THE FUNCTION OF QUSHENG IN EARLY ZHOU CHINESE

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The Ancient Chinese (AnC) qusheng (or "falling tone, departing tone") has long been recognized as a derivational device in the Chinese language. For Archaic Chinese (ArC), later qusheng is symbolized in Li Fang-kuei's system of reconstruction (1971) by *-h, but we follow Pulleyblank (1962:216-225) and others in writing final *-s.

How qusheng is reconstructed in ArC is by and large immaterial to the inquiry into its meaning and function. Among the many scholars who have given attention to the morphological role of qusheng are Karlgren (1949:94-95), Wang Li (1958:213-217), and, in more detail, Downer (1959), Zhou Fagao (1963:5-96), and most recently Mei Tsu-lin (1980). Karlgren and Wang Li showed with a few examples from Classical Chinese (CC) texts that qusheng effects changes in word class, such as formation of verbs from nouns, verbs from adjectives, and the like. More systematic in their procedure were Downer and Zhou who established categories which cover all CC qusheng derivations. Here are Downer's categories, with Zhou's in parentheses:

A. Basic form verbal — derived form nominal (Zhou no. 2)
B. Basic form nominal -- derived form verbal (Zhou no. 1)
C. Derived form causative (Zhou no. 5)
D. Derived form "effective"
E. Derived form restricted meaning
F. Derived form passive or neuter (Zhou no. 6)
G. Derived form adverb (Zhou no. 8)
H. Derived form used in compounds.

Basically, Zhou's categories are similar to Downer's, except that he distributes Downer's categories D, E and H differently, while adding these:

No.3 Basic form adjective — derived form verb (and vice versa)
No.4 Basic form word of location -- derived form verb (and vice versa)
No.7 Derived form completed action.

These neat categorizations cannot hide the fact that qusheng's role is so general as to lead Downer himself to conclude: this tone is "simply ... a system of derivation and nothing more. When new words were needed, they were created by pronouncing the basic word in [qusheng]" (1959:262). So far, then, these descriptions and conclusions have left room for the question if there might not lie beneath these functional categories one or a few more fundamental meanings whose discovery may not only simplify the description of the tone's

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functions, but also lead to a deeper understanding of Chinese morphology.

Perhaps in searching for a deeper core meaning of qusheng, Cikoski (1970:59-60) injected a new idea into the discussion when he indicated that this tone is involved in the direct/ergative morphology which he postulated for CC. Most recently, Mei Tsu-lin (1980) reduced the semantic categories of qusheng to three: (1) Qusheng marks an "introvert/extrovert" distinction; (2) it marks a switch from verb to noun. (3) A later development is the derivation of verbs from nouns. As can be seen, in addition to his catergorical simplification, Mei also recognizes that CC consists of historic layers.

The present paper's objective is to attempt once more to isolate the earliest meaning of qusheng. To accomplish this, we turn to the earliest texts in order to extract all non-qusheng/qusheng minimal pairs. Because most qusheng words share the same graph with their non-qusheng counterpart, we must rely on early commentaries which distinguish the various readings of a graph. Naturally, there are no such glosses on Western Zhou (1045-771 B.C.) bronze inscriptions and Shang oracle bone inscriptions so that we must be content with the earliest classics Shujing (Shu) and Shijing (Shi) whose language we call here Early Zhou Chinese (EZ).[1] Lu Deming's Jingdian shiwen is a collection of reading glosses for the classics, including Shu and Shi, so that we will rely heavily on this work.

From Shu and Shi I have extracted over 90 EZ minimal pairs.[2] Two kinds of minimal pairs are not included in our corpus: (1) sets whose members are written with the same graph, and whose non-qusheng/qusheng distinction is not commented on by Lu Deming and his sources. An example is cóng 從 'to follow' which, according to philological tradition, should be read zòng when meaning 'follower, retinue.' We have no choice but to interpret the silence of commentators to mean that this word was always read cóng in Shu and Shi, even in the meaning 'follower.' This is interesting because a qusheng derivation meaning 'follower', rather than 'followed one, leader', goes counter to the conclusions of this investigation, a reading zòng is thus irregular. (2) We disregard a small number of sets the modern conventional reading of whose members is, again, clearly distinguished, but whose graphs seem to be inter-changeable in pre-classical texts. Take the set dá < *tap < *twap 答 'to respond, answer' vs. duì < *twaps 對 'to respond, answer.' The bronze inscriptions (according to Zhou Fagao's Jinwen gulin) and Shi do not know the graph 答, it occurs only rarely in Shu, and there in contexts which indicate interchangeability with 對, e.g. 用答揚文武之光訓 Shu 42, 24 "...and thus (respond to) gratefully extol Wen's and Wu's brilliant instructions." Compare: 對揚王休 Shi 262,6 (and frq. in bronzes) "(In response:) Gratefully he extolled the king's grace."

答曰 Shu 42, 25 "(The king...) answered saying..." Compare:
對曰 Shu 26, 17 "He answered saying..."

After disregarding these two types of inconclusive data, we are left with 87 sets of minimal pairs which fall into two groups: (1) The function of qusheng is to invert the attention flow (see below); (2) residue. The sets in

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[1] In other studies, I include the Western Zhou bronze inscriptions in this term EZ.

[2] Mei supplies 36 examples for CC (inc. EZ), many of which are not minimal pairs.

this latter group do not contradict the definition of qusheng's function in the first, but they are residue by default because the semantic relationship within the sets is not yet clear to me. Hence it seems likely that in EZ the derivational device qusheng had but one single function.

All the qusheng derivations in the corpus below (except, of course, the residue) share one meaning which variously manifests itself as either passive, or ergative, or reflexive (or rather as something like Classical Greek "middle voice"), while the basic form (non-qusheng) can be labeled "direct". Passive, ergative, and middle voice all contrast with direct in one respect: the attention flow is not direct, but inverted. ("Attention flow" and "invert, inversion" are terms borrowed from DeLancey 1981).[3] The following English illustrations, though not strictly valid because ergative and middle voice are not grammatical categories in this Western language, may nevertheless convey some idea of what is involved (some of these sentences are from Lyons 1968:352):

    (a) Direct: 'John moved the stone.'
    (b) Passive: 'The stone is moved. The stone is moved by John.'

In the direct statement (a), John initiates the action which results in the movement of the stone. The linguistic attention flow (subject to object) agrees with the natural attention flow (agent to patient). In the passive statement (b), the natural attention flow is inverted: the stone (the patient) is placed first; the agent, if mentioned at all ('by John'), is placed later in the sentence.

    (c) Ergative: 'The stone moved'.

The attention flow is inverted as in passive: the grammatical subject, the first element in the statement, is the patient. "Ergative" is customarily defined as the subject of an intransitive verb which corresponds to the object of the verb's transitive counterpart.

    (d) Middle voice: 'The stone moved (by) itself'.

In Classical Greek, middle voice marks a verb whose agent is also its patient, a situation which is in English expressed with the help of reflexives. It is evident that the attention flow is here also inverted. In EZ, qusheng (*-s) marks any of the above types of inversion. That inversion (what goes against natural attention flow) is marked (qusheng) while congruence of linguistic with natural attention flow is unmarked, seems to agree with universal linguistic experience.

The following corpus of EZ sets of minimal pairs demonstrates, I believe, that this tone (*-s) is an inversion marker. All sets are numbered

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[3] The first version of this paper (completed in May 1980) was partially inspired by Cikoski's (1970) and Dixon's (1979) discussions on ergativity. This line of inquiry was not as profitable, though, as DeLancey's (1981) concepts which have been more helpful for defining the basic function of qusheng in this revised version than the adoption of two of his terms may suggest.

    Recently, also Mei's study appeared in print. His conclusions go far in the direction which this present investigation is pursuing, although our conclusions are not identical with his.

consecutively, each divided into a non-qusheng (A) and a qusheng member (B). For each word, we give the pinyin spelling, then AnC according to Karlgren (1957) as amended by Li Fang-kuei (1971), finally the reconstructed ArC form based on Karlgren, Li and Pulleyblank (1962-1963; see also Schuessler 1974a and b; 1975). We add, furthermore, the graph, the traditional word-class (N = noun; V = verb; ST = stative verb), and an English gloss. Then we quote, for words other than concrete nouns, a few typical or relevant textual examples to illustrate the word-class assignment and meaning. These quotations are arranged according to the various uses of the word in the sentence: Nom. = nominal; Tr. = transitive; Intr. = intransitive; Adv. = adverbial; Adj. = adjectival. These textual examples are, of course, taken out of their contexts and kept very brief. The context can be verified with the source quotation: Shu refers to the chapter number of the Shangshu concordance, after the comma follows the paragraph (e.g. according to Karlgren 1950); Shi is quoted by ode and stanza.

The first example (no.1) illustrates the inversion effected by *-s very clearly because our Western Sprachgefühl immediately recognizes the qusheng form (1.B) as "passive" (cf. Downer' category F; Zhou's no.6):

(1) A. WEĪ < ʔjwei < *ʔywəl v. 'to awe, scare' 威. Tr.(a)威之 Shu 5,14 One overawes them. Intr. (b) 惟威 Shu 29,18 (The officials) are terrorizing. Nom. (c)天動威 Shu 26,18 Heaven has set in motion its (terrorizing:) terror.

   B. WEÌ < ʔjwèi < *ʔywəls v. ('be awed, scared':) 'to fear' 畏. Tr. (d) 予畏上帝 Shu 10,2 I fear Shangdi. Intr. (e) 周不祗畏 Shu 26,7 All revered and feared him. (f) 天明畏 Shu 27,9 Heaven is bright and majestic. Nom. (g)天畏棐忱 Shu 19,6 Heaven's (fearsomeness:) majesty is not to be relied on.

Traditionally, one reads 威 in pingsheng (even tone) weī, and 畏 in qusheng, weì. Mattos (1971) has studied tonal anomalies in Shi and concluded that in 96% of all rimes in the Guo feng section (songs 1 to 160) we find tonal congruence, only in 4% tonal disagreement. He suggests therefore that most if not all of the irregular rimes might in fact have been regular if we assume that certain words (47 graphs all told) were read in Shijing times either also with an alternate tone, or with a different tone altogether. The probability for different tones varies, however, within these 47 syllables. Mattos divided them into three groups: A. comprises words which rime two or more times consistently with words having a specific different tone, e.g. 予 yu rimes without exception with rising tone words, so do 偕 jie, 狩 shou and 顧 gu; 饗 xiang, 夢 meng, 信 xin and perhaps also 命 ming rime only with pingsheng words. Hence these words should in all likelihood be reconstructed with that ArC tone which is suggested by the rimes. B. comprises words which rime only once, and with a tone which goes counter to later philological tradition. It is risky to reconstruct a different ArC tone on that slim a basis, and also on the basis of just two, albeit consistent, rimes under group A. Group C includes all words which show rime contact with two tones. Among these we find 畏 weì (see our paradigm) which rimes three times with pingsheng words, only once with a qusheng word. Mattos' study strongly suggests, therefore, that 畏 was also read in the even tone in these three rimes, in spite of the fact that 畏 everywhere clearly means 'to fear', not 'to awe'.

Here is now an obvious problem: either we should, according to Mattos' study, read the word 'to fear' as weī, which would fly in the face of the

tradition which points to a tonal distinction between 'to awe' and 'to fear'. Or, conversely, if the morphological distinction between these two words existed in the Shijing language, then we must assume violation of tonal rime patterns. The issue boils down to this choice: which is less drastic: to assume occasional tonal incongruence in Shi, or to reconstruct, on the basis of little or contradictory evidence, alternate or different tones also for words in Mattos' B and C groups (including 畏)? It is impossible for us to ascertain whether or not all rimes were, in Shi, tonally regular. Because of this uncertainty, it seems less drastic to accept occasional tonal irregularities in rime, than to change the reconstruction of tones for certain ArC words. As a result of these considerations, we are inclined to proceed with our discussion on the meaning of qusheng with the assumption that 畏 represents a word in *-s already in EZ.

Examples (c) and (g) of set no. 1 show that a verb can be used as a noun by being placed into nominal slots in the sentence (e.g. subject, object; see Schuessler 1982)without morphological change. The opposite also happens in EZ and CC: nouns are used in the verbal slot, e.g.君子不器 Lun 2, 12 "A gentleman is not (implementized:) treated like an implement."

Not only can nouns be employed in the verbal position, and vice versa, but nouns can also be derived from nouns, also without morphological change. Cikoski (1976:42) drew attention to the derivation of the abstract noun rén 仁 'humanity' from the ArC homophonous concrete noun rén 人 'man'. Consider the following sentence: 其人美且仁 Shi 103, 1 "That man is beautiful and (acting human:) kind." Here, 仁 is simply 人 used as an intransitive (stative?) verb, similar to 器 in the Lunyu passage quoted above. Putting 仁 back into a nominal slot would yield the original meaning 'man.' However, 仁 happens to have developed an identity as a verb (due to frequent usage as a verb?), so that it has apparently split away from the noun 'man' and established itself as a member of the word-class verb; this new verb used as a noun naturally acquires the meaning 'humanness, humanity,' just as wei 'to awe' in set 1 can be used as a noun 'terror.'

The derivations discussed so far can be tabulated in this fashion:

Word-class	Nominal use	Verbal use	Nominal use
N	器 implement ------>	use/be treated like an implement	
N	人 man ----------> 仁	act like a human being, be humane, kind (change of word-class)	
V		仁 be humane, kind ---->	humanity
V		畏 to frighten --->	terror, the 'frightening'

It follows from these considerations that Chinese does not require any morphological process for these common kinds of word derivation. Consequently, *-s (qusheng) does not mark such changes in word-class or subclass. Such changes which have been observed in conjunction with *-s (Downer's categories A, B and F) must be highly suspect of being coincidental phenomena which actually have nothing to do with the core meaning of this *-s. Consequently, qusheng's role in the nominalization of the following examples (2-20a) is secondary at best; the primary function of *-s here is to invert the attention flow so that the EZ derivations, without exception, are passives of the basic form: e.g. ex.5 'to mount' -- qusheng derivation 'what is mounted' (not: 'Who/what is mounting'). There is not a single case in this EZ corpus in which the "derived noun" is not inverted (passive). Such cases do occur, however, later in CC, e.g. cóng 'to follow', vs. zòng 'follower' (not, as should be expected in EZ, 'who is followed, leader'). In short, *-s in the following nouns is the same morpheme as in ex. 1 above.

Starting with ex. 3.B, we find that the semantic range of many *-s derivations is narrower than the original, a phenomenon we will comment on after ex. 24.

(2) A. BĚI < pək < *pək n. 'North' 北. Tr. 分北三苗 Shu 2,38 He separately (northerned:) sent to the north the Sanmiao. Nom.

   B. BÈI < puậì < *pəks n. ('What is northerned, turned north' -- in China one orients oneself to the south, "faces south":) 'the back (of body), backquarters' 背. Nom.

(3) A. BǏNG < pjwɐŋ < *pyǎŋ v. 'To hold, grasp' 秉. Tr. 右秉白旄 Shu 22,1 In the right hand, he held a white oxtail flag. 秉哲 Shu 30,9 They held on to wisdom. Nom. 彼有遺秉 Shi 212,3 There are some unharvested bunches.

   B. BǏNG < pjwɐŋ < *pyǎŋs n. ('What is grasped':) 'a handle' 柄 [semantic scope narrowed compared to A.; subsequently indicated by the word 'narrowed']. Nom. 西柄 Shi 203,7 The western handle (of constellation).

(4) A. CǍI < tshậí < *tshəʔ v. 'To gather, pluck, cull' 采. Tr. 左右采之 Shi 1,4 To the right and left we cull it (the plant).

   B. CÀI < tshậì < *tshəs n. ('What is plucked':) 'vegetable' 菜, 'appanage' 采 [narrowed]. Nom.

(5) A. CHÉNG < dźjəŋ < *ljəŋ v. 'To mount, ride' (animal, boat) 乘. Tr. or intr. (?) 若乘舟 Shu 16,23 It is like riding in a boat. 王乘于舟 The king rode in a boat (麥尊).

   B SHÈNG < źjə̀ŋ < *ljəŋs n. ('What is mounted':) 'chariot, team of four horses' 乘. Nom. 乘乘馬 Shi 78,1 He rides in a carriage with four horses.

(6) A. DÌ < dieí < *delʔ (*dləlʔʔ) n. 'Junior, younger brother' 弟. Nom.

   B. DÌ < dieì < *dels (or *dləls?) n. ('Juniorized, who is made a junior':) 'younger secondary wife' 娣. Nom.

(7) A. FÉNG < bjwoŋ < *byuŋ v. 'to sew' 縫. Tr. 可以縫裳 Shi 107,1 (The

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hands) can sew a shirt.

B. FÈNG < bjwòŋ < *byuŋs n. ('What is sewn':) 'a seam' 縫 [narrowed].
Nom.

(8) A. GǓ < kuó < *kaʔ st. 'Old' 古 . Adj. 古人 Shu 22,5
The ancients. Adv. 古我先王 ...Shu 16,7 Anciently, our for r
kings...

B. GÙ < kuò < *kas n. ('Antiquated, having become old/antiquity'--Karlgren
(1960:139): 'anterior, ci-devant, premise, cause':) 'old, reason' 故 .
Adv. 故天棄我 Shu 19,3 Therefore, Heaven rejects us. Nom.
君之故 Shi 36,1 For the lord's sake. 不寁故也 Shi 81,1 Do
not brusque an old friend.

(9) A. GUĀN < kuân < *kwan v. 'To watch, observe' 觀 . Tr. 予若觀火 Shu
16,8 I am as if watching a conflagration. Intr. 爾克永觀省 Shu
30,7 If you can constantly observe and scrutinize (yourself).

B. GUÀN < kuân < *kwans n. ('What is watched':) 'a sight' 觀 . Nom.

(10) A. LÌ < liek < *rek (*rlek?) v. 'To calculate' 歷 . Tr. 歷象日月
Shu 1,3 To calculate and delineate the sun, the moon... Adj. 有歷年
Shu 32,17 So that we have so and so many years.

B. LÌ < lieì < *reks (*rleks?) n. ('What is calculated':) 'number;
refinement' 麗 . Nom. 奠麗 Shu 42,5 (They...) set forth their
refinement. 其麗不億 Shi 235,4 Their number, was it not a
hundred thousand!

(11) A. LIǍNG < ljáŋ < *ryaŋʔ n. 'A pair, two' 兩 . Nom.

B. LIÀNG < ljàŋ < *ryaŋs n. ('What is paired' — i.e. wheels:) 'carriage'
兩 [narrowed]. Nom.

(12) A. NÀ < nâp < *nəp < *nwəp v. 'To put into, bring in, introduce' 納 .
Tr. 賦納緫 Shu 6,33 (The area) brings in as revenue bundled grain with
straw. 乃納冊于金縢之匱中 Shu 26,11 Then he put the tablets into the
metal-bound coffer. Intr. 納于百揆 Shu 2,13 He was introduced to the
general management. 納于大麓 Shu 2,13 He was sent into the great
foothill forest.

B. NÈI < nuâì < *nwəps n. ('What is entered into':) 'the interior, inside'
內 . Nom. 畢門之內 Shu 42,21 Inside the last gate. 內史 Shi
193,4 The (interior:) private secretary

(13) A. SHÀN < źján < *djanʔ st. 'Be good, be good at' 善 . Tr. 权善
射忌 Shi 78,2 Shu is good at archery. Intr. 無敢不善 Shu 49,2
Do not dare not be good. Nom. Shu 16,16 Goodness. Adj. 善人 Shi 254,5
The good man.

B. SHÀN < źjàn < *djans n. ('What is made good, made ready':) 'cooked
food' 膳 [narrowed]. Adj. 膳夫 Shi 193,4 Master of the Royal Table.

(14) A. SHǍNG < źjáŋ < *djaŋʔ v. 'To rise' 上 . Intr. 下上其音 Shi

28,3 Falling and rising are their voices.

B. SHÀNG < źjàŋ < *djaŋs n. ('What is risen to':) 'the height, above'
上. Nom. 文王監在上 一大豐殷 Wen Wang is watching
(on high:) from above. Adj. 上天 Shi 209,1 The high Heaven.

(15) A. SHŎU < śjəú < *śjǝw? v. 'To guard' 守. Tr. 守文武大訓 Shu
42,6 To (keep:) adhere to Wen's and Wu's great instructions. Nom.
有守有為 Shu Shu 24,11 Have activity, have self-control.

B. SHÒU < śjəù < *sjǝws n. ('What is guarded':) 'territory under one's
guard' 守 [narrowed]. Nom. 巡守 Shu 2,19 Inspection tour of the
fiefs.

(16) A. TIÁN < dien < *den (*dlen?) n. 'Field' 田. Nom.

B. DIÀN < dièn < *dens (*dlens?) n. ('Area which is fielded, turned into
fields':) 'domain' 甸; ('cause to be turned into a field' -- verbal
use of the noun:) 'to cultivate, till' 田畋甸. Nom. 甸服 Shu
6,33 The imperial domain. Tr. 無田甫田 Shi 102,1 Do not till
too large a field. 奄甸萬姓 Shu 39,5 Extensively cultivate the
people.

(17) A. YǏN < jién < *len? v. 'To lead on' 引. Tr. 勿替引之 Shi 209,6
(May sons and grandsons) without interruption continue it. 上
帝引逸 Shu 34,5 Shangdi would guide the idle-sportive. 引養
Shu 31,3 He leads them on to nourishment.

B. YǏN < jièn < *lens n. ('What is led with':) 'trace' (part of harness)
靷 [narrowed]. Nom.

(18) A. YÙ < jiwok < *luk v. 'To desire, want' 欲. Tr. 民罔弗欲喪 Shu
19,4 Among the people are none who do not desire your ruin. Intr. (or
tr.?) 我尚不欲 Shu 50,5 I rather will not have them (these men).
Nom. 匪棘其欲 Shi 244,3 He did not alter his (wish:) plans.

B. YÙ < jiù < *luks n. ('What is desired':) 'opulence' 裕 [narrowed].
Nom. 成裕 Shu 33,10 To achieve opulence. 有裕 Shi 223,3 They ...
are indulgent. Tr. 若德裕乃身 Shu 29,5 A compliant virtue will
make opulent your person.

(19) A. ZHĪ < tje < *tye (*trye?) v. 'To know' 知. Tr. 知人 Shu 4,2 To
know the people. Intr. 文王罔敢知于兹 Shu 39,14 Wen Wang dared not
take any cognizance of them.

B. ZHÌ < tjè < *tyes (*tryes?) n. ('What is known':) 'knowledge, wisdom'
知智. Nom.

(20) ZHĪ < tśjək < *tjǝk v. 'To weave' 織. Nom. 休其蠶織 Shi 264,4 They
have to abide by their silkworm work and their weaving. Adj. 織女
Shi 203,5 The Weaving Lady.

B. ZHÌ < tśì < *tjǝks n.? 'Woven', ('what is woven':) 'woven material'
織 [narrowed]. Adj. or nom. 織文 Shu 6,5 Patterned woven (stuff); or:
woven material and patterned material.

(20a) A. CĀN < tshân < *tshan v. 'To eat' 餐. Intr. (Tr.?) 使我不能餐兮
Shi 86,1 But it makes me unable to eat. Nom. 奴威時 (Kang
Wang 麥薄) At the time the (eating:) meal was over...

B. CÀN < tshân < *tshans n. ('what is eaten':) 'food' 粲. 還予授
子之粲兮 Shi 75,1 And promptly, I will serve you your food.

The following numbers (21-24) exemplify that, as in ex. 1, the inverted
form must not be a noun.

(21) A. JÌN < dzjén ㄥ *dsyen? v. 'To exhaust, do to the utmost' 盡 (variant
reading tsjen < *tsyen?). Tr. 盡之 Shi 209,6 Doing everything to the
utmost. Adv. 禾盡偃 Shu 26,16 the grain (on the fields) was
completely laid low.

B. JÌN < dzjèn < *dsyens v. or st.? 'Be exhausted, destroyed' 燼.
Intr. 貝禍以燼 Shi 257,2 They are all struck by calamity and
destroyed.

(22) A. SHÌ < śjäk < *śjäk v. 'To put away' 釋. Tr. 抑釋掤忌. Shi 78,3
Now he lays aside his quiver. 開釋無辜 Shu 38,11 They set free
the innocent. 王釋冕 Shu 43,36 the king took off his cap. Intr.
天不庸釋于文王受命 Shu 36,6 Heaven does not therefore annul the
mandate received by Wen Wang.

B. SHÈ < śjà < *sjaks v. ('Be put aside':) 'be pardoned' 赦 [narrowed].
Intr. 眚災肆赦 Shu 2,22 Offenders by mishap are pardoned. Nom.
刑茲無赦 Shu 29,16 Punish these without pardon.

(23) A. WÉN < mjwən < *mywən v. 'To hear' 聞. Tr. 我聞其聲 Shi 199,3
I hear his voice. Intr. 予聞 Shu 1,12 I have heard about him.
冒聞于上帝 Shu 29,4 It was seen and heard by Shangdi.

B. WÈN < mjwən < *mywəns v. 'Be heard, famous' 聞問 [narrowed]. Intr.
聲聞于野 Shi 184,1 The voice is heard in the wilds.
聞于四方 Shi 259,8 He is renowned in the states of the four
quarters. Nom. 令聞 Shi 235,2 Good fame.

(24) A. È < ʔɛk < *ʔrek n. 'Yoke, collar; part of yoke' 厄. Nom.

B. ÀI < ʔaì < *ʔreks ('Yoked':) 'narrowed, narrow' 隘. Adj. 隘巷 Shi
245,3 A narrow lane.

At this point we might pause to confirm that for EZ the following alleged
distinctive functions of *-s have no basis in reality: Downer's categories F
(passive) and A (nouns) are manifestations of one and the same function of *-s;
his categories E and H (restricted meaning or environment, i.e. narrower
meaning of the derived form) also reflect only a secondary phenomenon as
generally the semantic scope of a derivation tends to be narrower than that of
the base. Hence his groups E and H fall also under our definition of
"inversion".

Of the above derivations (exx. 1-24), only nos. 1, 16 and 18 are attested
in transitive usage. No. 1 does not appear to be causative (it probably is,

though, see the discussion after ex. 36), but exx. 16 and 18 clearly are, as is the next one:

(25) A. BǏ < pjí < *pyəlʔ v. ('To put together, put next to each other':) 'to compare' 比. Tr. 比予于毒 Shi 35,5 You compare me to poison.

B. BÌ < pjì < *pjəls v. ('Be put together, put next to each other':) 'to join', (caus.:) 'to assemble' 比. Intr. 其比如櫛 Shi 291,6 The stacks are (put next to each other:) are closely-arrayed like a comb. 胡不比焉 Shi 119,1 Why (aren't you joined) don't you join company with me? — Note that, in spite of the English translation, the subject is affected by the action (as in passive). Tr. 洽比其鄰 Shi 192,12 They assemble their neighbors. 人無有比德 Shu 24,10 Nobody will (cause his power to be put together with those of the others':) take conspiratory action.

We can derive bì 'assemble' from bǐ 'put together' only via the intransitive 'to join' and its subsequent causative usage 'make join > assemble'. Therefore, we will propose the working hypothesis that, as a rule, the *-s derivation is intransitive which means that it is automatically causative when used transitively. This hypothesis is not only supported by exx. 16, 18, and 25-31 which all include intransitively or nominally used inverted forms, but also allows us to identify the *-s in exx. 37-74 as the same inversion marker despite the fact that no intransitive usages are attested for these nos. in EZ.

(26) A. DÀO < dâú < *dəwʔ n. 'Way, road' 道. Nom.

B. DÀO < dâù < *dəws v. ('Be wayed':) 'be lead along a way, be conducted' 導道. Intr. 九河既道 Shu 6,4 The nine He (branches) were conducted. 導黑水 Shu 6,22 He (was lead:) travelled along the Hei river (the last two words are not the direct object, but the verbal complement). Tr. 導菏澤 Shu 6,14 He (caused to be conducted:) conducted the water of the Ge marshes.

(27) A. DUÒ < dâk < *dak v. 'To measure, plan' 度. Tr. 惟荒度土功 Shu 5,17 I extensively planned the land works. Intr. 禮儀卒度 Shi 209,3 the rites and ceremonies are entirely according to rule. 爰究爰度 Shi 241,1 He investigated and measured.

B. DÙ < duò < *daks v. 'Be measured, regulated; (cause.:) cause to be measured, to regulate' 度宅. Intr. 三危既宅 Shu 6,18 (The country of) Sanwei was regulated. 天命自度 Shu 35,4 By Heaven's command he measured himself. Tr. 度乃口 Shu 16,17 Regulate your mouths. Nom. 正法度 Shu 16,5 He determined the laws and regulations. 非度 Shu 20,2 Unlawful things. 美無度 Shi 108,1 Beautiful beyond measure.

(28) A. JĪ < tsjäk < *tsyek v. 'To accumulate' 積. Tr. 汝有積德 Shu 16,10 You have accumulated virtue. 積之 Shi 291,6 They heap it (the harvested grain).

B. ZÌ < tsjè < *tsyeks v. 'Be heaped' 積. Intr. 有實其積 Shi 290,6 Richly it (the grain) is heaped up. Tr. 迺積迺倉 Shi 250,1 He collected, he stored (with implied object?).

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(29) A. JIA < ka < *kral v. 'To add to' 加. Tr., intr. (not in Shu and Shi; only attested in Lunyu).

  B. JIÀ < kà < *krals v. ('Be added to, attached to':) 'be yoked', ('cause to be yoked':) 'to yoke' 駕 [narrowed]. Intr. 式' 車既駕 Shi 167,4 The war chariots are yoked. Tr. 駕彼四駱 Shi 162,5 I yoke those black-maned white horses. 夙駕 Shi 50,3 Early he yoked (his carriage —implied object).

(30) A. JING < kjeŋ < *kyeŋ st. 'Be scared, attentive' 驚. Intr. 徐方震驚 Shi 263,3 the country of Xu was shaken and scared. 徒御不驚 Shi 179,7 the footmen and charioteers are not attentive. Tr. 震驚朕師 Shu 2,36 They agitate and (cause to be scared:) alarm my multitude.

  B. JÌNG < kjèŋ < *kyeŋs v. ('Be made attentive':) 'be cautious'; 'to take care of, respect' 敬. Intr. 敬哉 Shu 29,6 Be careful! Tr. 敬民 Shu 18,5 To take care of the people. 敬典 Shu 29,19 To respect the rules.

(31) A. ZHǑNG < tśjwóŋ < *tjuŋʔ n. 'Seed' 種. Nom.

  B. ZHÒNG < tśjwòŋ < *tjuŋs v. ('Be seeded':) 'be sown'; ('cause to be sown':) 'to sow' 種. Intr. 實種 Shi 245,5 It was sown. Tr. 種之 Shi 245,5 He sowed it.

It becomes apparent that Downer's category C (causatives) captures only a coincidental semantic aspect of qusheng, one which flows naturally from its intransitive character. Therefore, qusheng's primary function is not at all the creation of causatives.

The next sets 32-36 also agree with the inversion function of *-s, but the derived form is "reflexive" or, especially no. 36, perhaps somehow "ergative".

(32) A. JIAN < kam < *kram v. 'To see, observe' 監. Intr. 何用不監 Shi 191,1 Why do you not make a scrutiny? — All other occurrences in Shu and Shi have either no commentary on pronunciation, or both *kram and *krams are indicated.

  B. JIÀN < kàm < *krams v. 'To mirror oneself' 監. Intr. 人無于水監 Shu 30,12 Men should not mirror themselves in the water,...

(33) A. QÙ < khjwó < *khyaʔ v. 'To put away, eliminate' 去. Tr. 去其螟螣 Shi 212,2 We remove the noxious insects from the ears and leaves.

  B. QÙ < khjwò < *khyas v. ('To remove oneself':) 'to go away, leave' 去. Intr. 鳥乃去矣 Shi 245,3 Then the birds went away. Tr.(?) 逝將去女 Shi 113,1 It has gone so far that we will leave you.

(34) A. RÁNG < ńźjaŋ < *njaŋ v. 'To remove, steal' 攘. 攘之 Shi 241,2 They cleared them (the trees). Nom. 寇攘 Shi 255,3 Robbers and thieves.

  B. RÀNG < ńźjàn < *njaŋs v. ('To remove oneself':) 'to cede' 讓. Tr.(?) 讓後人 Shu 36,20 Accede to the successors. Intr. 克讓 Shu

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1,1 He could be (ceding:) modest. 讓于稷 Shu 2,28 He ceded (his position) to Ji.

(35) A. SHĚ < śjá < *? v. 'To put away, let off, leave' 舍. Intr. 舍拔 Shi 127,2 When he lets off the arrow... Tr. 舍牿牛馬 Shu 49,3 To let loose hobbled oxen and horses. 舍其坐 Shi 220,3 They leave their seats.

B. SHÈ < śjà < *? v. ('To put oneself away':) 'to rest, stop' 舍 [narrowed]. Intr. 亦不遑舍 Shi 199,5 You yet have no time to stop at night.

(36) A. SHĒNG < śjəŋ < *śjəŋ v. 'Be equal to on's task, capable of' 勝. Intr. 鼛鼓弗勝 Shi 237,6 The drums could not keep pace (with the work rhythm).

B. SHÈNG < śjə̀ŋ < *śjəŋs v. 'To vanquish, conquer' (i.e. the object lets the subject be equal to its [subject's] task — see comment below) 勝. Tr. 勝殷 Shi 285 He conquered Yin.

This last set no. 36 calls for a discussion of the causative uses of *-s forms. Shèng 'to vanquish' is, in a way, the causative of sheng 'be capable of'. In which way? Normally, causative means that the subject causes the object to act or be in a given state. If the last sentence shèng Yin were causative in this sense, we should translate "he caused Yin to be equal to him (the attacker)", i.e. Yin would win this battle. But the sentence means "He conquered Yin", literally: "He was being caused (pass.) to be equal to Yin". Here, the causative is inverted, the object causes the subject to act or be in a given state -- Yin, the object, is the reason or occasion for the subject to be equal to its [subject's] task — while in an ordinary causative the subject causes the object to act.

Glancing back through the *-s derivatives presented so far, we uncover further cases of this "inverted causative": set no. 1b "I fear Shangdi" can be paraphrased: Shangdi (object) is the reason that makes me (subject) awed/scared. No. 23 wen could include 'to ask' 問 (see Karlgren 1960:139 -- I have omitted 'to ask' in set no. 23 because the meaning 'be heard' sufficiently illustrates the argument). Karlgren calls wen "a kind of causative [of wen 'to hear']: 'to cause to hear', (let me hear =) 'to ask'" (1960:139). This "kind of causative" is our inverted causative: the object is the occasion/reason or person that lets the (asking) subject hear. No. 30 敬民: the subject does not cause the people to be careful, but the people are the reason which makes the subject take care. No. 33去女 "we will leave you": either 'you' is not the direct object, but the verbal complement, in this case the place which is left; or we have here another reversed causative: you are the reason which makes us leave. No. 34 "accede to the successors": the successors (object) are the reason that makes the subject cede. Normal causatives occur, however, also with *-s derivatives, see nos. 16, 18, 25, 26, 29, and 31. It is significant, though, that the inverted causative seems to be possible only with *-s forms. This reversal of the attention flow towards the subject testifies once more to the postulated inversion function of qusheng.

All the qusheng forms listed so far occur, among others, either intransitively or nominally. Among the remaining sets below, transitive occurrences of these forms are the norm. But we believe that their transitive

uses can all be linked to the basic form via a hypothetical intransitive, just as English "wooded area" or "three-legged" are derived from "woods" and "leg" via a nonexistent "to wood" and "to leg" respectively. We have noted above that the causative connotation of the inversion forms results from the transitive employment of these primarily intransitive derivatives.

In presenting the material from set no. 37 on, we will omit textual quotations. As these helped us up to now in tracing the regular semantic connection between the base form and the various uses of the *-s type derivation, such quotes would add little to our understanding of the following material:

(37) A. ĀN < ʔân < *ʔan   st. 'Be peaceful' 安.

B. ÀN < ʔân < *ʔans   v. ('Be pacified, stopped'; caus.:) 'Cause to be stopped, to stop' 按 [narrowed?].

(38) A. BĪN < pjien < *pjen   n. 'Guest' 賓.

B. BÌN < pjièn < *pjens   B. ('Cause to be guested':) to receive as a guest' 賓.

(39) A. CHĒNG < tśhjəŋ < * thjəŋ   v. 'To lift; set forth' 稱.

B. CHÈNG < tśhjə̀ŋ < *thjəŋs   v. 'Be lifted to, be equal to/worthy of something' 稱 [narrowed].

(40) A. CHŪ < tśhjuet < *thjwət   v. 'To come out, go out' 出.

B CHÙ < tśhwì < *thjwəts   v. 'Be made to come/go out: 'to bring something out' 出.

(41) A. È < ʔâk < *ak   n. (or st.?) 'Evil' 惡.

B. WÙ < ʔuò < *aks   v. (The obj. causes the subj. to be evil/hateful:) 'to hate' 惡. (See discussion after no. 86).

(42) A. ĚR < ńźí < *njəʔ n. 'Ear' 耳.

B. ÈR < ńźì < *njəs   v. 'Cause to be eared: to cut off someone's ears' 刵. This graph has been suspected of being a variant of 刖 'to cut off legs', though. [Narrowed].

(43) A. FĒNG < pjuŋ < *pyum (?)   n. 'Wind' 風.

B. FÈNG < pjùŋ < *pyums (?)   v. 'Cause to be winded: to criticize' 風 [narrowed].

(44) A. FÙ < phjuk < *phyəwk   v. 'To overturn, turn over; to the contrary' 覆.

B. FÙ < phjə̀u < *phyəwks   v. 'Be turned to, cause to be turned to: to revert to someone, attend to someone; to cover someone/something' 覆.

(45) A. JIĀ < ka < *kra   n. 'House, family' 家.

B. JIÀ < kà < *kras v. 'Be housed: to marry (of girl)' 嫁 [narrowed].

(46) A. JUÉ < kǎk < *krəwk v. 'Be conscious' 覺. Attested in <u>Lunyu</u>, not <u>Shu</u>, nor <u>Shi</u>.

   B. JIÀO < kaù < *krəwks v. 'Make oneself conscious, be made conscious: to awake' 覺.

(47) A. IAÍ < lâi < *rə v. 'To come' 來.

   B. LÀI < lâi < *rəs v. 'Be made to come: encourage' (?) 勑 ; 'cause something to come to someone: to reward/present someone with something' 賚 [narrowed].

(48) A. NǓ < njwǒ < *nyaʔ n. 'Woman, wife' 女.

   B. NÙ < njwò < *nyas v. 'Cause to be wifed: give a wife' 女 [narrowed].

(49) A. QǓ < tshjú < *tshyuʔ v. 'To take' 取.

   B QÙ < tshjù < *tshyus v. 'Cause a wife to be taken: take a wife' 取 [narrowed].

(50) A. RÉN < ńźjəm < *njəm v. 'To load (a wagon); carry on the shoulder' 仕.

   B. RÈN < ńźjàm < *njəms v. 'Cause to be burdened: to charge someone with something; manager' 仕 [narrowed].

(51) A. SĀNG < sâŋ < *sâŋ < *smaŋ v. 'To mourn, burial' (lit. 'to let disappear') 喪. (Derived from 亡 'disappear').

   B. SÀNG < sâŋ < *saŋs < *smaŋs v. ('To let oneself disappear':) 'to die'; ('cause to die/perish':) 'to destroy; to lose' 喪.

(52) A. SHÍ < dźjǎk < *ljak v. 'To hit/aim at' (with bow and arrow) 射. Only in <u>Lunyu</u>, not <u>Shu</u>, nor <u>Shi</u>.

   B SHÈ < dźjà < *ljaks v. ('Cause to be hit':) 'to shoot' 射.

(53) A. SHÌ < dzí < *dsryəʔ v. 'To serve, do service, take office; officer, gentleman' 仕, 士.

   B. SHÌ < dzì < *dsryəs v. 'Be served; cause to be served: to serve someone; ('what is served':) 'service, affair' 事.

(54) A. SHÌ < śjək < *śjək v. 'To use, use as a model; model, pattern' 式.

   B. SHÌ < śì < *śjəks v. 'Be used against a model, be tested'; ('to make someone be used against a model':) to test, try' 試 [narrowed].

(55) A. SHÒU < dźjóu < *djəwʔ v. 'To receive' 受.

   B. SHÒU < dźjòu < *djəws v. ('Cause to be received':) 'to give' 授.

(56) A. WÁNG < jwaŋ < *ɣwaŋ   n. 'King' 王.

    B. WÀNG < jwàŋ < *ɣwaŋs v. ('Consider the obj. to be kinged = have a king':) 'be king over' 王.

(57) A. XIÀ < ɣá < *graʔ   n. 'Lower part, below' 下.

    B. XIÀ < ɣà < *gras   v. ('Be lowered':) 'to fall' 下.

(58) A. XIĀNG < sjaŋ < *syaŋ 'each other' 相.

    B. XIÀNG < sjàŋ < *syaŋs   v. 'to help, assist' 相.

(59) A. XUÉ < ɣåk < *grəwk   v. 'To learn' 學.

    B. XIÀO < ɣaù < *grəwks   v. ('Cause to be learned':) 'to teach' 斅.

(60) A. YĀN < ʔjəm < *ʔyam   st. 'Be content, tranquil' 厭.

    B. YÀN < ʔjàm < *ʔyams   v. ('Cause to be made content':) 'to satiate, tire of, abundant' 厭.

(61) A. YǍNG < jiáŋ < *laŋʔ   v. 'To nourish, feed, bring up' 養.

    B. YÀNG < jiàŋ < *laŋs   v. ('Cause to be nourished':) 'to keep, support' (parents) 養 [narrowed].

(62) A. YÍ < ŋjie < *ŋyal   v. (or st.?) 'Be in order, proper, ought; to get into order' 宜, 儀.

    B. YÌ > ŋjiè > *ŋyals   st. ('Be ordered, righted':) 'be proper, righteous' 義 [narrowed].

(63) A. YĪ < ʔjei / ʔyəl   n. 'Clothes' 衣.

    B. YÌ < ʔjei < *ʔyəls   v. ('Be clothed':) 'to wear' 衣.

(64) A. YǏN < ʔjəm < *ʔyəmʔ   v. 'To drink' 飲.

    B. YÌN < ʔjàm < *ʔyəms v. ('Getränkt werden, be given a drink':) 'to give a drink, tränken' 飲.

(65) A. YǏN < ʔjəm < *ʔyəm   n. 'Shade, cloud; northern slope' 陰.

    B. YÌN < ʔjàm < *ʔyəms   v. ('Cause to be covered':) 'to shelter' 陰.

(66) A. YŌNG < jiwoŋ < *luŋ   v. 'To use' 庸.

    B. YÒNG < jiwòŋ < *luŋs   v. ('Cause to be used, be made to use':) 'to use, obey' 用.

(67) A. YǑNG < jwéŋ < *ɣwăŋʔ   st. 'Be long' (time, place) 永.

    B. YÒNG < jwèŋ < *ɣwaŋs   v. ('Be made long':)) 'to chant, sing' 詠 [narrowed].

[narrowed].

(68) A. YÒU < jə́u < *ɣwaʔ   n. or v.? 'The right side: to turn to the right'
右.

   B. YÒU < jəù < *ɣwəs   v. ('Be righted: be put at someone's right side':)
   'to assist someone' 右,佑,又 [narrowed].

(69) A. YǓ < jú < *ɣwaʔ   v. 'To rain; rain' 雨.

   B. YÙ < jù < *ɣwas   v.? ('Being rained':) 'falling' (snow) 雨.

(70) A. YUǍN < jwén < *ɣwǎnʔ   st. 'Be distant, far' 遠.

   B. YUÀN < jwèn < *ɣwǎns   v. ('Cause to be "distanced"':) 'to keep at a
   distance, keep away, go far away from' 遠.

(71) A. ZHÍ < tśjəp < *tjəp   v. 'To hold, grasp' 執.

   B. ZHÌ < tśî / *tjəps   v. 'Be grasped, seized' 摯.

(72) A. ZHÙ < tśjuk < *tjəwk   n. 'Prayer, invoker' 祝.

   B ZHÒU < tśjəù < *tjəwks   v. 'Be prayed for, curse' 祝.

(73) A. ZǏ < tsí < *tsyəʔ   n. 'Son' 子.

   B ZÌ < tsì < *tsyəs   v. ('Cause to be considered a son':) 'to treat like a
   son' 子.

(74) A. ZUǑ < tsã̂ < *tsalʔ   v. (or st.?) 'To turn left, left' 左.

   B. ZUǑ < tsã̂ < *tsals   v. ('Be lefted: be put at someone's left side':)
   'to help someone' 佐. Cf. no. 68. [narrowed].

   Among the above sets we encounter derivations which are connected with the
basic form in a rather tortuous way around two corners (inversion, then
causative). We should remember, though, that, for example, in Classical Greek
the middle voice had massively invaded the realm of the active, particularly
the active voice of the future tense was expressed often by middle endings.
Experience tells us, therefore, that mushrooming of *-s forms into semantic
fields which theoretically and with more logic could have been filled by the
base form is not unusual.

   Finally, we list sets which are tentatively considered residue. Items in
this group cannot be shown to fit the *-s pattern for several reasons: lack of
illuminating examples, specialized grammatical function (which obliterates the
semantic connections with the basic form), or perhaps forms are unrelated. In
any case, that we cannot positively explain these sets in terms of inversion is
due to default.

(75) A. CHÁNG < źjaŋ < *djaŋ   v.(?) 'Be used to, constant' 常.

   B. SHÀNG < źjàŋ < *djaŋs   'Still, continue to, (not...) any more, may'
   尚.

(76) A. FÙ < bjuk < *bywk   v. 'To return, restore' 復.

   B. FÙ < bjəù < *bywks 'Again' 復. In Lunyu et alia this word means 'to repeat' of which 'again' is merely an adverbial usage. Thus, fu means literally: 'cause to be returned, let be returned: repeat, again'.

(77) A. HǍO < xâú < *?   st. 'Be good' 好.

   B. HÀO < xâù < *?   v. 'To love' 好 (Cf. no. 41; see discussion below).

(78) A. HÉ < ɣuâ < *gwal   v. (or st.?) 'To harmonize, be harmonious' 和.

   B. HÈ < ɣuâ < *gwals   v. (?) 'To join with someone' (in singing) 和.

(79) A. LÁO < lâu < *raw   v. 'To toil' 勞.

   B. LÀO < lâù < *raws   v. 'To reward' 勞.

(80) A. LIÈ < ljät < *ryat   v. 'To broil; be sharp; be blazing, bitterly cold; brilliant' 烈.

   B. LÌ < ljäì < *ryats   v. 'Be cruel' 厲; 'to sharpen' 礪; 'energetically' 勵.

(81) A. WÁNG < mjwaŋ < *myaŋ   v. 'To disappear, die' 亡.

   B. WÀNG < mjwaŋ(ヽ) < *myaŋ(s)   v. 'To forget' 忘. Semantically, this derivation was regular ('Cause to be "disappeared": let disappear') if Shi, Zhanguo and Han rimes did not consistently indicate that 'to forget' was read with the equivalent of the even tone (see QIU 1979).

(82) A. WÙ < mjuət < *mywat 'Don't' 勿.

   B. WÈI < mjwei < *mywats 'Not yet' 未.

(83) A. WÉI < jwe < *ɣwal 'To function as, be make' 為.

   B. WÈI < jwe < *ɣwals 'For' 為.

(84) A. ZHĀO < tśjäu < *tjaw   v. 'To shine, enlighten' 昭.

   B. ZHÀO < tśjäù < *tjaws   v. 'To shine on, make visible' 炤 照 (lit.: 'cause to be shined onto'?).

(85) A. ZHĒNG < tśjäŋ < *tjeŋ   v. 'To march, march against, attack' 正, 征. 'To attack' is clearly a specialized application of the basic meaning 'to march' (on the basis of the word's usage in Shu and especially Shi). Consequently, it is difficult to establish a semantic link between this word and:

   B. ZHÈNG < tśjäŋ < *tjeŋs   st. 'Be straight, to correct; government' 正, 政.

(86) A. GUǍNG < kwâŋ < *kwaŋʔ   st. 'Be extensive, wide' 廣.

B. GUĀNG < kwằŋ < *kwaŋs   st. (?) 'Be extensive' 横, 光.

Perhaps a few of these residual sets can be removed from this group. I suspect that, contrary to traditional assertions, no. 85 B is not derived from 85 A. No. 76 might fit the inversion function of *-s. It seems rather far-fetched to derive ex. 77 B 'to love' from 'good' by way of the inversion marker, but this set should be considered together with no. 41 'bad' vs. 'to hate', and no. 1 'scare' vs. 'to fear'. The last derivation 'to fear' posed no problem for our theory and helps shed some light on the other two. All three derivations are verbs of emotion in which the object evokes the emotions of fear, hate and love in the subject. Thus we can argue that not only in 'to fear', but also in 'to hate' and 'to love', the attention flow is reversed as the object influences the subject, whereas the subject does not act upon the object. This consideration not only makes us more comfortable including wù 'to hate' among the regular inverted forms, but also allows us to add hǎo 'to love' to the regular derivations. Thus it seems possible to shrink the residue pile down to nine sets.

The preceding thoughts suggest that qusheng is an inversion marker also in a word which does not contrast with a non-qusheng basic form, i.e. jiàn < kièn < *klans 見 'to see' which is similar to the above verbs of emotion in that its object is the occasion for the subject of perceive, 'see': the subject is receptive, the natural attention flow originates with the object and proceeds, in inverted order, to the subject, hence *-s. Jiàn is nearly synonymous with ex. 32 A jiàn < *kram 'to see'. While the latter is "direct" and implies active participation in the seeing process by the subject and therefore also tends to mean 'to observe, supervise', jiàn 見 is never "active" in this sense, only "passive". This illuminates also a specialized meaning of jiàn 見: 'to see a superior, have an audience with'. For the subject, the importance of an audience lies in being noticed, 'seen', by the object (superior), not the other way around.

There might be more qusheng words without a basic form in which the *-s is the inversion marker, e.g. ming < mjwèŋ < *mywǎŋs 'to order; order, mandate' 命. Shaughnessy (1981:62) has pointed out that in the Shang oracle bone inscriptions and in EZ, ming is sometimes used "passively": 'Y is ordered to...', besides the common construction: 'X (causes Y to be ordered:) orders Y to...'

In this article we have proposed that the different functions which have been associated with qusheng (*-s) in CC can be traced back to a single one in EZ[4]: namely that of inverting the attention flow. This basic purpose of *-s has been captured by Mei in his "introvert-extrovert" category, by Downer's categories F and D, and by Zhou's no. 6. Since many of the inversion derivations in *-s are nouns ("passives") the Chinese in the post-EZ period

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[4] This should be emphasized: our data lead us to assume one semantic core for qusheng where other scholars see later in CC many functions. We do not necessarily claim that the phonological feature qusheng has only one phonological origin. Furthermore, postulating an *-s origin for this derivational device qusheng does not preclude the possibility that under certain conditions a final *-s led to different phonological developments. Benedict (1979:17-19) has plausibly suggested that in some Sino-Tibetan roots in *-s, this final phoneme is reflected by the ArC dental stop *-t.

must have felt that nouns can be created with qusheng so that also direct ("active") nouns were then derived from verbs, e.g. 'overseer' (not 'who/what is overseen') from 'to see' (Downer's ex. A 2; cf. set 32 above), or 'rider' (not 'who/what is ridden') from 'to ride' (Downer's ex. A 9). As Mei, Downer and Zhou studied qusheng in CC, not just in EZ, they were therefore led to define one of this tone's functions as nominalization (Downer cat. A; Zhou no. 2). Since, as we hypothesized, *-s derivations are fundamentally intransitive, transitive use turned them automatically into causatives. Therefore, "causativization" (Downer's cat. D; Zhou no. 5) is not an original function of this morpheme. Because the inverted forms can imply perfective aspect (just as English -ed, as in 'learned', implies: (1) passive (i.e. inversion); (2) perfective aspect; cf. especially exx. 2-21 above), Zhou perceived one function of qusheng as marker of completed action (no. 7). Because generally, derived forms are of a semantically narrower scope than the basic forms, Downer's categories E and H are also secondary phenomena and not basic functions of *-s. We conjecture that in CC the relationship between qusheng's original function of inversion and the secondary characteristics associated with it was so obscure that this morpheme was felt to be a general derivational device which could then also form adverbs (Downer's cat. G; Zhou no. 8) and verbs (Downer's cat. B; Zhou nos. 1, 4 and 5), in short: everything.

As Mei, Downer and Zhou investigated not EZ, but CC, our hypothesis for a single EZ function does not invalidate their conclusions, but shows that restricting the investigation to just the earliest few centuries of CC, namely EZ, can lead beyond previous results and bring us another step closer to an understanding of qusheng's original function.[5]

In CC, the attention flow is inverted by a number of passive constructions, such as marking the agent with the coverb ('preposition') yu 於, 于. Interestingly enough, such devices, though common in CC, are extremely rare in EZ -- if they exist at all. Perhaps the *-s derivation originally performed a function which was later, in the post-EZ period when the core meaning of *-s was lost, assumed by these passive constructions.

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[5] The question about the age of the qusheng derivations has not been discussed in this paper because, unlike traditional philologists in the past, most modern investigators agree that this tone is "old", i.e. at least EZ, among them Karlgren (1960:139), Forrest (1960), Zhou (1963:49-50), Mei (1980). Our investigation's conclusions bear this out: if the tone were 'late' (Zhanguo or Qin times), then qusheng readings had been retroactively projected back into Shu and Shi, and EZ and CC functions would then be identical. But since the EZ function is different from CC usages, qusheng must have existed already in EZ.