

# Appendix I: A Lexicon of the Shanghai “Zhouyi”

1. This lexicon lists all words occurring in the Shanghai “Zhouyi” manuscript in Pinyin alphabetical order. 2. For words occurring two times or more in the manuscript, the lexicon enters one representative graph per each graphically and/or structurally distinctive character-type. 3. The definitions include both the meanings in the *Zhouyi* and those in Classical Chinese in general. 4. Undeciphered Shanghai “Zhouyi” characters or those for etymologically obscure words (e.g., phonograms) are indicated as simply “corresponding to” certain characters in the received version.

- 001  安 ān < ʔan < \*qqaŋ ① ‘stable’, ‘secure’, ② ‘where’, ‘what’, ‘how’  
str.5

- 002  班 bān < pæn < \*ppran ‘distribute’, ‘scattered’  
str.22

- 003  [陜] 阪 bǎn < bæŋ < \*bbran? < \*bbrar? ‘slope’  
str.50  
SS {阜 (阝) ‘mound’, 土 ‘ground’}

This word is probably related to 陂 bēi < pje < \*paj < \*par ‘river bank, slope, slanting’ (as glossed in GSR #25); note the graphic similarity between 反 (in item 003) and 皮 (in 007). These may have the same graphic origin.

R has 磐 pán < bwan < \*bba[n/r] ‘big flat rock’ (*Zhouyi*)

- 004   [𡗗] 邦 bāng < pæng < \*ppron ‘state’  
str.8 str.13

- 005   北 *běi* < *pok* < \***ppək** ‘north’  
str.24 str.35

MWD has 北 and 丘. The characters 北 and 丘 () are graphically similar.

- 006  [比]  [比] 比 *bǐ* (*bì*) < *pjiX* < \***pjǐ?**(-s)  
str.10 str.10 ‘compare’, ‘side by side’ ‘obey’; ‘(dense)’ ‘crowded’

- 007  [皮] 彼 *bǐ* < *pjeX* < \***paj?** < (\***par?**) ‘that’, ‘those’, ‘others’  
str.56

See 003 above for the explanation of \*-r.

- 008  [褊] 褊 *bì* < *bjiejH* (chongniu IV) < \***bet-s** ‘wear out’, ‘worn out’  
str.44

SS {衣 ‘clothes’, 支 ‘handle’}

- 009  [襮] 表 *biǎo* < *pjewX* < \***praw?** ‘outergarment’, ‘express’  
str.6

The clerical form 表 developed from the Qin Seal form 表 (8a/390) with S 衣 and Ph 毛 (cf. 毛 *máo* < \***mmaw** ‘body hair’). The Chu form has Ph 麋 *páo* < \***bbraw** ‘a kind of deer’, hence EP {毛, 麋 (~麋)}

R has 褊 *chǐ* < *trhiX* < \***tʰre?** ‘loosen’, ‘steal (clothes)’

- 010  [賓] 賓 *bīn* < *pjin* (chongniu IV) < \***pin** ‘guest’, ‘expel’  
str.40

- 011  [並] 並 *bìng* < *bengX* < \***bban?** ‘together’, ‘simultaneously’  
str.45



- 012 不 *bù* < *pjut* [irregular coda] < \***pək** ‘not’

str.1 str.1 str.4



- 013 [埤] 埤 *Shuowen* ‘increase, augment’, possibly a variant of 附 *fù* < *bjuH*

str.51 < \***bo-s** ‘augment’ via SS {土, 阜}

R has 蓐 *bù* < *buwX* < \***bbəʔ** (< \***bboʔ**) ‘thatch’



- 014 菜 *cài* < *tshojH* < \***ttsʰə-s** ‘vegetable’, ‘greens’

str.21



- 015 [藏] corresponding to R 藏 *cáng* (*zàng*) < *dzang* (*H*) < \***ddzan(-s)**

str.7 ‘store’, ‘hide’; (‘storehouse’, ‘bury’, ‘intestine’)

This graph may be a simplified form of 臧, the Chu regional variant to 臧 or 藏.



- 016 [藏] 藏 *cáng* < *dzang* (*H*) < \***ddzan(-s)** ‘store (grain)’; ‘storage place’

str.40

‘bury’

R has 壯 *zhuàng* < *tsrjangH* < \***tsran-s** ‘strong young man’, ‘able-bodied’

This same correspondence occurs three times (str. 38, 40 and 54).



- 017 [塞] *Shuowen* ‘solid’ (“實也”) corresponding to R 惻 *cè* < *tsrhik*

str.45

< \***tsʰrək** ‘pained’, ‘sad’

The character 塞 seems to be a variant of 塞 *sāi* (< *sè*) < *sok* < \***ssək** ‘blocked’, ‘filled in’; also read *sài* < *sojH* < \***ssək-s** ‘border’, ‘frontier’. This word might have also had a meaning that has to do with emotion. The MWD version has 塞 in this textual position.

- 018  長 *cháng* < *drjang* < \***draŋ** (\***N-traŋ**) ‘long’, ‘strong point’  
str.8 *zhǎng* < *trjangX* < \***traŋʔ** ‘senior’, ‘grow’
- 019  車 *chē* < *tsyhæ* < \***kʰa** (palatalizing) and *jū* < *kjo* < \***k(r)a** ‘chariot’  
str.22
- 020  臣 *chén* < *dzyin* < \***gin** (palatalizing)  
str.30 str.35 ‘servant’, ‘captive’; ‘vassal’ (literally or as a humble self-reference)
- 021  成 *chéng* < *dzyeng* < \***deŋ** ‘accomplish’, ‘complete’  
str.5  
The dot in this character appears to be phonophoric, 丁 ● *dīng* < \***tten** ‘fourth of the *tiangan* Heavenly Stems’.
- 022  承 *chéng* < *dzying* < \***dəŋ** ‘assist’  
str.8 str.28
- 023  乘 *chéng* (*shèng*) < *dying(H)* [irregular initial] < \***ləŋ(-s)** ‘ride’, ‘chariot’  
str.37
- 024  遲 *chí* (*zhì*) < *drjij (H)* < \***lrij(-s)** ‘tardy’; ‘wait’  
str.14

- 025   出 *chū* < *tsyhwit* < **\*k<sup>h</sup>ut** (palatalizing) ‘exit’, ‘emerge’  
str.2 str.55

- 026  初 *chū* < *tsrhjo* < **\*tts<sup>h</sup>ra** ‘beginning’, ‘formerly’  
str.2

- 027    [尻] 處 *chǔ* (*chù*) < *tsyhoX* (*H*) < **\*k<sup>h</sup>a?** (-s)  
str.16 str.25 str.26 (palatalizing) rest, reside; (residence)  
alternates with R 居 *jū* ‘reside’ (regular) and R 机 *jī* ‘plant name’, ‘ji-table’ (just once, str.54)

- 028  畜  [筮] *chù* < *thrjuw* < **\*t<sup>h</sup>ruk-s** ‘livestock’, ‘domestic animal’  
str.20 str.22 *xù* < *xjuwk* [irregular initial] < **\*t<sup>h</sup>uk** ‘rear’, ‘nourish’

SS {田 ‘field’, 土 ‘earth’} EP {筮, 畜}

Note the phonophoric 筮 ① *zhú* < *trjuwk* < **\*truk** ‘bamboo’ ② *dǔ* < *tuwk* < **\*ttuk?** ‘thick’, ‘generous’ (篤). Perhaps the character 筮 is a variant form of 畜 with an added phonophoric 筮 and a synonymous signific 土 ‘earth’ as an alternative to the 田 ‘field’.

- 029    川 *chuān* < *tsyhwen* < **\*[k/q]<sup>hw</sup>ən** (palatalizing)  
str.2 str.25 str.25 ‘stream’, ‘river’

- 030  朝 ① *zhāo* < *trjew* < **\*traw** ‘morning’  
str.6 ② *cháo* < *drjaw* < **\*draw** (**\*N-traw**) ‘morning audience at court’  
③ *cháo* < *drjaw* < **\*draw** (**\*N-traw**) ‘morning tide’, ‘current’

- 031  此 *cǐ* < *tshjeX* < \***ts<sup>h</sup>e?** ‘this’, ‘these’  
str.53

R has 斯 *sī* < *sje* < \***se** ‘split’; ‘this’ ‘these’ ‘thus’

- 032    [次] 次 *cì* < *tshijH* < \***ts<sup>h</sup>ij-s** ‘sequence’ ‘second’;  
str.7 str.53 str.53 ‘military camp’

- 033   賜 *cì* (< *sì*) < *sjeH* < \***slek-s** ‘grant’  
str.5 str.7

- 034  從 *cóng* < *dzjowng (H)* < \***dzon(-s)** ‘follow’, ‘comply’;  
str.5 (‘accompany’, ‘accomplice’)

- 035  [萃] corresponding to 萃 *cùi* < *dzjwijH* < \***dzət-s** ‘flock’, ‘crowd’,  
str.42 ‘bunch’

- 036    大 *dà* < *dajH* < \***ddat-s** ‘large’, ‘great’  
str.2 str.55 str.25

- 037  [帶] 帶 *dài* < *tajH* < \***ttat-s** ‘belt’  
str.5



038 [眈 眈] corresponding to R 眈眈 *dān-dān* (*dān* < *tom* < \***ttəm**)

str.25 ‘appearance of seriously observing something’ (as interpreted  
in the *Shuowen*: 眈，視近而志遠。从目亢聲。易曰虎視眈眈; 4b/131)



039 道 *dào* < *dawX* (*H*) < \***lluʔ**(-s) ① ‘path’; (‘guide’ > 導)

str.17 ② ‘say’



040 [得] 得 *dé* < *tok* < \***ttək** ‘obtain’, ‘gain’

str.16 str.21



041 [惠] 德 *dé* < *tok* < \***ttək** ‘virtue’, ‘inner strength’

str.28



042 覲 *dì* < *dek* < \***ddok** ‘appear’, ‘meet’

str.52



043 弟 *dì* < *dejX* < \***llijʔ** ‘younger brother’

str.8



044 [顛] corresponding to R 顛 *diān* < *ten* < \***ttin** ‘top of the

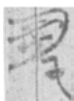
str.24 str.25 head’, ‘upside down’



- 045 東 *dōng* < *tuwng* < \***ttōŋ** ‘east’  
str.35 str.57



- 046 [达] corresponding to R 動 *dòng* < *duwngX* < \***ddōŋ** ‘move’  
str.43



- 047 [斗] 斗 *dǒu* < *tuwX* < \***ttoʔ** ‘Big Dipper’, ‘unit of measure’  
str.51  
EP {主, 斗}

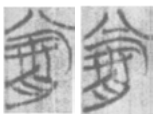


- 048 [蜀] 獨 *dú* < *duwk* < \***ddok** ‘alone’, ‘lonely’, ‘independent’  
str.38



- 049 [章] 敦 *dūn* < *twon* < \***ttwān** < \***ttwār** ① ‘thick’ ② ‘urge’  
str.49  
*duì* < *twoj* < \***ttwəj** < \***ttwār** ‘vanquish’, ‘take under control’  
*duì* < *twojH* < \***ttwəj-s** < \***ttwār-s** ‘type of ritual vessel’  
(variant of 斂)

The form 亨 evolves into 享 in clericization; the component 羊 is displaced by 支.



- 050 [贅, 豚] possibly variant of 豚 corresponding to R 遁 *dùn* < *dwonH* < \***llwān-s** ‘hide away’  
str.30 str.30

Note that 豕 and 豕 are distinguished in the W.S. script. The phonophoric series 豕 (GSR # 526) represents the syllable type \***Lwət**.



051 [𠂔] 惡 ① è < ʔak < \***qqak** ‘loathsome’, ‘bad’

str.32

wù < ʔuH < \***qqak-s** ‘hate’

② wū < ʔu < \***qqa** ‘how’

SS {口 ‘mouth’, 心 ‘heart’}



052 而 ér < nyi < \***nə** ① ‘whiskers’ ② ‘and then’, ‘but’

str.17

str.20

str.22



053 [尔] 爾 ěr < nyeX < \***nij?** < \***nir?** ① ‘blooms of flower’ ② ‘you’, ‘your’;

str.24

‘this’

Cf. 獮 xiǎn < sjenX < \***s-nir?** ‘automal hunt’, ‘kill’



054 二 èr < nyijH < \***nij-s** ‘two’

str.22



055 伐 fá < bjwot < \***bat** ‘cut down’, ‘attack’

str.13



056 反 fǎn < pjwonX < \***par?** ‘turn over’, ‘return’; ‘betray’

str.35



057 方 fāng < pjwang < \***pan** ‘square’; ‘quarter’, ‘area’, ‘direction’

str.9



058 非 fēi < pjwij < \***pəj** ‘not to be’; ‘wrong’, ‘blame’

str.10



059 飛 *fēi* < *pjwij* < \***pəj** < \***pər** ‘fly’ (Cf. \***Cə.pər** in Baxter-Sagart 2011)

str.56

Cf. 翬 *fēn* < *pjun* < \***pər** ‘fly (v.), soar’



060 [肥] 肥 *fēi* < *bjiw* < \***bəj** ‘fat’

str.31



061 [𦍋] corresponding to R 𦍋 *fēi* < *bjiw* < \***bəj** ‘calf’

str.26



062 [芬] corresponding to R 𦍋 *fēn* < *bjun* < \***bər** ‘castrated pig’

str.23

Perhaps EP {賁, 分}

Cf. *fēn* < *pjun* < \***pər** 饋 ‘to steam rice’ :: 賁 *bì* < \***pər-s** ‘brilliant’, ‘ornate’ (GSR #437); *fēn* < *pjun* < \***pər** 分 ‘divide’



063 焚 *fēn* < *bjun* < \***bən** ‘burn’

str.53



064 豐 *fēng* < *bjuwng* < \***buŋ** ‘abundant’, ‘grand’

str.51



065 缶 *fōu* < *pjuwX* < \***puʔ** ‘jar’

str.9



066 否 *fǒu* < *pjuwX* < \***pə?** ‘not’, ‘not so’

str.31



067 夫 ① *fū* < *pju* < \***pa** ‘grown man’, ‘husband’

str.1

str.9

str.50

② *fú* < *bju* < \***ba** ‘any particular case’



068 [肤] ① 膚 *fū* < *pju* < \***pra** ‘skin’ (str.33 and 41)

str.33

② 逋 *bū* < *pwu* < \***ppa** ‘escape’ (str.4)

EP {夫, 膚, 甫}



069 孚 *fū* < *bju* < \***bu** ‘incubate’, ‘protect’

str.40



070 弗 *fú* < *pjut* < \***pət** ‘not’

str.56



071 [翼] corresponding to R 拂 *fú* < *bjut* < \***bət** ‘pass by’

str.24



072 [頤] 輔 *fǔ* < *bjuX* < \***ba?**

str.27

str.49

① ‘cheeks, cheekbones’ (Zhouyi) ② ‘assist’

EP {父, 甫}

073 父 *fū* < *bjuX* < \***baʔ** ‘father’str.18 *fū* < *pjuX* < \***paʔ** suffix. honorific reference to a man074 [𠂔] 𠂔 *fū* < *pjuwk* < \***puk** ‘rope’

str.22

075 [復] 復 *fū* < *bjuwk* < \***buk** ‘return’

str.20

str.37

str.32

str.50

*fū* < *bjuwH* < \***buk-s** ‘repeatedly’

SS {𠂔 ‘move’, 彳 ‘road’}

076 福 *fū* < *pjuwk* < \***pək** ‘blessings’, ‘wine and meat for an offering’

str.57

077 [𠂔/富] 富 *fū* < *pjuwH* < \***pək-s** ‘wealthy’

str.12

SS {貝 ‘cowie shell, material value’, 宀 ‘roof, treasury’}

078 [負] ① 負 *fū* < *bjuwX* < \***bəʔ** ‘carry one the back’

str.33

str.37

str.48

(str.33)

② 背 *bèi* < *pwojH* < \***ppək-s** ‘the back’ (str.48)

EP {怀, 北}

*bèi* < *bwojH* < \***bbək-s** (\***N-ppək-s**)

‘turn back on’

- 079   婦 *fù* < *bjuwX* < **\*bəʔ** ‘married woman’, ‘wife’  
str.28 str.50

- 080  [𩺰] corresponding to R 𩺰 *fū* < *bjuH* < **\*bo-s** ‘toad’ ‘frog’  
str.44

- 081   [改] 改 *gǎi* < *kojX* < **\*kkəʔ** ‘change’, ‘alter’  
str.44 str.47

This character corresponds once to R 巳 巳 as in *sì rì* 巳日(str.47). The latter is interpreted as *sì rì* 祀日 ‘day of a si-offering’ (Gao Heng 1973: 169)

- 082   [榦] 榦 *gàn* < *kanH* < **\*kkan-s** ‘trunk’, ‘capable’  
str.18 str.18

- 083    [革] 革 *gé* < *kək* < **\*kkṛək** ‘raw-hide’, ‘leather’  
str.30 str.47 str.47

- 084  [𠂔] 格 *gé* < *kæk* < **\*kkṛak** ‘arrive’, ‘connect’  
str.42

R has 假 *jiǎ* < *kæX* < **\*kraʔ** ‘go’

- 085  [率] corresponding to R 葛 *gé* < *kat* < **\*kkat**  
str.43 ‘name of a plant’ as in *gé lěi* 葛藟

- 086   [眚] 眚 *gèn* < *konH* < \***kkər-s** ‘disobey’ (*Shuowen*)  
str.48 str.49

- 087  [耨] 耨 *gēng* < *keng* < \***kkren** ‘till’, ‘cultivate’  
str.20

- 088  [工] 工 *gōng* < *kuwng* < \***kkon** ‘craftsman(ship)’; ‘achievement’, ‘work’  
str.16 (> 功)

- 089   [躬] 躬 *gōng* < *kjuwng* < \***kun** ‘body’, ‘oneself’  
str.49 str.54  
EP {吕 (宫), 弓}

- 090  [肱] 肱 *gōng* < *kwong* < \***kk<sup>w</sup>əŋ** ‘upper arm’  
str.51  
SS {手 ‘hand’, 肉 ‘flesh’}

- 091  [鞶] 鞶 *gǒng* < *kjowngX* < \***konʔ** ‘tie’, ‘firm and tight’  
str.47

- 092  [敏] 拘 *jū* < *kjo* < \***kro** ‘fetter’, ‘restrain’ (str.17),  
str.40 姤 *gòu* < *kuwH* < \***kkō-s** Hexagram name (str.40)  
SS {支 ‘treat’, 手 ‘handle’}



093 [媾] 媾 *gòu* < *kuwH* < \***kk***o-s* ‘contract (a marriage)’

str.34

EP {句, 蓐} and SS {人 ‘person’, 女 ‘woman’}



094 [孤] 孤 *gū* < *ku* < \***kk**<sup>w</sup>*a* ‘orphaned’, ‘alone’

str.33

SS {人 ‘person’, 子 ‘child’}



095 古 *gǔ* (*gù*) < *kuX* (*H*) < \***kk***a?*(-s) ‘antiquity’, ‘past’; (‘cause’, ‘reason’, ‘similar past occurrences’, ‘deliberately’ > 故)

str.35



096 [蠱] 蠱 *gǔ* < *kuX* < \***kk***a?* ‘legendary poisonous bug’

str.18

str.18



097 [浴] 谷 *gǔ* < *kuwk* < \***kk***ok* ‘valley’

str.44



098 [梏] corresponding to R 牯 *gù* < *kowk* < \***kk***uk* ‘pen’, ‘shackles’

str.22

(variant of 梏)

and to MWD 鞫 *jú* < *kjuwk* < \***kk***uk* ‘restrained’, ‘obstructed’



099 [蒾] 瓜 *guā* < *kwæ* < \***kk**<sup>w</sup>*ra* ‘gourd’, ‘squash’

str.41



- 100 [决] 决 *guài* < *kwæjH* < \***kk**rat-s ‘decide’  
str.38



- 101 官 *guān* < *kwan* < \***kk**<sup>w</sup>an ‘administrative division’, ‘official’(noun)  
str.16



- 102 [觀] 觀 *guān* < *kwan* < \***kk**<sup>w</sup>an ‘observe’, ‘view’  
str.24 Cf. \***C.qw**<sup>5</sup>ar in Baxter-Sagart (2011)



- 103 光 *guāng* < *kwang* < \***kk**<sup>w</sup>an ‘illumination’, ‘shine’  
str.2



- 104 [歸] 歸 *guì* < *kjwij* < \***k**<sup>w</sup>əj ‘for a woman to marry’, ‘return (home)’  
str.50



- 105 龜 *guī* < *kjwij* < \***k**<sup>w</sup>ə ‘turtle’  
str.24



- 106 [過] 過 *guò* < *kwaH* < \***kk**<sup>w</sup>aj-s ‘pass by’, ‘surpass’, ‘transgress’  
str.56

EP {化, 𠂔}, SS {𠂔 ‘move’, 止 ‘step’}

In the Guodian manuscripts the word *guò* 過 used in the sense of ‘transgression’ is regularly written as 𠂔 (Cheng 36) (CWZ: 621).



- 107 寒 *hán* < *han* < \***ggan** ‘cold’

str.45



- 108 [欽] 含 *hán* (*hàn*) < *hom* (*H*) < \***ggəm(-s)** ‘to hold in the mouth’,  
str.41 ‘include’; (‘jade or pearl put in the mouth of the dead’, variant  
of 琰 or 嗆)

EP {今, 欠}, SS {玉 ‘jade’, 口 ‘mouth’}



- 109 行 *háng* < *hang* < \***ggaŋ** ‘road’, ‘line’

str.13

*xíng* < *hæŋg* < \***ggraŋ** ‘walk’, ‘act out’



- 110 [𡵓] 號 *háo* (*hào*) < *haw* (*H*) < \***GGaw(-s)** ‘shout’, ‘call’; (‘command’  
str.42 ‘designation’)



- 111 好 *hǎo* (*hào*) < *xawX* (*H*) < \***qq<sup>h</sup>uʔ(-s)** ‘good-looking’ ‘good’;  
str.30 (‘be fond of’, ‘hospitality’)



- 112 [𣎵] 𣎵 *wǎi* < *wai* < \***ggəi** ‘constant’, ‘consistent’

str.15



str.28

SS {糸 ‘thread, continuity’, 心 ‘mind’}



- 113 [鳥] 鳥 *niǎo* < *niaw* < \***ggon** ‘wild goose’

str.50



str.50

- 114  [侯] 侯 variant of 侯 *hóu* < *huw* < \***ggo** ‘target’, ‘a hereditary rank’  
str.14

- 115  [後] 後 *hòu* < *huwX* < \***ggo?** ‘come behind’, ‘late’; ‘posterity’  
str.9  
SS {𡳿 ‘move’, 彳 ‘road’}

- 116  [斛] *hú* < *huwk* < \***ggok** ‘unit of measure’  
str.42  
corresponding to R 握 *wò* < ?*æwk* < \***qqrok** ‘to grasp’

- 117  [狐] 狐 *hú* < *hu* < \***gg<sup>w</sup>a** ‘fox’  
str.37  
SS {鼠 ‘rat’, 犬 (犴) ‘dog’}

- 118  [虎] 虎 *hǔ* < *xuX* < \***qq<sup>h</sup>ra?** ‘tiger’  
str.25

- 119  [户]  [屎] 户 *hù* < *hwuX* < \***gga?** (\***N-kka?** related to 家 *jiā* \***kkra**)  
str.5 str.52  
‘household’

- 120  [懷] 懷 *huái* < *hwej* < \***gg<sup>w</sup>rəj** ‘cherish’, ‘embrace’  
str.53

- 121  [𣎵]  [𣎵] corresponding to R 渙 *huàn* < *xwanH* < \***q<sup>wh</sup>a[n/r]-s**  
str.54 str.54 ‘scattered’, ‘spread’

Compare the phonophoric 爰 *yuán* < *hjwon* < \***G<sup>w</sup>an** < \***G<sup>w</sup>ar** ‘here’

- 122   黃 *huáng* < *hwang* < \***gg<sup>w</sup>an** ‘yellow’  
str.30 str.37

- 123  [𠄎] corresponding R 擣 *huī* < *xjwe* < \***q<sup>wh</sup>aj** ‘indicate’, ‘lead’  
str.12  
EP {花(化), 為}

- 124   [𠄎]  [𠄎] 悔 *huǐ* < *xwojX* < \***hmmə?** ‘regret’, ‘trouble’  
str.19 str.26 str.47  
SS {口 ‘mouth’, 心 ‘heart’}

- 125  [昏] *hūn* < *xwon* < \***hmmən** ‘marriage’ (> 婚)  
str.34

- 126  或 *huò* < *hwok* < \***GG<sup>w</sup>ək** ‘(in) some (cases)’, ‘perhaps’  
str.5

- 127  [獲] 獲 *huò* < *hwək* < \***GG<sup>w</sup>rak** ‘capture (a game or captive)’  
str.48



- 128 [穫] 穫 *huò* < *hawk* < \*GG<sup>w</sup>ak ‘harvest’  
str.20



- 129 [擊] 擊 *jī* < *kek* < \*kkek ‘beat’, ‘strike’  
str.1

SS {支 ‘treat, attack’, 殳 ‘spear’, 手 ‘handle’}



- 130 吉 *jí* < *kjit* < \*kit ‘auspicious’, ‘favorable’  
str.5



- 131 即 *jí* < *tsik* < \*tsək ‘approach’, ‘precisely’, ‘just so’  
str.5



- 132 汲 *jí* < *kip* < \*krəp ‘draw water from a well’  
str.45



- 133 疾 *jí* < *dzit* < \*dzit ‘illness’, ‘urgent’  
str.15 str.21



- 134 [祭] 祭 *jì* < *tsjejH* < \*tsat-s ‘sacrificial offering’  
str.57

SS {支 ‘treat’, 又 ‘(right-)hand’}



- 135 [忼] 忼 *jì* < *gjiwH* (chongniu IV) < \***g<sup>w</sup>it-s** ‘emotionally moved’  
str.48 (Shuowen)

R has 快 *kuài* < *khwæjH* < \***kk<sup>wh</sup>rat-s** ‘pleased’



- 136 既 *jì* < *kjiH* < \***kət-s** ‘exhaust’, ‘total solar eclipse’; ‘already’  
str.53

R has 即 *jí* < *tsik* < \***tsək** ‘approach’ ‘on the same day or at the same place’,  
‘(if)...then’



- 137 [濟] 濟 *jì* < *tsej* < \***ttsij-s** ‘ford’, ‘rescue-relieve’, ‘increase’  
str.58

EP {妻, 齊}



- 138 [家] 家 *jiā* < *kæ* < \***kkra** ‘home’, ‘estate’  
str.8 str.22



- 139 [嘉] 嘉 *jiā* < *kæ* < \***kkraj** ‘fine’  
str.17 str.31

SS {口 ‘mouth’, 又 ‘(right-)hand’}



- 140 [夾] 頰 *jiá* < *kep* < \***kkep** ‘cheeks’  
str.27

- 141  甲 *jiǎ* < *kæp* < \***kkrap** ① ‘shell’, ‘armor’  
str.18 ② ‘the first of the ten *tiangan*, or heavenly stems’

- 142  [段] 假 *jiǎ* < *kæX* < \***kkraʔ** ① ‘go’ ② ‘borrow’  
str.54

- 143  [堇] 艱 *jiān* < *kən* < \***kkərər** ‘be in difficult situation’, ‘difficult’  
str.22  
EP {堇, 艮}

- 144   見 ① *jiàn* < *kenH* < \***kken-s** ‘see’, ‘pay a visit’  
str.1 str.42 ② *xiàn* < *henH* < \***ggen-s** (\***N-kken-s**) ‘appear’

- 145  建 *jiàn* < *kjonH* < \***kan-s** ‘establish’  
str.14

- 146  澗 *jiàn* < *kænH* < \***kkran-s** ‘stream-valley’  
str.50

R has 干, likely standing for 岸 *àn* < \***ŋjan-s** < \***ŋjar-s** ‘bank (of a river)’

- 147  [漸]  [漸]  [漸] 漸 *jiàn* < *dzjemX* < \***dzam** (\***N-tsam**)  
str.50 str.50 str.50 ‘progress’, ‘approach’, ‘permeate’  
*jiàn* < *tsjemH* < \***tsam**  
‘deceive’



- 148 交 *jiāo* < *kæw* < \***kkraw** ‘criss-cross’, ‘exchange’

str.16



- 149 [郊] 郊 *jiāo* < *kæw* < \***kkraw** ‘suburb’

str.2

EP {高, 交}



- 150 [皎] corresponding to R 交 interpreted as 皎 *jiǎo* < *kewX* < \***kkew?**

str.11

‘bright (moon-light)’ in the *Zhouyi*



- 151 角 *jiǎo* (< *jué*) < *kæwk* < \***kkrok?** ‘horn’, ‘corner’

str.41



- 152-a 訃 *jié* < *kjot* < \***kat** ‘reveal or bring up others’ faults’

str.35

MWD has 蹇 and R 蹇 *jiǎn* < *kjenX* < \***kran** ‘pull up’, ‘lift’.



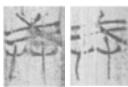
- 152-b [訃訃]

str.35



- 153 [解] (解) 解 *jiě* < *keiX* < \***kkre?** ‘resolve’, ‘untangle’, ‘analyze’

str.37



- 154 戒 *jiè* < *kɛjH* < \***kkɹək-s** ‘be on guard against’,  
str.10 str.57 ‘forewarned’

This word is written in R once as 誠 (:: str.10) and once as 戒 (:: str.57)



- 155 [介] 介 *jiè* < *kɛjH* < \***kkɹat-s** ① ‘border’ ② ‘assist’  
str.14



- 156 今 *jīn* < *kim* < \***kəm** ‘present time’  
str.35

corresponding to R 躬 *gōng* < *kjuwng* < \***kuŋ** ‘self’ ‘body’

\*-əm ~ \*-uŋ alternation is known from the *Shijing* rhymes and *xiesheng* series.



- 157 金 *jīn* < *kim* < \***kəm** ‘metal’, ‘money’  
str.1 str.40



- 158 經 *jīng* < *keng* (H) < \***kkɛŋ(-s)** ‘road running north to south’;  
str.24 (‘pass through’; variant of 徑)



- 159-a [井] 井 *jǐng* < *tsjeng* < \***tsɛŋ?** ‘water-well’  
str.44



- 159-b [井] 井  
str.44

- 160       九 *jiǔ* < *kjuwX* < **\*ku?** ‘nine’  
str.1 str.2 str.5 str.18 str.57 str.58
- 161    [咎] 咎 *jiù* < *gjuwX* < **\*gu?** ‘disaster’, ‘blame’, ‘fault’  
str.2 str.42 str.55
- 162  就 *jiù* < *dzjuwH* < **\*dzu-s** ‘deter’, ‘assist’, ‘reach to’  
str.47
- 163   舊 *jiù* < *gjuwH* < **\*gə-s** ‘old’, ‘to have been long-lasting’  
str.5 str.44
- 164  畢 variant of 厥 *jué* < *kjwot* < **\*kʷat** ‘the aforementioned’, ‘its’  
str.11
- 165   君 *jūn* < *kjun* < **\*kʷən** ‘lord(ing)’, honorific term of address  
str.8 str.12 ‘you’
- 166   [濬] 濬 *jùn* < *sjwinH* < **\*swin-s** ‘deep’  
str.28 str.29
- R has 浚 *jùn* < *sjwinH* < **\*swən-s** ‘profound’



- 167 [𪔐 𪔐] corresponding to R 衍衍衍 *kàn* < *khanH* < \***kk<sup>h</sup>an-s** ‘pleased’  
str.5

Cf. 薦 *jiàn* < *tsen* < \***tsen-s** ‘grass’, ‘fodder’



- 168 攷 variant of 考 *kǎo* < *khawX* < \***kk<sup>h</sup>u?** ① ‘knock’  
str.18 ② ‘old’, ‘deceased father’, ③ ‘investigate’



- 169 [可] [𠂔] [何]  
str.13 str.25 str.21 str.23  
可 ① *kě* < *khaX* < \***kk<sup>h</sup>aj?** ‘permissible’, ‘able’  
② *hé* < *ha* < \***ggaj** ‘what’, ‘how’ (> 何)

The occasional variant 𠂔 can be related to the Qin standard form 何 by SS {力 ‘man power’, 人 ‘person’}



- 170 克 *kè* < *khok* < \***kk<sup>h</sup>ək** ‘capable of’, ‘overcome’  
str.4



- 171 口 *kǒu* < *khuwX* < \***k<sup>h</sup>(r)o?** ‘mouth’  
str.24



- 172 [寇] 寇 *kòu* < *khuwH* < \***kk<sup>h</sup>(r)o-s** ‘snatch’, ‘invade’  
str.1 str.37

SS {戈 ‘halberd’, 支 ‘treat, attack’}



- 173 [闕] 闕 *kuī* < *khjwie* < \***k**<sup>wh</sup>**e** ‘peep in’

str.52

EP {圭, 規}

Cf. 圭 *guī* < \***kk**<sup>w</sup>**e** ‘cinamon’ and 規 *guī* < \***k**<sup>w</sup>**e** ‘model’



- 174 頤 *kuí* < *gwij* (chongniu III) < \***gru** ‘jaw’

str.38



- 175 [𣎵] corresponding to R 𣎵 *kuí* < *khwej* < \***kk**<sup>wh</sup>**ij** ‘deviate’  
and to MWD 乖 *guài* < *kwej* < \***kk**<sup>w</sup>**re** ‘discordant’

str.32



- 176 困 *kùn* < *khwonH* < \***kk**<sup>wh</sup>**ən-s** ‘distressed’, ‘to be in strait-  
ened circumstances’

str.1

str.43



- 177 [速] [速] [來] [來] [來] [來] [來] 來 *lái* < *loj* < \***rrə** ‘come’

str.9

str.35

str.35

str.51

SS {辵 ‘move’, 止 ‘step’}, SS {木 ‘tree’, 草 ‘grass’}



- 178 [羸/能] 羸 *léi* < *ljwij* < \***rwaj** ‘thin and weak’

str.53



- 179 [藟] 藟 *lěi* < *ljijX* < \***rəj**? ‘name of a plant’

str.43

SS {草 ‘grass’, 土 ‘earth’}

- 180  [利] 利 *lì* < *lijjH* < \***rit-s** ‘sharp’; ‘profit’, ‘benefit’  
str.1 str.37 str.11 str.58

- 181  [厲] 厲 *lì* < *ljejH* < \***rat-s** ‘grindstone’; ‘bad spirit’, ‘danger’  
str.18 str.57 str.49 str.22  
SS {石 ‘stone’, 厂 ‘cliff’, 土 ‘ground’}

- 182  連 *lián* < *ljen* < \***ren** ‘rickshaw’, ‘connect’  
str.35

- 183  良 *liáng* < *ljang* < \***raŋ** ‘of good quality’, ‘fine’  
str.22

- 184  [列] 列 *liè* < *ljet* < \***rat** ‘sever’, ‘line up’  
str.49

- 185  [洌] 洌 *liè* < *ljet* < \***rat** ‘(for water to be) clean and clear’  
str.45

- 186  [隣] 鄰 *lín* < *lin* < \***r[i/ə]n** ‘neighbor’, ‘near’  
str.13 str.57  
EP {吝 (文), 隣}

- 187  吝 *lìn* < *linH* < \***r[i/ə]n-s** ‘stingy’, ‘restrained’  
str.1 str.28



- 188 [靈] 靈 *líng* < *leng* < \***rren** ‘spirit healer’, ‘spirit’

str.24



- 189 六 *liù* < *ljuwk* < \***ruk** ‘six’

str.1

str.49

str.56

str.57



- 190 [陸] 陸 *lù* < *ljuwk* < \***ruk** ‘high ground’

str.50

SS {阜 (阝) ‘mound’, 土 ‘ground’}



- 191 [陸] probably a variant of R 陸 *lù* < *ljuwk* < \***ruk** ‘high ground’

str.39

via SS {草, 阜 (阝) ‘mound’ + 土 ‘ground’}

Cf. 六 *liù* < *ljuwk* < \***ruk** ‘six’



- 192 [亂] 亂 *luàn* < *lwanH* < \***rrwan-s** ‘chaotic’, ‘disorderly’

str.42



- 193 輪 *lún* < *ljwin* < \***rwən** ‘wheel’, ‘roll’

str.58



- 194 羅 *luó* < *lwa* < \***rrwaj** ① ‘bird trap’, ‘net’ ② ‘lay out’

str.56

MWD has 羅 and R has 離 *lí* < *lje* < \***raj** ① ‘bird name’ ② ‘separate’, ‘lay out’



- 195 [旅] 旅 *lǚ* < *ljoX* < \***raʔ** ‘make a military expedition’, ‘make an inspection tour’; ‘unit of military organization’, ‘caravan’  
str.53

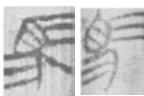


- 196 縷 *lǚ* < *ljuH* < \***roʔ** ‘silk or linen thread’, ‘worn out’  
str.45

R has 漏 *lòu* < *luwH* < \***rro-s** ‘leak’ ‘hole’



- 197 [律] 律 *lǜ* < *ljwit* < \***rwət** ‘regulation’ (> 律)  
str.7



- 198 馬 *mǎ* < *mæX* < \***mmraʔ** ‘horse’  
str.22 str.32



- 199 龍 *máng* < *mæwng* < \***mmron** ‘maculated’  
str.1



- 200 [茝] corresponding to R 沫 *mèi* < *mwojH* < \***mmət-s** ‘daybreak’  
str.51 (variant of 昧) (Zhouyi)

Cf. *Shuowen* 茝 *bá* < *bwat* < \***bbat** ‘root of grass’, probably a variant of 拔 *bá* ‘uproot’, ‘eliminate’



- 201 門 *mén* < *mwon* < \***mmən** ‘door’, ‘gate’  
str.16



- 202 迷 *mí* < *mej* < \***mmij** ‘confused’, ‘lost’; ‘mislead’

str.19



- 203 [廟] 廟 *miào* < *mjewH* < \***mraw-s** ‘ancestral temple’

str.42

EP {苗, 朝}, SS {宀 ‘roof’, 广 ‘hall’}



- 204 明 *míng* < *mjæng* < \***mrən** ‘bright’, ‘reveal’

str.45



- 205 variant of 冥 *míng* < *meng* < \***mmen** ‘dark’

str.15



- 206 鳴 *míng* < *mjæng* < \***mren** ‘(bird) call’

str.12 str.14



- 207 [命] 命 *mìng* < *mjængH* < \***mren-s**  
‘command’, ‘fate’, ‘life-span’

str.5

str.7

str.8



- 208 莫 ① *mò* < *mak* < \***mmak** ‘none’

str.38

② *mù* < *mwuH* < \***mmak-s** ‘evening’ (> 暮)



- 209 [寔] 幕 *mù* < *mak* < \***mmak** ‘tent’, ‘cover’

str.45

SS {宀 ‘roof’, 巾 ‘cloth, fabric’}

The signific 宀 ‘roof’ seems to be a plausible alternative to the 巾 ‘cloth’ for a word meaning ‘tent’.



- 210 母 ① *mǔ* < *muwX* < \***mməʔ** ‘mother’ ‘female’

str.14

② *wú* < *mju* < \***ma** imperative negative ‘should not’ (variant of 毋)

③ *wèi* < *mjwɨjH* < \***mət-s** ‘not yet’ (未) (str.44)

④ *wù* < *mjut* < \***mət** imperative negative ‘should not’ (勿) (str.14)



- 211 [母手] 拇 *mǔ* < *muwX* < \***mməʔ** ‘thumb’

str.26

str.27



- 212 內 *nèi* < *nwojH* < \***nnət-s** < \*\***nnəp-s** ‘inside’

str.9

*nà* < *nop* < \***nnəp** ‘include’ (> 納)



- 213 乃 *nǎi* < *nojX* < \***nnəʔ** ① ‘your’ ② ‘thereupon’

str.42



- 214 迺 *nǎi* < *nojX* < \***nnəʔ** ‘exclaim of surprise’ (*Shuowen*);

str.42

str.47

variant of 乃 *nǎi*



- 215 南 *nán* < *nom* < \***nnəm** ‘south’

str.35



- 216 [𡗗] (> 坭) 泥 *ní* < *nej* < \***nnij** ‘mud’, ‘maleable’

str.2

SS {土 ‘earth’, 水 ‘water’}



- 217 [𣎵] 梃 *nǐ* < *nijX* < \***nnij?** ‘chock’

str.40



- 218 [𡗗] 年 *nián* < *nen* < \***nnin** ‘harvest (season)’ ‘year’ ‘age’

str.24



- 219 鳥 *niǎo* [irregular initial] < *tewX* < \***ttew?** ‘bird’

str.56



- 220 [寧] 寧 ① *níng* < *neng* < \***nnen** ‘peaceful’

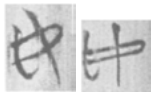
str.9

② *nìng* < *nengH* < \***nnen-s** ‘would rather’, ‘after all’



- 221 牛 *niú* < *ngjuw* < \***ŋə** ‘cow’, ‘ox’

str.22 str.57



- 222 女 ① *nǚ* < *njoX* < \***nra?** ‘female’, ‘daughter’

str.1 str.57

② *rú* < *nyo* < \***na** ‘as if’, ‘such as’ (> 如)



- 223 [紼] 鞶 *pán* < *bwan* < \***bba[n/r]** ‘waist band’

str.5

EP {畔 (半), 般} and SS {糸 ‘thread, fabric’, 革 ‘leather’}



- 224 [沛] 沛 *pèi* < *phajH* < \***pp<sup>h</sup>at-s** ‘flourish’ ‘thriving’

str.51

Compare 葳 *fèi* < *pjwijH* < \***pat-s** ‘luxuriant’

SS {草 ‘grass’, 水 ‘water’}



- 225 [朋] 朋 *péng* < *bong* < \***bbəŋ** ‘cohort’

str.14

SS {人 ‘person’, 土 ‘ground’}



- 226 [匏] 匏 *piáo* < *bjew* < \***braw** ‘bag’

str.40

R has 包 *bāo* < *pæw* < \***ppru** ‘bag, put in a bag’, the two words are probably etymologically related; \*-u ~ \*-aw vacillation is observed elsewhere.



- 227 [瓶] 瓶 *píng* < *beng* < \***bben** ‘bottle’

str.44

SS {缶 ‘pottery’, 瓦 ‘tile’}



- 228 [僕] 僕 *pú* < *buwk* < \***bbok** ‘servant’, ‘driver’

str.53 str.53

SS {人 ‘person’, 臣 ‘male servant’}

- 229  [其] 其 *qí* < *gji* < \**gə*  
 str.49 str.52 str.37 ① ‘his, her, its’, ‘the one in question’  
 ② ‘perhaps’, ‘may’ (modal auxiliary)

- 230  [杞] 杞 *qǐ* < *khiX* < \**kʰəʔ* ‘plant name’  
 str.41  
 SS {草 ‘grass’, 木 ‘tree’}

- 231  啓 *qǐ* < *khejX* < \**kkʰijʔ* ‘initiate’ ‘inform’ ‘make a statement’  
 str.8

- 232  [氣] 氣 *qì* < *khijH* < \**kʰət-s* ‘air’, ‘climate’, ‘breath’  
 str.44  
 corresponding to R 汔 *qì* < *xjit* < \**qʰət* ‘several’ (*Shijing*); ‘exhausted’ (*Guangya*, “Shigu”), also variant of 氣.

- 233  [謙] corresponding to R 謙 *qiān* < *khem* < \**kkʰrem* ‘modest’  
 str.12  
 SS {厂 ‘cliff’ (early script variant of 石 ‘stone’) ‘stone’, 土 ‘earth’}

- 234  前 *qián* < *dzen* < \**ddzen* ‘front’, ‘prior’  
 str.10

- 235  [且] 且 *qiě* < *tshjæX* < \**tsʰaʔ* ‘furthermore’, ‘be about to’  
 str.37



- 236 妾 *qiè* < *tshjep* < **\*ts<sup>h</sup>ap** ‘female slave’; ‘servant’ (literally or as a humble self-reference of a woman)

str.30



- 237 [𠂔] 侵 *qīn* < *tshim* < **\*ts<sup>h</sup>əm** ‘invade’

str.13

SS {戈 ‘halberd, attack’, 人 ‘man’}



- 238 欽 *qīn* < *khim* < **\*k<sup>h</sup>əm** ‘admire’ (used as a hexagram title)

str.26 str.27

corresponding to MWD 欽, to Fuyang “Zhouyi” 咸, and to R 咸 ① *xián* < *hem* < **\*gg<sup>h</sup>əm** ‘all’, ② *gǎn* < *komX* < **\*kkəm?** ‘feel’ (感); the *Tuan* commentary’s interpretation of this hexagram theme.



- 239 [𠂔] 禽 *qín* < *gim* < **\*gəm** ‘game animal’, ‘beast’

str.10



- 240 [卿] ① *qīng* < *khjæng* < **\*k<sup>h</sup>raŋ** ‘minister’ (> 卿)

str.12 str.20

② *xiāng* < *xjang* < **\*q<sup>h</sup>aŋ** ‘village’ (> 鄉)

③ *xiǎng* < *xjangX* < **\*q<sup>h</sup>aŋ?** ‘feast’ (> 饗)



- 241 慶 *qìng* < *khjængH* < **\*k<sup>h</sup>aŋ-s** ‘celebrate’, ‘award’

str.51



- 242 丘 *qiū* < *khjuw* < **\*k<sup>h</sup>ə** ‘mound’, ‘grave’, ‘ruins’

str.55



- 243 求 *qiú* < *giw* < \***gu** ‘seek’, ‘request’

str.16 str.24



- 244 驅 *qū* < *khju* < \***k<sup>h</sup>o** ‘whip the horse to advance’, ‘expel’

str.10



- 245 [衢] corresponding to R 衢 *qú* < *gju* < \***g(r)a** ‘main street’

str.23

Cf. 丘 *qiū* < *khjuw* < \***k<sup>h</sup>ə** ‘mound’



- 246 取 *qǔ* < *tshjuX* < \***ts<sup>h</sup>oʔ** ‘take’, ‘take a wife’ (> 娶)

str.53



- 247 [闕] corresponding to R 闕 *qù* < *khwek* < \***kk<sup>wh</sup>ek** ‘quiet’

str.52



- 248 [泉] 泉 *quán* < *dzjwen* < \***dzra[n/r]** ‘spring’, ‘source’

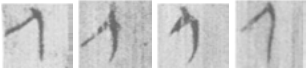
str.45

Cf. Baxter-Sagart (2011): 泉 *quán* < \***s-N-G<sup>w</sup>ar** (II) ‘spring, source, origin’ related to 原 *yuán* < \***ŋ<sup>w</sup>ar** (< uvular) ‘id.’



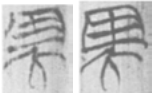
- 249 [羣] 群 *qún* < *gjun* < \***g<sup>w</sup>ən** ‘flock’, ‘herd’, ‘congregation’; ‘gather’

str.54

- 250  人 *rén* < *nyin* < \***nin** ‘person’, ‘others’  
str.10 str.21 str.21 str.36

- 251  日 *rì* < *nyit* < \***nit** ‘sun’, ‘day’  
str.47

- 252  戎 *róng* < *nyuwng* < \***nun** ① ‘weapon’, ‘battle’ ② ‘(western) barbarian’  
str.38

- 253  需 probably standing for R 繻 *rú* < *nyu* < \***no** ‘silk product’  
str.57 str.57

- 254  [絳] variant of 絮, also of R 裯 *rú* < *nyo* < \***nra** ‘rags’  
str.57

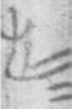
Compare 絮 *xù* < *sjoH* < \***s-nra-s** ‘coarse silk’

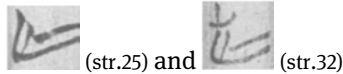
The forms 絳, 絮 and 裯 are variants for the etymon \*(s-)**nra**(-s) with two sets of SS: {糸 ‘thread, fabric’, 衣 ‘clothes’} and {口 ‘mouth’, 又 ‘(right-)hand’}. The latter is semantically empty.

- 255  若 *ruò* < *nyak* < \***nak** ‘comply’, ‘similar’, ‘if’; ‘you, your’  
str.42

- 256  [晶] 三 *sān* (*sàn*) < *sam(H)* < \***ssəm**(-s) ‘three’, ‘(repeatedly)’  
str.24 str.5

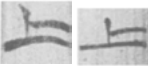
- 257-a  喪 *sāng* (sàng) < *sang* (H) < \***ssan**(-s)  
str.32 str.44 str.53 ‘death’, ‘funeral’; (‘lose’)

- 257-b  [亡喪] *wú* (無) *sāng* ‘no loss’ via graphic merger (simplification) of  
str.32



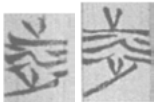
- 258  [殺] 殺 *shā* < *sret* < \***ssrat** ‘kill’, ‘slaughter’  
str.57 *shài* < *sre*jH < \***ssrat-s** ‘reduce’, ‘weaken’  
SS {支 ‘treat, attack’, 殳 ‘spear’}

- 259  山 *shān* < *sren* < \***ssran** ‘mountain’  
str.17

- 260  上 *shàng* < *dzyang*X (H) < \***dan**?(-s) ‘up’, ‘top’; (‘rise’)  
str.8 str.57

- 261  [舌/舌] 舌 *shé* < *zyet* < \***dat** ‘tongue’  
str.27

- 262  [舍] corresponding to R 舍 *shě* (*shè*) < *syæ*X (H) < \***hla**?(-s) ‘aban-  
str.24 don’, ‘release’; (‘housing of a guest’; ‘retain’)

263 涉 *shè* < *dzyep* < \***dap** ‘wade’, ‘ford’

str.25 str.54

264 牲 *shēng* < *sræng* < \***ssrenj** ‘sacrificial animal’

str.42

265 [𠂔] 射 *shè* < *dyæH* < \***llak-s** ‘archery’, ‘shoot’

str.44

The *Shuowen* (5b/226) enters 𠂔 as a variant of the Seal form 射. The manuscript form 𠂔 is another variant of the former via SS {弓 ‘oneself’, 身 ‘body, oneself’}.

266 身 *shēn* < *syin* < \***hlin** ‘torso’, ‘body’; ‘oneself’

str.48

267 [𠂔] 勝 *shēng* (*shèng*) < *sying* (*H*) < \***hləŋ(-s)** ‘capable’; ‘vanquish’

str.30

268 [陞] 陞 *shēng* < *sying* < \***s-təŋ** ‘rise’

str.33

SS {阜 (阝) ‘mound’, 止 ‘ground’, 止 ‘step’}

R has 厥 *jué* < *kjwot* < \***kʷat** ‘the aforementioned’ (:: str.33) and 拯 *zhěng* < *tsyingX* < \***təŋʔ** ‘raise’ ‘provide a relief’ (::str.48)

269 [𠂔/省] 省 ① *shěng* < *srængX* < \***ssrenjʔ** ‘reduce’

str.20 str.56

② *xǐng* < *sjengX* < \***senjʔ** ‘inspect’, ‘examine’

- 270   [師] *shī* < *srjij* < \***srij** ‘army’, ‘teacher’ (> 師)  
str.7 str.7
- 271   [屍 analyzed alternatively 屍] 屍, 尸 *shī* < *syij* < \***hlij**  
str.7 str.8 ‘corpse’
- 272   [遯] Chu script for R 失 *shī* < *syit* < \***hlit** ‘lose’  
str.10 str.16
- 273  十 *shí* < *dzyip* < \***gəp** (palatalizing) ‘ten’  
str.24
- 274  石 *shí* < *dzyek* [irregular] < \***dak** ‘stone’, ‘unit of measure’  
str.14
- 275     [飮] 食 *shí* < *zyik* < \***zlək** ‘eat’, ‘live off of’  
str.5 str.22 str.44 str.45 Cf. \***mə-lək** in Baxter-Sagart 2011
- 276  實 *shí* < *zyit* < \***zlit** ‘fortune’, ‘fruit’, ‘substance’  
str.24
- 277  矢 *shǐ* < *syij* < \***hlij?** ‘arrow’, ‘lay out’  
str.37

278 豕 *shǐ* < *syex* < \***hle?** ‘pig’

str.23

279 視 *shì* < *dzyijH* < \***gij-s** (palatalizing) ‘show’, ‘watch’

str.25

280 是 *shì* < *dzyeX* < \***de?** ‘this’, ‘these’

str.57

281 [吏] 事 *shì* < *dzriH* < \***C-rə?**-s ‘matter’, ‘serve’

str.5

str.32

Cf. \***m-s-rə?**-s in Baxter-Sagart 2011

Cf. 吏 *lǐ* < *liH* < \***rə?**-s ‘scribe’, ‘clerk’, 史 *shǐ* < *sriX* < \***s-rə?** ‘scribe’, ‘historiographer’

282 [適] 適 *shì* < *syek* < \***hle?** ‘go’, ‘suitable’

str.14

SS {𨔵 ‘move’, 止 ‘step’}

MWD has 讒 *chán* < *dzrem* < \***ddzram** ‘speak ill of others’ and R 簪 (Cf. *zān* 簪 ‘hairpin’), the latter perhaps standing for the word 譖 *zèn* < *tsrimH* < \***tsrəm** ‘falsely accuse’ (Gao Heng 1973: 61).

283 [筮] 筮 *shì* < *dzyejH* < \***dat-s** ‘milfoil divination’

str.9



- 284 [噬] corresponding to R 噬 *shì* < *dzyejH* < \***dat-s** ‘milfoil divination’  
str.33

This character corresponds to R 逝 *shì* < *dzyejH* < \***dat-s** ‘depart’ in GD “Laozi-A” (str. 22) (Li Ling 2006: 61). This undeciphered Chu character must have had a pronunciation close to \***dat-s**.



- 285 首 *shǒu* < *syuwX* < \***hlu?** ‘head’, ‘beginning’, ‘principal’  
str.10 str.57



- 286 受 *shòu* < *dzyuwX* < \***du?** ‘receive’, ‘accept’  
str.45 str.57

Cf. Phonophoric 舟 (舟) *zhōu* < *tsyuw* < \***tu** ‘boat’



- 287 屮 *shū* < *srjo* < \***sra** ‘foot’ in rhyming binom R 次且 *qǐě*  
str.38 ‘walk with difficulty’

corresponding to R 且 *qǐě* < *tshjæX* < \***ts<sup>h</sup>a?**



- 288 [率] 率 variant of 帥 *shuài* < *srjwijH* < \***s-rwət-s** ‘lead’, ‘guide’  
str.8

Cf. 率 *lǜ* < *ljwit* < \***rwət** ‘regulation’, ‘norm’, ‘proportion’, also read *shuài*, variant of 逵 and 帥. 率 *lǜ* and 律 *lǜ* < *ljwit* < \***rwət** ‘law’, ‘statute’ are probably one and the same etymon.



- 289 碩 *shuò* < *dzyek* < \***dak** ‘large’, ‘great’  
str.36

- 290  思 *sī* < *si* < \***sə** ‘think of (someone)’  
str.55

- 291  [殛] 死 *sǐ* < *sjijX* < \***siʔ** ‘die’  
str.15

- 292   四 *sì* < *sjijH* < \***siʔ-s** ‘four’  
str.1 str.22

- 293  祀 *sì* < *zjiX* < \***s-gəʔ** ‘sacrificial offering’ ‘altar’ ‘year of the Shang calendar’  
str.43

- 294   訟 *sòng* < *zjowngH* < \***s-gon-s** ‘sue’, ‘litigate’; ‘eulogize’  
str.4 str.5

Cf. Phonophoric 公 *gōng* < *kuwng* < \***kkoŋ** ‘lord’

- 295  [𠂔] 宿 ① *sù* < *sjuwk* < \***suk** ‘lodge’  
str.37 ② *xiù* < *sjuwH* < \***suk-s** ‘constellation’  
③ *sù* < *sjuwk* < \***suk** ‘morning’ (夙)

MWD has 宿 and 夙. The *Shuowen* (7b/340) records 𠂔 (the Qin Seal form 宿 minus 宀) a *guwen* variant for *sù* 夙 (夙) ‘morning’, ‘early’. The Baoshan Chu manuscripts have 𠂔 for *sù* 夙 (CWZ: 434).

- 296  [陵]  [陸]  [陸] 隨 *suí* < *zjwe* < \***zlwaij** ‘accompany’,  
str.16 str.16 str.26 ‘follow’

Cf. \***sə.loj** in Baxter-Sagart 2011

SS {阜 (阝) ‘mound’, 土 ‘ground’, 辵 ‘move’}



- 297 [歲] 歲 *suì* < *sjwejH* < \***s-G<sup>w</sup>at-s** ‘Jupiter’, ‘year’, ‘harvest’

str.52

Cf. 越 *yuè* < \***G<sup>w</sup>at** ‘pass, elapse [of time]’, 戊 *yuè* < \***G<sup>w</sup>at** 戊 ‘axe’.

EP {戊, 月} (cf. *yuè* < \***ŋ<sup>w</sup>at** 月 ‘moon’, also signific)



- 298 所 *suǒ* < *srjoX* < \***s-[k/q]ra?** ‘place’, object relativisation marker

str.53

‘that which’ Cf. \***s-q<sup>h</sup>ra?** in Baxter-Sagart 2011



- 299 它 *tā* (< *tuō*) < *tha* < \***hllaj** ‘other’

str.9



- 300 [驚] 惕 *tì* < *thek* < \***tt<sup>h</sup>ek** ~ \***hllek**

str.4

str.38

‘alarmed, startled’

EP {帝 (=商), 易} SS {口 ‘mouth’, 心 ‘heart’}



- 301 [替] 替 *tì* (according to Li Ling 2006: 62-3) < *thejH* < \***hnnit-s** ~ \***hllit-s**

str.44

‘abandon’, ‘substitute’

corresponding to R 泥 *ní* < *nej* < \***nnij** ‘mud’, ‘maleable’



- 302 天 *tiān* < *then* < \***tt<sup>h</sup>in** ‘sky’, ‘heaven’

str.11

str.23



- 303 [畋] 田 *tián* < *den* < \***dden** ‘hunt’, ‘field’

str.8



- 304 廷 variant of 庭
- tíng*
- <
- deng*
- < \*
- dden**
- ‘court’

str.48



- 305 同
- tóng*
- <
- duwng*
- < \*
- ddon**
- ‘identical’

str.49



- 306 [僮] 童
- tóng*
- <
- duwng*
- < \*
- ddon**
- ‘youth’, ‘adolescent’

str.1

str.22

str.53

SS {人 ‘person’ 土 ‘ground’}



- 307 [塗] 塗
- tú*
- <
- da*
- < \*
- lla**
- ① ‘clay’, ‘smear’ ② ‘path’ (variant of 途)

str.33

SS {土 ‘earth’, 水 ‘water’}



- 308 [𡇗] corresponding to R 臀
- tún*
- <
- dwon*
- < \*
- ddwən**
- ‘buttocks’

str.40

Note the apparent phonophoric 辰 *chén* < *zyin* < \***[d]ən** ‘the fifth of *dizhi* earthly branches’ in the manuscript character, and a word in the same series 脣 *chún* < *zywin* < \***[d]wən** ‘lip’; the \*-ən ~ \*wən fluctuation is repeated in 臀 *tún* < *dwon* < \***ddwən**, the word in the received version and its phonophoric 殿 *diàn* < *denH* < \***ddən-s** ‘palace hall’ and ‘buttocks’. As for the *zy-* in 辰 *chén* and 脣 *chún*, since \*d- in Type B normally develops into *dzy-*, this may be an irregular development by *dy-* ~ *dzy-* dialect variation in MC. Or it may be due to \*d- ~ \*l- fluctuation at OC stage. Thus \*d- is given in brackets.

309   [𢇛] 脱 *tuō* < *thwat* < \***hl**lot ‘flay’, ‘dislocate’  
str.22 str.30

SS {支 'treat, attack', 月(肉) 'flesh'}

R has 説 (:: str.22) interpreted as *tuō* ‘flay’, ‘dislocate’ and 説 (:: str.30). The intended meaning of the latter is obscure.

310  外 wài < ngwajH < \***ɳɳ**<sup>w</sup>at-s ‘outside’ ‘external relatives, i.e.,  
str.10 on the mother’s side’

311   亡  
str.2 str.25

① *wáng* < *mjwang* < \***man** ‘escape’, ‘perish’  
② *wú* < *mju* < \***m(r)a** ‘lack’ (alternative to 無)

312  王 *wáng (wàng)* < *hɥwang (H)* < \***Gʷaŋ(-s)** 'king', 'ruler'; ('rule as  
str. 5 king')

313   [𨔵]  [𨔵] 往 *wǎng* (*wàng*) < *hɿwangX* (*H*) < \***G<sup>w</sup>anʔ**-(s)  
str.20 str.30 str.33  
'go toward'; ('return', 'head back')

SS {是 ‘move’, 彳 ‘road’}

314    忘 wàng < *mjwangH* < \***man**-s ‘forget’, ‘unaware of’  
str.20 str.21 str.39

R has 妄 wàng < *mjwangH* < **\*maŋ-s** ‘mess up’, ‘not truly understanding’

In strip no.39, the manuscript character 忘 corresponds to R 无 (variant for *wú* 無 'lack'). The word *wú* 'lack' is regularly written as 亡 in SHZY otherwise. So it is probable that the form 忘 there is used as a variant of 亡.



315  [𠂔] 微 wēi (< wēi) < mjwij < \*mǝj ① 'minute', 'subtle' ② 'were it not  
str.24 for'

MWD has 短 (Cf. 短 *duǎn* < *twanX* < \***ttwar?** ‘short’), Fuyang “Zhouyi” 端 *duān* < *twan* < \***ttwar** ‘straight, a unit of measure’, and R 朵 *duǒ* < *twaX* < \***ttwaj?** < \***ttwar?** ‘blossom’.

Lu Deming (*Jingdian shiwen* juan2/92) notes that Zheng Xuan's 鄭玄 and Jing Fang's 京房 editions both have the character 揣 *chuǎi* < *tsrhjweX* < **\*ts<sup>h</sup>rwaɟ**? < **\*ts<sup>wh</sup>rwar** 'to measure', possibly **\*s-t<sup>h</sup>rwar**, because the phonophoric series generally reflects \*Twar type syllables.



316   為 *wéi* (*wèi*) < *hjwe* (*H*) < \***G<sup>w</sup>aj**(-s) ‘constitute’, ‘act’, ‘make’;  
str.1 str.45 (‘assist’, ‘for the sake of’)



317 尾 wěi < mjwɨjX < \*məjʔ 'tail'  
str.30



318  [韋] 悋 variant of 韃 (accrd. *Jiyun*) wěi < *hjwɨjX* < \*G<sup>w</sup>əjʔ (\*N-qəj)  
str.11 'righteous'

R has 威 *wēi* < ?*jwɨj* < \***q<sup>w</sup>əj** ‘awe-inspiring (demeanor)’



319 未 wèi < mjwɨjH < \*mæt-s ‘not yet’  
str.58



320  [胃] 謂 wèi < *hɿwɿjH* < \***G**<sup>w</sup>ət-s ‘address’, ‘refer to something as...’  
str.56



- 321 [衛] corresponding to R 衛 wèi < jwejH < \*G<sup>w</sup>at-s ‘guard’  
str.22



- 322 [聞] 聞 wén (wèn) < mjun < \*mən(-s) ‘hear’; ‘(reputation)’  
str.38  
EP {門, 昏}



- 323 [甕] corresponding to R 甕 wèng < ʔuwnŋH < \*q̥qon-s ‘earthen pot  
(for drawing water from a well)’ (Zhouyi)  
str.44



- 324 [我] 我 wǒ < ng(w)aX < \*ŋŋ<sup>(w)</sup>ajʔ ‘I’, ‘we’  
str.24 str.45



- 325 [五] 五 wǔ < nguX < \*ŋŋaʔ ‘five’  
str.1 str.8 str.10 str.11



- 326 [勿] ① wù < mjuʔ < \*mæt ‘should not’  
str.1 str.21 str.24 str.42 ② wú < mju < \*m(r)a ‘lack’ (alternative to 無)



- 327 [霧] 霧 wù < mjuH < \*mo-s ‘fog’, ‘blurry’  
str.38

R has 濡 rú ‘soaked’, ‘moist’



- 328 [西] 西 xī < sej < \*ssəj < \*s-nnə ‘west’  
str.17 str.57

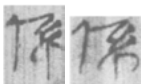
Cf. phonophoric 西 in 迺 nǎi < nojX < \*nnəʔ (See no.214 above)



- 329 [縲] 縲 *xī* < *hej* < \***gge** ‘knot’, ‘bind’

str.17

R has 維 *wéi* < *ywīj* < \***lwəj** ‘tie’, ‘bind’



- 330 係 *xì* < *hejH* < \***ggij-s** ‘tie’, ‘of the same genealogy or type’

str.16 str.30



- 331 [繫] 繫 *xì* < *hejH* < \***ggek-s** (\***N-kkek-s**) ‘connect’, ‘bind’, ‘to im  
prison’

str.40

*jì* < *kejH* < \***kkek-s** ‘rope’

SS {支 ‘treat’, ‘attack’, 爿 ‘spear’}



- 332 [选] 先 *xiān* < *sen* (H) < \***ssər(-s)** ‘former’, ‘precede’; (‘initiate’)

str.18

Cf. for \*-r: 洗 *xǐ* < *sejX* < \***ssər** ‘wash’, also read *xiǎn* < *senX* < \***ssər** ‘id.’



- 333 顯 *xiǎn* < *xenX* < \***qq<sup>h</sup>en?** ‘apparent’, ‘obvious’

str.10



- 334 [莧] 莧 *xiàn* < *henH* < \***ggen-s** as in R *xiàn lù* 莧陸 ‘plant name’

str.39



- 335 [限] 限 *xiàn* < *henX* < \***ggrə[n/r]?** (\***N-kkrə[n/r]?**)

str.48 ‘rough and dangerous (road)’ ‘obstacle’ ‘limitation’; ‘waist’ (Zhouyi)

SS {土 ‘ground’, 阜 (阝) ‘mound’}, EP {堇, 艮}

- 336  [享] *xiǎng* < *xjangX* < \***q<sup>h</sup>anʔ** ‘xiang-sacrifice’, ‘make an offering’  
str.17

- 337  [巷] variant of the Seal form  [巷] > 巷 *xiàng* < *hængH*  
str.32 < \***ggroŋ-s** ‘alley’

SS {行 ‘road’, 邑 ‘town’}

- 338-a  ① *xiǎo* < *sjew* < \***s-lewʔ** ‘small’, ‘petty’ (> 小)  
str.16 ② *shǎo* < *syewX (H)* < \***hlewʔ(-s)** ‘of small quantity’ ‘belittle’;  
(‘young’) (> 少)

- 338-b  [小人] *xiǎo rén* ‘petty person’  
str.8

- 339  [笑] Chu script for 笑 *xiào* < *sjewH* < \***saw-s** ‘laugh’  
str.42

SS {草 ‘grass’, 竹 ‘bamboo’}

- 340  [灑] corresponding to R 灑 *xiè* < *sjet* < \***s-[g]at** ‘sweep up’ (*Zhouyi*)  
str.45 and to R 收 *shōu* < *syuw* < \***s-ku** (palatalizing) ‘gather’ in the  
same strip.

Cf. 糾 *jiū* < *kjuw* < \***ku** ‘interwine’; 拽 *yè* < *yet* < \***[g]at** ‘drag’, related to 曳 *yè* < *yejH* < \***[g]at-s** ‘drag, trail’, with phonophoric 曰 *yuē* < *hɣwot* < \***G<sup>w</sup>at** ‘say’

- 341   心 *xīn* < *sim* < \***səm** ‘heart’, ‘mind’  
str.45 str.49

- 342   凶 *xiōng* < *xjowng* < \***q<sup>h</sup>on** ‘inauspicious’, ‘bad (harvest)’  
str.26 str.58

- 343  [頤] corresponding to 羞 *xiū* < *sjuw* < \***s-nu** ① ‘offer (food)’ ② ‘shame’  
str.28

- 344  [𠄎] corresponding to R 需 *xū* < *sju* < \***s-no** ‘wait’, ‘hesitate’  
str.2

- 345  [𠄎] 序 *xù* < *zjoX* < \***zl(r)a?** ‘sequence’  
str.49 Cf. \***sə.la?** in Baxter-Sagart 2011  
EP {余, 予}

- 346  [卹] variant of 恤 *xù* < *sjwit* < \***sq<sup>w</sup>it** ‘concerned’, ‘sympathetic’  
str.38

- 347   血 *xuè* < *xwet* < \***qq<sup>wh</sup>it** ‘blood’  
str.2 str.55

- 348  [穴] 穴 *xuè* < *hwet* < \***[gg/GG]<sup>w</sup>it** ‘cave’  
str.56

- 349  [牙] 牙 *yá* < *ngæ* < \***ŋŋra** ‘tusk’, ‘fang’  
str.23

- 350   言 *yán* < *ngjon* < \***ŋan** ‘speak’, ‘speech’  
str.47 str.49

- 351  羊 *yáng* < *yang* < \***[g]an** ‘sheep’  
str.38

- 352  [繇] 繇 *yáo* < *yew* < \***law** ‘comply’, ‘follow’  
str.25

R has 由 *yóu* < *yuw* < \***lu** ‘follow from’; these two words are probably related.

- 353  藥 *yào* < *yak* < \***[g]awk** ‘herb’  
str.21

- 354  [𨔵] probably standing for R 曳 *yè* < *yet* < \***[g]at** ‘drag’  
str.32

Both the forms 曷 and 曳 contain 曰 *yuē* < *hɣwot* < \***Gʷat** ‘say’. As Karlgren explained, the character 曷 is composed of 句 (variant of 勾) *gài* < \***kat(-s)** ‘give, beg’ and 曰 (GSR #313). [𨔵] is probably a compound variant of EP {曷, 曳} for the etymon ‘drag’.

- 355  [𨔵] corresponding to R 曳 *yè* < *yet* < \***[g]at** ‘drag’  
str.58

- 356  一 *yī* < ?*jit* (chongniu IV) < \***qit** ‘one’  
str.42



- 357 衣 *yī* < ?*ij*(*H*) < \***qəj**(-s) ‘upper garment’ ‘wrap’ ‘clothe’; (‘wear’)  
str.57



- 358 台 ① *yí* < *yí* < \***lə** ‘I’  
str.55 ② *tái* < *thoj* < \***hlə** ‘constellation name’

R has 夷 *yí* < *yij* < \***lij** ‘(eastern) barbarian’, ‘easy’



- 359 [𠂔] variant of 夷 *yí* < *yij* < \***lij** ‘(eastern) barbarian’, ‘easy’  
str.51



- 360 [疑] 疑 *yí* < *ngi* < \***ŋə?** ‘doubt’  
str.14



- 361 [頤] 頤 *yí* < *yí* < \***[g]ə** ‘jaw’  
str.24 str.24 str.24 str.24



- 362 以 *yǐ* < *yíX* < \***[g]ə?** ‘take up to use’, ‘pretext’, ‘by means of’  
str.12



- 363 > 巳 and 己  
str.17 str.41 str.22

① *yǐ* < *yíX* < \***[g]ə?** ‘stop’ perfective final particle (> 已 interchangeable with 矣 *yǐ* \***Gə?** > *hjiX*)

② *sì* < *ziX* < \***s-gə-s** ‘sixth of the twelve *dizhi* or Earthly Branch’ (> 巳)

③ *yǐ* < *yíX* < \***[g]ə?** ‘by means of’ (interchangeable with 以 in str.17)

④ *qǐ* < *khiX* < \***kʰə?** ‘initiate’ ‘raise’ ‘rise’ (> 起 in str.41)

- 364   邑 *yì* < ?*ip* < \***qrəp** ‘town’  
str.4 str.10

- 365  易 ① *yì* < *yek* < \***lek** ‘exchange’  
str.55 *yì* < *yeH* < \***lek-s** ‘easy’  
② *tì* < *thek* < \***hlek** ‘far’ (variant of 邇, 逖)  
EP {易, 狄} Cf. *dí* < *dek* < \***llek** 狄 ‘northern barbarian’

- 366  亦 *yì* < *yek* < \***[g]ak** ‘also’ ‘only’  
str.44

- 367  [鼻] variant of 剿 *yì* < *ngjiH* < \***ɲat-s** ‘cut off nose’  
str.43

R has 𪔐 *niè* < *nget* < \***ɲɲat** used in the alliterating binom *niè wù* < MC *nget* – *ngwot*  
𪔐 飈 ‘unsettled appearance’ (*Jingdian shiwen*, juan 2/108)

- 368  [飲] 飲 *yǐn* < ?*inX* < \***qəm?** ‘drink’  
str.50  
EP {今, 欠} SS {酉 ‘drinks’, 食 ‘food’}

- 369  [胤] 胤 *yìn* < *yinH* < \***[g]in-s** ‘posterity’  
str.49  
R has 夨 *yín* < *yin* < \***[g]in** ① ‘deep; respect’ ② ‘small of the back’

- 370  corresponding to R 盈 *yǐng* < *yeng* < \***len** ‘full’, ‘brimful’  
str.9

- 371    [用] 用 *yòng* < *yowngH* < \***loŋ-s** ‘employ’,  
str.8 str.4 str.12 ‘function’, ‘use to advantage’

- 372  [憂] 憂 *yōu* < ?*juw* < \***qu** ‘worry’  
str.41

R has 隕 *yǔn* < *hjinX* < \***Gʷən?** ‘fall down’, ‘destroy’, ‘die’

- 373  由 *yóu* < *yuw* < \***lu** ‘follow (from)’  
str.22

R has 逐 *zhú* < *drjuk* < \***lrawk** ‘follow’ (str.22 and 32)

- 374   [猷] 猶 *yóu* < *yuw* < \***lu** ‘plan’, ‘plot’  
str.14 str.25

R has *yóu* < \***lu** 由 (str.14) as in *yóu yù* 由豫 ‘hesitant’ and *yù* < \***[g]ok** 欲 ‘desire’ (str.25)

- 375   [又] 有 *yǒu* < *hjuwX* < \***Gʷə?** ‘have’, ‘exist’  
str.1 str.57

- 376   [缶] 缶 ① *yǒu* < *yuwX* < \***lu?** ‘you-type vessel’  
str.1 str.30 ② *yōu* < *yuw* < \***lu** object relativizing marker written  
as 攸 in received texts, functionally similar to *suǒ* 所

- 377  右 *yòu* < *hjuwX (H)* < \***Gə?**(-s) ‘right hand side’; (‘assist’ variant  
str.11 of 佑, 祐)



378 [𠂔] 永 *yǒng* < *hjawəngX* < \***G<sup>w</sup>raŋ?** ‘long’, ‘enduring’

str.47



379 于 *yú* < *hju* < \***G(r)a** ‘in, at, on, etc.’, ‘in relation to’

str.2



380 余 *yú* < *yo* < \***la** ‘I’

str.14

R has 豫 *yù* < *yoH* < \***la-s** ‘comfortable’



381 魚 *yú* < *ngjo* < \***ŋra** ‘fish’

str.41

Cf. phonophoric 魚 in 魯 *lǔ* < *luX* < \***rra?** ‘the State of Lu’.



382 [愈] corresponding to R 渝 *yú* < *yu* < \***lo** ‘alter’, ‘augment’ (the same

str.5

correspondence in Hex.17 *Sui*)



383 [輿] 輿 *yú* < *yo* < \***[g]ra** ‘cart’, ‘load’

str.7

SS {止 ‘step, move’, 車 ‘chariot’}



384 雨 *yǔ* < *hjuX* < \***G(r)a?** ‘rain’

str.38



385 欲 *yù* < *yowk* < \***[g]ok** ‘covet’, ‘desire’

str.55



386 御 ① yù < ngjoH < \***ŋ(r)a-s** ‘drive a cart’, ‘charioteer’

str.1 ② yù < ngjoX < \***ŋ(r)aʔ** ‘resist’, ‘tribute’ (> 禦)



387 遇 yù < ngjuH < \***ŋo-s** ‘encounter’, ‘respond’

str.32 str.33 str.38 str.56



388 [譽] 譽 yù < yoH < \***[g]raʔ-s** ‘praise’, ‘fame’

str.35 str.38

str.51 (\***N-[k]raʔ-s** related to 舉 jǔ < kjoX < \***k(r)aʔ** ‘lift, recommend’)

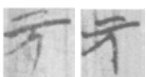
SS {言 ‘language’, 心 ‘mind’}



389 corresponding to R 繻 yù < ywit < \***[g]wīt** and jú < kwit < \***kʷit**

str.44

‘well-rope’ (Liji)



390 元 yuán < ngjwon < \***ŋʷan** ‘head’, ‘prime’, ‘initiation’

str.20 str.33



391 [备] 遼 yuán < ngjwon < \***ŋʷan** < \***ŋlwan** < \***ŋlwar**

str.9

① (orographic) ‘plain’ (later written 原)

② ‘origin’, ‘spring’ (SHZY; corresponding to R 原)

The *Shuowen* records the Seal form as 遼 {备 + 辶 + 𧇧} for ‘plain’ (2b/75), but the W. Zhou early script form 遼 (史𧇧簠) has the component 豕 (*tuàn* < \***hllwan** < \***hllwar** ‘pig’) instead (Rong Geng 1985: 104). Duan Yucai notes that the graph 遼 was later displaced by 原, the proper form for *yuán* ‘origin’. The SHZY on the contrary has the form 备 for the word *yuán* ‘original’, used in the phrase *yuán shì* 备

(原) 筭 (筮) “initial divination”, which appears to be a simplified form of the character 筮.

The word *tuàn* 豕 ‘pig’ has an initial consonant of the **\*L-** type. This suggests that the word *yuán* ‘plain’ (遠) should be reconstructed with a cluster such as **\*ɲl-**. We cannot tell from the graphic alternation 备 ~ 原 in the script of the late W.S. period whether the word *yuán* ‘origin’ also had **\*ɲl-** since it is possible that the *yuán* **\*ɲlwan** ‘plain’ lost the **\*-l-** by that time to become homophonous with the *yuán* **\*ɲʷan** ‘origin’.

- 392  曰 *yuē* < *hɟwot* < **\*Gʷat** ‘say’  
str.22

- 393  [酌] 酌, 禱 *yuè* < *yak* < **\*lawk** ‘libation’  
str.57

SS {示 ‘ritual’, 酉 ‘drinks’} and EP {勺, 龠}

- 394  孕 *yùn* [irregular coda] < *yɪngH* < **\*ləŋ-s** ‘pregnant’  
str.50

- 395  [災] 災 *zāi* < *tsoj* < **\*ttsə** ‘wildfire’, ‘natural disaster’  
str.21 str.56

- 396  [才] *zài* < *dzojX* < **\*ddzəʔ** ‘exist’ ‘be located at’ (> 在)  
str.7 str.56

- 397  [載] 載 ① *zài* < *tsojH* < **\*ttsə-s** ‘ride’, ‘vehicle’  
str.33 *zài* < *dzojH* < **\*ddzə-s** ‘load’, ‘transfer’  
② *zǎi* < *tsojX* < **\*ttsəʔ** ‘record’, ‘year’

- 398  [鼎勿] 則 *zé* < *tsok* < \***ttsək** ① ‘(if)...then’, ‘therefore’  
str.34 ② ‘model’, ‘pattern’

- 399  章 *zhāng* < *tsyang* < \***tan** ‘eye-catching’, ‘merit’, ‘chapter’  
str.51

- 400   丈 *zhàng* < *drjangX* < \***dran?** ‘staff’, ‘cane’; ‘measure of  
str.7 str.16 length’

- 401  [斷] 折 *zhé* < *tsyet* < \***tat** ‘cut off’, ‘bend over’  
str.51

- 402-a      貞 *zhēn* (< *zhēng*) < *trjeng* < \***tren**  
str.2 str.53 str.8 str.48 str.58 ‘ascertain’, ‘correct’

- 402-b  [貞貞]  
str.53

- 403    征 *zhēng* < *tsyeng* < \***ten**  
str.13 str.24 str.58 ① ‘go on military expedition’  
② ‘levy a tax’

- 404  [救] probably standing for R 拯 *zhěng* < *tsyngX* < \***ten?** ‘lift’, ‘rescue’  
str.54

Cf. phonophoric 整 *zhěng* < *tsyengX* < \***ten?** ‘put in order’

- 405   之 *zhī* < *tsyi* < \***tə** ① ‘go’  
 str.22 str.53 ② ‘it, him, them etc.’ (Accusative)  
 ③ marker of adjunct-head relation
- 406  [止] *zhǐ* < *tsyiX* < \***təʔ** ‘foot’ (> 趾)  
 str.48
- 407  [執] corresponding to R 執 *zhí* < *tsyip* < \***təp** ‘grasp’, ‘hold’, ‘execute’  
 str.30
- 408  [執] 執 *zhí* < *tsyip* < \***təp** ‘hold’, ‘capture’  
 str.26
- 409   至 *zhì* < *tsyijH* < \***tit-s** ‘arrive’, ‘ultimate point’  
 str.2 str.44 *zhì* < *trijH* < \***trit-s** ‘dispatch’, ‘cause to arrive’(> 致)
- 410  [志] 志 *zhì* < *tsyijH* < \***tə-s** ‘intent’, ‘purpose’, ‘inclination’; ‘record’  
 str.27  
 R has 思 *sī* < *si* < \***sə** ‘thoughts’
- 411  [慥] 慥 *zhì* < *trijH* < \***trit-s** ‘angry’ corresponding to R 窒 *zhì* < *trjt*  
 str.4 < \***trit** ‘block’ occurring in *zhì tì* 窒惕 ‘startled and alarmed’
- 412   [中]  [中] 中 *zhōng* < *trjuwng* (H) < \***trun(-s)**  
 str.4 str.39 str.7 ‘center’, ‘middle’; ‘(hit the mark)’

- 413   [冬]  [終] 終 *zhōng* < *tsyuwng* < \***tun** ‘cease’, ‘end’  
str.2 str.3 str.12

- 414  [甃] corresponding to R 甃 *zhòu* < *tsrjuwH* < \***tsru-s** ‘wall around a well’  
str.45

- 415  攸攸 corresponding to R 逐逐 *zhú-zhú*  
str.25

Compare 逐 *zhú* < *drjuwk* < \***lrūk** ‘pursue’ and 攸 *yōu* < *yuw* < \***lu** ‘appearance of moving fast’

- 416   [主] 主 *zhǔ* < *tsyuX* < \***to?** ‘lord’, ‘host’; ‘center on’  
str.32 str.51

- 417  [資] 資 *zī* < *tsjij* < \***tsij** ‘asset’, ‘resource’  
str.53

- 418  [次] 次 *zī* < *tsjij* < \***tsij** as in *zī qiě* 次且 ‘walk with difficulty’  
str.38  
Cf. phonophoric 妻 *qī* < *tshej* < \***tts<sup>h</sup>əj** ‘wife’

- 419  子 *zǐ* < *tsjiX* < \***tsə?** ‘child’, ‘son’  
str.8

- 420  自 *zì* < *dzijH* < \***dzij-s** ① ‘onself’, ‘on one’s own’  
str.11 ② ‘start from’

Cf. Baxter-Sagart 2011: *zì* < *dzijH* < \***S.bit-s** ‘start from’ :: 鼻 *bí* [irregular tone] < *bijH* < \***m-bit-s** ‘nose’, \***Cə.bit-s** ‘smell (v.t.)’

- 421  宗 *zōng* < *tsowng* < \***ttsun** ‘lineage (temple)’  
str.33

- 422  走 *zǒu* < *tsuwX* < \***ttso?** ‘run’  
str.54

R has *bēn* 奔 ‘rush’

- 423  足 *zú* < *tsjowk* < \***tsok** ‘lower body’, ‘foot’  
str.48

R has *fēi* 腓 ‘calf’

- 424  左 *zuǒ* < *tsaX* < \***ttasaj?** ‘left’  
str.7

