

## DER ERL JIANN 得而見 and DER JIANN 得見

in LUENYEU 論語 VII, 25

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## I

The passage in question runs as follows:—

(Ex. 1) 子曰。聖人吾不得而見之矣。得見君子者斯可矣。子曰。善人吾不得而見之矣。得見有恒者斯可矣。

It may be helpful for the discussion of this passage to write it out in romanisation (A), to add the Manchu (B<sup>1</sup>) and Japanese (C<sup>2</sup>) versions and to borrow the English rendering (D) from A. Waley's admirable translation of the *Luenyueu*.<sup>3</sup>

- (A) Tzyy iue. (a) Shenqren wu buh *der erl jiann* jy yii. (b) *Der jiann* jiuuntzyy jee sy kee yii. Tzyy iue. (c) Shannren wu buh *der erl jiann* jy yii. (d) *Der jiann* yeou herng jee sy kee yii.
- (B) Fuze hendume. (a) enduringge niyalma be. bi *bahafi saburakú* oho: (b) ambasa saisa be *bahafi sabuci*. inu joo kai: Fuze hendume. (c) sain niyalma be. bi *bahafi saburakú* oho: (d) entehen bisirengge be *bahafi sabuci*. inu joo kai.
- (C) SHI iwaku, (a) SEIJIN wa ware *ete* kore wo *mizu*, (b) KUNSHISHA wo *miru wo eba* kore KA-nari. SHI iwaku, (c) ZENJIN wa ware *ete* kore wo *mizu*, (d) tsune aru mono wo *miru wo eba* kore KA-nari.
- (D) The Master said, A Divine Sage I cannot hope ever to meet; the most I can hope for is to meet a true gentleman. The Master said, A faultless man I cannot hope ever to meet; the most I can hope for is to meet a man of fixed principles.

Looking at the four parts, marked (a)–(d), into which our passage can easily be divided, we observe two kinds of alternations. The first, printed in italics, is one between *der erl jiann* (a, c) and *der jiann* (b, d). The second

<sup>1</sup> H. C. von der Gabelentz, *Sse-schu, Schu-king, Schü-king in Mandschuischer Uebersetzung*, Erstes Heft: Text (Leipzig, 1864) (= Abhandlungen der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft, III, 1).

<sup>2</sup> *Kokuyaku-Kanbuntaisei*. Keishishi-bu, Vol. I, *Shisho. Kōkyō* (Tokio, 1922).

<sup>3</sup> *The Analects of Confucius*. Translated and annotated by Arthur Waley (London, 1938).

alternation is a feature of word order. In (a) and (c) the most emphasised words of the sentences (*shenqren, shannren*) are placed in an absolute position at the beginning of the sentences, to be referred back to towards the end, whereas in (b) and (d) normal word order can be observed. The alternations, then, coincide to the effect that *erl* occurs in the sentences with what, for brevity's sake, I shall call "emphatic word order" and that it does not occur in the sentences with regular word order. Since the coincidence is to be observed twice in succession in one and the same passage it can hardly be accidental. Though it would not seem possible to determine what is the actual function and meaning of *erl* in our passage without looking at more examples of the same pattern, our example alone suffices to show how unsatisfactory it is to explain the presence of *erl* in the traditional way as a particle connecting *der* and *jiann*. If *erl* is not needed for this purpose in (b) and (d) it is unlikely that it should serve this purpose in (a) and (c).

The traditional explanation<sup>1</sup> is expressly given by Maa Jiannjong 馬建忠<sup>2</sup> but is implied also by the use of the "gerund" (*bahafi, etc*) in the Manchu and Japanese versions. The fact that even the Japanese translation simply uses the gerund may perhaps be interpreted as a sign that in Targ times<sup>3</sup> the function of *erl* in our passage was no longer fully understood by the Chinese on whose teaching the Japanese translators relied.

The next example will invalidate the assumption, possible in principle, that the presence or absence of *erl* in Ex. 1 is determined by the presence or absence of the negation (*buh der erl jiann*, as against *der jiann*). It has likewise been taken from the *Analects* (V, 12):—

(Ex. 2) 子貢曰。夫子之文章。可得而聞也。夫子之言性與天道。不可得而聞也。

- (A) Tzyy Gonq iue. Futzyy jy wen jang kee *der erl wen yee*. Futzyy jy yan shinq yeu tiandaw buh kee *der erl wen yee*.
- (B) Ze gung hendume. Fuze-i sú yangse be. *bahafi donjici* ombi: Fuze-i banin. abkai doro be gisurere be. *bahafi donjici* ojurakú.
- (C) SHIKŌ iwaku. FŪSHI no BUNSHŌ wa *ete kikubeki* nari. FŪSHI no SEI to TENDŌ to wo iu wa *ete kikubekarazaru* nari.
- (D) Tzu-kung said, Our Master's views concerning culture and the outward insignia of goodness, we are permitted to hear; but about Man's nature and the ways of Heaven he will not tell us anything at all.

Example 3, taken from *Mencius* (V A IV), gives us, I think, a clear indication of the *resumptive function* of *erl*. There would seem little doubt that *erl* refers back twice to the words *shenq-der jy shih*, which are placed in

<sup>1</sup> About Legge's explanation see below, p. 47.

<sup>2</sup> *Maa Shyh Wentong 馬氏文通*, (Shanghai, Commercial Press), 21st ed., 1930, J. 8, p. 10.

<sup>3</sup> See, however, p. 67, n. 1.

an absolute position at the beginning of the sentence, and that it serves in this way as a *direct object* to the verbs *chern* "to employ as a minister" and *tzyy* "to treat as a son", which it precedes:—

(Ex. 3) 咸丘蒙問曰。語云。盛德之士。君不得而臣。父不得而子。

- (A) Shyan-chiou Meng wenn iuc. Yeu yun, Shenq-der jy shyh, jiun buh der *erl chern*, fuh buh der *erl tzyy*.  
 (B) Hiyān kio meng fonjime. dekdeni henduhengge wesihun erdemungge saisa be. ejen. *bahafi amban oburakū*. ama. *bahafi jui oburakū*:  
 (C) KANKYŪMŌ tōte iwaku. GO ni iwaku. SEITOKU no SHI wa. kimi mo *ete SHIN to sezu*. chichi mo *ete ko to sezu to*.  
 (D)<sup>1</sup> Heen-k'ew Mung asked Mencius, saying, "There is the saying,— 'A scholar of complete virtue may not be employed as a minister by his sovereign, nor treated as a son by his father'."

The proposed resumptive function of *erl* could not easily have been assumed on the evidence of Ex. 1 alone, since there the objective pronoun *jy* 之 seemed to refer back to *shenqren* and *shannren*, occurring as it did after the verb *jiann*. In like manner, one might have felt that in Ex. 2 the word *yee* 也, which occurs after the verb *wen* at the end of the sentences, was fulfilling the same purpose. On the evidence of Ex. 3, however, in which the verbs *chern* and *tzyy* are neither followed by *jy* nor by *yee*, we are entitled to assume that primary reference to the words at the beginning of the sentence in all three examples is achieved by *erl*, and that the part played by *jy* in Ex. 1, by *yee* in Ex. 2 (and in other examples also by *yan* 焉), is merely that of a secondary reference to *erl* as to an object in the irregular position *before* the verb.

In the light of the function assumed for *erl*, it must be considered a pronoun, since it acts as a *substitute* for what is placed at the beginning of the sentence. As far as its actual *meaning* is concerned, it must, of course, differ from, and is likely to have a "fuller" meaning than, the ordinary personal pronoun in the third person *jy*, since otherwise there would seem to be no reason for *erl* to occur in addition to *jy*.

Ex. 1 and 3 are particularly suggestive for determining the meaning of *erl*. They assert the improbability of meeting (Ex. 1) or the inappropriateness of ordinary employment or treatment (Ex. 3) of a Divine Sage, a faultless man, a scholar of complete virtue. The examples do not mention any special individual, they refer to a class of people whose unusual greatness is described. Emphasis is given to this description by placing it at the beginning of the sentence in an absolute position. Owing to this special feature of word order, the stressed words, as we have seen, are resumed by *erl*, and it would be well in keeping with the expected "fuller" meaning of *erl* if *erl*

were not merely to resume the stressed words but were also to give them further emphasis. Looking for a word that combines all these features, viz. (1) resuming what was mentioned before, (2) referring to it as being "of the afore-mentioned kind" and (3), if the occasion arises, also stressing the particular quality of what is referred to, amounts in fact to attempting to find a Chinese equivalent to English "such", and in proposing that *erl* in our pattern means "such" ("such a person, such a thing, such persons, such things"), it is reassuring to know that the word "such" has usually to be circumscribed in Chinese (by "like this", "like that", etc.) so that there is in fact a "gap" left in the Chinese vocabulary for a single word to mean "such". The meaning "such" for *erl* would, furthermore, fit in well with the meanings of such obviously related words as 如 *ru*<sup>1</sup> and 若 *ruoh*<sup>1</sup>, which both mean "like", English "such" being itself a compound of "so" and "like".

Why *erl* as an object is placed before the verb in nearly all cases belonging to this pattern will be discussed below (see pp. 59, etc.).

A *literal* translation of the opening words of Ex. 1, in accordance with the assumed meaning of *erl*, would, then, be: "As far as a Divine Sage is concerned, I (shall) not succeed in meeting such a (great) man, etc."

I have added "great" in parenthesis because I believe that *erl*, like English *such*, can give added emphasis either to the idea of greatness or to the idea of smallness, in accordance with the general tenor of the sentence, in this way corresponding to both Latin *tantus* and *tantulus*. This would seem to be well borne out by Ex. 2, which in fact combines the two alternatives, the first *erl* "such things" referring to matters which the disciples regard as unimportant ("such trifles"), while they attach the greatest possible importance to those subjects of discussion which are referred to by the second *erl*.

Before substantiating the assumed function and meaning of *erl* by further examples, it is necessary to mention shortly that Legge has twice referred to the usage of *erl* under discussion, viz., under the entry *erl* in the Indexes to Vols. I and II of the "Chinese Classics". In Vol. I (p. 358) he writes as follows:— "(4) After 得 and before a verb, it forms the passive of that verb." In the Index to Vol. II (p. 468) he seems to have given up that idea and merely draws the attention of the reader to various "idiomatic" uses of *erl*, including that of *erl* after *der*, for which he refers to our Ex. 3.

It need hardly be pointed out that Legge's suggestion of *erl* forming the

<sup>1</sup> Karlgren, *Grammata Serica* (Stockholm, 1940) reconstructs for *erl* an archaic \**hij*, for *ruoh* an archaic \**niak*, and for *ru* an archaic \**nio*. The etymological relationship between the three words becomes even more likely if one substitutes an archaic initial cluster *snj-* for Karlgren's *ni* and assumes an archaic final guttural also in the case of *ru*, as I suggested in *Bull. School Or. Stud.*, IX (1937-1939), pp. 285, etc., and p. 279.

<sup>1</sup> J. Legge, *Chinese Classics*, Vol. II, 2nd ed. (Oxford, 1895), p. 226.

passive of a verb that follows it, would not only be highly improbable from a general point of view, but also quite unacceptable in the light of what has been set out before. The assumed function of *erl* as an object implies that the verb after it must be regarded as an active transitive verb. If we were to ignore the danger of the vicious cycle which arises from the fact that the assumed function of *erl* has been inferred from the first three examples, it would be possible to deduce the function of *tzyy* and *chern* in Ex. 3 as transitive (factive) verbs from the fact that they follow after *der erl*.

In a few cases where intransitive and transitive meanings of Chinese verbs are differentiated in tone (and pronunciation), the traditional classical reading can be quoted in support of the transitive meaning of the verb after *erl*. In the Chinese text reprinted in Legge's "Chinese Classics" (Vol. II, p. 178), 治 (Ex. 4) bears the mark of the level tone (*pyngsheng* = "to govern"), not that of the falling tone (*chiuhsheng* = "to be well governed"). In accordance with this, we must assume a causative meaning for *tzwu* 足 (= "to make suffice") in Ex. 5 where the clause with *tzwu* is preceded and paralleled by a clause with *chyr* 治 "to govern", the reading of the latter character as *chyr* not *jyh* being certain owing to the fact that the clause in which it occurs is practically identical with Ex. 4.

When looking at the translations<sup>1</sup> quoted for the examples, however, it will be observed that translators have used the passive voice a very great deal when rendering the verb following after *erl*. This is particularly the case when, as in Ex. 2, *kee* occurs before *der*, and a glance at the subsequent examples will convince us that this amplification of our pattern (*kee der erl*) is in fact much more frequent than the simple pattern *der erl* met with in Ex. 1 and 3. The passive voice would seem almost unavoidable in an idiomatic rendering if *kee* is used impersonally ("it is possible to succeed in" or "one is able to succeed in").

Two further points should be noted in connection with our pattern. One is a question of punctuation of the Chinese texts. How far, it may be asked, do punctuated Chinese texts mark the slight pause that will be made in reading after the words which are placed in an absolute position? The answer is that the pause is generally marked when a number of words or a whole clause is placed in absolute position, but that this is rarely done in the case of single words. Legge puts a comma after *min* in Ex. 4, but the punctuated *Mencius* text included in the reprint series *Syhbuh-beyyaw* 四部備要 has no punctuation after it. Misunderstandings such as that of Ex. 13 arise from failure to realise that a pause must be made after *mou* and that it must not be combined with *ru tsyy*.

<sup>1</sup> Translations other than my own have been indicated by inverted commas since references to standard translations are also given when the passage has been retranslated.

The second point concerns a modification of our pattern. Ex. 1-3 have shown the pattern in its strictest form in which *erl*, preceded by *der*, resumes words placed in an absolute position at the beginning of the sentence. The sentence in question may, however, also be a dependent statement or a main clause preceded by a subordinate clause. Furthermore, cases where *erl* refers back to whole clauses appearing in an absolute position can be included here.

But the resumptive force of *erl*, preceded by *der*, is not limited to words or clauses appearing in an absolute position. It may also refer back to words which, though mentioned before, do not necessarily form part of the same sentence, and in any case do not occur there in an absolute position.

Accordingly, the examples<sup>1</sup> adduced to substantiate the assumed resumptive meaning of *erl* and its occurrence as direct object of the verb it precedes, have been divided into two groups. Group I (Ex. 4-23) keeps to the pattern in its strictest form, while Group II (Ex. 24-43) gives examples of *erl* referring to words which do *not* occur in an absolute position. In both groups the examples have been listed in alphabetical order according to the verb which follows *erl*.

#### EXAMPLES: GROUP I

- (4) *buh kee der erl chyr yee* . *Mencius* (Legge, p. 178).  
 居下位而不獲於上。民  
 不可得而治也。 "When those occupying inferior situations do not obtain the confidence of the sovereign, they cannot succeed in governing the people."
- (5) *ker der erl chyr (tzwu)* . *Mohtzzy*, Ch. VI (Mei,<sup>2</sup> p. 22<sup>3</sup>).  
 是以天下之民可得而治  
 。財用可得而足。 Thereby they succeeded in governing the people of the empire and in securing supplies in sufficient quantity.

<sup>1</sup> I wish to acknowledge my indebtedness to the editors and compilers of the *Concordances*, included as "Supplements" in the *Harvard-Yenching Institute Sinological Index Series*, whose importance for grammatical research cannot be overestimated. I have used the *Concordances* to the "Analects of Confucius" (Suppl. No. 16, 1940), to "Chuang Tzu" (Suppl. No. 20, 1947), to "Ch'un-ch'iu, Kung-yang, Ku-liang and Tso-chuan" (Suppl. No. 11, Vols. 1-4, 1937), to "Meng Tzu" (Suppl. No. 17, 1941), and to "Mo Tzu" (Suppl. No. 21, 1948). A perusal of the entry *der* in Suppl. 11 gave the surprising result that our pattern does not occur in the *Tzuoojuann*, though it can be found in the *Gongyangjuann* and *Gudliangjuann*.

<sup>2</sup> *The Ethical and Political Works of Motse*. Transl. by Yi-Pao Mei (London, 1929). (*Probsthain's Oriental Series*, Vol. XIX.)

<sup>3</sup> I have replaced Mei's translation ("And, so, the people in the whole world became orderly and wealth was sufficient for use"). The subject would still be the "sage kings" who (Mei's translation) "were thrifty themselves and taught the people to be the same"; *tzwu* must, I think, be taken as a causative.

- (6) *jiang an kee der erl chyr yu?* . *Mohtzzy*, Ch. XXXII (Mei, p. 177).  
然即當爲之擻巨鐘。擊鳴鼓。彈琴瑟。吹笙笙。而揚千戚。天下之亂也。將安可得而治與。
- (7) *jiang shuu kee der erl chyr (ding) yee* . *Mohtzzy*, Ch. XXXVII (Mei, p. 194).  
且以爲如此則天下之亂也。將屬可得而治也。社稷之危也。將屬可得而定也。
- (8) *kee der erl guan (ting)* . *Harnshy-wayjuann*, J. 8 (*SBTK*<sup>3</sup>, p. 9A7).  
如使王者聽其言。信其行。則唐虞之法可得而觀。頌聲可得而聽。
- (9) *buh kee der erl i yee* . *Mohtzzy*, Ch. XII (Mei, p. 60).  
天子三公既已立矣。以爲天下博大。山林遠土之民不可得而一也。是以...
- (10)<sup>4</sup> *mii der erl jih yan* . *Shyyjih*, J. 49 (*Waychi-shyhjia*, *Bairwen-Ed.*<sup>5</sup>, line 7, p. 1).  
太史公曰。秦以前尙略矣。其詳靡得而記焉。

<sup>1</sup> Lit.: "How will one be able to put in order . . . even if . . ."

<sup>2</sup> Cf. preceding note.

<sup>3</sup> *SBTK* = *Syhuh-Tsongkan* 四部叢刊.

<sup>4</sup> See also Ex. 11 and p. 53, n. 1.

<sup>5</sup> *Shyyjih. Bairwen jy buh* 史記, 白文之部. 3 Vols. Edited by Guh Jyegang 顧頌剛 and Shyu Wenshan 徐文珊 Peking, Gwoliuh-Beeipyng-Yanjiouyuann. Shyyshyue-Yanjiouhuyue 國立北平研究院. 史學研究會, Prefaces dated 1936.

- (11) *kee der erl jih yun* . *Shyyjih*, J. 110 (*Shiongnu-liehuann, Bairwen-Ed.*, line 72, p. 6).  
其世傳國官號乃可得而記云。  
Their (the Shiongnu's) records (of rulers) generation by generation and the indigenous terms for their officials can then be written down and mentioned<sup>1</sup> (lit.: then one can succeed in).
- (12) *jiang kee der erl jonq yee* . *Mohtzzy*, Ch. VIII (Mei, p. 31).  
然后國之善射御之士。將可得而乘也。  
"Then good archers and good drivers can be expected to abound in the country" (lit.: "Then, as far as . . . are concerned, one will be able to succeed in multiplying such people<sup>2</sup>").
- (13) *kee der erl jy yii* . *Mohtzzy*, Ch. XVIII (Mei, p. 101<sup>3</sup>).  
謀如此可得而知矣。  
In this way you will be able to know (all about) planning (lit.: "As far as planning is concerned, you will (when proceeding) in this way succeed in knowing such a thing").
- (14) *kee der erl jy yee* . *Mohtzzy*, Ch. XXVII (Mei, p. 149).  
故夫憎人賊人。反天之意。得天下罰者。既可得而知也。  
"Hence we are enabled to know who are those that hated the people and oppressed them, opposed the will of Heaven and incurred punishment from Heaven."<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The preceding sentence denies this possibility for the time down to Tourmann. It is another example to be added to this group: 其世傳不可得而次云。

<sup>2</sup> A few lines later the same pattern occurs again: 然后國之良士。亦將可得而乘也。

<sup>3</sup> I have replaced Mr. Mei's translation ("When one plans like this then one can be intelligent").

<sup>4</sup> Here are seven further examples from *Mohtzzy* of the pattern *kee der erl jy*: Chapter IX (Mei, p. 41) 國家之亂。既可得而知已。"And disorder can then be predicted."—Chapter X (Mei, p. 52) 若不知。使治其國家。則其國家之亂。可得而知也。"When the unwise are charged with the government of the country, disorder in the country can be predicted."—Chapter XXVII (Mei, p. 149) 是以圓與不圓皆可得而知也。"Therefore whether an object is circular or not is all known"—Chapter XXVIII (Mei, p. 150) 是以方與不方皆可得而知之。"Therefore whether any object is square or not is all known."—

- (15) *buh kee der erl jyh yee* . *Shyuntzzy*, J. 7, Ch. XI (SBTK, p. 9B 2/3).  
無其具則五綦者不可得而致也。  
Without resources one cannot succeed in securing the five supreme pleasures.
- (16) *ian der erl jyy yan* . *Juangtzyy*, Book XIX (Legge, p. 13<sup>1</sup>).  
夫得是而窮之者。物焉得而止焉。  
"Now when one<sup>2</sup> attains to this and carries it out to the highest degree, how can other things come into his way to stop him?"
- (17) *kee der erl kao yee* . *Harnshy-wayjuann*, J. 5 (SBTK, p. 9A).  
故唐虞之法。可得而致也。  
Therefore one is able to succeed in verifying the law of Yau and Shuenn.
- (18) *kee der erl shuo* . *Shuowen-jieetzyh*, Preface, J. 15 *shang* (SBTK, p. 2A 2).  
厥意可得而說。  
As far as their (the classics transmitted in *guwen*) meaning is concerned, one can succeed in explaining it.
- (19) *buh kee der erl shyh yee* . *Gongyang-juann*, Duke Hwan, 2nd y. (SBTK, p. 2A 11/2B 1).  
孔父生而存。則癸公不可得而弑也。  
As long as Koongfuu was alive he would not be able to kill Shang Gong.
- (20) *wey kee der erl shyh yee* . *Mohtzzy*, Ch. XXXVI (Mei, p. 189)  
然今天下之情僞未可得而識也。  
"Now that the truth and error (of a doctrine) in the world is hard to tell . . ."

## Note 4—continued

Chapter XXXV (Mei, p. 183) 是非利害之辨。不可得而明知也。"By this means the distinction of right and wrong, benefit and harm, cannot be known."—Chapter XVIII (Mei, p. 106). 此其爲不吉而凶。既可得而知矣。"It is plainly discernible to be not auspicious but ominous."—Chapter XXVIII (Mei, p. 154) 且天之愛百姓厚矣。天之愛百姓別矣。既可得而知也。"Furthermore, Heaven loves the people dearly, Heaven loves the people inclusively. And this can be known."—In the two last examples *erl* refers back to whole sentences placed in an absolute position. The splitting up of the last examples into two separate sentences, as done by Mr. Mei in his translation, may therefore be objected to.

<sup>1</sup> *The Sacred Books of China. The Texts of Taoism*. Pts. I, II (Oxford University Press, 2nd Impr., 1927). (Sacred Books of the East, Vols. XXXIX, XL.)

<sup>2</sup> Lit. 'A man who.'

- (21) *kee der erl shy* . *Mencius* (Legge, p. 127<sup>1</sup>).  
然後中國可得而食也。  
Only then was one able to secure sufficient food (lit.: to eat) from the Middle Kingdom.
- (22) *kee der erl yeou hu* . *Juangtzyy*, Book XXII (Legge, p. 62).  
道可得而有乎？  
Is it possible to possess the Daw?<sup>2</sup>
- (23) *kee der erl yeou yee* . Chaur Tsuoh 黽錯, *Luenn guey suh su* 論貴粟疏.<sup>3</sup>  
故民可得而有也。  
Therefore they (the enlightened rulers) are able to succeed in keeping their hold over the people.

## EXAMPLES: GROUP II

- (24) *kee der erl bih hu?* . *Juangtzyy*, Book XX (Legge, p. 28).  
胡可得而必乎？  
"Where is the possibility of unchangeableness in any of these conditions?"
- (25) *buh der erl chern (yeou) yee* . *Skinshih*, J. 7 (SBTK, p. 8B 11; *Harnshy-wayjuann*, J. 1 (SBTK, p. 5B4); cp. also *Juangtzyy*, Book XXVIII (Legge, p. 28)<sup>4</sup>, and, from the point of view of the pattern, Ex. 3 and 26.  
天子不得而臣也。諸侯不得而友也。  
The Son of Heaven was unable to make him (such a man) his minister, nor was any feudal prince able to make him his friend.

<sup>1</sup> I have replaced Legge's translation ("When this was done it became possible for the people of the Middle Kingdom to cultivate the ground and get food for themselves.") and attempted to translate in accordance with Jaw Chyi's commentary (故中國之地。可得耕而食也). But I think that the subject of the sentence is still Yeu and that 食 must be read *syh*: "Only then did he succeed in securing sufficient food for the (whole) Middle Country."

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Ex. 37 and 41. I have replaced Legge's translation ("Can I get the Tào and hold it as mine?"), in which *erl* is rendered by "and".

<sup>3</sup> See the translation of this famous essay, which is included in the *Hannshu* (smaller ed. by Wang Shianchian, J. 24A, pp. 39A, etc.), in H. A. Giles, *Gems of Chinese Literature, Prose* (2nd. Ed., 1926), pp. 71, etc., (where, however, the sentence in question (p. 39B 5) was left out), and in Nancy Lee Swann, *Food and Money in Ancient China* (Princeton University Press, 1950), pp. 158, etc., where the sentence is translated (p. 161) as "so that his people may be held (in allegiance)".

<sup>4</sup> The passage in *Juangtzyy* has neither *erl* before *chern* and *yeou* nor *yee* after these two verbs. Legge, therefore, translated *der* as "to get": "The Son of Heaven could not get him to be a minister; no feudal prince could get him for his friend". It should also be noted that the passage there does not refer to Yuan Shiann but to Tzenztzyy.

- (26) *erl kuanq der erl chern jy hu?* Mencius, J. VII A, Ch. VIII (Legge, p. 328).  
見且猶不得嘔。而況得而臣之乎?  
“If they (the able and virtuous monarchs of antiquity) found it not in their power to pay them (the able and virtuous scholars of antiquity) frequent visits, how much less could they get to employ them as ministers?”
- (27) *buh kee der erl chin (su, lih, hay, guey, jiann)* *Daw-Der-fing*, LVI (Legge,<sup>1</sup> p. 100).  
不可得而親。不可得而疎。不可得而利。不可得而害。不可得而貴。不可得而賤。  
“(Such an one)<sup>2</sup> cannot be treated familiarly or distantly; he is beyond all consideration of profit or injury; of nobility or meanness.”
- (28) *wey kee der erl tsornq dinq* *Mohtzzy*, Ch. XXXVII (Mei, p. 194).  
我以為雖有朝夕之辯<sup>3</sup>必將終未可得而從定也。  
“I should think even such obvious distinctions as that between the directions of sunrise and sunset cannot be thus<sup>4</sup> determined.”
- (29) *an yi der ru tsyy erl duenn-ruu jy tzai* *Jea Yi Juann 賈誼傳 (Chyan-Hannshu, J. 48, Smaller Edition by Wang Shian-chian, p. 16A 11).*  
夫天子之所嘗敬。衆庶之所嘗寵。死而死耳。賤人安宜得如此而頓辱之哉。  
If persons whom the Emperor once respected and the masses once loved are (have to be) executed, in that case let them be executed and may that be the end of it. How could it be proper that base people should be able to humiliate and disgrace in this manner such (distinguished) persons.

<sup>1</sup> *The Sacred Books of China. The Texts of Taoism*, Part I (Oxford University Press, 2nd Impr., 1927). (*Sacred Books of the East*, Vol. XXXIX.)

<sup>2</sup> In accordance with the present paper there would seem to be no necessity to enclose “such an one” in brackets. But since the assumption is that *erl* can mean both “such a person” and “such a thing”, it can, from a purely grammatical point of view, refer also to *shyuan torng* 茲 [同] of the preceding sentence. Cf. also p. 67, n. 1.

<sup>3</sup> for 辨.

<sup>4</sup> Lit.: from it (*tsornq*), viz., when standing on a potter’s wheel that is turning.

- (30) *kee der erl guan hu?* *Juangtzyy*, Book XIV (Legge, p. 358).  
賜亦可得而觀乎?  
“May I, 3hze, also get to see him?”
- (31) *ian der erl jenq ju?* *Yangtzyy Faayan* 揚子法言, J.2 (SBTK, pp. 3A 10/3B 1).  
如姦姦而詐詐。雖有耳目。焉得而正諸。  
If it (the Confucian doctrine) were to treat the wicked as wicked and the crooked as crooked how would it succeed in putting such people right although they have eyes (to see) and ears (to hear).
- (32) *kee der erl jey yee* *Gwoyuey*, J. 6 (SBTK, p. 10A 1).  
是故匹夫有善。可得而舉也。匹夫有不善。可得而誅也。  
Therefore if a commoner has good deeds (to his credit) they (the authorities) are able to elevate such a man, if he has a bad conduct they are able to execute such a man.
- (33) *buh der erl jih* *Mohtzzy*, Ch. XXXI (Mei, p. 167).  
威恐其腐蠹絕滅。後世子孫不得而記。故琢之盤盂...  
“Fearing that these (records on bamboo and silk) might rot and disappear so that the descendants might not learn it,<sup>2</sup> they engraved it on plates and cups ...”
- (34) *u der erl jinn jy?* *Mencius*, Book VII, Part I (Legge, p. 346).  
夫舜惡得而禁之。  
“Indeed, how could Shun have forbidden it?”<sup>3</sup>
- (35) *nan der erl jyh yee* *Shyyjih*, J. 112 (*Pyng-finn Hour, Juu-Fuh liehjuann*), *Bairwen* Ed., line 56 (p. 5).  
夫匈奴無城郭之居。委積之守。遷徙鳥舉。難得而制也。  
The Shiongnu do not live in walled towns nor do they keep stores and supplies. They change their abode (as easily) as birds fly up into the air. It is difficult to establish “control” over such people.

<sup>1</sup> Lit.: “such a (remarkable) person”, viz., Laotzyy.

<sup>2</sup> Lit.: “such things”, viz., ceremonies to be held for the ghosts and spirits, etc.

<sup>3</sup> Lit.: “such a thing”, which Legge uses in the preceding sentence

- (36) *moh der erl jyh* . . . *Shyuntzzy*, J. 7, Ch. XI (SBTK, p. 14A 4/5).  
夫貴爲天子。富有天下。名爲聖王。兼制人。人莫得而制也。是人情之所同欲也。  
To be honoured so as to be emperor, to be rich so as to possess the empire, to be famous so as to be a sage king, to have universal control of men and none of them able to dictate to oneself (lit.: to such a person), that is what human nature desires without exception.
- (37) *hwu kee der erl ley ye?* . . . *Juangtzzy*, Book XX (Legge, p. 28).  
則胡可得而累邪?  
"Where is his liability to be involved in trouble?"<sup>1</sup>
- (38) *wu der erl shianq yan* . . . *Juangtzzy*, Book VII (Legge, p. 264).  
子之先生不齊。吾无得而相焉。  
"Your master is never the same. I cannot understand his physiognomy."<sup>2</sup>
- (39) *buh der erl wei yee* . . . *Leu-Shyh Chuenchiou*, J. 21 (SBTK, p. 10B 3/4; Wilhelm,<sup>3</sup> p. 385).  
今君王以所不足益所有餘。臣不得而爲也。  
Now your Majesty (attempts to) increase what (Chuu) has in plenty by what (Chuu) is deficient in. Your servant is unable to do such a thing.
- (40) *buh kee der erl wei yee* . . . *Janngwotseh, Harn Li Wang* (SBTK, J.8, p. 36B 2).  
今日鄭君不可得而爲也。  
"At present the ruler of Jenq is unable to achieve such a thing (feat)."<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Lit.: "then how can one succeed in involving such a person in trouble?" Cf. Ex. 22 and 41.

<sup>2</sup> Lit.: "I am unable to physiognomise such a person".

<sup>3</sup> R. Wilhelm, *Frühling und Herbst des Lü Bu We* (Jena, 1928).

<sup>4</sup> Viz., the ideal lifelong collaboration which according to the preceding sentence was maintained between Ai How 哀侯 and his prime minister, Sheu Yih 許異. A few lines later (ll. 7/8) the sentence is repeated with *tiantzzy* 天子 instead of *Jenq jian*, the reference this time being to the same kind of collaboration between Shiang 襄 of Jou and the Hegemon Hwan 桓 of Chyi 齊.

- (41) *hwu kee der erl yeou ye?* . . . *Juangtzzy*, Book XXII (Legge, p. 63).  
又胡可得而有邪?  
Then how would one be able to succeed in possessing such a thing?<sup>1</sup>
- (42) *an der erl yeou jy* . . . *Shyyjih*, J. 97 (*Lih Sheng, Luh Jea liehjuann*), *Bairwen* Ed., lines 69/70 (p. 65). Cf. A. von Gabain (*Mitt. Sem. Or. Sprachen*, XXXIII (1930), Abt. I, p. 8).  
鄉使秦已并天下。行仁義。法先聖。陛下安得而有之。  
If Chyn when previously conquering the empire had used kindness and justice and had followed the pattern of the ancient sages, how would Your Majesty have succeeded in possessing such (an empire, viz., one governed on such lines).?
- (43) *wu der erl yu yan* . . . *Luenyeu*, XIX, 24 (Waley, p. 229).  
仲尼日月也。無得而踰焉。  
"Chung-ni is the sun and moon that cannot be climbed over."<sup>2</sup>

## II

While the examples listed in groups I and II would seem to leave little doubt as to the function and meaning of *erl* in the passage from *Luenyeu* with which this paper is concerned, one question, raised before,<sup>3</sup> must still be answered, viz., why *erl* as an object is placed *immediately before* the verb in all examples adduced so far. As we shall see, there is good reason for wording the question in the above way instead of asking why *erl* does not appear after the verb to which it belongs, as objects regularly do according to the rules of Chinese word order. The actual problem is in fact: "Why does *erl* not follow *immediately* on the words or clauses which it resumes and intensifies?"

<sup>1</sup> Viz., the Daw. Cf. Ex. 22 and 37. I have replaced Legge's translation ("How then can you get (the T'ao), and hold it as your own") as it operates with the meanings "to get" for *der* and "and" for *erl*.

<sup>2</sup> Lit.: It is impossible to surpass such a man.

<sup>3</sup> See above, p. 49.

Here are, first of all, a few examples in which we observe this latter position:—

- (44) *erl . . . buh reen wei yee* . . . *Shyyjih, J. 83 (Luu Jonglian, Tzou Yang liehjuann), Bairwen Ed., lines 47/8 (p. 4).*  
 即有取者。是商賈之事也。而連不忍爲也！  
 As soon as he (a knight) takes (money) this is a matter for merchants. Such a thing<sup>1</sup> I (Lian) cannot bear to do.
- (45) *erl fwu tzyh jy yee* . . . *Jea Shan 賈山, Jyh yan 至言, Guuwen-tuanjiann, Ed. 1685, J. 11, p. 4B 6.*  
 秦始皇身在之時天下已壞矣。而弗自知也。  
 Chyn (Shyy) Hwang Dih was not aware of the fact that the Empire had already crumbled during his lifetime.
- (46) *erl . . . buh jy yee* . . . *Janngwotseh, Chyn Shyy Hwang Dih (SBTK, J. 3, p. 83A 5).*  
 今賈忠王而王不知也。  
 "Now that I, (Yau) Jea, am loyal to your Majesty, of that your Majesty is not aware."
- (47) *erl . . . buh jy yee<sup>2</sup>* . . . *Janngwotseh, Wey An Li Wang (SBTK, J. 7, p. 50A 6/7).*  
 今處期年。乃欲割。是群臣之私。而王不知也。  
 That (Chyn) only now after one year should ask for cession of territory, this is a private arrangement between the officials. Of such a thing your Majesty is not aware.

Side by side with examples of the above kind—to which the patterns listed here below on pp. 63–65 (Ex. 56–68) must be added—we observe resumptive *erl* in the same position when it occurs as a subject. In the few examples (Ex. 48–52) which I have noted, *erl* seems then to refer only to persons and to have the meaning "the aforementioned person".<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Note how *erl* resumes what has first been referred to by *shyh* 是. Cf. Ex. 47 and the following passage from *Tzuoojuann*, Duke Yiin, 3rd year (Legge, p. 12, ll. 12, etc.): 君人者。將禍是務去。而速之。無乃不可乎? ("When a ruler of men accelerates the calamity which it should be his object to keep off, is not the case a deplorable one?")

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Ex. 44 and the preceding note.

<sup>3</sup> Note English "such" in the meaning "aforementioned" in commercial style, or vulgar usage.

- (48) *yeou . . . jee; erl* . . . *Janngwotseh, Chyn Wu Wang (SBTK, J. 3, p. 22A 4/5).*  
 費人有與曾子同名族者。而殺人。  
 A man of Bih had the same name and belonged to the same clan as Master Tzeng. He (the aforementioned person) killed a man.
- (49) *yeou . . . jee; erl* . . . *Janngwotseh, Jaw Shiau Cherng Wang (SBTK, J. 6, p. 77A 4/5).*  
 人有置係蹄者。而得虎。  
 There was a man who laid snares for animals. He (the aforementioned person) caught a tiger.
- (50) *yeou . . . jee; erl* . . . *Lijih, Tarn Gong, II, 3, 10 (Legge, p. 190).*  
 孔子過泰山側。有婦人哭於墓者。而哀。  
 "When Master Koong passed by the side of Mount Tay there was a woman who was weeping by a grave. She (the aforementioned person) cried aloud."
- (51) *wen . . . jee; erl* . . . *Leu Shyh Chuenchiou, J. 9 (SBTK, pp. 10A 10/10B 1), (Wilhelm, p. 115).*  
 鍾子期夜聞擊磬者。而悲。  
 Jong Tzzy Chyi heard at night someone striking the *ching*. He (the aforementioned person) played it mournfully.
- (52) *jaangneu chi . . . ; erl* . . . *Shyyjih, J. 43 (Jaw Shyhjia), Bairwen Ed., lines 16/17 (p. 2).*  
 翟伐廬咎如得二女。翟以其少女妻重耳。長女妻趙衰。而生盾。  
 The Dyi attacked the Chyang-gau-ru and took two girls (with them). The younger girl they gave in marriage to Chong Eel, the elder girl to Jaw Shuai. The latter girl<sup>2</sup> (the aforementioned person) gave birth to Duenn.

<sup>1</sup> A few lines later her reply to Tzzy Luh's question is introduced by *erl iue* 而曰. Although Jenq Shyuan in his commentary renders the *erl* by *nae* 乃, we are justified, I think, to see in it another example for *erl* in the meaning "aforementioned person". Cf. the *erl iue* a little later in the same text, II, 3, 11 (Legge, p. 19), then referring to Jou Feng, who refuses presents.

<sup>2</sup> Chavannes (*Mémoires Historiques*, Vol. V, p. 13) translates "L'aînée épousa Tchao Tch'oei et enfanta Toen", which would not seem possible. The passage occurs again (without *erl* and with the younger girl being given in marriage to Jaw Shuai in the *Jinn Shyhjia* (Chavannes, IV, p. 283). Cf. also *Tzuoo Juann*, Legge, p. 184, line 15.



To these examples of resumptive *erl* as a subject I wish to add a few examples where *erl* following on the subject serves as an intensifier. While still meaning "such a person" ("father such a person," etc.) it can then well be rendered by "even", and it will be noted that this "even" has in one case actually been included in Waley's translation to add force to the argument (see Ex. 54):—

(53) *fu* *erl* . . . . . *Shyyjih*, J. 87 (*Lii Sy liehjuann*), *Bairwen* Ed., line 113 (p. 9). Derk Bodde, *China's First Unifier*, Leiden, 1938, p. 33.

父而賜子死。尙安復請。 "When a father allows his son to die, how can there be any question about sending back a request."<sup>1</sup>

(54) *Goan Shyh* *erl* . . . . . *Luenyeu*, III, 22 (Waley, p. 100).

管氏而知禮。孰不知禮。 "If even Kuan is to be cited as an expert in ritual, who is not an expert in ritual?"

(55) *jiun* *erl* . . . . . *Luenyeu*, VII, 30 (Waley, p. 130).

君而知禮。孰不知禮。 "If his Highness knew the rites, who does not know the rites?"

Intensifying *erl* occurs more frequently when it follows on the object. A few examples for this latter usage have already been given by the Chinese grammarian Suen Jingshyh 孫經世, who equated *erl* with *chiee*.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> That *erl* merely intensifies the subject (even one's own father) and does not "impart a hypothetical meaning to the clause" (see Gabelentz, *Chinesische Grammatik*, 1881, p. 256) can be seen from the fact that in the *Tzyjyh-tongjiann* and the *Tongjiann-gangmah* our example occurs without the *erl*. In fact, Mailla's translation (*Histoire générale de la Chine*, Vol. II (1777), p. 406) of the hypothetical clause exactly agrees with Professor Bodde's translation: "Lorsqu'un père, repondit Fou-sou, ordonne à son fils de mourir . . ."

<sup>2</sup> "*erl* you *chiee* yee 而猶且也." See his "Further Supplementary Notes" to Wang Yiin-jy 王引之's *Jingjuann-shyhtsy* 經傳釋詞, the *Jingjuann-shyhtsy-tzaybuu* (再補), p. 21B 3, as reprinted in the 4th *tseh* 册 of the *Jingjuann-shyhtsy*, published by Chengdu-Shujiyu 成都書局 (1928). Three of the four examples adduced by Suen Jingshyh have been included in Yang Shuhdar 楊樹達's *Tsyrcyuan* 詞詮 (Shanghai, Commercial Press, 2nd ed., 1931, J.10, p. 7), but no reference is made to Suen Jingshyh.

(56) *chyi fu* *erl* . . . . . *Shyyjih*, J. 39 (*Jinn Shyhjia*), *Bairwen* Ed., lines 84, 85 (p. 7). Chavannes, *Mémoires historiques*, Vol. IV, p. 265.

太子何忍也！其父而欲  
弑代之。況他人乎！ "Quel cœur dur a l'héritier présomptif! Son propre père, il veut l'assassiner pour prendre sa place; que ne ferait-il pas contre d'autres hommes!"

(57) *fu* *erl* . . . . . *Luenyeu*, VII, 11 (Legge, p. 62,<sup>3</sup> Waley, p. 125).

富而可求也 . . . . . If one (the gentleman) may even seek wealth . . . .

(58) *yih ni* *erl* . . . . . *Hwainantzzy*, J. 18 (*SBTK*, p. 4A 8/9).

夫一麀而不忍。又何  
況於人乎？ "Indeed he could not be (lit.: was not) cruel even to a young deer, how much less will he be so towards a human being."<sup>4</sup>

(59) *woang min* *erl* . . . . . *Mencius*, Book I, Pt. 1, Ch. VII, 20 (Legge, 24, repeated p. 116).

焉有仁人在位。罔民而  
可爲也。 "How can such a thing<sup>5</sup> as entrapping the people be done under the rule of a benevolent man?"

(60) *chyou yeu jy yeou* *erl* . . . . . *Mencius*, Book V, Pt. 2, Ch. VII, 4 (Legge, p. 265).

千乘之君。求與之友。  
而不可得也。而況可召  
與！ "Thus, when a prince of a thousand chariots sought to be on terms of friendship with a scholar, he could not obtain his wish<sup>6</sup>: — how much less could he call him to his presence!"

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the translation "even one's own father" suggested for Ex. 53.

<sup>2</sup> In a note to the passage, Legge bids us to observe *erl* = *ruoh* 若 "if", while asserting at the same time: "Still we may bring out the meaning from *erl* taken in its usual significance of 'and'."

<sup>3</sup> There is an alternative reading 弗.

<sup>4</sup> This and example 60 are given by Suen Jingshyh (see above, p. 62, n. 2).

<sup>5</sup> Legge's "such a thing" does in fact render very accurately the force of *erl* though he may not have intended to translate *erl* in this manner.

<sup>6</sup> The literal translation would again have been "such a thing", implying "such a little thing".

The last example is very telling for our problem of word order in so far as it shows the sequence *erl buh kee der yee* instead of *buh kee erl der yee*, but before dealing with this problem I wish to introduce two further groups of example where resumptive *erl* as an object follows immediately after the word or words to which it refers. In the first group (Ex. 61-63) *erl* functions as an antecedent to a relative clause or its equivalent, in the second (Ex. 64-68) it has a distributive function.<sup>1</sup>

- (61) *ming dyi suoo sheh erl*. . . . *Shyyjih*, J. 110 (*Shiongnu-liehjuann*), *Bairwen* Ed., lines 53/4 (p. 5).<sup>2</sup>  
 鳴鏑所射而不悉射者  
 斬之。 Those who do not join me in shooting that (*erl*) at which I take aim with the whistling arrows, will be executed.
- (62) *shy ju jii erl* . . . . *Jongiong*, Ch. XIII, 3 (Legge, p. 258)  
 施諸己而不願。亦勿施  
 於人。 "What you do not like, when done to yourself, do not do to others" (lit.: "(people) do it to yourself<sup>3</sup> that if not like").
- (63) *yuh erl* . . . . *Luenyeu*, IX, 19 (Waley, p. 142).  
 語之而不惰者。其回也  
 與。 "It was Hui whom I could count on always to listen attentively to anything I said" (lit.: "(people) tell (him) about it<sup>3</sup> that not neglecting").
- (64) *tzy tsair erl* . . . . *Shyuntzzy*, J. 17, Ch. XXIII, (*SBTK*, p. 5B 6). Legge, Chinese Classics, Vol. II, Prolegomena, p. 85.<sup>4</sup>  
 假之人有弟兄資財而分  
 者。 "Suppose the case that there is an amount of property to be divided among brothers."<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> More examples of this important usage of *erl* will be given in the further article on *erl* mentioned at the end of this paper.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. J. J. M. de Groot, *Chinesische Urkunden zur Geschichte Asiens*. Vol. I. *Die Hunnen der vorchristlichen Zeit* (Berlin, 1921), p. 49.

<sup>3</sup> For this equivalent to a relational clause, cf. Yan Shyguu's paraphrase of the sentence 聞之於師具是矣 ("That is all I have heard from my master") as 所聞師說具盡於此矣. (*Hanshu*, ed. Wang Shianchian, small edition, p. 88, p. 39A 12.)

<sup>4</sup> The passage and Legge's translation have been adduced by Gabelentz in his *Grammar* (p. 256, § 623) among examples of *erl* in "hypothetical sentences with inverted object".

<sup>5</sup> Lit.: that brothers were to divide each (kind, item) of their property.

- (65) *fen tyan (huoh, shyh, jyr, Shyuntzzy*, J. 7 (Ch. XI), (*SBTK*, *tuu*) *erl* . . . . p. 11B 8—12A 4.  
 傳曰。農分田而耕。賈  
 分貨而販。百工分事而  
 勸。士大夫分職而聽。  
 建國諸侯之君分土而守。  
 三公總方而議。則天子  
 共己而矣。 The record says: If the peasants each plough their allotted fields,<sup>1</sup> the merchants each sell their allotted goods, the craftsmen each foster their allotted crafts, the officers and officials each devote themselves to their allotted duties, the empire-building feudal lords each defend their allotted fiefs, the three Dukes each deliberate (on the government of) the territories ruled (by them), then the Emperor will merely sit with folded hands.
- (66) *meei ren erl* . . . . *Mencius*, Book IV, Part 2, Ch. II, 5 (Legge, p. 194).  
 故為政者。每人而悅之。  
 日亦不足矣。 "It follows that if a governor will try to please everybody, he will find the days not sufficient for his work."<sup>2</sup>
- (67) *leang lih erl* . . . . *Shyyjih*, J. 92 (*Hwai-In Hour liehjuann*), *Bairwen* Ed., lines 135/6 (p. 11).  
 誠能聽臣之計。莫若兩  
 利而俱存之。三分天下  
 鼎足而居。 If (your Majesty) felt indeed able to listen to my advice, the best course (to take) is to maintain to the full (lit.: "completely") each of the two points of vantage (viz., the possibility of making an alliance with either Chyn or Hann), dividing the Empire into three parts so that it rests like a tripod on three feet.
- (68) *gang rou erl* . . . . *Janngwotseh*, *Wey Jau Wang* (*SBTK*, J. 7, 37B 9).  
 王之伐宋。請剛柔而皆  
 用之。 "May your Majesty when waging war against Song make full use of (lit.: 'use completely') both the hard and the soft (method)."

<sup>1</sup> Lit.: If the peasants plough each of the allotted fields, etc.

<sup>2</sup> In the preceding sentence *erl* occurs in the same distributive function after *ren ren*: 焉得人人而濟之 "But how can he convey everybody across the rivers?"

The foregoing examples 44-68, though varying in pattern, show as a common feature the position of *erl* immediately after the words and clauses which it resumes and intensifies. The position of *erl*, as observed in examples 1-43, in which it follows after *der*, being placed between *der* and the verb of which it is the object, must, then, be regarded as exceptional. The impression that in our *Luenyeu*-pattern we are in fact dealing with a pattern of extreme rigidity, as far as the position of *erl* is concerned, will grow if we look once more at example 60. There we found *erl* after the stressed words in a pattern practically identical with our *Luenyeu*-pattern, the only difference being that *kee* "it is possible" is used instead of *der* "to succeed". If there were examples of this variant of our *Luenyeu*-pattern in which *erl* occurs after *kee* instead after the words it stresses and resumes, the exceptional character of the position of *erl* after *der* would be further enhanced. Two examples of the required kind are, in fact, at hand. They were adduced by Wang Niannsuen to prove that *erl* stands for *yü* 以.<sup>1</sup> Though we should hesitate to accept Wang's explanation, the examples are most important as showing *erl* after *kee*:—

- (69) *buh kee erl ting yü* . . . . *Leu-Shyh Chuenchiou*, J. 81 (*SBTK*, p. 14 A 1/2) (Wilhelm, p. 307).

若王之言則施不可而聽矣。 As far as Your Majesty's words are concerned, (I), Shy, am unable to listen to them.

- (70) *kee erl wei jy* . . . . *Leu-Shyh Chuenchiou*, J. 1 (*SBTK*, p. 12 A 1) (Wilhelm, p. 11)

南陽無令。其誰可而爲之？ "The post of a governor of Nanyang is vacant. Who will be able to fill it (lit. to do such a thing)?"

The same position of *erl* can be observed in one further variant of our pattern, viz., with *neng* "to be able" taking place of *得 der* "to succeed":—

- (71) *neng erl yuh* . . . . *Borhuutong* 白虎通, *Wuushyng* 五行 (*SBTK*, J. 3; 14 B 3/4)

土則害水。莫能而禦。 Earth, then, harms water. Nothing can resist such a thing (viz. earth).

<sup>1</sup> See Wang Yünjy's *Jingjuann-shyhtsyr* [cp. here above, p. 62, n. 2], J. 7 (p. 8 of the reprint of the latter work in the Series *Shyuesheng-Gwooshyue-Tsongshu* 學生國學叢書 (Shanghai, Commercial Press, 1931)).

The realisation of the rigidity of the word order in our *Luenyeu*-pattern, makes it even more imperative to search for a reason for the position of *erl* before the verb of which it is the object. I think this position arises from a desire for greater precision of thought.

Particularly when the object to be resumed by *erl* is placed in an absolute position and in this way outside the sentence proper, the need for such added precision may be felt by the speaker. Instead of placing *erl* immediately after the words it resumes and intensifies, he will then prefer to assign to it the place nearest to the verb that is still compatible with both its resumptive and its intensifying character. This can be no other than the place immediately *before* the verb, because if *erl* were placed *after* the verb, it would share the enclitic character of objective pronouns occurring after the verb (apart from being liable often to be confused with the so-called "conjunctive particle" *erl*). The greater precision of thought is bought at the expense of lesser emphasis. I have gained the impression that in its position before the verb *erl* intensifies less than when following immediately after the words or clauses to be stressed and resumed. I must leave open the question how far the intensifying force of *erl* in its position before the verb has been weakened even further in the course of time. Little if any such force seems to be left in certain examples taken from the Hann-period.<sup>1</sup>

The present article has been limited to the explanation of *erl* in the *Luenyeu*-passage mentioned in the title. In a subsequent article I hope to examine how far the assumed meaning of "such" for *erl* will lead to a modification of our ideas on *erl* generally.

<sup>1</sup> The examples quoted do not go beyond the Hann period, but the pattern as such can still be found in the Song period. Su Jer 蘇轍 in his famous "Commentary to Laotzyy" (*Laotzyyjie* 孝子解) writes (*Kanbuntaikei* 漢文大系, Tôkiô, 1909-1916, Vol. 9, *Rôshi-yoku* 老子翼, J. 3, p. 32, ll. 17/18) in explanation of the passage quoted as Ex. 27:—可得而親。則亦可得而疎。可得而利。則亦可得而害。可得而貴。則亦可得而賤。 ("If one can treat a person (*erl*) familiarly, then one can also treat that same person (*erl*) distantly, etc."), and Ouyang Shiou 歐陽修 in his "Remarks on the Chapter on the Eunuchs" (*Huannjee Juann Luenn* 宦者傳論, *Shin Wuudayshyy* 新五代史 (*Wuud-ry-shyyjih* 五代史記), J. 38, *SBTH*, Bornah 百衲 Edition, p. 5 B 8/9; reprinted also in *Guuwen-Pyngjuh* 古文評註, J. 10, or in *Tarng-Song-Ba Dahjia Wen Dwubeen* 唐宋八大家文讀本, J. 14) states:—宦者之爲禍。雖欲悔悟。而勢有不得而去也。 (As far as the disastrous influence of the Eunuchs is concerned, (a ruler), even if he desires to repent of his ways, may yet through force of circumstances not succeed in getting rid of them (*erl*)).