

5 The Shanghai “Zhouyi” and the Early Chinese Orthography

In this chapter, I will discuss alternations of synonymous signifiacs and equivalent phonophorics as a central orthographic feature of the early Chinese script. I will demonstrate that a large part of textual variation between the Shanghai “Zhouyi” manuscript and the received version can be explained by interchanges of those graphic components of the same semantic or phonetic functional values in the early Chinese writing system.

5.1 Synonymous Signifiacs

This section illustrates sixteen sets of synonymous signifiacs surrounding variation between the manuscript and the received version of the *Zhouyi*. Some of the best known sets among these are: the signifiacs 阜 ‘mound’ and 土 ‘ground’ for ‘orographic terms’ (example no.1); 辵 ‘road’ and 止 ‘step’ for ‘motion, sequence, elapse of time’ (no.2); 木 ‘tree’ and 艸 ‘grass’ for ‘plants’ (no.3), 攴 ‘attack’ and 殳 ‘spear’ for ‘violent actions’ (no.4), 言 ‘language’ and 心 ‘mind’ for ‘cognitive and volitional activities’(no.5).

The semantic functional values and patterns of interchangeability of these signifiacs were stable both historically and cross-regionally in the early Chinese script. When signifiacs in two characters corresponding between SHZY and R are not relatable as synonymous signifiacs, one often finds that the meaning of the word in the textual position is not clear from the limited context of the hexagram lines; when such a variation is observed between SHZY and R, various commentaries and other witnesses of the *Zhouyi* also tend to have disparate accounts of the word at issue. This strongly suggests that those textual variants with unrelated signifiacs actually reflect different interpretations (5.1: no. 7, no.15 and 5.2: no.2, no.3).¹⁰⁵

There is one pair of graphs which alternate regularly but for no semantic value, viz., 口 ‘mouth’ and 又 ‘(right-)hand’. They may sound related as body

105 By contrast, the corresponding phonophorics in such cases still tend to remain the same, either being identical or being equivalent phonophorics. This shows that phonetic values of words in the *Zhouyi* could be preserved even when the words’ meanings became obscure.

parts, but they function as mere graphic substance either displacing a more complex graph by way of simplification or being added for overall graphic balance of a whole character (no.8).

There is a high degree of consistency in the choice of a signific for individual words within a region or a manuscript corpus, but cases where regional scripts choose different significs for an entire semantic class of words seem rare. An exception may be 鼠 ‘rat’ and 豸 ‘ferocious animal’ for ‘animals’, the former being preferred in Chu and the latter in Qin; still, there is a third synonymous signific for this semantic class, which is 犬 ‘dog’: the latter is used in both regions alternating with the other more region-specific ones (no.9).

Members in a handful pairs of SS regularly co-occur like a compound signific within one character. In such cases, the two members appear differentiated as “primary” vs. “secondary”: the primary one is used alone more often than not, but the secondary one rarely does. Correlated with this, their graphic positions are distinguished as the left side and the lower side of another component. Examples are 阜 ‘mound’ and 土 ‘ground’ (no.1), 行 ‘road’ and 止 ‘step’ (no.2), 石 ‘stone’ and 土 ‘earth’ (no.15).

Some significs have dual values, and the division in the meanings becomes clear through their memberships in separate semantic classes of SS. E.g., 心 interchanges with 言 ‘language’ for ‘cognitive, volitional activities’ on the one hand, and it does with 口 ‘mouth’ for ‘emotions’ on the other hand. But the last two have no contact. The two values of 心, effective in these two distinct sets of SS, thus can be named ‘mind’ and ‘heart’ respectively (no.5, no.11); 土 has several values, the one alternating with 阜 ‘mound’ for orographic terms can be named ‘ground’ (no.1), the one alternating with 水 ‘water’ for geological terms ‘earth’ (no.13), and the one with 缶 ‘jar’ or 瓦 ‘tile’ may be ‘earthenware’ (no.14). As suggested above, some of the functions of 土 seem secondary to the other member(s) in the same set.¹⁰⁶

(1) 阜 (阝) ‘mound’ and 土 ‘ground’

The significs 阜 (阝) ‘mound’ and 土 ‘ground’ are often used in combination with each other for orographic terms and words that have to do with location. In bronze inscription texts from both the Western and Eastern Zhou periods, we often find the 阝土 combination alternating with 阜 (阝) alone, but not with 土 alone. So it seems that the 土 was in a secondary SS relation with 阜 (阝), which could be either added as a redundant signific or could be readily omitted.

¹⁰⁶ See Appendix II for more functions of 土, and also for all SS discussed in this study.

chén 陳 ‘military camp’


[陳]  (陳侯鬲)

[墜]  (陳逆簋)

JWB: 942


lù 陸 ‘high flat mound’

[陸]  (義伯簋)

[陸]  (邾公鈞鐘)

JWB: 939

líng 陵 ‘mound’

[陵]  (陵方壘)

[陸]  (陳猷釜)


JWB: 937-38


zhù 墜 ‘fall’

[墜]  (猷簋)

dì 地 ‘territory’


[陸]  (盜壺)

This last form 陸 for *dì* *llwaj-s < *llwar-s 地 ‘ground’, consisting of 阜 (阡), 土 and 彖 is recorded in the *Shuowen* as the *Zhouwen* form corresponding to the Qin Seal 垚 (地) (陸, 籀文地, 从阜土彖聲; 13b/682). The latter contains the phonophoric 它¹⁰⁷  (師遽方彝) (Cf. 它 *tā* < *tuō* < *hllwaj < *hllwar ‘other’) instead of the 彖 (Cf. *tuàn* *hllwan-s < *hllwar-s 彖 ‘pig’) as in the *Zhouwen*. The form 陸 (Yu-3, 19) predominant in Chu manuscripts contains the typical compound signific 阡土 while it shares the same phonophoric with the Qin Seal form. Apparently, the W. Zhou form 陸 was preserved only in the W.S. Jin script: the bronze form cited above is from Zhongshan (early W.S., MWX 2.882), and the same form is found in the Houma covenant texts from the Jin state of the late S.A. and early


¹⁰⁷ The graph  does not have the structure 宀 + 匕 as suggested in the clericalized form. It is used in bronze inscriptions for *tā* 他 (variant of 它) ‘other’ and *chí* 池 ‘pond’ among other words. The single early form split into two different clerical forms 它 and 也 (Rong Geng 1985: 876).


W.S. periods (He Linyi 2003: 240). It is probable that the form 陞 which underlies both the Qin and Chu forms existed as a variant of 陞 in the W. Zhou period.¹⁰⁸

A few textual variants between SHZY and the received version reflect alteration of the SS {阜 (阝), 土}.

陞  (str.33) :: 陞 *shēng* ‘rise’


The Chu form here has 止 ‘step’ co-occurring with 阜 instead of 土. The semantic function of 止 is justifiable for this word, but it is also graphically similar to 土.

陸  (str.50) :: 陸 *lù* ‘high flat mound’

阪  (str.50) :: 阪 *bǎn* ‘slope’

In the case of *bǎn* ‘slope’, the received character has only 阝 (阪) while the corresponding MWD “Zhouyi” variant has only 土 (坂).

SHZY has the character 𡩶 corresponding to *bù* 蓐 ‘thatch’ of R.

𡩶  (str.51) :: *bù* ***bbo?** 蓐 ‘thatch’

SHZY: 九 四 豐 𡩶 𡩶


Received: 九 四 豐 其 蓐

R: Nine on the fourth. FENG (‘thicken, enrich’) the thatch (Hex.55 *Feng*).

SH: 上 六 豐 𡩶 蓐 𡩶 𡩶

Received: 上 六 豐 其 屋 蓐 其 家

R: Six on the top. FENG the house. Thatch (the roof of) the home (id).

108 Other than Xu Shen’s citation of the character from the *Shi Zhou pian*, the *dì* 地 ‘ground’ which we would consider a common Old Chinese word is not attested in W. Zhou bronze inscriptions discovered thus far. The common word for ‘ground, land, territory’ is *tǔ* 土 in the early Zhou period, appearing in the phrases such as 𡩶土 “their land”, 我土 “our land”, 土田 “land and field” and 疆土 “frontiers and territory”. The form 陀  (缺簠) {阜 + 它} appears just once in a late W. Zhou inscription, but there it stands for an adverb in a reduplicative binom: 陀陀降余多福 “Benevolently (?) send us down plentiful blessings!” (late W. Zhou, JC 5045).

The *Shuowen* has the form 埤 defined as ‘augment, increase’ (埤, 益也; 13b/689). Given the SS { 阝, 土 } we may suppose that it is a variant of the received standard form 附 for *fū* ***bo-s** ‘append, increase’. Xu Shen on the other hand defines the Seal form 附 as the first character for the disyllabic word *fū lóu* 附婁 ‘small mound’ (附, 附婁, 小土山也; 14b/734). The selection of the significs 阝 ~ 土 may have been initially made for this context, as Xu Shen suggests. It then came to be used regularly for the word *fū* ‘augment’. It is probable that *bù* ***bbo?** 薳 and *fū* ***bo-s** 附 are etymologically related, the latter being a verb derived from the noun ‘thatch’ by the denominal *-s suffix.¹⁰⁹ The meaning ‘increase, augment’ would be an extended and generalized sense of ‘thatching’. It seems that 𠂔 in SHZY stands for both the etymologically related noun and verb just like the character 薳 in the received *Zhouyi*. In the first line the 埤 stands for the noun ‘thatch’ and in the second for the verb ‘to thatch’. The etymological relation between *bù* ‘thatch’ and *fū* ‘increase’ throws light on the double entendre in the *Zhouyi* line: 𠂔 (薳) 其家 means ‘to annex their estate [to one’s own estate]’ which makes one’s estate “affluent”, i.e., *fēng* 豐, the theme of this hexagram, at the same time it means ‘to thatch the home’ which makes the roof “thick”, i.e., *fēng* 豐.

(2) 辵 ‘road’ and 止 ‘step’

The significs 辵 ‘road’ and 止 ‘step’ often co-occur for words that have to do with motion, sequence or elapse of time.¹¹⁰ Like the case of the SS { 阜, 土 } above, 止 is

¹⁰⁹ As Baxter pointed out (1992: 500), the OC final *-o (Hou group) seems to have shifted to *-ə (Zhi group) after labial initials in some dialects. Words written with 音 or 部 fluctuate between *-ə and *-o in *Shijing* rhymes. Since labial words are relatively few in the Hou group it is reasonable to assume that the original *-o changed to *-ə (dissimilation) rather than the other way around. Wang Li (2000: 1091) assigns the word *bù* 薳 to the Zhi group, but it has to be coordinated with the 付 series which is a definite member of the *-o group based on its textual and graphic connection with the latter. The word *fū lóu* 附婁 mentioned above is variably written also as 部婁 and 培婁 in the received literature (Wang Li 2000: 1582).

¹¹⁰ SHZY has the form [选] 𠂔 for *xiān* 先 ‘former, precede’, used in the sense of ‘to precede (in time)’:




SHZY: 𠂔 元卿 利涉大川 选 甲 晶 日 逡 甲 晶 日

Received: 𠂔 元亨 利涉大川 先 甲 三日 後 甲 三日

The GU (‘legendary poisonous bug’). Primary *xiang*-sacrifice. It is beneficial to ford a big river preceding the *jia* (first day of the ten-day week) by three days and following the *jia* by three days (Hex.18 *Gu*).

secondary to 彳. The alternation 彳止 ~ 彳 is more common than 彳止 ~ 止. The early compound signific 彳止 evolves to a single graph 止 in clericalization.

wàn 萬 ‘ten thousand’ as in 萬年 ‘ten thousand years’

[萬]  (庚嬴卣) [萬]  (史頌匜) [邁]  (景伯簋) JWB: 955-58



hòu 後 ‘come later, posterity’

[後]  (師壺鼎) [後]  (x 鼎) JWB: 112-13



zhēng 征 ‘go on a military campaign’

[正= 正]  (師遽簋) [征= 征]  (班簋) JWB: 88-89, 93-94


yù 御 ‘inspection tour’

[御]  (牧師父簋) [御]  (頌鼎) JWB: 114-15


fù 復 ‘return’


[復]  (復公子簋) [復]  (散盤) JWB: 111

nì 逆 ‘go against’

[逆]  (仲再簋) [逆]  (同簋) JWB: 96





SHZY has two characters that vary with their received counterparts by the alternation 彳止 ~ 彳.

復  (str.20) :: 復 fù ‘return’


後  (str.9) :: 後 hòu ‘posterity’

(3) 木 ‘tree’ and 艸 ‘grass’

The variants in SHZY for *lái* 來 ‘come’ where four different significs 彳, 止, 木, 艸 combine with the shared phonophoric 來 are accounted for by two distinct sets of SS, {彳, 止} and {木 ‘tree’, 艸 ‘grass’}.

[迷]  (str.9) [𣎵]  (str.35) [𣎵]  (str.35) [𣎵]  (str.51)

It is likely that the 木 ~ 艸 variation is unrelated to the word *lái* ‘come’ itself, but belongs instead to the character 來 𣎵 (殷齋) which was originally created for a plant name¹¹¹ and which was selected as a phonophoric in this new compound character for *lái*. The SS {木, 艸} recurs in another character in SHZY.

𣎵  (str.41) :: 杞 for *qǐ* ‘plant name’

So the structure of 𣎵 for example, would probably be {S 止 + Ph 萊 (< S 艸 + Ph 來)} rather than {S 止 + S 艸 + Ph 來}. The word *lái* is most commonly written with the single component character 來, but occasionally as 速 𣎵 (速 𣎵) in W. Zhou bronze inscriptions.

(4) 支 (攴) ‘treat, strike’, 戈 ‘halberd’, 殳 ‘spear’ and 又 ‘(right-)hand’

The signific 支 which consists of a signific 又 ‘(right-)hand’ and a phonophoric 卜 (Cf. *bǔ* *ppok 卜 ‘divination’) and stands for the word *pū* 支 (variably written 攴, 扑) *pphok ‘strike’ frequently alternates with the significs 戈 ‘halberd’, 殳 ‘spear’ and 又 ‘(right-) hand’ (Gao Ming 1987: 161, He Linyi 2003: 231-32). The first two are used for words that have to do with ‘violence’ or ‘aggression’. The last has a very wide range of application, including action verbs that involve the hand or any verb whose meaning can be generally described as ‘handling’ or ‘treatment’. Alternating with all these significs, the function of the graph 支 is versatile and its semantic value is vague. Xu Shen’s definition of the meaning of *pū* 支 is quite amusing: “支 means lesser attack” (支, 小擊也; 3b/122). We would think that 戈 and 殳 should make a pair of SS since they are semantically close, but we do not

¹¹¹ There are two common plant names written with 來 in the received orthography: *mài* *mmrək 麥 ‘barley’ and *lái* *rrə 萊 ‘type of grass’. It is generally agreed that the OBI form 𣎵 developed as a depiction of ‘barley’. The characters for *lái* ‘come’ and *mài* ‘barley’ were already distinguished as 𣎵 and 𣎵 respectively in the OBI (*Jiagu wen bian*, 251-52).

find them alternating for the same word. Recurring pairs of SS are {戈, 支}, {攴, 攴} and {又, 攴}.

攴 ~ 戈

qǐ 啓 ‘initiate’

[啓] 𠄎 (召卣)

[啓] 𠄎 (虢弔鐘)

JWB: 209-10

jiù 救 ‘rescue’

[救] 𠄎 (周宅匱)

[救] 𠄎 (中山王鼎)

JWB: 216

kòu 寇 ‘attack’

[寇] 𠄎 (揚鼎)

[寇] 𠄎 (大梁鼎)

JWB: 219

攴 ~ 攴

bài 敗 ‘defeat’

[敗] 𠄎 (五年師旅簋)

[敗] 𠄎 (鄂君啟舟節)

JWB: 219

zhèng 政 ‘govern’

[政] 𠄎 (兮甲盤)

[政] 𠄎 (鄂君啟舟節)

JWB: 213


qū 毆 ‘drive, herd’

[毆] 𠄎 (師袁簋)

JWB: 206

又~支

jì 祭 ‘offering’

[祭]  (史喜鼎)

[祭]  (樂書缶)

JWB: 11

jiān 堅 ‘firm’


[堅]  (Qin Seal) [堅]  (a Qin Seal inscription, Xu Xiongzhi 2001:


58)

Examples from SHZY are as follows:

攴~攴

攴  (str.1) :: 擊 jī ‘strike’

繫  (str.40) :: 繫 xì ‘bind’

殺  (str.57) :: 殺 shā ‘kill’

攴~戈

寇  (str.1) :: 寇 kòu ‘beat’

支~又





(str.57) :: 祭 jì ‘offering’

(5) 言 ‘language’ and 心 ‘mind’


Gao Ming (1987: 153) lists as many as ten cases of the alternation between 言 ‘language’ and 心 ‘mind’. Words written with the 言~心 in general have the semantic features ‘cognitive’ and ‘volitional’. These words may seem to involve speech acts, but the act is fundamentally a mental execution. Some of Gao’s examples are as follows.


chóu 讎 ‘respond’

[讎]  (鬲比盨)


[讎]  (讎尊) JWB: 139

shùn 訓 ‘comply’

[訓]  (QS; 3a/91)

[心]  (中山王壺)

móu 謀 ‘plot’



[謀]  (Qin Seal)¹¹²

[母]  (中山王鼎)


dé 德 ‘mental capacity, innate power’

[德]  (史頌鼎)

[德]  (毛公鼎)


¹¹² The form  is recorded in the *Shuowen* as a *guwen* counterpart of the Qin Seal 謀. The cited bronze form is from Zhongshan. It is also the dominant form in Chu manuscripts:  (LZ-A, 25) (See CWZ: 142). The phonophorics 某 and 母 are of the same phonetic functional value, *Mə: mǒu *mmə? 某 ‘a certain (person) and mǔ *mmə? 母 ‘mother’. The *Shuowen* has 某 defined as 酸果 “(a type of) sour fruit (6a/248)”. This character is clearly a variant form for méi *mmə 梅 ‘plum’ (Wang Li 2000: 469) (某 for the pronoun would be a rebus usage of this character.) These two cases suggest EP {某, 母}.


jǐng 警 ‘warn’

[警]  (Qin Seal)

[懲]  (叔夷鐘)

qiān 讐 ‘violate, breach’

[讐]¹¹³  (Houma Mengshu: 349)

[愆]¹¹⁴  (Houma Mengshu: 349)

SHZY has variants for yù 譽 ‘praise’ with the 言 ~ 心 alternation.



譽  (str.35) ~ 譽  (str.51) :: 譽 yù ‘praise’

The character 請, sometimes used for the word *qíng* 情 ‘feelings’ in transmitted early texts, would appear to be a loan of *qǐng* 請 ‘request’, but this is accounted for as a graphic variation 請 ~ 情 via the SS { 言, 心 }. The form 情 for *qíng* became the standard only during Han times. According to Richter (2005: 194), in both the Mawangdui “Laozi A” (in the *guli* 古隸, which is a kind of intermediary between the W.S. and clerical script in style) and “Laozi B” (in *Hanli* 漢隸) manuscripts, the form 請 is used for *qíng* 情 (nine occurrences altogether). Note that *qíng*, usually translated as ‘emotion’ also has the meaning ‘circumstances’ especially in juridical contexts.¹¹⁵

聽之經明其請參伍明謹施賞刑 Xunzi 荀子 “Cheng xiang 成相”

Hear the case with regard to the course of the matter, clarify the circumstances. When investigation is clear and meticulous, then execute awards and punishments.

In the Shuihudi late W.S. Qin manuscripts we find the sentence:

¹¹³ The *Shuowen* has 讐  as a *Zhouwen* variant of 愆  for *qiān* *kʰran ‘transgress’ (10b/511). The 侃 and 衍 are EP for *Kan. The word *yǎn* (< *yenX*) *[g]ranʔ 衍 ‘overflow, excessive’ seems to be etymologically related to *qiān* *kʰran 讐~ 愆 ‘transgress, violate’.

¹¹⁴ 人 (亻) ‘person’ and 𠂔 ‘road’ are graphically similar and often become confused (He Linyi 2003: 234).

¹¹⁵ According to Ulrich Lau (personal communication, 2014), the word *qíng* in Qin and Han legal manuscripts is usually interpreted as “the truth” or “motives” in criminal cases

甲弗告 

“法 167” quoted in Zhang Shouzhong (1994: 30)

If a certain person *jia* should fail to report the [real] situation...



小大之獄雖不能察必以情 Zuozhuan, “Zhuanggong shinian 莊公十年”

Although we cannot make investigations into all the small litigations, we must base ourselves on the *qing*.

The last sentence provides a clue to the semantic link between ‘situation’ and ‘emotion’ surrounding the word *qíng*. The *qíng* here means ‘intuitive judgment of the actual circumstances’. To the contrary of the usual connotation of ‘emotion’ or ‘emotional’, *qíng* involves a cognitive and volitional act.¹¹⁶ The signific 言 seems to be a natural choice for this early Chinese word. A similar case is the 說 ~ 悅 alternation for the word *yuè* ‘pleased, content’. The occurrence of the character 說 for this word is so prevalent in received pre-Han texts that a commentator of the *Guoyu* has said that it was the proper character for *yuè* in the old times (See Gao Heng 1989: 638-641). The signific 言 would seem just fit for such a word as *shuō* 說 ‘explicate, explain’. But what would be the rationale for selecting the 言 as a primary signific for *yuè* ‘pleased’ also? In the *Zhanguoce* the expressions *bù yuè* 不說 “to be not pleased” and *nǎi yuè* 乃說 “to be then pleased” are usually used to describe the reaction of a feudal king to his visitor, a “traveling persuader”. The king is said to be “*bù yuè*” when he finds his visitor not good enough to employ; he is “*nǎi yuè*” when he changed his first impression of the negative judgment to a positive one after hearing the visitor’s persuasion. So the *yuè* is not really a state of mind like ‘joyous’ or ‘happy’ but it is more of a cognitive kind, such as ‘consider (something) satisfactory’.

(6) 宀 ‘roof’ and 廡 ‘hall’

The significs 宀 and 廡, which are both typically used for words that have to do with ‘building’ or ‘indoor’ occasionally alternate for the same word (Gao Ming 1987: 173).


guǎng 廣 ‘spacious’[廣]  (班簋)[廣]  (士父鐘)

JWB: 658

¹¹⁶ Graham (1990: 59-66) argues that *qing* in the classical literature does not mean “passion” but it means “the facts” as a noun and “genuine” as an adjective.

dàng 宕 ‘cave-dwelling’ (?)¹¹⁷


[宕]  (宕簋)

[宕]  (召伯簋二)

JWB: 532

ān 安 ‘stable’

[安]  (安父簋)

[安] ₁₁₈ (格伯簋)

JWB: 515

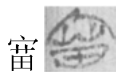
yàn 宴 ‘feast’

[宴]  (宴簋)






[宴]  (鄂侯鼎)


JWB: 515

An example from SHZY is:



(str.42) :: 廟 for miào ‘ancestral temple’

The graphic variation between 宙 and 廟 involves an alternation of the SS {宀, 广} and also a phonophoric replacement of 朝 (cf. *cháo* ***ddraw** 朝 ‘current’, ‘court’) by 苗 (Cf. *miào* ***maw** 苗 ‘sprout’). The word *miào* 廟 occurs frequently in W. Zhou bronze inscriptions. It is typically written with the signific 广 as  (號季子白盤) and occasionally with 宀 as  (廟侯鼎). The graphic element depicting flowing water, being a rare, if not isolated, graphic element is displaced by the graphically similar and more frequently used 舟 ‘boat’ in the Qin Seal form  on the one hand and by 月 ‘moon’ in clericalization on the other. It is distinguished from *shuǐ* 水 ‘water’ as seen in 水  (沈子它簋) and in *chí* 池  (靜簋) ‘pond’.

The form with the phonophoric 苗 seems to have arisen during the Eastern Zhou period; it became the norm in various regional scripts other than Qin. It is recorded in the *Shouwen* as a *guwen*, and it also appears in the Zhongshan corpus as  (中山王壺). If 朝 (*cháo* ***ddraw** ‘current’, ‘court’) is the phonophoric in 廟 *miào* ***m-row-s** ‘ancestral temple’, this means that the initial **m-* is a prefix.¹¹⁹

¹¹⁷ The *Shouwen* says 宕, 過也, 一曰洞屋 “宕 means *guò* 過 ‘pass by, exceed’; some say it is [or, originally stood for] cave dwelling (7b/342).” Only the first meaning is attested in the Western Zhou bronze texts. We can only guess from the alternation 宀 ~ 广 for this character that the character was originally created for some word having to do with dwelling or architecture.

¹¹⁸ This graph appears as 厂 (< 石 ‘stone’), but it is probably intended for 广.


¹¹⁹ The word *miào* 廟 is a *chongniu* Division-III syllable. Baxter’s 1992 “-rj- hypothesis”, which is now notated as -r- with unpharyngealized onset, works well for this case.


The replacement by *miáo* ***maw** 苗 ‘sprout’ suggests the following possible sound changes in ***m-raw-s**: the root initial ***r-** was lost; if not, the prefix ***m-** was re-analyzed as the root.

(7) 糸 ‘thread, fabric’ and 衣 (衤) ‘clothes’


Gao Ming (1987: 170) notes several examples of variant forms with the 糸 ~ 衣 alternation from the *Shuowen*. He explains that although Xu Shen in most cases registers the two variants in each pair separately under their respective classifiers, a common semantic feature can be discerned from Xu Shen’s separate definitions and that the matching characters are used interchangeably for the same word in early received texts. Some of Gao’s examples are:


qiǎng 緇 ‘cloth used to carry a baby on the back’

[緇]  (13a/645)

[襁]  (8a/390)


tí 緹 ‘reddish yellow silk’

[緹]  (13a/650)

[祗]  (13a/650)

lóu 褸 ‘collar’

[褸]  (13a/656)

[褸]  (8a/390)

[絳]  :: 袷 interpreted as *rú* ***nra** ‘rags’.¹²⁰

SHZY: 六四 需又衣絳 冬日戒

Received: 六四 繻有衣袷 終日戒

Six on the fourth. Xu (Ru?)¹²¹ has rags. One is guarded all day long (Hex.63 *Jiji*).

¹²⁰ *Jingdian Shiwen* (120): “袷, 女居切 (MC *nyo*), 絲袷也”.

¹²¹ The interpretation of this word is problematic. Gao Heng (1947 [1973]: 219) argues that the character 繻 in the phrase “繻有衣袷” is a textual corruption (Cf. *rú* 繻 ‘dyed silk’) and it should be correctly read as *xū* 濡 ‘soak’. His reason is that the latter appears two other times in the same hexagram chapter as in 濡其首 “Soak its head” and 濡其尾 “Soak its tail” and that ‘soak’ makes sense in connection with the word *jì* 濟 ‘cross (a water)’ in the hexagram theme *jì jì* 既濟 “already crossed”. But we also need to consider the factor of double entendre and pun. Furthermore the

The SHZY character 絳 has the 糸 ‘thread’ and 又 ‘hand’ corresponding to the 衣 ‘clothes’ and 口 ‘mouth’ of the received character 枷.



(8) Semantically void 又 ‘(right-)hand’ and 口 ‘mouth’

The graphs 又 and 口 often co-occur or alternate with each other without any obvious semantic function. They tend to be used as a substitute for a graphically more complex component when at least one other signific with a discernable semantic function is present in the character. It seems that they are little more than simply “fillers” used to give a symmetrical appearance to a character.


zhù 鑄 ‘cast’


[鑄]  (師同鼎) [鑄]  (號弔盥) Compare 鑄  (取虛匣)

jiā 嘉 ‘fine’

[嘉]  (str.17) [嘉]  (str.31)

cáng 藏 ‘store, hide’

[藏]  (str.40)

The graph 口 in 藏 for cáng 藏 takes the place of 臣  (str.35) in the latter. This simplified form occurs regularly in Chu manuscripts.

Given the {糸, 衣 (衤)} and {又, 口} alternations, the SHZY 絳 and R 枷 are likely variants from the early script. The character 絮 for xù (< sjoH) *s-nra-s ‘coarse cotton (thread)’ registered in the *Shuowen* (敝絺 (綿)也; 13a/659 “low quality cotton”;), may be another variant form of 絳 ~ 枷. Lu Deming (*Jingdian Shiwen*, juan 2/120) notes that Jing Fang’s 京方 version has the character 絮 and Zi Xia’s 子夏 has 茹. The latter contains 艸 ‘grass’, which makes sense for ‘cotton thread’. MWD version also has 茹.

“繻” is in the subject position so it is most likely intended as a noun. The signific 糸 maybe a later addition influenced by the context where the word/character occurs, but the 水 in 濡 may also reflect a later interpretation. The SHZY version has the form 需 without a signific for both the 繻 and 濡 of R.



(9) 鼠 ‘rat’, 豸 ‘ferocious animal’, and 犬 ‘dog’







(str.37) :: 狐 *hú* ‘fox’

The SHZY character has 鼠 ‘rat’ instead of the received character’s 犬 ‘dog’. Alteration of characters for animals used as significs is typical of the OBI script. The word *mù* 牧 ‘herd’ is written variably with 牛 ‘cow’, 羊 ‘sheep’ and 鹿 ‘deer’ and *zhú* 逐 ‘follow’ with either 豕 ‘pig’ and 鹿 ‘deer’. Characters for the words *mǔ* 牡 ‘male domestic animal’ and *pín* 牝 ‘female domestic animal’ appear with all of those significs (Gao Ming 1987: 162). The characters *láo* 牢 ‘pen’ and *gāng* 犗 ‘ox’ appear in Shang and W. Zhou inscriptions variably written with 牛 or 羊.

犗 [𠩺]  (仲簋) [𠩺]  (犗划尊) JWB: 55

牢 [牢]  (貉子卣) [宰]  (爵文) JWB: 55

In the W.S. script the significs 牛, 羊, 豕, 鹿, 馬 ‘horse’ and 犬 ‘dog’ do not show contact with one another. The 鼠 ‘rat’ in the Chu script is peculiar. It appears regularly in characters written with the component 豸 in the Qin script. The words such as *bào* 豹  (Qin Seal)  (Shuihudi) ‘a kind of wild cat’, *hé* 貉  ‘badger’ and *lí* 狸  ‘fox’ in all cases appear in the Baoshan and Zenghou Yi bamboo Chu manuscripts written with 鼠 (See CWZ: 566, 578-82). Which animal the graph 豸 is originally intended for is unknown. Xu Shen seems to suggest that the meaning of this signific is ‘ferocious animal’: 獸長脊行豸豸然有所司殺形 (9b/457) “[The graph depicts] the long back of a wild animal, which moves like *zhì-zhì* (豸豸) scrutinizing something that it is about to kill”. The signific 犬 (𠩺) ‘dog’ seems to be an occasional alternative both to the 鼠 of Chu script and to the 豸 of Qin: the character for *hú* 狐 ‘fox’ is found in two forms 鼠狐 and 狐 in Chu manuscripts. The *Shuowen* enters the form 犴 with 犬 ‘dog’ as an occasional variant of the Seal form 豸 (9b/458). The variation 鼠狐 ~ 狐 in the Chu and received *Zhouyi* reflects the SS {鼠, 犬, 豸} in the W.S. script.

(10) 貝 ‘cowrie shell’ and 金 ‘metal’

The characters in SHZY and received versions for *cì* ‘give, grant’ have the significs 貝 and 金 respectively.



賜 (str.7) :: 錫 *cì* ‘give, grant’

SHZY: 上九 或賜繡帶




Received: 上九 或錫之鞶帶



Nine on the top. In some cases, one grants [them (R)] waist bands and belts (Hex.4 Song).



SHZY: 九二 ... 王晶 賜命

Received: 九二 ... 王三 錫命

Nine on the second. The king granted the charge for the third time (Hex.7 Shi).



In this case it looks as if the received version has a loan character 錫, regularly associated with *xī* ***slek** ‘tin’. But epigraphic sources suggest that the selection of the phonophoric 易 for ‘tin’ is inspired by the use of the latter for *cì* ***slek-s** ‘grant’, a common word in W. Zhou inscriptions. This word is most commonly written in the single component form 易  (頌鼎), e.g., in 大矩易豐金貝用作父辛寶尊彝 “Daju granted Feng metals and cowrie shells to use them to make this treasure ritual vessel for the (deceased) father Xin” (mid W. Zhou, JC 5403), in 侯易鬻貝金... “Lord granted x cowrie shells and metals” (mid W. Zhou; JC 2749); and in 侯易中貝三朋... “Lord granted Zhong three double-stands of cowrie shells” (early W. Zhou, JC 2458). It is occasionally written with an added signific 目 ‘eye’ as  (虢季子白盤). We know the added graph is indeed ‘eye’ through an early W. Zhou form written as  (召尊): 王賜乘馬是用左王 “The king granted a team of horses, and this is to be used to assist the king” (late W. Zhou, JC 10173).

The first attestation of the word *xī* 錫 ‘tin’ is found in an early S.A. bronze inscription, written as  ~  (曾伯 x 簠): 繁陽金道錫行 “Fanyang is the road for (sorts of) metals and sideways for tin” (MWX 2.691). The compositional structure of this character is most likely {S 金 ‘metal’ + Ph 賜}, with the phonophoric taken from the form for *cì* ‘grant’. We can imagine that the form 錫 for *xī* ‘tin’, though not attested, would have also existed as a variant of 錫 in the early script.


The form 賜 with 貝 for *cì* begins to appear in the late S.A. period. It seems to have become a common form in the W.S. script, for it is also attested in the Zhongshan bronze corpus: 氏以賜  之毕命 “(I, the solitary one) grant him his (appropriate) charge because of this” (late W.S., JC 2840). This form is evidently derived from the W. Zhou form 賜. The ‘eye’ is replaced by the graphically similar and also semantically justifiable signific 貝 ‘cowrie shell’. The form 錫 for *cì* seems to have been created, probably during the W.S. period, by the selection of the signific 金 as a SS to the latter for the semantic category ‘monetary value’. Zheng Xuan in his commentary to the *Yili* noted that in *guwen* texts the character 賜 is written as 錫 (quoted in Gao Heng 1989: 69). We do not find an attestation of the latter form in W.S. bronze inscriptions, because a king’s granting of gifts and money was no longer a frequent topic in inscription texts of Eastern Zhou times. The word *cì* in inscriptions from this period occurs mainly in the idiomatic phrase 用易眉壽萬年 “Use to make bestowals [with this vessel] for its full life of ten thousand years”. The *cì* in this particular context is occasionally written 賜  (都公簋) with 肉 (月) ‘meat’, which also goes back to the W. Zhou period. The word *cì* in this usage, unlike the same word written 賜 ~ 賜, does not have a direct object. The signific 肉 (月) ‘meat’ is associated with the implied object of ‘giving’ in this specific context, i.e., food, which is to be contained in the vessel on which the text is inscribed.


(11) 心 ‘heart’ and 口 ‘mouth’

SHZY has three characters that show alternation between 口 ‘mouth’ and 心 ‘heart’. These significs indicate the semantic category ‘emotion’. This signific 心 ‘heart’ is of a different kind from the 心 ‘mind’ above which alternates with 言 ‘language’ for ‘cognitive’ and ‘volitional’ meanings. Also, this 口 ‘mouth’ is semantically substantial, distinct from that same graph alternating with 又 without a semantic value.




母  (str.19) ~ 母  (str.47) :: 悔 *huǐ* ‘regret’

The word *huǐ* ‘regret’, repeated several times in the divinatory idioms *yǒu huǐ* 有悔 “there are regrets”, *wú huǐ* 無悔 “no regrets” and *huǐ wáng* 悔亡 “regrets are gone” is just once written with the signific 口 ‘mouth’ instead of 心 ‘heart’.

𠂔  (str.32) :: 惡 *è* ‘loathsome’


The character for the word *è* 惡 ‘loathsome’, normally written in the Chu script with 心 as  (Yu-2, 25) like the received character appears in SHZY with 口 in its single occurrence.


意  (str.4) ~ 𡗗  (str.38) :: 惕 *tì* ‘alarmed’

The two unfamiliar characters 意 and 𡗗 which occur in the positions corresponding to *tì* 惕 ‘alarmed’ of R and vary with each other by the repeated SS {心, 口}, can thus be considered variant forms for the same word as the one in the received version. The phonophoric variation is explained by the EP {帝, 易} (See Section 5.2.). The received character for *āi* ***qqəj** 哀 ‘sad’ is composed of S 口 and Ph 衣 (Cf. *yī* ***qəj** 衣 ‘clothes’). The Guodian Chu manuscripts in addition to the form 哀  (Yu-3, 59) have two common variant forms, 忞  (LZ-C, 10) with 心 instead of 口, and 𡗗  (Yu-2, 31) with both 口 and 心 (CWZ: 74).

(12) 𠂔 ‘plough’ and 刀 (𠂔) ‘knife’

The following SHZY characters have the component 𠂔 ‘plough’ corresponding to the 刀 ‘knife’ in their received counterparts.

利  (str.11) :: 利 *lì* ‘sharp, benefit’


鼎  (str.34) :: 則 *zé* ‘(if)...then’


Compare for the shape of 刀:



初  (str.2) *chū* ‘beginning’ W. Zhou  (旂鼎)

The distribution of 刀 is so limited, pretty much always occurring in combination with 禾 as 利, such as *lí* 梨 (variant of 梨) ‘pear (tree)’ and *lí* 黎 ‘black, crowd’ that Xu Shen could not even analyze it as a distinct component with a function. The Qin Seal form 利 is analyzed as a semantic compound; while recording a *guwen* form which is precisely like the manuscript form, Xu Shen does not seem to have recognized the structural variation 刀 ~ 刀.

利，刀和然後利，从刀和省...  古文利 (4b/178)

利 (*lì* ‘sharp’), a knife (刀) is sharp after having been harmonized (?). It is composed of 刀 and a simplified form of 和.  is the *guwen* form of 利.

Jiang Liangfu (1999: 60) identifies this component 刀 with the graph on the right side in the OBI character  interpreted as *jí* 耜 ‘king’s own tilled land’.¹²² This character is generally considered a depiction of a man holding a plough. As Jiang suggests, the character 犁, a variant of 犁, for *lí* **rrij* ‘plough’ verifies the association of the graph 刀 with the word for ‘plough’ and its phonetic value **rrij*. The graph 利 was initially formed as a compound with the structure {S 禾 + Ph 刀 **Rij*}. This original compound character soon came to be used as a whole as a phonophoric, which made the function of 刀 no longer significant. Being a part of 利, the 刀 was then inclined to be replaced by the 刀 in graphic variation. The latter is graphically similar to and simpler than the former and also semantically justifiable for a word meaning ‘sharp’. The semantic compatibility of ‘plough’ and ‘knife’ as ‘farming tools’ may have also played a role in this graphic alternation. We see a form that shows the transition from 利 to 利 in W. Zhou inscriptions.

 (師遽方彝)  (猷鐘)


In the second form the two slant strokes of the 刀 part are moved to the 禾 part (which is also altered to look like 木) and the original 刀 is left to look like 刀. (工

¹²² *Jiagu wen bian*, 203.


‘craftsmanship’ is an added signific.) Already in the first form, we can see a sign of the reanalysis of the original 𠂔 as 刀 plus two slanting strokes. In Chu manuscripts the form 𠂔 (Tang 27) is the dominant one; the 𠂔 (LZ-A 28) with 刃 ‘blade’, a form derived from 刀 by adding a dot, appears occasionally (CWZ: 264-65).

(13) 水 ‘water’ and 土 ‘earth’


The significs 水 ‘water’ and 土 ‘earth’ interchange for geological terms. The value of latter is distinguished from that of 土 ‘ground’ alternating with 阜 (阝) ‘mound’ for orographic and geographic terms.

𡿨¹²³ 

(str.2) :: 沙 *shā* ‘sand’

坭 

(str.2) :: 泥 *ní* ‘mud’

塗 

(str.33) :: 塗 *tú* ‘clay’

The received characters 沙 and 泥 follow the Qin Seal forms. The form 塗 containing both the 水 and 土 reflects the frequent contact between these significs in the early script.

(14) 缶 ‘jar’, 瓦 ‘tile’ and 土 ‘earthenware’

甁 

(str.44) :: 甁 *píng* ‘bottle’

The SHZY character 甁 has the signific 缶 ‘jar’ corresponding to 甁 for *píng* ‘bottle’ which has 瓦 ‘tile’ instead. The former occurs in a S.A. bronze inscription writ-

¹²³ Baoshan Chu manuscripts have 長𡿨~長𡿨~長𡿨 for the place name Changsha 長沙 (Zeng Xiantong 2005: 61). The Qin Seal form 沙 for ‘sand’ is analyzed in the Shuowen as a semantic compound: 沙, 从水少, 水少沙見 (11a/552). “the character is composed of ‘water’ and ‘few’. Sand appears when the ‘water’ is ‘scarce’”. Perhaps the component {尾 + 少} in the Chu form is an old phonophoric, reduced to 少 in the Qin script.

ten 𠂔 (孟城餅). (The graph 并 for *bìng* **ben-s* ‘combine’, which is the phonoric in this character, derives from 从, two of 人 ‘person’ by adding double horizontal strokes denoting ‘binding’). The *Shuowen* registers this structure, only with the positions of the two components reversed, as the regular Qin Seal form while adding 瓶 as an occasional variant (5b/225). The MWD version has the form 𠂔 with 土 ‘earthenware’ in this textual position. This character form is also found in the Xinyang Chu manuscripts (see CWZ: 778). The Guodian Chu manuscripts have a compound form 埤 (Qiong 13) with an added signific 土 ‘earthenware’ for *fǒu* 缶 ‘jar’. We can recognize the SS {缶, 瓦, 土} used interchangeably in the W. S. script for the semantic value ‘earthenware’. This 土 is similar in meaning to the above 土 ‘earth’ alternating with 水 ‘water’ for geological terms: if the latter is ‘natural earth’, the former is ‘processed earth’; even so, they belong to separate sets of SS, and thus are functionally distinct significs.

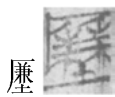
(15) 石 (> 厂) ‘stone’ and 土 ‘earth’

礪  (str.18) and 礪  (str.22) :: 厲 *lì* ‘dangerous, adversative’

The SHZY character has two variant forms, one with the signific 石 ‘stone’, one with the latter combined with 土 ‘earth’ corresponding to 厲 of R with the signific 厂. As He Linyi says (2003: 3), the graph 厂 is a simplified variant of 石.¹²⁴ There is a recognizable semantic connection between these significs, as kinds of ‘material’ as in e.g., 厲 *lì* ‘grindstone’. The same word in the *Zhouyi* means ‘dangerous, adversative’. But it is probable that this 土 is secondary to 石, co-occurring with the latter rather than standing alone for the given semantic value: the SS {土, 石} as a compound signific recurs in another SHZY character, 厯. This character is used for the hexagram title *Qian* for which the received version has 謙 instead. This unfamiliar Chu character may be identified as a variant of 礪. The *Shuowen*

¹²⁴ Xu Shen thought that the former was a distinct classifier: 厂, 山石之厓巖人可處 (9b/446) “厂 is cliff-cave as in mountain rock; people can dwell in it”. Middle Chinese dictionaries give a sound gloss to the 厂 along the line of *xanX* (> modern *hǎn*) with the definition copied from the *Shuowen*, but there is no textual attestation in the early literature of the graph as an independent character that can justify this pronunciation.

enters the Seal form 礧 as 厲石也 “礧 (*lián*) means whetstone” (9b/449). The rendering of the hexagram title as 謙 in the received version, suggesting the word *qiān* 謙 ‘modest’ seems to reflect a later moralistic interpretation. The *Zhouyi* line text simply does not provide enough context for us to infer the lexical meaning of “Qian”.



(str.12) :: 謙

SHZY: 初六 礧君子 甬涉大川 吉

Received: 初六 謙謙君子 用涉大川 吉

Six on the first. QIAN-QIAN, lordling. It is advisable to ford a big river. Auspicious (Hex.15 *Qian*).

SHZY: ...四 亡不利 蒺 礧

Received: 六四 无不利 撝 謙

Six on the fourth. There is nothing unbeneficial leading (?) QIAN (id.).

SHZY: 上六 鳴礧 可用行市 征 肆

Received: 上六 鳴謙 利用行師 征 邑國



Six on the top: Call out QIAN. It is advisable (SH)/ beneficial (R) to execute a military action. Go on a campaign against the city-[state (R)] (id.).

In the first line the QIAN occurs in a reduplicative binom used as a predicate. The MWD version has 嚙嚙, so SHZY version seems to have failed to duplicate the character. In the second and third lines it is used nominally as an object of the verbs, *huī* 撝 ‘lead’ (?) and *míng* 鳴 ‘call out’. The character 撝 is also problematic; Lu Deming (*juan* 2/85) suggests to interpret it as *huī* 麾 ‘lead’, while quoting Ma Rong’s interpretation as ‘leave’ (*lí* 離) and Zheng Xuan’s ‘proclaim’ (*xuān* 宣). SHZY has 蒺 in this textual position, which is related to the corresponding character in R by the EP {化, 為} with the value *Q^waj (Section 5.2).

(16) 糸 ‘thread’ and 心 ‘heart’

Words written with the signific 糸 ‘thread’ in the received orthography are in general (i) concrete nouns that denote types of thread, knot, rope and fabric and (ii) verbs that denote activities that involve these objects. Often related to the figurative sense of ‘thread’ or ‘line’ and ‘bind’ or ‘link’, words that have the meaning ‘continuity’ or its opposite ‘discontinuity’ also tend to be written with the same signific. Among some common words in received early texts registered in the *Shuowen* are *jì* 繼 ‘resume, continue’, *shào* 紹 ‘succeed, continue’, *xì* 繫 ‘bind,

connect’, *wéi* 維 ‘connect’, *yì* 繹 ‘continue’, *léi* 纍 ‘accumulate, connected’; *bì* 繹 ‘constrain, stop’, *chēn* 綣 ‘stop’, *jué* 絕 ‘discontinue, cease’, *jié* 結 ‘tie, end’. The word *héng* 恆 ‘ever, constant’ through its repeated occurrences appears in two forms in SHZY, one as 𠄎 and another as 經.

𠄎  (str.15) ~ 經  (str.28) :: 恆 *héng* ‘constant’

It seems that the former is a default form while the latter is used especially for the transitive verb usage of the word. In the two sentences below for example, *héng* 恆 is written in the simple form 𠄎.

SHZY: 六五貞疾𠄎不死

Received: 六五貞疾恆不死

Six on the fifth. It is a prognostication for an illness. But the person will not *ever* die [from it] (Hex.16 Yu).

SHZY: 初九 孚于蓍 利用𠄎亡咎

Received: 初九 需于郊 利用恆 无咎

Nine on the first. Waiting in the suburbs, it is beneficial to use *heng* (‘constancy’?). There will be no fault.

In the hexagram chapter *Heng* (Hex.32) where *héng* is repeated five times, the transitive verb use of the word is graphically marked by the added signific 糸.

SHZY: 𠄎卿利貞亡咎

Received: 恆亨无咎利貞利有攸往

The HENG. The Xiang sacrificial ceremony [is performed]. It is an augury of benefit. No trouble (SHZY)/ No trouble. It is an augury of benefit. It is beneficial to have a place to go (R) (Hex.32 *Heng*).

SHZY: 初六 𠄎(濬) 貞凶 ...

Received: 初六 浚恆貞凶 ...

Six on the first. Make thorough the HENG. It is ascertained disastrous...

SHZY: 九晶 不經 元 惠 ...

Received: 九三 不恆其德 ...

Nine on the third. Someone does not *perpetuate* his innate power...

SHZY: 六五 經 元 惠 ...



Received: 六五 恆其德 ...




Six on the fifth. Someone *perpetuates* his innate power...













SHZY: 上六 𢇛 貞凶




Received: 上六 振 恆 凶

Six on the top. Make thorough the HENG. Ascertained disastrous (SHZY)/ Subdue the HENG. Disastrous (R).

As cited in Chapter 1, the form  is registered in the *Shuowen* as a *guwen* contrasting with the Qin Seal form . Although looking very different the Chu and Qin forms are both related to the W. Zhou form:



Chu [𢇛]  W. Zhou [恆]  (恒簋) Qin [恆]  (Qin Seal)

The Chu form has 外 {夕 + 卜} in place of the W. Zhou 月: The graphs 月  (呂鼎) for *yuè* ‘moon’ and 夕  (孟鼎) for *xī* ‘evening’ derive from the same graph and are used interchangeably in compound forms. The form 外 for *wài* **ŋŋ*^wat-s for example, has the 夕 but the latter actually represents the pronunciation of *yuè* **ŋ*^wat 月 ‘moon’. The early form for 外 varies between  (外卒鐸) and  (靜簋). In the Qin Seal form the original 月 is displaced by a graphically similar form, 舟 (*zhōu* ‘boat’). The explanation for the component 卜 in the Chu form is somewhat complicated. The form  (Lu 6) normally for *héng* **ggəŋ* ‘constant’ is also used for the word *jí* **gək* 極 ‘ultimate’ in the Guodian Chu manuscripts (CWZ: 759). The W. Zhou form for the latter is  (亟)  (毛公鼎) and it is received in the Chu script as  (Tang 19). The semantic and phonetic relation between the two words they stand for caused the originally two different graphs,  (毛公鼎) and  (互鼎) to assimilate with each other. The 人 combined with 口 in the former, like  became undistinguishable with 夕~月, and the 卜, an abbreviated form of 支, came to be added to the latter. The resulting form is , good for both *héng* **ggəŋ* ‘constant’ and *jí* **gək* 極 ‘ultimate’.

A variant form with 心 comparable with the received character which follows the Qin Seal form also exists in the Chu script. In the Guodian manuscripts, the simple form 𢇛  (Lu 6) and the one with 心, 𢇛  (Lu1) are both common (CWZ: 759-60). The form 恆  (恒簋) occurs once in a W. Zhou inscription for a person's name. It may be that 心 ‘mind’ and 糸 ‘thread, line’ can be used alternatively when the latter is selected for the abstract meaning ‘(dis-)continuity’.

Similarly to the case of *héng*, the word *zhōng* 終 for ‘cease’ is written in two forms depending on context in SHZY. It is written in the simple form 冬 in the repeated divinatory idioms *zhōng jí* 終吉 “Auspicious in the end” and *zhōng xiōng*



終凶 “Disastrous in the end”, or in a compound expression like *zhōng rì* 終日 “all day long”, but it is written just once as 冬 with the added signific 心 when it occurs in a sentence with a subject/agent, *jūn zǐ* 君子 “lordling”. The function of the signific 心 here seems to be of the ‘cognitive’ and ‘volitional’ kind, indicating ‘mental execution’; this graphic modification perhaps indicates a subtle re-interpretation of the word *zhōng* ‘conclusion’ in this line.

冬  (str.3) ~ 冬  (str.12) :: *zhōng* 終 ‘cease’.

SHZY: 歷 卿 君子 又 冬

Received: 謙 亨 君子 有 終

QIAN. The Xiang ceremony [is performed]. The lordling will have a conclusion (Hex.15 *Qian*).

A variant form with 糸 is also attested in Chu manuscripts. In the Guodian manuscripts, the form [糸]  (Yu-1, 49) is an occasional variant form of [冬]  (Cheng 30) (CWZ: 725-26).

5.2 Equivalent phonophorics

Equivalent phonophorics for a given word in excavated or received texts from the W. S. period in almost all cases appear as regional variants. The degree of consistency in the choice of a phonophoric for any given word seems even higher than that of a signific. Both linguistic and non-linguistic factors contribute to this phenomenon, and the two kinds often interfere with each other. Through the forty-eight textual and graphic variations presented in this section, I will demonstrate that the phonophoric variation as seen between the Chu and Qin scripts, or any two regional scripts, generally does *not* reflect graphic innovations or dialect phonology of the respective regions. I will argue instead that those equivalent phonophorics, although appearing in two different Warring State regions, originated in common from an earlier period, to which the Old Chinese phonology belongs.

Two kinds of evidence support this argument. One is that we can simply confirm the early existence of those alternating phonophorics in excavated texts, such as bronze inscriptions of the W. Zhou period. The other kind of evidence comes from phonological and etymological facts. Alternating regional phonophorics are compatible in the Old Chinese. This ‘Old Chinese’ includes some dia-

chronic developments which are supposed to predate the W.S. period on independent grounds. On the side of etymology, alternation of certain phonophorics in a particular word family is repeated across regions, although regional scripts might differ in which phonophoric stands for which cognate word within the same word family. If the stability of signification in the early Chinese script lies in a given *semantic class* of words, that of phonophorics lies in a given *word-family*.

The subsections of 5.2 are organized by groups of equivalent phonophorics which have some of the above mentioned aspects in common. This grouping is by no means intended to be mutually exclusive, because there cannot be a two-way division for aspects of multiple dimensions. Section 5.2.1 “Phonophorics in the early Chinese orthography” is a kind of default group, whereby alternating phonophorics found in SHZY (Chu) and the received version (Qin) are compatible in the ‘mainstream’ Old Chinese, which can be, for the above mentioned phonological and etymological reasons, supposed to have existed as EPs from an early period, meaning, well before the W.S. period.

Examples gathered under 5.2.2 “Western Zhou and Chu phonophorics” are those cases in which the SHZY/Chu phonophorics are attested in W. Zhou inscriptions but the corresponding received Qin forms are not. Two logical possibilities are that (a) the Qin variants did exist, but we are simply lacking the archaeological findings or that (b) the Qin variants in fact are of late origin. That the Chu and Qin variants are still found compatible in OC cannot prove that (a) is the correct one, because parallel phonological developments can mask actually different chronological layers. This same phenomenon prohibits us from determining that the Qin variants are of late origin. But, these examples at least can serve as direct counter examples to the widespread impression that the Qin script is more conservative and closer to the W. Zhou script than Chu or any other regional script.

5.2.3 “Negative particles” and 5.2.4 “Sound symbolism and phonograms” represent two special classes of EPs, for which the usual phonetic criteria for interchangeability do not apply, because of their lexical properties.

Phonophorics for negative particles with the ***m**- initial can interchange with one another despite differences in both the main vowel and coda. This superficially lenient phonetic compatibility has a strict boundary, viz., a closed set of grammatical function words.

Sound-symbolic onomatopoeic or mimic words which are often alliterating and rhyming disyllabic words are characterized by their etymological obscurity. Those words are often historically and cross-regionally discontinuous and their meanings are often hard to define precisely. The characters which write such words represent sounds without meaning, so we may call them ‘phonograms’ in this sense. The OC pronunciations inferred from the phonophorics thereof are


similar, but often not exactly in the same syllable type. Thus alternating phonophorics in phonograms are not expected to be repeated like those writing lexical words.

5.2.5 “Old Chinese dialect words” presents cases in which alternating phonophorics reflect Old Chinese dialect pronunciations. The phonological alternations observed in these examples are: labial initials alternating with uvular initials, **-aj* with **-waj*, **-u* with **-aw*, lateral initials with dental stop initials, and consonant ending **-k* with **-ʔ*. Some of these dialect phenomena are recorded in the *Fangyan* by Yang Xiong 揚雄 (53 -18 BCE). The EPs representing these pronunciations then evidently did not arise in the same place and the same time. However, the orthographic distinctions in the Chu and Qin regional scripts do not relate themselves to the regional distribution of these dialect features. Rather, the differing dialect pronunciations simply fluctuate between the two. That is, neither Chu nor Qin reflects a certain dialect variant consistently. This suggests that those phonophorics reflect pre-Warring States Old Chinese dialects, which are likely contemporaneous with the ‘mainstream’ OC, and that both Chu and Qin manifest the same inherited orthographic system.




5.2.6 “Etymological relations” illustrate EPs which by virtue of their alternations in corresponding textual positions can improve our understanding of etymological relations in Old Chinese. A phonophoric often stands for two or more cognate words in a word family with or without added signific determinatives. And since different regional scripts may select different significs to distinguish shades of meaning, words that appear written with EP or identical phonophorics in corresponding textual positions often look as if they are distinct but etymologically related words. What we should take away from these cases is a realization that those words we have always known are etymologically related, and that we can better understand the meaning of the etymon through such relations, and thus better understand the text we are reading.

5.2.7 “Phonologically motivated lexical variation” addresses the fact that words in a text can be replaced by phonetically similar words as a result of phonologically driven reinterpretation. These cases, by definition, are not to be distinguished from equivalent phonophorics, an intrinsic feature of the early Chinese orthography, by phonological criteria. We can only suspect such cases in what seems to be unconventional graphic usages. Incidentally, I find only one example in SHZY which might be of this category. However, further discoveries can always overturn the judgment.


5.2.1 Phonophorics in the early Chinese orthography

(1)  (str.58) :: 濟 *jì* ‘ford’, ‘rescue-relieve’

The SHZY character 濟 corresponding to *jì* 濟 ‘ford’ of R, which is used in two hexagram themes, the *Ji ji* 既濟 ‘already crossed’ (Hex.63) and *Wei ji* 未濟 ‘not yet crossed’ (Hex.64), has the phonophoric 妻 corresponding to 齊. These are equivalent phonophorics for the phonetic value ***Tsij** as can be inferred from the characters for the words *qī* ***tts^hij** 妻 ‘wife’ and *qí* ***ddzij** 齊 ‘align’. The alternation of these EP is found in a character for a bronze vessel name, the *zī* ***tsij** 盪. This word, used for two types of vessels, the *lǐ* 鬲 and *fangding* 方鼎, is written in a number of variant forms composed of the SS {皿 ‘vessel’, 鼎 ‘tripod’, (sometimes also) 火 ‘fire’} and EP {齊, 妻}.

S 鼎 + Ph 齊:  (趙鼎)  (甲鼎)  (中鼎)

S 皿 + Ph 齊:  (仲 X 父鬲)

S 鼎, 火 + Ph 齊:  (成鼎)

S 鼎 + Ph 妻:  (緡方鼎)

S 皿 + Ph 妻:  (陽盪鼎)  (季盪鼎)  (白六鼎)  (弔鼎)

The variation 皿 ~ 鼎 is repeated in many ritual vessel names. The 火 ‘fire’ which is not as commonly used as the others probably indicates the semantic aspect ‘cooking vessel’ of this word. This vessel name *zī* is used either by itself or as a modifier to *lǐ* 鬲 or *yí* 彝. The latter is a generic word for all types of ritual vessels:

伯邦父作鬲。

伯邦父鬲


late W. Zhou, JC 560

Sir Bo Bang made the *zī*[-type] *lǐ*-vessel.

- 姬芳母作𩇑鬲. 姬芳母鬲 mid-to-late W. Zhou, JC 546
Mother Nai of Ji [clan] made the *zi*[-type] *li*-vessel.
- 呂雒姬作𩇑彝. 呂雒姬鬲 mid to late W. Zhou, JC 636
Lü Chou of Ji [clan] made the *zi*-ritual vessel.
- 趙用作𡈼文考父辛寶尊𩇑 厚趙方鼎 early W. Zhou, JC 2730
Zhuo used [the grant] to make sacrificial *zi*-vessel for his illustrious [deceased] Father Xin.
- 戲伯作𩇑𩇑 戲伯鬲 late W. Zhou, JC 666
Lord Xi made the steamer *zi*-vessel...
- 釐作寶𩇑鼎. 釐鼎 early-to-mid W. Zhou, JC 2067
Li made the treasure *zi*[-type] *ding*-vessel.
- 伯六 x 作祈寶尊盥. 伯六方鼎 early W. Zhou, JC 2337
Bo Liu x made sacrificial treasure ritual *zi*-vessel.
- 仲 x 父作盥鬲. 仲 ? 父鬲 mid W. Zhou, JC 544
Middle Lord Sir x made the *zi*[-type] *li*-vessel.
- 王賞戌 x 貝二朋用作父乙盥. 戌 x 方鼎 Shang, JC 2694
The king awarded Shu x two double-strings of cowrie shells to use them to make a sacrificial *zi*-vessel for Father Yi.
- 用作父辛寶盥. 盥鬲方鼎 early W. Zhou, JC 2725
Use it to make the treasure *zi*-vessel for Father Xin.
- 季盥作宮伯寶尊盥. 季盥作宮伯方鼎 early W. Zhou, JC 2333
Ji Xu made the treasure sacrificial *zi*-vessel for Earl Gong.

The graph 妻, as can be seen in the variant 𡈼 (白六鼎), in origin is a significant phonophoric compound character which in fact contains the Ph 齊 𡈼 (齊且辛爵). The other components are 又 ‘(right-) hand’ and 女 ‘female’. Variant forms in which the 𡈼 becomes simplified and changed into a non-analyzable part of the whole graph 妻 appear as early as the W. Zhou period. In the W.S. script, the original Ph 𡈼 is no longer discernable, and this leaves the two graphs 妻 and 齊 distinct but interchangeable phonophorics. Compare the forms of 妻 and 齊 in the W.S. script.

Qin		Chu manuscripts	
妻	 (Qin Seal)	 (Shuihudi)	 (LZ-A, 18)
齊	 (Qin Seal)	 (Shuihudi)	 (Qiong 6)

The early form  is now augmented with a double horizontal line at the bottom which balances and gives gravity to the overall shape of the character. This orthographic development appears across regions in the W.S. script.

(2)  :: 輔 *fǔ* ‘cheeks’

The SHZY character 頰 corresponds twice to the R 輔 in two different hexagrams, the *Xian* 咸 and *Gen* 艮. The character 輔 is convincingly interpreted as *fǔ* ‘cheeks’ in both places.¹²⁵

SHZY: 上六 欽 頰夾舌

Received: 上六 咸其輔頰舌

Six on the top. XIAN [its (R)] upper cheeks, lower cheeks and tongue (Hex.31 *Xian*).

SHZY: 六五 艮 頰...

Received: 六五 艮其輔...


Six on the fifth. GEN its cheeks...(Hex.52 *Gen*)

Compare this line with three other lines in the hexagram *Gen*:

SHZY: 艮 頰 不 獲 頰 身...

Received: 艮 其 背 不 獲 其 身...





GEN its back. One will not obtain its body.

¹²⁵ XIAN 咸 is interpreted in the *Tuan* commentary as *gǎn* 感 ‘(touch to) feel’. The corresponding SHZY character is 欽  whose phonophoric 欠 **Kəm* in its functional value is compatible with the 咸 **Kəm* (cf. *xián* **ggrəm* 咸 ‘all’). If the SHZY character would be read as 欽 *qín* **khəm* ‘admire’ it would make just as much sense as *gǎn* ‘feel’ in the context. MWD agrees with SHZY whereas the Fuyang “Zhouyi”, contemporaneous with MWD, agrees with the received in this textual position.

SHZY: ... 𠂔 止...
 Received: 初 六 艮 其 趾...
 [Six on the first. GEN (R)] its foot...

SHZY: 六 四 艮 其 躬...
 Received: 六 四 艮 其 身...
 Six on the fourth. GEN its body.

The phonophorics 父 and 甫 of the two corresponding characters 頌 and 輔 are EP for *Pa. The MWD version has 股 {S 肉 ‘flesh’ + Ph 父}. Lu Deming notes that Yu Fan’s 虞翻 version has the form 𩑦 {S 面 ‘face’ + Ph 甫} (*juan1/97*). We can see the alternating SS {面, 肉, 頁 ‘head’} and EP {父, 甫} in these variants for the word *fǔ* *b(r)a? ‘cheeks’.

Xu Shen said: 甫, 男子之美偶也从用父父亦聲 (3b/128) “*fu* is an honorific reference to a man. The character is composed of 用 and 父, the latter is also phonetic”. The word “甫” referred to here is *fū* 父 ‘sir’, which is the same etymological word as *fū* ‘father’. The componential structure as explained in the *Shuowen* is clearly visible in the W. Zhou form: 甫  (甫丁爵). Compare 父  (師旂鼎). But the apparent phonetic 父 in the 甫 came about in the early W. Zhou period as a result of phonetic justification of an earlier pictograph which only remotely resembles the shape of the graph 父. The early form of 甫 attested in Shang and some early Zhou inscriptions appears as  (JC 5395). Compare the OBI form .¹²⁶ Luo Zhenyu speculated that this was a pictograph initially created to represent, (or in the traditional term, the *chuwen* 初文 for) *fū* 圃 ‘garden, a small patch of land for planting vegetables’ (Chen Chusheng 2004: 400). The top part of the graph was adjusted to appear as 父 and the bottom that looked like 田 ‘field’ was altered to appear as 用. The component that Xu Shen saw as 用 ‘use’ is historically incorrect and lacks a semantic function. The 父 phonophoric in the graph 甫 becomes less intelligible in the W.S. script and eventually loses its identity in clericalization.


In the received version it appears as if the character 輔 which normally stands for *fǔ* *p(r)a? ‘assist’ is borrowed for the homophonous word. This ‘loan’ character appears to have eventually displaced the characters with such “reasonable” significs as those in the excavated versions. But re-examine the first line cited. The word *jiá* *kka? 夾 ~ 頰 ‘cheeks’ which immediately follows *fǔ* 頌 ~ 輔 has a

126 *Jiagu wen bian*, 153.

graphic/phonetic relation with *jiā* *kkrap 夾 ‘serve, assistant’, which in turn is synonymous with *fǔ* ‘assist’. What happened here is not really a phonetic loan but rather a word-play:

First reading	Second reading (pun)
<i>fǔ</i> 頰 ~ 輔 ‘high cheeks’	<i>fǔ</i> 輔 ‘assist’
<i>jiā</i> 夾 ~ 頰 ‘low cheeks’	<i>jiā</i> 夾 ‘serve’

Also, if the repeated phonetic relation between the word for the body part and for the word meaning ‘assist, support’ is not accidental, it means that the two words in each pair are etymologically related. The use of the character 輔 which stands for *fǔ* ‘assist’ for *fǔ* ‘cheeks’ is not a loan, but simply is a use of the character for one and the same etymon, which also happens to make a good pun in the *Zhouyi* line text.

(3) 余  (str.14) :: 豫 *yù* ‘relaxed’

The character 余 which normally stands for *yú* *la ‘I’ in the early script as well as in received texts occurs in the positions for the hexagram theme YU 豫 (Hex.16). This character stands for *yù* *la-s ‘relaxed’ in the received literature, but the meaning of YU in the *Zhouyi* is obscure:

SHZY: 余 利建侯行市

Received: 豫 利建侯行師

The YU. It is beneficial to establish a fief and carry out an expedition.

SHZY: 初六 鳴余凶

Received: 初六 鳴豫凶

Six on the first. Call out the YU. Disastrous.

SHZY: 六三 可余悔 遲又悔

Received: 六三 盱豫悔 遲有悔

Six on the third. The YU is enabled (SH)./ Brightening up the YU (R). Regretful. If late, there will be regrets.

SHZY: 九四 猷余 大又曼...

Received: 九四 由豫 大有得...

Six on the fourth. Follow the YU. One will have a great gain.

SHZY: 上六 冥(?) 余成又愈亡咎

Received: 上六 冥 豫 成有渝无咎

Six on the top. Darkening YU. Achievements will accumulate. There is no fault.

Speculative opinions abound in commentaries in such cases as this. Lu Deming in his *Jingdian Shiwen*, for example, cites Ma Rong 馬融 who says that YU 豫 means ‘relaxed and content’ (yú lè 豫樂). The theme is interpreted as ‘(mentally) slacken’ (dài 怠) in the *Za gua* commentary while it is said to mean ‘satiated’ (> ‘dislike’) (yàn 厭) in the *Erya* (“Shigu” chapter) (Gao Heng 1947 [1973]: 59).

Meanwhile, the corresponding graphs 余 of SHZY and 予 in 豫 of R are EP for the value *La. The latter occurs in the *Shangshu* “Jinteng” chapter, where it is interpreted as ‘comfortable’, a variant of shū *hla 舒 ‘comfortable’: 王有疾, 弗豫 “The king became sick and was not comfortable”. Lu Deming notes to this line 豫 本又作杼 (*juan* 3/179) “the character 豫 was originally also written 杼”. Xu Shen cites the same *Shangshu* line, but with the form 𢇛 instead: 有疾不𢇛 (10b/509) “(He) was sick and uncomfortable”. The character 舒 is composed of two phonophorics, 舍 and 予. The former, used in the received script for shè *hla-s 舍 ‘lodging’, goes back to the same origin with the graph 余 in the early script. In the W. Zhou script, 余 yú ‘I’ was written 𠂔 (何尊). This graph evolves to the form 𠂔 (秦公簋) with two symmetrical slanting strokes added some time in the late S.A. period (Chen Zhaorong 2003: 207). In the W.S. script, some auxiliary elements, such as the leftward slanting stroke under the vertical center stroke and the 口 were further added. Note 𠂔 (樂書缶) and 𠂔 (中山王鼎). This extra slanting stroke was discussed in Section 3.1 as a type of ‘decorative strokes’, and the element 口, an optional and semantically empty component in 5.1. Forms varying by the presence or absence of these presumably non-functional, auxiliary graphic elements in the W.S. script sometimes become specialized for distinct words later. The graphs 小 and 少 for example, as mentioned in 3.1, were interchangeable for both xiǎo ‘of small size’ and shǎo ‘of small quantity’ in the W.S. script.

This EP {余, 予} is repeated again for the word xù *zlla 敘 ‘arrange in order, rank’, which we can identify with the character 序 for ‘sequence’ with the same pronunciation. This word appears in the *Zhouyi*, the SHZY character for which is composed of 余 and 予.



(4) 叙 (str.49) :: 序 xù ‘sequence’

SHZY: ...言又叙 悔亡.




Received: ...言有序 悔亡.


The speech was well ordered. Regret is gone (Hex.52 Gen).


The EP alternating in the textual variants 余 (SHZY) and 豫 (R) makes it possible that these are variant forms intended for the same word. While the Fuyang “Zhouyi” has the form same as the one in R, the MWD version on the other hand has yú 餘 ‘excess’ which is still another character that shares the phonophoric 余 with the SHZY character. All these three variants are related by the repeated 余 ~ 予 alternation, but their differing significs do not seem to be synonymous. The original hexagram *name* Yu itself did not change in the course of transmission, but its meaning seems to have undergone many reinterpretations.

(5)  (str.50) :: 飲 yǐn ‘drink’

The SHZY character for yǐn *qəm? ‘drink’ is composed of S 酉 ‘you-wine container’ and Ph 今 while the 飲 of R is composed of S 食 ‘eat’ and Ph 欠. The corresponding components are SS and EP. Compare first 今 jīn *kəm ‘present time’. The value of 欠 fluctuates between *Kəm (the Qin 侵 rhyme group) and *Kam (the Tan 談 group). Note for example, qīn *kʰəm 欽 ‘admire’ and xīn *qʰəm 歛 ‘odor’, but qiàn *kʰam-s 欠 ‘owe’, qiàn *kkʰam? 歉 ‘lacking’, kǎn *kkʰam? 坎 (var. 埧, 飲) ‘pit-fall’ (related to xiàn *N-kkram-s 陷 ‘pit-fall’).¹²⁷

The *Shuowen* Seal form for yǐn is 飲, with the S 酉 and, and both of the two EP 今 and 欠. This structure is identical with the W. Zhou form  (善夫山鼎) and is also found in Zhongshan  (中山王壺). The co-occurrence of the EP {欠, 今} as seen in the early script form 飲 is repeated in another character. SHZY has the form 欽  (str.41) which is composed of {S 玉 + Ph 欠, 今} and stands for the word hán *ggəm 含 ‘hold (in the mouth)’. The component 玉 ‘jade’ is explained by the word hàn *ggəm-s ‘jade or pearl put in the mouth of the dead’, a morphological derivative of hán, for which a variant form 琯 exists in the received orthography.

(6)  (str.5) :: 鞶 pán ‘waist band’

The significs 糸 ‘fabric’ of SHZY 緇 and 革 ‘raw-hide’ of R 鞶 seem to be natural alternatives for such a word like ‘waist band’. The word that immediately follows is 帶 dài ‘belt’ written as 帶  with an added S 糸 ‘fabric’ in SHZY. Based on the

¹²⁷ The characters with the phonophoric 欠 are spread out in a few different entries in GSR, e.g., #651 (今 *Kəm series), #652 (金 *Kəm series) and #624 (欠 series with both *Kəm and *Kam). In the first two series, the 欠 is a second phonophoric.

graphic parallelism between the corresponding 繡帶 (SH) and 鞶帶 (R), it is reasonable to assume that the component 畔 in the Chu character 繡 and the 般 in the corresponding received character 鞶 are EP for *Pan. Note that *pán* *b^han 般 ‘turn round’ and *pán* *b^han 鞶 ‘waist band’ are probably one and the same etymon. In the phonetic series of 半 (GSR #181) we find *pàn* *p^han-s 泮 ‘semi-circular pool, shore’, which is clearly related to the *pán* 般 word family. This confirms that the two graphs 半 and 般 existed in the early script as equivalent phonophorics, which means that they were inclined to be used alternatively for the same words or cognate words. The characters in the 半 phonophoric series otherwise generally represent a word family of the root meaning ‘divide (in half)’. For example, *bàn* *p^han-s 半 ‘half, halve’, *pàn* *p^han-s 判 ‘determine’, *pàn* *b^han-s (or *N-p^han-s) 畔 ‘land division’.



(7) 蒿 (str.2) :: jiāo 郊 ‘suburb’

The variation between 蒿 and 郊 for jiāo ‘suburb’ involves both SS and EP. The difference in the signifiacs, 艸 ‘vegetation’ vs. 阌 (邑) ‘town’, is repeated in the variation between the MWD and the R versions, viz., MWD 茭 vs. R 郊 in the same textual position (Hex.5 Xu). As for the phonophoric variation 高 ~ 交 (Cf. gāo *kkaw 高 ‘high’ and jiāo *kkraw 交 ‘exchange’), Fuyang “Zhouyi” has the form 鄒 in two places corresponding to 郊 of R (Hex. 9 Xiao xu and Hex.13 Tong ren). We have the variants 鄒 (Fuyang) ~ 蒿 (SHZY) ~ 郊 (R) ~ 茭 (MWD) in the four Zhouyi versions resulting from the SS {艸, 阌} and EP {高, 交} in the early script.



(8) 花 (str.12) :: huī 攜 ‘lead’

Xu Shen in the *Shuowen* entry for the Qin Seal form 貨 for huò *q^haj-s ‘material (wealth)’ cites 賜 as an archaic form (貨, 財也, 从貝化聲. 賜, 資也, 从貝為聲. 或曰此古貨字; 6b/279). Duan Yucai to this entry notes that the variation 賜 ~ 貨 is parallel with the interchangeability of the characters 訛 and 譌 [for é *ŋ^haj ‘altered, error’]. This shows EP{為, 化} for *Q^haj: compare wéi *G^haj 為 ‘conduct’ and huà *q^haj-s 化 ‘alter’. Both 賜 (Yu-3, 60) and 貨 (LZ-A, 35) are attested for the word huò in the Guodian Chu manuscripts (CWZ: 380-81). The textual correspondence between 花 (SHZY) and 攜 (R) appears to show another case of the EP{為, 化}. But the difference in the signifiac in this case is hard to explain.

The word *huī* 撫 in general has two meanings ‘lead’ and ‘tear’ but its meaning in the *Zhouyi* is obscure:

SHZY: ... 四 亡 不 利 黃 歷

Received: 六 四 无 不 利 撫 謙

There is no loss in leading (?) modesty. (Hex.15 *Qian*)

It is possible that the alternating significs 艸 ‘grass’ and 手 ‘hand’, which are semantically unrelated resulted from a reinterpretation.



(9) 躬 (str.49) :: *gōng* 躬 ‘oneself’

The SHZY 躬 has the phonophric 呂 (Cf. *gōng* ***kun** 宮 ‘palace’) alternating with 弓 (Cf. *gōng* ***kun** 弓 ‘bow’) in the received character 躬 for *gōng* ***kun** ‘oneself’. Xu Shen records the form 躬 as the standard Qin Seal form while adding the form 躬 as a popular variant. Likewise we find the form 窮 (Cheng 14) in the Seal script and the Chu script for the word *qióng* 窮 ‘ultimate’. This suggests an EP {呂, 弓} for ***Kun**. The MWD version has the form 躬, with the Ph 宮. The Fuyang “Zhouyi” has two variant forms, 躬 and 躬 for the same word.

This EP also recurs for a different word: 芎 and 營 for *kōng* ‘plant name’: “Sima Xiangru says that the 營 has [in another variant the phonophoric] 弓” (芎, 司馬相如說營从弓; 1b/25).¹²⁸



(10) 鄰 (str.57) :: *lín* ‘neighbor’

SHZY 筭 corresponding to the R 鄰 for *lín* ***r[i/ə]n** ‘neighbor’ has the phonophoric 文.

SHZY: 六 五 不 廌 以 元 筭 利 用 讖 伐 亡 不 利


Received: 六 五 不 富 以 其 鄰 利 用 侵 伐 无 不 利


Six on the fifth. One will not increase wealth by his neighbor. It is beneficial to take an action to invade and defeat them. There is nothing unbeneficial (Hex.15 *Qian*).

The Zhongshan corpus has 𠂔 for the same word, identical with the Chu form, but without the non-functional 口 under 文. This form also appears in the Mawangdui “Laozi B” manuscript. The form 鄰 (尹姑鼎) on the other hand, appears once


¹²⁸ This example is cited by Gao Heng (1989 [1997]: 9).

in a W. Zhou inscription as a word interpreted as *lín* *r[i/ə]n 隣 ‘have clear vision’ (Chen 2004: 915). Note that the received Qin script has the form 吝 with Ph 文, which stands for *lín* *r[i/ə] n-s ‘stingy’. The EP{文, 隣} pointing to *m-rən type syllable seems to be of early origin. Based on this EP relation, the word *wén* < MC *mjun* 文 ‘pattern’ should be reconstructed with the root initial *r- like *m-rən. Also, this EP is a case of irregular contact between *-ən and *-in. It may be due to an Old Chinese dialect where the two merged, but it is hard to pin down the region.¹²⁹

(11) 災  (str.56) :: 災 *zāi* ‘natural disaster’

The SHZY character for *zāi* *ttsə 災 contains the Ph 才  (str.56) *TSə (Cf. 才 *zài* *ddzə? ‘located’, now written 在). Xu Shen gives the Seal form 𤇀 for the same word, consisting of S 火 ‘fire’ and Ph 戔 (天火曰𤇀 10a/484 “wild fire is called *zai*”). This character is sometimes written 灾 with the Ph 戔 displaced by the component 宀 which usually functions as a signific meaning ‘place’. It is not uncommon for an original phonophoric to be replaced by a signific or a graphically similar component, but in this case, the 宀 might actually be an alternative phonophoric: Compare *zǎi* *ttsə? 宰 ‘minister’. This form occurs in a Chu manuscript (See CWZ: 455). The form 災, according to Xu Shen is a *Zhouwen* and the form 災 a *guwen*.

5.2.2 Western Zhou and Chu phonophorics

(12) 𠬞 (𠬞)  (str.1) :: 攸 *yōu* ‘object relativization marker’

The the object relativization marker *yōu* *lu 攸 is written as 𠬞 (Cf. *yōu* *lu? 𠬞 ‘a type of vessel’) in SHZY, which has the same phonetic functional value as the former. As explained in the *Erya* (“Shiyan”) this word is functionally equivalent to suǒ 所. The occurrences of *yōu* are concentrated in the three early Chinese texts, the *Zhouyi*, *Shangshu* and *Shijing*, thus it appears to be a word of the early

¹²⁹ Another case of the *-ən ~ *-in alternation is 昏 (variant of 昏) standing for *hūn* *hmmən ‘dusk’, and also for *wén* *mən 聞 ‘hear’. This character has the Ph 民 standing for *mín* *min ‘citizen’

phase of Old Chinese. The word *yōu* is practically displaced by *suǒ* in W.S. texts (Liao Mingchun 2001: 221-22). The *Zhouyi* has both *yōu* and *suǒ*; SHZY and the received version agree on the choice between the two in all cases.

SHZY: 六晶勿用取女見金夫不又躬亡貞利

Received: 六三勿用取女見金夫不有躬 无攸利

Six on the third. Do not take a wife. One will see money, but the husband will lose his life.¹³⁰

There is nothing to benefit from (Hex.4 *Meng*).

SHZY: ...元非遄又稽 不利又貞遄

Received: ...其匪正有眚 不利有攸往

If they do not return (SHZY)/ act appropriately (R), there will be a disaster. Not beneficial.

There is a place to go (Hex.25 *Wu wang*).

In W. Zhou bronze inscriptions, the form 遄 (JC 2838), with the phonophoric 亼 is used for the same grammatical function (Chen Chusheng 2004: 501).¹³¹

允哉顯唯敬德亡遄違

mid W. Zhou, JC 4341

How trustworthy and brilliant he is! It is due to his respectable virtue that there is nothing that [he would] violate.

余無遄具寇正

mid W. Zhou, JC 2838

I have nothing [further] to prepare to carry out the strike and expedition.

(13) 聞 (str.38) :: 聞 *wén* ‘hear’

The SHZY character 聞, consisting of {S 耳 ‘ear’ + Ph 昏}, is a common Warring States form corresponding to the character 聞 (Shuihudi) of the Qin script for the word *wén* ‘hear’. The form 聞 in the Zhongshan Wang Cuo corpus has the same compositional structure as the Chu form. The *Shuowen* records 聞 as a *guwen* variant. So the EP {昏, 門} for *wén* existed as regional variants as of the late W.S. period. As with the Qin variant 聞 in the received literature, the form 昏 in Chu manuscripts, sometimes without 耳 ‘ear’, is used for both *wén* **mən* ‘hear’ and *wèn* **mən-s* 問 ‘be known (i.e., be heard), ask (i.e., cause to be heard)’, with

¹³⁰ I follow Gao Heng (1947 [1973]: 19) for the interpretation of this line.

¹³¹ Chen Chusheng transcribes this inscription form as 遄, i.e., 亼 + 遄, but 遄, which is the combination of 亼 and 止, is clearly different from the one in the bronze form. The latter resembles the component in SHZY form 遄 (str.42) ~ 遄 (str.47) for *nǎi* 迺. So by analogy, I transcribe 遄 as 遄.

the *-s suffix in the latter giving ‘outer-directed’ meaning. Both of the graphs 昏 and 門 appear in SHZY used as single component characters, and their OC pronunciations are different only in voicing.



昏 (str.44) *hūn* < *xwon* < ***hmmən** ‘marriage’ (variant of 婚)



門 (str.16) *mén* < *mwon* < ***mmən** ‘door’

Their MC pronunciations are quite different, but from the perspective of OC the 昏 ~ 門 alternation is not strange. So we cannot be certain whether a sound change such as ***hm-** > *x(w)-* in the W.S. period or specifically in the Qin dialect could have motivated the phonophoric variation.

Neither the Common Warring States form 聞 nor the Qin form 聞 is attested in pre-Warring States inscription texts. We find instead the following forms for *wén* ‘hear’ in early-to-mid W. Zhou bronze inscriptions:

W. Zhou (利簋) (孟鼎)

Compare W.S. (中山王鼎)

The W. Zhou form has a graphic element that appears to be a depiction of a “sitting man” or perhaps a “man listening” combined with the signific 耳 ‘ear’. It seems that this early pictograph was replaced later by the Ph 昏 ***Mən**, which is somewhat similar to the original graph by phonetic justification. With 聞 being explained as a case of ‘historically incorrect’ graphic evolution from the W. Zhou form, the Qin form 聞 may for its part be explained as an alternative to both the W. Zhou and Common Warring States forms in which the Ph 門 ***Mən** takes the place of the early graph and of the new Ph 昏 for the same phonetic functional value. Although the 昏 derives directly from the W. Zhou pictograph shown above and the 門 does not, we cannot assume that the latter arose significantly later than the former, since both of these are effective phonophorics for *wén* /*wèn* in OC.





(14) 戲 (str.37) :: 且 *qiě* ‘further’, ‘be about to’

SHZY has the compound form 戲 writing the word *qiě* 且.

SHZY: 六晶 質 戲 輓 至 寇 至

Received: 六三 負 且 乘 致 寇 至 貞 吝


They carry [goods] on the back and then load them causing robbers to arrive. [Ascertained adversative. (R)] (Hex.40 Jie).

The form 且  is regularly used for *zǔ* 祖 ‘ancestor’ in W. Zhou inscriptions. For example, 交乍(作)且(祖)乙寶遵彝 “Jiao made for Grandfather Yi the treasure ritual vessel” (early W. Zhou, JC 5321).¹³² An example of 戲  (JC 261) *qiě* is found in a S.A. Chu bronze inscription:

王孫遭者擇其吉金自作蘇鍾中翰戲揚元鳴孔皇

late S.A., JC 261

The grandson of the king, Yizhe selected the finest metal and made for himself this harmonizing bell. When it is struck, (the resonance) is high *and further* rising (rises high). Its resonance is supreme, greatly felicitous and perfectly achieved...

The form  (JC 5420) in W. Zhou inscriptions is often used at the beginning of a sentence. While it is generally interpreted as an exclamatory word, it is not impossible to interpret it as the same word as *qiě* 且 but occurring in a different syntactic position.

戲淮尸(夷)敢伐內國

mid W. Zhou, JC 5420

***Tsa!** (Possibly meaning ‘Furthermore, Now, Behold’), the barbarians of the Huai River dared to attack the inner states.

戲東尸(夷)大反(叛)伯懋父以殷八師征東尸(夷)

early W. Zhou, JC 4238

***Tsa!** (same interpretation as above), the Eastern barbarians greatly rebelled. Sir Mao, the Earl, used the Eight Armies of the Yin to campaign against the Eastern barbarians.

The following line from the *Shangshu* appearing in a similar context as these inscription texts has been suggested to have the same exclamatory word (Zhang Zhenlin 1982: 292). In this line, the exclamation is in an alliterating binom.

¹³² The compound 祖 祖 (綽 綽) for the same word starts to appear in the W. Zhou period and becomes more common than the single component form in the W.S. script.

祖茲淮夷徐戎並興

Shangshu, “Fei shi 費誓”

***Tsa-Tsa!** The Huai, Yi, Xu and Rong barbarians are rebelling all at the same time.

Since *qiě* is a grammatical function word, the character 𠂔 should have been adopted from a different, non-function word for which the form is originally composed. Xu Shen defines the Seal form 𠂔 as ‘snatch’. The received character 擄 for *zhā* ***ttsra** ‘snatch’ seems to be a variant of 𠂔 via the SS {手, 又}. This word is found in inscription texts (Chen Chusheng 2004: 320): 奪𠂔行道 (late W. Zhou, JC 4469) “Seize and snatch their roads and passages”. If the above mentioned exclamatory word “***Tsa**” is the same word as *qiě* 且, then the structure of the early character 𠂔 was preserved in the Chu script, but it became simplified to 且 in the Qin script.



(15) (str.8) :: 尸 *shī* ‘corpse’

The SHZY character for *shī* ***hlj** 尸 ‘corpse’ has three components, 歹 ‘remains’, 尸 ‘corpse’ (***Lij**) and 示 ‘ritual’. The SHZY editor transcribed it as 𠂔; it can be transcribed alternatively as 𣦵 {S and Ph 死 ‘die’ (> ‘corpse’) ***Lij** + S 示}. Compare 死 (𣦵) 𣦵 (str.15) for *sǐ* ‘die’, which is composed of 歹 and 人 ‘person’; the latter is interchangeable with the 尸 ‘(dead) body’ in the early script.

The single component character 尸 𣦵 (JC 2740), now used for *shī* 尸 ‘corpse’ is used most commonly for the word *yí* 夷 ‘barbarian’ in W. Zhou bronze inscriptions.¹³³

唯王伐東尸

early W. Zhou, JC 2740

It was when the king defeated the eastern barbarians.

唯伯辱父以成師即東命戍南尸

mid W. Zhou, JC 5425

It was when Sir Chi (?), the Earl, thereby organized a troop and reached the eastern region. He commanded to guard off the southern barbarians.

南尸東尸具見

late W. Zhou, JC 260

The southern barbarians and eastern barbarians all appeared [i.e., made a court appearance].

¹³³ The graph 夷 𣦵 (柳鼎) in bronze inscriptions appears only in person’s names.

王令弼曰 獻淮尸敢伐內國

mid W. Zhou, JC 5419

The King summoned Dong (?) and said: “*Tsa! The barbarians of the Huai River dared to attack the inner states”.



(16) (str.51) :: 夷 yí ‘barbarian’

In the W.S. script, the form 𠂔 (str.51) with double horizontal strokes added to the 尸 came to be commonly used along with the latter for the same word. It occurs once in SHZY corresponding to R 夷.

SHZY: ...日中見斗 遇元尸主吉

Received: ...日中見斗 遇其夷主吉

They observe the Big Dipper in the middle of the day. They encounter the chief (?) of the barbarians. Auspicious (Hex.55 Feng).

We can thus reconstruct the phonophoric series of 尸 and the 夷 in the same syllable type *Lij. The phonophoric series of 弟 (str.8) ‘younger brother’ which is graphically related to 夷 contains the MC initials *d-*, *dr-* and *th-* conspicuously missing *t-* (GSR #591). This also tallies well with our textual evidence. Fuyang “Zhouyi” has 夷 corresponding to 遲 (str.14) (SHZY)/ 遲 (R) for *chí* < *drjij* < *lrij ‘tardy’. It seems that 夷 and 尸 became EP at least by the late W.S. period and their alternation survived into the the early Western Han script.

SHZY: ...遲又悔

Received: ...遲有悔

FYZY: ...夷有悔¹³⁴

If late, there will be regrets. (Hex.16 Yu)

To summarize the EP/phonophoric series: 殍 (SHZY) ~ 尸 (R) *shī* < *syij* < *hlj ‘corpse’ :: 𠂔 (SHZY) ~ 夷 (R) *yí* < *yij* < *lij ‘barbarian’, 夷 (Fuyang) *chí* < *drjij* < *lrij ‘tardy’ :: 弟 *dì* < *dejX* < *llj? ‘younger brother’.



(17) (str.53) :: 次 cì ‘military camp’

The SHZY character 𠂔 corresponds to R 次 for *cì* *ts^hij-s ‘military camp’ three times.

¹³⁴ In Fuyang “Zhouyi” the graph 𠂔 with 卜 ‘divine’ regularly takes the place of 悔. This seems to be a graphic “coinage” for the word used as a divinatory idiom in the *Zhouyi*.

SHZY: 六四市左窮亡咎

Received: 六四師左次无咎

Six on the fourth. Lead the Camp on the Left. There is no fault. (Hex.7 *Shi*)

SHZY: 六二遊既窳棄元次...


Received: 六二旅即次懷其資...

Six on the second. The caravan reaches the camp. They hold on to their resources. (Hex.56 *Lü*)

SHZY: 九晶遊焚元窳喪元僮僮貞...

Received: 九三旅焚其次喪其童僕... (Hex.56 *Lü*)

Six on the third. The caravan set fire to the camp. It is an augury of losing their young male servants (SH)/ They lose their young male servants (R).


The use of the phonophoric 弟 ***Tsij** (Cf. *zǐ* ***tsij**? 姊 ‘elder sister’) for the same word is attested in the W. Zhou character 師  (兮甲盤) (Chen Wei 2002):


毋敢不即師即市...


late W. Zhou, JC 10174

They [i.e., the Huai barbarians] should dare not approach [our] camps or troops.¹³⁵

The alternation of the W. Zhou 師 and SHZY 窳 seems to be based on the SS 臼 ‘mound, location’, 宀 ‘roof, place’.¹³⁶

The received 次 has 欠, which generally stands for ***Kam** type words (Cf. *qiàn* ***k^ham-s** 欠 ‘owe’). But note, in the second line cited above, we find [次]  corresponding to *zī* ***tsij** 資 ‘asset’. This suggests that the graph 欠 once had a second pronunciation of the syllable type ***Tsij**.


Xu Shen analyzes the Qin Seal form 次  as {S 欠 + Ph 二}: 次, 不前不精也。从欠二聲; 8b/413 “*cì*, not foremost and not essential, (i.e., secondary), it is composed of 欠 and 二, and the latter is also the phonetic. If *èr* ***nij-s** and *cì* are etymologically related, as suggested by Xu Shen then, the latter may be reconstructed as ***s-hnij-s** (> ***s-thij-s** > ***tshij-s**). (Baxter 1992, Baxter-Sagart 2011)

The Shuihudi Qin manuscripts have 次  with a component resembling 二 just like Xu Shen said. But this may be due to a re-analysis of the 水 (彡), in the attempt to justify the graphic composition of this character for the word *cì* ‘secondary’, because the 欠 no longer made sense as a phonophoric.

¹³⁵ The double negatives here, *wú* 毋 ‘should not’ collocated with *bù* 不 ‘not’, although logically requiring an affirmative interpretation, indicates in fact a negative sense, perhaps emphatic, based on the context.

¹³⁶ The *Shuowen* defines 臼 as 小阜 (> 阜, 阡) “small mound” (14b/731). If Xu Shen is right in semantically relating the graphs 臼 and 冫, then the former would make a synonymous signifier of 宀 ‘place’.

5.2.3 Negative particles

(18) 亡  (str.25) :: 无 for wú *m(r)a 無 ‘not have, not exist’

The character 亡 which normally stands for wáng *maŋ ‘perish, gone’ is used for the word wú *m(r)a 無 ‘not have, not exist’ throughout the SHZY text. The form 无 used in the received version is recorded in the *Shuowen* as a *qizi* 奇字 “odd [guwen] variant” of 無 (12b/634).¹³⁷ This character seems to have originated in the late W.S. period. It does not appear in Eastern Zhou bronze inscriptions, but is found in the Shuihudi Qin clerical script, written 𠄎, alternating with the standard form 無 𠄎.

The replacement of 無 by 亡 is well known from received early texts as well as bronze inscription texts.¹³⁸ The alternation also occurs in compound characters. The *Shuowen* records a *guwen* variant 𠄎 corresponding to the Seal form 𠄎 for fǔ *N-pa? ‘help’. The fact that the graph 亡 substitutes for 無 but not the reverse also suggests that the graphic simplicity of 亡 in comparison to 無 was a factor.¹³⁹

In this case of *maŋ ~ *m(r)a alternation, the two words share the same initial consonant and main vowel, so it would appear that a morphological derivation by suffix *-ŋ may be involved. However, a clear example of the same phonophoric used for words that are different as *-aŋ versus *-a is hardly found except for this very pair. If a suffix *-ŋ ever existed, it would have ceased to be productive before the invention of the writing system as there is no clear evidence in the early script that it was recognized as a morpheme, i.e., an analyzable unit of sound with meaning.¹⁴⁰ On the other hand, there are several more pairs of characters for negative particles that are used interchangeably as will be shown below. In a bigger picture, the *maŋ ~ *m(r)a alternation fits in the general interchangeability of forms for negative particles which share the initial *m-. As will be illustrated below, there are two more characters in SHZY that write two or more distinct negative particles: 毋 (variant of 母), for (i) wú *ma 毋 ‘should not’, (ii) wù *mæt 勿 ‘should not’, and probably, (iii) wèi *mæt-s 未 ‘not yet’; 勿 for (i) wù *mæt 勿 ‘should not’, and (ii) wú *m(r)a 無 ‘not have, not exist’. It is possible that all these


¹³⁷ 奇字即古文而異者也 “*qizi* refers to unusual *guwen* forms” (“Postface”, 15a/761).

¹³⁸ Xu Dan (2004) suggests that the use of 無 for wú did not begin until the late W.S. period.

¹³⁹ The graph 𠄎 (Xing 34) in the Guodian manuscripts is used for the word wǔ *ma? 舞 ‘dance’ (CWZ: 676).

¹⁴⁰ See Pulleyblank (1962: 233) for a presentation of a dozen pairs of semantically related lexical pairs with the alternation of *-a (F. K. Li’s *-ag, Pulleyblank’s [1962] *-ah) and *-aŋ.

words are eventually related by a morphophonemic alternation between the nuclear vowels **-a-* and **-ə-* and the suffixes **-t* and **-ŋ*.¹⁴¹ But it is significant that graphic alternations despite differences in the main vowel and coda are restricted to these few negative particles. Thus it is doubtful that the speakers of Old Chinese who were also the users of the early script at this stage would have recognized the etymological relation among these words more precisely than **m-* as a ‘negative (sub-syllabic) word’. In other words, the interchangeability of these graphs for words which would otherwise disqualify for equivalent phonophorics seems to have applied to the negative particles as a closed set of grammatical words.


(19)  (str.14) :: wù **mæt* 勿 ‘should not’


The SHZY character 母 corresponds once to wù **mæt* 勿 ‘should not’ in R as a prohibitive negative particle.

SHZY: ... 母 頰 嚙 欲 靡

Received: ... 勿 疑 朋 盍 簪

Do not doubt a friend who wants to go off (SH)/ Do not doubt a friend who is talkative and speaks ill of you (R) (Hex.16 Yu).¹⁴²

This 母 is a variant of 毋  (Xing 60) which normally stands for wú **ma* ‘should not’. This rebus usage of the graph 毋 ~ 母, originally for **mmə?* ‘mother’ might have to do with a morphophonemic variation, such as **mə* ~ **ma* as suggested by Pulleyblank (1978: 131), who supposes that the phonetic form **mə* which was the basis for borrowing the form 母 later became lost, leaving **ma* alone to be associated with the character. This textual variation 毋 ~ 勿 then seems at first to be an alternation of the two synonymous prohibitive negatives, wú **ma* 毋 (var. 毋) and wù **mæt* 勿. But the SHZY 母 alternates with another negative word of the syllable type **mæt* in R, viz., wèi **mæt-s* 未 ‘not yet’. This suggests that the graph 母 in the early script represents the pronunciation **mæt(-s)* as well as **ma* when used for a negative particle:

(20)  (str.44) :: wèi **mæt-s* 未 ‘not yet’

¹⁴¹ See Pulleyblank (1978) for a proposal of an emphatic negative suffix **-t*.

¹⁴² The interpretation of this line of R follows Gao Heng (1947 [1973]: 61).

SHZY: 萊 改 邑 不 改 萊 亡 喪 亡 屮 進 萊 萊 氣 至 亦 母 萊 ...

Received: 井 改 邑 不 改 井 无 喪 无 得 往 來 井 井 汔 至 亦 未 繡 井 ...

The Well. They change the town, but they leave the well (in it) unchanged. There is no loss and there is no gain. People frequent the well. The well dries out and gets blocked. But still, they should not [or They did not yet (?)] (SH)/ They did not as yet dig [another] well (R) (Hex.48 *Jing*).¹⁴³

The interpretation of the SHZY character 母 is problematic here because both *wú* *ma 毋 ‘should not’ (or *wù* *mæt 勿 ‘should not’) and *wèi* *mæt-s 未 ‘not yet’ seem to make sense in the context. The alternation *wù* *mæt 勿 ~ *wèi* *mæt-s 未 surrounding the character 母 of the Chu version makes us realize that these two are actually etymologically related. The former is prohibitive modal negative and the latter imperfect aspect negative.

The SHZY character 勿 (str.24) on the other hand regularly corresponds to R 勿, and this character in the *Zhouyi* stands for two different words, in my interpretation, (i) *wù* *mæt 勿 ‘should not’ and (ii) *wú* *m(r)a 無 ‘not have’. See first, examples of the prohibitive use.

SHZY: 初 九 悔 亡 喪 馬 勿 由 自 遄 ...

Received: 初 九 悔 亡 喪 馬 勿 逐 自 復 ...

Nine on the first. Regret is gone. One will lose his horse. Do not pursue it. It will return spontaneously (Hex.38 *Kui*).

In other places the prohibitive 勿 precedes the word *yòng* 用 ‘use’ (> ‘take an action’) which is a special divinatory term in the *Zhouyi* which indicates a positive advisability for the action to be taken. This term seems to have developed out of the common word *yòng* ‘use’ which also appears in the *Zhouyi*.

SHZY: ... 利 貞 用 大 牲 利 又 貞 進

Received: ... 利 貞 用 大 牲 吉 利 有 攸 往

It is an augury of benefit. Use a large sacrificial animal. [Auspicious (R).] It is beneficial to have a place to go (Hex.45 *Cui*).

Note the correspondence of the synonymous words *yǐ* 以 (SHZY) and *yòng* 用 (R).

SHZY: 九 晶 萊 利 不 飲 為 我 心 慙 可 以 汲 ...

Received: 九 三 井 渫 不 食 為 我 心 慙 可 用 汲 ...

Nine on the third. The well is closed (SHZY) / The well is cleared (R) and one does not drink. Someone is sympathetic (?) with us. It can be used to draw water (Hex.48 *Jing*).

¹⁴³ The interpretation follows Gao Heng *ibid*:146.

The phrase *wù yòng* 勿用 ‘do not take [the following action]’ precedes a verb phrase always without a direct object which would otherwise be expected for the transitive verb *yòng* ‘use’, and it contrasts with the affirmative counterpart *yòng* 用, also immediately followed by a verb phrase.

SHZY: 敏 女藏¹⁴⁴ 勿用取女

Received: 姤 女壯 勿用取女

Gou. The woman is getting away (SHZY) / The woman is stout (R). Do not take an action to take a wife. (Hex.44 *Gou*)

Compare this with the affirmative counterpart 用 + VP:

SHZY: 初六 歷君子 甬涉大川 吉

Received: 初六 謙謙君子 用涉大川 吉

Six on the first. *Qian qian*, the lord! Take the action to ford a big river. Auspicious (Hex.15 *Qian*)

SHZY: ...利用戡伐 亡不利

Received: ...利用侵伐 无不利

It is beneficial to take the action to invade and defeat them. There is nothing unbeneficial (Hex.15 *Qian*)

SHZY: ...可用行市 征𡔷

Received: ...利用行師 征邑國

It is permissible (advisable) (SHZY)/ beneficial (R) to take the action to mobilize the troops and to make an incursion into the state (SHZY) / city-state (R) (Hex.15 *Qian*).

SHZY: ...利用祭祀

Received: 九五 剿剛 困于赤紱 乃徐有說 利用祭祀

Nine on the fifth. Cut off the nose and ear. Something is bound by a red rope and then it is slowly released. It is beneficial to take the action to make the *jì* and *sì* offerings (Hex. 47 *Kun*).

This word *yòng*, as a divinatory idiom behaves just like many other idioms in the *Zhouyi* in fluctuating between the two versions. See the following pairs of variation.

144 The 藏 (SHZY) ~ 壯 (R) variation occurs repeatedly.

SHZY: ... 利用見大人不利涉大川

Received: ... 利見大人 不利涉大川

It is beneficial to [take the action to (SHZY)] have an audience with a great person. It is not advisable to ford a big river (Hex.6 *Song*).

SHZY: ... 王晶驅 遊前禽 ...

Received: ... 王用三驅 失前禽 ...

The King whips thrice (SHZY)/ takes the action of whipping thrice (R). [He] loses the first game animal (Hex.8 *Bi*).

SHZY: 初六 敕馬藏吉悔亡

Received: 初六用拯馬壯吉

Six on the first. [Take the action (R)] to wield the horse. [The horse is (?)] hiding (SHZY)/ stout (R). [Regret is gone (SHZY)] (Hex.59 *Huan*).

The usage of 勿 for *wú *m(r)a* 無 is evident in this line:

SHZY: 九五 亡忘又狀 勿藥又菜

Received: 九五 无妄之疾 勿藥有喜

Nine on the fifth. There is an illness [concerning] *Wu wang* ("Not having disorder"). There are no medicinal plants but only vegetables (SH)./ As for the illness of *Wu wang*, there is no medicinal plants [for it], but there is grace (R). (Hex.25 *Wu wang*).

The meaning of “勿” in the following line is somewhat indeterminate.

SHZY: ... 童啓 莫譽又戎 勿卹



Received: 九二 惕號 莫夜有戎 勿恤

Nine on the second. One will be startled and alarmed. Nobody raises [it] (SHZY)/ In the evening or night (R), there will be an appearance of the Rong-barbarians.¹⁴⁵ There is nothing to worry about / Do not worry (?) (Hex.43 *Guai*).¹⁴⁶

145 The word *róng* 戎 which I interpret as ‘Rong-barbarian’ recurs in this hexagram: 揚于王庭，孚號，有厲，告自邑，不利即戎，利有攸往 “[Barbarians] are spreading about the royal court. Captives are shouting. There is danger. A report comes in from the town. It is not beneficial to approach the Rong-barbarian [at this time].” This line is lost in SHZY.

146 The form 莫 (LZ-A 5) in Chu manuscripts is regularly used for *mù* 莫 ‘none’ just like the received orthography. The SHZY 莫 (str.38) here does not require any different treatment. The same character 莫 in R, which occurs in sequence with *yè* 夜 ‘night’ may be intended for *mù* 暮 ‘evening’ as Gao Heng (1947 [1973]: 14) speculates. It is possible that a re-interpretation of the original graph 莫 and a subsequent re-wording have occurred in this textual position.

5.2.4 Sound symbolism and Phonograms



- (21) 愬 愬   (str.4) :: 室惕 *zhì tì* ‘frustrated and alarmed’

SHZY: 訟. 又孚 愬 愬 中 吉 冬 凶 ...

Received: 訟. 有孚 室惕 中 吉 終 凶 ...

The *Litigation*. There will be a punishment. One will be frustrated and alarmed. Auspicious in the middle, but unfortunate at the end (Hex.6 *Song*).¹⁴⁷

The pronunciation of the first syllable in “愬愬” can be surmised from the received character 愬 for *zhì* ***trit-s** ‘angry’. The received version has *zhì* ***trit** 室 ‘block’ matching with the latter in pronunciation. The correspondence in the second syllable, SHZY 愬 to R *tì* 惕 ‘alarmed’ points to a fluctuating value ***tt^hek** ~ ***hllek**. The phonophoric variation 帝 ~ 易 is repeated for the word *xī* ***s-llek** 惕 ‘wrapper’ in the *Shijing*: the word *xī* is written as 惕 in the Maoshi version in the line “tailor [for them] to dress them in wrappers” 裁衣之惕 (Mao 89), but as 禘 in the *Hanshi* version (*Jingdian Shiwen*, 306). The *Jiyun* 集韻 enters 禘, 禘 and 惕 as variant forms (Pu Maozuo 2003: 141). The first form 禘, is in fact the predecessor of the modern graph 商. The phonophoric series of the latter points to ***Tek**: see for example, *dī* ***ttek** 商 ‘base’. The series for 易 on the other hand has to be reconstructed ***Lek**. The repeated alternation of the two phonophorics suggests the EP {商, 易}.

- (22) 猷 余   (str.14) :: 由豫 *yóu yù* ‘being indecisive’

SHZY: 九 四 猷 余 大 又 叟 ...

Received: 九 四 由 豫 大 有 得 ...

Nine on the forth. Being indecisive [i.e., Following after the Yu], one will gain a great deal. (Hex.16 *Yu*)

This alliterative binom *yóu yù* ***lu-la** 猷余 (SHZY) or 由豫 (R) is well known in received literature as meaning ‘being indecisive’ or ‘hesitant’. Note for example, 平原君猷豫未有所决 (*Zhanguoce*; “Zhaoce 趙策”) “Lord Pingyuan was being indecisive and did not yet have what he was settled upon”. The word is written as

¹⁴⁷ Interpretation after Gao Heng (1947 [1973]: 25).

猷豫 in this received text. Lu Deming also notes that the word *yóu* 由 in Ma Rong's version of the *Zhouyi*, cited in Zheng Xuan's commentary, is written 猶 (variant of 猷) just like in SHZY. In the *Zhouyi*, this disyllabic word is used as a pun that approximates the hexagram theme YU 余/豫 in the verb-object structure, viz., 'follow (*lu) the YU (*la)', homophonous with 'hesitating' *lu-la.



(23) 眈眈 (str.25) :: 眈眈 *dān dān*

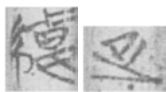
Lu Deming in his *Jingdian Shiwen* quotes Ma Rong's interpretation of this expression *dān dān* 眈眈, 'appearance of a tiger looking downward'. The "tiger" here is taken right from the *Zhouyi* line where this binom occurs.

SHZY: ... 虎視眈眈 元猷攸攸 亡咎

Received: ... 虎視眈眈 其欲逐逐 无咎

The tiger is observing [it] carefully. Its plans (SHZY) /desires (R) are far-reaching. There is no fault (Hex.27 Yi)

Xu Shen also gives the definition for *dān* *ttəm 眈 based also on this *Zhouyi* line as 'look closely with a far-reaching intention (眈, 視近而志遠也)' (Gao Heng 1947 [1973]: 95). The SHZY character 眈 has the graphic component 眇 (眇), which regularly writes *dūn* *ttwər 敦 'thick' in the received orthography. The *Ttwər-type syllable which the latter indicates is not quite close enough to *dān* *ttəm 眈, if these two were to be equivalent phonophorics for regular lexical words, but considering that they are variants of a sound-symbolistic expression, this much compatibility, i.e., with the shared sequence *T-ə-, seems still sufficient for preserving the same 'meaning'.



(24) 次且 (str.38) :: 次且 *zī qiě* 'walk with difficulty'

The phonophoric 妻 *qī* *tts^hij 'wife' writing the first syllable is fully compatible with 次 *zī* *tsij of R, while the second one 足 *Sa (Cf. 足 *shū* *sra 'foot') does not match perfectly with *qiě* *ts^ha? 且. The MWD version has 跣胥 similarly to the SHZY one. But again, the difference between *TS- ~ *S- can be pardoned for a mimic word.

5.2.5 Old Chinese dialect words

In the example (23) above, Xu Shen’s interpretation “far” regarding the mimic word *dān dān* 眈眈 is taken from the phrase *zhú zhú* 逐逐 in the same line, which according to the *Jingdian Shiwen* is rendered *yōu yōu* ***lu-lu** 悠悠 ‘far’ in many versions such as in the Zi Xia 子夏 Commentary, and the editions of Xun Shuang 荀爽 and Liu Biao 劉表 (p. 94). This agrees with the “攸攸” of SHZY. The word *yōu* 悠 is cognate with *yáo* 遙 ‘far’ as suggested in Yang Xiong’s *Fangyan*: “*yáo* (OC ***law**) 遙 means ‘far’”. In the Chu and Liang regions, they pronounce [the word] as such” (遙, 遠也, 梁楚曰遙).¹⁴⁸ This implies cognate relation between *yōu* ***lu** 悠 and *yáo* ***law** 遙, and further suggests a common origin of words in *-**u** and *-**aw**. Based on this, we can reconstruct the word *zhú* < MC *drjuwk* 逐 ‘pursue’ in R as ***lraw-k**, with the initial ***l-** rather than ***d-**. The MWD version in this position has “笛笛” with the phonophoric 由 ***Lu(k)**. (Cf. *dí* ***llawk** 笛 ‘flute’). The word *zhú* 逐 ‘pursue’ used as a common word corresponds twice to *yóu* 由 ‘follow’ of SHZY.

SHZY: ...喪馬勿由自返...

Received: ...喪馬勿逐自復...

Nine on the first. When you lose a horse, do not follow it. It will return spontaneously (Hex.38 *Kui*).

SHZY: 九晶良馬由...


Received: 九三良馬逐...

Nine on the third. A fine horse will follow (Hex.26 *Da xu*).

It seems probable that *zhú* 逐 ***lraw-k** and *yóu* ***lu** 由 are etymologically related, alternating as dialect variation of ***law(k)** ~ ***lu(k)** which eventually go back to a common origin.¹⁴⁹ Note also that the SHZY character 繇 (繇) 𢆶 (str.25), whose phonophoric suggests the *-**aw**, is defined as ‘comply, ‘follow’ (隨從也) in the *Shuowen* and it corresponds to R 由 *yóu* ***lu** ‘follow from’. The graph 繇 or 繇 is regularly used for *yóu* 由 in Qin and Western Han manuscripts from various regions (Li Yu 1994: 99-100). This character usage is also commonly found in received early texts (Gao Heng 1989: 714-16). Below is another textual variant that involves the *-**aw** ~ *-**u** alternation.

148 *juan* 6, p. 42 in the *Fangyan Jiaojian* 方言校箋 by Zhou Zumo (1993 [2004])

149 The 由 phonophoric series, GSR #1079, has some words with *-**k**, i.e., *-**uk** in our reconstruction system.

(25) 𧰨  (str.40) *piáo* ‘bag’ :: *bāo* 包 ‘bag’.

SHZY: 九四 𧰨亡魚 巳凶

Received: 九四 包无魚 起凶

There is no fish in the bag. It is the beginning of a disaster (Hex.44 *Gou*).

The MC *bjew* (符霄切) of *piáo* 𧰨, according to the *Tangyun* 唐韻 quoted in the *Kangxi Zidian*, suggests OC ***baw**.¹⁵⁰ Xu Shen defines the word ‘bag wide open’ (囊張大貌). This character occurs in the “Stone drums” text from the Qin state, dated to ca. 500 BCE.

惟鯁惟理何以囊之¹⁵¹


May it be Yu-fish or Li-fish, what would I use to bag them all?


The context tells that the word means ‘[put in a] bag’. This is similar to *bāo* ***ppru** 包 which is also used either as ‘bag’, a noun, or transitively, ‘put in a bag’. Note also that the phonophoric 缶 in 𧰨 suggests the syllable type ***Pu** (Cf. *fǒu* ***pu?** 缶 ‘jar’).



It is important to note that these dialect cognates were absorbed into the Old Chinese lexicon, perhaps used as distinct words with different nuance. The *Fangyan* locates the ***-aw** type word to the Liang-Chu region, (although we would not know the actual pronunciation of Yang Xiong’s time), but SHZY, which faithfully reflects the Chu regional script style (Chapter 4), does not show this Chu dialect feature consistently. SHZY can have ***-u** where the received version has ***-aw**. The alternation of these rhymes is also found in textual variants among received versions and in received characters that are in the same phonophoric series (see Li Fang-kuei 1982: 40). Even if the ***-aw** indeed comes from the Old Chu regional dialect, what SHZY reflects is not directly the Chu dialect but rather the *yayan* OC lingua franca in which the ***-aw** and ***-u** type words co-exist.

¹⁵⁰ Duan Yucai attributes this word to his Third Rhyme- group (三部), equivalent of You 幽 (***u**).

¹⁵¹ This transcription follows Zhao Chao (2006: 38).

(26) 肤  (str.33) :: 膚 fū ‘skin’

The SHZY character 肤 corresponds twice (str.no.33 and 41) to the R 膚 for the word fū ‘skin’. The form 膚  (Tang 11) existed in the Chu script as well as in the Qin script. Thus the 膚 is a Common W.S. form (CF) which most likely came from an earlier period.¹⁵² The component 虎 (虎) in 膚 suggests an OC syllable type *Q(r)a ~ K(r)a,¹⁵³ but the MC *pju* of fū 膚, reflects the OC *p(r)a with the labial initial *p-.

It is probable that this is another case of labialization of velar or uvular initials which took place in an OC dialect at least by the early W. Zhou period (Section 3.4.3). The character 肤, composed of {S 月(肉) ‘flesh’ + Ph 夫 *Pa} seems to be a Chu regional variant created to reflect the labial initial in the contemporaneous Warring States phonology. This new form was used simultaneously with the CF 膚 in the Chu script. Similarly to the case of the form  (中山王壺) {S 立 + Ph 胃} from Zhongshan in relation to the CF  (LZ-C 10) {S 人 + Ph 立} for wèi 位 ‘position’, this Chu variant did not survive into the received script.


(27) 𠬪  (str.42) :: 假 jiǎ ‘arrive’



The SHZY character 𠬪 which corresponds to jiǎ 假 ‘arrive’ of R is most likely a variant of gé 格 ‘arrive’ known from the received literature.

SHZY: 𠬪 王 𠬪 于 𠬪 ...

Received: 萃 亨 王 假 有 廟 ...

The Cui. [*xiang*-sacrifice (R)]. The King went to the temple (Hex.45 Cui).¹⁵⁴

The word gé 格 occurs frequently in W. Zhou bronze inscriptions: it is most commonly written as 各  (JC 2730) and sometimes as 徂 or 逌 with alternating SS { 徂 ‘road’, 逌 ‘move’}.

¹⁵² For clear images of the 胃 part, see  (LZ-B, 6) and  (str.56) (used for 謂 wèi ‘refer to’). The short parallel slanting strokes on 月 (肉) are, as He Linyi explains it, a marker that distinguishes 肉 ‘flesh’ from the graphically similar 月 ‘moon’.

¹⁵³ Note lǚ 慮 *ra-s ‘consider’ {S 思 + Ph 虎} for *r-.

¹⁵⁴ The word yǒu 有 of R in this line is strange. In inscription texts gé ‘arrive’ is followed by a locative with or without 于. There is no case of 又 (有) occurring in the position for 于.

惟王來各于成周

early W. Zhou, JC 2730

It was when the King arrived at Chengzhou.¹⁵⁵

王遄于庚嬴宮

early W. Zhou, JC 5426

The King came to the Gengying Palace.

Apart from 𠬞, SHZY also has the character 𠬞 (str.54) corresponding to R 假. The *Shuowen* has an entry for the graph 假 defined as ‘arrive’ (假, 至也; 2b/77). The context where this word occurs is exactly the same as that for the 𠬞 ~ 假 alternation above.

SHZY: 𠬞 卿王𠬞于富 ...

Received: 渙 亨 王假有廟 ...

The HUAN. Xiang-sacrifice. The King went to the temple (Hex.59 *Huan*).

We may suppose the following possibilities: one is that the two distinct graphs, 𠬞 and 𠬞 which both correspond to R 假 represent two synchronically different but etymologically related words; the other is that they are variant graphs for one and the same etymon. The *Fangyan* suggests the former is the case: they wrote two pronunciations of the same word, but existing in one dialect region: “*jiǎ* (MC *kæX* < ***kkraʔ**), *gé* (MC *kæk* < ***kkrak**) ...[all these words] mean ‘arrive’; in the regions around Bin, Tang, Ji and Yan, they say *jiǎ* (***kkraʔ**), some people say *gé* (***kkrak**)” (假, 徂, ...至也. 邠唐冀兗之間曰假或曰徂).




(28) 羅 (str.56) *luó* ‘bird trap’, ‘net’, ‘lay out’ :: 離 *lí* ‘bird name’, ‘separate’, ‘lay out’

The *Fangyan* has an entry that suggests dialect variation for the same word between ***-waj** and ***-aj**: 羅謂之離, 離謂之羅 “*luó* (< *lwa*) ***rrwaj** means *lí* (< *lje*) ***raj** and *lí* means *luó*” (*juan* 7). Guo Pu’s commentary on this line says: 皆行列物也 “both words mean ‘lay out objects’”. Related to this fact is that the distinction of syllables with or without the rounded medial -w- for words in MC *-(w)a* (Ge 歌/戈), a reflex of OC ***-(w)aj** (Ge 歌) rhyme group, vacillates in sources of Middle Chinese

¹⁵⁵ This example where 各 immediately follows 來 ‘come’ confirms the meaning of 各 ‘arrive’ as it marks the accomplished result of “coming”.

phonology as well as in modern dialects.¹⁵⁶ It is probable that 羅 *luó* and 離 *lí* descended from the same root. The alternation of the characters 離 and 羅 is common in received early texts (Gao Heng 1989: 673). MWD has 羅 in this *Zhouyi* line. The graphic variation between 離 and 羅 may be explained as follows. They share the component 隹 ‘short-tailed bird’, which may have been the phonophoric standing for ***r(w)aj** ‘id.’; 離 has another phonophoric 离 *chī* < *trhje* < ***hraj** ‘a legendary beast’, which suggests EP {隹, 离} for ***R(w)aj**; 羅 has two added significs instead, 糸 ‘thread’ and 罒 ‘net’, which would have been motivated by the meaning ‘bird trap’ of this word.

(29) 酌  (str.57) :: 禴 *yuè* ‘libation’

The components of the SHZY character 酌 and of the 禴 of R are compared as SS {示 ‘ritual’, 酉 ‘you-wine offering vessel’} and EP {勺, 侑}, but the latter has two alternating values ***Tawk** and ***Lawk**. The *Shuowen* enters the form 祔, which is an intermediate form between 酌 and 禴, defined as 祔, 夏祭也从示勺聲 (1a/5) “summer sacrificial-offering, composed of 示 and 勺, the latter is the phonetic”. Duan Yucai quotes the following *Zhouli* line suggesting that 祔 and 禴 for the word *yuè* < MC *yak* < ***lawk** 禴 ‘libation’ are variant forms: 以禴夏享先王 “In the summer season they receive the former kings by means of the libation sacrifice”.

SHZY: 九五東筭殺牛不女西筭之酌祭 ...

Received: 九五東鄰殺牛不如西鄰之禴祭 ...

Nine on the fifth. The (sacrificial) killing of an ox by the neighbor in the east is not as good as the libation offering by the neighbor in the west (Hex.63 *Jiji*).

The form 酌 in the received orthography, structurally identical with the SHZY form, is associated with the word *zhuó* < MC *tsyak* < ***tawk** ‘toast’. Xu Shen defines the Seal form 酌 as 盛酒行觴也 (14b/748) “fill wine to the full and make a toast”. It seems that this *zhuó* is related to the *yuè* 禴 ‘libation’ by the root meaning ‘serve,

¹⁵⁶ E.g., the character for 我 我 (str.24) ***ŋ(w)ajʔ** ‘we’ in the early script has the phonophoric 戈 (休盤) *gē* ***kk(w)aj** ‘halberd’, the former belonging to the *Guangyun* MC *ge* 歌, a rhyme without -w-, and the latter *ge* 戈 one with -w-, respectively. The Mandarin pronunciations *wǒ* (with -w-) and *gē* (without) contradicts this *Guangyun* classification. But the *Yunjing* rhyme table treats both *ge* 歌 and *ge* 戈 rhymes as having -w-. There are some discrepancies among Tang dynasty rhyme dictionaries regarding the treatment of these rhymes. Some *Qieyun* manuscripts do not distinguish between 歌 and 戈 (Li Xinkui 1982 [2006]: 242). The pronunciation of these rhymes in modern dialects with respect to the presence and absence of the rounded medial is widely varied (*ibid.*).


pour (wine)’. We do not yet have a way to reconcile the difference between ***l-** and ***t-** in OC reconstruction, but we nevertheless have to accept the recurring contact as a fact.¹⁵⁷ If the variation in the initial as ***l-** and ***t-** are due to a dialect mixture, the meanings ‘libation’ and ‘toast’ are simply different shades of the same etymon’s meaning.¹⁵⁸ The MWD version in this textual position has 濯 which in the received orthography stands for *zhuó* < MC *dræwk* < ***llrawk** ~ **ddrawk** ‘bathe’, perhaps another member of the same word family. This variation between the MWD and received version suggests another pair of EP {翟, 會} for ***Lawk** ~ ***Tawk**. This EP is repeated in the word for *yuè* ***lawk** ‘jump’ in the following line from the Hexagram *Qian* 乾 (Hex.1).¹⁵⁹




MWD: 九四 或 鱗 在 淵 无 咎

Received: 九四 或 躍 在 淵 无 咎

Nine on the fourth. Some [of them] are jumping in the depth. There is no trouble.

5.2.6 Etymological relations


(30) 顛  (str.14) :: 疑 *yí* ‘doubt’

The SHZY character 顛 for *yí* ***ŋəʔ** 疑 ‘doubt’ has the phonophoric 矣  (Lu 8). This graph is used by itself for *yǐ* ***Gəʔ** ‘perfective aspect final particle’. If the element 以  (str.12) in 矣 is phonophoric, its functional value should be deduced as ***Kə**, which then points to OC ***[g]əʔ** for *yǐ* < MC *yiX* 以 ‘take up to use, by means of’. This reconstruction is supported by the following textual and graphic evidence. In the position corresponding to the word *yǐ* 以 of R is the SHZY character , (the early Chinese script origin of both 巳 and 已), suggesting EP {以, 巳/已} for the value ***Kəʔ**:

¹⁵⁷ The phonophoric series of 會 (GSR #1119) and of 翟 (GSR #1123) generally reflect ***L-** whereas the series of 勺 (GSR #1120) contains such MC syllables as *tsyak* and *tek* which points to ***T-**.

¹⁵⁸ Matisoff’s (2006) “Deltacism of laterals in Sino-Tibetan and elsewhere” discusses the phenomenon of alternation between lateral and dental or alveolar stop initials in Sino-Tibeto-Berman languages.


¹⁵⁹ This hexagram is lost in the SHZY.


(31)  (str.17) :: 以

SHZY: 又孚才道已明可咎

Received: 有孚在道以明何咎

There will be a punishment in the path so as to clear [things up]. What balme could there be? (Hex.17 *Sui*)¹⁶⁰


The graph [已/巳]  itself has two other correspondences, once to *qǐ* ***khəʔ** 起 ‘raise’ and once to *sì* ***s-gəʔ** 巳 ‘6th of the 12 earthly branches’:

(32)  (str.41) :: 起

SHZY: 九四 羆亡魚 巳凶

Received: 九四 包无魚 起凶




Nine on the fourth. There is no fish in the bag. It will bring a disaster (Hex.44 *Hou*).


(33)  (str.22) :: 巳

SHZY: 初九 又礪 利巳

Received: 初九 有厲 利巳


Nine on the first. There will be hardships. Benefit on the *si* (?) day (Hex.26 *Da xu*).

Also, the graph  is phonophoric in 改  (str.44) for *gǎi* ***kkəʔ** ‘change’ and 祀  (str.43) for *sì* ***s-gəʔ** ‘offering’. When a (post-)velar initial ***[g]**- is thus established for 已 *yǐ* ***[g]əʔ** ‘completed, cease’ as a verb, ‘that’s that’ as a final particle, we may suppose that the latter is etymologically related to 矣 *yǐ* ***Gəʔ**, ‘perfective aspect particle’

(34) 侑  (str.34) :: 媾 *gòu* ***kkə-s** ‘contract (a marriage)’

The SHZY character 侑 is composed of {S 人 ‘person’, Ph 句}, and the R 媾 {S 女 ‘woman’, Ph 葦}. The SS {人, 女} occurs frequently in the early script. The alternating phonophorics 句 and 葦 are EP for ***Ko**. Consider the following word in the *Zhouyi*:

¹⁶⁰ This is an interpretation by Gao Heng (1947 [1973]: 64-65).

(35) 敏  (str.17) :: 姤 *gòu* hexagram theme (Hex.44)

The SHZY character 敏 corresponds to the hexagram name *gòu* ***kko-s** 姤, whose lexical meaning is unknown. This theme word occurs twice in the hexagram, but without apparent semantic connection.¹⁶¹

SHZY: 敏 女藏 勿用取女

Received: 姤 女壯 勿用取女

GOU. The woman is hiding (SHZY)/ stout (R). Do not take any action to take a wife.

SHZY: 上九 敏 亢 吝 咎


Received: 上九 姤 其 角 吝 无 咎


Nine on the top. GOU its horn. Distressed. No faults.

Lu Deming in the *Jingdian Shiwén* notes that the *guwen* text of the *Zhouyi*, as is also noted in Zheng Xuan's edition, renders the hexagram name as 遘 *gòu* ***kko-s** 'encounter' (薛云古文作遘鄭同。序挂及彖皆云遇也, *juan* 1/106). This is probably why, as Lu Deming notes, the *Xu gua* 序挂 and *Tuan gua* 彖挂 interpret this word as yù 遇 'encounter'. We can thus establish EP {句, 蒺}. MWD has different forms, 狗 and 均 in the two positions for R "姤". The alternating signifiCS in these are not SS, which seems to suggest that this obscure word underwent re-interpretations there.

The character 遘 𢀛 (克𢀛) in W. Zhou bronze inscriptions stands for *gòu* 媾 'contract (a marriage)' used in the phrase *hūn gòu* 婚遘 (i.e., 婚媾) 'marriage contract' (Rong Geng 1985 [2005]: 97). Consider the meaning of these words in connection with *gòu* 構 'make a bridge or connection'. We can surmise that 構, 媾 and 遘 are variant forms for one and the same etymon *gòu* ***kko-s**, meaning 'relate, become related'. The varying signifiCS would have been initially added to fit the idiomatic objects this transitive verb typically takes.

The obscure character 姤 has S 女 and Ph 后. Lu Deming records an archaic variant 逅 for the two characters 遘 and 覯 occurring in the *Shijing*, which are both well interpreted as 'meet up' (Gao Heng [1947] 1973: 151). This suggests that 后 and 蒺 are also EP. The character 姤 is probably a variant of 媾 for *gòu* 'marriage contract'.

¹⁶¹ The form  occurs once more in SHZY where it writes jū ***kro** 拘 'fetter' (str.40), which shows SS {支 'treat', 手 'hand'}.

(36) 卿  (str.12) :: 亨 *hēng* ‘success’

The graph 卿 in SHZY occurs regularly in the position for *hēng* 亨 ‘success’ in R as in the repeated divinatory idiom *yuán hēng* 元亨 “primary success”:

SHZY: 鼎 元卿 利涉大川...



Received: 鼎 元亨 利涉大川 ...

The *Gu*-bug. Primary success. It is beneficial to ford a big river (Hex.18 *Gu*).

SHZY: 陵 元卿 利貞 亡咎

Received: 隨 元亨利貞 无咎

The *Sui* (i.e., *Following*). Primary success. Favorable augury. There is no fault (Hex.17 *Sui*).

Luo Zhenyu noted that 卿 in the early script developed into three distinct characters in the modern script standing for the words, *qīng* ***kʰraŋ** 卿 ‘minister’, *xiāng* ***qʰaŋ** 鄉 ‘village’ and *xiǎng* ***qʰaŋʔ** 饗 ‘feast’ (cited in Rong Geng 1985 [2005]: 645; see also GSR #714). The word *hēng* ***qʰraŋ** 亨 ‘success’ on the other hand is known only from the *Zhouyi* as a divinatory idiom. The character 亨 is graphically related to 享 for *xiǎng* ***qʰaŋʔ** ‘a type of sacrifice, delight in something’, both of which originate from a single early form 𠂔  (買簋). Given this, Gao Heng (1963: 87-88) suggests that the phrase *yuán hēng* 元亨 which contrasts with *xiǎo hēng* 小亨 (Hex.56 *Lü*) should be interpreted as ‘primary *xiang*-sacrifice’ as opposed to a minor (or secondary) one. Considering the close connection between divination and sacrificial rites, this suggestion seems quite plausible. The graph 𠂔  (str.17) occurs once in SHZY corresponding to R 亨 where it is interpreted as *xiǎng* 享.

SHZY: ...王用 𠂔 于西山

Received: ...王用 亨 于西山

The King performed the *xiang*-sacrifice at the Western Mountain (Hex.17 *Sui*).

It seems that *xiǎng* ***qʰaŋʔ** 饗 ‘feast’ and *xiǎng* ***qʰaŋʔ** 享 ‘a type of sacrifice, delight in something’ are one and the same etymon. The relation between these two is exactly parallel with the regular correspondence between 卿 in SHZY and 亨 in R. In sum these textual variants show EP {卿 (> 饗), 享 ~ 亨} writing the etymon ***qʰaŋʔ** ‘feast, kind of sacrifice’.



(37) (str.25) *chǔ* 𡩶 (variant of 處) ‘stay, place’ :: *jū* 居 ‘residence’

The character 𡩶 was previously thought to be an archaic variant of *jū* 居 ‘residence’ because it frequently occurs in the textual position for *jū* 居 ‘residence’. Pu Maozuo (2003: 159) for example, who notes their recurring alternations in other texts, refers to the *Yupian* which treats the 𡩶 and 居 as variants. Duan Yucai suggested the same idea.

SHZY: 六五 蠱經 𡩶貞 吉 不可涉 大川

Received: 六五 拂經 居貞 吉 不可涉 大川

Six on the fifth. Intervening in the route. It is an augury of staying. Auspicious. It is not permissible (i.e., advisable) to ford a big river (Hex.27 Yi).¹⁶²

Zeng Xiantong (2005) proposes that 𡩶 is in fact a variant of *chǔ* 處 ‘stay, place’, not of *jū* 居 ‘residence’. Strong evidence for this comes from a Baoshan Chu manuscript where there is a line in which 𡩶 and 居 occur in sequence (49-51). Zeng also notes that the phonetic compatibility between 𡩶/處 *chǔ* (*chù*) < *tsyhoX* (*H*) < **kʰaʔ*(-s) (palatalizing) and 居 *jū* < **k(r)a* would have been the motivation for the repeated rendering of 處 (處) as 居 in received texts.

Xu Shen in the two separate entries for 𡩶 and 處 (處), did not exactly treat them as variant forms, but rather as synonymous words:

𡩶處也从尸尸得几而止也 孝經曰仲尼𡩶𡩶𡩶𡩶𡩶𡩶如此 (14a/715).

𡩶 means *chǔ* 處 ‘stop, stay, place’. The graph is composed of 尸 and 几. A body (尸) obtains a *ji*-table (几) and then stops. The *Xiaojing* has the line, “Zhong Ni (Confucius) *resided* (𡩶)”: the word *reside* here is like saying *reside in retirement* (閒𡩶).


處, 止也. 久得几而止也, 處, 或从虍聲 (14a/716)

處 means *zhǐ* 止 ‘stop’. A foot (traveler) (久) obtains a *ji*-table (几) and then stops. This character is sometimes written with the phonophoric 虍.

162 The character 拂 in the received orthography stands for *fú* **pʰət* ‘invade, violate, provoke’ and *bì* **bət* (or perhaps **N-pʰət*) ‘assist, intervene’. The form 𡩶 in SHZY is hard to explain except that the part 𡩶 is similar to 弼, a variant graph for *bì*. However this does not necessarily suggest that 𡩶 should be read as *bì* rather than *fú*; both of these reflect **pət*, and probably belong to the same word family. The Mawangdui “Zhouyi” has 拂, and the Fuyang “Zhouyi” has 弗. Pu Maozuo (2003: 170) suggests to interpret 𡩶 as the negative *fú* 弗 following the Fuyang version. Shaughnessy (2014: 98-99) interprets 𡩶 as “aid”, but 拂 in R as the negative *fú*. In my translation “intervening”, I intend to represent the *fú/bì* **pət* word family which possibly underlies both the SHZY and the received versions.

Xu Shen’s definitions are like a graphic “pun”, a definition made out of the two graphic components of each character, which is clearly an effort to make sense of the graphic composition that does not involve an identifiable phonophoric.

It is worth noting that 𡵓 and 𡵓 (Qin Seal) are graphically similar. They seem to be duplicates derived from a single form by a mis-interpretation or re-interpretation of either one. The phonophoric 𡵓 preserved in 處 for *chǔ* suggests the OC syllable type ***Kra ~ Qra** (Cf. 𡵓 *hǔ* ***qqʰra** ‘tiger’); the phonophoric in 𡵓 居 has the Ph 古 ***K(r)a**. It is probable that *chǔ* and *jū* which often alternate as synonyms in textual variation, are eventually related in a word family.

(38) 𡵓  (str.50) *jiàn* 潤 ‘valley’ :: 干 (variant of 岸) *àn* ‘bank (of a river)’

The SHZY editor regards 𡵓 a semantic compound (*huiyi* 會意) which is composed of 水 ‘water’ and two of 阜 ‘mound’ on either side to decipher it as *jiān* 潤 ‘valley’ (p. 204). The context of the *Zhouyi* clearly indicates that this word is an orographic term.

SHZY: 初六 鴻漸于𡵓 ...

Received: 初六 鴻漸于干 ...

Six on the first. The wild goose approaches the stream-valley (?).

SHZY: 六二 鴻漸于𡵓 ...



Received: 六二 鴻漸于𡵓 ...

Six on the second. The wild goose approaches the slope.



SHZY: 九三 鴻漸于陸 ...




Received: 九三 鴻漸于陸 ...

Nine on the third. The wild goose approaches the high ground.

I suspect that this graph 𡵓 is a mutation from a compound that has the same underlying structure as 潤 {S 水 ‘water’ + Ph 間 ***Kan**}. Compare the Chu character 閔  (Yu-3, 29) for *jiān* ***kkran** 間 (variant of 間) ‘between’. This is a variant of 間, in which the 月 ‘moon’ is replaced by a semantically and graphically related 夕 ‘evening’. In  the graphic position of 夕 ~ 月 ~ 日 is filled in by the signfic 水 ‘water’, while the 門 part is replaced by the graphically similar 阜 (𡵓) ‘mound’. The semantic value of the latter component might have also contributed the change. The editor also quotes the *Jingdian Shiwen* noting that the character 潤 in the line 考槃在潤 “we make merry in the valley” (Mao 56) of the *Shijing* is rendered 干 in the *Hanshi* 韓詩 version.

Li Ling (2006: 64) suggests to decipher both the SHZY and R characters as *àn* 岸 ‘bank (of a river)’ based on the graph 干 in the received version. The words *jiàn* ***kkran-s** 澗 ‘valley’ and *àn* ***ŋjan-s** 岸 ‘bank (of a river)’ both seem to be related to *jiān* ***kkran** 間 with the root meaning ‘interstice’: bank is deposits of earth parallel on the sides of the river and valley is narrow stream of water between mountains or cliffs. This etymological relation involves ***ŋ-** ~ ***k-**, homorganic nasal and stop alternation. Note also that the phonophoric 干 of *àn* 岸 has velar stop connection: 干 *gān* ***kkān** ‘shield’. The character 間 has another reading, *xiān* ***ggran** (or ***N-kkran**) ‘barricade (noun), bar (verb)’, which is an ‘obstacle that lies between things’. In sum EP {干, 間 ~間} are used for the etymon ‘interstice’.

- (39) 負  (str.37) :: 負 *fū* ‘carry one the back’, ‘liable’, and 怀  (str.48) :: 背 *bèi* ‘the back’

The SHZY character 負  (str.37) for *fū* ***bə?** 負 ‘carry one the back’, ‘liable’ has the phonophoric 怀 (人 + 不). (Cf. 不  (str.4) for *bù* ***pək** ‘not’). The bare phonophoric 怀 , without the signific 貝 ‘cowrie shell, material value’ on the other hand corresponds to the word *bèi* ***ppək-s** 背 ‘the back’ of R in another line, which has the phonophoric 北 (Cf. *běi* ***ppək** ‘north’).

SHZY: 艮 元 怀 不 夔 元 身 ...

Received: 艮 其背 不獲其身 ...

Gen its back. One will not obtain its body...(Hex. 52 Gen)

SHZY: ... 元 止...

Received: 初六 艮 其趾...

[Six on the first, Gen (R)] its foot...


SHZY: 六五 艮 元 賁 ...


Received: 六五 艮 其輔 ...

Six on the fifth. Gen its jaw...

These textual and graphic correspondences show EP {不/怀, 北} which stands for the etymon ***pə?** ~ ***pək** ‘the back’, and its cognate ***bə?** (***N-pə?**) ‘carry on the back’. Perhaps the word 北 *běi* ***ppək** ‘north’ also belongs to this word family, which suggests that ‘north’ means ‘the *back* side’. The signific 貝 was probably motivated by the meaning of *fū* ‘carry one the back’.

(40) 衛 (遂)  (str.8) :: 帥 *shuài* ‘lead (as a commander)’

The form 衛 is a predecessor of 遂 which in the *Yupian* is identified as a *guwen* variant of *shuài* 帥 ‘lead’. A *guwen* form precisely like  in the Song dynasty work *Guwen Sisheng yun* is interpreted as *shuài* 率 ‘lead’ (Pu Maozuo 2003: 147). As Karlgren noted (GSR #498 and #499), the characters 帥 and 率, though graphically unrelated, stand for the same word *shuài* ‘lead’. From our viewpoint, these are EP for the etymon **s-rwət ~ *rwət* ‘lead’: the character 率 is associated with two words, *shuài* < *srjwɨjH* < **s-rwət-s* ‘lead’ and *lǚ* < *ljwɨt* < **rwət* ‘rule, regulation’. As the **s-* prefix and **-s* suffix indicate, ‘to lead’ is a transitive or causative derivative of ‘rule’ (noun) with an ‘outer-directed’ meaning.¹⁶³ The word *lǚ* **rwət* 率 in turn is identified with *lǚ* < *ljwɨt* < **rwət* 律 ‘regulations’. This gives the *bǐ* < *pjit* 筆 ‘brush’ the OC **p-rwət* and *yù* < *ywɨt* 聿 ‘brush’ the OC **b-rwət*, or **N-p-rwət*. The *Erya* 爾雅 (“Shiqi 釋器” chapter) entry for 筆 reads: 不律謂之筆 “*bu-lǚ* (OC **pək-rwət*) refers to ‘brush’, and Guo Pu’s commentary to this line is: 蜀人呼筆為不律也 “People of the Shu region (i.e., the present Sichuan province) pronounce ‘brush’ as *bu-lǚ*”.

(41)  (str.1) 蒙 :: 蒙 *méng ~ máng* ‘muddled’, ‘maculated’

The hexagram theme word, *méng* **mmɔŋ* 蒙, which is generally interpreted as ‘unwise’ is written 蒙 in SHZY. The character 蒙 in the received literature stands for *máng* **mmɔŋ* ‘maculated’. Three of the six lines where the theme word MENG 蒙 ~ 蒙 occurs survive in SHZY:

Received: 匪我求童蒙。童蒙求我。

It is not that we pursue the MENG of the youth. The MENG of the youth pursues us.

Received: 初六。發蒙。利用刑人...

Six on the first. Put forth the MENG. It is advisable to punish the people.

Received: 九二。包蒙吉。納婦吉...

Nine on the second. Wrap the MENG. Auspicious. Take in a woman. Auspicious.

¹⁶³ These reconstructions are equivalent to Karlgren’s **sliwət* and **liwət* (GSR #498).

Received: 六四 . 困蒙 . 吝 .

SHZY: 六四 . 困尢 . 吝 .

Six on the fourth. Restrain the MENG. Distress.

Received: 六五 . 童蒙 吉 .

SHZY: 六五 . 僮尢 . 吉 .

Six on the fifth. The MENG of the youth. Auspicious.

Received: 上九 . 擊蒙 . 不利為寇 ...

SHZY: 上九 . 鼓尢 . 不利為寇 ...

Nine on the top. Strike the MENG. It is not beneficial to launch an attack...

The context itself does not reveal the lexical meaning of MENG; the words collocated with it, ‘youth’, ‘put forth’, ‘restrain’ and ‘strike’ have no apparent semantic or logical relation to one another. The syntactic function of the phrase with MENG fluctuates between the object of a verb and a verb phrase. Multiple interpretations, perhaps intended, are inevitable in such semantic and syntactic environments.

Xu Shen defines the form 尢 as “hairy dog” (尢, 犬之多毛者; 10a/473) in an attempt to explain the graphic component *quǎn* 犬 ‘dog’ in the character. The character 蒙 occurs once in the *Shijing*, interpreted as ‘maculated’ in the Mao Commentary and Zheng Xuan’s sub-commentary: 蒙伐有苑 “Mixed-colored shields are luxuriously decorated” (Mao 128).¹⁶⁴ This repeated alternation of the characters 尢 and 蒙 suggests that *máng* ***mmron** 尢 and *méng* ***mmon** 蒙 belong to the same word family. With the SHZY and R pointing to the same etymon, the interpretation in the line of ‘unwise’ can be affirmed, although we cannot determine which word, *máng* or *méng* is intended in either version.



(42) 尢 (str.11) :: 威 *wēi* ‘awe-inspiring (demeanor)’

Xu Shen records 尢 (尢) as a *Zhouwen* variant of 尢 *wěi* ***G^wəj?** (or perhaps ***N-q^wəj?**) which he defines as ‘right’ (尢, 是也) (CWZ: 94). Xu Shen may have been affected by the component 是 in giving this definition. The character 尢 for *wěi* ***G^wəj?** ‘great’ seems to be just another variant of the latter.

SHZY: 六五 孚交如 尢 吉

Received: 六五 厥孚交如 威 吉

¹⁶⁴ *Shisanjing Zhushu*, “Maoshi zhengyi”, vol.1, 370.

His punishment was [executed] brightly and in an awe-inspiring manner.¹⁶⁵ Auspicious. (Hex.14 *Dayou*)

The OC phonetic forms of *wēi* ***qwəj** 威 and *wěi* ***Gwəj**? 隄 ~ 憊 are quite similar, and so are their meanings, ‘awe-inspiring demeanor’ or ‘grandeur’. These words may belong to the same word family.



(43) 輿 (str.7) :: 輿 *yú* ‘cart (load)’

The SHZY and R character forms for *yú* < *yo* < ***[g](r)a** ‘cart (load)’ share the phonophoric 𨋖 ***K(r)a** (Cf. 舉 *jǔ* < *kjoX* < ***k(r)a**? ‘lift’) while having the synonymous significs 止 ‘step, move’ and 車 ‘cart’ respectively. The latter functions as a phonophoric as well: 車 *chē* < *tsyhæ* < ***kha** (palatalizing) and 𨋖 < *kjo* < ***k(r)a** ‘chariot’. The SHZY 輿 is in fact a simplified variant of 與 *yǔ* < *yoX* < ***g(r)a** ‘combine’, composed of { Ph 𨋖 + Ph 牙 }, in which 牙 *yá* ***ṇ(r)a** ‘fang’ is reduced to a single vertical line (See CWZ: 161). In the Guodian manuscripts, the form 輿 is most common, but there is an occasional variant 𨋖 (LZ-A 20) in which 牙 is preserved intact while the other parts are drastically simplified (CWZ: 163).¹⁶⁶



(44) 譽 (str.51) :: 譽 *yù* ‘praise, fame’

The word *yù* < *yoH* < ***[g](r)aʔ-s** ‘praise, fame’, which is also written with the Ph 與 (> 輿) in both SHZY and R corresponds to MWD 舉 which stands for *jǔ* ***k(r)aʔ** ‘raise, recommend’ in the received orthography. The graph 舉 is composed of {S 手 ‘hand’ + Ph 𨋖 + Ph 牙}.

MWD: 六五 來章有慶舉吉

Received: 六五 來章有慶譽吉

SHZY: 六五 莖章又慶譽吉

Six on the fifth. Merit comes. There are celebration and fame. Auspicious. (Hex.55 *Feng*)

¹⁶⁵ The interpretation follows Gao Heng (1947 [1973]: 55).

¹⁶⁶ A similar case of graphic simplification is *xué* ***ggrawk** 學 ‘learn’. The phonophoric 爻 is reduced to a vertical line in 𠂔 (LZ-B 3). Chu manuscripts have 𠂔 (Yu-1, 43), structurally similar to 學, writing the latter’s cognate words *jiāo* ***kkraw** 教 ‘teach’ (Cf. 𠂔 散盤 ~ 𠂔 鄢侯簋) and *xiào* ***ggrawk-s** 校 ‘school’. The form 𠂔 (中山王鼎), which is identical with the Seal form for *xué* ‘learn’ stands for *jiāo* ‘teach’ in the Zhongshan inscription (Zhang Shouzhong 1981: 75).

These two seem to be etymologically related, the former a noun derived from the latter by the **-s* suffix.¹⁶⁷ Then the **[g]*- of *yù* may be revised to **N-[k]*-. The textual variation 舉 :: 譽 :: 譽 thus manifests variant forms of a single character in the early script that are associated with the two cognate words *jǔ* and *yù*. We discussed the synonymous significs 言 ‘language’ and 心 ‘mind’ earlier; the 手 ‘hand’ in 舉 was probably introduced for the concrete meaning ‘lift’ of *jǔ*. For this hexagram line, the interpretation with the noun *yù* is preferred to the verb *jǔ*. The variant in the Mawangdui version should not be interpreted as *jǔ* simply because the same graph functions so in the received standard orthography.



(45) (str.35) 訃 訃 ‘reveal or bring up others’ faults’ :: 蹇 蹇 ‘pull up, lift’

In SHZY the hexagram theme *jiǎn* MC *kjot* < **kat* 蹇 (Hex.39) is written as 訃, which stands for *jié* MC *kjenX* < **kran* in the received Qin standard orthography.¹⁶⁸ As Karlgren suggested (1956: 17), these two words are related given the occasional contact between the homorganic nasal and dental stops **-t* and **-n*.¹⁶⁹ Consider also the **-n* ~ **-t* interchange in the characters for this textual variation: the form 訃 (SHZY) for *jié* has the phonophoric 干 which generally represents the syllable type **Kan* (ending in **-n*), but the Mandarin pronunciation *jié* points to coda *-t* rather than *-n* as its immediate predecessor, which then regularly goes back to OC **-t*; the form 蹇 (R) for Mandarin *jiǎn* suggests *-n* which then usually reflects **-n*; however, the *Guangyun* MC is *kjot*, ending in *-t*, which is reconstructed OC **kat*.

For the semantic relation, *jié* ‘bring up (others’ faults)’, may be considered as a figurative sense of *jiǎn* ‘pull up’. The following *Zhouyi* lines make better sense if read with their etymological relation in mind.

¹⁶⁷ Karlgren in the GSR has two separate phonetic series for 舉 (#75) and 與 (#89) treating the former as a velar series and the latter a dental series. We now see them together as a single, velar series.

¹⁶⁸ MWD has 蹇, with 走 ‘run’, an apparent SS of 足 ‘foot’ in R 蹇.

¹⁶⁹ Karlgren cites two pronunciations for 訃: *kān* < *kan* < **kkan* ‘knock against, attack’ :: same character *jié* < *kjot* < **kat* ‘to accuse’. See Matisoff (2003: 516-526) on variation between final stops and nasals of the same place of articulation in Tibeto-Burman, between Chinese and TB (hence variation in Sino-Tibeto-Burman), and within Chinese. Matisoff considers this “the most important variational pattern in TB/Sino-Tibetan word families” (p.516).

SHZY: 初六 迭 訐 來 譽

Received: 初六 往 蹇 來 譽

Six on the first. Finding faults is gone and praising merits has come.

In this line *jiǎn* 蹇 / *jié* 訐 ‘bring up, pull up’ contrasts with *yù* *[g](r)a?-s 譽 ‘praise, recommend’, which is related to *jǔ* *k(r)a? 舉 ‘lift, recommend’. We now understand that *jiǎn* 蹇 and *yù* 譽 are both ‘lifting’, but their meanings contrast by the positive and negative connotations respectively.



(46) 蹇 (蹇) (str.22) :: 艱 *jiān* ‘be in difficult situation’

The received character 艱 is composed of two equivalent phonophorics, 堇 and 艮 representing the syllable type *Kər. (Cf. *qín* *gər 堇 ‘clay’, *gèn* *kkər-s 艮 ‘hexagram’). The corresponding SHZY 蹇 (蹇) has only one of the two. These EP alternate in another word occurring in the *Zhouyi*:¹⁷⁰



(47) 瞢 (瞢) (str.48) :: 限 *xiàn* ‘obstacle’¹⁷¹

Note the semantic relation between *jiān* *kkər 艱 ‘be in a difficult situation’ and *xiàn* *ggrər? (*N-kkər?) 限 ‘obstacle, limit’. Based on the alternation of the EP {堇, 艮} and the semantic relation observed in these two words, we can identify a word family with the root meaning OBSTREPEROUS whose members include words in both the 堇 and 艮 series. See first some examples from the 艮 series (GSR #416) with Karlgren’s own definitions.

hěn *ggər? (*N-kkər?) 很 var. 很 ‘disobedient,...oppose, quarrelsome...’

hèn *ggər?-s (*N-kkər?-s) 恨 ‘hate, displeased’

kěn *kkhər? 垦 ‘cleave, split, damage’

In the light of the etymological connection, we can see *hèn* ‘hate’ is a mode of ‘opposing’ and ‘being difficult’. Words in the 蹇 (蹇) phonetic series more or less

¹⁷⁰ Karlgren interprets this word *gèn* *kkər-s 艮 in the *Zhouyi* “refractory, obstinate, resist” because of its assumed graphic and etymological relation with other words in the same phonetic series.

¹⁷¹ The word written by this character in this *Zhouyi* context is commonly suspected to mean ‘waist’. There is no assumed phonetic loan relation.

all surround the meaning ‘distressed, difficulty’. Besides the representative *jiān* 艱 ‘distressed’, GSR #480 has the following words.

jīn (< *jīn*) ***gərʔ-s** (***N-kərʔ-s**) 僅 ‘barely’

jīn ***kərʔ** 謹 ‘cautious, attentive, careful’


qín ***gər** (***N-kər**) 慍 ‘sad, sincere’


The *Yupian* defines this word as ‘agonized, worried’ (CWZ: 629).

qín ***gər** 勤 ‘toil, diligent’

The “cautiousness” and “sincerity” are perhaps emotional reactions or attitudes from being in a difficult situation.

5.2.7 Phonologically motivated lexical variation

(48) 工  (str.17) :: 凶 *xiōng* ‘disastrous’

The SHZY character  (str.26) regularly corresponds to the *xiōng* 凶 ‘disastrous’ of R, except for one place where the character 工 occurs instead.

SHZY: 九四 陸又憂 貞工 ...

Received: 九四 隨有獲 貞凶 ...

Nine on the fourth. As for the *Sui*, (‘following’), one will gain [something]. Ascertained disastrous (Hex.17 *Sui*).

The OC for the word *gōng* ***kkoŋ** ‘craftsmanship’, which the character 工 regularly stands for in the W.S. script, is phonologically compatible with *xiōng* ***qʰoŋ** 凶. The question is which word the SHZY character 工 is intended for. The word *gōng* ‘craftsmanship’ immediately following *zhēn* 貞 ‘divine, ascertain’ does not fit in the patterns of how this divinatory term is used in the *Zhouyi*. The term *zhēn* is typically followed by a word prognosticating auspiciousness or inauspiciousness of various degrees: *zhēn jí* 貞吉 ‘ascertained auspicious’, *zhēn lìn* 貞吝 ‘~ distressful’, *zhēn lì* 貞厲 ‘~ dangerous’ and *zhēn xiōng* 貞凶 ‘~ disastrous’. Distinctive from these generic words, there is a word ‘illness,’ viz., *zhēn jí* 貞疾 ‘ascertained to be ill’ (Hex.16 *Yu*) occurring in the same syntactic position. Following the syntactic and semantic pattern shown in these examples, the word *jí* ‘illness’ is correctly interpreted as a specialized term appropriate to the line registering an inauspicious divination. Between *zhēn* 貞 and a word of (in)auspiciousness, a word for the subject of divination can be present: *zhēn zhàng rén jí* 貞丈人吉 ‘ascertaining in regard to the able-bodied man, auspicious’ (Hex.7 *Shi*), *zhēn fù rén jí fūzǐ*

xiōng 貞婦人吉夫子凶 ‘ascertaining in regard to the wife, auspicious, but in regard to the husband, disastrous’ (Hex.32 *Heng*).

If the SHZY phrase “貞工” is intended to mean “ascertained craftsmanship (or accomplishment),” although it appears to make sense in isolation, it would be out of place with that meaning in the language of the *Zhouyi*, and therefore it is unlikely to be the wording in the original *Zhouyi*. The alternation between these two characters or phonophorics 工 and 凶 is unknown from other excavated manuscripts or received early texts, so it does not seem that the former is a legitimate alternative character for the word *xiōng* ‘disastrous’. Thus the SHZY variant 工 is most likely an error that has arisen through the phonetic similarity between the two words involved.