3 The Shanghai "Zhouyi" and the Warring States script

3.1 Elaborate and casual styles

One of the most prominent features of the Warring States writing system in contrast with the received standard orthography is that W.S. characters can be written in far more variant graphic forms and structures than we are accustomed to seeing in the received script. Because of its distinct formulaic text structure the Shanghai "Zhouyi" (SHZY) Chu manuscript provides a good illustration of the extent of graphic variability. Repetitive line headings, divinatory idioms and especially hexagram titles which run through the six-line text units as recurring thematic words, give us a good glimpse of how variant character forms can be used within a text written by a single hand. Characters with two variant structures are prevalent in SHZY as will be demonstrated throughout this chapter. As an extreme case the character for the word *lái* 來 'come' appears in four structurally distinct forms.

Variant forms for 來 in SHZY

 (str.51)   (str.9)   (str.35)   (str.35)

{來 + 艸 + 止}   {來 + 彳 +止}   {來 + 止}   {來 + 木 + 止}

In the W. S. script, the relative positions of components within a character can vary and parts of a component can take mirror image forms. We find two examples in SHZY. Note the varying positions of 父 and 頁 for the first example and the forms of the tail part in 鳥 for the second.

Positional variation

敢 (輔) *fǔ* 'cheeks'   (str.27) *vs.*   (str.49)

鳴 *míng* '(bird) call'   (str.12) *vs.*   (str.14)

Positional variation is a common feature of the early Chinese script. It seems to be related to the iconicity of the early Chinese writing system. Consider these examples from Shang and Zhou bronze inscriptions.

女 *nǚ* 'female'		（女子鼎）	*vs.*		（射女方監）
揚 *yáng* 'extol'		（友簋）	*vs.*		（盂卣）
唯 *wéi* 'copula'		（沈子它簋）	*vs.*		（番仲匜）
徒 *tú* 'follow'		（徙觶）	*vs.*		（徙尊）
史 *shǐ* 'scribe'		（史尊）	*vs.*		（史鼎）

The identity of a character is preserved even with varying positions of its graphic elements when it depicts the actual object or event that the written word signifies. The pictographic realism gradually became lost in the course of the development of the writing system and thus the graphs thereof became symbolic rather than iconic. Positional variations tend to occur much less frequently at the stage of the S.A. and W.S. writing system.

One major source of graphic variability in the Warring States script, calligraphic or structural, is a distinction between elaborate and casual styles.[52] This stems from two different attitudes of the scribe toward each instance of writing, either solemn or casual, based on his recognition of the social and historical circumstances under which the writing is taking place. In the bronze inscription corpus of the Zhongshan wang Cuo (ca. 310 BCE) tomb excavated in Hebei, Pingshan county, in 1977, the distinction between elaborate and casual styles is clearly shown in the distribution of variant forms in inscriptions on various vessel types of varying degrees of prestige. This corpus has 118 relics including bronze

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52 William Boltz (2014) suggests that a distinction between refined and utilitarian writings correlated with textual content can be recognized in script styles in early Chinese manuscripts, which is parallel with Bernhard Bischoff's two-way distinction of the book-hand "calligraphic" and the quotidian "cursive" writing techniques for Latin Palaeography (Bischoff 1986): in early Chinese manuscripts, literary manuscripts tend to be found written in a book-hand calligraphic style whereas non-literay manuscripts (administrative, legal, medical, calendrical texts etc.) are often in a cursive style with occasional mixture of refined calligraphic and cursive styles.

(90), jade (26) and wood (2) vessels that carry inscriptions. Among them four objects, *Da ding* 大鼎 (469 chrs), *Fang hu* 方壺 (450 chrs), *Yuan hu* 圓壺 (204 chrs) and *Zhao yu tu* 兆域圖 (450 chrs) carry the majority of the characters in the corpus. The *Da ding* 大鼎 and *Fang hu* 方壺 have the most elaborate writings in contrast with the others. The elaborate versus casual styles both in calligraphy and structure are well represented by the comparison of the *Da ding* or *Fang hu* (elaborate) with the *Zhao yu tu* (casual).

The elaborate style is manifested in the following ways: (i) calligraphically more elaborate, (ii) unabbreviated (if there exists an abbreviated form), (iii) structurally more complicated, and (iv) more conforming to historically old forms. Examples are shown through characters for recurring, frequently used words.

The elaborate *vs.* casual styles in the Zhongshan Wang Cuo corpus

zhī 之 'possesive particle'

Note elongated strokes which would seem to require more effort in execution.

fū 夫 'in general'

Note the symmetry and elegance of the elaborate form on the left in comparison with the casual form on the right.

zhì 至 'arrive'
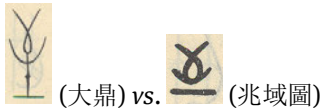
bǎi 百 'hundred'

 （大鼎）*vs.* （圓壺） （兆域圖） （扁壺）

xī 昔 'past'

（大鼎）*vs.* （圓壺）

qí 其 'his/ hers etc.', 'may'

（方壺）*vs.* （圓壺） （兆域圖）

suǒ 所 'object relativization marker'

（方壺）*vs.* （小圓壺） （東庫方壺）

zhě 者 'nominalization marker'
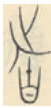
（大鼎）*vs.* （圓壺） （兆域圖） （盃） （扁壺）

wèi 為 'serve, for'

（方壺）*vs.* （兆域圖）

zāi 𢦏 (哉) 'clause final particle'

 (大鼎) *vs.* (圓壺)

zhǎng 鎭 (長) 'lead'

 (大鼎) *vs.* (兆域圖)

yú 於 [烏][53] 'in relation to, in, at'

 (大鼎) Compare a casual Chu bronze form (鄂君啟舟節)

The elaborate and casual styles are also found in bamboo manuscripts, but as the latter represent everyday writings, the distinction is not manifested so evidently as in bronze inscriptions. For example, the SHZY text has a notable unevenness in calligraphic style throughout. Some strips are more elaborately written than others. In the elaborate calligraphy, the strokes of characters are relatively thick in general and seem to have been executed with steady and consistent pressure, which contributes to the overall aesthetic appeal. One could argue that the SHZY manuscript was written by two different hands because of this mixed calligraphic style. It is improbable that parts of two separately written bamboo texts were pieced together to make one seamless copy such as this. We thus have to assume two different scribes who sat down together and took turns to prepare a single copy, or one scribe who wrote now elaborately and now casually. In either case the variant forms and styles in SHZY represent acceptable variation in the script of a single time and a single place.

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53 The two characters 於 *yú* *qʷa and 烏 *wū* *qqʷa 'crow' split off from a single early form (See Rong Geng 1985: 265-266). The word *yú* 於 seems to be a dialect variant of *yú* 于 *Gʷa. The use of the character 於 (烏) for the function word begins to appear in the late W. Zhou period and it becomes common in the W. S. period.

Some repeated characters appear in variant forms, such as simplified and un-abbreviated or decorated and undecorated forms, while others appear in a single form in all of their recurrences. For the latter case, whether or not a simplification is involved can be seen by comparisons with other contemporaneous Chu manuscript characters. The same is true for the words that occur only once or twice. Note these examples of elaborate and casual forms in SHZY.

yòng 用 'use' 甬 (str.12) *vs.* 用 (str.8)

The form 甬 in origin is thought to have been a pictograph for the word *yǒng* ***loŋʔ** 鏞 '*yong*-bell' (Rong Geng 1985: 486), which is then borrowed for *yòng* ***loŋ-s** on the rebus principle. The graphic distinction between 用 and 甬 arose subsequently. The use of 甬 for *yòng* 'use' survives through the Spring and Autumn and Warring States periods in elaborate writing style:

(曾侯乙簠) (曾姬無卹壺) (中山王鼎) (楚王酓章戈).

sān 三 'three' (str.24) *vs.* 三 (鄂君啟舟節)

The form is an elaborate variant of 三 (鄂君啟舟節) for *sān* ***ssəm** 三 'three'. An even further elaborated version of the former, 参, appearing in both the Zhongshan corpus and the Chu manuscripts as (中山王鼎) and as (Yu-3 69) respectively, becomes specialized for the word *cān* ***tsʰrəm** 'partake, tripartite' in the received orthography.[54]

liù 六 'six' (str.1) *vs.* (str.56)

The character 六 appears in these two types of forms in SHZY. In the first form, the two strokes in the lower part of the graph first stretch down vertically and then bend outwardly to become slanting strokes parallel to the two strokes in the upper part of the character. The vertical part is absent in the second form. The two lower stokes, executed as straight lines instead of bending, only have the

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54 The Shang oracle bone inscriptions (OBI) have a character that looks similar to the SHZY character, variably written as , and (*Jiagu wen bian*, p. 292), but these forms regularly stand for *xīng* 星 'star' in OBI.

symmetrical and outwardly slanting features of those in the first form. It would seem that the second form is written with less effort than the first and therefore it is likely to be a more cursive variant. This supposition proves true when we compare the two forms with their Western Zhou predecessor and contemporaneous Warring States forms.

Western Zhou   Warring States

介 (保卣) 仒 (禹鼎)   Qi 介 (陳侯𠫑錞) Jin 介 (中山王兆域圖)

Chu 介 (曾姬無卹壺)

We can see that the vertical execution of the lower strokes is a feature received from the W. Zhou script and preserved in various W. S. regional scripts including the Chu script itself. We can thus define the contrast between 仒 and 介 as elaborate versus casual, which is at the same time traditional and cross-regional versus region-peculiar.

wǔ 五 'five' 𠄡 (str.8) *vs.* 𠄡 (str.11)

The character 五 appears in these two types of forms. The first form agrees with the W. Zhou 𠄡 (兮甲盤) and with the W.S. Jin script form 𠄡 (中山王兆域圖). It is clear that the form 𠄡 is derived from 𠄡 by cursive writing. We find some forms in Guodian Chu manuscripts and in a Chu bronze inscription that show the process of the development of this simplified form: 𠄡 (Xing40) → 𠄡 (鄂君啟舟節) and 𠄡 (Wu 4) → 𠄡 (Wu 28). It is interesting to note that the traditional and unabbreviated forms of 五 and 六 tend to be found in strips with elaborate calligraphy and likewise simplified forms with casual calligraphy. Take the strips no.8 and no.10, for instance.

str.no.8: Elaborately written

The forms of 五 and 六 from str.no.8

str.no.10: Casually written

The forms of 五 and 六 from str.no.10

Amongst this mixture of elaborate and casual styles, we find evidence suggesting that writings on bamboo strips are not at all indifferent to formality. When full forms alternate with simplified forms in adjacent recurrences of the same words, (such as the hexagram names running through the line texts), there is a tendency that a full form is used for the first occurrence and then simplified forms follow immediately or just after two or three more repetitions of the full form. This suggests the awareness of standard forms, i.e., unabbreviated and thus more prestigious and appropriate forms on the scribe's part as well as a conscious effort to preserve them.[55]

Six hexagram names or thematic words that occur as repeated words in SHZY are found written in both unabbreviated and simplified forms. These are *Sui* 隨 (Hex. 17, str.16-17) which is written as 陵 in the manuscript, *Yi* 頤 (Hex. 27, str.24-25), *Xian* 咸 (Hex. 31 , str.26-27) written as 欽, *Jian* 漸 (Hex. 53 , str.50) and the thematic word *hóng* 鴻 'wild goose' in this hexagram, and *Huan* 渙 (Hex. 59, str.54-55) written as 斁. Hexagram titles in their first occurrence as the chapter heading are written in an unabbreviated form as a rule.

Note: The numbers one through eight indicate the order of occurrence and the A and B or A to C indicate the relative levels of simplification of a given character.

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55 One may wonder if this is also due to the fact that the scribe was supposed to meet his clients' aesthetical standard and educational needs.

Simplification of adjacent repeated characters

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
陵 (R 隨)	A	A	B①					
頤	A	A	A	A	B②	A	A	A
欽 (R 咸)	A	A	A	A	B③	B		
漸	A	B	C④	C				
鴻	A	B⑤	B					
寠 (R 渙)	A⑥	B	B	B	B	B	B	B

Notes
① The component 又 at the bottom is omitted.
② The 頁 is replaced by a simpler form, 水.
③ The form of 金 is simplified by linking two vertical lines on either side.
④ The form of the component 堇 became simplified in B and further reduced to the shape of 車 in C. The Qin Seal form has the structure 漸[56] (11a/531) which is the same as the abbreviated Chu form type C.

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[56] Despite having two graphs that point to the *Kən type syllable, (Cf. 斤 *jīn* < **kən** < **kər** 'axe' and 堇 *qín* < **grən** 'clay'), the OC of the word *jiàn* 漸 {水 + 斤 + 堇 (>車 via simplification)} has to be reconstructed as **dzamʔ** (> MC *dzjemX*), based on the MC and *Shijing* rhyme. It is probable that both 斤 and 堇 were originally associated with two distinct etyma, which were semantically close. Compare: *jìn* < **kən(-s)** 近 'to be close, (approach)' and *jiàn* < **dzamʔ** 漸 'approach, gradual'. While 斤 and 堇 stood for two distinct etyma, **kən** and *dzamʔ*, other graphic components were added to distinguish one character from the other. The character for 近 thus has 辶 'motion' and the one for 漸 has 水 'water'. This latter was probably motivated by *jiān* < **tsam** 'moisten' 漸, a cognate of *jiàn*. Alternation of 斤 and 堇 is repeated in another character in the Shanghai

⑤ The 'tail' of the bird is replaced by 糸.

⑥ The component 艸 appears only for the first occurrence.

Note that in the strips 24-25 and 26-27 where the unabbreviated forms are used four times or more, the calligraphy also tends to be in an elaborate style. Likewise in the strips 50 and 54-55 where the full form occurs only once at the beginning the calligraphy is in a casual style.

3.2 Decorative strokes

In the SHZY manuscript characters are often written with an orthographically non-contrastive stroke drawn in parallel over a top horizontal stroke or across a vertical stroke. This is one of many types of extra strokes in the W.S. writing system generally referred to as "decorative strokes" (*shibi* 飾筆).

bù 不 'not'   (str.1)   (str.1)   (str.4)   Compare W. Zhou (克鼎)

These extra lines start to appear in bronze scriptions of the Spring and Autumn period and become prevalent in the W. S. script. Interestingly enough, the use of these "decorative" strokes which are so labeled because they apparently do not have any practical function and thus are presumed to have contributed to the aesthetic appeal of the script, is unrelated to the elaborate writing style. In the Zhongshan corpus where the elaborate versus casual distinction is clearly seen, the extra lines are often present in the most casually written texts. Also, the extra lines can be added in abbreviated character forms in which one or two primary stokes are left out.

From a diachronic perspective and by synchronic comparisons we can call these lines "optional" or "superfluous" even when the decorated variants occur just as frequently as the undecorated, or even outnumber the latter in a given corpus. It is to be noted that such decorative strokes are restricted to a few types which occur in specific forms and in specific graphic environments. The conventions surrounding these extra lines such as the shape of the lines and the frequency of their use comprise a regional characteristic in the W.S. script. The

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Museum manuscripts: 夫義者以斤君子之行也 (vol. 5, "Ji Geng zi wen yu Kongzi 季庚子問於孔子 ", str. 7) "As for propriety, what it means for a lordling is being prudent in his actions". Here the graph 斤 writes the word *jǐn* 謹 (Lai Guolong 2014).

Zhongshan corpus for instance has an extra stroke type that touches but does not cross either a vertical or slanting primary stroke. In calligraphically artistic forms this extra stroke can take the form of a fancy curlyque.

Region-specific decorative stroke type: the Zhongshan corpus

fū 夫 'grown man'   (兆域圖)   *vs.*   (大鼎)

sì 祀 'offering'   (方壺)   *vs.*   (SHZY str.43)

yǒu 又 (有) 'have'   (大鼎) (玉飾)   *vs.*   (SHZY str.1)

The Chu script is known for its extensive use of the extra horizontal lines on top or underneath a horizontal stroke or across a vertical stroke. This type of strokes appears in other regional scripts as well, but its frequent use in the Chu script strikes us as a regional characteristic. Two other types are observed in SHZY, which are parallel slanting lines above each side of 人-shaped strokes and left-ward slanting line on the tip of a vertical stroke. Examples are as follows. An undecorated form from other sources is given for a comparison when SHZY has a decorated variant only.

Four types of decorative strokes in Shanghai "Zhouyi"

Type I: Horizontal line on top of a horizontal primary stroke

qí 其 'his'   (str.37)   *vs.*   (str.49)

yán 言 'speak'   (str.49)   *vs.*   (str.47)

sòng 訟 'litigate'   (str.5)   *vs.*   (str.4)

jí 疾 'illness' (str.21)   *vs.* (str.15)

ér 而 'subsequently' (str.20)   *vs.* (str.17)

fù 復 'return' (str.20)   *vs.* (str.50)

chǔ 处 'place' (str.26)   *vs.* (str.25)

Type II: Horizontal line across a central vertical primary stroke

mǔ 拇 'thumb' (str.26)   *vs.* (str.27)

shān 山 'mountain (str.17)   *vs.* (中山王鼎)

ěr 尔 (爾) 'you' (str.24)   *vs.* (中山王鼎)

shī 帀 (師) 'troops' (str.7)   *vs.* (鐘伯鼎)

fù 复 (輹) 'rope' (str.21)   *vs.* 復 (冬方鼎)

wèi 未 'not yet' (str.58)   *vs.* (郘公鼎)

Type III: Parallel slanting lines above each side of 人-shaped strokes

yào 藥 'herbal medicine'   (str.21)   *vs.*   (藥鼎)

huáng 黃 'yellow'   (str.30)   *vs.*   (買簋)

sù 宿 'lodge'   (str.37)   *vs.*   (Qin Seal)

Type IV: Leftward slanting line on the tip of a vertical stroke

yú 余 'I'   (str.14)   *vs.*   (秦公簋)

shì 事 'serve'   (str.5)   *vs.*   (申鼎)

xiǎo 小 'small'   (str.16)   *vs.*   (易鼎)

ruì 叡 (叡) 'through'   (str.28)   *vs.*   (str.29)

wǎng 迬 (往) 'depart'   (str.20)   *vs.*   (str.30)

tóng 僮 (童) 'adolescent'   (str.22)   *vs.*   (str.53)

The character resembles 少 in the received orthography. The leftward slant-ing stroke has a mirror image variant appearing in the form 屮. The *Shuowen* registers both 少 and 屮 as variants for *shǎo* 'small quantity' (少, 不多也 [2a/48] "*shao* means 'not much' ") distinguishing them from *xiǎo* 小 'small size' (小, 物 之微也 [2a/48] "*xiao* means 'for things to be minute' "). But as Li Shoukui notes 小 ～ 少 ～ 屮 are free variants in the Chu script (CWZ: 51).

3.3 Simplification and development of the Warring States script

Alternation of unabbreviated and simplified forms of the same character is found in the earliest attested stages of the Chinese writing system. The notion *simplifi-cation* or *simplified form* may be somewhat misleading, as Qiu Xigui (1988: 42-43) suggests, because it implies diachronic change from graphically more complex to simpler stages, a development for which we often lack evidence. What we find instead is the simple co-existence of relatively more complex forms and ones less so for the same word, which is often found in the same inscription or in the same corpus. Qiu Xigui underlines that such co-existence of simple and complex vari-ant forms should be regarded as the outcome of *parallel development* of two or-thographic styles, casual (*jian* 簡) and elaborate (*fan* 繁) , which was never inter-rupted from the very beginning to the end of the history of the early Chinese script. He notes that the contrast between the elegant and elaborate early W. Zhou bronze inscriptions and the terse and simple late Shang oracle bone inscriptions which seem to contradict our preconception of the development 'from complex to simple' is a good example of the two ever-concurrent strata of elaborate and casual styles.[57] We may think of the difference in calligraphic style between the Qin clerical script as represented by the Shuihudi corpus (ca. 250 BCE) and the Seal script of the Qin dynasty (221-206 BCE) in the same way.

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57 One would suspect that because of the hard writing media, there might have been strong in-clination for use of simplified forms in the Oracle Bone Inscriptions. Differences in stroke-execu-tion style are evident between contemporaneous Shang OBI and bronze inscriptions. Whether OBI possessed a simpler orthography in terms of character-componential structure remains in-conclusive due to the limited amount of comparable texts. An example from the W. Zhou Oracle inscriptions is worth noting. Xin Ting (2014) observes that on the W. Zhou Oracle bones which were recently discovered in Qishan 岐山, Shaanxi province (see Zhouyuan kaogu dui 2006), the character for *miào* 廟 'ancestral temple', which is written in W. Zhou bronze inscriptions as 𩇕 or 𤲬, is often written as 𫲗, with two simpler components of three possible ones.

Qiu Xigui's point is well taken. But I will maintain the term *simplification* for two reasons: (i) it can explain the graphic co-relation between two types of orthographic forms in question without the implication of historical change; (ii) at the level of individual character forms, (and not at the level of Qiu Xigui's two 'orthographic systems'), synchronic variability *via* simplification can lead to diachronic developments. There are cases where simplified variants of Western Zhou characters are received in the Warring States script and likewise the modern orthography descends from simplified forms of the W.S. script. In these cases simplification as a diachronic process per se does apply.

Graphic simplification occurs on both of the two levels of orthographic structure, strokes and components. The term graphic component here refers to all graphic units above individual strokes, that is, (i) the smallest possible graphic unit that carries a semantic or phonetic function on its own, i.e., 'grapheme', (ii) a signific or phonophoric which is composed of one or more of the latter, and (iii) a whole character. Simplification of strokes and that of components share four general principles: (a) *deletion*, (b) *interruption*, (c) *linking* or *compression* and (d) *merger*. The distinction between 'linking' and 'compression' does not have any analytic significance, but the word compression seems to better suit graphic components which are two-dimensional. One important difference between stroke and component simplification is that the latter potentially leaves conspicuous empty space within a character or hinders reading, so in such cases other graphic elements are often introduced to compensate for the loss of graphic substance: for example, a simpler graph can substitute for a deleted or truncated graph, and a special marker may appear to signal an instance of simplification.

Deletion of a signific or phonophoric is correlated with variability of componential structure in the early Chinese orthographic system; it can be assumed when a single unit form alternates with a compound form either synchronically or diachronically; it is on the opposite side of the same coin with structural augmentation, which is an important feature in the Warring States script, in the context of the latter's penchant for signific-phonophoric compounds. This is the theme of section 3.4. The following subsections illustrate the principles of stroke and component simplification through SHZY manuscript characters.

3.3.1 Stroke simplification

One or two strokes in a character can be simplified while the overall frame of the component to which they belong is still maintained.

Deletion

shǐ 使 'scribe'

(簋) *vs.* (扁壺) (盉) (錘) (小圓壺) (有柄箕)

zhě 者 'nominalization marker'

(大鼎) *vs.* (圓壺) (兆域圖) (盉) (扁壺)
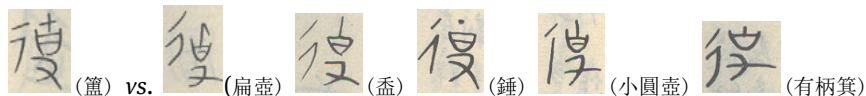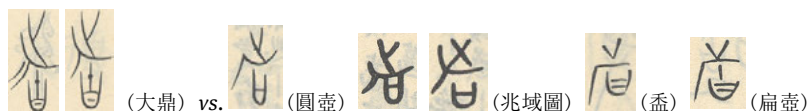
The SHZY has several characters appearing in variant forms formed by stroke deletion.

馬 *mǎ* 'horse' (str.21) *vs.* (str.32)

褚 *shěng* 'reduce' (str.20) *vs.* (str.56)

黃 *huáng* 'yellow' (str.30) *vs.* (str.37)

革 *gé* 'hide (noun)' (str.47) *vs.* (str.30)

遇 *yù* 'encounter' (str.33) *vs.* (str.56)

鳥 *niǎo* 'bird' in {鴻} (str.50) *vs.* 鳥 (str.56)

In the W.S. script, a vertical center stroke in a character is often entirely missing or cut off in the middle in the casual style. This interruption of a vertical stroke, unlike the three other types of stroke simplification appears to be an innovation of the W.S. period.

Interruption

夫 *fū* 'grown man' (str.50) *vs.* (str.9) Cf. W. Zhou (善夫克鼎)

Note an example in the Zhongshan bronze inscriptions.

夫 *fū* 'grown man' (中山王鼎) *vs.* (扁壺)

大 *dà* 'large'

 (str.2) *vs.* W. Zhou (頌鼎), Chu (elaborate style) (曾侯乙鐘)

天 *tiān* 'heaven'

 (str.11) *vs.* W. Zhou (頌簋)

至 *zhì* 'arrive'

 (str.44) *vs.* W. Zhou (盂鼎), Chu (Yu3, 65)

羊 *yáng* 'sheep'

in {羕} (str.47) *vs.* 羊 (str.38)

Two adjacent short strokes are sometimes linked to be executed in one long stoke as in the case of 欽 cited earlier and repeated here. Also, two adjacent strokes similar in shape can be collapsed into one stroke; this is sometimes called "stroke borrowing" (*jiebi* 借筆), I call it *merger* here instead of borrowing.

Linking and merger

欽 *qīn* 'admire' (str.26) *vs.* (str.27)

尻 *chǔ* 'place' (str.25) *vs.* (str.16)

驅 *qū* 'drive out' (str.10) *vs.* 馬 (str.21)

Note the top stroke of 區 coincides with the 'back hair' of 馬.

3.3.2 Simplification of graphic components

3.3.2.1 Deletion and interruption of components
When a component is repeated three times or more in a character, one or two of them are often deleted.

蠱 *gǔ* 'legendary poisonous bug' (str.18) *vs.* (Qin Seal 13b/676)

The unabbreviated form for *gǔ* 蠱 has three repeated 虫 as can be seen in the Oin Seal form as well as in *chóng* 蟲 'insect' found in the Guodian texts written (LZ-A 21). Two of the three 虫 are deleted in the SHZY form.

靈 *líng* 'spirit (healer)' 雷 (str.24) *vs.* W. Zhou (頌鼎).

The W. Zhou inscription form has three of 口. The full form is also found in the Baoshan Chu manuscripts where it alternates with the simplified form 霝 (CWZ: 651-52).

喪 *sāng* 'lose, mourn'

The character for *sang* 喪 is written (毛公鼎) in an early W. Zhou bronze inscription, and the same form (Yu-1, 98) is found in elaborately written Chu manuscripts. The componental structure of this form is 亡 *wáng* ***maŋ** 'be gone' + 桑 *sāng* ***ssaŋ** 'mulberry'. The clerical form 桑 is structurally inconsistent with W. Zhou bronze/Chu graph identified as such, but both of these are directly related to the OBI form [桑] for *sāng* 'lose'[58] : in the clerical form, the 'branches' of the 木 'tree' evolved to three repeated 又 '(right)-hand' whereas in the W. Zhou/Chu form the 'mulberries' evolved to four repeated 口 'mouth', and the 'tree' part is preserved in the original shape instead of being replaced by the grapheme 木. These two forms of 桑 are in fact the two most dissimilar ones among several other possible variants in between them. The tip of the 'tree' part, for instance, can be written to appear as 又 in Chu manuscripts as in the following examples.

 (LZ-C 8)   (LZ-C 9)   (LZ-C 10)

These occur in three adjacent strips in the Guodian "Laozi-C". Note here a progressing degree of simplification. The first has four of 口, next three, and the last only two. Also, these variants have the component 死 'die' as an alternative to 亡 'be gone'.

SHZY characters for 喪 *sāng* ***ssaŋ** 'lose, mourn'

 (str.53) {桑 (> 又) + 亡}   (str.32) {桑 (> 中) + 亡}

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58 *Jiaguwen bian*, p.54.

SHZY has two simplified forms of the 桑 or 桑 type. In these the 桑 part is inter-rupted: all under the tip of the 'tree' became truncated, and what remains is once written to appear as 又 '(right)-hand', and once as 屮 (variant of 艸) 'grass'. These traces of 桑 are no longer functional as a meaningful component, but simply serve as graphic material which distinguishes the character as a whole from 亡. In these simplified forms, the graph 亡 would have functioned as the phonetic compo-nent. That is to say, it would have been read as ***ssaŋ** 'lose', rather than ***maŋ** 'be gone'; 亡 could take over the phonetic role of 桑 standing for ***ssaŋ** 'lose' relying on the semantic similarity. Now consider the Qin Seal form.

Qin Seal 喪 *Shuowen*: 喪, 从哭亡亡亦聲 (2b/63)

Xu Shen analyzed its structure as "consisting of 哭 ['cry'] and 亡 ['be gone'], add-ing that "亡 is also the phonetic".[59] We can see that what Xu Shen regarded as 哭, presumably as a semantic component meaning 'cry', is another simplified form of 桑, in which two out of four 口 are preserved and the 'tree' part is written to appear as 犬. The many variants in Chu manuscripts above suggest to me that this re-analysis may not be due to Xu Shen, but it may have been initiated in the Qin regional script itself. The shape of this "犬" is quite similar to the 'tree' in Guodian forms of 桑: the head of 犬 is like a mirror image of the 又-like part.

3.3.2.2 Replacement by simpler forms

It has been well known that the W.S. script unlike its W. Zhou predecessor has what is often referred to as an "abbreviation marker", usually in the form of a single or double horizontal line, which appears in the spot where the deleted graph was located. It seems that this marker is intended to give a balanced look to the character by not leaving odd empty space within a component, rather than to signal the incidence of omission. Otherwise we cannot explain why there is no "abbreviation marker" when an entire semantic or phonetic component is de-leted. This is different from those cases of "combined character" (*hewen* 合文) and "repeated character" (*chongwen* 重文) markers. In this sense we can regard the horizontal lines in the position of a deleted graphic element as a case of re-placement by a simpler form. The substitute graph can be as simple as a single or

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59 There has been much discussion on whether or not 亡 ***maŋ** 'lost, be gone' is the phonophoric in this character. If it is, then the OC for *sāng* 'lose, mourn' should be reconstructed as ***s-mmaŋ**, a nice case of causative or transitive prefix *s-. See Sagart and Baxter (2012: 35-37). I have sug-gested here that the phonetic role of 亡 is historically secondary.

double horizontal line or in some cases a different component that is somewhat similar in shape to the original one.

命 *mìng* 'command'   (str.8) *vs.* (str.5)

為 *wéi* 'act'   (str.1) *vs.* W. Zhou (雍伯鼎)
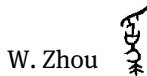
鳥⺉ (鴻) *hóng* 'wild goose'   (str.50) *vs.* (str.50)

斬水 (漸) *jiàn* 'approach'   (str.50) *vs.* (str.50)

The double horizontal line in the abbreviated form of 為 which takes the place of the bottom half of the original character can be omitted: See a Chu bronze form (casual) (鄂君啟舟節) and a Guodian (Yu-3, 38). The full form is not used in Chu writings on bamboo strips, but reserved only for bronze inscriptions of the most elaborate kind.

3.3.2.3 Compression and merger of components

Compression can be divided into two kinds: (i) two juxtaposed characters written as if they are two components of a single character; (ii) two components in a character written to appear as a single component. The first kind is what is commonly called "combined character" (*hewen* 合文), and it is often marked with short double horizontal lines added on the lower-right corner of the compressed form. The *hewen* characters are generally restricted to frequently occurring disyllabic expressions including two-digit numbers. The second kind is relatively rare, and there is no special name for it. It often co-occurs with interruption: part of either component becomes truncated, and then the other component takes the place of the deleted part.

Compression of the "Hewen" type

小人 *xiǎo rén* 'petty man'

小 (str.16) + 人 (str.21) compressed as (str.8)

Compression of two components in a character and interruption

敚 (脫) *tuō* 'flay'

敚 (str.22) compressed as (str.30)

The lower part of 兌 is truncated and then the other component 攴 (攴) takes its place.

Note an example from the Zhongshan corpus:

㞐 (長) *zhǎng* 'senior'

㞐 (大鼎) compressed as (兆域圖)

The lower part of 長 is truncated, and the other component 立 takes its place. Merger can also be divided into two kinds: (i) two juxtaposed identical characters merging as one character, (ii) two non-identical ones merging as one character: when one of the two juxtaposed characters coincides with a graphic component of the other character, the more complex of the two can represent both characters. Both of these kinds are referred to as "repeated character" (*chongwen* 重文), since

both are indicated by the same marker, which is identical in form with the marker for "combined character".[60]

SHZY has many examples of the first kind of merger. The *Zhouyi* text has many disyllabic onomatopoeic or mimic words, which are often duplications of thematic words of hexagrams, and these are always found merged and marked in the manuscript.[61]

㧤 (井) *jǐng* 'water-well'

 (str.44) used in 往來 㧤 㧤 "Coming and going *jing-jing*." (Hex.48 *Jing*)

夬 *guài* 'decide'

 (str.38) used in 君 子 夬 夬 "The lord is *guai-guai*." (Hex.43 *Guai*)

攸 (var. 悠) *yōu* 'far'[62](?)

 (str.25) used in 其猷攸攸 "His plan is *you-you* ('far-reaching'?)." (Hex.27 *Yi*)

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60 The *hewen* marker was not used until the late S.A. period (Tang Yuhui 1986: 23) whereas the *chongwen* marker started to appear in the later part of the late Shang period (Qiu Xigui 1992: 141-150). The late origin of the combination character marker would have to do with the fact that the combination of two distinct characters is immediately visible, unlike the omission of a repeated character, which if not so indicated, would easily go unrecognized.

61 The meanings of such sound symbolism based words are often difficult to know. Ancient mimic words tend not to survive in the received Chinese lexicon and the characters that write such words are phonograms, i.e., characters used only for phonetic value, detached from their regular word-character associations in the script.

62 The *Jingdian shiwen* (*juan*2/94) notes that Xun Shuang's 荀爽 edition has 悠悠 instead of the received version's 逐逐. The intended meaning for "悠悠" seems to be 'far'. This phrase appears a few times in the *Shijing* where it is generally interpreted as 'far', taken as an expressive word formed by the reduplication of the word *yōu* 悠 'far' (Gao Heng 1947 [1973]: 95). This mimic word, written variably as 攸攸, is also used to describe the appearance of flowing water. The *Shuowen* definition for 攸 is 攸, 水行也 "for water to flow (3b/124)". Duan Yucai notes to this entry that a Tang dynasty copy of the *Shuowen* has "水行攸攸也". Whether or not the character has 心 is unimportant. The interpretation of this word "you-you" has to be based on the context.

貞 *zhēn* 'ascertain'

 (str.53) used in 喪 其 僮僕貞, 貞[63]属 "It is a prognostication of losing his child servant. Ascertained adversative."[64] (Hex.56 *Lü*)

SHZY has one example of merger of non-identical characters.

亡喪 *wáng sāng* "there is no loss" (*wáng* 亡 here stands for *wú* 無 'not exist')
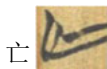
亡 (str.25) + 喪 (str.32) merging as (str.32)

Note a similar case in the Zhongshan corpus.

大夫 *dà fū* 'grandee'

 (中山王壺) + (中山王壺) merging as (中山王壺)

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63 As seen, merger of identical characters takes place across clause boundaries. In fact for repeated sequences of two or more characters, that is usually the case. The reading of such sequences, though marked in the same way, is not uniform. e.g., the reading of $A_{x2}B_{x2}C_{x2}D_{x2}$ (*chongwen* marker notated as x2 here), could be ABCDABCD or ABABCDCD, AABBCCDD, and in rare cases, mixture of these types can occur within a sequence. As Richter (forthcoming) points out the use of this kind of abbreviation does not quite seem to increase convenience for the reader, and not even for the scribe for that matter. He shows that the space saved in this way is often insignificant, and in some cases, using the marker takes more strokes than writing out the repeated characters such as in the case of "一 $_{x2}$" for "一 一 " (See Richter forthcoming "Punctuation", "repetition marks" section Pp. 16-25). This kind of merger as a type of *simplification* as I classified here, must presume the reader's familiarity with the particular text written, or the discourse style in such types of texts, and this tells something of the qualification demanded on the scribe as well. It should save some time for the scribe, and consequently for the reader who has to wait for the latter to finish the copying, if only both parties are already familiar with the language of the text.

64 The received version failed to duplicate the word *zhēn* 貞 here.

3.3.3 Simplification and residue of iconicity

Vestiges of iconic features of the Shang and W. Zhou script remain in the elaborate character forms of the W.S. script. These are heavy dots, thick lines, and fillings contrasting with the remaining strokes in a character. The development towards the direction of reducing the pictographic and iconic quality of character forms is most pronounced in the graphic evolution through the Shang and Western Zhou periods. Thickly executed enclosures were hollowed out; thick elements of all shapes were reduced to horizontal or vertical lines depending on which one the original graphs resembled more; curled or bending edges were straightened up while big curls were turned into sharply bending lines. This process was mostly completed by the end of Western Zhou, but some examples can be seen to have occurred in the W.S. period.

3.3.3.1 Diminishment of heavy dots, thick lines, and fillings
In SHZY there are a few cases where a heavy dot on a vertical stroke alternates with a horizontal line.

革 *gé* '(noun) hide'   (str.47) *vs.*   (str.47)

宝 (主) *zhǔ* 'host'   (str.51) *vs.*   (str.32)

市 (師) *shī* 'troops'   (str.7) *vs.*   (str.7)

The extension of a dot to a horizontal line or the other way around would hardly seem to simplify the execution of the stroke, and thus it is hard to tell which version is the unabbreviated form. Parallel examples found in the Zhongshan corpus suggest that the dot was regarded as more traditional, thus more elegant and elaborate than the other.

十 *shí* 'ten'

(大鼎) *vs.* (帳橛)   Cf. W. Zhou (大鼎) (散盤)
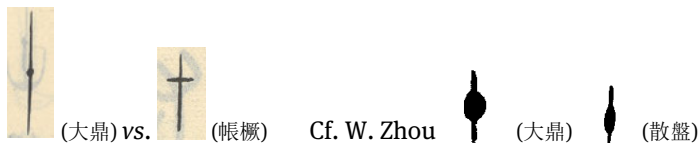
年 *nián* 'harvest (season)'[65]

(大鼎) *vs.* (大鼎)   Cf. W. Zhou (頌鼎) (頌壺) (鄂侯鼎)
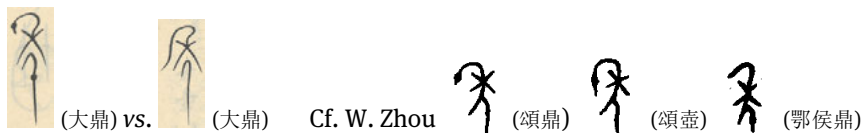
We can see that the dot, which alternates with a short horizontal stroke or absent altogether in some cases in the W.S. script, comes from earlier graphic elements of different shapes. These can be generalized as being substantially thicker than regular strokes and probably are iconic representations of the objects or events with which the characters with the elements in them are associated.

血 *xuè* 'blood'

(str.2)   Cf. W. Zhou 皿 'ritual vessel' in 益 *yì* 'overflow' (永盂)

冬 (終) *zhōng* 'end'

(str.2) *vs.* (str.3)   Cf. W. Zhou (蔡姑簋) (善夫克鼎)

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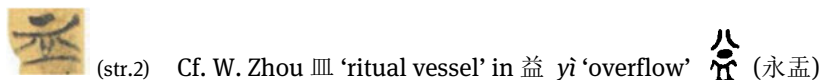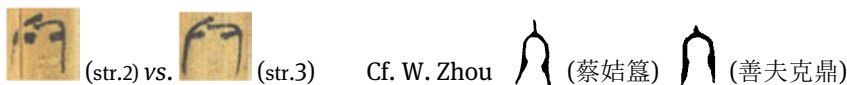
65 The Zhongshan Wang corpus has two structurally unrelated characters for the same word *nián* 年: The forms and which descend from the W. Zhou character appear only in the two most prestigious bronzes, the *Da ding* and *Fang hu*. Elsewhere in the corpus the character type is used occurring thirty-five times in total with slight calligraphic variation (Zhang Zhouzhong 1981: 24). This shows the recognition of historically correct forms as the standard which is not the commonly used one in this case. This is an instructive example that suggests how traditional W. Zhou forms and structures were preserved in W.S. regional scripts alongside with popular or region-peculiar forms even though archeological findings for the existence of the W. Zhou forms would not always be available to us.

疾 *jí* 'illness'

 (str.15) *vs.* (str.21)   Cf. W. Zhou 矢 *shǐ* 'arrow' (孟鼎二)

山 *shān* 'mountain'

 (str.17)   Cf. W. Zhou (克鼎), Zhongshan (elaborate) (中山王鼎).

The thick part is still preserved in the Qin clerical script only occasionally being emptied out or omitted: *vs.* *vs.* .
The graph 卩 in 肥 *féi* 'fat' (str.31) *vs.* 卩 in *xù* 卹 'concerned' (str.38)
The filled-in part of 卩 is emptied out in this variant form.

工 *gōng* 'craftsmanship'

 (str.16)   Cf. W. Zhou (孟簋) (伊簋)

This 工 in SHZY has two vertical lines instead of one. The second one on the right does not quite touch the top horizontal line but rather leans on the first vertical line on its left. The empty compartment formed by the double vertical line and the bottom horizontal line turns out to be a trace of the thick part in that position as seen in the early W. Zhou inscription form.

míng 冥 'dark' (str.15)

This character matches *míng* 冥 'dark' in the received version. It is tempting to suspect the top part of this character to be an iconic representation of 'darkness'. The Qin Seal form 冥 , as Xu Shen analyzed it, is composed of 日 'day', 六 'six' and 冖 'roof' (7a/312). It is likely that the 日 is a reanalysis and simplification of the original pictograph, and 六 is a graphically similar substitute for the element in the early character that resembles 木, and 冖 is an added semantic component.

ní 泥 'mud' (str.2)

The SHZY character for the word *ní* 'mud' is composed of two graphs, 土 'earth' and ⌐ which is probably an iconic representation of mud. In the course of the development into the received graph's structure 尼, the early pictograph ⌐ was first augmented with the component 尸, and was subsequently replaced by 匕, a graphically similar and simpler component. The graph 尸 (Cf. 尸 *shī* ***hlij** 'corpse') may have been intended as a phonetic for the word *ní* ***nnij**. (The *(h)n- and *(h)l- do not normally have *xiesheng* contact.) The evolution from (a) ⌐ to (b) 尻 and then to (c) 尼 can be seen through the SHZY character 柅 (str.40) corresponding to *nǐ* 柅 'chock' in the received version. The component 土 'earth' alternating with 水 'water' in the received Qin script form 泥 is accounted for by the interchangeability of these two graphs in the early Chinese script.

3.3.3.2 Neutralization of iconicity

SHZY has two pairs of characters that preserve iconic graphic distinctions. Such pictographic distinctions, characteristic of early phases of the writing system had been nearly completely replaced by symbol distinctions in the W. S. script. The movement from the iconic to symbolic representation also meant that the written communication had come to have little reliance on the visual representation of the graph by the late W.S. period.

zuǒ 左 'left' (str.7) *vs. yòu* 右 'right' (str.11)

The characters for the words *zuǒ* 'left' and *yòu* 'right' preserve the earlier iconic representation of the words' meanings: the 'left' is indicated by a graphic icon of a left hand, and the 'right' by that of a right hand. Such a pictographic distinction gives way to a purely symbol distinction 工 (左) *vs.* 口 (右), which already appears in the Zhongshan corpus (See Zhang Shouzhong 1981: 16). Once a new symbol 工 for the *zuǒ* is introduced, the direction of the 'hand' could freely vary.

jiàn 見 'see' (str.1) *vs.* *shì* 視 'watch' (str.25)

The two graphs for *jiàn* 'see' and *shì* 'watch' contrasting with each other by the pictographic representation of kneeling versus standing figures go back to the OBI (Qiu Xugui 1998: 1). See the OBI forms *vs.* (Xu Zhongshu 1981: 977). A

compound form 覑 ⚹ (何尊) for *shì* ***gijʔ** 視 with an added phonetic 氏 (cf. *shì* ***geʔ** 氏 'clan') already existed in the W. Zhou script. This form was preserved in the script of the Jin region during the S.A. and W.S. periods: The Houma and Wenxian covenant texts have the character in the structure 覑 (Rong Geng 1985: 619) and the late W.S. Zhongshan corpus has 眂 ⚹ (兆域圖) (Qiu Xigui 1998: 4). The modern form 視 comes from the Qin Seal form which has the phonetic 示 instead (Cf. *shì* 示 ***s-gijʔ-s** 'show'). Xu Shen registers a *guwen* form 眂 for 視 (8b/407). The *guwen* 眂, according to Duan Yucai, is also found in the received *Zhouli* (p.407).

The early pictographs persist in the W.S. Chu script. In SHZY, for example, the word *jiàn* 見 which occurs eleven times (Hex. 4/3, 6/0, 38/1, 38/3, 38/6, 39/0, 39/6, 44/1, 45/0, 55/3, 55/4) is always written as ⚹ and the word *shì* 視 which occurs only once is written as ⚹ (Hex. 27/4). Qiu Xigui (1998: 2) observes that the Guodian "Laozi-C" has the line 視之不足見 ⚹⚹⚹⚹⚹ "Watching it is not sufficient for seeing (it)", where the graphic distinction is clearly made. But the distinction was in the course of disappearing in the Chu script. Li Shoukui (2003: 526) notes that the character type ⚹ (Wu 30), closely resembling the form for *shì* 視 is often used for *jiàn* 見 in Chu manuscripts. A late W.S. Chu bronze has the form ⚹ (鄂君啟舟節) like a hybrid of ⚹ and ⚹ where the intended word is *jiàn* 見: ~其金則毋征 "If you see the metal then do not proceed".

3.3.3.3 Transition to the Warring States script

In the course of the development towards the direction of reducing the pictographic and iconic quality of character forms, the W. Zhou script often had two types of variant forms. The more complex of the two maintains some thick parts, but with much of the earlier realistic shapes compromised. The simpler one has the thick part completely omitted. Characters in the W.S. script in most cases descend from the simpler W. Zhou variants with little change, but in some cases the complex ones are also received alongside the simple ones, in which case the thick part is reduced to a dot or a slightly thicker line contrasting with regular strokes.

Note: Examples of Shang bronze inscription forms and SHZY are given whenever possible.

Western Zhou simplified variant forms and Warring States characters

Word	Shang	Western Zhou	Warring States	Shanghai "Zhouyi"
zài 'be at' 才 (在)	(丙申角)	(克鐘)	(中山王壺)	(str.56)
fù 'father' 父 Cf. *fǔ* 'axe' 斧	(羊父庚鼎)	(犀伯鼎)	(中山王壺)	(str.18)
yáng 'sheep' 羊[66]	(羊父癸觶)	(盂鼎二)	(鄂君啟舟節)	(str.38)
xián 'all' 咸	(咸父乙簋)	(班簋)	(國差𦉜)	
nián 'year, harvest' 年	(父甲簋)	(善夫克鼎) (召伯簋)	(齊侯盤)	(str.24)

66 The Shang character forms given here for 羊, 咸, and 天 are attested as *zu ming* 族名 'lineage names', a special kind of inscription found on Shang bronzes, often with no further inscriptional context, typically understood as designating the lineage or clan with which the bronze vessel in question is somehow associated. Beyond this, neither the function of the *zu ming* inscriptions nor the relation of their graphs to the more straightforward writing of Shang bone and plastron divinatory inscriptions is well understood. All the same, clearly in these three cases the *zu ming* characters can safely be considered as formal matches to the other forms of the characters given.

gōng 'craftsmanship' 工	(司工丁爵)	(孟簋) (伊簋)	(中山王鼎)	(str.16)
wáng 'king' 王	(戊寅鼎)	(克鼎) (散盤)	(曾侯乙鎛)	(str.5)
tiān 'sky, heaven' 天	(天父辛卣)	(師酉簋) (頌簋)	(中山王鼎)	(str.11)
zhēng 'go on a military campaign' 正, 征[67]	(乙亥鼎)	(彔伯簋) (利簋) (格伯簋) (史免簠)	(盦志鼎) (中山王鼎)	(str.24)
shí 'ten' 十		(同簋) (申鼎)	(鄂君啟舟節) (者沪鐘)	(str.24)

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67 The early form of 正 , which stands for the word *zhēng* ***teŋ** 'go on a military campaign' has two graphic components {丁 ***Teŋ** + 之 'go'}: 丁 ● *dīng* ***tteŋ** 'fourth of the Heavenly Stems' is the phonetic and 之 'go' the semantic. This character has a variant form with another semantic component 彳 'road' written as . The heavy dot became simplified to a straight line to appear as . The simplification of the heavy dot to a straight line in this case obscures the early phonophoric, and gives rise to a new unit character 正 which takes over the phonetic functional value ***Teŋ**.

While the W. Zhou graphic variants of the type 𝑥 *vs.* 𝑥 or 𝑥 *vs.* 𝑥 were not so of-ten received as variant graphic *forms* themselves in the W.S. script, the manner of variation, i.e., the alternation of a dot and a horizontal line was adopted as a *principle* of variability in the W.S. script. This explains the phenomenon of a hor-izontal stoke alternating with a dot on a vertical stroke which in many cases does not have a historical precedence. Once it is a principle, it can be applied regularly to any given horizontal stroke across a vertical stroke thus creating synchronic variant forms. It applies, for example, to strokes that had historically been hori-zontal lines, to the "decorative strokes" or new primary strokes of the S.A. and W.S. origin.

Historically unprecedented use of a dot in the Warring States script

Word	Shang and W. Zhou	W.S. script variants as dot vs. short line
jīn 'metal' 金	(史頌簋)	(鄂君啟舟節) *vs.* (中山王壺)
shī 'troops' 市 (師)	(鐘伯鼎)	(str.7) *vs.* (str.7)
lǜ 'regulate' 聿 (律)	(女帚卣)	(str.7) *vs.* (者沪 鐘)
nèi 'inside' 內	(利鼎)	(Zi 39) *vs.* (Wu 3)
zhì 'arrive' 至	(兮甲盤)	(中山王壺) *vs.* (邾公牼鐘)

It is also significant that regional variant forms can be generated by the application of a rule of variation on different individual characters by different regional scripts. We will show in the following sections that structural variations within a W.S. script and across regional scripts are likewise often consequences of rules of structural variation received from the W. Zhou script.

3.4 Structural variability in the early Chinese writing system

The Chinese script is a logographic writing system whereby a character, i.e., a logograph stands for a word, which by definition has a pronunciation and a meaning. A character associated with the phonetic and semantic values of one

word can subsequently be used as a component in another character standing for a different word, in which it indicates the pronunciation or meaning of the latter. The graphic component in a character that plays a phonetic role is called *phonophoric*, and the one that plays a semantic role is called *signific*. A Chinese character that has two graphic elements typically consists of one signific and one phonophoric, and we call this a *signific-phononphoric compound* (SP compound) character or in the traditional Chinese terminology *xingshengzi* 形聲字.[68]

For example, the character 門 門 (格伯簋) stands for the word *mén* ***mmən** 'door'; the graph 門 is then associated with the meaning 'door' and the pronunciation *mén* ***mmən**. In the signific-phonophoric compound character 關 闗 (鄂君啟舟節) standing for the word *guān* ***kkʷran** 'to shut', the graph 門, based on its semantic association with 'door' serves as a *signific* indicating a semantic aspect of the word for 'shut'. The component 串 is the phonophoric therein, because the graph 串 as a single unit character stands for the word *guàn* ***kkʷan-s** 'penetrate', which is phonetically similar to *guān* ***kkʷran** 'to shut'.

3.4.1 Graphic components and functional values

Carrying the phonetic and semantic values of the word that it stands for as a single component character, a graph can function either as a signific or a phonophoric in different characters. In other words, a graph is potentially versatile in its function and it is neither a signific nor a phonophoric on its own until it is used in a compound character. For instance, the component 門 in 闗 for *guān* 'shut' is a signific, but it serves as a phonophoric in 悶 *mèn* ***mmən-s** 'distressed'. In a W. S. regional script, the word *mén* ***mmən** 'door' is written in a compound character 閔 閔 (中山王兆域圖) consisting of 門 and 文 (Cf. *wén* ***mən** 文 'pattern'). With the latter being phonophoric, the graph 門 in this case can be seen as a signific indicating 'door', while its association with the pronunciation ***mmən** seems to have become secondary.[69]

Simultaneously with the versatility of a character's function as a signific or phonophoric, there appears to develop a division of roles among different graphs. Some graphs tend to be used more often as significs than as phonophorics and

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[68] In the field of Chinese historical phonology the term phonetic compound character or *xieshengzi* 諧聲字 is most commonly used.

[69] It would be anachronistic to compare this regional character form with the structurally coincident received character 閔 *mǐn* ***mmənʔ** 'sympathetic' and say that one is borrowed for the other for phonetic similarity.

others likewise normally serve as phonophorics, but hardly ever as significs. This specialization in function of graphs can be regarded as a mechanism in the writing system that controls the otherwise virtually unlimited productivity of signific-phonophoric compounding by regulating the compositional variability to some degree. Versatility and stability of the role of a graphic component are two sides of the same coin, which can expand and also control the size of the inventory of Chinese characters.[70]

We assume that a compound graph such as 關 𨶈 for *guān* *kkʷran developed out of a rebus usage of 串 *guàn* *kkʷan-s, which Xu Shen in his *Shuowen* referred to as *jiajie* 假借 'loan', and that 門 was subsequently added to distinguish *guān* 'shut' from *guàn* 'penetrate'. That is to say, the character 串, which we suppose, based on its residual iconicity, to have been originally created for the word 'penetrate' *guàn* *kkʷan-s, is *borrowed* to write a phonetically similar word *guān* *kkʷran.

It is uncontroversial that most of the graphic forms in the Chinese writing system were first created after the actual object that the word in question stands for or is typically associated with. The form of the character 禾 𠂹 (白禾憂鼎) for *hé* 'grain plant' or 車 𨏠 (師兌簋) for *chē* 'chariot' for example, were most likely intended to be iconic representations of the objects themselves. But we cannot get very far if we were to try to figure out the originally intended word of a given character from the graphic appearance alone. We do not know, for example, what the characters 𠙶 (古伯尊) for the word *gǔ* 古 'old' and 且 (亞耳尊) for *zǔ* 'ancestor' "look like".[71] Moreover it is often the case that we only find graphs in later phases of the early Chinese script, such as the W.S. script, in which graphs are symbolic and the iconicity, if at all, is greatly diminished.

The significance of the *jiajie* or the rebus principle is that graphs, however they may have originated, whichever objects or events they were initially intended to depict, can be used solely for a phonetic value in any given character. As more and more characters were generated by the rebus principle, the original word that a graph is created for would have no longer been remembered or mattered.

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70 The 540 *bu* 部 "classifers" in the *Shuowen Jiezi* and the 214 classifiers of the *Kangxi Zidian* 康熙字典 may be regarded as itemizations of graphs that regularly serve as significs. The *Grammata Serica Recensa* by Bernhard Karlgren (1957) and *Zhangguo Wenzi Shengxi* by He Linyi (1998) are examples of classifications of graphs that usually occur as phonophorics.

71 The graph 且 is conventionally understood as a depiction of the phallus, a symbol of male ancestor (See GSR #46).

Instead of trying to guess the word originally intended just by looking at the shape of a character, we will assume that each graph possesses an *abstract functional value*. This abstract value can be deduced from the similarities in the meanings and pronunciations in the words written with shared graphic components. For example, the semantic functional value of the graph 示 can be identified as 'ritual'~ 'spiritual' based on the following characters:

fú 福   福 (虢弔鐘) 'blessings',

shén 神   示己 (伯爻簋) 'spirit',

jì 祭   祭 (史喜鼎) 'sacrifice',

yuè 礿   礿 (我鼎) 'libation',

shè 社   社 (中山王鼎) 'altar'.

The phonetic functional value of 且 as the syllable type ***Tsa**, with the ***Ts-** covering dental affricates, e.g., ts-, tsh-, dz, etc., and the ***-a** indicating the rhyme, can be deduced from the following characters:

zǔ ***ttsaʔ** 祖 祖 (黐鎛) 'ancestor',

zǔ ***tsraʔ** 俎 俎 (三年痶壺)'sacrificial table',

qiě ***tshaʔ** 廏 (str.37) 'furthermore',

Thus for example, the compositional structure of the character 祖 for *zǔ* 'ancestor' is described as the combination of the signific 示 'ritual' and the phonophoric 且 ***Tsa**.

3.4.2 The Tendency towards Signific-Phonophoric compound structure

The principle of signific-phonophoric or *xingsheng* 形聲 compounding developed simultaneously with the rebus or *jiajie* usage. The character 禾 (白禾憂鼎), for example, is regularly associated with, and was probably created for the word *hé*

*ggʷaj 'grain plant'. It then comes to have twin functional values, the semantic 'grain' and the phonetic **Kʷaj**. In one SP compound character such as 年 (秂) (封簋) for the word *nián* *nnin 'year, harvest', the 禾 is effective as a signific. In another, such as 盉 (伯鄦盉) for *hé* *ggʷaj 'a type of ritual vessel', it functions as a phonophoric:

年 {Signific 禾 'grain' + Phonophoric 人 ***Nin**}

盉 {Signific 皿 'vessel' + Phonophoric 禾 ***Kʷaj**}

The phonophorics 人 and 禾 in these two compound characters are rebus usages of the characters 人 for *rén* *nin 'person' and *hé* 禾 *ggʷaj 'grain plant', and the significs 禾 'grain' and 皿 'vessel' are semantic determiners added to these *jiajie* loan graphs.

The rebus or *jiajie* phonetic loan and the *xingsheng* 形聲 compounding both arise from a single principle, viz., the graphic bivalency. The *jiajie* concerns the use of a graph only for the phonetic value with its original semantic value disregarded whereas the *xingsheng* concerns the composition of a character by two graphic elements which separately take the phonetic and semantic roles. We see these *jiajie* and *xingsheng* principles both working in the earliest attested Chinese script, the oracle bone inscription of the late Shang period which we consider a full-fledged writing system.

Once the SP compounding principle has been established in the writing system each word could be written in the compound structure. But not all characters are found in the compound structure in the earliest attested Chinese script. As a matter of fact, the majority of Shang inscription characters remained as single component characters. SP compound characters steadily increased over time. The increase is noticeable within the span of about the one and a half centuries of the Shang OBI script available to us. This trend continues through the Zhou bronze script into the modern script, where the vast majority of characters are SP compounds. It is hard to speak of an exact ratio of compound characters in a given phase of the early Chinese writing system because this involves the difficulty of discerning lexical variants from graphic variants. Gao Ming (1980: 119) for example, notes that the ratio increased from about ten percent in OBI to over eighty percent in the Seal script of the *Shuowen*.[72]

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72 If there was a systematic orthographic simplification in OBI motivated by the hard media as suggested above, we may not obtain a fair statistics on the percentage of compound forms in the script of the Shang period through OBI character forms. One way to get around this problem is

The increase of compound forms in itself is not an indication of advancement or progress in the Chinese writing system. The script of the W. Zhou period is not a more advanced writing system than the OBI because it has more characters with an added signific component. A signific does not actually appear in the majority of characters in the OBI despite its availability, simply because it was not necessary in order for the writing system to function. Consider the fact that the signific in a given character was only secondary in its importance to the phonophoric, being more subject to omission or replacement in any given historical phase between the late Shang and the W. S. periods. If the characters in the OBI often *did not have* a signific, those in later periods were often *used without a signific*. The diachronic increase of SP compound characters therefore should be regarded as a cultural development rather than improvement in the efficacy of the writing system itself.

3.4.2.1 Increase of compound characters in the Warring States script

The recently discovered Chu bamboo manuscript materials show that a lot of characters that are in single component structure in the modern script were written in the SP compound structure in the W.S. script. He Linyi (2003: 220-26) refers to this phenomenon as "augmentation" (繁化), one major type of variation of graphic forms in the W.S. script, which co-exists with the converse, "simplification" (簡化). He notes that forms with or without an additional signific or phonophoric are used simultaneously, and thus although such an optional component does have an intended semantic or phonetic value, it is functionally not essential. He explains this in terms of synchronic structural variability in the W.S. script.

From a diachronic perspective it is worth noting that a signific or phonophoric element was often added to characters that were previously single component characters. Note these examples from the Zhongshan corpus:

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to combine OBI and W. Zhou inscriptions together as a single group representing for the single time period from the late Shang to W. Zhou (13th-8th centuries BCE) as Li Yunfu 1997 did. Li Yunfu 1997, who had not yet seen the publications of the Guodian and Shanghai Museum manuscripts, gave 70% percent for the W.S. Chu script while giving 20% of compound character ratio collectively for OBI and Zhou bronze scripts. It should be noted that a large number of W.S. Chu compound characters have variant forms in the single component structure as will be demonstrated in the latter part of this section.

SP compound forms of late origin in the Zhongshan wang Cuo bronze corpus

Word	Western Zhou	Warring States, Zhongshan (ca. 310 BCE)	Added signific (S) or phonophoric (Ph)
zhǎng 'senior' 長	長 (㝬長鼎)	𢑓 (大鼎)	S: 立 'standing man'
zuò 'make' 作	乍 (盂鼎)	詐 (大鼎)	S: 言 'speech'
wáng 'gone' 亡	亡 (兮甲盤)	迒 (大鼎)	S: 辶 'go'
mǔ 'mother' 母	母 (毛公鼎)	侮 (大鼎)[73]	S: 人 'person'
mén 'gate' 門	門 (格伯簋)	閔 (兆域圖)	Ph: 文 *Mən
shàng 'up' 上	上 [74] (啟卣)	尚 (方壺)	Ph: 尚 *Taŋ

I would suggest that the convention of adding a signific or a phonophoric to the received single component character had spread virtually to every character in the W.S. script. Given an adequate corpus of manuscripts, we can expect to find a compound form that corresponds to the W. Zhou or modern single component character in the W.S. script of one region or another.

Added components, both synchronically and diachronically, are predominantly significs, rather than phonophorics. The phonophoric which represents a syllable type indicates the word more precisely than the signific which only indicates a semantic category. That is to say, the phonophoric is functionally more effective than the signific and therefore tends to be better preserved. At the same time, it becomes the convention that the writing system does not tolerate variations in the phonophoric so much as in the signific. Diachronically, the regularity of sound change, i.e., parallel developments cause words written with shared phonophorics at an earlier period often remain compatible in later periods, so

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73 In the "Zhongshan Wang Cuo *ding*" text, the single component character 母 is used consistently for the prohibitive negative *wú* 毋: e.g., 母忘尒邦 "Do not forget your state" and 母富而喬 （驕）"Do not be arrogant being wealthy".

74 The W. Zhou form 二 evolves to 上 (上樂鼎) in the W.S. script.

that historical change of the phonetic value of individual words itself does not always motivate a replacement of the phonophoric. The structuring of an earlier single component character into the SP compounds is one mechanism through which regional variants as well as variant forms within a regional script were generated. Note the following examples.

shàng, *shǎng* 上 'up', 'ascend'

Chu manuscripts have the form 徔 (辻) 辻 (鄂君啟舟節) with an added significic 辶 'motion' used as a variant of the single component form 上 ▆ (str.8). The compound form is often used when it has a verbal meaning, viz. 'to ascend'.[75] The Zhongshan script has its own regional compound 尚 茵 (方壺) with an added phonophoric 尚 ***Taŋ** as cited above. This compound form alternates with the form ├ (方壺) within a single inscription text.

zhōng 中 'center'

The Chu script has a variant 宙 ▆ (str.7) with an added component 宀 'roof' (i.e., 'place'). Compare the W. Zhou form ▆ (頌鼎). The variation 中 ~ 宙 is repeated in a different character: ▆ (Zhong 4) and ▆ (Liu 17) for *zhōng* 忠 'loyal'. The structure of the latter form is thus {S 心 + Ph 宙}, rather than {S 心 + S 宀 + Ph 中}.

zuò 作 'make'

The Zenghou Yi bronze inscriptions have the form 䟫 ▆ (曾侯乙鼎) with a significic 音 'sound' alternating with 乍 ▌ (曾侯乙鐘). The latter agrees with the W. Zhou structure 𠂤 (盂鼎). The Zhongshan corpus has 詐 ▆ (大鼎) with 言 'speech' for the same word as cited above. The Zhongshan corpus has another variant form 叏 ▆ (中山王壺) with a significic 又 '(right-)hand'. The same form 叏 ▆ (酓肯鼎) is found in a Chu bronze. The Guodian Chu manuscripts have the form 㑅 ▆ (LZ-A 17) with another added significic 人 'person'. Note that the alternating significics surrounding the regional variant forms for *zuò* 'make' are semantically related: 言 'speech' and 音 'sound' are semantically similar and so are 又

'(right-)hand' and 人 'person'. The received character 作 comes from the Qin variant. See the *Shuowen* definition: "*zuo* means 'initiate'" (作，起也; 8a/374).

gōng 工 'craftsmanship'

This word is written as 工 (免卣) in W. Zhou bronze inscriptions, but it is predominantly written in SP compound structures in the W.S. script. In this case also semantic relations can be observed among different added significs in regional variant forms. Note the form � (國差譫) from the Qi script, 𢀖 (郾王詈戈) from Yan, and 𢀖 (鄂君啟舟節) ~ 𢀖 (鄂君啟車節) from Chu. The alternating significs are 又 '(right-)hand', 寸 'inch', 攴 'treat' and 殳 'attack'.

wèi 位 'position'

The word *wèi* (< MC *hjwijH*) ***Gʷrət-s** 位 'position' is written as 立 𠊱 (頌鼎) orthographically undistinguished from 立 for *lì* ***rəp** 'stand' in W. Zhou inscriptions (See Rong Geng 1985 [2005]: 10). The shared graph 立 and the semantic relation between 'stand' and 'position' suggests an early OC ***Gʷrəp-s** with the coda ***-p** for *wèi* 位, which had changed to ***Gʷrət-s** by the *Shijing* OC period (see Li Fangkuei 1971 [1982]: 44). The *Shuowen* enters the Qin Seal form 位 with the definition "the vassals who stand in line on the left and the right at the central court are called *wei*" (列中庭之左右謂之位; 8a/371). In the late W.S. Qin clerical script, on the other hand, the form 立 𠊱 is still used for *wèi*. This suggests that the Qin script had variant forms 立 and 位, the former single component character received from the W. Zhou, and the latter a new SP compound with an added signific 人 'person'. In Chu manuscripts the form 位 𨙫 (LZ-C10) is the norm for *wèi*, which is sometimes written with an extra horizontal stroke underneath 立 as 𨙫 (Zi 25).

The Zhongshan corpus has the compound form 𨙫 (中山王壺), consisting of 立 and 胃, for *wèi* 位 . The graph 胃 (Cf. *wèi* < MC *hjwijH* < ***Gəj-s** 胃 'stomach') is no doubt a phonophoric, which suggests the loss of final ***-t** from the OC ***Gʷrət-s** by the time around 300 BCE. This is a case where a replacement of the phonophoric is due to a sound change. The phonophoric replacement of 立 by 胃 is due to the diachronic sound change (***-əp-s** >)***-ət-s** > ***-əj-s**. We can see from an example such as this that a character that clearly reflects W. S. phonology may end

up only as a regional variant and not survive into the modern script. That the Qin and Chu scripts maintained the W. Zhou phonophoric 立 does not mean that the sound change, i.e., loss of ***-t**, did not take place in those regions just as the graphic relation between 立 and 位 in the modern script does not have to do with their phonetic compatibility in modern Chinese. In other words, the difference in the structure between 位 and 媦 in two different regional W. S. scripts, although it concerns a phonophoric, is not related to contemporary dialect differences.

The significs 人 'person' and 立 'standing man' alternating in the forms 媦 and 位 are semantically related. Guodian Chu manuscripts have a compound variant of 長, 𣅏 (Wu 14) {人+ 長} for *zhǎng* 'elder' comparable with the Zhongshan form 𣅏 (大鼎) {立 +長}.

3.4.2.2 Consequences for textual variation

This type of "augmented" SP compound characters in one regional script, say, region A may in some cases structurally coincide with characters that stand for different words in region B. In other words, in region B, two graphs, the one compound character and the other single component character structurally identical with the phonophoric or signific of the former are distinct characters. If we look at a text copy reproduced in the script of region A from the standards of region B, it would often appear that a compound character which stands for a phonetically similar word is used instead of an expected single component character. We could, for example, relate the imaginary text copy from region A with a Western Han Mawangdui silk manuscript which would maintain some Warring States Chu character structures and that from region B with a matching received version in the modern standard script which is greatly influenced by the W.S. Qin script.

Take for example the character 詐 𣅏 (大鼎) for *zuò* ***ttsak** 'make' in the table above. In the received standard orthography, its structurally coincident character 詐 stands for *zhà* ***ttsrak-s** 'deceive' or 'pretend'. Compare this with the *Shuowen* definition, "*zha* means 'deceive'" (詐, 欺也; 3a/99). The two words *zuò* ***ttsak** 'make' and *zhà* ***ttsrak-s** 'deceive', given their phonetic and semantic relation are no doubt members of the same word-family, with the latter having ***-s** suffix for an intensifying or outer-directed meaning. The semantic relation of these Chinese words is analogous with the positive (or neutral) and negative connotations of the English words *fabricate* or *make up*. In the Qin script, the 詐 is a derivative of 乍 standing for a different but etymologically related word, whereas in the script of the Zhongshan corpus the same form 詐 is a variant form of 乍.

Imagine we found a textual variant such as the following where the word *zuò* 'make' is expected.

詐 in version A **::** 乍 in version B **::** 作 in version C

The 詐 could appear to be a "phonetic loan" for a near-homophonous character 作 from the standard of the script of C and vice versa. From the standard of B, the use of 詐[76] and 作 would also look like a "borrowing", but in this case, of "a more complex character than the proper, simpler one". In fact, the variation such as 詐 ~ 乍~ 作 can appear as regional variants or even variants within a region in the script of the W.S. period. I am suggesting that the traditional understanding of the *tongjia* phonetic loan practice, which is the idea that there existed a convention of using a (near-) homophonous character in place of the proper one in the early writings, misses the true explanation for the phenomenon. When we deal with variant forms in early manuscripts, even as late as those of early Western Han such as the Mawangdui silk manuscripts, we need to look at them with the expectation that they would maintain a good deal of the W.S. writing conventions.[77] This applies also to graphic variations in received early texts, which are consequences of reproductions and transmissions via various regions, i.e., various regional scripts.

SHZY has the single component variant 工 (str.16) used for *gōng* 'accomplishment'. The W.S. compound character 攻 found in the Qi and Chu scripts is structurally coincident with the received Qin standard form 攻 for *gōng* 'attack'. Consider the following line from the Guodian "Laozi-A" Chu manuscript (str.39) with its received counterpart.

> **Guodian:** 貴福喬, 自遭咎也, **攻**述身退, 天之道也.
> **Received:** 富貴而驕, 自遭其咎, **功**遂身退, 天之道.
> If one is arrogant while being wealthy and of high status, he will cause regrets for himself. One's accomplishments follow while one's own person recedes. This is the Way of heaven.

The Guodian version has 攻 corresponding to the received 功 interpreted as *gōng* 'accomplishment'. Note the *Shuowen* definition for the 功: "*gong* means 'stabilize a state by means of labor'" (功, 以勞定國也; 13b/699). This character is therefore a Qin script variant of the early single component form 工 'craftsmanship', possibly specialized for 'accomplishment', a different shade of meaning of the same word *gōng* 'craftsmanship'. The single component form 工 was still in use for *gōng*

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77 The form 乍 survives as a rare variant of 作 for *zuò* 'make' in the MWD manuscripts. See Chen Songchang (2001: 331 and 511).

功 'accomplishment' in the Mawangdui Western Han silk manuscripts (Chen Songchang 2001: 191). The textual variation 攻 ~ 功 in this case is not due to a phonetic loan, viz., the 'borrowing' of 攻, normally standing for *gōng* 'attack' for *gōng* 功 'accomplishment', but simply is due to regional variation of character forms for the same word.[78]

3.4.2.3 The case of Shanghai "Zhouyi" and the received version

The following textual variants between the Shanghai "Zhouyi" manuscript and its received version can be explained in terms of the tendency to favor the compound structures in the W.S. script. SHZY characters often have a signific absent in the matching received characters.

Tendency toward SP compounding and the Zhouyi Textual variants

(str.5) 繃 {S 糸 + Ph 帶} :: R 帶 for *dài* 'belt'

(str.52) 屍 {S 木 + Ph 戶} :: R 户 for *hù* 'household'

(str.7) 审 {S 宀 + Ph 中} :: R 中 for *zhōng* 'center'

(str.51) 宔[79] {S 宀 + Ph 主} :: R 主 for *zhǔ* 'host'

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78 Characters with shared phonophorics in discovered texts often turn out to be regional variants like this. They do not provide meaningful new sources of data for a phonological study. When they are falsely accounted for as phonetic loans, as they have been for the past couple of decades, one is lead to the impression that W. S. phonology remained unchanged from OC.

79 He Linyi (1998 [2004]: 358) notes that the form 宔 for *zhǔ* 'host' is found in Houma and Wenxian covenant texts. The Zhongshan corpus also has this compound 𦥑 (中山王鼎). Rong Geng (1985: 533) and Zhang Shouzhong (1981: 33) transcribe the character 𦥑 in the "Zhongshan wang Cuo ding" as *zōng* 宗 'lineage (temple)', differently from He Linyi. See the context where the 𦥑 (notated as X) occurs: 㠯為人 X，臣 X 之宜… "Seniority makes one the lord/lineage of people, the propriety between the vassal and the lord/lineage…". The character form in question is distinctive from the W. Zhou form 宗 㝬 (令簋) which remains unaltered in various W.S. regional scripts. See 㝬 (Chu:𪊨章作曾侯乙鎛), 宗 (Jin: 中山王兆域圖) and 㝬 (Qi: 陳逆簠). He Linyi seems to be right.

(str.8) 畋 {S 攴 + Ph 田} :: R 田 for *tián* 'hunt'

(str.10) 攽 {S 攴 + Ph 比} :: R 比 for *bǐ* 'compare'

(str.14) 祢 [80] {S 矢 + Ph 介} :: R 介 for *jiè* 'border'

(str.18) 选 {S 辶 + Ph 先} :: R 先 for *xiān* 'former'

(str.23) 臽 {S 臼 + Ph 牙} :: R 牙 for *yá* 'fang'

(str.27) 胋 {S 肉 + Ph 舌} :: R 舌 for *shé* 'tongue'

(str.37) 輘 {S 車 + Ph 乘} :: R 乘 for *chéng* 'ride'

(str.53) 遮 {S 辶 + Ph 旅} :: R 旅 for *lǚ* 'go on a military campaign'

(str.41) 苽 {S 艸 + Ph 瓜} :: R 瓜 for *guā* 'squash'

(str.44) 渁 {S 水 + Ph 井} :: R 井 for *jǐng* 'water-well'

(str.44) 浴 {S 水 + Ph 谷} :: R 谷 for *gǔ* 'ravine'

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80 Note the following received characters for the semantic functional value of 矢: *jǔ* 矩 'type of ruler', *duǎn* 短 'short', *yuē* 矱 'measure' and *bà* 耀 'short'. The 矢 has to do with line-drawing or measurement, which seems to be a fitting signific for such a word as 'border'.

(str.47) 羕 {S 永 + Ph 羊} :: R 永 for *yǒng* 'enduring'

(str.51) �[81] {S 斗 + Ph 主} :: R 斗 for *dǒu* 'Big Dipper'

(str.20) 褃 {S 示 + P 眚 (< S 目 + Ph 生)} :: R 省 for *shěng* 'reduce'

(str.14) 塴 {S 土 + Ph 倗 (< S 人 + Ph 朋)} :: R 朋 for *péng* 'cohort'

(str.22) 僮 {S 人 + Ph 童} :: R 童 for *tóng* 'adolescence'[82]

(str.5) 飤[83] {S 人 + Ph 食} :: R 食 for *shí* 'eat'

A few generalizations can be noted from the SHZY examples of compound characters above.

(i) When an earlier single component character is turned into an SP compound, the added component is a significE in the great majority of cases. This suggests that in the minds of the users of the W.S. script, single component characters were perceived primarily representing words' pronunciations and not meanings. Out of twenty one examples above, only two cases, � for *dǒu* 斗 and 羕 for *yǒng* 永 'enduring' have added a phonophoric instead of a significE. The

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81 This character for *dǒu* 斗 (OC ***tto?**) contains 主 (Cf. *zhǔ* ***to?** 主 'host') (He Linyi et al. (2006: 5). Compare 斗 𠤼 (秦公簋) without the added phonophoric.

82 The *Shuowen* Qin Seal form for this word has the same structure: 僮, 未冠也 (8a/365) "*tóng* means 'not yet have had the cap wearing (the coming of the age ceremony)'".

83 The single component structure 食 for *shí* 'eat' or 'food' appears in OBI, but this word is predominantly in the SP compound form 飤 𩙿 (命簋) throughout the Zhou period. E.g., 𩙿 in 芮公作鑄飤鼎 (JC 2475, late W. Zhou or early S.A) "Lord of Rui ordered the casting of this *ding*, food-vessel.", 𩙿 in 是以遊夕飮飤 (JC 9735, early W.S.) "This is to be used to drink and eat for evening festivities." In the Mawangdui early Han silk manscripts the form 飤 still survives as an occasional variant to 食 (Chen Songchang 2001: 206-7).

compound form 羕 is also found in a bronze inscription from the Qi region 羕 (陳 逆簋). Xu Shen based on the *Shijing* line 江之羕矣 "The River has been running long (i.e., enduring)," ('Han guang 漢廣', Mao 9) defines the 羕 as "for a river to be long" (羕, 水長也, 从永羊聲. 詩曰，江之羕矣; 11b/570). Xu Shen gives exactly the same definition to *yǒng* 永 (水長也; 11b/569). This suggests that the Qin script had variant forms 羕 and 永 for the same word. Duan Yucai notes that the *Maoshi* and *Hanshi* versions vary with each other by having 永 and 羕 respectively in this *Shijing* line (p. 570). We can see that this textual variant is due to the alternation of the two variant forms 永 and 羕, the former being in the old W. Zhou single component structure and the latter in the new compound that arose in the W.S. period.[84]

(ii) An old SP compound character can be augmented by another signific. From the perspective of the W.S. script, these compounds should be analyzed as "S + P (< S+P)" rather than "S + S + P". The W. Zhou predecessor of the form 禘 is 督 (盂鼎) consisting of the signific 目 'eye, watch' and the phonophoric 生 ***Seŋ**. It seems reasonable to assume that the 督 was taken as a whole as a phonophoric when the signific 示 was added. In the modern character the original phonophoric 生 is eroded and is replaced by the graphically similar component 少. Similarly, the Chu character 塱 has a signific 土 'ground' added to an original compound 佣. Pu Maozuo (2003: 155) transcribed 塱 as 塱. But compare the Chu bronze form 佣 (王孫鐘) and also the W. Zhou forms (佣卣) or (多友鼎) for *péng* 'cohort', which is distinguished from 朋 (中作且癸鼎) for *péng* 'cowrie shell'. The component 人 surrounding the top and right side of 朋 has various shapes, which is barely identifiable in the Chu forms. In this case the graphic distortion of the original 人 might have played a role in the introduction of the new signific 土 'ground'.

(iii) As mentioned above compound forms often have a single component variant received from the W. Zhou script. The following SHZY characters appear in both single and compound forms.

hù 户 'household'   尿 (str.52)   *vs*.   户 (str.5)

zhōng 中 'center'   审 (str.7)   *vs.*   中 (str.39)

bǐ 比 'compare'   败 (str.10)   *vs.*   比 (str.10)

héng 恆 'constant'   綖 (str.28)   *vs.*   死 (str.15)

zhōng 終 'cease'   冬 (str.12)   *vs.*   冬 (str.3)

With the extension of SP compounding to nearly all characters in the W.S. script, the addition of a signific can be regarded as orthographic embellishment that seems to contribute the aesthetic appeal to the orthographic style. We have seen in the Zhongshan corpus that structurally more complex characters tend to be preferred over simpler variants in an elaborate writing style.

(iv) The distinction between simple and compound forms is in some cases orthographically contrastive. As seen in the following cases, such distinctions appearing consistently between Chu and Qin scripts reflect an inter-regional standard in the W. S. script.

穫 (str.20) for *huò* 穫 'harvest' *vs.* 獲 (str.48) for *huò* 獲 'capture'

The two etymologically related words, *huò* ***GGʷak** 穫 'harvest' and *huò* ***GGʷrak** 獲 'capture' are graphically differentiated by the addition of *hé* 禾 to the former.

汲 (str.45) for *jí* ***kəp** 汲 'draw water from a well'

We can see that the *jí* ***kəp** 汲 and *jí* ***kəp** 及 'reach' are etymologically the same word. This is a case where a graphic derivative is made for a different shade of meaning of the same word.

易 (str.55) for *yì* 易 'exchange' *vs.* 賜 (str.7) for *cì* 賜 'bestow'

The *yì* ***lek** 易 'exchange' and *cì* ***slek-s** 賜 'bestow' are distinguished in the W.S. script. Note also � (中山王鼎). In W. Zhou bronzes the word *cì* is normally written as 易 𢓥 (庚嬴卣).

(v) When we find a textual variant between a manuscript and its received counterpart where a compound character in the former corresponds to a single component character in the latter, we are well advised to suspect the possibility that it is a reflection of Warring States variant forms. Take for example, the form 汬 (str.44) matching 井 in the received version. Xu Shen gives 汬 as a *guwen* variant of 阱 which he defines as 'pitfall' (阱, 陷也…古文阱从水; 5b/216). Although this definition finds some attestations in received texts we cannot take the Chu form as standing for 'pitfall' to think that the Chu version is different from the received in this textual instance. Consider the phonetic and semantic relation between *jǐng* 阱 and *jǐng* 井:

> *jǐng* 阱 ***dzeŋʔ** (or ***N-tseŋʔ**) 'pitfall'
> *jǐng* 井 ***tseŋʔ** 'water-well'

Both are holes dug in the ground; one is for capturing animals and the other is for drawing water. These two seem etymologically related and thus we can assume a common root ***tseŋʔ** 'pit' for both. The character 阱 is a graphic derivative from 井 which was circulated, if not generated, in the Qin script. From the context of the *Zhouyi*, it is clear that 汬 of the Chu script stands for *jǐng* 井 'water-well'.

> SHZY: 初 六 汬 替 不 飤…
> Received: 初 六 井 泥 不 食…
> Six on the first. The well is muddy. Do not drink (from it) (Hex.48 *Jing*).

> SHZY: 九 五 井 洌 寒 泉 食
> Received: 九 五 汬 㓹 寒 㴲 飤
> Nine on the fifth. The well is clear. There is a cold spring. Drink (id.).

In Xu Shen's *guwen* source texts, the character form 汬 may have been used for both of the two etymologically related words *jǐng* 'water-well' and *jǐng* 'pitfall'.

Likewise the character 浴 (str.44) corresponding to 谷 is a variant of the latter for the same word. It is only in the modern script that the two forms are distinguished for different words, namely, *yù* 浴 ***[g]ok** 'bathe' versus *gǔ* 谷 ***kkok** 'ravine'. See the SHZY line where the character 浴 occurs.

SHZY: 九 二 萊浴弙狌 佳褊 縷
Received:九 二 井 谷 射 鮒 甕 敝 漏

Nine on the second. One shoots a *fu*-fish in the well water [only to make] the water-drawing bucket break and (the water in it) leak (Hex.48 *Jing*).[85]

We need to look at Chu compound characters in the light of the predominance of SP compounds and examine the context where they occur rather than simply reading the forms as they would be read in the received orthography.

3.4.3 The case of the *fu* 簠 vessel [86]

As seen above, different significs alternating for the same word or word family are often semantically related. We may call those significs which are interchangeable for their equal semantic functional value *synonymous significs* (SS).[87] As will be illustrated in this section, the same principle applies to phonophorics: those with the same functional value, i.e., those standing for the same syllable type (= homorganic initial combined with identical rhyme) alternate for characters writing the same etymon. We may call those interchangeable phonophorics *equivalent phonophorics* (EP). Phonophorics in general are more stable than significs: in particular, variants displaying equivalent phonophorics in the later stages of the early Chinese writing system, such as those found in writings of S.A., and W. S. times, tend to appear region-externally rather than regiona-internally. These regional variants are in most cases found to be of equal functional value in a single phonophorical system, viz., the Old Chinese with relatively fewer cases reflecting dialects of the Old Chinese or a later, post-*Shijing* phonology.

The alternations of synonymous significs (SS) and equivalent phonophorics (EP) in principle work independently of each other. Thus a pair of SS and a pair of EP can result in four structurally distinct compound forms writing a single etymon; this is when each compound has one signific and one phonophoric; but

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85 I follow Gao Heng (1947 [1973]: 166) on the interpretation of this line.

86 An earlier version of this section was published in *Asiatische Studien* (Zürich) LXIII·4·2009, 857-887, with the title "Linguistic approaches to reading excavated manuscripts".

87 This now well-known thesis that significs denoting similar meanings can be used interchangeably in the early Chinese script was first articulated by Tang Lan (Gao Ming 1987: 146). Tang Lan (1965: 55 in vol.2) swiftly makes his point just giving two examples, 巾 'kerchief' ~ 衣 'cloth' appearing in a few characters such as *cháng* 常~ 裳 'lower-garment', and likewise 土 'ground' ~ 阜 'mound' for a few such as *jiāng* 疆~ 隬 'border'. An extensive list of such interchangeable significs is found in Gao Ming's 1987 book, 146-180. Some of Gao's examples are 牛 'cow' ~ 羊 'sheep', 目 'eye' ~ 見 'see', 日 'sun' ~ 月 'moon', 首 'head' ~ 頁 'top'.

SS and EP in each case can be augmented on their equivalents, forming double significs and double phonophorics in a character. (In fact, there are some SS that regularly co-occur. See section 5.1.). So the number of variants that a single pair of EP and SS can generate is as large as eight, although in practice, writing conventions in a community would prevent such extreme proliferation. But it is significant that variants with SS and EP for one etymon often become specialized in their use for specific cognates, or for certain meanings of the same cognate within a word family. Regional differences in selections for specific cognates may result in region-external textual variants that appear as alternations of cognate words. We will come back to this point in Chapter Five. In this section, I will present the story of a ritual-vessel known as *fǔ* 簠 as an exemplary case of variant forms generated both by synonymous significs and equivalent phonophorics.

The Zhou bronze vessel type identified as *fǔ* 簠 known from received early texts since the Song dynasty work *Kao gu tu* 考古圖 by Lü Dalin 呂大臨 (1046–1092) is a distinctively square-shaped vessel. The *Zhouli* 周禮 ("Diguan 地官", 'Sheren 舍人') has the line: 凡祭祀共簠簋實之陳之 "For any sacrificial offering, the [food] offerings are filled in the *fu*-vessel and *gui*-vessel to be laid out [on the offering table]," to which Zheng Xuan 鄭玄 (127–200) notes "when [the offering vessel is] square-shaped, it is called *fǔ* 簠, when round, it is called *guǐ* 簋"[88]

In bronze inscriptions on this *fu*-type vessel the characters that write the name of the bronze vessel are extremely varied in their graphic structure. Some of these character forms have phonophorics that indicate distinct pronunciations suggesting that the *fu*-vessel actually had different names. Note first that Zhou ritual bronze inscriptions have formulaic text structures. These text formulas were established in the early W. Zhou period and continued to be repeated on all vessel types throughout the W. and Eastern Zhou periods in all feudal states. Some examples are as follows. For the sake of discussion we will give X for the character in the textual position for the vessel's name while giving a broad transcription for the other words in the text.

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88 *Shisanjing zhushu*, "Zhouli zhushu 周禮注疏", p. 749.

射南自作其 X.   late W. Zhou, JC 4480
Archer South made the X for himself.

虢叔作旅 X 其萬年永用   late W. Zhou, JC 4514
Uncle-lord of Guo made the X for the expedition. May it be used forever, for ten thousand
years.

塞自作旅 X 其子子孫孫永寶用   late W. Zhou, JC 4524
Se made the X for himself for the expedition. May sons' sons and grandsons' grandsons
forever treasure and use (it).

内大子白作 X 其子子孫孫永寶用.   late W. Zhou, JC 4538
The heir apparent Bai of Nei made the X. May sons' sons and grandsons' grandsons forever
treasure and use (it).

季宮父作仲姊嬛姬媵 X 其子子孫孫永寶用   late W. Zhou, JC 4572
Sir Jigong made the X as a nuptial bestowal for his middle elder sister Huai (?) Ji. May sons'
sons and grandsons' grandsons forever treasure and use (it).

郘公誠作旅 X 用追孝于皇祖皇考用賜眉壽萬年子子孫孫永寶用   late W. Zhou, JC 4600
Lord Xian of Ruo made the X for the expedition to proceed with filial sacrifices to the de-
ceased grandfather and the deceased father and to bestow (with it) for its full life of ten
thousand years. May sons' sons and grandsons' grandsons forever treasure and use (it).

唯正月初吉丁亥許子妝擇其吉金用鑄其 X 用媵孟姜秦嬴其子子孫孫永保用之
S.A., JC 4616
It was in the beginning auspiciousness (i.e., first week) of the first month, on the *ding hai*
day when Lord of Xu, Jiang selected the fine metal and used (it) to cast the X so as to use (it)
to accompany Lady Elder Jiang, Qin Ying (to her newly married home). May sons' sons and
grandsons' grandsons forever cherish and use it.

In some 160 inscriptions on the *fu*-vessels collected in the *Yin Zhou Jinwen
Jicheng*, many of them being repetitions of identical texts cast individually on
each object, there are about twenty different written forms for the word X, the
name of this square vessel. In these variant character forms are found seven dif-
ferent significs and five different graphs suspected as phonophorics. In a few in-
scriptions a two character expression "匡 盍 " is used in the position for X while
each of these two characters also appears by itself to write the vessel's name (Liu
Xiang 1986: 459). The characters for X can be divided into five groups by the func-
tional values of phonophorics used in them.

1. The *Ka type

(a1) (a2) (b) (c) (d1) (d2) (e) (f)
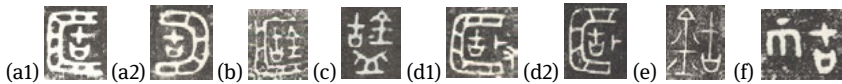
a: S {匚 'square container'} + Ph {古}

b: S {匚 + 金 'metal'} + Ph {古}

c: S {金 + 皿 'vessel'} + Ph {古}

d: S {匚 + 攴 'treat'} + Ph {古}

e: S {金} + Ph {古}

f: S {示 'ritual'} + Ph {古}

This group of characters have in common the phonophoric 古 (Cf. *gǔ* ***kka?** 古 'old') which suggests a syllable type ***Ka**. Combined with this phonophoric are various significs that indicate some aspects of the meaning of the written word. These are 匚 '(square) container' which appears in two variant forms of mirror images (a1 and a2), 金 'metal', 皿 'vessel', 攴 'treat', written also in an abbreviated variant, 卜 'treat' in a duplicated inscription (d1 and d2), and 示 'ritual'.

2. The *Pa type

(a) (b) (c)

a: S {匚} + Ph {夫}
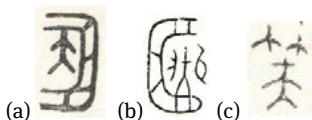
b: S {匚 + 弭 (?)} + Ph {夫}

c: S {竹 'bamboo'} + Ph {夫}

This group shares the phonophoric 夫 (Cf. *fū* ***pa** 夫 'grown man') suggesting a syllable type ***Pa**. Form (a) has the top horizontal stroke of 夫 merging with a horizontal line of the component 匚 as we can infer from form (c). Form (b) has a form that resembles 大 which seems to be a further abbreviation of 夫 with the top horizontal stroke omitted. This character form has two additional elements on either side of the phonophoric 大 (< 夫). The one on the right side resembles 耳 but the left is puzzling. The name of the vessel-maker, 弭中(仲) "Middle uncle-lord of Mi (state)", appears three times in the inscription as (i) (ii)   (iii)

迌Φ. It seems possible that this personal name is copied onto the character. Once the two necessary components are present, one phonophoric and one significo of the conventional kinds, this type of impromptu graphic modification seems to have been allowed and did not deter the recognition of the character.

The *Shuowen* records the form 医 as a *guwen* variant of the Qin Seal form 簠 (簠...医 古文簠，从匚夫 , 5a/194). This shows that 医 and 簠 were regional variants by the W. S. period, the former used in a certain non-Qin script contrasting with the latter in the Qin script.[89] But the origin of the alternation 夫~甫 may be earlier than the W.S. period.

3. The *K^waŋ type

(a) (b) (c)
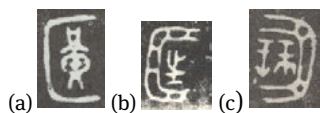
a: S {匚} + Ph {黄}

b: S {匚} + Ph {坒 }

c[90]: S {匚 + 金} + Ph {坒}

This group includes two distinct phonophorics, 黄 and 坒 (> 往) that have the same phonetic functional value, viz., *K^waŋ: *huáng* *gg^waŋ 黄 'yellow' and *wǎng* *G^waŋʔ 往 (< 坒) 'go'. Form (a) comes from a *fu*-type vessel approximately dated to late W. Zhou period, excavated in Shaanxi Fufeng 扶風, the homeland of the W. Zhou ruling house, and (b) from one whose caster is inscribed as 史免 "Scribe Mian". The latter is identified as a court official during the reign of the Western Zhou King Yi 懿 (r. 934–910 BCE).[91] So in this case, the two phonophorics were likely to have been used contemporaneously within a single region. Even if an individual scribe did not actually use them simultaneously, they were acceptable

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89 The major source of the *guwen* script is supposed to be texts written on bamboo strips discovered during early Western Han in the Qi region (the so-called "Confucius's wall texts") as discussed in Chapter One. It is interesting that we find a character form with the phonophoric 夫 on a *fu*-vessel that comes from the Qi state of the W.S. period. The 夫 is not found in discoveries from the southern region surrounding the Chu state.

90 The form (c) is a very strange variant which has a normal structural composition but is executed in an upside down image.

91 See Guo Moruo (1935: 90).

alternatives for the same word in the late W. Zhou period around the capital region.

The word of the syllable type ***Kʷaŋ** represented by this group is distinct from the *fŭ* ***paʔ**, and so it ought to be another name for the *fu-* type vessel. That is to say, these are synonyms that alternate in matching textual positions.

4. Undeciphered phonophoric

(a1)　(a2)　(b)　(c)　(d)

a: Ph { }
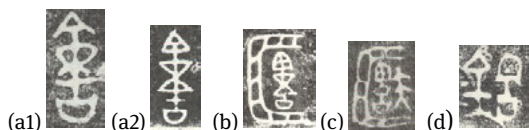
b: S {匚} + Ph { }

c: S {匚} + Ph { + 夫}

d: S {金} + Ph { }

The graph seems to be phonophoric, but it is not identified with any graphic component in the inventory of the received writing system. This graph can stand alone as in form (a) or can be combined with the usual significs such as 匚 and 金 as in (b)-(d). Form (c) has an additional phonophric 夫 ***Pa**. It is not uncommon in the early Chinese script for one character to contain two phonophorics of the same functional value. This then identifies this group with Group 2 (夫), standing for the word *fŭ* 簠. The unidentified graph has a simplified variant as seen in (d). Form (a2) has an extra horizontal line across the vertical center stroke. This together with the hemisphere-shaped graphic element right underneath it resembles the graph 古 closely. This then would serve as a link between the two syllable types 古 ***Ka** and 夫 ***Pa**. But we cannot be sure if that horizontal stroke is in fact functionally meaningful or historically legitimate.

5. ***Paŋ** type

S {匚 + 金} + Ph {匚}

This character consists of 匚 and 金, both of which regularly occur as significs in the groups above. This could be one of the comparatively rare cases in which the phonophoric is omitted instead of the signific. It seems more likely, however, that one of the two components was re-interpreted as the phonophoric. The graph 匚 is a plausible candidate because, as will be discussed shortly, it is both semantically and phonetically related to the ***Kʷaŋ** type word represented in Group 3.

The phonophorics in the variant character forms discussed so far suggest four distinct OC pronunciations: 古 for ***Ka**, 夫~甫 for ***Pa**, 黃~ 往 for ***Kʷaŋ**, and 匚 for ***Paŋ**. It is probable that the first two and last two in each case reflect a single word which has undergone a sound change in the initial consonant from ***K⁽ʷ⁾-** to ***P-**, viz., labialization of a velar initial.

This is not a regular sound change in the 'yayan 雅言' standard phonology, whereby the OC velar initials are retained as such, or palatalized under a condition that is yet to be discovered. Rather, it appears that the labialized variants were borrowed into the standard lexicon from a different dialect. It will be shown in the examples to be discussed below that the labialization in that supposed donor dialect included uvular initials as well, and that as far as we can see from the received literature, the dialect loans in some cases completely displaced the original velar/uvular ones (i.e. the ones which properly belong to the standard phonology), but in other cases they also co-existed with the latter as synonyms. It seems that the alternation of labial and uvular initials for cognate words through dialect mixture existed already in early W. Zhou period.[92]

The old phonophoric 古 remained in use throughout the Eastern Zhou period in various regions such as southern states of the "Chu culture" area including Chen 陳, Cai 蔡, Xu 許, Fan 番, Ruo 鄀, Chu 楚 and Zeng 曾 as well as in the eastern states of Qi 齊, Lu 魯, Xue 薛 and Zhu 邾 and the central Jin 晉, just to list some of the regions that have yielded archeological evidence. In addition we find the 夫 and 古 alternate in two *fu*-vessels that come from the same state, Qi 齊, dated to two consecutive reign periods:

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92 Consider for this case the two words *fǎ* ***pap** 灋 (法) 'rule, law' and *fū* ***pa** 膚 'skin'. The character 灋 has the graph 去, which indicates the syllable type ***Ka(t~p)**: 去 *qù* ***kʷha-s** 'depart' and 却 *què* ***kʷhat** 'retreat', 盍 *hé* ***ggap** 'thatch, cover'. Karlgren considered all of these belonging to the same *xiesheng* series despite the alternations of k- and p- and −t and -p (GSR #642). The character 膚 has the apparent phonophoric 虎 *hǔ* ***qqʰraʔ** 'tiger'. In Chu manuscripts, this phonophoric alternates with 夫 indicating ***Pa** for the word *fū* ***pa** 'skin'.

"Chen ni fu 陳逆簠"[93] Qi Ping gong 平公 (r.480–456 BCE), MWX 853

"Chen man fu 陳曼簠" Qi Xuan gong 宣公 (r.455–404 BCE), MWX 861

The presence of the 夫 is a strong indication that this word was pronounced like ***paʔ** in this region in the early W.S. period. This means that, the 古 which reflects the OC pronunciation ***Ka** was "read" as *fŭ* ***paʔ** there for this particular word. In inscriptions from Chu, we do not find an OC ***Pa**-type phonophoric for the *fu*-vessel. Rather, it is always the form (楚王酓肯簠, MWX 662) that writes the word. One cannot assume based on this character structure that the word *fŭ* in the Chu dialect was pronounced like ***Ka** differently from the Qi dialect or late W. Zhou Old Chinese.

Thus the six phonophorics including the 甫 in the received character are divided into two groups, {古, 夫, 甫} and {黃, 往, 匚} by the words they represent. These two groups constitute in each case a set of *equivalent phonophorics* (EP). The various significs appearing in groups 1 (古) and 2 (夫), now identified with the word *fŭ* 簠, are likewise *synonymous significs* (SS). As has been assumed all along, the necessary condition for EP is that they stand for the same syllable type (initial consonant of the same point of articulation and identical rhyme). By contrast, the condition for synonymous significs is somewhat less concrete. Generally speaking, significs that indicate the same semantic category tend to alternate with one another. (And of course, defining semantic category itself involves subjectivity to a greater degree than assessing phonetic compatibility does). But, because each alternative signific for a given word is intended to indicate a certain semantic aspect of the word, the members in a given set of SS may not always be synonymous with one another. For instance, three distinct semantic categories can be drawn up from the SS for *fŭ* 簠:

VESSEL:	匚 '(square-shaped) container', 皿 'vessel'
MATERIAL:	金 'metal', 竹 'bamboo'
RITUAL, TREATMENT:	示 'ritual', 攴 'treat'

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93 The dates of these two bronze vessels are taken from He Linyi (2003: 99).

These categories have to do with the following semantic aspects of the written word: the *identity* of the object denoted by the word (i.e., vessel), the *material substance* of the object in question or objects like it (i.e., wooden or metal), and finally the *circumstances* in which the object or word is used (i.e., ritual offering). The following table lists all variant forms surrounding the names of the *fu*-vessel.

Compositional variability: characters for the names of fu-vessel

words	Equivalent Phonophorics	Synonymous significs	variant forms
word I ***Ka > *Pa**	古 *Ka, 夫 *Pa, 甫 *Pa	匚 'square container' 金 'metal'	臿, 匼, 祐, 盫, 鉆, 盇, 臿, 医 笑, 簠
word II ***Kʷaŋ > *Paŋ**	黄 *Kʷaŋ, 坣 *Kʷaŋ, 匚 *Paŋ	皿 'vessel' 竹 'bamboo' 攵 'treat' 示 'ritual'	匱, 匤, 鈕, 金

As with a signific or phonophoric reused for different words, a set of SS or EP assigned to one word tends to recur for another word. For example, the SS {金 'metal', 皿 'vessel'} for *fǔ* 簠 above is also used regularly for *zhù* 鑄 'cast' and in some variants for *xǔ* 盨 'type of bronze ritual vessel'.[94]

The EP {夫, 甫} found for *fǔ* 簠 is repeated in the following cases. In an early Western Zhou bronze inscription both 夫 and 甫 are used in a character for a person's name.

小臣逋即事于西，休仲賜逋鼎   early W. Zhou, JC 2581
Lesser official Fu had just been appointed to the Western Region. Lord Xiu granted him the *ding*-vessel.

In an inscription from the early S.A. period, the form 甫 is used for the word *fū* 夫 as in *fū rén* 夫人 'primary wife'.

黄子作黄甫人孟姬器…   early S.A., JC 2566
The lord of the Huang state made the vessel for his wife Lady Elder Ji.

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94 See Rong Geng (1985: 908–11, 341–43).

We find an alternation of 夫 and 甫 in a textual correspondence between the SHZY and received *Zhouyi*. The word represented by the variants is *bū* ***ppa** 逋 'escape'.

> SHZY: 九 二 不 克 訟 逋 **肤** 其 邑 人 晶 四 戶
> Received: 九 二 不 克 訟 歸 而 **逋** 其 邑 人 三 百 戶
> Nine on the second. He did not win the litigation. He returned and then helped three or four (SHZY)/ three hundred (R) households of people in the town escape (Hex.6 *Song* 訟).

Finally there is a word family with the root meaning √ASSIST, whose cognate words are written either with 夫 or 甫.[95]

> 扶   *fú* < *bju* < ***ba**   'support'
> 輔, 俌 *fŭ* < *bjuX* < ***ba?**   'assist' 'strut (of a chariot)'
> 賻   *fù* < *bjuH* < ***ba-s**   'gift money (especially for a funeral)'
> 傅   *fù* < *pjuH* < ***pa-s**   'tutor'

I suggested earlier that the alternation of the phonophorics 古 and 夫~甫, and that of 黃 ~ 坒 and 匚 in the characters for the names of '*fu*-vessel' is due to labialization of an original velar initial. This supposition can be strengthened if we can find parallel cases in the Old Chinese lexicon. Consider the following cases.

Phonophoric series

The word *pēng* 烹 is written with the graph 亨 in common with two other words that have a uvular initial.

> 烹   *pēng* < *phæng* < ***pp^hraŋ**   'boil'
> 亨   *hēng* < *xæng* < ***qq^hraŋ**   'success' (in the *Zhouyi*)
> 享   *xiăng* < *xjangX* < ***q^haŋ?**   'type of sacrificial offering, feast, enjoy'

While recognizing the graphic connection among these items, Karlgren chose to treat them in two separate series (GSR #716, 751) because the difference in the initial as ***p-** and ***q^h-** apparently disqualifies them for belonging to the same phonophoric series. One can assume that the 亨 was initially chosen to write *pēng* as a phonophoric at a time and place in which the word had a uvular initial. And as Karlgren notes, there is a use of the character 亨 for the word *pēng* 烹 in the *Shijing* ("Xiaoya 小雅", 'Chu ci 楚茨'). The MC labial initial for *pēng* should then have come from an OC variety in which the uvular initial became labialized.

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[95] This word family is presented in Wang Li (2000: 1398).

Textual variants

The MWD manuscript version of the *Zhouyi* has the character 芳 with the Ph 方 ***Paŋ** (Cf. *fāng* 方 ***paŋ** 'direction') in the position for the word *xiǎng* ***qʰaŋʔ** 享 'type of sacrifice' of the received version.

> Received: 上六 ... 王用享于西山
> MWD:　　 上六 ... 王用芳于西山
> Six on the top [...] The King made the *xiang* -sacrifice at the West Mountain (Hex.17 *Sui* 隨).

> Received: 九二 ... 利用享祀
> MWD:　　 九二 ... 利用芳祀
> Nine on the second [...] It is beneficial to use the *xiang-* sacrificial ceremony (id.).

The MWD character 芳 in another line in the same hexagram corresponds to *jì* 祭 'type of sacrificial ceremony'.

> Received: 九五 ... 利用祭祀
> MWD:　　 九五 ... 利用芳祀
> Nine on the fifth [...] It is beneficial to use *ji*-sacrificial ceremony (R)/ *xiang-* sacrificial ceremony (MWD) (Hex.47 *Kun* 困).

If we identify the 芳 with the word *xiǎng* 享 with the ***P- ~*q-** alternation in mind, the variation between 芳 (for *xiǎng* 享) and *jì* 祭 'type of sacrifice' is explained as an alternation of synonymous words. The MWD version reveals at this point a dialect that has a labial initial corresponding to the OC ***qʰ**-for the word *xiǎng* 享.

Etymology

The two words *xiāng* 香 and *fāng* 芳 alike mean 'fragrance', but one has a uvular initial and the other a labial. It seems likely that they are in origin cognate words that go back to the same root with a uvular initial.

> 香　　*xiāng* < *xjang* < ***qʰaŋ**　　　 'fragrance'
> 芳　　*fāng* < *phjwang* < ***pʰaŋ**　　　 'id'

The labialization hypothesis provides a clue to the interpretation of the compound expression 🖼️🖼️ (匡 固) that occurs in the textual position for the vessel name *fǔ* 簠. Suppose the first character 匡 which suggests the syllable type ***Kʷaŋ** is a variant form for *kuāng* 筐 'square container'. This word, assumed as a case of

velar-labialization, can be related to *fāng* ***paŋ** 方 'square' and *fāng* ***paŋ** 匚 'square container'. It seems that these two are one and the same etymon. The expression "匡匠" would mean 'square shaped -*fu*' where the first word is a qualifying modifier.

筐	*kuāng* < *khjwang* < ***kʷʰaŋ**	'square shaped basket or object'
方	*fāng* < *pjwang* < ***paŋ**	'square, quarter (i.e., region)'
匚	*fāng* < *pjwang* < ***paŋ**	'square container'

Recall that the word for '*fu*-vessel' is written with the Ph 甫 in the received character 簠, but this phonophoric is not found in inscribed characters on the *fu* bronze vessels discovered so far. Interestingly, there is a different vessel type whose name is written regularly with 甫[96]. This bronze vessel resembles the *dou* 豆-type.

6. (a)　　(b)　　(c)　　(d)
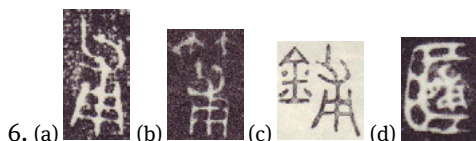
a: Ph {甫}

b: S {竹} + Ph {甫}

c: S {金} + Ph {甫}

d: S {匚 +肉 'meat'} + Ph {甫}

The question is, is the *word* that refers to this *dou*-like vessel the same as the word *fǔ* ***paʔ** 簠 or not? It seems possible that the word *fǔ* ***paʔ** was a generic word for 'pedestal bowl (with cover)'[97] as we observe the common features of the two vessel types in question. The distinctively square *fu* is a relatively new vessel type compared to other Shang and Zhou bronze vessels. The distribution of the archeological finds suggests that the *fu* bronze type emerged in mid-Western Zhou and became common in late Western Zhou. The word *kuāng* 匡 (筐) 'square container'

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96 I am grateful to Olivier Venture for pointing out this fact to me. The *Yinzhou Jinwen Jicheng* classifies this vessel under the category of *dou* (volume 9, inscription nos. 4651−4695) and uses the graph 筲 for the name of this vessel.

97 I took William Watson's wording (1961: 95) for the description of the *dou*-vessel.

used optionally in front of the word *fǔ* would have been intended to distinguish the "square-shaped" *fu* from the generic *fu*. So the graphic distinction between 夫 and 甫 or 古 and 甫 that seems to have been made in one region or another as can be surmised from the available archeological samples is to distinguish the two *objects* and not two distinct *words*.

Contrary to this supposition one might wonder if this *dou*-like "甫" vessel is the intended referent of the word represented by the Qin Seal form 簠, distinct from the word for the square type?[98] When Xu Shen identified the word/character 簠 with匚, he was basing himself on a *textual correspondence* between the two graphic forms in received and *guwen* versions of early texts. The superficial non-resemblance of the two compared character forms should not and did not keep him from identifying the word correctly.

On the archeological side we have the *guwen* form匚 inscribed on a distinctively square type ritual bronze vessel, alternating with other character forms such as 匚. This links the *fǔ* 簠 with another archeologically attested phonophoric, 古. Also, the received character 簠 is sometimes written in early texts variously as 胡~瑚 (Chen Chusheng 2004: 478).

> 仲尼曰，胡簋之事 則嘗學之矣   *Zuozhuan*, "Ai gong 哀公 11"
> Zhongni said, "Matters of *fu* and *gui* ritual vessels, I have studied them before".

> 有虞氏之兩敦，夏后氏之四璉，殷之六瑚，周之八簋   *Liji*, "Mingtang wei 明堂位"
> There were two *dui* vessels for the Yu clan, four *lian* vessels for the Xiahou clan, six *fu* vessels for Yin, and eight *gui* vessels for Zhou.

> 簠簋俎豆，制度文章，禮之器也   *Liji*, "Yueji 樂記"
> The *fu*, *gui*, *zu* and *dou*, the prescribed rules and their elegant variations are the instruments of ceremony.[99]

These lines are not from matching versions of the same text, but they have comparable context and moreover regularly collocate *fǔ* 簠 and *guǐ* 簋: *Zuozhuan* 胡簋 :: *Liji* "Mingtang wei" 瑚簋 :: *Liji* "Yueji" 簠簋. Textual evidence together with archeological attestation agrees with Xu Shen's account of the *word*. What Xu Shen was not aware of is the existence of the distinctively square vessel that the word *fǔ* was used for. Xu Shen said that the *fǔ* 簠 was "round".

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98 This surely is what naturally comes to many scholars' mind, including Tang Lan 唐蘭 (Chen Chusheng 2004: 479).

99 Translation adapted from James Legge. See Chai and Chai (1976: 100 in vol.2).

簠，黍稷圜器也。从竹皿甫聲。𣪘.古文簠，从匚夫。

"簠" is a *round* vessel [for containing] *shu*-millet and *ji*-millet…

Even so, he was correct in saying that the vessel was used for containing grains. The source of this explanation seems to be also textual, and it is in fact consistent with what is said in inscriptions about the use of the vessel.

The *fu* case discussed above illustrates that the variant forms for the word found in the Eastern Zhou period, either as regional variants or as region-internal variants can be traced to the W. Zhou period; the regional differences register which particular form(s) among the pre-existing ones available from the earlier orthographic stock became conventionalized in a particular region.

Phonophoric selection for *fu* 簠 'type of vessel'

Western Zhou	Eastern Zhou	Han
古~夫~ ~(甫?)	Chu 古 Qi 古~夫 Qin 甫	Received 甫~古

Sound change may motivate the generation of a new phonophoric that accommodates the contemporary pronunciation, but the new phonophoric did not necessarily displace the old phonophoric.

Cited Bronze inscriptions source list

e.g. no.	vessel name	JC no.	date	Place of discovery	Note on the vessel maker
1-a1	虢叔簠	4515	late W. Zhou	unknown	aristocrat of the Guo 虢 state (present Shaanxi Baoji 寶鷄)
1-a2	虢叔作叔殷 穀簠	4498	late W. Zhou	unknown	殷穀 is the wife of 虢叔 above (Wu Zhenfeng 2006: 378)
1-b	蛣公諴簠	4600	late W. Zhou	unknown	lord of Xiaruo 下鄀 (present Henan Xichuan 淅川)
1-c	伯公父簠	4628	late W. Zhou	Shaanxi Fufeng 扶風	
1-d1	商丘叔簠	4558	early S.A	unknown	
1-d2	商丘叔簠	4559	early S.A	unknown	
1-e	西替簠	4503	W.S.	Jiangsu Peixian 邳縣	
1-f	伯其父簠	4581	early S.A.	unknown	
2-a	叔邦父簠	4580	late W. Zhou	unknown	official of the King Li 厲 (r. 878–828 BCE) (Wu Zhenfeng 2006: 195)
2b	弭仲簠	4627	late W. Zhou	"得于驪山白 鹿原" (歷代 鐘鼎彝器款 識法帖, Song dynasty) Cited in p.36, *Jicheng* v.9)	aristocrat of the Mi 弭 state (near present Shaanxi Lantian 藍田). See *Mingwenxuan*, vol.3, p.196.
2c	陳逆簠	4629	early W.S.	unknown	official of Qi 齊 Pinggong 平公 (r.476–456 BCE) (Wu Zhenfeng 2006: 239)
3a	xx 簠	4516	late W. Zhou	Shaanxi Fufeng 扶風	

3b	史免簋	4579	mid W. Zhou	unknown	official of King Yi 懿 (934–910 BCE), (Guo Moruo 1935: 90)
3c	馱叔簋	4552	late W. Zhou	unknown	aristocrat of the Hu(?) 馱 state (With 馱 identified as Hu 胡, present Anhui Fuyang 阜陽, *Mingwenxuan*, vol.3, p.257)
4-a1	交君子叕簋	4565	late W. Zhou	unknown	lord of Jiao 交
4-a2	鑄公簋	4574	early S.A.	Shandong Qidong 齊東	
4-b	魯士𢊱父簋	4517	early S.A.	unknown	official in the Lu 魯 state
4-c	季宮父簋	4572	late W. Zhou	unknown	
4-d	X 伯簋	4484	S.A.	unknown	
5	仲其父簋	4482	late W. Zhou	Shaanxi Lantian 藍田	
6-a	曾仲旅父簠	4673	early S.A	Hubei Jingshan 京山	
6-b	微伯瘋簠	4681	mid W. Zhou	Shaanxi Fufeng 扶風	
6-c	X 公作杜嬀簠	4684	late W. Zhou	unknown	
6-d	魯大嗣徒厚氏元簠	4690	S.A.	Shandong Qufu 曲阜	