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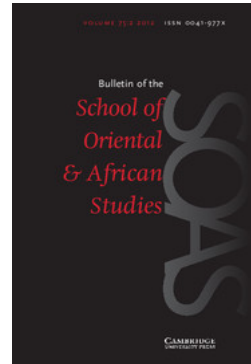
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Walter Simon

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Bih 比' = Wey 爲' ?

By WALTER SIMON

THE gloss *bih you wey yee* 比猶爲也 (with the reading of 比 in the falling tone indicated by the *faanchie* 反切 "*bih. bih ell faan* 比必二反") is to be found in Ju Shi 朱熹's "Collected Commentaries to the Four Books" (*Syhsu Jyijuh* 四書集注) in explanation of a famous passage in Mencius¹ (*Jiuann* 卷 [hereafter abbreviated as J.], 1, p. 5B). The King Huey of Wey admits to Mencius the ignominious position into which his country has fallen from the heights of past glory through defeats suffered on all sides, and tells him of his intention to make a supreme effort to wipe off the shame: *Goaren chyy jy. Yuann bih syj jee yih shii jy*, 寡人恥之願比死者一洒之.

In accordance with Ju Shi's gloss, Legge translates the passage (p. 134): "I have brought shame on my departed predecessors, and wish *on their account*² to wipe it away, once for all". In the same way Couvreur translates the passage (p. 308): "Je suis un objet de honte pour mes prédécesseurs. *Pour l'honneur des défunts*, je désire laver cet affront. Ego exiguae virtutis homo sum dedecori illis (majoribus meis). Cupio, *in gratiam mortuorum* (avorum meorum), semel eluere illam ignominiam", and Wilhelm (p. 5): "Ich schäme mich darob und möchte *um der Toten willen* ein für allemal die Schmach reinwaschen". The Manchu version has likewise adopted Ju Shi's explanation (p. 65): "Sitahûn³ niyalma bi yertembi: *akûha ursei jalin saringgiyaki sembi*". So have the Japanese translations, with one exception to be discussed later.⁴ Kanno, for instance, gives the following reading (p. 30): "Kwajin kore wo hazu. Negawaku wa *shi-sha no tame ni* hitotabi kore wo susugan".

Ju Shi's explanation of the passage has also been accepted by Jiau Shyun 焦循 (1763-1820) in his famous commentary *Menqzzy Jenqyih* 孟子正義

¹ Reference is made to the reprints in the Series *Syhbuk-beyyaw* 四部備要 (hereafter abbreviated SSBY) for the commentaries by Ju Shi, Jaw Chyi 趙岐, and Jiau Shyun 焦循. The (Pseudo-) Suen Shyh 孫奭 Commentary *Menqzzy Jenqyih* 孟子正義 will be quoted according to Roan Yuan 阮元's edition of the *Shyrsanjing* 十三經 (lithographed edition by *Mohuangshian Goan* 脈望仙館, of 1887). For the translations reference is made to the following books:—

J. Legge, *Chinese Classics*, vol. ii, 2nd ed., Oxford, 1895.

S. Couvreur, *Les quatre livres, avec un commentaire abrégé en chinois, et une double traduction en français et en latin*, 2nd ed., Ho Kien Fu, 1910.

R. Wilhelm, *Mong Dsi (Mong Ko)*, Jena, 1916.

Kanno Dômei 簡野道明, *Môshi Tsûkai* 孟子通解, Tokio, 1925.

H. C. von der Gabelentz, *Sse-schu, Schu-king, Schi-king in Mandschuischer Uebersetzung*, Erstes Heft: Text., Leipzig, 1864 (= *Abhandlungen der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, iii, 1).

² The italics in this and in the following translations are mine.

³ I have substituted *û* for the *ô* of Gabelentz's transcription.

⁴ See here below, p. 802.

(J. 2, p. 20A). However, instead of the gloss *bih you wey yee*, we find here the gloss *bih day yee* 比代也, adduced as a quotation from the dictionary *Goangyea* 廣雅.¹ This clearly is an improvement on Ju Shi (whom Jiau Shyun, however, does not mention). As *day* means “to substitute, instead of”, the meaning of the passage as suggested by Ju Shi is not affected by the substitution of *day* for *wey*. But in adducing this gloss Jiau Shyun enlists on behalf of Ju Shi's interpretation the support of a dictionary compiled (by Jang Yih 張揖) in the first half of the third century. Moreover the *Goangyea* took the gloss, or rather the list of words which are all alleged to mean “to substitute, instead of” from an earlier dictionary, the famous dialect dictionary *Fangyan* 方言, which is ascribed to Yang Shyong 楊雄 (53 B.C.–A.D. 18). There (J. 3, p. 5A²) *bih* occurs as the third of a group of six dialectal equivalents of *day*: 庸恣比倅更佚代也. In accordance with Jiau Shyun the meaning *day* for *bih* has been incorporated in the *Jonghwa Dahtzyhdean* 中華大字典³ and in the *Tsyrrhae* 辭海.⁴ In both cases our passage has been quoted as an example, and in the former entry reference is made to the *Fangyan*, but Jiau Shyun is not mentioned in either case.

In its original form Ju Shi's gloss has been incorporated—again without mentioning his name—in the two most important recent Chinese publications on Chinese grammar, viz. Professor Yang Shuhdar 楊樹達's *Tsyrrhyuan* 詞詮⁵ and his *Gaudeeng-Gwouenfai* 高等國文法.⁶ It is to be found also in the most extensive Japanese grammar of Chinese, viz. Hiroike Chikuro 廣池千九郎's *Zôtei-Shinabuntan* 增訂支那文典.⁷

There would, therefore, seem no reason to query Ju Shi's gloss for our passage, as I ventured to do in the title of this paper, and even less reason to query its variant *bih* = *day*, which can claim the support of an ancient Chinese dictionary.

The position will appear changed, however, as soon as we consider another Mencius passage for which this same gloss has been adduced by Ju Shi (J. 2, p. 19B) and, at least partly, accepted in the current Western and Eastern translations of Mencius. In this second passage Mencius defends himself against the reproach that he should have used too extravagant a coffin for the funeral of his mother. In the course of the argument mention is made of the feeling of relief relatives of the dead are bound to have when they know that owing to the thickness of the coffin the earth will not come into direct contact with the body. The passage runs in Chinese: *Chiee bih huah jee, wu shyy tuu chin fwi yu ren shin dwu wu shiaw hu?* 且比化者無使土親膚於人心獨

¹ See Wang Niannsuen 王念孫's *Goangyea sujenq* 廣雅疏證 (SBBY, J. 3, p. 12A).

² See the reprint in the Series *Syhbuh-Tsongkan* 四部叢刊, hereafter abbreviated as SBTK.

³ Shanghai, Chunghwa Press, 1915, vol. ii, Section *Mao*, p. 209, 3rd column, No. 8.

⁴ Shanghai, Chunghwa Press, 1937, Section *Chern*, p. 259, 3rd column, No. 7.

⁵ Shanghai, Commercial Press, 2nd ed., 1931, J. 1, pp. 9–10.

⁶ Shanghai, Commercial Press, 1st ed., 1930, p. 459.

⁷ Tokio, Waseda University, 5th ed., 1925, p. 655.

無悛乎? Legge translates (p. 222): "And, moreover, is there no satisfaction to the natural feelings of a man, in preventing the earth from getting to the bodies of his dead?" In a note Legge states, in accordance with Ju Shi, that "*bih huah jee* is the same as *bih syj jee*" in the preceding passage, though the translation by itself would not seem to give a clear idea as to how he understood the word *bih* in this passage. Couvreur's French translation (p. 394) shows the same vagueness: "De plus, ne pas laisser la terre toucher le corps d'un père ou d'une mère n'est-ce pas aussi une grande joie au cœur d'un bon fils?" Only in the Latin translation does he do justice to Ju Shi's gloss. "Insuper in gratiam mortuorum,¹ non sinere ut terra attingat eorum corpora, hominum animis num illud solum non est gaudium?"

It must, therefore, be noted that the gloss *bih wey yee*, although meant to cover both passages, presents the translators with difficulties in the case of the second passage. This can also be seen from the German and Manchu translations. Wilhelm (p. 42) seems to have accepted the interpretation of the Pseudo Suen Shyh² as he translates "Und ferner: sollte es unserem Herzen denn gar keine Beruhigung gewähren, wenn wir dafür sorgen, dass die Erde nicht in Berührung kommt mit den Körpern derer, die der Auflösung entgegengehen?" And in the Manchu translation (p. 85) the postposition *de* (not *jalin*) is used: "Tere anggala. akūha niyaman de³ boihon be giran de latuburakū oci. jui oho niyalmai gūnin selarakū semeo".

Only the current Japanese translations use *tame ni* also in the second passage (e.g. Kanno, p. 261): "Katsu *kwa sha no tame ni* tsuchi wo shite hadae ni chikazukashimuru koto naki wa jinshin ni oite hitori kokoroyoki koto nakaran ya?"

Furthermore, it is obvious that the support lent to Ju Shi's explanation of the first passage by the quotation from the *Goangyea* or the *Fangyan* is of no avail for the second passage. Under no account can *bih* here mean "instead of". It must also be mentioned that support from a list of dialectal words handed down to us without further details and without examples from actual texts must always be considered somewhat doubtful.

In addition there are other difficulties. Looking more closely at the two passages, one realizes that in the first Ju Shi has assigned to the verb *chyy* the causative meaning "to bring shame upon" instead of the usual meaning "to feel ashamed about" so as to be able to explain more easily *syj jee* as

¹ The italics in this and in the following translations are mine.

² See here below, p. 792.

³ The text of the "Imperial Translation" transcribed by Gabelentz here differs considerably from the version in the *Maan-Hann-tzyh herbih Syhshujyijuh* 滿漢字合璧四書集註, Lioulichang, Borguu(tarng and) Shenqingtarng 琉璃廠博古聖經堂, 13 parts, no year (cf. Möllendorff, "Essay on Manchu Literature", *Journ. of the China Branch of the R.A.S.*, N.S., xxiv (1890), p. 15, No. 51, and Li Teh Ch'i, *Union Catalogue of Manchu Books*, Peiping, 1933, p. 3, No. 121, 2), *Menqtzyj jyijuh*, J. 2, p. 47A, where the passage runs: "tere anggala akūha urse de boihon be beye de nikeburakū oci, tede niyalmai mujilen selarakū semeo?" But the rendering of *bih* by *de* is not affected.

“the departed predecessors”, and that in the second passage he explains *huah jee* as “the dead ones”, which, as we shall see shortly, is at variance with the interpretation of this word noted in the oldest Mencius commentary, viz. in Jaw Chyi’s commentary.

Nor is this all. If we were to accept Ju Shi’s explanation and were even to adopt it in both passages—not only in the first—we should still be confronted with a meaning of *bih* which is limited to two passages within the whole of the immense Chinese literature, and—last but not least—we should have to deal with a meaning which has no semantic connection with any accepted meaning of 比 in any of its three traditional readings (*bi*, *bih*, or *pyi*).

It was certainly this unsatisfactory linguistic situation which induced Shiao Shyun to assign to *bih* in the first passage a meaning which could be found—short of actual texts—in an ancient dictionary. And it is interesting to note that for the second passage (J. 9, p. 5A, l. 4) he uses another authentic gloss, viz. *bih you jyh yee* 比猶至也 (“to arrive, to reach”).

But before studying the implications of this latter gloss, let us consider the position as shown in two commentaries which preceded Ju Shi. The first of them was compiled by Jaw Chyi 趙岐 (died A.D. 201), and is, as stated above, the most ancient commentary of Mencius which we possess.

Jaw Chyi makes no mention of *bih* in the first passage, and in the second (J. 4, p. 9A) he explains the words *bih huah jee* as *bih chin tii jy biannhuah* 比親體之變化. In other words Jaw Chyi does not see anything worth explaining in *bih* itself, but he explains *huah jee* as “the change (i.e. the decomposition) of the bodies of the parents”. Jaw Chyi’s explanation of *huah jee* was repeated (J. 4 *Shang*, p. 3B, l. 20) by the commentary which immediately preceded that of Ju Shi, the *Mengtzzy Jenqyih*¹ purporting to have been written by Suen Shyh 孫奭 (962–1033).

For the first passage the Pseudo Suen Shyh gives, however, a paraphrase of his own (J. 1 *Shang*, p. 3B, l. 18): “Jin yuann *jinn sy buh shi minq jee* . . . 今願近死不惜命者 . . .” (“Now I wish nearing death [and therefore] having no regard for my life . . .”).

We shall see that this commentary got very near to what I consider the correct interpretation of the passage. It operates with a well known meaning of *bih*, viz. *bih jinn yee* 比近也 (“close to, near”), which is in fact the primary meaning of *bih*. However, this meaning “close to” refers usually to space. When referring to time, *bih* has acquired, as we shall see,² a very special meaning which is quite different from the meaning “on the point of, on the verge of” suggested by the Pseudo Suen Shyh’s paraphrase. As is well known, the meaning “on the point of” is expressed in Chinese by *jiang* 將 or *chieh* 且.

Nevertheless the Pseudo Suen Shyh has made what I consider a very

¹ See here above, p. 789, n. 1, and, with reference to the authenticity of this work, the remarks in the *Sytkuh-chyuan-shu-tsoong-muh-tyi-yaw* 四庫全書總目提要 (J. 35, first title), which were also reprinted by Roan Yuan in his edition of the commentary in the *Shyrsanjing*.

² See here below, p. 794.

important contribution to the elucidation of our two passages. He rediscovered a fact so obvious to Jaw Chyi that he did not see any point in commenting upon it, viz. that in both cases *bih* is referring to time, to the time of the death of King Huey in the first passage and to the time of the decomposition of the bodies of the parents in the second.

Let us now revert to the gloss *bih you jyh yee*. I called it authentic because it is included, for instance, in Roan Yuan's *Jingji-juannguh* 經籍纂詁.¹ The gloss is to be found in the commentary or rather the "Collected Commentaries to the Analects" edited by Hwang Kaan 皇侃 (488-545), the *Luenyeu Yihsu* 論語意疏,² where it explains the function of *bih* in the passage *bih jyi san nian*, listed in this paper as example No. 21.³ Though Jiau Shyun does not mention the origin of the gloss *bih you jyh yee* while explaining our second Mencius passage, he refers to it (J. 5, p. 1A) when dealing with the Mencius passage *bih chyi faan yee*, listed here below as example No. 7. As we shall see, *bih* clearly refers to time in this latter passage. This was hinted at by the gloss *bih jyi yee* 比及也 ("to reach"), given in explanation of the passage by Ding Gongjuh 丁公著 (beginning of the ninth century), and quoted from his commentary, the *Mengtzyy Ding Shyh Shoorin* 孟子丁氏手音 (which we no longer possess), in Suen Shyh's *Mengtzyy Inyih*.⁴ Jiau Shyun realized how closely Ding's gloss *bih jyi yee* was connected with Hwang Kaan's earlier gloss *bih jyh yee* ("to reach, arrive"), and he attempted to link up the latter gloss with an even earlier one, *bih you jyh yee* 比猶致也—given by Gau Yow 高誘 (later Hann Dynasty) in his commentary to the *Leu Shyh Chuenchiou* 呂氏春秋⁵—which has, however, nothing to do with Hwang Kaan's gloss since *bih* in Gau Yow's gloss means "tight, close". It is a little surprising to see that Jiau Shyun then rejects both Ding's and Hwang's glosses and proceeds to explain *bih* in the passage *bih chyi faan yee* as "if for example".

While Jiau does not seem to have dealt very satisfactorily with this third Mencius passage, he deserves credit, I think, for the treatment of our second passage. Not only has he ignored there Ju Shi's gloss altogether, he has also re-emphasized the Pseudo Suen Shyh's explanation of this passage by recalling Hwang Kaan's gloss, in accordance with which he paraphrases *bih huah jee* as *jyh jifu buh tswen* 至肌膚不存 (when it comes to the decay of the flesh).

¹ J. 63 *Shiah*, p. 7b, l. 7, of the lithographed Horng Wen 鴻文 edition of 1888.

² J. 6, p. 17A, of the Japanese reprint made in 1923 by *Kwaikokudō* 懷德堂.

³ See below, p. 800.

⁴ No reprint of Suen Shyh's work was accessible to me. Professor G. Haloun, however, very kindly verified the quotation in the edition of the *Mengtzyy Jaw juh* 孟子趙注 included in the *Ueiboshieh Tsongshu* 微波榭叢書, where the *Mengtzyy-inyih* has been added as an appendix. Ding Gongjuh's gloss referring to the passage *bih chyi faan yee* can also be found in the collection of fragments of his commentary (*Mengtzyy Ding Shyh Shoorin*), included in the Series *Yuhharnshanfanang Jyiyihshu* 玉函山房輯佚書 (J. 48, p. 5b⁷), and reoccurs there on p. 9b⁸, where our second Mencius passage (*bih huah jee*) is referred to.

⁵ SBTK, J. 20, p. 12b (beginning of the chapter *Dar Yuh* 達鬱); p. 358 of the translation by R. Wilhelm (*Frühling und Herbst des Lü Bu We*, Jena, 1928).

It may be noted in passing that Jiau makes no more mention of the Pseudo Suen Shyh or of Hwang Kaan than he does of Ju Shi.

Before surveying the position reached so far, we must mention one further way of hinting at *bih* being used with reference to time. I mean the bare indication of the fact that in a particular passage the character 比 is to be read as *bih* in the falling, not—as usually—as *bii* in the rising tone. As is well known, this can be done either by giving a *faan chie* of the kind mentioned in the beginning of this paper, or by adding the words *chiuh sheng* 去聲 (falling tone) after the character 比. It need hardly be said that this method is rather ambiguous since *bih* is read in the falling tone also when referring to space (meaning “close to”),¹ to say nothing of the fact that even the alternative of *bih* referring to time entails, as we shall see, further ambiguities.

Summarizing the position concerning Ju Shi's gloss *bih you wey yee* and the two Mencius passages for which it is adduced, it may be said that no gloss at all seemed necessary to Jaw Chyi, that the Pseudo Suen Shyh recognized that *bih* was referring to time in these passages and that in the case of the second passage this point was re-emphasized by Jiau Shyun. Furthermore, it must be noted that we have two glosses, viz. *bih jyh yee* (“to arrive, to reach”) and *bih jyi yee* (“to reach”), going back to the sixth and ninth centuries, which hint at the reference of *bih* to time, and that the mere indication of the reading of *bih* in the falling tone is a further though ambiguous device which can be used for this purpose.

Before pronouncing a final verdict on Ju Shi's gloss it would, however, seem imperative that we should give an exact description of the function of *bih* instead of the mere hint that in some way or other it is referring to time, and furthermore that this description should be followed up and substantiated by examples illustrating this usage.

Proceeding now to a description of the function of *bih* when referring to time, it must be admitted that the mere reference to time still leaves open no less than three possibilities. *bih* can simply be an adverb of time and, as such, mean either “recently, the other day” or “several times in succession”. To deal with these two meanings would lie outside the scope of this paper. It is obvious that neither of them can apply in our passages.

The third meaning of *bih* referring to time confronts us with a very idiomatic usage. *Bih* introduces what we may call a clause of time (or sometimes merely an adverb phrase of time) which denotes a period the end of which is stated and the beginning of which is to be understood from the context. The function of the clause (or the adverb phrase) introduced by *bih*, then, is to limit the time of the action or of the state of things to be told so as to say that something happens, happened, or will happen, or that a state of things prevails, prevailed, or will prevail during the course of and not later than at the end of this period.

¹ See for instance the gloss 比近也 coupled with the *faan chie* 音頻二反 in Yan Shyguu 顏師古's commentary to the *Chyankhannshu* (J. 39, p. 27B of the edition quoted here below, p. 796, n. 9).

The end of the time clause is sometimes marked by *jee* 者 or *yee* 也¹ (see here below examples Nos. 1, 7-9, 13, 15, and No. 22 with its variant given in the note). After the adverb phrase *bih dann* (example No. 4) we observe *erl* 而.

It follows from the above description of the function of *bih* that in this meaning *bih* lends itself only to the clumsy translation "*during the period extending to*". Various idiomatic translations have, therefore, to be used in English. On the whole "*by the time (that)*" would seem nearest in a general way, but often either "*before*" or "*until*" must be chosen according to the context.²

Cases where *bih* does not mean "*during the period extending to*" but "*during a period extending over*" must be singled out as a special group (see hereafter examples Nos. 21 and 22). The length of the period is then stated in years or months, etc., and the obvious translation is "*within*" or "*within the space of time of*". It must be noted that, as a rule, *jyi* 及 ("*to reach*") is then added after *bih*³: *bih jyi san nian* (ex. No. 21) would mean literally "*during a period reaching (down to) three years*". The passage quoted on p. 800, n. 4, *bih san yueh jee*, is a textual variant of example No. 22, which shows the more usual *bih jyi san yueh jee*.

A further group of cases must be mentioned and excluded from our list of examples. An adverbial phrase like *bih nian* (*suey*) "*every year*" would not seem to fit in with the foregoing definition of *bih*. Having in mind the functional similarity between *bih* and English *by*, which will be mentioned here below, one may be tempted to refer to English "*year by year*", the more so since we have also *bih ryh*⁴ "*day by day*" and *bih u* "*house by house*". However, a real understanding of these adverbial phrases must, I think, start from a causative *bih* "*to place side by side*" which governs a noun in the plural: "*placing the years side by side*" = "*every year*". A support for this explanation can be derived from the parallel phrase *jong nian* "*every other year*" which can easily be understood as "*putting a year in between*".⁵

The functional similarity between English *by* and Chinese 比, both when

¹ This function of both *jee* and *yee* has been observed by Suen Jingshyh 孫經世. See his "Supplementary Notes" to Wang Yin-jy 王引之's *Jingjuann-shyhtsy* 經傳釋詞, the *Jingjuann-shyhtsy-buu* (補), first published in 1885 (according to S. Y. Teng and K. Biggestaff's *Annotated Bibliography of Selected Chinese Reference Works*, Peiping, 1936, p. 173, n. 1), pp. 18B/19A of the 4th *tseh* 冊 of the edition by Chongdu-Shuyju 成都書局 of the *Jingjuann-shyhtsy* (1928), or J. 9, p. 10, of the reprint of the latter work in the Series *Shyuesheng-Gwooshyue-Tsongshu* 學生國學叢書 (Shanghai, Commercial Pr., 1931).

² Reference may be made to the interesting remarks on "*Till, in the sense of Before*" in R. O. Williams, *Some Questions of Good English*, New York, 1897, pp. 204, etc.

³ Note also example No. 11 which shows *ji* 期 "*to complete*" after *bih* with its variant quoted in the note.

⁴ *Hownannshu*, J. 63 (*Liehjuann*, J. 23), p. 23A⁶ of the edition quoted here below, p. 796, n. 9.

⁵ Cf. the Manchu version of the *Liijih* (J. xvii, p. 2, of the *Yukjyh Fanyih Liijih* 御製繙譯禮記, of 1783, printed 1792, see W. Fuchs, *Beiträge z. Mandjurischen Bibliographie u. Literatur*, Tokyo, 1936, p. 88), where 中年 is rendered as *aniya giyalame*, *giyalame* being derived from Chinese *jian* 間 "*between*".

read *bih* and *bii* is striking. It must be noted that in the Scottish dialect *by* can be used both as a conjunction in the meaning “by the time (that)”¹ and to indicate the comparative, the latter usage also to be found in older English.² Both usages recall Chinese 比, indicating the comparative when read *bii*, and “by the time (that)” when read *bih*. The underlying idea in both languages is obviously that of juxtaposition, developed from the primary idea “close to, by the side”.

Before setting out the examples for *bih*, its treatment by the two foremost Chinese grammarians must be mentioned. Maa Jiannjong 馬建忠 deals only very briefly with *bih*.³ Yang Shuhdar gives a number of examples in the two works quoted above.⁴ In defining the function of *bih* he limits himself in the *Tsyrychuan* to placing the colloquial *daw* 到 (“when”) by the side of the old glosses *bih jyi yee* and *bih jyh yee*⁵; in his grammar he explains that *bih* is identical with the third of four meanings which he distinguishes for *jyi*,⁶ viz. the meaning of “eventually reaching”, which he likens again to the colloquial *daw*.⁷ In both his books, Yang Shuhdar rather implies meanings by examples than conveys them by exact definitions.

The list of examples⁸ set out on the following pages makes a few preliminary remarks necessary. The passages have been arranged alphabetically and numbered. For reasons of space, only the clauses introduced by *bih*, not the complete sentences, have been given and translated, but exact references⁹

¹ See the *Oxford English Dictionary* (*A New English Dictionary, etc.*, ed. by J. A. Murray) under *by*, vol. i, 1888, p. 1228, 21d, and the *Scottish National Dictionary*, ed. by W. Grant, vol. ii (1941), p. 337.

² See the *Oxford English Dictionary*, loc. cit., p. 1228, 6, and the *Scottish National Dictionary*, loc. cit.

³ *Maa Shyh Wentong* 馬氏文通, Shanghai, Comm. Pr., 21st ed., 1930, J. 8, pp. 46-7. See also Yang Shuhdar, *Maa Shyh Wentong Kanwuh* 馬氏文通刊誤, Shanghai, Comm. Pr., 1931, p. 155.

⁴ See here, above, p. 790.

⁵ *Tsyrychuan*, p. 9, No. 5: 時閒介詞. 讀去聲. 及也. 至也. 與口語「到」同。

⁶ *Gaudeeng Gwownfau*, p. 458: 用同待至義之及。

⁷ Loc. cit., p. 457: 三. 表待至. 義如口語之到。

⁸ Of Morimoto Kakuzō 森本角藏's *Gokyō Sakuin* 五經索引 (“Concordance to the *Wunjing*”, Tokio, 1935-?) the volume which includes the syllable *hi* ㄏ was not accessible to me. Otherwise I should probably have been able to give a fuller list of examples from the “Five Classics”. I have used, however, Yeh Shawjiun 葉紹鈞's “Index to the Thirteen Classics” (*Shyrsanjing Suooyin* 十三經索引, Shanghai, 1934), and, of course, Fraser-Lockhart's “Index to the Tso Chuan” (Oxford, 1930), and the Indexes to Couvreur's translations of the Chinese Classics. A few examples I owe to Yang Shuhdar. It may be noted that the Index to the new reprint of the *Peywen Yunnfuu* 佩文韻府, by Commercial Press, which has been arranged according to the first characters of the compounds, opens up also for grammatical research this invaluable collection of quotations.

⁹ For quotations from Mencius see above, p. 789, n. 1. The following editions and translations are referred to in the examples from other Chinese texts:—

(i) *Chyanhannshu* 前漢書. Lithographed print by Wenrueylou 文瑞樓 (in 4 *taw*) of the edition by Wang Shianchian 王先謙 (*Hannshu-buujuh* 漢書補注). Transl. by H. H. Dubs (*The History of the Former Han Dynasty*, vols. 1, 2, Baltimore,

will enable the reader to consider the whole context. For the same reason I have referred to translations¹ whenever they were known and accessible to me.

EXAMPLES

- (1) *Bih* . . . *bah jee* . . . *Chyanhannshu*, J. 99 *Shanq*, p. 35B¹⁰ (Stange, p. 4 and note 4; also *Introduction*, p. xv).
 比客罷者 . . . (before the guests had departed =) during the course of the banquet.
- (2) *Bih chih* . . . *Shinshih*, J. 8, p. 4B⁴.
 比去 . . . before he departed.

1938-1944) and (Chapter 99) by H. O. H. Stange (*Die Monographie über Wang Mang*, Leipzig, 1939).

- (ii) *Dahday-liijih* 大戴禮記. Text of SBTK. Transl. by R. Wilhelm (*Li Gi. Das Buch der Sitte des Älteren und Jüngeren Dai*, Jena, 1930).
- (iii) *Gwoyeu* 國語. Text of SBTK.
- (iv) *Hanshy-wayjuann* 韓詩外傳. Text of SBTK.
- (v) *Howhannshu* 後漢書. Text of SBTK (*Bornah-Edition* 百衲本).
- (vi) *Jeatzzy-shinshu* 賈子新書. Text of SBTK.
- (vii) *Leu-Shyh-chuenchiou* 呂氏春秋. Text of SBBY. Transl. by R. Wilhelm (*Frühling und Herbst des Lü Bu We*, Jena, 1928).
- (viii) *Liijih* 禮記. Text of SBBY. Transl. by J. Legge (*The Sacred Books of China, The Books of Confucianism*. Pts. iii and iv = *Sacred Books of the East*, vols. xxvii, xxviii, Oxford, 1885), and by S. Couvreur (*Li Ki, ou Mémoires sur les Bienséances et les Cérémonies*, vols. i, ii, Ho Kien Fou, 1899).
- (ix) *Luenyeu* 論語. Text of SBBY (edition with commentary by Her Yann 何晏). Transl. by J. Legge (*Chinese Classics*, vol. ii, 2nd ed., Oxford, 1893), by S. Couvreur (*Les quatre livres, etc.*, see here above, p. 789, n. 1), and by A. Waley (*The Analects of Confucius*, London, 1938).
- (x) *Mohtzyy* 墨子. Text of SBTK. Transl. by A. Forke (*Mé Ti, des Sozialethikers und seiner Schüler philosophische Werke* = *Mitteilungen des Seminars für Orientalische Sprachen*. Beiband zum Jahrgang xxiii/xxv, 1922), and by Y. P. Mei (*The Ethical and Poetical Works of Motse* = *Probsthain's Oriental Series*, vol. xix, London, 1929).
- (xi) *Sangwojyh* 三國志. Text of SBTK (see here above *Howhannshu*).
- (xii) *Shinshih* 新序. Text of SBTK.
- (xiii) *Shuoyuann* 說苑. Text of SBTK.
- (xiv) *Shyyjih* 史記. Ed. by Takigawa Kametarô 瀧川龜太郎 (*Shiji-kuichû-kôshô* 史記會注考證, vols. i-x, Tokyo, 1932-4). Transl. by E. Chavannes (*Les Mémoires historiques de Se-Ma Ts'ien*, vols. i-v, Paris, 1895-1905) and (Chapter 123) by F. Hirth (*The Story of Chang K'ien, China's Pioneer in Western Asia* = *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, vol. xxxvii (1917), pp. 89-152).
- (xv) *Tzuoojuann* 左傳. Ed. and transl. by J. Legge (*The Chinese Classics*, vol. v, pts. i, ii, London, 1872), and by S. Couvreur (*Tch'ouen Ts'iou et Tso Tchouan*, vols. i-iii, Ho Kien Fou, 1914).
- (xvi) *Yilii* 儀禮. Text of SBBY. Transl. by J. Steele (*The I-Li or Book of Etiquette and Ceremonial*, vols. i, ii = *Probsthain's Oriental Series*, vols. viii, ix, London, 1917) and by S. Couvreur (*儀禮. Cérémonial*. Hsien Hsien, 1916).

¹ I have refrained from expressing any criticisms as far as these translations are concerned. It must be admitted, however, that even the Standard Translations of the *Tzuoojuann* and *Liijih*, by Legge and Couvreur, are not free from serious misunderstandings, whereas the Japanese and Manchu translations, which I consulted at the same time, proved generally correct.

- (3) *Bih chu* *Livjih*, J. 13, p. 15A¹ (Legge, ii, p. 199 ;
Couvreur, ii, p. 255).
比出宮 until¹ they leave the house.
- (4) *Bih dann erl* ² *Leu-Shyh-chuenchiou*, J. 6, p. 7A¹ (Wilhelm,
p. 74).
比旦而(大拱) By dawn³ (it [the paper mulberry tree]⁴
had grown two spans thick).
- (5) *Bih diann* *Yili*, J. 13, p. 27B⁶ (Steele, ii, p. 100 ;
Couvreur, p. 508).
比奠 before the new offerings are laid down.
- (6) *Bih eel* *Sangwojyh*, *Weyjyh*, J. 28, p. 24B³.
比爾 by that time (by the time that will be so).⁵

¹ The meaning "until" has here been paraphrased exactly by the commentator Jenq Shyuan 鄭玄 (127–200), who states that the banner *ceases* to be shown on leaving the house and *is no longer there* (*wu yii*) when the mourners reach the grave: 士言比出宮用功布則出宮而止至壙無矣。

² The *erl* is an emendation for *chy* 其, to be found in old prints (e.g. the Ming-print in SBTK, J. 6, p. 7A, last line), in accordance with a quotation in the *Taypyng-yuklaan* and the *Harnshy-wayjuann* (see *Bih Yuan* 畢沅's note in the *Leu-Shyh-chuenchiou* (SBBY, loc. cit.) and here below, note 3. Also the parallel version in the *Shuoyuann* (J. 1, p. 15B/16A) has *erl*. Cf. also *Shuoyuann*, J. 10, p. 7B⁴.

³ *Bih dann* occurs as a textual variant of *li dann* 黎旦 in *Shyyjih*, J. 113, p. 17³. The *Chyanhannshu* (J. 95, p. 39B⁸) has *jyh dann* 遲旦. The functional identity of *li* and *jyh* with *bih* is also shown by two further alternative expressions for "by dawn", viz. *li ming* 黎 (or 犁) 明 and *jyh ming* 遲明. It is interesting to note that both expressions have been explained by Chinese commentators as *bih ming* 比明. Cf. *li ming* in *Shyyjih*, J. 8, p. 29² (Chavannes, ii, p. 348), and *jyh ming* in *Chyanhannshu*, J. 1 *Shang*, p. 9A¹⁵ (Dubs, i, p. 53), and see in particular Wang Niannsuen 王念孫's remarks in *Dwushu-tzarjyh* 讀書雜誌, *Hannshu*, J. 1, *Gaudihjih*, entry *jyh ming* (p. 3A of the lithographed edition of 1924 by *Saoyehshanfang* 掃葉山房). The realization of the functional identity of *li* and *jyh* with *bih*, in conjunction with the comparison of the parallel version in *Chyanhannshu*, J. 97 *Shang*, p. 2B¹², have led Wang Niannsuen to an important textual emendation in *Shyyjih*, J. 9, p. 5⁶, where *ming* must be deleted and Chavannes' translation (ii, 410) corrected accordingly ("by the time Shiah Huey returned . . ."). See Wang Niannsuen, loc. cit., *Shyyjih*, J. 1, *Leuhow-beenjih*, entry *li ming* *Shiah Huey hwan* 犁明孝惠還 (pp. 11B/12A), and cf. here below, p. 801, n. 4.

⁴ The substitution of the character 穀 for 穀 in some of the passages dealing with the omen of the mulberry tree and the papermulberry tree (*saang guu* 桑穀) springing from the same root and/or growing to a size of two spans within a night or within three or seven days, is an obvious mistake, recognized already by Chavannes when dealing with *Shyyjih*, J. 3, p. 17 (Chavannes, i, 190), and the correct version, *Shyyjih*, J. 6, p. 5 (Chav., iii, 417). See furthermore *Chyanhannshu*, J. 25 *Shang*, p. 16B⁶ (with Sheen Chinharn 沈欽韓's note, quoted by Wang Shianchian), and J. 27, *Jong-jy Shiah* 中之下, p. 18B²; *Koongtzyy-jiayeu* 孔子家語, Text of SBTK, J. 1, pp. 27B/28A, *Harnshy-wayjuann*, SBTK, J. 3, p. 1B², and the *Luenherng* 論衡, SBTK, J. 5, p. 1A⁴, transl. by Forke (see Mitteilungen des Sem. f. Or. Sprachen, Berlin, Beiand z. Jahrgang, xiv (1911), p. 161, and n. 1); furthermore Legge's translation of the *Preface to the Shoo King*, attributed to Confucius (*Chinese Classics*, vol. iii (1865), p. 6, No. 22 and note), Suen Shingyeon 孫星衍's note in his *Shangshu-jin-guu-wen-juhshu* 尚書今古文注疏, J. 30 (p. 86 of the text in the Series *Gwoshyue-jibeen-tsongsu* 國學基本叢書), and the *Shangshu-dahjuann* 尚書大傳, SBTK, J. 2, p. 15⁷.

⁵ Note the similar occurrence of *eel* after *swei* 雖 (although that is so) in *Sangwojyh*, *Weyjyh* J. 28, p. 39A⁸.

- (7) *Bih* . . . *faan yee* . . . *Mencius*, J. 2 (Jaw Chyi, p. 11A¹) (Legge, p. 164; Couvreur, p. 339).
 比其反也 . . . during his absence (by the time he returned).¹
- (8) *Bih faan kuh jee* . . . *Liijih*, J. 10, p. 8A⁸ (Legge, ii, p. 58; Couvreur, i, p. 772).
 比反哭者 . . . Until they "return¹ to wail" [reaching the suburbs].
- (9) *Bih* . . . *fuh yee* . . . *Tzuoojuann*, Legge, ii, p. 853¹³; Couvreur, iii, p. 747.
 比其復也 . . . till they [the messengers] return.²
- (10) *Bih hwan* . . . *Howhannshu*, J. 88 (*Liehjuann* J. 48), p. 31A⁴.
 比還 . . . before they returned.²
- (11) *Bih ji nian* . . . *Mohtzyy*, J. 4, p. 5B (Mei, p. 84; Forke, p. 247 and note 6).
 比期年 . . . within a year.³
- (12) *Bih jia guanfwu* ⁴ . . . *Chyanhannshu*, J. 99 *Shanq*, 38B⁷ (Stange, p. 24).
 比加元服 . . . until he [the Emperor] is capped.
- (13) *Bih* . . . *jiah yee* . . . *Tzuoojuann*, Legge, ii, p. 782⁶; Couvreur, iii, p. 574.
 比君之駕也 . . . Till your lordship's carriage is yoked.
- (14) *Bih jing* . . . *Chyanhannshu*, J. 24B¹.
 比驚救之 . . . before he had scared [the dog] away and rescued them [the geese].
- (15) *Bih jong* . . . *jee* . . . *Liijih*, J. 20, p. 19B¹ (Legge, ii, p. 469, 12; Couvreur, ii, p. 707, 12).
 比終茲三節者 . . . By the time he had completed these three periods.
- (16) *Bih jyh* . . . *Tzuoojuann*, Legge, ii, p. 725¹⁷; Couvreur, iii, 446.
 比置 . . . before the food was served.
- (17) *Bih jyh* ⁵ . . . *Shyyjih*, J. 8, p. 11 (Chavannes, ii, p. 330); *Chyanhannshu*, J. 1 *Shanq*, p. 3B¹² (Dubs, i, p. 34).

¹ Cf. also examples 9 and 10, and the passages referring to Shiao Huey's return, quoted above, p. 798, n. 3.

² See above, note 1.

³ See above, p. 795, n. 3. Cf. also *Shuoyuann*, J. 13, p. 7B³, *jin ji nian erl wang* now it has perished within a year. (Continuation of the passage quoted as example, p. 800, n. 3.)

⁴ Note the position of the *bih*-clause after the main clause 朕旦統政. According to a note by Song Chyi 宋祁, adduced by Wang Shianchian, *jee* is required at the end of the clause. Note that the clause re-occurs on p. 39A⁸ (Stange, pp. 26-7): 比皇帝加元服. 委政而授焉 (until the Emperor is capped and I (can) hand over the government to him).

⁵ Other examples for 比 in the meaning "by the time" with the place of destination either understood or named after *jyh* may be listed more briefly: *bih jyh* in *Gwoyue*, *Chyiyue*, J. 6,

- 比至 by the time he would arrive (or: reach his destination).
- (18) *Bih jyh-yu* *Liijih*, J. 6, p. 8A⁷ (Legge, i, p. 330; Couvreur, i, p. 442).
- (自薨)比至于殯 . . . (from the ruler's death) all the time down¹ to the coffining.
- (19) *Bih jyi* *Tzuoojuann*, Legge, i, p. 89¹⁵; Couvreur, i, p. 157.
- 比及宋 by the time he reached Sonq.
- (20) *Bih jyi* *Yilii*, J. 3, p. 7B² (Steele, i, p. 49; Couvreur, p. 67).
- 比及門 before he reaches the door.²
- (21) *Bih-jyi*³ . . . *nian* . . . *Luenyeu*, J. 11, p. 7B² (Legge, p. 247; Couvreur, p. 195; Waley, p. 159, 25).
- 比及三年 within three years.
- (22) *Bih-jyi*⁴ . . . *yueh jee* . . . *Dahday-liijih*, J. 3, p. 8A (Wilhelm, p. 225).
- 比及三月者 during the [last] three months.
- (23) *Bih-jyi* . . . *shyh* . . . *Liijih*, J. 2, p. 7B⁶ (Legge, i, p. 131, 27; Couvreur, i, p. 131, 27).
- 比及五世 all the time down to⁵ the fifth generation.
- (24) *Bih jyi*⁶ *tzanq* . . . *Tzuoojuann*, Legge, ii, p. 560¹; Couvreur, ii, 567; also *Shyyjih*, J. 33, p. 43¹ (Chavannes, iv, 120).
- 比及葬 by the time of the burial.
- (25) *Bih tzanq* (a) *Tzuoojuann*, Legge, ii, 628¹⁹; Couvreur, iii, p. 180.

p. 2A⁷; *bih jyh Yuhcherng* (郁城) in *Chyanhannshu*, J. 61, p. 29A⁸, and *Shyyjih*, J. 123, p. 35¹ (Hirth in *J. Am. Or. Soc.*, 37 (1917), p. 110); *bih jyh Cherngyang* (城陽) in *Shyyjih*, J. 106, p. 24⁷, and *Chyanhannshu*, J. 35, p. 46A⁸; *bih jyh Shyrcherng* (石城) in *Songshu*, J. 84 (SBTK, p. 22B¹). In *Shinshih*, J. 8, p. 4A¹⁰, we find *bih jyh gong men* (by the time he arrived at the gate of the Duke's Palace), for which the *Harnshy-wayjuann* (J. 1, p. 10A³) has the variant *bih jyh chaur* (朝 "the Court").

¹ See also *bih bin*, here below, p. 801, n. 1. *bih* would seem merely to emphasize the duration of the period, though this is already expressed by *jyh yu*. The same kind of emphasis is given in the passage in *Liijih*, J. 3, p. 5A⁹ (Legge, i, 171, 40; Couvreur, i, p. 207, 40): (其變而之吉祭也)比至於耐(必於是日也接). (With reference to the change to an auspicious sacrifice) [taking into account] all the time [from then] to the *fuh* sacrifice, (it [the *fuh* sacrifice] must be on the following day).

² Cf. also *bih jyh gong men*, quoted here above, p. 799, n. 5.

³ See above, p. 795, and cf. example No. 11. Another passage with the clause *bih-jyi san nian* occurs in *Shuojuann*, J. 13, p. 7B¹. See also here, p. 799, n. 3.

⁴ As was already mentioned above, p. 795, the parallel version in the *Jeatzyy-shinshu* (J. 10, p. 69B⁷) has merely *bih san yueh jee*.

⁵ Cf. above, example No. 18 and the example given here above in note 1.

⁶ As shown by the two passages given under No. 25, *jyi* merely emphasizes that the duration of the period extends to the burial.

- (b) *Liijih*, J. 12, p. 19A⁴ (Legge, ii, 164, 15; Couvreur, ii, 185).
- 比葬 (a) by the time of the burial.
(b) before the burial.¹
- (26) *Bih* . . . *shyan* . . . *Tzuoojuann*, Legge, ii, 471¹⁶; Couvreur, ii, 325.
- 比執事之閒 . . . by the time your officers will have leisure.
- (27) *Bih shy* . . . *Liijih*, J. 14, p. 7B⁵ (Legge, ii, p. 214, 9; Couvreur, ii, p. 279, 9).
- 比時 beforehand.²
- (28) *Bih* . . . *wey*³ *daw* . . . *Sangwojyh*, *Weyjyh*, J. 17, p. 13A¹.
- 比臣未到(亮已走矣) Before I get there ([Juger] Lianq will have fled).⁴

After a careful examination of the examples set out above there can be little doubt, I think, that in our two Mencius passages *bih syj jee* and *bih huah jee* we have two more examples to be added both to the list of examples in general and to the time clauses the end of which is marked by *jee*⁵ or *jee* in particular. While Ju Shi's gloss would now seem to be without foundation we see at the same time that the "principal error" arose from his failing to realize the function of *jee*.⁶

According to their contexts our two Mencius passages must, then, be translated as "before I die" and "before the decomposition [of the body]". Whereas the second passage needs no further support as far as its meaning is concerned, it must be borne in mind for the understanding of the first passage that King Huey was a very old man when Mencius came to his court. The personal remark that he was anxious to avenge his country within the short period of time still allotted to him, certainly adds point to the setting of the scene which in some of the dialogues purporting to be held between King Huey and Mencius has been worked out very carefully. The next conversation recorded in the Mencius text such as we possess it, is in fact held between

¹ Note the change in the translation owing to the context. In example 25b the passage mentions in addition to the *period before the burial* (during which the ruler does not eat flesh), the *period from the burial until the end of wailing*, *bih tzwu ku* 比卒哭 (during which the ruler does not have music) and the *period from the death to the coffining*, *bih bin* (see also here above, p. 800, n. 1).

² In the commentary Jenq Shyuan explains *bih shy* as 先時.

³ Note the creeping in of *wey*. Either *bih* or *wey* would be sufficient.

⁴ The sentence preceding our passage (p. 12B¹⁰) has been quoted by Wang Niansuenn as an example for *jyh* (see here, above, p. 798, n. 3): 遲將軍到. 亮得無已得陳倉乎? I hope Juger Lianq will not already have taken Cherntsang by the time you get there?

⁵ See here above, p. 795 and n. 1. In a literal translation the force of *jee* can be rendered by *-ing*: Ex. No. 1 "by guests depart-ing", etc.

⁶ See also above, p. 791, last paragraph.

⁷ As a context where *bih* before *syj* must be rendered by "until" I noted, in a Manchuchinese collection of phrases (manuscript), the sentence *bih syj mah buh shiuh koo* 比死罵不虛口 *bucetele angga ci toorengge nakarakū* ("until his death he did not stop swearing").

Mencius and King Huey's son Shiang, so we seem to have here the last conversation between Mencius and King Huey. In this, according to our explanation of the passage, the death of King Huey is expressly mentioned, a point we should miss if we were to adopt Ju Shi's interpretation of *bih* as *wey*.

Only after the completion of this paper did I realize that Yu Yueh 俞樾 (1821-1907) in his *Chyunjing-pyngyih* 羣經平議¹ (printed 1867)² had proposed exactly the same explanation of our first Mencius passage, mentioning also King Huey's old age. His paraphrase for *bih syj jee*, which starts from that given in the Pseudo Suen Shyh,³ is: *jyi chyi wey syj jy shyr* 及其未死之時 (before I die). No mention is made of our second passage.

Furthermore I discovered after the completion of my research that the function of *bih* as referring to time in our two passages and that of *jee* as marking the end of the time clause had also been suggested by Yasui Sokken 安井息軒 (1799-1876) in his work on Mencius, posthumously edited (in 1909) by Hattori Unokichi 服部宇之吉 (in the first volume of the Series *Kanbuntaikei* 漢文大系)⁴ under the title *Môshi-teihon* 孟子定本.⁵ Yasui's Mencius text read *bih huah jee* 比化者 instead of *bih syj jee* in the first passage so that the linking up of both our passages was a matter of course for him. He explains *bih* as *jyi* 及 and *jee* as *shyr* 時 and accordingly paraphrases *bih syj jee* as *jyi jyh shen syj jy shyr* 及至身死之時.

While Yasui's paraphrase would seem less strict than that of Yu Yueh and my translation, it must be interpreted as the rendering into literary Chinese of the Japanese *shi suru toki made ni* 死スル時マデニ and has been understood as such by Hattori, as is evident from the latter's top note which summarizes Yasui's interpretation. In (*toki*) *made ni* we have the nearest equivalent of the English "by the time that",⁶ and in fact either *toki made ni* or the even less strict rendering by *korooi ni* are printed by the side of *bih* in Japanese prints of Chinese texts when they wish to refer to the special meaning of *bih* discussed in this paper.

In conclusion it may be said that since the explanation of *bih* in our first passage has been arrived at independently by three persons, additional support may well be derived from this identical result of their researches.

¹ See J. 32 = J. 1393, pp. 3A/B, of the reprint of this work in the Series *Hwangching-jingjiee-shiuhbian* 皇清經解續編.

² See Hummel, *Eminent Chinese of the Ch'ing Period*, vol. ii, p. 945.

³ Yu Yueh's copy read, however, *wey* (爲) *syj buh shi ming jee* instead of *jinn* (近) *syj*, etc., so that his explanation of *bih* as *jinn* has been arrived at independently from the Pseudo Suen Shyh.

⁴ See *Mitteilungen des Seminars für Orientalische Sprachen zu Berlin*, Jg. XXXIII (1930), Abteilung I, p. 167.

⁵ See *Kanbuntaikei*, vol. i, *Môshi-teihon*, J. 1, pp. 12-13, and J. 4, p. 13.

⁶ See G. B. Sansom, *Historical Grammar of Japanese*, Oxford, 1928, p. 269: *kuru made ni* "by the time he comes". B. H. Chamberlain, *Handbook of Colloquial Japanese* (2nd ed., 1889, p. 93) remarks, however, with reference to *made ni*, that "while it often corresponds to our word *by* . . . the Japanese mind does not clearly apprehend the shade of difference which, with us, separates *by* from *till*".