

## GRAMMATICAL NOTES

## II

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夫 fu<sup>1</sup>

The particle 夫 *fu* is given scant attention by Gabelentz in his *Chinesische Grammatik* and it is only with difficulty that the student is able to follow up his notes from the index, due to the fact that 夫 *fu* is not dealt with separately as final particle, as definite article, and as (pleonastic) pronoun.<sup>2</sup>

夫 *fu* can be found, not infrequently, isolated or with a concluding 者 *che*. Thus one can find

I Unattached 夫 *fu*

(1) as a definite article, e.g.

丨佳兵 “the good weapons of war”: *Tao-teh-king* Ch. 31.

小子. 何莫學 | 詩 “you (my) children, why does not one of you study the songs (the Book of Poetry)?”: *Lun-yü* XVII, 9, 1.

食 | 稻. 衣 | 錦 “to eat (the) good rice and wear (the) embroidered clothes”: *Lun-yü* XVII, 21, 4.

(2) as a relative pronoun, e.g.

丨輕諾. 必寡信 “those (who) lightly say ‘yes’, certainly scarcely keep their word”: *Tao-teh-king* Ch. 63.

perhaps also 君子疾 | 舍曰欲之 “the superior man dislikes those that decline to say ‘We desire it’”: *Lun-yü* XVI, 1, 9.

## II (Pleonastic) or emphatic 夫 with concluding 者

(1) as a definite article, e.g.

是故惡 | 佞者 “on this account I hate (the) glib-tongued people”: *Lun-yü* XI, 24, 4.

丨仁者 “the benevolent one” (“the man of perfect virtue”): *Lun-yü* VI, 28, 2.

丨孝者 “the filial piety” (or: “the filial one”): *Chung-yung* XIX, 2.

<sup>1</sup> The following notes refer partly to research undertaken by Conrady. I have extended this research and have brought it up to date.

<sup>2</sup> For Gabelentz's mistaken view of 夫 as preposition see p. 164.

I presume that we are dealing here with a construction such as 其...者 “he (or they) who” (with intermediate predicate).<sup>1</sup> 夫 emphasizes the 者 but even so it may yet contain a conjunction, e.g.

夫以百畝之不易爲己憂者. 農夫也 “But he who has anxiety about his hundred *mow* not being properly cultivated, is a mere husbandman”: (Legge) *Mêng-tzú* III, 1, IV, 9.

(2) as a relative pronoun, e.g.

使夫知者 ..... “and he causes those who know (i.e. the knowalls) not to dare to do”: *Tao-teh-king* Ch. 3.

謂夫莫之禁而弗爲者也 “I was speaking of that which one refrains from doing without being prevented from doing it.”: *Mêng-tzú* VII, 1, XXXIX, 4.<sup>2</sup>

All those functions refer to the demonstrative basic meaning of the word (“this” “that”?) and this is still clearly illustrated, e.g. in 丨何故 “this why?” (“what is the reason?”): *Tao-teh-king* Ch. 50<sup>3</sup> and occasionally in connection with 者, e.g. 丨兩者 “those two”: *Tao-teh-king* Ch. 63; 丨禮者 “this propriety” (*ibid.*, Ch. 38). However the definite article might have been intended in this last example as one might also translate 丨佞者 “those glib-tongued people”. The border-line is fluid; 夫 sometimes indicates a definite concrete object, sometimes more generally a species of objects. This quality it has in common with the Latin demonstrative pronoun “ille” which points to a distant object, in contrast to “hic” which denotes a nearer object, and its meaning tends to be weakened to the definite article (which it eventually became in the derivative languages). Similarly (as with pictures and comparisons) *fu* is frequently used particularly in poetry, e.g. by K'üeh Yüan<sup>4</sup> in the 九歌 *Kiu-ko* where it is often not possible to determine whether it is meant to be the definite article or a demonstrative pronoun, e.g. (a) the definite article, *ibid.*, 1, 12<sup>b</sup>: 夫百草; *ibid.*, 5<sup>b</sup>: 丨民 “the people”; 丨美人 = the beautiful (=the prince); (b) a demonstrative pronoun, e.g. *ibid.*, 1, 13<sup>a</sup>: 丨蕙 “the timid ones”; 1, 13<sup>b</sup>: 佩 (besides 茲佩) “the esteemed ones”. In *ibid.*, 4, 12<sup>a</sup>: 夫人 it is impossible to ascertain whether 夫 acts as article or demonstrative pronoun. K'üeh Yüan often uses 夫 to refer to a well-known matter, e.g. in *Yüan-yü* verse 69: 忽臨睨夫舊鄉 “Suddenly I looked down on this (i.e. my) old country.”<sup>5</sup>

The pre-classical equivalents for 夫 are 彼 *pi* and (not as frequently used) 此 *tz'ü*. They make the speech lively by giving it a pictorial quality.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Gabelentz, *loc. cit.*, § 471.

<sup>2</sup> But see Legge, *Ch. Cl.*, 11, p. 349; Wilhelm, *Mong Tsi*, p. 168.

<sup>3</sup> Strauss, *Tao-teh-king*, p. 222: “Warum das?”; Carus, *The Canon of Reason and Virtue*, p. 108: “what is the reason?”.

<sup>4</sup> *Ch'u-tz'ü* (ed. 1872).

<sup>5</sup> Cf. F. Biallas in *A.M.*, VII, p. 225.

Sometimes (particularly in the *Shi-king* and *T'ien-wên*) one cannot be sure whether the appropriate demonstrative pronoun was not accompanied and reinforced by a gesture.

Just how the relative function has developed from the demonstrative basic meaning is shown, by analogy, in the pre-classical language where a relative clause is not infrequently formed with the help of preceding demonstrative pronouns as 彼, 此, 時 (= 是), 乃, etc. . . . This is a very primitive construction but even so stages ahead of the pure parataxis which is also frequently found in the pre-classical language. But it already indicates a third stage of development: a preceding demonstrative pronoun (彼, 此) with an appended demonstrative 者 (after 斯). In the majority of cases it is the 者 which is the sole surviving relic in the classical language. Gabelentz was well aware of the above-mentioned difference of the function of 夫 but does not appear to have been able to explain it, and consequently he describes the function of 夫 in certain examples (mostly from *Lun-yü*) as doubtful = the preposition 乎 (= 於). And even his own example taken from *Ta-hioh* (X, 16) is more likely to belong to the examples of definite article.<sup>1</sup>

### III 夫 *fu* as a numeral.

As I have already pointed out in an earlier article 夫 *fu* is also used as a numeral, e.g.

- (1) 三百.....夫: *Chou-shu*, *Toh-yih* = *Shi-ki* 4, 4.<sup>2</sup>  
 (2) 良獻 (= 賢) 有十夫 "ten men of worth among the people . . .":  
*Shu-king* V, 7, 5.

See similar constructions with 人 *jen* in *Shi-king* I, 3, VII, 3 and 4: 有子七人, etc. This is a feature common to all the languages of the Indo-Chinese language group.

The following compounds with 夫 *fu* are to be noted:

#### (A) 夫誰 *fu shui*

夫 before an interrogatory pronoun such as: 誰, 孰, 何 is commonly found in *Lao-tzū* and *K'üh-Yüan* (*Ch'ü-tz'e*). I am not yet quite sure of its exact significance. But it is probably the demonstrative pronoun 夫 "this" and the entire phrase means *eorum quis* "who (of all those)" like the even more generally found 其誰, 其孰 the explanation of which is probably similar,<sup>3</sup> e.g.

<sup>1</sup> *Chinesische Grammatik*, § 758.

<sup>2</sup> *Zum 44. Kapitel des Chou-shu* in Jubiläumsband *D.G.N.V.O.*, 1933, o. 171.

<sup>3</sup> So in some passages in the *Shi-king* e.g. I, 9, III, 1, 2: 其誰知之 etc. and *Tso-chuan* 8, 9a, 2nd year of Duke Min (*Ch. Cl.* V, 127) . . . 有子未知其誰立焉 "I have sons, I do not yet know which of those I shall appoint my successor"; further *Tso-chuan*, 1st year of Duke Min (*Ch. Cl.* V, 2, 6). Also in *Chou-shu* 9/64/36: 由舜而不 | 廣德. Cf. also 其誰語 "with whom should I thus talk" in *Yüan-yu* of *K'üh Yuan*. (See *A.M.* VII, p. 181.)

. . . 夫誰與王敵 "Those plunge into pit-falls and drown their people. If Your Majesty will to punish them, who (of all these) will oppose Your Majesty?": *Mêng-tzū* I, 1, V, 5 = *Ch. Cl.*, II, 12.

So also *T'ien-wên* 5a (strophe 83, verse 164): 夫誰畏懼 "who (of all these) was frightened about it?"<sup>1</sup>

#### (B) 夫唯 *fu wei*.

This compound (very frequent in *Lao-tzū*, also with concluding 者) has not yet been sufficiently examined.

#### (C) 今夫 *kin fu*.

今夫 is usually used in order to introduce the second premise of a syllogism. 今 "now" (just as our "now") has this function alone but it reinforces the 夫 which at the opening of a sentence is "conjunctive and demonstrative pronoun at the same time" (in Gabelentz's words): "this . . . now" ("dieser . . . nun", oder nun . . . der", "nun . . . dieser"). Therefore 今夫 is "now but". Cf. Gabelentz, *loc. cit.*, § 1383 which is quite inadequate. He only quotes one example from *Chung-yung*, XXVI, 9: 今夫天 . . . 今夫地 "Porro illud coelum . . . porro illa terra." (Couvreur). But cf. also the second example in *loc. cit.* § 311: 今夫水搏而躍之 "But now this water, if struck and having splashed": ("porro aqua, si percutias et subsilientem facias eam" [Couvreur]); *Mêng-tzū* VI, 1, II, 3 = *Ch. Cl.* II, 272 and comp. also *Mêng-tzū* I, 1, VI, 6: 今夫天下之人牧 "But now among the shepherds of men throughout the empire."

#### (D) 夫然 (故) *fu jan (ku)*.

Gabelentz in § 1412 of his grammar: "dem ist nun so; daher". To the one example he gives the following may be added:

(a) | | | 大國之君不尊 "Thus (that being so) the princes of the great Empire (were) not respected": *Kuan-tzū* 8 (20) 22 b.

(b) 夫然則關弗市乎 "if that is so (if things are thus arranged) then there will be stillness in the passes and peace in the markets": *Chou-shu*, 4, 39, 7.

(c) Cf. also *Chou-shu*, 4 (39) 8a: | | 則有生而失其宜.

Cf. also 夫如是 *fu ju shih* "wenn dem nun so ist" in Gabelentz, *loc. cit.* 1430, e.g.:

(d) 夫如是. 奚其喪 "If that is so, why does he not perish?": *Lun-yü*. XIV, xx, 1. Cf. also § 583.

#### (E) Final 矣夫 *i-fu*.

Final 矣夫 *i-fu* found in exclamations with similar effect as 矣乎 *i-hu* in Gabelentz, *loc. cit.*, 1322 (cf. also *loc. cit.*, 1316, 1317).

<sup>1</sup> Conrady-Erkes, *T'ien-wên. Die Himmelsfragen des K'üh Yüan*, 1931, p. 139.

(F) 及夫 *chi-fu*.

With regard to 及夫 *chi fu* see Zach, *Sinologische Beiträge* I, Batavia 1930, No. 361 with examples from Li-ki and Tu fu.

(G) 且夫 *ch'ieh-fu*.

且夫 *ch'ieh-fu* (or 今且 *chin ch'ieh*) is mentioned by Gabelentz in § 524b with a meaning "um ferner", "um erst", but he does not give examples. I know it only with a meaning "further" ("moreover"). Cf. *Chuang-tzū* I (1), 2a: 丨丨水之積也 "Further (moreover) the water's accumulation." 且夫 like 今且 is used to connect sentences, e.g. 且夫天地爲鑪, 造化爲工 "Thus if Heaven and Earth are a large smelting-pot and God (Tao) (lit. who brings about changes) a labourer": Kia Ngi's *Fuh-fu*, verse 13. This verse has been taken over from *Chuang-tzū*, by a skilful play with the meaning of 爲. There, 3 (6) 11a, it says: 今丨以天地爲大鑪. 以造化爲大冶 "Thus (moreover) if we accept Heaven and Earth to be a large smelting-pot and God (Tao) a great caster."

(H) 也夫 *yeh fu*.

The following notes concerning 也夫 *yeh fu* are based on information by E. v. Zach which he sent to me after publication of his articles in *A.M.* entitled: *Zum Aufbau der Gabelentzschen Grammatik*. I do not know whether he had published them. They are given in English below. "G. von der Gabelentz states in § 1323 of his *Chinesische Grammatik* that *yeh fu* at the end of a sentence expresses a *surprising certainty* on the part of the speaker and he quotes as an example from the *Tso-chuan*: 能學善也夫 "he was certainly able to exalt good men ("er war freilich wohl in stande, die Guten zu erheben"). Legge, *Ch. Cl. V*, 420, translates: "he was indeed able to put forward good men". However if we consult the Manchu version, we find there: *ere sain be tukiyeme mutehe de kai*, "this was a result (or: thanks to) of his capacity to promote able men".

Other examples are:

- (1) *Tso-chuan*, 2nd year of Duke Ch'êng (Legge, *Ch. Cl. V*, 342<sub>10</sub>):  
子之力也夫 "the victory was due to you" (m.: *sini hōsun de kai*).
- (2) *Tso-chuan*, 9th year of Duke Ch'êng (Legge, *Ch. Cl. V*, 369<sub>19</sub>):  
無備也夫 "this result was all from the want of preparation" (m. *belhehekō ofi kai*).
- (3) *Tso-chuan*, 1st year of Duke Ch'ao (Legge, *Ch. Cl. V*, 572<sub>17</sub>):  
莒展之不立棄人也夫 "Chen's not maintaining himself in Keu was owing to his throwing men from him" (m. *gioi gurun i jan ilihakōngge, niyalma be waliyaha turgun*).

- (4) *Tso-chuan*, 16th year of Duke Ch'ao (Legge, *Ch. Cl. V*, 661<sub>2</sub>):  
無伯也夫 "such is the consequence of there being no leader!" (m. *culgan i da akō turgun kai*).
- (5) *Tso-chuan*, 30th year of Duke Siang (Legge, *Ch. Cl. V*, 554<sub>12</sub>):  
卿不審, 不信也夫 "the ministers are not recorded because they did not keep their good faith" (m. *saitu be arahakōngge, akdun akō ofi kai*).
- (6) Other examples are to be found in *Tso-chuan*, *Ch. Cl. V*, 190<sub>7</sub>, 315<sub>9</sub>, 334<sub>13</sub>, 362<sub>2</sub>, 392<sub>18</sub>, 505<sub>9</sub>, 10, 559<sub>13</sub>, 823<sub>6</sub> and in
- (7) *Chuang-tzū* (Text of Taoism, I, 174): 夫子猶有蓬之心也夫 "this has come about because you have, as it were, an obstructed heart, oh master".  
From all these examples it is clear that in the compound *yeh fu* ("this is the result of . . ." "dies ist die Folge von . . .") the 也 must be interpreted causally as is the case frequently in the *Tso-chuan*, whereas 夫 probably functions here as a definite particle similar to the clause concluding 也 (cf. § 482: "dies bedeutet, dies ist . . ."); 也 could not be used for that purpose as otherwise two 也 would have followed one another.  
However there are two examples in the *Tso-chuan* for which the above explanation would appear to be inadequate. There 夫 must have a *doubtful* meaning or must be an exclamation of surprise.  
Compare:
- (8) *Tso-chuan*, 14th year of Duke Ch'ao (Legge, *Ch. Cl.*, 654<sub>19</sub>):  
不爲末減, 曰義也夫, 可謂直矣 "whether we may say that he was righteous (in making no abatement) is doubtful, but he may be pronounced to have been straightforward" (m. *eberembume gamahakōngge be jurgangga semeo sijirhōn seci ombi*).
- (9) *Tso-chuan*, 14th year of Duke Ch'ao (Legge, *Ch. Cl. V*, 655):  
猶義也夫 "but this has the semblance of righteousness only" (m. *ineku jurgan i adali dere*).  
Thus wrote E. v. Zach who frequently allowed himself to be influenced by the Manchu translation. One can, of course, explain examples 1-7 by Gabelentz's original basic meaning expressed in § 1323, viz. that 也夫 at the end of a sentence expresses a surprising certainty of the speaker. And Examples 8 and 9 in a sense belong to this category, particularly if one thinks of that characteristic feature of Chinese which allows contrasts (or graduation of meaning) to be expressed by one and the same word. Carl Abel in *Über den Gegensinn der Urworte*, Leipzig 1884, thought that he had found this characteristic in other language groups. Further research in the field of the Indo-germanic languages has, as far as I know, not confirmed—has even refuted—the theory of contrasting meanings first put forward by Abel. However that may be, it is certain that this feature is to be found in

Chinese, as Conrady in particular has proved on various occasions with quite a number of apt examples.<sup>1</sup> This may account, then, for the contrasting meanings (of certainty and doubt) in the examples discussed above.

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<sup>1</sup> Of the many examples I shall only deal with one: 汚 (汙) *wu* (also written 污) belongs to such words which have a contrary meaning, for in the first tone (spoken *-wu*<sup>1</sup>) it means: "dirty, foul, filthy, muddy", etc. ("schmutzig"), e.g. in *Shu-king* III, 4, 6 (汙俗 "filthy manners") and in the fourth tone (*wu*<sup>4</sup>) it means "to wash" ("to wash dirt out") "to clean" (through rubbing, beating or grinding) = "to rub it pure", e.g. in *Shu-king* I, 1, II, 3: 薄汚我私 "my private clothes I wash and rinse my robes" and Chu Hsi explains the 汚 thus: 汚煩擗之以克其汚. 猶治亂而曰亂也 "*wu* means to rub something (between the hands)" in order to remove its dirt as *chi-luan* ("to remove disorder") means *luan* ("order")—what looks like a lucus-a-non-lucendo explanation but nevertheless states an undeniable fact.