

Classical Chinese Grammar Tutorial*

Lesson 3: Compound Verbal Predicates

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Language points:

- Verbal conjunctions
- Auxiliary verbs
- Quasi auxiliaries
- Coverbs

New historical sources:

- *Síng Lì Tsíng Ngí* (性理精義) ‘The Essential Meaning of Human Nature and Heavenly Principles’ (SL)
- *Mek Tsí* (墨子) ‘Writings of Master Mek’ (MkTs)
- *Lǚ Ssí Č’ūn Ts’ieū* (呂氏春秋) ‘Master Lü’s Spring and Autumn Annals’ (LSs)
- *Č’ūn Ts’ieū Kūng Yàng Č’uén* (春秋公羊傳) ‘Kūng Yàng Commentary on the Spring and Autumn Annals’ (KYČ)
- *Kuok Iú* (國語) ‘Discourses of the States’ (KI)

1 Complex predicates via conjunctions

Sinitic languages tend to use different conjunctions for different categories. Classical Chinese is no exception. In Chapter 5 of Pulleyblank’s textbook, we meet a conjunction for verbs—and especially for the subclass of verbs labeled “adjectives”—*?sa* (且[且]). But overt conjunctions are usually only optional in Classical Chinese.

*The full series is available on my website (www.juliosong.com).

- (1) a. 邦有道貧且賤焉恥也邦無道富且貴焉恥也 (LI)
邦有道貧且賤焉恥也邦無道富且貴焉恥也 (LI)

pro:ŋ ɣ^{wu}? l'u:?, **bru:n ?sa zlen:s** qan ŋ^{hu}? la:l?; pro:ŋ ma l'u:?,
pāng yeù taò, p'în ts'ie tsién yèn č'ì yè; pāng wû taò,
country have Way poor and lowly in it shameful AST country not have Way
pu:gs ?sa klud:s qan ŋ^{hu}? la:l?
fú ts'ie kuéi yèn č'ì yè
rich and noble in it shameful AST

‘When a country has the Way, to be poor and lowly in it is shameful; when a country does not have the Way, to be rich and noble in it is shameful.’ (PB:39)

- b. 頽白者不負戴于道路矣 (MTs)
頽白者不負戴于道路矣 (MTs)

pra:n bra:g tja:ʔ pu' **bu:ʔ** ?l'u:gs ɣ^{wa} l'u:ʔ g-ra:gs ɣlu:ʔ
pān pek čè put fú tái iũ taò lú ì
variegated white NMLZ NEG back-carry head-carry on way road PRF

‘Those whose hair is streaked with white will not carry loads on their heads or on their backs on the ways and roads.’ (PB:39)

In (1a), we see two *?sa*-conjoined coordinate predicates, ‘(be) poor and lowly’ and ‘(be) rich and noble’, but the sentence is also fine without *?sa*. In (1b), we see a conjunction-free coordinate predicate ‘carry (weight) on the head [and] carry (weight) on the back’. Since it is embedded in a negative context, the covert conjunction is translated as “or”.

In the same chapter, we meet another verbal conjunction, *nju* (而 [而]), which is mainly used in verb/event serialization. While verbs conjoined by *?sa* have no internal semantic order, verbs/events connected by *nju* may assume one of several conventionalized semantic orders, such as temporal precedence, quasi-modificational simultaneity, etc. In addition, conjuncts linked by *nju* may be either bare verbs, verb phrases, or full clauses (which are extended VPs in a technical sense). Overall, *nju* is a highly versatile conjunction in Classical Chinese, and the various semantic relations it conveys are a key pedagogical point in high school grammar.

- (2) a. 滕文公爲世子將之楚過宋而見孟子 (MTs)
滕文公爲世子將之楚過宋而見孟子 (MTs)

l'u:ŋ mu:n klo:ŋ ɣ^wal hljɛbs ?slu?, ?saŋ tju sŋ^hra?, klo:ls slu:ŋs, **nju** ke:ns
 t'èng wèn kūng wèi sí tsì tsiāng cǐ ts'ù kuó sóng rí kién
 T'èng Wèn duke be generation son will go Ts'ù pass Sóng and meet
 mra:ŋs ?slu?
 méng tsì
 Méng master

‘When Duke Wèn of T’èng was Crown Prince, he passed through Sóng on his way to Ts’ù and saw Mencius (lit. he was going to Ts’ù, [but after hearing that Mencius was in Sóng at the moment] passed through Sòng on his way, and met Mencius).’

(PB:45)

- b. 日出而作日入而息逍遙于天地之間而心意自得 (ČTs)
 日出而作日入而息逍遙于天地之間而心意自得 (ČTs)

njig khljud **nju** ?sa:gs, njig njub **nju** slug; sew-lew ɣ^wa qh^li:n l'els
 žit č'ut rí tsok, žit žip rí sik, siaō-yaô iũ t'iên tí
 sun exit and work sun enter and rest free and unfettered in heaven earth
 tju kre:n **nju** slum qugs fljids tu:g
 cǐ kiān rí sīm í tsí tek
 GEN middle and heart mind self obtain

‘The sun rises and I work; the sun sets and I rest. I freely enjoy myself between heaven and earth and my mind is self-satisfied.’

(vdG:254)

In (2a), *nju* indicates a temporal order between ‘pass through Sóng’ and ‘meet Mencius’. In (2b), the first two occurrences of *nju* indicate quasi-modificational simultaneity, where the first conjunct ‘the sun rises’ describes a background condition of the second conjunct ‘I work’ in an quasi-adverbial (so this could be more freely translated as ‘I work at sunrise’). The third *nju*, on the other hand, conjoins two clauses in a natural narrative order; that is, it indicates the normal expansion of the discourse.

Finally, it is worth noting that when *nju* does not indicate ordinary temporal precedence but indicates some more abstract semantic or narrative order, the first conjunct can sometimes be an auxiliary verb, as in (3).

- (3) a. 其能而亂四方
其能而亂四方 (Šū)

gu nu: nju ro:ns hljids paŋ
k'ì nêng rî luén ssí fāng
how.EMPH capable and govern four quarter

‘How could I be capable of governing the kingdom? (lit. how could I be capable and govern the kingdom)’ (vdG:257)

- b. 盛德之士君不得而臣父不得而子
盛德之士君不得而臣父不得而子 (MTs)

djeŋs tu:g tju zruʔ, klun pu' tu:g nju giŋ, baʔ pu' tu:g
šéng tek čī ssí, kiün put tek rî č'in, fú put tek
grand virtue GEN scholar ruler not get CONJ treat as subject father not get
nju ʔsluʔ
rî tsì
CONJ treat as son

‘As for a scholar of grand virtue, a ruler does not get to (lit. does not succeed and) treat him as a subject, and a father does not get to treat him as a son.’ (PB:46)

The literal meanings ‘be capable and do sth.’ in (3a) and ‘succeed and do sth.’ in (3b) are more naturally rendered ‘be capable of doing sth.’ and ‘get/manage to do sth.’ respectively. The compatibility of auxiliary verbs like *nu:* ‘can, capable of’ and *tu:g* ‘get to, manage to’ and the verb-serializing conjunction *nju* suggests that they still keep some lexicality in Classical Chinese, unlike their counterparts in English.

2 Auxiliary verbs

The internal structure of complex predicates could be either coordination or subordination. Coordination, as we have seen, is the simpler case between the two, while subordination is more complicated, because both the subordinating and the subordinate component may vary in their grammatical status.

In view of the subordinating component, there are two main types of subordinate complex predicates: those with auxiliary verbs and those with coverbs. We begin by looking at the first type. Pulleyblank and von der Gabelentz collectively teach the following auxiliaries (I use this term in a broad sense, meaning any VP-selecting [+V] morpheme):

- *log* (欲 [欲]) / *ŋʷans* (願 [願]) ‘wish, want, would like to’
- *nu:* (能 [能]) / *kʰu:g* (克 [克]) ‘can, may, be capable of’
- *ta:ŋ* (當 [當]) ‘should’
- *kʰu:ŋʔ* (肯 [肯]) ‘be willing to’

- *kla:m?* (敢[敢]) ‘dare; venture to’
- *hlju?* (始[始]) ‘begin to, start to’
- *tu:g* (得[得]) ‘get to, manage to’

As their English translations show, the counterparts of these words tend to be auxiliaries in other languages too. Since the concept “auxiliary” is not hard to understand, our main task here is just to learn these vocabulary items.

A. *log/ŋ^wans* ‘wish, want, would like to’

- (4) a. 欲辟土地
欲辟土地 (Mts)

log *beg* *l^ha:?* *l'els*
yuk p'ik t'ù tí
want open up (territory) earth ground

‘(You) want to enlarge your territory.’ (vdG:133)

- b. 願藏于其市
願藏于其市 (Mts)

ŋ^wans *za:ŋ* *ɣ^wa gu dju?*
yuén ts'àng iũ k'ì šì
wish store up on his market

‘(Traders) wish to do business (lit. store up goods) on his market.’ (vdG:133)

Just like English *want* and *wish*, the two desire-denoting auxiliaries in Classical Chinese can be used as ordinary lexical verbs as well.

- (5) 王欲之
王欲之

ɣ^waŋ **log** *tju*
wâng yuk čī
king wish it

‘The king wishes it.’ (PB:40)

B. *nu:/k^hu:g* ‘can, may, be capable of’

- (6) a. 汝能庸命
汝能庸命 (Šū)

nja? nu: loŋ mreŋs
zhù nēng yūng míng
 you capable use destiny

‘You are capable of following God’s will. (lit. using the destiny)’ (vdG:133)

- b. 允恭克讓
允恭克讓 (Šū)

lun? kloŋ kʰu:g njaŋs
yùn kūng kèk yáng
 honest respectful can give way

‘He is honest, respectful, and modest (lit. can give way to others).’ (vdG:133)

Both auxiliaries in (6) work in the same way as their English counterparts, meaning ‘sb. can do sth.’. There are still other words conveying this meaning in Classical Chinese, such as *kʰa:l?* (可[可]). Nevertheless, this synonymous item assumes a different syntax, so we leave it to the next section. Note that *nu:* can be used as an ordinary lexical verb in its modal sense too, just like *loŋ* in (5).

- (7) 不賢而能之與
不賢而能之與 (MTs)

pu' gi:n nju nu: tju la
put kiên rî nēng ċi iũ
 not talented and capable it Q

‘Could he have done it if he had not been a man of superior talent? (lit. Is it true that he is not talented but is capable of it?)’ (PB:40)

C. *ta:ŋ* ‘should’

- (8) a. 故言理之當先乎氣
故言理之當先乎氣 (SL)

ka:s ŋan ru? tju ta:ŋ su:ns ga: kʰuds
kú yēn lì ċi tāng siēn hù k'í
 therefore say principle GEN should come before than matter

‘Therefore, we say that principles should come before matter.’ (vdG:454)

- b. 邛非人臣所當議也
此非人臣所當議也 (SsK)

she? pul njin gin sq^hra? ta:ŋ ŋrals la:l?
ts'ì fēi žin č'in sò tāng ngì yè
this not people subject REL should discuss AST

'This is not something that (feudal) officials should talk about.'

The word *ta:ŋ* has several meanings of different syntactic categories. Here, we are only concerned with its normal auxiliary meaning—namely, the meaning that can be directly translated as “should.” We will see one of its other uses in the next section. Also note that unlike the other auxiliary verbs we have seen so far, this item is often used in a generic, impersonal way.

- (9) 言人之不善當如後患何 (Mts)
言人之不善當如後患何

ŋan njin tju pu' gjen?, ta:ŋ nja go:? gro:ns ga:l
yên žin čī put šén, tāng žù héú huán hô
say people GEN not good should make be like later trouble what

'If one often speaks ill of others, how should he deal with the ensuing trouble (lit. what should he make later trouble be like)?' (vdG:454)

Here, the speaker (Mencius) is making a general remark about the consequences of badmouthing, and there is no specific subject for either ‘speak’ or ‘should deal with’.

D. *k^hu:ŋ?* ‘be willing to’

- (10) a. 終風且霾惠然肯來
終風且霾惠然肯來 (Ši)

tjuŋ plum ?sa mru:, ɣ^wi:ds njen k^hu:ŋ? m:ru:g
čūng fūng ts'ìè mâi, hoéi žân kèn lâi
long-lasting wind and cloud of dust kind ADV willing to come

'The wind blows for a whole day with clouds of dust; he is kindly willing to come to see me.'

- b. 公子欲見兩人兩人自匿不肯見公子 (SsK)
 公子欲見兩人兩人自匿不肯見公子

klo:ŋ ?slu? log ke:ns raŋ? njin, raŋ? njin hljids nuug, pu' k^hu:ŋ? ke:ns
 kūng tsì yuk kién rí žin, rí žin tsí nik put kèn kién
 lord son want meet two person two person self hide not willing.to meet
klo:ŋ ?slu?
 kūng tsì
 lord son

‘The young lord (i.e., Lord Sín Lîng) wanted to meet the two people, but they hid themselves and were not willing to meet him.’

The use of this auxiliary is quite straightforward and in fact identical to its use in Modern Chinese. By the way, Lord Sín Lîng is one of the Four (Young) Lords of the Warring States (*čán kuok ssí kūng tsì* 戰國四公子), of whom there are many famous stories.

E. *kla:m?* ‘dare; venture to’

- (11) 彼惡敢當我哉
 彼惡敢當我哉 (MTs)

pral? qa:g kla:m? ta:ŋ ŋa:l? ?slu:
 pì ngū kàm tāng ngò tsāi
 he how dare withstand me SFP

‘How dare he face me?’ (PB:40)

Note that the occurrence of *ta:ŋ* here is not an auxiliary but an ordinary lexical verb. In addition, while the *kla:m?* in (11) is equivalent to English *dare*, elsewhere in the language it has developed a further (grammaticalized) function—as an honorific marker meaning ‘venture to do sth.’ or ‘do sth. with awe’. This use is mostly (if not exclusively) seen when the subject is first-person.

- (12) 敢對揚天子之休命
 敢對揚天子之休命 (Šū)

kla:m? tu:bs laŋ q^hl'i:n ?slu? tju q^hu mreŋs
 kàm túi yāng t'ien tsì čī hieū míng
 dare respond praise heaven son GEN magnificent order

‘Full of awe, I respond to and praise the emperor’s magnificent order.’

From this function was derived the idiomatic phrase *kla:m? muuns* 敢問 [敢問] ‘I venture to ask..., may I ask...’, which is still in use in Modern Chinese for rhetoric purposes.

F. *hlju?* ‘begin to, start to’

This is another multicategorical, polysemous word, and here we are only concerned with its auxiliary use as an inceptive aspect marker.

- (13) 蚩尤惟始作亂
 蚩尤惟始作亂 (Šū)

thju *ɣ^{wu}* *ɣ^{wi}* **hlju?** *ʔsa:gs* *ro:ns*
 čī yeû wêi šì tsok luén
 Č'ī Yeû COP begin do rebellion

'Č'ī Yeû just began to rebel.' (vdG:134)

G. *tu:g* 'get to, manage to'

- (14) a. 必死于此弗得出矣
 必死于此弗得出矣 (TsČ)

plig *hlji?* *ɣ^{wa}* *she?*, *pud* **tu:g** *khjud* *glu?*
 pit ssì iũ tsì, fut tek č'ut ì
 must die in here not get.to exit PRF

'I am doomed to die here and will not get to escape.' (vdG:458)

- b. 善人吾不得而見之矣得見有恆者斯可矣 (LI)
 善人吾不得而見之矣得見有恆者斯可矣 (LI)

gjen? *njin*, *ŋa:* *pu'* **tu:g** *nju* *ke:ns* *tju* *glu?*; **tu:g** *ke:ns* *ɣ^{wu?}* *gu:ŋ*
 šén žîn, ngû put tek rî kién čī ì; tek kién yeù hêng
 good person I not get to CONJ meet 3SG PRF get to meet have persistence
tja:?, *se* *k^ha:l?* *glu?*
 če, ssī k'ò ì
 NMLZ that okay PRF

'As for a good person, I will not get to meet one. Thus, as long as I get to meet someone with lasting integrity, that is already okay.' (vdG:458)

Notice the insertion of the the verb-serializing conjunction *nju* in (14b), which we have encountered in the previous section.

3 Quasi auxiliaries

Apart from the above-mentioned modal and aspectual auxiliary verbs, Classical Chinese still has some other VP-selecting items that can help form complex predicates. These mainly include causative light verbs and “tough” adjectives. For convenience's sake, I call all these “quasi

auxiliaries,” because they are still clearly [+V] in categorial status and intuitively all modify or support the main verb in some way.

3.1 Causative light verbs

There are two main causative quasi auxiliaries in Classical Chinese: *sru?* (使[使]) ‘lit. employ; send’ and *re:ŋs* (令[令]) ‘lit. order’. Each of these has a lexical verb meaning, but that meaning is bleached in the causative construction, with only the abstract meaning ‘make, let’ being left. I give such vocabulary items the label “light verbs,” borrowing a term from theoretical linguistics. Thus, the construction [v_{Caus} NP VP] systematically means ‘make/let NP VP’, where NP is both the object of the causative light verb and the subject of the main verb. For this reason, Pulleyblank calls this a “pivot construction.”

- (15) a. 是使民養生喪死無憾也
是使民養生喪死無憾也 (MTs)

dje? sru? min lan? shle:ŋ sma:ŋ hji? ma gu:ms la:l?
 ší ssì mìn yàng sēng sāng ssì wú hán yè
 this CAUS people nourish living mourn dead not have regret AST

‘This is to let the people nourish the living and mourn the dead without regrets.’
 (PB:41)

- b. 爲元門上瓦屋毋令水潦能入門中
爲元門上瓦屋毋令水潦能入門中 (MkTs)

ɕ^wals gu mu:n djaŋ? ŋ^wra:l? qo:g, ma re:ŋs q^{hw}ljil? re:w? nu: njub mu:n
 wèi k’i mèn šáng nguà nguk, wú líng šùì nēng žip mèn čūng
 for its gate build tile room not.IMP let water flood able enter gate
 tuŋ

inside

‘Build a tiled roof for its gate, so as not to let the flood waters be able to enter the gate.’
 (PB:41)

3.2 “Tough” predicates

In an auxiliary verb construction [NP Aux V], NP is the subject of V. By contrast, in a “tough” construction [NP TOUGH V], NP is the logical object of V, and so the reading of the entire construction is somewhat passivized. This construction is known as the “tough” construction in theoretical linguistics since the English adjective *tough* is a typical example of it.

- (16) The problem was tough to solve.

Further “tough” predicates in English include *easy, difficult, good, bad, impossible*, etc. In Classical Chinese, “tough” predicates cannot be easily distinguished from normal auxiliaries just by syntax, as there is no overt reflection of their semantic distinction. Thus, we can only distinguish the two classes by semantics. Typical “tough” predicates in Classical Chinese are adjectival too, just like in English, and Pulleyblank lists the following examples:

- *kʰa:lʔ* (可 [可]) ‘possible; permissible’
- *ʔsog* (足 [足]) ‘sufficient, worth’
- *ŋʰa:n* (難 [難]) ‘difficult’
- *le:gs* (易 [易]) ‘easy’

- (17) a. 天二可運于掌
天下可運于掌 (MTs)

qʰl'in gra:lʔ kʰa:lʔ guns ɣʷa tjaŋʔ
t'iēn hiá kò yún iũ càng
heaven underneath possible resolve in palm

‘The world may be revolved in the palm of your hand.’ (PB:42)

- b. 則文王不足法與
則文王不足法與 (MTs)

ʔsu:g mu:n ɣʷaŋ pu' ʔsog pɣab la
tsek wēn wāng put tsuk fap iũ
then Wēn king not worth take as model Q

‘Then is King Wēn not worthy of being taken as a model?’ (PB:42)

- c. 久則難變也
久則難變也 (MTs)

kʰlu:lʔ ʔsu:g ŋʰa:n prons la:lʔ
kieù tsek nām pién iè
for a long time then difficult change AST

‘Having lasted a long time, it was difficult to change.’ (PB:42)

- d. 三年學不至于穀不易得也
三年學不至于穀不易得也 (LI)

su:m ni:ŋ gru:g, pu' tjigs ɣʷa klo:g, pu' le:gs tu:g la:lʔ
sām niēn hiok, put cí iũ kuk, put yik tek yè
three year study not arrive at official salary not easy get AST

‘Having studied for three years but still not becoming a government official (lit. not arriving at an official’s salary)—this is not easy to achieve.’ (PB:42)

Among the four items in (17), *kʰa:l?* is the closest to an auxiliary verb in meaning and is often freely translated as “can, may.” As a “tough” predicate, however, it can only be used “passively” in the sense of “sth. can/may be V-ed.” In active contexts, one should use the related compound auxiliary *kʰa:l? lu?* (可 以 [可以]) ‘can, able to’ instead. This compound auxiliary can be analyzed as follows: *kʰa:l?* is still the same “tough” predicate, and *lu?* is a transitive verb that literally means ‘take, use’, so the compound auxiliary literally means ‘sth. can be used to do sth.’ When the “sth.” in question is a person, an abstract, agent-marking function is derived from the concept “use,” and the reading of the whole construction becomes ‘sb. can be the agent to do sth.’ or more naturally ‘sb. can do sth.’

- (18) a. 五十者可以衣帛矣
五十者可以衣帛矣 (MTs)

ŋa:ʔ gjub tja:ʔ kʰa:l? lu? quɿs bra:g gluʔ
ngù šip čè kò ì í bak ì
 five ten NMLZ possible use wear silk PRF

‘The fifty-year-olds will be able to wear silk.’ (PB:43)

- b. 人而無恆不可以作巫醫
人而無恆不可以作巫醫 (LI)

ŋjin ŋju ma gu:ŋ, puʔ kʰa:l? lu? ʔsa:gs ma qu
žin rî wû hêng, put kò ì tsok wû yī
 person CONJ not have perseverance not possible use be oracle doctor

‘A person without perseverance (lit. being a person and not having perseverance, [such a person]) cannot be an oracle or a doctor.’ (vdG:456)

Similarly, while *ʔsog* (足 [足]) ‘sufficient, worth’ can only be used with a passive complement, *ʔsog lu?* (足以 [足以]) ‘sufficient/worth of being used to’ can be used with an active one.

- (19) 吾力足以舉百鈞而不足以舉一羽
吾力足以舉百鈞而不足以舉一羽 (MTs)

ŋa: ruɡ ʔsog lu? klaʔ pra:g kʷin ŋju puʔ ʔsog lu? klaʔ qliɡ
ngû lik tsuk ì kiù pek kiün rî put tsuk ì kiù yit
 my strength sufficient use lift hundred 15kg CONJ not sufficient use lift one
ɕʷaʔ
iù
 feather

‘My strength is sufficient to lift 1500 kilograms but is not sufficient to lift one feather.’ (PB:43)

4 Coverbs

The last type of complex predicate-forming elements we learn in this lesson are the “coverbs,” which more or less correspond to prepositions in English. Coverbs in Classical Chinese are all derived from verbs, and they still keep quite some verbal characteristics even in their “prepositional” role. For Modern Chinese speakers, the original verbal meanings of many of the coverbs are unfamiliar, but since they are a normal part of Classical Chinese, especially in pre-Qin texts, it is important that we learn them by heart. As with auxiliary verbs, the main difficulty in learning coverbs is the memorization part—we simply need to learn the various “prepositional” items one by one. Table 1 has the main coverbs taught in the two textbooks this tutorial is based on.

Table 1: Major coverbs in Classical Chinese

Coverb	Literal meaning	Coverb meaning
<i>lu?</i> (叢 [以])	take, use	with, by means of
<i>la?</i> (與 [與])	accompany, be with	with, and
<i>ɣ^wals</i> (爲 [爲])	be on the side of, support	for, on behalf of, for the sake of
<i>filjids</i> (自 [自])		
<i>luw</i> (由 [由])	go along, follow	from
<i>zloŋ</i> (從 [從])		
<i>ɣ^wa</i> (于 [于])	go	to, at
<i>qa</i> (於 [於])	be in, at	in, at, to, from, than, etc.
<i>nja</i> (如 [如])	comply, resemble	like
<i>tjigs</i> (至 [至])	arrive	to, till
<i>grub</i> (及 [及])	reach	

4.1 Basic syntax

The basic syntax of coverbs is straightforward. They introduce “prepositional” objects of various kinds and are usually—but not always—preverbal. That is, we may see them occur in one of the two constructions in (20).

- (20) a. [[Cov NP] VP]
 (\approx *V-ing do sth.*, where the present participle acts as an adverbial modifier)
- b. [VP [Cov NP]]
 (\approx *do sth. P sth.*, where the PP is an adjunct modifier)

As is reflected in their English quasi equivalents, preverbal coverbs are somewhat more verbal than postverbal ones. To account for the two different word orders, Pulleyblank treats coverbs “as a specialized type of verbs in series” and claims that “the main focus of attention ... falls on the last verb in the series” (pp. 47–48). Take the two sentences in (21) for example.

- (21) a. 醒 曰 戈 逐 子 犯
醒以戈逐子犯 (TsČ)

se:ŋ, **lu?** **ko:l** l'uwg ?slu? bom?
sing, ì kuō čù tsì fám
wake use halberd chase Tsì Fám

'When he (i.e., Duke Wěn of Tsín) woke up, he chased Tsì Fám with a halberd.'
(PB:47)

- b. 殺 人 曰 槌
殺人以槌 (MTs)

sre:d njin **lu?** l'e:ŋ?
šat žin ì t'ing
kill person with club

'kill a person with a club' (PB:47)

À la Pulleyblank, therefore, the literal meanings of the two coverb phrases above are

- (22) a. 'he, using a halberd, chased Tsì Fám' (with focus on the chasing event)
b. 'someone, in killing a person, uses a club' (with focus on the tool used)

In addition to the two word orders above, von der Gabelentz mentions a third word order that occasionally occurs in historical documents:

- (23) a. [NP Cov VP]

- b. 忠 信 曰 得 之 驕 泰 曰 失 之
忠信以得之驕泰以失之 (TH = *Tá Hiok*)

tuj **hljins** **lu?** tu:g tju, **krew** t^ha:ds **lu?** hlig tju
čūng sín ì tek čī, kiaō t'ai ì šit čī
self-devotion sincerity by get it pride extravagance by lose it

'By self-devotion and sincerity he (i.e., the king) gets it (i.e., the kingdom); by pride and extravagance he loses it.'
(vdG:283)

On the surface, the Cov in (23a) looks like a postposition, but another possibility is that this is a derived word order via the topicalization or focalization of the NP. This latter analysis seems to fit the sentence in (23b) better, where the two quasi postpositional phrases should more precisely be glossed as '[self-devotion and sincerity]_i, by *e_i* he gets it' and '[pride and extravagance]_j, by *e_i* he loses it' (where *e* stands for an empty category). Such flexible "P stranding" in the preverbal position is further evidence that Classical Chinese coverbs are still fundamentally verbal and not

English-type prepositions. Postverbal coverbs, on the other hand, can hardly be stranded (24), so they are closer to real prepositions.

- (24) * 槌殺人以 (MTs)

* *l'e:ŋ?* *sre:d* *njin* *lu?*
 t'ing šat žin ì
 club kill person with

Intended: 'a club, kill a person with'

4.2 The usage of *lu?*

Since learning coverbs is essentially vocabulary learning, I will not go through the list in Table 1 one by one. The rule of thumb is that we can simply use Classical Chinese coverbs like prepositions as long as we remember to put them in front of main verbs. Below, I will just illustrate the usage of one coverb in detail—that of *lu?* (the first one in Table 1). We have already met this coverb above, and here let's first look at its basic verbal sense 'take, use'.

- (25) a. 夏后氏以松殷人以栢周人以栗 (LI)
 夏后氏以松殷人以栢周人以栗 (LI)

gra:l? *go:l?* *gje?* *lu?* *sɕloŋ*, *qun* *njin* *lu?* *pra:g*, *tjuw* *njin* *lu?*
 hiá heú ší ì sùng, yīn žin ì pek, čēū žin ì
 Hiá ruler clan use spruce Yin people use cypress Čēū people use
rig
 lit
 chestnut

'The ruler of Hiá used spruces (for certain altars), the Yin people used cypresses, and the Čēū people used chestnut trees.' (vdG:278)

- b. 我辭禮矣彼則以之 (TsČ)
 我辭禮矣彼則以之 (TsČ)

ŋa:l? *lju* *ri:l?* *glu?*, *pral?* *?su:g* *lu?* *tju*
 ngò ts'í lì ì, pì tsek ì čī
 I decline ritual PRF they by contrast take 3SG

'I declined the ritual; they, by contrast, took it.' (PB:47)

In fact, *lu?* can be flexibly translated as either 'take' or 'use' in both examples, because taking something means using or adopting it as far as these contexts are concerned.

As a coverb, *lu?* is mainly used to introduce an instrumental object, as in (26a), but sometimes it may also introduce an accusative (i.e., direct) object, as in (26b).

- (26) a. 以正治國以奇用兵以無事取天下 (TTK)
 以正治國以奇用兵以無事取天下

lu? *tjeŋs* *l'us k'wu:g*, *lu?* *gral* *loŋs praŋ*, *lu?* *ma*
 ì číng čí kuok, ì k'î yúng pīng, ì wû
 by uprightness rule state by crafty dexterity use weapon by not.have
?sruus shlo? *q^hl'i:n gra:?*
 ssí ts'üü t'iēn hiá
 thing take hold of heaven underneath

'One may rule (lit. one rules) a state by uprightness, use weapons by crafty dexterity, and make the kingdom his own by freedom from action and purpose.'
 (vdG:279)

- b. 君子以仁存心以禮存心 (MTs)
 君子以仁存心以禮存心

klun *?slu?* *lu?* *njin* *zlu:n slum*, *lu?* *ri:?* *zlu:n*
 kiün ts'ǐ ì žîn ts'ûn sīm ì li ts'ûn
 gentleman HON ACC benevolence keep heart ACC good manners keep
slum
 sīm
 heart

'A man of noble character keeps benevolence in his heart; (he) keeps good manners in his heart.'
 (vdG:281)

When the object of *lu?* is the third-person pronoun *tju*, it must be omitted, as in (27).

- (27) 語皆道古以害今飾虛言以亂實 (SsK)
 語皆道古以害今飾虛言以亂實

ŋa? *kri:l l'u:?* *ka:?* *lu?* *ga:ds krum*, *hljuŋ q^ha ŋan* *lu?* *ro:ns*
 iü kiāi taò kù ì hái kīm, šik hiü yēn ì luén
 talk all speak ancient thereby harm now polish false word thereby confuse
flig
 šit
 fact

'When they talk, they all speak of ancient times and thereby condemn the present, and polish false words (i.e., lies) and thereby confuse the facts.'
 (vdG:285)

In this sentence, the two occurrences of *lu?* can both be understood as ‘by it/that’ and freely translated as “thereby.” One could also say that the pronoun is incorporated into the coverb in this situation. Von der Gabelentz calls this use of coverbs “concise” (*prägnant* in German) since a demonstrative object is semantically included in the coverb (*dann schliessen sie der Bedeutung nach ein demonstratives Object in sich ein*, p.277). Similarly, Pulleyblank calls this the anaphoric use of *lu?* and translates it as ‘with it, therewith’—“as if it included the pronoun” (p.48). He also points that the anaphoric *lu?* is often used to express purpose, where it is more naturally translated as ‘and thereby, in order to’ (I have already adopted this translation in (27)). Another common use of the anaphoric *lu?*, according to Pulleyblank, is to mark “the point of departure for spatial and temporal phrases,” as in *lu? m-ru:g* (ㄇ 來 [以來]) ‘lit. therewith come; and afterwards, since’, *lu? gra:?* (ㄇ 下 [以下]) ‘lit. therewith go down; and downwards’, *lu? ɣʷaŋ* (ㄇ 往 [以往]) ‘lit. therewith go; and formerly, before’, and the like.

Apart from the basic uses above, *lu?* still has a number of other/derived uses:

- (28) a. As a verb: ‘take...as, deem’ (28a), ‘affect, concern’ (28b)
 b. As a coverb: ‘because of’ (29a), ‘as’ (29b), comitative/coordinative marker (29c), temporal adverbial marker (29d)

- (29) a. 于定國爲廷尉民自以不冤 (SsK)

ɣʷa de:ŋs kʷu:g ɣʷal l'e:ŋ quds, min fljids lu? pu' qon
iû tíng kuok wèi t'ing wéi, mîn tsí i put yuèn
 Iû Tíng Kuok be court officer people self deem not wronged

‘With Iû Tíng Kuok being the Commandant of Justice (lit. court officer), the people deem themselves not wronged.’ (vdG:279)

- b. 予一人有罪無以爾萬方 (Šü)

la? qlig njin ɣʷu? zu:l?, ma lu? njel? mlans paŋ
iù yit žin yeù tsúi, wù i rì wán fāng
 I one person have guilt don't concern you ten thousand place

‘(If) I alone have guilt, (then) it doesn’t affect you all who reside in my kingdom.’ (vdG:279)

The sentence in (29a) depicts Iû Tíng Kuok as a righteous Commandant of Justice. This use of *lu?* is often accompanied by the copula *ɣʷal*, forming the construction [*lu?* N *ɣʷal* A] ‘deem/consider N A’. Semantically, this is equivalent to the denominative use of adjectives (a type of causativization) introduced in Lesson 2, in the construction [*A*_{CAUS} N] ‘lit. cause N to be A (in one’s mind); consider N A’. The sentence in (29b) is the vow of an emperor. It contains two idiomatic terms of address: *la? qlig njin* ‘lit. I one person’ is a humble 1SG pronoun used by pre-Qin state rulers,

and *njel? mlans paj* ‘lit. you (from) ten thousand places’ is a special 2PL pronoun referring to all people living in a kingdom. A similar idiomatic term of address is *njel? ?l'a:l zru?* (爾多士 [爾多士]) ‘lit. you numerous officers’, which is sometimes used by state rulers to address ministers collectively in preclassical texts (especially in *Book of Documents*). Also note that some later texts quoting the vow in (29b) have *grub* (及 [及]) ‘reach’ instead of *lu?*, including the relatively early *Master Lü's Spring and Autumn Annals* (Qin dynasty), which suggests that this particular flavor of the verbal *lu?* was already obsolescent in the Classical Chinese period.

- (30) a. 楚人以此咎子重 (MTs)
楚人以是咎子重 (MTs)

ɕj^hra? njin lu? dje? guw? ?slu? doŋs
ts'ù žin ì ší kieú tsì čúŋ
Ts'ù people because of this reprobate Tsì-Čúŋ

‘The Ts'ù people reprobate Tsì-Čúŋ because of this.’ (vdG:280)

- b. 以君辟臣辱也 (TsČ)
以君辟臣辱也 (TsČ)

lu? klun begs giŋ, njog la:l?
ì kiün pí č'ín, žuk yè
as king flee subject (minister) humiliation AST

‘Fleeing from a subject as a king is humiliation.’ (vdG:281)

- c. 天大雷電以風 (Šū)
天大雷電以風 (Šū)

q^hl'in da:ds ru:l l'in^s lu? plum
t'iēn tá lúi tién ì fūŋ
heaven big thunder lightning along with wind

‘There was a great thunderstorm along with wind.’ (vdG:282)

- d. 以凶年造邑 (KYČ)
以凶年造邑 (KYČ)

lu? q^hoŋ ni:ŋ sgu:ʔ qruw
ì hiüng niēn tsaó yip
by bad year make city

‘(He) built a city in a year of famine.’ (vdG:281)

In (30a), *lu?* introduces a cause/reason and can be flexibly translated as ‘because of’ or ‘for...’. This use of *lu?* can take a clausal complement too, thus introducing a longer reason. In (30b), *lu?* means ‘in the capacity of’ or more succinctly ‘as’. In (30c), *lu?* adds ‘wind’ as an accompanying

element to ‘thunderstorm’ and is translated as ‘along with’ (or simply as ‘with’ in the comitative sense). The literal meaning of the sentence is ‘the heaven thundered and lightning-ed along with wind’. In (30d), *lu?* simply introduces a temporal adverbial. The logic behind this use is probably based on the literal reading ‘using a certain time, do sth.’—and it often involves a “postpositional” *lu?*, as in (31).

- (31) a. 夙 日 繼 日
夜以繼日 (MTs)

la:gs lu? *ke:gs njig*
yé ì kí žit
night use continue day

‘continue the day by night (lit. using the night, continue the day)’ (vdG:283)

- b. 若 晉 君 朝 以 入 則 婢 子 夕 以 死 夕 以 入 則 朝 以 死 (TsČ)
若晉君朝以入則婢子夕以死夕以入則朝以死 (TsČ)

njag ?sins klun ?r'ew lu? *njub, ?su:g be?* *?slu? lja:g lu?* *hlji?*
žok tsín kiün čaō ì žip, tsek p'ì tsì sik ì ssì;
if Tsín king morning by enter then servant girl DIM evening by die
lja:g lu? *njub, ?su:g ?r'ew lu?* *hlji?*
sik ì žip, tsek čaō ì ssì
evening by enter then morning by die

‘If the King of Tsín (i.e., Duke Hoéi of Tsín) comes here (as a prisoner) in the morning, then this servant-girl (i.e., I) will die (i.e., kill myself [as well as our children]) in the evening. If he comes in the evening, then I will die in the (next) morning.’

(vdG:283)

The phrase in (31a) has become a fossilized idiom and is still in use in Modern Chinese to describe someone who works very hard. The leftward movement of ‘night’ is probably for emphasizing purposes. Similarly, in (31b), which depicts the determination of the speaker (the half sister of the King of Tsín) to save her brother from being captured (by her husband’s army), the movement of ‘evening’ and ‘morning’ is for contrasting purposes.

A final point to mention about *lu?* is that it has a less frequent alternative, *lojs* (用[用]), which literally means ‘use’ too. See (32) for an illustration.

- (32) a. 用二敬二謂上貴貴用上敬下謂之尊賢 (MTs)
用下敬上謂之貴貴用上敬下謂之尊賢 (MTs)

loŋs gra:ʔ *kreŋs djaŋʔ*, *guds tju kluds* *kluds; loŋs djaŋʔ*
yúŋ hiá *kíng šáng*, *wéi ċī kuéi* *kuéi; yúŋ šáng*
as subordinate respect superior call it treat as noble noble as superior
kreŋs gra:ʔ, *guds tju ʔsu:n gi:n*
kíng hiá, *wéi ċī tsūn kièn*
respect subordinate call it respect virtue

‘Paying respect to one’s superior as a subordinate, we call this treating nobles as nobles; paying respect to one’s subordinate as a superior, we call this respecting people of virtue.’
(vdG:288)

- b. 謀亦於多是用不集
謀夫孔多是用不集 (Ši)

mu pa kʰlo:ŋʔ ʔ'a:l, djeʔ loŋs *pu' zub*
meù fū k'ùŋg tō, *ší yúŋ* *put tsip*
plot man very many this because of not accomplish

‘There are too many strategists, but (precisely) because of that they are not accomplishing anything.’

4.3 More on $\mathcal{G}^w a$ (于 [于]) and qa (於 [於])

While not going into detail about the remaining coverbs in Table 1, I do want to say a bit more about the two closely related and often confused coverbs of place: $\mathcal{G}^w a$ (于 [于]) and qa (於 [於]). In Modern Chinese, 于 and 於 are just the simplified and traditional ways (respectively) to write the same coverb *iū*, which denotes a number of dative/locative meanings ‘at, to, from, etc.’ But in Old Chinese, especially in the preclassical period, a grammatical distinction used to be made between the two to some extent. For expository convenience, I have been sticking to the more ancient form 于 so far in this tutorial series (because it is easier to typeset in L^AT_EX), but from now on, I will aim to distinguish the two forms 于 and 於 more carefully.

According to Pulleyblank,¹ $\mathcal{G}^w a$ is etymologically related to the verb $\mathcal{G}^w aŋ$ (往 [往]) ‘go’, and from there was derived its use as an inceptive or continuative aspect marker (prefixal), as in (33).

¹Pulleyblank’s textbook only has limited information on this topic, and von der Gabelentz’s textbook does not discuss it at all. See Pulleyblank’s (1986) paper “The locative particles Yü 于, Yü 於, and Hu 乎” (*Journal of the American Oriental Society*, Vol. 106, No. 1, pp. 1–12) for a dedicated discussion.

- (33) a. 鳳皇于飛翩翩其羽
鳳皇于飛翩翩其羽 (Ši)

bums g^{wa}:ŋ ɣ^{wa} pul, q^{hwa}:ds-q^{hwa}:ds gu ɣ^{wa}?
fúng hoàng iũ fei, hoēi-hoēi k'î iù
male phoenix female phoenix go fly rustling 3POSS wing

‘The male and female phoenixes are flying about (lit. go flying), their wings rustling.’

- b. 之子于歸宜其室家
之子于歸宜其室家 (Ši)

tju ?slu? ɣ^{wa} klul, ŋral gu hlig kra:
čī tsì iũ kuēi, ngî k'î šit kiā
this child go go to the husband's home good 3POSS chamber house

‘This maiden is going to her new home (lit. goes going-to-husband's-home)—great for the newlyweds!’

As a coverb, ɣ^{wa} is always postverbal and is mainly used after motion verbs to indicate destination or direction (especially in *Classic of Poetry*), as in (34a). Occasionally, it is also used to indicate location without motion (34b), temporal motion ‘until’ (34c), or the recipient of an action (34d).

- (34) a. 于以求之于林之下
于以求之于林之下 (Ši)

ɣ^{wa} lu? gu tju, ɣ^{wa} ɣ^{rum} tju ɣ^{ra}:?
iũ ì k'ieù čī, iũ lîm čī hiá
go to search them toward forest GEN underneath

‘(We) go to look for them (i.e., our horses), to the forest and downward.’

- b. 鸛鳴于垤婦歎于室
鸛鳴于垤婦歎于室 (Ši)

ko:ns mreŋ ɣ^{wa} di:g, bu? ŋ^{ha}:ns ɣ^{wa} hlig
kuán mîng iũ dit, fú t'án iũ šit
crane cry on anthill wife sigh in room

‘Cranes were crying on anthills; (our) wives were signing in their rooms.’

- c. 不常厥邑于今五邦
不常厥邑于今五邦 (Šū)

puu' djaŋ *kod* *qrub*, ***ɣ^wa*** ***krum*** *ŋa:ʔ* *pro:ŋ*
put *č'àng* *kiuet* *yip*, *iũ* *kīm* *ngù* *pāng*
 not constant 3POSS city till now five state region

‘They did not ever stay in the same city for long (lit. not constant were their cities); up till now (their capital) has been in five state regions.’

- d. 畜私其縱獻豨于公 (Šī)
言私其縱獻豨于公 (Šī)

ŋan *sil* *gu* *ʔslo:ŋ*, *sja:l* *ŋe:ns* ***ɣ^wa***
yên *ssī* *k'î* *tsūng*, *hién* *kiēn* *iũ*
 PRT make private 3POSS one-year-old pig offer three-year-old pig to
klo:ŋ
kūng
 prince

‘They keep the younger pigs to themselves and offer the older ones to the prince.’

All but one of the above examples are taken from *Classic of Poetry* because, as mentioned above, that is where *ɣ^wa* predominantly occurs. The word quickly became obsolete in history and got replaced by *qa*, initially in part and eventually in whole. According to Pulleyblank, it survives to some extent in *The Commentary of Tsò*² and *Discourses of the States* but is rare in other texts of the Warring States period. Overall, the language of *Classic of Poetry* is quite interesting from a theoretical linguistic perspective, because it involves much discourse-driven word order variation on the one hand and retains quite some traces of a morphologically richer era of the Chinese language on the other. The aspectual use of *ɣ^wa* in (33) and the “meaningless” verbal prefix *ŋan* in (34d) are but two examples.

Compared to *ɣ^wa*, the history of the coverb *qa* is much shorter. According to Pulleyblank, 𠄎 started its life as a character to record the onomatopoeic exclamation particle [ʔa] (his reconstruction), which is also its main usage in *Classic of Poetry*. It later got employed to record the intransitive verb ‘be in/at’, and this was totally independent of its onomatopoeic use.

The verbal use of *qa* is clearly reflected in the topic construction [A *tju* *qa* B] ‘as for A’s relation to B’, as in (35a), where *tju* is the genitive marker serving to nominalize the clause [A *qa* B] ‘A is in B’. Clause nominalization is a regular function of the genitive marker *tju* in Classical Chinese, as in (35b).

²According to Wàng Lik (王力), *ɣ^wa* is mainly used in *The Commentary of Tsò* in front of place names (usually in the directional sense), whereas *qa* is mainly used in the sense of ‘than’ after adjectives to express comparison or in the sense of ‘by’ in passive sentences to introduce the agent.

- (35) a. 寡人_レ於國也盡心焉耳矣
寡人之於國也盡心焉耳矣 (MTs)

kʷra:ʔ njin tju qa kʷu:g la:lʔ, zlinʔ slum qan njuʔ gluʔ
kuà žin ċi iũ kuok yè, tsín sīm yèn rì ì
 lacking person GEN be in state AST exhaust heart in it AST PRF

‘As for lacking-person’s (i.e., my) relation to (lit. my being in) my state, I have simply done my utmost in (governing) it.’

- b. 不患_レ人不知_レ己患_レ人不知_レ人也 (LI)
 不患人之不知己患不知人也 (LI)

puʔ gro:ns njin tju puʔ kuʔ ʔʔe, gro:ns puʔ ʔʔe njin la:lʔ
put huán žin ċi put kì ċi, huán put ċi žin yè
 not worry people GEN not self know worry not know people AST

‘I do not worry about other people’s not knowing me, but only worry about not knowing other people.’

In (35b), *tju* nominalizes an ordinary clause ‘other people do not know me’. In (35a), it nominalizes a clause involving a linking verb ‘I am in my state’. Since this grammatical function of *tju* is highly regular, we can safely conclude that this *qa* is syntactically a verb.

In line with the static locative meaning of *qa* as a verb, its coverb use is also static instead of directional. This is its major difference from *ɣʷa* in texts that distinguish the two (mainly *Classic of Poetry*). And accordingly, it is always used “with verbs that imply rest rather than motion” (Pulleyblank 1986:4), as in (36).

- (36) a. 靜女其姝俟我於城隅
 靜女其姝俟我於城隅 (Šī)

zlejʔ naʔ gu tʰjo, sgruʔ ɲa:lʔ qa djeŋ ɲo
tsíng niù kʰi šū, ssí ngò iũ šíng iũ
 quiet girl PRT lovely wait me at city wall corner

‘How lovely the quiet girl is! She is waiting for me at the corner of the city wall.’

- b. 心之憂矣於我歸息
 心之憂矣於我歸息 (Šī)

zlinʔ tju qu gluʔ, qa ɲa:lʔ klul sluŋ
sīm ċi yeū ì, iũ ngò kuēi sí
 heart GEN worry SFP at me come home rest

‘My heart is so worried! Come home and rest with me (lit. at my place come home and rest).’

The interpretation of (36b) is controversial, and here I am following Pulleyblank (1986). It is important to bear in mind that no matter what the grammatical distinction between $\sigma^w a$ and *qa* might have been, it got blurred after the era of *Classic of Poetry*. That is, *qa* was already pretty much the standard locative (37a), dative (37b), and occasionally even ablative (37c) coverb at Confucius's time.

- (37) a. 王立於沼上
王立於沼上 (MTs)

$\sigma^w a \eta$ *ruub qa tjew? djan?*
wâng lip iũ çàò šáng
king stand on pond top

'The king was standing above his pond.' (PB:54)

- b. 鼗方叔入於河播鼗武入於漢
鼓方叔入於河播鼗武入於漢 (LI)

$k^w a:?$ paŋ hljuwŋ njub **qa ga:l**, pa:ls l'a:w ma? njub **qa**
kù fāng šuk žip iũ hò, pó taó wù žip iũ
drum Fāng Šuk enter to river shake hand drum Wù enter to

hna:ns

hán

Hán

'The drummer, Fāng Šuk, withdrew to the north of the Yellow River. The hand drum player, Wù, withdrew to Hán (a place name).' (vdG:290)

- c. 吾聞出於幽谷遷于喬木者未聞下喬木而入於幽谷者
吾聞出於幽谷遷于喬木者未聞下喬木而入於幽谷者 (MTs)

$\eta a:$ mun khjud **qa quw klo:g** shen $\sigma^w a$ grew mo:g tja:?, muds mun
ngũ wên čut iũ yeũ kuk tsiën iũ k'iaô muk čè, wéi wên
I hear exit from deep valley move to tall tree NMLZ have not hear
gra:? grew mo:g nju njub *qa quw klo:g tja:?*
hiá k'iaô muk rî žip iũ yeũ kuk čè
come down tall tree and enter to deep valley NMLZ

'I have heard of those who (i.e., birds that) leave (lit. exit from) deep valleys and move to tall trees but have not heard of those who come down from tall trees and go into deep valleys.' (PB:55)

Note that the author of (37c) quotes a verse line '(birds) leave deep valleys and move to tall trees' from *Classic of Poetry*. Interestingly, he has kept the more ancient $\sigma^w a$ for the dative 'to' in the quoted line. Outside the quote, he switches to the less ancient *qa* in the second half of the sentence to convey the same (dative) meaning ('go into deep valleys'). Besides, he has flexibly replaced the original ablative coverb *hljids* (𠂔[自]) 'from' in the quote with *qa*, perhaps to avoid

robotic parroting. Recall that the core meaning of $\sigma^w a$ is ‘motion toward’, which makes it in principle incompatible with the sense ‘from’. By comparison, qa ‘lit. be at/in’ is not subject to this constraint. As such, qa might have had more semantic “potential” than $\sigma^w a$ in its historical development, hence its gaining the upper hand.

The coverb qa has a phonological variant ga : (𠄎 [𠄎]), which is an unstressed form of qa according to Pulleyblank, maybe an enclitic. It never occurs in the phrase-initial position.

- (38) 𠄎乎爾者反乎爾者也 (MTs)
出 乎 爾 者 反 乎 爾 者 也 (MTs)

k^hjud ga : *njel?* *tja:?* **$pan?$ ga :** *njel?* *tja:?* *la:l?*
č’ut hù rì cè fàn hù rì cè yè
exit from you NMLZ return to you NMLZ AST

‘What goes out from you will be what returns to you.’ (PB:55)

Here, the enclitic form of qa is used in both the ablative and the dative sense, which would not have been possible for the more ancient $\sigma^w a$.

Finally, neither $\sigma^w a$ nor qa allows the third-person pronoun tju after it. Instead, they each have a “pronominalized” variant: $\sigma^w an$ (𠄎 [爰]) and qan (𠄎 [焉]). The former mainly occurs in *Classic of Poetry* just like its nonpronominal basis $\sigma^w a$, meaning ‘there, then, thereupon’, while qan regularly occurs in post-*Classic of Poetry* texts, meaning ‘in/to/from/by/than/etc. it’. See (39) for an illustration.

- (39) a. 爰居爰處爰喪其馬 (Šī)
爰 居 爰 處 爰 喪 其 馬 (Šī)

$\sigma^w an$ ku **$\sigma^w an$ $k^hja?$** , **$\sigma^w an$ $sma:\eta s$ gu $mra:?$**
yuên kiū yuên č’ù, yuên sán g k’i mà
there stay there dwell there lose our horse

‘There we stayed; there we dwelled; there we lost our horses.’

- b. 𠄎巖邑也號叔死焉 (Tsč)
制 巖 邑 也 號 叔 死 焉 (Tsč)

$kjeds$, $\eta ra:m$ **$qrub$ $la:l?$** ; **$k^wra:g$ $hljuw\grave{g}$ $hlji?$ **qan**
čì, yèm yip yè; kuok šuk ssì yèn
Čí dangerous city AST Kuok Šuk die there**

‘Čí is a dangerous city. Kuok Šuk died there.’

As is reflected in these examples, $\sigma^w an$ is usually used in the sentence-initial position, while qan is more naturally used in the postverbal position (in declarative sentences). I do not know whether this difference is theoretically significant (it could be).

Exercises

Translate the following sentences into Classical Chinese using words and grammatical points in this lesson.

1. Mencius is rich and noble.
2. Duke Wên of T'êng is a ruler of great virtue. The poor and lowly don't get to meet him.
3. The king wishes to govern the kingdom and enlarge its territory.
4. The talented can give way to others and are capable of following God's will.
5. You should not speak ill of your father.
6. The young lord hid himself in the market and didn't dare face me.
7. Čĩ Yeû is doomed to die in the tiled room. There is no more trouble in the future.
8. King Wên made the people follow the good person as a role model.
9. The world is difficult to get but easy to lose.
10. Oracles and doctors can wear silk and are kindly willing to come.
11. Tsĩ Fám lifted a feather with self-devotion and sincerity.
12. I_{humble.emperor} rule the state with benevolence. You numerous officers should treat nobles as nobles and respect people of virtue.
13. There are too many thunderstorms in a year of famine. The strategists reprobate this me_{feminine.humble} because of this.
14. The big crane is flying about, the quiet girl is going to her new home; they continue day and night.
15. As for the phoenixes' relation to the King of Tsín, they are good for his country (i.e., state region) and cities.
16. The wife keeps the older pigs to herself and stores up (i.e., sells) the younger ones on the market.
17. Fāng Šuk moved to Ts'ù, and there he lost his drum.
18. Kuok Šuk searched horses in Čí for the king. He lived there for three years.
19. From Yīn till Čeū, ministers all speak about ancient times with their kings. I_{humble.emperor}, on the other hand, worry that they might adorn lies to harm the present.