

THE PROSODY OF THE SAO 騷 POEMS  
IN THE CH'U TZ'Ü 楚辭

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INTRODUCTION

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THE PROSODY OF THE SAO 騷 POEMS  
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The prosody of the *Ch'ü tz'ü* deserves study for more than one reason. Its apparent irregularities hinder the ordinary reader, who at present must resign himself to losing at times all sense of an effective verse structure. For the specialist in linguistics, there is also the possibility that the varying length of the line reflects phonetic features of archaic Chinese, for example stress, which are hidden by the superficially more regular versification of the *Odes*.

The present study will be limited to a verse form which predominates in the following eight texts:

- LS *Li sao* 離騷 ascribed to Ch'ü Yüan 屈原, contemporary of King Huai 懷 of Ch'u (reg. 328-299 B.C.).  
 CC *Chiu chang* 九章, third century B.C.?  
 CP *Chiu Pien* 九辯, ascribed to Sung Yü 宋玉, third century B.C.  
 ASM *Ai shih ming* 哀時命, by Yen Chi 嚴忌, c. 150 B.C.  
 HS *Hsi shih* 惜誓, c. 150 B.C.?  
 Chien *Ch'i chien* 七諫, c. 130 B.C.?  
 YY *Yüan yü* 遠遊, c. 100 B.C.?  
 CT *Chiu t'an* 九歎, by Liu Hsiang 劉向 (77-6 B.C.).<sup>1</sup>

Verse of this type consists of couplets in which the former line ends with the exclamatory particle *hsi* 兮 and the latter with the rhyme word. The commonest length of line is six syllables (excluding *hsi*), of which the fourth is generally one of about a dozen particles, pronouns and weakened verbs. We shall call this word the "key syllable" and mark it by underlining; the preceding and succeeding phrases we shall call the "A" and "B" members:

	A			key	B		
	1	2	3	4	5	6	
LS 1	帝	高	陽	<u>之</u>	苗	裔	兮
	朕	皇	考	<u>曰</u>	伯	庸	

"Scion of the High Lord Kao Yang,  
Po Yung was my father's name" (Hawkes)

<sup>1</sup> The dating is that of David Hawkes, (1) *The Problem of Date and Authorship in Ch'ü Tz'ü*, Oxford University doctoral thesis, 1955; (2) *Ch'ü Tz'ü: the Songs of the South*, Oxford, 1959.

References to *Ch'ü tz'ü* poems are to the couplets (outside *sao* poetry, the lines) as numbered by Hawkes. The edition used is that of the *Sü-pu pei-yao* 四部備要. References to other texts are to the editions of the *Sü-pu ts'ung-k'an* 四部叢刊.

I am greatly indebted to Prof. Hawkes for lending me a copy of his thesis and the manuscript of his unpublished concordance to the *Chu' tz'ü*, an invaluable aid to the study of this text.

In the *Li sao*, although not in all later verse of this form, the rhymes are in pairs, so that the couplets fall into quatrains.

We find at the key position a limited and curiously heterogeneous selection of words, which it is natural to suppose must have shared some phonetic feature distinguishing them from particles and pronouns not found at this position, possibly the absence of stress. If so, these words may well have been uncounted when they stood at other positions in the line, a hypothesis which might help to explain variations in the length of the line. In order to test this hypothesis we must first establish criteria for the key position and limits for the length of the A and B members. The lines of the *Li sao* contain from five to nine syllables:

5 syllables . . . . .	28 lines
6	281
7	55
8	9
9	1
	—
	374

In lines of five and six syllables it is generally, although not invariably, clear that the key position is the third from the end of the line. The following words occur at this position:

	Six syllables	Five syllables
(A) Two or more occurrences	之 65 times	7 times
	以 60	2
	而 57	7
	其 31	1
	乎 10	
	夫 10	
	余 7	
	於(于) 8	
	此 5	
	與 5	
	使 5	
	吾 2	
	無 2	1
	曰 1	2
	將 1	1
	有 1	1
	—	—
	270	22

## (B) Single occurrences

焉, 亦, 爲, 猶, 莫, 能, 服,  
和, 烏, 闍, 隆  
又, 可, 既, 改, 鳩, 駕

11	6
—	—
281	28

The single occurrences include a number of ordinary nouns and verbs; in these cases at least we must provisionally allow for the possibility that the key position is either absent or displaced. But we shall identify it as the third from the end in all the 292 lines in which the key syllable is attested more than once.

In lines of seven and eight syllables the key syllable is sometimes found at the fourth instead of the third position from the end. (In the single nine-syllable line it is at the third.) In spite of this complication there is not, as in shorter lines, a substantial minority of cases where its location is doubtful. There is always at either the fourth or third place from the end a word found as key syllable in shorter lines—and found, except in the case of *yen* 焉, more than once.

	Seven syllables		Eight syllables	
	Third	Fourth	Third	Fourth
之	9	1	3	
以	9		1	
而	4	1		2
其	1	6		
乎		1		
夫	3			
余	2			
於	1	1		
此	3	1		
與	1	1		
吾	1	1		
焉	1			
	—	—	—	—
	35	13	4	2

This table excludes cases where words already found as key syllables occupy both fourth and third place from the end:

	Seven syllables	Eight syllables
余之	3	
余以	2	1
乎吾	2	
與此		1
乎此		1
	—	—
	7	3

We can now establish the variations in length of the two members:

A member six syllables + B member two		1
" five "	" two "	4
" four "	" two "	38 (35 + 3)
" four "	" three "	2
" three "	" two "	278 (270 + 7 + <i>yen</i> )
" three "	" three "	13
" two "	" two "	22
		—
		358
		? 16
		—
		374

If, then, a word which can occupy the key position is uncounted elsewhere in the line, it will fulfil the following conditions:

(1) After the key position it will be confined to B members of three syllables, of which there are only fifteen.

(2) Before the key position it will be almost confined to A members of four or more syllables, of which there are forty-five. There may, however, be some trisyllabic A members consisting of two counted and one uncounted syllables. Since there are only twenty-two bisyllabic A members to 291 trisyllabic, this may be expected about once in thirteen examples.

It will of course be necessary to consider the syntactical combinations in which a word appears at the key position. There will always be the possibility of other combinations in which it is excluded from the key position and counted elsewhere in the line.

## PART I. WORDS WHICH RECUR AT THE KEY POSITION

1/1 *Demonstrative Adjectives* 夫 夫 and 此 此

As key syllables *fu* "that" and *tz'ü* "this" generally stand between verb and object. They are indeed the only words freely available at this syntactic position, and like the modal *ch'i*, used similarly as stop-gap between subject and verb, they frequently sacrifice most of their meaning in the interests of versification.

LS 77 浞又貪夫厥家  
"Cho also coveted his house."

LS 176 忽吾行此流沙兮  
"Suddenly I am travelling over the desert."

(*Fu* key also at LS 12, 14, 25, 38, 44, 75 (Read 夫 for 失乎<sup>2</sup>), 76, 79, 146, 160, 172, 184; *tz'ü* at 5, 48, 49, 68, 85, 92, 95, 110, 129, 156)

Outside the key position both words are confined to elongated A members. We shall therefore bracket them as uncounted syllables.

<sup>2</sup> Wen Yi-to 聞一多, *Ku-tien hsin-yi* 古典新義 (Peking, 1956), 363.

- LS 16 [夫]唯捷徑以  
 17 惟[夫]黨人之  
 22 [夫]唯靈脩之  
 51 [夫]孰異道而  
 71 [夫]何榮獨而  
 85 [夫]維聖哲以  
 87 [夫]孰非義而  
 151 使[夫]百草爲之  
 11 (Key uncertain) 何不以此度 (Cf. p. 155 below)  
 136 惟[此]黨人其  
 153 惟[此]黨人之

Contrast *tzū* 茲 “this” *shih* 是 “this” and *pi* 彼 “that”, never key syllables and found only in members of normal length:

- LS 72, 164 而歷茲  
 163 其若茲兮  
 164 惟茲佩之  
 15 彼堯舜之  
 132 豈唯是其

(Later examples: *tzū* CC (a) 44, (d) 13, ASM 4, CT (e) 11 (g) 27 (h) 24; *pi* CP 109, HS 36, Chien (b) 36; *shih* CC (a) 26.)

*Tz'ū* is once a pronoun in the *Li sao*, at the key position in the combination 與 *yǔ tz'ū*, “together with this”. As will be shown later, pronouns in general are uncounted in combination with *yū*.<sup>3</sup> Otherwise both *fu* and *tz'ū* are adjectival, and found in these combinations:

- (1) *Fu* before *wei* “only”, *ho* “what”, *shu* “which” (all these are counted words throughout the *Ch'u tz'ū*).
- (2) *Fu* and *tz'ū* before two-word nominal units, for example 百草 “hundred herbs”.
- (3) *Tz'ū* before a single noun and final *yeh*: LS 49 [余]不忍爲此態也  
 “. . . rather than bear to behave like this” (also LS 48. Later examples: CC (a) 27, 29, 30 (f), 31)
- (4) *Tz'ū* before a single noun in lines of uncertain key, where *tz'ū* may or may not have been counted. (LS 11. Later examples: CC (f) 11 未改此度 CP 51 以爲君獨服此薰兮 Cf. p. 158 (on keyless lines), p. 156 below).

Were these demonstratives counted before single nouns outside the pattern with *yeh*? Elsewhere in the *Ch'u tz'ū* certainly *tz'ū* was; the later

<sup>3</sup> Cf. p. 142 below.

poems differ from the *Li sao* in using *tz'ū* outside the key position both as pronoun and as adjective before single nouns, and they always count it:

- CC (g) 36 辟與此其  
 (i) 14 掩此哀而  
 (i) 23 證此言之  
 CP 45 逢此世之

*Fu* remains uncounted until almost its last appearance in the *Ch'u tz'ū*:

- CC (i) 3 [夫]何彭咸之  
 CP 49 竊悲[夫]蕙華之  
 ASM 1 [夫]何予生之  
 42 [夫]何以責其  
 HS 34 獨不見[夫]鸞鳳之  
 Chien (e) 11 [夫]人孰能不反其  
 (g) 1 [夫]何執操之  
 (g) 32 夫方園之

The only exception so far is in the latest text, the *Ch'i chien*. This lapse unfortunately forbids us to draw conclusions from the same text's example, unique in the *Ch'u tz'ū*, of *fu* before a single noun.

There is another exception in the *Ch'ou ssū* 抽思 of the *Chiu chang*, which I class separately because of doubt concerning its date. This poem, as we shall have several occasions to notice again, is almost without uncounted syllables.<sup>4</sup> It also twice uses *wu* 吾 “I, my” as object, a violation of pre-Han usage without parallel elsewhere in the *Ch'u tz'ū*.<sup>5</sup>

- CC (d) 18 夫何極而  
 1/2 Particle *chih* 之

*Chih* at the key position is nearly always the particle, not the pronoun. Outside the key position, the particle *chih* is confined to elongated members almost consistently throughout the *Ch'u tz'ū*:

- LS 39 於今[之]人兮  
 67 乎羽[之]野

CC (a) 14 Cf. p. 153 below

(b) 27 = Chien (b) 8 乎今[之]人

(c) 4 甲之晨 (= 朝) 吾以行 “It was on the morning of a Chia day that I set out”<sup>6</sup>

<sup>4</sup> The nine poems of the *Chiu chang* are various in date and authorship; Liu Hsiang (CT(f) 17) is the first to mention them as one cycle. Cf. Hawkes (1) 568-570, (2) 59-60. The prosody of the *Ch'ou ssū* suggests that it is not much earlier than Liu Hsiang (cf. pp. 128, 129, 136, 142, 159 below), but I shall leave open the question of its date.

<sup>5</sup> CC(d) 9, 22.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Feng Yen 馮衍 (first century A.D.) *Hsien-chih fu* 顯志賦 (*Hou Han shu* 後漢書, Biographies 18 下, 5B/9) 甲子之朝兮, 汨吾西征. “On the morning of the day Chia-tzū I quickly began my journey west”. Probably the second character of the cyclical date has dropped out of the text.

(d) 32 人[之]心不與吾  
 CP 55 (Key uncertain) 君之門以九重  
 "My lord's gates are ninefold."<sup>7</sup>

135 願賜不肖[之]軀而  
 Chien (b) 36 獨行[之]士其  
 (c) 5 Cf. p. 154 below  
 CT (b) 21 Cf. p. 151 below  
 (g) 9 叢林[之]下無...，江河[之]畔無  
 (g) 10 三苗[之]從以...，伊臯[之]倫以

In the *Li sao* the pronoun *chih* appears once at the key position in the combination 爲 *wei chih* "because of it". We shall see later that pronouns in general are uncounted after *wei*.<sup>8</sup> There are also cases at the key position where *chih* is the pronoun resuming the inverted object:

LS 138 覽察草木其[猶]未得兮，豈瑤美之能當  
 "When they cannot appreciate even herbs and trees, how can they judge the beauty of jewels?"  
 (Cf. also LS 161)

Outside the key position the pronoun *chih* is confined to normal or contracted members:

LS 5 又重之以  
 42 又申之以  
 102 繼之以  
 130 余占之  
 131 而慕之  
 141 而要之  
 152 而蔽之  
 153 而折之

The place of *chih* in the rhyme scheme presents some difficulty. Like the rest of early Chinese poetry the *Ch'u-tz'ü* sometimes rhymes *chih* with other words,<sup>9</sup> sometimes concludes both the rhyming lines with *chih*. When the *Odes* and the *T'ien wen* 天問 take the latter course they rhyme the penultimate words, and it is generally supposed that the *sao* poetry does the same. But words before final *chih* never rhyme in poems earlier than the *Chiu t'an* of Liu Hsiang, and do not rhyme consistently even there:

LS 130, 131 占之 \*TĪAM TĪəG 慕之 MĀG TĪəG  
 152, 153 蔽 PIAD 折 TĪAT

<sup>7</sup> As the text stands *yi* 以 is the main verb, and cannot stand at the key position. Probably a verb has dropped out of the A member.

<sup>8</sup> LS 151. Cf. p. 142 below.

<sup>9</sup> LS 141 CC(a) 6, 38 (c) 26, 33 (f) 13 (g) 5, 9, 11, 19, 23, 26 HS 18 Chien (g) 39 ASM 6 CT(d) 6(f) 7 (g) 26. Hawkes has fully tabulated the rhymes of the *Ch'u tz'ü* ((1) 577-608).

CP 105, 106 蔽 PIAD 汗 WO  
 131-134 知 TĪĒG 譽 ZĪO 得 TəK 鄣 TĪANG  
 Chien (g) 25 聽 T'ĪENG 剖 P'əG  
 CT (a) 13 叛 B'WĀN 散 SĀN  
 (e) 22 蔽 PIAD 進 TSĪĒN  
 (i) 27 As LS 152.

The second pair from the *Li sao* seems at first sight to make an acceptable rhyme. But according to Hawkes<sup>10</sup> most rhymes in the *Li sao* are "perfect", so that "if the finals of the rhyme-words are plosives, they are either both voiced or both unvoiced". This is an exception, which he explains on the assumption that "the rhyme-words are both subject to juxtapositional elision with the particle 之". Scholars who insist that the penultimate words must rhyme accept this rhyme and emend *all* other pairs earlier than the *Chiu t'an*.<sup>11</sup>

It seems therefore that the pairs of final *chih* can only be identical rhymes, although it must be admitted that other identical rhymes in the *Ch'u tz'ü* are of different words, even in a couple of cases where they are written with the same character.<sup>12</sup>

### 1/3 Modal Particle and Pronoun *ch'i* 其

The modal *ch'i* is the only key syllable commonly available between subject and verb, and the demands of versification consequently empty it of meaning:

LS 33 老冉冉其將至兮  
 "Old age is steadily drawing nearer."

The possessive pronoun *ch'i* is also common at the key position, although the *Li sao* itself has only a single example:

LS 121 余猶惡其佻巧  
 "I still hate his impudent tricks."

Both modal particle and pronoun are uncommon elsewhere in the line, and unfortunately two of the three earliest examples are inconclusive:

LS 35 Cf. p. 158 below  
 157 豈其有他故兮  
 CC (i) 4 Cf. p. 159 below

<sup>10</sup> Hawkes (1) 462.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. Wen Yi-to, ut sup. 368, 449 (where, however, he appeals to juxtapositional elision), 450, 472; Liu Yung-chi 劉永濟 *Ch'u fu t'ung-chien* 風賦通鑑 (Peking, 1961), 13, 53; Hawkes (1) 176, 325, 326, 372, 397. Commentators were aware that sometimes at least *chih* is an identical rhyme, until the progress of rhyme studies and textual criticism began to complicate the issue. Cf. Chu Hsi 朱熹, *Ch'u tz'ü chi-chu* 集注 (Peking, 1953) 1/19A/8, Chiang Chi 蔣驥, *Shan-tai-ko chu Ch'u tz'ü* 山帶閣註楚辭 (Peking 1958), 246.

<sup>12</sup> CC(b) 31 *po* 薄 "tangle" 32 *po* "come near". CP 4 *ch'ing* 清 "cold" (Wen Yi-to, ut sup. 444) 5 *ch'ing* "clear".

From the second example we must infer that *ch'i* was counted in the combination 豈其.<sup>13</sup>

But *ch'i* is clearly uncounted in the *Chiu pien*:

CP 42 惟[其]紛糶而... 恨[其]失時而

62 (= Chien (g) 12) 者非[其]人兮

64 [吾]固知[其]鉏鋤而

89 與[其]無義而

*Ch'i* is no longer uncounted in the *Chiu t'an*, nor in the anomalous *Ch'ou ssü*:

CT (f) 11 覽其志而

CC (d) 25 在其側

Unlike *ch'i*, the archaic possessive pronoun *chüeh* is a counted syllable:

LS 79 厥首用夫 (also 77, 116, 159, 164)

#### 1/4 Prepositions *yü* 於 and *hu* 乎

The prepositions *yü* and *hu* are almost unknown outside the key position. In the only cases they are uncounted:

LS 118 周流[乎]天余

CC (a) 27 懲[於]羹者而

Chien (e) 7 [吾]固知[乎]命之 (Cf. also (c) 10, quoted p. 143 below)

As Wen Yi-to points out,<sup>14</sup> the *Li sao* twice uses *hu* in the combinations *shih hu* "time on which", *jih hu* "day on which":

LS 28 願俟時乎吾將刈

"I wished to await the time at which I should reap."

LS 168 歷吉日乎吾將行

"I reckoned a lucky day on which I should travel."

This construction is also known with *hu* unattached to a preceding noun and acting as though it were a pronoun like *so* 所:

*Chuang-tzü* 莊子 ch. 33 (10/24A/3) 果惡乎在。曰，無乎不在。  
"Where is it in fact? There is nowhere it is not."

In the single instance which Wen Yi-to finds in the *Li sao* it is interesting to notice that *hu* seems to be a counted syllable:

LS 54 延佇乎吾將反

"I lingered until the time for my return."

#### 1/5 Conjunction *erh* 而

There are few instances of *erh* outside the key position:

LS 21 Cf. p. 148 below

CC (a) 34 [吾]至今[而]知其

<sup>13</sup> Cf. also 曷其 *ho ch'i*, CT(a) 12, quoted p. 156 below.

<sup>14</sup> ut sup. 356.

HS 37 Cf. p. 145 below  
Chien (e) 5 屬天命[而]委之

#### 1/6 Instrumental Particle *yi* 以

*Yi* "by means of" is one of the commonest key syllables throughout the *Ch'u tz'ü*, but serves this function only in certain patterns within which it seldom or never stands outside the key position:

(1) The formula "Verb X *yi wei* Y":

LS 22 指九天以爲正兮

"I pointed to the ninefold heaven as my witness." (Also LS 6, 23, 47, 58 bis, 64, 113, 169 bis, 170, 179 and later texts, passim).

In this pattern *yi* refers to an immediately preceding noun as instrument. But there are also a few lines in which the reference is to the preceding line or lines; it is interesting to notice that in these it is *wei* which stands at the key position. In the following passages the two usages can be seen in contrast:

CC (a) 41, 42 繫申椒以爲糧。播江離與滋菊兮，願春日以爲糗芳

"I ground pepper for my provisions. I sowed gracillary and with it planted chrysanthemums, wishing to use them in the spring days as flavouring for my food."

CC (e) 12, 13 離婁微睇兮，瞽以爲無明。變白以爲黑兮，倒上以爲下

"When Li Lou narrows his eyes to peer the blind think him sightless. They change white into black, topple the high and make it the low." (Also CC (f) 20, ASM 34.)

(2) The formula "Verb (object) *yi* instrument":

LS 3 肇 (= 兆) 錫余以嘉名

"He took omens and gave me a fortunate name."

There is an example of this formula in the A member with *yi* uncounted:

CC (c) 28 (= CP 108) 被[以]不慈之爲名

"They gave them a false reputation for unkindness."

There is another example with *yi* counted, but it is once again in the anomalous *Ch'ou ssü*:

CC (d) 9 (cf. 22) 憍吾以其美好兮，覽余以其脩姱

"He treated me haughtily because of his beauty, showed off before me in his fine array."

The structure of the *sao* line almost forbids the word order more common in prose, with *yi* and instrument before the verb. There is, however, a single instance in which we cannot so far identify the key:

ASM 26 終不以邪枉害方

"I shall never by crookedness injure honesty." (Cf. p. 143 below)

(3) *Yi* as conjunction between verbal phrases.

*Yi* sometimes retains its prose function in this position, to refer back to the means ("and thereby") or forward to the end ("in order to"):

LS 55 回朕車以復路兮

"I turned my carriage in order to go back."

More often it is little more than an alternative to *erh* 而 for linking verbal phrases:

LS 17 路幽昧以險隘

"The road is dark and perilous."

A point common to all patterns with *yi* as key syllable is the presence of a verb in the A member. There are scarcely any exceptions:

LS 89 固前脩以菹醢

"Truly the good men of old were minced and pickled for it."  
(Also Chien (c) 22).

Outside the key *yi* without a preceding verb is counted:

LS 2 惟庚寅吾以降

"It was on the day Keng-yin that I was born."

(Also CC (c) 4 (i) 22)

There is a further example with *yi* in the second of two verbal phrases linked by *yu* "also":

CC (g) 7 虛惑誤又以欺

"Bemusing him with empty words, and falsely deceiving him"  
(Hawkes).

This is remarkable since *yi* is not merely counted but also seems to affect prosodically the preceding *yu*. Elsewhere the latter is uncounted only before certain negatives.<sup>15</sup>

(4) *Yi* appears sporadically at the key position in the following combinations:

可 *k'o yi* LS 154 CP 118 Chien (g) 33

不可 *pu k'o yi* CC (d) 19 Chien (e) 7 (g) 32

不足 *pu tsu yi* Chien (e) 4 ASM 23

既 *chi yi* LS 128 Chien (c) 3

<sup>15</sup> Cf. p. 147 below.

In none of these combinations does it appear outside the key position. But several other combinations of interest appear in the A member:

CC (a) 8 所以證之  
CP 51 羌無[以]異於  
CC (a) 29, 30 又何[以]爲此  
HS 37 又何[以]異虜  
ASM 42 [夫]何以責其

1/7 Conjunction *yü* 與

*Yü* appears as a conjunction between nouns in two patterns:

1	2	3	4	5	6
X	<i>yü</i>	Y			
	X	X	<i>yü</i>	Y	Y

LS 9 春與秋其代序

"Spring and autumn succeed each other in turn."

LS 163 又況揭車與江離

"... and how much more the cart-halt and the selinea?"

The conjunction is confined to these patterns in some forty examples from the *Li sao* to the *Chiu t'an*. The only variation in either pattern is a case of the second with a single-word nominal unit before the *yü*, in the *Ch'ou ssü*.<sup>16</sup>

Why is *yü* the key in one pattern yet counted in the other? We can only suppose that whether *yü* was counted depended on the length of the units linked. We have already noticed a possibility that the demonstrative adjectives were uncounted only before units of more than one syllable. However, in both cases there is the danger that the versification has forced our material into a misleading shape.

*Yü* "together with" which is generally counted throughout the *Ch'u ts'ü*, will be considered in a later section.<sup>17</sup>

*Yü* is uncounted in the combination *k'o yü*:

CP 96 陰陽不可與儻偕

"The Yin and Yang I cannot keep up with."

(Also ASM 17 = YY 24 ASM 5, Chien (g) 41).

In the single apparent exception, the parallelism shows that *yü* is detached from *pu k'o*, a combination in which *k'o* was uncounted:<sup>18</sup>

<sup>16</sup> CC (d) 30.

<sup>17</sup> Cf. p. 142 below.

<sup>18</sup> Cf. p. 148 below.

ASM 2 往者不可扳援兮，徠者不可與期

"The men of the past one cannot pull back, the men of the future one cannot wait to meet."

1/8 Causative shih 使

*Shih* appears sporadically at the key position from the *Li sao* down to the *Chiu t'an* (which also uses *pei* 俾 in the same position).<sup>19</sup>

LS 177 詔西皇使涉予

"I summoned the God of the West to take me over."

(Also LS 100 bis, 177, 178. CC (a) 4. CP 132. HS 5. YY 48, 64, 66. CC (b) 5, 6 (i) 20.)

In this pattern *shih* always resumes a main verb, in this case *chao* "summon". But *shih* can also stand itself as main verb in the A member. In the single instance in the *Li sao*, already quoted,<sup>20</sup> the A member is elongated; but we cannot safely infer that it was uncounted, since it was certainly counted outside the key position throughout the later literature.

CP 132 今誰使乎譽之

"Who now would be induced to praise it?"

The use of causative verbs outside the key position will be considered later.<sup>21</sup>

1/9 Personal Pronouns *wu* and *yü*

*Wu* and *yü* are by far the commonest first person pronouns in the *Ch'u tz'ü*. In the earlier texts, the *Li sao*, the *Chiu chang*, and the *Chiu pien* (which has, however, few examples), these pronouns show remarkable and complex patterns of distribution:

(1) Subject, "I"

	<i>Wu</i>			<i>Yü</i>		
	LS	CC	CP	LS	CC	CP
Position 1	10	11	1	9	2	1
2	7			3	1	
Key	5	3		4	3	
	—	—	—	—	—	—
	22	14	1	16	6	1

(This table excludes the *Ch'ou ssü* and passages in the *Chiu chang* and *Chiu pien* which are not in *sao* style.)<sup>22</sup>

<sup>19</sup> CT(b) 6 (i) 7.

<sup>20</sup> LS 151 Cf. p. 124 above, 145 below.

<sup>21</sup> Cf. p. 144 below.

<sup>22</sup> CC (b) 3, 5-9, 12, 29-34 (e) 31-40 (h) *passim* CP 1-10, 15-32, 68-71. Cf. pp. 158, 160 below.

*Wu* is uncounted in lines of established key except for four cases at Position 2:

Position 1:

LS 48 [吾]獨窮困乎

97 [吾]將上下而

113 [吾]令蹇脩以

171 [吾]將遠逝以

187 [吾]將從彭咸之

(Also CC (a) 9, 24, 33, 34 (b) 4, 23, 27 (f) 17, 19 22 (i) 51 CP 64, all uncounted.)

Position 2:

LS 5 紛[吾]既有此

12 來吾道夫

38 蹇吾法夫

92 耿[吾]既得此

108 朝[吾]將濟於

110 澆吾遊此

176 忽吾行此

The lines in which the key syllable is not yet established all belong to a single causative pattern not yet considered. It will be shown later that in this pattern *wu* was a counted syllable.<sup>23</sup>

The distribution of *yü* is similar but not identical. It is uncounted only at Position 1 and not always even there:

Position 1:

LS 21 [余]固知蹇々之

25 [余]既不難夫

26 [余]既滋蘭之

41 [余]雖好脩姱以

49 [余]不忍爲此

64 [余]獨好脩以

121 余猶惡其

129 [余]焉能忍與此

158 余以蘭爲

(Also uncounted CC (b) 28, counted CC (b) 1, CP 36)

<sup>23</sup> Cf. p. 145 below.

Position 2:

LS 7 汨余若將

94, 174 夕余至乎

(Also counted CC (b) 10, doubtful key CC (a) 23 cf. p. 159 below)

There are also differences at the key position. *Yü* heads the second of two verbal phrases, in a curious construction which suggests the distortion of syntax in the interests of versification:

LS 118 周流[乎]天余乃下

"Having passed all round the sky I came down."

(Also LS 48, 90, 93, CC (a) 19, (b) 14, 18)

Grammatically, one can hardly analyse this except as two sentences: "(I) passed all round the sky. Then I came down".

On the other hand *wu* at the key stands in the middle of closely knit sentences, four of which have been quoted already in other connections.<sup>24</sup> There is one more example in the *Li sao*:

LS 65 雖體解吾[猶]未變兮

"Even if you dismember me still I will not change."

(Also CC (c) 4, (f) 29 bis)

It would seem that the exclusion of *yü* from the counting is connected with its position at the head of the sentence, that of *wu* rather with its grammatical function as subject. But in both cases there remain unexplained exceptions.

(2) Possessive, "my"

Position 1	<i>wu</i>			<i>yü</i>			<i>chen</i> 朕		
	LS	CC	CP	LS	CC	CP	LS	CC	CP
2	1	2		16	4	3	3	1	
3		1			1				
Key	1	2		6	5				
-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2		5		22	10	3	4	1	

*Chen* is always counted and, as in pre-classical Chinese, is exclusively possessive.<sup>25</sup>

Possessive *yü* at the key position is followed by *chih* 之 four times out of six in the *Li sao* and invariably in the *Chiu chang*. There is no doubt that

<sup>24</sup> LS 2, 28, 54, 168, quoted pp. 130, 128 above.

<sup>25</sup> Cf. W. A. C. H. Dobson, *Early Archaic Chinese*, (Toronto, 1962), 2, 6, 7, 1.

the whole combination *yü chih* occupied the key position since in each case in the *Li sao* there are three preceding syllables:

LS 20 荃不察余之中情兮

(Also LS 45, 70, 135 CC (a) 19, (e) 16, 21. But two preceding syllables in CC (e) 22, 24)

*Yü chih* is not found elsewhere in the line.

Outside the key possessive *wu* and *yü* are generally, perhaps always, counted:

LS 172 遵吾道夫

(Also CC (b) 22 (f) 19)

LS 18 豈余身之

(Also LS 32, 35, 43, 56, 59, 60 bis, 65, 88 bis, 91, 98 bis, 167, 180. CC (b) 12, 13, 17 (c) 31. CP 44, 45, 88)

In two apparent exceptions it is probably the particle before the negative *fei* which is uncounted.<sup>26</sup>

CC (a) 15 [亦]非余心之 cf. LS 32 非余心之

(c) 33 [信]非吾罪而

The *Ch'ou ssü*, which we are not using as evidence for the pronouns, again shows itself in conflict with the early prosody:

CC (d) 15 初[吾]所陳之

Possessive *wu* and *yü* thus resemble the conjunction *yü* 與 in being common key syllables yet counted elsewhere. As with the latter word, I can offer only the tentative suggestion that the possessive pronouns were counted before monosyllabic nominal units and uncounted before bisyllabic ones. There is also one small piece of evidence that the use of *yü chih* is connected with a succeeding bisyllable. One of the two cases of possessive *yü* without *chih* at the key position is also the sole example of a possessive pronoun at the key position followed by a monosyllabic unit:

LS 185 僕夫悲余馬懷兮

"The groom is sad, my horse yearns."

(Yü alone also LS 3, *wu* LS 54 CC (b) 18 (c) 17)

This is the one case of a possessive as first word of a clause, and may subject the *yü* to the same rule which excludes it from counting when it stands as subject in this position.<sup>27</sup>

<sup>26</sup> Cf. pp. 147, 159 below.

<sup>27</sup> Cf. *Chuang-tzu*, the only text where the Harvard-Yenching concordances record examples of *yü* (written 予) before bisyllabic units. In each case this text has *yü chih* (6/30, 51, 22/54); before monosyllables it has *yü chih* twice, (6/51, 7/10) and *yü* alone four times (14/62, 64, 24/30, 25/3).

## (3) Object, "me"

	<i>wu</i>		<i>yü</i> 余		<i>wo</i> 我		<i>yü</i> 子	
	LS	CC	LS	CC	LS	CC	LS	CC
A member	-							
Position 2	1		1					
Final			6					
Key			6					
B member					1			
Penultimate	1	2		2	1	1	1	
Final					1		3	
	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	2	2	13	2	2	2	4	

(There are no cases in the *Chiu pien*)

As in pre-Han literature generally, *wu* is object only in negative sentences where it precedes the verb. Two examples in affirmative sentences in the *Ch'ou ssü*<sup>28</sup> are among the reasons for excluding this poem from the pre-Han material.

In the *Li sao yü* 余 is object only in the A member or as key, in the following constructions:

(A) "Verb *yü yüeh* 曰/yi 以 noun":

LS 4 名余曰正則兮，字余曰靈均

"He gave me the name Cheng-tse and the style Ling-chün"

LS 143 告余以吉故

"He told me an auspicious thing."

(Also LS 3, 42, 45, 101, 120, 169)

(B) "(Subject) *wei* 爲/yü 與 *yü* verb":

LS 24 初既與余成言兮

"Having previously spoken sincerely to me . . . ."

LS 130 命靈氛爲余占之

"I ordered Ling Fen to divine it for me."

(Also LS 101, 170)

Elsewhere in pre-Han literature the character 子 is merely a graphic alternative for 余. But in the *Li sao* and also the *Chiu ko*, as Hawkes notices,<sup>29</sup> the character certainly represents a different although related word, which consistently rhymes with third-tone words, and generally

<sup>28</sup> CC(d) 9, 22.

<sup>29</sup> Hawkes (1) 533-534. He mentions the probability of a phonetic difference between the two *yü*, "even if the difference was only a tonal one". I owe the observation about the rhyme to Prof. Pulleyblank.

stands at the end of the line. In the *Li sao* it is final except in one case of negative inversion:

LS 66 其言予 (Also LS 105, 177)

71 而不予聽

In the *Chiu ko* it is final except in one case before the medial *hsi*:

*Chiu ko* (i) 4 子慕予兮，善窈窕

"Have you taken a fancy to me? Do I please you with my lovely ways?" (Waley),<sup>30</sup>

(Final, ut sup. (d) 2, 17 (e) 8 (f) 4 (h) 18 (i) 16)

The *Chiu ko* uses the level tone *yü* in exactly the same constructions as does the *Li sao*, and gives an interesting glimpse of them fitted into a different and freer versification:

ut sup. (c) 16 女嬃媛兮，爲余太息

"Reluctant, her handmaids follow her; for my sake heave great sighs" (Waley).

ut sup. (c) 28 期不信兮，告余以不聞

"She did not keep her tryst; told me that she was not free" (Waley).

ut sup. (f) 10 忽獨與余兮目成

"But suddenly it is me he eyes and me alone" (Waley).

*Wo* is always object in the *Li sao* and *Chiu chang*, as well as in the *Chiu ko*, where its two occurrences are before the medial *hsi*.<sup>31</sup> In the light of Kennedy's theory of parallel series of level and oblique tone pronouns,<sup>32</sup> it is plausible to connect level tone *yü* and *wu* on the one hand with third tone *yü* and *wo* on the other, as Prof. Pulleyblank has suggested to me. Like third tone *yü*, *wo* is found at final and penultimate positions:

LS 123 之先我

186 莫我知兮 (Also CC (a) 13)

However, the parallelism is not quite complete, since *wu* cannot serve as object in affirmative sentences even in the A member or key position. After *wei* "on behalf of", in one of the positions occupied by level tone *yü*, we have *wo*:

CC (f) 13 造父爲我操之

"Ts'ao-fu manages it for me."

<sup>30</sup> Arthur Waley, *The Nine Songs* (London, 1955).

<sup>31</sup> *Chiu ko* (i) 20, 23.

<sup>32</sup> *Re-examination of the Classical Pronoun-forms* NGO and NGA (Academia Sinica, 28 (1956), 275-282). Kennedy's opinion that the oblique tone form was the stressed form (criticised by Karlgren, *BMFEA* 32 (1960), 141-142) is surely refuted by the fact that in the *Odes* when *wo* recurs in the final position it follows the rhyme (cf. p. 156 below).

Moreover in negative sentences the inverted object *wu* can stand in the B member like third tone *yü*:

LS 7 之不[吾]與 (Also CC (a) 21 (b) 10)

As we shall see later,<sup>33</sup> pronoun objects are uncounted in certain combinations, after *wei* 爲, *wei* 謂 and *yü* 與, and in negative inversion. With these exceptions, the pronoun objects are counted syllables. The only doubtful cases arise from some puzzling variations in the length of A members containing *kao* "tell":

LS 143 告余以  
120 鳩告余以  
101 雷師告余以 (Also LS 169)

The second person pronouns are too rare for definite conclusions. *Erh* 爾 occurs only twice in the *Ch'u tz'u*; its single occurrence in *sao* poetry is as a counted syllable.<sup>34</sup> *Yu* is found three times in *sao* poetry:

LS 68 [汝]何博審而  
133 而釋女  
CC (a) 38 君問謂汝何之

"Would you not say 'Where are you going?'"

These examples are enough to show that the word was sometimes uncounted as subject in the same manner as *wu* and level tone *yü*. As in the case of *yü* the graphic variation may not be accidental; it is tempting to guess that the character was written without the radical when *ju* served as object in the B member. However, *ju* is always written without the radical in *Chiu ko*, where it is used possessively and after *yü* "together with", although not as subject.<sup>35</sup>

The use of *wu* and *yü* as key syllables continues throughout the *sao* poetry but with diminishing frequency; the *Chiu t'an* has only a single case of *yü*.<sup>36</sup> They are still often uncounted, but without consistency, *wu* sometimes being counted at Position 1<sup>37</sup> and *yü* uncounted at Position 2.<sup>38</sup> *Yü* 予 is used outside the B member<sup>39</sup> and given a level tone rhyme.<sup>40</sup>

<sup>33</sup> Cf. pp. 142, 144, 150 below.

<sup>34</sup> LS 134. Cf. CC(h) 9.

<sup>35</sup> *Chiu ko* (e) 6 (f) 19 (interpolated), 21, 22 (h) 1, 13.

<sup>36</sup> CT(d) 6.

<sup>37</sup> YY 56, 73 ASM 43 Chien (a) 22.

<sup>38</sup> YY 40 HS 1 Chien (e) 4.

<sup>39</sup> ASM 1, CT (a) 12. But it may not be a coincidence, although there are not

enough examples for complete confidence, that the *Ch'i chien* always counts *yü* 予 and never counts *yü* 余. CC (e) 9 悲不反余之所居兮悵離予之故鄉 "I am sad that I cannot return home, grudge being parted from my old country". Cf. (c) 15 [余]棄世[之]不知 (e) 4 憐[余]身不足以 (b) 10 之妒予兮 (e) 8 惜予年之 24 以送予兮. Cf. also (a) 14 (irregular measure, all syllables counted cf. p. 160, n. 89 below) (c) 32 (interpolation cf. Wen Yi-to, ut sup. 470).

<sup>40</sup> YY 47.

1/10 *Yüeh* 曰

*Yüeh* occurs as key syllable only at three places early in the *Li sao*, all quoted already, and in an imitation of two of these in the *Chiu t'an*;<sup>41</sup> in each it introduces a proper name.

Outside the key position *yüeh* generally introduces direct speech after verbs such as *kao* 告 "tell":

LS 131, 133 命靈氛爲余占之。曰兩美其必合兮 . . . [曰]勉遠逝而  
"I ordered Ling-fen to divine it for me. He said: 'Two beauties will surely meet . . .', and continued: 'Go farther afield . . .'"

LS 67 申々其詈予, [曰]鯀婞直以  
"They repeatedly scolded me, saying: 'Kun was stubborn . . .'"

LS 144 告余以吉故, [曰]勉陸降以  
"He told me a fortunate thing, saying: 'Ascend and descend . . .'"

(Also CC (a) 24, 25 (i) 51, all uncounted)

The reason why *yüeh* is counted in the first case is evidently the change of subject from *ming* "(I) ordered" to *yüeh* "(He) said", making the latter operate as a full verb. *Yüeh* also appears as full verb in the formula: "Verb X *yi wei Y*":<sup>42</sup>

CC (d) 7 (=LS 23, interpolation) 曰黃昏以爲期  
"He proposed twilight as the trysting time."

(Full verb also Chien (d) 4)

1/11 *Preposed final particle yen* 焉

The particle *yen* (\*GIAN) substitutes for a noun with preceding *yü* 於 as *chih* 之 substitutes for a noun object. Outside *sao* poetry it is common in the *T'ien wen*, where both *chih* and *yen* follow the rhyme word. In the *sao* poetry it is found only once after the verb; like *chih* it is a counted syllable:

LS 80 乃遂焉而

The *Li sao* also twice places *yen* before the verb, in a manner which, as Hawkes points out,<sup>43</sup> corresponds to the use of the pre-classical *yüan* 爰 (\*GIWAN) in the *T'ien wen*.<sup>44</sup>

LS 56 馳椒丘且焉止息

"I galloped to the hill of peppers and for a while rested there."

<sup>41</sup> LS 1, 4 bis, quoted pp. 120, 136 above; CT (b) 7 bis.

<sup>42</sup> For the formula, cf. p. 129 above.

<sup>43</sup> Hawkes (1) 541.

<sup>44</sup> *T'ien wen* 71, 79, 87, 121, 135.

## LS 84 覽民德焉錯輔

"(Heaven) recognises the man of virtue among the people and sets up ministers for him (?)."<sup>45</sup>

In both cases *yen* stands at the key position, like *chih* when it stands after the inverted object and before the verb. However, in the only other instance preposed *yen* is counted, perhaps because it stands at the head of the line, detached from the noun to which it refers back:

CC (c) 10 焉洋洋而爲客

"There endlessly I was an exile."

1/12 Particle *che* 者

In the *Ch'u tz'ü* the particle *che* is rare and generally follows single words, 來 *lai-che* "those to come", 賢 *hsien-che* "the worthy". In these combinations it is counted and rhymed.<sup>46</sup> It follows longer phrases only four times in the *sao* poetry:

CC (a) 27 懲[於]羹者而

CP 62 (= Chien (g) 12) 見執轡者非[其]人兮

"(The horse) sees that the one grasping the reins is not the right man."

Chien (g) 27 同音者相和兮, 同類者相似

"Sounds on the same note coincide, things of the same kind resemble each other."

CT (b) 14 執組者丕 (For the key syllable, cf. 149 below)

The cases of *che* at the key position are surely intrusions of Northern Chinese into the language of the *Ch'u tz'ü*. If the *Ch'u* dialect regularly used *che* after long phrases, and if its phonetics allowed *che* at the key position, we should expect to meet with the particle constantly. The *sao* poetry is notably deficient in key syllables which can stand before the verb (hence the perpetual recurrence of the modal *ch'i*) and *che* would have helped to fill the gap.

1/13 *Chieh* 皆 "all"

The *sao* poetry regularly counts the distributive words with final -K (執 *shu*/ \*DĪÖK, 各 *ko*/ \*KLĀK, 或 *huo*/ \*GIWəK, 莫 *mo*/ \*MĀK, the two last probably related to 有 *yu*/ \*GIÜG and 無 *wu*/ \*MIWO).<sup>47</sup>

<sup>45</sup> The sense of the B member has been much disputed. Liu Yung-chi takes *ts'o* 輔 as "discard": "... discards some of them and assists others" (ut sup. 27). Hawkes: "He looks for the virtuous and makes them his ministers".

<sup>46</sup> Rhymed *Chiu ko* (d) 38 ASM 55 Chien (a) 6.

<sup>47</sup> *Shu* "which, who?", passim. *Ko* "each", LS 31, 64. CC (e) 35 *Huo* "some" CC (g) 24. CP 106. HS 23 bis, 25 bis. CT (g) 24 bis. *Mo* "none" LS 82, 157, 186, 187. CC (a) 8, 13, 18, 19, 21 (b) 4, 10 (e) 22, 38 (f) 4. CP 61, 104. Chien (a) 21 (e) 13 (g) 33, 41. YY 20. CT (c) 31.

On the other hand it does not count *chieh*/ \*KəR except in the pattern 與...皆 (= 偕), "together with":

LS 30 衆[皆]競進以

CC (b) 27 與前世而皆然兮

"This is something we share with former times."

CP 63 鳧鴈[皆]喙夫

65 衆鳥[皆]有所

121 堯舜[皆]有所

HS 14 赤松王喬皆在旁

"Ch'ih Sung and Wang Ch'iao were both beside me."

It is no longer uncounted in the *Ch'i chien*, the last of the *sao* texts except for the *Chiu t'an*, which has no example:

Chien (e) 14 之皆然兮

(g) 34 衆鳥皆有

## PART 2. SPECIAL PATTERNS

At a superficial glance one might suppose that any "empty word" can stand as key syllable in *sao* poetry. But, with certain systematic exceptions which will now engage us, the vast majority of empty words are consistently counted and excluded from the key position, including all the negatives, all the interrogative pronouns and adverbs, and, very remarkably, all the pre-verbal particles except *chieh* 皆 and the much overworked modal *ch'i* (for example, *chiang* 將, *chi* 既, *yu* 又, *yi* 亦, *yu* 猶, *kou* 苟, *ku* 固, *tsü* 自, *tu* 獨, *sui* 雖, *nai* 乃). Apart from the empty words, the only example of consistently reduced counting noticed is the name Ling-fen 靈氛, counted as one syllable.<sup>48</sup> Reduplicated syllables count separately, and so does the adverbial suffix *jan* 然.<sup>49</sup>

However, there are a number of special patterns in which normally counted words are uncounted or stand at the key position. These patterns are potentially of great linguistic significance. If the *Ch'u tz'ü* prosody reflects the stress system of the *Ch'u* dialect (an attractive hypothesis the development of which is outside the scope of this essay) we can easily identify all regularly stressless syllables, but so far we have no means of distinguishing degrees of stress among the counted syllables. But if in a recurring combination of two normally counted syllables one regularly ceases to be counted, we have evidence that the other was the more strongly stressed.

<sup>48</sup> LS 130, 140, 168.

<sup>49</sup> LS 67, 152.

2/1 Constructions with *wei* 爲 “on behalf of”, *yü* 與 “together with”, *yi* 以 “by means of”

We have seen that pronoun objects are regularly counted, even *yü* 余 “me” and *chih* 之 “him, her, it”. But after *wei*, *yü*, and *yi*, they are common at the key position:

LS 131 命靈氛爲余占之

“I ordered Ling-fen to divine it for me.”

(Also LS 101 YY 59 CT (d) 6. Cf. LS 170, key uncertain cf. p. 157 below)

LS 151 使[夫]百草爲之不芳

“... so that because of it the hundred herbs are not fragrant.”

(Also ASM 57. Cf. CC (g) 22 而爲[之]禁兮)

CC (f) 13 造父爲我操之

“Ts’ao-fu manages him for me.” (Also CT (d) 6)

LS 24 初既與余成言兮

“Having formerly spoken sincerely with me . . . .”

LS 129 [余]焉能忍與此終古

“How can I bear to be with this man for ever?”

Ch’ou ssü, CC (d) 7 昔君與我誠言兮

“Formerly my lord spoke sincerely with me.”

(d) 15 衆果以我爲患

“The crowd eventually thought me troublesome.”

In each case the preposition and pronoun precede the verb. In a single case where they follow the verb the pronoun is counted:

CC (g) 36 辟(=譬)與此其無異

“Compared with this there is no difference.”

The only other cases where the pronoun is counted are in the Ch’ou ssü and in texts of the last century B.C.:

CC (d) 10 與余言而 . . . . 蓋爲余而

YY 84 爲余先乎

CT (g) 27 反以茲爲

Where these prepositions precede a noun, we find more than one prosodic pattern. If the verb is the normally counted *wei* 爲 “make” (or in one case *tso* 作) it seems regularly to stand in the key position, although it is not clear that the examples are strictly analogous. The same applies to the late example just quoted of a counted pronoun after *yi*:

LS 158 余以蘭爲可恃兮

“I thought the orchid could be trusted.”

LS 187 既莫足與爲美政兮

“Since there is no one good enough to join with in carrying out good government . . . .”

ASM 29 爲鳳皇作鶉籠兮

“If you make a quail’s cage for the phoenix . . . .”

CT (g) 27 反以茲爲厲也

“On the contrary they think this putrid.”

There are scarcely any examples of other verbs after *wei* and *yi* with dependent nouns, but there are a number after *yü*. In some of these the line is fitted with an ordinary key syllable:

ASM 56 與赤松而結友兮

“I make friends with Ch’ih Sung.”

Chien (g) 5 玉與石其同價兮

“Jade and stone have the same box.”

(Also CC (b) 27, (d) 32, Chien (f) 8, CT (i) 4. With pronouns or *wei* “make”, CC (d) 10, YY 89)

But we also find a very remarkable pattern in which *yü* is followed by a bisyllabic nominal unit with the second syllable in the key position. It would seem that when *yü* preceded a phrase of more than one syllable immediately before the verb, the last syllable of the phrase ceased to be counted:

CP 80 (emended) (50) 汨與野草同死

“I shall soon die with the grass of the moors.”

ASM 33 隴廉與孟媿同宮

“Lung Lien and Meng Tsou have the same palace.”

Chien (a) 11 與麋鹿同坎

“I shall share a pit with the deer.”

Chien (c) 10 偏與[乎]玄英異色

“I insist on a colour different from their black splendour.”

CC (d) 21 與美人抽怨兮

“I explained my grievance to the beautiful one.”

CT (i) 4 欲與天地參壽兮，與日月而比榮

“I wish to live as long as heaven and earth, as splendidly as the sun and moon.”

The single example of *yi* before a bisyllabic unit shares the same pattern:

ASM 26 終不以邪枉害方

“I shall never by crookedness injure honesty.”

<sup>50</sup> For 汨 the present text has 汨 followed by 莽兮. Cf. Hawkes (1) 322.

There are a few cases of *wei* "for (me)" and *yü* "together with (me, them)" immediately before the verb. They are at the key position:

CC (a) 3 戒六神與誓服

"I summon the Six to appear with me in witness" (Hawkes)  
(Also CC (a) 42, key. But also YY 14, counted)

Chien (g) 39 世孰可爲明之

"Who in the world could explain it for me?"

2/2 Constructions with *wei* 謂, "call"

The pronoun object after *wei* "call" ceases to be counted:

LS 45 謠詠謂[余]以善淫

"They slanderously describe me as wanton."

CC (a) 33 忽謂之過言

"Too soon I dismissed it as mistaken." (Also CC (e) 11)

*Wei* "call" resembles the prepositions just considered also in shifting a succeeding *wei* "make" to the key position:

Chien (c) 25 訟謂閻媼爲醜惡

"He accuses Lü Chü of being ugly."

2/3 Causative Patterns

We have seen that *shih* 使 "cause to" is common at the key position resuming a causative verb earlier in the line. When *shih* is itself in the A member it is counted. The key syllable is in two cases *wei* "make":

CC (g) 14 使芳草爲藪幽

"He has let the fragrant flowers stay hidden in the grove."  
(Also CC (g) 16)

Adding these examples to those discussed in previous sections, we have now accounted for every occurrence of *wei* "make" as key syllable in the *Ch'u tz'ü*. Since it is otherwise a counted syllable, we may conclude that *wei* was uncounted only when dependent on the main verb. (Even *yi* and *yü* are main verbs in this construction, literally "use" and "associate with", although it is convenient to class them as prepositions when themselves dependent on the main verb, "by means of", "together with".)

Causative patterns resemble patterns with *yi* and *yü* also in their treatment of bisyllabic nominal units. These sometimes fit into lines with ordinary key syllables:

LS 113 [吾]令蹇倚以爲理

"I ordered Chien Hsiu to serve as go-between."

(Also LS 130, CC (a) 4, (c) 3, (f) 27, Chien (b) 16, (g) 28, YY 47)

But more often there is no ordinary key syllable. This is a very striking feature of the causative patterns, already noticed by Hoshikawa.<sup>51</sup> It can be described in the same terms as the similar anomaly after *yi* and *yü*: when the causative word precedes a phrase of more than one syllable immediately before the verb, the last syllable of the phrase is uncounted. The *Li sao* contains four examples, which account for every occurrence but one in the poem of a noun in the third place from the end of the line:

LS 96 吾令羲和弭節兮

"I command Hsi-ho to slacken the pace."

LS 102 吾令鳳鳥飛騰兮

"I command the phoenix to fly up."

LS 105 吾令帝閭闢關兮

"I command God's porter to unbar the gate."

LS 112 吾令豐隆乘雲兮

"I command Feng Lung to ride the clouds."

Examples continue to appear down to the second century B.C.:

CC (a) 24 吾使厲神占之兮

"I make the God of Plague divine it."

(With *shih* also ASM 57 YY 77)

There are two cases in which the bisyllabic unit is inside the A member. In both the member is elongated:

LS 151 (Cf. p. 132 above) 使[夫]百[草]爲之

HS 37 使麒麟[可得羈]而[係]兮

"Supposing that the unicorn could be captured and bound."<sup>52</sup>

I have noticed only a single example of a monosyllabic unit after a causative word. It is at the key position:

LS 120 吾令鳩爲媒兮

"I command the magpie to be go-between."

The last text to use causative sentences without ordinary key syllables is the *Yüan yü*, which seems no longer to understand their principle. It twice puts the verb at the key position.<sup>53</sup>

<sup>51</sup> Hoshikawa Kiyotaka 星川清孝, *Soji no kenkyū 楚辭の研究* (Nara, 1961), 92, 103.

<sup>52</sup> I have noticed no other example of *te* after *k'o* 可; but since it was undoubtedly uncounted after a negative (cf. p. 149 below) there is no difficulty in taking it as key syllable.

<sup>53</sup> YY 75, 77. Cf. p. 155 below.

2/4 *Prepositions* tsai 在, tzü 自, yu 由

*Tsai* "be in" and *tzü, yu* "come from (a source)", "come by (a route)", are generally full verbs and counted. This is true even of certain cases of *tzü* conveniently translated by a preposition in English:

LS 50 自前世而固然

"It has definitely been so since former times" (literally, "coming down from former times").

CC (g) 29 自前世之嫉賢兮

"Those envious of worth since former times . . ."

(*Tzü* also Chien (h) 8, *yu* CC (g) 16 YY 10, *tsai* CC (a) 35 bis

HS 14 Chien (b) 17 (e) 23 CT (h) 24.)

These words may be treated as prepositions when they depend on a main verb. They then cease to be counted:

CC (d) 19 善不由外來兮

"Good does not come from outside."

(d) 25 [又] 無良媒在其側

" . . . and with no good go-between near at hand."

(f) 23 竊快在中心兮

"Secretly I rejoice in my innermost heart."

(f) 24 羌芳華自中出

"The fragrant blossoms come from within."

It may be noticed that the use of these words as prepositions is confined to two poems of the *Chiu chang*, one of them the *Ch'ou ssü*.

2/5 *Yu* 猶 before negatives

Except before negatives, *yu* "still" is always a counted syllable:

LS 121 余猶惡其

150 時亦猶其未央

"While the season is still not yet over."

(Also CC (a) 28 CP 73, Chien (e) 10, ASM 25)

Wen Yi-to was puzzled by the position of *ch'i* between *yu* and the negative in the latter example, and proposed to shift it one place back.<sup>54</sup> But the *ch'i* is necessary precisely in order to separate *yu* from the negative and so retain it as a counted syllable, making up the three syllables of the A member. When *yu* immediately precedes a negative it ceases to be counted:

LS 165 芬至今猶未沫

"To this very day the scent has not faded."

(At key before negative also CC (f) 9 (g) 4 CT (c) 23 bis)

<sup>54</sup> *ur sup.* 371.

When it follows *ch'i*, in the order preferred by Wen Yi-to, it is as uncounted syllable in the B member:

LS 43, 88 其[猶]未悔

61 其[猶]未虧

138 其[猶]未得兮

(Uncounted after key also LS 65 CT (i) 26)

Although the negative after *yu* is nearly always *wei* "not yet", in one case it is *fu* 弗:

CC (g) 4 雖過失猶弗治

"Even when I erred he did not punish me."

At the very end of the *sao* tradition there is one case of *yu* counted before a negative:

CT (f) 17 猶未殫於

2/6 *Yi* 亦 before *ho* 何 and before Negatives

*Yi* appears twice in the *Li sao* at the key or uncounted in the B member:

LS 29 其[亦]何傷兮

35 長嘯頷亦何傷

"What does it matter that I am always sallow checked?"

In both cases *yi* precedes *ho* "what?" Elsewhere in the *Li sao* it is always counted:

LS 43 亦余心之

59 其亦已兮

150 時亦猶其

This particle is rare in *sao* poetry and confined to the earlier poems:

CC (a) 15 [亦]非余心之

(i) 21 豈(=時)[亦]冉冉而

CP 74 鳳[亦]不貪饕而

110 亦多端而

It seems that *yi* was uncounted before negatives. I can offer no explanation for the second example, in which *jan-jan* undoubtedly counts as two syllables<sup>55</sup>.

2/7 *Yu* 又 before Negatives

*Yu* is a common particle throughout the *Ch'u tz'ü* and is generally counted. Unlike *yi* 亦, it is counted before *ho* "what?":

LS 154 又何可以

(Also LS 146, 161, 186 CC (a) 16, 18, (b) 27 HS 37 Chien (g) 23, 24)

<sup>55</sup> Cf. LS 33, CP 98, HS 21, ASM 6, Chien (g) 7.

In addition to an example already considered,<sup>56</sup> *yu* is found twice as key syllable:

LS 128 哲王又不寤

"The wise king still does not wake."

CC (a) 21 進號呼又莫[吾]聞

"If I entered and shouted, still no one would hear me."

In both cases *yu* precedes a negative. But it must be admitted that the other cases of *yu* before a negative give inconsistent evidence:

CC (a) 19 又莫察余之

CP 82 又未知其

ASM 12 [又]無羽翼而

Ch'ou ssü CC (d) 25 [又]無良媒在

2/8 K'ò 可 and *tsu* 足 in negative Sentences

In the *Ch'u tz'ü*, as elsewhere in early Chinese literature, the verb is active after *k'ò yi* 以 and *tsu yi*, passive after *k'ò* and *tsu* alone. We have already noticed that the *yi* is uncounted in the former construction (and also that *yü* 與 is uncounted in *k'ò yü*).<sup>57</sup> In the latter construction *k'ò* is counted in affirmative sentences but uncounted after the negative *pu*. In nine cases *k'ò* is at the key position:

LS 70 衆不可戶說兮

"The crowd cannot be convinced door by door."

(Also CC (a) 11, 20 (f) 2 YY 27 Chien (a) 20 bis ASM 2 bis)

In the same construction we find *k'ò* twenty-one times, from the *Li sao* down to the *Chiu t'an*, inflating the B member to three syllables:

LS 137 其不[可]佩

CT (f) 12 而不[可]得

This is most obvious in the *Pei hui feng* 北回風, the last poem in the *Chiu chang*, where the pattern appears nine times, in every trisyllabic B member but nowhere else.

*Pu tsu* is found only once immediately before the verb:

CP 124 之不[足]特兮

2/9 Neng 能 in negative and interrogative Sentences

In negative sentences *neng* "be able" appears once in the key position:

LS 21 忍[而]不能舍也

"I endure and cannot give it up."

(Since it is hardly conceivable that the *erh* 而 is counted, we must postulate a bisyllabic A member)

<sup>56</sup> CC (g) 7. Cf. p. 130 above.

<sup>57</sup> Cf. p. 131 above.

We also find *neng* uncounted in the A member:

CC (b) 23 [吾]不[能]變心而

ASM 12 勢不[能]凌波以

Like *pu k'ò*, *pu neng* also inflates the B member:

ASM 19 而不[能]行 (Also ASM 43, 61 CT (g) 6 (h) 17)

The latest of the texts, the *Chiu t'an*, has a curious example with the negative *pu* in the key position:

CT (b) 14 執組者不能制兮

"The man holding the reins cannot control them."

The *Chiu t'an* shows a similar idiosyncrasy with negative sentences in which the pronoun object is inverted. The point will be considered later.<sup>58</sup>

When *neng* follows an interrogative pronoun or adverb the line is sometimes inflated, but it is not easy to identify the uncounted syllable. It seems clear that *neng* was counted, and so was the next syllable if at the end of the member:

CC (i) 26 孰能思而 (Also ASM 41, Chien (e) 13)

It was apparently a syllable between *neng* and another counted syllable which was uncounted:

LS 162 又孰能無變化

"Who can be without change?"

LS 129 [余]焉能[忍]與此

Chien (c) 34 安能[久]見此

(e) 11 [夫]人孰能[不]反其

2/10 Te 得 and kan 敢 in negative Sentences

Negated *te* before the verb is confined to a couple of texts of the second century B.C.:

ASM 48 而不[得]息

(In B member also ASM 76 Chien (c) 11 (g) 35, all uncounted)

Chien (c) 27 卒不[得]效其

There is only a single case of *pu kan* "not presume", in the *Chiu pien*. Evidently one syllable was uncounted, but it is not clear which:

CP 76 竊不敢忘初之

(The deprecatory *ch'ieh* is generally uncounted in this text.)<sup>59</sup>

<sup>58</sup> Cf. p. 150 below.

<sup>59</sup> CP 49, 85, 91, 106. But counted CP 33, 116, as well as CC (f) 23 (i) 10.

2/11 *The Inversion of the Pronoun Object in negative Sentences*

The pattern "Negative—pronoun object—verb" occasionally occupies the three syllables of the A member:

LS 59 不吾知其 (Also CT (a) 7 only)

But much more often the pattern is compressed into the normally bisyllabic B member, implying that one syllable was uncounted:

LS 7 之不[吾]與

71 而不[予]聽

CC (a) 13 其莫[我]忠兮

18 而莫[之]白

21 而莫[余]知兮 . . . 又莫[吾]聞

(Also CC (b) 4, 10 CT (a) 9 bis (b) 1 bis)

It can hardly be doubted that in these instances the uncounted syllable was the pronoun. Although it might be possible to take the negative as an uncounted syllable after the key position,<sup>60</sup> there seem to be no other cases of uncounted syllables after *erh* 而. Moreover in one case the key syllable is *yu* 又, uncounted only before a negative<sup>61</sup> which must itself have been counted.

On the hypothesis that the counting of syllables reflects phonetic stress patterns, which in turn presumably reflect relationships of syntactic prominence, one might ask what happens when the pronoun is itself the syntactically prominent word. There is one late but clear example of this, with the pronoun contrasting with a noun in the next line; it is interesting to notice that the negative has been pushed back to the key position, leaving the pronoun as a counted syllable. There is an instance with the pronoun uncounted only two lines before.

CT (b) 1, 3 靈懷其不[吾]知兮, 靈懷其不[吾]聞 . . . . 靈懷  
會不吾與兮, 即聽夫人之諛辭

"The Loved One does not appreciate me, the Loved One does not hear me . . . . The Loved One will have nothing to do with me, it is the flattery of the vulgar that he listens to."

Two more examples with the negative at the key position permit the same explanation, although their contexts do not establish which word is syntactically prominent:

LS 187 國無人莫我知兮

"There are no true men in the state, no one appreciates me."

<sup>60</sup> It is of course only a matter of convenience whether one speaks of uncounted syllables next to the key position or of two syllables sharing the key position. For examples, cf. pp. 122, 128, 135, 147 above.

<sup>61</sup> Cf. p. 148 above.

CT (b) 21 九年[之]中不吾反兮

"For nine years he did not recall me" (although he did recall others?)

Once both negative and pronoun are counted, and the key syllable is *neng* "be able" (uncounted, as we have seen, in negative sentences).<sup>62</sup> Again it is tempting to see a connection with the syntactic prominence of the pronoun:

CP 61 當世豈無騏驎兮, 誠莫之能善御

"How can it be that this age lacks fine horses? The truth is that these no one is capable of driving."

The fact that when recurring in the final position the pronoun *chih* follows the rhyme in the *Odes* but is counted in *sao* poetry suggests that even in contexts where it was stressless in Northern Chinese it was normally stressed in the dialect of Ch'u.<sup>63</sup> There is consequently no difficulty in supposing it to be strongly stressed in this line.

Judging by one example the reflexive adverb *tsü* 自 was also uncounted in negative sentences:

Chien (b) 37 而不[自]知兮

2/12 *Negatives at the Key Position*

The major negatives in *sao* poetry are *pu* 不 *fei* 非 *wu* 無 *mo* 莫 *wei* 未. Other negatives appear sporadically; for example, *fu* 弗 is found five times in the *Hsi wang jih* 惜往日的 *Chiu chang* and occasionally elsewhere.<sup>64</sup> All negatives are generally counted, but there are some exceptions.

*Wu* at the key position will be considered later.<sup>65</sup> Apart from a case before the inverted pronoun object, already considered,<sup>66</sup> *mo* is key once:

CC (a) 8 故相臣莫若君兮

"Therefore for judging a minister no one is as good as a ruler."

There is no other case of negated *jo* 若 and there are only two of negated *ju* 如.<sup>67</sup> These are insufficient to show whether the negative was regularly uncounted before these words.

As might be expected, the negative which displays the greatest variety is the commonest, *pu*. We have already noticed several patterns in which *pu*

<sup>62</sup> Cf. p. 148 above. But it must be admitted that in the only other case where the negative is *mo* 莫 the *neng* is counted (Chien (e) 13).

<sup>63</sup> Cf. p. 126 above, pp. 156, 157 below.

<sup>64</sup> CC (g) 4, 8, 14, 20, 25 (i) 50 CP 44, 78 ASM 18 Chien (b) 2 (c) 17 YY 6.

<sup>65</sup> Cf. p. 155 below.

<sup>66</sup> Cf. p. 150 above.

<sup>67</sup> ASM 63 HS 17.

discounts a normally counted syllable, but also cases of *pu* itself in the key position, once before *neng* and twice before the pronoun object. The three latter are all from the very late *Chiu t'an*, but there are a few earlier instances of *pu* as key syllable:

CC (i) 7 故茶薺不同畝兮

"Therefore bitter and sweet herbs are not from the same field."

Chien (c) 32 皇天既不純命兮

"Because High Heaven is inconstant in its decree . . . ."

(The passage is an interpolation.)<sup>68</sup>

Cf. CC (c) 1 皇天之[不]純命兮

"High Heaven's inconstant decree!"

The three examples suggest that *pu* was uncounted before an attributive adjective, although there is some latitude as to how one chooses to describe the first two examples; it is perhaps more convenient to treat *t'ung* 同 and *ch'un* 純 as transitive verbs.

#### 2/13 Constructions with *so* 所

*So* generally stands after *chih* 之 following the subject or after *ch'i* 其 "his, her, its" or *wu* 吾 "my"; in these positions, and at the head of the line, it is counted. For example:

LS 13 之所在

CC (a) 2 所作忠而

CC (b) 18 吾所如

(c) 9 其所雖

In the combinations 有 *yu so* and 無 *wu so* one syllable is uncounted; generally but not always this is *so*:

CP 65 衆鳥[皆]有所登棲兮，鳳獨遑々而無[所]集

"Common birds all have somewhere to perch, the phoenix alone is anxious with nowhere to alight."

CP 121 堯舜[皆]有所舉任兮

"Yao and Shun both had men they could trust in office."

LS 124 而無[所]止兮

ASM 40 而無[所]施

Chien (c) 27 而無[所]歸薄

(g) 34 而無[所]薄

CT (g) 24 其無[所]遠兮 . . . . 其無[所]通

<sup>68</sup> Cf. Wen Yi-to, ut sup. 470.

But there are a few cases in which the uncounted syllable is doubtful or is *yu* or *wu*:

LS 64 民生各有所樂兮

"Every man who lives has something which he enjoys."

Chien (c) 14 意有所載而

(c) 32 (interpolation) 余生終無所依

"All my life I have had nothing to depend on."

The difference is perhaps in the word before *yu* or *wu*; if it is counted *yu* or *wu* is not, and conversely.

*So* also appears once after another verb:

Chien (c) 12 桂蠹不知所淹留兮

"The cassia grubs do not know the best place to stay."

(But cf. pp. 153, 154 below)

#### 2/14 Chiang 將

*Chiang* "about to" always precedes a counted syllable, generally a verb, occasionally a pre-verbal particle. In most cases it stands at the head of a member or after an uncounted syllable; it is then counted, for example:

LS 28 吾將刈

62 將往觀乎

97 [吾]將上下而

When it follows a counted syllable it seems always to be uncounted:

LS 7 汨余若將不及兮

"Swiftly, as though I would not arrive in time . . . ."

LS 57 退[將]復脩吾

141 巫咸將夕險兮

"Wu Hsien was about to descend in the evening."

CC (b) 23 (= ASM 34) 固[將]愁苦而

28 固[將]軍昏而

#### 2/15 Chih 知

Among the most surprising features of the *sao* prosody is the behaviour of the verb *chih* 知 "know". It is four times at the key position:

CC (a) 14 迷不知龍[之]門

"I lost my way and did not know the gate to favour."

CC (e) 18 窮不知所示

"Helpless, I did not know whom to show them to."

CP 73 鳥獸猶知懷德兮

"If even birds and beasts know how to cherish their virtue

. . . ."

Chien (c) 5 [余] 奈世 [之] 不知 芳何

"What can I do about the world's ignorance of sweet smells?"

It is also common in elongated A members:

LS 21 [余] 固 [知] 寥々 之

CC (c) 20 曾不 [知] 夏之

(d) 30 曾不 [知] 路之

CP 79 乃 [知] 遺命 之

ASM 20 不 [知] 進退 之

Chien (c) 12 蓼蟲不 [知] 徒乎

(g) 16 焉 [知] 賢士 之

There are also examples in trisyllabic B members:

CP 130 而不 [知] 乘兮

Chien (f) 12, 15 而不 [知] 路

In all these cases *chih* stands between two counted syllables. It was undoubtedly counted wherever there was an uncounted syllable on one side of it:

CC (a) 6 其知之

(b) 18 迷不知吾

Chien (e) 7 [吾] 固知 [乎] 命之

(Also CC (c) 9, 34 (d) 33 (e) 16 (f) 11 and passim)

The last instance quoted is especially interesting since the preposition *hu* seems to have no function except to allow *chih* to be counted by separating it from the next counted syllable.

A further point is that the preceding counted word is always a determinant of the verb (*pu* 不 *ku* 固 *yu* 猶 *nai* 乃 *yen* 焉), never the subject. In the only case in which *chih* stands between subject and another counted word it is counted:

Chien (c) 26 孰知察其

There remains one sentence in which I cannot explain the apparent counting of *chih*:

ASM 26 雖知困其不改操兮

"Although in difficulty I will not change my principles."

#### 2/16 Verbs at the Key Position

Although nouns at the key position invariably belong to one of the two related patterns already discussed<sup>69</sup>, verbs at this position are not so easily

<sup>69</sup> Cf. pp. 143-145 above.

classified. In one late text, the *Yüan yu*, the verb at the key always either depends on or is co-ordinate with a verb in the A member:

YY 80 音樂博衍無終極兮

"The music swelled without limit." (Also YY 75, 77)

YY 76 張咸池奏承雲兮

"They played the Hsien-ch'in and performed the Ch'eng-yün." (Also YY 49)

But this usage is peculiar to the *Yüan yu*. Elsewhere verbs at the key always stand between pre-verbal elements in the A member and the object in the B member. The commonest are *yu* 有 "have" and *wu* 無 "have not":

LS 84 皇天無私阿兮

"High Heaven is without partiality."

LS 134 何所獨無芳草兮

"What place lacks sweet-smelling herbs?"

LS 157 豈其有他故兮

"How can there be any other reason?"

(Also LS 64 CP 61 (= Chien (g) 11) Chien (c) 32, (g) 34 YY 80, all quoted previously:<sup>70</sup> CT (a) 3 (g) 9 bis)

There are a dozen instances of other verbs at the key position, some of them showing suggestive resemblances to certain cases of negated verbs in elongated A and B members. The sentences evidently belong to several patterns, but the material is too meagre to be sorted out with much confidence. I merely present the examples for the reader's convenience.

LS 11 何不改此度

"Why not change these ways?"

(A variant preferred by Wen Yi-to<sup>71</sup> adds a final *yeh* 也, in which case the key syllable is *ts'ü* 此)

LS 78 澆身被服強圍兮

"Chiao wore on his body strong armour."

CC (a) 23 昔余夢登天兮

"Once I dreamed of climbing Heaven."

CC (f) 4 申旦以舒中情兮

"Until dawn I pour out my feelings."

CC (f) 19 惜吾不及古人兮

"Alas, that I did not live among the men of old!"

<sup>70</sup> Cf. pp. 141, 151, 153, 155, above.

<sup>71</sup> ut sup. 356. But one cannot add *yeh* here without also adding it to the parallel line (LS 12), where there is no place for it since the B member already has two syllables. For the counting of *yeh* and its pairing in parallel lines, cf. p. 156 below.

## CP 33 皇天平分四時兮

"High Heaven equally divides the four seasons."

## CP 34 白露既下百草兮

"When the white dew has fallen on the hundred herbs . . ."

## CP 51 [以] 爲君獨服此蕙兮

"I thought my lord alone wore these orchids."

## ASM 1 哀時命[之]不及古人兮,[夫]何予生之[不]適時

"I am sad that my fated time was not among the man of old. Why was I born at the wrong time?"

## ASM 76 太公不遇文王兮

"If T'ai-kung had not met King Wen . . ."

## (Cf. ASM 30 靈皇其不[寤]知兮

"If the Great King does not wake to understanding . . ."

## CC (g) 19 不[逢]湯武與桓穆兮

"If they had not met T'ang and Wu, Huan and Mu . . ."

## Chien (c) 29 年既已過太半兮

"When my years are already more than half over . . ."

## CT (a) 12 曷其不舒予情

"Why not pour out my feelings?"

## 2/17 The Final Particles

The only final particle used in *sao* poetry is *yeh* 也. It is counted as the second syllable of the B member, but the rhyme is on the penultimate syllable. Except at the beginning of the *Chiu pien*, which is not in *sao* style, and in an interpolation in the *Ch'i chien*,<sup>72</sup> *yeh* is always found in pairs at the end of both rhymed lines:

## LS 48, 49 [吾]獨窮困乎此時也 . . . [余]不忍爲此態也

"I alone am in extremities at this time . . . I cannot bear to behave like this."

(Also LS 21, 22, 156, 157. CC (a) 11, 12, 27-30 (e) 19, 20 (f) 31, 33. CT (g) 27, 28)

The practice of including the final particle among the counted syllables of the line but rhyming the penultimate syllable is common throughout early Chinese poetry from the *Odes* downward. In the *Ch'u-tz'ü* itself the *T'ien wen* does this with *chih* 之 and *yen* 焉 and the *Pu chü* 卜居 with interrogative *hu* 乎. Elsewhere in pre-Han literature a considerable variety of final words follow the rhyme when paired, for example, pronoun objects *wo* 我 and *ju* 女 in the *Odes*, *shih* 是 in the *T'ien yüan* 天運 chapter of

<sup>72</sup> CP 1, Chien (g) 31. Wen Yi-to (ut sup. 473) takes the latter as a prose gloss.

*Chuang-tz'ü* and *che* 者 combined with interrogative *yü* 與 in the *Fu p'ien* 賦篇 of *Hsün-tz'ü* 荀子.<sup>73</sup> If we ascribe irregularities in versification to the influence of stress, we must conclude that pronouns and particles which follow the rhyme were stressless. The counting of *yeh* in *sao* poetry need not imply any phonetic difference from uncounted syllables; it may be merely an element in the versification of the *Odes* which the *sao* poets took over without adapting it to their own system.

The evidence of the *Odes* and the philosophers concerning final particles fits very neatly into the biggest gap in the evidence supplied by *sao* poetry. However, we cannot be sure that all our sources reflect the same phonetic system. In contexts where the pronoun *chih* 之 follows the rhyme in the *Odes* it serves as an identical rhyme in *sao* poetry; if we infer from the *Odes* that in these contexts it was stressless in Northern Chinese, we must also conclude that it was normally stressed in the Ch'u dialect.

## Conclusion

When uncounted syllables are excluded, the prosody of the *Li sao* obeys two quite straightforward rules:

(i) The key position is the third from the end of the line. We can now dismiss the suspicion that in some lines it may be absent or displaced.

(ii) The A member has three syllables, which may be increased or reduced by one; the B member has two, and is invariable.

There are a few exceptions, which we may put down to textual corruption, or to uncounted syllables not yet identified, or simply to the poet's license. The key syllable remains uncertain in two lines out of three hundred and seventy-four:

## LS 123 鳳皇既受詒兮

"When the phoenix had taken its present . . ."

*Chi* 既 is one of the consistently counted particles, and it is impossible to take it as key syllable. Five couplets later there is a similar line with *yi* 以 as key syllable after *chi*, but lost in one text collated by Hung Hsing-tsu 洪興祖 (1090-1155).<sup>74</sup> Probably a *yi* has fallen out in this line also.

## LS 170 爲[余]駕飛龍兮

"They harness flying dragons for me."

I cannot account for this line.

<sup>73</sup> *Odes* 40, 85, 165, 202, *Chuang-tz'ü* 5/35B/1-8, *Hsün-tz'ü* 18/10A/5-10B/2.

<sup>74</sup> Hung Hsing-tsu in his *Ch'u tz'ü pu-chu* 補注 noted the variants after the comments of Wang Yi 王逸 (c. 120 A.D.) and in front of his own, with the result that some have mistakenly ascribed them to Wang Yi (cf. Wen Yi-to, ut sup. 343).

Of the forty-five A members of four or more syllables, all but eleven are trisyllabic members swollen by uncounted syllables. Of the rest, only one line increases the counted syllables by more than one:

LS 35 苟余情其信姱(以練要)兮  
 "If my feelings are truly beautiful . . . ."

The three words in round brackets are probably a gloss, as Hawkes argues.<sup>75</sup> (We cannot avoid counting the *yu* 余 "my", which is a counted syllable in this position.<sup>76</sup>)

Of the fifteen B members of more than two syllables, all but two are bisyllabic members swollen by an uncounted syllable:

LS 133 而無(狐)疑兮  
 156 此(蕭)艾也

The characters in round brackets were omitted in variants noted by Hung Hsing-tsu. In the former line the variant is preferred on independent grounds by Liu Yung-chi 劉永濟.<sup>77</sup>

The *Chiu chang* uses a new measure (4+3 *hsi*) throughout one poem<sup>78</sup> and in the *envoi*(*luan* 亂) of several more.<sup>79</sup> It also contains some fragments, apparently interpolations,<sup>80</sup> in the measure of the *Chiu ko* (4-2 *hsi* 3-2). With these exceptions the *Chiu chang* uses the *sao* form throughout, obeying the rules of the *Li sao* but making one striking innovation, the use of a contracted line with short A member and dropped key syllable. This line is sometimes rhymed with ordinary *sao* lines, sometimes used consecutively for several couplets.<sup>81</sup> In the latter case it looks at first sight like a different measure, but soon betrays its nature with the reappearance of the key syllable. For example the seventh poem, *Huai sha* 懷沙, begins with three couplets in the form "4 *hsi* 4" but in the fourth couplet introduces a key syllable:

CC (e) 4 鬱結紆軫兮，離繁而長鞠

From this point key syllables are frequent, but the A member is still shortened until the eleventh couplet:

CC (e) 11 玄文處幽兮，矇眊謂之不章

The rest of the poem mixes all three forms.

<sup>75</sup> Hawkes (1) 148.

<sup>76</sup> Cf. p. 135 above.

<sup>77</sup> ut sup. 10.

<sup>78</sup> CC (h).

<sup>79</sup> CC (b) 29-34 (d) 34-43 (e) 31-40.

<sup>80</sup> CC (b) 3, 5-9, 12. Cf. Hawkes (1) 268.

<sup>81</sup> CC (b) 16, 24-26 (c) 23 (d) 23 (f) (e) passim (f) 11, 16, 31.

The *Chiu chang* does not drop the key syllable without also shrinking the A member; an apparent exception may be taken as a case of an uncounted verb:

CC (a) 23 昔余夢登天兮  
 "Once I dreamed of climbing Heaven."

(Cf. also CC (e) 16, where Wen Yi-to and Hawkes accept a variant with a key syllable,<sup>82</sup> and (c) 32, rejected by Hawkes as an interpolation)<sup>83</sup>

In a couple of lines the key syllable raises questions:

CC (f) 26 情與質信可保兮  
 "If feelings and nature can truly be preserved . . ."

There is no other example of the adverbial *hsin* "truly" before *k'o*; but it seems to be uncounted in its single occurrence before a negative.<sup>84</sup>

CC (i) 4 萬變[其]情豈可蓋兮  
 "Though you change your feelings a myriad times how can it be hidden?"

There is no other example in the *Ch'u tz'ü* of an interrogative pronoun or adverb at the key position. Hung Hsing-tsu notes a variant with the *ch'i* 其 after the *ch'i* 豈.

There are two cases of inflated B members:

CC (c) 6 而不再得

再 *Tsai* was presumably uncounted after a negative; but there is no other example. The one clear case of an inflated member is in the *Ch'ou ssü*, a poem in which we have frequently noticed anomalies:

CC (d) 33 而媒不通兮

There is also one case of a monosyllabic B member:

CC (e) 24 可選兮

(Cf. 26, where Wen Yi-to prefers a variant with a final *yeh*)<sup>85</sup>

The *Chiu pien* begins with a series of long and flexible lines, of which all but the first have three members of varying length:

A <i>hsi</i>	B key	C
CP 2 蕭瑟兮	草木搖落而	變衰
"Melancholy! The grass and trees shake and shed their leaves and turn to decay."		

<sup>82</sup> Wen Yi-to, ut sup. 427. Hawkes (1) 283.

<sup>83</sup> Hawkes (1) 278.

<sup>84</sup> CC (c) 33, quoted p. 135 above.

<sup>85</sup> Wen Yi-to, ut sup. 428.

After the eleventh line the *Chiu Pien* changes to the *sao* form, except for one poem and a section of another<sup>86</sup> which are in the *Chiu ko* measure:

	4-2 syllables	<i>hsi</i>	3-2 syllables
CP 23, 24	願一見兮		道余意
	君之心兮		與余異

"I wished for one audience to tell my thoughts, but my lord's heart is different from mine."

(Note the counting of all syllables)

This measure superficially resembles the *sao* line with *hsi* in the place of the key syllable, as has often been noticed.<sup>87</sup> But it is distinguished by the rhyming of all or most lines instead of alternate lines, by the free use of three syllables after the caesura, and (in the *Chiu pien* although not in the *Chiu ko* itself) by the counting of every syllable. This measure is therefore in sharp contrast with the versification of most of the *Chiu pien*, and never reappears in later *sao* poetry except in one quatrain of the *Chiu t'an*,<sup>88</sup> where it is assimilated to its context by rhyming only the second and fourth lines. It is not to be confused with the pattern "4 *hsi* 4" which, as we have seen, is not a line but a contracted couplet, and is freely mixed with ordinary *sao* lines throughout the later poetry.<sup>89</sup>

The *Chiu pien* shows a tendency to use lines with long A members at the beginning or end of a poem:

CP 135 願賜不肖[之]軀而

(Also CP 49, 85, 93, although in the first two it is possible that *ch'ieh* 竊 is uncounted)

The *Chiu pien* differs from the *Li sao* and most of the *Chiu chang* in rhyming in continuous runs, rather than in quatrains. (This characteristic is shared by the *Hsi wang jih* 惜往日 and *Pei hui feng* 悲回風 of the *Chiu chang*.)<sup>90</sup> There is a single example of a monosyllabic B member, in the last couplet of a poem:

CP 110 之事兮

There is also a unique example of *nai* 乃 at the key position:

CP 67 太公九十乃顯榮兮

"T'ai-kung was ninety before he rose to fame."

<sup>86</sup> CP 15-32, 68-71.

<sup>87</sup> Cf. Hoshikawa, ut sup. 86-131.

<sup>88</sup> CT (a) 21, 22.

<sup>89</sup> Chien (a) passim (h) passim. YY 32-37, 85, 86 CT (f) 26-28 (h) 1, 2. The "4 *hsi* 4" couplets in these texts count every syllable, and are therefore useless for the purposes of the present study.

<sup>90</sup> The latter poem strikingly resembles the *Chiu Pien*, as Hawkes notices (1) 570.

Among the Han poems the *Ai shih ming* obeys the earlier rules completely, except for one puzzling expansion of the B member.<sup>91</sup> The others make one important innovation; they extend from the A to the B member the license to increase or reduce by one syllable. Monosyllabic B members remain rare except in the *Hsi shih*, but they are indisputable since they are always paired, again excepting the *Hsi shih*:

Chien (c) 9 其高兮 . . . 其久

(Also (g) 28 bis: HS 8 bis, 14, 34: YY 25 bis)

Trisyllabic B members without uncounted syllables appear eight times in the *Yüan yü*, eleven times in the *Chiu t'an*, and sporadically elsewhere:

Chien (g) 30 而谷風至兮 . . . 而景雲往

(Also (c) 25, 27: HS 6)

The license to expand or contract the B member provides a useful test of date, and makes a significant addition to the evidence that the *Yüan yü* is later than 150 B.C.

<sup>91</sup> ASM 26 其不改操. There are four cases of negated verbs which seem to be uncounted in the *Ai shih ming*, to which this example should perhaps be added (Cf. p. 156 above. Cf. also LS 11, quoted p. 155 above).