

FUNCTIONS AND MEANINGS OF ERL 而

by WALTER SIMON

III

ERL RESUMING AN INDICATION OF QUANTITY

In *Functions and Meanings of ERL*, Part I, I dealt briefly with "Adverbial *Erl* marking a contrast and emphasizing measured quantities".¹ The illustration of this function of *erl* was, however, limited to a few examples of resumptive *erl* after an indication of time or place. This latter function was studied in greater detail in *Functions and Meanings of ERL*, Part II.² Mention was also made of the parallels of Sanscrit *mātra* and Tibetan *tsam* as intensifiers after measured quantities.³ At the same time it was pointed out that the emphasizing force of *erl* was not limited to cases where quantities are measured and the pattern *erl yii yii* 而已矣 was referred to in this connection.⁴

It has been explained⁵ that the word *yii* 已 in the *erl yii yii* pattern has the meaning of "to end with, to be limited to", and that what precedes the *erl* must be understood as the preceding indirect (local) object of 已, as it were: "therewith then it ends" or "thereto then it is limited". It may now be added that three types of the pattern can be distinguished, two⁶ of which are relevant here in so far as *erl* there resumes a quantity (terms listed). The first type is represented by the example, quoted before, from *Luenyeu* (IV, 15) "Futzyy jy daw, jong shuh *erl yii yii* 夫子之道·忠恕而已矣。" Here we are dealing with a *single* sentence, of which *yii* 已 is the predicate and of which the words *jong shuh*, resumed and emphasized⁷ by *erl*, constitute its indirect (local) object: "The Master's Way is limited to Loyalty

¹ *Asia Major*, N.S., Vol. II, pp. 188, etc.

² *Ibid.*, Vol. III, pp. 7-18.

³ *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 194.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 194, n. 1.

⁵ *Asia Major*, N.S., Vol. II, p. 194, n. 1. Occasionally *jyy* 止 "to stop" is used in a similar way as *yii* 已. See *Shyyjih*, §. 74, *Bairwen* Ed., lines 18/19: 然要其歸·必止乎仁義節儉君臣上下六親之施·始也濫耳。

⁶ In the third pattern *erl* refers to and limits the statement of the whole of the preceding sentence.

⁷ This emphasizing force has been distinctly felt by Legge, who observes in a note on this passage (*Chinese Classics*, Vol. I (1861), p. 34, end of note 15): 而已矣 is a very emphatic "—and nothing more".

and Consideration".¹ The second type can be illustrated by a sentence from the opening chapter of *Mencius* in which Mencius deprecates the use of the concept Profit and asserts that there is nothing beyond Righteousness and Goodness (lit.: "there is, to be sure [亦], Righteousness and Goodness, therewith then it ends"): "*Wang, her bih iue lih. Yih yeou ren yih,*² *erl yii yii* 王何必曰利。亦有仁義而已矣。"

◆ In this second type of the pattern *erl* functions by itself as an (indirect) object, whereas in the first it serves as an object in conjunction with the words which immediately precede it and which it resumes.

As we shall see, these two types prevail throughout the examples of the present paper. Looking for similar features within the range of the preceding 150 examples, it may be said that the use of *erl* recalls Exs. 44-52 when introducing a new sentence, which it links with the preceding one. On the other hand we may point to Exs. 66-67 to illustrate the use of *erl* as resuming (and emphasizing) an indication of quantity within one and the same sentence.

The *erl yii yii* pattern,³ then, constitutes a first group of examples—and one of extreme frequency—in which *erl* refers to and emphasizes a non-specified quantity ("at such amount then ends"), as opposed to the measured and specified spatio-temporal indication, studied in the preceding paper ("at (or: from) such (amount of) time then", or: "at (or: from) such (amount of) space (distance) then"). In so far as *erl* occurs in this pattern as the indirect (local) object of *yii*, we observe again the by now familiar feature of inversion.⁴

¹ I have borrowed the translation of the two terms from Dr. Waley's translation ("The Analects of Confucius", London, 1938, p. 105 and note 1)—I add as another example a passage from *Mencius* (IV A II, 3; Legge, p. 169): 孔子曰。道二。仁與不仁而已矣。

² I have inserted a comma before *erl* in the transcription to emphasize the fact that *erl* here introduces a new sentence, which it links with the preceding sentence.

³ See also below, p. 126.

⁴ Though the inversion of the object has been mentioned frequently in the preceding papers, I failed to make special mention of it in Ex. 74, where what is shifted and resumed by *erl* is not the object but what in English grammar would be described as the complement of the verb "to be" (*wei*). It should be noted at the same time that resumption by means of *erl* allows for the condensation in a pointed way of two sentences into one single sentence. The assertion that one should not be a greedy official (*buh kee wei tan lih*) and (up to a point) one should (*kee wei tan lih*), and conversely that one should be an honest official (*kee wei lian lih*) and (up to a point) one should not (*buh kee wei lian lih*) has been condensed in the way it is found in the song the beginning of which was given as Ex. 74 (*tan lih erl buh kee wei, erl kee wei; lian lih erl kee wei, erl buh kee wei*), with each position being explained in detail in the sequence of the song (*tan lih erl buh kee wei jee*, etc.). (The same kind of condensation into one sentence can be observed in Ex. 3, where the two separate sentences would be "A sovereign must not employ a scholar of complete virtue as a minister" (*jiun buh der chern sheng der jy shyh*) and "A father must not treat a scholar of complete virtue as a son" (*fuh buh der tzyy sheng der jy shyh*.)

The *erl* in the *erl yii yii* pattern shares with the *erl* occurring after an indication of time or place the feature that it is adverbial. But an indication of a (non-specified) quantity resumed by *erl* can also occur as subject or direct object and so the function of *erl* there forms a complete parallel to the partly adverbial and partly non-adverbial function of *erl* which we have observed when studying *erl* in conditional sentences.¹ Exs. 66-67 may be quoted again, this time as examples in which *erl* functions as direct object in conjunction with the quantity it resumes and emphasizes.²

The same holds good of the passage in *Mencius* quoted as a parallel to Ex. 66³: *Ian der ren ren erl jih jy* 焉得人人而濟之。"How can he convey everybody across the rivers?"

I wish to start a closer examination of the function of *erl* when resuming a quantity with cases that are nearest to the examples studied in the previous paper, *viz.*, with examples in which an indication of quantity is resumed by adverbial *erl* within one and the same sentence (clause).

A

ADVERBIAL ERL RESUMING AN INDICATION OF QUANTITY
WITHIN ONE AND THE SAME SENTENCE (CLAUSE)

From the point of view of translation several types must be distinguished.

(a) The "single morning" on which certain things are achieved (*yi dann erl*, Exs. 78 and 117) can be paralleled with the "single victory", the "single stroke", the "single burst of anger", *yi sheng erl* [151], *yih⁴ jeu erl* [152/3],

[151] 昔者秦穆公一勝於韓原而霸西州。晉文公一勝於城濮而定天子。

[152] 是君王一舉而服兩國也。

[153] 使此知秦國之政也。則君一舉而亡國矣。

¹ See *Asia Major*, N.S., Vol. II, pp. 179-202.

² The function of *erl* in these examples is limited to emphasis by means of resumption, coupled with inversion, and I wish to repeat my statement (see *Asia Major*, N.S., Vol. II, p. 184) that I can no longer see any reason in such cases to attribute to *erl* a distributive function, as I had at first suggested (*ibid.*, p. 64).

³ See *Asia Major*, N.S., Vol. II, p. 65, n. 2. I failed to see then that this sentence represents a variant of the *der erl* pattern, which will be discussed in a later instalment of this series of papers.

⁴ While continuing the numbering of examples from the previous papers the following changes have been introduced as a space-saving device:

(a) partial paraphrases take, wherever possible, the place of a complete translation, and certain examples will be left untranslated;

(b) the Chinese text of the example is set out at the bottom of each page;

(c) a finding list and references to translations, etc., are appended at the end of the present article.

yi nuh erl [154], which yield similar spectacular results. For numbers higher than *one*, it may suffice to refer here to the "two phrases¹ with which one can administer the Empire *leang yan erl goan tianshiah*" [155] or to "merely four acts of punishment *syh tzuey erl*" [156], as a result of which the whole Empire was at peace.

The above fairly frequent type, which consists of a *numeral + noun or verb + erl* is to be understood in general as if in the "instrumental case" (as it were "thereby then").

(b) From the sentence in *Mencius* "*wu yuh ellshyr erl cheu i, her ru?*" [157], which refers to taking (only) a twentieth of the produce as tax, it can be seen that no difference is made between "by" and "from" after an indication of quantity, much the same as no difference is made between "at" and "from" in the case of spatio-temporal relations.² While in phrases like *txyh syh wuu wann erl woang* [158]³ for "above forty or fifty thousand" (lit.: from forty or fifty thousand such quantity from [therefrom] then rising), the function of *erl* of emphasizing the starting point in relation to a quantity forms an even closer parallel to the corresponding spatial relation (such distance from), the relation corresponding to English "at" (thereat then) can be observed when *erl* after a quantity refers to taxation exacted according to produce, e.g. *shyr-i erl shuey* [159] ("at the tithe"),⁴ or according to acreage, as in a famous passage in *Mencius*: *wuushyr erl gonq, chishyr erl juh, bae muu erl cheh* [160] ("contributing", "assisting" or "sharing" at⁵ fifty, seventy, or a hundred [acres] rate).

(c) Another pattern which belongs here shows adverbial *erl* in the function of resuming and emphasizing an indication of quantity which consists of a

[154] 文王一怒而安天下之民。

[155] 兩言而管天下。

[156] 四罪而天下咸服。

[157] 吾欲二十而取一何如。

[158] 故自四五萬而往者強勝。

[159] 古者十一而稅。

[160] 夏后氏五十而貢。殷人七十而助。周人百畝而徹。其質皆什一也。

¹ Cp. also *Luenyeu*, XIII, 15: 定公問一言而可以興邦。有諸。

² See *Asia Major*, N.S., Vol. III, pp. 7 and 12.

³ The phrase is repeated in the next sentence: *Txyh shuh bae lii erl woang jee an guh*.

⁴ E. M. Gale, *Discourses on Salt and Iron*, Leyden, 1931: "but a tithe".

⁵ Literally "thereat then" or, rather, as Ex. 160 must be regarded as one single sentence with *chyi shyr jie shyr i yee* as its main clause, "thereat it". The translation of *erl* by "and" (Legge, pp. 116-7) does not do justice to the structure of the sentence as one whole.

definite number of beings forming as it were a group or a team. The emphasis will refer to either the largeness or smallness of the group. In *Harn Fei Tzzy*¹ and in the *Yanantzzy-chuenchiou* we find the proverbial saying "*moh san ren erl mi* [161]. Three persons (=as many as three people) do not make a mistake". This may be translated literally as "No person(s) three people in such a (comparatively large) quantity (set-up, team) then do not make a mistake".

We have to understand in the same manner the function of *erl* in the opening sentence of the story of the two women of Chyi (*Mencius*), the emphasis here being on the smallness of the group: *Chyi ren yeou yih chi yi chieh erl chuu shyh jee* [162]. "Of Chyi people there were who as *one wife and one concubine in such a (small) set up then* lived in a house." That *erl* does in fact here stress the smallness of the "set-up" can be substantiated by a passage from *Shyuntzzy* where it is said that with "social distinctions and class rights" (*fenn yih*)² prevailing *the whole empire* will be at peace (*rong tianshiah erl jyh*) but that without them *even a wife and a concubine* will make trouble (*yih chi yi chieh erl luann*) [163].

In the same way, *erl* stresses singleness (as it were a "one man team") when a woman says of herself that she had been a wife to two husbands: *wu yi fuhren erl shyh ell fu* [164]³.

(d) Of particular importance for the understanding of passages where

[161] 莫三人而迷。

[162] 齊人有一妻一妾而處室者。

[163] 有夫分義則容天下而治。無分義則一妻一妾而亂。

[164] 吾一婦人而事二夫。

¹ In *Harnfeitzzy* (J. 9, *SBTK*, p. 3 B 1) also the variant "*moh jonq 衆 erl mi*" ("People cannot all go wrong").

² I have borrowed the translation of the two terms, which is in accordance with Yang Lianq's commentary, from Professor Dubs' translation of another passage in *Shyuntzzy* in which they occur (see his *Works of Hsuntze*, London, 1928, p. 137). Professor J. R. Hightower in yet another passage, which has been quoted in the *Harn Shy Wayjuann*, translates the two terms as "distinctions and obligations" (see his *Harn Shih Wai Chuan*, Cambridge, Mass., 1952, p. 218).

³ Chapter 45 (*Sheau Cheu*) of *Mohtzzy*, which has recently been discussed by Mr. D. C. Lau (see "Proceedings of the Aristotelian Society", N.S. 53, 1953, pp. 189-204), includes further suggestive examples of *erl* resuming and emphasizing an indication of quantity, including the "partitive" meaning of *erl*. I limit myself to giving these examples, which occur at the end of Chapter 45 (*Mohtzzy*, J. 11, *SBTK*, pp. 10B²-11A³) in romanization, appending Mr. Lau's rendering (p. 194), in which he has tried to be as literal as possible: *Yih maa maa yee. ell maa maa yee. Maa syh tzwu jee, yih maa erl syh tzwu yee, fei leang maa erl syh tzwu yee.* "One horse is horse, two horse is horse. Horse with four feet is one horse with four feet not two horse with (between them) four feet. - *Yih maa maa yee. Maa huoh bair jee, ell maa erl huoh bair yee, fei yih maa erl huoh bair.* "One horse is horse. . . Horse either white is two horse either (of which) is white, not one horse either (of which) is white."

adverbial *erl* while resuming a quantity introduces another sentence (see below under B), is the realization of a "partitive" meaning of *erl* when resuming a quantity ("out of such a number") in one and the same sentence.

An illustration of this partitive meaning of *erl* can be found in Ex. 97, where, however, *erl* does not specifically emphasize an indication of quantity. It resumes the antecedent *chyi* of the relative clause introduced by *suoo*, and must be rendered literally as "of such persons if".¹

Among examples in which an indication of quantity is resumed and emphasized by *erl*, we have the striking simile in *Mohtzyy* about closing "one gate out of a hundred" (*bae men erl bih yih men yan*)² [165], and then

[165] 是猶百門而閉一門焉。曰。盜何從入。

¹ See *Asia Major*, N.S., Vol. 11, p. 200. The "then" after "persons" must be deleted. I noted as a similar example from the *Yanutzzy-chuenchiou*, f. 7, No. 5 (SBTK, p. 7A⁷⁻⁸): 君所謂可而 (therein if) 有否焉。臣獻其否。以成其可。君所謂否。而有可焉。臣獻其可以去其否。

² It may be observed that the final particle *yan* further emphasizes the partitive meaning of *erl* (as it were "within them"). Cf. also Exs. 170, etc. Professor J. Mullie's recent attempt (*HJAS*, XV [1952], pp. 140-165) to disprove the explanation of the particle *yan* as the equivalent of *yu shyh* 於是 has left me unconvinced. As is well known, the latter explanation was advanced first by Liou Chyi 劉淇 in his *Juhtzyh-bianliueh 助字辨略* in 1711, a second time, independently from Liou Chyi, by Wang Yiin-jy in his *Jingjuann-shyhtsy* in 1798, and was reconfirmed a third time exactly a hundred years later by Maa Jiannjong in his *Maa Shyh Wentong*, not to mention contemporary Chinese and Western grammarians. Apparently unaware of the fact that G. von der Gabelentz had already pointed to the obvious relationship between the final particle *yan* and the interrogative adverb *ian*—about the difference in the initial I should like to refer to the interesting note in f. 7 of the *Yan Shyh jiashiunn 顏氏家訓*—Professor Mullie, while disagreeing with von der Gabelentz' ideas on *yan* generally, proposes like him a basic meaning "thus" ("ainsi"). Von der Gabelentz *Chinesische Grammatik*, Leipzig, 1881, p. 321, §820: "Die Finale 焉 *yên*, ursprünglich wohl = wie, oder: so, und mit dem Fragworte 焉 *yên* identisch oder doch verwandt, ist immer von schildernder oder beschreibender Wirkung". In proposing his theory Prof. Mullie quite overlooks the fact that the interrogative particle *ian* does occasionally occur in the meaning "where" (see, e.g., *Leu Shyh Chuenchiou*, f. 12 [SBTK, p. 4A⁴⁻⁵] 夫子將焉適), and that when it introduces a rhetorical question it frequently has as its predicate verbs like *ky* "to know" or *der* "to obtain", which easily allow a translation of *ian* by "where" or "from where" (Cp., Modern Chinese *woo naahijydaw*, "How do I know?"). It must be maintained, furthermore, that we are not justified in interpreting the proposed equivalent *yu shyh* as referring exclusively to place, thereby ignoring certain other usages as reference to the agent, to the indirect object, to something compared, etc. But even if we were to abstract from these latter functions, one is surprised to see that Prof. Mullie, who writes his article in French, has failed to realize the similarity of function that exists between the final particle *yan* and French *en* and *y*, which might have induced him to study closely the nature of the verbs which precede *yan*. An investigation of the latter kind would, I believe, have led him to adopt a less negative attitude towards the interpretation of a particle by three pioneers in the field of Chinese grammar who, eminent Ching scholars as they were, had been taught to write in the classical style from their early childhood, and so were undoubtedly possessed, in addition to their theoretical insight, of a certain feel for this special style of their mother tongue.

wondering how the thieves can get in, or a passage in a speech by Jang Yi, in which he points to the disastrous effect of "three victories within five battles" (*wuu jann erl san sheng*) [166]. The meaning of *erl* is not less partitive if the ratio is a hundred out of a hundred as in *bae fa erl bae jong jy* of Ex. 127,¹ or three out of three in "to be victorious in three battles" *san jann erl san sheng* [167].

Finally the meaning of *erl* must also be considered partitive if the ratio is zero out of a number of cases as when no answer is forthcoming after a number of questions are asked, or the same question repeated a number of times: *san wenn erl san bwu duey* [168] and *syh wenn erl syh buh jy* [169].

B

ADVERBIAL ERL INTRODUCING A SENTENCE (CLAUSE) WHILE
RESUMING AN INDICATION OF QUANTITY WHICH OCCURS AT
THE END OF THE PRECEDING SENTENCE (CLAUSE)

As was stated under A (d), the realization of a partitive meaning of *erl* is of special importance for the understanding of the examples listed in this section.

(a) If Mencius' statement that "Ruling the Empire is not one of the three pleasures of a gentleman" occurs in the wording *Jiuntzyy yeou san leh, erl wanq tianshiah bwu yuhtswen yan* [170], this must be considered in the light of both the preceding examples and the principle of "postsegmental junction".² It is in accordance with this latter principle that a statement to the effect that the gentleman *has* three pleasures should precede the intended restriction, viz., that ruling the Empire is not one of them. It will be seen, then, that *erl* refers back to the indication of quantity (*san leh*) which occurs at the end of the clause immediately preceding, and, at the same time, functions as indirect object of the verbal compound *yuhtswen* "to be included in, to belong with". Furthermore it will be observed that the final particle *yan* on

[166] 大王嘗與吳人戰。五戰而三勝。陣卒盡矣。

[167] 吾三戰而三勝。聲威天下。

[168] 三問而三不對。

[169] 四問而四不知。

[170] 君子有三樂。而王天下不與存焉。

¹ The rendering of the *erl* by "et" in Chavannes translation ignores this partitive meaning of *erl*.

² See *Asia Major*, N.S., Vol. II, p. 187.

its part refers back to *erl* and underlines its adverbial character.¹ A literal translation of Ex. 170 would therefore be something like this: "The gentleman has three pleasures, *therein then (erl)* ruling the Empire is not included *therein (yan)*."

The same pattern, worded positively and with the compounded verb *yuhtzay* (instead of *yuhtswen*), occurs in *Goantzyy*. The philosopher asserts that Chyi is one of the three countries governed by "in *wang*" ("shadow kings", i.e. feudal lords who are kings short of the actual title of a king): *In wang jy gwo yeou san, erl Chyi yuhtzay yan* [171].

With the *simple* verb *yuh* we witness the pattern in *Shyuntzyy*, where we are told that "To be a thief is not one of man's five evil qualities *Ren yeou eh jee wuu, erl dawchieh bwu yuh yan*" [172] and that "Vast erudition is not one of the four virtues of a teacher *Shyshuh yeou syh, erl bor shyi bwu yuh yan*" [173].

It may be helpful to adduce two variants of the pattern *without erl*, and it is interesting to note that *yan* does not occur in the second, apparently because the "belonging in" is stated explicitly by means of *tzay chyi jong*. In the *Yanntzyy-chuenchiou* *Yanntzyy* repudiates a certain superstition by pointing out that the occurrence in question is not one of the three inauspicious signs of a country *Gwo yeou san buh shyang, shyh bwu yuh yan* [174] and according to the *Harn Shy Wayjuann* 'Tzengtzyy explains that food and drink do not form part of the three wasteful expenditures of a gentleman nor the playing of certain musical instruments part of his three joys: "*Jiuntzyy yeou san fey, yiinshyr bwu tzay chyi jong*"; and "*Jiuntzyy yeou san leh, jong ching chyn sheh bwu tzay chyi jong*" [175].

To give further examples of the pattern proper, in the *Koongtzyy-jiayeu* the peach is placed lowest among six kinds of fruit: "*Guooshuu yeou liow, erl taur wei shiah*" [176], and in another passage of the same work the animal world is divided into five groups of three hundred and sixty kinds

[171] 陰王之國有三。而齊與在焉。

[172] 人有惡者五。而盜竊不與焉。

[173] 師術有四。而博習不與焉。

[174] 國有三不祥。是不與焉。

[175] 君子有三費。飲食不在其中。君子有三樂。鐘磬琴瑟不在其中。

[176] 菓屬有六。而桃爲下。

each, with the head of each group named.¹ The list starts with the phoenix being the head of the three hundred and sixty winged animals: "*Yeu chornng san bae yow liow shyh, erl feng wei jy jaang*" [177]. In the *Shyyjih* we are told by *Goantzyy*² that he personally remembers twelve of the seventy-two persons who in antiquity performed the Feng and Shann sacrifices: *Guujee feng Tayshan shann Liangfuh jee chishyrell jia, erl Yiwu suoo jih jee shyh jow ell yan* [178]. In *Harnfeitzyy* we have the story of Tyan Ing who in order to find out which of ten concubines the King of Chyi is likely to appoint as queen presents him with ten jade ear-rings, one of which he has made more beautiful than the others: *Yu shyh wei shyh yuheel, erl meei chyi i, erl shiann jy* [179].

(b) The same partitive meaning of *erl* is apparent when it refers to repeated actions the number of which is stated in the preceding sentence. Examples are particularly frequent when the verb following *erl* is negated. *Erl* equals, as it were, "on the stated number of occasions then".

In the *Shyyjih* we hear of the granddaughter of a wealthy man whom nobody dared to marry because her husbands had died immediately³ (after their marriage) on the five occasions that she was married before: *wuu jiah, erl fu jer syy* [180].

A passage from the *Fann Jiu liehjuann* like "*Tsyy suooyii wang san wenn erl buh gaan duey jee*" ("This is why I did not dare to answer when your Majesty asked me three times") [181] recalls Exs. 169/170 of the previous section. In the same way, *erl* stresses the fact that Yeu did not enter his home on any of the three occasions that he passed the door of it: *San guoh chyi men, erl bwu ruh* [182]. I append a few further examples leaving them

[177] 羽蟲三百有六十。而鳳爲之長。毛蟲三百有六十。而麟爲之長，...

[178] 古者封泰山禪梁父者。七十二家。而夷吾所記者十有二焉。

[179] 於是爲十玉珥。而美其一而獻之。

[180] 張負女孩五嫁而夫輒死。人莫敢娶。

[181] 此所以王三問而不敢對者也。

[182] 三過其門而不入。

¹ A variant of the passage can be found in the *Dahdaylijih* (J. 5, *SBTK*, p. 8B⁴⁻⁶). See also the *Wuushyngjyh, jong* of the *Jinnshu* (Bornah Ed., 志, 7, 18, p. 2B¹¹).

² It will be noted that the verb (copula) is to be understood in Exs. 177 and 178. Concerning the latter example, see also the relevant passage in *Goantzyy*, J. 23, No. 77 *SBTK*, p. 1A⁴⁻⁵.

³ I would disagree with Professor Yang Shuhdar who (*Tsyrychuan*, J. 5, p. 40) takes *jer* in this example in the meaning of "each".

untranslated since they all have been translated into English before [183-188].

(c) As has been explained in the Introduction to this paper, the *Erl yii yii* pattern belongs to both Section A and Section B. Though there would seem to be no necessity to give here further examples of this extremely frequent pattern, I have included a few examples (again left untranslated) of *erl* when preceded by a definite number [189-191]. It should be noted that we observe there *erl yii* instead of *erl yii yii*.

C

NON-ADVERBIAL *ERL* RESUMING AN INDICATION OF QUANTITY
WITHIN ONE AND THE SAME SENTENCE (CLAUSE)

(a) At the beginning of this paper¹ two cases of non-adverbial *erl* (i.e. of *erl* resuming and emphasizing either the subject or the object of a sentence) have been mentioned. The two examples in question (Ex. 66/67) show *erl* in its function of resuming the (direct) *object*, which on its part is inverted, and they belong also here in so far as the object so inverted happens to be an indication of quantity: *meeiren* (Ex. 66) and *leang lih* (Ex. 67).

(b) The resumption by *erl* of an indication of quantity which constitutes the *subject* of the sentence is not infrequent when Chinese terms denoting measures are explained or equated with one another.² The verbs commonly used in examples of that kind are either *dang* [192] or *wei* [193].³ I include, therefore, only one example of either type, a translation of which can again

[183] 三施而無報。

[184] 爲人臣之禮。不顯諫。三諫而不聽。則逃之。

[185] 子之事親也。三諫而不聽。則號泣而隨之。

[186] 三使韓魏而寡人不與焉。

[187] 三行賞。而不及陶叔狐。

[188] 君三往而不得見。其可已矣。

[189] 國之寶六而已。

[190] 子之佐十一人。其不欲戰者三人而已。

[191] 其能免者。組甲八十。被練三百而已。

[192] 其以爲量。十二粟而當一分。十二分而當一銖。十二銖而當半兩。

[193] 故十寸而爲尺。十尺而爲丈。

¹ See above, p. 118.

² See also below, p. 128.

³ Also *cherng* 成 occurs, see e.g., *Chyanhannshu*, J. 21 *shang*, ed. Wang Shianchian, small ed., p. 11B³: 二十四銖而成兩者。二十四氣之象也。

be dispensed with [192-193]. A third example which I have taken over from Suen Jingshyh³ is different in so far as it gives a comparison from the point of view of military efficiency between barbarian and Hann troops [194].

D

NON-ADVERBIAL *ERL* INTRODUCING A SENTENCE (CLAUSE)
WHILE RESUMING AN INDICATION OF QUANTITY OCCURRING AT
THE END OF THE PRECEDING CLAUSE

In the few examples that I have noted *erl* functions both as a subject and as an object. The sentence which precedes the sentence introduced by *erl* has *yeou* as its verb and ends with a numeral+noun. It is to this latter part of the sentence that *erl* refers back. The pattern, therefore, is closely related to the one represented by Exs. 48-51, in which *erl* refers to a person, described in the preceding sentence, which on its part has also *yeou* as its verb and ends in *jee*.

(a) I have chosen a post-Hann passage² as the first of the examples in which *erl* functions as the *subject*, because the essay from which it is taken happens to be included in the *Guuwen-Iuanjiann*, and, as is borne out by the Manchu translation of 1685, the pronominal function of *erl* was understood as such by the Manchu translators.³ "There are three difficulties in the appointment of men of talents. On (mastering) them, then, depends the rise and decline of a country (lit.: these then are what rise and decline of a country depend on)." [195].

The next example from *Shyuntzzy*, which distinguishes three considerations that a gentleman must not fail to consider, follows the same pattern: *Jiuntzzy yeou san sy, erl buh kee buh sy yee* [196].

In the *Harn Shy Wayjuann* a ruler likens his four sons to his four limbs, contending that they are able to serve as substitutes: *Goa ren yeou syh tzyy, you yeou syh jy, erl der day yan* [197].

[194] 夫胡兵五而當漢兵一。何者。

[195] 官才有三難。而與替之所由也。

[196] 君子有三思。而不可不思也。

[197] 寡人有四子猶四肢也。而得代焉。

¹ *Jingjuann-shyhtsy-tyaybuu* (see *Asia Major*, N.S., Vol. II, p. 62, n. 2), pp. 11A¹⁰-11B¹. A number of further examples of this latter type can be found in *Goantzyy*, J. 1 No. 5 (*SBTK*, p. 17A³): 地之不可食者。山之無木者。百而當一。潤澤百而當一, etc.

² Liou Yih 劉毅 died A.D. 285.

³ The Manchu translation is as follows: *Erdemungge be hafan obure de ilan mangga ba bi. ede yendere ebirengge holbobuhabi*. It is of course possible that the translators ignored the *erl* and merely translated *suoo* by *ede*.

In the passage in *Mencius* in which Bor Yi and Tay Gong are referred to as the two old men who are the greatest old men of the Empire, *erl* again introduces the next sentence, in which the importance of their adherence to King Wen is explained: The quantified term (*ell lao jee*) occurs in this case at the beginning of the preceding sentence [198].

(b) An example, in which *erl* functions as the *object* is the saying, transmitted both in *Harnfeitzyy* and in *Janngwotseh*, that the Empire exhibits the three (causes of) ruin that exist in the world: *Shyh yeou san wang, erl tian-shiah der jy* [199].

(c) In the last example of this section (taken from the *Harn Shy Wayjuann*) *erl* functions again as the subject but it introduces a clause ending with *jee*, which corresponds to our relative clauses: *ren yeou san syy, erl fei ming yee jee, tzyh cheu jy* (Hightower, p. 15: "There are three ways in which a man dies that are not determined by fate but are of his own choosing") [200].

E

NON-ADVERBIAL ERL RESUMING AN INDICATION OF QUANTITY
IN SENTENCES WITHOUT A VERB

Under C (b) I have discussed sentences in which *erl* resumes an indication of quantity which is explained by or equated to another indication of quantity. As we have seen, the verbs commonly used in sentences of this type are *dang* or *wei*. I have refrained from including in Section C (b) a type which is very similar in appearance. Indications of quantity, the first of which is resumed by *erl*, are equated but no verb is used. At first sight it would seem justifiable to assume that some such verb as *wei* or *dang* may simply have to be understood. Looking, however, at strings of equations of quantity for which in each case such verb would have to be understood, this assumption seems unsatisfactory. I have, therefore, reached the conclusion that examples of this kind speak strongly in favour of regarding *erl* as a contraction of a demonstrative pronoun, which I now believe to have been *shyh*, and the adverb *乃 nae*. This suggestion has tentatively been made before,² but a more detailed discussion—in particular of the phonetic

[198] 二老者。天下之大老也。而歸之。是天下之父歸之也。

[199] 世有三亡。而天下得之。

[200] 人有三死而非命也者。自取之也。

¹ Cp. *Shuoyuann* (SBTK, J. 11, p. 7A³) 今有人於此而不知彈者。(Here is a man who cannot shoot with a bow).

² See *Asia Major*, N.S., II, p. 180 and n. 3, and p. 202.

implications¹—must be postponed to a later instalment of this series of papers. Meanwhile the explanation of *erl* as a contraction of *shyh + nae* may be offered as a working hypothesis.

As I have mentioned on another occasion² there is reason to suppose that the so-called final particle *yee* is in fact a demonstrative pronoun with the meaning of "that". In a sentence "*Jea yii yee* 甲乙也" ("A is B"), *yee* would appear to refer back to *yii*. It is possible to bring the subject (*jea*) into greater relief by inserting *nae* between *jea* and *yii*: "*Jea nae yii yee* 甲乃乙也". The latter pattern can be illustrated by the passage in *Mencius*³ about the mysterious working of Goodness: "*Shyh nae ren shuh yee* 是乃仁術也". The passage shows separately the very words *shyh nae* which I assume to have been contracted to *erl*. The assumption of a contraction is, however, bound up with the function of *erl* as a resumptive, and in the above passage *shyh* not only clearly stands by itself as the subject of the sentence but it is as such emphasized by *nae* (as it were: "this, if you want to know, then . . .) and, in my opinion, furthermore referred back to by *yee*.

A third possibility of wording the statement that A is B must now be considered. The function of *yee* of referring back to the subject may have been taken on at an early period also by *shyh*.⁴ It is assumed that *shyh*, as opposed to *yee*, then followed immediately after the subject⁵—as it does in the modern colloquial style—and was followed on its part by *nae*, *shyh + nae* being subsequently contracted to *erl*. My explanation of the sentences with which we are dealing in this section, then, is that they correspond to a pattern "*Jea shyh-nae* [*> erl*] *yii* 甲是-乃 [*> 而*] 乙也". This explanation would account for the fact that we see neither verbs like *wei* or *dang*, nor a final *yee* in any of the subsequent examples. They are headed by the opening sentence of *Mencius*' famous illustration of the "Well System":

¹ These would include (a) a rediscussion of the archaic initial cluster which I wish to substitute for Karlgren's archaic *ni-* (see *BSOAS*, IX (1937-39), pp. 285, etc., and p. 270), and (b) the assumption of 是 when proclitic to 乃 losing its final consonant and (c) the assumption of 是 then affecting (perhaps by metathesis of its vowel reduced to a short *i*) the following 乃. I take this opportunity to refer to Karlgren's remark on the relation between *erl* and *nae* (*BMFEA*, XXIII (1951), p. 128): "The two particles *er* 而 (**njəg*) and *nai* 乃 (**nəg*) are in many respects similar in function, sometimes directly synonymous, and they are two aspects of one and the same word stem".

² See *Actes du XXI^e Congrès International des Orientalistes*, Paris, 1949, p. 258.

³ *Mencius*, I A VII, 8 (Legge, p. 16).

⁴ This assumed reference of *shyh* to the *subject* must be distinguished from the reference of *shyh* to the *predicate* as it occurs, e.g., in the following passage in *Mencius* (IV A XVII, 1): 仁之實。事親是也。義之實。從兄是也。This latter pattern may be represented as 甲乙是也。

⁵ I have noticed *shyh* in final position in the *samodhāna* of a Buddhist text of the twelfth century (*Jijing-yaujyi* 諸經要集, *Taishō-Tripitaka*, Vol. LIV, p. 129, col. 2, lines 18, etc.: 爾時牛者。今波斯匿王是。盜牛人者。今毘舍離三十二子是。時老母者。今毘舍離是。

"*Fang lii erl jing*" (One square mile is (equals) a "well") [201]. A few further examples¹ [202-206] I have left untranslated since they merely equate—in a stereotyped manner—terms which for the most part are untranslatable.

In a passage of the *Wangjyh* of the *Lijih*, which deals with the number of halls to be set aside for ancestral worship in the case of the Son of Heaven, a feudal lord, etc., we witness a variant of the *jea shyh-nae* [$> erl$] *yü* pattern which it is possible to represent in the form of a mathematical equation, with *erl* corresponding to the symbol of equality, viz. $3+3+1=7$, $2+2+1=5$, etc.: *Tiantzyy chi miaw; san jau, san muh yeu taytzuu jy miaw erl chi. Juhour wuu miaw; ell jau, ell muh yeu taytzuu jy miaw erl wuu*, etc. [207]. In this latter, as in all preceding examples of this section, *erl* may well be rendered by *jiowsh* (*jiow shyh*) 就是 in the modern colloquial style. Bearing in mind the suggested contraction of *erl* from *shyh+nae*, we will observe that *shyh* is proclitic in *erl* and enclitic in *jiowsh*.

The striking similarity in these examples between the use of *erl* in the classical style and of *jiowsh* in the modern style is borne out furthermore by a modification of the statement "A is B", from which the discussion in this section started, viz. "If A is not B then it is C; *jea fei yü erl biing* 甲非乙而丙". The two last examples will suffice to illustrate this latter pattern: "If the strongest country in the Empire is not Chyn it is Chuu, if it is not Chuu it is Chyn, *Fan tianshiah chyang gwo fei Chyn erl Chuu, fei Chuu erl Chyn* [208], or "If the cereals produced in Harn are not pulse they are wheat *fei shwu erl may* [209]". It will be realized that the structure *fei . . . erl* is very reminiscent indeed of its modern counterpart *bwush . . . jiowsh* 不是 . . . 就是.

[201] 方里而井。

[202] 舒肘知尋。十尋而索。百步而堵。三百步而里。千步而井，...。

[203] 制田。二百四十步而一畝。

[204] 鹽百升而釜。

[205] 五家而伍。十家而連。五連而暴。

[206] 五板而堵。五堵而雉。百雉而城。

[207] 天子七廟。三昭。三穆。與大祖之廟而七。諸侯五廟。二昭。二穆。與大祖之廟而五，...。

[208] 凡天下強國。非秦而楚。非楚而秦。

[209] 韓地險惡。山居。五穀所生非菽而麥。

¹ I have borrowed Ex. 206 from 裴學海 Peir Shyuehac's 古書虛字集釋 *Guushu-shiutzyh-jyishyh* (Shanghai, Commercial Press, 2nd ed., 1935, p. 526), where the author deals with cases in which *erl* can be equated with *wei*.

EXAMPLES 151-209 — FINDING LIST

- 151 *Janngwotseh*, *SBTK*, J. 8, pp. 35A¹⁻²-35B¹.
- 152 *Leu Shyh Chuenchiou*, J. 23, *SBTK*, p. 6A¹⁻²; Wilhelm, p. 408.
- 153 *Janngwotseh*, *SBTK*, J. 3, p. 19B⁷⁻⁸.
- 154 *Mencius*, I B III, 6; Legge, p. 32.
- 155 *Chuenchiou farnluh*, J. 5, *SBTK*, p. 5B⁷.
- 156 *Mencius*, V A III, 2; Legge, p. 225.
- 157 *Mencius*, VI B X, 1; Legge, p. 317.
- 158 *Shyuntzzy*, J. 11, No. 16, *SBTK*, p. 8A¹.
- 159 *Yantieeluenn*, J. I, *SBTK*, p. 6A⁴; Gale, p. 13.
- 160 *Mencius*, III A III, 6; Legge, pp. 116/7.
- 161 *Yanntzzy Chuenchiou*, J. 4, *SBTK*, p. 15A⁶; *Harnfeitzyy*, J. 9, *SBTK*, p. 3B⁶; Liao, p. 287 [incorrect].
- 162 *Mencius*, IV B XXXIII, 1; Legge, p. 216.
- 163 *Shyuntzzy*, J. 19, No. 27, *SBTK*, p. 25A⁸-25B².
- 164 *Tzoojuann*, Duke Juang, 14th year; Legge, p. 92¹⁻².
- 165 *Mohtzzy*, J. 13, No. 49, *SBTK*, p. 9A¹⁻²; Mei, p. 252.
- 166 *Shyyjih*, J. 70, *Bairwen* Ed., line 120.
- 167 *Shyyjih*, J. 46, *Bairwen* Ed., line 123; Chavannes, Vol. V, p. 254.
- 168 *Harn Shy Wayjuann*, J. 8, *SBTK*, p. 6B⁴; Hightower, p. 262.
- 169 *Juangtzyy*, VII, 1; Legge, p. 259.
- 170 *Mencius*, VII A XX, 1; Legge, pp. 334/5.
- 171 *Goantzzy*, J. 23, No. 80, *SBTK*, p. 12B².
- 172 *Shyuntzzy*, J. 20, No. 28, *SBTK*, p. 2A⁴⁻⁵.
- 173 *Shyuntzzy*, J. 9, No. 14, *SBTK*, p. 14A⁴-14B¹.
- 174 *Yanntzzy Chuenchiou*, J. 2, *SBTK*, p. 9B¹⁻².
- 175 *Harn Shy Wayjuann*, J. 9, *SBTK*, p. 13B²⁻³; Hightower, p. 313.
- 176 *Koongtzyy Jiayeu*, J. 5, No. 19, *SBTK*, p. 8B⁴.
- 177 *Koongtzyy Jiayeu*, J. 6, No. 25, *SBTK*, p. 10A²⁻³.
- 178 *Shyyjih*, J. 28, *Bairwen* Ed., lines 41/2; Chavannes, Vol. III, p. 423.
- 179 *Harnfeitzyy*, J. 13, *SBTK*, p. 5B¹².
- 180 *Shyyjih*, J. 56, *Bairwen* Ed., lines 4/5.
- 181 *Shyyjih*, J. 79, *Bairwen* Ed., line 53.
- 182 *Mencius*, III A IV, 7 and IV B XXIX, 1; Legge, pp. 127 and 211.
- 183 *Tzoojuann*, Duke Shi, 15th year; Legge, p. 164¹⁷.
- 184/5 *Lijih*, I, Sect. II, Part III, 1; Legge, p. 114.
- 186 *Harnfeitzyy*, J. 3, *SBTK*, p. 3B¹¹; Liao, p. 79.
- 187 *Harn Shy Wayjuann*, J. 3, *SBTK*, p. 16B⁴⁻⁷; Hightower, p. 108.
- 188 *Harn Shy Wayjuann*, J. 6, *SBTK*, p. 1A⁴; Hightower, p. 191.
- 189 *Gwoyzeu*, J. 18, *SBTK*, J. 18, p. 11A²⁻³.
- 190 *Tzoojuann*, Duke Cherng, 6th year; Legge, p. 359¹⁶.
- 191 *Tzoojuann*, Duke Shiang, 3rd year; Legge, p. 418⁸.
- 192 *Hwainantzzy*, J. 3, *SBTK*, p. 11B⁷⁻⁸.
- 193 *Hwainantzzy*, J. 3, *SBTK*, p. 11B⁷.
- 194 *Chyanhannshu*, J. 70, ed. Wang Shianchian, Small ed., p. 19A⁴.
- 195 *Guwen-tuanjiam*, J. XXIII, p. 31B⁶⁻⁷.
- 196 *Shyuntzzy*, J. 20, No. 30, *SBTK*, p. 16B¹⁻².
- 197 *Harn Shy Wayjuann*, J. 10, *SBTK*, p. 14A⁷⁻⁸; Hightower, p. 341.
- 198 *Mencius*, IV A XIII, 2; Legge, p. 180.
- 199 *Harnfeitzyy*, J. 1, *SBTK*, p. 1A⁵; Liao, p. 2; and *Janngwotseh*, *SBTK*, J. 3, p. 64A¹¹.
- 200 *Harn Shy Wayjuann*, J. 1, *SBTK*, p. 3A²⁻³; Hightower, p. 15.
- 201 *Mencius*, III A III, 19; Legge, p. 121.
- 202 *Dah Day Lijih*, *SBTK*, J. 1, p. 3B¹⁻².
- 203 *Yantieeluenn*, J. 3, p. 6B⁶; Gale, p. 94.
- 204 *Goantzzy*, J. 22, No. 72, *SBTK*, p. 2A⁹.
- 205 *Goantzzy*, J. 1, No. 5, *SBTK*, p. 17A¹⁰.
- 206 *Gongyangjuann*, Duke Dinq, 12th year, *SBTK*, J. 11, p. 10A¹.
- 207 *Lijih*, III, Sect. III, 4; Legge, p. 223.
- 208 *Janngwotseh*, *SBTK*, J. 5, p. 18B⁵.
- 209 *Shyyjih*, J. 70, *Bairwen* Ed., line 138.