On Syntactic Characteristics of Jinwen Shangshu

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Abstract：*Jinwen Shangshu* consists of the earliest documents handed down in China, and it is the classic of political history compiled no less than 2600 or 2500 years ago. The article makes a thorough analysis on object-preposed sentences, passive sentences, judgment sentences, and double-object sentences in *Jinwen Shangshu* (《今文尚书》). By comparing various sentence patterns and investigating them systematically combining with the development and the changes of the documentation language, it sums up some syntactic characteristics of *Jinwen Shangshu* as well as the the evolution law of syntactic forms in the documentation language, and it is of reference value to the study of the history of Chinese grammar.

Keywords: *Shangshu, Jinwen Shangshu*, syntactic characteristics

1. Introduction

Most documents in *Jinwen Shangshu* are credible ancient texts of Shang (商) and Zhou (周) dynasties. Besides some narrative and descriptive texts, these documents mainly record words, and they belong to colloquial written language reflecting the language styles of Shang and Zhou dynasties relatively systematically.

Jinwen Shangshu has many lexical features. For example, none of the forms of the self-addressing pronouns in the book is both single and plural, nor is its single or plural form marked with an added or deducted affix like that in modern Chinese. A self-addressing pronoun indicates its singular or plural by employing different lexical forms. Interjections and modal particles which are at the beginning or in the middle of the sentences are very rich, while modal particles at the end of the sentences are very poor. The book has neither "也(ye)" which is a high-frequency modal particle in classical Chinese nor the common modal particles "邪(耶)(ye)" and "与 (欤) (yu)". [There is one case of "乎(hu, a modal particle)" in *Yao Dian* (《尧典》) only.] The interrogative mood is mainly

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indicated by modal adverbs and interrogative pronouns. [①] The study shows that *Jinwen Shangshu* also has many syntactic features, and the article mainly outlines several results of the research on object-preposed sentences, passive sentences, judgment sentences, and double-object sentences in the book.

2. Object-preposed sentences present different forms

2.1 The uncommon form of negative object-preposed sentences : subject + pronoun object + negative word + verb predicate

Negative words strongly adhere to the preposed objects in negative sentences, and they are generally put in front of the preposed objects in Pre-Qin documents. The syntactic form is "negative word + pronoun object + verb predicate", and most of the negative sentences in *Jinwen Shangshu* are in this form. There are 12 such cases in the book, and except for those, there are also 2 cases in which negative words are put after the pronoun objects as in (1a) and (2a) below:

(1) a. 尔　时　　罔　　敢　　易法。　　　　　　　　　　　（《周书·大诰》）
　　　ěr　shí　wǎng　gǎn　yìfǎ　　　　　　　　　　　　　*(Zhou Shu Đa Gao)*
　　　you　it　not　should　belittle
　　　'You should not think little of it.'

　　b. 尔　　罔　　敢　　怠弃　　　时　　　　　　　　　(Zhou Bingjun, 1984:164)
　　　ěr　wǎng　gǎn　dàiqì　shí
　　　you　not　should　belittle　it
　　　'You should not belittle it.'

　　c. 尔　　罔　　敢　　易废　　是
　　　ěr　wǎng　gǎn　yìfèi　shì
　　　you　not　should　belittle　it
　　　'You should not belittle it.'

"(1a) means (1b). As (1a) is a negative object-preposed sentence, we can infer that (1b) is the right interpretation". (Zhou Bingjun, 1984：164) The expression "易法 (yì fǎ)" is "易废"(yìfèi), and the word "废(fèi)" in Bronze inscriptions means "法(fǎ)" mostly. "废(fèi)" and "法(fǎ)" are interchangeable in ancient times. "易废(yìfèi)" is also "废易(fèi yì)" meaning "怠弃(dàiqì to belittle or think little of)". "时(shí)" is equal to the pronoun "是 (shì 'it')", and the negative word "罔(wǎng, not)" is used after the pronoun object "时 (shí)". Therefore, sentence (1a) can be interpreted into (1c).

[①] As to the morphological characteristics of Jinwen Shangshu, please see my articles for details: Qian Zongwu (1994), Qian Zongwu (1996) and Qian Zongwu (2002).

(2) a.

汝	乃	是	不	薎	(《周书·洛诰》)
rǔ	nǎi	shì	bù	máng	(*Zhou Shu·Luo Gao*)
you	if	these	not	bestir	

'if you don't bestir yourself in these things'

b.

汝	乃	不	薎	是	(Zhou Bingjun, 1990:159)
rǔ	nǎi	bù	máng	shì	
you	if	not	bestir	these	

'if you don't bestir yourself in these things'

Zhou Bingjun (1990:195) interprets it as follows: "if you don't bestir yourself in these things". "薎（máng）"is a verb which means "bestir or working hard at". As the preposed object of "薎（máng）", "是(shì 'these things')" is put before the negative word "不" (bù, not). So sentence (2a) can be interpreted into (2b).

2.2 The uncommon form of the object-preposed prepositional structure: non-pronoun object + preposition

Take (3a) for example:

(3) a.

殄	戮	用	乂	民	(《周书·召诰》)
tiǎn	lù	yòng	yì	mín	(*Zhou Shu Shao Gao*)
exterminating	killing	by. PREP	rule	people	

'to rule people by the violent infliction of death'

b.

用	殄	戮	乂	民	(Zeng Yunqian, 1964:198)
yòng	tiǎn	lù	yì	mín	
by. PREP	exterminating	killing	rule	people	

'to rule people by the violent infliction of death'

(3a) means "to rule people by the violent infliction of death, and it is inverted". (Zeng Yunqian，1964:198) "用(yòng, by)" is a preposition, and the expression "殄戮 (tiǎn lù, 'exterminating and killing, death penalty')" is its object. Therefore, (3a) can be explained as (3b).

In the documentation language, preposed objects of interrogative pronouns are very common, while preposed objects of demonstrative pronouns can be seen occasionally as in (4) below:

(4)

是	以	为	大夫	卿士	(《周书·牧誓》)
shì	yǐ	wéi	dàfū	qīngshì	(*Zhou Shu·Mu Shi*)
them	PREP	as	great officer	great officer	

'to appoint them as great officers of Dafu or Qingshi'

In sentence(4), "是以(shìyǐ)" is "以是(yǐ shì)". It is relatively rare that a non-pronoun object is preposed.

2.3 Uncommon forms of preposed objects in narrative sentences

These uncommon forms are mainly preposed objects in narrative sentences which do not employ structural auxiliaries between objects and verb predicates, and they have three patterns as follows:

1) pronoun object + verb predicate

(5) a.

民	献	有	十	夫	予	翼。	(《周书·大诰》)
mín	xiàn	yǒu	shí	fū	yú	yì	(*Zhou Shu Đa Gao*)
people	the eminent	there be	ten	people	me	help	

'There are ten eminent men helping me.'

b.

民	献	有	十	夫	翼	予。	(Qu Wanli, 1984:109)
mín	xiàn	yǒu	shí	fū	yì	yú	
people	the eminent	there be	ten	people	help	me	

'There are ten eminent men helping me.'

" '献(xiàn)' is '贤(xián)' , 'the eminent people'. '十夫(shífū)' refers to 'ten people'. '翼(yì)' means 'help', and '予翼(yú yì)' means 'to help me'." (Qu Wanli,1984:109) Accordingly, (5a) can be interpreted as (5b).

2) Noun object + verb predicate

(6) a.

天	明	畏。	(《周书·大诰》)
tiān	míng	wèi	(*Zhou Shu Đa Gao*)
Heaven	clear will	revere	

'The clearly-intimated will of Heaven can be revered.'

b.

天	之	明	德	可	畏
tiān	zhī	míng	dé	kě	wèi
Heaven	AUX	bight	virtues	can	revere

'The bight virtues and the will of Heaven can be revered.'

c.

天	之	明	命	可	畏
tiān	zhī	míng	mìng	kě	wèi
Heaven	AUX	clear	will	can	revere

'The clear will of Heaven can be revered.'

d.

畏	天	明。	(Zhou Bingjun, 1984:167)
wèi	tiān	míng	
revere	Heaven	clear will	

'The clearly-intimated will of Heaven can be revered.'

According to *Kong Anguo's interpretation* (孔传), (5a) is explained as(5b) ((Qing dynasty) Ruan Yuan, 1979:199), and the interpretation of *Cai Chen's interpretation* (蔡传) is (5c) ((Song dynasty) Cai Chen, 1890:42). "天之明德(tiān zhī míng dé)" and "天之明命 (tiān zhī míng mìng)" are all the objects of "畏" (wèi, 'revere'). (6a) means (6d). (Zhou Bingjun, 1984:167)

3) 惟 (wéi, 'a scope adverb') + noun object + verb predicate

(7) a. 惟　　　土　　　物　　　爱。　　　　　　　　　　（《周书·酒诰》）

　　　 wéi　　 tǔ　　　wù　　　ài　　　　　　　　　　*(Zhou Shu Jiu Gao)*

　　　 SADV　 soil　 productions　 cherish

　　　 'to cherish the productions of the ground'

　 b. 爱　　　　　土　　　物

　　　 ài　　　　 tǔ　　　wù

　　　 cherish　 the ground　 the productions

　　　 'to economize and cherish the productions of the ground'

　 c. 汝　　 封　　 当　　 爱惜　　 土地

　　　 rǔ　　 fēng　 dāng　 àixī　　 tǔ dì

　　　 you　 Feng　 should　 cherish　 soil

　　　 所　　 生　　 之　　 物　　 也。　　　　　 (Sun Xingyan, 1986:376)

　　　 suǒ　 shēng　 zhī　 wù　　 ye

　　　 AUX　 produce　 AUX　 things　 MP

　　　 'Feng, you should cherish and economize what the soil produces.'

(7a) is (7b), and Sun Xingyan (1986:376) explains it as (7c).

The pattern "惟(wéi) + noun (noun phrase) object + verb predicate" also has its variant in which the verb predicate is omitted as in (8a) below:

(8) a. 惟　　 兹　　 二　　 国　　 命　　　　　　　（《周书·召诰》）

　　　 wéi　 zī　　 èr　　 guó　 mìng　　　　　 *(Zhou Shu Shao Gao)*

　　　 SADV　 these　 two　 state　 fate

　　　 'to stay alert and take warning from the fate of these two states'

　 b. 惟　　 兹　　 二　　 国　　 命　　 是　　 监 (Zhou Bingjun, 1984:206)

　　　 wéi　 zī　　 èr　　 guó　 mìng　 shì　 jiān

　　　 SADV　 these　 two　 countries　 fate　 DRPR　 alert

　　　 'to stay alert and take warning from the fate of these two states'

Zhou Bingjun (1984:206) explains (8a) as (8b), and points out that the word "监(jiān, 'alert')" is omitted according to the previous statement.

The above special language forms in *Jinwen Shangshu* are not isolated phenomena. For example, there are 21 cases of preposed objects that are without structural auxiliary words between objects and verbs in narrative sentences. It seems that the rule has been formed, and such cases are mostly in *Zhou Shu* which is considered a more authentic part in *Shangshu*.

In sentence pattern "pronoun object + verb predicate", the pronoun object is mainly the demonstrative pronoun "是(shì 'this/these') ", and there are a total of 8 cases which are all sentences with 4 words as in (9) below:

(9)	是	崇	是	长，	是	信	是	使	(《周书·牧誓》)
	shì	chóng	shì	zhǎng,	shì	xìn	shì	shǐ	(*Zhou Shu·Mu Shi*)
	them	honor	them	exalt	them	trust	them	employ	

'to exalt and honor them, to trust and employ them'

There are also a lot of such forms as "是(shì) + verb predicate" in *Shi Jing* (《诗经》). Many scholars believe that the pronoun "是(shì)" as the object must be preposed. The study shows that this may be the omitted form of "惟(wéi) + pronoun object + verb predicate", and the reason for the omission is that the word number of the pattern is limited. "惟(wéi) + noun object + verb predicate" is the main form of the object-preposed narrative sentences. This form has already appeared in Oracle texts. For example, "惟(wéi)"is written as "叀(huì)" or "隹(wéi)" in Oracle texts. There are 10 such cases in *Jinwen Shangshu*, so this should be the regularization of such an object-preposed form. Later, this structure developed into "惟(wéi) + noun object + 是(shì)/之(zhī) + verb predicate". During Han and Wei dynasties, it evolves into "惟(wéi) + verb predicate + noun object" which is a structure with post-posed object. "惟(wéi)" in the object-preposed structure is a scope adverb, which can be placed before the preposed object, indicating that the object is single, exclusive and strongly designated. Such a preposed-object form may derive from the colloquial language in which the object is emphasized and preposed out of some need of rhetoric, and this is common in modern spoken Chinese. However, written languages lack specific contexts that spoken languages have, such as expression, gestures and other non-verbal expressing methods, and object-preposed forms may lead to obscure sentences, so structural particles as "之(zhī)" and "是(shì)" are added as the marks of the preposed objects during the language development. When the object post-posed forms appear, "之(zhī)" and "是(shì)" etc. disappear accordingly.

Zeng Yunqian (1964:182) points out: "the inverted forms in early Zhou dynasty are different from those after it in their expressing. There are lots of such cases in *Shangshu*. If you do not understand such inverted forms, you will feel they are obscure and not smooth". It seems that these special object-preposed sentence patterns in *Jinwen Shangshu* are "obscure, not smooth and difficult to articulate", and they are found in Bronze inscriptions and Oracle texts mostly. The forms of preposed pronoun objects in negative sentences in *Jinwen Shangshu* are not very strict, as the post-posed objects forms also exist. It is the case with those in Bronze inscriptions and Oracle texts. This situation is due to the fact that negative sentences are influenced by the analogy of the word order of affirmative sentences; The object-preposed forms of negative sentences have disappeared in the oral language of Han dynasty. The interrogative pronouns as preposed objects have not yet appeared in Bronze inscriptions and Oracle texts, and they may originate from *Jinwen Shangshu*. The pattern of "惟(wéi) + noun (noun phrases) object + 是(shì)/之(zhī) + verb predicate" in

narrative sentences can not be found in Bronze inscriptions and Oracle texts, but it is already a very common pattern in *Jinwen Shangshu*. The pattern of "惟(wéi) + noun (noun phrases) object + verb predicate" is common in Bronze inscriptions, Oracle texts and *Jinwen Shangshu*, but it is quite rare in the documents of later times. These series of linguistic phenomena reveal the alternate process of the initial forms and the stereotyped structures of the object-preposed forms in classical Chinese.

3. Passive sentences are in the transitional stage from semantic styles to formal ones

There are two methods expressing passive in the documentation language: the first is to employ the words that express passive specifically, and the second does not. Sentences with the first method are generally called passive sentences, and also called grammatical passive sentences or explicit passive sentences. As the passivity of the subjects can be identified by their own sentence forms, they are called formal passive sentences; Sentences using the second method have different names: conceptual passive sentences or implicit passive sentences. They are called semantic sentences because the passivity of their subjects can be understood according to the meaning of whole sentences only.

There is no formal passive sentence in Oracle texts. The passive idea in ancient Chinese is manifested in the form of the active sentence, so there is no difference between the active and the passive in their forms. Zhou Fagao (1959) believes that "no mark is used in a passive sentence, and it is identified by the meaning of the text, so it may be the earlier way for the passive sentence ". Jin Zhaozi (1980:19) thinks that "the agent and the patient are not distinguished in ancient language, and this is really inevitable when the language has not been complete."

Formal passive sentences begin to appear in Bronze inscriptions of Western Zhou Dynasty in only two forms: "于(yú, 'by. PREP') + the agent" and "见(jiàn, 'by. ADV') + verb + 于(yú, 'by', PREP) + the agent". The former is common, and the latter is rare. The formal passive sentences in the documents of Pre-Qin dynasty and the two Han dynasties developed into four large sentence patterns: passive sentences with "于(yú)", "为(wéi)", "见(jiàn)" and "被(bèi)". During these periods, formal passive sentences with syntactic marks increased largely while semantic passive sentences reduced relatively.

Passive sentences in the system of sentence patterns in *Jinwen Shangshu* are related to those in Bronze inscriptions, Oracle texts and other documents of Pre-Qin dynasty, but they are different from each other. There are a total of 57 passive sentences in *Jinwen Shangshu*. Among them, there are 11 formal passive sentences of which 10 cases are in *Zhou Shu*. For example:

(10) 无	毖	于	恤	(《周书·大诰》)
wú	bì	yú	xù	(*Zhou Shu Da Gao*)

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        not      frighten    PREP        hardship
        'Don't be frightened by misery and hardship.'
(11)    闻       于       上帝                                      (《周书·康诰》)
        wén      yú      shàng dì                                ( Zhou Shu·Kang Gao)
        hear     by     Lord of Heaven
        'It is known by Lord of Heaven.'
(12)    矧       曰      其    尚     显          闻    于    天    (《周书·康诰》)
        shěn     yuē    qí    shàng  xiǎn        wén   yú    tiān  (Zhou Shu·Kang Gao)
        let along  MP    their  even   manifestly   hear  by    Heaven
        'Let along what they are doing is also known manifestly by Heaven.'
(13)    敕       殷          命    终     于     帝                (《周书·多士》)
        chì      Yīn        mìng  zhōng  yú     dì                (Zhou Shu·Duo Shi)
        declare  Yin dynasty  fate  end    by     Heaven
        'Yin dynasty was declared to be ended by Heaven.'
(14) a. 罔       非      有    辞     于     罚                  (《周书·多士》)
        wǎng     fēi     yǒu   cí     yú     fá                  (Zhou Shu·Duo Shi)
        no one   not     AF    doubt  by     punish
        'No one didn't doubt it was Heaven's punishment.'
     b. 罔       非      有    辞     于     （帝）            罚
        wǎng     fēi     yǒu   cí     yú     dì                fá
        No one   not     AF    doubt  by     Lord of Heaven    punish
        'People all thought they were punished by Lord of Heaven.'
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(14a) is the abbreviation of (14b).

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(15)    格       于       皇天                                    (《周书·君奭》)
        gé       yú      huáng tiān                              (Zhou Shu·Jun Shi)
        commend  by      great Heaven
        'was commended by great Heaven'
(16)    格       于       上帝                                    (《周书·君奭》)
        gé       yú      shàng dì                                 (Zhou Shu·Jun Shi)
        commend  by      Lord of Heaven
        'was commended by Lord of Heaven'
(17)    闻       于       上帝                                    (《周书·君奭》)
        wén      yú      shàng dì                                (Zhou Shu·Jun Shi)
        hear     by     Lord of Heaven
        'was known by Lord of Heaven'
(18)    尔       尚      不    忌     于     凶     德          (《周书·多方》)
        ěr       shàng   bù    jì     yú     xiōng  dé            (Zhou Shu·Duo Fang)
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you	maybe	not	instigate	by	evil	evil

'Maybe you are not instigated by evil conduct.'

(19)	用	端	命	于	上帝		(《周书·顾命》)
	yòng	duān	mìng	yú	shàng dì		(*Zhou Shu·Gu Ming*)
	thus	right	decree	by	Lord of Heaven		

'They thus was assigned the right favoring decree by Lord of Heaven.'

There is only one such case in *Pan Geng* (盘庚) of *Shang Shu* (《商书》) as in (20) below:

(20)	不	浮	于	天时		(《商书·盘庚》)
	bù	fú	yú	tiān shí		(*Shang Shu·Pan Geng*)
	not	punish	by	Heaven		

'not to be punished by Heaven'

(21)	不	为	天时	所	罚	也。	(Zeng Yunqian, 1964:104)
	bù	wéi	tiān shí	suǒ	fá	ye	
	not	by	Heaven	AUX	punish	MP	

'not to be punished by Heaven'

Zeng Yunqian explains (20) as (21). There are 46 cases of semantic passive sentences which can be specifically divided into 4 types. The first type includes sentences with Can-Wish verbs like "可"(kě, 'may'), "能" (néng, 'can') and "克"(kè, 'can') as in (22)-(24)below:

(22)	朕	言	惠	可	厎	行	(《虞夏书·皋陶谟》)
	zhèn	yán	huì	kě	dǐ	xíng	(*Yu Xia Shu·Gao Yao Mou*)
	my	words	MP	can	arrive	action	

'Can my words be put into practice?'

(23)	矧	曰	其	有	能	格	(《周书·君奭》)
	shěn	yuē	qí	yǒu	néng	gé	(*Zhou Shu·Jun Shi*)
	let along	MP	it	again	can	commend	

'Let along it can be praised again.'

(24)	大	不	克	开		(《周书·多方》)
	dà	bù	kè	kāi		(*Zhou Shu·Duo Fang*)
	all	not	can	advance		

'All the things can not be advanced.'

The second includes sentences with adverbs before the behavior verbs expressing scope, time, degree etc. as in (25), (26) and (27) below:

(25)	庶	绩	咸	熙	(《虞夏书·尧典》)
	shù	jì	xián	xī	(*Yu Xia Shu·Yao Dian*)
	many	things	all	thrive	

'All kinds of things are thrived.'

(26) 九　　河　　既　　　道　　　　　　　　　　(《虞夏书·禹贡》)

　　　jiǔ　　hé　　jì　　dào　　　　　　　　　　(*Yu Xia Shu ·Yu Gong*)

　　　nine　　river　already　dredge

'Nine rivers have been dredged.'

(27) 六　　府　　　孔　　修　　　　　　　　　　(《虞夏书·禹贡》)

　　　liù　　fǔ　　kǒng　xiū　　　　　　　　　　(*Yu Xia Shu ·Yu Gong*)

　　　six　　Fu, material　very　mange

'Six Fus of water, fire, gold, wood, soil and grain are managed very well.'

The third is to use a form of an active sentence to express the passive mood directly as in (28)-(30) below:

(28) 舜　　　生　　三 十　　征　　　　　　　　(《虞夏书·尧典》)

　　　Shùn　shēng　sān shí　zhēng　　　　　　　(*Yu Xia Shu ·Yao Dian*)

　　　Shun　　grow　thirty　call up

'Shun was called to employment when he was thirty.'

(29) 九　　州　　　攸　　　同　　　　　　　　(《虞夏书·禹贡》)

　　　jiǔ　　zhōu　yōu　　tóng　　　　　　　　(*Yu Xia Shu ·Yu Gong*)

　　　nine　province　AUX　similar

'Through out the nine provinces a similar order was effected.'

(30) 大　　熟，　未　　获　　　　　　　　　　(《周书·金滕》)

　　　dà　　shú,　wèi　huò　　　　　　　　　(*Zhou Shu ·Jin Teng*)

　　　all　　mature　not　harvest

'The crops are all mature, but have not been harvested.'

The last one: the explicit form of the active sentence expresses the implicit semantic content of the double-object sentence. The patient subject is the near object of the double objects as in (31) below:

(31) 禹　　锡　　玄　　圭，　告　　厥　　成　　功　　(《虞夏书·禹贡》)

　　　Yǔ　　xī　　xuán　guī,　gào　jué　chéng　gōng　(*Yu Xia Shu ·Yu Gong*)

　　　Yu　present　black　jade　tell　them　achieve　governance

'Yu was presented a black jade telling people that the governance had been achieved.'

The ratio between the formal passive sentences and the semantic passive sentences is about 1:4, and that between *Zhou Shu*, *Shang Shu* and *Yu Xia Shu* is 10:1:0. Compared with the Oracle texts, formal passive sentences have appeared in *Jinwen Shangshu*; compared with other Pre-Qin documents, *Jinwen Shangshu* has only one type of passive sentence marked with the word "于(yú)". These facts indicate that passive sentences in *Jinwen Shangshu* are in the developing and transitional phases from semantic passive sentences to formal ones. Meanwhile, it also shows that the passive form in *Jinwen Shangshu* is unitary.

Many of the semantic passive sentences in *Jinwen Shangshu* need judging through the contextual information mostly, and this leads to ambiguity easily. Therefore, the formal passive sentence are promoted to develop and enriched fully by the communication function of the language after Western Zhou dynasty.

By comparing, it can be inferred that the passive sentences in Bronze inscriptions of Western Zhou and those in *Jinwen Shangshu* are much the same.They are different mainly in the following two aspects: first, the only form of the passive sentences in *Jinwen Shangshu* is with "于(yú)". Besides "于(yú)", there are also passive sentences with "见(jian, 'by. ADV')" in Bronze inscriptions of Western Zhou dynasty as in (32) below:

(32) 见　　　厌　　　于　　　公。　　　　　　(《沈子簋》)

jiàn　　yàn　　yú　　gōng　　　　　　(*Shen Zigui*)

by. ADV　satisfy　AUX　Zhou Gong

'Zhou Gong was satisfied with him.'

Second, the relations within the semantic passive sentences of *Jinwen Shangshu* are not consistent as in (33) and (34) below:

(33) 王　　　司　　　敬　　　民　　　　　　　(《商书·高宗肜日》)

wáng　　sì　　jìng　　mín　　　　　　(*Shang Shu Gaozong Rong Ri*)

king　　succeed　respect　people

'The king succeeded, and was respected by people.'

"司"(sì) above is cited as "嗣"(sì 'ascend') in *Shi Ji* (《史记》). "司(sì)" is active, while "敬(jìng, 'was respected')" is passive, and "王(wáng, 'the former king')" is a patient subject.

(34) 我　　其　　发　　出　　狂　　　　　　(《商书·微子》)

wǒ　　qí　　fā　　chū　　kuáng　　　　(*Shang Shu Weizi*)

I　　AUX　abandon　out　go to

'What do you think I am going to be abandoned and exiled?'

The word "狂" (kuáng,'escape') means "往" (wǎng, 'go to') in *Shi Ji · Song Shi Jia* (《史记 ·宋世家》).The word "发" (fā, 'abandon') is read as "废" (fèi) by Sun Yirang (孙诒让) , and the whole sentence means (34). "我(wǒ, 'I')" is the patient subject of "发(fā)" and the agent subject of "出狂(chū kuáng)". This is the same with the semantic passive sentences in later times as in (35) and (36) below:

(35) 故　　不　　能　　推　　车　　而　　及　　(《左传·成公三年》)

gù　　bù　　néng　　tuī　　chē　　ér　　jí　　(*Zuo Zhuan ·Cheng Gong San Nian*)

so　　not　　can　　push　chariot　AUX　reach

'So he could not push his chariot and was caught up with.'

"及"(jí 'reach') here is passive and means "to be caught up with", while "推(tuī, 'to push')" followed by the object "车(chē, 'chariot')" is active.

(36) 盖　　文　　王　　拘　　　　而　　　演　　《周易》；　仲尼　　　厄

gài　Wén　wáng　jū　　　ér　　yǎn　Zhōu Yì　Zhòngní　è

MP　Wen　King　be arrested　AUX　decuce　*Zhou Yi*　Zhongni　be distressed

而　　作　　《春秋》；　屈原　　放逐,　　乃　　赋　　《离骚》；

ér　　zuò　Chūn Qiū　Qū Yuán　fàngzhú,　nǎi　fù　LíSāo

AUX　write　*Chun Qiu*　Qu Yuan　be banished　then　compose　*Li Sao*

孙子　膑　脚，　　兵法　　修列。((西汉)司马迁：《报任安书》)

Sūnzǐ　bìn　jiǎo,　bīng fǎ　xiūliè((Western Han dynasity) Sima Qian: *Bao Ren'an Shu*)

Sunzi　be dug out　feet　*Art of War*　write

'King Wen was arrested, and deduced *Zhou Yi*; Zhongni was put in the distress, and wrote *Chun Qiu;* Quyuan was banished and in excile, and composed *Li Sao;* Sunzi was dug out the bones of his knees, and wrote *Art of War.*'

In(36), "拘(jū, 'be arrested')", "厄(è, 'be put into distress')", "放逐 (fàngzhú, 'be banished')", "膑(bìn, 'be dug out')" are all passive, while "演" (yǎn, 'deduce'), "作(zuò, 'write ')", "赋(fù, 'compose')", "修列(xiūliè, 'write')" are all active. The internal relations of semantic passive sentences in the inscriptions of Western Zhou are consistent. Guan Xiechu (1981:60-61) sums it up as follows: "as to the parallel verb predicates, it is required that their tone is consistent: all are active, or all are passive. If it is confirmed that one of the verb structures is passive, then other parallel compositions must be passive too." By comparing the passive sentences in *Jinwen Shangshu* with those in Bronze inscriptions of Western Zhou, the special characteristics that can be seen also reflect from the other side that *Jinwen Shangshu* is in the time when Chinese formal passive sentences come into being and develop further.

Through examining the passive sentences and their characteristics in *Jinwen Shangshu,* the following conclusions can also be made :

(1) The real formal passive sentences in Chinese have appeared before Spring and Autumn period. The 11 cases of passive sentences with "于(yú)" in *Jinwen Shangshu* and the passive sentences in Bronze inscriptions indicate that formal passive sentences have already been used in Western Zhou dynasty.

(2) Neither Oracle texts nor *Yu Xia Shu* of *Shangshu* has formal passive sentences, and this is not a coincidence. *Jinwen Shangshu* only has one type of formal passive sentence with passive mark "于(yú)". In the inscriptions of the Western Zhou, there are two kinds of passive sentences: sentences with "于(yú)" are common, and sentences with "见(jiàn)" are rare. This indicates that the sentence with "于(yú)" is the earliest form of Chinese formal passive sentences. At the same time, the comparative study of passive sentences in Oracle texts, Bronze inscriptions, the documents of the Pre-Qin dynasty and the two Han dynasties shows that the formal passive sentences in *Jinwen Shangshu* are in a transitional

developing stage from semantic passive sentences to formal ones.

(3) The direct motivation that leads to Chinese formal passive sentences may be out of the need of rhetoric, as the narrator intends to highlight the agent through the form and the structure of the sentence. In *Jinwen Shangshu,* except for "negative adverb + Verb + 于(yú) + the agent" and "于(yú) + verb", there are a total of 7 cases of passive sentences employing "Verb + 于(yú) + the agent". The agents introduced by "于(yú)" are all words meaning "上天"（shàng tiān, 'Lord of Heaven'）: "上帝、天、帝、皇天"（shàng dì tiān, dì huáng tiān, 'Lord of Heaven'）. In the inscriptions of Western Zhou dynasty, besides "上天", the agents introduced by "于(yú)" are also "王"(wáng, 'king'), "公"(gōng, 'great officer') and "侯"(hóu, 'great officer'). This linguistic phenomenon inspires us to decipher the causes for Chinese passive sentences. The ancient people lived in extremely rugged natural environments, and they somehow held infinite fear and revered Heaven when facing the irresistible natural force that they could not explain, hence they naturally highlighted the power of Heaven in their language. Generally, "于(yú)" is used to introduce "天(tiān, 'lord of heaven')" and acts as a visual mark.

(4) After formal passive sentences tend to mature, the continued use of semantic passive sentences is mainly due to following the syntactic and the language potential of the context as in (37a) below:

(37) a. 鲁　　酒　　薄　　而　　邯郸　　围　　　　（《庄子 肤箧》）
　　　Lǔ　　jiǔ　　báo　　ér　　Hándān　　wéi　　　*(Zhuangzi Qu Qie)*
　　　state Lu　wine　thin　AUX　Handan　besiege
　　　'Handan was besieged due to the thin wine of the state Lu.'

　　b. 鲁　　酒　　薄　　而　　邯郸　　见　　围
　　　Lǔ　　jiǔ　　báo　　ér　　Hándān　　jiàn　　wéi
　　　state Lu　wine　thin　AUX　Handan　by. ADV　besiege
　　　'Handan was besieged due to the thin wine of Lu.'

Zhuangzi is the work of the late Warring States period when the formal passive sentences have been perfected. The reason why the author didn't use (37b) is that the expression "鲁酒薄(Lǔ jiǔ báo, 'thin wine of Lu')" consists of three words, so does "邯郸围(Hándān wéi, 'Handan was besieged')", and they read smoothly, fit for the rhythm, and go with the language potential of the context.

4. The definiteness of predicates in judgment sentences and the syntactic factors of "是(shì)" evolving into a judgment word

The study shows that the predicates of the judgment sentences in *Jinwen Shangshu* are definitive, and they are restricted only to nouns, pronouns and noun phrases. There are logical relations of equality, generic, or resemblance among the person, the thing, and the

object that are indicated by the subject and the predicate. Except for the external form and the logic relation between the subject and the predicate, a judgment sentence in *Jinwen Shangshu* is mainly judged by the nature of its predicate. Judgment sentences, descriptive sentences and narrative sentences are all in a complementary sentence system. The classification standard for them is the nature of their predicates.

Yi Mengchun (1989:111) has ever cited the interpretation in Ma Jianzhong (1898) as the evidence to show that the predicate of the judgment sentence can be a verb phrase or a subject- predicate phrase as in (38) and (39) below:

(38) 既　　不　　能　　令,　又　　不　　受　　命,　是　　绝　　　物　　　也。
　　　jì　　bù　　néng　lìng,　yòu　bù　　shòu　mìng,　shì　jué　　wù　　　ye
　　　also　not　　can　　order　and　not　　obey　order　this　break off　relations　MP

　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　（《孟子·离娄上》)
　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　(*Mengzi ·Li Lou Shang*)

'I can not order others, and I do not want to obey orders, this will make me break off the relations with others.'

(39) 二　　老　　者,　天下　　之　　大　　老　　也,　　而　　归
　　　èr　　lǎo　zhě,　tiānxià　zhī　dà　　lǎo　ye,　　ér　　guī
　　　two　old　man　the world　AUX　great　old man　MP　AUX　turn to
之,　　是　　天下　　之　　父　　归　　之　　也。　（《孟子·离娄上》)
zhī,　shì　tiānxià　zhī　fù　　guī　zhī　ye　　(*Mengzi ·Li Lou Shang*)
him　this　the world　AUX　father　turn to　him　MP

'They are two highly respected old man in the world, so their turning to him is like that fathers in the world are all turning to him.'

In fact, the verb phrase "绝物(juéwù)" and the predicate phrase "天下之父归之(tiānxià zhī fù guī zhī)" are not expressing judgment. Yang Bojun (1989:205,208) translated the above two sentences respectively as follows: "since I can not order others, and don't want to obey others' orders, what I am facing is only a blind alley." "The two old men are the world's most prestigious men, so their turning to Xibo（西伯）indicates that fathers in the world all turn to Xibo". The explicit forms of the predicates of some judgment sentences in the documentation language are verb phrases or subject-predicate phrases, while their implicit forms are omitted noun phrases. Such cases are not rare in *Jinwen Shangshu* as in (40) below:

(40) 乃　　尔　　攸　　闻　　　　　　　　　　　　　　（《周书·多方》)
　　　nǎi　ěr　　yōu　wén　　　　　　　　　　　　　　(*Zhou Shu Đuo Fang*)
　　　is　　you　AUX　hear of
'This is what you've heard of.'

Zhou Bingjun (1990) explains (40) as "this is what you've heard of". The explicit form

of (40) is the subject-predicate structure "尔攸闻(ěr yōu wén)" meaning "you've heard of", but its implicit form is the omitted noun phrase which means "what you've heard of".

Similarly, some explicit forms in documentation language are judgment sentences, and the noun or noun phrase is in the position of a predicate, but its implicit form is actually a narrative sentence. The noun or the noun phrase is not a predicate, but an object, and the verb predicates are implied as in (41a) and (42) below:

(41) a. 夫　　　战，　勇气　　　也。　　　　　　　　(《左传 庄公十年》)
　　　　fú　　zhàn　yǒngqì　　ye　　　　　　　　(*Zuo Zhuan Zhuanggong Shi Nian*)
　　　　MP　　war　courage　　MP
　　　　'Fighting in wars relies on courage.'

　　　b. 夫　　　战，　(凭借)　　勇气　　　也。
　　　　fú　　zhàn,　(píngjiè)　yǒngqì　ye
　　　　MP　　war　rely on　　courage　MP
　　　　'Fighting in wars relies on courage.'

The implicit form of (41a) is (41b), and "凭借(píngjiè)" is omitted here.

(42) 百　　　　　　乘，　显　　使　　也。　　　　(《战国策 齐策》)
　　　bǎi　　　　shèng,　xiǎn　shǐ　　ye　　　　(*Zhan Guo Ce Qi Ce*)
　　　one hundred　chariots　grand　envoy　MP
　　　'One hundred chariots indicate that the diplomatic envoy is very grand.'

(43) 百　　　　　乘　　(之　　使)，　显　　使　　也。
　　　bǎi　　　shèng　zhī　　shǐ,　　xiǎn　shǐ　　ye
　　　one hundred　chariots　AUX　envoy　grand　envoy　MP
　　　'One hundred chariots indicate that the diplomatic envoy is very grand.'

The explicit and implicit forms of (42) and (43) are all judgment sentences, and (42) is equal to (43).

There is no "也(ye)" in *Jinwen Shangshu*, and there's only one case of "者(zhě)" in the book. The basic form of the judgment sentence is "subject + noun predicate" with a total of 22 cases. This type of sentences can be seen mostly in *Yu Xia Shu Yu Gong* as in (44)-(47) below:

(44) 厥　　贡　　漆、　　丝　　　　　　　　(《虞夏书·禹贡》)
　　　jué　　gòng　qī　　sī　　　　　　　　(*Yu Xia Shu Yu Gong*)
　　　their　tribute　lacquer　silk
　　　'The articles of tribute in this area are lacquer and silk.'

(45) 厥　　贡　　盐、　　絺　　　　　　　　(《虞夏书·禹贡》)
　　　jué　　gòng　yán,　chī　　　　　　　　(*Yu Xia Shu Yu Gong*)
　　　their　tribute　salt　fine ko-hemp cloth
　　　'The articles of tribute in this area are salt and fine ko-hemp cloth.'

(46) 厥　　　篚　　　　　厌丝　　　　　　　　　　　　　(《虞夏书·禹贡》)

jué　　　fěi　　　　　yǎn sī　　　　　　　　　　(*Yu Xia Shu Yu Gong*)

their　　baskets　　tussur silk

'The tribute is tussur silk in baskets.'

(47) 厥　　　　土　　　赤　　　埴　　　坟　　　　　　　　(《虞夏书·禹贡》)

jué　　　tǔ　　　chì　　　zhí　　　fén　　　　　(*Yu Xia Shu Yu Gong*)

there　　soil　　red　　clayey　　rich

'The soil there is red, clayey and rich.'

The form is also the main form of the judgment sentences in the inscriptions of the Western Zhou Dynasty, and it is perhaps the earliest form of Chinese judgment sentence. In addition, there are also five forms derived from the basic sentence pattern in *Jinwen Shangshu*:

1) subject + 惟(wéi) + noun predicate

(48) 济　　　　河　　　　惟　　兖州　　　　　　　　　　(《虞夏书·禹贡》)

jǐ　　　hé　　　wéi　　yǎn zhōu　　　　　　(*Yu Xia Shu Yu Gong*)

Ji River　　Yellow River　　is　　Yanzhou

'The area between Ji River and Yellow River is called Yanzhou.'

2) subject + 曰(yuē) + noun predicate

(49) 五　　　行，　　　一　　曰　　水，　　二　　曰　　火，　　三　　曰　　木，

wǔ　　xíng,　　yī　　yuē　　shuǐ,　　èr　　yuē　　huǒ,　　sān　　yuē　　mù,

Five　element　one　is　water　two　is　fire,　three　is　wood

四　　曰　　金，　　五　　曰　　土　　　　　　　　(《周书·洪范》)

sì　　yuē　　jīn,　　wǔ　　yuē　　tǔ　　　　　(*Zhou Shu Hong Fan*)

four　is　gold　five　is　soil

'Five elements: one is water, two is fire, three is wood, four is gold, five is soil.'

3) subject + 是(shì) + noun predicate

(50) 启　　篚　　见　　书，　　乃　　并　　是　　吉　　　　(《周书·金縢》)

qǐ　　yuè　　jiàn　　shū,　　nǎi　　bìng　　shì　　jí　　(*Zhou Shu Jin Teng*)

open　lock　see　book　just　all　are　auspicious

'They unlocked the lock and saw a book, in which all were just auspicious.'

4) subject + 乃(nǎi) + noun predicate

See example (40) "乃尔攸闻(nǎi ěr yōu wén)"(*Zhou Shu Duo Fang*).

5) subject + 则(zé) + noun predicate

(51) 岁　　　则　　　大　　　熟　　　　　　　　　　　　(《周书·金縢》)

suì　　zé　　dà　　shú　　　　　　　　　　(*Zhou Shu Jin Teng*)

year　then.ADV　bumper　harvest

'This year then turned out very fruitful.'

In the last two forms above, "乃(nǎi)" and "则(zé)" are adverbs which are used between the subject and the predicate to confirm that the judgment made by the predicate or the situation expressed by the predicate is true and reasonable. Although there is only one case respectively for the two forms in *Jinwen Shangshu*, such cases are more common in other documents of Pre-Qin dynasty and two Han dynasties. The cases of "曰(yuē, 'is')" used in judgment sentences are mainly in *Zhou Shu·Hong Fan*. Wang Yinzhi (1956:30) believes that "曰(yuē)" is like "为(wéi, 'is')". In *Jinwen Shangshu*, there are a total of 36 cases of "惟(wéi, 'is')" used in judgment sentences. It is in high frequency, and it is so widespread that such cases can be found in *Yu Xia Shu*, *Shang Shu* and *Zhou Shu*. "Subject + 惟(wéi) + noun predicate" is the main form of judgment sentences in *Jinwen Shangshu*, and there is only one case of "是(shì)" used in judgment sentence, that is "乃并是吉(nǎi bìng shì jí)" in *Zhou Shu·Jin Teng*, but this might be the earliest case of "是(shì)" used as a judgment word in the documents.

How does "是(shì)" become a judgment word in modern Chinese? Analyzing how "是(shì)" is used in *Jinwen Shangshu* may give us some inspiration. There are 28 cases of "是(shì)" which is mostly used as a double-reference pronoun referring to a preposed object in the book as in (52) below:

(52) 今   商   王   受   惟   妇   言   是   用   (《周书·牧誓》)
     jīn   Shāng   wáng   Shòu   wéi   fù   yán   shì   yòng   (*Zhou Shu·Mu Shi*)
     now   Shang   king   Shou   only   woman   words   DRPR   follow

  'Now Shou, the king of Shang only follows the words of his wife.'

"是(shì)" is used to repeatedly refer to the preposed object "妇言" (fù yán, 'the woman's words'). "是(shì)" can also be used as a conjunction meaning "于是" (yú shì, 'then') as in (53) below:

(53) 桑   土   既   蚕，   是   降   丘   宅   土
     sāng   tǔ   jì   cán,   shì   jiàng   qiū   zhái   tǔ
     mulberry soil   already   silkworms then   come down   mound   dwell   ground
                                                                  (《虞夏书·禹贡》)
                                                                  (*Yu Xia Shu·Yu Gong*)

  'Silkworms had been kept at the places where the soil fit for mulberry growing, then people came
  down from the heights to dwell on the level ground.'

"'是(shì)' is like '于是(yú shì)'". (Wang Yinzhi,1956:201) Sima Qian (Western Han dynasty) cited this sentence as in (54) below:

(54) 于是   民   得   下   丘   居   土
     yú shì   mín   dé   xià   qiū   jū   tǔ
     then   people   could   come down   mound   dwell on   ground
                                                        (司马迁:《史记·夏本纪》)

(Sima Qian: *Shi Ji Xia Ben Ji*)

'Then people could come down from the mound and dwell on the ground.'

"是(shì)" is often used as a pronoun or a conjunction repeatedly referring to a more complex subject, so it is often used between a complex independent subject and a noun predicate, and the cases can be found in *Jinwen Shangshu* as in (55) below:

(55)
责	人	斯	无	难，	惟	受	责	俾
zé	rén	sī	wú	nán,	wéi	shòu	zé	bì
blame	others	this	not	difficult	ADV	by	blame	obey

如	流，	是	惟	艰	哉!	(《周书·秦誓》)
rú	liú,	shì	wéi	jiān	zāi	(*Zhou Shu Qin Shi*)
like	flowing	this	is	difficult	MP	

'To blame others is not difficult, but how difficult it is to obey others smoothly like flowing water when blamed!'

In (55), "是(shì 'this')" refers to "惟受责俾如流(wéi shòu zé bì rú liú)", and acts as the subject of "惟艰(wéi jiān)". Such cases can be found also in later documents often as in (56) below:

(56)
人	之	民	日	欲	与	我	斗,
rén	zhī	mín	rì	yù	yǔ	wǒ	dòu,
other	AUX	people	every day	want	with	me	fight

吾	民	日	不	欲	为	我	斗,
wú	mín	rì	bù	yù	wèi	wǒ	dòu,
my	people	every day	not	want	for	me	fight

是	强	者	之	所以	反	弱	也。	(《荀子·王制》)
shì	qiáng	zhě	zhī	suǒ yǐ	fǎn	ruò	ye	(*Xunzi Wang Zhi*)
this	powerful	person	AUX	reason	turn	weak	MP	

'People in other countries want to fight with me every day, while my men do not want to fight for me every day, this is why a powerful one becomes weak.'

"是(shì)" which repeatedly refers to "人之民日欲与我斗(rén zhī mín rì yù yǔ wǒ dòu)，吾民日不欲为我斗(wú mín rì bù yù wèi wǒ dòu)" is the subject of "强者之所以反弱(qiáng zhě zhī suǒ yǐ fǎn ruò)", and it is often used between subjects and noun predicates referring to the subjects as their appositives, so with its function of repeatedly referring to the preposed object weakening gradually, "是(shì)" as a pronoun becomes empty constantly, and gradually becomes a copula which helps the subject indicate judgment or explain the subject. To Western Han dynasty, the grammatical function of "是(shì)" connecting the subject and predicate has been clear as in (57) below:

(57)
此	必	是	豫让	也。	(《史记·刺客列传》)
cǐ	bì	shì	Yù Ràng	ye	(*Shi Ji Ci Ke Lie Zhuan*)

this   must   COP   Yu Rang   MP

'This must be Yu Rang.'

The subject is "此"(cǐ, 'this'), a near demonstrative pronoun. "是(shì)" is modified by the adverb "必" (bì 'must'), so the grammatical status of "是(shì)" as a judgment word has been very clear. To Eastern Han dynasty, the sentence pattern "subject + 是(shì) + noun predicate + 也(ye)" has been used frequently in the documents, and becomes a mature judgment sentence pattern gradually.

5. Verbs and objects in double-object sentences present complex word order, and verbs all have the agentive properties of transfer, continuation and bidirectionality

In *Jinwen Shangshu*, double-object sentences are very rich. The word orders of verbs and their two objects are complex, and they can be divided into two main patterns generally: the first is the basic pattern "the subject + verb predicate + indirect object + direct object" as in (58)-(60) below:

(58) 天   乃   锡   禹   洪   范   九   畴   (《周书·洪范》)

tiān   nǎi   xī   Yǔ   hóng   fàn   jiǔ   chóu   (*Zhou Shu·Hong Fan*)

Heaven   then   gave   Yu   great   laws   nine   Division

'Heaven then gave the great laws with its nine Divisions to Yu.'

(59) 大   降   尔   四   国   民   命   (《周书·多士》)

dà   jiàng   ěr   sì   guó   mín   mìng   (*Zhou Shu·Duo Shi*)

widely   give   your   four   countries   people   order

'to give orders widely to the subjects of your four states'

(60) 予   誓   告   汝   群   言   之   首   (《周书·秦誓》)

yǔ   shì   gào   rǔ   qún   yán   zhī   shǒu   (*Zhou Shu·Qin Shi*)

I   oath   warn   you   many   words   AUX   head

'I will solemnly warn you with the most important words.'

The pattern is the same basic syntactic form of the double-object sentences in ancient Chinese as those in modern Chinese, and it can be found that the direct or indirect objects are omitted in *Jinwen Shangshu* as in (61) and (62) below:

(61) 太保   乃   以   庶   邦   冢君

tài bǎo   nǎi   yǐ   shù   bāng   zhǒng jūn

Taibao, officer   then   and   numerous   countries   leaders

出   取   币，   乃   复   入   锡   周公。   (《周书·召诰》)

chū   qǔ   bì，   nǎi   fù   rù   xī   Zhōugōng   (*Zhou Shu·Shao Gao*)

out   took   jade and silk   then   again   entered   present   Zhougong

'The officer of Taibao and the leaders of numerous countries took out the jade and the silk, then entered again and presented them to Zhou Gong.'

In (61), the direct object of "锡(xī, 'present')" is omitted according to the former sentences.

(62) 高　　后　　丕　　乃　　崇　　降　　　罪　　疾。(《商书·盘庚中》)
　　　gāo　　hòu　　pī　　nǎi　　chóng　　jiàng　　zuì　　jí　　(*Shang Shu·Pangeng Zhong*)
　　　previous　kings　then　just　heavily　condemn　guilt　evil
　　　'The previous kings then will condemn you for the guilt and evil heavily.'

In (62), the indirect object "汝(rǔ, 'you')" is omitted before the direct object "罪疾(zuìjí 'the guilt and evil')" according to the sentence as in (63) below:

(63) 先　　后　　丕　　降　　　与　　汝　　罪　　疾　　(《商书·盘庚中》)
　　　xiān　hòu　　pī　　jiàng　　yǔ　　rǔ　　zuì　　jí　　(*Shang Shu·Pangeng Zhong*)
　　　previous　king　then　condemn　to　you　guilt　evil
　　　'The previous kings then will condemn you for the guilt and evil heavily.'

The second type is the form changed from the basic sentence pattern. It is based on the basic sentence pattern, and is formed by using certain grammatical means to adjust the word orders between the verbs and the double objects. There are four types as follows:

1) subject + verb predicate + indirect object + 于(yú) + direct object

(64) 予　　告　　汝　　于　　难　　　　　　　　　(《商书·盘庚上》)
　　　yú　　gào　　rǔ　　yú　　nàn　　　　　　　　(*Shang Shu·Pangeng Shang*)
　　　I　　tell　you　with　difficulties
　　　'Let me tell you the difficulties.'

2) subject + 以+ direct object + verb predicate + indirect object

(65) 予　　旦　　已(以)　受　　人　　之　　徽　　言
　　　yú　　dàn　　yǐ (yǐ)　shòu　rén　　zhī　huī　　yán
　　　I　　Jidan　with　previous　person　AUX　glorious　words
　　　咸　　告　　孺子　矣。　　　　　　　　　　(《周书·立政》)
　　　xián　gào　　rǔzǐ　yì　　　　　　　　　　(*Zhou Shu·Li Zheng*)
　　　all　　told　you　MP
　　　'I, Jidan have told all the glorious words of previous people to you.'

3) subject + verb predicate + direct object + 于(yú) + indirect object

(66) 天　　降　　　丧　　于　　殷　　　　　　　(《周书·君奭》)
　　　tiān　jiàng　　sàng　yú　　Yīn　　　　　　(*Zhou Shu·Jun Shi*)
　　　Heaven　send down　ruin　on　Yin dynasty
　　　'Heaven sent down ruin on Yin.'

4) indirect object + verb predicate + direct object

(67) 禹　　锡　　玄　　圭　　　　　　　　　　　(《虞夏书·禹贡》)
　　　Yǔ　　xī　　xuán　guī　　　　　　　　　　(*Yu Xia Shu·Yu Gong*)
　　　Yu　　present　black　jade

'Yu was presented the black jade.'

(68)	帝	乃	锡	禹	玄	圭	(《史记·五帝本纪》)
	dì	nǎi	xī	Yǔ	xuán	guī	(*Shi Ji·Wu Di Ben Ji*)
	king	then	present	Yu	black	jade	

'The king presented Yu the black jade.'

(67) is cited as (68) in *Shi Ji·Wu Di Ben Ji*. These double-object sentence patterns all meet two conditions: first, there is a clear relationship of agent and patient between verb predicates and double objects; Second, the indirect objects parallel with the direct objects rather than modify them.

The changed sentence pattern of double objects in *Jinwen Shangshu* is due to the emphasis on the semantic focus of the patient. When emphasizing the direct objects, type(1) and type(2) are formed, and when emphasizing the indirect objects, type(3) and type(4) are formed. There are two ways of emphasizing: one is changing the word order, and the other is adding a preposition before the semantic focus.

As to the four changed types from the basic pattern of double-object sentences in *Jinwen Shangshu*, when analyzed from an angle of explicit grammatical form, "subject + verb predicate + indirect object + 于(yú) + direct object" and "subject + verb predicate + direct object + 于(yú) + indirect object" can be analyzed as "the subject + verb predicate + object + complement of preposition- object structure", and it seems that the pattern "subject + 以(yǐ) + direct object + verb predicate + indirect object" can be analyzed as "subject + adverbial of preposition-object structure + verb predicate + object", and "indirect object + verb predicate + direct object" can be analyzed as "subject + verb predicate + object". But the implicit grammatical content of these changed patterns is still the double-object sentence. The relationship between the transitive verb predicate and the double objects is very clear, and it is significantly different from those with the complement of preposition-object structure and the adverbial of preposition-object structure.

The double-object sentence of "subject + 以(yǐ) + direct object + verb predicate + indirect object" presents an immature state clearly in *Jinwen Shangshu*. First, they are less in quantity; second, they have a small range of distribution, only in *Zhou Shu*; Third, their syntactic structures are not complete. For example:

(69)	我	无	以	告	我	先	王	(《周书·金縢》)
	wǒ	wú	yǐ	gào	wǒ	xiān	wáng	(*Zhou Shu·Jin Teng*)
	I	no	with	report	my	former	king	

'I have nothing to report to my former kings.'

The sentence above is an incomplete form of the changed sentence pattern, in which a direct object behind "以(yǐ)" is missing. In the double-object sentence "subject + verb

predicate + direct object + 于(yú) + indirect object", "于(yú)" introduces the indirect object, and is placed after the direct object with the pragmatic function of emphasizing the indirect object. Such changed pattern of double-object sentences has occurred in Bronze inscriptions, and is also very common in Pre-Qin documents.

There are a total of 17 double-object verbs in *Jinwen Shangshu*, which can be divided into two categories according to semantic types. Type one consists of the transitive verbs meaning "to ask" or "to tell", including "问(wèn), 谓(wèi), 告(gào), 敕(chì), 毖(bì), 教(jiào)"; Type two consists of the transitive verbs meaning "to give" or "to befall", including "锡(xī), 馈(kuì), 遗(wèi), 贻(yí), 授(shòu), 施(shī), 投(tóu), 降(jiàng), 致(zhì), 降致(jiàng zhì) and 降与(jiàng yú)". There are only 3 verbs that are used in the double-object basic sentence type "subject + verb predicate + direct object" in which the indirect object is omitted, and they are "降(jiàng)", "致(zhì)"and "降致(jiàng zhì)"; There are only 2 verbs that are used in the basic double-object sentence type "subject + verb predicate + indirect object" in which the direct object is omitted, and they are "赉(lài)" and "锡(xī)".

All the double-object verbs in *Jinwen Shangshu* have two properties: one is the transfer and continuation of the action, and the other is the bidirectionality of the action. The action of any double-object verbs must be conducted from one to another. There is a transitional point in the middle of the action before moving to the real target, and it must be a person close to the active verb. This transition point is sometimes omitted in the explicit syntactic form, but the implicit syntactic content always exists. The action or behavior of a double-object verb must involve two aspects: one is the person, and the other is the thing. The former is the object of the active verb, and the latter is the content of the action. That is to say, the verb must be with two objects, but the two objects are neither coordinate nor compound. The bi-directional property of the double-object verbs in *Jinwen Shangshu* is also shown as the positive and negative relation to the verb itself. For example, "问(wèn, 'ask')" in (70) and "告(gào, 'tell')" in (71) are semantically opposite. In fact, any double-object verb always implies a semantically opposite one.

(70)	二	公	及	王	问	诸	史	与	百
	èr	gōng	jí	wáng	wèn	zhū	shǐ	yǔ	bǎi
	two	Gong	and	king	ask	these	historiographers	and	various

执事 (《周书·金縢》)
zhíshì (*Zhou Shu Jin Teng*)
service officers

'Two officers of Gong asked the historiographers and various service officers.'

(71)	乃	告	太	王、		王	季、	文	王	(《周书·金縢》)
	nǎi	gào	tài	wáng		wáng	Jì	Wén	wáng	(*Zhou Shu Jin Teng*)
	then	address	King's great-grandfather			King	Ji	Wen	King	

'Then addressed King Wu's great-grandfather, grandfather and father.'

The semantic content and scope also have an influence on the choice of the verbs for the double objects. The objects of "问(wèn)" and "告(gào)" are generally single, but the contents of "问(wèn)" and "告(gào)" are complicated. Therefore, the semantic range of double-object verbs like "问(wèn)" and "告(gào)" is much larger. For example, the direct object of the verb "告(gào)" in *Yu Xia Shu Gan Shi* (《虞夏书·甘誓》) is almost the whole text of the oath. The contents of "锡(xī)" and "降(jiàng)" can only be specific or abstract things, therefore, they have a smaller semantic range as the double-object verbs.

Symbols and abbreviations

MP	Modal Particle	DRPR	Double-reference Pronoun
PREP	Preposition	ADV	Adverb
AUX	Auxiliary Word	AF	Affix
SADV	Scope Adverb	COP	Copula

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