

To
BERNHARD KARLGREN
upon whose work
the scientific study of
Archaic Chinese builds-

EARLY
ARCHAIC
CHINESE

A Descriptive Grammar by

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PREFACE

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All scholars in the field of Archaic Chinese studies are beholden to Bernhard Karlgren. In recognition of my own indebtedness this book is, with permission, dedicated to him.

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W.A.C.H. DOBSON

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INTRODUCTION

(i) Aims and Objects

The present work is a descriptive grammar of Early Archaic Chinese (abbreviated hereafter as EAC), the language of document and inscription of ancient China in the eleventh and tenth centuries B.C. It is a companion volume to *Late Archaic Chinese* which described the grammar of the language of literature (hereafter abbreviated as LAC) of the fourth and third centuries B.C.¹ In *Late Archaic Chinese*, a formal analytical system was devised by which the grammatical features of Archaic Chinese can be accounted for. Within Archaic Chinese, however, which had a currency extending in time from the eleventh to the third centuries B.C., considerable evolutionary change is observable. In *Late Archaic Chinese* accordingly, a system of periodization, for analytical purposes, was also proposed.² *Late Archaic Chinese* gave an analysis and description of Archaic Chinese at a stage towards the close of its development. The present volume presents an analysis and description of Archaic Chinese in its earliest period; the same techniques, both of analysis and of statement, which were used in *Late Archaic Chinese* are used here.

Archaic Chinese is the precursor of later forms of Chinese and, because of the influence of canonical works written in Archaic Chinese, became the model for "classical style" in later writing. Archaic Chinese descends from the language used by the diviners of the Shang Dynasty, which is preserved today in the enquiries and responses engraved on bone and shell. Our knowledge of this "Oracular Chinese" extends in time roughly from the fourteenth to the eleventh centuries B.C. We have no knowledge at present of the Chinese language prior to this. No abrupt linguistic change, of course, marks the progress from Oracular to Archaic, or from Archaic to subsequent forms of Chinese. Language is an organic and evolving whole. These divisions of the Chinese language are analysts' conveniences. But Archaic Chinese, as

¹ W. A. C. H. Dobson, *Late Archaic Chinese* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1959).

² *Ibid.*, p. xvi.

here defined, has been given some linguistic form and shape, for it is the language of the works from which the Confucian Canon was compiled. Regardless of the period within Archaic Chinese in which these works individually were written, the Canon, as a whole, became the corpus providing classical precedent for form and usage in subsequent forms of the literary language of China. Within Archaic Chinese literature itself, however, "classicism" had not begun; each period is peculiar to itself.

The immediate object of the present series of analyses and descriptions of stages of Archaic Chinese is to provide "translational grammars" for occidental students concerned primarily with reading and translating Archaic Chinese texts. The form of description (though not of course procedure in analysis, which is purely formal) accordingly takes cognizance of certain features of the language of description, in this case, English. Eventually it should be possible to compile a comprehensive translational grammar in which both diachronic and synchronic features are treated. At this stage, however, the descriptions of EAC and LAC have been made, each complete in and of themselves. But it is now possible to make formal statements about two stages in the evolution of *Archaic Chinese*. A series of stages similarly analysed and described and treated comparatively would make possible a historical grammar of Archaic Chinese. Even at this juncture, the rough shape of evolutionary change is discernible. There is, for example, almost total contrast in the inventory of grammatical auxiliaries of EAC and LAC. To the description of EAC, therefore, though kept quite independent of it, has been added a series of notes and observations upon the evolutionary features of Archaic Chinese, which a comparison of EAC and LAC forms and usages suggests.³

The present work thus has as its primary and immediate purpose a description of the grammar of EAC but, with a view to a more distant goal, adds, in the form of separate notes and observations, a summary of the progress made to date towards a historical treatment of the grammar of Archaic Chinese.

(ii) Early Archaic Chinese

EAC is, of course, an analyst's abstraction. Our knowledge of the

³ See Appendix I.

language of Early Chou China is limited by the accident of historical survival to a comparatively small corpus of inscriptions and documents.⁴ EAC, as used in this description, is an analytical sample of what has survived. More specifically, it is a sample made up, in part, from documents taken from the *Shu Ching* (書經) the "Classic of Documents" and, in part, from the corpus of inscriptions on bronze vessels that have survived.

In the present recension of the *Shu Ching*, thirty documents or chapters are included in the section *Chou Shu* (周書) "Documents of the Chou Dynasty." Of these, ten are unanimously regarded by scholars as spurious. Of the residue, three have to do with events taking place at the end of Western Chou (c. eighth century B. C.). Seventeen documents thus remain which purport to be of the Early Western Chou period (c. eleventh and tenth centuries B. C.), and have traditionally been handed down as such, the authenticity of which modern scholars entertain only the least doubt. Two of these are essays on statecraft, three are recordings of speeches and twelve are "charges" *ming* (命). It is the authenticity of these "charges" about which there is the least reason to entertain critical reserve. Though the text of the "charges" has been exposed to the hazards of copying and transmission, the text of the inscriptions, being cast in bronze, has remained inviolate. An analysis and comparison of literary text and bronze inscription shows the language of both to be, linguistically speaking, one of a piece. That is to say, at no level or point of analysis is it necessary to make separate statements to account for a contrast between text and inscription.⁵ On the other hand, a statement made for EAC so established, contrasts at almost all levels and points of analysis with a similar statement made for LAC. This is a remarkable comment upon the integrity of these texts, and a striking demonstration of the fidelity of their transmission.

⁴ In historical terms, Archaic Chinese was current throughout the Chou Dynasty (1027-256 B.C.). The Chou Dynasty is divided variously by historians, traditionally as *Western Chou* (1027-771 B.C.), *Spring and Autumn* Period (722-481/480 B.C.) and *Period of the Warring States* (403-221 B.C.), more recently as *Early Chou* c. 1027-771 B.C., *Middle Chou* 771-473 B.C., and *Late Chou* 473-256 B.C.

⁵ Certain orthographic differences exist, of course, because the orthography of the texts has been normalized, and where these differences are not merely of style but are material, note has been taken in the description. See, for example, *tzay* 3.4.5.1 and *nae* 5.4.1. A detailed discussion of the homogeneity of text and inscription will be found in Appendix II.

The sample is made up as follows:

Texts from Literary Sources

- No. 1: The *Kang Gaw* (KG) 康誥
 No. 2: The *Jeou Gaw* (JG) 酒誥
 No. 3: The *Dah Gaw* (DG) 大誥
 No. 4: The *Luoh Gaw* (LG) 洛誥
 No. 5: The *Shaw Gaw* (SG) 召誥
 No. 6: The *Duo Shyh* (DS) 多士

Texts from Inscriptions

- No. 1: The *Dah Feng Goei* (DFG) 大豐殷
 No. 2: The *Ban Goei* (BAG) 班殷
 No. 3: The *Sheau-chern Lai Goei* (SCG) 小臣諫殷
 No. 4: The *Linq Goei* (LQG) 令殷
 No. 5: The *Tay-bao Goei* (TBG) 大保殷
 No. 6: The *Jiing-hour Goei* (JHG) 井侯殷
 No. 7: The *Linq Fang Yi* (LFY) 令方彝
 No. 8: The *Shaw Yuan Chih* (SYC) 召卣器
 No. 9: The *Shyh Shang Hwo* (SSH) 士上盃
 No. 10: The *Shiann Goei* (SHG) 獻殷
 No. 11: The *Tzuoh-tseh Shiu Yeou* (TTY) 乍册卣
 No. 12: The *Mau-gong Ding* (MGD) 毛公鼎
 No. 13: The *Dah Yu Ding* (DYD) 大盂鼎
 No. 14: The *Sheau Yu Ding* (SYD) 小盂鼎

The total number of signs or graphs comprising this sample is 6,233, of which 2,137 are from inscriptions and 4,096 are from texts. This sample is assumed to be representative and typical because material other than the sample, for example, that of the texts of *Jiun Shyh* (君奭), *Duo Fang* (多方), *Tzyy Tsair* (梓材), and of other inscriptions which have been examined, can be accounted for in terms of the description. Such statements, therefore, as "does not occur in EAC" must be taken to mean "does not occur in the sample, has not been encountered elsewhere in EAC material."

The sample used here for EAC is approximately similar in length to the sample used for LAC, but it is proportionately a very much larger portion of the extant whole. In LAC it was possible to test statements made about the sample over a wide range of additional material.

EAC is, therefore, by definition, a sampling of inscription and documentary material, written in Archaic Chinese in the eleventh and tenth centuries B.C., which is assumed to be typical and representative of the literary language of that period. EAC is also one of a series of

stages or periods into which Archaic Chinese can usefully be divided when setting up a scheme of periodization for historical grammatical study.

(iii) Method and Analysis

(iii. a) Language and Archaic Chinese

Although we may speak in general terms of Archaic Chinese as *language*, and may segregate, for scientific purposes, stages in the evolution of this *language*, the linguistic analyst is confronted in reality, in his material, with but a codification of certain features of Archaic Chinese and not with the language in any full sense. He cannot, therefore, as with living languages, set up his analytical procedures *in abstracto* and then obtain from informants such data as he requires. His methods must be tailored to fit the data at hand. For example, in Archaic Chinese, very little operationally useful information is available, and none in the immediate data, about the phonological features of the language. In Archaic Chinese, too, as with other ancient languages known only in written form, observation has to be confined to what actually occurs.⁶ There is no possibility, as with a contemporary spoken language, of testing and verifying the entire range of possible occurrence from an informant.

(iii. b) Archaic Chinese and Linguistic Analysis

Archaic Chinese texts and inscriptions—the only data we have—are merely a codification of certain linguistic features of the language. They are written in a script which provides a unique sign for each and every morpheme. This script system constitutes, as it were, a ready-made morphemic analysis. It is based upon a "cut" made in the stream of discourse at morpheme boundaries, and for each morpheme segregated the script system provides a unique sign. The script system is not based upon phonology, as are alphabetical or syllabic systems. Certain phonological similarities enter, in part, into the processes of sign formation, but the script is not a systematic codification of phonetic features. It is not possible, on the evidence of the signs themselves, to segregate and identify segmental phonemes, or even syllabic groupings

⁶ Needless to say, it is procedurally inadmissible to operate with constructed examples or hypothetical paradigms.

of phonemes. Furthermore, the script does not codify, in any useful or complete way, the supra-segmental phonemic features—pitch, pause, or stress. The script system is based upon a segmentation of the language which isolates its minimal distributable “meaningful” units and provides a code sign for each. The observable comparables and variables in the linguistic material so presented and, as it were, processed, are the distributions (the positions *vis-à-vis* each other) in which morphemes, so defined, occur. As each sign is unique, the morpheme in isolation has no observable features for classification into like groupings. But morphemes observably occur in comparable and contrasting classes and at varying levels of distribution when assembled in a “piece.” EAC material, therefore, provides a morphemic repertory and offers data from which the analyst can construct a model of the levels and varieties of distribution in which the morpheme occurs. From this he can deduce the linguistic meaning of such distributions, and so arrive at a description which, proceeding from the morpheme in isolation, accounts for the processes by which the language arrives at the stage of meaningful discourse. In short, a description can be extracted from EAC material of the morphology and syntax of the language, without reference to its phonology, because the script system is based upon an empirical, and empirically useful, morphemic analysis of the language.

(iii. c) Levels, Units, and Elements

Whether analysis begins with the “piece” and dissects by stages to the point where it is no longer useful or practical to “cut” further, or whether it proceeds from the empirical “cut” made by the authors of the orthographic system and proceeds to build “upwards” by segregating classes and levels of distribution, a model of structure is created. Such models are abstract, but useful, designs by means of which categories can be established and observations and predictions made.

In the model constructed for the analysis and description of LAC (which has also been used for EAC), distribution is conceived in a hierarchy of “levels” in which a “unit” at the “lowest” level constitutes an element of a unit in the next level higher. At the first, or highest level, the element (arbitrarily called a “sentence” though defined by formal features) occurs as a single entity in the unit, the “piece.” Other elements at this level are (i) conjunctions, (ii) inter-

jections, and (iii) vocatives.⁷ Four classes of elements thus occur at this level, distributed in the “piece.” The “piece” here is the segment about which statements are made. At the second level sentences are segregated and are broken down into their constituent elements. At this level the “sentence” is the segment about which statements are made. At the third level sentential elements are broken down into their constituents (where such consist of more than one morpheme). At this level a “sentential element” is the segment about which statements are made.

(iii. d) Classes

At the second level, classes are recognized among sentences, the classification being based upon the paradigm of their minimal forms. Two classes are recognized, the *verbal* sentence, with a “minimal form” of one element, and the *determinative* sentence, with a “minimal form” of two. Within sentences, classes are recognized among sentential elements as follows:

In the verbal sentence: *exposed elements*||*time or place*|*agent*|*instrument* (or *subordinate clause*)|*verb*|*first post-verbal element*|*second post-verbal element*|*modality*. In the determinative sentence: *determined term*|*copula*|*determinant term*|*modality*.

At the third level, collocations of morphemes occurring as a unit in any of the elemental classes recognized at the sentential level, are classified as follows:

(1) Syntagmas, where a collocation of more than one morpheme occurs. (2) Compound words, where a collocation of more than one morpheme occurs and in contrast to a syntagma, is a customary collocation distinguished usually by some “specialization of sense.” Thus, syntagmas are collocations made, as it were, *ad hoc*, and compound words are collocations which customarily occur. A single morpheme occurring as a single element at the second, or sentential, level, is a “word.” Two morphemes occurring in customary collocations (usually accompanied by specialization of sense) are “compound words.” Single

⁷ Interjections, here treated as one of the four types of element occurring at the first or inter-sentential level, were treated in LAC (rather incongruously) at the second or sentential level. They should, of course, have been treated, as here, at the first level. (See Dobson (1), p. 99.)

or compound words, in collocation, distributed as an element at the third level are "syntagmas."⁸

Classes set up among the syntagmas are: (i) the agential syntagma, (ii) the verbal syntagma, and (iii) substantival syntagmas. The first two classes are formally characterized as a class by grammatical words which occur uniquely in them. Classes set up to account for the constituents of substantival syntagmas are: determinant word, determined word, and morphemes operating co-ordinately in syntagmas. What would be a verbal sentence at the first level, when occurring as a single unit in the sentence at the second level, that is, when "downgraded," is said to be "in syntagma form." A similar structure occurring in the verbal sentence at "subordinate clause" is, however, designated a "clause." A clause and a verbal structure in syntagma form differ in their points of distribution in the verbal sentence. The latter is freely distributable, the former occurs uniquely at one point.

(iii. e) A Conspectus of the Analytical Frame

	<i>Unit</i>	<i>Elements</i>
1st Level	The "piece"	Sentences Conjunctions Interjections Vocatives
2nd Level	Sentences (a) verbal	Sentential elements (a) exposed elements// time or place/agent/ instrument (or) subordinate clause/verb/first post- verbal element/second post-verbal element/ modality
	(b) determinative	(b) determined term/ copula/determinant term/modality
3rd Level	Sentential Elements (a) syntagmas (b) words	(a) words (b) morphemes

In practice, the segregation of the constituents of sentential elements into single words, compound words, and syntagmas is more a matter

⁸ The theoretical implications of this procedure are interestingly discussed by R. H. Robins, see especially p. 123.

of lexicography than of syntax, as each may operate, indifferently and interchangeably, as a single element at the second, or sentential, level. However, the division is useful at the third level, because there is one class of morpheme that never occurs in distribution singly as a single element in the sentence.⁹ Also, there are compound words formed by structural processes which can be characterized by class-meanings which are not characteristic of syntagma formation.

Thus, the analytical model here constructed for Archaic Chinese comprises a hierarchy of levels, each with its characteristic units and elements. Among units and elements, classes are set up by various criteria. Within this "frame," morphemes can be classified and characterized by the level at which they occur and at the point in the level at which they occur.

(iii. f) Word Classes

The lexicon of Archaic Chinese can be divided into two classes, as a group of words, in contrast to the remainder, occur only, or uniquely, at certain levels and points of distribution, and the rest are operationally ambivalent. The first class are *cenematic* words. The second class are *plerematic* words. Cenematic words constitute the grammatical repertory of the lexicon. They consist of

(i) *particles*, where their function is to indicate a tactical relationship between plerematic words or sentential elements. Particles operate at the second and third levels of distribution. (See, for example, 2.5; 2.6.2; 3.6; etc.)

(ii) *grammatical determinants*, where their function is to impose grammatical quality upon the word they determine. Grammatical determinants also operate at the second and third levels. (See, for example, 3.3.1; 3.3.2; etc.)

(iii) *conjunctions*, where their function is to indicate a tactical relationship between units at the first level. (See 5.3; 5.4.)

(iv) *substitutes*, which occur at all levels where their function is to substitute for plerematic words or word groups or sentences. (See 6 ff.)

(v) *prosodic markers*, where their function is to indicate pause, pitch, or stress. (See 3.9.)

The second class, plerematic words, may occur at any point of dis-

⁹ See Dobson (1), p. 7, n. 15.

tribution at the second level except at "modality" and "copula." This is an operational postulate. It is not difficult to isolate certain words in the material which occur uniquely at, for example, "agent" or "verb," but the number of words that operate indifferently is sufficient to make this postulate useful.¹⁰

(iii. g) Correlation of Grammatical Values with Types of Distributional Frames

It is possible to predict the level and point of distribution at which any word of the cenematic class will occur. It is not possible to make a similar prediction in the case of plerematic words. It is, however, useful to distinguish, among plerematic words, the possibility of their having verbal and substantival quality. Verbal quality is a grammatical assignation made for any plerematic word occurring as the head-word in the verbal complex, as the head-word in the subordinate clause, or as the head-word in verbal sentences downgraded to syntagma form. Any plerematic word occurring at either of these two levels and points has "verbal quality." Similarly, any plerematic word occurring in the verbal sentence at *time/place*, *agent*, *instrument*, *first post-verbal element*, *second post-verbal element*, or in the determinative sentence at *determined term* or *determinant term*, has "substantival quality." Among "substantivals" are distinguished nouns of genus and nouns of quality. Verbal quality is classified by "voice" as active, passive, or causative; voice being imposed by three contrastive forms of distribution of the two post-verbal elements.

No formal features or observable criteria are present in plerematic words in isolation for predicting verbal or substantival quality. In distribution, however, such quality is assumed to be environmentally imposed.

Ultimately, the segregation and characterization of substantival and verbal quality derives from the necessity, in a translational grammar, of providing a predictable formula for translators. "Verbal quality" will translate into English into some kind of verbal form. "Substanti-

¹⁰ A detailed statistical account of the incidence and deployment of the items of the vocabulary of EAC is given in Appendix II. The probability is roughly equal (89 to 80) that a plerematic word will occur indifferently in verbal or substantival distributional forms, as that it will occur solely in one or the other.

val quality" will translate into English into some kind of substantival form.

The entire lexicon of Archaic Chinese can, therefore, usefully be accounted for in a system which segregates cenematic and plerematic words, postulating the possibility of all plerematic words having two kinds of grammatical quality, namely, verbal or substantival, according to the environment in which they occur, and characterizing all cenematic words by their function in the environment in which they can be predicted to occur. Thus, grammatical characterization of a word in Archaic Chinese is an observation on the environment in which it occurs, and not a quality it might be thought intrinsically to possess.

(iii. h) The Rule of Economy

In a model constructed of levels and points of distribution, the unit can be described by its constituent elements. But a further feature of Archaic Chinese must be taken into account if this model is to operate usefully. All the elements in the model said to occur in a given unit do not always and simultaneously occur in the unit as encountered in the material. However, whichever element is absent, the remaining elements will be found to be in the distributional order which occurs when all possible elements are present. Thus, the system does not allow predictions of occurrence, but simply predictions of possibility of occurrence. It envisages, as it were, a series of matrices, the "slots" of which occur in a predictable order, though no prediction can be made as to when the "slots" will be filled. An unfilled "slot" is said to occur under the operation of the "rule of economy." Thus, when a unit is characterized in the model as having six elements, *a, b, c, d, e, f*, it must be taken to mean that all six elements will be present only when stated with the minimum of economy. If stated with economy, for example by the omission of *b* and *d*, the unit will appear in the material as *a, c, e, f*. *B* and *d* are then said to have "possibility of occurrence." A matrix is said to be at *maximal form* when all elements are simultaneously and severally present. It is said to be at *minimal form* when the maximum of economy is employed. Minimal forms are used as a classificatory device for sentences. A verbal sentence may occur with a maximum of economy, with one element, the verb. But a determinative sentence has, of necessity, two elements. Under the rule of

economy, particles said to be "diagnostic" of a given type of structure may be omitted. The statement must then be taken to mean that the particle has "possibility of occurrence." In the verbal syntagma, for example, "slots" are provided for classes of grammatical determinants which commit the verb to voice, aspect, and mode. At its maximal form, the verbal syntagma may employ all three. However, no prescriptive necessity requires that a "verb" indicate its voice, aspect, or mode, and therefore these grammatical indications may not be present. When they are absent, the verb is said to be "uncommitted." Similarly, a word in a unit characterized as substantival may indicate number or gender but, with the rule of economy, it may remain "uncommitted." Similarly, the resources of the language for anaphora (substitutions made from a reluctance to repeat) are ample, but no prescriptive rule requires their use; hence reiteration may be avoided simply by silence.

It is probably true that all of the grammatical resources of the language are used as a matter of free option, with the exception of the order of distributional assembly. Thus, in the paradigm (the structure as it occurs in the model), all possible occurrences are accounted for, but in the material (the given structure as encountered), all possible occurrences do not, of necessity, occur.

NOTE. The rule of economy, as here defined, provides a useful pedagogical device for bringing home to students accustomed to languages in which such indications as tense, number, mood, etc., are part of the intrinsic shape of words, this very distinctive feature of Archaic Chinese. It is not, as used to be said, that Chinese has "no voice, tense, mood, or number," but that the provisions for making this kind of indication are not used of prescriptive necessity. They are, as it were, available for use, but their use is a matter of option.

(iv) Method and Procedure

There are difficulties in dealing with EAC material which are not encountered in LAC material. There is a large body of interpretative scholarship for LAC authors which enables the analyst to proceed with reasonable assurance in the interpretation of the subject matter of his data. The texts of EAC are very much further removed in time from the beginnings of interpretative scholarship (i.e., from

the Han Dynasty onwards) than are LAC texts. Scholarship is indecisive about the function of many particles, and uncertain about the lexicography of much EAC material. With the inscriptional material these difficulties are multiplied. Some of the words found in inscriptions do not occur, at least in the form encountered, in existing lexicography. Some bronze vessels have only recently been excavated. There are problems of an epigraphical nature to be dealt with. This work leans heavily upon the transliteration from bronze form signs into conventional signs made by contemporary scholars. The experience gained in epigraphical studies made upon the Divination Bones has resulted in a body of reasonably assured knowledge of epigraphy, and although small points of a lexicographical nature may divide scholars they are not points that interfere with linguistic analysis.

With these limitations imposed by the material, much greater use in procedure has been made of statistical methods than was made in LAC. In EAC, certain of the most frequently occurring particles, for example, are those about which traditional interpretative scholarship is most vague. Frequency, thus, becomes a material factor in interpretation.

This analysis was not designed to test whether EAC is the progenitor of LAC, but makes the assumption that it is. This assumption has proved procedurally useful. The cinematic words of EAC which have been most elusive to traditional lexicography prove to be the EAC counterparts of very familiar usages in LAC. Thus, an EAC particle, hitherto but vaguely understood, which has a distributional pattern at both level and point of distribution in EAC comparable with a well-known particle in LAC, can be assumed to share a grammatical function in common with the LAC particle, and can further be tested by such phonological information as we possess, to see if it is not, in fact, genetically connected.¹¹

Tests can be made to see if all structures which occur in LAC occur in EAC. Conversely, doubtful elements in a paradigm of EAC can be compared with the comparable paradigm of LAC. Much light, in fact, is thrown upon EAC by such comparison. The residue of particles

¹¹ This procedure is discussed more fully in my *Studies in the Grammar of Early Archaic Chinese* (1). The particle *wei*, TP, 46 (1959) p. 339-68, and a demonstration of its usefulness is given in *Towards a Historical Grammar of Archaic Chinese* (1) Early Archaic *Yüeh* > Late Archaic *Chi*, HJAS (to be published).

unaccounted for were found to occur in gaps in the EAC paradigm, which occurred, filled, in familiar form in the LAC paradigm.

Thus, procedure, like method, has been dictated in part by the nature of the data and the state of our knowledge concerning it.

(v) Method and Statement

(v. a) Introduction

As has already been stated, procedure in statement is governed by the purposes for which the description is made. Description (though not analysis) takes cognizance of certain features of the language of description.

(v. b) Organization of the Statement

The description proceeds in an ascending hierarchical order, that is, from the smallest unit segregated to the largest. Analysis, in practice, proceeds in this way and statement follows suit. In the description, therefore, the morpheme, as distributed in the word, is first considered (chapter I), and then the distribution of words in syntagmas is dealt with (chapter II). The sentence is treated in chapters III and IV, the elements being analysed as the description of each sentential type proceeds. The distribution of sentences and elements at the inter-sentential level in the "piece" is described next (chapter V). Classes are identified and described at the unitary or elemental level at which they occur. Words of the class "substitutes" are, however, considered separately (chapter VI), as they occur at more than one level and point of distribution. Chapter VII contains a miscellany of notes and observations which, while falling outside the general descriptive framework, present by way of either summary or rearrangement, observations relating to the material which either augment or clarify the description. Chapter VIII contains a facsimile, a transcription, a romanized version, and translations of all inscriptions that are included in the sample, and romanized versions and translations of all literary documents that are included in the sample. The appendixes contain material too long or involved to be included as footnotes. The indexes contain a lexicon and an index of words treated at some length, and bibliographical details of works cited in the description.

(v. c) Systems of Transcription

EAC texts are customarily read giving to each sign its phonetic value in Modern Standard Chinese or its dialectical equivalent. Some method is essential in statement for indicating a "reading" for the sign in the material. This indication is given here in Modern Standard Chinese, the system of transcription used being the Chinese Latin Script (*Gwo-yeu Romatzyh*). A description of this system will be found in the Introduction to Simon's Dictionary (see W. Simon). An entry marked with an asterisk gives the reconstructed phonetic value of the sign in Archaic Chinese given in *Grammata Serica Recensa* (Karlgren (I)). A dagger against a reading (e.g.,[†] kan) indicates a provisional reading in Modern Standard Chinese. Further, in the Lexicon (p. 279), for all cinematic words, references are given to the appropriate entry in *Grammata Serica Recensa* (a paragraph number preceded by "K"), and to the entries in Yang Shuh-dar's *Particle Lexicon* (a number preceded by "YSD"; see YSD (1)), to Peir Shyue-hae's *Collected Explanations of the Particles of Archaic Chinese* (a number preceded by "PSH"; see Peir (1)), and also to the classification number of the sign as used in the Harvard-Yenching Concordances.

(v. d) System of References

References to the examples cited from the *Shu Ching* are to the page and line number of the text published by Karlgren in *The Book of Documents*, reprinted from *BMFEA* 22 (Stockholm, 1950).¹² The page and line number is preceded by:

- (1) *KG* for the *Kang Gaw*
- (2) *JG* for the *Jeou Gaw*

¹² EAC texts need considerable editing. As a textual apparatus for each example would be unwieldy, examples are cited in an edited version without comment. In the case of *Shu Ching* the text is that of Karlgren. Examples are cited as emended in Karlgren's text. In the case of inscriptions, examples cited are as emended in the texts given in chapter VIII. In chapter VIII a reproduction of a rubbing of the inscription is given where possible. This is followed by a transcription from bronze form to conventional form which has been edited marginally. Thus, as transcribed into conventional form, *JHG* has 帝無冬[終]令[命]于右[有]周. When cited as an example, however, this is given as 帝無終命于有周. Certain bronze forms (for example, bronze 女 for text 汝; bronze 才 for text 在 and 哉; bronze 乃 and 廼 for text 乃) are retained in the examples as these distinctions in form are grammatically significant.

- (3) *DG* for the *Dah Gaw*
- (4) *LG* for the *Luoh Gaw*
- (5) *SG* for the *Shaw Gaw*
- (6) *DS* for the *Duo Shyh*

References to examples cited from inscriptions are to the name by which the vessel is known. The following abbreviations are used:

- (1) *DFG* for the *Dah Feng Goei*
- (2) *BAG* for the *Ban Goei*
- (3) *SCG* for the *Sheau-chern Lai Goei*
- (4) *LQG* for the *Linq Goei*
- (5) *TBG* for the *Tay-bao Goei*
- (6) *JHG* for the *Jiing-hour Goei*
- (7) *LFY* for the *Linq Fang Yi*
- (8) *SYC* for the *Shaw Yuan Chih*
- (9) *SSH* for the *Shyh Shanq Hwo*
- (10) *SHG* for the *Shiann Goei*
- (11) *TTY* for the *Tzuoh-tseh Shiu Yeou*
- (12) *MGD* for the *Mau-gong Ding*
- (13) *DYD* for the *Dah Yu Ding*
- (14) *SYD* for the *Sheau Yu Ding*

References to the works of scholars are given in the text by name and page number. Full details are given in the List of Works Mentioned (p. 273).

(v. e) Translation

A translation is given for all isolates and examples cited in the text. Where the purpose of such translation is to enable the reader to identify elements in a structure, the translation is given in literal form, word-boundaries being marked by soliduses. Where translation is offered as a means of giving a reader otherwise unfamiliar with EAC some idea of what the example is about, it is freely translated. It should be clear, however, that such translation is intended to serve no further purposes than these. No equivalences should be inferred from these "translations" between source and target language, or assumptions made that translation, in any way, describes or illustrates grammatical features.

(v. f) Conventional Signs and Abbreviations

The following conventional signs and abbreviations are used where structures are characterized by symbolic notation.

Derivation (see chapter I)

- | | |
|-------|--|
| A A | Reduplication, whether in geminative or dissimilated form (see 1.2.1). |
| A+B | Co-ordinate connection (simple) (see 1.2.2.1). |
| A / B | Co-ordinate connection (alternative) (see 1.2.2.2). |
| A=A | Hendiadys (see 1.2.2.3). |
| A→B | Determinative (see 1.2.3). |
| A←B | Directive (see 1.2.3). |

Syntagma (see chapter II)

- | | |
|-------|--|
| () | Parentheses enclose a syntagma. Where the internal analysis of a syntagma is pursued further, parentheses within parentheses are used. For example, <i>syh fang jyi</i> (A(A→B)→B) indicates that <i>jyi</i> "model" is determined by <i>syh fang</i> "four quarters," and <i>syh fang</i> is itself formed by determination, as <i>syh</i> determines <i>fang</i> . |
| A+B | Co-ordinate connection (simple), whether the particle of co-ordination is used or not (see 2.5). |
| A / B | Co-ordinate connection (alternative), whether the particle of co-ordination is used or not (see 2.5). |
| → | Determination (see 2.6.1). |
| ← | Direction (see 2.6.7). |
| ~ | Determination by apposition (see 2.8). |

Verbal Sentence (see chapter III)

- | | |
|-----------------|---|
| β | Verb (see 3.1). |
| Md β | Modal determination of the verb (see 3.3.1). |
| As β | Aspectual determination of the verb (see 3.3.2). |
| Man β | Determinations of the verb of manner (see 3.3.3.1). |
| SA | State of the agent (see 3.3.3.2). |
| γ^1 | First post-verbal position (see 3.4). |
| γ^2 | Second post-verbal position (see 3.4). |
| Dir. | Directive particle (see 3.4). |
| α | The agent (see 3.5.1). |
| α /Dist. | Distributives of the agent (see 3.5.3). |
| Coll. | Collective (see 3.5.3). |
| Rest. | Restrictive (see 3.5.3). |
| Rec. | Reciprocity in the agents (see 3.5.4). |

- Refl. Reflexive particle (see 3.5.4.2).
 Del. Particle of delegated agency (see 3.5.5).
 [] Brackets enclose the instrumental or subordinate clause
 (see 3.6.1; 3.7).
 [In...] Ingressive instrument (see 3.6.1).
 Res. Ins. Resultative instrument (see 3.6.2).
 Md. (At end of sentence) sentential mood (see 3.9).
 ...//... A double line marks the point between exposed elements
 and the sentence proper (see 3.11).
 Time// Time indication (see 3.10).
 Place// Place indication (see 3.10).

The Determinative Sentence (see chapter IV)

- DT () The words within the parentheses constitute the determined
 term (see 4.2).
 Dt () The words within the parentheses constitute the determi-
 nant term (see 4.2).
 Cop. Copulae (see 4.2).

Complexities of Sentence Structure (see chapter V)

- Conj. Conjunction (see 5.2).
 Conc. Concession (see 5.3.2).
 Prot. Protasis (see 5.4.2).
 Apod. Apodosis (see 5.4.2).
 Int. Interjection (see 5.7).
 Voc. Vocative (see 5.8).

Substitution (see chapter VI)

- An interrogative or indefinite substitute (see 6.5.1; 6.6).

Miscellaneous

- < > Matter within broken brackets is not in text but provided
 by author.
 > Meaning evolving into.
 < Meaning evolving from.
 ° Full point.
 , Approximately as in English usage.
 / / / Words between soliduses indicate "literal" translation.

- × Following a number indicates number of occurrences in
 the sample, for instance, 5 × = 5 occurrences.

(vi) **Summary**

The general characteristic of EAC as it emerges from this analysis is that, like LAC, it is a language of rigorous syntactical regularity. In this particular, and in others such as the metrical flexibility it enjoys through the operation of the rule of economy, and the high degree of mobility that exists among its lexical items, it shares characteristics in common with LAC. But there are important differences between EAC and LAC. There is almost total contrast in the repertory of grammaticized words, particularly in those occurring with high frequency. Some notable absences in the EAC repertory are the allegro forms¹³ and the prosodic markers.¹⁴ The pronominal system differs in important particulars. There are, too, forms peculiar to EAC which do not occur in LAC, particularly the vocative forms "pronoun/personal name" or "pronoun/apposed attribute," the titular form "rank/personal name," and the occurrence of attributes before proper names. Delegation of agency occurs after the verb, in contrast to LAC where it occurs before the verb.

In the literature of EAC and of LAC these individual traits are preserved. But in the Confucian Canon, where EAC and LAC texts both occur, both EAC and LAC forms and particles become part of the classical model from Han times onwards, and both make up the pool of precedent, from which later "classical" writers draw. The distinctive features thus become blurred as both LAC and EAC forms and usages become part of the common stock of "literary Chinese."

¹³ See Appendix II p. 271 and Appendix I.

¹⁴ That is, *erl* marking the subordinate clause, and *yee* and *yii* marking ultimate and penultimate stress.

EARLY ARCHAIC CHINESE

I. The Lexic and the Word

1. The Lexic

The linguistic material presented by an EAC text is already partially linguistically "processed" by the writing system in which it is recorded. In this system, the "stream of discourse" is broken down into units, and each of these units is represented, in writing, by a separate and unique sign. These units are the smallest distributable meaningful element in the language, and this definition may serve for the "morpheme" as used in this description. The institutionalized "cut" in Archaic Chinese is thus the morpheme. What confronts the analyst in his material is a "scatter" of orthographic symbols for morphemes.

For this orthographic symbol, the term "sign" will be used. For the distributable unit which the sign represents, the term "morpheme" will be used; for whatever phonological segment the sign represents in its writer's speech, the term "phonological unit" will be used, but, for a term which represents this institutionalized "cut" and is not referable to any of these specific aspects of analysis, the term "lexic" will be used.

The phonology of the lexic does not concern this description, but, from all that is known, it represents a collocation of segmental phonemes, never occurring in a more complex unit without being marked by juncture of initial consonant (or initial cluster), vowels (including consonantal vowels), and final consonant. The lexic is thus the unit with which phonological analysis must begin.

The processes by which, for each lexic, a sign is formed, has to do with the orthographic system, and has little to do with grammar. But since certain advantage has been taken of the evidence offered by the processes of formation, a brief description of them has been given in *Late Archaic Chinese*, Appendix I (see Dobson (I)) to which the reader is referred.

1.1. The Word

It is the lexic as a morpheme which most concerns this description. A lexic may occur in free state, distributed at the inter-sentential and sentential levels. At the inter-sentential level, it is, by definition, either a sentence or a conjunction or an interjection. At the sentential level, it is, by definition, a word, since it constitutes a single element in the sentence. However, collocations of lexics also occur as a single element in the sentence. Such collocations may be of two kinds: those which occur in customary collocation, usually characterized by some specialization of sense, and those collocations which occur, as it were, spontaneously.¹ The former are characterized as compound words, the latter as syntagmas. Compound words are described here as derivatives from the lexic. Syntagmas are treated in chapter II.²

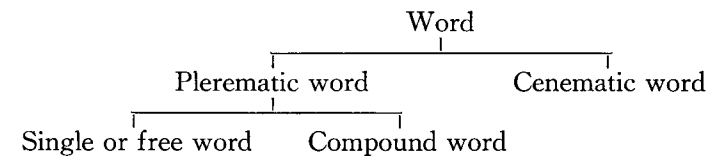
1.1.1. Cenematic and Plerematic Words

Two classes are identified among words by the manner of their distribution. The first, plerematic words, occur at all elemental divisions in the sentence, except at "modality" and "copula" (see 3.9 and 4.2)

¹ For example, *yeou-sy* (有司) possess/office, occurs with some frequency as a collective noun for "officials." It is characterized as a word, formally, by its forms of distribution in the sentence and, further, by "specialization of sense." In comparable forms of distribution, *yeou* occurs before the name of any sovereign state in the sense of "The Ruler of," for example, *yeou Shang* (有商), *yeou Shiah* (有夏), *yeou Jou* (有周), and *yeou gwo* (有國) as "The Ruler of Shang, of Hsia, of Chou, or of our State" respectively. In such contexts the meaning of *yeou* is predictable and so it is an element in syntagma. In *yeou-sy*, *yeou* undergoes "specialization" of sense, it is not predictable in the sense that collective nouns can be similarly and freely formed with *yeou*. Empirically, *yeou-sy* would need a separate dictionary entry *sub voce yeou*. *Yeou Shang*, on the contrary, would not.

² It might be objected, and the point was raised in *Late Archaic Chinese* (see Dobson (1), 2.8), that grammatical analysis should relegate the distinction made between single words, compound words, and syntagmas to the lexicographer, and should proceed in grammatical analysis directly from the "complex" stage upwards. In describing the elements of a "complex," however, some distinction must be made between complexes of two morphemes, where such constitute a "compound word" and where such constitute a "syntagma," because certain processes of formation are peculiar to compound words and do not occur in the formative processes of syntagma. With an adequate lexicon, therefore, the distinction might be disregarded, but because adequate lexicography, in this sense, does not yet exist, the distinction has been preserved.

and are operationally ambivalent. That is to say, there is nothing in the "appearance" of such words³ by which a prediction can be made about the point of distribution at which they will occur, and a sufficient number of them occur, indifferently, at all points of distribution as to make further grammatical statements about them, in isolation, useless.⁴ The second, cenematic words, occur, by contrast, in fixed and predictable forms of distribution. Such words comprise the grammatical repertory of the language.⁵ "Words" therefore, in this description fall into the following sub-categories:



1.2. Word Derivation

Compound words are formed by derivation from lexics, and the processes of formation are purely additive. No liaison is marked in the script. They are formed by reduplication (see 1.2.1), by parataxis (see 1.2.2) and by hypotaxis (see 1.2.3).

1.2.1. Reduplication

Compound words formed by reduplication occur in either identical reduplication (gemination) or with phonological dissimilation in one member (broken reduplicative) (conventional sign: AA). Certain well-

³ And if Modern Chinese is any guide at all, nothing in the phonology.

"It can also be argued that languages like Chinese, Vietnamese and Tai, belong to a language type' where analysis at the phonological level is unlikely to produce sufficient criteria for the formal classification of items at the grammatical level of analysis." See H. F. Simon, p. 554, and P. J. Honey, p. 534 ff.

⁴ See Appendix II.

⁵ This two-part division of words corresponds to a traditional or institutionalized division, because plerematic words in Chinese poetry have a full stress in the reckoning of metre, and are called *shyr tzyh* (實字) "full" or "fully stressed" words, while cenematic words are elided in the reckoning of metre and thus are called *shiu tzyh* (虛字) "empty" or "void" words. The lexicons of "empty words" of Yang Shuh-dar (see YSD(1)) and Peir Shyue-hae (see Peir (1)) are based on this traditional division.

defined class-meanings are created by reduplication. Reduplication creates a distributive form, with the class-meaning "a totality conceived as a series, or a sequence, of given instances" (see examples (a) below). Reduplication creates a frequentative form, with the class-meaning "actions or states in a repetitive pattern" (see examples (b) below). Reduplication creates an intensive form with the class-meaning "in an intense degree" (see examples (c) below). Other reduplicatives occur, the class-meaning of which is obscure.⁶

EXAMPLES

(a)

Tzyy (子) "a child," and thus *Tzyy-tzyy suen duō shyh chyi yeong bao* (子子孫多世其永寶) "May my sons [from oldest to youngest] and my grandchildren, for all generations, eternally treasure [this vessel]" (BAG).

Suen (孫) "a grandchild," and thus *Tzyy-tzyy suen-suen yeong bao yong* (子子孫孫永寶用) "May my sons [from oldest to youngest] and my grandchildren [in their turn] forever treasure and use [this vessel]" (MGD).

(b)

Yann (燄) "to break into flame" and thus *yann-yann* "to flicker," ... *huoo, shyh yann-yann jyue iou jwo, shiuh, fwu chyi jyue* (... 火始燄燄厥攸灼絃弗其絕) "... fire, which at first just flickers, but what it burns, before long, has passed the point of recovery" (lit: Fire/at first/flickers/it/that which/burns/before long/cannot/it/stop) (LG. 50.14).

Kuoh (聒) "loud talk" and thus *kuoh-kuoh* "to clamour" in *Jin ruu kuoh-kuoh* (今汝聒聒) "Now you are clamouring" (Parn Geng 19.19).

(c)

Pi (丕) "great" and thus *pi-pi* "very great" as, for example, in *Bih woo pi-pi ji* (弼我丕丕基) "[Heaven] supports our very great foundation" (DG. 38.2).

Muh (穆) "impressive" and thus *muh-muh* "most impressive" as in *Parnng tzuoh muh-muh yuh-herng* (旁作穆穆御衡) "On all sides [you] have become the most impressive of arbiters" (lit: Sides/become/most-impressive/control/balance) (LG. 50.23).

Iong (庸) "as always," *jy* (祇) "respect," and *uei* (威) "fearful" occur in the following: *Iong-iong, jy-jy, uei-uei shean min* (庸庸祇祇威顯民) "[King Wen] was most consistent, most respectful, most awe-inspiring, and glorified by the people" (KG. 38.17).

Other examples of reduplication are:

shing-shiang (馨香)**xiang-xiang* "fragrance" (JG. 44.13).

⁶ Reduplication is not a form frequently occurring in the material, but it is well attested for the period since in bronze inscriptions there is an orthographic convention in which the sign followed by a small marginal (二) "twice" indicates "reduplication," as for example on inscription no. 12, first plate, line 6.

bao-baw (保抱)**pōg-b'ōg* "to hold a baby in the arms" (SG. 47.15).

u-hu (嗚呼) an interjection (texts *passim*).

pu-boh (逋播)**pwo-pwâr*, "driven out, banished" (DG. 34.24).

1.2.2. Parataxis

Compound words formed by parataxis are composed of single words of contrastive or similar meaning in simple or alternative connection.

1.2.2.1. Contrastive Meaning—Simple Connection

Pairs of words with contrastive meaning and in simple connection (A and B) (conventional sign: A+B) create a class of compound words with the class-meaning "denoting a generic or abstract concept." Each member denotes a species of which the resulting compound is the generic term, or concrete instances of which the resulting compound word is the abstraction.

EXAMPLES

shiau-yeang (孝養) treat as elders/feed elders—"to behave properly in general towards elders" (JG. 44.1).

yin-shyr (飲食) drink/eat—"to feed in general" (JG. 44.2).

tzuu-kao (祖考) grandfather/father—"forbears" (JG. 41.27).

uei-yi (威儀) prestige/deportment—"dignity" (JG. 44.10).

mang-jwo (盲拙) blind/slow-witted—"imperceptive, dull of understanding" (BAG).

tean-luh (殄戮) kill/punish with death—"extermination" (SG. 50.1).

1.2.2.2. Contrastive Meaning—Alternative Connection

Pairs of words with contrastive meaning and in alternative connection (A or B) (conventional sign: A/B) create a class of compound words with the class-meaning "denoting an abstraction." The contrastive meaning, in this class, is usually antonymic in some sense.

EXAMPLES

sheau-dah (小大) small/great—"all, great or small" (MGD).

shang-shiah (上下) upper/lower—"all, high or low" (JHG).

suh-shih (夙夕) early morning/evening—"always, constantly" (DYD).

jau-shih (朝夕) daybreak/evening—"always, constantly" (DYD).

tzuo-yow (左右) left/right > "standing left or right" "courtiers," as verb "serve as courtiers" (LFY).

chu-ruh (出入) go out/come in—"envoys" (MGD).

ney-way (內外) within/outside—"either within or beyond the Royal domain" > "everywhere" (MGD).

yeuan-eel (遠邇) far/near—“places far or near” > “everywhere” (*Parn Geng* 19.22).

doan-charng (短長) short/long—“short or long in length,” “various,” as, for example, in *nae doan-charng jy ming* (乃短長之命) “Your charges of various kinds” (*Parn Geng* 19.26).

1.2.2.3. Identical Meaning—Simple Connection (Tautological Hendiadys)

Pairs of words with identical or similar meaning in simple connection create a class of compound words, tactically interchangeable with either member used singly (conventional sign: A=B). (This form is rare in EAC and appears to be used *metri causa*.)

EXAMPLES

shuh-chyun (庶群) all/all—“the masses” (*JG*. 44.13).

shya-tih (遐歎) distant/distant—“a distant place, afar” (*DS*. 54.26).

tzong-yu (縱淫) loose/loose—“laxity, licentiousness” (*JG*. 44.10).

jyr-jiu (執拘) grasp hold of/grasp hold of—“arrest” (*JG*. 44.18).

1.2.2.4. Partial Identity of Meaning—Simple Connection (Morphological Hendiadys)

Pairs of words with identical or similar meaning, but which vary in the total extensions and intensions of their meanings, create a class of compound words, the meaning of which is confined to that of the meanings shared in common by its parts.

EXAMPLES

jenn-chern (朕臣) status pronoun/status pronoun “your servant/your subject”; as verb “to serve as a subject” as in *jenn-chern tian-tzyy* (朕臣天子) “I will serve the Son of Heaven as his [loyal] servant and subject” (*JHG*).

guan-shiing (觀省) look at, gaze at, contemplate/look at, examine, inspect > “be on the watch for” (*JG*. 44.2).

shi-chyr (攜持) take by hand, drag/take by hand, grasp, hold > “lead forth by the hand” (*SG*. 47.15).

jing-yng (經營) plan/lay out (a city, or building) > “to lay out a plan” (*SG*. 47.7).

1.2.3. Hypotaxis

Compound words formed by hypotaxis fall into two sub-classes, depending upon whether the modifying term precedes or follows the term it modifies. The tactical processes are identical with those employed

in syntagma, and with those governing the relationship of the verb and its post-positd elements, and are described in detail later (see 2.6 ff. and 2.7). The two classes are determinative compounds where the modifying element precedes, and directive compounds where the modifying element follows the modified element (conventional sign: determinative A→B, directive A←B).

EXAMPLES

Determinative Compounds

tian-tzyy (天子) “Heaven’s/son”—“the King” (*SHG*).

tay-bao (大保) “great/protect”—“The Grand Guardian” (*TBG*).

how-ren (後人) after/man—“descendants” (*LQG*).

sheau-tzyy (小子) small/child—“a child,” “you” in addressing a child. “I” in a child speaking of itself (Texts and inscriptions *passim*).

hoei-yan (誨言) instruct/words—“instruction” (*LG*. 50.11).

bae-liau (百僚) hundred/colleagues—“the administration” (*DS*. 54.24).

Directive Compounds

yuh-shyh (御事) govern/affairs—“officials” (*JG*. 44.4).

shang-shin (傷心) wound/heart—“anguish” (*JG*. 44.11).

tzuo-h-tseh (作冊) make/record—“Recorder” (*TTY*).

1.3. Words and Grammatical Word-classes

Words, whether composed of one morpheme or formed from compounding two morphemes, whether of the class designated plerematic or cenematic (see 1.1.1), are divided into sub-classes as follows.

1.3.1. Classes among Cenematic Words

Cenematic words constitute the grammatical repertory of the lexicon. They consist of (i) *particles*, where their function is to indicate a tactical relationship between plerematic words. Particles operate at the second and third levels of distribution. (See, for example, 2.5; 2.6.2; 3.6, etc.) (ii) *grammatical determinants*, where their function is to impose grammatical quality upon the word they determine. Grammatical determinants also operate at the second and third levels. (See, for example, 3.3.1; 3.3.2; etc.) (iii) *conjunctions*, where their function is to indicate a tactical relationship between units at the first level. (See 5.3; 5.4.) (iv) *substitutes*, which occur at all levels where their function is to substitute for plerematic words or word-groups or sentences. (See 6 ff.) (v) *prosodic markers*, where their function is to impose pause, pitch, or stress. (See 3.9.)

1.3.2. Classes among Plerematic Words

At the grammatical level of analysis, "words" partake of the grammatical value of the "matrix" in which they occur. It is a useful operational postulate to suppose that the type of matrix in which any given word will occur is, in the case of all plerematic words, unpredictable.⁷ That is to say, words cannot be assigned to grammatical word-classes *a priori*. Plerematic words are, therefore, not further divided into sub-classes.

1.3.3. Grammatical Quality and Plerematic Words

Any plerematic word occurring as a single element, or as the determined word of a syntagma occurring as a single element in the verbal sentence, has the grammatical value of "substantive" (=S) or "verb" (=V) as follows: *time or place* (S)/*agent* (S)/*instrument* (S)/*verb* (V)/*first post-verbal element* (S)/*second post-verbal element* (S). Where *[subordinate clause]* substitutes for *[instrument]* the determined word has the value (V). Similarly, any plerematic word occurring singly as either of the terms in the determinative sentence or as the determined word of a syntagma has the grammatical value of "substantive" as follows: *determined term* (S)/*copula/determinant term* (S)/*modality*.

All syntagmas have the value "substantive," except in the verbal syntagma. The determinant word in syntagma and the determinant term in the determinative sentence, though having the value (S), have possibility of being nouns of genus or of attribute. Each of the sentential elements segregated above constitutes a "frame" or "matrix." Each is characterized by the cenematic words that occur uniquely in it, or at its boundaries. Thus, for example, agent is characterized by possibility of occurrence of the grammatical determinants called "distributives"; instrument by the "instrumental particles"; verb by the grammatical determinants of aspect and mode; second post-verbal element by the occurrence of the "directive particle."

⁷ In Appendix II counts are given of actual occurrences of all plerematic words occurring with a frequency of five times or more in the sample material. A break-down is also given of the kind of "matrices" in which they occur. These figures show that the probability is greater for a given word to cross a line which might be drawn, for example, between "verbs" and "nouns," than to fall unequivocally on one side or the other.

If plerematic words are now classified as either (S) or (V) as determined words, or as DS (determinants of nouns=nouns of genus or attribute) or DV (determinants of verbs=determinants of manner), four classes are segregated which, for the translator into English, can usually be realized in translation as (S) (DS) (*genus*) nouns, (V) verbs, (DS) (*attribute*) adjectives, and (DV) adverbs. If we place the word *ming* (明) "bright," in a series of the "matrices" in which it occurs in EAC, this will be clearer.

Sentential Level	No.	Time Place	Agent	Conj.	Verb	First Post-verbal element	Second Post-verbal element
Syntagma Level		A-B			Manner Verb		
	1	甲申	明公		用	牲	于京宮
	2		明王		各		周廟
	3				明	大命	于妹邦
	4				明	乃服命	
	5		朕		復	子明辟	
	6		公		明	保	予冲子
	7		我	乃	明	致	天罰

Example no. 1 is from *LFY: Jea-shen, Ming-gong yongq sheng yu Jing-gong* "On the day *chia-shen*, the Duke of Ming sacrificed a sacrificial animal in the Ching Palace." Example no. 2 is from *SYD: Ming, Wang geh Jou-miaw* "At dawn, the King went into the Ancestral Temple of the House of Chou." Example no. 3 is from *JG. 41.23: Ming dah-minq yu Mey-bang* "Expound the Grand Charge to the <ruler of the> State of Mei." Example no. 4 is from *KG. 41.21: Ming nae fwo-minq* "Bring lustre to your charge of duty." Example no. 5 is from *LG. 50.6: Jenn fuh Tzzy, ming-bih* "I make this report to you, my child, my illustrious sovereign." Example no. 6 is from *LG. 50.20: Gong ming bao yu chong-tzzy* "Your Grace, with distinction, protects me, a weak person." Example no. 7 is from *DS. 54.26: Woo nae ming jyh tian far* "I then, with enlightenment, put into effect the punishment of Heaven."

Ming thus occurs as 1. (S) "place name"; 2. (S) "dawn, brightness"; 3. (V) "make bright > make clear > expound"; 4. (V) "make bright > make lustrous > bring lustre to"; 5. (DS) "bright > illustrious"; 6. (DV) "bright, brightly, with lustre, with distinction"; and 7. (DV) "bright, brightly, with light, in an enlightened way."

Since the "slots" in the "matrices" in which *ming* occurs have respectively the value (S), (V), (DS), or (DV), *ming* can be said to partake in such grammatical quality when occurring in those slots, but it cannot usefully be said to be categorically of the class (S), (V), (DS), or (DV) when undistributed. Thus the grammatical values (S), (V), (DS), and (DV) are attributes of a "slot in a matrix" and not of any given words. A word partakes of that value by occurring in the appropriate slot. Grammatical values are thus correlated with distributional frames and are not intrinsic characteristics of words in isolation.

II. Syntagma

2.1. Introduction

"Syntagma" is a unit, intermediate between "word" and "sentence." The elements of a sentence may occur indifferently as single words, compound words, or groups of words. It is the groups of words, functioning as a single element in the sentence, and tactically interchangeable with single words and compound words similarly functioning, for which the unit "syntagma" is designed to account. In observing the distributional order of the elements of a sentence, the distinction /single word/compound word/word group/ has to be disregarded. However, at the third level, the distinction must be maintained. A single morpheme, operating as an element at the second level, is "upgraded" to "word." Two morphemes, similarly "upgraded" may be "compound words." The distribution of such morphemes has already been described in chapter I. But, too, a collocation of words, similarly upgraded, has distributional patterns and cinematic words peculiar to this level and form of distribution and these must now be described.

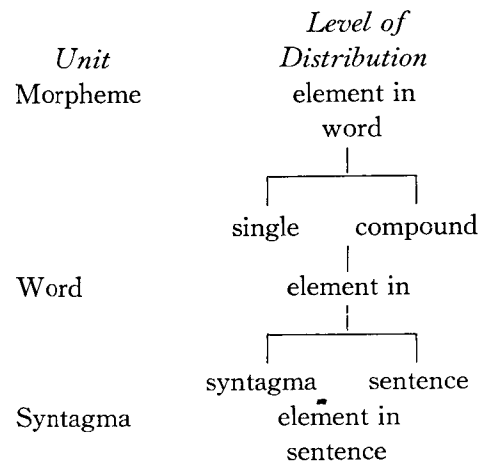
A unit so defined at the third level is called a "syntagma." Its distributional patterns are called "syntagmatic" and the particles peculiar to syntagma are called "syntagmatic particles."

The occurrence as elements or units of the morpheme, word, and syntagma, might be represented as in the diagram on the following page.

2.2. Morphological Functions of Syntagma

Syntagma is a morphological process. The plerematic word undistributed may represent a very broad "field of meaning"¹ and is uncommitted to grammatical quality (see 1.3.3). In syntagma it is invested both with material modifications in meaning and with certain grammatical qualities (that is, it becomes "committed"). The processes of formation of syntagmas are the same as those used for compound words

¹See Dobson (1), p. 14, footnote 22.



(see 1.2 ff.). Syntagmas differ from compound words in being spontaneous groupings, or groupings made as it were *ad hoc* in contrast to the customary groupings of compound words. Unlike compound words, they are neither institutionalized within the language nor do they acquire specialized meanings (see 1, footnote 1.)

2.2.1. Syntagma and the Rule of Economy

It is a peculiarity of the language that many of the modifications (both material and grammatical) made not only at the syntagma, but also at other levels, are not made of prescriptive necessity. In syntagma, therefore, a verb *may* be invested with both mood and aspect, or a noun be invested with number, but the language is not governed by rules which make such indications matters of required or prescribed usage. A word may, therefore, occur without such qualification and is then said to be "uncommitted" or "neutral" (for example, to mood or aspect or number). Propositions occur in the language stated at a high level of generality and uncommittedness in this regard. Such particularities are introduced only when they are thought to be material to the sense of the information to be conveyed. Similar economy is employed in the use of particles. A particle which in this description is stated to be "characteristic of" or "diagnostic of" a given structure does not necessarily always occur (as a matter of prescription) in that structure. The statement must be taken to mean that the particle will occur, and

be characteristic, only when a minimum of economy is employed, but that when economy is employed, the particle may be dropped. In other words, the particle will occur in the paradigm, though not always in the structure as encountered in usage in the material. This feature of the language is here called the "rule of economy."²

In syntagma, therefore, many grammatical features may be introduced, but are not introduced obligatorily, and particles restricted to syntagma may (though not always) be present.

2.3. Syntagmas and Grammatical Quality

With one exception, all syntagmas have the grammatical quality "substantival." The exception is the element occurring at "verb" (β) in the verbal sentence (see 3.3), which has the grammatical quality "verbal." For economy, therefore, the use of the word "syntagma" must be taken to mean "substantival syntagma" unless otherwise specified.

2.4. The Processes of Syntagmatic Formation

Syntagmas are formed by parataxis and hypotaxis (see 2.5 and 2.6). Sub-classes are distinguished among these two classes by formal features. Syntagmas are also formed from downgradings of units from a higher level. Such formations are marked by distinctive particles and are described in 2.10.

2.5. The Parataxical Syntagma

The parataxical syntagma may be formed from two or more words in simple connection (A together with B), or in alternative connection (either A or B) (conventional signs: A + B; A/B). These two classes are differentiated formally when syntagmatic particles are used. Without particles (that is, stated with economy, see 2.2.1) the sub-classes are not formally distinguished. The syntagmatic particles of parataxis are, for simple connection, *yueh* (越粵)³ *giwat, and for alternative connection, *ruoh* (若) *niak.

²See Introduction (iii. h) for a fuller discussion of the rule of economy. Illustrations of the rule in practice will be found in 2.5; 2.6.2; 3.4; 3.5.5; 3.6; 5.1; 2.6.5, footnote 6. etc.

³The first is the text form, the second the sign by which the bronze forms (眾孛) are transliterated. According to *Shuo Wen*, the second form once occurred in *Shu Ching*, but it does not occur in modern texts.

EXAMPLES

(a) Simple connection—no particle

Fuh, tzyy, how-ren yeong bao (婦子後人永寶) “[My wife, [my] children, and [my] descendants, eternally treasure [this vessel]” (LQG).

Hour, diann, nan, wey bang-bor (侯甸男衛邦伯) “Rulers of States of the rank or status of *hou, tien, nan, and wei*” (JG. 44.8).

Jin che (金車) “[a gift] of bronze and of a carriage” (SHG).

Dann bao Wen Wu show min (誕保文武受民) “...to give the utmost protection to the people bequeathed to us by King Wen and King Wu” (LG. 50.25).

Biing Farn Shuu Chaur, (秉繁蜀巢) “Take control of Fan, Shu, and Ch’ao” (BAG).

Tzuoh Jou gong shian (作周恭先) “You have become the respected and pre-eminent [statesman] of Chou” (LG. 54.1).

Shaang yeou chang bey (賞卣鬯貝) [I] was awarded a jar of sacrificial wine and some couriers” (SSH).

(b) Alternative connection—no particle

Yueh woo i ell bang... (越我一二邦) “As to our few [lit: one or two] states...” (KG. 38.17).

Fwu niann wuu liow ryh (服念五六日) “Submit it to consideration for five or six days” (KG. 41.3).

Wuh yong fei mou fei yi (勿用非謀非彝) “Do not avail [yourself] of [procedures] contrary to advice, or contrary to custom” (KG. 41.18).

(c) Simple connection, with syntagmatic particle

Eel bang-jiun yueh eel duo shyh (爾邦君越爾多士) “You, rulers of states and you, the Knights!” (DG. 34.27).

Sheen Tay-shyy yeou, Ney-shyy yeou, yueh shiann chern bae tzong-gong... (矧太史友內史友越獻臣百宗工...) “How much more so [does this apply to] your associate, the *T’ai-shih*, your associate, the *Nui-shih*, and your able servants and skilled craftsmen of all kinds...” (JG. 44.16).

Wei jyue jenq-ren yueh sheau chern ju jye (... 惟厥正人越小臣諸節) “...and too, their senior officers and minor retainers of all ranks” (KG. 41.10).

...ruu ell ren, Uang yueh Tseh... (... 女二人尤粵矢) “...You two men, Wang and Ts’è...” (LFY).

Wang ling shyh Shang yueh Shyy Yn (王令士上粵史寅) “The king commanded [me] the knight Shang and the Annalist Yin...” (SSH).

Gong-tzuu yueh tsan yeou-sy, sheau-tzyy, shy-shyh, hu-cherh yueh jenn jyr-shyh (公族粵參有司小子師氏虎臣粵朕執事) “... of your own clan, and of the three court officers, the *Hsiao-tzu*, the *Shih-shih*, and the *Hu-ch’ên*, and of my court officials” (MGD).

(d) Alternative connection—with particle⁴

⁴This is the only occurrence of *ruoh* as a co-ordinate conjunction in the material, but in LAC *ruoh* is well attested as a selective conjunction. This example is cited by Yang Shuh-dar (YSD (I), p. 90) as an example of selective conjunction, but by Peir Shyue-hae (Peir (I), p. 563) as an example of simple connection (若猶與也). Though aware of the dangers of introducing Indo-European bias, this example is not very clear to me.

Shyi Jou-gong iue “*Bay shoou chii shoou, leu Wang ruoh Gong*” (錫周公曰拜手稽首旅王若公) “He presented them to the Duke of Chou saying ‘I bow deeply and salute you. Praise to the King, praise to the Duke of Chou’” (SG. 47.11).

NOTE. There is a tendency to avoid simple connection in EAC by reiteration as, for example, in:

Tian ji ming ding ming (天基命定命) “The Mandate of Heaven to found and establish [a new city]” (lit: Heaven’s/found/mandate/establish/mandate) (LG. 50.6).
... *shyh jyue kao jyue jaang* (事厥考厥長) “... to serve their fathers and seniors” (JG. 41.28).

... *yeou tseh yeou dean* (有冊有典) “had records and documents” (DS. 54.23).

Eel nae yeou gann yeou nian yu tzy Luoh (爾乃有幹有年于茲洛) “You then will have both a livelihood and length of days in this city of Lo” (DS. 57.2).

... *Show min show jiang-tuu* (受民受疆土) “... in accepting the people and their territories” (DYD).

Yong suey yong jeng (用歲用征) “to be used in sacrifices and in field service” (MGD).

Fu ming fu jenq (敷命敷政) “to proclaim the Mandate and its policies” (MGD).

2.6. The Hypotaxical Syntagma

The hypotaxical syntagma may be of two classes, the first the *determinative* (see 2.6.1 ff.) and the second the *directive* (see 2.7).

2.6.1. Determinative

The determinative syntagma may be formed from two or more words or groups of words. The final word is modified in meaning-reference by all words that precede it (conventional sign: $A \rightarrow B$ or $A(A \rightarrow B) \rightarrow B$, etc.). The grammatical value given to its elements is substantival. The structure most frequently occurring in the material is $A \rightarrow B$ as, for example, *wang jia* (王家) “the Royal Household,” but $A(A \rightarrow B) \rightarrow B$ as, for example in *Wen-wang jiaow* (文王教) “King Wen’s teaching,” and $A \rightarrow B(A \rightarrow B)$ as, for example, in *In shiann chern* (殷獻臣) “Yin’s worthy subjects,” are almost as frequent, while more complex structures, such as $A \rightarrow B(A(A \rightarrow B) \rightarrow B(A(Md\beta) \rightarrow B(A \rightarrow B)))$ also occur, as, for example, in *Woo shi-tuu fei tzuu bang jiun* (我西土渠徂邦君) “The rulers of the states of our Western Territory still living” (lit: Our/Western/Territory/are not/gone/state’s/rulers) (JG. 44.4).

2.6.2. The Determinant Word

The determinant word (A in the structure $A \rightarrow B$) may occur in one

of two classes of substantival usage. In the first class, the determinant word denominates the species-class to which the determined word is said to pertain, and, in the second class, it denominates an attribute in which the determined word is said to partake. The particle of determination *jy* (之) *tiəg (conventional sign: →) has the possibility of occurrence in the first class only. For *jy*, *chyi* (其) *kiəg (3×), and *jyue* (厥) *kiwat (1×) occasionally substitute.⁵

EXAMPLES

Class 1 (without particles)

- Tuu wuh* (土物) earth/goods "the produce of the land" (JG. 41.27).
Guu ren (古人) antiquity/man "the men of antiquity" (SG. 47.18).
Min jy (民祗) people/respect "the respect of the common people" (DS. 54.17).
In yi (殷彝) Yin/custom "Yin customs" (KG. 41.3).
Tzong lii (宗禮) ancestral temple/rites "the Ancestral Temple rites" (LG. 50.24).
Dih shyh (帝事) God/service "service towards God" (DS. 54.19).
Syh-fang jyi (四方極) four-directions/model "A model to the [States of the] Four Quarters" (BAG).

Class 1 (with particle)

- Tian jy shiou* (天之休) "Heaven's grace" (LG. 50.9).
Ruu Feng jy shin (汝封之心) "Your mind, Feng!" (KG. 47.5).
Tian jy far (天之罰) "the punishment of Heaven" (DS. 57.2).
Far jy shing (罰之行) "the carrying out of criminal proceedings" (KG. 41.16).
Wen-wang jy jing jih (文王之敬忌) "the care and caution of King Wen" (KG. 41.14).
Jou-gong chyi how (周公其後) "The successor to the Duke of Chou" (LG. 54.7).
Jenn chyi dih (朕其弟) "my younger brother" (KG. 38.16).

⁵ See Appendix II, note to Table V.

It is the possibility of this particle occurring that determines whether the determination is of attribute or species. In EAC, the particle, however, is of very low frequency (*jy* 15×, *chyi* 3×, *jyue* 1×) and such non-contrasting pairs as *In ming* and *In jy ming* "Yin's Mandate" (JG. 44.5 and DS. 54.10); *Tian far* and *Tian jy far* "the punishment of Heaven" (DS. 57.2 and DS. 54.26); *Tian jy shiou* and *Tian-tzyy shiou* "the grace of Heaven," "the grace of the Son of Heaven" (LG. 50.9 and SHG), occur with formal, though not with material, contrast. The contrast, however, is material in the pair *Der jy shuo* and *Der yan* "the principles of virtue" and "virtuous words" (KG. 41.16 and KG. 38.20). Conversely, the particle of determination, when it does occur, never occurs between a determinant word used as an attribute and the word it determines. In the frequency range, five occurrences or more, forty-four words occur as determinant words, with a total number of occurrences of 516, of which, in only nineteen instances, the particles of determination are used.

Ming gong yin jyue shiou (明公尹厥休) "the grace of the Governor, the Duke of Ming" (LFY).

Class 2

- Dah Ming* (大命) "the Grand Charge" (JG. 41.23).
Shin yih (新邑) "the New City" (DS. 54.9).
Hwang tzong (皇宗) "the August Clan" (LQG).
Sheau gwo (小國) "a minor State" (DS. 54.11).
Jiunn min (俊民) "eminent commoners" (DS. 54.14).
Ming der (明德) "resplendent virtue" (SG. 50.4).
Shian wang (先王) "former kings" (MGD).
Jiow ren (舊人) "old [i. e., experienced] men" (DG. 38.2).
Leu fwu (旅服) "travelling clothes" (SYD).
Fwu-diaw Tian (弗弔天) "unpitying [i. e., impartial] Heaven" (DG. 34.16).
Wu-jiang dah-lih fwu (無疆大歷服) "endless and innumerable duties" (lit: lack/ boundary/great/number/duty) (DG. 34.17).
Ju fuh (朱市) "a scarlet apron" (MGD).
Tsong herng (葱珩) "a jade-green girdle-pendant" (MGD).

2.6.3. The Determinant Word—Possessive

No formal distinction is made between categorical determinations (B of the class A) and determinations of possession (B possessed by A), so that to Class 1 of 2.6.2 must be added:

EXAMPLES

- Nae tzuu Nan-gong chyi* (乃祖南公旂) "the hunting-flag of your ancestor, the Duke of Nan" (DYD).
Bih-gong jia (畢公家) "the household of the Duke of Pi" (SHG).
Ding-gong baw (丁公報) "Duke Ting's award" (LQG).
Shang-wang shyh (商王士) "Knights of the King of Shang" (DS. 54.9).

2.6.4. The Determinant Word (Quasi-Attributes)

Words describing the tools of the material pertaining to a vocation are used as determinant words in formations creating vocational names (no particle).

EXAMPLES

- Seh fu* (稽夫) harvest/man "a farmer" (DG. 38.11).
[†]*ge ren* (戠人) spear/man "a spearman" (BAG).

Words describing the materials of which objects are made are used as determinant words with the class meaning "made of" or "decorated with."

EXAMPLES

- Bey jow* (貝冑) cowrie/cap "a cap, decorated with cowrie shells" (SYD).
Jin jea (金甲) metal/mail "a coat of mail, of bronze" (SYD).
Yuh hwan (玉環) jade/circlet "a circlet of jade" (MGD).
Yu fwu (魚箠) fish/quiver "a quiver of fishskin" (MGD).
Hu mi (虎幘) tiger/cover "a carriage canopy of tiger skin" (MGD).

Decrees and commands are identified in determination by their subject matter or contents.

EXAMPLES

- Tian ji ming ding ming* (天基命定命) "the decree of Heaven ordering the founding and establishing [of a new city]" (LG. 50.6).
Jeng ling (征令) "the decree ordering the punitive expedition" (TBG).
San shyh ling (三事令) "the decree concerning the 'three affairs'" (LFY).
Tian yow dah ming (天佑大命) "the Great Mandate 'Heaven assists'" (DYD).

2.6.5. Proper Names in Determination

Proper names (both personal names, see 2.6.2, and geographical names, as follows) occur as the determinant word.

EXAMPLES

- Mey-bang* (妹邦) "the State of Mei" (JG. 41.23).
Haur-jing (鎬京) "the capital city, Hao" (SSH).
Shang-yih (商邑) "the city of Shang" (JG. 44.12).
In-gwo (殷國) "the Kingdom of Yin" (JG. 44.12).
Muh-shy (牧師) "the garrison city of Mu" (SCG).
Jou-miaw (周廟) "the Temple of Chou" (SYD).
Kang-gong (康宮) "the Palace of K'ang" (LFY).
Jou-bang (周邦) "the State of Chou" (DG. 38.10).

The determining order is inverted, however, when the determined word [as above] is, itself, determined by an attribute.

EXAMPLES

- Tian yih Shang* (天邑商) "the heavenly city, Shang" (DS. 54.24).
Shin yih Luoh (新邑洛) "the new city of Lo" (DS. 54.9).
Sheau-bang Jou (小邦周) "the small state of Chou" (DG. 38.1).
Dah gwo In (大國殷) "the great kingdom of Yin" (SG. 47.12).

Unlike LAC, proper names occur in EAC as determined words.

EXAMPLES

- Guang Fuh-yii* (光父乙) "the illustrious Fu-yi" (SHG).

- Cherng Tang* (成湯) "successful T'ang" (DS. 54.14).
Ning Wu (寧武) "blessed Wu" (DG. 34.22).
Tzy Luoh (茲洛) "this city, Lo" (DS. 54.27).
Shyr Shiah (時夏) "this Hsia (king)" (DS. 54.13).

As in LAC, in the composition of name, rank, and title, the personal name occurs in the distribution *place/P.N./title* and/or *rank/*.

EXAMPLES

- Chuu-bor* (楚伯) "the Earl of Ch'u" (LQG).
Jiing-hour (井侯) "the Lord of Ching" (JHG).
Jou-gong (周公) "the Duke of Chou" (JHG).
Cherng-wang (成王) "King Ch'êng" (SYD).
Gong, tay-shyy (公太史) "his Grace, the Grand Annalist" (TTY).

Unlike LAC, the personal name also occurs in the distribution *place/rank* or *title/P.N.*⁶

EXAMPLES

- Wang Jiang* (王姜) "Queen Chiang" (LQG).
Dih Yii (帝乙) "the God-King Yi" (JG. 44.6).
Shyy Yn (史寅) "the Annalist, Yin" (SSH).
Tzuo-hseh Tseh-ling (作册矢令) "the Recorder Ts'ê-ling" (LQG).
Gong yiin Bor-ding-fuh (公尹白懋父) "his Grace, Governor Po-ting-fu" (LQG).
Luh-tzyy, Sheng (录子聃) "Sheng, Baronet of Lu" (TBG).

2.6.6. Determination and Spatial Relations

Plerematic words with the class-meaning "denoting a spatial relation-

⁶ Thus, the Grand Guardian (*Tay-bao*), Shih (*Shyh*), the Lord (*jiun*), or Earl (*bor*) and, subsequently, Duke (*gong*) of Shao (*shaw*), is referred to variously in bronze inscriptions as follows. Note both the order of assembly and the operation of the rule of economy and too, the degrees of economy which occur (see 2.2.1).

Place	Rank	Title	P. N.
召	大保	□	爽
□	大保	□	□
□	□保	□	爽
□	□□	君	爽
召	□□	公	□
召	□□	伯	□

ship⁷ occur both as determinant and as determined words. As determinant words, they are attributive (no particle).

EXAMPLES

- Dong-shy* (東尸) "the Eastern Tribes" (SCG).
Shi-tuu (西土) "the Western Territories" (JG. 41.23).
Nan-men (南門) "the South Gate" (SYD).
Jong tyng (中廷) "the Central Court" (SYD).
Way shyh (外事) "public affairs" ("outside" as against "inside" which is "domestic") (KG. 41.2).

As determined words they provide, in syntagma, for certain particulars of direction that the directive particle *yu* (于) does not indicate. The determining order is "object in relation to which the spatial position exists/the spatial relation."

EXAMPLES

- Her-shuoh* (河朔) "north of the Ho" (LG. 50.7).
Jiann-shoei dong (澗水東) "east of the Chien River" (LG. 50.8).
Tuu jong (土中) "in the centre of the territory" (SG. 47.20).
Tian'shiah (天下) Heaven/below "the world" (SG. 50.2).

2.6.7. Determinant Words with Grammatical Class-meanings

Four classes are distinguished among determinant words which are used either exclusively as determinant words (for example, the determinant forms of the pronouns) or used with grammatical implications (for example, the numerals because they impose grammatical number). These are: (1) *pronominal determinants*; (2) *demonstrative determinants*; (3) *privatives*; (4) *determinants of number*; and (5) *determinants of collectivity and restriction*.

2.6.7.1. Pronominal Determinant Words

The personal non-status pronouns (see 6.2) are *yu* *dio (texts: 予 inscriptions: 余) for person speaking and *ruu* *nio (texts: 汝 inscriptions: 女) for person addressed.

⁷ These words comprise the points of the compass, *dong* (東) "east," *nan* (南) "south," *shi* (西) "west," *bee* (北) "north," and *jong* (中) "centre." Also, *ney* (內) "inside," *way* (外) "outside," *shanq* (上) "top," *shiah* (下) "bottom," and *chyan* (前) "before," *how* (後) "after," and certain other forms such as *shuoh* (朔) "north," etc.

In the first person, two status pronouns occur, namely, *woo* (我) *ngâ (exalted form) and *jenn* (朕) *diang (deprecatory form).

Of these pronouns in the first person, only *woo* and *jenn* occur as determinant words, while in the second person *nae* (乃) *næg replaces *ruu* as the determinant form.⁸

The anaphoric pronouns *jy* (之) *tiæg, post-verbal form, and *chyi* (其) *kiæg, agential form (see 3.5.2) are replaced by *jyue* (厥) *kiwat for the determinant form.⁹

EXAMPLES

(i) First Person—Exalted Form

- Woo bang woo jia* (我邦我家) "Our State and Dynastic House" (MGD).
Woo min (我民) "Our people" (LG. 50.20).

⁸ *Ruu/nae* is consistently replaced by *eel* (爾) *niar, in *DS*, and, with one exception in *DG*. In *JG*, *eel* replaces seven times in fourteen. *Eel* is not attested on inscriptions. Occurrences are as follows:

	<i>ruu</i>	<i>nae</i>	<i>eel</i>
<i>DS</i>	—	—	35
<i>DG</i>	—	1	14
<i>JG</i>	4	3	7

See Appendix II p. 252.

⁹ The anaphoric pronouns do not distinguish person or number and neither are they only personal. They have the class-meaning "substituting for sentential or syntagmatic elements, from a reluctance to repeat" (See Dobson (1), p. 94).

The contrast in the use of *woo* and *yu* as first person pronouns, is clearly a matter of status. Used by Kings, *woo* occurs in both pregnant and determinant usages, in contexts where a King identifies himself with the Throne and the State, much as, in similar contexts, the Imperial "We" occurs in English. Used by speakers other than Kings, *woo* is confined to contexts where the speaker is either speaking on the King's behalf, or speaking on behalf of himself and someone else (i. e., where a non-status or deprecatory form would be inappropriate), as a sort of inclusive "we."

Jenn occurs as the determinant form and, in contexts where self-deprecation is indicated, as a pregnant form. *Yu* occurs, by contrast, as a pregnant form only, with no apparent overtones of status. In *LAC*, *yu* is archaic, and *woo* is the commonly occurring non-status pronoun.

Although a variety of pronominal forms might, in a literary text, be attributed to the hazards of copying and transmission, no such contingency is possible in a bronze inscription. The *yu/woo/jenn* distinction is observed strictly in the bronze material. In the two longest inscriptions, the *MGD* and the *DYD*, occurrences are as follows:

	det.	<i>Woo</i> preg.	<i>Yu</i>	<i>Jenn</i>
<i>MGD</i>	5	5	5	2
<i>DYD</i>	—	4	3	2

Woo yeou bang jiun (我友邦君) "Those rulers of states friendly to us" (lit: Our/friendly/state/rulers) (DG. 34.23).

Woo pi-pi ji (我不丕基) "Our very great foundation" (DG. 38.2).

Woo jiaw-tsyrr (我教辭) "Our instructions" (JG. 44.20).

Woo jeng (我征) "Our campaign" (SYD).

Woo shyh (我事) "Our state affairs" (DS. 54.20).

Woo tzong (我宗) "Our [Royal] Clan" (DS. 54.26).

(ii) First Person—Deprecatory Form

Jenn sheau-shyue (朕小學) "my first school" (DYD).

Jenn ming (朕命) "my orders" (DYD).

Jenn shin jenn der (朕心朕德) "my mind and my virtue" (KG. 41.6).

Jenn tzyy (朕子) "my child" (LG. 54.5).

Jenn jyr-shyh (朕執事) "my court officers" (MGD).

(iii) Second Person

Nae jyh (乃智) "your wisdom" (MGD).

Nae tzuu (乃祖) "your clan" (MGD).

Nae fwu (乃服) "your service" (MGD).

Nae liau (乃僚) "your associates" (LFY).

Nae shy (乃師) "your army" (BAG).

Nae bih, i ren (乃辟一人) "your sovereign, the Lonely One" (DYD).

Nae tzuu Nan-gong (乃祖南公) "your ancestor, the Duke of Nan" (DYD).

Nae jenq (乃正) "your senior officers" (DYD).

(iv) Anaphora

Jyue bang (厥邦) "my State" (i.e., the speaker's, who identifies himself in the previous context as *yu* "I") (Parn Geng 22.12).

Jyue hwang gong (厥皇公) "our august Duke" (i.e., of the speaker's family) (BAG).

Jyue kao (厥考) "our father" as in: *Mey sy-tuu PN yueh Twu tzuoh jyue kao tzuen yi* (妹司土送粵圖作厥考尊彝) "PN, the *ssu-t'u* of Mei, and I, T'u, had this honoured sacral vessel made in honour of our deceased father" (Kang-hour Goei (see Chern (I) p. 161)).

Jyue tzay (厥載) "your load" as in: *Ruoh cherng jou, ruu fwu jih, chow jyue tzay* (若乘舟汝弗濟臭厥載) "It is like ferrying goods across a river by boat. If you do not get across [safely], you spoil your load" (Parn Geng 22.13).

Jyue der (厥德) "their [i. e., King Wên and King Wu's] virtue" (MGD).

Jyue ming (厥命) "Its [i. e., Heaven's] Mandate" (MGD).

Jyue shyh (厥事) "his duties" as in: *Gong gaw jyue shyh yu Shanq* (公告厥事于上) "The Duke reported [the fulfilment of] his duties to the King" (BAG).

Jyue chern, Shiann (厥臣獻) "me, his servant, Hsien" (SHG).

Jyue gu (厥辜) "his crime" (KG. 38.27).

2.6.7.2. Demonstrative Determinant Words

The demonstratives (see. 6.4) are deictic in type and distinguish relative nearness to the point of reference. They are *tzy* (茲) *tsiəŋ, and

shyr (時) *diəŋ, "this," "these," and *bii* (彼) *pia, "that," "those." These demonstratives occur also as determinant words.

EXAMPLES

Shyr nieh shyh (時臬事) "these criminal matters" (KG. 41.4).

Shyr Shiah (時夏) "that [king of] Hsia" (DS. 54.13).

Tzy Dong-tuu (茲東土) "these Eastern Territories" (KG. 38.19).

Tzy Luoh (茲洛) "this [city of] Lo" (DS. 54.27).

Tzy ming (茲命) "this Mandate" (DG. 38.1).

Tzy ell gwo ming (茲二國命) "the Mandate of these two kingdoms" (SG. 47.26).

Tzy jeou (茲酒) "this wine" (JG. 41.24).

Tzy yi (茲彝) "this sacral vessel" (TBG).

Tzy tzenq (茲贈) "these gifts" (MGD).

2.6.7.3. Privative Determinant Words

Certain words with the class-meaning of "negation," when occurring as the determinant word in syntagmas, create privatives. These are the formal indicative negatives *bu* (不) *pwət, and *fwu* (弗) *piwət (see 3.3.1.1); the copulae of negation *fei* (非 and 隸) *piwər (see 4.2), and the subjunctive negatives *wang* (亡) *miwang and *wu* (無) *miwo (see 3.3.1.3).

EXAMPLES

Buh-tyng fang (不廷方) lit: not/come-to-court/regions "regions not under our jurisdiction" as in: *Shuay hwai buh-tyng fang* (率懷不廷方) "to embrace all those regions not [as yet] under our jurisdiction" (MGD).

Bwu-jinq (不靜) "restless" as in: *Dah-tzong bwu jinq* (大縱不靜) "They are very lax, and restless" (MGD).

Buh kang-ning (不康寧) lit: not/quiet/peaceful > "unruly" (DS. 54.22).

Fwu-diaw tian (弗弔天) "Unpitying [i. e., impartial] Heaven" (DG. 34.16).

Fwu-jinq (弗靜) "unrest" as in: *Ruu jonq tzyh tzuoh fwu-jinq* (汝衆自作弗靜) "You create this unrest yourselves" (Parn Geng 19.27).

Fei yi (非彝) "what is contrary to custom," "practices which depart from custom" (KG. 41.19 and JG. 44.11).

Fei-tzuu (隸徂) lit: not/gone, that is, "alive, extant" as, for example, in: *Woo Shi-tuu fei-tzuu bang-jiun* (我西土隸徂邦君) "The rulers of States in our Western Territories that are still living" (JG. 44.4).

Wang-you (亡尤) "faultlessness, flawlessness," as in: *Wang shiou wang-you* (王休亡尤) "The King's graciousness and faultlessness" (SHG).

Wu-jiang (無疆) without/boundaries "boundless," "endless," as in: *Wu-jiang wei shiou* (無疆惟休) "Boundless is his grace" (SG. 47.13); and *Wu-jiang dah lih fwu* (無疆大歷服) "Endless and innumerable duties" (DG. 34.17).

Wu-tzuey (無醉) without/drunkenness "sobriety," as in: ... *der jiang wu-tzuey*

(德將無醉)“... then your virtue would be that of sobriety” (JG. 41.26).

2.6.7.4. Determinants of Number

It is not characteristic of “nominal quality” that it differentiates “number.” Number, when number is material to the information to be conveyed, is imposed upon the noun by the determinants of number. These are the numerals used as determinant words (see 7.5 on numbers and their syntax), and certain words having quantitative implications.

2.6.7.4.1. Definite Number

Definite or specific number is imposed upon nouns by the occurrence, as determinant words, of the numerals. The determining order is “number/enumerated noun.”

EXAMPLES

Shyr yeh (十葉) “ten generations” (SHG).

Ell ren (二人) “two men” (LG. 50.10).

San nian (三年) “three years” (BAG).

Wuu liow ryh (五六日) “five or six days” (KG. 41.3).

Wann nian (萬年) “ten thousand years” (LG. 54.5).

NOTE. Ordinals and cardinals are not distinguished. *Liow ryh* (as above) is thus “six days,” but in SG. 47.5, *liow ryh* is “the sixth day.” Compare also with the third example above, *Wei Wang ell shyr yow san syh* (桂王升又三祀) “in the twenty-third year of the King” (DYD). Compare also *san shyh* (三事) “three affairs” (LFY) and *san men* (三門) “the Third Gate” (SYD).

The determining order “enumerated noun/number” also occurs.

EXAMPLES:

Niou ell (牛二) “two oxen” (SG. 47.9).

Shing niou i (騂牛一) “one red ox” (LG. 54.7).

Gong i shyy bae (弓一矢百) “one bow and a hundred arrows” (SYD).

Bey jow i (貝冑一) “one cap decorated with cowrie shells” (SYD).

2.6.7.4.2. Indefinite Use of Numerals

Certain of the numerals, in addition to their use in specifying precise number, are used in an indefinite or approximate sense. These are *bae* (百)/hundred/“a large number, all,” and *san* (三)/three/“a small number, several.” Similarly, *i-ell* (一二) one/two, and *ell-san* (二三) two/

three, also occur in the sense of “a few, several.”

EXAMPLES

Bae-gong (百工) “skilled craftsmen of all kinds in official service” (LFY, etc.).
Bae-liau (百僚) hundred/colleagues “the administrative hierarchy generally” (DS. 54.24).

Bae-bih (百辟) hundred/princes “the fief-holders of the Imperial domain” (DYD).
Bae-shing (百姓) hundred/names “the aristocracy [i. e., the named ones] generally, the gentry” (SSH).

Bae jiun-tzyy (百君子) hundred/ruler’s/sons “the nobility” (SG. 50.4).

San Jou (三周) three/Chou “the several most senior ministers of Chou” (the previous context makes clear that there actually were six) (SYD).

San shyh (三事) “the several affairs of state” (LFY).

Ell-san jenq (二三正) “several senior officers” (DYD).

I-ell bang (一二邦) “a few states” (KG. 38.17).

NOTE. Other examples of the specialized use of numbers are *syh* (四) “four” as in *syh fang* (四方) “the four directions,” that is, “on all four sides,” but also, and perhaps as an extension of this, *syh grwo* (四國) “the (vassal) kingdoms on all four sides” (i. e., north, south, east, and west of the Imperial domain), and not “four kingdoms” (DS. 54.26). Cf. also *syh fuu* (四輔) “the four helpers” (LG. 50.26) for the senior ministers, where, almost certainly, “the ministers that immediately surround me” is meant, rather than a specific four. *I* “one” also occurs in the sense of “as a whole, the entire, all,” as, for example, in *jyi i fang* (極一方) “be a model ruler to all the regions” (MGD), with which compare *tzuoeh syh fang jyi* (作四方極) “become a model ruler for the regions on all four sides” (BAG).

2.6.7.4.3. Units of Measure

Units of measure are also determined by numerals, as, for example, in *san shyr liueh* (三十銖) “thirty liueh” (a monetary unit) (MGD), and *fang wuu shyr lii* (方五十里) “fifty miles square” (SYC). Certain other words (i. e., apart from units of measure) also occur in a quantifying sense.

EXAMPLES

Yeou (缶) “a wine vessel,” but a “flaskful” in *yeou chang* (缶鬯) “a flask [or flasks] of sacrificial wine” (SSH).

Leu (旅) “order, sequence,” but “a sequence of, a set” in *leu tzuen yi* (旅陣彝) “a set of honoured sacral vessels” (TTY).

2.6.7.4.4. The Quantification of Enumerated Nouns

It is not a feature of "substantival quality" that it distinguishes between class and member, between the genera itself, and "an instance of," or "instances of" (number of identical instances), or "kinds of" (number of dissimilar instances). In EAC, certain of the distinctions are made when a noun occurs in a syntagma form in which the elements are distributed as "enumerated noun/number/quantification." Thus, *maa syh pi* is horse/four/instances of, that is, "four horses" (MGD), and *chern san piin* is servants/three/kinds of, that is, "servants of three different kinds" (JHG). However, *chern shyr jia* servants/ten/families is "ten families of servants." In EAC, certain of these "quantification" words occur only with certain nouns. They are, as it were, "non-free" or restricted forms. Others occur both as enumerated nouns and as "quantification" words. They are thus not restricted in this sense. Of the former, *pi* "an instance of," is restricted to *maa* "horses," *leang* "an instance of" is restricted to *che* "carriage or chariot," and of the latter, *ren* "man" is used as a quantification word for *chyou* "chiefs," *lih* "slaves," and for *ren* "man" itself (see below), and *bor* "Earl" is the quantification word for "noblemen" generally.

EXAMPLES

Pi "quantifier of horses": *Maa bae syh pi* (馬百四匹) "one hundred and four horses" (SYD); *Maa syh pi iou thei* (馬四匹攸勒) "harness for four horses" (MGD).

Leang "quantifier of carriages, chariots, etc.": *Che san shyr leang* (車三十兩) "thirty chariots of war" (SYD).

Ren "quantifier of human beings": *Lih bae ren* (鬲百人) "one hundred slaves" (LQG); *Chyou ell ren* (署二人) "two Chiefs" (SYD); *Ren wann san chian ba shyr i ren* (人萬三千八十一人) "13,081 men" (SYD).

Fu "quantifier of human beings": *Ren, lih chian yow wuu shyr fu* (人鬲千又五十夫) "1,050 freemen and slaves" (DYD); *Ren, lih tzyh yuh jyh yu shuh ren, liow bae yow wuu shyr yow jeou fu* (人鬲自馭至于庶人六百又五十又九夫) "659 freemen and slaves, from chariot-drivers down to commoners" (DYD).

Bor "quantifier of men of high rank": *Bang sy syh bor* (邦嗣四伯) "four nobles in state service" (DYD); *Yi sy wang chern shyr yow san bor* (夷嗣王臣十又三伯) "13 Yi [i. e., Yin] nobles in the King's service" (DYD); *Jenq chi bor* (鄭七伯) "seven nobles of Cheng" (Yi-hour Tseh Goei) (see Tarng Lan (I), p. 79).

Nouns that quantify themselves

Niou san bae wuu shyr wuu niou (牛三百五十五牛) "355 oxen" (SYD).

Yang san shyr ba yang (羊三十八羊) "38 sheep" (SYD).

Gwo ell-bae san-shyr chi gwo (鬃二百三十七鬃) "237 scalps" (SYD).

2.6.7.4.5. Quantification with Units of Measure

A unit of measure and quasi units of measure may substitute for the "quantification word."

EXAMPLES

Jeu-chang ell yeou (秬鬯二卣) "two flasks of sacrificial wine" (LG. 54.9 and MGD).

Bey shyr perng (貝十朋) "ten strings of cowries" (LQG).

Other words, such as *jia* "a family," *shing* "a family name," *piin* "a kind of," occur where the enumeration is not of "a total of identical instances" as in 2.6.7.4.4, or of "a total of measured amounts" as in 2.6.7.4.5, but of "a total of instances by groups."

EXAMPLES

Chern san piin (臣三品) "three kinds of servants" (in this case, servants from three different localities, and not three servants) (JHG).

Chern shyr jia (臣十家) "ten families of servants" (LQG).

Tsair (read) *tzay Yi wang ren shyr yow chi shing* (才夷王人十又七姓) "seventeen clans in the service of the King of Yi (i. e. of Yin)" (Yi-hour Tseh Goei) (see Tarng Lan (I), p. 79).

2.6.7.5. Collective and Restrictive Determinant Words

Two further classes of words having quantitative implications occur as determinant words. They are (1) words with the class-meaning "all instances conceived as a totality," "all," "the entire," called "collectives"; and (2) words with the class-meaning "to the exclusion of all else," "only," "nothing but," called "restrictives."

Words with these class-meanings occurring as determinant words contrast with words with the same class-meaning occurring as distributives (see 3.5.3). The contrast is one of distribution, because the determinant collectives and restrictives occur at A in A→B, and the distributives occur at Dist, in α/Dist. The determinant series are:

(a) Identifying collectives. *Farn* (凡) *b'iwam, and *shuh* (庶) *siag, with the class-meaning "a series of identical instances conceived as a totality," "all."

EXAMPLES

Way shuh tzyy (外庶子) outside [court] /all/nobles "the country gentry" (KG. 41.10).

Shuh chu-ruh (庶出入) "all envoys" (MGD).

Shuh shyh (庶士) "knights" (DG. 34.23).

Shuh bang (庶邦) "the vassal states" (DG. 34.23).

Eel shuh bang jiun (爾庶邦君) "You, the rulers of the vassal states" (DG. 34.24).

Shuh yiin (庶尹) "all governors" (JG. 44.8).

Shuh In (庶殷) "all of the Yin people" (SG. 47.7).

Farn chiu yii piin (凡區以品) "all of the booty, sorted by kind" (SYD).

Farn min (凡民) "all of the people," "everyone" (LG. 50.17).

Farn min tzyh der tzuoy (凡民自得罪) "all people who deliberately break the law" (KG. 41.6).

Farn syh-fang sheau-dah bang... (凡四方小大邦) "all states everywhere, large and small..." (DS. 54.18).

NOTE 1. *Shuh* occurs in *shuh-ren* (庶人) in specialized sense as "commoners," as, for example, in *ren lih, tzyh yuh jyh yu shuh-ren* (人鬲自馭至于庶人) "Freemen and slaves, from charioteers down to commoners" (DYD). *Shuh* also occurs in plerematic usage "all," "everyone," as in *shuh yeou shyh* (庶有事) "Everyone should serve" (LG. 50.12), and in *In shuh* "The Yin populace" (SG. 47.7) which gives minimal contrast with *Shuh In* "All of the Yin people," above.

NOTE 2. *Duo* (多) *tâ "a large number, many" also occurs in EAC in the sense of "all" as, for example, in *duo shyh* (多士) (DG. 34.27) and *duo bang* (多邦) (DG. 34.16), which are seemingly interchangeable with *shuh shyh* and *shuh bang* above. In *Tzyy-tzyy suen duo shyh chyi yeong bao* (子子孫多世其永寶) "May my children, from son to son, and my grandchildren for all generations forever treasure this vessel" (BAG), it would be incongruous to interpret *duo* in any other way. Similarly *ju-yiin* (諸尹) which occurs in LFY occurs in JG as *shuh-yiin* (庶尹) but on Oracle Bones as *duo-yiin* (多尹) (see Chern (2), p. 90).

(b) Synthesizing collectives. *Ju* (諸) *tio, *sheau-dah* (小大), *siog-d'ad, with the common class-meaning "a series of varied instances conceived as a totality," which, in the case of *ju* indicates variety in general, and of *sheau-dah* indicates variety in size or importance.

EXAMPLES

Ju hour, hour, diann, nan (諸侯甸男) "The Feudal Lords, those of the rank of *hou*, of *tien* and of *nan*" (LFY).

Sheau chern ju jye (小臣諸節) "minor retainers of various ranks" (KG. 41.11).

Ju chern (諸臣) "servants of various kinds" (JG. 44.19).

Ju yiin (諸尹) "the various governors" (LFY).

Sheau-dah jeng (小大政) "affairs of state, great or small" (MGD).

Sheau-dah you (小大猷) "plans, great or small" (MGD).

Sheau-dah jinn-fuh (小大禁賦) "taxes of whatever kind" (MGD).

Sheau-dah bang (小大邦) "states, large and small" (JG. 41.25).

Sheau-dah der (小大德) "matters of virtue, great or small" (JG. 41.27).

NOTE. *Sheau-dah*, of which there are six occurrences in the sample, occurs only as a determinant. *Shang-shiah* (上下) "all, high or low," occurs five times, but only in plerematic usage, never as a determinant.

(c) Restrictives. *Wei* (惟) *diwər, with the class-meaning "to the exclusion of all else," "only," "nothing but."

EXAMPLE

Wei shyren (惟十人) "ten men only" (DG. 38.9).

2.7. The Directive Syntagma

The directive syntagma is formed upon the analogy of the verb and its post-positing elements in the verbal sentence (see 3.4 ff.). In the verbal sentence, the form occurs as verb (β), first post-verbal element (γ^1), second post-verbal element (γ^2). In the directive syntagma, whereby one sentential element only is formed, the distribution is ($\beta\gamma^1$) and ($\gamma^2\beta$).

EXAMPLES

(i) ($\beta\gamma^1$)

Yeou Jou (有周) possess/Chou "the rulers of Chou" (JHG).

Yeou jeng (有正) possess/seniority "senior officers" (JG. 41.26).

Ruoh tzy (若茲) like/this, and so "in this way" > "thus" (before verbs) and "of this kind" > "such" (before nouns) (DS. 54.18).

(ii) ($\gamma^2\beta$)

Tzay way fwu... *tzay ney fwu*... (在外服... 在內服) /directive particle/ outside/serve... "Those who serve beyond [the Royal domain]/directive particle /inside/serve/... those who serve within [the Royal domain]..." (JG. 44.8).

Shyh fwu... *shiou fwu* (事服... 休服) "Those who serve (you) in public... those who serve in private" (JG. 44.17).

Lii jiu (里居) in village/dwell "village officials" (JG. 44.8).

NOTE. With *tzay way fwu*, compare *chu-ruh shy yu way* (出入使

于外) “when envoys are sent to the regions beyond [the Royal Domain]” (*MGD*) and contrast the distribution, which is at the syntagma level: *directive particle* / γ^2 / β , and at the sentential level: β /*directive particle*/ γ^2 .

2.8. Apposition in Syntagma

A further form of determination—determination by apposition—occurs in EAC in which both terms are co-ordinate. Three types are encountered. In the first, pronouns (which, unlike proper nouns, never occur as determined words in EAC) have the word for which they substitute, apposed (cf. English “We, the people,” “I, John Doe . . .”). The distributional order is *pronoun*~*noun*. In the second, which is restricted in occurrence to proper names, the person or persons named are identified (cf. English “My grandfather, Mr. Galloway”). The distributional order is *noun*~*proper name*. (Pronouns and proper names thus contrast in distribution when apposed.) In the third, the apposed words are distributive in some sense, that is, they break down a collectivity (the first term), into its parts (the second term). (The conventional sign for apposition is: ~.)

EXAMPLES

Type 1. Pronoun~noun

Yu, i-ren (texts 予一人, inscriptions 余一人) “I, the Lonely One” (used by Kings speaking of themselves) (*KG*. 41.14, *MGD*).

Yu sheau-tzyy (texts 予小子, inscriptions 余小子) “I, a mere child” (*LG*. 50.20, *MGD*).

Yu, chong ren (or *tzyy*) (予冲人(子)) “I, the young person” (*DG*. 34.26, *DG*. 34.25).

Woo, yeou-jou (我有周) “We, the rulers of Chou” (*MGD*).

Woo, i-ren (我一人) “Me, the Lonely One” (*DYD*).

Ruu, Yu (女盂) “You, Yü . . .” (*DYD*).

Ruu, Feng (汝封) “You, Feng . . .” (*KG*. 41.1)

Ruu, wann min (汝萬民) “You, the people . . .” (*Parn Geng* 22.18).

Ruu jonq (汝衆) “You, the people” (*Parn Geng* 22.16).

Chyi, yeou jonq shyan tzaw (其有衆咸造) “They, the masses, all came” (*Parn Geng* 22.7).

NOTE 1. The determinant forms of the non-status personal pronouns *jenn* and *nae*, do not occur in this form.

NOTE 2. In *DS* and *DG*, *eel* substitutes for *ruu* as, for example, in

eel shuh bang jiun (爾庶邦君) “You, the rulers of the several states”;
eel duo shyh (爾多士) “You, the knights . . . ,” etc. (see 2.6.7.1).

NOTE 3. More complex forms are also encountered, for example, *yu, nae bih, i-ren* (余乃辟一人) “I, your sovereign, the Lonely One” (*DYD*); *ruu, sheau-tzyy, Feng* (汝小子封) “You, my child, Feng” (*KG*. 38.19).

Type 2. Noun~proper name

Nae quang-lieh kao Wuu wang (乃光烈考武王) “Your father of glorious prowess, King Wu” (lit: your/radiant/deeds/father/Wu/King) (*LG*. 50.28).

Jyue chern, Shiann (厥臣獻) “His servant, Hsien” (*SHG*).

Jenn wen kao quang Fuh-yii (朕文考光父乙) “My gentle father, the illustrious Fu-Yi” (*SHG*).

Type 3. Noun~distributive

Chern san pin, Jou-ren, (read) Doong-ren, Iong-ren (臣三品州人重人庸人) “Retainers of three kinds, men of Chou, men of Tung and men of Yung” (*JHG*).

San yeou-sy, sheau-tzyy, shy-shyh, hu-chern (三有司小子師氏虎臣) “The three officials, the Hsiao-tzü, the Shih-shih, and the Hu-ch'ên” (*MGD*).

Ruu ell ren Uang yueh Tseh (女二人尤粵矢) “You two men, Wang and Ts'è” (*LFY*).

In shiann chern, hour, diann, nan, wey (殷獻臣侯甸男衛) “The able servants of Yin, of the rank and status of *hou, tien, nan* and *wei*.” (*JG*. 44.16).

2.9. Substitutes in Syntagma

Words of the general class “substitutes” (see 6.1 ff.) which have forms peculiar to, or occurring in, syntagma (i. e., the pronominal determinants) have already been described.

The indefinite substitutes, *iou* (攸), *her* (曷), etc., (see 6.5; 6.6) also occur in syntagma, but are not restricted to this form of distribution and are treated at length in chapter VI.

2.10. Syntagma Form—Downgrading from Higher Levels

A single element in the sentence may, in its internal structure, have the same elements and distribution as a verbal sentence. Such an element is said to be “in syntagma form.” It is a downgrading of a formally complete verbal sentence to the level of a sentential element.

NOTE. In *DS*. 54.18, the following occurs: *Farn syh-fang sheau-dah bang sanq woang fei yeou tsyr yu far* (凡四方小大邦喪罔非有辭于罰) All/in four quarters/small-large/states/perish/not one/is not/indicted/at/law “Of all the states everywhere, large or small, which

perished, not one but was under interdiction at law.” The distributive *woang* indicates at once the presence of an agential syntagma, or the determined term of a determinative sentence. The presence of the copula *fei* indicates further that the sentence is a determinative sentence. However, the five words preceding *woang*, lifted from this environment, are a formally complete verbal sentence: “All states everywhere, large and small, perished.” They are, however, in this “frame” a single substantival element (the determined term), distributed by *woang*. Such forms are said to be downgradings; in this case, the downgrading of a verbal sentence. It is downgraded to a single element (the determined term) of a determinative sentence. It is thus a verbal sentence in syntagma form.”

EXAMPLES

Downgrading of a verbal sentence as determined term

Fei woo-i-ren fenq der buh kang-ning (非我一人奉德不康寧) “It is not so that the virtue which I have received is unruly” (DS. 54.22), which is, *woo-i-ren fenq der*, I/received/virtue, $\alpha\beta\gamma^1$, occurring as the determined term of a determinative sentence, thus Cop. B(DT($\alpha\beta\gamma^1$)=Dt).

Downgrading of a verbal sentence to γ^1

Fu chyan-ren show ming (敷前人受命) “Proclaim the Mandate received by our forbears” (DG. 34.19), which is, *chyan-ren show ming*, Forbears/receive/mandate/ $\alpha\beta\gamma^1$, occurring as γ^1 in $\beta\gamma^1(\alpha\beta\gamma^1)$.

Syntagma form may be formally marked by the occurrence of the determinative particle between agent and verb.

EXAMPLE

Wei In jy dyi ju chern...mean yu jeou (惟殷之迪諸臣...涵于酒) “When the subjects formerly under the leadership of Yin, become steeped in wine...” (JG. 44.19), which is *In dyi ju chern* Yin/leads/various/subjects, $\alpha\beta\gamma$, downgraded to α , in a time clause, i.e. Time ($\alpha(\alpha\rightarrow\beta\gamma)\beta\gamma^2$)/, the downgrading being marked by the insertion of *jy* between agent (α) and verb (β).

Downgrading is formally marked when the agent of the verbal sentence downgraded is an anaphoric pronoun. The agential form *chyi* (其) is then replaced by the determinative form *jyue* (厥).¹⁰

EXAMPLES

Jyue fei yeou gong buh gaan tzyh shya tzyh yih (厥棐有供不敢自暇自逸) “Those who had no duties dared not be idle or take their ease” (JG. 44.7).

¹⁰ Since *chyi jy* (其之) never occurs, the replacement of *chyi* by *jyue* differs in no way from the form α 之 β of the previous paragraph.

Yueh jyue fuh guei... (粵厥復歸) “By the time of his return... (lit: come to/his/again/return [time] (SCG).

2.11. Conspectus of Syntagmatic Particles and Specialized Forms

Process of formation	Type	Particle or form	Symbol
Parataxis	Simple connection	越 粵	A+B
	Alternative connection	若	A/B
Hypotaxis	Determinative	之 其 厥	A→B
	Pronominal	我 朕 乃	
	Demonstrative	茲 時	
	Privative	不無弗非棐	
	Number	See 2.6.7.4	
	Collective	凡 庶 多 諸 多 小大	
Downgradings from higher levels	Restrictive	惟	
		α (厥) α 之 β	α (厥) $\rightarrow\beta$ $\alpha\rightarrow\beta$

III. The Verbal Sentence

3. Introduction

Words (see chapter I) and syntagmas (see chapter II), are distributed as elements in the sentence. The sentence is distributed as an element in the "piece." Two classes are distinguished among sentences. They are defined by the characteristics of their minimal forms. Stated with the maximum of economy, the verbal sentence consists of one element—the verb. Stated with the maximum of economy, the determinative sentence (see chapter IV) consists of two terms, both substantival. Sentence boundaries are marked by the "particles of sentential mood" (see 3.9).¹ In this chapter, the verbal sentence is analysed and described; in chapter IV, the determinative sentence is analysed and described.

3.1. The Verbal Sentence

The verbal sentence has as its principal word, and its irreducibly minimal form, a single word (conventional sign: β). It has the grammatical value "verbal." All other elements in the sentence are qualifications of some kind or another of this verb and are subordinate to it. The verb may be a simple or a compound word. It may be used without further qualification and is then uncommitted to mood, to aspect, and to voice. None of these qualifications is introduced as a matter of prescription. When thought by the user to be relevant to the information he wishes to convey, the verb is determined in syntagma.

¹ In EAC, however, in marked contrast to LAC, the particles of sentential mood are restricted to *tzai* (texts 哉, bronzes 才) and are of infrequent occurrence (12× and 2×). The particles of sentential mood, *hu*, *erl-yii* and *yii*, and the prosodic markers *yee* and *yii* (see Dobson (1), 3.9, 3.11) of LAC, do not occur in EAC. However, the formal features of the Archaic Chinese verbal sentence, such as the agent and its post-positing distributives, the aspectual and modal determinants of the verb, and the particles of the post-verbal position, all occur in EAC, so that in practice there is no difficulty in dissecting a piece, and identifying sentence boundaries, despite the infrequent occurrence of this (in LAC) very typical mark of such boundaries.

Each of these qualifications is made by a series of grammatical determinants which occur in characteristic distributions in the verbal syntagma. The verbal syntagma is a single element in the sentence.

Other elements in the verbal sentence are the agent (conventional sign α ; see 3.5); the instrument (conventional sign: *Ins*; see 3.6) or (tactically interchangeable with it), the integral subordinate clause (see 3.7). These precede the verb or verbal syntagma in that order. After the verb occur two elements (conventional signs: $\gamma^1\gamma^2$) which restrict the scope and govern the voice of the verb (see 3.4).

The mood and the aspect of the verb, and certain other qualifications, for example that of manner, are incorporated in the verbal syntagma (see 3.3.1; 3.3.2; 3.3.3; etc.). The voice of the verb is governed by the distributions of the two post-verbal elements (see 3.4).

The agent precedes the instrument and the two are clearly distinguished. Certain "moods" of the speaker (see 3.9) are indicated by a class of word placed in final position in the verbal sentence. Certain indications of time and place are indicated initially and absolutely (see 3.10).

3.2. The Verb

Any word occurring in the environmental conditions described above has the value "verb." Such words do not conform to patterns of class-meanings, neither does the segregation of words occurring in this position set up an exclusive class of verbs. In speaking of "verbal value," the following may be of help for translators.

1. A word used as a determinant word (attribute) in syntagma (see 2.6.2 class 2), occurring at β may be used factitively or putatively.

EXAMPLES

Shian (先) "before, former," and thus *shian-wang* (先王) "former Kings" (MGD); as verb, active "go on before," "precede," as, for example, in *Tay-bao shian Jou-gong shiang jair* (大保先周公相宅) "The Grand Guardian preceding the Duke of Chou, inspected the site" (SG. 47.6); and causative "make go on before" > "bring forward," as in *Wang shian fuw In yuh-shyh* (王先服殷御事) "May the King bring forward and appoint to office, the [former] officials of Yin" (SG. 47.22).

Ming (明) "bright" and thus *ming der* (明德) "bright virtue," but as verb "make-bright" > "manifest" as, for example, in *buh ming jyue der* (不明厥德) "He did not manifest his virtue" (DS. 54.18); and "make bright" > "bring

lustre to" as in *ming nae fwu ming* (明乃服命) "Bring lustre to your charge of duty" (KG. 41.21).
How (後) "after" and thus *how-ren* (後人) "after/men" "descendants"; as verb, "be after," "be behind-hand in," "come late," "be tardy," as, for example, in *Jin shiou, wang buh gaan how* (今休王不敢後) "May the king not dare to be slow in [availing himself] of the present grace" (lit: present/grace//King not/dare/be tardy) (SG. 47.19).

(Further examples are given in 3.4.6.)

A word used as a determinant word (species) in syntagma (see 2.6.2 class I), occurs in verbal usage with the following class-meanings: (a) bring species *x* into being, (b) to treat others or behave oneself as species *x*.

EXAMPLES

Tseh "records," as, for example, in *In shian-ren yeou tseh yeou dean* (殷先人有冊有典) "the former men of Yin had records and documents" (DS. 54.23), but "to place on record" in *Yong tseh wang ming* (用冊王命) "Accordingly, I have placed on record the King's decree" (JHG).

Chern "a servant, subject, retainer," as, for example, in *Chern san piin* (臣三品) "Three kinds of retainers" (JHG); but "to render the service of a servant or subject," as in *Jenn chern tian-tzyy* (朕臣天子) "I will serve the Son of Heaven as his [loyal] servant and subject" (JHG).

Ji "a foundation," as, for example, in *Woo pi-pi ji* (我丕丕基) "our very great foundation" (DG. 38.2); but "to work on or lay a foundation," as in *Jou-gong chu ji* (周公初基) "The Duke of Chou began to lay the foundation" (KG. 38.14).

Dah-yueh "a great meeting" but "to convene a great meeting" in *Wang dah-yueh yu Tzong-jou* (王大龠于宗周) "The King convened a great meeting at Tsung-chou" (SSH).

3.2.1. Verbal Sentences in Minimal Form

The verb is the principal element and the irreducible minimal form of the verbal sentence. The verbal sentence occurs in minimal form in the following.

EXAMPLES

Duey. Buh gaan juey (對不敢墜) "[I] put on record [the King's charge]. [I] dare not let it pass into oblivion" (lit: record/not/dare/blot out/) (JHG).

Wang · iue "jia" (王曰嘉) "The King said [I am] pleased" (SYD).

Wang hu "tzann" (王乎贊) "The King cried out 'Let the feasting begin'" (lit: "feast") (SYD).

Jing tzai (敬哉) "Proceed with caution" (KG. 38.23).

Such elements rarely occur in isolation. They occur more commonly in the piece, as for example in:

Bih shyh chern (蔽時忱) "When making judicial decisions, let them be made with integrity" (lit: decide/then/sincere) (KG. 41.19).

Lai shyh (來視) "[he] came [and] showed [it to me]" (LG. 50.10).

3.3. The Verbal Syntagma

The determined element in the verbal syntagma (that is, β in $(\dots \beta)$) occurs as a simple word, for example, *gong* "to bow" in *yeong gong shian-wang* (永拱先王) "Eternally I bow to my Royal Ancestors" (MGD); or *yow* "to assist" in *woo yeou Jou yow ming* (我有周佑命) "We, the Rulers of Chou, assisted in [the carrying out of the] Decree" (DS. 54.10); or as a compound word, for example, *kuoh-kuoh* "to clamour," as in *jin ruu kuoh-kuoh* (今汝聒聒) "Now, you are clamouring" (Parn Geng 19.19); *shiau-yeang* "to fulfil filial duty," as in *shiau-yeang jyue fuh-muu* (孝養厥父母) "[So as to] fulfil their filial duty towards their parents" (JG. 44.1).²

Certain determinations occur with this element and take precedence over all grammatical determinations. They are: (i) material determinations of the verb, and (ii) determinations of degree. Material determinations introduce a degree of specificness to the meaning of a verb which otherwise has a more general import. Determinations of degree have the class-meaning "in a greater or lesser degree."

(i) Material Determinations

(a) Verbs of motion are given more specific direction.

² It is important to distinguish here between a compound verb $\beta(\beta\beta)$, and two verbs in simple or alternate connection, $\beta+\beta$ or β/β . Examples of the latter are:

(1) Simple connection: *ting niann* (listen/think) in *sheen iue chyi yeou ting niann yu shian-wang chyn jia* (矧曰其有聽念于先王勤家) "Still less could it be said that he would listen to, and think about, how the former Kings toiled for his House" (DS. 54.17); *ting yong* (listen/use) in *Yu-i-ren wei ting yong der* (予一人惟聽用德) "I, the Lonely One, only listen to and employ the virtuous" (DS. 54.24).

(2) Alternate connection: *shih sheu* (intimidate=deter/promise=encourage) in *shih sheu shang-shiah ruoh foo* (號許上下若否) "Deter or encourage, among all high and low, the good or the evil" (MGD); *shih day* (jest/be rude) in *wu shih-day min* (無戲怠民) "May you not make fun of, or be rude to, the people" (Parn Geng 22.27).

EXAMPLES

Jianq jyh (降致) descend/make-arrive "brought down" (DS. 54.14).
Jianq ger (降格) descend/come "came down" (DS. 54.13).
Deng jinn (登進) ascend/enter "to go up and in," used causatively "make go up and in" (Parn Geng 22.8).

(b) Verbs of general import are given specificity by their instrumentation.

EXAMPLES

Gaw bih (誥誌) make announcement/warn "to warn by proclamation" (JG. 41.24).
Gaw jiau (誥教) make announcement/teach "to instruct by means of proclamations" (JG. 41.26).
Gaw gw (誥告) make announcement/announce "to announce by way of a proclamation" (SG. 47.12).
Gaw you (誥猷) make announcement/inform "to inform by way of a proclamation" (DG. 34.16).
Jiann fuu (監撫) reflect/conform "to conform by mirroring oneself in" (JG. 44.15).

(c) Verbs of general import are given specificity by their purpose.

EXAMPLES

Bao yih (保乂) protect/govern "to govern so as to protect" (DS. 54.15).
Kang yih (康乂) pacify/govern "to govern so as to bring peace to" (KG. 41.15).
Shiang yih (襄乂) assist/govern "to govern so as to assist" (MGD).

(ii) Determinations of Degree³

(a) Dah (大)

EXAMPLES

Fwu-diauw min Tian dah jianq sanq yu In (弗弔旻天大降喪于殷) "Impartial and glorious Heaven sent down in great measure destruction upon Yin" (DS. 54.10).
Dah yn yih (大淫佚) "He was so profligate in his excesses" (lit: greatly/made excessive/excesses) (DS. 54.14).

³ Glossarists and dictionaries treat words in this class as either meaning "great, greatly, grand, grandly," or as *fa yeu tsyr* (發語詞) "particle for beginning a word," that is, a prefix indicating phonetic "attack" giving some form of heightened stress (see Wu Shyh-chang, p. 1563). The class-meaning "in an intense degree" accounts for all occurrences adequately, but this is sometimes difficult of realization in English, and the translations of the examples are simply attempts, within the limitations of English, to do this. Translation is particularly difficult when such words are used to impart a sense of gravity or of the ominous, as,

(b) Dann (誕)

EXAMPLES

Dann yn jyue yih (誕淫厥佚) "His depravity was immense" (lit: greatly/made excessive/his/excesses) (DS. 54.17).
Dann bao Wen Wu show min (誕保文武受民) "Give the utmost protection to the people bequeathed to us by Kings Wen and Wu" (LG. 50.25).

(c) Pi (丕)

EXAMPLES

Pi goong shian wang pey minq (丕鞏先王配命) "Adding greatly to our ancestor's acceptability for the Mandate" (MGD).
Pi tzer miin der (丕則敏德) "Take as your model in every conceivable way, the lively virtue [of King Wen]" (KG. 41.19).

(d) Duo (多)

EXAMPLES

Duo shiunn (多遜) "[Do this] with the utmost obedience" (DS. 54.26).
Yu buh wei ruoh-tzy duo gw (予不惟若茲多誥) "I would not have spoken at such great length" (JD. 44.14).

(e) Buh-shao (不少)

EXAMPLE

Buh-shao yan (不少延) "[Heaven] has long delayed" (DG. 34.17).

By these compounding and material determinative processes, the

for example, in *Tian nae dah ming Wen-wang yih rong In, dann show jyue minq* ... (天乃大命文王燿戎殷誕受厥命) "Heaven then decreed that King Wen should destroy Great Yin, and that he should receive [from them] its Mandate" (KG. 38.18), but which literally is Heaven/thereupon/greatly/decreed/King Wen/destroy/great/Yin: greatly/receive/their/Mandate, where *dah, dann,* and *rong* add nothing material to the statement except that the use of superlatives adds to its gravity and portent. That free option is exercised in the use of this device is clear from the verb *jianq* "to send down," where *dah jianq* (DS. 54.9), *pi jianq* (Parn Geng 22.19), and *in jianq* (Parn Geng 22.9) all occur in the sense of "send down destruction, suffering or calamity," but for all of which parallel passages occur, with no material change in meaning, where *dah, pi,* and *in* are absent (see JG. 44.13; DG. 34.16; DG. 38.10). These words also occur with similar function in other forms of distribution and are discussed more fully in 3.3.4.

verb is given the degree of specificity required by the user.⁴ The verb is then determined by the grammatical determinants of mood, aspect, manner, and so on.

3.3.1. Modal Determinants of the Verb

Three moods are distinguished: (i) indicative; (ii) injunctive or hortatory; and (iii) subjunctive (conventional sign: Md./β).⁵ When undetermined by a modal determinant the verb is neutral as to mood. When determined the moods are distinguished as follows.

3.3.1.1. Indicative

The verb is indicative⁶ when negated with *bu* (不)⁷ *pwət, or with its stressed form *fwu* (弗)⁸ *piwət.

EXAMPLES

Wei tian bwu bih (惟天不畀) "It was because God *did not* favour [Yin]" (DS. 54.11).

Syh buh jeng (肆不征) "... and so I *will not* attack you [further]" (DS. 54.21).

Wei shyr Shanq-dih buh bao (惟時上帝不保) "For this reason God *did not* protect [him]" (DS. 54.17).

Gong buh gaan bwu jing tian jy shiou (公不敢不敬天之休) "Your Grace *did not* dare, *not* to revere the grace of Heaven" (LG. 50.9).

Yuh woo fwu⁸ tzuoh shian-wang iou (欲我弗作先王憂) "It is my wish that I *do not* make my royal ancestors unhappy" (MGD).

⁴ Within the verbal syntagma, all possible occurrences at β (excluding the grammatical determinations of the verb of mood (see 3.3.1), or aspect (see 3.3.2), of manner (see 3.3.3), and of agential state (see 3.3.3.2)), are exhausted in the following (i) simple word (...β); (ii) two simple words in co-ordinate connection with simple or alternate connection (...β+β) or (...β/β); (iii) compound word (formed by reduplication or hendiadys)(...β(ββ)); (iv) a word determined by a material determinant (direction, instrument, or purpose)(... (β→β)); (v) a verb determined as to degree (... Deg→β). The above exhausts all possible occurrences at (β).

⁵ These three modal classes account for the occurrence before the verb of three contrastive sets of forms of the negatives. See Dobson (1), p. 41, footnote 5.

⁶ The class-meaning of Archaic Chinese negatives is "negation" and "mood." They are uncommitted to tense. Time of occurrence, duration of action, and time elapsing prior to action, are indicated by other means (see 3.10).

⁷ In Modern Standard Chinese, *bu* is read *buh* before words in the first, second, and third tones, and *bwu* before the fourth tone.

⁸ In *LAC* (see Dobson (1), p. 42, footnote 6), reasons were given for rejecting

Ruu her fwu gaw jenn (汝曷弗告朕) "Why did you *not* tell me?" (*Parn Geng* 19.26).

Wen-wang suen! *Wang fwu hwai shyng* (文王孫亡弗懷型) "Grandson of King Wen! In nothing did he *not* adhere to the model [presented by his grandfather]" (BAG).

Fwu jyi, bang jiang hay jyi (弗急邦將害吉) "If I *do not* take this with the utmost seriousness, what will it bode for the State?" (lit: do not/be concerned/State/would/in what?/ have good fortune?) (MDG).

The verb is indicative when negated with *wey* (未) *miwəd but, whereas with *bu* one particular instance of the act is envisaged and negated, in *wey* all conceivable instances envisaged are negated. The difference is between particular denial (an envisaged instance), and universal denial (all envisaged instances).⁹

EXAMPLES

Wey lih jyue shin (未戾厥心) "[The people] are not [yet] settled in their minds" (KG. 41.17).

Dyi leu wey torng (迪屢未同) "[When] the guidance [the people get] is frequently inconsistent ... " (lit: leading/often/not yet/made same) (KG. 41.17).

Wey ding yu tzong lii (未定于宗禮) "They have not [yet] been pacified by the Ancestral Rites" (LG. 50.25).

Yih wey keh mii gong gong (亦未克救公功) "and, too, we have not yet been able to make effective your Grace's meritorious works" (LG. 50.25).

Bu, *fwu*, and *wey* negate verbs describing situations of actual or declared fact.

3.3.1.2. Injunctive and Hortatory

The verb is injunctive or hortatory when negated with *wu* (毋) *miwo or with its stressed form *wuh* (勿) *miwət¹⁰

a theory hitherto held that *fwu* is an allegro form of *bu* and *jy* (不+之). Since *LAC* was written, Hwang Jiing-shin (pp. 1-23) has extended the enquiry to include Oracular Chinese and the entire range of Archaic Chinese and agrees that the theory is untenable. In the EAC sample, *fwu* occurs 17 times before transitive verbs with object, or intransitive verbs, and 3 times before transitive verbs where the object is omitted. *Fwu* occurs *with* the anaphoric pronoun in *fwu chyí jyue* (弗其絕) "cannot stop it" (LG. 50.14).

⁹ *Wey* negates all instances of the act within the performer's experience. A similar form of negation is *yeong-bu* (永不) "always/not" as in *yeong bwu wang tzay wang jia* (永不忘在王家) "You will never be forgotten in the King's Household" (JG. 44.4).

¹⁰ Both forms occur in the one inscription, the MGD, and both occur with object (see Dobson (1), p. 46, footnote 6).

EXAMPLES

- Wu dong yu-i-ren* (read) *tzay wey* (毋動余一人才位) "Do not disturb me, the Lonely One, upon my throne" (MGD).
- Wu gaan gong gaw* (毋敢曩) "Do not dare to take bribes" (MGD).
- Wu jer jian* (毋折緘) "Do not break the seal [on my lips]" (MGD).
- Ruu wuh keh yu nae bih i ren* (女勿剋余乃辟一人) "You must not press me, your sovereign, the Lonely One" (DYD).
- Wuh fey jenn ming* (勿廢朕命) "Do not disregard my commands" (DYD).
- Wuh yeong-jiann shuh-ren juu* (勿壅隄庶人貯或賓) "Do not deprive commoners of their stores" (MGD).

3.3.1.3. Subjunctive

The verb is subjunctive (i. e., describing non-real, hypothetical, or imagined situations, or expressing matters of wishing or willing) when negated by *wang* (亡) *miwang, or *woang* (罔) *miwang,¹¹ or by *wu* (無) *miwo.¹²

EXAMPLES

- Lau-chyn dah ming, syh hwang tian wang yih* (勞勤大命肆皇天亡戮) "If we made every effort to carry out the great Mandate, then august Heaven would not abandon us" (MGD).
- Guh wang yeun* (read) *tzai* (故亡允才) "Therefore, they would not act upon [lit: make-true] it [the Mandate]" (BAG).
- Tay-bao keh jing, wang chean* (大保克敬亡謹) "I, the Grand Guardian [am one who], can but treat [the decree] with reverence, I would not inveigh against it" (TBG).
- Eel shy, woang gaan yih ding* (爾時罔敢易定) "You thus, should not presume to alter the predestined" (DG. 38.10).
- How syh wang dann woang shean yu tian* (後嗣王誕罔顯于天) "The King that succeeded them would not give glory to Heaven" (DS. 54.16).
- Wei shy tian woang niann wen* (惟時天罔念聞) "Because of this, Heaven would neither think about nor listen [to him]" (DS. 54.14).
- Woang huh tuann* (罔怙亂) "We would not take advantage of [Yin's] disorders" (DS. 54.12).

¹¹ *Wang* (亡) is the form in inscriptions and *woang* (罔) is the form in texts.

¹² The material offers a number of pairs with minimal contrast in the use of the modal negatives. With *wu wei* "should not disobey" (above) cf. *Wang hay buh wei buu* "Why does the king not disobey his oracles?" (DG. 34.25). With *woang niann* "would not think about" (above) cf. *Min dah yuh fwu niann* "They do not think about the consent of the people" (KG. 41.11). With *woang gaan yih* "should not presume to alter" (see above) cf. *Wang wey buw yih* "The King's majesty does not change" (MGD).

- Wu tzuoh yuann* (無作怨) "May you not build up resentment [against yourself]" (KG. 41.19).
- Shyr wei tian ming. Wu wei* (時惟天命無違) "This was the command of Heaven. May you not run counter to [it]" (DS. 54.22).
- Wu woo yuann* (無我怨) "May you not bear resentment against me" (DS. 54.23).

3.3.1.4. Polar Modal Forms

The modal negatives normally have as their positive replacements, zero. For example, *yong* (用) "to use," "to avail oneself of," etc., when negated, occurs as indicative in *Bwu yong* (不用) "you do not avail [yourself] of" (JG. 44.20); and as imperative in *Wuh yong* (勿用) "Do not avail yourself of" (KG. 41.18); but in the positive form, zero *yong* is indicative in *yong ... dah bao guei* (用 ... 大寶龜) "I have used the very precious tortoise shell" (DG. 34.19), and injunctive in *yong show* (用獸) "Use this when you hunt" (DYD).

Zero, however, may be replaced by positive modal forms particularly in a context where a change of mood takes place. In such cases, the positive injunctive form is *dang* (當) *tāng, and the positive subjunctive form is *wei* (惟) *diwər, or *yeou* (有) *giug.

EXAMPLES

Injunctive

- Ren wu yu shoei jiann, dang yu min jiann* (人無于水監當于民監) "Rather than see oneself reflected in water, one ought to see oneself reflected in the common people" (lit: One/should not/in/water/be reflected/[one]/must/in/common people/be reflected) (JG. 44.15)

Subjunctive

- Ruu wei chong tzyy, wei jong* (汝惟冲子惟終) "You are still a young man, may you bring [the task] to completion" (LG. 50.16).
- Wuh iong sha jy, gu, wei jiau jy* (勿庸殺之姑惟教之) "You need not kill them, for the time being, you should instruct them" (JG. 44.19).
- Syh yu gaan chyau eel yu tian yih Shang. Yu wei shuay syh-jin eel* (肆予敢求爾于天邑商予惟率肆矜爾) "... and so, I have presumed to seek [such from among] you in the Heavenly city, Shang. I would pardon you all" (DS. 54.24).
- Sheen iue chyí yeou ting niann yu shian wang chyn jia* (矧曰其有聽念于先王勤家) "Still less could it be said that he would listen to or think of the diligence of the former Kings on behalf of his House" (DS. 54.17).
- Woo wei yeou jyi tzer, yu-i-ren yii yih* (我惟有及則予一人以懌) "If only I might attain to the model, I would, as a result, be satisfied" (KG. 41.14).

Chyi yeou neng ji mou tzyh tian (其有能稽謀自天) "May he be enabled to discover the plan from Heaven" (SG. 47.19).

Wang jyue yeou cherng minq, jyh min jin shiou (王厥有成命治民今休) "If the King would fulfil the [conditions for retaining] the Mandate, then let him govern the people in this present grace" (SG. 47.21).

3.3.1.5. Dual Negatives

The modal negatives occur in pairs; *wu-fwu* (毋弗) must-not/not > "must"¹³ as an insistent injunctive, and with the words of agential state (see 3.3.3.2) interposed, *buh-kee-bu* (不可不) not/can/not > "must," and *buh-gaan-bu* (不敢不) not/dare/not > "dare not but."

EXAMPLES

Ruu wu fwu shuay (女毋弗帥) You/must not/not/lead—"You must lead" (MGD).
Buh-kee-buh cherng nae ning kao twu gong (不可不成乃寧考圖功) "[You must bring to a successful conclusion the task planned by your blessed forefathers]" (DG. 34.27).

Gong buh-gaan-bwu jinq tian jy shiou (公不敢不敬天之休) "Your Grace would not presume otherwise than to treat Heaven's grace with reverence" (lit: Duke/not/dare/not/revere/Heaven/→/grace) (LG. 50.9).

NOTE. The modal negatives *wang* (亡) and *woang* (罔) occur also as agential distributives. They are always distributive in the following: *woang bu* (罔不) and *wang bu* (亡不) and *woang fwu* (罔弗), *wang fwu* (亡弗).¹⁴ Where the agent is impersonal, they are realizable in translation as: /in nothing/does not (or does not) > "does in everything." Where the agent is personal they are realizable in translation as: no-one/does not (or does not) > "everyone does."

EXAMPLES

Ruu yih woang bwu keh jinq dean ... (汝亦罔不克敬典) "If, too, you can in everything treat the statutes with reverence ..." (KG. 41.13).

Woang fwu duay (罔弗愆) "Everyone detests [them]" (KG. 41.6).

Wang buh shyan yih tian wey (亡不咸斃天畏) "Everyone submitted fully to Heaven's majesty" (BAG).

¹³ *Bih* (必) "must" *piet, is not attested in EAC material, but is common in LAC. The earliest occurrence I have discovered is on the late Western Chou bronze in the Morgan Collection in the Metropolitan Museum (Acc. No. 17. 190. 524), for a rubbing of which I am indebted to Dr. Aschwin Lippe. It is not impossible that *piet is a diminished form of 毋弗.

¹⁴ See 3.5.3.1.

Wang fwu hwai shyng (亡弗懷型) "He adhered to the model [presented by his grandfather] in everything" (lit: in nothing/not/embrace/ model) (BAG).

3.3.2. Aspect in the Verbal Syntagma

"Aspect," in this description,¹⁵ is used of a class of determinants occurring in the verbal syntagma, the purpose of which is to define (i) a point in the progress of the action as envisaged by the speaker¹⁶ which may be a point prior to initiation (potential aspect), a point at the beginning of realization (inchoative aspect), a point or span in the period of realization (durative aspect), the point of completion (perfective aspect); or (ii) the distinction between the act of a particular moment (momentary aspect) and that of custom or usage (customary aspect) (conventional sign: As β).

3.3.2.1. Potential Aspect

A verb determined by *jiang* (將) *tsiang, has potential aspect. Aspect is independent of mood so that the first three examples below are indicative, and the last is subjunctive.

EXAMPLES

Gong gong suh jiang jy huan (公功肅將祗歡) "Your Grace's achievements, before long, are going to be respected and admired [lit: rejoiced in]" (LG. 50.26).

Jin min jiang tzay jy yuh nae wen kao (今民將在祗適乃文考) "Now, the people will be [so placed=] disposed to follow with respect [the teachings of] your gentle forbear" (KG. 38.19).

Syh Shang-dih jiang fuh woo gau tzuu jy der (肆上帝將復我高祖之德) "Thus God is going to revive the virtue of my exalted forbears" (Parn Geng 25.3).

Fwu jyi, bang jiang hay jyi (弗急邦將害吉) "If I do not take this with the utmost seriousness, what would it bode for the State?" (MGD).

3.3.2.2. Inchoative Aspect

A verb determined by *jaw* (肇) *d'ioq,¹⁷ *chu* (初) *ts'io, or by

¹⁵ See Dobson (1) p. 48, footnote 12.

¹⁶ Envisaged by the speaker, irrespective of its occurrence in real time. Time of occurrence is not treated as a determination of the verb. Tense is not a grammatical distinction in Archaic Chinese. See 3.3.1.1, footnote 6, and 3.10.

¹⁷ The reading *d'ioq is anomalous. The sign (啟) otherwise regularly gives the reading *k'ioq. In inchoative sense, LAC has *chii* (起) *k'ioq. Has the reading (肇) as *d'ioq come about by assimilation with *chu* (初) *ts'io?

chii (啓) *k'iər, has inchoative aspect. The act is conceived as at the point of initiation.

EXAMPLES

Jaw: *Jaw chian che niou, yeuan fwu guu-yong* (肇牽車牛遠服費用) "and begin to lead forth their carts and oxen, so that, from far places, they may secure the commodities of trade" (JG. 41.28); *Wang jaw chenn In lii, syh yu shin yih* (王肇稱殷禮祀于新邑) "Your majesty should now begin to sacrifice in the new city, following the rites of Yin" (LG. 50.11); *Jin yu wei jaw jing shian wang ming* (今余唯肇經先王命) "Now I should begin to put into effect the commands of our Royal Ancestors" (MGD).

Chii: *Shaw chii jinn shyh* (召啓進事) "[When I] Shao began my service ..." (lit: Shao/begin/enter/service) (SYC).

Chu: *Jin wang chu fwu jyue ming* (今王初服厥命) "Now the King has begun to take service under his Mandate" (SG. 47.27); *Jou-gong chu ji tzuoh shin yih yu Dong-gwo Luoh* (周公初基作大邑于東國洛) "The Duke of Chou began to work on the foundations in order to build a new capital in the Eastern Territories at Lo" (KG. 38.14).

3.3.2.3. Momentary Aspect

A verb determined by *gu* (姑) *ko, has momentary aspect. The act is conceived as taking place "for the moment," "for the time being."

EXAMPLE

Gu wei jiau jy (姑惟教之) "For the time being, you should instruct them" (JG. 44.19).

A verb determined by *suh* (肅) *siok or *suh* (速) *suk, and *shihuh* (紱) *dzio, has momentary aspect. The act is conceived as taking place "in a moment, soon."¹⁸

EXAMPLES

Gong gong suh jiang jy huan (公功肅將祗歡) "Your Grace's achievements are going before long to be respected and admired" (LG. 50.26).

... *shihuh fwu chyi jyue* (... 紱弗其絕) "... (but which) before long, passes the point of extinction" (LG. 50.14).

Yii! ruu nae chyi suh you tzy yih shuay sha (己汝乃其速由茲義率殺) "Indeed! You should then at once, in accordance with this just procedure, kill them all" (KG. 41.12).

¹⁸ Cf. also *suh* (宿) *siok, in *Yu buh gaan suh, tzer* ... (予不敢宿則) "I dared not let a moment pass, but there and then ..." (LG. 54.4). Clearly, *suh* (肅), *suh* (宿), and *suh* (速) are derivatives from a common stem. *Shyu* (徐) occurs in *Tso* as "soon."

3.3.2.4. Durative or Continuative Aspect

A verb has durative or continuative aspect when determined by *shang* (尚) *diang. The act is conceived as in process or continuing but not terminated.

EXAMPLES

Eel nae shang yeou eel tuu, eel nae shang ning gaan jyy (爾乃尚有爾土爾乃尚寧幹止) "Then you will continue to possess your lands and continue to find peace in your occupations and dwelling-places" (DS. 54.28).

... *shang keh yong Wen-wang jiauw* (... 尚克用文王教) "... still are able to follow the teaching of King Wen" (JG. 44.5).

Eel shang keh shiou kuey syh (爾尚克羞饋祀) "[You, then] will still be able to feed [yourselves], make gifts of food and [offer wine in] sacrifices" (JG. 44.3).

3.3.2.5. Perfective Aspect

The verb has perfective aspect when determined by *jih* (既) *kiəd, *jyi* (即) *tsiet, or *yii* (已) *ziəg. The act is envisaged as completed.

EXAMPLES

Yii: Fuh In. yii iue ... (父盾已曰) "Elder Yin, (I have) already said ..." (MGD).

Jih: Tian jih shyh-jong dah-bang In jy ming (天既遐終大邦殷之命) "Heaven has already brought to an end the Mandate of the Great State of Yin" (SG. 47.13); *Jin shyh jih juey jyue ming* (今時既墜厥命) "But today, their Mandate is lost" (SG. 47.17); *Jih jyy faa, jyue tzyy nae fwu keen tarnq* (既底法厥子乃弗肯堂) "If the father, having made the plans, then [finds that] his son is unwilling to lay the foundations ..." (DG. 38.6); *Shyan jih yong sheng yu Wang, Ming-gong guei* (咸既用牲于王明公歸) "Having made both sacrifices at Wang, the Duke of Ming returned home" (LFY).

Jyi: Jin wang jyi ming iue jih gong, tzong, yii gong tzuoh yuan-syh (今王即命曰記功宗以功作元祀) "Now, your Majesty, having decreed that [each man's] service be placed on record; in the Ancestral Temple [let each man] according to his service, partake in the Great Sacrifice (LG. 50.12).

Yu yih niann tian jyi yu In dah lih, syh, buh jeng (予亦念天即于殷大戾肆不征) "I, too, remember that Heaven has already brought down great retribution upon Yin, and so I do not attack you [further]" (DS. 54.21).

3.3.2.6. Customary Aspect

A verb determined by *dean* (典) *t'iən, has customary aspect. In customary aspect an act is envisaged as in constant being or as a matter of habit. Closely allied to *dean*, and tactically interchangeable with

it, are *jau-shih* (朝夕) *tiog-dziak, *suh-shih* (夙夕) *šiok-dziak, and *suh-yeh* (夙夜) *šiok-ziag, all meaning dawn/dusk, early/late > “always, constantly,” and *yeong* (永) *giwang, “always.”

EXAMPLES

Dean ting jenn gaw (典聽朕告) “Always obey my proclamations” (KG. 41.21).
Feng ruu dean ting jenn bih (封汝典聽朕恣) “Feng! You must always listen to my warnings” (JG. 44.21).

... *chean suh-shih huey woo-i-ren* (虔夙夕惠我一人) “... but with reverence constantly comfort me, the Lonely One” (MGD).

Suh-shih shau woo-i-ren (夙夕紹我一人) “Constantly assist me, the Lonely One” (DYD).

Jau-shih ruh jiann (朝夕入諫) “Be ever sending in [to me] your admonitions” (DYD).

Yu chong-tzyy suh-yeh bih syh (予冲子夙夜恣祀) “I, a young person, will always treat the sacrifices with caution” (LG. 50.23).

Yeong goong shian-wang (永拱先王) “I constantly bow to my royal ancestors” (MGD).

Tzyy-tzyy suen duo shyh chyí yeong bao (子子孫多世其永寶) “May my children and grandchildren for all generations ever treasure [this vessel]” (BAG).

Eel, keh yeong guan-shiing tzuoh chü jong der ... (爾克永觀省作稽中德) “If you can constantly be on the watch, searching out the proper power ...” (JG. 44.2).

Chyi yeong guan jenn tzyy hwai der (其永觀朕子懷德) “May they always look to you, my child, and cherish your virtue” (LG. 54.6).

Yu chong-ren yeong sy jian (予冲人永思艱) “The troubles are always on my mind” (lit: I/young/man/always/think of/troubles) (DG. 34.25).

3.3.2.7. Aspects of Incidence

Certain words occurring in the aspectual position before the verb define aspects of incidence. These have to do with the number or sequence of the incidence of the act envisaged.

EXAMPLES

Leu (屢) many incidences “frequently”: *Dyi leu wey torng* (迪屢未同) “[When the] guidance [they get] frequently is inconsistent” (KG. 41.17).

Fuh (復) an act repeated, “once again”: *Chu cheu bih nae fuh ruh shyi Jou-gong* (出取幣乃復入錫周公) “... left, selected gifts, re-entered and presented them to the Duke of Chou” (S.G. 47.11); *Yueh jyue fuh guei* (粵厥復歸) “By the time that we had returned once more ...” (SCG).

3.3.3.1. Determinations of Manner

Determinations of the verb of manner occur as an element in the

verbal syntagma, characterized¹⁹ as a class by the possibility of their being replaced by *ruoh-tzy* (若茲) *niak-tsiag, or *ruoh* (若) *niak, “in this manner, in such a manner, thus” (conventional sign: Man β).²⁰

EXAMPLES

(a) Determinants of Manner

Duu (篤) “sincerely,” etc.: *Ruu show ming duu bih* (汝受命篤弼) “You received my commands and conscientiously came to my assistance” (LG. 50.13);

Duu shiuh nae jenq fuh (篤敍乃正父) “Frankly inform your senior officers ...” (LG. 50.19).

Ming (明) /bright/brightly > “with distinction,” “with enlightenment”: *Woo nae ming jyh tian far* (我乃明致天罰) “I then, with enlightenment, applied Heaven’s punishment” (DS. 54.26); *Gong ming bao yu-chong-tzyy* (公明保予冲子) “Your Grace, with distinction, protects me, a young person” (LG. 50.20).

Jyi “with seriousness”: *Wei wang chyí jyí jing der* (惟王其疾敬德) “May the king revere the virtue [of the Mandate] seriously” (SG. 47.28).

(b) Substitution of *ruoh-tzy* and *ruoh*

Yu ruoh yuh hwai tzy shin yih yih wei ruu guh (予若顓懷茲新邑亦惟汝故) “[The reason why] I have thus called [upon you] to cherish this new city is, after all, because of you [for your own sakes]” (Parn Geng 22.11).

Feng, yu buh wei ruoh-tzy duo gaw (封予不惟若茲多誥) “Feng, I would not have spoken thus at such length” (JG. 44.14).

Yu, ruoh jing nae jenq (孟若敬乃正) “Yü, respect your seniors thus ...” (DYD).

NOTE. *Ruoh* is not only used, as above, anaphorically “in the manner previously described or demonstrated” but indefinitely “in such a manner.” (This is distinguished in LAC as *ru-tsyy* (如此) or *nae* (乃) for anaphora (see Dobson (1), p. 59, footnote 22) and as *ru-her* (如何) for indefinite substitution.)

EXAMPLE

Eel jy ning wang ruoh chyn tzai (爾知寧王若勤哉) “You yourselves know just how the blessed [i.e., deceased] Kings laboured” (lit: You/know/at-peace/kings/like-what/laboured) (DG. 38.2).

¹⁹ In LAO, the formal characteristic is the occurrence of *ran* post-posit to this element, which occurs as *x ran*, *xx ran*, *x zero*, or *xx zero*. *Ran* (an allegro form of *ru tsyy* (如此)) does not occur in EAC. *Ruoh-tzy* occurs in EAC, not as a suffixial element, but as an anaphoric substitute for the determination of manner. See Dobson (4).

²⁰ A complete list of words so functioning in the EAC sample is given in Appendix II, Table III, together with their frequency of occurrence.

A similar role is played in EAC by *Nae* (texts 乃, inscriptions 迺).

EXAMPLES

Wang iue Yu nae shau jia sy sy rong (王曰孟迺紹夾死司戎) "The King said 'Yu, support us thus, by serving even to the death at your military duties'" (lit: like-this/support) (*DYD*).

Yow wei In jy dyi ju chern wei gong nae mean yu jeou, wuh iong sha jy ... (又惟殷之迪諸臣惟工乃涵于酒, 勿庸殺之) "Further, when the subjects and workmen [previously] under Yin's jurisdiction, are [in such a manner=] similarly drunken with wine, you need not kill them ..." (*JG*. 44.19).

3.3.3.2. The State of the Agent

A class of determinants of the verb occur in the verbal syntagma with the class-meaning "denoting a state which is a precondition of the agency by which the act or state designated by the verb is performed or realized" (conventional sign: SA). Words in this class include:

- keh* (克) *k'ək "to be able to be or to act," "can," "to be permitted to be or to act," "could, might"²¹
neng (能) *nəng "to be able to be or to act," "can"
kee (可) *k'â "to be permitted to be or to act"
gaan (敢) *k'âm "to presume to be or to act"
keen (肯) *k'əng "to be willing to be or to act"

EXAMPLES

Keh: Fwu keh yong Dih (弗克用帝) "He could not obey God" (*DS*. 54.13); *Eel kee jinq tian wei bih jin eel* (爾克敬天惟畀矜爾) "If you can [do this] with reverence, then Heaven will favour you, and regard you with pity" (*DS*. 57.1); *Pi keh chih I wang syh* (丕克訖衣王祀) "He most assuredly can carry on the sacrifices of the Shang Kings." (*DFG*); *Tay-bao keh jinq wang chean* (太保克敬亡譴) "I, the Grand Guardian, can [but] treat with reverence [such a command]. I would not inveigh against it" (*TBG*).

Neng: Chyi pi neng shyan yu sheau-min (其丕能誠于小民) "May he be able, in large measure, to accord with the common people" (*SG*. 47.19).

Kee: Buh kee bwu jinq der (不可不敬德) "They cannot but revere his virtue" (*SG*. 47.23).

²¹ Though both *neng* and *kee* occur in the material, they do so infrequently (3× and 10×) and not in inscriptions. *Kee* occurs only in the forms *buh-kee-bu*, *buh-kee*, and *dah-kee*. Both are frequent in LAC and distinguish between "ability" and "possibility." *Keh*, by contrast, is of frequent occurrence in EAC (18×), and well attested by inscriptions. Despite its seeming phonetic affinity with *kee* (可) *k'ək? > k'â, it functions more often in EAC as *neng* does in LAC than as *kee*.

Gaan: Woo chyi gaan chyow wey (我其敢求位) "Dare we seek the Throne?" (*DS*. 54.12); *Tzuoh-tseh Ling gaan yang Ming-gong yin jyue shiou* (作册令敢揚明公尹厥休) "I, the Recorder Ling, have taken the liberty [= presumed] to make known the graciousness of the governor, the Duke of Ming" (*LFY*).

Keen: Jyue tzyy nae fwu keen boh, sheen keen huoh (厥子乃弗肯播矧肯穫) "His sons, then, are unwilling to sow, much less to reap" (*DG*. 38.6).

3.3.4. The Deployment of the Determinants of Degree and of Mood in the Verbal Syntagma

The determinants of degree (see 3.3) and of mood (see 3.3.1) determine not only the verb but also other elements in the verbal syntagma. These elements, distributed in a frame, are as follows: *degree or mood* / *SA* / *degree or mood* / *Manner* / *degree or mood* / *Verb*.

The determinants of degree occur as follows, with the class-meaning "in an intense degree" (see 3.3).

	Degree	SA	Degree	Manner	Degree	Verb
(1)				若茲	多	誥
(2)	大	克				羞
(3)	誕	敢				紀
(4)			丕	遠		惟
(5)	丕	能				誠
(6)				洪	大	誥
(7)				惇	大	成
(8)	丕	克			不少	訖
(9)						延
(10)			大	惇		典
(11)					多	遜

EXAMPLES

- (1) *Ruoh-tzy duo gaw* "thus, at such length, have spoken" (*JG*. 44.14).
 (2) *Dah keh shiou* "you so adequately can nurture" (*JG*. 44.2).
 (3) *Dann gaan jih* "even dares to resume" (*DG*. 34.20).
 (4) *Pi yewan wei* "most thoroughly consider" (*KG*. 38.21).
 (5) *Pi neng shyan* "thoroughly able to accord" (*SG*. 47.19).
 (6) *Hornng dah gaw* "grandly proclaimed" (*KG*. 38.15).
 (7) *Duen dah cherng* "in a lavish manner greatly achieve" (*LG*. 50.15).
 (8) *Pi keh chih* "most assuredly can carry on" (*DFG*).
 (9) *Buh shao yan* "long delayed" (*DG*. 34.17).

- (10) *Dah duen dean* "in the most grand manner govern" (LG. 54.1).
 (11) *Duo shiunn* "exercise utmost obedience" (DS. 54.26).

The number of occurrences in the material is as follows:

	Before SA	Before Manner	Before Verb	Totals
<i>Dah</i>	2	1	18	21
<i>Pi</i>	3	1	8	12
<i>Dann</i>	1		5	6
<i>Duo</i>			3	3
<i>Buh-shao</i>			1	1

The determinants of mood occur as follows, with the class-meaning "negation":

	Mood	SA	Mood	Manner	Mood	Verb
(1)	不	敢			不	敬
(2)	不	克				敬
(3)	弗	克				用
(4)			不	貳		適
(5)			不	昏		作
(6)	毋	敢				荒
(7)	罔	敢				失
(8)			無	傲		從
(9)			無	荒		矢

EXAMPLES

- (1) *Buh gaan bwu jing* "not dare not to revere" (LG. 50.9).
 (2) *Bwu keh jing* "cannot revere" (DS. 57.1).
 (3) *Fwu keh yong* "could not obey" (DS. 54.13).
 (4) *Bwu ell shyh* "do not with duplicity proceed" (DS. 54.20).
 (5) *Buh huen tzuoh* "does not, without let up [till evening] work" (*Parn Geng* 19.23).
 (6) *Wu gaan huang* "do not dare be negligent" (MGD).
 (7) *Woang gaan shyh* "would not dare neglect" (DS. 54.16).
 (8) *Wu aw tsornng* "should not disdainfully follow" (*Parn Geng* 19.17).
 (9) *Wu huang shyh* "would not recklessly neglect" (*Parn Geng* 22.8).

The determinants of degree and of mood thus have possibility of occurrence in the verbal syntagma before all elements except aspect.

3.3.5. Conspectus of the Verbal Syntagma

	Grammatical Determinations		The Verb
(1)	*S.A. (see 3.3.3.2)	(SA)	single word ($\dots \beta$) (see 3.3).
(2)	*Manner (see 3.3.3.1)	(Man)	co-ordinate connection } ($\beta + \beta$) or (β/β)
(3)	Aspect (see 3.3.2)	(As)	compound word ($\beta(\beta\beta)$)
(4)	Mood (see 3.3.1)	(Md)	material determination ($\beta \rightarrow \beta$) determination } ($\text{deg} \rightarrow \beta$). of degree

* With possibility of determination by determinants of mood and degree (see 3.3.4).

A high degree of selectivity (see the rule of economy 2.2.1) occurs in the verbal syntagma, so that varied as the grammatical resources of EAC are for determining a verb, only one or two are selected in a given instance.

3.4. The Post-verbal Elements

In the distribution of the elements of the verbal sentence, two elements (conventional signs: $\gamma^1\gamma^2$) occur immediately after the verb or verbal syntagma (that is, $\beta\gamma^1\gamma^2$). These elements occur in the distributions $\beta\gamma^1\gamma^2$; $\beta\gamma^1$; $\beta\gamma^2$, but are formally distinguished by the occurrence (or possibility of occurrence) of a particle before γ^2 . The particle of the second post-verbal position is *yu* (于)*. io (conventional sign: dir). The function of these two elements is (i) to restrict the scope of the verb, and (ii) to govern its voice. They are thus determinative of the verb and subordinate to it. The voice of the verb is governed by varying sets of distributions of these two elements. The scope of the verb (its direction and goal) is defined by them.

3.4.1. Transitive and Intransitive

The verb is either transitive or intransitive. This is distinguished by the voice of the verb when its affectee or goal is placed in the first post-verbal position. A transitive verb with affectee at γ^1 is *active*. An intransitive verb with affectee at γ^1 is *causative*.

EXAMPLES

Transitive (Affectee at γ^1 ; voice of verb: active)

Ge (割) "destroy": *Ge In* (割殷) "Destroy [the House of] Yin!" (DS. 54.19).
Fa (伐) "attack": *Fa Dong-gwo* (伐東國) "Attack the Eastern Territories" (BAG).

Cherng (承) "receive": *Cherng wang ling* (承王令) "Received the King's command" (SCG).

Luu (魯) "praise": *Luu Tian-tzyy* (魯天子) "[I] praised the Son of Heaven" (JHG).

Intransitive (Affectee at γ^1 ; voice of verb: causative)

Shing (興) "rise up" (int.), but causative "make-rise-up," "raise": *Shing woo sheau bang Jou* (興我小邦周) "(Heaven) raised up us, the minor state of Chou" (DG. 34.28).

Jinn (進) "to go in" (int.) but causative "make-go-in," "send or bring in":
Jinn bin (進賓) "brought in the guests" (SYD).

Jyi (及) "to arrive at, come to" (int.) but causative "make-come," "realise," "put into effect": *Fwu gaan jyi tian ji ming ding ming* (弗敢及天基命定命) "does not dare put into effect the decree of Heaven [ordering the] founding and establishing [of a new city]" (LG. 50.6).

Jyh (至) "arrive at" (int.) but causative (and written 致)²² "make arrive," "bring upon," "apply": *Woo nae ming jyh tian far* (我乃明致天罰) "I, then, with enlightenment, applied the punishment of Heaven" (DS. 54.26).

3.4.2. Transitive Verbs in Causative Voice

The affectee or goal of a transitive verb is placed in the second post-verbal position when the voice of the verb is causative.

EXAMPLES

Cherng (承) "to take over," as, for example, in *Jin wei woo Jou wang pi ling cherng dih shyh* (今惟我周王丕靈承帝事) "Now, we the rulers of Chou have, with all due care for the spirits, taken over the service of God" (DS. 54.19) (goal at γ^1), but "cause to be taken over," that is, "to continue" in *Jin buh cherng yu guu* (今不承于古) "If now we do not continue with the old practices . . ." (Parn Geng 19.13) (goal at γ^2).

Shyau or *Shyue* (學) "to learn," but "make-learn," "teach" in *Parn Geng shiau yu min* (盤庚教于民) "When P'an Keng taught the people" (Parn Geng 19.15).²³

Certain transitive verbs place the affectee in the γ^2 position in the sense of "show . . . to," for instance, *ay* (愛) "spare"; *ai* (哀) "pity."

²² An example of a transitive verb distinguishing active/causative by different signs is given in 3.4.2 (see footnote 23). Both that example, and *jyh* here are, however, idiosyncratic; no regular series can be established. This problem has been discussed by Karlgren (5) and (7), Demiéville, p. 146 ff., Dobson (1) (see in particular Appendix I) and G. B. Downer.

²³ See 3.4.1, footnote 22.

EXAMPLES

Tian yih ai yu syh-fang min (天亦哀于四方民) "Heaven has, after all, shown pity to the people of the world" (SG. 44.16).

Woang ay yu In wei yih (罔愛于殷惟逸) "[Heaven, therefore] would not spare Yin because of [Yin's] excesses" (JG. 44.14).

This might be represented as follows:

Verb	Post-verbal Elements			Voice
	β	γ^1	γ^2	
Transitive		affectee		active
			affectee	causative
Intransitive		affectee		active
				causative

NOTE. With certain verbs the element at γ^1 may be a formally complete verbal sentence downgraded to syntagma form (see 2.10).

EXAMPLES

Fu chyan-ren show ming (敷前人受命) "[I must] proclaim the Mandate received from my forbears" (lit: proclaim/former-men/receive/Mandate) (DG. 34.19).

Eel yih buh jy tian ming buw yih (爾亦不知天命不易) "Do you not, even so, know that Heaven's ordinances do not change?" (DG. 38.11).

Shyr yeh buw wang Shian shen tzay Bih-gong jia show tian-tzyy shiou (十葉不謫獻身才畢公家受天子休) "[So that] my descendants for ten generations to come will not forget that, I, Hsien, in person, as a member of the household of the Duke of Pi, received the favour of the Son of Heaven" (SHG).

3.4.3. The Directive—Active Voice

A restriction is placed upon the scope of the verb when its goal or affectee is specified. Thus, *chyou* (求) "seek" (in general, no restriction), but *chyou eel* (求爾) "seek you" (in particular, first restriction imposed at γ^1). A further restriction is imposed on the scope of the verb by directives which occur at γ^2 . These denote the place, person, object towards which, at which, within which, etc., the action is directed. Thus, *chyou eel yu tian yih Shang* (求爾于天邑商) "Seek you [in particular] in the Heavenly City, Shang [in further particular]" (DS. 54.24). The directives occur at γ^2 with both transitive and intransitive verbs. Where the action flows from the agent, through the verb, via the affectee, to the directive, the voice of the verb is *active*.

EXAMPLES

- (a) Place, person or object towards which action is directed: "to, towards"
Wang jiang jeng ling yu Tay-bao (王降征令于大保) "The King issued the order to attack to the Grand Guardian" (TBG).
Jing yang yu hwang wang (敬揚于皇王) "I respectfully made known to our august Queen . . ." (LQG).
Chu-ruh fu ming yu way (出入敷命于外) "Envoys proclaiming the Mandate to those beyond [the Royal Domain]" (MGD).
- (b) Location at which action takes place: "in, at"
Wang dah-yueh yu Tzong-jou (王大餽于宗周) "The King convened a great assembly at Tsung-chou" (SSH).
Kuang yu shuh (覘于戍) "presented [it to me] at my garrison post" (LQG).
Dih wu jong ming yu yeou-Jou (帝無終命于有周) "May God not terminate the Mandate with [the present] ruler of Chou" (JHG).
- (c) Area in which, objects among which, etc., the action takes place: "among, within"
Biann yu duo jeng (辨于多正) "Apportioned [duties] among the senior officials" (TTY).
Woang fei yeou-tsyu yu far (罔非有鬪于罰) "None but were under indictment at law" (lit: none/are not/have-charges/in/legal proceedings) (DS. 54.18).
- (d) Object or place upon which action takes place: "on, upon"
Yu yih jih tian jy far yu eel gong (予亦致天之罰于爾躬) "I, too, will bring the punishment of Heaven upon your persons" (DS. 57.1).
Dah jiang sanq yu In (大降喪于殷) "... has sent down destruction upon Yin" (DS. 54.10).
Fwu-diaw Tian jiang hay yu woo jia (弗弔天降害于我家) "Impartial Heaven will send down injury upon our House" (DS. 34.16).
- (e) Place from which action begins: "from"
Chyou yu In shian jer wang (求于殷先哲王) "Seek [advice] from Yin's former wise rulers" (KG. 38.19).
- (f) Miscellaneous: "with respect to," "in the matter of"
Chuen yu sheau-dah jeng (蠢于小大政) "Take great trouble over the affairs of government, large or small" (MGD).
Ting jenn jiau ruu yu fei min yi (聽朕教汝于隸民彝) "Listen as I instruct you about those things that are contrary to the customs of the people" (LG. 50.18).

3.4.4. The Directive—Passive Voice

Where, by contrast, the direction of flow of the action proceeds from the directive via the verb to the agent, the voice of the verb is *passive*.

EXAMPLES

Nae buh wei rong dwu yu yeuan-eel (乃不畏戎毒于遠邇) "but you do not

fear to be hated by all far and near" (*Parn Geng* 19.22).
Wang bwu hann yu Wen Wu geeng-guang (亡不聞于文武耿光) "None but were embraced by the glory of Kings Wen and Wu" (MGD).
Yuh ruu fwu yii nae bih shiann yu jian (欲女弗以乃辟陷于艱) "I wish you not to become ensnared by difficulties on account of your duties" (MGD).
Wu bih yu shiuh (無憾于恤) "May you not be distressed by anxiety" (DG. 34.27).

No formal distinction is made between the active voice (direction towards) and the passive voice (direction from) in the directive.²⁴ The directive particle is common to both. Contrast in voice is simply a matter of difference of directional flow.²⁵ This might be represented as follows:

Verb	Directional Flow	Dir.	γ^2
Active	→	于	directive (=location etc.)
Passive	←	于	directive (=agency)

A transitive verb may be in passive voice without agency occurring in the γ^2 position, particularly when a locative occurs in that position.

EXAMPLES

Shiah dyi jean tzay wang tyng (夏迪簡在王庭) "The Hsia people were brought forward and selected [for office] in the King's Court" (DS. 54.23) with which the voice of *jean* contrasts in *Yu chyí maw jean shiang eel* (予其懋簡相爾) "I will energetically examine you with a view to selecting you [for office]" (*Parn Geng* 25.6).
Farn syh-fang sheau-dah bang sanq (凡四方小大邦喪) "All states everywhere, large and small, which have been lost . . ." (DS. 54.18), with which the voice of *sanq* contrasts in *Sanq woo gwo* (喪我國) "lose our state" (MGD).

²⁴ See 2.6.6. The directive particle is purely gestural—a signal of direction. It has none of the semantic content or variety of the prepositions by which its function is realized in translation or "defined" in dictionaries.

²⁵ The undifferentiated contrast is illustrated in the following contrasting pairs: *Dih wu jong ming yu yeou-Jou* (帝無終命于有周) "May God not terminate the Mandate with the present ruler of Chou" (JHG) (γ^2 =location); [*In ming*] *jong yu Dih* (終于帝) "[Yin's Mandate] was terminated by God" (DS. 54.10) (γ^2 =causal-agency); *Jiann fwu yu Tzong-jou* (見服于宗周) "Charged in audience at Tsung-chou" (TTY) (γ^2 =location); and *jiann fwu yu bih wang* (見服于辟王) "Charged in audience by the King" (TTY) (γ^2 =causal agency).

NOTE. The distinction here lies purely in the directional flow which, though unmarked, is as follows: (1) affectee (=agent of realization)/verb (flow of direction ←); and (2) actor (=acting agent)/verb/affectee (flow of direction →). In the above examples it is the difference between “people/selected” and “select/people,” and “states/lost” and “lose/state.” Thus, in the occurrence of $\alpha\beta$ (trans.), α has possibility of being (i) acting agent (verb active), or (ii) agent of realization (verb passive).

3.4.5. Periphrastic Treatment of Voice

The causative voice may be indicated periphrastically by the occurrence of *shyy* (使) *sliəg, *jyy* (底) *tiər, “bring about,” or *tzuoh* (作) *tsák “make,” distributed between causal and acting agent.

EXAMPLES

Wang jyy Tay-bao shyi shiou Yu-tuu (王底大保錫休余土) “At the instigation of the King, I, the Grand Guardian, was presented with a grace [a grant of land] at Yü-t’u” (lit: King/made/me/be given/grace/PN) (TBG).

Shiou wang. Tzyh Gu, shyy shaang Bih-tuu (休王自穀使賞畢土) “I was favoured by the King. From Ku, at his instigation, I was awarded the lands of Pi-t’u” (lit: grace/King. From/PN/made [me]/awarded/PN) (SYC).

Yuh woo fwu tzuoh shian-wang iou (欲我弗作先王憂) “It is my wish not to grieve my Royal ancestors” (lit: Wish/I/not/make/former kings/grieve) (MGD).

NOTE. The contrast between causative voice imposed by the distribution of the post-verbal elements (see 3.4.2) and causative voice indicated periphrastically (as above) is nicely illustrated by the following pair:

- (1) *Guh wu iou yu shian wang* (故無憂于先王) “For this reason [I] would not cause grief to my Royal Ancestors” (*Shy Tow Goei* (師筭毀) see *Guo* (1), vol. II, pp. 139-40);
- (2) *Yuh woo fwu tzuoh shian-wang iou* (欲我弗作先王憂) “It is my wish not to grieve my Royal Ancestors” (MGD)

in which [α] Md. $\beta\gamma^2$ contrasts with α Md. *cause* $\alpha\beta$.

3.4.5.1. Periphrastic Treatment of Direction

The directive particle does not distinguish types of direction (see 3.4.4). Neither direction towards or away from the verb (flow of action), nor direction towards or away from the point of reference of

the speaker is distinguished. The latter distinction may be made by substituting for the particle of direction, lexical directives, which make this distinction. They are: (towards point of reference) *tzyh* (自) *dz’i, *you* (由) *diög “from”; (away from point of reference) *jyh yu* (至于) *tied. io “towards, up to”; and (locative) *tzay* (texts 在, inscriptions 才) *dz’əg.²⁶

EXAMPLES

Tzyh: Shyi jenn lai tzyh Yean (昔朕來自奄) “Earlier, when I came from Yen” (DS. 54.25). *Ming-gong guei tzyh Wang* (明公歸自王) “The Duke of Ming returned home from Wang” (LFY).

*Chean tzyh ...*²⁷ *shy* (遣自師) “He was despatched from [a certain] city” (SCG).

You: Bye chyou wen you guu shian jer wang (別求聞由古先哲王) “Elsewhere seek for knowledge from the former wise kings of antiquity” (KG. 38.21).

Tzay: Wen wang jiann tzay shanq (文王見才上) “King Wen watches [over us] above” (DFG). *Wey tzay der yuan* (位在德元) “Placed at the fount of power” (SG. 50.2). *Yeou fwu tzay bae-liau* (有服在百僚) “had duties in the administration” (DS. 54.24). *Wu dong yu-i-ren tzay wey* (毋動余一人才位) “Do not disturb me, the Lonely One, upon my Throne” (MGD). *Shing wen tzay shanq* (腥聞在上) “The stench reached to Heaven” (JG. 44.13).

²⁶ Inscriptions distinguish between *tzay* as a verb “be at” and as a lexical directive “in, at,” by the use of contrastive signs, viz. verb=在, directive=才. (Though 才 is modernly read *tsair*, it is, like *tzay*, read *dz’əg in Archaic Chinese.) Chern Menq-jia observes correctly that the interchange of *tzay* and the directive particle is a peculiarity of EAC (see Chern (2), pp. 91 and 112). In Modern Standard Chinese *tzay* occurs regularly as a directive particle. Karlgren, observing that *tzay* never occurs as a directive particle in LAC, on encountering *tzay* in this usage in the *Lun Heng* describes this as “a remarkable innovation” (Karlgren (3), p. 127). But his observation that “the preposition is regularly *yü* in the early texts, never *tsai*” is true only of LAC. In Han usage, this is a resuscitation, rather than an innovation in usage. (For a further case of resuscitation see Appendix I, Note 48.)

The use in bronze inscriptions of separate signs for allomorphs, and the subsumption in texts of allomorphs under a single sign, is an interesting example of the kind of linguistic evidence that the peculiar nature of the Chinese script provides (see Dobson (1), p. 221). See also 5.4.1 where bronzes distinguish *nae* (pronoun 乃, conjunction 迺) which texts comprise indifferently under the sign 乃.

On the use of *tzyh*, Chern Menq-jia says “*Buu-tsyrr jin-wen* “*tzyh*” *duo yong tzuoh jie-tsyrr tzay donq-tsyrr jy how*” (卜辭金文“自”多用作介詞在動詞之後) “*Tzyh* frequently is used as a preposition in the post-verbal position, on the Oracle Bones, and in bronze inscriptions” see (Chern (1), p. 172).

²⁷ For sign see p. 185. The reading is not known to me.

NOTE. The directive particle does not distinguish "towards, away from, or at." But that the lexical directives which make this distinction substitute for the directive particle is shown by the following pairs: *wen yu tian* (聞于天) "was smelled in Heaven" (JG. 44.13) and *wen tzay shanq* (聞在上) "was smelled above [in Heaven]" (JG. 44.13); *jaw gwo tzay shi-tuu* (肇國在西土) "founded our state in the Western Territories" (JG. 41.23), and *yeou dah jian yu Shi-tuu* (有大艱于西土) "There is serious trouble in the Western Territories" (DG. 34.20); *chyou wen you guu shian jer wang* (求聞由古先哲王) "seek knowledge from the former wise kings of antiquity" (KG. 38.21); and *chyou yu In shian jer wang* (求于殷先哲王) "seek ... from the former wise kings of Yin" (KG. 38.20).

When the lexical directives are used, the directive may shift to the pre-verbal position.

EXAMPLES

Wang tzay shin yih jeng (王在新邑烝) "The king performed the winter sacrifice in the new city" (LG. 54.6).
Tzyh Gu shyy shaang Bih-tuu (自穀使賞畢土) "At the King's instigation, I was awarded [a grant of land] the territory of Pi from Ku" (SYC).

NOTE. The lexical directives also occur before place and time (see 3.10).

3.4.6. Attributive Verbs and the Post-verbal Elements

Words that occur as attributive determinant words in syntagma (that is, class 2 in 2.6.2) occurring in the verbal syntagma as head-words, may be used in both factitive and putative senses (see 3.2.1). They are intransitive. The dispositions and functions of their post-positing elements are those of intransitive verbs, consequently such verbs with affectee at γ^1 are causative.²⁸

EXAMPLES

Putative Use of Attributes

Yeuan (遠) "far, distant," as verb "regard as distant": *Bii yuh woo min wu yeuan yongq lih* (彼裕我民無遠用戾) "There, do you enrich our people, [and then] they would not regard [you] as far-off, but will, as a result, come

²⁸ Causative, that is (putative) "make so, in mind only," "regard as," and (factitive) "make so, in fact."

[to you]" (LG. 50.19).

Iou (憂) "sad" as verb > "regard as sad, be sorry about": *Ruu buh iou jenn shin jy iou kuenn* (汝不憂朕心之攸困) "You are not sorry about the things which trouble my mind" (Parn Geng 22.12).

Jong (重) "heavy" (metaphorically) "grave, important" as verb > "regard as important, take seriously": *Jong woo min, wu jinn liou* (重我民無盡劉) "[They] attached importance to our people, and would not [allow them] to be utterly exterminated" (Parn Geng 19.12).

Ruoh (弱) "weak," *gu* (孤) "lonely, without help" as verbs > "regard as weak and helpless": *Wu ruoh gu yeou-you* (無弱孤有幼) "[You] should not regard the young as weak and helpless" (Parn Geng 22.3).

Factitive Use of Attributes

Yeuan (遠) "far, distant," as verb > "make distant," "push far ahead," "be long-sighted": *Yeuan nae you yuh* (遠乃猷欲) "Be far sighted in your plans and hopes" (KG. 41.19).

Iou (憂) "sad" as verb > "make sad, grieve": *Yuh woo fwu tzuoh shian-wang iou* (欲我弗作先王憂) "It is my wish that I do not make my Royal ancestors grieve" (MGD).

Ming (明) "bright" as verb > "make bright, bring lustre to, glorify": *Woang buh ming der* (罔不明德) "There were none who did not make bright [their] virtue" (DS. 54.15).

Yeong (永) "everlasting, eternal" as verb > "make everlasting=perpetuate": *Chyi tian yeong ming* (祈天永命) "Pray that Heaven would perpetuate his Mandate" (SG. 50.1).

3.4.7. Special Cases of Post-verbal Distribution

Special statements must be made about certain verbs, the dispositions of the post-verbal elements of which do not conform to the distributional pattern hitherto described. These are:

(1) Certain words with the common meaning "to hand on to," for example, *yi* (遺) "bequeath," *shyi* (錫) "award," *shaang* (賞) "reward," *hay* (贖) "grant," *jiang* (降) "hand down to," *guei* (歸) "hand back to," *yu* (于) "apply to," *guu* (替) "apportion out to," occur with the elements of the post-verbal positions distributed as follows: verb/recipient/object. The particle of direction does not occur.

EXAMPLES

Yi woo dah bao guei (遺我大寶龜) "The very precious tortoise shell bequeathed to me" (lit: bequeath/to us/great/precious/tortoise shell) (DG. 34.19).

Shyi Ling chang jin sheau-niou (錫令鬯金小牛) "[He] awarded me [Ling], sacrificial wine, bronze and a calf" (LFY).

Shaang Tzuoh-tseh Huu maa (賞作冊鬣馬) "He rewarded me, the Recorder, Hu, with a gift of horses" (TTY).

Hay jing-hour fwu (蒼井侯服) "Grant to the Lord of Ching a charge of office" (JHG).

Tian jyi yu In dah lih (天卽于殷大戾) "Heaven has already brought down upon Yin, great retribution" (DS. 54.21).

Yu dah jianq eel syh-gwo min ming (予大降爾四國民命) "I sent down, to you the people of the States, a decree" (DS. 54.26).

Guu bae-shing twen (替百姓豚) "Apportion to the gentry a gift of sucking pigs" (SSH).

Such words also occur, with directive particle, in the distribution verb/object/recipient.

EXAMPLE

Wang jianq jeng ling yu Tay-bao (王降征令于大保) "The King sent down the order to attack to [me] the Grand Guardian" (TBG).

(2) Words with the common meaning "to say, speak," etc., for example, *gaw* (告) "announce," *yan* (言) "speak," *jiau* (教) "instruct," occur with the post-verbal element distributed as follows: verb/ to whom said/thing said or spoken of.

EXAMPLES

Gaw eel In duo shyh, Jin yu ... (告爾殷多士, 今予 ...) "I announce to you, the knights of Yin, 'Now I ...'" (DS. 54.26).

Gaw ruu der jy shuo (告汝德之說) "and tell you of the principles of virtue" (KG. 41.16).

Ting jenn jiau ruu yu fei min yi (聽朕教汝于隸民彝) "Listen as I instruct you about those things which are contrary to the customs of the people" (LG. 50.18).

Yann eel iou jiu (言爾攸居) "Tell you where to reside" (DS. 57.3).

Such words also occur, with possibility of directive particle occurring, with the distribution: verb/thing said or spoken of/to whom said.

EXAMPLES

Gong gaw jyue shyh yu shanq (公告厥事于上) "The Duke reported [the completion of] his assignment to the King" (BAG).

Gaw "chyh" yu Dih (告勅于帝) "We announced [the reply] 'carried out' to God" (DS. 54.20).

(3) Certain words with the common meaning "to order, to command" for example, *ming* (命), and *ling* (令), occur with the elements of the post-verbal positions distributed as follows: verb/person ordered/

the order. The directive particle does not occur, but *iue* (曰) may occur when "order" is given in direct speech or as a citation.

EXAMPLES

Nae ming eel shian tzuu Cherng Tang ger Shiah (乃命爾先祖成湯革夏) "and so [Heaven] charged your forbear T'ang the Successful to depose Hsia" (DS. 54.14).

Wang ling Rong yueh Ney-shyy iue "Hay Jjing-hour fwu" (王令榮粵內史曰蒼井侯服) "The King issued a decree to Jung and to the *nui-shih* which said 'Grant to the Lord of Ching a charge of office'" (JHG).

3.4.8. Polarity of Mood and the Post-verbal Elements

The modal forms taken by the negatives have already been described (3.3.1 ff.). The negatives as a class partake in a further modal system, that of polarity. Polarity comprises (1) *neutral* (simple assertion—absence of contrast between negative and positive); (2) *negative* (and contra-negative, the reflex positive); and (3) *indefinite*.

Polarity gives rise to a peculiar form of post-verbal distribution in both negative and indefinite when substitutes occur in the post-verbal positions. (Substitutes include non-status pronouns, demonstratives, anaphoric pronouns, and interrogatives.) The substitute occurs before the verb where polarity is negative or indefinite, whereas where polarity is neutral the substitute occurs after the verb.

(1) Negative Polarity

EXAMPLES

Wu woo yuann (無我怨) "May you not bear resentment against me" (DS. 54.23).

Wu woo tean sheang (無我珍享) "May you not be the occasion of our being cut off from its [i.e., the Mandate's] enjoyment" (lit: not/us/cut off/from enjoyment) (KG. 41.20).

Buh ruu shyu tean (不汝遐殄) "[Then I] will not banish or cut you off" (KG. 41.20).

Woo buh eel dong (我不爾動) "We did not move you" (DS. 54.21).

Jin yu wei buh eel sha (今予惟不爾殺) "I have no wish to kill you now" (DS. 54.27).

Wey chyi yeou ruoh ruu Feng jy shin (未其有若汝封之心) "There has never been one with a heart such as yours, Feng" (KG. 41.5).

(2) Negated—But Polarity Neutral

EXAMPLES

Wu kuenn woo tzai (無困我哉) "May you not place me in a difficult position"

(LG. 50.27).

Woang buw ruoh yu (罔不若予) "Emulate me in all things" (lit: in nothing/do not/emulate/me) (DG. 50.19).

Wuh iong sha jy (勿庸殺之) "You need not kill them" (JG. 44.19).

(3) Negative Polarity—Restrictive²⁹

EXAMPLES

Ning wang wei buu yong (寧王惟卜用) "The blessed [late] Kings used only the diviner" (DG. 38.1).

Sheau-tzyy wei tuu-wuh ay (小子惟土物愛) "You, my child, should use the products of the soil sparingly" (ay "grudge" and thus "be grudging only in this matter") (JG. 41.27).

(4) Indefinite polarity

The interrogative and indefinite substitutes, *her* (曷), and *iou* (攸), also occur before the verb where, in the definite reflex form, the element for which they substitute appears after the verb.³⁰

Polarity envisages a reflex. In negative polarity, the two poles are the negative, implying contrast to the positive, and the positive, in contrast to a possible negation. In indefinite polarity, the two poles are the known and the unknown. Thus question and answer (by the use of indefinite substitutes) are, as it were, opposed but complementary poles. A polar statement implies a contrastive statement. Thus, polarity is present in the following apposed sentences:

EXAMPLES

Ren wu yu shoei jiann dang yu min jiann (人無于水監當于民監) "Rather than see oneself reflected in water, one should see oneself reflected in the common people" (JG. 44.15) (which is α Md $\gamma^2\beta$; Md $\gamma^2\beta$ with polarity between "in water" and "in the common people").

Wei woo shyh buw ell shyh. Wei eel wang-jia woo shyh (惟我事不貳適惟爾王家我適) "This is true—our affairs are not conducted with duplicity—it, too, is true that your Royal House has come to us" (DS. 54.20), but literally: True/our/affairs/do not/two-ways/go. True/your/Royal House/to us/go (which is $A=B(\alpha(A\rightarrow B)Md\gamma^2(A\rightarrow B)\beta)$, $A=B(\alpha(A\rightarrow B)(A\rightarrow B)\gamma^2\beta)$, with polarity between "in two ways" and "to us."

²⁹ *Wei* (惟) "nothing but," "this, not anything else," "only," has close tactical affinities with the negatives. See Dobson (2), p. 365.

³⁰ For details see 6.5 ff., 6.6.

3.4.9. Summary of the Post-verbal Elements

The varieties of distribution of elements in the two post-verbal positions, and the possibility of alternation in directional flow, are thus the formal resources of EAC by which the voice and the scope of the verb are governed. A further variety is introduced by transitive and intransitive usage. It is by the permutation of the elements in the two post-verbal positions that varieties of voice are imposed upon the verb. The varieties of distribution may now be set out in a conspectus as follows:

3.4.10. Conspectus of Voice and the Two Post-verbal Positions

Verb	Voice	γ^1	(Direction)	γ^2
transitive	active	affectee	→	directive
	causative		→	affectee
	passive		←	directive
intransitive (verbs of direction)	active		→	directive
	causative	affectee	→	
	passive		←	directive
intransitive (attributive verbs)	causative	affectee	→	
	(fact. or put.)			
	passive		←	directive

3.5. The Agent

3.5.1. Introduction

The verb of the verbal sentence may be determined as to agency. Where agency is represented by substitutes (personal and anaphoric pronouns), special agential forms occur. Though no distinction is made in the form of the agent, it is useful to distinguish (according to the voice of the verb) an acting agent (when the verb is active), a causal agent (when the verb is causative), and an agent of realization (when the verb is passive) (conventional sign: α).

The agent or the agential syntagma occurs as an element in the sentence at α in α [Ins. or subordinate clause] $\beta\gamma^1\gamma^2$. The agential syntagma occurs with the elements $\alpha((1)\rightarrow\alpha)(2)$, where at (1) are determinations of the agent at the syntagmatic level, and (2) are particles (distributives, etc.) peculiar to the agential syntagma, a detailed description of which is given at 3.5.3 ff.

Not all sentences have agents, and certain sentences cannot be agen-

tially determined, for example,

Feei (朧) "There was a full moon" (SG. 47.6).
Tzann (贊) "Let the feast begin" (SYD).

Verbal sentences capable of being determined as to agency frequently are not.

3.5.2. Pronominal Agents

When pronouns are used in the agential position, certain forms peculiar to the agent occur. These are the first person non-status pronouns *yu* (texts 予, inscriptions 余) *dio and the agentive form of the anaphoric pronoun *chyi* (其) *kiæg.³¹ No distinctive form occurs for the second-person and the status pronouns do not distinguish between agential and non-agential forms.³²

EXAMPLES

Yu wei jyi jenn sheau shyue (余佳即朕小學) "I then was attending my first school" (DYD).
Jin yu wei jaw jing shian-wang ming (今余佳肇經先王命) "Now, I should begin to carry out the commands of my Royal Ancestors" (MGD).
Yu tzaw tian yih, yi, dah tour jian yu jenn shen (予造天役遺大投艱于朕身) "I, being the servant of Heaven, have been remiss and have brought this great trouble upon myself" (DG. 34.26).
Yu wei woang chyue jenn iou jih (予惟往求朕攸濟) "I would go and seek a place by which to ferry across" (DG. 34.18).
Woo yih wei tzy ell gwo ming sy ruoh gong (我亦惟茲二國命嗣若功) "We,

³¹ The anaphoric pronouns alone give an unambiguous pronominal series, viz: *chyi* (agential), *jy* (post-verbal), and *jyue* (determinant). In the first person, *yu* occurs exclusively in the agential position, with but two exceptions out of a total of sixty-nine occurrences (i.e., DG. 34.27 and MGD). But this may simply be a reflection of the infrequent occurrence generally of pronouns in post-verbal positions. Of eighty-two occurrences, *woo* occurs post-verbally six times only. Of forty-seven occurrences, *ruu* occurs post-verbally ten times only. *Jy*, in fact, occurs post-verbally three times only. An unambiguous line, however, can be drawn between pregnant (standing alone), and determinant (in collocation) usage. Thus, first person pregnant form *yu*, determinant form *jenn*; second person pregnant form *ruu*, determinant form *nae*; anaphoric pronoun pregnant form *jy*, determinant form *chyi* (as-agent), *jyue* (in syntagma). The sole exception then is *eel* in those texts which do not observe the *ruu/nae* distinction, on which see 2.6.7.1 footnote 8.

³² See also 2.6.7.1 and 6.2.

too, because of the Mandate [once held by] these two kingdoms [Hsia and Yin], have inherited such meritorious service" (SG. 47.26).
Woo chyue gan chyue wey? (我其敢求位) "Dare we seek for the Throne?" (DS. 54.12).
Jenn buh gaan yeou-how (朕不敢有後) "I dare not lag behind" (DS. 54.22).
Shyi jenn lai tzyh Yean (昔朕來自奄) "Earlier, when I came from Yen ..." (DS. 54.25).
Ruu wu gaan juey tzay nae fwu-tzaw (女毋敢墜才乃服造) "You must not dare be negligent in your duties" (MGD).
Ruu show ming duu bih (汝受命篤弼) "You received my orders and conscientiously came to my assistance" (LG. 50.13).
Sheen iue chyue gaan chornng yin (矧曰其敢崇飲) "Much less should it be thought that they would dare to drink to excess" (JG. 44.6).
Gong, chyue yih yu wann-yih nian jing tian jy shiou (公其以予萬億年敬天之休) "Your Grace, may you and I enjoy a myriad years of life in which to revere the grace of Heaven" (LG. 50.10).

3.5.3. Agential Distributives

The grammatical value of the agent is substantival. Substantival usage does not distinguish number or class and member (see 2.6.7.4 and 2.6.7.4.4). In the agent, certain of these distinctions are made in syntagma, but others are imposed upon the agent by its distributives. The distributives occur at dist in α /dist. The distributives are (i) *collective* when all or some instances are envisaged, and (ii) *restrictive* when all but one, or one class, are excluded.

The collective distributives of the agent³³ are collectives with the class-meaning "all given instances conceived as a totality." These are: *shyan* (咸) *g'em; *shi* (悉) *siet; and *bing* (并) *b'ieŋ.

EXAMPLES

Wann-bang shyan shiou (萬邦咸休) "Then all the States will receive grace" (lit: Ten-thousand/states/all of them/receive grace) (LG. 54.2).
Wang jaw chenn In lii syh yu shix-yih, Shyan jyh wu wenn (王肇稱殷禮祀于新邑咸秩無紊) "Your Majesty must now begin to perform the sacrifices in the new city according to the rites of Yin. [Let] them all [i.e., the sacrifices] be done in proper order. Let there be no confusion" (LG. 50.11).
Chyi yeou-jong shyan tzaw (其有衆咸造) "They, the multitude, all came" (Parn Geng 22.7).
Wang ming jong shi jyh yu tyng (王命衆悉至于庭) "The King commanded the multitude all to come to the courtyard" (Parn Geng 19.17).

³³ No restrictive occurs in the material as an agential distributive, but see the paragraph which follows.

Jenn buu bing jyi (朕卜并吉) "My oracles are all auspicious" (DG. 34.22).
Sheen jin buu bing jyi (矧今卜并吉) "Even more so today when all the oracles are auspicious" (DG. 38.13).

The collectives and restrictives also occur as determinants of the post-verbal elements. In such usage, they occur before the verb (coll. or rest. $\beta\gamma^1$), though they determine the element after the verb. This is determination, as it were, via the verb. In this usage, *jinn* (盡) *dz'ien, and *shuay* (率) *sliwət, and *bih* (畢) *piet also occur. The restrictive is *wei* (惟) *diwər.

EXAMPLES

- Jou-gong shyan chyn* (周公咸勤) "The Duke of Chou urged all to work diligently" (KG. 38.15).
Gong Tay-shyy shyan jiann fwu yu bih-wang (公太史咸見服于辟王) "His Grace, the Grand Annalist, was charged in audience with all his duties by the King" (TTY).
Jih shyan ling (既咸令) "having issued both decrees ..." (LFY) (perfective aspect/both orders/order).
Nae ruu chyí shi tzyh jiau gong (乃汝其悉自教工) "Then you can, in person, instruct all the artisans" (LG. 50.13).
Ruu wuh yih jinn jyr-jiu, yii gwei yu Jou (汝勿佚盡執拘以歸于周) "You must not disregard it, but arrest them all, and send them back to Chou" (JG. 44.18).
Nae ruu jinn shiunn (乃汝盡遜) "Then you will have complied with all [my wishes]" (KG. 41.5).
Shuay hwai buh-tyng-fang (率懷不廷方) "To embrace all those states not [as yet] paying us allegiance" (lit: all/embrace/not/pay=court/places) (MGD).
Shuay sha (率殺) "Kill them all" (KG. 41.12).
Yu wei shuay syh-jin eel (予惟率肆矜爾) "I would pardon you all" (DS. 54.24).
Wei min chyí bih chih jiow (惟民其畢棄咎) "Then the people will abandon all their faults" (KG. 38.28).
Yu-i-ren wei ting yong der (予一人惟聽用德) "I, the Lonely One, listen to and avail myself of only the virtuous" (DS. 54.24).

NOTE. The restrictive *wei* also occurs before the verb, restricting the verb. It occurs as *wei* and *buh wei bu*, "merely" and "not only not." With *buh wei bu*, cf. *bwu tih bu* (*tih* (啻) *síeg) (conventional sign: Rest.).

EXAMPLES

Buh wei buh gaan yih buh shyá. Wei juh cherng wang der shean (不惟不敢

亦不暇惟助成王德顯) "They not only would not presume [to get drunk], they would not take the time [away from their duties]. They only helped to bring to fruition the glory of the King's virtue" (JG. 44.9).
Eel bwu tih buh yeou eel tuu, yu yih jyh tian jy far yu eel gong (爾不啻不有爾土予亦致天之罰于爾躬) "You not only will not possess your lands, but I, in addition, will bring Heaven's punishment down upon your persons" (DS. 57.1).

The distributions and roles of the collectives and restrictives are set out in the conspectus below:

Agent		Verb		Post-verbal	
(Determinations) α (Distributives)		Determinations of post-verbal positions	Determination of verb	Verb β	γ^1 γ^2
凡 庶 多 諸 小 大 惟	α	咸 悉 盡 率 畢 惟		惟	β

3.5.3.1. Agential Distributives (cont'd)

Huoh (或) *gwək, and *yeou* (有) *giug, occur as agential distributives in the sense of "of the agents, some, there are those who," etc., and *wu* (無) *miwo, and *wang/woang* (亡罔) *miwang occur in the sense of "of the agents, none, no-one." The agent is not always specified.

EXAMPLES

- Jyue huoh gaw iue* (厥或告曰) "If any of them should report, saying ..." (JG. 44.18).
Fei ruu Feng shyng ren sha ren wu huoh shyng ren sha ren (非汝封刑人殺人無或刑人殺人) "If it is not you, Feng, who inflicts punishment and the death penalty, then there would not be anyone to do so" (lit: There is not/some/ > "There would not be any") (KG. 41.1).
Yih shyh chyí yeou buh sheang (亦識其有不享) "and, too, record those of them who do not contribute" (lit: also/record/of them/those who/do not/give) (LG. 50.16).
Ren yeou sheau tzuey (人有小罪) "If anyone commits a minor offence" (lit: of men/someone="anyone") (KG. 38.26).
Wang keh jinq jyue lieh (亡克競厥烈) "No-one can vie with his deeds" (BAG).

Shean wei jing der, wang you wei (顯佳敬德亡迨違) "But so splendid was the revered virtue, that none could resist it" (BAG).

Tzyh Cherng Tang jyh-yu Dih-yii, woang buh ming der shiuh syh (自成湯至于帝乙罔不明德恤祀) "From T'ang the Successful down to the God-king I, no king but made manifest his virtue and carefully attended to his sacrifices" (DS. 54.15).

In wang yih woang gaan shy Dih (殷王亦罔敢失帝) "And further, not one of [those] Yin kings dared neglect God" (DS. 54.16).³⁴

3.5.3.2. Agential Distributives (substantival)

In the agential distributive position, there may occur a substantival syntagma. This is distributive in the sense of "of the agents, those who"

EXAMPLE

Jyue fei yeou gong buh gaan tzyh shy tzyh yih (厥棐有拱不敢自暇自逸) "Of them, those who had no duties, dare not remain idle or take their ease" (JG. 44.7).

3.5.4. Reciprocity

Where two agents reciprocally engage in the activity of the verb that is, where they are mutually agent and affectee), the verb is determined by *shiu* (胥) *sio (conventional sign: Rec.).

EXAMPLES

Dah jian ren dann lin shiu fa yu jyue shyh (大艱人誕鄰胥伐于厥室) "Then trouble-makers and arrogant neighbours will attack each other in their own homes" (DG. 38.10).

Shiu dong yii fwu yan (胥動以浮言) "They incite each other with loose talk" (Parn Geng 19.26).

Wuu shiu jyue yeuan (無胥絕遠) "Do not cut off and alienate yourselves one from the other" (Parn Geng 22.24).

3.5.4.1. Two Agents Acting Conjointly

When two agents act conjointly, the second agent, preceded by *yii* (以) *ziæg, occurs as an immediate determination of the verb.³⁵

³⁴ See §3.3.1.5 for further examples of *wang/woang* as agential distributives.

³⁵ This is peculiar to EAC, but well attested (thirty-two occurrences, both texts and inscriptions). The modal negatives, state of agency, and determinations of manner all occur before *yii*.

EXAMPLES

Tay-bao nae yii shuh-bang joong-jiun, chu, cheu bih, nae fuh ruh shyi Jou-gong (大保乃以庶邦冢君出取幣乃復入錫周公) "The Grand Guardian then, with the rulers of the states, went out, selected gifts, came in again and presented them to the Duke of Chou" (SG. 47.11).

Yu Dann, yii duo-tzyy yueh yuh-shyh duu chyan-ren cherng lieh (予旦以多子越御事篤前人成烈) "I, Tan, with the nobles and officials, will consolidate the deeds accomplished by our ancestors" (LG. 54.2).

Bor-maw-fu yii In ba shy jeng Dong-shy (白懋父以殷八師征東戶) "Po-mao-fu, with eight armies of Yin men, attacked the Eastern Tribesmen" (SCG).

Yu wei yii eel shuh bang yu fa In pu-boh chern (予惟以爾庶邦于伐殷逋播臣) "I will, with you rulers of the states, go and attack Yin's banished servant" (DG. 34.23).

Ruu nae yii In min shyh sheang (汝乃以殷民世享) "You then, together with the Yin people, for generations to come will enjoy [your fief]" (KG. 41.22).

In the above, the elements occur as $\alpha//$ 以 α/β . $\square//$ 以 α/β ; and $\alpha//$ 以 \square/β also occur where anaphora is marked by silence.

EXAMPLES

Yu yih yii yu (予翼以于) "Then I, respectfully would go with [them]" (DG. 34.22).

Yii yu-sheau-tzyy yang Wen Wu der lieh (以予小子揚文武德烈) "[He] with me, a child, spreads abroad the deeds of virtue of Kings Wen and Wu" (LG. 50.20).

3.5.4.2. The Reflexive

Where the agent is itself the affectee of the verb, the verb is determined by *tzyh* (自) *dz'i, or *arng-tzyh* (印自) *ngàng-dz'i (conventional sign: Refl.).

EXAMPLES

Eel nae tzyh jieh yongq yih (爾乃自介用逸) "You then can protect yourselves and, as a result, be at ease" (JG. 44.3).

Yueh yu-chong-ren buh arng-tzyh shiuh (越予冲人不印自恤) "As to me, I do not pity myself" (DG. 34.26).

Wang lai shaw Shang-dih, tzyh fwu yu tuu jong (王來紹上帝自服于土中) "May the King come and join with God most High, submitting himself to serve in the centre of the territory" (SG. 47.20).

This form also occurs as downgrading in syntagma.

EXAMPLE

Wu yeou gow tzyh jyi (無有遘自疾) "Then there will be no occasion for self

criticism" (LG. 54.5).

NOTE. In the above, *tzyh* occurs before the verb. *Tzyh* also occurs as an agential distributive, in the sense of "agent, himself," usually in contexts where this is contrary to expectation—either as a sort of mild concession "even the agent," or "the agent actually in person."³⁶

EXAMPLES

Shuh-chyun tzyh jeou (庶群自酒) "[Even] the commoners themselves gave over to drunkenness" (JG. 44.13).

Tzyh yi jer ming (自貽哲命) "We ourselves give it wisdom and life" (SG. 47.27).

Tian fei niueh, wei min tzyh suh gu (天非虐惟民自速辜) "Heaven is not a tyrant, it was the people themselves who brought down this retribution" (JG. 44.14).

Jyue fuh-muu ching tzyh shii tean jyh yonq jeou (厥父母慶自洗腆致用酒) "Their parents felicitated, they themselves can wash the remainder [of the grain] and take it to make wine" (JG. 44.1).

3.5.4.3. Reciprocity and the Reflexive

The determinants of reciprocity and the reflexive and the second of

³⁶ *Tzyh* "self" never occurs post-verbally. But the reflexive occurs in a periphrastic form, in which *shen* (身) "body, person, self," or *gong* (躬) "body, self" are used, which, determined by a pronoun, proper name etc., does occur post-verbally.

EXAMPLES

Dah tour jian yu jenn-shen (大投艱于朕身) "I have brought this great trouble upon myself" (DG. 34.26).

Dong guan nae shen (惘憐乃身) "Do not spare yourself" (lit: [do you] make-pain/make-suffer/your/ person) (KG. 38.22).

How-syh wang han shen (後嗣王酣身) "The last king to succeed [to the Yin line] was a drunkard (lit: made-drunk/his person) (JG. 44.10).

Where the agent is other than the affectee, *shen* or *gong* always occur.

EXAMPLES

Yii nae tzwu gan-wu wang-shen (以乃族于吾王身) "[Do you] with your clan, protect my [the king's] person" (MGD).

Yu yih jyh tian jy far yu eel gong (予亦致天之罰于爾躬) "I, too, will bring down the punishment of Heaven upon your persons" (DS. 57.1).

Wey fuh shen (衛父身) "Protect the Elder himself" (BAG).

two agents preceded by *yii* occur in the verbal syntagma, taking precedence over the grammatical determinants of the verb. They are described here because of their bearing on agency. They might be summarized as follows:

Agent		Verbal Complex
Two agents	← affect each other	胥 β
One agent	← affects itself	自 β
Two agents	jointly act →	[以 …] β

3.5.5. Delegation of Agency

When the agent is delegated to act on behalf of another, or in another's interest, the delegating agent is placed between verb and first post-verbal position. The delegating agent may be marked by *wei* (惟) *diwər (conventional sign del.) which occurs in distribution as follows: $\alpha\beta$ [delegating agent *wei*] $\gamma^1\gamma^2$; *wei* does not always occur.³⁷

EXAMPLES

Wei tian jianq ming jaw woo min wei yuan syh (惟天降命肇我民惟元祀) "When Heaven sent down its Mandate (upon us), it founded, for our people, the Great Sacrifices" (JG. 41.24).

Tzuoh syh-fang jyi (作四方極) "Become, for the states of the four quarters, a model [ruler]" (BAG).

Ming ruu jyi i-fang (命女極一方) "I command you to be a model [ruler] for all the states" (MGD).

Jenn bih tian-tzyy (朕辟天子) "I was in charge [of the affair] acting on behalf of the Son Heaven" (SHG).

Gaw yu shian-wang ruoh der (告余先王若德) "Announce, for me, to my ancestors that such is my virtue" (MGD).

Tzuoh Fuh-goei bao tzuen yi (作父癸寶隋彝) "I had made for Fu-kuei, this precious and honoured sacral vessel" (SSH).

³⁷ This feature, a peculiarity of EAC, was properly understood by the Han paraphrist, Jaw Chyi (趙岐) who, upon the citation in *Mencius* 1.8.3, from the old text *Shang-shu* of "tzuoh jy jiun, tzuoh jy shy" (作之君作之師) offers the paraphrase "wey tzuoh jiun, wey tzuoh shy (為作君為作師) "for them, created rulers and teachers." In doing so, he converts EAC ($\alpha\beta$ [del:ag.] γ^1 to LAC (α) wey [del:ag] $\beta\gamma^1$.

3.5.6. Conspectus of Agency

Agential Complex			Verbal Complex		
Grammatical Determinations	α	Distributives	Post-Modal Position	β	γ^1
凡: 庶: 多:	余予	或有	胥 ⁴		[... 惟]
諸: 小大:	汝		自 } ⁵		
惟 ¹	其 ²	無亡	印自 }		
		罔 ³	[以...] ⁶		

¹ See 2.6.7.4. ³ See 3.5.3 and 3.5.3.1.² See 3.5.2. ⁴ See 3.5.4.⁵ See 3.5.4.2.⁶ See 3.5.4.1.⁷ See 3.5.5.

3.6. The Instrumental

3.6.1. Description, Particles, and Distribution

Among the determining elements of the verb in the verbal sentence, the instrument (the thing used) in contrast to the agent (the user), occurs between modal determinants of the verb and the verb. It is introduced by *yonq* (用) *diung, by *you* (由) *diôg, and *yii* (以) *ziag. By extension, "instrumentation" also includes "cause or occasion" so that the instrument may be realized in translation as either "by means of" or "because of." The grammatical value of the instrument is nominal (conventional signs: [] enclose instrument; [in...]: ingressive instrument).

EXAMPLES

Yonq ian sanq uei-yi (用燕喪威儀) "By his pleasure-seeking, he lost his dignity" (JG. 44.11).

Tian yih wei yonq chyn bih woo min (天亦惟用勤毖我民) "Heaven, after all, is, by belabouring, warning our people" (DG. 38.4).

Ruu nae chyì suh you tzy yih shway sha (汝乃其速由茲義率殺) "You, then, should at once, in accordance with [lit: by means of] this just procedure, put them all to death" (KG. 41.12).

Tzong yii gong tzuoh yuan syh (宗以功作元祀) "In the ancestral temple [let each man] according to [lit: by means of] his merit, take part in the Great Sacrifice" (LG. 50.12).

Yuh ruu fwu yii nay bih shiann yu jian (欲女弗以乃辟陷于艱) "It is my wish that you do not, because of your duties, become ensnared by difficulties" (MGD).

Chyi wei wang wuh yii sheau min yn yonq fei-yi (其惟王勿以小民淫用非彝) "Being King, he must not, because of the excesses of the common people, resort to practices contrary to custom" (SG. 50.1).³⁸

For *yonq/instrument*, *instrument jy yonq* or *instrument yonq* may substitute.

EXAMPLES

Wang chyì der jy yonq chyì tian yeong ming (王其德之用祈天永命) "May the King, availing himself of his virtue, pray that Heaven may perpetuate his Mandate" (lit: King/he/virtue/→/by means of/pray/Heaven/perpetuate/Mandate) (SG. 47.28).

... *yih gaan tean-luh yonq yih min* (... 亦敢殄戮用义民) "... and too, [he must not] gain control of the people by resorting to extermination" (lit: too/dare/extermination/by means of /control/people) (SG. 50.1).

Wei uei, wei niueh, dah-fanq wang ming nae fei der yonq yih (惟威惟虐大放王命乃非德用义) "Being stern and cruel, they are utterly heedless of the King's commands and so they govern by contra-virtue" (KG. 41.13).

3.6.2. Ingressive and Resultative Instrument

The instrumental particles *yonq*, *you*, and *yii* also occur at the inter-sentential level, as resultative conjunctions "as a result," "with the result that," "accordingly," "thereby." The conjunction occurs at Res. Ins. in the distribution $\alpha\beta\gamma^1$, α Res. Ins. $\beta\gamma$.

EXAMPLES

Woong fu chyòu yu In shian jer wang, yonq, bao-yih min (往敷求于殷先哲王用保义民) "Go and seek everywhere [for advice] from among the former wise kings of Yin, so that thereby you might govern so as to give protection to the people" (KG. 38.20).

Tian jianq uei. Woo min yonq dah luann sanq der (天降威我民用大亂喪德) "Heaven sent down [the mark of its] fearfulness [=displeasure]. As to our people who, as a result, were in great disorder and lost virtue..." (JG. 41.25).

Yueh sheau-dah bang yonq sanq ... (越小大邦用喪) "As to the states, large and small, [who], as a result, were destroyed..." (JG. 41.25).

Ling yonq jing yang yu hwang wang (令敬揚于皇王令敢揚皇王休) "I, Ling, accordingly, respectfully made

³⁸ These are the only examples of α Md. [以] β where *yii* introduces the instrument, occurring in the sample. The identical form α Md. 以 $\alpha\beta$, however, occurs where *yii* introduces the second agent (see 3.5.4.1). The contrast, though unmarked, is as follows: *yii nae bih, shian yu jian* "because of your duties be ensnared by difficulties" (MGD), and *yii nae tzwu gan-wu wang shen* "[May you] and your clan protect the King's person" (MGD).

known to our august Queen that I have taken the liberty of making known her grace" (LQG).

Yong yeang jau hwang tian (用仰昭皇天) "... that [I] thereby might look up to and glorify august Heaven" (MGD).

Ruu yih woang bwu keh jing dean, nae you yuh min (汝亦罔不克敬典乃由裕民) "If you, too, in everything treat the statutes, with reverence, then [you], as a result, will bring prosperity to the people" (KG. 41.13).

Yu-i-ren yii yih (予一人以懌) "Then I, the Lonely One, as a result, will be satisfied" (KG. 41.14).

Yueh woo i-ell bang yii shiou (趣我一二邦以修) "As to our few states, [we], as a result, became orderly" (KG. 38.17).

In this usage the instrumental conjunctions make the preceding sentence, as it were, retroactively, the instrumentation of the sentence in which it occurs. Thus α [*yong* ... \rightarrow] β is an ingressive instrument, but α [\leftarrow *yong*] β is a resultative instrument.

In a slightly different form,³⁹ the instrument is realizable as a purposive conjunction "in order to, with or for the purpose of." This form distinguishes between "means" and "ends." Two forms occur: (i) where "end" introduced by *yong* precedes "means," and (ii) where "end" introduced by *yong* comes after "means."⁴⁰

EXAMPLES

(i)

Yong tseh wang ming, tzuoh Jou-gong yi (用冊王命作周公葬) "In order to place on record the King's charge, I have had this sacral vessel made in honour of the Duke of Chou" (JHG).

Yu, yong duey wang shiou, yong tzuoh tzuu Nan-gong bao diing (孟用對王休用作祖南公寶鼎) "I, Yü, in order to place on record the King's grace, have accordingly had made this precious tripod in honour of [my ancestor] the Duke of Nan" (DYD).

³⁹ The description of the instrument in this chapter is an example of "taking into account the features of the 'target' language." In EAC, we have essentially the difference between *yong* introducing the instrument [*yong* \rightarrow ...] at the sentence level, and *yong* standing as a substitute for an instrument [... \leftarrow *yong*] at the inter-sentential level. In making the distinctions in the description, I am simply illustrating possible ways of realizing this feature in translation in the target language, a feature which, in EAC, is undifferentiated and one.

⁴⁰ In 3.3, a process of compound verb formation is described whereby one verb determines another as instrumentation or purpose. This is simply the occurrence of the feature described above, at the syntagma level. With compounding, the determining order is: means/end (instrumentation) and end/means (purpose). At the inter-sentential level certain verbs customarily occur in this relation (particularly verbs of motion). The conjunction does not occur.

Yong chii how-ren sheang wei Ding-gong bau, Ling, yong jing yang yu hwang wang ... (用啓後人享佳丁公報令用敬揚于皇王) "In order to let my descendants see, that what [we] enjoy' is the award of the Duke of Ting, I, Ling, accordingly respectfully made known to our august Queen, etc." (LQG).

(ii)

Gaan juei Ming-gong shaang yu Fuh-ding, yong guang Fuh-ding (敢追明公賞于父丁用光父丁) "I have taken the liberty of making known to Fu-ting this gift of the Duke of Ming, in order to bring glory to Fu-ting" (LFY).

Jou-gong chu ji tzuoh shin dah yih yu dong-gwo Luoh (周公初基作新大邑于東國洛) "The Duke of Chou began work on the foundations, in order to build a new capital at Lo in the Eastern Territories" (KG. 38.14) (observe that *yong* may be dropped under the rule of economy).

3.7. The Subordinate Clause

A clause, the grammatical value of which is verbal, may occur between agent and verb in the verbal sentence. It is predicated of the agent and is subordinate to the main verb. The agent, where anaphoric substitutes occur, takes the determinative form *jyue* (厥) (see 2.6.7.1). The verb of the subordinate clause may be determined for perfective aspect by *jih* (既) (see 3.3.2.5)⁴¹ (conventional sign: [] encloses subordinate clause).

EXAMPLES

Tzaw torng ching-shyh-liau (造同卿事寮) "Go and join the administration" (LFY).

Tzaw jiu Haur-jing nian (造居鎬京年) "In the year that he went to live at the capital city Hao" (SSH).

Yu wei woang chyau jenn iou jih (予惟往求朕攸濟) "I am going to seek a place whereby to cross" (DG. 34.18).

Ruu woang jing tzai (汝往敬哉) "You must go and show reverence!" (LG. 50.19).

Shau Rong jing iong der jing (紹榮敬雍德經) "Assist Jung reverently to bring [all] in consonance with the canon of virtue" (DYD).

Suh-shih shau woo-i-ren jeng syh-fang (夙夕紹我一人烝四方) "Constantly assist me, the Lonely One, to rule over [the states of] the four quarters" (DYD).

⁴¹ The subordinate clause occurring within the internal structure of the verbal sentence and marked by *erl* (而) is one of the most common and distinctive features of LAC (see Dobson (1), 3.8, p. 90). *Erl* is not attested for EAC, and the form itself is neither frequent, nor is it developed and clearly defined, as is the case in LAC. The use of *nae* as a conjunction (see 5.3) is the common form of subordination in EAC, and this may well be the feature from which the *erl* form has developed in LAC.

EXAMPLES

- Gong Tay-shyy shyan jiann fwu yu bih wang, biann yu duo-jenq* (公太史咸見服于辟王辨于多正) "His Grace, the Grand Annalist, in audience, having received all his duties, apportioned [them out] to the senior officers" (TTY).
- Gong jih ding jair perng lai* (公既定宅俾來) "Your Grace, having fixed up on the site, sent a messenger" (LG. 50.10).
- Chu cherng wey fuh shen* (出城衛父身) "Do you, once out of the city, protect the Elder's person" (BAG).
- Yu, bay chii shoou, yii chyou jinn jyi dah tyng* (孟拜稽首以署進即大廷) "I, Yü, saluting and bowing my head, accompanied by the Chiefs, entered [the Gate] and went into the Grand Court" (SYD).

Where periods of time occur in the subordinate clause, they have the class-meaning "the period designated having elapsed." Where a place occurs in the subordinate clause, it has the class-meaning "agent being at the place specified."

EXAMPLES

- San nian jinq dong gwo* (三年靜東國) "After three years [of campaigning] the Eastern Territories were pacified" (BAG).
- Shyr yeh bwu wanq* (十葉不諳...) "So that ten generations hence, it will not be forgotten..." (SHG).
- Shiann, shen, tzay Bih-gong jia, show Tian-tzyy shiou* (獻身才畢公家受天子休) "I, Hsien, in person, being in the household of the Duke of Pi, received the grace of the Son of Heaven" (SHG).

The agent of the main verb occurs after the subordinate clause, where agency differs from that of the subordinate clause.

EXAMPLES

- Jyue jih ming In shuh, shuh In pi tzuoh* (厥既命殷庶庶殷丕作) "[The Duke] having given instructions to the Yin people, the Yin people began work with a will" (SG. 47.10).
- Jih jyy faa, jyue tzyy nae fwu keen tarng* (既底法厥子乃弗肯堂) "[The father] having laid the plans, the son then is unwilling to lay the foundations" (DG. 38.6).

The agent of the main verb may occur after the subordinate clause, though it is also the agent of the subordinate clause. The subordinate clause is then, as it were, exposed (see 3.11).

EXAMPLES

- Jih shyan linq, jea-shen, Ming-gong yongq sheng yu Jing-gong* (既咸令甲申明公用牲于京宮) "Having issued both orders, on the day *chia-shen*, the Duke of

- Ming made a sacrifice in the Ching Palace" (LFY).
- Shyan jih yongq sheng yu Wang, Ming-gong gwei* (咸既用牲于王明公歸) "Having made sacrifices in both palaces at Wang, the Duke of Ming returned to his home" (LFY).

3.8. Anaphora in the Verbal Sentence

The anaphoric pronouns (excluding here the personal pronouns) occurring in the verbal sentence are *jy* (之) *tiag (post-verbal form); *chyi* (其) *kiag (pre-verbal form); and *jyue* (厥) *kiwat (determinant form). They provide for anaphora in the widest sense, substituting for elements of the verbal sentence, with no distinction of number of person (and neither are they exclusively personal)⁴² The anaphoric pronouns have the class-meaning "substituting for sentential or syntagmatic elements from a reluctance to repeat."

EXAMPLES

(1) *Chyi* as Agent

(a) First Person

- Yu nae yinn Bao dah shiang Dong-tuu, chyi ji...* (予乃胤保大相東土, 其基...) "I, accordingly, in the wake of the [Grand] Guardian, thoroughly surveyed the Eastern Territories and I have laid the foundations [there for a new city]..." (LG. 50.7).
- ... *woo yow chong ren syh wu-jiang dah lih fwu ... sheen iue chyi yeou neng ger jy tian ming* ... (我幼沖人嗣無疆大歷服... 矧曰其有能格知天命...) "I, a young man, have inherited boundless and innumerable duties... even less should I think that I would be able to grasp or comprehend the ordinances of Heaven" (DG. 34.17).

(b) Resuming Second Person

- Gong buh gaan bwu jinq tian jy shiou ... chyi tzuoh Jou pi shiou* (公不敢不敬天之休... 其作周匹休) "Your Grace dare not but treat with reverence the grace of Heaven... You have become the fit-mate of our Chou House for Heaven's grace" (LG. 50.9).

- Sheau-tzyy Feng ... woang jinn nae shin ... nae chyi yih min* (小子封... 往盡乃心... 乃其乂民) "Feng, my child... go and exert your mind [in governing the people]... then you will control the people" (KG. 38. 22-23).

(c) Resuming other than the First and Second Person

- ... *how syh wang dann woang shean yu tian, sheen iue chyi yeou ting niann yu shian wang chyn jia* (後嗣王誕罔顯于天矧曰其有聽念于先王勤家)

⁴² On the impersonal nature of the anaphoric pronouns see Dobson (1), p. 94, footnote 59. For the difficulties encountered in regarding them as "third person pronouns" see Karlgren (4), p. 182, footnote to Ode 230, and p. 160, footnote (e) to Ode 207; and Waley (2), Suppl. p. 29, Note 271.12. Both Bodman and Karlgren (see Karlgren (4)) have written at length on *Jyue*.

"The King that most recently succeeded [to the Yin line] would not give glory to Heaven, much less can it be said that he would listen to or think of the diligence of his predecessors on behalf of his house" (DS. 54.16).

Wang perng In ... chyi yeong guan jenn tzyy hwai der (王伾殷... 其永觀朕子懷德) "Your Majesty sent [me] as a messenger to Yin... may they [Yin] forever look to you, my nephew [lit: child] and cherish your virtue" (LG. 54.5).

(2) *Jy* in Post-verbal Position⁴³

Wuh iong sha jy. Gu wei jiau jy. (勿庸殺之姑惟教之) "You need not kill them, but, for the time being, you should teach them" (JG. 44.19).

Fuh In, yueh jy (父曆粵之) "Elder Yin, hitherto..." (lit: up to/this (time)) (MGD).

Where polarity is present, the anaphoric pronoun, which, where polarity is neutral, would occur after the verb, occurs before the verb and takes the pre-verbal form *chyí*.

EXAMPLES

Yu chyi sha (予其殺) "I will kill them" (JG. 44.19).

Yu chyi iue (予其曰) "I say to you" (DS. 54.20).

Buh chyi yan (不其延) "It cannot be prolonged" (SG. 47.24).

Fwu chyi jyue (弗其絕) "Cannot stop it" (LG. 50.14).

At the syntagma level, *jyue*, the determinant form of the anaphoric pronoun, occurs in the determinative syntagma in the determinant position.

EXAMPLES

Gong gaw jyue shyh yu shanq (公告厥事于上) "The Duke made a report of his service to the King" (BAG).

Hwang tian shanq-dih gae jyue yuan-tzyy (皇天上帝改厥元子) "August Heaven God on High has changed its [first-son] viceroy" (SG. 47.12).

Where a verbal sentence is downgraded to syntagma level and its agent is the anaphoric pronoun *chyí*, *chyí* is replaced by *jyue*.

EXAMPLES

Jyue faan, wang jianq jeng ling yu Tay-bao (厥反王降征令于大保) "Upon their revolting, the King issued the decree to attack [them] to the Grand Guardian" (TBG).

⁴³ These are the only occurrences of *jy* as anaphoric pronoun in the sample. See 3.5.2, footnote 31.

Yueh jyue fuh guei, tzay Muh-shy, Bor-maw-fuh cherng wang ling (粵厥復歸才牧師白懋父承王令) "By the time of that we had returned, at the Garrison City of Mou, Po-mao-fu received a decree from the King" (SCG).

Jyue fei yeou gongq buh gaan tzyh shyh tzyh yih (厥棐有供不敢自暇自逸) "Of them, those who had no duties dare not be idle or take their ease" (JG. 44.6).

Jyue wei fey yuan ming ... (厥惟廢元命) "and when he neglected the great Mandate..." (DS. 54.14).

In the agent of the subordinate clause, *chyí* similarly is replaced by *jyue*.

EXAMPLES

Jyue ruoh yi, jyi fuu shyh ru yu (厥若彝及撫事如予) "[Do you,] in conforming with custom, in smoothing out [difficult] affairs, be like me" (LG. 50.14).

Jyue jih der buu, tzer jing yng (厥既得卜則經營) "He, having obtained the response of the oracles, began work" (SG. 47.7).

Jyue jih ming In shuh, shuh In pi tzuoh (厥既命殷庶庶殷丕作) "Having given orders to the populace of Yin, the Yin started work with a will" (SG. 47.10).

Where the agent of a verbal sentence is exposed, its position is replaced by the anaphoric pronoun (see 3.11).

The anaphoric system of EAC may be summarized as follows:

α .	[γ]	Sentential Level		
其	其	Man.	β	γ^1 ——— γ^2
		若*		之
		乃		
		Syntagma Level		

Determination A→B=[厥→B]

Downgrading $\alpha\beta\gamma$ =[厥 $\beta\gamma$]

* For *ruoh* and *nae* see 3.3.3.1. Other references to anaphora are 2.6.7.1; 2.10; 3.5.2; 3.7; and 3.11.

NOTE I. It will be observed that the anaphoric pronouns also occur as the determinative particles (see 2.6.2) (*jy* with fifteen occurrences, *chyí* with three occurrences, and *jyue* with one). It seems fairly clear that the determinative form (for example, *Tian jy shiou* "Heaven's grace" (LG. 50.9); *Yiin jyue shiou* "the governor's grace" (LFY); and *Tian chyí tzer* "Heaven's blessings" (DS. 54.16)) derives historically from the pronoun (cf. English "King Edward the Fourth, his

death" (*Walpole*)). In LAC, *iy* not only occurs as the determinative particle with much greater frequency than in EAC, but also supplants *chyi* and *iyue* in this role altogether.

NOTE II. From the previous note, it is clear that in EAC a phase of transition is evident. The transition goes further after EAC. In anaphora, the determinant form *iyue* is supplanted by the pre-verbal form *chyi* in LAC completely, so that, in LAC, *chyi* is both the agential and the determinant form of the anaphoric pronoun. The beginning of this supplantation may already be in evidence in EAC as it occurs in seven instances (viz. *LG*. 50.16, 50.27, 54.3, 50.25; *KG*. 41.4; *SYD*; *JG*. 41.28). However, the total occurrences are *chyi*, 74 times, and *iyue*, 71 times, so that, in EAC, this supplantation is still infrequent.⁴⁴

3.9. Sentential Mood

Tzai (哉) *dz'eg (also occurring on inscriptions as 才 and once only in texts as 載) occurring at the end of a sentence indicates heightened emotion—a "tone of voice" indicative of surprise, wonder, and the like⁴⁶, (conventional sign: md.).

EXAMPLES

Guan-goa ai tzai! (鰥寡哀哉) "Pity the widows and widowers!" (*DG*. 34.26).

Eel iy ning wang ruoh chyn tzai! (爾知寧王若勤哉) "You know just how the blessed [=departed] Kings laboured!" (*DG*. 38.2).

Syh tzai (肆哉) "Lax indeed!" (*DG*. 38.9).

Yeou-wang swei sheau, yuan-tzyy tzai! (有王雖小元子哉) "Our King, though but a child, is Heaven's first-born!" (*SG*. 47.19).

⁴⁴ The customary collocation of anaphoric pronouns with particles leads, in LAC, to a series of allegro forms (see Dobson (1), p. 95). None of these occurs in EAC; they are clearly a later development in Archaic Chinese. There is a suggestion by Li Ya-nung (see *Lii Yea-nong*) that the collocation *mieh-tgan*, common on bronzes (and which occurs in *SCG*), is to be explained as *mieh* "urge on" or "be urged on by" and *tgan* (taking reading from *gan* "sweet") as the Western Chou form of the familiar *yan* (焉) of LAC. This suggestion would carry greater conviction if *tgan* could be shown to occur after verbs other than *mieh*. To the best of my knowledge, it does not.

⁴⁵ In LAC there is a series of such words (see Dobson (1), p. 97). In EAC, *tzai* only occurs. It seems doubtful to me that the absence in EAC texts of such particles reflects a characteristic of the language. Intonation itself is attested (hence the occurrence of *tzai*). It may well be that it is only the convention of representing intonation particles in writing that is a later feature.

Nae shyw wei buh yeong tzai! (乃時惟不永哉) "Your lease [on the Mandate] will not be for long!" (*LG*. 50.18).

Ruu show ming duu bih, pi shyh gong tzay! (汝受命篤弼丕視功載) "You received my commands and conscientiously came to my assistance. Now let [the record of] your service be seen!" (*LG*. 50.13).

3.10. Time and Place

Time of occurrence and certain indications of place are stated absolutely (occurring in the distribution, *time or place* | $\alpha\beta\gamma$) when such indications are material to the information to be conveyed. Time of occurrence is not treated as a determination of the verb, and no grammatical divisions of time are recognized.⁴⁶ There is no prescriptive necessity to introduce considerations of time.

Time and place indications may be unmarked, or may occur introduced by *wei* (惟唯佳) *diwər, or *tzay* (texts 在, inscriptions 才) *dz'əg.⁴⁷

The time indication may consist of a substantive, or substantival syntagma (usually indicating calendrical time), or a demonstrative used anaphorically, that is, "this/that time," the time in question having been indicated in a previous context, or a verbal sentence downgraded to syntagma level, indicating "time when."⁴⁸

⁴⁶ Distinction is made in the verbal sentence between (a) time of occurrence; (b) time elapsing prior to action; and (c) time of duration of action. (a) Occurs in the distribution *time* | $\alpha\beta\gamma$ (as above); (b) occurs in the distribution α [(time) s.c.] β (see 3.7); and (c) occurs in the distribution $\alpha\beta\gamma^2$ (duration).

EXAMPLES OF (c) ARE:

Fwu niann wuu-liow ryh (服念五六日) "Submit it to consideration for five or six days" (*KG*. 41.3).

Cherng shiuh wann nian (承敝萬年) "[They] have received good order for ten thousand years to come" (*LG*. 54.5).

Wei juh cherng wang der shean yueh yiin ren iy bih (惟助成王德顯越尹人 祗辟) "They only assisted in bringing to fruition the King's power and glory until they led others to respect the laws" (*JG*. 44.9).

⁴⁷ See 3.4.5.1, footnote 26.

⁴⁸ In such cases, *iyue* occurs anaphorically for the agent, see 3.8. The verbal sentence $[\alpha\beta\gamma]$ may itself determine *nian* "year," thus $A[\alpha\beta\gamma] \rightarrow B$ in the sense of "In the year that . . .," see examples 8 and 9 above. On the *Jong Diing* (中鼎) . . . *iy nian* / occurs, as follows: *Wei wang ling Nan-gong fa faan Huu-fang iy nian* (佳王令南公伐反虎方之年) "In the year that the King ordered the Duke of Nan to attack the Hu-fang, who had rebelled" (*Jong Diing* (see *Guo* (2), p. 16)).

EXAMPLES

- (1) Time (substantive), with *wei*, *tzay*, or *zero*
Wei jeou yueh ... (隹九月) "In the ninth month ..." (DYD).
Wei ell yueh, jih-wang, yueh liow ryh yii-wey (惟二月既望越六日乙未) "By the sixth day, *i-wei*, in the *chi-wang* period of the second month ..." (SG. 47.5).
Tzay ell yueh jih-wang yii-hay (才二月既望乙亥) "On the *i-hai* day, in the *chi-wang* period of the second month" (TTY).
Tzay wuu-yueh jih-wang shin-yeou (才五月既望辛酉) "On the day *hsin-yu*, in the *chi-wang* period of the fifth month ..." (SSH).
Tzay shyi, In shian jer wang ... (在昔殷先哲王) "In antiquity, the late wise kings of Yin ..." (JG. 44.6).
Tzay jin, how syh wang (在今後嗣王) "In recent years, the King last to succeed (to the Yin line ...)" (JG. 44.10).
Yii-hay, wang yeou dah feng (乙亥王有大豐) "On the day *i-hai*, the King performed the great Feng ceremony" (DFG).
 (2) Time (downgrading) with *wei* or *zero*
Wei Wang yu-fa Chuu-bor (隹王于伐楚伯) "In the year that the King went to attack the Earl of Ch'u" (LQG).
Wei Gong Tay-shyy jiann fwu yu Tzong-jou nian (隹公太史見服于宗周年) "In the year that his Grace, the Grand Annalist, was charged in audience with his duties in Tsung-chou ..." (TTY).
Wei tian jiang ming jaw woo min wei yuan syh (惟天降命肇我民惟元祀) "When Heaven sent down its Mandate, it founded for our people, the Great Sacrifices" (JG. 41.24).
You chair jeng syh, wu gaan rao (佑柴烝祀無敢擾) "When assisting at the *ch'ai* and *cheng* sacrifices, they would not dare to drink excessively" (DYD).
 (3) Place (with *tzay*, and *wei*)⁴⁹
Wei wang yu-fa Chuu-bor, tzay Yan, wei jeou yueh ... (隹王于伐楚伯才炎隹九月) "In the year that the king went to attack the Earl of Ch'u, at Yen, in the ninth month ..." (LQG).
Yueh jyue fwu guei, tzay Muh-shy Bor-maw-fu cherng wang ling (粵厥復歸才牧師白懋父承王令) "By the time that we had returned, at the Garrison City of Mu, Po-mao-fu received a decree from the King" (SCG).
Yu wei syh-fang woang you bin (予惟四方罔攸擯) "There are none in the states of the four quarters whom I reject" (lit: By me/in/four-quarters/not one/whom/reject) (DS. 54.27).

Yueh (texts 越, inscriptions 粵) *giwat, occurring in the time phrase, indicates a shift in the time of narration. It occurs, as with *wei* and *tzay*, before a substantive or substantival syntagma, before demonstratives used anaphorically, and before verbal sentences downgraded to

⁴⁹ *Tzay* place//gives location of agent. $\alpha\beta\gamma^1$ *tzay* γ^2 (see 3.4.5.1) gives location or direction of the action.

syntagma level.⁵⁰

EXAMPLES

- (1) *Yueh* Before a Substantive⁵¹
Yueh syh yueh jih-sheng-bah geng-wuu (粵四月既生霸庚午) "Coming now to the fourth month, the *chi-sheng-pa* period of the month, the day *keng-wu*" (TTY). (The inscription has earlier — *tzay ell yueh, jih-wang yii-hay* — (才二月既望乙亥) "In the second month, the *chi-wang* period of the month, the day *i-hai*.")
Yueh ruoh yih ryh yii-yeou (粵若蠲日乙酉) "By the next day, the day *i-yu* ..." (SYD). (The inscription has earlier — *wei jea-shen* (隹甲申) "upon the day *chia-shen*" describing the events of the day previous to *i-yu*.)
 (2) *Yueh* Before a Demonstrative
 ... *yueh tzy choen* (越茲蠢) "... but by this time, they are seething [with unrest]" (DG. 34.20).
Yueh jy, shuh chu-ruh ... (粵之庶出入) "Hitherto, all envoys ..." (lit: up to this (time) ...) (MGD).
 (3) *Yueh* Before Downgrading
Yueh jyue fuh guei (粵厥復歸) "By the time that we had returned once again ..." (SCG).
Yueh In-gwo mieh wu li (越殷國滅無罹) "[By the time that =] Even when the state of Yin [finally] was destroyed, he showed no sorrow" (JG. 44.12).

Words specialized in, or frequently occurring in the time position are (i) past and present: *shyi* (昔) "formerly, in the past, the other day"; *jin* (今), *tzay jin* (在今) "today, the present, at present"; *jyh yu jin* (至于今) "up to the present, so far"; *tzyh jin* (自今) from/today > "henceforth"; *shyr* (時) "time, now"; *jin shyr* (今時) "at the present time";

⁵⁰ In translation, these two aspects, together with the three types of time phrase distinguished above, require different treatment in realization. In EAC, they are neither formally nor intrinsically distinguished. Some translational aids are (a) before calendrical time "by the third day," (i.e., two days later); such forms almost invariably are cited relatively, that is, relative to a previous fixed point in time which is introduced by *wei* or *tzay* (bronzes 才, texts 在); (b) before a demonstrative, "by this time, by which time" (*vis-à-vis* a prior event) or "up to this time, hitherto" (*vis-à-vis* the present); (c) before a verbal syntagma, in retrospect "by the time that" or simply "when," and in prospect "up to" or "until."

⁵¹ In the following example, *jyh yu* functions in similar manner: *Fwu niann wuu liow ryh. Jyh yu shyun shyr pi bih* ... (服念五六日至于旬時丕蔽) "Submit it [the law case] to consideration for five or six days. When the ten-day period is reached, give your verdict ..." (KG. 41.3). This is but one of several ways in which *yueh* and *jyh yu* are comparably deployed. See Dobson (3).

tzyh shy (自時) “from now on”; (ii) hours or periods of the day: *mey shoang* (昧爽) “just before dawn”; *ming* (明) “at dawn”: *dah tsae* (大采) “about 8 A.M.”; (iii) days of the month;⁵² (iv) periods into which the month is divided.⁵³

Sequence in months and days is indicated by *yih* (翌) “next” (before days), or *lai* (來) “come” (before months).⁵⁴

Words specialized in, or frequently occurring in the place position are: *Bye* (別) *b'iat “elsewhere,” and *parng* (旁) *b'wáng “on all sides, everywhere.”

EXAMPLES

Bye, chyow wen you guu shian jer wang (別求聞由古先哲王) “Elsewhere, seek for knowledge from the former wise kings of antiquity” (KG. 38.21).

Parng tzuoh muh-muh yuh herng (旁作穆御衡) “On all sides you have become the most impressive of arbiters” (LG. 50.23).

NOTE. The lexical directives (see 3.4.5.1) also occur when time is

⁵² A list of the days of the month, together with a variety of interpretations of their import, is given in Chern (2), p. 112-14. I have left these month periods untranslated.

⁵³ The days are identified by combinations of signs taken from the “ten stems” (*shyr gan* (十干)) and “twelve branches” (*shyr ell jy* (十二支)), as one of a cycle of sixty. (Convenient tables are given in *W. Simon*, lii, ff.) The months are numbered from 1 to 12, but periods within the month are also identified (see above). The years are reckoned by the duration of the King's reign (at least by King K'ang's time—since inscriptions are dated *Wei wang ell-shyr yow san syh* (佳王卅又三祀) “In the twenty-third year of the King” (DYD), but more usually identified by some event taking place therein (see examples above). The days are also numbered serially (3.5.6 and 7 occur—but in *SG* only) presumably in a sequence within a month period. A typical “date” is *wei wang yu fa Chuu-bor tzay Yan, wei jeou yueh jih-syy-bah, ding choou* (佳王于伐楚伯才炎佳九月既死霸丁丑) “In the year that the King went to attack the Earl of Ch'u, at Yen, in the ninth month, the *chi-szu-pa* period of the month, on the day *ting-ch'ou* . . .” (LQG). The order of assembly is this: year (identified by an event)/month (serial number)/month (a period within)/day (in a sixty term cycle). Further identification by the period in the day follows the cyclical term for the day as, for example, in *jea-shen mey shoang* (甲申昧爽) “the *chia-shên* day, just before daybreak” (SYD).

⁵⁴ *Wei* and *tzay* may be replaced by *ruoh* (若) *niak, before *shyi* (昔) “formerly” and *yih* (翌) “next,” as, for example, in *ruoh shyi* (若昔) “the other day” (DG. 38.5); *ruoh yih ryh* (若翌日) “upon the next day” (SG. 47.8); *yueh ruoh lai san yueh* (越若來三月) “coming now to the third month following,” that is, “three months later” (SG. 47.6).

measured as extensions between fixed points. They are *tzyh* (自) “from . . .” and *jyh yu* (至于) “up to . . .”⁵⁵

EXAMPLES

Tzyh Cherng-tang jyh-yu Dih-yii (自成湯至于帝乙) “From the time of T'ang the Successful until the God-king yi . . .” (DS. 54.15).

Tzyh jin jyh-yu how-ryh (自今至于後日) “From now until the days to come” (i.e., henceforward) (*Parn Geng* 22.5).

Tzyh jin . . . (自今) “Henceforth” (MGD).

Jyh yu jin (至于今) “Up to the present,” “hitherto, so far” (JG. 44.5).

3.11. Emphatic Exposure

Flexibility is introduced in the otherwise rigid distributional system of the elements of the verbal sentence by the possibility of the occurrence of any sentential element at the beginning of the sentence, stated absolutely, with its accustomed position in the sentence being replaced by the anaphoric pronouns (see 3.8). The “exposure” lifts, as it were, the element from the subordinate position it occupies *vis-à-vis* the verb, and places it upon a co-ordinate footing. It thus places a special emphasis upon the elements so treated. This syntactical device is used for a variety of rhetorical effects (conventional sign: . . . // . . . [double slants demark extent of exposure]).

3.11.1. Syntax of Exposure

The exposed element may be introduced by *yueh* (texts 越, inscription 粵) *giwat, “as to,” but also occurs unmarked. The element exposed is replaced in the sentence proper by the anaphoric pronouns *chyi* (其) (for the agent), *jy* (之) (for post-verbal elements), and *jyue* (厥) (for determinant elements and agents in downgrading) (see 2.6.7.1 and 2.10).

NOTE. An example of contrast between emphatic exposure and non-emphatic distribution in the verbal sentence occurs in *SG*, where *jyh min jin shiou* (治民今休) govern/people (in this) present/grace, “[The King should] govern the people in the present grace [of Heaven]” (SG. 47.21), occurs as $[\alpha]\beta\gamma^1\gamma^2(A \rightarrow B)$; but, in *SG*. 47.20, the same

⁵⁵ *Tzyh* . . . *jyh yu* . . . also occurs as a distributive as follows: *Ren lih, tzyh yuh jyh yu shuh-ren* (人鬲自馭至于庶人) “Freemen and slaves, from charioteers to commoners” (DYD).

elements are redistributed as $\gamma^2(A \rightarrow B) // \alpha \text{Md. SA}\beta$. *Jin shiou, wang buh gaan how* (今休王不敢後) [in this] present/grace//King/not/dare/be behindhand, "May the King not dare be dilatory in availing himself of this present grace." Or to bring out the effect of exposure in English, "Let the King govern the people in this present grace" in contrast to "As far as this present grace is concerned, let the King not be dilatory in availing himself of it."

EXAMPLES

- (1) With exposure of the agent—with *yueh*
Yueh woo, chyí yuh shiing shian-wang show min show jiang-tuu (粵我其遜省先王受民受疆土) "As for me, I conform to and model myself upon the former kings in receiving [i.e., bringing under my governance] our people and our territories" (DYD).
- Yueh yu-chong-ren, buh arng-tzyh shiuh* (越予冲人不印自恤) "As to me, I do not pity myself" (DG. 34.26).
- (2) With exposure of the agent—without *yueh*
Woo chyí kee bwu dah jiann fuu yu shyí (我其可不大監撫于時) "Can we fail to conform by seeing ourselves reflected in them?" (lit: As to us//we/permitted/not/intense degree/by mirroring/conform/with/them?) (JG. 44.15).
- Jin tian chyí shiang min* (今天其相民) "Today, Heaven is aiding the people" (DG. 38.1).
- Nae ruu chyí shi tzyh jiau gong* (乃汝其悉自教工) "Then do you, in person, instruct all the workmen" (LG. 50.13).
- (3) With exposure of post-verbal elements—with *yueh*
Yueh sheau-dah der, sheau-tzyy wei i (越小大德小子惟一) "As to matters of virtue, large and small, do you, my child, be consistent [in such things]" (JG. 41.27) (*yueh* $\gamma^2 // \alpha \text{Md. } \beta$).
- (4) With exposure of post-verbal elements—without *yueh*
Woo min dyi, sheau-tzyy wei tuu-wuh ay (我民迪小子惟土物愛) "You, my child, should use most sparingly the produce of the land in governing our people" (JG. 41.27) ($\gamma^2 // \alpha \text{Rest. } \gamma^1 \beta$).
- Jyue iou jwo, shiuh fwu chyí jyue* (厥攸灼叙弗其絕) "... but what it burns, has before long, passed the point of recovery" (lit: it/that which/burns/before long/not/that/stop) (LG. 50.14) ($\gamma^2 // \text{As. Md. } \gamma^1 (= \text{chyí}) \beta$). (With reversion to unemphatic word order, this would read *shiuh, fwu jyue, jyue iou jwo*—before long/not/stop/it/that which/burns.)
- Pi shean Wen Wu, hwang Tian horng yann jyue der* (丕顯文武皇天弘厥厥德) "August Heaven is most satisfied with the virtue of the glorious Kings Wen and Wu" (MGD) ($\gamma^2 // \alpha \beta \gamma^2 (jyue \rightarrow B)$).
- ... *jeou, wu gaan shen* (戲酒無敢醺) "... in serving wine, none would dare get drunk" (DYD) ($\gamma^2 // \alpha \text{SA}\beta$). (Cf. *Woang gaan mean yu jeou* (罔敢灑于酒) "None dared steep themselves in wine" (JG. 44.9) ($\alpha \text{SA. } \beta \gamma^2$)).

3.11.2. The Pronouns in Emphatic Exposure

Where the agent is a pronoun and is exposed, it is replaced in the sentence proper by *chyí*, irrespective of person.

EXAMPLES

- Yu//chyí* (予其) "As to me, I..." (LG. 50.19).
- Yu sheau-tzyy//chyí* (予小子其) "As to me, a mere child, I..." (LG. 50.24).
- Woo//chyí* (我其) "As to me, I..." (KG. 41.17).
- Jenn//chyí* (朕其) "As to me, I..." (DG. 38.4).
- Ruu//chyí* (汝其) "As to you, do you..." (KG. 41.12).
- Jyue kao//chyí* (厥考其) "As to their father, would he..." (DG. 38.7).
- Wang//chyí* (王其) "Your Majesty, may you..." (SG. 47.16).
- Tian//chyí* (天其) "As to Heaven, may it..." (SG. 47.28).

3.12. The Verbal Sentence in Summary

The verbal sentence is in minimal form a verb, and at maximal form a verb modified as to agency and to instrumentation (or other antecedent considerations), to scope and to direction. These four modifications comprise the principal subordinate elements of the sentence. The verb itself is "built up" in the verbal syntagma (though with no prescriptive rules to do so of necessity), by material qualifications, by qualifications of mood, of aspect, and of manner. The verbal syntagma also includes indications of the state of agency. The verb or verbal syntagma is further determined pre-positionally by agency and instrumentation. Agency is governed (largely as to number) in the agential syntagma, and its nature imposed by the voice of the verb. The scope and direction of the verb are indicated post-positionally, and the disposition of these elements governs the voice of the verb. Time and place treated as temporal and spatial settings, occur as over-all determinations of the verbal sentence, and are placed before it. The verbal sentence is terminated with a class of morphemes indicating "intonation."

The order of distribution of the elements of the sentence is fixed and rigid. Emphasis upon individual elements of the sentence (other than the verb) is effected by stating them absolutely, and replacing them in the sentence proper by anaphoric pronouns.

IV. The Determinative Sentence

4.1. Definition and Description

The determinative sentence has as its irreducible minimal form two terms, the grammatical value of which are nominal. These two terms stand in a relationship to each other analogous to that of the determinant word and the determined word in syntagma (see 2.6.1 and hence the term "determinative sentence"). In syntagma the process of determination might be thought of as morphological because it provides for the qualification of a word, resulting in a more precise or specific term. At the sentential level, determination makes such qualifications matters of assertion or declaration. Such declarations may be of fact, opinion, or judgment. Determination, therefore, at this level might be thought of as modal (see 4.6).¹

4.2. Syntax

The two elements of the determinative sentence are distributed as "determined term/determinant term" (with which compare the order of syntagmatic distribution, "determinant word/determined word") (conventional sign: DT () Dt ()).²

¹ The relatedness of determination at the syntagma and at the sentence level is well illustrated in the following: *Yu der jyi buu* (予得吉卜) "I have obtained auspicious omens" (lit: I/obtain/auspicious/omens) (DG. 34.22), and *Jenn buu binq jyi* (朕卜并吉) "My omens all are auspicious" (lit: my/omens/all/auspicious) (DG. 34.23). In the first sentence, *jyi buu* occurs as a syntagma, A→B in $\alpha\beta\gamma^1(A\rightarrow B)$. In the second, *jyi* and *buu* are distributed as either of the two terms of the determinative sentence, viz., $A(A\rightarrow buu) \text{ dis} = B(jyi)$. Thus, the determinative sentence form is essentially the upgrading of a syntagma (*jyi buu*) to sentential level (*buu jyi*). Attributive determination at the syntagma level becomes a categorical assertion at the determinative sentence level (see also 4.3.1, footnote 4).

² In LAC, the determinant term is stressed and is typically followed by the particle of accentuation *yee* (也). The addition of the particles of sentential mood (for example, *hu* (乎) and *tzai* (哉) adds to the mode of judgment an

The determinative sentence is a form used for categorical assertion. Where the assertion is unqualified or unemphatic, the simple apposition of the two terms serves to mark the relationship between them, but when qualifications (mood), emphasis (in antithetical forms), and so on are introduced, copulae³ occur between the two terms (conventional sign: cop.).

The determinative sentence form is categorical, the second term designating a category in which the first term is said to partake. The two terms (however constituted) are substantival. Their function is to identify class and member.

The predication of the determinative sentence is categorical. In simple apposition, the predication is unqualified and unemphatic. Certain qualifications and emphases are imposed upon the predication by the use of copulae occurring between the two terms.

The unqualified categorical predication states that A (the determined term) is of the class B (the determinant term). A simple negation of this statement (A is not of the class B) is made with the use of the copula *fei* (非) *piwər. The positive-reflex form, where the predication is contrastive with the negative, is the antonym of *fei*, *wei* (惟) *diwər. Thus in AB, polarity is absent, but in A *fei/wei* B, polarity is present.

4.3. The Properties of the Two Terms

4.3.1. The Determinant Term

The determinant term designates a category in which the determined "intonation" of surprise or tentativeness. *Yee hu* (也乎) is realized in an allegro form in *yu* or *ye* (與耶). In EAC, *yee* and *yii*, *yee hu* (or *yu*, *ye*) do not occur. *Tzai* (哉) occurs but is infrequent (see 3.9). Thus, an important diagnostic feature of the determinative sentence form is absent in EAC. However, this form is formally characterized in EAC by the occurrence or possibility of occurrence of the copulae so that the formal characteristics of the determinative sentence in EAC are (i) apposition of two terms, and (ii) use of copulae.

³ The term "copula" in this description is used for any word occurring between the two terms. The term "determinative particle" would have done as well, except that the term is pre-empted already for the particle of syntagmatic determination. The term "copula" as used here is used for a purely formal observation, and has nothing to do with the etymology or "meaning" of any word occurring in this form of distribution; it is nothing more than, and by definition it is simply a word occurring between the two terms, and not forming an element in either.

term is said to partake either wholly or in part. Within this general description, four classes of determinant term occur. These are:

(a) An attribute in which the determined term is said to share.

EXAMPLES

(i) Without Copula

Jenn buu bing jyi (朕卜并吉) "My omens are all auspicious" (DG. 34.23).

Jian dah (艱大) "The difficulties are great" (DG. 34.24).⁴

Jyue shim jyi-heen (厥心疾很) "His heart was utterly evil" (JG. 44.12).

Min tian jyi-wey (旻天疾畏) "Resplendent Heaven is most awe-inspiring" (MGD).

Yih yu fei-yi (佚于非彝) "[He was] reckless in his irregular practices" (JG. 44.11).⁵

(ii) With Copula (Positive)

Nae fwu wei horng (乃服惟弘) "Your duties are great" (KG. 38.25).

Ren yeou sheau tzuey, fei sheeng, nai wei jong ... (人有小罪非管乃惟終) "If someone commits a minor offence which is not inadvertent, but is of intent ..." (KG. 38.26).

Wei huang tean yu jeou (惟荒腆于酒) "He was excessively steeped in wine" (JG. 44.11).

(iii) With Copula (Negative)

Tian fei chern (天非忱) "Heaven is not to be relied on [that is, taken for granted]" (DG. 38.3).

Woang fei yeou tsyr yu far (罔非有辭于罰) "None but were culpable" (lit: had/charges/at/law). (DS. 54.19).

Nae yeou dah tzuey, fei jong nae wei sheeng (乃有大罪非終乃惟管) "But have committed a major offence which is not of intent, but is inadvertent" (KG. 38.27).

(b) A species class to which the determined term is said to pertain.

EXAMPLES

(i) Without Copula

Mey syh-tuu eel guu-gong (洙嗣土爾股肱) "The Minister of Lands in the State of Mei is your right-hand man" (lit: your/thigh/upper arm) (JG. 41.28).

(ii) With Copula (Positive)

Yii ruu wei sheau-tzyy (已汝惟小子) "Yes! you are a child" (KG. 38.24).

Eel wei jiow ren (爾惟舊人) "You are old [that is, experienced] men" (DG. 38.2).

⁴ *Jian dah* in determination at the syntagma level becomes *dah jian* as, for example, in *yeou dah jian yu Shi-tuu* (有大艱于西土) "There are great difficulties in the Western Territories" (DG. 34.20).

⁵ Attributive is the characteristic of the B term and not of a class of words, and so the B term may occur as a single word as, for example, *jyi* (吉) "auspicious," or, as in this example, as a syntagma (β_7^2) downgraded.

Shyr wei Tian ming (時惟天命) "This was the ordinance of Heaven" (DS. 54.22).

Buu chern wei ruoh-tzy (卜陳惟若茲) "This is what the omens indicated" (lit: Omen/show/is/like-this) (DG. 38.13).

(iii) With Copula (Negative)

Tian fei niueh (天非虐) "Heaven is not a tyrant" (JG. 44.14).

Yu fei iong (余非庸) "I am not an ordinary person" (MGD).

(c) An attribute of the act, state or process, in which the act, state or process of the determined term is said to share. (This is the corollary at the sentential level of the determinations of degree and of manner in the verbal complex at the syntagma level.) The copulae do not occur.

EXAMPLES

Tian buu bih yeun (天不畀允) "Heaven's failing to confer its favour was decisive" (DS. 54.11).

Fwu-diauw Tian jiang hay yu woo jia buh shao yan (弗弔天降害于我家不少延) "The sending down of injury upon our house by impartial Heaven has been long delayed" (DG. 34.17).

4.3.2. Emphatic Exposure of the Determined Term

The determinant term (B) may occur in the distribution Dt (B)//cop. DT(A), in which case the determinant term is in emphatic exposure. This form occurs only when the determinant term is attributive. Attributive, that is, as are the determinant terms in 4.3.1 (a) and (c). This form does not occur with the copula of negation.

EXAMPLES

Horng wei nae jyh (弘唯乃智) "Vast is your wisdom" (MGD).

Dann wei jyue tzong-yn (誕惟厥縱淫) "Great was his profligacy" (JG. 44.10).

Wu-jiang wei shiou, yih, wu-jiang wei shiuh (無疆惟休亦無疆惟恤) "Boundless is his grace, boundless, too, his pity" (SG. 47.13).

Shean wei jing der ... (顯佳敬德 ...) "[but, so] splendid was the revered virtue, [that ...]" (BAG).

Pi pi jyue hwang gong (丕丕厥皇公) "Magnificent is our glorious [kinsman, the] Duke" (BAG).

Luan-luan syh-fang (翻翻四方) "Restless are the [states of the] four quarters" (MGD).

Horng chyí wei wang jyh (弘其唯王智) "Only the King's wisdom is great" (lit: great/it/only/King/wisdom) (MGD).

4.3.3. Emphasis upon and Qualification of the Categorical Predication

A rhetorical rather than material quality is given to the predication (which remains unqualified and categorical) by the use of *yeun* (允) *ziwən “true,”⁶ which occurs determining the copula, viz.: *yeun-wei*, or without the copula.

EXAMPLES

Tzy nae yeun wei Wang (read:) *jeng-shyh jy chern* (茲乃允惟王正事之臣)
“Thus you truly would be servants of the King engaged in his service” (JG. 44.3).

U-hu yeun choen (嗚呼允蠢) “Oh! Indeed they are seething!” (DG. 34.26).

A modal quality is given to the predication by the use of *jiang* (將) *tsiang.⁷

EXAMPLE

... *der jiang wu-tzuey* (德將無醉) “Then your virtue would be that of sobriety” (JG. 41.26).

NOTE. The verbs *tzuoh* (作) *tsâk,⁸ and *tzaw* (造) *dz'ôg “to make, create, come into being, become,” make predications very similar to those of the determinative sentence, but in verbal sentence form.

EXAMPLES

Fwu tzaw jer (弗造哲) “I am not yet wise” (lit: not(yet)/become/wise) (DG. 34.17).

Yu tzaw tian yih yi (予造天役遺) “I, being the servant of Heaven, have been remiss” (DG. 34.26).

Tzuoh Jou fwu shian (作周孚先) “I will become for Chou, the trusted and pre-eminent one” (LG. 54.3).

Tzuoh muh-muh yuh herng (作穆穆御衡) “You have become the most impressive of arbiters” (LG. 50.23).

⁶ To be distinguished from the use of *yeun* as verb “make-true” > “realize” > “acknowledge” for example in: *Guh wang yeun tzai* (故亡允才 (= 哉)) “Therefore they would not act upon [lit: make-true] [it]” (BAG) or as attribute, as for example in 4.3.1 c.

⁷ This is the sole exemplar in the material. One would expect this to be an economical form of *jiang-wei*, just as *yeun* (see previous paragraph) is of *yeun-wei*. For *jiang*, potential aspect, see 3.3.2.1.

⁸ With 作 *tsâk and 造 *dz'ôg cf. (乍) *dz'âg, in which form 作 always appears on bronzes.

Tzuoh min ming bih (作民明辟) “... so that you may become the illustrious sovereign of the people” (LG. 50.7).

Chyi tzuoh Jou pi shiou (其作周匹休) “You are the fit-mate in our Chou house for Heaven's grace” (lit: you/become/Chou's/fit-mate/grace) (LG. 50.9).

4.3.4. The Determinant Term in Summary

The common defining characteristic of the determinant term is that it designates a category, whether of attribute or of class, whether of spatial concepts (objects) or of temporal concepts (acts).⁹ Such categories may be summarized as: of an object, an attribute it possesses; of an object, a class to which it belongs; of an act, a class of acts to which it belongs; and of an act, an attribute it possesses.

4.4. Total Inclusion of Terms and Common Inclusion in a Third Term

A characteristic that all types of predication described so far share is the total inclusion of term A within term B. There is no sense in which term B is contained within term A.¹⁰

A further type of predication (distinguished by a special copula) is that in which both term A and term B are included within an unspecified third term C. Term A is then stated to be of a common though unspecified kind with term B, or to have been enacted in a common though unspecified manner with term B.

The copula so used is *ruoh* (若) *niak.

EXAMPLES

(1) Both terms designate entities which partake in a common attribute (A is like B).

Wu ruoh huoo (無若火) “There is nothing like fire ...” (LG. 50.14).

⁹ No formal or objective criteria (other than apposition and stress by which the sentential form is distinguished) are present in the material to make these distinctions among the categories. The analogy of the form with that of determination in syntagma is, I think, both apt and useful. A division is formally observable in syntagma between attribute and class (see 2.6.2). Thereafter I see no formal procedure by which to account for the variety here distinguished. In the event, I have been guided by the usefulness of the observation, as an expository device, in introducing it here.

¹⁰ For this reason, such terms as “equational sentences” and “equivalent sentences” which have crept into usage in this connection, are singularly inappropriate.

Ruoh shiong-kao (若兄考) "[It] is like those elders" (DG. 38.8).

Ruoh seh-fu (若穡夫) "I am like a farmer" (DG. 38.11).

(2) Both terms designate actions performed in a common manner

Tian yih wei yong chyn bih woo min ruoh yeou jyi (天亦惟用勤瘁我民若有疾) "Heaven is, after all, by belabouring, warning our people, just as in sickness" (that is, Heaven is warning the people, through their condition, in the same way as heaven shows its displeasure, through sickness) (DG. 38.4).

Ruoh shyi, jenn chyi shyh ... ruoh kao tzuoh shyh (若昔朕其逝... 若考作室) "The other day, as I was about to go... it was like a father building a house..." (DG. 38.5).

(3) The second form also occurs as *ruoh* B/A

Ruoh sheh iuan-shoei, yu wei woang-chyou jenn iou jih (若涉淵水予惟往求朕攸濟) "As one about to ford a deep river, I would seek for a place by which to cross" (DG. 34.18).

Ruoh bao chyh-tzyy, wei min chyi kang-yih (若保赤子惟民其康乂) "Just as an infant is held in the arms, so then will the people be quiet and under control" (KG. 41.1).

4.5. Common and Total Inclusion

Common and total inclusion within classes might be illustrated as follows:

Total Inclusion

$$\left[\left[\text{Term A} \right] \text{Term B} \right]$$

Total inclusion: (i) of an object A in a generic class B; (ii) of an object A in an attributive class B; (iii) of an act A in an attributive class B.

Common inclusion: (i) entities A and B share a common attribute C; (ii) actions A and B are performed in a common manner C.

Common Inclusion in a
Third Term C

$$\left[\begin{array}{c} C \\ \left[\left[\text{Term A} \right] \left[\text{Term B} \right] \right] \end{array} \right]$$

4.6. Modal Use of the Determinative Sentence Form

The determinative sentence is in essence a categorical judgment. It makes statements about values, rather than happenings or events. Its mode might be thought of as judgmental. Something of this mode can be imparted to a statement made in verbal sentence form by recasting the elements of the verbal sentence into the determinative form.¹¹

¹¹ The verbal sentence recast in the determinative sentence form, and the verbal sentence which has elements exposed for emphasis (see 3.11) are seemingly similar, but differ in that the former has to do with *mood* and the latter with

A sentence so recast has its elements redistributed into two sets. A number of varieties of such rearrangements occur, but common to all is the two-term form and the distinctive stress pattern of the determinative sentence. Diagnostic of such redistribution is the reversal of the elements "verb/post-verbal elements" viz. "post-verbal elements/verb" and the occurrence of the particle of determination, between post-verbal elements and verb.¹²

EXAMPLES

Shiang wei yuh-shyh (相惟御事) "Assisting were the Ministers" (that is, the Ministers assisted) (JG. 44.7) (which is $\alpha\beta$ redistributed as β cop. α).

Jenn shin jenn der wei nae jy (朕心朕德惟乃知) "My mind and my virtue are known to you" (KG. 41.5) (which is $\alpha\beta\gamma^1(A+B)$ redistributed as $\gamma^2(A+B)$ cop. $\alpha\beta$).

Ren wei chyou jiw, chih fei jiw, wei shin (人惟求舊器非舊惟新) "In men, it is the old [experienced] that we seek, in pots it is not the old, it is the new [that we seek for]" (Parn Geng 19.28) (which is $\beta\gamma^1\gamma^2$ redistributed as γ^2 cop. $\beta\gamma^1$).

4.7. Occurrence or Presence—*Yeou* and *Wu* as Determined Terms

Yeou (有) *giug and its negation *wu* (無) *miwo, "to possess" and "not to possess, to lack" respectively, occur as the determined term in the determinative sentence, in the sense of "there occurs, or is present—B," or "there does not occur, or is not present—B."

Yeou may be modally determined as follows: *wu-yeou* (毋有) "there must not be," *wu-yeou* (無有) "there would not be," and *wey-yeou* (未有) "there is not, and never has been."

EXAMPLES

Yeou ming iue (有命曰) "There was a charge (which) read..." (DS. 54.19).

Yeou dah-jian yu Shi-tuu (有大艱于西土) "There is great trouble in the Western Territories" (DG. 34.20).

Huey duu shiuh wu-yeou gow tzyh jyi (惠篤敘無有違自疾) "If with kindness and sincerity all is done in good order, then there would be no occasion for self-criticism" (lit: there-would-not-be/encounter/self/dislike) (LG. 54.5).

emphasis. Formally, the defining characteristics which are contrastive are as follows:

For emphatic exposure: (i) use of the anaphoric pronouns *jy* and *chyi*; for determinative mood: (i) the use of the copulae.

¹² In effect, verb/affectee is re-rendered in nominal form, nominal being the value of either term of the determinative sentence.

Wu-yeou gaan huen fu ming yu way (毋有敢愆敷命于外) "There must be no presuming foolishly to proclaim decrees abroad" (i.e., "Let there be no unauthorized publication of proclamations") (MGD).

Fei ruu Feng shyng ren sha ren, wu huoh shyng ren sha ren (非汝封刑人殺人無或刑人殺人) "If it is not you, Feng, who inflicts punishment or the death penalty, then there would not be anyone to do so" (KG. 41.1).

Wey yeou shiunn shyh (未有遜事) "I have not complied in this matter [as I should]" (KG. 41.5).

Wey chyí yeou ruoh ruu Feng jy shin (未其有若汝封之心) "There never has been one with a heart like yours, Feng" (KG. 41.5).¹³

4.8. *Wei* and *Fei* as Determined Terms—Truth and Falsity

Wei (佳唯惟) *diwər and *fei* (非) *piwər occur as determined terms when a proposition (the B term) is stated categorically to be true or false. *Wei* then is used in the sense of "it is so that . . ." and *fei* in the sense of "it is not so that . . ."

EXAMPLES

Fei woo sheau gwo gaan yih In ming wei tian bwu bih yeun (非我小國敢翼殷命惟天不畀允) "It is not so that we, a minor state, dared to aspire to Yin's Mandate; the fact is that Heaven's failing to confer its favour on Yin was decisive" (DS. 54.11).

Wei ruu jong tzyh tzuoh fuw jinq fei yu yeou jiow (惟汝衆自作弗靖非予有咎) "It is so that you, all of you, have created this unrest yourselves. It is not so that I am at fault" (Parn Geng 19.27).

Fei yu tzyh huang tzy der, wei ruu shee der (非予自荒茲德惟汝舍德) "It is not so that I myself dissipate this virtue [of the régime] but it is that you reject it" (Parn Geng 19.19).

Ban fei gaan mih wei tzuoh . . . (班非敢覓佳作 . . .) "It is not that I, Pan, have presumed to seek for this, but merely that [I wished to] have made [this sacral vessel] . . ." (BAG).

Woo fei gaan chyn wei gong fenq bih (我非敢勤惟恭奉幣) "It is not that we would presume to be zealous, but simply that we respectfully offer [to the King] these gifts" (SG. 50.5)¹⁴

Fei woo-i-ren fenq der buh kang ning (非我一人奉德不康寧) "It is not that the virtue I have received [i.e., the quality with which I am endowed] tends to unruliness" (DS. 54.22).

Fei yu tzuéy, shyh wei Tian-ming (非予罪時惟天命) "It is not that I am at fault. This was the will of Heaven" (DS. 54.25).

¹³ This is the earliest form and earliest occurrence of (未之有), so frequent in LAC (see Dobson (1), 4.8.2).

¹⁴ In this and the previous example, the agent is exposed, preceding *fei*, in contrast to all other examples.

4.8.1. Anaphora in the Determinative Sentence

Where the terms of a determinative sentence are replaced with substitutes to avoid repetition, the demonstratives (and not the anaphoric pronouns) occur.

EXAMPLES

Shyh wei Tian ming (時惟天命) "This [i.e., the transfer of the population previously mentioned] is the ordinance of God" (DS. 54.22).

Shyh Shiuh (時敘) This [a judicial decision given in accordance with the procedure previously described] is done in a proper fashion" (KG. 41.5).

NOTE. See also 4.9 where the demonstrative may substitute for the term of cause.

4.9. Cause and Consequence

Statements of cause and consequence are made in the determinative sentence form. When distributed as consequence/cause, *wei* (惟) and *fei* (非) "because," and "not because," occur between the terms. *Guh* (故) "cause" may occur at the end of the term of cause. When distributed as cause/consequence, *wei* introduces cause. In this form of distribution, *guh* (故) also occurs as substitute for term of cause "for this cause" > "therefore." Demonstratives also substitute anaphorically for the term of cause, for examples, *wei-shyh* "for this reason."

In summary, therefore, cause and consequence occur as follows:

(1) consequence	<i>wei</i> or <i>fei</i>	cause—(<i>guh</i>)
	or	
(2) <i>wei</i> -cause	—	consequence
	or	
(3) <i>guh</i>	—	consequence

EXAMPLES

(1) Consequence/*wei* or *fei*/cause (*guh*)

Eel dah keh shiou goou wei jiun (爾大克羞耆惟君) "That you can nurture your aged so well is because of the prince" (JG. 44.2).

Wei woo shiah min biing-wei, wei Tian ming wey (惟我下民秉為惟天明畏) "It is so that we, a once subordinate people, took control of the government, because Heaven made plain its displeasure [with Yin]" (DS. 54.12).

Wei eel horng wu-duh (惟爾洪無渡) "This [the consequence, previously described] is because you have been so utterly lawless" (DS. 54.20).

Cherng ruu bih ruu wei shii kang-goong, fei ruu yeou jiow, bih yu far (承汝俾汝惟喜康鞏非汝有咎比于罰) "When I care for you and direct you, it is because [I want you] to enjoy peace and security. It is not because you have committed an offence, and I want to bring you to justice" (*Parn Geng* 22.10).

Yu ruoh yuh hwai tzy shin yih yih wei ruu guh (予若籲懷茲新邑亦惟汝故) "That I thus call upon you to cherish this new city is, after all, because of you [i.e., for your own sakes]" (*Parn Geng* 22.11).

(2) *Wei* cause/consequence

Yu wei shyr chyi chian jiu shi eel (予惟時其遷居西爾) "Because of these things, I have transferred and settled you in the West" (*DS*. 54.23).

Jin eel wei shyr jair eel yih ... (今爾惟時宅爾邑) "Now, if you will, because of this, make your residence in this your city ..." (*DS*. 57.2).

Wei gong der ming guang yu shang-shiah, chyn shy yu syh-fang, parng tzuoh muh-muh yuh-herng (惟公德明光于上下勤施于四方旁作穆穆御衡) "Because your virtue, Sir, shines brightly on all, high and low, and your diligence is displayed to the four quarters, on all sides, you have become the most impressive of arbiters" (*LG*. 50.22).

Wei In bian hour, diann, yueh In jeng bae bih, shuay yih yu jeou, guh sang guan-jih (惟殷邊侯甸粵殷正百辟率肄于酒, 故喪官紀) "Because Yin's border feudatories and governors, and Yin's elders and princes, all became lax through the drinking of wine, therefore Yin failed in discipline among the officers" (*DYD*).

(3) *Guh*/consequence

Guh wang yeun tzai (故亡允哉) "For this reason, they would not act upon [lit: make-true] [it]" (*BAG*).

Guh tian jianq sang yu In (故天降喪于殷) "It was for this reason that Heaven sent down destruction upon Yin" (*JG*. 44.13).

Guh woo jyh-yu jin keh show In jy minq (故我至于今克受殷之命) "It was for this reason that we so far have been able to receive and retain Yin's Mandate" (*JG*. 44.5).

4.10. The Determinative Sentence in Summary

The determinative sentence is in minimal form two terms, both nominal in value, in simple apposition in the order, *given/new*. The relationships of *given* to *new*, when analysed, present a paradigm, complementary to that of the *new/given* in syntagmatic determination. The determinative sentence is in essence a categorical statement. The categorical "mood" may be conditioned by the use of copulae. This "mood" of judgment, rather than of simple assertion or narration, may be imparted to the verbal sentence by recasting it in the determinative form. Cause and consequence are so stated. Peculiar to the form are its distinctive copulae, *wei* and *fei*.

V. Sentences in Distribution

5.1. Introduction

The unit in which sentences are distributed is the "piece."¹ Sentences, whether they are verbal or determinative, are one of the elements distributed at this level. Conjunctions, by which the relationships of sentences in distribution are marked, are also elements in the piece. The remaining elements are the vocative and interjections.

The relationship in which one sentence stands to another may be unmarked, may be marked by the use of the anaphoric pronouns, may be marked by the avoidance of repetition by omission, or may be marked by the use of conjunctions. The formal markers—the anaphoric pronouns and the conjunctions—are frequently omitted.²

The anaphoric pronouns are described in 2.6.7.1; 2.10; and 3.8. The conjunctions are described in 5.1; 5.2; 5.3; 5.4; and 5.5. The vocative and the interjection are described in 5.7 and 5.8.

5.2. The Conjunction of Sentences

Sentences occur in sequence in one of two main types.³ The first

¹ See Introduction, iii (c).

² As, for example, in the following: *Ryh, min shiann yeou shyr fu, yu yih yii yu* (日民獻有十夫予翼以于)—day/people's/worthy ones/there are/ten/persons. I/respectfully/together with/go—which, providing for economy and with the recovery from previous context of elements already mentioned, is: "[If] [present] day/of the people's/worthy ones/there were/ten/persons/[willing to go and attack Yin's petty ruler], [then] I respectfully, together [with them] would go [and attack Yin's petty ruler]." "If there were but ten worthy men among the people who would come with me, then I would go and attack the petty ruler of Yin" (*DG*. 34.22). Here, not only the conjunctions "if" and "then" are dropped under the operation of economy, but a reluctance to repeat brings about the omission of the second agent after *yii*; the determination of *ryh*; and the purpose of going after *yu*; all of which can be recovered from the previous context.

³ This classification is suggested by a division among the repertory of conjunctions of EAC, which fall into those which derive from demonstratives (resumptive) and those which do not (disjunctive). See 5.4.1, footnote 7.

is disjunctive⁴ sequence, which is marked by the *yow* type of conjunction “and too, furthermore, etc.” (see 5.3). The second is resumptive sequence, which is marked by the *nae* type of conjunction “and so, then” (see 5.4) (conventional sign: Conj.).

In the first type, there is simple connection and concession. In the second type, there is sequence in narrative “subsequent to, and later than,” and the sequence of propositions “subsequent to, and consequent upon” (see 5.4.1); the latter being an extension of the former and embracing conditioned sequence (If ... then ... ; since ... so ... when ... then ...) (see 5.4.2).

5.3. Disjunctive Sequence

5.3.1. Simple Connection

The conjunctions *yow* (又) *giug, and *yih* (亦) *ziak, connect sentences in simple connection, in the sense of “and too,” “and furthermore,” neither sentence being conditioned in any way by the other. In this usage *wei* (惟) *diwər, also occurs. The conjunctions occur after the agent of the second sentence.

EXAMPLES

Woo yow buu Chan shoei dong, yih wei Luoh chyh (我又卜瀼水東亦惟洛飭) “and too, we divined about the region, to the East of the Ch’an River, once again it was the Lo region that was ordained” (LG. 50.8) (In this context the sequence is: *woo buu* ... *woo nae buu* ... *woo yow buu* ... “We divined about ... we then divined about ... and, too, we divined about.”)

... *yii guei yu Jou, yu chyi sha, yow wei In jy dyi ju chern* ... (以歸于周予其殺又惟殷之迪諸臣) “... return them to Chou, and I will kill them. Furthermore, when the subjects [previously] under Yin’s leadership ...” (JG. 44.19).

Buh wei buh gaan yih buh shya (不惟不敢亦不暇) “They not only did not dare [to get drunk], but, too, they did not take time away [from their duties]...” (JG. 44.9).

Wei Tian jiang jyi jyue ming, yih wei shian-jeng shiang-yih jyue bih (唯天將集厥命, 亦唯先正襄又厥辟。) “It is Heaven that will gather all under its Mandate, and too, it is the former senior officers [of King Wu] who will assist in Heaven’s governance” (MGD).

⁴ That is, “disjunctive” in contrast to “resumptive,” see *SOED* s.v. *disjunctive* quoting *Harris*: “the disjunctive conjunctions ... which bear this contradictory name, because, while they disjoin the sense, they conjoin the sentence.” The resumptive conjunctions, by contrast, conjoin both sense and sentences.

Wu-jiang wei shiou, yih wu-jiang wei shiuh (無疆惟休亦無疆惟恤) “Boundless is his grace, and too, boundless is his pity” (SG. 47.13).

Wang moh you cherng ming, wang yih shean (王末有成命王亦顯) “May the King to the end enjoy the fulfilment of the Mandate, and too, may he be glorified” (SG. 50.4).

Gong wu kuenn woo tzai, wei wu yih chyi kang shyh (公無困我哉惟無斁其康事) “You, sir, should not distress me, and too, you should not weary of your tranquillising task” (LG. 50.26).

Jin wang jyi ming iue ... *wei ming iue* ... (今王即命曰 ... 惟命曰 ...) “Now the King has already issued a decree saying ... now too, issue a decree saying ...” (LG. 50.12).

With *wei ming iue* cf. *yow iue* (又曰) “and too, I say” (KG. 41.3); *Jin eel yow iue* (今爾又曰 ...) “now you too say” (DS. 54.23) etc.

5.3.2. Concession

Yih (亦) *ziak (see 5.3.1), also occurs in a form of conjunction which is mildly concessive, in the sense of “conceding all to the contrary” > “after all” or “contrary to expectation” > “even so, even though” (conventional sign: Conc.).⁵

EXAMPLES

Fwu jyh bao-baw shi-chyr jyue fuh-tzyy, yii ai-yu tian, tzuu jyue wang chu jyr. U-hu! Tian yih ai yu syh-fang min (夫智保抱攜持厥婦子以哀籲天, 徂厥亡出執, 嗚呼天亦哀于四方民) “The wise, carrying and dragging their wives and children with them, cried to Heaven for pity, and fled to a place where no-one could seize them. Oh yes! Heaven after all has shown pity to the people of the four quarters” (SG. 47.15).

Tian yih wei yonq chyn bih woo min (天亦惟用勤毖我民) “Heaven is, after all, warning our people by belabouring them” (DG. 38.4).

Shoang bang you jer, yih wei shyren, dyi jy Shanq-dih ming (爽邦由哲亦惟十人迪知上帝命) “If faulty states followed their wise men, even though there were only ten of them, they would be led to know the ordinances of God” (DG. 38.9).

Eel yih buh jy tian ming buw yih (爾亦不知天命不易) “Do you not, even so, know that Heaven’s ordinances do not change?” (DG. 38.10).

Swei (雖) *siwər, occurs uniquely as a concessive conjunction.⁶

⁵ An instructive parallel with *yih* is perhaps English “yet,” which occurs in Old English as “in addition, moreover,” but which in Middle English is also used concessively, “often correlative to *though*” (see *SOED* s.v.).

⁶ *Swei* is a *hapax legomenon* in the material. The earliest occurrence of *swei* on an inscription is Chou 111 (c. 770-450 B.C.) according to Karlgren (see Karlgren

EXAMPLE

U-hu, yeou-wang, swei sheau, yuan-tzyy tzai (嗚呼有王雖小, 元子哉) “Oh! yes! Our present King, though but a child, is the first-born [of Heaven]” (SG. 47.19).

5.4. Resumptive Sequence

5.4.1. Narrative Sequence

The conjunctions *nae* (texts 乃, inscriptions 迺) *næg, the demonstratives used as conjunctions *shyr* (時) *diæg, and *tzy* (茲) *tsiæg, occur in sentence sequences in the sense of “subsequent to and later than” > “and then,” or “subsequent to and consequent upon” > “and so.”⁷ The conjunction occurs after the agent of the second sentence.

EXAMPLES

Jou-gong shyan chyn, nae horng dah gaw jyh (周公咸勸乃洪大誥治) “The Duke of Chou urged all to work diligently, and then he made a grand proclamation of the work to be done” (KG. 38.15).

Maw wen yu Shang-dih, Dih shiou, Tian nae dah ming Wen-wang yih rong In (聞于上帝, 帝休, 天乃大命文王殪成殷) “It was seen and heard by God, most High, and God bestowed favour [upon us]. Heaven then decreed that King Wên should destroy Great Yin ...” (KG. 38.18).

(1), s.v.). I am inclined to regard the concessive as developing from disjunctive *yih* (亦) *ziak, by way of *wei* (惟) *diwər, to *swei* (雖) and to see in this unique exemplar an example of a copyist’s emendation.

A single exemplar also occurs of *yeou* used concessively. It is *yeou jyue tzuey sheau, nay buh kee buh sha* (有厥罪小乃不可不殺) “Though his offence be a minor one, you cannot but inflict the death penalty” (KG. 38.26).

⁷ Of these conjunctions, *nae* occurs also as the determinant form of the second person pronoun (see 2.6.7.1); *shyr* and *tzy* occur as deictic demonstratives (see 6.3). It seems that this form of conjunction derives from demonstratives. Demonstratives, in other forms of deployment, occurring in such combinations as *wei-shyr* “for this reason,” *ruoh-tzy* “thus” or “such,” also occur with economy as *shyr* or *ruoh*. The demonstratives *shyr* and *tzy* occurring here as conjunctions may well be parallel examples of such economy. This is further supported by the occurrence of *nae*. *Nae*, which bronzes distinguish with different signs for determinant pronoun and conjunction, seems clearly to be an allegro form (?*næg < ń [io-ti]æg, that is, 乃 from 汝之 and ?*næg < ń [iak-tsi]æg, that is, 迺 from 若茲). If this is so, then the occurrence of the demonstratives *shyr* and *tzy* as conjunctions, are examples of [ruoh +] demonstrative, and *nae* an allegro form of *ruoh*+demonstrative.

Dah fanq wang ming nae fei der yong yih (大放王命乃非德用乂) “They are completely heedless of the King’s commands, and so they govern by contra-virtue” (KG. 41.13).

Jyue wei fey yuan ming, jiang jyh far, nae ming eel shian-tzuu Cherng Tang ger Shiah (厥惟廢元命, 降致罰乃命爾先祖成湯革夏) “And when he neglected the Great Mandate, [Heaven] brought down upon him its punishment, and so [Heaven] charged your forbear, T’ang the Successful, to depose Hsia” (DS. 54.14).

Nae ling iue “*Jin woo wei ling ruu ...*” (迺令曰今我佳令女) “Thereafter he issued a charge which read “Now I will charge you ...” (LFY).

Ruoh kao tzuoh shyh, Jih jyy faa, jyue tzyy nae fwu keen tarng (若考作室既底法厥子乃弗肯堂) “It is like a father building a house, who, having made the plans, [finds that] his son, then, is not willing to work on the foundations” (DG. 38.6).

... *chu cheu bih nae fuh ruh shyi Jou-gong iue ...* (出取幣乃復入錫周公曰) “... went out, selected gifts, and then entered once again and presented them to the Duke of Chou, saying ...” (SG. 47.11).

Wei bwu jing jyue der nae tzaio juey jyue ming (惟不敬厥德乃早墜厥命) “It was because they failed to treat their ‘power’ with reverence and so they prematurely lost their Mandate” (SG. 47.24).

Woo nae ming jyh Tian far (我乃明致天罰) “We thereupon, with enlightenment, applied the punishment of Heaven” (DS. 54.25).

... *fu chyan-ren show ming, tzy bwu wanq dah gong* (敷前人受命茲不忘大功) “I must proclaim the Mandate received by the departed Kings, and so not forget the great task” (DG. 34.19).

5.4.2. Conditioned Sequence

As perhaps a metaphorical extension of narrative sequence and using the same repertory of conjunctions, is conditioned sequence. (If ... then ... /when ... then ... /since ... then ...). No formal distinction is made between fulfilled and unfulfilled condition. *Wei* (惟) *diwər, also occurs as a conjunction of conditioned sequence (conventional signs: Protasis = Prot. Apodosis = Apod).⁸

EXAMPLES

Wu kang haw yih nae chyih yih min (無康好逸乃其乂民) “May you not let up or become addicted to idleness, and then you will control the people well” (KG. 38.24).

⁸ Cf. here the occurrence of *wei* in time phrases “when” (see 3.10), a form of distribution in which no other conjunction occurs. Could this be a transference, “when” > “then”?

Yeou shiuh shyr, nae dah ming fwu (有敍時乃大明服) "If you do this in good order, then you will make your service very illustrious" (KG. 38.28).

Eel nae shang yeou eel tuu (爾乃尚有爾土) "You, then, could still possess your lands" (DS. 54.28).

Wu gaan gong-gaw, gong-gaw nae wuu guan-goa (毋敢曩曩廼侮鰥寡) "Do not dare enrich yourself [at the people's] expense, if you do so, you take advantage of widows and widowers" (MGD).

Fwu jiuan nae shyh, shyr torng yu sha (弗錫乃事時同于殺) "If you do not keep your service spotless, then I will put you to death with them" (JG. 44.20).

In the above examples, the conjunction occurs between protasis and apodosis. A form occurs, particularly where the protasis is complex, where *nae* introduces the protasis, particularly when the protasis is reiterated by a demonstrative.

EXAMPLES

Nae yeou dah tzuey, fei jong nae wei sheeng jih daw jyi jyue gu, shyr, nae buh kee sha (乃有大罪非終乃惟管既道極厥辜時乃不可殺) "If [a man] commit a major offence, which is not of intent, but inadvertent, having thoroughly proved his crime, then you cannot kill him" (KG. 38.27). (*nae*, "if ..." *shyr* "if this," *nae* "then ...").

Nae byq boh-fu tzaw, min dah yuh fwu niann fwu iong guan jyue jiun. Shyr, nae yiin eh (乃別播敷造, 民大譽弗念弗庸厥君, 時乃引惡...) "but if [they], apart from your instruction, promulgate and initiate [laws of their own making], and do not think about or avail themselves of the people's consent bringing trouble upon their rulers, if they act thus, then it leads to evil" (KG. 41.11).

(*nae*, if ... *shyr*, if this, *nae*, then ...) *Nae bwu yong woo jiauw-tsyu, wei woo-iren fwu shiuh* (乃不用我教辭惟我一人弗恤) "If you do not heed my instructions, then I, the Lonely One, will have no mercy" (JG. 44.20).

Tzy nae yeun wei wang jenq-shyh jy chern (茲乃允惟王正事之臣) "If you acted thus, then you truly would be servants of the King engaged in his service" (JG. 44.3).

NOTE. *Tzer* (則) *tsək, occurs in the texts seven times, for narrative (5×) and conditioned (2×) sequences. It does not occur on bronze inscriptions. Occurrences are: SG. 47.5; 47.7; 47.8; 47.18; LG. 54.4; KG. 41.16; DS. 54.13. On this, see Appendix I, p. 237.

5.5. Resultative Sequence

The occurrence of the instrumental particles *yong* and *yii* as conjunctions is described in 3.6.2. In such usage, the instrumental particles are resultative. *Syh* (肆) *siəd, occurs uniquely as a resultative con-

junction. Unlike the instrumental particles, *syh* occurs *before* the agent of the second sentence.

EXAMPLES

Syh buh jeng (肆不征) "And so, I do not attack [you, further]" (DS. 54.21).

Syh yu gaan chyue eel yu Tian yih Shang (肆予敢求爾于天邑商) "And so I have presumed to seek [such from among] you in the Heavenly city, Shang" (DS. 54.24).

Syh yu dah huah-yow woo yeou bang jiun (肆予大化誘我有邦君) "And so I attempt to persuade you, the states friendly to us" (DG. 38.3).

Syh yu her gaan bwu yueh arng mii ning-wang dah-minq (肆予曷敢不越卬敕寧王大命) "And so, how dare I not bring to realisation the great command of the blessed [i.e., departed] kings in my own lifetime" (DG. 38.7).

Syh jenn yii eel dong jeng (肆朕以爾東征) "And so, I will, with you, set out eastwards to battle" (DG. 38.13).

Syh wei wang chyü jyi jinq der (肆惟王其疾敬德) "And thus may the King treat this virtue with the utmost reverence" (SG. 47.28).

5.6. Conjunctions in Summary

Disjunctive	又亦惟	simple connection
	亦雖有	concessive
Resumptive	乃迺時茲	narrative sequence
	乃迺時茲惟	conditioned sequence
Resultative	用, 以, 肆	(see 3.6.2)

5.7. Interjections

A class of signs in EAC are used to represent such non-phonemic sounds as sighs and involuntary ejaculations of the Oh! Ooh! type (conventional sign: Int.).

These are: *u-hu* (bronzes 烏呼; texts 嗚呼); *yu* (於) (DYD); and *yii* (已) (KG; LG; DG).

5.8. The Vocative

It is a peculiarity of EAC that discourse is frequently punctuated with personal names, and personal names with apposed attributes, simply to attract the attention of the person addressed. These vocatives do not form part of the sentences between which they are distributed (conventional sign: Voc.).

EXAMPLES

Wang ruoh iue "Menq-hour, jenn chyü dih, sheau-tzyy, Feng! Wei nae pi-shean kao Wen-wang keh ming der shenn far" (王若曰孟侯朕其弟小子封,

惟乃丕顯考文王克明德慎罰) “Thus spake the King, ‘Senior among the Feudal Lords! My younger brother! My child, Feng! Truly your illustrious father, King Wen, could manifest his power and conscientiously apply the penal laws,” (KG. 38.16).

U-hu Feng! *Yeou shiuh shyr nae dah ming fwu* (嗚呼封有紱時乃大明服) “Oh Feng! If you do all this in good order, then you will make your service very illustrious.” (KG. 38.27).

Feng! *Yu wei buh kee bwu jiann* (封予惟不可不監) “Feng! I cannot but provide for you a mirror [i.e., an exemplar]” (KG. 41.16).

Fuh In! *Pi-shean Wen Wu, hwang Tian horng yann jyue der* (父曆丕顯文武皇天弘獻厥德) “Elder Yin! August Heaven is profoundly satisfied with the virtue of the glorious Kings Wen and Wu” (MGD).

Eel In duo shyh! *Jin wei woo Jou-wang pi ling cherng Dih shyh...* (爾殷多士, 今惟我周王丕靈承帝事) “Oh you, the Knights of Yin! Today, because we, the rulers of Chou, regarded as most holy, being recipients of the service of God ...” (DS. 54.19).

VI. Substitution

6.1. Introduction

Words in EAC falling within the general class “substitutes” comprise the following:

- (1) Personal pronouns, substituting for and replacing proper names.
- (2) The anaphoric pronouns, substituting for and replacing elements that are repeated.
- (3) Demonstratives, substituting a “gesture,” that of pointing, for the thing named.
- (4) Interrogative substitutes, substituting in a question for an element unknown, and extending, as it were, an invitation to the person addressed, to supply an answer by replacing the substitute.
- (5) Indefinite substitutes, substituting for an element known but held in suspense.

6.2. The Pronouns

In discourse in EAC a status relationship is involved between the speaker and the person addressed. Where the personal pronouns are used the form of address is direct. The use of the non-status personal pronouns then implies informality or equality. Still keeping to the direct form of address, the use of the status personal pronouns introduces a further degree of formality. Strict formality however, requires an indirect form of address, and status is therein established by the use of ranks and titles, of personal names, and of kinship terms, as forms of address. With titles and kinship terms, the status established may relate to a factual position in a social or administrative hierarchy, or to real kinship, or in self-depreciation on the part of the speaker, and in deference to the person addressed, to a fictitious extension of this.

6.2.1. The Personal and Anaphoric Pronouns

Two persons are distinguished among the personal pronouns, the person or persons speaking, and the person or persons addressed. Number is not distinguished. The pronouns may distinguish status. The non-status personal pronouns are (i) person speaking, *Yu* (inscriptions 余, texts 予) *dio and (ii) person addressed, *Ruu* (inscriptions 女, texts 汝) *nio. In the first person, *yu* is replaced by *Jenn* (朕) *diang as a deprecatory form, and by *Woo* (我) *ngâ as an exalted form. In the second person, there is no status pronominal form. Status is established by the use of ranks, titles, and proper names. There is no third person pronoun.

Pronominal substitutes, the anaphoric pronouns, are neither particular in person—they substitute indifferently for person speaking, person addressed, or person other than speaker and addressee—nor are they exclusively personal. Their class-meaning is “substitution for any nominal element, from a reluctance to repeat.” The anaphoric pronouns are *Chyi* (其) *kiæg, (pre-verbal form), *Jy* (之) *tiæg (post-verbal form), and *Jyue* (厥) *kiwat (determinant form). The sole exception to this is that the demonstratives (see 6.4) substitute anaphorically for the terms of the determinative sentence.

The determinant forms of the pronouns are *Jenn* (朕) and *Woo* (我) for person or persons speaking, and *Nae* (乃) *næg for person or persons addressed, and *Jyue* (厥) for the anaphoric pronouns.

When pronouns occur in determination by apposition, it is the pregnant forms, *Yu*, *Woo*, *Ruu*, and *Chyi* that occur, and not the determinant forms *Jenn*, *Nae*, and *Jyue*.

The following is a conspectus of the pronominal system of EAC.

	Pregnant Form non-status	Status form	Determinant form	Appositional form
First person	余予	我朕	我朕	余予我
Second person	汝		乃	汝
Anaphoric pronouns	其/之		厥	其

NOTE. 1. For the determinant forms of the pronouns see 2.6.7.1. For the status form see 2.6.7.1, footnote 9. For the occurrence of pro-

nouns in appositional determination see 2.8. For the agential forms of the pronouns see 3.5.2, and also see 3.5.2, footnote 30, for a note on the post-verbal occurrence of pronouns. For a discussion of the anaphoric pronouns see 3.8. 3.8, Note, has a comment on the common origin of the pronouns and the particles of determination. For the deployment of the anaphoric pronouns in emphatic exposure see 3.11. For anaphora in the determinative sentence see 4.8.1.

NOTE. 2. It is a characteristic of EAC that the personal pronouns occur with a high rate of frequency. This is in marked contrast with LAC (see Table VI in Appendix II, and Dobson (1) 6.2 and Appendix III).

6.3. Status Pronouns

The status pronouns *woo* and *jenn* described in 6.2.1 occur in direct address. In indirect address personal names identify both the person speaking and the person addressed, as also do ranks, titles, and kinship terms.¹ The following examples illustrate, but do not exhaust, the occurrence of ranks, titles, and kinship terms, used as forms of address.

EXAMPLES

Wang (王) “king”; used in addressing Kings, “your majesty,” and by kings of themselves “I, the King . . .”

Gong (公) “duke”; used in addressing one holding this rank “Your Grace . . .”

Yin (尹) “governor”; used in addressing one in such a position.

Tay-bao (大保) “Grand Guardian”; used by one holding this position, of himself, or in addressing such a person.

Shiong (兄) “older brother”; “I, your older brother.”

Goa-shiong (寡兄) as above.

Jenn-chyi-dih (朕其弟) “You, my younger brother.”

Sheau-tzyy (小子) small/child “I, a child . . . “You, my child . . .”

Yu Dann . . . (予旦) “I Tan . . .”

Yu-sheau-chern (予小臣) “I, a petty servant . . .” (used in speaking to a senior).

¹ Though in translating examples, and illustrating usage, as in the examples above, the English pronouns “I” and “you” occur, this is simply because it is difficult to sustain discourse in English in a third person. Discourse passes from direct to indirect address very freely, from the use of status to non-status pronouns, all conveying an assumption or delegation of status, the nuance of which is difficult to convey in English. These forms of address are not, in fact, pronouns in a strict sense.

When discourse is indirect, forms of address such as the examples above are replaced by the anaphoric pronouns (and *not* the personal pronouns) when repetition is avoided.

6.4. The Demonstratives

The demonstratives are deictic in type, and do not distinguish number. They are *Tzy* (茲) *tsiæg and *Shyr* (時) *diæg. Where two objects are to be distinguished *tzy* or *shyr* refer to the object nearer to the point of reference, and *Bii* (彼) *pia, the further.²

EXAMPLES

Woo chyi kee bwu dah jian fuu yu shyr? (我其可不大監撫于時) "Can we fail to conform by seeing ourselves reflected in them?" (JG. 44.15).

Woo Shi-tuu shyr huh (我西土時怙) "We, in the Western Territories, relied on this" (KG. 38.17).

Gong gong fei dyi duu, woang bwu ruoh shyr (公功斐迪篤罔不若時) Grace/achievements/assistance/guidance/integrity/, in nothing/ [will I] not emulate/them "I will emulate your Grace's successes, helpfulness, teaching, and integrity in everything" (LG. 50.23).

Feng, Yeou shiuh shyr, nae dah ming fuu (封, 有敍時乃大命服) "Feng! If you do this in good order, then you will make your service very illustrious" (KG. 38.28).

Yueh jyue how wang how min, tzy fuu jyue ming... (越厥後王後民茲服厥命...) "As to the Kings and peoples who came after them, these served under their mandate, but..." (SG. 47.14).

The demonstratives occur in the time and place position, either singly, or in combination, in the sense of "at this time, now, then," or "at this place, here," or "at that place, there."

EXAMPLES

Tzy, yu chyi ming nong tzai, bii yuh woo min. (茲予其明農哉, 彼裕我民) "Here, I will attend with distinction to my husbandry, there, do you enrich our people" (LG. 50.19).

Tzy In duo shian jer wang tzay Tian. (茲殷多先哲王在天) "At that time, Yin's many wise kings of former years, were [already] in Heaven" (SG. 47.14).

Yueh tzy, choen. (越茲蠢) "By this time, they [the people] are seething" (DG. 34.20).

Chyi tzyh-shyr jong yih (其自時中乂) "If, henceforward, you rule as at the centre..." (LG. 54.2).

² Both *tzy* and *shyr* occur as determinant words (see 2.6.7.2) and both determine proper names (see 2.6.5). They also occur as conjunctions (see 5.4 ff.).

The demonstratives substitute anaphorically, with the copula (*shyr-wei*) "this is" for the determined term of a determinative sentence (see 4.8.1). They also substitute, often in combination with *wei*, that is, *wei-shyr* "Because of this," in cause and consequence sequences (see 4.9).

Tzy occurs in combination with *ruoh*, that is, *ruoh-tzy* before verbs, in the sense of "in this manner, in such a manner, thus" (see 3.3.3.1). *Ruoh-tzy* occurring before nouns is used in the sense of "of this kind, of such kind, such."

EXAMPLES

Jianq ruoh-tzy dah sanq (降若茲大喪) "Sent down [upon him] such great destruction" (DS. 54.18).

Buu chern wei ruoh-tzy (卜陳惟若茲) "What my oracles show, is such [as I have just described]" (DG. 38.13).

The demonstrative may be omitted.

Ruoh der, yuh nae shen (若德裕乃身) "Such virtue, will enrich your person" (KG. 38.22).

Wey chyi yeou ruoh ruu Feng jy shin (未其有若汝封之心) "There has never been one with a heart like yours, Feng" (KG. 41.5).

Syh ruoh gong (嗣若功) "We have inherited such merit" (SG. 47.26).

The following is a conspectus of the roles and deployment of the demonstratives.³

(a) in syntagma

A (*tzy/shyr*) → B "this ... these ..."¹

A (*ruoh*) → B (*tzy*) "thus, such"²

(b) in verbal sentence

T/P	Agent	Conj.	Verb	1st p.v.p	2nd p.v.p
X ³	X ⁴	X ⁵		X ⁶	X ⁶

(c) in determinative sentence

Determined Term Determinant Term

X—*wei*⁷

wei—X⁸

¹ See 2.6.7.2.

² See 3.3.3.1 and paragraph four above.

³ See above, paragraph two.

⁴ See above, paragraph one, example five

⁵ See 5.4.

⁶ See above, paragraph one.

⁷ See 4.8.1.

⁸ See 4.9.

³ *Shyr*—demonstrative, must not be confused with *shyr* "time" as, for example, in time position in *jin-shyr* "at present time," or in *nae-shyr* "your times," i.e., "your lease." *Shyr* in the time position may, however, be "at all times, constantly," as, for example, in *Woo shyr chyi wei In shian jer wang der* (我時其惟殷先哲王德) "We always think of the virtue of the former wise Kings of Yin..." (KG. 41.15).

6.5. The Interrogative Substitute

Questioning in EAC takes two forms. The first is a question inviting assent or dissent. This form differs in no way formally, either in texts or in inscriptions, from a simple indicative statement.⁴

The second form of questioning invites a material answer rather than a simple indication of assent or dissent, and the structure of the question is conditioned accordingly. The question is framed as a simple indicative statement, with the unknown element replaced by an interrogative substitute. The answer is a reiteration of the question, replacing the substitute with the material answer.

6.5.1. Interrogative Substitution in EAC -

EAC has two interrogative substitutes (conventional sign: □).⁵ These are *Her* (曷) *g'ât and *Hay* (害) *g'âd. They occur in contrastive distribution. *Her* occurs between agent and agent, and *Hay* in the instrumental position between agent and verb.⁶

⁴ Such questions are recognized as such purely by the sense of the context. They are not formally marked. It seems clear, however, that some differentiation must have been present, but it is not codified in the script. The pitch, pause, and stress patterns of EAC are irrecoverable, and the sentential particles expressive of intonation by which these forms are distinguished in LAC do not occur in EAC material. Thus *Jyue kao chyi keen iue*... (厥考其肯曰...') His/father/he/willing/say (α/|α/SA/β), does not differ formally from *Tian chyi shiang min* (天其相民) Heaven/it/helps/people (α/|α/β/γ) though the first, from context is clearly interrogative "Would such a father be prepared to say...?" and the second is indicative "Heaven is aiding the people!" (DG. 38.7 and DG. 38.1). It is features of this kind in EAC material which lead one to suppose that the sentential and stress particles of LAC may well be omitted from EAC material because the orthographic convention of representing them in the script had not yet begun, rather than supposing that they are absent as such in the language. The unmarked question has been commented upon by Yu Yueh (Yu (1), pp. 52-3), who gives instances of paraphrases of quotations from *Shu-ching* in later works where the sentential modal particles have been added.

⁵ There are only eight questions of this kind in the entire material. Each of these questions is rhetorical. It is not in the nature of the material that dialogue in the form of question and answer should occur. It may well be that the repertory and range of the interrogative substitutes in EAC is much wider than is reported above.

⁶ *Her* in this form of distribution is in comparable distribution with *wei-shyr* as, for example, in *Yu, wei-shyr, chyi chian jiu-shi eel* (予惟時其遷居西爾) 'I, for this reason, have transported and settled you here in the West' (DS. 54.22). *Her* thus substitutes in cause and consequence sequences, and asks, "For what cause? for what reason?" why?" *Hay* is in the instrumental position, and is thus in comparable distribution with LAC *her-yii* (何以) (see Dobson (1), 6.5.2.5).

EXAMPLES

Yu her chyi buh yu chyan ning-ren twu gong iou jong (予曷其不于前寧人圖功攸終) "How can I not put into effect the plans which the departed Kings brought to so successful a conclusion? (DG. 38.4).

Yu her gaan buh yu chyan ning-ren iou show shiou bih (予曷敢不于前寧人攸受休弼) "How can I not put into effect the grace and help received by me from the departed Kings? (DG. 38.5).

Syh, yu her gaan buw yueh arng mü ning-wang dah-ming? (肆予曷敢不越卬敕寧王大命) "And so, how dare I not, within my own lifetime, bring to realization the Great Charge of the blessed [i.e., deceased] royal kings?" (DG. 38.7).

Yu her gaan buh jong jenn muu (予曷敢不終朕畝) "How can I but complete the work in my fields? (DG. 38.11).

Yu her chyi jyi buu, gaan fwu yu tsornng (予曷其極卜敢弗于從) "How dare I, having consulted the oracle, not go and obey it?" (DG. 38.12).

Bang jiang hay jyi (邦將害吉) "What will it bode for the State?" (lit: State/will/by what?/have-good-fortune) (MGD).

Wang hay buh wei buu (王害不違卜) "Why does the King not disobey the oracle?" (DG. 34.25).

NOTE. There is a single occurrence in the material of *nay-her* (奈何). It is as follows. *U-hu, her chyi nay-her fwu jinq* (嗚呼曷其奈何弗敬) "Oh, why should we not revere him?" (SG. 47.13). Here *nay-her* is tautologous, and is perhaps a gloss on *her*, which has become incorporated in the text?

6.6. The Indefinite Substitute

The indefinite substitutes *Iou* (攸) *diôg and *Dyi* (迪) *d'iôk substitute for elements known, but referred to indefinitely (conventional sign: □). They occur in EAC material exclusively in the distribution, agent/□/verb, where, at □ there occur elements which, if indefinite substitution were not used, would occur in either of the two post-verbal positions. In this usage, the use of the indefinite substitute "downgrades" a verbal sentence to a syntagma.

EXAMPLES

Jenn iou jih (朕攸濟) I/place-which/cross "a place whereat I might cross" as, for example, in *Yu wei woang chyow jenn iou jih* (予惟往求朕攸濟) "I would go and seek a place whereat I might cross" (DG. 34.18).

Eel duo-shyh iou fwu (爾多士攸服) You/the Knights/place-which/serve/, as, for example, in *Yih, wei eel duo-shyh iou fwu, ben-tzouu chern woo* (亦惟爾多士攸服奔走臣我) "And too, to whatever offices you knights are appointed, serve

me [therein] as loyal subjects" (DS. 54.28).

Maa syh pi iou lhei (馬四匹攸勤) Horse/four/instances of/that by which/harnessed "Harness for a team of four" (MGD).

Eel iou jiu (爾攸居) "the place in which you are to dwell" (DS. 57.3).

Jyue iou jwo (厥攸灼) "that which it [fire] burns" (LG. 50.14).

Tian dyi tzornng, tzyh bao (天迪縱字保) "those whom heaven indulged, and protected as its own children" (SG. 47.16).

Tian dyi ger bao (天迪格保) "Those who were raised by Heaven and placed under its protection" (SG. 47.17).

6.7. Conspectus of Interrogative and Indefinite Forms

<i>Interrogative</i>	<i>Indefinite</i>
曷 g'ât	攸 diôg
害 g'ád	迪 d'iòk

VII. Miscellaneous

7.1. Degrees of Comparison

The sole example in the material of comparative degree is the occurrence of *sheen* (矧) *'sian, used conjunctively in the sense of "more so, less so."¹

EXAMPLES

Sheen, jin, tian jianq lih yu Jou-bang (矧今天降戾于周邦) "And even more so now that Heaven is [about to] send down retribution upon the State of Chou" (DG. 38.10).

Sheen ruu gang jyh jeou (矧汝剛制酒) "Even more so [in your own case, should] you rigidly discipline yourself in respect to wine" (JG. 44.18).

Sheen iue chyi yeou neng ji mou tzyh tian (矧曰其有能稽謀自天) "Still more so do I say 'May he be enabled to discover the plan from Heaven'" (SG. 47.18).

Sheen iue chyi yeou ting niann yu shian wang chyn jia (矧曰其有聽念于先王勤家) "Still less could it be said that he would listen to or care about the diligence of the former Kings on behalf of his House" (DS. 54.17).

7.2. Status

The influence upon the language of status (i.e., the respective social or hierarchical standing of the speaker and the person addressed) affects the use of pronouns (see 2.6.7.1 and 6.2, and 6.3).²

Status governs the use of quantifiers (see 2.6.7.4.4), and of the determinants of degree of the verb (see 3.2). There is, too, a series of

¹ LAC is replete with examples of the syntactical means (verb, with object in comparison with which degree is greater in the second post-verbal position) and periphrastic means, by which comparison in a greater or in the superlative degree is made (see Dobson (1), 7.1). In EAC, none of these occur. *Sheen* is peculiar to EAC. It seems probable that this absence is more a reflection on the nature of the material than evidence of a feature of EAC.

² But observe that the pronouns, which in LAC occur with a very low rate of frequency, occur in EAC with a high rate of frequency, particularly in the use of the second person *ruu* (see Appendix II, Table VI).

attributes, *min* (昃) before *tian* (天) "Heaven," *hwang* (皇) before kings, queens, etc., and *tzuen* (尊) before sacred things, which occur with a frequency which suggests convention rather than the exigencies of description.

7.3. The Use of *Meei*

Meei (每) *mwəg, "each, every," occurs once in the material before the verb but it determines the element that appears post-verbally.

EXAMPLE

Meei yang wang shiou yu tzuen (每陽王休于樽) "I have recorded each of the King's graces upon [this] sacral vessel" (DFG).

This differs from the tactical deployment of *meei* in LAC (see Dobson (1), 7.3).

7.4. Unaccounted Items

The word 廡 or 戲, the pronunciation of which is not known, occurs four times in inscriptions as follows:

- (1) *Tzay yueh yuh-shyh—jeou wu gaan shen* (在粵御事戲酒無敢醺) "As to those in the administration, when? assisting=offering wine, none dared get drunk" (DYD).
- (2) *Wang fa †Luh-tzyy †Sheng—jyue faan, wang jianq jeng ling yu Tay-bao* (王伐录子耶, 廡厥反, 王降征令于大保) "The King attacked Sheng, the Baronet of Lu. Prior to this he had rebelled. The King issued the decree to attack him to the Grand Guardian" (TBG).
- (3) *Goei-fang—yii shin—tsornq Shang* (鬼方廡以新口從商) "The *Kuei-fang*, prior to this, together with the new?, were followers of Shang" (SYD).
- (4) —*Dong-shy dah faan* (戲東尸大反) "Prior to this, the Eastern Tribes had rebelled" (SCG).

In (1), 戲 is clearly a verb and is read by Chern Menq-jia as 助. In (2), (3), and (4), my suggestion would be that the sign should be read 徂 *dz'io, "in the past," "prior to this," in which case it would be the EAC equivalent of *chu* (初) *ts'io.

7.5. Number

The account given of the number system of LAC in Dobson (1) 7.6,

holds good for EAC. The particle of co-ordination in EAC is, however, *yow* (又) and not *you* (有) as in LAC. To the multiples of ten, viz. *bae* (100), *chian* (1,000), and *wann* (10,000) should be added *yih* (億) (100,000) (LG. 50.10).

VIII. Texts from EAC Authors

8.1. Introduction

The documents and inscriptions which follow comprise the sample upon which the analysis of Early Archaic Chinese in this work has been made. For the inscriptions, a reproduction either of a rubbing or of a photograph is given of the inscription itself, a transliteration into modern Chinese characters (which establishes the interpretation which has been followed in this work), a romanized version, a "literal" translation, and a "free" translation have been given. For the literary material, a romanized version, a "literal" and a "free" translation only have been given, since texts are readily available. The references in the translations are to the page and line numbers in the text of Karlgren (2).

8.1.1. On Translation

"Literal" translation is intended purely to enable the reader to identify elements in a structure. "Free" translation is intended to give the reader otherwise unfamiliar with Archaic Chinese some notion of what the text is about. These translations are not intended as comment upon, or illustration of, grammatical features. They are intended to serve merely the purposes specified.

These translations should not be taken to reflect any profound historical or archaeological study on the author's part. Effort has been taken to ensure that the interpretations reflect authoritative opinion, but this is not their prime purpose. Some of the devices used in translation might mislead. The ranks of nobility, for example, have been translated as "Duke," "Earl," "Baronet," etc., in the belief that some sense of the hierarchical relation of these ranks is thereby conveyed to the occidental reader, but otherwise they must be taken as a mere *façon de parler*. Similar accommodations have been used for other political terms. "Throne" is used for *wey*, in full awareness of its inappro-

priateness, *faute de mieux*. Nobles *jyi wey* "take up their positions" (a standing position) but the King asks for protection for himself *tzay wey* "while at my position" which sounds facetious, so it is translated "upon the Throne." It may well be that some technical solecisms have been perpetrated in interpreting certain terms for sacrifices and for sacrificial paraphernalia and other technicalities, particularly in the long list of "spare parts" of a chariot, described as part of the King's gift in the *Mau-gong Diing*. In such contexts, for the grammarian's purpose, it is sufficient that nounal or verbal usage is established, the precise lexicographical value of the noun or verb being of minor importance. That is not to say that the texts have been treated casually, but that very real and, as yet, unresolved problems exist in the sphere of lexicography and of epigraphy, though they are not of a kind to inhibit grammatical analysis.

Certain signs, particularly personal names and place names, are unknown to existing lexicons or in the modern language. In order to provide a reading for such signs, reconstructed readings, made on the analogy of similar signs, are sometimes given, but this must not be taken as reflecting serious phonological research. It is merely an accommodation made for the purpose of description in this work. Such reconstructions are marked with a dagger thus, † *gan*.

Wherever there is a problem of a technical linguistic kind discussed, the *Gwoyue Romatzyh* system for transliterating Chinese is used, but in free translation for place and personal names, the Wade-Giles system is used, in which guise many of these names have already become familiar to Western readers.

At certain points in the text of an inscription, a sign or group of signs may, through deterioration, be unreadable, or a sign which is decipherable may be uninterpretable. In such cases, their presence is indicated by two full points for each sign in the translation, thus . . .

8.1.2. The Date of the Material

The material of the sample is all attributable to the first sixty years of the Chou Dynasty. The Chou Dynasty began in 1027 B.C.,¹ con-

¹Most scholars now accept this date, though the traditional date of 1122 B.C., and others, for example, 1050 B.C., still have their proponents.

tinued as "Western Chou" until the removal of the Capital in 771 B.C., after which it was known as Eastern Chou until its collapse in 256 B.C.

Within this sixty years, it is possible to arrange the material into some sort of chronological sequence, but to make this sequence meaningful, it will first be necessary to sketch briefly certain of the historical events of the period to which the materials relate and by which they can be approximately dated.

8.1.3. The Material in History

King Wen, to whom frequent reference is made both in inscription and in document, was a vassal of the Shang (or Yin)² Kingdom, against whose last king, Chou, King Wen revolted. Chou was deposed by King Wen's son, King Wu, who set himself up in his place. The Shangs, it was believed, ruled over the world by direct rule in their own domain, at its centre, and by vassalage over the "States of the Four Quarters." This they did under a "charge" which it was thought they held from Heaven. Heaven, as it were, enfeoffed them with the world and they, as the vice-regents of God on earth, in their turn gave "charges" to their liegemen and vassals. When King Wu vanquished the last Shang king and put himself in his place, he believed that the "charge" of Heaven had been transferred to him. The "charge" is the Mandate of Heaven which figures so prominently in the material.

This essentially political concept—the "charge" to the fief-holder—was thus projected into the sphere of religion, for "Heaven" (*Tian*) and the Supreme Deity (*Shang-dih*) are synonymous. The King thus ruled, to borrow not too inappropriately from English history, by Divine Right. The sanction of the institution was religious, but it had all the practical force of secular law. The "charge" was the basis of tenure, both of property and of social and hierarchical standing. The King's "charges" were titles to property and patents of rank but, too, they were injunctions, expressions of the King's wishes. A "charge" thus had, in several senses, what we would call the force of law. In this sense, all of the documents are "charges" and so, too, is the subject matter of the inscriptions. One of the purposes of the inscriptions

²Both names occur in inscriptions and documents, but inscriptions speak of Yin as a kingdom and Shang as its capital city.

cast on bronze vessels was "to place on record the King's charge" (see, for example, inscription no. 5).

Often, though not invariably,³ the vessel was dedicated to an ancestor, and used in worship, thus "registering," as it were, the charge in Heaven.

REIGN OF KING WU (1027-1025 B.C.)⁴

The newly acquired domains over which King Wu ruled were divided into the Eastern and Western Territories. The Western Territories included the region in which his ancestral holding as a vassal of the Shang had been situated. The Eastern Territories were the erstwhile domestic domain of the Shangs and the states of their vassals to the north, east, and south.

In the Eastern Territories, King Wu had set up, as a local ruler, Wu-k'eng, a scion of the Shang Royal house. He also placed several of his own brothers in feudal holdings in the vicinity. Three of those brothers were charged as *chien* "overseers." Of them, one brother, Hsien became the *Shu* (lit: "a younger in a series of brothers" and thus as a title "brother to the King") of Kuan, and another, Tou, the *Shu* of Ts'ai.

With his own brothers in the Eastern Territories, King Wu retained his brother Tan, the Duke of Chou, and a (?) cousin Shih, Duke of Shao, in the Western Territories.

MATERIALS OF KING WU'S REIGN

The *Dah Feng Goei* (inscription no. 1) describes a grant made to an official who assisted King Wu in the sacrifices and ceremonies at the Moated Mound, where King Wu sacrificed to his father, King Wen, and to God Most High, thus establishing himself as the "Son of Hea-

³The *Ling Goei* (see inscription no. 4) is, however, said specifically to have been made for secular purposes, though this is unusual in the period.

⁴The exact dates for the early Western Chou reign periods are unknown. The dates here given for Kings Wu, Ch'êng, and K'ang are from a useful working hypothesis devised by Ch'ên Meng-chia (see Chern (1), p. 138) and are compatible with what evidence we have of the chronology of this period. A vessel of King K'ang's time has "in the twenty-third year of the King," and another "in the thirty-fifth year of the King" (see inscriptions 13 and 14).

ven''⁵ and Heaven's regent upon earth.

The *Kang Gaw* (document no. 1) (excluding the opening paragraph) is a charge addressed by King Wu to "Feng, senior among Lords, my younger brother, but a mere child." Feng became Lord of K'ang and later, under King Ch'êng, and after the Wu-kêng rebellion, became Lord of Wei. He is known to history as K'ang-shu.⁶

The *Jeou Gaw* (document no. 2) is also a charge addressed to Feng, citing an older charge of King Wen, upon the folly of drunkenness. The young Chou prince and his officers are threatened with severe penalties if they offend, but the people of Shang, being allegedly habitual addicts, are to be treated "at least for the time being" with leniency. They are to be "taught rather than punished."

REIGN OF KING CH'ÊNG (1024-1005 B.C.)

King Wu's reign was short-lived. He was succeeded by a son, who ruled as King Ch'êng. King Ch'êng's uncle, the Duke of Chou, acted as his regent, because, at his accession, Ch'êng was a minor. Two events of his reign figure largely in the material. The first is the rebellion in the Eastern Territories, in which Wu-kêng, the scion of the Shang House, two members of the Chou Royal House, the *Shu* of Kuan and the *Shu* of Ts'ai (whom, it will be remembered, were enfeoffed in his vicinity with the purpose of preventing just such a happening), the States of the Yi people of the Shantung peninsula, and the Huai River valley, and of the Jung, further south, were all implicated. The rebellion was put down in the "Eastern campaign" and "after three years, the Eastern Territories were peaceful once again."⁷

The second event of prominence in the texts is the building of the new capital for the Eastern Territories after the rebellion. The site chosen was Lo (in the vicinity of modern Lo-yang). Here, in one symbolic act, the "knights of Yin that remain" were transferred from the old Shang cities, where subversion had been festering, to a "new city" where they were to become a "new people"—subjects of the Chou.

⁵The title *Tian-tzyy* (天子) first occurs in bronze inscriptions in King Ch'êng's time (see Chern (2), p. 106).

⁶The title *shu* is unknown to early texts and inscriptions. A vessel cast by the Lord of K'ang, now in the possession of Dougal Malcolm, Esq., refers to him as *K'ang-hou* "The Lord of K'ang."

⁷See inscription no. 2.

MATERIAL OF KING CH'ÊNG'S REIGN

The rebellion of the Eastern Territories figures very prominently. The *Dah Gaw* (document no. 3) gives the charge sent out to all vassals and feudatories in the name of the child-king, Ch'êng, summoning a reluctant people to partake in a "campaign of correction" in the East against "Yin's banished and fugitive servant"⁸ Wu-kêng. Some famous generals took part in this war and made great reputations. Certain of them and their subordinate officers recorded their deeds and decorations on commemorative or sacral vessels. The Duke of Mao, a grandson of King Wen, distinguished himself in battle against the Jung, and an officer of his recorded⁹ that his battles were known as "the Great Campaign." Po-mao-fu, commanding eight armies of still-loyal Yin men, led the campaign against the Shantung coastal states, going by way of the "Eastern Slopes" of T'ai-shan to the sea. An officer of his recorded a decree of the King awarding "cowries to all who had taken part in the campaign from Wu-yeh ["the Five Saltings"] onwards."¹⁰ Po-ting-fu, mentioned on an inscription¹¹ as conferring an award "in the field" to the Recorder Ts'ê-ling, led the attack on the Earl of Ch'u. The King and the Duke of Chou led the attack on the stronghold of Wu-kêng himself. A Grand Guardian engaged the Baronet of (?) Lu in battle. The Grand Guardian mentions this for this year was the occasion of a grant of land to him.¹² The pacification of the Eastern Territories took some three years. At least one Feudal Lord at about this time swore anew his oath of allegiance to the House of Chou and placed it on record on a *kuei* dedicated to the Duke of Chou.¹³

The building of a new capital in the Eastern Territories was undertaken under the supervision of the Grand Guardian, the Duke of Shao, and the Regent, the Duke of Chou. The *Luoh Gaw*, *Shaw Gaw*, and the first paragraph of the *Kang Gaw*¹⁴ record the details. In the *Luoh Gaw* there is a series of reports and charges exchanged between the King and his Regent, the Duke of Chou, relating to the new city. In

⁸Such is the way he is described in *Dah Gaw*.

⁹Inscription no. 2.

¹⁰Inscription no. 3.

¹¹Inscription no. 4.

¹²Inscription no. 5.

¹³See inscription no. 6.

¹⁴Documents nos. 4, 5, and 1.

the *Shaw Gaw* exchanges of gifts and salutations between the Duke of Shao and the Duke of Chou are recorded on the occasion of the completion of the City's foundations and also a "charge" read by the Duke of Chou.

In *Duo Shyh*¹⁵ the Duke of Chou addresses a "charge" to the "remnants of Yin" now accommodated in the new city. In the *Luoh Gaw*, towards the end, the King promises to appoint a successor to the Duke of Chou, by this time presumably of great age, and who gives both in the *Luoh Gaw* and in the *Shaw Gaw* a hint of his wish to retire.¹⁶ This successor was duly appointed. He was the Guardian of Ming, a son of the Duke of Chou. On the occasion of his appointment and installation in office, the Recorder charged with the duty of announcing this in the Palace of the Duke of Chou, was rewarded for doing so and records this on a bronze vessel.¹⁷

It is not thought that King Ch'êng's reign was a long one. In the bronzes of his and his successor's reigns there is very little stylistic change. He came to the Throne as a child and reigned for some twenty years. He married and his Queen, Chiang, is mentioned in several inscriptions. In one, one of her attendants records that he received a grant of land as a reward for a service rendered to her.¹⁸ Apart from the two major happenings previously described, both of which took place in the Eastern Territories, some light is thrown by our material on events taking place in the Western capital. There was the Great Assembly at Tsung-chou, in which the convenors, as a reward, were given wine and cowries to sacrifice to their ancestors, and they record this award on a bronze.¹⁹ A noble rewards a plenipotentiary for a grace received from the King.²⁰ The commissioning by the King of a Grand Annalist is described, in which the Grand Annalist, in turn, charges his subordinates with their duties. One of these subordinates records that he was awarded a gift of horses on that occasion.²¹

¹⁵Document no. 6.

¹⁶See footnote 53.

¹⁷Inscription no. 7.

¹⁸See inscription no. 8.

¹⁹See inscription no. 9.

²⁰See inscription no. 10.

²¹See inscription no. 11.

REIGN OF KING K'ANG (1004-967 B.C.)

There is a paucity of literary documents belonging to the reign of King K'ang, but this is compensated for, in part, by the length and detail of the inscriptions that were made during his lifetime. To this period, the three longest and most important of all bronze inscriptions of the Western Chou period belong. As the young king "begins to put into effect the Mandate of his Royal Ancestors," he charges the Duke of Mao with the duties of Prime Minister²² describing affectingly the perils and loneliness and the burden that falls upon the holder of the Mandate of Heaven. The list of gifts made by the King to the Duke of Mao on that occasion reads almost like an antiquarian's catalogue. Close to King K'ang was Yü, who "held high position when the King was at his first school," probably as the young Prince's tutor. He records upon two tripods charges received by him in the twenty-third and thirty-fifth years of the King's reign. The earlier charge appoints him to a senior post in the government, on which occasion he is given a very large grant of retainers, servants, and slaves. The later charge records the distinction which Yü has achieved as a general in the campaigns against the Kuei-fang, for which he receives a Royal award. Preceding the "charge," he records a vivid description of the ceremonies at Court, when victorious generals returned from battle with their captives and booty, were received in audience, reported to the King, sacrificed their principal prisoners in the Ancestral Temple, and were feasted and rewarded. The format of this inscription is very like the format of the *Luoh Gaw* and *Shaw Gaw*, where a chronicle of events precedes the recording of the "charge." If there is any doubt that the format of the literary documents is not attested with parallels in contemporary inscriptions, the inscription on the *Sheau Yu Diing* should remove it.

DRUNKENNESS

One of the themes that recurs throughout the material is the injunction against drunkenness. It was first given as a charge by King Wen,²³ cited and reiterated by King Wu in a charge to the Lord of K'ang,²⁴

²²See inscription no. 12.

²³See *Jeou Gaw*.

²⁴See *K'ang Gaw*.

and is the subject of the charge to the Lord of K'ang,²⁵ and of an injunction of King K'ang to the Duke of Mao,²⁶ and, finally, it is repeated as a charge, both of King Wen and of King Wu, by King K'ang to Yü.²⁷ Excess in the use of wine is given as the cause of the downfall of Yin, the people of Yin, as addicts, being treated more leniently under the law for drunkenness than were their Chou counterparts. There is an appreciable decline in the number of wine vessels cast after the reign of King K'ang, so that the prohibition, which did not itself include "wine for sacrificial purposes," seems gradually to have made itself felt even in the religious sphere.

SUMMARY -

In the table which follows, the sequence of Kings and of the events in their reigns is matched against the subject matter of the documents and inscriptions of the sample material. All of the material falls within a sixty-year period. Within that period dating is merely relative, though if, as seems probable, the two latest inscriptions were cast in the same year as the events they describe, they can be dated approximately 991 B.C. and 969 B.C., assuming, of course, that the Chou's came to power in 1027 B.C. and that King K'ang took the Throne in 1004 B.C.

8.1.4. Texts from Literary Sources

8.1.4.1. Document No. 1

THE KANG GAW (KG)

A CHARGE GIVEN BY KING WU TO FENG, THE *Shu* OR *Hou*
(LORD) OF K'ANG

(The text is that of Karlgren; see Karlgren (2), pp. 38-41)

Romanization

[38.14] *Wei san yueh, tzai* [read *tzæ*]-sheng-poh, *Jou-gong chu ji tzuoh shin dah yih yu Dong-gwo Luoh, syh-fang min dah* [15] *her-huey. Hour, diann, nan bang, tsæ wey, bæ-gong, boh-min her, jiann, shyh yu Jou. Jou-gong shyan chyn. Næ horng dah-gaw jyh.*

²⁵See *Jeou Gaw*.

²⁶See *Mau Gong Ding*.

²⁷See *Dah Yu Ding*.

*TABLE I
THE MATERIAL IN HISTORY

King	Main Events	Source Documents	Other Events	Source Documents
Wu 1027-1025 B.C.	1027 B.C. Conquest of Shang. Wu enthroned and his brothers enfeoffed Regency of Duke of Chou	KG. (less first paragraph) JG.	King Wu worships at the Moated Mound	DFG.
Ch'eng 1024-1005 B.C.	The Eastern Campaign (Rebellion of Wu-k'eng) The new capital of the Eastern Territories built at Lo	DG. BAG. SCG. LQG. TBG.	Marries Queen Chiang Renewals of allegiance	SYC. JHG.
	(?) 1018—Regency ends	LG. DS. SG. KG. (first paragraph)	Great Assembly in West New T'ai-shih appointed	SSH. TTY.
K'ang 1004-967 B.C.	Campaign against Kuei-fang	LG. LFY. SYD.	Earl of Lu favoured Duke of Mao becomes Premier Yü appointed to high office	SHG. MGD. DYD.

[16] Wang ruoh iue, "Menq-hour!, jenn chyi dih!, sheau-tzyy!, Feng! Wei, nae pi shean kao Wen-wang keh ming der, shenn far. Buh gaan [17] wuu guan-goa. Iong-iong, jy-jy, uei-uei, shean min. Yonq jaw tzaw woo chiu Shiah. Yueh woo i-ell bang, yii shiou, woo Shi-tuu [18] shyr huh. Maw wen yu Shanq-dih, Dih shiou. Tian nae dah minq Wen-wang yih rong In, dann show jyue minq. Yueh jyue bang jyue [19] min, wei shyr, shiuh. Nae goa-shiong shiuh, syh ruu, sheau-tzyy, Feng tzay tzy Dong-tuu."

Wang iue "U-hu Feng! ruu niann tzai! Jin, [20] min jiang tzay jy yuh nae wen kao, shaw wen i [read i] der yan. Woang fu chyou yu In shian jer wang, Yonq bao-yih min. Ruu [21] pi yeuan wei Shang goou cherng ren, jair [read duoh] shin jy shiunn. Bye, chyou wen you guu shian jer wang, yonq kang bao min, [suppress horng yu (22) Tian] horng [read horng] fuh yu Tian. Ruoh der yuh nae shen. Bwu fey tzay wang minq."

Wang iue "U-hu, sheau-tzyy, Feng! donq-guan [23] nae shen, jinq tzai. Tian wey fei chern. Min chyang dah kee jiann. Sheau-ren nan bao. Woang jinn nae shin. Wu kang, [suppress haw yih yuh and replace with] haw [24] yih, nae chyi yih min. Woo wen iue, yuann bwu tzay dah, yih bwu tzay sheau. Huey bwu huey, maw bwu maw. Yii! ruu wei sheau-[25] tzyy. Nae fwu wei horng, Wang ing bao In min, yih wei juh wang jair Tian minq, tzuoh shin min."

Wang iue "U-hu Feng! Jinq [26] ming nae far. Ren yeou sheau tzuoy, fei sheeng, nae wei jong, [tzyh tzuoh buh-dean, shyh-eel]²⁸ yeou jyue tzuoy sheau, nae buh kee buh sha. [27] Nae yeou dah tzuoy, fei jong, nae wei sheeng [tzai, shyh-eel], jih daw jyi jyue gu, shyr nae buh kee sha."

Wang iue, "U-hu! [28] Feng! Yeou shiuh shyr, nae dah ming fwu. Wei min [suppress chyi la] read chyi lih maw her. Ruoh yeou jyi, wei min chyi bih chih jiow. Ruoh [41.1] bao chyh-tzyy, wei min chyi kang yih. Fei ruu, Feng, shyng ren sha ren, wu huoh [huoh²⁹] shyng ren sha ren. Fei ruu, [suppress Feng (2) you iue] read Feng, yih [suppress ell ren] read yueh ren, wu huoh [huoh—see above] yih [suppress ell]

²⁸ Passage within brackets "He himself does something illegal, deliberately" is tautologous—perhaps a gloss which has become incorporated in the text, and so similarly in line 27.

²⁹ Karlgren's emendation here seems forced, and I read with *textus receptus*.

yueh ren. Wang iue 'Way shyh, ruu chern shyr [3] nieh sy, shy tzy In far yeou luenn.' Yow iue, 'Yaw chyou, fwu niann wuu liow ryh. Jyh yu shyun shyr, pi bih yaw chyou.' [4] Wang iue 'ruu chern shyr nieh shyh, far bih In yi. Yonq chyi yih shyng yih sha. Wuh iong [suppress yii tsyh ruu] read yii jyi ruu Feng. Nae [5] ruu jinn shiunn.' Iue 'shyr shiuh,' wei iue 'wey yeou shiunn shyh.' Yii! ruu wei sheau-tzyy, wey chyi yeou ruoh ruu Feng jy shin. Jenn [6] shin, jenn der, wei nae jy. Farn min tzyh der tzuoy, kow raang, jian goei, sha yueh ren, yu huoh, miin bwu wey syy, woang fwu [7] duey."

Wang iue, "Feng, yuan wuh dah duey, sheen wei bwu-shiaw buh-yeou. Tzyy fwu jy fwu jyue fuh shyh, dah shang jyue kao shin. [8] Yu fuh, buh neng tzyh jyue tzyy, nae jyi jyue tzyy. Yu dih fwu niann Tian shean, nae fwu keh gong jyue shiong. Shiong, yih, bwu niann [9] jy-tzyy ai, dah buh yeou yu dih. Wei diaw tzy, buh yu woo jenq-ren der-tzuoy, Tian wei yeu woo min yi, dah miin-luann. [10] Iue, 'Nae chyi suh you Wen-wang tzuoh far, shyng tzy. Wu sheh.' Bwu shuay, dah jya. Sheen wei way shuh tzyy shiunn ren, wei jyue [11] jenq-ren yueh sheau-chern ju jye. Nae bye boh-fu tzaw, min dah yuh fwu niann fwu iong, guan jyue jiun. Shyr nae yiin wuh. Wei [12] jenn duey. Yii! ruu nae chyi suh, you tzy yih, shuay sha. Yih wei jiun, wei jaang, buh neng [=ning] jyue jia-ren yueh sheau-chern, [13] way jenq, wei uei, wei niueh, dah fanq wang minq, nae fei-der yonq yih. Ruu, yih, woang bwu keh jinq dean, nae you yuh min. [14] Wei Wen-wang jy jinq jih, nae yuh min, iue, 'Woo wei yeou jyi tzer, yu-i-ren yii yih.' Wang iue 'Feng! shoang wei min [15] dyi jyi kang.' Woo shyr chyi wei In shian jer wang der yonq kang yih min. Tzuoh chyou. Sheen jin, min, woang dyi, bwu shyh. Buh dyi, [16] tzer woang jenq tzay jyue bang. Wang iue 'Feng! yu wei buh kee bwu jiann gaw ruu der jy shuo yu far jy shinq.' Jin, wei [17] min bwu-jinq wey lih jyue shin, dyi leu wey torng, shoang, wei Tian chyi far jyi woo. Woo, chyi bwu yuann, wei jyue tzuoy wu tzay [18] dah yih wu tzay duo. Sheen iue, chyi shanq shean wen yu Tian?"

Wang iue "U-hu Feng! Jinq tzai. Wu tzuoh yuann. Wuh yonq fei- [19] mou, fei-yi. Bih, shyr chern. Pi tzer miin der, yonq kang nae shin. Guh nae der. Yeuan nae you yuh [read yuh]. Nae, yii, min [20] ning, buh ruu shya tean."

Wang iue "U-hu! Syh, ruu sheau-tzyy, Feng, wei minq buh yu

charng. Ruu niann tzai. Wu woo [21] tean sheang. Ming nae fwu minq. Gau nae ting, yonq kang yih min.”

Wang ruoh iue “Woang tzai! Feng. Wuh tih jinq. Dean ting jenn gaw. [22] Ruu nae, yii In min, shyh sheang.”

Literal Translation

[38.14] In|third|month,|in|tsai-sheng-p'o [period],|Duke of Chou began|lay foundations|make|new|great|city|in|Eastern Territories|Lo,|four-quarters|people|great|[15] assembly.|Hou,|tien,|nan [ranks]|States, |ts'ai|wei [grades], |various-craftsmen, |scattered-people|gathered,|in audience, |given duties|at|Chou.| Duke of Chou|all of them|urged.| Then|greatly|made grand proclamation|[of] work.|

[16] King|thus|spake,|"Senior-Lord!|your servant|his|younger brother!|child!|Feng!|True,|your|very|illustrious|father|King Wen|could|make-clear|power|make-sincere|laws.| Not|presume|[17] illtreat|widows-widowers.| Most consistent,|most respectful, |most awe-inspiring,|glorified|people.| So|began|create|our section|Hsia.| As to|our|few|states,|as result|became-orderly,|our|Western Territories|[18] on this|relied. |Seen|heard|by|God-most-high, |God|favoured.| Heaven|then|greatly|decreed|King Wen|destroy|great|Yin, |greatly|receive|their|mandate.| As to|their|states|their|[19] people, |on account of|this, |became orderly.| Then|your older brother|exerted himself,|thus|you,|child|Feng,|reside|this|Eastern Territory."|

King|say|"Oh|Feng!|you|think|[mood].| Today, |[20] people|will be|placed = disposed|respect|follow|your|gentle|father, |continue|obey|depend on|virtuous|words.| Go|everywhere|seek|from|Yin's|former|wise|Kings,|thereby|protect-control|people. |You [21]|most|far reaching|consider|Shang's|old|accomplished|men, |measure|minds|understand|teaching.| Elsewhere, |seek|knowledge|from|old|former|wise|kings, |thereby|pacify|protect|people, [suppress and read (22)=]|greatly [=greatly]|covered|by|Heaven.| Such|virtue|enrich|your|person.| Not|neglect|in|King's|commands."|

King|say|"Oh|child, |Feng!|make-painful = don't spare|[23] your|person,|be cautious|[mood].| Heaven|awe|is not|to be relied on = taken for granted.| People's|feelings|greatly|can be|seen.| People|difficult|protect.| Go|exhaust|your|mind.| May not|rest, |be addicted to|[24] idleness,|then|you|control|people.| I|hear|say,|resentment|not|repose|

great,|also|not|repose|small.| Be kind, |not|be kind,|be vigorous,|not|be vigorous.| Oh!|you|are|child.| [25] Your|duties|are|great, |King [=I]|respond to|protect|Yin's|people,|and too|may you|assist|me|make dwell = establish|Heaven's|mandate, |create|new|people."|

King|say,|"Oh|Feng!|carefully|[26] make lustrous|your|criminal|proceedings.| Man|has|small|crime,|is not|by chance|being-so|is|deliberate [self|does|not lawful|with purpose|like that], |though|his|crime|small|like-that|not|able|not|kill.| [27] Being-so|have|large|crime, |is not|deliberate, |being-so|is|by chance|[an accident, |so happened-like], |already|gone to|furthest-point|his|guilt, |thus|being-so|no|can|kill."|

King|said|"Oh!|[28] Feng!|should [you]|put-in-order|this, |then|greatly|make lustrous|service.| Then|people|they|exert effort|exert vigour|accord.| Just as|have|sickness, |then|people|they|all|abandon|faults.| Just as|[39.1] hold in arms|child, |then|people|they|quiet|controlled.| Is not|you, |Feng, |punish|men|kill|men, |there is not|any|punish|men|kill|men. |Is not|you, |[suppress Feng|(2) also|say]]|read Feng, |mutilate|[suppress mutilate|men] read mutilate|men, |there is not|any|[suppress doubt]|mutilate|[suppress mutilate] read mutilate|men. | King [=I]|say|"Outside|affairs|you|set out|these|[3] crime|matters, |learn from|these|Yin|laws|have|human relations."| Also|say,|"Summarize|case,|submit to|thought|five|six|days. |Reach|to|ten-day|time, |greatly|give verdict|summary|case."| [4] I|say,|"You|set out|these|crime|matters,|make charge|give verdict|Yin|custom.| Use|their|just|punishments|just|death penalties.| Do not|use|that by which|go to|you|Feng.| Then|[5] you|fully|compliant.| Say|"This|orderly,"|also|say|"Not yet|have|complied|affair."| Yes,|you|are|child,|not it|occur|like|you|Feng|→|heart.| My|[6] mind|my|virtue|are|by you|known.| All|people|of own volition|have|crimes, |robbers|thieves, |evildoers|traitors, |kill|overthrow|others,| go for|spoil, |forceful|not|fear|death,|none,|do not|[7] detest."|

King|said,|"Feng, |great|evildoers|so much|detested, |more so|is|unfilial|unbrotherly. |Sons|do not|respect|serve|their|fathers'|affairs,|greatly|injure|their|fathers'|heart.| [8] As to|father,|not|able|treat as son|his|son,|and so|grieves for|his|son.| As to|younger brother,|does not|think of|Heaven's|glory, |so|no|can|treat politely|his|older brother.| Older brother,|too,|not|think [9] child's|cry,|greatly|does

not/be friendly/to/younger brother./ Should/condole with/this, /not/by/our/officials/regard-as-guilty, /Heaven/will/upon/our/people's/customs/greatly/[bring] confusion./ [10] Say/Then/you/speedily/follow/King Wen's/made/laws,/punish/them./ Should not/pardon./ Do not/follow,/greatly/bring-to-rules./ How much more/should/outside/various/nobles/instruct/people,/and/their/[11] senior officials/and/minor officials/various/ranks./ Being-so/apart/promulgate/make,/people's/great approval/not/think of/not/avail of,/cause-trouble/their/rulers./ Thus/then/lead/evil./ [These] are [12]/I/detest./ Yes!/you/then/you/quickly,/follow/this/just-procedure/all/kill./ Too/being/rulers, /being/elders,/not/able= pacify/their/families/and/retainers, / [13] outside/officials,/being/stern,/being/cruel, /greatly/disregard/King/command,/so/contravirtue/by means of/govern./ You,/too,/in nothing/not/able/revere/statutes,/then/from this/enrich/people./ [14] Thinking/King Wen's/→/reverence/care,/thus/enrich/people,/say,/I/only/might/attain/model,/I/as-result/satisfied./ King/say/'Feng!/ In wrong/then/people/[15] lead/happiness/peace./ We/all time/we/think of/Yin's/former/wise/kings/virtue/thereby/peace/control/people./ Make/seek./ More so/now,/people,/if-were-not/led, /not/go./ Not/lead,[16] then/would not/be governed/in/their/states./ King/say/'Feng!/I/would/not/can/not/mirror/tell/you/virtue/→/principle/in/law/→/punishments./ Today,/when/[17] people/restless/not-yet/settled/their/minds,/guidance/often/not-yet/same,/fault,/then/Heaven/it/punish/death penalty/me./ I,/I/not/resent,/because/their/crimes/would not/be in/[18] great/and too/would not/be in/many./ How much more/say/they/still/plainly/heard/in/Heaven?'"

King/say/'Oh/Feng!/Revere/[mood]./ May [you] not/create/resentment./ Do not/use/contra- [19] advice/contra-custom./ Judicial decision,/then/be sincere./ Greatly/model/lively/virtue,/thereby/pacify/your/mind./ Look out for/your/virtue./ Be farsighted/your/plans/hopes./ So,/as result,/people/[20] peaceful,/not/you/banish/cut off./"

King/said/'Oh!/accordingly,/you/child,/Feng,/is so/mandate/not/in/perpetuity./ You/think/[mood]./ May [you] not/me/[21] cut off/enjoyment./ Bring lustre to/your/duty/charge./ Make-high/your/obedience,/as result/peace/govern/people./"

King/thus/say/'Go forth/[mood] /Feng./ Do not/substitute/reverence./Always/obey/my/proclamations./ [22] You/then,/together with/Yin/people,/hereditarily/enjoy./"

Free Translation

In the third month, the tsai-shêng-p'o period of the month, when the Duke of Chou began to work on the foundations in order to build a new capital in the Eastern Territories at Lo, the people of the [states of the] Four Quarters were brought together in a great assembly. Feudatories of the rank of hou, tien, and nan and of the status of ts'ai and wei, the skilled craftsmen in official positions, and miscellaneous people gathered, were received in audience, and assigned duties in Chou. The Duke of Chou urged all to work diligently. Then he made a grand proclamation of the work to be done.³⁰

Thus spake the King, "Senior among the Feudal Lords! My younger brother! My child! Feng! Truly, your illustrious father King Wen could manifest his 'power'³¹ and conscientiously apply the penal laws. He would not presume to maltreat widows and widowers. He was most consistent, most respectful, most awe-inspiring and glorified by the people. And so he created our division of the Hsia peoples.³² As to our [i.e., pre-Dynastic Chou's] few States, we became orderly as a result, and we in the Western Territories came to rely on this. It was seen and heard by God most high, and God bestowed his favour upon us. Heaven³³ then decreed that King Wen should destroy Great Yin and that he should receive its Mandate. With regard to the States and peoples of Yin, they, as a result, were restored to order. I, your older brother [that is, King Wu] exerted himself and so you, Feng, my child, are here in these Eastern Territories."

The King said, "Oh Feng! think carefully about this. Today, the people will be disposed to follow with respect your gentle forbear and to continue to obey him and depend upon his virtuous words. Go now

³⁰ This passage is thought by some to be part of the *LG*. (document no. 4). It is unconnected with the charge which follows.

³¹ This word, *der*, I sometimes translate as "power" and sometimes "virtue," though perhaps some term from anthropology such as "mana" would be more appropriate. Heaven's virtue does not refer to its ethical qualities, but to its *virtus*, its effectiveness or power. "Virtuous" as an attribute has the idea of "power-fraught" rather than that of "chaste."

³² Much later the Chinese referred to themselves ethnically as "the various Hsia." See, for example, *Analects* 3.5 (Waley (1), p. 95).

³³ "God" and "Heaven," as will be seen here and elsewhere, are used interchangeably. God (*dih*) is also referred to as *Shanq-dih* "the most high God," or "God, most high."

and seek everywhere [for advice] from among Yin's former wise rulers, that thereby you might govern so as to give protection to the people. You must consider most carefully Shang's old and accomplished men, taking the measure of their minds and understanding their teaching. Elsewhere, seek for knowledge from the former wise kings of antiquity that thereby you can protect and pacify the people [then you will in turn] be completely under the wing of Heaven. Such virtue [as King Wen had] will enrich your own person. You will not then be negligent in matters concerning the King's charges."

The King said, "Oh Feng, my child, do not spare yourself, proceed with caution. Heaven's majesty is not to be taken for granted. The feelings of the people are plain for all to see.³⁴ It is difficult to provide protection for the people. Go and exert your mind in doing so.³⁵ May you not let up, or become addicted to idleness, then you will control the people well. I have heard it said that resentment is resentment whether in big things or in small. Be kind, where you might not be kind, be vigorous, where you might not be vigorous. Yes! indeed, you are a child. Your duties are great, I have received and taken under my protection the people of Yin, so too, may you assist me in establishing the Mandate of Heaven, and thus create a new people."

The King said, "Oh Feng! With the utmost caution make your criminal proceedings distinguished. If a man commits a minor offence, which is not inadvertent but is of intent, though his offence be a minor one, you cannot but inflict the death penalty. But if he commits a major offence, not of intent, but inadvertently, then having thoroughly probed into his crime, you cannot inflict the death penalty."

The King said, "Oh Feng, if you do all this in good order, then you will make your service very illustrious. Then the people will exert every effort to be in accord with you. Just as in sickness, so will the people abandon all their faults. Just as an infant is held in the arms, so will the people be quiet and under control. If it is not you, Feng, who inflict punishment or the death penalty, then nobody will do so. If it is not you, Feng, who award mutilations as punishments, then nobody will. I say, 'In public affairs, when you set out matters concerning

³⁴ And Heaven, in its majesty, takes cognizance of the people's feelings.

³⁵ King Hui of Liang, in the fifth century, in a famous passage, protested that he "exerted his mind in the government," perhaps an echo of this verse. (See *Mencius* 1a.3.1.)

crime, follow those of the Yin laws which are humane.' And too, I say 'Having summarized a case, submit it to consideration for five or six days. Then, when the ten-day period is reached, give your verdict on the case.' I say, 'When you set out those matters concerning crime, make your charges and give your verdicts by Yin custom and usage. Use their punishments and death penalties which are just. Do not follow your own notions in this. Then you will have complied with all [my wishes].' [You may then properly] say 'This is done in a proper fashion,' but, too, [in modesty] say 'I have not complied in this matter [as I should].' Yes, you are a child, but there has never been one with a heart like yours Feng! My mind and my virtue are well known to you. All people who deliberately break the law, robbers and thieves, evildoers and traitors, those who murder and overthrow others, who go for spoil, the men of force who have no fear of death [the consequence of crime], none of these, but who are detested [by the people]."

The King said, "Feng, when great evildoers are so detested, how much the more will be the unfilial and unbrotherly? When sons do not respectfully serve in their fathers' affairs, it grieves their fathers' hearts. As to the father, he cannot treat his son as a son, but grieves over him. As to the younger brother he does not bear in mind the wrath of Heaven, and so cannot treat politely his older brother. The older brother, too, is oblivious to the young child's cry, and behaves in an unbrotherly manner to his younger brother. If we condone this and it is not treated as a crime by our officials, Heaven will bring upon the customs of our people great disorder. I say, 'May you hasten to follow the criminal code created by King Wen and punish them, do not pardon them.'³⁶ They do not comply and should be brought under the law. How much more so should the various nobles outside of the court who instruct the people and their senior officers and minor retainers of varying ranks [be brought under the law]. But when they, apart from your instruction, initiate and promulgate [laws of their own making] and do not think about or avail themselves of the consent of

³⁶ This paragraph, which is here italicized strikes a false note, at least to me. It makes contravention of the claims of filial piety and familial duty a crime worse than crime itself. The theme is familiar enough in the Confucian thought of the fifth century, but quite alien to the thought of the eleventh. I may well be wrong in this, but since the question arises, I have not included this passage in the linguistic sample.

the people, they bring trouble upon their rulers. If they act thus, it will lead to evil. These I detest. Indeed, you should at once, in accordance with the just procedure [previously outlined] kill them all. Those who, being rulers, being seniors, fail to keep peace in their families and among their retainers and local officials, being stern and cruel, are absolutely heedless of the King's commands, and so they govern by contra-virtue. If you, too, in everything treat the statutes with reverence, then you will bring prosperity to the people. Thinking of the care and caution of King Wen, you should enrich the people, saying, 'If only I could attain to the model [presented by King Wen], then, as a result, I should be satisfied.' I say, 'Feng, when in the wrong, the people should be led to happiness and security.' We always think of the virtue of the former wise kings of Yin that thereby we might govern so as to bring peace to the people. I seek for this. The more so when now the people, if guidance is not given, cannot proceed. If you do not give guidance, then they will not be well governed in their States. I say 'Feng, I must provide a mirror and tell you of the principles of virtue, in the carrying out of criminal proceedings.' Today, when the people are restless and not settled in their minds, when the guidance they get is frequently inconsistent, if the fault is mine, then Heaven will punish me with death. I will not resent this, because their crimes would not be a matter of enormity or of frequency [but of lack of guidance]. How much the more so when they [the people] are still plainly heard in Heaven?"

The King said, "Oh Feng, proceed with caution. May you not occasion resentment against yourself. Do not employ procedures contrary to custom and advice. When you make judicial decisions, let them be made with integrity. Take as a model in every way possible the lively virtue [of King Wen], and thereby maintain your mind in peace. Look out for your virtue. Be far-sighted in your hopes and plans. Then, as a result, you and the people will be happy, then I will not banish or cut you off."

The King said, "Accordingly, oh Feng, my child, it is so that the Mandate is not given in perpetuity. Think carefully about this. May you not be the occasion of our being cut off from its enjoyment. Bring lustre to your charge of duty. Make your obedience of the highest and, as a result, you will govern the people in peace."

Thus spake the King, "Go forth, Feng, do not do other than proceed with caution. Always obey my proclamations. Then from generation to generation, together with the Yin peoples, you [your house] will enjoy [your fief]."

8.1.4.2. Document No. 2

THE JEOU GAW (JG)

A PROCLAMATION TO THE LORD OF K'ANG CONCERNING THE DRINKING OF WINE

(The text is that of Karlgren; see Karlgren (2) pp. 41-4)

Romanization

[41.23] Wang ruoh iue "Ming dah-minq yu Mey-bang. Nae muh kao Wen-wang jaw gwo tzay Shi-tuu, [24] nae gaw-bih shuh-bang shuh-shyh yueh shao-jenq yuh-shyh, jau-shih iue 'Syh tzy jeou.' Wei Tian jianq minq, jaw, woo min wei, Yuan [25] Syh. Tian jianq uei. Woo min, yonq, dah luann sanq der. Yih, woang fei jeou wei shinq. Yueh sheau-dah bang, yonq sanq, yih, woang fei jeou wei [26] gu.

"Wen-wang gaw-jiau sheau-tzyy yeou-jenq yeou-shyh 'Wu yi jeou,' yueh shuh-gwo yiin, wei syh. Der jiang wu-tzuey.' [27] Wei, iue 'Woo min dyi, sheau-tzyy wei tuu-wuh ay.' Jyue shin tzanq, tsongting tzuu-kao jy yi-shiunn. Yueh sheau-dah der, sheau-tzyy [28] wei yi.

"Mey-tuu syh eel guu-gong [see footnote 39]. Chwen chyi yih shuu-jih, ben-tzoou shyh jyue kao jyue jaang, jaw chian che niou, yeuan, [44.1] fwu guu-yonq, shiaw-yeang jyue fuh-muu. Jyue fuh-muu chinq, tzyh shii tean, jyh yonq jeou.

"Shuh-shyh, yeou-jenq, yueh shuh-bor jiun-tzyy, [2] chyi dean ting jenn jiaw. Eel dah keh shiou goou, wei jiun. Eel nae yiin-shyr tzuey-bao. Pi wei iue eel keh yeong guan-shiing, [3] tzuoh chii, jong der, eel shanq keh shiou kuey syh. Eel nae tzyh jieh, yonq yih. Tzy, nae yeun-wei Wang [read] jenq shyh jy chern. Tzy, [4] yih, wei Tian ruoh yuan der, yeong bwu wanq tzay Wang jia."

Wang iue "Feng! Woo Shi-tuu fei-tzuu bang-jiun, yuh-shyh, sheau-tzyy, [5] shanq keh yonq Wen-wang jiaw, buh dean yu jeou, guh, woo, jyh-yu jin, keh show In jy minq."

Wang iue "Feng! Woo wen wei [6] iue tzay shyi, In shian jer wang

dyl, wey Tian, shean sheau-min. Jing der, biing jer. Tzyh Cherng-Tang, shyan jyh-yu Dih-Yii, cherng wang [7] wey. Shiang wei yuh-shyh. Jyue fei (*suppress* yeou-gong) yeou-gong (*read* gong), buh gaan tzyh shya, tzyh yih, sheen iue chy gaan chornng yiin. [8] Yueh tzay-way fwu, hour, diann, nan, wey, bang-bor, yueh tzay-ney fwu, bae-liau, shuh-yiin, wei-fwu-tzong-gong, yueh bae-shing, lii jiu, [9] woang gaan mean yu jeou. Buh wei buh gaan, yih buh shya, wei juh cherng wang der shean, yueh yiin ren jy bih.

“Woo wen [10] yih wei iue, tzay jin, how-syh-wang shen shen. Jyue minq, woang shean yu min. Jy bao yueh [*read* jyue] yuann, bwu yih. Dann wei jyue [11] tzonq-yn. Yih yu fei-yi. Yonq ian sanq uei-yi. Min woang buh ji shang-shin. Wei huang tean yu jeou. Buh-wei tzyh shyi [*suppress* nae yih] *read* [12] jyue yih. Jyue shin jyi heen. Bwu keh wey syy. Gu tzay Shang-yih. Yueh In-gwo mieh wu li. Fwu wei der [13] shi-shiang syh deng wen yu Tian, dann wei min yuann. Shuh-chyun tzyh jeou. Shing wen tzay shanq. Guh Tian jianq sanq yu In, woang [14] ay yu In, wei yih. Tian fei niueh. Wei min tzyh suh gu.”

Wang iue “Feng! Yu buh wei ruoh-tzy duo gaw. Guu ren [15] yeou yan iue ‘Ren wu yu shoei jiann, dang yu min jiann.’ Jin, wei In juey jyue minq, woo, chy kee bwu dah jiann fuu yu shyr? Yu [16] wei iue ruu chia-bih In shiann chern, hour, diann, nan, wey, sheen Tay-shyy yeou, Ney-shyy yeou, yueh shiann chern, bae-tzong-gong. [17] Sheen wei eel shyh-fwu, shiou-fwu, tsae. Sheen wei Bor-wei Cheh-fuh, Ruoh-chour Nong-fuh, [18] Ruoh-bao Horng-fuh, dinq bih. Sheen ruu, gang jyh yu jeou. Jyue huoh gaw iue, ‘Chyun yiin,’ ruu wuh yih. Jinn jyr-jiu. Yii [19] guei yu Jou. Yu chy sha. Yow, wei In jy dyi ju-chern, wei-gong, nae mean yu jeou, wuh iong sha jy. Gu wei jiau [20] jy. Yeou sy, ming sheang. Nae bwu yonq woo jiaw-tsyr, wei woo-i-ren fwu shiuh. Fwu jiuann nae shyh, shyr torng yu sha.”

Wang iue “Feng! Ruu dean ting jenn bih. Wuh biann nae sy, min mean yu jeou.”

Literal Translation

[41.23] King / thus / said / “Make-clear / great-charge / to / *Mei*-state. / Your/odd-series/father/King Wen/founded/kingdom/at/Western Territories, / [24] then/by proclamation-warned/various states/various terri-

tories / and / minor senior officers / officials, / continually / said / ‘Sacrifice / this/wine.’ / When/Heaven/sent down/mandate, / founded, / our/people / on behalf of, / Great/[25] Sacrifices. / Heaven/sent down/awe. / Our / people, / as a result, / greatly/disorder/lost/virtue, / after all, / none / are not / wine / is / conduct. / As to / small-large/states, / as result / lost, / after all, / none/are not/wine/is/[26] guilt. /

“King Wen/by announcement-instruct/child/senior officers / officers / ‘May you not/make custom of/wine.’ / As to/various states/drinking, / only/sacrifice. / Virtue/will be/sobriety. / [27] And too, / say / ‘Our/people / leading, / you child / only / earth-product/grudge.’ / Their/minds/good, / acute-hearing-listen / forebears / → / customary teaching. / As to/small-great/virtue, / you child/[28] may be/one. /

“*Mei*-territory / inherit / your / thigh-upper arm / [see footnote 39]. / Make pure/they/plant / millet, / with alacrity / serve / their / fathers / their / elders, / begin/lead/carts/oxen, / far places, / [44.1] bring in subjection = secure / trade-use, / perform-filial-duty / their / parents/. / Their/parents / felicitated, / they themselves/wash/excess, / go to/use/wine. /

“Knights, / senior officials, / and / nobles / [44.2] princes, / they / always / obey / my / instructions. / You / greatly / can / nourish / aged, / because of / ruler. / You / thus / drink-eat/replete. / Greatly / think / say / you / can / for ever / gaze-examine = be on look-out for, / [3] make/search, / central / virtue, / you / still / can / nurture / make gift of food / sacrifice. / You / thus / self / protect, / as result / be at ease. / Thus, / then / truly-be / King’s / true / service / → / servants. / Thus, / [4] too, / would be / heaven’s / pattern / great / power, / ever / not / forgotten / in / King’s / house. /”

King/say / “Feng! / Our / Western Territories / not-gone / state rulers, / officials, / you child, / [5] still / can / use / King Wen’s / teaching, / not / steeped / in / wine, / therefore, / we, / up to / now, / can / receive = keep / Yin’s / → / mandate. /”

King / say / “Feng! / I / hear / think / [6] say / in / past, / Yin’s / former / wise / King’s / leadership, / fear / Heaven / glorified [by] / common people. / Made plan / virtue, / grasped / wisdom. / From / Successful T’ang, / all / up to / God-king I, / succeeded / Kings / [7] majesty. / Assisting / were / ministers. / Of them / are not / [*suppress* two words] / have-duties, / not / dare / self / be idle, / self / take ease, / much less so / think / they / dare / to excess / drink. / [8] As to / outside / serve, / *hou*, / *tien*, / *nan*, / *wei* / states-nobles, / as to / inside / serve, / administrators, / governors, / are-serve-Royal House-artisans, / and / gen-

try/village-dwellers/[9] none/dare/steep/in/wine./ Not/only/not/dare,/ after all/not/take time off./only/assist/bring to fruition/King's/power/glorious,/until/lead/men/respect/laws.

"I/heard/[10] and too/think/say/at/present, /after-succeed-King/made-drunk/(his) person./ His/orders, /none/made clear/to/people./ Respectfully /nursed /read their /resentment, /[he] did not/change./ Great /was /his / [11] profligacy./ Reckless /in /contra-customs./ By pleasures./lost/dignity./ People/none/not/suffer/anguish./ [He] was/wildly/excessive/in/wine./ Would not/self/stop/[*suppress* two words, *read*][12] his/excesses./ His/mind/most/evil./ No/can/fear/death./ Guilt/upon/City of Shang./ By time=even when/Yin State/perished/would not/show sorrow./ Not/because/power-fraught/[13] fragrant/sacrifices /mounted/smell/in/Heaven, /much-so/is because/people's/resentment./ Masses/themselves/wine./ Stench/smelled/in/Above=Heaven./ For this reason/Heaven/sent down/destruction/on/Yin,/would not/[14]show love/to/Yin,/because of/excesses./ Heaven/is not/tyrant./ Is because/people/themselves/brought/retribution."/

King/say/"Feng!/I/not/would/thus/so much/speak./ Antiquity/men/[15] had/saying/say/"Man/should not/in/water/mirror,/must/in/people/mirror."/ Today, /when /Yin/obliterate/their/mandate, /I, /I/can/not/greatly/by mirroring /conform/to/them? /I[16] think /say /you/sternly-warn /Yin's /worthy/subjects, /*hou*, /*tien*, /*nan*, /*wei*, /more so /*T'ai-shih* [rank] /associate, / *Nui-shih* [rank] /associate, /and/worthy /servants, /many-Royal House-artisans./ [17] Still more/think/your/public affairs-serve, /private affairs-serve, /servitors. /Still more/think/*Po-wei* [rank] / *Ch'e-fu* [PN], / *Jo-ch'ou* [rank] / *Nung-fu* [PN], / [18] *Jo-pao* [rank]/*Hung-fu* [PN], /decide/laws./ Still more/you, /firmly/discipline/in respect of/wine./ Of them/some/report/say/"Group/drink"/you/must not/disregard./ All of them/arrest./ With them/[19] make them return/to/Chou./ I /them/kill./ Further/when/Yin/→/lead/subjects/artisans/like-this /steeped /in /wine, /must not/use/kill /them./ For time being/should/instruct/ [20] them./ Should you/thus, /with distinction/enjoy./ Thus, /not/use/my/teaching-words, /then/I, the lonely one/will not/pity./ Do not/make clear/your/service, /then/together with [them]/send you/death."/

King/say/"Feng!/you/always/listen/ my/warnings./ Do not/manage/your/officers, /people/steeped/in/wine."/

Free Translation

Thus spake the King, "Expound the Grand Charge in the State of Mei.³⁷ When your late father [of the odd-series],³⁸ King Wen, founded his kingdom in the Western Territories, he warned the [rulers of the] vassal states and territories and their senior officers and officials continually by proclamation saying, 'Sacrifice this wine.' When Heaven sent down its Mandate, it founded for our people the Great Sacrifices, [But too] Heaven sent down signs of its displeasure [lit: "awesome-ness"]. As to the people, who, as a result, were thrown into confusion and lost virtue, there were none after all but whose conduct was not occasioned by wine-drinking. As to the States, large and small, who, as a result perished, there was not one whose guilt was not due to wine-drinking.

King Wen instructed your senior officials and officers by proclamation [saying], 'You should not make a habit of drinking wine.' As for the drinking of wine in the vassal States, let that be only at sacrifices. Then your virtue would be that of the virtue of sobriety. And too, he said, 'You should use the produce of the soil sparingly in governing the people.' If the people's hearts are good, they will listen attentively to the customary teaching of their forbears. May you be consistent in all matters of virtue both great and small.

"The Director of Lands in the State of Mei is your right-hand man.³⁹ Let the cultivation of the millet be pure of purpose [i.e., for food and

³⁷One of the former Yin capitals, in the region of which K'ang had his fief.

³⁸In genealogical tables, the ancestors are set out in "odd" and "even" series, in sequence, an arrangement in which their tablets stood, right and left, in the ancestral shrines. A *mu* ancestor is thus on the odd number list, in this case no. 1, it being the Lord of K'ang's deceased father. The "even" series are called *jau* (see inscription no. 2). For *jau* and *mu* see Li Tsong-tong, p. 19.

³⁹The text reads literally "Mei/territory/*syh* [= "inherit"]/your/thigh/upper arm" which would be "in the land of Mei you have inherited your very limbs [? your means of livelihood?]," which strikes me as unlikely, if not incongruous. On the *kuei* of the Lord of K'ang, the Lord of K'ang and his *sy-tuu* "director of lands" join in casting a bronze "to their late father." This minister must, therefore, be a brother of Feng. *Syh* "inherit" and *sy* "direct" are easily confused. If, therefore, *mey tuu syh* is read *mey sy tuu*, the passage is brought in harmony with the inscription. Thus, "arms and legs" becomes "of your own flesh, your helper, etc." and so I read the text. It would be most appropriate in an admonition concerning crops to include such a person.

for making wine, for sacrifice, but not for revelry] [that the people] may diligently serve their fathers and their seniors, and begin to lead forth their carts and oxen, so that, from places far away, they may secure trade goods so as to fulfil their filial duty to their parents [i.e., provide for them]. Their parents felicitated, they can then wash the surplus and take it to make wine.

“All knights, senior officials, all nobles and princes, listen continually, to my instructions. It is because of your sovereign that you can feed your aged so well. You can then eat and drink to your satisfaction. I really think that if you are constantly on the watch for, and search out the proper ‘power’ you can still feed yourselves, make gifts of food and offer [wine] in sacrifice. You then can protect yourselves and be at ease. Thus, you truly would be servants of the King engaged in his service. Thus, too, you would be very power-fraught ones, after the pattern of Heaven and, too, you will never be forgotten in the King’s Household.”

The King said, “Feng, because Chou’s present rulers of the vassal states of the Western Territories, their officials, and you, yourself, my child, still are able to follow the instructions of King Wen and do not go to excess in the drinking of wine, we, so far, have been able to hold Yin’s Mandate.”

The King said, “Feng, I have heard and I think that in the past, in giving leadership in government, the last wise kings of Yin feared Heaven and glorified the common people. They practised virtue and held fast to wisdom. From T’ang the Successful, inclusively, down to the God-King Yi⁴⁰ they maintained the majesty of Kings. Their ministers assisted them. Those who had no duties dared not be idle or take their ease, much less should it be thought that they presumed to drink to excess. As to those whose charges lay outside of the Royal domain, the nobles of the vassal states, of *hou*, *tien*, and *nan* rank and *wei* status, and to those whose charges lay within [the Royal Domain], governors and administrators, skilled craftsmen in official service, the gentry and the village officials, none dared steep themselves in wine. Not only would they not dare, they would not even take the time, they only as-

⁴⁰Yi is the temple name of a King of Shang. *Dih*, the title prefixing *yi* is the same as the *dih* “God” of footnote 33. He is a deified king, and thus “God-king.”

sisted in bringing to fruition the King’s power and glory until they led men to respect the King’s enactments.

“I have heard and I think that, in these latter days, the King who subsequently succeeded them⁴¹ was a drunkard. None of his charges were made clear to the people. They respectfully nursed [their] resentment but he did not change. Great was his profligacy. He was reckless in his irregular practices. By his pleasure-seeking he lost all dignity. None of the common people but suffered agony of mind. He was most excessive in his use of wine. He would not let up on his indulgences. His heart was utterly depraved. He had no fear of death [the retribution for evil]. His guilt fell upon the City of Shang. Even when the State of Yin was destroyed, he showed no sorrow. [Yin’s destruction] came not because of the power-fraught fragrance of their offerings that were received in Heaven,⁴² but because of the resentment of the common people. They even gave themselves over in large numbers to drunkenness. The stench reached to Heaven. For this reason, Heaven sent down destruction upon Yin, and would not spare Yin, because of Yin’s excesses. Heaven is not a tyrant. It was the people themselves who brought down this retribution.”

Thus spake the King, “Feng! I would not have spoken at such length. The ancients had a saying, ‘Rather than seek his reflection in water, a man should seek it in the common people.’ Today, when Yin has brought about the obliteration of its Mandate, can we fail to conform by seeing ourselves reflected in the people? I think you should seriously warn the wise [i.e., still loyal] subjects of Yin, the Feudal Lords of *hou*, *tien*, and *nan* rank and of *wei* status, and still more, your associates the *T’ai-shih* and the *Nui-shih*, and wise servants and skilled craftsmen. Still more your personal servants, who serve you in public and in private. Even more so, the *Po-wei*, Ch’e-fu, the *Jo-ch’ou* Nung-fu, and the *Jo-pao* Hung-fu, who determine the regulations. Even more so yourself—may you rigidly discipline yourself in respect of wine. If any of them [the officials previously mentioned] should

⁴¹That is, Chou, the “bad” king of Yin.

⁴²I think what is meant is that such sacrifices, accompanied by libations in which drunkenness took place, were *nefas*, but even so, this was not the principal reason for Heaven’s displeasure. Cf. *LG*. “the sacrifice will be faulty and bring disgrace.”

report to you 'People are drinking in company,' do not disregard it. Arrest them all. Return them to Chou. I will kill them. Further, when subjects or skilled craftsmen, previously under Yin, are similarly drunken with wine, you need not kill them. For the time being, you should instruct them. If you pursue this course, you will, with distinction, enjoy your fief. But, if you do not heed my instructions, then I will have no mercy. If your service is not spotless, then I will put you to death with them."

The King said "Feng! you must always heed my warnings. If you do not manage your officers well, the people will [once again] steep themselves in wine."

8.1.4.3. Document No. 3

THE DAH GAW (*DG*)

THE DECREE SUMMONING VASSALS AND FEUDATORIES TO MOBILIZE FOR THE EASTERN CAMPAIGN

(The text is that of Karlgren; see Karlgren (2), pp. 34-8)

Romanization

[34.16] Wang ruoh iue "[*suppress* you dah gaw eel] *read* Dah gaw-you eel duo-bang yueh eel yuh-shyh, fwu-diaw Tian [*suppress* jianq ke] *read* jianq [17] hay yu woo jia buh-shao yan. Horng wei woo yow chong-ren, sy wu-jiang dah-lih fwu. Fwu tzaw jer, dyi min kang. Sheen iue [18] chyi yeou neng ger-jy Tian minq. Yii! Yu wei sheau-tzyy, ruoh sheh iuan-shoei, yu wei woang-chyou jenn iou jih. Fu bih, fu [19] chyan-ren show minq, tzy bwu wanq dah gong. Yu buh gaan bih yu Tian jianq uei, yonq ning wang yi woo dah bao guei, shaw [20] Tian ming. Jyi minq iue 'Yeou dah jian yu Shi-tuu. Shi-tuu ren yih bwu-jinq.' Yueh tzy choen. In sheau [*suppress* tean] *read* dean dann [21] gaan jih chyi shiuh. Tian jianq uei, jy woo gwo yeou tsy, min buh-kang, iue, 'Yu fuh.' Faan-bih woo Jou-bang. Jin choen [22] [*suppress* jin yih] *read* jin yih. Ryh min shiann yeou shyr fu, yu yih yii yu, mii ning Wuu twu gong. Woo yeou dah-shyh shiou. Jenn buu [23] binq jyi. Syh yu gaw woo yeou bang jiun, yueh yiin-shyh, shuh-shyh, yuh-shyh, iue 'Yu der jyi buu.' Yu wei yii eel shuh-bang [24] yu-fa In pu-boh chern. Eel shuh-bang-jiun yueh shuh-shyh, yuh-shyh, woang buh faan, iue 'Jian dah, min bwu-jinq, yih [25] wei tzay Wang

gong bang jiun shyh.' 'Yueh yu, sheau-tzy, kao-yih, buh kee jeng, wang hay buh wei buu?' Syh, yu chong-ren yeong [26] sy jian, iue 'U-hu, yeun choen. Guan-goai ai tzai!' Yu tzaw Tian yih yi, dah tour jian yu jenn shen. Yueh yu, chong-ren [27] buh arng-tzyh shiuh, yih eel bang-jiun, yueh eel duo-shyh, yiin-shyh, yuh-shyh suei yu, iue 'Wu bih yu shiuh, buh kee buh cherng [28] nae ning kao twu gong.' Yii! Yu wei sheau-tzyy, buh gaan jiann Shanq-dih minq. Tian shiou yu ning wang, shing woo [38.1] sheau bang Jou. Ning wang wei buu yonq, keh suei show tzy minq. Jin Tian chyi shiang min, sheen yih wei buu yonq? U-hu, Tian ming [2] wey bih woo pi-pi ji. Eel wei jiow-ren. Eel pi keh yeuan-shiing. Eel jy ning wang ruoh chyn tzai! [*Suppress* Tian bih bih woo] *read* [3] Tian bih woo cherng gong suoo, yu buh gaan buh jyi tzwu ning wang twu shyh. Syh yu dah huah-yow woo yeou bang jiun. Tian fei [4] chern. Tsy [read sy] chyi kao woo min. Yu her chyi buh yu chyan ning ren twu gong iou jong. Tian yih wei yonq chyn bih woo [5] min, ruoh yeou jyi. Yu her gaan buh yu chyan ning ren iou show shiou bih?"

Wang iue "Ruoh shyi, jenn chyi shyh, [6] jenn yan jian, ryh sy, ruoh kao tzuoh shyh, jih jyy faa, jyue tzyy nae fwu keen tarng, sheen keen gow, jyue fuh tzy, jyue tzyy nae [7] fwu keen boh, sheen keen huoh. [*Suppress* jyue kao yih] *read* Jyue kao chyi keen iue 'Yu yeou-how fwu chih ji?' Syh yu her gaan bwu yueh [8] arng mii ning wang dah minq. Ruoh shiong-kao. Nae yeou [*suppress* yeou-fa] *read* jiau-fa jyue tzyy, min-yeang chyi [*suppress* chiuann] *read* guan, fwu jiow?"

[9] Wang iue "U-hu, syh tzai! Eel shuh-bang jiun, yueh eel yuh-shyh! Shoang bang you jer, yih wei shyr ren, dyi jy Shanq-dih [10] minq. Yueh Tian fei chern. Eel shyr woang gaan [*suppress* yih faa] *read* yih dinq. Sheen jin Tian jianq lih yu Jou-bang, dah jian ren, dann lin, [11] shiu fa yu jyue shyh. Eel yih buh jy Tian minq bwu yih? Yu yeong niann iue 'Tian wei sanq In,' ruoh seh-fu. Yu her [12] gaan buh jong jenn muu? Tian yih wei shiou yu chyan ning ren. Yu her chyi jyi buu, gaan fwu yu tsornq! Shuay ning ren [*suppress* yeou jyy] *read* [13] yeou jyy jiang-tuu. Sheen jin buu binq jyi. Syh jenn yii eel dong jeng. Tian minq bwu jiann, buu chern wei ruoh tzy."

Literal Translation

[34.16] King/thus/say, / "Great/by proclamation/inform/you/vassal

states/and/you/officials,/unpitying/Heaven/send down/[17] harm/upon/our/house/long/delayed./ Greatly/think/I/young/weak one,/inherit/without-boundary/great-number/duties./ Not/become/wise,/lead/people/peace./ Even less/say/[18] I/would/be able/grasp-know/Heaven's/command./ Oh!/I/am/child,/like/cross-over/deep river,/I/would/go-seek/I/that place which/ford./ Proclaim/great-thing,/proclaim/[19] former-ones/receive/mandate,/thus/not/forget/great/task./ I/not/dare/close-door/against/Heaven/send-down/awe,/use/blessed/Kings/bequeath/me/greatly/precious/tortoise,/make-clear/[20] Heaven/command./ Already/announced/say/'There is/great/difficulty/in/Western Territories./ Western Territories/people/too/restless.' By/this [time]/swarming./ Yin's/petty/ruler/much so/[21]-dares/connect/his/succession./ Heaven/sends down/awe,/know/our/state/has/blemish,/people/restless,/say/'I/return again.' Revert-district/us/State of Chou./ Now/crawl,[22] now/buzz./ Today/peoples/worthies/there were/ten/men,/I/respectfully/with them/go,/bring about/blessed/Wu/planned/task./ We/have/great-affair/grace./ My/divining/[23] all/auspicious./ And so/I/announce/to us/friendly/states/rulers,/and/governors,/knights,/officials,/say/'I/obtain/auspicious/divination.' I/would/together with/you/rulers of states/[24] go-attack/Yin's/drive-out/servant./ You/rulers of states/and/knights,/officials,/none/not/reply,/say/'Difficulty/great,/people/disquieted,/and too/[25] are/at/King's/Palace/States/rulers/residences.' [They] and/I,/child,/old allies,/no/can/attack,/King/why/not/disobey/divination?' Nevertheless,/I/weak one/always/[26] think of/difficulty,/say/'Indeed!/truly/swarming./ Widows-widowers/pitiful/mood!' I/being/Heaven's/servant/remiss,/greatly/cast/difficulty/upon/my/person./ As to/me,/weak one/[27] not/self/pity,/rightly/you/rulers of states,/and/you/knights,/governors,/officials/comfort/me,/say/'May [you] not/be distressed/by/sorrows,/not/can/not/complete/[28] your/blessed/fathers'/planned/work.' Yes!/I/am/child,/not/dare/find fault/God-most-high/command./ Heaven/grace/to/blessed/Kings,/raised up/us/[38.1] petty/state/Chou./ Blessed/Kings/only/divination/use,/able/quiet mind/receive/this/mandate./ Now/Heaven/it/assists/people,/much more/after all/only/divination/use?/ Oh!/Heaven/bright/[2] majesty/supports/our/very great/foundation./ You/are/experienced/men./ You/much so/can/distant-see./ You/know/blessed/Kings/like-what/laboured/[mood]!/ [3] Heaven/warn/me/finish/task/place,/I/

not/dare/not/utmost/finish/blessed/Kings/planned/affair./ And so/I/greatly/change-seduce = persuade/my/friendly/states/rulers./ Heaven/is not/[4] sincere./ Now/it/watches over/our/people./ I/how/I/not/put into effect/former/blessed/ones/planned/task/that which/finish./ Heaven/after all/is/using/belabour/warning/our/[5] people,/just as/have/sickness./ I/how/dare/not/put into effect/former/blessed/ones/that which/receive/grace/support?/'

King/say/'Upon/former day,/I/I/go out,[6] I/spoke of/difficulty,/daily/cares,/like/father/make/house,/already/cause/plan,/his/son/then/not/willing/lay foundation,/much less/willing/finish,/his/father/breaks-ground,/his/son/then/[7] not/willing/sow,/much less/willing/reap./ His/father/he/willing/say/'I/have-descendants/not/abandon/foundations?'/ And so/I/how/dare/not/by time of/[8] self/bring about/blessed/Kings/great/charge./ Like/older-brother-father = elders./ Like-this/were to/punish/their/sons,/peoples-provider = Ruler/he/look on/not/help?/'

[9] King/say/'Oh!/lax/[mood]!/ You/states/rulers/and/you/officials!/ Faulty/states/follow/wise,/though/only/ten/men,/lead/know/God-most-high/[10] command./ As to/Heaven/is not/sincere./ You/thus/should not/presume/change/fixed./ More so/today/Heaven/send down/retribution/on/State of Chou,/great/trouble/men,/boastful/neighbours/[11] mutually/attack/in/their/houses./ You/after all/not/know/Heaven/command/not/change?/ I/constantly/think/say/'Heaven/would that/destroy/Yin,' like/farmer./ I/how/[12] dare/not/finish/my/fields?/ Heaven/too/would that/show grace/to/former/blessed/ones./ I/how/I/consult/divination/dare/not/go/obey!/ Follow/blessed/ones/[13] have/good/lands./ More so/today/divinations/all/auspicious./ And so/I/with/you/East/campaign./ Heaven's/commands/do not/err,/divination/shows/is/like/this.'"

Free Translation

Thus spoke the King, "With this Great Announcement, I inform you, the rulers of the vassal States, and you, their officials, Impartial Heaven has long delayed sending down harm upon our House. How much do I think that I, a young and weak person, have inherited boundless and innumerable duties. I am not yet wise enough to lead my people into peace. Even less should I think that I would be able to apprehend the Mandate of Heaven. Alas! I am but a little child, I am as one about

to pass over a deep river where I would seek for a place to cross. I must proclaim the Great Matter, I must proclaim the Mandate received from the departed ones and thus not forget the great task. I dare not preclude the possibility of Heaven's sending down retribution, so I have used the very precious tortoise shell bequeathed to me by the blessed [i.e., departed] Kings to make clear what is Heaven's will. I have already announced [to the blessed departed], 'there is serious trouble in the Western Territories, the people of the Western Territories are restless.' By this time, they [the people] are seething with unrest. Now the petty ruler of Yin⁴³ even dares to reconnect his line of succession. When Heaven sends down retribution, knowing that our State has a blemish and that the people are restless, he [Wu-kêng] will say 'I will resume [the Mandate]' and he will make Us, the State of Chou, revert to the status of a district [once again]. Today, the people are seething⁴⁴ with unrest. If today there were, among the people, but ten worthy men, then I respectfully would go with them so as to achieve the task planned by the blessed King Wu. Grace will be given to us in the Great Affair [i.e., the Eastern Campaign]. My oracles are all auspicious. Thus, I say to you, rulers of vassal States friendly to Us, and to your governors, knights, and officials, 'I have obtained auspicious responses.' I will, with you, rulers of States, go and attack Yin's fugitive and banished servant.⁴⁵ But you, rulers of States, and you, knights and officers, not one of you but returns answer to me, saying 'The difficulties are great, the people are disquieted, so, too, are those who reside at court and in the palaces of princes.' You say, 'They [i.e., Wu-kêng and the *Shu* of Kuan and Ts'ai] and I are old allies, they should not be attacked, why does not the King disregard his oracles?' Nevertheless, I, the weak one, always with the troubles on my mind, saying 'Oh indeed! they are seething with unrest. Pity the widows and widowers,' while I, being the servant of Heaven, have been remiss and have brought this great trouble upon my person. As to me, I do not pity myself, but [properly speaking] it is you, the rulers of the States and you, the knights, the governors, and the officers, who

⁴³That is, Wu-kêng, scion of the deposed King of Shang, enfeoffed by King Wu, in the Eastern Territories.

⁴⁴Lit: "crawling and buzzing."

⁴⁵"Fugitive" and "banished" are pejorative and refer to Wu-kêng.

should comfort me saying 'May you not be distressed by anxiety, you must bring to a successful conclusion the task planned by your blessed father.' Yes! I am but a little child, I dare not find fault with the will of God most High. Heaven gave grace to the blessed [i.e., departed] Kings and raised up Us, the minor State of Chou. They [the departed Kings] used only the oracle, thus they were able, with confidence, to receive this Mandate. Now that Heaven is coming to the aid of the common people, how much more must we [obey] only the oracle? Oh indeed, Heaven's bright Majesty supports our very great foundation. You are all men of experience. You can most assuredly see far. You, yourselves, know just how the blessed [departed] Kings laboured! In this place, in which Heaven adjured me to complete the task, I dare not but fulfil to the very last point, the task planned by the blessed [departed]. Thus, is it that I attempt to persuade you, the States friendly to us. Heaven is not to be taken for granted. Heaven's eyes are upon our people. How can I but put into effect the task which the former kings brought to a successful conclusion? Heaven is, after all, by belabouring, warning our people, just as in a sickness. How dare I not put into effect the grace and support received by me from the blessed departed?"

The King said, "The other day, when I was about to set out, and I spoke of the troubles and of my daily cares, I was like a father building a house who, having planned the groundwork, finds that his sons are unwilling to lay the foundations, much less to put up the structure, or a father who breaks the soil, whose sons are unwilling to sow, much less to reap. Would such a father be willing to say 'My descendants did not disregard the plans I laid out?' Then how dare I not, in my own lifetime, bring to realization the great charge of the blessed [i.e., departed] Kings? It, too, is like those elders. If they were to punish their sons [who did not come to their aid], would rulers look on and not go to the elders' assistance?"

The King said, "Oh indeed! How lax you are! You the rulers of States, and you, their officials. If faulty States followed wise men, even if there were only ten of them, they would lead them to understand the ordinances of God Most High. Heaven is not to be taken for granted. You, thus, should not dare to change the predestined.⁴⁶ Even the more

⁴⁶It was the reluctant vassals who suggested earlier that the King need not obey his oracles. But the king protests that his oracles are "predestined."

so when today Heaven is about to send down retribution upon the State of Chou, will trouble makers and arrogant neighbours attack each other in their own houses. Do you not, even so, know that Heaven's ordinances do not change? I constantly think 'would that Heaven would destroy Yin,' for I am like a farmer who weeds. How dare I not finish the work?⁴⁷ Would, too, that Heaven would show grace to my blessed departed. How dare I consult the oracle and then presume not to obey its responses! If [we all] follow the blessed departed, we will have good fields.⁴⁸ Even more so, when, as now, all the oracles are auspicious. Therefore, I will go with you, eastwards, to battle. Heaven's ordinances do not err and to act thus is what my oracles tell me to do."

8.1.4.4. Document No. 4

THE LUOH GAW (LG)

CONCERNING THE CITY OF LO, THE NEW CAPITAL OF THE EASTERN TERRITORIES

(The text is that of Karlgren; see Karlgren (2), pp. 50-5)

Romanization

[50.6] Jou-gong, bay shoou chii shoou, iue "Jenn fuh tzyy, ming bih. Wang ru fwu gaan jyi Tian ji minq dinq minq. Yu [7] nae yinn Bao dah shiang Dong-tuu, chyi ji, tzuoh min ming bih.

"Yu wei yii-mao, jau jyh-yu Luoh-shy. Woo buu Her shuoh [8] Li-shoei, woo nae buu Jiann-shoei dong, Chan-shoei shi. Wei Luoh [suppress shyr] read chyh. Woo yow buu Chan-shoei dong, yih wei Luoh [suppress shyr] read chyh. [9] Beng lai, yii twu, jyi shiann buu."

Wang, bay shoou chii shoou, iue "Gong buh gaan bwu jinq Tian jy shiou. Lai shiang jair. Chyi tzuoh [10] Jou pi shiou. Gong jih dinq jair, beng lai. Lai, shyh yu buu shiou herng jyi. Woo ell ren gonq jen. Gong chyi, yii yu, wann-yih [11] nian, jinq Tian jy shiou. Bay shoou chii shoou hoei-yan."

⁴⁷That is, rid the nation of its "weeds" such as the rebellious Yin, Yi, and Jung peoples.

⁴⁸That is, the crops will be good. Perhaps a hint here that the restless at home, to which he refers to as a judgment of Heaven, was a crop failure?

Jou-gong iue "Wang jaw, chenn In lii, syh yu shin yih, shyan jyh, wu [12] [suppress wen] read wenn. Yu chyi bae-gong, beng tsornq Wang yu Jou. Yu wei iue, shuh yeou shyh. Jin wang jyi minq iue 'Jih gong,' tzung [13] yii gong tzuoh yuan-syh, wei minq iue 'Ruu show minq duu bih, pi shyh gong tzay.' Nae ruu chyi shi tzyh jiau gong. Ruu-tzyy, [14] chyi perng. Ruu-tzyy, chyi perng chyi woang. Wu ruoh huoo, shyh yann-yann, jyue iou jwo, shiuh fwu chyi jyue. Jyue ruoh yi, jyi [15] fuu shyh, ru yu. Wei, yii tzay Jou gong, woang shin yih. Beng shianq-jyi yeou-liau, ming tzuoh yeou-gong, duen dah cherng yuh, ruu yeong [16] yeou tsyr."

Gong iue "Yii! Ruu wei chong-tzyy. Wei jong. Ruu chyi jinq shyh bae-bih sheang, yih shyh chyi yeou buh sheang. Sheang, [17] duo yi. Yi buh jyi wuh, wei iue buh sheang. Wei bwu yih jyh yu sheang, farn min wei iue buh sheang. Wei shyh chyi shoang wuu. [18] Nae wei Ruu-tzyy ban, jenn buh shyh. Ting jenn jiau ruu yu fei min-yi. Ruu nae shyh buh mang, nae shyr wei buh yeong tzai. [19] Duu shiuh nae jenq-fuh. Woang bwu ruoh yu. Buh gaan fey nae minq. Ruu woang jinq tzai. Tzy, yu chyi ming nong tzai; bii yuh [20] woo min, wu yeuan, yonq lih."

Wang ruoh iue "Gong ming bao yu chong-tzyy. Gong, chenn pi shean der, yii yu sheau-tzyy, yang [suppress Wen Wuu lieh] read [21] Wen Wuu der lieh. Fenq [suppress dar] read duey Tian minq her herng [suppress syh-fang min] read wann bang syh-fang min jiu shy. [22] Duen tzung jiang lii, cheng jyh yuan-syh. Shyan jyh wu wen [read wenn]. Wei Gong der ming guang yu shanq-shiah, chyn shy yu syh [23] fang, parng tzuoh muh-muh [suppress yah-herng] read yuh herng, buh mi Wen Wuu chyn jiau. Yu chong-tzyy suh-yeh bih syh."

Wang iue "Gong [24] gong, fei, dyi, duu, woang bwu ruoh shyr."

Wang iue "Gong! Yu sheau-tzyy chyi tuey, jyi bih yu Jou, minq Gong how. Syh-fang dyi [25] luann, wey dinq yu tzung lii, yih wey keh mii gong gong. Dyi jiang chyi how jian woo shyh shy gong, dann bao Wen Wuu [26] show min. [Suppress luann] read Sy wei syh fuu."

Wang iue "Gong! Dinq, yu woang. Yii gong gong suh jiang jy huan gong. [27] [Suppress Wu kuenn tzai woo wei] read Wu kuenn woo tzai, wei wu yih chyi kang shyh. Gong wuh tih shyng. Syh-fang chyi shyh sheang."

Jou-gong, bay shoou chii [28] shoou, iue "Wang minq yu lai, cherng-

bao nae wen tzuu show minq min, yueh nae guang lieh kao Wu-wang horng shiunn. [54.1] Gonq ruu-tzyy lai shiang jair. Chyi dah duen dean In shiann min. [*Suppress luann*] read Sy wei syh-fang shin bih, tzuoh Jou [2] gong shian."

"Iue, 'chyi tzyh shyr jong yih, wann-bang shyan shiou.' Wei Wang yeou cherng-ji.

Yu, Dann, yii duo tzyy yueh yuh-shyh duu [3] chyan-ren cherng lieh, dar chyi shy, tzuoh Jou fwu shian. Kao jenn jau tzyy shyng, nae dan wen tzuu der. Beng lai bih In, nae [4] minq ning yu yii jiu-chanq ell yeou, iue 'Ming in.' Bay shoou chii shoou, shiou sheang. Yu buh gaan suh, tzer in yu Wen-wang [5] Wu-wang. Huey duu shiuh, wu-yeou gow tzyh jyi. Wann nian yann yu nae der, In nae yiin kao. Wang beng In nae cherng [6] shiuh wann nian. Chyi yeong guan jenn tzyy hwai der."

Wuh-chern, Wang tzay shin yih jeng. Jih suey Wen-wang, shing niou i, Wu-wang [7] shing niou i. Wang minq tzuoh tseh. Yih juh tseh. Wei gaw Jou-gong chyi how. Wang bin sha in shyan ger. Wang ruh Tay-shyh guann. [8] Wang minq Jou-gong how, Tzuoh-tseh Yih gaw, tzay shyr-yow-ell yueh. Wei Jou-gong dann bao Wen Wu show minq, wei chi nian.

Literal Translation

[50.6] Duke of Chou, salute/hands/bow/head, /say/ "I/report/you child, /bright/sovereign./ King/seems/not/dare/make-arrive/Heaven/found/decreed/establish/decreed./ I/[7] and so/follow/Grand Guardian/greatly/look at/Eastern Territories, /I/founded, /become/peoples/bright/sovereign./

"I/on/yi-mao, /go east/arrive at/City of Lo./ We/divined/Ho [river]/north/[8] River Li, /we/then/divined/River Chien/east, /River Ch'an/west./ Was/Lo/ordered./ We/too/divined/River Ch'an/east, /and too/was/Lo/ordered./ [9] Messenger/made-come, /together with/chart/make-arrive/offer up/oracle."/

King, /salute/hands/bow/head, /say/ "Your grace/not/dare/not/revere/Heaven/→/grace./ Come/examined/site./ You/become/[10] Chou/fit-mate/grace./ Your Grace/already/fixed/site, /messenger/came./ Came, /show/me/divinations/grace/constant/auspicious response./ We/two/people/together/divined./ Grace, /you, /together with/me, /10,000 ×

100,000/[11] years, /revere/Heaven/→/grace./ Salute/hands/bow/head/instruction-words."/

Duke of Chou/say/ "King/begin, /avail of/Yin/rites, /sacrifice/in/new/city, /all/orderly, /let not be/[12] tangle./ I/gather/artisans, /send messenger/follow/King/from/Chou./ I/think/say, /all/might/serve./ Now/King/already/decreed/say/ 'Record/service,' /in Ancestral Temple/[13] according to/service/perform/Great Sacrifice, /also/decreed/say/ 'You/received/decreed/conscientiously/helped, /greatly/show/service/[mood].'/ Then/you!/you/all/in person/instruct/workmen./ Child/[14] you/make-friends./ Child, /you/make-friends, /you/go./ Nothing/is like/fire, /at first/flickers/it/that which/burns, /short time/not/it/stop./ Your/conform/custom, /come to/[15] smooth out/matters, /be like/me./ Too, /together with/at/Chou/workmen, /go/new/city./ Make-go/confront-go to/officials, /make clear/make/achievement, /generously/greatly/achieve/ riches, /you/for ever/[16] have/words."/

Duke/say/ "Oh!/ You/are/weak child./ May [you]/finish./ You!/you/ carefully/record/all-princes/gifts, /and too/record/of them/those who/not/give./ Gifts,/[17] many/formalities./ Formality/not/reach/thing, /think/say/not/given./ When/not/serve/intention/in/gift, /all/people/think/say/not/given./ Then/sacrifice/it/faulty/disgrace./ [18] Thus/because/child/rank, /I/not/take leisure./ Listen/I/teach/you/of/contrapeople's-customs./ You/then/in this place/not/make effort, /your/time/is/not/long/[mood]./ [19] Sincerity/inform/your/senior officers fathers./ In nothing/not/emulate/me./ Not/dare/neglect/your/orders./ You/go/revere/[mood]./ This-place, /me/I/make-bright/farming/[mood]; /that-place/enrich/[20] our/people, /would not/regard-as-far, /as result/come to."/

King/thus/say, / "Duke/brightly/protect/me/weak child./ Duke, /avail of/very great/shining/virtue, /together with/me/child, /spreads abroad/[21] Wen/Wu/virtue/deeds./ Receive-respectfully/record/Heaven's/command/gather together/make-constant/ten-thousand/states/four quarters/people/dwell/city./ [22] Give weight to/Ancestral Temple/lead-forth = set up/rites, /avail of/put in order/Great Sacrifice./ All/put in order/nothing/in disorder. /It is so/Duke's/virtue/brightly/shines/upon/high and low, /diligence/displayed/to/four/[23] quarters, /on all sides/become/most impressive/control/balance, /not/lead astray/Wen/Wu/diligent/teaching./ I/weak child/day night/cautious/

sacrifice./”

King/say/“Duke/[24] achievements,/aid,/guidance/sincerity,/in nothing/not/like them./”

King/say/“Duke!/I/child/I/withdraw,/go to/rule/at/Chou,/decree/Duke’s/successor./ Four quarters/lead to/[25] rebellion,/not/settled/by/ancestral/rites,/also/not/able/put in effect/Duke’s/merit./ Teach/lead/your/successor,/supervise/our/officers/leaders/work,/greatly/pro- tect/Wen/Wu/[26] receive/people./ Govern/control/four/helpers./”

King/say/“Duke!/fix,/I/go./ Oh!/Duke/achievements/soon/will be/ respected/delighted in./ [27] May [you] not/distress/me/[*mood*],/and too/may [you] not/tire of/your/peace/service./ Duke/do not/put in sub- stitute for/pattern./ Four quarters/those/hereditarily/offer gifts./”

Chou-Duke of/salute/hand/bow/[28] head,/say/“King/command/me/ come,/ receive-protect/your/gentle/forbear/receive/mandate/people,/ and/your/radiant/deeds/father/King Wu/great/teaching./ [54.1] Re- spectfully/child/came/look at/site./ You/great/serious/govern/Yin/ worthy/people./ Govern/control/four-quarters/new/rulers,/become/ Chou/[2] respected/first-one./

“Say, ‘/you/from/this time/at centre/govern,/ten thousand states/all of them/receive/grace.’ May/you King/have/results./

“I,/Tan,/together with/many/nobles/and/officials/make-sincere = realize/[3] former-men/completed/deeds,/respond/their/masses,/be- come/Chou/trusted one/foremost one./ Make perfect/my/bright/child/ pattern,/and so/make-single/gentle/forebear/virtue./ Messenger/made- come/warn/Yin,/then/[4] decree/favour/me/with/millet-wine/two/ flasks,/say/“Brightly/sacrifice./” Salute/hand/bow/head,/grace/gift. I/ not/dare/pass night,/then/sacrifice/to/King Wen/[5] King Wu./ Kind/ sincere/put-in-order,/would not be/encounter/self/blemish./ Ten thousand/years/be replete/at/your/virtue,/Yin/then/induce/regard-as- father./ King/send messenger/Yin/then/receive/[6] good order/ten thousand/years./ They/ever/look at/my/child/cherish/virtue./”

Wu-ch'en [day],/King/at/new/city/perform winter sacrifice./ Per- form sacrifice/year-sacrifice/King Wen,/red/ox/one,/King Wu/[7] red/ ox/one./ King/ordered/make/patent./ Yi [PN]/intoned/patent./ In order to/announce/Duke of Chou/→/successor./ King/guests/killing/sacri- fices/all/came./ King/enter/Grand Chamber/poured libation./[8] King/ decreed/Duke of Chou/successor,/Recorder/Yi [PN]/announced,/upon

ten-plus-two/month./ When/Duke of Chou/greatly/protected/Wen/ Wu/receive/degree,/was/seven/years./

Free Translation

The Duke of Chou, bowing deeply and saluting, said, “I make this report to you, my child, the illustrious sovereign. Your Majesty, it seems, would not take it upon himself to put into effect the command of Heaven to found and establish [a new capital in the Eastern Terri- tories]. I, accordingly, in the wake of the Guardian [the Duke of Shao] thoroughly explored the Eastern Territories and have founded [a capi- tal], so that you may become the illustrious Sovereign of the people.

“On the day, *yi-mao*, I set out eastwards and came to the city of Lo. We consulted the oracle about the Li River area to the north of the Ho, and we then consulted the oracle about the area east of the River Chien and west of the River Ch’an. It was the Lo that was ordained. We, too, consulted the oracle about the region east of the River Ch’an, once again, it was the Lo that was ordained. I have des- patched a messenger who, with the plans, will bring and present the oracle.”

The King, bowing deeply and saluting, said, “Your Grace dare not but treat with reverence Heaven’s grace. You went [lit: came] examined the site. You are the fit recipient⁴⁹ in our Chou House [for Heaven’s] grace. Your Grace, having fixed the site, sent the mes- senger. He came and showed to me the grace revealed by the oracle, and the continuance of our good omens. We two [you and I] have [now] both divined. May your Grace and I enjoy a myriad years [of life] to revere Heaven’s grace. I bow deeply and salute your words of instruction.”

The Duke of Chou said, “Your Majesty must now begin to sacrifice in the new city, following the Rites of Yin, that all may be done in good order and without confusion. I have gathered the workmen and despatched them to accompany the King to [the new capital of] Chou.

⁴⁹The word *pi* “a mate, or match” used in these contexts, has the special con- notation of one who, ritually “pure,” is a “fit” person to stand in the presence of deities and conduct religious ceremonial. It describes one who is ritually “acceptable” to the deities. Thus the Duke of Chou is described as the dynastic *vis-à-vis* of the Chou House to Heaven.

I think everyone should take part [lit: serve] [i.e., in the sacrifices]. Now, Your Majesty, having decreed that [each man's] service [labour] be placed on record, [let each] in the Ancestral Temple, according to his service, partake in the Grand Sacrifice. Now, too, issue a decree [to them] saying 'You received my commands and conscientiously came to my assistance, now let [the record of] your service be seen.' Then you [Your Majesty] can in person instruct all the workmen. May you, a child, make friends. May you make friends and go to them [associate with them]. There is nothing like fire, which at first just flickers, but which, before long, has passed the point of dampening. In conforming with custom, and in smoothing out matters, be like me. And, too, with the workmen now in Chou, go to the new Capital. Send them to go and confront the officials there and make manifest their achievements and achieve great prosperity there. Then you [Your Majesty] for ever will be remembered."

The Duke [of Chou] [further] said, "Oh. You are but a weak child, may you bring the work to completion. You must reverently record the gifts of the princes [for the sacrifices] and make a record of those who did not contribute. In the matter of gifts, there are many formalities. If the formalities do not match the gift, it would be thought of as not given. If there is no intent to serve in the gift, the people will think of it as not given. Then the sacrifice will be faulty and bring disgrace. Thus, because you are a mere child in rank, I, your servant, will not take any leisure. Listen as I instruct you about those things which are contrary to the customs of the people. If you do not exert yourself in this, your lease of office will not be for long. In sincerity, inform your senior officers as I do in everything [lit: in nothing, do not be like me]. They then will not dare to disregard your orders. Proceed reverently. Here, I will attend with distinction to my husbandry; there, do you enrich our people, and then they will not regard you as far-off, but as a result they will come to you."

Thus spake the King, "Your Grace, with distinction, protects me, a weak child. Your Grace, availing himself of the brightest virtue, with me, a child, spreads abroad the deeds of virtue of [our forbears] Kings Wen and Wu. I received and recorded the command of Heaven to gather together, in unity, the people everywhere in the myriad states and settled them in the [new] capital. I shall take seriously [the affairs

of] the Ancestral Temple and set up the Rites and avail myself of and carry out properly the Grand Sacrifice. Everything will be done in good order and without confusion. Your virtue shines brightly upon all, high and low, your diligence is manifest to the four quarters, on all sides you have become the most impressive of arbiters, one who does not pervert the earnest teaching of Kings Wen and Wu. I, but a weak child, will always treat the sacrifices with caution."

The King said, "I will emulate Your Grace's achievements, help, guidance, and integrity in everything."

The King said, "Your Grace! I, a young child, will withdraw and go to rule in Chou and will appoint your successor. The people of the four quarters have been led to rebel, they have not been pacified by the Ancestral Rites and, too, we cannot put into effect your meritorious works. Teach and lead your successor to supervise the work of our officers and give the utmost protection to the people bequeathed me by Kings Wen and Wu. Do you govern the Four Ministers [i.e., become Chief Minister]."

The King said, "Your Grace, stay there, I will go [there to Lo]. Oh! Your achievements soon will be respected and looked up to. May you not distress me [by going away] and may you not weary of your labour for peace. You, Sir, must not give up being [my] exemplar. Then men everywhere will, for generations, bring you offerings [sacrifice to you]."

The Duke of Chou, bowing deeply and with a salute, said "Your Majesty commanded and I came here to receive and protect the people of whom your cultivated forbear received the charge, and to extol the great teachings of your father of glorious prowess, King Wu. Respectfully you, my child, came and inspected the site. You grandly govern the worthy people of Yin. You govern and manage the new rulers of the Four Quarters and have become the revered and pre-eminent [statesman of] Chou.

"I say 'if henceforth you rule, as from the centre, then all the states will receive grace.' May Your Majesty be successful.

"I, T'an, with the nobles and officials, will consolidate [make real] the deeds of the former men, respond to the masses, becoming for Chou the trusted and pre-eminent [statesman]. I will perfect for you, my illustrious child, an exemplar [i.e., myself] and so carry out entirely

the virtue of your gentle grandfather, [King Wen.] I have been sent as a messenger to caution Yin and given a decree favoring me with a grant of two flasks [yu] of aromatic wine [a "wine" made from black millet] to which I replied 'I brightly sacrifice it.' I acknowledge, with a deep bow and a salute, this gracious gift. [On receiving it] I dared not let a night pass but then and there sacrificed it to Kings Wen and Wu. If, with kindness and sincerity, all is done in good order, then there would not be occasion for self-criticism. Then [the people] for a thousand years will be replete with your virtue and Yin will be induced to regard you as their forbear. Your Majesty sent [me, as a] messenger to Yin, and they have received good order for ten thousand years to come. May they for ever look to you, my child, and cherish your virtue."

On the day *wu-ch'en*, the King performed the winter sacrifice in the new city. In making the sacrifice to the new year, King Wen was offered a red ox and King Wu was offered a red ox. The King gave orders that a patent should be issued. Yi read the patent. It was to announce the successor to the Duke of Chou. The King's guests [i.e., the vassals]⁹⁰ all came to the killing and sacrifice. The King entered the Grand Chamber and made a libation. It was in the twelfth month that the King decreed a successor to the Duke of Chou and that the Recorder Yi announced it. For seven years the Duke of Chou preserved the decrees of Kings Wen and Wu.

8.1.4.5. Document No. 5

THE SHAW GAW (SG)

PROCLAMATION MADE AT THE BUILDING OF THE NEW CITY

(The text is that of Karlgren, see Karlgren (2), pp. 47-50)

Romanization

[47.5] Wei ell yueh jih-wanq, yueh liow ryh yii-wey, Wang

⁹⁰Some scholars think that the "guests present" are the spirits, i.e., the spirits of the dead kings. The SYD (inscription no. 14), however, makes it quite clear that the vassal kings, attending ceremonies of this kind, were called "the King's guests." The ceremonies held at the announcement of the successor to the Duke of Chou are also referred to on inscription no. 7. There, too, two oxen are sacrificed.

jau buh tzyh Jou tzer jyh yu Feng. Wei Tay-bao [6] shian Jou-gong shiang jair. Yueh ruoh lai san yueh, wei biing-wuu, feei. Yueh san ryh wuh-shen, Tay-bao jau jyh yu Luoh, buu jair. [7] Jyue jih der buu, tzer Jing-yng. Yueh san ryh geng-shiu, Tay-bao nae yii shuh In gong wey yu Luoh ruey. Yueh wuu ryh, [8] jea-yn wey cherng. Ruoh yih ryh, yii-mao Jou-gong jau jyh yu Luoh. Tzer dar guan yu shin yih yng. Yueh san ryh, ding-syh, [9] yonq sheng yu jiau, niou ell. Yueh yih-ryh, wuh-wuu nae sheh yu shin yih niou i, yang i, shyy i. Yueh chi ryh [10] jea-tzyy Jou-gong nae jau yonq shu minq shuh In, hour, diann, nan, bang-bor. Jyue jih minq In shuh, shuh In pi tzuoh. [11] Tay-bao nae, yii shuh-bang joong-jiun, chu, cheu bih, nae fuh ruh, shyi Jou-gong iue "Bay shoou chii shoou, leu Wang ruoh Gong."

"Gaw [12] gaw shuh In yueh nae yuh-shyh. U-hu, hwang Tian Shanq-dih gae jyue yuan-tzyy, tzy dah gwo In jy [13] minq. Wei Wang show minq. Wu-jiang wei shiou. Yih wu-jiang wei shiuh. U-hu! Her chyi nay-her fwu jinq. Tian jih shya [14] jong dah bang In jy minq. Tzy In duo shian jer wang tzay Tian. Yueh jyue how-wang how-min, tzy fwu jyue minq, jyue jong, [15] jyh—*read* tsarnq guan tzay. Fwu—jy *read* jyh bao-baw shi-chyr jyue fuh-tzyy, yii, ai-yuh Tian, tzuu jyue wang chu jyr. [16] U-hu Tian yih ai yu syh-fang min. Chyi jiuann minq yonq maw. Wang chyi jyi-jinq der.

"Shiang guu shian min yeou Shiah. Tian dyi [17] tsornq—*read* tzonq tzyy—*read* tzyh bao, miann—*read* mean ji Tian ruoh, jin shyr, jih juey jyue minq. Jin, shiang yeou In. Tian dyi ger bao, miann—*read* mean ji [18] Tian ruoh, jin shyr, jih juey jyue minq. Jin, chong-tzyy syh, tzer wu yi show-goou. Iue 'Chyi ji woo guu ren jy der.' Sheen [19] iue 'Chyi yeou neng ji mou tzyh Tian.'

"U-hu, yeou-wang swei sheau, yuan-tzyy tzai. Chyi pi neng shyan yu sheau-min. Jin shiou, [20] Wang buh gaan how, yonq guh wey yu [*suppress* min yan] *read* min jer. Wang lai shaw Shanq-dih, tzyh fwu yu Tuu jong.

"Dann iue 'Chyi [21] tzuoh dah yih, chyi, tzyh shyr, pey hwang Tian. Bih syh yu shanq-shiah, chyi tzyh shyr jong yih.' Wang jyue yeou cherng minq, jyh min jin [22] shiou. Wang shian fwu In yuh-shyh bih-jieh yu woo yeou Jou yuh-shyr. Jye shinq, wei ryh chyi may. Wang jinq tzuoh suoo, [23] buh kee bwu jinq der. Woo buh kee bwu jiann yu yeou Shiah, yih buh kee bwu jiann yu yeou In. Woo buh

gaan jy iue [24] 'Yeou Shiah fwu Tian minq wei yeou lih nian.' Woo buh gaan jy iue 'Buh chyi yan.' Wei bwu jinq jyue der, nae tzaio juey jyue minq.

"[25] Woo buh gaan jy iue 'Yeou In show Tian minq wei yeou lih nian.' Woo buh gaan jy iue 'Buh chyi yan.' Wei bwu jinq jyue der, [26] nae tzaio juey jyue minq.

"Jin wang syh show jyue minq, woo yih wei tzy ell gwo minq, syh ruoh gong. Jin [27] Wang chu fwu jyue minq. U-hu! Ruoh sheng tzyy. Woang bwu tzay jyue chu sheng. Tzyh yi jer minq. Jin Tian chyi minq jer, minq [28] jyi-shiong, minq lih nian. Jy jin woo chu fwu, jair shin yih. Syh wei Wang chyi jyi-jinq der, Wang chyi der jy yonq, chyi [50.1] Tian yeong minq. Chyi wei Wang, wuh yii sheau-min yn, yonq fei-yi, yih gaan tean-luh yonq yih min. Ruoh yeou gong. Chyi [2] wei Wang, wey tzay der yuan, sheau-min nae wei shyng yonq yu Tian-shiah. Yueh Wang shean, shanq-shiah chyn shiuh, chyi iue 'Woo show [3] Tian minq. [Suppress pi] read Bwu ruoh yeou Shiah lih nian, shyh wuh tih yeou In lih nian. Yuh Wang yii sheau-min, show Tian yeong minq.'

"Bay shoou [4] chii shoou iue, 'Yu sheau-cheru gaan yii Wang jy chour min bae jün-tzyy, yueh yeou min, bao show Wang uei minq der. Wang moh [5] yeou cherng minq. Wang yih shean. Woo fei gaan chyn, wei gong fenq bih, yonq gonq Wang neng chyi Tian yeong minq.'"

Literal Translation

[47.5] On/second/month/*chi-wang* [period],/by/six/day/*yi-wei*,/King/set out eastwards/walked/from/Chou/then/arrived/at/Feng./ And too/Grand Guardian/[6] go before/Duke of Chou/look at/site./ Come to/at/next/three/month,/on/*ping-wu*/full moon./ Come to/third/day/*wu-shen*,/Grand Guardian/set out eastwards/arrive/at/Lo,/divine/site./ [7] He/already/obtain/divination,/then/plan site./ Come to/three/day/*keng-hsü*,/Grand Guardian/then/together with/all/Yin/work on/foundation/at/Lo/river-bend./ Come to/five/day,/[8] *chia-yin*/foundation/finished./ On/next/day,*yi-mao*/Duke of Chou/set out eastwards/arrive/at/Lo./ Then/far-reaching/look/on/new/city/plans./ Come to/three/day/*ting-szu*,/[9] use/sacrificial animal/in/suburb,oxen/two./ Come to next day/*wu-wu*/then/sacrifice/in/new/city/ox/one,/sheep/one,/pig/one./ Come to/seven/day/[10] *chia-tzu*/Duke of Chou/then/set out

eastwards/use/writing/decreed/all/Yin,/hou,/tien,/nan,/states-nobles./ He/already/order/Yin/peoples,/all/Yin/greatly/began work./ [11] Grand Guardian/then/together with/states/rulers,/went out,/took/gifts,/then/again/came in,/present/Duke of Chou/say/"Salute/hands/bow/head,/praise/King/or/Duke."/

"Proclamation/[12] announce/all/Yin/and/your/officials./ Oh!/august/Heaven/God-most-High/change/his/first-born son,/this/great/state/Yin/→/[13] mandate./ It is/King/receive/mandate./ Without-boundary/is/grace,/and too,/without-boundary/is/pity./ Oh!/How?/he/how?/not/revere./ Heaven/already/remote/[14]bring to end/great/state/Yin/→/mandate./ That time/Yin/many/former/wise/King/reside/Heaven./ As to/their/after-Kings/after-people,/these/serve/their/mandate,/their/end,/[15] wise-good/in suffering/lived./ Husbands/wise/carrying/dragging/their/wives-children,/with them/cried for pity/Heaven,/go to/they/no-one/come out/seize./ [16] Oh!/Heaven/after all/show pity/to/four-quarters/people./ It/kindly/ordered/employ/zealous./ King/he/seriously-reverence/virtue./

"Examine,/ancient/people/rulers of/Hsia./ Heaven/that which/[17] indulge/treat as son/protect,/make effort/search for/Heaven's/likeness,/present/time,/already/lost/their/mandate./ Now,/examine/ruler of/Yin./ Heaven/that which/raise/protect,/make effort/search for/[18] Heaven/likeness,/present/time,/already/lost/their/mandate./ Today/weak child/inherit,/then/should not/disregard/elders./ Say/He/search out/our/ancient/men/→/virtue./ More so/[19] say/He/would that/able/search out/plan/from/Heaven./

"Oh!/Present King/though/young,/first-born/[*mood*]./ He/greatly/able/accord/with/people./ Present/grace,/[20] King/not/dare/be behind,/by means of/favour/show fear/to/people/talk./ King/come/join/God-most-High,/self/serve/in/Territory/centre./

"Tan/say/He/[21] made/great/city,/he,/from now,/fit-mate/august/Heaven./ Cautiously/sacrifice/to/high-low,/he/now/at centre/control./ King/he/would that/fulfil/mandate,/govern/people/present/[22] grace./ King/bring forward/give service to/Yin/officials/associate/with/our/rulers of/Chou/officials./ Discipline/lives,/then/daily/they/make progress./ King/reverently/creates/place,/[23] no/can/not/revere/power./ We/no/can/not/reflect-selves/in/ruler of/Hsia,/and too/no/can/not/reflect-selves/in/ruler of/Yin./ We/not/dare/know/say/[24] 'Ruler

of/Hsia/serve/Heaven/mandate/is/have/successive number/years./ We not/dare/know/say/Not/it/delay./ Because/not/revere/their/virtue, and so/early/lost/their/mandate./

“[25] We/not/dare/know/say/‘Ruler of/Yin/receive/Heaven/mandate/is/have/successive number/years./ We/not/dare/know/say/‘Not/it/delay./ Because/not/revere/their/virtue,/[26] and so/early/lost/their/mandate./

“Now/King/inherit/receive/their/mandate,/ we/too/because/these/two/states/mandates,/inherit/such/merit./ Today,/[27] King/begin/serve/his/mandate./ Oh!/Like/give-birth/child./ Nothing/not/reside in/its/first/birth./ Self/give/wisdom/life./ Now/Heaven/it/ordains/wisdom,/ordains/[28] good luck-bad luck,/ordains/successive number/years./ Know/today/we/begin/serve,/reside/new/city./ And so/may/King/he/seriously-revere/virtue,/King/he/virtue/→/by means of,/pray/[50.1] Heaven/perpetuate/mandate./ He/being/King,/must not/on account of/peoples/excess,/use/contra-customs,/and too/dare/kill-punish with death/by means of/govern/people./ Thus/have/success./ He/[2] being/King,/placed/at/virtue/origin,/people/then/should/model/use/in/world./ As to/Kings/glory,/high-low [=all]/strive/pity,/they/say/‘We/receive/[3] Heaven/mandate./ Not/like/ruler of/Hsia/successive number/years,/pattern/must not/replace/ruler of/Yin/successive number/years./ Wish/King/together with/people/receive/Heaven’s/eternal/mandate.’

“Salute/hands/[4] bow/head/say,‘I/petty-servant/dare/together with/King/ enemy/people/hundred = all/princes,/and/friendly/people,/protect/receive/King’s/majestic/decreed/bright/virtue./ King/end/[5] may he/complete/mandate./ King/also/glorified./ We/not so/dare/exert every effort,/only/courteously/offer/gifts,/thereby/provide/King/able/pray/Heaven/perpetuate/mandate.’”

Free Translation

In the second month, the *chi-wang* period of the month, on the sixth day, the day *yi-wei*, the King set out towards the east from Chou and came to Feng. The Grand Guardian, too, preceding the Duke of Chou, inspected the new site for the capital. Three months later, on the day *ping-wu*, there was a new moon. By the third day, the day *wu-shen*, the Grand Guardian set out eastwards and came to Lo to divine about the new site. Having obtained the response, he laid out and began

work on the new capital. By the third day, the day *keng-hsü*, the Grand Guardian then, with all the Yin people, worked on the foundations at the bend of the River Lo. By the fifth day, the day *chia-yin*, the foundations were completed. By the next day, the day *yi-mao*, the Duke of Chou set out eastwards and came to Lo. Then he took an over-all look at the layout of the new city. By the third day, the day *ting-szu*, we performed a sacrifice of two oxen in the suburbs. Next day, the day *wu-wu*, we performed a sacrifice, in the new city, of an ox, a sheep, and a pig. By the seventh day, the day *chia-tzu*, the Duke of Chou, proceeding eastwards, gave charges in writing to the rulers of the various Yin states, those of *hou*, *tien*, and *nan* rank. Having given their orders to the Yin populace, the Yin started work with a will. The Grand Guardian then with the rulers of the various states, left, selected gifts, returned again, and presented them to the Duke of Chou, saying “Salutations! Praise to the King and to the Duke.”

The Duke of Chou said “I make a formal proclamation to you the [rulers of] Yin and to your officers. Oh! august Heaven, the God Most High has replaced his viceroy,⁵¹ and replaced [the holders of] the Mandate of this great Kingdom Yin. It is our King who received the Mandate. Boundless is his grace, boundless, too, his pity. Oh! How can we fail to revere him! Heaven has already brought to an end the Mandate granted to the great state of Yin. At that time, the many wise Kings of Yin were in Heaven already. As to the Kings and peoples who succeeded them, they served under their charges, but towards the end, the wise and good lived in misery. The wise, carrying or dragging their wives and children with them, cried out to Heaven and fled to a safe place. Oh yes! Heaven after all has shown its pity to the people of the world. Heaven, in kindness, has ordained that the zealous [should inherit the Mandate]. May our King treat his power with the utmost reverence.

“Look at the cases of the former men of old, the rulers of Hsia. Indulged by Heaven and protected as its own child, they made every effort to discover Heaven’s pattern [for keeping the Mandate] but today, their Mandate is lost. Now look at the cases of the rulers of Yin. Raised by Heaven and put under its protection, they made every effort

⁵¹Lit: “First son,” i.e., Heaven replaced the Yin line by the Chou line as “Sons of Heaven.”

to discover Heaven's pattern, but today they have already lost their Mandate. Today, now that a weak child has inherited [the Mandate of Hsia and Yin], he should not disregard his elders. I say, 'May he discover the power of the men of old.' Still more do I say 'May he be enabled to discover the plan from Heaven [Heaven's will].'

"Oh yes! our King, though but a child, is Heaven's first-born. May he thoroughly accord with the people. May he not dare be dilatory in availing himself of the present grace, but, with its favour, show respect to the opinions of the people. May the King come and join with God most high, submitting himself to serve in the centre of the territory.

"I, Tan, say, 'He created the Great City, from now on he is the fit-mate'⁵² of August Heaven. May he cautiously perform the sacrifices to those above and below and from now on take control at the centre.'⁵³ If the King would fulfil the Mandate, then he should govern his people in the present grace. May the King bring forward and appoint to office [former] Yin officials, and associate them with our, Chou's, officials. If they discipline themselves, then daily they will prosper. If the King creates positions for them, they must revere his power. We cannot but see [our present position] reflected in the rulers of Hsia and, similarly, in the rulers of Yin. We dare not think that the Hsia rulers were charged with Heaven's Mandate for but a fixed period. We dare not think it could not have been prolonged. It was because they [i.e., Hsia] failed to treat their power with reverence and so they prematurely lost their Mandate.

"We dare not think that the rulers of Yin were charged with Heaven's Mandate for but a fixed period. We dare not think it could not have been prolonged. It was because they [Yin] failed to treat their power with reverence and so they prematurely lost their Mandate.

"Today, when our King has inherited their Mandate, we, too, because of the Mandate once held by those two Houses, are the heirs of such meritorious service. Now, the King has begun to take service under the Mandate. Oh! it is like giving birth to a child. All depends upon the beginning of life. We, ourselves, give the child life and wisdom.

⁵²For this word, see footnote 49.

⁵³I take it that in so saying, the Duke of Chou is suggesting that he terminate his Regency. The phrase is repeated in *Luoh Gaw*—L.G. 23.

Now may Heaven ordain [for the young king] life and wisdom, ordain his fortunes, ordain his span of life. We know today we have begun to serve [under the Mandate] and have built this new city. Thus, may the King treat with the utmost reverence the virtue [of the Mandate] and, by applying this virtue, pray that Heaven might prolong his lease upon it. Being King he must not, on account of the excesses of the common people, resort to practices contrary to custom or to use extermination as a punishment to control the people. Thus, he will be successful. Being King and placed at the fountainhead of power, the people should regard him as their model in the world. As to the King's glory, may all, high and low, show the utmost sympathy, saying 'We are the recipients of Heaven's Mandate. Let it not be of a kind with the ruler of Hsia's lease, may it not be like the ruler of Yin's lease. Let us wish that the King, with his people, might receive Heaven's Mandate in perpetuity.'

"I bow deeply and salute you all, and declare that I, and the nobles of the people of the King's late enemies, and with the people friendly towards us have received and cherish the King's majestic commands and his resplendent power. May the King, to the end, enjoy the fulfilment of the Mandate. May he, too, be glorified. It is not that we presume to be zealous, it is merely that we respectfully offer [to the King] these gifts, that thereby we can provide for the King, that by which he may pray that Heaven may perpetuate his Mandate."

8.1.4.6. Document No. 6

THE DUO SHYH (DS)

A CHARGE TO THE KNIGHTS OF YIN

(The text is that of Karlgren; see Karlgren (2), pp. 54-57)

Romanization

[54.9] Wei san yueh, Jou-gong chu yu shin yih Luoh. Yonq gaw Shang-wang shyh.

Wang ruoh iue. "Eel In yi duo [10] shyh! Fwu-diaw min Tian dah jianq sanq yu In. Woo, yeou Jou, yow minq. Jiang Tian ming uei, jyh Wang far, chyh In minq. Jong yu [11] Dih. Syh, eel duo shyh, fei woo, sheau-gwo, [suppress gaan yih] read gaan yih In minq. Wei

Tian bwu-bih yeun. Woang [12] [*suppress* guh] *read* huh luann. Bih woo. Woo chyi gaan chyow wey? Wei Dih bwu bih. Wei woo, shiah-min, biing wei, wei Tian ming wey. [13] Woo wen iue Shanq-dih yiin yih, yeou Shiah bwu shyh yih. Tzer-wei Dih jianq-ger shianq yu shyh Shiah, fwu keh yonq Dih. Dah [14] yn yih yeou tsyr. Wei shyh, Tian woang niann wen. Jyue wei fey yuan minq, jianq jyh far. Nae minq eel shian-tzuu, Cherng Tang, ger [15] Shiah, jiunn min diann syh-fang. Tzyh Cherng Tang jyh-yu Dih-yii, woang buh ming der shiuh syh. Yih, wei Tian pi jiann bao [16] yih yeou In, In Wang yih woang gaan shy Dih. Woang bwu pey Tian chyi tzer. Tzay jin, how syh wang dann woang shean yu Tian, [17] sheen iue chyi yeou ting niann yu shian wang chyn jia. Dann yn jyue yih. Woang guh yu Tiar^{*} shean min jy. Wei shyh, Shanq-dih [18] buh bao, jianq ruoh-tzy dah sanq. Wei Tian bwu bih, buh ming jyue der. Farn syh-fang sheau-dah bang sanq, woang fei yeou [19] tsyr yu far."

Wang ruoh iue "Eel, In duo shyh! Jin, wei woo Jou-wang pi ling cherng Dih shyh, yeou minq iue 'Ge In,' [20] gaw 'Chyh' yu Dih. Wei, woo shyh bwu ell shyh. Wei, eel Wang-jia woo shyh. Yu chyi iue, wei eel horng wu-duh. Woo [21] buh eel donq, tzyh nae yih. Yu yih niann Tian jyi yu In dah lih, syh buh [*suppress* jenq] *read* jeng."

Wang iue "You-gaw eel, duo shyh, [22] Yu, wei shyh, chyi chian jiu shi eel. Fei woo i-ren fenq der buh kang-ning. Shyr wei Tian minq. Wu wei, jenn buh gaan yeou-how. [23] Wu woo yuann. Wei eel jy wei In shian-ren yeou tseh yeou dean, In ger Shiah minq. Jin eel yow iue 'Shiah dyi [24] jean tzay Wang tyng, yeou fwu tzay bae-liau.' Yu i-ren wei ting yonq der, syh yu gaan chyow eel yu Tian yih Shang. Yu wei [25] shuay syh-jin eel. Fei yu tzuuey. Shyr wei Tian minq."

Wang iue [*suppress* duo shyh] *read* "Gaw eel duo shyh, shyi, jenn lai tzyh Yean, yu dah [26] jianq eel syh gwo min minq, woo nae ming jyh Tian far. Yi eel shya-tih, bih, shyh-chern woo tzong. Duo shiunn."

Wang iue "Gaw [27] eel, In duo shyh, jin yu wei buh eel sha. Yu wei shyh minq yeou shen. Jin jenn tzuoh dah yih yu tzy Luoh. Yu wei [28] syh-fang woang iou bin, yih wei eel duo shyh iou fwu, bentzooou chern woo, duo shiunn, eel nae shanq yeou eel tuu, eel [57.1] nae shanq ning gann jyy. Eel keh jinq, Tian wei bih jin eel. Eel bwu keh jinq, eel bwu tih buh yeou eel tuu, yu, yih, [2] jyh Tian jy far yu

eel gong. Jin, eel, wei shyh, jair eel yih, jih eel jiu, eel [*suppress* jyue] nae yeou gann yeou nian [3] yu tzy Luoh, eel sheau-tzyy nae shing, tsornq eel chian."

Wang iue ... yow iue "Shyr yu nae huoh yan eel iou jiu"

Literal Translation

[54.9] On/three/month,/Duke of Chou/first time/went to/new/city/Lo./ As result/announce/King of Shang/knights./

King/thus/say./ "You/Yin/remain/all/[10] knights!/ Not pity/bright/Heaven/greatly/send down/destruction/on/Yin./ We/rulers of/Chou,/ assist/decreed./ Take/Heaven/bright/awe,/make-arrive/King/punishment,/took over/Yin's/mandate./ Ended/by/[11] God./ And so,/you/all/knights,/it is not so/we,/minor state,/dare/expect/Yin/mandate./ Because/Heaven/not-favor/real./ Would not/[12] take advantage/disorder./ Sided/us./ We/we/dare/seek/Throne?/ Because/God/did not/favour./ It is so/we,/under-people/hold/control,/because/Heaven/made-clear/awe./ [13] I/hear/say/God-most-High/lead out/idle,/ruler of Hsia/not/go from/idleness./ Then/God/down-come/faced/to/that/Hsia,/not/able/use=obey/God./ Greatly/[14] made-excessive/excesses,/had/charges./ Because of/this,/Heaven/would not/think of/listen./ He/when/neglected/great/mandate,/send down/make-come=apply/punishment./ And so/command/your/forbear,/successful/T'ang,/overthrow/[15] Hsia,/talented/commoners/govern/four-quarters./ From/successful/T'ang/up to/God-king Yi,/none/not/make-lustrous/virtue/carefully tend/sacrifices./ And too,/when/Heaven/greatly/set-up/protected/[16] governed,/rulers of/Yin,/Yin/Kings,/too/none/dare/neglect/God./ None/not/be-proper-recipient-for/Heaven/→/blessings./ In/present,/after/succeed/King/greatly/would not/give glory to/Heaven/[17] much less/say/he/would/listen/think of/to/former/kings/labour/house./ Greatly/made excessive/his/excesses./ Would not/look-on=heed/to/Heaven/glory/people/respect./ Because/this,/God-most-High/[18] not/protect,/send-down/like-this=such/great/destruction./ It is so/Heaven/did not/favour,/not/manifest/his/virtue./ All/four-quarters/small-large/states/lost,/not one/is not/have/[19] charges/at/law./"

King/thus/say/"You,/Yin's/all/knights!/ Today,/because/we/Kings of Chou/greatly/regard as spirit-fraught/receive/God's/service,/had/command/say/'Destroy/Yin,'/[20] announce/'Taken over'/to/God./

This is so,/our/affairs/not/two [-ways]/go. / This is so,/your/Royal House/to us/go. / I/you/say,/because/you/in large measure/unlawful. / We/[21] not/you/move,/come from/your/city. / I/too/bear in mind/Heaven/already/brought/Yin/great/retribution,/and so/not/attack./”

King/say/“Inform-announce/you,/all/knights,/ [22] I,/because/this, / I/move/dwell/west/you. / It is not so/I/lonely-man/receive/virtue/not/peaceful-calm. / This/is/Heaven/command. / May [you] not/disobey,/I/not/dare/be-behind. / [23] May [you] not/me/resent. / Because/you/know/is/Yin’s/former-men/had/documents/had/records, / Yin/changed = superceded/Hsia/mandate. / Now/you/too/say/‘Hsia/led forth/[24] select/in/King’s/courtyard,/had/office/in/administration.’ / I/lonely-one/only/listen/employ/virtue, / and so/I/dare/seek/you/in/Heaven/city/Shang. / I/would/[25] all of you/pity-pardon/you. / It is not so/I/guilty. / This/is/Heaven’s/decreed./”

King/said/“Announce/you/all/knights,/earlier,/I/came/from/Yen,/I/greatly/[26] sent down/you/four-sides/states/peoples/decreed,/we/there-upon/with enlightenment/made-come/Heaven’s/punishment. / Moved/you/distant-distant = afar, / join, / serve as servants/our/clan. / Much/obedience./”

King/say/“Announce/[27] you,/Yin’s/all/knights,/now/I/would/not/you/kill. / I/because of/this/decreed/have/repeat. / Now/I/build/great/city/at/this/Lo. / I/in/[28] four-quarters/none/whom/reject,/and too/among/you/all/knights,/place-which/appointed,/diligently serve/serve-as-servant/me, / much/obedience, / you/then/still/possess/your/lands, / you/[57.1] then/still/make-peaceful/occupation/stopping-place. / You/can/be reverent, / Heaven/then/favour/pity/you. / You/not/able/be reverent,/you/not/only/not/possess/your/lands,/I,/too,/[2] make-come/Heaven/→/punishment/on/your/persons. / Now,/you,/because of/this,/make-home/your/city,/continue/your/dwelling,/you/then/have/occupation/have/years/[3] in/this/Lo, / your/children/then/prosper, / follow after/your/move./”

King/say . . . /further/say/“Now/I/thus/perhaps/speak/you/that-place-which/dwell”

Free Translation

In the third month, the Duke of Chou for the first time came to the new city Lo. Accordingly, he made an announcement to the knights of the [erstwhile] King of Shang.

Thus spake the King. “You, the knights of Yin that have survived! Impartial and glorious Heaven has sent down great destruction upon Yin. We, the rulers of Chou, assisted in the carrying out of [Heaven’s] decree [ordering the destruction]. In the power of Heaven’s bright majesty, we brought down upon your King his punishment, and took away Yin’s Mandate. It [the Mandate] was brought to an end by God. And so, you knights, it was not that we, a minor state, dared aspire to Yin’s Mandate. It was because Heaven’s failing to confer its favour on Yin was decisive. We would not take advantage of [Yin’s] disorders. Heaven sided with us. Dare we seek the Throne? It was because Heaven did not favour Yin. It is so that we, the underlings, took control of the government, because Heaven made plain its awful displeasure [with Yin]. I have heard it said that God will lead [to better things] the idle, but the [last] King of Hsia would not be led from his idleness. Then God came down and confronted that Hsia King, but he would not obey God. He was utterly depraved and condemned. Because of this, Heaven would neither think about, nor listen to him. And when he neglected God’s great Mandate, Heaven sent down and applied to him the punishment [for doing so]. And so, Heaven charged your forbear, T’ang the Successful, to depose Hsia and [to appoint] talented men of the people to regulate the [states of the] Four Quarters. From T’ang the Successful down to the time of the God-king Yi, there was not a king who did not make his virtue lustrous and carefully attend to his sacrifices. And too, when Heaven established, protected, and directed the Kings of Yin, not one of those Kings dared neglect God. Not one but was a proper recipient for the blessings of Heaven. In recent times, the King that succeeded them⁵⁴ deliberately would not give glory to Heaven, still less can it be said that he would listen to or care about the diligence of the former Kings on behalf of the [Royal] House. His depravity was immense: He was unconcerned about the glory of Heaven or of the respect of the people. For this reason, God did not protect him, but sent down upon him such great destruction. It was so that Heaven did not bestow favour upon him, because he did not manifest his virtue. Of all the states, large and small, everywhere, that were destroyed, there was not one but was under indictment at law.”

Thus spake the King “You, knights of Yin! Today, because we, the

⁵⁴That is, *Chou*, the King who was deposed.

rulers of Chou, regarded as most holy being recipients of the service of God, we had a Command which said 'Destroy Yin,' to which we announced [our reply] 'Carried out' to God. This is true, our affairs are not conducted with duplicity. It is also true that your Royal House has come to us. I tell you, this is because you have been so lawless. We are not the cause of your having to move, the cause originated in your own city. I, too, remember that Heaven has already brought down upon Yin great retribution and so, I do not attack you further."

The King said "I proclaim to you, the knights, that because of these things, I have transferred and settled you in the West. It is not that the virtue I have received⁵⁵ is unruly. This was the command of Heaven. May you not run counter to it, and I [for my part] dare not lag behind it. May you not bear resentment against me. Because, as you know, the earlier Yin people had records and documents [of how] they superceded the Mandate of Hsia. Now you further say 'The people of Hsia [at the succession of Yin] were taken in and chosen [for office] in the King's Court, and given offices in the administration.' I, as ruler, listen to and employ only the virtuous, and so I have presumed to seek [such from among] you in the Heavenly city, Shang. I would pardon and pity you all. It is not so that I am at fault. These things are Heaven's will."

The King said "I proclaim to you, the knights, earlier when I came from Yen, I sent down a decree⁵⁶ to the people of the vassal States of the Four Quarters, and then with enlightenment, applied the punishments of heaven. I removed you from afar, so that you might associate with us in our affairs and serve as subjects in our Royal House. Do this with the utmost obedience."

The King said "I proclaim to you, knights of Yin, I have no wish to kill you now. For this reason, I repeat my command. I have now built a great city in this place, Lo. There are none in the Four Quarters whom I reject and, to whatever offices you knights are appointed, serve us as loyal subjects and exercise the utmost obedience, then you

⁵⁵Or, as we should say, "the power with which I am endowed." Cf. footnote 31.

⁵⁶Presumably the *Dah Gaw* (document no. 3).

will still possess your lands, you will still find peace in your occupations and dwelling places. If you are able to carry this out with reverence, Heaven will bestow favour and pity upon you. But if you cannot carry this out with reverence, you not only will not possess your lands, but I, too, will bring down the punishment of Heaven upon your persons. Now, if you will, because of this, make your residence in this city and make your residence here permanent, you will then enjoy a livelihood and length of days in this city of Lo and your children will prosper as a result of your move."

The King further said "Now I have, I hope, told you where to live"⁵⁷

8.1.5. Texts from Inscriptions

NOTE. With each inscription a note has been added giving the provenance and present whereabouts of the vessel, and a sufficient bibliography for each transcription to justify the transcription and interpretation followed. The bibliography does not aim at completeness.

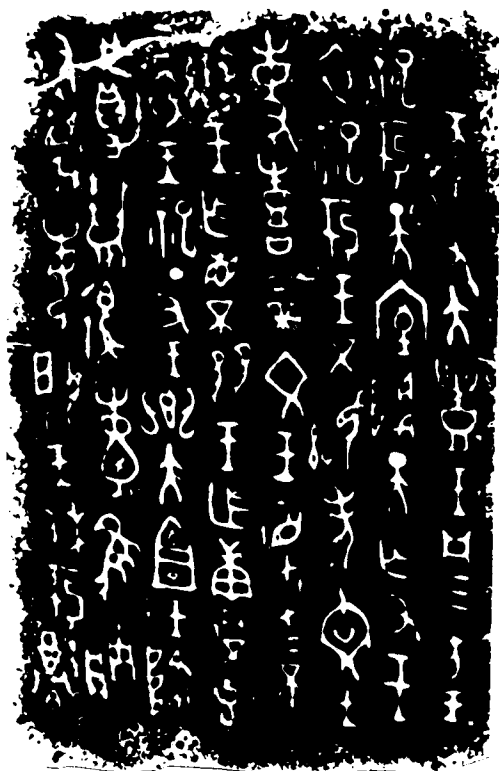
8.1.5.1. Inscription No. 1

THE DAH FENG GOEI (*DFG*)

AN INSCRIPTION ON THE *kuei* OF T' IEN-WANG, WHO ASSISTED KING WU AT THE MOATED MOUND

NOTE. This vessel is also known as the *Tian-wang Goei* (天亡斝) and the *Dan Goei* (聃斝). Its present whereabouts is unknown but it was at one time in the possession of Chern Jieh-chyi (陳介祺). The vessel is said to have been discovered, together with the *Mau-gong Diing* (see inscription no. 12), at Chyi-shan (岐山) in modern Shansi in 1844. Rubbings of the inscription are to be found in *Guo* (1), vol. I, p. 1; and *Luo* (1), vol. IX, 13.2. Transcriptions of and comment on the inscription will be found in *Chern* (1), p. 150 ff.; *Guo* (2), vol. I, pp. 1-2; *Guo* (3), pp. 17-32; *Wen* (1), vol. II, pp. 603-8; and *YSD* (2), pp. 162-3 and 358-9.

⁵⁷The text breaks off abruptly at this point.



Notes on the Transcription

1. Certain forms such as 又 for 佑 "assist" or 有 "have"; 𠄎 for 于 (see, for example, note 3); 不 for 丕 (see, for example, note 4); 才 for 在 (see, for example, note 7); 乍 for 作 see, for example, note 8), are common orthographic conventions in Western Chou bronze inscriptions and where they occur hereafter the text is emended without further qualification.

2. Read *farn* "float" as in *Wen* (1) and *Chern* (1).

3. See note 1.

4. See note 1.

5. Read *Shii* as emended following *Guo* (1). The *shii* sacrifice mentioned in literary texts is written variously with radicals 86, 119, and 185 (see *Chern* (1)).

6. Both *jian* and *jiann* (see *Chern* (1) and *Guo* (3)), the meanings of which are cognate, are possible readings. *YSD* (2) reads *shiang* "look at."

7. See note 1.

8. See note 1.

9. This sign is unknown. The reading is taken from the phonetic *geng*. *YSD* (2) p. 259 takes 庚 as "to continue." *Geng* as emended also has this sense (see *Wen* (1), vol. II, p. 607).

大豐殷

每𠄎^④王休𠄎^于𠄎^陽助^𠄎口^復徠^崇佳^朕朕^又慶^有丁丑王鄉^大圖^王降^亡王乍^康不^克衣^王祀^王才^在上^不顯^王乍^省不^絺文^王事^喜上帝^文王^監又^佑王^衣祀^𠄎王^不顯^考方^王祀^𠄎天^室降^天亡^三乙亥王又^大豐^王凡^三

10. Read *chih* (either radical 149 or 162) in sense of "to reach or attain to" and thus "attain to the previous dynasty's sacrifices," i.e., "continue satisfactorily with them" (see *Chern* (1), p. 153).

11. Read *sheang* "to feast, to entertain" with radical 185. To judge from the formation of the sign this is its original meaning. (See Karlgren (1), paragraph 714.)

12. Read *yi*, a common interchange on divination bones and bronzes.

13. Read *terng* "to record" for *jenn* following *Chern* (1), p. 154.

14. Read *yang* "to display." This sign frequently occurs in bronzes for *yang*.

Romanization

Yii-hay, Wang yeou Dah Feng. Wang farn san fang. Wang syh yu Tian-shyh. Jianq Tian-wang "Yow Wang i-syh yu wang, pi-shean kao Wen-wang. Shyh shii Shanq-dih." Wen-wang jiann tzay shanq. Pi-shean wang tzuoh shiing. Pi-syh⁸⁸ wang tzuoh geng. Pi keh chih I-wang syh.

⁸⁸Thought to be similar to *pi-shean* "most glorious" and thus "most majestic."

Ding-choou, Wang sheang dah Yi. Wang jianq Wang “ ”⁵⁹
Wei terng yeou chinq, meei yang Wang shiou yu tzuen.

Literal Translation

I-hai [day]/King/had = held/Great/Feng ceremony. King/ride-in boat/
three/sides. King/sacrificed/in/Hall of Heaven. Sent-down-order/[to]
T'ien-wang/“assist/king/perform-Yin-sacrifice/to/the King's/most-
glorious/father/King Wen/. Serve,/perform-*hsi*-sacrifice/[to] God Most
High.” King Wen/watches/at/above. Most-glorious/King/becomes/
model. Most-majestic/King/becomes/successor. Much-so/able/continue/
Yin King's/sacrifices.

Ting-ch'ou [day]/King/entertain/great/I ceremony. King/sent-down-
order/[to] Wang/“ ”

In-order-to/record/have/good fortune, each/display/King's/grace/on/
honoured-vessel.

Free Translation

On the day *i-hai*, the King [i.e., King Wu] held the Great Feng ceremony. The King rode in a boat on all three sides [of the moat].⁶⁰ The King sacrificed in the Hall of Heaven.⁶¹

He ordered me, T'ien-wang, to assist him in the service of sacrificing the *I*-sacrifice to his glorious father, King Wen, and in the *Hsi*-sacrifice to God Most High.

King Wen is watching over us from above. Our glorious King [i.e., King Wu, the King who performed the sacrifice mentioned above] is his exemplar [here below]. Our majestic King is his successor. He most assuredly can continue the sacrifices of the *I* [i.e., the Yin] Kings.

⁵⁹Reading uncertain but, in this context, we should expect some kind of an award.

⁶⁰The ceremony here described and mentioned on other inscriptions, took place in the *Pi-yung*, a building on a mound surrounded by a moat. In the moat, the King rode in a boat, shooting at fish with a stringed arrow. (Perhaps a ritual fishing to ensure a good harvest of fish—much like the ritual ploughing of the Emperors of later times.)

⁶¹That is, in the Ming-t'ang, the building on the moated mound.

On the day *ting-ch'ou* [i.e., two days later], the King entertained [with the offerings made] at the Great *I* ceremony. The King decreed that I [T'ien-] wang “ ”⁶²

In order to record my good fortune, I have set forth each of the King's favours [to me] on this honoured [vessel].

8.1.5.2. Inscription No. 2

THE BAN GOEI (*BAG*)

THE INSCRIPTION ON THE *kuei* OF PAN, WHO SERVED
UNDER THE DUKE OF MAO IN THE CAMPAIGN AGAINST
THE JUNG PEOPLES, IN THE EASTERN TERRITORIES

NOTE. This vessel is also known as the *Mau-bor Ban Goei* (毛伯班斝). Its present whereabouts is unknown. The inscription was transcribed by Yan Kee-jiun (嚴可均) from a rubbing. The illustration is of this transcription (see *Guo* (1), p. 9). No rubbing is known to exist. The text followed here is an edited version of Yan's transcription based upon Liou Shin-yuan (劉心源) and Guo Moh-ruoh (郭沫若) as given in *Chern* (2), p. 70.

Transcriptions of and comment on this inscription will be found in *Yan Kee-jiun* (13.6); *Guo* (2), pp. 20-3; *Liou* (1) vol. V, pp. 1-6; *Chern* (2), p. 70; and *YSD* (2), pp. 122-3; 255.

Notes on the Transcription

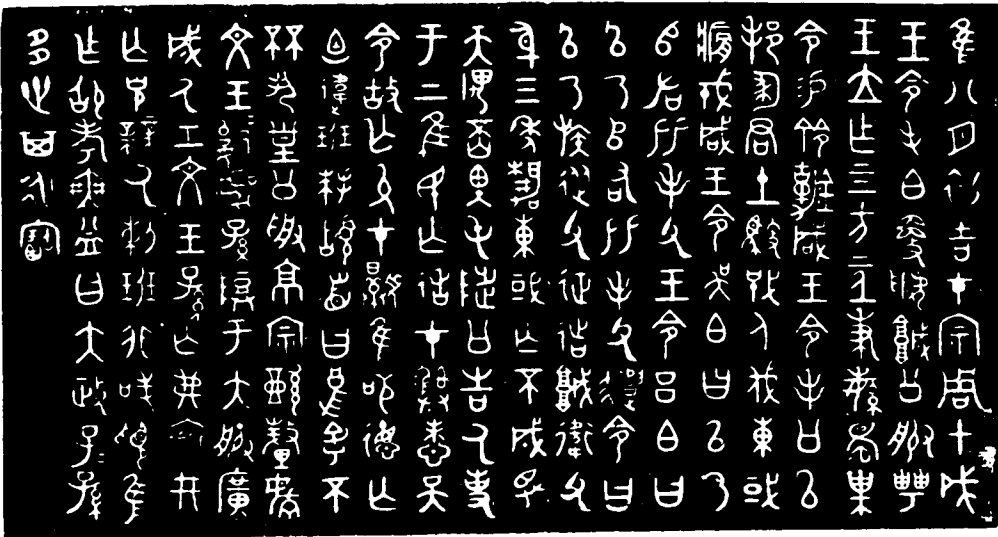
1. Certain forms such as 令 for 命; 白 for 伯; 立 for 位; 易 for 錫; 或 for 國; 自 for 師 “garrison town, army”; 才 for 在 or 哉; 井 for 型, are common Western Chou orthographic conventions and where they occur hereafter the text is emended without further qualification.

⁶²This line is not clear. One not very convincing suggestion is that it means “advance in rank and [be given] a jade symbol.”

班 殷

佳八月初吉，才宗周。甲戌，王令毛白伯更號城公服，^③粵王立位乍四方亟乘繁鬪巢。令易錫矜，鞫，咸。王令毛公以邦冢君土徒駿，^⑦戮人，伐東或，痛戎，咸。王令吳白伯以乃師左比毛父。王令呂白伯以乃師右比毛父。遣令曰：以乃族從父征，出城，衛父身。^⑩三年，靜東或，亡不成，戮天威，丕昇屯陟。

公告厥事于上，佳民亡言出才拙，彝載，天令命，故亡允才。顯佳敬德，亡命，自道。班拜稽首曰：烏虜，不不。凡皇公，受京宗懿釐，敏文王，王妣聖孫，登于大服，廣成厥工。文王孫亡弗懷，井型，亡克競厥烈。班非敢覓，佳乍作邵考爽益益曰：大政。子子孫多世其永寶。



2. See note 1.
3. Read *pyng* "cover, protect" as also in *MGD* (see *Chern* (2), p. 71).
4. See note 1.
5. Read *ji* "model, criterion."
6. See note 1.
7. Read *twu* "foot-soldier," following *Chern* (2), p. 72.
8. Read *yuh* "charioteer" with *Chern* (2), p. 72.
9. Though known elsewhere on bronze inscriptions, this sign is unknown to literature. From its formation and context, I should guess "spearman," but this is speculation. The reading *†ge*, from *ge* "dagger-axe" is equally tentative. *YSD* (2), p. 122 reads this sign as *yuh* u.f. *gwo* "state" and thus *gwo-ren* "subjects."
10. See note 1.
11. See note 1.
12. Read *yih* "submit" (see *Chern* (2), p. 72).
- 13, 14. Read *mang-jwo*. *Jwo* "stupid" with *Chern* (2), p. 73; but his suggestion that *mang* is for *fei* "is not" is impossible. I read this as a compound "blind and stupid."
15. See note 1.
16. Read *mey* "darkened, bemused" with *Guo* (2), p. 20.

17. Read *yeou* as near synonym of *wei* and thus a compound "oppose." See *Chern* (2), p. 73.
18. *Jyue* for this sign, though *jyue* is usually written differently on bronzes, see *Chern* (2), p. 73.
19. See note 1.
20. Read *lie* following a parallel in Book of Songs, see *Chern* (2), p. 73.
21. Read *jau* "of the odd-series," a common qualification when referring to ancestors.
22. Read *shyh* with *Guo* (2), p. 23.

Romanization

Wei ba yueh chu-jyi, tzay Tzong-jou, jea-shiu, Wang minq Mau-bor geng gwo-cherng-gong fwu, pyng wang wey, tzuoh syh-fang jyi, biing Farn, Shuu, Chaur.

Linq shyi jin-? shyan.

Wang minq Mau-gong, yii bang joong-jiun, twu, yuh, ge-ren, fa Dong-gwo Yuan Rung, shyan. Wang linq Wu-bor iue "Yii nae shy tzuoo bih Mau-fuh." Wang linq Leu-bor iue "Yii nae shy yow bih Mau-fuh." Chean linq iue "Yii nae tzuwu tsornq fuh jeng, chu cherng, wey Fuh shen."

San nian jinq Dong-gwo. Wang buh shyan yih Tian wey, pi bih twen jyh. Gong gaw jyue shyh yu Shanq, "Wei min mang-jwo tzai, yi mey Tian-mino, guh wang yeun tzai. Shean wei jinq der, wang yeou wei."

Ban, bay chii shoou, iue "U-hu! pi pi jyue hwang gong, show jing-tzong yih-li, yu Wen-wang, Wang-syh shenq suen, deng yu dah fwu, goang cherng jyue gong. Wen-wang suen, wang fwu hwai shyng, wang keh jinq jyue lie."

Ban fei gaan mih, wei tzuoh jau kao shoang shyh iue "Dah Jenq."

Tzyy-tzyy suen duo shyh chyi yeong bao.

Literal Translation

On / eighth / month / *ch'u-chi* / at / Tsung-chou / *chia-hsü* [day] / King / charge / Earl of Mao / change to / Duke of Kuo-ch'eng's / office / protect / King's / position = throne /, become / four-quarter's / model. Control / Fan / Shu / Ch'ao.

Decree / grant / ? / ? / decree ends.

King / ordered / Duke of Mao / "together with / States / senior-rulers /, foot-soldiers / chariot drivers / spear / men / attack / Eastern Territories / of Yüan / Jung peoples." / Order ends /

King/order/Earl of Wu/say/"With/your/army/on left/support/Elder Mao." King/order/Earl of Lü/say/"With/your/army/on right/support/Elder Mao." Ch'ian/order/say/"with/your/troop/accompany/Elder/[on] campaign./go out/city/guard/Elder's/person."

Three/years/pacify/Eastern Territories/No-one/not/all/submit/Heaven's/awe/ Duke/announce/his/duty/to/Above=King. Because/people/blind-dull/*mode*,/customary/unclear/Heaven's/Man-date,/therefore/would not/make true/*mode*. Splendid/was/revered/virtue,/no-one/go counter/oppose.

Pan/salute/bow/head/say/"Oh!/most/glorious/our/august/Duke,/ receive/Great Clan's/regulations. Born/King Wen/Queen Ssü/sacred/grandchild/, rise/to/great/office,/large-scale/complete/his/task. King Wen's/grandchild/in nothing/not/embrace/model,/in nothing/can/compete/his/deeds."

Pan/am not/dare/seek. Merely/make [vessel]/odd series,/father/lively/footsteps/call/"Great/Campaign."

Son-son/grandchildren/all/generations,/they/eternally/cherish.

Free Translation

In the eighth month, the *ch'u-chi* period of the month, at Tsung-chou, on the day *chia-hsü*, the King charged the Earl of Mao to take over the duties of the Duke of Kuo-ch'eng, to protect the King's position, and to become a model [ruler] for [the states of] the Four Quarters. He was to govern Fan, Shu, and Ch'ao. It was decreed that he be awarded⁶³

The King charged the [by now] Duke of Mao, together with the senior rulers of his state [namely, the Earls of Wu and Lü] with foot-soldiers, charioteers, and spearmen, to attack the Jung peoples of Yüan in the Eastern Territories

The King's charge to the Earl of Wu said "With your troops, protect the Elder [i.e., the Duke] of Mao on the left flank," while the order to the Earl of Lü said "With your troops, protect the Elder of Mao on the right flank." Ch'ien⁶⁴ ordered [me, Pan] "With your company, accompany the Elder of Mao on the campaign. On leaving the city of Kuo-ch'eng, protect the Elder's person."

⁶³The signs are clear but not, to me at least, their sense.

⁶⁴Presumably a court official.

After three years, we brought peace to the Eastern Territories, nobody [in those Territories] but had fully submitted to Heaven's majesty The Duke of Mao reported the [carrying out of] his assignment to the King. [He said] "[The rebellion of the Eastern Territories took place] because the people [there] were blind and dull of understanding and thus were unclear about the Mandate of Heaven, therefore, they would not act upon [lit: 'make/true'] it. But, so splendid was the revered virtue [of the King] that none could resist it."

I, Pan, with a deep bow and a salute, say "Ah indeed! Magnificent is our [kinsman], the glorious Duke [of Mao]—recipient of the Great Clan's [i.e., the Royal House] good regulations!—born the sacred grandson of King Wen and Queen Szū—raised to high office and with greatness fulfilling the task entrusted to him. The grandson of King Wen! In nothing did he not adhere to the model [of King Wen]. No one can vie with his deeds."

It is not that I, Pan, would have dared to seek for this, but merely that I wished to make [this vessel, putting on record] the "lively footsteps"⁶⁵ of my *chao*⁶⁶ father, which I have called "the Great Campaign."

May my children, from son to son, and my grandchildren for all generations, eternally treasure [this vessel].

8.1.5.3. Inscription No. 3

THE SHEAU-CHERN LAI GOEI (SCG)

THE INSCRIPTION ON THE *kuei* OF LAI, AN OFFICER OF
THE YIN ARMIES WHO FOUGHT AGAINST THE
EASTERN TRIBESMEN

NOTE. This vessel is at present in the National Central Museum, Taichung, Taiwan. It was discovered in 1930 in Ji-shiann (汲縣) in Honan. Rubbings of the inscription are to be found in *Guo* (1), p. 10. Transcriptions of and comment upon the inscription will be found in *Chern* (1), p. 170; *Guo* (2), pp. 23-4; and *YSD* (2), p. 122.

⁶⁵"Lively footsteps," i.e., a record of deeds done, in the sense of Sir Henry Newbolt's "... and departing, leave behind us, footprints in the sands of time."

⁶⁶See footnote 38 (under *JG*).



小 臣 謎 毀

戲 東 尸 大 反 白 懋 父
 以 殷 八 官 征 東 尸 唯
 十 又 一 月 遣 自 冕 官 師
 述 東 陟 伐 海 眉 季 氏
 復 歸 才 傲 官 師 白 懋 父
 承 王 令 易 官 師 達 征 自
 五 耦 見 小 臣 謎 茂
 曆 眾 易 具 用 乍 寶 陳
 彝。

Notes on the Transcription

1. Reading unknown but clearly a place name.
2. Read *deng* in sense of "slopes, foothills," following *Chern* (1), p. 171.

Romanization

..⁶⁷Dong-shy dah-faan, Bor-maw-fuh, yii In ba shy, jeng Dong-shy, Wei shyr-yow-i yueh, chean tzyh .. -shy, shuh dong-deng fa hae-mei. Yueh jyue fuh guei, tzay Muh-shy, Bor-maw-fuh cherng Wang ling "Shyi shy shuay jeng tzyh Wu-yu, bey."

Sheau-chern 'Lai mieh 'gan, yueh shyi bey, yonq tzuoh bao tzuen yih.

Literal Translation

Formerly/Eastern Tribes/greatly/rebelled./ Po-mao-fu/with/of Yin/eight/armies/attacked/Eastern Tribesmen. On/ten-plus-one/month/despach/from/ .. -city/, skirting/eastern slopes/, attack/coastal states./ By time/their/once again/return/at/Mu Garrison City/, Po-mao-fu/received/King's/command/"Award/armies/follow/campaign/ from/Wu-yü/, cowries."

Petty/servant/Lai/moved/by this./ By time/awarded/cowries/accordingly/had made/precious/honoured/vessel./

Free Translation

Previously the Eastern Tribes had revolted. Po-mao-fu, with eight armies of Yin men, attacked the Eastern Tribes.

In the eleventh month, he was despatched from the City of ?, to go by way of the eastern slopes [i.e., of the Shantung mountains] and to attack the coastal states.

By the time that we had returned from the campaign, at the Garrison City of Mu, Po-mao-fu received a decree from the King, granting an award of cowries to all army [? commanders] who had taken part in the campaign, from Wu-yu ["the Five Saltings"] onwards.

I, Lai, was touched by this and when I was given my cowries, I accordingly had this precious and honoured sacral vessel made.

⁶⁷See 7.4.

8.1.5.4. Inscription No. 4

THE LINQ GOEI (LQG)
THE INSCRIPTION ON THE *kuei* OF
THE RECORDER TS'Ê-LING



NOTE. This vessel is also known as the *Tseh-ling Goei* (大令餽).

In 1946, it was in the collection of David Weill of Paris. It was part of a large find of bronze vessels made in 1929 at Maa-po, northeast of Loyang. A rubbing of the inscription will be found in *Guo* (1) p. 2, and *Chern* (2), p. 77. Transcriptions of and comment upon the inscription will be found in *Guo* (3), pp. 43-55; *Chern* (2), pp. 76-9; and *YSD* (2), pp. 187-8.

令 殷

佳王于伐楚白才炎佳九月既死
 霸丁丑乍册矢令薄困于王姜姜
 商令貝十朋臣十家鬲百人公
 尹白丁父兄于戍戍冀嗣三令
 敢揚皇王宣丁公文報用頤後人
 享佳丁公報令用敬揚于皇王令
 敢揚皇王室用乍丁公寶殷用薄
 史于皇宗用鄉王逆進用寮人
 婦子後人永寶。

雋册

Notes on the Transcription

1. Read *tzuu*, "meat used in sacrifice," which is offered ceremonially to the participants after the sacrifice (see *YSD* (2), p. 188 and *Guo* (3), p. 47).
2. Read *shaang* "award," a common bronze orthographic convention.
3. Read *kuanq* "to present," see *Chern* (2), p. 78.
4. Read *shiou* "grace, favour," a common bronze convention.
5. Read *shyy*, a common bronze convention.
6. See inscription no. 1, transcription note 11.

Romanization

Wei Wang yu-fa Chuu-bor, tzay Yan, wei jeou yueh, jih-syy-bah, ding-choou, Tzuoh-tseh Tseh-linq tzuen tzuu yu Wang Jiang. Jiang shaang Linq bey, shyr perng, chern, shyr jia, lih, bae ren.

Gong, Yiin, Bor-ding-fuh kuanq yu shuh. Shuh jih sy san.

Linq gaan yang hwang Wang shiou, Ding-gong wen baw. Yonq ji how-ren, sheang wei Ding-gong baw. Linq yonq jinq yang yu hwang Wang, Linq gaan yang hwang wang shiou. Yonq tzuoh Ding-gong bao goei. Yonq tzuen shyh yu hwang tzong, yonq sheang wang nih tzaw yonq .. liau-ren. Fuh, tzyy, how-ren, yeong bao.

Literal Translation

In /King /go-attack/Earl of Ch'u/[year]/at/Yen/in/ninth /month /*chi-szu-po* /*ting-ch'ou* [day]/Recorder /Ts'ê-ling /offer /sacrificial meat /to/ Queen Ch'iang. / Ch'iang /awarded/Ling /cowries/, ten /strings;/ retainers, /ten /families;/ slaves, /hundred /men.

Duke, /Governor /Po-ting-fu /presented /at /garrison-post

Ling /dared /proclaim / august / Queen's / grace, / [and] Duke Ting's / kindly / award. So that / show / descendants / enjoy / is / Duke Ting's / award. Ling / accordingly / reverently / made known / to / august / Queen, / Ling / dares / make-known / august / Queen's / grace. Accordingly / had made / [for] Duke Ting / precious / *kuei* vessel. / To be used for / honouring / serve = pay homage / to / august / Family, to be used for / feasting / King's / . . . /, to be used for / ? entertaining / colleagues. Wife, / sons / descendants / eternally / treasure.

Signature

Free Translation

In the year that the King went to attack the Earl of Ch'u at Yen, in the ninth month, I, the Recorder Ts'ê-ling, presented the sacrificial

meat to Queen Ch'iang. The Queen rewarded me with ten strings of cowries, ten families of retainers, and a hundred slaves. His Grace, the Governor Po-ting-fu, bestowed this award on me at my garrison post. [...].

I, Ts'ê-ling, have taken the liberty of setting forth the grace of our august Queen and the kindly award of Duke Ting, so that I may make known to my descendants that what [our family] enjoys, was awarded to us by Duke Ting.

I therefore respectfully made known to our august Queen that I have taken the liberty of setting forth her grace. Accordingly I have had this precious *kuei* vessel made, in honour of Duke Ting, to be used in reverently serving the august family [i.e., in entertaining royal guests], in entertaining the King's envoys and in giving feasts to official colleagues.

May my wife, my children and my descendants eternally treasure this vessel.

Signature

8.1.5.5. Inscription No. 5

THE TAY-BAO GOEI (TBG)

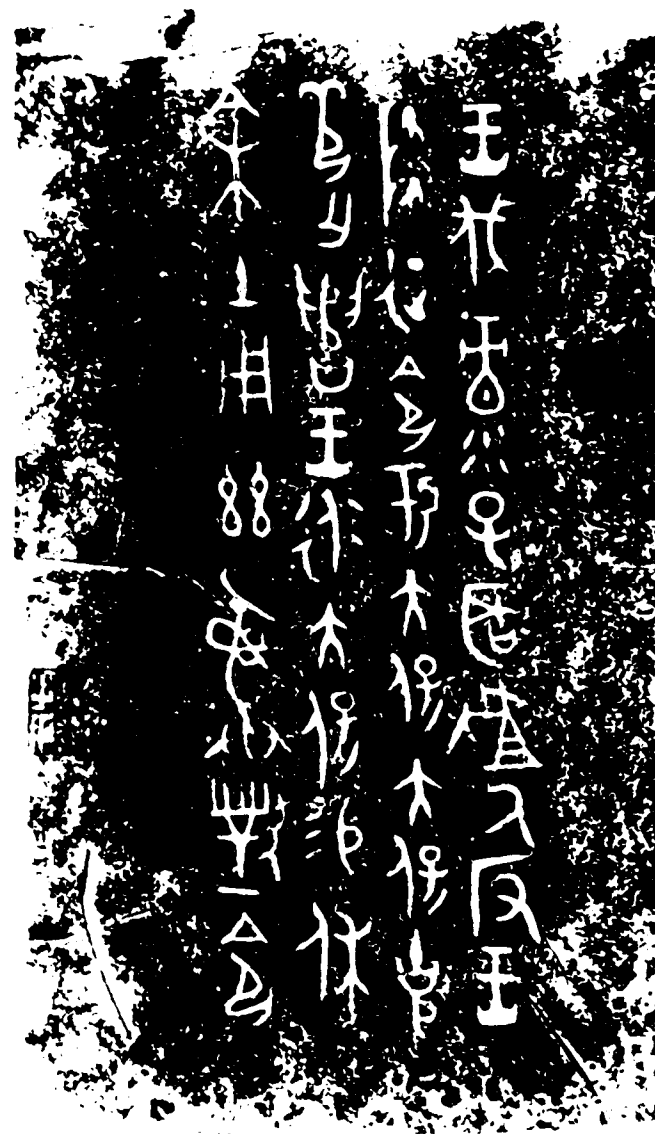
THE INSCRIPTION ON THE *kuei* OF THE GRAND GUARDIAN

大保殷

命	用	保	遣 ^①	大	征	戲	王
命	生 ^③	易 ^錫	謹	保	令 ^命	厥	伐
	茲 ^作	休 ^②	王	克	予 ^于	反	录
	彝	余	辰	敬	大	王	子
	對	土	伏	亡	保	降	取

NOTE. The present whereabouts of this vessel is unknown. It is believed to have been one of seven vessels unearthed in Liang-shan, Shantung, in the middle of the nineteenth century. The *Tay-bao Goei*

has been, at various times, in the hands of collectors. Rubbings of the inscription are reproduced in *Guo* (1), p. 13 and *Loehr*, p. 59. Transcriptions of and comment upon the inscription will be found in *Guo* (2), pp. 27-8; *Loehr*, p. 59; and *Chern* (2), p. 95-9.



Notes on the Transcription

1. Read *chean* "reprimand, scold" > "complain," "find fault," as with *Guo* (2), p. 27.

2. Guo Moh-ruoh (see *Guo* (2)) thinks that *shiou* is the personal name of the recipient of the charge. *Chern* (2), which I follow, reads this *shiou* as "grace, favour" and makes the *Tay-bao* the recipient of the charge. This seems to accord better with the general tenor of the inscription. *YSD* (2), p. 87, concurs.

3. The interpolated *tzuoh* as in *Chern's* transcription, though not in the inscription, could be inferred from other inscriptions where *yong tzuoh* commonly occurs in the concluding phrase.

Romanization

Wang fa 'Luh-tzyy 'Sheng, . . jyue faan, "Wang jianq jeng linq yu Tay-bao. Tay-bao keh jinq wang chean. Wang jyy Tay-bao shyi shiou Yu-tuu. Yonq [tzuoh] tzy yi duey minq.

Literal Translation

King/attack/Baronet of Lu/Sheng./ Previously/he/rebelled./ King/sent-down-order/attack/order/to/Grand Guardian/Grand Guardian/can/revere/would not/complain. King/cause/Grand Guardian/be given/grace/[at] Yü-t'u./ Accordingly/[have made]/this/sacral vessel/record/charge.

Free Translation

The King attacked Sheng, the Baronet of Lu. Prior to this he had rebelled. The King issued the decree ordering the punitive expedition, to [me] the Grand Guardian. [I] the Grand Guardian, [am one who] can but treat with reverence [such a decree] and would not inveigh against [it].

At the instigation of the King, [I] the Grand Guardian was presented with a grace at Yü-t'u [that is, a grant of land].

I therefore had this *yi* vessel made in order to place on record the [King's] charge.

8.1.5.6. Inscription No. 6THE JIING-HOUR GOEI (*JHG*)THE INSCRIPTION ON THE *kuei* OF THE LORD OF CHING

NOTE. This vessel is also known as the *Jou-gong Goei* (周公餽). It

is in the British Museum (see *Yetts*, vol. I, pp. 13-14). Rubbings of the inscription are reproduced in *Guo* (4), p. 303. Transcription of and comment upon the inscription will be found in *Guo* (4), pp. 303-9; *Chern* (3), pp. 73-7, and *Yu Shiing-wu* pp. 22-6.

*Notes on the Transcription*

1. Read *chour* "requite, return thanks," as suggested by *Chern* (3), p. 74.
2. Read *pyn* "many," following *Yu Shiing-wu* (p. 25).
3. Read *jong*, a common bronze convention.
4. Read *juey*, a common bronze convention.
5. Read *chau-terng* "to record" with *Chern* (3), p. 75.

井侯殷

王令，乍作周公彝。
 盟朕臣天子。用冊。
 考對，不敢遂。
 無冬終，令命予子右有周。追。
 瀕福，克奔走上下，常。
 拜稽首，魯天子，宥酬厥。
 三品，州人，董董庸。
 史曰：嘗井侯服，易錫臣。
 佳三月，王令榮粲果粲內。

Romanization

Wei san yueh, Wang ling Rong yueh ney-shyy, iue "Hay Jiing-hour fwu, shyi chern san piin, Jou-ren, Doong-ren, long-ren."

Bay chii shoou, luu Tian-tzyy, chour jyue pyn fwu, keh ben tzoou shanq-shiah. Dih wu jong minq yu yeou-Jou.

Juei kao, duey, buh gaan juey. Chau-terng fwu meng "Jenn-chern Tian-tzyy."

Yongq tseh Wang lingq, tzuoh Jou-gong yi.

Literal Translation

Upon/third/month,/King/decreed/Jung/and/nui-shih/said/"Grant to/Ching [place name]/Lord/charge/award/of retainers/three/kinds,/Chou [place name]/men/Tung [place name]/men/Yung [place name]/men."/

Salute/bow/head,/praise/Heaven/Son,/return thanks/his/many/favours./Able to/serve/[all] high and low./ God/would not/make-end/Mandate/with/ruler of Chou./

Make known/filial-duty [=pay respects to ancestors]/place-on-record./ Not/dare/let-be-defaced.

Record/happy/oath/"serve as servant/serve as slave/Heaven's/Son."/

In order/put-in-writing/King's/decreed,/have had made/[for] Chou/Duke of,/sacral vessel./

Free Translation

In the third month, the King issued a decree to Jung and to the Nui-shih, which said "Grant to the Lord of Ching a charge of office and present him with three groups of retainers—a group from [the district] of Chou, one from Tung, and one from Yung."

Bowing deeply and with a salute, I [the Lord of Ching] praised the Son of Heaven. I returned thanks for his many favours. He can render service to all, both high and low. May God not terminate the Mandate with the [present] ruler of Chou.

I pay my filial duty and place [this grant of the King] on record, not daring to allow it to be effaced from memory.

I set on record the [following] happy covenant [which I have sworn] "I will serve the Son of Heaven as his servant and subject."

Accordingly, in order to place on record the King's decree, I have had this sacral vessel made in honour of the Duke of Chou.

8.1.5.7. Inscription No. 7

THE LINQ FANG YI (LFY)

THE INSCRIPTION ON THE SQUARE yi VESSEL OF

THE RECORDER TS'E-LING

NOTE. This vessel is also known as the *Linq Tseh Yi* (令矢彝). *Jou Ming-gong Yi* (周明公彝), the *Linq Yi* (令彝), *Tseh Yi* (矢彝), and *Tzuoh-tseh Linq Yi* (乍冊令彝). It was another of the large find (see inscription no. 4, note) of vessels made in 1929 at Maa-po, northeast of Loyang. It is at present in the Freer Gallery at Washington, D.C. Rubbings of the inscription will be found in the *Freer Catalogue* p. 43 and *Guo* (1), p. 2. Transcriptions of and comment upon the inscription will be found in the *Freer Catalogue* pp. 42-7; *Guo* (2), pp. 5-10; *Guo* (3), pp. 33-64; and *Chern* (2), pp. 86-91.

令方彝

佳八月，辰才甲申，王令周公子明保尹三事四方，受卿事寮。丁亥，令矢^①告于周公宮。公令造同卿事寮。佳十月，月吉，癸未，明公朝至，弜成周造令。舍三事，令眾卿事寮眾者尹，眾里君，眾百工，眾者侯，侯田男。舍四方令^命既咸。令，甲申，明公用牲弜凉

宮。乙酉，用牲弜康宮。咸既用牲弜王，明公歸自王^③。明公易^錫左師^④，金小牛，曰^⑤用祿。易^錫令^⑥，金小牛，曰^⑦用祿。迺^⑧令曰：『今我唯令女二人，先眾^⑨矢，爽左右弜，乃寮以乃友事。』作冊^作令敢揚明公尹厥室^休，用作父丁寶尊彝。敢追明公賞弜^子父丁，用光父丁。

冊萬冊



Notes on the Transcription

1. Read *tseh* following *Tarng Lan* (Tarng 2); sometimes read *nieh*.
2. 者 for 諸; and 田 for 甸; as commonly on bronzes.
3. Read *Wang* as place-name, with *Tarng Lan* (2), p. 26.
4. Read *Uang* following *Chern* (2), p. 91.
5. Read *fern* following *Tarng Lan* (2), p. 22.

Romanization

Wei ba yueh, chern-tsair, jea-shen, Wang linq Jou-gong tzyy Ming-bao-yiin, san shyh, syh-fang, show ching-shyh-liau.

Ding-hay, linq Tseh "Gaw yu Jou-gong gong." Gong linq "Tzaw torng ching-shyh-liau."

Wei shyr yueh, yueh jyi, goei-vey, Ming-gōng jau, jyh yu Cherng-jou, tzaw linq. Shee san shyh linq yueh ching-shyh-liau, yueh ju-yiin, yueh lii-jiun, yueh bae-gong, yueh ju-hour, hour, diann, nan. Shee syh-fang minq.

Jih shyan linq, jea-shen, Ming-gong yonq sheng yu Jing-gong. Yiiyeou yonq sheng yu Kang-gong. Shyan jih yonq sheng yu Wang, Ming-gong guei tzyh Wang.

Ming-gong shyi Uang shy, chanq, jin, sheau-niou iue "Yonq fern." Shyi Linq, chanq, jin, sheau-niou iue "Yonq fern."

Nae linq iue "Jin woo wei linq ruu ell ren Uang yueh Tseh, shoang tzuoo-yow yu nae liau. Yii nae yeou, shyh."

Tzuoh-tseh Linq gaan yang Ming-gong-yiin jyue shiou. Yonq tzuoh Fuh-ding bao tzuen-yi.

Gaan juei Ming-gong shaang yu Fuh-ding, yonq guang Fuh-ding.

Literal Translation

Upon/eighth/month,/[*ch'en-ts'ai*]/[*chia-shen* [day]]/King/decreed/Ming/Guardian of/govern/three/affairs,/four/quarters/, receive and hold/administrative hierarchy./

Upon/*i-hai* [day]/command/Ts'e [PN]=me/"announce [to/Chou/Duke of/Palace.]" Duke/ordered/"go/join/administration."/

Upon/tenth/month/*yüeh-chi* [period]/[*kuei-wei* [day]]/Ming/Duke of/go East/arrive/at/Ch'eng-chou/put in effect/decreed./ Released/"three/affairs"/decreed/[to] administration/and/all governors/and/town-rulers/and/craftsmen in government employ/and/Feudal Lords/[of rank of]/*hou/tien/nan*. Released/four/quarters/decreed.

Having already/both/decrees [issued]/[on]*chia-shen* [day]/Ming/Duke of/used=sacrificed/sacrificial animal/at/Ching/Palace,/[on] *i-yu* [day]/used=sacrificed/sacrificial animal/at/K'ang/Palace. Both [places]/having already/used/sacrificial animals/at/Wang/Ming/Duke of/returned-home/from/Wang./

Ming/Duke of/presented/*Wang-shih*/[with] sacrificial wine/metal/calf/say/"use in/sacrifice.]" Presented/Ling/[with] sacrificial wine/metal/calf/say/"use in/sacrifice.]" Thereafter/decreed/saying/ "Now/I/will/order/you/two/men/Wang/and/T'se/actively/serve-as-courtiers/among/your/colleagues/. With/your/associates/serve."

Recorder/Ling/dare/proclaim/Ming/Duke of/Governor/his/grace./ Accordingly/have made/[for] Fu-ting/precious/honoured/sacral vessel.

Presume/make-known/Duke of Ming's/award/to/Fu-ting,/in order to/bring glory on/Fu-ting.

Free Translation

In the eighth month, in *ch'en-ts'ai*, on the day *chia-shen*, the King decreed that the Guardian of Ming, son of the Duke of Chou, should take charge of the [Ministers] of the Three Affairs,⁶⁸ and of the [Feudal Lords of] the Four Quarters, and to receive charge of the administration.

On the day *ting-hai* [that is, three days later], the [Guardian of Ming] commanded me, Ts'ê "Announce [this charge] in the Palace of [my father] the Duke of Chou." The Duke then charged me to take my place among the senior Ministers.

In the tenth month, the *yueh-chi* period of the month, on the day *kuei-wei*, The Duke⁶⁹ of Ming, proceeding towards the east, came to the city of Ch'êng-chou to put into effect the decree. He released the decree concerning the "Three Affairs" to the senior Ministers, the governors, to officials living in the provincial towns and to the craftsmen with official appointments and also to the Feudal Lords, those of *hou*, *tien*, and *nan* rank. He released the decree concerning the "[Feudal Lords of the] Four Quarters."

⁶⁸The six most senior ministers, see *SYD*. By "Three Affairs" are meant "the several affairs of state."

⁶⁹That is, the erstwhile "Guardian" who, after his appointment, became a Duke.

Having issued both decrees, on the day *chia-shen* [that is, the day following], the Duke of Ming sacrificed an ox in the Ching Palace. On the day *i-yu* [that is, the day following], the Duke of Ming sacrificed an ox in the K'ang Palace. Having made both sacrifices at Wang, the Duke of Ming returned [to his residence] from Wang.

The Duke of Ming presented Wang-shih with sacrificial wine, metal, and a calf, saying "Use these in sacrificing to your ancestors." He presented me, the Recorder [Ts'ê-] Ling, with sacrificial wine, bronze, and a calf, saying "Use these for sacrificing to your ancestors."

Thereafter, he issued a decree which said "Today, we are going to charge you two men, Wang and Ts'ê, actively to take your places right and left [i.e., serve as courtiers] among your colleagues. Together with your friends to serve me."

I, the Recorder Ling, have taken the liberty to make known the grace of the Governor, the Duke of Ming, and accordingly I have had this precious and honourable *yi* vessel made in honour of Fu-ting. I have taken the liberty of making known the gift of the Duke of Ming to Fu-ting, in order to bring glory to Fu-ting.

Recorded by Recorder—

8.1.5.8. Inscription No. 8

THE SHAW YUAN CHIH (SYC)

THE INSCRIPTION ON A VESSEL, ONE OF A SET MADE
FOR THE PALACE AT CH'U BY SHAO, AN
ATTENDANT UPON THE QUEEN

NOTE. This vessel is also known as the *Shaw You* (召卣) or *Shaw Tzuen* (召尊). It was in the collection of *Chern Bao-chen* (陳寶琮) when his catalogue was published in 1931. Rubbings of the inscription are reproduced in *Chern Bao-chen*, pp. 50-1, and *Guo* (5) p. 10. Transcriptions of and comment upon the inscription will be found in *Chern* (2), pp. 104-6; *Guo* (5), pp. 10-12; and *YSD* (2), p. 136.

Notes on the Transcription

1. Read *ben-tzouu*, see *YSD* (2), p. 136.
2. Read *shyy*, a common bronze convention.



召 園 器

佳十又二月，初
吉，丁卯，召啓進
事，旋^①走事皇辟
君，休王。自穀
吏^②賞畢土方五
十里。召弗敢
望王休異。用
乍^作斲宮旅彝。

Romanization

Wei shyr yow ell yueh, chu-ji, ding-mao, Shaw chii jinn shyh, benzooou shyh hwang Bih-jiun, shiou Wang. Tzyh Guu, shyy shaang Bih-tuu, fang wuu-shyr lii.

Shaw fwu gaan wanq shiou yih, yonq tzuoh Chu-gong leu yi.

Literal Translation

Upon/ten/plus/two = twelfth/month/*ch'u-chi*[period]/*ting-mao*[day]/, Shao/begin/enter/service/, serve/wait on/august/Empress/receive-grace from/King./ From/Ku/caused/award/*Pi-t'u* [place name]/, square/fifty/miles.

Shao/not/dare/forget/grace's/unusualness/accordingly/have made/[for] Ch'u Palace/set/sacral vessels.

Free Translation

In the twelfth month, the *ch'u-chi* period of the month, on the day *ting-mao*, when I, Shao, was beginning my career in the [Royal] service, I was serving in attendance upon our august Queen when I received a grace from the King. At his instigation I was awarded, from the territory of Ku, a grant of land fifty [Chinese] miles square, at *Pi-t'u*.

I, Shao, dare not allow to pass from memory, the unusualness of the King's grace and accordingly I have had this set of *yi* vessels made for the Palace of Ch'u.

8.1.5.9. Inscription No. 9

THE SHYH SHANQ HWO (SSH)

THE INSCRIPTION ON THE *Huo* VESSEL OF THE KNIGHT SHANG

NOTE. This vessel is also known as the *Chern Chern Hwo* (臣辰盃). It was one of the large find made in 1929 at Maa-po, northeast of Loyang (see also inscriptions nos. 4 and 7). It is in the Freer Gallery at Washington, D.C. Reproductions of the rubbings of the inscription are to be found in the *Freer Catalogue* p. 48 and *Guo* (1), p. 15. Transcriptions of and comment upon the inscription will be found in *Chern* (2), pp. 92-4; *Guo* (5), pp. 3-4; *Freer Catalogue* pp. 48-50; and *Loehr*, pp. 39-50.



士上盃

佳王大龠于宗
周造居鎬京年
才在五月既望辛
酉王令士上果
史寅廢于成周
慧百生豚果
賞貞髦貝用作
父癸寶樽彝
臣辰册先

Note on the Transcription

1. This sign is much disputed (see *Guo* (4), p. 328, and *Chern* (2), p. 93) but it seems to mean "make a gift of, apportion out to."

Romanization

Wei Wang dah-yueh yu Tzong-jou, tzaw jiu Haur-jing nian, tzay wuu yueh, jih-wanq shin-yeou, Wang linq Shyh-Shanq yueh Shyy-Yn "In yu Cherng-jou, [guu] bae-shinq twen."

Yueh shaang yeou chanq, bey, yonq tzuoh Fuh-goei bao tzuen yi.

Literal Translation

In /King /held-great-meeting /at /Tsung-chou /, went /reside at /Hao-capital/year, /upon/fifth/month/*chi-wang* [period]/*hsin-yu* [day]/King/ordered/the Knight Shang/and/the Annalist Yin/"call-large-meeting/at/Ch'eng-chou/, supply/to gentry/sucking-pigs."

By time that/receive award/flask/sacrificial wine/cowries/, accordingly/had made/[for] Fu-kuei/precious/honoured/sacral vessel.

Free Translation

In the year that the King held a great assembly at Tsung-chou, and went to live in the capital city at Hao, in the fifth month, the *chi-wang* period of the month, on the day *hsin-yu*, the King commanded [me] the Knight Shang and the Annalist Yin "Summon a gathering at Ch'eng-chou and divide out among the gentry [a gift of] sucking pigs."

When I was awarded a *yu* of sacrificial wine and cowries, I accordingly had this precious sacral vessel made in honour of [my ancestor] Fu-kuei.

Signature

8.1.5.10. Inscription No. 10

THE SHIANN GOEI (SHG)

THE INSCRIPTION ON THE *kuei* VESSEL OF HSIEN, A RELATIVE
OF THE DUKE OF PI, IN THE SERVICE OF THE
SON OF HEAVEN

NOTE. This vessel is also known as the *Shiann Yi* (獻彝) and the *-bor Yi* (赫伯彝). It was in the collection of Luo Jenn-yuh (羅振玉). Its provenance is not known. Reproductions of a rubbing of the inscription will be found in *Guo* (5), p. 7. Transcriptions of and comment upon the inscription will be found in *Chern* (2), pp. 106-7; *Guo* (5), pp. 6-8; and *YSD* (2), p. 124.

*Note on the Transcription*

1. Read *yu-gow* "go to, come upon, happen" as *YSD* (2), p. 124.

Romanization

Wei jeou yueh, jih-wanq, gēng-yn, 'Lu-bor yu-gow Wang shiou wang-you. Jenn bih Tian-tzyy, 'Lu-bor linq jyue chern Shiann, jin, che. Duey-terng bih shiou, tzuoh jenn wen kao quang Fuh-yii. Shyr yeh bwu wanq, Shiann shen tzay Bih-gong jia, show Tian-tzyy shiou.

Literal Translation

Upon/ninth/month/ *chi-wang* [period]/*keng-yin* [day]/Earl of Lu/go-meet=encountered/King's grace/without fault/. I/take charge/[for]

獻 殷
 佳九月，既望，庚寅，
 櫛伯白伯于于遣王休亡
 尤。朕辟天子，櫛
 白伯令厥臣獻金車。
 對朕騰辟休，乍作朕文
 考光父乙。十葉不
 謏，獻身才在畢公家
 受天子休。

Heaven's Son/Earl of Lu/ordered/his/servant/Hsien/metal/carriage.
 Place on record/ruler's/grace./ Have made/[for] gentle/forbear/illus-
 trious/Fu-i/this vessel. Ten/generations/not/forget/Hsien/in person/in/
 Duke of Pi's/house/received/Son of Heaven's/grace.

Free Translation

In the ninth month, the *chi-wang* period of the month, on the day *kêng-yin*, the Earl of Lu happened upon the King's graciousness and faultlessness. I [Hsien] was arranging matters for the Son of Heaven. The Earl of Lu ordered for me, his servant Hsien, a gift of bronze and a carriage. In order to place upon record the King's graciousness, I have had [this vessel] made for my gentle father, the illustrious Fu-i, so that my descendants for ten generations to come will not forget that I, Hsien, in person, as a member of the household of the Duke of Pi, received the favour of the Son of Heaven.

8.1.5.11. Inscription No. 11

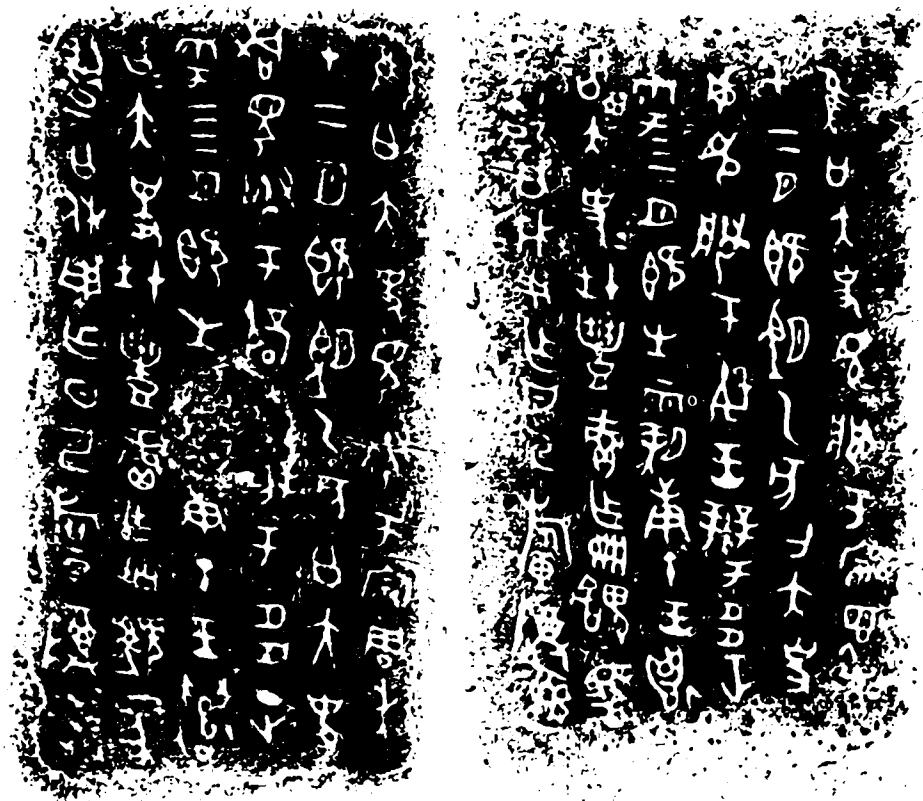
THE TZUOH-TSEH HUU YEOU, (TTY)

THE INSCRIPTION ON THE *Yu* OF THE RECORDER HU

NOTE. Neither the present whereabouts of this vessel nor its provenance is known to me. A rubbing of the inscription is reproduced in *Chern* (2), p. 111, and a transcription of and comment upon it will be found on pp. 111-15.

Romanization

Wei Gong, Tay-shyy jiann fwu yu Tzong-jou nian, tzay ell yueh, jih-wanq, yii-hay, Gong, Tay-shyy shyan jiann fwu yu bih-Wang, biann yu duo-jenq.



乍册魁卣

傳彝。揚公休，用作日已旅。
 在豐賞乍册魁馬。
 遣公大史。公大史。
 四月，既生霸，庚午，王
 辟王，辨于多正。寧
 亥，公大史咸見服于
 周年，才在二月，既望，乙
 佳公大史見服于宗

Yueh syh yueh, jih-sheng-bah, geng-wuu Wang chean Gong, Tay-shyy. Gong, Tay-shyy tzay Feng. Shaang Tzuoh-tseh Huu, maa.

Yang Gong shiou, yonq tzuoh Ryh-jii leu tzuen yi.

Literal Translation

In/Duke/the Grand Annalist/in audience/charged [with duties]/at/Tsung-chou/year, /in /second /month /*chi-wang* [period]/*i-hai* [day]/Duke/Grand Annalist/all/in audience/charged/by/King/, allotted/[duties] to/senior officials.

Come-now-to /fourth/month/*chi-sheng-pa* [period]/*keng-wu* [day]/King/sent-forth/Duke/Grand Annalist./ Duke/Grand Annalist/reside-at/Feng./ Award/Recorder/Hu/horses.

Proclaim/Duke's/grace, /accordingly/have-made/[for] Jih-chi /set/honoured/sacral vessels.

Free Translation

In the year when his Grace, the Grand Annalist, was charged in audience with his duties at Tsung-chou, in the second month, the *chi-*

wang period of the month, upon the day *yi-hai*, he, the Duke, having been charged with all his duties by the King, apportioned [duties] to the assembled senior officials.

Later, in the fourth month, the *chi-sheng-po* period of the month, on the day *keng-wu*, the King dismissed the Duke. The Duke returned to his residence in Feng. There he awarded me, the Recorder Hu, a gift of horses.

To proclaim the Duke's grace, I accordingly had this set of honoured vessels made in honour of [my ancestor?] Jih-chi.

8.1.5.12. Inscription No. 12

THE MAU-GONG DIING (MGD)

THE INSCRIPTION ON THE *Ting* OF THE DUKE OF MAO

NOTE. The *Mau-gong Diing* is at present in the National Central Museum, Taichung, Taiwan. For the provenance of this vessel see note on inscription no. 1. Rubbings of this inscription are reproduced in *Guo* (1), p. 131. Transcriptions of and comment upon this inscription are contained in *Doong* (1) and (3); *Guo* (2), pp. 148-54; *YSD* (2), pp. 29-33; and *Guo* (4), pp. 255-301.

Notes on the Transcription

1. 獸 for 厭; 雁 for 膺; 油 for 將; 畏 for 威; 司 for 嗣; 從 for 縱; 俗 for 欲; 專 for 敷; 亟 for 極; 母 for 毋; are common bronze conventions.
2. See note 1.
3. See note 1.
4. Read *shiang-yih* following *Doong* (1), p. 14.
5. Read *yih* "weary of, put away," following *Doong* (1), p. 14.
6. Read *goong* "strengthen" following *Doong* (1), p. 14, after Suen Yi-ranq.
7. See note 1.
8. See note 1.
9. Read *jyi* with *Doong* (1), p. 14.
10. ? Read *luan*.
11. See note 1.
12. Read *jiuh* "frighten" with *Doong* (1), p. 15.
13. Read *pyng* (see also inscription no. 2, note 3).
14. For *wu jer jian*, another interpretation is "do not keep silent," but this does not seem to me to account for *jer* adequately, and the King's silence seems consonant with the preceding context.
15. Read *jong* with *Doong* (1), p. 16. This and the next sign are much disputed, though most commentators, basing themselves on comparable contexts,

毛公鼎

女^汝母敢^荒妄寧，虔夙夕惠
 我一人，護^維我邦小大猷。
 母折^母威^威告余先王若德。
 用^仰印^昭邵皇天。齎^造鞠大命，
 康能^寧四^國或^欲。俗我弗^乍先
 王憂。王曰：「父^粵昏寧之，
 庶出入事^使于外，^敷尊命^敷尊。
 政^敷敷小大楚賦，無唯正
 朝^昏弘其唯王智。迺唯是

喪我國。麻^歷自今，出入^敷尊
 命于外，^敷非先告父^昏昏，
 父^昏昏舍命。母有敢^敷蠢^敷尊
 命于外。王曰：「父^昏昏今
 余唯^敷齎^敷先王命，命女^汝亟^敷
 一方^敷，^敷我邦我家，母^敷顧^敷
 于政，勿^敷離^敷建^敷庶人^敷實，母^敷
 敢^敷龔^敷橐^敷龍^敷橐^敷迺^敷於^敷鰥^敷寡。
 善效乃友正，母^敷敢^敷滑^敷于

王若曰：「父^昏昏，不顯^昏文武
 皇天弘^敷猷^敷，^敷德^敷，^敷配^敷我有
 周雁^敷受大命，率^敷衷^敷不^敷廷
 方，^敷亡^敷不^敷閑^敷于文武^敷耿^敷光。
 唯^敷天^敷抽^敷集^敷卒^敷命，亦^敷唯^敷先
 正^敷器^敷辭^敷卒^敷辟^敷。^敷彝^敷董^敷大^敷命。
 肆^敷皇^敷天^敷亡^敷矣。臨^敷保^敷我有
 周。不^敷鞏^敷先^敷王^敷配^敷命。既^敷天
 疾^敷畏^敷司^敷嗣^敷。余^敷小^敷子^敷。弗^敷役^敷邦

抽^敷害^敷吉。齎^敷齎^敷四方，大^敷從^敷
 不^敷靜。烏^敷虜^敷，^敷邏^敷余^敷小^敷子^敷，^敷圍^敷
 湛^敷于^敷艱。永^敷巩^敷先^敷王。王
 曰：「父^昏昏，今^敷余^敷唯^敷肇^敷丕^敷先
 王命，命女^汝辭^敷我^敷邦^敷我^敷家
 內外。蠢^敷于^敷小^敷大^敷政。嚶^敷朕
 立^敷號^敷許^敷上^敷下^敷若^敷否。雩^敷四
 方，^敷死^敷母^敷童^敷余^敷一^敷人^敷才^敷立^敷
 弘^敷唯^敷乃^敷智。余^敷非^敷庸^敷又^敷拜^敷

取徵貴世錡乎錡易錡女汝鬻汝鬻汝
 執執事以乃族干吾王身執
 嗣嗣小子師氏虎臣嗣聿聿朕朕
 命命女汝併嗣嗣公公族族聿聿參參有有
 事事察察大史察于父即尹事
 王曰王父父曆曆已曰汲茲卿王
 俗欲女汝弗弗以乃辟辟函函于于刑刑刑

一一自自裸圭瓚寶朱市慈恩慈
 黃璠玉環玉璠珠璠金車璠奉璠鮮璠
 較較朱較鞞鞞鞞圖鞞新鞞虎鞞巨鞞熏鞞裏鞞
 右右尼尼畫畫轉轉畫轉輶輶金輶用輶道輶
 衡衡金衡嶺嶺金嶺象嶺刺嶺金嶺籃嶺
 彌第魚魚葡葡馬馬四四匹匹攸攸勒勒金勒
 噉噉金噉雁雁朱朱旂旂二二鈴鈴易錡女汝
 兹兹天天用天歲天用天政天毛毛公公
 曆曆對曆揚曆天子皇休曆用作曆
 曆曆鼎鼎子子孫孫孫孫永永寶寶用用

arrive at the meaning "make effective, take seriously" and the like. I read *pro tem*, *jong* "continue," *tzaw* "work on, make effective."

16. Read *ning* and thus *kang-ning*, as elsewhere in *Shu*.
17. See note 1.
18. See note 1.
19. Read *yih* "control" with *Doong* (1), p. 16.
20. See note 1.
21. Read *horng* "pacify."
22. Read *guh* "show favour." Other suggestions are *Doong* (1), read 越 "create disturbance"; *Guo* (2), read *tuei* 推 "to push, to press," but these are not very convincing in context.
23. *Gong-tzww* is also thought to be a name for officials, but I read this with *nae-tzww* in the next line as "Your Grace's clan" and "your clan" respectively.
24. Read *ban* "variegated" (*ap. K'ang-hsi Dictionary*).
25. Read *tzenq* following *Guo* (2), p.138 (b).

Romanization

Wang ruoh iue "Fuh In! pi-shean Wen Wu, hwang Tian hornq yann jyue der, pey woo yeou-Jou, ing-show dah-minq, shuay hwai buh-tyng-fang, wang bwu hann yu Wen Wu geeng-guang. Wei Tian jiang jyi jyue minq, yih wei shian-jenq shiang-yih jyue bih. Lau-chyn dah-minq, syh hwang Tian wang yih, lin bao woo yeou-Jou, pi-goong shian-wang pey minq. Min Tian jyi wey, syh yu-sheau-tzyy. Fwu jyi, bang jiang hay jyi? Luan-luan syh-fang, dah-tzong bwu-jinq. U-hu! jih yu-sheau-tzyy, huen-jann yu jian. Yeong goong shian-wang."

Wang iue "Fuh In! Jin yu wei jaw jing shian-wang minq. Minq ruu yih woo bang woo jia ney way. Choen yu sheau-dah jenq, pyng jenn wey. Shih sheu shanq-shiah ruoh foou. Yueh syh-fang, shy. Wu donq yu-i-ren tzay wey. Hornq wei nae jyh. Yu fei iong yow huen. Ruu wu gaan Huang ning, chyan, suh-shih huey woo-i-ren. Iong woo bang sheau-dah you. Wu jer jian. Gaw yu shian-wang ruoh der, yonq yeang jau hwang Tian, jong tzaw dah-minq. Kang-ning syh-gwo. Yuh woo fwu tzuoh shian-wang iou."

Wang iue "Fuh In! Yueh jy, shuh chu-ruh shyy yu way, fu minq fu jenq, yih sheau-dah jinn fuh, wu wei jenq huen, 'hornq chyi wei wang jyh.' Nae wei-shyh sanq woo gwo. Lih-tzyh-jin, chu-ruh fu minq yu way, jyue fei shian gaw Fuh In, Fuh In shee minq. Wu-yeou gaan huen fu minq yu way."

Wang iue "Fuh In! Jin yu wei jong shian-wang minq. Minq ruu jyi i fang, hornq woo bang woo jia. Wu guh yu jenq. Wuh yeong-

jiann shuh-ren juu. Wu gaan gong-two, Gong-two nae wuu guan-goa. Shann shiaw nae yeou jenq. Wu gaan shiong yu jeou. Ruu wu gaan juey tzay nae fwu-tzaw. Suh-shih jinq niann Wang wey bwu yih. Ruu wu fwu shuay, yonq shian-wang tzuoh ming shyng. Yuh ruu fwu yii nae bih shiann yu jian."

Wang iue "Fuh In! yii iue jyi-tzy, yuh-shyh-liau, dah-shyy-liau, yu Fuh jyi yiin. Minq ruu binq sy gong-tzww yueh san yeou-sy, sheau-tzyy, shy-shyh, hu-chern, yueh jenn jyr-shyh, yii nae tzww gan-wu wang shen. Cheu jeng san-shyr liueh."

Shyi ruu jeu-chanq i yeou, guann guei tzann bao, ju fuh tsong herng, yuh hwan yuh hu, jin che ban bih jiauw, ju tann kung jinn, hu mih shiun lii, you woei huah fwu huah min, jin jōng tsuoh herng, jin torng jin woei, chi shiang. Jin dian bih, yu-fwu, maa syh pi iou lhei, jin lie jin ying, ju chyi ell ling. Shyi ruu tzy tzenq, yonq suey yonq jeng."

Mau-gong In duey yang tian-tzyy hwang shiou, yonq tzuoh tzuen diing. Tzyy-tzyy suen-suen yeong bao yonq.

Literal Translation

King/thus/said/"Elder/Yin/glorious/Wen/Wu/, august/Heaven/greatly/satisfied/their/virtue, /make fit/Us/rulers of Chou/receive/Mandate / all / embrace / not-come to court-places=states not paying allegiance/, none/not/gated/by/Wen/Wu's/glory. It is/Heaven/[that] will/gather together/its/Mandate,/and too/it is/former kings/senior officials assist/its/governance. Make-effort/Mandate,/then result/august/Heaven/would not/abandon,/condescend/protect/Us/rulers of Chou,/add greatly/former Kings/make-fit/Mandate. Bright/Heaven/very/fearful. Bequeath/[to] me, a child. /Do not/exert effort,/state/will/what?/fortune?/unruly/[are]four quarters,/very lax/restless./ Oh!/make-afraid/me, a child/, inundate/in/difficulty./ Forever/bow/[to] former-Kings."

King/said/"Elder/Yin!,/Now/I/will/begin/work on/former-Kings/Mandate./ Order/you/govern/our/state/our/House/inside/outside./ Take trouble/in/small-large/affairs of state,/protect/my/Throne./ Deter/encourage/high-low/good-bad./ As to/four quarters/corpse./ Do not/move/me/upon/throne./ Great/is/your/wisdom./ I/am not/everyday/and too/am bemused./ You/must not/dare/be negligent/take ease/, reverently/day-night/comfort/me./ Pacify/our/State/small-large-plans./ Do not/break/seal-binding./ Announce/for me/to former Kings/such/

[is my] virtue/, thereby/look up to/glorify/august/Heaven, continue/make-effective/Mandate. Make peaceful/four quarters./ Wish/I/do not/make/former Kings/grieve."

King/said/"Elder/Yin!/ Up to/now/all/go out-come in=envoys/sent/to/outside,/to proclaim/decrees/proclaim/government policy/, allot/small-large/taxes/none/would/correct/foolish./ [But say] 'Great/it/[is] only/King's/wisdom./' And so/for this reason/[may] lose/our/kingdom./ *seriatim* from now = henceforth/[when] envoys/proclaim/decrees/to/outside/[if] they/are not/previously/inform/Elder/Yin/, [then] Elder/Yin/release/charge./ Let there not be/dare/foolishly/proclaim/decrees/to/outside."

King/said/"Elder/Yin!/, now/I/will/carry on/former King's/Mandate./ Order/you/be model/[for] entire/regions/, pacify/Our/State/Our/House./ Do not/show favour/in/government./ Do not/lock-bolt/commoner's/stocks./ Do not/dare/enrich [yourself]=? take bribes./ [If] enrich yourself/then/insult/widows/widowers. With skill/instruct/your/colleagues/elders./ Do not/dare/brawl/in/wine./ You/must not/dare/neglect/in/your/duties. Day-night/reverently/remember/King's/majesty/is not/[to be taken] lightly./ You/must not/not/lead/, use/former Kings/make/bright/model./ Wish/you/do not/because of/your/ruling/become ensnared/by trouble."

King/said/"Elder/Yin!/ already/say/up to-this = hitherto /ching-shih-liao/t'ai-shih-liao/to/Elder/are/what-govern./ Order/you/concurrently/control/your/clan/and/three/officials/[i.e.]hsiao-tzu/shih-shih/hu-ch'en/and/my/officials. With/your/clan/shield/King's/person./ Exact/fines/thirty/lüeh [measure]."

"Present/[to] you/sacrificial wine/one/flask,/libation/jade [ladle]/jade/handle./ Scarlet/apron/onion-green/belt pendant. Jade circlet/jade/tablet. Bronze/chariot/many coloured/cover/handrail/, scarlet/soft leather/leaning-board/breast-straips/, tiger [skin]/cover/reddish-brown/lining/help/yoke/painted/bindings/painted/couplings./ Bronze/bells/ornament/yoke-bar/metal/rear-end/metal/brake/lacquer/decorate./ Metal/bamboo/bow-press,/fish [skin]/quiver./ Horses/four/instances/that which/reins./ Metal/bridle/metal/girthstrap./ Scarlet/flag/two/bells. Grant/you/these/gifts/use/animal sacrifices/use/campaign."

Mao/Duke of/Yin/set on record/proclaim/Heaven's/Son/august/grace./ Accordingly/had made/honoured/tripod. Son-to-son/grandson-to-grandson/eternally/treasure/use.

Free Translation

Thus said the King "Elder Yin! August Heaven is profoundly satisfied with the virtue of the glorious Kings Wen and Wu, which makes us, the rulers of Chou, acceptable [to Heaven, so that] we have received the Grand Mandate to cherish all, even those who do not pay us allegiance, [so that] none but will come within the compass of the glory of Wen and Wu. It is Heaven that will unify [all under] Heaven's Mandate, and it is the former senior officials of Wen and Wu who will assist in Heaven's governance. If we make every effort to make effective the Grand Mandate, then august Heaven would not abandon us, but will condescend to protect us, the rulers of Chou, adding greatly to our ancestors' acceptability for the Mandate. Bright Heaven is most awesome, bequeathing [the governance] to me. If I do not take this with the utmost seriousness, what would it bode for the State? But the regional states have been most unruly, most lax, and restless. Oh, how they frighten me, the Little One, steeping me in difficulties. I forever bow before my royal ancestors."

The King said "Elder Yin! Now I should begin to put into effect the commands of our royal ancestors. I command you to come to the aid of our State and of our House both at home and abroad; to be concerned with affairs of state, both great and small; and to protect our Throne. Among all, high and low, encourage the good and deter the evil. As to the regional states, I am a corpse,⁷⁰ do not disturb me upon my Throne. Great is your wisdom. I am not an ordinary person. I am bemused. You must never dare to be negligent or to relax, but with reverence, day and night, be a comfort to me, the Lonely One.⁷¹ Resolve all differences in the plans of state, great and small. Do not break the seal on my lips. Do you announce for me to my ancestors the quality of my virtue that thereby I might look up to and glorify august Heaven and continue to make effective the Grand Mandate. Bring peace and stability to the states everywhere. It is my earnest wish that I should not grieve our ancestors."

⁷⁰I am not sure that I have understood this properly. The word is "corpse." The graph is very close to "man." It occurs on Ins: 3. for "tribesman." "Corpse," however, is also used for the "medium," a representative of the dead, a "body" for the temporary repose of the spirit. In this sense it is early metaphorically extended to the position of kings (e.g., *Tay-kang shy wey* "T'ay K'ang, as a corpse, takes the Throne" *Shu: Wu-tzzy jy Ge*).

⁷¹A stock deprecatory term for rulers when referring to themselves.

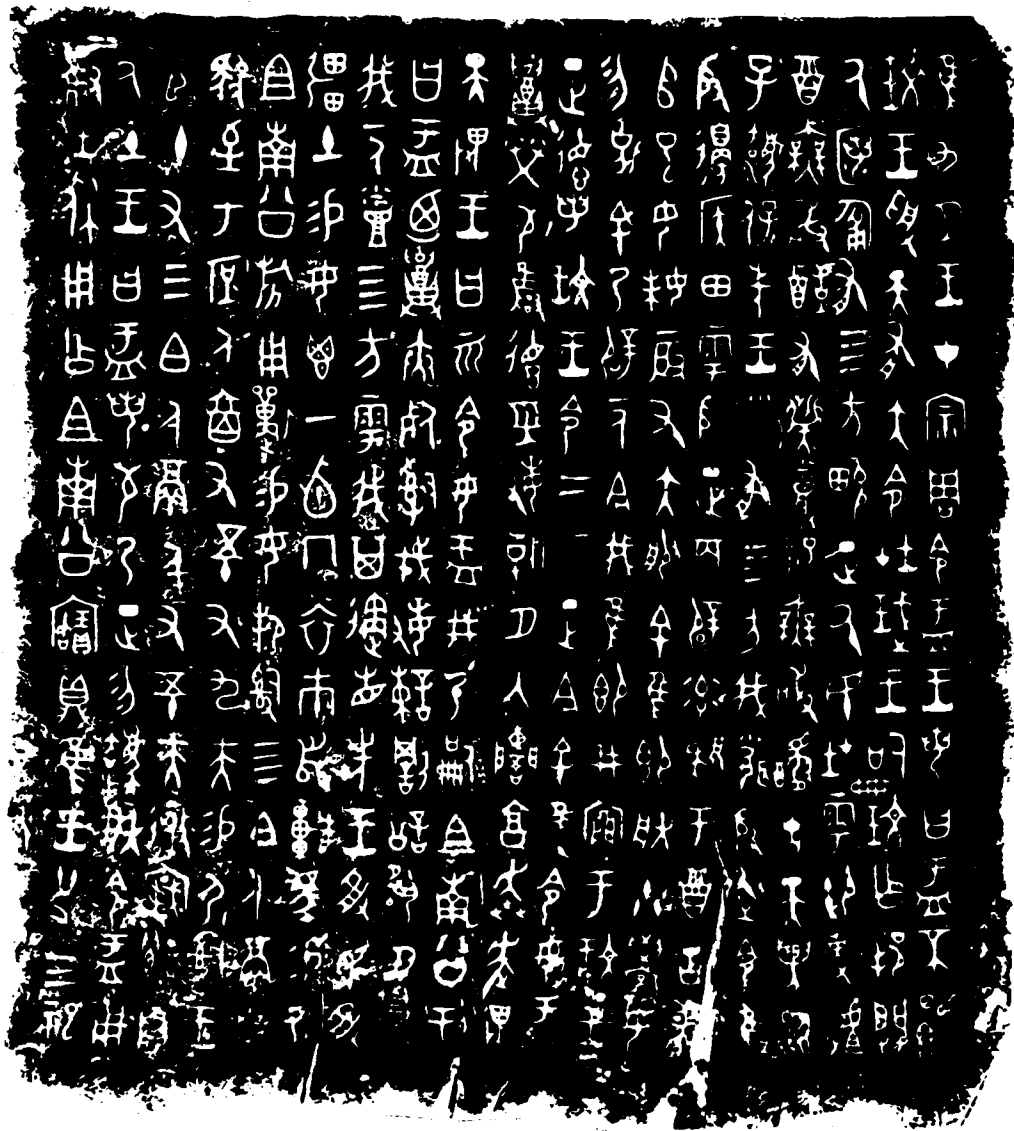
The King said "Elder Yin! Hitherto, when sending envoys abroad to proclaim the royal writ and to announce the decrees of government, and to assess taxes of all kinds, no-one would correct the foolish, saying 'Only the King's wisdom is great.' This is the way to lose the State. Henceforth, when envoys proclaim the royal writ near and far, you are to annul the commission of any envoy who has not first reported to you. Let none dare ill-advisedly [without authorization] to publish decrees to those beyond."

The King said "Elder Yin! Now I want to carry on the Mandate of our royal ancestors. I charge you to be a model [ruler] for all the regional powers, in order to bring peace and tranquillity to our State and to our House. Do not show partiality in government. Do not deprive commoners of their stores. Do not dare to enrich yourself at their expense, if you do so, you take advantage of widows and widowers. Skilfully give instructions to your colleagues and your seniors. Do not drink wine to excess. Do not be negligent in your duties. Day and night, remember that the royal majesty is not to be taken lightly. You must give leadership and avail yourself of the penal statutes made illustrious by the former Kings. It is my earnest wish that you, Elder Yin, should not because of your responsibilities become involved in trouble."

The King said "Elder Yin, hitherto, in accordance with what I have previously said, the *ch'ing-shih-liao* and the *t'ai-shih-liao* have been in your charge. Now I command you, concurrently, to take charge of your clan and of the officials, the *hsiao-tzu*, the *shih-shih*, and the *hu-ch'en*, and of my court officials, that those of your clan may protect our person. You are authorized to exact fines up to thirty *liéh*."

"I confer upon you: a jar of sacrificial wine, and a libation ladle with jade handle; an apron of scarlet, with leaf-green jade pendants; a circlet of jade and a jade "hu" tablet; a chariot with bronze fittings, with a decorated cover on the handrail; a front-rail and breast-trappings for the horses of soft leather, painted scarlet; a canopy of tiger skin, with a reddish-brown lining; yoke bar bindings and axle couplings of painted leather; bronze jingle-bells for the yoke bar; a mainshaft rear-end fitting and brake-fittings, bound with leather and painted gilt; a gilt bow-press and a fish-skin quiver; harness for a team of four horses; gilt bridles and girthstraps; a scarlet banner with two bells. I confer upon you these gifts to be used in sacrifice and upon field service."

I, Yin, Duke of Mao, had this honoured *ting* tripod made to place upon record and make known the august grace of the Son of Heaven. May successive generations of sons and grandsons forever cherish and use it.



8.1.5.13. Inscription No. 13

THE DAH YU DIING (DYD)

THE INSCRIPTION ON THE GREAT *Ting* OF YU

NOTE. This vessel is also known as the *Chyuan Yu Diing* (全盂鼎) and the *Yu Diing* (盂鼎). Accounts of its provenance differ, but it is believed to have been discovered at Mei-shiann 鄆縣, in Shansi in the 1820's. It is at present in the Shanghai Museum. Rubbings of this inscription are reproduced in *Guo* (1), p. 18, and *Wu Dah-cherng* (4), pp. 12-13. Transcriptions of and comment upon the inscription are to be found in *Chern* (3), pp. 93-7; *Guo* (2), pp. 33-5; *YSD* (2), pp. 58-62, and *Wu Dah-cherng* (4), pp. 14-17.

大盂鼎

佳九月，王才在宗周命孟
 王若曰：孟不顯，玟王受
 天有大命，在珅王嗣政。
 乍邦，闕卒，匿匍，有四方。
 駿正卒，民在寧，御事戲。
 酒，無敢醜。有柴，烝祀，無
 敢醜。古天異臨子，灋保。
 先王，口有四方。我聞殷
 豕命，佳殷邊侯，田寧，殷
 正，百辟，率肄于酒，古喪
 官己。女妹，辰又，大服。
 余佳，即朕小學，女勿剋。

Notes on the Transcription

1. Read *fuh-yeou* "take possession of," with *YSD* (2), p. 62.
2. Read *jiunn* with *Wu Dah-cherng* (p. 15).

- 3. See chapter VII, paragraph 4.
- 4. Read *shen* following Wang Gwo-wei (see Guo (1), p. 34).

余乃辟一人。今我佳即
井^型畝^康于^文致^王正^政德^若致^文
王^命令^三正^三正^正今^命余^佳令^命
女^汝孟^詔紹^敬敬^難德^經聖^敏
朝^諫夕^享入^高調^奔高^走畏^畏天
畏^王曰^命於^命女^孟井
乃^嗣祖^南公^王曰^孟迺
紹^夾死^嗣司^戎敏^諫罰^訟
夙^夕紹^我一^人丞^四方
孛^我其^通省^先王^受民
受^疆土^易錫^女莞^一貞
門^裝衣^市烏^車馬^易乃^且祖

南公旂用^獸鬯^易錫^女汝
嗣^四白^伯人^鬲自^馭至于
庶^人六^百又^五十^又九
夫^易夷^鬲王^臣十^又
三^白人^鬲十^又五^十夫
逐^口口^自卒^土
孟^若敬^乃正^勿瀆^法朕^命
孟^用對^王休^用乍^祖南
公^寶鼎^佳王^廿又^三祀

- 5. Read *faa* in the sense of *charng* "always," ap. *Erh Ya* (Chern (3) p. 96).
- 6. Read *Guan-yih* with *Guo* (2), p. 34.
- 7. Read *keh* following *Guo* (2), p. 34 "to press on."
- 8. Read *shyng?* *liin* "model upon," see *YSD* (2), p. 61 and *Gou* (2) p. 32.
- 9. Read *chyh* after *Guo* (2), p. 34.
- 10. Read *geeng* "unlined garment" following *YSD* (2), p. 60.

Romanization

Wei jeou yueh, Wang, tzay Tzong-jou, minq Yu "Wang ruoh iue, Yu! Pi-shean Wen-wang show 'Tian yow' dah-minq. Tzay Wuu-wang. Syh Wen tzuoh bang. Pih jyue nih, fuh-yeou syh-fang, jiunn-jenq jyue min. Tzay yueh yuh-shyh . . jeou, wu gaan shen. Yow chair jeng syh, wu gaan rao. Guh Tian yih lin Tzyy, faa bao shian-wang . . yeou syh-fang. Woo wen In juey minq, wei In bian hour, diann, yueh In jenq bae-bih, shuay yih yu jeou. Guh sanq guan-jih.

"Ruu, mey-chern yeou dah fwu. Yu wei jyi jenn sheau shyue. Ruu wuh keh yu, nae bih, i-ren. Jin woo wei jyi shyng-liin yu Wen-wang jenq der, ruoh Wen-wang linq ell-san jenq, jin yu wei minq ruu Yu, shau Rong jinq iong der jing. Miin, jau-shih ruh jiann. Sheang benzoo, wey Tian wey."

Wang iue "Yu! Minq ruu Yu, shyng nae syh-tzoo Nan-gong." Wang iue "Yu! nae shau-jia syy sy rong. Miin chyh far song. Suh-shih shau woo-i-ren, jeng syh-fang. Yueh woo, chyi yuh-shiing shian-wang, show min, show jiang-tuu.

"Shyi ruu chanq i yeou, geeng-i fu shyi, che, maa.

"Shyi nae tzoo Nan-gong chyi yonq show.

"Shyi ruu bang sy syh bor, ren lih, tzyh yuh jyh-yu shuh-ren, liow bae yow wuu shyr yow jeou fu. Shyi Yi sy wang chern shyr yow san bor, ren lih chian yow shyr fu. . . . tzyh jyue tuu."

Wang iue "Yu! ruoh jinq nae jenq, wuh fey jenn minq."

Yu, yonq duey wang shiou, yonq tzuoh tzoo Nan-gong bao diing.

Wei Wang ell-shyr yow san syh.

Literal Translation

On/ninth/month,/ King / at / Tsung-chou, / charged / Yü / "King / thus / speaks / Yü! / glorious / King Wen / received / 'Heaven / assists' / Mandate. / Reposed with / King Wu. / Inherited / King Wen / made / state. / Punished / its / evil, / took possession of / four quarters. / Governed-well / its / peoples. / As to / [those] in / administration / offer / wine / none / dare / get drunk. /

[When] assisting at *ch'ai*/*cheng*/sacrifice/none/dared/be rowdy./ Therefore/Heaven/hovered/look down/[its] son/, ever/protect/former Kings/.../possess/four quarters./ I/heard/Yin/lost/Mandate/because/Yin's/border/feudatories/governors/and/Yin's/elders/princes/all/habituated/to/wine./ Therefore/lost/officials/continuity.

You/childhood/had/important/charge./ I/then/go to/my/lesser/school./ You/would not/press/me/your/sovereign/the Lonely One./ Now/I/when/go to/make model of/King Wen's/government/power,/emulate/King Wen/ordering/two-three=his several/elders/now/I/will/order/you/Yü/assist/Jung/reverently/make consonant/virtue's/main thread./ Be diligent/constantly/make-enter=send in/admonitions./ Enjoy/service/fear/Heaven's/fearfulness."

King/said/"Oh!/order/you/Yü/model [yourself] on/your/ancestor/Duke of Nan." King/said/"Yü/in this way/support [us]/to death/serve/military duty./ Diligently/direct/criminal/hearings./ Constantly/assist/me/rule over/four quarters./ As to/me/I/conform to and model myself upon/former Kings/receive/people/receive/territories./

"Present/to you/sacrificial wine/one/flask/tunic/apron/slippers/horses/chariot./

"Present/your/ancestor/Duke of Nan/flag/use/hunt./

"Present/to you/states/service/four/nobles,[of] men/slaves/from/charioteers/to/commoners/six/hundred/plus/five-tens=fifty/plus/nine/individuals./ Present/Yi/service/King's/servants/ten/plus/three/nobles,/men/slaves/thousand/plus/five-tens [fifty]/individuals. . . . /from/their/lands."

King/said/"Yü!, thus,/pay respect/your/seniors./ Do not/neglect/my/commands."

Yü,/in order to/place on record/King's/grace,/accordingly/had made/[for] ancestor/Duke of Nan/precious/tripod./

In/King's/twenty/plus/three/year

Free Translation

In the ninth month, when the King was at Tsung-chou, I, Yü, was charged by the King as follows, "Thus speaks the King, Yü! The most glorious King Wen received the Great Mandate 'Heaven assists.' It remained with King Wu. He inherited the State governed by King

Wen. He punished its evil men, took under his protection [the states of] the Four Quarters, and governed their peoples. As to those serving in his administration in serving wine they would not dare to get drunk, when assisting at the *ch'ai* and *ch'eng* sacrifices, they would not dare to make merry. Therefore, the awesomeness of Heaven hovers over me, [Heaven's] son, and the ever-protecting ancestors take under their protection the [states of the] Four Quarters. We know that Yin lost its Mandate because the feudatories of Yin [its bordering vassal states] and Yin's senior officers and princes [in the Yin domain] all became lax through wine-drinking. Therefore, Yin failed in discipline among its officials.

"You, in my early days, held an important charge [perhaps as the King's tutor]. I then was attending my first school, you would not press me, your sovereign, then. Now, having patterned myself on the virtue in government of King Wen and, in emulation of King Wen, giving orders to his senior officials, I am going to command you, Yü, to assist Jung reverently to bring all in consonance with the canon of virtue, be diligent, be constantly sending in [to me] your admonitions. May you enjoy your service and fear the fearfulness of Heaven."

The king said "Oh! I order you, Yü, to model yourself upon your deceased ancestor, the Duke of Nan."

The King said "Yü, thus support Us by serving even to death in the matter of your military duties.⁷² Proceed most carefully with the conducting of criminal suits. Constantly assist me, the Lonely One, to rule over the Four Quarters. As for me, I conform to and model myself upon the Former Kings in accepting [i.e., in taking under my governance] the peoples and their territories.

"I present to you a *yu* of sacrificial wine, a tunic, an apron and slippers, a chariot and horses."

⁷²Yü was the General who had the *SYD* cast (inscription no. 14) where some account is given of his subsequent military service. The references earlier in the inscription to wine-drinking to which the King refers, should be compared with the *Jeou Gaw* (see document no. 2), where warnings to the bibulous are the subject of a formal proclamation. These warnings explain, I think, the curious phrase in the *SYD*, "the guests from the States [i.e., the Feudal Lords] did not take wine." There is a similarity between the phrasing of the first paragraph and that of the *Jeou Gaw*.

fore dawn/, three/left/three/right/all/Lords/made-enter=sent in/ garments/wine.

Dawn/, King/go to/Chou-Temple/.../.../.../.../Guest-receiver/attend to/States/guests. Put down/their/travel/clothes/, to East/faced. Yü/together with/all/beflagged/be-girdled/Kuei-fang [tribal name]/?/.../.../.../entered/South/Gate,/announced/quote/“King/ordered/Yü[me]/together with/.../.../attack/Kuei-fang/“.../.../.../scalps/.../ captured/Chiefs/ two/instances/, captive/scalps/four thousand/eight hundred/.../twelve/scalps,/seized/men/ten thousand/[plus] three thousand/eighty-one/men,/ seized/horses/.../.../instances,/seized/chariots/thirty/instances/seized/cattle/three hundred/fifty-five/head/, sheep/thirty eight/, head.”

I, Yü/?/.../say/.../.../.../cried out/“Report/our/campaign,/” “Captured/Chiefs/one/person/, seized/scalps/two-hundred/thirty-seven/scalps/, seized/men/.../.../men,/seized/horses/hundred/four/instances/, seized/chariots/hundred/.../instances.”

King/.../said/“pleased.”

I, Yü/salute/bow-head/together with/Chiefs/entered,/went to/Great Court./

King/ command/ Jung/ “.../ their/.../.../.../Chiefs/ examine/ its/ cause/,” .../.../“Earl of Ke/.../.../Kuei-fang/, Kuei-fang/prior to this/ together with/new/?/follow/Shang.”

Behad/Chiefs/in/.../. King/cried out/“.../.../command/Yü/together with/men/scalps/enter/gate/, offer up/west/passage-way/. Together with/.../enter/sacrifice by fire/[in] Chou-Temple.”

I, Yü/together with/.../.../.../.../.../enter/Third/Gate/, go to/position/Central/Court/, Northwards/face/. Yü/report/Earl of Pi/go to/position/, Earl of Pi/report/.../.../.../to/Earl of Ming/. Earl of Chi/Earl of.../report,/report complete./

I, Yü/together with/feudal-lords/of *hou, tien*,/.../.../[rank].../.../. I, Yü/campaign/report/report-complete/Guests/go to/positions/. Feast/guests/, King/cried out/“Feast.” I, Yü/go to/together with/.../.../.../ brought forward/guests. .../.../.

Ta-ts'ai [about 8 a.m.]/three/Chou/sent in/garments/wine/. King/go to/Temple/. Litanist/attended to/.../.../.../.../States/guests/did not/take wine/.../.../sacrificed/animal/*Ti* sacrifice/[to] Kings of Chou/, [to] King Ch'eng/[to] King Wu/.../.../.../took/King's/libation/. Libationer/recorded/feast/King's/states/guests/. King/cried out/.../.../commanded/

Yü/“Together with/booty/enter/, all/booty/according to/kind.”

Come now to/at/next/day/, *i-yu* [day]/, Three Affairs/great officers/sent in/garments/wine/, King/go to/Temple/, feast/King's/guests/officials./King/decreed/“Reward/Yü/.../.../.../?/.../bow/one/arrows/hundred/decorated/bow case/one/, cowrie/cap/one/, metal/mail/one,/?/spear/two/arrow/, ?/eight.”

Accordingly/had made/Earl of/?/precious/honoured/sacral vessel./

Upon/King's/thirty/and/fifth/year

Free Translation

[Chia-shen (i) before daybreak]

In the eighth month, the *chi-wang* period of the month, at *ch'ents'ai*, on the day *chia-shen* just before daybreak, the Ministers resident at Chou, three of the Right and three of the Left, sent in [to the Palace], garments and wine [for the ceremonials, presently to be described].

[(ii) At dawn]

At dawn, the King entered the Ancestral Temple of the Chou House, ... The Receiver of Guests waited upon the guests from the States [the Feudal Lords from outside metropolitan Chou]. They laid aside their travelling clothes [for ceremonial robes] and stood facing east. I, Yü, with all the belted and beflagged⁷³ [prisoners] of the Kuei-fang ... entered the South Gate. I reported “The King commanded me, Yü together with ... to attack the Kuei-fang ... my captives .. I took prisoner two of their Chiefs, obtained 4,812 scalps, captured 13,081 men, seized ... horses, 30 chariots of war, 355 oxen, and 38 sheep.”

I, Yü, ... say ... called out “Report our campaign.” “I took prisoner one of their Chiefs, obtained 237 scalps, captured ... men, seized 104 horses and 100 [plus ..] chariots of war.”

The King .. said “We are pleased.”

I, Yü, bowed deeply and saluted and, together with the captured Chiefs, came forward and took my place in the Great Court.

The King commanded Jung [one of the Chiefs of the Kuei-fang] “..

⁷³Prisoners of war, still in battle dress.

their Chiefs, examine its cause." .. "The Earl of Ke . . . Kuei-fang, Kuei-fang prior to this with the newly . . , followed Shang."

The Chiefs were beheaded in the . . . The King called out " . . . order Yü, with his prisoners and scalps, to come in at the [South] Gate and to present them at the West Walk. With .. to enter and sacrifice them by fire in the Ancestral Temple of the Chou House."

I, Yü, with passed through the Third Gate and took up my position in the Centre Court, facing North. I then reported. The Earl of Pi then took up his position and he, too, made his report. to the Earl of Ming. The Earl of Chi, the Earl of .. , made their reports, in full.

I, Yü, together with the Feudal Lords, those of the rank of *hou, tien* I, Yü, reported my campaign in full. The Guests [the Feudal Lords] took up their positions. The guests were then given a feast. The King cried "Let the feast begin." I, Yü, together with brought forward the guests.

[(iii) *At about 8 A.M.*]

At the hour *ta-ts'ai*, the three senior ministers of Chou, sent in [to the Palace] garments and wine [for the ceremonials]. The King went to the Ancestral Temple. The litanist attended, the guests from the States did not take wine, . . . sacrificed an ox, in performing the *Ti* sacrifice to the Kings of Chou, to King Ch'êng and to King Wu took the King's libation. The libationer recorded the feast of the guests of the States. The King cried out " . . . order Yü to enter together with his booty, sorted according to kind."

[(iv) *Next day i-yu*]

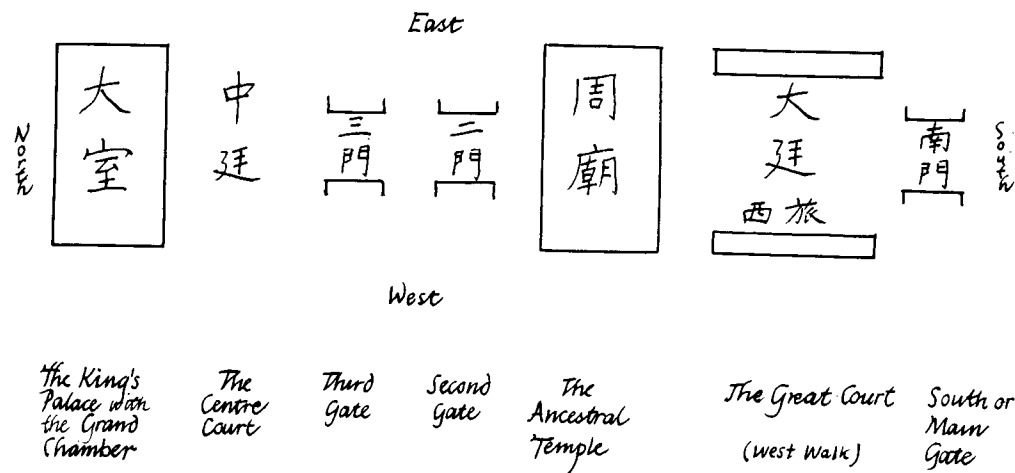
Coming now to the day following, the day *i-yu*, the senior Ministers sent in [to the Palace] garments and wine [to the King]. The King went to the Ancestral Temple and a feast was given for the Guests from the States and for the senior officials.

The King decreed that I, Yü, be rewarded with: a bow and a hundred arrows; a decorated skin bowcase; a cap, decorated with cowries; a coat of mail, of bronze; two? spears; eight .. arrows.

Accordingly I had this precious and honoured sacral vessel made in honour of the Earl of .. .

In the thirty-fifth year of the King

The Palace, Temple and Courtyards of the Kings of Early Chou



THE PALACE, TEMPLE, AND COURTYARDS OF THE KINGS OF EARLY CHOU

NOTE. The events described become clearer, I think, if one realizes that the events of two successive days are recorded. I have indicated the times in square brackets. On the first day, which begins before dawn, the Chief Ministers prepare the King in his Palace, the King then entering the Ancestral Temple. The generals appear at the Main Gate, are summoned to the Great Court and present their captives. The captive chiefs are sacrificed. The party then proceeds to the Centre Court and an account is given of the campaign. The King proceeds from the Centre Court to the Temple to sacrifice to his ancestors at about eight o'clock on that morning. On the following day, a feast is given to the assembled vassals. The Generals are given their rewards. The events described take place in the Palace, Temple, and Courts of the Chou Royal House. The movements in the narrative can be followed on the accompanying plan based upon the reconstruction made, in the light of this and other inscriptions, by Ch'ên Mengchia.

APPENDIXES

Appendix I

TOWARDS A HISTORICAL TREATMENT OF THE GRAMMAR OF ARCHAIC CHINESE

More than five hundred years elapse between the recording of the documents and inscriptions of EAC, and the writing of the philological and historical works of LAC. We may suppose, on the most general grounds, that considerable linguistic change takes place in Archaic Chinese during so long an interval of time.

It is less easy to define the precise nature of that change. In EAC and LAC, we have two stages in the development of Archaic Chinese. It is possible to show how these two stages differ in at least two particulars—in the similarities and contrasts of their respective repertoires of cenematic words and in the grammatical structural forms peculiar to each. In the notes which follow, these two features are compared. The notes follow the chapter and paragraph divisions of the main body of this work. The phonological reconstructions given are those of Karlgren for Archaic Chinese. These reconstructions show better than modern readings the possibility of genetic connections. They are not, of course, intended as a reconstruction of the phonology either of the eleventh and tenth centuries, or of the fourth and third centuries. In making such a comparison, it cannot even be assumed that there is a direct genetic connection, that is to say, that LAC descends directly from EAC. There may be regional and dialectical differences also to take into account. However, whatever the reason, very considerable contrast is evident between EAC and LAC, in the two particulars observed here. Words and forms which are not specifically mentioned occur indifferently in EAC and LAC.

1. *The Syntagmatic Conjunctive Particles* (EAC 2.5 and LAC 2.5)

EAC

LAC

越粵 *giwat (cf. 暨 *giəd)

及 *giəp

(cf. use of 以 *ziəg in 3.5.4.1) 與 *zio

NOTE. The syntagmatic particles contrast totally, and the tactical deployment of *ziæg differs from that of *zio. *Giéd occurs in *Parn Geng*.

2. *The Particles of Determination* (EAC 2.6.2 and LAC 2.6.1)

EAC	LAC
之 *tiæg	之 *tiæg
其 *kiæg	
厥 *kiwat	

NOTE. EAC makes clear that the determinative particle derives from a pronoun, but in LAC only *tiæg survives.

3. *Proper Names in Determination* (EAC 2.6.5)

EAC	LAC
A(Attribute→B)→B(PN)	
A(Attribute)→B(PN)	
Rank/Title→PN	(Compare LAC, p. 25, footnote 12)

NOTE. Proper names are never determined words in LAC.

4. *The Determinant Pronouns* (EAC 2.6.7.1 and LAC 2.6.4.1)

EAC	LAC
我 *ngá	吾 *ngo
朕 *diæng	
乃 *næg	乃 *næg
	而 *niæg
	爾 *níar
厥 *kiwat	其 *kiæg

NOTE. *Ngá as an exalted form in EAC becomes a common non-status form in LAC. *Diæng is resuscitated artificially as a status-pronoun, used exclusively by Emperors¹ at the end of the LAC period.

5. *The Determinant Demonstratives* (EAC 2.6.7.2 and LAC 2.6.4.2)

EAC	LAC
茲 *tsiæg	斯 *siæg, 之 *tiæg
時 *diæg	是 *dieg

¹Artificially, that is, it was introduced by an edict of the First Emperor, see *Shih Chi*, chapter VI, p. 7, line 79, in Guh Jye-gang's *Bair-wen Shyy-jih* (Peking, 1937).

NOTE. EAC does not distinguish between determinant and pregnant forms for the demonstratives. 此 *Tsiar, the LAC pregnant form does not occur in EAC.

6. *The Privatives* (EAC 2.6.7.3 and LAC 2.6.4.3)

EAC	LAC
不 *pwət, 弗 *piwət	不 *pwət,
非斐 *piwər	非 *piwər
無 *miwo	無 *miwo, 无 *miwo
亡 *miwang	

NOTE. See also Note 12 below.

7. *Indefinite Number* (LAC 2.6.4.4.2)

LAC
數 *sliu
幾 *kiær

8. *The Determinative Collectives* (EAC 2.6.7.5 and LAC 2.6.4.5)

EAC	LAC
庶 *siæg	庶 *siæg (in stock collocations only)
多 *tá	
諸 *tio	諸 *tio } status
	群 *giwən }
小大 *siog-d'ád	
	具 *g'iu
	舉 *kio
	徒 *d'o

NOTE. *Siæg occurs in LAC only in stock collocations, such as *shuh-min* "commoners." In EAC it occurs in free distribution. *Tio in LAC occurs also in stock collocation with an overtone of status. The series of collectives with guttural initial are unknown to EAC. See Note 27 below.

9. *Determination by Apposition* (EAC 2.8)

EAC
Pronoun ~ Noun
Noun ~ Proper Name
Noun ~ Distributive Nouns

NOTE. Determination by apposition is unknown to LAC except in certain stock collocations.

10. *The Syntagmatic Particles* (EAC 2.10 and LAC 2.7.1)

EAC	LAC
厥 *kiwat (as agent)	其 *kiəg (as agent)
	者 *tiā

NOTE. The particle of syntagma *tiā is unknown to EAC. The sign (者) occurs consistently on bronzes for (諸).

11. *Determinants of the Verb of Degree* (EAC 3.3(ii) and LAC 3.3(2))

EAC	LAC
大 *d'ad	大 *d'ad
誕 *d'an	
丕 *p'iəg	
多 *tā	
不少 *pwət-siog	少 *siog
	小 *siog

NOTE. See also EAC 3.3.4. The use of *d'an and p'iəg are peculiar to EAC.

12. *The Modal Negatives and their Counterparts* (EAC 3.3.1 and LAC 3.3.1)

EAC	LAC
亡罔 *miwang	
無 *miwo	無 *miwo, 无 *miwo
惟 *diwər	爲 *gwia
毋弗 *miwo-piwət	必 *piet
	果 *klwār
	固 *ko

NOTE. The modal negatives over the whole range are a stable element in Archaic Chinese. EAC *miwang is, however, peculiar to EAC, and the 无 form of *miwo to LAC. It is the positive replacement forms that show contrast. It is quite possible that *piet, first encountered around the eighth century, is an allegro form of a double negative; see 3.3.1.5, footnote 13.

13. *Potential Aspect* (EAC 3.3.2.1 and LAC 3.3.2.1)

EAC	LAC
將 *tsiang	將 *tsiang
	且 *ts'ia

NOTE. *Ts'ia is unknown to EAC, either as an aspectual determinant or as a conjunction.

14. *Inchoative Aspect* (EAC 3.3.2.2 and LAC 3.3.2.8)

EAC	LAC
肇 *d'iog	
初 *ts'io	初 *ts'io
啓 *k'iar	始 *siəg (cf. 起 *k'iəg)

NOTE. On the phonology of the EAC series, see 3.3.2.2, footnote 17.

15. *Desiderative Aspect* (LAC 3.3.2.2)

LAC
欲 *giuk

NOTE. The aspectual use of *giuk is a feature of LAC. In EAC it occurs before the agent, used plerematically, as "what I wish is" In EAC *giuk also occurs under the signs 俗 and 裕. (See MGD 2x; KG. 41.19; SG. 50.3.)

16. *Momentary Aspect* (EAC 3.3.2.3 and LAC 3.3.2.3)

EAC	LAC
肅 *siok	適 *siek
速 *suk	
絃 *dzio	乍 *dz'ag
	方 *piwang

NOTE. See 3.3.2.3, footnote 18.

17. *Durative Aspect* (EAC 3.3.2.4 and LAC 3.3.2.4)

EAC	LAC
尚 *diang	尚 *diang
	猶 *ziôg
	尚猶 *diang-ziôg

18. *Perfective Aspect* (EAC 3.3.2.5 and LAC 3.3.2.5)

EAC	LAC
既 *kiəd	既 *kiəd
即 *tsiet	
已 *ziəg	已 *ziəg
	既已 *kiəd-ziəg

NOTE. There is a tendency for reducing two EAC cinematic words in customary colligation to allegro forms in LAC (See Notes, 34, 35, etc.) and, conversely, as here and in Notes 17, 29, 42, 43, and 44 for LAC to develop compound cinematic words.

19. *Resultative Aspect* (LAC 3.3.2.6)

LAC
得 *tək

NOTE. *tək, which has both modal and aspectual functions in LAC (see Dobson (1), 3.3.2.6 and 3.3.1.2), occurs in EAC only in plerematic usage, in the sense of "to obtain."

20. *Customary Aspect* (EAC 3.3.2.6 and LAC 3.3.2.7)

EAC	LAC
典 *t'ian	
朝夕 *tiog-dziak	
夙夕 *siok-dziak	
夙夜 *siok-ziag	
永 *giwang	嘗 *diang (cf. 帝 *djang)

NOTE. It seems likely that the differences in items 2, 3, and 4 of EAC are not morphemic, but simply orthographic variations.

21. *Determinations of Manner* (EAC 3.3.3.1 and LAC 3.3.3.1)

EAC	LAC
若茲 *niak-tsiəg	
若 *niak	
乃 *nəg	乃 *nəg (see 3.3.3.1, footnote 22)
	一然 *nian

NOTE. The EAC series are *substitutions* for the determinants of manner. An example of this occurs in LAC (see Dobson (1), 3.3.3.1,

footnote 22). In LAC, *nian, which derives from *niak plus demonstrative, occurs *post-positively* to determinants of manner. *Nian is unknown to EAC.

22. *State of Agent* (EAC 3.3.3.2 and LAC 3.3.3.2)

EAC	LAC
克 *k'ək	能 *nəng
	可 *k'á
	足 *tsiuk
	忍 *nian

NOTE. See EAC, 3.3.3.2, footnote 21. The distinction made by LAC *nəng and *k'á is undifferentiated in EAC *k'ək.

23. *The Directive Particle* (EAC 3.4 and LAC 3.4)

EAC	LAC
于 *.io	於 *.io
	乎 *g'o

NOTE. *.io occurs sporadically in LAC, but is archaistic, see Dobson (1), p. 63, footnote 25. 於 occurs in EAC as interjection only (see 5.7).

24. *Periphrastic Treatment of Voice* (EAC 3.4.5 and LAC 3.4.5)

EAC	LAC
使 *sliəg	使 *sliəg
氏 *tiər	
作 *tsák	
	俾 *pieg
	見 *kian

NOTE. There is no periphrastic passive in EAC, and even in LAC this use of *kian is infrequent.

25. *Periphrastic Treatment of Direction* (EAC 3.4.5.1 and LAC 3.4.5.1)

EAC	LAC
自 *dz'i	自 *dz'i
由 *diôg	由 *diôg, 猶 *ziôg
才在 *dz'əg	
至于 *tied-.io	至於 *tied-.io
	從 *dz'iuŋ

NOTE. For a note on the use of *dz'æg, see EAC 3.4.5.1, footnote 26.

26. *Pronouns in the Agential Position* (EAC 3.5.2 and LAC 3.5.2).

EAC	LAC
予余 *dio	吾 *ngo
我 *ngá	
朕 *d'iəng	
汝 *ńio	爾 *ńiar
其 *kiəg	其 *kiəg

NOTE. In LAC it is the determinative series of pronouns which occur in the agential position. In EAC, the agential forms *dio and *kiəg, though peculiar to the agent, are not determinative forms.

27. *Agential Distributives* (EAC 3.5.3 and LAC 3.5.3)

EAC	LAC
悉 *siet	悉 *siet
畢 *piet	畢 *piet
率 *sliwət	
	皆 *kər
	舉 *kio
	偕 *kər
	俱 *kiu
旁 *b'wāng	徧 *pian
	獨 *d'uk

NOTE. The guttural series of distributives of LAC are unknown to EAC. *Kər in LAC is a very high frequency sign. For *b'wāng see 3.10.

28. *Agential Distributives (cont'd)* (EAC 3.5.3.1 and LAC 3.5.3.1)

EAC	LAC
或 *gwək	或 *gwək
有 *giug	有 *giug
無 *miwo	無 *miwo
亡罔 *miwāng	
	莫 *māk
	各 *klāk

NOTE. *Klāk occurs in EAC as verb "go to."

29. *Reciprocity* (EAC 3.5.4 and LAC 3.5.4)

EAC	LAC
胥 *sio	相 *siang
	交 *kog
	交相 *kog-siang

NOTE. *Siang occurs in EAC only in the sense of "look at," "examine," "assist."

30. *The Reflexive* (EAC 3.5.4.2 and LAC 3.5.4.2)

EAC	LAC
自 *dz'i	自 *dz'i
卯自 *ngāng-dz'i	
身 *sien	己 *kiəg
躬 *kiong	

NOTE. For *kiəg and *sien and *kiong, see EAC 3.5.5, footnote 35, and Dobson (1), 3.5.4.2, footnote 49.

31. *Delegation of Agency* (EAC 3.5.5 and LAC 3.5.5)

EAC	LAC
$\alpha\beta[\alpha$ 惟 *diwər] $\gamma^1\gamma^2$	α [爲 *gwia α] $\beta\gamma^1\gamma^2$
	[代 *d'æg α]

NOTE. There is contrast here, not only in the particles used, but in the distribution of elements. See 3.5.5, footnote 37.

32. *The Instrumental* (EAC 3.6 and LAC 3.6)

EAC	LAC
用 *diung	以 *ziəg
以 *ziəg	用 *diung
α [Inst.→用] β	

NOTE. *Diung is the preferred form in EAC and *ziəg the preferred form in LAC. The structure in which the instrument is made determinative of the instrumental particle is peculiar to EAC.

33. *The Subordinate Clause* (EAC 3.7 and LAC 3.7)

LAC
而 *niəg

NOTE. The subordinate clause is formally unmarked in EAC, except where the agent is an anaphoric pronoun, in which case *jyue* replaces *chyí*. In LAC, the marking of the subordinate clause with *niæg, makes *niæg one of its highest frequency signs. See Dobson (1), 3.7.1, footnote 56. *niæg does not occur in EAC.

34. *Anaphoric Substitutes* (EAC 3.8 and LAC 3.8)

EAC	LAC
之 *tiæg	之 *tiæg
其 *kiæg (agent)	其 *kiæg (agent and syntagma)
厥 *kiwat (syntagma)	
若 *niak } “thus”	
乃 *næg }	乃 *næg “thus”
	諸 *tio (之+於 or 乎)
	焉 *gian (於+之)
	旃 *tian (之+於+之)

NOTE. EAC differentiates pregnant and determinative forms in *kiæg and *kiwat. In LAC, both are comprised in *kiæg. None of the allegro forms, either here or elsewhere (with the exception of *nae*), occur in EAC. See also Notes 18 and 35.

35. *Particles of Sentential Mood* (EAC 3.9 and LAC 3.9)

EAC	LAC
哉 *tsæg	哉 *tsæg
猶 *dz'æg	乎 *g'o
	已 *ziæg
	而已 *niæg-ziæg
	耳 *niæg } <而已
	爾 *niar }
	與 *zio < 也 *dia + 乎 *g'o
	耶 *ziã < 也 *dia + 乎 *g'o
	夫 *piwo < 否 *piug + 乎 *g'o

NOTE. The absence in EAC of the particles of sentential mood (excepting *tzai*) is one of its most striking contrasts with LAC. But this may not signify a linguistic change so much as a change in the habits of writers. It may well be that the convention of representing sentence

ending particles in writing developed later. The particles of stress similarly are not found in EAC (see Note 38 below). None of the allegro forms of LAC, except *nae*, occur in EAC (see Note 34). *G'o occurs in EAC only in the sense of “to cry out, to call.”

36. *Time* (EAC 3.10 and LAC 3.10)

EAC	LAC
惟 *diwər	
在 *dz'æg	…者 *tiã
	…也 *dia
越 *giwat (by time that)	及 *giəp (by time that)
	比 *piər (ditto)

NOTE. For the suggestion that LAC 比 *piər, derives from 不及 p(iə-r-g)əp see Dobson (3).

37. *Elements in Exposure* (EAC 3.11 and LAC 3.11)

EAC	LAC
越 *giwat	
	夫 *piwo

NOTE. In Han usage, *jyi* and *jyh-yu* occur introducing exposed elements in the sense of “as to …,” and with this compare paragraph 36 above.

38. *Particles of Accentuation* (LAC 3.12)

LAC
夫 *piwo
也… *dia
矣… *ziæg

NOTE. See remarks on Note 35.

39. *The Copulae* (EAC 4.2 and 4.3.3; and LAC 4.4.1 and 2)

EAC	LAC
非 *piwər	非 *piwər
惟 *diwər	是 *dieg
允惟 *ziwən-diwər	誠 *dieng
允 *ziwən	

40. *The Copulae of Common Inclusion* (EAC 4.4 and LAC 4.6)

EAC	LAC
若 *níak	若 *níak
	如 *ńio
	猶 *ziôg
	由 *diôg

41. *Presence, Occurrence, Truth, and Falsity* (EAC 4.7, 4.8; and LAC 4.8, 4.9)

EAC	LAC
有 *giug	有 *giug
無 *miwo	無 *ńiwo
未其有 *miwəd-kiəg-giug	未之有 *miwəd-tiəg-giug
惟 *diwər	是 *dieg
非 *piwər	非 *piwər

NOTE. On *diwər and *dieg, see Dobson (2).

42. *Cause and Consequence* (EAC 4.9 and LAC 4.11)

EAC		LAC	
Consequence	Cause	Consequence	Cause
... 惟 *diwər	...	... 以 *ziəg	...
... 非 piwər	...	... 以爲 *ziəg-gwa	...
	... 故 *ko	... 爲 *gwa	...
		... 非爲 *piwər-gwa	
		... 非 *piwər	
		... 因 *.ien	
		... 用以 *diung-ziəg	
... 惟 *diwər	...	... 是以 *dieg-ziəg	...
... 惟時 *diwər-diəg	...	... 故 *ko	...
... 故 *ko,	...	... 是故 *dieg-ko	...

NOTE. Neither 以 *ziəg, nor 爲 *gwa which figure so prominently in LAC occur in EAC in this usage. Note, once again, the tendency to compounding found in LAC (see Note 18).

43. *Disjunctive Conjunctions* (EAC 5.3 and LAC 5.1; 5.4)

EAC	LAC
又 *giug	又 *giug

亦 *ziak	亦 *ziak
	且 *ts'ia
惟 *diwər	
亦 *ziak	
雖 *siwər	雖 *siwər
	雖然 *siwər-ńian
	縱 *tsiung
	猶 *ziôg
	尚 *diang
	猶尚 *ziôg-diang

44. *Resumptive Conjunctions* (EAC 5.5 and LAC 5.3)

EAC	LAC
乃廼 *nəg	
時 *diəg	則 *tsək
茲 *tsiəg	斯 *sieg
	卽 *tsiet
	然後 *ńian-g'u
	然則 *ńian-tsək
肆 *siəd	(cf. 遂 *dziwəd)

45. *The Vocative* (EAC 5.8)

EAC
PN!

NOTE. This, though frequent in EAC, is unknown in LAC.

46. *The Pronouns* (EAC 6.2 and LAC 6.2)

EAC	LAC
予余 *dio	
我 *ngâ 朕 *d'iəng	吾 *ngo 我 *ngâ
汝 *ńio 乃 *nəg	汝 *ńio 乃 *nəg
	而 *niəg
	爾 *ńiar
其 *kiəg/之 *tiəg	其 *kiəg 之 *tiəg
厥 *kiwat	

NOTE. See also Notes 4, 26, and 34.

47. *The Demonstratives* (EAC 6.4 and LAC 6.3)

EAC	LAC
茲 *tsiæg 時 *diæg	此 *ts'iar
	斯 *siæg
	是 *dieg
	之 *tiæg
彼 *pia	彼 *pia

NOTE. See also Note 5.

48. *The Interrogative Substitutes* (EAC 6.5 and LAC 6.5)

EAC	LAC
曷 *g'ât	何 *g'â
害 *g'âd	
	誰 *diwær
	幾 *kiær
	豈 *k'iar
	焉 *,ian
	安 *.ân
	盍 *g'âp
	胡 *g'o
	奚 *gieg
	孰 *diøk
	惡 *.âk
	惡呼 *.âk-g'o

NOTE. As observed in Dobson (1), p. 145, footnote 14, g'ât occurs with very low frequency in LAC, but as Karlgren observes, *her-wey* (曷爲) occurs "hundreds of times in *Kung-yang*" (Karlgrén (3), p. 123). Since *her* substitutes in EAC in a comparable frame with *wei-shyr* (see 6.5.1, footnote 6), this occurrence of *her-wey* in *Kung yang*, is a further instance of resuscitation of archaic forms in Han usage (see 3.4.5.1, footnote 26). On the absence of allegro forms in EAC see also Notes 18, 34, and 35.

49. *The Indefinite Substitute* (EAC 6.6 and LAC 6.6)

EAC	LAC
...	...
攸 *diôg	...
迪 *d'iok	所 *s'io

50. *Comparison* (EAC 7.1 and LAC 7.1)

EAC	LAC
矧 *s'ien	甚 *diem
	加 *ka
	益 *.iek
	尤 *giug
	兄 *iwang

NOTE. See 7.1, footnote 1.

51. *Use of Meei* (EAC 7.3 and LAC 7.3)

EAC	LAC
每 β γ ¹ γ ²	每 γ ¹ β

52. *Number* (EAC 7.5 and LAC 7.3)

又 *giug	有 *giug (read you)
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Appendix II

THE FREQUENCY OF OCCURRENCE OF LEXICAL ITEMS

(a) Introduction

One of the ways of characterizing the successive stages through which Archaic Chinese passes is to compare the frequency of occurrence of its lexical items. It is a useful way because it is susceptible to measurement. For example, the very high frequency with which, and the range of uses in which, *wei* occurs in EAC is a characteristic of EAC, and one which contrasts markedly with LAC in which *wei* is a low frequency word of restricted range.¹

(b) System of Calculation

In the tables which follow, frequency counts are given for the vocabulary of the EAC material on which the grammatical analysis of this work is based. The vocabulary of this sample has been segregated by the formal means previously described (see 1.3 ff.) into two classes, plerematic words and cenematic words. Plerematic words have been treated in five different ways (see Tables I-V). In Table I an overall count has been given, in which no account is taken of variety of deployment. All plerematic usages are recorded. It is a statement of total occurrence. In Table II a count is given of words that occur at β at the sentential level, or at β in downgradings at the syntagma level. In such environments words are given the value *verbal*. Table II thus records the words with verbal value which occur in the material. In Table III a count is given of words occurring in the determining position in the verbal syntagma, with the exception of those cenematic words (see Table VI) which define mood, aspect, or state of agency. In Table IV a count is given of words occurring singly as elements at

¹ See Dobson (2).

the sentential level, at *time* and/or *place* (with the exception of certain cenematic words (see Table VI)) at *agent*, at *instrument*, and at the *first* and *second* post-verbal positions; or words occurring singly as the *determined term* of a determinative sentence; or words occurring as the *determined word* at the syntagma level. (The class thus segregated is given the value *nominal*.) In Table V a count is given of words occurring in the *determinant* position in syntagma, or occurring as the *determinant* term in the determinative sentence. (The class thus segregated has the value *nominal* but distinguishes nouns of genus and of attribute—see 2.6.1.) Cenematic words have been treated in the totality of their occurrences, without distinction of the several roles which any word might play. These are set out in Table VI. With the exception of Table III, counts are confined to five occurrences or more.

(c) Interpretation

One of the operational postulates of the system by which the grammar of Archaic Chinese has been analysed, both in this work and in *Late Archaic Chinese*, is that because lexical items, as such, have no intrinsic criteria for relegation to word-classes, they are conceived of as partaking of the grammatical quality of any "slot" in which they may occur. Among plerematic words, it is assumed that all words have possibility of occurrence at all appropriate "slots," though it is recognized that certain words, in practice, occur uniquely in one "slot."

A glance at Table I will show the usefulness of this postulate. Disregarding proper names, ranks and titles, numbers and the cyclical calendar signs, in the high frequency range (20 occurrences or more), the probability is greater (16 to 10) that a plerematic word will oscillate across the line verb/noun, than that it will stay on one side or the other. *Tian* "Heaven," *min* "the people," *ren* "man," *Bang* "State," *fu* "father," occur uniquely as nouns or determinants of nouns. *Show* "receive" occurs uniquely as a verb. However, in the same frequency range, *ming* "to decree/a decree," *shyh* "to serve/service [affairs]," *ling* "to command/a command," *fwu* "to serve/service," *ming* "bright/make bright = enlighten," *bao* "protect / protector," *shiou* "grace/confer grace," *jing* "revere/reverence," *shian* "the foremost, put first, former," occur indifferently as noun or verb with no formal change. There is thus, in the highest frequency range, greater probability of a

word oscillating between noun and verb than of it occurring uniquely as noun or verb.

In the middle frequency range (from 10 to 19 occurrences) the probability is 30 to 24 in favour of the noun/verb ambivalence. Words such as *tuu* "earth/territory," *yih* "city," *nian* "year," *yueh* "month," *ryh* "day," *dong* "east/eastern," *jin* "metal, made of metal," *shin* "new," *hwang* "august," *chii* "search out," *yuh* "control," *jianq* "send down," occur uniquely as noun and/or determinant of noun, or as verb. But the majority of items oscillate.

In all frequency ranges, words occur which are totally ambivalent, that is to say, they occur as nouns, verbs, determinants of nouns, and determinants of verbs. For example, *mǐng* "dawn/make bright = enlighten/bright/with enlightenment, with distinction," *Jinq* "reverence/to revere/reverent/reverently," *ning* "peace/pacify/peaceful/peacefully," *shean* "glory/glorify/glorious/manifestly," *ji* "respect/to respect/respectful/respectfully."

Among words in the range of 10 occurrences or more, the over-all probability of oscillation is 46 to 34. Among words in the range of 5 to 9 occurrences, the probability is against oscillation (43 oscillate, 46 do not) though with such a low number of occurrences there might not be a sufficient number of incidences for the possibility of oscillation to appear. Taking now the entire range of frequency, words with 5 occurrences or more have a slightly greater probability of disregarding the noun/verb distinction (89 ×), than of maintaining it (80 ×).

These figures demonstrate the high degree of mobility of the lexical items of EAC and illustrate the usefulness of the concept of environmental classes rather than intrinsic word-classes, in describing the grammatical system of Archaic Chinese.

(d) Limitations of Interpretation

These statistics have, of course, their limitations. In the first place, they record actual occurrences and not possibility of occurrence. It is not possible, for example, to ascertain (as it would be for a modern language, from an informant) if words such as the following in fact occur uniquely in the language as nouns (as contrasted with uniquely in the sample), or if the possibility exists of their occurring as verbs. *Ren* "man" which occurs 58 times in the sample as a noun, but not determining a noun "of man" "human," or as a verb "to treat as a

man," though elsewhere in Archaic Chinese both of these uses could be attested. *Yih* "city," occurs uniquely as a noun but not as a verb, though *yih* "to build a city" could be attested from, for example, *Mencius*. This would be compatible with such occurrences in the sample as *tarnq* "lay foundations for a building" (DG. 38.6) and *tarnq* "building, hall or residence" (for example, in *Book of Songs*).

In the second place, the figures are weighted in certain directions, because the material, though reasonably extensive in length, is of a restricted subject matter. It consists of state documents. It is possible that certain ambivalences in usage do not occur in such subject matter, though they may well occur in the language.

In the third place, certain ambivalences and frequencies are obscured by the occurrence of a single morpheme, under two or more signs, where specialization of sense has taken place. For example, though it is the norm for many verbs to fluctuate indifferently between causative and active voice, such usage being indicated by the disposition of the post-verbal elements, in the case of *ji* "come to," "arrive at," the active is written (至) and the causative (致). This orthographic convention is observed consistently in the material. No such consistency is observed, however, in the case of *gong* *kung "work, workman, job of work," where *gong* (工) occurs as "workman, the work [task]," *gong* (功) as "the work, work-done > achievement, merit," and *gong* (攻) "work upon." Here (工) and (功) interchange. Similarly, in the series *jenq*/*jeng* *tieng "chief/ruler/govern/correct/campaign of correction [punitive expedition]/attack [as in previous sense]/government," *jenq* (正) occurs as "chief/govern/government," *jeng* (征) as "chief/attack," and *jenq* (政) as "govern/government/attack."

(e) Conclusion

However, making due allowance for these limitations, the statistics show clearly the great degree of mobility of the majority of lexical items of EAC, and the very limited usefulness of making statements of prediction of usage about lexical items in isolation. In grammatical analysis, the more economical way is to classify "matrices" by grammatical values and to deal with "words" not as isolates, but as occurrences in "matrices."

TABLE I
FREQUENCY OF OCCURRENCE OF PLEREMATIC WORDS AND CENEMATIC
WORDS WITH PLEREMATIC FUNCTIONS. COUNT OF
TOTAL OCCURRENCES

Range and rating	Word	Number of occurrences	Varieties of deployment ¹
<i>(a) High Frequency Range</i>			
1	Wang "King"	182	N.DN.
2	Minq "decree"	95	N.V.
3	Tian "Heaven"	87	N.DN.
4	Dah "great"	70	N.DN.DV.
5	Min "people"	69	N.DN.
6	Ren "man"	58	N.
7	Gong "Duke"	57	N.DN.
8	Tzyy "child"	56	N.DV.
9	In "P.N."	52	N.DN.
	Yeou "Possess"	52	N.V.DN. (See Table VI)
10	Jou "P.N."	44	N.DN.
	Shyh "serve"	44	N.V.DN.
11	Der "virtue"	41	N.DN.
	Tzuoh "make"	41	N.V.
12	Sheau "small"	38	N.DN.
	Bang "State"	38	N.DN.
13	Linq "decree"	36	N.V.
14	Fwu "serve"	31	N.V.DN.
15	Ruoh "emulate"	30	N.V.DN.DV. (See Table VI)
	Yonq "use"	30	N.V. (See Table VI)
16	Ming "bright"	29	N.V.DN.DV.
17	Bao "protect"	28	N.V.
	Shiou "grace"	28	N.V.DN.
18	Wen "P.N."	27	N.DN.
	Pi "intense degree"	27	DN.DV.
19	Fuh "father"	26	N.DN.
20	Syh "four"	25	N.DN.
21	I "one"	24	N.DN.
	Jinq "revere"	24	N.V.DN.DV.
22	Shian "former"	23	N.V.DN.
23	Fang "square"	22	N.V.

¹In this table, and in Tables II and VI also, N denotes noun, V denotes verb, DN denotes determinant of a noun, and DV denotes determinant of a verb.

Range and rating	Word	Number of occurrences	Varieties of deployment
24	Show "receive"	21	V.
	San "three"	21	N.
25	Duo "many"	20	N.DN.DV.
	Bor "Earl"	20	N.
<i>(b) Middle Frequency Range</i>			
26	Kao "father"	19	N.V.DN.
	Tuu "earth"	19	N.DN.
	Yu "P.N."	19	N.
	Feng "P.N."	19	N.
	Gaw "announce"	19	V.
27	Yueh "month"	18	N.
	Jeou "wine"	18	N.V.
	Cherng "finish"	18	N.V.DN.
28	Ning "peace"	17	N.V.DN.DV.
	Syh "sacrifice"	17	N.V.
	Dih "God"	17	N.DN.
	Chern "subject"	17	N.V.DN.
29	Shean "glory"	16	N.V.DN.DV.
	Yi "custom, vessel"	16	N.V.DN.
	Bae "hundred"	16	N.DN.
	Jenq "correct"	16	N.V.DN.
	Jiun "Prince"	16	N.DN.
30	Buu "oracle"	15	N.V.
	Jianq "send down"	15	V.
	Shyh "knight"	15	N.DN.
	Yuh "control"	15	DN.
	Shyr "ten"	15	N.DN.
31	Bih "ruler"	14	N.V.DN.
	Eli "two"	14	DN.
	Tzay "reside at, be at"	14	V. (See Table VI)
	Yih "city"	14	N.
32	Gong "merit"	13	N.
	Jy "know"	13	V.
	Nian "year"	13	N.
	Sha "kill"	13	N.V.
	Shyi "grant"	13	V.
	Shy "city, army"	13	N.V.DN.
	Wey "fear"	13	N.V.DN.
33	Kang "peace"	12	N.V.DN.
	Ruh "go in"	12	N.V.
	Sheang "enjoy, gift"	12	N.V.

Range and rating	Word	Number of occurrences	Varieties of deployment
	Wen "hear"	12	N.V.
	Wei "think"	12	V.
			(See Table VI)
	Wuu "P.N."	12	N.
	Yih "govern"	12	V.
	Yii "cyclical sign"	12	N.
	Ding "cyclical sign"	12	N.
	Dong "east"	12	N.DN.
	Dyi "lead way"	12	N.V.
	Far "punish"	12	N.V.
	Gwo "kingdom"	12	N.
	How "after"	12	N.V.DN.
	Jeng "attack"	12	N.V.DN.
	Tzong "ancestral"	12	N.DN.
34	Bao "precious"	11	N.V.
	Chii "search out"	11	N.V.
	Ryh "day"	11	N.
	Shin "new"	11	DN.
	Fwu "capture"	11	N.V.
	Hour "Feudal Lord"	11	N.
	Hwang "august"	11	DN.
	Yu "go to"	11	V.
	Jin "metal"	11	N.DN.
35	Gong "work, workman"	10	N.
	Liau "colleague"	10	N.DN.
	Luoh "P.N."	10	N.
	Sanq "loss"	10	N.V.
	Syh "inherit"	10	N.V.
	Tyng "court"	10	N.V.
	Wey "place"	10	N.V.
	Bay "salute"	10	V.
	Tzaw "make/become"	10	N.V.
(c) <i>Low Frequency Range</i>			
36	Bih "warn"	9	N.V.DV.
	Bin "guest"	9	N.
	Chyn "exert effort"	9	N.V.DN.
	Dann "in intense degree"	9	DN.DV.
	Jair "dwell"	9	N.V.
	Jia "family"	9	N.DN.
	Jyi "auspicious"	9	N.V.DN.
	Jyi "go to"	9	V.
	Lai "come"	9	V.

Range and rating	Word	Number of occurrences	Varieties of deployment
	Niann "think"	9	V.
	Niou "ox"	9	V.
	Sy "serve"	9	N.V.DN.
	Shiah "P.N."	9	N.DN.
	Shin "mind"	9	N.
	Shyy "Recorder"	9	N.
	Shoou "head"	9	N.
	Tseh "record"	9	N.V.
	Wuu "five"	9	N.
	Yiin "govern"	9	N.V.DN.
37	Ba "eight"	8	N.
	Diann "govern"	8	V.N.
	Fa "attack"	8	V.
	Gaw "declare"	8	V.
	In "P.N."	8	N.
	Jer "wise"	8	N.DN.
	Jian "see, oversee"	8	V.
	Jian "difficulty"	8	N.
	Jiau "teach"	8	N.V.
	Jong "end"	8	N.V.DN.
	Juey "blot out"	8	V.
	Shiann "wise"	8	N.V.DN.
	Shiang "assist"	8	V.
	Shi "west"	8	N.DN.
	Tzuen "honourable"	8	V.DN.DV
	Uei "fear"	8	N.V.
	Way "outside"	8	N.DN.
	Woang "go"	8	V.
	Yang "make known"	8	V.
	Yih "ease"	8	N.V.
	Yuan "great"	8	N.DN.
38	Jyi "sick"	7	N.V.DN.
	Maw "zeal"	7	N.V.
	Shiuh "order"	7	N.V.
	Ting "listen"	7	N.V.
	Yeou "friend"	7	N.DN.
39	Chanq "wine"	6	N.
	Che "carriage"	6	N.
	Chyou "seek"	6	V.
	Dinq "fix"	6	V.DN.
	Duey "record"	6	V.
	Fu "promulgate"	6	V.

Range and rating	Word	Number of occurrences	Varieties of deployment
	Gwo	6	N.V.
	Jau	6	V.
	Jiu	6	N.V.
	Jy	6	N.V.DN.DV.
	Jyi	6	V.
	Lih	6	DN.
	Sheng	6	N.V.
	Shiuh	6	N.V.
	Shoang	6	N.V.DV.
	Shoou	6	N.
	Shaang	6	N.V.
	Shoei	6	N.
	Shyng	6	N.V.
	Tzuey	6	N.V.
	Tsorng	6	V.
	Tzwu	6	N.
	Yeuan	6	V.DN.
	Yuann	6	N.V.
	Yuh	6	N.V.
40	Ben-tzoou	5	N.V.
	Bey	5	N.DN.
	Chu	5	N.V.
	Chyan	5	DN.
	Duu	5	N.V.DN.
	Fu	5	N.
	Gong	5	N.
	Guang	5	N.V.DN.
	Iong	5	N.V.
	Jiang	5	DN.
	Ji	5	V.
	Jinq	5	V.DN.
	Jyh	5	V.
	Jyh	5	V.
	Jyh	5	N.
	Jyr	5	N.V.
	Jyi	5	N.V.DV.
	Maa	5	N.
	Mau	5	N.
	Suen	5	N.
	Shen	5	N.
	Shyy	5	N.DN.

Range and rating	Word	Number of occurrences	Varieties of deployment
	Twu	5	N.DN.
	Shyh	5	N.
	Wann	5	N.
	Yan	5	N.V.
	Chyou	5	N.
	Jenq	5	N.V.

TABLE II
FREQUENCY OF WORDS OCCURRING WITH VERBAL VALUE

Rating	Over-all rating as in Table I	Word	Number of occurrences	Other deployment
1	9	Yeou	52	See Table VI
2	11	Tzuoh	36	N.
3	15	Yonq	29	N. (See Table VI)
4	2	Minq	22	N.
5	13	Linq	21	N.
	24	Show	21	—
6	26	Gaw	19	—
7	17	Bao	18	N.
8	21	Jinq	15	N.DN.DV.
	30	Jianq	15	—
9	31	Tzay	14	See Table VI
10	32	Jy	13	—
	32	Shyi	13	—
11	32	Sha	12	N.
	33	Yih	12	—
	33	Wei	12	See Table VI
12	14	Fwu	11	N.DN.
	34	Chii	11	N.
	34	Yu	11	See Table VI
	33	Wen	11	N.
13	33	Ruh	10	N.
	16	Ming	10	N.DN.DV.
	35	Bay	10	—
	34	Fwu	10	N.
14	36	Jyi	9	—
	36	Lai	9	—
	36	Niann	9	—
	27	Cherng	9	N.DN.
15	33	Dyi	8	N.

Rating	Over-all rating as in Table I	Word	Number of occurrences	Other deployment	
	37	Fa	"attack"	8	—
	37	Gaw	"declare"	8	—
	37	Jian	"see, oversee"	8	—
	37	Juey	"blot out"	8	—
	33	Sheang	"enjoy"	8	N.
	37	Shiang	"assist"	8	—
	35	Tzaw	"make, become"	8	N.
	37	Woang	"go"	8	—
	37	Yang	"make known"	8	—
16	36	Bih	"warn"	7	N.DV.
	33	Kang	"peace"	7	N.DN.
	35	Syh	"inherit"	7	N.V.
17	39	Jau	"go east"	6	—
	33	Jeng	"attack"	6	N.DN.
	39	Chyou	"seek"	6	—
	36	Chyn	"exert effort"	6	N.DN.
	39	Duey	"record"	6	—
	39	Fu	"promulgate"	6	—
	39	Jyi	"reach"	6	—
	28	Syh	"sacrifice"	6	N.
	35	Sanq	"loss"	6	N.
	38	Ting	"listen"	6	N.
	39	Tsorong	"follow"	6	—
18	37	Jong	"end"	5	N.DN.
	40	Jyh	"arrive at"	5	See Table VI
	40	Jyh	"apply"	5	—
	15	Ruoh	"emulate"	5	N.DN.DV. (See Table VI)
	39	Shaang	"award"	5	N.
	17	Shiou	"grace"	5	N.DN.
	10	Shyh	"serve"	5	N.DN.
	35	Tyng	"court"	5	N.
	32	Wey	"fear"	5	N.
	40	Ji	"discover"	5	—

TABLE III

FREQUENCY OF OCCURRENCE OF WORDS DETERMINING VERBS, WITH THE EXCEPTION OF THE DETERMINANTS OF ASPECT, MOOD, AND STATE OF AGENCY (FOR WHICH SEE TABLE VI)

Rating	Word	Number of occurrences	
1	Ruoh	"thus, in this manner, in such manner"	12
2	Jinq	"reverently"	6
3	Ming	"with enlightenment, with distinction"	4
	Yeuan	"as from afar, far reachingly"	4
4	Duu	"sincerely"	3
5	Jyi	"seriously, with sense of urgency"	2
	Horng	"vastly"	2
	(R57)		
	Horng	"vastly, extensively"	2
	(R85)		
	Duen	"generously"	2
	Tzuen	"as though honoured"	2
6	Jy	"respectfully"	1
	Yih	"respectfully"	1
	Jyi	"to last point, utterly"	1
	Tzyy	"as would a son"	1
	Bih	"carefully, as though pre-warned"	1
	Gong	"politely"	1
	Huen	"foolishly, ill-advisedly"	1
	Shann	"ably, competently"	1
	Chorng	"excessively"	1
	Huang	"profligately"	1
	Jiuann	"with kindness"	1
	Suei	"tranquilly"	1
	Ning	"quietly"	1
	Gang	"rigidly"	1
	Nan	"with difficulty"	1
	Huey	"with kindness"	1
	Shean	"plainly, in full view"	1
	Shoang	"in a lively manner"	1
	Goang	"in the grand manner, in a big way"	1

TABLE IV
FREQUENCY OF OCCURRENCE OF WORDS WITH NOMINAL VALUE

Rating	Word	Number of occurrences
1	Wang "King"	155
2	Minq "decree"	73
3	Min "people"	59
4	Ren "man"	58
5	Tzyy "child"	55
6	Gong "Duke"	50
7	Tian "Heaven"	49
8	Shyh "service"	38
9	Der "virtue"	35
10	Bang "State"	27
11	Fuh "father"	24
12	Fang "square"	21
	In "P.N."	21
	Shiou "grace"	21
13	Bor "Earl"	20
14	Yu "P.N."	19
15	Feng "P.N."	18
	Jou "P.N."	18
	Yueh "month"	18
16	Jeou "wine"	17
	Tuu "earth"	17
17	Fwu "serve"	16
18	Linq "decree"	15
	Kao "father"	15
19	Dih "God"	14
	Chern "subject"	14
	Yih "city"	14
	Jiun "ruler"	14
20	Nian "year"	13
	Gong "merit"	13
	Yi "custom, vessel"	13
	Shyh "Knight"	13
21	Ding "cyclical sign"	12
	Gwo "kingdom"	12
22	Hour "Feudal Lord"	11
	Jenq "correct"	11
	Ryh "day"	11
	Syh "sacrifice"	11
	Yii "cyclical sign"	11
23	Bih "ruler"	10

Rating	Word	Number of occurrences
	Bao "protect"	10
	Shy "city, army"	10
	Gong "work, workman"	10
24	Bin "guest"	9
	Buu "oracle"	9
	Liau "colleague"	9
	Niou "ox"	9
	Shin "mind"	9
	Shoou "head"	9
	Far "punishment"	9
25	In "P.N."	8
	Jian "difficulty"	8
	Jia "family"	8
	Shiah "P.N."	8
	Shyy "Recorder"	8
26	Diann "Governor"	7
	Jea "cyclical sign"	7
	Tseh "record"	7
	Wey "fear"	7
	Yih "ease"	7
27	Chanq "wine"	6
	Che "carriage"	6
	Jyi "good luck"	6
	Luoh "P.N."	6
	Ruoh "pattern"	6
	Shen "body"	6
	Sheang "gift"	6
	Shoou "hand"	6
	Shoei "water, river"	6
	Tzww "forbear"	6
	Yiin "Governor"	6
28	Fu "person"	5
	Gwo "scalps"	5
	Gong "palace"	5
	How "descendant, after"	5
	Jair "site"	5
	Jeng "campaign"	5
	Maa "horse"	5
	Mau "P.N."	5
	Maw "zealous"	5
	Suen "grandson"	5
	Sheng "sacrifice"	5

Rating	Word	Number of occurrences
	Shyh "house"	5
	Tyng "court"	5
	Tzuey "crime"	5
	Tzong "ancestral"	5
	Uei "fear"	5
	Way "outside"	5
	Chyou "Chiefs"	5

TABLE V
FREQUENCY OF OCCURRENCE OF WORDS WHICH DETERMINE NOUNS

Rating	Word	Number of occurrences
1	Dah "great"	47
2	Tian *"Heaven"	38
3	Sheau "small"	37
4	In *"P.N."	31
5	Wang *"King"	27
6	Jou "P.N."	26
7	Syh "four"	25
8	I "one"	24
	Wen "P.N."	24
9	San "three"	21
10	Shian "former"	19
11	Duo "many, all"	16
	Bae "hundred"	16
12	Yuh "control"	15
13	Shyr "ten"	14
	Ming "bright"	14
	Ell "two"	14
14	Ning "peace"	13
15	Hwang "august"	11
	Bang "State"	11
	Shin "new"	11
16	Min "people"	10
17	Cherng "complete"	9
	Pi "great"	9
	Wuu "P.N."	9
	Wuu "five"	9
18	Dong "east"	8
	Jin "metal"	8
	Shanq "top"	8

Rating	Word	Number of occurrences
	Ba "eight"	8
19	Shean "glory"	7
	Gong *"Duke"	7
	Bao "precious"	7
	Tzong "ancestral"	7
	Yuan "great"	7
20	Shi "west"	6
	Der *"virtue"	6
	How "after"	6
	Lih "successive"	6
21	Chyan "former"	5
	Jer "wise"	5
	Jiang "boundary"	5
	Tzuen "honourable"	5
	Wann "ten thousand"	5

NOTE. The five entries marked with an asterisk occur in the sample (though not invariably) with the particle of determination *iy* or *chyí* or *iyue* between determinant and determined word (see 2.6.2).

TABLE VI
FREQUENCY OF OCCURRENCE OF CENEMATIC WORDS

Rating	Word	Number of occurrences ¹	Plerematic usage	Notes
1	Wei (radical #30 #61 or 0)	176	V.	
2	Yu (directive)	125	V.	
3	Bu (radical #7)	114		
4	Iue	106		
5	Nae	95		
6	Woo	82		
7	Chyi (pronoun, radical #12)	74		
8	Yeou	72	V.	
9	Jyue	71		
10	Yonq	65	V.N.	
11	Yueh (radical #119 or #156)	61	V.	
12	Yu (pronoun, radical #6)	59	V.	All texts but not on bronzes (See <i>Yu</i> below)
				<i>JG.DG.DS.</i> only
13	Eel	56		
14	Ruu	47		
15	Gaan	45		
16	Ruoh	44	N.V.	

¹ All entries occur both on bronzes and in texts unless otherwise noted.

Rating	Word	Number of occurrences	Plerematic usage	Notes
	Tzay	44	V.	
17	Yii (instrument, radical #9)	39		
18	Yih (conjunction, radical #8)	34		
	Jin	34	DN.	
19	Jenn	31	V.	
20	Wu (modal, radical #86)	30		
21	Shyr (demonstrative, radical #72)	28		Texts only
22	Fei	27		
23	Woang	24		Texts only cf. <i>Wang</i> below
	Fwu	24		
24	Shuh	23		
25	Tzyh	22		
26	Tzy	20		
27	Yow	18		
	Keh	18		
28	Jy	17		
	Jih	17		
29	Sheen	16		Texts only
	U-hu	16		
30	Syh	15		
31	Shyan	14		
	Tzai	14		Texts Rad 30 Bronzes R64
32	Jyi (aspect, radical #26)	13		
	Wang	13		
33	Wuh	12		
34	Yu (pronoun, radical #9)	10		Bronzes only See <i>Yu</i> above
	Kee	10		Texts only
35	Wu (modal, radical #80)	9		Bronzes only
	Yii (interjection, radical #49)	9		
	Jiang	9		
	Tzer	9		Texts only 2×as noun
36	Iou	8		
37	Chu	7		
38	Wey (modal, radical #75)	6		<i>KG. LG.</i> only
	Neng	6		As SA. 3×only
	Sheau-dah	6		
	Guh (Guu)	6		
	Her (substitute, radical #73)	6		Texts only

Rating	Word	Number of occurrences	Plerematic usage	Notes
	Jaw, Chii (radical #129, radical #30)	6		
39	Shanq (aspect, radical #42)	5		Texts only
	Shanq-shiah	5		
	Shen	5		
	Farn	5		On bronze as V
	Ju	5		
	Keen	5		Texts only

(f) Postscript

A further use to which these frequency counts can be put opens up an important field of enquiry, though one beyond the scope or purpose of this work. One of the characteristics of a stage in the evolution of Archaic Chinese is the use of words at a given time. This is not only a question of what words were current in, for example, EAC, but the senses in which they were used at the period, and the relative preference for certain words over others. This is a matter which concerns lexicography, particularly lexicography on historical principles. Such lexicography would be invaluable to the textual critic.

One of the assumptions made in this work is that if datable bronzes and historical texts attributed to the same period share common grammatical characteristics, it is evidence that the attribution is a tenable one. If, further, lexicographical features coincide, the evidence is strengthened. In this connection, we might say that the occurrence of a lexic on a bronze, which can be dated, in a given usage is an "attested usage" for the period. In Table I (see p. 256) the first 102 words (that is, all plerematic words occurring in the high and middle frequency ranges) are all "attested usages" in this sense. That is to say that the word occurs in the dated bronze inscription and also in the literary material. The exceptions are two proper names, namely *Yu* (盪) (bronzes only) and *Luoh* (洛) (texts only), *Jin* (金) "metal" (bronzes only), *buu* (卜) "oracle," *sha* (殺) "kill," and *dvi* (迪) "lead" (texts only).²

²I doubt if these omissions are significant. Of those occurring in texts but not attested on bronzes, *luoh* occurs on the Oracle Bones and *buu* occurs elsewhere on bronzes, for example, the *Yi-hour Tseh Goei* (see *Tarn Lan* (1)), and *dvi* (see below) is a peculiarly Western Chou word. The occurrence of *jin* on the bronzes, but not in texts, is purely fortuitous. The subject of metal is simply not mentioned in the texts. I have not encountered *sha* "kill" on inscriptions.

On the evidence, therefore, not only of grammatical forms, but also of lexicographical similarities, the authenticity of the attribution of the texts is attested by the evidence of the inscriptions. This does not mean that fidelity of transmission has been perfectly maintained in the texts.³ At some stage in the "normalization" of the script of the texts, or at some stage in transmission, the distinction made in the writing of *tzay* as a verb or as a particle (在才) and between *nae* as a pronoun and as a conjunction (乃迺), has been obliterated. But this may be purely a matter of the orthographic conventions observed by copyists. In usage, *nae* and *tzay* in both text and inscription conform to the EAC norm and contrast with usage in LAC. Similarly, the occurrence with very low frequency in the texts of such words as *tzer* (則) as conjunction (7 times only) with no attestation from inscriptions, in contrast to the more normal EAC *syh* (肆), *wei* (惟), or *nae* (迺) (see DS. 54.3, where *tzer-wei* occurs, seemingly tautologically) suggests that some copyists' errors have crept into the text. A similar explanation seems reasonable for the contrast in text and inscription of the sign for the first person pronoun. Texts have (予) 59 times and bronzes have (余) 10 times; similarly, the occurrence of *eel* (爾) in *JG.*, *DG.*, and *DS.* only, instead of the normal *ruu/nae* of the inscriptions and the rest of the texts, might well be due to a similar cause. This possibility of error is, however, kept under control, because "bronze attested usage" offers a firm criterion for testing. In practice, there is surprisingly little evidence of such corruption in transmission.⁴ The more remarkable thing is the fidelity with which EAC usages and practices have been preserved in the texts,⁵ particularly when they are compared with Late Archaic texts.

³I distinguish between the authenticity of an attribution, (e.g., that *Jeou Gaw* is a document dating from the time of *Wu Wang*) and the integrity of the transmission of the text on the one hand, and the genuineness of the document on the other. *Jeou Gaw* I believe to be authentic, though the possibility remains that the integrity of its text was impaired in transmission. *Yu Gong*, on the other hand, I do not believe to be genuine in the sense that it is attributed to, or purports to be of, the pre-Chou period.

⁴If, in addition to the similarity of grammatical forms and lexical usages and occurrences, in text and inscription, were added a comparison of the stock collocations and phrases that occur, the comparability would, I think, be even more convincing.

⁵Modern scholarship is less cynical about the possibility of the fidelity of transmission, even with oral transmission, than critical scholarship once was.

A further feature, revealed by frequency counts and important for comparative studies of the vocabulary of periods, is the absence in the EAC vocabulary of such high frequency items in the LAC vocabulary as *shyan* (賢) "worthy," particularly in the stock collocation *shyan-ren* "worthy man" (though the sign (賢) is attested for early Chou bronzes in the sense of "proper name"); and the ubiquitous word in LAC, *ren* (仁) "benevolent," though the occurrence of such words would not be incongruous in the moralistic passages of EAC material. Similarly, there is the low frequency in EAC of such high frequency words in LAC as *daw* (道) "way, teaching" (one occurrence only, *KG.* 38.27), or *yih* (義) "justice" (3 times only). By contrast, *dyl* (迪) "point way, teach, lead" and *yl* (彝) "custom" (particularly in contexts where the "people's customs" are cited as guides for just laws and judgments), and *shiann* (獻) "worthy" in such stock collocations as *shiann min* and *shiann chern* "worthy people, worthy subjects," are distinctive EAC words.

This contrast is even more striking in the cenematic word list (see Table VI). Such high frequency words in LAC as *yee* (也) and *yii* (矣); *hu* (乎) (in EAC occurring as verb only "to call out") and *yu* (於) (in EAC an interjection only), do not occur as cenematic words in EAC. Similarly, *erl* (而), *jee* (者), and *jie* (皆), all high frequency words in LAC, do not occur in EAC. The allegro forms (see Dobson (1), p. 168, where seventeen are listed)⁶ known to LAC are all absent in EAC as allegro forms, with the exception of *nae*. *Shwei* (誰) and *shwu* (孰); *shiang* (相) and *jiau* (交); *yeu* (與) and *jyi* (及), are also absent in EAC, as are *her* (何)⁷ and *suoo* (所).

Conversely, among the high frequency cenematic words of EAC, nos. 1 *wei*, 2 *yu*, 8 *jyue*, 10 *yueh*, 11 *yu*, and others such as 15 *tzay*,

⁶In the list cited, *her* (曷) is given as a possible allegro form, the suggestion having been culled from the work of previous scholars, though the reservation was made that "the etymology remains, to me at least, unclear." Attention was drawn to its low frequency in Dobson (1), p. 145, footnote 14 (three times). Further acquaintance with EAC usage convinces me now that *her* is merely the common EAC interrogative substitute, which is replaced largely in LAC by *her* (何). The notion that *her* is an allegro form of *her* plus "time" is simply not borne out by the evidence of EAC usage.

⁷There is a single occurrence of *her*, in *nay-her*, as follows: *u-hu, her chy* *nay-her fuw jinq* (嗚呼曷其奈何弗敬) "Oh! How can we not revere him" Oh/how/we/how/not/fear, (*SG.* 47.3) where, in addition to the typical EAC substitute *her*, *nay-her* appears to be tautologous. Surely this is a gloss on EAC *her* that has been incorporated in the text?

26 *keh*, 28 *sheen* and *u-hu*, 29 *syh*, 30 *shyan*, 33 *yu*, 35 *iou*, 37 *her*, in List no. VI are all either low frequency or do not occur in LAC.

One fact that frequency may not reveal, though it is very important for historical lexicography, is the evolution in meaning which words with an otherwise comparable frequency rating may, at varying periods, undergo. For example, *duo* (多) *tâ, which probably has high frequency throughout Archaic Chinese, has in EAC, in addition to its common meaning "many," the further connotation of "all." This is a peculiarity of EAC. In Dobson (1), p. 34, footnote 24, attention was drawn to the series *tiã, *tio, and *ts'iar, suggesting that they may be specializations from a common progenitor. Neither tiã nor ts'iar are known to EAC. *Duo* in its ambivalence between "many/all" in EAC, with its later narrowing to "many," may be simply a further stage back in the evolution of this series. Similarly, *show* (受) *diog "receive," which, too, probably has high frequency throughout Archaic Chinese, has in EAC not only the meaning "receive" (*contra* "give") but "receive and hold, guard, cherish." In this latter sense, *shoou* (守) *siog "guard, cherish" comes to mind, the earliest attestation for which, according to Karlgren, is bronzes Chou 11 (c. 900-770).

It is remarkable that the vocabulary of EAC should contain so many items that would occur, virtually unchanged, in a dictionary of Modern Standard Chinese usage.⁸ The viability of certain lexical items, however, should not obscure the very important fact that others enjoy a vogue, become archaistic, are revived, evolve in meaning, bifurcate in specializations of sense, but are characterized at any given moment by the particularity of the period, and not by the totality of usage throughout their lifetime in the Chinese language. In the Chinese tradition, lexicography has attained admirable standards, but rarely has the historical aspect of lexicography played a significant part in it.

⁸Such, for example, as that of Simon, *A Beginner's Chinese English Dictionary of the National Language (Gwoyue)* (London, 1947).

LIST OF WORKS MENTIONED

The list which follows gives full details of works to which reference has been made by author and page number only in the text or in footnotes.

Abbreviations

AS	Bulletin of the Institute of History and Philology (Academia Sinica) (Peiping and Taiwan)
BMFEA	Bulletin of the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities (Stockholm)
BSOAS	Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies (London)
CC	Chinese Culture (Taipei)
DLTJ	Dah-luh Tzar-jyh (大陸雜誌) (Taiwan)
GHA	Göteborgs Högskolas Årsskrift (Göteborg)
GSJK	Gwo-shyue Jih-kan (國學季刊) (Peking)
HJAS	Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies (Cambridge)
JAOS	Journal of the American Oriental Society (Baltimore)
KGSB	Kao-guu Shyue-baw (考古學報) (Peking)
SA	Sinologische Arbeiten (Peking)
TP	T'oung Pao (Leiden)
TPS	Transactions of the Philological Society (London)
YJCS	Yenching Journal of Chinese Studies (Peking)
YYYJ	Yeu-yan Yan-jiou (語言研究) (Peking)

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- (3) *Mau-gong Diing, Kao Nian, Juh-yih* (毛公鼎考年註譯) (Taiwan, undated). Cited as Doong (3).
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LEXICON AND INDEX OF WORDS TREATED AT SOME LENGTH

NOTE. Arrangement is alphabetical by the G.R. system of romanization. A starred entry refers to the reconstruction of the phonology in Archaic Chinese as given by Karlgren. Karlgren's typography has been modified. A number preceded by K is a reference to the paragraph number in *Grammata Serica Recensa* (Karlgren (1)). A number preceded by YSD is the page and section number of the *Particle Lexicon* of Yang Shuh-dar (YSD (1)). A number preceded by PSH is the page number of the entry in the *Collected Explanations of the Particles of Archaic Chinese* by Peir Shyue-hae (Peir (1)). The six-figure reference is to the classification number under which the entry will be found in the Harvard-Yenching Index Series. Finally, (pl.) is plerematic usage (only usages attested in the material are given), and (gr.) is grammaticized usage, while T or B before a sign indicates that the sign appears in one form in texts (T) and in another on bronze inscriptions (B).

- | | |
|---|--|
| <p><i>Arng</i> (印): *ngâng (refs. K 699; 5.81820)
(pl.) self, person.
(gr.) used in <i>arng-tzyh</i>; see (a)
(a) reflexive pronoun. 3.5.4.2.
See also App. I, Note 30.</p> | <p><i>Bing</i> (并): *b'iəng (refs. K 840; YSD 1.14; PSH 849; 3.91270)
(gr.)
(a) agential distributive. 3.5.3.</p> |
| <p><i>Bae</i> (百): *pâk (refs. K 781; 1.28882)
(pl.) (i) a hundred.
(ii) a large number, all. 2.6.7.4.2.</p> | <p><i>Bor</i> (伯): *pâk (refs. K 782; 5.90282)
(pl.) a noble rank.
(gr.) see (a).
(a) quantifier for nobles. 2.6.7.4.4.</p> |
| <p><i>Bih</i> (畢): *piet (refs. K 407; YSD 1.11; PSH 848; 1.88508)
(gr.) see (a).
(a) agential collective. 3.5.3.
See also App. I, Note 27.</p> | <p><i>Bu</i> (不): *pwət (refs. K 999; YSD 1.16; PSH 866 and 873; 1.70600)
(gr.)
(a) forms privatives. 2.6.7.3.
(b) modal negative, indicative. 3.3.1.1.
Used in <i>buh-shao</i>. See 3.3; App. I, Note 11.
See also 3.3.1.1, footnote 6; 3.3.1.1, footnote 7; 3.3.4; App. I, Note 6.</p> |
| <p><i>Bii</i> (彼): *pia (refs. K 25; YSD 1.5; PSH 843; 5.29340)
(gr.) see (a).
(a) far demonstrative see 6.4.
See also 2.6.7.2; App. I, Notes 5 and 47.</p> | |

- Buh* (不): see *Bu*
Bwu (不): see *Bu*
Bye (別): *b'iat (refs. K 292; YSD 1.12; PSH 850; 5.82221)
 (gr.) in place position "elsewhere." 3.10.
Chern (臣): *dien (refs. K 377; 2.81223)
 (pl.) servants, subjects, retainers; to serve as a subject.
 (gr.) status pronoun. 6.3.
Chii (啓): *k'iar (ref. K 588)
 (gr.) see (a)
 (a) inchoative aspect. 3.3.2.2.
 See also 3.3.2.2, footnote 17; App. I, Note 14.
Chu (初): *ts'io (refs. K 85; YSD 5.48; 5.09720)
 (pl.) beginning.
 (gr.) see (a)
 (a) inchoative aspect. 3.3.2.2.
 See also 3.3.2.2, footnote 17; App. I, Note 14.
Chyi (其): *kiæg (refs. K 952; YSD 4.38; PSH 354,373,426; 3.37903)
 (gr.)
 (a) particle of determination. 2.6.2. 2.6.2, footnote 5.
 (b) anaphoric pronoun (pre-verbal form). 3.8.
 See also 2.6.7.1; 2.6.7.1, footnote 9; 3.5.2; 3.5.2, footnote 31; 3.11.1; 3.11.2; 6.2.1; App. I, Notes 2, 26, 34, and 46.
Dah (大): *d'ad (refs. K 317; YSD 2.1; 1.30900)
 (pl.) largeness, great, major, large.
 (gr.) see (a).
 (a) determination of verb of degree. 3.3.
 See also 3.3.4; App. I, Note 11.
Dang (當): *tâng (refs. K 725; YSD 2.12; PSH 449,832,833,838; 3.60085)
 (gr.) modal determinant of verb—conjunctive. 3.3.1.4.
Dann (誕): *d'an (refs. K 203; YSD 2.11;

PSH 472; 5.08141)

(pl.) boastful, arrogant.

(gr.) see (a).

(a) determination of verb of degree. 3.3.

See also 3.3.4; App. I, Note 11.

Dean (典): *t'ian (refs. K 476; 3.57906)

(pl.) to govern, governor, records, statutes.

(gr.) customary aspect. 3.3.2.6.

See also App. I, Note 20.

Duo (多): *tâ (refs. K 3; YSD 2.2; PSH 774; 4.82220)

(pl.) frequency.

(gr.) many, much, all.

(a) collective determinant. 2.6.7.5, Note 2.

(b) determination of verb of degree. 3.3.

See also 3.3.4; App. I, Notes 8 and 11.

Dyi (迪): *d'iök (refs. K 1079; YSD 2.18; PSH 64,65,72,474)

(pl.) to lead, point way, teach, guidance, governance.

(gr.) see (a).

(a) indefinite substitute. 6.6.

See also 2.9; 3.4.8; App. I, Note 49.

Eel (爾): *niar (refs. K 359; YSD 10.12; PSH 580; 2.72440)

See 2.6.7.1, footnote 8 and 2.8, Note 2.

Ell-san (二三)

See 2.6.7.4.2.

Farn (凡): *biwam (refs. K 625; YSD 1.37; PSH 896; 1.88210)

(pl.) u.f. 汎 "travel in a boat."

(gr.) see (a).

(a) collective, determinant. 2.6.7.5.

Fei (非): *piwær (refs. K 579; YSD 1.33; PSH 875 and 877; 3.77360; 5.70700)

(pl.) assistance.

(gr.) see below.

- (a) forms privatives. 2.6.7.3.
 (b) copula. 4.2.
 (c) as D.T. denies truth; before cause, denies cause. 4.8; 4.9.
 See also App. I, Notes 6, 39, 41, and 42.
Fu (夫): *piwo (refs. K 101; YSD 1.43; PSH 880; 1.50900)
 (pl.) husband.
 (gr.) quantifier of human beings. 2.6.7.4.4.
Fuh (復): *b'iok (refs. K 1034; YSD 1.48; 5.29942)
 (pl.) to resume again, to report back to.
 (gr.) aspect. 3.3.2.7.
Fwu (弗): *piwat (refs. K 500; YSD 1.49; PSH 879; 1.55004)
 (gr.)
 (a) forms privatives. 2.6.7.3.
 (b) modal negative, indicative, emphatic form. 3.3.1.1.
 See also 3.3.1.1, footnote 6; 3.3.1.1, footnote 8; 3.3.4; App. I, Note 6.
Gaan (敢): *kâm (refs. K 607; YSD 3.6; PSH 330; 5.77943)
 (gr.) to presume or dare; see (a).
 (a) state of agency. 3.3.3.2.
Gong (躬): *kiong (refs. K 1006; 5.22123)
 (pl.) body, self, person. 3.5.4.2, footnote 36.
 See also App. I, Note 30.
Gu (姑): *ko (refs. K 49; YSD 3.9; PSH 307, 322, 328; 5.34381)
 (gr.)
 (a) momentary aspect. 3.3.2.3.
Guh (故): *ko (refs. K 49; YSD 3.12; PSH 266, 307, 322, 326; 5.38941)
 (gr.) in cause and consequence sequences, 4.9.
 See also App. I, Note 42.
Hay (害): *g'ad (refs. K 314; YSD 3.35; PSH 269; 3.02581)
 (gr.) interrogative substitute. 6.5.1.
 See also 3.4.8; 6.5.1, footnote 6; App. I, Note 48.
Her (曷): *g'ât (refs. K 313; YSD 3.34; PSH 269; 3.88222)
 (gr.)
 (a) interrogative substitute. 6.51.
 See also 2.9; 3.4.8; 6.5.1, footnote 6; App. I, Note 48; App. II, footnote 6.
Huoh (或): *giwæk *g'wæk (refs. K 929; YSD 3.48; PSH 149,165; 2.50811)
 (gr.) agential distributive. 3.5.3.1.
 See also App. I, Note 28.
I (一): *iet (refs. K 394; PSH 213; 1.10000)
 (pl.) the whole, one. 2.6.7.4.2.
 Used in *i-ell*. 2.6.7.4.2.
Iou (攸): *diög (refs. K 1077; YSD 7.47; PSH 64, 67, 72; 5.90240)
 (gr.)
 (a) indefinite substitute. 6.6.
 See also 2.9; 3.4.8; App. I, Note 49.
Iue (曰): *giwat (refs. K 304; YSD 9.24; PSH 133, 138, 141; 1.88882)
 (gr.) sign of reported speech.
 See also 3.4.7.
Jau-shih (朝夕): *tiog-dziak (refs. K 1143, 796; 5.33824)
 (gr.) customary aspect. 3.3.2.6.
 See also App. I, Note 20.
Jaw (肇): *d'iog (ref. K 1146)
 (pl.) to create, to found.
 (gr.) begin to; see (a).
 (a) inchoative aspect. 3.3.2.2.
 See also 3.3.2.2, footnote 17; App. I, Note 14.
Jenn (朕): *diang (refs. K 893; 5.82992)
 (pl.) to serve as a servant (on bronzes, sign also u.f. 騰 *terng* "record").
 (gr.) status pronoun, first person, deprecatory form. In pregnant and determinative usage.

- 2.6.7.1; 3.5; 6.2.1.
See also 2.6.7.1, footnote 9; 3.5.2, footnote 31. 6.3; App. I, Note 4 and footnote 1, Notes 26 and 46.
- Jiang** (將): *tsiang (refs. K 727; YSD 6.41; PSH 609, 681; 5.27230)
(pl.) take, lead.
(gr.)
(a) potential aspect. 3.3.2.1.
(b) copula. 4.3.3.
See also 4.3.3, footnote 7; App. I, Note 13.
- Jih** (既): *kiäd (refs. K 515; YSD 4.3; PSH 355, 425; 5.21713)
(gr.)
(a) perfective aspect. 3.3.2.5.
See also 3.7; App. I, Note 18.
- Jin** (今): *kiäm (refs. K 651; YSD 4.21; PSH 344; 2.90020)
(pl.) the present.
(gr.) now; see (a).
(a) in time phrases. 3.10.
Used in *jin-shyr*. 3.10.
- Jinn** (盡): *dz'ien (refs. K 381; YSD 6.34; 3.57675)
(gr.)
(a) Collective. 3.5.3.
- Ju** (諸 B. 者): *tio (refs. K 45; YSD 5.28; PSH 754, 764; 5.08383)
(gr.) various; see (a).
(a) collective, synthesizing, determinant. 2.6.7.5.
See also App. I, Note 8.
- Jy** (之): *tiäg (refs. K 962; YSD 5.1; PSH 719; 1.08900)
(gr.)
(a) particle of determination. 2.6.2; 2.6.2, footnote 5; 2.10.
(b) anaphoric pronoun (post-verbal form). 3.8; 3.8, footnote 43.
See also 2.6.7.1, footnote 9; 3.5.2, footnote 31; 3.11.1; 6.2.1; App. I, Notes 2, 34, and 46; App. II, Table V
- Jyh** (至): *tied (refs. K 413; YSD 5.10; PSH 780; 1.08900)
(pl.) arrive at. 3.4.1, footnote 22.
(gr.) in *jyh-yu*.
(a) lexical directive. 3.4.5.1.
(b) in time phrases. 3.10.
See also 3.10, footnote 55; App. I, Note 25.
- Jyi** (即): *tsiet (refs. K 399; YSD 6.31; PSH 604; 5.21822)
(pl.) go to, reach.
(gr.)
(a) perfective aspect. 3.3.2.5.
See also App. I, Note 18.
- Jyue** (厥): *kiwat (refs. K 301; YSD 4.37; PSH 358; 4.12990)
(gr.)
(a) particle of determination. 2.6.2; 2.6.2, footnote 5.
(b) anaphoric pronoun (determinant form). 2.6.7.1; 2.6.7.1, footnote 9.
See also 2.10; 3.5.2, footnote 31; 3.7; 3.8; 3.10, footnote 48; 3.11.1; 6.2.1; App. I, Notes 2, 4, 10, 34, and 46.
- Jyy** (底): *tiär (refs. K 590; 4.12830)
(gr.)
used in periphrastic causative. 3.4.5.
See also App. I, Note 24.
- Kee** (可): *k'ä (refs. K 1; YSD 3.24; PSH 261, 365; 2.72881)
(gr.) see (a).
(a) state of agent. 3.3.3.2.
See also 3.3.3.2, footnote 21; App. I, Note 22.
- Keen** (肯): *k'äng (refs. K 882; YSD 3.27; PSH 371; 3.27822)
(pl.) be willing.
(gr.) see (a).
(a) state of agent. 3.3.3.2.
- Keh** (克): *k'äk (refs. K 903; YSD 3.26; PSH 371; 3.30811)
(gr.) see (a).

- (a) state of agent. 3.3.3.2.
See also 3.3.3.2, footnote 21; App. I, Note 22.
- Lai** (來): *iäg (refs. K 944; YSD 2.49; PSH 515; 1.30600)
(pl.) come (make-come) > send.
(gr.) see (a).
(a) in time phrases. 3.10.
- Leang** (兩): *liang (refs. K 736)
(pl.) quantifier of chariots and carriages. 2.6.7.4.4.
- Leu** (屢): *gliu (refs. K 123; YSD 2.60; 3.50346)
(gr.) frequently; see (a).
(a) aspectual determinant. 3.3.2.7.
- Meei** (每): *mwäg (refs. K 947; YSD 1.28; PSH 860; 4.90850)
(gr.) each, every.
See 7.3. See also App. I, Note 51.
- Ming** (明): *miang (refs. K 760; 5.88824)
(pl.) bright, brightly, make bright, brightness. 1.3.3.
(gr.) see (a).
(a) in time phrases "at dawn." 3.10.
- Nae** (乃 B. 乃 and 迺): *næg (refs. K 945; YSD 2.37; PSH 476; 1.78220)
(gr.)
(a) determinant form of second person pronoun. 2.6.7.1.
(b) anaphoric substitute "thus," "such." 3.3.3.1.
(c) resumptive conjunction. 5.4.1; 5.4.2.
(Bronzes distinguish between 乃 (a) and 迺 (b) and (c)).
Used in *nae-her*. 6.5.1, Note.
See also 6.2.1; 2.6.7.1, footnote 8; 3.5.2, footnote 19; 3.8; 5.4.1, footnote 7; App. I, Notes 4, 21, 34, 44, and 46.
- Neng** (能): *näng (refs. K 885; YSD 2.46; PSH 496, 508, 521; 5.62712)
(pl.) u.f. (寧) pacify.
(gr.) state of agency. 3.3.3.2.
- See also 3.3.3.2, footnote 21.
- Parng** (旁): *b'wäng (refs. K 740; YSD 1.4; PSH 856, 889; 3.01920)
(gr.) in place position "on all sides, everywhere." 3.10.
See also App. I, Note 27.
- Pi** (匹): *p'iet (refs. K 408; 2.81900)
(pl.) (i) fit-mate, a *vis-à-vis*, cf. *pey* 配.
(ii) quantifier of horses. 2.6.7.4.4.
- Pi** (丕): *p'iäg (refs. K 999; YSD 1.21; PSH 866)
(pl.) very, great, occurs as *pi-pi* (DG.)
(gr.) see (a).
(a) determination of verb of degree. 3.3.
See also 3.3.4; App. I, Note 11.
- Ren** (人): *nien (refs. K 388)
(pl.) man, quantifier of human beings. 2.6.7.4.4.
- Ruu** (汝 B. 女): *nio (refs. K 94; PSH 546; 5.01340)
(gr.) non-status pronoun; second person. 6.2.1; 3.5.2.
See also 2.6.7.1; 3.5.2, footnote 31; App. I, Notes 26 and 46.
- Ruoh** (若): *niak (refs. K 777; YSD 5.85; PSH 555; 3.33381)
(pl.) right, an exemplar; be like, emulate, conform to.
(gr.) thus, such
(a) syntagmatic particle, alternative connection. 2.5.
(b) anaphoric substitute, manner. 3.3.3.1.
(c) before time. 3.10, footnote 54.
(d) copula. 4.4.
(e) "such." 6.4.
Used in *ruoh-tzy*. 3.3.3.1; 6.4.
See App. I, Notes 34 and 40. See also 2.5, footnote 4; 3.3.3.1, Note; App. I, Note 21.
- Ryh** (日): *niet (refs. K 404; YSD 5.82; 1.88882)
(pl.) a day, daily, today.

- (gr.) see (a).
 (a) in time position. 3.10.
San (三): *səm (ref. K 648)
 (pl.) three, a few. 2.6.7.4.2.
Shanq (尚): *diang (refs. K 725; YSD 5.73; PSH 449, 833, 838; 3.60821)
 (gr.) see (a).
 (a) durative aspect. 3.3.2.4.
 See also App. I, Note 17.
Sheau (小): *siog (refs. K 1149; YSD 6.84; 1.6000)
 (pl.) petty, small, minor, smallness.
 Used in *sheau-tzyy* (see 6.3); *sheau-dah*, 2.6.7.5(B).
 See also App. I, Note 8.
Sheau-dah (小大): see *Sheau*
Sheen (矧): *sian (refs. K 560; YSD 5.70; PSH 805; 5.99120)
 "more so," see 7.1. See also App. I, Note 50.
Shen (身): *sien (refs. K 386; 1.28303)
 (pl.) body, self, person. 3.5.4.2, footnote 36.
 See also App. I, Note 30.
Shi (悉): *siet (refs. K 1257; YSD 6.82; 3.26010)
 (gr.) see (a)
 (a) agential distributive. 3.5.3.
 See also App. I, Note 27.
Shiu (胥): *sio (refs. K 90; YSD 6.100; PSH 713, 715; 3.79822)
 (gr.) see (a)
 (a) reciprocal particle. 3.5.4.
 See also 3.5.4.3; App. I, Note 29.
Shiuh (紱): *dzio (ref. K 82)
 (pl.) good order, orderly, put in order, inform.
 (gr.) before long, soon: see (a).
 (a) momentary aspect. 3.3.2.3.
 See also 3.3.2.3, footnote 18; App. I, Note 16.
Shuay (率): *sliwət (refs. K 498; YSD 5.82; PSH 803; 3.01030)
 (pl.) to follow, comply; cf. *shuay* 師
- "to lead."
 (gr.) collective of post-verbal elements. 3.5.3.
 See also App. I, Note 27.
Shuh (庶): *siag (refs. K 804; YSD 5.79; PSH 802; 4.02361)
 (pl.) all, everyone. 2.6.7.5, Note 1.
 (gr.) identifying collective, determinant. 2.6.7.5.
 Used in *shuh-ren*. 2.6.7.5, Note 1.
 See also App. I, Note 8.
Shyan (咸): *g'em (refs. K 671; YSD 5.55; 3.88792)
 (gr.) see (a).
 (a) agential distributive. 3.5.3.
Shyi (昔): *siak (refs. K 798; 3.37883)
 (pl.) in time phrases. 3.10.
Shyr (時): *diag (refs. K 961; YSD 5.51; PSH 719, 823; 5.88332)
 (pl.) "time" as in *nae shyr* "your time," and *shyun shyr* "ten days' time." At all times—"always." 3.10.
 (gr.) this, these; see (a).
 (a) demonstrative, occurs in determinant and pregnant usages. 2.6.7.2; 6.4.
 (b) resumptive conjunction. 5.4.1; 5.4.2.
 (c) Used as anaphoric substitute in determinative sentence. 4.8.1.
 Used in *shyr-wei*. 6.4.
 See also 6.4, footnote 3; 3.10; App. I, Notes 5, 44, and 47.
Shyy (始): *siag (refs. YSD 5.54; PSH 793; 5.34681)
 (gr.) at first; see (a).
 (a) aspect. 3.3.2.7.
Shyy (使): *sliag (refs. K 975; YSD 5.53; PSH 794; 5.90502)
 (pl.) render service (cf. 事).
 (gr.) see (a).
 (a) used in periphrastic causative.

- 3.4.5.
 See also App. I, Note 24.
Suh (肅): *siok (refs. K 1028; 2.57224)
 (gr.) see (a).
 (a) momentary aspect. 3.3.2.3.
 See also 3.3.2.3, footnote 18; App. I, Note 16.
Suh (速): *suk (refs. K 1222; YSD 6.90; 2.09562)
 (pl.) to bring on.
 (gr.) see (a).
 (a) momentary aspect 3.3.2.3.
 See also 3.3.2.3, footnote 18; App. I, Note 16.
Suh-shih (夙夕): see *suh-yeh*
Suh-yeh (夙夜): *siok-ziag (also *suh-shih* (夙夕) *siok-dziak) (refs. K 1030, 796; 2.81720)
 (gr.) (a).
 (a) customary aspect. 3.3.2.6.
 See also App. I, Note 20.
Swei (雖): *siwər (refs. K 575; YSD 6.95; PSH 184, 697, 828; 5.8697)
 (gr.) see (a).
 (a) concessive conjunction. 5.3.1.
 See also App. I, Note 43.
Syh (四): *siad (refs. K 518; 2.88900)
 (pl.) "four," also "on all four sides."
 See 2.6.7.4.2, Note.
Syh (肆): *siad (refs. K 509; YSD 6.80; PSH 710; 5.86502)
 (pl.) pardon.
 (gr.) see (a).
 (a) conjunction. 5.5.
 See also App. I, Note 44.
Tih (畜): *siag (refs. K 877; YSD 5.39; PSH 801)
 (gr.) see (a).
 (a) restrictive. 3.5.3, Note.
 See also App. I.
Tsair (才): see *Tzay* and *Tsai*
Tzai (T. 哉 B. 才): *tsəg, *dz'əg (refs. K 943; YSD 6.21; PSH 635, 646, 682, 688; 2.35881)
 (gr.) see (a).
 (a) particle of sentential mood. 3.9.
 See also 3, footnote 1; App. I, Note 35.
Tzaw (造): *ts'əg (refs. K 1051; 2.09281)
 (pl.) to go to (make-go), put into effect, make, create, become.
 See 4.3.3, Note; 4.3.3, footnote 8.
Tzay (T. 在 B. 才 and 在): *dz'əg, *dz'ag (refs. K 943; YSD 6.24; PSH 646, 682, 688; 4.39370)
 (pl.) reside at, be present at, repose in or with (in metaphorical senses)=be disposed to (B=在).
 (gr.) (B=才).
 (a) lexical directive. 3.4.5.1.
 (b) in time phrases. 3.10.
 Used in *tzay-jin*. 3.10.
 See also 3, footnote 1; 3.4.5.1, footnote 26; 3.10, footnote 49; App. I, Notes 25 and 36.
Tzer (則): *tsək (refs. K 906; YSD 6.12; PSH 589; 5.89223)
 (pl.) a model, pattern, exemplar.
 (gr.) see (a).
 (a) conjunction. 5.4.2, Note.
Tzuoh (B. 乍 T. 作): *dz'ag, *tsāk (refs. K 806; YSD 6.11; PSH 638; 5.90970)
 (pl.) make, create, build, govern, become.
 (gr.) used in periphrastic causative. 3.4.5.
 See also 4.3.3, Note; 4.3.3, footnote 8; App. I, Note 24.
Tzy (茲): *tsiag (refs. K 966; YSD 6.1; PSH 628, 654; 3.33660)
 (gr.)
 (a) demonstrative, occurs in determinant and pregnant usage. 2.6.7.2; 6.4.
 (b) resumptive conjunction. 5.4.1; 5.4.2.
 See also App. I, Notes 5, 44, and 47.

Tzyh (自): *dz'i (refs. K 1237; YSD 6.5; PSH 690; 2.28113)

(gr.)

(a) used in periphrastic treatment of direction. 3.4.5.1.

(b) reflexive. 3.5.4.2.

(c) used in time phrases. 3.10, Note. Used in *Tzyh-jin* and *Tzyh-shyr*. 3.10.

See also 3.5.4.2, Note; 3.5.4.2, footnote 36; 3.5.4.3; App. I, Notes 25 and 30.

U-hu (B. 烏呼 T. 嗚呼): *o-g'io (refs. K 61, 55; PSH 251, 254 5.88222)

(gr.) see (a)

(a) interjection. 5.7.

Wang (T. 罔 B. 亡) (罔 is pronounced *woang* in Modern Standard Chinese) *miwang (refs. K 742; YSD 8.36; 8.8; PSH 898, 914; 1.01810; 2.82910)

(gr.)

(a) forms privatives. 2.6.7.3.

(b) modal negative, subjunctive. 3.3.1.3.

(c) agential distributive. 3.5.3.1.

Used in *wang-fwu*; *wang-bu*; *woang-fwu*; *woang-bu*; 3.3.1.5, Note.

See also 3.3.1.3, footnote 11; 3.3.4; App. I, Notes 6, 12, and 28.

Wei (B. 佳唯 T. 惟) *diwər (refs. K 575; YSD 8.24-27; PSH 184, 697; 5.60973; 5.88974)

(pl.) to think, hope, wish.

(gr.)

(a) restrictive, determinative. 2.6.7.5.

(b) modal determinant of verb, subjunctive. 3.3.1.4.

(c) restrictive of post-verbal elements. 3.5.3.

(d) particle of delegation of agency. 3.5.5; 3.5.5, footnote 37.

(e) before time phrases. 3.10.

(f) copula. 4.2.

(g) determined term in assertions of truth. 4.8.

(h) causal copula. 4.9.

(i) conjunction. 5.3.1; 5.4.2.

Used in *wci-shyr*. 6.4.

See also 3.4.8, footnote 29; 5.4.2, footnote 8; App. I, Notes 12, 31, 36, 39, 41, and 42.

Wey (未): *miwəd (refs. K 531; YSD 8.34; PSH 915; 1.50600)

(gr.) see (a).

(a) modal negative, indicative, universal negation. 3.3.1.1.

See also 3.3.1.1, footnote 9.

Woang (罔): see *Wang*

Woo (我): *ngâ (refs. K 2; PSH 443; 1.25500)

(gr.) see (a).

(a) Status pronoun, 1st person exalted form, in pregnant and determinant usage. 2.6.7.1; 3.5; 6.2.1.

See also 2.6.7.1, footnote 9; 3.5.2, footnote 31; 6.3; App. I, Notes 4, 26, and 46.

Wu (T. 毋 B. 母): *miwo (refs. K 107; YSD 8.11; PSH 898; 1.88854)

(gr.) see (a).

(a) modal negative injunctive. 3.3.1.2.

Used in *wu-fwu*; 3.3.1.5; *wu-yeou*, 4.7.

See also 3.3.1.2, footnote 10; 3.3.4; App. I, Note 12.

Wu (無): *miwo (refs. K 103; YSD 8.4; PSH 898; 4.90363)

(gr.)

(a) forms privatives. 2.6.7.3.

(b) modal negative, subjunctive. 3.3.1.3.

(c) agential distributive. 3.5.3.1.

(d) as determined term, denies occurrence or presence. 4.7.

Used in *wu-yeou*, 4.7.

See also 3.3.4; App. I, Notes 6, 12, 28, and 41.

Wuh (勿): *miwət (refs. K 503; YSD 8.13; PSH 909; 2.22220)

(gr.) see (a).

(a) modal negative, injunctive, emphatic form. 3.3.1.2.

Yeong (永): *giwang (refs. K 764; YSD 9.36; 1.00600)

(pl.) perpetual, perpetuate.

(gr.) see (a).

(a) customary aspect. 3.3.2.6.

Used in *yeong-bu*; 3.3.1.1, footnote 9.

See also App. I, Note 20.

Yeou (有): *giug (refs. K 995; YSD 7.55; PSH 149, 165; 4.30822)

(pl.) possess, obtain; u.f. 佑 assist.

(gr.)

(a) modal determinant of verb—subjunctive. 3.3.1.4.

(b) agential distributive. 3.5.3.1.

(c) as determined term, in presence or occurrence. 4.7.

See also 5.3.2, footnote 6; App. I, Notes 28 and 41.

Yeun (允): *ziwən (refs. K 468; YSD 9.33; PSH 82; 3.60210)

(pl.) true, decisive, make-true, realize.

(gr.) see (a).

(a) copula "is truly..." 4.3.3.

Used in *yeun-wei*. 4.3.3.

See also App. I, Note 39.

Yih (翼; 翼): *giak (refs. K 912, 954) (pl.) next in series. 3.10.

Yih (亦): *ziak (refs. K 800; YSD 7.27; PSH 171; 3.01220)

(gr.)

(a) conjunction, simple connection. 5.3.1.

(b) conjunction, concessive. 5.3.2.

See also 5.3.2, footnote 5; App. I, Note 43.

Yii (以): *ziæg (refs. K 976; YSD 7.8;

PSH 13, 37, 716; 5.27900)

(gr.) "by use of," see (a); "as a result, thereby," see (b); "together with," see (c).

(a) instrumental particle. 3.6.

(b) resultative conjunction. 3.6.2; 5.5.

(c) introduces second of two agents. 3.5.4.1; 3.5.4.3.

See also 3.6, footnote 38; 3.5.4.1, footnote 35; App. I, Notes 1 and 32.

Yii (已): *ziæg (refs. K 977; YSD 7.16; PSH 13, 37; 1.18810)

(gr.)

(a) perfective aspect. 3.3.2.5.

(b) interjection. 5.7.

See also App. I, Note 18.

Yong (用): *diung (refs. K 1185; YSD 9.36; PSH 84, 87, 90; 2.82504)

(pl.) to use, obey, sacrifice, use.

(gr.)

(a) instrumental particle. 3.6.

(b) resultative conjunction. 3.6.2; 5.5.

See also 3.6.2, footnote 39; App. I, Note 32.

You (由): *diög (refs. K 1079; YSD 7.51; PSH 64, 67, 72; 1.58884)

(pl.) to follow.

(gr.)

(a) lexical directive. 3.4.5.1.

(b) instrumental particle. 3.6; 3.6.2. See also App. I, Note 25.

You (又): *giug (refs. K 995; YSD 7.58; PSH 149, 161; 1.88400)

(pl.) u.f. 有 "to possess"; u.f. 佑 "assist."

(gr.) see (a).

(a) conjunction. 5.3.1.

(b) particle of simple connection for number. See 7.5.

See also App. I, Notes 43 and 52.

Yueh (T. 越 B. 粤): *giwat (refs. K 303, 305; YSD 9.22, 9.23; PSH

- 141, 133, 138; 2.39500)
- (pl.) "overthrow."
- (gr.) "together with," see (a); "by time that," see (b); "as to..." see (c).
- (a) syntagmatic particle, simple connection. 2.5.
- (b) in time phrases. 3.10.
- (c) in emphatic exposure. 3.11.1.
- See also 2.5, footnote 3; 3.10, footnotes 50 and 51; App. I, Notes 1, 36, and 37.
- Yu (T. 予 B. 余): *dio (refs. K 83; PSH 1, 259; 3.10720)
- (pl.) 予 grant; 余 P.N.
- (gr.) see (a).
- (a) non-status personal pronoun, first person. 6.2.1.
- See also 2.6.7.1; 2.6.7.1, footnote 9; 2.8; 3.5.2; 3.5.2, footnote 31; App. I, Notes 26 and 46.
- Yu (于): *io (refs. K 97; YSD 9.7; PSH 41, 49, 301; 1.70300)
- (pl.) go to (make-go) > push forward with, apply to.
- (gr.) see (a).
- (a) particle of second post-verbal position. 3.4.
- See also 2.6.6; 3.4.5.1, Note; 3.4.7; 3.4.4, footnote 24; App. I, Note 23.
- Yu (於): *io (refs. K 61; YSD 9.1; PSH 49, 251, 254; 5.02910)
- (gr.) see (a).
- (a) interjection. 5.7.
- Yuh (欲, 裕, 俗): *giuk (refs. K 1202; YSD 9.20; PSH 63, 67, 72; 5.98291)
- (pl.) to wish that, wishes, desires.
- See also App. I, Note 15.