Executive *Qi* in Shang Oracle-Bone Inscriptions

A New Hypothesis (1994)

David N. Keightley

The <i>Qi</i> Problem	2
Modal <i>Qi</i>	5
<i>Qi</i> and the Future	6
<i>Qi</i> , Control, and Undesirability	7
<i>Qi</i> in Charges	10
<i>Qi</i> in Unpaired Charges About Cult	10
<i>Qi</i> in Paired Charges About Cult	13
The Theology of Controllable Action: <i>Qi</i> and Deontic Modality	16
Controllable Action: The Evolution of Divinatory Practice	22
<i>Qi</i> in Prognostications	27
<i>Qi</i> in Simple Prognostications	27
<i>Qi</i> in Contingent Prognostications	31
Conclusion	37

But I approach this matter with trepidation. It was my investigations into the modal *qi* problem that led me into oracle-bone studies twenty years ago, and I then quickly concluded that I had much more thinking to do about that problem. It is an extraordinarily difficult one. ---David S. Nivison

If philology, as Peter A. Boodberg remarked, is "an unending conversation with the dead," then David Nivison, in the twenty-plus years that I have been privileged to share his conversations with the Shang kings and their diviners, has proved to be one of the most imaginative, engaging, sympathetic, and instructive of philologists. Little did I realize, when David drove up from Stanford to Berkeley on 1 July 1971 for a rudimentary, three-hour introduction to the oracle-bone inscriptions, that the world of the Shang, and my own understanding of it, was about to enter a golden age of conversation that has enlivened the study of China's first historical dynasty in numerous ways. The present essay--which explores the meaning of one frequently-used word in the Shang diviners' vocabulary--is a continuing part of that conversation.¹ I

-
1. I would like to express my gratitude to David Nivison, as well as to William H. Baxter, William G. Boltz, Derek Herforth, Father J.A. Lefevre, E.G. Pulleyblank, Edward L. Shaughnessy, and Ken-ichi Takashima, who have all participated in the conversation about *qi* and who commented on earlier versions of this paper (Keightley 1992, 1993a). None, of course, are responsible for my errors or my failure to take full account of their good advice. It is particularly fitting that *qi* should form the subject of this essay since, as Nivison indicates in the motto (1991:30) at the start of this essay, his initial interest in the oracle-bone inscriptions was indeed linked to the word; see, e.g., Nivison 1968, 1970. I should also note that

hope that it will at least serve to clarify some of the issues, which bear not only on relatively technical points of Shang usage but on the religious assumptions that underlay divinatory activity--and, presumably, many other kinds of activities²--at the dawn of Chinese history.

THE QI PROBLEM

In the reign of Wu Ding (ca. 1200-1181 B.C.), the 21st king of the Shang dynasty, the court diviners often presented their charges--which can be regarded as prayers, wishes, or statements of intent³--in the form of a pair (indicated below by my symbols ↓ and ↑) of complementary, positive and negative statements.⁴ One member of the charge-pair frequently contained the

I do not, in this paper, address the issue of a pronominal Shang qi. The hypothesis that it or its roots may have been present in the Shang inscriptions is Nivison's own (see, e.g., Nivison 1992, 1992a, 1992b; cf. 1968; 1970) and he is the one who should develop it further. (Takashima [1970:25] had also claimed that "The pronominal and modal ch'i were really the same word" in the bone inscriptions, but he subsequently rejected that view [1973:272-73].) Djamouri (1987:400-03) discusses the pronominal hypothesis in some detail. He notes that the pronominal sense is attested in the Western Zhou bronze inscriptions, but in only a quarter of the occurrences of qi. His table (pp. 400-401; based on Cikoski 1978, Malmqvist 1981 (published version), and Guan Xiechu 1981) shows that the frequency of the two uses gradually shifted in favor of the pronominal which finally finished by supplanting the modal. Djamouri agrees with Lu Shuxiang (1979:7) and Cikoski (1978) that the pronominal and modal were entirely distinct semantically. Djamouri is also skeptical about Mei Tsulin's view (1981) (published version) that pronominal qi 其 and zhi 之 shared a common etymological origin.

2. For the view, based on Vernant 1974:10, that "where divination flourishes, its logic and assumptions are not likely to be at variance with those of the rest of life," see Keightley 1984:12, 28, n.7.
3. For the way in which Shang divination functioned see Keightley 1988, Takashima 1988-89 (and, more extensively, 1989), and Keightley 1991:143-96.
4. Keightley 1988:373-74. I define the ideal charge-pair (modern term, duizhen 對貞) as two charges, divined on the same day, by the same diviner, and about the same topic, varying only in the positive formulation of the one (as in [4A] and [18A] below) and the negative formulation of the other (as in [4B] and [18B]), and placed on the shell or bone in such a way that

graph qi 其 (oracle-bone form [or]),⁵ placed immediately before the verb; the other member of the charge-pair did not (see Fig. 1). Thus, we find the following common pattern in, for example, rainfall divinations (I initially leave qi untranslated):

↓ [1A] 其雨

"It qi be raining."

↑ [1B] 不雨

"It not be raining." (I. Bin) (Bingbian 343.8-9)⁶

↓ [2A] 壬寅卜般貞：自今至于丙午雨

Crack-making on renyin (day 39), Que divined: "From today down to bingwu (day 43), it be raining."

↑ [2B] 壬寅卜般貞：自今至于丙午不其雨

Crack-making on renyin (day 39), Que divined: "From today down to bingwu (day 43), it not qi be raining." (I. Bin) (HJ 667f = Bingbian 155.5-6)

they stood in opposition to one another. In modern Chinese, the positive charge is called the zhengming 正命 and the negative charge the fanming 反命. "Imperfect" pairs may also be considered to have existed, in which the diviner or day of divination varies (as in [14AB]) or is absent (as in [1AB], [6AB], [10AB]), or the topics of the charges themselves might not have been identical.

5. For the forms of the graph, see Keightley 1978:217, no. 5; Gao Ming 1980:89.
6. The information given in parentheses at the end of each inscription quoted includes: (a) The period of the inscription, from I to V, using a modified version of Dong Zuobin's five-period system. (b) The diviner group. (For Dong's system, see Keightley 1978:92-94; for an introduction to the diviner groups and to recent developments in oracle-bone periodization, see Shaughnessy 1982-83.) (c) The publication reference(s), primarily to Jiaguwen heji (abbreviated as HJ; reviewed in Keightley 1990), usually followed by a reference to where a transcription, in both Shang and modern graph forms, can be found in Yao Xiaosui and Xiao Ding's concordance, Yinxu jiagu keci leizuan (abbreviated as Y). (d) An icon at the right margin to indicate whether the inscription was on a turtle plastron (or carapace) or a scapula.

↓ [3A] 辛酉卜般貞：翌壬戌不雨

Crack-making on xinyou (day 58), Que (divined): "On the next day, renxu (day 59), not be raining."

↑ [3B] 辛酉卜般貞：翌壬其雨

Crack-making on xinyou, Que (divined): "On the next day, renxu, qi be raining." (I. Bin) (HJ 12973; Y701.2)

The Shang preference for placing qi in one rather than the other of the charges that composed a charge-pair was strong and consistent, both in the general corpus and on particular bones. Of 55 Period I charge-pairs involving rain in the Bingbian corpus (see Table 1), for example, 22 (40 percent) of the charge-pairs were of the form 其雨/不雨 and 17 (30.9 percent) were of the form 雨/不其雨. Thus, some 71 percent of these paired Period I charges about rain observed the basic pattern: qi in either the zhengming or the fanning (see note 4) but not in both. To take a particular bone, the plastron that Que used to divine [3A] and [3B] now records, in its fragmentary state, nine-plus charge pairs--covering a period of twelve days (from dingmao [day 4] to wuyin [day 15])--that were all, without exception, of the form: 帝其令雨/帝不令雨, "Di qi be ordering rain/Di not be ordering rain." Such consistency in over nine instances, with qi in this case always present in the negative but not in the positive charge, is typical; the Shang diviners did not use qi randomly.

I shall address the following questions about qi:

1. Why, in numerous charge-pairs, did Wu Ding's diviners consistently use qi in charges (like [1A], [2B], and [3A]) and omit qi in other charges (like [1B], [2A], and [3B]) that were, except for the presence or absence of the negative--which might be in the clause that contained the qi (as in the fanning [2B]), or in the clause that did not (as in the zhengming [1B] and [3B])--identical?

2. Since the Shang used charge-pairs with increasingly less frequency in the later reigns, how do we explain the function of qi in unpaired charges (e.g., [6AB], [8], [25]–[31]) and how do we explain the dwindling use of qi by the end of the dynasty?
3. How did qi function in the king's prognostications?

Modal Qi

I propose that: (1) qi in the Shang bone inscriptions was a preverbal modal auxiliary;⁸ (2) it expressed the subjunctive mood--and for "subjunctive" I follow the dictionary definition: "a verb form or set of verb forms that represents a denoted act or state not as fact but as contingent or possible or viewed emotionally (as with doubt or desire)";⁹ and (3) it preceded the verb

-
7. There is a wealth of previous scholarship on qi that I do not address in detail here. See, e.g., in addition to the already cited papers of Nivison: Chow 1982:158–70; Ikeda 1964, commentary to *Houbian* 2.9.13; Serruys 1974:25–36; 1981:342–49; 1986:204–22; Takashima, who has continued to refine his pioneering 1970 paper as at 1973 (in particular, "Appendix I: The Modal Particle [J]," pp. 267–305); 1984:68; 1990:39–40; 1991:680–81; Yu Xingwu 1979; Djamouri 1987:364–427; Zhao Cheng 1988:295–961.
 8. Djamouri (1987:364–427) provides a good account of the scholarship; he himself concludes (p. 373) that qi was an auxiliary that expressed futurity. Qiu Xigui [1982:175] also refers to qi as a modal auxiliary. My understanding of Shang qi is supported by Zhou usage. According to Schuessler (1987:471), qi served as a preverbal particle, with meanings such as "be expected to, might, will, should, probably, likely." Malmqvist (1981:368), writing of qi in *Zuozhuan* found that, "A common denominator of non-pronominal chyi is the expression of the speaker's assessment of the potential involved in the predication: rather than reporting an event as reality, clauses containing non-pronominal chyi are concerned with the relation of that event to reality, in terms of its potential for realization. Chyi is a marker of modality."
 9. Webster's Ninth New Collegiate Dictionary (Springfield, Mass.: Merriam-Webster, 1988):1174. Cf. Takashima 1992, for example, who has proposed that, "depending on context, [qi] could have a predictive meaning 'perhaps, may, might,' an inferential meaning, 'perhaps, probably,' or an optative meaning, 'may, would that....'" This had also, until now, generally been

that was controlled by the highest authority in any particular divinatory context. To be precise, I believe that qi was an auxiliary verb that expressed deontic modality. The propositions containing qi, in this view, expressed a particular "element of will"; they were "concerned with action, by others and by the speaker himself."¹⁰ I translate modal qi in Shang inscriptions, therefore, as "shall," which I regard as an expression of determination, even compulsion. I reserve "will," by contrast, for those propositions about the future when no qi was present and which I regard as modally unmarked.¹¹ Let us see how this works.

Qi and the Future

Since most Shang charges--and all Shang charges that contained qi--were propositions about the future, qi and the charges in which it appeared must be understood in terms of the general nature of future-oriented propositions. Qi in prognostications (see page 27 below) may be understood in precisely the same way. That qi never appeared in Shang verifications, which, by their nature, were about the past, confirms that it functioned in future-oriented environments.¹² The presence of qi was not, however, required to express

my understanding (e.g., Keightley 1988:372; 1992; 1994 (Sect. 4:3, "The Rule of Qi 其").

10. Here I quote Palmer (1986:10, 96) on "denotic"; he bases himself in part on Jespersen 1924:320-21.

11. Evans and Evans 1957: "In American English, shall is always a present subjunctive,...auxiliary." Most Americans will hear I shall be there "as an expression of determination, a self-imposed coercion" (p. 447); "I will be there," by contrast, "is heard as a simple statement about the future" (p. 448).

12. As Nivison (1992:10) has put it, "The reference of qi is always future in the oracles."

futurity; the single-word charge, yu 雨, for example,¹³ because it was about the future, meant "It will rain." Similarly, because prognostications were about the future, they too did not require the presence of the qi to indicate futurity (e.g., [4C], [35], [36], [42]); as in the charges, the single word yu 雨 in a prognostication could mean, "It will rain" (as in [41B]). I assume that, rather than merely indicating the future, qi served to mark the statement in which it appeared with overt modality so that the force of the future-oriented qi_yu 其雨, "shall rain," differed from that of plain yu 雨, "will rain."

Qi, Control, and Undesirability

Two initial points need to be made. First, the distinction between activity that the king could actively initiate and control--like building a settlement ([14AB]), offering cult ([26]), or hunting ([27])--and activity that the king could not initiate or control and that was imposed upon him--like the weather ([1AB], [18AB]), or the birth-date and sex of babies ([37B])--is fundamental to understanding how qi functioned in different contexts.¹⁴

Second, I accept the view that when the Bin-group diviners of Period I formulated and recorded charge-pairs (zhengming and fanming) about non-

13. E.g., Bingbian 202.9 (= HJ 11018b), 235.2 (= HJ 902f; Y16.2), 508.2, 522.3 (= HJ 14161b), 527.1 (= HJ 11892f).

14. The importance of the controllable-uncontrollable distinction to our understanding of Shang grammar, and particularly to our understanding of the negatives, has long been noted by Takashima (1973:106, 176, 186-95 [summary at Keightley 1978:70, n.63]; 1988:115-16, 118-19). He finds, in brief (1990:21), that it is generally the case that "when the *p-type negatives (bu [不] and fu [弗]) are used, the subject is always non-human whose power is beyond the control of the living." See too Chow 1982:151-52.

controllable activity, they generally inserted the word *qi* in the less desirable clause or sentence, which may still be taken as a wish, but not as a wish of the king.¹⁵ *Qi* itself did not express lack of desirability; it marked, rather, as I shall argue below (pages 16-27), the "executive" desires of Powers other than, and superior to, the king. At present, however, I will simply assume, that the Shang diviner, when he employed charge-pairs, wished to mark the less desirable proposition modally (which I render as "shall"), thus distinguishing it from the unmarked (and desirable) future proposition (which I render as "will"). In the translations that follow, I present the modally marked charges (and prognostications) in italic, the unmarked charges in roman, type.

The way in which this worked may be demonstrated by two charge-pairs about an uncontrollable topic, the harvest (Fig. 1):

↓ [4A] 丙辰卜穀貞:我受黍年

Crack-making on [bing-]chen (day 53), Que divined: "We will receive millet harvest."

↑ [4B] 丙辰卜穀貞:我弗其受黍年.四月

Crack-making on bingchen (day 53), Que divined: "*We shall (qi) not receive millet harvest.*" (Postface:) Fourth moon. (I. Bin, 1) (HJ 9950f; Y536.2)

[4C] 王固曰:吉受𠂔年

-
15. Takashima (1973:267-305) and Serruys (1974:25, 58) have long noted the way in which *qi* tended to appear in the undesired charge. (See too Keightley 1978:51, n. 124, 66, n. 41, 80, n. 89; Chow 1982:142-44.) Takashima (1973:282) notes, however, that "there are many sentences in which the use of 𠂔 seems to be better interpreted as expressing uncertain feeling of the diviners, rather than the theory of 'less desirable, less preferred 𠂔'"; similarly, Chow (1982:142-44) agrees that *qi* "frequently collocates with the undesirable alternative," but resists the conclusion that *qi* "itself conveys a sense of undesirability." I believe, as we shall see below, that these views are close to the truth. Djamouri (1987:382-84) attempts to account for the desirable/undesirable distinction by suggesting that *qi*, by stressing the future, served to "distance" the undesirable event.

(Prognostication:) The king read the cracks and said: "Auspicious;
(we) will receive this harvest." (I. Bin, 1) (HJ 9950b;
Y535.1) Q

⌋ [5A] 甲午卜延貞:東土受年

Crack-making on jiawu (day 31), Yan divined: "The Eastern Lands
will receive harvest."

⌋ [5B] 甲午卜延貞:東土不其受年

Crack-making on jiawu (day 31), Yan divined: "*The Eastern Lands
shall (qi) not receive harvest.*" (I. Bin) (HJ 9735; Y533.1)

In these cases, the wishes, "We will receive millet harvest" and "The Eastern Lands will receive harvest," were expressed by the modally unmarked charges [4A] and [5A], with no qi. The qi in charges like [4B] and [5B], signalled the Shang's negative preference for uncontrollable outcomes (such as not receiving harvest) that they did not desire.¹⁶

It is worth stressing that in charge-pairs about harvest the Shang engravers never recorded the modally unmarked fanming, *wo bu/fu shou shu nian *我不/弗受黍年 *"We will not receive millet harvest,"¹⁷ in the undesired charge, but always added the qi--thus, wo bu/fu qi shou shu nian 我不/弗其受黍年 "*We shall (qi) not receive millet harvest,*" as in [4B] (cf. [5B])--to produce a fanming that was modally marked. The presence of the qi in the undesired charge may be understood, as I shall argue below, in terms of the theology of Shang divination in the reign of Wu Ding. Before proceeding, however, we need to consider how qi was used in other contexts.

16. Serruys (1974:25-33) provides many more instances of this common pattern in which qi marks "the proposition or the alternative among possible courses of action, which is considered less desirable, less preferred, often positively feared and resorted to only if really unavoidable" (p. 25).

17. The asterisk indicates a hypothetical formulation.

Qi in ChargesQi in Unpaired Charges About Cult

In many charges that expressed controllable royal intent, the diviners did not employ qi at all. This is seen in the following series of Period I inscriptions about controllable acts:

[6A] 丁亥卜般貞:翌庚寅于大庚

Crack-making on dinghai (day 24), Que divined: "On the next gengyin (day 27), (we) will make offering to Da Geng (the 5th Shang king)."

[6B] 貞:翌辛卯于祖辛

Divined: "On the next xinmao (day 28), (we) will make offering to Zu Xin (the 13th king)."

[6C] 王固曰:酉佳于咎其于

The king read the cracks and said: "We will perform the you-cutting sacrifice, (but) there will be (some Power bringing) calamities; *there may (qi) be thunder.*"¹⁸ (I. Bin) (Heji 11497f = Bingbian 207.1-3; Y671.1) ☉

All four of the simple charges on the front of this plastron-fragment concerned a future activity that the Shang were able to control, that is, the offering of cult according to a precise, predetermined schedule (i.e., the offering to a Geng ancestor on a geng-day, to a Xin ancestor on a xin-day). None of the charges contained qi.

One can see the same avoidance of qi--and the same avoidance of the use of charge-pairs--in a variety of related charges on another Period I plastron:

[7A] 癸卯卜般:翌甲辰于上甲十牛

Crack-making on guimao (day 40), Que (divined): "On the next day, jiachen (41), (we) will make offering to Shang Jia of ten cattle."

18. The prognostication, [6C], is discussed on page 37 below.

[7B] 翌辛卯于祖辛

"On the next xinmao (day 28), (we) will make offering to Ancestor Xin."

[7C] 貞:于祖辛三羊

Divined: "(We) will make offering to Ancestor Xin of three penned sheep."

[7D] 翌辛于祖辛一牛

"On the next xin (day), (we) will make offering to Ancestor Xin of one cow."

[7E] 一牛于祖辛

"(We will offer) one cow to Ancestor Xin."

[7F] 貞:于祖辛

Divined: "To Ancestor Xin (we will) offer."

[7G] 于祖乙

"(We) will make offering to Ancestor Yi."

[7H] 于祖辛

"(We) will make offering to Ancestor Xin of a penned sheep." (I. Bin) (HJ 776f; Y700.2, partial) ☉

Wu Ding's engravers never recorded charges of the form *翌甲辰其于上甲十牛, **"On the next day, jiachen (41), (we) shall (qi) make offering to Shang Jia of ten cattle."* The king, in such divinations (controllable) about offering cult, knew precisely when he wished to offer cult and to which Power he wished to offer it; the modal marking that qi provided would evidently have been superfluous in such contexts, and so would the use of a positive-negative charge pair (see below).

It is worth noting, however, that when the offerer of cult was someone other than the king then--despite the specificity of timing and recipient--the qi might be present:

【8】丙申卜貞：翌丁酉卓其于丁

Crack-making on bingshen (day 33), divined: "On the next day, o dingyou (day 44), *Qin shall (qi) make offering to (a) Ding (ancestor).*"¹⁹ (I. Bin) (HJ 4049f; Y700.2)

The presence of qi in such "deputed"--and, therefore, less controllable?--executive actions, however, was not always required:

【9】癸巳卜貞：翌丁酉西龜禱于丁

Crack-making on guisi (day 30), divined: "On the next dingyou (day 34), in performing the you-cutting sacrifice, Qin will pray to (a) Ding (ancestor)." (I. Bin) (HJ 4061; Y701.1)

It is possible that qi was required in such cases of cult when the wishes of Qin (or some other Power who might control the event), divined eleven days in advance (in [8]), might have seemed more likely to influence the outcome than those of the Shang king; in [9], by contrast, divined only four days in advance, the king may have felt that his control over Qin (and the event itself) was more secure.

On the other hand, it is worth noting that the specification of precise ganzhi dates (as in [6AB], [7AB], [9]) did not exclude the use of qi when uncontrollable and hence "non-executive" actions were being divined:²⁰

⌋【3A】辛酉卜般貞：翌壬戌不雨

Crack-making on xinyou (day 58), Que (divined): "On the next day, renxu (day 59), it will not rain."

⌋【3B】辛酉卜般貞：翌壬戌其雨

19. Qin seems to have been the name of a hereditary group, descended from the royal house and perhaps originally associated with hunting, whose members were generals of the Shang armies for over 150 years. See Shima (1958:464-66), Satō (1962:15-16), and the discussion in the commentary to Jimbum 344, n. 1.

20. See too the simple charges [36] and [20B] below.

Crack-making on xinyou, Que (divined): "On the next day, renxu, it shall (qi) rain."

The presence or absence of qi in these divinations about cult ([6AB]-[9]) and rainfall ([3AB]) once again suggests that it was generally used when the actions or phenomena divined were not controllable by the Shang king. When the king knew what he wanted to initiate, and when he was able to specify precisely when he planned to initiate it (as in the case of cult offerings like [6AB], [7A-H], and [10AB]) then the presence of the modal marker, qi, was evidently incompatible--for theological reasons that I will explore below--with the force of the divination charge; the Shang did not use qi in such contexts.

Qi in Paired Charges About Cult

Charges about offering cult were rarely paired,²¹ and even when they were, they generally did not employ the word qi. Such charges did not present any undesirable alternatives. They were simply designed to determine whether or not the cult should be offered, as in:

⌈ [10A] 貞: 𠄎于象 甲父庚父辛一牛

Divined: "We will offer to Xiang Jia, Father Geng, and Father Xin (the 17th, 18th, and 19th Shang kings), one cow."

⌋ [10B] 貞: 勿𠄎于象 甲父庚父辛一牛

Divined: "We shall not (wu) offer to Xiang Jia, Father Geng, and Father Xin, one cow." (I. Bin) (HJ 6647f = Yibian 7767; Y1329.2)

◊

21. I find no more than 8 genuine charge pairs of the form 𠄎/勿𠄎 "should offer/should not offer" out of the total of ca. 560 inscriptions listed at Y1324.2-1332.1. A total of 57 bones contained a cult charge that contained the prohibitive wu 勿, so that at most 1 in 10 of these charges might have been paired in this way, as in [10AB].

Nivison (1992:7; 1992a:9) has also remarked on similar pairs of charges in which, as he phrases it, qi was "assertive" rather than "hesitative." In these cases, the negative charge did not employ the phrase bu qi 不其, but employed rather the injunctive, modal wu 勿 of controllable action, "shall not." Examples would include:

[11A] 貞:翌乙未其燎

Divined: "On the next yiwei (day 32), (we) shall (qi) offer a holocaust."

[11B] 翌乙未勿卒燎

"On the next yiwei we shall not (wu) end (?)²² the holocaust offering." (I. Bin) (HJ 152f = Bingbian 128.9-10; Y721.2, partial.)

↓ [12A] 己丑卜爭貞:王其奚

Crack-making on jichou (day 26), Zheng divined: "The king shall (qi) sacrifice a prisoner (?)."²³

↑ [12B] 貞:勿奚

Divined: "(The king) shall not (wu) sacrifice a prisoner (?)."
(I. Bin) (HJ 6016f = Bingbian 141.1-2; Y1224.1)

The same pattern, in which qi 其 was used in the zhengming and wu 勿 in the fanning (if present), also appears in charges about settlement building:

[13] 余其作邑

"I shall (qi) found a settlement." (I. Bin) (HJ 13503; Y117.2 = Qianbian 4.10.6)

[14A] 壬子卜爭貞:我其作邑帝弗佐若.三月

22. On the possible meaning of oracle-bone 卒, see Qiu Xigui 1990.

23. The meaning of the graph 奚 is uncertain. For brief discussion see Shima 1958:338; Takashima 1973:150. Serruys (1974:33) translates as "make human sacrifice (of a shaman)."

Crack-making on renzi (day 49), Zheng divined: "(We) shall (qi) build a settlement, (for) Di will not obstruct (but) will approve." Third moon.

【14B】 癸丑卜爭貞：勿作邑帝若

Crack-making on guichou (day 50), Zheng divined: "(We) shall not (wu) build a settlement, (for) Di will approve (not building it)." (I. Bin) (Heji 14206f = Bingbian 147.1-2; Y117.2-18.1) ☉

If we treat [11AB], [12AB], and [14AB] as charge-pairs, then the wu 勿 and the qi 其 should, in each case, have had a contrastive modal force; if wu were prohibitive ("Do not, should not, shall not, must not"), then qi, in such contexts, would have been intentional or obligatory ("Do, should do, shall do, must do").²⁴ The presence, furthermore, as Nivison also noted,²⁵ of wu in the fanning of numerous charge pairs like [10B], even when the zhengming did not contain a qi, indicates that the mood of many Shang charges involving controllable action was indeed intentional. He has also cited, for example (and I follow his translation in using "should"--rather than "shall"--in [15A]):

↓【15A】 辛酉卜報貞：今王比望乘伐下危受又

Crack-making on xinyou (day 58), Que Divined: "This season the king should join with Wang Cheng to attack the Xiawei, (for) he will receive assistance in this case."²⁶

↑【15B】 辛酉卜報貞：今王勿比望乘伐下危弗其受又

24. We will also see this contrast in [22AB], in which the hui 畀, "it shall be," of the zhengming was balanced by wu wei 勿佳, "it shall not be," of the fanning. See too Takashima 1990:64-65, who notes that the contrast between 畀 and 勿佳 was "of grammatical opposition: positive vs. negative but, more importantly, in the same modality of definite obligation of (sic; read "or"?) compulsion. Such an account explains why *其畀, *勿其, *勿畀 do not occur."

25. Letter of 22 January 1992.

26. For an introduction to the scholarship on the word here translated as "season," see Keightley 1993, n. 22.

Crack-making on xinyou, Que Divined: "This season the king should not (wu) join with Wang Cheng to attack the Xiawei, (for) he shall (qi) not receive assistance in this case." (I. Bin) (HJ 6482f = Bingbian 12.1-2; Y107.1)²⁷ ◊

The presence of the prohibitive (and controlling) wu 勿 in charges like [11B], [12B], [14B], and [15B], with its meaning of "should not, shall not, ought not" implies that the positive charges ([11A], [12A] and [14A]) (all containing qi), and [15A] (not containing qi) would have been couched in the contrastive, balancing mood, "should, shall, ought."

Thus, the evidence of [11AB]–[14AB] once again suggests that when, in the reign of Wu Ding, qi was used in the protasis of paired, divinations about controllable action, it had a positive, intentional, modal force ("shall") that could be used to counter and contradict the strong, negative modal force of wu ("shall not").²⁸

The Theology of Controllable Action: Qi and Deontic Modality

While one can see that Shang divinations about the king taking action (as in [6AB]) or about others taking action on his behalf (as in [8] and [9])

27. I discussed the inscriptions on this plastron set at Keightley 1978:76–90.

28. It should be noted that [11A and B] do not form an ideal charge-pair (as defined at note 4 above); the introduction of the zu 𠬞 in [11B] destroys the true complementarity of the two charges. The same cautions apply to [12AB], where the gan 𠬞 date is not recorded for the fanning. Similarly, because [14A] and [14B] were divined not on the same day but one day apart, they do not, strictly speaking form a charge-pair; the mood of Zheng, the diviner, might have altered in the intervening twenty-four hours. In all these cases, therefore, the contrast between the qi and the wu is not as direct as one would wish, particularly when the qi/wu opposition occurs in no other charge-pairs about "sacrificing a prisoner" (Y1224.1-2), "building a settlement" (corpus at Y117.2-18.3), or "joining with" in alliance (Y507.1-9.1). Nevertheless, the evidence is certainly compatible with the view that, when qi was present in unpaired charges (i.e., not matched with wu) of controllable action, it too would have had a strong, assertive modal force, "shall."

might be characterized as deontic (because involving the will of the king--and also, it should be noted, desirable), it may seem forced, at first glance, to argue that the first divinations we encountered--[1AB], [2AB], and [3A]--should be regarded in the same way. Where is the "element of will" in such charge-pairs about rain? Or, to put the matter another way, if the qi were indeed expressing deontic modality, whose will was being expressed?

The answer, I suggest, is to be found in the theological assumptions that were explicitly recorded in the "fuller" forms of comparable charges:

↓ [16A] 來乙未帝其令雨

"On the coming yiwei (day 32), *Di shall (qi) order rain.*"

↑ [16B] 來乙未帝不令雨

"On the coming yiwei, *Di will not order rain.*" (I. Bin) (HJ 14147f; Y419.1) ◊

↓ [17A] 自今至于庚寅帝不其令雨

"From today down to gengyin (day 27), *Di shall (qi) not order rain.*"

↑ [17B] [丙]戌卜爭貞:自今至于庚寅帝令[雨]

Crack-making on [bing]-xu (day 32), Zheng divined: "From today down to gengyin (day 27), *Di will order rain.*" (I. Bin) (HJ 14148; Y419.1) ◊

↓ [18A] 乙亥卜般:翌丙子帝其令雨

Crack-making on yihai (day 12), Que (divined): "On the next day, bingzi (day 13), *Di shall (qi) order rain.*"

↑ [18B] 乙亥卜般:翌丙子帝不令雨

Crack-making on yihai, Que (divined): "On the next day, bingzi, *Di will not order rain.*" (I. Bin) (HJ 14153f = Bingbian 529.15-16) ◊

The first conclusion I draw from comparing [1AB], [2AB], and [3AB] with, respectively, [16AB], [17AB], and [18AB] is that in the abbreviated, and common, form of the charges (i.e., [1AB], [2AB], and [3AB]), the role of Di, even though unrecorded, was assumed to be playing a role. Thus, the charge of [2B], for example, should, on the basis of [17A], be understood as *自今至于丙午(帝)不其(令)雨, **"From today down to bingwu, (Di) shall (qi) not (order) rain."*

The second conclusion I draw is that, in charges where Di was present (either explicitly or implicitly), qi was used in the modally-marked charge that expressed what was regarded (and perhaps even feared) as Di's wish (i.e., something that Di, rather than the king, might desire) in contrast with the charge, not furnished with qi, that expressed the Shang hope (i.e., something the king did desire). Thus, the unmarked charge, [16B] 帝不令雨, can be understood to mean that the king hoped "Di will not order rain"; this was a modally unmarked statement about the future. [16A] 帝其令雨, by contrast, can be understood to mean that "*Di (if he has his wish, contrary to the hope of the king) shall (qi) order rain.*" Because the Shang found charges containing qi less desirable, I treat qi as a marker of the subjunctive mood that expressed the will of Di, which, because the modally-marked charges represented undesirable outcomes, the Shang considered contrary to the wishes of the king.

It is evident that, to the Shang, various other Powers had the ability to control a variety of natural events. Di was not the only Power whose theological presence can be discerned in the charge-pairs of Wu Ding. One unique (and fragmentary) Period I charge-pair reveals, for example, that the

River Power, like Di in [16AB]–[18AB]), was also thought capable of ordering rain:

↓[19A] 貞:翌甲戌河其令[雨]

Divined: "On the next jiaxu (day 11), the River Power *shall* (qi) order [rain]."

↑[19B] 貞:翌甲戌河不令雨

Divined: "On the next jiaxu, the River Power will not [order] rain." (I. Bin) (HJ 14638f; Y488.2)²⁹ ◊

Consider too the following sample of inscriptions from a large plastron:

↓[20A] 翌癸卯帝不令風.夕霧

"On the next day, guimao (day 40), Di will not order wind."
(Verification:) In the night (of renyin [day 39]) it was foggy (wu).

↑[20B] 貞:翌癸卯帝其令風

Divined: "On the next day, guimao, Di *shall* (qi) order wind."

[20C] 貞:禱年于大甲十宰祖乙十宰

Divined: "In praying for harvest, to Da Jia (K3), (we) offer ten penned sheep (lao) (and) to Ancestor Yi (K12) (we) offer ten penned sheep."

[20D] 禱雨于上甲宰

"In praying for rain, to Shang Jia (we) offer a penned sheep."
(I. Bin) (HJ 672f; Y419.2, 530.1, 1364.2) ◊

In this instance, while Di was thought to order wind ([20AB]), it was the predynastic ancestor, Shang Jia (and not Di, as in [16AB]–[18AB]) who was associated (in [20D]) with the rain. And while Di was generally held responsible for harvest,³⁰ in this case the ancestors Da Jia and Ancestor Yi

29. The graphs are not easy to read on this plastron, originally published as Yibian 3121; I follow the reading at S181.4.

30. I know of no inscriptions that explicitly record *帝授我年, *"Di confers harvest on us," but inscriptions do indicate that Di was thought to order rain (e.g., HJ 10976f [Y418.2, partial], 14138 [Y419.1, partial], 21081

were also thought to be involved ([20C]),³¹

Similar conclusions can be drawn about inscriptions involving assistance.

Thus we can take [21AB] to be the short form:

↓ [21A] 丁未卜般貞：咎正化受又

Crack-making on dingwei (day 44), Que divined: "Zhi Hua of Cha will receive assistance."

↑ [21B] 丁未卜般貞：咎正化弗其受又

Crack-making on dingwei (day 44), Que divined: "Zhi Hua of Cha shall (qi) not receive assistance." (I. Bin) (HJ 9472f; Y1209.2)

And we can take the full form of charges about Shang officers receiving assistance to be represented by a similar charge-pair:³²

↓ [22A] 貞：王由咎比伐巴方帝授我又

Divined: "It shall be Zhi Guo whom the king joins to attack the Bafang, (for) Di will confer assistance on us."

↑ [22B] 王勿咎比伐巴方帝不我其[授又]

"It shall not be Zhi Guo whom the king joins to attack the Bafang+ (for) Di shall (qi) not [confer assistance] on us." (I. Bin) (HJ 6473f; Y1216.1)

[Y419.2]), and that he was capable of harming the harvest (e.g., HJ 10124f [Y421.1]).

31. See too [27] from period III, in which prayer for harvest was offered to Shang Jia.

32. The parallel here is not as tight as I would wish. I can find no charges of the form *咎受又/咎弗其受又 (see the inscriptions at Y911.2-914.1) to provide the ideal match for [22AB]; similarly, I can find no charges of the form *王由咎比伐巴方帝授我又/王勿咎比伐巴方帝不我其授又 to provide the ideal match for [21AB]. Perhaps the different statuses of the two officers involved, Zhi Hua and Zhi Guo, explains their different divinatory treatment.

The full form, [22AB], strongly suggests that Di would have been the implicit source of assistance in [21AB], even though his role was not explicitly recorded in the charge.

On other occasions, it was other Powers besides Di who might provide or withhold the assistance, as in:

[23] 辛未卜 貞: 王勿逆伐 邑方下上弗若 不我其受 又六月

Crack-making on xinwei (day 8), Que divined: "*The king shall not (go to) encounter and attack the Gongfang, (for) the Lower and Upper (Ancestors) shall (qi) not confer assistance on us.*" Sixth moon. (I. Bin) (HJ 6204f; Y270.1) 8

All these full forms, [16AB]–[19AB], [20AB], [22AB], and [23], confirm that such charge pairs were deontic in mood, with the desirable alternative representing what the king wished/hoped/willed to have happen (and which, it was hoped, the Powers did too), and the undesirable alternative, marked modally with qi, representing what the Powers might, in contrast, wish/hope/will to have happen. In other words, what Di (or other Powers) might wish was presented as being opposed to what the king wished. The full forms presented above thus suggest that the short forms should be understood as abbreviations:

⌈[1A] (帝其令雨 →) 其雨

"(Di shall (qi) order rain →) It shall rain."

⌈[1B] (帝不令雨 →) 不雨

"(Di will not order rain →) It will not rain."

The underlying rationale of the charge-pairs was precisely to balance the king's wishes against those of the Powers. And one can well see that the qi in such cases would have had the adversative force of "can if he wishes," so that [1A], for example, could be understood as, "*(Di), if he wishes, shall*

(*qi*) (order) rain." It conveyed the sense that 'if it did rain, it was because some Power had, contrary to the king's wish, had wished it.' *Qi*, in fact, appeared to convey a mood of will that was (1) powerful and (2) slightly adversative, i.e., that was opposed to, or imposed on, the will of less powerful actors.

This hypothesis explains why we rarely if ever find *qi* in the protasis of controllable charge-pairs (like [6A] and [10A]) because, such propositions involved the "executive," controllable decisions and wishes of the king (rather than the wishes of *Di*, which were uncontrollable). There would thus have been no need for the king to counter his proposed course of controllable action with the modal *qi* that referred to the wishes of a Power.³³ When the king planned to do something he was merely testing something that he wished to do as the "inferior executive," not something (unwanted and unwished) that some Power, the "superior executive," might wish to do to him.

Controllable Action: The Evolution of Divinatory Practice

Shang divination underwent major changes after the reign of Wu Ding. As

I have written elsewhere:

Certain subjects tended not to be divined by means of complementary charges. They were either offered singly, or as part of two or more inscriptions involving a choice, but not phrased in the complementary, positive-negative mode.

....Once a firm sacrificial schedule had been established by Zu Jia (ca. 1170-1151 B.C.), divinations about the five major rituals were always unpaired and in the affirmative mood. They were affirmative, not in the sense that the charge did not contain a negative word, but in the sense that the charge affirmed that something desirable, like "there will be no disasters," would happen. Similarly, divinations about the offering of *lao* [牢]

33. The inscriptions discussed in note 28 above may be regarded as exceptions to this generalization; they were not, however, ideal pairs.

(penned cattle or sheep), about the royal hunts and the weather to be encountered while hunting, and about misfortunes for the ten-day week or for the evening were rarely paired. A study of these and other non-complementary inscriptions suggests the following rule. Divination charges were not likely to be paired when: (1) the king was required to do something, such as offer sacrifice or go hunting, according to a pre-determined schedule; or (2) the king routinely wanted something not to happen, like misfortunes or bad weather.

These unpaired charges, like the paired charges of Wu Ding, were...not questions, but predictions, wishes, statements of intent in search of spiritual approval. They did not provide answers about what to do; that had already been decided. They provided reassurance about what was being done--the offering of a scheduled sacrifice, the conduct of a hunt, the wishing for no misfortune in the coming week, and so on.³⁴

The evidence suggests that the emphasis had shifted away from matching up the desires of the king with the contrary (and undesirable) intentions of the Powers; the deontic force of the charges now dealt only with the wishes of the king. The king was, one might say, becoming, in the realm of divinatory theology, more of a Power himself. And the use of qi changed accordingly. Now, the dominant authority was no longer the Powers but the king. He might still be uncertain about whether or not he should do something--and it was to resolve that uncertainty that he divined--but he was now divining about events that he himself could initiate. Qi in such "executive" contexts was still subjunctive, but the executive actor governed by the "shall" was now the king and not the Powers.

In light of the more refined periodizations now available to us, I would suggest that part of the initiative for these shifts can be found in the inscriptions of the Li 歷-diviner group (represented by the unpaired charges [24]-[26] below), whose divinatory activities started towards the end of Wu

34. Keightley 1988:378-79, but omitting the documentation provided in the footnotes. In quoting this passage I have converted the romanization from Wade-Giles to pinyin.

Ding's reign, flourished under Zu Geng 祖庚 (the 22nd Shang king), and in some cases continued into the reign of Zu Jia 祖甲 (the 23rd).³⁵ It is of particular interest that the Li-group diviners generally recorded their charges on cattle scapulas (as in the case of [24]-[26]) rather than turtle plastrons.³⁶ Scapulas, by their assymetrical shape, are less given to the paired, antipodal placement of contradictory charges than are turtle shells, with their right-left symmetry about the central spine. Whether the Li-group diviners preferred unpaired charges because they used scapulas, or used scapulas because they preferred unpaired charges, we cannot tell; but the medium and the message appear to have reinforced one another in this regard.

I would go further, in fact, and suggest that in eschewing charge-pairs the Li-group diviners were, in a sense, trying to combine both charges of the earlier charge-pairs into one unpaired charge. That is, to give an example, they conflated the 王令 and the 王不其令 of a putative Bin-diviner group charge-pair to produce the 王其令 of [24]. I am forced to say "putative" because I know of no instance in which Wu Ding's diviners employed a charge-pair of the form *王令.... / 王不其令.... And, indeed, there would have been no reason, as we have seen (page 22), for the k'ing to "counterbalance" his own orders in this way. The inspiration for the 王其令 pattern of the Li-group is rather, I suspect, to be found in earlier charge-pairs about Di's orders of the form 帝令 / 帝不其令 (as in [16AB]-[18AB]). Thus, I would translate the new-style, executive divinations as follows:

[24] 丁未貞:王其令望乘(帝=)歸其告于祖乙一[牛]

35. For an introduction to the periodization of the Li-group divinations, a topic that has been hotly debated, see Shaughnessy 1982-83; Keightley 1990:56-59.

36. Qiu Xigui 1981:263; Xie Ji 1982:100.

Crack-making on dingwei (day 44): "The king shall (*qi*) order Wang Cheng to return; he shall (*qi*) make ritual announcement (of this) to Ancestor Yi (the 12th king) and offer one [cow]." (II. Li 2) (HJ 32896 = Hebian 334; Y108.1). 8

The king was no longer inclined to confront his wishes with the contrary wishes of the Powers. The *qi* that had once expressed their wishes now expressed the king's.

Thus, in the divinations of the Li-group and later diviners, we find that *qi* was routinely used in this "executive" way (as we have already seen it in [24]):

[25] 己巳卜:其又歲于南庚.茲用.一牛

Crack-making on jisi (day 6): "(We) shall (*qi*) offer cut-up victims to Nan Geng (K16)." This was used. (We offered) one cow. (II. Li-Nameless royal, transitional) (HJ 32608; Y1420.1) 8

[26] 丁未貞:其大禦王自上甲翌用白豕九下示兕牛.在父丁宗卜

On dingwei (day 44) divined: "(We) shall (*qi*) perform a Great Exorcism (for the) king (to the ancestors) from Shang Jia (on down), (and) sacrifice-in-blood-covenant (with the spirits) (?) white pigs (?), nine of them; (to the) Lower Ancestors (we expect to) cut up (and offer the blood of) (?) a cow." (Postface:) Cracked in the temple of Father Ding (Wu Ding, the 25th king). (II. Li 2) (HJ 32330; Y755.1, partial) 8

[27] 庚寅卜:其禱年于上甲三牛

Crack-making on gengyin (day 27): "(We) shall pray for harvest to Shang Jia (1st predynastic ancestor) (and offer) three cattle." (III) (Tunnan 2666; Y531.2) 8

[27] 戊子卜何貞:王其田往來亡災

Crack-making on wuzi (day 25), He divined: "The king shall (*qi*) hunt; going and coming back, he will have no disasters." (III) (HJ 28474; Y321.2) 8

[28] 今日王其田湄日不雨

"Today, the king shall (*qi*) hunt; the whole day it will not rain."
(III-IV. He 3) (HJ 28520; Y215.1) 〇

[29A] 己巳卜狄貞：王其田重乙亡災

Crackmaking on *jisi* (day 6), D divined: "The king shall (*qi*) hunt and it should be on an *yi*-day; he will have no disasters."

[29B] 己巳卜狄貞：王其田重辛亡災

Crackmaking on *jisi* (day 6), D divined: "The king shall (*qi*) hunt and it should be on a *xin*-day; he will have no disasters." (III-IV. He 3) (HJ 27146; Y804.1) 〇

The absence of negative charges about the hunt (*王勿田 or *王勿狩) after Period I is further evidence that in this important controllable activity the king was now divining only what he wanted to do and what he wanted to have happen. He did not employ charge-pairs.³⁷

Finally, it should be noted that, whereas *qi* had been present in the protasis of virtually every Period II and III charge about hunting (as in [27]–[29AB]), in Period V the *qi* had virtually vanished from the record.³⁸ The basic Period V formulas, accordingly, are represented by [30] and [31] :

37. There are virtually no Period I charges about *tian* 田, "hunting," but one of the few is 貞：王勿出田, "Divined: 'The king shall not go out to hunt'" (HJ 1582; Y803.2). The verb more commonly used for hunting in Period I, in fact, was *shou* 狩. In the inscriptions about *shou* (Y1173.2–75.2) we find a small but significant number of charge pairs of the form 狩\勿狩 (e.g., HJ 10601f, 10939, 10613f, 10579, etc.) that confirm both the controllable nature of the activity (negated with *wu*) and the fact that, under Wu Ding, hunting had been divined by using positive-negative charge-pairs. It was no longer so divined by the later kings.

38. The only late-period exceptions I have found are the three Period V charges on HJ 37793 [Y809.2]: 貞：王其田亡災 "The king shall (*qi*) hunt; he will have no disasters."

[30] 乙酉卜貞：王田喪往來亡災

Crack-making on yiyou (day 22): "The king will hunt at Sang; going and returning, there will be no disasters." (V. Huang) (HJ 37367; Y8072) 〇

[31] 辛亥卜貞：今日王田𠩺湄日不遽雨

Crack-making on xinhai (day 48), divined: "Today the king will hunt at Hui; the whole day (he) will not encounter rains." (V. Huang) (HJ 37728; Y809.2) 〇

Such charges expressed--without any modal qi to assert the king's intent--what the king would do. What he wished and what the future would bring had become one and the same, to be expressed simply with the unmarked future tense: "The king will hunt," or even perhaps, the royal present, "The king hunts." And, as befits a king, he would, as the qi indicated, do so against the hopes of those who might oppose him.

Qi in Prognostications

It remains only to consider how qi functioned in royal prognostications. Since charges and prognostications can both be regarded as statements about the future, it is plausible to assume that qi played a similar role in both environments. I thus propose that when qi was used in a prognostication about events uncontrollable by the Shang, it should, as in charges about such events, continue to be understood as "shall." Such propositions were modally marked to indicate the degree to which a Power was thought to play a role in the outcome.

Qi in Simple Prognostications

Let us first consider three relatively rare instances of simple-sentence prognostications that employed *qi*:

[32A] 王固曰:丁其雨.九日丁酉允雨

The king read the cracks and said: "On the ding-day it shall (*qi*) rain." (Verification:) On the ninth day, dingyou (day 34), it really did rain. (I. Bin) (*HJ 12948f = Bingbian 533.1; Y585.1)

[32B] 丁王亦固曰:其亦雨.之夕允雨

(Prognostication:) On the ding-day, the king again read the cracks and said: "It shall (*qi*) again rain." (Verification:) That night (i.e., the night of dingyou) it really did rain. (I. Bin) (*HJ 12948b = Bingbian 534.2; Y92.2) ◊

⌋ [33A] 甲辰卜般貞:奚來白馬.王固曰:吉其來

Crack-making on jiachen (day 41), Que divined: "Xi will bring white horses." (Prognostication:) The king read the cracks and said: "Auspicious: he shall (*qi*) bring (them)."

⌋ [33B] 甲辰卜般貞:奚不其來白馬

Crack-making on jiachen, Que divined: "Xi shall (*qi*) not bring white horses." (I. Bin) (HJ 9177f = Bingbian 157.11-12; Y625.1, partial) ◊

In these cases, I presume that the king was expressing the degree to which the future was at the disposition of some Power. When he prognosticated, as in [32A], "On the ding-day it shall (*qi*) rain," he was implying, "On the ding-day some Power shall (*qi*) order rain," or "On the ding-day, some Power willing, it shall (*qi*) rain." Similarly, I assume that the presence of some Power, that would allow Xi to bring white horses, was acknowledged by the *qi* in the prognostication of [33A], as it had been acknowledged by the *qi* in the charge of [33B]. It may be significant that when the king's prognostications were specific as to a particular time ([32AB] "On the ding-day," [37C] "On a jia-day") or a particular event ([33A] Xi bringing white horses), the king, in his prognostication, frequently--but not invariably (see [34], [35B], [36])--

implicated the will of the Powers in this way by employing the qi. Because such specificity presumably raised the odds against the forecast being accurate--it being more likely that it would rain on the nine other days of the Shang week rather than, as in the case of [32A], on the ding-day--I would suggest that qi in prognostications may also have expressed the slightly adversative mood we have discerned in the charges (page 22): 'On the ding-day, it shall, if Di wishes, rain," or "On the ding-day, it shall, contrary to what one might expect, rain."

On the other hand, there certainly were occasions, involving uncontrollable phenomena, when the king was prepared to make an unmarked prognostication that omitting the modal qi, even when a particular gan-day was specified:

[34] 王固曰:己雨

The king read the cracks and said: "On the ji-day it will rain."
(I. Bin) (HJ 418b; Y837.1) ◊

[35C] 王固曰:庚雨

The king read the cracks and said: "On the geng-day it will rain."
(I. Bin) (HJ 12311b; Y837.2) ◊

[36] 庚辰卜古貞:翌辛巳易日.王固曰:賜日

Crack-making on gengchen (day 17), Gu divined: "On the next day, xinsi (day 18), it will be sunny." The king read the cracks and said: "It will be sunny." (I. Bin) (HJ 13220f; Y837.2) ◊

In these cases, the king was prepared to make a forecast that, at least explicitly, paid no attention to the will of the Powers. We cannot speculate with much assurance about why the prognostication of [32A] was 丁其雨 and the prognostication of [35], for example, was 庚雨, but I would suggest one

possible explanation. The difference may have reflected the degree of confidence the king felt in his ability to assess the outcome of a particular divinatory scenario. The prognostication of [35C], for example, was in response to the fragmentary charge-pair (not ideal) on the front of the plastron:

[35A] 戊戌卜𠄎貞：自今于壬寅雨，

"Crack-making on wuxu (day 35), Que divined: 'From today (day 35) down to renyin (day 39) [it will rain]."

[35B] 貞：自今于壬[寅不其]雨

Divined: "From today down to ren[yin it shall (qi) not rain" (HJ 12311f).³⁹

That the king, in making the prognostication of [35C], evidently singled out day 37, gengzi, in the middle of that five-day period, for the rain to fall, without marking his forecast with a qi, suggests that he felt considerable assurance about forecasting the weather two days in advance. That is to say, he did not feel it necessary to indicate explicitly, with a qi (*庚其雨), that the influence of the Powers, uncertain and not fully predictable, would be involved. Why he was so emboldened, we cannot tell, but we can at least note that this plastron was divined during the third moon, which would have fallen well within the start of the Shang rainy season when rain, heavy at times, was likely.⁴⁰ Conceivably, he had picked the middle day in a range of five,

39. The fragmentary last graph of [35A], yu 雨, has been lost in the rubbing of HJ 12311f; it is visible in the original rubbing, Zhuihe 291 (S261.1).

40. Modally unmarked charges like 及茲二月𠄎大雨, "(When we) reach to this second moon, there will be great rains" (II; Chu) (HJ 24868; Y40.1); and 今三月帝令多雨, "In the present third moon, Di will order much rain" (I) (HJ 14136; Y1271.2), are among the evidence that indicates the Shang rainy season was considerably longer and the rainfall heavier than it is today (Keightley 1992b). For additional "much rain" (duo_yu 多雨) charges at the start of the rainy season, see: for the first moon, Zhuihe 78 (S433.4), Kufang 717 (S483.4); for the second moon, HJ 12511f (Y1271.1), Tianrang 22 (S483.4); for the third moon: Tieyun 249.2 (S483.4).

rather than a day at either end of the range, because, in a season when he sensed that several days of connected rain were likely, he increased the odds of his forecast being accurate. Thus, having decreased the odds of some Power exercising a contrary influence, he felt no need to employ the qi.

We also need to consider why the Shang did not employ qi in certain prognostications about other subjects besides the weather. Why, for example, in the case of [4C], did the Shang write 王固曰:吉受隹年 rather than *王固曰:吉其受隹年? I would suggest that qi was not employed in non-weather contexts when the prognostication was desirable and of great importance to the well-being of the dynasty (and when the prognostication, due to its broad scope, was relatively non-specific). Thus, in a matter as critical to the well-being of the Shang as the harvest, the spiritual contrariness that qi expressed would not have been politic in a prognostication like [4C]. Soliciting and obtaining good harvests was one of the king's fundamental tasks. His divinations about receiving harvest were rituals of reassurance rather than crop forecasts. The king, in such a context, could not express doubt about the harvest's success or the Powers' intention of conferring it, just as he could not, as we have seen (page 9 above), divine a modally unmarked charge that would emphasize the likelihood of that dangerous possibility. We never find, for example, prognostications like *王固曰:我其受黍年, *"*We shall (qi) receive millet harvest,*" or *王固曰:我不/弗受黍年, *"*We will not receive millet harvest,*" or even *王固曰:我不/弗其受黍年, *"*We shall (qi) not receive millet harvest.*" It was evidently unthinkable in a royal prognostication--or, at least, not good to think--that the Powers would act in this way.

Qi in Contingent Prognostications

In a significant number of cases, Wu Ding emphasized the uncertainty of a prognostication, and thus the role played by the Powers, by expressing it in contingent terms. In some cases, like [37C] only one forecast was qualified in this way:

⌈[37A] 庚子卜般:婦媿婉嘉

Crack-making on gengzi (day 37), Que (divined): "Lady Wo will give birth and it will be good."

⌈[37B] 貞:婦媿婉不其嘉

Divined: "Lady Wo will give birth and it shall (qi) not be good." (I. Bin) (HJ 376f; Y783.2 = Bingbian 96.16-17)

[37C] 王固曰:其佳甲婉吉

The king read the cracks and said: "(Shall =) Should (qi) it be on a jia-day that she give birth,⁴¹ it will be auspicious." (I. Bin) (HJ 376b = Bingbian 97.12) ◊

The king, in this case, was willing to commit himself to making a good forecast for one of the days of the ten-day week. Given the long odds (one in ten) that his forecast would be right, it was natural that he would use the qi to indicate that 'it shall be a jia-day (i.e., if some Power so wills it) and, if it is, it will be auspicious.' In such cases, I presume that the king, given the rather long odds against an accurate forecast--was not prepared to commit himself to the more confident prognostication for [37C] *佳甲婉吉, "It will be on a jia-day that she give birth and it will be auspicious."

This modal function of qi, which served to indicate contingency in prognostications (see note ???), is confirmed by the routine appearance of qi

41. I shall routinely, from this point on, treat the pattern "qi + verb₁ (+ verb₂) + verb₃" in prognostications about uncontrollable events (in the present case 其佳甲婉吉) as "It shall be verb₁ (and verb₂) and then it will verb₃" → "Should it be verb₁ (and verb₂), then verb₃." Such patterns could easily, of course, be rendered "If verb₁ (and verb₂), then verb₃."

in "alternative prognostications" where the king foresaw more than one possible outcome. Because they were multi-part, such forecasts could not be modally unmarked; that is to say, they were necessarily subjunctive because, given the king's uncertainty about which of several forecasts the Powers would endorse, his forecasts could not aspire to pinpoint precision. Consider, for example, the prognostications of [38A] and [38C]:

↓[38A] 甲申卜穀貞：婦好婉嘉。王固曰：其佳丁婉嘉其佳庚婉引吉。三旬又一日甲寅婉允不嘉佳女

(Preface:) Crack-making on jiashen (day 21), Que divined:
(Charge:) "Lady Hao will give birth and it will be good."
(Prognostication:) The king read the cracks and said: "Should (*qi*) it be on a ding-day that she give birth, it will be good; should (*qi*) it be on a geng-(day) that she give birth, there will be prolonged auspiciousness." (Verification:) (After) thirty-one days, on jiayin (day 51), she gave birth; it really was not good; it was a girl.

↑[38B] 甲申卜穀貞：婦好婉不其嘉。三旬又一日甲寅婉允不嘉佳女

(Preface:) Crack-making on jiashen (day 21), Que divined:
(Charge:) "Lady Hao will give birth and it shall (*qi*) not be good." (Verification:) (After) thirty-one days, on jiayin (day 51), she gave birth; it really was not good; it was a girl. (I. Bin) (HJ 14002f; Y783.2)

[38C] 王固曰：其佳丁婉嘉。其庚引吉其佳壬戌不吉

(Prognostication:) The king read the cracks and said: "Should (*qi*) it be on a ding-(day) that she give birth, it will be good; should (*qi*) (it be) on a geng-day, there will be prolonged auspiciousness; should (*qi*) it be on renxu (day 59), it will not be auspicious." (I. Bin) (*HJ 14002b)⁴² ☉

Such multi-day forecasts as [38A] and [38C]--'Should it be one day, or should it be another'--were contingent by their very nature and it was precisely the function of the qi to indicate the role that the will of the Powers might play in such contingency. We never find an unmarked (and hence more confident) child-bearing prognostication of the form, *佳干婉嘉, *It

42. See the discussion of this plastron, as Bingbian 247.1-2 (S309.2), in Keightley: 1978a:7-10.

will be on a gan-day that she give birth and it will be good." As in [37C] and [38A], the standard form was, rather, 其佳干婉嘉, "*Should (qi) it be on a gan-day that she give birth, it will be good.*"⁴³ I assume that the king's reluctance to specify a "good" birth day with precision--which, for the prognostication to succeed, had to be correct as to both the day of birth and the sex of the child--was due precisely to the rather low odds (no better than one in twenty if one thinks of a boy-or-girl forecast being combined with one of the ten days in the week) of making a correct prognostication.⁴⁴ By contrast, confident prognostications about rainfall (or sunshine) on precise days--as we have seen in [34] and [35B] (or [36]) above--could, presumably, be ventured when the sky was laden with rain clouds (or the sky was cloudless) and the odds of a correct forecast were good.

Such multi-part prognostications about uncontrollable activity, in which all the forecasts were contingent, were not limited to child bearing. The king might be equally cautious about alternative weather forecasts as in the following detailed prognostication:

[39] 王固曰:丁丑其𠩺鑿不吉其佳甲𠩺鑿吉其佳[辛]𠩺鑿亦不吉

The king read the cracks and said: "On dingchou (day 14), *should (qi) there be thunder, it will be inauspicious; should (qi) it be on a jia-day that there be thunder, it will be auspicious; should (qi) it be on a xin-day that there be thunder, it will likewise be inauspicious.*"⁴⁵ (I. Bin) (HJ 6485b; Y357.2 = Bingbian 19.9.) ☞

43. E.g., HJ 376b (= [37C]), 454, 13996, 14001, 14002 (= [38A]), 13926b, 14009, from the sample at Y783.2-84.1; see, too, the sample at S309.2.

44. The odds were probably worse. As HJ 14001fb (Y783.2) (= Yibian 4729; S309.2) indicates, the possibility that the baby might die also had to be considered.

45. For a discussion of the kind of charge, which had probably involved ancestral sacrifice, to which this prognostication was a response, see Keightley 1978:87-88.

Such a prognostication (which once again, I believe, assumed the influence of the Powers in controlling the thunder)⁴⁶ was not composed of contradictory elements; unlike the birth days, which could only occur once per birth, thunder could be repeated over a series of days. Nevertheless, the occurrence of the three qis in the prognostication clearly expressed the king's uncertainty about whether there would be thunder and about what day the thunder might be heard (其王鑿... 其佳甲... 其佳[辛]). One can find similar "hedging" in the king's rain forecasts, as in [[40C]:

↓ [40A] 王寅卜賓貞:今十月雨

Crack-making on renyin (day 39), Bin divined: "In the present tenth moon, it will rain."

↑ [40B] 貞:今十月不其雨

Divined: "In the present tenth moon, *it shall (qi) not rain.*" (I. Bin) (HJ 809f = Bingbian 523.5-6)

[40C] 王固曰:吉其雨佳庚其佳辛雨引吉

The king read the cracks and said: "Auspicious. *Should (qi) it rain*, it will be on a geng-day; *should (qi) it be on a xin-day that it rain*, there will be prolonged auspiciousness." (I. Bin) (HJ 809b = Bingbian 524.4) ☉

Wu Ding also employed another characteristic type of multi-part prognostication that throws more light on the function of qi and the way Shang divination worked. The king started these prognostications with a confident, modally unmarked, inclusive forecast and then analyzed that forecast into discrete and, necessarily, less confident segments, marked with qi, that qualified the mood, as it restricted the scope, of the original forecast. For example:

[41A] 翌甲午其雨

46. See, e.g., A number of ins

"On the next jiaxu (day 11) it shall (qi) rain." (I. Bin) (HJ 14161f = Bingbian 521.6)⁴⁷

[41B] 王固曰：雨佳其不延。甲午允雨

The king read the cracks and said: "It will rain, only (wei)⁴⁸ it shall (qi) not be prolonged." (Verification:) On jiaxu it really did rain. (HJ 14161b = Bingbian 522.4) ☉

In this case, the king made a confident, unmarked forecast, "It will rain," but then qualified it by introducing the adversative possibility that "it shall (qi) not be prolonged," thus implying that some Power would not let it be prolonged.

Finally, I would note that this pattern of qualification and restriction was particularly clear in Wu Ding's prognostications about various calamities, recorded as part of "display inscriptions."⁴⁹ A typical sample of such display inscriptions (unpaired) is found on both sides of the large scapula originally published as Jinghua 2 (S307.2). I translate only one here:

[42] 癸巳卜：貞：旬亡禍。王固曰：翌其翌來。癸至五日丁酉，允其來。癸自西正，告曰：土方正于我東鄙。二邑土方亦侵我西鄙田。

Crack-making on guisi (day 30), Que divined: "In the (next) ten days there will be no disasters." (Prognostication:) The king read the cracks and said: "There will be calamities; there shall (qi) be (someone) bringing alarming news." (Verification:) When it came to the fifth day, dingyou (day 34), there really was (someone) bringing alarming news from the west. Zhi Guo reported and said: "The Tufang have attacked in our eastern borders and have seized two settlements. The Gongfang likewise invaded the fields of our western borders." (I. Bin) (HJ 6057f = Jinghua 2; Y449.1) ☉

-
47. The identical charge is repeated on the other side of the plastron.
48. Derek Herforth (comments of 19 August 1993) has suggested that wei, placed before the qi, cannot be a copula here, but must mean "it is only that".
49. I have defined the characteristics of Wu Ding's display inscriptions as: (1) bold, large calligraphy; (2) a prognostication and verification written as a single, continuous unit that was usually placed immediately next to the charge; (3) a verification, frequently detailed, that confirmed the accuracy of the prognostication (Keightley 1978:46, n. 90).

In four other instances on this scapula the engravers recorded prognostications that were identical in form to that of [42]: 王固曰: 咎其有來嬌, "The king read the cracks and said: 'There will be calamities; *there shall (qi) be (someone) bringing alarming news* (the qualified forecast, contingent on the Powers).'" I assume that in such cases the king was willing to risk his reputation as a forecaster of calamities in general (based, perhaps, upon his assessment of the situation on the borders) by making an unequivocal, unmarked forecast that calamities would occur; he was more cautious about specifying the nature of those calamities, and thus used the *qi* to introduce the possibility, modally marked, that "*there shall (qi) be someone bringing alarming news.*"

We have, in fact, already seen the same pattern of a big, unqualified forecast followed by smaller, marked, contingent qualifications in a prognostication about the weather: [6C]: 王固曰: 酉佳咎其且雩, "The king read the cracks and said: 'We will perform the you-cutting sacrifice, (but) there will be (some Power bringing) calamities; *there may (qi) be thunder.*'" In that case, the king, having (1) forecast that the you-cutting sacrifice would indeed take place also (2) asserted the general, confident forecast, "There will be (some Power bringing) calamities," (that would, presumably, hinder the planned sacrifice), and then (3) provided the qualifying specification, "*There shall (qi) be thunder.*"

Conclusion

The "executive" use of *qi* is well supported in the Zhou texts that followed the oracle-bone inscriptions of Shang, as the following brief selection makes clear (see, too, note 8 above). The first example, with its

common formula expressing the wish for many descendants, comes from a bronze inscription dated to the reign of King Mu (956-918 BC):⁵⁰

[43] 衛其子 孫 永寶用

(For) Wei, it shall [*qi*] be that (=) May Wei's sons' sons and grandsons's grandsons eternally treasure and use (it). ("Qiu wei gui")⁵¹

The second example, also on a bronze inscription, has been dated to the reign of King Gong (917-900 BC):

[44] 夙夜不墜,其日蔑曆

Morning and night not dropping, (Scribe Qiang) shall (*qi*) daily have his merits acknowledged. ("Shi Qiang pan")⁵²

The next instance, from Shu, shows the *qi* associated with the will of Heaven, just as in Shang charges like [16AB]-[18AB] it had been associated with the will of Di:

[45]

...天其永我命于茲新邑

"..., so Heaven shall (*qi*) prolong our mandate in this new settlement." (Shu, "Pan Geng," para. 4)⁵³

[46] 厥或誥曰:群飲,勿佚,盡執拘以歸于周,予其殺

"If somebody reports saying: a company is drinking, do not let them escape, seize them all and send them to Zhou, and I shall (*qi*) kill them." (Shu, "Jiu Gao," para. 14)⁵⁴

50. For Western Zhou dates I follow the chronology proposed by Shaughnessy (1991:xix).

51. Ap. Shaughnessy 1991:85-86; he dates the vessel to 930 BC (pp. 110, 184).

52. Ap. Shaughnessy 1991:189; he dates the vessel on p. 111.

53. Ap. Karlgren 1950:20.

54. Ap. Karlgren 1950:46.

[47] 予其大賚汝

"I shall (*qi*) greatly reward you." (Shu, "Tang shi," para. 4)⁵⁵

[48] 旦曰：其作大邑，其自時配皇天

"You, Dan, had said: '(We) shall (*qi*) build a great settlement, and will (*qi*) from it comport with august Heaven.'" (Shu, "Shao Gao," para. 14)⁵⁶

[49] 其令諸侯各治邸太山下

"(You shall [*qi*] orders =) Let orders be given to the Feudal Lords to build their own rest houses at the foot of Mt. T'ai." (Shiji 28)⁵⁷

The continuity of usage and meaning implied by these examples (which could easily be multiplied) provides further support, I would suggest, for the arguments advanced above. The new hypothesis--which argues for a *qi* ("shall") that marked strong, "executive" modality, rather than for a *qi* ("may, might") that weakened the strength of propositions--significantly revises my previous understanding of these issues (see n. 9 above). This change of heart owes much to David Nivison's gently probing insistence that all was not right with my earlier views. Our conversations, in fact, have resembled, I now see, a modern, scholarly charge-pair, in which David, if this new hypothesis proves correct, can be seen to have assumed the position of superior power, the position, in fact, expressed with *qi*. Let me end, in any event, with the

55. Ap. Legge 1865:175.

56. Ap. Shaughnessy 1993:00. The wording is reminiscent of Shang settlement-building charges like [14A] 我其作邑.

57. Ap. Dobson 1974:186.

appropriate charge-pair: "Nivison will accept this offering/Nivison *shall (qi)* not accept this offering." I need hardly stress that the charge that expresses the desired outcome is for me, as it was for the Shang diviners, the one without the executive qi.

Fig. 1. Complementary charges on a plastron front. Positive charge (on the right): [4A] (Preface:) Crack-making on bing-chen (day 53), Que divined: (Charge:) "We will receive millet harvest." Negative charge (on the left): [4A] (Preface:) Crack-making on bingchen (day 53), Que divined: (Charge:) "We shall (*qi*) not receive millet harvest." (Postface:) In the fourth moon. Reduced 00 percent. The arrows supplied indicate the direction in which the columns of graphs should be read.

TABLE 1: APPROXIMATE DISTRIBUTION OF QI
IN CHARGE-PAIRS ABOUT RAINFALLIN BINGBIAN 1-632

(1) 其雨/不其雨	63.3-4, 5-6, 7-8; 151.3-4; 447.8-9; 527.3-4, 7-8, 9-10 8 cases (14.5%)
(2) 其雨/不雨	93.1-2; 116.10-11; 151.1-2; 153.7-8; 220.2-3; 263.9-10; 306.8-9; 342.21-22; 343.8-9; 349.4-5 46-47; 527.11-12; 529.1-2, 3-4, 5-6, 7-8, 9-10, 11-12, 13-14, 15-16, 18-19; 622.2-3 22 cases (40%)
(3) 雨/不雨	235.5-6 (?); 522.1-2 2 cases (3.6%)
(4) 雨/不其雨	149.11-12, 21-22; 155.5-6, 202.9-10, 11-12; 235.1-2; 304.1-2; 346.2-3; 368.1-2; 381.7-8; 422.3-4; 433.1-2; 454.1-2, 3-4; 519.5-6; 523.5-6; 527.1-2 17 cases (30.9%)
(5) 雨/其雨	433.3-4 ^a ; 527.5-6 ^a 2 cases (3.6%)
(6) ^b 雨/雨	255.1-2 (?) ^c 1 case (1.8%)
(7) ^b 其雨/其雨	166.13-14 ^a ; 521.6-7 ^a ; 527.5-6 ^a ; 528.1-2 ^a 3 cases (5.4%)

Source: Takashima 1985:412-19, who does not identify charge-pairs; not all of the cases tabulated, in fact, turn out to be ideal pairs (as defined in note 4 above). In a small number of the cases listed in this table, the verb being qualified (or not qualified) by the 其 was 令, in the phrase 帝令雨, "(Di) orders rain."

^aNone of these occurrences are ideal pairs (as defined in note 4 above). Note that if the opposition (5) 雨/其雨 never appears in ideal pairs, this would suggest that qi, in ideal pairs, was only used for propositions that were contrastive.

^bBecause no positive/negative formulations are involved none of the charges in (6) and (7) qualify as ideal pairs. This raises the possibility that one charge in the pair was simply a reiteration of the other, thus explaining the presence (or absence) of qi in both elements of the "pair."

^cSince the last part of each charge in the pair is missing, it is possible that the opposition was of the form, 雨/不其雨.

WORKS CITED

- Bingbian Zhang Bingquan 張秉權. Xiaotun dierben: Yinxu wenzi: bingbian 小屯地二本:殷墟文字:丙編. Taipei: Zhongyang yanjiuyuan lishi yuyan yanjiusuo 中央研究院歷史語言研究所. Vol. 1, pt. 1 (1957); pt. 2 (1959). Vol. 2, pt. 1 (1962); pt. 2 (1965). Vol. 3, pt. 1 (1967); pt. 2 (1972).
- Chow, Kwok-ching
- 1982 "Aspects of Subordinative Composite Sentences in the Period I Oracle Bone Inscriptions." Ph.D. dissertation, University of British Columbia.
- Cikoski, John S.
- 1978 "The Existence and Function of the so-called Modal chyi in Classical Chinese--Three Essays on Classical Chinese Grammar, II." Computational Analyses of Asian & African Languages 9:77-131.
- Djamouri, Redouane.
- 1987 "Etudes des formes syntaxiques dans les écrits oraculaires gravés sur os et écailles de tortue." Ph.D. dissert. Ecoles des hautes études en sciences sociales. Paris.
- Dobson, W. A. C. H.
- 1974 A Dictionary of the Chinese Particles with a prolegomenon in which the problems of the particles are considered and they are classified by their grammatical functions. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1974.
- Evans, Bergen, and Cornelia Evans
- 1957 A Dictionary of Contemporary American Usage. New York: Random House, 1957.
- Gao Ming 高明
- 1980 Guwenzi leibian 古文字類編. Beijing: Zhonghua.
- Guan Xiechu 管燮初
- 1981 Liang Zhou jinwen yufa yanjiu 兩周金文語法研究. Beijing: Shangwu.
- Hebian Zeng Yigong 曾毅公. Jiagu zhuihebian 甲骨綴合編. N.p.: Xiuwentang 1950.

- HJ Guo Moruo 郭沫若, ed., Hu Houxuan 胡厚宣, ed.-in-chief. Jiaguwen heji 甲骨文合集. 13 vols. N.p.: Zhonghua shuju, 1978-82.
- Houbian Luo Zhenyu 羅振玉. Yinxu shuqi houbian 殷虛書契後編. N.p., 1916. Reprint, [Taipei], n.d.
- Ikeda Suetoshi 池田末利
- 1964 Inkyo shokei kôhen shakubun kô. 殷墟書契後編釋文稿. Hiroshima: Hiroshima daigaku bungakubu Chûgoku testsugaku kenkyûshitsu.
- Jespersen, O.
- 1924 The Philosophy of Grammar. London: Allen and Unwin.
- Jimbun Kaizuka Shigeki 貝塚茂樹. Kyôto daigaku jimbun kagaku kenkyûjozô kôkotsu monji. Zuhân. Hombun hen. 京都大學人文科學研究所藏 甲骨文字. 圖版. 本文編. Kyoto: Kyôto daigaku jimbun kagaku kenkyûjo, 1959, 1960. (Reprinted as Kaizuka and Itô Michiharu 伊藤道治. Kôkotsu monji kenkyû. Zuhân. Hombun hen 甲骨文字研究. 圖版. 本文編. Kyoto: Dôhōsha, 1980.)
- Jinghua Luo Zhenyu 羅振玉. Yinxu shuqi jinghua 殷虛書契菁華. N.p., 1914.
- Karlgren, Bernhard
- 1950, tr. The Book of Documents. Stockholm: Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities.
- Keightley, David N.
- 1978 Sources of Shang History: The Oracle-Bone Inscriptions of Bronze Age China. Berkeley: University of California Press. (2d printing, with minor revisions, 1985.)
- 1978a "How the Cracks Were Read: The Existence of the Subcharge" Paper presented at the Annual Meeting, American Oriental Society, Toronto. 12 April 1978.
- 1984 "Late Shang Divination: The Magico-Religious Legacy." In Henry Rosemont, Jr., ed., Explorations in Early Chinese Cosmology. Journal of the American Academy of Religion Studies 50.2:11-34.
- 1988 "Shang Divination and Metaphysics," Philosophy East and West 38.4 (October 1988): 367-397.
- 1990 "Sources of Shang History: Two Major Oracle-Bone Collections Published in the People's Republic of China." JAOS 110.1 (1990): 39-59.

- 1991 "Divination and Kingship in Late Shang China." Book ms.
- 1992 "Shang Charges and Prognostications: The Strong and the Weak?" 25th International Conference on Sino-Tibetan Linguistics, Berkeley. 15 October 1992.
- 1992a "Rainfall." Manuscript. 12 July 1992.
- 1994 "Shang Oracle-Bone Inscriptions." In Edward L. Shaughnessy, ed., Paleographic Sources of Early China. Hong Kong: Chinese University of Hong Kong Press. (In press.)
- 1993a "Certainty and Control in Late Shang China: Modal Qi in the Oracle-Bone Inscriptions." Manuscript, 28 July 1993.
- Kufang Fang Falian 方法敏 [Frank H. Chalfant] and Bo Ruihua 白瑞華 [Roswell S. Britton]. Ku Fang ershi cang jiagu buci 庫方二氏藏甲骨卜辭 (The Couling-Chalfang Collection of Inscribed Oracle Bone). Shanghai: Shangwu, 1935. Reprint: Taibei, 1966.
- Legge, James, tr.
- 1865 The Chinese Classics, Volume III: The Shoo King or the Book of Historical Documents. London: Frowde.
- Lu Shuxiang
- 1979 TO BE SUPPLIED
- Malmqvist, Göran
- 1981 "On the Functions and Meanings of the Graph 其 in the Tzuoojuann." Zhongguang yanjiuyuan Guoji Hanxue huiyi lunwenji 中央研究院國際漢學會議論文集. Taibei. Section on Linguistics and Paleography. Pp. 365-89.
- Mei Tsu-lin
- 1981 "A Common Etymon for 之 chih and 其 ch'i and Related Problems in Old Chinese Phonology." Zhongguang yanjiuyuan Guoji Hanxue huiyi lunwenji: Yuyan wenzi zu 中央研究院國際漢學會議論文集. Taibei. Pp. 185-211.
- Nivison, David S.
- 1968 "So-called 'Modal Ch'i in Classical Chinese." Paper presented to the American Oriental Society, Annual Meeting, Berkeley. 19 March 1968.
- 1970 "Modal Ch'i 其 and Related Expressions in Chinese of the Chou and the Early Empire." Paper presented to the

- American Oriental Society, Western Branch Meeting, Santa Barbara, 27 March 1970.
- 1991 "Notes on 'Notes': A Reply to Paul Serruys." Manuscript. December 1991.
- 1992 "A New Attempt on 'Modal Qi': Another Note on Serruys' 'Notes.'" Manuscript. January and September 1992.
- 1992a 'Modal Qi' in Shang and Early Zhou Texts." Manuscript.
- 1992b "'Modal' Qi: Statement for the Sino-Tibetan Workshop." 25th International Conference on Sino-Tibetan Linguistics, Berkeley. 15 October 1992.
- Palmer, F. R.
- 1986 Mood and Modality. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Qianbian Luo Zhenyu 羅振玉. Yinxu shuqi qianbian 殷虛書契前編. N.p.: 1913. Reprint [Shanghai], 1932; [Taipei], n.d.
- Qiu Xigui 裘錫圭
- 1981 "Lun 'Lizu buci' de shidai 論'歷組卜辭'的時代." GWZY 6:263-321. (Errata list at GWZY 8 [1983]:237.)
- 1982 "Buci 'yi' zi he Shi, Shu li de 'shi' zi 卜辭'異'字和詩, 書里的'式'字." Zhongguo yuyan xuebao 中國語言學報 1 (1982):173-188.
- 1990 "Shi Yinxu buci zhong de 'zu' he 'zu.'" 釋殷墟卜辭中的「卒」和「𠂔」." Zhongyuan wenwu 中原文物 1990.3:8-17.
- S Shima Kunio 島邦男. Inkyo bokui sōrui 殷墟卜辭綜類. 2d rev. ed. Tokyo: Kyūko, 1971.
- Satō Taketoshi 佐藤武敏
- 1962 Chūgoku kodai kōgyō shi no kenkyū 中國古代工業史ノ研究. Tokyo: Furukawa.
- Schuessler, Alex.
- 1987 A Dictionary of Early Zhou Chinese. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press.
- Serruys, Paul L.-M.
- 1974 "The Language of the Shang Oracle Inscriptions." TP 60:12-120.
- 1981 "Towards a Grammar of the Language of the Shang Bone Inscriptions." Zhongguo yanjiuyuan guoji Hanxue huiyi

- Junwenji 中央研究院國際漢學會議論文集. Taipei. Pp. 313-64.
- 1986 "Notes on the Grammar of the Oracular Inscriptions of Shang." Contributions to Sino-Tibetan Studies, eds. John McCoy and Timothy Light. Cornell Linguistic Contributions 5. Leiden: Brill. Pp. 203-57.
- Shaughnessy, Edward L.
- 1982-83 "Recent Approaches to Oracle-Bone Periodization." Early China 8:1-13.
- 1991 Sources of Western Zhou History: Inscribed Bronze Vessels. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- 1993 "The Duke of Zhou's Retirement in the East: The Beginnings of the Ministerialist-Monarchist Debate in Chinese Political Philosophy." Early China 18:00-00.
- Shima Kunio 島邦男
- 1958 Inkyo bokuji kenkyû 殷墟卜辭研究. Hirosaki: Hirosaki daigaku Chûgoku kenkyûkai.
- Takashima, Ken-ichi 高島謙一
- 1970 "Amphibolous Ch'i in the Bone Inscriptions of the King Wu Ting Period." Manuscript. October 1970.
- 1973 "Negatives in the King Wu-ting Bone Inscriptions." Ph.D. dissertation, University of Washington.
- 1977-78 "Subordinate Structure in Oracle Bone Inscriptions With Particular Reference to the Particle Ch'i 其," Monumenta Serica 33:36-61.
- 1984 "Nominalization and Nominal Derivation With Particular Reference to the Language of the Oracle-Bone Inscriptions." Papers in East Asian Languages 2:25-74.
- 1985 Yinxu wenzi bingbian tongjian 殷虛文字丙編通檢. (A Concordance to Fascicle Three of Inscriptions from the Yin Ruins). Taipei: Zhongyuan yanjiuyuan lishi yuyan yanjiusuo.
- 1988 "Morphology of the Negatives in Oracle-Bone Inscriptions." Computational Analysis of Asian and African Languages 30:113-133.
- 1988-89 "An Evaluation of the Theories Concerning the Shang Oracle-Bone Inscriptions." The Journal of Intercultural Studies (Kansai University) 15-16:11-54. (Abridged version of Takashima 1989.)

- 1989 "Indai teiboku gengo no honshitsu 殷代貞卜言語の本質." Tôyô bunka kenkyûjo kiyô 東洋文化研究所紀要 110:1-166.
- 1990 "A Study of the Copulas in Shang Chinese." The Memoirs of the Institute of Oriental Culture (University of Tokyo) 112:1-92.
- 1991 "An Emphatic Verb Phrase in the Oracle-Bone Inscriptions." Memorial Volume of the Late Professor honor of Professor Li Fang-kuei Taipei: Institute of History and Philology. Pp. 663-704.
- 1992 "The Modal and Aspectual Particle Qi in Shang Chinese." Abstract for the 25th International Conference on Sino-Tibetan Linguistics, Berkeley. 15 October 1992.
- Tianrang Tang Lan 唐蘭. Tianrangge jiagu wencun 天壤閣甲骨文存. Beijing: Furen daxue, 1939.
- Tieyun Liu E 劉鵬. Tieyun canggui. N.p.: 1903. Reprint [Taipei]: 1959.
- Vernant, J.P.
- 1974 "Parole et signes muets." In Jean-Pierre Vernant, et al., Divination et Rationalité. Paris: Editions du Seuil. Pp. 9-25.
- Xie Ji 謝濟
- 1982 "Shilun Lizu buci di fenqi 試論歷組卜辭的分期." In Hu Houxuan 胡厚宣 et al., Jiagu tan shilu 甲骨探史錄. Beijing: Sanlian. Pp. 87-111.
- Y Yao Xiaosui 姚孝遂 and Xiao Ding 尚丁, eds. Yinxu jiagu keci leizuan 殷墟甲骨刻辭類纂. 3. vols. Beijing: Zhonghua, 1989.
- Yu Xingwu 于省吾
- 1979 "Shi qi 釋其." In Yu Xingwu Jiaguwen zi shilin 甲骨文字釋林. Beijing: Zhonghua. Pp. 427-31.
- Zhao Cheng 趙誠
- 1988 Jiaguwen jianming cidian: Buci fenlei duben 甲骨文簡明詞典: 卜辭分類讀本. Beijing: Zhonghua.
- Zhuihe Guo Ruoyu 郭若愚, Zeng Yigong 曾毅公, Li Xueqin 李學勤. Yinxu wenzi zhuihe 殷虛文字綴合. Beijing: Kexue, 1955.

10659 words