

also in the *Shih-ching* contrasting with two forms, *shih* 是 and the archaic *shih* 時 "this". In a later article I shall discuss other entering-tone particles which are similarly related to forms in level and oblique tones.

I. *Shih* 實 and *shih* 是 in the *Tso-chuan*

In the *Tso-chuan* the graph 實 is used occasionally for a full word meaning, as a noun, "fruit", as a transitive verb "to fill", and as a stative verb, "full" "solid". Much more commonly however it is a particle (mainly preverbal), which is ordinarily translated as "truly" or "really". There is seldom any contextual reason for emphasizing the truth of the assertion and such a rendering is usually only possible in the vaguest way, as a generalized increase of emphasis, and is often quite awkward and inappropriate. The semantic development "full" → "solid" → "real" → "true" is natural enough and indeed the meaning "true" for 實 is well attested in later Chinese; but it is doubtfully present, if at all, in the *Tso-chuan*⁵ or more archaic texts like the *Shih-ching*. The oppositions *shih*—*hsü* 虛 "full"—"empty", *i.e.* "real"—"false" and *shih*—*ming* 名 "reality"—"name" are increasingly common in Chan-kuo texts but among the Chou dynasty texts of which there are concordances it is only in *Mo-tzu* that we find 實 used adverbially, like *ch'eng* 誠, to emphasize the reality of an assertion. Thus:

(1) 君實欲天下之治而惡其亂也當為宮室不可不節

Mo-tzu 6/6/9 "If the ruler *really* wishes the world to be well governed and hates it to be in disorder, when making palaces and houses he must not fail to be economical."

The force of *shih* here, or in the adverbial phrase *ch'i shih* "in reality", common in later Classical Chinese, is quite different from that of preverbal *shih* in the *Tso-chuan*, as will presently appear.

Earlier investigators have recognized that in some specific cases 實 is to be interpreted as a pronoun related to 是. This is usually expressed by saying that 實 is equivalent to 是. I propose to show that, except for its uses as a noun, transitive verb, or stative verb, 實 is always a pronoun in the *Tso-chuan*, related to 是 but distinct from it and contrasting with it in grammatical function.

It should be noted in passing that there is no reason to connect the meaning "right" of 是 (opposed to *fei* 非 "wrong") with the meaning "true" of 實. Whereas the meaning "true" of 實 seems clearly to be derived from the full word "fruit", "fill", "full", etc., the meaning "right" of 是 is

⁵ I have found one case of 實 opposed to 偽 "false" in the *Tso-chuan* (287.10/Hsiang 18/4). Even here the connection with the meaning "full" is fairly close, for the reference is to a real man and a dummy. N.B. References to the *Tso-chuan* are to the Harvard-Yenching Index in the form page, line/year/item number. Where translations are given reference is usually made to Legge, *i.e.* to *The Chinese Classics*, Volume V, *The Ch'un Ts'ew, with the Tso Chuen*, Hongkong and London, 1872. In cases where a more literal or correct rendering is given the reference is in the form: *cf.* Legge.

STUDIES IN EARLY CHINESE GRAMMAR Part I

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The existence of sets of related words among the grammatical particles of Classical Chinese is well recognized and attempts to analyse the patterns involved have not been lacking. Thus, many years ago Professor B. Karlgren tried to explain the differences in usage between the first personal pronouns *wu* 吾 and *wo* 我 as vestiges of a case system.¹ Another type of explanation that has been invoked is that of the "fusion word", sometimes very successfully, sometimes less so, as in the case of the negatives *pu* 不 *fu* 弗 and *wu* 毋 *wu* 勿.² More recently Professor G. Kennedy has shown that fruitful results may be looked for by taking account of the tone.³ He has found a contrast between level and oblique tone as between, (a) particles of similar meaning when non-phrase final and unemphatic and when phrase-final and emphatic; (b) final interrogative and final affirmative particles. This suggests that prosodic features of intonation may have been responsible for the development of different forms of the same word occurring under different conditions. A study of certain other sets of particles has led me to the conclusion that this sort of explanation can be extended to account, among other things, for the existence of entering-tone particles alongside forms in other tones.

The first case I wish to consider is that of *shih* 實⁴ which appears in the *Tso-chuan* and *Kuo-yü* as a pronominal word related to *shih* 是 "this", and

¹ B. Karlgren, "Le proto-chinois, langue flexionelle," J.A., 1920, I, pp. 205-32. Hu Shih made a similar suggestion independently. See Hu Shih 吾我篇 (originally published as 藏碑室讀書, Rep. in *Hu Shih wen-ts'un*, Ser. 1; pp. 349-56. It is noteworthy that Hu Shih gave as the reason for the use of *wo* as subject in order to show a deliberate distinction of subject or deliberate emphasis 以示故為亡別或故為鄭重.)

² The proposal to see 弗 and 勿 as composed of 不之 and 毋之 (or, at least, as grammatically equivalent to these combinations) has been rather widely accepted but there are serious difficulties about it and it has recently come in for some strong criticism. I shall propose an alternative explanation of the relation between the entering-tone and non-entering-tone forms in Part II of this article.

³ "Tsai lun wu wo" ("A Re-examination of the Classical pronoun-forms *NGO* and *NGA*"), CYYY 28 (1956) pp. 273-281.

⁴ This word has recently been discussed in Japanese by Kasahara Chūji but I do not find his analysis very illuminating; see *Ritsumeikan bungaku* 157 (1958) and 169 (1959).

almost certainly derived from its demonstrative meaning "this" (see below). The secondary meaning "right" is not found for 是 in the *Tso-chuan* and doubtfully, if at all, in the *Shih-ching*.⁸ Nor is it found in the genuine books of the *Shu-ching* or the older parts of the *I-ching*. It seems to belong to the language of philosophical discourse of the Warring States period.

If we compare 是 and 實 in the *Tso-chuan*, we find that the former is the more generalized, occurring in certain positions where the latter is never found: thus, (a) attributively before nouns, e.g., 是人 "this man" (the common phrase 是故 "for this reason" is a special case of this); (b) substantively as the object after a verb (especially common with preposition-verbs such as 以 "with", "because of" etc., 用 用 (used like 用), 爲 爲 "for", 由 由 "from", 於 於 "in" etc.,—also in 於 是 乎 "thereupon") (the function of standing in front of the verb as object or to

⁸ It is traditional to take 是 in Ode 109 as meaning "right". The passage in question reads: 不知我者。謂我士也。彼人是說。子曰何其。This is rendered by Waley as: "Those who do not know me say, 'My good sir you are impudent. That man is perfectly right. What is this that you are saying about him?'" (*The Book of Songs*, p. 308). This is in accordance with the Mao commentary and Cheng Hsüan's note that 彼人 means 君 "the ruler". Karlgren departs from this by taking 彼人 as "those people", i.e., "those who do not know me". In this I think he is correct but, because he retains the traditional interpretation of 是, he makes his translation rather lame: "Those who do not know me say that I am an officer who is arrogant, those people are right, what do you say?" (*The Book of Odes*, p. 70). He adds a footnote to "those people are right"—"It is but reasonable that they think so". In my view one must reject the anachronistic meaning "right" for 是 and translate, "Those people [say] this! What do you say?". This interpretation may be supported by examples of 是 "this" forming a predicate in the *Tso-chuan*. See example (2) and footnote 8 below.

Karlgren's interpretation of 時 used predicatively as equivalent to 是 "right" is even more doubtful. As we shall see below, 時 as a demonstrative pronoun in the *Shih-ching* and other early texts is related to, but by no means equivalent to, 是. Still less could we assume that it would be equivalent to 是 "right", even supposing that meaning already existed in the language of the *Shih-ching*. When used to form a predicate in the *Shih-ching*, 時 seems to be derived from the full-word "season" "time" rather than the demonstrative pronoun written with the same character, and to have the meaning "seasonable" "timely", hence more generally "good".

The word 證, an exact homophone of 是 and sometimes written 是 without the signific, occurs occasionally in early texts meaning to "verify", e.g.: 音 證 子 之 父 兄, 證 難 於 證 王. 王 弗 是. 誰 子 奔 晉. "Formerly Yung-tzu's father and elder brothers slandered him to King Kung. The king did not verify the truth of the matter and Yung-tzu fled to Chin." (*Kuo yü* 17. 4b, *Ssu-pu pei-yao* edition). Whatever the relation between this 是, 證 "verify" and the other meanings of 是, it must be noted that it is different from the normal later verbal use "to consider right". In the above example this would give the opposite meaning.

A. C. Graham has also noted the rarity of 是 "right" in the *Tso-chuan* but quotes one passage which he believes is an example: 子 之 言 是 391.14/Chao 16/fu 2 "What you say is right" (BSOAS 14 (1952) p. 143). The four characters must however be taken with the preceding 善哉 "Good!—your saying this", i.e., "That you should say this is good!". Such inversions in exclamatory sentences are, of course, very familiar.

recapitulate the anteposed object will be considered below⁷); (c) forming a predicate (rare), e.g.,

(2) 其無乃是也乎 344.17/Chao 13/fu 7.⁸ "may it not be from this [that his illness has arisen]?" (Legge, p. 580).⁹ (d) either alone or in combination with 則 as a connective particle "then" (this is one of the most common uses of 是 in *Mo-tzu* but is rare in the *Tso-chuan*), e.g.,

(3) 若背之是棄力與言 254.8/Hsiang 2/6. "If I revolt from him, I cast away his efforts in our behalf and my own promise;" (Legge, p. 146).¹⁰

In other positions both pronouns occur and it is here that we see their complementarity.

A.—Recapitulation of an anteposed element.

A familiar construction in early Classical Chinese is the anteposition of the object of a verb in order to give it prominence. In such cases the object is regularly recapitulated in the language of the *Tso-chuan* by 是 or 之 inserted before the verb. e.g.,

(4) 不共 (= 恭) 是懼 84.13/Min 2/fu a. "Be only afraid of not being reverent." (Cf. Legge, p. 130, where 是 is mistakenly taken as object of 共—"Be only afraid of not reverently attending to these things.")

(5) 對曰吾不免是懼 297.9/Hsiang 22/6. "I was afraid", replied Shun-yu, "that I should not escape." (Legge, p. 496).

The subject, or adverbial matter, may also be placed between the anteposed object and the recapitulating pronoun.

(6) 而終之以恥。午也是懼 339.5/Chao 1/2. "But I fear that you will end it in shame." (Cf. Legge, p. 576).

⁷ When the verb is negated, 是 may be inserted between the negative and the verb as in the case of personal pronouns. See for example 204.21/Hsüan 15/4, with 不, 278.9/Hsiang 14/1, with 弗. It may also follow the verb, retaining the order of affirmative sentences, e.g. 317.10/Hsiang 27/5, with 不, 485.2/Ai 12/5, with 勿.

It should be noted that the insertion of the pronoun between the negative and the verb is quite distinct from the use of 是 or 之 to recapitulate the anteposed object. In this case the recapitulating pronoun precedes the negative, e.g. 君亡之不恤 110.8/Hsi/ 15/14 "Our prince does not grieve for his own exile," (Legge, p. 168).

⁸ For the form in which references to the *Tso-chuan* are given see note 5 above.

⁹ This is the only example of 是 in the normal type of noun predication with final 也. There are a few other examples with no final 也, but in formulas where this particle would not in any case be expected. Thus 不亦是乎 382.23/Chao 13/fu 1, 不寧唯是 338.15/Chao 1/2, 何必是 215.13/Ch'eng 2/fu 1. For the use of 唯 to form noun predicates without 也, see my article in *Studia Serica Bernhard Karlgren dedicata*, 1959. 必 has a similar property. The rhetorical question formula 不亦...乎 and similar constructions with 亦 present special problems.

¹⁰ Another example of 是 introducing the apodosis of a condition introduced by 若 is found in 363.16/Chao 7/2. In 229.20/Ch'eng 9/4 and 107.8/Hsi 14/fu 2 we find two examples of the combination 是則 "then". The case of 441.19/T'ing 4/2 with 是 alone as a conjunctive particle is a little different. See Section II below. 是 is not found in the *Tso-chuan*. 則是, which is common in *Mo-tzu*, introducing an apodosis, is found in the *Tso-chuan* only where 是 has its normal function of introducing a noun predicate and is completed by final 也.

(7) 則我周之自出至于今是賴. 306.24/Hsiang 25/fu 2. "Thus they have depended up to the present on their having originated from our Chou." (cf. Legge, p. 516)¹¹

是 may itself be the anteposed object, in which case it is recapitulated by 之.¹²

(8) 是之不務。而又焉從事 435.7/Chao 32/5. "If we do not earnestly address ourselves to this, in what other thing should we engage?" (Legge, p. 740).

The most frequent case of this is in the formula 是之謂... "This, one calls...," "This is called..." which persists in later forms of Chinese which otherwise do not freely use the construction of the anteposed object. One also finds 是謂... with no recapitulating pronoun. In the *Shih-ching*, as we shall see, 是 was freely used as object in front of the verb even when not recapitulating a noun object. This persists in the *Tso-chuan* chiefly in the phrases 是用, 是以 "because of this", the latter of which is a common connective phrase in later Classical Chinese as well, but we do occasionally find 是 in front of the verb as object without a preceding noun. Thus,

(9) 譬如農夫。是穰是蓂。雖有饑饉。必有豐年 339.8/Chao 1/2. "One may compare it to a farmer. If he hoes them and banks up the roots, even though there may sometimes be famine conditions, he will usually have abundant harvests." (cf. Legge, p. 576)^{12a}

The occasional use of 是 in front of the preposition-verb 於 is worth noting.

(10) 是於周易曰 267.3/Hsiang 9/3. "About this the Chou Book of Changes says," (cf. Legge, p. 440)¹³

¹¹ The verbal phrase "their having originated from our Chou" is itself in the form of verb with anteposed object recapitulated by 之—literally: "Our Chou, this, from originated." Other examples of this construction with 自出 are found at 234.21/Ch'eng 13/4 厥公我之自出, 又欲闕我公室 "Duke K'ang originated from our line and yet he wishes to extirpate our ducal house" and at 502.2/Ai 27/fu 3 大夫陳子. 陳之自出 "The great officer Ch'en-tzu originated from Ch'en". It is impossible to take 之 here as the nominal attributive particle since this would make the phrases 我之自出 and 陳之自出 into noun phrases and the final particle 也 would be required to make them into predicates.

¹² The following case is of interest: 是吾何知焉 397.19/Chao 19/fu 5. Here the anteposed pronoun is repeated after the verb in the pronominal part of 焉 "in it". 焉 is also occasionally found instead of a recapitulating pronoun in front of the verb.

^{12a} It is possible that 是 is here not to be understood as object but as a conjunctive particle, equivalent to 於是 "then", the two being correlative, "then... then..." or "now... now...". Cf. Wang Yin-chih, *Ching chuan shih-tzu*, p. 202 for a similar case in the *Shih-ching* and examples (85), etc., below. We should then translate: "One may compare it to a farmer,—if now he plants, now he hoes, even though there may sometimes be famine conditions, he will usually have abundant harvests."

¹³ W. A. C. H. Dobson treats cases of 於 placed after its object as "simply irregular", but this is arbitrary. A full discussion of this usage, which has a bearing on other syntactical developments in the *Tso-chuan* language, cannot be given here. (See *Late Archaic Chinese*, p. 167).

The anteposed object is frequently introduced by particles such as *wei* 唯 "only", *pi* 必 "necessarily", *chiang* 將 "about to", or the negative *fei* 非.

(11) 唯好是求 235.13/Ch'eng 13/4. "seeking only your friendship." (Legge, p. 383)

(12) 余必臣是助 407.4/Chao 22/2. "I must assist the subjects." (Legge, p. 692)

(13) 將弑虎是滅 96.11/Hsi 5/9 "is about to extinguish Kuo." (cf. Legge, p. 145)

(14) 非子之求而蒞之愛 199.9/Hsüan 12/3. "Are you not looking for your son? And do you grudge your arrows?" (Legge, p. 320)

Note that when the anteposed object is introduced by *fei* in the *Tso-chuan* the recapitulating pronoun is almost always 之. The only exception I have found to this is in what appears to be a sort of proverb.

(15) 非宅是卜。唯鄰是卜 349.16/Chao 3/fu 2. "It is not about the house that the tortoise-shell should be consulted, but about the neighbours." (cf. Legge, p. 589)

Here we probably have a more archaic form of language than is normal in the *Tso-chuan*. In the *Shih-ching* 是 occurs freely after *fei*.

The most common use of the pronominal 實 is likewise to recapitulate an anteposed element; but in this case it is the subject and not the object that is resumed. To illustrate the contrast with 是 we may begin with some examples in which the anteposed subject is preceded by 唯, 必, 將 or 非.

(16) 唯裨僚魚人實逐之 172.20 Wen 16/6. "Only the men of Pi, Ch'ou and Yü pursued them," (cf. Legge, p. 275)

(17) 唯西廣東宮與若敖之六卒實從之 132.1/Hsi 28/5. "Only the cohort of the west, the guards of the prince of Ch'u and the six troops of Jo-ao went to join them." (cf. Legge, p. 209)

(18) 人實不知, 非龍實知 429.5/Chao 29/fu 4. Legge, p. 731, has, "This is only men's want of knowledge; it is not that the dragon is really knowing." The force of 實 is, however, to mark the contrast between the two subjects, "men" and "dragon". "It is that *men* do not have knowledge; it is not that the *dragon* has knowledge."

(19) 其非唯我賀, 將天下實賀 368.3/Chao 8/3. "It will not be only we who will offer congratulations; all under heaven will offer congratulations." (cf. Legge, p. 622)

(20) 必此君之子孫實終之 335.21/Hsiang 31/fu 5. "It must be the descendants of this ruler who continue [to reign in Wu] to the end." (cf. Legge, p. 565)

(21) 芊姓有亂必季實立 382.19/Chao 13/fu 1. "When there is disorder in the Mi clan, the youngest must ascend the throne. It is the regular rule in Ch'u." (cf. Legge, p. 650).

In the following example 豈 惟 "how only" introduces the first of two contrasted subjects and 舉 "all" the second, which is then recapitulated by 實.

(22) 豈惟寡君，舉臣實愛其貺 348.16/Chao 3/fu 2. "Not our ruler only, but all your ministers as well, will receive the benefit of your gift." (Legge, p. 588).

We may now turn our attention to the more numerous examples in which the subject recapitulated by 實 is not introduced by a particle. These are the cases in which it is customary to translate 實 as "truly". The function of 實 is, however, as in examples (16) to (22), to emphasize the subject, contrasting it with other possible subjects. The following are some typical examples.

(23) 此二人者實弑寡君 11.4/Yin 4/6. "These two men, they murdered my prince." Legge, p. 16, translates, "These two men are the real murderers of my prince". This ingeniously but unnecessarily preserves the word "real" in the translation while correctly indicating that the emphasis is on the subject rather than on the fact of the murder (treated as known).

(24) 人實有國。我何愛焉 101.22/Hsi 9/fu 2. "Others possess the state; why should I grudge anything from it." (Legge, p. 155, is obscure and inaccurate.)

(25) 我實使狄。狄其怨我 124.17/Hsi 24/2. "It was we who procured the employment of the Tih; their resentment will fall on us." (Legge, p. 192).

(26) 臣之卒實奔。臣之罪也 242.10/Ch'eng 16/7. "It is my fault that my troops ran away." (cf. Legge, p. 398).

(27) 深山大澤實生龍蛇 294.15/Hsiang 21/4. "It is deep, impenetrable mountains and great lakes that produce dragons and serpents." (cf. Legge, p. 491).

(28) 晉侯曰。衛出其君不亦甚乎對曰人或者其君實甚 280.21/Hsiang 14/fu 3. "The Marquis of Chin said, 'Is it not terrible that Wei has expelled its ruler?' He replied, 'Perhaps it was the ruler who was terrible.'" (cf. Legge, p. 466).

(29) 雖楚有才晉實用之。子木曰。夫獨無族姻乎。對曰。雖有而用楚才實多 312.14/Hsiang 26/fu 6. "... though Ch'u has had men of talent, it will be Chin that makes use of them." Tzu-mu said, 'Is [Chin] alone without clansmen and relatives by marriage?' He replied, 'Even though he has such his use of the talent of Ch'u is greater,'" (cf. Legge, p. 526)

實 is frequent with *nan* 難 "difficult", and in such cases Yang Shu-ta has proposed to take *nan*, not as a stative verb in the level tone, but as a transitive verb in the departing tone, "to treat as difficult", "to be concerned about". He then proposes to take 實 as equivalent to 是, recapitulating a preceding object.¹⁴ For example,

(30) 宋衛實難，鄭何能為 14.16/Yin 6/fu 2. (Cf. Legge, p. 21). It would make perfectly good sense to follow Yang Shu-ta's interpretation and translate, "I am concerned about Sung and Wei. What can Cheng do?". On the other hand one can equally well translate, "Sung and Wei are difficult (i.e. cause difficulty) . . .". There seems little to choose, as far as meaning goes, between these two interpretations. The grammatical behaviour of 實 in other contexts however compels us to adopt the latter interpretation and reject Yang Shu-ta.

In contrast we have such an example as the following in which, in the normal way, 是 recapitulates the preceding object.

(31) 吾不能是難，楚不為患 339.9/Chao 1/2. "I am troubled by my lack of ability. Ch'u does not give me concern." (cf. Legge, p. 576).

In the following example, in which the anteposed part is introduced by *fei*, there is additional grammatical reason why 實 cannot be equated with 是; for, as we have seen, in the *Tso-chuan* the anteposed object, when introduced by *fei*, is regularly recapitulated by 之, not 是.

(32) 非知之實難，將在行之 373.7 Chao 10/5. "It is not knowing a thing that is difficult, but it is the acting accordingly." (Legge, p. 630).

Apart from the cases involving *nan* Yang Shu-ta notes one further case (and one only) in which he thinks 實 is equivalent to 是 recapitulating a preceding object.

(33) 臣聞之。鬼神非人實親。惟德是依 96.14/Hsi 5/9.

The parallel construction of the two clauses strongly suggests that 鬼神 is subject of both verbs 親 and 依, with the objects 人 and 德 respectively. This is how the passage has been understood not only by Yang Shu-ta but also by the Japanese interpreter of the *Tso-chuan* in the *Kanseki kokujikai kambun taisei*, vol I, p. 344, and Legge, who translates, "I have heard that the Spirits do not accept the persons of men, but that it is virtue to which they cleave." (p. 146).

On the other hand if we had only to consider the first clause in isolation there would seem to be no objection, either in the grammar or in the sense, to taking *kuei shen* as object and *jen* as subject of *ch'in*, thus, "As to the spirits, *men* cannot win their intimacy."

There is no other example in the *Tso-chuan* of *ch'in* 親 used as a transitive verb of a relationship between men and spirits. Its use in other contexts suggests however that it always implies the seeking of favour rather than the bestowing of it, and hence that it would be inappropriate for "spirits" to be subject and "men" object. This is clearly brought out in the following example:

(34) 親富而不親仁。君焉用之。君富於季氏。而大於魯。茲陽虎所欲傾覆也。454.13/Ting 9/fu 3. "He seeks the friendship of wealth, not of virtue. How should your lordship (the ruler of Ch'i) make use of him? Your lordship is wealthier than Chi and greater than Lu. That is what Yang Hu wishes to bend (to his advantage)." (cf. Legge, p. 773).

¹⁴ *Tz'u-ch'üan* 5.60-61, 2.44-45.

Other examples in which the subject is a ruler and the object his people, or in which the two parties are on a level of equality (for example, two countries), would allow of either interpretation—"give friendship to" or "seek the friendship of". The following example would however seem to fit the second alternative better.

(35) 仲見于齊侯而請之。齊侯新立而欲親魯。許之。
175.18/Wen 18/6. "Chung had an audience with the Marquis of Ch'i and made the request. The Marquis of Ch'i was newly on the throne and wished to gain the friendship of Lu. He granted it." (cf. Legge, p. 281).

The evidence about the meaning of *ch'in*, as far as it goes, thus seems to support my interpretation of example (33). In spite of the lack of parallelism in taking the anteposed element *kuei-shen* as object of the first verb and subject of the second, it seems preferable to do so rather than to suppose that, in this unique instance, 實 recapitulates the object. It may be noted that it would not in any case here be replacing 是 but 之, since it is the latter that is to be expected when the object is introduced by *fei*.

An important use of 實 is with the interrogative pronoun *ho* 何. As was implied by von der Gabelentz¹⁵ and noted by Ma Chien-chung,¹⁶ this pronoun almost never occurs as subject of a verb. In a recent article on the interrogatives Chou Fa-kao notes, as a rare exception, the following example from the *Tso-chuan*.¹⁷

(36) 景王問於萇弘曰。今茲諸侯何實吉。何實凶。
374.4/Chao 11/4. "The King asked Chang Hwang which of the princes would be lucky this year and which would suffer evil in it." (Legge, p. 633).

Professor Chou makes no remark about the presence of 實 but Liu Ch'i had already noted this as a case in which 實 was a particle (語助辭) related to 是 (是之轉也).¹⁸ There can be no doubt that the function of 實 is to show that *ho* is to be taken, exceptionally, as subject and not, as normally, as object or as an adverbial interrogative "why". Below are three other examples from the *Kuo-yü* which, as in most of its grammatical features, resembles the *Tso-chuan* in its use of 實.

(37) 文子曰。子稱蠱。何實生之。對曰蠱慝穀之飛實生之。
Kuo-yü. 14. 10a "Wen-tzu said, 'You speak of intestinal poison (*ku*). What gives rise to it?' He replied, 'As for the evil of intestinal poison, it is the flying up of the grain (food) that gives rise to it.'"

(38) 重耳若獲德... 其何實不從。
ibid. 10.9b "If Ch'ung-erh obtains the accumulated virtue . . . , who will not follow him?"

¹⁵ G. von der Gabelentz, *Chinesische Grammatik*, p. 271.

¹⁶ *Ma Shih wen t'ung chiao-chu*, 1954, p. 80.

¹⁷ CYYY 26 (1955) p. 21 n.3. It should be noted that the one other exception noted by Chou, also from the *Tso-chuan*, does not have 實. He does not cite the examples from the *Kuo-yü*.

¹⁸ *Chu-tzu pien-lüeh*, ed. by Cheng Hsi-chen, 1954, p. 244.

(39) 雖四方之諸侯則何實以事吳。
ibid. 19.2a. "Who, even of all the feudal lords of the four quarters, will then serve Wu?"

The only other example of 何實 in the *Tso-chuan* is the following:

(40) 大國省穡而用之。何實非命
341.6/Chao 1/fu 2. "If your great state will gather it sparingly and use it, we will in everything obey your commands." (Legge, p. 577) More literally, ". . . , what will not be in accordance with your commands?"

This differs from the preceding examples in that instead of a verb we have 非, which although possessing a certain vestigial verbal character is properly simply the negative particle used with nouns.¹⁹ In order to elucidate this case we must now consider 是 and 實 in noun predication.

B.—Introduction of a noun predicate.

Much the most common type of noun predication in the *Tso-chuan* is of the pattern X也, with the corresponding negative 非X也. This construction, which is unknown in the language of the *Shu-ching* and *Shih-ching*, is characteristic of most later forms of Classical Chinese.

The appearance of the new pattern of noun predication X也, with its corresponding negative 非X也, accompanied by the disappearance of the old copula 唯 is one of the fundamental differences between the language of the *Shu-ching* and *Shih-ching* and most later forms of Chinese. It is already characteristic of the *Tso-chuan*, though vestiges of the earlier syntax are to be seen in the constructions of 唯 "only".²⁰ Predicates in . . . 也 are often introduced by 是. Examples are so common as to need no illustration. The later use of 是 and 非 as opposites in the meanings "right" and "wrong", "to consider right", "to consider wrong", probably arose from their association in contrasted predicates of the type 是X也, 非Y也. Moreover the use of 是 to recapitulate the subject of a noun predicate no doubt prepared the way for its later emergence as a copula.

Besides this familiar construction we also find in the *Tso-chuan* occasional examples of 實 introducing noun predicates, without however any final 也.

(41) 陳媯歸于京師。實惠后
64.12/Chuang 18/fu 2. "The lady Kuei of Ch'en came to the capital. She was the Empress Hui." (cf. Legge, p. 97)²¹

(42) 葬子于于訾。實訾敖
381.23/Chao 13/3. "He buried Tzu-kan in Tzu. He (Tzu-kan) is the one who is referred to as Tzu-ao (the Ao of Tzu)." (cf. Legge, p. 649).

¹⁹ *Fei* is of course sometimes used as a transitive verb, "to reject" "to deny". Apart from the fact that this is very rare in the *Tso-chuan* (I notice only one example at 26.5/Huan 2/6), comparison with the frequent affirmative formula 唯命 "let it be as you command" makes it certain that *fei* is here the negative copula.

²⁰ See "*Fei, wei* and certain related words" in *Studia Serica Bernhard Karlgren dedicata*, pp. 178-89.

²¹ Liu Ch'i, *loc.cit.*, notes that in this example 實 is equivalent to 是爲, on which see below.

(43) 楚子使王子勝遷許於析。實白羽 396.11/Chao 18/5. "The Viscount of Ch'u caused the king's son Sheng to remove Hsü to Hsi, that is, to Po-yü." (cf. Legge, p. 672).

Similar examples will be found at 455.23/Ting 10/3 and 459.20/Ting 13/1. In phrases similar to those in examples (41) to (43) in the *Kuo-yü* and also in some cases in the *Tso-chuan* we find 實爲.

(44) 是故先置公子夷吾。寔爲惠公 *Kuo-yü* 8. 11a 21a. "For this reason they first set up the Duke's son I-wu. This was Duke Hui." See also 11.3b, 12.6b, 14.11b.

(45) 淫於邲子之女。生子文焉... 實爲令尹子文。 *Tso-chuan* 184.22—185.1. "He had illicit relations with the daughter of the Viscount of Yün, who as a result gave birth to Tzu-wen... This was the Chief Minister Tzu-wen." (cf. Legge, p. 297) See also 364.19/Chao 7/fu 4.

The absence of any copula or of final 也 in the majority of the *Tso-chuan* examples is very striking.²² For an explanation we must look to the earlier stage of the language found in the *Shih-ching*, where, as will be seen below, we find 實 used in much the same way as in the *Tso-chuan*. There is one frequent usage in the Odes however which does not occur in the later text, that is, its use with the copula 維. It would appear that when 維 was ceasing to be used as a copula, it dropped out of the expression *shih wei* leaving *shih* alone. The copular force of the phrase as a whole remained however and no final 也 was added. But the construction was anomalous and later, when the verb 爲, began to be used as a copula, it was introduced into the expression on the analogy of the use of 實 with other verbs.

There is a distinct difference in emphasis between 是...也 "this is..." and 實 "this is...". When 實 introduces a noun predicate, the phrase usually defines something in terms of a something, for instance a name, which is taken to be well known. Thus in example (41) it is explained that the Lady Kuei of Ch'en is the person better known as the Empress Hui. With this might be contrasted such an example as the following:

(46) 公曰。是吾寶也 89.10/Hsi 2/3. "The duke said, 'This is my treasure.'" (cf. Legge, p. 136).

Here the predicate, rather than the subject, is what is new and held up for attention.

In the following rather different example the phrase introduced by 實 is not a parenthetical addition but an integral part of the discourse.

(47) 小國無罪。恃實其罪 338.16/Chao 1/2. "Our small country is not at fault. Reliance [on you] was our fault." (cf. Legge, p. 575).

As in the case of preverbal 實, the emphasis is strongly on the subject.

²² On 寔 for 實 see Section III below. Other texts of the *Kuo-yü* read 實.

²³ The presence of the final particle 也 is very regular in noun predication in the *Tso-chuan*. For certain exceptions see note 9 above. A case of the omission of 也 after 寔, similar to the examples with 實, will be discussed in Part II of this article.

One may contrast this with the following:

(48) 秦大夫及左右皆言於秦伯曰。是敗也。孟明之罪也。必殺之。秦伯曰。是孤之罪也。 146.13/Wen 1/fu 2. "All the ministers and courtiers of Ch'in said to the Count of Ch'in, 'This defeat was the fault of Meng-ming. You must kill him.' The Count of Ch'in said, 'This was my fault' ". (cf. Legge, p. 230).

In this case the contrasted elements "the fault of Meng-ming" and "my fault" are predicates.

The following example, which is rather different from those so far discussed, I would also classify as a case of 實 introducing noun predication.

(49) 君將以親易怨。實無禮以速寇而無有其備 358.21/Chao 5/fu 1. "Your lordship is about to exchange friendship for enmity. This will be, through lack of courtesy, to hasten on aggression against yourself when you are unprepared for it." (cf. Legge, p. 605). The traditional interpretation would be to take 實 as adverbial to the following verb, "You, being *truly* without courtesy..."; but this is forced and unnatural. On the other hand it is as difficult to make 實 stress the subject. There is no contrast of possible subjects nor is there a change of subjects as in examples (65)–(67) below. We should, I feel, compare the clause here introduced by 實 with explanatory clauses of the 是...也 pattern, where the pronoun has the preceding clause as its antecedent: "It is that...". The difference between 實 and 是...也 again reveals itself as a matter of emphasis. In the first case what precedes is important and what follows defines it in terms of something treated as known. In the second case what follows adds new information and is the important thing. In example (49) the speaker has already stressed in the previous discourse that the actions of the ruler are likely to cause Chin to attack and that Ch'u is unprepared. This sentence does not so much add a new fact as emphasize that it is *these* actions which will yield the expected result.

C. 是 as subject of a verb, preverbal 實 as clause initial.

Although in the *Tso-chuan* 是 is not found recapitulating the subject, it does occur substantively as subject of a verb. In some cases also 實 occurs at the beginning of a verbal clause, not recapitulating an immediately preceding subject but standing for the subject of the verb. We must see what sort of distinction can be made between 是 and 實 in this position.

是 as subject has most often a personal reference. The following are typical examples.

(50) 不如殺之。是不可鞭 79.24/Chuang 32/5. "You should have him put to death. He is not a man to be scourged." (Legge, p. 88).

(51) 是宜爲君。有恤民之心 59.4/Chuang 11/3. "This man ought to be ruler. He has a heart full of pity for the people." (cf. Legge, p. 88)

(52) 必立伯也。是良財 496.16/Ai 17/fu 8. "You ought to set up the elder. He is of good material." (This might appear to be a case of noun predication without 也. Both 財 and 才 are however used predicatively as verbs. Cf. 494.20/Ai 16/fu 5.) (cf. Legge, p. 851).

Occasionally we find 是 as subject without a personal reference.

(53) 是皆然矣 313.14/Hsiang 26/fu 6. "All these things are true." (cf. Legge, p. 527).

Although 是 in these examples can hardly be said to be unemphatic, there is no contrast with other possible subjects. In the following example however 是, preceded by the particle 唯 "only", is in contrast with other subjects. This is to be compared with example 8 in which 是 is in exposed position as anteposed object.

(54) 唯是不來。其餘君之所及也 352.12/Chao 4/fu 1. "Only these will not come. The others are under your influence." (Legge, p. 597)

The use of 是 rather than 實 is no doubt because the phrase introduced by 唯 唯 always stands off from the following verb and has not the same kind of juncture prosody as 實 plus verb. This will be discussed further below. In example (54) there is no recapitulating pronoun but in one case we do have 是 as subject recapitulated by 實.²³

(55) 既無武守。而又欲易余罪曰。是實班師。不然克矣。 269.20/Hsiang 10/1. "Not only were you incapable of military defence, you even wish to turn the blame on me, saying, 'It was *he* who ordered the retreat of the army. But for this we should have conquered.'" (cf. Legge, p. 446) In this case 實 has its normal force of singling out the subject.

Turning now to 實, we find that it seems to be used independently only in special contexts and to have similar implications to those in the other constructions we have discussed. Cases in which the subject is an immediately preceding phrase, even though marked off by customary punctuation, need no special comment. In the following example the same subject continues for two verbs but 實 is inserted only in front of the second one.

(56) 非神敗令尹。令尹其不動民。實自敗也 133.13/Hsi 28/6. "It is not the gods who will bring ruin on the Chancellor. It is the Chancellor who, by not exerting himself for the people, may ruin himself." (cf. Legge, p. 210)

The contrast of subjects only applies to the two occurrences of the verb *pai* "ruin" and this no doubt explains the fact that 實 does not appear in front of *chin* 勸.

Verbal predicates introduced by 實 standing alone have close analogies with noun predicates introduced by 實. That is, they usually specify or

²³ Another instance of 是實 occurs in *Kuo-yü* 1. 12a. Wang Yüan-sun in the *K'ao-i* 1.6a (*Ssu-pu pei-yao* ed. of the *Kuo-yü*) notes that the other text has only 實. On the ground that 實=寔=是 (on 寔 see Section II below), he regards the presence of 是 in addition as redundant. The *Tso-chuan* example makes it clear that this is not necessarily so.

define something or refer to some well known fact rather than adding new information.

(57) 我大史也。實掌其祭 83.20/Min 2/7. "We are the grand historiographers. It is we who have charge of the sacrifices." (cf. Legge, p. 127)

It is the matter of who is charge of the sacrifices rather than the sacrifices themselves that is important.

(58) 管敬仲桓之賊也。實相以濟 143.16/Hsi 33/8. "Kuan Ching-chung had been the injurer of Duke Huan; but it was he who, being minister, was the means of achieving success." (cf. Legge, p. 226)

(59) 文王以爲令尹。實縣申息 495.16/Ai 17/fu 4. "King Wen made him Chancellor. It was he who made Shen and Hsi into prefectures (*hsien*)." (cf. Legge, p. 850).

(60) 任宿須句顓臾風姓也。實司大皞與有齊之祀。 118.5/Hsi 21/fu. "Jen, Hsiu, Hsü-chü and Chuan-yü belong to the Feng clan. It is they who have charge of the Ta-hao and Yu-chi sacrifices." (cf. Legge, p. 180)

(61) 故有五行之官。是謂五官。實列受氏姓。 429.15/Chao 29/fu 4. "Therefore there were the officers of the Five Elements. They were called the Five Officers. It was they who respectively received the [corresponding] surnames."

(62) 獻子曰。社稷五祀。誰氏之五官也。對曰。少皞氏有四叔。曰重。曰該。曰脩。曰熙。實能金木及水。 429.20/Chao 29/fu 4. "Hsien-tzu said, 'To the Five Officers of what clan names do the five sacrifices at the altars of Land and Grain belong?' He replied, 'Shao-hao had four younger brothers, Chung, Kai, Hsiu and Hsi. It was they who were able to control metal, wood and water.'" (cf. Legge, p. 731)

(63) 吾子爲司徒。實書名 356.5/Chao 4/6. "My lord was made *su-t'u*. It was you who were to record the names." (cf. Legge, p. 599)

(64) 吳人退。鑪金初官於子期氏。實與隨人娶言王使見 445.23/Ting 4/16. "The men of Wu withdrew. Lu Chin had formerly been an officer under Tzu-ch'i. It was he who had made a covenant with the men of Sui [so that they did not give Tsu-ch'i up to the enemy]. The king summoned him to audience." (cf. Legge, p. 757).

In some cases the function of 實 seems to be to mark a change of subject in a long narrative passage.

(65) 昔仍氏生女...名曰玄妻...生伯封。實有豕心。 426.16-18/Chao 28/fu 1. "In ancient times the lord of Jeng had a daughter... She was called the 'Dark Lady'... She bore Po-feng. He had the heart of a pig..." (cf. Legge, p. 726)

(66) 唯我鄭國之有請謁焉。如舊昏媾其能降以相從也。無滋他族。實偃處此與我鄭國爭此地。 21.13/Yin 11/3. "Only when our state of Cheng makes requests and visits, as of old in the matter of marriages, may you be able to condescend to accede to them, not

nourishing other clans so that *they* may encroach and dwell here to contend with our state of Cheng for this territory." (cf. Legge, p. 33)

(67) 昔有鬲叔安有裔子曰董父。實甚好陽 429.7/Chao 29/fu 4. "Anciently there was Ch'ou Shu An. He had a descendant called Tung-fu. He (the latter) was very fond of dragons." (cf. Legge, p. 731). (It may be noted that the story is told to explain the origin of clan names having to do with dragons. The point about Tung-fu is that *he* is the one who was fond of dragons.)

Before going on to consider texts earlier than the *Tso-chuan* and *Kuo-yü* in which we find 是 and 實 in contrast (chiefly the *Shih-ching*, see Section III) it will be useful to consider in summary fashion the situation in other later Chou texts. As has already been indicated, 實 is hardly found in its pronominal use outside the *Tso-chuan*, *Kuo-yü*, *Shih-ching*, *Shu-ching*, and *I-ching* except in quotations. A single case in the *I-li* will be mentioned in Section II. I also note a single case in the *Chu-shu chi-nien* which otherwise has exclusively 是.²⁴

In varieties of Classical Chinese which do not have pronominal 實 we occasionally find 是 taking over some of its typical uses. In *Lao-tzu* we once find the subject introduced by 夫唯 and recapitulated by 是.

(68) 夫唯無以生爲者是賢於貴生 *Lao-tzu* 75. "Truly, not acting for life's sake is wiser than valuing life." (J. J. L. Duyvendak, *Tao Te Ching*, p. 155; the word "truly" does not correspond to anything in the Chinese.)

We also find 是 recapitulating the subject in the *T'ien wen*, the most archaic section of the *Ch'u-tz'u*. For example,

(69) 厥父是臧 *Ch'u-tz'u chi chu* 3.14b (Reprint of the Jen-min wen-hsüen ch'u-pan she, 1953). "His father was a goodly man." (D. Hawkes, *Ch'u Tz'u, the songs of the south*, p. 52.)

There are several other examples, as well as of 是 recapitulating the object, in the *T'ien-wen*. One passage in the *Lun yü* is perhaps to be understood in the same way, though it might also be possible to regard the anteposed element as the object.

(70) 周有大賚。善人是富 *Lun yü* 20/1. "When Chou gave its great largesses, it was the good who were enriched." (Waley, *The Analects of Confucius*, p. 231) *Fu* is usually a stative verb "to be rich" rather than a transitive verb "to enrich".

This appears to be a quotation from an archaic text and we again find 是 recapitulating the subject in a poem, not included in the *Shih-ching*, which is quoted in the *Lun yü*.

(71) 室是遠而 *Lun yü* 9/30. "But your house is far away." (Waley, *op. cit.*, p. 145)

²⁴ A.14b, edition of Wang Kuo-wei, *Chin-pen Chu-shu chi-nien chi-chiao* in *Haining Wang Ching-an hsien-sheng i-shu*. It should be noted that this is a passage that is not confirmed by early quotations and may therefore not be genuine.

The implications of this, evidently archaic, use of 是 where the received text of the *Shih-ching* and the *Tso-chuan* would have 實, will be discussed below.

The use of 是 as subject of a verb with a personal reference, rather common in the *Tso-chuan*, is not very frequent in later texts but I note three examples in the *Lun yü*:

(72) 是知津矣 *Lun yü* 18/6. "He knows the ford." (Legge, *The Four Books*, p. 276)

(73) 不逆詐。不億不信。抑亦先覺者。是賢乎。 *Lun yü* 14/33. "He who does not anticipate deceit nor suspect bad faith, but on the other hand is aware of these things before they happen, is he not of superior worth?"²⁵

(74) 原壤夷俟。子曰。幼而不孫弟。長而無述焉。老而不死。是爲賊。 *Lun yü* 14/46. "Yüan Jang sat waiting for the master in a sprawling position. The master said, 'When young he showed no respect to his elders, when he grew up there was nothing worth telling about him, in his old age he does not die. He is a pest!'"²⁶

Where the *Tso-chuan* would have 實 introducing noun predication or with the copula-verb 實爲 (as in the *Kuo-yü*), other texts have 是爲. Thus in the *Chu-shu chi-nien*:

(75) 立學子祿父。是爲武庚 B.2a. "They set up Shou's son Lu-fu. This was Wu-keng."

The parallel to examples (41) and (44) is very obvious. In one case we even have 是 alone, like 實 in the *Tso-chuan*:

(76) 山民進女子桀。二人曰琬曰瑛。后愛二人無子焉。斲其名于苕華之玉。苕是琬。華是瑛。 "The mountain people presented two women to Chieh, named Wan and Yen. The ruler loved the two women but had no children by them. He carved their names on T'iao and Huan jades. T'iao was for Wan, Hua was for Yen."

In the *Mu T'ien-tzu chuan* we even find 是維 in passages similar to examples (41), (44) and (75). The use of the old copula 維 instead of the copula-verb 爲 may be a piece of deliberate archaizing here.

是爲, though never very common, is found as an alternative to noun predication of the 是 . . . 也 type in many texts. See, for instance, *Lun yü* 2/21. The following examples from *Mencius* and *Hsün-tzu* will show that the same contrast persisted.

(77) 如使吾欲富，辭十萬而愛萬。是爲欲富乎 *Meng-tzu* 2B/10. "Suppose that I wanted to be rich, having declined 100,000 *chung*,

²⁵ My translation follows the traditional interpretation as represented (not quite accurately) by Legge. I do not think Waley's objections to this are valid. (See Waley, *The Analects of Confucius* pp. 250 and 260.) It should be noted that 賢 is here a stative verb "of superior worth", not a noun "a man of superior worth".

²⁶ Again I follow Legge rather than Waley. Legge has not however appreciated that 是 is to be taken personally and translates "this is to be a pest". This interpretation would require final 也.

would my now accepting 10,000 be the conduct of one desiring riches?" (Legge, *The Four Books*, p. 590)

The predicate "desiring riches" is already part of the supposition, hence it is not the new element in the discourse. The question is whether it is a proper predicate for *this* situation. Hence we do not have 是欲富與 which would be the normal type of noun predication.

(78) 蘭槐之根。是爲芷。其漸之滌。君子不近。庶人不服 *Hsün-tzu chi-chieh* 1, p. 3 (*Chu-tzu chi-ch'eng* edition). "The root of the *lan-huai* is what is known as *chih* (an aromatic substance). But if it is steeped in water in which rice has been boiled, gentlemen will not go near it and commoners will not eat it."

It would be desirable to study the use of the copula-verb *wei* 爲 in general in comparison with the X也 construction to see whether there is always this kind of contrast of emphasis.

II—The *Shih-ching* and the *Shu-ching*

If we turn from the *Tso-chuan* to the earlier stages of the language represented by the *Shih-ching* and the *Shu-ching* we find that the grammar is much less well understood in general and it is less easy to make confident statements about it. Nevertheless it will be useful to give a summary outline of the behaviour of 實 and its cognates in these texts.

In the first place we find that besides 是 and 實 we also have a third form 時.²⁷ Besides having the "full" meaning "time" "season", 時 in the *Shu-ching* and *Shih-ching* is used as a demonstrative "this". It is usually treated as if it were a mere graphic variant of 是. A comparison of the two words in these texts soon shows however that they are by no means identical. Moreover they were pronounced differently. Karlgren reconstructs 是 as **djäg* and 時 as **djäg*. Perhaps even more significant is the difference in tone. **djäg* had the rising tone in Ancient Chinese, while **djäg* had level tone (this will be symbolized by writing **djäg'* and **djäg*-).

A. 實 in the *Shih-ching*

Of the three forms, 實 is the most restricted in its grammatical behaviour and therefore the easiest to deal with. Apart from the "full word" uses of the character in the sense of "fruit", "to fill", "full", it occurs always before a verb or the copula *wei* 維. It always refers to the subject. Its use resembles very much what we have found in the *Tso-chuan*. The following are typical examples:

(77) 我思故人，實獲我心 27/4. Waley translates, "I'll be true to my old love Who truly holds my heart." (*The Book of Songs*, p. 58)

²⁷ Like 實 in its pronominal use, 時 in this sense is usually interpreted simply as a graphic substitute for 是. In his new study of the pronouns Chou Fa-ko does treat 時 separately but does not make any comment on the relation between 時 and 是. He ignores 實 altogether and treats 寔 as a graphic variant of 是. (*Chung-ko ku-tai yü-fa, Ch'eng-tai pien*, 1960, pp. 120ff.)

"Truly" is out of place here. We should have "She holds my heart" (or more prosaically "It is she who . . .").

(78) 天實爲之，謂之何哉 40/1,2,3. "Heaven truly has done it; what is to be said about it?" (Karlgren, *Book of Odes*, p. 27). Again "truly" is incorrect. It should be, "It is heaven that has done it . . .".

Once in the Shao-nan section we find the reading 寔 in the Mao text, where the Han text has 實. As we shall see in Section III, 寔 **djak* is a word which is grammatically equivalent to 實 **d'jät*, the phonetic difference being apparently one of dialect.

(79) 晷彼小星，三五在東，肅肅宵征，夙宿在公，寔命不同 21/1. Similarly in the second verse one finds 寔命不猶. Karlgren translates, "Minute are those little stars, the Triad and the Quint are in the east; hurriedly we walk in the night, in the early morning and in the late night we are in the palace; truly our lot is not the same (as hers)." (*op.cit.*, p. 12) Lesser concubines are complaining of their lot in comparison with that of the principal wife.

In justification of rendering 寔 by "truly" Karlgren bases himself on the Han text reading 實. Since 實 never means "truly" in this stage of the language, this interpretation is impossible. We should, I feel sure, take 寔 as referring to the principal wife and render, "She, in her fate, is not the same." (命 "fate" is not subject of the verb but a noun used adverbially.)

In one case Karlgren wishes to take 實 as equivalent to 是 as the anteposed object of the verb.

(80) 實墉實壑，實畝實籍 261/6. "... in those (regions) he made walls, he made moats, he made acres of fields, he made divisions for the tax." (*op.cit.*, p. 232)

In a footnote he adds, "Properly; 'Those he walled'." He is following a note by Cheng Hsüan who says that 實 should be 寔.²⁸ The reasoning is the opposite to that in connection with the previous example. 寔, which is known to be pronominal, is taken to be equivalent to 是. Without emending the text we can accept the implication that 實 is pronominal (as always in such a position). It must however be subject, not object, and we should translate, "He made walls, he made moats . . ."

Since the copula *wei* 維 existed in the *Shih-ching* language, we do not find 實 alone with noun predicates. Examples of 實維 will be considered below in comparison with 時維.

B. 是 in the *Shih-ching*

In the great majority of examples of 是 in the *Shih-ching* it stands in front of the verb as object. In many cases it is recapitulating the anteposed object in the construction already described in connection with the *Tso-chuan*, often with the anteposed object introduced by 維 or 匪 (the rising tone form which is always used in place of 非 in this text).

²⁸ Gloss 1033 (BMFEA 18 (1946) p. 130. Cf. Section III below.)

(81) 匪舌是出，維躬是瘁 194/5. "I (do not:) cannot bring out my tongue; I only exhaust the body." (Karlgren, *op.cit.*, p. 141).

In other cases the antecedent is less immediate and may even be not explicitly expressed (*cf.* *Tso-chuan* example (9) above). The free use of 是 as substantive object in front of the verb is much more common in the *Shih-ching* than in later Chinese.

It is rather surprising to find that 是 is not found in the *Shih-ching* substantively as object *after* the verb; but it does occur in front of noun objects after a verb. It is then usually taken to be attributive but since it rarely, if ever, occurs attributively to nouns in other positions, one is led to suspect that this usage is in fact similar to the recapitulating function *in front* of verbs and that *shih* should be regarded as in apposition to the following noun. Compare:

(82) 四國是皇 157/1 "... the states of the four quarters, them he corrected." (Karlgren, *op.cit.*, p. 103)

(83) 正是四國 152/3 "... he (corrects:) sets an example to those countries of the four quarters." (*ibid.*, p. 95) It might be preferable to render the second example, "He corrects these, the countries of the four quarters."

A single, rather different example of attributive 是, still with a noun functioning as object, is the following:

(84) 維是褊心，是以爲刺 107/2. "To those (narrow-minded:) mean fellows he constitutes a rebuke." (*ibid.*, p. 69) 維是 must be compared to 唯是 which is used in a number of cases to introduce the anteposed object in the *Tso-chuan*. I have suggested elsewhere that, since 唯 here does not ever seem to have the force of "only" which it has normally acquired in the *Tso-chuan* language, the compound expression is used to preserve the older, singling out force of 唯. When *wei shih* is used in the *Tso-chuan* we never find a recapitulating pronoun between the anteposed object and the verb—presumably because *shih* in front of the object takes the place of it and makes it unnecessary. In this example from the *Shih-ching* we do however have a recapitulating *shih* as well.

These uses of 是, either alone as object or in conjunction with a noun object, account for the great majority of its occurrences. There remain a few miscellaneous examples which seem or have been thought to require a different kind of explanation. One instance of 是 forming a predicate has been illustrated above (note 6).²⁹ A case like the following might be thought to resemble examples (68) and (69) from Lao-tzu and the *T'ien-wen*, with 是 recapitulating the subject.

(84) 德音是茂 172/4. Karlgren translates, "may his reputation be flourishing" (*op.cit.*, p. 116).

²⁹ In Ode 47 we have a single example of 是 apparently introducing a noun predicate with final 也—是繼祥也.

It is however quite possible to translate in the normal way, with 是 recapitulating the object: "may he prosper his reputation." For the transitive use of the verb *mao* 茂 one may compare, 方茂爾惡 191/8, "just now you give force to your (evil:) cruelty" (*ibid.*, p. 134).

In other instances one suspects that 是 is being used absolutely, as a transition word "then" or "now". This usage occurs occasionally in the *Shu-ching* and also in later Chinese, especially but not exclusively in conjunction with *tse* 則.³⁰ We may cite here an example from the *Yü-kung* section of the *Shu-ching* to show 是 alone used in this way.

(85) 桑土既蠶，是降丘宅土 *Yü kung* 4. "When the mulberry land had been stocked with silkworms, then they descended from the hills and inhabited the soil." (*Cf.* Karlgren, *The Book of Documents*, p. 14; Wang Yin-chih, *Ching chuan shih tz'u*, p. 202.)

The following single instance from the *Tso-chuan*, in a passage in somewhat formal and archaic language, also illustrated this usage.

(86) 是使之職事于魯 441.19/Ting 4/2. "They were then charged to perform duty in Loo." (Legge, p. 754.)

With these examples we may compare the following from the *Shih-ching*.

(87) 彌月不遲。是生后稷 300/1. "... fulfilling her time but not late, she bore Hou Tsi." (Karlgren, *The Book of Odes*, p. 259)

It is quite possible, as far as the sense is concerned, to take 是 here as subject. On the other hand there is no change of subject and no apparent reason for expressing the subject, and a temporal transition word should be very appropriate: "then she bore . . .".

There are no cases of 則是 or 是則 in the *Shih-ching* but there are a number of examples of 曾是. 曾 **tsəng* is a word which is often explained as being equivalent to the transition words *tse* 則 or *nai* 乃 and it is very probably genetically related to the former (Archaic **tsək*).³¹ I hope to discuss the relationship of 曾 **tsəng*, 則 **tsək* and 載 **tsəg* in the continuation of this article. Meanwhile I give the following examples of 曾是.

(88) 文王曰咨。咨汝殷商。曾是彊禦。曾是掎克。曾是在位，曾是在服。255/2. "Wen Wang said: Alas! Alas, you Yin-Shang! Those (men) are refractory, they are oppressive, but they are in official positions, they are in the services." (*ibid.*, p. 214)

Karlgren evidently understands 是 in these successive phrases as subjective. Waley on the other hand takes the first two as attributive, "Why these violent men, Why these slaughterers—Why are they in office, why

³⁰ See Example (3) and Note (10) above. *Cf.* Liu Ch'i, *Chu-tzu pien-lüeh*, p. 123: "The meaning of *tse shih* and *shih tse* is the same. They are particles which receive what goes before and make a conclusion."

³¹ **Tsəng* to be distinguished from 曾 **dz'əng* (equivalent to 嘗 "once"). *Cf.* Liu Ch'i, *op.cit.*, p. 107; Wang Yin-chih, *Ching chuan shih tz'u*, pp. 181-83; Karlgren, Gloss 935, BMFEA 18 (1946) pp. 94-95.

are they in power?" (*The Book of Songs*, p. 252). I would suggest that a prose paraphrase of these lines would read 曾是彊禦在位, 培克在服 and that one might translate, "Now (in contrast to your earlier good state) violent men are in office, slaughterers are in power."

This same strong adversative force seems to be present in the two other cases of 曾是 in the *Shih-ching*, in which, if 是 is regarded as having grammatical connection with the following verb, it must be looked on as object.

(89) 尙有典刑, 曾是莫聽 255/7. "there still are the statutes and laws; you have not listened to them." (Karlgren, *op.cit.*, p. 216). It would perhaps be better to render it, "Still there are the statutes and laws; but now no one listens."

(90) 終躑絕險, 曾是不意 192/10. "then in the end you will pass over the highest steeps; you do not think of that." (*ibid.*, p. 137). Again one might suggest instead, "But now you do not think."

It would be unwise to insist on this interpretation until the force of *tseng* has been more fully explored but it seems clear at any rate that the phrase *tseng shih* must be treated as a whole. The same no doubt applies to *i shih* 亦是 which occurs twice in Ode 222.

(91) 平平左右, 亦是率從 222/4. "Their punctilious attendants also (follow them:) go in their suite."

優哉游哉, 亦是戾矣 222/5. "How pleasant, how (rambling:) easy they are when arriving." (Karlgren, *op.cit.*, p. 176).

It would seem better to take 是 as meaning "now" in both instances rather than as subject of the verb in the first case and object in the second.

One further case of 是 seeming to stand for the subject remains to be mentioned.

(92) 是日既醉 220/3, 4. "when they are drunk." (*ibid.*, p. 174)

Again, as in example (87), there is no change of subject or obvious reason for repeating the subject, but it would make good sense to have, "then, when they are drunk".

C. 時 in the *Shih-ching*

The level-tone form of the pronoun, 時 **djəg*, is less restricted in its syntactical behaviour than either 實 or 是. I shall not attempt to deal exhaustively with all cases, some of which are given very different interpretations by different commentators and translators, but I shall try to show by illustrative examples how it contrasts in emphasis with both 實 and 是, being always the weaker.

As subject of the verb we find it in such a case as the following:

(93) 永錫爾極, 時萬時億 209/4. "forever they will give you the utmost (blessings); those will be in myriads, in myriads of myriads." (Karlgren, *op.cit.*, p. 163)

The emphasis is clearly on the predicates. There is no contrast between *this* subject and any other possible subject. Compare this with examples (77) and (78), in which we have 實 emphasizing the subject.

Similarly with the copula 維.

(94) 匪教匪誨, 時維婦寺 264/3. "those who cannot be taught and instructed are women and eunuchs." (*ibid.*, p. 237)

(95) 髡彼兩髦, 實維我儀 45/1. "hanging down are those tufts of hair, he is my (proper one:) mate." (*ibid.*, p. 29)

In the first case we are not concerned with whether or not other discreditable things might be said about women and eunuchs but with the fact that it is *they* (i.e., the part of the sentence which comes after the copula) to whom this applies. In the second case, on the other hand, the important thing is that *this* man and no other "is my mate". The distinction is similar to that which we have noted between the two types of noun predication: 是...也 and 實(實爲, 是爲)...

I have not found 時 in front of the verb recapitulating the object but it does occur twice in one poem between the negative and the verb.

(96) 神罔時怨, 神罔時憫 242/2. "of the Spirits, none were annoyed with him; of the Spirits, none were (pained, grieved:) dissatisfied with him;" (*ibid.*, p. 192).³²

As will be shown in the continuation of this article, *wang* 罔 (rising tone) is an emphatic negative; the important thing is the total exclusion of the predicate and not the object pronoun, which is not in contrast with anything else.

Otherwise 時 occurs as object only after the preposition-verbs *yü* 于 "in, at, etc." and *ju* 如 "like", where later Chinese would have 於是, 如是. Where it is a question of 于時 as an introductory phrase (as in 250/3, four times, and 272), there is no difficulty in regarding 時 as unaccented. It is a little more surprising to find it occurring in final position in Ode 265.

(97) 維昔之富不如時, 維今之疚不如茲 265/5. "The opulence of former times, (was it not like that:) how great it was! The present distress, (is it not like this:) how great it is!" (*ibid.*, p. 238)

It will be noted that, in order to obtain this rendering, Karlgren turns the second half of each line into a rhetorical question (otherwise the meaning of 不如時 would have to be, "was not as good as that"). If this is correct it may account for the weak forms of the pronouns—the accent presumably being on the negative particle. It is interesting to note, in any case, that *tzü* 茲 "this" is also a level-tone form, rarely final, contrasting with the rising-tone word *tz'u* 此.³³

時 is also found attributively in front of nouns (mainly in the Sung Odes). It is not confined to use with nouns which are in the object relationship. 是 does not occur attributively in this section of the Odes.

³² Chou Fa-ko, *op.cit.*, p. 120, prefers this interpretation of Karlgren to those of Cheng Hsüan and Ma Jui-ch'en.

³³ To be discussed more fully in Part II.

D. The demonstratives in the *Shu-ching*

The account here given of the **d*- demonstratives in the *Shu-ching* (that is, of course, the books recognized as of genuine antiquity) will be even more summary than that given for the *Shih-ching*. We find that 時 predominates in all uses. When it does occur, 是 is most frequent as object. An example of it in the *Yü kung* as a transition word "then" has been given above (Example (85)). 實 does not occur recognizably as a pronoun. The three occurrences listed in the concordance are all in disputed passages; in none of them does it seem that 實 is preverbal. There are, however, a number of cases in which 是 seems to have the force of 寔 and in one of them we have a quotation in the *Ta-hsüeh* which does in fact have 實 (with a variant 寔) instead of 是.

(98) 如有一介臣。斷斷猗無他技。其心休休焉。其能有容。人之有技。若已有之人之彥聖。其心好之。不啼如自其口出。是能容之。以保我子孫。黎民亦職有利哉。人之有技。冒疾以惡之。人之彥聖而遠之。俾不達。是不能容。以不能保我子孫。黎民亦曰殆哉。 *Ch'in shih* 6, 7.

Neither Karlgren nor Legge has brought out the way in which the two 是, which they understand as 實 "really", mark the contrast between alternative subjects for the verb *jung* 容, and it is necessary to offer a fresh translation of the whole passage.

"If I should have but one minister, a resolute one with no other abilities, let his heart be simple and upright, let him be able generously to make room (for others). When men have ability, if he treats it as if it were his own; when men are accomplished and perspicacious, if he loves them with his heart and not merely as coming from his mouth; *this* man has the capacity for generously making room for them—and so he will protect my descendants and the common people also will have profit. But if, when men have talent, he is jealous and resentful and hates them; when men are accomplished and perspicacious, he opposes them and causes them not to come forward; *this* man has not the capacity for generously making room—and so he cannot protect my descendants and the common people also will be in danger." (Cf. Karlgren, *The Book of Documents*, p. 81; Legge, *The Four Books*, p. 340.)

In section 2 of the same document we again find 是 used like 實 in the *Tso-chuan* to emphasize and contrast subjects:

(99) 古人有言曰。民訖自若。是多盤。責人斯無難。惟受難俾如流。是惟難哉。 *Ch'in shih* 2. "The ancients had a saying: when people completely follow their own wishes, *this* is very pleasant (for them). To reprove others is without difficulty, but to receive reproof, letting it flow freely, *that* is difficult." (Cf. Karlgren, *op.cit.*, p. 81)

There is one other case in the *Shu-ching* where Karlgren takes 寔 as equivalent to 寔. He is probably right in this, but not in translating it as "truly".³⁴ Note also the following:

(100) 惟正是乂之 *Li cheng* 18. "may the officers regulate them." (*ibid.*, p. 68)

Here, as in examples (68) and (69) from Lao-tzu and the *T'ien wen*, we find 寔 recapitulating the subject, like 實 or 寔 in the *Shih-ching* and the *Tso-chuan*.

This may mean that in some dialects there was only one "strong" form, 寔 **djēg'* (rising tone). On the other hand the existence of textual variants with 實 or 寔 suggests that the graph 寔 may have sometimes been used for **djak* as well as **djēg'*. There seems to be no way of determining this at the moment.

The evidence thus assembled, imperfect as it must be in view of our generally imperfect understanding of the pre-classical language, definitely points to the fact that the earliest form of the demonstratives in **d*- is that represented by 時 **djag-*. The rising tone form 寔 **djēg'* appears first as a less common "strong" form, chiefly as anteposed object and (more rarely) as a conjunctive word "then". By the time of the *Shih-ching* language **djēg'* has already become more common than **djag-*, and thereafter the latter becomes exceedingly rare, except in quotations or deliberate archaism. In the *Shih-ching*, as in the linguistically later *Tso-chuan* there is also another strong form 實 **d'jēt*, used only preverbally to emphasize the subject. We shall now turn to consider the form 寔 **djak*, which there is good reason to think, was the equivalent to **d'jēt* in some dialect or dialects, and, as we have seen, may be concealed under the graph 寔 in the *Shu-ching* also.

III—*Shih* 寔

寔 is a rather uncommon word which has been associated with 實 by commentators since ancient times. That it is a pronoun, closely related to 是, is stated already in the *Kung-yang chuan*,³⁵ the *Ku-liang chuan*³⁶ and the *Erh-ya*.³⁷ Its grammatical behaviour is indistinguishable from that of 實—in fact, as far as I can discover, for every occurrence of 寔 in Chou texts there is a textual variant 實. In sound the two words are not at first sight particularly close in Archaic Chinese—Karlgren has **djak* and **d'jēt*.

³⁴ *Chin t'eng* 5, Karlgren, *Book of Documents*, p. 35. Cf. Gloss 1569. BMFEA 20 (1948) p. 251.

³⁵ Harvard-Yenching Index to the Ch'un-ch'iu and Commentaries, 31.9/Huan 6/1.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 31.11/Huan 6/1.

³⁷ *Erh-ya chu-shu* 2.114, b (in *Shih-san ching chu-shu*, reprint of Chung-hua shu-chü).

The most celebrated occurrence of 寔 is its one appearance in the *Ch'un-ch'iu* (there is no example of pronominal 實 in the Classic).

(101) 冬。州公如曹。六年。春正月。寔來。31.3/Huan 1/9 and 31.8/Huan 2/1 "Winter. The Duke of Chou went to Ts'ao. Sixth year, spring, first month. This [man] came [to Lu]."

The *Kung-yang chuan* explains 寔 as 是人 "this man" and the *Ku-liang chuan* explains it by 是 "this", meaning "the Duke of Chou". The *Tso-chuan* says, 書曰寔來。不復其國也。"When the Book says, 'This man came', it means that he did not go back to his own country." This is the only occurrence of 寔 in the *Tso-chuan* and a quotation of this passage by K'ung Ying-ta in his commentary to Ode 261 of the *Shih-ching* shows that there was a version of the text which had 實 in place of it.³⁸ Though the laconic *Ch'un-ch'iu* passage does not give much contextual reason for saying that it emphasizes the subject, there seems no reason to dissociate this from other pronominal uses of 實, especially as we find 寔 as a textual variant of a quite normal occurrence of 實 in 426.9/Chao 28/fu 1.³⁹ Moreover much the most numerous examples of 寔 in any text occur in chapters 18, 19 and 20, and sporadically in other chapters, of the Huang P'ei-lieh text of the *Kuo-yü* where, in every case, the Sung Hsiang text, has 實.⁴⁰ Similarly 寔 occurs once in a quotation from the *I-ching* in the *Li-chi* as a variant of 實⁴¹ and in one version of a quotation in the *Ta-hsüeh* from the "Ch'in shih" section of the *Shu-ching*;⁴² similarly once in the *I-li*.⁴³ It occurs twice in Ode 21 "Hsiao hsing" in the *Shih-ching*,⁴⁴ with variants 實

³⁸ See *Mao Shih cheng-i* 18/4.6b (in *Shih-san ching chu-shu*).

³⁹ Juan Yüan notes that the *cheng-i* commentary to the *Shih-ching*, i.e. that of K'ung Ying-ta, cites this passage under Ode 282 with 寔 for 實 (*Tso-chuan chu-shu*, *chiao-k'an-chi*, 52.21b (in *Shih-san ching chu-shu*). The reprint of the *Mao Shih cheng-i* in the *Shih-san ching chu-shu* in fact reads 實 but the Sung edition reproduced in facsimile in the *Tōyō bunko sōsho* (ch.36.21a) has 寔.

It should be noted that the parallel passage to this in the *Chung hui chih kao*, one of the forged sections of the *Shu-ching*, reads 寔. This again suggests that the forger culled the passage from a text of the *Tso-chuan* which had this reading. In the *Tso-chuan* the passage is quoted from the "Cheng shu" 鄭書. Would the fact that it is evidently a quotation from a written text of some kind perhaps account for a departure from the normal *Tso-chuan* style? Subsequent alteration to the more usual 實 in the standard version would be easy enough to understand.

⁴⁰ Sung Hsiang 宋庠 (996-1066) made a collated edition of the *Kuo-yü* in the 11th century which remained standard for a long time. The *Ssu-pu ts'ung-k'an* reproduces it from a Ming edition. The Ch'ing bibliophile Huang P'ei-lieh 黃丕烈 (1765-1823) however, reproduced the Northern Sung edition of 1033 in his *Shih-li-chü Huang Shih ts'ung-shu* and, since then, this has been widely followed, for example, in the *Ssu-pu pei-yao*. There appears to be no way at present of tracing different textual traditions before the 11th century.

⁴¹ *Li-chi cheng-i* 51.10b (in *Shih-san ching chu-shu*).

⁴² See example (98) above.

⁴³ *I-li chu-shu* 26B.5b (in *Shih-san ching chu-shu*).

⁴⁴ See example (79) above.

in the Han version, and it also occurs in a few other places as a textual variant of 實 in the *Shih-ching*.⁴⁵

The commentator of the second century A.D. Cheng Hsüan makes two statements about 實 and 寔 which may help us to understand their relationship to one another. (1) In his commentary to the *I-li* he notes that 實 in the *ku-wen* version corresponds to 寔 in the *chin-wen* version. Basing himself on this statement and K'ung Ying-ta's above-mentioned quotation from a version of the *Tso-chuan* with 實 instead of 寔, the Ch'ing dynasty commentator Ch'ien Ta-hsin argued that Tu Yü had altered the text of the *Tso-chuan* to conform to that of the *Ch'un-ch'iu*. He thinks that K'ung Ying-ta must have been quoting from the Fu Ch'ien text, still extant in his day, rather than that of Tu Yü. He notes that the *Kung-yang chuan* and *Ku-liang chuan*, which have 寔, were *chin-wen* texts, while the *Tso-chuan* was a *ku-wen* text.⁴⁶ (2) In his own commentary to Ode 261 Cheng Hsüan says, "實 ought to be 寔. East of Chao and Wei 實 and 寔 have the same sound." 實當作寔。趙魏之東實寔同聲。According to Cheng Hsüan therefore the difference between the two words was (a) one of textual tradition—*ku-wen* versus *chin-wen*, and (b) one of dialect.

We may now consider whether there is any evidence from the side of phonology to support the idea that these two words are dialectal variants of one another. First, the difference of initial does not appear to be very significant. In the language of the *Ch'ieh-yün* (Karlgren's Ancient Chinese) 實 had initial *dz'*- and 寔 had initial *z'*-. According to Chou Tsu-mo, these initials, which had already fallen together by the end of the T'ang period, were also confused in sound glosses of the pre-T'ang period.⁴⁷ It is not certain, therefore, that the distinction between these two initials in the *fan-ch'ieh* of the *Ch'ieh-yün* really corresponds in all cases to an etymological difference. In some cases the distinction may come from a confusion of dialects, the same original sound being variously represented by *z'*- or *dz'*'.

About the finals, however, one can say something more. There is other evidence for a variation between *-t* and *-k* in Archaic Chinese in words with high front vowels, and this is no doubt to be attributed to a difference of dialect. The following may be noted:

(a) 卽—From the *Ch'ieh-yün*, Sino-Japanese, modern dialects, etc., we deduce Archaic and Ancient readings **tsjək*. In the *Shih-ching*, however, it rhymes in *-jët* and it has *hsieh-sheng* derivatives in both *-k* and *-t*. (See Karlgren, *Grammata Serica recensa*, nos. 399, 923.) This example is especially interesting because *chi*, in its uses as a particle, bears a resemblance to

⁴⁵ See Note (38) and *Mao Shih cheng-i* 2/1.8a (Ode 28). Under Ode 217 (*ibid.*, 14/2.6b) Cheng Hsüan comments that 實 is "like 寔" but does not cite a variant.

⁴⁶ Quoted by Juan Yüan in his *chiao-k'an chi*, in *Tso-chuan chu-shu* 6.17b.

⁴⁷ Chou Tsu-mo, *Han-yü yin-yün lun-wen chi*, 1957, p. 146.

實, and may be related to *tsu* 茲 (Archaic **tsjæg*) "this" in the same way as 是 **djak* (實 **d'jët*) is related to *shih* 時 **djæg* "this".

(b) 血—The usual reading of this character is **χiwæk* but Karlgren deduces an Archaic reading **χiwët* on the basis of its occurrence in the Han version of the Odes rhyming with 匹 **p'jët* and of the fact that it is related as a *hsieh-sheng* character to 血 **χiwët* "blood". (*Grammata Serica recensa*, nos. 410, 930.) On the rhyme with **p'jët* see (f) below.

(c) 囉—*Hsieh-sheng* connections and *Shih-ching* rhyme indicate **njək*, but *Ch'ieh-yün* and Lu Te-ming read **njət*. Karlgren attributes this to "confusion with synonymous 呢 (**njət*)" (*ibid.*, no. 777n). It seems much more likely that the words are dialectal variants of one another.

(d) 溢—Karlgren does not reconstruct an Archaic reading for this character, for which the Ancient reading is *jët* (*ibid.*, no. 1257a; *jët* in the revised edition must be a typographical error). He does not admit a phonetic connection with 益 **jək*. In spite of the difference of initial, as well as final, such a connection seems probable on semantic grounds as well as from the construction of the character. Cf. also 溢 **jët*, no. 1257b. The *Tz'u-t'ung* quotes 溢 翼 in Kuo P'u's *Chiang fu* (*Wen hsüan* 12) as equivalent to the binome 溢 益 in the *Yü-p'ien*. 翼 (Ancient **jək*; Karlgren reconstructs Archaic **giək* but one would normally expect a dental initial **djək*) normally means "drip" but the binome means "raging floods" and the commentator Li Chou-han is no doubt right in glossing it 暴 溢 滿 之 水.

(e) 幪 **miat/miet/mieh* "covering", "also applied to a synonymous word **miek/miek/mi* (Shi)" (Karlgren, *op.cit.*, no. 311f). There are several other words read **miek/miek/mi* meaning "covering" in various connotations. See Karlgren nos. 841a, e, f, g, 8530, 859. It is significant that for the last word mentioned, 鼎 "covering of a sacrificial vessel", Cheng Hsüan states that it is the *chin-wen* form corresponding to *ku-wen* 密 *mjët/mjët/mi* (*I-li chu-shu* 3.2.b).

We thus have another case in which a *ku-wen* form in *-t* corresponds to a *chin-wen* form in *-k*.

(f) 匹 There is some evidence that besides the ordinary reading **p'jët/p'jët/p'i* given by the *Ch'ieh-yün*, modern dialects etc. (Karlgren no. 408) this character may have had a reading in *-k*. The Japanese "customary reading" (*Kan'yōon*) is *hiki* and the *Shih-ming* glosses it with 辟 *pjək/pjək/pi*. *Shih-ching* rhymes in general point to the *-t* form (which other evidence suggests was dominant in this dialect).

(g) 悉 (Ancient *sjët*) and 𪛗 (Ancient *sjët* or *sjet*) (Karlgren does not reconstruct Archaic forms for these words). These words have the Cantonese readings *sik* and *sik* or *ts'ik* respectively. Since they appear to have the phonetic 采 **ts'æg/ts'ái/ts'ai*, they were probably originally pronounced in *-k*.

(h) 疑 Besides the ordinary readings **ngjæg/ngji/i* and **ngjək/ngjək/i*, a special reading **ngjət* is given by Cheng Hsüan which Karlgren dismisses

as "inadmissible" (no. 956). Nevertheless it may be noted that Lu Chih-wei suggests that it may have been read **ngjët* in Ode 257, rhyming with 資, 維, 階, (**tsied*, **diwöd*, **kad* in his system, corresponding to Karlgren's **tsjær*, **djwær*, **kær*).⁴⁸

(h) 覓 Karlgren gives the readings **ngieg/ngiei/i* and ?/*ngiet/yeh*. Ueda's *Daijiten* gives three readings: besides Kan'on *gei*, Goon *gai*, Kan'on *getsu*, Goon *gechi*, corresponding to the above, also Kan'on *geki*, Goon *gyaku*, corresponding to an Ancient **ngiek*.

Lu Chih-wei also notes the character 𪛗, not included in *Grammata Serica*, which had the Ancient reading *ngjët*.⁴⁹

(i) 𪛗 Karlgren gives the readings **t'jat/t'jät/ch'e* and ?/*t'iek/t'i* (no. 287h).

(j) 抑 **jək/jək/i* rhymes with words in **jët* in Odes 220/3 and 249/3. The first case is not noted by Karlgren as a rhyme and he does not reconstruct a reading **jët* in his dictionary but he does note the second case and suggests such a reading in his list of *Shih-ching* rhymes (*Grammata Serica*, original edition, p. 106).⁵⁰

There is thus a not inconsiderable amount of evidence of a regular alternation between forms in *-k* and forms in *-t* after high front vowels. This has previously been noted by Simon,⁵¹ Lu Chih-wei⁵² and Benedict.⁵³ Karlgren, who is generally unwilling to admit words differing in their class of final consonant (as between labial, dental and guttural) as being cognate, usually explains them away by the unsatisfactory supposition of the borrowing of characters for synonymous words. Lu Chih-wei on the other hand notes the regularity of the correspondence and contrasts it with the case of *-n~ng* alternations, which he is inclined to explain by a general confusion of these sounds in some dialects at the end of the Chou period (an hypothesis about which I feel some reserve). In the case of the *-k~t* correspondence however he supposes that earlier forms in *-t* have later developed into *-k*. His reason for choosing this solution seems to be that the forms in *-t* are in general the earliest attested, namely, in the *Shih-ching* rhymes. As Simon and Benedict have pointed out, however, etymological connections suggest that *-k* forms are the earlier and that the change has come about through assimilation of the final consonant to the preceding high front vowel.

Simon notes the following comparisons with Tibetan:⁵⁴

(i) Tib. *k'rag* "blood"; Chin. 血 **χiwët/χiwët/hsüeh*. Cf. (a) above.

⁴⁸ *Shih yün p'u*, pp. 120-21 (*Yenching hsüeh-pao Monograph Series*, no. 21, 1948).

⁴⁹ *Ku-yin shuo-lüeh* p. 225 (*Yenching hsüeh-pao Monograph Series*, no. 20, 1947).

⁵⁰ Cf. Lu Chih-wei, *Shih yün p'u*, pp. 83, 112 and *Ku-yin shuo-lüeh*, p. 225.

⁵¹ W. Simon, "Tibetisch-chinesische Wortgleichungen", MSOS 32 (1929) pp. 181-82.

⁵² Lu Chih-wei, *Ku-yin shuo-lüeh*, pp. 225-27.

⁵³ P. K. Benedict, "Archaic Chinese *g and *d", HJAS 11 (1948) pp. 199-200, n.6.

⁵⁴ *Loc.cit.*

(ii) Tib. *lčags* "iron"; Chin. 鐵 ?/t'iet/t'ieh. (If 戔 or 戔 is phonetic, the character is linked to a series with guttural finals.)

(iii) Tib. *ljangs* "tongue"; Chin. 舌 *d'iat/dz'iat/she.

(iv) Tib. *sig* "louse"; Chin. 虱 *sjet/sjet/shih.

Benedict also notes the last named comparison and in addition compares Chinese 節 *tsjēt with Tibeto-Burman *tsik "joint" (N.B. (a) above). He also notes certain cases with nasal finals where he thinks a similar assimilation has occurred in Chinese, thus: Tibeto-Burman *ning* "year", Chin. 年 *nien; Tib.-Bur. *sing* "tree" "wood", Chin. 薪 *sjēn.⁵⁵)

The evidence from within Chinese also seems on the whole to support the priority of the *-k* forms. One may point, for instance, to a probable connection between *miek "cover" and *mieng "dark" written with the same character 冥 (Karlgren no. 841a; note, however, that 841b has two readings: *mieng and *mien). Karlgren regards 呢 *njet "intimate" as cognate to 尼 *njar "near" but it is at least as likely that 隄 *njək is cognate with 若 *njək "conform to" and *njet is a dialectal variant of *njək. There seems to be every reason to suppose similarly that 寔 *djək is a derivative of 時 *djæg, and 實 *d'jēt a dialectal variant of *djək. (The vocalism should also be discussed. Suffice it to say for the moment that there appears to be a set of regular correspondences: -jək~-jēt, -jwək~-jwēt, -iek~-iat.)

My suggestion is therefore that already in the time when the text of the *Shih-ching* was established there was an important dialect in which *-t* had developed out of *-k* after certain vowels. Simon has pointed out that among modern dialects which preserve the ancient final consonants, Hakka regularly substitutes *-t* for *-k* after front vowels in just this way.⁵⁶ There is of course nothing to prove that this is not a relatively modern innovation in this dialect, but it seems not altogether impossible that it may reflect a very ancient phenomenon.

It would be desirable to locate the ancient *-k* and *-t* dialects geographically. The recent study of Han dynasty rhymes by Lo Ch'ang-p'ei and others seems to show that in the northeast there may already have been a general confusion of the three *ju-sheng* in *-p*, *-t* and *-k* in Later Han times.⁵⁷ This might account for Cheng Hsüan's statement about the equivalent pronunciation of 實 and 寔 in that region but it could hardly account for the regular *-t*~*-k* correspondence in *Shih-ching* rhymes and *hsieh-sheng* compounds. To account for this one has presumably to look farther back in time and closer to the early centres of culture. If we assume that *-k* forms are original, it presumably means that *-t* after front vowels was an innovation in a limited region, surrounded by dialects which retained *-k*. The

⁵⁵ *Loc. cit.*

⁵⁶ *Op. cit.*, p. 181, n. 1.

⁵⁷ Lo Ch'ang-p'ei and Chou Tsu-mo, *Han Wei Chin Nan-pei ch'ao yün-pu yen-pien yen-chiu*, Vol. 1 (1958) p. 64.

standard dialect of the script, presumably that of the Ch'in script reform and the Former Han court, *i.e.* that of the Ch'ang-an region, appears to have been a *-k* dialect; but it also incorporated forms in *-t* which suggests that the *-t* dialect already had considerable cultural prestige and was presumably one of the major dialects of the Chou period, emanating from one of the centres of culture East of the Passes. The association with the *Shih-ching* rhymes suggests the ancient seat of Eastern Chou in the region around Lo-yang.

The association of *-t* forms with the *Ku-wen* school contrasting with *-k* forms in the *Chin-wen* school which appears not only in the case of *d'jēt~*djək but also in the case of *mial~*miek (see (e) above) is of great interest. Though the evidence I have found so far is meagre, it is consistent. The matter must of course be studied in conjunction with the rest of what we know about the composition and transmission of these texts—an intricate problem. It is surprising that no one seems to have systematically studied Cheng Hsüan's commentary to the *I-li*, which distinguishes *Ku-wen* and *Chin-wen* words, from this point of view. The appearance of the *-t* forms in the *Ku-wen* tradition might be the result of those texts having been based on earlier written sources that reflected norms of the pre-Han period more than did the standard language of Western Han. On the other hand the *Kung-yang chuan*, a *Chin-wen* text, is said to have been written in the dialect of Ch'i in Shantung. This would not be inconsistent with the hypothesis about the *-t* dialect mentioned in the last paragraph, since we should expect to find *-k* dialects to the east as well as to the west of the innovating dialect. If the difference between *d'jēt in the *Tso-chuan* and *djək in the Ch'un-ch'iu and the two other commentaries could be traced back to the pre-Han period, it would seem to agree with Karlgren's supposition that the *Tso-chuan* represented a central dialect in contrast to the Lu dialect of the *Lun-yü* and *Meng-tzu*.

Conclusion

We may now offer the following preliminary hypothesis to explain the historical development of the demonstrative words in *d- (*d'*-) as revealed in the foregoing investigation. The oldest form, probably representing the basic form from which the others developed, was 時 *djæg- (level tone). This was used in a wide variety of constructions as a demonstrative pronoun "this". In certain situations where it was stressed it developed allomorphs in two directions: (1) 寔 *djæg' (rising tone) found in "exposed" position, (2) 寔 *djək (dialectally becoming 實 *d'jēt) in preverbal position. It is possible that the second development took place only in certain dialects and that both *djək and *d'jēt were absent from some forms of the language, the only stressed form then being *djæg'. On the other hand the textual variants of the *Shu-ching* suggest that 寔 may have sometimes been used for both

**djäg'* and **djak*, thus concealing the presence of the entering-tone allo-morph.

After the period of the *Shu-ching* and *Shih-ching* the unstressed form 時 **djäg-* died out being replaced completely by the stressed forms. The tendency for unstressed forms to be replaced by stressed forms can be illustrated by many other examples of which I shall only allude here to 我, which has completely ousted 吾 吾 as pronoun of the first person although in this case the process took considerably longer. In the case of the **d-* demonstratives the entering-tone form was also subsequently replaced by the rising-tone form (this was by no means universally true as we shall see in Part II). This may have been due to the replacement for literary purposes of the dialects which possessed **djak* and **d'jet* by one which did not or it may have been a historical development of the language.

Where two stressed forms existed side by side the different result arising from stress—in the one case rising tone and, apparently, also a more open vowel, in the other case the development of a voiceless occlusive final—is probably to be accounted for by the effect of different juncture phenomena. When occurring finally or in exposed position in front, that is, followed by a pause, stress resulted in the rising tone. This corresponds to Kennedy's observation about the rising tone in *wo*, etc. When occurring in close juncture with the following word, stress resulted in the unvoicing of the final consonant (and also in the replacement of a spirant by an occlusive if, as seems probable, Simon is right against Karlgren in thinking that the voiced finals of Archaic Chinese were spirant rather than occlusive).

Since the differences of position and juncture were also associated with different grammatical functions, the two stressed forms came to mark grammatical contrasts. Close juncture evidently characterized the subject-verb relationship, whereas the anteposed object and its recapitulating pronoun (when stressed) were set off by a pause in exposed position. The noun-to-noun relationships of attribution and noun predication had evidently, at least when stressed, open juncture. The secondary development of the use of 實 alone in noun predication without a copula implies that the form of the word had by this time become fixed, independent of the sentence prosody.

That the grammatical contrast is secondary is shown by the fact that 是 (like *wo*) can be subject as well as object. Example (54) with 唯是 as *contrasted* subject, but in exposed position because of the particle 唯, seems especially revealing in this respect. (One cannot compare 吾 directly with 實 since the former appears to be an unstressed form. Some other unstressed forms phonologically analogous to 吾 will be discussed in Part II.)

Of more generalized significance than the grammatical contrasts associated with these two stressed forms is probably the contrast between them in the direction in which they apply emphasis. As will be shown in discussing other sets of particles in Part II of this article, the entering-tone forms,

like 實, in general throw the emphasis backward—whether it is a case of pronouns or negative particles. A fuller statement of the theory must await the presentation of this further evidence.

As a final note it may be remarked that a very good analogy in another tonal language for the alteration of word tone by sentence prosody is to be seen in what Miss E. J. A. Henderson describes in relation to Siamese. According to her analysis, certain final particles and the anaphoric particle 則: (corresponding to *tse* 則), are bearers of sentence tone. She also attributes to the emphatic and intensifying connotation of sentence tone (what she calls "sentence tone *E*") forms such as $\hat{n}i$: "this", $\hat{n}an$ "that" and $\hat{n}o:n$ "that over there" as compared to $\backslash ni$:, $\backslash nan$ and $\backslash no:n$.⁵⁸ This seems to resemble—even to the sort of words affected—what I believe occurred in early Chinese.

⁵⁸ Eugénie J. A. Henderson, "Prosodies in Siamese: a study in synthesis", *Asia Major*, n.s., I (1948), pp. 189-215, especially p. 210.