THE FIRST CHAPTER OF GUŌ XIÀNG'S COMMENTARY TO ZHUĀNG Zǐ

A Translation and Grammatical Analysis

With a comparison to W. A. C. H. Dobson: Late Han Chinese
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BY

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The present paper was originally written in Danish and presented as part of my M.A. examination in Chinese at the University of Copenhagen in 1971. Due to other work, I have only recently been able to find time to translate it into English.

At the outset, quite a few years ago, Guō Xiàng's commentary to Zhuāng Zǐ seemed for many reasons a good choice for the sort of work I wanted to do. Among these reasons the following were decisive: in the first place, a limited part of the text was already available in translations by Yu-Lan Fung (Chuang-Tzŭ, a new selected translation with an exposition of the philosophy of Kuo Hsiang, 1933) and Wing-tsit Chan (A source book in Chinese philosophy, 1963). These passages could serve as torches to illuminate the narrow, winding paths of Guō Xiàng's long sentences. Secondly, the date and nature of the text rendered it probable that a comparison of its characteristic linguistic features with those of Professor Dobson's Late Han Chinese might lead to interesting results. Guō Xiàng 郭象 died in AD 312, thus living a hundred years after Zhào Qí (趙岐, d. 201), author of the commentary on which Professor Dobson based his description of the Chinese language in the Late Han period. There was only one *aber dabei*: I would have to confine myself to one chapter of Guō

Xiàng's commentary, a material obviously too small to form the basis of an exhaustive description of Guō's means of expression. At the time, however, this did not worry me unduly, the whole thing being an exercise more than anything else. Last but not least, Guō Xiàng's commentary was a tempting choice because of its great beauty and interest. Working on Zhuāng Zǐ and Guō Xiàng, I began with the well-known feeling that I was gazing at heaven from the bottom of a well. Having found that even the small part of it visible from such a position could be contemplated again and again without losing its fascination, I ended up realizing that heaven was truly far away and limitless, and that the only thing left for me to say, as for Emperor Yáo, was: 吾自視缺然. Still, that is the way of nature! 此皆不得不然非樂然也.

The following article consists of two parts, a translation and a grammatical analysis. In the former, the translated Zhuāng Zǐ and Guō Xiàng sections are followed by a number of notes:

Under the heading "Phonetic Glosses" I have collected the fǎnqiè and similar spellings indicating which of several possible readings of a character is preferable in the case in question. These glosses are taken from Lù Démíng's yīn yì, i. e. sub-commentary, to the present Zhuāng Zǐ version. They rarely give rise to discussion and I have therefore arranged them separately, in, I hope, a clear and simple manner.

In the sections labelled "Sub-commentary" I have translated and commented on the various other notes adduced by Lù Démíng. All have not been included, however. Information on the pronunciation of rare characters, variations of explanations already given, and quotations of which I can only make very inaccurate translations, have been excluded.

Finally, under the mark "NB" I have gathered such problems or matters of interest, which Lù Démíng's yīn yì offers no occasion to discuss. (Thus, NB may well be understood here not in the sense of Nota Bene, but of New Burdens, Blunders, or Barbarisms!)

Throughout this first part of the paper, definitions of characters are quoted from Bernhard Karlgren's *Grammata Serica Recensa* (GSR), unless otherwise indicated.

The second part, the grammatical analysis, is a study of Guō Xiàng's language, with a comparison to Professor Dobson's Late

Han Chinese. It therefore follows the disposition of this work, and character definitions and technical terms referring to Professor Dobson's views are quoted from his book.

The terminology otherwise used in the present paper presumably needs no explanation. A few abbreviations are employed, e.g. N:noun, nominal; V:verb, verbal; TV:transitive verb; IV:intransitive verb; SV:stative verb; CV:coverb; S:subject; O:object; P:predicate. A predicate is called nominal or verbal according to whether it is or could be negated by *fēi* 非 or not, in spite of the fact that as predicates both types are verbal.

The analysis of the language in the first chapter of Guō Xiàng's commentary is based on a computer-compiled concordance. Localizations refer to the *Sì bù cóng kān* edition of Zhuāng Zǐ; thus, a passage marked 14 B 7 is to be found on sheet 14, left, column 7 of the said edition, although minor inaccuracies occur. The concordance has been extremely useful, not only during the grammatical work, but during the preparation of the translation as well. I wish to thank my husband, Erik Arendrup, and my fellow-student, Donald Wagner, who yoked, if not flying dragons, then mechanical powers of equally miraculous skill to my handmade cart.

Part I: Translation

ZHUANG ZI

Inner Chapters: Roaming Freely and Happily

Chapter 1

Guo Xiang. 1 A 3-4:

Although the small and the large are different, yet if they are released where they are content, then all things follow their nature, their tasks correspond to their ability, each is suited to his lot in life, and in being free and happy they are alike. How can there be any concept of superiority and inferiority between them?

Phonetic glosses.

夫 音符, b'ü / fú : a particle;
ctr. pü / fū = 'man'.

稱尺證切, tǐ'àng- / chèng = 'equal to, corresponding to';

ctr. tǐ'àng / chēng = 'to weigh' etc.

當了浪切, tâng- / dàng = 'right; ought; suitable';

ctr. tâng / dāng = 'be equal with, act as, to face'.

分符問切, b'juən- / fèn = 'part, share, lot';

ctr. pjuən / fēn = 'to divide'.

Sub-commentary.

Nèi piān 內篇, 'inner chapters': "They are so called in contrast to the outer chapters", according to Lù Démíng. When Guō Xiàng compiled the present version of the Zhuāng Zǐ, he divided the text into three parts: 7 sections called nèi piān 內篇, 'inner chapters', 15 sections called wài piān 外篇, 'outer chapters', and 11 sections called zá piān 雜篇, 'miscellaneous chapters'.

The Shuō wén glosses piān 篇 as shū 書, 'book, document'. "It is correctly written with radical 118 竹. The character written with radical 140 艸, (SBCK writes 175 非) is a plant-name and is incorrect here".

Xiāo yáo yóu 逍遙遊, roaming freely and happily, "is the chapter title. In its meaning it emphasizes leisure and freedom, happiness and ease".

Zhuang Zi.

In the dark northern ocean there is a fish named Kūn. The Kūn is so great I know not how many thousand lǐ it measures. It changes into a bird and its name is Péng.

Guo Xiang. 1 A 8 – 1 B 2:

The real existence of the Péng or the Kūn is a question of which I have made no detailed studies. But Zhuāng Zǐ's leading idea is that one is content when roaming freely and happily, indulging in doing nothing. He therefore carries smallness and greatness to their extreme limits in order to show the relationship of one's own nature and one's lot in life. Broad-minded readers should seek the overall and true meaning of this idea, ignoring the imagery in which it lodges. There is no point in meticulously providing fresh

explanations for everything; in so far as it does not impair the main argument, one may pass over these things lightly.

Phonetic glosses.

觀古亂反, kuān- / guàn = 'cause to see; aspect, scene';
 ctr. kuān / guān = 'to see, regard'.
 要一遙反, *iäu / yāo = 'to seek, demand, meet, sum up';
 ctr. *iäu- / yào = 'important'.

Sub-commentary.

Míng 冥, 'dark', according to Lù, was originally also written míng 溟, 'ocean', and běi míng 北冥, the northern darkness/ocean, is the Northern Sea. Jī Kāng: "(The name of the ocean) refers to the fact that it is dark and limitless". Dōngfāng Shuò, in the book Shí zhōu jì: "Because of the black colour of the water it is called míng hǎi 冥海, the dark sea. Even when there is no wind, its great waves measure a hundred zhàng".

Péng 鵬: Lù: 步登反, b'əng. Xú Mǒ: 音朋, b'əng. Guō Xiàng: 蒲登反, pəng. Cuī Zhuàn: 音鳳, b'jüng-. Cuī further explains that 鵬 is an old character for fèng 鳳, 'phoenix', but that here it is not the 來儀之鳳 (i.e. the phoenix which accompanied by its mate appears as a happy auspice, cf. Karlgren, Shū jīng, Gl. 1346). Quotations to the same effect are adduced from several works, among which the Shuō wén: "朋 and 鵬 were both characters for 鳳 in the old writing. 朋 is a pictograph for birds; when the 鳳 flies, myriads of birds follow it; therefore by means of 鵬 is made the word péng dǎng 朋黨, 'clique, group'". Unfortunately, this charming story must be disbelieved. 朋 and 鵬 are both *b'əng / b'əng / péng; but 朋 originally meant a string of cowries, not a brace of birds. 鳳 is *b'jǔm / b'jüng- / fèng and was used on Yin bones in the sense of 風 *pǔm / pǔng / fēng, 'wind'. According to Karlgren, Xǔ Shèn's supposition is incorrect, cf. Loan Char. 1186.

NB.

宜要其會歸, lit.: must seek its unification and return home, i.e. its overall and true meaning, in contrast to 其所寄, the metaphors which it is temporarily lodged in or entrusted to.

Zì 自: According to Gabelentz, § 1427, the use of 自 as a conjunction, 'wenn, gesetzt dass', is relatively rare, and this is the only instance of it in Guō Xiàng 1. In view of the context, 自 cannot mean 'even, even though' as proposed by Dobson, LHC p. 82.

Zhuang Zi.

The back of the Péng is I know not how many thousand lǐ wide, and when struggling it flies into the air, its wings are like clouds hanging down from heaven. When the sea moves, this bird sets out for the dark southern ocean, which is the Lake of Heaven.

Guo Xiang. 2 A 2-3:

Only the waters of the dark seas are able to move its body, and only currents of air ninety thousand lǐ deep are able to support its wings. How could the reason for this be that it loves the extraordinary! It is simply due to the fact that great things necessarily produce themselves in great places, and that in great places such great things also necessarily produce themselves. The principle is certainly so intrinsically, we need not worry that it should fail; how could we then establish any conscious purpose in these matters!

Phonetic glosses.

好呼報反, χâu- / hào = 'to love';
ctr. χâu: / hǎo = 'good'.

處昌慮反, ts'îwo- / chù = 'a place';
ctr. ts'îwo: / chǔ = 'to dwell'.

Sub-commentary.

Chuí tiān zhī yún 垂天之雲, clouds hanging down from heaven: Sīmǎ Biāo: "(The wings) are like clouds hanging down on all sides of the sky". Cui explains 垂 as meaning biān 邊, 'borders, side': "They are so large that they are like clouds all over the sky". According to Karlgren, 垂 *d̥wia / źwie / chuí has also been considered a loan character for 遮 *t̥iǎg / tsja / zhē, 'to intercept', in later times used in the sense of 'to cover'. This he rejects, cf. Loan Char. 213.

Hǎi yùn 海運, the sea moves: 運, 'to revolve, to move' is by Jiǎn Wén glossed as xǐ 徙, 'move towards, remove'. Xiàng Xiù says: "Without the sea the bird cannot travel; therefore it is said that the sea moves".

This corresponds to the text of Guō Xiàng. Sīmǎ, however, takes 運 in the sense of zhuǎn 轉, 'to turn round, transfer, remove' while Guān Fēng, p. 68, quotes a commentator who considered 海運 to be a particular shift in the tides or currents of the sea, occurring every year in the sixth month and giving rise to great storms. Accordingly, Guān Fēng translates: 這隻鳥當“海動”的時候就要飛往“南海”. At the time of the tidal shift, the bird will fly towards the Southern Sea (supported by the storm).

NB.

直以大物必自生於大處..., lit.: it simply takes (as its reason) that... This is the answer to the preceding rhetorical question. In this use 以 may be viewed as the latter half of 所以... 以..., "dass... kommt daher dass...", Gabelentz § 1406; and also as a short form of 以... 故, "weil...", Gabelentz 1405.

Zì shēng 自生, to produce oneself, to come about of oneself. Several times Guō Xiàng points out that all beings come about of themselves and are not created through the intervention of others. In chapter 2, 21 A 3ff., for instance, he says: "Once non-being has become non-being, it cannot produce being. When being has not yet begun, it cannot produce anything either. Who is it then that produces the beings in existence? They simply produce themselves spontaneously. Simply, it is a case of their producing themselves, not of our producing them. Since we cannot produce other things, and other things cannot produce us either, then we have become so of ourselves. When a thing is so of itself, then we say of it that it is naturally so.... Therefore, everything produces itself and there is nothing by which it is created. This is the way of nature".

Zhuang Zi.

The Qí Xié is a work that records strange events, and it says: "When the Péng sets out for the dark southern sea, the waters are

ruffled for three thousand *lǐ*. Spiralling up on the whirlwind it rises ninety thousand *lǐ*.

Guo Xiang. 2 A 7 – 2 B 1:

As the wings are large, they are difficult to raise. Therefore, only when spiralling up on the whirlwind is it able to rise, and it cannot manage with less than ninety thousand *lǐ*, simply. With wings like that, how could it rise in no time at all or alight from a few yards! All this is a matter of its not being able to be otherwise, not that it likes to be so.

Phonetic glosses.

上時掌反, *zíang*: / *shàng* = 'rise, raise, go up';

ctr. *zíang*- / *shàng* = 'up, above'.

Likewise in the commentary.

勝音升, *shèng* / *shēng* = 'equal to, capable of';

ctr. *shèng*- / *shēng* = 'to vanquish'.

Likewise in the following.

決喜缺反, *xiwet* / *xue* = 'quickly';

ctr. *kiwet* / *jué* = 'to open, decide'.

Likewise in the following.

數色主反, *shù*: / *shǔ* = 'to count, calculate';

ctr. *shù*- / *shǔ* = 'number, some, several';

Likewise in the following.

樂音嶽, *ngâk* / *yuè* = 'music';

又五孝反, *ngau*- / *yào* = 'joy, rejoice in'.

Considering the context, the latter alternative is preferable.

Sub-commentary.

Simă and Cui both say that *qí xié* 齊諧 is the name of a person, Jiǎn Wén that it is the title of a book. 諧 means 'in harmony' (GSR) but also 'to tell a joke' (Cí hǎi), and as a book title 齊諧 may be translated as "Universal Harmony" (Watson) or "The Anecdotes of Qí" (suggested by dr. phil. Eric Grinstead, Scandinavian Institute of Asian Studies).

Shuǐ jī 水擊, the waters are beaten: Cuī: "When the bird is about to fly, then raising its wings and beating the water it moves along a zigzag course". Féng Yǒulán translates: "It flaps along the water for three thousand lǐ". Legge is of the same opinion. According to Egerod, Guān Fēng, and Watson, however, the three thousand lǐ apply not to the bird, but to the turbulent waters caused by its ascent from the sea. Cf. Watson: "The waters are roiled for three thousand lǐ".

Tuán 搏, 'round, make round': Sīmǎ: "It rises, flying in circles". Cuī: "It rises, flapping its wings and moving to and fro". The sentence is translated by Watson as: "He beats the whirlwind". By Féng Yǒulán as: "It ascends on a whirlwind". By Guān Fēng as: 像旋風似地迴旋起飛上達高空九萬里. Circling up like a whirlwind it soars to a height of ninety thousand lǐ.

Fú yáo 扶搖: Xú, Sīmǎ, Ěr yǎ, and Guō Pù all take this to be the name of a storm, either rising or whirling.

NB.

Shu 數: The reading *shù*: / *shǔ* (acc. to GSR = 'to count, calculate') is unexpectedly given in the sub-commentary when 數 means 'some, several' (usually read *shù*- / *shù*). Cf. 7 A.

Rèn 仞: In ancient times one rèn was defined as seven or eight Zhōu feet, chǐ 尺. According to the Shuō wén, a rèn was the distance measured by two arms extended, i.e. a xún 尋 or eight chǐ. Various commentators have taken the rèn to be seven chǐ, for instance, the Qīng scholars Chéng Yáotián 程瑤田 and Duàn Yùcái 段玉裁, who thought that the eight chǐ of the Shuō wén must be due to some corruption of that text. Cf. Cí hǎi, p. 185.

Zhuang Zi.

It is a bird which travels six months before it takes rest".

Guo Xiang, 2 B 5-6:

The large bird travels six months before taking rest, having reached the Lake of Heaven. The small bird flies only half the morning before hastily alighting on the elms or sapanwood trees. In this, if we compare their abilities, then there is a difference; but in adapting to their nature they are alike.

Phonetic glosses.

搶 七 羊 反, ts'iang / qiāng = 'to rush';
 ctr. ts'iang: / chuāng = 'to beat'.

NB.

其於適性一也 < 一於適性, lit.: as for their (relation) to adapting to their nature they are alike < they are alike as to adapting to their nature. In the nominal phrase 其於適性, the CV phrase 於適性 functions as head, having 其 as its adjunct. The construction is used again by Guō Xiàng in 11 A 8. It is well known in older texts too, for instance: Mencius 1 a 3,1 寡人之於國也盡心焉耳矣 < 寡人盡心於國耳矣. As for my (relation) to my state I devote my mind to it, simply < I devote my mind to my state, simply. Zhuāng Zǐ, chapter 1, has several instances of this 其於 N pattern. Cf. 8 A 3 and 9 B 5-6.

Tiān dì 天地, 'heaven and earth, the universe', found in this Guō Xiàng section of the SBCK edition is tiān chí 天池, 'the Lake of Heaven', in SBJY. The latter alternative seems preferable, when considering the context.

Liù yuè xī 六月息: in continuation of his theory about hǎi yùn 海運 (cf. 2 A 2-3, sub-commentary), Guān Fēng considers 六月息 to be the storms accompanying the tidal shift of the sea in the sixth month. Accordingly, his translation of this Zhuāng Zǐ passage is: [它] 去 [南海] 是乘着六月 [海動] 時的大風的. When it goes (to the Southern Sea), it avails itself of the great storms at the time of the sixth month ('s tidal shift).

Zhuang Zi.

(Breezes like) horses in the open fields, bits of dust, breaths that living creatures blow at each other.

Guo Xiang. 2 B 7-8:

These are simply the things upon which the Péng depends in order to fly. "Horses in the open fields" means moving air.

Phonetic glosses.

吹, 如 字, ts'wiē / chuī = 'to blow';
 ctr. ts'wiē- / chuì = 'musical concert'.

Sub-commentary.

Commentators agree that yě mǎ 野馬 is moving air. In modern times, however, Wén Yīduō 聞一多 has proposed that 馬 *mǎ / ma: / mǎ, 'horse', in this passage might be a loan character for 漠 *mâk / mâk / mò, not in the ordinary sense of this word, which is 'quiet, still', but meaning 'dust', thus: 野馬也塵埃也 = the dust in the fields and the dust (at home). Karlgren does not believe that 漠 ever meant 'dust' and rejects the proposal. He follows the commentators, taking 野馬 as a name for yóu qì 游氣, moving breaths, the movements of breezes in the open fields, and praising it as a very attractive metaphor. Cf. Loan Char. 1025.

Chén ái 塵埃, 'dust': Cuī: "The air between heaven and earth is so thick and dense that it resembles dust rising". He thus seems to take 塵埃 as a metaphor like 野馬.

NB.

As in the preceding line, Guān Fēng reads xí 息 as 'storm': 像“野馬”般的游氣，飛揚着的塵埃，在空中活動着的微小生物，都是被風吹着在空中遊蕩的呀！Breezes like horses in the fields, floating dust, and tiny creatures living in the air, all are blown about in the air by the storm.

Zhuang Zi.

The deep azure of the sky, is it its real colour? Or is it because it is far away and nowhere reaches a limit? When the bird's view of the earth below is like this too, then it stops.

Guo Xiang. 3 A 3-5:

When looking at the deep azure of the sky, we know not actually whether it is the real colour of the sky or whether it is a matter of its being far away and limitless. When the Péng's view of the earth from above is like man's view of the sky from here below, then the bird stops rising and heads southward. This means that the Péng does not understand about distances being far or near; when its speed is sufficient for it to fly, then it sets out.

Phonetic glosses.

邪也差反, *ia* / *yé*: interrogative particle;
 ctr. *zja* / *xié* = 'depraved'.

Sub-commentary.

Yé 邪, 'is a word that contributes to the interrogative character of the sentence. It is used in the same way below'.

NB.

The sub-commentary provides no reading for 竟 *kjeng*: / *jǐng*, 'frontier', or *kjeng*- / *jǐng*, 'end, in the end'. Considering the context, *jǐng*, in the end, in the final analysis, really, etc., seems preferable.

Biàn 便, 'comfortable; thereupon, then' is found as a conjunction already in the *Zhuāng Zǐ*. According to Gabelentz, § 486, "copulatives 是" not uncommonly combines with other particles, especially "in der nachclassischen Sprache"; among his examples is *biàn shì* 便是, 'das ist gerade, das eben ist', which is the expression used by *Guō Xiàng* in the present section.

Zhuang Zi.

Moreover, when waters are piled up, if not sufficiently deep they have no strength to support large boats. If one pours a cup of water into a hollow in the floor, a mustard seed makes a boat; but if one places the cup in the water it sticks fast. It is because the water is too shallow and the boat too large.

Guo Xiang. 3 A 8 - 3 B 2:

All this shows that the reason why the *Péng* flies at such a height is simply that its wings are large. When things of small substance do not expect something large to depend on, then things of large substance do not accept something small in their employment. Therefore, the heavenly pattern has precise distinctions, things have their fixed limits. Each is sufficient to perform his function and each makes equal contributions. Consequently, if one neglects the main issue, to forget about life, and makes plans for it beyond what best suits one, function thus not corresponding to strength, nor action to inclination, then even wings like clouds hanging down

from heaven will not be able to avoid exhaustion, nor flights of a few moments' duration be without obstacles.

Phonetic glosses.

覆 芳 服 反, p'ïuk / fú = 'turn over';
ctr. p'ïəu- / fù = 'to cover'.

稱 尺 證 反, ts'ïəng- / chèn = 'equal to, corresponding to';
ctr. ts'ïəng / chēng = 'to weigh' etc.

Likewise in the following.

濟 子 細 反, tsiei- / jì = 'ford; help; achieve';
ctr. tsiei: / jǐ = 'beautiful'.

當 了 浪 反, tâng- / dāng = 'right; ought; suitable';
ctr. tâng / dāng = 'be equal with, act as, to face'.

Likewise in the following.

NB.

Yāo táng 坳堂: 坳 means 'cavity, depression in a surface'; 堂 is 'hall; lay a house foundation' and seems here to be used simply in the sense of foundation, floor. The sub-commentary variously explains 坳 as "floor", "levelled ground", and as "being of uneven form".

Jiè wei zhī zhōu 芥爲之舟, and similar expressions with wei 爲 can be analysed in two ways:

- 1) 爲, wéi, being a V having two O: a mustard seed makes (for) it a boat.
- 2) 爲, wèi, being a CV causing the following N to assume the indispensable V-function: a mustard seed for it makes-a-boat.

According to Shadick, p. 800, none of his Chinese informants strongly supports one interpretation against the other except in one case, where they treat 爲 as a CV. Shadick seems to prefer 1), and so do I, since this analysis does not require the transfer of words from one word class to another. In addition the 爲 of 爲之 N seems not only grammatically, but also semantically (to make something for someone, to provide somebody with something) close to the verbs of giving.

夫質小者所資不待大則質大者所用不得小矣, lit.: when (as for) that which he whose substance is small depends on, (he) does not await something large, then (as for) that which he whose substance is large employs, (he) does not (obtain:) accept something small. This sentence would be much simpler if translated: When that which the small one depends on does not have to be large, then that which the large one employs cannot be small. *Dài* 待 and *dé* 得 would then be treated as Aux. V followed by SV instead of as TV carrying Nom. O. However, in modern Chinese, Aux. V. only occur with the group of SV which Chao terms status verbs (e.g. *bīng* 病, 'sick', *è* 餓, 'hungry'), not with the group which he calls adjectives and to which such SV as *xiǎo* 小, 'small' and *dà* 大, 'large' belong. (Cf. Chao pp. 665, 667, 699). I do not know whether this rule is also valid in classical Chinese. *Guō Xiàng* uses expressions such as *néng gāo* 能高, *néng xià* 能下, *néng cháng* 能長, *néng duǎn* 能短, 8 B 5-6. Yet in these cases 高 'high', 下 'low', 長 'long', and 短 'short' seem not to describe the respective subjects of the verb phrases, but the places and lengths of time in which they live. I therefore consider these constructions as cases of TV → O, i.e.: to be capable of, fit for a life that is high or low, long or short. *Zhuāng Zǐ*, wishing to say that the yak is capable of being large but not of catching mice, treats the SV *dà* 大, 'large', and the TV *zhí* 執, 'to seize', differently: 此能爲大矣而不能執鼠. (Cf. 17 A 5).

SBCK 失乎忘生之生, lit.: to fail the life where one forgets life. SBJY has *zhǔ* 主, 'principal' instead of the latter *shēng* 生, 'life' of the SBCK version; the difference is without significance for the general meaning of the passage.

Zhuāng Zǐ.

When winds are piled up, if not sufficiently deep they have no strength to support large wings. Therefore, (when the *Péng* has risen to a height of) ninety thousand *lǐ*, then the winds are thus under it; and only then, when above the gathered winds it carries the blue sky on its back is there nothing to stop it; and only then is it about to head south.

Guo Xiang. 3 B 8 – 4 A 1:

The reason why only then is it about to head south is not that it loves the high and longs for the distant. The reason is simply that if the winds were not piled up (under it), it would be hindered and not reach its destination. This is the freedom and happiness of the great Péng.

Phonetic glosses.

培音裴, b'uâi / péi = 'to lay up earth, accumulate';

ctr. b'əu: / pōu = 'mound'.

本或作陪, b'uâi / péi = 'to support, to double'.

大於表反, 'iäu: / yǎo = 'to cut off, bend';

ctr. 'iäu / yāo = 'delicate, young';

and 'âu: / ǎo = 'new-born'.

Sub-commentary.

Péi 培, 'to lay up earth, to accumulate' is glossed as chóng 重, 'to accumulate, double'. Lù: "Fēng 風, 'wind' closes the sentence" (而後乃今培風, 背負青天); "but according to one tradition bèi 背 'back' is read together with the preceding sentence". This latter alternative is chosen by Watson: "Only then can he mount on the back of the wind, shoulder the blue sky, and nothing can hinder or block him". The translations by Féng Yǒulán, Guān Fēng, and Egerod do not reveal which reading they prefer. Karlgren rejects the reading 培風背, 負青天, because he finds the assumption on which it is based, that 培 *b'wəg / b'uâi / péi is here used as a loan character for 馮 *b'jəng / b'jəng / píng, 'to lean on, rely on', phonetically unconvincing. Cf. Loan Char. 1179, 328, and 331. The assumption is not indispensable, however: And only now, when it is doubling the back of the wind and supporting the blue sky (its wings forming a layer between the cloud-dragons and the sky), there is nothing to block it. In my translation above, I have followed the tradition said by Lù Démíng to have been most commonly accepted.

Zhuang Zi.

The cicada and the little dove laugh at it, saying: "When on our short flights we rush at the elms and sapanwood trees, we sometimes fail to reach them and just fall to the ground. What is the use of going south at a height of ninety thousand li"?

Guo Xiang. 4 A 5-6:

When everyone has sufficient in his own nature, then even the great Páng has no reason to consider itself more valuable than the small bird, and the small bird has no longing for the Lake of Heaven, but its ambition and desire will be more than satisfied. Therefore, although small and great differ, yet their freedom is alike.

Phonetic glosses.

決 喜 缺 反, xiwet / xue = 'quickly';

ctr. kiwet / jué = 'to open, decide'.

捨 七 良 反, ts'iang / qiāng = 'to rush';

ctr. tɕ'iang: / chuǎng = 'to beat'.

控 苦 貢 反, k'ung- / kòng = 'to throw, hasten to';

ctr. k'ang- / qiàng = 'to beat'.

Sub-commentary.

Tiáo 蜩, 'cicada' is glossed as chán 蟬, 'cicada'. Trying to find out about the bird xué jiū 學鳩, however, one gets into serious trouble. Lù Démíng puts forward a number of authoritative statements according to which the bird is something like a bullfinch, a jackdaw, a pigeon, a falcon, and an eagle. Very likely 學 is the same as 鸞, both yǎk / xué (鸞 however, having an alternative reading 'āk / yue); but, as mentioned above, there are several possibilities. In GSR the various characters with which the commentators explain 學鳩 are all wisely defined as 'name of a bird'. Though much in support of Karlgren's theory, I follow the Máo shī commentary, Sīmǎ, Féng Yǒulán, Guān Fēng, Egerod, and Watson by calling it a little dove.

NB.

The theme of this Guō Xiàng section is discussed by him again in chapter 2, 34 A 7ff., in connection with Zhuāng Zǐ's assertion that nothing is greater than the tip of an autumn hair and that Mount Tài is small:

34 B 1: "If one regards sufficiency of nature as greatness, then among all the sufficient things in this world none surpasses the autumn hair. If sufficiency of nature is not greatness, then even Mount Tài can be termed small. Therefore Zhuāng Zǐ said: "Nothing is greater than the tip of an autumn hair and Mount Tài is small". If Mount Tài is small, then there is nothing in the world that is great, and if the autumn hair is great, then there is nothing in the world that is small. There being no greatness or smallness, no long life or early death, therefore the cicada does not envy the great Chūn-tree but is happily at ease, and the quail does not admire the Lake of Heaven but has enough to satisfy its ambition and desire".

Zhuāng Zǐ.

A man, who goes to the green pastures nearby, may eat his three meals and return home, and his stomach will still be full. He who goes a hundred lǐ grinds grain to stay away overnight. He who goes a thousand lǐ saves up grain for three months.

Guo Xiang. 4 B 5:

The more distant one's destination, the more grain one saves up. Therefore, the larger a bird's wings are, the deeper the winds are piled up.

Sub-commentary.

According to the sound glosses, 莽 and 蒼 are to be read mwāng- or mwāng, and ts'āng: or ts'āng, which do not correspond too well to GSR 莽 mwāng: / mǎng, 'grass, luxuriant (growth)' and 蒼 ts'āng / cāng, 'green, azure'. Apart from this, the commentators explain 莽蒼 as describing the appearance of grass lands just outside a town.

果 may here be read in its most common form, i.e. kuā: / guǒ,

'fruit, result', but also k'uâ: / kuǒ, 'satisfied', according to Xú. "The many commentators agree that it means 'satisfied'".

NB.

Sān cān 三餐, sù 宿, sān yuè 三月: Watson and Guān Fēng believe that the traveller must grind his grain the night before leaving and start gathering his provisions three months in advance. Egerod and Féng Yǒulán think that 宿, 'to lodge for the night, pass a night' and 三月, 'three months' describe the duration of his journey. To my mind, 三餐 seems to do the same, whether understood as 'three meals, to eat three times' or as 'the third meal' (cf. Legge: "Returning to the third meal (of the day)"). I have therefore chosen to follow the interpretation of the latter translators.

所適彌遠則聚糧彌多, lit.: the place to which one travels being more distant, then the (amount of) grain saved up is larger. Certain verbs meaning 'to add, increase' may be used to make a kind of comparative degree; preceding an SV, they then function adverbially in the sense of 'increasingly'. Beside the mí 彌 of the sentence quoted above there is the verb yì 益, e.g. Mencius 1b 10, 5 如水益深... If the water becomes deeper...

Zhuang Zi.

Further, what do these two creatures understand?

Guo Xiang. 4 B 8 – 5 A 1:

"The two creatures" refers to the Péng and the cicada. Comparing the large (bird) with the small (insect) we find that what is different about them is their way of flying. But how could the reason for their different ways of flying be that they knowingly differ? They both, not knowing why they are so, simply are so intrinsically. Simply to be so intrinsically means not to take action. This is the leading idea of freedom and happiness.

NB.

二蟲謂鵬蜩也, "the two creatures" refers to the Péng and the cicada: Guān Fēng, Watson, Egerod, Féng Yǒulán, and Legge all

let èr chóng 二蟲 refer back to the cicada and the little dove. Guō Xiàng understands the term as part of the greater context, the discussion of great and small, and therefore holds the two creatures to be the Péng and the cicada.

Zhuang Zi.

Small understanding does not match up to great understanding; small years do not match up to great years.

Guo Xiang. 5 A 2-7:

Each thing has its own nature, each nature its own limits. These are like years and understanding, how could they be things that one could match up to by striving and wishing! From here onward until we get to (the section about) Liè Zǐ, Zhuāng Zǐ successively shows how according to whether his years and understanding are great or small everyone believes in his own particular sphere, and how nobody so far has been able to get the better of another on this basis. He then rounds it off with a description of the independent man who is indifferent to others, forgets about himself, and is unconscious of these many differences; who, since the different spheres are all equally attained, has neither achievement nor name himself. For this reason he who unites small and great is one for whom there is neither small nor great. If one cares about small and great, then even when comparing the great Péng to the quail, the official to (Liè Zǐ) riding the wind, they are still to an equal degree involved beings, simply. He who equates death and life is one for whom there is neither death nor life. If one cares about death and life, then even when comparing the great Chūn-tree to the cicada, Péng Zǐ to the morning mushroom, they are still equal in dying prematurely, simply. Therefore, he who roams where there is neither small nor great is one who suffers no exhaustion. He who is unconscious of whether he is not dying or not living is one without limits. For, in being free and happy, if one is attached to certain spheres, then though one is released and free to roam, there will still be occasions when one suffers exhaustion. One is not yet capable of independence.

Phonetic glosses.

踮立踮足, k'jiɛ:, k'jiɛ- / qǐ, qì = 'stand on tiptoe';
 ctr. g'jiɛ / qí = 'foot with six toes'.

累劣偶反, ljwiɛ- / lèi = 'to embarrass, implicate';
 ctr. ljwi / léi = 'bind',
 and ljwiɛ: / lěi = 'accumulate'.

知音智, = 'knowledge, wisdom', in Zhuāng Zǐ as well as
 in the commentary.

NB.

Qǐ, qì 踮 is 'to stand on tiptoe' (in one's eagerness for something), i.e. to be very keen on, strive for. The word is also used by Zhuāng Zǐ, for instance in chapter 9, where it is said of sages that they 踮踮為藁, exert themselves and stand on tiptoe in their eagerness to practise righteousness.

自此已下至于列子: 已 i: / yǐ, 'cease; already' is here a loan for 以 i: / yǐ, 'take, employ'.

異方同得而我無功名: In Féng Yǒulán's translation: "All things enjoy themselves in different spheres, but the independent man has neither achievement nor name". I do not think it can mean this. Tóng 同, 'together, identical' must refer to yì fāng 異方, different spheres, and the meaning of the whole clause be related to the preceding 異此羣異: He is unconscious of these many differences; the different spheres being equally attained (by him), (his) I is without achievement or name.

The passage is quite typical of the manner in which sentences may be connected in classical Chinese, especially, I suppose, in philosophical, reasoning prose. The author, having made a statement, opens his next sentence with a reference back to it, either simply repeating its last word or phrase, or changing it, for instance by transforming an active V-O phrase of the first sentence into a more or less passive S-V clause in the following one. Dà xué 大學 (The Text of Confucius) is especially illustrative of this principle, but there are also several examples in the first chapter of Guō Xiàng: 5 B 7 則 累可以絕矣. 夫悲生於累; 累絕則悲去. 悲去而 So that involvement . . . may thus be eliminated. Sorrow arises from involvement; when it is eliminated, sorrow vanishes. When sorrow vanishes, . . . 9 A 2 . . .

使不失其所待; 所待不失, 則... He prevents them from losing that on which they depend; and when that on which they depend is not lost, then...

Zhuang Zi.

How do we know that this is so? The morning mushroom does not know of night and day, nor does the cicada know of spring and autumn. These are (instances of) small years. South of Chǔ is the Mínglíng, which has five hundred years as its spring and five hundred years as its autumn. Long, long ago there was a great Chūn-tree, which had eight thousand years for spring and eight thousand years for autumn; and up to our times Péng Zǐ is the outstanding example of longevity. If ordinary people tried to match him, would they not indeed be sorry?

Guo Xiang. 5 B 5-8:

That (small and great) years and (small and great) understanding do not match up to each other is true to the same extent as that these (above mentioned things) are far apart. Compared to what people are sorry about, this indeed is sorrowful; that people have never been sorry about this, however, is because their natures are all limited. When they recognize their limits, then it is not in the least reasonable for them to strive to reach each other, and what is there then to be sorry about in this world! Now, things have never wished for the small because of greatness, but have always desired the great because of smallness. Zhuāng Zǐ therefore shows the difference between the small and the great, how everyone has his fixed lot, which is not something achievable by desire and one's own will, so that the involvement of desire and will may thus be eliminated. Sorrow arises from involvement; when it is eliminated, sorrow vanishes. When sorrow vanishes, it has never happened that one's nature and destiny are not in harmony.

Sub-commentary.

Here the commentators enter into lengthy discussions as to the nature of the strange plants and animals mentioned by Zhuāng Zǐ in the present section.

Zhāo jūn 朝菌: Sīmǎ glosses this as dà zhī 大芝, 'a kind of mushroom': "It shoots forth on dunghills while it is dark and dies when it sees the sun. But some call it rì jí 日及, 'hibiscus' (lit. sun-arriving); so it does not know the times of the moon". The several commentators quoted seem to agree that 朝菌 is a botanical phenomenon, but they differ as to its species, Cūi and Jiǎn Wén regarding it as a kind of mushroom, Zhī Dùn and Pān Ní describing it as a hibiscus.—Karlǒren rejects the hibiscus theory, cf. Loan Char. 886.

Huì 晦 is glossed as míng 冥, 'dark', and shuò 朔 as dàn 旦, 'morning'.

Huì gū 慧姑: All declare this to be a kind of cicada. By some commentators its lifetime is said to be three, by others six months.

Mínglíng 冥靈, according to Lù, "is the name of a tree. It grows south of the Yangtze. If its leafing is considered as spring, and its leaf-fall as autumn, then this tree counts two thousand years as one year".—Guān Fēng accepts a theory put forward by Luó Miǎndào 羅勉道 and Wáng Chuánshān 王船山 that the Mínglíng was a supernatural tortoise. The reason for this hypothesis being that the text would then have a representative of the animal as well as of the vegetable kingdom, both in the case of the short-lived and of the long-lived. The idea is very neat, to be sure, but there is no support for it in the old commentaries.

Dà chūn 大椿: Sīmǎ: "A tree, which some call shùn 椿, i.e. mù jīn 木槿, 'a hibiscus'". Lǐ: "It grew south of the Yangtze. Some say that it grew south of Běihù. To this tree thirty-two thousand years made one year".

Péng Zǔ 彭祖: His family name was Jiān 籛 and his personal name Kēng 鏗. Lǐ: "He was a minister of Emperor Yáo 堯 and enfeoffed at Péngchéng 彭城. Calculating his life in the Xià and Shāng dynasties he lived to be seven hundred years old, therefore he is famous for his great age". According to the Shì běn, he held offices in the dynasties of Shāng and Zhōu and lived to the age of eight hundred years. He is said to have been the great-great-grandson of a certain Emperor Kù 嚳, c. 2400 BC. Some hold Péng Zǔ to be the same as Lǎo Zǐ 老子.

Zhuang Zi.

The questions of Tāng to Jí were on the same topic.

Guo Xiang. 6 B 4:

In the questions of Tāng to Jí there is the similar sentence: "Things have their individual limits. If they follow them, all is clear and simple". Therefore Zhuāng Zǐ regarded the questions asked by Tāng as being alike.

Sub-commentary.

Jí 棘 : Lǐ: "He was a wise man who lived at the time of Emperor Tāng 湯". Again: "This is Jí Zǐ". Cuī: "Jí is the name of a disciple of Qí Xié who was an expert on the Mínglíng and the great Chūn-tree". Jiǎn Wén: "Some have described Tāng as broad-minded and great, Jí as narrow-minded and petty".

NB.

Legge, Guān Fēng, Egerod, and Féng Yǒulán all maintain that what was contained in the questions of Tāng to Jí was the next Zhuāng Zǐ passage, once again relating the story of the Kūn and the Péng. Apparently this is not how Guō Xiàng understood the text.

Zhuang Zi.

In the barren north is a dark sea; it is the Lake of Heaven. In it there is a fish; it is several thousand lǐ wide and no one knows its length. Its name is Kūn. There is also a bird, and its name is Péng. Its back is like the Tàì mountain, its wings are like clouds hanging down from heaven. Spiralling upwards on the whirlwind (on a course as twisted as) a sheep's horn it rises ninety thousand lǐ. When it leaves the cloud vapours and carries the blue sky on its back, only then does it head south and set out for the dark southern sea.

The quail laughs at it, saying: "Where is that bird off to? I bound into the air with small jumps and alight after only a few yards, and in this manner I fly about here among the bushes. This is also the best kind of flying; so where is that bird off to"?

This is the distinction between small and great.

Guo Xiang. 7 A 5-7:

Everyone considers the attainment of his own nature to be perfection, the exhaustion of his own possibilities to be the (proper) limit. In the previous passages Zhuāng Zǐ said that the two creatures had wings of different sizes, and thus the goals they could achieve were not alike. One flew to the Lake of Heaven, the other aspired no further than the elms and sapanwood trees. Simply they were satisfied by corresponding to their individual physical forms and did not know why they were so. In this paragraph Zhuāng Zǐ says that every creature, whether great or small, possesses his own spontaneous essence. Since this cannot be attained by striving or desire, everyone can be in harmony with the nature given him by heaven without being sorry about that wherein he differs. That is why Zhuāng Zǐ repeats the passage.

Phonetic glosses.

廣. 古曠反, kwāng- / guàng = 'cohort; distance from east to west';
ctr. kwāng: / guǎng = 'broad, enlarge'.

數. 色主反, shù: / shǔ = 'to count'; as in 2 A 7.

Likewise in the following.

上. 時掌反, zhàng: / shàng = 'rise, raise, go up';

ctr. zhàng- / shàng = 'up, above'.

Likewise in the following.

且. 如字, ts'ia: / qiě = 'and; meanwhile; presently, will soon';

舊. 子餘反, ts'wo / jū = fin. part.; 'many; go to'.

躍. 由若反, iak / yuè = 'leap, jump';

ctr. t'iek / tì = 'leap, jump'.

Sub-commentary.

Fǎ 髮, 'hair on the head', Lǐ explains as máo 毛, 'fur, feathers, vegetation'. Sīmǎ: "It is the area without vegetation under the north star". All agree with this.

Yáng jiǎo 羊角, sheep's horn: Sīmǎ: "When the wind spirals upwards, it is like the horn of a sheep".

Chǐ yàn 斥鴳, is a small bird. 斥 means a small marsh, according to Sīmǎ, and as part of the bird's name it was originally also

written *chǐ* 尺, 'foot'. Cuī agrees with this, while Jiǎn Wén says that it is wrong to write 尺 here. Cí hǎi, sharing the opinion of Simǎ and Cuī, explains that the bird was named 尺鷃 because of its inability to fly any distance exceeding one foot. 尺 and 尺 are both *t'jǎk / ts'jǎk / chǐ.

Zhuang Zi.

Therefore, a man whose knowledge asserts itself in a particular office, whose conduct conforms to the demands of a particular district, or whose spiritual strength corresponds to the expectations of a particular prince, so that it proves itself within a particular state, his way of regarding himself is like that (of the small bird).

Guo Xiang. 7 B 4:

It is similar to the contentment of the birds in a particular sphere.

Phonetic glosses.

- 行 下 孟 反, yeng- / xìng = 'to go round; action';
 ctr. yeng / xíng = 'street; to walk, act';
 and yāng, yāng- / háng = 'strong'.
 比 毗 至 反, b'ji- / bì = 'unite, be a partisan, accord with';
 ctr. pji: / bǐ = 'compare, equal'.
 徵 如 字, t'jǎng / zhēng = 'summon, examine, prove, effect';
 ctr. d'jǎng / chéng = 'suppress'.

NB.

而 徵 一 國: The Míng scholar Guō Qìngfān 郭慶藩, and with him Féng Yǒulán and Watson, think that ér 而 should here be read néng 能, 'can; ability'. Féng Yǒulán accordingly translates the phrase: "... whose ability wins credit in the country ...". Karlgren says that 而 *níng / nízi / ér is common as a loan character for 能 *nəng / nəng / néng (probably *nəg / nəng / néng), cf. Loan Char. 237. Although the theory is thus quite probable, the old commentators seem here to have read 而 as 而, so I do likewise.

Zhuang Zi.

And Róng Zǐ from the state of Sòng laughed at a man like this.

Guo Xiang. 7 B 6:

He still could not equate (everything); therefore there were some things at which he laughed.

Sub-commentary.

Sòng Róng Zǐ 宋榮子 was a man from the state of Sòng, Simǎ and Lǐ say, and a wise man, according to Cuī.

Yóu rán 猶然 is defined as 'laughing' by Cuī and Lǐ, and GSR has the same definition, with a reference to Zhuāng Zǐ. Féng Yǒulán simply translates: "Yet Sung Yung Tzu laughed at it". Guān Fēng, on the other hand, translates 猶然笑 as qiè xiào 竊笑, to laugh at secretly, to giggle, presumably taking 猶 in its sense of 'hesitating, deliberate'.

Zhuang Zi.

Moreover, even if the whole world praised him, it would not encourage him; if the whole world condemned him, it would not restrain him.

Guo Xiang. 7 B 8:

(This) is an investigation of his being at ease.

Phonetic glosses.

譽音餘, iwo / yú = 'to praise';
ctr. iwo- / yù = 'praise, joy'.

沮慈呂反, dz'iwo: / jù = 'to leak; stop, vanquish';
ctr. ts'iwo- / jù = 'marshy ground'.

Zhuang Zi.

He had a fixed opinion about the distinction between the internal and the external.

Guo Xiang. 8 A 1:

He regarded self as internal, the world as external.

Zhuang Zi.

And recognised the boundaries of glory and disgrace.

Guo Xiang. 8 A 2:

He held himself to be glorious, others to be in disgrace.

Phonetic glosses.

竟居領仄, kǐng: / jǐng = 'boundary, limit';
ctr. kǐng- / jǐng = 'end, in the end'.

Zhuang Zi.

That was all.

Guo Xiang. 8 A 2:

He still could do no more than that.

Phonetic glosses.

復扶又仄, b'ïu- / fòu, fù = 'repeat, again';
ctr. b'ïuk / fù = 'return, report, reply'.

Zhuang Zi.

He never worried about his relations with the world.

Guo Xiang. 8 A 3:

He was self-sufficient, therefore he was free of care in relation to the world.

Phonetic glosses.

閑音閑, yǎn / xián = 'leisure, peace';
ctr. kǎn / jiān = 'interval',
and kǎn- / jiàn = 'to separate, alternate'.

Sub-commentary.

The commentators disagree as to the meaning of 數數然 in the present Zhuāng Zǐ paragraph, 數 having several readings. The sound glosses are:

Lù 音朔, sâk and Xú: 所隸反, şuk both suggest GSR *suk / sâk / shuò, 'a number of times; to worry'.

桑縷反, şiu: suggesting GSR *slju / şiu: / shǔ, 'to count; reprimand'.

Jiǎn Wén: 所喻反, şiu- suggesting GSR *slju / şiu- / shù, 'number, method; some'.

Sīmǎ and Cuī explain the word as 'to worry', Jiǎn Wén says that it has something to do with 'counting'.

In their translations Féng Yǒulán and Egerod follow Jiǎn Wén: there are not many like Sòng Róng Zǐ in the world. Legge, Guān Fēng, and Watson adhere to the view of Sīmǎ and Cuī, and Guō Xiàng's comment clearly shows him to be of the same opinion.

Zhuang Zi.

Even so, there was still something he had not established.

Guo Xiang. 8 A 5:

He was only able to consider himself correct, simply; he was not yet able to find everything acceptable.

Sub-commentary.

Sīmǎ glosses shù 樹, 'to plant, establish' as lì 立, 'to establish': "He had not yet established his perfect spiritual power".

Zhuang Zi.

Liè Zǐ's manner of travelling by riding the wind was ethereal and pleasant.

Guo Xiang. 8 A 6-7:

"Ethereal" means light and miraculous.

Sub-commentary.

Liè Zǐ 列子: Lǐ: "He was a man from the state of Zhèng 鄭 and his personal name was Yùkòu 御寇. When there was a wind, he travelled by riding the wind as an immortal. He was a contemporary of Duke Mù 穆 of Zhèng". This duke reigned 627-605 BC.

Zhuang Zi.

He did not return until fifteen days had elapsed.

Guo Xiang. 8 A 8:

While yet dependent on something, then although he travelled by riding the wind, he still could not return within an hour by means of it.

Zhuang Zi.

He never worried about things that bring happiness.

Guo Xiang. 8 B 1:

He simply travelled by riding the wind spontaneously; it was not a matter of his anxiously striving to do so.

Zhuang Zi.

In all this, even though he did not have to travel in the ordinary way, there was still something on which he was dependent.

Guo Xiang. 8 B 2:

If there was no wind, he was unable to travel; certainly this is to be dependent. Only he who can ride on anything is independent, simply.

Zhuang Zi.

But suppose a man, who mounting the correctness of heaven and earth and riding the regulation of the six breaths, roams in boundless space, on what will he depend!

Guo Xiang. 8 B 4 - 9 A 4:

"Heaven and earth" is the general name for the ten thousand things. When heaven and earth have the ten thousand things as their physical form, then the ten thousand things must have spontaneity as their correctness. To be spontaneous, that is to be spontaneous without deliberately taking action. Therefore, the great P'eng's ability to fly high, the quail's ability to stay low, the Chün-tree's ability to live for a long time, and the morning-mushroom's

ability to live for a short while, these are all things of which they are spontaneously capable, not things they are capable of by deliberately trying. And since they are capable of these things by themselves, without deliberately trying, this is the reason why they have them as their correctness.

Therefore, to mount the correctness of heaven and earth is to follow the nature of the ten thousand things. To ride the regulation of the six breaths is to roam on the roads of change and transformation. Travelling in this way, where will one reach a limit? Mounting anything one meets, on what will one depend? This, then, is the freedom and happiness of the man of perfect spiritual power, who mysteriously unites others with himself. While depending on something, in spite of his miraculous lightness, Liè Zǐ could not have travelled in space by means of it had there been no wind. Therefore he simply needed that thing on which he depended before he could be free and happy. And how much more is this not true of the great Péng? Only he, who unconscious of (the difference of) things follows the great changes, is able in full independence always to move freely. Is it possible that he just wills himself to be free and no more? No, he also, by following the dependent, prevents them from losing that on which they depend; and when they do not lose that on which they depend, they may partake of the great freedom. Therefore, dependence and independence are things which I cannot equate. But considering that everyone is in harmony with his own nature, that the heavenly force in him expands of itself, and that he does not understand what he has received (from nature), then this is something which I cannot regard as different. Now, since independence is still insufficient to be considered different from dependence, how much more then great from small kinds of dependence!

Sub-commentary.

辯, according to Lù, has its ordinary reading, i.e. *b'jān / b'jān: / biàn, 'distinguish, regulate, distribute'; yet he also defines it as 變 *p'jān / p'jān- / biàn, 'change'. Féng Yǒulán, Guān Fēng, and Watson all follow the latter definition, interpreting 辯 as 變, 'change'. And when Guō Xiàng says that "to ride the regulation of the six breaths is to roam on the roads of change and trans-

formation", it shows that he also held the 辯, 'distribution, regulation' of the six breaths to be a state of perpetual change and variation. Karlgren, *Loan Char.* 1212, says of 辯 *b'ian as a loan character for 變 *p'ian that it is possible, but unnecessary. He prefers to translate: "... and drives the (辯 equal to 徧 *pian / pien- / biàn, 'all round, universally') whole set of the six Powers".

Liù qì 六氣, the six breaths, are yīn and yáng, wind and rain, night and day, according to Simā. By Lǐ and Wáng Yì (quoting a wise man of old, Zǐ Míng from the Língyáng mountain, 陵陽子明) they are explained as the powers of heaven and earth, together with four powers which are at the same time those of the four seasons, the four directions, and of morning, noon, evening, and midnight.

NB.

Wū hū 惡乎 is said by Gabelentz, § 688 and 1352, to be a "verstärktes 惡"; Kennedy regards it as a reduplicated form, 惡 having had a glottal stop initial, 乎 not (p. 202). Shadick, p. 751, mentions the possibility of ān 安 and wū 惡 being 1) fusion forms similar to yán 焉, or 2) interrogative pronouns with coverbs implied. In the latter case 惡乎 would be directly translatable as 'whereat'.

Tiān jī 天機 in the Cí hǎi is defined as 天然之機神也, i.e. the moving force of nature. 機 is explained as 發動所由也, the source of a movement, but originally it meant nǚ yá 弩牙, the tooth (spring) of a crossbow. This meaning is illustrated by a quotation from the Shū jīng: 若虞機張, i.e. as when one makes sure that the spring is tightened. Possibly this idea is still present in the expression 天機自張, as a simile describing the wonderful beginning of life: the mechanism of nature is self-releasing, everything having begun without anyone's knowledge or intention.

In chapter 2, 25 A 8ff., Guō Xiàng reverts to his discussion of the equality of all things. In Féng Yǒulán's translation his conclusion is: "Those who know do know, without knowing why and how they know. Those who live do live, without knowing why and how they live. Although things are different, yet they are the same in that they live without knowing why and how they live. Therefore all things in the world are ignorant". In this sense, even the

dependent and the independent are equal, the ability for independence being a natural gift like life and knowledge.

Zhuang Zi.

Therefore it is said: the perfect man is without self.

Guo Xiang. 9 B 1:

He is without self, therefore he follows things. Following things he becomes their master.

Phonetic glosses.

王于況反, jīwang- / wàng = 'to govern';
ctr. jīwang / wáng = 'king'.

Zhuang Zi.

The divine man is without achievement.

Guo Xiang. 9 B 2-3:

Among the creatures (in this world) none have ever declined to live spontaneously, they always gladly rely on the needle-stone. Thus, when the pattern is perfect, traces are extinguished. In this case, (the divine man) following, without assisting, is one with the perfect pattern, therefore he is without achievement.

Phonetic glosses.

針之端反, tsjəm- / zhèn = ?
或之林反, tsjəm / zhēn = 'needle; to criticize'.

NB.

According to Morohashi, zhēn shí 針石 or 鍼石, 'needle-stones', are a doctor's needles, used for acupuncture. If so, they are presumably mentioned by Guō Xiàng because of their power to restore the proper balance of the forces in the human body. Another and perhaps more probable interpretation would seem to be that the needle-stone here mentioned is the lodestone, which naturally point in the right direction.

Zhuang Zi.

The sage is without a name.

Guo Xiang. 9 B 3-4:

The term "sage" is simply a name for someone who attains his nature. It is not sufficient to name that (inner reality) by means of which he attains it.

NB.

Cf. 14 A 7. The inner reality of the sage is dark, unnamable.

Zhuang Zi.

Yáo wanted to cede the empire to Xǔ Yóu, saying: "When the sun or moon have already appeared, if one did not extinguish the torches, would this way of getting light not be the more arduous? When the seasonal rains have begun to fall, if one still irrigated the fields, would this way of getting moisture not be unnecessarily laborious? If you ascended the throne, the empire would be well governed, but I still occupy it. What I see in myself is defective. I beg to hand over the empire to you". Xǔ Yóu said: "You govern the empire and the empire is already well governed."

Guo Xiang. 9 B 8 - 10 A 5:

It is he who does not govern the empire who can cause the empire to be well governed. Therefore, Yáo governs it by not governing, he is not a ruler who by governing it makes it well governed. Xǔ Yóu just now realises that since the empire is well governed, he has no reason to replace Yáo, and that good government really proceeds from Yáo. Therefore he says: "You govern". One must forget the words and thus seek the idea behind them; and when some consequently have said: "It is Yáo who by governing has it well governed and Xǔ Yóu who by not governing enables Yáo to have it well governed", then they have missed the point by far. For governing proceeds from not governing, and action originates in inaction. What we find in Yáo is sufficient, why attribute it to Xǔ Yóu! As for the idea that one has to join one's hands and sit in silence in the mountain forests before one

can talk of doing nothing, this is the reason why Zhuāng Zǐ's and Lǎo Zǐ's words have been rejected by those in authority; and that those in authority cling to the realm of action and do not change their minds, this follows from this idea.

Phonetic glosses.

令力呈反, liǎng / líng. GSR has 令 liǎng, liǎng- / líng, líng, 'command'; loan for liǎng / líng, 'good'.

In our text above 令 can hardly be anything but the pre-pivotal verb 'to cause'. In this function 令 may be read in the píng as well as in the qù tone, according to GSR, so it is difficult to tell what contrast the gloss may be referring to.

治直吏反, dī: .

GSR has 治 dī / chí and dī- / zhì, 'regulate, make, govern, well-governed' etc.

Lù Démíng keeps the two forms apart, saying that Zhuāng Zǐ's 天下治 and 已治, and Guō Xiàng's 天下治, 而治者也, 既治, 而治實由克, 而治者, 得以治者 all must be read dī:, presumably corresponding to GSR dī- / zhì.

Examining the many instances of 治 in this section one finds, I think, a contrast between 治, píng shēng, trans. V, 'to govern', and 治, qù shēng, intrans. V, 'to be well governed'. My translation follows this principle.

Sub-commentary.

This deals with Yáo 堯, Emperor of Táng 唐, and Xǔ Yóu 許由, a man who lived as a recluse on the Jí mountain 箕山; and also with the size and nature of the torches mentioned by the Emperor Yáo.

NB.

其於光也, 不亦難乎 < 不亦難於光乎.

其於澤也, 不亦勞乎 < 不亦勞於澤乎.

Would this procedure not be difficult in relation to (getting) light?

Would this procedure not be hard labour in relation to (getting) moisture?

The correspondence of the two sentences is imperfect, *nán* 難 'difficult' being a SV, *láo* 勞 'toil' most often a N or V. That a comparison between the various kinds of light and moisture is implied is seen from the comparison of himself to Xǔ Yóu with which Yáo concludes his speech.

Jì yǐ 既已 is by Gabelentz characterized as "eine energische Form des Perfectums: schon, bereits". Cf. § 1259.

Dāng tú 當塗 and dāng dào 當道, i.e. those in authority, the powerful, are usually considered as having their origin in Mencius: 夫子當路於齊 . . . "Master, if you were to obtain the ordering of the government in Ts'e . . ." (Legge, 2a 1,1). The meaning of the terms seems to be that one is standing on the road in such a way that one controls it.

Zhuang Zi.

If I, then, still replaced you, would I be doing it for a name? A name is the guest of reality. Would I be doing it in order to be a guest?

Guo Xiang. 10 B 2-7:

He who asserts himself conflicts with others, whereas he who follows others has no conflicts with them. Therefore Yáo has no conflicts with the empire and Xǔ Yóu is the peer of Jí and Xiè. How do I explain that this is so? He who is unconscious of differences in his contacts with things conforms to that from which the many things are inseparable. Does he then, unconsciously and profoundly responsive, float along only according to outside influences? Yes, he is like an untied boat which drifting east or west is not its own master. Therefore, he who is with the people wherever he travels will also be the ruler of the world wherever he goes. Being a ruler in this way is like heaven's being high of itself. It is the true ruler's spiritual power. As to standing alone and proud on the summits of lofty mountains, unless such persons were inclined to uphold themselves, to uphold the preferences of one school, how could they limit themselves to that? For this reason, though unique among the ordinary people, they are only Yáo's outer servants. As to replacing the inner rulership with an outer

service, this is to bear the name of ruler but not the reality of ruling.

Phonetic glosses.

契息列反, *siät / xiè*: name of a person;

ctr. *k'iei- / qi* = 'script notches'.

離力智反, *lije- / li* = 'be separated from, differ from';

ctr. *lije / li* = 'leave, dispersed; arrange'.

應應對之應, *jäng- / ying* = 'answer, respond';

ctr. *jäng / ying* = 'ought'.

非夫 } 夫 in both cases a particle.
明夫 }

Sub-commentary.

Jí 稷 and Xiè 契, according to Lù, "were ministers in the Táng 唐 and Yú 虞 dynasties", i.e. under the Emperors Yáo and Shùn. "Jí was the first ancestor of the house of Zhōu 周, and his personal name was Qì 棄, Castaway. Xiè was the personal name of the first ancestor of the house of Yīn 殷". According to Shū jīng Yáo diǎn 書經堯典, Jí was appointed Hòu Jí 后稷, Ruler of the Millet, and Xiè was Sì Tú 司徒, Master of the Multitude.

NB.

夫與物冥者故羣物之所不能離也: Following SBJY I read xiào 效, 'to imitate, follow', instead of SBCK gù 故.

是以無心玄應唯感之從汎乎: lit.: therefore, without deliberation profoundly responding, only influences, them, does he following float along with?

This emphatic pattern, O 之/是. TV, where O is placed before the TV that governs it and resumed by 之 or 是 is rather common, especially in connection with hé 何, 'what' and wéi 惟/唯/維, 'only'. E.g.: 戎狄是膺, 荆舒是懲. "The Jung and Ti barbarians, them he withstood, King and Shu, them he repressed". (Shī jīng, 300.5, Karlgren). 王何鄉之間. "Nach was für Ministern fragte Eure Majestät"? (Mencius 5 b 9.1, Gabelentz).

In his grammar, § 433–4 and 487, Gabelentz never quite made up his mind as to how these constructions should be treated. Half a century later, they were well explained in great detail by Mullie, *Le mot-particule tchē*, p. 196–217. Shadick deals with them in the same manner as Mullie, for instance p. 871–2 and 553. In its origin the pattern is very old, but it is met with relatively often even in the most recent texts written in the literary language *wén yán* 文言, such as those of Sun Yatsen.

若不繫之舟東西之非已也, lit.: it equals an untied boat's east- and westgoing lack of originality.

若獨屹然立乎高山之頂 . . . , as to standing alone and proud on the summits of lofty mountains . . . : Cf. the similar passage in 14 B 8 – 15 A 1.

Fú 夫 is here in *fēi fú* 非夫 and in 11 A 4 *míng fú* 明夫 a particle, according to the sub-commentary. This particle is much used by Guō Xiàng, no less than 25 sentences in his first chapter having an initial 夫.

The meaning of these initial 夫, 'now, now as regards this' or the like, is slight, and I have left the majority of them untranslated. When 夫 is not in the initial position, however, it seems to retain somewhat more of its old demonstrative force, meaning 'this, that' or, less precisely, 'such'. Apart from the two instances above, refer also to chapter 2, 43 A 7: How do we know that life is not such a having been lost as a child? How do we know that death is not such a home-coming, but indeed hate it!

Piān shàng 偏尚, lit.: partial admiration, i.e. preference, prejudice. Cf. chapter 2, 37 A 2, where Guō Xiàng says: "The more one acquires learning, the more one loses one's nature. Therefore, when one equates things, the involvement of preferences vanishes".

一家之偏尚, the preferences of one school: It appears from chapter 2, 44 A 7, that Guō Xiàng really did consider it wrong to adhere to the teachings of one philosophical school: "The stupid greatly dreaming hold themselves to be awake. Therefore, carefully discriminating, they hold what they love to be prince and master, and what they dislike to be herdsman and groom. Happily believing in the prejudiced views of one school, they may be termed obstinate and vulgar".

Zhuang Zi.

The small bird building its nest in the deep wood uses no more than one branch. The rodent drinking at the river takes no more than his fill.

Guo Xiang. 11 A 2:

Each nature has its limit; when there is sufficient to meet its limit, the surplus is the property of the world.

Sub-commentary.

Here jiǎo láo 鷦鷯 and yǎn shǔ 偃鼠 are discussed, one being a small bird of some kind, the other a thing like a mouse.

Zhuang Zi.

Return to your rulership and abide by it, I have no use for the empire.

Guo Xiang. 11 A 4-5:

That both of them have no use (for the empire) and that Yáo alone possesses it shows that those whose hearts are empty have no particular spheres. Therefore, while cheerfully renouncing the empire they have no regrets.

Phonetic glosses.

樂音洛, lāk / luò = 'joy';

ctr. ngāk / yuè = 'music'; etc.

厭於絕反, 'iwät, —a somewhat surprising piece of information, since 厭 has labial finals, namely:

- 1) 'iäm- / yän = 'satisfy; fed up; abundant';
- 2) 'iäm / yän = 'contented; to accord with';
- 3) 'äm: / yän = 'cover';
- 4) 'iäp / yè = 'press, suppress, pacify'.

Among these, 'iwät can only, though inaccurately, point to 4). Instead of the gloss quoted above from SBCK, the SBJY edition

has 厭於豔反, 'iām- / yàn, and thus indicates 1). Probably 天下樂推而不厭 means: While the empire is cheerfully renounced, 1) they are not annoyed; or 4) they do not oppose it, i.e. they do so quite voluntarily.

Sub-commentary.

"Hū jūn 乎君 ends the sentence", Lù Dé míng says, "but one school stops after 乎 and reads 君 separately". No information is given, however, as to whether it is Yáo or Xǔ Yóu who had better return and rest—most translators take it to be Yáo; for instance Legge: "Return and rest in being a ruler". Guān Fēng: 你回去吧, 算了吧, 我的君啊! Watson, following Guān Fēng: "Go home and forget the matter, my lord". In the present translation I render the version said by Lù Dé míng to have been most widely accepted.

NB.

予無所用天下爲 may be analyzed in two ways:

1) With 爲 as a V, wéi: I have nothing which I using the empire do.

2) With 爲 as a CV, wèi: I have nothing for which I use the empire. Suǒ wèi 所爲 then being split for emphasis, in the same manner as 奚 / 何爲 V is sometimes split up, becoming 奚 / 何 V 爲; for an example of this, see the Zhuāng Zǐ text 4 A 4.

Jūn zhī 均之: the text has occurrences of 均, SV 'to be equal' as well as of 均, PA (distributive) 'equally, in all cases'. There is only this one instance of 均之, 'making it equal'; this term is dealt with by Mullie, p. 306, and there translated 'dans les deux cas'. I suppose that the term may refer to more than two cases; but in this particular Guō Xiàng sentence, where it is in opposition to 而克獨 . . . , and Yáo alone . . . , it most likely refers to the two persons Yáo and Xǔ Yóu.

Zhuang Zi.

Though the cook does not manage his kitchen properly, the impersonator of the dead and the minister of prayer do not leave their wine cups and sacrificial stands to replace him".

Guo Xiang. 11 A 6-8:

The cook, the impersonator of the dead, and the minister of prayer are each of them in harmony with what they are in charge of; birds, beasts, and the ten thousand things all have sufficient in what they have received; Emperor Yáo and Xǔ Yóu are both at peace with what they meet. This is just the perfect reality of the universe. When everyone attains his reality, what reason is there then for action! They are content, simply. Therefore, though Yáo and Xǔ, heaven and earth are different, they are alike in being free and happy.

Sub-commentary.

“Páo rén 庖人 is someone who runs a kitchen; such a profession is mentioned in the Zhōu lǐ 周禮. Zhù 祝 means to transmit the words of the spirits” (Lù).

NB.

Following another interpretation, some here translate yuè 越 as ‘to snatch’, taking 越 *giwăt / jiwet / yuè, ‘to transgress, extend, far away’ to be a loan character for 𪔐 *d’wât / d’uât / duó, ‘to snatch’. Rejected by Karlgren, Loan Char. 2205.

Zhuang Zi.

Jiān Wú sought Lián Shú’s advice saying: “I have been listening to Jiē Yú’s talk; it was big and not to the point, wandering and never returning. I was much alarmed at what he said, it was as boundless as the Milky Way. Much of it was wide of the mark and never touched on human affairs”.

Lián Shú said: “What did he actually say”?

Jiān Wú said: “Far away on the hill of Gūshè there lives a divine man, with a skin like ice and snow, and gentle and compliant as a virgin.

Guo Xiang. 11 B 6 – 12 A 1:

All this is simply metaphorical language. The “divine man” is what we now call a sage. Though the sage is in the imperial hall, yet his heart differs not from when he is in the mountain forests.

How would ordinary people know this! If only they see that above him he has the yellow canopy and wears the seal of jade at his girdle, then they speak of it as sufficing to bind his heart. When they see him walking beside mountain streams and taking part in the life of the people, then they speak of it as sufficing to sadden his spirit. How would they understand that the perfectly perfect is infallible! When Zhuāng Zǐ (or Jiē Yú) now talking about the man of princely spiritual power transports him to this mountain, then he intends to show something of which ordinary people cannot have knowledge. For this reason, then, he places him beyond the farthest boundaries and pushes him out beyond the range of sight and sound, simply. A "virgin" does not harm her inner being with something external.

Phonetic glosses.

當了浪反, tāng- / dàng = 'ought; right; suitable';

ctr. tāng / dāng = 'to match, act as' etc.

大有, 音泰, t'âi- / tài = 'great, greatly';

ctr. d'âi- / dà = 'great, greatly'.

庭勑定反, t'ien- / tìng = 'distant'; *)

ctr. d'ien- / tíng = 'court'.

近, 附近之近, g'jên- / jìn = 'to be near to' (i.e. to come near);

ctr. g'jên: / jìn = 'near'.

藐音邈, mǎk / mò = 'far-reaching, distant';

ctr. mjǎu: / miǎo = 'small'.

射音夜, ǎ- / yè, indicates ǎk / yì = 'dislike';

又食亦反, dz'ǎk / shí = 'hit with bow and arrow';

又實夜反, dz'ǎ- / shè = 'shoot with bow and arrow'.

淳昌略反, ts'ǎk / chè, zhè = 'gentle, at ease';

ctr. nau- / nào = 'mud'.

約如字, ǎk / yuē = 'restrain; condensed, compliant';

ctr. ǎk / yuē and ǎu- / yào = 'bond, agreement'.

王于况反, jīwang- / wàng = 'to govern';

ctr. jīwang / wáng = 'king'.

*) 勑 used for 勑.

Sub-commentary.

Jiān Wú 肩吾 “was a wise man”, “a divine man”. Lián Shú 連叔 “was a man who carried the Way in his heart”. And Jiē Yú 接輿 “was a man from the state of Chǔ 楚 who had Lù 陸 as his family name and Tōng 通 as his personal name”. He is also mentioned in the Lún yǔ 論語. Huángfǔ Mì 皇甫謐 recorded: “Jiē Yú ploughed his land himself; when the king of Chǔ sent an envoy who by means of a lot of money and two four-horse carriages, was to invite him (to take office), Jiē Yú declined”.

Jìng tīng 逕庭 is explained as jī guò 歎過, i.e. flowing over and going too far. I wonder whether it is due to some misunderstanding that Mathews 1125 renders 逕庭 as ‘a narrow track and a wide hall,—very unlikely’. Cí hǎi, p. 2837, offers a similar explanation, without, however, adducing any old quotations in support of it, namely that 逕 is the road outside the gate, 庭 the area outside the hall, two things far from each other, so that 逕庭 should mean mutually incompatible, self-contradictory. GSR defines the words as ‘gone far away’ and ‘distant’ respectively. Obviously they made a rhyming binome: kieng-t’ieng- / jìngtīng.

Gūshè 姑射 “is the name of a mountain in the Northern Sea”. The commentators disagree as to the pronunciation of 射.

Chǔ zǐ 處子 is explained by Lù as “a girl who dwells in her home”, i.e. a girl who is still unmarried. According to Cí hǎi, she is also called chǔ nǚ 處女; the latter is the term used in the Liè Zǐ version of this story: 形如 處女, “his body is like a virgin’s” (Graham, Liè Zǐ, p. 35).

Huáng wū 黃屋 is 1) the canopy of an imperial carriage, its roof being wrapped in yellow, the imperial colour; or 2) according to another tradition an imperial ceremonial cap. Both interpretations make sense; since 1) appears to be the more commonly accepted, I follow it.

Yīng fú 纓紱: the glosses of SBCK suggest that this ought really to be written yīng fú 纓紱, which it indeed is in SBJY. This could be cited in support of 2) above, since 纓 means a cap-string, 紱 the ribbon in which a seal was carried. If Guō Xiàng meant 2) cap and seal, he has obtained a nice play on words in employing 纓紱 for ‘to bind’. Proceeding to the next sentence, which is a perfect parallel to the first, and looking for a similar play on

words in its *qiáo cuì* 憔悴, 'to sadden', one may notice that the homonymous 樵 and 萃 mean 'to gather firewood' and 'to assemble, a crowd', which might refer to the wanderings of the divine man along hills and streams, sharing the life of the people. I admit, however, that this supposition may be far-fetched!

Instead of *zhì zhì zhě* 至至者, the perfectly perfect one, some write *zhì zú zhě* 至足者, the perfectly sufficient one. And for *wáng dé zhī rén* 王德之人, a man of princely spiritual power, some have *zhì dé zhī rén* 至德之人, a man of perfect spiritual power.

NB.

大有逕庭不近人情焉 lit.: greatly there was (something which) was distant and not coming near human affairs in it.

Zhuang Zi.

He does not eat the five grains, but inhales the wind and drinks the dew.

Guo Xiang. 12 B 2:

All eat the five grains and the only exception is the divine man; this shows that the divine man, not being something produced by the five grains, only partakes of the miraculous breath of nature.

NB.

俱食五穀而獨為神人: The simplest way of translating this would be: While all eat the five grains, he alone is a divine man. Still, looking at the context, Guō Xiàng seems to have meant that all, except the divine man, eat the five grains. I have therefore taken 獨為神人 to be an emphatic variant of 神人為獨, the divine man is the only one, the exception.

Tè 特, 'only, especially', according to Gabelentz § 1271 refers to the predicate, not to the subject.

Zhuang Zi.

Mounting clouds and air and riding flying dragons he roams beyond the four seas. When his spirit is concentrated, he protects

things from harm or destruction and causes the harvest to ripen.
—I considered this crazy and would not believe it”.

Guo Xiang. 12 B 4-8:

He who embodies the divine and dwells in the spiritual, who completely understands the heavenly pattern and comes to the end of the miraculous, though quietly meditating in the hall of peace yet he profoundly unites with what is beyond the four seas. Therefore he mounts the yīn and the yáng and rides the six breaths, unites with the multitudes of people and urges on the ten thousand things. When there is nothing that he does not follow, then even floating clouds he mounts; there being no form which he does not fill, then even flying dragons he rides. Indifferent to self he is content, though at peace he does not depend on anything. He forgets that he is sitting still, forgets that he is walking about, forgetting he accomplishes it. Therefore when he walks, it is like a withered tree being dragged along, when he stops it is like dead ashes being gathered together. Therefore it was said: “His spirit is concentrated”. When his spirit is concentrated, then those who are not concentrated are content. All ordinary people form their opinions by estimating what they can see; how could they ever have believed this!

Phonetic glosses.

齊才細反, dz'iei- / jì;

ctr. dz'iei / qí = ‘equal; regulate; determine’.

又如字, dz'iei / qí = ‘equal; regulate; determine’.

Sub-commentary.

Kuáng 狂: In addition to the usual pínɡ shēng pronunciation, g'íwang / kuáng, ‘mad’, one in qù shēng is given, k'íwang- / guàng, probably indicating 誑, ‘to deceive’.

Dàn rán 澹然 is explained as meaning tián jìng 恬靜, ‘peaceful, quiet’.

齊 “should be read dz'iei- / jì, but may also have its ordinary reading dz'iei / qí, ‘equal; regulate, determine’”. This seems to

show that here the word should not be understood as 'to regard as equal, to equate', the sense in which it has so far occurred in the text. GSR 593 lists several characters read dz'iei- / jì. The one that suits the present context best, I think, is 劑, 'to cut', according to Couvreur's dictionary meaning also 'proportion, proportionner'. Karlgren and Couvreur both mention that 齊 is occasionally a loan for this character. Its meaning, 'to cut, to proportion', is near to 齊 'to determine', so that the word may also be read in its ordinary pronunciation, as stated by Lù Démíng. In the present passage, 齊 thus means almost the same as the verb with which it is in construction, i.e. duàn 斷, 'to cut, to decide'. 雖靜然閒堂之裏而宏同四海之表, though quietly meditating in the hall of peace yet he profoundly unites with what is beyond the four seas: I believe that xián 閒 is here an adjunct to táng 堂, for rhythmical reasons as well as because of the corresponding phrase sì hǎi 四海. Thus, though I have found no designation like 閒 / 閑 / 閑堂 in the Cí hǎi or elsewhere, I still take it to be some kind of meditation hall, the name of which may mean the hall of peace, the great hall, etc. Here the text recalls 11 B 6, where the divine man was in the miào táng 廟堂, presumably the ancestral temple of the emperor. This was a building of political as well as of religious importance, since it was the place where reports were made and advice sought on the affairs of state.

Liǎng yí 兩儀, the two principles of nature, its negative and positive aspects, the yīn and the yáng.

Zhuang Zi.

Lián Shú said: "Of course. The blind have no way of partaking in the sight of designs and decorations, the deaf no way of partaking in the sound of bells and drums. How could the body alone be deaf and blind! The intelligence has these defects as well.

Guo Xiang. 13 A 4-5:

To be without understanding that the perfect words come to the end of the miraculous, to consider them crazy and disbelieve them, this is intellectual deafness and blindness.

Phonetic glosses.

與音豫, ȩwo- / yù = 'participate in, be present at';

ctr. ȩwo: / yǔ = 'give; to, for';

and ȩwo / yú = fin. part.

觀古亂反, kuân- / guàn = 'cause to see; aspect, sight';

ctr. kuân / guān = 'see'.

夫知, 音智, ȩg- / zhì = 'knowledge';

ctr. ȩg / zhī = 'know'.

Applies also to the commentary: 知之.

Sub-commentary.

Gǔ 瞽, 'eyeless, blind' is by Lù Démíng explained thus: "A blind man having no eyes is like a drumhead", i.e. 'blind' is called kuo: / gǔ like 鼓 kuo: / gǔ, 'drum', because such an unfortunate person is as sightless as a drumhead!

Following the characters zhī shēng 之聲, the sound of (bells and drums), the versions of Cuī, Xiàng, and Sīmǎ originally had two additional sentences, one dealing with the weak-sighted (or one-eyed), the other about those whose feet are amputated.

Zhuang Zi.

These words of his are like a virgin.

Guo Xiang. 13 A 7-8:

That is to say that these words said by Jiē Yú are spontaneously sought by others. Only the intellectually deaf and blind are said to be without this principle.

Sub-commentary.

"Shí nǚ 時女 is like chǔ nǚ 處女", according to Sīmǎ, i.e. an unmarried girl, cf. 11 B 6. Xiàng comments: "Being quiet and yielding, harmonious and reticent, she never seeks out others, but is sought by them".

Féng Yǒulán, Guān Fēng, and Watson all ignore the poor girl, reading 女 níwo: / nǚ, 'girl' as 汝 níwo: / rǔ, 'you'. Thus Féng Yǒulán: "Of the latter you yourself supply an illustration".

Watson: "... As your words just now have shown". Guān Fēng: (聽了) 你剛才說的話, (知道你) 還是往昔的你, (一點也沒有進步). (Having heard) what you have just been saying, I see that you are still your old self, (you haven't made any progress at all). As Egerod, I prefer to follow the old explanations, Guō Xiàng's comment evidently being based on the conception of the perfect words which like a young girl attract the attention of the world.

Zhuang Zi.

This man, this spiritual power is about to embrace the ten thousand things and make them into one. Though the world asks for government, why should he laboriously make the empire his business?

Guo Xiang. 13 B 3-6:

The mind of the sage comes to the end of the perfect union of the yīn and yáng and completely understands the miraculous ways of the ten thousand things. Therefore he is able to embody transformation and accord with change, and wherever he goes he finds everything acceptable; he embraces the ten thousand things, and there will be nothing of which he does not approve. The world seeks him because of government. He has no will of his own. When he has no will of his own, why should he not respond to the world! So then, as for the means by which a man, who embodies the profound and comes to the end of the miraculous, unites with the nature of the ten thousand things and is moulded by the transformations of the universe, whereby he re-creates the names of Yáo and Shùn, then he invariably accomplishes this by doing nothing, simply. Why should he have to make the matter his business, laboriously exerting his spirit and embittering his thoughts, before capable of it?

Phonetic glosses.

應, 應對之應, 'iəng- / yìng = 'answer, respond';
ctr. 'iəng / yǐng = 'ought'.

思息嗣反, si- / sì = 'to brood';

ctr. si / sī = 'to think'.

Here, however, the qù shēng pronunciation of 思 seems rather to define the word as a noun.

Sub-commentary.

"Páng 旁, 'side, on all sides, wide' is here the same as páng 磅礴", which according to Couvreur means 'vaste'. Bò 礴 means 'to fill'. Sīmǎ says: "旁礴 is like the meaning of hūn tóng 混同", 混 'chaotic, abundantly flowing' and 同 'join, partake in', i.e. to unite with completely, to embrace.

Qí 齊 is explained as qiú 求, 'to seek, demand'.

Bì bì 弊弊 means jīng yíng mào 經營貌, in a businesslike manner, laboriously.

NB.

Shì qí hū luàn 世蕪乎亂: this is by Egerod translated as: "Hele verden higer efter at styrte sig ud i sit eget fordærv", i.e. the whole world seeks its own ruin; by Féng Yǒulán, who connects it with the preceding yǐ wéi yī 以一: "According to him, everything in the world is longing for peace"; by Guān Fěng: 世人期望他來治理天下, everybody is hoping that he will govern the world; by Watson: "The age calls for reform".

Now 亂 is either 'disorder' or (= sī 嗣) 'regulations'. How did Guō Xiàng understand it here? More than once in this chapter he states that shì 世, the world, is incapable of grasping the highest truths; still I do not think that he held it to be actually longing for its own ruin. Quite the opposite, it seeks the perfect words, the perfect man, like suitors flocking around a young virgin.

A possible alternative is that Guō Xiàng read the Zhuāng Zǐ passage as: The world is seeking (him) in its disorder—corresponding to his own comment: 世以亂故求我, the world because of (dis-)order is seeking me.

Qiú wǒ 求我: It seeks me, i.e. him, the divine man. Guō Xiàng here seems to identify himself with his hero. The same is found in the commentaries of Zhū Xī 朱熹, for instance to the Chǔ cí, Jiǔ gē, 楚辭九歌, 3rd song, stanzas 6 and 7.

Both here and in 14 A 5 shú 孰 is rendered by the various translators as 'how', 'why', '哪裏'. Especially in 14 A 5 it can hardly be translated otherwise. Nevertheless it runs counter to the definitions of 孰 as found in:

GSR: which one, who.

Gabelentz § 1116: welcher oder welches von Mehreren oder Allen,—substantivisch.

LAC 6.5.2.4: of the agents (named or unnamed) what one? which of them?—restricted to the agential distributive position.

LHC 4.2.iv: in Late Han assimilated into shéi 誰.

Shadick p. 715 and 757: 1) pronoun = which one (person or thing)?—especially as object. 2) PA of scope always referring to the subject = who or which (usually of two).

Zhuang Zi.

This man, nothing in the world can harm him.

Guo Xiang. 13 B 8 – 14 A 1:

When he is in harmony among those that are harmed, then harm cannot harm him. Since harm cannot harm him, things cannot harm him either.

NB.

安於所傷: to be in harmony among those that are harmed, or in places that are harmed.

Zhuang Zi.

Though the waters of a great flood reach the sky, he will not sink. Though in a great drought metal and stone melt, earth and hills burn, he will not feel warm.

Guo Xiang. 14 A 2-3:

When he is in harmony wherever he goes, then the places where he stays will all suit him. In dying or being alive nothing in him is changed, how much less in sinking or feeling warm! Therefore, that the perfect man is not attacked by calamities and hardship

is not because he avoids them. While going straight forward, upholding the heavenly pattern, he spontaneously unites with the auspicious.

Phonetic glosses.

稽音雞, kiei / jī = 'cultivate; reach to';

ctr. k'iei: / qǐ = 'to bow down (the head) to the ground'.

溺奴歷反, niek / nì = 'sink, depraved';

ctr. nieu- / niào = 'urine'.

難乃旦反, nân- / nân = 'difficulty';

ctr. nân / nán = 'difficult'.

辟音避, b'jię- / bì = 'go away from, avoid'; 辟 frequently occurs as a loan for 避.

Sub-commentary.

Lù Démíng says that 稽 should here be read jī and that it means zhì 至, 'come to'. But he also mentions that Xú read it qǐ. It is hard to say what sense Xú could make of this—a great flood causing heaven to bend down over the earth?

NB.

Tuī 推, to push forward and away from oneself, can be used in several senses of which the present text has three: 11 A 5, to renounce; 12 A 1, to push far away; and here in 14 A 3, to push forward, to support. Of course, the basic movement is the same in all cases.

Zhuang Zi.

This man, out of his dust and siftings will still be moulded a Yáo or Shùn. Why should he be willing to make things his business"?

Guo Xiang. 14 A 6-7:

"Yáo" and "Shùn" are simply the names of worldly functions. Those who are named are not the names; therefore, how could Yáo and Shùn have been just Yáo and Shùn and no more! They

must have had in them the reality of divine men. What we now call Yáo and Shùn only name their dust and siftings, simply.

Sub-commentary.

Chén gòu 塵垢 means rǎn wū 染污, 'filth', and bǐ kāng 秕糠 is fán suì 煩碎, 'troublesome fragments', useless bits and pieces. The basic meaning of 秕糠 is 'chaff, husk of grain'.

Zhuang Zi.

A man of Sòng had ceremonial hats for sale and took them to Yuè, but the Yuè people cut their hair and tattoo their bodies and had no use for them. Yáo ruled the people of the empire and brought order to the government within the seas. He went to see the four masters on the faraway hill of Gūshè, and on the northern bank of the river Fén, withdrawn into himself, he lost his empire.

Guo Xiang. 14 B 3 – 15 A 1:

That Yáo had no use for the empire is like the Yuè people having no use for ceremonial hats, simply. Yet he who is indifferent to the empire will certainly be the man whom the empire will honour as its ruler. Though the empire honoured Yáo, still Yáo had never cared for the empire. Therefore, withdrawn into himself he lost it and constantly let his mind roam in the borderlands of complete disregard of differences. Though placed above the ten thousand things, he had never for a moment not been free and happy. The four masters, naturally, are spoken of metaphorically in order to show that Yáo is not the same as Yáo, simply. For the reality of Yáo is dark; as for his traces, then they are Yáo. When from the traces we look at the dark, then it is not surprising that the external and internal become different regions. Ordinary people only see that Yáo is Yáo, how should they know his dark reality! Therefore, intending to seek the four masters beyond the seas, they grasp Yáo in what they see. Therefore they say that he who shares the wave-motion of (the ten thousand) things loses his chances of freedom and happiness. But they have not yet understood that that which one follows at the greatest distance will reverse and come close, and that that with which one

unites at the greatest height will invert and come low. As for those, then, who rigidly regard loneliness and height as perfection and do not feel at ease among the ordinary people, such recluses of the mountains and valleys are not independent men. How should they be able to speak of the extreme limits or roam in the boundless!

Phonetic glosses.

斷了管反, tuān: / duǎn } = 'to cut off; decide'.
徒短反, d'uān: / duàn }

喪息浪反, sāng- / sàng = 'to lose';

ctr. sāng / sāng = 'mourning'.

Likewise in the commentary.

Sub-commentary.

Sòng 宋, according to Lù, "is the present Suīyáng district 睢陽縣 of the state of Liáng 梁國, the area which Wēi Zǐ 微子 received as his fief after the collapse of Yīn". Wēi Zǐ was a brother of Zhòu 紂, the last emperor of Yīn.

Zī zhāng fǔ 費章甫: 資 is explained as huò 貨, 'property, goods', and 章甫 as yīn guān 殷冠, Yīn hats, the ceremonial caps used in the rites of Yīn. The whole expression means 以冠爲貨, having caps as his goods.

Yuè 越 "comprised the present districts of Kuàijī 會稽 and Shānyīn 山陰".

Sì zǐ 四子, the four masters, are said to be Wáng Ní 王倪, Niè Quē 齧缺, Pī Yī 被衣, and Xǔ Yóu 許由.

"The river Fén 汾水 flows from Tàiyuán 太原", a place name mentioned several times in the old texts, for instance in Shū jīng 書 禹貢. "Here, however, Mr. Zhuāng uses it as a metaphor". The story of the Fén river and the four masters is intended to show the inner, hidden, and true reality of Yáo, which is absolutely unaffected by his worldly life.

宵然, Xú: 烏了反, 'ieu: / yǎo. Guō: 武駢反, *mieng / mieng / míng or *mien / mien / mián.—It looks as if Guō Xiàng has read or thought of quite a different word; among the possibilities are: 冥 *mieng / mieng, mieng: / míng, 'dark'. 暝 *mieng / mieng

/ míng and *mien / mien / mián, 'shut the eyes, to sleep'. 眠
*miən / mien / mián, 'shut the eyes'.

瞑 accords best with the sound gloss, and its meaning, shutting the eyes, (as if) sleeping, is illustrative of the trance-like state in which one may let one's soul roam in the boundless. Lǐ explains 窅然 as chàng rán 悵然, 'disappointed'. But according to the philosophy of Guō Xiàng at least, Yáo had no reason whatsoever to feel disappointed; the term is also by Féng Yǒulán translated as 'silently', by Watson as 'dazed'. GSR defines 窅 as 'retired, despondent'.

NB.

Fén shuǐ zhī yáng 汾水之陽, is said by Guān Fēng and Féng Yǒulán to be south of the river Fén. According to GSR 陽 is the southern slope of a hill and the northern bank of a river, i.e. the sunny sides of both. Following this interpretation, the place mentioned by Zhuāng Zǐ is the slopes facing south on the northern bank of the river Fén.

Yán 焉, there, in that place, points back to 汾水之陽, the northern bank of the river Fén.

夫堯實冥矣。其迹則堯也, lit.: the reality of Yáo is dark. His traces then are Yáo.

Compare 9 A 3: 故有待無待吾所不能齊也。至於 受而不知則吾所不能殊也, lit.: therefore, dependence and independence are things that I cannot equate. As to the fact that receiving, he does not understand it, then this is something that I cannot regard as different.

Zé 則 occurs 35 times in Guō Xiàng 1, regularly preceding the subject (if any) of the main clause. The only exceptions to this rule are the two sentences quoted above. These S 則 P sentences are both of the A B 也 pattern. The effect of a 則 placed between S and P seems to be to bring out the nature of the subject as an adjunct clause, a topic, a question, something verbal: (If we look at) his traces, then they are Yáo. Coming to the fact that . . . , then (this) is something which I cannot regard as different.

These two S 則 P sentences both express an idea contrary to that in the sentences preceding them. This is presumably the reason for the occurrence of 則, the effect of which in an English

translation might be rendered as 'but, however, on the other hand', and the like.

Similar instances of S 𠂔 P lead Dobson to analyse 𠂔 as an agential distributive, cf. Book of Songs, p. 103-4. This I find a poor idea. His observations on the effect of 𠂔 in this position, however, are very good.

Zhuang Zi.

Huì Zǐ said to Zhuāng Zǐ: "The king of Wèi gave me some seeds of a large gourd. I planted them, and when they grew up, the fruit (could hold) five piculs. If I used it for storing water, it was not strong enough to last. If I split it in halves and used them as dippers, they were so wide and shallow they would not hold anything. It is not that the gourd was not enormously big; but because it was useless I smashed it to pieces".

Zhuāng Zǐ said: "Certainly you are no good at using large things. Among the Sòng people there were some who were skilled at making a salve to prevent chapped hands, and from generation to generation they had been occupied by bleaching of silk.

Guo Xiang. 15 B 3:

Their salve could prevent hands from being numbed and worn; therefore they had always bleached silk in water.

Phonetic glosses.

種 章 勇 反, tǐwong: / zhǒng = 'seed';
ctr. tǐwong- / zhòng = 'to sow'.

盛 音 成, zhǎng / chéng = 'to put in (a receptacle)';
ctr. zhǎng- / shèng = 'ample'.

爲 才 偽 反, jwiē- / wèi = 'for, because';
ctr. jwiē / wéi = 'make, be'.

拘 紀 干 反, kju / jū = 'grasp, seize';
ctr. kqu / gōu = 'to cover'.

漂 匪 妙 反, p'ǎu- / piào = ?
ctr. p'ǎu / piāo = 'to float'.

Sub-commentary.

Huì Zǐ 惠子, Sīmǎ: "His family name was Huì 惠, his personal name Shī 施, and he was a minister of Liáng 梁. The king of Wèi 魏 was Liáng Huì Wáng 梁惠王". Lù Démíng submits: "Wèi was moved from Hédōng 河東 to Dà Liáng 大梁, therefore the state is called both Wèi and Liáng".

Shí wǔ shí 實五石, according to Sīmǎ, means that the fruit could contain five 石, shí or dàn, a large measure for grain.

則瓠落無所容: according to GSR 瓠 is *g'wo / yuo, yuo- / hù, 'bottle-gourd'. In the present sub-commentaries, however, it is said to be 戶郭反, *g'wâk / ywâk / huó in this special case, and 音護 *g'wâg / yuo- / hù when used in the sense of 'bottle-gourd'. Sīmǎ, disagreeing with this, reads it like 護 when used for 'shallow'. As to the meaning of 瓠落, Jiǎn Wén and Sīmǎ both define it as 'wide, shallow, empty'. Sīmǎ continues: "That is to say, that its form is flat and shallow; when it receives water, it spills and does not hold it". Féng Yǒulán follows this interpretation: "I cut the calabash in two for ladles, but each of them was too shallow to hold anything". Guān Fēng, p. 77, note 14, points out that a ladle is meant to be dipped into larger receptacles, and hence the obvious drawback of these particular ladles was their enormous size. He translates, p. 74: 把它切開來作瓢, 却又沒有那麼大的水缸可以容納. I cut it in half to make ladles, but had no jars large enough to receive them. In 16 B 2 where the phrase reappears, 其瓠落無所容, he translates it: 它太大無處容納, (you worried that) it was too large and could not be contained anywhere. Watson follows this in his translation.

Wú suǒ róng 無所容, to have no place where one may be, where one can be contained, (in contrast to: there is nothing which it can contain), is known in other texts as well. Couvreur's dictionary, for instance, quotes: 旅而無所容 (from Yì xù guà zhuàn 易序卦傳), errant et n'ayant plus d'endroit où se retirer. As suǒ 所 may substitute for 於 N, as well as for O, both interpretations of 無所容 are possible. Unfortunately, the text of Guō Xiàng does not show how he understood the phrase. Most likely he agreed with Sīmǎ, the sub-commentary recording nothing contrary to his opinion. So I too follow him.

By Lù Démíng 龜 is spelt 愧悲反, *k'iwəg / kjwi / gui, 'tor-

toise', by Xú 舉倫反, *kjwěŋ* / *jün*. It is said to be the same as *jū chāi* 拘拆 'uneven and rent', the term used by Guō Xiàng in his commentary. Simǎ explains: "The lines and fissures (on the skin of the hands) are like those on a tortoise shell". Karlgren agrees with Lù Démíng and Simǎ, considering the idea of 龜 **kijwəŋ* as a loan character for 鞞 **kijwən*, 'chapped' (Xú) or for 拘 **kju*, 'uneven' (Guō), to be phonetically inadmissible, Loan Char. 819.

Líng 令 should be read in *píng shēng*; cf. 10 A 1.

"拘 ought to be written 跣 here"; both are **kju* / *kju* / *jū*. The meaning of 跣 is illustrated by a quotation from Zhōu shū 周書: "When the weather is cold, the feet become numb". Guō Xiàng's 拘拆 is then to be understood as 'numbed and worn'.

Piào 漂 is explained by means of a quotation from the commentaries on Shǐ jì 史記: "By beating raw silk in water a bleaching is made". In Shuō wén the same procedure is called bì 敝 (澁), according to Cí hǎi meaning 於水中擊絮也, to beat raw silk in water.

Zhuang Zi.

A traveller heard about it and offered to buy their prescription for a hundred pieces of gold. They called together their clan and consulted on the matter saying: "For generations we have been bleaching silk but have made no more than a few pieces of gold. Now in one morning we can sell our technique for a hundred pieces. Let us give it to him". The traveller got the prescription, and by means of it he influenced the king of Wú. When there were difficulties in Yuè, the king of Wú made him a general; and in the winter he fought a naval battle with the men of Yuè and utterly defeated them. (The king of Wú then) cut up their territory and gave him a fief. The ability to prevent chapped hands was the same. That one man, however, obtained a fief by means of it, while the others did not escape from bleaching silk, was due to the difference with which they utilized the ability. Now you had a gourd large enough to hold five piculs. Why did you not fasten it (to yourself) and use it as a large waist-boat so that you might go floating around the rivers and lakes, but kept worrying that it

was too wide and shallow and could not hold anything? After all you still have a mind full of brambles then"!

Guo Xiang. 16 B 4-6:

Brambles are not plants which grow straight. This section explains that everything has its own appropriateness. If one attains one's appropriateness, one may go anywhere in freedom and happiness.

Phonetic glosses.

數色主反, sù: / shǔ = 'to count'; as in 2 A 7.

說始銳反, shuō- / shuì = 'exhort';
ctr. shuō / shuō = 'speak'.

難乃旦反, nán- / nán = 'difficulty';
ctr. nán / nán = 'difficult'.

將子匠反, jiāng- / jiàng = 'to lead; a leader';
ctr. jiāng / jiāng = 'bring, take'.

Sub-commentary.

Bǎi jīn 百金, a hundred pieces of gold, Lǐ: "A square piece of gold the side of which is one cùn 寸 and the weight of which is one jīn 斤 makes one jīn 金. So a hundred jīn 金 equals a hundred jīn 斤 of gold".

Dà zūn 大樽, a large wine-vessel, Lù: "Zūn 樽, 'wine-vessel' may also be written zūn 尊, 'a kind of vase'". Here the word appears to be employed in a special sense, however, which Sīmǎ explains as follows: "Zūn 樽 is like a wine-vessel; if one fastens it to oneself, it is possible, floating on rivers and lakes, by means of it to get oneself across the water. Lǚ 屨 means jié zhuì 結綴, to connect, to tie". Lù Démíng makes a reference to the so-called yāo zhōu 腰舟, according to Cí hǎi p. 2375, a calabash by means of which one floats on water; one fastens it to one's belt and so becomes able to ferry oneself across. People of the south call it a yāo zhōu 腰舟, a waist-boat.

Péng zhě 蓬者, a bramble-like person, confused person, Xiàng: "It is a designation for a short-sighted pedant". Xiàng's term qū

shì 曲士 is in *Cí hǎi* defined as xiǎo rén 小人, a narrow-minded person, and as xiāng qū zhī shì 鄉曲之士, a rustic scholar. It is used by Zhuāng Zǐ, for instance in chapter 17.

NB.

能不龜手一也。或 . . . 或 . . . 則所用之異也：A B 也。A 則 B 也。Cf. 14 B, NB.

何不慮以爲大樽：according to the sub-commentary, the interpretations of which are followed in the present translation, lǚ 慮, 'to think of, foresee' here means 'to connect, to tie'. 慮 is *liō / liwo- / lǚ, and has perhaps been considered a loan character for 纒 *lo / luo / lú, 'hempen threads'. Karlgren mentions another commentator of this passage, who regarded 慮 as a loan character for 絡 *glâk, 'cord'. The idea is rejected as arbitrary and unnecessary, Loan Char. 1016. Apart from Féng Yǒulán, who translates: "Why did you not make of it a large bottle gourd, by means of which you could float in rivers and lakes?", the translators known to me all render 慮 as 'to think of'. Guān Fēng, for instance, says: 爲什麼就不想到把它作爲“腰舟”(把大葫蘆繫在腰上以渡江湖, 故稱爲“腰舟”)而浮遊於江湖之中? Why did you not think of making it into a waist-boat (one ties the large calabash to one's waist in order to get across rivers and lakes, therefore it is called a waist-boat) to go floating around the rivers and lakes? Egerod and Watson let 大樽 be a great tub in which he could sit.

何不慮以爲大樽 . . . 則夫子猶有蓬之心也夫：the various translators pause at different points of this section. In all probability it is really one sentence: why did you not do A, but did B, so that C! Cf. Gabelentz's treatment of zé 則, § 506. Shadick prefers to treat 則 after interrogations as being used macrosyntactically, see e.g. commentary 23 (2), p. 604.

Zhuāng Zǐ.

Huì Zǐ said to Zhuāng Zǐ: "I have a large tree. People call it ailanthus. Its great trunk is too bent and bulged to fit measuring line and ink, its small branches are too crooked and curved to fit compasses and square. It has been planted near the road, but a

carpenter does not look at it twice. Now your words are large and useless, something that all people reject”.

Zhuāng Zǐ said: “Are you the only one who has never seen a wildcat or a weasel? Crouching it hides to wait for stray animals; east and west it leaps on the branches, avoiding neither the high nor the low. But it ends in a trap, dies in a net. Now the yak, it is as large as clouds hanging down from heaven. It knows how to be large, but knows not how to catch a mouse. Now you have a large tree and you are distressed because it is useless. Why do you not plant it in the village where nothing exists, in the field that is wide and vast, to roam at will in non-action beside it, let your thoughts wander in sleep under it? Its life will never be shortened by axes or hatchets, nothing will ever harm it. When there is nothing for which it can be used, where can there be any reason for causing it distress or pain”?

Guo Xiang. 17 B 1-2:

If things small and large err from their limitations, then the principles of benefit and harm are both applied. But if they attain their proper places, all things find freedom and happiness.

Phonetic glosses.

中 丁仲反, t̃jung- / zhòng = ‘hit the centre, hit’;
ctr. t̃jung / zhōng = ‘middle’.

Likewise in the following.

Sub-commentary.

Yǒng zhōng 擁腫 according to Lǐ means pán yǐng 盤癭, ‘turn round’ and ‘swelling’. 卷 k̃iwān: / juǎn, ‘to roll’ may also be written 拳 g’iŵān / quán, ‘bend, curved’.

去 should be read in its ordinary pronunciation, k’iwo- / qù, ‘to leave’; Lǐ, however, prefers to read it 羌吕反, k’iwo: / qǔ, ‘to put away, eliminate’.

It is hard to say exactly what kind of animals are meant by lí xīng 狸狴. GSR says that 狸 may be a wildcat, 狴 a weasel.

敖 is by Xú and Lǐ said to be 五到反, ngāu- / ào; a little further below is added that actually it is also written 傲, a word

which according to GSR is pronounced ào and means 'proud, arrogant'. Following this interpretation Zhī explains: "The wild-cat keeps watch on those negligent and proud ones, i.e. it meets those who are careless". Simǎ, on the other hand, says that 敖 is pronounced like 遨 ngāu / áo, 'saunter about, amuse oneself': "This means that it keeps watch on animals running about, in order to eat them; these belong to the species of chickens and mice". Simǎ here accords with GSR in which 遨 is defined as a variant of 敖.

According to Lù, 辟 "is to be read 避 b'jie- / bì, 'to avoid'; nowadays it is actually in many cases written 避. This is so later in the text also". In jī hí 機辟, however, 辟 is pronounced 毗赤反, b'ïäk / bí; according to Simǎ this is a net, a snare.

Lí niú, or máo niú 羆牛 is by Simǎ explained as a máo niú 旄牛, a pennon-tail ox. The tails of these animals were used as pennons.

無何有之鄉廣莫之野, Lù: "This means a quiet, far away, and actionless place". 莫 mâk / mò, 'not; vast' is explained as dà 大, 'big'.

Páng huáng 彷徨 means áo xiáng 翱翔 'to fly backwards and forwards, go to and fro'. Guǎng yǎ equates it with xǐ yǐ 徙倚, to move about aimlessly.

NB.

彷徨乎無爲其側, 逍遙乎寢臥其下: In all probability these sentences are as parallel as they look, though things are a little confused in most translations. Páng huáng 彷徨 and xiāo yáo 逍遙 both mean to move about in an unimpeded and spontaneous manner, to be free. This, Zhuāng Zǐ says, is possible in a state of wú wéi 無爲, doing nothing, or of qǐn wò 寢臥, sleep—perhaps the same empty, trance-like state as that which is described in the first paragraphs of chapter 2, and mentioned by Guō Xiàng several times already in this first chapter.

Part II: Grammar

Syntagma.

LHC. Chapter 2, pp. 4-13.

Personal pronouns.

1) Wú 吾 and wǒ 我.

我 occurs seven times in Guō Xiàng 1, three times as subject, four times as object. 吾 is used in only three cases and in all of these as adjunct to a 所-phrase.

13 B 4 世以亂故求我。我無心也。The world seeks me because of government. I have no will of my own. 9 A 3 ... 吾所不能齊也 ... 吾所不能殊也。... Are things which I cannot equate ... Is something which I cannot regard as different.

Although the present material is limited, it seems to indicate that Guō Xiàng observes the distinction between 我: pregnant, 吾: determinative; in contrast to the blurring of this distinction which Dobson found in his material.

2) There is no use of second personal pronouns in Guō Xiàng 1.

Anaphoric pronouns: Qí 其 and zhī 之.

Dobson finds that determinative qí 其 and pregnant zhī 之 are sometimes used interchangeably in Late Han, 之 occurring where 其 would be used in LAC. As yet I have found no cases in Guō Xiàng's commentary where 之 N = his N!

1) 其, occurring 48 times, is used only as a determinative substitute; thus no examples are to be found of the "modal 其".

Phrases in which 其 is adjunct have nominal function: 1 A 4 事稱其能. Their tasks correspond to their ability. 10 B 3 何以當其然邪. How do I explain that this is so?

According to Dobson, 其 in Late Han is used as a demonstrative before certain nouns (e.g. 人, 國). This is not the case in the present Guō Xiàng material. Further Dobson says that in certain connections 其 means 'other, the rest', (e.g. in 其餘). In the first instance, 其人 = 'this sort of person', 其國 = 'these states', 其 is presumably best explained as originally meaning the present situation's, i.e. the said, the present, etc., subsequently understood and

used as a demonstrative. In Late Han, this is no innovation; cf. for example Sòng Yù, Fēng fù 宋玉風賦 in which 其 occurs as a demonstrative three times. In the second instance, where 其 in 其餘 is said to mean 'other, the rest', it is most probably a case of subsumption, determination of class membership, similar to 其實, which Dobson himself translates as 'the fact of the matter is—'. There is no reason why 其 in 其餘 should mean 'the rest'; this meaning is conveyed quite effectively by the word yú 餘!

2) 之 is found as object substitute 27 times in Guō Xiàng 1. (The text includes a total of 135 instances of 之).

Examples: 10 A 1 非治之而治者也. He is not a ruler who by governing it makes it well governed. 11 A 4 ... 而竟獨有之 ... And Yao alone possesses it ... 1 B 2 皆可略之. One may pass over these things lightly.

In the first of these examples, the function of 之 seems to be mainly to characterize the former of the two 治 in the sentence as transitive, in contrast to the latter, which is intransitive.

In a distinct pattern 之 follows an object which has been proposed for emphasis. Cf. 10 B 4, NB.

Demonstratives: 此, 是, 彼, 斯.

1) Cǐ 此.

Occurring 28 times, this is the most commonly used demonstrative for 'this, these'. In most cases it refers to the preceding discussion or situation in general, thus often substituting for sentences or larger sections of text. It is used pregnantly as well as determinatively.

8 A 2 亦不能復過此. He still could do no more than that. 13 A 8 ... 無此理 ... To be without this principle. 10 B 6 此故. For this reason.

Once, 此 is S in a nominalized S-P phrase: 5 B 5 ... 若此之懸也. ... Is true to the same extent as that these things are far apart.

As object in a coverbal phrase, 此 occurs in 10 B 5 以此爲君 ... Being a ruler in this way ... 5 A 3 自此已下 ... From here onward ... 3 A 4 ... 人之自此視天 ... Man's view of the sky from below ... In the two last examples, 此 refers to a place.

2) Shì 是.

Four occurrences: 10 B 4 and 12 B 7 是以. Therefore. 5 A 4 是故. For this reason. 6 B 4 故莊子以所問為是也. Therefore Zhuāng Zǐ regarded the questions asked by Tāng as being alike.

The text further includes the SV 是 used putatively, 'to regard as correct', 8 A 5; and 是 as copula, following the conjunctions 使 and 即, 3 A 3 and 8 B 7.

3) Bǐ 彼.

Two occurrences. In both cases 彼 contrasts with 我 and is best translated as 'others'.

5 A 4 ... 遺彼忘我 ... Is indifferent to others, forgets about himself ... 8 B 8 玄同彼我者 ... He who mysteriously unites others with himself ...

4) Sī 斯.

斯, Dobson says, is obsolescent in Late Han, both as a demonstrative (according to him restricted to the determinative rôle in LAC) and as a conjunction. Nevertheless, Guō Xiàng uses 斯 10 times in the first chapter of his commentary.

8 B 7 如斯. In this way. 2 A 8 既有斯翼 ... With wings like that ... (lit.: since it has these wings ...).

斯 here occurs as a demonstrative, in the pregnant as well as the determinative usage. This is also how it is described by Gabelentz, § 490ff. Other occurrences of 斯, however, are less clear, the line between its function as a demonstrative and as a conjunction being difficult to determine: 12 B 6 ... 則涼雲斯乘矣 ... Then even floating clouds he mounts. 12 B 6 ... 則飛龍斯御矣 ... Then even flying dragons he rides. 8 B 8 所遇斯乘 ... Mounting anything one meets ...

These instances of 斯 are reminiscent of the use of 是 and 之 after emphatically preposed objects, cf. 10 B 4, NB: ... Then floating clouds, these, he mounts. On the other hand, 斯 may here equally well be treated as a conjunction which, occurring between S and P, gives a certain emphasis to the S preceding it: ... Then even if it is floating clouds then he mounts them. In all probability it may even be considered an adverb 'thus, in this manner'; cf. Gabelentz's last example in § 1421 and Zhuāng 3 B 7 ... 則風斯在下矣 ... Then the winds are thus under it.

The remaining five instances of 斯 occur in the following sentences: 8 B 2 非風則不得行 斯必有待也. If there was no wind, he was unable to travel; certainly this is to be dependent. 10 A 3 ... 而或者 遂云「...」 斯失之遠矣 ... And when some consequently have said: "...", then they have missed the point by far. 10 A 5 ... 當塗者自必於有爲之域而不反者 斯由之也 ... And that those in authority cling to the realm of action and do not change their minds, this follows from this idea. 10 B 7 若以外臣代乎內主 斯有爲君之名而無任君之實也. As to replacing the inner rulership with an outer service, this is to bear the name of ruler but not the reality of ruling. 15 A 1 若乃厲然以獨高爲至而不夷乎俗者 斯山谷之士非無待者也. As for those, then, who rigidly regard loneliness and height as perfection and do not feel at ease among the ordinary people, such recluses of the mountains and valleys are not independent men.

In all these, except 10 A 3, I consider 斯 a demonstrative. For comparison, see the use of 此 in the following sentence: 10 A 4 若謂拱默乎山林之中而後得稱無爲者 此莊老之談所以見棄於當塗. As for the idea that one has to join one's hands and sit in silence in the mountain forests before one can talk of doing nothing, this is the reason why Zhuāng Zǐ's and Lǎo Zǐ's words have been rejected by those in authority.

Whatever the function of 斯 in the last five sentences above, the word seems to express a great deal of emphasis. These instances of 斯 refer to views or actions which Guō Xiàng holds in contempt, to philosophical systems which he is attacking.

Particle of syntagma: Zhě 者.

者 is employed 63 times in Guō Xiàng 1. In 47 cases, X 者 acts as subject, that is 75 % of the total number of occurrences. 10 times (16 %) X 者 is used as predicate, followed by final particles (也, 耳) bringing out this fact. Of the remaining 6 instances (9 %), X 者 is adjunct in 3 cases, connected to its head by means of 之; and 3 times it is found as object of a preceding verb.

As a subject, X 者 may be extremely long: 13 B 5 然則 (S₁:) 體玄而極妙者, (S₂:) 其所以會通萬物之性而陶鑄天下之化以成堯舜之名者, (P:) 常以不爲爲之耳. So then, as for the means by which a man, who embodies the profound and comes

to the end of the miraculous, unites with the nature of the ten thousand things and is moulded by the transformations of the universe, whereby he re-creates the names of Yáo and Shùn, then he invariably accomplishes this by doing nothing, simply. The idea of all this seems to be: 聖人从不為成堯舜之名耳. There are two derived subjects in the sentence: as for the person A, as for the way in which he achieves B, then he achieves it by doing nothing. S₁ is resumed by the adjunct substitute 其 in S₂, and the main idea of S₂, i.e. 成堯舜之名, is further resumed by the object substitute 之 in the predicate.

As a predicate, X 者 occurs in sentences of the A B 也 / 耳 pattern: 5 A 5 齊死生者無死無生者也. He who equates death and life is one for whom there is neither death nor life.

As adjunct in a noun phrase X 者 occurs twice as S in a nominalized S-P phrase: 11 B 8 豈知至至者之不虧哉. How would they understand that the perfectly perfect is infallible! Cf. also 8 B 8. The third instance of X 者 as adjunct is a case of determination of class membership: 9 A 4 ... 況有待者之巨細乎. (Now, since independence is still insufficient to be considered different from dependence), how much more then great from small kinds of dependence!

As an object, X 者 is twice governed by 未有, once by 順: 5 A 3 ... 未有足从相傾者也. (Zhuāng Zǐ shows ... how) nobody so far has been able to get the better of another on this basis. Cf. also 9 B 2. 9 A 2 又順有待者 ... He also, by following the dependent ...

In Late Han, in addition to its syntagmatic function, 者 becomes a marker of causal clauses, writes Dobson. i.e.:

- 1) Verbal clause + 者 becomes 'the reason why ...'.
- 2) The clause of cause is also introduced by 所以.

As an example of 1), Dobson adduces: 美之者欲以責之也. The reason why he addressed him in this formally elegant fashion, was because he intended thereby to administer a rebuke.

There is no example of this use of 者 in Guō Xiàng 1. But it occurs for instance in Zhàn guó cè 戰國策, a work which is presumably at least 300 years older than Dobson's Late Han text;

cf. Qí 齊, section 1: 吾妻之美我者畏我也. The reason why my concubine calls me handsome is that she is afraid of me.

Guō Xiàng 1 has five examples of 2), however. Such 所以... 者 phrases may indicate reason as well as means or manner. 4 A 1 夫所以乃今將圖南者非其好高而慕遠也. The reason why only then is it about to head south is not that it loves the high and longs for the distant. 者 may be omitted: 4 B 8 對大於小所以均異趣也. Comparing the large with the small (we find that) what is different about them is their way of flying. The remaining three examples occur in 3 A 8, 4 B 8, and 13 B 5.

In two Guō Xiàng sentences, a cause is introduced by means of 以: 5 B 6 ... 而衆人未嘗悲此者以其性各有極也 ... That people have never been sorry about this, however, is because their natures are all limited. Cf. also 2 A 2.

Sentences which express cause are often concluded by 也, and causality may be expressed simply by the A B 也 pattern: 14 A 3 至人之不嬰乎禍難非辟之也. That the perfect man is not attacked by calamities and hardships is not because he avoids them.

Particle of determination: Zhī 之.

As such, 之 occurs 108 times in Guō Xiàng 1. (The total number of occurrences of 之 being 135).

Dobson is of the opinion that attributive determination, in contrast to that of possession and class membership, is unmarked in LAC, i.e. that 之 is here not allowed between adjunct and head. Due to a "blunting of usage", however, 之 occasionally occurs in this position in Late Han.

The veracity of Dobson's statement is to be doubted. In the examples of attributive determination which he adduces, LAC p. 24, all attributes consist of single, monosyllabic words: 大本 the great trunk, 神人 spiritual men, etc. They should be compared to cases like Mencius 2 a 1: 賢聖之君 worthy and sage sovereigns. On the other hand, Dobson's examples of marked attributive determination in Late Han, with one exception, all have composite attributes: 污亂之世 a depraved and disorderly generation, 先聖之王 the former Sage Kings, etc. (LHC p. 11).

In LAC as well as in Late Han the general rule seems to be that attributive determination is marked by 之 if the attribute is a verb

phrase, unmarked if it is a simple verb. (Cf. Graham, *Basic Problems* p. 210, and Shadick, p. 807).

This is also what I find in the present Guō Xiàng text:

V N: 11 B 6 夫神人即今所謂聖人也. The "divine man" is what we now call a sage. 12 B 7 枯木, 死灰. A withered tree, dead ashes.

V 之 N: 1 B 2 達觀之士. Broad-minded readers. 10 A 5 有為之域. The realm of action. 10 B 4 不繫之舟. An untied boat. 17 B 1 小大之物. Small and large things.

Examining the occurrences of 大 and 小 in the Guō Xiàng 1 concordance, for instance, one finds the principle scrupulously observed.

In Guō Xiàng 1, 之 is further found in connection with:

Possessive determination: 10 B 6 一家之偏尚. The preferences of one school.

Determination of class membership: 9 A 4 有待者之巨細. Great and small kinds of dependence.

Noun phrases indicating relative position: 10 A 4 山林之中. In the mountain forests.

Noun phrases containing a quotation: 10 A 2 故有子治之言. Therefore he says: "You govern".

Nominalized S - P phrases: 14 B 7 世徒見堯之為堯. Ordinary people only see that Yáo is Yáo. In the present text, clause objects of 觀, 見, 識, 知, and 患 are nominalized, i. e. S 之 P phrases, whereas those of 明, 謂, and 言 may be S - P or S 之 P. Unfortunately, the material is too limited to show whether this is in some way characteristic of Guō Xiàng's style or grammar.

Modified 所-phrases: these constructions act as nouns, of course, but the adjuncts as such may be nominal (originally, subject of the verb) or verbal (originally, adjunct to the verb); in both cases, 之 may be omitted.

N (之) 所 V:

12 B 2 五穀所為. Something which the five grains produce. 14 B 4 天下之所宗. The man whom the empire will honour as its ruler.

V (之) 所 V:

11 B 6 夫神人即今所謂聖人也. The "divine man" is what we now call a sage. 5 B 7 叢欲所及. Something achievable by desire and will. 5 A 2 跂尚之所及. Things that one can match up to by striving and wishing. 8 B 6 ... 凡此皆自然之所能非爲之所能也... These are all things of which they are spontaneously capable, not things they are capable of by deliberately trying.

Verbal adjuncts to 所-phrases often indicate time or place, as in 11 B 6 above. In the remaining three examples, the adjuncts preceding 所 express the means by which, or manner in which the actions following 所 are carried out. Compare Gabelentz's observation in § 439, that 之所 sometimes occurs after "einem ursprünglichen Adverbialis". According to this author, such originally adverbial adjuncts are changed into genitives, i.e. nominalized by the following 之, cf. § 438. I do not share this view. The point of interest in this matter is precisely that the difference in meaning between an original subject and an original verbal adjunct is preserved, even when they are placed in front of 之 or (之) 所.

Summary,

regarding Dobson, chapter 2, syntagma.

In contrast to Zhào Qí, author of the commentary analysed by Dobson, Quō Xiàng does not seem to confuse the determinative and pregnant forms of the personal pronouns, 吾 and 我. 其 is used as a substitute for N 之 throughout, and no instances occur of 其 N = this N, or of 之 N = his N; (the interpretation of the latter is anyhow highly doubtful). 斯, absent in Zhào Qí's text, is one of Guō Xiàng's favourite words, occurring many times and in a variety of usages in his first chapter.

Agreement exists between Zhào Qí and Guō Xiàng in so far as both have 此 as their most commonly used demonstrative, in pregnant as well as in determinative usage. Most probably, the two texts agree also in their use of 者 and 之, not least considering that 者 as 'marker of cause' and 之 in attributive determination are not, as Dobson assumes, innovations, characteristic of Late Han in contrast to earlier times.

The verb.

LHC. Chapter 3, pp. 14-43.

Negation.

According to Dobson, the negatives in LAC play the chief rôle in determining the mood of the verb, (cf. LAC, 3.3.1). In Late Han, their rôle is reduced to that of simple negation, bù 不 and wú 無 emerging as all-purpose negatives, replacing such LAC negatives as wú 毋, wù 勿, and fú 弗.

In Guō Xiàng 1, only four negatives occur: Bù 不 (73 times), wú 無 (52 times), fēi 非 (17 times), and wèi 未 (15 times).

Bù 不.

This is the most frequently occurring negative. It negates verbs, thus testifying to the verbal character of numbers in Chinese: 14 B 6 ... 以明克之不一於克耳 ... In order to show that Yáo is not the same as Yáo, simply. Compare, however, 9 B 3 ... 與至理為一故無功 ... He is one with the perfect pattern, therefore he is without achievement.

Contrary to 不為 'not acting', (cf. 5 A 1, 8 B 5, 8 B 6, 10 B 5, and 13 B 5) 無為 'doing nothing' is used as a technical term and treated as a noun, being in each of its three occurrences the object of a TV or CV, (cf. 1 B 1, 10 A 3, and 10 A 4).

Wú 無.

無 ceases to have modal (i.e. subjunctive) connotations and has simply the rôle of "negation before 有", Dobson states, illustrating this by 無復有 'will no longer have', and 無有 'there was not'.

There are no such examples in Guō Xiàng 1; here either 無 or 有 is employed, not a combination of them. In the four cases in which Guō Xiàng negates 有 it is by means of 未 or 未嘗.

Further Dobson finds that one consequence of the blunting of the modal negatives is that in Late Han they are expanded into 無可, 不得, etc. In the present material I have found no instance of 無 + auxiliary verb. 可, 能, 得, etc., are negated by 不 or 未.

有 and 無 may be followed by either nouns or verbs:

1) 有 / 無 followed by noun objects: 5 A 7 ... 而有所窮矣 ... There will still be occasions when one suffers exhaustion. 13 A 8 ... 無此理 ... To be without this principle.

2) 有 / 無 followed by verbs: 7 B 6 故有笑. Therefore he laughed at something. 10 A 3 爲之出乎無爲也. Doing things originates in doing nothing.

In such cases, Gabelentz believes a 所 or 者 to have been omitted; cf. § 1118: "Für etwas und Jemand sind ferner Umschreibungen mittelst 有 = est quod, sunt qui, sunt quos, üblich. Dabei können die Relativwörter 所 und 者 weggelassen werden". Thus, 有笑 can be understood as 有(所)笑; as an instance of 有 V (者) Gabelentz adduces Lún yǔ 15,8 有殺身以成仁. Manche töteten sich selbst, um die Pflicht zu erfüllen.

Graham (Mohist Grammar, p. 88ff.), prefers to treat such occurrences of 有 and 無 as distributives. In front of intransitive verbs "they may like the external distributives refer back to the subject, but to parts of a thing or to instances of something inherently uncountable.—E.g. 若員無直. For example, a circle is nowhere straight". In connection with 有 in this construction there is often an 以, referring to the parts or respects 'by means of which' the things as wholes are to be judged so or not so. E.g. 有以同 ... Having respects in which they are the same ... "When there is no reference to the subject 有 and 無 in front of an intransitive verb generalize the action of the verb and convey that there are or are not circumstances in which it occurs.—E.g. 謂辯無勝 ... Saying that in no circumstances does one win in disputation ...

—When on the other hand 有 and 無 precede a transitive verb the reference is forward, to an implicit object.—E.g. 有求. Seek something. 有可. Allow something. 無知. Not know anything. 無有. Not have any.—With 盡 "(like 有 and 無 an internal distributive)" the transitive verb may be followed by an object, with 有 and 無 by a directive with the preposition 於.—E.g. 有愛於人, 有不愛於人. Love some men, not love other men. —The directive 於 X may be taken as literally 'among X' (love some among men)".

Translations will be similar, whether based on Gabelentz's or Graham's analysis. To my mind, that of Gabelentz is the simpler and, if 有 / 無 V actually means 有 / 無所 V, also the more satisfactory of the two. The distinction between 盡 and 有 / 無, to which Graham draws attention, that the former may be followed by TV O, while the latter does not allow a TV to carry an object, shows, I think, that 盡 and 有 / 無 do not belong to the same class. Several times Graham speaks of "implicit objects" in connection with his examples of 有 / 無 V. The most probable reason why these constructions need not be provided with objects might be that, somehow or other, they are there already. On the other hand, objects do sometimes occur after 有 / 無 V, cf. the example from Lún yǔ above; I should imagine 有 / 無 (所) 以 TV O to be possible also.

有 / 無所 V:

This pattern occurs only five times in Guō Xiàng 1. In two cases 無所 is followed by a negated verb, i.e. in 8 A 5 and 8 B 2. 8 A 5 未能無所不可也. He was not yet able to find everything acceptable.

In none of the remaining three cases, 5 A 7, 10 A 2, and 14 B 4, does 所 substitute for the object of the following verb, but for its complement, 於 N or 以 N. 10 A 2 ... 則無所代之 ... Then there is no reason to replace him.

有 / 無 N V:

In this pattern, Graham (Basic Problems, p. 213) and Shadick (p. 763-4) regard 有 and 無 as transitive verbs governing S - P phrase objects. To this analysis must be added a note to the effect that S - P objects for 有 and 無 are never nominalized by 之. On the contrary, when a conjunction occurs between S and P it is always 而. Cf. Graham's paper for examples of this.

In his grammar of Modern Chinese, Chao includes 有 among the pre-pivotal verbs (cf. p. 126). If thus treated in Classical Chinese, 有 and 無 again do not quite fit the pattern. In Classical Chinese pivotal constructions, the pivot N of V_1 N V_2 seems always to be the agent of V_2 . In 有 / 無 N V this is not necessarily the case, N being here sometimes the object of V_2 . 而 may occur

in pivotal constructions as well as in 有 / 無 N V, but instances are rare; cf. Basic Problems, p. 213-4.

Guō Xiàng examples of the pattern under discussion are: 13 B 3 ... 無往不可 ... 無物不然 ... Wherever he goes he finds everything acceptable ... There will be nothing of which he does not approve. 12 B 6 苟無物而不順 ... 無形而不載 ... When there is nothing that he does not follow ... There being no form which he does not fill ...

Fú 弗 and wù 勿.

In contrast to many sinologues, Dobson regards 弗 and 勿 as markers of emphatic negation in LAC, in the indicative and injunctive mood respectively. In Late Han, he says, these negatives are obsolescent and intensification tends to be achieved by periphrastic means: 終不, 竟不, 必不, etc.

This is confirmed by my material. Like Zhào Qí, Guō Xiàng does not use 弗 and 勿; there are two instances of periphrastically intensified negatives in his first chapter: 3 A 3 竟未知 ... We know not actually ... 5 B 6 蒙分不. Not in the least.

Wèi 未.

In LAC 3.3.1.1 未 was said to negate all conceivable instances envisaged (universal denial), 不 to negate particular instances of an act. Later Dobson has met his critics halfway by modifying the above statement to the effect that 未 in LAC "denies experience of, rather than instances of an act", cf. LHC, p. 17. Finally, Dobson finds that in Late Han 未 means "not yet, not so far"; this of course is the meaning which most students of Classical Chinese have always held 未 to have, in LAC as well as in later times. It is confirmed by Kennedy's observation that 未 and the particle of completion, 矣, are never found together in one quotable segment in Mencius, their meanings being apparently incompatible and perhaps opposite. Kennedy further notes that 未 has a marked affinity with verbs such as 有, 聞, 知, and 見. (Word-classes, pp. 389-90).

Guō Xiàng 1 has 15 instances of 未. Of these, four negate 有 (these four account for all cases of negation + 有 found in my material); two negate 知 (which is also, however, negated

by 不 five times). 見 does not occur with a negative while 聞 is absent.

Ten times 未 negates the verb of a simple sentence or of a main clause. Of these ten sentences, nine are concluded by 也. The exceptional sentence, 3 A 3, is a question and concluded by 耶.

The material seems to show that 未 in Guō Xiàng 1 has the same meaning and function as in Mencius in so far as 未 ... 也 and 未有 are still current expressions.

Position of Pronoun Objects of Negated Verbs.

In LAC, pronoun objects such as 我, 之, 是, are generally placed before verbs that are negated. This pattern, Neg. + Pron. O + TV, is obsolescent in Late Han, according to Dobson.

In Guō Xiàng 1 it is found only once, in the set phrase 未之有也. That has never happened. 5 B 8. Post-verbal object pronouns occur in 5 B 6 ... 未嘗悲此 ... Have never been sorry about this ... And in 14 B 1 ... 而物亦不傷之也 ... Then things cannot harm him either. (不之 TV never occurred at all, but seems in certain texts to have been replaced by 弗 TV).

Mood.

Apart from negatives such as the above, Dobson deals under this heading with injunctive and hortatory verbs such as dāng 當, děi 得, xū 須, and yīng 應.

Guō Xiàng seems to be given to reasoning rather than to exhortation, and there are no instances of 當, 須, or 應 used as auxiliary verbs in his first chapter. He does use dé 得, but in the sense of 'obtain; can', not in the sense of 'ought'. Thus, the sentence in 8 B 2 非風則不得行 does not mean that Liè Zǐ ought not travel in calm weather, but that he cannot. Consider also 2 B 1 此皆不得不然非樂然也. All this is a matter of his not being able to be otherwise, not that he likes to be so. The whole matter under discussion here is nature, not morals.

Further, Dobson says that bù néng 不能 and bù kě 不可 "tend to replace the injunctive negatives of LAC". In Guō Xiàng, however, 不能 means 'cannot'. Cf. 14 A 1 夫安於所傷則傷不能傷.

When he is in harmony among those that are harmed, then harm cannot harm him. On the other hand 可, as used by Guō Xiàng, means 'may; allowable, suitable', and in this there may be an element of exhortation. E.g. 5 B 6 苟知其極則衆分不可相跂. When they recognize their limits, then it is not in the least reasonable for them to strive to reach each other. Directly hortatory is the auxiliary yí 宜: 1 B 2 達觀之士宜要其會歸... Broad-minded readers should seek the overall and true meaning of this idea ... Cf. also 10 A 2.

Aspect.

In Dobson's system, aspect includes momentary aspect (qiě 且, yù 欲, fāng 方, fāng qiě 方且, zhàn 暫, yí qiè 一切); perfective aspect (yǐ 已, less often jì 既); durative and iterative aspect (fù 復); restrictive aspect (dàn 但); besides jí 即 and biàn 便 for 'immediately', and zhé 輒 or měi zhé 每輒 for 'on each occasion'. Dobson finds that some of these Late Han aspect markers have been subject to functional or semantic shifts in the period from LAC to Han (for instance 且, 欲, and 即), while others are innovations, unknown in LAC (復, 但, and 輒).

No information is to be gathered from Guō Xiàng 1, however, as to the meaning and grammatical rôle of these many markers. Most do not occur at all (且, 暫, 一切, 輒, 每輒); others do not occur in the positions and functions in question (欲, 已, 但, 即, 便); only 方 and 復 seem to be used according to Dobson's formula, and they occur but once, in 10 A 1 and 8 A 2.

Manner.

In his material Dobson finds two cases of V 焉 being interpreted as V 然 or V V 然; thus, by Late Han times, "焉 is given the value 然 and not of 於之, as, properly, it should be given in Mencius".

According to GSR, Zhuāng Zǐ, however, regularly uses 焉 as a 'suffix, forming adverbs'. In this manner it is used only once in Guō Xiàng 1, 13 B 5 弊弊焉; the expression is a direct quotation from the immediately preceding Zhuāng Zǐ paragraph: 孰弊弊焉以天下為事. Why should he laboriously make the empire his business?

Otherwise, Guō Xiàng uses 然 for 'like this' (如 + pronoun), 焉 for 'in this' (於 + pronoun) throughout his first chapter. There are seven instances of 然 as a verb suffix, three of 焉 as a complement. Cf. 2 A 8 豈得決然而起歎仰而下載. How could he rise in no time at all or alight from a few yards! 14 A 6 必有神人之實焉. They must have had in them the reality of divine men.

Voice.

1) Passive: Jiàn 見, bèi 被, etc.

In Late Han, Dobson writes, passive forms such as 見 V, 被 V, 爲 agent 所 V, come into general use, replacing the LAC form V 於 N.

被 does not occur in Guō Xiàng 1. 見 V and 爲 agent 所 V each occur once, in 10 A 4 and 13 A 8. Instances of the passive form V 於 N, corresponding to the examples adduced by Dobson in LAC 3.4.4, are 5 B 8 悲生於累. Sorrow is produced by / arises from involvement. 14 A 3 ... 不嬰乎禍難 ... He is not attacked by calamities and hardship ... Whether 累, involvement, and 禍難, calamities and hardship, have here really been used and understood as "agents" of passive verbs, or as fields within which the actions (passive or active as the case may be) occur, is difficult to say.

2) Causative and Permissive.

The periphrastic causative is of much more frequent occurrence in Late Han than in LAC, Dobson says. It is formed with shǐ 使, known also in LAC, and with lìng 令, in this function unknown before Han times.

In the present material 使 and 令 both occur twice; cf. 5 A 7, 9 A 2, and 10 A 1, 15 B 3 respectively. With 使 as the pre-pivotal verb, the noun pivot is in both cases omitted from the $V_1 N V_2$ pattern.

Dobson further states that these verbs in Late Han are used not only of 'to cause, bring about', but also in the extended sense of 'to permit, let'. This is the case in one of the four Guō Xiàng sentences referred to above, i.e. 5 A 7 ... 放之使遊 ... Releases him and allows him to roam ...

Post-verbal Particles.

According to Dobson, yú 于 and hū 乎 are obsolescent in Late Han; yú 於 occurs very frequently, zài 在 occasionally.

Guō Xiàng only uses the old-fashioned 于 once, in the expression 自此已下至于 . . . , from here onward until we get to . . . 5 A 3; he does not employ 在 in its modern usage as a post-verbal particle at all. Between these extremes, his first chapter has 39 occurrences of 於 and 12 of 乎 in the post-verbal position.

There are indications that Guō Xiàng does not employ these particles, or coverbs, indiscriminately. Thus he twice uses 有乎, not 有於; 足於 three times, not 足乎; 生於 three times, not 生乎. Actually, there are no instances in the text of one verb being followed sometimes by 於, sometimes by 乎. This may, of course, be merely fortuitous, due to the limited size of the material; or it may originate in some predilection on the part of Guō Xiàng for one combination rather than the other, based on his subjective feeling of euphony.

Also interesting, I think, is the fact that 乎 in all 12 cases follows immediately upon a verb (which is then intransitive), while 於 may be preceded by a verb or a TV-O phrase. Moreover, 於 is employed in the two cases where a CV-O phrase acts as head of an adjunct, (the adjunct being in both cases 其), cf. 2 B 6 and 11 A 8.

Direction.

LAC zì 自 and yóu 由, 'from', are said to be consistently replaced by cóng 從 in the Zhào Qí commentary investigated by Dobson.

Guō Xiàng is more conservative. He uses 自 as a coverb in the sense of 'from' four times. 從, 10 B 4, and 由, 10 A 3, 10 A 5, etc. are only employed as full verbs.

Summary,

regarding Dobson, chapter 3, the verb.

The texts of Zhào Qí and Guō Xiàng agree in having 不 and 無 as their most frequently occurring negatives. Also occurring are 未, 未嘗 (an expression described as "late" by Gabelentz), and 非.

These negatives seem to be used by Guō Xiàng in the same manner as the LAC authors: 不 = not (V); 無 = not have, not exist; 未 = not yet; 非 = not be (N).

Like Zhào Qí, Guō Xiàng does not use 弗 and 勿; nor the pattern Neg. + Pron. O + V, except in the set phrase 未之有也.

Most of the words said by Dobson to be commonly used in Late Han as markers of mood and aspect, do not occur at all, or occur only rarely, in the present Guō Xiàng material.

Passive and causative forms seem to be similar in the texts of Zhào Qí and Guō Xiàng. There are, however, divergencies regarding the coverbs employed by the two authors. In this respect Guō Xiàng is the more conservative, employing 乎, 於, and 自 instead of 在 and 從.

Agency.

LHC. Chapter 4, pp. 44–55.

Distributives.

It is characteristic of Late Han, Dobson states, that the LAC agential distributives huò 或 and mò 莫 are now obsolete; that jū 俱 is preferred to jiē 皆 and jiē 偕, and shéi 誰 to shú 孰; and that xián 咸, otherwise known mainly in EAC, is resuscitated.

In Guō Xiàng 1 by far the most common distributives are gè 各 (occurring 19 times) and jiē 皆 (11 times). In addition, huò 或, jū 俱, jūn 均, shú 孰, and dú 獨 occur, but they do so only once or twice. Shéi 誰, xián 咸, and mò 莫 do not occur.

Gè 各.

The frequent use of this distributive is no doubt due to the subject matter of the text, Guō Xiàng's main theme—that everyone has his own specific nature, destiny, and perfection—being variously propounded and illustrated throughout the chapter.

In all the present 19 cases, 各 refers to the subject and precedes a verbal predicate. Cf. 5 A 2 物各有性性各有極. Each thing has its own nature, each nature its own limits.

Jiē 皆.

While this distributive is restricted to the agential position in LAC, it may sometimes refer to post-verbal elements in Late Han, according to Dobson.

Among the 11 instances of 皆 in Guō Xiàng 1, one refers to a post-verbal element, in this case to an object: 1 B 2 自不害其弘皆皆可略之. In so far as it does not impair the main argument, one may pass over these things lightly.

皆 may occur before a nominal as well as a verbal predicate. Cf. 1 B 2 above and 8 B 6 凡此皆自然之所能... These are all things of which they are spontaneously capable...

Huò 或, jū 俱, jūn 均, shú 孰, and dú 獨.

These only occur once or twice. 或, in 7 A 5 或翱翔天地或舉志榆枋. One flew to the Lake of Heaven, the other aspired no further than the elms and sapanwood trees.

俱, in 12 B 2 俱食五穀. All eat the five grains. According to Graham, this distributive only occurs before verbal predicates in pre-Han texts, and the present, much younger Guō Xiàng example is no exception to the rule.

均, in 4 B 8 and 17 B 1... 則利害之理均用... Then the principles of benefit and harm are both applied. The word further occurs as a SV in 5 A 6, and as part of the expression 均之, 'making it equal, in both cases' in 11 A 4.

孰, in 13 B 5, a quotation from Zhuāng Zǐ: 孰弊弊焉勞神苦思... Why should he laboriously exerting his spirit and embittering his thoughts...

獨, in 11 A 4... 堯獨有之... Yáo alone possesses it... It is found also in 10 B 6, 12 B 2, and 15 A 1; in these cases, however, I have with some hesitation chosen to treat 獨 as a SV, 'to be alone, unique'.

Mò 莫.

莫 does not occur, and this is, in a way, surprising. One would think that Guō Xiàng, who has been seen to be constantly talking of all and everyone, would also occasionally think of no one or nothing.

One reason for this may be that the frequent use of 'all' and 'everyone' in itself sometimes renders a word for 'nobody' superfluous; cf. 7 A 6, and 7 A 7 ... 各安其天性不怨所以異 ... Everyone can be in harmony with the nature given him by heaven and is not sorry about that wherein he differs.

Another reason is that the concept of nobody and nothing may, of course, be expressed by other means than by using a distributive. From his material Dobson quotes the following gloss: 或者也。莫無也。 Thus, he says, 或 in his text is replaced by 有, as in 有人.

In the present Guō Xiàng chapter there are examples such as 5 A 3 ... 各信其一方未有足以相傾者也 ... Everyone believes in his own particular sphere and nobody so far has been able to get the better of another on this basis. A similar rendering occurs in 9 B 2. Also, 13 B 4 ... 無物不然 ... There will be nothing of which he does not approve. In these sentences, 有 and 無 are, of course, verbs, not distributives. Their occurrence in patterns such as these is common already in pre-Han times. Cf. Mencius 1 A 7, 2 仲尼之徒無道桓文之事者. There were none of the disciples of Chung-ne who spoke about the affairs of Huan and Wǎn. (Legge). Mò Zǐ 50, 31, 22 有神入門而立. There was a spirit which entered the door and stood on the left. (Graham).

Reciprocity.

In LAC, reciprocity is expressed by xiāng 相 and jiāo 交. In Late Han, 交 is obsolescent, and 相 is used not only for 'each other, mutually', but also "parasitically" for 'them, others', Dobson observes.

交 does not occur in my material. 相 is used three times, in 5 B 5 and 5 B 6 in the sense of 'each other'. However, consider 5 A 3 ... 未有足以相傾者也. No one/none so far has/have been able to get the better of another/each other on this basis.

In her paper on the semantic and grammatical functions of 相, Zdenka Novotná says that it appears as a marker of one-sided action in texts from the Han period, although examples can be sporadically found even earlier; and that the transition of meaning, from many-sidedness ('mutually', an action in which all the subjects take part both as agents and recipients) to one-

sidedness (the action of an individual or a group towards 'others'), is motivated by verbs of seeing, parting, and competing, i.e. verbs like those in the examples given above. In 5 A 3, depending on whether one chooses to regard the unexpressed agent(s) of 相 as singular or plural, one may accordingly consider 相 to be a marker of one-sided or reciprocal action.

The reflexive.

1) Zì 自.

Dobson remarks that in Late Han 自 is often part of compounds such as 躬自, 自身, 己自, 自己, etc.

Guō Xiàng uses 自 34 times in his first chapter alone, but no compounds like those mentioned by Dobson are to be found there. 自 is used as an adverb preceding verbs, for instance: 2 A 2 自生, to produce oneself. 7 A 5 自盡, to exhaust oneself. 8 B 6 自能, to be capable by oneself. 10 B 5 天之自高, heaven's being high of itself. 4 A 6 自貴於小鳥, to consider oneself more valuable than the small bird.

2) Jǐ 己.

The pronoun 己 is used with much greater frequency in Late Han than in LAC, according to Dobson. In Guō Xiàng 1 it occurs four times. Whether this is more or less often than in LAC is impossible to say. Cf. 8 A 2 榮己. He held himself to be glorious. 9 B 1 無己. He is without self. Also, 10 B 4 and 14 A 3.

Summary,

regarding Dobson, chapter 4, agency.

Neither Zhào Qí nor Guō Xiàng use 莫; but while Zhào Qí prefers 俱 to 皆, Guō Xiàng still has 皆 as his most frequently used distributive for 'all, in all cases'. 咸, which according to Dobson came into fashion in Late Han, does not occur in Guō Xiàng 1.

In both texts, reciprocity is expressed by 相, not by 交. In both, 相 seems occasionally to mean 'others'.

Guō Xiàng marks the reflexive by 自 or 己 only, while Zhào Qí favours compounds such as 自己, 自身, 己身.

The verbal sentence.

LHC. Chapter 5, pp. 56-70.

Among the principal differences between Late Han and LAC usage Dobson mentions a greater complexity of sentence structure and a greater variety of conjunctive devices in the former. Unfortunately, however, he provides no frequency lists or concordances, on which basis precise comparisons could be undertaken. In the absence of such comprehensive material, Dobson illustrates his views by means of a quotation from Mencius, followed by Zhào Qí's paraphrase of the same passage. The difference between the two versions is certainly spectacular. It is characterized by Dobson as being not merely one of style, between Mencius's "range of emphases" and Zhào Qí's effect of "smooth transition", but as a difference originating in fundamental changes in the language. The entire repertory of grammatical particles displays symptoms of "blunting and loss of rôle", resulting in a shift of the grammatical burden borne by the "empty words" in LAC, to the "full words" in Late Han.

Er 而.

In LAC, Dobson observes, 而 is one of the particles of greatest frequency and the use of the 而 clause is a typical characteristic of the LAC language. In Late Han, by contrast, the rôle of 而 is almost exclusively conjunctive, usually adversative in some sense. 而 has lost much of its precision of rôle and is frequently disregarded or replaced by conjunctions such as yǐ 以, rú 如, zé 則, shì yì 是亦. From this description one might imagine there to be fewer 而 and more 則 in a Late Han text than in one from LAC. As may be seen from my frequency list, page 394, this is not the case at least when comparing Guō Xiàng's text to that of Mencius. In Guō Xiàng 1, 而 as well as 則, 如, etc., occur with greater frequencies than in the work of Mencius.

Dobson further says that in Late Han 而 sometimes occurs parasitically, for instance after an instrumental clause. In Guō Xiàng 1 以... 而 occurs twice, in very similar contexts. In both instances 以 occurs in connection with 不能, and this 不能以 again is in both cases preceded by a concession. In both sentences, the re-

ference of 以 is, I think, to the concession, not to the phrase following 以: 8 A 8 苟有待焉則雖御風而行不能以一時而周也。

While yet dependent on something, then although he travelled by riding the wind, he still could not return within an hour by means of it. 9 A 1 苟有待焉則雖列子輕妙猶不能以無風而行。

While depending on something, in spite of his miraculous lightness, Liè Zǐ could not have travelled in space by means of it, had there been no wind. Compare 10 A 1, in which 以 governs a following constituent, forming an instrumental CV – O phrase: 故堯以不治治之... Therefore, Yáo governs it by not governing... Similar instances occur in 10 B 5, 10 B 7, 12 A 1, and 13 B 5. As will be seen, these instrumental phrases are not followed by 而。

In all, 而 occurs 87 times in Guō Xiàng 1, every time with much precision and full grammatical value, as far as I can see. As in LAC, it connects verbal elements, generally but not necessarily subordinating the first verbal constituent to the succeeding one: 9 A 2 唯 V 者為能無待而常通. Only he who..., is able in full independence always to move freely / ... is able to be independent and always move freely.

As in LAC, 而 occurs between constituents of a subordinate clause more often than between those of a main clause. Compare the following two examples: 13 B 3 ... 無物不然 ... There will be nothing of which he does not approve. 12 B 6 苟無物而不順 ... When there is nothing that he does not follow ...

Even in LAC there are exceptions to the rule mentioned above, that 而 connects verbal elements. Occasionally, elements preceding 而 are nominal, but generally they may be so only in certain patterns and only in clauses other than the main clause, (cf. Graham, Basic Problems pp. 212–5).

In Guō Xiàng 1, however, there is a strange example of 而 occurring between N and V in an independent sentence, 10 B 6: 此故俗中之一物而為堯之外臣耳. For this reason, though unique among the ordinary people, they are only Yáo's outer servants. Here, the function of 而 must be to characterize 俗中之一物 not simply as a noun phrase 'unique things among the ordinary people', but as the second member of an A B 也 construction, 'being unique things among the ordinary people'. Presumably it adds a tone of concession: Granted that ..., still ...

I know of very few examples like the sentence in 10 B 6 above. One is quoted by Gabelentz, § 622, from Zhuāng Zǐ, juàn 3, chapter 6: 知天之所爲者天而生也。Wer weiss, was der Himmel thut, lebt wie der Himmel. (The latter 天 is glossed as 自然 'so of itself' by Guō Xiàng; literally I suppose it means 'being heaven, being nature').

Two examples of N 而 V are adduced by Mullie, pp. 392-4, in connection with "la proposition concessive". One, Zuǒ zhuàn, Xuān 12, 3 (Couvreur I, p. 622) is in all probability not an independent sentence, but indirect speech. The other, Liè Zǐ II, 5 v (SBCK), seems to be truly independent, however: 天地之大, 萬物之多, 而唯蜩翼之知。Quoique le ciel et la terre soient grands et que la multitude des êtres soit nombreuse, (...) pourtant c'est l'aile de la cigale seule que je connais. The book of Liè Zǐ was probably written as late as AD 300, i.e. in Guō Xiàng's time. Also from post-LAC texts are a few more examples of N 而 V adduced in Gabelentz § 622. Thus it may be that the use of 而 is in this respect less restricted in later times than it was in LAC.

Conjunctions.

In Late Han, writes Dobson, "sentences are greatly expanded and their interrelationships are more complex. These relationships are marked, not by resuming pronouns and demonstratives, but by conjunctions", (LHC, p. 70).

Below, I have made a comparison of the frequencies with which words that may act as conjunctions occur in the texts of Mencius and Guō Xiàng. None of these words invariably act as conjunctions, however. 雖, 又, 而, 則, and 乃 usually do so; 如, 若, 苟, and 然 in addition often occur as verbs, 故 as a substantive, 斯 as a demonstrative, 亦, 且, 既 as adverbs. 以 is a coverb but may be treated as a conjunction when occurring between verbal units. For both texts, the figures below must be considered with this margin of error in mind.

It will be seen from the table that Guō Xiàng makes greater use of words which may occur as conjunctions than Mencius. Still, he does not load his sentences with them in the manner characteristic of many prose-writers of the Six Dynasties down into Tang

times. (Cf. Yoshikawa Kōjirō's article on *Shì shuō xīn yǔ* 世說新語, a collection of anecdotes from the first half of the 5th century).

Conjunctions in Mencius and Guo Xiang 1.

Figures for Mencius are quoted from Kennedy (Word-classes, p. 327). A total of 35,375 characters is used in this text, while Guō Xiàng 1 has only 2,666. Figures for Mencius have therefore been divided by 13, to make them comparable to those for Guō Xiàng 1.

	Mencius		GX					
	total	1/13						
而	769	59	87					
以	632	49	54					
則	422	32	35					
然	187	14	33					
故	119	9	40					
如	151	12	2	} Mencius	280	22		
若	107	8	12					
苟	22	2	11					
亦	110	8	11					
猶	60	5	4					
雖	52	4	15					
斯	50	4	10					
又	34	3	5					
乃	33	2	7					
且	32	2	0					
既	29	2	3					
遂	?		1					
因	?		1					
				GX		25		

Conjunctions appearing with greater frequencies in Guō Xiàng 1 than in Mencius are especially 而, 故, and 雖. It is natural that such words should occur in quite large numbers in an argumentative text such as the present one. 斯 and 然 too are employed more often than in Mencius. The former, however, is in most cases the demonstrative; and the increased use of the latter is no doubt due to the fact that Guō Xiàng concerns himself far more with 自然, 'nature, spontaneity', than Mencius. Of his 33 然, 7 are conjunctions (然, 然則, 然後); 7 are suffixes (兀然, 冷然, etc.); and 19 are stative verbs (然, 6 times, and 自然, 13 times). Guō Xiàng does not employ 且 at all; this is the more remarkable since Zhuāng Zǐ uses the word six times in his first chapter.

It is obvious that the greater use of conjunctions makes for a more fluent style, for the formation of longer, more complex sentences without loss of clarity. The very first sentence of Guō Xiàng 1 is an illustration of this: 夫小大雖殊而放於自得之場則物任其性事稱其能各當其分逍遙一也. Although the small and the large are different, yet if they are released where they are content, then all things follow their nature, their tasks correspond to their ability, each is suited to his lot in life, and in being free and happy they are alike.

The structure of the sentence is shown explicitly by means of the conjunctions suí 雖 'although', ér 而 'yet', and zé 則 'then'; and by the parallelism of the three 4-character clauses following 則.

Anaphoric pronouns, allegro forms.

It is Dobson's opinion that Zhào Qí constantly misunderstands yán 焉 and zhū 諸 when meeting them in the text of Mencius.

焉 is interpreted as an emphatic final particle or as a suffix like rán 然, and 諸 is read and used for zhī 之.

Guō Xiàng does not use 諸 at all in his first chapter. 焉 he employs four times. In one case, 13 B 5, where it seems to act as a suffix, he is quoting Zhuāng Zǐ; in the three remaining cases, 焉 is used "correctly", in the pattern 有 X 焉: 8 A 8 and 8 B 8, both 苟有待焉 ... While depending on something ... Also, 14 A 6.

Guō Xiàng seems to use 焉 sparingly. The text of Mencius has

a total of 140 焉, i.e. an average of 11 in a section comparable in size to Guō Xiàng 1.

Final particles.

Dobson states: "In LAC such particles are used with precision and predictability. In Late Han they lose this precision.—Late Han seems to prefer yé 耶 for marking the interrogative, ěr 耳 for marking heightened emotion; and uses a new form of interrogative, final bù 不 and fǒu 否".

To start with the last statement above, there is no instance of final 不 or 否 in disjunctive questions of the type 'V or not' in the present Guō Xiàng material.

The final particles here found are yě 也 (73 times), yǐ 矣 (21 times), ěr 耳 (21 times), zāi 哉 (20 times), hū 乎 (6 times), yé 耶 (3 times), and ér yǐ 而已 (3 times).

Yě 也.

In Guō Xiàng 1, this particle is used only at the end of a sentence, not, as is common for instance in Zhuāng Zǐ, after subjects or sentence adjuncts. Cf. Zhuāng 13 B 8 之 尺 也 物 莫 之 傷. This man, nothing in the world can harm him.

Guō Xiàng employs 也 in the following patterns:

1) A B 也. (42 times).

A and B may be nominal or verbal. They are nominal in, for instance, 4 A 1 此 大 鵬 之 逍 遙 也. This is the freedom and happiness of the great Páng.

Verbal A occurs in 9 A 3 故 有 待 無 待 吾 所 不 能 齊 也. Therefore, dependence and independence are things which I cannot equate. Further examples are 8 B 6, 9 A 3, 10 A 1, 16 B 4.

Verbal B occurs in 2 B 1 此 皆 不 得 不 然 非 樂 然 也. All this is a matter of his not being able to be otherwise, not that he likes to be so. Cf. also 8 B 2 and 10 B 7. In five cases, B is yī 一, 'one, the same', i.e. in 1 A 4, 2 B 6, 3 B 1, 4 A 6, and 11 A 8. E.g.: 3 B 1... 其 濟 一 也... Their contributions are equal. There is no instance of 一 occurring in this position without being followed by 也. Pre-

sumably 不 is verbal, being used as a verb and negated by 不 in 14 B 6.

A and B are both verbal in 5 A 1 自然耳不爲也. Simply to be so intrinsically means not to take action.

也 may be omitted from the AB 也 pattern, as in 5 A 1 此逍遙之大意. This is the leading idea of freedom and happiness. Cf. also 10 A 4 and 14 B 4. When 非 B functions as an adjunct clause, 'not being B, then ...', no 也 occurs after B. Cf. 2 A 2, 5 B 7, 7 A 7, 8 B 2, 10 B 6, 12 B 2. On the other hand, where 非 B is the predicate of a main clause, it is concluded by 也 in all cases: 2 B 1, 4 A 1, 8 B 1, 8 B 6, 10 A 1, 14 A 3, 14 A 6, 15 A 1, 16 B 4.

2) 未 V 也. (9 times).

Whenever wèi 未, 'not yet', occurs in a simple, declarative sentence or in the main clause of a complex one, the sentence is concluded by 也. E.g.: 8 A 5 未能無所不可也. He was not yet able to find everything acceptable. In one case, 3 A 3, where 未 occurs in a question, the final particle is 耶. Three times 未 negates the verb of an adjunct clause; the main clauses are in all three instances introduced by gù 故, 'therefore': 5 B 7, 7 B 6, and 9 B 2.

3) In connection with verbs that govern S-P or S 之 P phrase objects. (5 times).

也 after S-P objects: 14 B 8 因謂與物同波者失其所以逍遙也. Therefore they say that he who shares the wave-motion of (the ten thousand) things loses his chances of freedom and happiness. Cf. also 5 B 6 and 10 B 4. 也 is not indispensable, however; cf. 2 A 2 and 13 A 8.

也 after S 之 P objects: 5 B 5 ... 若此之懸也 ... Is true to the same extent as that these things are far apart. Also, 7 B 4. In three cases 也 is absent after an S 之 P object: 3 A 5, 10 B 5, and 14 B 7.

4) 謂 X 也 (X indicating what is referred to, not what is said).
足 V 也. 可 V 也 (passive V).

Guō Xiàng 1 contains one instance of 謂 X 也, 4 B 8 二蟲謂鵬

蜩也. "The two creatures" refers to the Pénɡ and the cicada. 足 V 也 and 可 V 也 are common in most pre-Han texts, according to Graham (Mohist Grammar, p. 136). The former occurs in 14 B 7 ... 未足怪也... Is not surprising. But since 未 anyhow seems to demand a final 也, no information can be obtained from the sentence as to the behaviour of 足 V in this respect. Guō Xiàng does not employ 可 V 也 in his first chapter; on the contrary, in 5 B 5 he says: ... 亦可悲矣 ... (This) indeed is sorrowful.

5) Of the 73 instances of 也 in Guō Xiàng 1, 16 now remain to be explained.

It is not unlikely that if more material was at hand than in the present analysis, one would find that some of these 也 also belonged to certain patterns, and thus occurred in a perfectly predictable and reasonable manner. As it is, parallel examples are too few to indicate the degree of regularity, if any, with which 也 appears in sentences like the following: 7 A 5 各以得性為至自盡為極也. Everyone considers the attainment of his own nature to be perfection, the exhaustion of his own possibilities to be the (proper) limit. 8 A 3 足於身故閑於世也. He was self-sufficient, therefore he was free of care in relation to the world. 14 A 1 傷不能傷而物亦不傷之也. Since harm cannot harm him, things cannot harm him either.

Dobson says of the final particles in Late Han that they are employed "with an abandon ... that can only be described as chaotic". As shown above, this statement is simply not true as far as Guō Xiàng is concerned. The manner in which they are used may, and indeed should be expected to have changed in the long period from LAC to the close of the Han dynasty. But if so, Dobson's treatment does not provide adequate data on which a comparison and demonstration of such differences of usage could be based.

In his grammar of the Mohist dialectical chapters, pp. 129–38, Graham describes the manner in which 也 occurs in this rather late, pre-Han text. Comparing it with Guō Xiàng's use of 也, there seems to be one major difference. In the dialectical chapters, 也 generally, although not invariably follows an N 之 V phrase wherever it stands in the sentence; at the beginning of a sentence, a

contrastive 也 may occur after a timeword or proper name; and 也 always follows a subject to which shì 是 'the said' is adjunct. This contrasts strongly with the manner in which 也 occurs in Guō Xiàng 1; here the particle is used only at the end of sentences. Thus, there are many instances of N 之 V occurring as subjects or in adjunct clauses (5 A 3, 5 A 5, 5 A 6, 8 B 5, 8 B 5, 8 B 6, 8 B 6, 8 B 8, 11 A 4, 13 A 4, 14 A 3, 14 B 4), but they are never followed by 也. As to the contrastive 也 and 是 S 也, the present material is too small to show whether these are really foreign to Guō Xiàng's language or style. They do not occur in his first chapter.

Finally, one might compare Guō Xiàng's use of 也 and 矣, hoping to find him indulging in at least a few bouts of chaotic abandon in this field. The particles in question have been very well characterized by Shadick, p. 846: "The meanings expressed by constructions marked by 也 are always concerned with judgments, opinions and attitudes regarding facts, never with the succession of events in time. In this it contrasts with the other common final particle 矣, which is always concerned with the completion of an action or of a change in a situation".

This contrast between 也 and 矣 is beautifully exemplified by Guō Xiàng; compare for instance: 4 B 5 故其翼彌大則積氣彌厚也. Therefore, the larger its wings are, the deeper the winds are piled up. 9 B 3 故理至則迹滅矣. Thus, when the pattern is perfect, traces are extinguished.

Yī 矣.

The particle 矣 usually concludes verbal expressions, indicating that some result has been attained. This is also how it is used in the present section of Guō Xiàng's commentary, in which it occurs 21 times.

One sentence has been a problem to me, 10 A 3: 新矣之遠矣. Had it not been for the presence of 矣, I should have translated it: This is an extreme degree of misunderstanding. Because of 矣, however, 矣之 must be verbal, a V-O phrase, and 遠 a complement of the kind which Shadick calls second predicates: Then they have missed the point by far.

Guō Xiàng's use of 矣 contrasts with common practice of earlier times in one instance, 5 B 5: ... 亦可悲矣 ... (This) indeed is

sorrowful. In pre-Han texts the phrase 司 + passive V is generally followed by 也.

Ėr 耳.

Guō Xiàng makes relatively frequent use of 耳, like 矣 it occurs 21 times. With the exception of 5 A 1 自然耳不爲也. Simply to be so intrinsically means not to take action;—in which 自然耳 is a repetition of the last few words of the preceding sentence and thus a quoted form, 耳 is always used at the end of a sentence. It may follow nominal as well as verbal predicates; in the former case, 也 is dropped and A B 也 replaced by A B 耳: 2 B 8 此皆鵬之所憑以飛者耳. These are the things upon which the Péng depends in order to fly, simply.

Yé 耶.

Dobson informs us that "Late Han seems to prefer 耶 for marking the interrogative". In Guō Xiàng 1, however, it appears only 3 times. It concludes sentences which, had they been declarative, might have been concluded by 也: 10 B 3 何以言其然耶. How do I explain that this is so? (Verb governing an S 之 P object). 3 A 3 ... 竟未知便是天之正色耶天之爲遠而無極耶 ... We know not actually whether it is the real colour of the sky or whether it is a matter of its being far away and limitless. (The main verb is negated by 未; and the object of 知 is two parallel (S) – P phrases).

Hū 乎.

Occurs 6 times: twice as a question particle following a verbal predicate, in 10 B 4 and 13 B 5; twice in each of the exclamatory patterns 又何所 V 乎哉 (5 B 6, 11 A 8) and 况 N 乎 (9 A 1, 9 A 4).

Zāi 哉.

Is employed no less than 20 times. 12 times it occurs in connection with qǐ 豈, and 4 times in connection with yòu 又, in the patterns 又何(所) V(乎) 哉 and 又將惡乎 V 哉. With yì hé 亦何, zé hé 則何, kuàng 况 and xī 奚 it occurs once. E.g.: 11 B 7 世豈識之哉. How would ordinary people know this! 5 A 2

豈踴尚之所及哉. How could they be things that one could measure up to by striving and wishing! 11 A 8 各得其實又何所爲乎哉. When everyone attains his reality, what reason is there then for action!

Ēr yǐ 而已.

Appears 3 times, in one case followed by 矣 (11 A 8), and in the remaining two by 哉 (9 A 2 and 14 A 6). Like its allegro form, ěr 耳, 而已 may occur after nominal as well as verbal predicates: 14 A 6 夫堯舜者豈直堯舜而已哉. How could Yáo and Shùn have been just Yáo and Shùn and no more!

Summary,

regarding Dobson, chapter 5, the verbal sentence.

Examining the summary presented by Dobson on page 69 of what he regards as characteristic changes within what he considers to be verbal sentences, one finds that Late Han avoids 而 and prefers 既 for subordination; that instrumental adjunct phrases with 以 become 以... 而; and that the distinction between 也 and 矣 is blunted. Further characteristics mentioned in this chapter are that 耶 is preferred for marking the interrogative and that 焉 is interpreted as a suffix or as an emphatic final particle.

None of this is true of Guō Xiàng 1. 而 and 以 are here employed according to rules current already in LAC times, (regarding one possible exception, cf. p. 392). Neither 耶 nor 乎 "is preferred" as the interrogative final particle; 乎 is used after verbal predicates, 耶 where the corresponding declarative sentence might have been concluded by 也. 焉 is used less frequently than for instance in Mencius, but it still has the value of 於 + pronoun. With regard to 也 and 矣, it is not possible from Dobson's works to ascertain whether there have been changes in usage of these particles during the centuries from LAC to Late Han. A comparison between Guō Xiàng and Graham's Mohists shows that in these two texts at least 也 is in some cases used according to differing rules. But that a distinction between 也 and 矣 is maintained by Guō Xiàng as well as by the Mohists is beyond doubt.

Guō Xiàng's text, however, shows Dobson to be correct when he says that 諸 and the final particles 與 and 夫 are now obsolete; that conjunctions are used more extensively than earlier, and that sentences generally are longer than in LAC.

The determinative sentence.

LHC. Chapter 6, pp. 71–74.

This very short chapter is mainly a discussion of the copulae used in Late Han. As in his work on LAC, Dobson apparently classifies as a copula any word that may occur between the determinative and the determinant term, the class thus being a medley of equational verbs (fēi 非 'is not', wéi 為 'is', rú 如 'is like', etc.), predicate adjuncts (dàn 但 'is merely'), and conjunctions (jí 即 'is in fact'). Among the principal changes in Late Han from LAC usage mentioned are the establishment of shì 是 as a copula in free and non-contrastive usage, and the introduction of 但 as a copula and of yuán 緣 'because of' as a causal particle.

In Guō Xiàng 1, 是 is used as a copula three times, following the conjunctions biàn 便 and jí 即, both 'then'. The view that 便是 and 即是 belong to the post-classical language is supported by Gabelentz, § 486. E.g.: 8 B 7 御六氣之辯者即是遊變化之塗也. To ride the regulation of the six breaths is to roam on the roads of change and transformation. Also, 3 A 3.

但 as a "copula" and 緣 'because of', according to Dobson both characteristic of Late Han, do not occur in Guō Xiàng 1.

Conjunctions.

LHC. Chapter 7, pp. 75–86.

Regarding the usage of conjunctions in Late Han, Dobson includes the following as characteristic:

Yòu 又 'and too, also, as well', yì 亦 'also, after all', and qiě 且 'moreover' continue in use; fù 復 'also, in addition', however, encroaches upon the rôle of 又.

Gǒu 苟 and xìn 信, both 'if indeed, if in fact', disappear; they are replaced by chéng 誠 'really, if really'.

Tǎng 儻 'provided that' is introduced as an innovation to indicate required condition.

Sī 斯 'then' is obsolescent; jiù 就 'then' appears.

Yóu 猶 'even so, nevertheless' is obsolescent, assimilated into shàng 尚.

Zì 自 'even if, even though' occurs as an innovation for conditioned concession.

Compounds such as rú shǐ 如使, jiǎ shǐ 假使, 'if'; zé sī 則斯, sī zé 斯則, ruò zé 若則, 'then'; and yòu fù 又復, qiě fù 且復, 'furthermore', are common.

The above does not correspond at all well with the present Guō Xiàng material.

Here occur no compounds like those mentioned by Dobson; moreover, old-fashioned and even "obsolescent" forms such as 又, 苟, 斯, and 猶 occur quite regularly, while conjunctions said to be typical of Late Han, for instance 復, 誠, 就, 尚, and 儻 are totally absent. 自 is used as a conjunction once, 1 B 2, but in the sense of 'if, provided that', not of 'even if'. And 且, common in Zhào Qí's language as well as in LAC, does not occur.

Dobson concludes: "The conjunctions thus increase in variety, tend towards compounding, and enjoy far greater frequency of occurrence". Only the last part of this statement is valid for Guō Xiàng 1. The frequency with which conjunctions occur in his first chapter was shown on page 394 of the present paper.

Substitution.

LHC. Chapter 8, pp. 87-96.

Miscellaneous.

LHC. Chapter 9, pp. 97-100.

I have very few comments regarding these two chapters. Much, especially in chapter 8, has already been dealt with by Dobson earlier in his book; otherwise the discussion is concerned with words or constructions not occurring in Guō Xiàng 1.

Interrogative substitutes are treated on pp. 89-96. They are said to "share in the common shift away from specialized forms towards all-purpose forms, and in the tendency for the all-

purpose forms to combine in compound forms". Thus, yān 焉, wū 惡, and wū hū 惡乎 are assimilated into ān 安, and xī 奚 is replaced by hé 何.

In the present Guō Xiàng section 安, 惡乎, and 奚 each occur once: 16 B 6 ... 安往而不逍遙也 ... One may go anywhere in freedom and happiness; lit.: where shall one go and not be free and happy? 8 B 8 所遇斯來又將惡乎待哉. Mounting anything one meets, on what will one depend? 15 A 1 奚足從語至極而遊無窮哉. How should they be able to speak of the extreme limits or roam in the boundless!

何 is used seven times, in five of these cases in rhetorical questions concluded by zāi 哉. Two interrogatives, níng 寧 'could?' and céng 曾 'why', are mentioned by Dobson as innovations in Late Han, but do not occur in Guō Xiàng 1.

Conclusion.

Part I.

The preceding comparison of (Dobson's analysis of) Zhào Qí and (my interpretation of) Guō Xiàng has brought to light cases of accordance as well as of divergence.

Common features are: an increase in the use of conjunctions, consequently making for longer sentences and more complex sentence structures than in LAC. The absence of certain words which were presumably considered old-fashioned, for instance the negatives 弗 and 勿, the final particles 與 and 夫, the allegro form 語, and the distributive 莫. The employment of the pattern Neg. + TV + Pron. O instead of the old pattern Neg. + Pron. O + TV, except in the set phrase 未之有也.

Dissimilarities exist regarding the coverbs, distributives, and conjunctions used by the two authors. Guō Xiàng in this respect is more conservative than Zhào Qí. Comparing their use of compounds, one finds Guō Xiàng to be the more conservative also; he employs 自 and 己, not 自身, 自己, etc.; 又 and 若, not 又復, 若使, etc.

In Dobson's work much is said of the lack of precision, predictability, and meaning with which the grammatical words are used in Late Han. They occur "in blunted or broadened senses",

they are weakened, compounded, encroached upon, and assimilated. In his conclusion, LHC p. 102, Dobson says: "We might say that the traditional characterization of the grammatical auxiliaries of Chinese as "empty words" in Archaic Chinese is a misnomer, but that once the Archaic-Han Shift takes place, the characterization becomes appropriate". I have insufficient material to be able to confirm or repudiate this sweeping statement. All I can say is that in Guō Xiàng 1, at least, the "empty words" appear to be used in a thoroughly efficient and consistent manner.

Guō Xiàng, as stated above, is more conservative in his choice of grammatical auxiliaries than Zhào Qí—in actual fact most of the expressions mentioned by Dobson as new and typical of Late Han do not occur in the present section of his work.

Is this to say that Guō Xiàng's language is an archaism, deliberately embellished with poorly understood, antiquated words and forced into venerable, but long-dead phrase and sentence patterns?

If so, at least it is not Zhuāng Zǐ who has been his model. It is very far from his short, pithy sentences: 北冥有魚。其名為鯢。鯢之大不知其幾千里也。化而為鳥。其名為鵬, to Guō Xiàng's opening sentence in 1 A 3: 夫小大雖殊 etc. Here the reader only has a chance to catch his breath after reading the first 29 characters!

Another linguistic feature characteristic of Zhuāng Zǐ, the exposed subject followed by 也, is never imitated by Guō Xiàng. Not once does he give in to temptation and say: 之人也, 之德也, 'this man, this virtue', even if he shows great enthusiasm for both.

Guō Xiàng rarely quotes Zhuāng Zǐ, and when it happens, he seems to replace words which do not belong to his own language by more current forms. E.g.: Zhuāng 8 B 4 彼且惡乎待哉. In Guō Xiàng 8 B 8 this becomes 又將惡乎待哉, with 將 replacing 且.

Obviously, what is encountered in Guō Xiàng 1 is a literary language, not the unpremeditated vernacular. It is characterized by parallelisms, antitheses, and rhetorical questions. Still, the reader is nowhere in doubt that to Guō Xiàng the message is far

more important than its medium, and that he does his best to present his arguments clearly. Where Zhuāng Zǐ was the inspired poet, Guō Xiàng is the equally inspired teacher. Any mystification of his style by means of artificial loans from the ancient language would be contrary to his aims.

Below I have listed the occurrences of a number of grammatical auxiliaries in Zhuāng Zǐ, *Lùn héng* 論衡 (by Wáng Chōng 王充, AD 27-97(?)), *Fǎ yán* 法言 (by Yáng Xióng 楊雄, 53 BC-AD 18), and Guō Xiàng 1.

Figures relating to the first three works are quoted from Karlgren, *Excursions in Chinese Grammar*, p. 133.

Karlgren explains that 0 denotes either the total absence of an auxiliary or its occurrence in only a very few, sporadic cases which should be discounted; that 1 indicates a very sparing use of the auxiliary, barely sufficient to warrant its being acknowledged as an allowed element in the language of the text; and that 2 indicates a regular, though not necessarily frequent use as well as a very high frequency of occurrence. I have attempted to characterize the various auxiliaries appearing in Guō Xiàng 1 according to Karlgren's principles. Further, in the column to the extreme right I have listed the exact number of occurrences of the words employed by Guō Xiàng.

It will be seen that there is most congruence between Guō Xiàng 1 and *Lùn héng*, these two texts having 17 features in common. Generally, however, points of agreement between Guō Xiàng and the other three texts are most frequent when it is a matter of absence of the auxiliaries in question. Considering the limited size of the present Guō Xiàng material, such negative evidence must, of course, be accepted with great caution: that a certain word does not occur in Guō Xiàng 1 does not necessarily imply that it is unknown in the text as a whole.

With these reservations, the result of the comparison may still perhaps be considered to give some support to the following statement: Guō Xiàng does not, like Yáng Xióng, endeavour to imitate the style of the ancient sages. Rather, he may be said to express himself, like Wáng Chōng, in a form which, although it carries the stamp of literature, is still sufficiently unrestrained to serve him as a convenient and pliant tool.

A comparison of the occurrences of some grammatical
auxiliaries in

	Zhuāng	Lùn héng	Fǎ yán	Guō Xiàng	
弗	2	0	0	0	
勿	1	0	1 (0)	0	
--- 夫	1	0	1	0	
乎哉, etc.	2	0	2	1	3
耶 邪	2	2	1	2	3
與 歟	2	0	2	0	
--- 爾	0	0	1	0	
奚	2	0	2	1	1
胡	1	0	0	0	
曷	0	0	1	0	
焉?	0	0	2	0	
惡?	2	0	1	1	1
其, "modal"	2	0	2	0	
得 而	1	0	1	0	
乎 = 於	2	0	2	2	12
斯 = 此	0	2	1	2	10
斯 = 則	0	0	2	1	
茲	0	0	0	0	
A 之 謂 B	2	0	2	0	
也 者	2	0	2	0	
諸 = 之 乎	1	0	2	0	
NP 也	1	0	0	0	
在 上	0	2	0	0	
而 乃	0	1	0	0	
假 令	0	2	0	0	
耐	0	1	0	0	
--- 乎 --- 也	0	2	0	0	
	11	17	11		

Part II.

For various practical reasons I have confined my investigation to the first chapter of Guō Xiàng's commentary, and I have not hesitated to draw the conclusions which this limited material seemed to imply. That such conclusions are valid only for the material on which they are based is a matter of course. However, even a cursory inspection of other sections of Guō Xiàng's work shows this rather more dramatically than I had anticipated. Below are a few comparisons between Guō Xiàng's first and second chapters:

In his first chapter, Guō Xiàng employs 我 as subject and object, 吾 as adjunct, (in all cases followed by 所 V). Chapter 2 has three instances of 我之: 23 A 4, 30 A 3, and 32 B 5.

In chapter 1, 有 and 無 occur very frequently, but they are never combined, for instance into 無有, according to Dobson = 'there was not'. Chapter 2 shows the four possible combinations to actually exist: 26 A 3 此以無有爲有. This is to regard something which does not exist as existing. 33 B 5 有有. There is existence. 33 B 6 有無而未知無無也則... If there is non-existence and one does not yet understand that there is no non-existence, then... In 34 A 5 we find 有無 as co-ordinate terms: 又不知謂之有無. He also does not know whether his words exist or not.

With the exception of a single 方 and 復, none of the many words which Dobson considers aspectual markers appear in chapter 1. As he mentions 但 and 復 as being employed especially often in Zhào Qí's commentary, I have counted their occurrences in Guō Xiàng 2: I found only one 但, 24 A 3, but as many as 18 復! Thus 復 must be considered an extremely common word in Guō Xiàng's language, even if it does not appear to be so from his first chapter. On the other hand, 且, likewise said to be very frequently used in Late Han, only occurs once in Guō Xiàng 2, 21 A 7.

Regarding the distributives, Dobson says e.g. that 或 and 莫 are obsolescent in Late Han. Guō Xiàng 1 agrees with his statement as far as 莫 is concerned, it does not occur once in the chapter. Nevertheless, one easily finds at least 26 instances of it in chapter 2. Cf. 18 A 1 物莫不皆然. All things are so. Another distributive unknown in the first chapter of Guō Xiàng is 都 都 'in all cases';

Most frequently occurring words in Guo Xiang 1.

135	之	21	耳	12	若	8	順	6	風
87	而	21	矣	12	豈	8	實	6	殊
73	也	20	人	12	萬	8	謂	6	御
73	不	20	至	11	亦	7	乃	6	許
63	者	20	哉	11	皆	7	失	6	鳥
59	所	20	待	11	苟	7	地	6	稱
54	以	19	小	11	鵬	7	安	6	遠
52	無	19	乎	10	名	7	行	5	又
48	其	19	各	10	異	7	何	5	分
40	故	19	足	10	斯	7	妙	5	用
39	自	18	下	9	必	7	我	5	任
39	於	17	非	9	由	7	明	5	若
38	物	17	極	9	同	7	高	5	直
38	爲	15	未	9	事	7	遊	5	後
36	有	15	性	9	冥	7	傷	5	飛
35	則	15	知	9	神	7	窮	5	乘
34	大	15	治	8	子	7	翼	5	氣
33	然	15	雖	8	今	6	山	5	通
29	天	14	一	8	心	6	方	5	寄
29	夫	13	生	8	世	6	可	5	會
29	能	13	道	8	外	6	死	5	舜
28	此	13	遙	8	是	6	忘	5	嘗
25	堯	13	與	8	理	6	見	5	體
22	得	12	言	8	悲	6	往		

Guo Xiang 1. Number and frequency of words.

(It will be seen from the table that 50% of the text is made up of the same 34 characters, and that 218 words, of a vocabulary totalling 483, occur only once.)

	words	accum.	frequency	text	% of text	accum.	% of words
	218	483	1	218	8.2	100.0	45.2
	77	265	2	154	5.8	91.9	15.9
	38	188	3	114	4.3	86.1	7.9
The words in these columns are too numerous to be quoted	31	150	4	124	4.7	81.8	6.4
	15	119	5	75	2.8	77.1	3.1
	15	104	6	90	3.4	74.3	3.1
	14	89	7	98	3.7	70.9	2.9
	11	75	8	88	3.3	67.2	2.3
	6	64	9	54	2.0	63.9	1.2
	3	58	10	30	1.1	61.9	0.6
	4	55	11	44	1.7	60.8	0.8
名 斯 異	4	51	12	48	1.8	59.1	0.8
苟 皆 鵬 亦	4	47	13	52	2.0	57.3	0.8
豈 若 萬 言	1	43	14	14	0.5	55.3	0.2
生 逍 遙 興	5	42	15	75	2.8	54.8	1.0
一	2	37	17	34	1.3	52.0	0.4
雖 未 性 知 治	1	35	18	18	0.7	50.7	0.2
非 極	4	34	19	76	2.8	50.0	0.8
下	4	30	20	80	3.0	47.2	0.8
各 乎 小 足							
待 人 哉 至							

(Continued on next page.)

	words	accum.	frequency	text	% of text	accum.	% of words
耳 矣	2	26	21	42	1.6	44.2	0.4
得	1	24	22	22	0.8	42.6	0.2
堯	1	23	25	25	0.9	41.8	0.2
此	1	22	28	28	1.0	40.9	0.2
能 夫 天	3	21	29	87	3.3	39.9	0.6
然	1	18	33	33	1.2	36.6	0.2
大	1	17	34	34	1.3	35.4	0.2
則	1	16	35	35	1.3	34.1	0.2
有	1	15	36	36	1.3	32.8	0.2
爲 物	2	14	38	76	2.8	31.5	0.4
於 自	2	12	39	78	2.9	28.7	0.4
故	1	10	40	40	1.5	25.8	0.2
其	1	9	48	48	1.8	24.3	0.2
無	1	8	52	52	2.0	22.5	0.2
以	1	7	54	54	2.0	20.5	0.2
所	1	6	59	59	2.2	18.5	0.2
者	1	5	63	63	2.4	16.3	0.2
不 也	2	4	73	146	5.5	13.9	0.4
而	1	2	87	87	3.3	8.4	0.2
之	1		135	135	5.1		0.2
	483			2666	100.1		100.0

in chapter 2 it occurs five times, apparently referring to post-verbal elements: 18 B 7, 31 A 7, 34 A 1, 37 A 6, and 38 A 8.

In chapter 2 Guō Xiàng is further found to be freely using the old pattern Neg. + Pron. O + TV as well as the more modern Neg. + TV + Pron. O. Cf. 35 A 5 莫之能紀也. No one can sort it out. Similar examples occur in 40 A 4 and 42 A 8. Compare 45 A 4 莫能正之. No one can decide it. In chapter 1, the old pattern only occurs once, in the expression 未之有也.

So we have:

Chapter 1: 哉 and 吾; one 復; no 莫; no 都; Neg. + TV + Pron. O.

Chapter 2: 哉 and 哉之; 18 復; 26 莫; 5 都; Neg. + Pron. O + TV.

What can one do with such results? For the moment, nothing. Except to add that a description of a chapter is a description of that chapter, no more. It is not possible on the basis of a minor section of text to generalize about a more extensive one, especially not with regard to the absence of phenomena.

Works quoted in the sub-commentary.

The sub-commentary to Zhuāng Zǐ is edited by Lù Dé míng 陸德明, a scholar of the 7th century, also known as the author of the philological work Jīngdiǎn shìwén 經典釋文 in 30 juàn 卷. Among the commentaries and dictionaries which he quotes in connection with the first chapter of Zhuāng Zǐ are the following:

Cuī Zhuàn 崔譔: Zhuāng Zǐ zhù 莊子注, 10 juàn. Lost.

Dōngfāng Shuò 東方朔: Shí zhōu jì 十洲記. This work is frequently quoted by Lǐ Shàn 李善 in his commentary to Wén xuān 文選. Dōngfāng Shuò was born c. 160 BC.

Guō Pù 郭璞. AD 276–324. Editor of Ěr yǎ 爾雅 and Chǔ cí 楚辭; author of fù 賦 poetry.

Guō Xiàng 郭象: Zhuāng Zǐ zhù 莊子注, 33 juàn. Died AD 312.

Jī Kāng 嵇康. AD 223–262. Alchemist, poet, and musician.

Lǐ Yí 李頤: Zhuāng Zǐ jíjiě 莊子集解, 30 juàn. Lost.

Liáng Jiǎn Wén Dì 梁簡文帝: Zhuāng Zǐ jiǎngshù 莊子講疏, 10 juàn. Lost. Jiǎn Wén was Emperor of Liáng AD 550-551. Also known as a poet.

Liú Xiàng 劉向: Shì běn 世本, a study of the origins of implements, etc. Liú Xiàng lived 77-6 BC.

Máo Cháng 毛萇: Máo shī, Cǎo mù shù 毛詩, 草木疏. 2nd cent. BC.

Sīmǎ Biāo 司馬彪: Zhuāng Zǐ zhù 莊子注, 21 juàn. Lost. Sīmǎ Biāo lived AD 240-305.

Wáng Yì 王逸: Chǔ cí zhāng jù 楚辭章句. Eastern Hàn period.

Xiàng Xiù 向秀: Zhuāng Zǐ zhù 莊子注, 20 juàn. Xiàng Xiù lived in the first half of the 3rd century AD. His commentary as such is no longer extant but is considered to have formed the basis of Guō Xiàng's work.

Xú Mǒ 徐邈: Zhuāng Zǐ yīn 莊子音, 3 juàn. Lost.

Zhī Dùn 支遁: Xiāo yáo lùn 逍遙論. Jìn period.

Ēr yǎ 爾雅. A collection of glosses on words in the Classics, dating probably from late Zhōu times.

Shuō wén jiě zì 說文解字, By Xǔ Shèn 許慎. The first real dictionary of the Chinese language, completed AD 121.

Zì lín 字林, 7 juàn. By Lǚ Chén 呂忱, Jìn period.

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