, enabling the student to recognize the larger genus of which it is a species. The supplying of 之 (conjunction), 者, 所, for instance, often serves this purpose. Also the supplying of the substitute 之 to resume a derived subject in a predicate.

In this section we will assemble examples of the omission of words that belong to the first category. They are all of common occurrence.

12.21 Omission of the subject of a sentence or clause

We have noticed in several connections (Comm. 3 A and Comm. 4, Gr. 10.13 and Gr. 11) that the subject of a sentence is normally not expressed if it has the same referent as that of the subject of the preceding sentence. We have spoken in this connection of "predicate sentences." This feature is in considerable measure responsible for the feeling one has that classical Chinese is a "telegraphic" language, certainly by comparison with a language like English or even by comparison with modern Chinese. One concomitant is the total absence of a third-person pronoun and a reticence about employing a first-person pronoun. It is obviously beside the point to speak of omission of the subject in the case of "predicate sentences," or in the case of composite sentences when the clauses have the same subject referent. Neither need we consider elliptical the "zero subjects" that were noted in Gr. 10.214. The term "ellipsis" has relevance in cases where the subject referent actually changes from one sentence or clause to the next and yet the

new referent is not overtly stated.

We will consider the omission of the subject in two contexts.

12.211 Introducing the speakers in a dialogue

- a. One style is to repeat the name of each speaker when his turn comes. This is followed in Text 12 where we have 莊子曰 ... 惠子曰 ..., etc., throughout.
- b. Another style is, when the parties have been identified, for the questioner to be named and the answerer not. This is found in Text 20 where we have 公曰 ... 對曰 ..., etc., and later 歲曰 ... 對曰
- c. Still another style is, once the dialogue is under way, for the change of speaker to be indicated simply by 曰 ... 曰 ..., as in 10(10,11).

12.212 Beginning a new sentence or clause in a narrative or exposition

- a. Here the reader may have to depend entirely on the broad context to decide what subject is understood. The strain on him varies. It is not difficult to decide that the subject of 夜聞 in 17(2) is 項王, but the omission of 項王 as subject of 與其騎會 ... in 17(15) seems so unreasonable as to raise a doubt as to the soundness of the text.
- b. Liú Chiŋg-núŋ suggests that the reader is sometimes assisted by the presence of one of the conjunctions 則, 遂, or 乃 (see Gr. 11.212). To the extent that these introduce a new event as consequent on something in the adjunct clause of time, they raise the possibility that a new subject is to be expected. Liú cites our example in Gr. 11.2121 e: 至則行矣 "When [he (Tzŭ-lù)] got there, lo and behold [the old man] had already gone." The presence of 則 helps, but the understanding of this sentence still depends largely upon understanding the context. Other examples in which a new subject is omitted after one of these conjunctions will be found in the following places:

- (1) After 遂 in a new sentence: 17(13), 20(15). See Gr. 11.2123, "Macrosyntactic use."
- (2) After 則 in a head clause: examples a. and d. in Gr. 11.2121.

Grammar 12.2

12.22 Omission of a pivot object

a. Omission of the substitute 之

無使[之]乏 "So as not to let [her (Féng Hsüān's mother)] want" 14(13).

Also Comm. 14(11), 18(19), 22(8).

b. Omission of the pronoun 我

皆以[我]美乎徐公 "All take [me] to be more handsome than Mr. Hsü." 22(10)

12.23 Omission of 之 substituting for the object of a nucleus verb before a coverbal complement with 以

食[之]以草具 "fed [him (Féng Hsüān)] with coarse food" 14(4)

懼[之]以禍福 "frighten [him] with what will happen to him" 25(4)

12.24 Omission of 之 substituting for the object in an adjunct coverbal

能以[之(禮義)]事親謂之孝 "Being able with [them (propriety and sense of duty)] to serve one's parents is called 'being filial.'" 19(11)

左右以[此]告[其君] "The attendant retainers with [this] told [their lord] — The others reported it to their lord." 14(6). Also 14(8,19,20), 20(5), 22(6).

12.25 Omission of the first object after a verb that governs two objects

賜[我]一書 "send [me] a letter" 23(1)

12.26 Omission of the coverb in a complement

a. Omission of 於

迎君[於]道中 "came out to welcome their lord [on] the highway" 14(31)

欲東渡[於]烏江 "wished in an easterly direction to cross [the river] [at] Wūkiāng" 17(16). In this case the omission makes for ambiguity. See Commentary.

Also 13(13), 17(3,7).

b. Omission of 爲

Grammar 12.2

This often results in what at first may seem very puzzling expressions, especially when an intransitive verb is followed by the object substitute 之.

君死喪之三年 "When a prince dies they conduct mourning ceremonies for him (喪[為]之) for three years." Cited by Chōu Fǎ-kāo (III 92) from Mò-tzŭ.

Similarly we find 死[為]國 "die [for] the state" and 死[為]之 "die [for] him." Cf. Comm. 13(13).