

GRAMMATICAL NOTES

I

否 *fou*, 矧 *shen* and 尙 *shang*

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The first two words 否 *fou* and 矧 *shen* have been treated by Conrady in his paper "Der altchinesische Fragesatz und der steigende Ton"¹ where he first of all discussed them² as words which, although originally affirmative, are used in interrogative sentences (without final particles of interrogation); then as words which acquire, through significant tone-change, an interrogative meaning which is derived from the original affirmative one.³ 否 is then discussed in detail⁴, so as to strengthen the argument that "the adversative compounds are actually identical with double questions". 矧 *shen* has also been dealt with by me in a note to my article "Zum 44. Kapitel des Chou-shu".⁵ Nevertheless it seems to me that the discussions cited here require to be supplemented and the words under review subjected to a more systematic treatment.⁶

否 *fou*

The word 否 *fou* is to be found in Gabelentz *Chinesische Grammatik* in three places, *viz.*, in §600 (p. 247) to which, by the way, there is no reference either in the Index or in one of the §§ relating to the matter, in §1186 (p. 442) and in §1205 (p. 447), but he does not seem to have understood it clearly and nowhere summarizes his findings so as to give a distinct picture

¹ *Mitteilungen des Seminars für Orientalische Sprachen zu Berlin*, Jhg. XVIII, Abt. I, Berlin 1915.

² *Ibid.*, p. 20.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 23.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 28/29.

⁵ *Jubiläumsband der Deutschen Gesellschaft für Natur- und Völkerkunde Ostasiens*, Tōkyō 1933, I, p. 179.

⁶ In presenting these notes I wish to make it clear that I do not make any distinction between the genuine and the so-called "spurious" texts of the pre-Han period as far as the examination of the functions of auxiliaries, particles and pronouns, is concerned. The *basic meanings* of these words are, of course, stated with this obvious reservation until critical text editions are made available for our grammatical studies.

of its function. Nor does he treat it exhaustively, and his explanations are not always free from error. Thus in the paragraph (§1205) where he discusses *fou* in most detail, he mentions only one "pre-classical" meaning of the word, regarding its other meanings as only having come into use since the time of the Classics—to illustrate which he then, besides giving one example from Mêng-tzū, proceeds to give two examples from the Shu-king!—the second of which is quite wrongly construed. Here is a gap to be filled. Therefore, it may well be appropriate if I try to give a short survey of the use of the word at least in Ancient Chinese.

(1) 否 *fou* occurs—and this most frequently—in the second of a pair of contrasted sentences, e.g., (a) in affirmative sentences introduced by indefinite pronouns:

或聖或 | "some are wise, others not": *Shi-king* II, 5, I, 5.

或醉或 | "some get drunk, others not": *ibid.*, II, 7, VI, 5.

人涉邛 | "others may cross, I not": *ibid.*, I, 3, IX, 4.

(b) in an independent double question 害辭害 | "which of them do I rinse, which not?": *ibid.*, I, 1, II, 3. Yet, according to later usage, this forms an exception. Usually 否 *fou* functions in such cases conjunctively meaning "or not" (*an non* or respectively *neque*) viz.: in 攘其左右。嘗其旨 | "he takes (of the crops) be it right, be it left and examines whether it is good or not" (i.e., he takes from both sides and examines its quality): *Shi-king* II, 6, VII, 3 (cf. Conrady, *loc. cit.*, 28/29).

(2) in a dependent double question: e.g., 未知臧 | ¹ "when you did not yet know what was good and what was not (good)" (Legge): *Shi-king* III, 3, II, 10². 邦國若 | ³. 仲山甫明之。 "the lands and states, be they good or not, Chuang-shan Fu distinguishes it clearly": *Shi-king* III, 3, VI, 4. There may be some doubt whether these cases just mentioned above should not come under the category 1b, for although they, like the closely-related adversative compounds, are not, strictly speaking, double questions, yet it is difficult to draw a sharp line of distinction between adversative compounds—particularly when they are objects of a verb—and double questions. One can translate the first sentence from above: "you did not know whether (something)

¹ Later commentators read the | = *p'i*³ but that is in contradiction to ancient statements. It is true that this character somehow has the phonetic value *p'i*³ in the meaning "not good, bad, evil" (so already in *Yih-king*, Hex. 12 (?), Hex. 50). We have, however, to find out whether the readings and explanations are always correct (which, e.g., in *Yih-king*, Hex. 7 is certainly not the case) and whether the meaning has only developed from the usage of such compounds as the above.

² See Conrady, *loc. cit.*, p. 27.

³ With regard to 若 | cf. Gabelentz, *loc. cit.*, §600 the first example of which is hardly rightly construed.

was good, or not". Cf. Conrady, *loc. cit.*, pp. 26/27. I have taken them as a separate category.

(3) As the protasis of a hypothetical sentence "if not": 格則承之庸之, | 則威之 "when they come, then receive them, employ them, if not, then intimidate them": *Shu-king*, II, 4, 6. | 則侮厥父母 " . . . or if not, then insult their parents": *ibid.*, V, 15, 3.

(4) 否 in the function of a *verb* with the meaning

(a) "not to be", "not to have?" (without a subject): "there is not": | 德 . . . "it is not (I have not)(the necessary) virtue": *Shu-king* I, 3, 12.¹ The same phrase forms the protasis of a conditional sentence in *Shu-king* IV, 5 (3), 2: | 德亂 "when there is no virtue, disorder (comes)".² This 否 is also used in other protases, e.g., in Ilex. 7. | 臧 "when they (*viz.*, the laws) are not good . . ."

(b) "disapprove" (i.e., originally "negate"), e.g., 民 | 則 . . . "The people disapprove of it and then (they will rebel)": *Shu-king* V, 15, 5.³

This is so far the finding in the *Shi-king* and *Shu-king*. I have not examined the other early Chinese works about it, but if I can trust my memory, they will not make any alteration necessary. For the language in the classical works does show the same picture and even if there are some small variations, the *basic* meaning of *fou* remains the same. Indeed the later additional meaning, *viz.*, "no" ("nein") i.e., "it is not", "it is not so" is only the basic one coming to light again. For as shown the material in early Chinese texts 否 is certainly not pure negation, but contains the copula: "not to be", "not to be so". All its meanings can be derived from that. That is the reason why Gabelentz has entered it *sub* "Modalwörter" at least with the meaning "nein" and in contrast to 然 *jan* "yes" ("it is so").⁴ Parallel to this compare 然則 *jan-tseh* "so nun, also, wohlan denn" ("if it is so, then")⁵ with 否則 "if it is not so (si non) then . . .". The verbal element may well have come in through the position of *fou* as a predicate—as it is position which undoubtedly has carried other words into a new category. For as the graphic character and its frequent exchange with the simple 不 proves, 否 *fou* (Anc. *'peu*) belongs etymologically very closely to the pure Chinese negation (Anc. *put*) = "not", i.e., it was originally identical with it. Its different sound value can be easily explained by its occurrence in interrogative sentences. The interrogative tone has then together with the tone

¹ Not I, 1, 12 as Legge in the Index and Gabelentz (§1205) quote.

² Gabelentz, *loc. cit.*, §1205 takes | alone as a preceding clause, but that is certainly not correct because it goes against the structure and rhythm of the whole sentence.

³ Or perhaps better again as a conditional preceding clause: "When the people disapprove of it then . . ."

⁴ Cf. 然否 *jan fu* = "yes or no".

⁵ Gabelentz, *loc. cit.*, §669.

accent created the change of sound—a process which exactly answers the rules of the tone-change.¹

矧 *shen*³

矧 *shen* “how much more . . .”, “how much less . . .”, a word used in early Chinese texts, has not been treated separately by Gabelentz, and he also does not mention the word when he deals with its classical equivalent 況 (*kuang*).² Generally speaking, it functions grammatically in the same way as *kuang*, i.e., it can introduce a complete sentence, as e.g.:

不可度思。| 可則思。“(The approaches of Spiritual Beings) cannot be calculated; how much less should they be neglected”: *Shi-king* III, 3, II, 7. Or it may cause ellipsis of the verb, as e.g.:

| 茲有苗“(Entire sincerity moves Spiritual Beings), how much more this prince of the Miao!”: *Shu-king* II, 2, 21.

Shen shares also with 況 *kuang* the peculiarity that in the main clause that precedes the clause introduced by it, 猶 *yu* “still”, “yet”, “and so notwithstanding”, etc., often occurs. This is something that Gabelentz has failed to notice.³

猶 *yu* is found before 況 *kuang* in *Mêng-tzú* V, 2, IV, 5:

獵較猶可。而況受其賜乎 “If that struggling for the captured game was proper, how much more may the gifts of the princes be received?” (Legge). See also *Tso-chuan*, Ch. Cl. V, 12, etc.

The following are examples of *yu* to be found before 矧 *shen*: 猶 | 予制乃短長之命 “. . . how much the more I in making your orders short or long”: *Shu-king* IV, 7, (1) 12. (和彼鳥矣) 猶求友聲。 | 伊人矣。不求友生 “(Look at this bird) already he seeks the companion with the voice(?): how much more a (this) man! Shall he not seek?": *Shi-king* II, 1, V, 1. On the other hand 矧 is not connected with 於 *yu* and with the interrogative exclamatory particle 乎 *hu* (as is the case with 況).⁴ But it occurs very often in the form 矧曰 “how much the more, how much the less” (it may be said (?)).⁵

¹ Cf. Gabelentz, *loc. cit.*, §106; Conrady, *loc. cit.*, p. 20/1.

² Gabelentz, *loc. cit.*, §§745b, 757h and 1443.

³ This interesting word deserves to be examined in greater detail. It sometimes has the meaning “as if” (“ungefähr wie”) but more often the meaning “still” (“noch immer”). Cf. Gabelentz, *loc. cit.*, §1263. It is used to make 未 *wei* “not yet”, “not now” (“noch immer nicht”) more emphatic, e.g., *Mêng-tzú*, II, 1, I, 7: 百年而後崩, 猶未洽於天下. “King Wên died when he was a hundred years old and his virtue had not yet (猶未) penetrated throughout the Empire.” Legge treats the sentence as if it were a temporal subordinate sentence. I believe that he is wrong. It is a main clause which states the fact which then in the following is specified.

⁴ See the examples in Gabelentz, *loc. cit.*, §§745b, 1443 to which can be added a lot more, e.g., . . . 而況於人乎 . . . and how much the less man!": *Tao-teh-king* 23.

⁵ Or 曰 is perhaps an expletive which goes back to a pronoun.

- (1) 矧曰其有能¹格知天命 “how much less then should I be able to reach the knowledge of the decree of Heaven”: *Shu-king* V, 7, 1.
- (2) 矧曰其有能稽謀自天 “still more it may be said that they are able to examine the plans in the light of Heaven”: *Shu-king* V, 12, 12.
- (3) 矧曰其有能格 “how much less shall we make (the King) to attain (Shang-ti, Heaven)”: *Shu-king* V, 16, 16.
- (4) 矧曰其有聽念于先王勤家 “still less was he able (willing) to think obediently of the toil of their earlier kings for their house”: *Shu-king* V, 14, 9.
- (5) 矧其有乃室 “how much less may it have been that you might have been at home”: *Chou-shu* 44 (*T'oh-yih*).

尙 *shang*⁴

Gabelentz, in his *Chinesische Grammatik*, has dealt with this word very badly and has certainly given it less attention than it deserves, since it is lexically so many-sided and grammatically so interesting. He treats it only in §§309c, 1264 and 1266. In the first mentioned passage he gives it the meaning “bitten zu”, which, as we shall see later on, is much too narrow for its function as a *verb*. He makes no reference whatsoever to the position of *shang* in the sentence when it is used with certain words. In §1264 where he is dealing with 尙 as an *adverb* he says that it denotes “continuance” and connects it with 常 *ch'ang* (Anc. *shang*)² “constantly”.³ In §1266 he deals with | 亦 as a compound adverb, quoting an example from *T'a-hioh* X, 14,

¹ From these examples it can be seen that §538 of the *Chinesische Grammatik* requires correction. G. says there that 有能 means 有所能者 “Leute welche Fähigkeiten besitzen, Befähigte (häufig im Su)”, i.e. people who have capabilities, the capable ones (of frequent occurrence in the *Shu-king*). Quite apart from the fact that the supplementing of 有能 by the 所 and the 者 is unnecessary and even erroneous (since 能 alone has the meaning of physical ability cf. *Shu-king* II, 2, 14, IV, 8 (2) 7 etc.), it is also to be remarked that the “frequent occurrence” referred to consists of one single case, viz., *Shu-king* V, 4, 13: 人之有能有為. “When there are men who have ability and activity . . .”. For in the examples 1-4 quoted by me above, the meaning of 有能 cannot be “the capable ones”—partly on account of the general context, partly and especially on account of the 其. For as the example No. 4 and all the other sentences in the *Shu-king* with 矧曰其 show (e.g., *Shu-king* IV, 7 (1) 3: . . . 矧曰其克; *ibid.*, V, 9, 21: 其尙 聞; *ibid.*, V, 10, 9: | 曰其敢 . . .), the auxiliary 其 is here the modal particle and is always followed by a verb. Therefore, 有能 cannot be a *substantive* expression, but must be a *verbal* one. Moreover, a *substantive* would be followed by the modal particle. Besides, Gabelentz contradicts himself in §313 of his grammar when he translates the passage 有能 in *Shu-king* II, 1, 17, 23 quite rightly as follows: “gibt es Einen, der . . . kann?”

² 尙 *shang* is related to 上 *shang* “above”, “top”, etc., and has the basic meaning “above”, “over that”, “higher”, etc. See page 26.

³ Gabelentz gives a wrong translation in Example 2 of this paragraph.

and assigning to it the meaning "and in addition to, moreover" which is a doubtful one.

In view of this rather unsatisfactory treatment of 尙 *shang* on the part of Gabelentz, I propose to examine it in more detail, both as a verb and as an adverb.

A. 尙 a verb with the meaning

I. "to place (lay) over it", "to add".

(1) concrete:

衣錦 | 綢 "she dresses in broided robe and lays over it a plain garment": evidently an inaccurate quotation in *Chung-yung* 33, 1 from *Shi-king* I, 5, II, 1: 衣錦褰衣 "In broided robe, hid 'neath a garment plain" (Legge).

| 之以... " (ear plugs) to which one has added (precious gems)": *Shi-king* I, 8, III, 1-3.

(2) figurative:

(a) "to exalt" and the like, e.g.

| 志 "to exalt the aim": *Mêng-tzū* VII, 1, XXXIII, 2.

(b) "to place higher" e.g.

好仁者無以 | 之 "he who loves humanity has nothing to place higher" ("does not know anything higher"): *Lun-yü* IV, 6, 1.

(c) "to value", "to esteem", e.g.

辭 | 體要 "in proclamations one esteems substance and essentials": *Shu-king* V, 24, 8.

皇天弗 | "those not esteemed by Mighty Heaven": *Shi-king* III, 3, II, 4.

君子 | 勇乎 "Does the superior man not value bravery?" (Sapiens vir nonne magni facit fortitudinem?) (Couvreur): *Lun-yü* XVII, 23.

| 德 "valuing highly the virtue": *Lun-yü* XIV, 6.

何以 | 之 "why did all esteem him so high?": *T'ien-wên*, str. 12. From this is derived the meaning:

(d) "to wish", "to like" ("I should like"). But it is very frequently simply a particle forming an optative (or "respectful" imperative). Examples:

不 | 息焉 "who would not wish to rest (there)": *Shi-king* II, 7, X, 1, 2.¹

| 寐無覺 "I would I might sleep without awaking (anymore)" *Shi-king* I, 6, VI, 2 (3).²

¹ Question without an interrogative word.

² Legge's index to the *Shi-king* s. | shows a slight confusion and gives this quotation for both meanings "would that" and "still".

| 克時忱 "would that we succeed in being sincere": *Shi-king* IV, 3, 9.¹

| 可息也 "Would that it (*scil.* the firewood) were conveyed home": *Shi-king* II, 5, IX, 3.²

An interesting and important construction is found when 尙 is used with the second person of the "respectful" imperative. The person addressed is placed as subject at the beginning of the sentence, followed by *shang*, which is, so to speak, in parenthesis, and then by the main part of the sentence.

So in:

爾 | 輔予一人 "Assist, I pray you, me, the one man (to carry out the Heaven's punishments)": *Shu-king* IV, 1 (2) 4.

爾 | 一乃心力 "you, so I desire, unite heart and strength": *Shu-king* II, 2, 20.³

爾 | 明保予 "you, so I desire, want to enlighten and protect me": *Shu-king* IV, 8 (3), 10.

爾 | 克羞 "then you, so I desire, may be able to present food-offerings": *Shu-king* V, X, 7.⁴

So we find in the fixed formulas of the *I-li* the phrase 尙饗 *shang hsiang* with preceding subject in the meaning "may enjoy the sacrifice (may this my offering be acceptable to thee)" as direct wish (34, 5b, 35, 35a)⁵ or in the question to the ancestors "whether... might enjoy" (37, 4b, 37, 6b.) The construction⁷ just discussed is grammatically of particular interest because it has evidently helped to transform the verb 尙 *shang* into an adverb (about that later on)—a proof that the function can change the basic meaning and that Gabelentz was quite right to distinguish between function

¹ But as this is a sentence that precedes | possibly functions here as a conjunctive particle: "If..."

² The meaning of | is here not quite certain. Perhaps="still".

³ Or: May you unite heart and strength.

⁴ Legge translates in the text quite correctly "you may..." but in the index he puts the passage *sub* "still". Cf. *Shu-king* V, 14, 23: 爾乃 | 有爾士爾乃 | 寧幹止。 "may you have your lands, may you find peace..." where Legge erroneously translates | = "still".

⁵ Cf. Couvreur, *Le I-li Cérémonial*, Hsien Hsien 1916 (Section XIV), p. 539: "Puissent ces offrandes vous être agréables"; Steele, *The I-li*, London 1917, p. 125: "Please partake of some food".

⁶ Cf. Couvreur, *loc. cit.*, (Sections XV and XVI), pp. 542, 543, 583, 596: "Il espère que ses offrandes seront agréables"; Steele, *loc. cit.*, pp. 128, 159, 160, 167: "He hopes that the spirit will take some refreshment".

⁷ An analogous construction with 矢 *shih* "to swear" in parenthesis occurs in the *Shi-king*. So e.g., 之死矢 (=誓) 靡他 "until death, I swear, there is (=I shall have) nobody else": *Shi-king* I, 4, I, 2, and 永矢弗過 "For ever, he swears, he will not depart": *Shi-king* I, 5, II, 2 (see also str. 1 and 3).

and basic meaning. That 尙 "to wish" really belongs in this category, *i.e.*, that this meaning has developed from the basic meaning, is testified by the analogous use of 上 = "to wish" which is certainly not only a phonetic derivate, considering the peculiar characteristics of Chinese script.

上慎旃¹哉 "may he be careful (and come back to me)": *Shi-king* I, 9, IV, 1-3.

II. As verb with the meaning "to be above (higher than) others", *e.g.*

(1) *concrete*:

草 | 之² 風必偃 "When the wind blows upon the grass, it must bend": *Mêng-tzū* III, 1, II, 4.

(2) *figurative* with the meaning "to surpass":

莫能相³ | "not one of them is able to surpass the other": *Mêng-tzū* II, 2, II, 9.⁴

Thus far I have dealt with *shang* in its various *verbal* functions. But as mentioned above it is also used

B. as an *adverb* which performs a double function:

(1) with the meaning "still" which may intensify "moreover, besides, etc." or denote *continuance*, or be *concessive* ("yet, still, nevertheless" etc.); cf. 猶 *yu*.

Examples:

(a) "*steigernd*": | 亦有利哉 "and moreover it will be counted profitable as well": *Ta-hioh* X, 14 (a quotation from *Shu-king* V, 33, 6 which has: 亦職 | "and (also) certainly").⁵

(b) *denoting continuance*:

今吾 | 病 "At present I am still unwell": *Mêng-tzū* III, 1, V, 1. (In the well-known subterfuge of *Mêng-tzū* to avoid seeing an adherent of Mèh Tih.)

維今之人。不 | 有舊 "Among the men of the present day are there not any more with the old virtue?": *Shi-king* III, 3, XI, 7.

¹ 旃 is supposed to be an expletive; or may be explained = 之 (Legge), but its occurrence in the Ancient Chinese literature is too rare to establish its meaning.

² A strange construction. One would expect | 草之. | is functioning here = 上.

³ Cf. the modern compounds with 和.

⁴ On the other hand the following passage from *Mêng-tzū* does not belong to this category, but better *sub* Ib, *viz.*, *Mêng-tzū* VII, 2, XXII, 2, with the meaning of *shang* as "to prefer to" 禹之聲 | 文王之聲 "The music of Yü was preferred to that of King Wên"—(not as Legge translates: "The music of Yü was better than . . .") The meaning of | *shang* = "to go up, to rise, upwards, etc." seems to me likewise to be very doubtful in *Shu-king* V, 9, 21 and *Mêng-tzū* V, 2, III, 5; V, 2, VIII, 2. It is quite certain that in the last passage it is = "to wish" and this is also probable for the meaning of the other two passages.

⁵ There is a possibility that the meaning here is "perhaps"; then this function must be omitted on account of scarcity of examples.

(c) *concessive*:

(雖無老成人) | 有典刑 "(Although you have not old experienced men) there are still the ancient statutes and laws": *Shi-king* III, 3, I, 7.

(白圭之玷) | 可磨也 "(A flaw in a maze of white jade) may always still be ground away": *Shi-king* III, 3, II, 5.

尙 is also used as a *concessive* particle in the passage which Gabelentz in §1264 quotes from *Mêng-tzū* (III, 2, X, 6).

All these meanings can be derived from the meaning "to add".

(2) with the meaning "perhaps", "perchance", etc.

Examples:

邦之... 懷。亦 | 一人之慶 "The tranquillity of the state is also perhaps (caused by) one man's excellence": *Shu-king* V, 30, 8. | 或墟之 "Perhaps someone will bury him": *Shi-king* II, 5, III, 6.

| 求其雌 "(When the pheasant crows in the morning), so he perhaps seeks his mate": *Shi-king* II, 5, II, 5.

It is evident that the last meaning (*sub* 2) has developed from "to wish". In fact it may be doubtful in some cases which of the two meanings is intended; the boundaries fade away, *e.g.*, in *Shu-king* V, 30. 5.