FUNCTIONS AND MEANINGS OF ERL

by WALTER SIMON

I. ERL IN CONDITIONAL SENTENCES

A. ERL RESUMPTIVE AND CONNECTIVE

When dealing in a previous article\(^1\) with the function and meaning of ehl as it occurs in a specific passage, which is representative of a specific pattern, I attempted to isolate a resumptive (and intensifying) function of ehl, which has led me to equate it with English 'such' ('such a person, such a thing, such persons, such things')\(^2\). It was my intention to proceed from there to the connective function of ehl by bringing in an adverbial ehl 'suchly' ('in such a case, in such a manner, at such a time, place, etc.'), which would be to the pronoun ehl 'such', as her 何 'hows' is to her 'what', or as huoh or 'some' (='in some cases, perhaps, etc.' is to huoh 'some'.

Though there can be no doubt as to an adverbial ehl existing side by side with the ehl which we observed as a subject or object in the examples of the previous article, and though theoretically it would be quite possible to develop the connective function of ehl merely from its adverbial function, subsequent research has shown me that the connective function of ehl is inseparable from its resumptive function even in the cases adduced before. In Section B of this paper I shall therefore go briefly over the previous examples. As we shall see, the double function of ehl now assumed—viz. resumptive and connective (ignoring the fact that intensification\(^3\) is often implied in the resumptive function)—will in the examples which deal with the pattern proper (Ex. 1–43)\(^4\) merely entail the addition of 'then' in a literal translation and will hardly affect at all the freer translation, quoted or attempted.

We shall, then, gain a much clearer understanding of these first examples. In addition it will be seen that the realisation of the double

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2 Loc. cit., p. 49.

3 See here below, under D, pp. 189, etc.

4 To avoid confusion I have retained the numbering of the examples as given in the previous paper. Examples not included there, will therefore start with No. 72.
function of erl is not only of paramount importance for a full understanding of the examples adduced in the second part of the previous paper, but will also offer a more satisfactory solution of the very problem for which they were adduced, viz. the problem of word order, which arose from the fact that in Ex. 1–43 erl is placed immediately before the verbal of which it is an object, instead of being placed immediately after the words it resumes and intensifies (as it does in Ex. 44–68). The existence of an apparently inseparable combination in erl of two functions (a resumptive and a connective function) makes it likely that a fusion between a pronominal and a connective element has occurred in erl, but I shall refrain at this stage from suggesting the words which may have been the elements of such a fusion word(s), since all my interpretations have been arrived at independently of this assumption and should therefore in the first instance be considered independently of it.

Before entering into the discussion proper I wish to refer briefly to an important confirmation of my explanation of Ex. 2.

The resumptive function of erl can be confirmed by the variant of the passage which occurs in the Koongtzy-sshyjia 孔子世家 of Symsaa Chian's Shyjih.1 The wording buh kee der erl wen yee 不可得而聞也 in the Luenyeu passage is replaced by fow kee der wén yee yii 不可得而聞也 in the Shyjih, and since fow 不 is a fusion of the negation buh and

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1 I borrow this term from Professor George Kennedy, see his papers 'A Study of the Particle YEN', J.A.O.S., Vol. 56 (1940), pp. 1–22 and 193–207, and 'Equation No. 5', J.A.O.S., Vol. 67 (1947), pp. 56–69. I should like to mention in this connection two passages where reference to Chinese fusion words is made by scholars of the Song Dynasty, namely Sheen Gua (Kuch)'s 夢窩筆譜 Meng-chi bitin at the beginning of J. 15 and a remark in 趙汝賢 Ch'ao Ch'ien's 失書略 Lossouh-liu-kueh, which is to be found near the end of that monograph (section V), in the second of the three 'Essays on Chinese and Sanscrit' (p. 11, 2, 4, etc.). The reprint of the latter work Tong’i-lu shih in the Sybhu-beyo.

2 Bairn-Ed., I, 47, line 234: Chavannes, Mem. hist., Vol. V, p. 142. (For details of editions of texts and translations referred to, and of abbreviations used, see the previous article.)

3 G. von der Gabelentz, (Chinesische Grammatik, Leipzig, 1881, § 1223, p. 452) seems to have been the first scholar to point out that after the negation buh the objective pronoun itsu 之 is normally omitted. Aach nach dieser Negation pflegt objektiives Wissens zu werden. 'The 'such' in this passage is referred to the negation soj 不, whereupon Gabelentz says: 'Das Objektiv pronomin en pflegt dach auszufallen, und es lässt sich vielleicht sagen, dass nicht soj 不, mais soj 之.' In a note (p. 440) Gabelentz adds the surmise that this equation may hold also from the etymological point of view: 'Oh such etymologisch'. That fow is a fusion of the buh 不 and itsu 不 has since been proved by Ding Sheng-shu 丁聲舒 in the Jihjih-volume, published by Academia Sinica, in honour of Tsuy Yangpei 斯元培 (Studies presented to Ts’ui Yaun Po'ei on his 65th birthday, Part II, Peking 1935, pp. 967–969) in a paper entitled 'Shih Fungougsoy Fow buh 釋否定詞弗不'. The question whether fow 不 is another fusion word will be discussed by Mr. A. Graham in Vol. XIV of the Bulletin of Oriental and African Studies.

the pronoun jy (in the objective case), it may safely be assumed that the erl in the Luenyeu-version has the same resumptive function as the jy which is hidden in the negation fow, viz. to refer to the words which precede it.1

B

REVIEW OF EXAMPLES 1–43

(a) Examples 1–43

It will be remembered that the first three examples of the previous article and those listed in Group I (Ex. 4–23) have one feature in common, viz. that erl refers back to (and in many cases emphasizes) words that form part of one and the same sentence. These words have been underlined both in the Chinese text and in the translation. In Group II (Ex. 24–43), however, the words referred back to by erl, though mentioned before, do not necessarily form part of the same sentence.

With the connective function of erl in mind it will be necessary to reconsider the principle of dividing up these examples. We observe what I called 'emphatic word order' in all of them. But the first three examples are representative of a special group in so far as they show emphatic word order with words placed in absolute position right at the beginning of the sentence. Special cases are singled out, and the sentence proper tells us what may, will, should, or does happen in those cases, which the absolute position characterizes as exceptional. The foregoing description may help to see this kind of emphatic word order in its true light. The words in an absolute position in Ex. 1–3 may be regarded as shortened clauses of condition with the meaning 'if it is the question of (a Divine Sage, etc.).'

In support of this explanation I wish to recall the parallel of ruoh 若 'if', which, in addition to introducing clauses of condition, also occurs before words absolute in position (to be followed by tser 则) and has then been given the meaning 'as for'.2 This usage may be illustrated by the following passage from Luenyeu (VII, 33): Ruoh sheng yeu ren tser wu chii guan 若聖與仁則吾豈不敢。3

My contention, then, is that the function of erl in Ex. 1–3 does not limit itself merely to resuming (and to emphasizing) the words placed in absolute position. I assume that the words in absolute position are in fact shortened clauses of condition, and that erl as a connective takes on also

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1 The whole text of the variant is as follows: 一子負曰：夫子之文章可得聞也。夫子言天道與性命弗可得聞也已．


3 Waley, Anacolit., p. 130: 'As to being a Divine Sage or even a Good Man, far be it from me to make such claims.'
the function of *tsue*, which we observed in the *Lueneuf* passage just quoted. It is, therefore, not enough to translate *erl* as "such" in these examples; owing to its double function of being both a 'resumptive' and a connective, I should like to equate it with "such then," and, in accordance with what was set out in Section A, also with "such then" ("in such case etc.") then.

A literal translation of the first three examples would, therefore, be something like this:

(1) "If it is the question of a Divine Sage, I (shall) not succeed *such a person then* to meet (him) etc."

(2) "If it is the question of the Master's views concerning culture and the outward insignia of Goodness, we shall be able *such things then* to hear . . . ."

(3) "If it is the question of a scholar of complete virtue, a ruler may not be able *such a person then* to employ as a minister, a father may not be able *such a person then* to treat as a son."

Looking at the subsequent examples (Ex. 4–43) it will be seen that *erl* may likewise be equated with "such then" and that the distinction between Groups I and II is no longer essential. As a resumptive, *erl* resumes (and often emphasizes) an object previously mentioned, no matter whether it occurs in one and the same sentence or in an earlier context. The real difference between the examples, 1–43, arises from the function of *erl* as a connective. As such it refers to the preceding object only if this is placed in the absolute position which can be observed in Ex. 1–3, where we are in fact dealing with a shortened clause of condition (protasis). In other words, in Ex. 1–3 the preceding object coincides with the protasis. It will be seen that in all the subsequent examples *erl* as a resumptive refers back to an object mentioned before and as a connective refers back to a condition or a set of conditions, which are either actually stated in a protasis or mentioned previously in the context.

To sum up the description of the first 43 examples it may be said that they are all conditional sentences and that *erl* in addition to resuming a previously mentioned object also refers back to a clause of condition.

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"even," maintaining at the same time that owing to the resumptive function of *erl*, a literal translation of *erl* in these examples would still be 'such' ('father such a person' = 'even one's own father', etc.). Unaware of the double function of *erl*, I disputed in a special footnote Gabelenz's opinion, which is shared also by Chinese grammarians, that the presence of *erl* imparted a hypothetical meaning to the clause. It is clear from the preceding remarks that I no longer see any reason to oppose this theory, which seemed to me incompatible with the purely resumptive function of *erl* which I had then assumed.

Owing to its combination of both resumptive and connective functions, *erl* in these examples also expresses the condition. In the same way that *erl*, when appearing in the last part of the conditional sentence, characterizes it as its apodosis, the appearance of *erl* in the first part of a sentence may be taken as an indication of its being the protasis of a conditional sentence. I should, therefore, translate the three sentences literally as (53) 'Father such a person if' (= 'Father even if ...'); (54) 'Kuan such a person if ...' (= 'Kuan even if ...'); (55) 'Ruler such a person if ...' (= 'Ruler even if ...').

In the same way resumptive and intensifying *erl* marks the protasis of a conditional sentence when appearing after an object, as in the case of Ex. 56–60. It will be seen that in Ex. 56 the intensifying force of *erl* has been brought out well by Chavannes ("son propre père"), but the hypothetical force has been missed by him in Ex. 56, as it was clearly missed by myself in Ex. 58 and inferred by me (as by others) only from the context in Ex. 57. The literal translation of Ex. 56 and 58 should be therefore (56) 'His father such a person if wishes to kill (= 'if he wishes to kill even his own father') how much more ...'; (58) 'One young deer such a thing if not treats cruelly (= 'if he doesn't even show cruelty to') a young deer how much less ...'.

In Ex. 59 we witness a first example in which the resumptive and intensifying *erl* in the meaning 'such' occurs in the apodosis. I should render Ex. 59 literally as: 'How, if there is a benevolent man on the throne, entrapping people *such a thing then* can he (or: one) do!', the hypothetical

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1. The intensifying force of *erl* after the subject has also been observed by Professor J. L. M. Muller, see his "Grundzüge der ton de Chinese litteraturkunde stud", Deel III, Leuven, Missien van Schen, 1949, pp. 213, etc. I feel, however, unable to accept his explanation in that cases of this kind an original *sue* was dropped before the *erl*. I shall come back to his theory when dealing with the two examples on which he bases it, viz., *Lueneuf*, VI, 8, and Lütjkh, VIII, 2, 21.


3. About the Chinese grammarians, see here below, p. 186. Gabelenz's theory was that *erl*, when occurring in such sentences between the subject and the predicate, had the function of turning the subject, which he therefore called 'apparent subject,' into an adverb: 'Tatsächlich ist aber hier das scheidende Subject adverbal.' (Chin. Gram., p. 256, § 624). I need hardly say that this view of his would not seem acceptable to me.

4. See here also below, under I, pp. 201, etc.
force of the erl being accounted for by both 'if' in the protasis and 'then' in the apodosis.

In Ex. 60 the first erl indicates the protasis, the second, followed by kuanx 
 書, the apodosis. I suggested 'such a little thing' in order to render the
 intensifying force of the first erl. The second erl also is intensifying:
'even (= in such an extreme case) then'. So the whole sentence would be: 'If
a prince of a thousand chariots does not even succeed in such a little thing
as seeking to be on terms of friendship with a scholar then how much less
can he call him to his presence'.

The next two groups of examples in the previous article can likewise
serve as examples of a conditional sentence. It will be observed that in
Ex. 61 erl serves as an antecedent to a relative clause and in Ex. 62–66 as an
antecedent to what I called an equivalent to a relative clause. It should be
noted that in each case we also witness a change of subject and that erl has
no intensifying force.

In addition to resuming what preceded it, erl marks, in Ex. 61–62, the
protasis of a conditional sentence. Ex. 61: '(With) whistling arrows
what I shoot at such thing if not all-together (shu) shoot at who those (jia)';
Ex. 62: 'People do it to yourself such a thing if (you) not like . . .'; and it
marks the apodosis in Ex. 63: 'People [or rather I (Confucius)] if tell him
such thing then not neglects who that (jie) . . .'.

The next group of examples had been adduced to illustrate the
distributive usage of erl. This distributive meaning may, however, in the
examples in question (64–66), simply be accounted for as arising from the
combination of an intensifying erl, understood as a plural ('such things,
such persons'), and words like fen (Ex. 64 and 65) in the meanings
'to allot' or 'to divide', or words denoting quantity (Ex. 66 meti; Ex. 67
leang) or a group of opposites (Ex. 68). The hypothetical force of erl can
again be observed: Ex. 64: 'To bring up a fictitious case (jia jie 創之)
(of) men if there are brothers properties such things divide who they
(jie) . . .

Ex. 65 is particularly illustrative of the hypothetical force of erl, which
is repeated as many as six times ('peasants allotted fields such things if
plough, etc.').

The hypothetical force of erl in Ex. 66 was observed by v. d. Gabelentz. 3

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1 See also, below, here below, Section I, p. 201.
2 In Gabelentz, Chineseische Grammatik, § 640, p. 261, two examples with erl kuanx
 in fact been translated as conditional sentences.
3 Also the Manchu translation uses one sentence when rendering the passage:
Mingum enjegge ejen, baine guadebi sei hono baharakâ bade, jio sei ombo.
4 About example 67 in general and this mixture of a conditional clause and a
relative clause in particular, see also here below under C.
5 See here above, p. 183, n. 2.

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Erl here intensifies the preceding mei ren: 'everybody so (many) people if
he attempts to please . . .'.

In Ex. 67 and 68 erl again also serves to indicate the apodosis of a
conditional clause, in addition to resuming and emphasizing the preceding
object: (67) 'if . . . nothing like the two vantage points such things then
completely maintain'; (68) 'If your Majesty wages war against Song I request
that you may hard [and] soft such things then both use.'

Ex. 69–71 are further examples of the meaning of 'such things then'
of erl.

(c) Summary of the Functions of erl in Exs. 1–71

Before passing on to a review of the examples of word order, it may be
useful to summarize the position reached so far by listing the examples of
the previous article in the following manner:

A erl = 'such' as object after der + 'then': Ex. 1–43.
B erl = 'such' as subject + 'then': Ex. 44–53.
C erl = 'such' as object + 'then': Ex. 54–67; 67–71; and the
quotation from Mencius adduced p. 65, n. 2.
D erl = 'such' as subject + 'if': Ex. 54–55.
E erl = 'such' as object + 'if': Ex. 56–62; 64–66.

C

THE POSITION OF ERL AFTER DER BEFORE THE VERB OF
WHICH IT IS THE OBJECT

As I said before, 2 the assumed double function of erl will also offer a
more satisfactory solution of the problem discussed in some detail in the
previous article, viz. why erl in the pattern buh der erl is placed immediately
before the verb of which it is the object. The solution lies, of course, in the
fact that erl in this pattern combines the meanings of both 'such' and 'then'.
As I explained in the previous article, one would expect erl in its meaning
'such' to have its place immediately after the words that it resumes and
intensifies. In its meaning 'then', however, it must be expected either to
introduce the apodosis of the conditional sentence or, alternatively, to be
placed before its verb, and it is the latter position that we meet in all
examples of the der erl pattern.

It may be useful to enlarge at this stage on the position of erl, both in
the meaning 'such then' or 'in such case then', and in the meaning 'such if'
or 'in such a manner if'. It is important to realise that erl in the meaning
'then', both in the pattern proper and in the further examples adduced in
the previous article, does not introduce the main clause. This feature of

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1 See here below, p. 189.
2 See above, p. 180.
word order has, I think, contributed as much to the failure to recognize the function of erl as has the idea that erl is a conjunctive particle with the basic meaning ‘and’. For the fact has long been recognized that erl does introduce a main clause.\footnote{See, e.g., Gabelentz, *Chinesische Grammatik*, p. 260, § 633: ‘Zuweilen leitet erl auch wirklich die Nachsilbe ein’.
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In its position at the beginning of the main clause, erl functions in a similar way as tser, i.e., it clearly characterizes the preceding clause as a subordinating clause. Chinese grammarians like Suen Jingshih\footnote{Suen Jingshih, loc. cit. (see previous article, p. 62, n. 2), pp. 124–127.} and Yang Shuhdar\footnote{Yang Shuhdar, Tyrochuan (see previous article, p. 62, n. 2), 1.10, pp. 8–9.} actually equate erl in this position with tser, and attempt to prove this equation by showing alternations between the two particles in different versions or sometimes even different parts of one and the same passage.

In the same way that erl was identified with tser when introducing the main clause, it was understood as if and equated with ruoh 若 when, though not actually introducing the protasis, it occurred at the beginning of a clause of condition.

The fact that erl is, however, in no way bound to a position at the beginning of the apodosis or the beginning of the protasis has implications that are less obvious. Owing to its resumptive function erl resumes as a rule all that immediately precedes it. The importance of this fact will be realised when looking at examples like the long passage from Shyuntzyi included as Ex. 65. As is borne out by Japanese prints and translations, the hypothetical meaning of erl was not understood there because erl did not occur immediately after the subject. Since erl occurs in that example after the object, it may be said to indicate also the inversion of the object. In fact, it has already been noticed by v. d. Gabelentz that inversion of the object occurs in conditional sentences with erl.\footnote{Suen Jingshih, loc. cit., pp. 66–74; see also Wang Yinji, *Jingjuanc-shihcyr* (see previous article, p. 66, n. 1), 1.7, pp. 3–4.} The presence of erl, however, must not be seen primarily as giving clues to the effect that such and such a clause is the apodosis or protasis of a conditional sentence, or that it marks the inversion of the object. Without denying either the existence or the importance of such criteria, I feel that in describing the function of erl in this way we fail to do full justice to its remarkable performance in the field of Chinese syntax. This performance should be seen in the light of a great principle that prevails in Chinese word order.

With reference to the reader or listener, the principle of word order in question can be described negatively as creating the least possible suspense when acquainting them with the contents of a statement.

Instead of preceding essential portions (segments) of a statement by grammatical words, which, as do the European conjunctions, signal beforehand in what manner the reader or listener will have to understand syntactically the portion (segment) of the statement that follows such ‘signal words’, Chinese word order demands as a rule that any portion (segment) of a statement should be followed rather than preceded by the grammatical word whose function it is to show the relation of this particular portion (segment) to the statement as a whole. Each segment, then, is in the first instance absorbed by the reader or listener as it were ‘on the merit of its contents’ (i.e., irrespective of the rôle it may play in the building up of the sentence as a whole), and only after this first process of understanding has been completed will the segment concerned be joined with the next segment in accordance with the grammatical word that is placed at the end of the particular segment. What I have described negatively as creating the least possible suspense in the reader or listener when acquainting him with the contents of a statement, may now perhaps be described positively as the principle of ‘post-segmental junction’.\footnote{Chinesische Grammatik, pp. 255–6, § 623.}

I wish to illustrate this principle of word order by analysing once more, and in more detail, Ex. 61, which, for the convenience of the reader I shall set out again, together with its romanisation:—鳴扁所射而不悉射者斬之 Ming dly suoo sheh erl buh shi sheh jee jjaan jy.

It will be noticed that the Chinese relative pronoun suoo (which only occurs in the objective case, including the local object) often does not introduce the relative clause, recalling in this way a similar principle of word order in Latin. The reader of our passage will, then, first take in ming dly as ‘the whistling arrows’. The following relative pronoun suoo with the verb sheh will complete the relative clause, which will be understood as ‘with whistling arrows what shoot at’, or rather, ‘with whistling arrows what I shoot at’, because the subject, though not expressly mentioned will be understood as the Heir Apparent, since the preceding sentence has described our example as an order given by him.

The moment the reader of our passage gets to erl, he is able to understand both what precedes and what follows erl as parts of the protasis of a conditional sentence, assigning to erl the meaning ‘if’ in its function as a connective, but in so far as the words which precede erl form a relative clause, he will in accordance with the function of erl as a resumptive, regard erl at the same time as the antecedent of the relative clause, assigning to it the meaning ‘such person(s)’ or ‘such thing(s)’.

As antecedent of the relative clause erl forms the object of the negative verb buh (heu) sheh, which on its part is amplified by the adverb shi (completely, all together) placed between the verb and its negation.

\footnote{Up to a point, one may, of course, also speak of ‘inter-segmental junction’, but the primary reference is backward rather than forward.}
The adverb 'all together', in addition to indicating that the agent of the verb scheid must be thought of in the plural, implies at the same time grammatically a change of subject since the subject of the relative clause is the Heir Apparent.

With the verb scheid the clause of condition is completed, but the word jee (as it were—'who those') makes it possible to turn the whole of the preceding conditional clause into a kind of relative clause with jee as its antecedent, while preserving the character of a conditional clause. jee, then, on its part has a double function. In so far as it follows after the conditional clause it marks its end and thereby signals the beginning of the apodosis. As antecedent of the kind of relative clause into which it has turned the preceding clause of condition it forms the object of the verb jaan 'to execute', and since it precedes that verb, it is referred back to in its function as object by the pronoun jy.

It may be helpful to illustrate the grammatical relations by attempting a Latin translation:—Sonantium singit quis modo eo non simul miserint qui si eos decollabo. I have attempted to indicate the double function of both erl and jee by placing the corresponding Latin words one on top of the other. It goes without saying that combinations like eo + si, or qui (after a conditional clause) + eos can only be understood but not imitated. De Groot when dealing with our passage used two sentences in his German translation. The English translation which I had attempted ignores the clause of condition:—'Those who will not join me in shooting at that at which I take aim with the whistling arrows will be executed'. A comparison with the Chinese original will show the great simplicity of the Chinese sentence. Basing itself on the principle of word order for which I suggested the term of 'post-segmental junction', it operates with only three particles (apart from the negative particle), viz. suoo, erl, and jee.

D

ADVERBIAL ERL. MARKING A CONTRAST AND EMPHASIZING MEASURED QUANTITIES

While concentrating in this first part of the paper on the function and meaning of erl in conditional sentences it does not seem possible to deal satisfactorily with this function without bringing in certain other aspects of the 'adverbial erl'. In the first section of this paper (A), I equated the resumptive function of the adverbial erl 'suchly' with such meanings as 'in such a manner, at such a time, at such a place, etc.', in addition to 'in such a case'. A meaning as general as this results, as we shall see, from a survey of the usage of erl, and is, in fact, well in keeping with functions of equal generality which can be observed in the case of a number of other Chinese grammatical words. Apparently G. von der Gabelentz had something similar in mind when in the opening sentence of his chapter on erl, he stated as 'the most important and most frequent function of erl that of characterizing what precedes erl as adverbial in relation to what follows erl' and judiciously contrasted the function of 'adnominal' jy with that of 'adverbial' erl.

While I should again agree with him if he suggests that erl should in such cases be interpreted by 'therewith, then, thus', since all these words are in fact 'resumptives', his next statement, which is to the effect that erl when occurring within a sentence need as a rule not be translated especially, would not only seem incompatible with the assumed double function (resumptive and connective), which this paper attempts to substantiate, but would also appear to overlook completely the intensifying function of erl, which is often implied in its meaning 'such'.

The intensifying force of erl has been referred to before on more than one occasion in both the previous and the present papers. It goes without saying that a certain amount of intensification arises already from the purely resumptive function of erl. When a fact is brought again to the reader's or listener's attention by means of the resumption, this resumption is bound to stress the previously mentioned fact much as we can stress a word or a sentence by repeating it and introducing the repetition with the words 'I repeat'.

The intensifying force of erl will be even stronger when owing to its resumptive function it resumes parts of a sentence, particularly the object, which would normally appear towards the end rather than at the beginning of a sentence. But I wish to draw special attention to two aspects of this intensifying force, which, as we shall see, can often be found in one and the same example, viz. that erl marks a contrast and that it emphasizes measured quantities.


2 Chinische Grammatik, p. 254, § 619: 'Die wichtigste haufwagte Funktion von erl ist diese, dass sie das Vorhergehende als in Rücksicht auf das folgende adverbial kenntzeichnet.'

3 Ibid., 'Man kann etwa sagen, es sei für das adverbiale Verhältniss dasselbe was it für das adnominalne ist.'

4 Ibid., 'Am zutreffendsten wird es in solchen Fällen durch dabei, da, so erklärt.'

5 Ibid., 'Wo es nun innerhalb des Satzes steht, da ist es in der Regel nicht besonders zu übersteigen.'
(a) Erl marking a contrast

When dealing with Ex. 3 in the previous paper I pointed out that the first *erl* referred to matters which the disciples regard as unimportant, while they attach the greatest possible importance to those subjects of discussion, which are referred to by the second *erl*. There can be no doubt that we have here a first clear example of the correlative use of *erl*, which is reminiscent of the use of *ων... αν...* in Greek. It would be possible to render the first *erl* by 'such things on the one hand then' and the second *erl* by 'such things on the other hand then'. The same contrasting force can be observed in the following further examples: 3, 5, 7, 8, 11 (when taken together with the sentence preceding it in the text of the *Shyyih*).

In all these examples *erl* occurs twice and refers to things or persons, actions or states that are clearly contrasted. The most telling of the previous examples are those in which we find *erl* more than twice, viz. 27 and 65. It will be seen that the six verbs of which *erl* is the object form three pairs of opposites. In Ex. 65 the peasants are paired with the merchants, the craftsmen with the officers and officials, and the feudal lords with the three Dukes. A literal translation would have to contrast by means of 'such things on the one hand if' and 'such things on the other hand if'.

An example with two pairs of *erl* in the meanings 'in such case on the one hand then' and 'in such case on the other hand then' occurs in the following passage from *Mencius* where it is said of Confucius:


1 When it was proper to go away quickly he did so: when it was proper to delay, he did so: when it was proper to keep in retirement, he did so: when it was proper to go into office, he did so: this was Confucius."

(b) Erl emphasizing measured quantities

The first example to be adduced here illustrates either function of *erl* with which this section is concerned. It is the well-known passage from the *Analects* in which Confucius describes the stages of his mental development:


1 When it was proper to go away quickly he did so: when it was proper to delay, he did so: when it was proper to keep in retirement, he did so: when it was proper to go into office, he did so: this was Confucius."

1 *Analects*, J. 10, p. 10, basing himself apparently on the *lactio faciatur*, transmitted by Hwang Kao, for *Luanchu* XIV, 20, which he gives as a first example, though without mentioning this variant. See also Waley, *Analects*, pp. 187 and 260.

2 Loc. cit., p. 5 B-i.

3 Lit. 'his words such on the one hand then...his deeds such on the other hand then...'.

4 Page 7 in the *Guanyu-je-hua-shu* 去年基本叢叢 reprint of *Guan Yu*. The song occurs towards the end of the famous inscription of A.D. 106 on Suen Shuwaar (see Giles, Biographical Dictionary, No. 1819). Prime Minister of Chiu (Chu Shiang Sueh Shuwaar 伯). Like the similar song which is included in the *Guan-je-hua-shu* of the *Shyyih* (J. 126, Bairwen-Ed., lines 45-46), it is attributed to Suen Shuwaar's contemporary Liu Meng.
As can be seen, each of the numbers which refer to Confucius' age is followed by an *erl*, and translators like Waley (and others before him) were of course quite justified in using merely the preposition 'at' before the numbers in their free English rendering. But we would certainly go wrong if we were to assume that the function of *erl* in the above passage were merely that of a postposition with the meaning 'at, which, but for its position, would correspond to the English preposition. By its adverbial function *erl* also covers what in English is expressed by the preposition 'at', but a literal translation of *shir you wu erl* would be in the first instance 'fifteen, such as then'. But this translation would not yet cover two further implications, viz. (a) the contrast to the other member of the pair ('thirty') and (b) the emphasis laid on the number as such, asserting that it is neither higher nor lower than might be expected but just that.

To take another example of the same kind, in the simile of the battle in *Mencius*, it is said of the soldiers that some of them ran a hundred paces and some fifty:

(76) *Mencius*, Book I, Pt. I, Ch. III, 2 (Legge, p. 6)

或百步而後止，或五“Some run a hundred paces and stop; some run fifty paces and stop.”

A literal translation would again have to include the two implications of contrast and emphasis on the number:—'Some a hundred paces such (distance) on the one hand then thereafter stop, some fifty paces such (distance) on the other hand then thereafter stop. The emphasis on the number could easily be accounted for by adding 'as many as' to 'hundred paces' and by adding 'only' to fifty paces.

Recently Waley1 emended Legge's translation of a passage in *Mencius* about Shuenn's filial piety.


舜其至孝矣，五十而慕。“Shun was indeed perfectly filial. *And yet, when he was fifty, he was full of longing desire about his parents.*”

For this Waley suggests:—'When he was fifty he was still...'. It will be seen that the adverb 'still' brings out very well indeed the emphasis on the number conveyed by *erl*.

In a passage in the *Sanjungwotsheh* Hann Ming argues that his Feudal Lord Chuen Shen Jiu scores over Yau and he himself over Shuenn because it took Yau three whole years2 to know Shuenn, whereas Chuen

Shen Jiu was able to know Hann Ming in the brief space of time of one single morning only:—

(78) *Sanjungwotsheh*, Chuu, Kuo Lih Wang (SBTK, J.5, p. 44 a. 11).

今君一旦而知臣。Now your Lordship knew me (within the brief space of) one single morning only.

In Ex. 78 the emphasizing force of *erl* had to be rendered by 'still', in Ex. 79 by 'only'. In the next example, which I choose from *Sanjungwotsheh*, it may best be rendered by 'just'. It is the story of the rulers of the Southern and the Northern Oceans who receive hospitality from Chaos, the ruler of the Centre (whose body is without the seven orifices). To repay his kindness they decide to dig an orifice in him every day. The story ends with the statement:—

(79) *Sanjungwotsheh*, Book VII (Legge,1 p. 267b).

七日而渾沌死。Chaos died exactly on the seventh day.

Another case where the intensifying force of *erl* would appear to emphasize that something happens 'just at that very time' is to be found in the *Daw-Der-Jing*.

(80) *Daw-Der-Jing*, LXIV (Waley,3 p. 221).

民之從事，常於數成。“Whereas the people of the world, at their tasks, constantly spoil things when within an ace of completing them.”

A literal translation of *yu ji cheng erl bu jy* would be:—'at almost (being) completed just such a time then spoil them.'

It will be realised that the point in time mentioned in the last example is not indicated by a number but circumscribed. The emphasis applies of course also to a circumscriptors of this kind and to other words relating to time or age, as for instance *sheng erl* 'right from birth then' (see, e.g., *Luensyu*, VII, 19, and XVI, 9), *guo erl* 古而 'already from ancient times on then', etc.

As I said in the beginning of this section, the two functions of *erl*, viz. to mark a contrast and to emphasize measured quantities, had to be brought in at this stage in order to explain fully the function of *erl* in a number of conditional sentences that I wish to adduce below. But neither aspect can be treated fully in this section. The contrasting force of *erl* is not limited to

2 三年而後乃相之.
3 The Sacred Books of the East Vol. XXXIX.
appear to be important parallels to uses of erl, though I am unable to follow up this line at present and must also leave open the more general question whether certain uses of Tibetan tsam are original or merely imported through translations from Sanskrit.

E

ERL = ‘IF’ RESUMING AND EMPHASIZING MEASURED QUANTITIES

Strictly speaking only Ex. 81–82 belong here, with erl in both cases resuming and emphasizing distance in space. The two parallel sentences of Ex. 83, in which erl emphasizes the distributive force of ju ju and tsuenn tsuenn recall Ex. 66, where erl in the meaning ‘if’ resumes and emphasizes meei ren ‘everybody’, and may be contrasted with the passage adduced there in a note, where erl in the meaning ‘then’ resumes and emphasizes ren ren ‘everybody’.

(81) Janngwotseh, Chyi (tsanq), Shiuian Wang (SBTK, J.4, p. 128 3–4).
有敢去柳下季蔡五十歩而操探险者死不赦。
If any person dares to fell trees and

(82) Memecius, Book VII, Pt. I, Ch. XXVIII, 9 (Legge, p. 342).
掘井九寸而不及泉。;

夫犊頭而稱之至石

If you weigh ju by ju (24th part of a tael) there is bound to be a mistake by the

1 In the very frequent pattern erl yyi yyi 而已矣 erl when resuming what precedes
it, must be understood as the indirect (local) object of yyi 己, which in this pattern has
the meaning of ‘to end with, to be limited to’. It emphasizes either the paucity of the
terms ‘listed before’ (Laamuveu 11, tso yyi yyi daw, jing shu erl yyi yyi 夫子之道
忘怒而己矣), or the limitation of the preceding statement as a whole. The explanation
of the pattern can only be touched on here. A similar usage can be found in Tibetan,
with the verb lazaa-pa preceded by tsam (see here below, n. 3): gys yin miin goig	pa tsam du add pas ‘As the two have only one name’. (See H. A. Jäschke, Tibetan-

2 For the convenience of the reader I quote first the beginning of the relevant
paragraph from W. D. Whitney’s Sanskrit Grammar, 4th ed. 1896 (1913), p. 307,
§ 1302, 5.

The noun mātra measure stands as final of a compound which is used adjectively
or in the substantive nature to signify a limit that is not exceeded, and obtains thus
the virtual value of mere, only: thus salamātrena varṣayam ‘living by water only’ (lit.,
by that which has water for its measure or limit)...

In addition I reproduce parts of the entry mātra in Monier-Williams and
Macdonell’s dictionaries:—(M. Monier-Williams, Sanskrit-English Dictionary, 1899,
p. 804) mātra (at the end of a compound): measure, quantity, sum, size, duration,
measure of any kind (whether of height, depth, breadth, length, distance, time, or
number, e.g., angula-mātram a finger’s breadth; artha-mātram a certain sum of money;
krota-mātra at the distance of a Kor; mūsa-mātra in a month; lato-mātra a hundred in
number...

(A. A. Macdonell, A practical Sanskrit Dictionary, Oxford University Press, 1924,
p. 224) mātra (at the end of a compound): measure, size, height, depth, breadth,
breadth, distance; quantity, sum (of money); duration or space of time; number (redundant with
numerals); whole measure, totality, aggregate or entire class of, so and so in the widest
sense; no more than what the preceding word expresses: so to be translated by nothing but,
only, merely...

I must limit myself here to an extract from the entry tsam—1. In a relative sense, 1.
as much as hdi-tsam as much as this = so much, so many...
2. denoting comparison, as to

See previous article, p. 65, n. 2.

Lit. ‘is like proceeding to destroy the well’. I have replaced Legge’s translation.
The correctness of the text was doubted by Waley (Asia Major, New Series, Vol. I,
p. 127). But I think the meaning of the passage is that one must know where to stop
when pursuing an aim. Going too far may result in defeating one’s own ends.
FUNCTIONS AND MEANINGS OF ERL

continuation of this paper, but one feature must be mentioned within the conditional pattern, viz. the case of erl occurring only in the apodosis of the second sentence, whereas the first apodosis is introduced by tzer. As will be clear from the following example, the meaning of erl is then 'in such case on the other hand then' as opposed to the simple 'then for tzer.'

(85) Shyvy妖怪, L.106 (Luan Buh liehjuann), Bairwee Ed., II. 45-46.

If at that time King Pern (Yueh of Liang) had had second thoughts and sided with Chuu then Hann would have been destroyed, if he had sided with Hann then on the other hand Chuu would have been destroyed.

G
ERL = 'IF' OR 'THEN' WHEN ANTECEDENT OF RELATIVE CLAUSES OR THEIR EQUIVALENTS

It was maintained in the previous article that erl functioned as an antecedent to a relative clause or its equivalent. In the three examples adduced there (Ex. 61-63) erl functioned at the same time as an object, and, as was shown in this article, erl marked the protasis of a conditional sentence in Ex. 61-62 ('such things if') and the apodosis in Ex. 63 ('such thing then'). Ex. 67 was analysed in even greater detail on pp. 187/8 above.

As we are dealing here with a very important function of erl, it may be necessary to give a few more examples of the function of erl as an antecedent to relative clauses, including examples outside the range of conditional sentences. It will be observed that in accordance with the principal of 'post-segmental junction' the 'antecedent' follows in each case after the relative clause or its equivalent.

(a) ERL=such person(s), thing(s) then; *suchy then


生不能用 - 死而歸之。
非禮也。

"Celui dont il n’a pas su se servir pendant qu’il vivait, faire son éloge après sa mort, c’est pécher dans la pratique des rites." (lit: after his death dead such a one on the other hand then. . . )

* A similar passage with tzer occurring twice can be found in Shyvy妖怪, J. 92 (Huaa In Hau liehjuann), (Bairwen-Ed., II. 134-5):--足下為漢則漢勝，與楚則楚勝。

1 See above, p. 186, n. 2.

2 Also with 低如, 低即, and 低人.

3 P. 254, § 670.

4 The last three lines only are mentioned as a song in Shanghu-dahjuann (see here above, example 73), SBTKJ, I.5, p. 16A.

5 See here above, example 74.

6 See L. Giles, Sun Tzu on the Art of War, London, 1910, pp. 6-7, Nos. 19-23. It can be seen that a different pattern starts from No. 20 and I rather doubt whether Dr. Giles was right to assume that Sun Tzu is still illustrating the uses of deception in war, in line 20 as he does in line 19.
(87) Liujih, Book XXXV (San-nian-wenn), 5 (Legge, II, p. 392).

将由失德之人在乎？Will any one follow the example of those men who are under the influence of their depraved lusts? In that case, when a kinsman dies in the morning he will (then) forget him (lit.: such a one then) by the evening."

(88) Leu Shyh Chuenchiou, J.10 (SBTK, p. 4A 1; Wilhelm, p. 120).

所重所愛死而棄之清穀，人之情不能為也。To throw into a ditch after their death those whom one has respected and loved, that human feelings cannot bear to do (lit.: after their death those then).

(89) Shyyih, J.112 (Panguian Hour liuyuan), Bairwen Ed., II, 104-5.

安於陛下何求而不得。何為而不成。何征而不服乎哉？If the Empire is at peace what could your Majesty wish that you would not (then) obtain, what undertake that you would not (then) achieve, whom wage war against that you would not (then) conquer?

(90) Leu Shyh Chuenchiou, J.24 (SBTK, p. 9A 3-4; Wilhelm, p. 427).

用志如此其精也。何事而不達。何為而不成？If one is as exacting as this in one’s effort what could one aim at that one would (then) not reach, what undertake that one would (then) not achieve?

(91) Iangnovotiseh, Ian (shiah) Wang Shih (SBTK, J.9, p. 40A 5-6).

惡能而不順乎？Is there any place where I shall not be degraded (lit.: where shall I go such place then I shall not be degraded)?


有是三者。何鄉而不濟？“With these three securities we must be successful in all directions” (lit.: where turn such place then not successful).

(93) Juangtzyy, Book XX (Legge, p. 41).

行善而去寶之行。行為而不愛哉？"Act virtuously, and put away the practice of priding yourselves on your virtue. If you do this, where can you go to that you will not be loved?"

(94) Mencius, Book V, Pt. II, Ch. IV, 51 (Legge, p. 257).

夫皆非其有而取之者，盜也。充焉至義之盡也。"Indeed to call everyone who takes what does not properly belong to him a robber is pushing a point of resemblance to the utmost, and insisting on the most refined idea of righteousness."

The first five of the preceding examples (Ex. 66-90) belong to the same pattern as Ex. 63, with erl as an object corresponding to 'such person(s) or thing(s) then.' The next three examples (Ex. 91-93) show erl in the meaning 'at such a place then'.

Ex. 94, though again showing erl as an object and therefore belonging together with 63 and the first five examples of this section, is placed last to be contrasted with the first example of the next group, with which it shares the negation fei in the relative clause. But the erl in this next group of examples belongs together with Ex. 61 and 62, in so far as the erl can be equated with 'such things (person(s)) if':

(b) Erл=such person(s), (thing(s)) if

(95) Shuyuan, J.17 (SBTK, p. 9A 1-3; also Haranh-waysjuan2 J.1 (SBTK, p. 7A 5-6).

故非其道而行之，雖勞不至，非其有而求之，難強不得。Therefore who does not tread the right path, even if he toils, will not arrive; who seeks what is not his proper possession, even if he makes great efforts, will not get it (lit. what is not the right path such then if he tries .).


非其位而居之曰貪位，非其名而有之曰貪名。"I have heard it said that to occupy a position for which one is not qualified is called 'being covetous of position', and to have a reputation to which one is not entitled is called 'being covetous of fame'" (lit. such if then occupy (have) .).

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1. See also the passage, Book VII, Part I, Ch. XXXIII, 3 (Legge, p. 344).
2. The first 赤 (before 道) does not occur in the Haranh-waysjuan text.
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(97) Leu-Shyk Chuenchihn, J.20 (SBTK, p. 18A; Wilhelm, p. 367).
其所择而莫如己者亡。 If of those whom he chooses none is as
good as he himself (is) (then) he will
perish (lit. (of) such persons then if
none equals himself).

H

ERL = 'is' RESUMING A 'PRO-PROTASIS'

In Section B of the present paper1 the words which occur in an absolute
position at the beginning of a sentence in Ex. 1–3 were explained as short-
tened clauses of condition with the meaning "if it is the question of . . .".
It can easily be seen that the resumptive and connective force of erl lends
itself also to the resumption of a primary condition — as it were a 'pre-
condition' — to be followed by a further 'secondary' condition which only
comes into play when the first condition applies and with the apodosis
stating what happens if both the primary and secondary conditions are
fulfilled.

This is in fact what we observe in the following examples (Ex. 98–101).
The words which precede erl form what I venture to call a 'pro-
protasis', erl resums this pro-protasis and connects it with the protasis which
follows after erl. The apodosis is usually introduced by tser. Two groups
must be distinguished as erl may be either 'in such case if' or 'such person
(thing, etc.) if'.

夫大國之人，今於小
國，而倉獲其求。將
何以給之？
"(If) people of a great State give orders
to a small State in such case if they get
completely what they seek what will
there be to give to them?"

(99) Hwaianantszy, J.17 (SBTK, p. 8A.11–12).
有以飯「題」死者而禁
天下之食，有以車為
敗者而禁天下之乘則
悖矣。
(If) somebody died of choking in such
case if one were to prohibit eating in
the Empire, (if) somebody died of being
run over by a chariot in such case if
one were to prohibit riding in a
chariot, this would then be quite un-
reasonable.

1 See above, p. 18.
2 I have partly changed Legge's translation. The Manchu translation accounts for
the pro-protasis by tsawome 'with reference to': Amba gurun-i myalma ajge gurun de goj
sehe be tsawome, gemi teri baidhe d acabaci adarame bume mutembi.
3 About the emendation '題' for 食 see Wang Nianshen 王念孫, Dchuch-
htsaryih 讀書零志, Hwaianantszy, 17, entry yi form sry by 食死.

(100) Jangtsoojeh, Chyi (shiah), Miin Wang (shiah), (SBTK, J.4, p. 35A–B).
今使人而不能則謂之
不肖，故人而不能則
謂之慢。
Now (if) you employ a man if such
person is incapable, then you call him
unworthy; (if) you teach a man, if such
a person is incapable, then you call him
stupid.

(101) Gauliang-juann, Shi Gong, 2nd y. (SBTK, J.5, p. 18A.1–3); cp.
Mencius, Book IV, Pt. I, Ch. IV, 1
(Legge, p. 170).
禮人而不答，則反其
敬，愛人而不答，則
反其仁，治人而不治，
則反其知。
"If a man loves others,4 and no responsive
attachment is shown to him, let him
turn inwards and examine his own
benevolence. If he is trying to rule
others, and his government is unsuc-
cessful, let him turn inwards and
examine his wisdom. If he treats others
politely, and they do not return his
politeness, let him turn inwards and
examine his own feeling of respect."

(102) Shyjih, J.81 (Lian Po Limm Shiangru liehjuann); Bairiesen Ed., line 66;
今縱君家而不奉公，
則法削。
Now (if) I were to exempt your Lord-
ship's family so that they (lit. such
persons if) would not fulfil their public
duties then the law would be infringed.

I

ERL IN BOTH PROTASIS AND APODOSIS

Though, as we have seen, erl occurs very often in either the protasis
or the apodosis of a conditional sentence, cases when erl occurs in both
functions in one and the same sentence are not too frequent. It goes
without saying that the first erl must then be equated with 'such if' or
'suchly if', and the second with 'such then' or 'suchly then'.

1 I borrow the translation from Legge's translation of Mencius, whose last sentence
corresponds to the first in the Gauliang-version. It is interesting to see that the Gauliang-
version supplies both erl and tser to make the meaning of the passage clearer. The
process is continued even further by Ju Shi, who renders Mencius's first sentence as
follows:—「我愛人而人不愛我，則反求諸己，恐我之仁未至也」.
(103) Mencius, Book I, Pt. II, Ch. IX, 1 (Legge, p. 44).
夫人幼而學之，壯而欲行之。
What a person has learnt in his youth that he will wish to put into practice when grown a man (lit. young such time if learn it, grown up such time then wish execute it).

(104) Duhshyue, Ch. X, 10 (Legge, p. 240).
是故言悖而出者，亦悖而入；貨悖而入者，亦悖而出。
"And hence, the ruler's words going forth contrary to right, will come back to him in the same way, and wealth gotten by improper ways, will take its departure by the same" (lit. improperly in such a manner if go out, also improperly in such a manner then come in, etc.).

(105) Luenherg, J.16 (SBTK, p. 184-5; Forke, p. 349).
夫土虎不能而致風。
土龍安能而致雨?
"If a clay tiger cannot attract wind, how could a clay dragon bring down rain?" (lit. clay tiger in such circumstances [viz. if set up in a valley] if unable...).

(106) Luenherg, J.15 (SBTK, p. 94-5; Forke, p. 331).
夫改不可請而出。雨安可求而得？
Well, if tears cannot (even) be brought out merely by request, how can rain be obtained merely by prayer (lit. tears one not can requesting in such a manner (merely) if bring out, rain how can praying in such a manner (merely) then obtain).

The examples given above are limited to cases of complete coordination in conditional sentences. Cases like Ex. 4, or 50, though showing erl both in the protasis and the apodosis, have, therefore, not been included.

In conclusion I venture to suggest that in all the examples adduced so far, erl may well be explained as a fusion of some such pronoun (and pronominal adverb) as sy 斯 or shyh 是 on the one hand, and the 'conjunctive adverb' nse 將 on the other hand. But a discussion of this suggestion cannot be attempted in the first part of this paper.


I have replaced Forke's translation which combines the protasis with the preceding sentence.