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Where Do Classical Chinese Nouns Come From?

With Some Notes on a Syntactic Hybrid in *Koinē* Greek

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Owing to the pioneering contributions to Chinese linguistics by Bernhard Karlgren and many others, very considerable progress has been made in the reconstruction of the ancient Chinese sound system. Interesting hypotheses have been proposed on the internal morphology of ancient Chinese syllables, and important contributions have been made on this basis to the study of Classical Chinese syntax. Also, from a traditional, philological point of view, such scholars as Lü Shuxiang, Mullie, and many others have since added considerably to our understanding of Chinese particles.

The present experimental essay, based partly on methods expounded by me previously (1980, 1982), approaches some fundamental problems in Chinese grammar not from a phonological or etymological point of view, and not from a traditional philological point of view, but from the point of view of logic and the philosophy of language. In Aspects of Classical Chinese Syntax (1981, hereafter Aspects) I have applied the principles of logic to the study of quantification, negation, conditionals, and to pronominalization. I believe I have shown that Classical Chinese grammar can be made more precise by circumspect use of logical analysis.

In standard, formal logic there are no verbs and nouns, there are only predicates: a subject noun may be interpreted in logic as a classificatory predicate in a subordinate position; the object noun is interpreted as a classificatory predicate in an embedded position. In this regard, a nominal predicate differs from a verbal predicate mainly in that the nominal predicate is classificatory (neither narrative nor descriptive).

From a grammatical point of view the distinction between nouns and verbs is morphologically manifest in a language like Greek in which nouns neither look like nor work like verbs in that

language. In a language like Classical Chinese, however, the
nominal nature of nouns is syntactically manifest: nouns occupy
different positions in the sentence and interact differently with
certain particles.

The question underlying and inspiring this exploratory and
highly tentative study is this: what if grammarians of Chinese
could learn something not only from the paradigm of the usual
categories like "noun" and "verb," but also from the paradigm of
the logical predicates in the representation of propositions in
standard first order predicate logic? What if Chinese nouns and
verbs in some ways work like predicates in logic?

The concrete and empirical hypothesis I want to test, then,
is the following: do Chinese nouns and noun phrases show any
syntactic signs of being, like verbs, capable of functioning as
main predications in sentences without a copula, but differing
from verbs firstly by the position they occupy in the sentence and
secondly in being classificatory rather than narrative or descrip-
tive predicates? I shall not be arguing that there is no
difference between nouns and verbs in Classical Chinese. On the
contrary, I shall try to define what it is to be a noun and a verb
in Classical Chinese in terms not taken--in the traditional philo-
logical manner--from translation into a European language, but
from internal Chinese grammatical evidence.

I am aware that my approach may seem bizarre and unnatural to
those who are not used to handling standard first order predicate
logic. Most of us, after all, are not used to handling artificial
languages like that of logic. Moreover, we are naturally reluc-
tant to use an artificial language as an inspiration for the
interpretation of a natural language.

I am also aware that my conclusions are far from conclusive
or clear-cut. The picture emerging of the nominal predicate, the
subject, and the nominalized subject in my interpretation seems to
me plausible enough, and significantly superior to traditional
accounts. But when it comes to the object and especially the
nominal modifier, my analysis remains highly tentative and offers
little new insight.

My subject is so broad and so central to the study of Chinese
syntax that I could, and perhaps should, have kept on working away
quietly, waiting for others more experienced than myself to pro-
nounce on matters of this order of importance and generality.

But if this paper provokes or inspires my more experienced
colleagues to enter into a lively and informed discussion on basic
questions of Classical Chinese syntax and perhaps to provide

evidence against my conclusions, I shall feel most amply rewarded
—I shall not have made a fool of myself in vain. If it takes a
fool to make Classical Chinese grammar into more of a fröhliche
Wissenschaft I shall be delighted to play the part.

1. THE NOMINAL PREDICATE

Consider the Classical Chinese sentences that are construed
as nominal in current grammatical descriptions of the language.
For example:

(1) 禮也

RITUAL YE
It is in accordance with ritual.

(2) 非禮也

NOM-NEG(FEI) RITUAL YE
It is not in accordance with ritual.

Symptoms of the nominality of such sentences are the presence of
the particle ye sometimes said to function as a postposed copula;
the presence of the negative fei 非 often said to be a nominal
negative or a negative copula; and the impossibility of the nega-
tive bu 不 often said to be a verbal negative. Another striking
feature of the nominal sentence is the absence in all such sen-
tences of the aspectual final particle yi 矣 which is restricted
to verbal predicates.

The grammatical distinction between nominal and verbal
sentences in Classical Chinese would thus appear to be a well-
established fundamental feature of Classical Chinese sentence
typology.

1.1 Final ye 也

The "postposed copula" ye turns out to be quite unsuitable as
a standard of nominality of a Classical Chinese predicate. As I
have demonstrated (Harbsmeier 1980), post-verbal ye is very common
in Classical Chinese, and part of the function of post-verbal ye
is to convert a narrative or descriptive sentence into a judge-
mental or disquisitional one:

(3) 我 必 不 仁 也

I CERTAINLY NOT(<u>BU</u>) HUMANE <u>YE</u>
I am certainly to be counted as not humane. Meng 4B28; cf. Xun
30.11, etc.

What makes this case so clear is the presence of the verbal nega-
tive <u>bu</u> 不 , but even when we do not have <u>bu</u>, <u>ye</u> does not always
mark a nominal predication:

(4) 虎 狼 仁 也

TIGER WOLF HUMANE <u>YE</u>
Tigers and wolves would count as humane. Zhuang 14.6

Note that <u>ren</u> 仁 is quite common as a noun, and still cannot be
taken as one in this example, in spite of the presence of the
final <u>ye</u>.

      Now in view of the last two examples the problem arises,
whether to take <u>ren</u> verbally or nominally in the following
examples:

(5) 分 均 仁 也

DIVIDE EVEN HUMANE <u>YE</u>
A. Dividing the booty equally counts as humane.
B. Dividing the booty equally counts as humaneness. Zhuang 10.12

(6) 貴 賢 仁 也
     賤 不 肖 亦 仁 也

HONOR TALENTED HUMANE <u>YE</u>
HUMBLE NOT(<u>BU</u>) BE-UP-T<u>O</u>-IT NONE-THE-LESS-ALSO GOOD <u>YE</u>
A. Honoring the competent counts as humane, but showing no
     respect to the incompetent also counts as humane.
B. Honoring the competent counts as humaneness, but showing no
     respect to the incompetent also counts as humaneness.
     Xun 6.21

The decisive question at this point is the following: do the
alternatives A and B above mark a sharp structural ambiguity
inherent in Classical Chinese syntax, or do these alternatives
just represent two ways of verbalizing in English the content of
these sentences? Would a speaker of Classical Chinese recognize

our last two examples as structurally ambiguous in the way indi-
cated by alternatives A and B?

     One might think that in the case of identificatory nominal
predicates, at least, the problem will go away, but in fact it
won't:

(7)   一者何也？
      曰：仁也

ONE THAT-WHICH(ZHE) WHAT YE
SAY: HUMANE(REN) YE
What is this one thing?
It is (identical with) humaneness.   Meng 6B6

Is not this sort of sentence prima facie evidence that ren means
"be identical with humaneness?" That would explain why we
construe ren zhe 仁者 , HUMANE HE-WHO/THAT-WHICH, either as "he
who is humane" or as "that which is identical with being humane."

     If we assume that this sort of identificatory predicate is a
specialized (i.e., identificatory) classificatory verb then we
achieve a unified account for post-nominal and post-verbal ye. Ye
turns out to be obligatory in identificatory sentences not because
the predicate is nominal (as traditional accounts have it) but
because the predicate is always used in the judgemental mode of
predication. One always judges two things to be identical.

     There may still be uncertainty about the details in the
interpretation of post-verbal ye, but this will in no way affect
our present argument as long as one recognizes that the VP
followed by ye is not nominalized. And that much must be uncon-
troversial even on the evidence presented in this section.[1]

     Since final ye, no matter precisely how we will account for
its post-verbal uses, will not be suitable to serve as a criterion
for the nominality of a predicate, one might be tempted to turn to
te "nominal" negative fei 非 for help. After all, one might try
to say that a predicate must count as nominal if it would be
negated with fei rather than the "verbal" negative bu 不 . Let us
look at the evidence.

1.2 **Pre-verbal fei**

Consider the pattern fei 非 ...ye 也 :

(8) 王非置兩令尹也

KING NOT-BE(FEI) APPOINT TWO CHIEF-MINISTERS YE
A king will not appoint two Chief Ministers. ZGC I.108

(9) 吾非愛道也

I NOT-BE(FEI) LOVE/BEGRUDGE SPEAK YE
It is not as if I was stingy with words... LSCQ 24.5

(10) 吾非能相人也

I NOT-BE(FEI) CAN PHYSIOGNOMIZE MAN YE
It is not as if I was able to physiognomize... LSCQ 24.6

(11) 紇非能害也

PROPER-NAME NOT-BE(FEI) CAN HARM YE
It is not as if I could harm people... Zuo Xiang 23.11[2]

One may want to disagree about the precise force of this sort of
pre-verbal **fei** as presented in **Aspects** 1.1, but there can be no
doubt that the scope of **fei** in sentences like (8) to (11) is
verbal, not nominal. In (8) we do not have a nominal predicate
"be (a case of) an appointment of two Chief Ministers." Similar
observations apply to all the examples of pre-verbal **fei** adduced
in **Aspects** 1.1.

Given, then, that we have a wide range of sentences with pre-
verbal **fei**, the negative **fei** ceases to be a suitable criterion for
the nominality of the predicate in its scope.

In view of this, contemplate now the following example:

(12) 殺一無罪非仁也

KILL ONE LACK CRIME NOT-BE(FEI) HUMANE YE
A. It is not humane to kill (as much as) one innocent person.
B. Killing one innocent person is not a case of humaneness.
    Meng 7A33

In the first place: is it not (excuse me) analytically bloody-
minded to insist that there is a sharp syntactic contrast in
Classical Chinese between the reading A and B? Second: is it not
grammatically wrong-headed to insist that **fei** marks nominal predi-

cates in sentences like (12)? What, in any case, would one mean
in terms of Classical Chinese by saying that the predicate in (12)
is nominal, once _fei_ and _ye_ are no longer available as criteria?
Surely, the argument from possible alternative translations into
English is out of court. What, then, is the internal Classical
Chinese evidence for a dichotomy between A and B?

     Consider the connectives _yu_ 與 WITH and _er_ 而 AND/THEN.
One might be tempted to say that a nominal predicate would have to
be conjoined with _yu_, while a verbal predicate would have to be
conjoined with _er_. This indeed would be an interesting test. But
the Classical Chinese evidence on conjoined nominal predicates in
_yu_ is deplorably slim, and in the case of non-identificatory
nominal predicates my suspicion is that _er_ rather than _yu_ would be
acceptable.

     Reconsider now even a standard nominal sentence like:

(13) (非)禮也

(NOT-BE[_FEI_]) RITUAL _YE_
A. It was (not) ritually correct.
B. It was (not) (an instance of) ritually correct behavior.
    Passim

How do we tell whether this sort of non-identificatory "nominal"
predicate would be conjoined with a grammatically similar predi-
cate by _yu_ or _er_? Wherein consists the alleged nouniness of the
predicate in (13)? How can one be sure that the predicate in (13)
is to be construed as in B and not as in A? And most importantly:
how do we know that a native speaker of Classical Chinese has to
make a syntactic choice between readings A and B in the first
place? (And remember that the arguments from _fei_ or from _ye_ have
no force in this connection.)

     Until clear arguments to the contrary are forthcoming one is
tempted to diagnose syntactic indeterminacy for sentences like
(12), and perhaps even for (13). Such syntactic indeterminacy
would be the grammatical _pendant_ to the stylistic phenomenon of
suspended ambiguity. There is nothing more outrageous about syn-
tactic indeterminacy in grammar than there is about suspended
ambiguity in literature.

     Understanding suspended ambiguity in literature involves the
ability to take the coexistent readings of a sentence with a pinch
of salt. Grasping syntactic indeterminacy involves the ability to
take rigid syntactic structures with a pinch of salt. If you read
literature in a bloody-minded way you will miss out on the subtle
suspended ambiguities that often enliven and enrich literary works

of art. If you analyze sentences in a bloody-minded way you will
miss out on the suspended ambiguities of grammatical structure
that enliven and enrich sentences. Among other things you will
miss out on the important phenomena of syntactic indeterminacy.

     But even if one admits that the distinction between nominal
and verbal predicates is systematically blurred in Classical
Chinese one might still insist that at least for complex nominal
predicates the case is crystal clear. Surely, one might feel,
there is a world of difference between a nominal and a verbal head
of a complex phrase. Let us consider the evidence.

1.3 Pre-nominal zhi 之

     Consider the function of zhi in a compound nominal predicate.
The current, and very plausible, view is that this zhi marks the
fact that one noun phrase or complex verb phrase modifies another
noun phrase. On our new view of the noun as basically a classifi-
catory verb we will construe zhi as nominalizing throughout.

(14) 此 匹 夫 之 勇 也

THIS COMMONER ZHI COURAGE YE
This is a commoner's that which is identical with courage.
Meng 1B2

(15) 北 宮 黝 之 養 勇 也

PROPER-NAME ZHI CULTIVATE COURAGE YE
Such a case is Beigong You's that which is identical with
cultivating courage. Meng 2A2

It turns out that the "genitival" zhi in (14) can be interpreted
in exactly the same way as the "nominalizing" zhi in (15), if we
take nouns as classificatory verbs. The connection between "geni-
tival" and "nominalizing" zhi becomes transparent. Zhi may always
be construed as a nominalizer. It can nominalize both classifica-
tory and non-classificatory predicates. And since zhi indeed
nominalizes[3] the predicate it precedes, it naturally cannot pre-
cede a predicate in its narrative function. Therefore zhi does
not mark adverbial modification in Classical Chinese.

     It is plausible to assume that the "genitival" zhi derives
historically from the demonstrative zhi as in zhi ren 之 人 "this
man." My new account of pre-nominal zhi may look historically
implausible until one realizes that the function of a demonstra-
tive, from a logical point of view, is to create a referring

expression of some sort from an expression that would not by
itself be referring in the same way without the demonstrative.

Conclusion

If we take what we translate as predicate nouns in Classical
Chinese as essentially classificatory verbs we get a natural uni-
fied account of the particles ye, fei, and zhi. If we furthermore
assume that these Classical Chinese classificatory verbs, because
of their special classificatory meaning, often have a final zhe
understood, then the similarities with what we are used to as
nouns in many other languages are also naturally and systemati-
cally accounted for.

The evidence for our assumption that Classical Chinese nouns
are basically classificatory verbs is not limited to the simplifi-
cation of our grammatical description of Classical Chinese nominal
predicates which it enables us to achieve. If this assumption is
correct we would expect a wide range of syntactic evidence for the
verbality or predicativeness of Classical Chinese nouns in other
than predicative positions. For example in subject or topic
position.

2. THE NOMINAL SUBJECT

From a logical point of view the subject/predicate sentence
involves two predications, not one. In

(16) Confucius is wise

an item is said to be identical with Confucius and that same item
is said to be an example of wisdom. We may paraphrase (16) from a
logical point of view as "The one who is Confucius is wise," or
even "Someone is Confucius and he is wise."

On the other hand a sentence like:

(17) Confucians are wise

may be made more logically transparent by a paraphrase like "If
someone is a Confucian then he is wise." From a logical point of
view, then, the grammatical subject--like the grammatical predi-
cate--ascribes a property, etc., to an object in the world.
Subject and predicate differ only in the style or mode in which
they ascribe the properties in question. The subject property is
typically introduced in a presuppositional way (e.g., an item is
presupposed to be Confucius and asserted to be wise), or in a

subordinate way (e.g., assuming someone is a Confucian, then he
will be wise).

For a language like English or Classical Greek such consider-
ations as these remain abstract and are of little obvious
practical use in the description of the syntax of those languages.
I hope to show that the case is different for Classical Chinese.
The hypothesis that Classical Chinese subjects are non-main predi-
cates of a classificatory kind leads to the simplification of many
fundamentally puzzling features of Classical Chinese syntax. Some
of these will be listed below.

2.1 <u>The final particle ye</u> 也 <u>after the subject/topic</u>

Like the nominal predicate, the nominal subject—notably
<u>nomina propria</u> in direct speech, but also other subjects—may be
marked by <u>ye</u>. On our interpretation of the Classical Chinese noun
both the <u>ye</u> in the following example will be explained along
similar lines:

(18)　曠也太師也

PERSONAL-NAME <u>YE</u> GRAND MUSIC-MASTER <u>YE</u>
(X is identical with Kuang and he is the Grand Music Master,
i.e.:) Kuang is the Grand Music Master. <u>Li Ji</u>, "Tan Gong," I.222
(3 examples)

Karlgren (1951) suggests that <u>ye</u> should here be understood as a
resumptive pronoun, rather on the lines of the German "<u>Der Schmidt
ist eben gekommen</u>," etc.[a] It would have been more appropriate for
him to quote sentences like "<u>Hans der spinnt wohl</u>!" with a post-
poned demonstrative pronoun. This is highly implausible in view
of sentences like the following all of which come from the very
Tan Gong which Karlgren uses extensively but none of which he
quotes:

(19)　今斯師也殺厲也

NOW THIS ARMY <u>YE</u> KILL CONTAGIOUSLY-ILL
Now this army has killed contagiously ill people. <u>Li Ji</u>, "Tan
Gong," I.219

(20)　斯子也必多曠於禮矣夫

THIS SON <u>YE</u> CERTAINLY MUCH NEGLECT IN RITUAL <u>YI FU</u>
This son certainly has much neglected rituals. <u>Li Ji</u>, "Tan Gong,"
I.219

(21) 夫夫也為習於禮者

THIS(FU) MAN YE DO/BE PRACTICE IN RITUAL HE-WHO(ZHI)
This man is well versed in ritual. Li Ji, "Tan Gong," I.152

(22) 是夫也多也

THIS(SHI) MAN YE MANY WORDS
This man has much to say. Li Ji, "Tan Gong," I.218

    There are earlier examples:

(23) 夫也不良

HUSBAND YE NOT GOOD
My husband is not good.   Shi 141.1 and 2[b]

But this sort of ye, I suppose, one might want to attribute to the
special style of early poetry.

    Next, we have a case where a name, Confucius, functions as a
first person pronoun, i.e., not as "he, Confucius," but as "I,
Confucius":

(24) 丘也嘗使於楚矣

CONFUCIUS YE ONCE EMPLOY IN PLACE-NAME YI
I was once employed in Chu.   Zhuang 5.33[c]

Not: "Der Konfuzius war einmal...."

    Again, we have a case where ye comes after a noun in
pronominal function:

(25) 臣也以臣之事觀之

SERVANT YE USE SERVANT'S BUSINESS LOOK-AT IT
I will look at this from the point of view of a minister.   Zhuang
13.71

We are almost inclined to construe literally: "I, being a
minister, will look at this from the point of view of a minister's
business."

We also have _ye_ after time topics:

(26) 古也墓而不坟

ANCIENT YE BURY BUT NOT MAKE-TUMULUS
In ancient times they buried the dead but did not make a tumulus.
Li Ji, "Tan Gong," I.113[d]

Correspondingly we have:

(27) 易墓非古也

WEED GRAVE NOT(FEI) ANCIENT YE
The practice of weeding the grave was not ancient. Li Ji, "Tang
Gong," I.149[e]

On our new account of Classical Chinese nouns these two _gu ye_
古也 will be explained along the same principles. It will be
noted that the above examples, including perhaps even the quota-
tion from the old Book of Songs, occur in direct speech. The _ye_
we are talking about probably was a special feature of ancient
colloquial Chinese, as Karlgren claims. Similiar observations, it
will be found, apply to the Koinē Greek phenomena discussed below.

In the context of the present discussion it is important to
remember firstly, that we do also have _ye_ after other than
personal subjects and time topics:

(28) 三國也入韓

THREE STATE YE ENTER HAN...
If the three states enter Han...   HF 30.41.23[f]

Secondly, it is significant that post-subject _ye_ is quite
common after complex noun phrases that are not subordinate
sentences by traditional accounts[g]:

(29) 公孫鞅之法也重輕罪

GONGSUN YANG'S LAW YE REGARD-AS-HEAVY LIGHT CRIME
Gongsun Yang's laws regarded light offenses as heavy. HF 30.23.1

(30) 其言也善

HIS WORD YE GOOD
His words are good. LY 8.4

Not: When he speaks he is good.

On our new account of Classical Chinese nouns and noun phrases
there is no need to talk of ye marking an "emphatic pause" or the
like after a subject nominal. The structural connection between
ye after the subject and after the predicate can now be explained.
The explanation is connected with that of post-clausal ye:

(31) 吾少也賤

I YOUNG YE HUMBLE
When I was young I was humble. LY 9.6

 Consider the following borderline case:

(32) 古之君子其過也如日月之食

ANCIENT 'S GENTLEMAN HIS FAULT YE LIKE SUN MOON ZHI ECLIPSE
A. As for the gentlemen of old their faults were like eclipses of
 the sun and moon.
B. As for gentlemen of old, when they made mistakes, these were
 like eclipses of the sun and the moon. Meng 2B9

 The common occurrence of ye after subordinate clauses (noted
by Karlgren) corresponds beautifully to the presence of ye after
the subject, since for independent reasons we are inclined to
construe Classical Chinese subjects as non-main clauses in the
first place. Karlgren's arguments for regarding ye after proper
names as entirely different from the other occurrences of post-
subject ye are less than convincing. The fact that ye is more
common after proper names in non-subject position is an idiomatic
detail that is by no means conclusive.

 Post-nominal, post-verbal, and post-clausal ye turns out to
admit of one homogeneous explanation. In all these cases ye marks
non-narrative (judgemental or disquisitional) styles of
predication.[h]

 Nonetheless there remains a fascinating difference between
nouns in subject and predicate positions:

(33) 禮也

RITUAL YE

standardly means "be an example of correct ritual behavior" in
predicate position, whereas the subject

(34) 夫禮者

AS-FOR RITUAL THAT-WHICH(ZHE)

can apparently only mean "as for that which is identical with ritual."

2.2 Post-nominal zhe 者

Like the verbal predicate, the nominal predicate in subject position may be followed by the nominalizer zhe:

(35) 民者好利祿而惡刑罰

PEOPLE THOSE-WHO(ZHE) LOVE PROFIT REWARD AND(ER) HATE PUNISHMENT FINE
(Those who may be classified as) people like profit and rewards, and they hate punishment and fines.   HF 55.1.14

(36) 人情者有好惡

MAN TRUE-NATURE THAT-WHICH(ZHE) HAVE GOOD BAD
In (that which is identical with) human nature there are likes and dislikes.   HF 19.2.12

If we adopt our new account of nouns as classificatory verbs these uses of zhe present no special problem of analysis. There is no need to claim that zhe has some nebulous function as a pause marker any more. Its grammatical function in post-nominal position becomes perfectly transparent.

At the same time the syntactic origin of phrases like Mozhe 墨者 PROPER-NAME HE-WHO(ZHE) "Mohist" (LSCQ 1.5, etc.) and the more frequent Ruzhe 儒者 CONFUCIAN HE-WHO(ZHE) "Confucian" (passim) becomes clear. Zhe after proper names, as in Mo Zi zhe 墨子者 (HF 32.8.2), and Zi Chan zhe 子產者 (HF 33.36.1) cease to be grammatically scandalous. Proper names are simply instances of identificatory predicates.

The grammatically symptomatic structural parallelism between the following two sentences will be recognized by the grammatical description:

(37) 仁者無敵

HUMANE HE-WHO/THAT-WHICH(ZHE) LACK ENEMY/EQUAL
He who is humane will have no equal.   Meng 1A5

(38) 仁者如射

HUMANE HE-WHO/THAT-WHICH(ZHE) RESEMBLE SHOOT-WITH-BOW-AND-ARROW
That which is identical with being humane is like archery.
Meng 2A7[4]

Zhe has the same function in both sentences, but it applies to
different types of predicates.

    The fully--and redundantly--explicit form of the subject
nominal turns out, then, to be

(39) 禮也者

RITUAL YE THAT-WHICH(ZHE)
As for that which is identical with ritual...

    Consider now the topicalized object in zhe:

(40) 賢者則貴而敬之

TALENTED HE-WHO/THOSE-WHO(ZHE) THEN HONOR AND REVERE HIM
A. If someone was competent, he would honor and revere him.
B. Those who were competent he would honor and revere.
    Xun 13.39

Is this sentence ambiguous between readings A and B? I shall take
up this question systematically in the next section on nominalized
subjects. At this point it is useful to note the presence of the
sentence connective ze 則 between what apparently is topic and
comment.

2.3 Post-nominal sentence connectives

    If Classical Chinese nouns were classificatory verbs one
would predict that these verbs could be followed by sentence
connectives. The fact that we commonly get sentence connectives
like ze 則 THEN, erhou 而後 ONLY THEN, er 而 AND/THEN, etc.,
between subject and predicate thus finds a very natural
explanation:

(41) 趙之福而秦之禍也

PLACE-NAME 1 'S(ZHI) GOOD-FORTUNE AND/THEN(ER)
PLACE-NAME 2 'S(ZHI) ILL-FORTUNE
(Something is identical with) the good fortune of Zhao, (and it
is) the misfortune of Qin. HF 2.2.22

For more discussion of sentence connectives between subject and
predicate see my previous discussion (Harbsmeier 1979:219-256).
Graham (1969) has focused particularly on the conditions under
which er 而 can occur between subject and predicate.

(42) 人而無信不知其可也

MAN AND/THEN(ER) LACK FAITH NOT KNOW HIS/ITS(QI) ALL-RIGHT YE
(If one is a) man (but) lacks good faith, then I do not know how
one can get on. LY 2.22

     It turns out that what logical analysis would have us believe
is that two conjoined sentences also grammatically look like two
sentences in Classical Chinese. The sentence connectives between
subject and predicate in Classical Chinese are no longer anoma-
lies, they can be shown to be a direct consequence of the princi-
ples of Classical Chinese grammar if we assume that Classical
Chinese nouns are in fact classificatory/identificatory verbs.
Similar observations apply to the negated subjects in Classical
Chinese.

2.4 Negated subjects

     If Classical Chinese nouns really are classificatory verbs we
would expect that they can be negated in subject position:

(43) 非聖人而能乎

NOT-BE(FEI) SAGE MAN AND/THEN(ER) CAN QUESTION-MARKER
If someone is not a sage, can he be like this? Meng 7B15

In view of sentences like this: is it plausible to ascribe a
completely different structure to an ordinary sentence like the
following?

(44) 聖人能之

SAGE MAN CAN IT
The sage can do it. (hypothetical)

If we assume that Classical Chinese nouns are classificatory verbs
the two turn out to be basically of the same structure.

2.5 "Concessive" subjects

Compare pre-verbal and pre-nominal sui 雖:

(45) 雖博必謬

EVEN-IF(SUI) BROAD NECESSARILY MISGUIDE
He may be wide-ranging, but he is bound to be misguided.
Xun 8.104

(46) 雖大國必畏之

EVEN-IF(SUI) LARGE STATE NECESSARILY FEAR IT
Something may be a large state, but it will certainly fear them.
Meng 2A4

If we assume that nouns are classificatory verbs we have a clear
and unified account of the particle sui and do not have to talk of
two separate meanings "even" and "although." For more evidence
for this interpretation of sui see Aspects 4.1.

Surprisingly, the particle yi 亦 provides another case where
our assumption leads to a simplification of our grammatical
description of Classical Chinese:

(47) 雖不識義亦不阿惑

EVEN-IF(SUI) NOT KNOW RIGHTEOUS ALSO/NONETHELESS(YI) NOT BE-
DELUDED
I may not know of righteousness, but I am not deluded.   GY 7.5455

(48) 國亦有染

STATE ALSO/NONETHELESS(YI) HAVE DYE
Something may be a state, but it will still be dyed. LSCQ 2.4

(49) 禍亦不至福亦不來

DISASTER ALSO/NONETHELESS(YI) NOT REACH GOOD-FORTUNE
ALSO/NONETHELESS(YI) NOT COME
When something is a disaster it still will not reach him.
When something is a good fortune it still will not reach him.
Zhuang 23.42

(50) 乘亦不知墜亦不知

RIDE ALSO/NONETHELESS(YI) NOT KNOW
FALL ALSO/NONETHELESS(YI) NOT KNOW
When he is riding he still is unaware.   When he is falling he
still is unaware.   Zhuang 19.13

The general force of yi 亦 in these contexts is "in spite of the
contrast." For a more detailed account of this interpretation see
Aspects 2.5.1

    Once we assume that Classical Chinese nouns are classifi-
catory verbs post-verbal and post-nominal yi find a natural
unified explanation.   There is no need to talk of two meanings:
1. "nonetheless"; 2. "also."

2.6 The topic-marker fan 凡 and the particle mei 每

The ambiguity of fan 凡 1. pre-nominal: "speaking in general
of"; 2. pre-verbal: "whenever" is dissolved if we take nouns as
classificatory verbs:

(51)   凡道不欲壅

GENERALLY(FAN) WAY NOT WANT OBSTRUCT
Whenever something qualifies as the Way it does not want to be
obstructed.   Zhuang 26.38

(52)   凡慮事欲熟

GENERALLY(FAN) MAKE PLANS BUSINESS WANT FAMILIAR
Whenever one is making plans for an enterprise one wants to be
careful.   Xun 15.50

On our new account there is no need to ascribe completely differ-
ent structures to these two sentences.   The difference is in the
nature of the verb, in the mode of its predication, not in the
function of fan.[5]

    Similar observations apply to the much less frequent particle
mei 每 1. pre-nominal: "every"; 2. pre-verbal: "whenever."

(53) 每至於族吾見其難為

GENERALLY(MEI) REACH IN/AT/TO TIGHT-PLACE I LOOK-AT ITS(QI)
DIFFICULT DO
Whenever I get to a tight place I notice the difficulty.
Zhuang 3.10

(54) 伯宗每朝其妻必戒之

PROPER-NAME GENERALLY(MEI) COURT HIS WIFE NECESSARILY WARN HIM
Whenever Bo Zong went to attend court his wife would be certain to
warn him. Zuo Cheng 15

(55) 王每見之必泣

KING GENERALLY(MEI) SEE HIM NECESSARILY CRY
Whenever the king saw him he would inevitably cry. Zuo Xiang 22

(56) 今也每食不飽

NOW YE GENERALLY(MEI) EAT NOT SATISFIED
A. Now at every meal we do not get our fill.
B. Now whenever we eat we do not get our fill. Shi 135

(57) 每舍損焉

GENERALLY(MEI) SPEND-NIGHT/STATION REDUCE-NUMBER IN-RELATION-TO-IT
A. At each way-station he reduced their number.
B. Whenever he spent a night he reduced their number.
    Zuo Zhao 13

(58) 左師每食擊鍾

LEFT ARMY GENERALLY(MEI) EAT BEAT BELL
A. The army of the left would sound the bell at every meal.
B. The army of the left would sound the bell whenever they ate a
    meal. Zuo Ai 14.10

(59) 子入太廟每事問

MASTER ENTER GREAT TEMPLE GENERALLY(MEI) MATTER ASK
When the Master entered the Great Temple he would ask about every
matter. LY 3.15; cf. LY 10.15

(60) 故為政者每人而悅之日亦不足矣

THEREFORE PRACTICE GOVERNMENT THOSE-WHO(ZHE) GENERALLY(MEI) MAN
AND/THEN(ER) PLEASE HIM, DAY SURELY NOT SUFFICIENT PERFECTIVE-
ASPECT-MARKER
Therefore, if those in charge of the government were to please
everybody they surely would not have enough days at their
disposal. Meng 4B2

(61) 凡與客人者每門讓於客

GENERALLY(FAN) BE-WITH GUEST ENTER HE-WHO/THAT-WHICH(ZHE)
GENERALLY(MEI) GATE GIVE-WAY IN/AT/TO-GUEST
Whenever one enters with a guest, then at every gate one gives way
to the guest. Li Ji I.18

(62) 每日遷舍

GENERALLY(MEI) DAY CHANGE ABODE
Every day he changed his abode.   Zuo Xi 9.2[7]

Conclusion

There is clear and varied syntactic evidence that subjects
and topics in Classical Chinese must be construed as non-main
classificatory predicates if one is to achieve a coherent explana-
tion of their grammatical characterization.

On the other hand one might well wonder whether the more
complex nominalized subjects or topics do not suggest a more
conservative grammatical interpretation of the relation between
subject and predicate in Classical Chinese, and in particular of
Classical Chinese nouns. We shall have to see.

3. THE NOMINALIZED SUBJECT

Try to say in Classical Chinese: "his death." The chances
are that you will also have said something translatable as
"when/if he dies." It turns out that there are pervasive syntac-
tic links between subordination and nominalization in Classical
Chinese, and these are the subject of the present section.

The generalization I shall try to establish is that the

Classical Chinese nominalizers zhe 者 THAT-WHICH/HE-WHO, zhi
之 "GENITIVE PARTICLE," qi 其 HIS, and fu 夫 AS FOR regularly

serve to mark off subordinate clauses, besides nominalizing such clauses.

With respect to <u>zhe</u> and <u>zhi</u> my contention is controversial. With respect to <u>fu</u> it has not hitherto been considered, so far as I know.

Part of the force of my argument lies in the rigid coherence of the overall pattern of coincidence between the characterization of nominalization and of subordination in Classical Chinese which I shall document in this section.

James Matissoff informs me that closely similar relations between nominalization and subordination obtain in a very wide range of Sino-Tibetan languages. I am not sufficiently familiar with any of these to want to discuss them. On the other hand I found closely related phenomena in Koinē Greek, which for various reasons I feel are worth presenting in some detail.

3.1 <u>Nominalizing and subordinating zhe</u> 者

In section 2.2 I have provided an unified account of post-nominal and post-verbal <u>zhe</u>. Let me now turn to post-clausal <u>zhe</u>:

(63) 故從山上望牛者如羊

THEREFORE ISSUE-FROM MOUNTAIN TOP WATCH BUFFALO HE-WHO/THAT-WHICH(<u>ZHE</u>) RESEMBLE GOAT
A. As for the possible case of looking at buffaloes from a
    mountain, (the buffaloes) resemble goats.
B. If you look at buffaloes from a mountain they resemble goats.
    Xun 2.12

Paraphrase A, suggested in Egerod (1982), represents an attempt to subsume the apparently subordinating <u>zhe</u> under the ordinary nom-inalizing <u>zhe</u>. And while it would indeed be an asinine mistake to translate this sentence as "those who look at buffalo from a hill look like sheep," Egerod's paraphrase is a much more serious competitor.[8] Note first that from a logical point of view the difference between A and B is simply that B is more logically transparent than A. One only understands A to the extent that one is able to construe it as an alternative way of articulating the proposition more transparently identified in B. Nonetheless, the articulatory strategy in A and B is not the same. It makes good sense to ask oneself which articulatory strategy we must attribute to the writers and speakers of Classical Chinese.

Now the crucial feature of A is the need to introduce the
little word "possible" to indicate that the case envisaged is
hypothetical. Egerod explains the seemingly subordinating effect
of _zhe_ in terms of nominalization, and he introduces the word
"possible" to achieve the logically crucial nuance.[9]

Egerod's suggestion serves to illustrate the close connection
between nominalization and subordination even in English.
Compare:

(64) a. In the case of an emergency
     b. In the case that there is an emergency
     c. In case there is an emergency

Where do nominalizations end and subordinate clauses begin? But
note that English does not permit nouns or noun phrases as the
scope of a word like "if." On the other hand that is precisely
what seems to happen all over the place in Classical Chinese. We
find systematic patterns like the following:

(65) a. 若 S_1 者 S_2

     IF(_RUO_) SENTENCE-1 HE-WHO/THAT-WHICH(_ZHE_) SENTENCE-2

     b. 如 S_1 者 S_2

     IF(_RU_) SENTENCE-1 HE-WHO/THAT-WHICH(_ZHE_) SENTENCE-2

     c. 苟 S_1 者 S_2

     IF(_GOU_) SENTENCE-1 HE-WHO/THAT-WHICH(_ZHE_) SENTENCE-2

     d. 雖 S_1 者 S_2

     EVEN-IF(_SUI_) SENTENCE-1 HE-WHO/THAT-WHICH SENTENCE-2

     e. 使 S_1 者 S_2

     SUPPOSING(_SHI_) SENTENCE-1 HE-WHO/THAT-WHICH SENTENCE-2

     f. 比 S_1 者 S_2

     WHEN(_BI_) SENTENCE-1 HE-WHO/THAT-WHICH SENTENCE-2

Moreover we frequently find the sentence particle _ze_ "then" after
zhe HE-WHO/THAT-WHICH.

Egerod (1982) comments as follows on this phenomenon:

> But the very fact that such words as ruo 若 , guo 苟 ,
> and ze 則 occur (and the last one with increasing
> frequency into the Han dynasty) in such constructions
> seems to us to indicate that the marking of condition is
> not found in zhe itself but elsewhere in the sentence,
> just as in the case of the hypothesis in English ("His
> death was ...," "His death would be ..."). The particle
> has no more to do with condition than does the category
> nominal in general.

I would like to add that the evidence is that the category
nominal has a great deal to do with condition. Moreover, since
nominalization with zhe is standardly marked pleonastically with

fu 夫 ...zhe 者 AS-FOR...HE-WHO/THAT-WHICH, NP zhi 之 VP zhe
者 , qi 其 VP zhe 者 , it would be only natural to contemplate
the possibility of pleonastic marking also in the case of
subordination.

My point is simply that the scope of the sentence connective
gou 苟 , shi 使 , etc., is not nominal by any stretch of the
imagination, and that since the scope of the zhe in patterns like
(65) is the whole subordinate sentence, it follows that zhe cannot
be construed as strictly nominalizing in (65). With John Cikoski
one might be tempted to call zhe not nominalizing but more
generally peripheralizing.

Zhu Dexi (1983:28) adopts a different strategy with respect
to the patterns (65)a and b. Ingeniously he suggests that the
presence of zhe in these cases is due to the verbal meaning of ru

如 and ruo 若 "to resemble," and he points to the pattern

(66) 如/若/者

RESEMBLE X HE-WHO/THAT-WHICH
...it is like X.

which is frequent in pre-Qin texts. Zhu Dexi's explanation of the
historical origin of the zhe in (65)a and b may have some plausi-
bility, but it does nothing to account for sentences like the
following:

(67) 使壞城者不得復築也

SUPPOSING(SHI) DESTROY CITY HE-WHO/THAT-WHICH(ZHE) NOT ACHIEVE
REPEAT BUILD YE
If the city walls should be destroyed one would not be able to
build them up again.   Guan 22(2.3-5); cf. also Guan 22(2.3.12)

I add two splendid later examples:

(68) 使武安侯在者族矣

SUPPOSING(SHI) PLACE-NAME LORD BE-PRESENT HE-WHO/THAT-WHICH(ZHE)
EXTERMINATE-CLAN
If the Lord of Wuan was alive, I would exterminate him and his
family.   Shi Ji 107.29

(69) 使古而無死者則太公至今猶存

SUPPOSING(SHI) ANCIENT AND/THEN(ER) LACK DEAD HE-WHO/THAT-
WHICH(ZHE) PROPER-NAME REACH PRESENT STILL BE-ALIVE
If in antiquity there had never been death then Tai Gong would
have survived to this day.   HSWZ 10.11 (Does one really have to

take si zhe 死者 to mean "dead people" here?)

     Again we have:

(70) 雖問道者亦未聞道

EVEN-IF(SUI) ASK WAY HE-WHO/THAT-WHICH(ZHE) ALSO/NONETHELESS NOT-
YET HEAR WAY
Even if he asks about the way, he still will not hear about the
way.   Zhuang 22.50

(71) 貪願富賤願貴苟無於中者必求於外
      苟有之中者必不及於外

POOR WANT RICH, HUMBLE WANT NOBLE.   IF(GOU) LACK IN MIDDLE HE-
WHO/THAT-WHICH(ZHE) NECESSARILY SEE OUTSIDE... IF(GOU) HAVE IT
MIDDLE HE-WHO/THAT-WHICH(ZHE) NOT REACH ON OUTSIDE
The rich want wealth, the humble want status.   If they really lack
something within them then they are sure to seek it from
outside...   If they do have something within them then they
certainly do not reach for it on the outside.   Xun 23.33[10]

     Our conclusion must be that the particle zhe has two distinct
but related functions: it nominalizes and it marks subordinate

clauses. Why, one might ask, should one single particle perform two such apparently quite different functions? The answer is that the functions are not really as different as they appear. Let us return to a simple nominalizing case of zhe:

(72) 仁者樂山

HUMANE HE-WHO(ZHE) ENJOY MOUNTAIN
A. Those who are humane love mountains.
B. Assuming someone is humane he will love mountains.

I submit that if we spoke not English but something like Leibniz's characteristica universalis, a language built on strictly logical principles, then the alternatives A and B above would turn out to be identical. For whatever the fine semantic difference between them, they do express the same logical proposition. General terms in subject position are, one might say, systematically misleading expressions. They hide a conditional logical structure.

     The crucial point is this: zhe is not in this way systematically misleading. In this instance it is logically transparent. Zhe tells you that the predicate "be humane" is here to be construed as a non-main predicate (in the mode of an assumption or conditional protasis).

     Again our second example:

(73) 仁者如射

HUMANE HE-WHO/THAT-WHICH RESEMBLE SHOOT-WITH-BOW-AND-ARROW
A. That which is identical with with being humane is like archery.
B. Presupposing that something is identical with being humane that thing is like archery. Meng 2A7

Here zhe tells you that the predicate "be identical with being humane" is to be construed as a non-main predicate (in the presuppositional mode).

     The profound connection between subordinating and nominalizing zhe turns out then to be the connection between assuming a non-main predicate (in subordination), and presupposing it (in nominalization). The fact that we negate sentences without negating the scope of zhe then simply reflects the logic of conditionals and of presuppositions: we normally negate a conditional by negating the apodosis, not the protasis. The presuppositions of a sentence will normally remain intact when that sentence is negated.[11]

Graham (in press) concludes from this: "It is disquieting to
have to question the line between verbal and nominal, one of the
few in Classical Chinese which seemed inviolable, but it looks as
though it no longer holds for the preliminaries of the sentence."

Note that the line between subordination and nominalization
is blurred in unexpected places even in English. There are plenty
of cases where we would want to say that we have clear nominaliza-
tions in Classical Chinese, and where nonetheless the best
translation is with "if":

(74)   膚寸之地不得者豈齊不欲地哉

SLIGHTEST-BIT ZHI TERRITORY NOT GET HE-WHO/THAT-WHICH(ZHE) HOW QI
NOT WANT TERRITORY EMPHATIC-QUESTION
If Qi did not get any territory at all, how would that be because
they did not want territory? ZGC I.64

Similar remarks apply to the following slightly more complex
case:

(75)   事不同皆王者時異也

BUSINESS NOT IDENTICAL ALL KING HE-WHO/THAT-WHICH(ZHE) TIME
DIFFERENT YE
If they all became kings although they conducted affairs
differently that is because times were different.   SJ 136

Now, if zhe really is to be explained in terms of a general
and profound logical relation between nominalization and subordi-
nation in natural language (and in particular in Classical
Chinese) then the other notorious nominalizers in Classical
Chinese--ideally all other nominalizers in Classical Chinese--
should turn out to mark not only nominalized but also subordinate
structures.

3.2 Nominalizing and subordinating zhi   之

Zhi may be used to subordinate or to nominalize a clause:

(76)   國之將興明神降之

STATE 'S(ZHI) BE-ABOUT-TO RISE ILLUSTRIOUS SPIRIT DESCEND-ON IT
When a state is about to rise the illustrious spirits descend on
it. Zuo Zhuang 3.2

(77)   國之不可小有備 故也

STATE 'S(<u>ZHI</u>) NOT CAN (REGARD-AS)-SMALL HAVE PREPARATION REASON <u>YE</u>
If the state must not be taken lightly that is because it has
taken defensive precautions.   Zuo Zhao 18.2

The "if" in the last translation is logically treacherous because
it does not indicate a condition but rather a nominalized
(factive, to use Kiparski's term) subject. Grammatically on the
other hand it is most interesting to note as a fact of English
that the conditional sentence connective is commonly used to mark
factive nominalization.

       In (76) <u>zhi</u> invites you to assume that a state is about to
rise, and to contemplate the resulting situation. In (77) <u>zhi</u>
invites you to share the speaker's presupposition that the state
may not be taken lightly and to contemplate some comment on this
fact.

       A clause subordinated by <u>zhi</u> may in fact have a concessive
relation to the main clause:

(78)   紂之百克而無後

PROPER-NAME 'S(<u>ZHI</u>) HUNDRED WIN AND/THEN(<u>ER</u>) END LACK LATER
Although Zhou was successful a hundred times, in the end he had no
heirs. Zuo Xuan 12.3

Here <u>zhi</u> invites you to share the speaker's presupposition that
Zhou was a hundred times successful and to contemplate a con-
trasting statement.[12]

       <u>Zhi</u> is very common in marked temporal clauses.

(79)   及饋之華

WHEN(<u>JI</u>) MEAL 'S(<u>ZHI</u>) FINISH
When the meal was finished...   Zuo Zhao 28.6

(80) 逮吳之未定君其取分焉

UNTIL(<u>DAI</u>) PLACE-NAME 'S(<u>ZHI</u>) NOT-YET SETTLE RULER TAKE PART IN-
RELATION-TO-IT
While Wu is still unsettled, you should take a part (of Chu). Zuo
Ding 4.15

Cases of this sort might be explained by pointing out that <u>ji</u> 及
and <u>dai</u> 逮 are transitive verbs, and that what we have is
syntactically a verb-object construction.

    Similar arguments might be applied to conditional <u>ru</u> 如 and
<u>ruo</u> 若 in sentences like this:

(81) 若事之捷孫叔為無謀矣

IF(<u>RUO</u>) BUSINESS 'S(<u>ZHI</u>) SUCCEED, PROPER-NAME BE LACK PLAN
PERFECTIVE-ASPECT
If the action is successful, then Sunshu will be at a loss.
Zuo Xuan 12.3[13]

    The common use of <u>zhi</u> in concessive clauses marked by <u>sui</u>
雖 on the other hand does not lend itself to such an explanation.

(82) 雖鞭之長不及馬腹

EVEN-IF(<u>SUI</u>) WHIP 'S(<u>ZHI</u>) LONG, NOT REACH HORSE STOMACH
A whip may be long, but it will not reach a horse's stomach.
Zuo Xuan 15.2[14]

The crux is that this is not a proverb about the length of a whip.
The length of the whip is not in any sense a grammatical theme in
(82). There is no question of paraphrasing sentences like (82) on
the lines of "even the whip's length." Strict nominalization will
not explain the presence of <u>zhi</u> in sentences like (82).

    In a very large number of cases there is systematic ambiguity
between nominalization and subordination in Classical Chinese.
This comes out in a characteristically striking way in sentences
like:

(83) 言之無文行而不遠

WORD 'S(<u>ZHI</u>) LACK PATTERN, WALK AND/THEN(<u>ER</u>) NOT FAR
A. If words lack proper patterning they will not travel far.
B. Words without proper patterning will not travel far. Zuo
    Xiang 23[15]

(84) 羹之有菜者用梜 其無菜者不用梜

BROTH 'S(<u>ZHI</u>) HAVE VEGETABLE THAT-WHICH(<u>ZHE</u>), USE CHOPSTICKS.
ITS(<u>QI</u>) LACK VEGETABLE THAT-WHICH/HE-WHO(<u>ZHE</u>), NOT USE CHOPSTICKS.

A. When there are vegetables in the broth one uses chopsticks. When there are no vegetables in it one does not use chopsticks.
B. In the case of broth with vegetables one uses chopsticks. In the case of broth with vegetables one does not use chopsticks. Li Ji I.39

The question is whether A and B represent a real structural ambiguity in Classical Chinese, or whether we just happen to have two alternative translations available in English for a Classical Chinese version which is structurally more abstract than both.[16]

3.3 Nominalizing and subordinating qi 其

The particle qi can nominalize a clause:

(85) 其喪師也不亦宜乎

HIS(QI) LOSE ARMY YE NOT ALSO FIT QUESTION-MARKER
That he lost his army was surely proper. Zuo Yin 11

But qi can also subordinate clauses:

(86) 其後亡也 成子得政

HIS(QI) LATER PERISH YE PROPER-NAME ACHIEVE GOVERNMENT
When eventually it perished, the officer of Cheng gained control of the government. Zuo Zhuang 22

According to Malmqvist (1982) there are 50 nominalizing cases like (85) and 48 subordinating cases like (86) in Zuo Zhuan: the two "uses" appear to have to have roughly the same frequency.

Qi is also frequent in marked subordinate clauses:

(87) 雖其和也猶相積惡也

EVEN-IF(SUI) HIS(QI) HARMONY YE STILL ONE-ANOTHER PILE-UP HATE YE
Although they may be reconciled, they are still building up ill-will against each other. Zuo Xiang 30

According to Malmqvist (1982) there are 33 such cases in Zuo Zhuan.

(88) 及其亂也諸侯貪冒

WHEN(JI) HIS(QI) DISORDER YE FEUDAL-LORDS BE-GREEDY BE-ADVENTUROUS
When there is disorder the feudal lords are greedy and
adventurous. Zuo Cheng 12

According to Malmqvist (1982) there are 14 such cases in Zuo

Zhuan, 13 of them with the particle ye 也.

(89) 若其不還君退臣犯

IF(RUO) HIS/THEIR(QI) NOT RETURN, RULER RETIRE MINISTER EXERT-
PRESSURE
If they do not withdraw, the ruler will retire, and his subjects
will exert pressure on him. Zuo Xi 28

According to Malmqvist (1982) there are nine such examples in
Zuo Zhuan, all of them without the final particle ye 也.

(90) 比其復也君無乃勤

WHEN(BI) HIS/THEIR(QI) RETURN YE RULER LACK THEN BE-EXHAUSTED
Will you not be exhausted by the time he returns? Zuo Ai 21

According to Malmqvist there is only one such example in
Zuo Zhuan.

     Here again it is easy to demonstrate the fuzziness of the
distinction between nominalizing and subordinating qi:

(91) 其濟君之靈也
      不濟則以死繼之

HIS/THEIR SUCCEED, RULER 'S(ZHI) SPIRITUAL POWER YE NOT SUCCEED
THEN USE DEAD FOLLOW-UP IT
A. If it succeeds that will be due to your lordship's spiritual
    influence; if it does not succeed I will go on to die.
B. Its success would be due to your lordship's spiritual
    influence. If it does not succeed I will go on to die. Zuo
    Xi 9.6

It seems to me that A and B are no more than two alternative ways
of articulating the same logical content. Moreover, as Malmqvist
(1982:373) rightly points out, the pattern "qi 其 V, ...; bu 不 V,

ze 則 " is very frequent in <u>Zuo Zhuan</u>.   Thus (91) is in no
way marginal or grammatically anomalous.

The explanation of this idiom is as follows: "<u>qi</u> V" is ex-
plicitly subordinate already so that there is no need for further

marking of the subordination by <u>ze</u> 則. "<u>bu</u> V" on the other hand
could serve as a main clause and therefore invites (but does not

necessitate) subordinating <u>ze</u> 則.

It is fascinating to observe the peculiar contrast between
<u>zhe</u> 者 and <u>ye</u> 也 after <u>qi</u>. Thus we quite regularly have "<u>qi</u>
其 VP <u>ye</u> 也" meaning "when the subject VPed," while we hardly
ever find <u>zhe</u> in such temporal clauses. Similarly, "SUBJECT <u>zhi</u>

之 VP <u>ye</u> 也 " is always temporal "when the subject VPed."
Conditional clauses marked by <u>zhi</u> 之 , on the other hand, never

have <u>ye</u> 也 (cf. Mullie 1942:376ff). None of these conditionals
in <u>ruo qi</u> 若其 in <u>Zuo Zhuan</u> have the final particle <u>ye</u> 也.[17]
One of these instances deserves special attention:

(92)   若其弗賞是失信也

IF(<u>RUO</u>) HIS/THEIR(<u>QI</u>) NOT-THEM REWARD, THIS LOSE FAITH <u>YE</u>
A. If one did not reward them that would be a break of faith.
B. One's not rewarding them would be a break of faith.   Zuo Zhao
    15.5

Here the compounded ambiguities of the particles <u>qi</u> and <u>ruo</u> 若
"1. if, 2. as for the case of" seem to conspire to make the
sentence grammatically ambiguous between readings A and B. Or is
"one's not rewarding them" a bogus nominalization? Seen in the
context of our present discussion, the apparent ambiguity of <u>ruo</u> 若
is in any case far from incidental.

3.4 <u>Nominalizing and subordinating fu</u> 夫

<u>Fu</u> is not only a topic-marker, it is also a nominalizer:

(93)   夫貴為天子富有天下
       是人情之所同欲也

AS-FOR(FU) NOBLE BECOME EMPEROR, RICH OWN WORLD, THIS MAN TRUE-
NATURE 'S(<u>ZHI</u>) THE-OBJECT-WHICH(<u>SUO</u>) EQUAL/SAME WISH <u>YE</u>

Becoming so noble as to become emperor, becoming so rich as to own
the empire, this is what men by their nature equally desire.
Xun 4.72

Of course, the nominalizing fu can be understood as the topic-
marker fu applying to an unmarked nominalization, but this seems
to be artificial.

     Consider next subordinating fu:

(94)   夫苟好善則四海之內皆將輕千里而來告以善
       夫苟不好善則人將曰訑訑

AS-FOR(FU) IF(GOU) LOVE GOOD, THEN FOUR SEA 'S(ZHI) INSIDE ALL BE-
ABOUT-TO THINK-LIGHT-OF 1000 MILE AND/THEN(ER) COME ADVISE WITH
GOOD. AS-FOR(FU) IF(GOU) NOT LOVE GOOD THEN MAN BE-ABOUT-TO SAY:
SELF-SATISFIED SELF-SATISFIED
If you love goodness then everybody within the Four Seas will
disregard distances of a thousand li and come forward to advise
you in terms of goodness. But if you do not love goodness then
they will say: "He is all self-satisfied!" Meng 6A13

Note that the second fu leaves us no room to resort to the
customary inane gloss "now" for sentence-initial fu. Compare in
this connection the following:

(95)   彼愚者之定物 以疑決疑 決必不當
       夫苟不當 安能無過乎

THOSE STUPID THOSE-WHO/HE-WHO/THAT-WHICH(ZHE) 'S(ZHI) USE DOUBT
DECIDE DOUBT, DECIDE NECESSARILY NOT ADEQUATE. AS-FOR(FU) IF(GOU)
NOT ADEQUATE, HOW CAN LACK MISTAKE QUESTION-MARKER
Those stupid people, when settling a thing, will use doubtful
means to solve doubts, and their solutions will inevitably be
inadequate. And if they really are inadequate, then can they
avoid making mistakes? Xun 21.74

Here one might get away with translating "Now if they really are
inadequate...," but this does not affect the basic point that the
scope of fu in this instance is a subordinate sentence and not a
nominal topic.[18]

In some cases <u>fu</u> appears to have a subordinating function
even when there are no other overt sentence connectives present:

(96)   夫隨其成心而師之　誰獨無師乎

AS-FOR(<u>FU</u>) FOLLOW HIS/ONE'S(<u>QI</u>) FINISH MIND AND (MAKE-ONE'S)MASTER
IT, WHO ALONE LACK MASTER QUESTION-MARKER
If one is to follow one's fixed opinions and make them one's
master, then who would be without a master?   Zhuang 2.21

And occasionally one is not even sure what to count as a sentence
connective in this context:

(97)   夫輕諾必寡信

AS-FOR(<u>FU</u>) LIGHT(LY) AGREE NECESSARILY FEW BELIEVE
If one is quick to make promises one is sure to enjoy little
trust.   Lao 63

Is <u>bi</u> 必 a sentence connective?   And to make things more
transparently confusing I will add that the <u>Yan Zun</u> edition of the
<u>Lao Zi</u> text reads <u>qing nuo zhe</u> 輕諾者 for Wang Bi's <u>fu qing
nuo</u> 夫輕諾.

    By far the most common connective after <u>fu</u> is <u>ze</u>:

(98)   夫以君臣為父子則必治

AS-FOR(<u>FU</u>) USE RULER MINISTER REGARD-AS FATHER SON THEN(<u>ZE</u>)
NECESSARILY GOVERN
If one regards ruler and minister as father and son then there
will inevitably be proper government.   HF 49.5.16

(99)   夫賞無功則民偷幸而望於上

AS-FOR(<u>FU</u>) REWARD LACK ACHIEVEMENT THEN(<u>ZE</u>) PEOPLE STEAL FORTUNATE
AND/THEN(<u>ER</u>) HOPE IN/AT/TO ABOVE
If one rewards people without achievements, then the people will
try to sneak their ways to good fortune and place their hopes in
superiors (instead of being self-reliant).   HF 37.4.19

(100) 夫舍常法而從私意
       則臣下飾於智能

AS-FOR(<u>FU</u>) DISCARD CONSTANT LAW AND FOLLOW PRIVATE IDEA, THEN(<u>ZE</u>)
MINISTER UNDER EMBELLISH IN/AT/TO WISDOM BE-ABLE

If one discards the constant law and follows one's private ideas,
then one's ministers and subordinates will make a superficial show
of wisdom and ability (to impress one). HF 19.5.35; cf. Guan
3.54-1; SJ 14, p. 114

(101)   夫覆巢毀卵則鳳凰不至

AS-FOR(FU) OVERTURN NEST DESTROY EGG, THEN(ZE) PHOENIX NOT ARRIVE
If you overturn nests and smash eggs then the phoenix will not
come to dwell. LSCQ 13.2

(102)   詐者不信於民 夫不信於民則亂

CHEAT THEN(ZE) NOT BELIEVE BY PEOPLE. AS-FOR(FU) NOT BELIEVE BY
PEOPLE THEN(ZE) CHAOS
If you are dishonest you will not be trusted by the people. And
if you are not trusted by the people, then there will be chaos.
Guan 1.90-6

Examples are abundant in the literature.

     Other connectives are much rarer, but they do occur:

(103)   夫必多有是說   然後及其大人

AS-FOR(FU) NECESSARILY MANY HAVE THIS EXPLAIN ONLY-THEN(ERHOU)
REACH HIS/ITS/THEIR(QI) GREAT MAN
There must be many people who talk this way before the talk
reaches the powerful people. Zuo Zhao 18

(104)   夫懸衡而知平

AS-FOR(FU) HANG LEVELLER AND KNOW LEVEL
When you hang up the heng-leveller you know whether something is
level. HF 19.5.73; cf. Mo 39.58

(105)   夫以湯止沸 沸愈不止

AS-FOR(FU) USE BOILING-WATER STOP BOILING BOILING MORE NOT STOP
If one tries to stop something from boiling by adding boiling
water to it, the boiling will increasingly continue. LSCQ 1.3

3.5 Pre-nominal and subordinating fei

     The negative fei is not a nominalizer, but it does serve to
make a kind of negative subject. I have a neat late example from
Shi Ji at hand:

(106) 非此毋不能生此子

NOT-BE(FEI) THIS MOTHER, NOT BE-ABLE GIVE-BIRTH THIS SON
Unless someone is this mother, she could not have given birth to
this son. Shi Ji, "Zhang Tang Zhuan"

At the same time fei is common in subordinate clauses:

(107) 非有大故不入其門

NOT-BE(FEI) HAVE LARGE REASON, BUT ENTER HIS/THEIR(QI) GATE
Unless he has an important business he will not enter the gate.
Li Ji I.31

As we would predict subordinating fei co-occurs with sentence
connectives:

(108) 苟非明法以守之也危亡為其鄰

IF(GOU) NOT-BE(FEI) (MAKE)BRIGHT LAW IN-ORDER-TO KEEP IT YE DANGER
LOSE BE NEIGHBOR
If you do not make the laws clear and guard them, then you move in
the vicinity of danger and ruin. SJ 20, p. 161

(109) 君子非得勢以臨之則無由得開內焉

GENTLEMAN NOT-BE(FEI) OBTAIN POSITION IN-ORDER-TO APPROACH IT/HIM,
THEN LACK FROM ACHIEVE OPEN INSIDE IN-RELATION-TO-IT
If the gentleman fails to obtain a position of power from which to
approach people then he has no basis for opening them up and
inculcating (his values) into them. Xun 4.51

(110) 非劫之以形勢 非振之以誅殺
       則無以有其下

NOT-BE(FEI) CONSTRAIN IT/THEM USE POWER POSITION, NOT-BE(FEI)
SHAKE IT/THEM USE EXECUTE MURDER, THEN LACK (WHAT-TO) USE HAVE
HIS(QI) BELOW.
If such a ruler did not constrain the people by means of his power
and position, if he did not shake up the people by means of
execution and murder, then he would not have the means to remain
in charge of his subordinates. Xun 5.20

There is a beautiful case where fu, zhi, and fei combine to
produce multiple subordination:

(111) 夫痤疽之痛也　非刺骨髓則煩心不可支也
　　　非如是不能使人以半寸砥石彈之

AS-FOR(FU) ULCER 'S(ZHI) SICK YE, NOT-BE(FEI) PIERCE BONE MARROW
THEN(ZE) UPSET MIND NOT CAN SUPPORT YE. NOT-BE(FEI) RESEMBLE
THIS, NOT BE-ABLE CAUSE MAN USE HALF INCH NEEDLE STONE EXPLODE IT.
When an ulcer is painful, then unless you pierce the bone and the
marrow, the pain will upset the mind and be unbearable. If you do
not act like this (i.e., if you fail to pierce the bone and
marrow) you cannot get people to use the half-inch stone needle to
burst the ulcer. HF 34.30.8

(112) 今有千里之馬於此
　　　非得良工猶若弗取

NOW HAVE 1000 LEAGUE 'S(ZHI) HORSE IN/AT/TO THIS NOT-BE(FEI)
OBTAIN GOOD WORKER STILL RESEMBLE NOT-THE-OBJECT TAKE
Suppose there is a horse that can go a thousand leagues. Unless
you have a competent (horse-)specialist it is as if you nonethe-
less had not got hold of the horse. LSCQ 9.5

It thus turns out that the scope of fei may be either nominal or a
verbal but non-main predicate. If we regard nouns as classifica-
tory verbs, then we get a unified account for these apparently
quite distinct uses of fei.

Conclusion

     We have found varied and pervasive evidence for a systematic
link between nominalization in subject position and subordination
in Classical Chinese. In some cases the two seem even to be
indistinguishable. As far as it goes, this further corroborates
our claim that Classical Chinese subjects may be construed as
subordinate clauses, and that to be nominal in Classical Chinese
is to be a non-main classificatory predicate.

     But nominals do not only occur in predicate and in subject
position. Surely, nominals in object position show very little
evidence that they derive from classificatory verbs.

4. OBJECT NOMINALS

     In general I must report that the deeper embedded a noun is
in a Classical Chinese sentence (i.e., the more peripheral it is
from the main predication), the less obvious its verbal qualities

become. But let us see if there are any verbal symptoms at all in Classical Chinese nominal objects.

Note first that the pre-posed topicalized object is often negated:

(113) 伯夷非其君不事

PROPER NAME NOT-BE(FEI) HIS/ONE'S(QI) RULER NOT SERVE
If someone was not his ruler, Bo Yi would not serve him. Meng 2A9

(114) 我非堯舜之道不敢陳於王前

I NOT-BE(FEI) PROPER-NAME PROPER-NAME 'S(ZHI) WAY NOT DARE PUT-FORWARD IN/AT/TO KING FRONT
If something is not the way of Yao and Shun I dare not put it forward. Meng 2B2[19]

Even in its proper post-verbal position an object may be negated with fei:

(115) 何事非君　何使非民

HOW SERVE NOT-BE(FEI) RULER? HOW EMPLOY NOT-BE(FEI) PEOPLE?
How could I serve someone other than my ruler? How could I employ someone other than my people? Meng 5B1

(116) 民不祀非族

PEOPLE NOT SACRIFICE NOT-BEI(FEI) CLAN
The people will not sacrifice to others than their own clan.
Zuo Xi 10 fu

(117) 君子不犯非禮

GENTLEMAN NOT OFFEND NOT-BE(FEI) RITUAL
The gentleman will not commit what offends against ritual.
Zuo Zhao 3 fu 2[20]

(118) 主者使非其有者也

RULER HE-WHO(ZHE) EMPLOY NOT-BE(FEI) HIS(QI) HAVE THAT-WHICH(ZHE) YE
The ruler is the sort of person who disposes of what he does not own. LSCQ 3.5[21]

In the problematic <u>Wei Liao Zi</u> I even found a passage where a pivot within an object clause is negated with <u>fei</u>:

(119) 使天下非農無所得食

CAUSE WORLD NOT-BE(<u>FEI</u>) AGRICULTURE LACK THE-OBJECT-WHICH OBTAIN EAT
He saw to it that those who did not work with agriculture got nothing to eat. <u>Wei Liao Zi jinzhu jinyi</u> (Taibei, 1975), p. 41

(120) 鬼神非人是親

GHOST SPIRIT NOT-BE(<u>FEI</u>) MAN THAT-OBJECT BE-CLOSE
It is not for humans that the ghosts and spirits feel affection. Zuo Xi 5.9

Now if we assume that nominal objects are to be grammatically construed as embedded clauses of the sort "that which is (identical with) the object," examples like those above raise no special problems. Moreover the absence of an explicit <u>zhe</u> 者 in most nominal objects should not worry us unduly:

(121) 尊賢使能有扈氏服

HONOR TALENTED EMPLOY BE-ABLE, PROPER-NAME SUBMIT
If you honor the competent and employ the able, then within a year the You Yi will submit. LSCQ 3.3

Here one might have expected <u>zhe</u> 者 after <u>xian</u> 賢 TALENTED, after <u>neng</u> 能 BE-ABLE, and indeed after the subordinate clause. There is nothing strange about the <u>zhe</u> being omitted after classificatory verbs, because these are so often and so naturally used to identify items. The context makes <u>zhe</u> redundant, especially after proper names. Thus the Classical Chinese for "be able" naturally comes to mean "the able," etc.

In direct speech we even find the "sentence-final" particle <u>ye</u> after personal names in object position:

(122) 子之不使白也喪之何也

YOU 'S(<u>ZHI</u>) NOT LET BO <u>YE</u> BURY HIM WHY <u>YE</u>
Why is it that you did not let Bo bury him? <u>Li Ji</u>, "Tan Gong," I.111; cf. <u>ibid.</u>, I. 572

(123)   反與壬也處

RETURN WITH PERSONAL-NAME YE STAY
You return and stay with Ren. Zuo Ai 6; cf. Li Ji, "Tan Gong,"
I.137

If we take the objects of main verbs and even of coverbs to be
embedded clauses on the lines of "he who is identical with X,"
then this sort of ye speech becomes transparent. Why, on the
other hand, it should be limited to proper names in object posi-
tion is a question of idiomatic usage that still remains to be
explained.

Conclusion

        The acceptability of fei 非 before the object suggests that
object nominals are best construed as embedded clauses. However,
the direct evidence for this way of construing the object in
Classical Chinese is limited and inconclusive by itself. It is
only against the general background of the peculiarities of Clas-
sical Chinese nouns that the clausal interpretation of object
nouns becomes plausible. If we interpret nouns as embedded
clauses we achieve a coherent and unified account of nouns in
subject, predicate, and object positions. But what about nominal
modifiers? Is not nominal modification fundamentally different
from verbal modification?

5. THE NOMINAL MODIFIER

    Consider a phrase like the following:

(124) a.   國人

    STATE MAN
    The people of the state. Meng

    b.   小人

    SMALL MAN
    An insignificant person. Meng

The point is simply that the people of a state are not both a
state and people, while an insignificant person is both insignifi-
cant and a person. Thus, if nouns are classificatory verbs we
need to know why nouns and verbs function so differently in modi-
fying position.

But are they quite as different as that? The following
longish passage deserves especially close scrutiny in this
connection:

(125)   所謂古之言服者皆嘗新矣 而古之人
        言之服之則非君子也   然則必服非君子之服
        言非君子之言 而後仁乎

THE-OBJECT-WHICH CALL OLD 'S WORD WEAR THAT/WHICH FORMERLY ONCE
BE-NEW PERFECTIVE-ASPECT-MARKER, AND/THEN(ER) FORMERLY MAN WEAR IT
SPEAK IT THEN(ZE) NOT-BE(FEI) GENTLEMAN YE. CONSEQUENTLY
NECESSARILY WEAR NOT-BE GENTLEMAN 'S CLOTHES SPEAK NOT-BE
GENTLEMAN 'S WORDS ONLY THEN HUMANE RHETORICAL-QUESTION-MARKER
What is called the words and clothes of old have all at one time
been new. And when people of old spoke these words and wore these
clothes they were not gentlemen. Then presumably one has to wear
the clothes of someone who is not a gentleman and speak the words
of someone who is not a gentleman in order to be humane? Mo 39.19

In the context of Mo Zi's argument one can quite definitely not
translate: "Then presumably one has to wear what are not clothes
of a gentleman and speak what are not words of a gentleman in

order to be humane?" The scope of this _fei_ 非 is clearly a
nominal modifier. And if we assume that nominals are essentially
classificatory verbs, then sentences of this sort will present no
problem. We have seen that a nominal modifier may apparently be

negated by _fei_ 非 . Correspondingly one can find an example with
_ye_ after the modifier:

(126)   為假也妻者是為白也毌

BE PROPER-NAME _YE_ WIFE HE-WHO THIS BE BO _YE_ MOTHER _YE_
She who is my wife is Bo's mother. _Li Ji_, "Tan Gong," I.112 (Two
parallel examples on the same page; cf. Karlgren 1951:111.)

Even nominal modifiers show some marginal signs that they
have their origins in classificatory predicates. On the other
hand the more deeply embedded a noun phrase becomes, the further
it gets removed from its predicative origins, the "more nominal"
it becomes.

Indeed, one might think that the distinction between nominal
and verbal modification must be reasonably clear. But consider
now:

(127)   a. 强臣 (彊臣)

> STRONG MINISTER
> strong minister. Morohashi, p. 1444

b. 力臣

> STRENGTH MINISTER
> strong minister. Morohashi, p. 4175

By current accounts (127)a will be taken to involve nominal modification, because li 力, STRENGTH, is a noun. Similarly, (127)b will be taken to involve adjectival/verbal modification because qiang 强, STRONG, is an adjective or stative verb. By current accounts (127)a and b represent two sharply distinct syntactic structures.

By our new account both will be assigned basically the same syntactic structure. In both cases one predicate modifies the other. However, (127)a and b will not be predicted to be completely synonymous by our new account. Since li 力 will be assumed to ascribe a relatively stable "inherent" property, li chen, STRENGTH MINISTER, will be interpreted on the lines of "(generally, more or less permanently) powerful minister," whereas qiang chen, STRONG MINISTER, will be interpreted to mean something more like "(currently, for the time being) influential minister." Unfortunately, the validity of this prediction is very hard to test.

Compare also

(128)   a. 强争

> STRONG FIGHT
> fight strongly. Morohashi, p. 4163

b. 力争

> STRENGTH FIGHT
> fight strongly. Morohashi, p. 1443

Are we to assume that these two phrases have clearly distinct syntactic structures? Our new account of Classical Chinese nouns allows us to give closely related explanations for both.

In spite of marginal observations like those in (125) to
(128) it remains true that the distinction between nominal and
verbal modifiers is by and large very clear. The observations
above on (124)a and (124)b speak a simple and clear language. And
if nouns and verbs were as distinct in their semantic functions
generally as they are in this particular position there would have
been little to write about in a paper on the de-verbal nature of
Classical Chinese nouns.

6. CONCLUDING REMARKS

Consider the notorious sentence:

(129)   物物者非物

THING THING THAT/WHICH(ZHE) NOT-BE(FEI) THING
That which causes things to be things is not a thing. Zhuang
22.75; cf. Zhuang 20.7

Suppose we construe wu 物, THING, as a classificatory verb ("be a
thing," "be the thing") then it follows from the principles of
Classical Chinese lexicography that wu should also be able to have
a causative meaning ("cause to be a thing," "cause to be the thing").
We get a natural and unified account of the apparently exotic
syntactic behavior of wu 物, THING. Similarly for:

(130)   生生者不生

LIVE LIVE THAT-WHICH(ZHE) NOT LIVE
That which cause things to live does not live. Zhuang 6.42

The functional flexibility of Classical Chinese words that I have
discussed in some detail (Harbsmeier 1979:155-217), especially
with respect to the distinction between nominal and verbal uses of
Classical Chinese words, can be much more naturally accounted for
if we assume nouns to be basically classificatory verbs.

The fact that the distinction between classificatory or
narrative uses of words is sometimes marked by qu-sheng-derivation
(as in warng "king" versus wang "be king over") does not affect
our argument any more than the presence of such pairs as shi
師 "teacher" and jiao 教 "teach." Such pairs turn out to be
essentially of the same kind as si 死 "die" versus sha 殺 "cause
to die."

From the causative uses of wu 物, let us turn to the
putative uses of that word:

(131) 物物而不物於物

THING THING AND/THEN(ER) NOT THING BY THING
He treats things as things and does not (permit himself to be)
treated as a thing.   Zhuang 20.7

Again it follows naturally from the general principles of
Classical Chinese grammar that a verb for "be a thing" can come to
mean "consider/treat as a thing."

     Some pervasive puzzling phenomena of so-called class cleavage
in Classical Chinese thus find a perfectly natural and easy
explanation.

A NOMINALIZING/SUBORDINATING HYBRID IN KOINĒ GREEK

     Consider the following passage from the Gospel of Mark with
its unflinching translation in James I's version:

(1)   Ὁ δε Ἰησοῦς εἶπεν·   τὸ εἰ δύνασαι πιστεῦσαι
πάντα δυνατά τῷ πιστεύοντι.

BUT JESUS SAID: <u>THAT-WHICH IF</u> CAN BELIEVE EVERYTHING POSSIBLE TO-
THE BELIEVER.

Jesus said unto him, If thou canst believe, all things are
possible to him that believeth. Mark 9.23

The word <u>to</u> "the, that which" nominalizes, but it is followed by
the conditional <u>ei</u> "if." We have an exact parallel to our
Classical Chinese examples with sentence connectives together with
nominalizers.

(2)   Ἀμὴν λέγω ὑμῖν·   ὃς ἐὰν μὴ δέξηται τὴν βασιλείαν
τοῦ Θεοῦ ὡς παιδίον οὐ μὴ εἰσέλθη εἰς αὐτήν.

AMEN TELL TO-YOU: <u>HE-WHO IF</u> NOT RECEIVE THE KINGDOM OF-THE GOD
LIKE CHILD, NOT BY-NO-MEANS WILL-ENTER INTO IT.
Verily I say unto you, Whosoever shall not receive the kingdom of
God as a little child, he shall not enter therein. Mark 10.15

(3) ... ἀλλ' ὃς ἐὰν θέλη γενέσθαι μέγας ἐν ὑμῖν ἔσται
ὑμῖν διάκονος, καὶ ὃς ἐὰν θέλη ὑμῖν γενέσθαι πρῶτος
ἔσται πάντων δοῦλος.

BUT <u>HE-WHO IF</u> WISH BECOME BIG AMONG YOU BE SERVANT YOURS

(You know that they which are accounted to rule over the Gentiles
exercise lordship over them; and their great ones exercise
authority upon them. But so shall it not be among you:) but
whosoever will be great among you, shall be your minister: And
whosoever of you will be the chiefest shall be servant of all.
Mark 10.42

(4)   ’Αμὴν γὰρ λέγω ὑμῖν ὅτι ὃς ’ἀν εἴπῃ τῷ ὄρει τούτῳ
ἄρθητι καὶ βλήθητι εἰς τὸν θάλασσαν, καὶ μὴ διακριτῇ
ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ αὐτοῦ ἀλλὰ πιστεύσῃ ὅτι ἃ λέγει γίνεται,
ἔσται αὐτῷ ὃ ἐὰν εἴπῃ.

...IT-WILL-BE TO-HIM THAT-WHICH IF SAYS
For verily I say unto you, That whosoever shall say unto this
mountain, be thou removed, and be thou cast into the sea; and
shall not doubt in his heart, but shall believe that those things
which he saith shall come to pass) he shall have whatsoever he
saith.   Mark 11.23

Note that the Greek has the innocuous hos an "he who might" for
the first "whosoever" of James' version, whereas it has hos ean
for the second. The strategy of grammarians of Koine Greek has
been to say that the ean "if" in these sorts of constructions
stands for or should be understood as the current Attic Greek
an.[22]

      In the earliest attested occurrence of our construction, a
passage attributed to Socrates in Xenophon's Memorabilia, the ean
has even been replaced with an and relegated to the apparatus
criticus by modern editors, although all ancient text-witnesses
agree on ean. The reason for the learned emendation was no doubt
the proverbial Weil nicht sein kann, was nicht sein darf.

      But in fact, our syntactic hybrid is quite common in Hellen-
istic times both inside and outside the New Testament. Take the
following memorable passage I found in emperor Marcus Aurelius's
remarkable book Eis heauton:

(5)   Ἥτις ἐὰν οὖν πρᾶξίς σου μὴ ἔχῃ τὴν ἀναφορὰν εἴτε
προσεχῶς εἴτε πόρρωθεν ἐπὶ τὸ κοινωνικὸν τέλος αὕτη
διασπᾷ τὸν βίον καὶ οὐκ ἐᾷ ἕνα εἶναι.

WHATEVER IF CONSEQUENTLY ACTION OF-YOU ...
Whatever action of yours that does not tend either directly or
indirectly towards the public aim, such action will make your life
disparate and disunited. Marcus Aurelius, Eis heauton 9.23

Both Socrates, Jesus, and the emperor of Rome use the hybrid
expression. I suggest it became a natural hybrid idiom in
Hellenistic times, which it would be wrong to emend or explain
away. The construction is indeed messy and indeterminate. But so
is life.

NOTES

a. Karlgren (1951:111-113) has studied ye after nomina
propria in detail, but fails to notice the close connections with
ye   after "pronominally" used names and other subjects.

b. Cf. Shi 62.1.

c. I am indebted to Göran Malmqvist for correcting my
earlier mistranslation of this sentence.

d. Cf. ibid., I.206 (2 examples); I.120; I.134; I.433;
I.437.

e. Cf. ibid., I.173; I.177; I.199.

f. Cf. Guan 12 (1.55-4).

g. We note in passing that in this context post-subject ye
is not limited to direct speech. (And if it was, this would not
affect our logical argument.) Karlgen (1951) regards ye after
complex noun phrases as entirely separate and different from ye
after nomina propria. His argument is that ye after nomina
propria also occurs in other than subject position. I shall
discuss these later cases in Section 4 of this paper and show that
these cases actually strengthen our present account of Classical
Chinese nouns.

h. The existence of post-nominal ye in object position does
not affect the present argument and will be discussed below in
Section 4 on the object.

1. Compare the uses of ye in the following passage:

仁人也不可失也

He is a good person. He must not be lost. Meng 1B15

It seems plausible to explain both these ye on the same princi-
ples, and it does not seem plausible to take bu ke shi 不可失

as a nominal construction. Compare the more detailed discussion
in Current Issues.

2. Cf. Aspects, pp. 17-30 for further examples.

3. For the relation between nominalization and subordina-
tion in Classical Chinese see Section 3 on the nominalized
subject.

4. For further discussion of this contrasting pair see
Section 3.1.

5. For more detailed treatment of the particle fan see
Aspects 2.6.

6. Cf. Zhuang 23.47; Mo 69.13; Xun 32.23.

7. Cf. Zuo Zhao 20.4; Zuo Zhao 29, fu 2.

8. In fact it is the analysis in A that I ought to have
discussed and considered in Aspects 3.4, as the reactions of Zhu
Dexi (1983) and Egerod (1983) show.

9. Note on the other hand the idiom "in case" in sentences
like "In case he does not arrive in time I shall leave him a
note."

10. Cf. Aspects 4.4, examples (12)-(15) for further documen-
tation of the pattern.

11. Cf. Aspects, p. 221ff.

12. Compare English sentences like: "That distinguished
engineer was unable to fix his own bicycle," where we have a
concessive relation between subject and predicate.

13. Cf. also Zuo Ding 4.12.

14. There are two examples in the context. Cf. also Zuo
Xiang 31.6.

15. Our interpretation of nominalization with zhi will also
have to account for nominalized objects:

又惡人之有吾之功

Moreover I resent other people's usurping my merits. Zuo Zhao 30

In this case there can be no question of sentential subordination
of the nominalized clause, but we do have embedding.

16. Cf. Zuo Xi 28.5 (two examples); Cheng 2.4; Zhao 5, fu 1;
Zhao 15.5; Zhao 26.2; Zhao 30.3; Ding 10.3; and Ai 2.7.

17. If we take nouns to be classificatory predicates, then
the double function of fu as a nominalizer and as a marker of
nouns is perfectly predictable. Fu will be taken as a nominalizer
in both cases. See Sections 2.1 and 2.2.

18. In fact Mencius was remarkably fond of this construc-
tion, as the examples in Meng 3B1, 5B7, etc., show. Cf. also
Zhuang 17.86; 12.65; etc.

19. Cf. Zuo Zhao 20.3.

20. The same sentence is also found in Shangjun Shu.
Compare the common modern saying: 答非所問 (ANSWER NOT-BE
[FEI] THE-OBJECT-WHICH ASK, i.e., "Not answer the question
properly").

21. Cf. J. H. Moulton, Einleitung in die Sprache des Neuen
Testaments (1911), p. 62ff.; E. Mayser, Grammatik der griechischen
Papyri aus der Ptolemaeerzeit vol. I, p. 152f.; W. Croenert,
Memoria Graeca Herculanenis (1903), p. 130; H. St. J. Thackeray, A
Grammar of the Old Testament in Greek according to the Septuagint
vol. I, (1909), p. 67; A. Deissmann, Neue Bibelstudien (1897), p.
30ff.; and F. Blass and A. Debrunner's monumental work Grammatik
des neutestamentlichen Griechisch (1950), Par. 107.

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              Taipei, 1973.

HF   Han Fei Zi. Wang Xian-shen. Han Fei Zi ji jie
              (Collected commentaries on Han Fei Zi). Taipei,
              photographic reprint, 1974.

HSWZ   Han Shi Wai Zhuan. Lai Yan-yuan. Han Shi Wai Zhuan
              jin zhu jin yi (Han commentary and translation of the
              Han Shi Wai Zhuan). Taipei, 1973.

HYISIS   Harvard Yenching Institute Sinological Index Series.
              Peking.

Lao   Lao Zi. SBBY edition.

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LSCQ   Lu Shi Chun Qiu. Xu Wei-yu. Lu Shi Chun Qiu jishi.
              (Collected commentaries on the Lu Shi Chun Qiu).
              Peking, 1955.

LY   Lun Yu. HYISIS edition.

Meng   Mencius. HYISIS edition.

SBBY   Si Bu Bei Yao.

Shi   Shi Jing. HYISIS edition.

Shi Ji   Shi Ji. Takigawa Kametaro. Shiki kaichu kosho
              (Critical edition of Shi Ji). Tokyo, 1934.

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SJ   Shangjun Shu. Gao Heng. Shangjunshu zhu yi
              (Commentary and translations of the Book of Lord
              Shang). Peking, 1974.

Xun   Xun Zi. HYISIS edition.

ZGC   Zhanguo Ce. Ye Yu-lin. Zhan Guo Ce (Baihua
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COMMENTS

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      16 March 1985

On the Verbality of Classical Chinese Nouns

Translated by Edward L. Shaughnessy

In his paper "Where do Classical Chinese Nouns Come From?,"
Christoph Harbsmeier has turned his incisive analytical skills to
the question of the relationship between nouns and verbs in Clas-
sical Chinese and has proposed a new interpretation. In this
paper he has pointed out a series of grammatical phenomena that
current grammatical views are either unable to explain or else are
unable to explain fully. In his view, these phenomena come
together to explain one thing, that in Classical Chinese nouns are
possessed of verbal qualities, and by their basic nature are a
type of classificatory verb.

The reason that Harbsmeier could arrive at this type of
conclusion is because he has noticed an important phenomenon of
Classical Chinese syntax, that nominal expressions in subject
position have the quality of predicates. Because of this, he says
that the subject/predicate sentence of Classical Chinese involves
two predications. This view is entirely correct. It is worth
noting that Y. R. Chao also observed a similar phenomenon in
Modern Chinese, saying:

> But if you put the two minor sentences together, then
> you get exactly the makeup of a full sentence: topic and
> comment, expressed as subject and predicate. Thus we
> have arrived at the surprising, and yet obvious,
> conclusion that a full sentence is a complex sentence
> consisting of two minor ones.

(Chao 1968:83)

However, that the subject nominal has predictionality does not
necessarily lead to the conclusion that nouns have verbality. On
this point, Harbsmeier has obviously taken too great a step. If
his logic were to be correct, then we could derive a similar

conclusion that in Modern Chinese nouns have verbality, and yet
this is obviously not the case.

Aside from this, there is yet another obvious flaw in
Harbsmeier's theory. In this essay he has devoted considerable
space to proving that nominal expressions in subject position have
verbality, but he has not been able to cite many examples to prove
the verbality of nominal expressions in object or modifier posi-
tion. In order to explain this contradiction, he says: "In
general I must report that the deeper embedded a noun is in a
Classical Chinese sentence (i.e., the more peripheral it is from
the main predication), the less obvious its verbal qualities
become." This, I'm afraid, is a misconception of his. In fact,
this phenomenon shows no more than that in Chinese (including both
Classical Chinese and Modern Chinese) nominal expressions carry
predication only when acting as subject, which can be seen as the
non-main clause of a complex sentence; when acting as an object or
modifier they do not have this quality.

Harbsmeier believes that his theory regarding Classical
Chinese nouns as classificatory verbs has one obvious advantage,
which is that he is able to obtain a thoroughly simple unified
explanation for a few syntactic forms which due to their inclusion
of different word-classes were previously always viewed as having

different structures. For example, the particle "mei" 每 has
both pre-nominal and pre-verbal uses. In the former position it
means "every," while in the latter position it means "whenever."
If we were to regard the noun as a classificatory verb, then we
could arrive at a unified explanation for these two forms and
there would be no need to posit two different meanings.

We know that in Classical Chinese nouns and verbs are two
different parts of speech and that their distribution is naturally
different, but this in no way keeps them from appearing in similar
syntactic environments. It is especially noteworthy that both
nouns and verbs can appear in subject position. This is the case
in both Classical Chinese and also in Modern Chinese, but is poles
apart from the case of Indo-European. Owing to the influence of
Indo-European grammatical conceptions, to this day there have
always been those who would like to explain the verb in subject
position as a noun. This is exactly opposite from Harbsmeier, who
wants to view the noun in subject position as a verb. But, in my
view, neither of these theories can stand or, at any rate, are
necessary. This is true not only in the case of the subject
position but also in all other positions. Let us take the case of
mei mentioned above as an example. We said that mei could be
followed by either a noun or a verb, which is in itself a "unified
explanation" of the two forms "mei + N" and "mei + V." In his
contention that pre-nominal mei means "every" while pre-verbal mei

means "whenever," Harbsmeier has fallen prey to translating and to
viewing the problem through the eyes of the English language. If
we look at the problem instead from the viewpoint of Modern
Chinese, then the pre-nominal "each thing" (<u>mei shi</u> 每事) can be
explained as "each single thing" (<u>mei yijian shi</u> 每一件事) and
the pre-verbal "each time" (<u>mei zhao</u> 每朝) can be explained as
"each single time" (<u>mei yici zhao jian</u> 每一次朝見), both
meanings including a concept of unit of quantity. Does this not
in turn demonstrate a common linguistic meaning for <u>mei</u> in its two
different positions?

    Harbsmeier has also sought to demonstrate the unified nature
of <u>ye</u> 也 in the post-nominal, post-verbal, and post-clausal
position, and also the unified nature of "nominalizing <u>zhe</u> 者 "
and "subordinating <u>zhe</u>" (which correspond respectively to what I
have termed <u>zhe</u>$_t$ and <u>zhe</u>$_s$). I am sympathetic with his exertions
in this regard, for this is certainly not an easy task. But his
explanation of <u>zhe</u> has obviously not been successful. I have
previously suggested a hypothesis regarding the unified nature of
"<u>zhe</u>$_s$" and "<u>zhe</u>$_t$" but there is no assurance that that is correct
either. To demonstrate the unified nature of <u>ye</u>, one would also
come up against a number of difficulties. For example (the refer-
ences to the following texts are to the Harvard-Yenching Index
Series unless otherwise noted):

1. 參也與子游聞之 .   <u>Li Ji</u>, "Tan Gong" (<u>Shih-san-</u>
                            <u>ching chu-shu</u> [Taipei: Yi-
                            wen, 1965]) 8.7a

2. 若之何其以虎也   <u>Zuozhuan</u> Xiang 2I.4
    弗社稷?

3. 子之不使白也裹   <u>Li Ji</u>, "Tan Gong" 6.5a
    之,何也 ? ... 仮其
    安能? 為仮也妻者,
    是為白也毋. 不為
    仮也妻者, 是不為
    白也毋.

4. 兇使彪也吠.   <u>Shijing</u>, Mao 23

It seems that Harbsmeier's thesis regarding "ye" is incapable of explaining any of these examples.

The above discussion has been limited to the sphere of nominal subjects comprised of nouns. The case of nominalized subjects comprised of verbs is very different and needs to be discussed separately.

In Classical Chinese, there are four principal nominalizers, zhe 者 , zhi 之 , qi 其 , and suo 所 . The case of suo is unrelated to the present topic and need not be discussed here. Let us first take up the case of zhe.

In Zhu 1983, I divided zhe into two types, one signifying "transferred-designation" (zhe_t) and one signifying "self-designation" (zhe_s). The difference between the two is this: when compared with $\overline{VP}$, "VP zhe_t" not only shows a change in word-class but also manifests an obvious change in meaning (仁者 $_t$ [≠仁] 樂山); on the other hand, the difference between VP "VP zhe_s" is only one of word-class, with the meaning maintained without change (仁者 $_s$ [=仁] 人也). According to this view, "VP zhe_s" is a nominal expression and is only able to serve as the subject or object of a sentence. But "VP zhe_s" can sometimes exhibit conditionality, with its linguistic use corresponding to a non-main clause. For example:

5. 魯無君子者 ，
   斯焉取斯 ?   Lunyu 5.3

6. 為君計者 ，勿攻使 .   Zhanguo ce 24.5 (Taipei:
                               Li-jen shu-chu, 1982),
                               II, p. 894

7. 故從山上望牛者   Xunzi "Jie bi" 8I/2I/71
   若羊，而求羊者不下   (Harbsmeier 62-76)
   牽也，遠蔽其大也 .

My explanation of this type of phenomenon is that the conditional meaning expressed in "VP zhe_s" is derived from "ruo 若 , (ru 如) VP zhe_s," which expresses a sense of similarity. Due to the interrelationship between conditional sense and the sense of similarity (Latin si, Dutch zoo, and Chinese ru and ruo all have the two meanings "like" and "if"), ruo/ru gradually developed from

a verb into a conjunction, and "zhe_s" also gradually changed from a nominalizing marker into a subordinating particle. Thus, "VP zhe_s" is capable of being separate from the preceding ruo or ru and still independently serve a conditional function.

Harbsmeier believes this theory is incapable of explaining the following type of sentence.

8. 使壞城者不得復   Guan 22(2.3-5) (Harbsmeier 80)
    築也.

9. 使武安侯在者族矣 .   Shi Ji 107.29 (Harbsmeier 81)

10. 使古而死死者則太   HSWZ 10.11 (Harbsmeier 82)
    公至今猶存.

In fact, however, there is nothing at all difficult about this. This type of sentence is formed simply by adding at the beginning the conditional conjunction shi 使 after the "VP zhe_s" had already developed to the point where it could independently express a conditional meaning apart from ruo or ru.

The function of "zhi" is to nominalize an S-P expression. "N zhi VP" expresses self-designation, and is extremely close in meaning to the corresponding NV. This type of semantic interrelationship hastens the unification of linguistic function. Therefore, although "N zhi V" is a nominalized expression, at the same time it also carries an obvious verbal nature and in a sentence can serve as a non-main clause.

"Qi VP" is the pronominalized form of "N zhi VP," and therefore like "N zhi VP" similarly has both nominal and verbal natures. The negative form "bu 不 VP" which is parallel to the subordinate clause "qi VP" is just a purely verbal construction.

The relationship between noun and verb is possibly "universal," and yet it is probably also a universal that between these two word-classes there exists an intricate and complex relationship. Otto Jespersen has said that although the modern English infinitive is purely a verb, it still retains a few nominal features. Similarly, the English gerund is also replete with both nominal and verbal features. He said:

It may therefore be termed a hybrid between these two
word-classes, and as such has become an extremely supple
means of combining and subordinating ideas.

(Jespersen 1933:320)

The cases of the Classical Chinese nominalized expressions "VP
zhe_s," "N zhi VP," and "qi VP" are all exactly the same.

In summation, then, Harbsmeier's theory that Classical
Chinese nouns have verbal natures must be restricted in scope. I
would suggest that it is only appropriate to nominalized expres-
sions composed of zhe, zhi, and qi and is appropriate for true
nouns.

* * * * *

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It is the assumption in what follows that Late Archaic
Chinese (LAC) had two word classes (with some overlapping and some
marginal blur): N(ouns) and V(erbs). Christoph Harbsmeier does
not contest the existence of two such classes, but wants to sub-
sume both under V, so that N becomes a special (classificatory)
Verb. There are some fascinating arguments in favor of this view,
but in the following I shall try to produce some arguments against
it.

First I shall give a compressed summary of my (not very
revolutionary) understanding of how LAC grammar works. Then I
shall look at some of Harbsmeier's examples in the light of these
general views.

An N can function as Subject (N_1 ... 也), Predicate (... N_2
也), Agent (NV), Object (VN), Regimen of Preposition (於 N),
Noun Modifier (N_1 之 N_2), Verb Modifier (N 而 V), Sentence Modi-
fier, and Theme. A Theme containing a condition I suggest calling
a Scenario (see Egerod 1982).

Some of these usages of N can be suspected of containing a
(classificatory) verbal function. As Subj or Agent, N may mean
"if someone or something **is** N," and as Pred it conveys the meaning
"**is** N." In N 而 V, N functions as a Verb Mod, in the sense of

"if someone **is** N" or substituting for an Obj or Reg which would otherwise be placed after the V, in which latter case (e.g., 中 道 而 ... "in the middle of the road") there is no clear verbal function. An Obj negated by 非 forms a Subordinated Sentence "he who **is** not N," and it is the covert Subj "he" of that Subord Sent which is the Obj in the Main Sentence. An N with 者 may be said to mean "that which **is** N), and it is again the covert Subj of this Predication ("that") which functions as N in the Main Sentence.

The question is, whether the classificatory verbalness is present in the N (and is suppressed in functions not containing "is"), or is expressed covertly by the functions Subj and Agent, and overtly by the grammatical words 也 ,而 , and 者 (which when functioning with V do not have to supply the already present verbalness). But let us also look at the functions of Verb.

A V can function in a V(erb) Ph(rase) with or without Agent or Obj, and the VPh can constitute a verbal (narrative or injunc- tive) Sent (possible Copula 矣) or a determinative Sent (possible Copula 也). A VPh with an overt Agent can be nominalized by a preceding 之 which at the same time makes the Agent into a N Mod(ifier). A VPh can also be nominalized by means of 者 in which case it can function as the Subj of a following Pred. This same construction (VPh 者) can be used for establishing the covert Agent or the Obj of the V as an Agent of a following V in the Main Sentence.

Many Sino-Tibetan languages have copulas. Akha has some twenty or thirty of them. LAC had the two postposed copulas mentioned above: djia 也 and zjiag 矣 with the negative circum- posed forms: pjiwər ... djia 非 ... 也 , and mjiwəd ... djia 未 ... 也 . 矣 and 未 ... 也 function with VPh only, 也 and 非 ... 也 with VPh and Noun. Sentence final 也 is not present in embedded clauses. Early Archaic Chinese had a preposed copula djiwər 惟 , which has survived in LAC in the fusion forms pjiwər 非 "is not" and sjiwər 雖 "it may well be that ..., (but) ...."

Six grammatical particles of LAC form the system noted in Figure 1.

Figure 1

constituting	Modifier (endocentric)	Phrase (exocentric)	Sentence (nexual)
	之	者	也
with N or nominalized V	[NM 之 N]	[N 者]N	[N 也]Sent
	而	所	矣
with V	[VM 而 V]	[所 V]N	[V 矣]Sent

When Mencius says (1A3) 非我也兵也 , I assume he means "It (i.e., the Agent that killed the man) was not I, it was the weapon." If I understand Harbsmeier correctly, the translation could be expounded into "It was not that which is identical with me, it was that which is identical with a/the weapon." I don't think that "**is** I" and "**is** weapon" are necessarily the basic meaning of 我 and 兵. I would rather look for the "is" in the two copulas, which are likely candidates for the content "esse" in the classificatory use.

Harbsmeier uses 仁 "humaneness" to illustrate the verbalness of nouns. But 仁 in its semantics already contains a strong adjectival or predicative side "being humane." Harbsmeier translates 我必不仁也 as "I am certainly to be counted as not humane." One could suggest a narrower translation, "As for me, I am certainly an inhumane one." As a member of a N_1N_2 也 construction, 不仁 is nominal, even though inside its own phrase it is verbal(ized).

A more difficult case is 分均仁也. The meaning depends on whether the Subj is "to divide equally, dividing equally" or "he who divides equally, when someone divides equally." The Pred will be "to be humane, humaneness," or "is a humane person," respectively. Is the Subj a VPh or the Agent of the Verb? It depends on the Subj whether the Pred is an abstract N or a person with a certain quality. In either case the construction is N_1N_2 也 with the "is" supplied by 也.

If this hunch is correct, 也 is not a Verbal Particle which forces us to take every noun as a Classificatory Verb, but a Determinative Copula which does not deal directly with verbals at all, but with Nouns and Sentences.

Commenting on 王非置兩令尹也 Harbsmeier says that "We
do not have a nominal predicate 'be (a case of) an appointment of
two Chief Ministers'." But I don't know why not. "As for a/the
King, that is not a case of someone appointing two Chief Minis-
ters" or, applied to a specific situation "... it is not normal
that he appoints (should appoint, will appoint) two Chief Minis-

ters." Similarly other examples: 吾非愛道也 "it is not
(true) that I was stingy with words." Harbsmeier's rendering of
such examples with "it is not as if ..." tends to obscure the
grammatical values and through the translation make ultimately
nominal phrases appear more verbal or even adverbial than they
otherwise would. It seems simpler and more in harmony with other
languages to talk about Nominal(ized) Verb Phrases than about
innate Verbal Nouns.

The innocent (!) example 殺一無罪非仁也 is so evident
to Harbsmeier that he feels inspired to brand possible objectors
to his theory (including himself, should he falter) as "analyti-
cally bloody-minded" and "grammatically wrong-headed." Maybe I am
both, but to my mind the sentence means "to kill one innocent

person [無罪 is another VPh, whose covert Agent is Obj of the V
in the Main Sent] is not to be humane" and both members of the

N_1N_2也 construction are nominal, whether we translate "to be
humane," "being humane," or "humaneness." Harbsmeier's "It is not
humane" is just another way of saying "it is not being humane" or
"it is not a case of being humane." The main thing is that if the
Subj is a nominalized VPh, the Pred is also Noun.

In connection with pre-nominal 之 he again chooses an
example which does not seem to cover N in general. Few will

dispute the fact that 勇 has an "adjectival" side and that
"courage" means "to be courageous, being courageous." So 匹夫

之勇 talks about "the commoner's courage, his (way of) being

courageous." And 養勇 "cultivating courage" can be taken to

mean "cultivating being courageous." 之 nominalizes this verbal

interpretation of the "adjectival" Noun 勇 --to spell it out in

all stages of the process. Harbsmeier claims that
nominalizes everywhere--I would say, certainly, except where the
Head of the N_1之N_2 construction is already a Noun.

The author investigates the interesting fact that 也 can
occur not only after the Pred, but also after Subj or Agent. (I

have myself [Egerod 1971] expressed the matter in similar terms.)
This is also true of, for instance, Akha couplas (forming "cleft"
sentences, "it is A who ..."). But there are two constraints on
this phenomenon in LAC, which make it less useful in the present

context: 1) This 也 occurs most commonly after Personal Nouns in
direct quotation, and 2) It occurs also when PN in direct quota-
tion occupy other syntactic nominal places than that of Subject.

Since in this latter usage 也 cannot in any sense of the word be
a copula or have anything to do with a nominalizing function, it
is better understood here as a postposed pronoun. The pronominal
function may well be the origin of its use as a copula, but this

is a historical hypothesis, not a synchronic fact. 其過也如
日月之食 is a good candidate for a transitional usage: "those
mistakes of his" > "his mistakes now to be described" or even "as
to his making mistakes."

    Quixotically Harbsmeier fights quite a few windmills--such
as "the nebulous function (of 也) as a pausemaker" or 墨子者
being "grammatically scandalous." We have put these and other
curiosa behind us, I think, and are further along--without neces-
sarily having to make V out of all words occurring with 者, or of
all proper nouns.

    In the construction V 者則 V the author assigns the "if"
which we can insert into the translation of V 者 to the particle
者, when in fact it is more likely to be indicated or selected
by則 , and is in principle no different from the "if" which he
admits in a simple N Subj such as "Confucians" = "If someone is a
Confucian." The particle 者 nominalizes. What further happens
belongs to the story of the Noun.

    It would seem at first sight as if the construction N 而 V
"if someone is N ..." would constitute a strong case in favor of
Harbsmeier's views, since the N functions as a V Mod and there is
no clear connection between V Mod and "condition plus is ...."
But in actual fact the N in this construction behaves in ways we
have already met above. It can represent an Agent in which case
N 而 V is part of a larger Sentence ("if somebody is N and yet
'verbs,' then ..."), or an Obj or Regimen, in which case the Sent
may end right there ("in relation to the Obj, he 'verbed it'" or
"in the Reg he 'verbed'"). All three usages are transforms of
ordinary V Phrases: Agent V or V Obj, and the N keeps its verbal

or non-verbal values intact in the transforms. 人而無信 is a transform of 人無信 which emphasizes the agential and conditional status of 人 and makes the whole sentence into a Theme (a Scenario) in another Main Sentence. I don't see why 而 should be an "anomaly" (another windmill!) even if we do not assume that 人 is fundamentally a Verb.

In order to identify prenominal and preverbal 每 "every, every instance of, every time that ..." the author assumes that all N following 每 are classificatory Verbs. Is this simpler than having 每 nominalize a following VPh? I fail to understand the verbalness of 事 in 每事問 "he asked about every matter," even though 事 is, of course, in some other usages with a different meaning verbal. And it seems to me that 每日遷舍 does not comment on "every instance of something being a day," but tells us that it was "every day" (Sent Mod) that he moved.

Harbsmeier reverts to the by now well-known "asinine mistake" of making those who look at buffaloes resemble goats in 故從山上望牛者如羊 . The wrong translation makes the covert Agent of the first Phrase the covert Agent of the second and Main Sent also. This is grammatically possible but contextually impossible. The good translation makes the overt Obj of the first Phrase the covert Agent of the Main Sentence. The grammar simply gives us "as for the case of somebody(Agent) looking at(V) buffaloes(Obj), the Agent or the Obj or the whole VPh ('looking at buffaloes') resembles goats." Only the Obj is a possibility in this context. In 1982, I added the word "possible" to the paraphrase "as for the possible case of ...." I do not insist on this. The grammar of LAC does not formally distinguish between the possible and the actual case (the Scenario and the Theme).

We saw above that Harbsmeier wanted to transfer the grammatical content of 則 to 者 . Likewise he maintains that the grammatical meaning of 使 "if" is also present in 者 in the example 使武安侯在者 "<u>supposing that</u> Wu'an was alive ...." In this way he renders the clarifying words 則 and 使 grammatically superfluous. Let us rather say naively, in order to convey something like the grammatical semantics of Chinese, that 使 means

"supposing" and 者 means "that." Or take the example 苟有之中者 ...

A

B

C
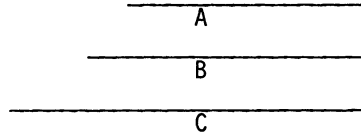
where we can translate A as "they have it inside," B as "<u>that</u> they have it inside," and C as "<u>supposing that</u> they have it inside." Harbsmeier comes back to the semantics of 仁 when discussing 仁者如射. Again we have to look at the grammatical possibilities. What is the Agent of 如 ? Is it 仁 or the covert Subj of 仁 ? In the first case the Sent would mean "the quality of being humane is like performing archery," in the second case "that which is humane resembles archery" or "presupposing that something is humane, it resembles archery." The two translations under the second case are logically different. Harbsmeier labels them assumption (in subordination) and presupposition (in nominalization) respectively. The first case without a Subj may not be good formal logic at all, but it may well be good grammar in the light of absence of Subj or Agent in other constructions (in Han Fei Zi's 此則謂傷民也 it seems strained [bloody-minded?] to visualize a covert Agent in 傷民).

Harbsmeier has interesting observations on the function of sentences nominalized by 之 (between Agent and V), but again I view the same fact differently. He finds that 之 sometimes subordinates, sometimes does not, where I would say that it is the nominalized Sent which can be used as Subj, Theme, or Sent Modifier. In the case of 國之不可小者備故也 we have an $N_1 N_2$ 也 construction: "That the state cannot be taken lightly <u>is</u> because [<u>is</u> the effect of the fact that] it has taken defensive precautions," so the nominalized Sent functions as Subject. 國之將興明神降之 "when a state is about to rise, the illustrious spirits descend on it" is a complicated transformation by exposure, of 明神降[於]將興之國 . The exposed entity is a Scenario. In 紂之百克而無後 "(concerning) the fact that Zhou was successful a hundred times, yet had no heirs" the

nominalized phrase is the object (regimen) of 而 "in regard to, concerning," a fact which Harbsmeier seemingly forgot to note, when he copied the example from <u>Zuo Zhuan</u>, Xuan Gong 12th year.

而 does not in itself give us a clue as to what the nominalized Sent is going to be used for--other grammatical hints and common sense must tell us that. This important facet of LAC grammar in general has actually been beautifully stated by Harbsmeier himself in his <u>Philosophical Grammar</u> (1979:110-16) in connection with the "principle of economy" (cf. Egerod 1982:91).

Another case presents an interesting anomaly: 雖鞭之長 ... "even though the whip is long ...." Harbsmeier has demonstrated that 雖 contains 惟 as one element of a fusion. 雖 here nominalizes the same way as ... 也 does: "It may well be <u>that</u> a whip is long ...." There is good grammatical sense in this overt nominalization with 之, even though usually sentences established by copula are not further marked for nominalization.

I shall not here enter into the problems connected with the possible inherent modality of 其. Certainly in some cases 其 is the equivalent of covert "third person pronoun plus 之," and the function is then the same as N plus 之. It can therefore nominalize a VPh and this nominalized phrase can function in various syntactic structures (one which is <u>subordinated</u>, not <u>subordinating</u>; cf. Egerod 1982:107-9). In other cases many researchers (including Karlgren and Malmqvist) find that the usage and content of 其 is different from "pronoun plus 之" and may represent a totally different word. Malmqvist has made an important contribution by investigating the problem in a single text, the <u>Zuo Zhuan</u>. More research is needed to illuminate all the synchronic and diachronic aspects of this puzzle.

The author is, of course, right that an Obj containing 非 is an embedded clause (see above under functions of N). In 何事非君 "How could I serve someone other than my ruler?" the Obj of 事 is the covert Subj of 非君 "<u>someone</u> who is not my ruler." 非 is a negative copula, which sheds its final 也 when the clause is not a main one. But does that necessarily mean that the positive counterpart means "serve someone who is my ruler?" At least no more than in English, where "my ruler" and "someone who is not my ruler" form exactly the same kind of semantic and grammatical contrast as in Chinese. I venture to postulate that it is the

negative 非 which indicates and necessitates an embedding here, not the noun.

Harbsmeier concludes that "to be nominal in Classical Chinese is to be a non-main classificatory predicate." I would maintain that to be nominal means to be a noun or a nominalized phrase used as a nominal by the grammar. Nouns and nominalized phrases can also be used with other values, again depending on the grammar.

He also finds that "the deeper embedded a noun is in a Classical Chinese sentence (i.e., the more peripheral it is from the main predication) the less obvious its verbal qualities become." I would rather turn this around and say that the closer to the surface the noun gets, the more likely it is to occur in constructions (such as predication and nexualization), indicated by copulas, particles, and other grammatical means, which entail a classificatory function.

<center>* * * * *</center>

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      17 April 1985

In the letter inviting me to participate in this discussion reference is made to the novelty of Dr. Harbsmeier's approach. Alas, if only it were so! From my perspective his critique of current views on Classical Chinese grammar seems merely to want to dissolve the hard-won gains that have been made over the past two or three decades through trying to analyze Classical Chinese as a language like any other and to take us back to the muddled ideas that prevailed when I was a beginning student. In those days it was quite an issue whether Chinese had "parts of speech" and sentences in which nouns were apparently used as verbs and vice versa were triumphantly cited to demonstrate that it did not. Now Harbsmeier wants to call nouns "classificatory verbs," effectively sending us back to those "good old days."

Of course the critique must be answered. A dogmatic claim that, because Chinese is a language, it must conform to principles of universal grammar cannot be justified simply by appealing to the authority of Noam Chomsky. On the other hand, one might suppose that it behooved those who reject such a claim to show up by what other principles Chinese can perform its functions. It seems to me that Harbsmeier delights in blurring distinctions that others have tried to make but offers very little in return in the

way of new distinctions by which we can achieve a better analysis.
While I would not claim to have the answers to all the points he
raises, I feel sure that most of them can be disposed of very
easily and that, in general, the assumption that Chinese grammar
operates on principles that are found in all languages is heuris-
tically the only sound approach to the subject.

A point-by-point refutation of his arguments would take up
far too much space. Let me begin, however, by discussing the
examples he cites to show that the particle yě 也 frequently
follows verbs and cannot, therefore, be taken as an indicator of
noun predication. I would agree that yě can occur with genuinely
verbal predicates--some thoughts on how this is to be explained
will be offered below. In the examples he cites, however, in
spite of his claim to the contrary, there can be no doubt that
what we have are ordinary noun predicates with sentences taking
the place of nouns, in other words, what I call unmarked
nominalization.

In Classical Chinese one can mark a VP as nominalized by
inserting the genitive particle zhī 之 between the subject and
the verb, or replacing the subject by qí 其 if it is pronom-
inalized. Furthermore the particles zhě 者 , which stands for the
pronominalized head of a noun phrase, and suǒ 所 , which stands
for the object or locative complement of the verb in a relative
clause when this is co-referent with the head, may serve as
markers of nominalization. It is also possible, however, in
certain conditions, for a VP to replace a noun in a sentence
without any overt sign of nominalization, as in:

(1) 是亦走也 .
    "This is also running away." Meng 1A/3

(2) 故王之不王 , 不為也 ,非不能也 .
    "Therefore, Your Majesty's not achieving true kingship is
    not-doing, it is not not-being-able." Meng 1A/7

If the subject is omitted and the nominalized VP is not in a
relative clause, there is, of course, no possiblity of marking the
nominalization. In examples such as these, however, the VP ful-
fills the syntactic role of a noun just by being inserted in a
noun slot. It should be noted, furthermore, that even a sentence
with an overt subject may appear in the noun predicate construc-
tion with yě, as in:

(3) 是篡也非天與也.

"This would have been usurping, it would not have been
Heaven's bestowing." Meng 5A/5

Unmarked nominalization by inserting a VP in the noun predi-
cate formula: (fei) X ye "is (not) X"--is used especially (a) when
two predicates are contrasted or correlated--"it is A, it is (not)
B," etc., (b) in order to add an explanation to what precedes--"it
is that ...," "it is because ...." Harbsmeier's examples are short
snippets out of context but when we place them in context we can
easily see that they can be accounted for according to these
principles. His example (3) is given below in fuller form as (4):

(4) 有人於此，其待我以衡逆,則君子必自反也，
     我必不仁也．必無礼也.

"There is a man here. If his treatment of me is perverse and
unreasonable, then the superior man must reflect on himself,
'It must be that I am inhumane, it must be that I am lacking
in politeness'." Meng 4B/28

The first ye in the passage does, indeed, follow a verbal
predicate and requires some different kind of explanation. The
second (which Harbsmeier cites) and the third, however, are easily
accounted for as in my translation. That is, the speaker does not
simply assert that he is inhumane and lacking in politeness. He
offers this as a possible explanation of the other party's
conduct. (It should be noted that in the two nominal predicates
bi 必 "necessarily" modifies the predicate as a whole and not the
verbs. It might be thought that the word order in the first, with
wo in front, required a different interpretation but it is quite
normal for the subject of a clause to be displaced in front of a
particle such as fei "if not," ru "if" which governs the clause as
a whole.)

Harbsmeier's second example--hu lang ren ye 虎狼仁也
--is Zhuangzi's answer to an enquiry about ren. It clearly is
not an assertion that "tigers and wolves are humane" which would
be the meaning of hu lang ren, without the final particle. The
intention is surely something like "if you want examples of things
show the quality of ren, I give you tigers and wolves."
Harbsmeier's translation, "tigers and wolves would count as
humane," in fact, expresses this very well. A parallel sentence
would be hu lang shou ye 虎狼獸也 "Tigers and wolves are
(examples of) wild animals." It is not, however, that shou is
then a "classificatory verb" but that class membership is one of

the meanings of the verbless noun predicate construction, as it is
of the copula in English.

    In 1.2 Harbsmeier gives four examples of what he calls
"preverbal fēi." In each case fēi appears between a noun or
pronoun subject and its verb. Nevertheless fēi governs the clause
as a whole and not just the following verb. That is, the subject
is attracted into initial position as in (3) above. Even Harbs-
meier's translation shows this in three of the four cases. Thus
his example (9) is translated "it is not as if I was stingy with
words." One could say more simply "it is not that I am stingy
with words."

    A curious paradox in Harbsmeier's theory is that, although he
regards nouns as a subcategory of verbs, he still uses the term
nominalization. Apparently even a noun (that is, a classificatory
verb) can be nominalized. Thus, he reinterprets the genitival
particle zhī as "nominalizing" even when it "marks the fact that
one noun phrase or complex verb phrase modifies another noun
phrase." How are we to interpret this "nominalizing" of a noun?
It would seem from his discussion that nominalizing means
converting to a classificatory verb. Example (14), which the
unenlightened would translate as "This is a commoner's courage" is
interpreted as "This is a commoner's that which is identical with
courage." But if a noun by itself means not simply "X" but "that
which is identical with X," should we not more precisely construe
the sentence as "This is a commoner's that which is identical with
that which is identical with X"--and so ad infinitum? If this is
where philosophical grammar leads us, I fear that it is a too
rarefied atmosphere for an ordinary mortal like myself.

    In Section 2, Harbsmeier discusses the role of the particle
ye when it occurs after the subject or topic. No doubt, as he
argues, this usage is related to the noun predication construc-
tion. In this respect yě resembles the preclassical copula wéi
惟, which also often introduces a topic. Vestiges of this
syntax survive even in later Classical usage where it has the more
restricted meaning of "only." These uses of yě and wéi, however,
strengthen the connection with nouns and nominalized VP's, marked
or unmarked, and do not, as far as I can see, require any deep
philosophical questioning of the validity of the distinction
between nouns and verbs.

    Section 3 discusses the particle zhě 者, which I explained
above as standing for the pronominalized head of a noun phrase.
One can present this in the formula: N_2 zhi 之 N_1 --> N_2 zhe 者 .
N_2 need not be a sentence and the relationship between N_2 and N_1

can be of various kinds, not necessarily possession or descrip-
tion. Thus jī tún gǒu zhì zhī chù 雞豚狗彘之畜 (Meng 1A/3)
means "domestic animals, including chickens, pigs, dogs, and
swine." Nor is it necessary for N_2 to be a nominalized clause
before N_1 can be pronominalized. Thus in Meng 1B/2 the phrases

chú ráo zhě 芻蕘者, "hay and firewood ones," and zhì tù zhě
雉兔者, "pheasant and hare ones," obviously mean "people who
gather hay and firewood" and "people who catch pheasants and
hares" but no such verbs appear, nor do we need to supply them, in
the Chinese. The nouns "hay," "firewood," "pheasants," and
"hares" are sufficient to define the types of people that are
referred to.

    The commonest use of zhě is, to be sure, that in which N_2 is
a nominalized VP and this is why zhě is often referred to as a
nominalizer. It is important to recognize, however, that zhě is
strictly the head of the phrase and only incidentally a marker of
nominalization. Note, further, that zhě can either be co-referent
with one of the nouns associated with the subordinate VP, most
commonly the subject, or can stand for an abstract noun meaning
something like English "thing." Hence shā rén zhě 殺人者 can
mean either "one who kills people" or "the thing of killing
people" and only the context can disambiguate the surface
identity. (For a fuller discussion of relativization in Classical
Chinese, see my forthcoming article, "Some embedding constructions
in Classical Chinese," to be published by the Chinese Language
Society of Hong Kong in a volume in honor of Wang Li.)

    In the light of this how are we to interpret Harbsmeier's
example (63)? There would seem to be only two possibilities of
construing the phrase cóng shān shàng wàng niú zhě 從山上望牛
者 : (a) "one who looks at oxen from the top of a mountain" and
(b) "the thing of looking at oxen from the top of a mountain."
Neither of them appears to make sense as the subject of the fol-
lowing verb phrase rú yáng 如羊 "is/are like sheep." Though
Harbsmeier calls the first "an asinine mistake," it is the one
that is supported by the parallel sentences in the same passage
from Xunzi (which I do not cite for reasons of space) and I feel
sure that it is correct. What we need to do in order to make
sense of it is to understand an ellipsis in the predicate: [wàng
zhī] rú yáng [望之]如羊 "[looks at them] as sheep." The
omission avoids a repetition of the verb wàng, which already
appears in the relative clause. This reading allows us to inter-
pret zhě in exactly the same way as in the adjacent sentences in

the text and there is no need to introduce irrelevant considera-
tions about an alleged "subordinating role."

It is certainly true that zhě appears in new usages in the
Han period. I have not given this any close study but it would
seem that it had acquired a function as a marker of the end of a
clause. This is, however, a diachronic change in the language and
is irrelevant to the synchronic analysis of the language of the
Classical period.

Finally let me revert briefly to the question of yě after
verbal predicates, which Harbsmeier does not really go into at
all, since all his examples are cases of unmarked nominalization,
but which presents the most serious challenge to the interpreta-
tion of yě as a marker of noun predication. Unfortunately I do
not have a fully worked out answer. My hypothesis is as follows.
Because verbless noun predicates in yě are inherently aspectless
and cannot be followed by the perfective marker yǐ 矣 , yě was
interpreted as contrastive with yǐ and was extended to verbal
predicates as a marker of non-perfective aspect. After it became
an aspect marker in this way, it gradually lost its meaning as a
marker of noun predication, being replaced by the modern copula
shì 是 , which we know was already in use in the colloquial
language in the Han period.

In support of this idea one may note the regular collocation
of yě with the negative of non-perfective aspect, wèi 未 "not
yet, never," which, like verbless noun predicates and the negative
fēi, can never be followed by yǐ. In Mencius sentences with wèi
in the main clause mostly end in yě, as a consultation of the
concordance will quickly reveal. This is much less prevalent in
the more archaic language of the Zuǒzhuàn.

This is probably not the whole story. Aspect is a
notoriously tricky thing to analyze and yě is such a frequent
particle that a comprehensive study would be a long and arduous
task. Nevertheless I feel sure that one can only hope to unravel
the intricacies of its usage by carefully distinguishing different
stages in the evolution of the language and paying close attention
to diachronic development. Any attempt to find a holistic solu-
tion that will unite all usages under a single philosophical
definition seems doomed to failure.

* * * * *

REPLIES

By: Christoph Harbsmeier
     15 November 1985

      Three scholars whom I have held in the highest esteem ever
since I embarked on the study of Chinese have found it worth their
while to comment on my paper. Arguing against those whom one
truly admires is not easy. Here, for what they are worth, are my
replies to the masters' objections. I hope they will serve to
clarify the methodological and substantial issues involved.

Zhu Dexi

      Zhu's general comments are most apposite and welcome. Most
appropriately he quotes from Y. R. Chao and Otto Jespersen, two
linguists for whom I have expressed the greatest admiration, and
whose work indeed has been a constant inspiration throughout my
work with Chinese grammar. His quotes are entirely pertinent to
the central questions under discussion and had I been more
thoughtful I would have quoted these passages myself.

      Zhu disagrees with the view that nouns are verbal, insisting
that they are only predicative. I quite agree. This is a good
way of expressing the facts as I see them.

      Zhu's point on Modern Chinese raises the interesting question
whether my arguments would work for Modern Chinese? He feels they
don't, and again I most certainly agree. When he concludes,
however, that what is apparently untrue for Modern Chinese cannot
have been true for Classical Chinese, I beg to disagree. I only
wish the matter was as simple as this, but deep structural change
in languages is common.

      Zhu's insistence on the weakness of the evidence I present
concerning the object and the nominal modifier is entirely natural
and correct. This weakness does not become theoretically less
important because I repeatedly emphasize it myself in my paper.
However, Zhu's solution which concedes the noun predicativeness in
subject position but denies it that predicativeness in object
position, raises a very big problem--surely we all do want a
unified account of the noun in these two functions. It is for
this reason that I emphasize the **consistency** of my account of the
noun as a classificatory verb with the grammar of the nominal
object. The tragedy is that while I feel my account explains many
previously unexplained features of nouns in subject and predicate

position, I can only sheepishly claim that my story can be applied
to the object nouns as well--although telling the story gives one
little empirical pleasure.

    Zhu insists that the distribution of nouns and verbs is
different in Classical Chinese. I quite agree. But I explain
this difference in terms of the classificatory nature of the noun,
and its tendency to have a nominalizing zhe understood, whereas he
prefers a different view on more traditional lines. Zhu offers no
arguments to decide between the two approaches.

    Zhu concurs that zhe 者 on its own can function as a marker
of conditional clauses. This is an absolutely central point of my
argument and I am delighted that he thinks this way. We now only
differ on the question of how zhe came to function this way, i.e.,
as regards etymology and historical explanation. I maintain zhe
functions that way because there is a profound logical link
between nominalizing and subordinating sentences, so that one
particle would naturally come to mark both these things. Zhu
holds that zhe on its own came to mark conditional clauses because
it originally co-occurred for good and natural reasons with ruo
若 and ru 如 and later came to take over the function of these
conditional clauses by itself, so that the conditional particles
could be omitted.

    I still feel the suggestion is an ingenious one. But once
Zhu concurs that zhe works as a subordinating particle on its own,
our dispute has lost some of its empirical edge. It is now not a
matter of how to understand zhe, but how to interpret our agreed
understanding of zhe.

    I am very grateful for Zhu's sympathy towards my quest for a
unified account for ye 也, zhe, etc. It greatly amuses me that
the examples he brings up as relevant to my discussion are just
the ones that I found important to include in the final draft of
my paper, where ye marks nouns in other than subject position. He
evidently assumed that the final version of the paper was identi-
cal with an earlier draft. What this coincidence does show is
that our problems are sufficiently well-defined, so that it is
evident what would count as relevant evidence and what would not.
In effect, the examples that Zhu quotes are among the precious few
scraps of evidence I claim to have for the classificatory-verb-
interpretation of nouns in other than subject and predicate
positions.

    Zhu's general conclusion is indeed thoroughly tempting and
reasonable. He agrees on the problem about nominalization and
subordination, and on the noun in subject position, but refuses to

let this uncertainty infest the basic and thoroughly useful time-
tried and apparently universal division between nouns and verbs.

Zhu need not agree with my reply to this, but I like to think
that he will sympathize as indeed I sympathize with his commonsen-
sical suggestion. The only reason why I propose an interpretation
of the noun as a classificatory verb is that I prefer a unified
homogeneous account of what it is to be a noun in Classical
Chinese to a discontinuous one. Once the nominal predicate and
the nominal subject are shown to invite other than the traditional
nominal treatment in Classical Chinese, then it seemed worthwhile
to see whether the syntax of the NP in other positions is incon-
sistent with an interpretation as a classificatory noun. The
answer I found is that the syntax of NPs in these other positions
provides little independent support for such an analysis, but is
entirely consistent with it.

The trouble is that such consistency is not worth very much.
It is pretty obvious that I **can** interpret a word like rabbit as
"that which is identical with a rabbit." The question is why I
should! I can indeed also consistently analyze rabbit as "that
which is identical with something that is identical with a
rabbit," but why on earth should I do that? Indeed I can make my
analysis of rabbit as complicated as I like without my analysis
becoming inconsistent with the usages of rabbit. Why not take a
rabbit as a rabbit and have done with it? Why not call a spade a
spade, even if in some contexts there can be problems about what a
spade really is?

This, I think, is the gut objection to my paper which weighs
much more heavily than the detailed empirical queries. After all,
if it turns out that one example does not work so well for me, I
can find another. But there is no shirking this essential problem
which I think comes out most clearly in Zhu's response. I had
better come up with a good riposte and a plain defense of my
unnatural suggestion.

First of all, I want to submit by way of an apology that the
very possibility of making a case for the interpretation of nouns
as classificatory verbs for Classical Chinese seems to me to be
significant. In Greek, for example, I would not know where to
begin. And in English, it turns out, the evidence that has been
provided for such a view is curiously abstract by comparison with
Classical Chinese. In all other languages I know I would feel
throughout as I do in connection with the nominal objects in
Chinese. My thought was that by carrying the argument as far as I
plausibly could in Chinese I would be exploring something which is
not unknown in other languages but, being particularly strongly

represented in Classical Chinese, is a characteristic feature of
that language.

Second, the idea that nouns and verbs are predicates and
differ in respect to their tendency to be embedded (nouns being
liable to come in frames like "someone/thing who/which Ns") is
inherent in the standard logical account of natural languages--in
English this structure is hidden, why could it not be somewhat
more plain in Chinese? Perhaps it is the morphemic complexity of
very synthetic languages that can obfuscate logical structure?
The matter deserves an empirical enquiry. I try to make such an
enquiry, and I shall present a more comphrehensive survey of this
in the section of "Language and Logic" in Needham's <u>Science and
Civilization in China</u>.

Third, since we do need a predicative account of nouns in
some positions (like that of subject and predicate) anyway, why
not try to give all nouns a coherent treatment of this sort?

Fourth, Ockham's razor is badly needed. We must not intro-
duce logical complexities and subtleties <u>praeter necessitatem</u>
(without a sound basis in empirical observation). But the point
is that my account of the noun is the simplest logical construc-
tion I can think of. Indeed, much simpler than the traditional
conception of the noun which involves very considerable hidden
complexities. If my account is correct then Chinese may, in some
respects, be a logically simpler and more transparent language
than English or Greek. Is that unthinkable?

I suggest the final proof of the grammatical pudding is in
the philological practice. The reader must find out for himself
whether or not he feels he gets a subtler picture of Chinese
sentences when, for example, he regards the subject as a minor
sentence, the nominal predicate as a classificatory verb, <u>zhe</u>

者 as a subordinating as well as a nominalizing particle, and

<u>fei</u> 非 as a judgemental negative. I shall be quite satisfied if
he finds such ways of taking these particles useful. And if he
refuses to go so far as to conclude that nouns are classificatory
verbs he will be forgiven. As I said before: I am not **that** sure
myself.

Egerod

Egerod raises a question that is crucial, namely whether the
classificatory verbalness is present in the noun or is expressed
covertly in the functions subject and agent, and overtly by the

grammatical words <u>ye</u> 也 , <u>er</u> 而 , and <u>zhe</u> 者 . This is indeed an
interesting possibility and an original suggestion which needs

thorough reflection. Egerod's reflections gain in weight because they are based on a comparison with other East Asian languages with which I am not familiar.

Egerod agrees that _ye_ comes in irreducibly verbal sentences, but when it does, he suggests, it has the whole sentence as its scope and is determinative in the style of "it is that." I agree on the matter of scope, but I still feel it is misleading to think of the verbal sentences in _ye_ as involving sentential nominaliza- tion of the type "it is that."

Why, then, do I refuse to take _ye_ as a copula dealing with nominals and (nominalized) sentences? I have already addressed this question briefly (1980:130ff.) and will not repeat myself. I find it wrong-headed to construe an imperative like 有爭气者 ， 勿与辯也, "if someone is cantankerous, don't argue with him!" on nominalized lines (Xun 1.40; this is a snippet from a context which contains four close structural parallels). For example: where does the _wu_ 勿 go under such a nominal interpretation? _Wu_ definitely does not take NP-PREDs as its scope.

Consider: 故曰:天地尤为也 ， 而尤不为也。
"Therefore it is said: Heaven and Earth must be said to practice non-action, and not to leave anything undone." (Zhuang 18.14)

This does not say that Heaven is a practitioner of non-action and a leaver-of-nothing-undone. But neither does it say: "Therefore it is said: It is that Heaven and Earth practice non-action, and it is that they leave nothing undone." A special problem for Egerod's account (but not for mine) arises from the presence of two _ye_'s: can _er_ plausibly be taken to precede NP predicates? In my account, the _ye_, which so commonly follows sentences introduced by _gu yue_ 故曰 , simply indicates that the sentence so introduced is (singled out as) a general judgement.

_Er_ 而 can obviously come inside nominalized clauses, but I find no instances of the pattern _er_ (SUBJECT) NP-PRED _ye_ meaning "and (the subject) is a NP-PRED." In my account of _ye_, _er_ is excluded before classificatory predicates but is perfectly pos- sible in front of other verbs used in the judgemental mode—or in whatever precise mode one finally decides is marked by post-verbal _ye_.

Again, we can take the ubiquitous pattern 莫之 VP 也,
"nothing can VP it." (Compare incidentally Piers Plowman's famous
line: "I ken not perfectly my Paternoster as the priest **it sayeth,**
but I ken rhymes of Robin Hood and Randle Earl of Chester.") The
VP in itself cannot here be taken as nominalized (unmarkedly),
because <u>mo</u> takes no nominal scope: 莫 <u>NP-PRED</u> 也, "nothing is a
NP," is apparently not good Classical Chinese. Also, the preposed
<u>zhi</u> 之 would be hard to explain if what comes after <u>mo</u> were to be
construed as a nominalized VP. This much, I think, Egerod would
agree with. But it also will not do in many contexts to read the
pattern as "it is that nothing can VP it," which is how Egerod
proposes to construe the sentential <u>ye</u>. By contrast it clearly is
plausible to read "I judge that nothing can VP it" in all the
relevant contexts.

Apart from these patterns, I find <u>ye</u> common in assertive
contexts where a sentence-nominal(izing) interpretation seems
problematic to say the least: for example, "Suppose Qin were to
demand Henei. Would you give it to them?" The King replied: "I
would not give it," 弗与也   (LSCQ 18.7). (Note that the answer
is a hypothetical judgement and as such easily subsumed under my
analysis.) In the very common cases like this one, I am not
inclined to put up with the paraphase "it is that I would not give
it to them."

Consider an example like this: 知道之莫之若也 而不从道
者,无之有也 .
    "There is no one who, knowing that nothing can compete
    with the Way, nonetheless does not follow the Way."
    (Xun 22.67; cf. also Xun 21.94; 22.78/79 [3 examples])
The sentiment expressed may evoke a traditional Socratic dictum,
but the grammatical structure is not easily subsumed under
traditional grammatical categories. As Egerod would agree, a
nominal interpretation "is a non-existing thing" is unacceptable.
But a sentence-nominalizing paraphrase seems equally misplaced,
especially when we have an alternation with <u>zhe</u> 者 .

The scope of <u>ye</u> is often not the sentence which it tails, but
a whole sequence of parallel sentences, so that Egerod would make
a sequence of sentences into a nominalized conjunction, and I
would have to take <u>ye</u> to mark the judgemental mode of a whole
sequence:

賢者而後樂此，不賢者雖有此不樂也．
"Only if someone is talented will he enjoy this. If
someone is not talented, then, even if he has it he will
not enjoy it." (Meng 1A2)

The <u>Shen Zi</u> (Thompsen, fragment no. 113) has a sequence of
six sentences in three parallel couplets, with only one <u>ye</u> at the
very end. In such cases I suspect, but cannot prove, that the
scope of <u>ye</u> stretches several sentences and marks them **all** out as
judgements. Is it plausible to let nominalization operate over
sentence boundaries?

     I do agree that there may be a link between nominalization
and the judgemental mode. However, Egerod's attempt to explain
post-verbal <u>ye</u> in terms of sentential nominalization on the lines
of "it is that S," interesting though it is, turns out to be
abortive.

     I insist, then, that post-verbal <u>ye</u> 也 in the language(s) of
the 5th to 3rd centuries B.C. cannot in general be taken as a
nominal copula. Post-verbal <u>ye</u> cannot be explained only in terms
of the well-known sentential nominalization, "It is because/it is
that," or the standard unmarked de-verbal nominalization, "the one
who/someone who/a thing which," or the usual unmarked nominaliza-
tion corresponding to the marked English <u>running</u> versus <u>runs</u>. We
must recognize a post-verbal <u>ye</u> marking (apparently) a judgemental
or disquisitional sentential mode.

     This position is not inconsistent with the idea that <u>ye</u>
etymologically was a post-posed copula, or indeed a resumptive
demonstrative particle; perhaps even both these things. That is a
question for students of comparative Sino-Tibetan linguistics. As
Egerod rightly insists, one must distinguish between historical
hypothesis and synchronic fact.

     I am an amateur in this field, and I gladly acknowledge that
my respondents are among the world's leading specialists. I am
simply willing to accept what they tell me of the likely etymolog-
ical status of <u>ye</u>, but I insist that the semantics of <u>ye</u> must in
principle be discussed not on the basis of etymological recon-
struction and comparison, but on the evidence from the texts. I
readily admit that historical evidence and typological comparisons
can give crucial hints, but they must remain subsidiary in the
exercise of grammatical description.

     Once we contemplate the hypothesis that <u>ye</u> marks a
judgemental sentential mode, then (**and only then**) the phrase
分均，仁也 , which I certainly agree **could** be analyzed the way

Egerod does, appears in a new light. It becomes possible in principle to understand it as "dividing equally is/counts-as humane." There is no need any more, then, for Egerod's elaboration "is a humane person." Judging a person to be humane is as much a judgement as classifying him as a humane person. <u>Ye</u> is appropriate in both cases.

Now once we have discovered that the paradigm of post-nominal <u>ye</u> will not explain the post-verbal case, we have two alternatives: we can either give up the hope for a unified account and simply say there are two different kinds of <u>ye</u>, or we can try to explain the familiar post-nominal <u>ye</u>, perversely, in terms of the less familiar post-verbal <u>ye</u>. I have chosen to try this latter path of enquiry.

Closely similar considerations apply to <u>fei</u> 非 . Having found that there is a common pre-verbal <u>fei</u> which can **not** be assimilated to or subsumed under pre-nominal <u>fei</u>, I have tried to explain the familiar pre-nominal <u>fei</u> in terms of the less familiar but quite common pre-verbal <u>fei</u>.

When it comes to a sentence like 王非置兩令尹也 I agree that <u>fei</u> etymologically is a copula with a negative prefix. But I also insist that in this sentence a King is neither an appointment of two Chief Ministers, nor a case of an appointment of two Chief Ministers. And I insist that pre-verbal <u>fei</u>, precisely like post-verbal <u>ye</u>, marks a judgemental mode of (verbal) negation. Egerod does not address this issue when he suggests a different paraphrase, "As for a/the King, that is not a case of someone appointing two Chief Ministers." My first (feeble) objection is that <u>zhe</u> 者 would seem to be obligatory in a sentence expressing what his paraphrase says. But secondly, the important point is that given pre-verbal <u>fei</u> there is **no need** any more for contortions of this kind. One might have to live with them otherwise, but as long as pre-verbal <u>fei</u> is no more necessarily nominalizing, such contortions become superfluous.

The crux is whether or not we must accept pre-verbal <u>fei</u> just as we accept post-verbal <u>ye</u> as not nominalizing but only judgemental.

Compare two readings of the familiar: 殺一无罪,非仁也 .

A. Killing (as much as) one innocent person does not count as/is not humane.
B. Killing (as much as) one innocent person does not count as (an act of) humaneness/being humane.

I call (A) a verbal reading, and it becomes possible only after
one has accepted genuinely post-verbal ye and genuinely pre-verbal
fei. I call (B) the nominal reading which has always been
available, and which Egerod is entitled to prefer. However, given
our account of fei and ye in verbal sentences I find myself in the
unhappy position of not being able to decide between these two
readings. I wonder whether we could not have suspended grammati-
cal ambiguity, or to use Quine's fashionable phrase, grammatical
indeterminacy.

It seemed uncongenial to impose a verbal/nominal distinction
on an "innocent" predicate in a sentence which looks inherently
indeterminate and indifferent to that distinction. To impose a
distinction between nominal and verbal predication where none is
called for seemed wrong-headed. And still, I can imagine contexts
in which I would go for a nominal versus a verbal interpretation
of this sentence--except that I would, of course, describe myself
as deciding between a classificatory and descriptive reading.

Egerod's identification of "it is not humane" as another way
of saying "it is not being humane" is rather infelicitous on
several accounts: for one thing it is profoundly ambiguous (cf.
he's not being nice to me, that's not being nice to one's pupil).
For another, the fact remains that a person cannot be (identical
with) being humane.

The simple point is that murder is both immoral and an
immorality. That is why our problem arises with sentences
involving nominalized-action-subjects. A person, on the other
hand, can be immoral, but not in any ordinary sense an immorality.
That is why the problem does not generally arise with sentences
involving individual subjects.

Egerod's point on 每日迁舍 not commenting on "every
instance of something being a day" is elegant, but easily
answered: the sentence does comment on "whenever it is a day."
Contrast for mei shi 每事 , "whenever something is a (relevant)
business/matter." I quite agree that my paraphrases are idiomati-
cally awkward, and they certainly are less simple than standard
non-verbal readings. Their purpose is only to explain pre-verbal
and pre-nominal mei on one unified principle. To bring out what
makes mei appropriate in both cases.

Similarly for the particle zhi 之 . I claim that zhi can be
construed as nominalizing everywhere. Egerod objects: "certainly,
except where the Head of the N_1 zhi N_2 construction is already a
N." My claim is very simply that I can **explain that exception.**

That, indeed, is the point of the exercise: 吾道一以貫之，
"My way is to try to find the one pervading principle."

I gladly concur that there is no novelty in this approach.
Indeed, I proudly admit my debt to Confucius and Analects 4.15 as
an important inspiration. Perhaps, indeed, as Pulleyblank
suggests in his closing remarks, my old-fashioned quest for a
unified account is doomed to failure. Nonetheless I feel in good
company for trying my best to find one. And I do insist that the
search for unified coherence in apparent multiplicity is essential
to sound scientific method.

On the other hand, it seems to me that there is a fruitful
competition between the systemic approach which I take and the
more comparative historical-philological approach which informs
Egerod's grammatical strategy. I do feel there is room and need
for both these approaches. Ideally, one would like to combine
them and study the synchronic system within its comparative and
historical context. I still know far too little of the grammar of
surrounding East Asian languages or, for example, of the grammar
of the Shang inscriptions, to reach this ideal. That is why I
find a dialogue of the kind Early China has organized so fruitful.

Pulleyblank

Pulleyblank's reactions are most refreshing for their out-
spokenness and directness. Reading his pages, I can hear him
talk, and this brings back fond memories of evenings well spent,
where I feel I learned a great deal from the master. Pulleyblank
brings up very fundamental points of method and of detail, and I
hope he will forgive me if I reply with the same uncompromising
candidness that I admire him for.

Pulleyblank considers my essay as a great leap backward to
the times when there was felt to be a problem about word classes
and parts of speech in Classical Chinese. If he feels the problem
has been solved, he should have told us by whom and where. Until
he does, I shall consider his objection vacuous. I shall most
certainly insist that the problem of parts of speech is absolutely
basic to Classical Chinese grammar, and that the issue is still
wide open.

Problems do **not** go away (nor become less important) because
they are not (to his knowledge) widely discussed since Pulley-
blank's student days. I make no apologies for the view that
divisions between word-classes may be softer in natural languages
than in artificial ones, and softer in Chinese than in Greek. The
issue may not suit Pulleyblank's taste, but de gustibus non est
disputandum. When I wrote Aspects I did decide to disregard

general theoretical issues such as those discussed in this paper, but I do feel one must be free to discuss them.

Pulleyblank says that I am engaged in "deep philosophical questioning of the validity of the distinction between nouns and verbs." As I say in my paper, as other respondents have understood, and as Egerod explicitly says, I do **not** question the validity of the distinction between nouns and verbs: I try to (re)interpret it, and to show that there are certain borderline cases. That is all.

On post-subject <u>ye</u> 也 , I am in total agreement with Pulleyblank. Indeed, I find his reference to the pre-Classical copula <u>wei</u> 唯 most instructive and pertinent to the core of our problem. And since I have so many critical remarks on Pulleyblank's contribution I want to stress that I also find his final suggestion on the importance of the diachronic perspective thoroughly constructive and relevant: it will be fascinating to see whether some of the observations relevant to my discussion will look different when they are placed in a precise diachronic context.

Moreover, I agree that the context is often crucial to the analysis of clauses in <u>ye</u>, e.g., a sentence like 萬物各從其類也 (Xun 1.15) may look in your card file like a perfect illustration of judgemental <u>ye</u>, "I hereby judge all things to follow their own kinds." The trouble is that the meaning is, "It is because all things follow their own kinds," and the passage provides no evidence at all for or against my interpretation of <u>ye</u>. When one has shuffled a record card with an example sentence long enough, a context can get forgotten or distorted, and this is indeed dangerous. Pulleyblank's point on 我必不仁也 is well taken, although it does not affect the overall argument.

I am surprised to find Pulleyblank refer to "principles that are found in all languages." It would have helped his case, I humbly submit, if he had specified the relevant principles. Until he does, I shall consider this point as again vacuous. Moreover, from a philosophical point of view I submit, with the philosopher W. V. O. Quine, that principles are not **found in** languages, they may only be, more or less successfully, **applied to** languages. This fine epistemological distinction may not interest Pulleyblank, but it interests me a great deal. It makes all the difference to me whether our principles of grammar are conceived as inherent in a **theory about language** or inherent in **language itself.**

Even if there were generally accepted and specific "princi-
ples that are found in all languages" (which I emphatically
dispute), I still would insist that these need to be **tested
against** and not just **applied to** the evidence from special
languages like Chinese. Chinese grammar must start from Chinese
evidence, **not** from purported "principles that are found in all
languages."

Here lies a profound difference between Pulleyblank and
myself. What he calls "heuristically the only sound approach to
the subject" I consider as muddled prejudice. "Muddled," because
to my knowledge there are no clear principles to appeal to.
"Prejudice," because sound methodology must be prepared for unex-
pected results that do **not** fit apparently self-evident principles.
One must be constantly on the look-out for counter-evidence to
seemingly evident assumptions. This certainly is not an innova-
tive point of view on my part, but I submit that it is reasonable
and worthwhile nonetheless.

Newtonian principles were quite self-evident and certainly
quite generally recognized--until they were shown to give a
simplified and a theoretically incorrect picture of physical
reality. What, **in my very small way,** I have tried to show is that
the traditional notion of word-classes and parts of speech gives a
similarly simplified and theoretically incorrect picture of
Chinese grammatical reality.

Of course, one can and does get by with Newtonian physics for
basic practical purposes. But it would be a curious thing, for
that reason, to accuse adherents of a new-fangled abstruse theory
of relativity of messing up Newton's hard-won theoretical gains,
of delighting in blurring distinctions that others have tried to
make, or dissolving hard-won gains that have been made over the
centuries.

My account of Chinese nouns allows Pulleyblank to go on
saying most of what he has been fond of saying since his student
days. It puts a new interpretation on it, and, crucially, it
claims to solve some problems that cannot be solved the tradi-
tional way. The comparison with Newtonian physics is, I
emphasize, out of all proportion. But it does explain the rela-
tion between the new and the old theories of Chinese grammar--if I
turn out to be right that is. I only wish that I was as satisfied
with the adequacy of my account as physicists are of the theories
of relativity, and as Pulleyblank is of his "principles that are
found in all languages." I am not. But at least I am trying to
argue my case.

When Pulleyblank suggests that what I claim about Chinese is
in contravention to whatever he conceives as "principles found in
all languages," it is quite embarrassing to have to point out that
in point of fact the title of my paper is borrowed from a very
famous article by Professor James McCawley of the University of
Chicago entitled "Where Do Noun Phrases Come From?," and that in
this paper a view of the English noun phrase is discussed which is
very closely related to the analysis of Chinese NPs that I propose:

> Bach (1968) then discovered some quite convincing
> arguments that the noun-verb distinction need not be
> part of this inventory of categories. He argues that
> all nouns originate in the predicate position of a
> relative clause construction (e.g., the anthropologist
> arises from a structure roughly paraphrasable as the x
> who is an anthropologist) ... (McCawley 1970:169)

The well-known article by Bach, titled "Nouns and Noun Phrases,"
is contained in a work significantly titled, Universals in
Linguistic Theory!

Thus, while as a matter of principle I would not hesitate to
seek evidence against general linguistic theory, in this instance
I happen to be doing the very opposite, that is finding to what
extent an interesting hypothesis on nouns in English can be made
applicable to Chinese.

Pulleyblank finds it paradoxical that having tried to demon-
strate that nouns may usefully be analyzed as classificatory verbs
I continue to speak of nominalization. It is embarrassing to have
to spell out that under my interpretation nominalization becomes a
process in which a non-classificatory predicate is turned into a
classificatory one with zhe 者 understood. That is all. There
is not only no need for Pulleyblank's recursive gymnastics ad
infinitum, indeed, there is no room for it. His task becomes
finite with the first zhe. Since Pulleyblank speaks of himself as
an ordinary mortal out of his depth in the rarified realm of
philosophical grammar, could it be that he is uninterested in
philosophical logic? I hasten to emphasize, in all humility, that
I do not regard myself an extraordinary immortal for trying to
apply basic logic and common sense to Chinese grammar. And I
stubbornly insist that we all have much to learn from philosophers
of language, and vice versa!

Curiously enough, my attempt to demonstrate the softness of
categorial distinctions in Chinese is parallelled by several
modern studies in English grammar. A notorious precursor to this
fashion was the paper, "The Category Squish: Endstation Hauptwort"

by Professor John Robert Ross of MIT (Papers from the Eighth
Regional Meeting, Chicago Linguistic Society [1972]:316–328).

I am not referring to such transformationalist analyses
because I agree with them. However, I do want to maintain that it
is being increasingly appreciated by philosophers of language as
well as general linguists that natural languages differ from
artificial ones precisely in the softness of their categorial and
syntactic characterization. Perhaps McCawley, Bach, and Ross, the
theoreticians, were sadly ignorant of Pulleyblank's "principles
that are found in all languages" because they knew an insufficient
number of languages. Very well, then. How about the incomparable
Jim Matissoff? He writes in his splendid <u>A Grammar of Lahu</u> (1973:
xlvii), "I am increasingly impressed by the <u>continuum</u> as a better
characterization of linguistic structure than the 'all or none'
model." I beg permission to sympathize with Jim Matissoff without
being accused of ignoring what is generally known about human
languages.

It is, in my view, the organic softness and suppleness of the
system which makes organic, historical evolution and change of the
system possible. (Compare, for example, the change of the English
verb <u>will</u> from a verb to an auxiliary or the evolution of the
Chinese prepositions. The Chinese case is not at all unique.)

Given such current lines of research in general linguistics
and in analytical philosophy, I find it most extraordinary that
Pulleyblank should object on grounds of methodological principle
to my investigating the grammatical system of Chinese from this
analytical point of view.

I do envy him the superb confidence with which he claims he
can "very easily" dispose of "most of" my arguments. I confess
that I cannot get myself to speak with such generalizing abrasive-
ness on subtle matters of grammar. It will be interesting to see
how I shall write in 28 years' time.

Pulleyblank complains that a point-by-point refutation of my
arguments "would take too much space." Let us see how he fares

where he tries. Having agreed with my contention "that <u>ye</u> 也 can
occur with genuinely verbal predicates" he spends a great deal of
time on the claim that in 虎狼仁也 , "tigers and wolves must
count as humane," we have unmarked nominalization with <u>ye</u> and must
paraphrase: "if you want examples of things that show the quality
of <u>ren</u> 仁 , I give you tigers and wolves." This analysis obfus-
cates rather than elucidates the grammatical structure. Why not
simply: "Tigers and wolves are (examples of) goodness?" This is

indeed the paraphrase of similar constructions that I discuss in
my paper, and it seems to be the analysis that he has in mind.

Pulleyblank's suggestion here is an interesting one.
Appealing to the very well-known phenomenon of unmarked nominali-
zation he asks: why not take <u>ren ye</u> 仁也, "it is a case of
somebody being humane," in the same way as <u>zou ye</u> 走也, "it is a
case of somebody running?" The logical difference between our
instance <u>zou ye</u>, "it is a case of running," and <u>ren ye</u>, "he is an
example of humaneness," meanwhile, is profound: running **is** a kind
of action; humaneness is **not** a kind of individual. An action **is**
being identified as being "running." A person is not being iden-
tified as being "humaneness/being humane." An individual is not
humaneness, he is humane. The two predicates look alike but work
quite differently. The difference is crucial to my argument.

Moreover, it is healthy to consider one of the common similar
sentences, as in the following snippet:

The people all found it (scil. the law) good and he
(scil. Hui Zi) submitted it to King Hui. King Hui found
it good and he showed it to Huo Jian.

Huo Jian said: "It is good (善也)."

"But can it be carried out in practice?"

"It cannot!" (LSCQ 18.5)

Huo Jian did **not** mean to say "It is a case of (something) being
good" if I understand the context.

Pulleyblank may poke fun at the meticulousness and unnatural-
ness of logical reflections, but he disregards them at his peril.
The parallel example he quotes: 虎狼獸也 , "Tigers and wolves
are (examples of) wild animals," shows precisely how deep his
misunderstanding is: tigers and wolves **are** being identified as
wild animals! If I had quoted a sentence like 貴賢仁也
賤不肖亦仁也   "honoring the talented counts as humane
and despising the untalented also counts as humane" (Xun 6.21),
Pulleyblank's query would be more difficult to answer. That is
perhaps why I did not use that sort of example!

Unless and until Pulleyblank is prepared to apply his trick
of unmarked nominalization to **all** the patterns and instances of
post-verbal <u>ye</u> I shall consider his objections as insubstantial.
At best they might show that I might have chosen one or two better

examples to illustrate my point. That, unfortunately, is all the substance there is to his argument on ye.

Pulleyblank suggests that what I call pre-verbal fei 非 has the whole sentence as its scope. I am glad he thinks so, especially since I say so myself in both Current Issues (1980) and Aspects (1981). What this idea has to do with his example (3) escapes me. As far as I am concerned, the relevant question is whether pre-verbal fei and post-VP ye nominalize or do not nominalize whatever their scope is. If I understand Pulleyblank he suggests that they do, but that the nominalization is unmarked. Thus when I translate the opening snippet of a paragraph in Han Fei Tzu (20.28.1) 人希見生象也 , as "In my judgement men rarely see living animals" and insist that there is no evidence here of nominalization, Pulleyblank seems committed to the current paraphrase "It is that men rarely see living animals." As an opening sentence in a paragraph this seems to be an extraordinary interpretation to impose although it seems this is the received view on this sort of ye. Moreover, I submit that until he provides evidence that this postulated nominalization can be marked, Pulleyblank's argument remains unsubstantiated. The point is that verbal sentences with ye do not contain the nominalizers zhi 之 or qi 其 , and neither do verbal sentences negated with fei 非 . When Pulleyblank writes "...nevertheless fei governs the clause as a whole and not just the following verb. That is, the subject is attracted into initial position," I find this extraordinarily vague and can only understand him to suggest that the pattern:

A. Subject fei 非 VP ye 也 derives from the pattern

B. fei 非 subject VP ye 也

by a process in which the subject is "attracted" to the front. I submit that patterns A and B are fundamentally different from each other in that A is endothematic whereas B is exothematic. Until Pulleyblank provides any argument for his analysis I shall continue to consider these two patterns as separate and to look for semantic differences between them. In any case, I would emphatically reject any suggestion that the pattern A should be analyzed as if it was B which is what Pulleyblank seems to suggest.

A related problem arises in Pulleyblank's discussion of zhe 者 and of the "one who looks at oxen from the top of a mountain." He postulates an ellipsis on which he says: "I am quite sure that

it is correct." I do envy him the magisterial strength and confi-
dence of his convictions. And I completely agree that if the text
had had the characters 望之 this would have been rather nice for
Pulleyblank's case. Meanwhile, I humbly submit that there are no
such characters in the text. I have simply been bold enough to
try to make sense of the text as it stands.

I recognize that one occasionally has to resort to postu-
lating ellipses and the like, but I prefer to analyze sentences as
they stand instead of guessing what the ancient Chinese were
really thinking (of writing). Postulating an ellipsis, especially
without support from ancient commentaries, is to me a last resort.
Here Pulleyblank may justly accuse me of not being sufficiently
innovating, but I make no apologies for being old-fashionedly
interested in the text as it stands.

Still, Pulleyblank's suggestion is an interesting one, espe-
cially since there is **no** parallel sentence S_1 者望之如 X in the
context, in the Xun Zi, in the indexed pre-Han literature, or,
indeed, in the unindexed literature as far as I know, and since
none of the editions I usually consult (Wang Xianqian; Liang
Qixiong; anon., Shanghai, 1974; Xiong Gonghe, 1975; anon.,
Beijing, 1979) find it necessary to mention such an ellipsis.
None of the scholars with whom I have extensively discussed the
passage have found Pulleyblank's solution to the problem con-
vincing. However, Pulleyblank's very innovative suggestion would
gain weight if he divulged what features of the context induce him

to postulate a sentence pattern S_1 者望之如 X which is unat-
tested throughout the rest of the pre-Han literature. I am quite
unable to find them, and until Pulleyblank submits his evidence I
shall consider his argument, also on this point, as vacuous.

Moreover, since the pattern S_1 者 S_2 is quite common in pre-
Qin literature, Pulleyblank would have to postulate ellipses for
many dozens of passages (and he would have to continue producing
new postulates as more pre-Han texts are discovered). But we do
not have to wait for such new discoveries. In Aspects (p. 214)
Pulleyblank might, for example, have found the snippet:

田墾則粟多，粟多則國富
國富則兵強，兵強則戰勝，戰勝則地廣。

When fields are opened up then grain is ample. When
grain is ample then the state is rich. When the state
is rich the army is strong. When the army is strong,
battles are won. When battles are won, the territory is
expanded.

For, as I demonstrate in <u>Aspects</u> and have since confirmed in daily reading, and as Zhu as well as Egerod are plainly aware, the pattern is really quite varied and common in pre—Han texts, and it certainly does not allow of a unified explanation through postu- lating one kind of ellipsis.

Unlike Zhu and Egerod, Pulleyblank very seriously misunder- stands the theoretical background and the logical purpose of my paper. As a result, he focusses quite gratuitously on details and questions which are of no central concern to the issues I raise. Moreover, many of the detailed points he raises are insubstantial in themselves. Nonetheless, his final historical speculation on

the historical evolution of post—verbal <u>ye</u> 也 is an interesting one which deserves empirical investigation. (What does one do

about the many entries of <u>wei</u> 未 with final <u>ye</u> in the <u>Book of Changes</u>, outside the appendices? What about the many cases in the <u>Analects</u>?) The last word has not been said on the evolution of <u>ye</u>. But in any case, speculation on the historical evolution of <u>ye</u> is not directly relevant to the purpose of my paper. Statisti- cal observations of the kind Pulleyblank suggests, even if substantiated by detailed research, certainly have no direct bearing on my argument. Here, as throughout his comments, Pulley- blank, quite unlike Zhu and Egerod, seems curiously wide of the mark. The case for the sort of grammatical conservatism Pulley- blank sympathizes with is much stronger than his paper on this occasion makes it appear.

Finally, I wish to say that I am deeply grateful that three eminent scholars have found it worth their while to put forward their views on the questions at hand. I am quite moved by the fact that the Vice President of Peking University, Zhu Dexi, should have found the time to join this discussion, and it is my sincere hope that this bodes well for an increasing intellectual exchange between Chinese and Western students of Chinese linguistics.