It is not very clear when “Yaodian” and “Gaoyao mo” were compiled. Qu Wanli (1983: 4-6) claimed that “Yaodian” was compiled during the Warring States period (475-221 BC). To be more precise, he argued that it was compiled after Confucius’ time (551-479 BC) and before Mencius (372-289 BC) was flourishing based on ten pieces of evidence. He also argued that “Gaoyao mo” was compiled around the same time or slightly later than “Yaodian”. The *Shiji*
was compiled during Western Han times by Sima Tan 司馬談 (180 BC – ca. 110 BC) and Sima Qian 司馬遷 (145 BC – ca. 86 BC). If we follow Qu’s dating of “Yaodian” and “Gaoyao mo”, there is a gap of several hundred years between “Yaodian”, “Gaoyao mo” and the Shiji. By comparing “Yaodian”/ “Gaoyao mo” and parallel passages in the Shiji, the differences between Warring States period grammar and Western Han grammar will emerge. In this paper, the following three differences between “Yaodian”/ “Gaoyao mo” and the Shiji will be pointed out:

1. The usages of personal pronouns in the Shangshu and the Shiji
2. Specifying subjects and objects in the Shiji
3. The emergence of 者 in the Shiji

1. The Usages of Personal Pronouns in the Shangshu and the Shiji

1.1. First Person

1.1.1. 艮

朕 appears in both the Shangshu and the Shiji. It can be used as a first person nominative or possessive:


The emperor said: “Oh, you Si Yue, I have been in the high position (on the throne) for seventy years. (If) you can (use=) execute (Heaven’s) mandate I shall (withdraw from, yield=) cede my high position.”³

1b. 堯曰: “嘆! 四嶽. 艬在位七十載, 汝能庸命, 踐朕位?” (史記/五帝本記 1.21)⁴

朕 is known as referring to the emperor. “Qinshihuang benji” 秦始皇本紀 in the Shiji explicitly indicated “天子自稱曰‘朕’.” However, there is one case in “Gaoyao mo” where it does not refer to the emperor. In the parallel passage in the Shiji, it is replaced by吾:

2a. 皋陶曰: “朕言惠, 可厎行.” (尚書/皋陶謨 10.8)

Kao Yao said: “My words are reasonable. They can be accomplished and practiced.”

2b. 皋陶曰: “吾言惠, 可行乎?” (史記/夏本紀 2.77)
1.1.2. 予
予 appears both in the Shangshu and in the Shiji. It is used as a first person nominative or possessive:

3a. 夔曰: “於. 予 [nom] 擊石拊石, 百獸率舞.” (尚書/堯典 6.35)
Kui said: “Oh, when I strike the stone, when I knock on the stone, (the hundred animals=) all the animals follow (it) and dance.”
3b. 夔曰: “於. 予擊石拊石, 百獸率舞. (史記/五帝本記 1.39)

All (giving=) to the emperor said: “There is an unmarried man (below=) in a low position, called Shun of Yu.” The emperor said: Yes, I have heard (of him); what is he like?

The parallel line in Shiji has朕 instead of予:

4b. 皆言於堯曰: “有矜在民閒, 曰虞舜.” “然, 朕聞之. 其何如?” (史記/五帝本記 1.21)

5a. 帝曰: “疇若予 [pos] 工?” (尚書/堯典 6.32)
The emperor said: “Who will (conform himself to=) carefully attend to my works?”
5b. 舜曰: “誰能馴予工?” (史記/五帝本記 1.39)

There are two examples in “Gaoyao mo” where 予 is used as a first person accusative. In the parallel line in Shangshu, the object is omitted:

6b. 予即辟, 女匡拂予. 女無面諛, 退而謗予. (史記/夏本紀 2.80)
6a. 予違, 汝弼[ ]. 汝無面從, 退有後言[ ]. (尚書/皋陶謨 11.3)
When I (transgress=) error, you shall assistingly correct me; you shall not to my face accord with me, and, having retired, have (other) words afterward.

Compared to the Shangshu, in the Shiji it is often the case that omitted subjects and objects are supplemented to make the grammatical relationship clearer. This will be discussed in greater detail in Part 2.

The distinction between朕 and 予 is not clear-cut. Although朕 is known as an emperor referring to himself, there are examples in the Shangshu in which it refers to someone who is not an emperor (See #2a). Also, there are many examples where 予 refers to the emperor as in 4a, 5a, and 5b above.

1.1.3. 余
余 appears twice in the Shiji. In the Shangshu, 予 is used instead. 予 and 余 are
graphic variants:

7b. 余欲觀古人之象. (史記/夏本紀 2.79)
7a. 予欲觀古人之象. (尚書/皋陶謨 10.12)
I desire to see the symbol (emblems) of the ancient men.

1.1.4. 我
我 appears only once in the Shangshu. It does not appear in the Shiji:

8a. 帝曰: “我其試哉!” (尚書/堯典 2.12)
The emperor said: “I will try him.”

The parallel line in the Shiji has 吾 instead of 我:

8b. 堯曰: “吾其試哉!” (史記/五帝本紀 1.21)

1.1.5. 吾
吾 appears only in the Shiji. There is one example where it is used as first person nominative and two examples where it is used as a first person possessive:

9b. 堯曰: “吾[nom]其試哉.” (史記/五帝本紀 1.21)
9a. 帝曰: “我其試哉.” (尚書/堯典 2.12)
The emperor said: “I will try him.”

10b. 帝曰: “道吾[pos]德, 乃女功序之也.” (史記/夏本紀 2.80)
10a. 帝曰: “迪朕德, 時乃功惟敘.” (尚書/皋陶謨 10.17)
The emperor said: “That they pursue the course of my virtue – it is your meritorious work that has arranged it.”

1.2. Second Person
1.2.1. 汝/女
汝 appears in the Shangshu. In the Shiji, 女, which is a graphic variant of 汝, also appears. They are used as second person nominatives or accusatives. They can also be used as second person possessives. However, usually 乃 is used as the second person possessive especially in the Shangshu.5

5 It will be discussed more in detail in 1.2.2.
Chang: Grammatical Changes

11a. 帝曰: “咨四岳! 親在位七十載, 汝[nom]能庸命, 異朕位.” (尚書/堯典 2.12)
The emperor said: “Oh, you Si Yue, I have been in the high position (on the throne) for seventy years. (If) you can (use) execute (Heaven’s) mandate I shall (withdraw from, yield=) cede my high position.”

11b. 堯曰: “嗟！四嶽: 親在位七十載, 汝能庸命, 践朕位?” (史記/五帝本記 1.21)

The emperor said: “Oh, you twenty-two men, be respectful, now you shall assist me in the great works (assigned by) Heaven.”

12b. 舜曰: “嗟！女二十有二人, 敬哉, 惟時相天事.” (史記/五帝本記 1.39)

Note that in the parallel passage in the Shiji, 女 appears instead of 汝.

The emperor said: “Kui, I charge you to be director of music, to teach the descendant sons, (to be) straight and yet mild, large-minded and yet (apprehensive=) careful, (hard=) firm and yet not tyrannical, great and yet not arrogant.”

[No parallel line in the Shiji]

1.2.2. 乃

In the Shangshu and Shiji, 乃 is used as a second person possessive as well as a conjunction. However, by the time of the Shiji, the usage of 乃 as a second person possessive was already obsolete and it was mainly used as a conjunction. The following table summarizes the usages of 乃 in the Shangshu and Shiji:

Table 1. The usages of 乃 in the Shangshu and Shiji and the number of occurrences

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Shangshu</th>
<th>Shiji</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Second Person Possessive</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(in two cases, 女 used instead)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(in two cases, no parallel line)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conjunction</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

14a. 禹曰: “都, 帝! 慎乃在位, 安汝止.” (尚書/皋陶謨 10.10)
Yu said: “Oh, emperor, be careful about your being in the (high) position.”
14b. 禹曰: “於，帝！慎乃在位，安爾止。” (史記/夏本紀 2.79)

15a. 念哉, 率作興事, 慎乃憲, 欽哉！屡省乃成, 欽哉! (尚書/皋陶謨 13.20)
Oh, think! In all actions and works initiated, carefully attend to your laws, be reverent!
15b. 念哉, 率為興事, 慎乃憲, 敬哉！[no parallel line] (史記/夏本紀 2.82)

16a. 禹曰: “俞, 乃言底可績。” (尚書/皋陶謨 10.8)
Yu said: “Yes, your words have been accomplished and have been capable of yielding fine results.
16b. 禹曰: “女言致可績行。” (史記/夏本紀 2.77)

1.3. Third Person
1.3.1. 其
There are two cases in the Shiji where 其 is used as a third person nominative. However, in the parallel lines in the Shangshu, the subject is omitted or 其人 is used instead of 其:

17a. 帝曰: “俞。予聞[ ]. [ ]如何?” (尚書/堯典 2.12)
The emperor said: “Yes, I have heard (of him); how is he like?
17b. 堯曰: “然, 訨聞之. 其何如?” (史記/五帝本紀 1.21)

18a. 皋陶曰: “都, 亦行有九德, 亦言其人有德, 乃言曰: ‘載采采’.” (尚書/皋陶謨 6.3)
Gao Yao said: “Oh, in the actions there are nine virtues; when (we) say that this man has virtue, (we) (say=) mean that he initiates the various works (sc. It shows in his actions).
18b. 皋陶曰: “然, 於! 亦行有九德, 亦言其有德, 乃言曰: ‘始事事……’.” (史記/夏本紀 2.77)

Zhou Fagao (1972: 108) pointed out that 其 is occasionally used as a third person nominative in a main clause after the Liang dynasty However, as it is shown above, there are occasional cases where 其 is used as a third person nominative as early as Western Han times.

1.3.2. 之

6 Strictly speaking, the term “third person pronoun” is rather misleading. In classical Chinese, there are no real third person pronouns. Instead, demonstratives are used as third person pronouns. All third person pronouns that will be discussed in this section (其, 之, as well as 厥) were originally demonstratives.
之 is used as a third person accusative. It appears only in the *Shiji* (six times):

19b. 帝堯者, 放勳, 其仁如天, 其知如神. 就之如日, 望之如雲. (史記/五帝本記 1.15)
Emperor Yao is called Fang Xun. His benevolence was like the Heavens and his wisdom was like God’s. When one approached him, he was like the sun. When one looked up at him, he was like a cloud.

The parallel passage in the *Shangshu* reads:

19a. 帝堯曰放勳. 欽, 明, 文, 思, 安安. (尚書/堯典 2.1)
Emperor Yao was called Fang Xun. He was reverent, enlightened, accomplished, and sincere and peaceful (mild).

20b. 堯曰: “然, 輔聞之, 其何如?” (史記/五帝本記 1.21)
Yao said: “It is so. I have heard of him. What is he like?”

In the parallel passage in the *Shiji*, 之 does not appear:

20a. 帝曰: “予聞[ ], 如何?” (尚書/堯典 2.12)
The emperor said: “Yes, I have heard (of him); how is he like?

21b. 於是堯妻之二女, 觀其德於二女. (史記/五帝本記 1.21)
Therefore, Yao gave him his two daughters in marriage and observed his virtue toward them.

In the parallel line in the *Shangshu*, 時 is used instead:

21a. 女于時, 視厥刑於二女. (尚書/堯典 2.12)

22b. 堯善之, 乃命舜慎和五典. (史記/五帝本記 1.21)
Yao considered him good, thereupon made Shun sincerely regulate five norms.
[No parallel line in the *Shangshu*]

23b. 舜年二十以孝聞, 年三十堯舉之. (史記/五帝本記 1.21)
Shun was renowned for his filial piety at the age of twenty. At the age of thirty, Yao hired him.
[No parallel line in the *Shangshu*]

It is noteworthy that 之, the third person accusative, only appears in the *Shiji* and not the “Yaodian”/“Gaoyao mo”. As will be pointed out in Part 2, the “Yaodian” often
omit subjects and objects when they are obvious, whereas the Shiji often specifies them for clarification. When the omitted object is specified in the Shiji, 之 is often used.

### 1.3.3.厥/ 其

For the third person possessive in the Shangshu, 其 appears ten times, whereas 其 only appears twice. On the other hand, in the Shiji, 其 appears thirteen times, while 厥 does not appear at all:

24a. 日中, 星鳥, 以殷仲春, 厥民析, 鳥獸孳尾. (尚書/堯典 2.4)

The day being of medium length and the asterism being Niao, he thereby determined mid-spring. The people disperse, the birds and beasts breed and (tail=) copulate.

24b. 日中, 星鳥, 以殷中春, 其民析, 鳥獸孳微. (史記/五帝本紀 1.16)

25a. 女于時, 視厥刑于二女. (尚書/堯典 2.12)

I will wive him, and observe his behavior towards my two daughters.

25b. 於是堯妻之二女, 視其德於二女. (史記/五帝本紀 1.21)

Tang (1990) explained that in Zhouyuan 周原 OBI and early Western Zhou BI, 其 is only used as a modal particle and 厥 is used as a third person possessive. 其 started to substitute for 厥 and be used as a third person possessive from mid-Western Zhou times. In the Bronze Inscriptions cast in mid-Western Zhou times, 其 is used as a third person possessive in eleven out of one hundred cases. In the BI of late Western Zhou times, the percentage of 其 surged up to 49 percent. In the BI of Eastern Zhou times, the percentage of 其 is as high as 95 percent. In the manuscripts (on bamboo strips and silk) in Qin and Han times, 其 completely overtook 厥.

He further argued that the ratio of 其 and 厥 can be used as one of the criteria to date a certain text. In “Yaodian”, 其 does not appear at all. If we use the ratio of 其 and 厥 as the only criterion of dating, “Yaodian” can be dated earlier than mid-Western Zhou times, which is several hundred years earlier than Qu’s dating. Also, although 其 does not appear at all in “Yaodian” as a third person possessive, it appears in some other chapters of the Shangshu. Overall, it replaced 20.5 percent of occurrences of 厥 in the entire Shangshu. This shows that dating the Shangshu as well as dating individual chapters of Shangshu is still very controversial.

Table 2 summarizes the usages of personal pronouns in “Yaodian”/ “Gaoyao mo” in the Shangshu and in relevant chapters of the Shiji:
Table 2. Personal Pronouns in the *Shangshu* and *Shiji*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>First Person</th>
<th>Second Person</th>
<th>Third Person</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[nom]</td>
<td>[acc]</td>
<td>[pos]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>尚書</td>
<td>聿予我</td>
<td>聿予我</td>
<td>汝</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>史記</td>
<td>聿予/余8吾</td>
<td>予</td>
<td>聿予吾</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2. Specifying Subject and Object in the *Shiji*

In the *Shangshu*, subjects and objects are often omitted when they are understood by the context. In the parallel lines in the *Shiji*, they are often specified in order to make the grammatical relationships clearer:

All (giving=) to the emperor said: there is an unmarried man (below=) in a low position, called Shun of Yu. The emperor said: Yes, I have heard (of him); what is he like?

26b. 羣皆言於堯曰: “有瞽在民間, 曰虞舜.” 堯曰: “然, 朕聞之. 其何如?” (史記/五帝本記 1.21)

In the *Shangshu*, the object of 閼 and the subject of 如何 do not appear. In the *Shiji*, they are supplemented.

The emperor said: Be reverent! He Shun carefully (signalized=) displayed the five rules, the five rules (then) could be followed.

27b. 堯善之, 乃使舜慎和五典, 五典能從. (史記/五帝本記 1.21)

In the *Shangshu*, the subject of 慎徽五典 does not appear, whereas it is specified in the *Shiji*. The *Shiji* clearly shows a switch of the subject from 堯 to 舜.

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7 The number indicates the total number of occurrences.
8 予/余 indicates they are graphic variants.
28a. 帝曰: “臣作朕股肱耳目, 予欲左右有民, 汝翼[ ].” (尚書/皋陶謨 10.11)
The emperor said: “My ministers (make=) are my legs and arms, ears and eyes. I desire to succor my people, do you assist (me)!
28b. 臣作朕股肱耳目, 予欲左右有民, 女輔之. (史記/夏本紀 2.79)

29a. 予違, 汝弼[ ]. (尚書/皋陶謨 10.13)
When I (transgress=) err, you shall assistingly correct me.
29b. 予即辟, 女匡拂. (史記/夏本紀 2.80)

In Part 1, it is pointed out that there are two cases in the Shiji where 其 was used as a third person nominative. Also, 之 (third person accusative), which did not appear in the Shangshu appeared six times in the parallel passages in the Shiji. The appearance of 其 and 之 in the Shiji is closely related to specifying subjects and objects.

In addition to specifying subjects and objects, the Shiji uses many other methods to make the grammatical relationship clearer and make the passage smoother. The appearance of 者 (which will be discussed in Part 3) is another device: it clearly marks nominalization. Other devices include using conjunctions (such as 乃, 於是), sentence final particles (such as 也, 矣), and so on. It is the direction of syntactic change in classical Chinese and literary Chinese (from OBI, BI to the Shangshu and from the Shangshu to the Shiji) to make sentences more elaborate and make the grammatical relationships more explicit.

3. The Appearance of 者 in the Shiji

者 is a nominalization marker. As Zhu (1983) pointed out, nominalization can be subdivided into two categories: self-referential (zizhi 自指) and transfer-referential (zhuanzhi 轉指). In self-reference, the meaning does not change after nominalization (e.g. kind vs. kindness), whereas in transfer-reference, the meaning changes after nominalization (e.g. write vs. writer).

者 is not found in “Yaodian” or “Gaoyao mo”. However, it appears seven times in the corresponding chapters of the Shiji. It is used as self-referential twice and transfer-referential five times:

Self-referential (zizhi 自指): 2 occurrences

30a. 帝堯曰放勳. (尚書/堯典 2.1)
The emperor Yao was called Fangxun.
30b. 帝堯者, 放勳. (史記/五帝本紀 1.15)
Chang: Grammatical Changes

31a. [No corresponding line in the Shangshu]
31b. 文祖者，堯大祖也。 (史記/五帝本紀 1.22)
Wenzu refers to the Great Ancestor Yao.

Transfer-referential (zhuanzhi 轉指): 5 occurrences

32a. 帝曰: “咨! 四岳。湯湯洪水方割，蕩蕩懷山襄陵，浩浩滔天，下民其咨，有[能俾乂]NP?” (尚書/堯典 2.11)
The emperor said: “Oh, you Si Yue, voluminously the great waters everywhere are injurious, extensively they embrace the mountains and rise above the hills, vastly they swell up to heaven. The lower people groan. Is there anybody whom I could let regulate it?”
32b. 堯又曰: “嗟! 四嶽。湯湯洪水滔天，浩浩懷山襄陵，下民其憂，有[能使治者]NP?” (史記/五帝本紀 1.20)

(The emperor) said: “(Make brought=) promote one (already) (brought=) illustrious, or raise one (side-placed=) humble and mean.
33b. 堯曰: “悉舉[貴戚及疏遠隱匿者]NP”. (史記/五帝本紀 1.21)

34a. 帝曰: “疇咨若予采?” 驪兜曰: “都! 共工方鳩僝功.” (尚書/堯典 2.10)
The emperor said: Who will (conform himself to=) carefully attend to my affairs? Huan Dou said: Oh, Gong Gong (to all sides =) has accumulated and exhibited his merit everywhere.
34b. 堯又曰: “誰[可者]NP?” 號兜曰: “共工旁聚布功, 可用.” (史記/五帝本紀 1.20)

35a. 岳曰: “[瞽]NP 子. 父頑, 母(囂)嚚, 象傲, 克諧, 以孝烝烝, 又不格姦.” (尚書/堯典 2.12)
(Si) Yue said: He is the son of a blind man; his father was stupid, his mother was deceitful, (his brother) Xiang was arrogant; but he has been able to be concordant and grandly filial, he has controlled himself and not come to wickedness.
35b. 岳曰: “[盲者]NP 子. 父頑, 母嚚, 弟傲, 能和以孝, 揖享治. 不至姦.” (史記/五帝本紀 1.21)

36a. 舜曰: “咨! 四岳! 有[能奮庸熙帝之載]NP, 使宅百揆亮采惠疇?” (尚書/堯典
Shun said: Oh, you Si Yue! Is there anyone who can start achievements and make resplendent the emperor’s undertakings? I shall make him occupy (the hundred disposals=) the general management, to assist in the affairs and be kind to his (equals=) colleagues.

As mentioned above, 者 did not appear at all in “Yaodian” and “Gaoyao mo”. Then, what is the reason for its emergence in the Shiji? It is for emphasis or clarification of grammatical relationships. The function of the self-referential 者 is to emphasize and focus a new topic. When a new topic is introduced and defined in the Shiji, the form “A者, B(也)” is often used. For instance, in example #30b 帝堯者, 放勳, 帝堯 is first introduced here and focused by adding self-referential 者. The same reasoning applies to example #31b 文祖者, 堯大祖也.

The function of the transfer-referential 者 is to make grammatical relationship clearer. Compare the way that a verb phrase is nominalized in the Shangshu and in the Shiji in example #32. In 有[能俾乂]NP in the Shangshu, no marker is used for nominalization, whereas in Shiji, 者 is used (有[能使治者]NP). By adding 者, it is clearly expressed that the verb phrase is nominalized. The same reasoning applies to examples #33b, 34b, 35b, and 36b.

4. Conclusion

By comparing grammatical features of “Yaodian”/ “Gaoyao mo” and parallel passages in the Shiji, the differences between pre-Qin grammar and Western Han grammar emerge.

First of all, differences in the usages of personal pronouns were observed: (1) In the Shangshu, 朕 does not necessarily refer to the emperor. However, the Shiji explicitly mentioned that 朕 means the emperor referring to himself. (2) 我 in the Shangshu is replaced by 吾 in the Shiji. (3) The occurrences of 乃 [2nd][pos] are fewer in the Shiji; it is replaced by 汝/女. 乃 is mainly used as a conjunction in the Shiji. (4) It is noteworthy that in the Shiji, there are two examples where 其 is used as a third person nominative. It is believed that 其 [3rd][nom] occurred as late as the Six Dynasty period. However, it occurred as early as Western Han times. (5) In “Yaodian” 厥 is used as a third person possessive, whereas it is completely replaced by 其 in the relevant chapter of the Shiji.

The Shiji tends to specify subjects and objects that were omitted in “Yaodian”/ “Gaoyao mo”. The emergence of 其 (third person nominative) and 之 (third person accusative) in the Shiji is due to this specification.

者 does not appear in “Yaodian”/ “Gaoyao mo” at all, while it appears seven times in the corresponding lines in the Shiji. Its function is either self-referential or transfer-
referential. The function of self-referential 者 is to focus and emphasis a new topic (it often appears in the form of “A 者, B 也”), whereas the function of transfer-referential 者 is to make a grammatical relationship clearer. In other words, it clearly marks that a verb or verb phrase is nominalized.

REFERENCES