



A Dictionary of High Frequency Function Words in Literary Chinese

Mei Ah Tan



A DICTIONARY OF HIGH FREQUENCY FUNCTION WORDS IN LITERARY CHINESE

A Dictionary of High Frequency Function Words in Literary Chinese is the first comprehensive work on the subject that constitutes a new approach to teaching and learning by providing both a reference tool and a reader.

This dictionary can serve both as a reference book and as an anthology for teaching and learning literary Chinese (the premodern written language) and both ancient and contemporary Chinese culture. It differs from the traditional design of dictionaries in that it includes detailed explanations, with examples, for different uses of the graphs most often used to represent function words in literary Chinese. To facilitate teaching and learning through association, the early meaning, extended meanings, and borrowed meanings for each graph are provided, along with explanations supported by the various stages of the historical development of the graph and other relevant research. Each word is grouped into the primary word class to which it belongs, based on its lexical or grammatical meanings, its collocations, and its function in a sentence. Modern idioms derived from words and phrases in the sample passages are provided in order to promote cultural knowledge and show the important role literary Chinese continues to play in everyday life. All Chinese words are provided with Putonghua romanization to facilitate learning and recall through sound; special pronunciations are explained.

This book can be used as a textbook, as extended reading, or as a reference work for undergraduate or graduate classes on literary/classical Chinese, Chinese manuscript studies, Chinese language and culture, Putonghua, translation studies, or even linguistics. It can also be used as an anthology from which the teacher can select passages for students to study.

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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The idea for this project came to me when I was teaching literary Chinese at the University of Wisconsin–Madison in 2006. At the time there were few English resources for literary Chinese grammar, let alone a dictionary. As a teacher of Chinese and a student of classical Chinese literature, I find the knowledge of literary Chinese to be indispensable for interpreting ancient texts and understanding Chinese culture. The bond between literary Chinese and modern Chinese is tighter than many have imagined. To facilitate the teaching and learning of literary Chinese, a dictionary, especially one centered on function words, is a much-needed tool. It was with this idea of helping learners to do self-study and lessening the workload of teachers that I began work on this dictionary. Over a decade has passed since then: This project has been a marathon.

It is only with the love, patience, and support of my family – my parents, my husband, and my siblings in particular – that I have managed to finish this marathon. Many others have helped me along the way. To David R. Knechtges, I owe a great debt of gratitude for looking over the manuscript in 2016 when it was extremely crude and offering many insightful and enlightening comments. His generosity and kindness are beyond words. I am also indebted to William H. Nienhauser, whose training has helped me reach this stage. It is with great fondness that I recall the meetings at his house for the workshops on the *Grand Scribe's Records* and Tang tales. I am also grateful to the reviewers, whose advice pointed me in the right direction and whose support of this manuscript has been critical for its publication. I hope they like this final version, and that they will pardon my stubbornness in keeping all the *pīnyīn*. Alice W. Cheang 鄭文君 guided me through the last two revisions and helped me improve the manuscript in countless ways with her wide knowledge of Chinese and English: For her keen editorial acumen and unfailing moral support, she has my heartfelt appreciation. To my other editor, who would prefer to stay anonymous, I am also deeply grateful for the many valuable comments that continue to inspire me. Warm thanks are also due to the editorial and production team at Routledge, in particular Andrea Hartill and Iola Ashby. Finally, I would like to express my gratitude to the Hang Seng University of Hong Kong for their generous support.

This dictionary has benefited from resource development centers and previous scholarship, as documented. Paul W. Kroll's *A Student's Dictionary of Classical and Medieval Chinese* has been exceptionally helpful to me. All remaining errors are solely my responsibility. I have used my own translations, after taking into consideration those currently available in English, not because mine are better but because it is my aim, as far as possible, to adhere to the original grammatical structures of the quoted Chinese texts and to keep the style consistent. A final word to my readers: It is the thought of you that has sustained me throughout my journey. I could spend a lifetime on this dictionary, but it is time to share my work with you.

USER'S GUIDE

1. The Title

- Literary Chinese (*wén yán wén* 文言文) refers to the written form of the common language that was in use during the Warring States period (403–221 BCE) and was the official written language of China until the beginning of the twentieth century. It is different from classical Chinese (*gǔ dàì Hán yǔ* 古代漢語) in the sense that the latter also includes the ancient vernacular, or *gǔ báihuà* 古白話, which was based on the spoken language of the Táng (618–907) and Sòng (960–1279) dynasties.¹ Most of the classics and official documents in premodern China were written in literary Chinese.² Works composed between the pre-Qín and the Hán periods were considered the model for literary Chinese and emulated by the writers of later periods. All examples illustrating usage in this dictionary are taken from this early period.
- Function words are high-frequency words; they are essential elements that show syntactic relations and mood and are famously the most difficult component of literary Chinese. Many of the graphs used as function words can also serve as content words. This is because function words are often represented by loan graphs that are similar in sound. These graphs, borrowed to denote function words, are often graphs representing words with concrete meanings. For example, *qí* 其, zodiograph  in oracle-bone inscriptions, is the original graph for *jī* 箕 (winnowing basket). Because this graph 其 had been borrowed to serve as a function word, a semantic determinative *zhú* 竹 (bamboo) was added during the Warring States period to indicate its early meaning of “winnowing basket,” which is made of bamboo.³ Modern Pǔtōnghuà pronunciation does not reveal their similarity in sound, but the ancient Chinese reconstructions by Baxter and Sagart (see Design of the Dictionary, Section 2) have *gə for 其 and *k(r)ə for 箕, showing that they shared the same finals and had a velar sound in their initials.
- This dictionary was originally titled *High-Frequency Words in Literary Chinese*, because a single graph may be used to represent both (a) function

word(s) and (a) content word(s). The title has now been changed to *High-Frequency Function Words in Literary Chinese* in order to highlight the criteria for selecting the graphs for inclusion in the dictionary – the graphs included here represent function words frequently occurring in literary Chinese and are generally included in dictionaries of function words written in Chinese. However, where the graphs represent both function words and content words, the usage of both kinds of words is explained.

2. The Scope

- This dictionary has included graphs that can be used as prepositions, conjunctions, particles, or adverbs (including interrogative adverbs), treating them all as function words. There is some controversy over the categorization of adverbs. Because adverbs have lexical meanings and are used to modify verbs and adjectives, some scholars treat them as content words. However, since they are limited in number and cannot necessarily be used independently to answer a question, they can also be treated as function words. Some scholars may establish a separate category for adverbs, treating them as existing in between the categories of content word and function word.
- Eighty high-frequency graphs that can be used as function words, inclusive of set phrases, have been chosen based on their high occurrence rate; this selection is by no means exhaustive. It is common for these graphs also to be used to represent content words; these usages are also included in the dictionary to provide a comprehensive survey of the usage of each graph.

3. A New Approach

- Differing from a conventional dictionary that provides brief definitions and excerpts, this dictionary gives more detailed definitions and more complete sample passages. The traditional approach has the advantage of being succinct, but succinctness also makes it hard for learners to grasp how each word functions within a context. This drawback is especially serious in the case of literary Chinese, where a word can sometimes be temporarily used to perform a syntactic function that is normally performed by a different word class, and abbreviation or outright elision of contextualizing information is common.
- This dictionary aims to help readers to learn usage by means of association: (1) the early meaning of a word and its relation to extended meaning(s) and borrowed meaning(s) are given, together with early graphs and reconstructions of sound; (2) the examples have been selected for their linguistic or cultural significance, with explanations of grammatical function and/or their influence on present-day usage (primarily in the form of idioms); and (3) all Chinese characters are provided with *pīnyīn* (tones included) and special pronunciations are given, along with explanations.

4. Recommendations for Use

This is a new form of dictionary that can serve as both a reference tool and an anthology.

As a Reference Book

- Learners can look up the multitudinous uses of important graphs in literary Chinese texts that are key to the accurate understanding of the passages.
- Learners can enhance their memory and understanding of these graphs by consulting their early meanings, extended meanings, and loan meanings.
- Teachers can recommend it to students to facilitate self-study so as to maximize the benefits of the “flipped classroom” approach to blended learning.

As an Anthology

- Learners can use it as a stand-alone reader, browsing simply for pleasure, or reading to gain insight into some of the oldest sources of China’s linguistic and cultural heritage.
- Learners can relate what they have learned in Pǔtōnghuà courses to the cultural and linguistic issues explained here.
- Teachers can select passages as they see fit for teaching literary Chinese courses, cultural courses, or even Pǔtōnghuà courses.
- Teachers may also refer students to the introductory section of each entry in courses on ancient manuscripts.
- Teachers may make use of the index to look up the idioms included here for use in language and cultural courses.

The technical terms used in the analysis are explained in the “Glossary of Technical Terms.”

Notes

1 Novels of the *Míng* and *Qīng* dynasties are examples of works written in the “ancient vernacular.”

2 For the definition of literary Chinese, see Guō Xīliáng 郭錫良, et al., *Gǔdài Hán yǔ* 古代漢語, 2 vols. (Běijīng: Shāngwù yinshūguǎn, 1999), vol. 1, 1–2. For a more detailed discussion of what is meant by “literary Chinese,” see Lǐ Zuōfēng 李佐豐, *Gǔdài Hán yǔ yǔfǎxué* 古代漢語語法學 (Běijīng: Shāngwù yinshūguǎn, 2005), 8–11. Jerry Norman notes that “literary Chinese” refers to the form of the written language from the end of the Spring and Autumn period to the end of the *Hàn* dynasty. Jerry Norman, *Chinese* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 83.

3 *SWXZ*, 384–85.

DESIGN OF THE DICTIONARY

1. Structure

- Head entries are arranged in alphabetical order according to the Pǔtōnghuà romanization. When a character represents different words with different pronunciations, only its primary pronunciation as a function word is given in the head entry. In the case of entries that have the same romanization, precedence is given to the character containing fewer strokes.
- Each entry is arranged by giving the early meaning, the extended meanings, and the borrowed meanings of a character, with its pronunciation in Old and Middle Chinese.
- In all excerpts, the words or phrases under discussion (including Chinese characters, *pīnyīn* romanization, and, if appropriate, the translation) are underlined.

2. The Sounds of Old Chinese and Middle Chinese

- Because sound is the basis for borrowed meanings, each entry is provided with phonetic information; evidence is drawn from Chinese and western sources. Using *ān* 安 as an example, **【wū hán qiè 烏寒切】** OC: *[?]ʷa[n]; MC: ‘an’
- Within the square brackets in bold under “early meaning” is the *fān qiè* 反切 pronunciation provided in the rhyme book *Guǎng yùn* 廣韻 (1008), an expanded version of an older rhyme book, *Qiè yùn* 切韻 (601), which is no longer extant. *Qiè yùn* is the earliest known source for a systematic record of pronunciation using the method called *fān qiè*. *Fān qiè* denotes the pronunciation of a Chinese character using a combination of two characters: The first character represents the initial and determines whether this is voiced or voiceless; the second character represents the final and the tone. Since pronunciation has changed over time, it is as a rule misleading to use modern Pǔtōnghuà to read *fān qiè*.
- Reconstructed pronunciations in Old Chinese and Middle Chinese are given because the *fān qiè* pronunciation described earlier reflects only Middle Chinese and would not be readily understandable to English readers. These reconstructions follow the online open-access list of 5,000 characters created by William

H. Baxter and Laurent Sagart: <http://ocbaxtersagart.lsait.lsa.umich.edu/Baxter-SagartOCbyMandarinMC2014-09-20.pdf> (last accessed 27 June 2022).

This online list is used instead of its *Old Chinese* as being more comprehensive and up-to-date. The reconstructions by Baxter and Sagart (hereafter referred to as “Baxter-Sagart”) have been chosen for their hypothetico-deductive approach. They understand Old Chinese as the different varieties of Chinese used before the unification of China under the Qín dynasty in 221 BCE. As the earliest written records in Chinese are oracular inscriptions on bones and shells from about 1250 BCE, this means an interval of about 1000 years. In reconstructing the linguistic history of this interval, Baxter-Sagart focuses on the common ancestor of the attested varieties of Chinese; evidence of this common ancestor is found in oracle-bone inscriptions, bronze inscriptions, and the earliest Chinese classical texts.

- When a character has more than one pronunciation, indicating different usages, the *fān qiè* and the Baxter-Sagart reconstructions are given only for the primary pronunciation of the character as a function word, the same as the head entry.

3. Graphs

- Because many early Chinese characters bear graphic elements that are indicative of meaning, analyzing the early graphs before they evolved and standardized into modern Chinese characters can show readers how each character obtained its semantic meaning as a content word.
- In each entry, the different graphic forms of the character from pre-Hàn times are given primarily in the order in which they occur in the following sources: oracle-bone inscriptions, bronze inscriptions, Chǔ bamboo and silk manuscripts, Qín bamboo manuscripts, and the script recorded in *Shuō wén jiě zì* 說文解字 (Explanations of simple graphs and analyses of composite graphs), compiled by Xǔ Shèn 許慎 (258–?147). The *Shuō wén jiě zì* is the earliest dictionary of Chinese; it is considered the fundamental reference work for the study of Chinese paleography.
- One issue being hotly debated among Western scholars is whether there is such a thing as an “associative compound” (*hùi yì* 會意, literally, “conjoined meanings”) in written Chinese. Although it is a standard category in paleographic studies of characters in China, William G. Boltz argues against the existence of “associative compounds” during the formative stages of Chinese writing.¹ In this dictionary, the category of “associative compound” is included in all relevant entries in order to inform readers of the dominant view in the Chinese academy. At the same time, readers are reminded of the conflicting view that “associative compounds” do not exist and that this question is still under debate.²
- Newly excavated materials have generated cutting-edge scholarship on manuscript studies. This dictionary primarily refers to the interpretations of Ji Xùshēng’s 季旭昇 *Shuōwén xīnzhèng* 說文新證 (New evidence for *Shuō wén jiě zì*), which has made use of these new materials to examine the analysis of

early meanings provided by Xǔ Shèn’s monumental dictionary. Xǔ Shèn’s explanation of the same character based on small seal script is also given, followed by later scholars’ annotations, as well as research that either supports or disputes Xǔ Shèn.

- The graphs are mainly chosen from the Academia Sinica’s online database *Xiǎoxué táng* 小學堂 (Hall for etymological study): <https://xiaoxue.iis.sinica.edu.tw/>.

As some of the words have many variant graphic forms, care has been taken to select the most representative ones.

4. Usage

- Each entry covers the various uses of the word, from its early meaning to extended meanings and then to its borrowed meanings. Also indicated are the word class of each use and the syntactic function it performs.
- It is critical to bear in mind that a word in a certain word class may temporarily change into another word class when it serves a syntactic function normally performed by the other word class. This flexibility is extremely common in literary Chinese. Theoretically, content words may not be absolutely classified into a particular word class on the strength of a temporary change based on syntax. In actual practice, however, this kind of temporary change is often limited to a certain group of words. A temporary change that involves words outside of this group is generally considered unusual and will be often treated as a rhetorical device or *zhuǎnpǐn* 轉品 (anthimeria). For heuristic purposes, I have separated the different usages of a given word into different word classes, taking into consideration its lexical meaning, its collocation with other words, and its syntactical function.
- Each usage has at least one example and sometimes more. The notes marked by asterisks explain pronunciation, grammatical structure, interpretation of the excerpted passages, and textual variants (if any). The paragraphs in square brackets are cultural notes that explain the significance of the excerpted passages and the Chinese idioms that originated from them.

5. Translation

- Translation follows the original Chinese as closely as possible. The same Chinese word, with the same meaning and syntactic function, is, to the greatest possible extent, translated the same way in every occurrence.
- Exceptions worth noting:
 - The word *yūe* 曰 (to say) is translated differently based on context.
 - Sometimes a word is left untranslated because it is redundant in English. For example, *zé* 則 (then) is a conjunction word that appears frequently in literary Chinese; in English, it is often redundant.

- The syntactic structure of the translation may depart from the original Chinese to make the English read better. For example, *wú dùn zhī jiān, mò néng xiàn yě* 吾楯之堅，莫能陷也 is translated as “my shield is so solid that nothing can penetrate it” rather than “as for the solidity of my shield, nothing can penetrate it.”
- In Chinese-language citations, the largest unit comes first: A book title precedes the chapter title. For example, 孟子·公孫丑上 will be romanized according to its original order, *Mèngzǐ*, “Gōngsūn Chǒu shàng.” In the English translation, however, the order is reversed to comply with the convention in English: “King Hui of Liáng, First Section,” *Mencius*.
- Words in brackets are inserted to fill out information omitted in the original text that is not clearly implied. It is common for literary Chinese to omit the subject or the object when it is understood. When the information omitted is clearly implied, no brackets are used. Material put in parenthesis consists of information given to provide context or explanatory notes.
- No translation is given for the chapter titles of the *Analects* because they are often the first two characters of each chapter and may not make sense on their own. Although the subtitles of *Strategies of the Warring States* are also taken from the first line or two, they often make sense on their own and are therefore translated. When citing sources from the *Songs*, the Máo number, indicating the numeric order of the 305 songs in the Máo edition, is also provided for easy reference.

6. Pǔtōnghuà Romanization

- When a character has more than one pronunciation, the pronunciation differing from the head entry will be provided in square brackets.
- Tone marks for *bù* 不 and *yī* 一 are given as they are without taking into consideration tonal change. Note that in Pǔtōnghuà *bù* is changed into *bú* if it is followed by a fourth tone. *Yī* is changed to *yí* before a fourth tone and *yì* before other tones. *Yī* is pronounced as such when used alone, placed at the end of a word or a sentence, or when used as an ordinal number.
- Tonal change, or a complete change in pronunciation indicating a change of meaning, is reflected in the romanization, for example, the change of *shí* 食 to *sì* 时 when used as a causative verb or noun.
- *Pīnyīn* is provided on a word basis. That is, a space is provided between two words. For example, 妻子 (wife and children) is romanized as *qī zǐ* instead of *qīzǐ*. Names are exceptions. For example, 孟子 (Mencius) is romanized as *Mèngzǐ* instead of *Mèng Zǐ*. Although *zǐ* can be used by itself to mean “master” when it is attached to the surname of the master, as here, it is treated as a suffix. 梁惠王 (King Hui of Liáng) is romanized as *Liáng Huìwáng*, although *wáng* is actually a word meaning “king,” and Hui is his posthumous name. Since *wáng* has become part of the name, the two words are put together.

- Tone marks are provided for the romanization of all Chinese characters for easy reference. This applies also to words that have been adopted in English. For example, the Han dynasty is written as the Hàndynasty; Putonghua is written as Pǔtōnghuà.

7. References

- The definition of each entry has been cross-referenced with Paul W. Kroll, *A Student's Dictionary of Classical and Medieval Chinese* (Leiden: Brill, 2015) and checked against the revised edition of April 2022. All citations are to the 2015 edition. Interpretations that differ from Kroll's dictionary are explained in footnotes.
- Because there are many common surnames in Chinese, the full names of the authors are given for every footnote reference. For example, Wáng is a common surname. The titles of books for literary Chinese are also similar. Providing the full name can help with identification. In references to journal articles, the full range of page numbers is provided at the first occurrence, with the specific page(s). In subsequent citations of the same work, only the specific page numbers are provided.

Notes

- 1 Boltz proposes that one of the components in any Chinese character is phonophoric. This idea is a natural outgrowth of his theory about what he calls the “graphic multivalence stage” in the development of early writing, in which a zodiograph was used to write an unrelated but homophonous or nearly homophonous word, or to write a phonetically dissimilar word the meaning of which is congruent with the meaning of the original word. A semantic determinator or a phonetic determinator was then added to these words in the determinative stage. See his *The Origin and Early Development of the Chinese Writing* (New Haven, CT: American Oriental Society, 1994), 149 and 59–72.
- 2 Zev Handel argues that iconic combinations of graphs are well motivated and meaningful to script users and therefore could likely have played a role in the formation of Chinese script. See his “Does Xǔ Shèn’s *Huìyì* Category Reflect Historical Reality? An Argument for the Existence of Compound Graphs Lacking Phonophorics,” in *New Horizons in the Study of Chinese: Dialectology, Grammar, and Philology – Studies in Honor of Professor Anne Yue*, ed. Pang-hsin Ting, Samuel Hung-nin Cheung, Sze-Wing Tang and Andy Chin (Hong Kong: T.T. Ng Chinese Language Research Centre, 2016), 581–98.

ABBREVIATIONS

Grammatical Terms

<i>adj.</i>	adjective
<i>adv.</i>	adverb
<i>conj.</i>	conjunction
<i>DP</i>	demonstrative pronoun
<i>interr.</i>	interrogative
<i>n.</i>	noun
<i>part.</i>	particle
<i>prep.</i>	preposition
<i>pron.</i>	pronoun
<i>vb.</i>	verb

Graphs

BI	bronze inscriptions
CM	Chǔ manuscripts
LS	large seal script
OBI	oracle-bone inscriptions
QM	Qín manuscripts
SS	small seal script
TAS	transmitted ancient script

Reference Works

GHYXC	<i>Gǔ Hányǔ xūcí</i> 古漢語虛詞
GHYXCCD	<i>Gǔ Hányǔ xūcí cídiǎn</i> 古漢語虛詞詞典
GHYZD	<i>Gǔ Hányǔ zìdiǎn</i> 古漢語字典
SDCMC	<i>A Student's Dictionary of Classical and Medieval Chinese</i>
SJZX	<i>Shījīng zhùxī</i> 詩經注析
SWJZZJ	<i>Shuōwén jiězì zhùjiān</i> 說文解字注箋
SWXZ	<i>Shuōwén xīnzhèng</i> 說文新證

Entries



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ĀN 安

- vb.; “to be settled” | – *adj.*; “to be at ease”*
| *– *adj.*; “to be comfortable”*
| *– *adj.*; “to be safe”*
|
| *– *interr. pron.*; “where/what/whom”*
| *– *interr. adv.*; “whence/from where/how”*

OBI	BI	CM	QM	SS
𠂇	𠂇	𠂇	𠂇	𠂇

【*wū hán qiè* 烏寒切】OC: *[?]⁊a[n]; MC: ‘*an*’

Early Meaning: *vb.*; “to be settled”

Ji Xūshēng proposes that the early meaning of *ān* 安 is a female settling down in a house; the extended meaning is “to be safe.”¹ His explanation of the oracle-bone inscription agrees with Xǔ Shèn’s explanation of the graph in small seal script. In excavated texts, *ān* 安 is often interchangeable with *yān* 焉 when it is used as a demonstrative pronoun. These two words are cognate. Baxter-Sagart’s reconstructions show that the two words shared a similar pronunciation in Old Chinese, with *[?]⁊a[n] for 安 and *[?]a[n] for 焉.

Xǔ Shèn writes, “Ān 安 (𠂇) means ‘to be settled.’ It is derived from *nǚ* 女 (𡇊, maiden), who is under *mián* 帳 (幃, a house)” 安·靜也。从女在幃下。He treats it as an “associative compound” graph. According to Xú Hào, a female with a family and a male with a wife is the way for both to settle down, hence the graph’s early meaning.²

Example:

皋陶曰:「都!在知人,在安民。」(《尚書·虞書·皋陶謨》)

Gāoyáo yuē, “Dū! Zài zhī rén, zài ān mǐn.” (*Shàng Shū*, “Yú shū,” “Gāoyáo mó”)

4 Ān 安

Gāoyáo said, “Ah! [The key to governance] lies with recognizing people of talent and on letting the commoners be settled at peace. (“Counsels of Gāoyáo,” in “Book of Yú,” *Book of Documents*)

* Ān here is used as a causative verb, “to let someone be settled at peace.”

Extended Meanings

1 *adj.; predicate*; “to be at ease”

子曰：「食夫稻，衣夫錦，於汝安乎？」（《論語·陽貨》）

Zǐ yuē, “Shí fú dào, yì fú jǐn, yú rǔ ān hū?” (Lún yǔ, “Yáng Huò”)

The Master asked, “Eating milled grain and wearing brocade (during your mourning period), would you be at ease?” (“Yáng Huò,” *Analects*)

* The noun yī 衣 is used as a verb, and so is pronounced yì.

2 *adj.; object*; “to be comfortable”

子曰：「君子食無求飽，居無求安，敏於事而慎於言，就有道而正焉，可謂好學也已。」（《論語·學而》）

Zǐ yuē, “Jūn zǐ shí wú qiú bǎo, jū wú qiú ān, mǐn yú shì ér shèn yú yán, jiù yǒu dào ér zhèng yān, kě wèi hào xué yě yǐ.” (Lún yǔ, “Xué ér”)

The Master said, “A noble man does not seek to be sated in his meals, does not seek to be comfortable in his lodgings. Quick in action but cautious in speech, befriending the virtuous to rectify himself, he may be said to be fond of learning.” (“Xué ér,” *Analects*)

3 *adj.; predicate*; “to be safe”

喪亂 既平，既安且寧。

雖有兄弟，不如友生。

（《毛詩·小雅·常棣》）

Sàng luàn jì píng, jì ān qie níng.

Suī yǒu xiōng dì, bù rú yǒu shèng.

(Máo Shī, “Xiǎo yǎ,” “Cháng dì”)

When death-inducing chaos has been settled, one is safe and at peace.

Even though there are brothers, they are not equal to friends.

(Máo #164, “Kerria,” in “Minor Odes,” *Songs*)³

Borrowed Meanings

1 *interr. pron.; object preceding its verb*; never used as a subject; “where,” “what,” “whom.”

- indicating the whereabouts of a person; “where”

項王曰：「沛公安在？」（《史記·項羽本紀》）

Xiàngwáng yuē, “Pèigōng ān zài?” (Shi jì, “Xiàng Yǔ běnji”)

King Xiàng asked, “Where is the Duke of Pèi?” (“Basic Annals of Xiàng Yǔ,” *Grand Scribe’s Records*)

- indicating a person’s destination; “where”

陽子曰：「弟子記之！行賢而去自賢之行，安往而不愛哉？」（《莊子·山木》）

Yángzǐ yuē, “Dízǐ jì zhī! Xíng xián ér qù zì xián zhī xíng, ān wǎng ér bù ài zāi?” (Zhuāngzǐ, “Shān mù”)

Yángzǐ said, “Do take note of it, my disciples! If you practiced virtue and discarded the temptation to consider yourself virtuous, where could you go and not be loved?” (“The (Giant) Tree in the Mountains,” *Zhuāngzǐ*)

- indicating the direct object of a verb; “what/whom”

子貢聞之，曰：「泰山其頽，則吾將安仰？梁木其壞、哲人其萎，則吾將安放？夫子殆將病也。」（《禮記·檀弓上》）

Zǐgōng wén zhī, yuē, “Tàishān qí tuí, zé wú jiāng ān yǎng? Liáng mù qí huài, zhé rén qí wéi, zé wú jiāng ān fāng? Fūzǐ dài jiāng bìng yě.” (Lǐ jì, “Tángōng shàng”)

Zǐgōng heard about it, and said, “If Mt. Tài were to collapse, what could I look up to? If the ridgepole were to fall apart and the wise man to go into a decline, whom could I emulate? The Master is on the verge of becoming ill.” (“Tángōng, First Section,” *Records of Rites*)

* 放 is pronounced *fāng*, not *fàng*. It means “to emulate.”

- 2 *interr. adv.; adverbial modifier*; used before auxiliary verb or verb; may be used for creating a regular or rhetorical question; “whence,” “from where,” “how”

莊子與惠子遊於濠梁之上。莊子曰：「儻魚出遊從容，是魚之樂也。」惠子曰：「子非魚，安知魚之樂？」莊子曰：「子非我，安知我不知魚之樂？」惠子曰：「我非子，固不知子矣；子固非魚也，子之不知魚之樂，全矣。」莊子曰：「請循其本。子曰『汝安知魚樂』云者，既已知吾知之而問我，我知之濠上也。」（《莊子·秋水》）

Zhuāngzǐ yǔ Huìzǐ yóu yú Háo liáng zhī shàng. Zhuāngzǐ yuē, “Yóu yú chū yóu cōngróng, shì yú zhī lè yě.” Huìzǐ yuē, “Zǐ fēi yú, ān zhī yú zhī lè?” Zhuāngzǐ yuē, “Zǐ fēi wǒ, ān zhī wǒ bù zhī yú zhī lè?” Huìzǐ yuē, “Wǒ fēi zǐ, gù bù zhī zǐ yǐ; zǐ gù fēi yú yě, zǐ zhī bù zhī yú zhī lè, quán yǐ.” Zhuāngzǐ yuē, “Qǐng xún qí běn. Zǐ yuē, ‘Rǔ ān zhī yú lè’ yún zhě, jǐ yǐ zhī wú zhī zhī ér wèn wǒ, wǒ zhī zhī Háo shàng yě.’ (Zhuāngzǐ, “Qiū shuǐ”)

6 Ān 安

Zhuāngzǐ and Huīzǐ roamed about on the bridge over the river Háo. Zhuāngzǐ exclaimed, “The white fish swim about in peace – this is the pleasure of fish.” Huīzǐ asked, “You are not a fish. Whence do you know the pleasure of fish?” Zhuāngzǐ replied, “You are not me. Whence do you know that I do not know the pleasure of fish?” Huīzǐ responded, “I am not you – assuredly I cannot know about you. You are assuredly not a fish, thus it is clear that you also cannot know about the pleasure of fish.” Zhuāngzǐ said, “Let’s return to the original question. When you asked, ‘Whence do you know the pleasure of fish?’ you already knew that I knew it and thus asked me. I knew it upon the river Háo.” (“Autumn Floods,” Zhuāngzǐ)

* *Yóu yú* 鱼 is a type of whitefish.

This dialogue is famous for Huīzǐ’s logical reasoning and Zhuāngzǐ’s cunning response, which makes use of the different meanings of *ān* 安 (translated as “whence,” indicating “from what source or place”). Zhuāngzǐ twists Huīzǐ’s rhetorical question, “Whence (from what source) do you know the pleasure of fish (i.e., how could you know the pleasure of fish)?” into a regular question, “Whence do you know the pleasure of fish (i.e., from what place do you know the pleasure of fish)?” This dialogue expresses one of Zhuāngzǐ’s key philosophical ideas, the unity of all things. Human beings are part of nature, and intuition can get us closer to the Way, the natural force radiating within and through all beings.

Notes

1 *SWXZ*, 613–14.

2 *SWJZZJ*, 7.14b–15a.

3 Chéng Jūnyīng 程俊英 and Jiǎng Jiànyuán 蔣見元 observe that the rhyme category is *gēng* 耕 with *píng* 平, *níng* 寧, and *shēng* 生 as the rhymes. *SJZX*, 451. Karlgren’s reconstructions have *b’iēng* for 平, *niēng* for 寧, and *sēng* for 生. Bernhard Karlgren, *The Book of Odes: Chinese Text, Transcription and Translation* (Stockholm: The Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities, 1950), 107.

ĀNSUŌ 安所

A set rhetorical question word, meaning “what is there/what would there be”

莊子曰：「……今子有大樹，患其無用，何不樹之於無何有之鄉，廣莫之野；彷徨乎無為其側，逍遙乎寢臥其下；不夭斤斧、物無害者。無所可用，安所困苦哉？」

（《莊子·逍遙遊》）

Zhuāngzǐ yuē, “... Jīn zǐ yǒu dà shù, huàn qí wú yòng, hé bù shù zhī yú wú hé yǒu zhī xiāng, guǎng mò zhī yě, pánghuáng hū wú wéi qí cè, xiāoyáo hū qīn wò qí xià. Bù yāo jīn fǔ, wù wú hài zhě. Wú suǒ kě yòng, ānsuō kùn kǔ zāi?” (Zhuāngzǐ, “Xiāoyáo yóu”)

Zhuāngzǐ said, “... Now you have a large tree, and you worry that it has no use. Why don't you plant it in the countryside that does not have much of anything, in an open field far and wide, where you could take your ease around it and rest beneath it without any concern? It wouldn't be subject to hatchets and axes, and there is nothing that could hurt it. There is nothing it could be used for; what is there for it to be distressed about?” (“Roaming Free,” Zhuāngzǐ)

BÙ 不

n.; “pedicel” 【fū】

- | – *adv.*; generic preverbal negative
- | – *adv.*; to express prohibition
- | – *adv.*; for negation with the associated verb or verb phrase omitted;
the same as *fǒu* 否【fǒu】

OBI	BI	CM	QM	SS
				

【*fēn wù qiè* 分物切】OC: *pə; MC: *pjuw*

Early Meaning: *n.*; “pedicel” 【fū】

Jǐ Xūshēng agrees with Luó Zhènyù 羅振玉 (1866–1940), Wáng Guówéi 王國維 (1877–1927), and Guō Mòruò 郭沫若 (1892–1978) that the early meaning should be *è'zú* 豈足 (pedicel), as represented by the oracle-bone inscription (𦥑),¹ which pictures a small stalk with calyces that bear an individual flower. In this he varies from Xǔ Shèn, who writes, “*Bù 不* (不) is a bird roaming in the sky, not coming down. It is derived from *yī* (一); the graph for *yī* is like the sky. It is a zodio-graph.”²  (不), 鳥飛上翔不下來也。从一, 一猶天也。象形。² It is unclear how he arrived at this reading.

Example of 不 in its meaning of “pedicel”:³

常棣之華，鄂不韡韡。

凡今之人，莫如兄弟。

(《毛詩·小雅·常棣》)

Cháng dì zhī huā, è fū wéi wéi.

Fán jīn zhī rén, mò rú xiōng dì.

(*Máo Shī*, “Xiǎo yǎ,” “Cháng dì”)

Kerria blossoms, its calyces and pedicels are dazzling and brilliant.
Of all today's men, none are as close as brothers.

(*Máo* #164, “Kerria,” in “Minor Odes,” *Songs*)

* Kerria blossoms have calyces and pedicels to support them, in the same way that a man has the support of his brothers. Later poetry frequently alluded to this line to highlight the ruler's dependence on support from his brothers.⁴

Borrowed Meanings

1 *adv.; adverbial modifier*; to modify a verb or verb phrase; Kroll treats this as a generic preverbal negative, “do not.”⁵

- used before verb

江乙為魏使於楚，謂楚王曰：「臣入竟，聞楚之俗，不蔽人之善，不言人之惡，誠有之乎？」王曰：「誠有之。」（《戰國策·楚策·江乙為魏使於楚》）

Jiāng Yǐ wèi Wèi shǐ yú Chǔ, wèi Chǔwáng yuē, “*Chén rù jìng, wén Chǔ zhī sú, bù bì rén zhī shàn, bù yán rén zhī è, chéng yǒu zhī hū?*” “*Wáng yuē*, “*Chéng yǒu zhī.*” (*Zhàn guó cè*, “*Chǔ cè*,” “*Jiāng Yǐ wèi Wèi shǐ yú Chǔ*”)

Jiāng Yǐ went to *Chǔ* as an envoy of *Wèi*. He said to the king of *Chǔ*, “After I entered your borders, I heard that it is the custom of *Chǔ* not to conceal the good of others, and not to speak evil of others. Is this true?” The king replied, “Indeed.” (“*Jiāng Yǐ* went to *Chǔ* as an envoy of *Wèi*,” in “*Strategies of Chǔ*,” *Strategies of the Warring States*)

- used before auxiliary verb

不_敢暴虎，不_敢馮河。

人知其一，莫知其他。

戰戰兢兢，如臨深淵，如履薄冰。

（《毛詩·小雅·小旻》）

Bù gǎn bào hǔ, bù gǎn píng hé.

Rén zhī qí yī, mò zhī qí tā.

Zhànzhan jīngjīng, rú lín shēn yuān, rú lǚ bó bīng.

(*Máo Shī*, “*Xiǎo yǎ*,” “*Xiǎo míng*”)

One dare not fight a tiger barehanded; one dare not walk across the River.
People know one kind of these dangers; no one knows the rest.
Be fearful and wary, as if approaching a deep abyss, as if treading on thin ice.

(*Máo* #195, “*Small Heaven*,” in “*Minor Odes*,” *Songs*)

* *Gǎn* 敢 is an auxiliary verb here. “River” refers to the Yellow River.⁶

This ode is a source of several idioms still in common use. The four idioms *zhànzhàn jīngjīng* 戰戰兢兢 (to be fearful and wary), *rú lín shēn yuān* 如臨深淵 (as if looking down into a deep pool), and *rú lǚ bó bīng* 如履薄冰 (as if treading on thin ice) are all used to mean “taking cautious steps” in the face of danger. *Bào hǔ píng hé* 暴虎馳河 (to fight a tiger barehanded or walk across the River) describes the actions of one who is impetuous. It appears as a four-character compound for the first time in the *Analects* (see the entry for *wú* 無).

- used before a verbal predicate when the object precedes the verb

遵彼汝墳，伐其條肄。
既見君子，不我遐棄。
(《毛詩·周南·汝墳》)

Zūn bì Rǔ fén, fá qí tiáo yì.

Jì jiàn jūn zǐ, bù wǒ xiá qì.
(*Máo Shī*, “*Zhōunán*,” “*Rǔ fén*”)

I go along the banks of the river Rǔ, cutting branches and shoots.

As I have seen my noble man, I know he has not cast me off.

(Máo #10, “On the Banks of the River Rǔ,” in “Airs of Zhōunán,” *Songs*)

* The original verb-object order is *bù xiá qì wǒ* 不遐棄我 (has not cast me off). Since this is a sentence of negation, and the object *wǒ* 我 (me) is a pronoun, the object is placed before the verb phrase *xiá qì* 遐棄 (to cast off), with the adverb *xiá* modifying the verb *qì* 弃.⁷

- used before a predicate that appears as a noun or a noun phrase but is flexibly used as a verb or verb phrase⁸

為人子者，父母存，冠衣不純素。孤子當室，冠衣不純采。(《禮記·曲禮上》)

Wéi rén zǐ zhě, fù mǔ cún, guān yī bù zhǔn sù. Gū zǐ dāng shì, guān yī bù zhǔn cǎi. (*Lǐ jì*, “*Qǔ lǐ shàng*”)

Children whose parents are alive do not adorn the cap and clothing with white hems. Orphans in charge of the household do not adorn the cap and clothing with colorful hems. (“Intricate Rites, First Section,” *Records of Rites*)

* 純 (to adorn X with Y as hem) is pronounced *zhǔn*, not *chún*. Wearing cap and clothing with a white hem indicates that one is mourning.

子曰：「觚不觚，觚哉？觚哉？」(《論語·雍也》)

Zǐ yuē, “Gū bù gū, gū zāi? Gū zāi?” (*Lún yǔ*, “*Yōng yě*”)

The Master said, “When a goblet does not look like a goblet, is it still a goblet? Is it still a goblet?” (“*Yōng yě*,” *Analects*)

* There are different interpretations of this passage. One is that this is advice not to drink too much. Since a goblet should only hold two *shēng* (pint) of wine, any amount over this would be excessive. Another suggests that Confucius was expressing concern over a change in ritual practice when he saw alterations being made to the shape of the vessel. Originally, a *gū* goblet had a round top and a square bottom to represent heaven, believed to be round, and earth, believed to be square, thus symbolizing stability. The new form of goblet, however, was round.⁹ The noun *gū* 觚, placed after *bù*, becomes a verb, here used flexibly to mean “to look like a goblet.”

2 *adv.; adverbial modifier; to express prohibition*

墨者夷之因徐辟而求見孟子。孟子曰：「吾固願見，今吾尚病，病愈，我且往見，夷子不來！」（《孟子·滕文公上》）

Mò zhě Yízhī yīn Xú Pì ér qiú jiàn Mèngzǐ. Mèngzǐ yuē, “Wú gù yuàn jiàn, jīn wú shàng bìng, bìng yù, wǒ qiě wǎng jiàn, Yízhī bù lái!” (Mèngzǐ, “Téng Wéngōng shàng”)

Yízhī, a Mohist practitioner, sought a meeting with Mencius through Xú Pì. Mencius said, “I indeed would like to meet him. Now I am still sick. When I have recovered from my sickness, I will go meet him. Yízhī need not come!” (“Duke Wén of Téng, First Section,” *Mencius*)

3 *adv.; adverbial modifier; for negation with the associated verb or verb phrase omitted; it can also stand alone as a predicate in answer to a question; same as *fǒu* 否. The reconstructed Old Chinese for *fǒu* is *pəʔ, and *pjuwX* in Middle Chinese; both are extremely similar to the pronunciation of *bù* 不 as *pə in Old Chinese and *pjuw* in Middle Chinese. This explains why *bù* 不 can be used for *fǒu* 否.【*fǒu*】*

於是王召見，問藺相如曰：「秦王以十五城請易寡人之璧，可予不？」（《史記·廉頗藺相如列傳》）

Yú shì wáng zhào jiàn, wèn Lìn Xiāngrú yuē, “Qínwáng yǐ shíwǔ chéng qǐng yì guārén zhī bì, kě yǔ fǒu?” (Shi jì, “Lián Pō, Lìn Xiāngrú lièzhuan”)

Thus the king (King Huìwén 惠文 of Zhào 趙) summoned Lìn Xiāngrú, saying, “The king of Qin has offered to exchange my jade (i.e., Mr. Hé’s jade, one of the most famous jades in Chinese history) for fifteen cities. Should I give it or not?” (“Biographies of Lián Pō and Lìn Xiāngrú,” *Grand Scribe’s Records*)

*The question *kě yǔ fǒu* 可予不 (should I give it or not) in its full version is *kě yǔ bù kě yǔ* 可予不可予 (should I give it or should I not give it); *bù kě yǔ* 不可予 (should not give) is a verb phrase, expressed by the single word, *fǒu* 不, here interchangeable with *fǒu* 否.

Notes

- 1 *SWXZ*, 862–3.
- 2 *SWJZZJ*, *juàn* 12.1, 2b.
- 3 Xú Zhōngshū 徐中舒 (1898–1991), ed., *Jiǎgǔwén zìdiǎn* 甲骨文字典 (1989; Chéngdū: Sīchūān císhū chūbǎnshè, 1990), 1268.
- 4 Chéng and Jiǎng note that the rhyme category is *zhī* 脂. The rhymes are *wēi* 蕏 and *dì* 弟. *SJZX*, 449. Karlgren has *giwər* for 蕏 and *d'iər* for 弟. Karlgren, *The Book of Odes*, 106.
- 5 *SDCMC*, 29.
- 6 Chéng and Jiǎng note that *hé* 河 and *tā* 他 (pronounced *tuō* in their opinion) belong to the rhyme category *gē* 歌, and *jīng* 竫 and *bīng* 冰 to the rhyme category *zhēng* 蒸. *SJZX*, 594. Karlgren has *g'ā* for 河 and *t'ā* for 他; *kīəng* for 竄 and *pīəng* for 冰. Karlgren, *The Book of Odes*, 142.
- 7 Chéng and Jiǎng note the rhyme category as *zhī* 脂, with *yì* 罂 and *qì* 禺 as the rhymes. *SJZX*, 26. Karlgren has *dīəd* for 罂 and *k'īəd* for 禺. Karlgren, *The Book of Odes*, 7.
- 8 For a study of this use, see William G. Boltz, “Review: Logic, Language, and Grammar in Early China,” *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 120, no. 2 (April–June 2000): 218–29.
- 9 Chéng Shùdé 程樹德, *Lúnyǔ jíshì* 論語集釋, 4 vols. (1990; Běijīng: Zhōnghuá shūjú, 2008), *juàn* 12, 412–15.

BÙYÌ 不亦 . . . HŪ 乎

Bùyì . . . hū is a fixed expression for forming rhetorical questions. *Yì* is added for rhythm and does not have the meaning of “also.” Therefore, *bùyì* should not be translated as “not also.”

子曰：「學而時習之，不亦說乎？有朋自遠方來，不亦樂乎？人不知而不慍，不亦君子乎？」（《論語·學而》）

Zǐ yuē, “*Xué ér shí xí zhī, bùyì yuè hū? Yǒu péng zì yuǎn fāng lái, bùyì lè hū? Rén bù zhī ér bù yùn, bùyì jūn zǐ hū?*” (*Lún yǔ*, “*Xué ér*”)

The Master said, “To study and to practice what one has learned regularly, is it not delightful? To have fellow students come visiting from quarters far away, is it not joyful? To not be offended even when not recognized for one’s talent, is it not being a noble man?” (“*Xué ér*,” *Analects*)

* 說 is here pronounced *yuè* and is identical in meaning to *yue* 悅 (to be delightful/delighted). *Shí* 時 is variously interpreted; here it is translated as “regularly” to match *xí* 習, which is to put what one has learned into practice.

DÀN 但

vb.; “to divest oneself of an outer garment” 【tǎn】 | – *adv.*; “only”

|

| – *adv.*; “futilely”

| – *adv.*; “to go ahead”

| – *conj.*; “it is just that”

| – *conj.*; “but” (med.)

OBI	BI	CM	SS
但	𠂇	𢃥	但

【*tú hàn qiè* 徒旱切】OC: *[d]ˤa[n]?; MC: *danX* 【tǎn】

Early Meaning: *vb.*; “to divest oneself of an outer garment”

Jì Xūshēng does not have an entry for this.

Xǔ Shèn writes, “*Tǎn* 但 (𢃥) means ‘to divest oneself of an outer garment.’ It is derived from *rén* (人, a person); *dàn* (旦, at dawn) is sound-bearing” 𢃥(但), 袢也。从人, 旦聲. It belongs to the category of “form and sound.” In its current usage, this meaning is often written as *tǎn* 袢, with the semantic determinator of a garment instead of a person. Duàn Yùcái notes an extended meaning of “only” or “it is just that.”¹ Baxter-Sagart does not give a reconstruction for *tǎn*. Pulleyblank proposes that in early middle Chinese (EMC) both *dàn* 但 and *tǎn* 袢 were pronounced *dan*.² The sound-bearing *dàn* 旦 in both characters would tend to bear out this suggestion.

Extended Meaning

- 1 *adv.*; *adverbial modifier*; “only”; the predominant meaning in ancient Chinese 漢七年，韓王信反，高帝自往擊之。至晉陽，聞信與匈奴欲共擊漢。上大怒，使人使匈奴。匈奴匿其壯士、肥牛馬，但見老弱及羸畜。使者十輩來，皆言匈奴可擊。（《史記·劉敬叔孫通列傳》）

Hàn qī nián, Hánwáng Xìn fǎn. Gāodì zì wǎng jī zhī. Zhì Jinyáng, wén Xin yǔ Xiōngnú yù gōng jī Hán. Shàng dà nù, shǐ rén shǐ Xiōngnú. Xiōngnú nì qí zhuàng shí, fēi niú mǎ, dàn xiān lǎo ruò jí léi chù. Shǐ zhě shí bèi lái, jiē yán Xiōngnú kě jī. (Shǐ jì, “Liú Jìng, Shūsūn Tōng lièzhuàn”)

In the seventh year of the Hán dynasty, Xìn, the king of Hán, rebelled. Emperor Gāo personally led troops to suppress him. When he arrived at Jinyáng, he heard that Xìn was about to collude with the Xiōngnú to attack the Hán. The emperor was enraged and sent an emissary to the Xiōngnú. The Xiōngnú hid their strong men, sturdy steeds, and oxen, and only showed the emissary the old, the weak, and the skinny livestock. When the emissaries, ten or more in number, returned, they all said that the Xiōngnú could be defeated. (“Biographies of Liú Jìng and Shūsūn Tōng,” *Grand Scribe’s Records*)

* 見 does not mean “to see” (*jiàn*) but “to show” here; it should be read as *xiàn* 現 (to show/appear).

Borrowed Meanings

- 1 *adv.; adverbial modifier; “futilely”*

單于見吉,吉曰:「南越王頭已縣於漢北闕下。今單于即能前與漢戰,天子自將兵待邊;即不能,亟南面而臣於漢。何但遠走,亡匿於幕北寒苦無水草之地為?」(《漢書·匈奴列傳》)

Chányú jiàn Jí, Jí yuē, “Nányuè wáng tóu yǐ xuán yú Hānbēi què xià. Jīn chányú jí néng qián yǔ Hán zhàn, tiānzǐ zì jiāng bīng dài biān; jí bù néng, jí nán miàn ér chén yú Hán. Hé dàn yuǎn zǒu, wáng nì yú mù bēi hán kǔ wú shuǐ cǎo zhī dí wéi?” (Hán shū, “Xiōngnú lièzhuàn”)

The leader of the Xiōngnú met with Jí (i.e., Guō Jí 郭吉). Jí said, “The king of Nányuè’s head is already hanging from the watchtower of Hānbēi. Now, if the leader of the Xiōngnú can advance and do battle with the Hán immediately, the Son of Heaven will personally lead an army to await you at the border. If you cannot, you should make all due speed to face south and become the subject of the Hán. What is the point of futilely running away, fleeing and hiding in the land of the northern expanse that is cold, filled with hardship, and without water or grass? (“Biography of the Xiōngnú,” *Official History of Han*)

* 單于 should be pronounced *chányú*.³ 單 is pronounced *shàn* only when it is a family name or place name.

- 2 *adv.; adverbial modifier; “to go ahead”; often used in imperative sentences.⁴*
Dàn 但 implies the psychological state of having no worries to stop one from acting.

人嘗置酒請涉,涉入里門,客有道涉所知母病避疾在里宅者。涉即往候,叩門。家哭,涉因入弔,問以喪事。家無所有,涉曰:「但絜埽除沐浴,待涉。」還至主人,對賓客歎息曰:「人親臥地不收,涉何心鄉此!願徹去酒食。」賓客爭問所當得,涉乃側席而坐,削牘為疏,具記衣被棺木,下至飯

含之物，分付諸客。諸客奔走市買，至日昳皆會。涉親閱視已，謂主人：「願受賜矣。」既共飲食，涉獨不飽，乃載棺物，從賓客往至喪家，為棺斂（殮）勞徧畢葬。其周急待人如此。後人有毀涉者曰「姦人之雄也」，喪家子即時刺殺言者。（《漢書·游俠列傳》）

Rén cháng zhì jiù qǐng Shè, Shè rù lǐ mén, kè yǒu dào Shè suǒ zhī mǔ bìng bì jí zài lǐ zhái zhě. Shè jí wǎng hòu, kòu mén. Jiā kū, Shè yīn rù diào, wèn yǐ sāng shì. Jiā wú suǒ yǒu, Shè yuē, “Dàn jié sǎo chú mù yù, dài Shè.” Huán zhì zhǔ rén, duì bīn kè tàn xī yuē, “Rén qīn wò dì bù shōu, Shè hé xīn xiāng cǐ! Yuàn chè qù jiǔ shí.” Bīn kè zhēng wèn suǒ dāng dé, Shè nǎi cè xí ér zuò, xuē dù wéi shù, jù jì yī bēi guānmù, xià zhì fàn hán zhī wù, fēn fù zhū kè. Zhū kè bēn zǒu shì mái, zhì rì dié jiē huì. Shè qīn yuè shí yǐ, wèi zhǔ rén, “Yuàn shòu cì yǐ.” Jí gōng yǐn shí, Shè dú bù bǎo, nǎi zāi guān wù, cóng bīn kè wǎng zhì sàng jiā, wéi guān lián láo lài bì zàng. Qí zhōu jí dài rén rú cǐ. Hòu rén yǒu huǐ Shè zhě yuē, “Jiān rén zhī xióng yě,” sāng jiā zǐ jí shí cì shā yán zhě. (Hàn shū, “Yóu xiá lièzhuàn”)

Someone once set out wine to treat Shè (i.e., Yuán Shè 原涉). Shè entered the gate of the residential compound. There was a guest who said that the mother of one of Shè's acquaintances was sick and had stayed in the compound to be away from others because of the disease. Shè immediately went to pay a visit, knocking at the door. The family was weeping. Shè therefore entered to condole and asked about the funeral affairs. The family had nothing; and so Shè said, “Go ahead and sweep everything clean, and take care of washing the hair of the deceased and bathing her. For the rest you may rely on Shè.” Going back to the host, he faced the guests and sighed, “A person's parent is laid on the floor and cannot be enshrouded and buried. How could Shè have the heart to enjoy this (i.e., the banquet)! I wish the wine and food to be cleared away.” The guests contended in asking what was needed. Shè then sat on the mat sideways by himself (the ritual position for those in mourning) and, paring a wooden writing tablet to make a list of items, recorded in detail the clothing, blankets, and coffin, all the way down to the materials to be placed in the mouth of the corpse (such as pearls, jade, cowrie shells, grains of rice), and gave [the listed items] severally to the guests. The guests ran about the marketplace to purchase them; all gathered when the sun had declined to the west. After Shè had inspected the items personally, he told the host, “I would like to accept your bestowal (i.e., the banquet).” As they ate and drank together, Shè alone did not take his fill. Then he had the coffin and the other materials loaded on carriages, and accompanied by the guests, went to the bereaved family, and helped them with encoffining the body, receiving guests, and conducting the burial. In his treatment of others, the way he succored those in distress was like this. Later, there was someone who defamed Shè, saying, “He is a king among scoundrels.” The son of the bereaved family immediately stabbed the speaker to death. (“Biography of Wandering Gallants,” *Official History of Han*)

* 鄉 is the same as *xiāng* 饗 (to accept a banquet offering with enjoyment; to enjoy) and has the same pronunciation. 疏 is pronounced *shù* when it means “to arrange or set out, item by item, in writing.”

- 3 *conj.; adverbial modifier*; “it is just that.”⁵ *Dàn* was not used for strong contrast until medieval times, when it took on the meaning of “but,” “however.”

俗人或曰：「周孔皆能 為此，但不為耳。」（《抱朴子·辨問》）

Sú rén huò yuē, “Zhōu Kǒng jiē néng wéi cǐ, dàn bù wéi ěr.” (*Bàopǔzǐ*, “Biàn wèn”)

Commoners may say, “Both the Duke of Zhōu and Confucius were able to do this, it is just that they did not do it.” (“In Response to Inquiries,” *Bàopǔzǐ*)

- 4 *conj.; adverbial modifier*; began to be used occasionally as a conjunction meaning “but” or “however” since the Liú-Sòng 劉宋 dynasty (420–479)

漢元帝宮人 既多，乃令畫工圖之，欲有呼者，輒披圖召之。其中常者，皆行貨賂。王明君姿容甚麗，志不苟求，工遂毀為其狀。後匈奴來和，求美女於漢帝，帝以明君充行。既召見而惜之。但名字已去，不欲中改，於是遂行。（《世說新語·賢媛》）

Hàn Yuándì gōng rén jì duō, nǎi lìng huà gōng tú zhī, yù yǒu hū zhě, zhé pī tú zhào zhī. Qí zhōng cháng zhě, jiē xíng huò lù. Wáng Míngjūn zī róng shèn lì, zhì bù gōu qiú, gōng suì huī wéi qí zhuàng. Hòu Xiōngnú lái hé, qiú měi nǚ yú Hàn dì, dì yǐ Míngjūn chōng xíng. Jí zhào jiàn ér xī zhī. Dàn míng zì yǐ qù, bù yù zhōng gǎi, yú shì suì xíng. (Shì shuō xīn yǔ, “Xián yuàn”)

Emperor Yuán of Hán’s palace women had become numerous, and so he commanded the court painter to make portraits of them. When he wanted to send for one of them, he would lay out the portraits and summon one of them (based on these portraits). The middling and ordinary ones all bribed the painters with goods. Wáng Míngjūn’s countenance was extremely beautiful, and it was her intent not to seek the favor of the emperor through improper means. The painter therefore damaged her appearance as he drew. Later, when the Xiōngnú came to seek a matrimonial alliance and asked the emperor of Hán for a beautiful girl, the emperor used Míngjūn to fulfill that role. When she appeared before him upon being summoned, he regretted it. However, her maiden name and courtesy name had already been sent, and he was not about to make a change midway. And so she departed. (“Virtuous and Beautiful Women,” *A New Account of Tales of the World*)

Notes

1 *SWJZZJ*, juàn 8.1, 59b–60a.

2 Edwin G. Pulleyblank, “Some Notes on Morphology and Syntax in Classical Chinese,” in *Chinese Texts and Philosophical Contexts: Essays Dedicated to Angus C. Graham*, ed. Henry Rosemont (La Salle, IL: Open Court, 1991), 21–45; page 31.

3 *GHYZD*, 127.

4 Kroll translates it as “without delay,” “promptly,” “directly,” and “just then.” *SDCMC*, 76. In modern Chinese, this usage is generally translated as *jǐnguǎn* 儘管 (to go ahead without hesitation). *GHYXC*, 21; *GHYXCCD*, 49.

5 Kroll translates this usage as “only,” “merely,” “just.” *SDCMC*, 76.

ÉR 而

n.; “cheek hair”

- | – *conj.*; to show coordination, contrast, or sequence
- | – *conj.*; to show a suppositional relation
- | – *conj.*; used between two clauses to soften the tone
- | – *structural part.*; to mark an adverbial modifier
- | – *modal part.*; to show emphasis
- | – *sentential modal part.*; to show exclamation
- | – *second-person pron.*

OBI	BI			CM		QM		SS
𢂔	𢂔	𢂔	𢂔	𢂔	𢂔	𢂔	𢂔	𢂔

【*rú zhī qiè* 如之切】OC: *nə; MC: *nyi*

Early Meaning: *n.*; “cheek hair”

Since the oracle-bone inscriptions depict hair on the cheek (𢂔), Ji Xusheng agrees with Xu Shen on the early meaning of ér 而.¹ Xu Shen writes, “Ér 而 (𢂔) refers to cheek hair. It depicts the form of the hair. The *Rites of Zhou* reads, ‘To make the scales and chin hair stand out’” (而, 賴毛也。象毛之形。《周禮》曰：「作其鱗之而。」) Duàn Yúcái modifies this definition, proposing *xū* 須 as the general term for cheek hair, and ér 而 as referring specifically to “*yí xià zhī máo*” 頤下之毛 (hair under the chin). Xu Hào proposes that ér 而, originally meaning “cheek hair,” was borrowed to serve as a function word, after which a new graph ér 彌, with three strokes on the right depicting hair, was created to represent the early meaning.² Ji Xusheng concurs with this interpretation. Later, ér 而 was also borrowed to mean “you,” a second-person pronoun.

Example of the use of *ér* 而 as “cheek hair”:

凡攫綱、援簪之類，必深其爪，出其目，作其鱗之面。（《周禮·冬官考工記》）

Fán jué shā, yuán shì zhī lèi, bì shēn qí zhuǎ, chū qí mù, zuò qí lín zhī ér.
(*Zhōu lǐ*, “*Dōngguān kǎogōngjì*”)

For the type of animals that seize and kill, snatch and gnaw, [the woodworkers] will definitely highlight their claws, make their eyes protrude, and make their scales and cheek hair stand out. (“Records of Handicrafts of Winter Officials,” *Rites of Zhōu*)

* *Zuò* 作 here means “to make something stand out,” while *zhī* 之 is used as a conjunction (“and”).

Borrowed Meanings

1 *conj.*; to show coordination, contrast, or sequence; “and/but/then,” depending upon the relation between the clauses, phrases, or words that it connects. It is used mainly to connect verbs and adjectives, or verbal and adjectival phrases, never for nouns.

- to connect two verb phrases, showing coordination; “and”

服不氏掌養猛獸而教擾之。（《周禮·夏官司馬·服不氏》）

Fúpǐshí zhǎng yǎng měng shòu ér jiào rǎo zhī. (*Zhōu lǐ*, “*Xiàoguān Sīmǎ*,” “*Fúpǐshí*”)

Officials for Harnessing Defiance were in charge of keeping the ferocious beasts and taming them. (“Officials for Harnessing Defiance,” in “Commandant of the Ministry of War,” *Rites of Zhōu*)

* *Fúpǐshí* 服不氏 was an official title in the *Zhōu* dynasty. 不 is pronounced *pǐ* when used in place of 否 in its meaning of “defiance.”

- to connect two adjectives, showing contrast; “but”

帝曰：「夔，命汝典樂，教胄子。直而溫，寬而栗，剛而無虐，簡而無傲，詩言志，歌永言，聲依永，律和聲，八音克諧，無相奪倫，神人以和。」（《尚書·虞書·舜典》）

Dì yuē, “Kuí, mìng rǔ diǎn yuè, jiāo zhòu zǐ. Zhí ér wēn, kuān ér lì, gāng ér wú nuè, jiǎn ér wú ào, shī yán zhì, gē yǒng yán, shēng yī yǒng, lù hé shēng, bā yīn kè xié, wú xiāng duó lún, shén rén yǐ hé.” (*Shàng Shū*, “*Yú shū*,” “*Shùn diǎn*”)

The god-king (*Shùn* 舜) said, “Kuí, I command you to be the director of music and to teach the sons of our descendants. Teach them to be straightforward but gentle, magnanimous but solemn, firm but not ruthless, unceremonious but not haughty. Poetry expresses thoughts, songs chant those utterances, the [five] tunes accompany the chant, and the [twelve] pitch-pipes accord with the tunes. When the tones of the eight different kinds

of musical instruments come together in concord, without vying one with another for precedence, spirits and humans will thereby be brought into harmony.” (“Canon of Shùn,” in “Book of Yú,” *Book of Documents*)

- to connect two clauses, showing contrast; “but”

弁人有其母死而孺子泣者,孔子曰:「哀則哀矣,而難為繼也。夫禮,為可傳也,為可繼也,故哭踊有節。」(《禮記·檀弓上》)

Biàn rén yǒu qí mǔ sī ér rú zǐ qī zhě. Kōngzǐ yuē, “Ài zé ài yǐ, ér nán wéi jì yě. Fú lǐ, wèi kě chuán yě, wèi kě jì yě, gù kū yǒng yǒu jié.” (Lǐ jì, “Tángōng shàng”)

There was a person of Biàn weeping like a child for his mother who had died. Confucius said, “In grieving, one should indeed grieve, but this can hardly be continued. Rituals are established in order to be handed down, to be continued; therefore, there is a regulation to limit the extent of wailing and dancing.” (“Tángōng, First Section,” *Records of Rites*)

- to connect two clauses, showing a sequential relation; “then”

流共工于幽州,放驩兜于崇山,竄三苗于三危,殛鲧于羽山;四罪而天下咸服。(《尚書·虞書·舜典》)

Líu Gōnggōng yú Yōuzhōu, fàng Huāndōu yú Chóngshān, cuàn Sānmiáo yú Sānwēi, jí Gǔn yú Yǔshān; sì zuì ér tiānxià xián fù. (Shàng Shū, “Yú shū,” “Shùn diǎn”)

[Shùn 舜] sent Gōnggōng to Yōuzhōu, drove Huāndōu to Mount Chóng, forced Sānmiáo to [Mount] Sānwēi, and expelled Gǔn to Mount Yǔ. These four were punished; then all under Heaven submitted to him. (“Canon of Shùn,” in “Book of Yú,” *Book of Documents*)

2 conj.; to show a suppositional relation; “if”

田忌亡齊而之楚,鄒忌代之相齊。恐田忌欲以楚權復于齊,杜赫曰:「臣請為君留楚。」謂楚王曰:「鄒忌所以不善楚者,恐田忌之以楚權復於齊也。王不如封田忌於江南,以示田忌之不返齊也,鄒忌以齊厚事楚。田忌亡人也,而得封,必德王。若復於齊,必以齊事楚。此用二忌之道也。」楚果封之於江南。(《戰國策·齊策·田忌亡齊而之楚》)

Tián Jì wáng Qí ér zhī Chǔ, Zōu Jì dài zhī xiàng Qí. Kǒng Tián Jì yù yǐ Chǔ quán fù yú Qí, Dù Hè yuē, “Chén qǐng wèi jūn liú Chǔ.” Wèi Chǔwáng yuē, “Zōu Jì suǒ yǐ bù shàn Chǔ zhě, kǒng Tián Jì zhī yǐ Chǔ quán fù yú Qí yě. Wáng bù rú fēng Tián Jì yú Jiāng nán, yǐ shì Tián Jì zhī bù fǎn Qí yě. Zōu Jì yǐ Qí hòu shì Chǔ. Tián Jì wáng rén yě, ér dé fēng, bì dé Wáng. Ruò fù yú Qí, bì yǐ Qí shì Chǔ. Cǐ yòng èr Jì zhī dào yě.” Chǔ guō fēng zhī yú Jiāngnán. (Zhàn'guó cè, “Qí cè,” “Tián Jì wáng Qí ér zhī Chǔ”)

Tián Jì fled Qí and went to Chǔ. Zōu Jì replaced him as minister of Qí. He feared that Tián Jì intended to rely on the power of Chǔ to return to Qí. Dù Hè said, “Please let me retain Tián Jì in Chǔ for you.” Therefore, he

spoke to the king of Chǔ, saying, “The reason that Zōu Jì does not want to befriend Chǔ is that he fears Tián Jì might rely on the power of Chǔ to return to Qí. The best course for My King is to enfeoff Tián Jì at a place south of the Yangtze River to show that Tián Jì will not return to Qí. Zōu Jì would then serve Chǔ well using Qí as his base of power. Tián Jì is a fugitive. If he were enfeoffed, he would certainly feel indebted to My King. Even if he returned to Qí, he would certainly serve Chǔ well from his base in Qí. This is the way to make use of [the grudge between] the two Jis.” Chǔ therefore enfeoffed Tián Jì at a place south of the Yangtze River. (“Tián Jì fled Qí and went to Chǔ,” in “Strategies of Qí,” *Strategies of the Warring States*)

- 3 *conj.*; used between two clauses to soften the tone, although the clauses can also stand alone without it; cannot be directly translated

人生十年曰幼，學；二十曰弱，冠；三十曰壯，有室；四十曰強，而仕；五十曰艾，服官政；六十曰耆，指使；七十曰老，而傳；八十九十曰耄；七年曰悼。悼與耄，雖有罪，不加刑焉。百年曰期，頤。大夫七十而致事。（《禮記·曲禮上》）

Rén shēng shí nián yuē yòu, xué; èr shí yuē ruò, guàn; sān shí yuē zhuàng, yǒu shì; sì shí yuē qiáng, ér shì; wǔ shí yuē ài, fú guān zhèng; liù shí yuē jì, zhǐ shí; qī shí yuē lǎo, ér chuán; bā shí jiǔ shí yuē mào, qī nián yuē dào. Dào yǔ mào, sū yǒu zuì, bù jiā xíng yān. Bǎi nián yuē qī, yí. Dà fū qī shí ér zhì shì. (Lǐ jì, “Qǔ lǐ shàng”)

When a person has reached ten years of age, he is a youngster and should attend school. When he has reached twenty, he is a young adult, and should be capped. When he has reached thirty, he is an adult and should have a wife. When he has reached forty, he is a strong adult and should enter government service. When he has reached fifty, he is an aged person and should wear the robes of office. When he has reached sixty, he is a senior and can have the younger ones run errands for him. When he has reached seventy, he is an elder and can entrust his duties to the younger generation. When he has reached eighty or ninety, he is in his advanced age. Those who are only seven years old are children. For those who are seven and those who have reached eighties or nineties, even if they commit a crime, they are not to be punished. When a person has reached a hundred, he is of venerable age and shall be taken care of. When a great official has reached seventy, he should set aside the management of affairs. (“Intricate Rites, First Section,” *Records of Rites*)

* 冠 here used as a verb, “to be capped,” should be pronounced *guàn* instead of *guān* (n., cap).

孔子哭子路於中庭。有人弔者，而夫子拜之。既哭，進使者而問故。使者曰：「醢之矣。」遂命覆醢。（《禮記·檀弓上》）

Kǒngzǐ kū Zǐlù yú zhōng tíng. Yǒu rén diào zhě, ér Fūzǐ bài zhī. Jì kū, jìn shí zhě ér wèn gù. Shǐ zhě yuē, “Hái zhī yǐ.” Suì mìng fù hái. (Lǐ jì, “Tángróng shàng”)

Confucius wailed for Zǐlù in the main hall (Zǐlù had died in a political upheaval). There was a person who came to condole. Confucius offered a formal salutation to him. After he had finished wailing, he called the messenger forward and inquired the cause [of Zǐlù's death]. The messenger replied, "[The attackers] minced him." Confucius thereupon ordered the minced meat sauce to be overturned. ("Tāngōng, First Section," *Records of Rites*)

- 4 *structural part.*; to mark an adverbial modifier; placed between the adverbial modifier and the verb to indicate how an action is taken; sometimes translated using a prepositional phrase that serves as a complement; there is no equivalent word for this usage in the English translation.

孟子見梁惠王。王曰：「叟不遠千里而來，亦將有以利吾國乎？」孟子對曰：「王何必曰利？亦有仁義而已矣。……」（《孟子·梁惠王上》）

Mèngzǐ jiàn Liáng Huìwáng. Wáng yuē, "Sōu bù yuǎn qiān lǐ ér lái, yì jiāng yōu yǐ lì wú guó hū?" Mèngzǐ duì yuē, "Wáng hé bì yuē lì? Yì yǒu rén yì ér yǐ yǐ. . ." (Mèngzǐ, "Liáng Huìwáng shàng")

Mencius sought an audience with King Huì of Liáng. The king said, "My elder, that you should have come without considering a thousand *li* far, are you going to present me with something profitable to my state?" Mencius responded, saying, "My King, why should you mention profit? There is nothing other than benevolence and righteousness – only these are worth mentioning. . ." ("King Huì of Liáng, First Section," *Mencius*)

* *Bù yuǎn qiān lǐ* 不遠千里 (without considering a thousand *li* far) is a verb phrase used as the adverbial modifier for the verb *lái* 来 (to come). *Yuǎn* 遠 is here used as a putative verb, "to consider it far." According to Wáng Lì, the tone should be changed to the falling tone, *yuàn*, to mark this change of usage. Today, however, the phrase is commonly pronounced *bù yuǎn qiān lǐ*.

吳人行成，將盟，景伯曰：「楚人圍宋，易子而食，析骸而爨，猶無城下之盟；我未及虧，而有城下之盟，是棄國也。輕而遠，不能久，將歸矣，請少待之。」（《左傳·哀公八年》）

Wú rén xíng chéng, jiāng méng, Jǐngbó yuē, "Chǔ rén wéi Sòng, yì zǐ ér shí, xī hái ér cuàn, yóu wú chéngxià zhī méng; wǒ wèi jí kuī, ér yǒu chéngxià zhī méng, shí qì guó yě. Qīng ér yuán, bù néng jiǔ, jiāng guī yǐ, qǐng shǎo dài zhī." (Zuō zhuàn, "Āigōng bā nián")

The people of Wú sought an accord. [Lǔ 魯] was about to make the covenant. Jǐngbó (i.e., Zǐfú Jǐngbó 子服景伯) said, "When the army of Chǔ besieged Sòng, the Sòng people ate by exchanging each other's children, and cooked them by splitting the bones to feed the fires. Even then, when the enemies were right outside their inner-city walls, they did not make a covenant. We have not suffered such a great loss, and yet we are making a covenant when the enemies are right outside our inner-city walls. This is to cast our state away. The Wú army is lightly equipped and far afield. They cannot persist for long and will soon return home. I pray you wait this out a little longer." (Duke Āi 8, *Zuō Tradition*)

* The verb-object phrase *yì zǐ* 易子 (to exchange children) is used to show how the people managed to survive under siege. It is an adverbial modifier modifying *shí* 食 (to eat). Similarly, the verb-object phrase *xī hái* 斫骸 (splitting the bones) is used to show how the people cooked without proper fuel. It is an adverbial modifier modifying *cuàn* 糜 (to cook).

Yì zǐ ér shí 易子而食 (to eat by exchanging each other's children) is an idiom to show the tragedy to which people are brought by either natural or human causes. *Chéngxià zhī méng* 城下之盟 (to make a covenant when the enemies were right outside their inner-city walls) is now an idiom to mean “terms accepted under duress.”

5 *modal part.*; placed between the subject and the predicate to show emphasis

- may be translated as “and yet,” carrying a mild adversarial or ironic sense when used between a noun/noun phrase and a verb phrase³

今人而無禮，雖能言，不亦禽獸之心乎！(《禮記·曲禮上》)

Jīn rén ér wú lǐ, suī néng yán, bù yì qín shòu zhī xīn hū? (Lǐ jì, “Qǔ lǐ shàng”)

Now to be a person and yet without ritual propriety, even if he could speak, would he not have the heart of a bird or an animal? (“Intricate Rites, First Section,” *Records of Rites*)

- sometimes translated as “exactly”

孔子曰：「之死而致死之，不仁而不可為也；之死而致生之，不知而不可為也。……」(《禮記·檀弓上》)

Kǒngzǐ yuē, “Zhī sǐ ér zhì sǐ zhī, bù rén ér bù kě wéi yě; zhī sǐ ér zhì shēng zhī, bù zhì ér bù kě wéi yě. . . .” (Lǐ jì, “Tángōng shàng”)

Confucius said, “Treating the dead exactly as if they are dead – this is not benevolent and should not be done; treating the dead exactly as if they were alive – this is unwise and should not be done. . . .” (“Tángōng, First Section,” *Records of Rites*)

6 *sentential modal part.*; to show exclamation

初，楚司馬子良生子越椒。子文曰：「必殺之！是子也，熊虎之狀而豺狼之聲；弗殺，必滅若敖氏矣。」諺曰：『狼子野心。』是乃狼也，其可畜乎？」子良不可。子文以為大惑。及將死，聚其族，曰：「椒也知政，乃速行矣，無及於難。」且泣曰：「鬼猶求食，若敖氏之鬼不其餕而！」(《左傳·宣公四年》)

Chū, Chū Sīmǎ Zǐliáng shēng Ziyuè Jiāo. Zǐwén yuē, “Bì shā zhī! Shì zǐ yě, xióng hǔ zhī zhuàng ér chái láng zhī shēng; fú shā, bì miè Ruò’āo shì yǐ. Yàn yuē, ‘Láng zǐ yě xīn.’ Shì nǎi láng yě, qí kě xù hū?” Zǐliáng bù kě. Zǐwén yǐ wéi dà qī. Jí jiāng sǐ, jù qí zú, yuē, “Jiāo yě zhī zhèng, nǎi sù xíng yǐ, wú jí

yú nàn.” Qiě qī yuē, “Guǐ yóu qiú shí, Ruò’ào shì zhī guǐ bù qí lěi ér!” (Zuō zhuàn, “Xuāngōng sì nián”)

Earlier, Commander Zǐliáng of Chǔ had a child named Zǐyuè Jiāo born to him. Zǐwén (his elder brother) said, “We must kill him! This child has the appearance of a bear or a tiger, and the voice of a jackal or a wolf. If we do not kill him, he is sure to bring the Ruò’ào clan to an end. The proverb says, ‘A wolf cub with a savage heart.’ This is a wolf indeed; how can he be raised?” Zǐliáng would not allow it. Zǐwén considered this a portent of great sorrow. When he was about to die, he gathered his clansmen, and said, “If Jiāo takes charge of government you must make haste to leave. Don’t be caught up in disaster.” Weeping, he went on, “Even ghosts seek to be fed – how are the ghosts of the Ruò’ào clan not going to starve!” (Duke Xuān 4, *Zuō Tradition*)

* Zǐyuè Jiāo refers to Dòu Jiāo 翻椒; Zǐyuè was his courtesy name. *Qí* 其 in *qí kě xù hū* 其可畜乎 (how can he be raised) is here used for emphasis in a rhetorical question ending with the particle *hū* 乎. Zǐwén predicts that the ghosts of the clan will starve: There will be no more descendants to offer ritual sacrifices to the ancestors after Zǐyuè’s wild ambition gets all his clansmen executed.

This story is the source of the modern idiom *láng zǐ yě xīn* 狼子野心 (a wolf cub with a savage heart). It was a proverb at the time this text was written.

7 *second-person pron.*; same as *ér* 爾, used as subject or in the possessive case, never as object

- *subject*

費無極言於楚子曰：「建與伍奢將以方城之外叛，自以為猶宋、鄭也，齊、晉又交輔之，將以害楚，其事集矣。」王信之，問伍奢。伍奢對曰：「君一過多矣，何信於讒？」王執伍奢，使城父司馬奮揚殺大子。未至，而使遣之。三月，大子建奔宋。王召奮揚，奮揚使城父人執己以至。王曰：「言出於余口，入於爾耳，誰告建也？」對曰：「臣告之。君王命臣曰：『事建如事余。』臣不佞，不能苟貳。奉初以還，不忍後命，故遣之。既而悔之，亦無及已。」王曰：「亟取來，何也？」對曰：「使而失命，召而不來，是再奸也。逃無所入。」王曰：「歸，從政如他日。」(《左傳·昭公二十年》)

Fèi Wújí yán yú Chǔzǐ yuē, “Jiàn yǔ Wǔ Shē jiāng yǐ Fāngchéng zhī wài pàn, zì yǐ wéi yóu Sòng, Zhèng yě, Qí, Jin yòu jiāo fù zhī, jiāng yǐ hài Chǔ, qí shì jí yǐ.” Wáng xìn zhī, wèn Wǔ Shē. Wǔ Shē duì yuē, “Jūn yīn guò duō yǐ, hé xìn yú chán?” Wáng zhī Wǔ Shē, shǐ Chéngfù Sīmǎ Fèn Yáng shā tài zǐ. Wèi zhì, ér shǐ qiǎn zhī. Sān yuè, tài zǐ Jiàn bēn Sòng. Wáng

zhào Fèn Yáng, Fèn Yáng shǐ Chéngfù rén zhí jǐ yǐ zhì. Wáng yuē, “Yán chū yú yú kǒu, rù yú ér ér, shuí gào Jiàn yě?” Dui yuē, “Chén gào zhī. Jūnwáng mìng chén yuē, “Shì Jiàn rú shì yú.” Chén bù nìng, bù néng gǒu èr. Fēng chū yǐ xuán, bù rén hòu mìng, gù qiǎn zhī. Jí ér huǐ zhī, yì wú jí yǐ.” Wáng yuē, “Ér gǎn lái, hé yě?” Dui yuē, “Shí ér shī mìng, zhào ér bù lái, shì zài gān yě. Táo wú suǒ rù.” Wáng yuē, “Guī, cóng zhèng rú tā rì.” (Zuō zhuàn, “Zhāogōng èrshí nián”)

Fèi Wújí spoke to the king of Chǔ and said, “Jiàn (the heir) and Wǔ Shē are going to rebel using the territory outside of Fāngchéng as their base, making the territory independent as if they were the [lords of] Sòng and Zhèng. What is more, Qí and Jin are assisting them from the left and right. They are about to bring harm to Chǔ with this. All is in readiness for this to take place.” The king believed him and questioned Wǔ Shē. Wǔ Shē responded, saying, “It is more than enough that my lord should have committed one mistake (earlier, encouraged by Fèi Wújí, the king had taken Jiàn's bride for himself). Why put your trust in a slanderer?” The king had Wǔ Shē arrested and sent the Chéngfù commander Fèn Yáng to kill the heir. Yet before arriving there, Fèn Yáng commissioned someone to send the heir away. In the third month, the heir Jiàn fled to Sòng. The king summoned Fèn Yáng. Fèn Yáng asked the Chéngfù man (a great officer) to put him under arrest and came. The king said, “The words came out of my mouth and entered your ears, so who would have informed Jiàn?” Fèn Yáng responded, “I, your subject, informed him. My majesty [once] commanded me, saying, ‘Serve Jiàn as if you were serving me.’ Your subject is not guileful and cannot lightly divide my loyalty. Even if I was supposed to turn my back on the first command that I carried out deferentially, I could not bear to carry out the second command (i.e., to kill the heir). Therefore, I sent him away. I regretted it afterwards, but it was already too late.” The king asked, “How did you dare to come?” Fèn Yáng responded, “If commissioned, and yet I failed to fulfill the command, and then summoned, and yet I did not come – this would be to commit treachery a second time. There would nowhere for me to flee.” The king said, “You may return, and take part in governing as in other days.” (Duke Zhāo 20, Zuō Tradition)

* 太子 should be read *tàizǐ* instead of *dàzǐ*. In ancient Chinese, *tài* (the highest honorific marking seniority, age, or importance) was often written as 太. *Bù nìng* 不佞 is often read as an expression of humility, “I am not talented,” but here it may be taken in its original meaning. 還 in *fèng chū yǐ xuán* 奉初以還 (to turn my back on the first command that I carried out deferentially) should be read *xuán* (to turn back) instead of *huán* (to return). 奸, here meaning “to commit an offense,” should be read *gān* instead of *jiān*.

26 Ér 而

- *attributive modifier*, showing the possessive

[季]桓子乍謂林楚曰：「而先皆季氏之良也，爾以是繼之。」（《左傳·定公八年》）

[Ji] Huánzǐ zhà wèi Lín Chǔ yuē, “Ér xiān jiē Jì shì zhī liáng yě, ér yǐ shì jì zhī” (Zuō zhuàn, “Dinggōng bā nián”)

[Ji] Huánzǐ suddenly said to Lín Chǔ, “Your ancestors were all fine men of the Jì clan; may you succeed them by this loyalty.” (Duke Dìng 8, Zuō Tradition)

Notes

1 SWXZ, 759.

2 SWJZZJ, juàn 9.2, 55a–55b.

3 SDCMC, 102.

ÉRHÒU 而后（而後）

- *conj.*; “only when”/“only then”

故孝、弟、忠、順之行立，而后可以為人；可以為人，而后可以治人也。（《禮記·冠義》）

Gù xiào, tì, zhōng, shùn zhī xíng lì, érhòu kě yǐ wéi rén; kě yǐ wéi rén, érhòu kě yǐ zhì rén yě. (Lǐ jì, “Guàn yǐ”)

For this reason, only when filial and fraternal duties, loyal service, and deferential submission were established can someone be qualified as a person; Only when someone is qualified as a person can he govern others (“Significance of the Capping Ceremony,” *Records of Rites*)

ÉRYǐ 而已

- *modal part.*; the same as *ěr* 耳, which is often used at the end of a predicate to show restriction; “just that/only that and no more”

子路問君子。子曰：「脩己以敬。」曰：「如斯而已乎？」曰：「脩己以安人。」曰：「如斯而已乎？」曰：「脩己以安百姓。脩己以安百姓，堯舜其猶病諸！」
(《論語·憲問》)

Zǐlù wèn jūn zǐ. Zǐ yuē, “Xiū jǐ yǐ jìng.” Yuē, “Rú sī éryǐ hū?” Yuē, “Xiū jǐ yǐ ān rén.” Yuē, “Rú sī éryǐ hū?” Yuē, “Xiū jǐ yǐ ān bǎi xìng. Xiū jǐ yǐ ān bǎi xìng, Yáo Shùn qí yóu bìng zhū!” (Lún yǔ, “Xiān wèn”)

Zǐlù asked about becoming a noble man. The Master said, “Cultivate oneself to become respectful.” Zǐlù asked, “Is it just that?” The Master replied, “Cultivate oneself so as to let the common people settle in peace.” Zǐlù asked, “Is it just that?” The Master replied, “Cultivate oneself so as to let the common people settle in peace. Cultivate oneself so as to let the common people settle in peace – even Yáo and Shùn (the sage rulers) were worried that they could not attain this!” (“Xiān wèn,” *Analects*)

ÉRYÍYÍ 而已矣

- *modal part.;* used to convey a restrictive sense even stronger than éryǐ, “nothing other than/that’s all there is to it”

子曰：「參乎！吾道一以貫之。」曾子曰：「唯。」子出。門人問曰：「何謂也？」曾子曰：「夫子之道，忠恕而已矣。」（《論語·里仁》）

Zǐ yuē, “Shēn hū! Wú dào yī yǐ guàn zhī.” Zēngzǐ yuē, “Wéi.” Zǐ chū. Ménrén wèn yuē, “Hé wèi yē?” Zēngzǐ yuē, “Fùzǐ zhī dào, zhōng shù éryǐyǐ.” (Lún yǔ, “Lǐ rén”)

The Master said, “Shēn! (i.e., Zēngzǐ) My way is followed through with one principle.” Zēngzǐ said, “Indeed.” The Master went out. His disciples asked, “What did he mean?” Zēngzǐ said, “The Way of the Master is nothing other than being loyal and kind.” (“Lǐ rén,” *Analects*)

* There is no one word in English that can convey the exact meaning of *shù* 恕 in this context. It means “regarding others’ conduct and intentions as one does one’s own, likening others to oneself, seeing others in light of how one looks at oneself.”¹

Note

1 SDCMC, 423.

ĚR 耳

n.; “ears”

|

| – *final part.*; phonetic fusion of éryǐ 而已; to show a restriction

| – *final part.*; the same as yǐ 矣, to show affirmation or judgment

OBI	BI	CM	QM	SS
耳	𦥑	𦥑	𦥑	𦥑

【ér zhǐ qiè 而止切】OC: *C.nə?; MC: *nyiX*

Early Meaning: *n.*; “ears”

There is no controversy over the early meaning of ěr. Perhaps this is the reason that Jí Xūshēng does not have an entry for it.

Xǔ Shèn writes, “Ěr 耳 (耳, ears) are the organs in charge of listening. It is a zodiograph.” (耳, 主聽也。象形。¹ The following is an example:

今人之性，目可以見，耳可以聽；夫可以見之明不離目，可以聽之聰不離耳，目明而耳聰，不可學明矣。（《荀子·性惡》）

Jīn rén zhī xìng, mù kě yǐ jiàn, ěr kě yǐ tīng; fú kě yǐ jiàn zhī míng bù lí mù, kě yǐ tīng zhī cōng bù lí ěr. mù míng ér ěr cōng, bù kě xué míng yǐ. (Xúnzǐ, “Xìng è”)

It is human nature that eyes can see and ears can listen. For the faculty of vision to allow us to see, we cannot be parted from our eyes; for the faculty of hearing that allows us to hear, we cannot be parted from our ears. For the vision of eyes and the hearing of ears, it is clear that they cannot be learned. (“Human Nature Is Bad,” Xúnzǐ)

* *Jīn* 今 is used as a sentence-initial particle. It has no particular meaning and should not be understood as “present.”

The idiom *ěr cōng mù míng* 耳聰目明 (keen-eared and clear-sighted) is a metaphor for “perceptive and insightful.”

Borrowed Meanings

- 1 *final part.*; phonetic fusion of the rhetorical coda *éryi* 而已 (just that/only that and no more), used to show a restriction at the end of a sentence. The reconstructed pronunciation for this usage is *nə? in Old Chinese and *nyiX* in Middle Chinese.

長驅到齊，晨而求見。孟嘗君怪其疾也，衣冠而見之，曰：「責畢收乎？來何疾也！」曰：「收畢矣。」「以何市而反？」馮諤曰：「君云『視吾家所寡有者』。臣竊計，君宮中積珍寶，狗馬實外廄，美人充下陳。君家所寡有者乃義耳。竊以為君市義。」孟嘗君曰：「市義奈何？」曰：「今君有區區之薛，不拊愛子其民，因而賈利之。臣竊矯君命，以責賜諸民，因燒其券，民稱萬歲。乃臣所以為君市義也。」孟嘗君不說，曰：「諾，先生休矣！」（《戰國策·齊策·齊人有馮諤者》）

Cháng qū dào Qí, chén ér qiú jiàn. Mèngchángjūn guài qí jí yě, yì guàn ér jiàn zhī, yuē, "Zhài bì shōu hū? Lái hé jí yě!" Yuē, "Shōu bì yǐ." "Yǐ hé shì ér fān?" Féng Xuān yuē, "Jūn yún, 'Shì wú jiā suǒ guǎ yǒu zhě.' Chén qiè jì, jūn gōng zhōng jí zhēn bǎo, gǒu mǎ shí wài jiù, měi rén chōng xiàchén. Jūn jiā suǒ guǎ yǒu zhě yǐ yì èr. Qiè yǐ wèi jūn shì yì." Mèngchángjūn yuē, "Shì yì nài hé?" Yuē, "Jīn jūn yóu qū qū zhī Xuē, bù fǔ ài zǐ qí míng, yīn ér gǔ lì zhī. Chén qiè jiǎo jūn mìng, yǐ zhài cí zhū míng, yīn shāo qí quàn, míng chēng wàn suì. Nài chén suǒ yǐ wèi jūn shì yì yě." Mèngchángjūn bù yuè, yuē, "Nuò, xiānshēng xiū yǐ." (Zhàn'guó cè, "Qí cè," "Qí rén yǒu Féng Xuān zhě")

Féng Xuān 馮諤 hastened on and reached Qí, seeking audience early in the morning. Lord Mèngcháng was astonished that he had been so quick to return. The lord put on clothing and donned a cap to have an audience with him. He asked, “Have all the debts been collected? How quickly you have come!” Féng Xuān responded, “The debts have all been collected.” The lord asked, “What did you purchase upon your return?” Féng Xuān replied, “My lord said, ‘You observe what I am lacking in.’ I, your subject, presume that since my lord’s palace is piled high with exquisite and precious things, with horses and dogs filling the outer stables, while beautiful women abound in the inner palace, what my lord lacks at home is righteousness, it is just that. I took the liberty of purchasing righteousness for my lord.” The lord asked, “What do you mean by ‘purchasing righteousness’?” Féng Xuān responded, “Now, my lord has the small fief of Xuē, yet you do not comfort and love your people as you do your children, instead taking advantage of them and obtaining profit from them like a merchant. I, your subject, therefore, fabricated your command to bestow the debts on the people (i.e., forgive them their debts), burning the contracts on the strength of what you commanded.

The people all sang long life to you. This is what your subject called ‘purchasing righteousness for my lord.’” Lord Mèngcháng was not pleased, but he said, “Fine. You should stop there.” (“There was a Qí person Féng Xuān,” in “Strategies of Qí,” *Strategies of the Warring States*)

Cultural note: In this record, Féng Xuān burned all the contracts so that Lord Mèngcháng would obtain the support of the people in his fief. Later, Lord Mèngcháng lost favor with the king of Qí 齊 and had to leave the capital for this fief. It was only then that he realized the effect of the benevolent acts that Féng had performed on his behalf. Féng was showing Mèngcháng that benevolence was the proper way to rule. The phrase *shì yì* 市義 (to purchase righteousness) was used only because Lord Mèngcháng asked Féng what he had bought; it does not mean that Féng presumed righteousness was for sale. Mencius repeatedly stresses that righteousness is good in and of itself and should involve no considerations of profit. Nowadays, *shì yì* is used in a derogatory sense to mean to do good with an ulterior motive.

- Ěr is often used with restrictive adverbs to show emphasis. Some examples: *dú* 獨 (solely), *jǐn* 僅 (just), *tú* 徒 (merely), *wéi* 唯 (only), and *zhí* 直 (simply)
 - *dú* 獨 . . . Ěr 耳 (solely . . . that's all)

孟嘗君將入秦，止者千數而弗聽。蘇秦欲止之，孟嘗曰：「人事者，吾已盡知之矣。吾所未聞者，獨鬼事耳。」（《戰國策·齊策·孟嘗君將入秦》）

Mèngchángjūn jiāng rù Qín, zhǐ zhě qiān shù ér fú tīng. Sū Qín yù zhǐ zhī, Mèngcháng yuē, “Rén shì zhě, wú yǐ jìn zhī zhī yǐ. Wú suō wèi wén zhě, dú guǐ shì Ěr.” (Zhàn guó cè, “Qí cè,” “Mèngchángjūn jiāng rù Qín”)

Lord Mèngcháng was about to enter Qín. Those who tried to stop him were as many as a thousand, yet he would not listen. Sū Qín was about to stop him, but Mèngcháng said, “As for the affairs of the human world, I know them all already; what I haven’t heard about are solely the affairs of ghosts, that’s all.” (“Lord Mèngcháng was about to enter Qín,” in “Strategies of Qí,” *Strategies of the Warring States*)

- *jǐn* 僅 . . . Ěr 耳 (just . . . that's all)

馮諤曰：「狡兔有三窟，僅得免其死耳。今君有一窟，未得高枕而臥也。請為君復鑿二窟。」（《戰國策·齊策·齊人有馮諤者》）

Féng Xuān yuē, “Jiǎo tù yǒu sān kū, jǐn dé miǎn qí sǐ Ěr. Jīn jūn yǒu yī kū, wèi dé gāo zhěn ér wò yě. Qǐng wèi jūn fù záo èr kū.” (Zhàn guó cè, “Qí cè,” “Qí rén yǒu Féng Xuān zhě”)

Féng Xuān said, “A cunning rabbit has three burrows. Even then it can just escape from death; that’s all. Now my lord has only one burrow and cannot recline against a high pillow. I beg to dig out two more burrows for you.” (“There was a person named Féng Xuān in Qí,” in “Strategies of Qí,” *Strategies of the Warring States*)

Jiǎo tù sān kū 狡兔三窟 (a cunning rabbit has three burrows) is now an idiom meaning “a crafty or resourceful person always has more than one plan to fall back on.” *Gāo zhēn ér wò* 高枕而臥 (to recline against a high pillow) is an idiom meaning “to relax with nothing to worry about.”

- *tú* 徒 . . . *ěr* 耳 (merely . . . that’s all)

齊人有欲得金者，清旦，被衣冠，往鬻金者之所，見人操金，攫而奪之。吏搏而束縛之，問曰：「人皆在焉，子攫人之金，何故？」對吏曰：「殊不見人，徒見金耳。」此真大有所宥也。（《呂氏春秋·先識覽·去宥》）

Qí rén yǒu yù dé jīn zhě, qīng dàn, pī yī guān, wǎng yù jīn zhě zhī suǒ, jiàn rén cāo jīn, jué ér duó zhī. Lì bó ér shù fù zhī, wèn yuē, 'Rén jiē zài yān, zì jué rén zhī jīn, hé gù?' Dui lì yuē, 'Shū bù jiàn rén, tú jiàn jīn ěr.' Cǐ zhēn dà yǒu suǒ yòu yě.' (*Lǚ shì chūnqiū*, “Xiān shí lǎn,” “Qù yòu”)

There was a person from Qí who wanted to acquire gold. One morning at dawn, he put on clothes and cap and headed to a place where people are selling gold. He saw someone with gold in his hands and [he] snatched it away. A bailiff wrestled him down, tied him up and questioned him, “With so many people around, you still snatched away another’s gold. Why did you do that?” He responded to the official, “I simply didn’t see anyone; I merely saw the gold, that’s all.” This is indeed the greatest constriction of the human mind! (“To be Rid of Confinement,” in “Browsing for Prophetic Vision,” *Comments of Lǚ*)

- *wéi* 唯 . . . *ěr* 耳 (only . . . that’s all)

〔齊桓〕公曰：「然則易牙何如？」管仲曰：「不可。夫易牙為君主味，君之所未嘗食唯人肉耳，易牙蒸其子首而進之，君所知也。人之情莫不愛其子，今蒸其子以為膳於君，其子弗愛，又安能愛君乎？」（《韓非子·十過》）

[Qí Huán]gong yuē, "Rán zé Yì Yá hé rú?" Guǎn Zhòng yuē, "Bù kě. Fú Yì Yá wéi jūn zhū wèi, jūn zhī suǒ wéi cháng shí wéi rén ròu ěr, Yì Yá zhēng qí zǐ shǒu ér jìn zhī, jūn suǒ zhī yé. Rén zhī qīng mò bù ài qí zǐ, jīn zhēng qí zǐ yǐ wéi shàn yú jūn, qí zǐ fù ài, yóu ān néng ài jūn hū?" (Hánfēizǐ, "Shí guǒ")

Duke [Huán of Qí] asked, “If that is the case, how about Yì Yá?” (The duke had consulted Guǎn Zhòng on whether Yì Yá should assist in government.) Guǎn Zhòng replied, “This must not be done. Yì Yá is in charge of your meals. The thing my lord had never tried was only human flesh, that’s all. Yì Yá steamed his son’s head and presented it to you – this is what my lord knows. It is human nature that there are none who do not love their children. Now, Yì Yá steamed his son to make a repast for my lord. If he could not even love his son, how could he possibly love my lord?” (“Ten Faults,” *Hánfēizī*)

Yì Yá 易牙, a favored subject of Duke Huán of Qí 齊桓公 during the Spring and Autumn period, was a well-known chef who killed his own baby son so that the duke could taste human flesh. In the end, the duke did not listen to Guǎn Zhòng. When Duke Huán became severely ill, Yì Yá blocked the palace gate to prevent anyone from coming near him, causing him to starve to death. Afterward, the duke’s corpse continued to lie on his bed for sixty-seven days, until maggots swarming on it reached as far as the door. Today Yì Yá is often honored as the founder of Chinese cuisine, and there are Chinese restaurants named after Yì Yá or that boast of inheriting his culinary skill.

- *zhí 直 . . . Ěr 耳* (simply . . . that’s all)

孟子對曰：「王好戰，請以戰喻。填然鼓之，兵刃既接，棄甲曳兵而走。或百步而後止，或五十步而後止。以五十步笑百步，則何如？」〔梁惠王〕曰：「不可；直不百步耳，是亦走也。」（《孟子·梁惠王上》）

Mèngzǐ duì yuē, “*Wáng hào zhàn, qǐng yǐ zhàn yù. Tiánrán gǔ zhī, bīng rèn jì jiē, qì jiā yè bīng ér zǒu. Huò bǎi bù ér hòu zhī, huò wǔshí bù ér hòu zhī. Yǐ wǔshí bù xiào bǎi bù, zé hé rú?*” [Liáng Huìwáng] *yuē*, “*Bù kě, zhí bù bǎi bù Ěr, shì yì zǒu yě.*” (*Mèngzǐ*, “Liáng Huìwáng shàng”)

Mencius responded [to King Huì of Liáng], “My King is fond of war; let me explain using war as an example. When drums are struck and weapons are joined, there are soldiers who abandon their armor and flee, dragging their weapons. Some flee for a hundred paces, some for fifty paces. What would you say if the ones who fled fifty paces laughed at the ones who fled a hundred paces?” King Huì of Liáng replied, “It should not be. They simply did not run as far away as one hundred double-paces, that’s all, but they still fled.” (“King Huì of Liáng, First Section,” *Mencius*)

*One *bù* 步 equals two steps or paces. This can be seen from the original graph (步) in the oracle-bone inscriptions, which depicts two toes, one representing the right foot, the other the left, and the subsequent movement of the feet. The word for one step is *kuǐ* 跛.

Wǔshí bù xiào bǎi bù 五十步笑百步 (the one who fled fifty paces laughs at the one who fled a hundred paces) has become an idiom. It is similar to “the pot calling the kettle black” in English.

- 2 *final part.*; the same as *yǐ* 矣, to show affirmation or judgment

儲子曰：「王使人瞷夫子，果有以異於人乎？」孟子曰：「何以異於人哉？堯舜與人同耳。」（《孟子·離婁下》）

Chǔzǐ yuē, “Wáng shí rén jiàn Fūzǐ. Guō yōu yǐ yì yú rén hū?” *Mèngzǐ yuē*, “Hé yǐ yì yú rén zāi? Yáo Shùn yǔ rén tóng ēr.” (*Mèngzǐ*, “Lí Lóu xià”)

Chǔzǐ asked, “The king sent someone to observe you, the Master. Is there actually anything about you that is different from others?” Mencius replied, “How would I be different from others? Even Yáo and Shùn were born the same as other people (i.e., everyone is born with the four sprouts of benevolence, righteousness, ritual propriety, and wisdom, a key concept in the thought of Mencius).” (“Lí Lóu, Second Section,” *Mencius*)

Note

- 1 *SWJZZJ*, juàn 12.1, 22b.

ĚRYǏ 耳矣

- *ěr* combines with *yǐ* for additional rhetorical effect; same as *éryǐyǐ* 而已矣 (“nothing other than/that’s all there is to it”)

梁惠王曰：「寡人之於國也，盡心焉耳矣。河內凶，則移其民於河東，移其粟於河內。河東凶亦然。……」（《孟子·梁惠王上》）

Liáng Huìwáng yuē, “Guǎrén zhī yú guó yě, jìn xīn yān éryǐ. Hénèi xiōng, zé yí qí mǐn yú Hédōng, yí qí sù yú Hénèi. Hédōng xiōng yì rán. . . .” (*Mèngzǐ*, “Liáng Huiwáng shàng”)

King Huì of Liáng said, “As to my state, I, this deficient one, have exerted myself in governing it, that’s all there is to it. When there was famine in Hénèi, I moved my people to Hédōng and also transported millet to Hénèi. When there was famine in Hédōng, I did the same. . . .” (“King Huì of Liáng, First Section,” *Mencius*)

* *Ěr* is a phonetic fusion of the rhetorical coda *éryǐ* 而已, which is used to show a restriction at the end of a sentence, whereas *yǐ* 矣 is used to show judgment. It represents rhetorical finality. A more detailed explanation of this usage may be seen under the entry for *wú* 無.

ÉR 爾

adj.; “to be splendid”

- | – *adj.*; the same as *ěr 邇* (to be nearby)
- | – *adj.*; the same as *ěr 邇* (to be easy to understand)
- | – *2nd person pron.*; the same as *rǔ 汝* (you/your)
- | – *DP*; the same as *cǐ 此* (this/like this)
- | – *suffix*; used for adjective or adverb
- | – *final part.*; to show restriction; the same as *éryǐ 而已* (just that/only that)
- | – *final part.*; to show affirmation or judgment; the same as *ěr 耳*
- | – *final part.*; used with *hú bù 胡不* (how/why . . . not) to make a rhetorical question
- | – *final part.*; to show the reason for an action

OBI	BI	CM	SS

【*ér shì qiè 兒氏切*】OC: *n[ə][r]ʔ; MC: *nyeX*

Early Meaning: *adj.*; “to be splendid”

The early meaning of *ér* 爾 is unclear. Modern scholars diverge in their interpretations of the graph in the oracle-bone inscriptions. Jǐ Xùshēng disagrees with Xǔ Shèn’s categorization of the small seal script as a graph composed of “form and sound.” He treats it as a zodiograph but is unsure of the early meaning and therefore resorts to quoting the early meaning, suggested by Xǔ Shèn, “to be splendid.”¹

Xǔ Shèn writes, “*Ěr* 爾 (爾) means beautiful, the same as splendid. It is derived from *jiōng* 𠂔 (𠂔) and from *lì* 爻 (䷉), taking the meaning of the intensified *lì* 爻 (brightness) with the sound-bearing *ěr* 尔 (爾). It takes the same signific as *shuǎng* 爽” 爽 (爾), 麗爾, 猶靡麗也。从𠂔从爻, 其孔爻, 尔聲。此與爽同意。²

Example of its use as “splendid”:

彼爾維何？維常之華。

彼路斯何？君子之車。

(《毛詩·小雅·采薇》)

Bǐ ěr wéi hé? Wéi cháng zhī huā.

Bǐ lù sī hé? Jūnzi zhī jū.

(*Máo Shī*, “*Xiǎo yǎ*,” “*Cǎi wēi*”)

What is so splendid there? The blossoms of kerria.

What chariot is it? The carriage of the lord.

(*Máo* #167, “Plucking the Bracken,” in “Minor Odes,” *Songs*)³

* 華 is used here for *huā* 花 (blossoms). *Ěr* means “splendid.”⁴ *Jūnzi* 君子 here refers to a military commander and is not the “noble man” who appears frequently in the *Analects* as a morally cultivated person.

Borrowed Meanings

1. *adj.; predicate*; the same as *ěr* 邇 (to be nearby); the Old Chinese and Middle Chinese reconstructions are the same for both 爾 and 邇.

孟子曰：「道在爾而求諸遠，事在易而求諸難：人人親其親、長其長，而天下平。」(《孟子·離婁上》)

Mèngzǐ yuē, “*Dào zài ěr* ér *qiú zhū yuǎn*, *shì zài yì* ér *qiū zhū nán*: *rénn rén qīn* qīn, *zhǎng qī zhǎng*, ér *tiānxià píng*.” (*Mèngzǐ*, “*Lí Lóu shàng*”)

Mencius said, “The Way is nearby, yet people seek it far away; the matter is easy, yet people seek it the hard way; if people were all kin to their kin and treated their elders as elders, all under Heaven would be at peace.” (“*Lí Lóu*, First Section,” *Mencius*)

2. *adj.; predicate*; the same as *ěr* 邇 (to be easy to understand)

祆是生於亂。三者錯，無安國。其說甚爾，其菑甚慘。(《荀子·天論》)

Yāo shì shēng yú luàn. Sān zhě cuò, wú ān guó. Qí shuō shèn ěr, qí zāi shèn cǎn. (*Xúnzǐ*, “*Tiān lùn*”)

The preternatural arises from chaos in government. When these three preternatural events (i.e., famine, improper rule, and the decline of rites) come together, there will be no peaceful state. The logic is truly easy to understand; the calamities caused by this are truly severe. (“Discourse on Heaven,” *Xúnzǐ*)

* 眇 is used for *yāo* 妖. This character can easily be mistaken for *xiān* 禺, the Zoroastrian god of creation Ahura Mazda.

3 *second-person pron.; subject, object, or attributive modifier; the same as rǔ 汝*

- *subject*

子貢欲去告朔之餼羊。子曰：「賜也，爾愛其羊，我愛其禮。」（《論語·八佾》）

Zǐgōng yù qù gù shuò zhī xì yáng. Zǐ yuē, “Cǐ yě, ēr ài qí yáng, wǒ ài qí lì.” (Lún yǔ, “Bā yì”)

Zǐgōng intended to remove the sacrifice of a live sheep from the ritual ceremony held on the first day of each month. The Master said, “Cǐ, you hold dear the sheep; I hold dear the rites.” (“Bā yì,” *Analects*)

Gù shuò 告朔 was a sacrificial ceremony in ancient China. The Son of Heaven would bestow the almanac for the coming year on each of the feudal lords, who would keep it in his ancestral temple. On the first day of each month, a live sheep would be sacrificed in the temple before the feudal lord gave audience. The feudal lords of the state of Lǔ had not been attending the sacrificial ceremony since Wéngōng’s 文公 time, but a live sheep continued to be offered each month, and so Zǐgōng proposed doing away with the sacrifice. **Gù shuò xì yáng** 告朔餼羊 (the sacrifice of a live sheep in the ritual ceremony held on the first day of each month) is now an idiom meaning to go on doing something that has ceased to have any real function.

- *object*

王曰：「格爾眾庶，悉聽朕言。非台小子，敢行稱亂；有夏多罪，天命殛之。……」（《尚書·商書·湯誓》）

Wáng yuē, “Gé ēr zhòng shù, xī tīng zhèn yán. Fēi yí xiāozi, gǎn xíng chēng luàn. Yǒu Xià duō zuì, tiān mìng jí zhī. . . .” (Shàng Shū, “Shāng shū,” “Tāng shì”)

The king (King Tāng of Shāng) said, “Let me tell you, the multitude of commoners, to listen to my words. This is not that I, a person of junior rank, dare to take the action of raising an army to rebel, but that the Xià has committed too many offenses and Heaven commands me to eliminate it. . . .” (“Speech of Tāng,” in “Book of Shāng,” *Book of Documents*)

* 台 when used for self-address is pronounced yí.

- *attributive modifier; to show the possessive*

闔廬病創將死，謂太子夫差曰：「爾忘句踐殺爾父乎？」夫差對曰：「不敢忘。」（《史記·伍子胥列傳》）

Hé Lú bìng chuāng jiāng sǐ, wèi Tàizǐ Fúchāi yuē, “Er wàng Gōujian shā ēr fù hū? Fúchāi duì yuē, “Bù gǎn wàng!” (Shǐ jì, “Wǔ Zixū lièzhuàn”)

Hé Lú suffered an injury and was about to die. He asked the heir Fúchāi, “Will you forget that it is Gōujiàn who has killed your father?” Fúchāi replied, “I would never dare to forget!” (“Biography of Wǔ Zixū,” *Grand Scribe’s Records*)

*The first Ěr is used as the subject. In Duke Dìng 14, *Zuō Tradition*, Ěr 爾 is written as ér 而 (you) here.

4 DP; the same as cǐ 此 (this/like this)⁵

- predicate in a clause

孔子曰：「管仲遇盜，取二人焉，上以為公臣，曰：『其所與游辟也，可人也！』管仲死，桓公使為之服。宦於大夫者之為之服也，自管仲始也，有君命焉爾也。」（《禮記·雜記下》）

Kǒngzǐ yuē, “Guǎn Zhòng yù dào, qǔ èr rén yān, shàng yǐ wéi gōng chén, yuē ‘Qí suǒ yú yóu pì yě, kě rén yě!’ Guǎn Zhòng sǐ, Huángōng shǐ wèi zhī fú. Huán yú Dàfū zhě zhī wèi zhī fú yě, zì Guǎn Zhòng shǐ yě, yǒu jūn mìng yān Ěr yě.” (Lǐ jì, “Zá jì xià”)

Confucius said, “Guǎn Zhòng ran into robbers. He picked two among them to present to the duke to serve as his officials, saying, ‘Those they roamed with went astray, but they are capable people.’ Guǎn Zhòng died. Duke Huán commanded them to observe the mourning period. The practice whereby officials who had been appointed through the mediation of a great officer would observe the mourning period for him began with Guǎn Zhòng. This is because there was the command of the lord to be like this.” (“Zá jì, Second Section,” *Records of Rites*)

- object

孔子在衛，有送葬者，而夫子觀之，曰：「善哉為喪乎！足以為法矣，小子識之。」子貢曰：「夫子何善爾也？」曰：「其往也如慕，其反也如疑。」子貢曰：「豈若速反而虞乎？」子曰：「小子識之，我未之能行也。」（《禮記·檀公上》）

Kǒngzǐ zài Wèi, yǒu sòng zàng zhé, ér Fūzǐ guān zhī, yuē, “Shàn zāi wéi sāng hū! Zú yǐ wéi fǎ yǐ, xiāozǐ zhì zhī.” Zǐgōng yuē, “Fūzǐ hé shàn Ěr yě?” Yuē, “Qí wǎng yě rú mù, qí fǎn yě rú yí.” Zǐgōng yuē, “Qí ruò sù fǎn ér yú hū?” Zǐ yuē, “Xiāozǐ zhì zhī, wǒ wèi zhī néng xíng yě.” (Lǐ jì, “Tángōng shàng”)

Confucius was in Wèi. There was a person who took part in a funeral procession and Confucius observed it. He said, “Ah, how well did he proceed with the burial! It is good enough to be an exemplar. Young men, take note of it!” Zǐgōng asked, “Why does the Master approve of this?” Confucius replied, “On the way out, he was like a child yearning for his parent (i.e., he was loath to let go of his parent); returning, he was like one having doubts (i.e., he seemed reluctant to return).” Zǐgōng said, “How can that be like returning quickly to perform the yú-ritual?”

Confucius responded, “Young men, do take note of it! Even I couldn’t do better.” (“Tángōng, First Section,” *Records of Rites*)

* *Mù* 慕 means “to yearn for.” *Yú* 虞 is a ritual done after the burial to calm the spirit of the deceased. Confucius did not answer Zǐgōng directly. Instead, he restated his admiration for this man of Wèi, implying that he gave more importance to the expression of affection and love than he did to rituals. 識 in the meaning of “to take note of” should be pronounced *zhì* instead of *shí*.

- *attributive modifier*

孟子曰：「富歲，子弟多賴；凶歲，子弟多暴，非天之降才爾殊也，其所以陷溺其心者然也。……」（《孟子·告子上》）

Mèngzǐ yuē, “*Fù suì, zǐdì duō lài; xiōng suì, zǐdì duō bào, fēi tiān zhī jiàng cái ěr shū yě, qí suǒ yǐ xiān nì qí xīn zhě rán yě. . .*” (*Mèngzǐ*, “Gàozǐ shàng”)

Mencius said, “During years of good harvest, the young ones are mostly lazy; during years of famine, the young ones are mostly violent. This is not because Heaven confers their natural endowments this differently. It is so because they let their minds be ensnared and drowned in evil. . .” (“Gàozǐ, First Section,” *Mencius*)

5 suffix; used for adjective or adverb; can be translated as “in a . . . manner”

- used as the suffix of an adjective, which then serves as the predicate
喪事欲其縱縱爾，吉事欲其折折爾。故喪事雖遽不陵節，吉事雖止不怠。故騷騷爾則野，鼎鼎爾則小人，君子蓋猶猶爾。（《禮記·檀弓上》）

Sāng shì yù qí zōngzōng ěr, jí shì yù qí tití ěr. Gù sāng shì suī jù bù líng jié, jí shì suī zhī bù dài. Gù sāosāo ěr zé yě, dǐngdǐng ěr zé xiǎorén, jūnzhì gài yóuyóu ěr. (*Lǐ jì*, “Tángōng shàng”)

Funeral ceremonies need to be performed in a hasty and hurried manner; auspicious ceremonies need to be performed in a serene and relaxed manner. Yet, even if a funeral ceremony may be arranged hurriedly, one does not disrupt its order of procession; even if an auspicious ceremony may be arranged slowly, one does not behave indolently. Therefore, if a funeral ceremony is performed in a disorderly manner, the organizer is uncultivated; if an auspicious ceremony is performed in a delayed manner, the organizer is a petty man. A noble man would have taken care of both in a timely manner. (“Tángōng, First Section,” *Records of Rites*)

* 縱縱 is pronounced *zōngzōng*, meaning “to be hasty and hurried” so as to get something over and done with. 折折 is pronounced *tití*, meaning “to be serene and relaxed.” *Yóuyóu* 猶猶 means to do something “with the proper speed.” The first *gù* 故, used to show a shift of meaning, is translated as “yet”; it is different from the second one, which is used to show the reason and is translated as “therefore.”

- used as the suffix of an adverb, which may be a verb being used flexibly. The combined term is then used as an adverbial modifier, marked by *ér* 而, in the pattern *adv.+ ēr 爾+ ér 而+vb*. In translation, the adverbial modifier can be represented by using a prepositional phrase as complement, but the function of *ér* 爾 as an adverbial verb-phrase suffix cannot be represented.

孟子曰：「…… 一簞食，一豆羹，得之則生，弗得則死。嘑爾而與之，行道之人弗受；蹴爾而與之，乞人不屑也。……」（《孟子·告子上》）

Mèngzǐ yuē, “ . . . Yī dān sì, yī dòu gēng, dé zhī zé shēng, fú dé zé sī. Hù ér ér yǔ zhī, xíng dào zhī rén fú shòu; cù ér ér yǔ zhī, qǐ rén bù xiè yě . . . ” (*Mèngzǐ*, “*Gàozǐ shàng*”)

Mencius said, “ . . . A basket of rice or a bowl of stewed meat: one can stay alive with it or die without it. Sneering insolently while giving it, even people starving along the road will not accept it; Trampling on it while giving it, even people begging for food will not deign to accept it . . . ” (“*Gàozǐ*, First Section,” *Mencius*)

* *Cù’ér* 蹤爾 is used to describe the manner in which the food is given. *Cù* is the verb used as an adverb, as indicated by the suffix *ér* 爾. *Gēng* in ancient Chinese referred to stew with meat or vegetables. The meaning “soup” began to appear only in medieval times.⁶ The traditional pronunciation for 食 when used to mean “rice/food” is *sì*. Today it is also pronounced as *shí* in this meaning.

- 6 *final part.*; to show restriction; the same as *éryǐ* 而已 (just that/only that and no more), often used with a restrictive adverb, such as *wéi* 唯 (only)

其於鄉黨，恂恂似不能言者。其於宗廟朝廷，辯辯言，唯謹爾。（《史記·孔子世家》）

Qí yú xiāng dǎng, xúnxún sì bù néng yán zhě. Qí yú zōng miào cháotíng, piánpián yán, wéi jìn ér. (*Shǐ jì*, “*Kōngzǐ shijiā*”)

With his fellow villagers, Confucius was careful and respectful as if he were unable to speak well. In the ancestral temple and at court, he was astute in speaking, but only with prudence; it is just that. (“Hereditary House of Confucius,” *Grand Scribe’s Records*)

* 辯辯 is pronounced *piánpián*, descriptive of one who is astute in speaking.

- 7 *final part.*; to show affirmation or judgment; the same as *ér* 耳; there is no equivalent English word to translate this usage.

然則下官之冀遷者，皆曰：「多貨則上官可得而欲也。」曰：「我不以貨事上而求遷者，則如以狸餌鼠爾，必不冀矣。……」（《商君書·農戰》）

Rán zé xià guān zhī jì qiān zhě, jiē yuē, “Duō huò zé shàng guān kě dé ér yù yě.” Yuē, “Wǒ bù yǐ huò shì shàng ér qiú qiān zhě, zé rú yǐ lì ér shù ér, bì bù jì yǐ. . . . ” (*Shāngjūn shù*, “*Nóng zhàn*”)

Consequently, the lower officials who hope for promotion all say, “If we send more bribes, we can obtain the higher office that we desire.” They say, too, “If I do not send bribes to my superior, it would be like setting a cat as bait for a rat – it would definitely not get me my wish. . . .” (“Agriculture and War,” *Book of Shāng Yāng*)

- 8 *final part.*; used with *hú bù* 胡不 to make a rhetorical question. *Hú* (how; why) is an interrogative pronoun, *bù* (not) is for negation.

子曰：「……庸德之行，庸言之謹，有所不足，不敢不勉，有餘不敢盡；言顧行，行顧言，君子胡不慥慥爾！」（《禮記·中庸》）

Zǐ yuē, “. . . *Yōng dé zhī xíng, yōng yán zhī jǐn, yǒu suō bù zú, bù gǎn bù miǎn, yǒu yú bù gǎn jìn; yán gù xíng, xíng gù yán, jūn zǐ hú bù zàozào ēr!*” (*Lǐ jì*, “Zhōng yōng”)

Confucius said, “. . . Practicing common virtue, being cautious in common speech; if falling short in anything, not daring not to try harder; refraining from speaking too much; speech matching actions, actions matching speech – how can such a noble man not be honest and trustworthy?” (“Doctrine of the Mean,” *Records of Rites*)

* *Zàozào* 應慥 means “to be honest and trustworthy.”

- 9 *final part.*; to show the reason for an action; may be understood as “because”
父歿而不能讀父之書，手澤存焉爾。母歿而杯、圈不能飲焉，口澤之氣存焉爾。（《禮記·玉藻》）

Fù mò ér bù néng dù fù zhī shū, shǒu zé cún yān ēr. Mǔ mò ér bēi, quān bù néng yǐn yān, kǒu zé zhī qì cún yān ēr. (*Lǐ jì*, “Yù zǎo”)

When the father has died, the children cannot bear to read the father’s books because the touch of his hands seems still to be on them. When the mother has died, the children cannot bear to drink from her cups and bowls because the breath of her mouth seems still to be on them. (“Jade-bead Pendants of the Royal Cap,” *Records of Rites*)

Notes

1 *SWXZ*, 261–2.

2 *SWJZZJ, juàn* 3.2, 80b–81a.

3 Chéng and Jiǎng note the rhyme category as *yú* 魚, with *huā* 華 and *jū* 車 as the rhymes. *SJZX*, 466. Karlgren has *gʷá* for 華 and *kʷo* for 車. Karlgren, *The Book of Odes*, 110–11.

4 Mǎ Ruichén 馬瑞辰, *Máoshī zhuànjiān tōngshì* 毛詩傳箋通釋, annot. Chén Jīnshēng 陳金生. 3 vols. (1989; Bēijīng: Zhōnghuá shūjú, 2008), vol. 2, *juàn* 17, 516–17.

5 The *Gǔ Hán yǔ xūcī cídiǎn* classifies this usage as a demonstrative pronoun, whereas Yáng Bójùn suggests treating it as a phonetic fusion of *rú* 如 (like) and *shì* 是 (this). *GHYXCCD*, 77; *GHYXC*, 33.

6 Wáng Lì quotes an example from Táng times. *GHYZD*, 964. Kroll simply notes that the word meant soup in medieval times. *SDCMC*, 133.

YÚN'ĚR 云爾

- *sentence-final part.; to show restriction, the same as éryi 而已 (just that only that and no more).*¹ In this sense, yún 云 can be left out without altering the meaning.

葉公問孔子於子路，子路不對。子曰：「女奚不曰：『其為人也，發憤忘食，樂以忘憂，不知老之將至云爾。』」（《論語·述而》）

Shègōng wèn Kǒngzǐ yú Zǐlù. Zǐlù bù duì. Zǐ yuē, “Rǔ xī bù yuē, ‘Qí wéi rén yě, fā fèn wàng shí, lè yǐ wàng yōu, bù zhī lǎo zhī jiāng zhì yún'ěr.’” (Lún yǔ, “Shù ér”)

The Duke of Shè asked Zǐlù about Confucius. Zǐlù did not answer. The Master said, “Why didn’t you say, ‘He is a person who, impassioned by what he does not know, resolves to learn, so much so that he forgets his meals, taking so much pleasure in it that he forgets his worries, and is even unaware of the onset of old age; it is just that.’” (“Shù ér,” *Analects*)

* 葑, here a surname, is pronounced Shè. Rǔ 女 is used for rǔ 汝 (you, singular). Xī 奚 is an interrogative pronoun, “why.”

Fā fèn wàng shí 發憤忘食 (impassioned by what one does not know and resolving to learn, so much so that one forgets his meals) is an idiom to describe someone working extremely hard. The *fèn* 傷 (to be impassioned) in this idiom is often miswritten as *fèn* 奮 (to exert oneself). *Lè yǐ wàng yōu* 樂以忘憂 (taking so much pleasure in something that one forgets his worries) is another idiom.

- *yún'ěr 云爾* can also be used on its own.

逢蒙學射於羿，盡羿之道；思天下惟羿為愈己，於是殺羿。孟子曰：「是亦羿有罪焉。」公明儀曰：「宜若無罪焉。」曰：「薄乎云爾；惡得無罪？ 鄭人使子濯孺子侵衛，衛使庚公之斯追之。子濯孺子曰：『今日我疾作，不可以

執弓。吾死矣夫！」問其僕曰：『追我者誰也？』其僕曰：『庾公之斯也。』曰：『吾生矣。』其僕曰：『庾公之斯，衛之善射者也；夫子曰「吾生」，何謂也？』曰：『庾公之斯學射於尹公之他，尹公之他學射於我。夫尹公之他，端人也；其取友必端矣。』庾公之斯至，曰：『夫子何為不執弓？』曰：『今日我疾作，不可以執弓。』曰：『小人學射於尹公之他，尹公之他學射於夫子；我不忍以夫子之道反害夫子。雖然，今日之事，君事也，我不敢廢。』抽矢扣輪去其金，發乘矢而後反。」（《孟子·離婁下》）

Páng Méng xué shè yú Yì, jìn Yì zhī dào; sī tiānxià wéi Yì wéi yù jǐ, yú shì shā Yì. Mèngzǐ yuē, “Shí yì Yì yǒu zuì yān.” Gōngmíng Yí yuē, “Yí ruò wú zuì yān.” Yuē, “Bó hū yún'ér; wū dé wú zui? Zhèng rén shǐ Zǐzhuó Rúzǐ qīn Wèi, Wèi shǐ Yǔgōng Zhīsī zhuī zhī. Zǐzhuó Rúzǐ yuē, ‘Jīn rì wǒ jí zuò, bù kě yǐ zhí gōng. Wú sī yǐfú!’ Wèn qí pú yuē, ‘Zhuī wǒ zhě shuí yě?’ Qí pú yuē, ‘Yǔgōng Zhīsī yě.’ Yuē, ‘Wú shēng yǐ.’ Qí pú yuē, ‘Yǔgōng Zhīsī, Wèi zhī shàn shè zhě yě; Fūzǐ yuē “wú shēng,” hé wèi yě?’ Yuē, ‘Yǔgōng Zhīsī xué shè yú Yǐngōng Zhītūō, Yǐngōng Zhītūō xué shè yú wǒ. Fú Yǐngōng Zhītā, duān rén yě; qí qū yǒu bì duān yǐ.’ Yǐngōng Zhīsī zhì, yuē, ‘Fūzǐ hé wéi bù zhí gōng?’ Yuē, ‘Jīn rì wǒ jí zuò, bù kě yǐ zhí gōng.’ Yuē, ‘Xiāorén xué shè yú Yǐngōng Zhītūō, Yǐngōng Zhītūō xué shè yú fūzǐ; wǒ bù rěn yǐ fūzǐ zhī dào fǎn hài fūzǐ. Suī rán, jīn rì zhī shì, jūn shì yě, wǒ bù gǎn fēi.’ Chōu shǐ kòu lún qù qí jīn, fā shèng shǐ ér hòu fǎn.” (Mèngzǐ, “Lí Lóu xià”)

Páng Méng learned archery from Yì and had fully mastered Yì's way. He thought that in all under Heaven, only Yì was superior to him; therefore he killed Yì. Mencius said, “In this, Yì also was at fault.” Gōngmíng Yí said, “It seems that Yì probably was not at fault.” Mencius said, “It is just that Yì's fault was small; how could it be that he had no faults? The people of Zhèng sent Zǐzhuó Rúzǐ to invade Wèi; Wèi sent Yǔgōng Zhīsī to chase him. Zǐzhuó Rúzǐ said, ‘Today I am suffering from an attack of malaria and cannot hold my bow. I may die!’ He asked his coachman, ‘Who is chasing me?’ His coachman said, ‘It is Yǔgōng Zhīsī.’ Zǐzhuó Rúzǐ responded, ‘I shall live.’ His coachman said, ‘Yǔgōng Zhīsī is Wèi's best archer. My master says, “I shall live.” Why is that?’ Zǐzhuó Rúzǐ said, ‘Yǔgōng Zhīsī learned archery from Yǐngōng Zhītūō, and Yǐngōng Zhītūō learned archery from me. Yǐngōng Zhītā is an upright person. The one he took as a friend must be upright too.’ Yǐngōng Zhīsī arrived, asking, ‘Master, why don't you take hold of your bow?’ Zǐzhuó Rúzǐ replied, ‘Today I am suffering from an attack of malaria and cannot hold my bow.’ Yǐngōng Zhīsī said, ‘I, this petty man, learned archery from Yǐngōng Zhītūō, and Yǐngōng Zhītūō learned archery from you, Master. I cannot bear to hurt you using your own way against you. Even so, today's affair is an affair of the ruler. I dare not disregard my duty.’ He pulled out his arrows and, knocking the metal arrowheads off against the wheels, shot off four of them before returning.” (“Lí Lóu, Second Section,” Mencius)

* 乘 is pronounced *shèng* instead of *chéng*, meaning “four.”

Note

- 1 Kroll notes that *yuē* X *yún'ér* 曰X 云爾 “indicates imagined or hypothetical speech: say . . . , speaking thus, speaking in this (that) way.” *SDCMC*, 102. In this passage, however, *yuē* 曰 is not combined with *yún'ér* 云爾 to create a set pattern. *Rǔ xī bù yuē* 女奚不曰 (why didn't you say) is part of a rhetorical question, with *yuē* (to say) as the predicate verb used to introduce the object – what Confucius thought *Zǐlù* should have said. The object is a full sentence by itself, complete with its own subject and predicate. *Yún'ér* is placed at the end to show restriction, as Confucius considers himself to have nothing worth mentioning besides his love of learning. The *yún* in *yún'ér* here is a modal particle with no special meaning.

FĒI 非

*vb.; “to violate” | – *n.*; “wrongdoing”*

*| – *vb.*; “to consider wrong/to criticize”*

*| – *vb.*; “to be without,” the same as *wú* 無*

*| – *copula vb.*; for negation*

*| – *adv.*; to negate, used before a verb or an adjective*

OBI	BI	CM	QM	SS
𠂇	𠂇	非	非	𠂇

【*fǔ wēi qiè* 甫微切】OC: *pəj; MC: *pj+j*

Early Meaning: *vb.*; “to violate”

The oracle-bone inscription for this character is 𠂇, which shows two people with their backs to each other. Another graph 𠂇 has horizontal strokes at the top. Jì Xūshēng proposes that they may have been added to differentiate the word in this meaning from *bèi* 北 (to turn away; the early graph for *bèi* 背), which is sometimes represented by the graph for *fēi* 非 in oracle-bone inscriptions. He therefore suggests that the graph 𠂇 may belong to the category of “indicating the matter,” in which strokes have been added to the zodiograph 𠂇 to highlight a specific meaning.¹

Xǔ Shèn writes, “*Fēi* 非 (𠂇) means ‘to violate.’ It is derived from the lower part of the graph *fēi* (飛, to fly), which depicts the wings of a bird, taking from this the meaning of ‘turning away from each other’” 非, 違也。从飛下𦇕, 取其相背。Duàn Yùcái suggests that 非 is an abbreviated form of the small seal script 飛 for the standardized character *fēi* 飛 (to fly). When wings are lowered, they turn away from each other. Xú Hào differs slightly from Duàn in his reading of Xǔ Shèn’s definition, holding that only the lower part of the small seal script 飛 has been incorporated into the graph. He gives as proof the bronze inscription

非 (*fēi* 非), because the small seal script 非 does not show the pictographic representation of wings as clearly. The preceding translation follows Xú Hào's reading. Xú Hào agrees with Duàn Yúcái that the meaning "to violate" is derived from the motion of a bird spreading its wings apart in flight. He also cites Dài Tōng 戴侗 (13th century), who notes that *fēi* 飛 and *fēi* 非 were originally represented by the same graph: as *fēi* 非 was frequently borrowed to mean "to violate," another graph *fēi* 飛 was created to represent the original meaning.² Jī Xūshēng suggests that Xǔ Shèn regards the graph 非 as a zodiograph, although Xǔ Shèn himself does not specifically make this categorization.³

Extended Meanings

- 1 *n.; object; "wrongdoing"*

「臣聞古之善為政也，其威內扶，其輔外布，而治政不亂不逆，使者直道而行，不敢為非。……」（《戰國策·秦策·應侯謂昭王》）

Chén wén gǔ zhī shàn wéi zhèng yě, qí wēi nèi fú, qí fǔ wài bù, ér zhì zhèng bù luàn bù nì, shǐ zhě zhí dào ér xíng, bù gǎn wéi fēi. . .” (Zhàn'guó cè, “Qín cè,” “Yīnghóu wèi Zhāowáng”)

“I have heard that to govern well in ancient times was to establish authority internally and to have affiliated vassals distributed externally; then in governing there would be neither disorder nor sedition, and the emissaries would tread a straight path, not daring to commit wrongdoing . . .” (“Duke Yīng spoke to King Zhāo,” in “Strategies of Qín,” *Strategies of the Warring States*)

* *Qí wēi nèi fú, qí fǔ wài bù* 其威內扶，其輔外布 refers to the centralization of power: the ministers were held in check within the palace, and the ruler had loyal vassals spread throughout the state.

- 2 *vb.; “to consider wrong/to criticize”*

子游問喪具。夫子曰：「稱家之有亡。」子游曰：「有亡惡乎齊？」夫子曰：「有，毋過禮。苟亡矣，斂首足形，還葬，縣棺而封，人豈有非之者哉？」（《禮記·檀弓上》）

Zǐyóu wèn sāng jù. Fūzǐ yuē, “Chèn jiā zhī yǒu wú.” Zǐyóu yuē, “Yǒu wú wūhū qí?” Fūzǐ yuē, “Yǒu, wú guò lǐ. Gǒu wú yǐ, liǎn shǒu zú xíng, xuán zàng, xuán guān ér fēng, rén qǐ yǒu fēi zhī zhě zāi?” (Lǐ jì, “Tángōng shàng”)

Zǐyóu asked about funeral preparations. The Master said, “It corresponds to whether the household has enough resources or not.” Zǐyóu asked, “How can there be a standard if it corresponds to whether the household has enough resources or not?” The Master said, “Even if one has enough resources, one should not go to excess in performing the rites. If one does not have enough, so long as the shroud covers the shape of the head and limbs, and the person is buried immediately, even if lowering the coffin into the grave without tablets or ropes, how would there be someone who would criticize it (i.e., these arrangements)? (“Tángōng, First Section,” *Records of Rites*)

* The traditional commentary suggests that *fēng* 封 (to bury) should be understood as *biǎn* 置 (to lower a coffin into the grave). Duàn Yúcái points out that, in the case of the Son of Heaven, there were six ropes on pulleys carrying four stone tablets to protect the coffin while it was being lowered, four ropes and two stone tablets for the feudal lords, two ropes and two stone tablets for the great officials, and two ropes with no stone tablets for knights.⁴ 稱 here should be read *chèn*, “to correspond to.” 亡 should be understood as *wú* 無 (to not have) and pronounced as such, although this pronunciation is not attested in classical or medieval texts.⁵ 還 should here be read *xuán*, meaning “immediately/soon after.” *Xuán zàng* 還葬 means that the body is buried as soon as it has been prepared for the funeral, without being kept for three months.

3 *vb.*; “to be without,” the same as *wú* 無

孟子曰：「……所謂西伯善養老者，制其田里，教之樹畜，導其妻子使養其老。五十韭帛不煖，七十韭肉不飽。不煖不飽，謂之凍餒。文王之民無凍餒之老者，此之謂也。」（《孟子·盡心上》）

Mèngzǐ yuē, “... *Suō wèi Xībó shàn yàng lǎo zhě, zhì qí tián lǐ, jiāo zhī shù xuà, dǎo qí qī zǐ shí yàng qí lǎo. Wūshí fēi bó bù nuǎn, qīshí fēi ròu bù bǎo. Bù nuǎn bù bǎo, wèi zhī dòng lěi. Wénwáng zhī mǐn wú dòng lěi zhī lǎo zhě, cǐ zhī wèi yě.*” (*Mèngzǐ*, “Jin xīn shàng”)

Mencius said, “... Xībó (i.e., King Wén) was said to have been adept in providing for the elderly because he established farmlands and fields for the people, taught them farming and animal husbandry, and guided wives and sons in providing for the elderly. Those who have reached the age of fifty are not warm without silk; those who have reached the age of seventy are not full without meat. Not feeling warm and not being full, we call this shivering and starving. None of the elderly under King Wén’s governance shivered or starved. This is what it means to say that Xībó was adept in providing for the elderly.” (“Exerting Oneself, First Section,” *Mencius*)

* The traditional pronunciation for 養 when used to mean “to provide for the elderly (parents in particular)” is *yàng*. Today it is also pronounced as *yǎng* in this meaning.

4 *copula vb.*; for negation

- to negate a nominal predicate; often used with *yě* 也 to mark the judgmental mode⁶

子曰：「回也，非助我者也，於吾言無所不說。」（《論語·先進》）

Zǐ yuē, “*Huí yě, fēi zhù wǒ zhě yě, yú wú yán wú suǒ bù yuè.*” (*Lún yǔ*, “*Xiān jìn*”)

The Master said, “*Huí* is not someone who aids me. Of what I have said, there is nothing that he does not take pleasure in.” (“*Xiān jìn*,” *Analects*)⁷

- to negate a clause with a subject-predicate structure

子曰：「人能弘道，非道弘人。」（《論語·衛靈公》）

Zǐ yuē, “Rén néng hóng dào, fēi dào hóng rén.” (Lún yǔ, “Wèi Línggōng”)

The Master said, “It is people who can broaden the Way, not the Way that can broaden people.” (“Wèi Línggōng,” *Analects*)

- used as a marker of a “negative exclusionary clause,” meaning “except for,”⁸ in the pattern of *fēi* 非 . . . *bù* 不 (not . . . not)⁹

夫鵠鶴，發於南海而飛於北海，非梧桐不止，非練實不食，非醴泉不飲。（《莊子·秋水》）

Fú yuānchū, fā yú Nánhǎi ér fēi yú Běihǎi, fēi wútóng bù zhǐ, fēi liàn shí bù shí, fēi lǐ quán bù yǐn. (Zhuāngzǐ, “Qiū shuǐ”)

The phoenix set off from the South Sea and flew over the North Sea. It would not perch if not on a *wútóng* tree (i.e., Chinese parasol tree), would not eat if not bamboo seeds, would not drink if not at sweet springs. (“Autumn Floods,” *Zhuāngzǐ*)

- used with a question marker such as *yé* 邪 to create a tag question; rarely used in pre-Hàn texts

或曰：「天道無親，常與善人。」若伯夷、叔齊，可謂善人者非邪？積仁絜行如此而餓死！（《史記·伯夷列傳》）

Huò yuē, “Tiān dào wú qīn, cháng yǔ shàn rén.” Ruò Bóyí, Shūqí, kě wèi shàn rén zhě fēi yé? Jī rén jié xíng rú cǐ ér è sǐ!” (Shǐ jì, “Bóyí lièzhuàn”)

Some say, “The way of Heaven has no preference; it always joins with good people.” In the case of Bóyí and Shūqí – are they not what we call good people? They amassed benevolent deeds and refined moral conduct like this, but they starved to death all the same!” (“Biography of Bóyí,” *Grand Scribe’s Records*)

5 *adv.; adverbial modifier; to negate a predicate that is verbal or adjectival*¹⁰

- to negate a verbal predicate in a clause

「赤！爾何如？」對曰：「非曰能之，願學焉。宗廟之事，如會同，端章甫，願為小相焉。」（《論語·先進》）

“Chì! Ér hé rú?” Duì yuē, “Fēi yuē néng zhī, yuàn xué yān. Zōng miào zhī shì, rú huì tóng, duān zhāng fǔ, yuàn wéi xiǎo xiàng yān.” (Lún yǔ, “Xiān jìn”)

“Chì, what about you?” Chì responded, “This is not to say that I can do it, but that I would like to learn. For the affairs of ancestral temples or the audience between the Son of Heaven and his feudal lords, I would like to put on ceremonial cap and dress and be an acolyte of the master of ceremonies.” (“Xiān jìn,” *Analects*)

- to negate an adjectival predicate in a clause

豹呼婦視之，以為非妙，令巫嫗入報河伯，投巫于河中。（《水經注·濁漳水》）

Bào hū fù shì zhī, yǐ wéi fēi miào, lìng wū yù rù bào Hébó, tóu wū yú hé zhōng. (*Shuǐ jīng zhù*, “*Zhuózhāng shuǐ*”)

Bào called for the matrons, observed them, and considered that they were not beautiful; and so, commanding the female shaman to go in to report to the River God, he threw her into the river. (“The *Zhuózhāng* River,” *Commentaries on the Classic on Waterways*)

* Xīmén Bào 西門豹 was praised for abolishing the regional practice of sacrificing women to the River God.

Notes

1 *SWXZ*, 858–9.

2 *SWZZJ*, *juàn* 11.2, 52a.

3 *SWXZ*, 859; Yú Xǐngwú 于省吾 (1896–1984), *Jiǎgǔ wénzì shilín* 甲骨文字釋林 (Bēijīng: Zhōnghuá shūjú, 1979), 78–9.

4 Duàn Yúcái, annot., *Shuōwén jiézì zhù* 說文解字注, ed. Xǔ Wéixián 許惟賢 (Nánjīng: Fènghuáng chūbǎnshè, 2015), *juàn* 9b, 786.

5 *SDCMC*, 469.

6 Yáng Bójùn treats *fēi* as a copula verb. *GHYXC*, 37. Graham calls *fēi* a negative copula, translated as “is not” and generally reinforced by a final *yē*. A. C. Graham, “The Relation between the Final Particles ‘yu’ 與 and ‘yee’ 也,” *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 19, no. 1 (1957): 105–23, 107. This usage is equal to *bù shì* 不是 (is not/are not) in modern Chinese. *GHYZD*, 1623. Some treat it as an adverb, as in *GHYCCD*, 81–2.

7 Kroll treats it as a generic negative grammatical particle for nominal sentences, negating an identity. *SDCMC*, 110.

8 *SDCMC*, 110.

9 *Fēi* 非 by itself does not have the meaning of “except for.”

10 Kroll separates this into two different entries. In the first, *fēi* comes “between the subject and predicate of a verbal sentence,” negating “the propositional substance of the sentence: it is not that.” In the second, *fēi* “negates attribute of adjective.” *SDCMC*, 110.

Fǒu 否

adv.; to show negation | – n.; “the bad”【pǐ】
| – n.; “stagnation”【pǐ】

BI		CM	SS
否	𠀤	否	𠀤

【fāng jiǔ qiè 方久切】OC: *pəʔ; MC: *pjuwX*

Early Meaning: **adv.; to show negation**

Jì Xūshēng does not have an entry for this.

Xǔ Shèn writes, “*Fǒu* 否 (𠀤) means ‘not.’ It is derived from *kǒu* 口 (口, mouth) and *bù* 不 (𠀤, not); *bù* is also sound-bearing” 否,不也。从口,从不,不亦聲. Duàn Yúcái notes that *fǒu* is used for negation, similar to *bù* 不.¹ The two words share similar pronunciations, with the Old Chinese *pə for *bù* 不 and *pəʔ for *fǒu* in Baxter-Sagart’s reconstructions. This explains why *bù* 不 is also sound-bearing in the analysis of the components of the graph.

Example of its use to show negation on its own:

「許子必織布而後衣乎?」曰:「否。許子衣褐。」(《孟子·滕文公上》)

“Xǔzǐ bì zhī bù ér hòu yì hū?” Yuē, “*Fǒu*. Xǔzǐ yì hè.” (Mèngzǐ, “Téng Wéngōng shàng”)

(Mencius asked Chén Xiāng 陳相) “Must Xǔzǐ weave linen, and only then clothe himself?” Chén Xiāng replied, “It is not so, but Xǔzǐ only wears coarse wool cloth.” (“Duke Wén of Téng, First Section,” Mencius)

* This is a passage about the division of labor, showing that a sage ruler does not have to farm and cook along with commoners in order to be a good ruler.

Fǒu is often used with the affirmative *kě* 可 (feasible) to create a pair. The following are two common situations in which it is used with *kě*.

1 used in two different clauses to show contrast

晏子對曰：「……今據不然。君所謂可，據亦曰可；君所謂否，據亦曰否。……」
 (《左傳·昭公二十年》)

Yànzǐ duì yuē, “. . . Jīn Jù bù rán. Jīn suǒ wèi kě, Jù yì yuē kě; Jīn suǒ wèi fǒu, Jù yì yuē fǒu . . .” (Zuō zhuàn, “Zhāogōng èrshí nián”)

Yànzǐ responded (to Marquis of Qi), “. . . Yet Jù is not like this (i.e., an official who can challenge the ruler and help him improve). What my lord says is feasible, Jù also says is feasible. What my lord says is not feasible, Jù also says is not feasible . . .” (Duke Zhāo 20, Zuō Tradition)

2 used together to show two alternative conditions

跖之徒問跖曰：「盜亦有道乎？」跖曰：「奚適其有道也！夫意而中藏者，聖也；入先者，勇也；出後者，義也；分均者，仁也；知可否者，智也。五者不備，而能成大盜者，天下無之。」(《淮南子·道應訓》)

Zhí zhī tú wèn Zhí yuē, “Dào yì yǒu dào hū?” Zhí yuē, “Xī chì qí yǒu dào yě! Fú yì ér zhòng cáng zhě, shèng yě; rù xiān zhě, yǒng yě; chū hòu zhě, yì yě; fēn jūn zhě, rén yě; zhī kě fǒu zhě, zhì yě. Wú zhě bù bèi, ér néng chéng dà dào zhě, tiānxià wú zhī.” (Huánánzǐ, “Dào yìng xùn”)

The followers of Robber Zhí asked him, “Is there also a way for robbers?” Zhí said, “How could it be merely a way? As for being able to anticipate and identify where property is hidden, this is sagacity; to be able to enter first, this is courage; to be able to leave last, this is righteousness; to be able to distribute the goods equitably, this is benevolence; to be able to know whether an action is feasible or not, this is wisdom. To be without these five traits and still able to become a great robber – there’s no such person under Heaven.” (“Responses of the Way,” Huánánzǐ)

* There are some versions that give *xī chì qí wú dào yě* 奚適其無道也 (How could there not be a way) instead of *xī chì qí yǒu dào yě* 奚適其有道也 (How could it merely be a way). According to Wáng Niànsūn 王念孫 (1744–1832), the second version is the correct one. 適 is used as *chì* 莅 (merely/only) and should be so read. In his view, some readers do not know that 適 means the same as *chì* 莅 and therefore change *yǒu* 有 (to have) into *wú* 無 (to not have) in their attempt to make sense of the text. In his reply to this question, Zhí is saying that there is not just a way but ways, including the Confucian virtues of sagacity, courage, righteousness, benevolence, and wisdom.²

Dào yì yǒu dào 盜亦有道 is now an idiom meaning that “even robbers have their principles.”

Extended Meanings

1 *n.*; “the bad” 【pǐ】

- *subject*

貴賤並通, 善否陳前, 靡有隱情。(《史記·秦始皇本紀》)

Guì jiàn bìng tōng, shàn pǐ chén qián, mí yǒu yǐn qíng. (*Shǐ jì*, “Qín Shǐhuáng běnji”)

[The law] applies to both the noble and the lowly; the good and the bad are presented openly: there is no hidden agenda. (“Basic Annals of the First Emperor of Qin,” *Grand Scribe’s Records*)

- *object*

夫富者, 苦身疾作, 多積財而不得盡用, 其為形也亦外矣。夫貴者, 夜以繼日, 思慮善否, 其為形也亦疏矣。人之生也, 與憂俱生, 壽者惛惛, 久憂不死, 何苦也! 其為形也亦遠矣。(《莊子·至樂》)

Fú fù zhě, kǔ shēn jí zuò, duō jī cái ér bù dé jìn yòng, qí wèi xíng yě yǐ wài yǐ. Fú guì zhě, yè yǐ jí rì, sī lù shàn pǐ, qí wèi xíng yě yǐ shū yǐ. Rén zhī shēng yě, yǔ yōu jù shēng, shòu zhě mènmèn, jiǔ yōu bù sī, hé kǔ yě! Qí wèi xíng yě yì yuǎn yǐ. (*Zhuāngzǐ*, “*Zhì lè*”)

As for those who are prosperous, they pain their bodies by working hard, accumulating more wealth than they can use up. What they do for their bodies is peripheral. As for those who are highborn, from day into night they think about and ponder the good and the bad. What they do for their bodies is negligible. In human life, worries are born together with us. The long-lived are befuddled and confused, worrying endlessly but not dying – how anguished they are! What they do for their bodies is far from the principles of nature. (“Utmost Happiness,” *Zhuāngzǐ*)

* According to Chén Gǔyìng 陳鼓應, 惚惛 should be pronounced *mènmèn*; it has the same meaning as *hūnhūn* 昏昏 (to be fuddled and confused), the equivalent of which in modern Chinese would be *jīngshén mēngdōng* 精神懵懂 (the spirit is dull-witted). There is a textual variant with 惚惛 instead of 惚惛.³ 惚惛, meaning “to be troubled/worried,” should also be pronounced *mènmèn* rather than *hūnhūn*.

- preceded by *zāng* 臢 (to be favorable) to express the meaning of “success or loss”

凡諸侯有命, 告則書, 不然則否。師出臧否, 亦如之。雖及滅國, 滅不告敗, 勝不告克, 不書于策。(《左傳·隱公十一年》)

Fán zhūhóu yǒu mìng, gào zé shū, bù rán zé fǒu. Shī chū zāng pǐ, yì rú zhī. Suī jí miè guó, miè bù gào bài, shèng bù gào kè, bù shū yú cè. (*Zuǒ zhuàn*, “*Yǐngōng shíyī nián*”)

Whenever the feudal lords have military affairs that affect their mandate (i.e., their right to rule), if we have been notified, it will be recorded;

otherwise, it will not be recorded. The outcome of war, favorable or otherwise, will also be treated like this. Even if it should reach the point of the extermination of a state, if the exterminated do not announce their defeat, and the victors do not announce their victory, it will not be recorded on the bamboo strips. (Duke Yīn 11, *Zuō Tradition*)

* *Ming* 命 means “decree” or “mandate.” Here it is used to mean “military affairs that affect a decree or mandate.” The *Zuō Tradition* is a commentary on the *Spring and Autumn Annals*, a chronicle of the reigns of twelve rulers of the Lǔ state. The previous passage clarifies the principle governing what should be recorded in the chronicle. If the affairs (typically, military engagements) of other states did not concern Lǔ, and Lǔ was not notified of the outcome, they would not be recorded. The first *fǒu* 否 in the excerpt is used to show negation.

2 *n.; predicate; “stagnation”* 【pǐ】

先否後喜。(《周易·否》)

Xiān pǐ hòu xǐ. (Zhōu Yì, “Pǐ”)

There is stagnation at the beginning, followed by felicity. (“Hexagram “Stagnation,” *Book of Changes*)

Notes

1 *SWJZZJ*, juàn 12.1, 3a–3b.

2 D. C. Lau 劉殿爵, *Huainanzi yùndú jí jiàokān* 淮南子韻讀及校勘 (Hong Kong: Chinese University of Hong Kong, 2013), 466.

3 Chén Gǔyìng 陳鼓應, *Zhuāngzǐ jīnzhù jīnyì* 莊子今注今譯 (Běijīng: Zhōnghuá shūjú, 1983), 447.

FÚ 夫

n.; “an adult male” 【fū】 | *n.*; “the husband” 【fū】

- | – *DP*; the same as *bǐ* 彼 (that)
- | – *DP*; the same as *cǐ* 此 (this)
- | – *DP*; demonstrative, indicating something merely hinted at
- | – *sentence-initial part.*; to introduce an argument or discussion
- | – *sentence-final modal part.*; to show exclamation, admiration, affirmation, or uncertainty

OBI	BI	CM	QM	SS
夫	夫	夫	夫	夫

【fáng wú qiè 防無切】 OC: *ba; MC: bju

Early Meaning: *n.*; “an adult male” 【fū】

The ancient graphs for 夫 are extremely similar. The only significant variant is the one in the bronze inscriptions that lacks the top horizontal stroke: 夂. This variant graph appears both on a tripod from the middle of the Western Zhōu period (1046–771 BCE) and on the basin of Fúchāi 夫差 from the late Spring and Autumn period. The graph 夂 may also be read as *dà* 大 (to be large). Lín Yiguāng 林義光 therefore proposes that the two words *fū* 夫 and *dà* 大 originally shared the same graph, and it was only later that a stroke was added on top to separate the two usages.¹ Jí Xūshēng notes that if Lín’s assumption is correct, the ancient graphs for *fū* that have a stroke on top would belong in the category of “compound graphs indicating the matter.”²

Xǔ Shèn writes, “*Fū* 夫 (夫) refers to an adult male whose height has reached one *zhàng*. It is derived from ‘*dà*’ (大, to be large); the stroke *yī* — (一, one/first)

mimics the hairpin used by an adult male. In the measurement system of the Zhōu dynasty, eight *cùn* 寸 make one *chǐ* 尺, ten *chǐ* make one *zhàng* 丈. A man grows to the height of eight *chǐ*, and is therefore known as *zhàng fū* 丈夫 (an adult male whose height has reached one *zhàng*)” 亦 (夫), 丈夫也。从大,一以象簪也。周制以八寸爲尺,十尺爲丈。人長八尺,故曰丈夫。Xú Hào comments that the graph refers to a man who has already been “capped.” The capping ritual marked a boy’s passage into adulthood. The usage of 夫 as a function word comes from its borrowed meanings.³

Example of its usage to mean an adult male:

齊宣王問曰：「湯放桀，武王伐紂，有諸？」孟子對曰：「於傳有之。」曰：「臣弑其君，可乎？」曰：「賊仁者謂之賊，賊義者謂之殘，殘賊之人謂之一夫。聞誅一夫紂矣，未聞弑君也。」（《孟子·梁惠王下》）

Qí Xuānwáng wèn yuē, “Tāng fàng Jié, Wǔwáng fá Zhòu, yǒu zhū?” Mèngzǐ duì yuē, “Yú zhuàn yǒu zhī.” Yuē, “Chén shì qí jūn, kě hū?” Yuē, “Zéi rén zhě wèi zhī zéi, zéi yì zhě wèi zhī cán, cán zéi zhī rén wèi zhī yī fū. Wén zhū yī fū Zhòu yǐ, wèi wén shì jūn yě.” (Mèngzǐ, “Liáng Huìwáng xià”)

King Xuān of Qí asked, “Tāng exiled Jié; King Wǔ sent an expedition against Zhòu. Were there such events?” Mencius responded, “They are there in the records.” King Xuān proceeded to ask, “Is it acceptable for a subject to assassinate his ruler?” Mencius responded, “Those who murder the benevolent are called murderers; those who murder the righteous are called maimers. One who murders and maims can only be called a fellow (i.e., not a Son of Heaven). I have heard that a fellow called Zhòu was put to death. I did not hear about the assassination of a ruler.” (“King Huì of Liáng, Second Section,” *Mencius*)

Extended Meanings

- 1 *n.; subject; “the husband”* 【**fū**】

舜以天下讓其友石戶之農，石戶之農曰：「捲捲乎后之為人，葆力之士也！」以舜之德為未至也，於是去負妻戴，攜子以入於海，終身不反也。（《莊子·讓王》）

Shùn yǐ tiānxià ràng qí yǒu Shíhù zhī nóng, Shíhù zhī nóng yuē, “Quánquán hū hòu zhī wéi rén, bǎo lì zhī shì yé!” Yǐ Shùn zhī dé wéi wèi zhī yě, yú shì fū fù qī dài, xié zǐ yǐ rù yú hǎi, zhōng shēn bù fǎn yě. (Zhuāngzǐ, “Ràng wáng”)

Shùn abdicated the throne to his friend, a farmer of Shíhù. The farmer of Shíhù said, “How diligently does the ruler behave! He is one who relies on hard work to govern.” He considered that the virtue of Shùn had not reached the highest stage (i.e., nonaction). Thereupon, the husband carrying their belongings on his back and the wife carrying their belongings on her head, they took their children to the ocean; for the rest of their lives, they did not return. (“Abdicating the Throne,” *Zhuāngzǐ*)

* 捲捲 should be pronounced *quánquán* rather than *juǎnjuǎn*, as in *quánquán* 卷卷, meaning “diligently.” Taoism holds that a ruler who governs in

accordance with the Way should do so through nonaction alone, to the point where the common people are unaware that he even exists.

Borrowed Meanings

1 DP; the same as *bì* 彼 (that)⁴

- *subject*

初，范氏之臣王生惡張柳朔，言諸昭子，使為柏人。昭子曰：「去非而讎乎？」對曰：「私讎不及公，好不廢過，惡不去善，義之經也，臣敢違之？」及范氏出，張柳朔謂其子：「爾從主，勉之！我將止死，王生授我矣，吾不可以僭之。」遂死於柏人。（《左傳·哀公五年》）

Chū, Fàn shì zhī chén Wáng Shēng wù Zhāng Liǔshuò, yán zhū Zhāozǐ, shǐ wéi Bórén. Zhāozǐ yuē, “Fú fēi ér chóu hū?” Dui yuē, “Sī chóu bù jí gōng, hào bù fèi guò, wù bù qù shàn, yì zhī jīng yě, chén gǎn wéi zhī?” Jí Fàn shì chū, Zhāng Liǔshuò wéi qí zǐ, “Ér cóng zhú, mián zhī! Wǒ jiāng zhī sǐ, Wáng Shēng shòu wǒ yǐ, wú bù kě yǐ jiàn zhī.” Suì sǐ yú Bórén. (Zuǒ zhuàn, Āigōng wǔ nián”)

Earlier, Wáng Shēng, a retainer of the Fàn lineage, detested Zhāng Liǔshuò, but he still spoke to Zhāozǐ about having him govern Bórén. Zhāozǐ said, “Isn’t that person your enemy?” Wáng Shēng responded, “Personal grudges should not affect public affairs. Even if you like a person, you should not overlook his misdeeds. Even if you detest a person, you should not efface his goodness. This is the standard of righteousness. How would your retainer dare go against it?” When the Fàn lineage fled Bórén (to escape from the attack of Jin), Zhāng Liǔshuò said to his son, “You follow the lord and do your best! I will stay and die here. Wáng Shēng gave me this post; I cannot abuse it (i.e., assume the post without performing its duties).” He consequently died at Bórén. (Duke Āi 5, Zuǒ Tradition)

- attributive modifier in the meaning of *bì* 彼 (that)⁵

長沮、桀溺耦而耕，孔子過之，使子路問津焉。長沮曰：「去執輿者為誰？」子路曰：「為孔丘。」（《論語·微子》）

Cháng Jǔ, Jié Nì ǒu ér gēng, Kǒngzǐ guò zhī, shǐ Zǐlù wèn jīn yān. Cháng Jǔ yuē, “Fú zhí yú zhě wéi shuǐ?” Zǐlù yuē, “Wéi Kǒng Qiū.” (Lún yǔ, “Wēizǐ”)

Cháng Jǔ and Jié Nì were ploughing shoulder to shoulder. Confucius was passing by and sent Zǐlù to ask about the ford. Cháng Jǔ asked, “Who is that holding the reins of the carriage?” Zǐlù said, “It is Confucius.” (“Wēizǐ,” *Analects*)

* *Zhí yú zhě* 執輿者 is a noun phrase meaning “the one holding the reins of the carriage.” *Fú* is a demonstrative pronoun used as an attributive modifier for this noun phrase.

- 2 DP; attributive modifier; the same as *cǐ* 此 (this)⁶

魯人為長府。閔子騫曰：「仍舊貫，如之何？何必改作？」子曰：「夫人不言，言必有中。」（《論語·先進》）

Lǔ rén wéi chángfǔ. Mǐn Zǐqiān yuē, "Réng jiù guàn, rú zhī hé? Hé bì gǎi zuò?" Zǐ yuē, "Fú rén bù yán, yán bì yǒu zhòng." (Lúnyǔ, "Xiān jìn")

The people of Lǔ were about to remodel the state treasury. Mǐn Zǐqiān said, "How about just following the former practice? What need of remodeling?" The Master said, "This person does not speak much. When he does, what he says goes right to the point." ("Xiān jìn," *Analects*)

- 3 DP; attributive modifier; it is often omitted in translation since the demonstrative meaning is merely hinted at.⁷

子曰：「食去稻，衣夫錦，於汝安乎？」（《論語·陽貨》）

Zǐ yuē, "Shí fú dào, yì fú jīn, yú rǔ ān hū?" (Lúnyǔ, "Yáng Huò")

The Master said, "Eating grain and wearing brocade (during your mourning period), would you be at ease?" ("Yáng Huò," *Analects*)

孔子曰：「射者何以射，何以聽。循聲而發，發而不失正鵠者，其唯賢者乎！若去不肖之人，則彼將安能以中？」（《禮記·射義》）

Kǒngzǐ yuē, "Shè zhě héyǐ shè, héyǐ tīng. Xún shēng ér fā, fā ér bù shī zhèng gǔ zhě, qí wéi xián zhě hū! Ruò fú bù xiào zhī rén, zé bǐ jiāng ān néng yǐ zhòng?" (Lǐ jì, "Shè yì")

Confucius said, "How can someone who shoots an arrow manage to shoot and listen to music at the same time? Someone who shoots according to the music and still hits the center of the target must be wise! If an unworthy person, how could he hit the right spot?" ("Meaning of Archery," *Records of Rites*)

* *Héyǐ* 何以, literally "with what," should be understood as one word here, meaning "how." *Bù xiào* 不肖 literally means "to be unlike (one's forebears)," with an extended meaning of "to be unworthy."

Cultural note: *Fú zǐ* 夫子 literally means "that person" but is pronounced as *Fūzǐ* when used to refer to the Master. It is common in Chinese to use a third-person pronoun to show respect to a person even when speaking face-to-face. In the *Analects*, the disciples refer to Confucius as *Fūzǐ*, and this eventually became the term by which students traditionally addressed their teachers.⁸

- 4 sentence-initial part.; to introduce an argument or discussion⁹

夫戰，勇氣也。一鼓作氣，再而衰，三而竭。彼竭我盈，故克之。（《左傳·莊公十年》）

Fú zhàn, yǒng qì yě. Yī gǔ zuò qì, zài èr shuāi, sān èr jié. Bì jié wō yíng, gù kè zhī. (Zuǒ zhuàn, "Zhuānggōng shí nián")

As for war, everything depends on courage. When the drum is first struck, courage surges upwards. A second time, it begins to fade. A third time, it is depleted. Our enemy's courage was depleted, while ours was brimming; thus we were able to defeat them. (Duke Zhuāng 10, *Zuō Tradition*)

Yī gǔ zuò qì 一鼓作氣 is now an idiom meaning “to press on to the finish without letting up.”

5 sentence-final modal part.¹⁰

- to show exclamation

子在川上，曰：「逝者如斯去！不舍晝夜。」(《論語·子罕》)

Zǐ zài chuānshàng, yuē, “Shì zhě rú sī fú! Bù shě zhòu yè.” (*Lún yǔ*, “*Zǐ hǎn*”)

The Master was by the river, and he exclaimed, “What passes away is perhaps like this! It does not let up day or night.” (“*Zǐ hǎn*,” *Analects*)

Shì zhě rú sī 逝者如斯 (what passes away is perhaps like this) is now an idiom meaning “time passes like flowing water – never to return.”

- used with the interrogative pronoun *hé* 何 (what) and the modal particle *zāi* 哉, taking the form of a rhetorical question but actually used to show exclamation; in cases in which the predicate precedes its subject to show emphasis, *fú* can also appear to be placed in the middle of a line. These are cases of inversion, in which *fú* is actually attached to the end of the predicate.

從是觀之，父之愛子也，猶可以毀而害也。君臣之相與也，非有父子之親也，而群臣之毀言非特一妾之口也，何怪夫賢聖之戮死哉？(《韓非子·姦劫弑臣》)

Cóng shì guān zhī, fù zhī ài zǐ yě, yóu kě yǐ huǐ ér hài yě. Jūn chén zhī xiāng yǔ yě, fēi yǒu fù zǐ zhī qīn yě, ér qún chén zhī huǐ yán fēi tè yīn qìe zhī kǒu yě, hé guài fú xián shèng zhī lù sī zāi? (*Hánfēizǐ*, “*Jiān jié shí chén*”)

From this (the fact Lord Chūnshēn 春申, swayed by a concubine's slander, killed his own son) one makes the following observation: even though a father loves his son, people can still slander and harm him. In the relation between the ruler and his subjects, there is not the intimacy of father and son, and slanders come from the assembled officials rather than just from the mouth of a single concubine. What is so

surprising, then, in the death of the virtuous and the wise by execution? (“Subjects Who Scheme Against, Coerce, and Assassinate the Ruler,” *Hánfēizǐ*)

* *Hé guài fú xián shèng zhī lù sī zāi!* 何怪夫賢聖之戮死哉 (what is so surprising in the death of the virtuous and the wise by execution) is actually an inversion to highlight the predicate. Normal word order should be *xián shèng zhī lù sī, hé guài fú zāi* 賢聖之戮死, 何怪夫哉, in which *xián shèng zhī lù sī* 賢聖之戮死 (the death of the virtuous and the wise by execution) is the subject and *hé guài fú zāi* 何怪夫哉 (what is so surprising about that) the predicate. *Zāi* 哉, a sentence-final particle that can be used for creating a rhetorical question or to show exclamation, is added for emphasis.

- to show admiration

晉獻公之喪，秦穆公使人弔公子重耳，且曰：「寡人聞之，亡國恆於斯，得國恆於斯。雖吾子儼然在憂服之中，喪亦不可久也，時亦不可失也。孺子其圖之！」以告舅犯。舅犯曰：「孺子其辭焉！喪人無寶，仁親以為寶。父死之謂何？又因以為利，而天下其孰能說之？孺子其辭焉！」公子重耳對客曰：「君惠弔亡臣重耳，身喪父死，不得與於哭泣之哀，以為君憂。父死之謂何？或敢有他志，以辱君義。」稽顙而不拜，哭而起，起而不私。子顯以致命於穆公。穆公曰：「仁去公子重耳！夫稽顙而不拜，則未為後也，故不成拜。哭而起，則愛父也；起而不私，則遠利也。」(《禮記·檀弓下》)

Jìn Xiàngōng zhī sāng, Qín Mùgōng shí rén diào gōngzǐ Chóng'ér, qiè yuē, "Guärén wén zhī, wáng guó héng yú sī, dé guó héng yú sī. Suī wú zǐ yǎn'rán zài yōu fú zhī zhōng, sāng yì bù kě jiù yé, shí yì bù kě shī yé. Rú zǐ qí tú zhī!" Yǐ gào jiù Fàn. Jiù Fàn yuē, "Rú zǐ qí cí yān! Sàng rén wú bǎo, rén qīn yǐ wéi bǎo. Fù sǐ zhī wèi hé? Yōu yīn yǐ wéi lì, ér tiānxià qí shú néng shuō zhī? Rú zǐ qí cí yān!" Gōngzǐ Chóng'ér duì kè yuē, "Jūn huì diào wáng chén Chóng'ér, shēn sàng fù sī, bù dé yù yú kū qì zhī āi, yǐ wéi jūn yōu. Fù sǐ zhī wèi hé? Huò gǎn yōu tā zhì, yǐ rǔ jūn yì." Qǐ sāng ér bù bài, kū ér qǐ, qǐ ér bù sī. Zǐxiǎn yǐ zhì mìng yú Mùgōng. Mùgōng yuē, "Rén fú gōngzǐ Chóng'ér! Fú qí sāng ér bù bài, zé wèi wéi hòu yé, gù bù chéng bài. Kū ér qǐ, zé ài fù yě; qǐ ér bù sī, zé yuǎn lì yě." (Lǐ jì, "Tángōng xià")

At the time of the funeral of Duke Xiàn of Jìn, Duke Mù of Qín sent someone (Zǐxiǎn 子顯) to condole with Prince Chóng'ér, and also said, “I, this deficient one, have heard this, that losing the state tends to happen at this moment; gaining the state tends to happen at this moment. Although you, my young man, are still mourning in a somber manner, the funeral should not on the one hand be long, nor on the other hand should an opportunity be missed. I wish that my young man would plan for it (i.e., seize the throne)!” Chóng'ér told his maternal uncle Fàn (i.e., Hú Yān 狐偃, cognomen Zǐfàn 子犯) about this. His uncle Fàn said, “My young man, do

reject this (i.e., Duke Mù's subtle offer to help him seize the throne)! A person who has lost his home (Chóng'ér had fled Jin after being slandered by Duke Xiān's concubine and was in Dí 狹 when his father died) has no treasures other than loving his parent, which he takes as his treasure. How can one face the great sorrow of his father's death? How could you further make use of it to obtain advantage, and who could explain this to the world? My young man, do reject this!" Prince Chóng'ér said to the visitor, "His lordship gracefully consoles the fugitive subject Chóng'ér; my body is in exile and my father has died. I am unable to take part in the funeral to express my sorrow with weeping and wailing, thus causing his lordship worry. How can one face the great sorrow of his father's death? Who would dare to resolve on something else and bring shame upon his lordship's righteousness?" He kowtowed but did not salute the visitor; wailed and then rose, and after he had risen did not enter into any private conversation with him. Zǐxiǎn reported to Duke Mù's command with this account. Duke Mù said, "So benevolent is Prince Chóng'ér! In kowtowing but not saluting the messenger, he acknowledged that he was not yet his father's successor, and he did not, for this reason, complete the ritual of receiving guests by saluting. In wailing before he rose, he showed how he loved his father. In having no private conversation after he rose, he showed how he distanced himself from the thought of profit." ("Tángōng, Second Section," *Records of Rites*)

* This is another example of the inversion of subject and predicate. The predicate *rén* 仁 (to be benevolent) precedes its subject, Chóng'ér 重耳, to show emphasis. Although *fú* appears to be in the middle of a line, it is, grammatically speaking, attached to the end of the predicate *rén*. 褒人 should be pronounced *sāng rén*, referring to Chóng'ér state of exile; this is different from *sāng rén*, someone observing a mourning period.

- to show affirmation

若夫重色而衣之，重味而食之，重財物而制之，合天下而君之，非特以為淫泰也，固以為王天下，治萬變，材萬物，養萬民，兼制天下者，為莫若仁人之善也去。（《荀子·富國》）

Ruò fú chóng sè ér yì zhī, chóng wèi ér sì zhī, chóng cái wù ér zhì zhī, hé tiānxià ér jūn zhī, fēi tè yǐ wéi yín tài yě, gù yǐ wéi wàng tiānxià, zhì wàn biàn, cái wàn wù, yáng wàn mǐn, jiān zhī tiānxià zhě, wéi mò ruò rén rén zhī shàn yě fú. (Xúnzǐ, "Fù guó")

As for letting him wear diverse colors, letting him eat diverse flavors, letting him distribute diverse material possessions, and enjoining all under Heaven to treat him as a ruler, this is not to use these special treatments to create licentious excess and luxurious ease. People firmly believe that in order to rule all under Heaven, to manage the myriad changes of conditions, to put the myriad creatures to their proper use, to nurture the myriad commoners, and to regulate all under Heaven, there

is nothing that can equal the virtue of the benevolent one. (“Enriching the State,” *Xúnzǐ*)

* 重 (diverse), literally “doubled,” should be read as *chóng* rather than *zhòng*.

- to show uncertainty

子曰：「道其不行矣夫？」(《禮記·中庸》)

Zǐ yuē, “*Dào qí bù xíng yǐ fú?*” (*Lǐ jì*, “Zhōng yōng”)

The Master said, “Is the Way about to fail?” (“Doctrine of the Mean,” *Records of Rites*)

Notes

- 1 Lin Yiguāng 林義光, *Wén yuán* 文源 (Shànghǎi: Zhōngxī shūjú, 2012), *juàn* 1, 1b.
- 2 *SWXZ*, 814–15.
- 3 *SWJZZJ*, *juàn* 10.2, 35a–35b.
- 4 *GHYZD*, 178. Yáng Bójùn treats this as a third-person pronoun and notes that this usage disappeared after the Han dynasty. *GHYXC*, 40.
- 5 Kroll also treats this as “a demonstrative pronoun indicating the one implied, understood, or singled out, also the one further removed or less obvious: that (one, kind of . . .), those.” He sees this usage as mostly pre-imperial, with later uses largely being for an archaic effect, and otherwise usually replaced by *bǐ* 彼 (that). *SDCMC*, 117.
- 6 *GHYZD*, 178; *GHYXC*, 40.
- 7 Treated as a demonstrative pronoun by Wáng Lì, but by some others as a particle used within a line to create a pause. *GHYZD*, 179; *GHYCCD*, 87.
- 8 *GHYXC*, 42.
- 9 Kroll treats this as “a sentence-initial modifier indicating that the substance of the sentence applies to any individual case or instance of the sentence topic or subject, and can thus be translated as ‘in any particular case,’ ‘in any particular instance,’ and ‘in any respect.’” *SDCMC*, 117.
- 10 Kroll proposes that *fú* is a sentence-final rhetorical interrogative grammatical particle: “no?” “isn’t it?” It has been inadvertently listed as *fū*. *SDCMC*, 117.

FÚ 弗

vb.; “to mold”

| – *adv.*; to indicate negation

OBI	BI	CM	QM	SS
𠁔	𠁔	𠁔	𠁔	𠁔

【*fēn wù qiè 分勿切*】OC: *p[u]t; MC: *pjut*

Early Meaning: *vb.*; “to mold”

There is no controversy concerning the early meaning: “to mold,” or “to bend to a desired shape.” However, there are different interpretations as to how the graph came to have this meaning. Ji Xusheng suggests that the oracle-bone inscription 𠁔 is a zodiograph, showing a leather cord being used to shape things that need to be dried for fixation. When the ancients needed to shape a piece of wood, he notes, they would first soak it in water and then heat it over fire to make it bend into the desired shape. It was then plunged into cold water to fix the shape and bound by rope to prevent warping as the wood dried. The final stage of binding, translated as “to mold,” is the early meaning of 𠁔.¹ Li Xiaoding 李孝定 (1918–1997) has a different interpretation, arguing that the graph depicts bending an arrow to make it straight.² Xu Zhongshu 徐中舒 (1898–1991) has a similar reading. He proposes that the two vertical lines depict an arrow shaft and a bamboo strip used to straighten it, and that the S-curve shows a cord holding the two together.³

Xu Shèn writes, “*Fú* 弗 (𠁔) means ‘to mold.’ It is derived from *piě* 𠩺 (𦵈), from *fú* 𠩺 (𦵈), and from an abbreviated form of *wéi* 翱 (韋, leather) 弗, 橲也。从𠩺, 从𦵈, 从韋省。⁴ Xu Hào argues that 弓 (gōng 弓, bow), rather than 韋 (wéi 韋, leather), was used in creating the graph. He places the graph in the category “associative

compound” and sees it as depicting the straightening of a bowstring: to reshape a loose bow and tighten the bowstrings, two bows are tied together, facing away from each other.⁵

Example of *fú* in its meaning of “to mold”:

君必有弗弗之臣,上必有誑誑之下。(《墨子·親士》)

Jūn bì yǒu fú fú zhī chén, shàng bì yǒu è è zhī xià. (*Mòzǐ*, “*Qīn shì*”)

A ruler must have subjects who mold him into straightness; a superior must have subordinates who are outspoken. (“To Befriend Scholars,” *Mòzǐ*)

Borrowed Meanings

- 1 *adv.; adverbial modifier*; to negate a verb or a verbal phrase that does not carry an object, either because the verb is intransitive or because the object is understood.⁶ To highlight this fact, the object filled out in translation is put within square brackets.

*Comparison with *bù* 不: Both can be used as preverbal negative. *Fú* is different from *bù* in the sense that *bù* can be used for both transitive and intransitive verbs, while *fú* is often used before intransitive verbs or before transitive verbs when the direct object is omitted.

- appearing before the auxiliary verb *néng* 能 (can)

王欲伐宋,殺其丈夫而囚其婦人。大宰嚭曰:「可勝也,而能居也。」乃歸。(《左傳·哀公十三年》)

Wáng yù fá Sòng, shā qí zhàngfū ér qiú qí fùrén. Tàizǎi Pǐ yuē, “Kě shèng yě, ér fú néng jū yě.” Nǎi guī. (*Zuǒ zhuàn*, “*Āigōng shísān nián*”)

The king wanted to attack Sòng, killing its men and enslaving its women. Pǐ, the great steward, said, “[Sòng] can be defeated, but it cannot be occupied.” So they went home. (Duke Āi 13, *Zuǒ Tradition*)

- used before a transitive verb whose object is a pronoun

穎陰侯言之上,上以夫為中郎將。數月,坐法去。後家居長安,長安中諸公莫稱之。(《史記·魏其武安侯列傳》)

Yǐngyīnhóu yán zhī shàng, shàng yǐ Fū wéi Zhōnglángjiàng. Shù yuè, zuò fǎ qù. Hòu jiā jū Cháng'ān, Cháng'ān zhōng zhū gōng mò fú chēng zhī. (*Shǐ jì*, “*Wéiqí, Wǔ'ānhóu lièzhuàn*”)

Marquis Yǐngyīn reported it (i.e., Guàn Fū’s 灌夫 bravery on the battlefield) to the ruler; the ruler had Fū appointed Leader of the Palace Gentlemen. Several months later, he violated the law and was removed. Later he settled his family in Cháng’ān. None of the nobles in Cháng’ān did not praise him. (“Biographies of Marquises Wéiqí and Wǔ’ān,” *Grand Scribe’s Records*)

*The transitive verb *chēng* 稱 takes the object *zhī* 之, a pronoun.

- appearing before a noun that serves as a putative verb

凡學之道，嚴師為難。師嚴然後道尊，道尊然後民知敬學。是故君之所不臣於其臣者二：當其為尸，則臣也；當其為師，則臣也。（《禮記·學記》）

Fán xué zhī dào, yán shī wéi nán. Shī yán ránhòu dào zūn, dào zūn rán-hòu mǐn zhī jìng xué. Shì gù jūn zhī suǒ bù chén yú qí chén zhě èr: Dāng qí wéi shī, zé fú chén yě; dāng qí wéi shī, zé fú chén yě.” (Lǐ jì, “Xué jí”)

In general, for the Way of study, to honor the teacher is the most difficult. When the teacher is honored, only then is the Way venerated; when the Way is venerated, only then will people learn to take learning seriously. For this reason, there are two situations under which a ruler does not treat his subject as his subject: when his subject is the impersonator, he does not treat him as his subject; when his subject is the teacher, he does not treat him as his subject. (“Record of Learning,” *Records of Rites*)

**Chén 臣* here is used as a putative verb, meaning “to treat someone as a subject.” *Fú* precedes it to show negation. *Shī* 壴 (impersonator) is one who acts as surrogate for the deceased in a sacrificial ceremony.

- appearing before a transitive verb that has an implicit direct-object pronoun; may be treated as a fusion of *bù* 不 . . . *zhī* 之 (not . . . it/them)⁷

初，鄭武公娶于申，曰武姜，生莊公及共叔段。莊公寤生，驚姜氏，故名曰寤生，遂惡之。愛共叔段，欲立之。亟請於武公，公許。（《左傳·隱公元年》）

Chū, Zhèng Wǔgōng qǔ yú Shēn, yuē Wǔ Jiāng, shēng Zhuānggōng jí Gōng Shūduàn. Zhuānggōng wù shēng, jīng Jiāng shì, gù míng yuē “Wùshēng,” suì wù zhī. Ái Gōng Shūduàn, yù lì zhī. Jí qǐng yú Wúgōng, Gōng fú xǔ. (Zuō zhuàn, “Yǐngōng yuán nián”)

Earlier, Duke Wǔ of Zhèng married a lady from Shēn, known as Lady Jiāng of Wǔ. She gave birth to Duke Zhuāng and his younger brother Duàn of Gōng. Duke Zhuāng was breech-born (i.e., born feet first; more dangerous in childbirth) and frightened Lady Jiāng, so she named him Wùshēng (meaning “breech-born”) and detested him. She loved his younger brother Duàn of Gōng and wanted to establish him as heir. She eagerly pressed her suit with Duke Wǔ, but the duke did not allow it. (Duke Yǐng 1, *Zuō Tradition*)

**Xǔ* 許 (to permit/allow/consent to) is a transitive verb in literary Chinese. The line without the omitted word should read, “*Gōng fú xǔ [zhī]*” 公弗許 [之] (the duke did not allow [it]). However, the implicit object pronoun *zhī*, which refers to Lady Jiāng’s plea to invest Shūduàn, is omitted from the text. *Shū* in Shūduàn indicates the order of birth among male siblings. In ancient times, the birth order of siblings is often shown in their names in the order *bó* 伯, *zhòng* 仲, *shū* 叔, *jì* 季, with *bó* being the eldest born.

- appearing before a prepositional phrase that has an implicit object pronoun

姑姊妹女子，已嫁而反，兄弟與同席而坐，與同器而食。（《禮記·曲禮上》）

Gū zǐ mèi nǚ zǐ, yǐ jià ér fǎn, xiōng dì fú yǔ tóng xí ér zuò, fú yǔ tóng qì ér shí. (*Lǐ jì*, “*Qū lǐ shàng*”)

When women such as paternal aunts or older and younger sisters come to visit after marriage, their older and younger brothers should not sit with them on the same mat and should not eat with them using the same utensils. (“Intricate Rites, First Section,” *Records of Rites*)

*Without abbreviation, the clauses *xiōng dì fú yǔ tóng xí ér zuò, fú yǔ tóng qì ér shí* 弟兄弗與同席而坐，弗與同器而食 would read *xiōng dì fú yǔ [zhī] tóng xí ér zuò, fú yǔ [zhī] tóng qì ér shí* 弟兄弗與〔之〕同席而坐，弗與〔之〕同器而食. The prepositional phrase is *yǔ zhī* 與之 (with them). In this passage, it is preceded by *fú* to show negation, and *zhī* is then omitted.

- appearing before an intransitive verb

三旬，苗民逆命。益贊于禹曰：「惟德動天，無遠屆。……」（《尚書·虞書·大禹謨》）

Sān xún, miáo mǐn nì mìng. Yì zàn yú Yǔ yuē, “Wéi dé dòng tiān, wú yuǎn fú jiè. . . .” (*Shàng Shū*, “*Yú shū*,” “*Dà Yǔ mó*”)

Three decades (after the expedition sent against the Miáo tribe), the people of Miáo continued to rebel against the commands of the Son of Heaven. Yí came to the help of Yǔ, saying, “It is virtue that moves Heaven; there is no faraway place that it does not reach. . . .” (“Counsels of the Great Yǔ,” in “Book of Yǔ,” *Book of Documents*)

Wú yuǎn fú jiè 無遠弗屆 (there is no place so far away that it does not reach) is now an idiom meaning “far-reaching/extending all over the globe.”

Notes

- 1 *SWXZ*, 892–3.
- 2 Lǐ Xiàoding, *Jiágǔwénzì jíshì* 甲骨文字集釋 (Taipei: Zhōngyāng yánjiūyuàn lishí yǔyán yánjiūsuǒ, 1965), 12.3721.
- 3 Xú Zhōngshū, ed. *Jiágǔwén zìdiǎn*, 1354.
- 4 *SWJZZJ*, *juàn* 12.2, 51a.
- 5 *SWJZZJ*, *juàn* 12, 12.51a–51b.
- 6 Yáng Bójùn notes that, by the Western Han, it had become common for the negative adverb *fú* to modify transitive verbs and quotes two examples from the *Shǐ jì*. *GHYXC*, 42–3. However, examples of this usage are few in proportion to the other usages of *fú*.
- 7 A. C. Graham, “A Probable Fusion-Word: 勿 ‘wuh’ = 毋 ‘wu’ + 之 ‘jy,’” *Bulletin of the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities* 14, no. 1 (1952): 139–48.

GÀI 蓋

- n.*; “a cover” (often made of rushes) | – *n.*; “canopy”
| – *n.*; “a lid”
| – *vb.*; “to cover up”
| – *vb.*; “to overshadow/to surpass”
| –
| – *adv.*; “approximately”
| – *adv.*; “presumably”
| – *adv.*; “undoubtedly”
| – *conj.*; to show the speculative cause; “probably because”
| – *part.*; to open an argument or to illustrate a fact
| – *adv.*; the same as *hé* 盍 (why not/how) 【*hé*】

BI	CM	QM	SS
蓋	蓋	蓋	蓋

【*gǔ tài qiè* 古太切】OC: *[k]‘ap-s; MC: *kajH*

Early Meaning: *n.*; “a cover” (often made of rushes)

Jì Xùshēng does not have an entry for this.

Xǔ Shèn writes, “*Gài* 蓋(盍) refers to rushes. It is derived from *cǎo* 艸(艸); *hé* 盍(盍) is sound-bearing” 蓋, 苛也。从艸, 盍聲。¹ 蓋 is a variant character for 蓋, because the lower part *hé* 盍 is a variant of *hé* 盍 (why not). The other reading of 蓋 as *hé* confirms that 盍 is sound-bearing.

The following is an example of *gài* in its meaning of “a cover”:

將執戎子駒支, 范宣子親數諸朝, 曰:「來! 姜戎氏! 昔秦人迫逐乃祖吾離于瓜州, 乃祖吾離被苫蓋、蒙荆棘以來歸我先君, 我先君惠公有不腆之田, 與女剖分而食之。今諸侯之事我寡君不如昔者, 言語漏洩, 則職女之由。詰朝之事, 穢無與焉。與, 將執女。」(《左傳·襄公十四年》)

Jiāng zhí Róngzǐ Jūzhī, Fàn Xuānzǐ qīn shǔ zhū cháo, yuē, “Lái! Jiāng Róng shì! Xī Qín rén pò zhú nǎi zǔ Wúlí yú Guāzhōu, nǎi zǔ Wúlí pī shān gài, méng jīngjí yǐ lái guī wǒ xiān jūn, wǒ xiān jūn Huīgōng yǒu bù tiān zhī tián, yǔ rǔ pōu fēn ér sì zhī. Jīn zhūhóu zhī shì wǒ guājūn bù rú xī zhě, gài yán yǔ lòu xiè, zé zhí rǔ zhī yóu. Jié zhāo zhī shì, ér wú yù yān. Yù, jiāng zhí rǔ.” (Zuō zhuàn, “Xiānggōng shì nián”)

[Jìn] was about to arrest Jūzhī, the leader of the Róng (a western tribe). Fàn Xuānzǐ personally rebuked him (i.e., Jūzhī) at court, saying, “Come, Jiāng of the Róng! Formerly the Qín people drove your ancestor Wúlí to flee from Guāzhōu. Your ancestor Wúlí came draped in a rush cover and wearing a head-dress made from brambles to find haven with our former ruler. Our former ruler Duke Hui had not many farmlands, yet he divided and shared them with you to provide your people with food. Now the reason that the feudal lords do not serve my lord as before must be that words [about the declining power of Jin] have leaked out. This can only be because of you. For the affairs of tomorrow morning, you should not participate in them. If you do participate, I will have you arrested.” (“Duke Xiāng 14,” Zuō Tradition)

Extended Meanings

- 1 *n.*; often as object; “canopy”

諺曰：「有白頭如新，傾如故。」何則？知與不知也。（《史記·魯仲連鄒陽列傳》）

Yàn yuē, “Yǒu bái tóu rú xīn, qīng gài rú gù.” Hé zé? Zhī yǔ bù zhī yě. (Shǐ jì, “Lǚ Zhòngglián, Zōu Yáng lièzhuàn”)

There is a proverb saying, “There are long-standing acquaintances, so long that their hair has turned white, but they are distant like new acquaintances; there are acquaintances who have just met on the road with their carriage canopies inclined toward each other, but they are close like old friends.” Why is that? This is due to the difference between recognizing and not recognizing the good in each other. (“Biographies of Lǚ Zhòngglián and Zōu Yáng,” Grand Scribe’s Records)

- 2 *n.*; often as object; “a lid”

宰右執鐙，左執。（《儀禮·公食大夫禮》）

Zǎi yòu zhí dēng, zuǒ zhí gài. (Yǐ lǐ, “Gōng sì dàfū lǐ”)

The steward holds a *deng*-vessel for ritual offerings with his right hand, and the lid with his left hand. (“Rituals for the Duke to Feast Great Officials,” Etiquette and Rites)

- 3 *vb.*; “to cover up”

故至治，夫妻交友不能相為棄惡非，而不害於親，民人不能相為隱。（《商君書·禁使》）

Gù zhì zhì, fū qī jiāo yǒu bù néng xiāng wéi qì è gài fēi, ér bù hài yú qīn, mǐn rén bù néng xiāng wéi yǐn. (Shāngjūn shū, “Jìn shǐ”)

Therefore, the ultimate governance is that even couples and friends cannot overlook an offense or cover up each other's wrongdoing without bringing harm to their kin. Commoners will not be able to conceal crimes for each other. (“To Prohibit and to Commission,” *Book of Lord Shāng*)

- 4 vb.; “to overshadow/surpass”

項王軍壁垓下，兵少食盡，漢軍及諸侯兵圍之數重。夜聞漢軍四面皆楚歌，項王乃大驚曰：「漢皆已得楚乎？是何楚人之多也！」項王則夜起，飲帳中。有美人名虞，常幸從；駿馬名驃，常騎之。於是項王乃悲歌慷慨，自為詩曰：「力拔山兮氣世，時不利兮驃不逝。驃不逝兮可柰何，虞兮虞兮奈若何！」（《史記·項羽本紀》）

Xiàngwáng jūn bì Gāixià, bīng shǎo sì jìn, Hàn jūn jí zhūhóu bīng wéi zhī shù chóng. Yè wén Hàn jūn sì miàn jiē Chǔ gē, Xiàngwáng nǎi dà jīng yuē, “Hàn jiē yǐ dé Chǔ hū? Shì hé Chǔ rén zhī duō yē!” Xiàngwáng zé yè qī, yǐn zhàng zhōng. Yǒu měi rén míng Yú, cháng xìng cóng; jūn mǎ míng Zhuī, cháng qí zhī. Yú shì Xiàngwáng nǎi bēi gē kāngkǎi, zì wéi shī yuē, “Lì bá shān xī qì gài shì, shí bù lì xī zhuī bù shì. Zhuī bù shì xī kě nài hé, Yú xī Yú xī nài ruò hé!” (Shǐ jì, “Xiàng Yǔ běnji”)

King Xiàng's army fortified their camp at Gāixià. His troops were diminished and their supplies exhausted. The army of Hán and the feudal lords surrounded them with troops in several rings. At night, King Xiàng heard Chǔ songs coming from the Hán army on all four sides. He was greatly startled and said, “Has Hán already captured Chǔ? Why is it that there are so many Chǔ people [singing]?” So he got up in the night and drank in his tent. He had a beautiful lady named Yú, whom he had always favored and kept in his entourage, and a steed, named Zhuī, which he always rode. At this time, King Xiàng sang with grief and indignation, chanting a poem of his own composition:

My strength plucks up mountains and my vigor overshadows the world.
But the time has gone against me and even my horse cannot stretch out its legs in a gallop.

What can be done when my horse cannot stretch out its legs?

What is to be done with you, oh my Yú?

（“Basic Annals of Xiàng Yú,” *Grand Scribe's Records*）

Sì miàn Chǔ gē 四面楚歌 (Chǔ songs coming [from the Hán army] on all four sides) is now an idiom that means “to be in desperate straits, isolated and hemmed in.”

Borrowed Meanings

- 1 *adv.; adverbial modifier; “approximately”*

孔子以詩書禮樂教，弟子三千焉，身通六藝者七十有二人。（《史記·孔子世家》）

Kǒngzǐ yǐ Shī Shū Lǐ Yuè jiāo, dízǐ gài sānqiān yān, shēn tōng liù yì zhě qī shí yǒu èr rén. (Shī jì, “Kǒngzǐ shijiā”)

Confucius taught disciples using the *Songs*, *Documents*, *Rites*, and *Music*. He had approximately three thousand disciples; those well versed in the six skills amounted to seventy-two. (“Hereditary House of Confucius,” *Grand Scribe’s Records*)

- 2 *adv.; adverbial modifier; “presumably”²*

子曰：「我未見好仁者，惡不仁者。好仁者，無以尚之；惡不仁者，其為仁矣，不使不仁者加乎其身。有能一日用其力於仁矣乎？我未見力不足者。有之矣，我未之見也。」（《論語·里仁》）

Zǐ yuē, “Wǒ wèi jiàn hào rén zhě, wù bù rén zhě. Hào rén zhě, wú yǐ shàng zhī; wù bù rén zhě, qí wéi rén yǐ, bù shǐ bù rén zhě jiā hū qí shēn. Yǒu néng yī rì yòng qí lì yú rén yǐ hū? Wǒ wèi jiàn lì bù zú zhě. Gài yǒu zhī yǐ, wǒ wèi zhī jiàn yě.” (Lún yǔ, “Lǐ rén”)

The Master said, “I have not yet seen one who is [truly] fond of benevolence and one who [truly] detests evil (literally, “the not-benevolent”). One who is fond of benevolence – there is nothing to surpass them; one who detests evil, in acting benevolently, simply will not let evil actions be imposed upon him. Is there anyone who can devote his strength to benevolence for even a single day? I have never seen anyone whose strength is not sufficient. Presumably there are, but I have not yet seen one.” (“Lǐ rén,” *Analects*)

* *Gài yǒu zhī yǐ* 蓋有之矣 (presumably there are) is a clause composed of a verb phrase. In literary Chinese, *yǒu* 有 is considered a verb, showing existence, and is often translated “there is/are”; *yǒu* does not need to be preceded by a subject.

用法益刻，自此始。（《史記·酷吏列傳》）

Yòng fǎ yì kè, gài zì cǐ shǐ. (Shī jì, “Kù lì lièzhuan”)

The application of punishments became increasingly strict; presumably it began from this. (“Biographies of Ruthless Officials,” *Grand Scribe’s Records*)

*This is a compound sentence. *Gài* precedes the second clause. *Shǐ* is a verb, modified by the adverbial modifier *zì cǐ* 自此 (from this), which constitutes a prepositional phrase.

- 3 *adv.; adverbial modifier; “undoubtedly”; used in a sentence of judgment, similar to a copula verb³*

周有申喜者，亡其母，聞乞人歌於門下而悲之，動於顏色，謂門者內乞人之歌者，自覺而問焉，曰：「何故而乞？」與之語，其母也。（《呂氏春秋·季秋紀·精通》）

Zhōu yǒu Shēn Xǐ zhě, wáng qí mǔ, wén qǐrén gē yú ménxià ér bēi zhī, dòng yú yán sè, wèi ménzhě nèi qǐrén zhī gē zhě, zì jué ér wèn yān, yuē, “Hé gù ér qǐ? Yǔ zhī yù, gài qí mǔ yě.” (Lǚshì chūnqiū, “Jì qiū jì,” “Jīng tōng”)

There was a person called Shēn Xǐ in Zhōu. He lost the whereabouts of his mother. [One day] he heard a beggar singing at his door and was so afflicted by it that he showed it on his face. He asked the doorkeeper to let in the beggar who had been singing. He realized who it might be and inquired, “For what reason must you beg?” As he talked to her, he saw that she was undoubtedly his mother. (“The Connection between Essences,” in “Annals of the Ninth Month,” *Annals of Lü Buwei*)

- 4 *conj.*; to show the speculative cause in a compound sentence; “probably because”⁴

古者帝堯之治天下也，蓋殺一人，刑二人，而天下治。傳曰：「威厲而不試，刑錯而不用。」此之謂也。（《荀子·議兵》）

Gǔ zhě dì Yáo zhī zhì tiānxià yě, gài shā yī rén, xíng èr rén, ér tiānxià zhì. Zhuàn yuē, “Wēi lì ér bù shì, xíng cù ér bù yòng.” Cǐ zhī wèi yě. (Xúnzǐ, “Yì bīng”)

In ancient times, when Lord Yáo governed all under Heaven, it was probably because he had one person executed and two people punished that all under Heaven came to be well-ordered. The traditional commentary says, “Let your authority inspire awe, but do not wield it; set up penalties but do not apply them.” This (what Yáo did) is what it meant. (“Debating Military Affairs,” *Xúnzǐ*)

* 錯 is pronounced *cù* instead of *cuò* for the meaning of “to set up” or “to implement.” Today it is sometimes pronounced *cuò* in this meaning.⁵

Xíng cù bù yòng 刑錯不用 (set up penalties but do not apply them) is an idiom describing an ideal state of order in which penalties are simply there without needing to be put to use.

- 5 *part.*; used to open an argument, or to illustrate a fact; cannot be shown in the translation

- to open an argument

蘇秦曰：「嗟乎！貧窮則父母不子，富貴則親戚畏懼。人生世上，勢位富貴，蓋可忽乎哉？」（《戰國策·秦策·蘇秦始將連橫》）

Sū Qín yuē, “Jiē hū! Pín qióng zé fù mǔ bù zǐ, fù guì zé qīn qī wèi jù. Rén shēng shì shàng, shì wèi fù guì, gài kě hū hū zāi?” (Zhàn’guó cè, “Qín cè,” “Sū Qín shǐ jiāng lián héng”)

Sū Qín said, “Alas! Poor and lowly, even my parents would not take me as their son. Prosperous and noble, even my kith and kin would be in awe and fear of me. For human beings born into this world, can anyone overlook the power and status that come with prosperity and nobility?” (“When Sū Qín first made the proposal of horizontal solidarity,” in “Strategies of Qin,” *Strategies of the Warring States*)

- to illustrate a fact

孔、墨、甯越，皆布衣之士也，慮於天下，以為無若先王之術者，故日夜學之。有便於學者無不為也，有不便於學者無肯為也。蓋聞孔丘、墨翟，晝日諷誦習業，夜親見文王、周公旦而問焉。用志如此其精也，何事而不達？何為而不成？故曰：「精而熟之，鬼將告之。非鬼告之也，精而熟之也。」（《呂氏春秋·不苟論·博志》）

Kǒng, Mò, Nìng Yuè, jiē bù yī zhī shì yě, lù yú tiānxià, yǐwéi wú ruò xiān wáng zhī shù zhě, gù rì yè xué zhī. Yǒu biàn yú xué zhě wú bù wéi yě, yǒu bù biàn yú xué zhě wú kěn wéi yě. Gài wén Kǒng Qiū, Mò Dí, zhòu rì fèng sòng xí yě, yè qīn jiàn Wénwáng, Zhōugōng Dàn ér wèn yān. Yòng zhì rú cǐ qí jīng yě, hé shì ér bù dá? Hé wéi ér bù chéng? Gù yuē, “Jīng ér shú zhī, guǐ jiāng gào zhī. Fēi guǐ gào zhī yě, jīng ér shú zhī yě.” (Lǚ shì chūnqiū, “Bù gǒu lùn,” “Bó zhī”)

Confucius, Mozi, and Ning Yuè were all scholars who wore cotton clothes (i.e., commoners' clothing), yet they were concerned with the governing of the world and considered the Way of the former kings to be unequalled; thus they studied it day and night. If it was beneficial to their studies, there was nothing they would not do; if it was not beneficial to their studies, there was nothing they would do. I have heard that every day, during the daytime, Kǒng Qiū (i.e., Confucius) and Mò Dí (i.e., Mozi) would recite and practice their learning, and at night would see the late King Wén and Dàn, Duke of Zhōu, in person and ask them questions. Using their minds so intensely, what task could they not achieve? What action could they not accomplish? Thus it is said: “When you have studied so intensely that you became well-versed in it, even the spirits would answer your questions. It was not really the spirits answering your questions – it was simply because you have studied so intensely that you became well-versed in it.” (“Broaden Your Vision,” in “Discourse on Not Acting Indecorously,” *Annals of Lǚ Bùwéi*)

*甯 as a surname should be pronounced *Nìng*.

6 *adv.; adverbial modifier*; used as hé 盖, a phonetic fusion of hé bù 何不 (why not/how),⁶ hence a negative interrogative.⁷ This usage is not seen in texts written after the western Hán.⁸ 【hé】

- “why not”

晉獻公將殺其世子申生，公子重耳謂之曰：「子言子之志於公乎？」世子曰：「不可，君安驪姬，是我傷公之心也。」曰：「然則蓋行乎？」世子曰：「不可，君謂我欲弑君也。天下豈有無父之國哉！吾何行如之？」（《禮記·檀弓上》）

Jìn Xiànggōng jiāng shā qí shízǐ Shēnshēng, gōngzǐ Chóng'ér wèi zhī yuē, “Zǐ hé yán zǐ zhī zhī yú Gōng hū?” Shízǐ yuē, “Bù kě. Jūn ān Lí Jī, shí wǒ shāng Gōng zhī xīn yě.” Yuē, “Rán zé hé xíng hū?” Shízǐ yuē, “Bù kě. Jūn wèi wǒ yù shì jūn yě. Tiānxià qǐ yǒu wú fù zhī guó zāi? Wú hé xíng rú zhī?” (Lí jì, “Tángōng shàng”)

Duke Xiān of Jìn was going to kill the heir Shēnshēng. Prince Chóng'ér asked him (Shēnshēng), “Why don't you let the duke know your mind (i.e., the fact that you were framed by Lady Lí)?” The heir said, “This cannot be done. My Lord takes comfort in Lady Lí. [If I disclose her scheme], it is I who will hurt the duke's heart.” Chóng'ér said, “Why don't you flee?” The heir said, “This cannot be done. My Lord said I intended to assassinate him. Is there a state under Heaven without fathers? Facing this charge, where could I flee?” (“Tángōng, First Section,” *Records of Rites*)

- “how”

文惠君曰：「譖，善哉！技蓋至此乎？」庖丁釋刀對曰：「臣之所好者道也，進乎技矣。始臣之解牛之時，所見無非全牛者；三年之後，未嘗見全牛也。……」（《莊子·養生主》）

Wénhuìjūn yuē, “Xī, shàn zāi! Jì hé zhì cǐ hū?” Páo Dīng shì dāo duì yuē, “Chén zhī suǒ hào zhě dào yě, jìn hū jì yǐ. Shǐ chén zhī jiě niú zhī shí, suǒ jiàn wú fēi quán niú zhě, sān nián zhī hòu, wèi cháng jiàn quán niú yě. . . .” (Zhuāngzǐ, “Yǎng shēng zhǔ”)

Lord Wénhuì said, “Ah, this is excellent! How did you reach this level of skill (i.e., the skill of butchering an ox without blunting the knife)?” Cook Dīng put down his knife and responded, “What I am fond of is the Way, and it applies to my skills. When I first began to butcher an ox, what I saw was nothing but a whole ox. Three years later, I no longer saw the whole ox. . . .” (“Nourishing the Lord of Life,” *Zhuāngzǐ*)

Páo Dīng jiě niú 庖丁解牛 (Cook Dīng butchering an ox) is now an idiom to praise someone for doing something with great expertise.

Notes

1 *SWJZZJ*, juàn 1.2, 79a.

2 Kroll treats this as “a sentence-initial grammatical particle that on the one hand indicates a measure of uncertainty, and on the other expresses a measure of confidence in the

statement: undoubtedly, probably, presumably.” *SDCMC*, 126. *Gài* does not necessarily begin a sentence. It only has to appear before the predicate in a clause to show speculation about a situation.

- 3 Yáng Bójūn notes that *gài* in this usage also functions as a copula verb. *GHYXC*, 44–5. Since a copula verb is not essential for indicating equivalence in literary Chinese, this dictionary treats this usage as an adverb.
- 4 Kroll notes that it “introduces explanatory clause with the same combination of certainty and guardedness as when sentence-initial: ‘for the purpose or reason, probably because, likely, presumably, undoubtedly for (a certain reason).’” *SDCMC*, 126.
- 5 *GHYZD*, 1532.
- 6 The Old Chinese for *hé* 盖 is *m-[k]ʰap, which is extremely similar to *[k]ʰap-s, the Old Chinese for *gài* 蓋. *Hé* 盖 is a variant form of *hé* 盖, which is phonophoric in *hé* 盖, the variant form of *hé* 盖. *Hé* 盖 was borrowed for *hé* 盖 because of their similarity in pronunciation.
- 7 *SDCMC*, 127.
- 8 *GHYXC*, 45.

GĀN 敢

*vb.; “to charge forward” | – *adj.*; “to be daring”
| – *adv.*; “to dare”
| – *adv.*; “to venture to”*

OBI	BI	CM	QM	SS	LSS	TAS
𢂔	𢂔	𢂔	𢂔	𢂔	𢂔	𢂔

【*gǔ lǎn qiè* 古覽切】OC: *[k]am?; MC: *kamX*

Early Meaning: *vb.; “to charge forward”*

Jǐ Xūshēng agrees with Xú Zhōngshū, who places the oracle-bone graph 𢂔 in the category of “associative compound.” It depicts a person holding a shield to charge against a boar. 𢂔 for “shield” as a component in this graph was eventually replaced by 𢂔. The graph for “boar” is 𢂔. The meaning of 𢂔 is “to hunt.”¹ This meaning, however, cannot be found in any of the received texts.

Xǔ Shèn writes, “*Gǎn* 𢂔 (now written 敢 in standardized script), means ‘to obtain by charging forward.’ It is derived from *biào* 𢂔, to give and to receive, as in the case of something falling); *gǔ* 古 (古, of old) is sound-bearing. 𢂔 is the large seal script graph for *gǎn*. 𢂔 is the ancient script graph for *gǎn*” 𢂔, 進取也。从𢂔, 古聲。𢂔, 篆文𢂔; 𢂔, 古文𢂔. Xǔ treats the small seal script as a graph of “form and sound,” but modern scholars classify the oracle-bone graph as an “associative compound.”

Extended Meanings

- 1 *adj.; predicate*, often used with a synonym; “to be daring”

兼服天下之心：高上尊貴，而不以驕人；聰明聖智，不以窮人；齊給速通，不爭先人；剛毅勇敢，不以傷人；不知則問，不能則學，雖能必讓，然後為德。（《荀子·非十二子》）

Jiān fú tiānxià zhī xīn: Gāo shàng zūn guì, ér bù yǐ jiāo rén; cōng míng shèng zhì, bù yǐ qióng rén; jì jǐ sù tōng, bù zhēng xiān rén; gāng yì yǒng gǎn, bù yǐ shāng rén; bù zhī zé wèn, bù néng zé xué, suī néng bì ràng, rán hòu wéi dé. (Xúnzǐ, “Fēi shí’èr zì”)

The way to bring into submission the hearts of all under Heaven: Be high-minded and honorable, dignified and noble, but without behaving arrogantly toward others because of this; be keen-eared and clear-sighted, wise and knowledgeable, but without denigrating others because of this; be quick and agile, swift and unhesitating, but without vying to take precedence over others; be firm and resolute, courageous and daring, but without hurting others because of this. When one does not know about something, one inquires; when one is not capable of doing something, one learns. Even when one is capable, one must defer; only then is one virtuous. (“Denying the Twelve Fellows,” *Xúnzǐ*)

* 齊 means *jì* 齊 (to be quick) and should be pronounced *jì* rather than *qí* 紿, meaning “to be agile,” should be pronounced *jǐ* rather than *gěi*. *Yǒng* 勇 (to be courageous) is a synonym for *gǎn* 敢 (to be daring) in this meaning.

2 *adv.; adverbial modifier*; often used to express politeness and respect; “to dare”
子夏既除喪而見，予之琴，和之而不和，彈之而不成聲，作而曰：「哀未忘也，先王制禮而弗敢過也。」子張既除喪而見，予之琴，和之而和，彈之而成聲，作而曰：「先王制禮，不敢不至焉。」(《禮記·檀弓上》)

Zǐxià jì chú sāng ér jiàn, yǔ zhī qín, hè zhī ér bù hé, tán zhī ér bù chéng shēng, zuò ér yuē, “Aì wèi wàng yě, xiān wáng zhì lǐ ér fú gǎn guò yě.” Zǐzhāng jì chú sāng ér jiàn, yǔ zhī qín, hè zhī ér hé, tán zhī ér chéng shēng, zuò ér yuē, “Xiān wáng zhì lǐ, bù gǎn bù zhì yān.” (Lǐ jì, “Tángōng shàng”)

After Zǐxià had finished observing the mourning period, he went to see [Confucius]. [Confucius] gave him a zither. He tried to tune it but it was not tuned; he plucked at the strings but it did not make music. He stood up and said, “I have not forgotten my sorrow, but since the former kings set the rituals, I do not dare go beyond (the proper mourning period).” After Zǐzhāng finished observing the mourning period, he went to see Confucius. Confucius gave him a zither. He tried to tune it and it was tuned; he plucked at the strings, and it made music. He stood up and said, “Since the former kings set the rituals, I dare not come short (i.e., by not observing the entire mourning period).” (“Tángōng, First Section,” *Records of Rites*)

* *Zuò* 作 means “to rise.” This passage shows that the rites are meant to give people guidelines to follow so that their minds may be set at ease. For this reason, even though the feeling of sorrow over a parent’s death might differ from person to person, all observe the same mourning period of twenty-seven months, which is rounded up and referred to as a three-year mourning period. In another passage, Confucius said that rites should be practiced in such a manner as may be practiced by others and by future generations. If

a person were to go too far, it might be difficult for others to do the same, and then the rites could no longer be observed correctly. Therefore, even the expression of sorrow must be regulated.

- can be used to create a rhetorical question, often used with an interrogative pronoun such as hé 何 (how), to show respect

子畏於匡,顏淵後。子曰:「吾以女為死矣。」曰:「子在,回何敢死?」
(《論語·先進》)

Zǐ wèi yú Kuāng, Yán Yuān hòu. Zǐ yuē, “Wú yǐ rǔ wéi sǐ yǐ.” Yuē, “Zǐ zài, Hui hé gǎn sǐ?” (Lún yǔ, “Xiān jìn”)

The Master was besieged in Kuāng; Yán Yuān came last. The Master said, “I almost thought you were dead!” Yán Yuān replied, “The Master is here, how would Huí (Yán Yuān’s self-address) dare die?” (“Xiān jìn,” *Analects*)

* Confucius was mistaken for Yáng Hǔ 陽虎, who had once attacked Kuāng. The traditional commentaries explain that Yán Yuān knew that Confucius would have survived because of his virtue; therefore, he also did not dare risk death lightly by unnecessarily fighting the people of Kuāng.³

- 3 *adv.; adverbial modifier; “to venture to”*; used to ask for permission to perform a certain action; often a humble expression

魏文侯問於子夏曰:「吾端冕而聽古樂,則唯恐臥;聽鄭、衛之音,則不知倦。敢問古樂之如彼何也?新樂之如此何也?」(《禮記·樂記》)

Wèi Wénhóu wèn yú Zǐxià yuē, “Wú duān miǎn ér tīng gǔ yuè, zé wéi kǒng wò; tīng Zhèng, Wèi zhī yīn, zé bù zhī juàn. Gǎn wèn gǔ yuè zhī rú bǐ hé yě? Xīn yuè zhī rú cǐ hé yě?” (Lǐ jì, “Yuè jì”)

Marquis Wén of Wèi inquired of Zǐxià, saying, “When I wear ceremonial clothing and cap to listen to the ancient music, I am afraid that I will fall asleep. However, when I listen to the music of Zhèng and Wèi, I do not get tired. May I venture to ask why ancient music is like that, and why new music is like this?” (“Records of Music,” *Records of Rites*)

Zhèng Wèi zhī yīn 鄭衛之音 (the music of Zhèng and Wèi) is now an idiom meaning “the music of a declining state.” This is because music was considered a means and a symbol of governance, and the music of these two states, which swayed the listener with displays of excessive emotion, was not thought to have the harmonizing effect proper to music.

Notes

1 *SWXZ*, 336–8; Xú Zhōngshū, *Hànyǔ gǔwénzì zìxíngbiǎo*, 155.

2 *SWJZZJ*, juàn 4.2, 13b.

3 Chéng Shùdé, *Lúnyǔ jíshì*, juàn 23, 788–92.

GŌU 荀

n.; “grass”

- | – *adv.*; “by improper means/indecorously”
- | – *adv.*; to express speculation or hope; “hopefully”
- | – *adv.*; “for the time being”
- | – *conj.*; to show a suppositional relation

SS


【*gǔ hòu qiè* 古厚切】OC: *[k]⁹(r)o?; MC: *kuwX*

Early Meaning: *n.*; “grass”

Jǐ Xūshēng does not have an entry for this.

Xǔ Shèn believes that *gōu* 荀 means “grass.” The only ancient graph available for this character is the small seal script. *Gōu* probably refers to a certain type of plant, but there are no received texts to support this reading. This graph can be easily mistaken for another character *jì* 荊, which Xú Hào believes to mean “to discipline oneself”,¹ the early meaning of *jì* is unclear.²

Xǔ Shèn writes, “*Gōu* 荀 (荀) refers to grass. It is derived from *cǎo* 艸 (草, plants); *gōu* 句 (勾, the variant of 勾, a hook) is sound-bearing” 荀,艸也。从艸,句聲。³

Borrowed Meanings

- 1 *adv.*; *adverbial modifier*; “by improper means/indecorously”

臨財毋苟得,臨難毋苟免,很毋求勝,分毋求多。(《禮記·曲禮上》)

Lín cái wú gōu dé, lín nàn wú gōu miǎn, hěn wú qíu shèng, fēn wú qíu duō.
(*Lǐ jì*, “*Qǔ lǐ shàng*”)

[The virtuous person] does not obtain wealth by improper means when he has to make a choice; does not evade disasters by improper means when he has to make a choice, does not seek victory in disputes, and does not seek more in apportionment. (“Intricate Rites, First Section,” *Records of Rites*)

* *Hěn* 很 means “disputes.” *Lín* literally means “in the face of.” Here it is interpreted as “to be faced with making a choice.”

君子行不貴苟難，說不貴苟察，名不貴苟傳，唯其當之為貴。故懷負石而赴河，是行之難為者也，而申徒狄能之；然而君子不貴者，非禮義之中也。‘山淵平’、‘天地比’、‘齊秦襲’、‘入乎耳，出乎口’、‘鈎有須’、‘卵有毛’，是說之難持者也，而惠施、鄧析能之。然而君子不貴者，非禮義之中也。盜跖吟口，名聲若日月，與禹、舜俱傳而不息；然而君子不貴者，非禮義之中也。（《荀子·不苟》）

Jūn zǐ xíng bù guì gǒu nán, shuō bù guì gǒu chà, míng bù guì gǒu chuán, wéi qí dàng zhī wéi guì. Gù huí fù shí ér fù hé, shì xíng zhī nán wéi zhě yě, ér Shèntú Dí néng zhī; Rán ér jūn zǐ bù guì zhě, fēi lì yì zhī zhōng yě. “Shān yuān píng,” “tiān dì bì,” “Qí Qín xí,” “rù hū ēr, chū hū kǒu,” “xū yǒu xū,” “luǎn yǒu máo,” shì shuō zhī nán chí zhě yě, ér Huì Shī, Dèng Xī néng zhī. Rán ér jūn zǐ bù guì zhě, fēi lì yì zhī zhōng yě. Dào Zhí yín kǒu, míng shēng ruò rì yuè, yǔ Yǔ, Shùn jù chuán ér bù xī; rán ér jūn zǐ bù guì zhě, fēi lì yì zhī zhōng yě. (Xúnzǐ, “Bù gǒu”)

A noble man does not value any feats that are indecuously undertaken, does not value any arguments indecuously made, and does not value any fame indecuously spread. He values only what is proper. For this reason: going into a river with a rock tied to one’s chest or borne on one’s back – this is a feat difficult to carry out, yet Shèntú Dí was capable of it (he did it to show his disapproval of the world); this is so and yet a noble man does not value it, because it is not within the scope of the rites and righteousness. [Claims such as] “the mountains and the abysses are level,” “heaven and earth lie even,” “Qí and Qín are adjacent (when they were actually far apart),” “it enters the ears and comes out the mouth,” “the female has whiskers,” and “eggs have feathers” – these are arguments hard to sustain, yet Huì Shī and Dèng Xī were capable of this (they were both renowned logicians), but a noble man does not value it because it is not within the scope of the rites and righteousness. Robber Zhī chanted with his mouth (he sang the praises of his many ways of robbery) that his name and reputation are like the sun and moon, passed down with Yǔ and Shùn without end. This is so and yet a noble man does not value it because it is not within the scope of the rites and righteousness. (“Not Acting Indecuously,” *Xúnzǐ*)

* 鈎 may be a loan graph for *xū* 姑 (a female). *Rù hū ēr, chū hū kǒu* 入乎耳，出乎口 (it enters the ears and comes out the mouth) is likely a textual error; the original may have been *rù hū kǒu, chū hū ēr* 入乎口，出乎耳 (it enters the mouth and comes out the ears), hence a difficult topic for argument.⁴

- 2 *adv.; adverbial modifier*; to express speculation or hope; “hopefully”
 君子于役，苟無饑渴！(《毛詩·王風·君子于役》)
Jūnzǐ yú yì, gǒu wú jī kě! (*Máo Shī*, “*Wáng fēng*,” “*Jūnzǐ yú yì*”)
 My lord serving corvée – hopefully he will not suffer from hunger and thirst!
 (*Máo* #66, “My Lord Serving Corvée,” *Songs*)
- 3 *adv.; adverbial modifier*; often used to mean how one perceives a situation when it may not be perfect; “for the time being”⁵
 子謂衛公子荊善居室。始有，曰：「苟合矣。」少有，曰：「苟完矣。」富，
 曰：「苟美矣。」(《論語·子路》)
Zǐ wèi Wèi Gōngzǐ Jīng shàn jū shì. Shǐ yǒu, yuē, “Gǒu hé yǐ.” Shǎo yǒu, yuē, “Gǒu wán yǐ.” Fù yǒu, yuē, “Gǒu měi yǐ.” (Lún yǔ, “Zǐlù”)
 The Master mentioned that Prince *Jīng* of *Wèi* was good at managing his household. When he first began to possess property, he said, ‘This is fitting for the time being.’ When he began to have more, he said, ‘This is enough for the time being.’ When he became wealthy, he said, ‘This is perfect (literally fine) for the time being.’” (“*Zǐlù*,” *Analects*)⁶
 * *Hé* 合 is used as *jǐ* 紿 (enough) in this passage. *Jū* 居 means “to accumulate,” with the extended meaning of “to manage the household” in this context. Confucius praises the prince because he was content with what he had at each stage and managed to take things one at a time.
- 4 *conj.*; to express a suppositional relation; “if”⁷
 夫有尤物，足以移人。苟非德義，則必有禍。(《左傳·昭公二十八年》)
Fú yǒu yóu wù, zú yǐ yí rén. Gǒu fēi dé yì, zé bì yǒu huò. (*Zuō zhuàn*, “*Zhāogōng èrshíbā nián*”)
 There are extraordinary creatures (beautiful women) capable of moving people. If [they/their husbands] are not virtuous and upright, there will certainly be disasters. (*Duke Zhāo* 28, *Zuō Tradition*)
 湯之盤銘曰：「苟日新，日日新，又日新。」(《禮記·大學》)
Tāng zhī pán míng yuē, “Gǒu rì xīn, rì rì xīn, yòu rì xīn.” (*Lí jì*, “*Dà xué*”)
 The bronze inscriptions on King *Tāng*’s bathing tub say, “If I can refresh myself for a day, I can refresh myself each day, and I will be refreshed daily.” (“The Highest Learning,” *Records of Rites*)
 * This is an exhortation to strive to improve oneself every day and become daily refreshed with new virtue and ability.

Rì xīn yòu xīn 曰新又新 (to refresh oneself on a daily basis) is now an idiom meaning “to strive to become better with each passing day.”

Notes

- 1 *SWJZZJ*, *juàn* 9.1, 54a.
- 2 *SWXZ*, 743–4.
- 3 *SWJZZJ*, *juàn* 1.2, 89a.
- 4 Xún Kuāng 荀況 (ca. 313 BCE–238 BCE), *Xúnzǐ jiàoshì* 荀子校釋, ed. and comm. Wáng Tiānhǎi 王天海 (Shànghǎi: Shànghǎi gǔjí chūbǎnshè, 2005), *juàn* 2, 83–4.
- 5 The traditional commentaries on the *Analects* interpret *gǒu* as *chéng* 誠 (truly), but this meaning is uncommon (it is absent in Kroll and Wáng Li). Chéng Shùdé, *Lúnyǔ jíshì*, 903. Duàn Yùcái comments on this usage as a borrowed meaning. *SWJZZJ*, *juàn* 1.2, 89a. This dictionary interprets it as “for the time being.”
- 6 There are different interpretations of what *shàn jū shì* 善居室 actually means. Yáng Bójùn reads it as “being adept at accumulating wealth for his household.” Yáng Bójùn 楊伯峻, *Lúnyǔ yìshù* 論語譯注, 2nd ed. (Běijīng: Zhōnghuá shūjú, 1982), 136. D. C. Lau translates the line simply as “he showed a laudable attitude towards a house as a place to live in.” D. C. Lau, trans., *The Analects*, 2nd ed. (1992; Hong Kong: Chinese University Press, 2000), 123.
- 7 Kroll notes that it “marks conditional clause where the specified condition is not just a minimal condition, but typically the only thing of consequence: if, irrespective of anything else; if only, if at all.” *SDCMC*, 137. The meaning of “if only” applies only to affirmative sentences.

GU 固

- adj.; “to be fortified”* | – *adj.; “to be firm”*
| – *adv.; “firmly”*
| – *adj.; “to be persistent in”*
| – *adv.; “certainly/assuredly”*
| – *n./adj.; “stubbornness/to be stubborn”*
- | – *adv.; “inherently”*
| – *adv.; used as gū 姑 (meanwhile)*
| – *adj.; “to be shabby”*

BI	CM	QM	SS
固	固	固	固

【*gǔ mù qiè* 古暮切】OC: *[k]ʷa-s; MC: *kuH*

Early Meaning: *adj.; “to be fortified”*

Jǐ Xūshēng does not have an entry for this.

Xǔ Shèn writes, “*Gù* 固 (固) refers to having fortresses on four sides. It is derived from *wéi* 口 (口, periphery); *gǔ* 古 (古, of old) is sound-bearing” 固 (固), 四塞也。从口,古聲. Duàn Yúcái explains that this means that there is no weak point for attack,¹ hence the early meaning of “to be fortified.”

Example:

刑政平,百姓和,國俗節,則兵勁城固,敵國案自謹矣。(《荀子·王制》)

Xíng zhèng píng, bǎi xìng hé, guó sú jié, zé bīng jìng chéng gù, dí guó àn zì qū yǐ. (Xúnzǐ, “Wáng zhī”)

When punishments and governance are evenhanded, the multitude is compliant, and the desires of the state are regulated, the armies will be mighty and the city walls fortified. Accordingly, rival states will naturally yield. (“The Rule of the King,” Xúnzǐ)

Extended Meanings

- 1 *adj.; predicate*; “to be firm”

民惟邦本,本固邦寧。(《尚書·夏書·五子之歌》)

Mín wéi bāng běn, běn gù bāng níng. (*Shàng Shū*, “Xià shū,” “Wǔ zǐ zhī gē”)

The people are the root of a state; only when the root is firm will the domain be peaceful. (“Songs of the Five Sons,” in “The Book of Xià,” *Book of Documents*)

- 2 *adv.; adverbial modifier*; to show an affirmative attitude; “firmly”

梁使三反,孟嘗君固辭不往也。(《戰國策·齊策·齊人有馮謾者》)

Liáng shǐ sān fǎn, Mèngchángjūn gù cí bù wǎng yě. (*Zhànguó cè*, “Qí cè,” “Qí rén yǒu Féng Xuān zhě”)

The envoys of Liáng returned three times, but Lord Mèngcháng firmly declined and did not go with them. (“There was a person from Qí, Féng Xuān,” in “Strategies of Qí,” *Strategies of the Warring States*)

- 3 *adj.; predicate*; “to be persistent in”

子曰:「君子固窮,小人窮斯濫矣。」(《論語·衛靈公》)

Zǐ yuē, “Jūnzǐ gù qióng, xiǎorén qióng sī làn yǐ.” (*Lún yǔ*, “Wèi Línggōng”)

The Master said, “A noble man will be persistent in his ideals even in dire straits, whereas a petty man in dire straits will drift away from principles.” (“Wèi Línggōng,” *Analects*)

- 4 *adv.; adverbial modifier*; to emphasize that something is valid; “certainly/assuredly”

莊子曰:「夫子固拙於用大矣。……」(《莊子·逍遙遊》)

Zhuāngzǐ yuē, “Fūzǐ gù zhuó yú yòng dà yǐ. . . .” (*Zhuāngzǐ*, “Xiāoyáo yóu”)

Zhuāngzǐ said, “You certainly are not skillful in using something big. . . .” (“Roaming Free,” *Zhuāngzǐ*)

* *Fūzǐ* 夫子 here is simply a term of polite address and should not be read as “master.”

惠子曰:「子非魚,安知魚之樂?」莊子曰:「子非我,安知我不知魚之樂?」

惠子曰:「我非子,固不知子矣;子固非魚也,子之不知魚之樂,全矣。」(《莊子·秋水》)

Huìzǐ yuē, “Zǐ fēi yú, ān zhī yú zhī lè?” Zhuāngzǐ yuē, “Zǐ fēi wǒ, ān zhī wǒ bù zhī yú zhī lè?” Huìzǐ yuē, “Wǒ fēi zǐ, gù bù zhī zǐ yǐ; zǐ gù fēi yú yě, zǐ zhī bù zhī yú zhī lè, quán yǐ.” (*Zhuāngzǐ*, “Qiū shuǐ”)

Huìzǐ asked, “You are not a fish. Whence do you know the pleasure of fish?”

Zhuāngzǐ replied, “You are not me. Whence do you know that I do not know the pleasure of fish?” Huìzǐ responded, “I am not you – assuredly I cannot

know about you. You are assuredly not a fish – thus it is clear that you too cannot know about the pleasure of fish.” (“Autumn Floods,” *Zhuāngzǐ*)

* For a more complete version of this passage, with a more detailed explanation, see the entry for *ān* 安.

- sometimes the adverb *gù* appears right before a noun or noun phrase. This is because, in literary Chinese, the copula verb “to be” is often elided.

太史公曰：諸侯大國無過齊悼惠王。以海內初定，子弟少，激秦之無尺土封，故大封同姓，以填萬民之心。及後分裂，固其理也。（《史記·齊悼惠王世家》）

Tàishǐgōng yuē: zhūhóu dà guó wú guò Qí Dàohuìwáng. Yǐ hǎi nèi chū dìng, zǐ dì shǎo, jī Qín zhī wú chǐ tǔ fēng, gù dà fēng tóng xìng, yǐ zhèn wàn mǐn zhī xīn. Jí hòu fēn liè, gù qí lǐ yě. (*Shǐjì*, “Qí Dàohuìwáng shǐjì”)

The Grand Scribe said, “Of the large states of the feudal lords, none exceeded that of King Dàohuì of Qí. Because all within the seas had just been secured, the sons and younger brothers [of the Hán imperial house] were few. [Emperor Gāozǔ, founder of the Hán dynasty] was impassioned by the fact that the Qin dynasty had not enfeoffed any states to the imperial relatives; he therefore enfeoffed those with the same surname as his on a large scale so as to settle the hearts of the myriad commoners. Later, these states were split into smaller ones, which is certainly the natural pattern. (“Hereditary House of King Dàohuì of Qí,” *Grand Scribe’s Records*)

* *Gù* 固 precedes the noun phrase *qí lǐ* 其理 (the pattern); *qí* 其 is the demonstrative pronoun modifying *lǐ* 理 (pattern). 填, here a loan-graph for *zhèn* 鎮, meaning “to settle,” should be pronounced *zhèn* rather than *tián* (to fill up). *Lǐ* 理 in its original meaning is the inherent pattern in jade; the extended meaning is the natural pattern of development.

5 n./adj.; subject/predicate; “stubbornness/to be stubborn”

鄰人京城氏之孀妻，有遺男，始斂，跳往助之。寒暑易節，始一反焉。河曲智叟笑而止之，曰：「甚矣汝之不惠！以殘年餘力，曾不能毀山之一毛，其如土石何？」北山愚公長息曰：「汝心之固，固不可徹，曾不若孀妻弱子。雖我之死，有子存焉；子又生孫，孫又生子；子又有子，子又有孫；子子孫孫，無窮匱也，而山不加增，何苦而不平？」（《列子·湯問》）

*Lín rén Jīngchéng shì zhī shuāng qī, yǒu yí nán, shǐ chèn, tiào wǎng zhù zhī. Hán shǔ yì jiē, shǐ yī fān yān. Héqū zhì sōu xiào ér zhī zhī, yuē, “Shèn yǐ rú zhī bù huì! Yǐ cán nián yú lì, zēng bù néng huǐ shān zhī yī máo, qí rú tǔ shí hé?” Bēishān Yúgōng cháng xī yuē, “Rú xīn zhī gù, gù bù kě chè, zēng bù ruò shuāng qī ruò zī. Suī wò zhī sī, yǒu zǐ cún yān; zǐ yòu shēng sūn, sūn yòu shēng zǐ; zǐ yóu yóu zǐ, zǐ yóu yóu sūn; zǐ zì sūn sūn, wú qióng kui yě, ér shān bù jiā zēng, hé kǔ ér bù píng?” (*Liezǐ*, “Tāng wèn”)*

His neighbor, a widow of the Jīngchéng clan, had a boy who was born posthumously. When the boy had only just shed his baby teeth, he leaped forward to give them assistance. (This refers to the story of the attempt by the foolish old man and his family to move Mount Tàixíng 太形 and Mount Wángwū 王屋 out of their path.) Only when the weather had changed between winter and summer would the foolish old man and the others return home. A learned man from the river bend laughingly tried to stop them, saying, “How grave is your lack of intelligence! With the rest of your years and strength, you cannot even destroy one bit of the mountains. [Also,] how would you handle the earth and the stones?” The foolish old man from the northern mountain sighed deeply and replied, “The stubbornness of your mind is so stubborn that it cannot be cleared away; you cannot even equal a widow and a frail boy. Even if I die, my sons will still exist. My sons will beget my grandsons; my grandsons will beget their own sons, those sons will beget their own sons, and these sons will beget those sons’ grandsons. With sons and grandsons, there will be no end or deficiency of labor, but the mountain will not grow bigger. What need is there to worry about the mountains not being leveled?” (“Tāng Inquired,” *Lièzī*)

* *Cēng* 曾, here translated as “even,” is used as an adverb for emphasis. The first *gù* 固 is a noun used as subject; the second *gù* is an adjective used as predicate.

The foolish old man was already close to ninety when he began his task. The story goes that his persistence so moved the highest god that he ordered two lesser deities to carry the mountains off to different locations. The idiom *yú gōng yí shān* 愚公移山 (the foolish old man moved the mountains) is now used to praise those who remain dedicated to their goals in the face of seemingly insurmountable obstacles and, thanks to their perseverance, will eventually succeed.

Borrowed Meanings

- 1 *adv.; adverbial modifier*; to show the initial status; “inherently”

孟子曰：「……仁義禮智，非由外鑠我也，我固有之也，弗思耳矣。……」
（《孟子·告子上》）

Mèngzǐ yuē, “. . . Rén yì lǐ zhì, fēi yóu wài shuò wǒ yě, wǒ gù yǒu zhī yě, fú sī ér yǐ. . . .” (*Mèngzǐ*, “Gàozǐ shàng”)

Mencius said, “. . . Benevolence, righteousness, rites, and wisdom – these are not infused into us from the outside, but are what we inherently have within us. It is just that we have not given thought to this. . . .” (“Gàozǐ, First Section,” *Mencius*)

- 2 *adv.; adverbial modifier*; used as *gū* 姑 (meanwhile) to show acceptance of a situation for the time being

蘇秦曰：「臣之來也，固不敢言人事也，固且以鬼事見君。」（《戰國策·齊策·孟嘗君將入秦》）

Sū Qín yuē, “Chén zhī lái yě, gù bù gǎn yán rén shì yě, gù qiè yǐ guǐ shì jiàn jūn.” (Zhàngguó cè, “Qí cè,” “Mèngchángjūn jiāng rù Qín”)

Sū Qín said, “I, your subject, certainly dare not come to speak on the affairs of the human world. Meanwhile, I seek your audience to speak on the affairs of the ghosts.” (“Lord Mèngcháng was about to enter Qín,” in “Strategies of Qí,” *Strategies of the Warring States*)

- 3 *adj.; predicate*; “to be shabby”

子曰：「奢則不孫，儉則固。與其不孫也，寧固。」（《論語·述而》）

Zī yuē, “Shē zé bù xùn, jiǎn zé gù. Yǔ qí bù xùn yě, nìng gù.” (Lún yǔ, “Shù’ér”)

The Master said, “If you are extravagant, ritual practices become ostentatious; if you are frugal, they become shabby. I would rather be shabby than ostentatious. (“Shù’ér,” *Analects*)

* 孫 here is the same as *xùn* 遜 (to be humble) and should be pronounced *xùn* rather than *sūn*. *Bù xùn* 不孫 (not humble) is here translated as “ostentatious.”

Note

1 *SWJZZJ, juàn 6.2, 23a.*

HÉ 何

vb.; “to carry on the shoulders” 【hè】 | – *vb.*; “to wear” 【hè】

- | – *interr. pron.*; “what”
- | – *interr. pron.*; “who”
- | – *interr. pron.*; “why”
- | – *interr. pron.*; “how”

OBI	BI	CM	SS
𠂇	𦥑	𠂇	𠂇

【*hú gē qiè* 胡歌切】OC: *[g]əaj; MC: *ha*

Early Meaning: *vb.*; “to carry on the shoulders” 【hè】

Lǐ Xiàoding 李孝定 (1918–1997) proposes that the graph in oracle-bone inscriptions pictures a man carrying an ax handle, whereas the one in bronze inscriptions picture a man carrying a dagger ax; both mean “to carry on the shoulders.”¹ Jǐ Xūshēng agrees that this is the early meaning.² Because the graphs were borrowed as interrogative pronouns to mean “what” or “who,” a *cǎo* 草 (plants) graph was later added to indicate the early meaning.

Xǔ Shèn writes, “*Hè* 何 (𠂇) means ‘to carry on the shoulders using a pole.’ It is derived from *rén* 人 (人, a person); *kě* 可 (可, early meaning unclear) is sound-bearing. Another comment is that it means ‘who’” 何, 僕也。从人, 可聲。一曰誰也。³ Xǔ Shèn treats this as a graph of “form and sound.” In the oracle-bone inscription, it is clearly a zodiograph.

Example of *hè* in its meaning of “to carry on the shoulders”:

彼候人兮，何戈與祋。 (《毛詩·曹風·候人》)

Bǐ hòu rén xī, hè gē yù duì. (Máo Shī, “Cáo fēng,” “Hòu rén”)

Those men of the escort, they carry on the shoulders dagger-axes and bamboo spears. (Máo #151, “Watchmen,” in “Airs of Cáo,” *Songs*)

* Chéng and Jiǎng suggest that *hè* means to “lift up,” citing the Máo commentary, where *hè* is glossed as *jiē* 揭.⁴ *Jiē* can mean “to lift up” or “to carry.”

Extended Meaning

1 *vb.*; “to wear”⁵ 【*hè*】

或降于阿,或飲于池,或寢或訛。

爾牧來思,何蓑何笠,或負其餚。

三十維物,爾牲則具。

《毛詩·小雅·無羊》)

Huò jiàng yú ē, huò yǐn yú tuó, huò qǐn huò é.

Ér mù lái sī, hè suō hè lì, huò fù qí hóu.

Sānshí wéi wù, ér shēng zé jù.

(Máo Shī, “Xiǎo yā,” “Wú yáng”)

Some are descending from the mounds; some are drinking at the pools; some are lying down; some are moving about.

Your herdsmen come, wearing straw rain cloaks and wearing bamboo hats; some carry on their backs dry provisions.

Thirty colors of beasts; your sacrificial animals are abundant.⁶

(Máo #190, “Having No Sheep,” in “Minor Odes,” *Songs*)

* 池 is the same as *tuó* 沱 and should be pronounced as such. É 訛 is used as é 叱, “to move about.” Sī 思 is a modal particle and cannot be translated. Kroll translates *lì* 笠 as “a wide-brimmed conically-shaped bamboo or straw rainhat.”⁷ But *lì* can also be worn to protect against the sun, and the character has the component *zhú* 竹, so here it is translated “bamboo hat.”

Borrowed Meanings

1 *interr. pron.*; often used for inanimate objects; “what”

- used as the subject in a question

何謂人情?喜怒哀懼愛惡欲,七者,弗學而能。(《禮記·禮運》)

Hé wèi rén qíng? Xǐ nù āi jù ài wù yù, qī zhē, fú xué ér néng. (Lǐ jì, “Lǐ yùn”)

What do we call human emotions? Happiness, anger, sorrow, fear, love, hate, and desire – these seven are what human beings are capable of without learning. (“Functions of Rites,” *Records of Rites*)

- used as the predicate in a question

高祖曰:「列侯諸將無敢隱朕,皆言其情。吾所以有天下者何?項氏之所以失天下者何?」(《史記·高祖本紀》)

Gāozǔ yuē, “Liè hóu zhū jiàng wú gǎn yǐn zhèn, jiē yán qí qíng. Wú suō yǐ yǒu tiānxià zhě hé? Xiàngshì zhī suō yǐ shī tiānxià zhě hé?” (Shǐ jì, “Gāozǔ běnji”)

Gāozǔ (of Hán) said, “None of the feudal lords and the various generals dare conceal the truth from me: all speak of the actual situation. The reason that I hold all under Heaven is what? The reason that the Xiàng clan lost all under Heaven is what? (“Basic Annals of Gāozǔ,” *Grand Scribe’s Records*)

* This is a case of an interrogative pronoun (*hé* 何) used by itself as a predicate, without any verb *to be*. In literary Chinese, a noun or noun phrase can stand alone as a predicate. Here the interrogative pronoun functions like a noun, standing for the reason(s) for victory or defeat.

- used as the object preceding its verb in a question

齊人有馮諤者，貧乏不能自存，使人屬孟嘗君，願寄食門下。孟嘗君曰：「客何好？」曰：「客無好也。」曰：「客何能？」曰：「客無能也。」孟嘗君笑而受之曰：「諾。」（《戰國策·齊策·齊人有馮諤者》）

Qí rén yǒu Féng Xuān zhě, pín fá bù néng zì cún, shǐ rén zhǔ Mèngchángjūn, yuàn jì shí ménxià. Mèngchángjūn yuē, “Kè hé hào?” Yuē, “Kè wú hào yě.” Yuē, “Kè hé néng?” Yuē, “Kè wú néng yě.” Mèngchángjūn xiào ér shòu zhī yuē, “Nuò.” (Zhànguó cè, “Qí cè,” “Qí rén yǒu Féng Xuān zhě”)

There was a Qí person, Féng Xuān. Poor and depleted, he was unable to provide for himself, so he asked someone to recommend him to Lord Mèngcháng and say that he wished to lodge at his residence as a retainer. Lord Mèngcháng asked, “What is the guest fond of?” The recommender replied, “The guest is fond of nothing.” Lord Mèngcháng asked, “What is the guest capable of?” He replied, “The guest is capable of nothing.” Lord Mèngcháng smiled and accepted him, saying, “I assent.” (“There was a person of Qí, Féng Xuān,” in “Strategies of Qí,” *Strategies of the Warring States*)

* *Hé* 何 is the object of the verbs *hào* 好 (to be fond of/to like) and *néng* 能 (to be capable of). In this kind of question, the verb-object order is reversed.

- used as the object preceding its verb in a rhetorical question

相鼠有皮，人而無儀。

人而無儀，不死何為？

（《毛詩·鄘風·相鼠》）

Xiàng shǔ yǒu pí, rén ér wú yí.

Rén ér wú yí, bù sī hé wéi!

(Máo Shī, “Yōng fēng, “Xiàng shǔ”)

Look, even a rat has its skin; but to be a man who has no decorum.

A man who has no decorum, what should he do but die?

(Máo#52, “Looking at a Rat,” in “Airs of Yōng,” *Songs*)

* *Hé* 何 is the object of *wéi* 為 (to do). The verb-object order is reversed in a rhetorical question.⁸

- used as the object in a prepositional phrase that serves as an adverbial modifier

子墨子言曰：「今天下之君子之欲為仁義者，則不可不察義之所從出。既曰不可以不察義之所從出，然則義何從出？」(《墨子·天志中》)

Zǐmòzǐ yán yuē, “*Jīn tiānxià zhī jūnzǐ zhī yù wéi rén yì zhě, zé bù kě bù chá yì zhī suǒ cóng chū. Jì yuē bù kě yǐ bù chá yì zhī suǒ cóng chū, rán zé yì hé cóng chū?*” (*Mòzǐ*, “*Tiān zhì zhōng*”)

Mòzǐ said, “Now, all the noble men under Heaven who want to be benevolent and righteous cannot but examine where righteousness comes from. Having said they cannot but examine where righteousness comes from, this being so, I must ask from what does righteousness come?” (“Heaven’s Will, Middle Section,” *Mòzǐ*)

* *Hé* 何 (what) is the object of the preposition *cóng* 從 (from); the two are used together to form an adverbial modifier for the verb *chū* 出 (to come). Normal word order would be *cóng hé chū* 從何出, but in a question the order of the preposition and its object are reversed.

- *attributive modifier*

綢繆束薪，三星在天。

今夕何夕，見此良人？

子兮子兮，如此良人何？

(《毛詩·唐風·綢繆》)

Chóumóu shù xīn, sān xīng zài tiān.

Jīn xī hé xī? Jiàn cǐ liáng rén?

Zī xī zī xī, rú cǐ liáng rén hé?

(*Máo Shī*, “*Táng fēng*,” “*Chóumóu*”)

Tied round is the bundled firewood; the three stars are in the sky.

What evening is this evening, seeing this fine man?

You, you, what would you do with this fine man?⁹

(Máo#118, “Tied Round Is the Bundled Firewood,” in “Airs of Táng,” *Songs*)

* This is the first stanza of the poem, which was probably written to celebrate newlyweds on their wedding night. *Chóumóu* 綢繆 is a binome and should be read as a single word. *Shù xīn* 束薪 (bundled firewood) has become a symbol for marriage. The number “three” in literary Chinese is often used to indicate an indeterminate number; thus, *sān xīng* 三星 probably means “many stars.” Another view is that *sān xīng* refers to *shēn xīng* 參星 (Betelgeuse). The *hé* in “*rú cǐ liáng rén hé*” 如此良人何 is “what,” serving as a predicate. The literal translation of the line is

“To be done about this fine man, what?” “Rú 如 . . . hé 何” is the same as “nài 奈 . . . hé 何: “what is to be done with.”¹⁰

- 2 *interr. pron.*; used as a pronoun referring to people. This usage is extremely rare; “who”

- *subject*; very rare

景王問於蔣弘曰:「今茲諸侯何實吉? 何實凶?」(《左傳·昭公十一年》)

Jǐngwáng wèn yú Cháng Hóng yuē, “Jīn zī zhūhóu hé shí jí? Hé shí xiōng?” (Zuō zhuàn, “Zhāogōng shíyī nián”)

King Jǐng asked Cháng Hóng, “This year among the feudal lords, who will be fortunate? Who will be unfortunate? (Duke Zhāo 11, Zuō Tradition)

* Kroll notes that *shí 實* refers to the interrogative pronoun *hé*, which is used exceptionally as a subject.¹¹ This resumptive meaning cannot be reflected in the translation, so *shí 實* is perforce left untranslated.

- *predicate*

夏,五月甲辰,孟子卒。孟子者何?昭公之夫人也。其稱孟子何?諱娶同姓,蓋吳女也。(《春秋公羊傳·哀公十二年》)

Xià, wǔ yuè jiāchén, Mèngzǐ zú. Mèngzǐ zhě hé? Zhāogōng zhī fùrén yě. Qǐ chēng Mèngzǐ hé? Hui qǔ tóng xìng, gài Wú nǚ yě. (Chūnqiū Gōngyáng zhuàn, “Āigōng shí’ér nián”)

In summer, on the day *jiāchén* of the fifth month, Mèngzǐ died. Who was Mèngzǐ? She was the wife of Zhāogōng. Why was she called Mèngzǐ? It was taboo for him to marry someone of the same surname, for she was a woman from Wú. (“Duke Āi 12,” Gōngyáng *Commentaries on the Spring and Autumn Annals*)

* In *Mèngzǐ zhě hé* 孟子者何, Mèngzǐ 孟子 is the subject, *hé 何* is the predicate, and *zhě 者* is a particle used to highlight the change of subject. In the translation, “who” assumes the role of subject to comply with English convention. Note that this Mèngzǐ is not Mencius. As the wife of Zhāogōng, she would normally have been referred to as Mèng Jī 孟姬, Wú Jī 吳姬, or Lǔ Jī 魯姬, with *Jī 姫* representing her family name, Mèng 孟 to show that she was the most senior among her siblings, Wú 吳 to indicate her home state, and Lǔ to indicate the state she married into. But Zhāogōng was from the *Jī 姫* family of Wú, so his wife is simply referred to as Mèngzǐ in order to gloss over the fact that her marriage to Zhāogōng was a violation of the taboo against marriage between people of the same family name.

- used as the object that precedes its verb

無父何怙?無母何恃?

出則銜恤,入則靡至。

(《毛詩·小雅·蓼莪》)

Wú fù hé hù? Wú mǔ hé shì?

Chū zé xián xiù, rù zé mǐ zhì.

(*Máo Shī*, “*Xiǎo yǎ*,” “*Lù é*”)

Fatherless, on whom can I rely? Motherless, on whom can I depend?

Abroad, I harbor grief; returned, I have no family.

(Máo #202, “Long Flixweed,” in “Minor Odes,” *Songs*)

* *Hé* 何 (who) is the object of the two verbs *hù* 怙 (to rely on) and *shì* 恃 (to depend on). In a rhetorical question, it precedes the verb and is thus translated as “whom.” According to Chéng and Jiǎng, who quotes from *Shuō wén jiē zì, zhì* 至 means *qīn* 親 (family).¹² *蓼* in the poem title should be pronounced *lù* rather than *liǎo*.¹³

3 *interr. pron.; “why”*

三子者出，曾晳後。曾晳曰：「夫三子者之言何如？」子曰：「亦各言其志也已矣。」 曰：「夫子何哂由也？」 曰：「為國以禮，其言不讓，是故哂之。」（《論語·先進》）

Sān zǐ zhě chū, Zēng Xī hòu. Zēng Xī yuē, “Fú sān zǐ zhě zhī yán hé rú?” Zǐ yuē, “Yì gè yán qí zhì yě yǐ yǐ.” Yuē, “Fūzǐ hé xùn Yóu yě?” Yuē, “Wéi guó yǐ lǐ, qí yán bù ràng, shì gǔ xùn zhī.” (Lún yǔ, “Xiān jìn”)

Three of the disciples went out, while Zēng Xī stayed behind. Zēng Xī asked, “What do you think of the responses of those three disciples?” The Master said, “They were just expressing their personal views.” Zēng Xī asked, “Why did you question Yóu?” The Master replied, “To govern a state, one should use ritual propriety. His response was not humble; for that reason I questioned him.” (“Xiān jìn,” *Analects*)

* The standard translation for the word 哂 (transliterated as *xùn* earlier, although more often transliterated as *shēn*) is “to ridicule,” but this reading has been disputed.¹⁴

4 *interr. pron.; rhetorical remark for something that should not happen; “how”*

子畏於匡，顏淵後。子曰：「吾以女為死矣。」 曰：「子在，回何敢死？」（《論語·先進》）

Zǐ wèi yú Kuāng, Yán Yuān hòu. Zǐ yuē, “Wú yǐ rǔ wéi sǐ yǐ.” Yuē, “Zǐ zài, Huí hé gǎn sǐ?” (Lún yǔ, “Xiān jìn”)

The Master was besieged in Kuāng; Yán Yuān came last. The Master said, “I almost thought you were dead!” Yán Yuān replied, “The Master is here, how would Huí (Yán Yuān’s self-address) dare die?” (“Xiān jìn,” *Analects*)

* The same passage with explanation can be seen under the entry for *gǎn* 敢 (to dare).

Notes

1 Lǐ Xiàodīng, *Jiágǔwénzì jíshì*, 8.2629–30.

2 SWXZ, 655.

- 3 *SWJZZJ*, *juàn* 8.1, 22a–22b.
- 4 *SJZX*, 397.
- 5 For its extended meaning, “to wear,” see *SJZX*, 550.
- 6 This translation is slightly modified from James Legge, trans. *The Chinese Classics*, vol. IV, *The She King, or the Book of Poetry* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 1960), 308.
- 7 *SDCMC*, 264. Chéng and Jiǎng note that 阿 *tuó* 池, and 詈 *é* belong to the rhyme category 歌 *gē*, while 館 *hóu* 館 and 具 *jù* 具 belong to the rhyme category 侯 *hóu*. *SJZX*, 551. Karlgren has 阿 for 阿, *d'ia* for 池, and *ngwâ* for 詈; *g'u* for 館 and *g'iu* for 具. Karlgren, *The Book of Odes*, 131.
- 8 Chéng and Jiǎng note that the rhyme category is 歌 *gē* 歌, 皮 *pí* 皮, 儀 *yí* 儀, and 為 *wéi* 為 are the rhymes. *SJZX*, 144. Karlgren has *b'ia* for 皮, *ngia* for 儀, and *gwia* for 為. Karlgren, *The Book of Odes*, 33.
- 9 Chéng and Jiǎng note that the rhyme category is 真 *zhēn* 真, with 薪 *xīn* 薪, 天 *tiān* 天, and 人 *rén* 人 as the rhymes. *SJZX*, 316–17. Karlgren has *siēn* 薪, *t'ien* for 天, and *niēn* for 人. Karlgren, *The Book of Odes*, 76.
- 10 Chéng and Jiǎng suggest that the guests are playfully teasing the bride for having such a fine man on her wedding night. *SJZX*, 316–17.
- 11 *SDCMC*, 412.
- 12 *SJZX*, 627.
- 13 James Legge also romanizes the poem title as “Luh ngo”; *luh* becomes *lù* in *pīnyīn*. See Legge, *The She King*, 350.
- 14 Cheung Kwong Yue has analyzed the same passage as it appears in the excavated bamboo slips from the Chōngback-tong 貞柏洞 tomb (1980) in the Nangnang 樂浪 district of P'yōngyang 平壤, North Korea. According to Cheung, the graph for *xùn* 訊, not *shēn* 啜, is used in the line “*fūzǐ xùn zhī*” on the bamboo slips. He points out that one variant of *xùn* during the Warring States period was   and argues that the copyist may have been unfamiliar with this graph and, mistakenly copying the right-hand part as 西, eventually caused it to be misread as 啜. Cheung also notes that the graph *xùn* 訊 has a longer history than *shēn* 啜, which does not appear in any extant pre-Qín manuscript, and quotes textual evidence from the Chǔ excavated bamboo texts to support his further analysis of the use of *xùn* by Confucius in other contexts. He concludes that *shēn* 啜 was a textual error for *xùn* 訊, “to question.” Cheung Kwong Yue, “Cóng jiǎndú cāiliào tán *Lúnyǔ* ‘Xiānjìn’ piān ‘xùn’ zì zhī shìdú” 從簡牘材料談《論語·先進》篇「啜」字之釋讀, *Líshǐ yúyánxué yánjiū* 歷史語言學研究 7 (2014): 182–8. This dictionary follows his interpretation. However, Hú Píngshēng 胡平生 argues that the graph for *xùn* is actually a miswritten graph for *sui* 詆 (to disparage). Hú Píngshēng, “Píngrǎng Zhēnbódòng *Lúnyǔ* jiǎn ‘Kǒngzǐ xùn zhī’ shí” 平壤貞柏洞《論語》簡「孔子訊之」釋, in *Jiǎndú wénwù lùngǎo* 簡牘文物論稿 (Shànghǎi: Zhōngxī shūjú, 2012), 260–3.

HÉ RÚ 何如

A phrase made of two words, *hé* and *rú*. *Hé* in this phrase can mean “what” or “how.” *Rú* means “to be like.” In translation, this may be rendered as “to be like what?”/“what is it like?”/“how is this.” *Hé rú* is used in the same way as *hé ruò* 何若. *Ruò* is a synonym of *rú*, meaning “to be like/similar to.”

- *subject*

子貢問曰：「何如斯可謂之士矣？」子曰：「行己有恥，使於四方，不辱君命，可謂士矣。」（《論語·子路》）

Zǐgōng wèn yuē, “Hé rú sī kě wèi zhī shì yǐ?” Zǐ yuē, “Xíng jǐ yǒu chǐ, shǐ yú sī fāng, bù rǔ jūn mìng, kě wèi shì yǐ.” (Lún yǔ, “Zǐlù”)

Zǐgōng asked, “What must a man be like to be called a scholar?” The Master said, “Having a sense of shame in conducting himself and not disgracing the ruler’s command when sent as an envoy in the four directions, such a person may be called a scholar.” (“Zǐlù,” *Analects*)

- *attributive modifier*

文侯問李克曰：「吳起何如人哉？」李克曰：「起貪而好色，然用兵司馬穰苴不能過也。」（《史記·孫子吳起列傳》）

Wénhóu wèn Lǐ Kè yuē, “Wú Qǐ hé rú rén zāi?” Lǐ Kè yuē, “Qǐ tān ér hào sè, rán yòng bīng Sīmǎ Rángjū bù néng guò yě.” (Shǐjì, “Sūnzi, Wú Qǐ lièzhuàn”)

Marquis Wén asked Lǐ Kè, “What is Wú Qǐ like as a person?” Lǐ Kè said, “Qǐ is greedy and fond of beautiful women, but in commanding troops even Marshal Rángjū cannot surpass him.” (“Biographies of Sūnzi and Wú Qǐ,” *Grand Scribe’s Records*)

- *predicate*

子貢曰：「貧而無誣，富而無驕，何如？」子曰：「可也。未若貧而樂，富而好禮者也。」（《論語·學而》）

Zǐgōng yuē, “Pín ér wú chǎn, fù ér wú jiāo, hé rú?” Zǐ yuē, “Kě yě. Wèi ruò pín ér lè, fù ér hào lǐ zhě yě.” (Lún yǔ, “Xué ér”)

96 Hé rú 何如

Zǐgōng asked, “To be poor but not obsequious, wealthy but not imperious, how is this?” The Master said, “This is approvable. Yet it cannot equal being poor but taking pleasure in the Way, being wealthy but fond of the rites.” (“Xué ér,” *Analects*)

* *Lè* 樂 means “to take pleasure in.” However, this does not mean to take pleasure in poverty but rather to take pleasure in cultivating the Way even in poverty.

HÉQÍ 何其

A word made of two characters, *hé* and *qí*. *Hé* means “how.” *Qí* (literally, “that”) is weakened in its lexical meaning and turned into a morpheme of the word. The word can thus be replaced by *hé*, but the emphasis is lessened. It may be translated as “how . . . that” or simply “how.” *Héqí* is used as an adverbial modifier.

- to create an exclamatory sentence

管燕得罪齊王，謂其左右曰：「子孰而與我赴諸侯乎？」左右嘿然莫對。管燕連然流涕曰：「悲夫！土何其易得而難用也！」田需對曰：「士三食不得饜，而君鵝鷺有餘食；下宮糅羅紝，曳綺縠，而士不得以為緣。且財者君之所輕，死者士之所重。君不肯以所輕與士，而責士以所重事君，非士易得而難用也。」（《戰國策·齊策·管燕得罪齊王》）

Guǎn Yàn dé zuì Qíwáng, wèi qí zuōyòu yuē, “Zǐ shú ér yǔ wǒ fù zhūhóu hū?”
Zuōyòu mòrán mò duì. Guǎn Yàn liánrán liú tǐ yuē, “Bēi fū! Shí héqí yì dé ér nán yòng yě!” *Tián Xū duì yuē, “Shì sān shí bù dé yàn, ér jūn é wù yǒu yú shí; xià gōng róu luó wán, yè qǐ hú, ér shì bù dé yǐ wéi yuán. Qiě cái zhě jūn zhī suō qīng, sī zhě shì zhī suō zhòng. Jūn bù kěn yǐ suō qīng yǔ shì, ér zé shì yǐ suō zhòng shì jūn, fēi shì yì dé ér nán yòng yě.”* (Zhànguó cè, “Qí cè,” “Guǎn Yàn dé zuì Qíwáng”)

Guǎn Yàn incurred blame with the king of Qi. He said to his retainers, “Which one of you will hasten to the feudal lords with me?” His retainers remained quiet; none responded. Guǎn Yàn shed tears, saying, “Alas, how disheartening! How easy is that to obtain men but they are hard to employ!” Tián Xū responded, saying, “Your men cannot eat their fill for their three meals, yet my lord has a surplus of geese and ducks; the inner palace is a mass of ladies wearing assorted silk-gauze and taffeta, dragging damask and crepe behind them, yet your men cannot even get [the remains of the fabric] to make the hem of their garments. Moreover, material goods are what my lord takes lightly, while death is what men consider weighty. My lord is not willing to give to his men what he takes lightly, while demanding that his men serve him with what they consider weighty – it is certainly not that men are easy to obtain but hard to employ! (“Guǎn Yàn incurred blame with the king of Qi,” in “Strategies of Qi,” *Strategies of the Warring States*)

- used in a question

豫讓之友謂豫讓曰：「子之行何其惑也？子嘗事范氏、中行氏，諸侯盡滅之，而子不為報，至於智氏，而子必為之報，何故？」豫讓曰：「我將告子其故。范氏、中行氏，我寒而不我衣，我饑而不我食，而時使我與千人共其養，是眾人畜我也。夫眾人畜我者，我亦眾人事之。至於智氏則不然，出則乘我以車，入則足我以養，眾人廣朝，而必加禮於吾所，是國士畜我也。夫國士畜我者，我亦國士事之。」（《呂氏春秋·季冬紀·不侵》）

Yù Ràng zhī yǒu wèi Yù Ràng yuē, “Zǐ zhī xíng héqí huò yě? Zǐ cháng shì Fànshì, Zhōnghángshì, zhūhóu jìn miè zhī, ér zǐ bù wèi bào, zhì yú Zhishì, ér zǐ bì wèi zhī bào, hé gù?” Yù Ràng yuē, “Wǒ jiāng gào zǐ qí gù. Fànshì, Zhōnghángshì, wǒ hán ér bù wǒ yì, wǒ jī ér bù wǒ sì, ér shí shǐ wǒ yǔ qiān rén gòng qí yáng, shì zhònggrén xù wǒ yě. Fú zhònggrén xù wǒ zhě, wǒ yì zhònggrén shì zhī. Zhì yú Zhishì zé bù rán, chū zé chéng wǒ yǐ jū, rù zé zú wǒ yǐ yáng, zhòng rén guǎng cháo, ér bì jiā lǐ yú wú suǒ, shì guó shì xù wǒ yě. Fú guó shì xù wǒ zhě, wǒ yì guó shì shì zhī.” (Lǚ shì chūnqiū, “Ji dōng jì,” “Bù qīn”)

A friend of Yù Ràng asked Yù Ràng, “How perplexing is that action of yours? You once served Lord Fàn and Lord Zhōngháng. The feudal lords have eliminated them all, but you did not take revenge for them. As for Lord Zhì, you must take revenge for him. Why is this?” Yù Ràng said, “I will let you know the reason. Lord Fàn and Lord Zhōngháng did not give me clothing when I was cold, or food when I was hungry, and often provided for me as they would for a thousand other people: this was tending to me as a commoner. For the ones who tended to me as a commoner, I served them as a commoner. As for Lord Zhì, he was not like this. He let me ride in a carriage when I went out and provided enough for me when I was home. When commoners all came to pay respects, he would always bestow additional courtesies on the place where I was sitting. This was tending to me as a man of the state. For the one who tended to me as a man of the state, I served him as a man of the state.” (“Not Encroaching,” in “Annals of the Last Month of Winter,” *Annals of Lǚ*)

* In the meaning “to tend,” 畜 should be pronounced *xù* instead of *chù*, which means “livestock.” *Shì* 氏 here is a suffix appended to the name of a leader or a commanding figure.

HÉ WÈI 何為

A phrase meaning “on what account.” The original order is *wèi hé*, literally “for what.” Because *hé*, an interrogative pronoun, is the object of the preposition *wèi* 為 (for), the order is reversed. *Wèi* may be omitted; in that sense, *hé* is simply translated as “why.”

孔子過泰山側，有婦人哭於墓者而哀。夫子式而聽之，使子路問之曰：「子之哭也，壹似重有憂者。」而曰：「然。昔者吾舅死於虎，吾夫又死焉，今吾子又死焉！」夫子曰：「何為不去也？」曰：「無苛政。」夫子曰：「小子識之！苛政猛於虎也。」（《禮記·檀公下》）

Kǒngzǐ guò Tàishān cè, yǒu fù rén kū yú mù zhě ér āi. Fūzǐ shì ér tīng zhī, shí Zǐlù wèn zhī yuē, “Zí zhī kū yě, yī sì chóng yóu yōu zhě.” Ér yuē, “Rán. Xī zhě wú jiù sì yú hǔ, wú fū yòu sì yān, jīn wú zǐ yòu sì yān!” Fūzǐ yuē, “Hé wèi bù qù yě?” Yuē, “Wú kē zhèng.” Fūzǐ yuē, “Xiǎozǐ zhì zhī! Kē zhèng měng yú hǔ yě.” (Lǐ jì, “Tángōng xià”)

Confucius was passing by the slope of Mount Tai. There was a woman wailing at a tomb in grief. The Master saluted with a half-bow while leaning on the handrail, listening to her. He sent Zǐlù to inquire, saying, “Your wailing indeed is like someone who has suffered repeatedly.” She replied, “It is so. Formerly my father-in-law died from tigers; my husband also died from them; now my son has also died from them!” The Master asked, “On what account do you not leave?” She replied, “There is no harsh government here.” The Master said, “My son, take note of this! Harsh government is more ferocious than tigers.” (“Tángōng, Second Section,” *Records of Rites*)

* 式 is the same as *shì* 軾, the handrail of a carriage. Used as a verb, it means to salute with a half-bow while leaning on the handrail of one’s carriage. *Chóng* 重 means “repeatedly.” 識 should be read as *zhì*, meaning “to take note of.”

Kē zhèng měng yú hǔ 苛政猛於虎 (harsh government is more ferocious than tigers) is an idiom in modern Chinese.

HÉ Yǐ 何以

A phrase meaning “by what means.” The original order is *yǐ hé*, literally “to use what.” Because *hé*, an interrogative pronoun, is the object of the co-verb *yǐ* 以 (to use), the order is reversed.

誰謂雀無角？何以穿我屋？
誰謂女無家？何以速我獄？
雖速我獄，室家不足。
(《毛詩·召南·行露》)

Shuí wèi què wú zhòu? Hé yǐ chuān wǒ wū?
Shuí wèi rǔ wú jiā? Hé yǐ sù wǒ yù?
Suī sù wǒ yù, shì jiā bù zú.
(Máo Shī, “Shàonán,” “Xíng lù”)

Who says that a sparrow has no beak? By what means does it manage to bore through my roof?

Who says that you have no family (being single)? By what means can you bring a lawsuit against me?

Even if you bring a lawsuit against me, that is not sufficient to force me into forming a family with you.

(Máo #17, “Dew on the Road,” in “Shàonán,” *Songs*)

* 角 here does not mean “horn” and therefore should not be pronounced *jiǎo*.¹ It is a loan graph for *zhòu* 嘶 (the beak of a bird). In ancient China, when a man took a wife, the act was called *shì* 室 (house); when a woman was married, the act was called *jiā* 家 (domicile). Both *shì* and *jiā* therefore refer to making a family.²

或曰：「以德報怨，何如？」子曰：「何以報德？以直報怨，以德報德。」(《論語·憲問》)

Huò yuē, “Yǐ dé bào yuàn, hé rú?” Zì yuē, “Hé yǐ bào dé? Yǐ zhí bào yuàn, yǐ dé bào dé.” (Lún yǔ, “Xiān wèn”)

Someone said, “Using a kindness to repay a grudge, how would that be?” The Master, “By what means would you repay a kindness then? I would use

rectitude to repay a grudge and use kindness to repay kindness.” (“Xiàn wèn,” *Analects*)

Yǐ zhí bào yuàn 以直報怨 (using rectitude to repay a grudge), *yǐ dé bào dé* 以德報德 (using kindness to repay kindness), *yǐ dé bào yuàn* 以德報怨 (using a kindness to repay a grudge), and *yǐ yuàn bào dé* 以怨報德 (using a grudge to repay a kindness) are all idioms in modern Chinese. In modern times, the power of virtue is promoted in many works of popular drama and fiction. This extreme form of virtue, using a kindness to repay a grudge, often celebrated as a desirable and moving quality, is not what Confucius advocates here.

Notes

- 1 James Legge translates it as a horn. Legge, *The She King*, 27.
- 2 SJZX, 41. Chéng and Jiǎng note that the rhyme category is *hóu* 侯, with *zhòu* 角, *wū* 屋, *yu* 獄, and *zú* 足 as the rhymes. SJZX, 42. Karlgren has *kük* for 角, *uk* for 屋, *ngiuk* for 獄, and *tsiuk* for 足. Karlgren, *The Book of Odes*, 10.

HÉYŌU 何有

Literally, “what is there”; an abbreviated form of the idiom *hé nán zhī yǒu* 何難之有 (what difficulties are there)

〔齊宣〕王曰：「寡人有疾，寡人好貨。」〔孟子〕對曰：「…… 王如好貨，與百姓同之，於王何有？」王曰：「寡人有疾，寡人好色。」對曰：「…… 王如好色，與百姓同之，於王何有？」（《孟子·梁惠王下》）

[Qí Xuān]wáng yuē, “Guārén yǒu jí, guārén hào huò.” [Mèngzǐ] duì yuē, “… Wáng rú hào huò, yú bǎixìng tóng zhī, yú Wáng héyǒu?” Wáng yuē, “Guārén yǒu jí, guārén hào sè.” Duì yuē, “… Wáng rú hào sè, yú bǎixìng tóng zhī, yú Wáng héyǒu?” (Mèngzǐ, “Liáng Huìwáng xiǎ”)

King [Xuān of Qí] said, “I have a shortcoming. I am fond of riches.” Mencius replied, “… If My King is fond of riches and shares this with your people, what difficulties are there for My King [to implement benevolent policies]?” The king said, “I have a shortcoming. I am fond of beautiful women.” Mencius replied, “… If My King is fond of beautiful women and lets your people share this, what difficulties are there for My King?” (“King Hui of Liáng, Second Section,” *Mencius*)

HÉ 暮

vb.; “to cut with a knife”

- | – *inte rr. pron.*; “why/how/when/what”
- | – *adv.*; a phonetic fusion of *hé bù* 何不 (why not)

BI		SS
𠂔	𠂔	𠂔

【*hú gē qiè* 胡葛切】OC: *[g]ət; MC: *hat*

Early Meaning: *vb.*; “to cut with a knife”

Jǐ Xūshēng notes that the graphs in the bronze inscriptions are 𠂔 and 𠂔, showing that the early meaning of *hé* 暮 may have been some kind of fruit. If so, it is a zodiograph. Its use as *hé* 何 (how/what/why) is a borrowed meaning. Since the graph also has the component *dāo* 刀 (刀, knife), Zhū Déxī 朱德熙 (1920–1992) believes that it should be standardized as *hé* 剝. Qiú Xīguī 裘錫圭 further proposes that this is the early graph for *gē* 割 (to cut with a knife), which depicts a knife slicing off part of a fruit, with the fruit on the upper left and the cut piece on the lower left.¹ If so, this graph would belong in the category of “associative compound.”

Xǔ Shèn writes, “*Hé* 暮 (𠂔) means ‘how/what/why.’ It is derived from *yē* 曰 (曰, to say); *gài* 勾 (𠂔, to beg) is sound-bearing” 暮, 何也。从曰, 勾聲. Xǔ’s definition places the graph in the category of “form and sound.” Duàn Yúcái says *hé* 暮 is a phonetic fusion of *hé bù* 何不 (why not). Xú Hào says it is the same as *hé* 何 (how/what/why) but used for emphasis.² The Pǔtōnghuà romanization does not show how *gài* 勾 is sound-bearing. Baxter-Sagart has *[k]ət for the ancient sound reconstruction of 勾, which has the same final as 暮 (*[g]ət) and has a velar initial just as 暮. They have *[g]əj for *hé* 何 and *pə for *bù* 不. Their reconstructions for these two do not readily support Duàn’s comment that *hé* 暮 is a phonetic fusion

of hé bù 何不 (why not). However, hé 烦 as the phonetic fusion of hé bù 何不 (why not) is the same as hé 烦 in this sense. Baxter-Sagart has *m-[k]sap for hé 烦 and *[g]at for hé 烦. The two pronunciations are similar, with the same vowel and with the consonant ending in a stop. A stop is the pronunciation of a consonant characterized by complete obstruction of the outgoing airstream by the speaker, a buildup of intraoral air pressure, often followed by a release.

Borrowed Meanings

1 *interr. pron.;* “why/how/when/what”

- *subject;* “why”

君子治治，非治亂也。曷謂邪？曰：「禮義之謂治，非禮義之謂亂也。故君子者，治禮義者也，非治非禮義者也。」「然則國亂將弗治與？」曰：「國亂而治之者，非案亂而治之之謂也。去亂而被之以治。人汙而脩之者，非案汙而脩之之謂也，去汙而易之以脩。故去亂而非治亂也，去汙而非脩汙也。治之為名，猶曰君子為治而不為亂，為脩而不為汙也。」（《荀子·不苟》）

Jūnzi zhì zhì, fēi zhì luàn yě. Hé wèi yě? Yuē, “Lǐ yì zhī wèi zhì, fēi lǐ yì zhī wèi luàn yě. Gù jūnzi zhě, zhì lǐ yì zhé yě, fēi zhì fēi lǐ yì zhé yě.” Rán zé guó luàn jiāng fú zhì yú?” Yuē, “Guó luàn ér zhì zhī zhé, fēi àn luàn ér zhì zhī zhī wèi yě. Qù luàn ér pī zhī yǐ zhì. Rén wū ér xiū zhī zhé, fēi àn wū ér xiū zhī zhī wèi yě, qù wū ér yí zhī yǐ xiū. Gù qù luàn ér fēi zhì luàn yě, qù wū ér fēi xiū wū yě. Zhì zhī wéi míng, yóu yuē jūnzi wéi zhì ér bù wéi luàn, wéi xiū ér bù wéi wū yě.” (Xúnzi, “Bù gǒu”)

A noble man puts in order what is orderly, and does not put in order what is chaotic. Why is that so? I say, “Ritual and righteousness are considered orderly. That which is without ritual and righteousness is considered chaotic. For this reason, a noble man is someone who puts in order the practice of ritual and righteousness, not someone who puts in order a state without ritual and righteousness.” “That being so, if the state is in chaos will he not put it in order?” I say, “Putting a state in chaos back in order does not mean putting it in order based on chaos. Instead, one must get rid of the chaos and replace it with good order. Bringing cultivation to a corrupt person does not mean making use of his corruption in order to cultivate him. One gets rid of the corruption and supplants it with cultivation. For this reason, a noble man gets rid of chaos and does not put chaos in order, gets rid of corruption and does not cultivate the corrupted. The term “putting in order” is to say that the noble man takes part in the orderly and not the chaotic, in cultivation and not in corruption.” (“Not Acting Indecorously,” Xúnzi)

- *adverbial modifier;* “how”

夫天地之道，至紜以大，尚猶節其章光，愛其神明，人之耳目，曷能久熏勞而不息乎？精神何能久馳騁而不既乎？（《淮南子·精神訓》）

Fú tiān dì zhī dào, zhì hóng zhì dà, shàng yóu jié qí zhāng guāng, ài qí shén míng, rén zhī ér mù, hé néng jiǔ xūn láo ér bù xī hū? Jīng shén hé néng jiǔ chí chéng ér bù jí hū? (Huánánzī, “Jīng shén xùn”)

The Way of heaven and earth is the most immense and grand, yet it still moderates its resplendent brightness and cherishes its divine light. How can people's ears and eyes strain for sustained periods in the fumes without rest (i.e., working till late into the night)? How can the quint-essential spirit course through the body for sustained periods without respite? (“Quintessential Spirit,” *Huánánzī*)

* Zhāng Shuāngdì 張雙棣 quotes Yú Yuè 俞樾 (1821–1907), who proposes that *xūn* 熏 be read as *xūn* 勳 (merit). In that case, *xūn láo* 熏勞 together mean “to toil.”³ The translation above treats *xūn* 熏 literally as “fumes.”

- *adverbial modifier*; “when”

王曰：「格爾眾庶，悉聽朕言，非台小子，敢行稱亂，有夏多罪，天命殛之。今爾有眾，汝曰：『我后不恤我眾，舍我穡事而割正夏？』予惟聞汝眾言，夏氏有罪，予畏上帝，不敢不正。今汝其曰：『夏罪其如台？』夏王率遏眾力，率割夏邑，有眾率怠弗協，曰：『時日曷喪？予及汝皆亡。』夏德若茲，今朕必往。爾尚輔予一人，致天之罰，予其大賚汝。爾無不信，朕不食言。爾不從誓言，予則孥戮汝，罔有攸赦。」（《尚書·商書·湯誓》）

Wáng yuē, “Gé ér zhòng shù, xī tīng zhèn yán, fēi tái xiāozī, gǎn xíng chēng luàn, yǒu Xià duō zuì, tiān mìng jí zhī. Jīn ér yǒu zhòng, rǔ yuē ‘Wǒ hòu bù xù wǒ zhòng, shé wǒ sè shì ér hé zhēng Xià?’ Yú wéi wén rǔ zhòng yán, Xiàshì yóu zuì, yú wèi shàng dì, bù gǎn bù zhēng. Jīn rǔ qí yuē, ‘Xià zuì qí rútái? Xià wáng shuài jié zhòng lì, shuài hài Xià yì, yǒu zhòng shuài dài fú xié, yuē, ‘Shí rì hé sàng? Yú jí rǔ jiē wáng!’ Xià dé ruò zī, jīn zhèn bì wǎng. Ér shàng fú yú rén, zhì tiān zhī fá, yú qí dà lài rǔ. Ér wú bù xìn, zhèn bù shí yán. Ér bù cóng shì yán, yú zé nù lù rǔ, wǎng yǒu yōu shè.” (*Shàng Shū*, “Shāng shū,” “Tāng shī”)

The king (King Tāng) said, “Let me tell you, O multitude, listen all to my words. It is not that I, a person of junior rank, dare act so as to start a rebellion. The lord of Xià is guilty; Heaven commands me to execute him. Now you, the multitude here, you say, ‘Why does our ruler have no compassion for the multitude, forcing us to abandon our farm work to launch a punitive attack on Xià?’ Though I have heard the words of you all, the lord of Xià is guilty. I fear the God on High and dare not but launch a punitive attack on him. Now you are about to say, ‘How so is Xià guilty?’ The king of Xià has exhausted the strength of the multitude and hurt the Xià capital. The multitude is all in danger and will not comply with him any longer. They say, ‘When will this sun perish? We would rather die with you than be under your rule!’ The virtue of Xià is like that – I must go and overthrow it. If you will assist me, this

one man, to carry through the punishment of Heaven, I will reward you profusely. None of you shall not believe in me. I will not go back on my word. If you do not obey the words of this proclamation, I will enslave or kill you; none shall be pardoned.” (“The Speech of Tāng,” in “The Book of Shāng,” *Book of Documents*)

* 割 is a scribal error for 害, which is used for hé 爰 (why) in hé zhēng 割正夏 (why launch a punitive attack on Xià) and for hài (to hurt) in shuài hài Xià yì 率割夏邑 (to hurt the Xià capital). 正 is used for zhēng 征 (to launch a punitive attack). Wéi 惟 here is used to mean “although.” In the ancient language of Shāng, rútái 如台 is used to mean rúhé 如何 (how so). Shuài is a particle with no particular meaning. 竭 is used for jié 竭 (to exhaust). 惫 is used for dài 殆 (to be in danger/dangerous). Shí 時 here is the same as shì 是, “this.” The sun is a metaphor for the king of Xià.⁴

- *attributive modifier*; “what”

是若不行, 則湯武在上曷益? 桀紂在上曷損? 湯武存則天下從而治, 桀紂存則天下從而亂。如是者, 岂非人之情固可與如此, 可與如彼也哉! (《荀子·榮辱》)

Shì ruò bù xíng, zé Tāng Wǔ zài shàng hé yì? Jié Zhòu zài shàng hé sǔn? Tāng Wǔ cún zé tiānxià cóng ér zhì, Jié Zhòu cún zé tiānxià cóng ér luàn. Rú shì zhě, qǐ fēi rén zhī qíng gù kě yǔ rú cǐ, kě yǔ rú bǐ yě zāi! (Xúnzǐ, “Róng rǔ”)

If this is not done (referring to the transformation of a person through education), then what good would it do even if [sage kings like] King Tāng and King Wǔ were to reign? What harm would it do even if [tyrants like] King Jié and King Zhòu were to reign? When Tāng and Wǔ were present, all under Heaven followed their rule and lived in order. When Jié and Zhòu were present, all under Heaven followed their rule and lived in chaos. If things are like this, is it not because people’s dispositions can certainly become like either the one or the other? (“On Honor and Disgrace,” Xúnzǐ)

- 2 *adv.*; a phonetic fusion of hé bù 何不 (why not)

有杕之杜, 生于道左。

彼君子兮, 噬肯適我?

中心好之, 曇飲食之?

(《毛詩·唐·有杕之杜》)

Yǒu dì zhī dù, shēng yú dào zuǒ.

Bǐ jūnzi xī, shì kěn shì wǒ?

Zhōng xīn hào zhī, hé yìn sì zhī?

(Máo Shī, “Táng,” “Yǒu dì zhī dù”)

There grows an isolated pyrus tree on the east side of the road.
 O noble man out there, would you be willing to come to me?
 Since I am fond of you from the heart, why don't I invite you for food and
 drink?⁵ (Máo #123, “An Isolated Pyrus Tree,” in “Airs of Táng,” *Songs*)

* *Shì* 逝 is a loan character for *shì* 逝 and has no concrete meaning here. *Yìn* 飲 and *sì* 食 are both used here as causative verbs, “to let someone eat” and “to let someone drink”; they are pronounced with a falling tone.

Notes

- 1 *SWXZ*, 396.
- 2 *SWJZZJ*, *juàn* 5.1, 51b.
- 3 Zhāng Shuāngdi, *Huainánzǐ jiàoshì* 淮南子校釋 (Bēijīng: Bēijīng dàxué chūbānshè, 1997), 730.
- 4 Gù Jiegāng 顧詰剛 (1893–1980) and Liú Qiyú 劉起釤, *Shàngshū jiàoshì yìlùn* 尚書校釋譯論, 4 vols. (Bēijīng: Zhōnghuá shūjú, 2005), vol. 2, 878–86.
- 5 Chéng and Jiāng note that *zǔo* 左 and *wǒ* 我 belong to the rhyme category *gē* 歌, and *hào* 好 and *sì* 食 to the rhyme categories *zhī* 之 and *yōu* 幽. *SJZX*, 327. Karlgren has *tsâ* for 左 and *ngâ* for 我; *xôg* for 好 and *dziəg* for 食. Karlgren, *The Book of Odes*, 79.

HÉ 盖

n.; “a lid”

— *adv.*; the same as *hé* 盖, phonetic fusion of *hé bù* 何不

OBI	BI	CM	QM	SS
𦨇	盍	𠂇	盍	盍

【*hú là qiè* 胡臘切】OC: *m-[k]sap; MC: *hap*

Early Meaning: *n.*; “a lid”

Jǐ Xùshēng notes that, in the oracle-bone inscriptions, 𦨇 depicts a lid with a vessel underneath. He reads this as a zodiograph meaning “a lid,” which is also the early graph for *gài* 盖 (a lid). In later graphs found in bronze inscriptions, a semantic determinative, 皿 (*mǐn* 皿, platter), was added to highlight this meaning. In this sense, it becomes a graph of “form and sound.”¹

Hé 盖 is also written as *hé 盖*. Xǔ Shèn writes, “*Hé 盖* (盍) means ‘a lid.’ It is derived from *xuè* 血 (血, sacrificial blood) and *dà* 大 (大, man standing upright, indicating large)” 盖, 覆也。从血、大。Duàn Yúcái suggests that the horizontal stroke represents blood in the vessel; the lid must be larger than the vessel. *Hé 盖* is also a phonetic fusion for *hé bù* 何不 (why not). Xú Hào suggests that 盖 is the ancient graph for *kē* 桶 (wine jar/water jar), with *mǐn* 皿 (platter) as a key component and the horizontal stroke representing the wine. 大 is a zodiograph for the lid while at the same time being sound-bearing. 大 and the horizontal stroke, standardized as *tài* 太 in the modern graph, is similar to 𠂇 in small seal script, which is standardized as *qù* 去 in the modern graph.² For this reason, 盖 is also written as 盖. *Tài* 太 means “the greatest,” whereas *qù* 去 means “to depart from.” But neither *tài* 太 nor *qù* 去 includes the meaning of the early graph. Zhū Jùnshēng 朱駿聲 agrees with Xú Hào that 大 is a zodiograph for the lid of a vessel. He objects to reading it as a man standing upright and sees the horizontal line in the small seal script 盖 as representing the contents of the vessel.³

Borrowed Meaning

- 1 *adv.; adverbial modifier*; the same as hé 盖, phonetic fusion of hé bù 何不 (why not) to form a rhetorical question⁴

無忌曰：「伍奢有二子，不殺者為楚國患。盍以免其父召之，必至。」（《史記·楚世家》）

Wújì yuē, “Wǔ Shē yǒu èr zǐ, bù shā zhě wéi Chǔ guó huàn. Hé yǐ miǎn qí fù zhào zhī, bì zhì.” (Shǐ jì, “Chǔ shíjīā”)

Wújì said, “Wǔ Shē has two sons. If we don't kill them, they will become a problem for Chǔ. Why not summon them with the excuse of pardoning their father? They will surely come.” (“Hereditary House of Chǔ,” *Grand Scribe's Records*)

Notes

1 SWXZ, 433–4.

2 SWJZZJ, juàn 5.1, 93b–94b.

3 Zhū Jùnshēng, *Shuōwén tōngxùn dingshēng* 說文通訓定聲 (Běijīng: Zhōnghuá shūjú, 1984), 150.

4 Baxter–Sagart has *m-[k]sap for hé 盖 and *[g]sat for hé 盖. The two pronunciations are similar, with the same vowel and with consonants ending in a stop.

HŪ 乎

vb.; to call (?)/n.; the blowing of wind (?)

- | – *interr. final part.*
- | – *exclamatory final part.*
- | – *conjectural final part.*
- | – *part.; to create a pause*
- | – *prep.; the same as yú 于, but with a narrower usage*

OBI	BI	SS
𠂔	𠂔	𠂔

【*hū wú qiè 戸吳切】OC: *g^a; MC: *hu**

Early Meaning: *n; “the blowing of wind”/vb.; “to call”*

Jǐ Xūshēng proposes the blowing of wind as an early meaning for *hū* 乎. He agrees with Xià Lù 夏祿 that the dots on the top of the graph in the oracle-bone inscriptions 𠂔 represent the wind blowing through branches, which puts the graph in the category of “indicating the matter.” “To call” is the extended meaning, and the breath of speech a borrowed meaning.¹ Yáng Shùdá 楊樹達 (1885–1956) notes that, in bronze inscriptions and the *Book of Documents*, *hū* is rarely used at the end of sentences; in oracle-bone and bronze inscriptions, it is often used to mean “to call.”²

Xǔ Shèn writes, “*Hū* 乎 (𠂔) is the lingering sound at the end of a speech. It is derived from *xī* 兮 (兮), depicting sound coming out of the mouth going upward” 乎,語之餘也。从兮,象聲上越揚之形也. Xú Hào notes that *hū* 乎 is a modal particle used in questions.³ Xǔ Shèn’s definition does not include the early meaning of this graph.

Borrowed Meanings

1 *interr. final part.*; used at the end of a verb phrase to create a question

- a real question

廢焚。子退朝，曰：「傷人乎？」不問馬。（《論語·鄉黨》）

Jiù fén. Zǐ tuì cháo, yuē, “Shāng rén hū?” Bù wèn mǎ. (Lún yǔ, “Xiāng dǎng”)

The stables caught fire. The Master, retiring from court, asked, “Was anyone hurt?” He did not ask about the horses. (“Xiāng dǎng,” *Analects*)

- a rhetorical question, used in the pattern *bù* 不 . . . *hū* 乎

紂曰：「丕有天命乎？是何能為？」（《史記·周文王本紀》）

Zhòu yuē, “Bù yǒu tiān mìng hū? Shì hé néng wéi?” (Shǐ jì, “Zhōu Wén-wáng běnji”)

King Zhōu said, “Do I not have the Mandate of Heaven? What can he (King Wén) do to me?” (“Basic Annals of King Wén of Zhōu,” *Grand Scribe’s Records*)

2 *exclamatory final part.*

- used after an adjective to show exclamation

子曰：「大哉堯之為君也！巍巍乎！唯天為大，唯堯則之。蕩蕩乎！民無能名焉。巍巍乎其有成功也，煥乎其有文章！」（《論語·泰伯》）

Zǐ yuē, “Dà zāi Yáo zhī wéi jūn yě! Wēi wēi hū! Wéi tiān wéi dà, wéi Yáo zé zhī. Dàngdàng hū! Mín wú néng míng yān. Wēi wēi hū qí yǒu chéng gōng yě, huàn hū qí yǒu wén zhāng!” (Lún yǔ, “Tài Bó”)

The Master said, “So great is Yáo the ruler! How majestic! Only Heaven is the grandest; only Yáo could model himself on it. How immense! His people could not even name him. How majestic was his success and merit! How dazzling were his civilized accomplishments (i.e., the system of music and rites)!” (“Tài Bó,” *Analects*)

* Yáo was praised for following the principles of Heaven by leaving his people in peace and not interfering with them. One salient proof of this was that the common people did not even know his name.⁴ The *hū* in *wēi wēi hū qí yǒu chéng gōng yě* 巍巍乎其有成功也 and *huàn hū qí yǒu wén zhāng* 煥乎其有文章 appears to be in the middle of a line, but it should be treated as an inversion, with the exclamatory clause being placed in front for emphasis.

- used after a name when calling out to someone

子曰：「參乎！吾道一以貫之。」曾子曰：「唯。」子出。門人問曰：「何謂也？」曾子曰：「夫子之道，忠恕而已矣。」（《論語·里仁》）

Zǐ yuē, “Shēn hū! Wú dào yī yǐ guàn zhī.” Zéngzǐ yuē, “Wéi.” Zǐ chū. Ménrén wèn yuē, “Hé wèi yě?” Zéngzǐ yuē, “Fūzǐ zhī dào, zhōng shù éryìyǐ.” (Lún yǔ, “Lǐ rén”)

The Master said, “Shēn! (i.e., Zēngzǐ) My way is followed through with one principle.” Zēngzǐ said, “Indeed.” The Master went out. His disciples asked, “What did he mean?” Zēngzǐ said, “The Way of the Master is nothing other than being loyal and kind.” (“Lǐ rén,” *Analects*)

- 3 *conjectural final part*; used to express conjecture; usually appears with other words to create a question, such as *qí* 其 (modal particle indicating doubt) and *bù yì* 不亦 (isn't it)

孔子蚤作，負手曳杖，消搖於門，歌曰：「泰山其頽乎？梁木其壞乎？哲人其萎乎？」既歌而入，當戶而坐。（《禮記·檀弓上》）

Kǒngzǐ zǎo zuò, fù shǒu yè zhàng, xiāoyáo yú mén, gē yuē, “Tàishān qí tuí hū? Liángmù qí huài hū? Zhé rén qí wěi hū?” Jì gē ér rù, dāng hù ér zuò. (Lǐ jì, “Tángōng shàng”)

Confucius rose in the early morning and strolled in front of his door, with one hand behind his back and the other hand dragging his walking stick along. He sang, “Is Mount Tài about to collapse? Is the roof beam about to disintegrate? Is the wise man about to die?” Finished singing, he went back in and sat facing the door. (“Tángōng, First Section,” *Records of Rites*)

Tàishān qí tuí 泰山其頽 (Is Mount Tài about to collapse?), *liángmù qí huài* 梁木其壞 (Is the roof beam about to disintegrate?), and *zhé rén qí wěi* 哲人其萎 (Is the wise man about to die?) are all idioms used today to express sorrow at the passing of a wise person.

- 4 *part*; to create a pause

賓客至，無所館。夫子曰：「生於我平館，死於我平殯。」（《禮記·檀弓上》）

Bīn kè zhì, wú suǒ guǎn. Fūzǐ yuē, “Shēng yú wǒ hū guǎn, sì yú wǒ hū bìn.” (Lǐ jì, “Tángōng shàng”)

A visitor came and had nowhere to lodge. Confucius said, “He can lodge at my place while he lives; I can even take care of the memorial services if he dies.” (“Tángōng, First Section,” *Records of Rites*)

- 5 *prep*; generally considered a directive preposition, the same as *yú* 于, but with a narrower usage.⁵ Wherever *hū* is used as a preposition, it can be replaced by *yú* but not necessarily the other way round.

- to introduce a location where an action has taken place

凡遇，合也。時不合，必待合而後行。故比翼之鳥死乎木，比目之魚死乎海。（《呂氏春秋·孝行覽·遇合》）

Fán yù, hé yě. Shí bù hé, bì dài hé ér hòu xíng. Gù bì yì zhī niǎo sī hū mù, bì mù zhī yú sī hū hǎi. (Lǚ shí chūnqiū, “Xiào xíng lǎn,” “Yù hé”)

As a general principle, “appreciation” (literally, to meet with someone who appreciates one and recognizes one's talent) requires “a convergence

of factors.” When the time does not converge, it is necessary to await such convergence before action. For this reason, a bird that shares a wing with its mate would rather die on the tree [if it cannot find its mate]; a fish that shares an eye with its mate would rather die in the sea [if it cannot find its mate]. (“Appreciation and Convergence,” in “Survey on Filial Piety,” *Annals of Lǔ Bùwéi*)

* The death of the shared-wing bird and the shared-eye fish is used as a metaphor for wise men who would rather remain unemployed than serve under rulers without virtue. The example of such a man given later in this text is Confucius.

- to introduce the recipient of an action that is composed of a verb-object construction

孔子曰：「魯今且郊，如致膾乎大夫，則吾猶可以止。」（《史記·孔子世家》）

Kǒngzǐ yuē, “*Lǔ jīn qiě jiāo, rú zhì fán hū Dàfū, zé wú yóu kě yǐ zhǐ.*” (*Shǐjì*, “*Kǒngzǐ shijiā*”)

Confucius said, “Now Lǔ is about to hold a ceremony in the suburbs (i.e., the place where the ruler made sacrifices to heaven and earth). If my lord delivers the sacrificial meat to the great officials, I can still remain here.” (“Hereditary House of Confucius,” *Grand Scribe’s Records*)

* *Zhì fán* 致膾 (to deliver the sacrificial meat) is a verb-object construction.

- to make a comparison

子路、曾晳、冉有、公西華侍坐。子曰：「以吾一日長乎爾，毋吾以也。居則曰：『不吾知也！』如或知爾，則何以哉？」（《論語·先進》）

Zǐlù, Zēng Xī, Rán Yǒu, Gōngxī Huá shì zuò. Zǐ yuē, “Yǐ wú yī rì zhǎng hū ēr, wú wú yǐ yé. Jū zé yuē, ‘bù wú zhī yé!’ Rú huò zhī ēr, zé hé yǐ zāi?” (*Lún yǔ*, “*Xiān jìn*”)

Zǐlù, Zēng Xī, Rán Yǒu, and *Gōngxī Huá* were sitting with the Master. The Master said, “You have nothing to respond to me with simply because I am more senior than you are by a day or two. In everyday life, you may exclaim, ‘No one appreciates me!’ If someone did appreciate you, what would you do?” (“*Xiān jìn*,” *Analects*)

Notes

1 *SWXZ*, 401–2.

2 “*Shì hū*” 釋乎, in *Yáng Shùdá* 楊樹達, *Jīwēijū xiǎoxué shùlín* 積微居小學述林 (Běijīng: Zhōnghuá shūjú, 1983), *juàn* 2, 60.

3 *SWJZZJ*, *juàn* 5.1, 59a.

4 *Chéng Shùdé*, *Línyǔ jíshì*, 16.549–52.

5 Graham suggests that *hū* is a post-verbal aspectual particle. Graham, A. C., “A Post-Verbal Aspectual Particle in Classical Chinese: The Supposed Preposition *hu* 乎,” *Bulletin of the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities* 41, no. 2 (1978): 314–42.

HŪ'ÉR 乎而

- *sentence-final modal particle compound*; dialect of the state of Qí 齊, used to show admiration. This meaning may be reflected in the translation by using an exclamatory sentence beginning with “how.”

俟我於著乎而! 充耳以素乎而! 尚之以瓊華乎而! (《毛詩·齊風·著》)

Sì wǒ yú zhù hū'ér! Chōng ēr yǐ sù hū'ér! Shàng zhī yǐ qióng huá hū'ér! (Máo Shī, “Qí fēng,” “Zhù”)

How he waited for me in the space between the doorway and the screening wall!

How his ear-stoppers were tied by white threads!

How they were adorned by gleaming *qióng*-jades!¹

(Máo #98, “Between Doorway and Wall,” in “Airs of Qí,” *Songs*)

Note

1 Chéng and Jiǎng note that the rhyme category is *yú* 魚, with *zhù* 著, *sù* 素, and *huā* 華 as the rhymes. SJZX, 269. Karlgren has *d'io* for 著, *so* for 素, and *g'wa* for 華. Karlgren, *The Book of Odes*, 63.

HŪZĀI 乎哉

- *sentence-final modal particle compound*; often used to strengthen the tone of a rhetorical question

[成] 子高曰：「吾聞之也，生有益於人，死不害於人。吾縱生無益於人，吾可以死害於人乎哉？我死，則擇不食之地而葬我焉。」（《禮記·檀弓上》）

[Chéng] Zǐgāo yuē, “Wú wén zhī yě, shēng yǒu yì yú rén, sǐ bù tài yú rén. Wú zòng shēng wú yì yú rén, wú kě yǐ sǐ tài yú rén hūzāi? Wǒ sǐ, zé zé bù shí zhī dì ér zàng wǒ yān.” (Lǐ jì, “Tángōng shàng”)

[Chéng] Zǐgāo said, “I have heard: ‘Alive, bring good to people; dead, do not hurt people.’ Even if I have not brought any good to people, how could I hurt people with my death? When I die, choose barren land to bury me.” (“Tángōng, First Section,” *Records of Rites*)

* *Bù shí zhī dì* 不食之地 literally means “land that cannot be farmed.” *Shí* 食 here means “to farm.”

Bù shí zhī dì 不食之地 is now an idiom meaning land that cannot be farmed.

HUÒ 或

n.; “territory” 【yù】

- | – *pron.*; “some”
- | – *adv.*; “perhaps”
- | – *conj.*; “either . . . or”
- | – *-modal part.*; to show emphasis

BI	CM	QM	SS
𢂔	或	或	域

【*hú guō qiè* 胡國切】OC: *[G]wək; MC: *hwok*

Early Meaning: *n*; “territory” 【yù】

Jǐ Xūshēng disagrees with Xǔ Shèn that there is a graph for *gē* 戈 in the small seal script 或 proposing instead that what Xǔ presumes to be the graph for *gē* 戈 is actually the graph for *bì* 必 (𢂔 in oracle-bone inscriptions and 𢂔 in bronze inscriptions. He argues that the short horizontal stroke became longer in the later forms of this graph so that, in bronze inscriptions, it looked the same as *gē* 戈 (戈), causing Xǔ to misread it. Here *bì* 必 has no clear function, and its meaning is unclear. Jǐ notes that the early meaning of *yù* 或 was “territory”; the meaning “state” came later.¹

Xǔ Shèn writes, “*Yù* (或) means ‘territory.’ It is derived from *wéi* □ (𢂔, periphery) and *gē* 戈 (戈, dagger-ax), used to protect the land. *Yì* — (—) refers to the ground. *Yù* (或): *Yù* also has a variant that is derived from *tǔ* 土 (土, land)” 或 (或), 邦也。从口从戈, 以守一。一, 地也。或 (域), 或又从土。Xǔ treats the graph as an “associative compound.” Xú Hào notes that *yù* 或 is the early graph for both *guó* 國 (state) and *yù* 域 (territory); later, the semantic determinative *wéi* □ (periphery) was added to make *guó* 國, and the semantic determinative *tǔ* 土 (earth) was added to make *yù* 域.² The connection between the three can be seen in the shared component of *yù* 或, but it is not clear in their

Pǔtōnghuà pronunciation that they are also connected by sound. Baxter-Sagart has reconstructed *[C.q]w^ček for 國, *[g]ʷrək for both 或 and 域, showing that they were similar in pronunciation in ancient times.

Borrowed Meanings

1 *pron.; subject; “some”*

或勞心, 或勞力; 勞心者治人, 勞力者治於人; 治於人者食人, 治人者食於人: 天下之通義也。(*《孟子·滕文公上》*)

Huò láo xīn, huò láo lì; láo xīn zhě zhì rén, láo lì zhě zhì yú rén; zhì yú rén zhě sì rén, zhì rén zhě shí yú rén: Tiānxià zhī tōng yì yě. (*Mèngzǐ*, “Téng Wéngōng shàng”)

Some toil with their minds; some toil with physical strength. Those who toil with their minds govern people, those who toil with physical strength are governed by people. Those governed by people are to provide for the people; those who govern people are to be provided for by the people: this is the common principle for all under Heaven. (“Duke Wén of Téng,” *Mencius*)

* This is an important dialogue concerning the division of labor: those who exert their minds in governance should be provided for instead of spending time and effort on farming. The first 食 is pronounced *zhì* because it is a causative verb, meaning to “to provide with food/to feed.” The second 食 is pronounced *shí* because it is used as a regular verb, literally “to eat.” Here it means “to receive an official salary or stipend (anciently figured in bushels of grain)”³ and is translated as “to be provided for” to match with the sentence pattern of the original Chinese.

2 *adv.; adverbial modifier; “perhaps”*

叔孫武叔語大夫於朝, 曰:「子貢賢於仲尼。」子服景伯以告子貢。子貢曰:「譬之宮牆, 賦之牆也及肩, 窺見室家之好。夫子之牆數仞, 不得其門而入, 不見宗廟之美, 百官之富。得其門者或寡矣。夫子之云, 不亦宜乎?」(*《論語·子張》*)

Shūsūn Wǔshū yù Dàsfū yú cháo, *yuē*, “*Zǐgòng xián yú Zhòngní.*” *Zǐfú Jīngbó* yǐ gào *Zǐgòng*. *Zǐgòng* *yuē*, “*Pì zhī gōng qiáng, Cì zhī qiáng yě jí jiān, kuī jiàn shì jiā zhī hǎo. Fùzī zhī qiáng shù rèn, bù dé qí mén ér rù, bù jiàn zōng miào zhī měi, bái guān zhī fù. Dé qí mén zhě huò guǎ yǐ. Fú zī zhī yún, bù yì yí hū?*” (*Lún yǔ*, “*Zǐzhāng*”)

Shūsūn Wǔshū spoke to the great officer in court, saying, “*Zǐgòng* is more virtuous than *Zhòngní* (Confucius’s personal name).” *Zǐfú Jīngbó* told *Zǐgòng* about this. *Zǐgòng* replied, “To use a palace wall as a metaphor, the wall of *Cì* (i.e., *Zǐgòng* himself) is shoulder-high; an outsider can see the quality of the living quarters and the household. The wall of the Master, however, is several *rèn* high.⁴ Without finding the door to enter, an outsider cannot see the beauty of the ancestral temple and the wealth of the

hundredfold officials within. Those who can enter his door are perhaps few. What that man (i.e., Shūsūn Wǔshū) said, isn't it in line [with the kind of man he is]?" ("Zīzhāng," *Analects*)

- 3 *conj.*; used in the pattern of *huò* 或 . . . *huò* 或 . . . ; may be translated as "either . . . or"

子曰：「君子之道，或出或處，或默或語。二人同心，其利斷金。同心之言，其臭如蘭。」（《周易·繫辭上》）

Zǐ yuē, "Jūnzǐ zhī dào, huò chū huò chū, huò mò huò yù. Èr rén tóng xīn, qí lì duàn jīn. Tóng xīn zhī yán, qí xiù rú lán." (Zhōu Yǐ, "Xì cí shàng")

The Master said, "The Way of noble men is either to come forth to serve the government or to dwell in the mountains. They either remain silent, or they speak up. When two people have the same heart, they can be as sharp as a sword that can slice through metal. When words come from the same heart, their fragrance is like that of thoroughwort. ("Appended Texts, First Section," *Book of Changes*)

* *Xiù* 臭 means "fragrance" here; the same character is pronounced *chòu* when used to mean "to be fetid." *Lán* 蘭 is commonly translated as "orchid" or "iris," but "orchid" would be anachronistic in this period. A more accurate translation would be "thoroughwort."⁵

Èr rén tóng xīn, qí lì duàn jīn 二人同心，其利斷金 (when two people have the same heart, they can be as sharp as a sword that slices through metal) is now an idiom meaning "unity is strength."

- 4 *modal part.*; used within a line to show emphasis, preceded by an undetermined pronoun of negation; most often combined with *wú* 無 and *wèi* 未 to mean "no one"

王曰：「嗚呼！封，有敍時，乃大明服，惟民其勑懋和。若有疾，惟民其畢棄咎。若保赤子，惟民其康乂。非汝封刑人殺人，無或刑人殺人；非汝封又曰劓刑人，無或劓刑人。」（《尚書·周書·康誥》）

Wáng yuē, "Wūhū! Fēng, yǒu xù shí, nái dà míng fú, wéi mǐn qí lài mào hé. Ruò yǒu jí, wéi mǐn qí fú qì jiù. Ruò bǎo chì zǐ, wéi mǐn qí kāng yì. Fēi rǔ Fēng xíng rén shā rén, wú huò xíng rén shā rén; fēi rǔ Fēng yòu yuē yì èr rén, wú huò yì èr rén. (Shàng Shū, "Zhōu shū," "Kāng gào")

The king (King Wǔ of Zhōu) said, "Alas! Fēng, if you comply with the principles of punishment, you will be wise and bring others to deference, and your people will be encouraged to strive to accord with you. Deal with evil as if it were a disease in your body, and the people will purge their faults as if purging evil spirits. Deal with the people as you would treat infants, and they

will be tranquil and orderly. If it is not you, Fēng, who has people punished and executed, no one should be punishing and executing people; if it is not you, Fēng, who has people's noses and ears cut off, no one should be cutting off people's noses and ears.” (“Announcement to the Prince of Kāng,” in “Book of Zhōu,” *Book of Documents*)

* The meaning of *yǒu xù shí* 有敍時 is obscure. Wáng Yǐnzhī 王引之 (1766–1834) interprets *xù shí* 敍時 as *chéng xù* 承敍 (to comply with). *Lài* 勅 means “to encourage”; here, “to be encouraged.” *畢* should be read as *fǔ* 祚 (to purge evil spirits).⁶

其二曰：「訓有之：內作色荒、外作禽荒、甘酒嗜音、峻宇彫牆，有一于此，未或不亡。」（《尚書·夏書·五子之歌》）

Qí èr yuē, “*Xùn yǒu zhī: Nèi zuò sè huāng, wài zuò qín huāng, gān jiǔ shí yīn, jùn yǔ diāo qiáng, yǒu yī yú cǐ, wèihuò bù wáng*. (*Shàng Shū*, “*Xià shū*, “*Wǔ zǐ zhī gē*”)

The second (of the Great Yú’s warnings) goes, “It is in the teachings: wild with lust within the palace; wild in hunting outside the palace; indulging in drink and lusting for music; making lofty roofs and carving patterns on walls – with only a single one of these, there is no one who will not perish.” (“Songs of the Five Sons,” in “Book of Xià,” *Book of Documents*)

Notes

1 *SWXZ*, 901.

2 *SWJZZJ*, *juàn* 12, 60a–61a.

3 For the translations of 食, see *SDCMC*, 413–14.

4 *Rèn* 仞 is a measure of length, equivalent to 7 or 8 feet. *SDCMC*, 386.

5 For a summary of this passage and the translation of *lán* 蘭 as “thoroughwort,” see David R. Knechtges, “Luo Binwang’s Defense of a Jilted Lady: ‘Amorous Feelings: On Behalf of Miss Guo Sent to Lu Zhaolin’,” in *Text, Performance, and Gender in Chinese Literature and Music: Essays in Honor of Wilt Idema*, ed. Maghield van Crevel, Michel Hockx and Tian Yuan Tan (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 2009), 45–58; page 52.

6 There are various interpretations of the last part of this passage. This translation has basically followed the reading of Gù Jiégāng and Liú Qiýú. Gù Jiégāng and Liú Qiýú, *Shàngshū jiàoshi yilùn*, vol. 3, 1323–7.

jī 幾

adj.; “to be dangerous” | – n.; “the first signs”
| *| – adj.; “to be close to”*
| *| – adv.; “nearly”*
|
| *| – n.; “general affairs”*
| *| – numeral; “how many/how much”* 【jǐ】

BI	CM	QM	SS
𠂇	𠂇	𠂇	𠂇

【*jū yī qiè 居衣切】OC: *kəj; MC: *kj+j**

Early Meaning: *adj.; “to be dangerous”*

Jǐ Xùshēng places the early graph for *jī* 幾 in the category of “associative compound,” with the meaning “dangerous.” He notes that in the bronze inscriptions 𠂇, the graph depicts a person (亼) suspended from bundles of silk thread (𦥑𦥑), with a dagger ax cutting them (戈).¹

Xǔ Shèn writes, “*Jī* 幾 (𠂇) means the first signs, something hazardous. It is derived from *zī* 丝 (𦥑, bundles of silk threads) and *shù* 戍 (戍, to guard with weapons). *Shù* means ‘to guard with weapons.’ To guard with weapons that are like bundles of silk threads is hazardous” 𠂇(幾), 微也, 殆也。从丝, 从戍。戍, 兵守也。丝而兵守者危也。Duàn Yúcái notes that *jī* 幾 refers to the beginning of actions and is the sign for fortune or omen. Xú Hào agrees with Dài Tǒng, who proposes that the early meaning may be *jī chá* 幾察 (to observe the first signs of danger) because the graph has the component *shù* 戍, and those who guard the borders must observe the first signs of danger and take precautions. The extended meanings are “first signs,” “close to,” and “almost.” The graph was then borrowed to mean “how many/how much.”² However, Jǐ Xùshēng argues that there is no component of *shù* 戍 in the bronze inscriptions; the component

that has been mistaken for *shù* is made up of two graphs, a graph for a person and a graph for a dagger ax.³

Example:

王曰：「嗚呼！疾大漸，惟幾，病日臻，既彌留，恐不獲誓言嗣…… 」（《尚書·周書·顧命》）

Wáng yuē, “Wūhū! Jí dà jiàn, wéi jī, bìng rì zhēn, jì mí liú, kǒng bù huò shì yán sì. . . .” (Shàng Shū, “Zhōu shū, “Gù míng”)

The king said, “Alas! My illness has greatly intensified; it is dangerous. My illness worsens daily; as I am about to die, I fear that I will not be able to name my successor officially. . . .” (“Testamentary Charge,” in “Book of Zhōu,” *Book of Documents*)

* The usage of *wéi* 惟 is unclear. It may function here simply as an initial particle with no concrete meaning.

Extended Meanings

- 1 *n.; subject in a clause; “the first signs”*

子曰：「事父母幾諫。見志不從，又敬不違，勞而不怨。」（《論語·里仁》）

Zǐ yuē, “Shì fù mǔ jī jiàn. Jiàn zhì bù cóng, yòu jìng bù wéi, láo ér bù yuàn.” (Lín yǔ, “Lǐ rén”)

The Master said, “When serving parents, at the first signs [of their committing a mistake], you should admonish them. Even if you then see that it is their intention not to follow your advice, you are still respectful without violating the rites, and do not complain when you labor for them.” (“Lǐ rén,” *Analects*)

*Shì fù mǔ jī jiàn 事父母幾諫 is a single sentence in which the verb phrase *shì fù mǔ* (serving parents) is the subject, introducing what the predicate is commenting on. In Chinese, a verb phrase can serve as the subject. *Jī jiàn* (literally, “at first signs, to admonish”) is the predicate. This predicate is itself composed of a subject-predicate phrase, with *jī* (first signs) as the subject and *jiàn* (to admonish) as the predicate.

- 2 *adj.; predicate in a clause; “to be close to”*

夫龍之為蟲也柔，可狎而騎也，然其喉下有逆鱗徑尺，若人有嬰之者則必殺人。人主亦有逆鱗，說者能無嬰人主之逆鱗，則幾矣。（《韓非子·說難》）

Fú lóng zhī wéi chóng yě róu, kě xiá ér qí yě, rán qí hóu xià yǒu nì lín jìng chǐ, ruò rén yǒu yīng zhī zhé zé bì shā rén. Rén zhǔ yì yǒu nì lín, shuì zhě néng wú yīng rén zhǔ zhī nì lín, zé jī yǐ. (Hánfēizǐ, “Shuì nán”)

The dragon as a creature is gentle and can be tamed and even ridden. However, on the underside of its throat there are backward-growing scales about a foot in diameter. If anyone happens to brush against them, it will certainly

kill him. The people's ruler also has “backward-growing scales.” If a persuader can persuade without brushing against these backward-growing scales of the people's ruler, he is close to success. (“The Difficulties of Persuasion,” *Hánfēizǐ*)

* *Chóng* 蟲 can mean “insect” or “creature.” *Chǐ* 尺 was a measure of length, equivalent to 9.1 inches, in Eastern Zhōu, Qín, and Hàn times.⁴

- can be used with *xī* 希 to create a fixed expression, *jī xī* 幾希, literally “close to few,” meaning “not many,” “not much”

孟子曰：「人之所以異於禽獸者，幾希。……」（《孟子·離婁下》）

Mèngzǐ yuē, “Rén zhī suǒ yǐ yì yú qín shòu zhě, jī xī. . . .” (*Mèngzǐ*, “Lí Lóu xià”)

Mencius said, “The ways in which people are different from birds and animals are not many. . . .” (“Lí Lóu, Second Section,” *Mencius*)

3 *adv.; adverbial modifier*; “nearly”

伍胥遂與勝獨身步走，幾不得脫。（《史記·伍子胥列傳》）

Wǔ Xū suì yǔ Shèng dù shēn bù zǒu, jī bù dé tuō. (*Shǐ jì*, “Wǔ Zǐxū lièzhuàn”)

Wǔ Xū therefore fled with [Prince] Shèng (i.e., the son of Jiàn 建, heir of Chǔ) alone. He nearly did not get away. (“Biography of Wǔ Zǐxū,” *Grand Scribe's Records*)

Borrowed Meanings

1 *n.; object*; “general affairs”

兢兢業業，一日二日萬幾。（《尚書·虞書·臯陶謨》）

Jīngjīng yèyè, yī rì èr rì wàn jǐ. (*Shàng Shū*, “Yú shū, “Gāoyáo mó”)

Be cautious and vigilant; in one or two days there may occur ten thousand general affairs. (“Counsels of Gāoyáo,” in “Book of Yú,” *Book of Documents*)⁵

Jīngjīng yèyè 兢兢業業 (be cautious and vigilant) is now an idiom to describe someone being conscientious in their task.

2 *numeral; attributive modifier*, used to inquire about numbers; “how many how much”【jǐ】

濮陽人呂不韋賣於邯鄲，見秦質子異人，歸而謂父曰：「耕田之利幾倍？」曰：「十倍。」「珠玉之贏幾倍？」曰：「百倍。」「立國家之主贏幾倍？」曰：「無數。」曰：「今力田疾作，不得煖衣餘食；今建國立君，澤可以遺世。願往事之。」（《戰國策·秦策·濮陽人呂不韋賣於邯鄲》）

Púyáng rén Lǚ Bùwéi gǔ yú Hándān, jiàn Qín zhì zǐ Yirén, guī ér wèi fù yuē, “Gēng tián zhī lì jǐ bēi?” Yuē, “Shí bēi.” “Zhū yù zhī yíng jǐ bēi?” Yuē, “Bái bēi.” “Lì guójiā zhī zhū yíng jǐ bēi?” Yuē, “Wú shù.” Yuē, “Jīn li tián jí zuò, bù dé nuǎn yī yú sì, jīn jiàn guó li jūn, zé kě yǐ wèi shì. Yuàn wǎng shì zhī.” (Zhàn'guó cè, “Qín cè,” “Púyáng rén Lǚ Bùwéi gǔ yú Hándān”)

Lǚ Bùwéi, a person of Púyáng, was trading in Hándān. He saw Prince Yirén of Qín, who was being held hostage [in Zhào]. When he returned home, he said to his father, “How much profit is there in farming?” His father responded, “Ten times.” “How much profit is there in trading pearls and jade?” His father responded, “A hundred times.” “How much profit is there in investing the ruler of a state?” His father responded, “Uncountable.” Lǚ Bùwéi said, “Now even if people work hard in the fields, they still cannot acquire warm clothing and surplus food. Now if someone establishes a state and invests a ruler, that person’s beneficence can be bequeathed to his posterity. I would like to go serve him (i.e., Prince Yirén).” (“Lǚ Bùwéi, a person of Púyáng, was trading in Hándān,” in “Strategies of Qín,” *Strategies of the Warring States*)

* 遺 should be pronounced *wèi* (to bequeath) rather than *yí* (to leave behind). *Shì* 世 can mean either “the world” or “posterity.” Since Lǚ Bùwéi was a merchant eager for profit, he was probably thinking in terms of bequeathing riches to his own posterity.

Notes

- 1 *SWXZ*, 323–4.
- 2 *SWJZZJ*, *juàn* 4.2, 5a–5b.
- 3 *SWXZ*, 323–4.
- 4 *SDCMC*, 52. One *chǐ* equals ten *cùn* 尺.
- 5 The translation is slightly modified from James Legge, *The Chinese Classics*, vol. III, *The Shoo King, or the Book of Historical Documents* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 1960), 73.

JIÀN 見

*vb.; “to see” | – *vb.*; “to have an audience with”
| – *vb.*; “to appear” 【xiàn】
| – *adj.*; “to be visible” 【xiàn】
| – *adj.*; “readily available” 【xiàn】
| – *adv.*; passive marker*

OBI	BI	CM	QM	SS
見	𠩺	見	見	見

【*gǔ diàn qiè* 古電切】 OC: *[k]ən-s; MC: *kenH*

Early Meaning: *vb.*; “to see”

There is no controversy over the early meaning of “to see.”

Xū Shēn writes, “*Jiàn* 見 (見) means ‘to see.’ It is derived from *rén* 𠩺 (𠩺, a benevolent person) and *mù* 目 (目, eyes) 見, 視也。从𠩺, 从目。 He treats it as an “associative compound.” Duàn Yúcái uses “*shì* ér *bù* *jiàn*, *tīng* ér *bù* *wén*” 視而不見, 聽而不聞 (looking but not seeing, hearing but not listening) to explain that *shì* 視 (to look) and *jiàn* 見 (to see) have subtle differences, but they are similar enough to be considered the same. Xú Hào disputes Duàn’s example as irrelevant to the early meaning of the graph, which is what the eyes see. According to Xú, 見 is the original graph for *xiàn* 現 (to appear); hence, we have the phrase *xiàn zài* 見在 (is present/appear now/at this moment).¹ Qiú Xīguī argues that, in the oracle-bone and bronze inscriptions, the graphs 見 and 𠩺, which depict a person kneeling, highlighting the eye (𠩺), both inscribe the graph for *jiàn*; in the graph for *shì* 視 (to look), 𠩺, the lower part pictures a person standing (𠩺) rather than kneeling.² Jī Xùshēng remarks that in actual usage writers did not differentiate strictly between 見 and 視; during the Spring and Autumn period and the Warring States period, the graph for *jiàn* was also used for *shì*.³

The following is an example of its use as “to see”:

伍奢曰：「尚為人仁，呼必來。員為人剛戾忍詢，能成大事，彼見來之并禽，其勢必不來。」（《史記·伍子胥列傳》）

Wǔ Shē yuē, “Shàng wéi rén rén, hū bì lái. Yún wéi rén gāng lì rěn gòu, néng chéng dà shì, bì jiàn lái zhī bìng qín, qí shì bì bù lái.” (Shǐ jì, “Wǔ Zǐxū lièzhuàn”)

Wǔ Shē said, “Shàng as a person is benevolent. If summoned, he would definitely come. Yún as a person is unyielding and perverse, able to bear opprobrium, capable of accomplishing great things. He would see that on coming they would both be taken captive. The situation is shaping up in such a way that he definitely would not come. (“Biography of Wǔ Zǐxū,” *Grand Scribe’s Records*)

* *Gòu* 詐 is used for *gòu* 詛 (opprobrium).

Extended Meanings

1 *vb.*; “to have an audience with”

公將戰，曹叔請見。（《左傳·莊公十年》）

Gōng jiāng zhàn, Cáo Guì qǐng jiàn. (Zuǒ zhuàn, “Zhuānggōng shí nián”)

The duke was about to go to war. Cáo Guì requested to have an audience. (Duke Zhuāng 10, *Zuǒ Tradition*)

* The traditional reading for this meaning is *xiàn*.⁴

2 *vb.*; “to appear”【*xiàn*】

晉景公疾，卜之，大業之後不遂者為祟。景公問韓厥，厥知趙孤在，乃曰：「大業之後在晉絕祀者，其趙氏乎？夫自中行者皆嬴姓也。中行人面鳥噣，降佐殷帝大戊，及周天子，皆有明德。下及幽厲無道，而叔帶去周適晉，事先君文侯，至于成公，世有立功，未嘗絕祀。今吾君獨滅趙宗，國人哀之，故見龜策。唯君圖之。」（《史記·趙世家》）

Jin Jǐnggōng jí, bǔ zhī, Dàyè zhī hòu bù suì zhě wéi suì. Jǐnggōng wèn Hán Jué, Jué zhī Zhào gū zài, nǎi yuē, “Dàyè zhī hòu zài Jìn jué sì zhě, qí Zhàoshí hū? Fú zì Zhōngyǎn zhě jiē Yíng xìng yě. Zhōngyǎn rén miàn niǎo zhòu, jiàng zuò Yīn dì Tàiwù, jí Zhōu tiānzǐ, jiē yǒu míng dé. Xià jí Yōu Lì wú dào, ér Shūdài qù Zhōu shì Jìn, shì xiān jūn Wénhóu, zhì yú Chénggōng, shì yǒu lì gōng, wèi cháng jué sì. Jìn wú jūn dú miè Zhào zōng, guó rén āi zhī, gù xiàn guī cè. Wéi jūn tú zhī.” (Shǐ jì, “Zhào shíjiā”)

Duke Jǐnggōng of Jin was ill. He had someone divine about this; it was an affliction caused by the descendants of Dàyè (i.e., the remote ancestor of the Zhào clan and the Yíng clan), who had failed to thrive. Jǐnggōng asked Hán Jué. Jué knew that an orphan of the Zhào lineage had survived, and so he replied, “The descendants of Dàyè who have had their ceremonial sacrifice terminated – doesn’t this refer to the Zhào lineage? Their descendants since Zhōngyǎn had been given the surname of Yíng. Zhōngyǎn had a human face

and a mouth resembling a beak. He descended from Heaven to assist Tàiwù of Yīn, the god-king. Down to the Son of Heaven of Zhōu, all of these rulers had brilliant virtue. By the time King Yōu and King Lì lost the proper way of governance, Shūdài had left Zhōu to come to Jin, serving our late lord Duke Wén. From then until the time of Duke Chéng, for generations the Zhào lineage achieved merit, and their ceremonial sacrifice was never terminated. Now my lord has wiped out the Zhào lineage in particular; the people of the state [of Jin] pity them. Therefore, this has appeared in the tortoiseshell cracks. I wish that my lord would plan for this (i.e., to enfeoff the one remaining descendant of Zhào).” (“Hereditary House of Zhào,” *Grand Scribe’s Records*)

3 *adj.; predicate; “to be visible”* 【xiàn】

道也者，不可須與離也，可離非道也。是故君子戒慎乎其所不睹，恐懼乎其所不聞。莫見乎隱，莫顯乎微，故君子慎其獨也。（《禮記·中庸》）

Dào yě zhě, bù kě xūyú lí yě, kě lí fēi dào yě. Shì gù jūnzǐ jiè shèn hū qí suǒ bù dǔ, kǒng jù hū qí suǒ bù wén. Mò xiàn hū yǐn, mò xiǎn hū wēi, gù jūnzǐ shèn qí dú yě. (Lǐ jì, “Zhōng yōng”)

The Way cannot be left for a moment. If it can be left, it is not the Way. For this reason, noble men are vigilant and prudent with what they do not see, worried and fearful about what they do not hear. Nothing is more visible than the hidden; nothing is more apparent than the imperceptible; for this reason, noble men are particularly cautious in solitude. (“Doctrine of the Mean,” *Records of Rites*)

4 *adj.; attributive modifier; “readily available”* 【xiàn】

軍無見糧（《史記·項羽本紀》）

Jūn wú xiàn liáng (Shǐ jì, “Xiàng Yǔ běn jì”)

The army has no provisions readily available. (“Basic Annals of Xiàng Yǔ,” *Grand Scribe’s Records*)

Borrowed Meaning

1 *adv.; preceding a verb or verb phrase to indicate passive voice*

循法守正者，見侮於世。（《史記·禮書》）

Xún fǎ shǒu zhèng zhě, jiàn wǔ yú shì. (Shǐ jì, “Lǐ shū”)

Those who follow the regulations and embrace justice are bullied by the world. (“Book of Rites,” *Grand Scribe’s Records*)

Notes

1 SWJZZJ, juàn 8.2, 25a–25b.

2 Qiú Xīguī, “Jiǎgǔwén zhōng de jiàn yǔ shí” 甲骨文中的見與視, in *Jiǎgǔwén fāxiàn yībāi zhōunián xuéshù yántǎohuì lùnwénjí* 甲骨文發現一百周年學術研討會論文集,

comp. The Department of Chinese, National Taiwan Normal University, and Academia Sinica, Institute of History and Philology (Taipei: Wénshǐzhé chūbǎnshè, 1998), 1–5. An updated version that includes an abstract, key words, postscript, collated by Gě Liàng 葛亮, has been published on the website of Fùdàn dàxué chūtǔ wénxiànyǔ gǔwénzì yánjiū zhōngxīn 復旦大學出土文獻與古文字研究中心 (May 10, 2008), accessed July 26, 2022, www.tafnmachine.com/Web>Show/432.html

3 *SWXZ*, 718–19.

4 *GHYZD*, 1246.

KUÀNG 況

adv.; “even more” | – *vb.*; “to confer upon”

| – *vb.*; “to compare with”
| – *n.*; “situation”
| – *conj.*; “let alone”

OBI	SS
	

【*xǔ fǎng qiè* 許訪切】 OC: *[m]aŋ-s; MC: *xjwangH*

Early Meaning: *adv.*; “even more”

Jí Xūshēng does not have an entry for this. The early meaning of this character is unclear.

Xǔ Shèn writes, “*Kuàng* 況 ( shuǐ 水 ( water); *kuàng* 兄 (, to compare with) is sound-bearing” 況, 寒水也。从水, 兄聲, and treats it as a graph of “sound and form.” However, no extant literature supports this interpretation, and Duàn Yùcái questions it. Duàn argues that, in ancient times, when *kuàng* was used alone or in the sense of *bǐ kuàng* 比況 (to compare with), it was written as *kuàng* 兄, without the three dots on the left that represent water. Later, it was written as *kuàng* 況, with the three dots, and further changed to *kuàng* 況, with two dots. Xú Hào defines *kuàng* 況 as *zī yì* 滋益 (even more) and notes that it was borrowed to serve as a modal particle, with an extended meaning of *kuàng cì* 賦賜 (to bestow, to confer).¹

An example used by Xú Hào to illustrate the meaning of “even more”:

為仁者，愛親之謂仁；為國者，利國之謂仁。故長民者無親，眾以為親。苟利眾而百姓和，豈能憚君？以眾故不敢愛親，眾況厚之，彼將惡始而美終，以晚蓋者也。（《國語·晉語一》）

Wéi rén zhě, ài qīn zhī wèi rén; wéi guó zhě, lì guó zhī wèi rén. Gù zhǎng mǐn zhě wú qīn, zhòng yǐ wéi qīn. Gǒu lì zhòng ér bǎi xìng hé, qǐ néng dàn jūn? Yǐ zhòng gù bù gǎn ài qīn, zhòng kuàng hòu zhī, bǐ jiāng è shí ér měi zhōng, yǐ wǎn gài zhě yě. (Guó yǔ, “Jin yǔ yǐ”)

To act for benevolence: loving one's parents is considered benevolent. To act for the state: benefiting the state is considered benevolent. Therefore, one who leads people has no parents in mind when he governs; instead, he considers the multitude his parents. If the heir can benefit the multitude and the common people comply, how would he fear the ruler? The heir dares not love his own parents on account of the multitude. The multitude would favor him even more. He would begin with evil and end with good – that is using the latter virtue to cover up the former ill.” (“Discourse of Jin, First Section,” *Discourses of the States*)

* This passage is taken from a speech by Lady Lí 驪姬, a concubine of Duke Xiàn of Jin 晉獻公, to slander the heir Shēnshēng 申生. Shēnshēng would have no fear of damaging his reputation by assassinating his father, she reasons, as he would be able to govern well and reinstate his good name after seizing the throne.

Extended Meaning

- 1 *vb.*; “to confer upon,” same as *kuàng* 賦

寡君使豹來繼先君之好，君以諸侯之故，況使臣以大禮。（《國語·魯語下》）

Guājūn shǐ Bào lái jì xiān jūn zhī hǎo, jūn yǐ zhūhóu zhī gù, kuàng shǐ chén yǐ dà lǐ. (Guó yǔ, “Lǔ yǔ xiā”)

My lord sent Bào (self-address using one's own personal name) to come and extend our late ruler's good relations with your lord. Your lord conferred great ceremony upon the emissary (i.e., Bào himself) on account of his respect for the feudal lord who sent me. (“Discourse of Lǔ, Second Section,” *Discourses of the States*)

* This passage is taken from a conversation between an official of Jin and Shūsūn Bào 叔孫豹, a great official of Lǔ 魯 who had been sent as an envoy to Jin 晉. Duke Dào of Jin 晉悼公 received him with the grand music normally performed only for feudal lords, but Shūsūn did not express his appreciation until the lesser music was performed. The duke was curious about this and had his official ask the reason. In his response, Shūsūn discreetly points out that, since it was improper to receive him with so much ceremony, he treated the performance as a rehearsal that he had simply heard by chance.

Borrowed Meanings

- 1 *vb.*; “to compare with”; this usage does not seem to appear until after the Western Hán.

天地之性，能更生火，不能使滅火復燃；能更生人，不能令死人復見。不能使滅灰更為燃火，吾乃頗疑死人能復為形。案火滅不能復燃以況之，死人不能復為鬼，明矣。（《論衡·論死》）

Tiān dì zhī xìng, néng gèng shēng huǒ, bù néng shǐ miè huǒ fù rán; néng gèng shēng rén, bù néng lìng sǐ rén fù xiàn. Bù néng shǐ miè huī gèng wéi rán huǒ, wú nǎi pō yí sǐ rén néng fù wéi xíng. Àn huǒ miè bù néng fù rán yǐ kuàng zhī, sǐ rén bù néng fù wéi guǐ, míng yǐ. (Lùn héng, “Lùn sǐ”)

It is the nature of heaven and earth to be able to create fire anew, but not to rekindle extinguished fire. It is able to create people anew, but not to make the dead appear again. It cannot return extinguished fire to the form of burning fire, and so I doubt if the dead can return to their original form. Using the logic that fire cannot be rekindled once it has been extinguished to compare with this situation: it is clear that dead people cannot return as ghosts. (“On Death,” *On Balance*)

2 *n.; subject; “situation”*

為謀為慮，亂況斯削。

（《毛詩·大雅·桑柔》）²

Wéi móu wéi bì, luàn kuàng sī xuē.

（Máo Shī, “Dà yǎ,” “Sāng róu”）

If you exercise caution when taking counsel, the chaotic situation will be controlled.

（Máo #257, “Young Mulberry Trees,” in “Major Odes,” *Songs*）

* This use of *kuàng* 况 has been preserved as the modern meaning.

3 *conj.; used at the beginning of the second clause; “let alone”*

今上下之接無子父之澤，而欲以行義禁下，則交必有鄰矣。且父母之於子也，產男則相賀，產女則殺之。此俱出父母之懷衽，然男子受賀，女子殺之者，慮其後便，計之長利也。故父母之於子也，猶用計算之心以相待也，而况無父子之澤乎！（《韓非子·六反》）

Jīn shàng xià zhī jiē wú zǐ fù zhī zé, ér yù yǐ xíng yì jìn xià, zé jiāo bì yǒu xì yǐ. Qiè fù mǔ zhī yú zǐ yé, chān nán zé xiāng hè, chān nǚ zé shā zhī. Cǐ jù chū fù mǔ zhī huái rèn, rán nán zì shòu hè, nǚ zì shā zhī zhě, lù qí hòu biàn, jí zhī cháng lì yě. Gù fù mǔ zhī yú zǐ yé, yóu yòng jì suàn zhī xīn yǐ xiāng dài yě, ér kuàng wú fù zǐ zhī zé hū! (Hánfēizǐ, “Liù fǎn”)

Now the association between the lord and his subordinates lacks the warmth of that between father and son, but if the lord intends to restrain his subordinates with righteousness, their relations will surely become discordant. Moreover, in parents' treatment of their children, if a boy is born, they congratulate each other; if a girl is born, they kill her. This is a case of both emerging from the embrace of their parents, and yet the reason that a male infant receives celebration, whereas in the case of a female infant, the

parents kill her, is that they are considering future benefits and calculating long-term advantages. Therefore, even parents treat their children with calculating hearts, let alone those with none of the warmth of father and son! (“Six Reversals,” *Hánfēizǐ*)

* *Xi* 憎 is the same as *xì* 邪 (to be discordant).

Notes

1 *SWJZZJ*, *juàn* 11.1, 7a.

2 Zhèng Xuán interprets *kuàng* here as *zī* 滋 (even more). This is disputed by Mǎ Ruì-chén. See his *Máoshī zhuànjīān tōngshì*, vol. 3, *juàn* 26, 965.

MÒ 莫

n.; the same as mù 暮 (sunset) | – adj.; the same as mò 漠 (to be expansive)

- | – *indefinite pron.; the same as wú 無 (none)*
- | – *adv.; used for emphatic negation*
- | – *adv.; prohibitive imperative; the same as wú 勿 (do not)*
- | – *adv.; “probably”*

OBI	BI	CM	QM	SS
莫	日	暮	莫	莫

【*mò gù qiè* 莫故切】【*mù gè qiè* 暮各切】OC: *m^čak; MC: *mak*

Early Meaning: *n.; the same as mù 暮 (“sunset”)*

Jǐ Xūshēng notes that the early meaning of *mù* 莫 should be “sunset,” as shown by the graph in the oracle-bone inscriptions, which depicts the sun setting among grasses or trees.¹

Xǔ Shèn writes, “*Mù* 莫 (莫) refers to the sun growing dark. It is derived from *rì* 日 (日, the sun), which is sinking into a thicket” 莫 (莫), 日且冥也。从日在艸中. He treats it as an “associative compound” made up of the semantic components *rì* 日 (日, sun) and *mǎng* 艸 (艸, thicket). The sun sinking into a thicket suggests sunset; this is the original form of the graph that later became *mù* 暮 (sunset). Xú Hào suggests that the early meaning of *mò* 莫 is “to be expansive,” as in “*guǎng mò zhī yě*” 广莫之野 (a broad and expansive stretch of land). It is also used for *mò* 寂 (to be quiet) and *mò* 漠 (to be expansive), as well as for *wú* 無 (none) and *wú* 勿 (do not).² Baxter-Sagart reconstructs *m^čak for 莫, *mo for 無 and 勿. These words do not have the same pronunciation today, but they all shared similar pronunciations, with the same bilabial initial “m,” in ancient times.

As *mù* 莫 was borrowed to serve as various function words, its early meaning became obscure. The semantic determinative *rì* 日 was added to differentiate

it from these other usages, creating the common form *mù* 暮.³ This is a classic example of *gǔ jīn zì* 古今字 (ancient and modern characters), where the ancient graph becomes the modern graph by the addition of a semantic determinative. Here the ancient graph is 莫, and the modern graph is 暮. The following is an example of 莫 in its meaning of “sunset”:

魯人有朝祥而墓歌者，子路笑之。（《禮記·檀弓上》）

Lǔ rén yǒu zhāo xiáng ér mù gē zhě, Zǐlù xiào zhī. (*Lǐ jì*, “Tángōng shàng”)

In Lǔ there were people who performed the sacrificial ceremonies in the morning, then sang at sunset. Zǐlù ridiculed them. (“Tángōng, First Section,” *Records of Rites*)

* *Xiáng* 祥 refers to the sacrificial ceremony for deceased parents. It is called *xǐǎo xiáng* 小祥 when performed in the thirteenth month of mourning, and *dà xiáng* 大祥 when performed in the twenty-fifth month. Zǐlù ridiculed these people because they did not appear to understand the significance of the three-year mourning period (actually twenty-seven months): The ritual did not mean much if the grief was not genuine.

Extended Meaning

- 1 *adj.; attributive modifier; the same as mò 漠 (to be expansive)*

今子有大樹，患其無用，何不樹之於無何有之鄉，廣莫之野，彷徨乎無為其側，逍遙乎寢臥其下。不夭斤斧，物無害者，無所可用，安所困苦哉！（《莊子·逍遙遊》）

Jīn zǐ yǒu dà shù, huàn qí wú yòng, hé bù shù zhī yú wú hé yǒu zhī xiāng, guǎng mò zhī yě, pánghuáng hū wú wéi qí cè, xiāoyáo hū qǐn wò qí xià. Bù yāo jīn fǔ, wù wú hài zhě, wú suǒ kě yòng, ān suǒ kùn kǔ zāi! (*Zhuāngzǐ*, “Xiāoyáo yóu”)

Now you have a large tree and you worry that there is no use for it. Why don't you plant it in a field where there is nothing much around, or in the wild in an expansive piece of land? You can stroll around it without doing much or lie under it without caring much. It will not be chopped down, and nothing brings harm to it. Since it cannot be put to any use, what does it have to suffer? (“Roaming Free,” *Zhuāngzǐ*)

Borrowed Meanings

- 1 *indefinite pron.; subject; the same as wú 無. The Baxter-Sagart reconstruction has *m^čak for 莫 and *ma/*mo for 無, both of which share the bilabial initial “m.”*

- *for people; “no one” or “none”*

項王泣數行下，左右皆泣，莫能仰視。（《史記·項羽本紀》）

Xiàngwáng qì shù háng xià, zuǒyòu jiē qī, mò néng yǎng shì. (*Shǐ jì*, “Xiàng Yǔ běnji”)

The tears of King Xiàng came down in several streams. His followers all wept; none were able to raise their heads to look at him. (“Basic Annals of Xiàng Yǔ,” *Grand Scribe’s Records*)

- *for things; “nothing”*

凡治人之道，莫急於禮。禮有五經，莫重於祭。(《禮記·祭統》)

Fán zhì rén zhī dào, mò jí yú lǐ; lǐ yǒu wǔ jīng, mò zhòng yú jì. (*Lǐ jì*, “Jì tǒng”)

In general, in the Way of governing people, nothing is more urgent than implementing the rites. The rites have five types; nothing is weightier than the one for sacrifice. (“Basics of Sacrificial Rites,” *Records of Rites*)

- 2 *adv.; adverbial modifier; used for emphatic negation*

- used before an adjective that serves as a subject

莫赤匪狐，莫黑匪烏。

惠而好我，攜手同車。

其虛其邪！既亟只且。

(《毛詩·邶風·北風》)

Mò chì fēi hú, mò hēi fēi wū.

Huì ér hào wǒ, xié shǒu tóng jū.

Qí shū qí xú! Jí jí zhījū.

(*Máo Shī*, “Bèi fēng,” “Běi fēng”)

There is no fox that is not red, no crow that is not black.

If you favor and are fond of me, let’s join hands and mount this carriage.

How slow-paced! This is already urgent!¹⁴

(*Máo* #41, “Northern Wind,” in “Airs of Bēi,” *Songs*)

* 虚 is a borrowed graph for *shū* 舒; 邪 is a borrowed graph for *xú* 徐. *Shūxú* is a rhyming compound.⁵ *Qí* 其 is a particle used to fill in the meter. *Jí* 急 is the same as *jí* 急 (to be urgent). *Zhījū* 只且 are modal particles with no concrete meaning.

The modern proverb “tiānxià wūyā yībān hēi” 天下烏鵲一般黑 (all the crows in the world are black) conveys the same idea. All evil people are evil in the same way.

- used before an object pronoun that precedes its verb

公曰：「今之君子，胡莫之行也？」(《禮記·哀公問》)

Gōng yuē, “Jīn zhī jūnzǐ, hú mò zhī xíng yě?” (*Lǐ jì*, “Āigōng wèn”)

The duke (i.e., Duke Āi of Lǔ) asked, “Why do the noble men of today not implement this (i.e., use the rites to govern)? (“Duke Āi Consulted [Confucius],” *Records of Rites*)

* *Xíng* 行 is the verb, whereas *zhī* 之 is the object pronoun.

- used before an object pronoun that precedes its verb phrase; in this case, the verb phrase is modified by an auxiliary verb.

碩鼠碩鼠，無食我黍！

三歲貫女，莫我肯顧。

逝將去女，適彼樂土。

樂土樂土，爰得我所。

(《毛詩·魏風·碩鼠》)

Shuò shǔ shuò shǔ, wú shí wǒ shǔ!

Sān suì guàn rǔ, mò wǒ kěn gù.

Shì jiāng qù rǔ, shì bǐ lè tǔ.

Lè tǔ lè tǔ, yuán dé wǒ suō.

(*Máo Shī*, “*Wèi fēng*,” “*Shuò shǔ*”)

Big rat, big rat, do not eat our millet!

Three years we have served you, but you are not willing to care for us.

We are going to leave you, to go to another land that gives delight.

A land of delight, a land of delight: that is where we will settle.⁶

(*Máo* #113, “Big Rats,” in “Airs of Wèi,” *Songs*)

* *Kěn* 肯 is the auxiliary verb. It modifies the verb *gù* 顧 (to care for).

Wǒ 我 (us) is the object pronoun of the verb phrase. Normal word order would be *mò kěn gù wǒ* 莫肯顧我 (are not willing to care for us), but the verb-object order is reversed when the object is a pronoun in a sentence of negation.

- 3 *adv; adverbial modifier; prohibitive imperative; the same as wú 毋 (do not); Baxter-Sagart gives *m^čak for 莫 and *mo for 毋, sharing the bilabial initial “m.”*

秦惠王車裂商君以徇，曰：「莫如商鞅反者！」遂滅商君之家。(《史記·商君列傳》)

Qín Huìwáng jū liè Shāngjūn yǐ xiùn, yuē, “Mò rú Shāng Yāng fǎn zhě!” Sui miè Shāngjūn zhī jiā. (*Shǐ jì*, “*Shāngjūn lièzhuàn*”)

King Hui of Qín had [the body of] Lord Shāng (i.e., Shāng Yāng 商鞅) torn asunder with carts driven in opposite directions, making an example of him, and said, “Do not rebel as Shāng Yāng did!” Thus he exterminated the family of Lord Shāng. (“Biography of Shāng Yāng,” *Grand Scribe’s Records*)

- 4 *adv.; adverbial modifier; “probably”*

子曰：「文，莫吾猶人也。躬行君子，則吾未之有得。」（《論語·述而》）

Zǐ yuē, “Wén, mò wú yóu rén yě. Gōng xíng jūn zǐ, zé wú wèi zhī yǒu dé.”
(Lún yǔ, “Shù’ér”)

The Master said, “In cultivating qualities, I probably equal others. In implementing them with diligence like a noble man, I am still far from that.”
 (“Shù’ér,” *Analects*)

Notes

- 1 *SWXZ*, 73.
- 2 *SWJZZJ*, *juàn* 1.2, 181b–182a.
- 3 Zhāng Shùnhuī 張舜徽, *Shuōwén jiězì dǎodú* 說文解字導讀 (Chéngdū: Bā-Shǔ shūshè, 1990), 50.
- 4 Chéng and Jiǎng note that the rhyme category is *yú* 魚, with *hú* 狐, *wū* 烏, *jū* 車, *xū* 虛, *xú* 邪, and *jū* 且 as the rhymes. *SJZX*, 114. Karlgren has *g'wo* for 狐, *o* for 烏, *ki'o* for 車, *dzi'o* for 邪, and *tsj'o* for 且. He does not give the reconstruction for *xū* 虛. Karlgren, *The Book of Odes*, 27. According to the Máo commentary, this poem depicts the people of Wèi 衛, who could no longer endure their tyrannical rulers and were planning to leave the state in a body.
- 5 Mǎ Ruīchén, *Máoshī zhuānjiān tōngshì*, vol. 1, *juàn* 4, 155.
- 6 Chéng and Jiǎng note that the rhyme category is *yú* 魚, with *shǔ* 鼠, *shǔ* 孜, *rǔ* 女, *gù* 顧, *tǔ* 土, and *sío* 所 as the rhymes. *SJZX*, 304. Karlgren has *sy'o* for 鼠 and 孜, *ny'o* for 女, *ko* for 顧, *t'o* for 土, and *si'o* for 所. Karlgren, *The Book of Odes*, 73. The Máo commentary notes that this poem was written as a satire against the heavy taxes levied by harsh officials (big rats) on the people of Wèi.

MÒ 莫 . . . YÚ 於 . . .

- used with *yú* 於 or *hū* 平 to show comparison

孟子曰：「養心莫善於寡欲。其為人也寡欲，雖有不存焉者，寡矣；其為人也多欲，雖有存焉者，寡矣。」（《孟子·盡心下》）

Mèngzǐ yuē, “*Yǎng xīn mò shàn yú guǎ yù. Qí wéi rén yě guǎ yù, suī yǒu bù cún yān zhě, guǎ yǐ; Qí wéi rén yě duō yù, suī yǒu cún yān zhě, guǎ yǐ.*” (*Mèngzǐ*, “*Jin xīn xià*”)

Mencius said, “To cultivate the mind, nothing is better than having few desires. When people have few desires, even if there are those who cannot preserve their inborn goodness, they will be few. When people have many desires, even if there are those who can preserve their inborn goodness, they will be few.” (“Exerting Oneself, Second Section,” *Mencius*)

NĀI 乃 (迺/迺)

vb.; “to pull” (?)

- | – *second-person pron.*; possessive case
- | – *adv.*; “is, to be sure”
- | – *adv.*; “surprisingly”
- | – *conj.*; to show cause and effect, condition, time sequence, or to redirect a conversation
- | – *part.*; for rhythm

OBI	BI	CM	QM	SS	LS	TAS
乃	乃	乃	乃	乃	乃	乃

【*nú hài qiè 奴亥切】OC: *n̥əʔ; *n̥ə(ŋ)ʔ (for the meaning of “your”); MC: *nojX**

Early Meaning: *vb.*; “to pull (?)”

There is no consensus on the early meaning. Zhōu Fǎgāo 周法高 (1915–1994) proposes that the bronze inscription 乃 resembles a composite bow without its string or its cover; the loose bow without support gave rise to the meaning “relaxed.” He suggests that this graph was also used to mean *rèng* 扱 (to pull with a string).¹ Jǐ Xūshēng quotes three different theories but finds it difficult to decide which one is the most apposite: (1) it depicts the action “to pull” (Lín Yiguāng 林義光 [d. 1932]), (2) it is the original graph for *nǎi* 奶 (breast) (Guō Mòruò 郭沫若 [1892–1978]), and (3) it is the original graph for *shéng* 繩 (a rope; Zhū Fāngpǔ 朱芳圃 [1895–1973]). Jǐ believes that the meaning proposed by Xǔ Shèn is probably a borrowed meaning.² In oracle-bone and bronze inscriptions, *nǎi* was used as a modal particle. It was also used as a second-person pronoun indicating the possessive.

Xǔ Shèn writes, “*Nǎi 乃* (乃) shows difficulty in speaking. It depicts the difficulty of exhaling” 乃,曳詞之難也。象氣之出難. He further notes that 𩫑 is the ancient graph for *nǎi* and that 𩫑 is the large seal script. Duàn Yǔcái suggests that *nǎi 乃* is similar to *ér* 而 (but/you) and can also be used for *rǔ* 汝 (you).

Baxter-Sagart has *nə for 而 and *na? for 汝; both are similar to the ancient pronunciation of 乃, which is reconstructed as *n̥ə? Xú Hào explains that both ér 而 and nǎi 乃 were used as conjunction words to show a contrast in meaning, or as sentence-initial particles, with ér expressing a less urgent and nǎi a more pressing tone.³

Borrowed Meanings

- 1 *second-person pron.; attributive modifier*; often used in the possessive case

漢王曰：「吾與若俱北面受命懷王，約為兄弟，吾翁即汝翁。必欲烹乃翁，幸分我一盃羹。」（《漢書·陳勝項籍列傳》）

Hàn wáng yuē, “Wú yǔ ruò jù bēi miàn shòu mìng Huái wáng, yuē wéi xiōng dì, wú wēng jí rǔ wēng. Bì yù pēng nǎi wēng, xìng fēn wǒ yī bēi gēng.” (Hàn shū, “Chén Shèng, Xiàng Jí lièzhuan”)

The king of Hán (later Emperor Gāozǔ of Hán) said, “You and I both face north to receive the command of King Huái (of Chǔ), pledged to each other as brothers (to fight the Qín army). My father is none other than your father. If you must boil your father alive, I hope you will share a cup of the stew with me.” (“Biographies of Chén Shèng and Xiàng Jí,” *Official History of Hán*)

- 2 *adv.; emphasizing noun predication*; since it is acceptable in literary Chinese to show identification between A and B by simply putting them together without the help of a verb, *nǎi* is treated as an adverb; “is, to be sure”

〔孟子〕曰：「無傷也，是乃仁術也，見牛未見羊也。……」（《孟子·梁惠王上》）

[Mèngzǐ] yuē, “Wú shāng yě, shì nǎi rén shù yě, jiàn niú wèi jiàn yáng yě” (Mèngzǐ, “Liáng Huìwáng shàng”)

Mencius said, “There is no harm (in your exchanging an ox for a sheep for sacrifice after seeing the ox trembling). This is, to be sure, the art of benevolence, for you saw the ox but not the sheep. . . .” (“King Huì of Liáng, First Section,” *Mencius*)

* This is part of a dialogue between King Xuān 宣 of Qí and Mencius. King Xuān saw an ox trembling on its way to be sacrificed and ordered a sheep to be sacrificed in its stead. Since sheep were less valuable than oxen, the commoners who saw this thought that King Xuān was being stingy. Mencius, however, saw in the king’s action the expression of a compassionate heart, for he had witnessed the terror of the ox but not that of the sheep.

- 3 *adv.; adverbial modifier; “surprisingly”*

楚之南有冥靈者，以五百歲為春，五百歲為秋；上古有大椿者，以八千歲為春，八千歲為秋。而彭祖乃今以久特聞，眾人匹之，不亦悲乎！（《莊子·逍遙遊》）

Chǔ zhī nán yǒu Mínglíng zhě, yǐ wǔ bǎi suì wéi chūn, wǔ bǎi suì wéi qiū; shàng gǔ yǒu Dàchūn zhě, yǐ bā qiān suì wéi chūn, bā qiān suì wéi qiū.

Ér Péngzǔ nǎi jīn yǐ jiǔ tè wén, zhòng rén pǐ zhī, bùyì bēi hū! (Zhuāngzǐ, “Xiāoyáo yóu”)

In the south of Chǔ there was a large tortoise called Mínglíng. It took five hundred years as one spring; another five hundred years as one autumn. In ancient times there was a large tree called Dàchūn. It took eight thousand years as one spring; another eight thousand years as one autumn. Yet now Péngzǔ is surprisingly known in particular for his longevity; everyone tries to equal him. Isn't it pitiful! (“Roaming Free,” Zhuāngzǐ)

4. *conj.*

- to show cause and effect; “thus/therefore”

季康子欲伐邾，乃饗大夫以謀之。子服景伯曰：「小所以事大，信也；大所以保小，仁也。背大國，不信；伐小國，不仁。民保於城，城保於德。失二德者，危，將焉保？」(《左傳·哀公七年》)

Jikāngzǐ yù fá Zhū, nǎi xiǎng Dàfū yǐ móu zhī. Zǐfú Jīngbó yuē, “Xiǎo suǒ yǐ shì dà, xìn yě; dà suǒ yǐ bǎo xiǎo, rén yě. Bèi dà guó, bù xìng; fá xiǎo guó, bù rén. Mǐn bǎo yú chéng, chéng bǎo yú dé. Shī èr dé zhě, wéi, jiāng yān bǎo?” (Zuō zhuàn, “Āigōng qī nián”)

Jikāngzǐ wanted to attack Zhū; he therefore held a communal banquet for great officers to strategize about it. Zǐfú Jīngbó said, “That by which the small serve the great is trustworthiness. That by which the great protect the small is benevolence. To betray a great state is not being trustworthy, and to attack a small state is not being benevolent. People are protected by cities, while cities are protected by virtue. Once we lose these two virtues (i.e., trustworthiness and benevolence), [if we find ourselves] in danger, where will we find protection?” (Duke Āi 7, Zuō Tradition)

- to show a condition; “only then”

子產曰：「鬼有所歸，乃不為厲，吾為之歸也。」(《左傳·昭公七年》)

Zǐchǎn yuē, “Guǐ yǒu suǒ guī, nǎi bù wéi lì, wú wéi zhī guī yě. ” (Zuō zhuàn, “Zhāogōng qī nián”)

Zǐchǎn said, “When a ghost has a place to return to, only then will it stop haunting people. I have created a place for it to return to.” (Duke Zhāo 7, Zuō Tradition)

- to show time sequence; “then”

物類之起，必有所始。榮辱之來，必象其德。肉腐出蟲，魚枯生蠹。怠慢忘身，禍災乃作。(《荀子·勸學》)

Wù lèi zhī qǐ, bì yǒu suǒ shǐ. Róng rǔ zhī lái, bì xiàng qí dé. Ròu fǔ chū chóng, yú kū shēng dù. Dài mǎn wàng shēn, huò zāi nǎi zuò. (Xúnzǐ, “Quàn xué”)

The emergence of different things needs must have an origin. The coming of honor and shame needs must correspond to the image of a person's virtue. Meat rots, giving rise to worms; fish decays, giving rise to maggots. To be indolent and arrogant, forgetting to cultivate

oneself – then disasters and calamities arise. (“Encouraging Learning,” *Xúnzǐ*)

- to redirect a conversation; “as for”

[孟子]曰：「孔子為魯司寇，不用，從而祭，燔肉不至，不稅冕而行。不知者以為肉也，其知者以為無禮也。乃孔子則欲以微罪行，不欲為苟去。君子之所為，眾人固不識也。」（《孟子·告子下》）

[Mèngzǐ] *yuē*, “Kǒngzǐ wéi Lǔ Sīkòu, bù yòng, cóng ér jì, fán ròu bù zhì, bù tuō miǎn ér xíng. Bù zhī zhě yǐ wéi wèi ròu yě, qí zhī zhě yǐ wéi wèi wú lì yě. Nǎi Kǒngzǐ zé yù yǐ wéi zuì xíng, bù yù wéi gōu qu. Jūnzi zhī suǒ wéi, zhònggrén gù bù shí yě.” (Mèngzǐ, “Gàozi xià”)

Mencius said, “Confucius served as the minister of justice of Lǔ, but his talent was not put to use. He followed the ruler to attend the sacrificial ceremony. Seeing that the sacrificial meat for the royal clansmen did not arrive, he left Lǔ without even removing his ceremonial cap (showing that he left in a hurry). Those who did not know him presumed that he left because of the meat; those who knew him presumed that he left because of the violation of the rites. As for Confucius, he wanted to leave because of some minor offense rather than leaving carelessly (for no good reason). What a noble man does indeed cannot be understood by the common run of people.” (“Gàozi, Second Section,” *Mencius*)

* *Tuō* 稅 is the same as *tuō* 脫 (to remove). Yáng Bójùn points out that it was impossible for Confucius to know, upon returning home, whether the sacrificial meat would arrive, because the meat was often delivered one or two days after the sacrifice. To say that he did not even remove his cap, Yáng suggests, is just a way of showing that Confucius left in great haste.⁴

5 part.; for rhythm

益曰：「都！帝德廣運，乃聖、乃神、乃武、乃文。皇天眷命，奄有四海，為天下君。」（《尚書·虞書·大禹謨》）

Yì *yuē*, “Dū! Dì dé guǎng yùn, nǎi shèng, nǎi shén, nǎi wǔ, nǎi wén. Huángtiān juàn mìng, yǎn yóu sì hái, wéi tiānxià jūn.” (Shàng Shū, “Yú shū,” “Dà Yǔ mó”)

Yì said, “Ah! The virtue of the god-king is vast and unceasing – wise, spiritual, martial, and civil. Great Heaven favors you with its decree, and you possess all within the four seas, becoming the sovereign of all under Heaven.” (“Counsels of the Great Yú,” in “Book of Yú,” *Book of Documents*)

* *Dū* 都 is an exclamation of praise.

Notes

1 Zhōu Fāgāo 周法高, *Jīnwén gǔlín bù* 金文詁林補 (Taipei: Zhōngyāng yánjiūyuàn lishǐ yùyán yánjiūsuǒ, 1982), 1523–7.

2 SWXZ, 398.

3 SWJZZJ, juàn 5.1, 53a–53b.

4 Yáng Bójùn, *Mèngzǐ yízhù* 孟子譯注, 2 vols. (1960; Běijīng: Zhōnghuá shūjú, 1988), vol. 2, 287.

QÍ 其

n.; the same as *jī* 箕 (a winnowing basket) 【jī】

- | – *third-person pron.* ; *attributive modifier showing the possessive*
- | – *DP*
- | – *adv.*; “probably/likely”
- | – *adv.*; *to show imperative*
- | – *adv.*; *to create and intensify rhetorical questions*
- | – *part.*; *for rhythm*
- | – *sentence final modal part.*; *to express a doubtful tone* 【jī】
- | – *conj.*; *used for supposition, selection, and concession*

OBI	BI			CM		QM	
  							 
TAS	LS			SS			
  							

【*qú zhī qiè* 渠之切】 OC: *ga; MC: *gi*

Early Meaning: *n.*; the same as *jī* 箕 (a winnowing basket) 【jī】

Qí 其, which appears as the zodiograph  on oracle bones, is believed to be the original graph for *jī* 箕 (winnowing basket). Because this graph was borrowed to serve as a function word, the semantic determinative *zhú* 竹 (bamboo) was added to the graph during the Warring States period to indicate its early meaning, hence the character *jī* 箕.¹ Baxter-Sagart has *gə for 其 and *k(r)ə for 箕; in ancient Chinese these shared the same finals, and their initials are both linguavelar (consonants produced with the tongue touching the velum or soft palate).

The *Shuōwén jiězì* lacks an entry for *qí* 其 but does have an entry for *jī* 箕. Xǔ Shèn writes, “*Jī* 箕 (𦇗) is a winnowing basket. It is derived from *zhú* 竹 (𦇗, bamboo). 𦇗 is the zodiograph for ‘basket;’ underneath it is the zodiograph representing ‘low stool’ (𠂔, *jī* 𠂔).” 𦇗 (箕), 箕也。从竹; 𦇗, 象形; 下其丂也. He further observes that, in the ancient scripts, 𦇗 is the abbreviated form of *jī* 箕 and that 𦇗 and 𦇗 are the other ancient graphs for the word, while 𦇗 and 𦇗 are the graphs in large seal script. Duàn Yúcái notes that 𦇗 was borrowed to serve as a modal particle. Xú Hào points out that a semantic determinative, *zhú* 竹, was added to 𦇗 after the original graph began to be used predominantly as a modal particle.²

Borrowed Meanings

1 *third-person pron.*; only used as attributive modifier; showing the possessive

- modifying a noun that serves as a subject in a clause
北冥有魚，其名為鯤。(《莊子·逍遙遊》)
Běi míng yǒu yú, qí míng wéi kūn. (*Zhuāngzǐ*, “Xiāoyáo yóu”)
There is a kind of fish in the North Sea; its name is Kūn. (“Roaming Free,” *Zhuāngzǐ*)
- modifying a noun that serves as the object of a verb; cannot be used as a subject³
不上賢，使民不爭；不貴難得之貨，使民不盜；不見可欲，使心不亂。是以聖人之治，虛其心，實其腹；弱其志，強其骨。常使民無知無欲，使夫智者不敢為也。為無為，則無不治。(《老子·道經三章》)
Bù shàng xiān, shǐ mǐn bù zhēng; bù guì nán dé zhī huò, shǐ mǐn bù d ào; bù xiān kě yù, shǐ xīn bù luàn. Shì yǐ shèng rén zhī zhì, xū qí xīn, shí qí fù; ruò qí zhì, qiáng qí gǔ. Cháng shǐ mǐn wú zhì wú yù, shǐ fú zhì zhě bù gǎn wéi yě. Wéi wú wéi, zé wú bù zhì. (*Lǎozǐ*, “Dào jīng sān zhāng”)

Do not consider the wise as superior; this will cause the people to stop competing. Do not consider rare goods as precious; this will cause the people to stop stealing. Do not display desirable things; this will cause their hearts to remain undisturbed. For this reason, the sage rules by emptying their minds, filling up their bellies, softening their wills, and strengthening their bones. Always ensure that the people have no knowledge and no desires, so that the wise dare not act. Perform governance by not performing; then there is nothing not in order. (“Classic of the Way, Chapter Three,” *Lǎozǐ*)

* 見 should be pronounced *xiàn* rather than *jiàn* because it refers to what the ruler should do to govern: not that he should see desirable things himself but that he should not let desirable things be seen by the common people.

〔齊宣〕王曰：「然；誠有百姓者。齊國雖褊小，吾何愛一牛？即不忍其觳觫，若無罪而就死地，故以羊易之也。」（《孟子·梁惠王上》）

[Qí Xuān]wáng yuē, “R án; chéng yǒu bǎixìng zhě. Qí guó suī biǎn xiǎo, wú hé ài yī niú? Jí bù rěn qí húnsù, ruò wú zuì ér jiù sǐ dì, gù yǐ yáng yì zhī yě.” (Mèngzǐ, “Liáng Huiwáng shàng”)

The king (King Xuān of Qí) responded [to Mencius], “It is like this. There are indeed such commoners (i.e., those who think that I am stingy). Although the Qí state is scanty and small, how would I begrudge an ox [for sacrifice]? I just could not bear to see its frightened and trembling appearance. It had committed no offense but was heading to a place of death. For this reason, I commanded the use of a sheep in its place (for the sacrificial ceremony).” (King Huì of Liáng, First Section, “Mencius”)

〔左師觸鬪曰〕：「……今媼尊長安君之位，而封之以膏腴之地，多予之重器，而不及今令有功於國。一旦山陵崩，長安君何以自託於趙？老臣以媼為長安君計短也，故以為其愛不若燕后。」（《戰國策·趙策·趙太后新用事》）

[Zuōshī Chù Zhé yuē], “. . . Jīn ǎo zūn Cháng’ān jūn zhī wèi, ér fēng zhī yǐ gāo yú zhī dì, duō yǔ zhī zhòng qì, ér bù jí jīn lìng yǒu gōng yú guó. Yī dàn shān líng bēng, Cháng’ān jūn hé yǐ zì tuō yú Zhào? Lǎo chén yǐ ǎo wèi Cháng’ān jūn jì duǎn yě, gù yǐ wéi qí ài bù ruò Yānhòu.” (Zhàn’guó cè, “Zhào cè,” “Zhào tài hòu xīn yòng shí”)

Chù Zhé, the left counselor, said, “. . . Now my lady wants to elevate [her youngest son] Lord Cháng’ān’s position, enfeoff him in a land with rich resources, and give him many accoutrements; yet she does not go so far today as to let him perform meritorious deeds for the state. Once my lady has passed away, how can Lord Cháng’ān position himself in Zhào? I, her aging subject, think that my lady has planned for him only for the short term; thus I presume that her love for him does not match [her love for] the empress of Yān.” (“Dowager Empress Zhào took charge of state affairs,” in “Strategies of Zhào,” *Strategies of the Warring States*)⁴

- modifying a noun that serves as the object of a co-verb

太史公曰：「余讀〈離騷〉、〈天問〉、〈招魂〉、〈哀郢〉，悲其志。適長沙，觀屈原所自沈淵，未嘗不垂涕，想見其為人。及見賈生弔之，又怪屈原以彼其材，游諸侯，何國不容，而自令若是。讀〈鵬鳥賦〉，同死生，輕去就，又爽然自失矣。」（《史記·屈原賈生列傳》）

Tàishīgōng yuē, “Yú dù ‘Lí sāo,’ ‘Tiān wèn,’ ‘Zhāo hún,’ ‘Āi yǐng,’ bēi qí zhì. Shì Chángshā, guān Qū Yuán suǒ zì chén yuān, wèi cháng bù chuí tì, xiāng jiàn qí wéi rén. Jí jiàn Jiǎ Shēng diào zhī, yòu guài Qū Yuán yǐ bǐ qí cái, yóu zhūhóu, hé guó bù róng, ér zì lìng ruò shì. Dú ‘Fú niǎo fù,’ tóng sī shēng, qīng qù jiù, yòu shuāngrán zì shī yǐ.” (Shǐ jì, “Qū Yuán, Jiǎ Shēng lièzhuan”)

The Grand Scribe said, “When I read ‘On encountering sorrow,’ ‘Heavily questions,’ ‘Summons of the soul,’ and ‘Grieving for Ying,’ I felt

deeply in my heart his (i.e., Qū Yuán's) will. When I went to Chángshā and viewed the deep water where Qū Yuán drowned himself, there was never an occasion on which I did not shed tears, seeing in my mind a vision of his conduct. But then, when I saw Scholar Jiǎ lamenting him, I became curious: Qū Yuán could have used that talent of his to associate with any of the feudal lords – what state would not have welcomed him? Yet he did this to himself. When I read ‘Rhapsody on the houlet,’ which treats life and death as equal, and makes light of leaving or taking official positions, I was again as confused as if I had lost sight of myself. (“Biographies of Qū Yuán and Scholar Jiǎ,” *Grand Scribe’s Records*)

* Literally, *qù jiù* 去就 means “to depart” and “to approach.” It can refer to removal from and appointment to official positions, which seems to be the case here.⁵ *Yǐ* 以 is a co-verb, taking *bǐ qí cái* 彼其材 (that talent of his) as its object.

2 DP

- *attributive modifier*; often used to refer to those far away

魯、衛諫曰：「齊疾我矣。其死亡者，皆親暱也。……」（《左傳·成公二年》）

Lǔ, Wèi jiàn yuē, “Qí jí wǒ yǐ, qí sǐ wáng zhě, jiē qīn nì yě. . . .” (Zuō zhuàn, “Chénggōng èr nián”)

Lǔ and *Wèi* remonstrated with [Jìn], saying, “[The king of] Qí resents us. Those who died were all his kin and favorites. . . .” (Duke Chéng 2, Zuō Tradition)

- used in a partitive construction (partitive is a word or phrase that stands for part of a whole); “of them,” “of that,” “of those,” “of these”

魏文侯時，西門豹為鄴令。豹往到鄴，會長老，問之民所疾苦。長老曰：「苦為河伯娶婦，以故貧。」豹問其故，對曰：「鄴三老、廷掾常歲賦斂百姓，收取其錢得數百萬，用其二三十萬為河伯娶婦，與祝巫共分其餘錢持歸。……」（《史記·滑稽列傳·西門豹軼事》）

Wèi Wénhóu shí, Xīmén Bào wéi Yè Lìng. Bào wǎng dào Yè, huì zhǎnglǎo, wèn zhī mǐn suǒ jí kǔ. Zhǎnglǎo yuē, “Kǔ wèi Hébó qǔ fù, yǐ gù pín.” Bào wèn qí gù, duì yuē, “Yè sān lǎo, Tíngyuàn cháng suì fù liǎn bǎi xìng, shōu qǔ qí qián dé shù bǎi wàn, yòng qí èr sān shí wàn wéi Hébó qǔ fù, yǔ zhù wū gòng fēn qí yú qián chí guī. . . .” (Shi jì, “Gǔjí lièzhuan,” Xīmén Bào yì shì”)

During the time of Marquis Wén of Wèi, Xīmén Bào became the magistrate of Yè. Going to Yè, Bào met with the elders, asking them what the people were suffering from. The elders replied, “We suffer from having to procure maidens for the river god; for this reason we are poor.” Bào asked the reason for the sacrifice. They responded, “The three elders of Yè and clerk in the headquarters regularly levy yearly taxes on the

common people, collecting their bronze coins up to several million. They use twenty or thirty hundred thousand of them to get maidens as wives for the river god, and share the rest of the coins with conjurers and shamans, which they take home with them. . . .” (“Anecdote on Xīmén Bào,” in “Biographies of the Eloquent,” *Grand Scribe’s Records*)

3 *adv.*, adverbial modifier used before the predicate; “probably/likely”

- to show conjecture

晉人歸楚公子谷臣與連尹襄老之尸于楚，以求知鑿。於是荀首佐中軍矣，故楚人許之。王送知鑿曰：「子怨我乎？」對曰：「二國治戎，臣不才，不勝其任，以為俘馘。執事不以釁鼓，使歸即戮，君之惠也。臣實不才，又誰敢怨？」（《左傳·成公三年》）

Jìn rén guī Chǔ Gōngzǐ Gǔchén yǔ Liányīn Xiāng Lǎo zhī shī yú Chǔ, yǐ qiú Zhīyīng. Yú shì Xún Shǒu zuò zhōng jūn yǐ, gù Chǔ rén xǔ zhī. Wáng sòng Zhīyīng, yuē, “Zī qí yuàn wǒ hū?” Duì yuē, “Èr guó zhì róng, chén bù cái, bù shēng qí rèn, yǐ wéi fú guó. Zhí shì bù yǐ xīn gǔ, shǐ guī jí lù, jūn zhī huì yě. Chén shí bù cái, yòu shuí gǎn yuàn?” (Zuō zhuàn, “Chénggōng sān nián”)

The leader of Jin returned Gōngzǐ Gǔchén and the body of the court deputy, Xiāng Lǎo, to Chu in order to seek [the release of] Zhīyīng. At this time [Zhīyīng’s father], Xún Shǒu, was assistant commander of the central army [of Jin]; for this reason, the leader of Chu granted the exchange. Sending Zhīyīng off, the king asked, “You probably harbor resentment toward me?” He replied, “When two states were engaged in battle, I, lacking talent, was incapable of fulfilling my duties and fell captive. That your men in charge have not used my blood to smear the war drum and will instead send me back to meet my execution, is the result of your kindness, my lord. It is I who lack talent; whom do I dare blame?” (Duke Chéng 3, *Zuō Tradition*)

* *Guó 獮* means cutting off the left ear of a defeated enemy as proof of victory. Zhīyīng was only captured, without having his left ear cut off, so it is unclear why this word is used. Yáng Bójùn suggests that *guó 獲* is juxtaposed with *fú 俘* (captive; to capture) because it is the alternative fate of the defeated.⁶

- to express hope

八月甲午，晉侯圍上陽。問於卜偃曰：「吾濟乎？」對曰：「克之。」（《左傳·僖公五年》）

Bā yuè jiǎwǔ, Jìnhóu wéi Shàngyáng. Wèn yú bǔ Yǎn yuē, “Wú qí jì hū?” Duì yuē, “Kè zhī.” (Zuō zhuàn, “Xīgōng wǔ nián”)

In the eighth month, on the day *jiǎwǔ*, the Marquis of Jin besieged Shàngyáng (the chief city of the state of Guó 虢). He asked the diviner

Yǎn, “Am I likely to succeed?” Yǎn replied, “You will conquer it.” (Duke Xī 5, *Zuō Tradition*)

4 *adv.; adverbial modifier; to show imperative*

宋公疾，大子茲父固請曰：「目夷長且仁，君其立之！」公命子魚，子魚辭，曰：「能以國讓，仁孰大焉？臣不及也，且又不順。」遂走而退。（《左傳·僖公八年》）

Sònggōng jí, Tàizǐ Cífù gù qǐng yuē, “Mùyí zhǎng qiè rén, jūn qí lì zhī!” Gōng mìng Zǐyú, Zǐyú cí, yuē, “Néng yǐ guó ràng, rén shù dà yān? Chén bù jí yě, qǐè yòu bù shùn.” Suì zǒu ér tuì. (Zuō zhuàn, “Xīgōng bā nián”)

The Duke of Sòng was ill. Cífù, the heir, persistently begged him, saying, “Mùyí is the eldest son and he is benevolent. My lord, do establish him as heir instead!” The duke therefore appointed Zǐyú (Zǐyú was the courtesy name of Mùyí). Zǐyú declined, saying, “Being able to yield the state to others, whose benevolence could be greater than this? Your subject cannot come up to the heir. It is also not the natural course of things.” Then he hurriedly withdrew from the court. (Duke Xī 8, *Zuō Tradition*)

* Mùyí was the eldest son, but he was the son of a concubine; Cífù, the eldest son of the duke’s wife, was therefore made heir. He succeeded Duke Huán of Sòng 宋桓公 and became Duke Xiāng of Sòng 宋襄公. 父 is used for fū 甫 (honorific suffix added to a male’s given name or byname, suggesting talent and virtue) and should be pronounced fū instead of fù.

5 *adv.; adverbial modifier; to create and intensify rhetorical questions; the same as qǐ 岌 (how)*

夏四月，周公忌父、王子黨會齊隰朋立晉侯。晉侯殺里克以說。將殺里克，公使謂之曰：「微子，則不及此。雖然，子弑二君與一大夫，為子君者，不亦難乎？」對曰：「不有廢也，君何以興？欲加之罪，其無辭乎？臣聞命矣。」伏劍而死。（《左傳·僖公十年》）

Xià sì yuè, Zhōugōng Jifū, Wáng Zǐdǎng huì Qí Xí Péng lì Jinhóu. Jinhóu shā Lǐ Kè yǐ shūo. Jiāng shā Lǐ Kè, gōng shǐ wèi zhī yuē, “Wēi zǐ, zé bù jí cǐ. Suī rán, zǐ shì èr jūn yǔ yī Dàfū, wéi zǐ jūn zhě, bù yì nán hū?” Dùi yuē, “Bù yǒu fèi yě, jūn hé yǐ xīng? Yù jiā zhī zui, qí wú cí hū? Chén wén mìng yǐ.” Fú jiàn ér sǐ.” (Zuō zhuàn, “Xīgōng shí nián”)

In the fourth month of summer, Zhōugōng Jifū (the minister), and Wáng Zǐdǎng (the grand councilor), joined with Xí Péng of Qí to establish the Marquis of Jin (Yíwú 夷吾). The Marquis of Jin killed Lǐ Kè to provide an explanation (to show that he was against the murders committed by Lǐ Kè). As he was about to kill Lǐ Kè, the lord (the Marquis of Jin) sent an envoy to deliver a message to him, saying, “If it had not been for you,

I would not have reached this position. Even though this is so, you have murdered two rulers and one great official. To be your ruler, isn't it difficult?" Lǐ Kè responded, "If no one had been removed, how could my ruler have prospered? For this crime that you intend to lay on me, how would there be no excuse? But I, your subject, have heard your command." He then threw himself upon his sword and died. (Duke Xī 10, *Zuō Tradition*)

* *Wēi* 微, used in a conditional clause without a subject, means "if without (if not for)." 父 is used as *fù* 甫 (honorific suffix added to a male's given name or byname, suggesting talent and virtue) and should be pronounced *fù* instead of *fǔ*.

This passage is the origin of the idiom *yù jiā zhī zuì, hé huàn wú cí* 欲加之罪, 何患無辭 (For a crime that you intend to lay on me, why worry that there would be no excuse?); that is, it is always possible to trump up a charge against anyone. The story is similar to the Aesop's fable "The Wolf and the Lamb."

6 part.; for rhythm⁷

- used before an adjective that serves as a predicate

北風其涼,雨雪其雱。

惠而好我,攜手同行。

其虛其邪!既亟只且!

(《毛詩·邶風·北風》)

Běi fēng qí liáng, yù xuě qí pāng.

Huì ér hào wǒ, xié shǒu tóng háng.

*Qí shū qí xú! Jí jí zhī jū!*⁸

(Máo Shī, “Bèi fēng,” “Běi fēng”)

The northern wind is cold; the falling snow is heavy.

If you favor and are fond of me, let's join hands to be on the same road.

How slow and unruffled you are! It is already extreme and urgent!

(Máo #41, “Northern Wind,” in “Airs of Běi,” *Songs*)

* 雨 should be pronounced *yù* with a falling tone because it is a verb here serving as attributive modifier.

- used before a noun that serves as the subject

殷其靁,在南山之陽。

何斯違斯?莫敢或遑。

振振君子,歸哉歸哉!

(《毛詩·召南·殷其雷》)

*Yǐn qí léi, zài Nánshān zhī yáng.
Hé sī wéi sī? Mò gǎn huò huáng.
Zhènzhèn jūnzi, guī zāi guī zāi!
(Máo Shī, “Shàonán,” “Yǐn qí léi”)*

The booming thunder from the south side of South Mountain:
Why at this time must he leave this place? He dare not have leisure time.
O noble man who exerts himself: return, do return!¹⁹
(Máo #19, “The Booming Thunder,” in “Airs of Shàonán,” *Songs*)

* 殷, onomatopoeic for the roll of thunder, should be pronounced *yǐn*. 陽 is literally “sunlit.” The meaning was then extended to “the southern slope of a mountain,” which tends to receive more sunlight. 霽 is the ancient graph for 雷 (thunder). The first *sī* 斯 refers to time; the second refers to place.

- used before a noun that serves as an object

知其雄，守其雌，為天下谿。為天下谿，常德不離，復歸於嬰兒。
知其白，守其黑，為天下式。為天下式，常德不忒，復歸於無極。
知其榮，守其辱，為天下谷。為天下谷，常德乃足，復歸於樸。

(《老子·道經二十八章》)

Zhī qí xíong, shǒu qí cí, wéi tiānxià xī. Wéi tiānxià xī, cháng dé bù lí, fù guī yú yīng’ér. Zhī qí bái, shǒu qí hēi, wéi tiānxià shì. Wéi tiānxià shì, cháng dé bù tè, fù guī yú wú jí. Zhī qí róng, shǒu qí rǔ, wéi tiānxià gǔ. Wéi tiānxià gǔ, cháng dé nǎi zú, fù guī yú pǔ. (Lǎozǐ, “Dào jīng èrshíbā zhāng”)

Acknowledge the male, but keep to the role of the female: be a channel to all under Heaven. Once you become a channel to all under Heaven, constant virtue will not be left behind, and you will again return to the state of an infant. Acknowledge the white, but keep to the role of the black: be a model to all under Heaven. Once you become a model to all under Heaven, constant virtue will not be changed, and you will return to the state of being without duality. Acknowledge honor, but keep to the state of humility; you will be a conduit to all under Heaven. Once you become a conduit to all under Heaven, constant virtue will be sufficient, and you will return to the state of an uncarved block of wood. (“Classic of the Way, Chapter Twenty-eight,” *Lǎozǐ*)

* *Wú jí* 無極 refers to the origin of the universe, which has no shape, no sound, no color, no beginning or end. It is thought of as coterminous with the Way in Taoism. *Wú jí* is translated as “without duality” here because, in Taoist belief, the Way gave rise to the One, the One split into two, *yīn* and *yáng*, and the myriad creatures then appeared.

- used between the adverbial modifier and the modified in a predicate
道之出口，淡乎其無味，視之不足見，聽之不足聞，用之不可既。(《老子·道經三十五章》)

Dào zhī chū kǒu, dàn hū qí wú wèi, shì zhī bù zú jiàn, tīng zhī bù zú wén, yòng zhī bù zú jì. (*Lǎozǐ*, “Dào jīng sānshíwǔ zhāng”)

The Way coming from the mouth is bland and without taste. If you try to see it, it cannot be seen; if you try to hear about it, it cannot be heard. But if you try to use it, it cannot be exhausted. (“Classic of the Way, Thirty-Fifth Chapter,” *Lǎozǐ*)

7 sentence final modal part.; to express a doubtful tone **【jī】**

夜如何其?夜未央。

庭燎之光。

君子至止,鸞聲將將。

(《毛詩·小雅·庭燎》)

Yè rú hé jī? Yè wèi yāng.

Tíng liáo zhī guāng.

Jūnzi zhì zhǐ, luán shēng qiāngqiāng.

(*Máo Shī*, “Xiǎo yǎ,” “Tíng liáo”)

How late is the night? The night is not over.

There is light from the courtyard torches.

When the noble men come, jingle-jangle goes the sound of *luán*-phoenix harness-bells.¹⁰

(*Máo* #182, “Courtyard Torches,” in “Minor Odes,” *Songs*)

* 將將 is the same as *qiāngqiāng* 鏘鏘, onomatopoeic for the jingling of carriage bells. Kroll has “simurgh” for *luán* 鸾. It is a fabulous bird similar to the phoenix.¹¹

8 *conj.*

- used for supposition; “if”

蘭槐之根是為芷,其漸之滫,君子不近,庶人不服。其質非不美也,所漸者然也。故君子居必擇鄉,游必就士,所以防邪辟而近中正也。(《荀子·勸學》)

Lán huái zhī gēn shì wéi zhǐ, qí jiān zhī xiǔ, jūnzi bù jìn, shù rén bù fú.

Qí zhì fēi bù měi yě, suǒ jiān zhě rán yě. Gù jūnzi jū bì zé xiāng, yóu bì jiù shì, suǒ yǐ fáng xié pì ér jìn zhōng zhèng yě. (*Xúnzǐ*, “Quàn xué”)

As for the root of thoroughwort and sophora, it is Chinese angelica. If it is imbued with (i.e., soaked in) stale water, noble men will not come near it, and the multitude of people will not wear it. It is not that its natural constituents are not fine; it is what it is imbued with that makes it become so. For this reason, a noble man in his dwelling necessarily takes care to choose his community and in socializing takes care to approach scholars, through which he prevents the perverted and

the distorted from affecting him, while drawing close to fairness and uprightness. (“Encouraging Learning,” *Xúnzǐ*)

* 漸 should be pronounced as *jiān*, not *jiàn*. It means “to be imbued with.”

- used for selection; “or”

公文軒見右師而驚曰：「是何人也？惡乎介也？天與，其人與？」曰：「天也，非人也。天之生是使獨也，人之貌有與也。以是知其天也，非人也。」(《莊子·養生主》)

Gōngwén Xuān jiàn Yóushī ér jīng yuē, “*Shì hé rén yě? Wūhū jiè yě?* *Tiān yú, qí rén yú?*” *Yuē*, “*Tiān yě, fēi rén yě. Tiān zhī shēng shì shǐ dù yě, rén zhī mào yǒu yǔ yě. Yǐ shì zhī qí tiān yě, fēi rén yě.*” (*Zhuāngzǐ*, “*Yǎng shēng zhǔ*”)

Gōngwén Xuān saw the Right Counselor. Startled, he said, “What kind of person is this? Why does he have only one foot? Is it the will of Heaven, or is it caused by people?” He then said to himself,¹² “It must be the will of Heaven, not people. He was born single-footed through Heaven, just as people have appearances given by nature. Because of this, I know it is the will of Heaven, not people.” (“Nourishing the Lord of Life,” *Zhuāngzǐ*)

* *Jiè 介* means “having only one foot.”

- used for concession; “even”

楊朱之友曰季梁。季梁得疾，七日大漸。其子環而泣之，請醫。季梁謂楊朱曰：「吾子不肖如此之甚，汝奚不為我歌以曉之？」楊朱歌曰：「天其弗識，人胡能覺？匪祐自天，弗孽由人。我乎汝乎！其弗知乎！醫乎巫乎！其知之乎？」其子弗曉終謁三醫。(《列子·力命》)

Yáng Zhū zhī yǒu yuē Jì Liáng. Jì Liáng dé jí, qī rì dà jiè. Qí zǐ huán ér qì zhī, qǐng yī. Jì Liáng wèi Yáng Zhū yuē, “*Wú zǐ bù xiào rú cǐ zhī shèn, rǔ xī bù wèi wǒ gē yǐ xiǎo zhī?*” *Yáng Zhū gē yuē*, “*Tiān qí fú shí, rén hú néng jué? Fēi yóu zì tiān, fú niè yóu rén. Wǒ hū rǔ hū! Qí fú zhī hū! Yī hū wū hū! Qí zhī zhī hū?*” *Qí zǐ fú xiǎo zhōng yè sān yī.* (*Lièzǐ*, “*Lì mìng*”)

A friend of *Yáng Zhū* was *Jì Liáng*. *Jì Liáng* became ill, and in seven days his condition became much worse. His sons encircled him and wept over this, requesting permission to engage a physician. *Jì Liáng* said to *Yáng Zhū*, “My sons are very much unlike me – why don’t you enlighten them for me by singing?” *Yáng Zhū* therefore sang, “Even Heaven does not know the cause of it, how would people be able to discover the cause? It is not that blessings come from Heaven; it is not that afflictions come from people. How about me? How about you? We probably don’t know about it. How about physicians? How about shamans? Do they probably know about it?” His sons did not understand it, and in the end they sent for three physicians. (“Human Power and Fate,” *Lièzǐ*)

Notes

- 1 SWXZ, 384–5.
- 2 SWZZJ, *juàn* 5.1, 41a–41b.
- 3 In some cases, it may appear like a subject, but Wáng Lì points out that *qí* cannot be used as a subject in pre-Hàn and Hán Chinese, because it cannot stand alone to function in the same way as a noun would; he argues that, in these cases, *qí* is used as an attributive modifier. Wáng Lì, *Gǔdài Hányǔ* 古代漢語, 3rd ed. (1999; Běijīng: Zhōnghuá shūjú, 2008), 355–6. Kroll defines this usage as “standing pronominally for the subject + *zhī* 之 in nominalized sentences.” *SDCMC*, 353.
- 4 Yáng Bójūn treats this as a third-person pronoun that serves in a pivotal structure as the pivot, the object of the preceding verb and the subject of the verb that follows. *GHYXC*, 110–11. This dictionary treats it as a third-person pronoun showing the possessive. This is because *yǐ wéi* 以為 is not an action verb and an action verb is necessary for creating a pivotal structure.
- 5 Kroll reads *qù jiù* 去就 as a medieval expression meaning “behavior, manner(s).” *SDCMC*, 378. *Qù jiù* is found in this Hán dynasty work, and it seems to take on a more literary meaning, “to leave or to take up official positions.”
- 6 Yáng Bójūn, *Chūnqiū Zuǒzhuàn zhù* 春秋左傳注, 2 vols. 2nd ed. (1990; Běijīng: Zhōnghuá shūjú, 1995), vol. 2, 813.
- 7 Wáng Lì treats this use of *qí* as an adverb. *GHYZD*, 59. Since *qí* here has no particular meaning, this dictionary treats it as a particle.
- 8 Chéng and Jiāng note that *liáng* 涼, *pāng* 雰, and *háng* 行 belong to the rhyme category *yáng* 陽, and *xū* 虛, *xú* 邪, and *jū* 且 to the rhyme category *yú* 魚. *SJZX*, 114. Karlgren has *gljāng* for 涼, *p'wáng* for 雰, *g'āng* for 行, *dʒio* for 邪, and *tsio* for 且. He does not consider *xū* 虛 as a rhyme. Karlgren, *The Book of Odes*, 27.
- 9 Chéng and Jiāng note that *yáng* 陽 and *huáng* 遑 belong to the rhyme category *yáng* 陽, and *zǐ* 子 and *zāi* 哉 to the rhyme category *zhī* 之. *SJZX*, 46. Karlgren has *djāng* for 陽 and *g'wāng* for 遑, *tsiəg* for 子 and *tsəg* for 哉. Karlgren, *The Book of Odes*, 11.
- 10 Chéng and Jiāng note that *yāng* 兮, *guāng* 光 and *qiāng* 將 belong to the rhyme category *yáng* 陽. *SJZX*, 524. Karlgren has *jang* for 兮, *kwāng* for 光, and *ts'jang* for 將. Karlgren, *The Book of Odes*, 125.
- 11 *SDCMC*, 287–8.
- 12 He responded to his own question. Chén Gǔyīng 陳鼓應, *Zhuāngzǐ jīnzhù jīnyì* 莊子今注今譯 (Běijīng: Zhōnghuá shūjú, 1983), 101.

QÍ 壴

adj.; “to be jubilant” 【*kǎi*】 | – *adj.*; “to be genial” 【*kǎi*】

| – *adv.*; to create a rhetorical question
| – *adv.*; to express hope with uncertainty

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【*qū xī qiè* 疾豨切】OC: *C.qʰəjʔ; MC: *khj+jX*

Early Meaning: *adj.*; “to be jubilant” 【*kǎi*】

Jǐ Xùshēng agrees with Xǔ Shèn that *kǎi* 壴 has the early meaning of playing triumphal music to celebrate a military victory, and that the bottom of the graph is *dòu* 豆 (a vessel for holding food, often round, with a circular stand and a lid), but he is unsure of the upper part of the graph.¹ This dictionary follows Duàn Yúcái’s suggestion that the bottom part of the graph is *zhù* 壹 (musical instruments on display) and Xú Hào’s reading of the early meaning as “to be jubilant.”

Xǔ Shèn writes, “*Kǎi* 壴 (𠂇) means playing triumphal music to celebrate a military victory. There is another observation that it means ‘to desire’ or ‘to advance.’ It is derived from *dòu* 豆 (豆); the abbreviated graph for *wēi* 微 (微, to go incognito) is sound-bearing” 壴(𠂇), 還師振旅樂也。一曰欲也, 登也。从豆, 微省聲. Duàn Yúcái notes that *kǎi* 壴 is used as *kǎi* 懨 (𠂇, to be jubilant). He disagrees with Xǔ Shèn and sees the lower part of the graph as an abbreviated form of the graph for *zhù* 壹 (壹, musical instruments on display) – whence is derived the meaning of triumphal music – and not the graph for *dòu* 豆 (豆). Xú Hào agrees with Duàn that *kǎi* 壴 was the ancient graph for *kǎi* 懹 but argues for an early meaning of “to be jubilant.” He proposes that, after the triumph of an army, jubilant music is played, and from this came the extended meaning of triumphal music, often written as *kǎi* 凱 (triumphal music celebrating military victory).²

The Baxter-Sagart reconstruction has *C.q^həj? for 豈, 傷, and 傷, showing that they were all pronounced the same in ancient Chinese. For the borrowed meaning of 豈 as a function word, Baxter-Sagart has *C.q^həj?, which is almost the same as the pronunciation of its early meaning *C.q^həj?. The connection between these two meanings has become obscure, because in modern Pǔtōnghuà 豈 as a function word is pronounced *qǐ*, whereas 傷 “jubilant” is pronounced *kāi*.

The following is an example of its use as “jubilant,” serving as an adverbial modifier:

魚在在藻，有頌其首。
王在在鎬，豈樂飲酒。
(《毛詩·小雅·魚藻》)
Yú zài zài zǎo, yǒu fén qí shǒu.
Wáng zài zài Hào, kāi lè yǐn jiǔ.
(Máo Shī, “Xiǎo yǎ,” “Yú zǎo”)

Where are the fish? They are among the pond weed. Large are their heads.
Where is the king? He is in Hào, jubilant and happy, drinking wine.³
(Máo #221, “Fish among Pondweed,” in “Minor Odes,” *Songs*)

* 頌 should be pronounced as *fén*, the same as 貢. This poem is known for its innovative use of the rhetorical device of presenting a question and answer within the same line.⁴

Extended Meaning

- 1 *adj.; attributive modifier*; the same as *kāi* 傷 (to be genial)【*kāi*】

營營青蠅，止于樊。
豈弟君子，無信讒言。
(《毛詩·小雅·青蠅》)
Yíngyíng qīng yíng, zhǐ yú fán.
Kāi tì jūnzi, wú xìn cán yán.
(Máo Shī, “Xiǎo yǎ,” “Qīng yíng”)

Buzzing, buzzing are the black flies; they settle on the fence.
My noble men, who are genial and peaceable, do not believe in malicious words.⁵
(Máo #219, “Flies,” in “Minor Odes,” *Songs*)

Borrowed Meanings

- 1 *adv; adverbial modifier*; to create a rhetorical question, often with *zāi* 哉, sometimes with *yé* 邪 or *hū* 乎

- used by itself

豈其食魚，必河之鯀？

豈其取妻，必齊之姜？

(《毛詩·陳風·衡門》)

Qí qí shí yú, bì Hé zhī fáng?

Qí qí qǔ qī, bì Qí zhī Jiāng?

(Máo Shī, “Chén fēng,” “Héng mén”)

When eating fish, why must it be bream from the Yellow River?

When taking a wife, why must it be a Jiāng from Qi?

(Máo #138, “Under a Cross-Beam Door,” in “Airs of Chén,” *Songs*)

* The interpretation in the Máo commentary is that these two situations are metaphors for the employment of subjects. Intrinsic merit, rather than pedigree, is what matters when choosing people to serve the state. Jiāng was the royal clan in the state of Qi.

- qǐ 豈 . . . zāi 哉

孟子曰：「予豈好辯哉？予不得已也。……」(《孟子·滕文公下》)

Mèngzǐ yuē, “Yú qǐ hào biàn zāi？Yú bù dé yǐ yē. . .” (Mèngzǐ, “Téng Wéngōng xià”)

Mencius said, “Why would I be fond of debating? I just cannot seem to stop. . .” (“Téng Wéngōng, Second Section,” *Mencius*)

- qǐ bù 豈不 . . . yé 邪

使者去，子列子入，其妻望之而拊心曰：「妾聞為有道者之妻子，皆得佚樂，今有飢色。君過而遺先生食，先生不受，豈不命邪？」(《莊子·讓王》)

Shǐ zhě qù, Zǐlièzǐ rù, qí qī wàng zhī ér fǔ xīn yuē, “Qiè wén wéi yǒu dào zhě zhī qī zǐ, jiē dé yǐ lè, jīn yǒu jī sè. Jūn guò ér wèi xiānshēng sì, xiānshēng bù shòu, qǐ bù mìng yé?” (Zhuāngzǐ, “Ràng wáng”)

The envoy left and Zǐlièzǐ entered [the inner chamber]. His wife looked at him [with an expression of grievance] and beat her breast, saying, “I have heard that the wife and children of those who possess the Way are all able to rest and make merry. Now there is famine in our looks. The lord recognized you and delivered food to you, but you did not accept it. Isn't this my destiny?” (“Abdicating the Throne,” *Zhuāngzǐ*)

* Guò 過 may be a miswritten graph for yù 遇.⁷ The wife is lamenting her husband's decision to decline the offer, which she has no power to change, and so she refers to their situation as fate.

- qǐ bù 豈不 . . . hū 平

太史公曰：「夏之政忠。忠之敝，小人以野，故殷人承之以敬。敬之敝，小人以鬼，故周人承之以文。文之敝，小人以僂，故救僂莫若以忠。三王之道若循環，終而復始。周秦之間，可謂文敝矣。秦政不改，反酷刑法，豈不繆乎？……」(《史記·高祖本紀》)

Tàishǐgōng yuē, “Xià zhī zhèng zhōng. Zhōng zhī bì, xiǎo rén yǐ yě, gù Yīn rén chéng zhī yǐ jìng. Jīng zhī bì, xiǎo rén yǐ guǐ, gù Zhōu rén chéng zhī yǐ wén. Wén zhī bì, xiǎo rén yǐ sài, gù jiù sài mò ruò yǐ zhōng. Sān wáng zhī dào ruò xún huán, zhōng ér fù shí. Zhōu Qín zhī jiān, kě wèi wén bì yǐ. Qín zhèng bù gǎi, fān kù xíng fǎ, qǐ bù miù hū? . . .” (Shǐ jì, “Gāozǔ bēnji”)

The Grand Scribe comments, “The rule of the Xià depended on loyalty. The drawback of loyalty is that petty men will become savage (when you value loyalty above civil qualities such as obedience to ritual). Therefore, the people of Yīn succeeded it (i.e., the Yīn dynasty succeeded the Xià) by means of showing respect. The drawback of respect is that petty men will believe in ghosts (when you honor heaven and earth, they may extend this to other supernatural beings). Therefore, the people of Zhōu succeeded it (i.e., the Zhōu dynasty succeeded the Yīn) with civil qualities. The drawback of civil qualities is that petty men will become dishonest (because they cover up their honest feelings with civil qualities). Therefore, to remedy the drawback of dishonesty, nothing is better than loyalty. The ways of the three kings are similar to a cycle: when the cycle ends, it comes back to the beginning. Between the Zhōu and Qín dynasties, it can be said that the drawbacks were those of civil qualities. The government of Qín did not reform this, but turned to punishment and law instead – isn’t that absurd? . . . (“Basic Annals of Gāozǔ,” *Grand Scribe’s Records*)

- 2 *adv.; adverbial modifier; to express hope with uncertainty, the same as qí 其 in this usage; “possibly”*

莊周忿然作色曰：「周昨來，有中道而呼者。周顧視車轍中，有鮒魚焉。周問之曰：『鮒魚來！子何為者邪？』對曰：『我，東海之波臣也。君豈有斗升之水而活我哉？』周曰：『諾。我且南遊吳越之土，激西江之水而迎子，可乎？』鮒魚忿然作色曰：『吾失我常與，我无所處。吾得斗升之水然活耳，君乃言此，曾不如早索我於枯魚之肆！』」（《莊子·外物》）

Zhuāng Zhōu fènrán zuò sè yuē, “Zhōu zuó lái, yǒu zhōng dào ér hū zhě. Zhōu gù shì jū zhé zhōng, yǒu fù yú yān. Zhōu wèn zhī yuē, ‘Fù yú lái! Zǐ hé wéi zhě yé?’ Dui yuē, “Wǒ, Dōnghǎi zhī bō chén yě. Jūn qǐ yǒu dǒu shēng zhī shuǐ ér huó wǒ zāi?” Zhōu yuē, “Nuò. Wǒ qǐe nán yóu Wú Yuè zhī tú, jī Xījiāng zhī shuǐ ér yíng zǐ, kě hū?” Fù yú fènrán zuò sè yuē, ‘Wú shī wǒ cháng yǔ, wǒ wú suǒ chǔ. Wú dé dǒu shēng zhī shuǐ rán huó ér, jūn nǎi yán cǐ, zēng bù rú zǎo suǒ wǒ yú kū yú zhī sì!’” (Zhuāngzǐ, “Wài wù”)

Zhuāng Zhōu was enraged and showed it on his face, saying, “I was coming yesterday when something in the middle of the path called to me. I turned back and saw that there was a golden carp in the wheel ruts. I asked it, ‘Come, golden carp! What are you doing here?’ It responded, ‘I am a subject of the waves of the Eastern Ocean. Would you possibly happen to have a ladle or pint of water to keep me alive?’ I responded, ‘Certainly! I am about to travel

to the lands of Wú and Yuè, and I shall stir up the waters of the Western River to receive you – how about that? The golden carp was enraged and showed it on its face, saying, ‘I have lost my home and have nowhere to go. If I get a ladle or a pint of water, I can stay alive, yet you say such things. It would be better for you just to seek me at the dried-fish market!’” (“Above the Material World,” *Zhuāngzī*)

This is the origin of the idiom *kū yú zhī sì* 枯魚之肆 (dried-fish market), used as a metaphor for a devastating situation from which there is no hope of rescue or escape.

Notes

- 1 *SWXZ*, 413.
- 2 *SWJZZJ, juàn 5*, 67a–68a.
- 3 Chéng and Jiǎng note that *zǎo* 藻 and *Hào* 鎬 belong to the rhyme category *xiāo* 宵, whereas *shǒu* 首 and *jiǔ* 酒 belong to the rhyme category *yōu* 幽. *SJZX*, 704. Karlgren has *tsog* for 藻, *g’og* for 鎬, *śi ôg* for 首, and *tsi ôg* for 酒. Karlgren, *The Book of Odes*, 174.
- 4 *SJZX*, 703.
- 5 Chéng and Jiǎng note that *fán* 樊 and *yán* 言 belong to the rhyme category *yuán* 元. *SJZX*, 694. Karlgren has *b’jwán* for 樊 and *ngiān* for 言. Karlgren, *The Book of Odes*, 172.
- 6 Chéng and Jiǎng note that *fáng* 魯 and *jiāng* 姜 belong to the rhyme category *yáng* 陽. *SJZX*, 369. Karlgren has *b’jwang* for 魯 and *kiang* for 姜. Karlgren, *The Book of Odes*, 89.
- 7 Wáng Shūmín 王叔岷, *Zhuāngzī jiàoquán* 莊子校詮, 3 vols. (Taipei: Zhōngyāng yánjiūyuàn lìshǐ yǔyán yánjīūsuǒ, 1988), vol. 3, 1134–5.

QIĚ 且

n.; “tray for offering meat at ritual sacrifices” 【*zǔ*】

- | – *adv.*; marker of future action
- | – *adv.*; “for the time being”
- | – *adv.*; “even”
- | – *conj.*; to connect two adjectives
- | – *conj.*; to connect clauses of coordinative, selective, progressive, and suppositional relations
- | – *part.*; to begin a judgmental statement
- | – *sentential-final modal part.*; to show exclamation 【*jū*】

OBI	BI	CM	QM	SS

【*qī yě qiè* 七也切】OC: *[ts^h]Aʔ; MC: *tshjaeX*

Early Meaning: *n.*; “tray for offering meat at ritual sacrifices”

In oracle-bone and bronze inscriptions, *zǔ* 且 is used to mean “ancestor,” for which the modern graph is *zǔ* 祖. Guō Mòruò suggests that this graph depicts the male reproductive organ.¹ Ji Xùshēng disagrees and sees it as the original graph for *zǔ* 祖, which was then borrowed to mean “ancestor.” He disputes Xǔ Shèn’s interpretation of as a low stool on the ground. Instead, he notes, the graph in the oracle-bone inscription is a zodiograph for a meat tray as seen from the top, with the horizontal lines picturing the holes in the tray.²

Xǔ Shèn writes, “*Zǔ* 且 () means ‘to make sacrificial offerings.’ It is derived from *jī* 几 (几, low stool), with the two horizontal lines representing the feet of the stool, and the horizontal line underneath them the ground” 且, 薦也。从几, 足有二橫, 一其下地也. Duàn Yúcái suggests that the word *zǔ* 且 was used to praise virtue, an idea that Xú Hào criticizes as far-fetched. Xú proposes instead that is the original graph for *zǔ* 祖 (tray for offering meat), which had the same

pronunciation in ancient times. Later, when *zǔ* 且 was borrowed to serve as a function word and its early meaning became obscured, a semantic determinative 亾 (an abbreviated form of *ròu* 肉 [meat]) was added. The pronunciation for *zǔ* 祖 has also changed, from *qiān yě qiè* 千也切 to *zǐ yú qiè* 子余切. Xú Hào further notes that, in bronze inscriptions, *zǔ* 且 is also used for *zǔ* 祖 (ancestor).³ Baxter-Sagart has *[ts^h]A? for 且 and *[ts]^ha? for 祖. No reconstruction is provided for 祖. Nonetheless, since the three characters all have the same component, 且, it is likely that they had similar, if not identical, pronunciations in ancient times.

Borrowed Meanings

- 1 *adv.; adverbial modifier; marker of future action, foretelling events*

智術之士明察，聽用、且燭重人之陰情；能法之士勁直，聽用、且矯重人之姦行。故智術能法之士用，則貴重之臣必在繩之外矣。是智法之士與當塗之人，不可兩存之仇也。（《韓非子·孤憤》）

Zhì shù zhī shì míng chá, tīng yòng, qiě zhú zhòng rén zhī yīn qíng; néng fǎ zhī shì jìng zhí, tīng yòng, qiě jiǎo zhòng rén zhī jiān xíng. Gù zhì shù néng fǎ zhī shì yòng, zé guì zhòng zhī chén bì zài shéng zhī wài yǐ. Shì zhì fǎ zhī shì yǐ dāng tú zhī rén, bù kě liǎng cùn zhī chóu yě. (Hánfēizi, “Gū fèn”)

Those who are knowledgeable in strategy can observe things clearly. If they are appointed, they will bring to light the secret affairs of powerful men. Those who are proficient in law are upright and outspoken. If they are appointed, they will rectify the evil deeds of powerful men. Therefore, if those knowledgeable in strategy and proficient in law are appointed, powerful officials of high station will definitely fall outside the plumb line of governance. Thus, those who are knowledgeable and proficient and those who are right in the middle of the path (i.e., in high positions) are enemies who cannot coexist. (“Solitary Indignation,” Hánfēizi)

* Carpenters use a plumb line to ascertain that something is either straight or vertical. Anything falling outside the plumb line will be cut off. In the preceding text, powerful officials who stray from the straight and narrow will be removed from government.

- 2 *adv.; adverbial modifier; “for the time being”*

山有漆，隰有栗。

子有酒食，何不日鼓瑟？

且以喜樂，且以永日。

宛其死矣，他人入室。

（《毛詩·唐風·山有樛》）

Shān yǒu qī, xí yǒu lì.

Zǐ yǒu jiǔ shí, hé bù rì gǔ sè?

Qiè yǐ xǐ lè, qiè yǐ yǒng rì.

Yuàn qí sī yǐ, tā rén rù shì.

(Máo Shī, “Táng fēng,” “Shān yǒu oū”)

On the mountain there are lacquer trees; in the bottomlands there are chestnut trees.

You have wine and food, why don’t you play the zither daily?

Let’s make merry for the time being, let’s prolong the day (i.e., make the best of it) for the time being.

Once you wither and die, other men will enter your chamber.⁴

(Máo #115, “There Are Thorn-Elms on the Mountain,” in “Airs of Táng,” *Songs*)

* 宛 is a loan graph for *yuàn* 苑 (to wither).⁵

3 *adv.; adverbial modifier; “even”*

君妒而好內，豎刁自宮以治內。人情莫不愛其身，身且不愛，安能愛君？(《韓非子·難一》)

Jūn dù ér hào nèi, Shùdiāo zì gōng yǐ zhì nèi. Rén qíng mò bù ài qí shēn, shēn qiè bù ài, ān néng ài jūn? (Hánfēizǐ, “Nàn yī”)

My lord is jealous and is fond of those in the inner palace. Shùdiāo castrated himself so as to supervise the inner palace for you. Human nature is such that none do not love themselves. If he does not even love himself, how can he possibly love my lord? (“Refutations One,” Hánfēizǐ)

4 *conj.; to connect two adjectives; “and”*

天長地久。天地所以能長且久者，以其不自生，故能長生。(《老子·道經七章》)

Tiān cháng dì jiǔ. Tiān dì suǒ yǐ néng cháng qiè jiǔ zhě, yǐ qí bù zì shēng, gù néng cháng shēng. (Lǎozǐ, “Dào jīng qī zhāng”)

Heaven is eternal and Earth is everlasting. The reason that heaven and earth can be eternal and everlasting is that they do not strive for their own survival; thus, they are able to have eternal life. (“Classic of the Way, Chapter Seven,” Lǎozǐ)⁶

5 *conj.*

- to connect clauses made up of verbal phrases that show a coordinative relation; “on the one hand . . . on the other hand”

今民儂諂智慧，欲自用，不聽上，上必且勸之以賞然後可進，又且畏之以罰然後不敢退。(《韓非子·忠孝》)

Jīn mǐn xuānxiòng zhìhuì, yù zì yòng, bù tīng shàng, shàng bì qiè quàn zhī yǐ shǎng rán hòu kě jìn, yóu qiè wèi zhī yǐ fá rán hòu bù gǎn tuì. (Hánfēizǐ, “Zhōng xiào”)

Now the people are crafty and shrewd, wishing to implement their own ideas, not obeying their superiors. On the one hand, the superior must motivate them with rewards, for only then will they go forward; on the other hand, he also threatens them with punishment, for only then will they not dare to retreat. (“Loyalty and Filial Piety,” *Hánfēizī*)

- to connect clauses of progressive relation; “moreover”

夫為人主而身察百官，則日不足，力不給。且上用目則下飾觀，上用耳則下飾聲，上用慮則下繁辭。先王以三者為不足，故舍己能，而因法數，審賞罰。（《韓非子·有度》）

Fú wéi rén zhǔ ér shēn chā bǎi guān, zé rì bù zú, lì bù jǐ. Qiě shàng yòng mù zé xià shì guān, shàng yòng ěr zé xià shì shēng, shàng yòng lù zé xià fán cí. Xiān wáng yǐ sān zhě wéi bù zú, gù shě jǐ néng, ér yīn fǎ shù, shēn shǎng fá. (Hánfēizī, “Yǒu dù”)

If the ruler observes the hundred officials in person, the day is not long enough, and his energy is not well spent. Moreover, if the ruler makes use of his eyes, the officials will embellish the view; if the ruler makes use of his ears, the officials will embellish the sounds; if the ruler makes use of his thoughts, the officials will complicate their words. The former kings considered these three methods insufficient; therefore they gave up what they could do themselves, instead relying on the art of law and exercising caution in rewards and punishments. (“On Having Standards,” *Hánfēizī*)

- to connect clauses of selective relation; “or”

曾子問曰：「葬引至於壠，日有食之，則有變乎，且不乎？」（《禮記·曾子問》）

Zēngzǐ wèn yuē, “Zàng yǐn zhì yú gèng, rì yǒu shí zhī, zé yǒu biàn hū, qiě fǒu hū?” (Lǐ jì, “Zēngzǐ wèn”)

Zēngzǐ asked, saying, “The bier for the burial was pulled onto the road. There was an eclipse of the sun. Then should there be changes in the ceremony or not?” (“Zēngzǐ Inquired,” *Records of Rites*)

* *Bù* 不 is used for and pronounced as *fǒu* 否 here.

- to connect clauses of suppositional relation; “if”

且靜郭君聽辨而為之也，必無今日之患也，此為一也。（《呂氏春秋·季秋紀·知士》）

Qiě Jīngguōjūn tīng Biàn ér wéi zhī yě, bì wú jīn rì zhī huàn yě, cǐ wéi yī yě. (Lǚ shí chūnqiū, “Jì qiū jì,” “Zhī shì”)

If Lord Jingguō had listened to Biàn (e.g., Jì Mǎobiàn 劾貌辨) and acted upon it, he surely would not have had today’s calamity. This makes one (i.e., one example where he did not follow Jì Mǎobiàn’s advice). (“Recognizing Scholars,” in “Annals of the Ninth Month,” *Annals of Lǚ Bùwéi*)

6 part.; to begin a judgmental sentence

夢飲酒者，旦而哭泣；夢哭泣者，旦而田獵。方其夢也，不知其夢也。夢之中又占其夢焉，覺而後知其夢也。且有大覺而後知此其大夢也，而愚者自以為覺，竊竊然知之。（《莊子·齊物論》）

Mèng yǐn jiǔ zhě, dàn ér kū qì; mèng kū qì zhě, dàn ér tiánliè. Fāng qí mèng yě, bù zhī qí mèng yě. Mèng zhī zhōng yòu zhān qí mèng yān, jué érhòu zhī qí mèng yě. Qiè yóu dà jué érhòu zhī cǐ qí dà mèng yě, ér yú zhě zì yǐ wéi jué, qièqierán zhī zhī. (Zhuāngzǐ, “Qí wù lùn”)

Those who dream of drinking merrily may wail and weep in the morning. Those who dream of wailing and weeping may go hunting merrily in the morning. When they are dreaming, they are unaware that they are dreaming. In their dreams they may even divine the meaning of their dreams. It is when they wake up that they become aware it was a dream. Only when there is a great awakening does one become aware this is a great dream, but those who are ignorant consider themselves to be awake, alert as if they are aware. (“Uniformity of All Forms,” Zhuāngzǐ)

* The meaning of *qièqiè* 竊竊 is the same as *cháchá* 察察 (to be alert).⁷ The 2010 film *Inception* seems to have used the idea in this passage: after the main characters enter the dream state, they cannot tell if they have actually woken up or if they have merely gone to a different level of the dream state.

7 sentential-final part.; to show exclamation **【jū】**

北風其涼，雨雪其雱。

惠而好我，攜手同行。

其虛其邪！既亟只且！

（《毛詩·邶風·北風》）

Běi fēng qí liáng, yù xuě qí pāng.

Huì ér hào wǒ, xié shǒu tóng háng.

*Qí shū qí xú! Jì jí zhī jū!*⁸

(Máo Shī, “Běi fēng,” “Běi fēng”)

The northern wind is cold; the falling snow is heavy.

If you favor and are fond of me, let's join hands to be on the same road.

How slow and unruffled you are! It is already extreme and urgent!

（Máo #41, “Northern Wind,” in “Airs of Běi,” Songs）

* 雨 should be pronounced *yù* with a falling tone because it is a verb here serving as attributive modifier.

Notes

1 Guō Mòruò, “Shì zǔ bǐ” 釋祖妣, in Zhōngguó kēxuéyùan kǎogǔ yánjiūsuǒ 中國科學院考古研究所, comp., *Jiágǔ wénzì yánjiū* 甲骨文字研究 (Běijīng: Kēxué chūbǎnshè, 1962), 33–4.

2 SWXZ, 969–70.

- 3 *SWJZZJ, juàn* 14.1, 58a–58b.
- 4 Chéng and Jiāng note that the rhyme category is *zhī* 脂, with *qī* 漆, *lì* 粟, *sè* 瑟, *rì* 曰, and *shì* 室 as the rhymes. *SJZX*, 311. Karlgren has *ts'iet* for 漆, *liet* for 粟, *si'et* for 瑟, *ni'et* for 曰, and *si'et* for 室. Karlgren, *The Book of Odes*, 74.
- 5 *SJZX*, 310.
- 6 For this interpretation of *bù zì shēng* 不自生 as “to strive for its own survival,” see Cáo Jūrén 曹聚仁, coll., *Láozǐ jízhù* 老子集註 (Shānghǎi: Liángxī túshūguǎn, 1926), 24–5.
- 7 Wáng Shūmǐn, *Zhuāngzǐ jiàoquán*, vol. 1, 90.
- 8 Chéng and Jiāng note that *liáng* 凉, *pāng* 霧, and *háng* 行 belong to the rhyme category *yáng* 陽, and *xū* 虚, *xú* 邪, and *jū* 且 to the rhyme category *yú* 魚. *SJZX*, 114. Karlgren has *gliang* for 凉, *p'wang* for 霧, *g'ang* for 行, *dzjо* for 邪, and *tsjо* for 且. He does not consider *xū* 虚 as a rhyme. Karlgren, *The Book of Odes*, 27.

QÍNG 請

*vb.; “to pay respects to/to pay a call on” | – *adv.*; to request permission
| – *adv.*; to beg for action*

BI	CM	QM	SS
請	請	請	請

【*qīng qiè* 七靜切】OC: *m-ts^hen; MC: *dzjeng*

Early Meaning: *vb.; “to pay respects to/to pay a call on”*

Jì Xūshēng does not have an entry for this.

Xǔ Shèn writes, “*Qīng* (請) means ‘to pay respects to.’ It is derived from *yán* (言, speech); *qīng* 靑 (青, blue) is sound-bearing” 請, 謁也。从言, 靑聲。He treats it as a graph of “form and sound.” Duàn Yúcái notes only that “*chūn cháo qiū jìn*” 春朝秋覲 (to go to court in spring and have audiences with the Son of Heaven in autumn) in the *Zhōu lì* 周禮 (Rites of Zhōu) was changed in the Hán dynasty to “*chūn cháo qiū qìng*” 春朝秋請 (to go to court in spring and pay respects to the Son of Heaven in autumn). It is noteworthy that *qiū* *qìng* refers specifically to ritual ceremony, and in this sense, 請 is pronounced *qìng* rather than *qīng*. Nonetheless, the change of *jìn* to *qìng* shows that these two are interchangeable in this context. Xú Hào makes no comment on this entry.¹

Although *qīng* in its early meaning was often used for paying respects to one’s superiors, it was also used for a superior who was willing to lower themselves to pay a call on an inferior.

Example:

魏有隱士曰侯羸,年七十,家貧,為大梁夷門監者。公子聞之,往請,欲厚遺之。不肯受,曰:「臣脩身絜行數十年,終不以監門困故而受公子財。」(《史記·魏公子列傳》)

Wéi yǒu yǐnshì yuē Hóu Yíng, nián qīshí, jiā pín, wéi Dà Liáng Yímén jiān zhé. Gōngzǐ wén zhī, wǎng qīng, yù hòu wèi zhī. Bù kěn shòu, yuē, “Chén xiū

shēn jié xíng shù shí nián, zhōng bù yǐ jiān mén kùn gù ér shòu Gōngzǐ cái.”
(*Shǐ jì*, “Wèi Gōngzǐ lièzhuàn”)

There was a recluse called Hóu Yíng, aged seventy. With a poor household, he was a guard of the eastern gate of Daliáng. The prince heard about him, so he went to pay a call on him, and tried to present sumptuous gifts to him. Hóu was unwilling to accept, and said, “I, your subject, have cultivated myself and regulated my actions for several decades. I shall not accept the goods of the prince just because I am in difficulties and guard the gate (because accepting the prince’s gifts would entail a moral obligation to serve him).” (“Biography of Prince Wèi,” *Grand Scribe’s Records*)

* 遺 should be pronounced *wèi*, meaning “to present as a gift to someone.”

Extended Meanings

- 1 *adv.; adverbial modifier*; to request permission to perform a certain act; this is the most common use; “to request to”

四年，吳使季札聘於魯，請觀周樂。(《史記·吳太伯世家》)

Sì nián, Wú shǐ Jì Zhá pìn yú Lǔ, qǐng guān Zhōu yuè. (*Shǐ jì*, “Wú Tàibó shìjiā”)

In the fourth year, Jì Zhá, the envoy of Wú, was on a diplomatic mission to Lǔ; he requested to view a performance of the Zhōu music. (“Hereditary House of Wú Tàibó,” *Grand Scribe’s Records*)

- 2 *adv.; adverbial modifier*; to beg for action; “to beg”

〔齊宣〕王曰：「大哉言矣！寡人有疾，寡人好勇。」〔孟子〕對曰：「王請無好小勇。夫撫劍疾視曰，『彼惡敢當我哉！』此匹夫之勇，敵一人者也。王請大之！……」(《孟子·梁惠王下》)

[Qí Xuān]wáng yuē, “Dà zāi yán yǐ! Guārén yǒu jí, guārén hào yǒng.”
[Mèngzǐ] duì yuē, “Wáng qǐng wú hào xiǎo yǒng. Fú fǔ jiàn jí shì yuē, ‘Bì wū gǎn dāng wǒ zāi!’ Cǐ pí fǔ zhī yǒng, dí yī rén zhě yě. Wáng qǐng dà zhī! . . .”
(*Mèngzǐ*, “Liáng Huiwáng xià”)

King [Xuān of Qí] said, “How great are your words (about implementing a benevolent policy)! However, I have a shortcoming. I am fond of valor. [Mencius] replied, “I beg My King to be fond of more than a minor display of valor. Grasping one’s sword and glaring angrily at others, saying, ‘Do you dare confront me?’ – this is the courage of one mere man, only enough to oppose one person. I beg My King to augment this! . . .” (“King Hui of Liáng, Second Section,” *Mencius*)

Pí fǔ zhī yǒng 匹夫之勇 (the courage of one mere man) is now an idiom meaning “reckless courage.” Its origin is often attributed to the *Guoyu* 國語 (*Discourses of States*). The phrase also appears in *Mencius*.

Note

1 *SWJZZJ, juàn* 3.1, 16b.

RÁN 然

vb.; “to burn”

- *vb.*; “to approve”
- *DP*; as predicate; “like this/be so”
- *conj.*; to show contrast; “but”
- descriptive *adv.* suffix

BI	CM	QM	SS
𦥑	𦥑	𦥑	𦥑

【*rú yán qiè* 如延切】 OC: *[n]a[n]; MC: *nyen*

Early Meaning: *vb.*; “to burn”

Jǐ Xūshēng does not have an entry for this.

Xǔ Shēn writes, “*Rán* 然 (𦥑) means ‘to burn.’ It is derived from *huǒ* 火 (火, fire); *rán* 肀 (𦥑, dog meat) is sound-bearing. Its variant is 難 (𦥑), derived from *cǎo* 艸 (艸, plants) and *nán* 難 (𦥑, a type of bird)” 然 (然), 燒也。从火, 肀聲。𦥑, 或从艸、難。 He treats it as a graph of “form and sound.” Duàn Yùcái notes that this graph was borrowed to serve as a function word, meaning “like this,” similar to *ěr* 翾 (like this) in pronunciation. Xú Hào has no comment on this entry.¹ Baxter-Sagart has *[n̩ə][r̩]? for *ěr* 翾 and *[n]a[n] for *rán* 然. They share the same initial but have different finals.

The early meaning of *rán* 然 is “to burn.” It is likely that a semantic determinative, *huǒ* 火, was added at a later stage to differentiate this meaning from the borrowed meaning of “like this,” thus creating the character *rán* 燃.

The following is an example of its use as “to burn”:

孟子曰：「……凡有四端於我者，知皆擴而充之矣，若火之始然，泉之始達。苟能充之，足以保四海；苟能不充之，不足以事父母。」（《孟子·公孫丑上》）

Mèngzǐ yuē, “. . . Fán yōu sì duān yú wǒ zhě, zhī jiē kuò ér chōng zhī yǐ, ruò huǒ zhī shǐ rán, quán zhī shǐ dá. Gǒu néng chōng zhī, zú yǐ bǎo sì hǎi; gǒu bù chōng zhī, bù zú yǐ shì fù mǔ.” (*Mèngzǐ*, “*Gōngsūn Chōu shàng*”)

Mencius said, “. . . Those who are aware of the four sprouts of goodness in themselves all know to extend and nourish them. This is like a fire beginning to burn and a spring beginning to spurt from the ground. If one can nourish them, they will be enough for one to protect the four seas; if one does not nourish them, they will not be enough to serve one’s own parents.” (“*Gōngsūn Chōu*, First Section,” *Mencius*)

Borrowed Meanings

- 1 *vb.*; “to approve”

沛公然其計。(《史記·高祖本紀》)

Pèigōng rán qí jì. (*Shǐ jì*, “*Gāozǔ běnji*”)

The Duke of Pèi approved his proposal. (“Basic Annals of Gāozǔ,” *Grand Scribe’s Records*)

- 2 *DP; predicate*; “like this/be so”

曾子曰：「孝子之養老也，樂其心，不違其志，樂其耳目，安其寢處，以其飲食忠養之。孝子之身終，終身也者，非終父母之身，終其身也。是故父母之所愛亦愛之，父母之所敬亦敬之。至於犬馬盡然，而況於人乎！」(《禮記·內則》)

Zēngzǐ yuē, “Xiào zǐ zhī yàng lǎo yě, lè qí xīn, bù wéi qí zhì, lè qí ēr mù, ān qí qín chǔ, yǐ qí yǐn shí zhōng yàng zhī. Xiào zǐ zhī shēn zhōng, zhōng shēn yě zhě, fēi zhōng fù mǔ zhī shēn, zhōng qí shēn yě. Shì gù fù mǔ zhī suǒ ài yì ài zhī, fù mǔ zhī suǒ jìng yì jìng zhī. Zhì yú quān mǎ jìn rán, ér kuàng yú rén hū!” (*Lǐ jì*, “*Néi zé*”)

Zēngzǐ said, “In providing for the elderly as a filial son, one should please their hearts, not go against their will, please their ears and eyes, make comfortable their lying down or sitting up, and dutifully provide them with food and drink. Being a filial son is lifelong. What ‘lifelong’ means is not the entire life of one’s parents, but one’s own entire life. For this reason, what one’s parents love, one will also love; what one’s parents respect, one will also respect. This is so even for dogs and horses, not to mention people!” (“*Principles for Women*,” *Records of Rites*)

* 養 in the sense of providing for one’s parents is read as *yàng* rather than *yǎng*. It means “to serve with respect by providing for someone’s necessities” and is often used in the context of serving one’s parents. Read as *yǎng*, the word simply means providing for necessities, including for dogs and horses.

- 3 *conj.*; to show contrast; “but”

項羽遂西，屠燒咸陽秦宮室，所過無不殘破。秦人大失望，然恐，不敢不服耳。（《史記·高祖本紀》）

Xiàng Yǔ suì xī, tú shāo Xiányáng Qín gōngshì, suǒ guò wú bù cán pò. Qín rén dà shī wàng, rán kǒng, bù gǎn bù fú ēr. (Shǐ jì, “Gāozǔ běnji”)

Xiàng Yǔ therefore headed west. He and his army slaughtered the Qín people and burned the Qín palace in Xiányáng; everywhere they passed was damaged and laid waste. The people of Qín felt great despair, but they were fearful and did not dare not to surrender. (“Basic Annals of Gāozǔ,” *Grand Scribe’s Records*)

4 *descriptive adv. suffix*; the adverb serves as adverbial modifier

顏淵喟然歎曰：「仰之彌高，鑽之彌堅；瞻之在前，忽焉在後。夫子循循然善誘人，博我以文，約我以禮，欲罷不能。既竭吾才，如有所立卓爾。雖欲從之，未由也已。」（《論語·子罕》）

Yán Yuān kuírán tàn yuē, “Yǎng zhī mí gāo, zuān zhī mí jiān; zhān zhī zài qián, hū yān zài hòu. Fúzì xúnxún rán shàn yòu rén, bó wǒ yǐ wén, yuē wǒ yǐ lǐ. Yù bà bù néng. Jí jié wú cái, rú yǒu suō lì zhuó ēr. Suī yù cóng zhī, mò yóu yě yǐ.” (Lún yǔ, “Zǐ hǎn”)

Yán Yuān sighed deeply, saying, “The more I look up to him, the taller he becomes; the more I drill into his knowledge, the firmer it gets. I see him in front; suddenly he is behind. The Master is adept in guiding people in the manner of following the correct course. He broadens my knowledge with literature and restrains my behavior with rites. Even if I wanted to stop learning, I could not. I have already exhausted my talent, but the way of the Master is towering right in front of me. I want to catch up to him, yet there is no way to do that.” (“Zǐ hǎn,” *Analects*)

* 喟 is onomatopoeic for sighing. Yán Yuān is sighing in admiration of the Master’s learning and his ability as a teacher. Xúnxún 循循 in xúnxún rán 循循然 means “to follow the correct course.” Since it is used here as an adverbial modifier, rán is translated as “in the manner of.”

The idiom *xúnxún shàngyòu* 循循善誘 (to be adept in guiding people to follow the correct course), used to praise someone who guides their junior patiently and systematically, is derived from this passage. The other idiom *bó wén yuē lì* 博文約禮 (to broaden one’s knowledge in literature and to cultivate oneself with rites) is also derived from this passage. Bówén or yuēlì are popular names for Chinese children. Yù bà bù néng 欲罷不能 (even if I wanted to stop, I could not) is also an idiom meaning that one cannot refrain from going on.

Note

1 SWJZZJ, juàn 10.1, 73a–73b.

RÁNHÒU 然後

- *conj.*; “only then”; the exact translation depends on the context

是故知為人子，然後可以為人父；知為人臣，然後可以為人君；知事人，然後能使人。（《禮記·文王世子》）

Shì gù zhī wéi rén zǐ, ránhòu kě yǐ wéi rén fù; zhī wéi rén chén, ránhòu kě yǐ wéi rén jūn; zhī shì rén, ránhòu néng shǐ rén. (Lǐ jì, “Wénwáng Shizǐ”)

For this reason, one must know how to be a son; only then can he know how to be a father. One must know how to be a subject; only then can he know how to be a ruler. One must know how to serve others; only then can he know how to command others. (“King Wén, the Heir,” *Records of Rites*)

RUÒ 若

vb.; “to be submissive”

- | – *vb.*; “to choose”
- | – *vb.*; “to equal”
- | – *2nd person pron.*
- | – *DP*; “this”
- | – *vb.*; “to be like”
- | – *conj.*; to connect two nouns; “and”
- | – *conj.*; to introduce a suppositional or a selective clause
- | – *conj.*; to introduce a new aspect into the discussion; “but as for”
- | – *suffix for adj.*

OBI	BI	CM	QM	SS
				

【ér zhuó qiè 而灼切】OC: *nak; MC: nyak

Early Meaning: *vb.*; “to be submissive”

Judging by the oracle-bone and bronze inscriptions, “to be submissive” may be the early meaning. These ancient graphs picture a person kneeling, hair disarrayed as if in defeat, with hands held up to surrender. Therefore, Shāng Chéngzuò 商承祚 (1902–1991) and Ji Xushēng believe that its early meaning is “to be submissive.”¹ In that case, the graph should be understood as a zodiograph.

Xǔ Shèn has a different interpretation because the graph in the small seal script shows a “plant” component. He writes, “Ruò 若 (若) refers to the selecting and picking of plants. It is derived from cǎo 艸 (艸, plants) and yòu 右 (右, right hand). Some say that it refers to pollia, a type of fragrant plant” 若, 擇菜也。从艸、右。右, 手也。一曰杜若, 香艸. Cài 菜 (leafy vegetables) above is used for cǎi 采 (to pick). Duàn Yùcái classifies 若 as an “associative compound.”

He suggests that the graph was borrowed to mean *shùn* 順 (to be submissive) because the two words share the same initial. Baxter-Sagart reconstructs *nak and *Cə.lu[n]-s for *ruò* 若 and *shùn* 順 respectively, suggesting that they did not have the same initial. Thus, *ruò* 若 is unlikely to be a loan word for *shùn* 順. Xú Hào posits that the extended meaning of “to be submissive” evolved because it is easy to pick a plant with the right hand.² However, the graph in the oracle-bone and bronze inscriptions has nothing to do with plants. “To be submissive” is thus the early meaning, not an extended or loan meaning.

The following is an example:

乃命羲和，欽若昊天曆象——日月星辰，敬授民時。（《尚書·唐書·堯典》）

Nǎi mìng Xī Hé, qīn ruò hào tiān lì xiàng—rì yuè xīngchén, jìng shòu mǐn shí.
(*Shàng Shū*, “*Táng shū*,” “*Yáo diǎn*”)

Thereupon [Yáo] commanded Xī Hé to be submissive to the calendrical system of the vast Heaven – the courses of the sun, moon, and stars and respectfully grant the people knowledge of the cycle of the seasons. (“Canon of Yáo,” in “Book of Táng,” *Book of Documents*)

* There are different interpretations of Xī Hé 羲和. According to Gù Jiégāng and Liú Qǐyú, in the *Shān hǎi jīng* 山海經 (Classic of mountains and seas), Xī Hé is the goddess who gave birth to the sun. In the *Book of Documents*, however, Xī Hé refers to the Xī brothers and the Hé brothers who were in charge of astronomical and calendrical affairs. Here *nǎi* 乃 is identical to *nāi* 遣, meaning “thereupon.”³

Borrowed Meanings

1 *vb.*; “to choose”; rare usage

秦穆公許諾，反使者，乃召大夫子明及公孫枝，曰：「夫晉國之亂，吾誰使先，若夫二公子而立之？以為朝夕之急。」（《國語·晉語》）

Qín Mùgōng xǔ nuò, fǎn shǐ zhě, nǎi zhào dàfū Zǐmíng jí Gōngsūn Zhī, yuē, “Fú Jìn guó zhī luàn, wú shuí shǐ xiān, ruò fú èr gōngzǐ ér lì zhī? Yǐ wéi zhāo xī zhī jí.” (*Guó yǔ*, “*Jin yǔ*”)

Duke Mù of Qín gave his promise (to help Jin invest a new ruler). He let the envoy return (to Jin), then summoned the grand masters Zǐmíng and Gōngsūn Zhī, saying, “Concerning the rebellion in the Jin state, who should I send as envoy, to choose which of the two princes to invest? I treat this as a pressing issue to be tackled in a single morning or evening. (“Discourses of Jin,” *Discourses of States*)

2 *vb.*; “to equal”; often used with an adverb to create a sentence of negation

- used with adverb *wèi* 未 (still not, not yet)

子貢曰：「貧而無諂，富而無驕，何如？」子曰：「可也。未若貧而樂，富而好禮者也。」（《論語·學而》）

Zǐgōng yuē, “Pín ér wú chǎn, fù ér wú jiāo, hérú?” Zǐ yuē, “Kě yě. Wèi ruò pín ér lè, fù ér hào lì zhě yě.” (Lún yǔ, “Xué ér”)

Zǐgōng asked, “Impoverished but not obsequious, rich but not imperious – how would that be?” The Master said, “This is approvable. Yet it still does not equal being impoverished but taking pleasure in the Way, being rich but fond of the rites.” (“Xué’ér,” *Analects*)

Pín ér wú chǎn 貧而無諂 (impoverished but not obsequious), fù ér wú jiāo 富而無驕 (rich but not imperious), and fù ér hào lì 富而好禮 (rich but fond of the rites) are now idioms.

- used in a set pattern, *yǔ qí* 與其 . . . *bù ruò* 不若 (rather than . . . it would be better to)

子路曰：「吾聞諸夫子：喪禮，與其哀不足而禮有餘也，不若禮不足而哀有餘也。祭禮，與其敬不足而禮有餘也，不若禮不足而敬有餘也。」（《禮記·檀弓上》）

Zǐlù yuē, “Wú wén zhū Fūzǐ: Sāng lǐ, yǔ qí āi bù zú ér lǐ yǒu yú yě, bù ruò lǐ bù zú ér āi yǒu yú yě. Jì lǐ, yǔ qí jìng bù zú ér lǐ yǒu yú yě, bù ruò lǐ bù zú ér jìng yǒu yú yě.” (Lǐ jì, “Tángōng shàng”)

Zǐlù said, “I heard it from the Master: In mourning rites, rather than having a surplus in the rites while not being sorrowful enough, it would be better to have a shortfall in the rites while being more sorrowful. In sacrificial rites, rather than having a surplus in the rites while not being respectful enough, it would be better to have a shortfall in the rites while being more respectful.” (“Tángōng, First Section,” *Records of Rites*)

3 second-person pron.; “you”

- *subject*

既使我與若辯矣，若勝我，我不若勝，若果是也，我果非也邪？我勝若，若不吾勝，我果是也，而果非也邪？（《莊子·齊物論》）

Jǐ shǐ wǒ yǔ ruò biàn yǐ, ruò shèng wǒ, wǒ bù ruò shèng, ruò guǒ shì yě, wǒ guǒ fēi yě yé? Wǒ shèng ruò, ruò bù wú shèng, wǒ guǒ shì yě, ér guǒ fēi yě yé? (Zhuāngzǐ, “Qí wù lùn”)

If I debate with you, and you triumph over me, but I do not triumph over you, is it really that you are correct and that I am really incorrect? If I triumph over you, but you do not triumph over me, is it really that I am correct and that you really are incorrect? (“Uniformity of All Forms,” Zhuāngzǐ)

* *Ér* 而 here is also used as second-person pronoun, meaning “you.”

- *object*

既使我與若辯矣，若勝我，我不若勝，若果是也，我果非也邪？我勝若，若不吾勝，我果是也，而果非也邪？（《莊子·齊物論》）

Jì shǐ wǒ yǔ ruò biàn yǐ, ruò shèng wǒ, wǒ bù ruò shèng, ruò guò shì yé, wǒ guō fēi yě yé? Wǒ shèng ruò, ruò bù wú shèng, wǒ guō shì yě, ér guō fēi yě yé? (Zhuāngzǐ, “Qí wù lùn”)

If I debate with you, and you triumph over me, but I do not triumph over you, is it really that you are correct and that I am really incorrect? If I triumph over you, but you do not triumph over me, is it really that I am correct and that you really are incorrect? (“Uniformity of All Forms,” *Zhuāngzǐ*)

* *Er* 而 here is also used as second-person pronoun, meaning “you.”

- *attributive modifier; showing the possessive; “your”*

漢王曰：「吾與項羽俱北面受命懷王，曰『約為兄弟』，吾翁即若翁，必欲烹而翁，則幸分我一桮羹。」（《史記·項羽本紀》）

Hàn wáng yuē, “Wú yǔ Xiàng Yǔ jù běi miàn shòu mìng Huái wáng, yuē ‘yuē wéi xiōng dì,’ wú wēng jí ruò wēng, bì yù pēng ér wēng, zé xìng fèn wǒ yī bēi gēng.” (Shǐ jì, “Xiàng Yǔ běn jì”)

The king of Hán (later Emperor Gāozǔ of Hán) said, “You and I both face north to receive the command of King Huái (of Chǔ) and have declared, ‘We pledge to each other to be brothers’ (to fight the Qín army). My father is none other than your father. If you must boil your father alive, I hope you will share a cup of the stew with me.” (“Basic Annals of Xiàng Yǔ,” *Grand Scribe’s Records*)

* A similar passage appears in the *Hàn shū* and has been used as an example for Borrowed Meaning (1), under the entry for *nǎi* 乃. In that version, *wú wēng jí ruò wēng* 吾翁即翁 is written as *wú wēng jí rǔ wēng* 吾翁即翁, whereas *bì yù pēng wēng* 必欲烹而翁 is written as *bì yù pēng nǎi wēng* 必欲烹翁. *Ruò* 若, *rǔ* 汝, *ér* 而, and *nǎi* 乃 are all different ways of saying “your.” They are cognate.

- Sometimes it may seem that *ruò* is serving as an attributive modifier when it is actually serving as an object in a *shuāngbīn jù* 雙賓句 (a sentence with two objects).

項王身亦被十餘創。顧見漢騎司馬呂馬童，曰：「若非吾故人乎？」馬童面之，指王翳曰：「此項王也。」項王乃曰：「吾聞漢購我頭千金，邑萬戶，吾為若德。」乃自刎而死。（《史記·項羽本紀》）

Xiàngwáng shēn yì pī shí yú chuāng. Gù jiàn Hán jì Sīmǎ Lǚ Mǎtóng, yuē, “Ruò fēi wú gù rén hū?” Mǎtóng miàn zhī, zhǐ Wáng Yì yuē, “Cǐ Xiàngwáng yě.” Xiàngwáng nǎi yuē, “Wú wén Hán gòu wǒ tóu qiān jīn, yì wàn hù, wú wéi ruò dé.” Nǎi zì wén ér sǐ. (Shǐ jì, “Xiàng Yǔ běn jì”)

King Xiàng (Xiàng Yǔ 項羽) was also wounded more than ten times. He looked back and saw Lǚ Mǎtóng, a horseman of Hán and the Division Commander, and said, “Aren’t you my old acquaintance?” Mǎtóng faced him and pointed him out to Wáng Yí, saying, “This is King Xiàng.” King Xiàng then said, “I have heard that the king of Hán will pay a thousand in gold for my head and enfeoff the one who kills me with a fief of ten thousand households. I will do you a favor.” He then cut his throat and died. (“Basic Annals of Xiàng Yǔ,” *Grand Scribe’s Records*)

* 騎 should be pronounced as *jì*, meaning “horseman,” and not *qí*, meaning “to ride.” In modern Pǔtōnghuà, which has tended to eliminate different pronunciations for different uses of the same word, 騎 in both meanings is often read *qí*. But reading 騎 “horseman” as *jì* is still standard in literary Chinese.⁴

* The first *ruò* in “*ruò fēi wú gù rén hū*” 若非吾故人乎 (aren’t you my old acquaintance) is used as a subject, and the second *ruò* in the following sentence is an object:

wú (I, the subject, the one performing the action)

wéi (to do, verb, the action)

ruò (you, indirect object, the one the action is directed to)

dé (favor, the direct object of the action)

wú wéi ruò dé 吾為若德 = *I do/am doing you a favor.*

This is known as *shuāngbīn jù* 雙賓句 (a sentence with two objects), a construction still common in modern Chinese, as in *wǒ gěi nǐ qián* 我給你錢 (I give you money). *Gěi* is the verb, whereas both *nǐ* 你 and *qián* 錢 are the objects of the action. The first object is the indirect object; the second is the direct object. No preposition is needed in this kind of sentence. If a preposition is used, the word order is different, as in *wú wéi dé yú ruò* 吾為德於若 (I do/am doing a favor for you). In this case, the object to which the action is directed is introduced by the preposition *yú* 於; this kind of prepositional phrase often appears after a verb phrase.

- 4 DP; attributive modifier; only used to refer to things/objects close by; “this.”⁵

〔孟子〕曰：「然則王之所大欲可知已，欲辟土地，朝秦楚，莅中國而撫四夷也。以若所為求若所欲，猶緣木而求魚也。」（《孟子·梁惠王上》）

[Mèngzǐ] *yuē*, “Rán zé Wáng zhī suǒ dà yù kě zhī yǐ, yù pì tǔ dì, cháo Qín Chǔ, lì zhōng guó ér fǔ sì yí yě. Yǐ ruò suǒ wéi qiú ruò yù, yóu yuán mù ér qiú yú yě.” (Mèngzǐ, “Liáng Huiwáng shàng”)

[Mencius] said, “If that were the case, what My King greatly desires can be known. My King wishes to expand his territory, to have Qín and Chǔ pledge allegiance, and to rule the central plain and placate the foreign tribes on all

four sides. To fulfill this wish of yours with this action of yours is like seeking a fish up a tree.” (“King Hui of Liang, First Section,” *Mencius*)

* 蔽 is pronounced *lì*, with the same meaning as *lín* 臨 (to survey).⁶

Yuán mù qiú yú 緣木求魚 (seeking fish up a tree) is now an idiom meaning to use a wrongheaded approach that cannot possibly achieve one’s goal.

5 *vb.*; “to be like”

治大國若烹小鮮。(《老子·德經六十章》)

Zhì dà guó ruò pēng xiǎo xiān. (*Lǎozǐ*, “Dé jīng liùshí zhāng”)

Governing a large state is like cooking a small fish. (“Classic of Virtue, Sixtieth Chapter,” *Lǎozǐ*)

6 *conj.*; to connect two nouns; “and”

軍法，父子俱從軍，有死事，得與喪歸。灌夫不肯隨喪歸，奮曰：「願取吳王若將軍頭，以報父之仇。」(《史記·魏其武安侯列傳》)

Jūn fǎ, fù zì jù cóng jūn, yǒu sì shì, dé yǔ sāng guī. Guàn Fū bù kěn suí sāng guī, fèn yuē, “Yuàn qū Wúwáng ruò jiāngjūn tóu, yǐ bào fù zhī chóu.” (*Shǐ jì*, “Wei Qi Wu'an hou lièzhuan”)

It is the rule of the army that when both father and son serve in the army, and there is a fatality, the other gets to return with the deceased. Guàn Fū was unwilling to return with the deceased. Forcefully he said, “I would rather take the heads of King Wú and his generals, so as to avenge my father’s death.” (“Biographies of the Marquises of Wei Qi and Wu'an,” *Grand Scribe’s Records*)

7 *conj.*

- to introduce a suppositional clause; “if”

子曰：「若聖與仁，則吾豈敢？抑為之不厭，誨人不倦，則可謂云爾已矣。」公西華曰：「正唯弟子不能學也。」(《論語·述而》)

Zǐ yuē, “Ruò shèng yǔ rén, zé wú qǐ gǎn? Yì wéi zhī bù yàn, huì rén bù juàn, zé kě wèi yún ér yǐ yǐ. ” Gōngxī Huá yuē, “Zhèng wéi dì zǐ bù néng xué yě.” (*Lún yǔ*, “Shù ér”)

The Master said, “If we were to speak of the sage and the benevolent, how would I dare claim to be one of them? That I do not grow weary of trying to become one of them, nor tire of teaching others – only this much can be said of me.” Gōngxī Huá said, “This is precisely what your disciple cannot emulate.” (“Shù ér,” *Analects*)

Huì rén bù juàn 誘人不倦 (never tiring of teaching others) is now an idiom often used to praise teachers.

- to introduce a selective clause; “or”

晉趙鞅使告于衛，曰：「君之在晉也，志父為主。請君若大子來，以免志父。不然，寡君其曰志父之為也。」（《左傳·哀公十七年》）

Jìn Zhào Yāng shǐ gào yú Wèi, yuē, “Jūn zhī zài Jìn yě, Zhīfù wéi zhǔ. Qǐng jūn ruò Tàizǐ lái, yǐ miǎn Zhīfù. Bù rán, guājūn qí yuē Zhīfù zhī wéi yě.” (Zuō zhuàn, “Āigōng shíqī nián”)

Zhào Yāng of Jin sent an envoy to report to Wèi, saying, “When My King was in the Jin state, Zhifù (Zhào Yāng referring to himself) was your host. Now I plead for My King or the heir apparent to come, so as to exempt Zhifù from blame. If not, my lord might say this is Zhifù’s responsibility (to keep the new Wèi ruler from sending an envoy to the Jin court).” (Duke Āi 17, Zuō Tradition)

- 8 *conj.*; to introduce a new aspect into the discussion; “but as for”⁷

無恆產而有恆心者，惟士為能。若民，則無恆產，因無恆心。苟無恆心，放辟，邪侈，無不為已。（《孟子·梁惠王上》）

Wú héng chǎn ér yǒu héng xīn zhě, wéi shì wéi néng. Ruò mǐn, zé wú héng chǎn, yīn wú héng xīn. Gǒu wú héng xīn, fàng pì, xié chǐ, wú bù wéi yǐ. (Mèngzǐ, “Liáng Huiwáng shàng”)

To have no steady means of subsistence and yet to have a steady mind – only scholars can manage this. But as for commoners, when they have no steady means of subsistence, they have no steady mind. If they do not have steady minds, they will indulge in crimes, becoming depraved and wayward – there is nothing they will not do. (“King Hui of Liáng, First Section,” Mencius)

- 9 *suffix for adj.*

桑之未落，其葉沃若。

（《毛詩·衛風·氓》）

Sāng zhī wèi luò, qí yè wòruò.

(Máo Shī, “Wèi fēng,” “Máng”)

When the mulberry trees have not yet shed their leaves, their leaves are damp.

(Máo #58, “Vagabond,” in “Airs of Wèi,” Songs)

* *Ruò* 若 is used as a suffix for the adjective *wò* 沃 (to be damp).

Notes

- 1 Shāng Chéngzuò 商承祚, *Yīnxū wénzì leibiān* 殷虛文字類編 (Taipei: Wénshǐzhé, 1979), *juàn* 1.8a–b; *SWXZ*, 66–7.
- 2 *SWJZZJ*, *juàn* 1.2, 81b–82a.
- 3 Another version of this passage, dating from the Tāng dynasty, has *jìng shòu rén shí* 敬授人時 rather than *jìng shòu mǐn shí* 敬授民時; *mǐn* 民 (commoners) was replaced by *rén* (people) because of the taboo on *mǐn* as part of the personal name of the Tāng emperor Lǐ Shimín 李世民 (known as Tāizōng in history). Gù Jiégāng and Liú Qǐyú, *Shàngshū jiāoshì yilùn*, vol. 1, 32–7.
- 4 *GHYZD*, 1686.
- 5 *GHYZD*, 1046; *GHYXCCD*, 283. Yáng Bójùn translates this usage into modern Chinese as *rúcǐ* 如此 (like this). *GHYXC*, 133. Kroll gives the following example for this usage: “Used attributively to an embedded clause: that sort of, that kind of,” and translates *Yǐ ruò suǒ wéi quí ruò suǒ yù* 以若所為求若所欲 as “to use that sort of act to satisfy that sort of desire.” *SDCMC*, 393. Since *ruò* is a demonstrative pronoun for things close by, it may be better to translate it as “this sort of.”
- 6 Yáng Bójùn, *Mèngzǐ yizhù*, 24.
- 7 Wáng Li and his colleagues treat this usage as a modal particle to introduce a passage. Wáng Li, et al., *Gǔ Hán yǔ chángyòngzì zìdiǎn* 古漢語常用字字典 (Běijīng: Shāngwù yìnshūguǎn, 2006), 330. In his *GHYZD*, he treats it as a conjunction. *GHYZD*, 1047. Yáng Bójùn also treats it as a conjunction. *GHYXC*, 135. Kroll has “To introduce a topic contrasted with a preceding topic: but if, but as for” for the meaning of *ruòfū* 若夫. *SDCMC*, 393.

RUÒ 若 . . . HÉ 何

A set expression to show “what can be done about/to?”; the same as *nài* 奈 . . . *hé* 何

公疾病，求醫于秦。秦伯使醫緩為之。未至，公夢疾為二豎子，曰：「彼良醫也，懼傷我，焉逃之？」其一曰：「居肓之上，膏之下，若我何？」（《左傳·成公十年》）

Gōng jí bìng, qiú yī yú Qín. Qín bó shī yī Huǎn wéi zhī. Wèi zhì, Gōng mèng jí wéi èr shù zǐ, yuē, “Bì liáng yī yě, jù shāng wǒ, yān táo zhī?” Qí yī yuē, “Jū huāng zhī shàng, gāo zhī xià, ruò wǒ hé?” (Zuō zhuàn, “Chénggōng shí nián”)

The duke became very ill and sought a physician from Qín. The Earl of Qín sent a physician named Huǎn to perform the task. Before Huǎn arrived, the duke dreamed that his disease turned into two little boys. One said, “That is a fine physician. I am afraid that he may hurt us. Where should we flee?” The other one said, “If we stay above the diaphragm and below the tip of the heart, what can be done to us?” (Duke Chéng 10, Zuō Tradition)

Bìng rù gāo huāng 病入膏肓 (literally “disease infiltrating the area between the diaphragm and the heart”) is an idiom in modern Chinese, meaning that the disease has attacked the vitals and the patient is beyond cure.

SHÌ 是

adj.; “to be right”

- | – *DP; “this”*
- | – *copula vb.; “to be”*

BI	CM	QM	LS	SS
是	是	是	是	是

【*chéng zhǐ qiè 承紙切】OC: *[d]eʔ; MC: *dzyeX**

Early Meaning: *adj.; “to be right”*

Ji Xusheng notes that it is unclear how *shì* 是 came to have its bronze-inscription form 是¹. He finds this perplexing, as there are two lines in the shape of a cross between the upper part of the graph, normally understood as depicting the sun, and the lower part, normally understood as depicting a toe. He finds no convincing argument for the early meaning of this graph.

Xu Shen writes, “*Shì* 是 (是) means ‘to be right.’ It is derived from *rì* 日 (日, the sun) and *zhèng* 正 (正, to be exact). . . . 是 (*shì* 是) is the large seal script. It is derived from the ancient graph *zhèng* 正 (正)” 是 (是), 直也。从日、正。[. . . .] 是, 篆文是, 从古文正。² He classifies *shì* as an “associative compound.” Duàn Yúcái reasons that there is nothing more unerring than the sun at noon and Xu Kǎi that the sun is at its zenith at noon; hence, the early meaning is “to be right.”³

The following is an example of its use as “to be right”:

始皇曰：「天下共苦戰鬥不休，以有侯王。賴宗廟，天下初定，又復立國，是樹兵也，而求其寧息，豈不難哉！廷尉議是。」（《史記·秦始皇本紀》）

Shǐhuáng yuē, “Tiānxià gòng kǔ zhàn dòu bù xiū, yǐ yǒu hóu wáng. Lài zōng miào, tiānxià chū dìng, yòu fù lì guó, shì shù bīng yě, ér quí qí níng xī, qǐ bù nán zāi! Ting wèi yì shì.” (Shǐ jì, “Qín Shǐhuáng běnji”)

The First Emperor of Qín said, “All under Heaven had been suffering from wars without end; this was because there were feudal lords. It is the blessing of our ancestors that all under Heaven is now united. If we again establish feudal states, this is to plant armies [for future strife] while hoping for peace – wouldn’t that be difficult? What the Chamberlain for Law Enforcement (Lǐ Sī 李斯) proposes is right. (“Basic Annals of the First Emperor of Qín,” *Grand Scribe’s Records*)

What Lǐ Sī had proposed was to abolish the enfeoffment system and establish a system of counties and commanderies in its place. This passage narrates the crucial decision made by the First Emperor of Qín, one that had a far-reaching impact on later administrative development and the division of political power between the central and regional governments.

Borrowed Meanings

1 DP; “this”⁴

- used as a subject in a simple sentence. The subject is really an object that precedes its verb and is treated as an inverted object in most Chinese grammar books. This inversion is common in pre-Qín texts.

葛之覃兮，施于中谷，維葉莫莫。

是刈是濩，為緺為綿，服之無斁。

(《毛詩·周南·葛覃》)

Gé zhī tán xī, yì yú zhōng gǔ, wéi yè mò mò.

Shì yì shí hùo, wéi chī wéi xì, fú zhī wú yì.

(Máo Shī, “Zhōunán,” “Gé tán”)

How the kudzu vine spreads:

It reaches to the middle of the valley; its leaves are luxuriant.

This I cut, this I boil:

To make fine kudzu cloth, to make coarse kudzu cloth;

I shall wear them without growing weary of them.

(Máo #2, “Spreading of Kudzu Vine,” in “Zhōunán,” *Songs*)

* 施 should be pronounced *yì* (to spread) instead of *shī* (to apply to). 潢 is the loan graph for *hùo* 鍋 (cookpot), and should be pronounced as such. The extended meaning of *hùo* is “to boil.” After boiling, the fibers of the kudzu vine may be woven into cloth. In *shì yì shí hùo*, *shì* is a demonstrative pronoun serving as an object that precedes its verb. This object refers to the leaves of the kudzu vine in the previous sentence.⁵

- used as a subject in the clause of a compound sentence

孔子謂季氏：「八佾舞於庭，是可忍也，孰不可忍也？」(《論語·八佾》)

Kǒngzǐ wèi Jì shì, “Bā yì wǔ yú tíng, shì kě rēn yě, shú bù kě rēn yě?”
(*Lún yǔ*, “Bā yì”)

The Master commented on the head of the Jì clan, “Having eight rows of eight ritual dancers perform musical dances in the courtyard, this he presumes to do – what more would he not presume to do?” (“Bā yì,” *Analects*)

* *Yì 佾* was a row of ritual dancers at ancestral sacrifices in *Zhōu* times: tradition permitted eight rows of eight for the Son of Heaven, six rows of six for feudal lords, and four rows of four for great officials.⁶ Jì is probably *Jisūn Yírú 季孫意如*, a great official who violated propriety by enjoying the privileges of the Son of Heaven. *Shì kě rēn yě, shú bù kě rēn yě* 是可忍也, 孰不可忍也 is commonly interpreted as “If this can be tolerated, what else cannot be tolerated?” The expression is also used in modern Chinese with this meaning. However, *Yáng Bójùn* notes that *rēn 忍* here actually means “to presume to do.” Understanding *rēn 忍* as “to tolerate” would suggest that it was Confucius’s intent to encourage an expedition against Jì, which is not true. In fact, Duke *Zhāo* of *Lǔ 魯昭公* ended up dying in the *Jìn 晉* state because he left *Lǔ* on account of Jì’s unconscionable behavior,⁷ so no punitive expedition ever took place. *Bā yì wǔ yú tíng* 八佾舞於庭 (eight rows of eight ritual dancers perform musical dances in the courtyard) is in itself a complete sentence. Here it is a clause in a compound sentence, with the next two clauses explaining the implications of this act. These two clauses, *shì kě rēn yě* 是可忍也 and *shú bù kě rēn yě* 孰不可忍也 (this he can presume to do; what more would he not presume to do?), form clauses of selection, with *shì* used as resuming pronoun.

- used as an object in the clause of a compound sentence

子謂顏淵曰：「用之則行，舍之則藏，唯我與爾有是夫！」（《論語·述而》）

Zǐ wèi Yán Yuān yuē, “Yòng zhī zé xíng, shě zhī zé cáng, wéi wǒ yǔ ér yǒu shì fú!” (*Lún yǔ*, “Shù ér”)

The Master said to *Yán Yuān*, “When a ruler offers me employment, I go; when a ruler sets me aside, I keep to myself. It is probably only you and I who have attained this!” (“Shù ér,” *Analects*)

* *Shì 是* (this) refers to the wisdom of the behavior mentioned earlier. This sentence constitutes a compound sentence in Chinese grammar. *Yòng zhī zé xíng* 用之則行 (when a ruler offers me employment, I go) and *shě zhī zé cáng* 舍之則藏 (when a ruler sets me aside, I keep to myself) are two clauses juxtaposed in apposition. Each of them can stand alone as a complete compound sentence by itself, but when they are semantically related and become part of another compound sentence, they are treated as clauses in a compound sentence, forming an explanatory relation with the last clause, *wéi wǒ yǔ ér yǒu shì fú* 唯我與爾有是夫 (It is probably only you and I who have attained this). The last clause is the primary clause carrying the central message, while the preceding clauses explain this central message.

- used as an object of a co-verb in the clause of a compound sentence

鄭人游于鄉校，以論執政。然明謂子產曰：「毀鄉校何如？」子產曰：「何為？夫人朝夕退而游焉，以議執政之善否。其所善者，吾則行之；其所惡者，吾則改之，是吾師也。若之何毀之？我聞忠善以損怨，不聞作威以防怨。豈不遽止？然猶防川。大決所犯，傷人必多，吾不克救也。不如小決使道，不如吾聞而藥之也。」然明曰：「蔑也，今而後知吾子之信可事也。小人實不才，若果行此，其鄭國實賴之，豈唯二三臣？」仲尼聞是語也，曰：「以是觀之，人謂子產不仁，吾不信也。」（《左傳·襄公三十一年》）

Zhèng rén yóu yú xiāng xiào, yǐ lùn zhí zhèng. Ránmíng wèi Zǐchǎn yuē, “Huì xiāngxiào hé rú?” Zǐchǎn yuē, “Hé wèi? Fú rén zhāo xī tuì ér yóu yān, yǐ yì zhí zhèng zhī shàn pǐ. Qí suǒ shàn zhě, wú zé xíng zhī; qí suǒ wù zhě, wú zé gǎi zhī, shì wú shī yě. Ruò zhī hé huī zhī? Wǒ wén zhōng shàn yǐ sǔn yuàn, bù wén zuò wēi yǐ fáng yuàn. Qǐ bù jù zhī? Rán yóu fáng chuān. Dà jué suǒ fān, shāng rén bì duō, wú bù kè jiù yě. Bù rú xiǎo jué shǐ dǎo, bù rú wú wén ér yào zhī yě.” Ránmíng yuē, “Miè yě, jīn érhòu zhī wú zí zhī xìn kě shì yě. Xiǎo rén shí bù cí, ruò guō xíng cí, qí Zhèng guó shí lài zhī, qǐ wéi èr sān chén?” Zhòngní wén shì yǔ yě, yuē, “Yǐ shì guān zhī, rén wèi Zǐchǎn bù rén, wú bù xìn yě.” (Zuō zhuàn, “Xiānggōng sānshíyī nián”)

The people of Zhèng gathered freely in the county schools to discuss those in charge of government. Ránmíng (a great official of Zhèng) said to Zǐchǎn, “How about demolishing the county schools?” Zǐchǎn said, “For what? These people retire from work that lasts from morning till evening to gather freely to discuss the good and bad policies of those in charge of government. Those they consider good, I will continue to implement them; those they consider bad, I will change them. They are my teachers. The situation is like this – why should I demolish them (the schools)? I have heard that dedication to goodness reduces complaints, I have not heard that exerting authority prevents complaints. Wouldn’t exerting authority stop the complaints rapidly? But it would be like stopping a flood. When a large breach occurs, the people it hurts will be many; I am not capable of saving them all. It would be better to have a small breach to divert the water, just as it would be better for me to hear about these problems and remedy them [in a timely fashion].” Ránmíng said, “Only now does Miè (Ránmíng referring to himself) know that my master (Zǐchǎn) can indeed serve the interests of Zhèng. This petty man (Ránmíng referring to himself) is truly not gifted. If we implement this firmly, the Zhèng state could indeed rely upon it: how would it be just two or three of us who benefit from it?” Zhòngní (Confucius) heard about this conversation, and said, “Observing him through this, if people were to say that Zǐchǎn is not benevolent, I would not believe it.” (“Duke Xiāng 31,” Zuō Tradition)

* 道 in xiǎo jué shǐ dǎo 小決使道 (to have a small breach to divert the water) is the same as dǎo 導 (to divert) and should be pronounced as

such. For the usage of *shì* 是 in *Zhòngní wén shì yǔ yě* 仲尼聞是語也 (*Zhòngní* heard about this conversation), see the following entry.

- *attributive modifier*

仲尼聞是語也，曰：「以是觀之，人謂子產不仁，吾不信也。」（《左傳·襄公三十一年》）

Zhòngní wén shì yǔ yě, yuē, “*Yǐ shì guān zhī, rén wèi Zǐchǎn bù rén, wú bù xìn yě.*” (*Zuō zhuàn*, “*Xiānggōng sānshíyī nián*”)

Zhòngní (Confucius) heard about *this* conversation, and said, “Observing him through this, if people were to say that *Zǐchǎn* is not benevolent, I would not believe it.” (“Duke *Xiāng* 31,” *Zuō Tradition*)

* For a more complete version of this passage and the usage of the second *shì*, see the previous entry.

- 2 *copula vb.*; “to be”; used between the subject and the predicate; this usage, uncommon in pre-Hàn times, has become the predominant usage in modern Chinese.

襄子至橋，馬驚，襄子曰：「此必是豫讓也。」使人問之，果豫讓也。（《史記·刺客列傳·豫讓列傳》）

Xiāngzǐ zhì qiáo, mǎ jīng, Xiāngzǐ yuē, “*Cǐ bì shì Yù Ràng yě.*” *Shǐ rén wèn zhī, guō Yù Ràng yě.* (*Shǐ jì*, “*Cikè lièzhuàn*,” “*Yù Ràng lièzhuàn*”)

Xiāngzǐ came to the bridge. The horses were startled. *Xiāngzǐ* said, “This must be *Yù Ràng* (who caused this commotion).” He sent someone to inquire about it. It was indeed *Yù Ràng*. (“Biography of *Yù Ràng*,” in “Biographies of Assassins,” *Grand Scribe’s Records*)

* In literary Chinese, *shì* 是 may be omitted without changing the meaning of the sentence.

Notes

- 1 *SWXZ*, 120.
- 2 *SWJZZJ*, *juàn* 2.2, 1b.
- 3 Xú Kǎi, *Shuōwén jiézì xìzhuàn* 說文解字繫傳 (Běijīng: Zhōnghuá shūjú, 1987), *juàn* 4, 33.
- 4 Kroll defines this usage as “resuming pronoun placed between an exposed object and a transitive verb, referring to the exposed object.” *SDCMC*, 417. That is, the object of the transitive verb is moved to the front as the subject, and *shì* is used as a resuming pronoun to facilitate this change of order. This use of *shì* as a resumptive pronoun often appears in compound sentences. It may be understood as a demonstrative pronoun for the preceding situation, event, or person.
- 5 Chéng and Jiǎng note that *mò* 莫, *hùo* 漢, *xì* 紿, *yì* 署 belong to the rhyme category of *yú* 魚. *SJZX*, 8. Karlgren has *mâk* for 莫, *g'wâk* for 漢, *k'jâk* for 紿, and *d'jâk* for 署. Karlgren, *The Book of Odes*, 2.
- 6 *SDCMC*, 547.
- 7 Yáng Bójùn, *Línyǔ yìzhù* 論語譯注, 2nd ed. (Běijīng: Zhōnghuá shūjú, 1982), 23.

SHÚ 孰

vb.; “to offer fully cooked food for sacrifices” | – *adj.*; “to be thoroughly cooked”
 | – *vb.*; “to ripen”
 | – *adv.*; “thoroughly”
 | – *interr. pron.*; “who/what/which”

OBI	BI	QM	SS
𠀤	𩫔	𩫔	𩫔

【*shū liù qiè 殊六切*】OC: *[d]uk; MC: *dzyuwk*

Early Meaning: *vb.*; “to offer fully cooked food for sacrifices”

Jǐ Xūshēng proposes that the early meaning is the offering of fully cooked food in sacrificial ceremonies. He argues that the graph for *chún* 穀, treated as a symbol for sound by Xǔ Shèn, is actually *xiǎng* 享 (to offer a sumptuous sacrifice for gods or ancestors), which in oracle-bone inscriptions appears as 𩫔 and 𩫔; these are zodiographs of the building in which sacrificial ceremonies are held. 享, combined with the oracle-bone graph for *jǐ* 𩫔 (𩫔, to hold), generates the meaning of a sacrificial offering of thoroughly cooked food. This would put 𩫔 in the category of “associative compound.”¹ If Jǐ’s interpretation is accurate, “thoroughly cooked food” would be an extended meaning. Duàn Yúcái notes that a semantic determinative of “fire” was added at a later stage, producing the modern graph *shú* 熟.² The four dots at the bottom represent fire.

Xǔ Shèn writes, “*Shú* 飄 (𩫔, abbreviated as 孰) means eating food that is thoroughly cooked. It is derived from *jǐ* 𩫔 (𩫔, to hold); *chún* 穀 (空, to be thoroughly cooked) is sound-bearing.” 飄, 食飪也。从𩫔, 穀聲.³ He treats this as a graph of “form and sound.” Xú Kǎi and Duàn Yúcái, lacking access to the oracle-bone inscriptions, agree with the early meaning of “eating food that is thoroughly cooked” proposed by Xǔ Shèn, but they classify the graph as an “associative compound.”⁴

Extended Meanings

- 1 *adj.*; “to be thoroughly cooked”

獻孰食者操醬齊 (《禮記·曲禮上》)

Xiān shú shí zhě cāo jiàng jī (Lǐ jì, “Qǔ lǐ shàng”)

Those who offer food thoroughly cooked hold sauce and minced meat or vegetables. (“Intricate Rites, First Section,” *Records of Rites*)

* 齊 is used for *jī* 羹, chopped meat or vegetables preserved with salt or soy sauce and used as condiments.

- 2 *vb.*; “to ripen”

高者不旱,下者不水,寒暑和節,而五穀以時孰,是天之事也。(《荀子·富國篇》)⁵

Gāo zhě bù hàn, xià zhě bù shuǐ, hán shǔ hé jié, ér wǔ gǔ yǐ shí shú, shì tiān zhī shì yě. (Xúnzǐ, “Fù guó piān”)

The higher ground does not suffer from drought, and the lower ground does not suffer from flood. Cold and hot weather comply with the seasons, and the five grains ripen at the proper time. This is a matter for Heaven (to decide whether these ideal conditions should come about). (“On Making the State Wealthy,” *Xúnzǐ*)

- 3 *adv.*; *adverbial modifier*; “thoroughly”

明日,徐公來。孰視之,自以為不如;窺鏡而自視,又弗如遠甚。暮,寢而思之曰:「吾妻之美我者,私我也;妾之美我者,畏我也;客之美我者,欲有求於我也。」(《戰國策·齊策·鄒忌脩八尺有餘》)

Míng rì, Xú gōng lái. Shú shì zhī, zì yǐ wéi bù rú; kuī jìng ér zì shì, yòu fú rú yuǎn shèn. Mù, qǐn ér sī zhī yuē, “Wú qǐ zhī měi wǒ zhě, sī wǒ yě; qiè zhī měi wǒ zhě, wèi wǒ yě; kè zhī měi wǒ zhě, yù yǒu qiú yú wǒ yě.” (Zhàn guó cè, “Qí cè,” “Zōu Jì xiū bā chǐ yǒu yú”)

The next day, Mr. Xú came. After surveying him thoroughly, [Zōu Jì 鄒忌] considered himself not his equal. When he stole a look at himself in the mirror, he confirmed that he could by no means equal Xú. At dusk, he lay down and pondered it, thinking, “The reason my wife says that I am handsome is because she favors me; the reason my concubine says that I am handsome is because she fears me; the reason my visitor says that I am handsome is because he has something to ask of me.” (“Zōu Jì was more than eight feet tall,” in “Strategies of Qi,” *Strategies of the Warring States*)

Borrowed Meanings

1. *interr. pron.*; “who,” “what,” and “which”; since it can refer to both people and things, it is different from *shuí* 誰, which is an interrogative pronoun used only of people.

• “who”

孟子見梁襄王。出，語人曰：「望之不似人君，就之而不見所畏焉。卒然問曰：『天下惡乎定？』吾對曰：『定于一。』『孰能一之？』對曰：『不嗜殺人者能一之。』……」（《孟子·梁惠王上》）

Mèngzǐ jiàn Liáng Xiāngwáng. Chū, yù rén yuē, "Wàng zhī bù sì rén jūn, jiù zhī ér bù jiàn suǒ wèi yān. Zúrán wèn yuē, 'Tiānxià wūhū dìng?' Wú duì yuē, 'Dìng yú yī.' 'Shú néng yī zhī?' Dui yuē, 'Bù shì shā rén zhě néng yī zhī.' . . ." (Mèngzǐ, "Liáng Huìwáng shàng")

Mencius had an audience with King Xiāng of Liáng. He came out and said to others, “When I looked at him from afar, the king was unlike a ruler of people. When I got closer, I could not see wherein he could be revered. Abruptly he asked, ‘How is all under Heaven to be made secure?’ I responded, ‘It can be made secure by unification.’ ‘Who can unify it?’ I responded, ‘Those who do not enjoy killing can unify it.’ . . .” (“King Huì of Liáng, First Section,” *Mencius*)

* Also see the entry for *è* 惡, used as “how” and pronounced *wū*.

• “what”

孔子謂季氏，「八佾舞於庭，是可忍也，孰不可忍也？」（《論語·八佾》）

Kǒngzǐ wèi Jì shì, "Bā yì wǔ yú tíng, shì kě rěn yě, shú bù kě rěn yě?" (Lún yǔ, "Bā yì")

The Master commented on Jì, “Having eight rows of eight ritual dancers perform musical dances in the courtyard, this he can presume to do – what more would he not presume to do?” (“Bā yì,” *Analects*)

* A fuller version of this passage may be found under the entry for *shì* 是.

• “which”

旦日客從外來，與坐談，問之客曰：「吾與徐公孰美？」客曰：「徐公不若君之美也！」（《戰國策·齊策·鄒忌脩八尺有餘》）

Dàn rì kè cóng wài lái, yǔ zuò tán, wèn zhī kè yuē, "Wú yǔ Xúgōng shú měi?" Kè yuē, "Xúgōng bù ruò jūn zhī měi yě!" (Zhàn guó cè, "Qí cè," "Zōu jì xiū bā chǐ yǒu yú")

The next day a visitor came from outside, [and Zōu Jì] sat chatting with him. He asked it (i.e., the same question that he had asked his wife and concubine): “Between Mr. Xú and me, which of us is handsomer?” The visitor said, “Mr. Xú is not as handsome as you.” (“Zōu Jì was more than eight feet tall,” in “Strategies of Qi,” *Strategies of the Warring States*)

* This passage precedes the passage quoted earlier under Extended Meanings (3).

Notes

- 1 *SWXZ*, 196.
- 2 *SWJZZJ*, *juàn* 3.2, 25a.
- 3 *SWJZZJ*, *juàn* 3.2, 25a.
- 4 Xú Kǎi, *Shuōwén jiězì xìzhuàn*, *juàn* 6, 56; *SWJZZJ*, *juàn* 3.2, 25a.
- 5 Xióng Gōngzhé 熊公哲 agrees with Wáng Niànsūn 王念孫 (1744–1832) and Yáo Nài 姚鼐 (1731–1815) that *xià* 下 in the received text *shì tiānxià zhī shì yě* 是天下之事也 should be deleted. Xióng Gōngzhé, *Xúnzī jīnzhù jīnyì*, 181.

SHÚ YÜ 孰與

- a phrase used to show comparison, asking for an opinion; “how, in comparison with”

鄒忌脩八尺有餘，身體昳麗。朝服衣冠窺鏡，謂其妻曰：「我孰與城北徐公美？」其妻曰：「君美甚，徐公何能及公也！」（《戰國策·齊策·鄒忌脩八尺有餘》）

Zōu Jì xiū bā chǐ yǒu yú, shēn tǐ dié lì. Zhāo fú yī guān kuī jìng, wèi qí qī yuē, “Wǒ shú yǔ chéng bēi Xúgōng měi?” Qí qī yuē, “Jūn měi shèn, Xúgōng hé néng jí gōng yé!” (Zhàn guó cè, “Qí cè,” “Zōu jì xiū bā chǐ yǒu yú”)

Zōu Jì was more than eight feet tall; his torso and limbs were extremely handsome. In the morning he put on his hat and clothes and, looking in the mirror, asked his wife, “How do I compare in looks with Mr. Xú of the northern city?” His wife said, “You are much handsomer – how could Mr. Xú ever be able to equal you!” (“Zōu Jì was more than eight feet tall,” in “Strategies of Qí,” *Strategies of the Warring States*)

* This passage precedes the passage quoted under Borrowed Meanings (1).

- a phrase used to show a predetermined selection when two things are compared; “how can it compare to”

大天而思之，孰與物畜而制之？從天而頌之，孰與制天命而用之？望時而待之，孰與應時而使之？因物而多之，孰與騁能而化之？思物而物之，孰與理物而勿失之也？願於物之所以生，孰與有物之所以成？故錯人而思天，則失萬物之情。（《荀子·天論》）

Dà tiān ér sī zhī, shú yǔ wù xù ér zhì zhī? Cóng tiān ér sòng zhī, shú yǔ zhī tiān mìng ér yòng zhī? Wàng shí ér dài zhī, shú yǔ yìng shí ér shǐ zhī? Yīn wù ér duō zhī, shú yǔ chéng néng ér huà zhī? Sī wù ér wù zhī, shú yǔ lǐ wù ér wù shī zhī yě? Yuàn yú wù zhī suō yǐ shēng, shú yǔ yòu wù zhī suō yǐ chéng? Gù cù rén ér sī tiān, zé shī wàn wù zhī qíng. (Xúnzǐ, “Tiān lùn”)

To exalt Heaven and long for it – how can this compare to treating it like a thing and controlling it? To obey Heaven and praise it – how can this compare to controlling the law of nature and using it? To observe the seasons and

wait upon them – how can this compare to complying with the seasons and employing them? To follow along with things to increase them – how can this compare to unbridling one's talents and multiplying them (i.e., things)? To long for things and treat the things as things to be owned, how can this compare to managing things and not missing it (the proper means of distributing them)? To admire what things rely on to multiply, how can this compare to assisting the means by which things are created? Thus, if one abandons what lies with people and longs for what lies with Heaven, one has missed the disposition of the myriad things. (“Discourse on Heaven,” *Xúnzǐ*)

* 有 is pronounced *yòu* for the meaning of “to assist.” 错 is used for *cù* 措, to set aside.

Cultural note: This passage demonstrates a key aspect of Xúnzǐ's philosophy – that it is better to rely on human effort than on nature.

Sī 斯

vb.; “to split apart”

- | – *DP*; “this,” “here”
- | – *conj.*; to show time sequence or result
- | – *part.*; for rhythm

BI	CM	SS
𠩺	𠩺	𠩺

【*xī yí qiè* 息移切】OC: *[s]e; MC: *sje*

Early Meaning: *vb.*; “to split apart”

Jǐ Xūshēng does not have an entry for this.

Xǔ Shèn writes, “*Sī* (斯) means to split apart. It is derived from *jīn* 斤 (斤, an axe); *qí* 其 (其, a winnowing basket) is sound-bearing” 斯 (斯),析也。从斤,其聲. He reads it as a graph of “form and sound.” Xú Hào quotes from *Shǐjì jíjíě* 史記集解 (Collected commentaries on the *Grand Scribe’s Records*), noting that *sī* specifically means to split wood.¹

Example of its use as “to split apart”:

墓門有棘,斧以斯之。
夫也不良,國人知之。
知而已,誰昔然矣。
(《毛詩·陳風·墓門》)

Mù mén yōu jí, fù yǐ sī zhī.
Fū yě bù liáng, guó rén zhī zhī.
Zhī ér bù yǐ, shuí xī rán yǐ.
(*Máo Shī*, “Chén fēng,” “Mù mén”)

At the tomb gate there are jujube trees; with an axe one splits them apart.
This man is not virtuous; the people of the state know it.

Knowing yet not stopping him – since long ago it has been like this.

(Máo #141, “Tomb Gate,” in “Airs of Chén,” *Songs*)

* *Shuí* 誰 here is simply used to begin a sentence and has no actual meaning.²

Borrowed Meanings

1 DP; a demonstrative pronoun for things nearby; “this,” “here”

- used as subject to indicate the thing one is referring to

子張曰：「何謂五美？」子曰：「君子惠而不費，勞而不怨，欲而不貪，泰而不驕，威而不猛。」子張曰：「何謂惠而不費？」子曰：「因民之所利而利之，斯不亦惠而不費乎？擇可勞而勞之，又誰怨？欲仁而得仁，又焉貪？君子無眾寡，無小大，無敢慢，斯不亦泰而不驕乎？君子正其衣冠，尊其瞻視，儼然人望而畏之，斯不亦威而不猛乎？」（《論語·堯曰》）

Zǐzhāng yuē, “Hé wèi wǔ měi?” *Zǐ yuē*, “Jūn zǐ huì ér bù fèi, láo ér bù yuàn, yù ér bù tān, tài ér bù jiāo, wēi ér bù měng.” *Zǐzhāng yuē*, “Hé wèi huì ér bù fèi?” *Zǐ yuē*, “Yīn mǐn zhī suǒ lì ér lì zhī, sī bù yì huì ér bù fèi hū? Zé kě láo ér láo zhī, yòu shuí yuàn? Yù rén ér dé rén, yòu yān tān? Jūn zǐ wú zhòng guǎ, wú xiǎo dà, wú gǎn mǎn, sī bù yì tài ér bù jiāo hū? Jūn zǐ zhèng qí yī guān, zūn qí zhānshì, yǎnrán rén wàng ér wèi zhī, sī bù yì wēi ér bù měng hū?” (*Lún yǔ*, “Yáo yuē”)

Zǐzhāng asked, “What are the five commendable things?” The Master said, “A noble man brings material benefits to others without incurring great expenditure, lays tasks on others without giving them cause to complain, desires without being covetous, and is majestic but not arrogant, awe-inspiring but not fierce.” *Zǐzhāng* asked, “What is bringing material benefits to others without incurring great expenditure?” The Master said, “If he follows what the people naturally draw profit from to profit them, isn’t this bringing material benefits to others without incurring great expenditure? If he chooses tasks that can be done and lays the tasks on them (i.e., people), who would complain? If he desires benevolence and gets benevolence, what is left to covet? A noble man dare not be boastful, be it before a multitude or a few, be it before the more influential or the less influential. Isn’t this to be majestic but not arrogant? A noble man straightens his upper garment and cap, makes his appearance estimable, so solemn that people gaze from afar and revere him. Isn’t this to be awe-inspiring but not fierce?” (“*Yáo yuē*,” *Analects*)

* *Zhānshì* 瞻視 is a nominal phrase referring to one’s external appearance, that is, the way one looks on the outside.

Huì ér bù fèi 惠而不費 (to bring material benefits to others without incurring great expenditure) is now an idiom.

- used as the object of a preposition to indicate place

子貢曰：「有美玉於斯，韞匱而藏諸？求善賈而沽諸？」子曰：「沽之哉！沽之哉！我待賈者也。」（《論語·子罕》）

Zǐgōng yuē, “Yǒu měi yù yú sīlì yùn dú ér cáng zhū? Qiú shàn gǔ ér gū zhū?” Zǐ yuē, “Gū zhī zāi! Gū zhī zāi! Wǒ dài gǔ zhé yě.” (Lún yǔ, “Zǐ hǎn”)

Zǐgōng said, “There is a piece of fine jade here. Will you preserve it in a coffer? Or will you seek a good merchant to sell it?” The Master said, “Sell it! Sell it! I am waiting for a merchant!” (“Zǐ hǎn,” *Analects*)

* Dú匱 is a variant character for dú 檄 (coffer).

The fine jade waiting for a buyer is a metaphor for a virtuous man waiting to be recognized and employed by his ruler. This dialogue is the origin of the idioms *yùn dú dài jià* 韞匱待價 (preserved in a coffer while waiting for the proper price) and *yùn yù dài jià* 玉玉待價 (preserving jade while awaiting the proper price). Jade is a symbol of virtue in Chinese culture, and in ancient times, a gentleman always carried an accessory made of jade, as noted in the *Records of Rites*.

2 conj.

- to show time sequence, meaning “then”

〔孟子〕曰：「……狗彘食人食而不知檢，塗有餓莩而不知發；人死，則曰：『非我也，歲也。』是何異於刺人而殺之，曰：『非我也，兵也。』王無罪歲，斯天下之民至焉。」（《孟子·梁惠王上》）

[Mèngzǐ] yuē, “... Gǒu zhì shí rén sì ér bù zhī jiǎn, tú yǒu è piǎo ér bù zhī fā; rén sì, zé yuē, ‘Fēi wǒ yě, suì yě.’ Shì hé yì yú cì rén ér shā zhī, yuē, ‘Fēi wǒ yě, bīng yě.’ Wáng wú zuì suì, sī tiānxià zhī mǐn zhì yān.” (Mèngzǐ, “Liáng Huìwáng shàng”)

Mencius said, “... Dogs and swine eat people's food, and yet the ruler does not recognize the need to prevent this; there are people starving to death and the corpses of the starved on the road, yet the ruler does not recognize the need to dispatch grain. When people die, he says, ‘It is not I but the poor harvest that is responsible.’ How different is this from stabbing a person to death and then saying, ‘It is not I but the weapon that is responsible?’ If My King does not blame it on the harvest, then people from all under Heaven will come.” (“King Hui of Liang, First Section,” *Mencius*)

- to show result, meaning “thus”

孟子曰：「人皆有不忍人之心。先王有不忍人之心，斯有不忍人之政矣。」（《孟子·公孫丑上》）

Mèngzǐ yuē, “Rén jiē yǒu bù rén rén zhī xīn. Xiān wáng yǒu bù rén rén zhī xīn, sī yǒu bù rén rén zhī zhèng yǐ.” (Mèngzǐ, “Gōngsūn Chǒu shàng”)

Mencius said, “People all have a heart that cannot bear to see others suffer. The former kings had hearts that could not bear to see others suffer; thus, they implemented benevolent policies.” (“Gōngsūn Chōu, First Section,” *Mencius*)

3 *part*; for rhythm; a common usage in the *Songs*

- used within a line

彼爾維何?維常之華。
彼路斯何?君子之車。

(《毛詩·小雅·鹿鳴之什·采薇》)

Bǐ ēr wéi hé? Wéi cháng zhī huā.

Bǐ lù sī hé? Jūnzǐ zhī jū.

(Máo Shī, “Xiǎo yǎ, “Lùmíng zhī shí, “Cǎi wēi”)

Those blossoming, what are they? They are the kerria flowers.

That wagon, what is it? It is the chariot of the noble men.

(Máo #167, “Plucking Bracken,” “Decade Beginning with ‘the Deer Bells,’” in “Minor Odes,” *Songs*)

* 爾 is a loan word for *ěr* 蘭 (blossoming). *Lù* 路 is the same as *lù* 輅, a wagon, especially a royal conveyance of imposing size.³

- used at the end of a line

既破我斧,又缺我斨。
周公東征,四國是皇。
哀我人斯,亦孔之將。

(《毛詩·豳風·破斧》)

Jì pò wō fǔ, yòu quē wō qiāng.

Zhōugōng dōng zhēng, sì guó shì huáng.

Āi wō rén sī, yì kǒng zhī jiāng.

(Máo Shī, “Bīn fēng, “Pò fù”)

Our axes have been broken, and our hatchets have been cracked.

Duke Zhōu led an expedition to the east; the states on all four sides are fearful.

Do pity us people; how great is it to stay alive!⁴

(Máo #157, “Broken Axes,” in “Airs of Bīn,” *Songs*)

* 皇 is the same as *huáng* 惶 (to be fearful). *Jiāng* 將 means “to be great.” The Máo preface suggests that this song was composed to praise Duke Zhōu for conducting an expedition against rebels. Chéng and Jiāng argue that it was most likely sung by soldiers who were simply glad to have survived. The translation here follows their interpretation.⁵

Notes

- 1 *SWJZZJ, juàn* 14.1, 61a.
- 2 Chéng and Jiǎng note that *sī* 斯 and *zhī* 知 belong to the rhyme category *zhī* 支, while *yǐ* 已 and *yǐ* 矣 belong to the rhyme category *zhī* 支. *SJZX*, 375. Karlgren has *siěg* for 斯, *tiěg* for 知, *zīg* for 已 and 矣. Karlgren, *The Book of Odes*, 89.
- 3 Chéng and Jiǎng note that *huā* 華 and *jū* 車 belong to the rhyme category *yuú* 魚. *SJZX*, 467. Karlgren has *g'wâ* for 華 and *kjō* for 車. Karlgren, *The Book of Odes*, 110–11.
- 4 Chéng and Jiǎng note that *qiāng* 斌, *huáng* 皇, and *jiāng* 將 belong to the rhyme category *yáng* 陽. *SJZX*, 427. Karlgren has *ts'jāng* for 斌, *g'wâng* for 皇, and *tsjāng* for 將. Karlgren, *The Book of Odes*, 102.

Sīxū 斯須

- *adv.; adverbial modifier*; “for even an instant”; Baxter-Sagart reconstructs *se (OC) and sje (MC) for 斯 in the meaning of *sīxū* 斯須 (for a short time). The English translation may appear as if *sīxū* is a phrase, but *sīxū* is not a simple combination of the meanings of *sī* and *xū*. When the two characters are combined, they generate a new meaning “for even an instant”; thus, *sīxū* is treated as a word here.

君子曰：「禮樂不可斯須去身。」（《禮記·樂記》）

Jūnzi yuē, “Lǐ yuè bù kě sīxū qù shēn.” (Lǐ jì, “Yuè jì”)

A gentleman said, “The rites and music cannot be put aside for even an instant.” (“Records of Music,” *Records of Rites*)

SUŌ 所

onomatopoeic for the sound of wood being hewed 【hǔ】

- | – *n.*; “place”
- | – *measure word*; for buildings
- | – *suffix of a numeral word*; to show approximate numbers
- | – *DP.*; to nominalize a phrase
- | – *part.*; used in the pattern *wéi . . . suō* to indicate the passive voice
- | – *conj.*; to introduce a suppositional clause

BI		CM		QM		SS
所	所	所	𠩺	𠩺	𠩺	𠩺

【*shū jǔ qiè* 跡舉切】OC: *s-qh<r>a?; MC: *srjoX*

Early Meaning: Onomatopoeic for the Sound of Wood Being Hewed; Roughly Translated as “swishing” 【hǔ】

Jì Xūshēng does not have an entry for this.

Xǔ Shèn writes, “*Hǔ* 所 (𠩺) is the sound of wood being hacked. It is derived from *jīn* 斤 (斤, an axe); *hù* 戸 (戶, single-leaved door) is sound-bearing” 𠩺 (所), 伐木聲也。从斤, 戶聲. He treats it as a graph of “form and sound.” Xú Hào comments that the use of this graph to mean “a place” is a borrowed meaning.¹ The Baxter-Sagart reconstruction for this meaning is *s-q^ha? for Old Chinese, which is similar to *q^ha? for the early meaning of 所 as onomatopoeic, suggesting that the word may have been borrowed to mean “a place” based on sound. Zhū Jūnshēng 朱駿聲 (1788–1858) quotes the poem below to illustrate the early meaning of 所 as onomatopoeic. In the received text of the Máo edition, *hǔhǔ* 所所 is written as *hǔhǔ* 許許.² 許 is a loan character for 所.³

Example:

伐木許許，釀酒有薦。
既有肥義，以速諸父。
寧適不來、微我弗顧。
(《毛詩·小雅·鹿鳴之什·伐木》)

Fá mù hūhū, shī jiǔ yǒu xuè.
Jí yóu fēi zhù, yǐ sù zhū fù.
níng shì bù lái, wēi wǒ fú gù.
(Máo Shī, “Xiǎo yǎ,” “Lù míng zhī shí,” “Fá mù”)

Swishing is the sound of hewing wood. The filtered wine has a fine taste.
As there is a fat lamb, I shall invite my uncles to it.
I would rather they should happen to be unable to come, than not show them regard.⁴

(Máo #165, “Hewing Wood” in “Decade Beginning with ‘the Deer Bells,’ in ‘Minor Odes,’ *Songs*”)

* *Xù* 薦 refers to the fine taste of wine. *Zhū fù* 諸父 refers to elders of the same clan.

Borrowed Meanings

- 1 *n.; object; “place”*

子曰：「吾自衛反魯，然後樂正，雅頌各得其所。」(《論語·子罕》)
Zǐ yuē, “Wú zì Wèi fǎn Lǔ, rán hòu yuè zhèng, yǎ sòng gè dé qí suō.” (Lún yǔ, “Zǐ hǎn”)

The Master said, “I returned to Lǔ from Wèi; only then was the music rectified. Both the odes and the solemn hymns gained their respective places.” (“Zǐ hǎn,” *Analects*)

- 2 *measure word; for buildings; cannot be translated*

離宮別館，三十六所。(《後漢書·班彪列傳》)

lí gōng bié guǎn, sān shí liù suǒ. (Hòu Hàn shū, “Bān Biāo lièzhuàn”)

The number of resort palaces and country residences is thirty-six. (“Biography of Bān Biāo,” *Official History of the Later Han*)

- 3 *suffix of a numeral word; to show approximate numbers; “approximately”⁵*

良嘗閒從容步游下邳圯上，有一老父，衣褐，至良所，直墮其履圯下，顧謂良曰：「孺子，下取履！」良鄂然，欲毆之。為其老，彊忍，下取履。父曰：「履我！」良業為取履，因長跪履之。父以足受，笑而去。良殊大驚，隨目之。父去里所，復還，曰：「孺子可教矣。後五日平明，與我會此。」(《史記·留侯世家》)

Liáng cháng xián cōngróng bù yóu Xiàpī yí shàng, yǒu yī lǎo fù, yì hè, zhì Liáng suō, zhí duò qí lǚ yí xià, gù wèi Liáng yuē, “Rú zǐ, xià qú lǚ!” Liáng è'rán, yù ōu zhī. Wèi qí lǎo, qiǎng rěn, xià qú lǚ. Fù yuē, “Lǚ wǒ!” Liáng yè wèi qú lǚ, yīn cháng guì lǚ zhī. Fù yǐ zú shòu, xiào ér qù. Liáng shū dà jīng, suì mù zhī. Fù qù lǐsuō, fù huán, yuē, “Rú zǐ kě jiāo yǐ. Hòu wǔ rì píng míng, yú wǒ huí cǐ.” (Shi jì, “Líuhóu shijiā”)

Once Liáng was strolling leisurely over a bridge in Xiàpī county. There was an old man, wearing coarse clothing, who came to the place where Liáng was. He dropped his shoes straight down under the bridge, and looked back at Liáng, saying, “Youngster, go fetch the shoes!” Liáng was dumbfounded and wanted to hit him. Because he was old, Liáng forcibly contained his anger and went down to fetch the shoes. The old man said, “Put them on for me!” Liáng had already fetched the shoes for him, so he knelt and put them on for him. The old man stretched out his feet for them, then left, laughing. Liáng was exceedingly and greatly startled and watched him go. The old man went approximately one *lǐ*, then turned back, saying, “Youngster, you can be taught! Meet me here at daybreak five days from now.” (“Hereditary House of the Marquis of Liú,” *Grand Scribe’s Records*)

* *Suō 所* in “zhì Liáng suō” 至良所 is another example of its use as “a place.”

This story is the source of the idiom *rú zǐ kě jiāo* 孺子可教 (this youngster can be taught). The compliment must come from an older person.

- 4 *DP*; used before a verb to nominalize a phrase; Kroll has “marker of object nominalization, i.e., when prefixed to a verb makes a noun phrase referring to the object of the verb.”⁶

知天之所為,知人之所為者,至矣。(《莊子·大宗師》)

Zhī tiān zhī suō wéi, zhī rén zhī suō wéi zhě, zhì yǐ. (*Zhuāngzǐ*, “Dà zōng shī”)

To know what is done by Heaven and what is done by people – this is the ultimate knowledge. (“The Most Venerable Master,” *Zhuāngzǐ*)

孟子曰:「不仁哉梁惠王也!仁者以其所愛及其所不愛,不仁者以其所不愛及其所愛。」(《孟子·盡心下》)

Mèngzǐ yuē, “Bù rén zāi Liáng Huiwáng yě! Rén zhě yǐ qí suō ài jí qí suō bù ài, bù rén zhě yǐ qí suō bù ài jí qí suō ài.” (*Mèngzǐ*, “Jin xīn xià”)

Mencius said, “So unbenevolent is King Hui of Liáng! A benevolent person extends what he loves to what he does not love, while an unbenevolent person extends what he does not love to what he loves.” (“Exerting Oneself, Second Section,” *Mencius*)

- 5 *part.*; often preceded by the preposition *wéi* 為, in the pattern *wéi* 為 + sb. + *suo* 所 + *vb.* (to be + *vb.* + by + sb.) to indicate the passive voice

二十九年，始皇東游。至陽武博狼沙中，為盜所驚。求弗得，乃令天下大索十日。（《史記·秦始皇本紀》）

Èrshíjiǔ nián, Shǐhuáng dōng yóu. Zhì Yángwǔ Bólángshā zhōng, wéi dào suǒ jīng. Qiú fù dé, nǎi lǐng tiānxià dà suǒ shí rì. (Shǐ jì, “Qín Shǐhuáng běnji”)

In the twenty-ninth year of his reign, the First Emperor of Qín traveled east. When he reached Bólángshā in Yángwǔ, he was startled by men making an attempt on his life. He sought the assailants but could not find them, and so he commanded all under Heaven to search exhaustively for ten days. (“Basic Annals of the First Emperor of Qín,” *Grand Scribe’s Records*)

- 6 *conj.*; to introduce a suppositional clause; used only in the swearing of oaths

十七年春，晉侯使郤克徵會于齊。齊頃公帷婦人使觀之。郤子登，婦人笑於房。獻子怒，出而誓曰：「所不此報，無能涉河！」（《左傳·宣公十七年》）

Shíqī nián chūn, Jīnhóu shǐ Xì Kè zhēng huì yú Qí. Qí Qīnggōng wéi fùrén shǐ guān zhī. Xizǐ dēng, fùrén xiào yú fáng. Xiānzi nù, chū ér shì yuē, “Suō bù cǐ bào, wú néng shè hé!” (Zuō zhuàn, “Xuāngōng shíqī nián”)

In spring of the seventeenth year, the Marquis of Jìn sent Xì Kè as an envoy to Qí to arrange a meeting with the feudal lords. Duke Qīng of Qí concealed a woman (his mother) behind a curtain for her to take a look at him. Xì ascended the stairs [limping], and she laughed in the chamber. Xiānzi (i.e., Xì Kè) was enraged. As he came out, he vowed, “If I do not pay them back for this, I will not be able to cross the Yellow River!” (“Duke Xuān 17,” *Zuō Tradition*)

Notes

- 1 *SWJZZJ*, juàn 14.1, 60b.
- 2 *Zhū Jūnshēng, Shuōwén tōngxùn dingshēng* 說文通訓定聲 (Běijīng: Zhōnghuá shūjú, 1984), 404.
- 3 *SJZX*, 455.
- 4 Chéng and Jiāng note that *hǔ* 所, *xù* 輿, *zhù* 矛, *fù* 父, and *gù* 顧belong to the rhyme category *yú* 魚. *SJZX*, 456. Karlgren has *yo* for 所, *dʒyo* for 輿, *d'jyo* for 矛, *b'jwo* for 父, and *ko* for 顧. Karlgren, *The Book of Odes*, 108.
- 5 For this usage, see *GHYXCCD*, 331.
- 6 *SDCMC*, 437.

SUǑ YǏ 所以

Suǒ is a demonstrative pronoun, while *yǐ* is a co-verb. The phrase is used as an adverbial modifier in the following situations:

- to indicate the means or wherewithal; “what . . . relies on”

穆公有疾, 曰:「蘭死, 吾其死乎! 吾所以生也。」刈蘭而卒。(《左傳·宣公三年》)

Mùgōng yǒu jí, yuē, “*Lán sǐ, wú qí sǐ hū! Wú suǒ yǐ shēng yě.*” *Yǐ lán ér zú.* (*Zuō zhuàn*, “*Xuāngōng sān nián*”)

Duke Mù [of Zhèng] fell ill. He said, “When the thoroughwort dies, am I too about to die? Thoroughwort is what I rely on to live.” Someone harvested the thoroughwort, and Duke Mù died.

* According to legend, a heavenly envoy, gave Duke Mù’s mother a sprig of thoroughwort that would be born as her son. Later, Duke Wén (Duke Mù’s father) gave Duke Mù’s mother thoroughwort as a present and favored her; thus, Duke Mù was born. He was given the personal name Lán 蘭 (thoroughwort).

- to indicate the reason; “the reason for”

如此, 則人失其所以樂生, 而忘其所以重死。人不樂生則人主不尊, 不重死則令不行也。(《韓非子·安危》)

Rú cǐ, zé rén shī qí suǒ yǐ yào shēng, ér wàng qí suǒ yǐ zhòng sǐ. Rèn bù yào shēng zé rén zhǔ bù zūn, bù zhòng sī zé lìng bù xíng yě. (*Hánfēizǐ*, “*Ān wēi*”)

If this were the case, people would lose the reason for enjoying life and forget the reason for fearing death. If people do not enjoy life, their ruler will not be respected; if they do not fear death, his commands will not be followed. (“Security and Danger,” *Hánfēizǐ*)

WÉI 為

- vb.; “to do”* | – *vb.; “to become”*
- | – *copula vb.; “to be”*
- | – *vb.; “to be considered/regarded as”*
- | – *vb.; “to pretend”* [wèi]
- | – *vb.; “to support/to assist”* [wèi]
- | – *vb.; “to speak to”* [wèi]
- | – *adv.; “about to”* [wèi]
- | – *prep.; marker for passive voice*
- | – *prep.; to introduce the agent*
- | – *prep.; “for,” “on behalf of,” “because of,” “to”* [wèi]
- | – *conj.; to introduce a suppositional clause*
- | – *modal part.; for exclamation, prohibition, or inquiry*

OBI	BI			CM		QM	TAS	SS

【*wéi zhī qiè* 蔡支切】OC: *gʷ(r)aj; MC: *hjwe*

Early Meaning: *vb.; “to do”*

Since the graph as it appears in various oracle-bone inscriptions and bronze inscriptions depicts in all cases an elephant with a long trunk overshadowed by a hand, suggestive of taming an elephant for work, Ji Xusheng classifies this graph as an “associative compound.”¹ In the legend of Shun, it is said that elephants helped him in farming at Lishan 歷山 (Mount Li). Li Xiaoding thus suggests an early meaning of “to do/to perform” for *wéi*.² The small seal script form of *wéi* 為 already differs so much from the oracle-bone inscriptions that Xu Shen mistook it for a graph picturing a female macaque.³

Xu Shen writes, “*Wéi* 為 () refers to a female macaque. As an animal it is fond of claws. The claws are the symbol for a female macaque. The lower part

is the form of a female macaque. Wáng Yù 王育 says, ‘*Zhuǎ* 爪 (爪, claw) is a zodiograph.’ 爪 is the ancient graph for *wéi*, depicting two macaques facing each other” 爪 (爲), 母猴也, 其爲禽好爪; 爪, 母猴象也; 下腹爲母猴形。王育曰: 「爪, 象形也。」 爪, 古文爲, 象兩母猴相對形. According to Xǔ Shèn, the graph is a zodiograph. Duàn Yúcái agrees and suggests that the use of *wéi* as “to do” is a borrowed meaning.⁴ However, Xǔ Shèn’s explanation was based on the small seal script, and modern scholars have disputed his analysis on the basis of evidence from oracle-bone and bronze inscriptions.

The use of *wéi* as “to do” is predominant in the pre-Qín period. Since “to do” can refer to different kinds of activity, its precise translation depends on context. The following are some examples to show how *wéi* as “to do” is used in a sentence.

1 *wéi* appears alone, meaning “to do”

孟子曰:「人有不為也,而後可以有為。」(《孟子·離婁下》)

Mèngzǐ yuē, “Rén yǒu bù wéi yě, érhòu kě yǐ yǒu wéi.” (*Mèngzǐ*, “Lí Lóu xià”)

Mencius said, “Only when people have things that they will not do, will they have things that they will do.” (“Lí Lóu, Second Section,” *Mencius*)

2 *wéi* takes a direct object

- which is a noun

葛之覃兮,施于中谷,维葉莫莫。

是刈是濩,為絲為綸,服之無斁。

(《毛詩·周南·葛覃》)

Gé zhī tán xī, yì yú zhōng gǔ, wéi yè mò mò.

Shì yì shì huò, wéi cī wéi xì, fú zhī wú yì.

(*Máo Shī*, “*Zhōunán*,” “*Gé tán*”)

How the kudzu vine spreads:

It reaches to the middle of the valley; its leaves are luxuriant.

This I cut, this I boil:

To make fine kudzu cloth, to make coarse kudzu cloth;

I shall wear them without growing weary of them.

(*Máo* #2, “Spreading of Kudzu Vine,” in “*Zhōunán*,” *Songs*)

* For an explanation of this stanza, see the entry for *shì* 是.

- which is an adjective used as a noun

為善不同,同歸于治;為惡不同,同歸于亂。(《尚書·周書·蔡仲之命》)

Wéi shàn bù tóng, tóng guī yú zhì; Wéi è bù tóng, tóng guī yú luàn.
(*Shàng Shū*, “*Zhōu shū*,” “*Cài Zhòng zhī mìng*”)

Ways of doing good may not be the same, but they all contribute to order; ways of doing evil may not be the same, but they all contribute to chaos. (“Counsel to Cài Zhòng,” in “Book of Zhōu,” *Book of Documents*)

- which is a verb; in this case, *wéi* need not be translated

子路曰：「傷哉貧也！生無以為養，死無以為禮也。」（《禮記·檀弓下》）

Zǐlù yuē, “Shāng zāi pín yě! Shēng wú yǐ wéi yàng, sǐ wú yǐ wéi lǐ yě.” (Lǐ jì, “Tángōng xià”)

Zǐlù said, “How saddening is poverty! When the parents are alive, there is no means of caring for them; when they are dead, there is no means of performing the mourning rites for them. (“Tángōng, Second Section,” *Records of Rites*)

* *Yàng* 養 is a verb meaning to care for one’s parents. The traditional reading for 養 when used in this sense is *yàng*. Today, it may also be pronounced *yǎng*. *Lǐ* 禮 is used as a verb here to mean “performing the mourning rites.”

- 3 *wéi* 為 used with the interrogative pronoun *hé* 何 (what), the co-verb *yǐ* 以 (with), and the modal particle *zāi* 哉 (cannot be translated) to create a rhetorical question in the pattern: *hé yǐ* 何以 . . . *wéi zāi* 為哉⁵

舜以天下讓善卷，善卷曰：「余立於宇宙之中，冬日衣皮毛，夏日衣葛絺；春耕種，形足以勞動；秋收斂，身足以休食；日出而作，日入而息，逍遙於天地之間而心意自得。吾何以天下為哉？悲夫，子之不知余也！」遂不受。（《莊子·讓王》）

Shùn yǐ tiānxià ràng Shàn Quán, Shàn Quán yuē, “Yú lì yú yǔzhòu zhī zhōng, dōng rì yì pí máo, xià rì yì gé chī; chūn gēng zhòng, xíng zú yǐ láo dòng; qiū shōu liǎn, shēn zú yǐ xiū shí; rì chū ér zuò, rì rù ér xī, xiāoyáo yú tiān dì zhī jiān ér xīn yì zì dé. Wú hé yǐ tiānxià wéi zāi? Bēi fú, zǐ zhī bù zhī yú yě!” Suì bù shòu. (Zhuāngzǐ, “Ràng wáng”)

Shùn abdicated the throne to Shàn Quán. Shàn Quán said, “I stand within this universe. On winter days, I wear leather and fur; on summer days, I wear coarse or fine kudzu cloth. In spring I till and sow; my limbs are content to labor. In autumn I harvest and gather; my torso is content to rest and enjoy the food produced. When the sun rises, I get up; when the sun goes down, I rest. Roaming between heaven and earth, my heart and mind are satisfied with the way they are. What would I do with all under Heaven? Alas, you do not understand me at all!” Thereupon he refused to accept the throne. (“Abdicating the Throne,” *Zhuāngzǐ*)

* The object of *wéi* is *hé* 何; being an interrogative pronoun, it precedes the verbal phrase, changing it from *yǐ tiānxià wéi hé* 以天下為 (use all under Heaven to do what) to *hé yǐ tiānxià wéi* 何以天下為 (what to do with all under Heaven).

Extended Meanings

- 1 *vb.*; “to become”⁶; this usage can also be seen in the pattern *yǐ* 以 . . . *wéi* 為 (to have sb. as), see the entry for *yǐ* 以.

皇天眷命，奄有四海，為天下君。(《尚書·虞書·大禹謨》)

Huáng tiān juàn mìng, yǎn yǒu sì hǎi, wéi tiānxià jūn. (*Shàng Shū*, “Yú shū,” “Dà Yú mó”)

Great Heaven regarded you with its favoring decree, and suddenly you possessed all within the four seas, and became the ruler of all under Heaven. (“Counsels of the Great Yú,” in “Book of Yú,” *Book of Documents*)

寡婦之子，非有見焉，弗與為友。(《禮記·曲禮上》)

Guǎ fù zhī zǐ, fēi yǒu jiàn yān, fú yú wéi yǒu. (*Lǐ jì*, “Qǔ lǐ shàng”)

The son of a widow – unless he has knowledge, do not become friends with him. (“Intricate Rites,” *Records of Rites*)

* This passage highlights the caution needed in befriending the son of a widow. If a man keeps visiting a widow’s household when her son is not worthy of befriending, others may think that there are improper relations between the widow and the visitor. The passage is subtle in conveying this, because it is also improper to spell out the implications.

- 2 *copula vb.*; “to be”; in the pre-Qín era, *wéi* 為 was already used as a copula verb, although this was uncommon. This usage may have been derived from its meaning of “to become.”

長沮、桀溺耦而耕，孔子過之，使子路問津焉。長沮曰：「夫執輿者為誰？」子路曰：「為孔丘。」(《論語·微子》)

Cháng Jù, Jié Nì ōu ér gēng, Kǒngzǐ guò zhī, shǐ Zǐlù wèn jīn yān. Cháng Jù yuē, “Fú zhí yú zhě wéi shuí?” Zǐlù yuē, “Wéi Kǒng Qiū.” (*Lún yǔ*, “Wēizi”)

Cháng Jù and Jié Nì were ploughing shoulder to shoulder. Confucius was passing by and sent Zǐlù to ask for the ford. Cháng Jù asked, “Who that holding the reins of the carriage?” Zǐlù said, “It is Confucius.” (“Wēizi,” *Analects*)

* *Wéi* 為 here is not used as an action verb but as a copula verb and may thus be omitted. Yáng Bójùn and Hé Lèshì note that when *wéi* is used as a copula verb, it may be omitted without changing the meaning of the sentence, whereas *wéi* in the meaning of “to become” cannot be omitted.⁷ This passage can also be found under the entry for *fú* 夫.

- 3 *vb.*; “to be considered/regarded as,” when the predicate consists of an adjective

有子曰：「禮之用，和為貴。先王之道，斯為美。小大由之，有所不行。知和而和，不以禮節之，亦不可行也。」(《論語·學而》)

Yōuzǐ yuē, “Lǐ zhī yòng, hé wéi guì. Xiān wáng zhī dào, sī wéi měi. Xiǎo dà yóu zhī, yǒu suǒ bù xíng. Zhī hé ér hé, bù yǐ lǐ jiē zhī, yì bù kě xíng yě.” (Lún yǔ, “Xué ér”)

Yōuzǐ said, “Of the things brought about by the rites, harmony brought about by music is considered the most precious. Of the ways of the former kings, this is considered admirable. However, if everything, large or small, depends on it, this is something that cannot be done. If people know harmony brought about by music and perform music to bring about harmony, but do not regulate it with the rites, this also cannot be done.” (“Xué ér,” *Analects*)

* Traditional commentators suggest that “harmony” here refers to the effects of music. This passage emphasizes the benefits of music and its underlying principle, ritual propriety.⁸

- 4 vb.; used as *wèi* 假 (to pretend). The two words *wèi* 為 and *wèi* 假 are cognate.⁹ **【wèi】**

子疾病，子路使門人為臣。病間，曰：「久矣哉！由之行詐也，無臣而為有臣。吾誰欺？欺天乎？且予與其死於臣之手也，無寧死於二三子之手乎？且予縱不得大葬，予死於道路乎？」（《論語·子罕》）

Zǐ jí bìng, Zǐlù shǐ ménrén wéi chén. Bìng jiàn, yuē, “Jǐu yǐ zāi! Yóu zhī xíng zhà yě, wú chén ér wéi yǒu chén. Wú shuǐ qī? Qī tiān hū? Qiě yú yǔqí sī yú chén zhī shǒu yě, wú nìng sī yú èr sān zǐ zhī shǒu hū? Qiě yú zòng bù dé dà zàng, yú sī yú dàolù hū?” (Lún yǔ, “Zǐ hǎn”)

The Master was seriously ill. Zǐlù told his disciples to act as vassals to make funeral arrangements for the Master. When the Master’s illness eased, he said, “How long has it been? The deceptive action of Yóu! I do not have vassals, yet he pretends that I have vassals. Who am I trying to deceive? Is it to deceive Heaven? Moreover, rather than dying in the care of vassals, I would rather die in the care of two or three of you (i.e., his disciples, with whom Confucius had a close relationship, would arrange his funeral). Even if I did not have a grand funeral, how would I possibly be left dead in the road?” (“Zǐ hǎn,” *Analects*)

* Only feudal lords were allowed to have vassals who made funeral arrangements before their death. Confucius was not a feudal lord, and so it would have been against the rites to pretend that he had vassals. In the *Grand Scribe’s Records*, however, his biography is included in the category of the hereditary houses. This is the historian Sīmǎ Qiān’s way of acknowledging Confucius’s contribution to education and rites. In similar fashion, he included Xiàng Yǔ’s biography in the category of basic annals, otherwise reserved for emperors and their dynasties. By doing so, Sīmǎ Qiān acknowledges Xiàng Yǔ’s sway, however shortlived, over the world. *Wéi* 為 in *Zǐlù shǐ ménrén wéi chén* 子路使門人為臣 is used in the sense of “to be” and is translated as “to act” in this context.

- 5 *vb.*; “to support/to assist”; when *wèi* 為 is followed by a person’s name or position that does not equal the subject and is not what the subject can become, it is used to mean “to support/to assist.”【*wèi*】

冉有曰：「夫子為衛君乎？」子貢曰：「諾；吾將問之。」入，曰：「伯夷、叔齊何人也？」曰：「古之賢人也。」曰：「怨乎？」曰：「求仁而得仁，又何怨？」出，曰：「夫子不為也。」（《論語·述而》）

Rǎn Yǒu yuē, “Fūzǐ wèi Wèi jūn hū?” Zǐgōng yuē, “Nuò; Wú jiāng wèn zhī.” Rù, yuē, “Bó Yí, Shū Qí hé rén yě?” Yuē, “Gǔ zhī xián rén yě.” Yuē, “Yuàn hū?” Yuē, “Qiú rén ér dé rén, yòu hé yuàn?” Chū, yuē, “Fūzǐ bù wèi yě.” (Lín yǔ, “Shù ér”)

Rǎn Yǒu asked, “Does the Master support the ruler of *Wèi* (in turning away the ruler’s father, who had returned from exile with the army of *Jin*)?” *Zǐgōng* said, “I see; let me go ask him.” He entered and inquired of the Master, “What kind of persons were *Bó Yí* and *Shū Qí*?” The Master said, “They were virtuous people of the past.” *Zǐgōng* asked, “Did they harbor any grievances?” The Master replied, “They sought virtue and obtained virtue, so why should they harbor any grievances?” *Zǐgōng* came out and said, “The Master does not support [the ruler of *Wèi*].” (“*Shù ér*,” *Analects*)

* The ruler of *Wèi* refers to *Chūgōng Zhé* 出公辄. His father *Kuǎi Kuì* 嗣蹠 had originally been the heir of Duke *Líng* 靈 of *Wèi* but was sent into exile. When Duke *Líng* died, his grandson *Chūgōng Zhé* was invested. *Kuǎi Kuì* obtained the support of the *Jin* state to claim the ducal throne, but *Chūgōng Zhé* resisted him. As the Master was residing in *Wèi* at the time and it would have been inappropriate for him to criticize the ruler, *Rǎn Yǒu* used the ancient example of *Bó Yí* and *Shū Qí* to sound out the Master on whether he might support *Chūgōng Zhé*. *Shū Qí* had been invested by his father but abdicated the throne to his elder brother *Bó Yí*, who, in turn, refused the throne out of respect for their father’s decision. The Master’s praise of these two shows that he would not have approved of the newly invested duke’s action in resisting his father.¹⁰

Qiú rén dé rén 求仁得仁 (to seek virtue and obtain virtue) is now an idiom, meaning “to have one’s wish fulfilled.”

- 6 *vb.*; used as *wèi* 謂 (to speak to)【*wèi*】

楚成王以商臣為太子，既欲置公子職。商臣聞之，未察也，乃為其傅潘崇曰：「奈何察之也？」潘崇曰：「飨江革而勿敬也。」太子聽之。江革曰：「呼，役夫！宜君王之欲廢女而立職也。」商臣曰：「信矣。」潘崇曰：「能事之乎？」曰：「不能。」「能為之諸侯乎？」曰：「不能。」「能舉大事乎？」曰：「能。」於是乃起宿營之甲而攻成王，成王請食熊蹯而死，不許，遂自殺。（《韓非子·內儲說下》）

Chǔ Chéngwáng yǐ Shāngchén wéi Tàizǐ, jì yù zhì gōngzǐ Zhí. Shāngchén wén zhī, wèi chá yě, nǎi wèi qí fù Pān Chóng yuē, “Nàihé chá zhī yě?” Pān Chóng yuē, “Xiāng Jiāng Mǐ ér wù jìng yě.” Tàizǐ tīng zhī. Jiāng Mǐ yuē, “Hè, yì fū! Yǐ jūnwáng zhī yù fèi rú ér lì Zhí yě.” Shāngchén yuē, “Xìn yǐ.” Pān Chóng yuē, “Néng shì zhī hū?” Yuē, “Bù néng.” “Néng wéi zhī zhūhóu hū?” Yuē, “Bù néng.” “Néng jù dà shì hū?” Yuē, “Néng.” Yù shì nǎi qī sù yǐng zhī jiā ér gōng Chéngwáng, Chéngwáng qǐng shí xióng fán ér sǐ, bù xū, suì zì shā. (Hánfēizǐ, “Nèi chǔ shuō xiǎ”)

King Chéng of Chǔ had Shāngchén as heir, but soon he wanted to invest prince Zhí instead. Shāngchén heard this but was not yet able to verify it. Thereupon he spoke to his mentor Pān Chóng, saying, “How may we verify it?” Pān Chóng said, “Regale Jiāng Mǐ with a banquet but do not pay your respects.” The heir followed this (i.e., his advice). Jiāng Mǐ said, “Ah, you lowly corvée laborer! It is proper that the lord wants to depose you and invest Zhí.” Shāngchén said to Pān Chóng, “It is verified.” Pān Chóng said, “Would you be able to serve him (i.e., Zhí)?” He said, “I could not.” “Would you be able to become a feudal lord of his (i.e., enfeoffed by him)?” He said, “I could not.” “Would you be able to undertake a great event (i.e., a coup d'état)?” He said, “I could.” At this, he mobilized the soldiers guarding the palace and attacked King Chéng. King Chéng asked to have roasted black bear's paw before he had to die. The heir did not allow it. Thereupon the king committed suicide. (“Inner Repository of Discourses,” Hánfēizǐ)

* Black bear's paw took a long time to roast. King Chéng was attempting to buy time for rescue. Jiāng Mǐ was King Chéng's younger sister. Her surname was Mǐ, and she had married into the Jiāng state.

- 7 *adv.; adverbial modifier; “about to”*; to indicate that an action is about to take place;¹¹ this usage is uncommon and is not listed in most literary Chinese dictionaries. 【wèi】

樂正子見孟子，曰：「克告於君，君為來見也。嬖人有臧倉者沮君，君是以不果來也。」（《孟子·梁惠王下》）

Yuè Zhèngzǐ jiàn Mèngzǐ, yuē, “Kè gào yú jūn, jūn wèi lái jiàn yě. Bì rén yǒu Zāng Cāng zhě jǔ jūn, jūn shì yǐ bù guǒ lái yě.” (Mèngzǐ, “Liáng Huìwáng xià”)

Yuè Zhèngzǐ met Mencius and said, “Kè (referring to himself) told the duke (Duke Píng of Lǔ 魯平公) about you. He was about to come to see you. Zāng Cāng, the minion that he favors, stopped him from doing so. For this reason, in the end he did not come.” (“King Huì of Liáng, Second Section,” Mencius)

* Yuè Zhèngzǐ was probably one of Mencius's disciples. Yáng Bójùn notes that *wèi* in this passage means “about to.”¹²

Borrowed Meanings

- 1 *prep.; marker for passive voice, in the pattern “wéi + vb.” It appears before the verb to indicate the passive voice, without specifying the agent of the*

action. The verbs most frequently used with *wéi* 為 are undesirable actions that one is subjected to: *lù* 輩 (to slaughter), *qín* 禽 (to capture), *lǔ* 虜 (to enslave), *shā* 獲 (to kill), *xiào* 笑 (to laugh at, to ridicule), and *rǔ* 辱 (to humiliate).¹³ 【*wéi*】

貴為天子，富有天下，而身為禽者，其救敗非也。（《史記·秦始皇本紀》）
Guì wéi tiānzi, fù yǒu tiānxià, ér shēn wéi qín zhě, qí jiù bài fēi yě. (Shǐ jì, “Qín Shǐhuáng běnji”)

Having the great honor of being the Son of Heaven, so rich as to possess all under Heaven, yet to be captured himself – this was because his way of recovering from defeat was wrong. (“Basic Annals of the First Emperor of Qín,” *Grand Scribe’s Records*)

- 2 *prep.*; to introduce the agent. During the transition from the Spring and Autumn period to the Warring States period, *wéi* 為 began to be used as a preposition to introduce the agent of the verb. 【*wéi*】

- *wéi* + agent, with the verb omitted

孟子曰：「孔子登東山而小魯，登太山而小天下。故觀於海者難為水，遊於聖人之門者難為言。……」（《孟子·盡心上》）

Mèngzǐ yuē, “Kǒngzǐ dēng Dōngshān ér xiǎo Lǔ, dēng Tàishān ér xiǎo tiānxià. Gù guān yú hǎi zhě nán wéi shuǐ, yóu yú shèng rén zhī mén zhě nán wéi yán. . . .” (Mèngzǐ, “Jin xīn shàng”)

Mencius said, “After having ascended Mount Dōng, Confucius considered the Lǔ state small; having ascended Mount Tài, he considered all under Heaven small. For this reason, those who have seen the ocean can hardly [be impressed] by ordinary waters; those who have roamed about at the sage’s door can hardly [be impressed] by mundane speech. . . .” (“Exerting Oneself, First Section,” *Mencius*)

This passage is known for its vision of a knowledgeable or experienced person. The idiom *céng jīng cāng hǎi* 曾經滄海 (having once experienced the wide ocean), coming from a famous poem on lost love in which the Táng poet Yuán Zhěn (779–831) echoes this passage, is now used to describe those who have had such rich life experiences that they are not easily impressed.

- *wéi* + agent + *vb.*

世之所謂忠臣者，莫若王子比干、伍子胥。子胥沈江，比干剖心。此二者，世謂忠臣也，然卒為天下笑。（《莊子·盜跖》）

Shì zhī suǒ wèi zhōng chén zhě, mò ruò wáng zǐ Bì Gān, Wǔ Zǐxū. Zǐxū chén jiāng, Bì Gān pōu xīn. Cǐ èr zǐ zhě, shì wèi zhōng chén yě, rán zú wéi tiānxià xiào. (Zhuāngzǐ, “Dào Zhī”)

Of those who were said by the world to be loyal subjects, nobody was more so than Prince Bǐ Gān and Wǔ Zǐxū. Zǐxū (he was forced to commit suicide and his body was dumped in the Qiántáng 錢塘 river); Bǐ Gān was cut through his heart (offended by his remonstrances, King Zhòu 紂 had his heart cut open). These two are what the world calls loyal subjects, but in the end they came to be ridiculed by all under Heaven. (“Robber Zhí,” Zhuāngzǐ)

- *wéi* + agent + *suō* 所 + *vb.*; the pattern *wéi* + agent + *vb.* eventually gave rise to the pattern *wéi* + agent + *suō* + *vb.*, which began to appear at the end of the Warring States period and came to be used widely in the Hán. From Hán through the Six dynasties, it was the major means of expressing the passive voice.¹⁴

始皇封禪之後十二歲，秦亡。諸儒生疾秦焚詩書，誅僇文學，百姓怨其法，天下畔之，皆訛曰：「始皇上泰山，為暴風雨所擊，不得封禪。」此豈所謂無其德而用事者邪？（《史記·書·封禪書》）

Shǐhuáng fēng shàn zhī hòu shí'èr suì, Qín wáng. Zhū rú shēng jí Qín fén Shī Shū, zhū lù wénxué, bǎixìng yuàn qí fǎ, tiānxià pàn zhī, jiē é yuē, “Shǐhuáng shàng Tàishān, wéi bào fēng yǔ suō jī, bù dé fēng shàn.” Cǐ qǐ suō wéi wú qí dé ér yòng shì zhě yé? (Shǐ jì, “Shū,” “Fēng shàn shū”)

Twelve years after the First Emperor of Qín held the imperial ceremony of sacrifice to the earth, Qín perished. Confucian scholars were hostile to Qín for the burning of the *Songs* and *Documents* (metonym for books in general) and the execution and humiliation of those well versed in Confucian literary classics, whereas the commoners resented its harsh regulations. All under Heaven rebelled against it (the Qín state), and all spread false rumors about it, saying, “When the First Emperor of Qín ascended Mount Tài, he was deterred by violent wind and rain, and was unable to hold the imperial ceremony of sacrificing to the earth.” Isn’t he an example of what we call those who are in a position to direct affairs while lacking the virtue that qualifies them to do so? (“Treatise on the Imperial Ceremony of Sacrificing to the Earth,” in “Treatises,” *Grand Scribe’s Records*)

8 prep.【wèi】

- “for”

曾子曰：「吾日三省吾身：為人謀而不忠乎？與朋友交而不信乎？傳不習乎？」（《論語·學而》）

Zēngzǐ yuē, “Wú rì sān xǐng wú shēn: Wéi rén móu ér bù zhōng hū? Yǔ péng yǒu jiāo ér bù xìn hū? Chuán bù xí hū?” (Lún yǔ, “Xué ér”)

Zēngzǐ said, “Every day I reflect on three things: Have I, in performing duties for others, not done my best? Have I, in associating with

companions and friends, not been trustworthy? Have I, in passing on to others what I have learned, failed to practice the knowledge that I have taught?” (“Xué ér,” *Analects*)

* There are two different interpretations for *chuán* 傳 (to pass on/down) in the line *chuán bù xí hū* 傳不習乎 (to have failed in practicing the knowledge that I have passed on to others). It can refer to the knowledge being passed down to Zēngzǐ, or the knowledge Zēngzǐ passed on to others.¹⁵ Guō Yì 郭翼 (1305–1364) argues that, in the first two actions, the focus is on how Zēngzǐ treats others, so the last action should also refer to his teaching others.¹⁶

- “on behalf of”

沛公曰：「君為我呼入，吾得兄事之。」(《史記·項羽本紀》)

Pèigōng yuē, “Jūn wèi wǒ hū rù, wú dé xiōng shì zhī.” (*Shǐjì*, “Xiàng Yǔ běnji”)

The Duke of Pèi said, “You called him in on my behalf. It behooves me to treat him as an elder brother.” (“Basic Annals of Xiàng Yǔ,” *Grand Scribe’s Records*)

- “because of/on account of”

天行有常，不為堯存，不為桀亡。(《荀子·天論》)

Tiān xíng yǒu cháng, bù wèi Yáo cún, bù wèi Jié wáng. (*Xúnzǐ*, “Tiān lùn”)

The way of Heaven has its regular pattern. It does not exist because of [the sage ruler] Yáo, nor does it dissolve because of [the tyrant] Jié. (“Discourse on Heaven,” *Xúnzǐ*)

- to introduce the object toward which an action is directed; “to”

「……羸聞如姬父為人所殺，如姬資之三年，自王以下欲求報其父仇，莫能得。如姬為公子泣，公子使客斬其仇頭，敬進如姬。如姬之欲為公子死，無所辭，顧未有路耳。……」(《史記·魏公子列傳》)

“... Yíng wén Rújī fù wéi rén suǒ shā, Rújī zī zhī sān nián, zì wáng yǐ xià yù quí fù báo qí fù chóu, mò néng dé. Rújī wèi Gōngzǐ qì, Gōngzǐ shǐ kè zhǎn qí chóu tóu, jǐng jìn Rújī. Rújī zhī yù wèi Gōngzǐ sī, wú suǒ cí, gù wèi yǒu lù ér. . . .” (*Shǐjì*, “Wèi Gōngzǐ lièzhuàn”)

“... Yíng (I, your retainer) heard that the father of Rújī was murdered by someone. Rújī offered a reward for three years to seek revenge. From the king to the lowest person, all sought to avenge her father’s death; none was able to. Rújī wept to you, my prince, and you commanded a retainer to behead her enemy and had the head respectfully presented to Rújī. Rújī is willing to die for you, my prince, and there is nothing she would not do; it is only that she has not yet found a way, however. . . .” (“Biography of the Prince of Wèi,” *Grand Scribe’s Records*)

9 *conj.; to introduce a suppositional clause【wéi】*

古之人非無寶也，其所寶者異也。孫叔敖疾，將死，戒其子曰：「王數封我矣，吾不受也。為我死，王則封汝，必無受利地。楚、越之間有寢之丘者，此其地不利，而名甚惡。荆人畏鬼，而越人信機。可長有者，其唯此也。」孫叔敖死，王果以美地封其子，而子辭，請寢之丘，故至今不失。孫叔敖之知，知不以利為利矣，知以人之所惡為己之所喜，此有道者之所以異乎俗也。（《呂氏春秋·孟冬紀·異寶》）

Gǔ zhī rén fēi wú bǎo yě, qí suǒ bǎo zhě yì yě. Sūnshū Áo jí, jiāng sī, jiè qí zǐ yuē, "Wáng shù fēng wǒ yǐ, wú bù shòu yě. Wéi wǒ sī, wáng zé fēng rú, bì wú shòu lì dì. Chǔ, Yuè zhī jiān yǒu Qǐnzhīqīu zhě, cǐ qí dì bù lì, ér míng shèn è. Jīng rén wèi guī, ér Yuè rén xìn jī. Kě cháng yǒu zhě, qí wéi cǐ yě." Sūnshū Áo sī, wáng guō yǐ měi dì fēng qí zǐ, ér zǐ cí, qǐng Qǐnzhīqīu, gù zhì jīn bù shī. Sūnshū Áo zhī zhì, zhī bù yǐ lì wéi lì yǐ, zhī yǐ rén zhī suǒ wù wéi jǐ zhī suǒ xǐ, cǐ yǒu dào zhě zhī suǒ yǐ yì hū sú yě. (Lǚ shì chūnqiū, "Mèng dōng jì," "Yì bǎo")

It is not that the ancient people did not have treasures; it is that what they treasured was different. Sūnshū Áo was sick. When he was about to die, he warned his son, saying, "The king has tried to enfeoff me several times, but I did not accept the offer. If I die, the king will enfeoff you. You must not accept profitable land. There is a place called Qǐnzhīqīu between Chǔ and Yuè. This, the land here, is not profitable, and its reputation is bad. The people of Jīng (i.e., Chǔ) fear ghosts; the people of Yuè believe in portents. What can be possessed for a long time is only this land." Sūnshū Áo died; the king indeed enfeoffed his son with good land, but the son declined and requested Qǐnzhīqīu. For this reason, to this day his clan has not lost this land. The wisdom of Sūnshū Áo was to know not to take the profitable as profitable but to take what others dislike as what he likes. This is how those who have the Way differ from the common run. ("Exceptional Treasure," in "Record of the First Month of Winter," *Lǚ's Discourses*)

10 *modal part.【wéi】*

- used in an exclamatory sentence

歸休乎君，予無所用天下為！（《莊子·逍遙遊》）

Guī xiū hū jūn, yú wú suǒ yòng tiānxià wéi! (Zhuāngzǐ, "Xiāoyáo yóu")

Go rest, my lord! There is nothing I can use the empire for! ("Roaming Free," *Zhuāngzǐ*)

- used in a prohibitive sentence, with the prohibitive adverb *wú* 毋 (do not)

仲由將入，遇子羔將出，曰：「門已閉矣。」子路曰：「吾姑至矣。」子羔曰：「不及，莫踐其難。」子路曰：「食焉不辟其難。」子羔遂出。子路入，及門，公孫敢闔門，曰：「毋入為也！」子路曰：「是公孫也？求利而逃其難。由不然，利其祿，必救其患。」有使者出，子路乃得入。曰：

「太子焉用孔悝？雖殺之，必或繼之。」且曰：「太子無勇。若燔台，必舍孔叔。」太子聞之，懼，下石乞、孟驁敵子路，以戈擊之，割纓。子路曰：「君子死，冠不免。」結纓而死。孔子聞衛亂，曰：「嗟乎！柴也其來乎？由也其死矣。」孔悝竟立太子蒯聵，是為莊公。（《史記·衛康叔世家》）

Zhòngyóu jiāng rù, yù Zǐgāo jiāng chū, yuē, “Mén yǐ bì yǐ.” Zǐlù yuē, “Wú gū zhì yǐ.” Zǐgāo yuē, “Bù jí, mò jiàn qí nàn.” Zǐlù yuē, “Shí yān bù bì qí nàn.” Zǐgāo suí chū. Zǐlù rù, jí mén. Gōngsūn Gǎn hé mén, yuē, “Wú rù wéi yě!” Zǐlù yuē, “Shì Gōngsūn yě? Qiú lì ér táo qí nàn. Yóu bù rán, lì qí lù, bì jiù qí huàn.” Yóu shǐzhé chū, Zǐlù nǎi dé rù. Yuē, “Tàizǐ yān yòng Kǒng Kuī? Suī shā zhī, bì huò jì zhī.” Qiè yuē, “Tàizǐ wú yōng. Ruò fán tái, bì shé Kǒngshū.” Tàizǐ wén zhī, jù, xià Shí Qǐ, Yú Yǎn dí Zǐlù, yǐ gē jī zhī, gē yīng. Zǐlù yuē, “Jūnzǐ sī, guān bù miǎn.” Jié yīng ér sī. Kǒngzǐ wén Wèi luàn, yuē, “Jiē hū! Chái yě qí lái hū? Yóu yě qí sī yǐ.” Kǒng Kuī jìng lì tàizǐ Kuǎi Kui, shì wéi Zhuānggōng. (Shǐ jì, “Wèi Kāngshū shijiā”)

Zhòngyóu was about to enter the city, and ran into Zǐgāo, who was about to leave. Zǐgāo said, “The gate has already been shut.” Zǐlù said, “I came anyway.” Zǐgāo said, “You cannot make it. Do not walk into a catastrophe.” Zǐlù said, “Having received an official salary (paid in bushels of grain in ancient times), one does not avoid a catastrophe (incurred in the performance of one's duties).” Zǐgāo thereupon left the city. Zǐlù entered, and reached the gate [of Kǒng Kuī 孔悝, the great official of Wèi 衛]. (The heir and his men had taken over Kǒng Kuī's house. Kǒng Kuī had been captured and taken to the terrace of his house to force him to cooperate.) Gōngsūn Gǎn (also an official under Kǒng Kuī) barred the gate and said, “Do not enter!” Zǐlù said, “Is that Gōngsūn? You seek benefit and avoid catastrophe. Yóu (Zǐlù's personal name) is not like this. I benefit from an official salary and so I must put a stop to the catastrophe.” There was an emissary coming out; Zǐlù was thus able to enter. He said, “Why does the heir need Kǒng Kuī? Even if you kill him (i.e., Kǒng Kuī), there will be someone who succeeds him (another man may become the great official and resist the heir).” Furthermore, he said (to Kǒng Kuī's men, who dared not act), “The heir has no valor. If we set fire to the terrace, he will have to let Kǒngshū (i.e., Kǒng Kuī) go.” The heir heard about this and was fearful. He sent down Shí Qǐ and Yú Yǎn to fight Zǐlù. They attacked him with dagger axes and severed his capstrings (in the act of wounding him). Zǐlù said, “Even if a noble man must die, the cap cannot be dispensed with.” He tied his capstrings and died. Confucius heard about the rebellion in Wèi, and said, “Alas! Isn't Chái (i.e., Zǐgāo) about to come out? Isn't Yóu (i.e., Zǐlù) about to die?” Kǒng Kuī in the end invested the heir Kuǎi Kui; he (Kuǎi Kui) was made Duke Zhuāng. (“Hereditary House of Kāngshū of Wèi,” *Grand Scribe's Records*)

* Zǐlù and Zǐgāo had been working for Kǒng Kuī 孔悝, the great official of Wèi. The former heir Kuǎi Kuì 剌賾 and his men intruded into Kǒng Kuī's house, cornered him in the privy, and brought him out to the terrace, where he was forced to make a covenant to help Kuǎi Kuì to overthrow his own son, the new ruler of Wèi, Duke Chū 衛出公. Earlier, Kuǎi Kuì had been disinherited and banished by his father, Duke Líng of Wèi, for attempting to kill his father's wife Nánzǐ 南子. When Duke Líng died, Kuǎi Kuì, seeing himself as the legitimate heir, wanted to return to Wèi to assert his claim, but his son, now on the ducal throne, resisted him. Kuǎi Kuì then took the great official Kǒng captive to initiate a coup d'état. Zǐgāo saw that nothing could be done to stop Kuǎi Kuì and chose to leave. Gōngsūn Gǎn, who should have come to Kǒng Kuī's rescue, instead barred the gate to help Kuǎi Kuì. Zǐlù was intent on saving Kǒng Kuī even though it meant sacrificing his own life. Confucius's accurate predictions of Zǐlù and Zǐgāo's actions at the end of this passage show that he knew his students well. Zǐlù was eventually put to death by mincing his flesh; hearing this, Confucius threw away all the minced meat he had. Zǐlù's last act, tying his capstrings before meeting his death, was highly symbolic. In ancient China, wearing a cap in the proper manner was considered important, as it showed respect to others and to oneself. Males at twenty *sui* 歲 (nineteen years of age) went through a capping ceremony to signify that they were now adults.

- used in a question with interrogative pronouns, forming patterns such as “hé 何 . . . wéi 為” and “xī 奚 . . . wéi 為”; can be translated as “what is the use of/what for.” Sometimes the modal particle *zāi* 哉 is added after *wéi* 為, helping to soften the tone. This meaning of *wéi* likely developed from the early meaning of 為 as “to do.”

起之為將，與士卒最下者同衣食。臥不設席，行不騎乘，親裹羸糧，與士卒分勞苦。卒有病疽者，起為吮之。卒母聞而哭之。人曰：「子卒也，而將軍自吮其疽，何哭為？」母曰：「非然也。往年吳公吮其父，其父戰不旋踵，遂死於敵。吳公今又吮其子，妾不知其死所矣。是以哭之。」（《史記·吳起本傳》）

Qǐ zhī wéi jiàng, yǔ shì zú zuì xià zhě tóng yī sì. Wò bù shè xí, xíng bù qí shèng, qīn guǒ yíng liáng, yǔ shì zú fēn láo kǔ. Zú yǒu bìng jū zhě, Qǐ wéi shǔn zhī. Zú mǔ wén ér kū zhī. Rén yuē, “Zǐ zú yě, ér jiāngjūn zì shǔn qí jū, hé kū wéi?” Mǔ yuē, “Fēi rán yě. Wǎng nián Wúgōng shǔn qí fù, qí fù zhàn bù xuán zhōng, suí sì yú dí. Wúgōng jīn yòu shǔn qí zǐ, qiè bù zhī qí sī suǒ yǐ. Shì yǐ kū zhī.” (Shǐ jì, “Wú Qǐ běn zhuàn”)

As a general, [Wú] Qǐ shared the same clothes and food with the lowest of ordinary soldiers and foot soldiers. To sleep he did not lay down a mat; to travel, he did not ride in a four-horse chariot. He personally wrapped up the surplus provisions and shared the labor and hardship

with the ordinary soldiers and footsoldiers. There was a footsoldier who suffered from a deep-rooted ulcer; Qǐ sucked it for him. The mother of the footsoldier heard about this and cried about it. People asked, “Your son is a footsoldier, and the general of the army personally sucked his ulcer. What are you crying for?” The mother said, “It is not like that. Last year, His Excellency Wú sucked the ulcer of my son’s father; the father did not turn on his heels in battle (i.e., he did not retreat). Therefore he died at the hands of the enemy. Now His Excellency Wú again sucked my son’s ulcer; I do not know where he (i.e., my son) will die. For this I am crying.” (“Biography of Wú Qǐ,” *Grand Scribe’s Records*)

* The following is a checklist to determine what *wéi* 為 means in a sentence.

Where is <i>wéi</i> positioned?	Analysis
<i>wéi</i> + noun	Noun: an official position, or what the subject can become <i>Wéi</i> : <i>vb.</i> ; “to become” Noun: identifying the subject <i>Wéi</i> : <i>copula vb.</i> ; “to be”
	Noun: a product <i>Wéi</i> : <i>vb.</i> ; “to make”
	Noun: the agent of an action, with the verb omitted <i>Wéi</i> : <i>prep.</i> ; a passive marker; “by”
<i>wèi</i> + noun	Noun: a person who is not the subject and that the subject cannot become <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>vb.</i>; “to speak to” • <i>vb.</i>; “to assist/to support”
<i>wéi</i> + noun (agent) + <i>vb.</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • preposition to introduce the agent in a passive voice construction • conjunction to introduce a suppositional clause
<i>wèi</i> + noun (object) + <i>vb.</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>prep.</i>; “for,” “on behalf of,” “because of,” “to”
<i>wéi</i> + <i>vb.</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>vb.</i>; “to do,” its precise translation depends on the verb that follows • <i>prep.</i>; marker for passive voice
<i>wèi</i> + <i>vb.</i>	<i>vb.</i> ; “to pretend” <i>adv.</i> ; “about to”
<i>wéi</i> + <i>adj.</i>	<i>vb.</i> ; “to be regarded as”
exclamatory sentence + <i>wéi</i>	modal particle
<i>prohibitive adv.</i> + <i>vb.</i> + <i>wéi</i>	modal particle
<i>interr. pron.</i> + <i>vb.</i> + <i>wéi</i>	modal particle

Notes

- 1 *SWXZ*, 193–4.
- 2 Lǐ Xiàoding, *Jiāgǔ wénzì jíshì*, *juàn* 3, 861–4.
- 3 For a discussion of the evolution of this graph, see Chén Wěizhàn 陳煒湛, *Hànzì de gǔshí—gǔwénzì qùtán* 漢字的故事——古文字趣談 (Běijīng: Wénhuà yìshù chūbǎnshè, 2010), 30–2.
- 4 *SWJZZJ*, *juàn* 3.2, 23b.
- 5 Yáng Bójùn uses the following example to illustrate the use of *wéi* as a modal particle, noting that *wéi* can also be used with *zāi* and that regardless of whether *zāi* is used, there must be an interrogative pronoun *hé* 何 or *xī* 畏 with this *wéi*. *GHYXC*, 181–2. However, if *wéi* is a modal particle, used with no particular meaning, there is no verb to go with the co-verb *yǐ* in the phrase *yǐ tiānxià* 以天下 (with all under Heaven). It would be more reasonable to treat *wéi* as a verb, “to do.”
- 6 Pulleyblank proposes that *wéi* 為 by itself does not have the meaning of “to become.” He quotes the line, “rén jiē kěyǐ *wéi* Yáo Shùn” 人皆可以為堯舜 (it is possible for anyone to become a Yáo or Shùn”), to argue that the meaning of “to become” comes from the meaning of *kěyǐ* 可以 (to be possible), not from anything semantically inherent in *wéi*. *Wéi* in itself is quite colorless as far as mood or aspect are concerned, he adds, and the simplest way of accounting for its presence is by the formal requirement that *kě yǐ* must take a verb as its complement. Edwin G. Pulleyblank, *Outline of Classical Chinese Grammar* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1995), 21. However, *wéi* 為 as a verb can mean “to become” even without the auxiliary verb *kěyǐ* 可以. This meaning is listed in several authoritative dictionaries, including Kroll and Wáng Lì. *SDCMC*, 472; *GHYZD*, 676. Yáng Bójùn observes that, under the influence of English grammar, *kěyǐ* is now treated as an auxiliary verb, but in literary Chinese, it can simply be treated as an adverb. *GHYXC*, 93. Be it auxiliary verb or adverb, *kěyǐ* is a syntactic component serving as an adverbial modifier. It does not have the meaning of “to become.”
- 7 For this development, see Yáng Bójùn and Hé Lèshì, *Gǔ Hányǔ yǔfǎ jí qí fāzhǎn* 古漢語語法及其發展, 2nd ed. (2001; Běijīng: Yǔwén chūbǎnshè, 2003), vol. 2, 710–11.
- 8 For the traditional commentaries, see Chéng Shùdé, *Lúnyǔ jíshì*, *juàn* 2, 46–9.
- 9 *GHYZD*, 676.
- 10 Chéng Shùdé, *Lúnyǔ jíshì*, *juàn* 13, 459–65.
- 11 *GHYXC*, 188.
- 12 Yáng Bójùn, *Mèngzǐ yìzhù*, 55.
- 13 This list of words that is used frequently with *wéi* follows Yáng Bójùn and Hé Lèshì, *Gǔ Hányǔ yǔfǎ jí qí fāzhǎn*, vol. 2, 674.
- 14 Yáng Bójùn and Hé Lèshì, *Gǔ Hányǔ yǔfǎ jí qí fāzhǎn*, vol. 2, 677–8.
- 15 Chéng Shùdé agrees with the interpretation in *Lúnyǔ jíjíé* 論語集解 (Collected commentaries on the *Analects*) that it was the latter. Chéng Shùdé, *Lúnyǔ jíshì*, *juàn* 1, 20.
- 16 Guō Yì, *Xuēlǚzhāi bìjì* 雪履齋筆記 (Běijīng: Zhōnghuá shūjú, 1991), 7.

WÉI 唯

vb.; “to concur” 【wéi】

- | – *adv.*; “only”
- | – *adv.*; to express hope or to create emphasis
- | – *conj.*; to show concession or to indicate the cause
- | – *part.*; to begin a clause

OBI	BI	CM	QM	SS
𠂇	𠂇	唯	唯	唯

【*yǐ shuǐ qiè* 以水切】OC: *gʷij (< *gʷuj?); MC: *ywij*

Early Meaning: *vb.*; “to concur” 【wéi】

Jì Xūshēng has no entry for this.

Xū Shèn writes, “*Wéi* 唯 (隹) means to concur. It is derived from *kǒu* 口 (口, mouth); *zhūi* 隹 (隹, a short-tailed bird) is sound-bearing” 唯 (唯), 諾也。从口, 隹聲。¹ He classifies this as a graph of “form and sound.” Since this is a voiced assent directed toward a superior, it may be roughly translated as “yes.” *Wéi* has two possible pronunciations in this meaning. Kroll has *wéi* as the pronunciation for this usage, as do some Chinese dictionaries of literary Chinese.² Wáng Lì and others propose that, when used to mean “to concur,” 唯 should be pronounced *wéi*.³ Since the *fān qiè* 反切 of this word is *yǐ shuǐ qiè* 以水切, and *shuǐ* belongs to the falling-rising tone in the rhyming dictionaries, I follow Wáng Lì.

The following is an example of its usage:

秦王屏左右, 宮中虛無人, 秦王跪而請曰:「先生何以幸教寡人?」范睢曰:「唯唯。」有間, 秦王復請, 范睢曰:「唯唯。」若是者三。(《戰國策·范睢至秦》)

Qínwáng bǐng zuōyòu, gōngzhōng xū wú rén, Qínwáng guì ér qīng yuē, “Xiānsheng hé yǐ xìng jiāo guǎrén?” Fàn Suī yuē, “Wéi wéi.” Yǒu jiàn, Qínwáng fù qīng, Fàn Suī yuē, “Wéi wéi.” Ruò shì zhě sān. (Zhàn guó cè, “Fàn Suī zhì Qín”)

The king of Qín sent away the attendants; the palace was empty of people. The king of Qín knelt and requested, “My honorable sir, how will you employ counseling to bestow fortune on me, this deficient one?” Fàn Suī said, “Yes, yes.” After a while, the king of Qín again requested his counsel. Fàn Suī said, “Yes, yes.” Like this, it happened three times. (“Fàn Suī arrived Qín,” *Strategies of the Warring States*)

The idiom *wéi wéi nuò nuò* 唯唯諾諾 (to concur and consent) is used in modern Chinese of one who is subservient and obsequious, a literal “yes-man.”

Borrowed Meanings

1 adv.; adverbial modifier; “only”

子謂顏淵曰：「用之則行，舍之則藏，唯我與爾有是夫！」（《論語·述而》）

Zǐ wéi Yán Yuān yuē, “Yòng zhī zé xíng, shě zhī zé cáng, wéi wǒ yǔ ér yǒu shì fú!” (Lún yǔ, “Shù ér”)

The Master said to Yán Yuān, “When a ruler offers me employment, I go; when a ruler sets me aside, I keep to myself. It is probably only you and I who have attained this!” (“Shù ér,” *Analects*)

* A more detailed explanation of this passage can be seen under Borrowed Meanings (1) for the entry of *shì* 是.

2 adv.; adverbial modifier

- to express hope; “wish”

〔燭之武〕見秦伯曰：「秦、晉圍鄭，鄭既知亡矣。……夫晉，何厭之有？既東封鄭，又欲肆其西封。不闕秦，將焉取之？闕秦以利晉，唯君圖之。」（《左傳·僖公三十年》）

[Zhú Zhīwǔ] jiàn Qinbó yuē, “Qín, Jin wéi Zhèng, Zhèng jì zhī wáng yǐ. . . . Fú Jin, hé yàn zhī yǒu? Jì dōng fēng Zhèng, yòu yù sì qí xī fēng. Bù jué Qín, jiāng yān qū zhī? Jué Qín yǐ lì Jin, wéi jūn tú zhī. (Zuǒ zhuàn, “Xīgōng sānshí nián”)

[Zhú Zhīwǔ] was received by the Earl of Qín, and said, “Qín and Jin have besieged Zhèng. Zhèng already knows that it will perish. . . . As for Jin, how will it ever be satiated? Once it has taken Zhèng as its fief in the east, it will extend its fiefs to the west. If not by diminishing Qín, where can it obtain it (i.e., more land)? Diminishing Qín to profit Jin – I

wish that my lord would consider this with circumspection.” (Duke Xī 30, *Zuō Tradition*)

- to create emphasis; may not be translated

子曰：「若聖與仁，則吾豈敢？抑為之不厭，誨人不倦，則可謂云爾已矣。」公西華曰：「正唯弟子不能學也。」(《論語·述而》)

Zǐ yuē, “*Ruò shèng yǔ rén, zé wú qǐ gǎn? Yì wéi zhī bù yàn, huì rén bù juàn, zé kě wèi yún ér yǐ yǐ.*” *Gōngxī Huá yuē*, “*Zhèng wéi dízǐ bù néng xué yě.*” (*Lún yǔ*, “*Shù ér*”)

The Master said, “If we were to speak of the sage and the benevolent, how would I dare claim to be one of them? That I do not grow weary of trying to become one of them, nor tire of teaching others – only this much can be said of me.” Gōngxī Huá said, “This is precisely what your disciple cannot emulate.” (“*Shù ér*,” *Analects*)

* The same passage may be found under the entry for *rùo* 若.

3 conj.

- to show concession; “even”

范睢曰：「主人翁習知之。唯睢亦得謁，睢請為見君於張君。」(《史記·范睢蔡澤列傳·范睢傳》)

Fàn Suī yuē, “*Zhǔrénwēng xí zhī zhī. Wéi Suī yì dé yè, Suī qǐng wèi jiàn jūn yú Zhāng jūn.*” (*Shi jì*, “*Fàn Suī Cài Zé lièzhuàn*, “*Fàn Suī zhuàn*”)

Fàn Suī said, “My master knows him intimately. Even Suī (I) can get to seek an audience. Suī begs to introduce you to Lord Zhāng.” (“Biography of Fàn Suī,” in “Biographies of Fàn Suī and Cài Zé,” *Grand Scribe's Records*)

- to indicate the cause; “because”

華亥與其妻，必盥而食所質公子者而後食。公與夫人每日必適華氏，食公子而後歸。華亥患之，欲歸公子。向寧曰：「唯不信，故質其子。若又歸之，死無日矣。」(《左傳·昭公二十年》)

Huà Hài yǔ qí qī, bì guàn ér sì suǒ zhì gōngzīzhě ér hòu shí. Gōng yǔ fūrén méi rì bì shì Huà shì, sì gōngzī érhòu guī. Huà Hài huàn zhī, yù guī gōngzī. Xiàng Níng yuē, “*Wéi bù xìn, gù zhì qí zǐ. Ruò yòu guī zhī, sǐ wú rì yǐ.*” (*Zuō zhuàn*, “*Zhāogōng èrshí nián*”)

[The rebels] Huà Hài and his wife made sure to wash their hands and feed the princes whom they were holding hostage (as insurance against being attacked by Duke Yuán of Sòng 宋元公); only then would they themselves eat. The duke and his lady unfailingly visited the Huàs every day, returning only after the Huàs had fed the princes. Huà Hài was troubled by this and wanted to let the princes return. [His comrade] Xiàng Níng said, “It is because the duke does not keep his promises that we must hold his sons hostage. If you let them return, our death will not be far hence.” (Duke Zhāo 20, in *Zuō Tradition*)

齊大饑。黔敖為食於路，以待餓者而食之。有餓者，蒙袂輯屨，貿貿然來。黔敖左奉食，右執飲，曰：「嗟，來食！」揚其目而視之，曰：「予唯不食嗟來之食，以至於斯也。」從而謝焉，終不食而死。曾子聞之，曰：「微與！其嗟也可去，其謝也可食。」（《禮記·檀弓下》）

Qí dà jī. Qián Áo wéi sì yú lù, yǐ dài è zhě ér sì zhī. Yōu è zhě, méng mèi jí jù, mào mào rán lái. Qián Áo zuo fèng sì, yòu zhí yǐn, yuē, “Jiē, lái shí!” Yáng qí mù ér shì zhī, yuē, “Yú wéi bù shí jiē lái zhī sì, yǐ zhì yú sī yē.” Cóng ér xiè yān, zhōng bù shí ér sì. Zēngzǐ wén zhī, yuē, “Wéi yú! Qí jiē yé kě qù, qí xiè yé kě shí.” (Lǐ jì, “Tángōng xià”)

There was a great famine in the state of Qi. Qian Ao prepared food on the road in order to await starving people and feed them. There was a starving person with dim eyesight who came, covering his face with his sleeve and dragging his feet. Qian Ao, bearing food in his left hand and holding drinks in his right, said, "Hey you! Come and get it!" The starving person lifted up his eyes and looked at him, saying, "It is because I do not eat food that comes with disrespectful address like 'hey, you' that I have come to this." Qian Ao therefore apologized to him, but he did not eat in the end and died. Zengzi heard about this and said, "Isn't it a bit too extreme? When he addresses you with 'hey you,' you may leave; when he apologizes, you may eat." ("Tangong, Second Section," *Records of Rites*)

The idiom *jiē lái zhī shí* 嘘來之食 (food accompanied by "hey, come and get it"), is now used as a metaphor for handouts given in a disrespectful manner. Note that 食 is more often pronounced *shí* rather than *sì* in this context.

4 part.; to begin a clause, with no concrete meaning 【wéi】

四年春，齊侯以諸侯之師侵蔡。蔡潰，遂伐楚。楚子使與師言曰：「君處北海，寡人處南海，唯是風馬牛不相及也，不虞君之涉吾地也，何故？」（《左傳·僖公四年》）

Sì nián chūn, Qíhóu yǐ zhūhóu zhī shí qīn Cài. Cài kuì, suì fá Chǔ. Chǔzǐ shí yú shí yán yuē, “Jūn chǔ bēihǎi, guārén chǔ nánhǎi, wéi shì fēng mǎ niú bù xiāng jí yé, bù yú jūn zhī shè wú dì yě, hé gù?” (Zuō zhuàn, “Xīgōng sì nián”)

In the spring of the fourth year, the Marquis of Qi invaded Cai with the armies of the feudal lords. The army of Cai was abjectly defeated; thereupon the Qi army attacked Chu. The viscount of Chu sent an envoy to the allied armies, saying, "Your lordship lives by the northern sea, whereas I, this deficient one, live by the southern sea. These two states are so far apart that even horses and cattle in heat could not reach each other; and so I did not expect that you would cross over into my territory. Can you let me know the reason?" (Duke Xī 4, *Zuō Tradition*)

Fēng mǎ niú bù xiāng jí 風馬牛不相及 (horses and cattle in heat cannot reach each other) is used in modern Chinese of two things that are so unlike each other that they can never become connected in any way.

Notes

- 1 *SWJZZJ*, juàn 2.1, 33b.
- 2 *SDCMC*, 472. *Zhōngguó shèhuì kēxuéyuàn yǔyán yánjiūsuǒ gǔdài Hányǔ yánjiūshì* 中國社會科學院語言研究所古代漢語研究室, comp., *Gǔdài Hányǔ xūcí cídiǎn* 古代漢語虛詞詞典 (Běijīng: Shāngwù yìnshūguǎn, 1999), 596; *GHYXCCD*, 349; *GHYXC*, 182–5; *Yú Jiājí* 余家驥, ed., *Gǔdài Hányǔ chángyòngzì huìshì* 古代漢語常用字匯釋 (Huhehot: Nèiménggǔ rénmín chūbānshè, 2001), 316.
- 3 *GHYZD*, 123; *Gǔ Hányǔ chángyòngzì zìdiǎn* *biānxiězǔ*, *Gǔ Hányǔ chángyòngzì zìdiǎn*, 444. *Hányǔ dà cídiǎn* 漢語大詞典 (Comprehensive word dictionary of Chinese) and *Guoyǔ cídiǎn* 國語辭典 (Mandarin dictionary) also have *wéi* as the pronunciation for this usage.

WÉI 唯 . . . SHÌ 是

This pattern is used where the object precedes its verb. *Wéi* 唯 is an adverb meaning “only.” *Shì* is a resumptive pronoun used to refer to the object that precedes the verb.¹

卜偃稱疾不出，曰：「〈周書〉有之：『乃大明，服。』已則不明，而殺人以逞，不亦難乎？民不見德，而唯戮是聞，其何後之有？」（《左傳·僖公二十三年》）

Bǔ Yǎn chēng jí bù chū, yuē, “Zhōu shū’ yǒu zhī, ‘Nǎi dà míng, fú.’ Jǐ zé bù míng, ér shā rén yǐ chéng, bù yì nán hū? Mín bù jiàn dé, ér wéi lù shì wén, qí hé hòu zhī yǒu?” (Zuō zhuàn, “Xīgōng èrshísān nián”)

Yǎn, the diviner, saying that he was ill, did not leave his house. [When he heard about Duke Huái 懷 of Jin’s 晉 wrongful execution of Hú Tū 狐突,] he said, “‘The Book of Zhōu’ has it that ‘when the ruler is greatly enlightened, his people will submit to him.’ If the ruler himself is not enlightened and kills people to gratify himself, isn’t it difficult to make his people submit to him? When the commoners do not see virtue, but only of slaughter do they hear – what posterity will he (i.e., Duke Huái of Jin) have?” (Duke Xī 23, Zuō Tradition)

Note

¹ *GHYXCCD*, 308. Yáng Bójùn treats it as a structural particle that is inserted between the verb and its preceding object when the verb–object order is inverted. *GHYXC*, 150.

WÉI 唯 . . . ZHĪ 之

This pattern is used where the object precedes its verb. *Wéi* 唯 is an adverb meaning “only.” *Zhī* is a demonstrative pronoun used as a resumptive pronoun to refer to the object that precedes the verb.¹

孟武伯問孝。子曰：「父母唯其疾之憂。」（《論語·為政》）

Mèng Wǔbó wèn xiào. Zǐ yuē, “Fù mǔ wéi qí jí zhī yōu.” (*Lún yǔ*, “Wéi zhèng”)

Mèng Wǔbó asked about filial piety. The Master said, “The parents need worry only about their children’s possible illness.” (“Wéi zhèng,” *Analects*)

* The Master points out that filial piety means causing no worries to one’s parents. The only concern that parents should have about their children is illness, which is presumably out of the children’s control.

* The two patterns, *wéi* 唯 . . . *shì* 是 and *wéi* 唯 . . . *zhī* 之, are interchangeable.

Note

1 *GHYXCCD*, 477. Yáng Bójùn treats it as a structural particle that is inserted between the preceding object and its verb when the verb-object order is inverted as in this usage of *shì* 是 and *shí* 究 as a marker. *GHYXC*, 348–9.

WÉI 惟

*vb.; “to ponder” | – *vb.*; “to assent to”
| – *adv.*; “only”*

*| – *conj.*; to show concession or to reveal the cause
| – *part.*; phrase-initial particle for the expression of time
| – *part.*; mid-phrase particle indicating a decisive truth
| – *part.*; to express hope*

BI		CM	SS
			

【*yǐ zhuī qiè 以追切*】 Baxter-Sagart has no reconstruction for this meaning of *wéi*, but gives “OC: *g^wij; MC: *ywij*” for *wéi* as “(copula); namely.”

Early Meaning: *vb.*; “to ponder”

Ji Xùshēng has no entry for this.

Xǔ Shèn writes, “*Wéi* 惟 (惟) means to ponder. It is derived from *xīn* 心 (心, heart); *zhūi* 隹 (隹, short-tailed bird) is sound-bearing” 惟 (惟), 凡思也。从心, 隹聲. He treats it as a graph of “form and sound.” Xú Hào agrees with Dài Tǒng that the graph refers to the mind focusing on a thought, from which comes the extended meaning of “only,” like *wéi* 唯.¹

The following is an example:

誕我祀如何?
或春或揄,或簸或蹂;釋之叟叟,烝之浮浮。
載謀載惟:
取蕭祭脂,取羝以軾,載燔載烈。以興嗣歲。
(《毛詩·大雅·生民》)

Dàn wǒ sì rú hé?

Huò chōng huò yóu, huò bǒ huò r óu; shì zhī sōusōu, zhēng zhī fúfú.

Zài móu zài wéi:

Qǔ xiāo jì zhī, qǔ dī yǐ bá, zài fán zài liè. Yǐ xīng sì suì.
(Máo Shī, “Dà yǎ,” “Shēng míng”)

How to offer sacrifices to the one who gave me life?
Some grind the grain, some husk it; some sift it, some knead it.
Swishing as it is cleared of impurities; misty as it is steamed.
We consult and ponder:
We take southernwood and smear it with lard in sacrifice;
We take a ram as sacrifice to the spirits of the road;
We roast it; we broil it.
With these we make the coming year prosperous.²
(Máo #245, “Birth of Our People,” in “Major Odes,” *Songs*)

* *Sōusōu* 際叟 is onomatopoeic for rinsing rice. It is roughly translated as “swishing.” *Fúfú* 浮浮describes the steam rushing up from the pot. It is roughly translated as “misty.” *Zài* 載 is a particle used for emphasis and need not be translated. Chéng and Jiǎng have *dǐ* for 羔 (a ram),³ but Wáng Lì has *dī*.⁴

Extended Meanings

1 *vb.*; the same as *wéi* 唯; “to assent to”

惟惟而亡者, 謂也; 博而窮者, 賈也; 清之而俞濁者, 口也。(《荀子·大略》)

Wéi wéi ér wáng zhě, fēi yě; bó ér qióng zhě, zǐ yě; qīng zhī ér yù zhuó zhě, kǒu yě. (Xúnzī, “Dà luè”)

The reason that one assents to others and yet meets his end is that he slanders others behind their backs; the reason that one is erudite and meets with adversity is that he vilifies others; the reason that one seeks a pure reputation, yet it becomes murkier is that he relies on his mouth rather than his actions. (“The Grand Digest,” *Xúnzī*)

2 *adv.*; *adverbial modifier*; “only”

惟明主愛權重信, 而不以私害法。(《商君書·修權》)

Wéi míng zhǔ ài quán zhòng xìn, ér bù yǐ sī bài fǎ. (*Shāng jūn shū*, “Xiū quán”)

Only a wise ruler would begrudge giving away power, give importance to trustworthiness, and not compromise the impartial application of the laws for private interest. (“To Discipline Power,” *Book of Shāng Yāng*)

Borrowed Meanings

1 *conj.*

• to show concession; “even”

信拜禮畢, 上坐。王曰:「丞相數言將軍, 將軍何以教寡人計策?」信謝, 因問王曰:「今東鄉爭權天下, 豈非項王邪?」漢王曰:「然。」曰:「大王自料勇悍仁彊孰與項王?」漢王默然良久, 曰:「不如也。」信再拜

賀曰：「惟信亦為大王不如也。然臣嘗事之，請言項王之為人也。……」
 (《史記·淮陰侯列傳》)

Xin bài lǐ bì, shàng zuò. Wáng yuē, “Chéngxiàng shù yán jiāngjūn, jiāngjūn hé yǐ jiāo guārén jì cè?” Xìn xiè, yīn wèn Wáng yuē, “Jīn dōng xiàng zhēng quán tiānxià, qǐ fēi Xiàngwáng yé?” Hàn wáng yuē, “Rán.” Yuē, “Dà Wáng zì liào yǒng hàn rén qiáng shùyú Xiàngwáng?” Hàn wáng mòrán liáng jiǔ, yuē, “Bù rú yě.” Xìn zài bài hè yuē, “Wéi Xìn yì wèi Dà Wáng bù rú yě. Rán chén cháng shì zhī, qǐng yán Xiàngwáng zhī wéi rén yě. . . .” (Shǐ jì, “Huáiyīnhóu lièzhuàn”)

Xin finished bowing and paying his respects and ascended to his seat. The king (the king of Hán) said, “The Grand Councilor has mentioned you, General, many times. What plans and strategies will you teach me, this deficient one?” Xìn expressed his gratitude for being received, then asked the king, “The one who has been contending with you in the east to be sovereign – isn’t it King Xiàng?” The king of Hán said, “It is.” Xìn asked, “How do you, the great king, compare with King Xiàng in bravery, daring, benevolence, and strength?” The king of Hán was silent for a long while, and said, “I cannot match him.” Xìn bowed again and congratulated him, saying, “Even I think that you, the great king, cannot match him. However, I, your subject, have served him (King Xiàng) before. Let me tell you exactly what kind of a person he is. . . .” (“Biography of the Marquis of Huáiyīn,” *Grand Scribe’s Records*)

- to reveal the cause; often used with *gù* 故, forming the pattern *wéi + n. + gù*; “due to the reason of + n.”

彼狡童兮，不與我言兮。

維子之故，使我不能餐兮。

(《毛詩·鄭風·狡童》)

*Bǐ jiǎo tóng xī, bù yǔ wǒ yán xī.
 Wéi zǐ zhī gù, shǐ wǒ bù néng cān xī.
 (Máo Shī, “Zhèng fēng,” “Jiǎo tóng”)*

That handsome lad, he does not talk to me.

Due to the reason of him, I am unable to eat.

(Máo #86, “Handsome Lad,” in “Airs of Zhèng,” *Songs*)⁵

* This poem is clearly a love song, but the Máo commentary reads it as criticism of Duke Zhāo 昭 for failing to listen to virtuous subjects.⁶

- 2 *part.*; phrase-initial particle for the expression of time. It should not be mistaken for the preposition “at” or “in,” although it is often so translated. In Chinese, no preposition is needed before a time expression.

惟三月，哉生魄，周公初基，作新大邑于東國洛。(《尚書·周書·康誥》)

*Wéi sān yuè, zāi shēng pò. Zhōugōng chū jī, zuò xīn dà yì yú dōng guó Luò.
 (Shàng Shū, “Zhōu shū, “Kāng gào”)*

In the third month, the moon had begun to wane. Duke Zhōu began the foundations and built the new great city at Luò, the eastern capital. (“Announcement to Prince of Kāng,” *Book of Documents*)

- 3 *part.*; mid-phrase particle indicating a decisive truth

非知之艱,行之惟艱。(《尚書·周書·說命中》)

Fēi zhī zhī jiān, xíng zhī wéi jiān. (*Shàng Shū*, “Zhōu shū,” “Yuè mìng zhōng”)

Knowing is not what is difficult; it is doing that is difficult. (“Charge to Yuè, Middle Section,” in “Book of Zhōu,” *Book of Documents*)

- 4 *part.*; to express hope; “in hopes of/to wish”

天視自我民視,天聽自我民聽。百姓有過,在予一人。今朕必往,我武惟揚。
侵于之疆,取彼凶殘,我伐用張,于湯有光。(《尚書·周書·泰誓中》)

Tiān shì zì wǒ mǐn shì, tiān tīng zì wǒ mǐn tīng. Bǎi xìng yǒu guò, zài yú yī rén. Jīn zhèn bì wǎng, wǒ wǔ wéi yáng. Qīn yú zhī jiāng, qǔ bǐ xiōng cán, wǒ fá yòng zhāng, yú Tāng yǒu guāng. (*Shàng shū*, “Zhōu shū,” “Tài shi zhōng”)

Heaven sees as my people see; Heaven hears as my people hear. If the people have transgressions, it lies with me alone (i.e., it is my fault). I must proceed, in hopes of displaying my military prowess. I enter the territory [of King Zhōu 紂 of Shāng], to take down the heinous and ruthless tyrant. I attack to extend the virtue of the punitive expedition so as to glorify King Tāng. (“The Great Declaration, Second Section,” in “Book of Zhōu,” *Book of Documents*)

* Tāng overthrew the wicked last ruler of the Xià dynasty and established the Shāng dynasty. In the same way, centuries later, the founder of the Zhōu dynasty is conducting an expedition against the wicked last ruler of the Shāng dynasty.

Notes

- 1 *SWJZZJ*, juàn 10.2, 56a–56b.
- 2 Chéng and Jiǎng note that *yóu* 愉, *róu* 蹤, *sōu* 叢, and *fú* 浮 belong to the rhyme categories of *yóu* 幽 and *hóu* 侯; *wéi* 惟 and *zhī* 脂 belong to the rhyme category *zhī* 脂; and *bá* 軾, *liè* 烈, and *suì* 歲 belong to the rhyme category *jì* 祭. *SJZX*, 807. Karlgren has *zjóg* for 愉, *nióg* for 蹤, *sjóg* for 叢, and *b'jóg* for 浮; *díwər* for 惟 and *íjər* for 脂; *b'wái* for 軾, *liət* for 烈, and *sjwad* for 歲. Karlgren, *The Book of Odes*, 199–200.
- 3 *SJZX*, 806.
- 4 *GHYZD*, 962; Wáng Lì, et al., *Gǔ Hányǔ chángyòngzì zìdiǎn* 古漢語常用字字典 (Běijīng: Shāngwù yinshūguǎn, 2006), 76.
- 5 Wáng Xiānqiān 王先謙 (1842–1917), *Shīsānjiā yì jíshū* 詩三家義集疏 (1987; Běijīng: Zhōnghuá shūjú, 2009), 357.
- 6 Chéng and Jiǎng note that *yán* 言 and *cān* 餐 belong to the rhyme category *yuán* 元. *SJZX*, 244. Karlgren has *ngjān* for 言 and *ts'ān* for 餐. Karlgren, *The Book of Odes*, 57.

WŪ 惡

- n.; “wrongdoing”* 【è】 | – *n.; “the malevolent”* 【è】
| – *adj.; “to be bad”* 【è】
| – *adj.; “to be ugly”* 【è】
| – *vb.; “to detest”* 【wù】
| – *vb.; “to inveigh against”* 【wù】
| – *preverbal interr. pron.; “how/where”*
| – *interjection*

CM	QM	SS
惡	惡	惡

【*āi dū qiè* 哀都切】Baxter-Sagart reconstruction is not available for this character when used as *wū*.

Early Meaning: *n.; “wrongdoing”* 【è】

Jī Xùshēng does not have an entry for è. The early meaning of è is likely “wrongdoing,” assuming Xǔ Shèn is correct.

Xǔ Shèn writes, “È 惡 (惡) means wrongdoing. It is derived from *xīn* 心 (心, heart); *yà* 亞 (亞, order/sequence) is sound-bearing” 過也。从心，亞聲. He categorizes the small seal script under “form and sound.” Duàn Yǔcái notes that there was originally no difference in pronunciation between 惡 when used as a noun, “wrongdoing,” and when used as a verb, “to detest”; the distinction arose in later usage.¹ In his entry for *yà* 亞, Xǔ Shèn gives the definition *chǒu* 醜 (to be ugly), treating the small seal script 亞 as a zodiograph of a person with a hunched back. He also gives an additional meaning for 亞 from Jiǎ Kui’s 賈逵 (30–101) reading of this graph as “order/sequence.” Xú Hào supports this reading, proposing that 亞 is often used in the context of the arrangement of vessels. He suggests that Xǔ must have misinterpreted 亞 as meaning “to be ugly”

because its pronunciation was the same as 惡, which has a negative meaning.² The two words are pronounced very differently in modern Chinese, but Baxter-Sagart reconstructs *yà* as *?^urak-s in Old Chinese, which is similar to *?^uak, Old Chinese for *è*. Jì Xūshēng, however, quotes from Lǐ Xiàoding and Gāo Qùxún 高去尋 (1909–1991) to support the view that *yà* (𠀤 in the oracle-bone inscriptions) is a zodiograph depicting the path to an imperial tomb, possibly a symbolic representation of the imperial temple or ceremonial hall.³

The following is an example of 惡 in its meaning of “wrongdoing”:

子曰：「君子成人之美，不成人之惡。小人反是。」（《論語·顏淵》）
Zǐ yuē, “Jūn zǐ chéng rén zhī měi, bù chéng rén zhī è. Xiǎo rén fǎn shì.” (Lún yǔ, “Yán Yuān”)

The Master said, “A noble man helps to bring to completion the good of others and does not help to bring to completion the wrongdoing of others. A petty man does the opposite of this.” (“Yán Yuān,” *Analects*)

Extended Meanings

1 *n.; subject; “the malevolent”* 【è】

請問為政。曰：賢能不待次而舉，罷不能不待須而廢，元惡不待教而誅，中庸不待政而化。（《荀子·王制》）

Qǐng wèn wéi zhèng? Yuē: Xián néng bù dài cì ér jǔ, bà bù néng bù dài xū ér fèi, yuán è bù dài jiāo ér zhū, zhōng yōng bù dài zhèng ér huà. (Xúnzǐ, “Wáng zhì”)

Someone asked about how to govern. I responded: “The virtuous would be appointed without waiting for the proper order of advancement; the incompetent would be dismissed without waiting for a moment; the most malevolent would be executed without waiting for them to be educated; the middling would be transformed without waiting for policies. (“The Regulations of the King,” *Xúnzǐ*)⁴

2 *adj.; attributive modifier; “to be bad”* 【è】

子曰：「士志於道，而恥惡衣惡食者，未足與議也。」（《論語·里仁》）
Zǐ yuē, “Shì zhì yú dào, ér chǐ è yī è shí zhě, wèi zú yǔ yì yě.” (Lún yǔ, “Lǐ rén”)

The Master said, “If a scholar sets his mind on the Way but is ashamed of having bad clothing and bad food, he is not worth exchanging opinions with. (“Lǐ rén,” *Analects*)

3 *adj.; attributive modifier; “to be ugly”* 【è】

鬼侯有子而好，故入之於紂，紂以為惡，醢鬼侯。（《戰國策·趙策·秦圍趙之邯鄲》）

Guǐhóu yǒu zǐ ér hǎo, gù rù zhī yú Zhòu, Zhòu yǐ wéi è, hǎi Guǐhóu. (Zhànguó cè, “Zhào cè,” “Qín wéi Zhào zhī Hándān”)

The Marquis of Guǐ had a daughter who was attractive; therefore, he presented her to King Zhòu. Zhòu considered her ugly, and so he had the Marquis of Guǐ beaten into mincemeat. (“Qín besieged the Zhào city of Hándān,” in “Strategies of Zhào,” *Strategies of the Warring States*)

4 *vb.; predicate; “to detest”* 【wù】

子曰：「唯仁者能好人，能惡人。」（《論語·里仁》）

Zǐ yuē, “Wéi rén zhě néng hào rén, néng wù rén.” (Lún yǔ, “Lǐ rén”)

The Master said, “Only a benevolent person is able to like a person and to detest a person (without bias).” (“Lǐ rén,” *Analects*)

5 *vb.; predicate; “to inveigh against”* 【wù】

人有惡蘇秦於燕王者，曰：「武安君，天下不信人也。王以萬乘下之，尊之於廷，示天下與小人群也。」（《戰國策·燕策一》）

Rén yǒu wù Sū Qín yú Yānwáng zhě, yuē, “Wǔ'ānjūn, tiānxià bù xìn rén yě. Wáng yǐ wàn shèng xià zhī, zūn zhī yú tíng, shì tiānxià yǔ xiǎorén qún yě.” (Zhànguó cè, “Yān cè yǐ”)

There was someone who inveighed against Sū Qín to the king of Yān, saying, “Lord Wǔ’ān is a person considered unreliable by all under Heaven. My King gave him ten thousand chariots and honored him at court, this is showing all under Heaven that you group together with a petty man.” (“Strategy of Yān,” in *Strategies of the Warring States*)

Borrowed Meanings

1 *preverbal interr. pron.; similar to hé 曰. Hé 曰 is *[g]s^t at in Old Chinese, hat in Middle Chinese.*

- “how”

孟子見梁襄王。出，語人曰：「望之不似人君，就之而不見所畏焉。卒然問曰：『天下惡乎定？』吾對曰：『定于一。』『孰能一之？』對曰：『不嗜殺人者能一之。』……」（《孟子·梁惠王上》）

Mèngzǐ jiàn Liáng Xiāngwáng. Chū, yù rén yuē, “Wàng zhī bù sì rén jūn, jiù zhī ér bù jiàn suǒ wèi yān. Zúrán wèn yuē, ‘Tiānxià wū hū dìng?’ Wú duì yuē, ‘Dìng yú yī.’ ‘Shú néng yī zhī?’ Dui yuē, ‘Bù shì shā rén zhě néng yī zhī.’ . . .” (Mèngzǐ, “Liáng Huìwáng shàng”)

Mencius had an audience with King Xiāng of Liáng. He came out and said to others, “When I looked at him from afar, the king was unlike a ruler of people. When I got closer, I could not see wherein he could be revered. Abruptly he asked, ‘How is all under Heaven to be made secure?’ I responded, ‘It can be made secure by unification.’ ‘Who can unify it?’ I responded, ‘Those who do not enjoy killing can unify it.’ . . .’ (“King Huì of Liáng, First Section,” *Mencius*)

* 語, originally *yǔ*, is pronounced *yù* when used as a verb, meaning “to say (something) to.”

- “where”

伯高死於衛,赴於孔子。孔子曰:「吾惡乎哭諸?兄弟,吾哭諸廟;父之友,吾哭諸廟門之外;師,吾哭諸寢;朋友,吾哭諸寢門之外;所知,吾哭諸野。於野則已疏,於寢則已重。夫由賜也見我,吾哭諸賜氏。」(《禮記·檀弓上》)

Bógāo sǐ yú Wèi, fù yú Kǒngzǐ. Kǒngzǐ yuē, “Wú wū hū kū zhū? Xiōng dì, wú kū zhū miào ào; fù zhī yóu, wú kū zhū miào mén zhī wài; shī, wú kū zhū qín; péng yǒu, wú kū zhū qín mén zhī wài; suǒ zhī, wú kū zhū yě. Yú yě zé yǐ shū, yú qín zé yǐ zhòng. Fú yóu Cǐ yě jiàn wǒ, wú kū zhū Cǐ shì.” (Lǐ jì, “Tángōng shàng”)

Bógāo died in Wèi and the news was passed on to Confucius. Confucius said, “Where should I mourn him? If he were my elder or younger brother, I would mourn him in the ancestral temple; if he were my father’s friend, I would mourn him outside the ancestral temple; if he were my teacher, I would mourn him in the inner chamber; if he were my fellow student or friend, I would mourn him outside the inner chamber; if he were just someone I know, I would mourn him in the countryside. It would be holding him too distant to mourn him in the countryside, holding him too close if I mourned him in the inner chamber. Since he came to see me through Cǐ (Confucius’s disciple), I shall mourn him at Cǐ’s house.” (“Tángōng, First Section,” *Records of Rites*)

2 interjection; “oh/ah”

「何謂知言?」曰:「詖辭知其所蔽,淫辭知其所陷,邪辭知其所離,遁辭知其所窮。生於其心,害於其政;發於其政,害於其事。聖人復起,必從吾言矣。」「宰我、子貢善為說辭,冉牛、閔子、顏淵善言德行。孔子兼之,曰:『我於辭命則不能也。』然則夫子既聖矣乎?」曰:「惡!是何言也?昔者子貢問於孔子曰:『夫子聖矣乎?』孔子曰:『聖則吾不能,我學不厭而教不倦也。』子貢曰:『學不厭,智也;教不倦,仁也。仁且智,夫子既聖矣!』夫聖,孔子不居,是何言也?」(《孟子·公孫丑上》)

“Hé wèi zhī yán?” Yuē, “Bì cí zhī qí suǒ bì, yín cí zhī qí suǒ xiàn, xié cí zhī qí suǒ lì, dùn cí zhī qí suǒ qióng. Shèng yú qí xīn, hài yú qí zhèng; fā yú qí zhèng, hài yú qí shí. Shèng rén fù qǐ, bì cóng wú yán yǐ.” “Zài wǒ, Zǐgōng shàn wéi shuō cí, Rǎn Niú, Mǐn zǐ, Yán Yuān shàn yán dé xíng. Kǒngzǐ jiān zhī, yuē, ‘Wǒ yú cí mìng zé bù néng yě.’ Rán zé fùzǐ jì shèng yǐ hū?” Yuē, “Wū! Shì hé yán yě? Xī zhě Zǐgōng wèn yú Kǒngzǐ yuē, ‘Fūzǐ shèng yǐ hū?’ Kǒngzǐ yuē, “Shèng zé wú bù néng, wǒ xué bù yán ér jiāo bù juàn yě.’ Zǐgōng yuē, ‘Xué bù yàn, zhì yě; jiāo bù juàn, rén yě. Rén qiè zhì, Fūzǐ jì shèng yǐ.’” Fú shèng, Kǒngzǐ bù jū, shì hé yán yě?” (Mèngzǐ, “Gōngsūn Chǒu shàng”)

[Gōngsūn Chǒu went on to ask,] “What does it mean to understand words?” Mencius replied, “From biased words, I know wherein he (i.e., the speaker) is clouded; from immoderate words, I know wherein he is ensnared; from heretical words, I know wherein he has strayed; from evasive words, I know wherein he is at his wit’s end. These evils grow in his mind and bring harm to his governance; when displayed in his governance, they bring harm to the affairs at hand. When a sage shall again arise, he will certainly follow my words.” Gōngsūn Chǒu asked, “Zāiwǒ and Zǐgōng were good at persuasion; Rǎn Niú, Mǐnzǐ, and Yán Yuān were good with words and behaved virtuously. Confucius had the qualities of both kinds of virtue, but he said, ‘In terms of rhetoric, I am incapable.’ This being so, you, my Master, must be a sage already?” Mencius responded, “Oh! What words are these? Formerly Zǐgōng asked Confucius, saying, ‘Master, are you a sage?’ Confucius answered, ‘Being a sage is what I cannot attain. I learn without satiety and teach without tiring.’ Zǐgōng said, ‘To learn without satiety, this is wisdom; to teach without tiring, this is benevolence. Benevolent and wise, Master, you are a sage already.’ To be a sage – that is not something Confucius would claim. What words are these (i.e., words saying that Mencius is a sage)?” (“King Hui of Liáng, First Section,” *Mencius*)

Notes

- 1 *SWJZZJ, juàn* 10.2, 76a.
- 2 *SWJZZJ, juàn* 14.2, 24a–b.
- 3 *SWXZ*, 988.
- 4 According to the early twentieth-century scholar Xióng Gōngzhé 熊公哲, *xū* 須 has no particular meaning. He notes the variant *qīng* 頃 (“a short while”) in the Shidétáng 世德堂 edition, which suits the context better. Xióng Gōngzhé, annot. and trans., *Xúnzǐ jīnzhù jīnyi* 荀子今註今譯 (Taipei: Shāngwù yinshūguǎn, 1975), 140.

WÚ 亡

n.; the sharp point of a knife 【wáng】

- | – *vb.*; “to flee” 【wáng】
- | – *vb.*; “to be away” 【wáng】
- | – *vb.*; “to die” 【wáng】
- | – *vb.*; “to perish” 【wáng】
- | – *vb.*; “to extinguish” 【wáng】
- | – *vb.*; “to lose” 【wáng】
- | – *vb.*; “to have none/to not have”
- | – *adv.*; to negate; “not”
- | – *vb.*; the same as *wàng* 忘 (to forget) 【wàng】

OBI	BI	CM	QM	SS
𢂔	𢂕	𢂔 𢂕	止	亡

【*wǔ fāng qiè* 武方切】OC: *maŋ; MC: *mjang* (Baxter-Sagart reconstruction only available for the meaning of “flee/disappear/die”)

Early Meaning: *n.*; “the sharp point of a knife” 【wáng】

Ji Xusheng points out that the graph in the oracle-bone inscriptions depicts a knife 𢂔 with a stroke on the blade, indicating its sharp point: 𢂔, thus, the early meaning is the sharp point of a knife. He classifies this as a graph of “indicating the matter.”¹

Xǔ Shèn writes, “*Wáng* 亡 (亡) means to flee. It is derived from *rù* 入 (入, to enter) and *yǐn* 𠂔 (𠂔, secret places to hide in)” 𠂔 (亡), 逃也。从入, 从𠂔.. Duàn Yúcái treats this as an “associative compound,” depicting a person entering a hidden place, hence the meaning “to flee.”²

Borrowed Meanings

1 *vb.*; “to flee” 【wáng】

桓楚亡,人莫知其處,獨籍知之耳。(《史記·項羽本紀》)

Huán Chǔ wáng, rén mò zhī qī chū, dú Jí zhī zhī ēr. (Shǐ jì, “Xiàng Yǔ běn jì”)

Huán Chǔ fled and no one knew his whereabouts; only [Xiàng] Jí knew it. (“Basic Annals of Xiàng Yǔ,” *Grand Scribe’s Records*)

2 *vb.*; “to be away” 【wáng】

陽貨矚孔子之亡也,而饋孔子蒸豚。(《孟子·滕文公下》)

Yáng Huò kèn Kǒngzǐ zhī wáng yě, ér kuì Kǒngzǐ zhēng tún. (Mèngzǐ, “Téng Wéngōng xià”)

Yáng Huò watched for Confucius to be away and left Confucius a steamed suckling pig (he waited till Confucius went out before doing this, knowing Confucius would have refused the gift). (“Téng Wéngōng, Second Section,” *Mencius*)

3 *vb.*; “to die” 【wáng】

今汝其曰:「夏罪其如台?夏王率遏眾力,率割夏邑,有眾率怠弗協,曰:『時日曷喪?予及汝皆亡!』夏德若茲,今朕必往。……」(《尚書·商書·湯誓》)

Jīn rǔ qí yuē, “Xià zuì qí rútái? Xià wáng shuài jié zhòng lì, shuài hài Xià yì, yǒu zhòng shuài dài fù xié, yuē, ‘Shí rì hé sàng? Yú jí rú jiē wáng!’ Xià dé ruò zī, jīn zhèn bì wǎng. . . .” (Shàng Shū, “Shāng shū,” “Tāng shì”)

Now you are about to say, ‘How so is Xià guilty?’ The king of Xià has exhausted the strength of the multitude and hurt the Xià capital. The multitude is all in danger and will not comply with him any longer. They say, ‘When will this sun perish? We would rather die with you than be under your rule!’ The virtue of Xià is like that – I must go and overthrow it. . . .” (“Speech of Tāng,” in “Books of Shāng,” *Book of Documents*)

* There is a more complete version of this under the entry for hé 曷.

4 *vb.*; “to perish” 【wáng】

不親賢用知,故身死國亡也。(《荀子·堯問》)

Bù qīn xián yòng zhì, gù shēn sǐ guó wáng yě. (Xúnzǐ, “Yáo wèn”)

They did not befriend the virtuous and employ the wise; for this reason they died and their states perished. (“Yáo wèn,” *Xúnzǐ*)

5 *vb.*; “to extinguish” 【wáng】

此天之亡我,非戰之罪也。(《史記·項羽本紀》)

Cǐ tiān zhī wáng wǒ, fēi zhàn zhī zuì yě. (Shǐ jì, “Xiàng Yǔ běn jì”)

This is Heaven extinguishing me, not the outcome of war. (“Basic Annals of Xiàng Yǔ,” *Grand Scribe’s Records*)

6 **vb.; “to lose”【wáng】**

宋有富人，天雨牆壞，其子曰：「不築，必將有盜。」其鄰人之父亦云。暮而果大亡其財，其家甚智其子，而疑鄰人之父。(《韓非子·說難》)

Sòng yǒu fù rén, tiān yǔ qiáng huài. Qí zǐ yuē, “Bù zhù, bì jiāng yǒu dào.” Qí lín rén zhī fù yì yún. Mù ér guǒ dà wáng qí cái, qí jiā shèn zhì qí zǐ, ér yí lín rén zhī fù. (Hánfēizī, “Shuì nán”)

There was a rich man in Sòng. It rained and the wall was damaged. His son said, “If we do not rebuild, there will certainly be thieves.” The neighbor’s father said so too. At nightfall, they indeed lost a great deal of their property. The family considered the son very wise but suspected the neighbor’s father. (“Difficulties of Persuasion,” *Hánfēizī*)

7 **vb., “to have none/to be without”; the exact translation depends on the text; used as wú 無. Baxter-Sagart reconstructs 無 as *ma (OC) and mju (MC). It shares the same initial with 亡, which is reconstructed as *maj (OC) and mjang (MC).³**

哀公問：「弟子孰為好學？」孔子對曰：「有顏回者好學，不遷怒，不貳過。不幸短命死矣！今也則亡，未聞好學者也。」(《論語·雍也》)

Āigōng wèn, “Dìzǐ shú wéi hào xué?” Kǒngzǐ duì yuē, “Yǒu Yán Huí zhě hào xué, bù qiān nù, bù èr guò. Bù xìng duǎn mìng sǐ yǐ. Jīn yě zé wú, wèi wén hào xué zhě yě.” (Lún yǔ, “Yōng yě”)

Duke Āi asked, “Which of your disciples are fond of studying?” Confucius responded, “There was Yán Huí who was fond of studying. He did not displace the anger he felt towards one person onto another and did not make the same mistake twice. How unfortunate it is that he died at a young age! As of today there is none; I have not heard of anyone who is fond of studying.” (“Yōng yě,” *Analects*)

春不得避風塵，夏不得避暑熱，秋不得避陰雨，冬不得避寒凍，四時之間亡日休息。(《漢書·食貨志》)

Chūn bù dé bì fēng chén, xià bù dé bì shǔ rè, qiū bù dé bì yīn yǔ, dōng bù dé bì hán dòng, sì shí zhī jiān wú rì xiū xī. (Hàn shū, “Shí huò zhī”)

[Farmers] cannot avoid the dusty wind in spring, cannot avoid the steamy heat in summer, cannot avoid the gloomy rain in autumn, cannot avoid the freezing cold in winter. Throughout the four seasons, they do not have a day of rest or respite. (“Treatises on Food and Currency,” *Official History of Hán*)

8 **adv.; adverbial modifier; to negate; “not”⁴**

民者，在上所以牧之，趨利如水走下，四方亡擇也。(《漢書·食貨志》)

Mín zhě, zài shàng suǒ yǐ mù zhī, qū lì rú shuǐ zǒu xià, sì fāng wú zé yě. (Hàn shū, “Shí huò zhī”)

Commoners are those whom the higher majesty tends. They follow what is beneficial to them as water flows downward; they do not choose which of the four directions to go. (“Treatises on Food and Currency,” *Official History of Han*)

- 9 *vb.*; the same as *wàng* 忘 (to forget). Baxter-Sagart has *maj-s (OC) and *mjangH* (MC) for 忘. This is close in pronunciation to 亡, which is reconstructed as *maj (OC) and *mjang* (MC). 【wàng】

綠兮衣兮，綠衣黃裳。

心之憂矣，曷維其亡？

(《毛詩·邶風·綠衣》)

Lǜ xī yī xī, lǜ yī huáng cháng.

Xīn zhī yōu yǐ, hé wéi qí wàng?

(*Máo Shī*, “Bèi fēng,” “Lǜ yī”)

So green is the robe! Green is the robe, yellow is the skirt.

The grief of my heart, how can it be forgotten?

(*Máo* #27, *Green Robe*, “Airs of Bèi,” *Songs*)⁵

Notes

1 *SWXZ*, 908.

2 *SWJZZJ*, *juàn* 12.2, 69b–70a.

3 It is generally accepted in practice to pronounce this usage as *wú*, although this pronunciation is not mentioned in the rhyme dictionaries and *Jingdian shiwen* 經典釋文 (Exegesis of the classics). *GHYZD*, 12.

4 This usage is noted by Yáng Bójùn and is pronounced *wú*. *GHYXC*, 196.

5 Chéng and Jiǎng note that *cháng* 裳 and *wàng* 亡 belong to the rhyme category *yáng* 陽. [236] Karlgren has *dīang* for 裳 and *mīwang* for 亡. Karlgren, *The Book of Odes*, 16.

WÚ 毋

prohibitive adv.; “must not” | – vb.; the same as wú 無 (to not have)
| – *adv.; “not”*
| – *pron.; “no one”*

BI	CM	QM	SS
毋	毋	毋	毋

【*wǔ fū qiè* 武夫切】OC: *mo; MC: *mju*

Early Meaning: prohibitive adv.; “must not”

Jǐ Xūshēng has no entry for this.

Xǔ Shèn writes, “*Wú* 毋 (毋) means to forbid something. It is derived from *nǚ* 女 (女, girl), and there is a person who offends her” 止 (毋), 止之也。从女, 有奸之者. Duàn Yúcái suggests that the horizontal stroke, appearing as *yī* 一, symbolizes adultery – something to forbid.¹ Xú Kǎi comments, “It means a girl is able to preserve her chastity. This is a graph of ‘indicating things’” 能有守也。此指事。² Xú Hào agrees that Xú Kǎi’s reading of the horizontal stroke as indicating a girl’s ability to preserve her own chastity is a better explanation than Duàn Yúcái’s.³ In pre-Qín texts, this word is used predominantly as a prohibitive adverb.

The following is an example:

南宮縚之妻之姑之喪，夫子誨之髽，曰：「爾毋從從爾，爾毋扈扈爾，蓋榛以為笄，長尺，而總八寸。」（《禮記·檀弓上》）

Nángōng Tāo zhī qī zhī gū zhī sāng, Fūzǐ huì zhī zhuā, yuē, “Ěr wú zǒngzōng’ěr, ěr wú hùhù’ěr, gài zhēn yī wéi jī, cháng chī, ěr zǒng bā cùn.” (Lǐ jì, “Tángōng shàng”)

For the funeral rites of the mother-in-law of Nángōng Tāo’s wife, the Master taught her how to do the topknot tied with hemp strands during mourning.

He said, “You must not make it too tall and large; you must not make it too wide and large. Use the wood of a hazelnut tree to make the hairpin one foot long, and bind the hair with cloth that hangs down eight inches.” (“Tángōng, First Section,” *Records of Rites*)

* Nángōng Tāo’s wife was Confucius’s niece. The initial *ěr* 翁 in each of the two lines *ěr wú zōngzōng’ěr*, *ěr wú hùhù’ěr* 翁毋從從爾, 翁毋扈扈爾 (you do not make it too high; you do not make it too wide) means “you”; the final *ěr* in each of the two lines is a suffix for the preceding adjectives. 從從 should be pronounced *zōngzōng* for the meaning of tall and large.

Extended Meanings

- 1 *vb.*; the same as *wú* 無 (to not have)

皇后毋子, 妀寵。(《史記·外戚世家》)

Huánghòu wú zǐ, wú chōng. (*Shǐ jì*, “Wàiqī shijiā”)

The empress did not have a son, and she did not have the favor of the emperor. (“Hereditary Houses of Imperial Consorts’ Families,” *Grand Scribe’s Records*)

- 2 *adv.*; *adverbial modifier*; “not”

夫造禍而求其福報, 計淺而怨深, 逆秦而順楚, 雖欲毋亡, 不可得也。(《史記·張儀列傳》)

Fú zào huò ér qiú qí fú bào, jì qiǎn ér yuàn shēn, nì Qín ér shùn Chǔ, suī yù wú wáng, bù kě dé yě. (*Shǐ jì*, “Zhāng Yí lièzhuàn”)

To create disaster and yet seek a propitious return – this is to consider only the superficial in your plans and thus deepen resentment. To turn against Qín and ally with Chǔ – even though you would like not to perish, this cannot be achieved. (“Biography of Zhāng Yí,” *Grand Scribe’s Records*)

- 3 *pron.*; *subject*; “no one”

孝景三年, 吳楚反。上察宗室諸竇毋如竇嬰賢, 乃召嬰。(《史記·魏其武安侯列傳》)

Xiàojǐng sān nián, Wú Chǔ fǎn. Shàng chá zōng shì zhū Dòu wú rú Dòu Yīng xián, nǎi zhào Yīng. (*Shǐ jì*, “Wèi Qí Wǔ’ānhóu lièzhuàn”)

In the third year of Emperor Xiàojǐng, the Wú and Chǔ states rebelled. The emperor took stock of the members of the Dòu clan; no one was more virtuous than Dòu Yīng. Thus, he summoned Yīng. (“Biographies of Marquises Wèi Qí and Wǔ’ān,” *Grand Scribe’s Records*)

Notes

- 1 *SWJZZJ*, juàn 14.1, 60b.
- 2 *SWJZZJ*, juàn 24, 10b.
- 3 *SWJZZJ*, juàn 14.1, 60b.

WÚ 無

vb.; “to dance”

- | – *vb.* ; “to have none/to be without”
- | – *prohibitive adv.*; the same as *wú* 毋 (shall not/must not)
- | – *adv.*; preverbal negative; the same as *bù* 不 (not)
- | – *pron.* ; “nothing/no one”

BI	CM	QM	SS
舞	𠂇	𦥑	𦥑

【*wǔ fū qiè* 武夫切】OC: *mo (don't)/*ma (to have none/to be without);
MC: *mju*

Early Meaning: *vb.*; “to dance”

Ji Xusheng notes that the oracle-bone and bronze inscriptions depict a person holding ornaments of oxtails or feathers in a rain dance. He further explains that *wú* was not used to mean “to have none/to be without” in the oracle-bone inscriptions, where the graph with that meaning is written *wú* 亡 (亡). It is only in bronze inscriptions that the graph for *wú* 無 was borrowed to mean “to have none/to be without.” According to Ji, *wú* 無 was the original graph for *wǔ* 舞 (to dance); a pair of feet was later added to highlight this early meaning. The meaning of “lush” in the “Book of Shang” is also a borrowed meaning.¹

Xu Shen writes, “*Wú* 無 means luxuriant. It is derived from *lín* 林 (forest) and *shù* (numerous; likely pronounced *mú*). Some say it is the graph for *mó* as in *guī mó* 規模 (scale). *shù* is derived from *dà* 大 (大, to be large); *shù* 穀 refers to an accumulation of numbers. *lín* refers to many trees. *shù* has the same meaning as *shù* 庶 (many). The “Book of Shang” in the *Book of Documents* says, ‘The many grasses are profuse and lush.’” 無 (無), 豐也。从林、爽。或說規模字。从大；冊，數之積也；林者，木之多也。冊與庶同意。《商書》曰：「

庶草繁無」. Duàn Yúcái notes that *wú* 無 is the original graph for *wú* 無 (to be lush) and was borrowed to mean “to lack, to be without.” Xú Hào further explains that the semantic determinative *cǎo* 艸 (plant) was added to highlight the early meaning of “lush”.² These traditional explanations of *wú*’s 無 early meaning have come under dispute since the discovery of new evidence from oracle-bone inscriptions.

Borrowed Meanings

- 1 *vb.*; “to have none/to be without”

孟子曰：「人不可以無恥。無恥之恥，無恥矣。」(《孟子·盡心上》)

Mèngzǐ yuē, “Rén bù kěyǐ wú chǐ. Wú chǐ zhī chǐ, wú chǐ yǐ.” (*Mèngzǐ*, “Jīn xīn shàng”)

Mencius said, “People must not be without a sense of shame. The shame of being without a sense of shame is precisely being without a sense of shame!” (“Exerting Oneself, First Section,” *Mencius*)

- sometimes the object is omitted if it has appeared earlier.

公曰：「爾有母遺，繄我獨無！」(《左傳·隱公元年》)

Gōng yuē, “Ěr yǒu mǔ weì, yīn wǒ dú wú!” (*Zuō zhuàn*, “Yǐngōng yuán nián”)

The duke (Duke Zhuāng of Zhèng 鄭莊公) said, “You have a mother to whom you can present [food]; it is only I who have none!” (Duke Yǐn 1, *Zuō Tradition*)

* The object of *wú* 無 is *mǔ* 母 (mother). Since the object appears in the first clause, it is omitted in the second clause.

- 2 *prohibitive adv.; adverbial modifier*; the same as *wú* 毋 (shall not/must not)

遂寘姜氏于城潁，而誓之曰：「不及黃泉，無相見也！」既而悔之。(《左傳·隱公元年》)

Suì zhì Jiāng shì yú Chéngyǐng, ér shì zhī yuē, “Bù jí huáng quán, wú xiāng jiàn yě!” Jì ér huǐ zhī. (*Zuō zhuàn*, “Yǐngōng yuán nián”)

Therefore, [Duke Zhuāng of Zhèng 鄭莊公] confined his mother Lady Jiāng in Chéngyǐng and swore an oath: “Until we reach the Yellow Springs (the afterworld), we shall not meet again!” Shortly after, he regretted this. (Duke Yǐn 1, *Zuō Tradition*)

- 3 *adv.; adverbial modifier*; preverbal negative; the same as *bù* 不 (not)

子路曰：「子行三軍，則誰與？」子曰：「暴虎馮河，死而無悔者，吾不與也。必也臨事而懼，好謀而成者也。」(《論語·述而》)

Zǐlù yuē, “Zǐ xíng sān jūn, zé shuǐ yǔ? ” Zǐ yuē, “Bào hǔ píng hé, sǐ ér wú huǐ zhě, wú bù yǔ yě. Bì yě lín shì ér jù, hào móu ér chéng zhě yě. ” (Lún yǔ, “Shù ér”)

Zǐlù asked, “If you, my master, were to lead the Three Armies, who would you take with you?” The Master said, “Those who would fight a tiger bare-handed or walk across the River, who do not regret dying for this foolhardiness, I would not take with me. It must be those who have trepidation in the face of danger and are passionate about planning to accomplish a task that I will take with me.” (“Shù ér,” *Analects*)

* Many of the traditional commentators hold that Zǐlù raised this question because the Master had praised another disciple, Yán Yuān, for being virtuous. Zǐlù prided himself on his courage, so he was hoping that the Master would praise him for it.³

Sǐ ér wú huǐ 死而無悔 is now an idiom, meaning “not to regret even if it means dying.” *Lín shì ér jù* 臨事而懼 (to feel trepidation in the face of danger) is another idiom that now means “to be cautious in dealing with matters.”

4 pron.; “nothing/no one”

楚人有鬻楯與矛者，譽之曰：「吾楯之堅，莫能陷也。」又譽其矛曰：「吾矛之利，於物無不陷也。」或曰：「以子之矛，陷子之楯，何如？」其人弗能應也。（《韓非子·難一》）

Chǔ rén yǒu yù dùn yǔ máo zhě, yù zhī yuē, “Wú dùn zhī jiān, mò néng xiān yě.” Yòu yù qí máo yuē, “Wú máo zhī lì, yú wù wú bù xiān yě.” Huò yuē, “Yǐ zī zhī máo, xiān zǐ zhī dùn, hé rú?” Qí rén fú néng yìng yě. (*Hánfēizi*, “Nàn yī”)

There was a person of Chǔ who was selling spears and shields. He praised them, saying, “My shields are so solid that nothing can penetrate them.” Again he praised his spears, saying, “My spears are so sharp that in regard to things there is nothing it cannot penetrate.” Someone asked, “Using your spear to strike your shield, what then?” That person was unable to respond. (“Refutations One,” *Hánfēizi*)

The idiom *zì xiāng máo dùn* 自相矛盾 (literally, “spears and shields resisting each other”), meaning “to contradict oneself,” comes from this passage.

梁惠王曰：「寡人之於國也，盡心焉耳矣。河內凶，則移其民於河東，移其粟於河內。河東凶亦然。察鄰國之政，無如寡人之用心者。鄰國之民不加少，寡人之民不加多，何也？」（《孟子·梁惠王上》）

Liáng Huìwáng yuē, “Guǎrén zhī yú guó yě, jìn xīn yān ěr yǐ. Hénèi xiōng, zé yí qí mǐn yú Hédōng, yí qí sù yú Hénèi. Hédōng xiōng yì rán. Chá lín guó zhī zhèng, wú rú guǎrén zhī yòng xīn zhě. Lín guó zhī mǐn bù jiā shǎo, guǎrén zhī mǐn bù jiā duō, hé yé?” (*Mèngzǐ*, “Liáng Huìwáng shàng”)

King Huì of Liáng said, “As to my state, I, this deficient one, have exerted myself in governing it, that’s all there is to it. When there was famine in Hénèi, I moved my people to Hédōng and also transported millet to Hénèi. When there was famine in Hédōng, I did the same. I observe the governance of the neighboring states; there is no one who exerts himself like me, this deficient one. Yet the number of people in the neighboring states does not decrease (through migration away from them), and the number of this deficient one’s people does not increase (through migration into this state). Why is that so?” (“King Huì of Liáng, First Section,” *Mencius*)

Notes

- 1 *SWXZ*, 508–9.
- 2 *SWJZZJ*, *juàn* 6.1, 109b–110a.
- 3 Chéng Shùdé, *Lúnyǔ jishì*, *juàn* 13, 451–3.

WÚNĀI 無乃 (毋乃)

- to create a rhetorical question; “would it not be”

鄭伯使大子華聽命於會，言於齊侯曰：「洩氏、孔氏、子人氏三族，實違君命。君若去之以為成，我以鄭為內臣，君亦無所不利焉。」齊侯將許之。管仲曰：「君以禮與信屬諸侯，而以姦終之，無乃不可乎？子父不奸之謂禮，守命共時之謂信，違此二者，姦莫大焉。」《左傳·僖公七年》

Zhèngbó shí tài zǐ Huá tīng mìng yú huì, yán yú Qíhóu yuē, “Xiè shì, Kǒng shì, Zǐrén shì sān zú, shí wéi jūn mìng. Jūn ruò qù zhī yǐ wéi chéng, wǒ yǐ Zhèng wéi nèi chén, jūn yǐ wú suǒ bù lì yān.” Qíhóu jiāng xǔ zhī. Guǎn Zhòng yuē, “Jūn yǐ lǐ yǔ xìn zhǔ zhūhóu, ér yǐ jiān zhōng zhī, wúnāi bù kě hū? Zǐ fù bù gān zhī wèi lǐ, shǒu mìng gōng shí zhī wèi xìn, wéi cǐ èr zhé, jiān mò dà yān.” (Zuō zhuàn, “Xīgōng qī nián”)

The Earl of Zhèng sent the heir Huá to attend to the commands at the covenant meeting. Huá said to the Marquis of Qi, “It was the three houses, the Xiè clan, the Kǒng clan, and the Zǐrén clan, that violated your command. If you, my lord, remove them so as to cement a peace agreement, I would make the state of Zhèng your subject, and there is nothing in it from which you would not benefit.” The marquis was about to agree to this, but Guǎn Zhòng said, “Would it not be improper for My King to have assembled the feudal lords through ritual propriety and trustworthiness but to end this with treachery? When a son does not offend his father, it is called propriety; when the commands are kept and fulfilled dutifully at the proper time, it is called trustworthiness. To go against these two – there is no greater treachery than this.” (Duke Xī 7, Zuō Tradition)

* The heir was betraying his father by offering to serve as the subject of Qi and therefore failing to fulfill his mission to make peace with Qi in the right way. If the Marquis of Qi agreed to his proposal, it would be the same as approving the heir's treacherous actions and conceding that the heir was the rightful ruler of Zhèng. Zhǔ 屬 means “to assemble.” 奸, meaning “to offend/to violate,” should be pronounced gān rather than jiān. 共 should be pronounced gōng instead of gòng. It is used for gōng 恭, “to fulfill dutifully.”

WÙ 勿

vb.; “to cut off”

—
— *prohibitive adv.*; “must not”
— *adv.*; to show negation; “not”

OBI	BI	CM	SS
𠂇	𠂇	𠂇	𠂇

【*wén fú qiè* 文弗切】OC: *mut; MC: *mjut*

Early Meaning: *vb.*; “to cut off”

Qiú Xīguī notes that the graph 𠂇 in the oracle-bone inscriptions consists of the component 𠂇 (*dāo* 刀, knife) with two dots on its blade to indicate the object being sliced off. The two dots function like those in the graph for 𠂇 (*fēn* 分, to separate). Moreover, *wù* and *fēn* share the same vowel and in ancient times had final consonants that ended with the same tongue position,¹ suggesting that they may have been used interchangeably based on similarity of sound. Qiú concludes that the early meaning of *wù* was “to cut off.” Since it was frequently borrowed as a function word to show prohibition, another *dāo* 刀 (knife) was added to the graph to differentiate its early meaning from its borrowed meaning, the word with the early meaning now appears as *wén* 勿 (to cut off).² Ji Xùshēng agrees that *wù* 𠂇 was the original graph for *wén* 勿, but he sees the two dots as drops of blood and proposes an early meaning of “to kill.”³

Xǔ Shèn’s definition of this word has been disputed. He writes, “*Wù* 勿 (𠂇) refers to a flag erected by a gentleman-grandee. The graph pictures the pole of the flagstaff with three streamers. They are made of different types of fabric. The bands of fabric are different on each half (i.e., the streamers are half red, half white). With it the gentleman-grandee assembled the people. For this reason, “hurriedly” is called *wùwù*. . . . The variant is 𠂇: some of the graphs for *wù* are

derived from *yǎn* 放 (放, the fluttering of a flag)⁴ (勿), 州里所建旗。象其柄, 有三游。難帛, 幅半異。所以趣民, 故遽偁勿勿。……, 勿或从放. Duàn Yùcái comments that *zhōu lǐ* 州里 is a gentleman-grandee.⁵ These traditional explanations are not, however, supported by any excavated texts.

Borrowed Meanings

- 1 *prohibitive adv.; adverbial modifier*; “must not”; used with a verb that does not take an object

顏淵問仁。子曰：「克己復禮為仁。一日克己復禮，天下歸仁焉。為仁由己，而由人乎哉？」顏淵曰：「請問其目。」子曰：「非禮勿視，非禮勿聽，非禮勿言，非禮勿動。」顏淵曰：「回雖不敏，請事斯語矣。」（《論語·顏淵》）

Yán Yuān wèn rén. Zǐ yuē, “Kè jǐ fù lǐ wéi rén. Yī rì kè jǐ fù lǐ, tiānxià guī rén yān. Wéi rén yóu jǐ, ér yóu rén hū zāi?” Yán Yuān yuē, “Qǐng wèn qí mù.” Zǐ yuē, “Fēi lǐ wù shì, fēi lǐ wù tīng, fēi lǐ wù yán, fēi lǐ wù dòng.” Yán Yuān yuē, “Huí suī bù mǐn, qǐng shì sī yǔ yǐ.” (Lún yǔ, “Yán Yuān”)

Yán Yuān asked about benevolence. The Master said, “To moderate yourself and come back to ritual propriety – this is benevolence. Even if you come back to ritual propriety for only one day, all under Heaven will ascribe benevolence to you. To be benevolent depends on yourself; how does it ever proceed from others?” Yán Yuān asked, “May I ask the details?” The Master said, “You must not look at anything improper, must not listen to anything improper, must not utter anything improper, and must not do anything improper.” Yán Yuān replied, “Although I am not quick-witted, I beg to follow this advice of my master.” (“Yán Yuān,” *Analects*)

Kè jǐ fù lǐ 克己復禮 (to moderate yourself and come back to ritual propriety) is now an idiom, meaning “to subdue oneself and observe propriety.”

- 2 *adv.; adverbial modifier*; to show negation; “not”

君子于役，不知其期。曷至哉？

雞棲于埘；日之夕矣，羊牛下來。

君子于役，如之何勿思？

(《毛詩·王風·君子于役》)

Jūn zǐ yú yì, bù zhī qí qī. Hé zhì zāi?

Jī qī yú shí; Rì zhī xī yǐ, yáng niú xià lái.

Jūn zǐ yú yì, rú zhī hé wù sī?

(Máo Shī, “Wáng fēng,” “Jūn zǐ yú yì”)

My lord serving corvée – his term is unknown. When is he coming?
 Fowls roost in their wall holes; when the day has reached dusk, even sheep
 and oxen come down.

My lord serving corvée – how can I not miss him?⁶

(Máo #66, “My Lord Serving Corvée,” in “Airs of Wáng,” *Songs*)

Notes

- 1 The Baxter–Sagart reconstruction has *mut (OC) and mjut (MC) for *wù* 勿, *pə[n] (OC) and pjun (MC) for *fēn* 分.
- 2 Qiú Xīguī, “Shí ‘wù,’ ‘fā’” 釋「勿」「發」, in *Gǔwénzì lùnjí* 古文字論集 (Běijīng: Zhōnghuá shūjú, 1992), 70–84.
- 3 *SWXZ*, 757–8.
- 4 For the pronunciation of 𠂇 as *yān*, see Chéng Shùdé, *Lúnyǔ jíshì*, *juàn* 38, 1318.
- 5 *SWJZZJ*, *juàn* 9.2, 53a–54a.
- 6 Chéng and Jiǎng note that the rhyme category is *zhī* 之; *qī* 期, *zāi* 哉, *shí* 師, *lái* 來, and *sī* 思 are the rhymes. *SJZX*, 198. Karlgren has *g'iəg* for 期, *tsəg* for 哉, *^d'iəg* for 師, *ləg* for 來, and *siəg* for 思. Karlgren, *The Book of Odes*, 107.

Xī 羲

n.; “slave” | *– n.*; “female slave”

|
| *– interr. pron.*; “what/where/how/why”

OBI	BI	SS
		

【*hú jī qiè* 胡雞切】OC: *[g]ʰe; MC: *hej*

Early Meaning: *n.*; “slave”

Luó Zhènyù disputes Xǔ Shèn’s reading and proposes an early meaning of a criminal slave on the strength of the oracle-bone inscription, which pictures a person held by a rope with a hand: .¹ Jì Xūshēng does not have an entry for this.

Xǔ Shèn writes, “*Xī* 羲 refers to a large abdomen. It is derived from *dà* (大, to be large); *xì* 縣 (縛, to bind) in abbreviated form is sound-bearing. In large seal script, 縣 is the graph for *xì* 系 (to bind)” 縣 (羲), 大腹也。从大, 縣省聲。縣, 篆文系字。Xǔ Shèn’s explanation is considered far-fetched by modern scholars. Xú Hào notes that in ancient times, this graph was used to refer to a female servant and was then borrowed to mean *hé* 何 (what/where/how/why).²

The following is an example of its use as “slave”:

羲三百人。(《周禮·天官冢宰》)

Xī sān bǎi rén. (Zhōu lǐ, “Tiānguān zhōngzài”)

Slaves, three hundred. (“Minister of State,” *Rites of Zhōu*)

Extended Meaning

1 *n.*; *subject*; “female slave”

凡羲隸聚而出入者, 則司牧之, 戮其犯禁者。(《周禮·秋官司寇·禁暴氏》)

Fán xī lì jù ér chū rù zhě, zé sī mù zhī, lù qí fàn jìn zhě. (*Zhōu lǐ*, “*Qīuguān sīkòu*,” “*Jìn bào shí*”)

Whenever female slaves and male slaves moved around in groups, [the keeper of the peace] had to supervise them closely and would execute any who violated the rules. (“Keeper of the Peace,” in “Minister of Justice in the Ministry of Rites,” *Rites of Zhōu*)

Borrowed Meanings

**Xī* 奚 had the same initial as *hé* 曷 in ancient times and was thus used for *hé* 曷. Baxter-Sagart reconstructs the Old Chinese for *hé* 曷 as *[g]ˤat, whereas *xī* 奚 is *[g]ˤe.

1. *interr. pron.*; object preceding its verb, appears as a subject; never used of people

- referring to things; “what”

「許子冠乎？」曰：「冠。」曰：「奚冠？」曰：「冠素。」(《孟子·滕文公上》)

“Xǔzǐ guàn hū?” *Yuē*, “Guàn.” *Yuē*, “*Xī guàn?*” *Yuē*, “Guàn sù.” (*Mèngzǐ*, “Téng Wéngōng shàng”)

[Mencius asked,] “Does Xǔzǐ wear a hat?” [Chén Xiàng 陳相] said, “He does wear a hat.” Mencius said, “What hat does he wear?” Chén said, “He wears a plain silk hat.” (“Téng Wéngōng, First Section,” *Mencius*)

- referring to places; “where”

斥鷃笑之曰：「彼且奚適也？我騰躍而上，不過數仞而下，翱翔蓬蒿之間，此亦飛之至也。而彼且奚適也？」(《莊子·逍遙遊》)

Chīyàn xiào zhī *yuē*, “Bǐ qiè xī shì yě? Wǒ téng yuè ér shàng, bù guò shù rèn ér xià, aó xiáng péng hāo zhī jiān, cǐ yì fēi zhī zhì yě. Ér bǐ qiè xī shì yě?” (*Zhuāngzǐ*, “Xiāoyáo yóu”)

A small quail laughed at it (the large bird), saying, “Where are you about to head off to? I jump up and come down no further than a few *rèn*. I fly and circle around tumbleweed and wormwood. This is the utmost pleasure of flying. And where are you heading?” (“Roaming Free,” *Zhuāngzǐ*)

* *Rèn* 仞 is a measure of length, about seven or eight feet.³

- referring to method; “how”

〔孟子〕曰：「……今也制民之產，仰不足以事父母，俯不足以畜妻子，樂歲終身苦，凶年不免於死亡。此惟救死而恐不贍，奚暇治禮義哉？……」(《孟子·梁惠王上》)

[*Mèngzǐ*] *yuē*, “. . . *Jīn yě zhì mǐn zhī chǎn*, *yǎng bù zú yǐ shì fù mǔ*, *fǔ bù zú yǐ xù qī zǐ*, *lè suì zhōng shēn kǔ*, *xiōng nián bù miǎn yú sǐ wáng*.

Cǐ wéi jiù sǐ ér kǒng bù shàn, xī xiá zhì lǐ yì zāi? . . .” (*Mèngzǐ*, “Liáng Huìwáng shàng”)

[Mencius] said, “. . . Now the rulers regulate the livelihood of their people, to the point that the people do not have enough to serve their parents above, or to provide for their wives and children below. Even in years of good harvest, they suffer hardship all their lives; in time of famine, they cannot evade death. In this situation, they do not even have enough to save themselves from death; how would they have the leisure to pay attention to ritual propriety and righteousness? . . .” (“King Huì of Liáng, First Section,” *Mencius*)

- referring to the cause; “why”

楚人和氏得玉璞楚山中，奉而獻之厲王。厲王使玉人相之，玉人曰：「石也。」王以和為誑，而刖其左足。及厲王薨，武王即位，和又奉其璞而獻之武王。武王使玉人相之，又曰：「石也。」王又以和為誑，而刖其右足。武王薨，文王即位，和乃抱其璞而哭於楚山之下，三日三夜，泣盡而繼之以血。王聞之，使人問其故，曰：「天下之刖者多矣，子奚哭之悲也？」和曰：「吾非悲刖也，悲夫寶玉而題之以石，貞士而名之以誑，此吾所以悲也。」王乃使玉人理其璞而得寶焉，遂命曰「和氏之璧」。(*《韓非子·和氏》*)

*Chǔ rén Hé shì dé yù pú Chǔ shān zhōng, fèng ér xiàn zhī Lìwáng. Lìwáng shǐ yù rén xiàng zhī, yù rén yuē, “Shí yě.” Wáng yǐ Hé wéi kuáng, ér yuè qí zuō zú. Jí Lìwáng hōng, Wǔwáng jí wèi, Hé yòu fèng qí pú ér xiàn zhī Wǔwáng. Wǔwáng shǐ yù rén xiàng zhī, yòu yuē, “Shí yě.” Wáng yòu yǐ Hé wéi kuáng, ér yuè qí yòu zú. Wǔwáng hōng, Wénwáng jí wèi, Hé nǎi bào qí pú ér kū yú Chǔ shān zhī xià, sān rì sān yè, qì jìn ér jí zhī yǐ xuè. Wáng wén zhī, shǐ rén wèn qí gù, yuē, “Tiānxià zhī yuè zhě duō yǐ, zǐ xī kū zhī bēi yě?” Hé yuē, “Wú fēi bēi yuè yě, bēi fú bǎo yù ér tí zhī yǐ shí, zhēn shì ér míng zhī yǐ kuáng, cǐ wú suō yǐ bēi yě.” Wáng nǎi shǐ yù rén lǐ qí pú ér dé bǎo yān, suì mìng yuē “Hé shì zhī bì.” (*Hánfēizǐ*, “Hé shì”)*

There was a Mr. Hé who obtained a matrix of raw unworked jade in the mountains of Chǔ. Holding it up with two hands, he presented it to King Lì. King Lì ordered a jade worker to examine it. The jade worker said, “It is just a stone.” The king thought that Hé was trying to deceive him, and therefore had his left foot cut off in punishment. King Lì died and King Wǔ came to the throne, Hé again held up the jade matrix with both hands and presented it to King Wǔ. King Wǔ ordered a jade worker to examine it. Again, the jade worker said, “It is just a stone.” Again, the king thought that Hé was trying to deceive him, and therefore had his right foot cut off in punishment. King Wǔ died and King Wén came to the throne. Hé thereupon clasped the jade matrix to his breast and went to the foot of the Chǔ Mountains, where he wept for three days and three nights. When his tears were exhausted, he wept blood thereafter. The

king heard about this, and sent someone to inquire the reason, saying, “There are many under Heaven whose feet have been cut off in punishment. Why are you crying about this with such intense sorrow?” Hé replied, “I do not grieve because my feet have been cut off in punishment. I grieve because a precious jewel is dubbed a mere stone, and a man of integrity is called a deceiver. This is the reason that I feel grief.” The king thereupon ordered a jade worker to cut and polish the matrix, and then he obtained a precious jewel. Accordingly it was named “the jade of Mr. Hé.” (“Mr. Hé,” *Hánfēizī*)

Notes

- 1 Luó Zhènyù, *Zēngding Yīnxū shūqì kǎoshì* 增訂殷虛書契考釋 (Tokyo: Tōhōgakkai, 1927), 23b.
- 2 *SWJZZJ*, juàn 10.2, 33a.
- 3 *SDCMC*, 386.

XÌN 信

*adj.; “to be trustworthy” | – *adj.*; “to be faithful to one’s word”*

*| – *adv.*; “indeed”*

*| – *vb.*; “to believe in”*

*| – *n.*; “token”*

*| – *vb.*; the same as *shēn* 伸 (to stretch) 【*shēn*】*

BI		CM	QM	TAS		SS
𠩺	𠩺	𠩺	𠩺	𠩺	𠩺	𠩺

【*xī jìn qiè* 息晉切】OC: *s-ni[ŋ]-s; MC: *sinH*

Early Meaning: *adj.*; “to be trustworthy”

Jǐ Xùshēng agrees with Xǔ Shèn that “to be trustworthy” is the graph’s early meaning.¹

Xǔ Shèn writes, “*Xìn* 信 (𠩺) means to be trustworthy. It is derived from *rén* 人 (人, person) and *yán* 言 (言, speech). It is an associative compound. 𠩺 is the abbreviated form of the ancient graph for *xìn* 信. 𠩺 is the ancient graph for *xìn* 信, 誠也。从人, 从言, 會意。𠩺, 古文信省。𠩺, 古文信。Xú Hào notes that the original text of the *Shuō wén jiě zì* has “*gǔ wén cóng yán shēng*” 古文从言省 (the ancient graph 𠩺 is derived from an abbreviation of *yán* 言) and changes this to “*gǔ wén xìn shēng*” 古文信省 (an abbreviation of the ancient graph for *xin* 信). Duàn Yúcái observes that “there are no words produced by humans that are not trustworthy” 人言, 則無不信者, and agrees that this graph belongs in the category of “associative compounds.” His explanation is heavily influenced by traditional Confucian culture, which places human beings, who are by nature good, on a par with heaven and earth so that anyone worthy of being called human is by definition trustworthy (trustworthiness being one of the five uniquely human virtues). Xú Hào disagrees with Duàn’s interpretation. Citing official histories, he argues that *xìn* refers to an emissary. Because the messages are being delivered

by human agents, the graph is composed of *rén* 人 (human) and *yán* 言 (speech); once the messages have been delivered, the truth is known, hence the extended meaning “to be trustworthy.” Moreover, the documents carried by the emissary are also called *xin* 信 (letters/messages), the other meaning of this graph.²

Modern scholars propose that *xìn* is not an “associative compound” but belongs in the category of “sound and form”: *Yán* is semantic and *rén* is phonophoric.³ Jī Xūshēng notes that the various graphs for *xin* all contain the graph for *yán* 言 to indicate the meaning, with another graph to indicate the sound. Different graphs were used for the sound, including *shēn* 身 (body), *qiān* 千 (thousand), and *rén* 人 (person), as in 言, 訊, and 信.⁴ In Baxter-Sagart’s reconstructions, the Old Chinese for these three is, respectively, **ŋi*[ŋ], **s.ŋi*[ŋ], and **ni*[ŋ], respectively, similar to the Old Chinese for *xìn* 信, which is **s-ni*[ŋ]-s. As the component *rén* 人 may be replaced by *shēn* 身 or *qiān* 千, *rén* 人 is considered phonophoric, not semantic.

The following is an example:

信言不美,美言不信。(《老子·德經八十一章》)

Xìn yán bù měi, měi yán bù xìn. (*Lǎozǐ*, “Dé jīng bāshíyī zhāng”)

Words that are trustworthy are not pretty; words that are pretty are not trustworthy. (“Classic of the Power,” Chapter Eighty-One, *Lǎozǐ*)

Měi yán bù xìn 美言不信 (pretty words are not trustworthy) is now an idiom.

It can also appear as a noun:

大道之行也,天下為公,選賢與能,講信脩睦。(《禮記·禮運》)

Dà dào zhī xíng yě, tiānxià wéi gōng, xuǎn xián yǔ néng, jiǎng xìn xiū mù. (*Lǐ jì*, “*Lǐ yùn*

The implementation of the great Way is to make all under Heaven belong to the public domain; to select the virtuous and the capable for governance, and to give weight to trustworthiness and cultivate harmony. (“The Function of Rites,” *Records of Rites*)

Tiānxià wéi gōng 天下為公 (all under Heaven belongs to the public domain) is now an idiom, meaning “the whole world is one community.”

Extended Meanings

1 *adj.; predicate*; “to be faithful to one’s word”

孟子曰:「大人者,言不必信,行不必果,惟義所在。」(《孟子·離婁下》)

Mèngzǐ yuē, “*Dà rén zhě, yán bù bì xìn, xíng bù bì guō, wéi yì suǒ zài.*” (*Mèngzǐ*, “*Lí Lóu xià*”)

Mencius said, “As for a great man, in speaking, he is not necessarily faithful to his words; in practice, he does not necessarily complete his actions. It is only righteousness that he depends on.” (“*Lí Lóu*, Second Section,” *Mencius*)

2 *adv.; adverbial modifier*; “indeed”

孟子曰：「水信無分於東西，無分於上下乎？人性之善也，猶水之就下也。人無有不善，水無有不下。……」（《孟子·告子上》）

Mèngzǐ yuē, “*Shuǐ xìn wú fēn yú dōng xī, wú fēn yú shàng xià hū? Rén xìng zhī shàn yě, yóu shuǐ zhī jiù xià yě. Rén wú yǒu bù shàn, shuǐ wú yǒu bù xià. . . .*” (*Mèngzǐ*, “*Gàozi shàng*”)

Mencius said, “Does water indeed have no preference for east or west, no preference for going up or down? The goodness of human nature is the same as water flowing downward. There is no one who is not good, there is no water that does not flow downward. . . .” (“*Gàozi*, First Section,” *Mencius*)

3 *vb.; “to believe in”*

宰予晝寢。子曰：「朽木不可雕也，糞土之牆不可杗也，於予與何誅。」子曰：「始吾於人也，聽其言而信其行；今吾於人也，聽其言而觀其行。於予與改是。」（《論語·公冶長》）

Zǎi Yú zhòu qǐn. Zǐ yuē, “*Xiǔ mù bù kě diāo yě, fèn tǔ zhī qiáng bù kě wū yě, yú Yú yú hé zhū.*” *Zǐ yuē*, “*Shǐ wú yú rén yě, tīng qí yán ér xìn qí xíng; jīn wú yú rén yě, tīng qí yán ér guān qí xíng. Yú Yú yú gǎi shì.*” (*Lún yǔ*, “*Gōngyě Cháng*”)

Zǎi Yú rested in bed during the day. The Master said, “Rotten wood cannot be carved; a wall made of dung cannot be plastered. As for Yú, what is the use of berating him?” The Master said, “At first, when I dealt with people, I listened to their words and believed in their actions (i.e., that they would suit their actions to their words); now when I deal with people, I listen to their words and observe their actions. It is because of Yú that I have changed.” (“*Gōngyě Cháng*,” *Analects*)

Xiǔ mù bù kě diāo 朽木不可雕 (rotten wood cannot be carved), *fèn tǔ zhī qiáng bù kě wū* 粪土之牆不可杗 (a wall made of dung cannot be plastered), and *xiǔ mù fèn tǔ* 朽木糞土 (rotten wood and a dung wall) have become idioms describing people whose natural endowments are so poor that they cannot be improved by education.

4 *n.; object*; “token”

荊卿曰：「微太子言，臣願得謁之。今行而無信，則秦未可親也。夫今樊將軍，秦王購之金千斤，邑萬家。誠能得樊將軍首，與燕督亢之地圖獻秦王，

秦王必說見臣，臣乃得有以報太子。」（《戰國策·燕策·燕太子丹質於秦亡歸》）

Jīng Qīng yuē, “Wéi Tàizǐ yán, chén yuàn dé yè zhī. Jīn xíng ér wú xìn, zé Qín wèi kě qīn yě. Fú jīn Fán Jiāngjūn, Qínwáng gòu zhī jīn qiān jīn, yì wàn jiā. Chéng néng dé Fán Jiāngjūn shǒu, yǔ Yān Dūkàng zhī dì tú xiàn Qínwáng, Qínwáng bì yuè jiàn chén, chén nǎi dé yǒu yǐ bào Tàizǐ.” (Zhàn guò cè, “Yān cè,” “Yān Tàizǐ Dān zhì yú Qín wáng guī”)

Jīng Qīng (i.e., Jīng Kē, the would-be assassin of the king of Qín) said, “Even without words from you, the heir, I, your subject, would like to seek an audience with him (the king of Qín). If I now set off without a token, I will never be able to approach the king of Qín. Now, as for the head of General Fàn, the king of Qín offers a reward of ten thousand *jīn* in gold and land with ten thousand households. If I can indeed obtain General Fàn’s head and a map of the region of Dūkàng in Yān to present to the king of Qín, the king of Qín would surely be pleased to receive me. Thereupon I, your subject, will get to repay you, the heir (by assassinating the king).” (“Dān, the heir of Yān, fled home from captivity in Qín,” in “Strategies of Yān,” *Strategies of Warring States*)

Borrowed Meaning

- 1 *vb.*; the same as *shēn* 伸 (to stretch); Baxter-Sagart’s reconstruction for *shēn* in Old Chinese is **l̥i[n]*, which is fairly close to Old Chinese **s-ni[n]-s* for *xìn* 信. **【shēn】**

尺蠖之屈，以求信也；龍蛇之蟄，以存身也。（《易·繫辭下》）

Chǐ huò zhī qū, yǐ qiú shēn yě; lóng shé zhī zhé, yǐ cún shēn yě. (Yì, “Xì cí xià”)

The arching of the inchworm is so in order to enable it to stretch; the hibernation of dragons and snakes is so in order to enable them to preserve themselves.

（“Commentary on the Appended Phrases, Second Section,” *Changes*）

The idiom *néng qū néng shēn* 能屈能伸 (to be able to bend and straighten) comes from this passage. It means to be capable of adapting.

Notes

- 1 *SWXZ*, 161–2.
- 2 *SWJZZJ*, *juàn* 3.1, 25b–26a.
- 3 Qiu Xigui, *Chinese Writing*, trans. Gilbert L. Mattos and Jerry Norman (Berkeley: Society for the Study of Early China and the Institute of East Asian Studies, University of California, Berkeley, 2000), 155.
- 4 *SWXZ*, 161–2.

YĀN 焉

n.; name of a yellow bird

- | – *pron.* ; the same as *zhī* 之
- | – *interr. pron.*; “whom/what/where”
- | – *interr. adv.*; the same as *hé* 烦 (why/how)
- | – *resumptive pron.*; referring to the object that precedes its verb
- | – *conj.*; to show a result
- | – *part.*; used to indicate a pause at the end of a clause for emphasis
- | – *modal part.*; used to end a descriptive sentence or with other final modal particles to create a restrictive sentence
- | – *modal part.*; used with interrogative pron. to create a normal or rhetorical question
- | – a phonetic fusion of *yú shì* 于是 or *yú zhī* 於之
- | – suffix for *adj.* or *adv.* .

BI	QM	SS
焉	焉	焉

【*yǒu gān qiè* 有乾切】OC: *?a[n]; MC: 'jen

Early Meaning: *n.; name of a yellow bird*

Ji Xūshēng agrees with Xǔ Shèn that the graph may be a zodiograph for a bird but notes that, since it is unclear what this bird looked like, it is difficult to specify how the graph resembles the bird.¹

Xǔ Shèn writes, “*Yān* 焉 (焉) refers to the *yān*-bird. It is yellow, and comes from the Yangtze River and the Huái River regions. The graph is a zodiograph” 焉 (焉), 焉鳥, 黃色, 出於江淮。象形. Duàn Yúcái and Xú Hào both comment that it is unclear what kind of bird this is. The word has been borrowed as a function word.² The *Qín jīng* 禽經 (Classic of birds) identifies it as a yellow phoenix, but there is no extant literature to support this reading.

Borrowed Meanings

- 1 *pron.; object; the same as zhī* 之

子曰：「眾惡之，必察焉；眾好之，必察焉。」（《論語·衛靈公》）

Zǐ yuē, “Zhòng wù zhī, bì chá yān; zhòng hào zhī, bì chá yān.” (Lún yǔ, “Wèi Línggōng”)

The Master said, “When the multitude detests him, you must examine him; when the multitude is fond of him, you must examine him.” (“Wèi Línggōng,” *Analects*)

* *Yān* 焉 as a pronoun may be used as an object in the third person, singular or plural, (him/her/it/them). Since men were more active in the public domain, the referent here, as in most ancient Chinese texts, is “him.” Confucius is advising against judging others by hearsay.³ In another passage, the Master observes that only the benevolent are truly able to like or dislike someone, presumably because they are impartial in their judgment.

子張問仁於孔子。孔子曰：「能行五者於天下為仁矣。」請問之。曰：「恭、寬、信、敏、惠。恭則不侮，寬則得眾，信則人任焉，敏則有功，惠則足以使人。」（《論語·陽貨》）

Zǐzhāng wèn rén yú Kǒngzǐ. Kǒngzǐ yuē, “Néng xíng wǔ zhě yú tiānxià wéi rén yǐ.” Qǐng wèn zhī. Yuē, “Gōng, kuān, xìn, mǐn, huì. Gōng zé bù wǔ, kuān zé dé zhòng, xìn zé rén rèn yān, mǐn zé yǒu gōng, huì zé zú yǐ shǐ rén.” (Lún yǔ, “Yáng Huò”)

Zǐzhāng asked Confucius about benevolence. Confucius said, “Being able to implement five things toward all under Heaven is called benevolence.” Zǐzhāng inquired about them (i.e., the details). Confucius said, “Reverence, tolerance, trustworthiness, intelligence, and graciousness. Being reverent, one will not offend. Being tolerant, one will obtain the support of the multitude. Being trustworthy, people will appoint him. Being intelligent, one will win merit. Being gracious, one will be able to command people.” (“Yáng Huò,” *Analects*)

* *Yān* is translated here as “him” because only men were employed in government.

- 2 *interr. pron.; object preceding its verb in a question*

- “whom”

莊公病將死，以病召季子，季子至而授之以國政，曰：「寡人即不起此病，吾將焉致乎魯國？」季子曰：「般也存，君何憂焉？」（《春秋公羊傳·莊公三十二年》）

Zhuānggōng bìng jiāng sǐ, yǐ bìng zhào jì zǐ, jì zǐ zhì ér shòu zhī yǐ guó zhèng, yuē, “Guārén jí bù qí cǐ bìng, wú jiāng yān zhì hū Lǔ guó?” Jì zǐ yuē, “Bān yě cún, jūn hé yōu yān?” (Chūnqiū Gōngyáng zhuàn, “Zhuānggōng sānshíèr nián”)

Duke Zhuāng was sick and about to die. He summoned his youngest brother [Gōngzǐ Yǒu 公子友]. The youngest brother came, and Duke

Zhuāng granted him authority over the state, saying, “If I, this deficient one, do not recover from this affliction, to whom can I offer the Lǔ state?” The youngest brother said, “Your son Bān is living; what is there for my lord to worry about? (“Duke Zhuāng 32,” *Gōngyáng Commentary*)

* The *yān* 焉 in *jūn hé yōu yān* 君何憂焉 (what is there for my lord to worry about) is a modal particle used with the interrogative pronoun *hé* 何 to create a rhetorical question. See Extended Meanings (7).

- “what”

子張曰：「何謂五美？」子曰：「君子惠而不費，勞而不怨，欲而不貪，泰而不驕，威而不猛。」子張曰：「何謂惠而不費？」子曰：「因民之所利而利之，斯不亦惠而不費乎？擇可勞而勞之，又誰怨？欲仁而得仁，又焉貪？君子無眾寡，無小大，無敢慢，斯不亦泰而不驕乎？君子正其衣冠，尊其瞻視，儼然人望而畏之，斯不亦威而不猛乎？」（《論語·堯曰》）

Zǐzhāng *yuē*, “*Hé wèi wǔ měi?*” *Zǐ* *yuē*, “*Jūn zǐ huì ér bù fèi, láo ér bù yuàn, yù ér bù tān, tài ér bù jiāo, wēi ér bù mēng.*” *Zǐzhāng* *yuē*, “*Hé wèi huì ér bù fèi?*” *Zǐ* *yuē*, “*Yīn mǐn zhī suǒ lì ér lì zhī, sī bù yì huì ér bù fèi hū? Zé kě láo ér láo zhī, yòu shuí yuàn? Yù rén ér dé rén, yòu yān tān? Jūn zǐ wú zhòng guǎ, wú xiǎo dà, wú gǎn mǎn, sī bù yì tài ér bù jiāo hū? Jūn zǐ zhèng qí yī guān, zūn qí zhānshí, yǎnrán rén wàng ér wèi zhī, sī bù yì wēi ér bù mēng hū?*” (*Lún yǔ*, “*Yáo* *yuē*”)

Zǐzhāng asked, “What are the five commendable things?” The Master said, “A noble man brings material benefits to others without incurring great expenditure, lays tasks on others without giving them cause to complain, desires without being covetous, and is majestic but not arrogant, awe-inspiring but not fierce.” *Zǐzhāng* asked, “What is bringing material benefits to others without incurring great expenditure?” The Master said, “If he follows what the people naturally draw profit from to profit them, isn’t this bringing material benefits to others without incurring great expenditure? If he chooses tasks that can be done and lays the tasks on them (i.e., people), who would complain? If he desires benevolence and gets benevolence, what is left to covet? A noble man dare not be boastful, be it before a multitude or a few, be it before the more influential or the less influential. Isn’t this to be majestic but not arrogant? A noble man straightens his upper garment and cap, makes his appearance estimable, so solemn that people gaze from afar and revere him. Isn’t this to be awe-inspiring but not fierce?” (“*Yáo* said,” *Analects*)

* The same passage can also be seen under the entry for *sī* 斯.

- “where”

柳下惠為士師，三黜。人曰：「子未可以去乎？」曰：「直道而事人，焉往而不三黜？枉道而事人，何必去父母之邦。」（《論語·微子》）

Liǔ Xiàihuì *wéi shì shī*, *sān chù*. *Rén* *yuē*, “*Zǐ wèi kěyǐ qù hū?*” *Yuē*, “*Zhí dào ér shì rén, yān wǎng ér bù sān chù? Wǎng dào ér shì rén, hé bì qù fù mǔ zhī bāng.*” (*Lún yǔ*, “*Wēizǐ*”)

Liǔ Xiāihuì served as Chief Judge and was removed from his duties many times (but still did not depart from Lǔ). Someone said, “Is it that you cannot leave [Lǔ]?” He responded, “Serving people by being straight, where will I not be removed from my duties many times? If I serve people by being crooked, what need is there for me to leave the state where my father and mother were born?” (“Wēizi,” *Analects*)

*In literary Chinese, *sān* 三 (three) is nearly always used to mean “many/numerous.”⁴

Fù mǔ zhī bāng 父母之邦 (the state where my father and mother were born) is now an idiom used to refer to one’s home country.

3 *interr. adv.; adverbial modifier; the same as hé 曰 (why/how)*

- “why”

子之武城，聞弦歌之聲。夫子莞爾而笑，曰：「割雞焉用牛刀？」子游對曰：「昔者偃也聞諸夫子曰：『君子學道則愛人，小人學道則易使也。』」子曰：「二三子！偃之言是也。前言戲之耳。」(《論語·陽貨》)

Zǐ zhī Wǔchéng, wén xián gē zhī shēng. Fūzǐ wǎn'ér ér xiào, yuē, “Gē jī yān yòng niú dāo?” Zīyóu duì yuē, “Xī zhě Yān yě wén zhū Fūzǐ yuē, ‘Jūnzi xué dào zé ài rén, xiǎorén xué dào zé yì shǐ yě.’ Zǐ yuē, ‘Èr sān zǐ! Yān zhī yán shì yě. Qián yán xì zhī ér.’ (Lún yǔ, “Yáng Huò”)

The Master went to Wǔchéng. He heard commoners singing to the accompaniment of stringed instruments. The Master broke into a smile and said, “Why use an ox cleaver to carve a chicken?” Zīyóu responded, “Previously I (Yān is Zīyóu’s personal name) heard this from you, Master: ‘When a noble man learns the Way, he will love others; when a petty man learns the Way, he will be easy to command.’” The Master said, “My two or three disciples, Yān’s words are correct. My previous remark was only to poke fun at him.” (“Yáng Huò,” *Analects*)

Zīyóu, Confucius’s disciple, was the district magistrate of Wǔchéng. Singing, accompanied by instruments, was often used as a means of governance that civilizes the people and harmonizes social relations. Zīyóu had taught his people more than what was needed. In a small district, the most important thing would have been to ensure that the people had all their daily necessities and were duly respectful, rather than teaching them music, the method of rule modeled by the sages.⁵ However, this shows that Zīyóu believed in the transforming power of music and was dedicated to creating a harmonious society. This is why Confucius ultimately expressed approval. *Gē jī yān yòng niú dāo* 割雞焉用牛刀 (Why use an ox cleaver to carve a chicken?) is now an idiom in modern Chinese, meaning “Why use a sledgehammer to kill a fly?”

- “how”

子曰：「後生可畏，焉知來者之不如今也？四十、五十而無聞焉，斯亦不足畏也已。」（《論語·子罕》）

Zǐ yuē, “Hòu shēng kě wèi, yān zhī lái zhě zhī bù rú jīn yě? Sìshí, wǔshí ér wú wén yān, sī yì bù zú wèi yě yǐ.” (Lín yǔ, “Zǐ hǎn”)

The Master said, “Those born later are to be feared. How do you know they will not equal the people of today? When a person reaches forty and fifty years of age without making his name heard, then he is no one to be feared.” (“Zǐ hǎn,” *Analects*)

* The Confucian philosopher Wáng Yángmíng 王陽明 (1472–1528) suggests that wú wén 無聞 means “not hearing the Way.” Chéng Shùdé disputes this.⁶

* The yān 焉 in sìshí, wǔshí ér wú wén yān 四十、五十而無聞焉 (when a person reaches forty or fifty years of age without making their name heard) is a modal particle used to end a descriptive sentence. See Extended Meanings (6).

Hòu shēng kě wèi 後生可畏 (literally, those born later are to be feared) is an idiom in modern Chinese, meaning that the younger generation will surpass us in time and so should be treated with respect.

孟子曰：「存乎人者，莫良於眸子。眸子不能掩其惡。胸中正，則眸子瞭焉；胸中不正，則眸子眊焉。聽其言也，觀其眸子，人焉瘦哉？」（《孟子·離婁上》）

Mèngzǐ yuē, “Cún hū rén zhě, mò liáng yú móuzǐ. Móuzǐ bù néng yān qí è. Xiōng zhōng zhèng, zé móuzǐ liǎo yān; Xiōng zhōng bù zhèng, zé móuzǐ mào yān. Tīng qí yán yě, guān qí móuzǐ, rén yān sōu zāi?” (Mèngzǐ, “Lí Lóu shàng”)

Mencius said, “To observe people, nothing is better than observing their eyes. Eyes cannot conceal someone’s evil. If within the breast there are upright principles, the eyes will be clear; if within the breast there are no upright principles, the eyes will be blurry. If you listen to the speech and observe the eyes, how can a person hide what is truly within?” (“Lí Lóu, First Section,” *Mencius*)

* The yān 焉 in zé móuzǐ liǎo yān 則眸子瞭焉 (the eyes will be clear) and zé móuzǐ mào yān 則眸子眊焉 (the eyes will be blurry) is a modal particle used to end a descriptive sentence. See Extended Meanings (6). It should not be treated as a suffix (Extended Meanings [9]) because both *liǎo* 瞭 (to be clear) and *mào* 眇 (to be blurry) are adjectives that can stand alone as a predicate in a clause.

- 4 *resumptive pron.*; referring to the object that precedes its verb;⁷ may be roughly translated as “it is/was . . . that”

- referring to the object that precedes its transitive verb

鄭伯如周，始朝桓王也。王不禮焉。周桓公言於王曰：「我周之東遷，晉、鄭焉依。善鄭以勸來者，猶懼不既，況不禮焉？鄭不來矣。」（《左傳·隱公六年》）

Zhèngbó rú Zhōu, shǐ cháo Huánwáng yē. Wáng bù lǐ yān. Zhōu Huángōng yán yú Wáng yuē, “Wǒ Zhōu zhī dōng qiān, Jin, Zhèng yān yī. Shàn Zhèng yǐ quàn lái zhě, yóu jù bù jì, kuàng bù lǐ yān? Zhèng bù lái yǐ.” (Zuǒ zhuàn, “Yǐngōng liù nián”)

The Earl of Zhèng paid tribute to Zhōu, and it was the first time that he had an audience with King Huán. The king did not receive him with due courtesy. Duke Huán of Zhōu advised the king, “When our Zhōu kingdom moved its capital to the east, it was Jin and Zhèng that we relied upon. Even if we treat the Earl of Zhèng well so as to encourage others to pay tribute, we still worry that this is not enough – let alone treating him without courtesy! Now Zhèng will not pledge allegiance to Zhōu anymore.” (Duke Yǐn 6, Zuǒ Tradition)

* Instead of *yī Jìn Zhèng* 依晉鄭 (“rely upon Jìn and Zhèng”), which would be the normal word order, the passage has *Jìn, Zhèng yān yī* 晉、鄭焉依 (literally, “Jìn and Zhèng; those we rely upon”), putting the object “Jìn and Zhèng” before the verb “to rely on” and interposing *yān* to show resumption.

The *yān* 焉 in *wáng bù lǐ yān* 王不禮焉 (The king did not receive him with due courtesy) and *kuàng bù lǐ yān* 况不禮焉 (let alone treating him without courtesy) is used as an object, the same as *zhī* 之 (him). See Extended Meanings (1).

- referring to the object that precedes an intransitive verb

申胥釋劍而對曰：「昔吾先王世有輔弼之臣，以能遂疑計惡，以不陷于大難。今王播棄黎老，而孩童焉比謀，曰：『余令而不違。』……」（《國語·吳語》）

Shēn Xū shì jiàn ér duì yuē, “Xī wú xiān wáng shì yǒu fǔ bì zhī chén, yǐ néng suì yí jí è, yǐ bù xiān yú dà nàn. Jīn wáng bō qì lí lǎo, ér hái tóng yān bì móu, yuē, ‘Yú lìng ér bù wéi.’ . . .” (Guó yǔ, “Wú yǔ”)

Shēn Xū unsheathed his sword and answered [the king of Wú], saying, “In the past our former kings had subjects who assisted them to make decisions on doubtful issues and make plans to anticipate evil consequences; this is the reason Wú did not fall into great disaster. Now My King forsakes your experienced subjects, and it is with [men who are no different from] infants and boys that My King associates and strategizes, saying, ‘These are my orders, do not defy them.’ . . .” (“Discourses of Wú,” Discourses of the States)

* *Bì* is the traditional reading for 比, meaning “to associate with.” Today, it is also pronounced *bǐ*.⁸ The word order, without inversion, would be “*bì móu yú hái tóng*” 比謀於孩童 (to associate and strategize with [men who are no different from] infants and boys). Since *bì móu* 比謀 is an intransitive verb, the object to which this action is directed should be introduced by the preposition *yú* 於 (with). In this use of *yān*, however, the object of the preposition, *hái tóng* 孩童 (infants and boys), is put in front of the verb *bì móu* 比謀 (to associate and strategize with) and then the preposition is elided.

1 *conj.*; to show a result; “then”

以桀詐堯，譬之：若以卵投石，以指撓沸；若赴水火，入焉焦沒耳。（《荀子·議兵》）

Yǐ Jié zhà Yáo, pì zhī: Ruò yǐ luǎn tóu shí, yǐ zhǐ náo fèi; ruò fù shuǐ huǒ, rù yān jiāo mò ēr. (Xúnzǐ, “Yì bīng”)

To use the method of Jié to deceive Yáo may be compared to this: It would be like taking an egg to throw at a stone or using the fingers to stir boiling water; it would be like heading into water or fire; one enters and then is burned or drowned. (“On War,” Xínzǐ)

Yǐ luǎn tóu shí 以卵投石 (to throw an egg at a rock) is an idiom in modern Chinese, meaning “to attempt the impossible” and likely bring on disaster by overreaching oneself. It is also written as *yǐ luǎn jī shí* 以卵擊石 (to strike a rock with an egg).

2 *part.*; to indicate a pause at the end of a clause for emphasis; often appears in more than one clause

子路使子羔為費宰。子曰：「賊夫人之子。」子路曰：「有民人焉，有社稷焉。何必讀書，然後為學？」子曰：「是故惡夫佞者。」(《論語·先進》)

Zǐlù shǐ Zǐgāo wéi Bì zǎi. Zǐ yuē, “Zéi fú rén zhī zǐ.” Zǐlù yuē, “Yǒu mǐn rén yān, yǒu shè jì yān. Hé bì dù shū, rán hòu wéi xué?” Zǐ yuē, “Shì gù wù fú nìng zhě.” (Lún yǔ, “Xiān jìn”)

Zǐlù made Zǐgāo District Magistrate of Bì county. The Master said, “You are ruining another man’s son.” Zǐlù said, “There are commoners to be his people; there are altars to the gods of soil and of millet. Why must it be that one reads books and only then learns?” The Master said, “This is why I detest those who are glib.” (“Xiān jìn,” Analects)

3 *modal part.*

- used alone to end a descriptive sentence

子貢曰：「君子之過也，如日月之食焉：過也，人皆見之；更也，人皆仰之。」（《論語·子張》）

Zǐgōng yuē, “Jūn zǐ zhī guò yě, rú rì yuè zhī shí yān: Guò yě, rén jiē jiàn zhī; Gēng yě, rén jiē yǎng zhī.” (Lún yǔ, “Zǐzhāng”)

Zǐgōng said, “The error of a noble man is like the eclipse of the sun or the moon: when he errs, everyone sees it; when he reforms, everyone looks up to him.” (“Zǐzhāng,” *Analects*)

- used with other final modal particles, such as éryǐyǐ 而已矣 (that's all there is to it) to create a restrictive sentence

子曰：「回也，其心三月不違仁，其餘則日月至焉而已矣。」（《論語·雍也》）

Zǐ yuē, “Huí yě, qí xīn sān yuè bù wéi rén, qí yú zé rì yuè zhì yān éryǐyǐ.” (Lún yǔ, “Yōng yě”)

The Master said, “As for [Yán] Huí (顏回), his mind can go three months without violating benevolence; as for the others of my disciples, they can attain benevolence once a day or once a month, and that's all there is to it.” (“Yōng yě,” *Analects*)

* Three months make a whole season. If Yán Huí could go three months without violating benevolence, he could do so the rest of the time. The Master may have mentioned three months so that his other disciples would not think it too difficult to achieve benevolence.⁹

- 4 *modal part.*; used with interrogative pronouns to create a normal question or rhetorical question. Used alone, it cannot create such sentences, and *yān* cannot be translated.

- used with hé 何 (how/what) to create a normal question

子適衛，冉有僕。子曰：「庶矣哉！」冉有曰：「既庶矣，又何加焉？」曰：「富之。」曰：「既富矣，又何加焉？」曰：「教之。」（《論語·子路》）

Zǐ shì Wèi, Rǎn Yǒu pú. Zǐ yuē, “Shù yǐ zāi!” Rǎn Yǒu yuē, “Jí shù yǐ, yòu hé jiā yān?” Yuē, “Fù zhī.” Yuē, “Jí fù yǐ, yòu hé jiā yān?” Yuē, “Jiāo zhī.” (Lún yǔ, “Zǐlù”)

The Master went to Wèi. Rǎn Yǒu drove the carriage. The Master said, “How numerous are the people!” Rǎn Yǒu asked, “Once the people have become numerous; what else is there to improve?” The Master replied, “Make them rich.” Rǎn Yǒu asked, “Once they are rich, what else is there to improve?” The Master replied, “Teach them.” (“Zǐlù,” *Analects*)

* *Pú* 僕 was often used to mean “coachman.” Here it means to drive a carriage.

- used with shú 孰 (who) to create a normal question

子游曰：「子夏之門人，小子當洒掃、應對、進退，則可矣，抑末也。本之則無，如之何？」子夏聞之，曰：「噫！言游過矣！君子之道，孰先

傳焉？孰後倦焉？譬諸草木，區以別矣。君子之道，焉可誣也？有始有卒者，其惟聖人乎！」（《論語·子張》）

Zǐyóu yuē, “Zǐxià zhī ménrén, xiāozǐ dāng sǎ sǎo, yìng duì, jìn tuì, zé kě yǐ, yì mò yě. Běn zhī zé wú, rú zhī hé?” Zǐxià wén zhī, yuē, “Yǐ! Yán yóu guò yǐ! Jūn zǐ zhī dào, shú xiān chuán yān? Shú hòu juàn yān? Pì zhū cǎo mù, qū yǐ bié yǐ. Jūn zǐ zhī dào, yān kě wū yě? Yǒu shǐ yǒu zú zhě, qí wéi shèng rén hū!” (Lún yǔ, “Zǐzhāng”)

Zǐyóu said, “The disciples of Zǐxià, [like] young boys, can take charge of washing and sweeping, corresponding with and responding to guests, advancing and retreating in rituals, but these are trifling matters. If it is the essential (i.e., the Way), they have none of the training. What can be done about it?” Zǐxià heard this and said, “Ah! Yán yóu (Zǐyóu) has gone too far! As for the Way of the noble man, who will inherit it first? Who will weary of it after? Compare this to plants and wood; you must sort them into different groups, [just as you must with disciples by testing them in the basics]. The Way of the noble man – how can it ever be distorted? Those who can go from beginning to end [without following a specific order] are probably sages!” (“Zǐzhāng,” *Analects*)

* Before sweeping, water would be sprinkled on the floor to prevent the dust from rising. Zǐyóu criticized Zǐxià for teaching trivial matters rather than the essentials, which were music and the rites. Zǐxià’s idea was to test the disciples in the basics, dividing them into different groups to determine who should be first to learn the essentials.¹⁰

The *yān* 焉 in *yān kě wū yě* 焉可誣也 (how can it ever be distorted) is an interrogative pronoun, meaning “how.” See Extended Meanings (2).

- used with *hé* 何 (how/what) to create a rhetorical question

甲午晦，楚晨壓晉軍而陳。軍吏患之。范匄趨進，曰：「塞井夷竈，陳於軍中，而疏行首。晉、楚唯天所授，何患焉？」文子執戈逐之，曰：「國之存亡，天也，童子何知焉？」（《左傳·成公十六年》）

Jiǎwǔ huì, Chǔ chén yā Jin jūn ér chén. Jūn lì huàn zhī. Fàn Gài qū jìn, yuē, “Sāi jǐng yí zào, chén yú jūn zhōng, ér shū háng shǒu. Jìn, Chǔ wéi tiān suǒ shòu, hé huàn yān?” Wénzǐ zhī gē zhú zhī, yuē, “Guó zhī cún wáng, tiān yě, tóngzǐ hé zhī yān?” (Zuō zhuàn, “Chénggōng shíliù nián”)

On *jiǎwǔ*, the last day of the month, in the morning, the army of Chǔ marched close to the army of Jin and drew up in battle formation. All the soldiers and officers [of Jin] were worried about the situation. Fàn Gài pressed for advancing the troops and said, “Fill up the wells and level out the cooking places, marshal the army within the encampment, and leave enough room between the columns to fight. Whether Jin or Chǔ wins the battle lies in Heaven’s will; what is there to worry about?” Wénzǐ (Fàn Gài’s father) chased him away with a lance, saying, “If the preservation or ruin of a state depends on Heaven, what do you, a boy, know about it?” (Duke Chéng 10, *Zuō Tradition*)

- 5 A phonetic fusion of the preposition *yú* 于 (in/at/to/than/from/with) and the pronoun *shì* 是 (this/these) or of *yú* 於 (in/at/to/than/from/with) and *zhī* 之 (it/him/her/them); the precise meaning depends on context.

- “in them/in it”

飲食男女，人之大欲存焉。死亡貧苦，人之大惡存焉。（《禮記·禮運》）

Yǐn shí nán nǚ, rén zhī dà yù cún yān. Sǐ wáng pín kǔ, rén zhī dà wù cún yān. (Lǐ jì, “Lǐ yùn”)

Food, drink, and pleasure between men and women – in them lie the greatest desires of people; death, loss, poverty, and sorrow – in them lie the greatest dislikes of people. (“The Function of Rites,” *Records of Rites*)

Yǐn shí nán nǚ 飲食男女 (food, drink, and pleasure between men and women) is an idiom in modern Chinese, referring to the natural desires innate in human beings. It is used as the title for the famous 1994 film *Eat Drink Man Woman*.

- “[to] there/to him”

公疾病，求醫于秦。秦伯使醫緩為之。未至，公夢疾為二豎子，曰：「彼良醫也，懼傷我，焉逃之？」其一曰：「居肓之上，膏之下，若我何？」醫至，曰：「疾不可為也，在肓之上，膏之下，攻之不可，達之不及，藥不至焉，不可為也。」公曰：「良醫也。」厚為之禮而歸之。（《左傳·成公十年》）

Gōng jí bìng, qiú yī yú Qín. Qín bó shǐ yī Huǎn wéi zhī. Wèi zhì, Gōng mèng jí wéi èr shù zǐ, yuē, “Bǐ liáng yī yě, jù shāng wǒ, yān táo zhī?” Qí yī yuē, “Jū huāng zhī shàng, gāo zhī xià, ruò wǒ hé?” Yī zhì, yuē, “Jí bù kě wéi yě, zài huāng zhī shàng, gāo zhī xià, gōng zhī bù kě, dá zhī bù jí, yào bù zhì yān, bù kě wéi yě.” Gōng yuē, “Liáng yī yě.” Hòu wéi zhī lǐ ér guī zhī. (Zuō zhuàn, “Chénggōng shí nián”)

The duke became very ill and sought a physician from Qín. The Earl of Qín sent a physician named Huǎn to perform the task. Before Huǎn arrived, the duke dreamed that his disease turned into two little boys. One said, “That is a fine physician. I am afraid that he may hurt us. Where should we flee?” The other one said, “If we stay above the diaphragm and below the tip of the heart, what can be done to us?” When the physician arrived, he said, “I can’t do anything about this disease. Its seat is above the diaphragm and below the tip of the heart. I can’t apply heat treatment to it or reach it through acupuncture. Medical treatment cannot reach there. I cannot do anything.” The duke said, “You are a fine physician.” He gave him sumptuous gifts and sent him back to Qín. (Duke Chéng 10, *Zuō Tradition*)

* The *yān* 焉 in *yān táo zhī* 焉逃之 (where [should we] flee) is an interrogative pronoun, meaning “where.” See Extended Meanings (2).

A shorter version of this passage can also be seen under the entry for *ruò* 若 . . . *hé* 何 (what can be done about/to).

冬，衛子叔、晉知武子來聘，禮也。凡諸侯即位，小國朝之，大國聘焉，以繼好、結信、謀事、補闕，禮之大者也。（《左傳·襄公元年》）

Dōng, Wèi Zǐshū, Jìn Zhī Wǔzǐ lái pìn, lǐ yě. Fán zhūhóu jí wèi, xiǎo guó cháo zhī, dà guó pìn yān, yǐ jì hǎo, jié xìn, móu shì, bǔ quē, lǐ zhī dà zhě yě. (Zuō zhuàn, “Xiānggōng yuán nián”)

That winter, Zǐshū (Gōngsūn Piào 公孫剽) of Wèi and Zhī Wǔzǐ (Xún Yīng 荀鑿) of Jin came on a diplomatic mission with gifts [for Duke Xiāng 襄 of Lǔ 魯]. This was done in accordance with ritual. Whenever a feudal lord acceded to the throne, the small states paid homage to him, and the large states sent a diplomatic mission with gifts to him so as to maintain their amicable relationship, cement their good faith, take counsel on affairs, and repair deficiencies. These are the greatest matters of ritual. (“Duke Xiāng 1,” Zuō Tradition)

* *Pìn* 聘 is often used with 於 and the name of a state, such as *pìn yú Qí* 聘於齊 (sent a diplomatic mission with gifts to Qí). *Yān* 焉 in *dà guó pìn yān* 大國聘焉 (the large states sent a diplomatic mission with gifts to him) should be understood as a phonetic fusion of *yú* 於 and *zhī* 之 (there/to it/to him).

- “than that/than this/than it”

晉靈公不君：厚斂以彫牆；從臺上彈人，而觀其辟丸也；宰夫胷熊蹯不孰，殺之，寘諸畚，使婦人載以過朝。趙盾、士季見其手，問其故，而患之。將諫，士季曰：「諫而不入，則莫之繼也。會請先，不入，則子繼之。」三進，及溜，而後視之，曰：「吾知所過矣，將改之。」稽首而對曰：「人誰無過，過而能改，善莫大焉。……」（《左傳·宣公二年》）

Jīn Línggōng bù jūn: Hòu liǎn yǐ diāo qiáng; cóng tái shàng tán rén, ér guān qí bì wǎn yé. Zāifū ér xiōng fān bù shú, shā zhī, zhì zhū běn, shǐ fùrén zài yǐ guò cháo. Zhào Dùn, Shì Jì jiàn qí shǒu, wèn qí gù, ér huàn zhī. Jiāng jiàn, Shì Jì yuē, “Jiàn ér bù rù, zé mò zhī jì yě. Huì qǐng xiān, bù rù, zé zǐ jì zhī.” Sān jìn, jí liù, érhòu shì zhī, yuē, “Wú zhī suǒ guò yǐ, jiāng gǎi zhī.” Jī shǒu ér duì yuē, “Rén shuí wú guò, guò ér néng gǎi, shàn mò dà yān. . . .” (Zuō zhuàn, “Xuānggōng èr nián”)

Duke Líng of Jin was not acting as a ruler should. He levied heavy taxes so that he could have his walls carved with decorations; he shot at people from a tower to see them dodge his pellets. Because, one time, his chef did not cook the bear’s paw thoroughly, he had him killed and stuffed in a basket, commanding some women to carry his body past the court. Zhào Dùn and Shì Jì saw the hands. They inquired about the reason and were concerned. Meaning to remonstrate with the duke about it, Shì Jì said, “If both of us remonstrate with him at the same time and he does not take heed, no one will be able to succeed us in this. Let me go first. If my remonstrances fall on deaf ears, you can succeed me.”

Over three stages he advanced, and only when he reached the eaves did the lord look at him. The lord said, “I know what I have done wrong. I will rectify it.” Shiji kowtowed, touching the ground with his forehead, and said, “Who among men can have done nothing wrong? Having done something wrong and being capable of rectifying this – there is no good greater than that. . . .” (Duke Xuān 2, *Zuō Tradition*)

* *Liù* 潤 is used as *liù* 霽 (eaves); here it refers to the eaves hanging over the steps leading up to the audience chamber.

Guò ér néng gǎi 過而能改 (to be capable, having done something wrong, of rectifying it) is now an idiom to praise someone for being able to recognize and correct their own mistakes.

- “from them/from it”

孔子過泰山側，有婦人哭於墓者而哀。夫子式而聽之，使子路問之曰：「子之哭也，壹似重有憂者。」而曰：「然。昔者吾舅死於虎，吾夫又死焉，今吾子又死焉！」夫子曰：「何為不去也？」曰：「無苛政。」夫子曰：「小子識之！苛政猛於虎也。」(《禮記·檀公下》)

Kōngzǐ guò Tàishān cè, yǒu fù rén kū yú mù zhě ér āi. Fūzǐ shì ér tīng zhī, shǐ Zǐlù wèn zhī yuē, “Zi zhī kū yě, yī sì chóngh yǒu yōu zhě.” Ér yuē, “Rán. Xī zhě wú jiù sī yú hǔ, wú fū yóu sī yān, jīn wú zǐ yóu sī yān!” Fūzǐ yuē, “Héwèi bù qù yě?” Yuē, “Wú kē zhèng.” Fūzǐ yuē, “Xiǎozǐ zhì zhī! Kē zhèng měng yú hǔ yě.” (Lǐ jì, “Tángōng xià”)

Confucius was passing by the slope of Mount Tāi. There was a woman wailing at a tomb in grief. The Master saluted with a half-bow while leaning on the handrail, listening to her. He sent Zǐlù to inquire, saying, “Your wailing indeed is like someone who has suffered repeatedly.” She replied, “It is so. Formerly my father-in-law died from tigers; my husband also died from them; now my son has also died from them!” The Master asked, “On what account do you not leave?” She replied, “There is no harsh government here.” The Master said, “My son, take note of this! Harsh government is more ferocious than tigers.” (“Tángōng, Second Section,” *Records of Rites*)

* The same version of this passage, with a more detailed explanation, can be seen under the entry for *hé wèi* 何為 (on what account).

- “with them”

子曰：「見賢思齊焉，見不賢而內自省也。」(《論語·里仁》)

Zǐ yuē, “Jiàn xián sī qí yān, jiàn bù xián ér nèi zì xǐng yě.” (Lún yǔ, “Lǐ rén”)

The Master said, “When a noble man sees the virtuous, he thinks about how to become equal with them; when he sees those who are not virtuous, he reflects inwardly on himself.” (“Lǐ rén,” *Analects*)

Jiàn xián sī qí 見賢思齊 (meeting the virtuous, one ponders how to become their equal) is an idiom in modern Chinese. *Sī qí* 思齊 (to ponder on becoming equal [with the virtuous]) is often used to name a person, a place, or a charitable foundation.

- 6 used as a suffix; often for adjectives, sometimes for adverbs; cannot be translated

顏淵喟然歎曰：「仰之彌高，鑽之彌堅；瞻之在前，忽焉在後。夫子循循然善誘人，博我以文，約我以禮，欲罷不能。既竭吾才，如有所立卓爾。雖欲從之，末由也已。」（《論語·子罕》）

Yán Yuān kuírán tàn yuē, “*Yǎng zhī mí gāo, zuān zhī mí jiān; zhān zhī zài qián, hūyān zài hòu. Fùzī xúnxún rán shàn yóu rén, bó wǒ yǐ wén, yuē wǒ yǐ lǐ. Yù bà bù néng, jì jié wú cái, rú yǒu suǒ lì zhuó ěr. Suī yù cóng zhī, mò yóu yě yǐ.*” (*Lún yǔ*, “*Zǐ hǎn*”)

Yán Yuān sighed deeply, saying, “The more I look up to him, the taller he becomes; the more I drill into his knowledge, the firmer it gets. I see him in front; suddenly he is behind. The Master is adept in guiding people in the manner of following the correct course. He broadens my knowledge with literature and restrains my behavior with rites. Even if I wanted to stop learning, I cannot. I have already exhausted my talent, but the way of the Master is towering right in front of me. I want to catch up to him, yet there is no way to do that.” (“*Zǐ hǎn*,” *Analects*)

* *Hū* 忽 (suddenly) is this word’s extended meaning of “swift.” A suffix *yān* is added when it is used as an adverbial modifier in a clause. The same version of this passage, with a more detailed explanation, can be found under the entry for *rán* 然 (in the manner of).

Notes

- 1 *SWXZ*, 316.
- 2 *SWJZZJ*, *juàn* 4.1, 113a–113b.
- 3 Chéng Shùdé, *Lúnyǔ jíshì*, *juàn* 32, 1115–16.
- 4 For the interpretation of this passage, see Chéng Shùdé, *Lúnyǔ jíshì*, *juàn* 36, 1254–6.
- 5 Chéng Shùdé, *Lúnyǔ jíshì*, *juàn* 34, 1188–9.
- 6 Chéng Shùdé, *Lúnyǔ jíshì*, *juàn* 18, 616–17.
- 7 Yáng Bójūn treats it as a structural particle. *GHYXC*, 227. Wáng Lì treats it as a demonstrative pronoun with a resumptive meaning. *GHYZD*, 657.
- 8 Wáng Lì has *bì* for the meaning of “to associate with.” *GHYZD*, 554–5.
- 9 In the view of many of the traditional commentators from before the Táng, as noted in Chéng Shùdé, *Lúnyǔ jíshì*, *juàn* 11, 378.
- 10 For the traditional commentaries, see Chéng Shùdé, *Lúnyǔ jíshì*, *juàn* 38, 1318–24.

YÉ 邪/ 耶

a character for a place name

- | – *final part.*; for a normal question or rhetorical question
- | – *final part.*; used at the end of selective clauses
- | – *adj.*; “to be depraved/evil/heretical”; written only as *xié* 邪【xié】
- | – *adj.*; “to be unruffled”; used for *xú* 徐【xú】

BI	QM	SS
𠂇	邪	𠂇

【yǐ zhē qiè 以遮切】OC: *[g](r)A; MC: *yae*

Early Meaning: A Character for a Place Name

Jǐ Xūshēng does not have an entry for this.

Xǔ Shèn writes, “*Yé* 邪 (𠂇) refers to Lángyé commandery 琅邪郡 (in present-day Shāndōng). It is derived from *yì* 邑 (邑, borough); *yá* 牙 (牙, teeth) is sound-bearing” 邪，琅邪郡。从邑，牙聲. Duàn Yùcái proposes that the clerical script has 耶 instead of 邪, as the small seal script for *ér* 耳 (耳, ear) is similar to *yá* 牙.¹ Baxter-Sagart reconstructs *C.nə? (OC) and nyiX (MC) for *ér*, and *m-č<r>a (OC) and ngae (MC) for *yá*. They are quite different in sound. Therefore, the reason that the two graphs are used interchangeably in the word *yé* is likely due to their similarity in form.

Yé 邪 and *yé* 耶 are interchangeable as modal particles, although the graph *yé* 邪 appeared earlier than *yé* 耶. The graph for the latter has not been found in any excavated texts.

Borrowed Meanings

- 1 *final part.*; to create a question or to ask a rhetorical question; not as strong as *hū* 乎. Originally a word in the dialect of Chǔ, it gained widespread usage

only in the era when the *Discourses of the States* and the *Strategies of the Warring States* were written.²

- used by itself to create a question

[句踐]曰：「女忘會稽之恥邪？」（《史記·越王句踐世家》）

[Gōu Jiàn] yuē, “Rǔ wàng Kuàijiè zhī chí yé?” (Shí jì, “Yuèwáng Gōu Jiàn shijiā”)

[Gōu Jiàn] asked himself, “Have you forgotten the shame you were subjected to in Kuàijiè?” (“Hereditary House of Gōu Jiàn, the King of Yuè,” *Grand Scribe's Records*)

- used with an interrogative pronoun to create a question

弟子厭觀之，走及匠石，曰：「自吾執斧斤以隨夫子，未嘗見材如此其美也。先生不肯視，行不輟，何邪？」（《莊子·人間世》）

Dízǐ yàn guān zhī, zǒu jí Jiàng Shí, yuē, “Zì wú zhí fǔ jīn yǐ suí fūzǐ, wèi cháng jiàn cái rú cǐ qí měi yě. Xiānsheng bù kěn shì, xíng bù chuò, hé yé?” (Zhuāngzǐ, “Rén jiān shì”)

The disciple looked his fill at it (i.e., the large tree used for the god of the soil), and ran after Carpenter Shí, asking, “Since I have taken up axes and followed you, my master, I have not seen timber as fine as this. You, my master, do not cast even a glance at it and walk on without stopping. Why is that?” (“In the Human World,” *Zhuāngzǐ*)

- used with an interrogative pronoun to create a rhetorical question

王乃大息曰：「此古之人也。今之人，焉能有之耶？」（《戰國策·威王問於莫敖子華》）

Wáng nǎi tài xī yuē, “Cǐ gǔ zhī rén yě. Jīn zhī rén, yān néng yǒu zhī yé?” (Zhàn guó cè, “Wēiwáng wèn yú Mòáo Zǐhuá”)

The king then sighed deeply and said, “These were [virtuous] men of the past. Among the people of the present, how would it be possible to have such [virtuous] men?” (“King Wēi [of Chǔ] consulted Mòáo Zǐhuá,” *Strategies of the Warring States*)

- used with a negative adverb to create a rhetorical question

夫愛馬者，以筐盛矢，以蜃盛溺。適有畜童僕緣，而拊之不時，則缺銜，毀首碎胸。意有所至而愛有所亡，可不慎邪？（《莊子·人間世》）

Fú ài mǎ zhě, yǐ kuāng shèng shǐ, yǐ shèn shèng niào. Shì yǒu wén méng pú yuán, ér fǔ zhī bù shí, zé quē xián huī shǒu suì xiōng. Yì yǒu suǒ zhì ér ài yǒu suǒ wáng, kě bù shèn yé? (Zhuāngzǐ, “Rén jiān shì”)

One who loves his horse uses a square bamboo basket to catch and hold its feces and uses a clam-shaped vessel meant for holding meat offerings to catch and hold its urine. When there happen to be mosquitoes or gadflies lighting on his horse, and he swats them at the wrong moment, the horse will break its bit in panic and kick, injuring its master's head and

shattering his chest bones. There are situations where affectionate feelings are adhered to and yet what is loved can cause death; how can we not be cautious (about complying with the nature of living creatures)? (“In the Human World,” *Zhuāngzǐ*)³

* *Wén* 蟊 is a variant graph for *wén* 蟒. *Méng* 蟠 is a variant graph for *méng* 蟠.

2 *part.*; used at the end of selective clauses

夫富者，苦身疾作，多積財而不得盡用，其為形也亦外矣。夫貴者，夜以繼日，思慮善否，其為形也亦疏矣。人之生也，與憂俱生，壽者惛惛，久憂不死，何苦也！其為形也亦遠矣。烈士為天下見善矣，未足以活身。吾未知善之誠善邪，誠不善邪？（《莊子·至樂》）

Fú fù zhě, kǔ shēn jí zuò, duō jī cái ér bù dé jìn yòng, qí wèi xíng yě yì wài yǐ. Fú guì zhě, yè yǐ jì rì, sī lù shàn pǐ, qí wèi xíng yě yì shū yǐ. Rén zhī shēng yě, yǔ yōu jù shēng, shòu zhě mènmèn, jiǔ yōu bù sǐ, hé kǔ yě! Qí wèi xíng yě yì yuǎn yǐ. Liè shì wéi tiānxià jiàn shàn yǐ, wèi zú yǐ huó shēn. Wú wèi zhī shàn zhī chéng shàn yé, chéng bù shàn yé? (*Zhuāngzǐ*, “*Zhì lè*”)

As for those who are prosperous, they pain their bodies by working hard, accumulating more wealth than they can use up. What they do for their bodies is peripheral. As for those who are highborn, from day into night they think about and ponder the good and the bad. What they do for their bodies is negligible. In human life, worries are born together with us. The long-lived are befuddled and confused, worrying endlessly but not dying – how anguished they are! What they do for their bodies is far from the principles of nature. Those who are ready to sacrifice themselves are regarded by all under Heaven as good, but their goodness is not sufficient to keep them alive. I do not know if what the world perceives as good is indeed good, or if it is actually not good.” (“Utmost Happiness,” *Zhuāngzǐ*)

* A shorter version of this passage, with explanations, can be seen under the entry for *fǒu* 否, pronounced as *pǐ* in the meaning of “to be bad.”

3 *adj.*; *predicate*; “to be depraved/evil/heretical”; written only as *xié* 邪【xié】

無恆產而有恆心者，惟士為能。若民，則無恆產，因無恆心。苟無恆心，放辟，邪侈，無不為已。（《孟子·梁惠王上》）

Wú héng chǎn ér yǒu héng xīn zhě, wéi shí wéi néng. Ruò mǐn, zé wú héng chǎn, yīn wú héng xīn. Gǒu wú héng xīn, fàng bì, xié chǐ, wú bù wéi yǐ. (*Mèngzǐ*, “*Liáng Huiwáng shàng*”)

To have no steady means of subsistence and yet to have a steady mind – only scholars can manage this. But as for commoners, when they have no steady means of subsistence, they have no steady mind. If they do not have steady minds, they will indulge in crimes, becoming depraved and wayward – there is nothing they will not do. (“King Hui of Liáng, First Section,” *Mencius*)

* This passage can also be seen under the entry for *rùo* 若 (but as for).

- 4 *adj.; predicate*; used for *xú* 徐; “to be unruffled”【xú】

北風其涼；雨雪其雱。

惠而好我，攜手同行。

其虛其邪！既亟只且。

(《毛詩·邶風·北風》)

Béi fēng qí liáng; yù xuě qí páng.

Huì ér hào wǒ, xié shǒu tóng háng.

Qí shū qí xú! Jì jí zhī jū.

(*Máo Shī*, “*Bèi fēng*,” “*Běi fēng*”)

The northern wind is cold; the falling snow is heavy.

If you favor and are fond of me, let's join hands to be on the same road.

How slow and unruffled you are! It is already extreme and urgent!

(*Máo* #41, “Northern Wind,” in “Airs of *Bèi*,” *Songs*)⁴

* 雨 should be pronounced as *yù* with a falling tone because here it is a verb, serving as attributive modifier.

Notes

- 1 *SWJZZJ*, *juàn* 6.2, 81a–81b.
- 2 Mǎ Jiānzhōng 馬建忠 (1845–1900), *Mǎshì wéntōng jiàozhù* 馬氏文通校注, coll. and annot. Zhāng Xīchēn 章錫琛, 2 vols. (rpt. 1954; *Běijīng*: Zhōnghuá shūjú, 1956), *juàn* 9, 472.
- 3 This translation follows Chéng Xuányīng’s 成玄英 (fl. 631) subcommentary and Wáng Shūmín’s annotations of the *Zhuāngzǐ*. The parable illustrates the importance of not going against nature. Wáng proposes reading this as a lesson for human beings, whose behavior is even more unpredictable than that of horses. Wáng Shūmín, *Zhuāngzǐ jiào-quán* 莊子校誼, 3 vols. (Taipei: Zhōngyāng yánjūtuyuàn lishī yùyán yánjūusuō, 1988), vol. 1, 150. The contemporary scholar Chén Gǔyīng 陳鼓應 holds that it was the horse that died, for it yanked its bridle and reins and ended up injuring its own head and chest, so that the man’s love for it ended up causing it harm. Chén Gǔyīng, annot. and trans., *Zhuāngzǐ jīnzhù jīnyì* 莊子今注今譯 (*Běijīng*: Zhōnghuá shūjú, 1983), 131. I concur with Chéng and Wáng’s interpretation as the more apposite, as the paragraph preceding this one comments on the taming of tigers, how essential it is to understand the nature of their behavior and the possibly deadly consequences of going against it. However, I differ from Wáng, who takes *wáng* 壐 as a loan graph for *wàng* 忘 (to forget) – meaning that the horse forgets how much the master loves it – and instead read *wáng* 壐 simply as “death.”
- 4 Chéng and Jiāng propose reading 行 as *háng*, meaning “road,” and that 虛 is the loan graph for *shū* 舒 (to be slow). They note that *liáng* 涼, *páng* 阡, and *háng* 行 are rhymes belonging in the rhyme category *yáng* 陽, and *shū* 虛, *xú* 邪, and *jū* 且 are rhymes belonging in the category *yú* 魚. *SJZX*, 113–14. Karlgren has *glijang* for 涼, *p’wāng* for 霽, *g’āng* for 行, *dʒio* for 邪, and *tsjio* for 且. He does not consider 虛 as a rhyme.

YĚ 也

early meaning unknown

- | – *modal part.*; to create a pause
- | – *sentence-final modal part.*; to show equation, exclamation, affirmation, and explanation
- | – *sentence-final modal part.*; used with *interr. pron.* to create a question

BI	CM	QM	SS

【yáng zhě qiè 羊者切】OC: *I^hAj^h; MC: yaeX

Early Meaning: Early Meaning Unknown

Jì Xūshēng proposes that *yě* 也 is the original graph for *tí* 嘤 (to cry) and was borrowed to serve as a function word. He disagrees with Xǔ Shèn's definition as being unfounded.¹ Hé Línyí 何琳儀 and Fáng Zhènsān 房振三 argue that the graph in the bronze inscriptions {𦥑} pictures a mouth with breath coming out, similar to *zhī* 只.²

Xǔ Shèn writes, “*Yě* 也 ({𦥑}) refers to the female pudenda. It is a zodiograph. {𦥑} is the graph *yě* 也 engraved in stone during Qín times” ({𦥑}) (也), 女陰也。象形。{𦥑}, 秦刻石也字. Duàn Yùcái supports this interpretation, adding that *yě* was then borrowed to serve as a particle. Xú Hào, noting that this graph appears frequently in bronze inscriptions, rejects “pudenda” as a possible meaning because, he contends, it is inconceivable for the ancients to inscribe the graph for pudenda on their bronze vessels. He quotes Dài Tǒng, who interprets this as the graph for a water jug, picturing the pouring of water. According to Dài, a semantic determinative, *fāng* □ (vessel), was added to the graph to highlight this early meaning, thus creating the graph *yí* 匜 (water jug).³ Since the early meaning

is still under debate, this dictionary treats the usage of 也 to create a pause as a borrowed meaning.

Borrowed Meanings

1 *modal part.*; to create a pause; often used after the subject in a clause. Karl-gren proposes that *yē* is commonly used to set a phrase apart, in an absolute position, as subject of the clause. In this usage, it closely resembles the topic marker *wa わ* in Japanese, as in “*kodomo wa naite imasu*” 子供わ泣いています (the child is crying).⁴

- used after an adverb that serves as the subject in a clause

子曰：「君子無所爭，必也射乎！揖讓而升，下而飲，其爭也君子。」（《論語·八佾》）

Zǐ yuē, “Jūnzi wú suǒ zhēng, bì yē shè hū! Yī ràng ér shēng, xià ér yǐn, qí zhēng yē jūnzi.” (Lún yǔ, “Bā yì”)

The Master says, “There is nothing that noble men would compete for. If they must compete, it would probably be in archery! Even then, they will bow and defer to each other before ascending the stage; when it is over and they descend from the stage, the one who loses will drink. Even their competition accords with the manner of noble men.” (“Bā yì,” *Analects*)

* *Jūnzi wú suǒ zhēng* 君子無所爭 (there is nothing that noble men would compete for) is the first clause of a compound sentence in the original Chinese. The second clause, *bì yē shè hū* 必也射乎 (if they must compete, it would probably be in archery), provides an explanation for the first. *Bì* 必 serves as the subject in the second clause, which cannot be reflected in the English translation. The same pattern can be seen in the compound sentence that follows, in which the noun phrase *qí zhēng* 其爭 (their competition) serves as the subject of the third clause in that sentence. This time the *yē* is used after a noun phrase.

- used after a noun or noun phrase that serves as the subject in coordinated clauses

吾生也有涯，而知也無涯。（《莊子·養生主》）

Wú shēng yē yǒu yá, ér zhī yē wú yá. (Zhuāngzǐ, “Yǎng shēng zhǔ”)

My life has a boundary, yet knowledge has no boundary. (“Nourishing the Lord of Life,” Zhuāngzǐ)

子謂子產：「有君子之道四焉：其行己也恭，其事上也敬，其養民也惠，其使民也義。」（《論語·公冶長》）

Zǐ wèi Zǐchǎn, “Yǒu jūnzi zhī dào sì yān: Qí xíng jǐ yē gōng, qí shì shàng yē jìng, qí yǎng mǐn yē huì, qí shǐ mǐn yē yì.” (Lún yǔ, “Gōngyē Cháng”)

The Master praised Zǐchǎn, saying, “He has four points that are fitting for a noble man: His conduct of himself is reverent, his service to superiors is respectful, his providing for the people is generous, his commanding of the people is just.” (“Gōngyě Cháng,” *Analects*)

* *Qí xíng jǐ* 其行己 (his conduct of himself), *qí shì shàng* 其事上 (his service to superiors), and *qí yǎng mǐn* 其養民 (his providing for the people) appear to be composed of a subject and a verbal predicate. However, *qí* here is actually a third-person pronoun used as attributive modifier to modify the nominalized verb phrases, indicating the possessive. For this usage of *qí*, with analysis, see Borrowed Meanings (1), the third example and the footnote, under the entry for *qí*.

- used after a prepositional phrase that serves as an adverbial modifier in coordinated clauses

天不為人之惡寒也輶冬, 地不為人之惡遼遠也輶廣, 君子不為小人之匈匈也輶行。(《荀子·天論》)

Tiān bù wèi rén zhī wù hán yě chuò dōng, dì bù wèi rén zhī wù liáo yuǎn yě chuò guǎng, jūnzi bù wèi xiǎorén zhī xiōngxiōng yě chuò xíng. (Xúnzǐ, “Tiān lùn”)

Heaven will not cease having winter just because humans hate being cold; the Earth will not cease being broad just because humans hate its expanse; noble men will not cease to cultivate themselves just because of the disruption of petty men. (“Discourse on Heaven,” Xúnzǐ)

* The prepositional phrases are *bù wèi rén zhī wù hán* 不為人之惡寒 (literally, “on account of humans hating being cold”), *bù wèi rén zhī wù liáo yuǎn* 不為人之惡遼遠 (literally, “on account of humans hating its expanse”), and *bù wèi xiǎorén zhī xiōngxiōng* 不為小人之匈匈 (literally, “on account of the disruption of petty men”). They are used as adverbial modifiers for the verb phrases *chuò dōng* 輶冬 (to cease having winter), *chuò guǎng* 輶廣 (to cease being broad), and *chuò xíng* 輶行 (to cease cultivating themselves).

2 sentence-final modal part.

- used in copulative/equative sentences. It can also appear in the pattern *zhě* 者 . . . *yě* 也 with *zhě* serving as a particle to highlight the subject. This is a common usage in biographies when a person is first introduced.

田儋者, 犁人也, 故齊王田氏族也。(《史記·田儋列傳》)

Tián Dān zhě, Dí rén yě, gù Qíwáng Tián shì zú yě. (Shǐ jì, “Tián Dān lièzhuàn”)

Tián Dān was a person of Dí. He belonged to the Tián clan of the late king of Qi. (“Biography of Tián Dān,” *Grand Scribe’s Records*)

- used at the end of an exclamatory sentence

高祖常繇咸陽，縱觀，觀秦皇帝，喟然太息曰：「嗟乎，大丈夫當如此也！」（《史記·高祖本紀》）

Gāozǔ cháng yáo Xiányáng, zòng guān, guān Qín Huángdì, kuìrán tài xī yuē, “Jiēhū, dà zhàng fū dāng rú cǐ yē!” (Shǐ jì, “Gāozǔ běnji”)

Gāozǔ once worked as a corvée laborer in Xiányáng (when he was still a commoner). [It happened that the Qín emperor was on an outing and] gave the commoners free rein to observe him. Gāozǔ observed the Qín emperor and heaved a great sigh, saying, “Ah! A real man should be like this!” (“Basic Annals of Gāozǔ,” *Grand Scribe’s Records*)

* As discussed in the entry on *fū* 夫, the early meaning of 夫, pronounced as *fū*, is an adult male whose height has reached one *zhàng* 丈 (ten foot). A male is considered an adult once he has reached a certain height. In this sense, *dà* 大 (to be large; extended meaning “to be great”) and *zhàng* 丈 both describe *fū*, highlighting what it means to be a real man. Thus, a literal translation of *dà zhàng fū* 大丈夫 would be “a great man of one *zhàng*.”

- used in affirmative sentences, often in response to questions

淳于髡曰：「男女授受不親，禮與？」孟子曰：「禮也。」（《孟子·離婁上》）

Chúnyú Kūn yuē, “Nán nǚ shòu shòu bù qīn, lǐ yú?” Mèngzǐ yuē, “Lǐ yē.” (Mèngzǐ, “Lí Lóu shàng”)

Chúnyú Kūn asked, “Men and women do not give and receive things directly to each other. Is this ritual propriety?” Mencius said, “This is ritual propriety.” (“Lí Lóu, Second Section,” *Mencius*)

Nán nǚ shòu shòu bù qīn 男女授受不親 (men and women do not give and receive things directly to each other) is now an idiom meaning that men and women should keep each other at a respectful distance for the sake of propriety.

- used in explanatory sentences

孟子謂萬章曰：「一鄉之善士，斯友一鄉之善士；一國之善士，斯友一國之善士；天下之善士，斯友天下之善士。以友天下之善士為未足，又尚論古之人。頌其詩，讀其書，不知其人，可乎？是以論其世也。是尚友也。」（《孟子·萬章下》）

Mèngzǐ wèi Wàn Zhāng yuē, “Yī xiāng zhī shàn shì, sī yǒu yī xiāng zhī shàn shì; yī guó zhī shàn shì, sī yǒu yī guó zhī shàn shì; tiānxià zhī shàn shì, sī yǒu tiānxià zhī shàn shì. Yǐ yǒu tiānxià zhī shàn shì wéi wèi zú, yòu shàng lùn gǔ zhī rén. Sòng qí shī, dù qí shū, bù zhī qí rén, kě hū? Shì yǐ lùn qí shí yē. Shì shàng yǒu yē.” (Mèngzǐ, “Wàn Zhāng xià”)

Mencius said to Wàn Zhāng, “The fine men of one district will befriend the other fine men of that district; the fine men of a state will befriend

the other fine men of that state; the fine men of all under Heaven will befriend the other fine men of all under Heaven. Because they consider befriending the fine men of all under Heaven to be insufficient, they give precedence to discussions of the ancients. They recite their poems and their books (i.e., the poems and books of the ancients), but how can this be enough if they do not know them (the ancients) personally? For this reason, they also comment on the times they (the ancients) lived in. This is giving precedence to befriending the virtuous. (“Wàn Zhāng, Second Section,” *Mencius*)

This passage explains the reasoning behind the principle in Chinese literary criticism known as *zhīrén lùnshì* 知人論世 (understanding writers and discussing their times), which holds that a literary piece can be thoroughly understood only by taking into consideration the author’s life and the historical context. This method takes the opposite approach to New Criticism in the West.

3 sentence-final modal part.; used with interrogative pronoun to create a question

- used with hé 何 (why/what)

楚王曰：「楚，僻陋之國也，未嘗見中國之女如此其美也。寡人之獨何為不好色也？」（《戰國策·楚策·張儀之楚貧》）

Chǔwáng yuē, “*Chǔ, pì lòu zhī guó yě, wèi cháng jiàn Zhōngguó zhī nǚ rú cǐ qí měi yě. Guǎrén zhī dú hé wéi bù hào sè yě?*” (*Zhàn guó cè*, “*Chǔ cè*,” “*Zhāng Yí zhī Chǔ pín*”)

The king of Chǔ said, “Chǔ is a state that is isolated and backward. I have never before seen this kind of beautiful woman from the central plain. How would I, this deficient one, alone be not fond of beautiful women?” (“*Zhāng Yí went to Chu and became impoverished*,” in “*Strategies of Chǔ*,” *Strategies of the Warring States*)

萬章問曰：「舜往于田，號泣于旻天，何為其號泣也？」（《孟子·萬章上》）

Wàn Zhāng wèn yuē, “*Shùn wǎng yú tián, hào qì yú míntiān, hé wéi qí hào qì yě?*” (*Mèngzǐ*, “*Wàn Zhāng shàng*”)

Wàn Zhāng asked [Mencius], saying, “Shùn went to the countryside, calling out and sobbing to the sky. Why did he call out and sob?” (“*Wàn Zhāng, First Section*,” *Mencius*)

- used with shuí 誰 (who)

孟嘗君怪之，曰：「此誰也？」左右曰：「乃歌夫長鋏歸來者也。」（《戰國策·齊策·齊人有馮謾者》）

Mèngchángjūn guài zhī, yuē, “*Cǐ shuí yě?*” *Zuōyàò yuē*, “*Nǎi gē fú cháng jiá guī lái zhě yě.*” (*Zhàngguó cè*, “*Qí cè*,” “*Qí rén yǒu Féng Xuān zhě*”)

Lord Mèngcháng was surprised at this (when someone volunteered to collect his debts in Xuē 薛). He asked, “Who is this?” His attendants replied, “He is the one who sings about returning home with his long sword.” (“There was a person of Qí named Féng Xuān,” in “Strategies of Qí,” *Strategies of the Warring States*)

- used with *xī* 焉 (how)

奚以知其然也? (《莊子·逍遙遊》)

Xī yǐ zhī qí rán yě? (*Zhuāngzǐ*, “Xiāoyáo yóu”)

How do we know it is like this? (“Roaming Free,” *Zhuāngzǐ*)

Notes

1 *SWXZ*, 895.

2 Hé Línyí 何琳儀 and Fáng Zhènsān 房振三, “‘Yě,’ ‘zhǐ’ kǎobiàn” 「也」「只」考辨, *Shànghǎi wénbó lùncóng* 上海文博論叢 13, no. 3 (2005): 16–21.

3 *SWJZZJ*, juàn 12.2, 53a–53b.

4 Bernhard Karlgren, “Excursions in Chinese Grammar,” *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 23 (1951): 107–33; p. 111.

Yǐ 以

vb.; “to carry” | – *vb.*; “to use”

| – *co-vb.*; to indicate the means to reach a goal

| – *conj.*; to connect two *adj.*

| – *conj.*; to connect two *vb./vb.* phrases

| – *conj.*; to introduce a reason in a clause

| – *prep.*; to indicate purpose

| – *prep.*; to indicate result

| – *prep.*; to introduce the object affected by an action

| – *prep.*; to introduce the condition someone relies on

| – *prep.*; to introduce the reason

| – *prep.*; to introduce the time

| – *prep.*; to introduce a place or direction

| – *prep.*; used before a noun of locality to show time and scope

| – *part.*; to mark the adverbial modifier in a predicate

| – *part.*; to show that two actions or situations are concurrent

| – *adv.*; to show degree

| – *adv.*; to show scope

| – *adv.*; to show time

| – *DP*; used as *zhī* 之 (this/these)

| – *interr. pron.*; used after preposition *yú* 于 (at/in)

OBI	BI	CM	QM	SS
𠂇	𠂇	𠂇	𠂇	𠂇

【yáng yǐ qiè 羊已切】OC: *ləʔ; MC: *yiX*

Early Meaning: *vb.*; “to carry”

Ji Xusheng defines *yǐ* 以 as “to carry.”¹

Yǐ 以 is written as  in the *Shuō wén jiě zì*. Xǔ Shèn writes, “Yǐ 㠭 (㠭) means ‘to use.’ Its graph is  turned upside down , 用也, 从反巳。賈侍中說:㠭, 意㠭實也。象形。² Jiǎ is Jiǎ Kuí. Qiú Xīguī believes that the early meaning of the graph should be “to carry.” He argues that the oracle-bone inscription  is the early graph for yǐ 以, depicting a person lifting an object and notes that the graph  (rén 人, person) omitted.³ Xú Hào mistakes the component *rén* for a later addition.⁴

Extended Meanings

1 *vb.*; “to use”

忠不必用兮, 賢不必以。(《楚辭·涉江》)

Zhōng bù bì yòng xī, xián bù bì yǐ. (*Chǔ cí*, “Shè jiāng”)

The loyal ones are not necessarily employed; the virtuous ones are not necessarily used. (“Crossing Rivers,” *Songs of the South*)

2 *co-vb.*; to indicate the means to reach a goal; can also be translated as “to use” but must be followed by another verb or verb phrase

- to introduce the object that helps in performing an action

夫以湯止沸, 沸愈不止, 去其火則止矣。(《呂氏春秋·季春紀·盡數》)

Fú yǐ tāng zhǐ fèi, fèi yù bù zhǐ, qù qí huǒ zé zhǐ yǐ. (*Lǚ shì chūnqiū*, “Jì chūn jì, “Jin shù”)

If hot water is used to stop water from boiling, it will boil all the more and not stop. Remove the fire, and then the boiling will stop. (“To Exhaust the Decreed Fortune,” in “Records of the Third Lunar Month,” *Lǚ’s Discourses*)

Yǐ tāng zhǐ fèi 以湯止沸 (using hot water to stop water from boiling) is now an idiom, meaning that a situation will only get worse if improper measures are taken.

- to introduce the method

或曰:「以德報怨, 何如?」子曰:「何以報德? 以直報怨, 以德報德。」
(《論語·憲問》)

Huò yuē, “*Yǐ dé bào yuàn, hé rú?*” *Zǐ yuē*, “*Hé yǐ bào dé? Yǐ zhí bào yuàn, yǐ dé bào dé.*” (*Lún yǔ*, “Xiān wèn”)

Someone asked, “Using a kindness to repay a grudge, how would that be?” The Master said, “By what means would you repay a kindness then? I would use rectitude to repay a grudge and use kindness to repay kindness.” (“Xiàn wèn,” *Analects*)

Borrowed Meanings

- 3 *conj.*; to connect two adjectives; “and”

治世之音安以樂，其政和。（《禮記·樂記》）

Zhì shì zhī yīn ān yǐ lè, qí zhèng hé. (*Lǐ jì*, “Yuè jì”)

The sound of a well-governed world is peaceful and joyous; its governance is harmonious. (“Records of Music,” *Records of Rites*)

- 4 *conj.*; to connect two verbs/verbal phrases; “and”

太子曰：「君實不察其罪，被此名也以出，人誰納我？」（《左傳·僖公四年》）

Tàizǐ yuē, “Jūn shí bù chā qí zuì, pī cǐ míng yě yǐ chū, rén shuí nà wǒ?” (*Zuō zhuàn*, “Xīgōng sì nián”)

The heir [Shēnshēng 申生] replied, “My lord indeed is not aware of her offense (Duke Xiān of Jin’s concubine, Lí Jī 驪姬, had slandered and framed the heir). If I bear this name (of attempted murderer of my lord and father) and leave, who on earth will admit me into their state?” (“Duke Xī 4,” *Zuō Tradition*)

- 5 *conj.*; to introduce a reason in a clause; “because”

九月甲午，晉侯、秦伯圍鄭，以其無禮於晉，且貳於楚也。（《左傳·僖公三十年》）

Jiǔ yuè jiǎwǔ, Jīnhóu, Qín bó wéi Zhèng, yǐ qí wú lǐ yú Jīn, qiè èr yú Chǔ yě. (*Zuō zhuàn*, “Xīgōng sānshí nián”)

On the day *jiǎwǔ* in the ninth month, the Duke of Jin and the Earl of Qín besieged Zhèng, because it had failed to treat [Duke Wén of] Jin with courtesy [in the past] and had moreover divided its loyalty [to Jin] by going over to [Jin’s enemy] Chǔ. (“Duke Xī 30,” *Zuō Tradition*)

- 6 *prep.*; to indicate purpose; “to”

項王曰：「壯士！能復飲乎？」樊噲曰：「臣死且不避，卮酒安足辭！夫秦王有虎狼之心，殺人如不能舉，刑人如恐不勝，天下皆叛之。懷王與諸將約曰：『先破秦入咸陽者王之。』今沛公先破秦入咸陽，毫毛不敢有所近，封閉宮室，還軍霸上，以待大王來。故遣將守關者，備他盜出入與非常也。勞苦而功高如此，未有封侯之賞，而聽細說，欲誅有功之人。此亡秦之續耳，竊為大王不取也！」（《史記·項羽本紀》）

Xiàngwáng yuē, “Zhuàng shi! Néng fù yǐn hū?” Fán Kuài yuē, “Chén sī qiè bù bì, zhī jiǔ ān zú cí! Fú Qínwáng yǒu hǔ láng zhī xīn, shā rén rú bù néng

*jǔ, xíng rén rú kǒng bù shēng, tiānxià jiē pàn zhī. Huái wáng yǔ zhūjiàng yuē
 yuē, 'Xiān pò Qín rù Xiányáng zhě wàng zhī.' Jīn Pēigōng xiān pò Qín rù
 Xiányáng, háo máo bù gǎn yǒu suǒ jìn, fēng bì gōng shì, huán jūn Bāshàng,
 yǐ dài dà wáng lái. Gù qiǎn jiàng shǒu guān zhě, bèi tā dào chū rù yǔ fēi
 cháng yě. Láo kǔ ér gōng gāo rú cǐ, wèi yǒu fēng hóu zhī shǎng, ér tīng xì
 shuō, yù zhū yóu gōng zhī rén. Cǐ wáng Qín zhī xù ér, qiè wéi dà wáng bù qū
 yé!" (Shǐ jì, "Xiàng Yǔ běnji")*

King Xiàng asked, “Strong man! Can you drink some more?” Fán Kuài responded, “I would not avoid even death – what need to refuse a beaker of wine? The king of Qín has the heart of a tiger or a wolf: He killed people as if he would never finish; he punished people as if he feared he could not exhaust every torture available. All under Heaven rebelled against him. King Huái made an agreement with the generals, saying, “The one who defeats Qín first and enters Xiányáng will be king.” Now the Duke of Pèi defeated Qín first and entered Xiányáng, but he dared not touch anything, not even the finest hair of an animal; he forbade any entry into the palaces of Qín and returned his troops to Bāshàng to wait for My King’s arrival. The reason that he sent commanders to guard the Pass was to prevent bandits from coming in or out and unexpected emergencies from occurring. Having exerted himself so greatly and achieved so much merit, he has not been enfeoffed as a marquis for his reward. Instead, you listen to the slanders of petty men, intending to execute a person who has done meritorious deeds. This is the continuance of the way of the fallen Qín. I presume with all due respect to hope that you would not choose to follow it.” (“Basic Annals of Xiàng Yǔ,” *Grand Scribe’s Records*)

Láo kǔ gōng gāo 勞苦功高 (having exerted oneself greatly and achieved much merit) is now an idiom, often used to praise others as deserving recognition and reward for their significant achievements.

7 *prep.*; to indicate result; translated differently based on context

子曰：「志士仁人，無求生以害仁，有殺身以成仁。」（《論語·衛靈公》）

*Zǐ yuē, "Zhì shì rén rén, wú qiú shēng yǐ tài rén, yǒu shā shēn yǐ chéng rén."
 " (Lún yǔ, "Wèi Línggōng")*

The Master said, “There are no dedicated men or benevolent people who would seek survival at the cost of benevolence; instead, they would sacrifice their lives to bring benevolence to fruition.” (“Wèi Línggōng,” *Analects*)

Shā shēn chéng rén 殺身成仁 (to sacrifice one’s life to bring benevolence to fruition) is now an idiom, meaning “to sacrifice oneself for the sake of a greater cause.”

- 8 *prep.*; to introduce the object affected by an action; may not be shown in the translation

子謂公冶長：「可妻也。雖在縲絏之中，非其罪也。」以其子妻之。（《論語·公冶長》）

Zǐ wèi Gōngyě Cháng, “Kě qì yě. Suī zài léi xiè zhī zhōng, fēi qí zuì yě.” Yǐ qí zǐ qì zhī. (Lún yǔ, “Gōngyě Cháng”)

The Master commented on Gōngyě Cháng, “He is a good man worth marrying a daughter to. Although he is tied by black ropes (i.e., in prison), it is not his fault.” The Master therefore married his child to him. (“Gōngyě Cháng,” *Analects*)

* The function of *yǐ* cannot be shown in the translation. When *qī* 妻 is used as a verb meaning “to marry a daughter to” instead of a noun meaning “wife,” it is pronounced *qī*. The translation of *yǐ* cannot be pinpointed in the previous excerpt, except by the circumlocution “took his child and married her to him.”

- 9 *prep.*; to introduce the condition someone relies on; “based on/on the strength of”

孟子對曰：「王好戰，請以戰喻。填然鼓之，兵刃既接，棄甲曳兵而走。或百步而後止，或五十步而後止。以五十步笑百步，則何如？」（《孟子·梁惠王上》）

Mèngzǐ duì yuē, “Wáng hào zhàn, qǐng yǐ zhàn yù. Tiánrán gǔ zhī, bīng rèn jì jiē, qì jiā yè bīng ér zǒu. Huò bǎi bù ér hòu zhī, huò wǔshí bù ér hòu zhī. Yǐ wǔshí bù xiào bǎi bù, zé hé rú?” (Mèngzǐ, “Liáng Huiwáng shàng”)

Mencius responded [to King Huì of Liáng], “My King is fond of war; let me explain using war as an example. When drums are struck and weapons are joined, there are soldiers who abandon their armor and flee, dragging their weapons. Some flee for a hundred paces, some for fifty paces. What would My King say if the ones who fled fifty paces laughed at the ones who fled a hundred paces, based on their having fled only fifty paces?” (“King Huì of Liáng, First Section,” *Mencius*)

* One *bù* 步 (pace) equals two steps. The word for one step is *kuǐ* 跡.

Qì jiā yè bīng 舍甲曳兵 (to abandon one's armor and drag one's weapons [while fleeing]) is now an idiom used to describe abject defeat. *Wǔshíbù xiào bǎibù* 五十步笑百步 (the one who fled fifty paces laughs at the one who fled a hundred paces) has become another idiom. It is similar to “the pot calling the kettle black” in English.

- 10 *prep.*; to introduce the reason; the object of the preposition is a noun or a noun phrase. This use of *yǐ* is different from *yǐ* used as a conjunction. When used as a conjunction, it introduces a clause rather than a noun or noun phrase; “because of/due to/on account of”

子曰：「以約失之者，鮮矣。」（《論語·里仁》）

Zǐ yuē, “Yǐ yuē shī zhī zhě, xiǎn yǐ.” (Lún yǔ, “Lǐ rén”)

The Master said, “It is rare for one to commit mistakes due to moderation.” (“Lǐ rén,” *Analects*)

- The object introduced by *yǐ* can be omitted, either because it is understood or because it appears earlier in the sentence.

子曰：「父母之年，不可不知也。一則以喜，一則以懼。」（《論語·里仁》）

Zǐ yuē, “Fù mǔ zhī nián, bù kě bù zhī yě. Yī zé yǐ xǐ, yī zé yǐ jù.” (Lún yǔ, “Lǐ rén”)

The Master said, “The age of your father and mother, you must know (literally “cannot not know”). On the one hand, you are happy because of [this] (that your parents are still alive); on the other, you are apprehensive because of [this] (as they have already lived so much of their lives). (“Lǐ rén,” *Analects*)

* The object of *yǐ* 以 is *zhī* 之, which refers to the parents’ age. The unabbreviated version would be “yī zé yǐ [zhī] xǐ, yī zé yǐ [zhī] jù” — 一則以〔之〕喜，一則以〔之〕懼 (on the one hand, one is happy because of [this]; on the other, one is apprehensive because of [this]). *Zhī* 之 is omitted in the two clauses as understood.

11 *prep.*; to introduce the time

古之治民者，勸賞而畏刑，恤民不倦。賞以春夏，刑以秋冬。（《左傳·襄公二十六年》）

Gǔ zhī zhì mǐn zhě, quàn shǎng ér wèi xíng, xù mǐn bù juàn. Shǎng yǐ chūn xià, xíng yǐ qiū dōng. (Zuō zhuàn, “Xiānggōng èrshíliù nián”)

Those who governed people in ancient times would encourage the people with rewards and make them fearful with punishment. They had compassion for the people and were tireless. They gave rewards in spring and summer and administered punishments in autumn and winter. (“Duke Xiāng 26,” *Zuō Tradition*)

* In traditional Chinese society, it was believed that human activity should accord with nature. Therefore, punishments were as a rule carried out only in autumn and winter when things in the natural world are withering or about to hibernate.

12 *prep.*; to introduce a place or direction

敵以東方來，迎之東壇。（《墨子·迎敵祠》）

Dí yǐ dōng fāng lái, yíng zhī dōng tán. (Mòzǐ, “Yíng dí cí”)

If enemies come from the east, receive them (i.e., the spirits) on the altar in the east. (“Shrine for Receiving the Enemies,” *Mòzǐ*)

13 *prep.*; used before a noun of locality to show time and scope. In this case, *yǐ* does not need to be translated separately.

- combines with *shàng* 上 and *xià* 下; “above/below”

子曰：「中人以上，可以語上也；中人以下，不可以語上也。」（《論語·雍也》）

Zǐ yuē, “Zhōng rén yǐshàng, kě yǐ yù shàng yě; Zhōng rén yǐxià, bù kě yǐ yù shàng yě.” (*Lún yǔ*, “Yōng yě”)

The Master said, “To those who are above the middling, you can teach the highest subjects; to those who are below the middling, you cannot teach the highest subjects. (“Yōng yě,” *Analects*)

- combines with *lái* 來; “ever since”

季武子成寢，杜氏之葬在西階之下，請合葬焉，許之。入宮而不敢哭。武子曰：「合葬，非古也，自周公以來，未之有改也。吾許其大而不許其細，何居？」命之哭。（《禮記·檀弓上》）

Jì Wǔzǐ chéng qǐn, Dù shì zhī zàng zài xī jiē zhī xià, qǐng hé zàng yān, xǔ zhī. Rù gōng ér bù gǎn kū. Wǔzǐ yuē, “Hé zàng, fēi gǔ yě, zì Zhōugōng yǐlái, wèi zhī yǒu gǎi yě. Wú xǔ qí dà ér bù xǔ qí xì. Hé jī?” *Míng zhī kū (Lǐ jì, “Tángōng shàng”)*

Jì Wǔzǐ built a mausoleum, [leveling] the tomb of the Dù clan that was located at the bottom of its western stairs. When the Dù clan begged to perform a joint burial in it for the deceased, Jì Wǔzǐ permitted it. The Dù clan entered the mausoleum but dared not wail out loud. Wǔzǐ said, “Joint burial is not an ancient practice. However, ever since [the governance of] the Duke of Zhōu, joint burial has never been changed. Why would I permit a great deviation from ancient practice, and not permit a small one?” He then ordered them to wail as loud as they wished. (“Tángōng, First Section,” *Records of Rites*)

* When 居 is used as a particle, it often appears at the end of a question and is pronounced *jī*.

- combines with *wǎng* 往; “after”

荊軻既至燕，愛燕之狗屠及善擊筑者高漸離。荊軻嗜酒，日與狗屠及高漸離飲於燕市，酒酣以往，高漸離擊筑，荊軻和而歌於市中，相樂也，已而相泣，旁若無人者。（《史記·刺客列傳·荊軻》）

Jīng Kē jì zhì Yān, ài Yān zhī gǒu tú jí shàn jī zhú zhě Gāo Jiānlí. Jīng Kē shì jiǔ, rì yǔ gǒu tú jí Gāo Jiānlí yīn yú Yān shì, jiǔ hān yǐwǎng. Gāo Jiānlí jī zhú, Jīng Kē hé ér gē yú shì zhōng, xiāng lè yě, yǐ ér xiāng qì, páng ruò wú rén zhě. (*Shǐ jì*, “Cikè lièzhuàn, “Jīng Kē””)

Jīng Kē had arrived in the state of Yān. He was fond of the dog butchers, who lived in Yān, and of Gāo Jiānlí, who was good at playing the bamboo zither. Jīng Kē thirsted for wine. He drank daily in the market of Yān with the dog butchers and Gāo Jiānlí. After they had become tipsy,

Gāo Jiānlí would play the bamboo zither, and Jīng Kē would accompany him and sing in the marketplace, making merry together. When they finished making merry, they would weep with each other, as if no one else were around. (“Jīng Kē,” in “Biography of Assassins,” *Grand Scribe’s Records*)

14 *part.*; to mark the adverbial modifier in a predicate

今背本而趨末，食者甚眾，是天下之大殘也；淫侈之俗，日日以長，是天下之大賊也。（《漢書·食貨志》）

Jīn bēi běn ér qū mò, shí zhě shèn zhòng, shì tiānxià zhī dà cán yě; yín chí zhī sú, rì rì yǐ zhǎng, shì tiānxià zhī dà zéi yě. (*Hàn shū*, “Shí huò zhǐ”)

Now the state is turning away from the fundamental and chasing after the peripheral. Those to be fed are numerous – this is doing the greatest destruction to all under Heaven. Excessive and wasteful customs increase day by day – these are the greatest thieves of all under Heaven. (“Treatises on Food and Currency,” *Official History of Han*)

Bèi běn qū mò 背本趨末 (to turn away from the fundamental and chase after the peripheral) is now an idiom, meaning “to attend to trifles and neglect the essentials.”

15 *part.*; to show that two actions or situations are concurrent

習習谷風，以陰以雨。

鼉勉同心，不宜有怒。

采葑采菲，無以下體。

德音莫違，及爾同死。

（《毛詩·邶風·谷風》）

Xí xí gǔ fēng, yǐ yīn yǐ yǔ.

Mǐnmiǎn tóng xīn, bù yí yǒu nù.

Cǎi fēng cǎi fēi, wú yǐ xià tǐ.

Dé yīn mò wéi, jí ēr tóng sǐ.

(*Máo Shī*, “Bèi fēng,” “Gǔ fēng”)

The valley wind howls – it is overcast; it is rainy.

Let’s strive to have the same mind – it is not fitting to get angry.

Picking turnips and picking radishes, you do not use the bottom part:

I have not betrayed my fine qualities and will be with you till death.

(*Máo* #35, “Valley Wind,” in “Airs of Bèi,” *Songs*)

* The Máo commentary treats *gǔ fēng* as “east wind”; it is the harmony of *yīn* and *yáng* that brings the east wind, which in China is the spring wind. Chéng and Jiǎng dispute this reading as failing to fit the meaning of the

poem. Instead, they propose that the wind literally comes from the valley and is strong and threatening: as such it is a metaphor for the storm-like temper of the husband. *Mǐnmiǎn* 眇勉 (literally “to exert every possible effort”) is alliterative. Both turnips and radishes are grown for their roots, not their leaves. To discard the bottom part, the root, is to discard the best and most useful part, like disregarding a wife’s character and seeking only a beautiful appearance.⁵

16 *adv.; adverbial modifier; to show degree*

始伍員與申包胥為交，員之亡也，謂包胥曰：「我必覆楚。」包胥曰：「我必存之。」及吳兵入郢，伍子胥求昭王。既不得，乃掘楚平王墓，出其尸，鞭之三百，然後已。申包胥亡於山中，使人謂子胥曰：「子之報讐，其以甚乎！吾聞之，人眾者勝天，天定亦能破人。今子故平王之臣，親北面而事之，今至於僇死人，此豈其無天道之極乎！」伍子胥曰：「為我謝申包胥曰：『吾日莫途遠，吾故倒行而逆施之。』」（《史記·伍子胥列傳》）

Shǐ Wǔ Yún yǔ Shēn Bāoxū wéi jiāo, Yún zhī wáng yě, wèi Bāoxū yuē, “Wō bì fù Chǔ.” Bāoxū yuē, “Wō bì cún zhī.” Jí Wú bīng rù Yǐng, Wǔ Zǐxū qiú Zhāowáng. Jí bù dé, nǎi jué Chǔ Píngwáng mù, chū qí shī, biān zhī sānbǎi, rán hòu yǐ. Shēn Bāoxū wáng yú shānzhōng, shǐ rén wèi Zǐxū yuē, “Zǐ zhī bào chóu, qí yǐ shèn hū! Wú wén zhī, rén zhòng zhě shèng tiān, tiān dǐng yì néng pò rén. Jīn zǐ gù Píngwáng zhī chén, qīn bēi miàn ér shì zhī, jīn zhì yú lù sǐ rén, cǐ qǐ qí wú tiān dào zhī jí hū!” Wǔ Zǐxū yuē, “Wèi wǒ xiè Shēn Bāoxū yuē, ‘Wú rì mù tú yuǎn, wú gù dào xíng ér nì shī zhī.’” (Shǐ jì, “Wǔ Zǐxū lièzhuàn”)

In the beginning, Wǔ Yún (i.e., Wǔ Zǐxū 伍子胥) befriended Shēn Bāoxū. When Yún fled [Chǔ], he said to Bāoxū, “I will make sure to overturn Chǔ by any means.” Bāoxū replied, “I will make sure to preserve it by any means.” When the army of Wǔ entered Yǐng (the capital of Chǔ), Wǔ Zǐxū sought King Zhāo. As he could not find him, he dug up the tomb of King Píng of Chǔ (King Zhāo’s father), exposed his corpse, and flogged it three hundred times; only then did he stop. Shēn Bāoxū fled to the mountains, and sent someone to speak to Zǐxū, saying, “Your vengeance is too extreme! I have heard that people, when there are many of them, can win against Heaven, but Heaven can also destroy people. Now you were once the subject of the late King Píng and personally faced north to serve him (rulers sat facing south; subjects faced north). Now you have reached the point of humiliating a dead person. Isn’t this the utmost degree of disregarding the Way of Heaven!” Wǔ Zǐxū said, “Tell Shēn Bāoxū for me: ‘I am facing the dusk of the day and my way is far; for this reason I have to go backwards and do things in the wrong order.’” (“Biography of Wǔ Zǐxū,” *Grand Scribe’s Records*)

* 莫 is the same as mù 暮 (dusk) and is pronounced the same. This excerpt is famous for telling the story of Wǔ Zǐxū’s revenge for his father Wǔ Shē 伍奢 and his elder brother Wǔ Shàng 伍尚, who had been wrongly killed by King Píng.

Rìmù túyuǎn 曰暮途遠 (the day is about to end and there is still a long way to go) is now used as an idiom, meaning to be in dire straits and at one's wit's end. *Dàoxíng nishī* 倒行逆施 (to go backward and do things in the wrong order) is also an idiom used to criticize perverse behavior.

17 *adv.; adverbial modifier; to show scope*

馮諤曰：「君云『視吾家所寡有者』。臣竊計，君宮中積珍寶，狗馬實外殿，美人充下陳。君家所寡有者以義耳！竊以為君市義。」（《戰國策·齊策·齊人有馮諤者》）

Féng Xuān yuē, “Jūn yún, ‘Shì wú jiā suǒ guǎ yǒu zhě.’ Chén qiè jì, jūn gōngzhōng jī zhēn bǎo, gǒu mǎ shí wài jiù, měi rén chōng xiàchéng. Jūn jiā suǒ guǎ yǒu zhě yǐ yì ér! Qiè yǐ wèi jūn shì yì.’” (Zhàn'guó cè, “Qí cè,” “Qí rén yǒu Féng Xuān zhě”)

Féng Xuān replied, “My lord said, ‘You take a look to see what I do not have much of.’ I, your subject, presumed with respect, since my lord’s palace is piled high with exquisite and precious things, with horses and dogs filling the outer stables, while beautiful women abound in the inner palace, that what my lord does not have much of in his home is only righteousness, that’s all there is to it. And so I took the liberty of purchasing righteousness for my lord.” (“There was a person from Qí named Féng Xuān,” in “Strategies of Qí,” *Strategies of the Warring States*)

18 *adv.; adverbial modifier; to show time; used as yǐ 已 (already)*

齊侯妻之，甚善焉。有馬二十乘，將死于齊而已矣。曰：「民生安樂，誰知其他？」桓公卒，孝公即位。諸侯叛齊。子犯知齊之不可以動，而知文公之安齊而有終焉之志也，欲行，而患之，與從者謀於桑下。蠶妾在焉，莫知其在也。妾告姜氏，姜氏殺之，而言於公子曰：「從者將以子行，其聞之者吾以除之矣。子必從之，不可以貳，貳無成命。……」（《國語·晉語·齊侯妻之》）

Qíhóu qì zhī, shèn shàn yān. Yǒu mǎ èrshí shèng, jiāng sǐ yú Qí ér yǐ yǐ. Yuē, “Mǐn shēng ān lè, shuǐ zhī qí tā?” Huángōng zú, Xiàogōng jí wèi. Zhūhóu pàn Qí. Zǐfàn zhī Qí zhī bù kě yǐ dòng, ér zhī Wéngōng zhī ān Qí ér yǒu zhōng yān zhī zhì yě, yù xíng, ér huàn zhī, yù cóng zhé móu yú sāng xià. Cán qiè zài yān, mò zhī qí zài yě. Qiè gào Jiāng shì, Jiāng shì shā zhī, ér yán yú gōngzǐ yuē, “Cóng zhě jiāng yǐ zì xíng, qí wén zhī zhī wú yǐ chú zhī yǐ. Zǐ bì cóng zhī, bù kě yǐ èr, èr wú chéng mìng. . . .” (Guó yǔ, “Jin yǔ,” “Qíhóu qì zhī”)

The Marquis of Qí (Duke Huān) married a daughter [of his clan] to him (i.e., Chóng’ér 重耳, the future Duke Wén of Jin, then a prince who had fled Jin and sought protection from Qí), and treated him very well. Chóng’ér had twenty carriages, and was going to die in Qí (i.e., to spend the rest of his life in Qí) and that was it. He said, “A person is born to enjoy peace and pleasure; who knows otherwise?” Duke Huān of Qí died, and his son Duke

Xiào ascended the throne. The feudal lords rebelled against Qí. Zǐfān knew that the new ruler of Qí could not be relied upon to motivate Chóng’ér to return to Jin, and that Duke Wén (Chóng’ér) found comfort in Qí and harbored the wish to stay there forever. Zǐfān wanted to leave but was worried as to how it could be done. He took counsel with the followers of Chóng’ér under a mulberry tree. A mulberry picker was in the tree, but no one knew that she was there. The girl told Lady Jiāng (Chóng’ér’s wife) about it. Jiāng killed her, and said to the prince, “Your followers are going to leave with you. I have already eliminated the one who heard about their plan. You must follow their advice and should not take another course. If you take another course, you will lose the Mandate of Heaven. . . .” (“The Marquis of Qí married a daughter [of his clan] to him,” in “Discourses of Jin,” *Discourses of States*)

- 19 *DP*; the same as *zhī* 之 (this; these). In ancient times, *yǐ* 以 and *zhī* both belonged to the *zhī* 支 rhyme category. Baxter-Sagart reconstructs *tə (OC) and tsyi (MC) for *zhī* 之, and *lə? (OC) and *yiX* (MC) for *yǐ* 以. In Old Chinese, they share the same vowel and thus rhyme.

欲遣長公主。呂后泣曰：「妾唯以一太子、一女，奈何棄之匈奴！」上竟不能遣長公主，而取家人子為公主，妻單于。（《漢書·酈陸朱劉叔孫列傳》）

Yù qiǎn zhǎng gōngzhū. Lǚhòu qì yuē, “Qiè wéi yǐ yī tài zǐ, yī nǚ, nài hé qì zhī Xiōngnú!” Shàng jìng bù néng qiǎn zhǎng gōngzhū, ér qǔ jiā rén zǐ wéi gōngzhū, qì Chányú. (Hàn shū, “Lì, Lù, Zhū, Liú, Shūsūn lièzhuàn”)

[Gāozǔ of Hàn] wanted to send away his eldest daughter (to marry the khan of the Huns). Empress Lǚ wept and said, “I have only this one heir and one daughter. Why should you abandon her to the Huns!” In the end, the emperor could not send his eldest daughter. Instead, he took the daughter of a family member and disguised her as a princess, marrying her to the khan. (“Biographies of Lì [Yǐjí] 酈食其, Lù [Jiǎ] 陸賈, Zhū [Jiàn] 朱建, Liú [Jing] 劉敬, and Shūsūn [Tōng] 叔孫通,” *Official History of the Han*)

* *Liú Jing* 劉敬, originally named *Lóu Jìng* 婁敬, was given the imperial surname, *Liú* 劉.

- 20 *interr. pron.*; “where”; used after preposition *yú* 于 (at/in)

爰居爰處，爰喪其馬。

于以求之，于林之下。

（《毛詩·邶風·擊鼓》）

Yuán jū yuán chǔ, yuán sàng qí mǎ.

Yú yǐ qiú zhī, yú lín zhī xià.

(*Máo Shī*, “*Bèi fēng*,” “*Jí gǔ*”)

Where to stay; where to rest? Where did we lose our horses?

Where do we seek them? Seek them under the trees of the forest.

(*Máo* #31, “Striking Drums,” in “Airs of Bèi,” *Songs*)⁶

Notes

- 1 *SWXZ*, 1020.
- 2 *SWJZZJ*, *juàn* 14.2, 14.50b–51b.
- 3 Qiú Xīguī, “Shì ‘yǐ’” 釋「以」, in *Gǔwénzì lùnjí* 古文字論集 (Běijīng: Zhōnghuá shūjú, 1992), 106–10.
- 4 *SWJZZJ*, *juàn* 14.2, 51a–51b.
- 5 Chéng and Jiǎng note three sets of rhymes, *fēng* 風 and *xīn* 心, belonging to the rhyme category *qīn* 侵; *Yǔ* 雨 and *nù* 怒, belonging to the rhyme category *yú* 魚; and *fēi* 菲, *tǐ* 體, and *sǐ* 死, belonging to the rhyme category *zhī* 脂. *SJZX*, 91–2. Karlgren has *pjum* for 風 and *sjam* for 心; *giwo* for 雨 and *no* for 怒; *p'iwär* for 菲, *t'liär* for 體, *g'iwär* for 違, and *sjør* for 死. He considers 違 as a rhyme. Karlgren, *The Book of Odes*, 21.
- 6 Chéng and Jiǎng note that the rhyme category is *yú* 魚, with *jū* 居, *chǔ* 處, *mǎ* 馬, and *xià* 下 as the rhymes. *SJZX*, 79. Karlgren has *t'jo* for 處, *må* for 馬, and *g'å* for 下. He does not consider *jū* 居 to be a rhyme. Karlgren, *The Book of Odes*, 18.

Yǐ WÉI 以為

- 1 to suppose that one thing is another; the object is understood and omitted; “supposed . . . to be”

廣出獵，見草中石，以為虎而射之，中石沒鏃，視之石也。（《史記·李將軍列傳》）

Guǎng chū liè, jiàn cǎozhōng shí, yǐ wéi hǔ ér shè zhī, zhòng shí mò zú, shí zhī shí yě. (*Shǐ jì*, “*Lǐ Jiāngjūn lièzhuàn*”)

[*Lǐ*] *Guǎng* was out hunting. He saw a rock among the grasses. Supposing [it] to be a tiger, he shot at it. The arrow hit the rock, with the arrowhead buried deep in it. When he looked at it, it was only a rock. (“Biography of General *Lǐ*,” *Grand Scribe’s Records*)

- 2 to treat one thing as another thing; “to treat . . . as”

天地不仁，以萬物為芻狗；聖人不仁，以百姓為芻狗。（《老子·道經五章》）

Tiān dì bù rén, yǐ wàn wù wéi chú gǒu; shèng rén bù rén, yǐ bǎi xìng wéi chú gǒu. (*Lǎozǐ*, “*Dào jīng wǔ zhāng*”)

Heaven and earth are not benevolent; they treat the myriad things as straw dogs (used in rituals and then discarded). The sages are not benevolent; they treat the common people as straw dogs. (“Classic of the Way, Fifth Chapter,” *Lǎozǐ*)

* Straw dogs were treated with reverence when they were used in rituals but after that were discarded. By analogy, everything that happens, happens at the right time and in the natural course of things. *Lǎozǐ* was against the idea of benevolence; he believed that it was only when people were not benevolent that benevolence in the abstract was promoted. Therefore, all things on earth should be allowed to complete their natural courses without interference from any quarter.

- 3 to have someone assume a role; “to take . . . as”

初，晉獻公欲以驪姬為夫人，卜之，不吉；筮之，吉。公曰：「從筮。」（《左傳·僖公四年》）

Chū, Jìn Xiàngōng yù yǐ Lí Jī wéi Fūrén, bù zhī, bù jí; shì zhī, jí. Gōng yuē, “Cóng shì.” (Zuō zhuàn, “Xīgōng sì nián”)

Earlier, Duke Xiàn of Jin wanted to take Lí Jī as his wife. He had diviners divine about it with tortoise shells. The result was inauspicious. He again had them divine about it with yarrow stalks. The result was auspicious. The duke said, “I shall follow the result of the yarrow stalks.” (Duke Xī 4, *Zuō Tradition*)

* The ancient practice of divination using tortoise shells was believed to be more reliable than the newer method, divining with yarrow stalks, but Duke Xiàn opted for the yarrow stalks to justify his action.

- 4 to consider someone or something to be so; “to consider . . . to be”

管仲曰：「吾始困時，嘗與鮑叔賈，分財利多自與，鮑叔不以我為貪，知我貧也。吾嘗為鮑叔謀事而更窮困，鮑叔不以我為愚，知時有利不利也。吾嘗三仕三見逐於君，鮑叔不以我為不肖，知我不遭時也。吾嘗三戰三走，鮑叔不以我為怯，知我有老母也。公子糾敗，召忽死之，吾幽囚受辱，鮑叔不以我為無恥，知我不羞小節而恥功名不顯于天下也。生我者父母，知我者鮑子也。」（《史記·管晏列傳》）

Guǎn Zhòng yuē, “Wú shǐ kùn shí, cháng yǔ Bào Shū gǔ, fēn cái lì duō zì yú, Bào Shū bù yǐ wǒ wéi tān, zhī wǒ pín yě. Wú cháng wèi Bào Shū móu shí ér gèng qióng kùn, Bào Shū bù yǐ wǒ wéi yú, zhī shí yǒu lì bù lì yě. Wú cháng sān shí sān jiàn zhú yú jūn, Bào Shū bù yǐ wǒ wéi bù xiào, zhī wǒ bù zāo shí yě. Wú cháng sān zhàn sān zǒu, Bào Shū bù yǐ wǒ wéi qiè, zhī wǒ yǒu lǎo mǔ yě. Gōngzǐ Jiū bài, Shào Hū sǐ zhī, wú yōu qíu shòu rǔ, Bào Shū bù yǐ wǒ wéi wú chǐ, zhī wǒ bù xiū xiǎo jié ér chǐ gōng míng bù xiǎn yú tiānxià yě. Shēng wǒ zhě fù mǔ, zhī wǒ zhě Bào zǐ yě.” (Shǐ jì, “Guǎn Yàn lièzhuàn”)

Guǎn Zhòng said, “Earlier, at a time when I was in dire straits, I went into business with Bào Shū. In dividing the profits, I often gave myself more. Yet Bào Shū did not consider me greedy, for he knew that I was poor. I sometimes gave advice to Bào Shū but matters ended up worse. Bào Shū did not consider me incapable, for he knew that the timing that success relies on can be favorable or unfavorable. I served three times in office and was expelled by my lord three times, yet Bào Shū did not consider me unworthy, for he knew that my talent was not put to use at the opportune time. I fought three times and ran away from the battlefield three times, yet Bào Shū did not consider me cowardly, for he knew that I had my elderly mother to take care of. When Prince Jiū was defeated, and Shào Hū died for him, I chose to be imprisoned and humiliated, yet Bào Shū did not consider me shameless, for he knew that I would not be ashamed for minor principles but would consider it shameful not to have my name made known to all under Heaven. The ones who gave me life are my parents, yet the one who knows me is Master Bào.” (“Biographies of Guǎn [Zhòng] and Yàn [Yīng] 晏嬰,” *Grand Scribe’s Records*)

* Bào Shū is Bào Shūyá 鮑叔牙.

The friendship between Guǎn Zhòng and Bào Shūyá 鮑叔牙 is legendary in Chinese culture, hence the idiom “Guǎn Bào zhī jiāo” 管鮑之交 (the friendship of Guǎn and Bào) to indicate friendship based on mutual recognition and appreciation. In the *Zuō Tradition*, we see that Guǎn Zhòng also understood Bào Shūyá: he discouraged Duke Huán of Qí from appointing Bào as a great official, because he knew that Bào was too upright for the position and would end up bringing disaster upon himself and the duke. Far from being offended when he heard this, Bào praised Guǎn for knowing him so well.

Yǐ 矣

early meaning unclear

- | – *final part* ; to indicate an action has been completed or a situation has changed
- | – *final part* ; to indicate the development of an event or its inevitable result
- | – *final part* ; to show judgment
- | – *final part* ; to show imperative
- | – *final part* ; to show exclamation
- | – *final part* ; to express doubt
- | – *final part* ; To introduce the next clause

BI	CM	QM	SS
𠩺	𠩺	𠩺	𠩺

【yú jǐ qiè 于紀切】OC: *qəʔ (atonic); MC: hiX

Early Meaning: Early Meaning Unclear

Jì Xūshēng does not have an entry for this.

Xǔ Shèn writes, “*Yǐ 矣* (矣) is a word for ending a sentence. It is derived from *shǐ* 矢 (弔, arrow); *yǐ* 以 (厃, to use) is sound-bearing” 矣(矣), 語已詞也。从矢, 以聲. Xú Hào agrees with Xǔ Shèn that this is a graph of “form and sound,” but proposes that *yǐ* indicates the meaning and *shǐ* the sound. He also points out that *yǐ* can appear within a sentence and may also be used to introduce the next line.¹ Xú Kǎi comments that the swish of air an arrow makes in flight is direct and quick; thus, *yǐ* is used to indicate the completion of a sentence, and the graph should be treated as an “associative compound.”²

Borrowed Meanings

- 1 *final part* ; to indicate that an action has been completed or a situation has changed. Kroll treats this as “a sentential marker of perfective aspect.”³

君子于役，不知其期。曷至哉？
 雞棲于埘；日之夕矣，羊牛下來。
 君子于役，如之何勿思？
 (《毛詩·王風·君子于役》)

Jūnzǐ yú yì, bù zhī qí qī. Hé zhì zāi?
Jī qī yú shí; Rì zhī xī yǐ, yáng niú xià lái.
Jūnzǐ yú yì, rú zhī hé wù sī?
 (Máo Shī, “Wáng fēng,” “Jūnzǐ yú yì”)

My lord serving corvée – his term is unknown. When is he coming?
 Fowls roost in their wall coops; when the day has reached dusk, even
 sheep and oxen come down.

My lord serving corvée – how can I not miss him?
 (Máo #66, “My Lord Serving Corvée,” in “Airs of Wáng,” *Songs*)

* The same stanza, with annotations, can be seen under the entry for
 wù 勿.

2 *final part.*; to indicate the development of an event or its inevitable result; Kroll treats this as a sentential marker of hypothetical perfective aspect.⁴

厲王虐，國人謗王。邵公告曰：「民不堪命矣。」（《國語·周語上》）

Lìwáng nüè, guó rén bàng wáng. Shàogōng gào yuē, “Mín bù kān mìng yǐ.”
 (Guó yǔ, “Zhōu yǔ shàng”)

King Lì was tyrannical. People of the state spoke ill of the king. Duke Shào informed him, “Your people can no longer endure your harsh orders.” (“Discourses of Zhōu,” *Discourses of States*)

3 *final part.*; to show judgment; Kroll treats this as a “sentence-final grammatical particle of rhetorical finality,” meaning “surely, definitely, that’s it.”⁵ Although *yǐ* may be translated into numerous adverbs, as Kroll recommends, it is important to bear in mind that in Chinese grammar, it functions as a particle, not an adverb.

韓宣王謂穆留曰：「吾欲兩用公仲、公叔，其可乎？」對曰：「不可。晉用六卿而國分，簡公兩用田成、閼止而簡公殺，魏兩用犀首、張儀而西河之外亡。今王兩用之，其多力者樹其黨，寡力者借外權。群臣有內樹黨以驕主，有外為交以削地，則王之國危矣。」（《韓非子·說林》）

Hán Xuānwáng wèi Jiū Liú yuē, “Wú yù liǎng yòng Gōng Zhòng, Gōng Shū, qí kě hū?” Dui yuē, “Bù kě. Jin yòng liù qīng ér guó fēn, Jiǎngōng liǎng yòng Tián Chéng, Kàn Zhī ér Jiǎngōng shā, Wèi liǎng yòng Xī Shǒu, Zhāng Yí ér Xīhé zhī wài wáng. Jin wáng liǎng yòng zhī, qí duō lì zhě shù qí dǎng, guǎ lì zhě jiè wài quán. Qún chén yǒu nèi shù dǎng yǐ jiāo zhū, yǒu wài wéi jiāo yǐ xuē dì, zé wáng zhī guó wéi yǐ.” (Hánfēizǐ, “Shuì lín”)

King Xuān of Hán said to Jiū Liú, “I would like to employ both Gōng Zhòng and Gōng Shū; is it feasible?” He responded, “It is not feasible. Jin employed

six ministers, and the state was divided; Duke Jiǎn employed both Tián Chéng and Kàn Zhǐ, and Duke Jiǎn was killed; Wèi employed both Xī Shǒu and Zhāng Yǐ, and the territory to the west of Xīhé was lost. Now My King wants to employ both of them (i.e., Gōng Zhòng and Gōng Shū). The one who is more powerful will form cliques, and the one with less strength will borrow power from outside. When, among all your officials, there are those who form cliques and behave arrogantly towards their lord and those who associate with foreign powers and chip away at the territory of the state, My King's state will indeed be in peril.” (“Collected Persuasions,” *Hánfēizī*)

* *Yǐ* 以 is used as a conjunction, meaning “and.”

- can be used with the adverb *bì* 必 (surely, definitely) for emphasis
得道者多助，失道者寡助。寡助之至，親戚畔之；多助之至，天下順之。以天下之所順，攻親戚之所畔；故君子有不戰，戰必勝矣。 (《孟子·公孫丑下》)

Dé dào zhě duō zhù, shī dào zhě guǎ zhù. Guǎ zhù zhī zhì, qīn qī pàn zhī; duō zhù zhī zhì, tiānxià shùn zhī. Yǐ tiānxià zhī suǒ shùn, gōng qīn qī zhī suǒ p àn; gù jūnzi yǒu bù zhàn, zhàn bì shèng yǐ. (Mèngzǐ, “Gōngsūn Chǒu xià”)

The one who has the Way will have a great deal of help; the one who has lost the Way will lack help. In the most extreme case of lacking help, even his family will desert him; in the most extreme case of having a great deal of help, all under Heaven will submit to him. A wise ruler uses what all under Heaven submit to (i.e., benevolent policies) to attack what even family will desert (i.e., unbenevolent policies). Therefore, a noble man either does not need to do battle, or if he does do battle, he will definitely win. (“Gōngsūn Chǒu, Second Section,” *Mencius*)

4 final part.; to show imperative

莊子釣於濮水，楚王使大夫二人往先焉，曰：「願以竟內累矣！」莊子持竿不顧，曰：「吾聞楚有神龜，死已三千歲矣，王巾笥而藏之廟堂之上。此龜者，寧其死為留骨而貴乎？寧其生而曳尾於塗中乎？」二大夫曰：「寧生而曳尾塗中。」莊子曰：「往矣！吾將曳尾於塗中。」 (《莊子·秋水》)

Zhuāngzǐ diào yú Púshuǐ, Chǔ wáng shǐ dàfū èr rén wǎng xiān yān, yuē, “Yuàn yǐ jìng nèi lèi yǐ!” Zhuāngzǐ chí gān bù gù, yuē, “Wú wén Chǔ yǒu shén guī, sī yǐ sān qiān suì yǐ, wáng jīn sì ér cáng zhī miào táng zhī shàng. Cǐ guī zhě, nìng qí sǐ wéi liú gǔ ér guì hū? Ning qí shēng ér yè wéi yú tú zhōng hū?” Èr dàfū yuē, “Nìng shēng ér yè wéi yú tú zhōng.” Zhuāngzǐ yuē, “Wǎng yǐ! Wú jiāng yè wéi yú tú zhōng.” (Zhuāngzǐ, “Qiū shuǐ”)

Zhuāngzǐ was fishing in the river Pú. The king of Chǔ sent two grandees to approach him with the message, “I wish to burden you with all of my territory (i.e., to let you assist in governing).” Zhuāngzǐ, holding his fishing-rod without turning his head, said, “I hear that in Chǔ there is a divine tortoise, which has already been dead for three thousand years. The king keeps it safe in the hall of the ancestral temple, in a bamboo hamper covered by a cloth.

Would this tortoise rather be dead, to be honored as preserved bones? Or would it rather be alive, dragging its tail in the mud?" The two grandees said, "It would rather be alive, dragging its tail in the mud." Zhuāngzǐ said, "Go away! I am going to drag my tail in the mud." ("Autumn Floods," Zhuāngzǐ)

Yè wěi tú zhōng 曳尾塗中 (dragging one's tail in the mud) is now an idiom used to refer to someone who would rather be poor but carefree than elevated but suffering constraint. 曳 is pronounced *yì* in Taiwan.

5 *final part.*; to show exclamation

子曰:「甚矣吾衰也!久矣吾不復夢見周公!」(《論語·述而》)

Zǐ yuē, "Shèn yǐ wú shuāi yé! Jiǔ yǐ wú bù fù mèng jiàn Zhōugōng!" (Lún yǔ, "Shù ér")

The Master said, "How gravely have I deteriorated! How long have I not dreamed of the Duke of Zhōu!" ("Shù ér," *Analects*)

* The Duke of Zhōu is credited with systematizing the use of music and rites as a way of governing through suasion and not coercion. He was Confucius's role model. Dreaming of the Duke of Zhōu symbolizes Confucius's ambition to restore the duke's method of rulership.

6 *final part.*; to express doubt; used with other interrogative pronouns, most often with *hé* 何

文王謂武王曰:「女何夢矣?」武王對曰:「夢帝與我九齡。」(《禮記·文王世子》)

Wénwáng wèi Wǔwáng yuē, "Rǔ hé mèng yǐ?" *Wǔwáng duì yuē*, "Mèng dì yǔ wǒ jiǔ líng." (Lí jì, "Wénwáng shìzǐ")

King Wén asked King Wǔ, "What did you dream about?" King Wǔ responded, "I dreamed that the highest god granted me ninety years of life." ("The Heir, King Wén," *Records of Rites*)

* *Jiǔ líng* 九齡 literally means nine years of age, but here it is used to mean ninety years.

7 *final part.*; to introduce the next clause

- to highlight the topic

子曰:「我未見好仁者,惡不仁者。好仁者,無以尚之;惡不仁者,其為仁矣,不使不仁者加乎其身。有能一日用其力於仁矣乎?我未見力不足者。蓋有之矣,我未之見也。」(《論語·里仁》)

Zǐ yuē, "Wǒ wèi jiàn hào rén zhě, wù bù rén zhě. Hào rén zhě, wú yǐ shàng zhī; wù bù rén zhě, qí wéi rén yǐ, bù shí bù rén zhě jiā hū qí shēn."

Yǒu néng yī rì yòng qí lì yú rén yǐ hū? Wǒ wèi jiàn lì bù zú zhě. Gài yǒu zhī yǐ, wǒ wèi zhī jiàn yě.” (*Lín yǔ*, “Lǐ rén”)

The Master said, “I have not yet seen one who is [truly] fond of benevolence and one who [truly] detests evil (literally, “the not-benevolent”). One who is fond of benevolence – there is nothing to surpass them; one who detests evil, in acting benevolently, simply will not let evil actions be imposed upon him. Is there anyone who can devote his strength to benevolence for even a single day? I have never seen anyone whose strength is not sufficient. Presumably there are, but I have not yet seen one.” (“Lǐ rén,” *Analects*)⁶

- to create a pause; common in the *Songs*

鳳皇鳴矣,于彼高岡。

梧桐生矣,于彼朝陽。

蓁蓁萋萋、雔雔喈喈。

(《毛詩·大雅·卷阿》)

Fèng huáng míng yǐ, yú bǐ gāo gāng.

Wútóng shēng yǐ, yú bǐ cháo yáng.

Bēngbēng qīqī, yōngyōng jiējiē.

(*Máo Shī*, “Dà yǎ,” “Quán ē”)

The male and female phoenix give out their notes, up on that lofty ridge.

The *wútóng* tree grows, up on those eastern slopes.

Luxuriant are the plants; harmonious are the cries.

(*Máo* #252, “Winding Mountain Slope,” in “Major Odes,” *Songs*)⁷

Notes

1 *SWJZZJ*, *juàn* 5.2, 37b–38a.

2 Xú Kǎi, *Shuōwén jiězì xìzhuàn*, *juàn* 10, 100.

3 *SDCMC*, 546.

4 *SDCMC*, 546.

5 *SDCMC*, 546.

6 For the interpretation of this passage, see Chéng Shùdé, *Línyǔ jíshì*, *juàn* 7, 237–40.

7 Chéng and Jiǎng note three set of rhymes: *Míng* 鳴 and *shēng* 生, belonging to the rhyme category of *gēng* 耕; *gāng* 岗 and *yáng* 陽, belonging to the rhyme category *yáng* 陽; and *qī* 萋 and *jiē* 喳, belonging to the rhyme category *zhī* 脂. *SJZX*, 836. Karlgren has *mjéng* for 鳴 and *séng* for 生; *kāng* for 岗 and *dīang* for 陽; *ts'iør* for 萋, and *ker* for 喳. Karlgren, *The Book of Odes*, 209.

Yì 亦

n.; “armpits”

- | – *adv.*; to show scope; “also,” “only”
- | – *adv.*; to show the natural course of things
- | – *part.*; for emphasis
- | – *part*; used at the beginning of a line with no specific meaning

OBI	BI	CM	QM	SS
亦	𠂔	夊	夊	夊

【yáng yì qiè 羊益切】OC: *[g](r)Ak; MC: *yek*

Early Meaning: *n.*; “armpits”

Jǐ Xūshēng notes that *yì* 亦 is the original graph for *yè* 腋 (armpits).¹ Although these two words are pronounced differently in Pǔtōnghuà, they have exactly the same pronunciation in ancient and medieval Chinese, as suggested by Baxter and Sagart. The two are still pronounced the same in Cantonese. Zhāng Shùnhuī 張舜徽 observes that the oracle-bone inscription 夂 for *dà* depicts an upright person from the front; the dots on the right and the left indicate the hidden parts under the arms.² Both scholars place this graph in the category of “indicating things.”

Xǔ Shèn writes, “*Yì* 亦(夊) is a person’s armpits. It is derived from *dà* 大 (夊, to be large) and depicts the shape of a person’s armpits” 夂(亦), 人之臂亦也。从大, 象兩亦之形. Duàn Yúcái explains that *bì yì* 臂亦 here refers to the areas between the arms and the body, that is, the armpits. The body and the arms overlap, hence the derivation of the extended meaning of duplication in the sense of “also.” Xú Hào adds that *yì* 亦 is the original graph for *yè* 腋 (armpits) and was then borrowed as a function word. The two dots are indicative of the original meaning of “armpit.”³

Borrowed Meanings

- 1 *adv.; adverbial modifier; to show scope; “also,” “only”*

大上貴德，其次務施報。禮尚往來，往而不來，非禮也；來而不往，亦非禮也。（《禮記·曲禮上》）

Tài shàng guì dé, qí cì wù shī bào. Lǐ shàng wǎng lái, wǎng ér bù lái, fēi lǐ yě; lái ér bù wǎng, yì fēi lǐ yě. (Lǐ jì, “Qǔ lǐ shàng”)

In ancient times, people valued virtue, and devoted themselves to repaying those who had done them kindnesses. Ritual propriety esteems reciprocity in giving and taking. Giving without receiving is not ritual propriety; receiving without giving is also not ritual propriety. (“Intricate Rites, First Section,” *Records of Rites*)

* The 大 in 大上 (ancient times) should be pronounced *tài*, not *dà*.

Lǐ shàng wǎng lái 禮尚往來 (ritual propriety values reciprocity in giving and taking) is an idiom. It emphasizes reciprocal behavior. *Lǐ* 禮, often mistaken today as narrowly meaning “gifts,” had in ancient times a much broader meaning that went beyond material exchange to valorize reciprocal behavior, which was important for nurturing the relationships that bound society together.

堯舜之治天下，豈無所用其心哉？亦不用於耕耳。（《孟子·滕文公上》）

Yáo Shùn zhī zhì tiānxià, qǐ wú suǒ yòng qí xīn zāi? Yǐ bù yòng yú gēng ēr. (Mèngzǐ, “Téng Wéngōng shàng”)

Yáo and Shùn, in governing all under Heaven – was there anything they did not use their minds for? It is only that they did not use them to farm. (“Téng Wéngōng, First Section,” *Mencius*)

- 2 *adv.; adverbial modifier; to show the natural course of things; may be roughly translated as “naturally”*

子曰：「君子博學於文，約之以禮，亦可以弗畔矣夫！」（《論語·雍也》）

Zǐ yuē, “Jūnzi bóxué yú wén, yuē zhī yǐ lǐ, yì kěyǐ fú pàn yǐ fú!” (Lún yǔ, “Yōng yě”)

The Master said, “A noble man learns extensively in the six arts and moderates himself with the rites. Naturally he can depend on these for not transgressing!” (“Yōng yě,” *Analects*)

* *Wén* 文 (arts) refers to the six arts in which boys were instructed in ancient China: the rites, music, archery, chariot driving, calligraphy, and mathematics.⁴

- 3 *part.; for emphasis; can be used in a normal question or rhetorical question or in a descriptive or imperative sentence*

孟子見梁惠王。王曰：「叟不遠千里而來，亦將有以利吾國乎？」孟子對曰：「王何必曰利？亦有仁義而已矣。……」（《孟子·梁惠王上》）

Mèngzǐ jiàn Liáng Huìwáng. Wáng yuē, “Sōu bù yuǎn qiān lǐ ér lái, yì jiāng yǒu yǐ lì wú guó hū?” Mèngzǐ duì yuē, “Wáng hé bì yuē lì? Yì yǒu rén yì ér yǐ yǐ. . . .” (Mèngzǐ, “Liáng Huìwáng shàng”)

Mencius sought an audience with King Huì of Liáng. The king said, “My elder, that you should have come without considering a thousand *li* far, are you going to present me with something profitable to my state?” Mencius responded, saying, “My King, why should you mention profit? There is nothing other than benevolence and righteousness – only these are worth mentioning. . . .” (“King Huì of Liáng, First Section,” *Mencius*)

* The first *yì* is used in a question, and the second in a descriptive sentence.

- 4 *part.*; used at the beginning of a line with no specific meaning

臯陶曰：「都！亦行有九德；亦言其人有德，乃言曰：載采采。」（《尚書·虞書·臯陶謨》）

Gāo Yáo yuē, “Dū! Yì xíng yǒu jiǔ dé; yì yán qí rén yǒu dé, nǎi yán yuē: Zài cǎi cǎi.” (Shàng Shū, “Yú shū,” “Gāo Yáo mó”)

Gāo Yáo said, “Oh! There are nine virtuous deeds. When you mention someone’s virtue, you would say, “It lies in such and such actions.” (“Counsels of Gāo Yáo,” in “Book of Yú,” *Book of Documents*)

Notes

- 1 *SWXZ*, 796.
- 2 Zhāng Shùnhuī 張舜徽, *Shuōwén jiězì dǎodú* 說文解字導讀 (Chéngdū: Bā-Shú shūshè, 1990), 48.
- 3 *SWJZZJ*, juàn 10.2, 12a–12b.
- 4 For the interpretation of this passage, see Chéng Shùdé, *Lúnyǔ jíshì*, juàn 12, 417.

YÚ 于

vb.; “to exhale”

- | – *prep.*; to introduce the location
- | – *prep.*; to introduce the time
- | – *prep.*; to introduce the indirect object
- | – *prep.*; to introduce the person addressed by an action
- | – *prep.*; to indicate the source
- | – *prep.*; to introduce the agent in a passive voice construction
- | – *prep.*; to introduce the scope of an action
- | – *prep.*; to show comparison
- | – *prep.*; to introduce the logical basis
- | – *interjection*; to show admiration [wū]

OBI	BI	CM	QM	SS
于	𠂔	𠂔	于	于

【yú jù qiè 羽俱切】OC: *Gʷ(r)a; MC: *hju* for *yú* 于; *[?]a; ‘*jo* for *yú* 於

Early Meaning: *vb.*; “to exhale”

Jǐ Xūshēng suggests that the early meaning of this graph is “reed organ.” After it was borrowed to serve as a function word, the semantic determinative *zhú* 竹 was added to create a new graph *yú* 等 for the early meaning.¹ Lǐ Xiàoding points out that the 于 found in oracle-bone inscriptions is not composed of the same elements proposed by Xǔ Shèn. He agrees, nonetheless, that it is used to indicate location, like the graphs appearing in received texts.² In received texts composed after the Qín, *yú* is often written 於.

Xǔ Shèn writes, “Yú 于 (于) is the same as *yú* 於. It depicts an exhalation. It is derived from *yú* 𠂔 (𠂔, the breath about to be exhaled) and *yī* 一 (—, level). *Yī* 一 is the leveling of the breath” 于(于), 於也。象气之舒亏,从亏、从一。一者,其

气平之也. Duàn Yùcái comments that *yú* is written as 于 in the *Songs* and the *Book of Documents*, and as 於 in the *Analects*. He points out that in the Zhōu dynasty, these two characters were considered *gǔ jīn zì* 古今字 (ancient and modern characters), with 于 being the ancient and 於 the modern form; thus, *yú* 於 was at that time used as a gloss to explain *yú* 于. Xú Hào explains that *yú* 于 and *xī* 兮 form a pair: *Xī* 兮 depicts the breath coming out irregularly, as indicated by the component *bā* 八 (to separate), whereas *yú* 于 depicts the breath coming out evenly, as indicated by the component *yī* 一 (to level).³ Pulleyblank argues that in Old Chinese, *yú* 于 and *yú* 於 were two distinct locative prepositions: *yú* 于 had the original verbal meaning “to go to” and was etymologically related to *wǎng* 往, while *yú* 於 had no separate verbal function.⁴

Borrowed Meanings

1 prep.; to introduce the location

- to indicate where an action takes place

子曰：「道不行，乘桴浮于海。從我者其由與？」子路聞之喜。子曰：「由也好勇過我，無所取材。」(《論語·公冶長》)

Zǐ yuē, “*Dào bù xíng, chéng fú fù yú hāi. Còng wǒ zhě qí Yóu yú?*” *Zǐlù* wén zhī xī. *Zǐ yuē*, “*Yóu yě hào yǒng guò wǒ, wú suǒ qǔ cái.*” (*Lún yú*, “*Gōngyě Cháng*”)⁵

The Master said, “If it were impossible to implement the Way, and I were to take a raft to travel on the ocean, the one who would follow me would probably be Yóu.” *Zǐlù* (i.e., Yóu) heard this and was delighted. The Master said, “Yóu (i.e., *Zǐlù*) is much fonder of boldness than I am, but I have nowhere to obtain the wood for the raft].” (“*Gōngyě Cháng*,” *Analects*)

* There are various interpretations of this passage. A few of the traditional commentators propose that 材 is used as the sentential final module particle *zāi*哉, which has nothing to do with wood: the Master was simply being humble, saying that there was nothing in which he could be useful (*wú suǒ qū*). Most commentators are agreed in reading the Master’s statement as a complaint about the lack of virtuous rulers, so that good men, unable to put the Way into practice, would be left to drift hither and yon. Although he was simply lamenting his circumstances, *Zǐlù* took the idea of the raft seriously, at which the Master then said he had no wood to build one.⁶ D. C. Lau treats *Zǐlù* as the subject of *wú suǒ qǔ cái* 無所取材 and reads 材 literally to mean “timber.” He thus translates the line as “Yóu is foolhardier than I. He has not even a supply of timber for his raft.”⁷ In English and modern Chinese, a change of subject must be clearly indicated, but in literary Chinese, the subject often changes with no obvious indication. It is therefore unclear whether the subject of *wú suǒ qǔ cái* is Confucius himself, as has usually been assumed, or *Zǐlù*.

- to introduce a place of origin

今燕虐其民，王往而征之，民以為將拯己於水火之中也，簞食壺漿以迎王師。若殺其父兄，係累其子弟，毀其宗廟，遷其重器，如之何其可也？（《孟子·梁惠王下》）

Jīn Yān nuè qí mǐn, wáng wǎng ér zhēng zhī, mǐn yǐ wéi jiāng zhěng jǐ yú shuǐ huǒ zhī zhōng yě, dān sì hú jiāng yǐ yíng wáng shī. Ruò shā qí fù xiōng, xì léi qí zǐ dì, huǐ qí zōng miào, qiān qí zhòng qì, rú zhī hé qí kě yě? (Mèngzǐ, “Liáng Huiwáng xià”)

Now the state of Yān mistreated its people, and My King went to conquer it. The people thought that My King would save them from water and fire (a metaphor for harsh policies). They brought baskets of rice and bottles of drink to meet your army. If My King now kills their fathers and elder brothers, bind their children and younger brothers, destroy their ancestral temples, and appropriate their valuable vessels, how can such a course be deemed proper? (“King Hui of Liáng, Second Section,” *Mencius*)

- to introduce a destination

召公曰：「……夫民慮之於心而宣之於口，成而行之。若壅其口，其與能幾何？」王不聽。於是國莫敢出言，三年，乃相與畔，襲厲王。厲王出奔於彘。（《史記·周本紀》）

Shàogōng yuē, “. . . Fú mǐn lù zhī yú xīn ér xuān zhī yú kǒu, chéng ér xíng zhī. Ruò yōng qí kǒu, qí yǔ néng jǐ hé?” Wáng bù tīng. Yú shì guó mò gǎn chū yán, sān nián, nǎi xiāng yǔ pàn, xí Lìwáng. Lìwáng chū bèn yú Zhì. (Shǐ jì, “Zhōu běnji”)

Duke Shào said, “. . . People consider them (i.e., their opinions) in their minds and express them with their mouths. Then, when ready, they put them in practice. If you block their mouths, how can anyone assist you?” The king (King Lì) did not listen. Thereupon no one from the state dared utter a word, so they joined hands to rebel in the third year and attacked King Lì. King Lì left the state and fled to Zhì. (“Basic Annals of Zhōu,” *Grand Scribe’s Records*)

* The *yú* 于 in *fú mǐn lù zhī yú xīn ér xuān zhī yú kǒu* 夫民慮之於心而宣之於口 (people consider them [i.e., their opinions] in their minds and express them with their mouths) is used to introduce the location, indicating the place of origin. See Borrowed Meanings (1), subentry (2). This meaning of the second *yú* cannot be revealed in the English translation “with,” which suggests the means through which an action is performed. The equivalent of this English usage of “with” would have been *yǐ* 以 in literary Chinese.

2 prep.; to introduce the time

古者文王處豐、鎬之間，地方百里，行仁義而懷西戎，遂王天下。徐偃王處漢東，地方五百里，行仁義，割地而朝者三十有六國，荊文王恐其害己也，

舉兵伐徐，遂滅之。故文王行仁義而王天下，偃王行仁義而喪其國，是仁義用於古不用於今也。故曰：世異則事異。（《韓非子·五蠹》）

Gǔ zhě Wénwáng chǔ Fēng. Hào zhī jiān, dì fāng bǎi lǐ, xíng rén yì ér huái xī róng, suì wàng tiānxià. Xú Yǎnwáng chǔ Hán dōng, dì fāng wǔbǎi lǐ, xíng rén yì, gē dì ér cháo zhě sānshí yǒu liù guó, Jīng Wénwáng kǒng qí hài jǐ yě, jǔ bīng fá Xú, suì miè zhī. Gù Wénwáng xíng rén yì ér wàng tiānxià, Yǎnwáng xíng rén yì ér sàng qí guó, shì rén yì yòng yú gǔ bù yòng yú jīn yě. Gù yuē: Shí yì zé shì yì. (Hánfēizǐ, “Wǔ dù”)

In ancient times the land of King Wén was situated between Fēng and Hào. His land was a hundred *lǐ* square, and he implemented benevolent and righteous policies and brought the western tribes into his fold. Thus, he became king of all under Heaven. King Yǎn of Xú was located east of Han. His land was five hundred *lǐ* square, and he implemented benevolent and righteous policies. Those who gave up their land to pay homage amounted to thirty-six. King Wén of Jīng feared that he (King Yǎn) would injure him (King Wén of Jīng); he raised an army against Xú, thereupon extinguishing it. Previously, King Wén implemented benevolent and righteous policies and became king of all under Heaven; King Yǎn implemented benevolent and righteous policies and lost his state. This shows that benevolence and righteousness could be used in ancient times but not at present. Thus it is said, “When the times are different, the measures taken should be different.” (“The Five Vermin,” *Hánfēizǐ*)

3 *prep.*; to introduce an indirect object

二十一年，驪姬謂太子曰：「君夢見齊姜，太子速祭曲沃，歸釐於君。」太子於是祭其母齊姜於曲沃，上其薦胙於獻公。（《史記·晉世家》）

Èrshíyī nián, Lí Jī wèi tàizǐ yuē, “Jūn mèng jiàn Qí Jiāng, tàizǐ sù jì Qūwò, kuì xī yú jūn.” Tàizǐ yú shì jì qí mǔ Qí Jiāng yú Qūwò, shàng qí jiàn zuò yú Xiàngōng. (Shǐ jì, “Jìn shíjiā”)

In the twenty-first year, Lí Jī said to the heir, “The lord dreamed about Lady Jiāng of Qí. You, the heir, should offer sacrifices for her at Qūwò immediately, and present the sacrificial meat to the lord.” The heir therefore offered sacrifices for his mother Lady Jiāng of Qí at Qūwò and presented the sacrificial wine and meat to Duke Xiàn. (“Hereditary House of Jin,” *Grand Scribe's Records*)

* 歸 is used for kuì 饋 (to present food to someone) and is pronounced as such. Xī 獄 refers to meat used in sacrifices; it was supposed to bring good fortune.

4 *prep.*; to introduce the person addressed by an action; does not need to be translated

子夏問於孔子曰：「居父母之仇，如之何？」夫子曰：「寢苦枕干，不仕，弗與共天下也；遇諸市朝，不反兵而鬥。」（《禮記·檀弓上》）

Zixià wèn yú Kǒngzǐ yuē, “Jū fù mǔ zhī chóu, rú zhī hé?” Fūzǐ yuē, “Qǐn shān zhēn gān, bù shì, fú yǔ gòng tiānxià yě; yù zhū shì cháo, bù fǎn bīng ér dòu.” (Lǐ jì, “Tánghōng shàng”)

Zǐxià consulted Confucius, saying, “What should be done to the murderer of one’s parents?” The Master said, “Such a person should sleep on a straw mat and use a shield as a pillow; they should not serve in office; they should not share the same Heaven with the murderer. When encountering him/her (i.e., the murderer), whether in the market or at court, they should not return to get weapons for a fight.” (“Tángōng, First Section,” *Records of Rites*)

* This passage shows that Confucius supported revenge for the killing of parents. To sleep on a straw mat and use a shield for a pillow is to remind oneself of grief and the need for revenge. Not to serve in office is to make sure that one does not have to comply with the king’s orders and avoid violating the law as an official. Not to return for weapons is to carry weapons at all times, bearing in mind the mission of revenge and losing no opportunity. Taking revenge for one’s parents was considered a filial act, but it challenged the law and often created a dilemma for the ruler in deciding how to punish the offender.⁸

5 prep.; to indicate the source

[孟子]曰:「……昔者曾子謂子襄曰:『子好勇乎?吾嘗聞大勇於夫子矣:自反而不縮,雖褐寬博,吾不惴焉?自反而縮,雖千萬人,吾往矣。』……」(《孟子·公孫丑上》)

[Mèngzǐ] yuē, “. . . Xī zhě Zēngzǐ wèi Zǐxiāng yuē, ‘Zǐ hào yǒng hū? Wú cháng wén dà yǒng yú Fūzǐ yǐ: Zì fǎn ér bù suō, suī hé kuān bó, wú bù zhuī yān? Zì fǎn ér suō, suī qiān wàn rén, wú wǎng yǐ. . . .’” (Mèngzǐ, “Gōngsūn Chǒu shàng”)

[Mencius] said, “. . . In the past Zēngzǐ said to Zǐxiāng, ‘Are you fond of courageous actions? I have heard about the most courageous actions from the Master. If I reflect on my actions and they are not straight, even if my opponent wears loose coarse clothing (a mark of lowly status), how would I not be fearful? If I reflect on my actions and they are straight, even if my opponents are a thousand or ten thousand men, I will advance against them.’. . .” (“Gōngsūn Chǒu, First Section,” *Mencius*)⁹

* *Suō* 缩 is used as *zhí* 直 (to be straight) here.

6 prep.; to introduce the agent in a passive voice construction

樂者,音之所由生也,其本在人心之感於物也。(《禮記·樂記》)

Yuè zhě, yīn zhī suō yóu shēng yě, qí běn zài rén xīn zhī gǎn yú wù yě. (Lǐ jì, “Yuè jì”)

Music comes from sound. Its origin lies in human hearts being moved by things. (“Records of Music,” *Records of Rites*)

7 prep.; to introduce the scope of an action

子曰:「吾十有五而志王學,三十而立,四十而不惑,五十而知天命,六十而耳順,七十而從心所欲,不踰矩。」(《論語·為政》)

Zǐ yuē, “Wú shí yǒu wǔ ér zhì yú xué, sānshí ér lì, sìshí ér bù huò, wǔshí ér zhī tiān mìng, liùshí ér ér shùn, qīshí ér cóng xīn suǒ yù, bù yú jǔ.” (Lún yǔ, “Wéi zhèng”)

The Master said, “At fifteen, I was dedicated to study; at thirty, I had established myself with knowledge (especially of the rites); at forty, I was not perplexed by worldly affairs; at fifty, I understood the decrees of Heaven; at sixty, my ears were attuned; at seventy, I could follow whatever my heart desires without violating the rites.” (“Wéi zhèng,” *Analects*)

* D. C. Lau translates *ér shùn* 耳順 as “my ear was attuned.” He notes that this term is very obscure and that it is worth pointing out that the word *shèng* 聖 for “sage” has a *ěr* 耳 (ear) component, and this comment of Confucius’s may have some bearing on the fact that he was regarded as a sage even by his contemporaries.¹⁰ The traditional commentaries mostly interpret *ér shùn* as coming to understand the truth or intricate messages simply through hearing.¹¹

This passage is the source of a number of idioms about the stages of human life, including *sān shí ér lì* 三十而立 (to have established oneself at thirty), that is, the age of thirty; *bù huò zhī nián* 不惑之年 (the age when one is not perplexed by worldly affairs = forty); *zhī mìng zhī nián* 知命之年 (the age when one understands one’s fate = fifty); *ér shùn zhī nián* 耳順之年 (the age when one’s ears are attuned = sixty); and *cóng xīn suǒ yù* 從心所欲 (to follow whatever one’s heart desires), that is, the age of seventy.

8 prep.; to show comparison

君子曰：學不可以已。青、取之於藍，而青於藍；冰、水為之，而寒於水。（《荀子·勸學》）

Jūnzi yuē, “Xué bù kě yǐ yǐ. Qīng, qǔ zhī yú lán, ér qīng yú lán; Bīng, shuǐ wéi zhī, ér hán yú shuǐ. (Xúnzi, “Quàn xué”)

A noble man would say, “Studying cannot come to a stop. Indigo blue is produced from the indigo plant but is bluer than the indigo plant; ice comes from water but is colder than water. (“Encouraging Study,” *Xúnzi*)

* The *yú* 於 in *qǔ zhī yú lán* 取之於藍 (to be produced from the indigo plant) is a usage that indicates the source whence an action commences, where something comes from.

Qīng chū yú lán shèng yú lán 青出於藍勝於藍 (indigo blue is produced from the indigo plant but is bluer than the indigo plant) has become a popular idiom meaning that a student can be better than their teacher. The abbreviated version is *Qīng chū yú lán* 青出於藍 (indigo blue is produced from the indigo plant).

9 *prep.*; to introduce the logical basis

大王之入武關，秋毫無所害，除秦苛法，與秦民約，法三章耳，秦民無不欲得大王王秦者。於諸侯之約，大王當王關中，關中民咸知之。（《史記·淮陰侯列傳》）

Dà wáng zhī rù Wǔguān, qiū háo wú suǒ hài, chú Qín kē fǎ, yǔ Qín mǐn yuē, fǎ sān zhāng ér, Qín mǐn wú bù yù dé dà wáng wàng Qín zhě. Yú zhūhóu zhī yuē, dà wáng dāng wàng Guānzhōng, Guānzhōng mǐn xián zhī zhī. (Shǐ jì, “Huáiyīnhóu lièzhuàn”)

When My King entered Wǔguān, you did not harm the finest hair of an animal that began to grow in autumn (you did not harm even the smallest thing). You abolished the harsh laws of Qín and held the people of Qín to just three laws for their own protection. Among the people of Qín, none did not want My King to become the king of Qín. According to the agreement among the feudal lords, My King should have become the king of Guānzhōng (the major jurisdiction of the state of Qín, including the capital Xiányáng). The people of Guānzhōng all know about this. (“Biography of the Marquis of Huáiyīn,” *Grand Scribe’s Records*)

Yuē fǎ sān zhāng 約法三章 (three articles of law, literally “to hold the people to three articles of law”) is now an idiom used to refer to things that have been agreed on beforehand.

10 *Interjection*; to show admiration. In this usage, 於 is always used and is not interchangeable with 于.¹² 【wū】

夔曰：「於！予擊石拊石，百獸率舞。」（《尚書·虞書·益稷》）

Kuí yuē, “Wū! Yú jī shí fǔ shí, bǎi shòu shuài wǔ.” (Shàng Shū, “Yú shū,” “Yì Jì”)

Kuí said, “Ah! I strike the chimestone vigorously or I strike it gently; the animals all dance to it.” (“Yì and Jì,” in “Book of Yú,” *Book of Documents*)

Notes

1 *SWXZ*, 404.

2 Lǐ Xiàoding, *Jiágǔwénzì jíshì*, juàn 5, 1637–9.

3 *SWJZZJ*, juàn 5.1, 59b–60a.

4 Edwin G. Pulleyblank, “The Locative Particles *Yü* 于, *Yü* 於, and *Hu* 乎,” *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 106, no. 1 (January–March 1986): 1–12.

5 Yáng Bójùn proposes that *cái* 材 is used as *zāi* 哉here. Yáng Bójùn, *Lúnyú yìzhù*, 44.

6 Chéng Shùdé, *Lúnyú jíshì*, juàn 9, 299–302.

7 D. C. Lau, *The Analects*, 37–9.

8 Lee Long-Shien 李隆獻 treats this subject in depth in *Fùchóuguān de xǐngchá yǔ quánshí: Xiān Qín liǎng Hán Wèi Jin Nán Bēi cháo Suí Táng biān* 復仇觀的省察與詮釋:先秦兩漢魏晉南北朝隋唐編 (Taipei: Guolì Táiwān dàxué chūbǎn zhōngxīn,

2012) and *Fùchóuguān de xǐngchá yǔ quánshì: Sòng Yuán Míng Qīng biān* 復仇觀的省察與詮釋: 宋元明清編 (Taipei: Guóli Táiwān dàxué chūbǎn zhōngxīn, 2015).

9 For the interpretation of *wú bù zhuì yān* 吾不惴焉 (how would I not be fearful) as a rhetorical question, see Hú Yúhuán 胡毓寰, comp., *Mèngzǐ běnyì* 孟子本義 (Shànghǎi: Shànghǎi shūdiàn, 1936), 84–5.

10 D. C. Lau, *The Analects*, 11.

11 Chéng Shùdé, *Lúnyú jíshì*, juàn 3, 75–6.

12 Wáng Lì, et al., *Gǔ Hányǔ chángyòngzì zìdiǎn*, 471; *GHYXC*, 301.

YÚ 與

- vb.; “to lift up sth. together”* 【*yǔ*】 | – *vb.; “to give”* 【*yǔ*】
| – *vb.; “to join/to join hands”* 【*yǔ*】
| – *vb.; “to deal with”* 【*yǔ*】
| – *vb.; “to be in favor of”* 【*yǔ*】
| – *vb.; “to assist”* 【*yǔ*】
| – *vb.; “to take part in personally”*
| – *conj.; “and/or”* 【*yǔ*】
| – *prep.; “with/to”* 【*yǔ*】
| – *part. ; to create a question*
| – *part.; to show speculation*
| – *part.; to create an exclamatory sentence*
| – *part.; to create a pause*

BI	CM	QM	TAS	SS
𠩺	𦵃	𦵃	𦵃	𦵃

【*yǐ zhū qiè* 以諸切】Baxter-Sagart reconstruction not available for this meaning

Early Meaning: *vb.; “to lift up something together”* 【*yǔ*】

Ji Xùshēng proposes an early meaning of “*gòng jǔ*” 共舉 (to lift up something together) for *yǔ* 與. He notes that the early graph for this word is composed of *yú* 犀 (to lift up something together), signifying the meaning, and *yá* 牙 (tooth/teeth), signifying the sound. The graph for *yá* 牙 was then misread for *yǔ* 与 (to give).¹ The modern Pǔtōnghuà pronunciation of 牙 does not indicate how it can be used to signify the sound. In the Baxter-Sagart reconstruction, however, its ancient pronunciation is *m-*g*̚*t*̚*r*̚*a*, which is similar in pronunciation to *m-*q*(*r*)*a* for the early meaning.

Xǔ Shèn writes, “*Yǔ* 與 (𦵃) refers to people of the same party. It is derived from *yú* 犀 (𦵃) and *yǔ* 与 (𦵃). 𦵃 is the ancient graph for *yǔ* 與.” 𦵃(與), 獨與也。从犀从与。𦵃, 古文與. He treats it as an “associative compound.” Duàn Yùcái

explains that 与 depicts people joining hands to offer something, and that both yú 爾 and yǔ 与 signify both meaning and sound. Xú Hào holds that yǔ 与 had an early meaning of to offer something, with “faction” as an extended meaning, and was then borrowed to serve as a function word.²

Extended Meanings

1 *vb.; “to give”【yǔ】*

楚人獻鼈於鄭靈公。公子宋與子家將見，子公之食指動，以示子家，曰：「他日我如此，必嘗異味。」及入，宰夫將解鼈，相視而笑。公問之，子家以告。及食大夫鼈，召子公而弗與也。子公怒，染指於鼎，嘗之而出。公怒，欲殺子公。子公與子家謀先。子家曰：「畜老，猶憚殺之，而況君乎？」反譖子家。子家懼而從之。夏，弑靈公。（《左傳·宣公四年》）

Chūrén xiān yuán yú Zhèng Línggōng. Gōngzǐ Sòng yǔ Zǐjiā jiāng jiàn, Zǐgōng zhī shí zhǐ dòng, yǐ shì Zǐjiā, yuē, “Tā rì wǒ rú cǐ, bì cháng yì wèi.” Jí rù, zǎifū jiāng jiě yuán, xiāng shì ér xiào. Gōng wèn zhī, Zǐjiā yǐ gào. Jí sì Dàfū yuán, zhào Zǐgōng ér fù yǔ yě. Zǐgōng nù, rǎn zhǐ yú dǐng, cháng zhī ér chū. Gōng nù, yù shā Zǐgōng. Zǐgōng yǔ Zǐjiā móu xiān. Zǐjiā yuē, “Chù lǎo, yóu dàn shā zhī, ér kuàng jūn hū?” Fǎn zèn Zǐjiā. Zǐjiā jù ér cóng zhī. Xià, shì Línggōng. (Zuō zhuàn, “Xuāngōng sì nián”)

The people of Chǔ presented a large soft-shelled turtle to Duke Líng of Zhèng. Prince Sòng (i.e., Zǐgōng) and Zǐjiā were about to seek an audience with the duke. Zǐgōng's index finger twitched. He showed it to Zǐjiā, saying, “On the other days when I was like this, without exception I tasted exotic cuisine.” When they entered the palace, they learned that the steward was about to cut up a large soft-shelled turtle. They looked at each other and smiled. The duke inquired about this, and Zǐjiā told him of what Zǐgōng had said. When the turtle was served to the great officials, the duke summoned Zǐgōng but did not give him any. Zǐgōng was enraged, and putting his finger in the tripod, he tasted it and left. The duke was enraged and wanted to kill Zǐgōng. Zǐgōng consulted with Zǐjiā about taking action first. Zǐjiā said, “When domesticated animals grow old, you still quail at the thought of killing them; how much the more so for our lord!” Zǐgōng slandered Zǐjiā instead. Zǐjiā was frightened and fell in with him. In summer, they assassinated Duke Líng. (“Duke Xuān 4,” Zuō Tradition)

The idiom *shí zhǐ dà dòng* 食指大動 (the index finger twitches vigorously) comes from this passage. It is used to mean that there is tasty food to eat or that one has a healthy appetite.

2 *vb.; “to join/to join hands”【yǔ】*

子夏之門人問交於子張。子張曰：「子夏云何？」對曰：「子夏曰：『可者與之，其不可者拒之。』」子張曰：「異乎吾所聞：君子尊賢而容眾，嘉善

而矜不能。我之大賢與，於人何所不容？我之不賢與，人將拒我，如之何其拒人也？」（《論語·子張》）

Zǐxià zhī ménrén wèn jiāo yú Zǐzhāng. Zǐzhāng yuē, “Zǐxià yún hé?” Duì yuē, “Zǐxià yuē, ‘Kě zhē yú zhī, qí bù kě zhē jù zhī.’” Zǐzhāng yuē, “Yì hū wú suǒ wén: Jūn zī zūn xián ér róng zhòng, jiā shàn ér jīn bù néng. Wǒ zhī dà xián yú, yú rén hé suǒ bù róng? Wǒ zhī bù xián yú, rén jiāng jù wǒ, rú zhī hé qí jù rén yé?” (Lún yǔ, “Zǐzhāng”)

Zǐxià's disciple inquired of Zǐzhāng how to make friends. Zǐzhāng asked, “What did Zǐxià say?” He replied, “Zǐxià said, ‘Those who are acceptable, join them; those who are not acceptable, reject them.’” Zǐzhāng said, “This is different from what I have heard: a noble man respects the worthy and accepts the multitude; he praises the excellent and sympathizes with the incapable. If I were a person of great worth, how would I not be able to embrace others? If I were an unworthy person, others are going to reject me – how would I be able to reject them?’” (“Zǐzhāng,” *Analects*)

* The *yú* 與 in *wǒ zhī dà xián yú* 我之大賢與 (if I were a person of great worth) and *wǒ zhī bù xián yú* 我之不賢與 (if I were an unworthy person) is another usage, showing speculation. See Borrowed Meanings (2).

3 vb.; “to deal with” 【*yú*】

漢之三年，項王數侵奪漢甬道，漢王食乏，恐，請和，割榮陽以西為漢。項王欲聽之。歷陽侯范增曰：「漢易與耳，今釋弗取，後必悔之。」項王乃與范增急圍榮陽。（《史記·項羽本紀》）

Hàn zhī sān nián, Xiàngwáng shù qīn duó Hàn yōngdào, Hàn wáng sì fá, kǒng, qǐng hé, gē Xíngyáng yǐ xī wéi Hàn. Xiàngwáng yù tīng zhī. Lìyáng hóu Fàn Zēng yuē, “Hàn yì yú ěr, jīn shì fú qū, hòu bì huǐ zhī.” Xiàngwáng nǎi yú Fàn Zēng jí wéi Xíngyáng. (Shǐ jì, “Xiàng Yǔ běnji”)

In the third year of Hán, King Xiàng attacked and seized the roads of Hán. The king of Hán lacked provisions. Frightened, he pleaded for peace, and asked to partition the land west of Xíngyáng for Hán (in other words, he was willing to give the land east of Xíngyáng to King Xiàng). King Xiàng was about to go along with this. Fàn Zēng, Marquis of Lìyáng, said, “Hán is easy to deal with. Now if you let it go and do not take it, you will surely regret it later.” King Xiàng therefore besieged Xíngyáng unrelentingly with Fàn Zēng. (“Basic Annals of Xiàng Yǔ,” *Grand Scribe’s Records*)

孫子曰：「今以君之下駟與彼上駟，取君上駟與彼中駟，取君中駟與彼下駟。」既駟三輩畢，而田忌一不勝而再勝，卒得王千金。（《史記·孫子吳起列傳》）

Sūn zǐ yuē, “Jīn yǐ jūn zhī xià sì yú bǐ shàng sì, qū jūn shàng sì yú bǐ zhōng sì, qū jūn zhōng sì yú bǐ xià sì.” Jì chí sān bài bì, ér Tián Jì yī bù shèng ér zài shèng, zú dé wáng qiān jīn. (Shǐ jì, “Sūn zǐ, Wú Qǐ lièzhuàn”)

Sūn zǐ said, “Now we will use your worst horse to deal with the opponent’s best horse, use your best horse to deal with the opponent’s average horse,

and use your average horse to deal with the opponent's worst horse.” When they had finished racing for three rounds, Tián Jì had lost only one round and won twice; and so he wound up getting the king's ten thousand in gold. (“Biographies of Sūnzǐ and Wú Qǐ,” *Grand Scribe's Records*)

Cultural note: In Chinese competitions, there are often three rounds. This passage is known for its winning strategy.

4 *vb.*; “to be in favor of” **【yǔ】**³

「點，爾何如？」鼓瑟希，鏗爾，舍瑟而作，對曰：「異乎三子者之撰。」子曰：「何傷乎？亦各言其志也。」曰：「莫春者，春服既成，冠者五六人，童子六七人，浴乎沂，風乎舞雩，詠而歸。」夫子喟然歎曰：「吾與點也！」（《論語·先進》）

“Diǎn, èr hé rú?” Gǔ sè xī, kēng èr, shé sè ér zuò, duì yuē, “Yì hū sān zǐ zhě zhī zhuàn.” Zì yuē, “Hé shāng hū? Yì gè yán qí zhì yě.” Yuē, “Mù chūn zhě, chūn fú jí chéng, guàn zhě wǔ liù rén, tóngzǐ liù qī rén, yù hū Yí, fēng hū wǔ yú, yǒng ér guī.” Fùzǐ kuírán tàn yuē, “Wú yǔ Diǎn yě!” (Lún yǔ, “Xiān jin”)

“Diǎn, what about you?” After strumming a few last notes and the final chord, Diǎn stood up from his zither, and said in response, “I differ from the other three who have the ambition to rule.” The Master said, “What harm is there in telling us? Everyone is stating what he has set his heart upon.” Diǎn said, “In late spring, after the spring clothes have been newly made, I would like, together with five or six adults and six or seven boys, to go bathing in the river Yí and enjoy the breeze on the rain altar, and then go home chanting poetry.” The Master sighed and said, “I am in favor of Diǎn!” (“Xiān jin,” *Analects*)

* Traditional commentators suggest that Diǎn was performing music upon the Master’s request. *Wǔ yú* 舞雩 is a sacrificial ceremony accompanied by a rain dance. It may also refer to the rain altar itself. Because there were trees nearby, people could roam about in the shade. Confucius was in favor of Diǎn because Diǎn was able to enjoy the Way without insisting on finding a place in government when it was simply not a good time to be in office.⁴

5 *vb.*; “to assist” **【yǔ】**

召公曰：「……夫民慮之於心而宣之於口，成而行之。若壅其口，其與能幾何？」王不聽。於是國莫敢出言。三年，乃相與畔，襲厲王。厲王出奔於彘。（《史記·周本紀》）

Shàogōng yuē, “. . . Fú mǐn lù zhī yú xīn ér xuān zhī yú kǒu, chéng ér xíng zhī Ruò yōng qí kǒu, qí yǔ néng jǐ hé?” Wáng bù tīng. Yú shì guó mò gān chū yán. Sān nián, nǎi xiāng yǔ pàn, xí Liwáng. Lìwáng chū bèn yú Zhì. (Shǐ jì, “Zhōu běn jǐ”)

Duke Shào said, “. . . The people consider them (i.e., their opinions) in their minds and express them with their mouths. Then, when ready, they put them

in practice. If you block their mouths, how can anyone assist you?” The king (King Lì) did not listen. Thereupon no one from the state dared utter a word, and so they joined hands to rebel in the third year and attacked King Lì. King Lì left the state and fled to Zhì. (“Basic Annals of Zhōu,” *Grand Scribe’s Records*)

* This passage is also discussed under the entry for *yú* 於. The *yú* 與 in *nǎi xiāng yú pàn* 乃相與畔 (so they joined hands to rebel) is another usage, meaning “to join hands.” See Extended Meanings (2).

6 *vb.*; “to take part in personally” **【yù】**

祭如在, 祭神如神在。子曰:「吾不與祭, 如不祭。」(《論語·八佾》)

Jì rú zài, jì shén rú shén zài. Zǐ yuē, “Wú bù yù jì, rú bù jì.” (*Lún yǔ*, “*Bā yì*”)
“To hold a sacrificial ceremony as if present” is to hold sacrificial ceremonies to the gods as if the gods were present. The Master said, “If I have not taken part in the sacrificial ceremony personally, it would be as if I have never held the sacrificial ceremony.” (“*Bā yì*,” *Analects*)⁵

7 *conj.*; “and/or” **【yǔ】**

- connecting nouns or noun phrases

子罕言利與命與仁。(《論語·子罕》)

Zǐ hǎn yán lì yǔ mìng yǔ rén. (*Lún yǔ*, “*Zǐ hǎn*”)

The Master seldom spoke about profit, fate, and benevolence (without being asked). (“*Zǐ hǎn*,” *Analects*)

* The Master talked about benevolence many times in the *Analects*, so some scholars believe that this passage meant that the Master did not, as a rule, initiate the discussion.⁶ The first *yǔ* has been left untranslated to comply with English usage.

- connecting verbs or verb phrases in a question

穆公歸, 至于王城, 合大夫而謀曰:「殺晉君與逐出之, 與以歸之, 與復之,孰利?」(《國語·晉語》)

Mùgōng guī, zhì yú wáng chéng, hé dàfū ér móu yuē, “Shā Jìn jūn yǔ zhú chū zhī, yǔ yǐ guī zhī, yǔ fù zhī, shú lì?” (*Guó yǔ*, “*Jin yǔ*”)

Duke Mù [of Qín 秦] returned and reached the capital of the state. He gathered the great officials and consulted with them, saying, “To kill the lord of Jin or drive him out, or return with him, or restore him to the throne – which is more to our advantage?” (“Discourses of Jin,” *Discourses of states*)

8 *prep.*; “with/to” **【yǔ】**

死生契闊, 與子成說;

執子之手, 與子偕老。

(《毛詩·邶風·擊鼓》)

*Sī shēng qièkuò, yǔ zǐ chéng shuō;
zhí zǐ zhī shǒu, yǔ zǐ xié lǎo.
(Máo Shī, “Bèi fēng,” “Jī gǔ”)*

Live or die, we will be together; I have made a promise to you.
I will hold your hand, growing old with you.
(Máo #31, “Striking Drums,” in “Airs of Bèi,” *Songs*)

* According to Chéng and Jiǎng, *qiè* 契 means to be together and *kuò* 閣 to be separated. Here *qièkuò* is a rhyming binome, with the emphasis on the first character in the pair, “to be together.” That is to say, “We will live and die together.” Baxter-Sagart reconstructs 契闊 as *khet.khwat* in Middle Chinese; the two are close enough to rhyme.⁷

Zhí zǐ zhī shǒu 執子之手 (holding your hands) and *yǔ zǐ xié lǎo* 與子偕老 (growing old with you) have become a promise of love in Chinese culture. These two idioms are often printed, separately or together, on wedding invitations. Because this poem describes a soldier who is far away from home, with no way of knowing whether he will be able to fulfill his promise to his wife, some might consider the idioms inauspicious. Today, however, they represent steadfast love.

Borrowed Meanings

- 1 *part.*; to create a question; the same as *yú* 敘【yú】

伯魚之母死，期而猶哭。夫子聞之，曰：「誰與哭者？」門人曰：「鯉也。」夫子曰：「嘻！其甚也。」伯魚聞之，遂除之。(《禮記·檀弓上》)

Bó Yú zhī mǔ sǐ, jī ér yóu kū. Fūzǐ wén zhī, yuē, “Shuǐ yú kū zhě?” Ménrén yuē, “Lǐ yé.” Fūzǐ yuē, “Xī! Qí shèn yě.” Bó Yú wén zhī, suì chú zhī. (Lí jì, “Tángōng shàng”)

Bó Yú’s mother (the ex-wife of Confucius) died. The mourning period ended, yet Bó Yú still wailed. The Master heard it, and asked, “Who is it, the one who is wailing?” His disciples said, “It is Lǐ (Bó Yú’s personal name).” The Master said, “Ah, isn’t this going too far beyond the rites?” Bó Yú heard this, and so he removed them (his mourning clothes). (“Tángōng, First Section,” *Records of Rites*)

* *Shuǐ yú kū zhě* 誰與哭者 (literally, “who is it; the one wailing?”) is an inversion of *kū zhě shuǐ yú* 哭者誰與 (literally, “the one wailing; who is it?”). The inversion has the effect of highlighting “who” is performing the action.

- 2 *part.*; to show speculation; may or may not be translated depending on context; the same as *yú* 敘【yú】

子曰：「語之而不惰者，其回也與！」(《論語·子罕》)

Zǐ yuē, “Yù zhī ér bù duò zhě, qí Huí yě yú!” (*Lún yǔ*, “*Zǐ hǎn*”)

The Master said, “The one whom I can keep talking to without his getting tired – it is probably Huí!” (“*Zǐ hǎn*,” *Analects*)

* This may be translated as “probably,” an adverb in English, although in literary Chinese *yú* is a particle.

子夏之門人問交於子張。子張曰：「子夏云何？」對曰：「子夏曰：『可者與之，其不可者拒之。』」子張曰：「異乎吾所聞：君子尊賢而容眾，嘉善而矜不能。我之大賢與，於人何所不容？我之不賢與，人將拒我，如之何其拒人也？」（《論語·子張》）

Zǐxià zhī ménrén wèn jiāo yú Zǐzhāng. Zǐzhāng yuē, “Zǐxià yún hé?” *Duì yuē, “Zǐxià yuē, ‘Kě zhě yǔ zhī, qí bù kě zhě jù zhī.’”* *Zǐzhāng yuē, “Yì hū wú suǒ wén: Jūnzhī zūn xián ér róng zhòng, jiā shàn ér jīn bù néng. Wǒ zhī dà xián yú, yú rén hé suǒ bù róng? Wǒ zhī bù xián yú, rén jiāng jù wǒ, rú zhī hé qí jù rén yé?”* (*Lún yǔ*, “*Zǐzhāng*”)

Zǐxià’s disciple inquired of *Zǐzhāng* how to make friends. *Zǐzhāng* asked, “What did *Zǐxià* say?” He replied, “*Zǐxià* said, ‘Those who are acceptable, join them; those who are not acceptable, reject them.’” *Zǐzhāng* said, “This is different from what I have heard: a noble man respects the worthy and accepts the multitude; he praises the excellent and sympathizes with the incapable. If I were a person of great worth, how would I not be able to embrace others? If I were an unworthy person, others are going to reject me – how would I be able to reject them?” (“*Zǐzhāng*,” *Analects*)

* The *yú* 與 in *kě zhě yǔ zhī* 可者與之 (those who are acceptable, join them) is a verb meaning “to join.” See Extended Meanings (2).

3 part.; to create an exclamatory sentence 【*yú*】

子在陳曰：「歸與！歸與！吾黨之小子狂簡，斐然成章，不知所以裁之。」（《論語·公冶長》）

Zǐ zài Chén yuē, “Guī yú! Guī yú! Wú dǎng zhī xiāozī kuáng jiǎn, fěirán chéng zhāng, bù zhī suǒ yǐ cái zhī.” (*Lún yǔ*, “*Gōngyě Cháng*”)

The Master was in the state of Chén. He said, “Let’s return! Let’s return! The youth of my kin are wildly ambitious but lacking in tact. Polished are their literary works, but they do not know how to prune themselves (i.e., to adhere to the Way). (“*Gōngyě Cháng*,” *Analects*)

* Yáng Bójùn treats the subject of *bù zhī suǒ yǐ cái zhī* 不知所以裁之 to be the Master, in which case the line would read “I do not know how to prune them.”⁸ D. C. Lau treats the subject as the youths, as in this translation.⁹ The traditional commentators hold that it was the youths who did not know how

Fěirán chéngzhāng 斐然成章 (polished are the literary works) is now an idiom used to praise someone’s compositional skills.

to prune themselves, which is why the Master planned to return to Lǔ 魯 from Chén 陳 to help them learn to do so.¹⁰

4 *part.; to create a pause; the same as yú 敝【yú】*

宰予晝寢。子曰：「朽木不可雕也，糞土之牆不可杔也，於予與何誅。」子曰：「始吾於人也，聽其言而信其行；今吾於人也，聽其言而觀其行。於予與改是。」（《論語·公冶長》）

Zǎi Yú zhòu qǐn. Zǐ yuē, "Xiǔ mù bù kě diāo yě, fèn tǔ zhī qiáng bù kě wū yě, yú Yú yú hé zhū." Zǐ yuē, "Shí wú yú rén yě, tīng qí yán ér xìn qí xíng; jīn wú yú rén yě, tīng qí yán ér guān qí xíng. Yú Yú yú gǎi shì." (Lún yǔ, "Gōngyě Cháng")

Zǎi Yú rested in bed during the day. The Master said, “Rotten wood cannot be carved; a wall made of dung cannot be plastered. As for Yú, what is the use of berating him?” The Master said, “At first, when I dealt with people, I listened to their words and believed in their actions (i.e., that they would suit their actions to their words); now when I deal with people, I listen to their words and observe their actions. It is because of Yú that I have changed.” (“Gōngyě Cháng,” *Analects*)

* This passage also appears under the entry for *xìn* 信.

Xiǔ mù bù kě diāo 朽木不可雕 (rotten wood cannot be carved), *fèn tǔ zhī qiáng bù kě wū* 粢土之牆不可杔 (a wall made of dung cannot be plastered), and *xiǔ mù fèn tǔ* 朽木糞土 (rotten wood and a dung wall) have become idioms describing people whose natural endowments are so poor that they cannot be improved by education.

Notes

1 SWXZ, 180–1.

2 SWJZZJ, juàn 3.1, 80a.

3 Wáng Lì proposes that this usage should be read *yù*. GHYZD, 1023–4. In the other dictionary he compiled with his colleagues, however, this usage is marked as *yǔ*. Wáng Lì, et al., *Gǔ Hanyǔ chángyòngzì zìdiǎn*, 473. Kroll’s dictionary has *yǔ* for this usage. SDCMC, 570.

4 For the interpretation of this passage, see Chéng Shùdé, *Lúnyǔ jíshì*, juàn 23, 805–14.

5 For the interpretation of this passage, see Chéng Shùdé, *Lúnyǔ jíshì*, juàn 5, 175–7.

6 Chéng Shùdé, *Lúnyǔ jíshì*, juàn 17, 568.

7 Chéng and Jiǎng note that *kuò* 開 and *shuō* 說 are the first set of rhymes, belonging to the rhyme category *jì* 祭, and *shǒu* 手 and *lǎo* 老 are the second set of rhymes, belonging to the category *yōn* 幽. SJZX, 80. Karlgren has *k'wát* for 開 and *śi'wat* for 說; *śi'ōg* for 手 and *lōg* for 老. Karlgren, *The Book of Odes*, 18.

8 Yáng Bójùn, *Lúnyǔ yizhù*, 51.

9 D. C. Lau, *The Analects*, 43.

10 Chéng Shùdé, *Lúnyǔ jíshì*, juàn 10, 343–5.

ZĀI 哉

part.; used to separate units of speech | – **modal part.; to show exclamation**
| – **modal part.; to form a normal question or rhetorical question**

BI	CM	SS
哉	哉	哉

【zǔ cái qiè 祖才切】OC: *[ts]fə; MC: *tsoj*

Early Meaning: **part.; Used to Separate Units of Speech**

Jì Xùshēng does not have an entry for this.

Xǔ Shèn writes, “*Zāi* 哉 is used to separate units of speech. It is derived from *kǒu* 口 (口, mouth); *zāi* 哉 (哉, to be hurt) is sound-bearing” 哉, 言之閒也。从口哉聲. Duàn Yùcái notes that *zāi* also has the meaning of *shǐ* 始 (beginning). Xú Hào disputes this, proposing instead that, when *zāi* is used to mean “beginning,” it is used as a loan word for *cái* 才 (just now).¹ Baxter-Sagart reconstructs *[dz]fə (OC) and *dzoj* (MC) for 才; these pronunciations are similar to those of 哉.

Extended Meanings

- 1 **modal part.; to show exclamation**

子曰:「孝哉閔子騫!人不間於其父母昆弟之言。」(《論語·先進》)

Zǐ yuē, “*Xiào zāi Mǐn Zǐqiān! Rén bù jiàn yú qí fù mǔ kūn dì zhī yán.*” (*Lún yǔ*, “*Xiān jìn*”)

The Master said, “How filial is Mǐn Zǐqiān! People do not criticize his parents’ and siblings’ words of praise.” (“*Xiān jìn*,” *Analects*)

* Mǐn Zǐqiān 閔子騫 was known for his filial piety. He was mistreated by his stepmother but pleaded with his father not to drive her away, noting that

if she were gone, his half-siblings would suffer. Because of this, his step-mother repented and thenceforth treated him as her own child.

- 2 *modal part.*; used with interrogative pronoun or interrogative adverb to form a normal question or rhetorical question

- to form a normal question, in the pattern of *hé* 何 . . . *zāi* 哉

王笑曰：「是誠何心哉？我非愛其財而易之以羊也，宜乎百姓之謂我愛也。」（《孟子·梁惠王上》）

Wáng xiào yuē, "Shì chéng hé xīn zāi? Wǒ fēi ài qí cái ér yì zhī yǐ yáng yě, yǐ hū bǎi xìng zhī wèi wǒ ài yě." (Mèngzǐ, "Liáng Huìwáng shàng")

The king (King Xuān of Qi 齊宣王) laughed and said, “What mentality is this, indeed (referring to his command that a sheep be sacrificed instead of an ox)? It is not because I stint on expenses that I replaced it (the ox) with a sheep, but it is only proper that the common people should think that I am stingy.” (“King Hui of Liáng, First Section,” *Mencius*)

- to form a rhetorical question, in the pattern *qǐ* 豈 . . . *zāi* 哉

太子丹恐懼，乃請荊卿曰：「秦兵旦暮渡易水，則雖欲長侍足下，豈可得哉？」（《戰國策·燕策·燕太子丹質於秦亡歸》）

Tàizǐ Dān kǒngjù, nǎi qǐng Jīng Qīng yuē, "Qín bīng dàn mù dù Yishuǐ, zé suī yù cháng shì zúxià, qǐ kě dé zāi?" (Zhàn guó cè, "Yān cè," "Yān Tàizǐ Dān zhì yú Qín wáng guī")

The heir Dān was terrified and thereupon pleaded with Jīng Qīng to take action (to assassinate the king of Qín), saying, “Any day or night now, the army of Qín is going to cross the river Yì. Even if I wanted to serve you for a long time, how could I manage to do so?” (“Dān, the heir of Yān, fled home from captivity in Qín,” in “Strategies of Yān,” *Strategies of Warring States*)

- to form a rhetorical question, in the pattern *yān* 焉 . . . *zāi* 哉

樂正子見孟子，曰：「克告於君，君為來見也。嬖人有臧倉者沮君，君是以不果來也。」曰：「行，或使之；止，或尼之。行止，非人所能也。吾之不遇魯侯，天也。臧氏之子焉能使予不遇哉？」（《孟子·梁惠王下》）

Yuè Zhèngzǐ jiàn Mèngzǐ, yuē, "Kè gào yú jūn, jūn wéi lái jiàn yě. Bì rén yóu Zāng Cāng zhé jūn, jūn shì yǐ bù guò lái yě." Yuē, "Xíng, huò shǐ zhī; zhǐ, huò nì zhī. Xíng zhī, fēi rén suǒ néng yě. Wú zhī bù yù Lǔhóng, tiān yě. Zāng shì zhī zǐ yān néng shǐ yú bù yù zāi?" (Mèngzǐ, "Liáng Huìwáng xià")

Yuè Zhèngzǐ went to see Mencius and said, “Kè (the personal name of Yuè Zhèngzǐ, who may have been a disciple of Mencius) told the duke (Duke Píng of Lǔ 魯平公) about you. He was about to come see you. Zāng Cāng, a minion he favors, stopped him from doing so. For this reason, in the end he did not come.” Mencius said, “When a person acts, something behind that propels him; when a person desists, something behind

that stops him. To act or to give up, this is not controlled by a person. That I cannot meet the Marquis of Lǔ is the will of Heaven. How could the son of the Zāng clan make it so that I am unable to meet the Marquis of Lǔ?" ("King Hui of Liáng, Second Section," *Mencius*)

* The son of the Zāng clan told the marquis that Mencius did not deserve to be paid a visit, because Mencius had performed a more elaborate funeral rite for his mother than for his father, suggesting that he was ignorant of the proper rites. Mencius, however, was correct in observing mourning for each of his parents. He was only a *shí* 士 (scholar), on the lowest rung of the ruling class, when his father died; by the time his mother died, he had attained the much higher rank of *dàfū* 大夫 (great official). Therefore, in both cases, he performed the rites according to what he could afford and what was appropriate to his class.

Note

1 *SWJZZJ, juàn* 2.1, 35b–36a.

ZHĒ 者

early meaning unknown

- | – DP; to nominalize a verb, an adjective, or a phrase
- | – part.; to indicate a new subject matter
- | – part.; used after time words, for rhythm
- | – part; used in conditional compound sentences
- | – part.; used in explanatory compound sentences
- | – sentence-final part.; to show speculation

BI	CM	QM	SS
𦵈	𦵈	𦵈	𦵈

【zhāng yě qiè 章也切】 OC: *tA?; MC: tsyaex

Early Meaning: Early Meaning Unknown

Jǐ Xūshēng mentions that the early meaning is unclear. He suggests that its use “to indicate a new subject matter” is a loan meaning.¹

Xǔ Shèn writes, “Zhē 者 (𦵈) is a word to indicate a new subject matter. It is derived from bái 白 (白, the color associated with the west); lǚ 旅 (𦵈 𦵈) is sound-bearing. Lǚ is the ancient graph for the character lǚ 旅 (battalion of 500 soldiers)” 別事詞也。从白，𦵈 聲。𦵈，古文旅字。² Baxter-Sagart reconstructs *[r]a? (OC) for 旅, which is similar in pronunciation to the ancient reading of 者 as *tA?. Their similarity in sound cannot be shown in Pǔtōnghuà.

Borrowed Meanings

- 1 DP; to nominalize a verb, an adjective, or a phrase³

子曰:「知者不惑,仁者不憂,勇者不懼。」(《論語·子罕》)

Zǐ yuē, “Zhì zhē bù huò, rén zhē bù yōu, yǒng zhē bù jù.” (Lún yǔ, “Zǐ hàn”)

The Master said, “Those who are wise do not become confused; those who are benevolent do not worry; those who are courageous do not fear. (“*Zǐ hǎn*,” *Analects*)

2 *part.*; to indicate a new subject matter

虞舜者，名曰重華。（《史記·五帝本紀》）

Yú Shùn zhě, míng yuē Chónghuá. (*Shǐ jì*, “*Wǔ dì běnji*”)

Yú Shùn’s name was *Chónghuá*. (“*Basic Annals of the Five Emperors*,” *Grand Scribe’s Records*)

- often used with the sentence-final particle *yě* 也, creating the pattern of *zhě* 者 . . . *yě* 也. This usage is similar to the sentence pattern in Japanese: subject + *wa* わ + predicate + *desu* です, with *wa* わ serving as the subject marker and *desu* です the affirmative.

叔孫武叔毀仲尼。子貢曰：「無以為也！仲尼不可毀也。他人之賢者，丘陵也，猶可踰也；仲尼，日月也，無得而踰焉。人雖欲自絕，其何傷於日月乎？多見其不知量也。」（《論語·子張》）

Shūsūn Wǔshū huǐ Zhòngní. Zǐgōng yuē, “Wú yǐ wéi yě! Zhòngní bù kě huǐ yě. Tā rén zhī xián zhě, qīū líng yě, yóu kě yú yě; Zhòngní, rì yuè yě, wú dé ér yú yān. Rén suī yù zì jué, qí hé shāng yú rì yuè hū? Duō jiàn qí bù zhī liàng yě.” (*Lún yǔ*, “*Zǐzhāng*”)

Shūsūn Wǔshū vilified Confucius. *Zǐgōng* said, “This can never be done. Confucius cannot be vilified. The virtue of others is like hills and mounds: they may still be surpassed. Confucius is like the sun and the moon: there is no way to surpass him. Even if people wanted to cut themselves off, what harm could that do to the sun and the moon? This shows all the more that they do not have the knowledge to fathom the greatest virtue!” (“*Zǐzhāng*,” *Analects*)

3 *part.*; used after time words, for rhythm

沛公曰：「今者出，未辭也，為之柰何？」（《史記·項羽本紀》）

Pèigōng yuē, “Jīn zhě chū, wèi cí yě, wéi zhī nài hé?” (*Shǐ jì*, “*Xiàng Yǔ běnji*”)

The Duke of *Pèi* said, “Now I have left, but without excusing myself. What should I do?” (“*Basic Annals of Xiàng Yǔ*,” *Grand Scribe’s Records*)

4 *part.*; used at the end of the first clause in a conditional compound sentence, to describe a presumed condition, and to introduce the result in the second clause. The conditional sentence may or may not include a conjunction word, because the meaning is implied.

- used by itself, without a conjunction

范增起，出召項莊，謂曰：「君王為人不忍，若入前為壽，壽畢，請以劍舞，因擊沛公於坐，殺之。不者，若屬皆且為所虜。」（《史記·項羽本紀》）

Fàn Zēng qǐ, chū zhào Xiàng Zhuāng, wèi yuē, “Jūn wáng wéi rén bù rěn, ruò rù qián wéi shòu, shòu bì, qǐng yǐ jiàn wǔ, yīn jī Pèigōng yú zuò, shā zhī. Fǒu zhě, ruò shù jiē qiē wéi suǒ lǔ.” (Shi jì, “Xiàng Yǔ běnji”)

Fàn Zēng rose and, going out, summoned Xiàng Zhuāng from outside. He told him, “Our ruler is the kind of person who cannot bear to kill someone who has pledged loyalty. You go in to wish our ruler long life. After wishing him long life, ask permission to perform with the sword, and taking advantage of this, attack the Duke of Pèi in his seat and kill him. If not, you and yours will all soon become captives of his.” (“Basic Annals of Xiàng Yǔ,” *Grand Scribe’s Records*)

* *Bù 不* is used as *fǒu 否* and should be so pronounced. For this usage, refer to the entry on *bù 不*.

Xiàng Zhuāng wǔ jiàn 項莊舞劍 (*Xiàng Zhuāng* performs with the sword) is now an idiom that suggests one’s true intentions are hidden. It also appears in a complete version, *Xiàng Zhuāng wǔ jiàn, yì zài Pèigōng 項莊舞劍, 意在沛公* (*Xiàng Zhuāng* performs with the sword; his true intent is [to kill] the Duke of Pèi).

- used in the pattern *zhě 者 . . . yě 也*, with conjunction word

鄉使政誠知其姊無濡忍之志,不重暴骸之難,必絕險千里以列其名,姊弟俱僇於韓市者,亦未必敢以身許嚴仲子也。(《史記·刺客列傳》)

Xiàngshǐ Zhèng chéng zhī qí zǐ wú rú rěn zhī zhì, bù zhòng pù hái zhī nàn, bì jué xiǎn qiān lǐ yǐ liè qí míng, zǐ dì jū lù yú Hán shì zhě, yì wèi bì gǎn yǐ shēn xǔ Yán Zhòngzǐ yě. (Shi jì, “Cikè lièzhuàn”)

If [Niè] Zhèng had known that his elder sister did not intend to comply with his wishes or tolerate his ignoble death and would brave disaster by revealing his identity, overcoming obstacles to travel a thousand *lǐ* to make his name known, and that sister and brother would die together in the marketplace of Hán, he might not necessarily have dared to offer himself as an assassin to Yán Zhòngzǐ. (“Biographies of Assassins,” *Grand Scribe’s Records*)

* *Xiàngshǐ* 鄉使 means “if.” *Zhě* is used to hint at the conditional clause and introduce the result in the next clause.

- 5 part.; used in an explanatory compound sentence in the pattern *zhě 者 . . . yě 也*, with *zhě 者* placed at the end of the first clause to describe a situation and *yě 也* at the end of the second clause to explain the reason behind the situation.

人君無愚智賢不肖,莫不欲求忠以自為,舉賢以自佐。然亡國破家相隨屬,而聖君治國累世而不見者,其所謂忠者不忠,而所謂賢者不賢也。(《史記·屈原列傳》)

Rén jūn wú yú zhì xián bù xiào, mò bù yù qiú zhōng yǐ zì wéi, jǔ xián yǐ zì zuō.
 Rán wáng guó pò jiā xiāng suí zhǔ, ér shèng jūn zhì guó lěi shì ér bù jiàn zhě,
 qí suō wèi zhōng zhě bù zhōng, ér suō wèi xián zhě bù xián yě. (Shi jì, “Qū Yuán lièzhuàn”)

Of the rulers of the people, ignorant or wise, worthy or not worthy, not one did not wish to seek out the loyal to work for them and not one did not appoint the worthy to assist them. Yet the reason that they lost their states and ruined their families one after another, and that sagacious rulers to govern the states did not appear for many generations in succession, is that those they (i.e., the rulers) considered loyal were not truly loyal, and those they considered worthy were not truly worthy. (“Biography of Qū Yuán,” *Grand Scribe’s Records*)

6 Sentence-final part.; to show speculation

太史公曰：「吾視郭解，狀貌不及中人，言語不足採者。然天下無賢與不肖，知與不知，皆慕其聲，言俠者皆引以為名。諺曰：『人貌榮名，豈有既乎！』於戲，惜哉！」（《史記·游俠列傳》）

Tàishīgōng yuē, “Wú shì Guō Jiě, zhuàng mào bù jí zhōng rén, yán yǔ bù zú cǎi zhě. Rán tiānxià wú xián yǔ bù xiào, zhī yǔ bù zhī, jiē mù qí shēng, yán xiá zhě jiē yǐn yǐ wéi míng. Yàn yuē, ‘Rén mào róng míng, qǐ yǒu jì hū!’ Wūhū, xī zāi!” (Shi jì, “Yóuxiá lièzhuàn”)

The Grand Scribe comments, “I have observed Guō Jiě. It was as if his figure and appearance did not rise above the middling, and his words and speech were not worthy of note. Yet all under Heaven, regardless of whether they are worthy or not, regardless of whether they knew him or not, all yearn for his reputation. Those who celebrate knights-errant all refer to him to enhance their own fame. The proverb says, ‘A person’s appearance is an excellent reputation (i.e., a person can be known by his reputation rather than his face). How could there be an end to the pursuit of fame? Alas! How regrettable!’ (“Biographies of Knights-Errant,” *Grand Scribe’s Records*)

* *Wūhū* 於戲 (alas) is a bound term mimicking an exclamatory sigh of sadness.⁴

Notes

1 SWXZ, 279.

2 SWJZZJ, juàn 4.1, 36a.

3 Pulleyblank refers to this as a pronoun substitute. See his *Outline of Classical Chinese Grammar*, 66–7. Kroll treats it as “a verb or verb-phrase suffix that nominalizes a verb with respect to its subject: that which, the one who (performs the action of verb).” He states that, when suffixed to a single verb, *zhě* “makes a noun indicating the practitioner of the action of the verb: one who, ‘-er.’” *SDCMC*, 597. However, if *zhě* is indeed a suffix, it cannot be used to create a nominalized phrase. This is because a suffix is not a word; it cannot be used alone to answer a question or to become a syntactic component in a sentence; it must be attached to the stem, the morpheme carrying the main

idea in a unit of language, in order to create a word. The stem, a verb or an adjective when standing alone, becomes with the addition of *zhě* a word such as *gǔ zhě* 賈者 (one who buys and sells, those who buy and sell, hence “merchant[s]”) and *rén zhě* 仁者 (one who is/those who are benevolent, hence “benevolent person/benevolent people”). In this sense, *zhě* indeed functions like a suffix, similar to the “-er/-or” that makes a noun from a verb in English, like “buyer” and “creator.” However, since the language unit that combines with *zhě* may also be a phrase, in which case *zhě* would be nominalizing a phrase rather than a word, it would better not to treat *zhě* as a suffix. This is particularly so as the use of a verb phrase plus *zhě* is extremely common in literary Chinese. The following are some examples: *Yán xiá zhě* 言俠者 (those who celebrate knights-errant), *Bù shí shā rén zhě* 不嗜殺人者 (one who does not have a taste for killing). In the previous cases, *zhě* is clearly not a suffix for creating a word but a word that may be used for nominalization. Yáng Bójūn treats it as an auxiliary particle; *GHYXC*, 335. Wáng Häifēn and his coauthors treat it as a demonstrative pronoun; *GHYXCCD*, 469; Wáng Lì treats it as a pronoun; *GHYZD*, 974. In this dictionary, *zhě* is treated as a demonstrative pronoun because it has a demonstrative meaning, referring to what is being described.

4 *SDCMC*, 567.

ZHĪ 之

vb.; “to go to”

- | – *resumptive pron.*
- | – *object pron.*
- | – *demonstrative adjective for people or things close by*
- | – *structural part.*; **marker of sentential nominalization**
- | – *structural part.*; **marker of agency**
- | – *structural part.*; **to mark off the attributive adjunct and the head noun**
- | – *part.*; **to create a pause**

OBI	BI	CM	QM	SS
止	屮	止	屮	止

【*zhī ér qiè 止而切*】OC: *tə; MC: *tsyi*

Early Meaning: *vb.*; “to go to”

Luó Zhènyù, using evidence from oracle-bone inscriptions, argues for an early meaning of “to go to.” He notes that the graph is composed of *zhī* 止 (足, a toe) and *yī* 一 (— —, the ground), as in 止¹. Jǐ Xūshēng agrees on the early meaning, and further proposes an extended meaning of “up until.”²

Xǔ Shèn writes, “*Zhī* 之 (止) means emerging. It depicts a stalk of grass growing with more than two leaves, and the sprigs and stems growing, with somewhere to go. *Yī* 一 (— —) is the ground” 也 (之), 出也。象艸過中，枝莖益大，有所之。一者，地也。Duàn Yúcái says that 之 may also be used as a demonstrative pronoun, “this,” with an extended meaning of “to go to.” Xú Hào explains the early meaning as the multiplication of plants, quoting from Kǒng Guāngjū 孔廣居 (1732–1812), who says that when a plant first comes out of the ground, there are often two leaves side by side; then, as it gets bigger, the leaves grow unevenly, and the stem lengthens. Xú Hào notes that 之 was borrowed to serve as a function word.³

The following is an example of its use as “to go to”:

我欲觀殷道，是故之宋。（《禮記·禮運》）

Wǒ yù guān Yīn dào, shì gù zhī Sòng. (Lǐ jì, “Lǐ yùn”)

I wished to observe the way of governing of the Yīn (Shāng) dynasty; therefore I went to Sòng. (“The Function of Rites,” *Records of Rites*)

Extended Meanings

- 1 *resumptive pron.*; addressing its preceding object; used between the preceding object and its verb when the verb-object order is inverted, as in this usage of *shì* 是 and *shí* 究, often in the pattern *wéi* 唯 + object + *zhī* 之 + verb.⁴ It does not need to be translated.

孟武伯問孝。子曰：「父母唯其疾之憂。」（《論語·為政》）

Mèng Wǔbó wèn xiào. Zǐ yuē, “Fù mǔ wéi qí jí zhī yōu.” (Lún yǔ, “Wéi zhèng”)

Mèng Wǔbó asked about filial piety. The Master said, “The parents need worry only about their children’s illnesses.” (“Wéi zhèng,” *Analects*)

* The Master means that filial piety requires causing parents no worry. The only concern parents should have about their children is illness, which is presumably out of their children’s control.

- 2 *object pron.*; “it,” “him,” “her,” “them,” “you,” and “me.”

子曰：「《詩》三百，一言以蔽之，曰：『思無邪。』」（《論語·為政》）

Zǐ yuē, “Shī sānbǎi, yī yán yǐ bì zhī, yuē, ‘Sī wú xié.’” (Lún yǔ, “Wéi zhèng”)

The Master said, “The three hundred *Songs* – I can use one line to summarize them, that is, ‘There is no evil.’” (“Wéi zhèng,” *Analects*)

* *Sī* 思 is a particle used at the beginning of the line with no specific meaning. The use of *sī* as a particle is very common in the *Songs*.

- *zhī*, as an object pronoun, appears before its verb in a sentence of negation

晉靈公不君：厚斂以彫牆；從臺上彈人，而觀其辟丸也；宰夫膳熊蹯不孰，殺之，寘諸畚，使婦人載以過朝。趙盾、士季見其手，問其故，而患之。將諫，士季曰：「諫而不入，則莫之繼也。會請先，不入，則子繼之。」（《左傳·宣公二年》）

Jìn Línggōng bù jūn: Hòu liǎn yǐ diāo qiáng; cóng tái shàng tán rén, ér guān qí bì wǎn yě. Zāifū ér xióng fán bù shú, shā zhī, zhì zhū běn, shǐ fùrén zài yǐ guò cháo. Zhào Dùn, Shì Jì jiàn qí shǒu, wèn qí gù, ér huàn zhī. Jiāng jiàn, Shì Jì yuē, “Jiàn ér bù rù, zé mò zhī jì yě. Huì qǐng xiān, bù rù, zé zǐ jì zhī.” (Zuǒ zhuàn, “Xuāngōng èr nián”)

Duke Líng of Jin was not acting as a ruler should. He levied heavy taxes so that he could have his walls carved with decorations; he shot at people from a tower to see them dodge his pellets. Because, one time, his chef

did not cook the bear's paw thoroughly, he had him killed and stuffed in a basket, commanding some women to carry his body past the court. Zhào Dùn and Shí Jì saw the hands. They inquired about the reason and were concerned. Meaning to remonstrate with the duke about it, Shí Jì said, "If both of us remonstrate with him at the same time and he does not take heed, no one will be able to succeed us in this. Let me go first. If my remonstrances fall on deaf ears, you can succeed me." (Duke Xuān 2, *Zuō Tradition*)

* A more detailed version of this passage appears under the entry for *yān* 焉.

- 3 *demonstrative adjective for people or things close by; attributive modifier; "this/these"*⁵

蜩與學鳩笑之曰：「我決起而飛，槍榆枋，時則不至而控於地而已矣，奚以之九萬里而南為？」適莽蒼者，三飡而反，腹猶果然；適百里者，宿春糧；適千里者，三月聚糧。之二蟲又何知！（《莊子·逍遙遊》）⁶

Tiáo yù xué jiū xiào zhī yuē, "Wǒ xuè qǐ ér fēi, qiāng yú fāng, shí zé bù zhì ér kòng yú dì ér yǐ yǐ, xī yǐ zhī jiǔwàn lǐ ér nán wéi?" Shì máng cāng zhě, sān cān ér fǎn, fù yóu guǒr án; shì bǎi lǐ zhě, sù chōng liáng; shì qiān lǐ zhě, sān yuè jù liáng. Zhī ér chóngh yòu hé zhī! (Zhuāngzǐ, "Xiāoyáo yóu")

A cicada and a turtledove laughed at it (the large bird), saying, "We fly swiftly up till we land on the branches of an elm or a sandalwood. Sometimes we cannot reach them and are dragged back to the ground; that's all there is to it. Why bother going up ninety thousand *lǐ* to travel south?" Those who travel to the grassy suburbs carry only three morsels; their stomachs will still be full when they return. Those who travel a hundred *lǐ* carry enough unhusked grain for overnight. Those who travel a thousand *lǐ* accumulate enough stores of grain for three months. What do these petty creatures know [about the ambition of a great bird]! ("Roaming Free," *Zhuāngzǐ*)

- 4 *structural part.; marker of sentential nominalization; set between the subject and predicate, turning it into the subject or predicate of a sentence or a clause*⁷

- marker of sentential nominalization in a sentence

故明主之畜臣，臣不得越官而有功，不得陳言而不當。（《韓非子·二柄》）

Gù míng zhǔ zhī xù chén, chén bù dé yuè guān ér yǒu gōng, bù dé chén yán ér bù dāng. (Hánfēizǐ, "Èr bǐng")

For this reason, the way of a wise ruler in keeping officials is to ensure that the officials cannot obtain merit by overstepping their duties, and that they cannot present their advice inappropriately. ("The Two Handles," *Hánfēizǐ*)

* *Míng zhǔ xù chén* 明主畜臣 (a wise ruler keeps officials) is a complete sentence, with *míng zhǔ* 明主 (a wise ruler) serving as the subject and *xù*

chén 畜臣 (to keep officials) as the predicate. With the insertion of *zhī*, the sentence turns into a noun phrase, serving as the subject of a sentence.

- marker of sentential nominalization in a clause

孟子告齊宣王曰：「君之視臣如手足，則臣視君如腹心；君之視臣如犬馬，則臣視君如國人；君之視臣如土芥，則臣視君如寇讎。」（《孟子·離婁下》）

Mèngzǐ gào Qí Xuānwáng yuē, “*Jūn zhī shì chén rú shǒu zú, zé chén shì jūn rú fù xīn. Jūn zhī shì chén rú quǎn mǎ, zé chén shì jūn rú guó rén. Jūn zhī shì chén rú tǔ jiè, zé chén shì jūn rú kòu chóu.*” (*Mèngzǐ*, “*Lí Lóu xià*”)

Mencius said to King Xuān of Qi, “If the ruler treats his subjects as if they are his arms and legs, the subjects will treat him as if he is their belly and heart; if the ruler treats his subjects as if they are dogs and horses, the subjects will treat him as if he is a common man; if the ruler treats his subjects as if they are dirt and weeds, the subjects will treat him as if he is their enemy.” (“*Lí Lóu*, Second Section,” *Mencius*)

* Both *jūn shì chén rú shǒu zú* 君視臣如手足 (the ruler treats his subjects as if they are his arms and legs) and *chén shì jūn rú fù xīn* 臣視君如腹心 (the subjects treat him as if he is their belly and heart) are complete sentences by themselves. When they are put together to form a compound sentence, with *zé* 則 (then) showing the relation between them, they become a dependent clause and a main clause, respectively. A *zhī* is added to the dependent clause to nominalize the subject-predicate *jūn shì chén*, which then becomes the subject of the dependent clause.

Cultural note: This passage shows the reciprocal relation between the ruler and his subjects. There is no such thing as absolute loyalty to someone simply because he happens to be the ruler. In pre-Qín Confucian political thought, the ruler serves as a model for his subjects to follow; according to the *An-lects*, the way of rulership is “*jūn jūn chén chén, fù fù zǐ zǐ*” 君君臣臣，父父子子 (the ruler acts like a ruler, and his subjects act like subjects; the father acts like a father, and his sons act like sons). The ruler and the father, being in the leading role, need to fulfill their responsibilities in order for their subjects and sons to follow their example. For the same reason, Mencius argues elsewhere that King Zhòu, the last king of the Shāng dynasty, infamous for being a tyrant, had lost both the substance and the name of a ruler and was therefore simply an evil man to be killed, not a ruler being assassinated. There is a common expression that appears much later: “*jūn yào chén sǐ, chén bù dé bù sǐ; fù yào zǐ wáng, zǐ bù dé bù wáng*” 君要臣死，臣不得不死；父要子亡，子不得不亡 (when the ruler wants his subject to die, the subject cannot do otherwise but die; when the father wants his son to perish, the son cannot do otherwise but perish). This cannot be traced to any of the Confucian classics and indeed contradicts Mencius’s central tenet about reciprocity in relationships.

5 structural part.; marker of agency⁸

- marker of the agent in the subject

夫虎之所以能服狗者、爪牙也。(《韓非子·二柄》)

Fú hǔ zhī suǒ yǐ néng fú gǒu zhě, zhuǎ yá yě. (Hánfēizǐ, “Èr bǐng”)

The reason that tigers can subjugate dogs is their claws and teeth. (“The Two Handles,” Hánfēizǐ)

* Fú hǔ zhī suǒ yǐ néng fú gǒu zhě 夫虎之所以能服狗者 (The reason that tigers can subjugate dogs) is the subject, zhuǎ yá yě 爪牙也 (claws and teeth) is the predicate. Hǔ 虎 (tigers) is the agent that can subjugate dogs; it is highlighted by the addition of zhī 之.

- marker of the agent in the predicate

毛嫱麗姬，人之所美也；魚見之深入，鳥見之高飛，麋鹿見之決驟。(《莊子·齊物論》)

Máo Qiáng Lì Jī, rén zhī suǒ měi yě; yú jiàn zhī shēn rù, niǎo jiàn zhī gāo fēi, mí lù jiàn zhī xuè zhòu. (Zhuāngzǐ, “Qí wù lùn”)

Máo Qiáng and Lì Jī are those whom people considered beautiful. But if fish saw them, they would swim to the bottom; if birds saw them, they would fly up high; and if Père David’s deer saw them, they would dash off swiftly. (“Uniformity of All Forms,” Zhuāngzǐ)

* Máo Qiáng Lì Jī (Máo Qiáng and Lì Jī) is the subject, and rén zhī suǒ měi yě 人之所美也 (those whom people considered beautiful), the predicate. There is no verb in between. In Chinese, a noun phrase can serve as a predicate. The agent who considers Máo Qiáng and Lì Jī beautiful is rén 人 (people). Zhī is used to highlight this agent.

6 structural part.; to mark off the attributive adjunct and the head noun, often translated with the possessive, expressed using either the possessive apostrophe or “of”⁹

以子之矛，陷子之楯，何如？(《韓非子·難一》)

Yǐ zǐ zhī máo, xiàn zǐ zhī dùn, hé rú? (Hánfēizǐ, “Nàn yī”)

What would it be like using this spear of yours to penetrate this shield of yours? (“Refutations One,” Hánfēizǐ)

古之學者為己，今之學者為人。(《荀子·勸學》)

Gǔ zhī xué zhě wèi jǐ, jīn zhī xué zhě wèi rén. (Xúnzǐ, “Quàn xué”)

The scholars of ancient times studied for their own sake, whereas the scholars of the present-day study for the sake of impressing others. (“Encouraging Study,” Xúnzǐ)

7 part.; to create a pause

- used after an intransitive verb

伯牛有疾，子問之，自牖執其手，曰：「亡之，命矣夫！斯人也而有斯疾也！斯人也而有斯疾也！」(《論語·雍也》)

Bóniú yǒu jí, Zǐ wèn zhī, zì yǒu zhí qí shǒu, yuē, “Wú zhī, mìng yǐ fù! Sī rén yě ér yǒu sī jí yě! Sī rén yě ér yǒu sī jí yě!” (Lún yǔ, “Yōng yě”)

Bóniú was sick. The Master went to see him. He held his hand through the window and said to himself, “This must be nothing but fate! Why should such a man be afflicted with such a disease? Why should such a man be afflicted with such a disease?” (“Yōng yě,” *Analects*)

* *Wú* 亡 is used as *wú* 無 (to have none), an intransitive verb. The Master is saying that there is no reason for Bóniú’s affliction besides his own fate.

- used after an adverb

陳涉少時，嘗與人傭耕，輒耕之壟上，悵恨久之，曰：「苟富貴，無相忘。」(《史記·陳涉世家》)

Chén Shè shào shí, cháng yǔ rén yōng gēng, chuò gēng zhī lǒng shàng, chàng hèn jiǔ zhī, yuē, “Gǒu fù guì, wú xiāng wàng.” (Shǐ jì, “Chén Shè shijiā”)

When Chén Shè was young, he farmed with others as a hired laborer. Once, he stopped farming on the ridge and sighed for a long time, saying, “If I ever gain money and status, I will not forget about you.” (“Hereditary House of Chén Shè,” *Grand Scribe’s Records*)

Notes

1 Luó Zhènyù, *Zēngdìng Yīnxū shūqì kǎoshì*, 63b.

2 SWXZ, 513.

3 SWJZZJ, juàn 6.2, 2a–2b.

4 Yáng Bójùn treats this as a structural particle, whereas Wáng Hǎifēn and her coauthors treat it as a resumptive pronoun. *GHYXC*, 348–9; *GHYXCCD*, 477.

5 In Chinese scholarship, this usage is commonly treated as a demonstrative pronoun modifying a noun or noun phrase. *GHYZD*, 6; *GHYXCCD*, 477. Kroll treats it as a demonstrative adjective, which is more accurate, because a demonstrative pronoun can serve as a subject, but a demonstrative adjective cannot. *Zhī* 之, when used to refer to people or things close by, may serve only as an attributive modifier, not as a subject. *SDCMC*, 603.

6 For the explanation of *sān cān* as three morsels rather than three meals, see Jīn Jǐngfāng 金景芳, “Shì ‘ér nán,’ ‘chū jí,’ ‘sān cān,’ ‘lín zhǐ’” 釋「二南」、「初吉」、「三滄」、「麟止」, *Wen shi* 文史 3 (1963): 245–57.

7 Wáng Lì treats this usage as a preposition. *GHYZD*, 6. Since prepositions are often used in combination with nouns or noun phrases rather than verb phrases, this dictionary treats *zhī* in this usage as a structural particle.

8 Kroll treats this as a “marker of agency in object nominalizations,” in the category of markers for noun-phrase modification. The two examples given are *Chūrén zhī suǒ měi* 楚人之所美 (what is regarded as fine by the people of Chǔ) and *rén zhī suǒ yòng* 人之所用 (that which people take advantage of). *SDCMC*, 603.

9 Kroll treats it as a possessive marker, in the category of markers of noun-phrase modification. *SDCMC*, 603. Wáng Lì regards this usage as a preposition. *GHYZD*, 6. Since this usage of *zhī* is equivalent to *de* 的 in modern Chinese and *de* is considered a structural particle, *zhī* in this usage is treated as a structural particle in this dictionary.

ZHŪ 諸

vb.; early meaning unclear

- | – *demonstrative adj.*; “various”
- | – *object pron.*; the same as *zhī* 之
- | – *prep.*; the same as *yú* 於
- | – *phonetic fusion of zhī* 之 and *yú* 於
- | – *phonetic fusion of zhī* 之 and *hū* 平
- | – *part.*; used within or at the end of a sentence for emphasis or rhythm

BI	SS
	

【*zhāng yú qiè* 章魚切】OC: *ta; MC: tsyo

Early Meaning: *vb.*; Early Meaning Unclear

Jì Xūshēng does not have an entry for this.

Xǔ Shèn writes, “*Zhū* 諸 (諸) means to debate. It is derived from *yán* 言 (言, speech), *zhě* 者 (者, to indicate a different subject matter) is sound-bearing” 諸 (諸), 辭也。从言者聲。¹ It is unclear whether the definition given by Xǔ Shèn is the early meaning.

Borrowed Meaning

1 *demonstrative adjective; attributive modifier; “various”*²

王曰：「吾何以識其不才而舍之？」曰：「國君進賢，如不得已，將使卑踰尊，疏踰戚，可不慎與？左右皆曰賢，未可也；諸大夫皆曰賢，未可也；國人皆曰賢，然後察之；見賢焉，然後用之。左右皆曰不可，勿聽；諸大夫皆曰不可，勿聽；國人皆曰不可，然後察之；見不可焉，然後去之。左右皆曰可殺，勿聽；諸大夫皆曰可殺，勿聽；國人皆曰可殺，然後察之；見可殺焉，

然後殺之。故曰，國人殺之也。如此，然後可以為民父母。」（《孟子·梁惠王下》）

Wáng yuē, “Wú hé yǐ shí qí bù cái ér shě zhī?” Yuē, “Guó jūn jìn xián, rú bù dé yǐ, jiāng shī bēi yú zūn, shū yú qī, kě bù shèn yú? Zuōyòu jiē yuē xián, wèi kě yě; zhū dàfū jiē yuē xián, wèi kě yě; guó rén jiē yuē xián, rán hòu chá zhī; jiàn xián yān, rán hòu yòng zhī. Zuōyòu jiē yuē bù kě, wù tīng; zhū dàfū jiē yuē bù kě, wù tīng; guó rén jiē yuē bù kě, rán hòu chá zhī; jiàn bù kě yān, rán hòu qù zhī. Zuōyòu jiē yuē kě shā, wù tīng; zhū dàfū jiē yuē kě shā, wù tīng; guó rén jiē yuē kě shā, rán hòu chá zhī; jiàn kě shā yān, rán hòu shā zhī. Gù yuē, guó rén shā zhī yě. Rú cǐ, rán hòu kě yǐ wéi mǐn fù mǔ.” (Mèngzǐ, “Liáng Huiwáng xià”)

The king (King Xuān of Qí 齊宣王) asked [Mencius], “How can I recognize those who are not talented and remove them from office?” Mencius said, “When a ruler advances worthy people, if it cannot be done otherwise, it will make those of humble status excel those of noble status and make the distant excel those who are close to you. How can you not be cautious? When all around you say someone is worthy, this is not enough. When various great officials all say he is worthy, this is not enough. When all within the state say he is worthy, only then should you observe him closely. If you see that he is indeed worthy, only then should you appoint him. When all around you say someone will not do, this is not enough. When various great officials all say he will not do, this is not enough. When all within the state say he will not do, only then may you observe him closely. If you see that he will indeed not do, only then may you remove him from office. When all around you say a person should be killed, do not listen to this. When various great officials all say someone should be killed, do not listen to this. When all within the state say he should be killed, only then may you observe him closely. If you see that he should indeed be killed, only then may you kill him. One can therefore say that he is killed by the people of the state. Only in this way can you become a mother and father to your people.” (“King Huì of Liáng, Second Section,” Mencius)

2 object pron.; same as zhī 之

羿猶不悛，將歸自田，家眾殺而亨之，以食其子，其子不忍食諸，死于窮門。
（《左傳·襄公四年》）

Yì yóu bù quān, jiāng guī zì tián, jiā zhòng shā ér pēng zhī, yǐ sì qí zǐ, qí zǐ bù rěn shí zhū, sǐ yú Qióng mén. (Zuō zhuàn, “Xiānggōng sì nián”)

Yì still did not repent (of his obsession with hunting). He was about to return from hunting to the court. His subjects and servants killed and boiled him to feed his son. His son could not bear to eat it and therefore died at the city gate of the state of Yǒu [Qióng] 有窮. (“Duke Xiāng 4,” Zuō Tradition)

* *Pēng* 亨 is the same as *pēng* 烹 (to cook, especially by boiling). Qióng 穷 refers to the Yǒu Qióng 有窮 state; Yì was its ruler.

3 prep.; the same as *yú* 於 (to)

宋人資章甫而適諸越，越人斷髮文身，無所用之。（《莊子·逍遙遊》）

Sòng rén zī zhāng fǔ ér shì zhū Yuè, Yuè rén duàn fà wén shēn, wú suǒ yòng zhī. (Zhuāngzǐ, “Xiāoyáo yóu”)

A person of Sòng who traded in ceremonial caps traveled to the Yuè tribes, but the people of Yuè cut their hair short and tattooed their bodies; there was nowhere they could use them (the ceremonial caps). (“Roaming Free,” Zhuāngzǐ)

4 phonetic fusion of *zhī* 之 and *yú* 於

子曰：「君子求諸己，小人求諸人。」（《論語·衛靈公》）

Zǐ yuē, “Jūn zǐ qiú zhū jǐ, xiǎorén qiú zhū rén.” (Lún yǔ, “Wèi Línggōng”)

The Master says, “A noble man will seek it (i.e., virtue) within himself, while a petty man will seek it from others.” (“Wèi Línggōng,” *Analects*)

5 phonetic fusion of *zhī* 之 and *hū* 乎

子路問：「聞斯行諸？」子曰：「有父兄在，如之何其聞斯行之？」冉有問：「聞斯行諸？」子曰：「聞斯行之。」公西華曰：「由也問聞斯行諸，子曰『有父兄在』；求也問聞斯行諸，子曰『聞斯行之』。赤也惑，敢問。」子曰：「求也退，故進之；由也兼人，故退之。」（《論語·先進》）

Zǐlù wèn, “Wén sī xíng zhū?” Zǐ yuē, “Yǒu fù xiōng zài, rú zhī hé qí wén sī xíng zhī?” Rǎn Yǒu wèn, “Wén sī xíng zhū?” Zǐ yuē, “Wén sī xíng zhī.” Gōngxī Huá yuē, “Yóu yě wèn wén sī xíng zhū. Zǐ yuē ‘Yǒu fù xiōng zài’; Qiú yě wèn wén sī xíng zhū. Zǐ yuē, ‘Wén sī xíng zhī.’ Chì yě huò, gǎn wèn.” Zǐ yuē, “Qiú yě tuì, gù jìn zhī; Yóu yě jiān rén, gù tuì zhī.” (Lún yǔ, “Xiān jìn”)

Zǐlù asked, “Should I hear about righteousness and act upon it immediately?” The Master said, “Your father and elder brothers are present. Why should you hear about righteousness and act upon it immediately?” Rǎn Yǒu asked, “Should I hear about righteousness and act upon it immediately?” The Master said, “When you hear about righteousness, do act upon it immediately.” Gōngxī Huá said, “Yóu (i.e., Zǐlù) asked ‘Should I hear about righteousness and act upon it immediately?’ and the Master said, ‘Your father and elder brothers are present’; Qiú (i.e., Rǎn Yǒu) asked ‘Should I hear about righteousness and act upon it immediately?’ and the Master said, ‘When you hear about righteousness, do act upon it immediately.’ Chì (Gōngxī Huá’s byname) is confused. May I presume to ask the reason for this?” The Master said, “Qiú is modest, and so I urge him forward; Yóu has twice the audacity of others, and so I restrain him.” (“Xiān jìn,” *Analects*)

Cultural note: This passage is highly celebrated, as it demonstrates Confucius's student-oriented method of teaching, targeting each individual's specific needs. From this comes the idiom “*yīn cái shī jiào*” 因材施教 (to teach according to the student's ability). A thematically similar passage, “*Zǐyóu wèn xiào*” 子游問孝 (Zǐyóu asked about filial piety), may be found in Book II of the *Analects*.

- 6 *part.*; used within or at the end of a sentence for emphasis or rhythm³

日居月諸, 照臨下土。

乃如之人兮, 逝不古處。

胡能有定, 寧不我顧。

(《毛詩·邶風·日月》)

Rì jī yuè zhū, zhào lín xià tǔ.

Nǎi rú zhī rén xī, shì bù gù chǔ.

Hú néng yǒu dìng, níng bù wǒ gù.

(Máo Shī, “Bèi fēng,” “Rì yuè”)

Oh sun! Oh moon! Faithfully, you shed light over the earth below.

Yet someone like this man of mine does not treat me in the old way.

How can he become settled? Why doesn't he care about me?

(Máo #29, “Sun and Moon,” in “Airs of Bèi,” *Songs*)

* Chéng and Jiǎng propose that 古處 means “former household.” In this sense, it should be read as *gù chǔ*.⁴

Notes

- 1 *SWJZZJ, juàn* 3.1, 17b–18a.
- 2 Kroll treats this as “an attributive grammatical particle indicating membership in a class: one of, some of, the class of.” *SDCMC*, 616. Wáng Hǎifēn and her coauthors treat it as a demonstrative pronoun used to modify a noun or noun phrase. *GHYXCCD*, 483. Yáng Bójùn treats it as a numeral adjective. *GHYXC*, 365. This dictionary treats it as a demonstrative adjective because it carries semantic meaning that is demonstrative but may only be used as an attributive modifier for a noun or noun phrase.
- 3 *GHYXCCD*, 485. Wáng Lì treats this as a modal particle to show exclamation. *GHYZD*, 1281–2.
- 4 They note that the rhyme category is *yú* 魚, with *jū* 居, *zhū* 諸, *tǔ* 土, *chǔ* 處, and *gù* 顧 as the rhymes. *SJZX*, 72–3. Karlgren has *t'o* for 土, *t'io* for 處, and *ko* for 顧. He does not consider 居 and 諸 as rhymes, for he has *kü* for 居 and *chu* for 諸. Karlgren, *The Book of Odes*, 17.

GLOSSARY OF TECHNICAL TERMS

Adverbial modifier: a syntactic element used to modify another syntactic element that is composed of a verb or adjective or their respective phrases.

Associative compounds: translation for *hui yì* 會意 (literally, “conjoined meanings”). One of the six ways of classifying Chinese characters in the “Six Principles” theory; this is supposedly a combination of different zodiographs into one to create a new meaning.

Attributive modifier: a syntactic element used to modify another syntactic element that is composed of a noun or noun phrase.

Bamboo and silk manuscripts: writings using localized nonstandard varieties of graphs during the Warring States period (403–221 BCE), written on bamboo or silk, such as the Qín bamboo manuscripts and Chǔ silk manuscripts, Qín and Chǔ being the names of different states.

Bronze inscriptions: *jīnwén* 金文; characters inscribed on bronze vessels during the Shāng 商 (ca. 1600–1046 BCE) dynasty, the Zhōu (1046–256 BCE) dynasty, and the Warring States period. The inscriptions often include the reasons for casting the bronze vessels and an exhortation to descendants to treasure them. Since the vessels were often used in ritual ceremonies, the graphs on their inscriptions are thought to represent the formal writing of the Shāng and Western Zhōu (1046–771 BCE).

Causative verbs: verbs that make the object perform the action indicated by the verb. For example, in the poem title “*Yìn mǎ Chángchéng kū*” 飲馬長城窟 (To let horses drink at a Great Wall grotto), *yìn* 飲 (to drink) is used as a causative verb and so should be pronounced differently, as *yìn* (to let drink), with the object *mǎ* 馬 (horses) performing the action of the regular verb *yìn* 飲 (to drink).

Character: a graph in Chinese writing, different from a word because a word can be composed of more than one Chinese character.

Cognate: a word with the same linguistic derivation as another; from the same original word or root.

Complement: one or more words, phrases, or clauses used to provide supplementary information about the predicate.

Content word: a word with a lexical meaning; the meaning can be considered in isolation from the sentence containing it, regardless of grammatical context.

Co-verb: often used with a main verb and fulfills a function similar to that of a preposition. It shares some features of verbs and prepositions.

Evolving and deriving: translation for *zhuǎn zhù* 轉注. One of the six types of Chinese character in the “Six Principles” theory; when two characters share the same semantic component on top, they can be used to explain each other. This class, however, has been explained in different ways over the centuries.

Fān qiè: the traditional method of recording pronunciation using two Chinese characters, in the format 【*X Y qiè* 切】. The first character indicates the initial (a consonant or consonants) and determines whether it is voiced or voiceless; the second character indicates the final (a vowel or vowels with or without one or more consonants) and the tone. As pronunciation has changed over time, it is misleading to use modern Pǔtōnghuà to read *fān qiè*. Because Cantonese is closer to medieval Chinese, it is sometimes still possible to deduce the correct pronunciation using *fān qiè* in Cantonese pronunciation. For example, the *fān qiè* for *fǒu* 否 is 【方久切】, romanized as *fong1 gau2 cit3*. Taking the initial from the first character *f* and the final *au2* from the second character, this generates *fau2*, precisely the character’s pronunciation in Cantonese. In Pǔtōnghuà, however, the romanization would be *fāng jiǔ qiè*, generating *fiǔ*; this syllable does not even exist, as *f* does not combine with *iu* in Pǔtōnghuà.

Form and sound: translation for *xíng shēng* 形聲, also known as *xié shēng* 諧聲 (shared phonophoric). One of the six types of Chinese character in the “Six Principles” theory; a graph that consists of two components, a semantic symbol for meaning and a phonetic symbol for sound. In this dictionary, the phonetic symbol is referred to as phonophoric (sound-bearing).

Function words: words with grammatical meanings, often used to show the relations of two syntactical components, and in the case of modal particles, to create different types of sentences.

Indicating the matter: translation for *zhǐ shì* 指事. One of the six types of Chinese character in the “Six Principles” theory; often a zodiograph with an indicator to highlight its meaning.

Large seal script: also known as *Zhòuwén* 篆文 (the script of Zhòu); traditionally identified with Western Zhōu bronze inscriptions.

Modal particle: a type of particle expressing the mood or attitude of the writer, often used at the end of a sentence to show doubt, exclamation, or confirmation.

Morpheme: the smallest meaningful morphological unit of a language, used for creating a word. It cannot serve as a syntactic component in a sentence. There are words, however, composed of only one morpheme. In this case, it is the one-morpheme word that is used as a syntactic component, not the morpheme itself.

Object (O): a noun or noun phrase governed by an active transitive verb or by a preposition.

Oracle-bone inscriptions: the earliest form of Chinese writing, from the Shāng dynasty, found on oracle-bones and shinbones used for divination. To date, about 1,600 characters have been identified out of the 5,000 that appear on the approximately 200,000 discovered pieces.

Phonetic loan: translation for *jiǎ jiè* 假借 (literally, “loan-borrowing”). One of the six types of Chinese character in the “Six Principles” theory; these are loan graphs, in which an existing character is used to represent a homophonous or nearly homophonous word.

Phonophoric: the component of a Chinese character that expresses or represents a speech sound

Predicate (P): in the strictest sense, the predicate is the part of a sentence or clause that contains a verb and states something about the subject. In a broader sense, it is the entire sentence other than the subject. It provides information about the subject, often contains a verb, and may also include an object, an adverbial and a complement.

Putative verbs: when an adjective is used as a putative verb, the subject considers the object to possess the quality described by the adjective; when a noun is used as a putative verb, it means that the object is regarded as being what the noun represents.

Resumptive pronoun: a pronoun referring to things that have just been mentioned. *Shì* 是 is frequently used as a resumptive pronoun.

Semantic determinative: a secondary graph added to a character to eliminate ambiguity when that character has more than one meaning. Although in English these are most commonly called radicals, Boltz feels this is incorrect because the term *radical* refers to the root of a word, but semantic determinatives were added

at a later date. Another common term is *classifier*, which has the advantage of being clear and does not have the problem associated with the term *radical*.

“Six Principles” theory: *liù shū* 六書, the earliest systematic attempt at creating a typology of Chinese characters. Xǔ Shèn 許慎 (?58–?147), the Eastern Hán 東漢 (25–220) scholar who compiled the first dictionary of Chinese characters, *Shuō wén jiě zì* 說文解字 (Explanations of simple graphs and analyses of composite graphs), was also the first to give explanations and examples for each of these six categories, based on his analysis of the small seal script. As William G. Boltz emphasizes, *liù shū* was never intended to explain the complex stages in the evolution of the Chinese script; they were an attempt by the Hán literati to analyze and categorize the characters that were known to them.

Small seal script: the official form of formal writing during the Qín 秦 (221–206 bce) dynasty.

Structural particle: a type of particle used to identify the grammatical relation between two syntactic components, often used for identifying the attributive modifier and its head (i.e., the part being modified).

Subject (S): in English, the subject can be analyzed from the aspects of syntax, pragmatics, and semantics; in Chinese, the subject is often identified using the pragmatic method. The subject is considered the topic, the predicate the comment. This is because there is no subject–verb agreement to render the perspective of syntax meaningful. However, it is actually easier to identify a subject in literary Chinese using semantics, in which the subject can be either the agent or the recipient of a verb, or *fei shi fei shou* 非施非受 (nonagent; nonrecipient) or *zhongxin zhuyu* 中性主語 (neutral subject). The agent is the one who performs an action; the recipient is the one who is subject to an action; *nonagent*, *nonrecipient* indicate words that cannot be classified as either.

Suffix: morpheme added at the end of a word to form a derivative.

Syntactic component: building block of a sentence. Whereas a word can be classified into different word classes, when it enters a sentence, it becomes a syntactic component. For example, *shān* 山 by itself is a noun, but when used in a sentence such as in *rén zhě yào shān* 仁者樂山 (a benevolent person delights in mountains), it functions as an object.

Word: the smallest meaningful unit for forming the syntactic component of a sentence or a single distinct meaningful element of speech or writing.

Zodiograph: translation for *xiàng xíng* 象形 (literally, “representing the form”). One of the six types of Chinese character in the “Six Principles” theory; a logograph or lexigraph representing a word through form, sound, and meaning. To be

differentiated from pictograph, which is primarily associated with meaning, as persuasively argued by Boltz.

* **William G. Boltz** has made a detailed study on Chinese writing, and the preceding explanations referencing Boltz come from his monumental book, *The Origin and Early Development of the Chinese Writing System*.

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- bào hǔ píng hé*暴虎馮河 (to fight a tiger barehanded or walk across the River) 10
- bèi běn qū mò*背本趨末 (to turn away from the fundamental and chase after the peripheral) 284
- bìng rù gāo huāng*病入膏肓 (literally “disease infiltrating the area between the diaphragm and the heart) 178
- bó wén yuē lì*博文約禮 (to broaden one’s knowledge in literature and to cultivate oneself with rites) 168
- bù huò zhī nián*不惑之年 (the age when one is not perplexed by worldly affairs=forty) 305
- bù shí zhī dì*不食之地 (land that cannot be farmed) 115
- céng jīng cāng hǎi*曾經滄海 (having once experienced the wide ocean) 208
- chéng xià zhī méng*城下之盟 (to make a covenant when the enemies were right outside their inner-city walls) 23
- cóng xīn suǒ yù*從心所欲 (to follow whatever one’s heart desires) 305
- dào xíng nì shī*倒行逆施 (to go backward and do things in the wrong order) 286
- dào yì yǒu dào*盜亦有道 (even robbers have their principles) 53
- ěr cōng mù míng*耳聰目明 (keen-eared and clear-sighted) 31
- èr rén tóng xīn, qí lì duàn jīn*二人同心，其利斷金 (when two people have the same heart, they can be as sharp as a sword that slices through metal) 118
- ér shùn zhī nián*耳順之年 (the age when one’s ears are attuned=sixty) 305

- fā fèn wàng shí*發憤忘食 (impassioned by what one does not know and resolving to learn, so much so that one forgets his meals) 44
- fěirán chéng zhāng*斐然成章 (polished are the literary works) 314
- fèn tǔ zhī qiáng bù kě wū*糞土之牆不可朽 (a wall made of dung cannot be plastered) 252
- fèn tǔ zhī qiáng bù kě wū*糞土之牆不可朽 (a wall made of dung cannot be plastered) 315
- fēng mǎ niú bù xiāng jí*風馬牛不相及 (horses and cattle in heat cannot reach each other) 220
- fù ér hào lǐ*富而好禮 (rich but fond of the rites) 172
- fù ér wú jiāo*富而無驕 (rich but not imperious) 172
- fù mǔ zhī bāng*父母之邦 (the state where my father and mother were born) 257
- gāo zhěn ér wò*高枕而臥 (to recline against a high pillow) 33
- gē jī yān yòng niú dāo*割雞焉用牛刀 (Why use an ox cleaver to carve a chicken?) 257
- Guān Bào zhī jiāo*管鮑之交 (the friendship of Guān and Bào) 291
- guò ér néng gǎi*過而能改 (to be capable, having done something wrong, of rectifying it) 265
- hòu shēng kě wèi*後生可畏 (literally, those born later are to be feared) 258
- huì ér bù fèi*惠而不費 (to bring material benefits to others without incurring great expenditure) 191

- huì rén bù juàn* 誨人不倦 (never tired of teaching others) 176
- jiàn xián sī qí* 見賢思齊 (meeting the virtuous, one ponders how to become their equal) 266
- jiǎo tǔ sān kū* 狡兔三窟 (a cunning rabbit has three burrows) 33
- jiē lái zhī shí* 噤來之食 (food accompanied by “hey, come and get it”) 219
- jīngjīng yèyè* 穎兢業業 (be cautious and vigilant) 122
- kè jǐ fù lì* 克己復禮 (to moderate yourself and come back to ritual propriety) 244
- kē zhèng měng yú hǔ* 苛政猛於虎 (harsh government is more ferocious than tigers) 99
- kǔ yú zhī sì* 枯魚之肆 (dried-fish market) 157
- láng zǐ yě xīn* 狼子野心 (a wolf cub with a savage heart) 24
- láo kǔ gōng gāo* 勞苦功高 (having exerted oneself greatly and achieved much merit) 280
- lè yǐ wàng yōu* 樂以忘憂 (taking so much pleasure in something that one forgets his worries) 44
- lǐ shàng wǎng lái* 禮尚往來 (ritual propriety values reciprocity in giving and taking) 298
- liángmù qí huài* 梁木其壞 (is the roof beam about to disintegrate?) 112
- lín shì ér jù* 臨事而懼 (to feel trepidation in the face of danger) 240
- měi yán bù xìn* 美言不信 (pretty words are not trustworthy) 251
- nán nǚ shòu shòu bù qīn* 男女授受不親 (in giving and receiving, a man and a woman should avoid touching each other) 274
- néng qū néng shēn* 能屈能伸 (to be able to bend and straighten) 252
- páo Dīng jiě niú* 剋丁解牛 (Cook Dīng butchering an ox) 74
- pī fū zhī yǒng* 匹夫之勇 (the courage of one mere man) 165
- pín ér wú chǎn* 貧而無谄 (impoverished but not obsequious) 172
- qì jiā yè bīng* 舍甲曳兵 (to abandon one's armor and drag one's weapons [while fleeing]) 281
- qīng chū yú lán shèng yú lán* 青出於藍勝於藍 (indigo blue is produced from the indigo plant but is bluer than the indigo plant) 305
- qīng chū yú lán* 青出於藍 (indigo blue is produced from the indigo plant) 305
- qiú rén dé rén* 求仁得仁 (to seek virtue and obtain virtue) 206
- qù shuò xì yáng* 告朔餽羊 (the sacrifice of a live sheep in the ritual ceremony held on the first day of each month) 39
- rì mù tú yuǎn* 日暮途遠 (the day is about to end and there is still a long way to go) 286
- rì xīn yòu xīn* 日新又新 (to refresh oneself on a daily basis) 81
- rú lín shēn yuān* 如臨深淵 (as if looking down into a deep pool) 10
- rú lǚ bó bīng* 如履薄冰 (as if treading on thin ice) 10
- rú zǐ kě jiāo* 學子可教 (this youngster can be taught) 198
- sānshí ér lì* 三十而立 (to have established oneself at thirty) 305
- shā shén chéng rén* 犀身成仁 (to sacrifice one's life to bring benevolence to fruition) 280
- shì zhě rú sī* 漫者如斯 (what passes away is perhaps like this) 60
- shí zhǐ dà dòng* 食指大動 (the index finger twitches vigorously) 309
- sǐ ér wú huǐ* 死而無悔 (not to regret even if it means dying) 240
- sì miàn Chǔ gē* 四面楚歌 (Chǔ songs coming [from the Hán army] on all four sides) 70
- Tàishān qí tuī* 泰山其頽 (is Mount Tài about to collapse?) 112
- tiānxià wéi gōng* 天下為公 (all under Heaven belongs to the public domain) 251
- tiānxià wū yā yībān hēi* 天下烏鵲一般黑 (all the crows in the world are black) 134
- wéi wéi nuò nuò* 唯唯諾諾 (to concur and consent) 217

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