Edwin G. Pulleyblank

Outline of Classical Chinese Grammar
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*Outline of Classical Chinese Grammar* is a comprehensive introduction to the syntactical analysis of Classical Chinese. Focusing on the language of the high classical period, which ranges from the time of Confucius to the unification of the empire by Qin in -221, the book pays particular attention to the *Mencius*, the *Lünyu*, and, to a lesser extent, the *Zuózhuan* texts.

Renowned for his work in Classical Chinese, Edwin Pulleyblank opens the book with a brief historical overview and a discussion of the relationship between the writing system and the phonology. This is followed by an outline of the overall principles of word order and sentence structure. He then deals with the main sentence types—nominal predicates, verbal predicates, and numerical expressions, which constitute a special type of quasiverbal predication. The final section covers topics such as subordinate constituents of sentences, non-declarative sentence types, and complex sentences.

Clear and well organized, *Outline of Classical Chinese Grammar* is an authoritative study and will be an invaluable resource tool for anyone involved in Chinese language studies.

Edwin G. Pulleyblank is professor emeritus of the Department of Asian Studies at the University of British Columbia. He is the author of *Lexicon of Reconstructed Pronunciation in Early Middle Chinese, Late Middle Chinese,* and *Early Mandarin* (1991) and *Middle Chinese: A Study in Historical Phonology* (1984).
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This Outline of Classical Chinese Grammar has grown out of notes prepared over the years for teaching Classical Chinese to undergraduates at the University of Cambridge and the University of British Columbia, as well as at summer schools in Bloomington, Indiana, Columbus, Ohio, and Minneapolis, Minnesota, in the 1960s. When I began the study of this language at the end of the Second World War, there were very few textbooks or other learning aids available. There was, in fact, still a widespread belief that Chinese, especially the classical language, had no grammar and that the only way to learn it was by a kind of osmosis. By reading texts with a teacher, preferably a native speaker of a modern spoken form of the language, one was supposed to absorb a facility at guessing at the meanings of passages by piecing together the meanings of successive words as provided in a dictionary.

There had, of course, been pioneering works by western sinologists in the nineteenth century, particularly noteworthy being Georg von der Gabelentz, Chinesische Grammatik (1881), but these were held in little regard. Rather more heed was paid to the contributions of Bernhard Kärlgren, whose work had first put the study of Middle and Old Chinese pronunciation on a scientific basis and who had also made many insightful observations on the grammar of the classical language. There were others, like my old teacher, Walter Simon, at the School of Oriental and African Studies, or George Kennedy at Yale and Harold Shadick at Cornell, who were trying to apply modern linguistic theory to Classical Chinese. Nevertheless, it would be true to say that there was nothing approaching a coherent analysis of the syntax of the language available. I felt this lack even more acutely when, all too soon, I found myself in the position of having to teach the language myself. Along with other contemporaries, like William Dobson and Angus Graham, I found myself pushed into doing research in this area. After publishing two or three papers on grammatical questions, I concentrated my publication more on historical phonology but I continued to think about questions of syntax and to prepare teaching notes for my students. The Outline that I offer here is the end result of this process.

The world has, of course, changed greatly in the half century since I began to study Chinese, not least in linguistic theory, which has been revolutionized by the theories of Noam Chomsky and his followers. While this has inspired much recent work on Modern Chinese grammar, it has, unfortunately, had comparatively little impact so far on the study of the classical language. We are still at the stage of struggling to work out the
basic patterns of Classical Chinese syntax. Perhaps some students will be inspired by the unsolved problems that they find in this book to apply new theoretical tools and bring the grammar of Classical Chinese into the linguistic mainstream instead of being in a rather esoteric backwater. Meanwhile, I am encouraged by the reactions of those who have seen and used earlier versions both at the University of British Columbia and elsewhere to think that students and teachers will continue to find it a useful introduction to the language.

It is impossible in a short work of this kind to argue fully for all the positions taken, let alone discuss the views of other scholars who agree or differ from them. I have endeavoured in the endnotes to acknowledge major contributions of my predecessors and contemporaries but I am only too aware that the references I have made are far from complete in this regard. I can only hope that my colleagues will forgive me, bearing in mind my primarily pedagogical aim.

In preparing this work for publication I have been greatly assisted by a generous grant from the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada. The grant was provided for a Concise Dictionary of Classical Chinese, of which the Outline of Classical Chinese Grammar was to serve as an introduction. In the end it has seemed better to publish the Outline separately. The Dictionary exists in the form of a preliminary draft on computer but will still require much work before it is in publishable form.

Among those whom the grant has enabled me to employ, Dr. Gary Arbuckle must be specially mentioned for his help in preparing the computerized text of this book. I should also like to thank Mr. Jingtao Sun and the copy editor of the UBC Press who have proofread the text with great care and caught many errors. Errors that remain are of course my own responsibility.

I also acknowledge with gratitude the publication grants which the book has received from the Humanities Federation of Canada and the Chiang Ching-kuo Foundation.
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1. Introduction

1. Historical Outline

Chinese was the principal vehicle of culture and civilization for the whole of East Asia for many centuries and today is spoken by more people than any other language. The earliest known examples of written Chinese are the so-called "oracle bones," records of divination from the last capital of the Shang 商 dynasty at Anyang 安陽. They date from approximately -1300 to -1050. From the following centuries, after the founding of the Zhou 周 dynasty, come inscriptions on bronze vessels recording royal donations and other such events. The earliest of the Chinese classics — parts of the Book of Changes (Yijing 易經), the Book of Documents (Shujing 书经), and the Book of Odes (Shijing 詩經) — also date from the early centuries of the Zhou dynasty. All these texts are written in an archaic form of Chinese referred to as preclassical.

The classical period proper begins with Confucius 孔子 (-551 to -479) and continues through the Warring States period to the unification and founding of the empire by Qin 秦 in -221. This was the period of the major philosophers and also of the first works of narrative history. Though all the productions of the period are in Classical Chinese, there is considerable linguistic diversity among them. This is, no doubt, partly the result of the geographical disunity and decentralization of the country, which allowed various regional dialects to become the vehicles of literature in their own areas. It is also the result of historical evolution. Exhaustive studies of these differences have yet to be made, but one can distinguish at least the following: (a) a rather archaic form of literary language, showing features in common with the Shijing and probably based on a central dialect, used in historical texts such as the Zuozhuan 左传 and Guoyu 国语; (b) a Lu 鲁 dialect used in the Confucian Analects (Lunyu 论语; more archaic) and Mencius (Mengzi 孟子; more evolved); (c) a Chu 楚 dialect used in the Li Sao 郴骚 and other early poems of the Chu Ci 楚辞; and (d) a third-century dialect found in texts such as Zhuangzi 庄子, Xunzi 荀子, and Han Feizi 韩非子, showing an evolution towards a common literary standard but still with marked differences between different texts.

With the imperial unification under Qin and Han 漢, the movement towards a common literary standard was accelerated, not only by the
centralization of the government, but also by the increasing tendency towards imitation of classical models in preference to the living spoken language. An important influence in this respect was the triumph of Confucianism which made the Confucian classics the basis for education and for advancement in government service. In a comparatively early text like the *Records of the Historian* (*Shiji* 史記) one can still detect influence from the spoken language, but as time went on Literary Chinese (*wén yán 文言*) became increasingly a dead language, playing a role like that of Latin in Western Europe, from which the current spoken language increasingly diverged.

Literary Chinese was never completely static and uniform. Different styles were fashioned by successive literary movements and for special purposes such as government documents or Buddhist writings. There was no development of a prescriptive grammar and people learned to write by imitating earlier models rather than by obeying explicit rules as in the case of Latin. The spoken language always had some influence even in belles lettres and poetry, and still more in writings of a more practical nature. The result is that even those well versed in classical texts may have difficulty when they first encounter later material, such as official documents of the Qing 淸 dynasty.

2. Sound

Chinese characters are sometimes referred to as if they directly represent ideas. This is a fallacy. Even though many of them are pictorial or otherwise iconic in origin, in their use as a system of writing they are conventional symbols for particular spoken words. Thus synonyms (words that are the same in meaning but different in sound) are normally written with different characters, while homophones (words that are the same in sound but different in meaning) may be written with the same character. For example, *quān* ‘dog’ is written 犬, based on a pictogram for ‘dog,’ but *gōu*, which also means ‘dog,’ is written 犬, with a distorted form of 犬 + *gōu* 句 ‘hook’ to represent the sound. On the other hand, *ān* ‘how? where?’ and *ān* ‘peace’ are both written 安.

Since in Chinese, as in every other language, the spoken form is primary, it is desirable to get back, as closely as possible, to the actual sounds that underlie the characters. Unfortunately, since the characters represent whole syllables and give no direct phonetic information, and since the sounds have changed greatly over the centuries, this is only possible
through a difficult process of reconstruction. The most widely used system of reconstruction is that of Bernhard Karlgren as published in *Grammata Serica Recensa* (1957). This gives two reconstructions, one for what he calls Ancient Chinese, based on the Qièyùn 切韻, a rhyme dictionary of +602, and one for what he calls Archaic Chinese, based on the rhymes of the Shijing, relevant to a period terminating around -600.

A revised system of reconstruction for the Qièyùn, called Early Middle Chinese (EMC), together with a reconstruction for Late Middle Chinese (LMC) of the Táng period, which together replace Karlgren's Ancient Chinese, is published in Pulleyblank, *Lexicon of Reconstructed Pronunciation in Early Middle Chinese, Late Middle Chinese and Early Mandarin* (1991), which also contains a new reconstruction of Early Mandarin (EM) of the Yuán 元 period.

The reconstruction of stages earlier than EMC is a much more difficult problem since the available evidence is more fragmentary. While the rhyme patterns of the Shijing, worked out by scholars of the Qing period, and the rhyming of poets at various periods between then and the Qièyùn provide evidence for the evolution of the finals, that is the rhyming parts of syllables, comparable systematic evidence for the non-rhyming parts, the initial consonants or groups of consonants, is lacking. Anything that purports to be a complete reconstruction of Old Chinese (OC), such as Karlgren's Archaic Chinese, is bound to be somewhat illusory at the present time. In this Outline, reconstructed readings in EMC or LMC will be given from time to time for illustrative purposes. Tentative reconstructions in OC will also sometimes be given, marked with an asterisk *

Apart from systems of reconstruction which propose actual phonetic values, there are some traditional methods used by commentators for indicating how characters should be read that readers of classical texts should be aware of. These are the traditional spelling system known as fānqiè and the system of indicating the four ancient tones by small circles at the four corners of characters.

(a) Fānqiè

This term, literally 'turning-cutting,' combines two alternative terms, fān 反 'turn' and qiè 切 'cut,' for a method invented by commentators of the Later Hàn period for spelling the sound of one word by means of two others, one of which had the same initial and the other of which had the same final. For example, dōng 東 'east' might be spelled dě 德 'virtue' +
gōng 工 ‘work.’ In the course of time, such spellings became the basis for rhyme dictionaries which classified words by rhymes and then, within each rhyme, by homophone groups with the same non-rhyming parts. The earliest of these dictionaries that is (partially) extant is the Qièyuàn 切韻, completed in +601 by Lù Fāyán 陸法言. It went through many revisions and enlargements culminating in the Guǎngyuàn 廣韻 of +1008, which is still extant. Though the Qiè yùn has not survived in its original form, extensive manuscript fragments have been recovered from Dunhuang and there are also partial or complete manuscripts of some of the intermediate recensions. It is important to realize that, as the language changed, fānqiè spellings became out of date. Fānqiè spellings contained in such dictionaries as the Kāngxì zīdiǎn 康熙字典, the Cíyuán 辞源, and Morohashi’s Dai Kanwa jiten 大漢和辭典 are mostly taken from dictionaries of the Táng 唐 and Sòng 宋 periods and may give erroneous results if interpreted in terms of modern Pekingese.

(b) Tones
Middle Chinese had a system of four ‘tones’ (si shēng 四聲) which, according to tradition, were first recognized and named by Shēn Yuè 沈約 in the +5th century. They are called píng 平 ‘level,’ shāng 上 ‘rising,’ qù 去 ‘departing,’ and rù 入 ‘entering.’ Though they are the same in number as the four tones of Pekingese, they do not correspond one for one. The old ‘level’ tone has split into Pekingese tones 1 and 2, depending on whether the initial consonant was originally voiceless or voiced. Words in the old ‘rising’ tone with voiceless initials or with initial liquids or nasals have Pekingese tone 3. Words in the old ‘departing’ tone and words in the ‘rising’ tone with originally voiced stops or fricatives have tone 4 in Pekingese. Words in the Middle Chinese ‘entering’ tone originally ended in -p, -t, or -k, still preserved in Cantonese. These endings have been lost in Pekingese and the words in question may have any of the four Pekingese tones.

Since many characters have more than one reading, often differing in tone, commentators had to indicate which reading was to be followed. One method was to give a fānqiè spelling. Another was to place a small circle or half circle at one of the four corners of the character in question, starting at the lower left. Usually the most common reading of the character was left unmarked. Thus the word wàng 王 ‘king,’ in the ‘level’ tone, is not marked but the word wāng 王 ‘to be king,’ in ‘departing’ tone, is marked 王 in texts using this system.
1. Introduction

Throughout this book the pronunciation of Chinese characters is indicated in the modern standard language known as pǔtōnghuà 普通話 ‘common speech’ in the new standard romanization, pīnyīn 拼音. Teachers of Classical Chinese have sometimes preferred to use a spelling system based on a reconstruction of ancient pronunciation but, while this has the advantage of focusing attention on the fact that the ancient language was pronounced very differently from the modern language and may seem justified from a purist point of view, in the present uncertainties and absence of agreement about ancient pronunciation it seems to place an artificial and unnecessary burden on the learner. Instead, ancient pronunciation will only be referred to as seems necessary for explanatory purposes. There are still problems, however. One of the most serious is that in current usage colloquial pronunciations have largely replaced special literary readings that were still regularly followed in the reading of classical texts as late as the first half of the present century and are still in use among conservative scholars in Tâi-wân 臺灣 and elsewhere. This sometimes has the unfortunate consequence of obscuring important distinctions that were still transparent when the system of reading pronunciations was in vogue. In the present work I have followed the principle adopted in my Lexicon (1991) of adhering to older reading pronunciations in such cases. Words to which this decision has been applied include (C. = Colloquial); chì 治 ‘to govern’ (C. zhì), guò 過 ‘to pass’ (C. guò), jù 俱 (C. jù), qí 理 (C. qì), tuō 他 (C. tā), wéi 微 (C. wēi), wèi 危 (C. wēi), yì 喻 (C. yì).

3. Symbol

Xǔ Shèn 許慎, who compiled the first etymological dictionary of Chinese characters, the Shuòwén jièzì 說文解字 (Explanations of Graphs and Analysis of Characters), around the beginning of the 2nd century, classified Chinese characters into six types: (a) zhì 事 ‘pointing to things,’ that is, graphs that directly symbolize ideas, for example, shǎng 亢 ‘up,’ xià 下 ‘down’; (b) xiàng 形 ‘imitating shapes,’ that is, graphs derived from pictograms, such as rì 日 ‘sun’ and yuè 月 ‘moon’; (c) xíng shēng 形聲 ‘form and sound,’ that is, graphs that combine two simpler graphs, one representing the sound and one referring to the meaning, for example, jiāng 江 ‘river’ and hé 河 ‘river’ — in each case the element on the left, derived from the pictogram for ‘water,’ is combined with another element which has nothing to do with the meaning but stands for a word that was similar in sound to the particular
word that was being written; (d) hui yi 会意 ‘combined meanings,’ for example míng 鸣 ‘cry,’ composed of ‘mouth’ + ‘bird’; (e) zhuàn zhù 轉注 ‘transferred notation,’ an uncommon category, apparently meaning cases where words of different sound but similar meaning are written with similar graphs, for example, lǎo 老 ‘old’ and kāo 考 ‘old’; and (f) jiǎojiè 假借 ‘borrowing,’ where a character used for another word of the same or similar sound, for example, 安 ān ‘peace,’ is used to write the interrogative pronoun ān ‘where? how?’

Of these six types, (a), (b), (d) and (e) are non-phonetic, that is, the meaning is directly represented in an iconic way without reference to the sound. Types (c) and (f) are based on a phonetic principle and together they account for the great majority of characters. There is no hard and fast line between (c) and (f). With the addition of a semantic determinant (‘signific’ or ‘radical’), a jiǎojiè becomes a xìng shēng, for which the more usual term is xìngshēng 职声. The addition of significs was very fluid before the Han dynasty. Thus, the graph 女, which originated as a pictogram for nú 女 ‘woman,’ was borrowed (jiǎojiè) for rú 諸 ‘you’ at an early period. Later the graph 水, which has the element ‘water’ as signific and originated as a xìngshēng graph for the name of the Rú River in Hénan, was borrowed as the standard graph for rú 諸 ‘you.’ The choice of significs could also be variable. Thus the graph 說, with the ‘speech’ signific, which was later confined to the readings shuō ‘explain; explanation; doctrine, theory; story; (later) say’ and shuì ‘persuade,’ is often used for yuē ‘be pleased’ in pre-Han texts, for which the standard graph eventually became 說, with the ‘heart’ signific.

The printed forms of the characters that were standard until the recent official script simplification, and that are still standard in Taiwan, are in a style known as kāishū 起書. This style evolved during the Former Han dynasty out of the earlier ‘clerical style,’ lìshū 力書, which, in turn, was based on the ‘Small Seal,’ xiǎo chuān 小篆, which came into being as a result of Li Shí’s 李斯 script reform under the First Emperor of Qin. In Han times the obsolete forms of writing of the pre-Qin period were known as gǔ wén 古文 ‘ancient script.’ An earlier form of script, traditionally attributed to Zhòu 諸, the Grand Scribe of King Xuān 宣 of Zhòu (r. -827 to -782), was known as ‘Large Seal’ dà chuān 大篆.

4. Syllable and Word
In general the syllable, written with a single character, and the word correspond in Classical Chinese, but there are a few exceptions which may be classified as follows:
1. Introduction

(a) Bound compounds, that is, words whose meanings cannot be deduced simply from the separate morphemes of which they are composed, for example jünzǐ 君子 'gentleman, superior man; gentlemanly,' composed of jün 君 ‘ruler, lord’ + zǐ 子 ‘son’; shūjī 少幾 ‘almost; probably,’ composed of shū 多 ‘many’ + jī 几 ‘few’ (compare modern duōshǎo 多少). In Classical Chinese such bound compounds are not numerous and, in general, when two morphemes are used in combination, the meaning of the whole can be readily deduced from the meanings of the parts.

(b) Disyllabic expressions formed by total or partial reduplication of monosyllables, e.g., xìngyù 順臾 ‘a moment,’ derived from xìng 順 ‘wait.’ These often form expressive adjectives or adverbs, e.g., zuò zuò 洗濯 ‘glistening’ (describing the plumage of birds), hū sù 惚觫 ‘trembling, frightened.’ Names of insects and small animals are often formed in this way, e.g., tāng táng 蟋蟀 ‘praying mantis,’ xī shuài 蟋蟀 ‘cricket’ (EMC sit swit).

(c) Polysyllabic foreign loanwords, e.g., shā mén 沙門 ‘Buddhist monk,’ from Sanskrit śramaṇa, tuó tuo 魔 uncommented ‘camel,’ borrowed in early Hán from an unknown foreign language, probably Xiōngnú 匈奴. Clearly identifiable words of this kind are not found before the Hán dynasty.

(d) In some cases two monosyllables have contracted into a single syllable written with one character. This is like the modern bié 别 ‘don’t,’ from bù yào 不要, or English don’t from do not. Among the contractions of this kind in Classical Chinese are:

(i) zhū zhū = zhū hū 之乎, where zhū is the object pronoun and hū is either the final question particle or a variant of the coverb yī 於 ‘in, at, to, from’ (see Section IV) (zhū is also a separate word meaning ‘all, the class of’)
(ii) zhǎn 畔 = zhān yàn 之頞 (rare)
(iii) ěr 耳 = ěr yī 耳已 ‘only’
(iv) hé 盖 = hū pì 胡不 ‘why not’
(v) yū 耶 (also written 阿) = yē hū 也乎, probably a dialect variant of (v).
(vi) yé 阿 (also written 阿) = yē hū 也乎, probably a dialect variant of (v).

(e) In other cases a monosyllabic particle is bimorphemic, that is, it is equivalent in meaning to two morphemes, even though one of the elements cannot be identified as a separate word. Thus the postverbal particle yǎn 諸 is equivalent in meaning to an expected *yǔ zhī 於之 ‘in it, to it, etc.’
which is never found. A similar formation is found in some other words, like rán 然, equivalent to rú 之 ‘(it) is like that, (it) is so,’ with various specialized grammatical usages, and yún 云 ‘says (so)’ related to yuē 說 ‘say’ (see IX.1.c.ii below).

5. **Morphology**

In Modern Chinese there is very little morphology, that is, changes in the forms of words to convey differences in meaning, apart from noun suffixes, such as -men 們, which forms plurals of pronouns and is used in certain circumstances with nouns referring to persons treated as collective groups, and -zi 子 and -r 兒, which originally formed diminutives, and verb suffixes such as the aspect markers -le 了 and -zhe 著. There are, however, still words which are clearly related in both sound and meaning. Sometimes it is a case of one character having two different pronunciations, such as, hǎo 好 ‘good,’ also pronounced hào in the sense of ‘to like, love,’ or cháng 長 ‘long,’ also pronounced zhǎng in the sense of ‘grow; elder.’ In other cases the words are written with different characters which share the same phonetic element, for example, zhàng 張 ‘stretches,’ zhàng 服 or 張 ‘to swell’ (originally also written 張) and zhàng帳 ‘curtain, tent’ (that is, ‘something stretched’), which are all semantically related to cháng ‘long’; or xìng 性 ‘(inhorn) nature’ and xìng 姓 ‘clan name, surname,’ which are related in sound and sense to shēng 生 ‘be born, live, alive’ and have it as the phonetic part of their graphs.

In the classical language there were many more cases of this kind, and also cases in which obviously related words are written with totally unrelated graphs, for example, the first person pronouns wú 吾 and wǒ 我 (EMC naughty and gā’all), or the second person pronouns ěr 爾 (EMC nià’), rú 汝 (EMC niàk). These have been called word families. As our understanding of the phonology of Old Chinese improves, it is becoming possible to explain some of this morphology in terms of affixes of various kinds. The following are some of the most important patterns.

(a) There are many cases in which a word in departing tone is clearly derived from a word in one of the other three tones. This probably reflects an Old Chinese suffix *-s, cognate to the suffix *-s in Tibetan. In some cases the derived word is a verb, e.g., wàng 王 ‘to be king,’ derived from wāng 王 ‘king’; hào 好 ‘to like’ derived from hǎo 好 ‘good,’ wù 恶 ‘to hate,’ derived from ē 恶 ‘bad’ (EMC ʔak, entering tone). In other cases it is a noun, e.g., shèng 车 ‘vehicle,’ from chéng 车 ‘to ride (in a vehicle);’ zuò
(b) Alternation between Middle Chinese voiceless and voiced initials is
often found in verbs with transitive and intransitive or neuter meaning
respectively, e.g., jiàn 见 (EMC k̀eh) 'see,' also read xiàn (EMC yên <
g-·) 'appear' (now written 现 in this meaning); zhǔ 属, 属 (EMC tʃuawk) 'to attach, enjoin,' shǔ 属 (EMC dzuawk) 'be attached, belong.'
This probably reflects a prefix *a-, cognate to Tibetan ha-čhuii and Burmese
t.3

(c) Alternation, or ablaut,4 between the vowel /a/ and the vowel /æ/ in
Old Chinese may convey a similar semantic contrast, e.g., tán 談 (EMC
dâm) 'talk (about something),' tân 談 (EMC dam) 'talk (intransitive);
conversation.'
Other traces of morphology, including a prefix *s- and an infix (or prefix)
*s-, can also be found.5

Even in the limited state of knowledge that has been achieved so far, it
is important to be aware of morphological patterns of this kind. It is
especially important to be aware that the same character can stand for two or
more different, though related, words and to pay attention to readings given
by ancient commentators which differentiate such words.
II. Some Basic Principles of Classical Chinese Syntax

1. Word Classes
In spite of the traces of morphology that can be discerned, words in Classical Chinese are not formally marked for grammatical function. Nevertheless, in their syntactical behaviour they do fall into distinct classes that correspond to such categories as nouns, verbs, and adjectives in other languages.

Traditional Chinese usage distinguishes between full words (shízi 實字) and empty words (xūzi 虛字). The former, also called content words, correspond to nouns, verbs, and adjectives that carry the main semantic content, and the latter to particles whose main function is to show grammatical relationships. Another traditional word for grammatical particles is cí 詞.

The basic division among content words is between nouns and verbs. They are distinguished by the types of syntactical constructions in which they appear. Verbs are by nature predicking words that require one or more nouns or noun phrases to complete their meaning. Thus, an intransitive verb like lái 來 ‘come’ implies that someone or something ‘comes’ and a transitive verb like shā 殺 ‘kill’ implies that someone or something ‘kills’ someone or something. By contrast, nouns like mǎ 馬 ‘horse,’ shí 石 ‘stone,’ and noun phrases (see Section VII) stand alone in terms of their meaning and require special constructions to function as predicates, e.g., the final particle yě 也 and the special negative fēi 非 (see Section III). For nominalization, constructions which allow verbs and verb phrases to play the roles of nouns in sentences see Section VII.2. On the use of nouns as verbs, see Section IV.3.

Adjectives form a separate category of content words in many languages, including English. In Chinese they are a subcategory of verbs, though, as we shall see, they have some peculiar properties that make them somewhat noun-like. Numerals and expressions of quantity also behave syntactically like verbs. Words that correspond to English prepositions are verbs of a special type, called coverbs.

As in other languages, words can be transferred from one grammatical category to another. Rules for deriving verbs from nouns and nouns from verbs, as well as for deriving transitive verbs from intransitive verbs and
adjectives and causative verbs from transitive verbs, will be given below. It is not true, however, as is sometimes alleged, that words in Chinese can be used indifferently in any grammatical category.

2. Subject and Predicate
As in English, Chinese sentences can, in general, be divided into two main parts, a subject and a predicate, although the subject may sometimes be unexpressed.

The subject is typically, and most commonly, a noun or noun phrase and the predicate a verb, as in

1. Mēngzǐ  jìa  Liáng Hùi Wáng  (Mēng 1A/1)
孟子  見  梁惠王
Mencius  saw  King Hui of Liáng
Subject  Predicate

In general, English declarative sentences require an explicit subject. Hence the dummy subject *it* has to be inserted with impersonal verbs, as in *It is raining*, or an expletive *there* has to occupy the subject position in front of the verb *be*, when it predicates existence, as in *There are evil men in the world*. On the other hand, the second person subject pronoun *you* is normally omitted before a verb in the imperative and, if inserted, carries special emphasis — *You open the door!* versus *Open the door!* In Classical Chinese the subject is normally unexpressed in declarative sentences: (a) when it is understood from the context, (b) when it is indefinite, and (c) when it is impersonal (that is, when it is to be understood as the environment or the world in general), as in the following examples:

2. Yī yǒu rén yì ér yī yì yì  yì  有仁義而已矣
[I] surely have benevolence and righteousness (to offer you) and that’s all. (Mēng 1A/1)
The subject ‘I’ is understood from the context because Mencius is answering a question addressed to himself.

3. Bù wéi nóng shí  不違農時
[If one] does not go against the proper seasons of agriculture,
(Mēng 1A/3)
The indefinite ‘one’ is not expressed in Chinese. This is especially common in subordinate clauses.

4. Wèi yǒu rén yì ér yī qí qín zhē yè  未有仁義而違其親者也

There has never been one who was benevolent and righteous yet abandoned his parents. (Mèng 1A/1)

The verb yǒu 有 ‘have’ is used impersonally to predicate existence, like il y a in French.

In imperative sentences, on the other hand, a second person subject is commonly expressed without implying any special emphasis. This means that only the context can distinguish declarative from imperative sentences (see Section XIV.1).

The predicate may be a noun or noun phrase instead of a verb, in which case it takes a special form (see Section III). Conversely, the subject may be a nominalized verb phrase (see Section VII).

3. Word Order

The basic rules of word order in Classical, as well as Modern, Chinese are: (a) the subject precedes the predicate, (b) a modifier (adjective, possessive noun, relative clause, adverb) precedes the word it modifies, (c) the verb precedes its object. All these rules have certain exceptions, as follows:

(a) The normal subject-predicate order is inverted in exclamatory sentences (see Section XIV.3).

(b) The object of a verb, or some other postverbal element, may be placed in exposed position in front for purposes of topicalization, contrast, or emphasis (see Section VIII).

(c) In certain cases pronoun objects precede the verb in Classical Chinese even when not exposed. Two rules which apply throughout the classical period are: (i) interrogative pronoun objects precede the verb (see Section IX.3); and (ii) when a verb is negated, unstressed personal pronouns are placed between the negative particle and the verb (see Section IX.1e). In the Shijing and comparatively early texts of the classical period, such as the Zuo zhuan and Guoyu, an exposed object is regularly recapitulated by a pronoun, most often zhí 之 or shì 是, which is also placed in front of the verb. Later the rule is that the recapitulating pronoun takes its normal position after the verb, except in certain stereotyped expressions which preserve the earlier order (see Section VIII.1).

Note that in Classical Chinese there is a clear relationship between the rule that the subject precedes the verb and the rule that the modifier precedes the modified, since, when a verb phrase is nominalized, the particle of noun
subordination, *zhī*，is placed between the subject and the verb (see Section VII). That is, the subject is treated as a modifier of the nominalized verb.
III. Noun Predication

1. Verbless Noun Predication
When a noun or noun phrase forms the predicate of a sentence in Classical Chinese, there is normally no copula, like the verb ‘to be’ in English, or shì 是 in Modern Chinese. The rule in such cases is that the sentence ends in the final particle yě 也. There is also a special negative fēi 非 instead of the regular verbal negative bù 不. Thus we can set up the formula: A (fēi 非) B yě 也: ‘A is (not) B.’

5. Fēi wǒ yě, bīng yě 非我也，兵也
It was not I, it was the weapon. (Mèng 1A/3)

Frequently the predicate in such a sentence is a verb phrase treated as a noun (unmarked nominalization — see Section VII.2a) or a relative clause with its head replaced by zhě 者 ‘that which, one who, etc.’ (see Section VII.2c).

6. Shì bù wéi yě, fēi bù néng yě 是不為也，非不能也
This is not-doing, it is not not-being-able. (Mèng 1A/7)

7. Wèi tiān zhě yě 畏天者也
‘... is one who fears Heaven. (Mèng 1B/3)
Note that zhě may be omitted when the relative clause contains suǒ 所 ‘that which’ standing for the object of the verb in the clause (see Section VII.2d).

8. Sōu zhī suǒ zhī yě 司之所知也
It is what your reverence well knows. (Mèng 1A/7)

(a) Questions
In the early form of Classical Chinese found in the Zuòzhù àn the interrogative particle hù 乎 is added after yě 也 to make a question. In later texts, yě hù 也乎 is replaced by yú 與 (also written yú 敵) or yé 邪 (also written yé 諤), which are probably dialect variants of one another and both phonetic fusions of yě hù 也乎. The Lù 魯 texts, represented by Lùn yuè, and Mèngzhì 首公智 have exclusively yú 與, while yé 邪 predominates in other Warring States texts.6

9. Fū fēi jīn rén zhī yú 非盡人之子與
Are we not all the sons of some man? (Mèng 7A/36)
III. Noun Predication

10. Qǐ zhèng sè yé 其正色邪
   Is it its true colour? (Zhuàng 1A/4)

   In some cases, especially in the Lùnyǔ, we find yé yú 也與 instead of
   the simple fused form yú 與. This is difficult to explain purely in phonetic
   terms and may represent a partial restoration of the unfused form in
   the course of oral transmission of the text.

   The final particle fú 夫 'is it not?,' which is equivalent in meaning to
   modern ba 吧, and may be a fusion of bù hú 不乎 (see Section
   XIV.2b.vii), can also follow a noun predicate with yé 也.

11. Rán ér zhì cǐ jí zhě, míng yé fú 然而至此極者, 命
   也夫
   That nonetheless I have reached this extremity, is fate, is it not?
   (Zhuàng 6/97)

(b) Pronouns and Particles with Verbless Noun Predicates

As in example 6, the subject of a noun predicate may be resumed by
a demonstrative pronoun, such as shì 是 'this, that,' cǐ 此 'this,' sī 斯
'this.'

12. Cǐ Wén Wáng zhì yòng yé 此文王之勇也
   This was King Wén's courage. (Mèng 1B/3)

13. Shí yì zǒu yé 是亦走也
   This was also running away. (Mèng 1A/3)

   Note that in Classical Chinese shì 是 is not itself a copula, with the
   meaning 'to be,' as in Modern Chinese. Its frequent occurrence as a
   resumptive pronoun introducing a noun predicate was no doubt influential
   in giving it this meaning, which it had acquired in the colloquial language
   by the Hán period.

   If the subject is plural, it is resumed by jiē 皆 'all.' Compare modern
   dōu 都.

14. Jiē gù shèng rén yé 皆古聖人也
   They were all sages of old. (Mèng 2A/2)

   The particles nài 乃 and ji 即, both of which also occur with verbal
   predicates in the sense of 'then, thereupon' (see Section XV), add emphasis
   to a noun predication, but are not copulas.
16. Nài fū zǐ yě. wú kuàng zǐ. 乃夫子也。吾況子
It was you (and no one else). I will reward you. (Zuò Ding 9/5)

*Jī* is comparatively uncommon in this usage in texts of the classical period. In the following example it emphasizes the truth of something previously mentioned:

17. Jī bù rèn qí hūsù, ruò wú zuì ér jiù sī dì, gù yǐ yáng yì zhī yě 即不忍其觳觫，若無罪而就死地，故以羊易之也
It was indeed that I could not bear its trembling, like an innocent person going to the place of execution, and so changed it for a sheep. (Mèng 1A/7)

Other sentence adverbs that can be used with verbless noun predicates include bì 必 ‘necessarily,’ chéng 誠 ‘truly, really,’ gù 固 ‘definitely, certainly,’ dàì 殆 ‘almost, probably,’ yì 亦 ‘also,’ yòu 又 ‘again, also.’

18. … bì ruò Jié Zhòu zhě yě 必若桀紂者也… will necessarily be one like Jié or Zhòu. (Mèng 5A/6)

19. Zì chéng Qí rén yě 子誠齊人也
You are truly a man of Qí. (Mèng 2A/1)

20. Gù suǒ yuǎn yě 固所願也
It is certainly what I want. (Mèng 2B/10)

(c) Verbless Comparisons with Yǒu 猶
The particle yǒu 猶, which means ‘still, yet’ with verbal predicates, has the meaning of ‘like’ when it introduces a verbless noun predicate with yě 也.

21. Jin zhī yuè yǒu gǔ zhī yuè yě 今之樂猶古之樂也
The music of today is like the music of old (from the point of view of the argument). (Mèng 1B/1)

Note that yǒu is not a verb. It cannot be negated by bù like the verbs rú 如 and ruò 若, which also mean ‘like.’ It is a sentence adverb that changes the force of the noun predicate. Like rú, it can, however, be used to add a descriptive complement to another verb (see Section V.6c).

(d) Omission of Yě 也
The final particle yě 也 is occasionally omitted even in the classical period.
22. Wàn shèng zhí guó, shì qí jūn zhě, bǐ qián shèng zhí jià 萬乘之國，弑其君者，必千乘之家
The one who murders the ruler of a country of ten thousand chariots will certainly be (the head of) a family of a thousand chariots. (Mèng 1A/1)
Such sentences are comparatively rare and the circumstances under which they occur have not been worked out. It is possible that the presence of the sentence adverb bì 必 plays a role here.

(e) The Aspect Particle 以 乃 after Verbless Noun Predicates
The perfect aspect particle, yǐ 乃, commonly found with verbal predicates (see Section XII.2a), is never found after yě 也. We do, however, find yǐ 乃, sometimes enlarged to yě yǐ 也 乃 or yě yǐ 也 乃 乃, after noun predicates and in other cases where yě 也 can occur, apparently combining the functions of yě 也 and yǐ 乃.

23. Shì luàn guó yǐ 是亂國 乃
One can tell that this is a disordered country. (Xùn 10/89)
The author claims that when entering the borders of a country one can tell the state of its government by observable signs, such as the way in which the border guards carry out their duties, the condition of the fields, etc. As is often the case with sentence final le 了 in Mandarin, yǐ 乃 here does not imply an objective change of state, but only a change in knowledge about it.

24. Jūn zǐ yuè, cǐ yì wàng rén yě yǐ 乃君子曰，此亦妄人也 乃
The gentleman will say, 'I now realize that this is indeed a wild, reckless fellow. (Mèng 4B/28)
The context is that the 'gentleman,' that is, the man of cultivated moral sensibilities, who has received outrageous treatment from someone else will first examine his own conduct to see whether he has been at fault, but if, in spite of his best efforts, the outrageous behaviour continues, he will come to a point at which he will have to conclude that the other person is no better than an animal and that his failure to respond casts no reflection on the gentleman himself. In this case too the 'change of state' marked by yǐ 乃, indicated in the translation by the phrase 'I now realize that,' is not a change in the person who is the subject of the noun predication, but in the attitude of the speaker.
In this usage, え 也 appears to be a phonetic fusion of え え え and must be distinguished from the preverbal particle え 也 ‘already’ (see Section XII.1c) and the phrasal particle え 也 ‘= only’ after verbal predicates (see Section XIII.2d), both derived from the full verb え 也 ‘stop, finish.’ The enlarged forms え え え え 也 and え え え 也 也 也 may be compared to え え え え 也 也 也 instead of え え 也 也 也 alone noted above. 7

(1) Other Meanings of 也
Though its most salient use in Classical Chinese is as a mark of noun predication, 也 is not a copula. Some of its other uses seem to be related to its use as a mark of noun predication. Thus we find it after nominalized verb phrases which are the topic of a sentence or the object of a verb or copverb (see Sections VII.2b, XV.4), and also a marker of proper nouns (see Section VII.3). In other cases, however, it occurs after purely verbal predicates. On its use in contrast to 也 也 也 as a mark of continuing state, see Section XII.2b below.

2. The Copula Verb 为
Apart from the verbless noun predicate construction, the verb 为 为 ‘make, do’ can be used as a copula in the sense of ‘to be.’ Thus, 为 is used, like 作 in modern Chinese, to indicate a temporary role.

25. 孟子 为 齐
Mencius was a minister of state in Qi. (Meng 2B/6)
A formal difference between 为 ‘do, make’ and 为 ‘be’ is that an interrogative pronoun must precede the former as its object by the general rule for such pronouns must precede the former as its object (see Section IX.3), while an interrogative pronoun follows the latter as its subjective complement.

26. 为 who
One may ask why 为 is used here in place of 为 为 也, which also occurs. The answer is probably that the expected answer here is the person’s name, that is, identification among persons already known, or possibly known, rather than further descriptive information. 8

为 is used instead of the verbless construction if the aspect particle 也 or certain verbal auxiliaries are required.
III. Noun Predication

27. … bù wéi bù duō yī 不為不多矣
not make not many PERFECT = is (already) not not-many. (Mèng 1A/1)

Bù duō 'not many' is a verb phrase which is the complement of wéi, hence an example of unmarked nominalization (VII.2a). If the perfect aspect marked by yī矣 were not required, the meaning 'is not not-many' would be expressed as fēi bù duō yě 非不多也.

28. Rén jie ké yī wéi Yáo Shùn人皆可以為堯舜
Men can all be a Yao or Shun. (Mèng 6B/2)

On the auxiliary ké (yī) 可 [以] is possible,' which requires a verb as its complement, see Section IV.1. One could also translate this sentence as 'It is possible for all men to become a Yao or Shun.' That is, there is an element of (potential) change through time involved, not just the timeless equation that is implied by verbless noun predication. This comes from the meaning of ké yī, however, not from anything semantically inherent in wéi, which, in itself, is quite colourless as far as mood or aspect are concerned. The simplest way of accounting for the presence of wéi is by the formal requirement that ké yī must take a verb as its complement. Neither ké nor ké yī can be followed by a bare noun.

As with many other problems of Classical Chinese syntax, much more study is needed to determine all the circumstances under which wéi is used in the sense of 'to be' instead of the verbless noun predicate construction.

3. The Copula Yuē 曰

Yuē 曰, which, as a verb, means 'say,' introducing quoted speech, is used as a copula, that is, with a subjective complement rather than an object, in the sense of 'be called.'

29. Lào ér wú qì yuē guān 老而無妻曰鳏
To be old and without a wife is called 'guān.' (Mèng 1B/5)

In this sense yuē 曰 can also introduce a complement after a main verb of 'calling.'

30. Gòng yuē, shì qí shēng yě yǔ wū tóng wū. Ming zhì yuē
tong公曰，是其生也與吾同物。命之曰同
The duke said, 'This one in his birth is of the same substance as me.' He named him Tong ('Same'). (Ziō Huán 6/5)
4. **The Preclassical Copula 甚** (唯，惟，維)

In the preclassical language the noun predicate construction with 也 does not occur. Instead the particle 甚 (also written 惟 or 維, and simply 佳 on inscriptions) is used as a copula introducing a noun predicate. In spite of the coincidence in modern pronunciation, it is totally unrelated to 甚 為 ‘do, make; be.’ In EMC it was jwi, while the latter was wíi. Preclassical 甚 唯 has other uses as a noun marker that resemble those of 也 and the two words may be etymologically related. In the classical language it survives with the specialized meaning ‘only,’ while retaining vestiges of its preclassical syntactic behaviour.\(^9\)

31. 索臨 甚 xín 所臨唯信

What they (the spirits) attend is only good faith. (Zuò Xiàng 9/6)

Note the absence of final 也 which would otherwise be expected in an equational sentence of this kind in the Zuózhuàn.

32. 甚 yí 索 zài 惟義所在

It is only where right behaviour lies (that a great man places his words and conduct). (Mèng 4B/11)

In Mencius, however, it is more usual to have 也 even after 甚 唯 ‘only.’

The negator of nouns 甚 非 is probably a fusion of bù 甚 不 唯. Other related words are 甚 唯 ‘yes’ and 俶 雖 ‘although’ (see Section XV.3).
IV. Verbal Predicates

Unlike nouns, verbs are inherently predicating words and can form predicates without any particle or copula. They take the simple particle of negation bù 不, while nouns require fēi 非. They also differ from nouns as predicates in being able to take the perfect aspect particle yǐ 已 and the nonperfective aspect negative wèi 未.

1. Classes of Verbs

Adjectives, e.g., shān gāo 山高 ‘the mountain is high,’ form the first major subdivision that needs to be distinguished among naturally predicating words in Chinese. Though, as words that form predicates without the addition of a particle, they belong with verbs rather than nouns, they differ from verbs proper in their syntactical behaviour in a number of ways. They are sometimes called ‘stative verbs’ but there are objections to this, since transitive verbs such as zhī 知 ‘know’ also denote a state rather than an action. A possible alternative would be ‘quality verb,’ but as a class they correspond closely in meaning to adjectives in other languages and we shall continue to use this traditional term.

Among verbs proper the main distinction is between intransitive verbs, which require a single noun to complete their meaning, e.g., wàng lái 王来 ‘the king comes,’ and transitive verbs, e.g., wàng shā rén 王杀入 ‘the king kills a man,’ wàng yǔ zhī dāo 王与之刀 ‘the king gives him a knife,’ which require two or more nouns. The equational or copula verb wèi 為 (see Section III.2) is transitive in syntactical form, although it takes a subjective complement rather than an object.

One can distinguish these four main classes of verbs on the basis of their behaviour with the verbal auxiliary kě 可 ‘is possible’ (itself a predicate adjective). Only transitive verbs may follow kě 可 ‘possible’ directly, in which case they must be understood as passive; that is, the subject of kě is the object (or patient) of the verb — rén kě shā 人 可杀 ‘the man is possible to kill’ = ‘the man may be killed.’ A transitive verb in an active sense, or an intransitive verb requires kě yǐ 可以, rather than kě alone — wàng kě yǐ shā rén 王可以杀人 ‘it is possible for the king to kill a man’ or ‘the king can kill a man’; wàng kě yǐ lái 王可以来 ‘it is possible for the king to come’ or ‘the king can come.’ In this
construction yi 以, which as a verb means 'use' and as a coverb (or preposition) is used for the instrument, fills the role of passive transitive verb complement to ke. That is, the meaning of instrument is extended to include agency: 'the king may be used to' → 'the king may be the agent to.'

Like nouns (example 28), adjectives require the copula verb wei 為 after ke yi 可以.

33. ... ke yi wei mei hui ... 可以為美乎
... could [Ox Mountain] be (i.e., remain) beautiful [when its trees were all cut down to supply wood for the nearby city]? (Meng 6A/8)

2. Adjectives

Adjectives must be classed as verbs in Classical, as well as Modern Chinese, since they form predicates without a copula or final ye 也, are negated by bu 不, and take the aspect markers yi 吳 and wei 未. Nevertheless, as their behaviour with ke 可 shows (see previous section), they differ from intransitive verbs in their syntax and have certain resemblances to nouns.

As the traditional English name implies, adjectives are typically found, not as predicates, but as modifiers of nouns. This is also true in Chinese — gao shan 高山 'high mountain' versus shan gao 山高 'the mountain is high.' As a syntactical form, however, this can be regarded as simply a special case of the general rule that verbs and verb phrases can modify nouns (see Section VII.1b), e.g., liu shui 流水 'flowing water.' Monosyllabic adjectives and monosyllabic verbs used attributively in this way are commonly directly followed by the noun they modify, but adjectival phrases of more than one syllable are generally followed by the particle of noun modification, zhi 之.

34. Ruou fu hao jie zhi shi ... 若夫豪傑之士
As for heroic knights ... (Meng 7A/10)

Comparative degree is expressed by the coverb yu 於, which takes on the special meaning 'than.'

35. ... ze wu wang min zhi duo yu lin guo ye ... 然無望民之多於鄰國也
... then do not hope that your people will be more than [those of]
the neighbouring countries. (*Mèng 1A/3*)

The copula verb 为 can be used with an adjective to give a superlative sense.

36. Wù jiè rán, xīn wéi shēn 物固然，心為甚
    Things are all like that and the heart is most so. (*Mèng 1A/7*)

A general characteristic of adjectives is that they can be made into transitive verbs either in a causative sense or in a denominative sense — 美之 'make it beautiful' or 'call it beautiful' — simply by moving the subject into the object position after the verb and supplying another subject as agent.

37. Wáng qìng dà zhī 王請大之
    I beg Your Majesty to make it great. (*Mèng 1B/3*)

38. Sōu, bù yuǎn qián lǐ èr lái 窪，不遠千里而來
    You have come, sir, not regarding 1,000 里 as too far. (*Mèng 1A/1*)

(This regular transformational use of 远 ‘far’ to mean ‘call far, regard as far’ must be distinguished from the derived verb 远, ‘keep at a distance, avoid,’ with change of tone. See example 287.)

Apart from these causative and denominative constructions, which apply to adjectives in general, some predicate adjectives can be followed by nouns which look like objects but which are semantically like oblique cases in a language like Latin or prepositional phrases in English. One of these is 安 ‘peaceful, content.’

39. Bāi xīng ān zhī 百姓安之
    The common people were peaceful under him. (*Mèng 5A/5*)

Note that 安 can also be used transitively in a causative sense in the normal way.

40. ... zé bù néng ān Zì, 则不能安子思
    ... then he could not make Zisi content. (*Mèng 2B/11*)

3. Nouns Used as Verbs
Like adjectives, nouns can be used as verbs in a causative sense.

41. Gù Táng zhī yú Yìyīn, xué yǎn ér hòu chén zhī 故湯之於伊尹，學焉而後臣之
    Thus Tang’s [behaviour] towards YiYin was to learn from him and afterwards make him his subject. (*Mèng 2B/2*)
Outline of Classical Chinese Grammar

42. Ėr yù Wú Wáng wǒ huí 欲 吴 王 我 乎
Do you want to King-of-Wú me (= treat me in the way the King of Wú was treated)? (Zuǒ Dīng 10/7)

Nouns of status are also sometimes used as intransitive verbs in the sense of ‘act the part of.’

43. Jūn jūn, chén chén, fù fù, zǐ zǐ 君 君 , 臣 臣 , 父 父 , 子 子
Let the ruler act as a ruler should, the minister as a minister, the father as a father, the son as a son. (LY 12/11)

44. Wéi chén ěr jūn ... wáng zhī bēn yè 為 臣 而 君 ... 亡 之 本 也
For one who is a minister to act as a ruler ... is the root of perdition. (Zuǒ Xiāng 7/7)

Apart from such constructions, which, although not very common, must be regarded as part of the syntactical possibilities of nouns in general, particular nouns have acquired special meanings as verbs which must be treated as separate lexical items, for example: lǐ 慘 ‘treat with ceremony,’ from lǐ ‘ceremony, ritual’; chéng 城 ‘wall a city,’ from chéng ‘wall’; jūn 军 ‘encamp,’ from jūn ‘army.’ The compound word jūnzǐ 君 子 ‘gentleman’ is used in the Lǎnyǔ as an adjective meaning ‘gentlymanly,’ as in jūnzǐ rén 君 子 人 ‘gentlymanly man.’ In such cases there is no morphological change when a verb is derived from a noun. There are also, of course, many examples of verbs derived from nouns and nouns from verbs by morphological processes (see Section I.5 above).

4. Intransitive Verbs

With intransitive verbs only one noun is involved in the action and it occupies the subject position.

45. Yī lái 医 来
The physician came. (Mèng 2B/2)

46. Jī míng ér qǐ ... zhè 鸡 鴞 而 起 ... 者
He who gets up when the cock crows ... (Mèng 7A/25)

Intransitive verbs resemble adjectives in that, in general, they can be made transitive in a causative sense by transferring the subject to the object position and supplying another subject as agent. Unlike adjectives, however, they cannot be used denominatively in this way.
IV. Verbal Predicates

47. Gù yuǎn rén bù fú, zé xiào wén dé yǐ lái zhī 故遠人不 服，則脩文德以來之

Therefore, if distant people do not submit, cultivate civil virtue so as to make them come. (LY16/1)

Many other verbs besides lái are commonly used either intransitively, or transitively in a causative sense, in this way, e.g.: xíng 行 ‘go, proceed; put into motion, operate, carry out,’ qǐ 起 ‘rise up; start,’ shēng 生 ‘live; give life to, bear,’ zuò 作 ‘arise, appear; cause to arise, create, make.’ Intransitive verbs made transitive in this way differ from inherently transitive verbs in that they revert to their intransitive meaning when they are used without an expressed object. Inherently transitive verbs either retain their active, transitive meaning with an indefinite or implied object, or become passive (see Section IV.5 below).

Like adjectives, some intransitive verbs can take complements that look on the surface like the objects of transitive verbs but correspond to oblique cases or prepositional phrases in other languages.

48. … zé miáo bó rán xíng zhī yǐ 則苗勃然興之矣

… then the sprouts suddenly spring up in response to it [the rain]. (Mèng 1A/6)

49. Wǒ yǒu sī sī zhē sān shí sān rén mò zhī sì yě 吾有司死者三十三人而民莫之死也

Thirty-three of my officers died and none of the people was willing to die for them. (Mèng 1B/12)

The verb sǐ 死 ‘die’ is quite commonly used in this way with an indirect object meaning a person of higher status for the sake of whom someone is willing to offer his or her life.

5. Transitive Verbs — Active and Passive

Transitive verbs require at least two nouns, an agent and a patient, to complete their meaning. When the agent (if expressed) is in the subject position in front of the verb and the patient (if expressed) is in the object position (normally after the verb but with certain exceptions in the case of pronouns), the verb is active.

50. Qī shí zhē yì bó shí ròu 七十者衣帛食肉

When seventy year olds wear silk and eat meat … (Mèng 1A/3)

If the patient is in the subject position, the verb is passive.
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51. Shī xíng ér liúng shí 師行而糧食
The host proceeds and supplies are eaten. (Mèng 1B/4)
Note that, unlike an intransitive verb used causatively, an inherently transitive verb like shí ‘eat’ can be used actively without an object expressed when the object is indefinite.

52. Xián zhè yǔ mín bīng gēng ér shí 賢者與民耕而食
The worthy plough and eat together with the common people.
(Mèng 3A/4)
The agent of a passive verb may be left unexpressed, as in 51, or may be introduced by the coverb yǔ 於.

53. Láo xīn zhè chì rén, láo lì zhè chì yú rén, chì yú rén zhè sì rén, chì rén zhè sì yú rén 勞心治人, 勞力治於人, 治於人者治人, 治人者治於人
Those who labour with their minds [literally: labour their minds] rule others, those who labour with their strength are ruled by others. Those who are ruled by others feed others, those who rule others are fed by others. (Mèng 3A/4)
Note that 食 is to be read here as sì ‘feed,’ not shí ‘eat.’ The character 治 should also properly be read chì in the transitive meaning ‘to rule,’ instead of zhì, which is a derived adjective ‘well-governed.’ The reading chì is sometimes still recognized as a reading pronunciation but has become obsolete in ordinary usage, which uses zhì for both meanings. They were originally two separate words, however, and must be distinguished in reading classical texts.
Besides the simple passive by inversion with transitive verbs, there are special devices by which any verb can be marked as passive (see below).

6. Verbs of Motion and Location — Intransitive and Transitive
Some verbs of motion are primarily used to refer to a kind of activity without reference to a destination. In such cases if a destination is mentioned it must be expressed as a locative complement introduced by yú 於 (see Section V.6b.ii). Among such verbs are lái 來 ‘come,’ wǎng 往 ‘go,’ xǐng 行 ‘go, proceed,’ fēi 飛 ‘fly,’ zhǐ 止 ‘stop.’

54. Chú ráo zhè wǎng yán 足耄者往焉
IV. Verbal Predicates

The gatherers of hay and firewood went there (yān = *yü zhi*).

(Mèng 1B/2)

Other verbs of motion imply a destination as part of their meaning and
dake it as a direct object. They are thus syntactically transitive, though the
object is not semantically the patient or recipient of the action. Examples of
such verbs are zhī 之 ‘go (to a place),’ jiù 就 ‘go up to.’

55. ... jiāng zhī Chū 將之楚
... was going to go to Chū. (Mèng 3A/1)

56. Jiù zhī ér bù jiān suǒ wèi yān 就之而不見所畏焉
Going up to him, I did not see anything to fear (= awesome) in
him. (Mèng 1A/6)

There are also verbs, like jí 及 ‘reach,’ dá 達 ‘extend to,’ which can
take the destination either as a direct object or as a locative complement
without any apparent difference in meaning.

57. Juè jīng jiù rèn ér bù jí quán 掘井九仞而不及泉
To dig a well to a depth of nine rèn (seventy-two feet) and not
reach the spring ... (Mèng 7A/29)

58. Gù jí yú nán 故及於難
Therefore he encountered calamities. (Zuò Mín 2fù 2 — but
simply jí nán in Zuò Xi 24fù 1)

Verbs of location, like jū 居 ‘dwell,’ zài 在 ‘be at (a place)’ similarly
express the location either as a direct object or as a locative complement.

59. Xi zhè Tàí Wàng jū Bin. Dí rèn qūn zhí. Qù zhī Qí shàn zhí
xià, jū yān yǔ qín zhī, quán jū zhī, qù zhī, xī shí yān 居于岐山之下，居焉

In former times King Tàí dwelt in Bin. The Dí invaded it and he
left and went to beneath Mount Qí and dwelt there. (Mèng 1B/14)

In the first sentence jū 居 ‘dwell’ is followed directly by the place name Bin
but in the second it is followed, not by zhī 之 ‘it,’ but by yān 焉 ‘in it.’
Since yān 焉 can be deleted in all its senses, it might be argued that this has
occurred before Bin. In other passages where the place is pronominalized,
however, we sometimes find jū zhī 居之 instead of jū yān 焉居，e.g.,
Mèng 3B/9, 3B/10. This shows that the verb itself can be construed in two
different ways. Similarly, though neither zài yān 在焉 nor zài zhī 在之
is common, examples of both can be found in the sense of ‘be there.’
7. The Verbs 有 ‘have; there is/are’ and 無 ‘not have; there is/are not’
When these verbs have personal subjects, they are ordinary transitive verbs meaning ‘have’ and ‘not have.’

60. Yī yǒu rén yì ěr yī yǐ yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yì yı́?
IV. Verbal Predicates

In another common type the position of pseudo-subject is taken by the subject of a relative clause with zhe 作为 head. (On this construction, see Section VII.2c below.)

66. Wáng zhì chén yǒu tuō qí qí zǐ yú qí yǒu ér zhī Chǔ yǒu zhē 王之臣有託其妻子於其友而之楚遊者

[Suppose that] there was one of Your Majesty’s ministers who entrusted his wife and children to a friend and travelled to Chǔ …

(Mèng 1B/6)

This is equivalent to: yǒu wàng zhì chén zhī tuō qí qí zǐ yú qí yǒu ér zhī Chǔ yǒu zhē 有王之臣之託其妻子於其友而之楚遊者. Since this construction has no parallel in the modern language, the pseudo-subject is often misinterpreted as a locative phrase. The partitive implication of yǒu 有 is like that of the cognate particle huò 或 ’some one, some.’ (See Section XII.3a)

In the following example a modifying phrase rather than the head is moved to the front as if it were the subject of the existential verb.

67. Jiào lín guó yǒu dào hù 交鄰國有道乎

Is there a way for dealing with neighbouring countries? (Mèng 1B/3)

This is equivalent to: yǒu jiào lín guó zhī dào hù 有交鄰國之道乎

On the expressions yǒu yǐ 有以 ‘have whereby to …; have the means to …’ and wú yǐ 無以 ‘not have whereby to …; not have the means to …’ see Section V.6 below.

On yǒu 有 used adverbially in the sense of ‘some’ see Section XIII.3.

8. Transitive Verbs with Two Objects

(a) Verbs of giving, telling, teaching and the like take two objects. The first, usually personal, corresponds to the indirect object in English and the second corresponds to the direct object.

68. … néng yǔ rén guī jǔ 能與人規矩
… can give a man a compass or a square … (Mèng 7B/5)

69. … shòu Mèngzǐ shì 授孟子室
… to give Mencius a house … (Mèng 2B/10)

70. Hòu Jì jiào rén jià sè 后稷教人稼穡
Hòu Jì taught the people sowing and reaping. (Mèng 3A/4)
In English one can, in general, replace an indirect object by a prepositional phrase introduced by 'to' — 'give a house to Mencius,' etc. In Chinese it is more usual to replace the direct object by a phrase introduced by \( yi \) 'with, by means of.' Compare this with English 'to present someone with something.'

71. Yao yì tiānxià yǔ Shūn 凌以天下與舜
Yao with the world gave Shun = Yao gave the world to Shun
\((Mèng\ 5A/5)\)

The phrase introduced by \( yi \) can either precede the main verb or follow it.

72. ... jiào rén yì shàn 教人以善
... teaching others goodness ... \((Mèng\ 3A/4)\)

As always, the object pronoun \( zhī \)之 is omitted after \( yi \) (see Section V.6a), which, in this case, must precede the main verb.

73. Yi gào Mèngzǐ 以告孟子
He told it to Mencius. \((Mèng\ 6A/5)\)

It is also possible with some of these verbs to replace the indirect object by a locative phrase introduced by \( yú \)於.

74. ... bù gào yú Wáng 不告於王
... without reporting it to the king ... \((Mèng\ 2B/8)\)

Both objects may also be replaced by prepositional phrases.

75. Nán Shì shēng nán, zé yì gào yǔ jūn yǔ dà fǔ ér lǐ zhī 南氏生男，則以告於君與大夫而立之
If Lady Nann should give birth to a male child, I would announce it to the ruler and the great officers and establish him [as heir]. \((Zuò\ Ai\ 3/6)\)

(b) The verb \( duó \) 奪 'rob, deprive' takes two objects, the first, or indirect, object being the person deprived and the second, or direct, object being the thing that is taken away.

76. ... duó zhī shí 奪之食
... by robbing him of his food' \((Mèng\ 6B/1)\)

With this verb neither object can be replaced by a coverbal phrase.

(c) The verb \( wén \) 聽 'hear' takes what is heard as the direct object and the source as a locative phrase after the direct object.
IV. Verbal Predicates

77. Wú cháng wén dà yǒng yú fùzǐ yì wǒ shí dà yǒng yú fùzǐ yì
I once heard about great courage from the master. (Mèng 2A/2)
As with other locative phrases, the coverb may be omitted.

78. Chén wén zhū Hūhè yuē ... 臣聞之 胡說曰 ...
I heard it from Hūhè that ... (Mèng 1A/7).
The related verb wén 問 ‘ask’ may take the same construction or may
take the person asked as its first object, like verbs of telling.

79. Huò wén hū Zēng Xī yuē ... or 問 乎 曾西曰 ...
Someone asked Zēng Xī ... (Mèng 2A/1 — here hū 乎 is a variant
of yù 言, see Section V.6b.iii.)

80. Huò wén zhū yuē ... or 問 之 曰 ...
Someone asked him ... (Mèng 2B/8 — note the use of zhū rather
than yùn...)
(d) The verb wèi 為 ‘do, make’ can take a personal indirect object as
well as a direct object.

81. Zhōng wèi zhī lì ér guí zhī 重 為之禮而歸之
He treated him with great ceremony and sent him home. (Zuò
Chéng 4/fù 1 — literally: ‘greatly made for him ceremony’)
In the sense of ‘act as, be,’ wèi can also take an indirect object.

82. Qiú yē wèi Jī Shì zāi 求也 為季氏宰
Qiú was steward for the Jī clan. (Mèng 4A/15)
As will be shown below, this construction is the source of one type of
passive formation.
(e) The so-called ‘pivot construction’ after verbs such as shǐ 為 ‘send;
make, cause,’ lǐng 令 ‘order; make, cause,’ and zhù 助 ‘help’ is a double
object construction in which the first object, usually personal, is, at
the same time, the subject of an embedded clause which constitutes the second
object (see Section V.3).
(f) The verb wèi 謂 ‘say, tell, call’ can similarly be used in a pivot
construction in the sense of ‘tell someone to do something.’

83. Rén jié wèi wò hū míng táng 人皆 謂我 毀 明堂
People all tell me to destroy the Hall of Light. (Mèng 1B/5)
In its more common meaning ‘call,’ wèi 謂 takes as its second object
an embedded noun predicate, of which the first object is the subject: ‘one
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calls A [A is B] → 'one calls A B.' In this sense, the second object is optionally introduced by yuē 曰 say.'

84. Wéi qí tái yuē líng tái 謂其臺曰靈臺
They called his tower the spirit tower. (Mêng 1A/2)
A still more common use of wéi 謂 is in the sense of 'say,' with the person spoken to as the first, indirect, object, and followed by what is said introduced by yuē.

85. Mêngzi wèi Qí Xuān Wáng, yuē … 孟子謂齊宣王，
曰
Mencius said to King Xuān of Qi … (Mêng 1B/6)

(g) The verbs ruò 若 and ru 如, which both mean 'like,' have an idiomatic double object construction in which the second object is the interrogative pronoun hé 何 'what.' Ruò 若 X hé 何 and ru 如 X hé 何 mean, roughly, 'what is one to do about X? how is one to deal with X?' Syntactically ruò 若 and ru 如 are like wéi 謂 'call.' That is, they have to be interpreted causatively: 'make X [X is like what] → 'make X like what.' The choice between ru 如 and ruò 若 seems to be a matter of dialect. In the Zuózhuan and Guoyü one finds exclusively ruò 若. In the Shijing, Luoyü and Mêngzi one finds ru 如. In Mòzi, Zhuangzi and Xunzi ru 如 is rare, ruò 若 occurs occasionally, but more often one finds nài 奈, which may be a fusion of ruò zhī 若之.
In the Zuózhuan X in the formula is often a noun or noun phrase which may be quite long.

86. Zhī ruò guó hé 子若國何
What are you, sir, going to do about the country? (Zuó Xi 23/3)

87. Wú ruò zhōu hóu zhī shū rú zài guān zhē hé 無若諸侯之屬 在寡君者何
We have no way of providing for the retinues of feudal lords who condescend to visit us. (Zuó Xiàng 31/ff 3)
X may also be replaced by the pronoun zhī 之, in which case the noun phrase to which it refers is either understood from the context or placed after the whole phrase, in apposition.

88. Ruò zhī hé zǐ zhī bù yán yě 若之何子之不言也
What is to be done about your not speaking? (Zuó Xi 11/ff 2)
In later texts, such as Mêngzi, rú zhī hé 如之何 or ruò zhī hé 若
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之何 is normal and it is comparatively rare to find a noun or noun phrase between ru 如 or ruò 若 and hé 何.

89. Rú zhī hé qí shǐ sī mín jù ěr sī yè 如之何其使斯民飢而死也

What would he have said about their causing these people to die of hunger? (Mêng 1A/4 — translated as ‘said’ here because the context is Confucius’ condemnation of the person who had merely started the custom of burying human effigies in graves.)

9. Passive Constructions

The unmarked passive construction by which an intrinsically transitive verb becomes passive when its object is placed in the subject position has been illustrated above. There are also special devices for marking a verb as passive.11

(a) jiàn 見

The verb jiàn 見 ‘see,’ can serve as a marker of the passive when it stands in front of another verb. It seems likely that this usage is a specialized extension of jiàn 見 ‘see’ in the sense of ‘meet, encounter,’ but the use as a passive marker has been grammaticalized and a literal rendering in this way would be inappropriate.

90. Bāixíng zhī bù jiàn bāo, wèi bù yòng ēn yán 百姓之不見保，為不用恩焉

The people’s not being protected is because of not using benevolence towards them. (Mêng 1A/7)

The marking of the passive in this case is probably because the subject, bāixíng 百姓 ‘people,’ being human, could be misinterpreted as agent for the verb bāo 保 ‘protect.’ Earlier in the same passage we find two examples of an unmarked passive: yī yǔ zhī bù jù 一羽之不舉 ‘one feather’s not being lifted’ and yǔ xīn zhī bù jiàn 興薪之不見 ‘a cartload of firewood’s not being seen.’ In these cases the subjects, being inanimate, are unlikely to be interpreted as agents for the verbs jù ‘lift’ and jiàn ‘see.’ The insertion of jiàn as a passive marker before bāo removes any possible ambiguity.

The only other example in Mêngzì is the following:

91. Pênçêng Kuò jiàn shā 盆成括見殺

Pênçêng Kuò was killed. (Mêng 7B/29)

Here again the subject is human.
As with the unmarked passive, agency can be expressed by the coverb "於"

92. Wǔ qióng jiàn xiào yú dà fāng zhī jià 吾常見笑於大方之家
I would forever have been laughed at by masters of great accomplishment. (Zhuāng 17/5)

Not only inherently transitive verbs but also intransitive verbs and adjectives used transitively, and even nouns used as verbs, can be marked as passive by "見".

93. ... ěr yī qián suǒ yǐ jiān xián ér hòu huò zuì zhě, ài zēng zhī biàn yě 而以前所以見賢而後獲罪者，愛憎之變也
... and the fact that he later received condemnation for that for which he had earlier been regarded as worthy, was [because of] the change of love to hate. (HF12, p.65, xián ‘regard as worthy’ is derived from the adjective xián ‘worthy,’ see Section IV.2.)

94. Fú pò rén zhī yú pò rén yě, chén rén zhī yú jiān chén yú rén yě, qǐ kě tóng rì ér lún zāi 夫破人之於破於人也，臣人之於見臣於人也，豈可同日而論哉
How can overthrowing others and being overthrown by others, making others one’s subject and being made subject by others be discussed at the same time? (Shījī 69.2248)

In Hán and post-Hán Chinese jiàn 見 sometimes indicates the speaker rather than the subject of the verb as patient. The verb has its agent in the normal subject position.

95. Shēng hài liù yuè, cí fù jiàn bēi 生孩六月，慈父見背
Six months after he gave me birth, I was deserted by [the death of] my loving father.” (Lǐ Mǐ 李密, ‘Chén qīng shì biǎo 陳情事表,’ Quán Jin wén 70/1865)

It should be noted that "背" 被, used somewhat like jiàn 見 as a marker of the passive in Modern Chinese, is a full verb, meaning ‘receive, undergo, suffer’ in the classical language.

(b) wéi 為
The copula verb wéi 為 is used to form a kind of passive construction.
96. Zhi, jiang wei san jun huo 止，将为三军获
If you stop, you will be captured by the Three Armies. (Zuo Xiang 18/4)

97. Zai shang wei wu yuan shi, zai xia wei lou yi shi 在上為鳥禽食，在下為螻蟻食
Above I’ll be eaten by crows and kites, below I’ll be eaten by mole crickets and ants. (Zhuang 32/49-50)

This should not be interpreted as if the complement after wei 为 were a noun phrase with the first noun to be construed as possessive — ‘will be the capture of the three armies.’ It would imply that the complement was a nominalized verb phrase, which would require zhi 之 as a marker of nominalization between the subject and the verb (VII.2b), but this is never found. Moreover, we should expect qi 其 as the pronoun substitute for such a subject. Instead we find the object pronoun zhi 之.

98. Ming zhe wei zhi shi 明者唯为之使
The bright-eyed are only ordered about by them. (Zhuang 32/51)

The wei 为 passive is best understood as a kind of pivot construction (see Section V.3), in which the first object is not the direct object of the governing verb, as it is with verbs of causing, ordering, etc., but an indirect, or dative, object. The embedded verb which constitutes the second object has the subject of the main verb as its patient and the indirect object as its agent — ‘You will be for the Three Armies [the Three Armies] capture [you].’

In later Literary Chinese, from about the beginning of the Han dynasty, this construction takes on a new form, in which suo 所 is inserted in front of the embedded verb. That is, wei san jun huo 为三军获 would become wei san jun suo huo 为三軍所獲. As we shall see, suo 所 is the regular substitute for the object of a verb in a relative clause when this is coreferent with the head of the clause. The noun after wei 为 continues to be its indirect object, not the subject of the relative clause, since it is never followed by zhi 之 as a mark of nominalization and since it takes the object pronoun zhi 之 rather than the possessive pronoun qi 其 as its pronoun substitute.

99. ... zhong wei zhi suo qin yi 终为之所擒矣
... in the end you will be captured by him. (Shiji 92.2622)

In its new form we must therefore construe our sample sentence as ‘You will be for the Three Armies what [the Three Armies] capture.’
With both wéi 為 and wéi suǒ 為 所 the agency may be left unexpressed.

100. Hòu zhè wéi lù, bò zhè jiàn yí 厚者為戮，薄者見疑
In the worst case [the man] was executed, and even in the lesser case he was suspected. (HF 12, p.65)

101. Fǒu zhè ruò shū jiè qì wéi suǒ lū 不者若屬皆且 為 所虜
If not, you fellows will all be captured [by him]. (Shìjiē 7.313)

In modern works on Classical Chinese grammar we usually find wéi 為 as a passive marker interpreted as a preposition or copverb (jiè 介 字), like modern bèi 被, which is used to gloss it. This is based on a false analogy with the modern language and is not a valid interpretation of the syntax of Classical Chinese itself. The graph is sometimes even read wèi in this sense, like the copverb meaning ‘for, on behalf of,’ but this is certainly mistaken. The best authorities retain the old level tone reading.
V. Compound Verbal Predicates

1. Coordination
Two verbs used together may be coordinate:

102. Bàn báo zhē bù fù yú dào lù yǐ 頒 白 者 不 負 戴 於 道 路 矣
Those whose hair is streaked with white will not carry loads on
their heads or on their backs on the ways and roads. (Mèng 1A/3)
The verbs fù 負 and dài 戴 have the same status in the sentence and neither
is subordinate to the other. Their order could be reversed without changing
the meaning. (The same is true of the nouns dào 道 and lù 路.)
The particle qiē 趄, ‘and, moreover’ may be used between coordinate
verbs, especially adjectives.

103. Bàng yǒu dào, pīn qiē jiàn yǎn chǐ yě; bàng wú dào, fù qiē
gū yǎn chǐ yě 邦有道，貧且賤焉恥也。邦無
道，富且貴焉恥也
When a country has the Way, to be poor and lowly in it is
shameful; when a country does not have the Way, to be rich and
noble in it is shameful. (LY 8/13)

2. Clause Objects — Verb Phrases as Objects of Transitive
Verbs12
Very often, however, there is a relation of dependency between two verbs in
succession. Thus, a verb phrase may be the object of a preceding transitive
verb: wàng yù shā rén 王欲殺人 ‘the king wishes to kill a man.’ The
verb phrase shā rén 殺人, which has wàng 王 as its underlying subject,
is the object of the verb yù 欲 ‘wish.’ It can be replaced by a pronoun just
like a noun object: wàng yù zhī 王欲之 ‘the king wishes it,’ wàng suǒ
yù 王所欲 ‘what the king wishes.’

When the subject of such an object clause is the same as that of the
main verb, it is deleted as in wàng yù shā rén 王欲殺人. When it is
not the same, the clause is marked as nominalized by the insertion of the
subordinating particle zhī 之 between the subject and the verb or replacing
the subject by the possessive pronoun qī 其 (see Section VII.2b below).
104. ... zé wú wàng mín zhī duō yú lín guó yě 则無望民之多於鄰國也
... then do not hope that your people will be more numerous than [those of] neighbouring countries. (Mèng 1A/3)
Verbs like 欲 'wish' and 望 'look at (in the distance); hope,' are readily translated as transitive verbs in English and readily take as their objects clauses with a different subject. The class of verbs which take clause objects also includes verbs like 能 'can, be capable of,' 背 'be willing to,' and 敢 'dare,' whose object clauses almost always have the same subject and which correspond semantically to auxiliary verbs in English.

105. Wú hūn, bù néng jīn yú shí yǐ 吾惛，不能進於是矣
I am stupid and cannot advance to this. (Mèng 1A/7)

106. bǐ wú gān dāng wǒ zài 彼惡敢當我哉
How does that one dare to face me? (Mèng 1B/3)
Note that, although 能 is usually followed by a verb in this way, it can also take a noun or pronoun object.

107. ... bù néng sān nián zhī sāng 不能三年之喪
To be incapable of three years' mourning ... (Mèng 7A/46)

108. Bù xián ér néng zhī yú 不賢而能之與
Could he have done it if he had not been a man of superior talent? (Mèng 5A/9)

3. Pivot Constructions — The Causative
Certain verbs can take two objects, the first of which is a noun or pronoun and the second of which is a clause object with the first object as its subject. This has been called a 'pivot construction' because, in its surface structure, a noun or pronoun stands between two verbs and acts as a 'pivot' between them, functioning as the object of the first and the subject of the second.

109. Wáng shǐ rén lái yuè ... 王使人來曰
The king sent someone to come and say ... (Mèng 2B/2)

110. Líng gōu yóu yuàn yú fùrén zhě bào zhū 令苟有怨於夫人者報之
V. Compound Verbal Predicates

He ordered all who had any grudge against the lady to repay it. *(Zhōu Kì 26fǔ 1)*

111. Yǔ zhù miáo zhǎng yī 予助苗長矣
I have been helping the sprouts to grow. *(Mèng 2A/2)*

112. Quàn Qi ē Yān, yǒu zhù 勸齊伐燕，有諸
Is it true that you urged Qi to attack Yān? *(Mèng 2A/9)*

The verbs shì 使 'employ; send' and líng 令 'order' are used in a weakened sense as auxiliary verbs to make a causative construction.

113. Shì shù mín yǎng shēng sàng sī wǔ hàn yè 是使民養生喪死無憾也
This is to let the people nourish the living and mourn the dead without regrets. *(Mèng 1A/3)*

114. ... wú líng shù lào néng rù 毋令水潦能入
... so as not to let the flood waters be able to enter. *(Mò 61/1)*

Note that the object pronoun zhī 之 is used as the substitute for the 'pivot' noun in the pivot construction.

115. Zhù zhī zāng zhāng zhì ... 助之長者
One who helps them to grow ... *(Mèng 2A/2)*

This is in contrast to the use of the possessive pronoun qí 其 for the subject of a clause object (see above). In the pivot construction the pronoun zhī 之 is directly governed as object by the main verb. A repetition of the pronominal reference by qí 其 as subject of the subordinate verb is therefore avoided. This is true even if zhī 之 is deleted (that is, does not appear on the surface), as frequently happens in the elliptical style of the Zuòzhūkün.

A rare example of a clause object without a pivot after a verb of this kind is the following:

116. Qiè gǔ xìng tiānxià zhī lì, chúa tiānxià zhī hài, líng guójīa bāixíng zhī bù zhī yě, zǐ gǔ jǐ jīn wèi zhǎng zhī yǒu yě 且故興天下之利，除天下之害，令國家百姓之不治也，自古及今，未嘗之有也
Moreover it has never happened from ancient times to the present that by deliberately producing what is beneficial to the world and getting rid of what is harmful, one has caused the state and the people to be not well governed. *(Mò 25/16)*
In this example, the subject of the embedded clause, *guójiā bāixìng* 国家百姓, cannot be the agent of its own state of being well or badly governed and cannot be ‘ordered’ even in a figurative sense to bring about such a state. It therefore cannot be the object of *líng* 令 and, as a result, is not deleted in what would normally be its second occurrence, as the subject of the embedded clause.

On pivot constructions with *wèi* 謂 ‘call, say’ see Section IV.8f above.

4. Verb Phrases as Complements to Adjectives

(a) Adjectives That Make a Following Verb Passive

Some predicate adjectives can take verb phrases as complements. An important set of these consists of the four words *kě* 可 ‘possible; permissible,’ *zú* 足 ‘sufficient, worth,’ *nán* 難 ‘difficult,’ and *yì* 易 ‘easy.’ These are followed by transitive verbs which have to be understood as passive. That is, the subject of the predicate adjective is the patient of the complement verb: *wáng kě shā* 王可殺 ‘the king is possible to kill’ = ‘the king may be killed.’ It is interesting to note that the corresponding English adjectives take a similar construction.

117. … tiānxià kě yǔn yú zhǎng 天下可運於掌 … the world may be revolved in the palm of your hand. (*Mèng* 1A/7)

118. Zé wén wáng bù zú fā yú 則文王不足法與 Then is King Wén not worthy of being taken as a model? (*Mèng* 2A/1)

119. Jiǔ zé nán biàn yě 久則難變也 Having lasted a long time, it was difficult to change. (*Mèng* 2A/1)

120. Sān nián xué, bù zhī yǔ gū, bù yǐ dé yě 三年學，不易得也 To study for three years and not arrive at goodnes is not easy to achieve. (*LÝ* 8/12)

As noted in IV.1 above, when an active verb, transitive or intransitive, is used as a complement to one of these adjectives, it is necessary to insert *yǐ* 以: *wáng kě yǐ shā rén* 王可以殺人 ‘the king can kill a man,’ *wáng kě yǐ lái* 王可以來 ‘the king can come.’
V. Compound Verbal Predicates

121. Wǔ shí zhě kē yī yì bó yī 五十者可以衣帛矣
The fifty year olds will be able to wear silk. (Mèng 1A/3)

122. Wǔ lǐ zú yì yòu bāi jùn ér hū zú yì yà yī yà 免力足以舉百鈞而不足以舉一羽
My strength is sufficient to lift 3000 catties but is not sufficient to lift one feather. (Mèng 1A/7)

Yī 以, which as a full verb means 'take, use,' is to be understood in this construction as a transitive verb made passive by the governing adjective. This is readily translatable into English if the subject is not personal, that is, if it is an instrument rather than an agent: dāo kē yī shā rén 刀可以殺人 'a knife is possible to use to kill a man' = 'a knife may be used to kill a man' = 'a knife can kill a man.' In Chinese, a personal agent is treated in the same way: 'the king is possible to use to kill a man' = 'the king can kill a man.' This is a grammatical device which is impossible in English. Instead English uses an impersonal construction. That is, when the verb is active it treats the complement phrase of an adjective as the real subject, replacing it by the dummy it in the subject position: 'it is possible to kill a man,' 'it is possible to come.' In such cases the subject of the complement verb is expressed by a prepositional phrase: 'it is possible for the king to kill a man,' etc.

A similar impersonal active construction is occasionally found in Classical Chinese where kē 可 is followed by an active verb with the object pronoun zhī 之 referring back to something earlier in the discourse.

123. Hé rú sì kē wèi zhī shí yī 何如斯可謂之士矣
What must one be like before it is possible to call him one of the gentry? (LY 13/20)

124. Yí bù rén rén zhi xīn, xǐng bù rén rén zhǐ zhèng, chǐ tiān xià kē yín zhī zhāng shāng 以不忍人之心，行不忍人之政，治天下可運之掌上
With a merciful heart practising merciful government, ruling the world was [as if] it was practicable to turn it in the palm of one's hand. (Mèng 2B/6)

Verbs like wèi 謂 and shī 使 that take two objects can also be found in the normal way with the subject made passive by kē 可, as in:

125. Kē shù zhī fēng yì tā Qīn Chù zhǔ jiān jiā lì bīng yǐ 可使制梃以撻秦楚之堅甲利兵矣
They may be made to fashion clubs with which to strike the hard armour and sharp weapons of Qin and Chu. (Mêng 1A/5)

126. ... kè wèi xiào yì 可謂孝矣
... it may be called filial. (Mêng 3A/2)

It should be noted that kè 可 can also occur in front of active verbs meaning ‘should, ought’ in a hortatory or injunctive sense. This usage is rare in texts of the classical period but is found in the preclassical period in the Shuojing and re-emerges in Han.

127. Wǒ bù kè bù jiàn yù Yǒu Xià 我不可不觀于有夏
We must not fail to take Xià as our mirror. (Shù 32:460 Shàogào)

128. Qín nù jué měi, wáng zǐ zǐ qǔ 秦女絕美，王可自取
The woman of Qin is extremely beautiful, Your Majesty should take her for yourself. (Shiji 66.2171)

(b) Other Adjectives That Take Verb Phrases as Complements
There are also adjectives that take verbs or verb phrases as complements without making the verb passive. Among them are yì 宜 ‘fitting, proper, right’ and shàn 善 ‘good (at).’

129. Shì yì, wéi rén zhè yí zài gāo wèi 是以，惟仁者宜在高位
Therefore, only one who is benevolent is fit to be in a high position. (Mêng 4A/1)

130. Wǒ shàn yǎng wú hàorán zhī qì 我善養吾浩然之氣
I am good at nourishing my overflowing breath. (Mêng 3A/1)

5. Verbs in Series

(a) The Construction in General — The Particle ër 而
Two or more verbs or verb phrases may occur in a series in which they form a narrative or logical sequence.

131. Téng Wén Gōng wèi shì zǐ, jiāng zhī Chǔ, guō Sòng, ër jiàn Mêng zì 滕文公為世子，將之楚，過宋，而見孟子
When Duke Wén of Téng was Crown Prince, he passed through Song on his way to Chū and saw Mencius. (Mèng 3A/1 — More literally: Duke Wén of Téng was Crown Prince, was going to go to Chū, passed through Song and saw Mencius.)

Such constructions (in English as well as Chinese) differ from true coordinate constructions in that the order cannot be changed without changing the meaning. ‘I opened the door and walked in’ does not mean the same thing as ‘I walked in and opened the door.’ In spite of the conjunction ‘and,’ which is also used in English for coordination, there is an implication of temporal sequence corresponding to the order of the verbs in the two sentences. In Chinese, such serial verb constructions are very common even where English uses various kinds of more explicit subordination, as in the idiomatic translation of 131. The particle ér 而 is used as a connective between verbs in such constructions, usually being omitted except between the last two verbs in the series, where it serves to mark the end of the sequence. It may be translated as ‘and,’ but it must be noted that it cannot occur between nouns. Etymologically it appears to be an unstressed form of nǐ 乃 ‘then.’

It is often convenient to show the relationship between verbs in series in translation by using English participles in -ing: ‘Duke Wén of Téng, being the Crown Prince and about to go to Chu, and passing through Song, saw Mencius.’

Though it is usual to find ér before the last verb in a series, this is not obligatory. Compare the two successive sentences:

132. Yóu yuán mú ér qiú yú yě ... Yuán mú qiú yú, suǒ bù dé yú, wú hòu zāi 猶緣木而求魚也 ... 絜木求魚，雖不得魚，無後災
It is like climbing a tree to hunt for fish ... If one climbs a tree to hunt for fish, even though one does not get fish, there is no disaster afterwards. (Mèng 1A/7)

In the second case, ér 而 is omitted without any alteration in the meaning.

The semantic relationships between verbs in a series can be quite varied. Apart from a simple narrative sequence, as in 131, there can be an implication of purpose, as in 132. In other cases, the action of a preceding verb or verbs is considered to be simultaneous with that of the final verb, which they serve to describe.
133. Qì jiā yì bìng ér zōu 裨甲曳兵而走
Throwing down their armour and dragging their weapons, they run away. (Mèng 1A/3)

Besides its use in the serial verb construction, ér 而 is used as a conjunction after concessive clauses (see Section XV.3) and between sentences in the sense of ‘but.’ The graph is also used to write two homophonous words, the second person pronoun ér 而 ‘you, your’ (see Section IX.1b), and ér 而 as a variant form of rú 如 ‘if’ (see Section XV.2a.i). On the final particle ér yǐ 而已 ‘only’ see Section XIII.2d.

(b) Dé (ér) 得 (而), Shuài (ér) 率 (而), etc.
The verb dé 得 ‘get’ is used as an auxiliary verb in the sense of ‘get to, manage to, be able to, can,’ but instead of taking a object clause construction like nèng 能 ‘be capable of, can,’ it has a serial verb construction: ‘get and do (something).’ This is shown both by the fact that one can optionally insert ér 而 between the two verbs and by the fact that, after kě 可, both dé 得 and its following verb are made passive.

134. Shèng dé zhā shì, jùn bù dé ér chén, fù bù dé ér zǐ 盛德之士，君不得而臣，父不得而子
A scholar of complete virtue, the ruler is not able to treat as subject and the father is not able to treat as son. (Mèng 5A/4)

135. Jù xià wèi èr bù huò yú shàng, mín bù kě dé ér chī yě 居下位而不獲於上，民不可得而治也
If one occupies a lower position and does not obtain the confidence of the ruler, the people cannot be ruled. (Mèng 4A/13)

136. Kě dé wén hū 可得聞乎
May I hear about it? (Mèng 1A/7 — Literally: May it be got and heard?)

From the point of view of their English translations, verbs such as shuài 率 ‘lead’ and qū 驅 ‘drive’ might be expected to take a pivot construction, like shī 使, but they too take a serial verb construction, as shown by the insertion of ér 而 in examples like the following.

137. Ci shuài shòu ér shì rén yě 此率獸而食人也
This is leading animals to eat people. (Mèng 1A/4)
138. Rán hòu qū ér zhī shàn 然後驅而之善
Afterwards you may drive [the people] to go towards goodness.
(Mēng 1A/7)
In both examples, the subject of the verb following ér 而 is the object of the verb which precedes it. Instead of pivot constructions, however, they must be interpreted as serial verb constructions in which there is a change of subject for the second verb: ‘lead animals and they eat people,’ ‘drive [the people] and they go towards goodness.’

6. Coverbs

(a) Transitive Verbs Corresponding to Prepositions
The free serial verb construction, in which any and all verbs may be found, gives rise to various special constructions, in which particular verbs lose their independent status and serve as markers of grammatical functions, such as showing case relationships of nouns to the main verb. Coverb is a term that has been applied to such verbs in Chinese. Most coverbs can also occur as independent verbs but they have special grammaticalized meanings as coverbs. They are not normally joined to the main verb by ér 而. The following are the most important transitive verbs that correspond to prepositions in English.

(i) Yǐ 以 ‘take, use; with, by means of’
In an example like the following yǐ 以 is a main verb:

139. Wǒ cǐ fù yǐ, bǐ zé yǐ zhī 我此赴以，彼則以之
I declined the ritual; they used it. (Zǔ Xiàng 10/2)
The coverbal meanings of yǐ 以 are quite varied. A simple extension of the full verb meaning is its use to indicate the instrument of an action.

140. Xǐng, yǐ gē zhū Zǐfān 醒，以戈逐子犯
When he revived, he chased Zǐfān with a halberd. (Zǔ Xī 23/jù 2)

141. Shā rén yǐ yīng ... 殺人以挺
To kill a man with a club ... (Mēng 1A/4)
Note that the phrase introduced by yǐ 以 can either precede or come after the main verb. This is a predictable consequence of the interpretation of coverbs as a specialized type of verbs in series. Thus ‘use halberd pursue
person’ and ‘kill person use club’ (i.e., ‘in killing a person use a club’) differ only in the main focus of attention, which falls on the last verb in the series. In Modern Chinese, however, such freedom of word order has been lost and, except for special cases, where they are treated as complements of the main verb, coverb phrases are confined to preverbal position, like modifiers in general.

Besides indicating the means or instrument by which an action is performed, 以 can be used to indicate such things as the reason for an action, the time of an action, the basis for a judgement, etc.

142. Yì wǔ shí bù xiǎo bāi bù zé hé rú yǐ 以 五十 步笑 百步 则 何 如
If because of [only running] fifty paces they laughed at [those who ran] one hundred paces, how would it be? (Mèng 1A/3)

143. Fù jǐn yī shí rú shān lín 斧 斧 斧 以 時 入 山 林
If axes enter the hills and woods at the proper season … (Mèng 1A/3)

144. Yì wèi, zé zī jùn yě, wǒ chén yě 以 位 ， 則 子 君 也，我 臣 也
On the basis of rank, you are the ruler and I am the subject. (Mèng 5B/7)

An important characteristic of 以 as a coverb is that it is almost never followed by the object pronoun zhi. Instead 以 alone is used anaphorically with the meaning ‘with it, therewith’ as if it included the pronoun.

145. Rú yī shí qī fǔ xiōng, chū yī shí qī zhǎng shàng 入 以 事 其 父 兄，出 以 事 其 長 上
Going in they will therewith serve their fathers and elder brothers; going out, they will therewith serve their elders and superiors.
(Mèng 1A/5)

Anaphoric 以 is often used to express purpose: ‘and thereby’ = ‘in order to.’

146. Kè shí zhì āng yī tǔ Qín Chù zhī jiān jiā lǐ bǐng yī 可 使 制 棍 以 封 秦 楚 之 境 甲 利 兵 艮
They may be made to fashion clubs in order to strike the hard armour and sharp weapons of Qin and Chu. (Mèng 1A/5)
In such cases yi 以 must not be construed as governing the following verb as its object. For the omission of zhi 之 when it would be expected in front of yi 以 recapitulating a proposed object, see Section VIII.1, example 236.

Anaphoric yi 以 marks the point of departure for spatial and temporal phrases like yi liei 以来 (therewith come =) ‘and afterwards, since,’ yi xià 以下 (therewith down =) ‘and downwards.’

147. Fǒu, zì shèng mín yi lái, wèi yǒu Kǒngzǐ yé 否, 自生民以来，未有孔子也
No, since the birth of mankind, there has never been [another] like our Confucius. (Mèng 2A/2)

148. Qìng yi xià bǐ yǒu guī tián 卿以下必有圭田
From the high ministers downward, they had to have their sacrificial land. (Mèng 3A/3)

Note the phrases yǒu yi 有以 and wú yi 無以 in the sense of yǒu suǒ yi 有所 ‘have that by which; have whereby,’ and wú suǒ yi 無所 ‘not have that by which; not have whereby.’ The omission of suǒ 所 in these expressions is comparable to the regular omission of the object pronoun zhi 之 after yi 以.

149. Yì jiàn gòng yǒu yi lǐ wú guó hù 亦將有以利吾國乎
Surely you are going to have whereby to benefit my country. (Mèng 1A/1)

An important use of yi 以 is to introduce what is semantically the direct object of verbs of ‘giving, telling, teaching, etc.’ (see Section IV.8, examples 71-73).

With wèi 為 ‘be,’ yi 以 forms a special idiom: yi 以 X wèi 為 Y ‘take X to be Y,’ ‘regard X as Y.’

150. Bāixíng jiē yi wáng wèi ài yè 百姓皆以王為愛也
The common people all took Your Majesty to be stingy. (Mèng 1A/7)

When the object pronoun is omitted after yi 以, yi 以 and wèi 為 come together, giving rise to what eventually became a compound word, yìwèi 以為 ‘think.’ In the classical language, however, the two words must still be construed separately.

151. Mín yǒu yi wèi xiǎo yè 民猶以为小也
The people still considered it to be small. (Mèng 1B/2)
The phrase *suō yǐ* 所以 ‘that by which’ must always be given its full value in Classical Chinese. It does not have the meaning ‘therefore’ which it has acquired in the modern language.

The expression *shí yǐ* 是以 ‘because of that, therefore,’ used as a sentence connective, in contrast to *yǐ shí* 以是 ‘with this, etc.,’ used as part of a predicate phrase, gets its word order from contrastive exposure (see Section VIII, below).

When followed by a clause nominalized by *zhī* 之 or *qí* 其 and closed by *yē* 也, *yǐ* 以 acts as a subordinating conjunction meaning ‘because’ (see Section XV.5).

(ii) *Yòng* 用 ‘use; with’

In the preclassical language, *yòng* 用 is used as an instrumental coverb, like *yǐ* 以. In the classical language, however, it is only found as a full verb, ‘to use.’

(iii) *Yǔ* 與 ‘accompany; give; with; and’

As a full verb, *yǔ* 與 has the primary meaning of ‘accompany, be with.’

152. Zheng zhí shì yǔ 正直是與

Associate with the correct and straight (*Shǐ 207/4, Karlgren 1950a

For is recapitulating a preposed object, see Section VIII.1 below.)

153. Wú zhòng ér fá zhī, yǔ yù wǒ shuí yǔ 無眾而後用之, 欲禦我誰與

If we attack him after he has lost the masses, though he should wish to resist us, who will be with him? (*Zuò Zhuàng 27/2ū 1*)

The meaning ‘give,’ which is more common than ‘accompany’ for *yǔ* 與 as a full verb in the classical language, is probably to be understood as a causative usage. There is also a derivative, *yù* 与, written with the same character, meaning ‘participate in, be present at.’ (The character is also used for the question particle *yǔ* 與 — see Section III.1a.)

The coverbal use of *yǔ* 與 in the sense of ‘accompanying, with’ is found already in the preclassical language and remains common throughout the classical period.

154. Gǔ zhī rén yǔ mín xiè lè 古之人與民偕樂

The men of old shared their pleasures with the people. (*Mèng 1A/2*)
155. Bù yǔ è rén yán 不與惡人言
He would not speak with an evil man. (Mèng 2A/9)

156. Huò wèn hú Zěng Xi yuē, wú zì yǔ Zìlù shú xián or 問乎曾西曰，吾子與子路孰賢
Some one asked Zěng Xi, ‘You and Zǐlù, which is superior?’
(Mèng 2A/1)

157. Wáng zì yǐ wéi yǔ Zhōu Gōng shú rén qiē zhì 王自以為與周公孰仁且智
Which does Your Majesty consider more virtuous and wise, yourself or the Duke of Zhōu? (Mèng 2B/9)

By a further extension of meaning, yǔ 與 is used as a coordinating conjunction, ‘and,’ between nouns. Though the derivation from the subordinating copular ‘with’ is clear, it is equally clear that when the conjoined nouns are on the same syntactic level and can be interchanged without altering the meaning, the role of yǔ 與 has become one of marking coordination (see Section VII.1).

158. Hù bǐ xiǎo xìng, wéi shèn yǔ mào 咫彼小星，維參與昴
Tiny are those little stars, they are Shēn and Máo. (Shī 21/2)

159. Gǔ yǔ yú bié bù kè shēng shí … 柯與魚鰥不可勝食
If the grain and the fish and turtles are more than can be eaten …
(Mèng 1A/3)

(iv) Wèi 與 ‘for, on behalf of, for the sake of’
Wèi 與 is no doubt a derivative of wèi 與 ‘make; be,’ although the semantic relation is not entirely clear. As a full verb, it means ‘be on the side of, support.’

160. Fūzǐ wèi Wèi jùn hū 夫子為衛君子
Is the master for the Lord of Wèi? (LY 7/15)

More commonly it is a copular.

161. Wèi zhǎng zhé zhé zhǐ … 為長者折枝
If it is a matter of breaking a branch [or: rubbing the knuckles] for an older person ...
(Mèng 1A/7)
Most cases in which 为 appears to occupy the position of the main verb are, in fact, best interpreted as coverbal, with another main verb understood.

162. … er wang qi wei shi zai 而王豈為是哉 … yet can it be that Your Majesty [goes to war] for this? (Mêng 1A/7)

With a nominalized verbal expression as its object and followed by 也, 为 is used to introduce an explanatory noun predicate.

163. Wei qi xiang ren er yong zhi ye 為其象人而用之也
It was because he made representations of human beings and sacrificed them. (Mêng 1A/4)

(v) 子 自, 由 自, 從 自 ‘follow; from’
These three words, all of which mean ‘go along, follow’ as full verbs, are used as coverbs in the sense of ‘from.’ 子 自 (to be distinguished from the homophonous reflexive pronominal adverb 子 自 ‘self,’ written with the same graph, is seldom found as a full verb, but occasional examples can be found.

164. Wei gai li er you qian zhi, qin chen ju zi, bu gan zi ye 未改禮而猶遵之，群臣懼死，不敢自也
If, without changing the code of ritual, you still alter the practice, your many subjects, in fear of death, dare not follow. (Zuo Zhao 5/1)

Examples of 子 自 as a coverb ‘from’ in a temporal sense are found in 116 and 147 above. It is also common in a spatial sense.

165. … zi chu zhi Teng … 自楚之滕 … went to Teng from Chu … (Mêng 3A/4)
As a full verb 由 means ‘to follow along (a road),’ often in a metaphorical sense.

166. … she zheng lu er bu you … 舍正路而不由 … to abandon the correct path and not follow it … (Mêng 4A/11)
As a coverb, ‘from,’ it is used in spatial, temporal, and logical senses.

167. Tu ri, you Zou zhi Ren, Jian Ji 自他日，由鄭之任，見李子
On another day, going from Zōu to Rén, he visited Jiān. (Mèng 6B/5)

168. Yǒu Tāng zhì yú Wǔ Dīng 由湯至於武丁
From Tang down to Wǔ Dīng … (Mèng 2A/1)

169. Hé yǒu zhī wú kě 何由知吾可
From what do you know I can? (Mèng 1A/7)

*Cóng* 從 is common as a main verb meaning 'to follow; pursue' and less frequent than *zì* 自 and *yǒu* 由 in the sense of ‘from,’ but it does occur.

170. Liáng rén … shǐshí cóng wài lǎi 良人 … 施施從外來
The husband … jauntily came in from outside. (Mèng 4B/33)

(b) **Coverbs of Place:** Yú 于, Yú 於, and Hú 轟 — Locative Complements

(i) **Yú 于 ‘go; to, at’**
Yú 于 (EMC wuâ) is etymologically related to wǎng 往, EMC wuâ’, 'go.' It is common in the preclassical language, both as a coverb, which always follows the main verb, and as a verbal auxiliary before other verbs of motion, indicating inceptive or continuative aspect, as in: huáng niǎo yú fēi 黄鸟 于飞 ‘The yellow birds go-flying’ (Shī 2). As a coverb in the Shi jìng, it is mainly used to indicate destination after verbs of motion or, less commonly, location where motion is not involved. It is occasionally found in time expressions, such as yú jīn 于今 ‘till now,’ or to indicate the recipient of an action. In this text it is clearly distinct from yú 於 ‘in, at, from, than’ (see (ii) below). It survives in the Zuózhūàn and Guóyu but already there is a tendency for yú 於 to take over its functions. In Mencius and other texts of the Warring States period it is rare, except in quotations from earlier works (see 175 below). It is ironic that it has now been revived as the standard abbreviated form of yú 於, with which it did not become homophonous before modern times.14

(ii) **Yú 於 ‘in, at, to, from, than, etc.’**
This word, EMC 有, was quite distinct from yú 于, EMC wuâ, with a different initial and an unrounded main vowel. Even in Early Mandarin of the Yuán period, as recorded in the Zhōngyuán yǐnyùn the two words were
distinct, the former being in upper level tone and the latter in lower level tone. The primary verbal meaning of yú 於 is ‘to be in, at’ without any implication of motion. Although it is seldom used as an independent verb, occasional examples can be found.

171. Biàn bì càn, guó gù shōu, gǔ duó zhì shēng yú ěr, ēr nǎi yòng chén Sì zhē jì, wān yī yī bié chén, guó gù sī, yìng zhī shēng yú ěr, ér nǎi yòng chén Sì zhē jì, wān yī

When the borders and outlying regions are in ruins, the capital is closely invested, the sound of drums and clappers is in your ears, then it will be too late to use the plans of your servant Sì. (HF 2 p. 13)

Its verbal character is also clearly shown by the fact that it can take a subject and be nominalized by the insertion of zhī 之 (on this idiom see (vii) below).

(iii) Hā 乎
As a coverb, hā 乎, EMC yē, is found as a variant of yú 於 ‘in at’ from the Shijing onwards (example 174 below). It never occurs in phrase initial position and is probably an unstressed form which lost its glottal stop initial through being attached enclitically to the preceding word.16 The fusion word zhī 諸 (see Section I.4 above) is equivalent to zhī hā 之 乎 in both senses of hā 乎, as a final question particle and as a variant of yú 於.

(iv) Locative complements
In the classical language, coverbal phrases introduced by yú 於 mostly follow the main verb, providing a locative complement that defines the destination or locus of an action. The coverb is thus equivalent to an English preposition such as ‘in, at, to’ or even ‘from,’ depending on the main verb which it follows.

172. Wáng lǐ yú zhào shàng 王立於沼上
The king was standing above his pond. (Mèng 1A/2)

173. Hénèi xiòng, zé yí qí mín yú Hèdōng, yí qí sù yú Hénèi 河內凶,則移其民於河東,移其粟於河內
If there is a crop failure in Hénèi, I move the people to Hèdōng and move the grain to Hénèi. (Mèng 1A/3)
174. Chū hù èr zhē fān hù èr zhē yé 出乎者反乎者也
What goes out from you will be what returns to you. (Mèng 1B/12)

175. Wú wén chū yǔ yóu gū, qiān yú qiáo mù zhè 吾聞出於
I have heard of [birds] that ’came out of dark valleys and moved to
幽谷遷千喬木者
lofty trees.’ (Mèng 3A/4; quoting Shi 165/1, which, however, has
\( zì \) instead of \( yú \) 出)
Note that a locative phrase after chū 出 can also mean ’(go out) to,’
depending on the context.

176. ... jié yù chū yǔ wǎng zhí tū 皆欲出於王之塗
... will all wish to go out on Your Majesty’s roads. (Mèng 1A/7)

Locative phrases introduced by yú 於 or hū 乎 are used to express
comparison after adjectives (examples 35 and 104 above) and agency after
passive verbs (examples 53 and 92 above).

Apparent exceptions to the rule that locative complements follow the
verb occur when such phrases are moved to the front of the sentence for
topicalization, contrast or emphasis.

177. Yú wǒ xīn yǒu qī qī yān 於我心有戚戚焉
In my heart there was a responsive feeling. (Mèng 1A/7. Here the
pronominial substitute yán 焉 ’in it’ recapitulates the exposed
phrase in its normal position after the verb.)

The common introductory phrase yú shì 於是 ‘thereupon’ may be
regarded as a special case of this exposure of a locative phrase.

(v) Omission of the coverb in locative complements
It is possible to omit the coverb in locative complements.

178. Zhèng rén yǒu yù mǎi lǚ zhè. Xiǎn zì duō qí zú ěr zhī zhī qí
There was a man of Zhèng who wished to buy shoes. He first
zuò 鄭人有欲買履者。先自度其足而置之
measured his feet himself and placed it (the measure) on his seat.
其坐
(HF 32, p. 209)

See 78 above for another example. In such cases two bare nouns
following a verb have the order (1) direct (accusative) object, (2) locative complement, rather than (1) indirect (dative) object, (2) direct (accusative) object (see Section IV.8a above). Conditions under which this construction is possible need to be worked out in detail.

(vi) The pronominal substitutes yuán 爻 and yán 無.
Neither yú 頤 nor yú 於 can be followed by the object pronoun zhi 之. Instead we find the particles yuán 爻, EMC wuan, from yú 頤 and yín 無, EMC ian, from yú 於. The former is found mostly in the Shijing, where it may be glossed as 'there; then, thereupon.' The latter is normal in classical texts from the Shijing onward and can have all the possible meanings of yú 於 + *zhi 之: 'in it, to it, from it, by it, than it, etc.' For examples, see 54, 56, 59, 90, 103.

(vii) X zhi yú 之於
Phrases in which yú 之於 has its own subject and is nominalized by inserting zhi 之 are commonly used to introduce a topic.

179. Guà rén zhi yú guó yè, jìn xìn yán ěr yú 盲人之於國也，盡心焉耳矣
As for my [behaviour] towards my country, I exhaust my mind in it and that's all. (Mèng 1A/3. Yú guó in the topic phrase is recapitulated by yán in the predicate.)

Note that some such word as 'behaviour' has to be introduced into the English translation because English cannot nominalize a preposition. In such cases hú 耽 is never substituted for yú 之 or zhi yú 之 is never contracted to zhī 詳. In the following example from the Lünu, wù 吾 'I, my' precedes yú 之 directly without zhi 之, but this is normal for personal pronouns used in the genitive, whether before nouns or as the subjects of nominalized verbs.

180. Shū wú yú rén yè, tóng qí yán ěr xīn qí xíng. jìn wú yú rén yè, tóng qí yán ěr guān qí xíng 始吾於人也，聽其言而信其行。今吾於人也，聽其言而觀其行
Formerly my [attitude] towards men was to listen to their words and trust in their conduct. Now my [attitude] towards men is to listen to their words and observe their conduct. (LY 5/10)

For additional examples of this construction see 41 and 94 above.
(c) Descriptive Complements with 如 and 猶
Phrases introduced by 如 ‘like’ may be placed after a verb to add a
descriptive complement in much the same way that phrases introduced by
犹 to add locative complements.\textsuperscript{17}

181. Shēng rén chí tiānxià, shì yǒu shū sù rú shuǐ huǒ

When a sage rules the world, he causes it to have beans and grain
like water and fire. (Mèng 7A/23)

182. Liáng jùn jiàng shāng shān ér xíng yín, yāng mín rú zǐ, gài
zhī rú tiān, róng zhī rú dì

A good ruler will reward good and punish licentiousness, nurture
the people like children, cover them like Heaven, make space for
them like the Earth. (Zuò Xiàng 14/Fû 3)

Though 猶 in the sense of ‘like’ (for which the graph 如 is
sometimes substituted) is not a verb at all and has quite a different origin
from 如, it can also be used to introduce descriptive complements.

183. ... mín guī zhī yǒu shuǐ zhì jiù xià

... the people will turn to him like water going downwards. (Mèng
1A/6)

Note the omission of final ye also, which is required when 猶 introduces an independent predicate.

(d) Coverbs as Subordinating Conjunctions
Certain transitive verbs are used impersonally to introduce what correspond
to subordinate clauses of time, supposition, cause, etc.

184. Jí qǐ shǐ rén yè, qí zhī

When he (the superior man) employs others, he uses them
according to their capacities. (LY 13/25)

As a full verb Ji 及 means ‘reach.’ It is used here impersonally in a
temporal sense with a nominalized clause object, marked as embedded by
yè also, literally, ‘Coming to his employing men.’ Other coverbs used in
this way include zhī yù 至於 ‘arrive at; coming to, when’; bǐ 比 ‘beside;
by the time that’ (example 215); shì 使 ‘make, cause; supposing’; yǐ 以
‘use; using, by means of; because,’ etc. See Section XV below.
VI. Numerical Expressions

1. As Predicates
Like adjectives, numbers and expressions of quantity form predicates without any copula or final particle.

185. Miè guó zhè wǔ shí 滅國者五十
His extinctions of countries were fifty. (Mêng 3B/9)

186. Wén Wáng zhì yòu fāng qǐ shí lǐ
文王之囿方七十里
Wên Wáng’s park was 70 lǐ square. (Mêng 1B/2)
The particle of verbal negation 不 is used, and other adjuncts of verbal predicates, such as the adverb 已 ‘already’ and the marker of perfect aspect 矣, are also found.

187. Zhī bù bāi bù ěr 直不百歩耳
It was only not 100 paces. (Mêng 1A/3)

188. Nián yǐ qǐ shí yǐ 年已七十矣
His years were already 70. (Mêng 5A/9)
Note the use of jiàng 將 with numerical expressions in the sense of ‘approximately.’

189. Jìn Téng jué cháng bù duǎn, jiàng wǔ shí jī yè 今滕絕
長補短，將五十里也
Now if you cut off the long to supplement the short, Téng would be roughly 50 lǐ [square]. (Mêng 3A/1)

2. As Complements
An expression of quantity may be added after another predicate as a complement.

190. Xī sànɡ dì yú Qín qī shí bāi lǐ 西喪地於秦七百里
On the west we lost land to Qin, 700 lǐ [= we lost 700 lǐ of land to Qin]. (Mêng 1A/5)
The syntax may be compared to that of a locative complement (see Section V.6b.v above).
3. As Modifiers of Nouns

Most commonly numerals are placed directly in front of nouns in Classical Chinese without the need for a classifier.

191. Wú hé ài yì niú 吾何爱一牛
Why should I begrudge one ox? (Mèng 1A/7)

Measure words, with or without a preceding numeral, may similarly modify nouns directly.

192. Yú xīn zhī bù jiàn, wèi bù yòng míng yǎn 儀薪之不見，為不用明焉
That a cartload of firewood is not seen, is because of not using one’s eyesight on it. (Mèng 1A/7)

193. Dē bǎi lǐ zhī dí ěr jùn zhī, jiē nēng yī cháo zhūhòu, yǒu yú tiānxià 得百里之地而君之，皆能以朝諸侯，有天下
If they had got 100 里 of territory and ruled over it, they [the ancient sages] could all have thereby brought the feudal lords to their courts and obtained the rulership of All-under-Heaven. (Mèng 2A/2)

Less commonly, numerals and measures follow a noun in apposition.

194. Qí wèi Wèi gù, fá Jin Guān Shì, sàng chē wù bāi 齊為術故，伐晉冠氏，斃車五百
On behalf of 齊, Qí attacked the Guān Clan of Jin and lost 500 chariots. (Zuó Āi 15/7)

195. Jiè cì yù wū jué, mǎ sān pī 皆賜玉五珏，馬三匹
He gave them each five pairs of jades and three horses. (Zuó Zhuāng 18/fù 1)

As in the last case, apart from measure words, special numeral adjuncts are used for counting certain nouns in this construction. These include pǐ 匹 for ‘horses,’ shèng 乘 and liàng 輛 for ‘carriages,’ and gè 个 for ‘arrows.’ This is no doubt the forerunner of the more general use of classifiers, which begins to appear in Hán times.\textsuperscript{18} It is noteworthy that the nouns in question are all ones that are frequent in a military context. In most cases the noun so quantified is the object of a verb, and the expression
of quantity can be regarded as a complement, as in Section VI.2 above. Note, however:

196. Dàng Qin zhī lóng, huáng jīn wàn yī wèi yòng 当秦之 隆，黄金万镒为用
At the time of Qin’s prosperity, ten thousand yī of yellow gold were used. (ZGC, Qin cè 40/14/13)

4. Yǒu ‘and’
Note the use of yǒu 有 (departing tone) in the sense of ‘and’ in numerical expressions.

197. Yǒu Yáo Shǔn zhì yú Táng, wǔ bǎi yǒu yī suì 有尧舜 至于汤，五百有餘歲
From Yáo and Shǔn to Táng was five hundred and more years. (Mèng 7B/38)
VII. Noun Phrases and Nominalization

1. Coordination and Subordination of Nouns

(a) Coordination
Simple juxtaposition is sufficient to indicate coordination: 夫母
‘father and mother.’ ‘And’ between nouns may be expressed by the coverb
與 (see V.6a.iii).

198. 子罕言利與命與仁
The master seldom spoke of profit, fate, and goodness. (LY 9/1)

Another coverb used for ‘and’ in the preclassical language and also in
the Zuózhuàn is 及 ‘reach, arrive at.’

199. 叔及汝皆亡
I and you will perish together. (Mèng 1A/2, quoting Shū 10.97
Tāngshì)

200. 宋及鄭平
Sòng and Zhèng made peace. (Zuó Yín 7/5)
This usage re-emerges in postclassical texts like the Shíjì 史記.

(b) Subordination
Subordination between nouns is expressed by the formula: N₂ zhi 之 N₁,
in which N₁ is the head of the phrase, N₂ is the modifier and zhi 之, which
is etymologically the same word as modern de 的, is the marker of
subordination.

201. 王之諸臣
Your Majesty’s various ministers. (Mèng 1A/7)
Zhi 之 may be omitted, especially between monosyllables.

202. 劳於王事
They labour in the king’s business … (Mèng 5A/4)
The relation between the two nouns need not be that of possession.
Thus in 惠王 ‘King Hui of Liáng,’ Liáng, the name of the country, is
a modifier specifying which King Hui is meant.
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Qi is the general pronoun substitute for N + 之: qí shǒu 其手
‘his hand.’ After personal pronouns 之 之 is normally omitted: wǔ shǒu
吾手 ‘my hand.’

Nouns may also be modified by verb phrases or adjectives (which in
Chinese are like verbs in their syntax).

203. Bù rèn rén zhī xīn 不忍人之心
... the heart that cannot bear the afflictions of others. (Mèng 2A/6)

204. Wū dúo rén zhī jūn 侮奪人之君
A ruler who insults and robs people ... (Mèng 4A/17)

Since adjectives are a kind of verb, modification of nouns by adjectives is a
special case of this more general construction. It is, of course, a very
frequent type. Zhī 之 is usually omitted after a monosyllabic adjective, but
inserted in other cases:

205. ... xián shèng zhī jūn 賢聖之君
... worthy and sage rulers. (Mèng 2A/1)

Compare the following example where zhī 之 is omitted after one of these
adjectives used by itself:

206. Téng jūn zé chéng xián yē 滕君則誠賢君也
The ruler of Téng is truly a worthy ruler. (Mèng 3A/4)

The use of a verbal phrase to modify a noun can be considered a special
case of the more general construction, called nominalization, that is
discussed in the next section. Thus, the modifying phrases in 203, 204,
and 205 are derived from the sentences: xīn bù rèn rén 心不忍人 ‘the
heart cannot bear the afflictions of others’; jūn wū dúo rén 君侮奪人
‘the ruler insults and robs people’; jūn xián shèng 君賢聖 ‘rulers are
worthy and sage.’ The subjects are omitted in the modifying phrases since
they are identical with the head nouns that the phrases modify. An
alternative construction in which the head noun is replaced by the
pronominal substitute zhě 貿 and the subject of the modifying sentence is
retained is discussed in Section VII.2c below.

2. Nominalization

(a) Unmarked Nominalization

Verbal phrases may be treated as nouns simply by being placed in the noun
predicate construction. This is used mainly:
(i) in order to contrast two predicates

207. Shi bù wéi yě, fei bù néng yě 是不為也, 非不能也

This is not-doing, it is not not-being-able. (Mèng 1A/7)

(ii) to add an explanation or conclusion after another predicate

208. ... shì yì zǒu yě 是亦走也

... this is also running away. (Mèng 1A/3)

In this construction the subject, if expressed, is not separated from the verb by zhì 之, as it would be in the case of marked nominalization (see (b) above).

209. Shì zhī zhù shì ěr zhī zhì, bái xīng ān zhū, shì mín shòu zhī yě 使之主事而事治，百姓安之，是民受之也

He put him in charge of affairs and the affairs were well administered and the people were peaceful under him. This was the people’s accepting him (i.e., this showed that the people accepted him). (Mèng 5A/5)

210. Yúyuè Yí Mò zhī zhì shēng ěr tóng shēng, zhǎng ěr yì sū, jiāo shì zhi rán yě 于是夷貊之子生而同聲，長而異俗，教使之然也

That the children of Yúyuè and the Yí and Mò make the same sounds when they are born but have different customs when they grow up is because teaching makes them so. (Xùn 1/4-5)

It should also be distinguished from the case of nouns derived from verbs, which cannot take verbal adjuncts like objects or adverbial modifiers. Thus, in the following example shì 始, which is primarily an intransitive verb, ‘begin,’ (with, of course, the inherent capability of being used transitively in a causative sense [IV.4]), is equivalent to the derived noun ‘beginning’ in English, not the homophonous verbal noun (gerund) ‘beginning.’

211. Wàng dào zhī shì yě 王道之始也

It is the beginning of the kingly way. (Mèng 1A/3)

If instead we had: wàng dào shì yě 王道是也, one may suppose that the meaning would be: ‘it is that the kingly way is beginning.’ That is, it would have a more active, dynamic meaning instead of merely equating a certain state of affairs with the potentiality of achieving true kingship. On
the other hand, as we shall see below, wàng dào zhī shì yě 王道之始 also, used as a topic phrase rather than as a predicate, would have this active, dynamic meaning: ‘when the kingly way was beginning.’ This is one of the subtleties of Classical Chinese syntax that needs more study. A further point that needs investigation is whether any verb can give rise to a derived noun like zhī 始 ‘beginning’ in the same way that any verb can appear in a nominalized verbal phrase or whether, as one suspects, such derived verbs are separate lexical items, with their individual eccentricities.

Modification of a noun by a verb or verb phrase as in 203, 204, and 205 above appears to be a form of unmarked nominalization but, as we shall see below, there is an alternative construction with the same meaning in which the head noun is replaced by zhě 者 and the subject of the modifying phrase appears on the surface linked to the verb by zhī 之. Both constructions can be derived from the same base form which requires marked nominalization, with deletion of either one of the two occurrences of N₁.

(b) Marked Nominalization by Inserting Zhī 之

A verb phrase is formally nominalized by inserting zhī 之 between the subject, if present, and the verb: wáng lái 王來 ‘king comes’ → wáng zhī lái 王之來 ‘king’s coming.’ This may be compared to the English gerund construction, except, of course, that there is no morphological change in the verb itself in Chinese. Qi 其 is used as a substitute for N₁ + 之 before verbs, just as before nouns: qí lái 其來 ‘his coming’ and after personal pronouns zhī 之 is normally omitted: wǒ lái 吾來 ‘my coming.' (In addition, the particles zhě 者 and suǒ 所 can serve as marks of nominalization — see (c) and (d) below.)

This kind of nominalization can be used in a variety of constructions, e.g.,

(i) As subject of a sentence:

212. Gù wàng zhī bù wàng, bù wéi yě, fēi bù néng yě 故王之不王，不為也，非不能也

Therefore Your Majesty’s not becoming a true king is [a matter of] not-doing, it is not not-being-able. (Mèng 1A/7. The predicate in this sentence consists of two coordinate unmarked nominalized verbal phrases embedded in the noun predicate construction.)

(ii) As object of a verb:
213. Wáng ruò yín qí wú zuì ěr jiù sī dǐ, zé niú yáng hé zě yǎn
王若隱其無罪而就死地，則牛羊何擇焉
If Your Majesty was pained by its going without guilt to the place of execution, then what was there to choose between an ox and a sheep? (Mèng 1A/7)
Note especially the usage after verbs of 'knowing, fearing, hoping, etc.' to express what is 'known, feared, hoped for, etc.'

214. Hé yóu zhī wú kě yě 何由知吾可也
From what do you know that I can? (Mèng 1A/7. Literally: know my being possible)

In such cases, as here, one frequently finds the particle yě 也 at the end of the nominalized phrase.

(iii) As object of a coverb:

215. Bì qí fān yě … 比其反也
(By his returning =) When he returned … (Mèng 1B/7)
Note that here too, where the phrase is translatable as a clause, we find final yě 也.

(iv) Absolutely, at the beginning of a sentence, as a topic phrase or one that sets the time or occasion for what follows; usually followed by yě 也 (see XV.4e):

216. Chéng Jī zhī jiāng shèng yě, Huán Gōng shì bù 成季之將生也，桓公使卜
When Chéng Jī was going to be born, Duke Huán had divination made [about it]. (Zuó Mín 2/61 1)

The circumstances under which yě 也 is inserted to mark the end of a subordinate noun clause require further investigation. In the case of 213 and 214 the difference seems to be between a preceding if-clause, without yě 也，and the main predicate, with yě 也。In cases like 215 and 216 where the initial modifying clauses have final yě 也，the modifying clause is temporal rather than conditional.20

Unlike the English gerund construction, a noun linked to a following verb by nominalizing zhī 之 in Chinese can only be the subject or another preverbal element. There is no 'objective genitive' in Chinese. On the other hand, in the absence of an overt subject, nominalizing zhī 之 may be inserted after another preverbal element such as a time word.
217. Gù zhī wéi guān yè, jiāng yǐ yù bào 古之為關也，
將以禁暴
The establishment of frontier barriers in ancient times was to
prevent violence. (Meng 7B/8)

218. Wú cháng qǐ ér wàng yì, hù rú dēng gāo zhí bō jiàn yě icsa 常跂而望矣，不如登高之博見也
I once stood on tip toe and looked into the distance. It was (not
like the seeing all around of climbing up high =) not as good as
climbing up high and seeing all around. (Xun 1/7)
In this example, the noun clause 登高之博見 can be derived from the
sentence (吾)登高而博見 ‘(I) climb up high and see all around.’ The
fact that, in the absence of an explicit subject (II.2), the particle ér 而 is
replaced by zhī 之 in order to mark the clause as nominalized, shows that
the first of two verbs in series functions grammatically, as well as
semantically, as a modifier of the following, main, verb.

219. Bǐ jiàn lái zhī bīng qín 彼見來之并禽
When he sees that, if they come, they will both be seized … (Shiji
66.2172)
Here lái 来 ‘come’ is functioning as an if-clause: lái, bīng qín 来，並
禽 ‘If we come, we will both be seized.’ Yet for the sake of nominalization
it is treated as an adjunct of the verb qín 禽 ‘be seized.’
A verbless noun predicate can also be ‘nominalized’ by qí 其 when it
is embedded as an object clause.

220. Yì shì zhī qí tiān yě 以是知其天也
By this I know that it was Heaven [that did it]. (Zhuang 3/13)
It should be noted that the nominalization by insertion of之 zhī,
which is quite foreign to Modern Chinese, was already becoming
obsolescent in the Han period and clause objects often omit this marker in
texts such as the Shiji.

(c) Zhě 者
The particle zhě 者 is the pronoun substitute for the head, N₁, in the noun
phrase construction N₂ zhī 之 N₁. It is etymologically related to zhī 之
and to colloquial de 的, which has a parallel function in the modern
language. Though N₂ modifying zhě 者 is most commonly a nominalized
verb phrase, this is not necessarily the case, as in the following:
221. Sàn jīa zhē yǐ Yong chè 三家者以雍徹
Those of the Three Families use the Yong ode while clearing away the sacrificial vessels. (LY 3/2; equivalent to sàn jīa zhē rèn 三家之人)

When, as is more commonly the case, N₂ is a verb or verb phrase, zhē 者 also serves as a mark of nominalization: gēng zhē 耕者 ‘a plowing one, a ploughman,’ shā rén zhē 杀人者 ‘one who kills people.’ Note that zhē 者 in these cases stands for the subject of the verb, which is to be understood as either indefinite (as in the translations supplied) or anaphoric if a definite subject can be supplied from the preceding context, ‘the one who was ploughing,’ ‘the one who killed people,’ etc. If a noun subject is expressed, then N₂ is derived from a sentence in which the subject if N₁ and the formula can be expanded to: [N₁ + VP]N 之 N, where VP stands for ‘verb phrase’ and subscript N after the bracket stands for the operation of nominalization. Thus, [wáng shā rén]N zhī wáng → wáng zhī shā rén zhī wáng → wáng zhī shā rén zhē 王之殺人者: [(king kills people)]N’s king → [king’s killing people]’s king → king’s killing people one = a king who kills people.

222. Niǎo shòu zhú hài rén zhē xiāo 鸟獸之害人者消
The birds and the beasts that had injured people disappeared. (Mèng 3B/9)

If, instead of deleting the second occurrence of N₁ in the formula and replacing zhī 之 by zhē 者, we delete the first occurrence, within the modifying clause, we derive the construction found in examples 203 and 204 above, in which a verb phrase appears as the modifier of a noun: [wáng shā rén]N zhī wáng → shā rén zhī wáng ‘a king who kills people.’ As shown by the translations, these two constructions are equivalent in meaning and both correspond to relative clauses in English.

Zhē 者 may also stand for the verb phrase as a whole: ‘the doing X, the thing of doing X’ rather than ‘the one who does X,’ e.g., gēng zhē 耕者 ‘ploughing,’ shā rén zhē 杀人者 ‘the killing of people.’

223. Bù wéi zhē yǔ bù néng zhē zhī xíng, hé yǐ yǐ 不為者與不能者之形，何以異
How do the forms of not-doing and not-being-able differ? (Mèng 1A/7)

Only context can distinguish between these interpretations.
3) Suō 所

Suō 所, as a full word, means 'place,' as in wáng suō 王所 'the king’s place,' dé qí suō 得其所 'get his (proper) place.' When placed in front of a verb it nominalizes it and most commonly stands for the direct object: suō shā 所殺 'those whom he killed,' suō yǒu 所有 'what he has, what exists.' For examples see 8, 20, 31, 32, 56. It can also stand for the destination after a transitive verb of motion (IV.6):

224. Tuō rì jùn chū, zé bǐ míng yǒu sī suō zhī 他日君出，则必命有司所之

On other days when you have gone out, you have always given orders to your officers as to where you were going. (Mèng 1B/16)

Or it can act as a locative complement:

225. Yáo Shūn zhī chí tiān xià, qí wú suō yòng qǐ xīn zài 堯舜之治天下，豈無所用其心哉

When Yáo and Shūn ruled the world, could it be that they had nothing on which they exercised their minds? (Mèng 3A.4)

Such phrases may also be followed by zhè 者, which then stands for the object or complement referred to by suō 所 rather than the subject.

226. Suō wèi gù guó zhè 所謂故國者

What one calls 'an ancient kingdom' ... (Mèng 1B/7)

The subject may be expressed by Noun + zī 之 or qí 其: wáng zī suō shā zhè 王之所殺者 'those whom the king killed.' Note the use of suō 所 with coverbs: suō yǐ 所以 'that by which' (not 'therefore' in Classical Chinese), suō yǒu 所與 'those with whom.' For the passive construction with wéi 為 ... suō 所...，see Section IV.9b.

In the preclassical language, yǒu 俠 is equivalent to later suō 所.

227. Wáng zài lǐng yǒu, yǒu lù yǒu fù 王在靈圃，扈鹿俠伏

The King was in his Spirit Park, where the deer and stags lay resting. (Shì 242/2, quoted in Mèng 1A/2)
VIII. Topicalization and Exposure

An element in a sentence may be given special prominence by being taken out of its normal position and placed in front. One common situation in which this occurs is when some element which is not grammatically the subject is announced as 'topic.' Exposure also occurs, however, when an element, such as the object of the verb, is given contrastive emphasis without becoming the topic, and since the grammatical devices involved are similar it is convenient to deal with the two matters together. The subject, which normally occupies a position at the head of a sentence, can also be exposed to give it contrastive emphasis or to announce it as not merely the grammatical subject, but also the topic of discourse. (For word order inversion in exclamatory sentences see XIV.3.)

1. Exposure of an Element That Is Not the Subject

228. Rán ér bù wàng zhè, wèi zhī yǒu yě rán 旱 者，未 之 有 也
It has never happened that in such circumstances true kingship was not obtained. (Mèng 1A/3)
This is equivalent to wèi yǒu rán ér bù wàng zhè 未 有 旱 者 也 (cf. wèi yǒu rén ér yī qīn zhè 未 有 人 而 遗 其 親 也 Mèng 1A/1). When the object is exposed, it is repeated by zhī 之, which in turn is shifted to the position between the negative particle and the verb by regular rule.

229. Wàn qǔ qiān yān, qiān qǔ bǎi yān, bù wèi bù dāo yǐ, wàn qǔ 千 焉，千 取 百 焉，不 為 不 多 矣
To take 1000 from ten thousand, or 100 from 1000, is already a large amount (not not-many). (Mèng 1A/1)
Here the base forms are qǔ qiān yān wàn 取 千 焉 万 and qǔ bǎi yān qiān 取 百 於 千. When the noun objects of the coverb yū 於 are exposed, they are repeated by yān 焉, substituting for *yú zhī 於 之. Compare also example 65 in Section IV.7 above.

230. Wàn shèng zhù guó, shù qí jūn zhè, bù qiān shèng zhì jiā 萬 載 之 國，弑 其 君 者，必 千 載 之 家
The one who murders the ruler of a country of ten thousand
chariots will certainly be [head of] a house of 1000 chariots. (Mèng 1A/1)

Here the base form would be shì wàn shèng zhī guó zhī jūn zhé 萬乘之國之君者. The repeating pronoun is the possessive qǐ 其. As in the previous example, the exposed element is rhetorically repeated and contrasted by qiān shèng zhī guó 千乘之國 in the next sentence.

231. wǔ mù zhī zhái, shù zhī yī sàng 五畝之宅，樹之以桑
Let them plant the household plots of five mù with mulberries. (= shù wǔ mù zhī zhái yī sàng 樹五畝之宅以桑; Mèng 1A/3)

In late Preclassical Chinese of the Shijing and the early Classical Chinese of the Zuozhuan and Guoyu, the exposure construction differed in an important way. A preposed object was repeated by a pronoun, usually zhī 之 or shì 是, placed in front of the verb instead of after it. This is no doubt a survival of a more widespread placing of pronoun objects in front of the verb in the preclassical language.

232. Róng Dì shì yīng 戎狄是膺
The Róng and Dí, them he repressed. (Shí 300/4)

233. Guà rén zhī cóng jūn ěr xī yě, yí jīn zhī yào mèng shí jiàn 幡人之從君而西也，亦晉之妖夢是踐
That I am following your ruler and going west surely fulfills the strange dream in Jin. (Zuò Xī 15/14 = jiàn Jin zhī yào mèng 跡晉之妖夢)

234. Bīng ér hòu zhī yān, hé chī zhī yòu 病而後質焉，何遜之有
If we run into difficulties and then offer them hostages, will it be too late? (Zuò Dīng 8/10 = yòu hé chí 有何遜)

Note that in the following example the repeating pronoun is placed in front of a particle of negation instead of between the negative and the verb.

235. Shì zhī bù wù, ér yòu yān cóng shì 是之不務而又焉從事
If we do not devote our efforts to this, to what else should we apply ourselves? (Zuò Zhao 32/5)

In the case of the coverb yì 以, which regularly omits zhī 之 as its object, a preposed noun object is not repeated by a pronoun.
236. Ruò jīn jùn zhào yī rù, zé bì xī yī rù, xī yī rù, zé zhào yī sǐ；若晉君朝以入，則婢子夕以死，夕以入，則朝以死
If the Lord of Jin enters in the morning, then we women and children die in the evening; if he enters in the evening, we die in the morning. (Zuò Xi 15/14 — zhào 朝 ‘morning’ and xī 夕 ‘evening’ are placed in front of the coverb yī 以 for the sake of rhetorical contrast but are not followed by a recapitulating pronoun as they would be in the case of an ordinary verb.)

One stereotyped survival of this construction both in standard Classical Chinese and later Literary Chinese is with the verb wèi 請.

237. Fùzǐ zhī wèi yě fūzǐ 之謂也
It (the poem) refers to you, sir. (Měng 1A/7. This is derived from: wèi fū zǐ 之謂夫子 by moving the object fū zǐ 夫子 in front and repeating with zhī 之 — more literally: Your honour, him it refers to.)

238. Fēi cǐ zhī wèi yě 非此之謂也
I did not mean this. (Měng 2B/2 = bù wèi cǐ 不謂此)

The use of fēi 非 as the negative particle in the above example is a carry-over from the earlier construction, in which the exposed element was often introduced by wèi 唯 (惟, 謂), its negative fēi 非, or adnominal particles such as jiàng 將 or bì 必.

239. Shì fū yě, jiāng bù wèi Wèi guó zhī bái 是夫也，將不唯衛國之敗
This fellow will ruin not only the country of Wèi. (Zuò Chéng 14/6)
Note that here the exposed object, though clearly contrastive, is not placed before the subject and can hardly be called the ‘topic.’

240. Yú bì chén shì zhù 余必臣是助
I certainly subjects them help = I will certainly help my subjects. (Zuò Zhào 22/2)

2. Exposure of the Subject
If the subject is the element to which special emphasis or contrast is given, it is not displaced since its normal position is in front of the verb, but it can nevertheless be marked as exposed.
In the Shiēng and Zuòzhuàn, this is done by inserting the resumptive pronoun shí 實 or shì 實 ‘this’ between the subject and the verb. The exposed subject, like an exposed object, is often introduced by one of the adnominal articles wéi 唯, fēi 非, jiàng 將, bì 必, etc.

241. Cì èr rén zhě shí shì guà jùn 此二人者實弑寡君
   It was these two men who murdered our ruler. (Zuò Yin 4/6)

242. Fēi zhī zhě shí nán 非知之實難
   It is not knowing it that is difficult. (Zuò Zào 10/5)
   In other forms of Classical Chinese the demonstrative shí 是 may be used for the resumption of an exposed subject, e.g.,

243. Wáng zhī bù wàng shí zhí zhī lèi yě 王之不王是折枝之類也
   Your Majesty’s not achieving true Kingship is in the category of breaking a branch. (Mèng 1A/7)

244. Tiān yě, fēi rén yě, tiān zhī shēng shí shǐ duō yě 天也，非人也，天之生是使獨也
   It was Heaven. It was not man. Heaven’s giving me life it was that made me one-footed. (Zhuàng 3/13)

3. Zé 則 Marking Exposure
Besides its common function as a particle meaning ‘then’ introducing the apodosis of a condition, zé 則, which is no doubt deictic in origin, related to the demonstrative stem in zì 真 ‘this, here,’ cǐ 此 ‘this,’ etc., is used to mark an exposed noun phrase as contrastive. Most commonly, but not exclusively, the exposed element is the subject.

245. Shí zé zì bù yuè 士則益不悅
   I, Shì, am not pleased at this. (Mèng 2B/12)

246. Shí zé kě yòu yě 是則可憂也
   This is a thing to be concerned about. (Mèng 4B/28)

247. Kǒngzǐ yuē, shèng zé wú bù néng 孔子曰，聖則吾不能
   Confucius said, ‘To be a sage I am not capable.’ (Mèng 2A/2)

248. Niǎo zé zé mù，mù qì néng zé niǎo 鳥則棲木，木豈能棲鳥
The bird chooses its tree; how can a tree choose its bird? (Zuo Ai 11/6)

4. X zhī yú 之於 Y
Both the subject and a postverbal element may be topicalized in a locative phrase with yú 於 nominalized by zhī 之. (See also Section V.6b.vii.)

249. Jūnzi zhī yú qín shòu yē, jiàn qí shēng bù rěn jiàn qí sǐ
君子之於禽獸也，見其生不忍見其死
A gentleman’s attitude to birds and animals is that if he sees them alive he cannot bear to see them die. (Mèng 1A/7. Derived from jūnzi jiàn qín shòu zhī shēng … 君子見禽獸之生 … )
Such nominalized phrases with yú 於 as the verb are not confined to topicalization. They occur in other situations where a main verb has been deleted.

250. Zhōu Gōng zhī bù yǒu tiān xià, yǒu Yì zhī yú Xīa, Yī Yīn zhī yú Yīn yě.
周公之不有天下，猶益之於夏，伊尹之於殷也
The Duke of Zhōu’s not possessing the empire was like Yì’s situation in Xīa, and Yī Yīn’s in Yīn. (Mèng 5A/6)

5. Other Particles Marking Topicalization or Contrastive Exposure

(a) Yě 也
The use of yě 也 in these constructions is illustrated in such examples as 249 above. It is found especially, as there, when the topic phrase is a nominalized verbal phrase. Compare the use of yě 也 after nominalized phrases that are objects of a verb. A further example is:

251. Zhāng fù zhī guān yě, fù míng zhī, nǚ zī zhī jià yě, mù míng zhī
丈夫之冠也，父命之，女子之嫁也，母命之
The father orders the capping of a young man, the mother orders the marriage of a daughter. (Mèng 3B/2 )
Topic marker use of yě 也, is also often found with proper names. This is particularly common in the Lùnyū, e.g.
252. Lǐ yè sī, yòu guān ér wú guò 鲤也死，有棺而無槨

When Lǐ died, he had a coffin but no coffin case. \((L.Y. 11/8)\)

Note also jīn yě 今 也 ‘now,’ placed contrastively at the head of a sentence, a usage similar to topicalization (see example 382 and XII.3a).

(b) Wéi 唯 (佳，惟，維)
The preclassical copula, wéi 唯, performs a similar role to yě 也 in the classical language in marking introductory noun phrases as topics, e.g.,

253. Wéi tiān yòu hàn 維天有漢
In the sky there is the Milky Way. \((Shì 203/5)\)

(c) Zhě 者
In addition to its role in nominalization (VII.2c), zhě 者 occurs after nouns in exposed position as a marker of contrastive emphasis.

254. Fú míng tǎng zhě, wáng zhě zhì táng yě 夫明堂者，王者之堂也

The Hall of Light is a hall belonging to a King. \((Mèng 1B/5)\)

Like yě 也, zhě 者 is used after proper names. Míng tǎng 明堂 in the above example is really a proper noun. In the following example zhě 者 is used after a proper noun which is not in exposed position within its own clause but is effectively the exposed subject of the following clause.

255. Yǒu Yán Hú zhě, hào xué 有顔回者，好學
There was Yán Hú. He loved learning. \((L.Y. 6/3)\)

In time expressions like gǔ zhě 古者 ‘in ancient times,’ or xī zhě 昔者 ‘formerly’ zhě 者 also has a similar function to yě 也.

(d) Fū 夫
Fū 夫 (EMC bu) as a demonstrative pronoun is discussed in the next section. Its more common use is as an introductory particle announcing a topic as in example 254 above and the following. It often seems to have a generalizing force and is probably related to fán 凡 (EMC buam) ‘all’ (see XIII.1b).

256. Fū fū jiàn jí shì yuè, bǐ wǒ gān dāng wǒ zài, cǐ pí fū zhī yòng, dǐ yī rén zhě yě 夫撫劍疾視曰，彼惡敢當我哉，此匹夫之勇，敢一人者也
To put one’s hand on one’s sword, look fierce and say ‘How dare
he face me,’ is the courage of a common fellow, which is suitable only for confronting a single foe. (Mèng 1B/A)

257. Fú wǒ nǎi xíng zhī 夫我 乃 行之
As for me, I did it. (Mèng 1A/7)

Note that there is a double focus in the sentence: I (the king), in contrast to you (Mencius) and did, as opposed to understood. Fú 夫 emphasizes the subject while at the same time the effect of the particle nǎi 乃 is to throw emphasis forward on to the verb.

An important use of fú 夫 is with interrogative pronouns. The effect seems to be like adding ‘ever’ or the like in English. That is, it emphasizes the interrogative by widening its scope.

258. Fú shuf yǔ wáng dǐ 夫誰與王敵
Who in the world will oppose Your Majesty? (Mèng 1A/5)

(e) Rúo Fú 若夫
Rúo fú 若夫 ‘but as for…’ introduces a topic contrasted with something immediately preceding.

259. Dài Wén Wáng ér hòu xíng zhè, fán mín yě, ruò fú háo jiè zhī shì, suǒ wú Wén Wáng, yǒu xíng 待文王而後興者，凡民也。若夫豪傑之士，雖無文王，猶興
Those who wait for a King Wén to bestir themselves are ordinary men. As for real heroes, even without a King Wén they still bestir themselves. (Mèng 7A/10)

The first topic of such a correlative pair may be introduced by nǎi ruò 乃若. This seems to be a locution peculiar to Mencius.

260. Nǎi ruò qí qǐng zé kě yǐ wéi shān yí, nǎi suǒ wèi shān yě. Ruò fú wéi bù shàn, fēi cǎi zhī zú yě 乃若其情則可以為善矣，乃所謂善也。若夫為不善，非才之罪也
As far as one’s inner nature is concerned, one can be good. This is what I mean by [nature’s being] good. As for becoming bad, it is not the fault of one’s basic capacity. (Mèng 6A/6)
IX. Pronouns and Related Words

1. Personal Pronouns

(a) First Person

There are two series of first person pronouns in Classical Chinese: (1) those with initial j- in Middle Chinese including yū 余 (EMC ja‘), yū 予 (EMC ja‘‘) and preclassical yī 一 (EMC jī), together with zhēn 朕 (EMC drin‘) which probably also had the same Old Chinese initial originally;22 and (2) those with initial w- in Middle Chinese, including wú 吾 (EMC qa‘) and wǒ 我 (EMC qa‘‘) and preclassical āng 王 (EMC ga‘).23 Judging by the use on the oracle bones in which yū 余 and zhēn 朕 refer (almost) exclusively to the king himself while wǒ 我 refers to Shang collectively, the original distinction was between singular (set 1) and plural (set 2).24 By the time of the early Zhōu bronze inscriptions, the distinction was breaking down and it was becoming possible to use wǒ 我 as singular ‘I’, but the older usage continues in such expressions as yù yī rén 一人 ‘I, one man,’ the formula used by the Zhōu king, on the one hand, and wǒ guó 我國 ‘our country’ on the other. By classical times yū 余 and yū 予 were obsolete and the s- forms were normal in a singular as well as a plural sense. When yū 余 and yū 予 survive, they are still confined to the singular. In traditional reading pronunciation 予 is considered to be just a graphic alternative to 余 and is read yū (lower level tone) in the sense of ‘I’ in contrast to its reading yù (rising tone) in the sense of ‘give.’ In the Shijing, however, it rhymes in rising tone in both senses. This is also true of the rhymes in the Chichí, which makes a clear distinction in usage between 余 and 予, resembling that between wú 吾 and wǒ 我, that is, reserving 予 to object position (mostly, but not exclusively postverbal).25

261. Yù zhù miào zhǎng yǔ 于 助苗长矣

I have been helping the sprouts to grow. (Méng 2A/2)

Wú 吾 and wǒ 我 were differentiated in grammatical usage. Wú 吾 occurs only in front of the word on which it depends. It is most commonly possessive — wú shǒu 吾手 ‘my hand’ — or subjective — wú lái 吾来 ‘I come’ or ‘my coming,’ but it can also appear as an object standing between a negative particle and the verb: bù wú zhī 不 吾 知 ‘does not know me.’ Wǒ 我 can occur both in front of a noun, as possessive, or a
verb, as subject, and after a verb as object. It seems to be more emphatic
and contrastive than wú 吾 and might be compared to the disjunctive form
moi in French versus me or je.

wú rén, bì yī qí jué, wǒ yǐ wú yī, wú hé qiàn hù zài’. Zì 晉 子 之
富不可及也，彼以其富，我以吾仁，彼以其
爵，我以吾義，吾何慊乎哉
Zèngzī said, 'The wealth of Jin and Chù cannot be attained to.
They with their wealth, I with my benevolence, they with their
honours, I with my righteousness, why should I be dissatisfied?
(Mèng 2B/2)

In this passage where there is strong contrast — I as opposed to they — wǒ
我 is used; otherwise wú 吾. 26

Preclassical yí 台 (with various alternative graphic forms on
inscriptions) and zhèn 臧 are mostly possessive, occasionally nominative.
They are very rare in texts of the classical period. The First Emperor of Qin
chose zhèn 臧 as a special first person pronoun for his own use and
thereafter it survived through imperial times as a way for the emperor to
refer to himself. Preclassical ang 阿 occurs in a handful of examples in the
Shiji and Shajing, mostly but not exclusively as a singular.

Various expressions of a self-deprecatory nature were commonly used in
place of first person pronouns, e.g., guārén 寡人 ‘bereft person,’ gù 孤
‘orphan,’ bāngu 不敢 ‘unworthy’ — terms used by rulers; chén 臣 ‘your
subject’ — used by a minister to his ruler; pà 僕 ‘your slave’ — used
between equals (Japanese boku); qiè 妾 ‘your slave’ — used by women; qiè
妾 ‘private’ — used in documentary style (compare Japanese watakushi).
Another humble way of referring to oneself was by use of one’s personal
name (míng 名).

(b) Second Person
The various forms of the second person pronoun originally all had initial
*n-, like cognate forms in Tibeto-Burman. The ancestral form of modern nǐ
你 was ér 爾 (EMC niǎ), perhaps originally pronounced something like
*nàj. By regular phonetic change, the reading form became ér but in the
colloquial language it became nǐ, now written 你. Other forms were rù 汝
(EMC nià) often written 女, ér 而 (EMC nǐ), ruò 若 (EMC niǎk) and,
in the preclassical language, nǎi 乃 (EMC naj) and róng 兌 (EMC
nuω). In classical texts, both ér 爾 and rù 汝 are used both as subject and
object. There are differences in usage in different texts but what these are has
not been clearly established. Ėr 而, like wú 吾, is used only as subject or
possessive. It is comparatively uncommon.

263. Yú ēr zū yè 余而祖父
I am your grandfather. (Zuò Xùn 3/9)

264. Ėr nǎi jīn zhī zhī hū 而乃今知之乎
Do you know it now? (Zhuàng 7.1)

Ruò 若 is common in the Zhuàngzǐ and some later texts, but is not found
in the Mencius or earlier texts. It occurs as both subject and object.

Several of the words meaning ‘you’ are homophonous with words
meaning ‘like,’ ‘thus,’ etc. and are written with the same characters: ēr 爾
‘thus, so,’ ruò 若 ‘like,’ Ėr 而 ‘so, then,’ nǎi 乃 ‘then.’ Compare also rú 如
‘like,’ which differs only in tone from rú 汝 ‘you.’ In preclassical
texts, nǎi 乃 ‘then’ was written with a different character, 道, distinct from nǎi
乃 ‘you, your,’ which suggests that it may also have been pronounced
differently. The roots for ‘you’ and ‘like’ may have originally differed in
some way in their initial consonants.

Corresponding to the humble forms used for the first person are
numerous honorific forms used as terms of address. One mode of honorific
address is to use the appropriate title, e.g., wáng 王 ‘your majesty.’ More
general terms are jūn 君 ‘lord,’ gōng 公 ‘lord,’ qīng 卿 ‘minister’ (used
by a ruler to his minister), zǐ 子 ‘master’ or ‘sir’ (also fū zǐ 夫子, wú 之
吾子). Note the expression bì xià 陛下 ‘your majesty,’ literally
‘beneath the steps’ (of the throne). The subject, not daring to address the
ruler directly, addresses instead the servant seated below. Similar
expressions, graded by the rank of the person addressed, were diàn xià 殿
下 ‘your highness,’ gé xià 閣 下 ‘your excellency.’ Zuò xià 足下
‘beneath the feet’ was originally an expression of the same kind which came
to be used as a respectful address between men of more or less equal rank.
Xiàn shēng 先生 ‘elder born’ appears as early as the Warring States, used
especially to teachers.

Such honorifics could in many cases also be used when referring to
others in the third person.

(c) Third Person

There is no general third person pronoun equivalent to modern tā 他, which
has the reading pronunciation tuō and means ‘other’ in Classical Chinese.
IX. Pronouns and Related Words

(i) Zhi 之 comes closest to being a general third person pronoun. It is, however, almost exclusively confined to being object of a verb or coverb; shà zhi 諸 ‘kills him,’ yòu zhi 由之 ‘from it.’ One must, of course, distinguish the object pronoun zhi 之 from the verb zhi 之 ‘go to,’ written with the same character. The mark of noun subordination zhi 之, on the other hand, is no doubt etymologically related to the pronoun.

In rare instances in a few texts, notably the Shiijing and Zhuangzi, zhi 之 occurs as an attributive demonstrative ‘this’:

265. Zhi er chóng you hé zhi 之二蟲又何知
And what do these two worms know? (Zhuang 1.10)

As noted above, zhi 之 is always omitted after yi 以 in pre-Han texts, and yi 以 alone is then equivalent to yi zhi 以之. The omission of zhi 之 with the negative particles bu 不, fu 弗, etc., is discussed below.

Zhi 之 forms part of a number of contractions:
- zhi 諸 = 之 + 乎: you zhi 有諸 ‘is it so?’ = 有之乎
- zhi 諸 = 之 + 於 (or perhaps better之 + 乎, where 乎 is a variant of 於) (V.6b(iii)): jiú zhi bì 加諸彼 ‘apply it to those’ = 加之於彼
- zhi 諸 = 之 + 焉 (comparatively uncommon, there are a few examples in Zuo Shu Huan)

On yun 焉 as a substitute for yu 於 + zhi 之, which is not a contraction, see (c) below. So also rán 然, yin 息 as equivalents to rú 如 + zhi 之 (f) and yuè 日 + zhi 之 (g). On fu 弗 and wu 㡣 which did not originate as contractions but were apparently interpreted as equivalent to bu 不 + zhi 之 and wu 毋 + zhi 之 in Warring States times, see XI.1c and XI.1b.

For the use of zhi 之 to repeat an exposed object placed in front of the verb, see Section VIII.1.

(ii) There is no third personal subject pronoun as such. When one is required for contrast or emphasis one of the demonstrative pronouns is used.

266. Shi Lu K’ong Chiü yu 是鲁孔丘與
Is he K’ong Chiü of Lu? (LY 18.6)

267. Bi zhàng fù yè, wò zhàng fù yè, wù hé wèi bǐ zài 彼丈夫也，我丈夫也，吾何畏彼哉
He is a man, I am a man. Why should I be in awe of him? (Mèng 3A/1)
Otherwise a third person subject is expressed by its noun or omitted altogether, sometimes even when the subject changes.

(iii) *qí 其* as a pronoun serves as a substitute for Noun + 之, either in front of another noun (possessive) or in front of a verb (nominalization): *qí 其妻 'his wife,' *qí lái 其來 'his coming.'

*Qí 其* as a possessive pronoun must be distinguished from the modal particle *qí* written with the same character (XII.3a). Attempts have been made to derive one from the other but they have not proved convincing so far. The modal particle, which is found already on the oracle bones, is the older form. The possessive pronoun *qí* is not found on the oracle bones, early bronze inscriptions, or the genuine parts of the Shiji, where one has instead *jué 周*. The Shiji uses both, *jué* being confined almost exclusively to the Dàyá and Sòng sections which are thought to be earlier. *Jué* does not occur except in quotations in texts of the classical period. 27

In the Warring States period, *qí 其* is sometimes found as a demonstrative, more or less equivalent to a definite article, rather than a possessive, e.g.,

268. *Qí rén fū néng yǐng yè 其人弗能應也*
The man could not answer. (HF 36, p. 265)

(iv) Postclassical third person pronouns include *yī 伊*, *qú 樂*, and *tā 他*. *Tā 他* begins to occur in the modern sense in colloquial passages in post-Hán texts.

(v) *Yán 真* behaves like a combination *yú zhi 於之*, which is never found. Though equivalent to *yú zhi 於之* in meaning, *yán 真* is clearly not derived phonologically from a fusion of these two elements. It is probably derived from *yú 於* by the addition of a suffix *-n* inherited from Sino-Tibetan that may originally have been a mark of non-perfective or durative aspect, the anaphoric pronominal meaning being a secondary development. 28

269. *Wàn qū qián yān ... 萬取千焉*
10,000, to take 1,000 from it ... (Méng 1A/1. Topicalized form of *qú qián yú wèn*取千於萬 ‘to take 1,000 from 10,000').

270. *Sì tiān xià zhī mín zhī yān 斯天下之民至焉*
Then the people of the world will come to *him*. (Méng 1A/3)

271. *Dài yǒu shèn yān 殆有甚焉*
It may be even worse than *that*. (Méng 1A/7)
In some texts (though not in the Mencius or Lûn yû) yân 焉 can occur before the verb in the sense of 是 yû shî ‘then.’

272. Bì zhî luàn zhî suǒ zì qî, yân néng chí zhî 必知亂之所自起，焉能治之
One must know where disorder arises from, then one can control it.
(Mò 14/1)
In Middle Chinese the postverbal particle, yân 焉 ‘in it, there,’ had a voiced onset (EMC ian) which should have given a modern pronunciation yân in second tone, while the interrogative yân 焉 ‘where, how’ had a glottal stop (EMC ʔian) corresponding to the modern pronunciation in the first tone. This distinction is still maintained in reading pronunciation in some dialects such as Cantonese. Nevertheless, the two words no doubt have a common origin. The initial glottal stop would have been lost in the postverbal particle because it was always enclitic, that is, an unaccented word pronounced in close association with the preceding word.29 Ān 安 (EMC ʔan) which is a variant of yân 焉 as an interrogative particle, also occurs occasionally in preverbal position in the sense of ‘then.’

273. ... ěr bāo guó ān zî huà yǐ ... 而暴國自化矣 ... and rebellious countries will then transform themselves. (Xún 7/14)
In this sense ān 案 is sometimes written instead of ān 安. This seems to imply the addition of a formative suffix *-s but examples are so few that one suspects it may be simply an arbitrary graphic distinction.

(vi) Rân 然 ‘(it is) so’ bears the same relationship to râ 如 ‘like’ that yân 焉 does to yû 於. Thus, it can be a complete sentence: Rân 然 ‘It is so’; or an initial clause: rân zê 然則 ‘if it is so, then ...’; sui rân 雖然 ‘though it is so ...’; or an imbedded sentence as in shî zhî rân 使之然 ‘make it so,’ etc. For examples see 11, 36, 210, 228, etc. For use of rân to form adverbs of manner, see X.5. For the conjunction rân hû̀u 然乎 ‘afterwards’ see XV.4f.

(vii) Yûn 云, EMC wun, ‘say (so)’ bears a similar relation to yûé 日, EMC wuat, ‘say,’ which like yû 於 and râ 如 (in the sense of ‘be like’) is never followed by the object pronoun zhî 之.

He said, ‘If you follow my advice, you will certainly be the heir of
the Mèngs.’ He said it two or three times. Jié followed his advice. (Zuò Xiàng 23/11)

275. Jin Pīng Gōng zhī yú Hǎi Táng yě, rù yún zé rù, zuò yún zé zuò, shí yún zé shí 晋平公之於亥唐也，入云則 入，坐云則坐，食云則食

Duke Pīng of Jìn’s behaviour towards Hài Táng was that when he (Táng) said ‘enter’ he entered, when he said ‘sit’ he sat, when he said ‘eat’ he ate. (Mèng SB/3)

In normal word order the quoted phrases ‘enter,’ ‘sit,’ and ‘eat’ would follow the verb of saying, yuē 日, in object position. Here they are placed in front of the verb because they are rhetorically in contrast, a construction that requires recapitulation by a pronoun after the verb (VIII.1). Therefore yún 日 is used instead of yuē 日.

The contrast between yún 日 and yuē 日 was probably originally aspectual, that is, ‘say’ as an indefinite act without any time reference (yún) versus ‘say’ as a definite act on a particular occasion (yuē). Thus, yún 日 is often used to introduce quotations from books, as in: Shī yún 詩云 ‘The Book of Odes says’ in contrast to yuē 日, which introduces words spoken on a particular occasion. It can also be used as an intransitive verb ‘to speak,’ as in the phrase mò yún 默云 ‘be silent or speak’ (Xún 21/46), or in an example like the following:

276. Zhòng fù zhī bīng bīng yǐ, kě bù huì yún 仲父之病病 矣，可不諱（謂）云

Your illness is critical, you may speak without avoidance. (Zhuàng 24/51)

Yún 日 may close a quotation introduced by yuē 日. In many such cases, the quotation is not a main predicate but forms part of a subordinate clause. Yüè 日 is never nominalized by insertion of zhī 之 after the subject or by qí 其 standing for N + zhī 之. Instead the clause introduced by yuē 日 is placed in apposition to yún 日 ‘say so,’ as here:

277. Zhì yuē, rǔ ān zhī yú lè yún zhe 子曰，汝安知魚 樂云者

When you said, ‘How do you know the fishes’ pleasure?’ (Zhuàng 17/90. Literally: You say, ‘You how know fishes’ pleasure’ say-so thing.’)

Compare the use of rán 然 to close an expression introduced by rú 如 or ruò 若.
IX. Pronouns and Related Words

278. Jīn yán wàng ruò yì rán, zé Wén Wáng bù zú fā yú 今言
王若易然，則文王不足法與

Now when you speak of kingship as being easy, [does it mean
that] King Wén (who did not achieve kingship in his lifetime) was
not worthy of being taken as a model? (Měng 2A/1)

Yǔn ěr yún ‘say thus’ after a quotation introduced by yuē 日
indicates imagined speech.31 (For ěr 爾 ‘thus’ see IX.2i below.)

279. Qí xīn yuē, shì hé zú yǔ yán rén yì yě yún ěr 些心曰，
是何與言仁義也云爾

In their hearts they say, ‘How is he worthy to be spoken to about
benevolence or righteousness?’ (Měng 2B/2)

(d) Reflexive Personal Pronoun

The reflexive personal pronoun jī 己 ‘self’ is used as a pronoun in all
positions — subject or object of a verb and attributive to a noun. It thus
differs syntactically from the reflexive pronominal adverb zǐ 自 (XIII.4)
which always occurs immediately in front of the verb.

280. Shè zhè zhèng jī ěr hòu shè zì 此射者正己而後發
An archer sets himself correctly before he shoots. (Měng 2A/7)

281. Fù rén zhè, jī yù lái ěr lì rén, jǐ yǔ dà ěr dà rén 夫仁者，
己欲立而立人，己欲達而達人
The man of virtue, himself wishing to be established, establishes
others, himself wishing to advance, advances others. (LY 6/30)

282. Rén yǐ wéi jī rén 仁以為己任
Virtue he takes to be his own responsibility. (LY 8/7)

jī, unlike zǐ 自, can be an indirect reflexive, referring not to the subject
of its own verb but to that of a clause in which its clause is embedded.

283. Wú yǒu bù rú jī zhè 無友不如己者
Do not make friends of those who are your inferiors. (LY 1/8; bù
zǐ rú 不自如 would mean ‘not equal to themselves.’)

284. Bù huàn rén zhī bù jī zhī 不患人之不己知
I do not worry that people do not know me. (LY 1/16. Not: bù zǐ
zhī 不自知 ‘do not know themselves.’)

Note that shēn 身 ‘body, person’ can also be used as equivalent to a
reflexive pronoun.
285. Shēn wéi tiānzǐ, dì wéi pǐfu, kè wèi qín ài zhǐ hū 身為天子，第為匹夫，可謂親愛之乎
Being himself Son of Heaven and his younger brother being a commoner, could he have been said to have treated his brother with the love due to a close relative? (Mēng 5A/3)

(e) Personal Pronouns with Negative Particles
One of the special rules of word order in Classical Chinese is that personal pronoun objects are placed between the negative particle and the verb (II.3c.ii). In addition to the following examples, see 284 above.

286. Fù mǔ zhì bù wǒ ài 父母之不我愛
That my parents do not love me … (Mēng 5A/1)

287. Gù bù wú yuǎn yě 故不吾遠也
Therefore he did not keep me at a distance. (Zuò Zhāo 20/3)

288. Lóugōu bù yú qī yè 儂句不余欺也
The Lóugōu [tortoise-shell] did not deceive me. (Zuò Zhāo 25/3)

289. Mēng yuè, wǒ wú ěr zhà, ěr wú wǒ yú 薙曰，我無爾詐，爾無我虞
Their covenant was: Let us not deceive you, let you not be concerned about us. (Zuò Xuān 15/2)

The third person pronoun zhī之 is normally omitted when its verb is governed by the particle of simple negation bù 不 ‘not’ or the negative imperative (or subjunctive) wú 无 ‘do not’.

290. Shú néng yǒu zhī? Tiān xià mò bù yǔ zěn néng yǔ zhī. 天下莫不與之
‘Who can give it to him? … ’No one in the world will not give it (to him).’ (Mēng 1A/6)

291. Qǐ qù zhǔ mìn zhī bù yǐ yě, ěr yǐ tuō cí wú shòu bù kě hū 其取諸民之不義也，而以他辭無受不可乎
Is it not possible to refuse to accept it (無受) because his taking it from the people was unrighteous but giving another reason? (Mēng 5B/4)

For zhī之 placed in front of bù 不 when it recapitulates an object proposed for contrast or emphasis in the language of the Zuòzhuàn, see VIII.1 above.
Excepting, especially when the perfect particle $yì$ is added, $zhī$ may follow the verb even after a negative. This seems to make the statement more emphatic.

292. Shèng rén wú bù dé ér jiàn zhī $yì$ 聖人吾不得而見之矣
   A sage I shall not get to see. (LY 7/26)

This is especially common with the negative particles $fú$, $wù$ 勿 and $miè$ 茂 which originally ended in *-t. See XI.1c, XI.2b, XI.2h. Occasional examples in which other personal pronouns follow a negated verb also occur.

293. Yǒu shì ér bù gào wǒ, bì bù jié $yì$ 有事而不告我，必不捷矣
   If you have some business and don’t tell me, it will certainly not succeed. (Zuò Xiàng 28/6)

294. Fú bù wù rǔ hū 夫不惡女乎
   Does he not hate you? (Zuò Xiàng 26/6)

   With the negative particles $wèi$ 未 and $mò$ 莫, $zhī$ is normally retained but placed between the negative and the verb.

295. Chén wèi zhī wèn yě 臣未之聞也
   Your servant has never heard about them. (Mèng 1A/7)

296. Mò zhī néng yě yě 莫之能禦也
   No one can prevent it. (Mèng 1A/7)

2. Demonstratives
   The three main demonstrative pronouns in Classical Chinese are $shì$ 是, $cǐ$ 此, and $bǐ$ 彼. $Shì$ is is usually anaphoric (referring back to something), with no particular implication of closeness or remoteness. It may be translated by either ‘this’ or ‘that’; $Cǐ$ 此 and $bǐ$ 彼, on the other hand make a contrast between ‘this (here)’ and ‘that (over there).’

(a) $Shì$ 是
   $Shì$ is may be used pronominally or adjectivally to refer to persons or things and as a pronoun may be subject or object of a verb. On its function to recapitulate a phrase or series of phrases which is the subject of a noun predication, out of which its later use as a copula developed, see III.4 above
Probably because of the frequent collocation:  

_šì_ 是 and _féi_ 非 were used in the sense of ‘right’ and ‘wrong.’ This usage is not found (or is very rare) in Zuòzhūàn, Lùn yǔ, and earlier texts but is common in Mencius and other texts of the Warring States period.\(^3\)

297. _Yán zhì chéng shì yě_ 検之誠是也

If [merely] covering them (i.e., the bodies of dead parents) were really right ... (Méng 3A/5)

298. _Wú shì fēi zhì xīn_ 無是非之心, _féi rén_ yě 無是非之心, _fēi rén_ yě

Not to have a mind which calls things right or wrong is not human. (Méng 2A/6)

 Shiv forms part of the common sentence connectives _šì gù_ 是故 ‘for this reason, therefore,’ _yǔ šì_ 於是 ‘thereupon,’ and _šì yě_ 是以 ‘therefore.’ The word order in the last of these can be explained as preposing for the sake of topicalization, the expected repetition of the object by _zhì_ 之 being omitted, as always, after _yì_ 以. _Yì šì_ 以是 also occurs in the full sense ‘because of this.’ Note also _yǔ šì hā_ 於是乎 for _yǔ šì_ 於是 in the Zuòzhūàn.

For the use of _šì_ 是 (like _zhì_ 之) to resume a preposed object, see Section VIII on Topicalization.

(b) _cì_ 此

_Cì_ 此 ‘this (here),’ like _šì_ 是, occurs freely as subject, object, or attributive. It can also be used to resume a phrase which is the subject of a noun predication.

299. _Cì shuài shòu èr _shì rén_ yě 此率獸而食人也

This is leading animals to eat men. (Méng 1A/4)

It did not, however, become a copula.

(c) _bǐ_ 彼

Like _šì_ 是 and _cì_ 此, _bǐ_ 彼 can be used either attributively or as an independent pronoun, but it is most frequent as the latter. In the latter usage it frequently has a personal reference, taking the place of a third personal pronoun. In this respect it differs from _šì_ 是 and _cì_ 此, which are occasionally found with personal reference but are mostly not so used.
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300. Bǐ yī shí, cǐ yī shí yě 彼一時，此一時也
That was one time, this is another time. (Impersonal reference; Mèng 2B/13)

301. Bǐ duó qí mín shǐ 彼奪其民時
Those (other rulers) rob their people of their proper seasons.
(Personal reference; Mèng 1A/5)

302. Bǐ wú zhī zhū 彼惡知之
How were they (i.e., those people who criticized the king) to know it? (Personal reference; Mèng 1A/7)

We find it used attributively in:

303. Xiàng bù dé yǒu wèi yǔ qí guó. Tànzǐ shǐ hē qí guó ér nà qí gòng shuí yān. gù wèi zhī fāng, qǐ bào bǐ mín zài. 象不得有為於其國。天子使吏於其國而納其貢稅 焉。故謂之放，豈暴彼民哉
Xiàng was not able to play an active role in his kingdom. The Son of Heaven sent an official to govern his kingdom and to pay its tribute and taxes to him (i.e., to Xiang). Hence one refers to him as ‘banished.’ How could he have been allowed to oppress those people [of his kingdom]? (Mèng 5A/3)

In the following example, note the attributive use of bǐ 彼 with a general rather than a particular reference.

304. Bǐ qiè gòu zhè zhū, qiè guó zhè wèi zhū hòu 彼竊鉤者 誅，竊國者為諸侯
The (literally: that) stealer of a clasp is executed; one who steals a country becomes a feudal lord. (Zhuàng 10/19)

As is apparent from the translation, this shift from a particularizing to a generalizing meaning may be compared to one use of the definite article in English (‘the tiger is a tawny beast’ — not one particular tiger but any tiger).

Bǐ 彼 sometimes forms a possessive by adding zhī 之, as in:

305. Bèi fù. Shī rén yì xíng sè míng shèng wéi zú yǐ dé bǐ zhī 悲夫，世人以形色名聲為足以得彼之 情
Is it not sad? The people of the world think that the form, color, name, and sound (of something) are sufficient to get the nature of that (thing)? (Zhuàng 13/67)
An alternative construction in which *qi 其* is inserted between the demonstrative and the noun is also found.

306. Bi qi dao yuan er xian 彼其道遠而險
The road to that place is long and perilous. (Zhuang 20/17)
The same thing is also found occasionally with other demonstratives.

307. Ci qi gu he ye 此其故何也
What is the reason for this? (Mo 9/38)
The following are less common demonstratives.

(d) Si 斯
'S this,' is used in place of *ci 此* in the *Lunyu* and the ‘Tân Gông’ section of the *Liji*, which is closely akin to the *Lunyu*.

308. Qi si zhi wei yu 其为之與
Surely it means this. (*ly* 1/15)

309. Li zhi yong, he wei gui, xian wang zhi dao, si wei mei 理之用，和為貴，先王之道，斯為美
In the carrying out of ritual, harmony is the most important; in the way of the ancient kings, this was the greatest excellence. (*ly* 1/12)

310. Junzi zhi zhi yu si ye, wu wei chang du ji an yan 君子之至於斯也，吾未嘗不得見焉
When superior men have come here, I have never failed to meet them. (*ly* 3/24)

It also occurs a few times in this sense in the *Odes* and in *Mencius* (only attributively, see example 475) but seldom elsewhere. In other texts it is only a connective, 'then.'

(e) Zi 贽
*Zi 贽* (EMC *tsi*) 'this' is normal as a near demonstrative in the oracle bones and bronze inscriptions, the *Shuijing*, and in the *Zhou Song* 周頌 and Dâ Yâ 大雅 *Odes*. It survives to a limited extent in classical texts. We find it used adverbially in the following two passages in *Mencius*:

311. Jin zi wei neng 今兹未能
For the present I am not yet able. (*Meng 3B/8*)
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312. Shī, zé zì bù yuē 士，則自不悅
I, Shī, am displeased at this. (Mèng 2B/12)

(f) Shī 是 and Shī 實
Shī 是 (EMC zī, for *dzī ?) and the variant shī 實 (EMC dzì k) represent a pronoun related to shī 是 (EMC dzì á) that is found in the Shūjīng, Zuōzhūàn, and Guóyǔ. It is used to recapitulate the subject and mark it as contrastive (see VIII.2 above).34

313. Rén shì yǒu guó 人實有國
It is others who possess the country. (Zuō Xī 9 fù 2)

(g) Shī 時
Shī 時 (EMC dzì) ‘this,’ also related to shī 是, is found only in the preclassical language. At that period it seems to be a relatively unemphatic form as opposed to both shī 是 and shī 實.

314. Yǒng xiă ěr jí, shī wàn shí yì 永錫爾極，時萬時億
Forever they will give you the utmost blessings; they will be in myriads, in myriads of myriads. (Shī 209/4 Cf. Karlgren 1950a)

(h) Fū 夫
Fū 夫 ‘that’ (EMC buă, to be distinguished from fū 夫 EMC puă ‘male person’ written with the same character) is probably related to bī 彼 ‘that’ (EMC piă), though the voiced initial is a problem.35 Though fairly common in the Zuōzhūàn, it is less so in later Warring States texts.

315. Suī Chū yǒu cái, Jìn shī yòng zhi. Zìmù yuē, fū dú wú zú yín hǎo? Dū yuē, suī yǒu ěr yòng Chū cái shì duō. 雖楚有財，晉實用之。子木曰，夫獨無族姻乎。對曰。雖有而用楚財實多
‘Though Chū has the talent, it is Jīn that makes use of it,’ Zīmù said, ‘Are they (i.e., the Jīn rulers) alone without clanmen and relatives by marriage?’ He replied, ‘Though they have, their use of talent from Chū, that is greater.’ (Zuō Xiāng 26 fù 6)

316. Fū Yīn Shī wū zhī yǔ zāi fū 尋士怒知予哉
How should that Yin Shi know me? (Mèng 2B/12. Though this
the standard interpretation, it seems possible to interpret _fu here is the generalizing particle: ‘any Yin Shí … ’

(i) 『然
Besides _ran_ 然, discussed above, 『然 and _若_ 若 (next section), among the words derived from the family of words beginning in *n-* meaning ‘like, so, etc.’ are used as demonstrative pronouns. In this sense 『然 is sometimes said to be a fusion of _此_ 此 but, though _此_ 此 and 『然 rhymed in Middle Chinese, they are usually considered the rhyme to come from different Old Chinese rhyme groups. In the classical period, 『然 is more like an independent pronoun than a combination of verb and pronoun. While _然_ 不然 is common, _然_ 只然 only occurs in post-Han texts and only with the meaning, ‘if it is not so.’

317. _德_ qí xīn yǒu duó. Suǒ yù _然_ zhí jù zhí, suǒ wù wù shí 『然
yè 得其心有道。所欲興之聚之，所惡勿施
然也
There is a way to gain their hearts. It is thus — what they desire, gather for them, what they hate, do not impose. (Měng 4A/10)
As here, and in the expression _然_ 『然云 (see example 279 above), 『然 is most frequently found at the end of a sentence, but it can also occur attributively as in:

318. _費_ tiān zhī jiàng cǎi 『然 shū yè 非天之降才爾殊也
It is not that Heaven’s bestowing of talent is so different. (Měng 6A/7)

(j) _若_ 若
In the preclassical language, _若 若_ was a verb meaning ‘agree, accord with, conform to, etc.’ and could also be used adverbially in the sense of ‘thus,’ for example, in the frequent formula _王_ ruò 『然 王若曰 ‘The king thus said …’ at the beginning of bronze inscriptions. Besides its other uses in the classical language as a verb meaning ‘like,’ a conjunction ‘if,’ etc., we sometimes find what appears to be a survival of its earlier usage when it is found attributively to an embedded clause in the sense of ‘that kind of, such.’

319. _以_ ruò suǒ wéi qiú ruò suǒ yù 以若所為求若所欲
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To seek for that sort of wish with that sort of action (Mèng 1A/7)

3. Interrogatives

Interrogative pronouns fall into two main groups: (a) those referring primarily to persons, which begin with dz- in Middle Chinese pronunciation — shuí 誰 and shú 夫; (b) those referring primarily to things, which begin with g- in Middle Chinese pronunciation — hê 何, xî 習, hê 誠, hú 胡, hê 跇, etc. A third group, (c) with initial glottal stop in Middle Chinese appear to be derived from the coverb yû 於 with the addition of various elements — än 安, yăn 燕, wû 惡, wî hû 厭乎, etc.

(a)(i) Shuí 誰
Shuí 誰 (EMC dzwi) ‘who’ can be either subject or object. Note that it precedes the verb even when it is the object. It can also appear as the complement in a noun predication.

320. ... yû shuí zhî jù xià, pèirán shuí néng yû zhî 由水之就下，沛然誰能禱之
... like water going downward in a torrent, who can stop it? (Mèng 1A/6)

321. Xiàng rèn zhâng yû bò xiîng yî sul, zé shuí jîng 鄉人長於伯兄一歲，則誰敬
[Suppose that] a man of the village is a year older than your elder brother, then which do you respect? (Mèng 6A/5)

322. Zhuí wô zhê shuí yê 追我者誰也
Who is it that is pursuing me? (Mèng 4B/24)

With the copula verb wêi 為, shuí 誰 follows.

323. Zi wêi shuí 子為誰
Who are you? (LY 18/6)

As object of most coverbs shuí 誰 precedes in the normal way.

324. Wâng shuí yû wêi shàn 王誰與為善
With whom (i.e., with whose help) will the king do good? (Mèng 3B/6)

With yû 於, which has the syntax of a copula, it follows.

325. Dào qiè zhî xîng, yû shuí zé ér kê hû 盜竊之行，於誰責而可乎
For the thefts and robberies, on whom is it right to lay the blame?
*(Zhāng 25/50)*

When used possessively, *shuí* 誰 is mostly followed by *zhī* 之.

**326. Shi shuí zhī guò yǔ 是誰之過與**

Whose fault is this? *(LY 16/1)*

In Hán and later texts *zhī* 之 may be omitted: *shuí* 誰 *zǐ* 諸子 ‘whose son.’

*Shuí* 誰 may also occur attributively, without *zhī* 之, before nouns referring to human beings, where it must be translated into English as ‘what’ or ‘which’ — *shuí* 誰 *shí* 氏 ‘what clan?’, *shuí* rēn 誰人 ‘what man?’

(ii) *Shuí* 誰 ‘which’

*Shuí* 誰 (EMC dzuwk) is one of a group of words in *k* including *gè* 各 (EMC kāk) ‘each,’ *hào* 虧 (EMC ywak) ‘some,’ and *mò* 莫 (EMC mák) ‘none,’ which are confined to preverbal position referring to the subject, and which usually select the subject from a larger group.

**327. Zōu rén yǔ Chū rén zhàn, zé wáng yī wéi shuí shèng 營入與楚人戰，則王以為孰勝**

If the men of Zōu fought with the men of Chū, which does Your Majesty think would win? *(Mèng 1A/7)*

It is often found in comparisons.

**328. wú yì yǔ Zì Lù shú xián 吾子與子路孰賢**

As between you, sir, and Zì Lù, which is superior? *(Mèng 2A/1)*

Sometimes the group from which *shuí* 誰 selects is indefinite and the meaning is hardly different from *shuí* 誰 referring to the subject.

**329. Shú néng yì zhī ... Shú néng yǔ zhī 誰能一之。…… 誰能與之**

Who can unite it? … Who can give it to him? *(Mèng 1A/6)*

In the first case the set of possible subjects is, no doubt, a limited one, the rulers of states, and *shuí* 誰 might be rendered ‘which (ruler),’ but in the second case it is not obvious how one could define such a limited set.

*Shuí* 誰 sometimes refers to things, replacing *hé* 何 which cannot normally be used for the subject.

**330. Dú lè yuè, yǔ rén lè yuè, shú lè 獨樂樂，與人樂樂，孰樂**
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Which is better, to enjoy music alone or to enjoy music with other people? (Mèng 1B/1)

In the previous examples which involve comparisons between two things, A and B, the pattern is A (與) B 與 + Adj. This is the normal word order with such words that define the scope of the subject (see Section XI). The order A 與 與 B + Adj. is also found. This is a possible word order at surface level because of the verbal nature of the coverb yǔ 與. It preserves the order Subj. + shú 與 + V.

331. Zào jiù zhī, shū yǔ wàn jiù zhī biàn 早救之，孰與晚救之便
Would it be more convenient to go to their aid earlier rather than later? (ZGC, Qi cè 50/103/30)
Sometimes A 與 與 B is used by itself to make a comparison without an adjective expressed.

332. Cóng tiān ěr sòng zhī, shú yǔ zhī tián míng ěr yòng zhī 從天而頌之，孰與制天命而用之
Is it better to follow Heaven and sing praises to it or to institute its mandate and use it? (Xún 17/44)
Shú 與 is rarely found as object, but there are occasional examples.

333. shèng rén yǒu bǎi, wú shú fā yán 聖人有百，吾孰法焉
There are a hundred sages. Which among them shall I take as my model? (Xún 5/28. The role of yán 焉 in this sentence seems to be to refer back to the preposed topic shèng rén 聖人, the group of people out of whom shú 與 selects, hence 'among them'.)

(iii) Chóu 書
Chóu 書 (EMC druw) ‘who,’ found in the Shūjing, is an etymologically related word.

(b)(i) Hé 何
Hé 何 ‘what; why, etc.’ is the ordinary interrogative pronoun for things. It is used: (1) to form a noun predicate, hé yě 何也 or hé yú 何與, hé yě 何邪 ‘is what’ (sometimes meaning ‘is for what reason, why?’); (2) as object of a verb or coverb, hé yú 何欲 ‘what do you want?’; hé yǐ 何以 ‘by means of what,’ as well as the destination of a verb of motion, hé zhī 何之 ‘where is he going?’; and (3) adverbially ‘how, why’ — wǎng hé bǐ
"Why must Your Majesty say "profit"?" Whether as (2) or (3) it precedes the verb. Like shuí 誰, it follows a copula or the coverbs yú 于 and yú 於.

334. Qiú diào wéi hé 其釣維何
What is your fishing line? (Shī 24/3)

335. Cí rì yǒu shí, yú hé bù zāng 此日有食, 于何不藏
That this sun is eclipsed, wherein lies its evil? (Shī 193/2; Karlgren 1950a)

336. Yǒu běn zhī zhě ... yú hé běn zhū, shāng běn zhī yú gǔ zhē shèng wáng zhī shì 有本之者 ... 于何本之, 上本之於古者聖王之事
There is the matter of giving it a foundation ... In what does one give it a foundation? One gives it a foundation above in the precedents of the ancients, the sage kings. (Mò 35/6)

In the preclassical language rú 如 'like' had the syntax of a copula and rú hé 如何 is the regular word order for 'is like what?' Later this was regularized to hé rú 何如.36

337. Yè rú hé jì 夜如何其
How is the night? (Shī 182/1; jì 其 is here a preclassical question particle.)

Yue 曰 is replaced by yún 云 both as the copula 'is called' (III.3) and as the verb 'to say'.

338. Qí míng yún hé 其名云何
What is its name? (Gudūn 56, p. 302)

339. Zìzhāng yuè, Zìxià yún hé? 子張曰, 子夏云何
Zìzhāng said, 'What does Zìxià say?' (LY 19/3)

Hé 何 also follows when it is the second object of a verb that takes two objects: wèi zhī hé 謂之何 'call it what?' (as opposed to hé wèi 何謂 'refer to what'), rú zhī hé 如之何 'what about it?' (sometimes abbreviated to rú hé 如何. See IV.8g).

Hé 何 may also be used attributively to nouns, as in hé rén 何人 'what (sort of) man?' A common locution is hé gù 何故 'what reason, why.' Note the use of hé 何 in front of a preposed object in front of the verb, resumed by zhī 之 (see VIII.1). This construction is even found in Mencius:
340. Kǒu chóu hé fú zhì yǒu 寇讎服之有
What mourning clothing should be worn for an enemy? (Měng IVB/3. More literally: (For) an enemy what [mourning] clothing there is it?)

何 何 is not normally used as the subject of a verb. Where it would be required one finds 舍 舍 instead. A rare exception is the use of 何 何 in Zuòzhuan, where 何 何 has its normal function in that text of recapitulating a subject which is given contrastive emphasis.

341. Jīn zī zhǔ hòu hé shí jí, hé shí xiàng 今之諸侯何實吉，何實凶
At this time which of the feudal lords will be lucky and which unlucky? (Zuò Zhāo 11/4)

(ii) Xi 臧
Xi 臧 is found as a less frequent alternative to 何 何 in preverbal or prenominal constructions but not as an independent noun predicate. See examples 424 and 576.

(iii) Hù 胡
Hù 胡 is found already in the preclassical language and is mostly confined to adverbial usage meaning ‘why, how.’ Note also hù wèi 胡 胡 ‘why’ in which hù 胡 ‘why’ replaces 何 何 ‘what’ as the object of the copula wèi 胡. Compare English ‘why for?’ Hù 胡 is not very common in texts of the classical period.

(iv) Hé 禾
Hé 禾 (EMC ｙｅ) is found in the preclassical language in adverbial usage, mostly as ‘when’ but also sometimes as ‘why,’ ‘how,’ ‘what.’ It is not found in Mencius except in quotations but is fairly common in some other texts such as Xünzi and the Gōngyēng zhuan. The difference between hé 禾 and 何 何 in these texts has not been made clear. Hái 罷 (EMC ｙｅ) < *-ats) is sometimes used for 何 禾 in preclassical texts, where it should probably be read hé.

(v) Hé 盪
Hé 盪 (EMC ｙ apellido) = hé bù 何 何 ‘why not?’ Phoologically it makes better sense to regard it as a contraction of hù bù 胡 何 rather than hé bù 何 何.
342. Hé gè yán er zhì 盤 各 言 其 志
Why don’t you each tell your wishes? *(LY 5/26)*

(c)(i) Yán 焉, An 安
The interrogative pronoun yán 焉 ‘how? where?’ which always appears in
front of the verb is a positional variant of the third person pronoun
substitute yán 焉 ‘in it, there, etc.’ which appears in postverbal position.

343. Tiānxià zhī fù kuī zhī, qí zǐ yán wàng 天下之父歸
之，其子焉往
When the fathers of the world turned to him (King Wén), where
[else] could the sons go? *(Mèng 4A/13)*

344. Ėr yán néng měi wǒ zài 爾 能 濟 我 哉
How can you defile me? *(Mèng 2A/9)*
As with postverbal yán 焉, the meaning of preverbal yán 焉 corresponds
to the locative coverb yú 於 + a pronominal element, in this
case interpreted as interrogative rather than anaphoric.37
An 安 is identical in syntax and meaning with interrogative yán 焉.
See example 277 above. It is much less common than yán 焉 in relatively
early texts such as the Zuòzhūàn and the Lǎnyǔ and even in Mencius, but
becomes more frequent in later texts of the Warring States.

(ii) Wū hū 惡乎, wū 惡, wū 鳥
Wū hū 惡乎 ‘how, where,’ sometimes shortened to wū 惡, is equivalent
in meaning to yú hē 於何.

345. Yǒu kào zhě zhé … Wū hū kào zhī? Kào xiān shēng dà wáng 知 有考之者 … 惡乎考之，考先聖大王之事
There is the matter of searching it out … In what does one search
it out? One searches it out in the precedents of the former sages,
the great kings. *(Mò 37/3)*

346. Wú zài qí wéi mín fū mǔ yě 惡在於其為民父母也
Wherein lies his being father and mother to the people? *(Mèng
1A/4; equivalent to qí wéi mín fū mǔ yě, zài yú hē 其 爲民父母也在於何
with exclamatory inversion of subject and predicate.)*

Though there are problems about explaining the phonology, it seems
quite likely that 萬乎 is in fact derived from 爲乎, which is quite rare in texts of any period.38

In late Warring States and Han texts 未 is sometimes found instead of 未.

4. Indefinite Pronouns

Some of the notions conveyed in English by indefinite pronouns, 'one, someone, any, another, etc.' are expressed in Chinese by adnominal or adverbial particles of inclusion and restriction (see Section XI). There are, however, also a few words with such meanings that behave syntactically like nouns.

(a) Tuō 他

Tuō 他, 'other,' is used either substantively or adjectively.

347. Wáng gù zuǒ yě yún tuō wén xiàng zuǒ yán yǔ yǒu 左右而言他
The king looked to left and right and spoke of other things. (Mèng 1B/6)

348. Tuō rì xiàn yú wáng yuē 他日見王曰
On another day he appeared before the king and said … (Mèng 1B/1)

(b) Mòu 某

Mòu ‘some one, a certain one’ is used either to refer to a specific person without using the name, or more vaguely to some one unspecified.

349. Zǐ gào zhī yuē, mòu zài sī, mòu zài sī 子告之曰，某在斯，某在斯
The master said, ‘So-and-so is here, so-and-so is here’ (making introductions for a blind visitor). (LY 15/42)

350. Mòu kōu jiāng zhī 某寇將至
Such and such marauders are going to arrive. (Zuō Xi 19/7)

Mòu 某 is sometimes used to refer to oneself instead of using one’s own name.

(c) Rén 人

Rén 人 ‘person’ may be used as an indefinite pronoun meaning 'some one else, other people.'
351. Zi yuè, hù huàn rén zhī bù jī zhī, huàn bù zhī rén yè 子 y 曰，不患人之不己知，患不知人也
The master said, 'I do not worry about others' not knowing one. I worry about not knowing others.' (LY 1/16)
It can also mean 'each.'

352. Bù ruò rén yǒu suǒ bāo 不若人有其寶
It would be better for each to keep what he values. (Zuò Xiāng 15/fu3)
The use of the reduplicated form rénrén 人 人 to mean ‘everyone’ is found in both Classical and Modern Chinese.

353. Rén rén qīn qīn qīn, zhǎng qǐ zhǎng, èr tiān xià píng 人人
If everyone loved their parents and respected their elders as they should, the whole world would be peaceful. (Mèng 4A/12)
X. Adverbs

The term ‘adverb’ is used broadly to refer to words which stand in front of verbs (including adjectives) and modify their meaning or application. It is even extended somewhat illogically to the small group of words which can similarly stand in front of verbless noun predicates — yì 亦 ‘also,’ yòu 又 ‘also, moreover,’ bì 必 ‘necessarily,’ chéng 成 ‘really,’ xīn 信 ‘really,’ guó 固 ‘definitely,’ zhí 直 ‘only,’ etc. (III.1b). It is a heterogenous category grouped together for convenience, including both full words (nouns and verbs) used adverbially and empty words which are used primarily in this function. This section is concerned only with the former. Adverbial particles of negation, time, aspect, etc., are dealt with in other sections.

1. Adverbial Use of Nouns

As well as taking nouns as subjects, objects, or other types of complements, verbs may have nouns as adverbial modifiers. In the following examples, the noun describes the manner of action of the verb.

354. Shǐ rén lì ér tí 氾人立而啼
The pig stood up like a man (literally, ‘man-stood’) and cried. (Zuò Zhuàng 8/5)

355. Yù qí zǐ zhī Qí yǔ yè 欲其子之齋語也
If he wants his son to speak in the manner of Qí … (literally, ‘Qí-speak’). (Mèng 3B/6)

This construction can be derived by a transformation from a complement phrase introduced by rú 如 or ruò 若: lì rù rén 立如人, yǔ rú Qí [rén] 語如齊 [人] (see V.6c).

A similar transformation is possible with a locative complement.

356. Shùn qín mín shì ér yě sī, … Míng qín qí guān ér shuǐ sī, … Jì qín bǎi gǔ ér shān sǐ 舟勤民而野死 … 冥勤 其官而水死 … 稼勤百穀而山死
Shun was diligent about the people’s affairs yet he died in the wilderness … Ming was diligent in his office yet he died in the river … Ji was diligent in the cultivation of the hundred cereals yet he died in the mountain. (GY 4, p. 166)
The nouns in adverbial position here are equivalent to locative phrases placed after the verb: sī yú yè ... yú shāi ... yú shān 死於野 ... 於水 ... 於山.

Another case in which a noun may appear in adverbial position is when a part of the body is the instrument, e.g.,

357. Zì yù shǒu yuán tiān xià hū 子欲手援天下乎
Do you want (me) to save the world with my hand? (Mēng 4A/18)
This can be transformationally derived from a coverbal phrase introduced by yǐ 以. Compare with yuán zhī yǐ shǒu 援之以手 earlier in the same passage.

2. Adjectives as Adverbs
Adjectives placed in front of a verb form adverbs of manner or degree, e.g.,

358. Tiān xià yǒu dà huàn 天下又大亂
The world again became greatly disordered. (Mēng 3B/9)

359. Bó xué ér xiāng shuò zhì, jiāng yǐ fān shuō yuè yè 搏學而詳說之，將以反説約也
In studying extensively and expounding it (what one has studied) minutely, one aims to go back and expound what is essential.
(Mēng 4B/15)

Adjectives can themselves be modified adverbially to indicate degree.

360. ... shēn xǐ 甚喜
... was very pleased. (Mēng 2B/10)

361. Ruò shì zé dì zǐ huò zì shēn 若是則弟子之惑
If that is so, then your disciple’s perplexity is even (literally: increasingly) greater. (Mēng 2A/1)

As the last example shows, an adjective used as an adverb of manner can only be turned into a predicate if the verb it modifies is nominalized: dì zǐ shēn huò 弟子甚惑 ‘I am very perplexed’ → dì zǐ zhī huò shēn 弟子之惑甚 ‘Your disciple’s perplexity is very great.’ This shows that the functioning as an adverb is a basic property of adjectives in contrast to the adverbial function of nouns which is comparatively rare and is transformationally related to more normal constructions in which the noun is linked to the main verb by a coverb.
3. Verbs as Adverbs

As already discussed above (V.5), verbal phrases linked to a main verb by ér 而 (which can also be omitted) can have a quasi-adverbial force, rather than simply expressing consecutive action or components of a single action. Such usage must, however, be distinguished from true adverbial use of certain verbs with restricted, grammaticalized meanings e.g., lì 立 'stand,' adverb 'on the spot, immediately.'

362. Gà wǒ yǒu shàn, zé lì yǔ wǒ, wǒ yǒu guò, zé lì hū wǒ 故 我有善，則立譽我，我有過，則立毁我
Therefore, when I have good points, they immediately praise me;
when I have errors, they immediately blame me. (Guàn 32 'Xiào 順,' p. 179)

Other examples include jìn 湛 'exhaust,' adverb 'completely' (XIII.1g); yǐ 已 'stop,' adverb 'already' and, with adjectives, 'very' (XII.1c); etc.

4. Numerical Expressions as Adverbs

Numerical expressions, like adjectives, can be used as adverbs.

363. Wǔ jiù Tāng, wǒ jiù Jié zhè, Yī Yīn yě 五就湯，五 就桀者，伊尹也
He who five times went to Tāng and five times went to Jié was Yī Yīn. (Mèng 6B/6)

For 'twice' and 'thrice' there are special adverbial forms, zài 再 and sān 三:

364. Ji Wén zǐ sān sì ér hòu xíng, Zì wén zhī yǔ, zài zé kě yǐ 季文子三思而後行。子聞之曰，再則可矣
Ji Wén thought thrice before acting; when the master heard this, he said, 'Twice would be all right.' (LY 5/20)

Yī 一 'one,' used adverbially, may simply mean 'once' but may also have extended implications such as 'once and for all' or 'completely.' In an initial clause it can have a conjunctive force like 'once' in English. That is, it not only modifies the verb of its own clause, but it also marks its clause as a temporal modifier of the following clause.

365. Yì zhèng jūn, ér guó dīng yǐ. 一正君而國定矣
Once rectify the ruler and the country will be settled. (Mèng 4A/21)
Other quantitative expressions besides numerals can be used as adverbs, as in:

366. Bù rì chéng zhì. 不日成之
In less than a day they completed it. (Shì 242/1, quoted in Mèng 1A/2)

Rì 日 is here a quantity of time, not the noun ‘day.’ Hence it can be negated by bù 不.

5. Expressive Adverbs in Rán 然, Rú 如, etc.
Rán 然, which occurs in a variety of ways by itself as an equivalent for *rú 如之 ‘is like this,’ also occurs as a suffix forming expressives which describe the manner of an action, e.g.,

367. Cù rán wèn ... 卒然問
He abruptly asked ... (Mèng 1A/6)

368. Tiān yóu rán zuò yún ... 天然作雲
Heaven copiously forms clouds. (Mèng 1A/6)

Such expresses are often formed by reduplicated syllables.

369. Máng máng rán guī ... 茫芒然歸
He wearily returned home ... (Mèng 2A/2)

370. Wàng wàng rán qù zhǔ 望望然去之
He would haughtily leave him. (Mèng 2A/9)

Or reduplication may be used alone, without rán 然, as in:

371. Shì shì nóng wài lái 施施從外來
He jauntily came in from outside. (Mèng 4B/33)

Less commonly, other particles such as rú 如 or yán 然 are used in place of rán 然, as suffixes for expressive adverbs.
XI. Negation

Negative particles fall into two groups, distinguished by the type of initial: (a) p/f, (b) m/w. Forms with initial f- and w- resulted from a process of regular phonetic change that affected labial consonants in LMC. P/f negatives imply simple negation; m/w negatives imply non-existence.

1. P/f Negatives
(a) Bù 不
Bù 不 is the particle of simple verbal negation, of which many examples have been given above. The expected reading pronunciation for the Old Chinese morpheme written with this graph is fòu, corresponding to the reading EMC puw found in the Qièyùn rhyme dictionary. It is preserved in a few proper names. The colloquial reading, which preserves the Old Chinese initial *p- unchanged bù, strictly speaking belongs to another word, EMC put, properly represented by the graph 布 (see below) which had replaced EMC puw in colloquial usage between Hán and Táng. EMC put, or rather, an enclitic variant of it, EMC p pertinent forms in other southern dialects.39

(b) Fòu 否
Fòu 否, originally written simply as 不 and not infrequently found so written in early texts, was the form taken by bù 不 (i.e., fòu) when the verb which it negated was omitted and the particle stood on its own in phrase final position. In Mencius, fòu 否 is most frequently found as an answer to a question: ‘No.’

372. … zé wáng xū zhì hù ? Yuè, fòu 則王許之乎。曰，否
‘… then would Your Majesty allow it?’ He replied, ‘No.’ (Mèng 1A/7)

It also occurs in a form of alternative question:

373. Rú cǐ zé dòng xīn fòu hù 如此則動心否乎
If it were like this, would it stir your mind or not? (Mèng 2A/2)
In other texts, we find a variety of other uses, e.g.,  fǒu 否 standing for  bù 不 + deleted verb in the main clause of a declarative sentence or in an ‘if’ clause.

374. Gào zé shū, bù rán, zé fǒu 告則書，不然，則否
If it was announced, it was recorded; otherwise not (Zuò Yin 11/fù 4)

375. Yì zé jǐn, fǒu zé fēng shēn ér tuì 義則進，否則奉身而退
If it is right, he comes forward; if not, he takes his person and withdraws. (Zuò Xiāng 26/3)

A rather common usage is in indirect (embedded) questions, e.g.,

376. Zhī kě fǒu, zhī yě 知可否，知也
To know what is possible and what is not is to know. (Zhuāng 10/12)

The character 否 originally stood for another word, pī 否 ‘bad, evil,’ found especially in the expression zāngpī 城 否 ‘good and evil.’ In this sense and reading it is the name of one of the hexagrams in the Book of Changes.

On the final particle fū 夫 ‘is it not?’, which may be a contraction of unaccented bù 不 + hū 乎, see XIV.2f.vii.

(c) Fú 弗
There has been much discussion of the meaning of this particle, EMC put, which has been traditionally regarded as just a less common variant of bù 不, EMC putw. One popular idea has been that fú 弗 is a fusion of bù 不 + the object pronoun zhī 之, which is plausible phonologically and can be supported by examples like the following:

377. Děi zhī zé shèng, fú děi zé sǐ 得之則生，弗得則死
If he gets it he will live, if he does not get it he will die. (Mèng 6A/10)
in which děi zhī 得之 in the affirmative is matched by fú děi 弗得 in the negative. Against this is the fact that the object pronoun zhī 之 is regularly omitted even with bù 不, as in:

378. Kǒngzǐ jǐn yī hù, tuí yī yì. děi zhī bù děi, yuè, yǒu míng. 孔子進以禮，退以義。得之不得，曰，有命
Confucius entered office according to propriety and retired from it according to righteousness. Whether he obtained it or did not obtain (it), he said, 'It was ordained.' (Meng 5A8)

Moreover, when it first appears on the oracle bones, and also in preclassical texts such as the Shijing, fū 弗 appears freely in front of both intransitive verbs and verbs with noun objects. There is reason to think that at that period it was one of a set of particles ending in *-t associated with an aspectual distinction between a continuing state or an action going on (bù 不) and realization of a potentiality or a change of state (fū 弗)40. Even in texts of the classical period there are certain recurrent patterns in which it collocates with the final particle yì 茲, often with an intransitive verb or with a verb followed by an expressed object, that suggest an aspectual meaning.

379. zì jìn Zhèng guó bù sì wǔ nián fū dé níng yì 自今鄭國不四五年弗得寧矣
Within four or five years from now the country of Zheng will have no peace. (Zuo Xiang 8/3)

380. Sù yù zhī jú xué, fū ruò zhà yǐ 雖與之俱學弗若之矣
Though he studies along with him, he will not come up to him. (Meng 6A9)

In this and similar examples, the pronoun object follows the verb instead of preceding it. If we assume that the normal position of a pronoun between the negative particle and the verb is that of an unstressed clitic, when we find it following the verb as here, it presumably gives a greater degree of emphasis to the statement, something that also often seems to be implicit in the use of the perfect particle at the end of the sentence.

It is, nevertheless, true that in the Warring States period fū 弗 does mostly occur when a pronoun zhī 之 can be understood between it and the following verb which suggests that the final -t was reinterpreted as the initial consonant of the pronoun fused with the negative particle. It seems clear that in the end, sometime between Han and Tang, both the aspectual force of *put and any association it may have acquired with the object pronoun became attenuated and it survived simply as a stronger form of *pə-. Compare the replacement of ne by not < nought in English or the simple ne by ne ... pas and then by pas alone in French. The history of bù 不 and fū 弗 is complicated by the fact that the character fū 弗 was
tabooed for a time during the Hán dynasty because it was part of the personal name of Liú Fúlìng 刘弗陵 who reigned as the Emperor Zhào 昭 from -86 to -74. We know from manuscript evidence that this resulted in the replacement of 弗 by 不 in the transmitted text of the Dao de jīng 道德经. The extent to which the taboo has influenced the transmission of other pre-Hán texts is uncertain. What seems clear is that in post-Hán Chinese, 不 took over as a normal way of writing both *pūt and *pà and that eventually the pronunciation with *-t prevailed in common usage. As mentioned above, modern readings of 不 in all dialects are derived from *put or *pat, with irregular retention of bilabial [p] instead of labiodental [f].

(d) Fei 非

Fei 非, the negative particle used with nouns, is an early contraction of bù wèi 不唯, not in the classical sense of ‘only’ but in the preclassical sense of a copula and noun marker. Its use in noun predication is described above. It is also found with nouns and verb phrases treated as nouns which do not form main predicates. The translation ‘if not’ or ‘unless’ is often appropriate when an expression negated by fei 非 occurs as a conditional clause (XV.2b.vi), before the main predicate, e.g.,

381. Fei qí dào, zé yī dàn shǐ bù kě shòu yú rén 非其道，則一嘗食不可受於人

If it is not in accordance with the proper way, even one basket of food should not be accepted from another person. (Mèng 3b/4.

Literally: if it is not its way)

Other derived uses of fei 非 that must be noted are: (1) as an adjective ‘wrong,’ opposite of shì 是 ‘right’ (IX.2a); (2) as a verb ‘to deny, call wrong.’

382. Jin yè, nán mán jué shé zhī rén fēi xiàn wàng zhǔ dào 今也，南蠻鷇舌之人非先王之道

Now the shrike-tongued southern barbarian denies the doctrines of the former kings. (Mèng 3A/4)

In preclassical language we sometimes find fēi 非 or fēi 棄 instead of fei 非.

(e) Po 匪

Po 匪 is a (not very common) contraction of bù kě 不可 ‘is not possible.’
XI. Negation

(f) Hé 盖
Hé 盖, EMC γ ap, is a contraction of hé bù 何不 or hú bù 胡不 ‘why not’ (see IX.3b(v) below).

2. M/w Negatives

(a) Wú 毋, wú 無 and wú 无
These characters originally represented two distinct morphemes: (1) a prohibitive particle, properly written 毋; and (2) a verb meaning ‘not have’ (opposite of yǒu 有 ‘have’), properly written 無 (or 无 in some texts, e.g., Zhuāngzi). The morphemes were already homophonous in late Zhòu times and are confused in many texts such as Mencius, but were very likely pronounced differently at an early period. Thus, 毋 appears to have 毋母 as phonetic, which would put it into the *-a(γ) rhyme category, while 無 belongs in the *-a(γ) category.

(i) Wú 毋 (無) as prohibitive particle

383. Zé wú wàng mín zhī duō yú lín guó yě. 則無望民之多於鄰國也
Then don’t hope that your people will be more numerous than in neighbouring countries. (Mèng 1A/3)

384. Wáng wú zuǐ súi. 王無罪歲
Let Your Majesty not blame the harvest. (Mèng 1A/3)

385. Jí tún gōu zhì zhì xù wú shǐ qí shí. 雞豚狗彘之畜無失其時
In the raising of chickens, pigs, dogs, and swine do not lose their time [of breeding]. (Mèng 1A/3)

Note that in the second example, the subject of the second person imperative is expressed.

Prohibitive wú 無 can also be used in subordinate clauses where one cannot use an imperative in English, suggesting that it should be interpreted as a kind of subjunctive particle rather than simply prohibitive, e.g.,

386. Wú yǐ zé wàng hú? 無以(已) 則王者
If I am not to stop, then [shall I speak about] kingship? (Mèng 1A/7)

387. Sù yù wú wàng, bù kě dé yì. 桑欲無王，不可得已
Even if he wished that he should not become king, it could not be managed. (Mèng 4A/10)

(ii) Wù 無 ‘not have.’
See Section IV.7 above.

(b) Wù 勿 ‘do not’
Wù 勿 (EMC mut) ‘do not,’ bears the same relation to prohibitive wú 毋 (無 ) as fu 弗 (EMC put) does to bú 不 . That is, the ancestral forms of the two graphs on the oracle bones appear to have an aspectual distinction, while in the Warring States period there is reason to think that the final -t of wù 勿 may have been interpreted as the incorporated object pronoun zhī 之 . The surviving aspectual meaning is illustrated in example 382, while the apparent incorporation of the pronoun object is illustrated in 383.

388. Wáng yù xìng wán zhèng, zé wù hū zhī yì. 王欲行王政，則勿毀之矣
If Your Majesty wishes to practice kingly government, then don’t destroy it. (Mèng 1B/5. The question of whether or not to destroy the Hall of Light has been posed to Mencius by the king. The implication of the final perfect particle, presumably strengthened by the use of wù 勿 instead of wú 無 , seems to be that that settles the matter and leaves no room for further argument.)

389. Bái mǔ zhī tián, wù duó qí shí 百畝之田，勿奪其時
Do not deprive the hundred mǔ fields of their times (of cultivation). (Mèng 1A/3)

In this sentence we should expect the preposed indirect object of duó 奪 ‘deprive’ (see IV.8b above.), bái mǔ zhī tián 百畝之田 ‘hundred mǔ fields,’ to be repeated by the pronoun zhī in its normal position between the negative and the verb and this could be represented by the final *-t of wù 勿 . Contrast wù shì zhī 失 ‘let them not lose’ in the immediately preceding sentence, (example 379) in which the preposed element is the subject of the verb rather than its object and so would exclude the object pronoun between the negative and the verb.

Like prohibitive wú 無 , wù 勿 can be used in embedded sentences:

390. Rén jié yòu zhì, xián zhě néng wù sàng ër. 人皆有之，賢者能勿喪耳
XI. Negation

All men have it; it is just that the wise are able to keep from losing it. (Mēng 6A/10)

(c) Wáng 亡
Wáng 亡, which, in texts of the classical period, is most commonly a verb meaning ‘lose’ (trans.) or ‘disappear, abscond, die’ (intrans.), is sometimes found in the sense of wú 無 ‘not have’ but without an expressed object. Traditionally it is then read wú, but this is not supported by a rhyme in the Shijing and seems to be merely a late explanation by commentators for which there is no good ancient authority. The two words are no doubt etymologically closely related. Wáng 亡 is in fact the graphic form found on the oracle bones where wú 無 would appear in later texts. This usage is especially common in the Lûnyû but is not confined to that text.

391. Rén jiè yǒu xiōng dì, wǒ dú wáng 人皆有兄弟, 我獨亡
Every one has brothers, I alone have not. (LY 12/5)

392. Wèn yǒu yú, yuè, wáng yǐ 閏 有餘，曰，亡矣
If (his father) asked whether there was anything left, he would say, ‘there is not.’ (Mēng 4A/20)

(d) Wáng 亡
Wáng 亡 is sometimes used in the sense of wú 無 in the preclassical language. It is not, however, like wáng 亡 in the Lûnyû, an equivalent to wú zhi 無之 with the object pronoun omitted.

(e) Mò 莫
Mò 莫 (EMC mak) is used adverbially to define the scope of the subject in the sense of ‘no one, nothing, none’ (XIII.3b). In postclassical times mò 莫 is found as a prohibitive particle, ‘do not.’

(f) Wèi 未
Wèi 未 is an aspectual negative. It is probably derived from the existential negative root *w- + the perfective particle ji 既 ‘already,’ and thus means ‘not already’ = ‘not yet’ or ‘never.’ It is incompatible with the final particle yì 矣, which implies change of state, that is, the close of one situation and the beginning of another. On the other hand, yě 也, which seems to imply
a continuing state when it occurs after verbal predicates, is very common with wèi 未.

393. Jiàn niú wèi jiàn yáng yě. 見牛未見羊也
   You saw the ox but you had not seen the sheep. (Mèng 1A/7)

For further discussion see XII.1b below.

Four less common m/w negatives are described below.

(g) Wèi 微
   Wèi 微, also used for a full word meaning ‘small, minute; secret,’ is the
   *m- negative formed from the preclassical copula wèi 唯, corresponding to
   fēi 非 from bù 不 + wèi 唯.45 Like fēi 非 it is used to negate nouns and
   occurs in various patterns in the Shijing. In the classical period it is not
   very common but does occur occasionally in the first clause of a conditional
   sentence meaning ‘If it had not been for …’

394. Wèi Yū wú qí yú hū 微禹吾其魚乎
   If it had not been for Yū, would we not, surely, have been fish?
   (Zuò Shào 1/3. Note the absence of a copula. A textual variant
   has qí wèi yú hū 其為魚乎.)

(h) Mí 倣
   Mí 倣 is a particle glossed as wú 無 ‘not have’ in the Shijing:

395. Tiān mìng mì cháng 天命靡常
   Heaven’s Mandate has no constancy. (Shì 235/5)

(i) Mìè 蕃
   Mìè 蕃 (EMC mèi), otherwise ‘destroy,’ is a negative particle, found
   mostly in the Zuòzhūăn and Guóyǔ. It is a *-t form corresponding to wù
   無 ‘not have’ in the same way that jù 和 wù 吾 corresponds to wù
   吾 ‘do not.’ Thus, it is frequently accompanied by final yì 矣.46

396. Chén chū Jīn jùn, jùn nà Chóng’ěr, mǐ bù jì yǐ. 至出晉君，君納重耳，蔑不濟矣
   If I expel the ruler of Jin and you bring in Chóng’ěr, everything
   will be successful. (Zuò Xì 10/9. Literally: ‘there will be no not
   succeeding’)


(j) Mò 未

*Mò 未* (EMC mat) is similar to *miè* 蔭, mostly in the *Lùnyù*.

397. Bù yuè rú zhī hé, rú zhī hé zhē, wú mò rú zhī hé yě yī yī
不曰如之何，如之何者，吾末如之何也已矣

If a man does not continually ask himself, ‘What am I to do about it, what am I to do about it,’ there is no possibility for my doing anything about him. (LY 15/16, Waley 1938)
XII. Aspect, Time, and Mood

In inflected languages verbs very often have formal distinctions to show the tense (in English, past, present, or future), the aspect (primarily whether and in what sense the situation described is looked on as complete or incomplete), or the mood/modalitly (terms that can cover various things including the nature of the speech-act involved — statement, question, command — and the attitude of the speaker towards the necessity or possibility of what is being said). Though Chinese in general is regarded as an uninflected language, Modern Mandarin does have verbal suffixes marking aspectual distinctions (-le 調, -zhe 著, -guo 過, etc.) and other dialects have comparable formations. Classical Chinese does not have such suffixes but, as we have noted at various points above, there seem to be traces in certain sets of grammatical particles of an earlier system of dental suffixes marking aspectual distinctions — *-n for imperfective/durative and *-t for perfective/punctual — that had at one time been a more general feature of word formation. In the classical language one cannot set up morphological paradigms of this kind, but distinctions of an aspektual kind are important both in the syntax of verbs as such and in distinctions between sentence types expressed by final particles.

1. Verbal Aspect — Preverbal Particles
In Modern Mandarin the verbal suffix -le 調 is used to indicate perfectivity, that is, that an event is looked upon as complete or a bounded whole. In the classical language an equivalent role is played by the preverbal particles ji 與 and yi 已. Modern -le 調 is derived from the verb lāo 老 ‘to finish, dispose of’ and classical perfective adverbs have a similar etymology. The earliest is ji 與 which is frequent in both the Shifu and the Shujing. In the classical period it survived but its functions were partly taken over by yi 已, the morpheme found in modern yǐfēng 已經 ‘already.’ The negative particle corresponding to ji 與 was wèi 未 ‘not yet, never.’ (Sentence final le 調 in Modern Chinese, as a mark of change of state, corresponds quite closely to the sentence final particle yǐ 亜, treated in 2a below. By contrast, final yē 也 after verbal predicates can serve as a mark of unchanged, continuing state.)
(a) 既 既
As a full verb 既 既 means ‘use up, finish, complete’ as in:

398. Rì yǒu shí zhī, jì 日有食之，既
There was an eclipse of the sun; it was complete. (Chūnqiū Hùn 3/4)

More commonly 既 既 precedes the main verb adverbially to show that the action is complete. In the main clause of a sentence 既 既 is commonly followed by the final particle 以 矣 marking the fact that the completion of the action results in a new situation.

399. Wén shòu Biàn zhé jiàng pàn; chén shuài tú yī yì tāo zhī, jì dé zhī yǐ
闻守卒者 将叛，臣帥徒以討之，既得之矣
I heard that the guardian of Biàn was going to revolt. I led my followers to punish him and have taken it (Biàn). (Zuò Xiāng 19/2)

400. Rán zé fù zì shèng yī hū rán 则夫子既聖矣乎
If so, then, have you, master, attained sagehood? (Měng 2A/2)

The omission of final 以 in an introductory clause sets up an expectation of a conclusion to follow and 既 既 may then be translated as a perfect participle ‘having done so-and-so’ or as a conjunction ‘when, after, since.’

401. Bīng rèn jì jié ... 兵刃既接
When the weapons have crossed ... (Měng 1A/3)

Jì ér 既而, with the verb that should come immediately after 既 既 omitted, has an anaphoric meaning, ‘after (this), afterwards.’

402. Jì ér fān rán gāi yuè ... 既而幡然改曰 ...
After this, he abruptly changed and said ... (Měng 5A/7)

Note the combination 既 ... 你 ... 既 ... 又 ... ‘both ... and ...’ in which 既 既 is more like a coordinating than a subordinating conjunction. The first action modified by 既 既 is still looked upon as a bounded whole that logically precedes the second introduced by 你 又.

403. Jì yù qí shēng, yǒu yù qí sǐ, shì huò yě 既欲其生，
又欲其死，是惑也

XII. Aspect, Time, and Mood
Having wished it to live, also to wish it to die, this is confusion.

(*LY 12/10*)

(b) Wèi 未

Wèi 未, EMC muj⁴, 'not yet, never,' is an aspectual negative particle that has the opposite meaning to ji 既 in the affirmative. That is, it looks upon an action as not completed. Etymologically it seems to be formed from the existential negative root *m- in wù 毋 plus ji 既, EMC kī⁴, hence 'not already' → 'not yet' (see X1.2f above). Note the contrast between wèi 未 and ji 既 in successive passages in a case like:

404. Wèi jiàn jùn zǐ, nǐ rú zhōu ji … Ji jiàn jùn zǐ, bù wǒ xiá qǐ

未見君子，怒如餓飢 … 既見君子，不我遐棄

While I have not yet seen the lord, I am desirous as if morning-hungry … When I have seen the lord, he will not remove and reject me. (Shī 10/1, 2, Karlgren 1950a)

Since 'not yet' implies a continuing situation, wèi 未 is inconsistent with final yī 矣 and this combination is never found. Instead one regularly finds final yě 也, which contrasts with yī 矣 as a mark of a continuing situation after verbal predicates, following wèi 未 in the main clause of a sentence.

405. Wèi yǒu rén ér yī qí qīn zhě yě 未有仁而遭其親者也

There has never yet been a case of one who, being benevolent, abandoned his parents. (Měng 1A/1)

406. Jīn jì shù yuè yī. wèi kě yǐ yán yú 今既數月矣。未可以言與

Now you have been (in this office) several months. Have you yet had no occasion to speak? (Měng 2B/5; yī 矣 is equivalent to yě 也)

Just as ji 既 in an introductory clause can have the force of a subordinating conjunction 'after,' wèi 未 in the same situation means 'before.'

407. Wèi chéng. yī rén zhī shé chéng 未成，一人之蛇成

Before he had finished, another man's snake was finished. (ZGC,
Qi cê 2, 117/57/16)

(c) Preverbal 已
As a verb, 已 means 'stop, finish.'

408. Rén jiè wèi wǒ huì Míng Tâng. Huì zhù, yǐ hǎ? 人皆謂
我毁明堂。毁諸，已乎
People all tell me to destroy the Hall of Light. Should I destroy it,
or should I stop? (Mêng 1B/5)

It also has various uses as a grammatical particle. Its earliest use as a
preverbal particle seems to be as an intensive adverb before adjectives in the
sense of 'very,' 'excessively,' 'too,' a usage that is already found in the
preclassical language. Compare the later use of jué 绝 'cut off' in the sense
of 'extremely.'

409. Jùnzi yǐ Qí rén shâ Ai Jiâng yê wêi yû shên yû 君子以
齊人殺哀姜為已甚矣
The superior man will judge the putting to death of Ai Jiâng by
the people of Qi as excessive. (Zuô Xi 2/10)

In the classical period it was used like ji 既 as a preverbal particle
'already' to indicate completed action. This is rare or nonexistent in the
preclassical language, but in the classical period it gradually takes over from
ji 既 especially in the main predicate of a sentence, where it is usually
accompanied by final yî 矣.

410. Nián yî qî shî yî 年已七十矣
He was already 70 years old. (Mêng 5A/9)

yî 已 can also occur, like ji 既, in an initial clause.

411. Shêng rén yî sî, zê dà dào bû qî, tiânxiâ pîng ēr wû yî 聖
人已死，則大盜不起，天下平而無故矣
When the sages have died, the great robbers will not arise and the
world will be at peace and without troubles. (Zhuâng 10/16)

ji 既 and yî 已 can occur together, as in:

412. Yû ji yî zhî zhî yî 子既已知之矣
I already know it. (Mêng 6B/13)

yî 已 can occur, especially in somewhat later texts, like ji 既 in an
initial clause. So also can yî ēr 已而 instead of ji èr 既而.
413. Yī ér dà yú shǐ zhī 已而大魚食之
Afterwards a great fish ate it. (*Zhuàng 26/12*)

2. Sentential Aspect — Sentence Final Particles

(a) Yī 矣

The correlation between the preverbal markers of perfective aspect, jì 既 and yī 矣, and sentence final yī, and between the negative wèi 未 and sentence final yē 也, has been illustrated above. Although aspect is generally looked on as a characteristic of verbs while sentence final particles in Chinese are traditionally classified as 'modal particles' (yǔqì 語氣 詞), this seems to provide prima facie evidence to suggest that at least part of the meaning of yī 矣 and yē 也, must be involved with the same basic semantic contrasts that are expressed by the perfective/nonperfective contrast that applies to verbs.

It has long been recognized that the final particle yī 矣 of Classical Chinese closely resembles sentence final le 了 in Modern Chinese in its meaning and syntactic behaviour. If, as has often been assumed, sentence final le 了 is etymologically the same as the perfective suffix -le 了, and, furthermore, if one could connect the classical final particle yī 矣 etymologically with the verb yī 已 ‘stop’ and the derived preverbal particle yī 矣 ‘already,’ the case for regarding both yī 矣 and sentence final le 了 as aspect markers would seem overwhelming. There are, however, serious difficulties in the way of such a conclusion. Other modern dialects often use etymologically quite separate morphemes for the two functions performed by le 了 in Mandarin, and doubts have been raised as to whether sentential le 了 is etymologically the same word as suffix -le 了 in Mandarin itself.49 There are also good reasons for doubting that there is any etymological connection between yī 矣 and yī 已. Nevertheless, I think there is good reason to think that both sentential le 了 in Mandarin and final yī 矣 in Classical Chinese are basically aspectual in function.

Li and Thompson (1981) adhere to the traditional practice of Chinese grammarians in classifying sentential le 了 as a member of an undivided class of yǔqì 語氣 詞. For le 了 they propose the general meaning ‘currently relevant state.’ Nevertheless they elsewhere (Li, Thompson, and Thompson 1982) recognize that le 了 has aspect as at least part of its meaning, which they propose to characterize as perfect in contrast to the perfective force of the verb suffix -le 了. This is confusing in terms of the
ordinary nontechnical use of ‘perfective’ as an adjective derived from
‘perfect,’ but corresponds to a technical use of the terms by linguists. The
Slavic languages provide the definition of perfective as meaning simply an
action viewed as a bounded whole. In contrast to this, perfect in languages
like Greek and English relates the completion of the action to the time of
utterance (in the case of the present perfect) or to some definite past or
future time in the case of the past perfect (or pluperfect) and future perfect.
Whereas ‘it rained’ simply means that a period of rain occurred at some time
in the past, ‘it has rained’ has the additional implication that the period of
rain in question has some particular relevance at the time of utterance,
perhaps by confirming or disconfirming an expectation or by ending a
period of drought, or something else that the speaker and auditor are aware
of in the situation.

‘Perfect,’ in this sense, seems particularly appropriate in cases like 399
and 400 where ゆり completes the main clause of a sentence in which the
verb is preceded by perfective より or ゆり. What the addition of ゆり seems to do is to assert that as a result of the completed action that is
referred to, a new situation has arisen (or had arisen or will arise in the
future if the time of reference in the utterance is in the past or future).
‘Change of state’ is a meaning that is commonly assigned to sentence final
le 両 and is also one that fits very well with the concept of referring the
situation described in the sentence to its reference time. Another term that
has been used to cover at least part of the functions of le 両 is ‘inchoative,’
that is, applying to a situation that is new or only new to the speaker (Chao
1968:798). This is also a concept that is aspectual in nature and that applies
equally well to many occurrences of ゆり. Whether, in the end, ‘perfect’
will turn out to be the most appropriate designation for Mandarin le 両 and
Classical ゆり must await further study, but I adopt it provisionally in
order to emphasize its aspectual character, even though it applies to
sentences as a whole and not simply to verbs.50

Many examples of ゆり have been given above. Here are a few more.
As in the second example below, it often makes a vivid future.

414. Miáo zé gāo yì 苗則稿矣
The sprouts had dried up. (Mèng 2A/2)

415. Shāng xià jiǎo zhēng li ér guó wéi yì 上下交征利而
國危矣
Those above and those below will contend with each other for profit and the country will be in danger. (*Mèng I A/1, i.e., 'the country will have reached the state of being in danger'.)

(b) **Yè 也**
As noted in XI.2.f, the negative particle wèi 未, which has the aspectual meaning of a continuing state, excludes the perfective particle yǐ 矣 and is frequently accompanied by final yè 也. This suggests that yè 也, besides its use as mark of noun predication, can have an aspectual meaning after verbs, that is, the opposite of that of yǐ 矣. The two uses can be related through the fact that noun predication is normally aspectless, i.e., has no implication of completion or change of state. This interpretation is also possible in cases in which yè 也 follows a verbal predicate without wèi 未. Compare yè 也 and yǐ 矣 in:

416. Qì rén yuē, suǒ yǐ wèi Chí Wà, zé hǎo yǐ. Suǒ yǐ zì wèi, zé wú bǐ zhī yè. 齊人曰，所以為齊，則好矣，所以自為，則吾不知也。
The people of Qí said, 'As for what he did for Chí Wà, that was good. As for what he did for himself, we don't know.' (*Mèng I A/7*)
The contrast is between a closed situation about which a judgement has been made and no more needs to be said and an open situation that still awaits a conclusion.

(c) **Yǐ 已** (yè yǐ 也已, yè yǐ yǐ 也已矣)
The use of yǐ 已, which may in turn be followed by perfective yǐ 矣, after noun predicates to express a new realization on the part of the speaker has been discussed in III.1.e. Yè yǐ 已 or yǐ 已 alone are also sometimes found after the types of verbal predicates that can take yè 也.

417. rán zé wáng zhī suǒ dà yù, kě zhī yǐ 然則王之所大欲，可知已
If that is so, what your majesty greatly desires may be known. (*Mèng I A/7*)
As in the noun predicates with yǐ 已 and yè yǐ yǐ 也已矣 in examples 23 and 24, the final particle indicates a new realization on the part of the speaker rather than an objectively new situation. See also example 397.
3. Time Words

(a) *Time Expressions in Topic Position*

Some time expressions such as *jìn yě* 今 也 ‘now,’ *xǐ* 昔 or *xǐ zhě* 昔者 ‘formerly,’ *gǔ* 古 or *gǔ zhě* 古者 ‘in ancient times,’ *chū* 初 ‘previously’ and *rán hòu* 然後 ‘afterwards’ are commonly placed at the head of the sentence in topic position instead of in adverbial position between the subject and the verb. (Note that *jìn* 今 alone, like English ‘now,’ is often a weak introductory particle without a specific time reference.)

(b) Cháng 曾

Cháng 曾 ‘once’ (also written 曾) as a full verb means ‘to taste, try.’ As a preverbal particle it indicates past tense.

418. Rán ér Kē yě, cháng wén qí lǜe 然而 聽其略

Still I, Kē (i.e., Mencius), once heard the general outline of them. (Mēng 5B/2)

Cháng 曾 is frequently found with *yǐ* 已, in the affirmative, or in the combination *wèi cháng* ... *yě* 未嘗 ... 也, in the negative.

419. Wǔ cháng wén dà yōng yú fǔ zǐ yí 我嘗聞大勇於父子矣

I once heard about supreme courage from the Master. (Mēng 2A/2)

420. Wèi cháng yǔ zhī yán xíng shì yě 未嘗與之言行事也

You never spoke with him about the business of the mission. (Mēng 2B/6)

(c) Céng 曾

Céng 曾 has the same meaning as cháng 曾 but is later in appearing in the language:

421. Liáng Wáng yǐ cǐ yuàn Āng, céng shǐ rén cǐ Āng. 梁王以此怨益，曾使人刺益

The Prince of Liáng because of this bore a grudge against Āng and once sent a man to stab him. (Shījī 101.2744)
Cèng 曾 ‘once’ is to be distinguished from the particle zèng 曾, written with the same character, which is commonly glossed as nài 乃 or zé 则 ‘then,’ but which seems to be an adverb meaning something like ‘just’ or ‘even.’

422. Er hé zèng bì yú yú Guān Zhòng? 爾何曾比於管仲
Why do you even compare me with Guān Zhòng? (Mèng 2A/1)

(d) Jiāng 將
Jiāng 將 indicates futurity. There is usually an implication of intention involved.

423. Jiāng yī xīn zhōng. 將以釘鐘
We are going to consecrate a bell with it. (Mèng 1A/7)

In preclassical language, jiāng 將 is a full verb, ‘to bring, take, use, etc.,” and it survives in the sense of ‘lead (an army)’ into later Chinese. In early colloquial Chinese it is a co-verbal particle, like modern bā 把, used to antepose the object of a verb. It is therefore sometimes said that the classical particle of futurity is also derived from the verb ‘to take,’ but it is clear that syntactically the future particle jiāng 將 is not a verb. It comes before a negative particle and cannot itself be negated: jiāng bù lái 將 不來 ‘will not come,’ not *不 將 來. It also comes in front of interrogative pronouns:

424. Zì jiāng xī zhì? 子將奚之
Where will you go? (Zhuàng 12/70)

Another peculiarity of the syntax of jiāng 將 is that in early Classical Chinese is that it can occur, like wéi 唯 ‘only’ and bì 必 ‘necessarily,’ in front of the subject or an anteposed object:

425. Jiāng Zhèng shì xùn dìng. 將鄭是訓定
It is Zhèng that we are going to tame and settle. (Zuò Xuán 12/3)

426. Jiāng tiān xià shì hē. 將天下實賀
The whole world will bring congratulations. (Zuò Zhào 8/3)
This is only superficially like the later colloquial jiāng 將 = bā 把.

For jiāng 將 with numerical expressions in the sense of ‘approximately,’ see VI.1.
XII. Aspect, Time, and Mood

(e) Qì 
Qì  nd may also be used like jiāng 將 to indicate futurity.

427. Bīng yǔ, wǒ qì wàng jiàn. Bìng yù, wǒ qì wàng jiàn. 病愈，我且往見
When my illness is better, I shall go to see him. (Mèng 3A/5)
Compare also example 101. For qì  nd in other meanings see examples 103, 116, 157, 488, 524, 531. The meaning ‘temporarily,’ as in Modern Chinese gāiqì 姑且, is rare in pre-Hàn texts but becomes common in Hàn times.

(f) Fāng 方
Fāng 方 as an adverbial particle expresses simultaneity, ‘just then.’

428. Jí qǐ zhuāng yè, xuè qì fāng gāng, jiè zhí zài dòu 及其壯也，血氣方剛，戒之在鬱
When he reaches maturity, his physical powers are just then strong and one warns him against strife. (Lí 16/7)
When a sentence containing fāng 方 is used as an initial time clause in another sentence, fāng 方 may be placed in front as if it were a coverb and the clause is nominalized by inserting zhī 之 between the subject and the verb.

429. Fāng tiān zhī xiù, fú jīng fú xiù. Hūi qí kě zhūi 方天之休，弗敬弗休。悔其可追
Just now when Heaven is favourable, if you are not reverent it will not be favourable. How can later repentance recover the lost opportunity? (Zuò Kì 16/fù 1)

(g) Shǐ 始
Shǐ 始 ‘begin’ is used as an adverb meaning ‘for the first time, first.’

430. Chén shǐ zhī yú jīng, wèn guò zhī dà jīn, rán hòu gān rú. 臣始至於境，問國之大禁，然後敢入
When I first reached the frontier, I inquired about the great prohibitions before I dared enter. (Mèng 1B/2)
In Zhuàngzǐ we find wèi shǐ 未始 used like wèi cháng 未嘗 in the sense of ‘not yet.’

431. Fú dào wèi shǐ yǒu fēng, yán wèi shǐ yǒu cháng 夫道未始有封，言未始有常
The Way has never had borders, saying has never had norms.
(Zhuang 2/55; Graham 1981:57)

(h) Chū 初
Chū 初 ‘begin, first’ can also be used adverbially like shǐ 始 meaning ‘for
the first time.’ More frequently, however, it is an introductory time word
meaning ‘previously,’ used to make a break in a narrative and take the time
back to an earlier occasion.

432. Chū, Jī qù yú Sòng Zícháo 初，疾娶于宋子朝
Previously, Jī had taken [a daughter] of Zícháo of Sòng to wife.
(Zuò 置 11/6)

4. Modality
In Indo-European languages the expression of modality, that is of subjective
attitudes such as wishing, intending, imagined possibility, etc., like that of
aspect and tense, is included in the system of verbal inflection. In English
there are still some vestiges of the old subjunctive mood — ‘I wish I were
rich …’ ‘If he were prime minister …’ etc. — and there is a system of
modal auxiliaries — ‘can, may, shall, will, ought, must, dare, etc.’ The
same ideas can also be expressed by full verbs such as ‘wish, intend, hope,
etc.’ or by adjectives and adverbs such as ‘possible, possibly, perhaps.’

In Chinese there is no subjunctive mood, since verbs are uninflected.
There are, however, analogues to modal auxiliaries in (a) verbs like néng
能 ‘can, be capable of,’ gān 敢 ‘dare,’ kěn 肯 ‘be willing to,’ yù 欲
‘wish’ (also ‘intend, will’) which take clause objects; (b) the verb dé 得
‘get’ which does not take a clause object but is used in series with a
following verb in the sense of ‘get to do,’ can ‘hūò 豁 ‘catch’ is used in a
similar way in later texts); (c) the adjectives kě 可 ‘possible,’ zú 足
‘sufficient, worthy,’ nán 難 ‘difficult,’ yì 易 ‘easy’ which take passive
verbs as complements; (d) other adjectives like yí 宜 ‘fitting, suitable,’ kě
c 可 in the sense of ‘ought, should,’ which take active verbs as
complements.

Other modal notions are expressed by adverbial or adnominal particles.
Jiāng 將, discussed above as a particle denoting futurity, often implies
intentionality rather than simply future time. Bì 但 ‘necessarily’ which can
occur adverbially in front of noun predicates (18, 22) as well as verbs
(148, 224, etc.), and as an adnominal particle introducing an exposed noun
phrase (240), takes the place of an auxiliary verb equivalent to English
‘must.’ There remain a few special particles that are primarily modal in implication.

(a) ㄑī 其
ㄑī 其 qualifies a statement as possible or probable rather than a matter of known fact. It is very common in the preclassical language, tending to die out in classical times except in certain stereotyped formulas. Most commonly it is found in the rhetorical question formula ㄑī ... ㄏā 其 ... 乎 which expects the agreement of the listener, like ‘is it not ...’ in English.

433. ㄑī wù hou hū? 其無後乎
Surely he must have no descendants. (Mèng 1A/4)
We also find ㄑī 其 having the same kind of implication in sentences without final ㄏā, e.g.,

434. ㄑī jīn zhī shì, shē wǒ ㄑī shū yě 當今之世，舍我其誰也
In the present day world, who is there except me? (Implying that there is no one; Mèng 2B/13)

435. ㄑī qī yóu yī yù wǒ lái. 子其有以語我來
You must surely have some advice to give me. (Zhuàng 4/39. Lài 來 is here a final exclamatory particle.)

436. Shùn ㄑī zhī xiào yī. 舜其至孝矣
Shun was surely most filial. (Mèng 6B/3)
A related usage in somewhat earlier texts is the use of ㄑī 其 in the conclusion of a contrary to fact conditional sentence.

437. Rú yǒu zhèng, suī bù wǒ yī, wǒ ㄑī yù wén zhī.
如有政，雖不吾以，吾其與聞之
If there had been government business, though they do not employ me, I would surely have been present and heard of it. (LY 13/14. Yù 與, in departing tone, is 'to be present, participate in.')

438. Wéi Guàn Zhòng, wú ㄑī pǐ fà zuǒ rèn yī 微管仲，吾其被髮左衽矣
If it had not been for Guàn Zhòng, we would surely have our hair hanging loose and our lapels buttoned on the left. (LY 14/17)
A frequent usage is in imperative sentences in which ㄑī 其 apparently has the effect of softening the command into a wish or exhortation.
439. Wú zǐ qí wú fèi xiān jūn zhī gōng. 吾子其無廢君之功
You should not destroy the former ruler’s achievement. (Zuò Yin 3/5)
A fully satisfying analysis of the functions of qí 其 in the preclassical and early classical language has yet to be made.

(b) Dài 埒, Shūjī 畛幾
Adverbs of more explicit meaning than qí 其 which have a similar effect in lessening the certainty of an assertion include: dài 埒 ‘dangerous; is in danger of; maybe’ (example 271), shūjī 畛幾 ‘almost’ (literally, ‘many-few’ = ‘more or less’). The latter, like qí 其, can be used to express a wish.

440. Wáng shū jǐ gǎi zhī. 王庶幾改之
The king might, I hoped, change his mind. (Mēng 2B/12)

(c) Gài 蓋
Gài 蓋 is an introductory particle whose primary meaning may originally have been to affirm the truth of a statement but which, in context, can have the effect of opening a possibility of doubt.52

441. Gài yǒu zhī yǐ, wǒ wèi zhī jiàn yě 蓋有之矣, 我未之見也
There may well have been such cases, but I have never seen them.

(LY 4/6)
A frequent usage is to introduce a final explanatory clause ending in yě 也 (see VII.2a.ii above). Here gài is commonly translated by the conjunction ‘for,’ though this meaning really belongs to the construction as a whole rather than to the introductory particle.

442. Suí shū sì cài gèng, wèi cháng bù bāo, gài bù gān bù bāo. 隨蔬食菜羹，未嘗不飽，蓋不敢不飽也
Even if it was coarse rice and vegetable soup, he never failed to eat his fill, for he dared not do otherwise. (Mēng 5B/3)

(d) Wú 毋 (無) and Wū 勿
The prohibitory particles wú 毋 or 無, and wù 勿 (XI.2a and b) have modality as part of their meaning. As noted above they can occur in subordinate sentences where one cannot translate them simply as imperative. Such constructions need to be more thoroughly analyzed.
(e) Ning 宁
Ning 宁 ‘rather,’ to be distinguished from the full word nǐng 宁 ‘quiet, peaceful,’ expresses a preference for one course of action over another.

443. Bi bào chǒu. Ning shì Róng Dí. 必報讎，寧事戎狄
We must have vengeance on our foes. We would rather serve the Róng and Dí barbarians (than not do so). (Zuò Xi 15/14)
The comparison is often made explicit with yǔ 與:

444. Lǐ, yǔ qí shè yè, nǐng jiàn 禮，與其實也，寧儉
In ceremonies it is better to be sparing than extravagant. (LY 3/4)
On the rhetorical question formula wú nǐng 毋寧, see XIV.2.
XIII. Adnominal and Adverbial Words of Inclusion and Restriction

Notions such as ‘all,’ ‘some,’ ‘any,’ ‘none,’ and ‘only’ are expressed partly by adnominal particles, i.e., particles which precede nouns or noun phrases and partly by pronominal adverbs, i.e., particles which although affecting the one or other of the nouns dependent on a verb (its subject or object) are placed in adverbial position in front of the verb. Restriction and inclusion (‘only,’ ‘completely’) may also apply properly to the verb itself or to the whole predicate and be indicated by adverbs and/or final particles. For convenience the adnominals and adverbials in question are treated together.

1. Words of Inclusion

(a) Zhū 諸 ‘all; members of the class of’
Zhū 諸 (EMC ㄆIan) is a derivative of the same pronominal root as zhī 之 (EMC ㄆIan) and zhē 者 (EMC ㄆIan). Though usually given the translation ‘all,’ it indicates the membership of a class rather than a numerical totality.

445. Wáng zhū zhū chén jiè zǔ yī gòng zhū. 王之諸臣皆足以供之
· Your various ministers are sufficient to provide them. (Mēng 1A/7. That is, your ministers, severally or collectively, as a class, not all of them together as would be implied if one translated: ‘All your ministers.’)

The common expression zhū hòu 諸侯 ‘the feudal lords’ means members of that class of people, not necessarily every single one of them. It can even be used as a singular ‘a feudal lord.’

A peculiar usage of zhū 諸 which shows its pronominal origin is in the rhetorical question formula qǐ zhū ... yǔ 其諸 ... 與 found in the Lúnyú and the Gōngyáng zhuàn. It corresponds to the more common formula qǐ ... hù 其 ... 與 but, as the use of the question particle yǔ 與 instead of hù 與 would indicate, the predicate is nominal rather than verbal:

446. Fù zǐ zhī qiú zhū yē, qǐ zhū yǐ hù rén zhī qiú zhū yǔ 夫子之求之也，其諸異乎人之求之與
Is it not that our master’s way of seeking for information is
different from that of other people? (LY 1/10. Nominal predication with final yé 也 (here combined with the final question particle as yú 與) making an explanatory comment.)

447. Qǐ wú Zhòngsūn. Qǐ zhòu wú Zhòngsūn yú?
齊無仲孫。其諸吾仲孫與
There was no Zhòngsūn in Qi. Surely it must have been our (Lū’s) Zhòngsūn. (Gōng Mín 1/6)

The function of zhā 諸 in this construction seems clearly to be connected with nominalization and to be comparable to that of zhē 者 at the end of a phrase.

Dú 都 (EMC tāo, colloquial Mandarin dōu) is used adverbially in its modern sense of ‘all’ in some Hán texts, but was not usual in Literary Chinese. It is probably etymologically a variant form of zhā 諸.

(b) Fán 仏, ‘all’
In the sense of ‘all,’ fán 仏, (EMC buam) normally introduces a noun phrase in exposed position at the head of a sentence.

448. … zé fán kě yì dé shēng zhē, hé bù yòng yé 則凡可以 得生者，何不用也
… then why should he not use every means that can preserve life?
(Mèng 6A/10)

As an adjunct of nouns in other positions it means ‘common, ordinary’: fán rèn 仏人 ‘ordinary people.’

It can also be used in front of numerical expressions summing up a series, ‘in all …’

449. Tiānzǐ yì wèi, gōng yī wèi, hóu yī wèi, bó yī wèi, zǐ nán 景一之位，公一位，侯 一位，伯一位，子弟同一位，凡五等也
The Son of Heaven was one rank, dukes were one rank, marquises were one rank, counts were one rank, viscounts and barons were together one rank. In all there were five grades. (Mèng 5B/2)

(c) Jíe 皆 ‘all,’ Jù 舉 ‘all’
Jíe 皆 (EMC kái jí) and jù 舉 (EMC kǔ) are two members of a word family with initial *k- which includes also (e) and (f) below, and possibly other words such as jiàn 兼 ‘combine’ (EMC kēm). Jíe 皆 is the more common of the two but it is restricted to adverbial position. Jù 舉 can be
either adnominal or adverbial. Semantically they seem to be interchangeable. On the analogy of other pairs of particles in which a level tone proclitic contrasts with a rising tone word with freer positional distribution, one would hypothesize that 皆 was more emphatic. It should further be noted that 皆 is obviously related to the verb xié, jié ‘accompany.’ 皆 is a homophone of a verb ‘to lift’ written with the same graph, but in this case there is no apparent etymological connection.

The common use of 皆 is before a verb or a noun predicate with a plural subject. It behaves very much like modern 都.

450. 百姓皆以王為愛也
The common people all thought Your Majesty stingy. (Mēng 1A/7)

In the following example, we find it referring to the object rather than to the subject of the verb it precedes.

451. Jie shi yi shi bai yong, chu ru xiang yan. 皆使衣食百用出入相担
Ensure that for food, clothing, and all other needs, income and outgo shall cover one another. (Xuán 10/20)

Note however, that the verb here is 使, the object of which is at the same time subject of another verb following. It seems that 皆 has been attracted from its normal position in front of the second verb to stand in front of the auxiliary verb and that it is not a true case of 皆 referring to the object.

Less commonly 皆, like modern 都, can refer to a plural object of a verb, as in:

452. Bai hai jiu he liu zang, gai er cun yan, wu shu yi yu wei qin?
Rui jie ye zhu ha? 百骸九腑六藏，骸而存焉。吾誰與為親。汝皆說之乎
Of the hundred joints, nine openings, six viscera all present and complete, which should I recognize as more kin to me than another? Are you people pleased with them all? (Zhuàng 2/16; Graham 1981:51)

皆 ‘all’ is less frequent than 皆 in all Zhou texts and is not found at all in some (possibly just a matter of chance). It too is more often than not in adverbial position, e.g.
453. Wăng rú yòng yǔ, zé qī tú Qi mín ān? Tiánhìa zhì mín jù ān. 王如用子，则豈徒齊民安，天下之民舉安

If the king were to use me, would it be only the people of Qi who would be made content? The people of the whole world would be made content. (Mèng 2B/12. Note the emphatic contrast between ‘only’ and ‘all,’ supporting the view that jù 舉 was more emphatic than jiē 皆.)

Jù 舉 is not found adnominally in Mencius but there are examples in the Zuozhuan, Mozi, Zhuangzi, Xunzi, e.g.,

454. Qí wéi guǎ jùn, jù qún chén shì shòu qí kuàng 豈惟寡君，舉群臣實受其賄
Surely it will be not only our ruler but all his ministers who will receive the benefit of your gift. (Zuo Zhào 3/jù 2)

(d) Jù 俱 ‘both, together’

Jù 俱 (EMC kuá) is always adverbal and is often found when the subject consists of two persons or things.

455. Fù mù jù cún, xiōng dì wú gù, yī lè yè 父母俱存，兄弟無故，一樂也
That his father and mother are both alive and that among his brothers there is no cause for concern is his first delight. (Mèng 7A/20)

It is also found with a subject consisting of more than two persons or things, but usually it is a small number of discrete items rather than an indefinite plural.

456. Rán zé wǒ yǔ ruò yǔ rén jù bù néng xiǎng zhī yě 然則我與若與人俱不能相知也
Then I and you and the third person together cannot know (the right answer) for each other. (Zhuàng 2/89)

As in this example, jù 俱 has an implication of acting in concert, not merely duality or plurality.

457. Suí yǔ zhì jù xué, fú ruò zhī yǐ 隨與之俱學，弗若之矣
Though he studies along with him, he will not come up to him. (Mèng 6A/9)

Jù 俱 is no doubt related etymologically not only to jù 具 (EMC
458. Mín jù ěr zhān 民具爾瞻
The people all look at you. (Shì 191/1)

ey each’
Gè 各 (EMC kak) is always adverbial and referring to the subject in Classical Chinese. It belongs to a set of words ending in *-k which define the subject as individual members of a larger group or the members of such a group taken one at a time. Compare huò 或 ‘someone, something,’ mò 莫 ‘none,’ and shí 矣 ‘which.’

459. Gè yù zhèng jǐ yě, yān yōng zhān? 各欲正己也，
If each wished [King Wǔ] to correct him, what need was there for fighting? (Mèng 7B/4)

(f) Měi 每 ‘every (time), always: whenever’
Měi 每 is mostly adverbial, quantifying the action of the verb rather than the subject or a complement.

460. Shèng rén cháo chū yì xìng shì, yī měi chén gǒng. 聖人
The sages are hesitant in starting things and so always achieve success. (Zhàng 26/23)

It is frequently found in an initial time clause and is then equivalent in translation to a subordinating conjunction, ‘whenever.’

461. Chù, Bózōng měi cháo, qí qī bì jie zhī yuè … 初，伯
Previously, whenever Bózōng went to court, his wife would always warn him …. (Zuò Chéng 15/fù)

Měi 每 may be followed by a time word, as in

462. Guó měi yè hǎi yuè, wáng rù yī 國每夜駿曰，王
Every night there were alarms in the city that the king had entered. (Zuò Zhào 13/3)
(g) Words of Verbal Origin
Various words of verbal origin are used adverbially to indicate inclusiveness either of the subject or the predicate. Among them are: xián 咸, EMC yám/yè:m 'to unite; unitedly, all (of the subject)'; jìn 潸, EMC dzìn', 'to exhaust; completely, all (mostly referring to the predicate)'; sìh 拾, EMC sit, 'thorough; to exhaust or to sum up; all (referring either to the subject or to the predicate)'; bǐng 并, 阔, 併, EMC bjąg', 'side by side; equally both,' bǐng 并, 併, EMC pjiąc, 'together, all' (derived from the verb bǐng 并, EMC pjiąc, 'combine' — because of the similarity in meaning of these cognates and the graphic overlap, these words are not easy to distinguish); and bi 毕, EMC pjit, 'to finish; completely; all (of the object).'

2. Restriction

(a) Wéi 唯 (惟, 維) 'only'
In the preclassical language, wéi 唯 functioned as a copula in noun predication or as an adnominal topicalizing particle with much the same meaning as classical yě 也 (III.4). In the classical period, it has the meaning 'only,' but it retains some syntactical peculiarities related to its earlier usage.58 In the classical period, it is found in the following uses.

(i) Introducing the subject or an exposed element
Regularly in the Zuòzhuan and Guoyu and surviving to a limited extent in later texts, the exposed element is recapitulated by a pronoun in front of the verb (see Section VIII.1).

463. Wéi lǐ zhì qiú. 唯利之求
They seek only profit. (Xün 11/19)

A syntactical peculiarity of such sentences in texts such as Mencius, Mòzi, and Xùnzi is that one often finds the verb wéi 唯 'make; be' inserted before the main verb of the sentence.58

464. Wú héng chén ér yǒu héng xīn zhě, wéi shì wéi néng. 無恆產而有恆心者，惟士為能
To be without a constant livelihood yet to have a constant mind, only the scholar-gentleman is capable (of that). (Mèng 1/7)
465. Wéi rén zhū wéi shǒu, wéi yì zhī wéi xíng. 唯仁之為守，唯義之為行
Only Benevolence does he cherish, only Righteousness does he put into practice. (Xún 3/27)

(ii) Introducing a noun predicate
Final yě 也 is often, though not invariably, omitted in such cases.

466. Zhù qí zuì zhě wéi Kǒng Jūxīn. 知其罪者唯孔駿心
The only one who knows his faults is Kǒng Jūxīn. (Měng 2B/4. Literally: One who knows his faults is only Kǒng Jūxīn.)

467. Wéi jūn suǒ xíng yě. 惟君所行也
It is only for you, sir, to put it into practice. (Měng 1B/4. Literally: It is only what you, sir, put into practice.)
The formula wéi ... suǒ (yě) 惟 ... 所 (也) frequently has, as here, a hortatory meaning, ‘You should, my lord, just put it into practice.’

(iii) In adverbial position restricting the predicate

468. Cì wéi jiù sì ér kǒng bù shàn. 此惟救死而恐不贍
In these circumstances they only seek to avoid death and are afraid they will not succeed. (Měng 1A/7)

As the negative of wéi 唯 ‘only’ we find mostly bù wéi 不 唯 in Zuozhuan, but twice fēi wéi 非 唯, evidently a new formation influenced by the fact that fēi 非 alone, contracted from bù wéi 不 唯, had originally been the negative counterpart of wéi 唯. In later texts, fēi wéi 非 唯 replaces bù wéi 不 唯.

469. Bù wéi Xǔ guó zhī wèi. 不唯許國之為
It is not only for the sake of Xǔ. (Zuo Yin 11/3)

470. Fēi wéi bái shèng zhī jiǎ wéi rán yě. 非惟百乘之家為然也
Not only did the head of a household of one hundred chariots act thus. (Měng 5B/3)
(b) Dú 单 'only'
A number of words beginning in *d- in Middle Chinese share the meaning 'only' and are presumably based on a common root. Dú 单 (EMC dawk) occurs as a full adjective meaning 'alone, solitary.' Like other adjectives, it can also be used adverbially in this sense, as in dú jù 独 居 'live alone.' It also functions in adverbial position as a particle restricting the subject as in:

471. Zhù jùn zǐ jié yǔ Huān yán, Mèngzǐ dú bù yǔ Huān yán. 諸 君子皆與驪言，孟子獨不與驪言
The various gentlemen have all spoken with me, Huan. Mencius alone has not spoken with me. (Mèng 4B/27)
Fèi dà 非 單 is used adnominally like fèi wéi 非 唯 in:

472. Fèi dà xián zhē yǒu shì xīn yē. Rén jiè yǒu zhā. 非 單賢 者有是心也，人皆有之
It is not only that superior men have this mind. All men have it. (Mèng 6A/10)
In Hán texts we find wéi dà 唯 單 or dà 单 alone used adnominally like wéi 唯.

Dú 单 is used in rhetorical questions to emphasize the unlikeliness or absurdity of a proposition.

473. Qì jūn zhī míng, dū shuí shòu zhī? 收 君之命，獨 誰受之
If I abandon my ruler’s command, who will possibly take it up?
(Zuò Xuān 4ffū)

474. Jìn ēn zú yǐ jí qín shòu èr gòng bù zhù yú bái xīng zhē, dū hé yú? 今恩足以及禽 獸而功不至於百姓者，獨何與
Now how can it possibly be that your kindness is sufficient to reach birds and animals yet the benefit does not reach the people?
(Mèng 1A/7)
(A more literal but less idiomatic English translation for dú 单 in such cases would be 'exceptionally'.)

(c) Other Similar Words
Other similar words in *d- that can be used, adnominally or adverbially or both include: (i) tú 徒 (EMC do), 'only; in vain, vainly' (besides its quite separate meanings 'go on foot; follower, disciple; foot soldier; convict;
etc.

(i) tê 特 (EMC dâk) 'only' ('special, particular' as a full word); (ii) zhí 直 (EMC drik) 'only' (to be distinguished from the homophonic word 'straight, direct,'); (iv) danh 但 'only' (rare in pre-Han texts).

(d) Restriction by Final Particles
Restriction can also be expressed by the final phrasal particle ér yì 而已, literally 'then stop,' which may be contracted to ér 耳. The verbal force of yì 已 is shown by the fact that ér yì 而已 and ér 耳 are frequently followed by the final particleZ yì 矣.

475. Yán jū sì xīn jiǎ zhū bǐ ér yì. 言舉斯心加諸彼而已
It just means to take this mind and apply it to others and that's all. (Mèng 1A/7)

476. Zhí hào shì sù zhù yuè ér. 直好世俗之樂耳
I only like the popular music of the present age. (Mèng 1B/1)

477. Zi chéng Qí rén ye. zhī Guān Zhòng Yànzi ér yì yǐ 子誠齊人也。知管仲子而已矣
You are truly a man of Qi. You only know Guan Zhong and Yanzhi. (Mèng 2A/1)

For additional examples see 2, 60, 179, 187, 390, 555.

3. Some, None

(a) Huò 或 'some one, some' and Yòu 有 'some; sometimes'
Huò 或 (EMC ywak) belongs with other words in *-k which are used adverbially to define the subject as one out of a set (cf. gè 各 'each,' mò 莫 'none,' shù 煩 'which').

478. Huò bái bù ér hòu zhī, huò wǔ shí bù ér hòu zhī. 或百步而後止, 或五十步而後止
Some (of the soldiers described above) stop after 100 paces, some stop after fifty paces. (Mèng 1A/3)

479. Huò gào guà rén yue... or 吳人曰
Some one told me ... (Mèng 1B/16)
480. Sòng rén huò dé yù. 宋人或得玉
A man of Sòng obtained a piece of jade. (Zuǒ Xiǎng 15/jū 3 i.e.: Of the men of Sòng, one obtained a piece of jade.)

Huò 或 is etymologically related to yǒu 有 (EMC wu) 'have.' The construction in which the subject of a relative clause with zhē 者 as head appears as a pseudo-subject of yǒu 有 (IV.7 above) has a similar partitive implication. Example 480 is roughly equivalent to Sòng rén yǒu dé yù zhē 宋人有得玉者 ‘There was a man of Sòng who obtained a piece of jade.’ Another example of this is:

481. Sòng rén yǒu mǐn qí miáo zhì bù zhǎng ér yà zhē, 宋人有ɢε/卿之不長而揠之者
There was a man of Sòng who was concerned that his sprouts were not growing and pulled them. (Mēng 2A/2)
In the following example zhē 者 is omitted, so that yǒu 有 is in adverbial position and virtually equivalent to huò 或.

482. Xí zhē yǒu kui shēng yù yǔ Zhēng Zīchān 昔者有饗生魚於鄭子產
In former times, some one sent a present of a live fish to Zīchān of Zhēng. (Mēng 5A/2)
More commonly the partitive implication of yǒu 有 in front of a verb phrase without final zhē 者 is thrown onto what follows instead of applying to the subject — ‘there are cases when; sometimes,’ e.g.,

483. Gù jūn zǐ yǒu bù zhàn, zhàn bǐ shēng yǐ. 故君子有不戰，戰必勝矣
Therefore the gentleman will sometimes not fight, but if he fights he will certainly win. (Mēng 2B/1)

Huò 或 can also be used as a modifier of the predicate with a similar meaning.

484. Yǒu jù huò shì zhī. 猶懼或失之
He is still afraid of failing in some way. (Zuǒ Huán 2/6)
In this sense huò 或 is often translated as ‘perhaps.’ The combination huò zhē 或者 is also used in this sense:

485. Tiān qí huò zhè yǔ shì Wèi tāo Xíng hú 天其或者欲使衛討邢乎
Does Heaven perhaps wish to make Wèi punish Xíng? (Zuò Xì 19/5. Qī 其 here is modal and also has the effect of making the statement a supposition rather than an assertion of fact.)

(b) Mò 莫 'no one, none'
Mò 莫 (EMC ma) is related to wú 無 (EMC mu) 'not have' in the same way that huó 或 is related to yǒu 有. Mò 莫, however, is only used with reference to the subject and does not have adverbial uses like huó 或.

486. Jìn guó, tiān xià mò qiáng yán. 晉國，天下莫強焉
   No state in the world was stronger than Jìn. (Mèng 1A/5.
   Literally: The state of Jin, in the world none was stronger than it.)
   Note the idiom mò ruò 莫若 or mò rú 莫如 ‘nothing is better than ...
   i.e., ‘It is best to ...’

487. Rú wù zhì, mò rú guí dě ér zūn shì. 如惡之，莫如貴德而尊士
   If you hate it, the best thing is to esteem virtue and honour
   scholars. (Mèng 2A/4)

4. Reflexive and Reciprocal Pronominal Adverbs

(a) Zì 自 'oneself'
In contrast to the reflexive pronoun jǐ 己 (IX.1d) which behaves like other personal pronouns, zì 自 always occurs immediately in front of a verb. It may either (1) indicate that the object of a transitive verb is the same as the subject, wàng zì shā 王自殺 ‘the king killed himself,’ or (2) if the verb is intransitive or has another object expressed, emphasize the personal participation of the subject in the action, wàng zì shā zì 王自殺之
   ‘the king himself killed him.’ Unlike jǐ 己, it is always a direct reflexive, referring to the subject of the verb in front of which it stands.

(b) Xiāng 相 ‘each other, mutually’
Like zì 自, xiāng 相 always occurs immediately in front of a verb although it usually takes the place of the object, e.g.,

488. Shòu xiāng shí, rén qiè wú zhī. 獻相食，人且惡之
Men hate it even when animals eat each other. (Mêng 1A/4)

A case like the following, xiàng 相 stands for a locative complement rather than for the object.

489. Yóu xiàng jì è yè, zhù 相積惡也
They are still accumulating evils against each other. (Zuô Xiàng 30/fû 1)

Mutual participation when neither part of the subject is affected by the verb is expressed by xiàng yù 相與 ‘with each other,’ not xiàng 相 alone as we might expect if xiàng 相 and zì 自 were completely parallel in their behaviour.

490. Jiè xián rèn yè, xiàng yù fù xiàng zhì. 皆賢人也，相與輔相之
They were all worthy men; they mutually assisted him and served him as ministers. (Mêng 2A/1)

Xiàng 相 is sometimes used when the action is not strictly reciprocal, but there is a mutual bond of some kind between subject and object. Examples, though rare, do occur in pre-Hàn literature, for instance xiàng cóng 相從 meaning ‘(you) follow me’ (Shâ 16/1010, Pan’geng — see Karlgren 1950b:24). Later it became much more common.

In the preclassical language we find xǔ 胥 used in a similar way to xiàng 相. The two words are no doubt etymologically related.

(c) Shên 身 ‘body, person, self’
Shên 身 may be used adverbially to emphasize the personal participation of the subject.

491. Bì shên zhù lù, qì bì lù, yī yì zhù. 彼身織履，妻辟織，以易之
He himself wove sandals and his wife twisted threads to exchange for those things. (Mêng 3B/10)

(d) Jiào 交 ‘in exchange, mutually’ and Hù 互 ‘mutually’
Mutuality may also be expressed by jiào 交 ‘to exchange, interchange’ used adverbially (see example 415 above). Hù 互, which originally meant ‘intertwining, crossing’ is also used in this way, either alone or with xiàng 相, in Hàn and later texts.
XIV. Imperative, Interrogative, and Exclamatory Sentences

1. Imperative Sentences

(a) Unmarked
There is no special mark of the imperative as such.

492. Zī wèi wǒ wèn Mèngzǐ ... 子為我問孟子
Do you ask Mencius for me ... (Mèng 3A/2)

493. Yí yáng yì zhī. 以羊易之
Change it for a sheep. (Mèng 1A/7)

In the second example, the subject is deleted, as in an English imperative sentence, but such deletion is no more typical of the imperative than of the declarative in Chinese, as can be seen from the adjacent sentence gù yǐ yáng yì zhī yě 故以羊易之也 ‘Therefore I changed it for a sheep.’ It is possible that in the spoken language there was a special intonation for the imperative, but only context can serve as a guide as far as the written language is concerned.

(b) Qīng 請 ‘I beg of you, please’
Qīng 請 may be inserted parenthetically to turn an imperative sentence into a request. It is placed between the second person subject (if present) and the verb, but its own subject must be understood as first person.

494. Wáng qīng duó zhī. 王請度之
I beg Your Majesty to measure it (or) Will Your Majesty please measure it? (Mèng 1A/7. Literally: Your Majesty, [I] beg, measure it.)

Qīng 請 may also be used when both verbs are in the first person, i.e., when the speaker asks permission to do something.

495. Chén qīng wèi wáng yán yuè. 臣請為王言樂
Let me, I pray, speak to Your Majesty about music. (Mèng 1B/1)

(c) Prohibition
On wú 毋 (無) and wù 勿 as negatives of prohibition, see XI.2 above.
XIV. Imperative, Interrogative, and Exclamatory Sentences

(d) Modal OKEN in Imperative Sentences
On modal OKEN in imperative sentences, see XII.4a above.

2. Interrogative Sentences
Questions may be divided into simple questions which ask for information, and rhetorical questions, which imply an answer which is already known and ask for agreement. Both types of questions may be expressed by means of final question particles and/or interrogative pronouns. There are also various adverbial particles which are used in forming different types of rhetorical questions.

(a) Simple Questions

(i) The final particle OKEN
The final particle OKEN turns a statement into a question.

496. Xiān zhè yī lè cǐ hǎo? 贤者亦樂此乎
Does a man of virtue also enjoy such things? (Mēng 1A/2)

497. Téng, xiǎo guó yě, jiē yú Qi ŭ Chū. Shì Qi ŭ hǎo? Shì Chū hǎo?
滕，小國也。間於齊楚。事齊乎。事楚乎
Téng is a small country; it lies between Qi and Chū. Should it serve Qi? Or should it serve Chū? (Mēng 1B/13)

(ii) Yě hǎo 也乎, yù 與 (敬), yě 邪 (邪)
After noun predicates and other types of sentences which end in the particle yě 也, the corresponding questions end in yě hǎo 也乎 in the Zuóchùn. In the Lùnyú and in later forms of Classical Chinese we find the contractions yù 與 (敬) or yě 邪 (邪) (I.4d; III.1a).

498. Wèi fēi gān hú zú yú kǒu yú. 為肥甘不足於口與
Is it that fat and sweet things are not sufficient for your mouth? (Mēng 1A/7)

499. Tiān zhī cāng cāng, qí zhèng sè yě, qí yuān ěr wú suǒ zhi jǐ yě? 天之蒼蒼，其正色邪，其遠而無所至極邪
Is the blue of the sky its true color or is it that it is distant and without limit? (Zhōuán 1/4, 5)
(iii) Zhū 諸
Zhū 諸 at the end of a sentence is a contraction of zhī hū 之乎. Thus, yǒu zhū 有諸 (= 有之乎). 'Is it so?' in example 112 above.

(iv) Fǒu 否
On fǒu 否 ‘(or) not,’ forming alternative questions, see XI.1b above.

(v) Interrogative pronouns
Interrogative pronouns are treated in IX.3. Note that sentences which contain an interrogative pronoun may or may not also have a final interrogative particle.

(b) *Rhetorical Questions*
Simple questions formed as in (a) above may, in context, imply or favour one answer rather than another. There are, however, a number of special ways to indicate such implications.

(i) Negative questions requiring affirmative answers
As in English, a negative particle in a question commonly implies an affirmative answer.

500. Wén wáng jǐ mò, wén bù zài zhī huǒ? 文王既没，文不在兹乎?
King Wén having passed away, has not (the cause of) civilization (wén) been lodged here (in me)? (LY 9/5)

501. Xiǎn shì hòu dé, féi chóng dé yě yǔ? 先事後得，非崇德也與
To put duty first and achievement last, is that not to exalt virtue? (LY 12/21)

**There are exceptions, however:**

502. Xīn hū, fū zǐ bù yán, bù xiào, bù qū huǒ? 信乎，夫子不言、不笑、不取乎
It is true that your master does not speak, does not laugh, and does not take? (LY 14/13)

(Note the presence of the preliminary phrase, 'Is it true?' Without it the sentence would have presumably meant: ‘Does not your master speak, does he not laugh, does he not take?’)
XIV. Imperative, Interrogative, and Exclamatory Sentences

In the above example, 'not speaking,' 'not laughing,' and 'not taking' denote positive qualities, not merely the absence of a certain activity. This is an unusual meaning of negation with verbs but is quite normal with adjectives.  

503. Yǒu péng zǐ yuǎn fāng lái, bù yǐ lè hū? 有朋自遠方來，不亦樂乎

Is it not enjoyable to have friends come from afar? (LY 1/1)

(Without yǐ 亦, bù lè hū 不樂乎 would likely mean 'is it disagreeable?')

504. Mín yǐ wéi xiǎo, bù yǐ yǐ hū? 民以為小，不亦宜乎

Was it not natural that the people considered it small? (Mèng 1B/2)

This is a common construction found in all texts of the classical period.

We have yǐ bù 亦不 instead of bù yǐ 不亦 in:

505. Yì bù zú diào hū? 亦不足弔乎

Is he not worthy to receive condolences? (Mèng 3B/3)

When the adjective is modified by an adverb of degree we find yǐ 亦 omitted, presumably because there is then no possibility of ambiguity through interpreting yǐ + Adj. as meaning the contrary rather than the negative.

506. Sān yuè wú jūn zé diào, bù yǐ jí hū? 三月無君則弔，不以急乎

Was it not overly hasty to send condolences to someone who was three months without a ruler (i.e., unemployed)? (Mèng 3B/3 以 = 己, 'very,' see XII.1c above. Compare also bù yǐ tài hū 不以傣乎 in Mèng 3B/4.)

507. Bù yǒu yǔ hū? 不猶愈乎

Would it not be still better? (Zuò Xuān 12/3 and Xiǎng 13/fiù 3)

The function of yǐ 亦 in questions, apart from the formula bù yǐ + Adj. hū 不亦 + Adj. 乎, needs further study. For example, in

508. Gài (= hé) yǐ fán qǐ běn yǐ? 蓋(蓋) 亦反其本矣

Why not return to the fundamentals? (Mèng 1A/7)

we find it in a rhetorical question formed with an interrogative pronoun and
negative particle (combined into one syllable 盖 = 胡不) which is equivalent in meaning to an exhortation. The same sentence is repeated later in the passage without 亦.

We also find it implying an affirmative answer in questions with no negative particle:

509. Sōu hù yuān qiān hén ér lái. Yì jiāng yōu yì lǐ wú guó hù? 叟不遠千里而來，亦將有以利吾國乎
You sir have come without considering a thousand li too far.
Surely you must have something to benefit my country. (Mèng 1A/1)

(ii) 于 in rhetorical questions
The modal particle 于 is used to introduce a common type of rhetorical question requiring an affirmative answer.

510. Shì zuò yōng zhè, qī wú hòu hù? 始作俑者，其無後乎
Surely he who first made tomb figures must have no posterity.
(Mèng 1A/4)

511. Kōng zǐ yuè, wéi cǐ shǐ zhè, qī zhǐ dào hù? 孔子曰，為此詩者，其知道乎
Confucius said, ‘He who made this poem surely understood the Way.’ (Mèng 2A/4)
As we see in the first example, the scope of 于 includes a negative particle following it, so that the negative proposition is affirmed by the rhetorical question. In the following example, on the other hand, the negative particle before 于 merely reinforces the rhetorical effect.

512. Cái nán, bù qī rán hù? 才難，不其然乎
Is it not true that talent is difficult to discover? (LY 8/20)
For 于... 于... 與 as an equivalent rhetorical question formula for noun predicates, see XIII.1a above.

(iii) 于 introduces rhetorical questions requiring a negative answer (like Modern Chinese nán dào 難道 or Latin num).

513. Sù yǒu tái, chí, niǎo, shòu, qī néng dū lè hù? 雜有臺池鳥獸，其能獨樂乎
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Though he had towers, ponds, birds and animals, how could he enjoy them alone? (Mêng 1A/2)

514. Qí yī rén yì wéi bù méi yě. 豈以仁義為不美也
Surely it is not that they regard benevolence and righteousness as bad. (Mêng 2B/2)

The subject, if it is expressed, is normally placed in front of qí 且.

515. 今王豈為是哉
But how could it be that Your Majesty would do it for these reasons? (Mêng 1A/7)

However, qí wéi 且唯, qí tū 且徒, etc., ‘it is only ...’ precede the subject.

516. Wáng rú yòng yú, zé qí tū Qí mín ān? Tiān xià zhī mín jù ān 王如用予, 則豈徒齊民安。天下之民舉安
If the king were to use me, would it be only the people of Qi who would be made content? The people of the whole world would be made content. (Mêng 2B/12)

Qí 豈 can also be used with a noun predicate.

517. 此豈山之性也哉 Is this the nature of the mountain? (Mêng 6A/8; implying that it is not)

In such cases, final yě 也 may be omitted.

518. 是豈水之性哉 Is this the nature of water? (Mêng 6A/2)

Note that, as shown in several of the above examples, qí 豈 is often followed by the final exclamatory particle zài 哉. The question particle hū 乎 is also sometimes found or there may be no final particle to mark the question.

The negative particle bù 不 when following qí 豈 may be limited in scope, affecting only the verb or adjective it precedes, or may apply to the whole predicate converting the expectation from a negative to an affirmative answer. The first case is found in:

519. 矢人豈不仁於函人哉
Is the arrow-maker less kind-hearted than the maker of defensive armor? (Mêng 2A/7)
The second is found in such a case as:

520. Zì zǐ bù yùè yè, qǐ bù yuè ... 子思之不悅
也，豈不曰...

When Zìzǐ was displeased, did he not say ... (Mèng 5B/7)

It should be noted that there are also occasional examples in which qī 豈 expects an affirmative answer, e.g.,

521. Jùn qī yǒu dōu shèng zhī shū ěr huó wǒ zāi. 君豈有斗
升之水而活我哉

Surely you have a gallon or even a pint of water to keep me alive.
(Zhuàng 26/8)

(iv) Yōng 庸, jù 隻 (鉅, 距, 駝, 遼), qū 潛, yōng jù 庸 隻, etc.

These particles alone or in combination with each other or other question particles are used like qī 豈 in rhetorical questions expecting a negative answer. Yōng 庸, which means 'use; usual, ordinary,' as a full word (related to yōng 用), is here an adverb with modal implications. Jù 隻 (EMC gia’, with variants in other tones) may be related etymologically to qī 其 (EMC gi).

(v) Wú 毋 (無) in rhetorical questions

Like the ordinary p-negatives, bù 不 and fēi 非, the modal negative wú 毋 is used in rhetorical questions implying an affirmative answer. The effect of using wú 毋 instead of bù 不 is similar to that of modal qī 其 in that it indicates a degree of uncertainty on the part of the speaker, giving the rhetorical question the effect of suggesting rather than positively asserting a proposition. This usage is found mainly in comparatively early texts like the Zuozhuan.

522. Yǒu jiù wú huài, wú yī shì wù hù? 有基無壞，無亦
是務乎

To have a foundation (for the state) and not let it collapse, should one not strive for that? (Zuò Xiàng 24/fù 1)

Note the presence of the particle yì 亦. More common is the formula nài 無乃, as in wú nài bù kě hù 無乃不可乎 ‘Would it not improper?’ which occurs several times in the Zuozhuan. The function of 亦 or nài 乃 is probably mainly to prevent ambiguity by excluding possibility of interpreting wú 無 in the sense of ‘not have, be with no Wú bù kě hù 無不可乎 would be a simple question, ‘Is there
impropriety? Note the following example in which 不有 is used, rather than 无 ‘not have,’ to make a rhetorical question.

523. 布有博弈者乎
Are there not the games of 博 and 設? (LY 17/20)
We find 无 宁 ‘would it not be preferable’ used when two alternatives are presented.

524. 且予欲其死於臣之手也，无宁死於二三子之手乎
Moreover would I not rather die surrounded by my disciples than surrounded by ministers? (LY 9/12)

(vi) 夫 ‘is it not?’
As a final particle, 夫 is probably a fusion of 不 + 乎. It adds a tag question ‘is it not?’ expecting agreement (French n’est-ce pas), as in 未夫 ‘Sad, is it not?’ added as a comment to a tragic story.

525. 吾不为夫
Am I not as good as dead? (Mèng 4B/24)

(vii) Rhetorical questions with interrogative pronouns
The distinction between rhetorical and simple questions when interrogative pronouns are used requires further study. Note, however, the following observations:

(a) When 何 何 is used adverbially in the sense of ‘why’ or ‘how’ (as opposed to its use as object of the verb), it is generally rhetorical, implying that there is no acceptable reason for what is referred to.

526. 各不曰曰 何必曰利
Why must you say ‘profit’? (Mèng 1A/1)

527. 吾何爱一牛
Why should I grudge one ox? (Mèng 1A/7)

Yán ‘how?’ is also used in this way.

528. 云得人入而蔽之
How could he take them all across one after the other? (Mèng 4B/2)

(b) The generalizing initial particle 夫 in front of an interrogative pronoun has the effect of making it rhetorical:
529. Fú shuí yǒu wáng dì? 夫誰與王敵
Who will be a match for Your Majesty? (Mèng 1A/5)
(Compare this with English ‘whoever, who in the world.’)

(viii) Kuàng 惡 ‘how much the more’
As a full word kuàng 惡 means ‘to compare with, be equal to,’ as in:

530. Chéng méng kuàng hǔ zhū hóu. 成名況乎諸侯
Established a name comparable to a feudal lord. (Xín 6/17)
More commonly, however, it is used to make a rhetorical comparison, as in

531. Guān Zhōng qǐ yóu hù kē zhào, èr kuàng hǔ wéi Guān Zhōng zhè hù guǎn zhōng
If even Guān Zhōng could not be summoned (by his prince), how much less could one who is not a Guān Zhōng? (Mèng 2B/2)

3. Exclamatory Sentences

(a) Zǎi 哉
The final particle zǎi 哉 is a mark of exclamation which may be added either to a declarative statement or to a question.

532. Kuàng ān zhái ér bù jù, shè zhèng lù ér fú yóu, āi zǎi 悽
How sad it is to vacate the tranquil dwelling (of benevolence) and not dwell in it, to abandon the proper road (of righteousness) and not follow it. (Mèng 4A/11)

533. Shì chéng hé xīn zǎi? 是誠何心哉
What sort of mind was this really? (Mèng 1A/7)
In this example, final yě 也 is omitted but one can also have yě zǎi 也哉 and hù zǎi 乎哉.

534. Shì qǐ shuǐ zhī xíng yě zǎi? 是豈水之性也哉
Is this the nature of water? (Mèng 6A/2)

535. Ruò guǎ rén zhè kě yǐ bǎo mín hù zǎi? 若寡人者可以保民乎哉
Can someone like me protect the people? (Mèng 1A/7)
(b) Inversion of Subject and Predicate

In exclamatory sentences there may be inversion of the normal word order. That is, the predicate is placed before the subject.

536. Shàn zài wèn yè 善 裨 問 也
An excellent question! (Mèng 1B/4. For: wèn yè shàn zài 問 也 善 裨)

537. Wù zài qí wéi mín fǔ mǔ yè 惡 在 其 為 民 父 母 也
Wherein lies his being father and mother of the people? (Mèng 1A/4. For: qí wéi mín fǔ mǔ yè wù zài 其 為 民 父 母 也 惡 在).

Note the following example in which a final particle is retained at the end of the sentence in spite of inversion of the predicate and subject.

538. Wáng yuè, dà zài yán yǐ 王 曰, 大 裨 言 其
The king said, 'Great is that saying!' (Mèng 1B/3. For: yán yǐ zài 言 其 大 裨 言 也).
XV. Complex Sentences

1. Parataxis and Hypotaxis
As noted above in Section V.5, simple sentences can be linked together to form longer units without any overt indication of the connections between them. In the following example, four verbs, which all have the same subject, are arranged in a sequence that corresponds to the temporal order of events and there is a clear implication that what is prior explains in some way what is posterior, but the exact nature of the relationship is not expressed.

539. Téng Wén gòng wéi shì zǐ, jiāng zhī Chǔ, guò Sòng ér jiàn Mèngzǐ. 膳文公為世子，將之楚，過宋而見孟子。 (Mèng 3A/1)
This could be translated literally: Duke Wén of Téng was crown prince, was about to go to Chǔ, passed through Sòng, and saw Mencius. Alternatively one could show the subordination of the first three verbs to the final, main verb by using -ing forms: Duke Wén of Téng, being crown prince, and being about to go to Chǔ and passing through Sòng, saw Mencius. The particle ér 而 inserted before the final verb, etymologically related to words meaning ‘like’ and hence having a root meaning of something like ‘thus’ or ‘so,’ is little more than an empty connective indicating that the end of the sequence has been reached. It may be translated as ‘and,’ but it differs from English ‘and’ in that it can only link verbs, or more exactly predicates, since verbless noun predicates are occasionally found in such series.

More idiomatic English renderings would use a combination of subordinating (hypotactic) and coordinating (paratactic) constructions. For example, one might say: When Duke Wén of Téng was crown prince, he saw Mencius while he was passing through Sòng on his way to Chǔ, or: When Duke Wén of Téng was crown prince, he passed through Sòng on his way to Chǔ and saw Mencius.

Where English and many other languages use hypotactic constructions, with relationships of subordination explicitly marked by conjunctions and verbal morphology, Chinese very often uses parataxis, leaving the semantic relationships to be inferred from the context. In the above example even the particle ér 而, which has the effect of tying the sequence together, is not
obligatory (see V.5). Chinese does, however, have the means to make syncopatic relationships explicit, as will be shown below.

The same general rules of word order apply to subordinate and main clauses that apply within simple sentences. That is, modifier precedes modified. Apparent exceptions to the rule can occur when what is semantically the real, main, predicate is followed by another predicate that adds a restriction or explanation, for example ēr yī 而 一 ‘only’ (XIII.2d). However, even in such cases the surface structure is governed by the formal rule. Ēr yī 而 一 is literally ‘then stop,’ yī 一 being the final verb in a series.

Subordination between clauses may be indicated by (a) a particle in the first clause, (b) a particle in the second clause, or (c) particles in both clauses. Thus an ‘if’ clause may be marked by a particle such as rú 如 or gōu 荷, or may be implied by the particle zé 諸 introducing the conclusion, or may have both kinds of markers.

2. Conditional Clauses

(a) Parataxis

As with temporal and causal relationships, conditionals are often expressed paratactically, simply by juxtaposing two simple predicates.

540. Bù duō bù yàn. 不 多 不 滿
   If they are not snatching, they are not satisfied. (Mèng 1A/1.
   Literally: not snatch not satisfied.)

There is nothing but the sense to tell us that we should translate in this way rather than as two coordinate clauses: They do not snatch and are not satisfied.

541. Bù néng gēng míng, dōng xī, yǒu wù zī zhū shēng. 不能 更 嗎，東 西，有 无 子 聲
   If you cannot change your cry, when you move east, they will still hate your voice. (Shūdyuán 16.164. Literally: Cannot change cry, move east, still hate your voice.)

The subordination of the first two clauses is again implied rather than expressed and, if the context permitted, we could translate: You cannot change your voice. You will move east. They will still hate your voice.
(b) Subordination by a Particle in the If-Clause

(i) Ruò 若, rú 如, ér 而

These three words meaning ‘if’ are grouped together because they are etymologically related. The choice between ruò 若 (EMC ɲiak) and rú 如 (EMCɲə) seems to be at least partly a matter of dialect — ruò 若 in the Zuòzhuàn and Guoyù, rú 如 in Lúnyù and Mencius — but the exact history of these words still needs study. Ér 而 (EMC ɲi) is comparatively rare in this sense.

542. Ruò jué dì jí quán, suí ér xiàng jiàn, qǐ shuí yuē, bù rán?
若闕地及泉，隨而相見，其誰曰，不然?
If you dig into the earth and reach the Yellow Springs, and then make a subterranean passage where you can meet each other, who can say that your oath has been violated? (Zuò Yin 1/3, Legge p.6)

543. Rú yù píng chí tiān xià, dāng jīn zhī shí, shè wǒ qí shuí yè?
如欲平治天下，當今之世，舍我其誰也?
If Heaven wished to bring peace and good order to the world, in the present generation who is there except me (to bring it about)?
(Mèng 2B/13)

In the Zuòzhuàn there is a clear distinction between ruò 若 ‘if’ and rú 如 ‘like.’ Ruò 若 is also used exclusively in the construction ruò X hé 若 X 何 ‘what is to be done about X’ (IV.8g above), in which ruò 若 can be interpreted as a causative: ‘make X to be like what?’ This suggests that ruò 若 ‘if’ is also in origin a causative construction: ‘let it be so.’ Compare the use of shì 使 and lǐng 令 to introduce suppositions (see (ii) below). In the Lù dialect (Lúnyù and Mencius) the causative and non-causative meanings are not formally distinguished and both rú 如 and ruò 若 are used for ‘if’ as well as ‘like.’

If this interpretation is correct, ruò 若 and rú 如 govern the ‘if’ clause as object and are themselves impersonal, i.e., have no subject. The particle should therefore precede the subject of the ‘if’ clause. This is what we find in such cases as:

544. Ruò Zhào Mèng sǐ … 若趙孟死
If Zhào Mèng dies … (Zuò Xiáng 31/jà 1)

545. Ruò zhū zhē yǐ xíng qí suǒ wú shì … 如知者亦行其所無事
If your wise men would also carry out what they do not need to make a problem of ... (Mèng 4B/26)

It is also possible, however, for the subject of the ‘if’ clause to be placed in front of the particle, as if the latter were an adverb.

546. Zì ruò miǎn zhě, yǐ quán zuò yǒu, kě yè. 子若免之， 以 勸 左右， 可 也
If you spare him so as to encourage those about you, it will be well. (zuò zhào 1/3)

This is the usual word order with rú 如 ‘if’ in the Lùn yǔ and Mencius, e.g.,

547. Wáng rú zhī cǐ ... 王如知此
If Your Majesty knows this ... (Mèng 1A/3)

é 而, which is closely related to rú 如, is occasionally found in the sense of ‘if’ in both the Zuòzhùàn and Lù texts. It invariably follows the subject of the clause, if present, and may be regarded as an unemphatic, enclitic form.

548. Zìchān ér sì, shuí qí sì zhū. 子产而死，誰其嗣之
If Zìchān dies, who will succeed him? (zuò xiàng 30/fū 6. A textual variant has ruò 若 instead of é 而)

549. Yán yǒu rén rén zài wèi, wàng mín ér kě wéi yě? 焉有仁人在位，罔民而可為也
How is there a benevolent man on the throne if entrapping the people can be practiced? (Mèng 1A/7. With inversion of the main clause and subordinate clause in an exclamatory sentence — see XIV.3).

(ii) Shǐ 使, Líng 令, etc., ‘supposing’
The causative auxiliaries shǐ 使 and líng 令 can be used impersonally (i.e., without a definite subject) to introduce suppositions: ‘Let it be that ...’ = ‘Suppose that ...’ (compare modern jiāshǐ 假使). This usage is rare in texts of the classical period but becomes common in the late Warring States period and in Hán.

550. Năng zhē shǐ rú gōu bái ér wàng, hēi ér lái 艋者使女 狗白而往，黑而來
Supposing just now your dog had gone away white and come back black ... (HF 23, p. 138)
551. Jiè hù, líng dōng yuè yǐ zhān yǐ yuè, zú wú shì yǐ 哀乎，令冬月益展一月，足吾事矣
Alas, if winter had extended for one more month, it would have sufficed for my business. (Shījì 122.3148)

Other verbs that can be used impersonally to introduce suppositions include jiào 假 ‘borrow, simulate, pretend’ and shè 設 ‘set up, establish.’

552. Jià zhà yǒu rén ér yù nán wú duō ér wèi běi wú guǎ 假之 有人而欲南無多而惡北無寡
Supposing there is a man who desires to go south no matter how often and hates to go north no matter how seldom. (Xún 22/68.
Literally: ‘suppose it, there is a man, he desires … he hates …’
The use of zhī 之 as a dummy object after jiào 假, with the following clause in apposition, may be compared to the use of zhī 之 after wén 聞 ‘to hear’: ‘I have heard it that …’)

553. Shè Qín dé rén, rú hé? 設秦得人，如何
Supposing Qin had obtained men, what would they have done about it? (Yángzǐ Fāyún 10, p. 30)

(iii) Gōu 荀
As a verb gōu 荀 means ‘be careless of.’

554. Wú yuè gōu yǐ 無曰苟矣
Do not say, ‘I do not care.’ (Shī 256/6; Karlgren 1950a)

555. Jūn zǐ yú qí yán, wú suǒ gōu ér yǐ yǐ. 君子於其言，無所苟而已矣
In his speech there is just nothing the superior man is careless about. (LY 13/3)

From this comes an adverbial use in the sense of ‘carelessly,’ with idiomatic extensions ‘without regard to principle, by any means; by chance.’ Compare the expression gōuqì 荀且 ‘careless, without foresight.’ The most frequent use of gōu 荀 in texts of the classical period is introducing ‘if, by chance, …’ but is often quite attenuated.

556. Gōu wéi shàn, hòu shí zǐ sūn bì yǒu wàng zhè yǐ. 荀為善，後世子孫必有王者矣
If, perchance, he does good deeds, in later generations among his descendants there will be one who will be King. (Mēng 1B/14)
557. Gōu yǒu qí bèi, hé gù bù kě? 荀有其備，何故不可
If you are prepared for it, why should it not be possible? (Zuò Zhào 5/fū 1)
A word with similar meaning that comes to mean ‘if’ is tāng 倘 (also written 倘, 黨). In its earliest use it is an adverb meaning ‘accidentally, by chance’:

558. Guài xīng zhī tāng xiàn ... 怪星之黨見
The occasional appearance of strange stars ... (Xún 63, 17/30)
It is rarely, if ever, found in the sense of ‘if’ in pre-Hàn texts but becomes a regular particle with this meaning in later wén yán.

(iv) Chéng 誠, Xin 信
The adverbs chéng 誠 ‘truly, really’ and xīn 信 ‘truly,’ used in ‘if’ clauses, serve to emphasize the suppositional character of the proposition (since a statement that is self-evidently true does not need strengthening by such words!). They thus come to serve as grammatical markers for conditional sentences. Compare modern rú guǒ 如果 ‘if’ (literally, ‘if really’).

559. Chéng rú shì yě, mín guī zhī yǒu shuǐ zhī jiù xià ... 誠 如是也, 民歸之猶水之就下
If he is really so, the people will turn to him as water goes downward ... (Mèng 1A/6)

560. Xin néng xíng cǐ wū zhè, zé lín guó zhù mín, yāng zhī ruò fù mǔ yī. 信能行此五者, 則鄰國之民, 仰之若父母矣
If he can really carry out these five things, the people of neighbouring countries will look up to him as to their parents. (Mèng 2A/6)
The literal force of the adverb ‘truly’ is sometimes more attenuated than in these examples.

(v) Ji 即
In addition to its use in the sense of ‘then’ in a main clause (see 2c.iii) below), ji 即 is sometimes found as a particle introducing an ‘if’ clause. In this sense it is probably to be derived from the verb ji 即 ‘approach, come
to’ used impersonally, ‘coming to the point that.’ Compare this to ji 及 ‘come to’ in the sense of ‘when.’


You, Father Zhong, are confined to your house by illness. If, by misfortune, you do not recover, to whom shall I transfer the government? (HF 10, p. 51)

(vi) Fēi 非 ‘unless’
A noun predicate negated by fēi 非 can stand as a conditional clause to a following main predicate. The particle yě 也 which accompanies an independent noun predicate is then omitted. The predicate negated by fēi 非 may be a noun or a verbal phrase treated as a noun.

562. Fēi wǒ zú lèi, qí xīn bù yì. 非我族類，其心不異
If he is not of our clan, his mind will certainly be different. (Zuò Chéng 4/7)

563. Jīn rén zhōng zhī yú chí yǐ rán. Fēi bù zhī yǒu kù, zé àn yǔ
人主之於治亦然。非不知有苦，則安欲治
A ruler’s attitude to government should also be like this. Unless he ignores the suffering it entails, how can he be willing to govern his country. If it is not like this, he cannot heed sage wisdom and punish disorderly subjects. (HF 34 p. 247. In the first case, the particle zé 則 also marks the preceding clause as conditional.)

(vii) Wéi 微 ‘if it were not for’
The m- negative of nouns, wéi 微, mostly occurs in contrary to fact conditions. See examples 394 and 438 above.

(c) Subordination by a Particle in the Main Clause

(i) Zé 則 ‘then’
A frequent way of marking a conditional sentence is to use the particle zé 則 ‘then’ to introduce the second or main clause. The if-clause may or may
not be marked by one of the particles discussed above.

564. Hénéi xiōng, zé yī qǐ mǐn yǔ Hédòng ... 河内凶，则移其民於河東
If there is a bad harvest in Hénéi, I move people from there to Hédòng. (Méng 1A/3)

565. Yí wǔ shí bù xiào bǎi bù, zé rú hé? 以五十步笑百步, 則何 如
If, on the basis of having run fifty paces, they laugh at those who have run one hundred paces, how will it be? (Méng 1A/3)

The force of zé 則 in this usage is closely related to its use to mark a noun as topic (see Section VIII.3). That is, the if-clause presents a situation that defines the circumstances under which the statement in the main clause applies and, by implication, contrasts it with other situations. It is thus like a topic for the main clause.

(ii) Sī 斯 ‘then’
The pronoun sī 斯 ‘this’ is used as an alternative to zé 則 in the Shijing, Lányu, and Mencius. It is quite rare in other texts such as the Zuozhuan and Guoyu.

566. Guān guò, sī zhī rén yì. 觀過，斯知仁矣
If one examines a man’s faults, then one will know if he is virtuous. (LY 4/7)

567. Wáng wú zuì sī, sī tiān xià zhi mín zhì yān. 王無罪 厲，斯天下之民至焉
If Your Majesty will not blame the harvest, then the people of the whole world will come to you. (Méng 1A/3)

(iii) Jí 即 ‘then’
In its earliest use, jí 即 is a verb meaning ‘approach, go to,’ as in jí wèi 即位 ‘ascend the throne,’ jí shì 即 世 ‘pass away, die.’ From this can be derived a number of its uses as a grammatical particle, including its use in introducing conditional clauses (see XV.2b.v above). In phrases like jí rì 即 日 ‘on the very day’ (literally, ‘going to the day’) it has the idea of immediacy and it can also be used independently as an adverb meaning ‘immediately, forthwith.’
568. Yuán sān rì jí xià yǐ. 原三日即下矣
Yuán will fall in three days. (HFE 32 p. 213. Literally: Yuán in three days forthwith will have fallen.)
In this sense it can occur at the beginning of a main clause preceded by a 'when' clause.

569. Jí Wèi zhāo zhà, jí fān wèi Wèi shǒu Fèng. 及魏招之，即反為魏守豐
When Wei summoned him, he immediately revolted and guarded Feng for Wei. (Shiji 8.352)
Besides this usage, however, which does not seem to be found in pre-Hàn texts, jí 即 sometimes occurs in earlier texts as a variant of zé 則 'then,' without any connotation of 'immediately.'

570. Zhù zhī shì tíng zhè zhòng, zé qí suǒ wèn jiān zhè yuān yǐ ... Zhù zhī dòng zuò zhè zhòng, jí qí jū shì sù chéng yī 助之視聽者眾，則其所聞見者遠矣 … 助之動作者眾，即其舉事速成矣
If those who assist him to look and listen are many, then his hearing and seeing will be far-reaching ... If those who help him to act are many, then his undertakings will be swiftly accomplished.
(Mò 12/67-68)
In such cases jí 即 (EMC tsik) is probably a particle of pronominal origin, related to zī 兹 (EMC tsi) 'this,' quite unrelated to the verb 'go to.' It is presumably the same word as jí 即 when used as a particle to introduce noun predicates (see III.1b).

3. Concessive Clauses
Whereas an if-clause states a condition under which a proposition is true and implies that it is not or may not be true under other conditions, a concessive clause asserts that a given condition does not affect the truth of the proposition stated in the main clause.

(a) Sùi 雖 ‘although, even if'
The main particle of concession in Classical Chinese is sùi 雖. Sùi 雖 is closely related to the preclassical copula wéi 惟 ‘is,’ being very likely an old causative formation with the Sino-Tibetan *s- prefix: 'let it be ...,' hence 'even if it be ...'. Because of its origin as a copula, sùi 雖 can be
followed either by a noun or by a sentence standing for a noun. In this it resembles fei 非 and wei 微 ‘if not, unless.’

571. Sui da guo bi wei zhi yi. 雖大國必畏之矣
Even great countries will certainly be in awe of him. (Meng 2A/4.
Literally: Even if they are great countries …)

572. Sui bu de yu, wu hou zai. 難不得魚，無後災
Even though he does not catch a fish, he will have no disaster
afterwards. (Meng 1A/7)

If the subject of the clause is expressed, sui 難, like ruo 若 and ru 如, is
often moved into the adverb position between the subject and the verb.

573. Qi guo sui bian xiao, wu he ai yi niu? 齊國雖褊
小，吾何愛一牛
Though Qi is narrow and small, how should I begrudge one ox?
(Meng 1A/7)

The phrase sui ran 難然 ‘though it is so’ should be noted. It may be
used as a connective between sentences, equivalent to ‘nevertheless,
however.’ In Classical Chinese, however, it must always be given its full
value as a clause and is not, as in the modern language, simply a particle
meaning ‘although.’

(b) Sui … er 難 … 而
The conclusion of a sui 難 clause may be introduced by er 而, which then
has an adversative meaning, ‘yet.’

574. Sui zhi er bu bing. 難直而不病
Though he may be outspoken, he will not be blamed. (Zhuang
4/22)

(c) Fei … er 非 … 而
Fei 非, which like sui 難 is derived from the preclassical copula, can
sometimes be used as the negative of sui 難, i.e., ‘even if not …’

575. Wo fei ai qi cai er yi zhi yi yang ye. 我非愛其財而
易之以羊也
Even though I did not begrudge the cost, yet I changed it for a
sheep. (Meng 1A/7)

The adversative er 而 ‘yet’ helps to make clear the concessive meaning.
(d) Zòng 縱
Zòng 縱, which as a verb means ‘to relax, let go, allow,’ can be used to introduce a concessive clause.

576. Wú yī fù rén ér shī ěr fù, zòng fù néng sǐ, qí yòu xī yán?
吾一婦人而事二夫，縱弗能死，其又奚言
I, being one woman, have served two husbands. Even though I could not die (with my first husband), how could I again speak?
(Zuò Zhuàng 14/3)

4. Temporal Clauses

(a) Verbs in Series
Verbs in series are normally arranged in order corresponding to the temporal sequence of events and this may be sufficient indication of time relationships without explicit markers. (See the example 539 in Section XV.1.)

(b) Aspect Particles in the First Clause
The aspect particles 既 ‘already’ and 未 ‘not yet’ in the first clause indicating completed or uncompleted action, may be used to show relationships of before and after (XII.1a, b).

577. Yáo Shùn 既沒，聖人之道衰
After Yao and Shun passed away, the way of the sages declined.
(Meng 3B/9. Literally: Yao and Shun having passed away …)

578. Wèi zàng, Kǒngzǐ wéi zhī, shǐ Zìgōng wàng shī shí yàn.
未葬，孔子聞之，使子貢往侍事焉
Before he was buried, Confucius heard of it and sent Ziqong to go and assist at the funeral. (Zhong 6/63. Literally: not yet having been buried)

Note that final 也 也, which is normal with 未 未 in an independent main clause, is omitted in such cases.

(c) Jì 及 ‘when’
Jì 及, which as an independent verb means ‘to arrive at, reach,’ is usec impersonally as a coverb introducing a temporal clause: ‘coming to, when.’
579. Jí xiǎn yú zúi ... 及 陷 於 罪
When they fall into crime ... (Mèng 1A/7)
If the verb following jí 及 has a subject expressed, the phrase is
nominalized with zhī 之 or qí 其. Like other nominalized clause objects, a
clause introduced by jí 及 may be followed by yě 也.

580. Jí jùn zhào sì yě ... 及 君 之 嗣 也
When Your Lordship succeeded to the throne ... (Zuó Chéng 13/4)

581. Jí qí wéi tiān zǐ yě 及 其 為 天 子 也
When he became Son of Heaven ... (Mèng 7B/6)

Jí 及 followed by a noun may also be semantically equivalent to a
temporal clause, as in:

582. Jí guà rén zhī shēn ... 及 罕人 之 身
When I came to the throne ... (Mèng 1A/5; literally: Coming to
my person,...)

Jí 及 is the most regular and frequent copverb used in this sense. Other
verbs of similar meaning that can be used in the same way include zhī yǔ
至于 or zhī yú 至 於 ‘arrive at,’ bì 比 ‘be side by side,’ and dài 達
‘reach; up to, until.’

583. Zhī yǔ Yí Wáng ... Zhī yú Lí Wáng ... Zhī yú Yǒu Wáng
... Zhī yú Hùi Wáng ... Zhī yú Líng Wáng ... 至 于 疏 王 ... 至 于 尊 王
... 至 于 處 王 ... 至 于 惠 王 ... 至 于 廉 王
Coming to the time of King Yí ... Coming to the time of King Lí
... Coming to the time of King Yōu ... Coming to the time of
King Hùi ... Coming to the time of King Líng ... (Zuó Zhāo
26/7)

584. Bì qí fān yě ... 比 其 反 也
When he returns ... (Mèng 1B/6)

585. Xu dài wǒ Xiān Gōng jí Mǔ Gōng xiàng hào, lǜ lì tòng xīn
昔 逮 我 献公 及 穆公 相 好， 力 同 心
Formerly when our Duke Xiān and (your) Duke Mǔ were on terms
of friendship, they strove with all their might to be of one
mind. (Zuó Chéng 13/4)

Dài 逮 may introduce a clause containing the aspect negative wèi 未, in
which case it may be translated as ‘while’ or ‘before.’
586. Yuan jun dai Chu Zhao zhi bing wei zhi yu Liang, ji yi shao ge shou Wei. Guan jun zhi chuo zhi bing mei zhi Liang, hui yu "
I wish that, while the troops of Chu and Zhao have not yet reached Liang, you would quickly offer to make peace with Wei for a small piece of territory. (Shiji 72.2326)

Dai 'come to, reach,' which is used in much the same way as dai in the Shijing and occasionally in other texts, was cognate but not identical in Old Chinese.

(d) Simultaneity — Dang 當, Fang 方, ... shi 時
Simultaneity can be expressed by dang 當 'be at.'

587. Dang zai Song ye ... zai in Song also
When I was in Song ... (Meng 2B/3)

More frequently dang 當 in this sense is followed by shi 時 'time' (or a word of similar meaning such as shi 世 'age') modified by a noun, pronoun, or noun clause, e.g.,

588. Dang Yao zhi shi ... zai de shi
In the time of Yao ... (Meng 3A/4, 3B/9)

589. Dang jin zhi shi ... zai ze shi
In the present age ... (Meng 2B/13)

590. Dang Yan zhi fang ming feng fa shen guan duan zhi shi ...
At the time when Yan was clearly upholding the laws and scrutinizing officials' decisions ... (HF 19, p. 91)

Fang 方 'just now, just then,' which is more commonly an adverb (as in the above example), can also be used like dang 當 as a coverb (see example 429 above).

The noun shi 時 'time' can be used by itself, without a preceding coverb, to mark the end of a temporal clause, like modern ... de shihou ...

591. Lu Mu Gong zhi shi ... Lu Mu Gong also
At the time of Duke Mu of Lu ... (Meng 6B/6)

592. Sun Shu'ao wei ying er zhi shi ... Sun Shu'ao was a child ...
When Sun Shu'ao was a child ... (Xintu 1.2)
(e) *Topic Phrases in Ye 也 as Time Clauses*

A topic phrase nominalized by *zhì 之* and followed by *ye 也* can be semantically equivalent to a temporal clause.

593. Xi, Huán gōng zhì bā ye ... 昔，桓公之霸也
Formerly, when Duke Huan was hegemon ... (*HF* 35, p.255)

(f) *Er hou 而後, Ran hou 然後*

The time sequence between two clauses may be indicated by *er hou 而後* or *ran hou 然後* ‘afterwards’ introducing the second or main clause.

594. Huo bai bao er hou zhi, huo wu shi bu er hou zhi, or bai bu er hou zhi
Some go a hundred paces before they stop, some go fifty paces before they stop. (*Mêng* 1A/3. Literally: Some, going a hundred paces, afterwards stop ...)

595. Yi wang xing jia bing, wei shi chen, gou yuan yu zhu hou, ran hou kuai yu xin yu? 抑王興甲兵，危士臣，構怨於諸侯，然後快於心與
Or is it that Your Majesty must take up arms, endanger your subjects, and incur resentment among the other feudal lords before you feel pleasure in your heart? (*Mêng* 1A/7. Literally: ... take up arms ... and afterwards feel pleasure ...)

Note that in both these examples the idiomatic English translation makes the second clause into a subordinate clause. This is because the first clause is in each case semantically the main predicate, conveying the most new information. The Chinese syntax must, however, conform to the rule that modifier precedes modified, so that the final verb is the main verb as far as the surface syntax is concerned. Compare ... *er yi 而已* ‘only,’ which according to surface syntax is the final verb of a sequence of verbs in series but is equivalent to a final particle placed after the main verb and is translated as if it were adverbiaal to the main verb.

5. Cause, Reason

(a) *The Coverb Yi 以*

The coverb *yi 以* governing a nominalized clause as its object may be equivalent to English ‘because.’
596. Song yi qi shan yu Jin hou ye, pan Chou ji Jin.  宋以其善於晉侯也，叛楚即晉
Song, because of having made friends with the Marquis of Jin, revolted against Chou and went over to Jin. (Zuo Xi 26/7)
Note that, as in the examples with ji 及 ‘when,’ etc., the nominalized clause is marked off by final ye 也.  为 ‘for’ can be used similarly.

(b) Gu 故 ‘reason’
Gu 故 ‘reason’ may be used at the end of a ‘because’ clause introduced by yi 以 in much the same way that shi 時 ‘time’ is used at the end of a temporal clause.

597. Jun yi nong ma zhi gu ... 君以弄馬之故
The ruler, because of his fondness for the horses ... (Zuo Ding 3/fu 2)
More frequently, gu 故 is used by itself as a connective introducing a main clause (or a separate sentence) in the sense of ‘therefore,’ of which many examples have been given (see examples 17, 41, 47, etc.) Note also shi gu 是故 ‘(for) this reason,’ used in the same way.

(c) Explanatory Noun Predicate after a Main Clause
A reason or explanation may be provided by an additional noun predicate added after a main clause (see VII.2a.ii, XII.3c).
Notes

1 Downer 1963.
2 See Downer 1959 for an extensive classified list of such departing tone derivates. The theory that the departing tone is derived from *-s was first proposed by Haudricourt (1954). See also Pulleyblank 1962, 1973a, b.
4 Pulleyblank 1965, 1973a, 1989. The vowel /a/ can be analyzed as a phonological null in Chinese, inserted epenthetically by rules of syllabification. This means that when /a/ alternates with /a/ as the root vowel, it is regarded as infixation of the same morpheme that occurs as a prefix in (b).
6 On the equivalence of yú 言 and yēhū 言 see Graham 1957. On the dialectal difference between yú 言 and yē 還 see Karlgren 1926.
7 For a fuller discussion see Pulleyblank 1994.
8 On the related contrast between reference to presupposed information and addition of new information in shí wèi 是 言 as opposed to shí X yē 是 X 也 in Mencius and other Warring States texts see Pulleyblank 1960:51-52. In the Shijing, such presupposition was indicated by inserting a demonstrative pronoun, either shí 是 or shí 實 (實), in front of the copula wèi 魚. In the Zuózhuan and Guóyü, shí 實 (實) alone, sometimes with wèi 魚 but often alone without any copula and never with final yē 也, is used for this purpose (pp. 57, 45-46). The role of presupposed versus new information in Classical Chinese syntax needs more study.
9 For fuller discussion see Pulleyblank 1959, 1994.
10 On the distinction between kě 可 and kě yǒu 可以 in pre-Han Chinese, see Section V.4a and Chou Fa-kao 1950, with further precisions.
11 For a useful analysis of passive constructions in Classical Chinese, see Cikoski 1978.
12 Compare Pulleyblank 1987. See also Gassmann 1982.
13 See Chou Fa-kao 1950, Section 6, ‘Kě hē kě yī 可和可以’
14 On the differences between yú 子 and yù 於 see Karlgren 1926, Pulleyblank 1986.
15 Yang Shuda (1954). Ciquan 9/1, remarks about this example that it is unnecessary to follow commentators who have assumed that a verb has dropped out in front of 於.
16 For a discussion of the phonology see Pulleyblank 1986.
17 In the preclassical language, *ru* 如 ‘like’ had a similar syntax to yú ‘(go) to’ and yú ‘(be) in.’ Along with wéi 惟 ‘be’ and some others, it belonged in a special class of copula-verbs which were not followed by the object pronoun zhī and which, on the other hand, were followed rather than preceded by interrogative pronouns. Thus, in the Shijing, rú hé 如何 means ‘is like what?’ In the language of Mencius, rú 如 conforms to the word order of normal transitive verbs, so that the equivalent phrase is hé rú 何如. See Pulleyblank 1991a.

18 On the development of classifiers see Wang Li 1957-58, v. 2, ch. 34.

19 For a fuller discussion of the issues discussed in the following section see Robert H. Gassmann 1982. Though my analysis has been developed independently over many years, it has many points of contact with that of Gassmann.

20 The function of yě 也 in nominal predicates and related functions after nominalized verbal predicates are discussed in Gassmann 1980. He sums up his conclusions in the formula: “Das grammatische Morphem yě 也 weist im Nominalsatz und in der Grundform eingebetteter Komplementensätze, d.s. Komplemente vom Typ ZHI 如 ‘wissen’, eine prädikativierende oder prädikatsanzeigende Funktion auf” (“In the nominal sentence and the basic form of embedded complement sentence the grammatical morpheme yě 也 performs a predicativizing or predicate marking function.”) This seems to me quite insightful, though points of detail remain disputable.

21 There is a comprehensive survey of pronouns in Classical Chinese in Chou Fa-kao 1959.

22 The graph 見 is phonetic in 晉 EMC:jiān and its other xiesheng derivatives are of the same pattern as those of 余 and 子. Compare 余 余 EMC:yu, 子 子 EMC:zi; 晉 晉 EMC:jiān, 傳 傳 EMC:chuán, 見 見 EMC:jiān, etc. Forms in 見- probably had a prefix. The original root initial in such xiesheng series is difficult to determine with certainty. My first assumption (1962) was that it was Sino-Tibetan *l* but it is now clear that there are other possible sources of Middle Chinese j- (Type B syllables) and d- (Type A syllables), including *y*, *q*, and *q̣l*, as well as *x̣l* (with a voicing prefix) (Pulleyblank 1991b). No Tibeto-Burman cognates to this Old Chinese first person singular pronoun have been identified.

23 Old Chinese *qá* and *qá*l, cognate to Tibeto-Burman forms such as Tibetan ga ‘I,’ ged ‘I, we (elegant),’ Burmese ga ‘I,’ etc. (Benedict 1972:93, 65).

24 Chen Mengjia 1956:94-96.

25 This was pointed out to me by David Hawkes.

26 The controversy about wů 我 and wô 我 began with Karlgren (1920), who supposed that they were the relics of an original case system with wů 我 as nominative/genitive and wô 我 as accusative. Kennedy (1956) argued that the contrast was not one of case but between a stressed form, wô 我.
appearing freely in any position in the sentence, and an unstressed form, wú 我, which could not appear before a pause. Graham (1969) argues strongly against the theory that the difference between wú 我 and wǒ 我 had anything to do with stress.

27 On jue 见 see Karlsgren 1933, Bodman 1948.

28 The basic study of yàn 言 is that of George Kennedy 1940, with a supplementary note, 1953. See also Pulleyblank 1991a.

29 Kennedy 1953.

30 For the textual variant 言 instead of 言 see Graham 1983:36. Graham translates yàn as ‘to say it’ but there is nothing in the preceding discourse for ‘it’ to refer to.

31 According to Graham (1983), who seems to have been the first to identify the semantic import of this pattern, it is confined to the Lū dialect, that is Lünyü, Mèngzi, the Gōngyángzhuān and the Gōlǐngzhuān.

32 On the specialized uses of shí 是 in the technical language of logical disputation developed by the Later Mohists see Graham 1978.

33 On the dialectal distribution of sì 斯 ‘this’ and sì 斯 ‘then’ see Karlsgren 1926.

34 Pulleyblank 1960.

35 In spite of the difference in initials, fū 夫 (<*b-) as a pronoun must surely be related etymologically to bi 彼 (<*p>). One possibility is that, since fū 夫 as a pronoun seems to have become obsolete at quite an early period, its reading in the literary tradition was confused with that of the introductory particle fū 夫 (see VIII.5d), from which it is semantically quite distinct. The introductory particle, which often has a generalizing force, seems to be related to fún 論, EMC buam ‘all’ and is probably etymologically unrelated to the pronoun. The distinction between these morphemes needs more study.


37 Kennedy (1940) drew a parallel with Modern Chinese nà 哪 ‘what’ and nà 那 ‘that’ and also with jīe 椒, which can either mean ‘how many’ or ‘some, a few.’ The latter comparison seems the more appropriate. Alternation between interrogative and indefinite pronouns is found in many languages. Compare also Mandarin 甚麼 ‘something’ as well as ‘what?’ Derivation of an interrogative pronoun from deictic pronoun with a definite reference seems less likely. The deverbal derivatives in -n in Classical Chinese, yān 言, rán 然, yún 云, yuán 燕, may have originally had an indefinite reference, ‘in something,’ ‘like something,’ etc., which acquired a definite, anaphoric meaning in context. Some of the uses of yàn 云 retain this original indefinite meaning. See example 276 above.

38 Yang Shuda (1954:399) cites Zhèng Xuán’s 鄭玄 commentary to the Tàn Gōng 據号 section of the Lìji 历记 for the equivalence of wū hú 乎 to yǔ hé 於何 and argues that hú 乎 is here a preposition, equivalent to yǔ 於,
placed after its object [as if it were an ordinary verb]. This will not do. Wu 惡 alone is not found as a free pronoun occurring, like hé 何, in front of other verbs or prepositions and as an interrogative word it always has the same meaning as the combination wū hu hū 惡 乎, of which it appears to be a contraction. It is much more likely that wū hu hū 惡 乎 (EMC ʔə gə) is somehow derived from yú hé 於 何 (EMC ʔiʔ ya) (or, perhaps, yú hū 於 胡 EMC ʔiʔ ya) by a change in prosody from Type B, with accent on the first mora of the syllable to Type A, with accent on the second mora. The issues are complex, however, and must be left aside here.

39 These are actually 'literary' readings borrowed in premodern times from northern Chinese. The particle of simple verbal negation in Cantonese and several other southern dialects is the syllabic nasal [m]. Since Tibeto-Burman generally has negative particles beginning with m-, the northern Chinese forms with p- may be an innovation. There does not appear to be any evidence available at present, however, to show how such forms could have developed out of forms in *m-.


41 Pulleyblank 1959.
42 See Lyu Shuxiang 1955.
45 Pulleyblank 1959.
46 Pulleyblank 1978.
48 See the analysis in Li and Thompson 1981.
49 Chao 1968.
50 For further discussion of the points raised here see Pulleyblank 1994.
51 There is by now an extensive literature on qi 其 on the oracle bone inscriptions. Takashima 1994 sums up previous studies as well as presenting his own most recent views. In my opinion to link modal qi 其 as it appears on the inscriptions with the later pronoun qi 其 remains unconvincing, as do attempts to relate modal qi 其 to qi 期 'a stipulated time, set a time for.' For a study of qi 其 in the Zuozhuan see Malmquist (1981).

52 Karlgren compares the force of gài with the German adverb ja 'truly, indeed' (1964, Gloss no. 533).
53 The phonology of these derivatives remains uncertain in a number of ways but I suggest the following analysis: (1) The simplest form of the root was no doubt just *tV, that is, the consonant *t syllabified by a default vowel, which gave rise to the reading pronunciation of zhī 之 (EMC tsi) and has
survived as Mandarin *de* 的. Some words in this Old Chinese rhyme group ended in a velar glide, partly derived from earlier *-q* but it is very likely that this grammatical particle had no underlying final consonant. I suspect an etymological connection with the Tibetan demonstrative *de* ‘that’; (2) The forms *zhu* 祖 and *zhe* 著 has the vowel *a* added to the root consonant and thus are examples of *a/ia*, i.e., *zero a*, ablaut. The problem of a final velar fricative or glide in the 魚 rhyme group to which they belong is similar to that of the 祖之 rhyme group. Again I think it likely that there was no underlying consonantal final in these grammatical words. The difference in between *zhu* 祖 and *zhe* 著 (apart from the glottal stop in the latter giving rise to the Middle Chinese rising tone) is a further unsolved problem of Old Chinese phonology. I suspect that the Type B words like *zhe* 著 in this rhyme group that gave rise to EMC -ia instead of the more usual -ia had long vowels in Old Chinese but have no way of independently testing this hypothesis at present. Modern *duan* 都 ‘all’ is no doubt a Type A variant of *zhu* 祖.

54 He Leshi 1994 has an exhaustive study of these and other quantifiers in the Zuózh cyan.

55 The modern reading *xié* 偕 ‘accompany’ is not found in the Guanyun which reads the graph as a homophone of *jie* 橘 ‘all’. It is tempting nevertheless to see the modern reading as a survival of a distinct reading for the verb.

56 This word is now commonly read *jü*. There is, however, no ancient authority for this and I suspect that it is analogical, based on the reading of the phonetic part of the graph, *jü* 與. The Guanyun gives only a level tone reading and the same is true of the Jiyan and the Kāngxi zzhī, which cites only these two earlier authorities.

57 Pulleyblank 1960.

58 This should, perhaps, be correlated with the use of the copula-verb *wéi* 为 rather than verbless noun predication when the predicate refers to something presupposed rather than new information. See Note 7 above. Further study is needed.

59 On the meaning see Graham (1955) who interprets it as equivalent to French ‘n’est-ce pas?’ Following a suggestion by W. Simon, Graham suggested that *fù* 夫 was a fusion of *fei* hū 非乎. This seems unlikely since *fù* 夫 is regularly a tag question after verbal, not nominal, predicates. According to Y. R. Chao (1968), modern *ba* 吧, which may be compared with final *fù* 夫 in meaning, is a fusion of *hū* 不 + a 啊. The voicing of the initial of *fù* 夫 (EMC *ba*) probably comes from the voiced initial consonant of *hū* 吧 (EMC *ga*). Compare *pō* 柏 (EMC *p*a) = *bō* 吧 不, in which the contracted form has acquired the aspiration of the initial consonant of the second initial.

60 Karlsgren 1926; see also Pulleyblank 1988.
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Index of Chinese Vocabulary Items

Grammatical words discussed in the text are indexed as well as their occurrences in the examples (indicated in bold type). Also indexed are content words written with the same graphs, except for proper names.

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àn 案 'then' 81

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