

# FUNCTIONS AND MEANINGS OF *ERL* 而

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## I. *ERL* IN CONDITIONAL SENTENCES

### A

#### *ERL* RESUMPTIVE AND CONNECTIVE

When dealing in a previous article<sup>1</sup> with the function and meaning of *erl* as it occurs in a specific passage, which is representative of a specific pattern, I attempted to isolate a resumptive (and intensifying) function of *erl*, which has led me to equate it with English 'such' ('such a person, such a thing, such persons, such things')<sup>2</sup>. It was my intention to proceed from there to the connective function of *erl* by bringing in an adverbial *erl* '\*suchly' (= 'in such a case, in such a manner, at such a time, place, etc. '), which would be to the pronoun *erl* 'such', as *her* [阿] 'how' is to *her* 'what', or as *huoh* 或 '\*somely' (= 'in some cases, perhaps, etc. ') is to *huoh* 'some'.

Though there can be no doubt as to an adverbial *erl* existing side by side with the *erl* which we observed as a subject or object in the examples of the previous article, and though theoretically it would be quite possible to develop the connective function of *erl* merely from its adverbial function, subsequent research has shown me that the connective function of *erl* is inseparable from its resumptive function even in the cases adduced before. In Section B of this paper I shall therefore go briefly over the previous examples. As we shall see, the *double function* of *erl* now assumed – viz. resumptive and connective (ignoring the fact that intensification<sup>3</sup> is often implied in the resumptive function) – will in the examples which deal with the pattern proper (Ex. 1-43<sup>4</sup>) merely entail the addition of 'then' in a literal translation and will hardly affect at all the freer translation, quoted or attempted.

We shall, then, gain a much clearer understanding of these first examples. In addition it will be seen that the realisation of the double

<sup>1</sup> 'Der *erl* *jiann* and *der* *jiann* in *Luenyeu* VII, 25' in *Asia Major*, New Series, Vol. II, pp. 46-67. I avail myself of this note to refer to Professor Haenisch's remarks on *der* followed by *erl* in *Asia Major*, Vol. V (1928), pp. 237/8, where reference is made also to Stanislas Julien (*Syntaxe Nouvelle de la langue chinoise*, Vol. I. Paris, 1869, pp. 220 and 134-5) and to G. von der Gabelentz (*Chinesische Grammatik*, Leipzig, 1881, §§ 308 and 627).

<sup>2</sup> *Loc. cit.*, p. 49.

<sup>3</sup> See here below, under D, pp. 189, etc.

<sup>4</sup> To avoid confusion I have retained the numbering of the examples as given in the previous paper. Examples not included there, will therefore start with No. 72.

function of *erl* is not only of paramount importance for a full understanding of the examples adduced in the second part of the previous paper, but will also offer a more satisfactory solution of the very problem for which they were adduced, *viz.* the problem of word order, which arose from the fact that in Ex. 1-43 *erl* is placed immediately before the verb of which it is an object, instead of being placed immediately *after* the words it resumes and intensifies (as it does in Ex. 44-68). The existence of an apparently inseparable combination in *erl* of two functions (a resumptive and a connective function) makes it likely that a fusion between a pronominal and a connective element has occurred in *erl*, but I shall refrain at this stage from suggesting the words which may have been the elements of such a fusion word<sup>1</sup>, since all my interpretations have been arrived at independently of this assumption and should therefore in the first instance be considered independently of it.

Before entering into the discussion proper I wish to refer briefly to an important confirmation of my explanation of Ex. 2.

The resumptive function of *erl* can be confirmed by the variant of the passage which occurs in the *Koongtzyy-shyjhia* 孔子世家 of Symaa Chian's *Shyjhia*.<sup>2</sup> The wording *buh kee der erl wen yee* 不可得而聞也 in the *Luenyeu* passage is replaced by *fwu kee der wen yee yii* 弗可得聞也矣 in the *Shyjhia*, and since *fwu* 弗 is a fusion<sup>3</sup> of the negation *buh* and

<sup>1</sup> I borrow this term from Professor George Kennedy, see his papers 'A Study of the Particle YEN', (J.A.O.S., Vol. 60 (1940), pp. 1-22 and 193-207, and 'Equation No. 5' (J.A.O.S., Vol. 67 (1947), pp. 56-59. I should like to mention in this connection two passages where reference to Chinese fusion words is made by scholars of the Song Dynasty, *viz.* a passage in 沈括 Sheen Gua (Kuoh)'s 夢溪筆談 *Menq-chi bitarn* at the beginning of J. 15 and a remark in 鄭樵 Jenq Chyau's 六書略 *Liowshu-liueh*, which is to be found near the end of that monograph (section V), in the second of the three 'Essays on Chinese and Sanscrit' (p. 11 A, ll. 4, etc. in the reprint of the 通志略 *Tongjihlueh* in the *Syhbuh-beyyaw*).

<sup>2</sup> *Bairwen-Ed.*, J. 47, line 234: Chavannes, *Mém. hist.*, Vol. V, p. 142. (For details of editions of texts and translations referred to, and of abbreviations used, see the previous article.)

<sup>3</sup> G. von der Gabelentz (*Chinesische Grammatik*, Leipzig, 1881, § 1222, p. 452) seems to have been the first scholar to point out that after the negation *fwu* the objective pronoun 之 is usually omitted: 'Auch nach dieser Negation pflegt objectives 之 weggelassen zu werden.' The 'auch' in this passage refers to the negation *wu* 勿, about which Gabelentz says: 'Das Objectiv pronomen 之 pflegt darnach auszufallen, und es lässt sich vielleicht sagen, dass 勿 *wu* = 無之 *wu ci*.' In a note (p. 449) Gabelentz adds the surmise that this equation may hold good also from the etymological point of view: 'Ob auch etymologisch?'. That *fwu* is a fusion of *buh* 不 and *fy* 之 has since been proved by Ding Sheng-shuh 丁聲樹 in the Jubilee-volume, published by Academia Sinica, in honour of Tsay Yuanpeir 蔡元培 (*Studies presented to Ts'ai Yuan P'ei on his 65th birthday, Part II, Peiping 1935*, pp. 967-996) in a paper entitled 'Shyh Fooodinqtsyr Fwu Buh 釋否定詞弗不'. The question whether 勿 is another fusion word will be discussed by Mr. A. Graham in Vol. XIV 1 of the *Bulletin of Oriental and African Studies*.

the pronoun *fy* (in the objective case), it may safely be assumed that the *erl* in the *Luenyeu*-version has the same resumptive function as the *fy* which is hidden in the negation *fwu*, *viz.* to refer to the words which precede it.<sup>1</sup>

## B

## REVIEW OF EXAMPLES 1-71

## (a) Examples 1-43

It will be remembered that the first three examples of the previous article and those listed in Group I (Ex. 4-23) have one feature in common, *viz.* that *erl* refers back to (and in many cases emphasizes) words that form part of one and the same sentence. These words have been underlined both in the Chinese text and in the translation. In Group II (Ex. 24-43), however, the words referred back to by *erl*, though mentioned before, do not necessarily form part of the same sentence.

With the connective function of *erl* in mind it will be necessary to reconsider the principle of dividing up these examples. We observe what I called 'emphatic word order' in all of them. But the first three examples are representative of a special group in so far as they show emphatic word order with words placed in absolute position right at the beginning of the sentence. Special cases are singled out, and the sentence proper tells us what may, will, should, or does happen in those cases, which the absolute position characterizes as exceptional. The foregoing description may help to see this kind of emphatic word order in its true light. The words in an absolute position in Ex. 1-3 may be regarded as shortened clauses of condition with the meaning 'if it is the question of (a Divine Sage, etc.)'.

In support of this explanation I wish to recall the parallel of *ruoh* 若 'if', which, in addition to introducing clauses of condition, also occurs before words in such absolute position (to be followed by *tzer* 則) and has then been given the meaning 'as for'.<sup>2</sup> This usage may be illustrated by the following passage from *Luenyeu* (VII, 33): *Ruoh shenq yeu ren tzer wu chii gaan* 若聖與仁則吾豈敢。<sup>3</sup>

My contention, then, is that the function of *erl* in Ex. 1-3 does not limit itself merely to resuming (and to emphasizing) the words placed in absolute position. I assume that the words in absolute position are in fact shortened clauses of condition, and that *erl* as a connective takes on also

<sup>1</sup> The whole text of the variant is as follows:—子貢曰。夫子之文章可得聞也。夫子言天道與性命弗可得聞也已。

<sup>2</sup> See, e.g., G. v. d. Gabelentz, *Chinesische Grammatik*, p. 205, § 607. See also my paper on 'Die Bedeutung der Finalpartikel 矣', in *Mitteilungen des Seminars f. Orientalische Sprachen*, Vol. XXXVII (1934), I. Abtlg., pp. 157/8.

<sup>3</sup> Waley, *Analects*, p. 130: 'As to being a Divine Sage or even a Good Man, far be it from me to make such claims.'

the function of *tzer*, which we observed in the *Luenyeu* passage just quoted. It is, therefore, not enough to translate *erl* as 'such' in these examples; owing to its double function of being both a 'resumptive'<sup>1</sup> and a connective, I should like to equate it with 'such then', and, in accordance with what was set out in Section A, also with '\*suchly then' ('in such case (etc.) then').

A literal translation of the first three examples would, therefore, be something like this:—

- (1) 'If it is the question of a Divine Sage, I (shall) not succeed *such a person then* to meet (him) etc.'
- (2) 'If it is the question of the Master's views concerning culture and the outward insignia of Goodness, we shall be able *such things then* to hear . . .'
- (3) 'If it is the question of a scholar of complete virtue, a ruler may not be able *such a person then*<sup>2</sup> to employ as a minister, a father may not be able *such a person then*<sup>2</sup> to treat as a son.

Looking at the subsequent examples (Ex. 4-43) it will be seen that *erl* may likewise be equated with 'such then' and that the distinction between Groups I and II is no longer essential. As a *resumptive*, *erl* resumes (and often emphasizes) an object previously mentioned, no matter whether it occurs in one and the same sentence or in an earlier context. The real difference between the examples, 1-43, arises from the function of *erl* as a connective. As such it refers to the preceding object only if this is placed in the absolute position which can be observed in Ex. 1-3, where we are in fact dealing with a shortened clause of condition (protasis). In other words, in Ex. 1-3 the *preceding object coincides with the protasis*. It will be seen that in all the subsequent examples *erl* as a resumptive refers back to an object mentioned before and as a connective refers back to a condition or a set of conditions, which are either actually stated in a protasis or mentioned previously in the context.

To sum up the description of the first 43 examples it may be said that they are all conditional sentences and that *erl* in addition to resuming a previously mentioned object also refers back to a clause of condition.

#### (b) Examples 44-71

Though the translation of *erl* by 'such then' would also hold good for Ex. 44-52, I shall not discuss these examples at the present stage since we are dealing there with a different connective function of *erl*.

In Ex. 53-55, I proposed to render the intensifying force of *erl* by

<sup>1</sup> I venture to use this term as a noun, after the analogy of 'connective'.

<sup>2</sup> About the function of *erl* to mark the contrast, see here below, in section D, pp. 189, etc.

'even',<sup>1</sup> maintaining at the same time that owing to the resumptive function of *erl*, a literal translation of *erl* in these examples would still be 'such' ('father such a person' = 'even one's own father', etc.). Unaware of the double function of *erl*, I disputed in a special footnote<sup>2</sup> Gabelentz's opinion, which is shared also by Chinese grammarians, that the presence of *erl* imparted a hypothetical meaning to the clause.<sup>3</sup> It is clear from the preceding remarks that I no longer see any reason to oppose this theory, which seemed to me incompatible with the purely resumptive function of *erl* which I had then assumed.

Owing to its combination of both resumptive and connective functions, *erl* in these examples *also* expresses the condition. In the same way that *erl*, when appearing in the last part of the conditional sentence, characterizes it as its apodosis, the appearance of *erl* in the first part of a sentence may be taken as an indication of its being the protasis of a conditional sentence.<sup>4</sup> I should, therefore, translate the three sentences literally as (53) 'Father *such a person if*' (= 'Father even if . . .'); (54) 'Kuan *such a person if* . . .' (= 'Kuan even if . . .'); (55) 'Ruler *such a person if* . . .' (= 'Ruler even if . . .').

In the same way resumptive and intensifying *erl* marks the protasis of a conditional sentence when appearing after an object, as in the case of Ex. 56-60. It will be seen that in Ex. 56 the intensifying force of *erl* has been brought out well by Chavannes ('*son propre père*'), but the hypothetical force has been missed by him in Ex. 56, as it was clearly missed by myself in Ex. 58 and inferred by me (as by others) only from the context in Ex. 57. The literal translation of Ex. 56 and 58 should be therefore (56) 'His father *such a person if* wishes to kill (= 'if he wishes to kill even his own father') how much more . . .'; (58) 'One young deer *such a thing if* not treats cruelly (= 'if he doesn't even show cruelty to') a young deer how much less . . .'.<sup>5</sup>

In Ex. 59 we witness a first example in which the resumptive and intensifying *erl* in the meaning 'such' occurs in the *apodosis*. I should render Ex. 59 literally as: 'How, *if* there is a benevolent man on the throne, entrapping people *such a thing then* can he (or: one) do!', the hypothetical

<sup>1</sup> The intensifying force of *erl* after the subject has also been observed by Professor J. L. M. Mullie, see his '*Grondbeginselen van de Chinese letterkundige taal*', III<sup>e</sup> Deel, Leuven, Missien van Schout, 1949, pp. 213, etc. I feel, however, unable to accept his explanation that in cases of this kind an original *yee* was dropped before the *erl*. I shall come back to his theory when dealing with the two examples on which he bases it, *viz.*, *Luenyeu*, VI, 8, and *Lijih*, VIII, 2, 21.

<sup>2</sup> See p. 62, n. 1.

<sup>3</sup> About the Chinese grammarians, see here below, p. 186. Gabelentz's theory was that *erl*, when occurring in such sentences between the subject and the predicate, had the function of turning the subject, which he therefore called 'apparent subject', into an adverb: 'Tatsächlich ist aber hier das scheinbare Subject adverbial.' (*Chin. Gram.*, p. 256, § 624). I need hardly say that this view of his would not seem acceptable to me.

<sup>4</sup> See here also below, under I, pp. 201, etc.

force of the *erl* being accounted for by both 'if' in the protasis and 'then' in the apodosis.

In Ex. 60 the first<sup>1</sup> *erl* indicates the protasis, the second, followed by *kuang* 况<sup>2</sup>, the apodosis. I suggested 'such a little thing' in order to render the intensifying force of the first *erl*. The second *erl* also is intensifying: 'even (=in such an extreme case) then'. So the whole sentence would be: 'If a prince of a thousand chariots does not even succeed in such a little thing as seeking to be on terms of friendship with a scholar then how much less can he call him to his presence'.<sup>3</sup>

The next two groups of examples in the previous article can likewise serve as examples of a conditional sentence. It will be observed that in Ex. 61 *erl* serves as an antecedent to a relative clause and in Ex. 62-66 as an antecedent to what I called an equivalent to a relative clause. It should be noted that in each case we also witness a change of subject and that *erl* has no intensifying force.

In addition to resuming what precedes it, *erl* marks, in Ex. 61-62, the protasis of a conditional sentence. Ex. 61: '(With) whistling arrows what I shoot at such thing if not all-together (*shu*) shoot at who those (*jee*)<sup>4</sup> . . .'; Ex. 62: '(People) do it to yourself such a thing if (you) not like . . .'; and it marks the apodosis in Ex. 63: 'People [or rather I (Confucius) ] (if) tell him such thing then not neglects who that (*jee*)<sup>4</sup> . . .'.<sup>5</sup>

The next group of examples had been adduced to illustrate the distributive usage of *erl*. This distributive meaning may, however, in the examples in question (64-66), simply be accounted for as arising from the combination of an intensifying *erl*, understood as a plural ('such things, such persons'), and words like *fen* (Ex. 64 and 65) in the meanings 'to allot' or 'to divide', or words denoting quantity (Ex. 66 *meei*; Ex. 67 *leang*) or a group of opposites (Ex. 68). The hypothetical force of *erl* can again be observed: Ex. 64: 'To bring up a fictitious case (*jea jy* 假之), (of) men if there are brothers properties such things divide who they (*jee*) . . .

Ex. 65 is particularly illustrative of the hypothetical force of *erl*, which is repeated as many as six times ('peasants allotted fields such things if plough, etc.').

The hypothetical force of *erl* in Ex. 66 was observed by v. d. Gabelentz.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See also, below, here below, Section I, p. 201.

<sup>2</sup> In Gabelentz, *Chinesische Grammatik*, § 640, p. 261, two examples with *erl kuang* have in fact been translated as conditional sentences.

<sup>3</sup> Also the Manchu translation uses one sentence when rendering the passage: *Minggan sejingge ejen. baine guculeki seci hono baharakū bade. jio seci ombio.*

<sup>4</sup> About example 61 in general and this mixture of a conditional clause and a relative clause in particular, see also here below under C.

<sup>5</sup> See here above, p. 183, n. 2.

*Erl* here intensifies<sup>1</sup> the preceding *meei ren*: 'everybody so (many) people if (he attempts to) please . . .'.<sup>2</sup>

In Ex. 67 and 68 *erl* again also serves to indicate the apodosis of a conditional clause, in addition to resuming and emphasizing the preceding object: (67) 'if . . . nothing like the two vantage points such things then completely maintain'. (68) 'If your Majesty wages war against Sonq I request (that you may) hard [and] soft such things then both use.'

Ex. 69-71 are further examples of the meaning of 'such things then' of *erl*.

### (c) Summary of the Functions of *erl* in exs. 1-71

Before passing on to a review of the problem of word order, it may be useful to summarize the position reached so far by listing the examples of the previous article in the following manner:—

- A *erl* = 'such' as object after *der* + 'then': Ex. 1-43.
- B *erl* = 'such' as subject + 'then': Ex. 48-52.
- C *erl* = 'such' as object + 'then': Ex. 44-47; 63; 67-71; and the quotation from *Mencius* adduced p. 65, n. 2.
- D *erl* = 'such' as subject + 'if': Ex. 53-55.
- E *erl* = 'such as object + 'if': Ex. 56-62; 64-66.

### C

#### THE POSITION OF *ERL* AFTER *DER* BEFORE THE VERB OF WHICH IT IS THE OBJECT

As I said before,<sup>2</sup> the assumed double function of *erl* will also offer a more satisfactory solution of the problem discussed in some detail in the previous article, viz. why *erl* in the pattern *buh der erl* is placed immediately before the verb of which it is the object. The solution lies, of course, in the fact that *erl* in this pattern combines the meanings of both 'such' and 'then'. As I explained in the previous article, one would expect *erl* in its meaning 'such' to have its place immediately after the words that it resumes and intensifies. In its meaning 'then', however, it must be expected either to introduce the apodosis of the conditional sentence or, alternatively, to be placed before its verb, and it is the latter position that we meet in all examples of the *der erl* pattern.

It may be useful to enlarge at this stage on the position of *erl*, both in the meaning 'such then' or 'in such case then', and in the meaning 'such if' or 'in such a manner if'. It is important to realise that *erl* in the meaning 'then', both in the pattern proper and in the further examples adduced in the previous article, does not introduce the main clause. This feature of

<sup>1</sup> See here below, p. 189.

<sup>2</sup> See above, p. 180.

word order has, I think, contributed as much to the failure to recognize the function of *erl* as has the idea that *erl* is a conjunctive particle with the basic meaning 'and'. For the fact had long been recognized that *erl* does introduce a main clause.<sup>1</sup>

In its position at the beginning of the main clause, *erl* functions in a similar way as *tzer*, *i.e.*, it clearly characterizes the preceding clause as a subordinating clause. Chinese grammarians like Suen Jingshyh<sup>2</sup> and Yang Shuhdar<sup>3</sup> actually equate *erl* in this position with *tzer*, and attempt to prove this equation by showing alternations between the two particles in different versions or sometimes even different parts of one and the same passage.

In the same way that *erl* was identified with *tzer* when introducing the main clause, it was understood as *if* and equated with *ruoh* 若<sup>4</sup> when, though not actually introducing the protasis, it occurred at the beginning of a clause of condition.

The fact that *erl* is, however, in no way bound to a position at the beginning of the apodosis or the beginning of the protasis has implications that are less obvious. Owing to its resumptive function *erl* resumes as a rule *all* that immediately precedes it. The importance of this fact will be realised when looking at examples like the long passage from *Shyuntzzy* included as Ex. 65. As is borne out by Japanese prints and translations, the hypothetical meaning of *erl* was not understood there because *erl* did not occur immediately after the subject. Since *erl* occurs in that example after the object, it may be said to indicate also the inversion of the object. In fact, it has already been noticed by v. d. Gabelentz that inversion of the object occurs in conditional sentences with *erl*.<sup>5</sup> The presence of *erl*, however, must not be seen primarily as giving clues to the effect that such and such a clause is the apodosis or protasis of a conditional sentence, or that it marks the inversion of the object. Without denying either the existence or the importance of such criteria, I feel that in describing the function of *erl* in this way we fail to do full justice to its remarkable performance in the field of Chinese syntax. This performance should be seen in the light of a great principle that prevails in Chinese word order.

With reference to the reader or listener, the principle of word order in question can be described negatively as creating the least possible suspense when acquainting them with the contents of a statement.

Instead of preceding essential portions (segments) of a statement by

<sup>1</sup> See, e.g., Gabelentz, *Chinesische Grammatik*, p. 260, § 635: 'Zuweilen leitet 爾 auch wirkliche Nachsätze ein'.

<sup>2</sup> Suen Jingshyh, *loc. cit.* (see previous article, p. 62, n. 2), pp. 12A<sup>6</sup>-17B<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>3</sup> Yang Shuhdar, *Tyrychuan* (see previous article, p. 62, n. 2), J.10, pp. 8-9.

<sup>4</sup> Suen Jingshyh, *loc. cit.*, pp. 6A<sup>1</sup>-7A<sup>4</sup>; see also Wang Yünjy, *Jingjuann-shyhtsy* (see previous article, p. 66, n. 1), J.7, pp. 3-4.

<sup>5</sup> *Chinesische Grammatik*, pp. 255-6, § 623

grammatical words, which, as do the European conjunctions, signal beforehand in what manner the reader or listener will have to understand syntactically the portion (segment) of the statement that follows such 'signal words', Chinese word order demands as a rule that any portion (segment) of a statement should be followed rather than preceded by the grammatical word whose function it is to show the relation of this particular portion (segment) to the statement as a whole. Each segment, then, is in the first instance absorbed by the reader or listener as it were 'on the merit of its contents' (*i.e.*, irrespective of the rôle it may play in the building up of the sentence as a whole), and only after this first process of understanding has been completed will the segment concerned be joined with the next segment in accordance with the grammatical word that is placed at the end of the particular segment. What I have described negatively as creating the least possible suspense in the reader or listener when acquainting him with the contents of a statement, may now perhaps be described positively as the principle of 'post-segmental junction'.<sup>1</sup>

I wish to illustrate this principle of word order by analysing once more, and in more detail, Ex. 61, which, for the convenience of the reader I shall set out again, together with its romanisation:—鳴鏑所射而不悉射者斬之 *Ming dyi suoo sheh erl buh shi sheh jee jaan jy*.

It will be noticed that the Chinese relative pronoun *suoo* (which only occurs in the objective case, including the local object) often does not introduce the relative clause, recalling in this way a similar principle of word order in Latin. The reader of our passage will, then, first take in *ming dyi* as 'the whistling arrows'. The following relative pronoun *suoo* with the verb *sheh* will complete the relative clause, which will be understood as 'with whistling arrows what shoot at', or rather, 'with whistling arrows what I shoot at', because the subject, though not expressly mentioned will be understood as the Heir Apparent, since the preceding sentence has described our example as an order given by him.

The moment the reader of our passage gets to *erl*, he is able to understand both what precedes and what follows *erl* as parts of the protasis of a conditional sentence, assigning to *erl* the meaning 'if' in its function as a connective, but in so far as the words which precede *erl* form a relative clause, he will in accordance with the function of *erl* as a resumptive, regard *erl* at the same time as the antecedent of the relative clause, assigning to it the meaning 'such person(s)' or 'such thing(s)'.

As antecedent of the relative clause *erl* forms the object of the negative verb *buh* (*bwu*) *sheh*, which on its part is amplified by the adverb *shi* ('completely, all together') placed between the verb and its negation.

<sup>1</sup> Up to a point, one may, of course, also speak of 'inter-segmental junction', but the primary reference is backward rather than forward.

The adverb 'all together', in addition to indicating that the agent of the verb *shek* must be thought of in the plural, implies at the same time grammatically a change of subject since the subject of the relative clause is the Heir Apparent.

With the verb *shek* the clause of condition is completed, but the word *jee* (as it were='who those') makes it possible to turn the whole of the preceding conditional clause into a kind of relative clause with *jee* as its antecedent, while preserving the character of a conditional clause. *Jee*, then, on its part has a double function. In so far as it follows after the conditional clause it marks its end and thereby signals the beginning of the apodosis. As antecedent of the kind of relative clause into which it has turned the preceding clause of condition it forms the object of the verb *jaan* 'to execute', and since it precedes that verb, it is referred back to in its function as object by the pronoun *jy*.

It may be helpful to illustrate the grammatical relations by attempting a Latin translation:—*Sonantibus sagittis quo mitto eo non simul miserint qui decollabo*. I have attempted to indicate the double function of both *erl* and *jee* by placing the corresponding Latin words one on top of the other. It goes without saying that combinations like *eo+si*, or *qui* (after a conditional clause)+*eos* can only be understood but not imitated. De Groot<sup>1</sup> when dealing with our passage used two sentences in his German translation. The English translation which I had attempted ignores the clause of condition:—'Those who will not join me in shooting at that at which I take aim with the whistling arrows will be executed'. A comparison with the Chinese original will show the great simplicity of the Chinese sentence. Basing itself on the principle of word order for which I suggested the term of 'post-segmental junction', it operates with only three particles (apart from the negative particle), *viz.* *suoo*, *erl*, and *jee*.

## D

### ADVERBIAL ERL MARKING A CONTRAST AND EMPHASIZING

#### MEASURED QUANTITIES

While concentrating in this first part of the paper on the function and meaning of *erl* in conditional sentences it does not seem possible to deal satisfactorily with this function without bringing in certain other aspects of

<sup>1</sup> J. J. M. de Groot, *Chinesische Urkunden zur Geschichte Asiens*. Vol. I. *Die Hunnen der vorchristlichen Zeit* (Berlin, 1921), p. 49:—'[Nun verfertigte Mo-tun pfeifende Pfeile und erliess beim Drillen seiner berittenen Bogenschützen den Befehl,] dass alle zusammen auf denjenigen Gegenstand schiessen sollten, nach dem er solch einen Pfeil senden würde; wer das nicht täte, dem würde er den Kopf vor die Füße legen.'

the 'adverbial *erl*'. In the first section of this paper (A), I equated the resumptive function of the adverbial *erl* '\*suchly' with such meanings as 'in such a manner, at such a time, at such a place, etc.', in addition to 'in such a case'. A meaning as general as this results, as we shall see, from a survey of the usage of *erl*, and is, in fact, well in keeping with functions of equal generality which can be observed in the case of a number of other Chinese grammatical words. Apparently G. von der Gabelentz had something similar in mind when in the opening sentence of his chapter on *erl*, he stated as 'the most important and most frequent function of *erl* that of characterizing what precedes *erl* as adverbial in relation to what follows *erl*'<sup>1</sup> and judiciously contrasted the function of 'adnominal' *jy* 之 with that of 'adverbial' *erl*.<sup>2</sup>

While I should again agree with him if he suggests that *erl* should in such cases be interpreted by 'therewith, then, thus',<sup>3</sup> since all these words are in fact 'resumptives', his next statement, which is to the effect that *erl* when occurring within a sentence need as a rule not be translated especially,<sup>4</sup> would not only seem incompatible with the assumed double function (resumptive and connective), which this paper attempts to substantiate, but would also appear to overlook completely the intensifying function of *erl*, which is often implied in its meaning 'such'.

The intensifying force of *erl* has been referred to before on more than one occasion in both the previous and the present papers. It goes without saying that a certain amount of intensification arises already from the purely resumptive function of *erl*. When a fact is brought again to the reader's or listener's attention by means of the resumption, this resumption is bound to stress the previously mentioned fact much as we can stress a word or a sentence by repeating it and introducing the repetition with the words 'I repeat'.

The intensifying force of *erl* will be even stronger when owing to its resumptive function it resumes parts of a sentence, particularly the object, which would normally appear towards the end rather than at the beginning of a sentence. But I wish to draw special attention to two aspects of this intensifying force, which, as we shall see, can often be found in one and the same example, *viz.* that *erl* marks a contrast and that it emphasizes measured quantities.

<sup>1</sup> *Chinesische Grammatik*, p. 254, § 619: 'Die wichtigste häufigste Funktion von 之 ist diese, dass sie das Vorhergehende als in Rücksicht auf das folgende adverbial kennzeichnet.'

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 'Man kann etwa sagen, es sei für das adverbiale Verhältniss dasselbe was 之 矣 für das adnominale ist.'

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 'Am zutreffendsten wird es in solchen Fällen durch *dabei, da, so* erklärt.'

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, 'Wo es nun innerhalb des Satzes steht, da ist es in der Regel nicht besonders zu übersetzen.'

(a) *Erl* marking a contrast

When dealing with Ex. 2 in the previous paper I pointed out<sup>1</sup> that the first *erl* referred to matters which the disciples regard as unimportant, while they attach the greatest possible importance to those subjects of discussion which are referred to by the second *erl*. There can be no doubt that we have here a first clear example of the correlative use of *erl*, which is reminiscent of the use of μέν . . . δέ . . . in Greek. It would be possible to render the first *erl* by 'such things on the one hand then' and the second *erl* by 'such things on the other hand then'. The same contrasting force can be observed in the following further examples: 3, 5, 7, 8, 11 (when taken together with the sentence preceding it in the text of the *Shyyjih*<sup>2</sup>), 25, and 32. In all these examples *erl* occurs twice and refers to things or persons, actions or states that are clearly contrasted. The most telling of the previous examples are those in which we find *erl* more than twice, viz. 27 and 65. It will be seen that the six verbs of which *erl* is the object form three pairs of opposites. In Ex. 65 the peasants are paired with the merchants, the craftsmen with the officers and officials, and the feudal lords with the three Dukes. A literal translation would have to contrast by means of 'such things on the one hand if' and 'such things on the other hand if'.

An example with two pairs of *erl* in the meanings 'in such case on the one hand then' and 'in such case on the other hand then' occurs in the following passage from *Mencius* where it is said of Confucius:—

(72) *Mencius*, Book V, Pt. II, Ch. I, 4 (Legge, p. 247).

可以速而速。可以久而久。可以處而處。可以仕而仕。孔子也。

<sup>3</sup>When it was proper to go away quickly he did so<sup>4</sup>: when it was proper to delay, he did so: when it was proper to keep in retirement, he did so: when it was proper to go into office, he did so: — this was Confucius."

I limit myself to two examples with one pair of contrasts here because this pattern will occupy us again in the continuation of this paper. The first

<sup>1</sup> *Loc. cit.*, p. 49.

<sup>2</sup> See previous article, p. 53, n. 1.

<sup>3</sup> As in the previous paper, translations other than my own are indicated by inverted commas.

<sup>4</sup> Lit., 'in such case then on the one hand to go away quickly.' Note that a variant of the passage with 則 instead of *erl* (apart from other slight variations) occurs in Bk. II, Pt. I, Ch. II, 22 (Legge, p. 70) and was then translated by Legge more literally: 'When it was proper to go into office, then to go into it, when it was proper to keep retired from office, then to keep retired from it, etc.'

was adduced by Yang Shuhdar<sup>1</sup> as an example of *erl* being used instead of the genitival *iy*, the second by Suen Jingshyh,<sup>2</sup> who explains the first *erl* as 如 *ru*.

(73) *Shanqshu dahjuann* 尚書大傳, *SBTK*, J.4, p. 5 81-2.

君子恥其言而不見從。恥其行而不見隨。

The superior man feels ashamed if his words are not obeyed and his deeds are not imitated.<sup>3</sup>

(74) *Guushyyuan* 古詩源, J.1, *Kangkangge* 抗慷歌.<sup>4</sup>

貪吏而不可爲而可爲。廉吏而可爲而不可爲。

A greedy official, such a one on the one hand one should not be, on the other hand one should: An honest official, such a one on the one hand one should be, on the other hand one should not.

(b) *Erl* emphasizing measured quantities

The first example to be adduced here illustrates either function of *erl* with which this section is concerned. It is the well-known passage from the *Analects* in which Confucius describes the stages of his mental development:—

(75) *Luenyeu* II, 4 (Waley, p. 88).

吾十有五而志于學。三十而立。四十而不惑。五十而知天命。六十而耳順。七十而從心所欲。不踰矩。

"At fifteen I set my heart upon learning. At thirty, I had planted my feet firm upon the ground. At forty, I no longer suffered from perplexities. At fifty, I knew what were the biddings of Heaven. At sixty, I heard them with docile ear. At seventy, I could follow the dictates of my own heart: for what I desired no longer overstepped the boundaries of right."

<sup>1</sup> *Tsyrychuan*, J. 10, p. 10, basing himself apparently on the *lectio facillior*, transmitted by Hwang Kaan, for *Luenyeu* XIV, 29, which he gives as a first example, though without mentioning this variant. See also Waley, *Analects*, pp. 187 and 260.

<sup>2</sup> *Loc. cit.*, p. 5 B<sup>2</sup>-<sup>3</sup>.

<sup>3</sup> Lit.: 'his words such on the one hand then . . . his deeds such on the other hand then . . .'

<sup>4</sup> Page 7 in the *Gwoshyyue-jibeen-tsongsu* 國學基本叢書 reprint of *Guushyyuan*. The song occurs towards the end of the famous inscription of A.D. 160 on Suen Shwuaur (see Giles, *Biographical Dictionary*, No. 1818), Prime Minister of Chuu (*Chuu Shianq Suen Shwuaur bet*). Like the similar song which is included in the *Guuji-liehjuann* of the *Shyyjih* (J. 126, *Bairwen-Ed.*, lines 43-45), it is attributed to Suen Shwuaur's contemporary Iou Menq.

As can be seen, each of the numbers which refer to Confucius' age is followed by an *erl*, and translators like Waley (and others before him) were of course quite justified in using merely the preposition 'at' before the numbers in their free English rendering. But we would certainly go wrong if we were to assume that the function of *erl* in the above passage were merely that of a postposition with the meaning 'at', which, but for its position, would correspond to the English preposition. By its adverbial function *erl* also covers what in English is expressed by the preposition 'at', but a literal translation of *shyr yow wuu erl* would be in the first instance 'fifteen \*suchly then'. But this translation would not yet cover two further implications, *viz.* (a) the contrast to the other member of the pair ('thirty') and (b) the emphasis laid on the number as such, asserting that it is neither higher nor lower than might be expected but just that.

To take another example of the same kind, in the simile of the battle in *Mencius*, it is said of the soldiers that some of them ran a hundred paces and some fifty:—

(76) *Mencius*, Book I, Pt. I, Ch. III, 2 (Legge, p. 6)

或百步而後止。或五十 “Some run a hundred paces and stop;  
十步而後止。 some run fifty paces and stop.”

A literal translation would again have to include the two implications of contrast and emphasis on the number:—'Some a hundred paces *such* (distance) on the one hand then thereafter stop, some fifty paces *such* (distance) on the other hand then thereafter stop. The emphasis on the number could easily be accounted for by adding 'as many as' to 'hundred paces' and by adding 'only' to fifty paces.

Recently Waley<sup>1</sup> emended Legge's translation of a passage in *Mencius* about Shuenn's filial piety.

(77) *Mencius*, Book VI, Pt. II, Ch. III, 5 (Legge, p. 304).

舜其至孝矣。五十而 “Shun was indeed perfectly filial. *And*  
慕。 yet, when he was fifty, he was full of  
longing desire about his parents.”

For this Waley suggests:—'When he was fifty he was *still* . . .'. It will be seen that the adverb 'still' brings out very well indeed the emphasis on the number conveyed by *erl*.

In a passage in the *Janngwotseh* Hann Ming argues that his Feudal Lord Chuen Shen Jiun scores over Yau and he himself over Shuenn because it took Yau three whole years<sup>2</sup> to know Shuenn, whereas Chuen

Shen Jiun was able to know Hann Ming in the brief space of time of one single morning only:—

(78) *Janngwotseh*, *Chuu*, *Kao Lieh Wang* (SBTK, J.5, p. 44A 11).

今君一旦而知臣。 Now your Lordship knew me (within  
the brief space of) one single morning  
only.

In Ex. 78 the emphasizing force of *erl* had to be rendered by 'still', in Ex. 79 by 'only'. In the next example, which I choose from *Juangtzzyy*, it may best be rendered by 'just'. It is the story of the rulers of the Southern and the Northern Oceans who receive hospitality from Chaos, the ruler of the Centre (whose body is without the seven orifices). To repay his kindness they decide to dig an orifice in him every day. The story ends with the statement:—

(79) *Juangtzzyy*, Book VII (Legge,<sup>1</sup> p. 267<sup>2</sup>).

七日而渾沌死。 Chaos died exactly on the seventh day.

Another case where the intensifying force of *erl* would appear to emphasize that something happens 'just at that very time' is to be found in the *Daw-Der-fing*.

(80) *Daw-Der-fing*, LXIV (Waley,<sup>3</sup> p. 221).

民之從事。常於幾成 “Whereas the people of the world, at  
而敗之。 their tasks, constantly spoil things when  
within an ace of completing them.”

A literal translation of *yu ji cherng erl bay jy* would be:—'at almost (being) completed *just such a time then* spoil them.'

It will be realised that the point in time mentioned in the last example is not indicated by a number but circumscribed. The emphasis applies of course also to a circumscription of this kind and to other words relating to time or age, as for instance *sheng erl* 'right from birth then' (see, *e.g.*, *Luenyeu*, VII, 19, and XVI, 9), *guu erl* 古而 'already from ancient times on then', etc.

As I said in the beginning of this section, the two functions of *erl*, *viz.* to mark a contrast and to emphasize measured quantities, had to be brought in at this stage in order to explain fully the function of *erl* in a number of conditional sentences that I wish to adduce below. But neither aspect can be treated fully in this section. The contrasting force of *erl* is not limited to

<sup>1</sup> I have replaced Legge's translation 'and at the end of seven days Chaos died'.

<sup>2</sup> *The Sacred Books of the East* Vol. XXXIX.

<sup>3</sup> *The Way and its Power*, London, 1934.

<sup>1</sup> 'Notes on Mencius'. *Asia Major*, New Series, Vol. I (1949), p. 106.

<sup>2</sup> 三年而後乃相之。



sentences in which we observe *erl* in pairs, nor is the emphasizing force of *erl* limited to cases where quantities are *measured*.<sup>1</sup> But before passing on to these examples, it may be useful to recall the parallels of Sanscrit *mātra*<sup>2</sup> and of Tibetan *tsam*<sup>3</sup>, which both have a similar intensifying force when occurring after measured quantities, *mātra* itself meaning 'measure'.

It need hardly be said that I do not wish to suggest that *erl* has exactly the same function as Sanscrit *mātra*, or, for that matter, Tibetan *tsam*, but it is reassuring to know that in two other linguistic regions measured quantities are followed up by words which have a similar intensifying (and restrictive) meaning. The meanings of *tsam-na* and *tsam-du* would also

<sup>1</sup> In the very frequent pattern *erl yii yii 而已矣* *erl* when resuming what precedes it, must be understood as the indirect (local) object of *yii 已*, which in this pattern has the meaning of 'to end with, to be limited to'. It emphasizes either the paucity of the terms 'listed before' (*Luenyue* IV, 15: *futzxy jy daw . jong shuh erl yii yii 夫子之道 . 忠恕而已矣*), or the limitation of the preceding statement as a whole. The explanation of the pattern can only be touched on here. A similar usage can be found in Tibetan, with the verb *hdzad-pa* preceded by *tsam* (see here below, n. 3): *gnyis ni min gcig pa tsam du zad pas* 'As the two have only one name'. (See H. A. Jäschke, *Tibetan-English Dictionary*, Repr. 1934, London, p. 464.)

<sup>2</sup> For the convenience of the reader I quote first the beginning of the relevant paragraph from W. D. Whitney's *Sanscrit Grammar*, 4th ed. 1896 (1913), p. 507, § 1302, g.

The noun *mātrā* *measure* stands as final of a compound which is used adjectively or in the substantive neuter to signify a limit that is not exceeded, and obtains thus the virtual value of *mere, only*: thus *jalamātreṇa vartayan* 'living by water only' (lit., by that which has water for its measure or limit) . . .

In addition I reproduce parts of the entry *mātra* in Monier-Williams and Macdonell's dictionaries:—(M. Monier-Williams, *Sanscrit-English Dictionary*, 1899, p. 804) *mātra* (at the end of a compound): measure, quantity, sum, size, duration, measure of any kind (whether of height, depth, breadth, length, distance, time, or number, e.g., *anṅula-mātram* a finger's breadth; *artha-mātram* a certain sum of money; *krośa-mātre* at the distance of a *Koś*; *māsa-mātre* in a month; *śata-mātram* a hundred in number. . .

(A. A. Macdonell, *A practical Sanscrit Dictionary*, Oxford University Press, 1924, p. 224) *mātra* (at the end of a compound): measure, size, height, depth, length, breadth, distance; quantity, sum (of money); duration or space of time; number (redundant with numerals); whole measure, totality, aggregate or entire class of, so and so in the widest sense; no more than what the preceding word expresses: to be translated by nothing but, only, merely. . .

<sup>3</sup> H. A. Jäschke, *Tibetan-English Dictionary*, Repr. 1934, London, pp. 430-1. I must limit myself here to an extract from the entry *tsam*:—1. in a relative sense, 1. as much as *hdi-tsam* as much as this = so much, so many . . . 2. denoting comparison, as to size, degree, intensity: like, as-as, so-as, so that. . . 3. denoting contingency and restriction: perhaps, if need be, almost, only, but, all but. . . 4. *tsam-na* referring to time: about a certain time, at the time when, when. . . 5. *tsam-du* denoting extent, degree, intensity: as far as, about so far, nearly up to, even to, till, so that. . .

appear to be important parallels to uses of *erl*, though I am unable to follow up this line at present and must also leave open the more general question whether certain uses of Tibetan *tsam* are original or merely imported through translations from Sanscrit.

## E

## ERL = 'IF' RESUMING AND EMPHASIZING MEASURED QUANTITIES

Strictly speaking only Ex. 81-82 belong here, with *erl* in both cases resuming and emphasizing distance in space. The two parallel sentences of Ex. 83, in which *erl* emphasizes the distributive force of *ju ju* and *tsuenn tsuenn* recall Ex. 66, where *erl* in the meaning 'if' resumes and emphasizes *meei ren* 'everybody', and may be contrasted with the passage adduced there in a note, where *erl* in the meaning 'then' resumes and emphasizes *ren ren* 'everybody'.

(81) *Janngwotseh, Chyi (shanq), Shiuang Wang (SBTK, J.4, p. 12B 3-4).*

有敢去柳下季釐五十步而樵採者死不赦。 If any person dares to fell trees and gather firewood within a distance of 50 paces from the tomb of Leou Shiahjih, such a one will be executed without pardon.

(82) *Mencius, Book VII, Pt. I, Ch. XXVIII, 9 (Legge, p. 342).*

掘井九仞而不及泉。猶爲棄井也。 If in digging a well (even) at a depth of seventy-two cubits you do not reach the spring you may just as well abandon the well.<sup>2</sup>

(83) *Hannshu, J.51 (ed. Wang Shianchian, small edition) p. 14A 14.*

夫銖銖而稱之。至石必差。寸寸而度之。至丈必過。 If you weigh *ju* by *ju* (24th part of a tael) there is bound to be a mistake by the time you get to a hundred catties, if you measure inch by inch you are bound to be wrong by the time you get to 10 feet.

<sup>1</sup> See previous article, p. 65, n. 2.

<sup>2</sup> Lit. 'is like proceeding to destroy the well'. I have replaced Legge's translation. The correctness of the text was doubted by Waley (*Asia Major, New Series, Vol. I, p. 107*). But I think the meaning of the passage is that one must know where to stop when pursuing an aim. Going too far may result in defeating one's own ends.

## F

## ERL = 'IF' OR 'THEN' MARKING A CONTRAST

With the examples listed from the previous paper and added to in Section D(a), and in view of other examples adduced by Chinese grammarians, there would not seem to be any necessity for piling up further examples of *erl* in the meaning 'if', and 'then'. However, I wish to draw attention to the fact that among the examples adduced by Chinese grammarians, and particularly by Suen Jingshyh,<sup>1</sup> in which *erl* is equated with either *ruoh* or *tzer*,<sup>2</sup> examples in pairs are very frequent. The contrasting force of the two *erls* can easily be noticed and should be seen as one of the major reasons why *erl* rather than *ruoh* or *tzer* has been chosen by the authors quoted in the examples. A few additional examples may therefore suffice here.

The first example I shall adduce was quoted incompletely in Gabelentz's grammar<sup>3</sup> and as Gabelentz started his discussion of *erl* with the first two lines of a song<sup>4</sup> it may be worth while to reproduce this song as a whole, which, I think, forms one whole sentence:—

(84) *Guushyyuan*<sup>5</sup>, J.1, First song.

日出而作。日入而息。  
鑿井而飲。耕田而食。  
帝力于我何有哉？

If I rise at sunrise (lit. sunrise such time on the one hand if rise) and rest at sunset (lit. sunset such time on the other hand if rest), if I drink from my own well (lit. (I) bored well such from on the one hand if drink), and eat from my own field (lit.: (I) ploughed field such from on the other hand if eat), what has the Emperor's authority to do with me?

For a further example I wish to refer to the string of contrasted pairs of sentences in the beginning of *Suentzzy* without reproducing them since they have been both reprinted and translated by Dr. Lionel Giles.<sup>6</sup>

As I said before, the contrasting force of *erl* will occupy us again in the

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 186, n. 2.

<sup>2</sup> Also with *ru* 如, *ji* 即, and *nae* 乃.

<sup>3</sup> P. 254, § 619.

<sup>4</sup> The last three lines only are mentioned as a song in *Shanqshu-dahjuann* (see here above, example 73), *SBTK*, J. 65, p. 16A<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>5</sup> See here above, example 74.

<sup>6</sup> See L. Giles, *Sun Tzū on the Art of War*, London, 1910, pp. 6-7, Nos. 19-23. It can be seen that a different pattern starts from No. 20 and I rather doubt whether Dr. Giles was right to assume that Sun Tzū is still illustrating the uses of deception in war, in line 20 as he does in line 19.

continuation of this paper, but one feature must be mentioned within the conditional pattern, *viz.* the case of *erl* occurring only in the apodosis of the *second* sentence, whereas the *first* apodosis is introduced by *tzer*. As will be clear from the following example, the meaning of *erl* is then 'in such case *on the other hand* then' as opposed to the simple 'then' for *tzer*.<sup>1</sup>

(85) *Shyyjih*, J.100 (*Luan Buh liehjuann*), *Bairwen* Ed., ll. 45-46.

當是之時。彭王一顧  
與楚則漢破。與漢而  
楚破。

If at that time King Perng (Yueh of Liang) had had second thoughts and sided with Chuu then Hann would have been destroyed, if he had sided with Hann then *on the other hand* Chuu would have been destroyed.

## G

## ERL = 'IF' OR 'THEN' WHEN ANTECEDENT OF RELATIVE CLAUSES OR THEIR EQUIVALENTS

It was maintained in the previous article<sup>2</sup> that *erl* functioned as an antecedent to a relative clause or its equivalent. In the three examples adduced there (Ex. 61-63) *erl* functioned at the same time as an object, and, as was shown in this article,<sup>3</sup> *erl* marked the protasis of a conditional sentence in Ex. 61-62 ('such things if') and the apodosis in Ex. 63 ('such thing then'). Ex. 61 was analysed in even greater detail on pp. 187/8 above.

As we are dealing here with a very important function of *erl*, it may be necessary to give a few more examples of the function of *erl* as an antecedent to relative clauses, including examples outside the range of conditional sentences. It will be observed that in accordance with the principal of 'post-segmental junction'<sup>4</sup> the 'antecedent' follows in each case after the relative clause or its equivalent.

(a) *Erl*=such person(s), thing(s) then; \*suchly then(86) *Shyyjih*, J.47 (*Koongtzzy-shyhhia*), *Bairwen* Ed., ll. 257-8, *Chav.*, *Mém. hist.*, Vol. V, p. 426.

生不能用。死而誅之。  
非禮也。

"Celui dont il n'a pas su se servir pendant qu'il vivait, faire son éloge après sa mort, c'est pécher dans la pratique des rites." (lit: after his death =dead such a one on the other hand then. . .)

<sup>1</sup> A similar passage with *tzer* occurring twice can be found in *Shyyjih*, J. 92 (*Hwai In Hour liehjuann*), (*Bairwen*-Ed., ll. 134-5): 一足下爲漢則漢勝。與楚則楚勝。

<sup>2</sup> P. 64.

<sup>3</sup> See here above, p. 184.

<sup>4</sup> See here above, p. 187.

- (87) *Lijih*, Book XXXV (*Sannian-toenn*), 5 (Legge, II, p. 392).  
將由夫患邪淫之人與？ “Will any one follow the example of those men who are under the influence of their depraved lusts? In that case, when a kinsman dies in the morning he will (then) forget *him* (lit: such a one then) by the evening.”  
則彼朝死而夕忘之。
- (88) *Leu Shyh Chuenchiou*, J.10 (*SBTK*, p. 4A 1; Wilhelm, p. 120).  
所重所愛死而棄之溝壑。人之情不能爲也。 To throw into a ditch after their death those whom one has respected and loved, that human feelings cannot bear to do (lit.: after their death those then).
- (89) *Shyyjih*, J.112 (*Pynjinn Hour liehjuann*), *Bairwen* Ed., ll. 104-5.  
安則陛下何求而不得。 If the Empire is at peace what could your Majesty wish that you would not (then) obtain, what undertake that you would not (then) achieve, whom wage war against that you would not (then) conquer?  
何爲而不成。何征而不服乎哉？
- (90) *Leu Shyh Chuenchiou*, J.24 (*SBTK*, p. 9A 3-4; Wilhelm, p. 427).  
用志如此其精也。何 If one is as exacting as this in one's effort what could one aim at that one would (then) not reach, what undertake that one would (then) not achieve?  
事而不達。何爲而不成？
- (91) *Fanngwoitseh, Ian (shiah) Wang Shii* (*SBTK*, J.9, p. 40A 5-6).  
惡往而不黜乎？ Is there any place where I shall not be degraded (lit.: where shall I go such place then I shall not be degraded)?
- (92) *Tzuojuann*, Duke Jau, 4th y. (Legge, p. 592<sup>13</sup>).  
有是三者。何鄉而不濟？ “With these three securities we must be successful in all directions” (lit.: where turn such place then not successful).
- (93) *Juangtzzyy*, Book XX (Legge, p. 41).  
行賢而去自賢之行。 “Act virtuously, and put away the practice of priding yourselves on your virtue. If you do this, where can you go to that you will not be loved?”  
安往而不愛哉？

- (94) *Mencius*, Book V, Pt. II, Ch. IV, 5<sup>1</sup> (Legge, p. 257).  
夫謂非其有而取之者 “Indeed to call everyone who takes what does not properly belong to him a robber is pushing a point of resemblance to the utmost, and insisting on the most refined idea of righteousness.”  
盜也。充類至義之盡也。

The first five of the preceding examples (Ex. 86-90) belong to the same pattern as Ex. 63, with *erl* as an object corresponding to ‘such person(s) or thing(s) then.’ The next three examples (Ex. 91-93) show *erl* in the meaning ‘at such a place then’.

Ex. 94, though again showing *erl* as an object and therefore belonging together with 63 and the first five examples of this section, is placed last to be contrasted with the first example of the next group, with which it shares the negation *fei* in the relative clause. But the *erl* in this next group of examples belongs together with Ex. 61 and 62, in so far as the *erl* can be equated with ‘such things (person(s)) if:—

(b) *Erl*=such person(s), (thing(s)) if

- (95) *Shuoyuann*, J.17 (*SBTK*, p. 9A 1-3; also *Harnshy-wayjuann*<sup>2</sup> J.1 (*SBTK*, p. 7A 5-6).  
故非其道而行之。雖 Therefore who does not tread the right path, even if he toils, will not arrive; who seeks what is not his proper possession, even if he makes great efforts, will not get it (lit. (what) is not the right path such then if he treads. . .).  
勞不至。非其有而求之。雖強不得。
- (96) *Shyyjih*, J.68 (*Shang Jiu liehjuann*, *Bairwen*-Ed., ll. 61-2). Duyvendak,<sup>3</sup> pp. 23-4.  
非其位而居之曰貪位。 “I have heard it said that to occupy a position for which one is not qualified is called ‘being covetous of position’, and to have a reputation to which one is not entitled is called ‘being covetous of fame’” (lit. such if then occupy (have) . . .):  
非其名而有之曰貪名。

<sup>1</sup> See also the passage, Book VII, Part I, Ch. XXXIII, 3 (Legge, p. 344).

<sup>2</sup> The first 其 (before 道) does not occur in the *Harnshy-wayjuann* text.

<sup>3</sup> J. J. L. Duyvendak, *The Book of Lord Shang*, London, 1928 (Probsthain's Oriental Series, Vol. XVII).

- (97) *Leu-Shyh Chuenchiou*, J.20 (*SBTK*, p. 18<sup>21</sup>; Wilhelm, p. 367).  
其所擇而莫如己者亡。 If of those whom he chooses none is as good as he himself (is) (then) he will perish (lit. (of) such persons then if none equals himself).

## H

## ERL = 'IF' RESUMING A 'PRO-PROTASIS'

In Section B of the present paper<sup>1</sup> the words which occur in an absolute position at the beginning of a sentence in Ex. 1-3 were explained as shortened clauses of condition with the meaning 'if it is the question of . . .'. It can easily be seen that the resumptive and connective force of *erl* lends itself also to the resumption of a primary condition — as it were a 'pre-condition' — to be followed by a further 'secondary' condition which only comes into play when the first condition applies and with the apodosis stating what happens if both the primary and secondary conditions are fulfilled.

This is in fact what we observe in the following examples (Ex. 98-101). The words which precede *erl* form what I venture to call a 'pro-protasis', *erl* resumes this pro-protasis and connects it with the protasis which follows after *erl*. The apodosis is usually introduced by *tzer*. Two groups must be distinguished as *erl* may be either 'in such case if' or 'such person (thing, etc.) if'.

- (98) *Txuojuann*, Duke Jau, 16th y. (Legge,<sup>2</sup> p. 661<sup>16-17</sup>).  
夫大國之人。令於小國。而皆獲其求。將何以給之？ (If) people of a great State give orders to a small State in such case if they get completely what they seek what will there be to give to them?"
- (99) *Hwainantzzyy*, J.17 (*SBTK*, p. 8A<sup>11-12</sup>).  
有以飯<sup>3</sup>「饅」死者而禁天下之食。有以車爲敗者而禁天下之乘則悖矣。 (If) somebody died of choking in such case if one were to prohibit eating in the Empire, (if) somebody died of being run over by a chariot in such case if one were to prohibit riding in a chariot, this would then be quite unreasonable.

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 181.

<sup>2</sup> I have partly changed Legge's translation. The Manchu translation accounts for the pro-protasis by *tuoame* 'with reference to': *Amba gurun-i miyalma ajige gurun de gajj sehe be tuwame, gemu terei baiha de acabuci adarame bume mutembi*.

<sup>3</sup> About the emendation 饅 for 飯 see Wang Niannsuen 王念孫, *Dwushu-tzarjyh* 讀書雜誌, *Hwainantzzyy*, 17, entry yü fann syy 以飯死.

- (100) *Janngwotseh*, *Chyi (shiah)*, *Min Wang (shiah)*, (*SBTK*, J.4, p. 35<sup>48-9</sup>).  
今使人而不能則謂之不肖。教人而不能則謂之拙。 Now (if) you employ a man if such person is incapable, then you call him unworthy; (if) you teach a man, if such a person is incapable, then you call him stupid.
- (101) *Guuliang-juann*, Shi Gong, 22nd y. (*SBTK*, J.5, p. 18<sup>44-6</sup>); *cp. Mencius*, Book IV, Pt. I, Ch. IV, 1 (Legge, p. 170).  
禮人而不答。則反其敬。愛人而不親。則反其仁。治人而不治。則反其知。 "If a man love others,<sup>1</sup> and no responsive attachment is shown to him, let him turn inwards and examine his own benevolence. If he is trying to rule others, and his government is unsuccessful, let him turn inwards and examine his wisdom. If he treats others politely, and they do not return his politeness, let him turn inwards and examine his own feeling of respect."
- (102) *Shyyjih*, J.81 (*Lian Po Linn Shiangru liehjuann*); *Bairwen* Ed., line 66; Haenisch, *Lehrgang*,<sup>2</sup> Vol. II, p. 189.  
今縱君家而不奉公。則法削。 Now (if) I were to exempt your Lordship's family so that they (lit. such persons if) would not fulfil their public duties then the law would be infringed.

## I

## ERL IN BOTH PROTASIS AND APODOSIS

Though, as we have seen, *erl* occurs very often in either the protasis or the apodosis of a conditional sentence, cases when *erl* occurs in both functions in one and the same sentence are not too frequent. It goes without saying that the first *erl* must then be equated with 'such if' or '\*suchly if', and the second with 'such then' or '\*suchly then'.

<sup>1</sup> I borrow the translation from Legge's translation of *Mencius*, whose last sentence corresponds to the first in the *Guuliang*-version. It is interesting to see that the *Guuliang*-version supplies both *erl* and *tzer* to make the meaning of the passage clearer. The process is continued even further by Ju Shi, who renders *Mencius*'s first sentence as follows:—我愛人而人不親我。則反求諸己。恐我之仁未至也。

<sup>2</sup> E. Haenisch, *Lehrgang der Chinesischen Schriftsprache*, Vol. II (Leipzig, 1931).

- (103) *Mencius*, Book I, Pt. II, Ch. IX, 1 (Legge, p. 44<sup>1</sup>).  
 夫人幼而學之。壯而欲行之。  
 What a person has learnt in his youth that he will wish to put into practice when grown a man (lit. young *such time* if learn it, grown up *such time* then wish execute it).
- (104) *Dahshyue*, Ch. X, 10 (Legge, p. 240).  
 是故言悖而出者。亦悖而入。貨悖而入者。亦悖而出。  
 "And hence, the ruler's words going forth contrary to right, will come back to him in the same way, and wealth gotten by improper ways, will take its departure by the same" (lit. improperly *in such a manner* if go out, also improperly *in such a manner* then come in, etc.).
- (105) *Luenherng*, J.16 (*SBTK*, p. 1B<sup>1-2</sup>; Forke,<sup>2</sup> p. 349).  
 夫土虎不能而致風。土龍安能而致雨？  
 "If a clay tiger cannot attract wind, how could a clay dragon bring down rain?" (lit. clay tiger *in such circumstances* [viz. if set up in a valley] if unable . . .).
- (106) *Luenherng*, J.15 (*SBTK*, p. 9A<sup>4-5</sup>; Forke,<sup>3</sup> p. 331).  
 夫泣不可請而出。雨安可求而得？  
 Well, if tears cannot (even) be brought out merely by request, how can rain be obtained merely by prayer (lit. tears one not can requesting *in such a manner* (merely) if bring out, rain how can praying *in such a manner* (merely) then obtain).

The examples given above are limited to cases of complete coordination in conditional sentences. Cases like Ex. 4, or 60, though showing *erl* both in the protasis and the apodosis, have, therefore, not been included.

In conclusion I venture to suggest that in all the examples adduced so far, *erl* may well be explained as a fusion of some such pronoun (and pronominal adverb) as *sy* 斯 or *shyh* 是 on the one hand, and the 'conjunctive adverb' *nae* 乃 on the other hand. But a discussion of this suggestion cannot be attempted in the first part of this paper.

<sup>1</sup> I have replaced Legge's translation, which also fails to do justice to the proverbial character of the saying. Cp. German '*Jung gewohnt, alt getan*', and see, e.g., B. Stevenson's *Book of Proverbs, Maxims and Familiar Phrases* (London, 1949), p. 46, 2.

<sup>2</sup> *Lun-Hêng*, Pt. II, Berlin, 1911 (Mittlgn. Sem. f. Or. Spr. Beiband XIV).

<sup>3</sup> I have replaced Forke's translation which combines the protasis with the preceding sentence.