

AN ANALYSIS OF THE USES OF THE VARIOUS FORMS
OF THE HUMAN FIGURE IN THE SHANG SCRIPT

By

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ABSTRACT


AN ANALYSIS OF THE USES OF THE VARIOUS FORMS OF THE HUMAN FIGURE IN THE SHANG SCRIPT

VERNON KEITH FOWLER

The present thesis is a study of the design of the script of the Shang dynasty oracle bones of China. These are the earliest known examples of the Chinese script, and may be dated roughly to 1200-1051 B.C. The creators of the Shang script basically had two approaches to the representation of words: one was to represent the word indirectly, via the concept (i.e. draw the concept or refer to it graphically in some way), and the other was to represent the word directly (i.e. its phonetic shape—this was only possible after the first approach had been used, thus providing a source of graphs that could be used for their sound). In one type of graph, the so-called xíngsheng or xiésheng, both approaches are combined. In this thesis, I am primarily concerned with the type of graph in which either the whole graph or some part of it is designed with reference to the concept. In order to set reasonable bounds on the topic, I limit myself to an examination of graphs containing human figure elements. There are three basic human figure elements in the Shang script:  ,  , and  , and a small number of variations. The question I address in this thesis is: What determines their distribution? At first glance they appear simply to indicate different postures: a standing figure seen from the side, a standing figure seen from the front, and a kneeling figure seen from the side. One can readily understand why there should be a standing figure and a kneeling figure, but why should there be two standing figures seen from different angles?

Taking as my corpus all the graphs in Shima Kunio's *Inkyo bokuji sôrui* containing the above mentioned human figure elements (approximately 850 graphs, or about one seventh of the total number of bone graphs distinguished to date), I systematically investigated all of them, in order to determine the relationship between the human figure elements in them and the concepts that they represent. I then sorted out about 200 of those graphs for which I felt I had been able to arrive at a correct analysis. Finally, I compared the factors determining the usage of the human figure elements in each graph to see if any consistency could be detected. I then categorized these uses, and sorted the graphs into these various categories. The body of the thesis is structured according to these various categories. The conclusions of the thesis are:

1. The element , although as an independent graph is the modern character dà 大, did not signify 'big,' but was chiefly used instead of  when the concept was felt to be most easily or most naturally depicted from the front, i.e. where the involvement of both arms and/or both legs was felt to be particularly important to expressing the concept.

2. The  element was used in graphs to do with (a) kneeling; (b) actions typically performed in a kneeling position; (c) concepts in which kneeling could be used as a sign of inferiority, yielding, submission, subjection, etc.


3 , the commonest form of the human figure, could be used in any graph denoting any concept that was felt to have anything to do with human beings, and restrictions on its usage were determined by whether the other two elements were felt to be more appropriate.

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ABBREVIATIONS

- EMC Early Middle Chinese (the language of the *Qieyun*, 601 A.D.).
- Glosses Karlgren, Bernhard, 1964. *Glosses on the Book of Odes*. Reprinted from BMFEA 14 (1942), 16 (1944) and 18 (1946). 1970. *Glosses on the Book of Documents*. Reprinted from BMFEA 20 (1948) and 21 (1949). Göteborg: Elanders.
- GSR Karlgren, Bernhard, 1957. *Grammata Serica Recensa*. Reprinted 1972 from BMFEA 29 Göteborg: Elanders.
- HY Harvard-Yenching concordance series.
- JGWB *Jiagu wenbian* 甲骨文編, 1965. Compiled by the Zhongguo Kexueyuan Kaogu Yanjiusuo 中國科學院考古研究所 (rev. and enl. from the original edition of Sun Haibo 孫海波, 1934). Peking: Xinhua Shudian. Reprinted 1978 Hong Kong: Zhongguo Shuju.
- JWJ Li Xiaoding 李考定, 1965. *Jiagu wenzi jishi* 甲骨文字集釋. Nankang (Taiwan): Academia Sinica.
- KBTS Shirakawa Shizuka 白川靜, 1962-1984. *Kimbun tsûshaku* 金文通釋 (56 instalments). Kobe: Hakutsuru Bijutsukan 白鶴美術館.
- NJWB Rong Geng 容庚, comp., Zhang Zhenlin 張振林 and Ma Guoquan 馬國權, rev. and enl., 1985. *Jinwenbian* 金文編. Peking: Zhonghua Shuju.
- OBI Oracle bone inscriptions.
- OC Old Chinese (time of the *Shijing*).
- OJWB Rong Geng 容庚, 1959. *Jinwenbian* 金文編. Peking: Kexue Chubanshe.
- S Shima Kunio 島邦男, 1967. *Inkyo bokuji sôru* 殷墟卜辭綜類. Rev. and enl. 1971 Tokyo: Kyûko Sho'in. (This abbreviation is separated by a period from a following page and row number.)
- SW Xu Shen 許慎, 100. *Shuowen jiezi* 說文解字. Reprint 1963 Peking: Zhonghua Shuju.
- SWDZ Duan Yucai 段玉裁, 1815. *Shuowen jiezi zhu* 說文解字注. Reprinted 1979 Taipei: Yiwen Yinshuguan; 1981 Shanghai: Guji Chubanshe.

SWGL Ding Fubao 丁福保, comp., 1930. *Shuowen jiezi gulin* 說文解字詁林. Shanghai: Gulin Jingshe 詁林精舍. Reprint 1960: Taipei: Commercial Press.

Tongjian Gu Jiegang 顧頡剛, chief ed., 1966. *Shangshu tongjian* 尚書通檢. Reprint 1966 Taipei: Chinese Materials and Research Aids Service Center.

Published collections of oracle bone inscriptions are cited according to the abbreviations in Keightley 1978:229-231 (Bibliography A), except that I have transcribed them into pinyin. In addition, *Zongtū* = Chen Mengjia 1956, and *Yingguo* = Li Xueqin 1985.

Translations of the *Shijing* are all taken from Karlgren 1950a.

Note on tones in pinyin transcriptions: 1st tone is unmarked, 2nd tone is marked by an acute accent, 3rd tone by a circumflex, and 4th tone by a grave accent.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

First and foremost, my greatest debt of gratitude goes to Professor Takashima, who has guided my studies in Chinese palaeography since I embarked on them seven years ago. During this time he has also helped in supporting me by arranging various projects, and was also responsible for my successful application for a Monbusho scholarship, by getting Professor Ito Michiharu to agree to taking me on as his student. As for the present thesis, Professor Takashima not only suggested the topic, but also made numerous comments and suggestions on the successive drafts in the midst of a very busy teaching and research schedule. The other person to whom I am most indebted for guiding the thesis is Professor Pulleyblank, who was always ready to discuss matters of Chinese historical phonology with me, and helped me to put the phonetic symbols into the text. I am also grateful to him for taking over the role of acting supervisor while Professor Takashima was in Japan.

For my main financial support, I am indebted to the Asian Studies Department at UBC, who provided me with Teaching Assistantships each year that I was here. I would also like to say a special thankyou to the Interlibrary Loan staff for their herculean labours in getting hold of rare oracle bone collections.

...to require a young scholar to be original is as inhumane
as requiring him to be a humorist, or a poet.

A.R. Burn (Introduction to Sélincourt's
translation of Herodotus' *Histories*)

INTRODUCTION

A. AIMS OF THE THESIS

1. My Approach to the Chinese Script

The Chinese script may be approached in a number of different ways, depending on one's purposes. Anthropologists might approach it as a cultural phenomenon, the distinctive hallmark of a unique civilization; calligraphers might approach it as an object of beauty; while a linguist would simply consider it as the conventional representation of the Chinese language, no different from any other conventional representation of any other language. There is a popular feeling amongst Chinese people (who are naturally very proud of their unique script), and also amongst foreign students of Chinese, that the Chinese script, due to its pictographic origins, is somehow more 'meaningful' than an alphabet, as if there were some mysterious interaction between the written characters and the spoken words,¹ and one sometimes hears people say that the simplified characters

¹Cf. Creel's (1937:159) remark that "We [who use an alphabet] have specialized on the representation of sounds; the Chinese have specialized on making their writing so suggestive to the eye that it immediately calls up ideas and vivid pictures, without any interposition of sounds." DeFrancis (1984:141) criticizes this attitude. Cf. also Chiang Yee (1938:1): "...in their written form Chinese characters not only serve the purpose of conveying thought but also express in a peculiar visual way the beauty of the thought." Admittedly one might expect this sort of remark from someone who is writing about calligraphy, but he also maintains (ibid:35) that "In the present-day style of writing, though the original image has in many cases been lost, there is still a vivid enough image to move the reader's feeling and stir associations with other characters. ...A character, being evolved from a picture, displays its meaning clearly through its appearance, even if it has no sound." These words by a Chinese writer express a feeling that is common both among Chinese people and Westerners who learn Chinese.

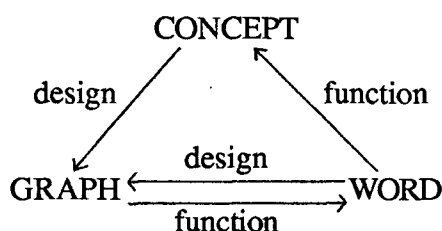
brought in by the present government are less meaningful than the old characters. However, anything in spoken Chinese that is intelligible to the ear of a literate Mandarin speaker, is also intelligible to his eye when written down¹, and in a scientific approach one has to acknowledge that a page of Chinese written in the traditional script contributes no more to the meaning than the same text written in pinyin (though it does of course, as Professor Pulleyblank has pointed out to me, disambiguate homophones). In the normal course of reading, the Chinese reader is not constantly distracted from the total meaning of the sentences by mental images of what the characters originally depicted, and even the student of etymology seldom pauses to think on such things. Since even those characters that originally depicted objects and animals have become stylized beyond recognition in the modern script, the uninitiated cannot guess what they represent. It is only after one learns the meaning of a character, that one can begin to imagine some resemblance to the object or animal it originally depicted.

I do not think I need to labour this point, which has been amply commented on for many years, and no linguist would maintain that the Chinese script, in its present form, is anything other than a conventional representation of the Chinese language. Several years of familiarity with the Shang script have led me to the conclusion that that stage of the Chinese script bore exactly the same conventional relationship to the spoken language as the present stage of the script does, the differences being purely in form, not in nature. One should not allow oneself to be misled by the highly pictographic quality of the Shang script into proposing more complex relationships. The reason why I include this reminder here, is in order to avoid confusion over what I am trying to do in this thesis.² In this thesis, I am not dealing with the relationship between the written sign and the spoken word, but between the written sign and the concept that the word refers to. I address the

¹Professor Pulleyblank has pointed out to me that the intelligibility of the spoken and written languages may differ since, in any written language, there are always some elements left out, e.g. intonation. Intonation can disambiguate spoken sentences that might be ambiguous in the written form.

²I am actually indebted to Professor Pulleyblank here, who suggested that I make this clarification, and whose discussion of my first draft helped me to sort my ideas out.

question: how did the creators of the Shang script set about designing graphs to represent words? Naturally, then, it is vital to distinguish between character function and character design. It will make things clearer if I first give a diagram of the relationship between graph, word and concept (a triad which is comparable to the traditional Chinese xíng 形, yīn 音 and yì 義, respectively).



The creators of the Shang script basically had two approaches to the representation of words: one was to represent the word indirectly, via the concept (i.e. draw the concept or refer to it graphically in some way), and the other was to represent the word directly (i.e. its phonetic shape—this was only possible after the first approach had been used, thus providing a source of graphs that could be used for their sound). In one type of graph, the so-called xíngshēng 形聲 or xiéshēng 諧聲, both approaches are combined. In this thesis, I am primarily concerned with the type of graph in which either the whole graph or some part of it is designed with reference to the concept.

The relationships that the above diagram summarizes may be spelt out, and related to the SW analysis of character types, as follows (using the symbol > to mean 'is represented by'):¹

Design

CONCEPT > GRAPH

SW Character Type

xiàngxíng 象形, huìyì 會意,

¹I should perhaps point out here that the SW classification is a later analysis, not something that we know was in the minds of the original creators of the script. I am grateful to Professor Pulleyblank for reminding me to clarify this point.

WORD > GRAPH

CONCEPT

WORD ———> GRAPH

zhǐshì 指事

jiàjiè 假借





xíngshēng 形聲, zhuǎnzhù 轉注

Function

GRAPH > WORD > CONCEPT

It might also be helpful here to explain the six SW character types:

1. Xiàngxíng: pictographs. This method of representing words is only feasible if they refer to physical things having a definite shape.

2. Huìyì: the combining of concrete elements to suggest another concept, usually an abstract one. This was particularly used for verbs where, for example, the depiction of a person along with the object involved in the action suggests the action itself. By the time of the seal script, many elements that had been connected in the Shang script became separated, so the category of huìyì can only be clearly defined for the later script. In the Shang script, the borderline between huìyì and xiàngxíng is very hazy. For example, is  /  a man pushing a plough along (xiàngxíng), or a combination of 'man' + 'plough' (huìyì)? Does the evolution of the bone graph  , showing a person with the foot depicted in detail, into the modern character  , in which the person and the foot are separated, involve a change of category from xiàngxíng to huìyì? As far as the bone script is concerned, I do not think it is meaningful to attempt to make a distinction between these two categories.

3. Zhîshì: the iconic representation of abstract concepts. Very few words could be so represented. Examples are shàng 上 / 上 'on top,' a short line on top of a long upward-facing curved line, and xià 下 / 下 'beneath,' a short line underneath a longer downward-facing curved line.

From the point of view of the relationship between graph, concept and word, there is no need to make a distinction between the above three types.

4. Jiâjiè: rebus. This is particularly common in the early stage of the script. In order to write down a word denoting a concept (usually, but not necessarily, abstract), a graph denoting some concrete object, the word for which was pronounced the same as or similarly to the target word, was used. A common example in the bone script would be the use of 𩺰, a stylized form of dīng 鼎 / 鼎 *tánʔ 'cauldron' for the verb zhēn 貞 *trən 'to test through divination.' As the script lost its pictorial quality, any type of character came to be used as a phonetic loan, whether it was originally a simple pictograph or not, so the term 'rebus' then ceases to be accurate, and one simply has to call them phonetic loans.

5. Xíngshēng: phonetic compounds. This is the method that became the most popular for creating new characters, not only for words denoting abstract concepts but also for words denoting concrete concepts. It consists in the combination of an element suggesting the general area of meaning with another element the same or similar in pronunciation to the target word. Thus for example there are many women's names in the oracle bones which consist of the woman element nǚ 女 / 女, plus another element indicating the pronunciation, such as jiāng 姜 / 姜, which has yáng 羊 'sheep' on top as phonetic. In the Zhou period, many characters that were originally used as phonetic loans came to be

disambiguated by the addition of significs (e.g. yì 藝 had lì 力 'strength' signific added when used for shì 勢 'force'—see GSR 330a).

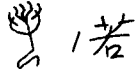



6. Zhuânzhù. In his postface to SW, Xu Shen gave as examples of this type of character kāo 考 and lāo 老. There has been much ink spilt on what exactly Xu Shen meant by this category (a thorough summary of past scholarship may be found in Serruys 1957). In the body of his work, Xu Shen analyses lāo as huìyì (the bone graph is simply a pictograph of an old man—see I.7.33) and kāo as consisting of lāo signific plus kāo 𠂔 phonetic (which, as far as the seal form is concerned, is a correct analysis, but see I.7.33 for a discussion of earlier forms). If the term zhuânzhù is intended to describe the relationship of kāo 考 to lāo 老, then, purely from the point of view of graph structure (that is to say, ignoring any etymological relationship there might be between the words represented by these characters), this is no different from xíngsheng.

By making explicit the relationship between graph, word and concept, it is thus possible to clarify the nature of the traditional SW categorization of Chinese characters. In my thesis, I have tried to be very strict about the use of these three terms. In general, I use the word 'graph' to refer to bone and bronze graphs, and the word 'character' to refer to modern characters. Since the early graphs are less standardized than the modern characters, I also find it useful to use the terms 'grapheme' and 'allograph,' modelled on the analogy of 'phoneme' and 'allophone,' when discussing the issue of graphic variants, an issue which is quite a problem as it is often hard to decide whether similar graphs are independent graphs or allographs of the same grapheme.

Whenever conducting any line of research, it is of course essential to have hypotheses and then set out to test them, modifying or discarding them as the evidence dictates. However, it is easy to pay lip-service to this oft-quoted ideal, and there is always






the danger of becoming too attached to a hypothesis and consequently failing to recognize counter-evidence, or dismissing it as invalid without giving it full consideration. As Pulleyblank (1985:304) has remarked: "In the long run, however, it is a losing game. If one does not actively seek for the counterevidence to one's own theories, one can be sure that others will." I think it would be useful therefore to say something about the stages my hypothesis went through before reaching the final form as presented in this thesis.



2. Evolution of the Hypothesis






The idea of graphic analysis (as understood in the present thesis) was developed and presented by Professor Takashima in his seminars on Chinese palaeography in an informal way, and he suggested to me that I might attempt to put this theory on a firmer foundation, either upholding, modifying or disproving it. The idea was, basically, that the oracle bone graphs could be profitably analysed in greater detail than had hitherto been done, and that the graphic elements separated out from a graph by this analysis could be related to different aspects of the concept that the graph represented. The important thing was to strike a balance between under-analysis and over-analysis: if one under-analyses the graphs, then one is missing out on an advance in knowledge, whereas if one over-analyses them, then one is leaving the realm of scholarship and entering the realm of imagination. For example, Professor Takashima suggested that the graph ruò  could be broken down into the three components , , and , and that one could then set about determining, by comparison with other graphs in which these elements occur, whether they had any constant, inherent significance. Since these elements do in fact recur as components in other graphs, it is an interesting and worthwhile pursuit to study them and see how the hypothesis fares. On the other hand, if one were to break the







graphs down into the very simplest strokes, such as — or | , this would probably be going too far.





Since no one had yet attempted such a thing in writing, there was no previous scholarship for me to appeal to, so this was indeed quite a challenge. On the other hand, I found it refreshing and exciting to have something new to do, where I felt I had the chance to make a significant contribution to the study of Chinese characters. To examine all the elements that occur in the Shang script would be a major undertaking. For the purposes of the present thesis, I examine the various human figure elements that occur. The reason for this choice is partly to give a unified topic to the thesis, but also because they are among the commonest elements in the script, and thus offer a rich testing ground for applying the present theory of graphic analysis. Writing is a human institution, and tends mainly to concern human affairs, so it is not surprising that a pictographic script should exhibit a large number of human figure elements. The use of the human figure in such a script thus offers a particularly rewarding field for enquiry.





















There are three basic human figure elements in the Shang script,  ,  , and  , and a small number of variations. If there were only one human figure element, say  , then one would simply conclude that it indicated anything to do with humans, just as there is only one tree element  which indicates anything to do with trees or wood. the questions I asked myself then were: 1) What determines their distribution? 2) Can their distribution tell us anything about how the creators of the Shang script approached the problem of how to create written symbols for spoken words? At a first glance, they appear simply to indicate different postures: a standing figure seen from the side, a standing figure seen from the front, and a kneeling figure seen from the side. One can readily understand why there should be a standing figure and a kneeling figure, but why should there be two standing figures seen from different angles?














My original hypothesis had been to look for a symbolic significance, and I hypothesized that  symbolized action (a person going somewhere),  symbolized

stasis (a person standing still), while the kneeling figure  symbolized such things as yielding, inferiority or submission. However, after completing the first stage of my research (that is, establishing, as far as possible, a correct analysis for all the graphs in the corpus), I was forced to modify this hypothesis considerably. In the first place, the  element clearly had several other uses (e.g. in graphs denoting types of people, people's names, and for indicating parts of the human body). In the second place, it soon became apparent to me that the use of the  element was in most cases determined, not by whether the focus of the concept was on absence of motion, but rather it was used instead of  when it was felt that the concept in question was more easily or more naturally represented from the front. This is especially the case when both sides of the body are involved, as in yì  / 亦 (腋) 'armpit,' of which there is one on either side of the body (see II.1.ii.175). As for the kneeling element, this occurs in many graphs denoting actions that the Shang would have performed normally in a kneeling position, such as eating, so it could hardly be said to have any ulterior significance in such graphs. Thus I modified my original thesis title "The Significance of the Various Forms of the Human Figure in the Shang Script" to the present one, in order to encompass all uses, whether symbolic or not.

However, there remained certain minimal or near-minimal contrasts that led me to maintain my first hypothesis in a modified form. As already mentioned,  seems to be largely used in graphs denoting concepts where the involvement of both sides of the body is felt to be important to their expression, and so it was desired to show both arms or both legs. Thus, for graphs denoting concepts to do with standing, it was felt desirable to show both legs. Three graphs that illustrate this in particular are: lì  / 立 'to stand' (II.1.i.172), yí  / 𠂔 'to stand still' (II.1.i.167), and jù  / 虞 'a stand (for bells)' (II.1.i.165). In , a line is drawn beneath the feet to represent the ground; in , the person is leaning on a stick, thus further suggesting the idea of standing still (the head and torso are also depicted in more detail, but this does not seem to be relevant to the

concept); while in , the feet are depicted in detail, which I think is probably intended to emphasize further the idea of standing firmly (the tiger-top element is phonetic). Note also the graph bìng  /  'side by side, together' (II.1.i.216), which consists of two  standing side by side.

It is insightful to compare these four graphs with graphs that are similar but contain  instead of . With , one may compare tíng  /  (I.1.ii.4), which shows a person standing on top of a mound of earth (cf. tū  / ) , and is perhaps the primary form of tíng  in the sense of 'straight, upright' (GSR 835h) or tíng  'stick out, crop up (as of something growing)' (GSR 835i); with , one may compare qī  /  'to stand on tiptoe' (I.1.ii.14), which shows a person with the foot emphasized; with yí , one may compare lǎo  /  'old' (I.7.33), which shows an old person with long hair leaning on a stick (the long hair here is also relevant to the depiction of the concept); and with bìng , one may compare both cóng  /  'to follow' (I.4.81), which shows one person following another, and bìng  /  'to combine' (I.4.84), which shows two people with lines across the legs joining them.

Turning now to , we see that apart from its use in graphs denoting concepts where kneeling was the usual position, it is also used in graphs denoting concepts of inferiority, yielding, submission, subjection, etc. Some insights into this usage can be gained by comparing such graphs with similar graphs containing . For example, fú  /  'subdue' (GSR 934a) (III.1.ii.335), which shows a hand at a kneeling person's back, and yì  /  (now written 抑) 'to repress' (GSR 915a) (III.1.ii.341) may both be compared with yì  / , the basic significance of which is perhaps 'to force (someone to do something)'¹ (I.1.ii.100) and jí  /  'come to, reach' (GSR 681a)(I.1.ii.72), which shows a hand reaching a person. Zhuàn  / , which I think is the primary form of xùn  'yield' (GSR 433a) (III.1.ii.340), shows

¹GSR 851a gives meanings such as 'to serve, servant, to toil, to work.' However, the graph does not show a person working, but a person being beaten. For further arguments, see my analysis of this graph in the body of the thesis.

one person kneeling behind another, and may be compared with cóng 𠂔 / 从 'to follow' (I.4.81).

Apart from these contrasts, there are also some examples of graphemes which have allographs differing in the choice of human figure element. It is also interesting to examine these, and ask oneself how it was that more than one of the human figure elements was felt to be appropriate to the expression of the concept in question. The clearest cut case is that of the bone graph for jiàn 見, which is written both 𠂔 and 𠂔 with comparable frequency (S.107.1x58 and S.107.3x76 respectively). The first form depicts a person with the eye emphasized, thus showing that the eye is the focus of the concept. Since kneeling cannot be described as a position usually or most typically associated with the simple act of seeing, the variant with 𠂔 requires some explanation, to provide which I turn to graphic analysis. My suggestion is that it is intended to represent the concept of seeing in the sense of 'visiting' or 'having an audience.' In many of the inscriptions, jiàn 見 is used in this sense, e.g.

○ 𠂔 𠂔 𠂔 𠂔 𠂔 𠂔 𠂔 𠂔

(Cuibian 1292)

丁未卜，貞：令立見方。

Dingwei-day cracking, tested: Order Li to visit the Fang.¹ First month.

□ 𠂔 𠂔 𠂔 𠂔 𠂔 𠂔 𠂔 𠂔



(Yibian 187)











丁巳卜：逯其見方弗_遺戍。







Dingsi-day cracking: He (?) will perhaps visit the Fang, and not meet with wù-weapons.

¹In the *Cuibian* commentary (by Guo Moruo), jiàn fang is treated as the name of a tribe 'the Jian tribe.' However, comparison with other inscriptions (e.g. the next one I cite, in which jiàn is preceded by the adverb qí 其), suggests that it is not the name of a tribe, but a verb.




As you can see from these two inscriptions, both the standing and kneeling variants occur in this usage, but I think that the kneeling form was designed with this meaning in mind. It might be objected that the Fang, being an alien tribe, would probably have been regarded as inferior by the Shang, so that it would be strange to interpret the kneeling figure element here as implying the Shang showing respect to the Fang. One can perhaps get over this problem by appealing to the *conventional* nature of the script, which I began this thesis by discussing, i.e the form of the graph for jiàn 見 in these particular sentences has no bearing on their interpretation, but is just a conventional sign for the word jiàn. The kneeling form simply captures the notion that 'visiting' or 'having an audience' are actions characterized in general by respect on the part of the visitor towards the person visited.


Another example is the graph for zhí 執 (both independently and as an element in other graphs), which is written both  and  (see III.3.2439). The standing form simply shows a person wearing manacles, while the kneeling form emphasizes the subjection of the person thus bound. There is no observable difference in usage between these two forms. Given the caveat that the bone inscriptions are often hard to interpret, I would say that they both occur as both a verb 'to shackle, capture' and a noun 'shackled person, captive.'

An example of  and  in allographs of the same grapheme is sī  / 死 (I.3.62), which has the rare variant . It seems that the sole meaning of  in the bone inscriptions is 'die.' Of the ten examples of  at S.40.1, three fit the 'so-and-so will (not) die' pattern that is so common with  (Yicun 577, Jinzhang 679, Qianbian 5.38.3), so there seems little doubt that it really is a variant of . Whereas  seems to show a person lying on a mortuary frame,  seems to show a person lying in a coffin or grave (though the precise graphic interpretation is problematic).

In the case of the bone graph for xi 奚 'captive,' JWG 10.3245 gives variants with all three human figure elements: , ,  (see III.5.823, 3020, 3021, 3024 and II.1.iii.3016) The form with  simply indicates 'type of human,' while the form with  emphasizes the subjection of such people (also suggesting that the arms are tied behind the back), and this is perfectly understandable. What is not so clear is why there should be a variant with  (which in fact is the only form in bronzes—see O/NJWB 1362/1694—and is the form that the modern character comes from). There does not seem to be any reason why it should be necessary to depict both sides of the body for this concept. Perhaps it has the same significance as in fu 夫 / 夫 'adult male,' i.e. indicating an adult.

In general, however, graphs were standardized with a particular human figure element. I shall now examine a couple of cases of graphs, which are either definitely different graphemes, or whose identification as allographs is questionable.

1. The graph  (III.1.i.283) may be definitely identified as guī 鬼. Li Xiaoding (JWG 9.2903) also includes the graphs  (which JGWB 1112 also includes) and  (which JGWB 1244 has separately as the non-character 臭). However, when we examine the contexts, we see some definite differences emerge:

 This is the commonest graph (occurring in at least twenty inscriptions), and appears to refer to a person or group of persons. The occurrence after ling 令 'to order' (Xucun 2.846) suggests a living person, while the expression 多 甲 夢 (e.g. Qianbian 4.18.3, where it is preceded by ya 亞 'temple?') perhaps means 'dreams caused by the many spirits'—it is hard to be sure. There is one example of 甲 方 'the Gui tribe' (not in S, but cited by Shima 1958:417 from Dong Zuobin 1945:8.6b—it is actually Yibian 403). Dong Zuobin assigns this inscription to Period IV, on the basis of graph shapes.

If 𠂔 is the primary form of guì 跪 'to kneel,' as I suggest it is, used as a rebus for guī 'spirit,' then naturally the human figure in this graph would have to be kneeling. (Although the EMC value of guì 跪 *gwiǎʔ* suggests that it was either in OC ge 歌 *-al or zhi 支 *-aj rhyme, the little rhyming evidence there is suggests that it was in wei 微 *-el rhyme. For my examination of the evidence, see III.1.ii.283.)

𠂔 (I.1.i.a.292) Of the six inscriptions at S.46.1, two similarly worded inscriptions contain the expression 𠂔 方.¹ They are both Period I inscriptions. I suggest that the graph be analysed as consisting of guì 𠂔 phonetic and 𠂔 signific indicating 'type of human.' By Period IV it had come to be written with the graph guī 𠂔 / 鬼, and in soft texts we find mention of the Gui Fang 鬼方 (e.g. *Yijing* HY 38/63/3). The graph 𠂔 thus merged with it. Compare how 𠂔 / 兕 and 𠂔 / 豕 collapsed as variants of the same character (I.1.i.a.61).

𠂔 This graph occurs as the name of a person in four related inscriptions on *Yibian* 865, where it is divined whether or not he will catch Qiang. In a fifth inscription (*Qianbian* 6.19.8), it is the only legible graph on a fragment.

The inscriptions are too few to base firm conclusions on, but they suggest the following:

- i. In Period I, guī 鬼 'spirit' was written 𠂔, while the name of the Gui Fang was written 𠂔.
- ii. By Period IV, the name of the Gui Fang had also come to be written 𠂔.

¹*Yibian* 6684 and *Jiabian* 3343. Shima 1958:417 cites a third example from *Guoxue jikan* (=Shen Jianshi 1935:insert before p.394), but he omits some of the graphs, and this is in fact *Jiabian* 3343, so there are still only two examples.

iii. There are no grounds for identifying the graph 𠂔 as a variant of *guǐ* 鬼. It may be analysed as *guǐ* 𠂔 'basket' on top of *dà* 大. It could be a variant of *yì* 𠂔 / 異 but it is impossible to say for sure.

2. Another set of three graphs that differ only in the human figure element is 𠂔 (identity problematic¹), *tiān* 𠂔 / 天 and *yì* 𠂔 / 邑. Since we find the expression 天邑商 'the chief city Shang' in the bones, there can be no doubt that 𠂔 and 𠂔 are different graphemes. 𠂔 seems to refer to a living person, so it could be a person's name (see S.10.4). Note however that in many inscriptions *yì* 邑 could also be interpreted as a person's name (e.g. S.43.3 邑來, 邑並 and S.43.4 邑示, 令邑, 𠂔邑).

B. TECHNICAL MATTERS




















1. List of Elements

There are three main forms of the human figure in the Shang script, and each may in turn be divided into a number of sub-forms. The number of sub-forms may vary according to the fineness of the distinctions one makes, but the general number is between 10 and 20. The smallness of this number when compared with the number of variations on the human figure in the Egyptian hieroglyphic script gives us an indication of its higher

¹But perhaps a *héwén* of *dīngrén* 丁人 'soldiers and men,' as Professor Takashima has suggested.

degree of stylization compared with the latter. The Egyptian script makes many distinctions that one simply does not find in the Shang script.

The following list gives the main forms and their sub-forms as I have determined them, in the order in which I deal with them in the body of the thesis, together with a simple description of what they depict. Their uses are discussed in the introduction to each section in the thesis.

- | | | |
|-------|---|---|
| I.1 |  | Standing, profile |
| 2 |  | Body |
| 3 |  = *  | Recumbent figure |
| 4 |  | More than one person |
| 5 |  | Sitting (rare) |
| 6 |  | Upside down figure |
| 7 |  | Figure with hair emphasized |
| 8 |  | Spoon, use as rebus for 'female' |
| | | |
| II.1 |  | Standing, frontal |
| 2 |  | Upside down |
| | | |
| III.1 |  | Kneeling, profile |
| 2 |  | Kneeling with hands extended upwards |
| 3 |  ~  | Kneeling (or standing) with both arms shown |
| 4 |  ~  | Kneeling (or standing) with hands crossed in front |
| 5 |  ~  | Kneeling (or standing) with hands crossed behind ¹ |






¹The reason for classifying these last three elements as basically kneeling is that their standing variants are rare.







I thus have fifteen different elements. 𠂇 is the commonest element and has the greatest variety of sub-forms; 𠂇 occurs in the smallest number of graphs, and has the least number of sub-forms; while 𠂇 is less common than 𠂇 but commoner than 𠂇, and has a middling number of sub-forms. Thus the variety of sub-forms may be seen to be related to the frequency with which the element is used in the composition of other graphs.






2. Corpus





My corpus of graphs containing human figure elements is taken from Shima's rear index (S.592). Here he lists 424 graphs under the 𠂇 element, 196 under the 𠂇 element, and 230 under the 𠂇 element. In addition I include the graph nû 𠂇 / 女 as being based upon 𠂇. This makes a total of 851 graphs (approximately one seventh of the total number of bone graphs that have been distinguished to date). The actual number of distinct graphemes is actually slightly lower than this, for the following reasons:



1. Some graphs are clearly allographs of the same grapheme (= 'character'). In the body of his work, Shima sometimes combines these allographs, and sometimes he does not. His approach may be termed 'cautious' rather than 'inconsistent,' since which graphs are allographs of the same grapheme, and which are distinct graphemes, is not something that one can make a priori decisions about: it requires research. Shima only combines graphs together as allographs of the same grapheme when their status as such is very obvious. In his front index (S.(9)-(12)), he only lists one of the allographs that he has so combined, so a more accurate grapheme count can be obtained by counting here.

2. A few graphs contain more than one human figure element, and are listed under each element, e.g.  *  (S.117.4) contains both  and . Note also that the graph  (S.323.4) is accidentally listed twice in the index (S.591.4 and 7). Shima also has a few graphs that are listed twice in the body of the work (sometimes with different example inscriptions, but sometimes exactly the same).

3. Some of the graphs listed under rén  /  actually contain the graphically similar element bī  / . Shima's stylized transcriptions obscure the difference, but JGWB's more accurate transcriptions usually make the difference quite clear. However, in order to be certain whether a graph contains bī  or rén , it has to be researched into, and this is perhaps why Shima chose to lump them together rather than make a priori decisions, though I assume he was aware of the difference, since he distinguishes the two as independent graphs in the body of his work.

4. Some of the graphs contain a variety of other rén-like elements. For instance, some of them contain dao  /  'knife,' e.g.  (S.133.1),  (S.188.3). This seems a little careless. There are also some other, unidentifiable squiggles, e.g. in  (S.186.2).

The above reductions in the total of 851 are partially compensated for by the addition of 13 graphs (plus one from JGWB 4982) containing the element  ~ , depicting a person with the hands tied behind the back, which Shima does not distinguish from nū  / , but lists together under the latter in his index (S.592.3-7). Some of these graphs are also probably allographs of the same grapheme, so there are actually less than 13 graphemes to be added.

One may also add a few graphs which have not been found independently in the inscriptions, but only as components in other graphs. For example, ní *  /  occurs

in 𠂔 𠂔 / 𠂔 (I.1.ii.1280) and 𠂔 / * 𠂔 (S.324.1), and although it has not been found independently one may still do some useful research on it.

There is no point in trying to work out an exact number, since it is impossible to lay down the law about which graphs are allographs of the same grapheme and which are not. One can often make suggestions but, due to the lack of evidence, one cannot be dogmatic. In addition, the section of unidentified graphs in JGWB lists many graphs containing human figure elements that are not in S, but which are so rare, and whose contexts are so fragmentary or obscure, that they will perhaps never be deciphered, and are thus of no use to the present thesis. Even in S there are many such graphs, but until one has examined them one does not know whether they will come in useful or not. Accordingly, I have examined all of the graphs in the above described corpus, and then sifted out a representative selection for demonstrating the claims of the present thesis.

3. Research Method

1. A number was assigned to all the different graphs listed in Shima's front index, in the order there listed, from 𠂔 = 1 to 𠂔 = 3340. Thus each of the graph headings in S was given its own unique number. This enabled me to refer rapidly and unambiguously to any of the graphs in the concordance as I was doing my research. Dictionaries like JGWB and O/NJWB already provide their own numbering, and it would have been useful if Shima had done something like this himself. In the thesis, cross-references among graphs are given by Chapter, Part and Section, followed by this number. Graphs not included in the thesis are referred to by their location in published sources, such as S, JGWB and JWJ.

2. Research was conducted systematically on all the graphs contained in the above described corpus. This involved:

i. Identifying the graph in JGWB.

JGWB serves as a standard list of oracle bone graphs and their variants, which are transcribed with a high degree of faithfulness. Shima's graphs tend to be standardized in his own handwriting, so they cannot serve as an accurate point of departure for analysis. By identifying the graph in JGWB, one can be sure that we know precisely which graph we are dealing with, and one can also see what all the variants are.

ii. Identifying the graph in JWJ.

JWJ is the chief source for the identifications and analyses of oracle bone graphs up to 1965. Most of the identifiable graphs are identified therein. As the work of identification proceeded, the remaining graphs became harder and harder to identify, so there has been little in the way of new identifications since then. I have in any case tried to limit myself to the more easily identifiable graphs.

iii. Consulting the SW analysis and definition along with the Duan Yucai commentary. Discussion of the SW analysis and definition is appended where necessary.

It has become something of a tradition amongst Chinese palaeographers to begin their discussions of oracle bone graphs with the appropriate quotation from SW. My reason for following this tradition is that SW, being the earliest etymological dictionary of Chinese characters (completed by Xu Shen in 100 A.D.), serves as a useful starting point for analysis. The seal forms given in SW also represent the earliest standardization of the Chinese script, so it is useful to show how the bone and bronze forms developed into these seal forms. Just as EMC serves as a solid starting point for working one's way back to

OC, so the seal script serves as a solid starting point for working one's way back to bone and bronze graphs. The *kaishu* form of the script obscures many points of continuity that are still observable in the seal forms. I find that the SW analyses, whether etymologically correct or not, always provide very stimulating food for thought: it is easier to arrive at a better understanding through the process of discussing another person's interpretation, even where it proves to be erroneous, than to come up with an original understanding entirely from scratch. The SW definitions are also useful, since the meanings of words often shift their focus or even change completely over time, so these definitions, being closer in time to the Shang period (though still quite distant), help to guide us towards the meanings that the graphs were originally created to represent. In analysing an oracle bone graph, it is of course essential to know what the word that it represents meant at the time that the graph was created.¹ A word of warning due here is that many of the SW definitions are tailored in order to use a word that sounds similar to the word being defined (the so-called shengxùn 聲訓 'paranomastic gloss'), or else in order to make sense of Xu Shen's etymological analysis. Such definitions often give some peripheral or extended meaning of the character in question, and not its basic meaning.²

Unfortunately the SW text is often ambiguous and hard to understand, and the short definitions, rather like the oracle bone inscriptions, provide very little context to aid one's understanding. In translating SW, therefore, I have referred constantly to the commentary by the Qing dynasty scholar Duan Yucai, which often helps to clarify the meaning, and I have summarized his comments in those cases where I feel they are important to understanding the SW text, in order to show how I arrived at my translation. These

¹One must here bear in mind, as Professor Takashima has reminded me, that we do not know *when* the script was created. It is quite possible that the meanings of some words may have changed between the time of the creation of the script and the earliest example we have of it, which is the oracle bones.

²Sometimes, however, the opposite is the case. Professor Takashima has pointed out to me the example of bū 卜, which SW (3b.19b) defines as 灼剥龜也, where bū 卜 powk < *pák^w 'make divination cracks' and bō 剥 pa^rwk < *prák^w 'cut, flay, peel' (GSR 1228) are morphologically related.

summaries are introduced between the SW quotations and their translations by the letters 'SWDZ.' I have also noted other comments of his where they provide useful additional information. I have also tried to make the translations internally consistent to SW, by checking the SW definitions of problematic characters occurring in the definitions (though SW is not necessarily always internally consistent).

iv. Discussion of the graph, covering:









a. Analysis of the graph, including discussion of the JWJ identification, with reference to subsequent scholarship where necessary. Page references are generally not given for scholarship included in JWJ under the graph which is under discussion, but only given if the material involved is in JWJ under a different graph.

b. Notes on the usage of the graph in OBI, with inscriptions quoted in support where necessary. The reason for this is to show whether it is used in its original meaning, and if so, to help clarify what that original meaning was. This is important, because many graphs occur only as proper nouns (place and personal names), or in very obscure contexts, or even with no context at all, in which case my comments on the original meaning should be seen as correspondingly more tentative. By 'original meaning,' I do not mean the original meaning of the word that the graph represents, but rather what it meant at the time that the graph was created to represent it. This is the only relevant meaning for graphic analysis. Once again here it is important to bear in mind that we do not know when the Chinese script was created, so the oracle bone usage does not necessarily give us the meanings of words when the graphs for them were created.

3. The graphs were then grouped according to their common human figure element.

4. Graphs whose contexts are too fragmentary or ambiguous to be of any use were then removed. Graphs which I felt unable to give a satisfactory analysis for were also removed.

5. The factors determining the usage of the human figure elements in each graph were then compared to see if any consistency could be detected. A discussion of these factors was then pre-pended as an introduction to each Part of the thesis, and the discussion of what determines the use of the human figure element under each graph modified accordingly if necessary. In cases where an element was found to play more than one role, the Part was further divided into Sections illustrating each role. The thesis thus consists of three main Chapters which are divided into Parts for each of the human figure element variants, some of which are further divided into Sections illustrating the different roles of a multi-roled element.

Since the use of  is determined 'negatively' (i.e. when  or  were not felt to be more appropriate), there is not much one can say about the factors determining its usage. However, since the body of graphs containing this element is particularly large, it makes it easier to cope with if it is subdivided in some way. I have therefore decided to use it in order to show the general semantic fields of graphs containing human figure elements, such as types of humans, personal names, human actions, and body parts. I find that, when trying to work out the meaning of such graphs in context, they provide helpful guidelines. These semantic fields are also generally applicable to  and  (e.g.  is used in , which denotes a body part—see II.1.ii.2423), though the usage in graphs denoting persons' names is largely limited to  (this point is problematic, since it seems that any graph can be used as a proper noun, i.e. person or place name).

6. A general introduction and the conclusions were then written.

One of the problems in attempting a thesis of this sort, is that there is still room for disagreement over the identification of many bone graphs. In order to establish the principles of graphic analysis, it is necessary to examine a substantial number of graphs. One could write whole articles exploring all the ins and outs of why a particular graph should be identified with a particular character, but this sort of detailed discussion would only serve to clutter up the thesis and reduce the number of graphs that could be covered. In order to keep the thesis down to a reasonable size, I have tried to select only those graphs whose identification is fairly problem-free, and I have endeavoured to make my analyses as brief as possible. However, I have also included a few unidentified graphs, in order to illustrate how graphic analysis may be used heuristically.

4. Approach to Phonological Problems

In order to analyse early Chinese graphs, it is essential to know which elements play a phonetic role or could play a phonetic role, and in order to understand early inscriptions, it is essential to know what words a graph could phonetically stand for. Some idea of how the graphs were pronounced at the time is indispensable, and the more accurate the idea the better. To some extent one can work with the *Shijing* rhyme categories, as Chinese scholars have done in the past and often still continue to, and some general idea of the initials as inferred from the EMC *xiésheng* contacts. However, vital information may be obscured by this 'formulaic' approach, and a more accurate reconstruction may open up possibilities that one would never have thought of while thinking in terms of rhyme categories and general classes of initials. The problem of reconstruction may be conveniently dealt with in two parts: the finals, and the initials.

Finals

For reconstructing finals (including certain features which affect the final historically), I use the system presented in Pulleyblank 1977-78. Having said this, it should be pointed out that there is disagreement over which *Shijing* rhymes certain characters should be assigned to. This is particularly true for characters that do not occur as rhyme words in the *Shijing*, but there is also disagreement over characters which do occur as rhyme words in the *Shijing*, due to the use of hedge-rhymes (héyùn 合韻), and the fact that the wei 微 and zhi 脂 rhymes were already merging at that time. Many characters only occur once or twice in rhyming position, thus failing to provide a really firm foundation for rhyme assignment, and the variety of rhyming schemes used in the *Shijing* also leads to disagreement over whether certain characters are intended to rhyme or not. Characters which do not occur as rhymes in the *Shijing* are usually assigned to the same rhyme as other characters in the same *xiésheng* series that do occur as rhyme words, if there are such. Otherwise one has to appeal to other early rhyming evidence (e.g. the *Chuci*), or the use of loan graphs in early texts. Their EMC rhymes can also be used as a clue in determining what their OC rhyme was likely to have been.

Initials

Professor Pulleyblank (1984:xvii) has said that "it is impossible at present, in my opinion, to make a complete reconstruction for Old Chinese without some radically new kind of evidence." This is particularly true in the case of the initials, due to the lack of contemporary systematic evidence. While the finals can be established on the basis of the

2. That the retroflex vowels that Pulleyblank reconstructs for EMC go back to OC clusters with *r* (Pulleyblank 1984:xvi). These correspond to Karlgren's clusters with *l*, but Karlgren only reconstructed such clusters when there was *xiésheng* evidence for it.
3. That EMC *l*- was **r*- in OC (Pulleyblank 1977-78:185, 1984:26).
4. That the source of the EMC retroflex initials was also clusters with *r*, e.g. **sr* > *ʂ*, *tsr* > *tʂ* (Pulleyblank 1962:127-130).
5. That velars normally palatalized before *-ji*- < *-i*- in EMC, e.g. *zhi* 脂 *tʂi* (compare with *ji* 稽 *kɛj*). He also proposes that it was an **-l*- that prevented this where velars remain unpalatalized in grade IV, e.g. *ji* 吉 *kjit* (Pulleyblank 1984:176). He also uses the palatalization of velars, followed by fronting, to take EMC *z*- back to **ɣ*- (ibid:175), and *s*- back to **x*-, as in the cyclical sign *xu* 戌 *swit*, which he reconstructs with initial **xw*.
6. The positing of **ɣ*- as one of the sources of EMC *j*- in cases where *xiésheng* series show velar contacts (Pulleyblank 1962:105, where the symbols **ɦ* and *y* are used).
7. The identification of what he calls **l*-type *xiésheng* series, where in EMC one finds the initials *j*, *ɕ*, *ʑ*, *t'*, *d*, but not *t*, *tɕ*, *tɕ'* (Pulleyblank 1984:170).

Shijing rhymes, the *xiésheng* series do not provide systematic clues for the initials, only very vague and general clues. The earliest stage of the language for which the initials can be reconstructed with a high degree of certainty is that of the *Qieyun* (601 A.D.). It is for this reason that, when appealing to historical phonology as evidence in my thesis, I usually cite the EMC reconstructions first. The reconstruction I use for EMC is that of Pulleyblank 1984 (for a list of the initials and rhymes, see *ibid*:232-237).

However, Pulleyblank has made many useful proposals for the reconstruction of OC initials. Those that I have appealed to in guiding the reconstructions that I use in the thesis are as follows:

1. The hypothesis that certain EMC initials which are in complementary distribution as regards Type A and Type B finals¹ were originally the same in OC, but diverged due to the different effects of these two types of finals. The chief effects were (as taken from Pulleyblank 1977-78:184-5):

Type A: *g > ɣ ²	Type B: *t > tɕ, t' > tɕ', *d > dʒ ³
*l > d	*l > ʐ, j
*ʈ > t'	*ʈ > ɕ
*w > ɣw ⁴	*n > ɲ

¹Type B syllables refers to those in *Qieyun* rhymes that fall wholly or partly into grade III in the rhyme tables, and Type A refers to those that do not. Pulleyblank proposes that the difference in OC was a prosodic feature, which he symbolizes by an acute accent for Type A and a grave accent for Type B. For a fuller explanation, see Pulleyblank 1977-78:184-5.

²Pulleyblank does not actually state this development, but it may be inferred from his reference to the complementarity of g- and ɣ- in EMC.

³For this palatalization of dentals, see also Pulleyblank 1962:108.

⁴For this, see Pulleyblank 1984:165.

Chapter I: 𠂇

Part 1: 𠂇

In the oracle bone script, 𠂇 is the human figure par excellence. It occurs in about as many graphs (424 in the present corpus) as 𠂇 and 𠂇 combined ($196 + 230 = 426$). It is unlikely then that such a widely used element should denote anything more specific than 'something to do with (or perceived as primarily to do with) human beings.' When we look at the meanings of the graphs containing this element as significant, we find that they do indeed cover a very broad spectrum of meaning. However, one can classify most of the graphs into a small number of semantic categories, and I think it is useful to do so, as it serves to focus one's thinking when trying to determine the meaning of oracle bone graphs which have not yet been identified, or the identifications for which proposed so far are problematical. That is to say, it can serve as a heuristic device.

The categories which I propose are as follows:

i. Human:

- a. Type of human (e.g. child, name of tribe, anthropomorphic entity)
- b. Specific human (i.e. person's name)

- ii. Human action (or action conceived of as being typically performed by humans—there is, needless to say, a lot of anthropocentrism here)
- iii. Body part, chiefly human (again, there is much anthropocentrism here, of which wēi 尾 is a particularly egregious example—see I.1.iii.132)

I find that these categories serve as useful focal points. Graphs falling outside these categories may be simply classed as 'Miscellaneous,' and there are also a few graphs in which 丿 is phonetic. I shall give some examples of 'Miscellaneous' and 'Phonetic' as Sections iv. and v. of the present Part. However, the main focus will be on the first three sections.

As far as I can tell, 人 also potentially has the same broad range of usage as 丿, since its usage is mainly conditioned by the desire to depict both legs and/or both arms (I say 'mainly' as there are a few graphs that do not appear to be susceptible to this explanation). Thus we find graphs denoting human actions and human body parts containing the 人 element as significant. However, it is not clear to me why 人 should have been used in graphs denoting types of human such as fu 夫 (II.1.iii.159) and xi 奚 (II.1.iii.3016). As for people's names, there are graphs containing the 人 element which are used as people's names, but since any graph could be used as a person or place name (or so it seems, e.g. xi 奚 occurs only as a place name¹), when the graph is unidentified (e.g. 𠤎²), it is hard to tell whether it was created specifically for the person's name, or was created to denote some other word and is merely used as a person's name.

¹This place name is also written ji 奚 / 奚 (JGWB 493, S.469.1). I think it is reasonable to conclude that both refer to the same place, since both are hunting grounds, and both occur in Period IV inscriptions.

²See S.38.4, JWG 10.3209.

I shall start off then by discussing the graph γ itself, and then divide the rest of this part into five sections as outlined above.

1 𠤎 . 𠤎

JGWB 986: rén 人

S.1.1x697

JWJ 8.2607: rén 人

SW 8a.1a: 𠤎 , 天 地 之 性 最 貴 者 也 1. 此 籀 文 .
象 臂 脛 之 形 . 凡 ...

SWDZ 8a.1a: 人 以 從 生 貴 於 橫 生 , 故 象 其 上 臂
下 脛 'Being born upright is prized over being born sideways, and this is why the
graph depicts the arm on top and the leg underneath.'

Tr: Rén 人 'man' is the most precious of all the life-forms in the universe. This is the
*zhòuwén*² form. It represent the arms and the legs.

Analysis

The bone graph depicts in profile a person standing. There are two variants: 𠤎
and 𠤎 . In the former, the head and arm are written as one stroke, while in the latter,
the head, torso and legs are written as one stroke, with the arm then added. Both variants
survive in bronze script (𠤎 , 𠤎 –see O/NJWB 1059/1308), but it is clearly the latter
that develops into the SW *zhòuwén* form, and thence presumably into the modern form,
though the modern form has, paradoxically, reverted to the composition of the former

¹This SW definition is evidently based on a popular saying 天 地 之 性 人 為 貴 ,
which I have so far discovered in five different places: *Baihutong.Zhufa* (see Chen Li 1977:257, Tjan
1949:456 ¶96), *Xiaojing.Shengzhi*, *Hanshu.Xuan Yuan liu wang zhuan*, and in an edict of Wang Mang,
also in the *Hanshu*, translated by Wilbur (1943:453) as "In the nature of heaven and earth, man is most
important." Tjan translates the *Baihutong* occurrence as "Of [all] creations of Heaven and Earth man is the
most valuable." And finally in an edict of Guang Wu, where Wilbur (1943:468) translates "In the nature of
heaven and earth, mankind is most important," and T'ung-tsu Ch'ü (1965:191) "The human is the most
important of all beings in the world."

²This is supposed to refer to a style of script devised by Shi Zhou 史 籀 , the Grand Historian of
King Xuan (827-781 B.C.), though SW (5a.2a) simply defines *zhòu* 籀 as *dú shu* 讀書 'to
read books.'

form, with the head and arm written as a single stroke. I realise that people naturally think of the modern character 人 as depicting a person standing with his legs apart, but the left 'leg' is in fact evolved from the arm. The left-hand radical form 亻 is truer to the original.

The chief point to note about this graph is its structural simplicity: two strokes, and a human being is depicted. This shows a very advanced level of stylisation, and is typical of the bone script in general. As the person is depicted in profile, only one arm and one leg appear (cf. four-legged animals are depicted in profile with two legs). This places certain restrictions on the use of this graph as a signifier in the composition of other graphs. When a concept is felt to require the depiction of both arms or both legs, then the element 大 is normally used instead. In such cases, 大 does not signify 'big,' but simply represents a human being in the same way as 人 does. The 人 element is occasionally depicted with both arms (e.g. 執 / 執 'captive'), but is *never* depicted with both legs. This fact corroborates my conclusion that, as a graph component, 大 is often merely a structural variant of 人. As independent graphs they are of course totally separate, standing for different words and having their own distinct pronunciation.

In the body of his work, Shima distinguishes 人 / 人 from 匕 / 匕 'spoon,'¹ but he does not distinguish them in his list of bone radicals. He collapses both under the single radical 人. In consequence, a number of the graphs listed under this radical at S.591.1-10 actually contain 匕 and not 人. He also mistakenly includes a few graphs where the element in question is actually 刀 'knife' (e.g. at S.591.5 he lists 剌, even though at S.194.1 he records its identification as 刺²). Graphs containing 刀 of course fall outside the scope

¹S.5.2. The reason why only a few inscriptions are listed here is that most of them are at the back of the book in the ancestral section, S.539.2-544.4.

²For this identification, see JWW 6.2107.

of the present thesis, but I have included a section on bī 匕 due to its rebus use as a human graph.

Usage

1. To mean 'person,' probably male by default (otherwise nǚ 女 would be used).
2. The proper name of an alien tribe, the Ren fang 人方.
3. In the formula yìrén 一人 'the one person,' used by the Shang king to refer to himself. In soft texts we find the expression yúyìrén 余一人 'I the one person,' and there are already examples of this in the bones, e.g. *Jinzhang* 124.¹ The classical expression guā rén 寡人 'the solitary person' is conceptually similar.
4. Used as a classifier for people, e.g. Qiang san rén 羌三人 'three Qiang tribesmen.'² However, as in Classical Chinese, classifiers are used quite sparsely in OBI. One should also note that they follow the head noun, whereas in modern Chinese classifiers precede the head noun.

As for the status of rén 人 in Shang times, one may note that, on the one hand they are often conscripted (dēng rén 登人), and on the other hand they are also often sacrificed. There does not seem to be the specialised usage that Waley pointed out in the *Analects*,³ in which rén 人 are people who *are* people, as opposed to mín 民, who are *merely* people, hoi polloi.⁴ Keightley (1969:252) says: "Jen had no technical sense in either the Shang or Western Chou." However, one should note, as Professor Takashima

¹See Takashima 1984/85:235, n.8. For a study of the expression, see Hu Houxuan 1957 and 1981.

²For a study on quantifiers in OBI, see Takashima 1985.


³Waley 1938:27.

⁴In modern times, Mao Zedong also had his own definition of who exactly constituted rénmín 人民 (See Mao Zedong 1957).

has pointed out to me, that the graph for mín 民 has not been identified with certainty in OBI.¹

¹JWJ 12.3715 identifies the bone graph 𠂔 as mín 民, distinguishing it from xuè 𠂔 / 𠂔 (JWJ 4.1131) 'to wink at' (GSR 293). The context is very limited, but he suggests that the phrase māo mín 卯民 refers to human sacrifice (i.e. māo standing for liú 劉 'dismember'). Guo Moruo (ap. ibid.) does not find mín 民 in OBI, but describes the bronze form 𠂔 (O/NJWB 1593/2022) as an eye with a blade piercing it. He thinks it originally referred to slaves who were blinded in the left eye (he suggests a relationship with máng 盲 'blind'), but fails to produce good evidence that mín 民 ever referred to slaves.

Section i.a: Type of Human

54 
S.12.3x7

JGWB 1060: 兒

JWJ 8.2785: 兒

SW 8b.3b: 兒，孺子也。从儿。象小兒頭囟未合。

Tr: 兒 means 'child.' It is based on 儿 [= positional variant of rén 人], and depicts the fontanelle on the child's head which has not yet closed up.

Analysis

Karlgren (GSR 873a) says "The graph has been explained as a drawing of a baby with open fontanel [sic], but more probably it depicts the two tufts of a child's hair-dress."

Li Xiaoding is of the same opinion, and quotes *Liji.neize*:

三月之末，擇日剪髮為髻，男角
女羈。

"At the end of the third month, a day was chosen for shaving off the hair of the child, excepting certain portions,—the horn like tufts of a boy, and the circlet on the crown of a girl."¹


If this analysis of the graph is correct, then this custom must have extended back into Shang times, and it is of course possible that the Zhou borrowed their ritual from the Shang. Since the graph represents a standing figure, it does seem more likely that it represents a child rather than a baby. Compare 𠂔 𠂔 / 子, in soft texts meaning 'child' (amongst several other uses—see GSR 964a), but probably originally intended to depict a baby. Since a baby cannot walk, it was perhaps felt unnecessary to depict the legs

¹HY 12/45. Translation from Legge 1885.III:473 (¶20).

properly. The meaning 'baby' is attested in the bone phrase 帚好有子 'Lady Hao will have a baby' (*Tieyun* 127.1). On the other hand, in English one can also say 'have a child,' so it seems possible that the word zī meant 'child (including baby),' but that the graph represents the word by depicting a baby.

Usage

Place name. There are no examples of it in its primary meaning.

61 

JGWB 1149: sì 𪚩

S.12.4x1

Not in JWJ

SW 9b.18a: 𪚩, 如野牛而青. 象形. 與禽离頭同. 凡 ... 𪚩: 古文从儿.

SWDZ 9b.43b: [Inserts after qing 青:] 其皮堅厚可制鎧 'Its skin is thick and can be made into armour.'

Tr: The sì 𪚩 is like a wild ox but dark. The character is a pictograph. The head is the same as in qín 禽 'beast'¹ and lí 离 'mysterious mountain beast.' 𪚩: the old form is from 儿 [= positional variant of rén 人].

¹In texts, qín 禽 usually means 'bird,' but can also mean animal (cf. GSR 651j). In following my policy of trying to make my SW translations internally consistent to SW, I have translated it as 'beast.'

SW (14b.8a) defines it as 走獸總名 'generic term for animals that run' (this definition actually excludes birds, which fly). However, note that SW (4a.18b) defines niào 鳥 as 長尾

Analysis

The usual bone form of sì 𪛗 is 𪛗, and this is the only form that Li Xiaoding recognizes (JWJ 9.3013), though JGWB recognizes both. The present graph has the same horn (note that it differs from the independent graph for horn: jiào 角 / 角, JGWB 573), but has a person's body substituted for the animal body. This could well be the origin of the 'old form'¹ given in SW. Compare the other 'half man-half beast' graphs qiang 𪛗 / 羌 and hū 𪛗 / 虎, which bear the same relation to yáng 𪛗 / 羊 'sheep' and hū 𪛗 / 虎 'tiger' as the present graph does to sì 𪛗. Qiang 𪛗 and hū 𪛗 are both used as the names of alien tribes, and I think that this is what the substitution of the human element for the animal body is intended to indicate. So we may have here genuine cases of 'abbreviated phonetics,' as opposed to the shēngshēng 省聲 in SW, many of which are spurious (that is to say, the 'sheep' and 'tiger' elements are abbreviated to 𪛗 and 𪛗).

Usage

Unfortunately the context is too fragmentary to tell, but the heuristic use of graphic analysis suggests that it is the name of an alien tribe.

禽總名, which clearly means 'generic term for long-tailed birds,' not 'long-tailed beasts,' so

Xu Shen himself is not consistent in his use of the word qín 禽.

¹I say 'old form' in quotation marks because the graphs that SW gives under this rubric do not form a particular style belonging to a distinct time and place, but are in fact quite a ragbag, and their pedigrees are

unverifiable. For example, SW (2b.6b) gives 𪛗 as the 'old form' of 𪛗, but it seems more

likely that the 𪛗 element is an abbreviated form of 𪛗, so really 𪛗 is the old form of

𪛗, not vice versa. In the present case, the antecedents of both 𪛗 and 𪛗 are found in the bones, so they are equally 'old,' as far as one may tell. Clearly then one cannot accept the SW claim that one is older than the other.

75 𦍋 . 𦍋 . 𦍋

S.14.4x804

76 𦍋 . 𦍋 . 𦍋 . 𦍋

S.19.2x18

76a 𦍋 . 𦍋 . 𦍋

JGWB 514 (all forms): qiang 羌

S.19.3x7

JWJ 4.1325 (all forms): qiang 羌

SW 4a.17a: 羌, 西戎 . 牧羊人也 . 从人, 从羊 ; 羊亦聲 . 南方蠻閩从虫 , 北方狄从犬 , 東方貉从豸 , 西方羌从羊 . 此六種也 , 西南隸人僬僥从人 , 蓋在坤地皮頗有順理之性 . 唯東夷从大 ; 大: 人也 . 夷俗仁 , 仁者壽 . 有君子不死之國 . 孔子曰 : 道不行 , 欲之九夷 , 乘桴浮於海 . 有以也 . 𦍋 : 古文羌如此 .

SWDZ 4a.35b: [Changes the definition to 羊種也 'a type of sheep,' but qiang 羌 refers to a type of person, not a type of sheep, so Duan is clearly wrong to tamper with the text like this, and Shirakawa (1974:615) says that the sentence does not read 羊種 in any of the SW editions or any books that quote it. If it referred to a type of sheep, then the role of the 'person' element would become incomprehensible.]

Tr: Qiang 羌 refers to the Western Rong. They are sheep herders. The character consists of rén 人 'person' and yáng 羊 'sheep;' yáng 羊 is also phonetic. The characters denoting the names of the Man and Min tribes in the south have chóng 虫

'insect' signific, the name of the Di tribe in the north has quān 犬 'dog' signific, the name of the Mo tribe in the east has zhì 豕 signific [exact identity unknown, but probably originally referring to cat-like animals], and the character denoting the name of the Qiang in the west has yáng 羊 'sheep' signific. These are six types [of barbarian].¹ The characters denoting the Bo and the Jiaoyao in the south-west have rén 人 'person' signific. I suppose the nature of the land must have some effect on the character of its inhabitants. Only the character denoting the Yi 夷 in the east has dà 大 'big' in it. Dà 大 here indicates 'person.' The Yi are by custom benevolent, and 'the benevolent are long-lived,'² and that is where the country known as the Land of the Immortal Gentlemen lies. Confucius certainly had good reason to say: "The Way makes no progress. I want to settle among the Nine Wild Tribes of the East. I shall get upon a raft and float out to sea."³ 𡗗 : the old form of qiang 羌 is like this.

Xu Shen notices that certain characters denoting barbarian (i.e. non-Chinese) peoples have insect or animal significs, and implies that this is because their nature is something less than human. Some others have 'person' signific, so they must be reasonably human, and the Yi have dà 大 'great' signific, so they must be really decent chaps. In fact, Confucius said he would not mind living among them. The SW 'old form' seems to be quite unconnected, and is either wrong or corrupt.

Analysis

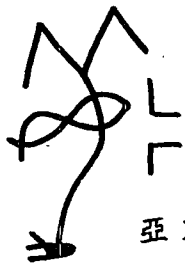
¹As Duan Yucai points out in his commentary, Xu Shen has in fact only mentioned four types. He suggests that 'six' should be amended to yì 異 'different.' However, if we include the Bo and Jiaoyao mentioned in the next sentence, that makes six, so perhaps there is something wrong with the sentence order here.

²*Analects* VI.21 (HY 11/6/23). I usually follow Waley's translation, but his rendering of shòu 壽 here as 'secure' is misleading, so I have given a literal translation.

³Xu Shen has here collapsed two sayings from the *Analects*: HY 8/5/7 and 16/9/14. My translation is a collapse of Waley V.6 and IX.13.

The bone graph consists of an abbreviated form of yáng 𦍋 'sheep' on top of rén 亻 'person.' Xu Shen maintains that the 'sheep' element is not only phonetic but also signfic, because the Qiang were sheep-herders. However, as Professor Pulleyblank has pointed out to me, by this logic one could also argue that the sì 𠂔 kept wild oxen and the hū 虎 (see 115 in this Section) kept tigers. The latter seems particularly unlikely. Pulleyblank (1983:421) says, concerning the SW entry, that "the association with pastoralism is accidental and secondary," and explores rather the more likely relationship between the Qiang and the Jiang 姜 clan, through the phonetic connection with yáng 羊.

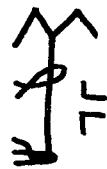
The present grapheme has a number of variants with other elements added, the commonest being 𦍋 and 𦍋. The first is a rope, tied round the Qiang's neck, and the second is probably the primary form of shí 石 'stone,' and thus shows a stone tied round the Qiang's neck. The Shang captured many Qiang in military raids, and used them both as slaves and in human sacrifice. Restraining devices of some kind were obviously necessary to prevent them from running away. Various bronze graphs also show the present graph with a rope round the neck:



亞父戊鼎

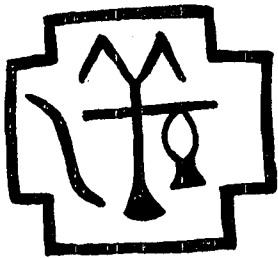


𠂔文



父戊爵

(O/NJWB Fulu 1.56a.2/1.508)



子商廟



爵文

(O/NJWB Fulu 1.21b.1/1.171)

The modern variant 羴 perhaps comes from forms like these, with the 亻 element coming from the rope.

Usage

Refers to members of the Qiang tribe, usually in a sacrificial context.

(93) * 𧈧

See I.4.93 (jìng 𧈧 / 競)

115 𧈧

JGWB 619: hū 虎

S.27.1x10

JWJ 5.1589: hū 虎 (this reference not given in S)

SW 5a.18a: 𧈧, 山獸之君。从虎, 从儿。虎足象人足。象形。凡...𧈧: 古文虎。𧈧: 亦古文虎。

Tr: The tiger is the lord of the mountain beasts. The character consists of hu 虎 [defined at SW 5a.17a as hūwén 虎文 'tiger stripes'] and 儿 [= positional variant of rén 人]. The legs [in the graph for] 'tiger' imitate those [in the graph for] 'human.' It is a pictograph. There are two old forms: 𧈧 and 𧈧.

Analysis

The graph shows a tiger's head on top of a human body, and is to be analysed in the same way as the two previous graphs, sì 兕 and qiang 羌. Li Xiaoding joins JGWB in recognizing it as a variant of hū 𧈧 / 虎 'tiger,' and comments that 'the

under part has already been simplified to rén 人.' However, as Li notes, the bronze forms of hū 虎 are all full pictographs (see O/NJWB 631/773), so it is indeed curious that the seal character should preserve only the form with rén 人 underneath.

Usage

Name of a place and the alien tribe living there. It is significant that only the full pictograph 𧈧 is used to refer to the animal (see the huò hū 𧈧 / 獲虎 'catch tiger' inscriptions at S.225.2). This supports my hypothesis that the 亻 element is substituted for the tiger's body in order to indicate 'type of human.'

292 甲

JGWB 1112: guī 鬼

S.46.1x6

JWJ 9.2903: guī 鬼

SW: See under III.1.i.283

Analysis

JGWB and JWJ both include the present graph as a variant of guī 鬼 'ghost,' whose usual form is in the kneeling position: 𧈧. However, whereas 𧈧 is used in the sense of 'devilish' and perhaps even 'ghost' (the inscriptions are hard to interpret), the present graph is used as the name of an alien tribe: *Gui fang* 鬼方 (see Introduction for details of usage). On the one hand, one could regard 𧈧 as 𧈧 with 亻 substituted for 𧈧 to indicate 'type of human,' parallel to the last three cases that I have just examined. On the other hand, I think one could analyse it as 亻 signific with guì

田 / 𦉰 'basket' phonetic on top (for the phonetic details, see III.1.i.283). Although 田 appears indistinguishable from the independent graph for tián 田 'field,' it is hard to see how tián would be relevant either as signific or phonetic. Note that although the devil's head is homographous with tián in the bone form, in the seal form 𪚩 it is distinct. This could represent an attempt to correct this homography. The identity of this 田 element as guì 𦉰 is supported by the graph yì 𪚩 / 異 (= dài 戴 'carry on the head'-see II.1.ii.201), which may be interpreted as a person carrying a basket on the head. Here again, it is difficult to see how tián could be relevant either as signific or phonetic.

1328 𪚩
S.211.3x65

JGWB 702: náo 𪚩

JWJ 5.1903: náo 𪚩

SW 5b.14b: 𪚩, 貪獸也。一曰母猴。似人。从頁, 巳; 止, 女: 其手足。

SWDZ 5b.37a: The character mû 母 does not stand for 'mother,' but for a syllable variously written mù 沐 or mí 彌 [i.e. the writing with mû 母 is a folk etymologization for a syllable whose meaning was not understood]. Nao 𪚩 is written 獠 in the *Shijing* [HY 55/223/6] and 獠 in *Liji.yueji* [HY 19/25].

Tr: The náo 𪚩 is a voracious beast. One source defines it as 'monkey.' It is like a human. The character consists of xié 頁 'head' and sì 巳 [representing the tail], while zhī 止 and suí 女 represent its hands and feet.

Analysis

The graph clearly depicts a primate, so the use of the anthropoid element is quite natural. The depiction of the head and tail distinguish the graph from a human representation. However, in the inscriptions it occurs mainly as the name of a remote semi-mythological ancestor. In some inscriptions he is titled Gao Zu 高祖 'High Ancestor'.¹ Wang Guowei equates him with the Di Ku 帝嚳 of the classics. Náo 𪛗 is OC you 幽 rhyme, while kù 嚳 is in the corresponding rùsheng rhyme jué 覺, so this is quite encouraging. The EMC initials, n- and k- respectively, seem rather far apart, but note that náo 𪛗 is phonetic in the glottal stop initial word you 憂, so there is some glottal contact here.

The more verisimilitudinous forms are separated by Li as hóu 猴 'monkey' (JWJ 10.3113), though I fail to see the justification for this. He gives three examples: *Tieyi* 6.9, *Houbian* 2.31.9, and *Yicun* 886. Of these, the first clearly requires an 'animal' interpretation:

... 𪛗 𪛗 𪛗
... 其獲憂 .

(*Tieyi* 6.9)

...perhaps catch monkey.

The last example however clearly refers to the ancestor:

貞：求年于𪛗九牛

(*Yicun* 886)

Tested: Seek harvest from Nao (with) nine oxen.

¹E.g. *Yicun* 645 (= *Zhixu* 37), *Cuibian* 1 and 2, *Zongtu* 24.7.

2635 𣏟

JGWB 996: shù 𣏟

S.402.3x3

JWJ 8.2649: xi 𣏟

SW 8a.7a: 𣏟, 立也. 从人, 豆聲. 讀若樹.

SWDZ 8a.18a: This character has the same sound and meaning as 𣏟 and 豎. They have now all been replaced by the character 樹.

Tr: Shù 𣏟 means 'stand.' It consists of rén 人 'person' signific and dòu 豆 phonetic. It is read like shù 樹.Analysis

There is some dispute as to whether the present graph should be identified as xi 𣏟 or shù 𣏟. Li Xiaoding opts for the former. However, the latter has in its favour (1) that the *Yupian* gives the form 𣏟, which consists of exactly the same elements as the bone graph, and (2) the element 𣏟 also occurs as phonetic in shù 𣏟 (which SW (5a.15a) lists under zhù 𣏟 as if this were the signific, though it is clearly the phonetic, and defines as lì 立 'to stand'). The basic phonetic is dòu 豆. Luo Zhenyu claims that 𣏟 is a variant of 𣏟, which he identifies as the primary form of shù 樹 'tree.' It consists of dòu 𣏟 / 豆 phonetic and mù 𣏟 / 木 'tree' signific. I think he is probably right. The words 'tree' and 'set up, establish' are perhaps etymologically related. Karlgren (GSR 127j) gives shù 樹 a *shāngsheng* reading for the verbal meaning 'to plant, establish' (this is probably the meaning indicated by the cùn 寸 'hand' element¹), and a *qùsheng* reading for the nominal meaning 'tree.' The

¹As Duan Yucai (SWDZ 6a.21a) says: 寸則謂手植之也 cùn 寸 means to say that the hand is planting it.

original difference between shù 樹 and mù 木 is perhaps that the former referred to a cultivated tree while the latter referred to a naturally growing tree (note that the word mù 木 usually refers to the material 'wood, timber' rather than a standing tree). However, although the *Guangyun* gives both a *shāngsheng* and a *qùsheng* reading for shù 樹, it ascribes both the nominal meaning 'tree' and the verbal meaning 'to set up' to the *qùsheng* reading. For the *shāngsheng* reading it gives only the definition fúshù 扶樹, which the *Dai Kan-Wa Jiten*(5.111) glosses as *tasuketateru* 'to help stand up,' citing examples from Han Yu, Bo Juyi and Song Lian, so this word may not be an ancient expression. However, in the only rhyming occurrence of shù 樹 in the *Shijing* (HY 47/198/5), it is a verb 'to plant,' and rhymes with shù 數, which is also a verb here 'to calculate' (cf. as a noun meaning 'number' it is read in the *qùsheng*). Although the *Jingdian shiwen* does not have a gloss on shù 樹 in this ode (小雅·巧言) (Pan Chonggui 1983:1507), it does on shù 數, to which it gives the *shāngsheng* reading 所主反 (Pan Chonggui 1983:1095). If shù 樹 is in fact a tonally perfect rhyme here, then it would have to be *shāngsheng*. I think what may have happened was that shù 樹 originally had a *shāngsheng* reading as a verb, but this reading fell into disuse and the *qùsheng* reading came to be used for both noun and verb.

JGWB includes the present graph as a variant of the graphs 𡈼 and 𡈾, which have the significs 'woman' and 'kneeling person.' The kneeling person usually implies inferiority, so one might expect this to be the primary form of shù 𡈾 'attendant.' Karlgren (GSR 127g) suggests that 𡈼 represents a servant girl. The word itself is probably derived from the meaning 'to stand' in the sense of 'to wait,' i.e. to stand in attendance. If the present graph may be identified with the word shù 𡈾 'attendant,' then the 亻 element could be taken as indicating 'type of human.'

In OBI, 𡈼 and 𡈾 are always used as 'disaster graphs.' Li Xiaoding (JWJ 8.2825) accepts Tang Lan's proposal that 𡈼 stands for jian 艱 'difficulties,' which SW (13b.15b) gives as the *zhòuwén* form of jian 艱. Semantically this makes good

sense, but it is hard to reconcile the phonetic value of zhù 壹 with this. So this is still an open question.

Usage

It refers to a person, but it is hard to know from the limited context whether it means 'servant' or is a person's name:

... 壹死 .¹

(Xucun 2.450)

...shù will die.

2645

JGWB 3352 (unidentified)

S.403.4x1


JWJ 3.773: pú 僕


SW 3a.19b: 僕，給事者。从人，从業；業亦聲。
 僕：古文从臣


Tr: Pú 僕 means 'one who does chores.' It consists of rén 人 'person' and pú 業 [which SW ibid. defines as dúpú 瀆業, a binome that Xu Xuan explains as 'bothersome, chore-like' (cf. GSR 1211a: 'harassing, tiresome')]; pú 業 is also phonetic. 僕 : the old form has chén 臣 'servant' signific. [There is no inscriptional evidence for this form.]

¹For this identification, see I.3.62.

Note on Identification

Sun Haibo puts the present graph in the unidentified section of JGWB, with the comment 'it used to be identified as pú 僕,' so evidently he does not accept this identification. However, Ye Yusen, Guo Moruo and Li Xiaoding all accept this identification, which was first made by Luo Zhenyu. Guo Moruo points out that there is a similar graph on the bronze vessel 京 隤 仲 僕 盤 (which he refers to as 父 辛 盤):  (O/NJWB Fulu 2.54b.2/2.713). The place where the qí 其 'basket' comes in the bone form is effaced in this bronze example, but otherwise it consists of the same elements. Other bronze forms show a radical corruption, e.g.

 史僕壺 (O/NJWB 312/397)

This example shows the qí 其 'basket' distorted to a zì 甗 'container,' and the xin 辛 element underneath held up by two hands. The rén 人 element perhaps replaces the original 亻 element. It seems likely that 𠂔 and 僕 are variants of the same basic character. The seal element 𠂔 in this character is evidently corrupted from the bronze element .

Analysis

The bone graph basically shows a person holding a qí 其 (= ji 箕) 'basket' with dots on top. Luo Zhenyu says that this represents the slave throwing rubbish out, which shows that it refers to a domestic slave used for menial chores. It is interesting to compare this with the Han tomb figurine of a domestic servant carrying a broom and dustpan (Wilbur 1943: facing p.178). This suggests that cleaning was regarded as the task that most typified domestic servants. In Zhou texts, pú 僕 commonly means 'carriage driver,' but it can also refer to domestic servants in general. The *Zuozhuan* (HY 363/Zhao 7/Fu 1) lists the ten ranks of human society as wáng 王 'king,' gōng 公 'duke,'

dàfu 大夫 'great officer,' shì 士 'simple officer,' zào 皂 'lictor,' yú 輿 'underling,' lì 隸 'menial,' liáo 僚 'labourer,' pú 僕 'servant,' and tái 臺 'helper.'¹ This puts the pú 僕 pretty near the bottom. At any rate, it seems reasonable to conclude that it referred to lowly domestic servants. Note also the following passage from *Zhouli Xiaguan.Sima xia.lipu*:

隸僕.掌五寢之掃除糞洒之事。

Assistants-valets (li-po): Ils sont chargés des services (de propreté, tels que) balayage, enlèvement de saletés, arrosage, dans les cinq salles postérieures où (se retire l'empereur).²

Rather than analyse the top element as yán 𠂔 / 言 'flute; speech,' it seems better to follow Guo Moruo in treating 𠂔 as representing the person's head, and analysing the xīn 𠂔 / 辛 element separately. As Guo notes, this xīn 𠂔 element is also found on top of qiè 妾 'concubine' and tóng 童 'servant boy.' He regards it as a chisel that was used to tattoo the foreheads of people who had been punished, a practice known as qīng 黥, and indeed this interpretation does group the characters containing this element as significant together into a category having a recognizable general meaning, i.e. punished persons. Thus pú 僕 must originally have referred to people who were enslaved as a punishment.

As for the tail appended to the sacral region, this is very curious. Luo Zhenyu explains it by referring to the SW (8b.1a) analysis of wēi 尾 'tail,' which depicts a person with a tail. Xu Shen explains that 'the ancients sometimes ornamented themselves with tails, and the barbarians of the south-west also do this.' This suggests that the present graph could represent a person from a tail-wearing tribe that the Shang were wont to capture and enslave. It may be something of a coincidence, but the Tang encyclopaedia

¹Translations from Legge 1861.5.2:616.

²Translation from Biot 1851.2:233.

Shisitong (same text at sections *Dian* 1002.3, *Zhi* 3162.2, and *Kao* 2590.3 of this work) refers to a border tribe in what is present day Yunnan called the Wei Pu 尾濮 'tailed Pu.' It says that they have tails three or four *cùn* long, and when they want to sit down they first make a hole in the ground to accommodate them, for if they should break they will die. Tremearne (1912:104) reports a similar story from Africa, where the Yergum people said of the Gazum people that they had tails about six inches long, for which they had to make a hole when they sat down. One should also note the story of the descendants of Pan Hu 槃瓠, the pet dog of Gao Xin shi 高辛氏, who wore five-coloured clothing with a tail-like appendage in memory of their ancestor (*Houhanshu. Xinan Yi liezhuan*). Wei Juxian (1960:43), who mentions the *Shisitong* and *Houhanshu* references, concludes that Pu was originally the name of a south-western tribe whom the Shang used as domestic slaves.¹ Deniker (1900:95) has remarked that "The costumes of certain populations have given rise to the fable of men with tails,"² but notes that "Primitive man has never had a caudal appendage since he acquired the biped attitude."

Usage

The single occurrence (*Houbian* 2.20.10) is before the word *bū* 卜 'make divination cracks,' so it would seem to be the name of a diviner. It is impossible to determine from this single, almost contextless occurrence, what period this diviner would belong to. Professor Takashima, who has made a special study of graph typology (Takashima 1988b), has informed me that this bone could belong to early or late (or Bin 賓 group or Chu 出 group), and is not necessarily a Dui 隹 group or Zi 子 group piece, so it seems that even from the form and style of the graphs it is difficult to assign this piece to a particular period.

¹See also Guo Moruo 1930:284 and Liu Weimin 1975:54. The Pan Hu story is discussed by Liu Chungshee Hsien 1932. Cf. also the Norsu question "Is the tail of the Communist Party long or short?" meaning 'is the CCP strong or weak?' (Winnington 1959:62).

²For earlier tales of men with tails, see Monboddo 1774.1:257-267.

3143 𠂔

JGWB 993: péng 朋

S.481.1x4

JWJ 8.2627: péng 朋

SW 8a.4b: 𠂔, 輔也. 从人, 朋聲. 讀若陪位.

Tr: Péng 朋 means 'to help.' It consists of rén 人 'person' signific and péng 朋 phonetic. It is read like péi 陪 as in péiwèi 陪位 'keep someone company.'[This reading suggests an etymological relationship, cf. such pairs as dēng 等 tən?~dài 待 dəj? 'wait,' xiàng 象 z+aaŋ?~sì 似 z+? 'resemble,' and the character néng 能, which has the two readings nən and nəj.¹]Analysis

The graph consists of rén 亻 / 人 'person' signific and péng 𠂔 / 朋 'cowrie-string' phonetic. The two elements are combined in such a way as to suggest that the person is carrying the cowrie-strings. This is merely a piece of calligraphic design. In bronzes, péng 朋 is used as in péngyôu 朋友 'friends and colleagues.' 'Friend' is perhaps the original meaning, rather than the SW definition 'to help,' since this would make the 亻 element more relevant, indicating 'type of human.' The bronze texts also support the meaning 'friend.' In soft texts, the simple character péng 朋 is used as a phonetic loan. SW (4a.18b) only has this character as an 'old form' of fèng 鳳 'phoenix.'

¹Cf. Pulleyblank 1962:232-233.

Usage

Obscure.

3340 𠂔

JGWB 1065: xiong 兄

S.553.3-555.1

JWJ 8.2801: xiong 兄


SW 8b.4a: 𠂔, 長也. 从儿, 从口. 凡 ...


Tr: Xiong 兄 'elder brother' means zhāng 長 'senior.' It consists of 儿 [= positional variant of rén 人 'person'] and kōu 口 'mouth.'

Analysis

I have not yet come across an explanation as to why 'mouth' over 'person' means 'elder brother.' My own speculation is that it symbolizes 'the one with the right to speak out,' which an elder brother would have over his younger brothers. This speculation is prompted by the graph duì 𠂔 / 兑, which is perhaps the primary form of shuo 說 'speak, explain,' also read shuì 'persuade' (see GSR 324q)¹. The ba 八 / 儿 element over the mouth suggests the idea of separation, taking apart, analysis. The semantic connection between 'eight' and 'divide' in Sino-Tibetan is explored by Wolfenden 1939. The basic meaning of the word shuo 說, Professor Pulleyblank has informed me, is

¹Though as far as one can tell from the limited context (S.12.2), duì 兑 is not used in the meaning 'speak' in the bones. Li Xiaoding agrees with Lu Shixian that it is used in the two meanings yuè 閱 'to inspect' and ruì 銳 in the sense of 'keen, valiant' (see JWJ 8.2789).

'release, loosen, explain,' just like jiě 解 and shì 釋, and yuè 悦 'pleased' (< 'released') is also related. However, it is not necessarily the case that a graph is designed with the central concept of the word family in mind. It could be designed on the basis of some peripheral usage which the designers of the script felt was easier to depict. The graph , containing both the 'mouth' element and the 'separation' element, is perhaps an attempt to capture both the basic meaning 'to release, loosen' and the notion that it is a loosening done through the mouth, i.e. explaining. However, as Professor Pulleyblank has pointed out to me, there is a lack of early evidence for shuo 說 having the meaning 'speak,' so my suggestion must be regarded as rather speculative. The analysis of the present graph requires further study.

JGWB and JWJ both include a kneeling variant , but it is sharply differentiated by context, being used chiefly as a sacrificial term (see S.44.1). JGWB carries the note to the this graph 'xiong 兕 is used for zhù 祝.' This is of course phonetically impossible, and I would not identify this graph as xiong 兕 at all, but as a variant of zhù 𠂔 / 祝, from which it differs merely in lacking the shì 示 / 示 'altar' (see III.1.i.265).

Section i.b: Specific Human

There are many graphs consisting of the person element plus a phonetic element which occur as the names of individuals. Many of these graphs cannot be identified with modern characters. I suspect that they were created specifically to refer to the individuals concerned, and that the person element in these graphs indicates that they refer to people, i.e. they are people's names. It is already well known that many of the graphs containing the woman element nû 𡚦 / 女 are the names of particular women but, as far as I know, the parallel role of the person element in the names of men has not yet been pointed out. It seems quite logical that it should have such a parallel role. One reason why it has not been noticed may be the fact that the person element has so many different significances, as the present thesis shows. Another reason may be the fact that any graph, apparently, can be used as a proper noun, so there are many graphs used as men's names that do not contain the 亻 element. I have selected the graphs in this section on the basis that there is not, generally, another meaning in their *xiésheng* series for which the 亻 element would be appropriate. For example, in the case of the first graph I deal with, líng 𠂔 / 凌, various characters in this phonetic series have meanings such as 'transgress, ascend' (see GSR 898), for which a foot signific would be more appropriate, and in some bronze forms we find that a foot is added to the bottom of the 亻 element, and it is this that evolves into the suí 夊 element of the modern form.

The woman element, on the other hand, generally only indicates either 'type of woman' or 'specific woman,' so its role in the names of women is much more obvious.

Since the graphs in this section are all used as people's names, I shall not comment on their usage unless they have additional uses or there is some problem in establishing their usage.

40 夂

JGWB 4509 (unidentified)

S.11.4x7

Not in JWJ

SW 5b.14a: 夂, 越也。从夂, 从𡵓; 𡵓, 高也。一曰: 夂, 倅也。


Tr: Líng 夂 means yuè 越 'to cross over.' It consists of suí 夂 [a walking radical—see SW 5b.13b] and lù 𡵓 'type of mushroom.' Lù 𡵓¹ here means 'high' [i.e. sense of lù 陸, defined at SW 14b.1b as gāo píng dì 高平地 'high level land']. One source defines líng 夂 as chí 倅 [=遲] 'slow.'

Analysis


The present graph is overlooked in JWJ, but it is extremely similar to the bronze form of líng 夂, e.g. (as part of the character líng 陵):



散盤



陵吊鼎



陳純釜

(O/NJWB 1809/2316)

¹Professor Takashima has suggested to me that I examine the reconstructions of the pronunciation of líng 夂 and lù 𡵓, which would be $lin < *rən$ and $luwk < *rək^w$ respectively. It would appear from these reconstructions that it is quite possible that the evolution of the top element of the bone graph into lù 𡵓 was a phonetization. By phonetization, I mean that an element which was not originally intended as phonetic is corrupted into an element that has phonetic intent. Due to the post factum way in which they came into being, phonetizations are often less accurate than original phonetics.


The modern character líng 菱 must have descended from a variant in which the foot was emphasized, such as we find on the 小臣菱鼎,¹ where it is used as a proper name (the graph occurs three times on this vessel, so I have selected the clearest example):



I think that this bronze graph should be analysed as consisting of líng 𦉰 phonetic and 'foot' signific, and is the primary form for the word meaning 'cross over.' It is only the 𦉰 element on top of the modern character that comes from the bone graph 𦉰. The bone form also has the variant 𦉰. The solution to this graph, I believe, lies in the diamond shape, which is referred to in Chinese as língxíng 菱形, the shape of the leaf of the water chestnut or caltrop (not to be confused with bíqí 荸薺, Eleocharis tuberosa, which is also translated as 'water chestnut'—this type is popularly called mǎtí 馬蹄 'horse-hoof'). The present graph may be analysed as a phonetic compound consisting of rén 亻 / 人 'person' signific and 𦉰, the primary form of líng 菱, as phonetic. Note that the 丩 element on top is like shēng 丩 / 生, which represents plants in general, so this is probably a semantic hint. The analysis of the present graph into the three elements 丩, 𦉰 and 𦉰 might seem like an over-analysis to some people, but it is precisely the validity of this level of analysis that I wish to test in the present thesis. If one were to regard the present graph as a simple pictograph, then one would have to describe it as depicting a person with a diamond-shaped head and three tufts on top. It is hard to imagine what sort of person this would refer to in real life. My analysis of graphs consisting of the 亻 element with another element added on top, suggests that the top element is usually phonetic. This provides an initial rationale for breaking 𦉰 down into 亻 and 𦉰, and the possible connection with líng 菱 'water chestnut' provides a rationale for the further breakdown of the 𦉰 element into 丩 and 𦉰. The 丩

¹Not in O/NJWB. I was led to it by Karlgren (GSR 898b).

element in 𠂔 may be regarded as performing the same signific role as the 'grass top' 艹 in the modern character líng 菱. One may hypothesize that after the simple Shang graph * 𠂔 became forgotten, the Zhou made up the new character líng 菱 to denote the same word. The structural evolution of the script also obscured the original diamond shape, so that the original design of the graph for líng 菱 was no longer apparent.

Incidentally, it is interesting to note how phonetic elements are often joined to the top of the person element in such a way as to suggest that they represent the head. A similar phenomenon may be found in Egyptian, where the ideogram  has a phonogram joined on top in certain verbs involving the notion of movement (see Gardiner 1957:51 §58).

107 𠂔

JGWB 1018: 𠂔 (not in SW)

S.26.3x6

JWJ 8.2672: 𠂔 (not in SW)

Analysis

The graph consists of 'person' signific and yōu 𠂔 / 𠂔 phonetic. It occurs as the object of lìng 令 'to order' and hū 呼 'to summon.'

126 𠂔

JGWB 4403 (unidentified)

S.27.3x4

Not in JWJ

Analysis

I am not certain what the components of this graph are, possibly jin 今 on top of xiong 兕. At any rate, the person element is clear. The graph occurs after the verb ling 令 'to order,' so there is no doubt that it is a person's name. Professor Takashima has suggested to me another possibility to bear in mind, which is that the present graph could be interpreted as a compound standing for 今丁人 'the soldiers and men of Jin.' He notes that dingrén 丁人, though occasionally written separately, is normally written as a compound graph, and the use of jin 今 as a place name is supported by the river name Jinshui 今水 (*Houbian* 1.25.3 and *Jiabian* 1152).

133 𠂔

JGWB 1021: 𠂔 (not in SW)

S.27.4x1

JWJ 8.2671: 𠂔 (not in SW)

Analysis

The graph consists of 'person' signific, and the phonetic is possibly zi 𠂔. The context is fragmentary, but it occurs after cóng 从 'to follow.' By analogy with other inscriptions one would therefore expect it to be the name of a military leader. Professor Takashima has suggested to me that, as in the case of 𠂔 as dingrén 丁人, 𠂔 could also be interpreted as a compound graph for 'men of Zi.' This hinges partly on the issue of whether the names occurring after cóng 从 are the names of individuals or of groups, or perhaps even both. Names like Wang Cheng 望乘 and Zhi Guo 訖馘, which we

commonly find in this position, would seem to be the names of individual military leaders, but they were presumably commanding groups of people.

657 𠂔

JGWB 474: méi 眉

S.107.2x12

JWJ 4.1197: méi 眉

Analysis

JGWB and JWJ both include the present graph as a variant of méi 眉 'eyebrow,' for which the usual form is 𠂔. It seems to me that the present graph actually consists of méi 眉 phonetic and 'person' signific, and may be transcribed *覓. According to S, it occurs in the name Zi Mei 子覓 'Prince Mei' (*Xucun* 1.1069 and *Yibian* 5394¹). The phonetic element is joined to the top of the 'person' element in such a way as to suggest that it represents the person's head. Note that the graph 𠂔, which has the 'woman' element incorporated (which S lists together with the present graph), occurs before the verb miān 𡇗 / 媿 'give birth,' so this has to refer to a woman (Shima mis-transcribes the first example, *Yibian* 6481, as 𠂔, but this graph in fact also contains the woman element). This graph may be transcribed 媚, though it is probably only coincidence that it has the same components as the character mèi 媚, since in the bone graph the 'woman' element was probably added to the phonetic element méi 眉 in order to indicate 'name of a woman,' whereas in the character mèi 媚, the 'woman' element is used to indicate 'female quality' (GSR 567d gives the meanings 'love, lovable; flatter, curry favour with').

¹The *Xucun* example, though fragmentary, seems valid, but in the *Yibian* example the graph is actually mèng 𡇗 / 夢 (though it still seems to be a prince's name).

On the other hand it could be that the lady in the bones was so-called because she was 'lovable' or 'flattering,' or, as Professor Pulleyblank has suggested to me, it could be that this word was used as a name for women. Note also that Mei 媚 occurs as a place name in the *Zuozhuan* (HY 455/Ding 9/5 Zuo, Legge 1861.5.2:773).

There is also a form with a kneeling woman 𡇗 which seems to be the name of a spirit (see S.108.2).

789 𡇗

JGWB 4277 (unidentified)

S.133.2x4

Not in JWJ

SW 7a.8b: 𡇗, 商星也. 从晶, 𡇗聲. 𡇗: 𡇗或省.

SWDZ 7a.23a: Shen 𡇗 was the star of Jin 晉, not Shang. The Shang's star was chén 辰.



Tr: Shen 𡇗 is the star of Shang. It consists of jing 晶 [representing stars] signific and zhēn 𡇗 phonetic. [As Xu Xuan points out, zhēn 𡇗 tɕin? cannot be phonetic in shen 𡇗 sim, though it may be a phonetization.]


Analysis

JWJ does not have the present graph, but it differs from the bronze form of can 參 only in that the figure underneath is standing instead of kneeling, and the three 'mouth' elements become three circles:



(O/NJWB 905/1120)

A graph *  has not been found in OBI. The bronze form is sometimes augmented by san 三 / 三 'three,' as in the second example above, and it is this augmented form that gives rise to the modern character. The three mouth-like or circular elements may represent the three stars of the Shen constellation, as Karlgren speculates (GSR 647a). It seems that the element  in OBI does not always represent 'mouth,' but sometimes simply an object of any kind, as in pîn 𠂔 / 𠂔 'objects' (JGWB 256). In the seal form, shen 參 contains the same seal element as xing 星 (星) 'stars,' but the bronze forms suggest that this is a later development (a folk etymology, if you like).

The bone graph may be analysed as consisting of 'person' signific with , the primary form of shen 參 'the Shen constellation,' on top as phonetic. In all the inscriptions at S.133.2, it occurs as the name of a person who prepared some turtle plastrons for divination, e.g:

己酉：參示十屯。充。

(Xubian 5.25.7¹)

Jiyou-day: Shen ritually prepared² ten pairs (of shells for divination).

(Signed:) 充。

2385 𠂔

JGWB 990: yi 伊

S.365.2x95

¹Mistakenly given in S as 5.25.6.

²For this understanding of shì 示, see Keightley 1978:16-17.

JWJ 8.2621: yi 伊

SW 8a.2a: 伊, 殷聖人阿衡, 尹治天下者. 从人, 从尹.
𠂔: 古文伊从古文死.

SWDZ 8a.5b: Yi Yin 伊尹 should be inserted at the beginning of the definition. Sî 死 is phonetic in the old form. [Although it is also in OC zhi 脂 rhyme, the initials are very different.]

Tr: Yi 伊: [Yi Yin 伊尹] is the wise man A-heng of the Yin dynasty, the one who governed and brought to order the empire. The character consists of rén 人 'person' and yîn 尹 'to govern.' 死人: the old form of Yi 伊 contains the old form of sî 死.¹

Analysis

According to various ancient works, Yi Yin 伊尹 'Governor Yi' was a minister of Cheng Tang 成湯, the first king of the Shang dynasty (referred to in OBI as Shang Jia 上甲 and also as Tang 唐). A-heng 阿衡 seems to have been his personal name, though there are conflicting accounts on this point. In OBI, he is worshipped in the same way as the royal ancestors. He is also referred to in OBI simply as Yi, and his consort is referred to as Yi shuāng 伊爽 'Yi's consort.' For example:

丁未卜: 隹伊巷雨.

(Houbian 2.38.6)

Dingwei-day cracking: It is that Yi that is cursing the rain (i.e. preventing it from falling?).

其求雨于伊爽

(Nanbei.Ming 422)

¹Note that sî 死 is sometimes used as a loan for a word meaning 'to regulate, be in charge of' in bronzes (Shirakawa 1984:364).

Perhaps seek rain from Yi's consort.

Since SW gives the legendary-historical figure as the primary meaning of this character, it may have been created especially for him. GSR (604a) gives the other meanings of yi 伊 as 'this' and 'a particle.' It is hard to relate either of these meanings to either the rén 人 or the yīn 尹 component of the character, whereas it is quite easy to relate the SW meaning to these components. Furthermore, neither of the GSR meanings is attested in the bones, so we do not even know if these words existed in the Shang language, and they could well be later loan usages in some other dialect. The 'person' element thus signifies that it is the name of a person, while the yīn 尹 element is probably phonetic. Yi 伊 ʔji is in OC zhi 脂 rhyme, while as for yīn 尹 jwinʔ, Professor Pulleyblank has informed that, although there does not seem to be any rhyme evidence, the EMC front vowel strongly suggests that it was in OC zhen 眞 rhyme, which is the nasal final rhyme that corresponds to the glide final rhyme zhi 脂. Thus although the EMC initials are rather different, the correspondence in the rhymes suggests that yīn 尹 is intended to be phonetic in yi 伊. Karlgren puts them in different phonetic series (GSR 604 and 1251), and says of yi 伊 that "the graph has 'man' and 'govern'," though this analysis does not relate to any of the meanings that he gives, so I do not know what exactly he intended to suggest by this analysis.

Serruys (1974:62) quotes a *duizhen* from *Jiabian* 562 in which he translates yi 伊 as if it were a copula, and Qu Wanli's *kaoshi* to this inscription says that yi 伊 here is the same particle that one finds in the *Shijing*. I was surprised to see this since, apart from the fact that OBI already has the common copula wéi 維 (維), if yi 伊 were also a copula it would be very strange that there is only this example of it. In fact, the graph here is written 攸, and is listed at S.25.4 as the graph that is identified in JWW 3.1055 as you 攸, which is usually a place name. It differs from yi 伊 in that the hand is at the bottom

of the stick instead of at the top. This is the same difference as between yīn 𠂔 / 尹 and fū 𠂔 / 父.

2888 𠂔

JGWB 4385 (unidentified)

S.444.4x1

Not in JWJ

Analysis

The graph consists of 'person' signific and a phonetic element which appears to comprise 𠂔 (which does not appear to survive independently but may perhaps be identified as the lower part of cheng 𠂔) with a flag on top. It occurs as the object of ling 令 'order.' Professor Takashima has suggested to me that I should examine the possibility of 𠂔 without the 𠂔 on top being rân 𠂔 ~ 𠂔. The SW (9b.14a) form of this character is 𠂔. It seems possible that some of the bronze forms of the 𠂔 element could have evolved into this (see the graphs I cite under the next entry), though it is hard to find a meaning in the rân 𠂔 phonetic series (GSR 622) that 𠂔 could depict, and ideally one would like to see etymology and graphic analysis corroborating each other. For the bronze form of rân 𠂔, O/NJWB (1274/1580) gives such examples as:

𠂔 南疆鉦

JGWB (1136) gives 𠂔 as the bone form of rân 𠂔, but JWJ (5.1567) has this as zhú 竹 'bamboo.' One cannot decide from the context, as it appears to be a person's name (S.453.1).

2957 倝

JGWB 997: cheng 倝 'person's name'

S.453.3x15

JWJ 8.2635: cheng 倝


SW 8a.7b: 倝, 揚也. 从人, 甬聲.

SWDZ 8a.18b: Now written 稱.





Tr: Cheng 倝 means 'to lift up.' It consists of ren 人 'person' signific and cheng 甬 phonetic.Analysis

Although JGWB and JWJ identify the present graph as cheng 倝, it should be pointed out that it contains nothing corresponding to the ㇏ 'descending hand' element, so strictly speaking one should transcribe it as the non-character 倝. Li Xiaoding argues that it evolves from the graph 𠂔 (S.454.1) which he regards as an earlier form, but it seems curious that the hand, once lost, should reappear in the modern form. He describes the earlier graph as showing a person lifting up an object, and says that this evolved into the commoner form 倝 in the same way that 𠂔 evolved into bào 𠂔 / 保 (see JWJ 8.2611). There is an example of the earlier graph in bronzes, and also of an apparently intermediary form:


 倝 缶簋



 或者鼎

(O/NJWB 1077/1332)


Li confesses (JWJ 4.1408) that he does not know what object  represents. Professor Takashima has suggested to me that this graph, which does not survive as an independent character in SW, depicts a balance. It could be the primary form of cheng 稱 in the sense of 'a balance.' If so, one could say that cheng 稱 may have evolved from 𠂔 by the replacement of the simple phonetic element * 冉 with the compound element 𠂔. The present graph may be analysed as consisting of 'person' signific and 𠂔 phonetic (whatever the latter's identity). It is used in OBI as a person's name, so there are no cogent reasons for identifying it with a modern character at all. The graph  on the other hand is used as a verb (or nominalized verb) in the expression ruò chéng 若稱 'as (the king) estimated' occurring in prognostications.¹ The graph shows a person lifting up a balance (so the primary meaning was perhaps 'to lift up>to weigh>to estimate'), and the balance also serves as phonetic. The balance  is very rare as an independent graph in OBI (S.453.3 has three examples²). Mostly one finds the augmented form  (S.454.2 has 113 examples), in which a hand is added. This is the SW (4b.1b) character cheng 𠂔, which has the same pronunciation and meaning as cheng 稱, being defined as bìng jū 并舉 'to lift up together.' Xu Shen analyses it as containing gòu 𠂔 abbreviated. However, 𠂔 is clearly an independent element, and if anything one should say that gòu 𠂔 is 𠂔 doubled. Furthermore it is hard to reconcile Xu Shen's analysis with the meaning of gòu 𠂔 'framework,' which seems to have no bearing on the meaning of cheng 𠂔. Professor Takashima has suggested to me that gòu 𠂔 was originally designed to depict a counterbalance, and that the 'framework' can be considered related to it.

¹See Takashima 1984:32.

²The *Qianbian* 7.1.3 example is actually written  and identified in JWJ (4.1403) as zài 再. The context is too fragmentary to see how it is being used.



2959 JGWB 1019:  (not in SW) 'person's name'

S.453.4x20


JWJ 8.2671:  (not in SW)Analysis

The graph consists of 'person' signific, with a phonetic element that consists of one or two hé 禾 / 禾 'growing grain' on top of 𠂔 / 冉 (= cheng 稱 'balance'?) This phonetic element has not been found as an independent graph in OBI, but it could perhaps be the ancestor of the modern character cheng 稱. The addition of the 'grain' element perhaps indicates the usual commodity that was weighed.

The graph occurs before the verb dī 𠂔 / 氏 'to take, to bring,' so there is no doubt that it refers to a person. Thus although the graph has not been identified with a modern character, the heuristic application of graphic analysis combined with the contextual corroboration enables us to feel fairly certain that the present graph was created in order to write down a person's name, and that this is not a loan usage.

2961 JGWB 1020:  (not in SW) 'person's name'

S.454.1x3

JWJ 8.2673:  (not in SW)Analysis

The graph consists of 'person' signific, and a phonetic element that consists of dui 𠂔 on top of 𠂔 / 𠂔 on top of 𠂔 / 𠂔 (= cheng 稱?). This phonetic element occurs independently, probably as a place name (S.454.1). Although it is quite clear what the components are, it is not clear how they interact. I think perhaps the dui 𠂔 element is phonetic and the cheng 𠂔 element signific, so the meaning would presumably be something to do with balances. It could perhaps be the primary form of zhui 鍾 'weight on a balance,' which according to the *Guangyun* is also written 鍾, with zhui 追 phonetic. Note that JGWB includes 𠂔, i.e. 𠂔, as a variant of the present graph.

The present graph occurs as the subject of an illness, so there is no doubt that it is a person's name.

(No number) 𠂔
S.568x238

JGWB 656: 𠂔 𠂔

JWJ 5.1749: 𠂔 𠂔

Analysis

JGWB and JWJ both include this graph as a variant of 𠂔 𠂔 / 𠂔, but curiously it is always used as the name of a diviner, while 𠂔 is never so used. I would say that the present graph was specially created for the name of the diviner, and is not necessarily a variant of 𠂔 𠂔. As Professor Takashima has pointed out to me, this strengthens the interpretation that the graphic elements attached to 𠂔 probably served as phonetic, and also that 𠂔 and 𠂔 were, on the whole, strictly distinguished.

Section ii: Human Actions

By far the greatest number of graphs in which the rén 人 element occurs as signific denote actions which are typically performed by human beings. Actions performable by other animals are also interpreted from an anthropocentric perspective.

It should be noted that it is not the rén 人 element itself that conveys the sense of action. The rén 人 element simply denotes human participation, and it is the other elements combined with it that serve to convey the action. This must be so, for if the rén 人 element inherently signified 'action,' then one could not explain how it could be used as signific in many graphs that do not denote actions. The rén 人 element thus serves only as a pointer towards the possibility that the graph in question denotes a human action. It does not in itself represent the action. For example, in jí 及 / 及 'to reach' (no.72) it is the hand 手 that signifies the action, while rén 人 just shows the person being reached, and in jiàn 見 / 見 'to see' (no.655) it is the eye that is the focus of the action, and the rén 人 element merely suggests that it is a human being that is doing the seeing.

4 𠂔

JGWB 1034: tīng 壬

S.5.3x10

JWJ 8.2709: tīng 壬

SW 8a.17a: 壬，善也。从人，士；士，事也。一曰象物出地挺生也。凡...

SWDZ 8a.46a: In view of the second meaning, the lower element must be tū 土 'earth,' not shì 士 'official.'

Tr: Tīng 壬 'outstanding' means shàn 善 'good' It consists of rén 人 'person' and shì 士 'official.' Shì 士 means shì 事 'to serve' [but Xu Xuan explains that 'person' on top of 'official' indicates 壬然而立 'standing upright']. One source says that it depicts something springing up out of the ground.

In the *Kangxi* dictionary, rèn 壬 is classified under shì 士, while tīng 壬 is classified under tū 土, with a note to the effect that Xu Shen was mistaken in interpreting the lower element as shì 士, and in fact the bone graph corroborates the *Kangxi*'s and Duan's opinion. Note that although tīng 壬 and rèn 壬 are now almost homographous, they were still very distinct in the seal script.¹

Analysis

The bone graph shows a person standing upright on top of a mound of earth, and is probably the primary form of tīng 挺 in the sense of 'stick out, crop up (as something growing), straight' (definitions from GSR 835i). The first meaning given in SW, 'good,' is to be interpreted as 'outstanding,' as Li Xiaoding suggests: 英挺勁拔故

¹I used to think they were identical in the modern script, but Professor Takashima has pointed out to me that there is a difference, which I had failed to notice, i.e. the relative length of the middle and lower strokes is opposite. I note however that Li Xiaoding writes them both as 壬 (for rèn, see JWJ 14.4297), so it seems that not everyone observes this distinction.

引申之得有善也之誼也 '(it depicts a person) standing out boldly, and hence by extension it comes to mean good.' Compare the contemporary Mandarin usage of tīng 挺, as in tīng hǎo 挺好 'outstandingly good.'

Li Xiaoding notes that, while lì 立 / 立 shows a person standing from the front, tīng 𠂔 shows the same thing from the side. However, the difference in the human figure element used is not the only difference. Lì 立 shows a person standing on flat ground, whereas tīng 𠂔 shows a person standing on top of a mound of earth, and this is probably essential to the idea of 'standing out.' Flat ground would fail to convey this idea. In lì 立, dà 大 is used to emphasize the fact that both feet are planted on the ground. Evidently in tīng 𠂔 it was not felt necessary to emphasize this. The emphasis is not on the standing, but on the elevation of the standing.

JGWB includes a couple of examples under tīng 𠂔 in which the ground is level, and JWG also includes these forms, which would provide a minimal contrast between the rén 人 and dà 大 elements, but I am not certain if they should be included. Their limited context does not help to resolve the issue.

Usage

In eight of the ten inscriptions it seems to be the name of a person (object of lìng 令 'order'), so the inscriptions do not help us with the original meaning. In the other two inscriptions (*Yizhu* 524 and *Yibian* 5582), as Professor Takashima has pointed out to me, it seems to be a verb, though it is hard to say what it means.

JWJ 8.2615: qí 企

SW 8a.1b: 企，舉踵也。从人，止聲。𠂔：古文企从足。

SWDZ 8a.2a: Zhōng 踵 should be zhōng 踵, meaning gen 跟 'heel.' [The reason why Duan makes this quibble is that SW distinguishes between zhōng 踵 'heel' (2a.21a) and zhōng 踵 'follow in the footsteps of' (2b.16b), but they are of course simply the nominal and verbal uses of the the same word, and are now both written zhōng 踵.] The character sheng 聲 'phonetic' should be edited out: qí 企 has always been in the sixteenth rhyme category [OC zhi 支 rhyme], while zhǐ 止 is in the first [OC zhi 之 rhyme].

Tr: Qí 企 means 'to raise the heels.' It consists of rén 人 'person' signific and zhǐ 止 phonetic. 𠂔: the old form of qí 企 contains zú 足 'foot.'

Analysis

The graph depicts a person standing on tiptoe, which is the basic meaning of qí 企, so the SW definition 'raise the heels' accurately describes its primary meaning. It is from this that the modern meaning 'to strive' develops. The foot is not phonetic (and in fact cannot be, as Duan rightly points out), but an integral part of the whole graph. However, already in the seal form, the foot has become separated from the person. This structural change effectively obscured from Xu Shen the original composition of this character. Li Xiaoding notes that the disproportionately large size of the foot shows that this is the focal point of the graph. Compare the large eye in jiàn 見 / 見 'to see' and the big ear in wén 聞 / 聞 'to hear.'

The present graph may be contrasted with jù 踞 / 踞 (II.1.i.165), where the dà 大 element with both feet drawn in suggests standing firmly (the 'tiger head' element is

phonetic), while the present graph conveys the idea of stretching up on tiptoe and striving.

The contrast is similar to that between tīng 聑 and lì 𠂔.

Usage

Probably an extension of the basic meaning, as in the expression qī kuí 企幾 / 企幾, which occurs several times and could be interpreted as 'raise lances' (i.e. transitive use of qī 企), but the exact interpretation is problematical.

21 𠂔

JGWB 1501: shì 氏 'read zhī 底, sense of zhì 致'

S.7.1x559

JWJ 12.3737: dī 氏

SW 12b.16a: 氏, 至也。从氏下箸一; 一, 地也。凡 ...

SWDZ 12b.34a: Dī 氏 here means dī 抵 'to arrive.' [Duan also inserts a second definition 本也 'root' from the Xu Kai edition.]

Tr: Dī 氏 means zhì 至 'to arrive.' [It also means 'root.'] It consists of shì 氏 [defined at SW 12b.15b as the Sichuan term for a precariously perched boulder] with a line attached beneath. The line represents the ground.

Xu Shen's definition of shì 氏 is amazingly recherché, and seems to have been devised with his explanation of dī 氏 in mind. He quotes the line 響若氏隕 "And their fame resounded like an avalanche"² from Yang Xiong's *Jiechao* 解嘲, but the present text, preserved in the *Hanshu*, has the character 氏. According to Guo

¹The *Guangyun* defines zhī 底 *tǐ* as 平也 'level,' 致也 'to cause to arrive, to send.'

²Translation from Knechtges 1982:52.

Moruo, shì 氏 originally depicts a spoon (see JWG 12.3723). Whatever it depicts, I think there can be little doubt that shì 氏 *dziǎ* < *dāj' is phonetic in dī 氐 *tej* < *təj', so Xu Shen's 'semantic compound' analysis is unnecessary anyway.

Analysis

The graph shows a person carrying something in his hand. A number of identifications have been proposed, of which the most generally accepted is dī 氐, understood in the sense of zhī 底, which in soft texts means 'to bring about,' but is understood in OBI as meaning 'to bring,' or as zhì 致 'to cause to arrive.' If we identify the graph primarily as shì 氏, as some scholars have done, then we can accept Lu Shixian's proposed relationship with tí 提 *dej* < *dāj 'carry in the hand.' Note that shì 是, as far as one may gather, has always been homophonous with shì 氏, and also depicted a spoon, according to Guo Moruo.

Usage

It is most naturally translated as 'to take' or 'to lead.'

67 𠂔

JGWB 589: he 𠂔, = hè 荷 'carry on shoulder'

S.13.4x28

JWG 8.2629: 𠂔 = hé 何 = hè 荷 'carry on shoulder'

JWG 5.1823: 𠂔 = yín 允 = dan 儻 'carry on shoulder'

SW 8a.5a: 𠂔, 儻也。从人, 可聲。

Tr: Hé 何 means dan 詹 'to carry on the shoulder.' It consists of rén 人 'person' signific and kê 可 phonetic.

Analysis

Li Xiaoding tries to separate 𠂔 from 𠂔, which is curious because he lumps them together in the composite graph 𠂔~𠂔, both of which he identifies as He 河 'the Yellow River' (JWJ 11.3261). He finds only one complete example of the graph 𠂔 (*Qianbian* 7.1.4, though personally I find this rubbing too dark to read), and one incomplete example, 𠂔 (*Cuibian* 543), which he reconstructs as 𠂔.¹ Shima lists neither. Li identifies 𠂔 as yín 允 because of its similarity to the seal form 允 (SW 5b.10b), and says it is the primary form of dan 詹 'to carry on the shoulder.' He explains that it depicts a person carrying something across both shoulders, whereas 𠂔 shows a person carrying something across one shoulder. If he were right, one would expect the meaning 'carry' to crop up in one of the phonetic compounds of yín 允, as it does in the case of hé 何, but we do not find this (see GSR 656). This is why he is driven to propose that it is the primary form of a word from another phonetic series, dan 詹. This is fairly reasonable phonetically since the yín 允 phonetic series is in OC qin 侵 rhyme and the zhan 詹 series is in OC tán 談 rhyme, and these two rhymes differ only in that the former has a close vowel while the latter has an open vowel (according to Pulleyblank's reconstruction, and in fact also Karlgren's). However, the yín 允 series gives strong evidence of being what Pulleyblank (1984:170) calls an *l-type initial, while the zhan 詹 series would appear to be a *t-type, so these two series are not really that close. I think that the graphic similarity between 𠂔 and yín 允 is purely fortuitous, and that the original form of yín 允 probably depicted a person lying down with his head on a pillow, i.e. the primary form of zhēn 枕 'pillow.' Although an earlier

¹In both cases, he says, it is a person's name. In his commentary on *Cuibian* 543, Guo Moruo, who identifies the graph as hè 何 (荷), says it is the diviner's name.

form of this character has not been found independently, it is perhaps preserved in the bronze forms of yín 𠂔 and shên 𡗗:

𠂔 番生簋

(O/NJWB 62/72)

𡗗 沈子它簋

(O/NJWB 1427/1824)

If the bone form of yín 𠂔 existed, I would classify it in Part 3 of this chapter, where 𠂔 represents a person lying down.

The present graph shows a person carrying an axe over the shoulder. As Li rightly points out, the axe is the primary form of ke 柯 k'aã < *k'ál 'axe-handle' and acts as a phonetic hint in hè 何 ɣaã' < *gál'. He also points out that in the rare variant 𠂔 (Xucun 1.637, where it is actually the name of a *fang* 方 tribe), the person is carrying a ge 戈 kwaã < *k'wál 'spear' phonetic. This does not make quite such an accurate phonetic as the axe, due to the labiovelar rather than plain velar initial. In later times, hè 何 was reserved as a loan for the WH-word hé, and hé 荷 'lotus' was borrowed to write the word hè 'carry.' The process of borrowing and re-borrowing is rather complicated. Hé 何 derives from 𠂔 through the separation of the 'person' and 'axe-handle' elements and the addition of a kôu 𠂔 'mouth' element, which may have been added as a sign of desemanticization for the WH-word usage but now forms an integral part of kê 可.

Usage

It seems to be the name of a place or perhaps of the people living there. There are no examples of it in its primary meaning 'to carry.'

72 𠂇

JGWB 359: 𠂇, 𠂇 = jí 及, 3598 (unidentified)

S.14.1x106

JWJ 3.915: 𠂇, 𠂇 = jí 及

SW 3b.9a: 𠂇, 逮也. 从又, 从人. 𠂇: 古文及; 秦刻石及如此. 𠂇: 亦古文及. 逮: 亦古文及.

SWDZ 3b.18b: jí 及 and dài 逮 gloss each other in SW. The second old form occurs in the character fán 凡. The last old form consists of chuò 辵 and probably bī 筆.

Tr: jí 及 means dài 逮 'to reach.' It consists of yòu 又 'hand' and rén 人 'person.' [Xu Kai adds the interpretative note here: 及前人也 'it represents reaching the person in front.'] 𠂇 is an old form of jí 及 –this is how it is written on Qin steles. 𠂇 is another old form of jí 及. 逮 is yet another old form of jí 及.

The first two old forms do not look like complete characters. The last old form is obviously a variant of dài 逮, and I am surprised that Duan did not realise this.

Analysis

The graph shows a hand reaching a person from the rear, thus symbolizing the meaning 'reach.' By extension it also came to mean 'as far as, up until, by the time' etc. Both these usages are evidenced in the bone inscriptions.

JWJ and JGWB both include the graph 𠂇 as a variant, but S separates it, listing it after the present graph. Since it occurs only as a person/place name, this identification cannot be verified. Note further that there are no unambiguous examples of 𠂇 as a person/place name.

Usage

𠂔 及 is used in two main ways:

1. In expressions like 及今四月雨 'when it comes to the present fourth month¹ it will rain,' where it clearly functions as a time adverb.
2. In military inscriptions, where it may be interpreted as 'catch up with, reach (the enemy),' e.g.

甲申卜，貞：𠂔及亘方。

(Zongtu 22.4)

Jiashen-day cracking, tested: Cha will reach the Xuan tribe.

100 𠂔

JGWB 407: 役 (not in SW)

25.4x9

JWJ 3.1027: 役 (not in SW)

SW 3b.13a: 役，戍邊也。从受，从彳。𠂔：古文役从人。

Tr: 𠂔 役 means 'to guard the border.' It consists of shu 受 'lance' and chì 彳 [a walking radical]. 𠂔: the old form of yì 役 has rén 人 'person' [instead of chì 彳].

Xu Xuan says that chì 彳 tr'iajk is also phonetic in yì 役 jwiajk. However, although they happen to be in the same EMC rhyme, they do not come from the same OC

¹Translation of this phrase suggested to me by Professor Takashima.

rhyme (duó 鐸 *-ak and xī 錫 *-ac respectively), and their initials, though hard to reconstruct in the case of yì 役, are unlikely to have had much in common.

Analysis

The present identification was made by Yu Yongliang (JWJ 3.1027). Although SW gives 𠂔 as the old form of yì 役, Li Xiaoding refuses to recognize its authenticity. He says that yì 役 is a semantic compound consisting of chì 𠂔, signifying 'march,' and shu 殳, a weapon, thus its primary meaning is xíngyì 行役 'to go on a military expedition.' He says that the bone graph 𠂔, on the other hand, shows a person being beaten, so it cannot have any connection with yì 役, and its meaning, he claims, must be something like puji 朴擊 'hit.' However, this is not necessarily so. Another common meaning of yì 役 is as in shìyì 使役 'to cause (someone to do something),' and the *Yupian* defines shì 使 as yì 役 (though such a late work should not of course be relied on as one's primary evidence). This could easily be its primary meaning. The bone graph could be interpreted as showing a person being forced to do something, 'beaten into service' one might say. 'Military campaign' could be just a specialization of this meaning, but it could be this specialization that led to the replacement of the rén 人 element by the walking radical chì 𠂔. The semantic thread that binds the various uses of yì 役 together is 'obligatory service.'

Usage

The inscriptions are rather hard to interpret, but I think that in most of them it may stand for yì 疫 'plague,' as Rao Zongyi (1959:520) suggests. This usage helps to confirm the correctness of the identification as yì 役.

108 休

JGWB 740: xiu 休

S.26.3x18

JWJ 6.2023: xiu 休

SW 6a.23a: 休, 息止也. 从人依木. 麻: 休或从广.

Tr: Xiu 休 means 'to rest.' It consists of ren 人 'person' leaning against mu 木 'tree.' 麻: xiu 休 is sometimes written with yan 广 'roof.'Analysis

The bone graph also consists of 'person' and 'tree,' so the identification seems not unreasonable, though since it is always used as a place name one cannot get any contextual support for this identification. The character xiu 麻 that SW gives as a variant also has the extended meanings 'shade, shelter, protection.' If the identification of the present graph is correct, then there seems to be no reason not to accept the SW analysis of the seal graph, that it represents a person leaning (resting) against a tree.

Usage

Place name.

109 休

JGWB 3993 (unidentified)

S.26.4x1

JWJ 6.2023: xiu 休

SW 6a.21b: 采, 擷取也。从木, 从爪。

Tr: Câi 采 means 'to pluck.' It consists of mù 木 'tree' and zhào 爪 'hand.'

Analysis

Li Xiaoding includes the present graph, with reservations, as a variant of the preceding graph, since it is also used as a place name. However, I think it is more likely to be a variant of câi 采 / 采 (JGWB 737). It shows a person plucking at a tree, and at the same time the 采 element could also be a phonetic hint. Notice that it is not the same as mù 木 / 木. It occurs commonly in the graph 𣎵, which stands for a time word in the inscriptions. Yang Shuda (JWJ 6.1967-9) observes that the 𣎵 element occurs in 𣎵, a variant of zai 𣎵 / 𣎵 'to attack' (JWJ 12.3777), where it would appear to have the same phonetic function as cái 才 / 才. He suggests that 𣎵 represents the word later written zài 載 'year.' It seems possible that 采 is the original pictograph for zai 栽 'to plant' (GSR 943y), which the Ming dynasty work *Zhengzitong* 正字通 defines as 'sapling.'

The focus in this graph is actually on the hand, and indeed it is only the hand that is left in the usual form 采. The graph as a whole may be transcribed * 采.

Usage

Place name.

111 采

JGWB 3643 (unidentified)

S.26.4x1

JWJ 3.1083: 采 (not in SW)

Analysis

The graph shows a person, whose hand is drawn in, with a stick, and there is another hand at the bottom of the stick on the other side. It is not clear which hand is holding the stick and which is resisting the stick, or whether both hands are holding the stick.¹ At any rate it seems clear that somebody is trying to beat somebody else with a stick, and some such meaning as 'attack' fits very well into the OBI context:

乙亥貞：庚勿𠂔方。

(Shiduo 1.415, ap.S.26.4)

Yihai-day tested: Geng (?) should not attack the Fang (tribe).

Here again the focus is on the hand, and indeed one of the two contestants in this struggle has only his hand drawn in. However, the rén 人 element still suggests that it is a human activity, and the OBI context corroborates this.

114 𠂔

JGWB 571: jí 藉

S.27.1x23

JWJ 4.1549: jí 藉

SW 4b.21a: 藉，帝藉千畝也。古者使民如借，故謂之藉。从耒，昔聲。

¹Professor Takashima has pointed out to me that the graphic intent of the present graph, as I interpret it, is much like zheng 𢶏 / 爭 'struggle,' i.e. two hands holding clubs hitting each other.

SWDZ 4b.53a: 藉 occurs with the meaning 'to plough' in various classics, with reference to the emperor's ploughing ritual. The commentator Chang Chenzan explains that the emperor had to 借 'borrow' the people's labour because he could not finish all the ploughing by himself.

Tr: 藉 refers to the emperor's ploughing one thousand *mou*. In ancient times, the people were employed as if borrowed, and so it was called 藉 [which is phonetically similar to the word for 'borrow,' as one can see from the fact that they both contain 昔 phonetic]. It consists of 耒 'plough' signific and 昔 phonetic.

Analysis

The bone graph shows a person pushing a plough. The 人 element is augmented by two hands and a foot, so it really conveys the idea of a person struggling to push a plough along with his foot pushing it into the ground, and its usage in OBI confirms that it means 'to plough.' This meaning survives in only a few places in soft texts, where the character is written 藉 (i.e. augmented by the grass radical), and it seems to be nominal, referring to the piece of land that was ploughed, rather than to the act of ploughing itself, e.g.

是故昔者天子為藉千畝

(Liji.jiyi, HY 24/31)

"Thus it was that anciently the son of Heaven had his field of a thousand acres."

(Legge 1885.IV:222, ¶ 5)

The commonest usage of the character 藉 in soft texts is as a loan for the word 借 'to borrow,' which is now usually written 借. Xu Shen is at pains to explain this usage, but all he ends up by doing is making a pun.

In bronzes, whether as an independent character or as part of another, jí 藉 always has xī 昔 added as phonetic, e.g.



(O/NJWB 569/701)

In the modern character, the plough has been stylized and the ploughman has vanished, so all we have left is a phonetic compound, which is how SW performs analyses it.

Usage

Always used in its primary meaning 'to plough,' e.g.

庚子卜，貞：王其灌藉。由往。十二月。
觀

(Houbian 2.28.6)

Gengzi-day cracking, tested: The king will perhaps inspect the ploughing.

(He) should go. Twelfth month.

Guàn 灌 here could perhaps alternatively be understood as guàn 灌 'to irrigate,' or as guàn 裸 'to pour a libation on,' and jí 藉 could be understood as a noun 'ceremonial field.' SW (1b.19b) reserves the nominal meaning for the character jí 藉, defining it as jì 祭藉 'the ceremonial field.' Karlgren (GSR 798b) defines it as 'field ploughed by king whose produce was used for sacrifice.'

S.46.1x3

JWJ 9.2909: wèi 畏

SW 9a.16a: 𪛗, 惡也. 从白, 虎省. 鬼頭而虎爪可畏也. 𪛗, 古文省.

Tr: Wèi 畏 'fearful' means 惡 'horrible'.¹ It consists of 𪛗 'devil's head' and 𪛗 'tiger' abbreviated. Devils' heads and tigers' claws are fearful. 𪛗: the old form is abbreviated.

Analysis

The graph appears to show a devil wielding a stick, which is indeed fearsome, but the guī 鬼 / 𪛗 element is of course phonetic. This clever way of making the phonetic serve also in a signific capacity is typical of the way in which the creators of this script designed their graphs. Rather than the usual form of guī 鬼, which is 𪛗 (see III.1.i.283), what we actually seem to have here is a member of the Gui tribe (see I.1.i.a.292) The original meaning was perhaps 'to threaten' and it is undoubtedly etymologically related to the word wei 威 'awesomeness.'

In soft texts, wèi 畏 usually means 'to fear,' but the graph appears rather to show the act of threatening. This prompts me to investigate whether this character could ever have had the meaning 'threaten.' Note that the word wei 威 'uj, from which wèi 畏 'ujh is undoubtedly derived, does not mean 'fear' but 'fearsomeness, awesomeness,' which can perhaps be understood as 'threateningness,' and in bronzes we find the usage of these two characters somewhat confused. For example, in the 孟鼎 inscription we find the expression 畏天畏 'fear Heaven's awesomeness,' in which the character

¹Or perhaps it should be read wù 'to loathe.' Karlgren gives this meaning for wèi 畏 in his Gloss 1000.

wèi 畏 is used for both words (in the *Shujing*, 'Heaven's awesomeness' is written 天威). There is also a common bronze expression weiyí 威義 (=儀) 'demeanour of authority,' which on the bell 沈兒鐘 is written with 畏 (i.e. wèi 畏 augmented by pū 文), and a similar phrase meaning 'authoritative and circumspect' is written 威忌 on the 邾公華鐘 but 畏認 on the 鞬鐘.

In the *Shujing* there are a couple of examples of wei 威 being used as a verb where it may be understood as 'to threaten, to cause to fear':

否則威之. (*Tongjian* 5.293-6)

"If not, one overawes them." (Karlgren 1950:11 ¶14)

予豈汝威，用奉畜汝衆. (*Tongjian* 16.818-26)

"Do I overawe you? (No), by this I take care of and (nourish) sustain you all." (Karlgren 1950:24 ¶26)

In these two cases, wei 威 has a direct object (in the second case cliticized due to the interrogative nature of qǐ 豈), so it is definitely a transitive verb. Karlgren translates as 'overawe,' but I think it is simpler, and more appropriate to the context, to understand it as 'threaten.' In the second example, Pan Geng is trying to cajole the Shang people into moving to Yin, and the tone of his whole speech is very threatening. The tone of the above quoted passage would perhaps be better captured in a less literal translation such as "Surely you don't think I'm threatening you? I'm doing this for your own good!" Pan Geng is trying to say "I am not threatening you, I am persuading you" (though he is of course threatening them).

In spite of the *Dai Kan-Wa Jiten*'s claim (7.1088 and 3.700) that both wèi 畏 and wei 威 can have the meaning odosu 'to threaten,' I have not been able to find an unambiguous example of wèi 畏 in this usage. The most probable example given there

is perhaps the one from *Liezi.Huangdi*: 不畏不怒. This could be understood as 'he neither threatens nor gets angry,' but the interpretation 'fears' is not precluded. I think the context supports the meaning 'threaten,' as the passage is talking about how the sage does not manipulate or coerce people and yet they still do his bidding, and 'threatening' seems to be more appropriate to coercion than fear does. However, the ambiguity is still there. Graham, for example, translates "He inspires no awe, he is never angry" (1960:35), whereas Wilhelm translates "Sie wissen nichts von Scheu und Zorn" (1911:2). Apart from the uncertainty of the interpretation, the date and authenticity of the *Liezi* are also a problem, so it is not a good source for determining ancient usages.

My conclusion is that the graph 𠂔 was originally devised to portray the concept denoted by the word wei 'to threaten' (verb) or 'threateningness' (noun), but was also used for the *qùsheng* derivative wèi 'to fear.' Later, the character 畏 came to be used only for wèi 'to fear,' and the character wei 威 was borrowed for the word wei 'to threaten, threateningness.'¹

Usage

Unfortunately it occurs only as a person's name.

439 𠂔 . 𠂔

JGWB 1071: xian 先

S.75.1x234

JWJ 8.2809: xian 先

¹According to SW (12b.3a) the primary meaning of wei 威 is gu 姑 'husband's mother.' It consists of nü 女 'woman' signific and xu 戌 phonetic. Duan Yucai (12b.7b) suggests, in all seriousness, that the meaning 'awesomeness' is derived from the meaning 'mother-in-law.'

SW 8b.4b: 𠂔, 前進也. 从儿, 从之. 凡 ...

Tr: Xian 先 means 'to advance.' It consists of 儿 [= positional variant of rén 人 'person'] and zhi 之 'to go.'

Analysis

Somewhat unusually, the SW analysis happens to be correct, though not terribly insightful. Xu Xuan tries to explain the relationship between the two elements by saying 之人上是先也 'to go above people, this is to advance,' but this smacks of sophistry. Furthermore the bone graph sometimes simply has zhī 𠂔 / 止 'foot' on top. I think the basic idea may be something like 'to precede, to go on ahead,' and this is conveyed by 'foot' on top of 'person.' The foot is welded on top of the person as if it were his head, and this is probably a conscious piece of graph design.

JGWB and JWJ also include 𠂔 as a variant. This graph has sheng 生 as the top element. Li Xiaoding claims that sheng 𠂔 / 生 and zhi 𠂔 / 之 are often confused in OBI, but it seems odd that the same graph could be written with either sheng 生 or zhi 之. I believe Shima is correct in separating 𠂔, along with 𠂔, since it is used mostly as a person/place name. 𠂔 occurs quite clearly in the meaning 'first' or 'advance,' but 𠂔 never occurs in this meaning. 𠂔 occurs in the inscription *Bingbian* 1.18, where Zhang Bingquan transcribes it as lǎo 老 in his *kaoshi*. Significantly, on the same plastron (inscription 1.17), we find xian 𠂔 / 先. It occurs as the object of huò 𠂔 / 隻 (獲) 'to capture,' and would appear to be the name of an alien tribe. The same plastron talks about attacking the Bu 不, presumably also an alien tribe, and Professor Takashima has drawn my attention to the following *Zuozhuan* passage (HY 340/Zhao 1/3 Zuo), which Zhang Bingquan quotes (*kaoshi* p.15):

商有姚邲.

Shang [had] its Seën and P'ei [i.e. tribes that caused them trouble].¹

Bingbian 1.18, on the other hand, I would translate thus:

丙寅卜，爭：乎龍老侯專殺不_殺。_邳

Bingyin-day cracking, Zheng: Call on old Marquis Zhuàn of Long to kill
Pei.

Usage

In the meaning 'first' or 'advance,' but also the name of an alien tribe in *Bingbian* 1.17.

655 𠄎 . 𠄎

S.107.1x58

661 𠄎

JGWB 1072 (all forms): jiàn 見

S.107.3x76

JWJ 8.2811: 𠄎 , 𠄎 = jiàn 見

JWJ 8.2685: 𠄎 (*Jinghua* 10.9) = gèn 艮 [S.107.2 lists as *Jinghua* 9.9]

SW 8b.5a: 𠄎 , 視也 . 从儿 , 从目 . 凡 ...

Tr: jiàn 見 'to see' means shì 視 'to look.' It consists of 儿 [= positional variant of rén 人 'person'] and mù 目 'eye.'

¹Translation from Legge 1861.5.2:577.

SW 8a.15b: 𠄎, 很也. 从匕, 目. 匕目猶目相匕不相下也. 易曰: 艮其限. 匕目為艮, 匕目為眞也.

SWDZ 8a.42b: 目相匕 means 怒目相視 'angry eyes confronting each other.' Hên 很 means 不聽從 'disobedient.'

Tr: Gèn 艮 'perverse' means hên 很 'disobedient.' [This is a punning definition.]






The graph consists of bī 匕 'to line up' and mù 目 'eye.' 'Lining up the eyes' is intended to portray the idea that the eyes are on the same level, the one neither higher nor lower than the other [i.e. in mutual opposition]. The *Yijing* says: "Keeping his hips still."¹ Notice how gèn 艮 consists of bī 匕 and mù 目, whereas zhēn 眞 consists of huà 乚 and mù 目.


Analysis

The graph consists of 'eye' on top of either 'standing person' or 'kneeling person,' thus indicating the meaning 'see.' The disproportionately large size of the eye shows that this is the focus of the graph. Shima separates 𠄎 from 𠄎, but JGWB and JWJ combine them as jiàn 見. It is hard to find contexts that prove that 𠄎 and 𠄎 are the same character, but since both forms occur as jiàn 見 in bronzes (see O/NJWB 1170/1442), it seems likely that they are indeed both to be identified as jiàn 見. Professor Takashima has also drawn my attention to the interestingly parallel phrases 𠄎 鄭 印 (from *Yingguo* 1784) 'see the yìn of Zheng' and 𠄎 方 印 (from *Waibian* 34) 'see the yìn of Fang' (the exact nature of yìn 印 is unknown, but it seems to refer to some kind of human).

The form with the staring eye 𠄎 is separated by Tang Lan (and followed by Li Xiaoding) on the basis that the eye is looking back. Tang also suggests that yān 眼 'eye'

¹HY 32/52/3. Translation from Wilhelm 1967:202.

is an accretory form of gèn 艮, while admitting that the meaning is different.¹ Since the inscription that  occurs in is fragmentary, it is hard to say whether it really is not jiàn 見. JGWB 1072 lists another 'backwards looking' form  (*Jingjin* 2104²), but the inscription is hard to make sense of.³ Li Xiaoding (JWJ 8.2686) also cites a bronze form  ⁴ (殷艮馮簋), but it is part of a person's name, so the context provides no support for this identification. O/NJWB does not have gèn 艮 as an independent graph, but it may be found as an element in the bronze graph for xiàn 限, e.g.  (𠄎鼎, ap. O/NJWB 1814/2321). Tang explains that the original meaning of gèn 艮 was fāngù 反顧 'to look behind.' However, this meaning is not attested. It occurs to me that the emphasis in the graph  is on the enlarged glaring pupil, which could convey a meaning like hèn 恨 'hate' or hēn 狠 'fierce.' Cf. Duan Yucai's comment quoted above about 'angry eyes confronting each other.' Although he could not see the bone graph, his intuition may be right. On the other hand, perhaps it is simply the primary form of yān 眼 'eye,' as suggested to me by Professor Pulleyblank.

The present graph is a very rare example of the standing and kneeling elements being interchangeable in the same grapheme. 'Looking' is an action that can be performed in a standing or a kneeling posture, but I think that the use of the kneeling figure in  was perhaps inspired by the usage 'see, visit (a superior),' which is attested in OBI:

己未卜，殷貞：缶其來見王。一月


¹However, as Professor Pulleyblank has suggested to me, if the words were close enough that gèn 艮 could be phonetic in yān 眼, it would still make sense to say that gèn 艮 was originally the graph for yān 眼 and was a phonetic loan for the word gèn 艮.

²JGWB misquotes the number as 2014.

³It reads:

𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎

丁亥 (7) 貞：我 正 (7) 異 見。

S does not list this inscription under  or under yì 異.

⁴Given in O/NJWB Fulu 2.30a.6/2.385 as an unidentified graph.

(Bingbian 124.15)

Jiwei-day cracking, Que tested: Fou will perhaps come to see the king.

First month.

Other inscriptions suggest that Fou 缶 was probably the head of the Ji 咼 / 基 tribe (see *Bingbian* 302.1/2). I suppose that the status of the visitor did not have to be literally inferior to the visitee. The kneeling element may simply suggest the respect that traditionally the visitor has always shown to the visitee in Chinese culture.

Shang Chengzuo (JWJ 8.2811) suggests that we compare jiàn 𠄎 with wàng 𠄎 / * 𠄎 (𠄎), and this is indeed very instructive: jiàn 𠄎 simply shows the eye looking forward, whereas wàng 𠄎, according to the explanation proposed by Takashima (1989:114-117) shows the eye looking backwards, thus suggesting that it is looking for something that it cannot see (see discussion under next graph). Significantly, there is no * 𠄎 : the kneeling position is not appropriate for conveying the idea of looking about.

Usage

Mainly in its primary meaning 'to see,' and extensions of this, but in some cases it may also be a person's name (especially the 'standing' form).

690 𠄎 . 𠄎

JGWB 1035 (both forms): wàng 𠄎

S.110.2x195

JWJ 8.2711 (both forms): wàng 𠄎

SW 8a.17b: 望, 月滿與日相望. 以朝君也. 从月, 从臣, 从壬; 壬, 朝廷也. 望: 古文望省.

SWDZ 8a.46b: [Has wàng 望 instead of wàng 望, and emends yǐ 以 to sì 似.]

Tr: Wàng 望: when the moon is full, it wàng 望 'faces' the sun. It is at this time [i.e. the middle of the month] that one pays court to the sovereign [or according to Duan's emendation 'the moon facing the sun, and thereby being fully illumined, is like a minister paying court to his sovereign']. It consists of yuè 月 'moon,' chén 臣 'minister,' and tīng 壬; tīng 壬 here stands for cháotíng 朝廷 'court.' 望: the old form of wàng 望 is abbreviated [it has no 'moon' element].

SW 12b.19a: 望, 出亡在外望其還也. 从亡, 望省聲.

SWDZ 12b.46a: Wàng 望 and wàng 望 are clearly different characters, though now often confused.

Tr: Wàng 望 means 'to go outside and look for someone's return.' It consists of wáng 亡 'go away' signific and wàng 望 abbreviated phonetic.

Analysis

Xu Shen tries to separate wàng 望 and wàng 望, putting the former under his tīng 壬 radical and the latter under his wáng 亡 radical. However, in spite of Duan's protestation to the contrary, it is clear that they are variants of the same character, both denoting the same basic word. In bronzes we find 望, 望 (O/NJWB 1118/1378) and 望 (O/NJWB 1621/2059) all used in dates to denote the phases of the moon. The bone graph consists of chén 臣 / 臣 on top of rén 人. The character wàng 望 thus cannot portray 'gazing up at the moon,' as Li Xiaoding maintains,¹ though this romantic

¹Li also explains that the reason why wàng 望 contains 'moon' rather than 'sun' is that the sun is too bright to look at!

notion is rather appealing, and has been exploited by poets, as in Li Po's famous line 舉頭望明月. Although it is possible to regard the moon element as signfic, indicating the usage as in wàngyuè 望月 'full moon,' an alternative possibility, proposed by Takashima (1989:113¹), is that the graph identified as yuè 月 was polyphonic, and acts here as phonetic, as is supported by such other characters as míng 明 and méng 盟, but when this other reading of yuè 月 had been forgotten, then wáng 亡 was added as phonetic.

The replacement of chén 臣 by wáng 亡 in the popular form 望 was perhaps inspired by their graphic similarity, and is probably primarily of phonetic intent, but notice also, as Takashima (1989:114) points out, that the meaning of wáng 亡 'disappear, not exist,' is also semantically relevant, as wàng 望 denotes "the act of searching for something that has disappeared or does not exist at present."

Usage

It occurs largely as a person's name, especially in the name of the military commander Wang Cheng 王乘. Wang is perhaps the place name or tribe name, and Cheng his personal name. We also find the name Wang Yang (?) 王羊 (S.111.1x4). Wang occurs as a place name in five inscriptions (S.111.2: *Xubian* 3.29.2, 3.31.4, 3.29.4, *Houbian* 1.10.3, *Jimbun* 2878). In a few cases it could be the name of the sacrifice offered to mountains and streams which is mentioned in the classics, and which was so called because the sacrificer looked at them from a distance, e.g.

貞：勿佳王自望。

(*Jingjin* 1347)

Tested: It should not be the king himself who performs the *wang* sacrifice.

¹I am grateful to Professor Takashima for sending me a copy of this material before its publication.

貞 : 更 璽

(Buci 770)

Tested: Perform the *wang* sacrifice to Mount Hua.¹

715 𦇧

JGWB 1403: 見 (not in SW)

S.114.3x1

JWJ 12.3550: 見 (not in SW)

SW 12a.8a: 聽, 聆也. 从耳, 惠, 王聲.

SWDZ 121.17a: [Explains the function of the 𦇧 惠 element with the pun 'the ear 𦇧 得 'gets' something.']

Tr: Ting 聽 means líng 聆 'to hear.' It consists of 𦇧 耳 'ear' and 𦇧 惠 signifies [which I attempt to explain below], with tīng 王 phonetic.Analysis

The graph consists of 'ear' on top of 'person.' Li Xiaoding does not identify it with a modern character, but comparison with jiàn 𦇧 / 見 'to see' suggests that it is the primary form of tīng 聽 'to hear.' The present graph may be identified with the 𦇧 portion of the modern character. The rén 人 element was phonetized to tīng 王. The

¹I follow Guo Moruo's first identification of 𦇧, rather than his second as yuè 岳 (see JWJ 9.2918-9). Guo identifies the 𦇧 element as the SW (6a.15b) character huá 𦇧 / 華, defined as 兩刃 𦇧 'two-bladed ploughshare.' Duan Yucai (SWDZ 6a.41b) points out that in the *Fangyan* (5/35/27) this word is written 𦇧. It seems possible that, rather than depicting a two-bladed ploughshare, 𦇧 is a stylized flower, i.e the bone form of huá 華, for which the SW (6b.3a) seal form is 𦇧.

addition of the dé 德 element is mysterious, especially since the original meaning of dé 德 itself is a moot point. The 'heart' element suggests something to do with mental perception, cf. cong 聰 'perceptive, intelligent' also contains it (the 'ear' element in this character is probably a later accretion). Duan Yucai is probably on the right track, and the dé 德 element perhaps indicates 'perception,' which may be seen as the abstract correlate to dé 得 'to get (physically).' Dé 德 refers to a mental 'getting.' SW (10b.10b) defines it paronomastically as 外得於人內得於己也 'outside getting from people and inside getting from self.' This definition is admittedly not very intelligible. Duan Yucai (10b.25a) says that 內得於己 refers to spiritual enrichment (身心所自得) while 外得於人 refers to largesse (惠澤). I think that dé 德 and dé 得 probably originally referred to the mental and physical aspects of the same basic notion of 'getting.' Dé 得, with the hand clutching at pecuniary wealth, clearly indicates a very physical, tangible kind of 'getting,' while the 'heart' signfic in dé 德 indicates mental getting, i.e. perception. The verb 'get' in English also has both these meanings, e.g. 'get wealth' versus 'get a joke.' It seems probable that dé 德 and dé 得 have always been homophonous, and Chinese scholars have long felt them to be conceptually related. They are most likely the same word. The basic concept may be defined as CEPTION. In a language like Latin, a wide variety of prefixes are used to distinguish different aspects of the same basic concept—thus we have the concrete notion of CAPTuring as opposed to conCEPTION, perCEPTION etc. on the abstract level. In ancient Chinese, by contrast, one has only the unadorned monosyllable to express this polysemy. Thus I surmise that the word dé originally referred to any kind of 'ception,' but that the concrete and abstract aspects were distinguished in writing.

In bronzes, the graph for ting 聽 has, not dé 德, but gû 古 / 古 (see O/NJWB 1507/1924). However, the examples come from a single vessel (齊侯壺), so one cannot know if this was a standard form.

JGWB includes various other graphs under his 見, one of which has a kneeling instead of a standing figure 𦣻, but the lack of context makes it impossible to say whether they denote the same word or not. However, the situation could be similar to the one we have seen with jiàn 見. Note that ting 聽 has a *píngsheng* reading with the meaning 'listen' and a *qùsheng* reading with the meaning 'hear' in the sense of 'obey'.¹ The difference between 'listen' and 'hear' is parallel to that between 'look' and 'see,' the former of each pair implying active volition and the latter involuntary reception. One could suggest that the standing form 𦣻 simply shows the act of hearing or listening, while the kneeling form 𦣻 was inspired by the sense of 'obey.'

Usage

Unfortunately the graph has no context. My identification as ting 聽 is based on the parallel structure of jiàn 𦣻 / 見 and the structural identification with the 耳 part of ting 聽.

801 𦣻

Not in JGWB


S.136.2x2

Not in JWJ

¹GSR 835d defines the *píngsheng* reading as 'hear' and the *qùsheng* reading as 'listen to, acknowledge, obey.' The *Guangyun* gives the meaning líng 聆 'hear' to both readings, but to the *qùsheng* reading gives the additional meanings dài 待 'wait' and móu 謀 'consult.' Wang Renxu (Long Yuchun 1968 edn.) only gives the definition líng 聆 to the *píngsheng* reading, and defines the *qùsheng* reading as shēnwèn 審問 'consult.' According to Long Yuchun (1968:555), the wèn 問 in this definition is written with the character 聞 in another copy of Wang Renxu's *Qieyun*, but this does not seem to affect the meaning.

Analysis

The graph consists of 'person' signific and qiè 妾 / 妾 phonetic. From the context, all one can deduce is that it is a verb (it occurs after wù 勿 and qí 其). However, since 'human activity' is the chief significance of the 'person' element, one might suggest that it represents the word jiē 接 'connect, come in contact' (GSR 635e).

1847 

JGWB 4174 (unidentified)

S.273.3x62

JWJ 3.1063: kòu 寇

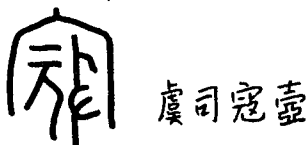
SW 3b.17b: 寇，暴也。从支，从完。

Tr: Kòu 寇 'to rob' means bào 暴 'to do violence.' It consists of pu 支 'to hit' and wán 完 'completely.'

Analysis

In his commentary on SW, Xu Kai tries to explain how pu 支 'hand holding stick' and wán 完 'complete' act together to represent the meaning 'rob.' However, as one can see from the bone graph, the original representation was of a person wielding a stick inside a house. Karlgren (GSR 111) lists the early meanings of kòu 寇 as 'to rob, robber, invader, bandit,' and I think that 'rob, robber' must be the primary meaning. Why else would a person be wielding a stick inside a house unless he were robbing it? Ye Yusen (JWJ 3.1065) says that the dots indicate the mess made by the robber (as he rummages for valuables, presumably). He also describes the evolution of the graph by

reference to bronze forms, in which we find the 'hand holding stick' *behind* the 'person,' thus illustrating a person being attacked in his own home:



(O/NJWB 427/533)

In the earlier forms, such as the first example I list above, the 'person' is written 𠂔, but this evolves into yuán 元 in the later forms, as in the second example above. This is probably a phonetization (for the phonetic implications, see Pulleyblank 1963:208). NJWB 1230 lists a graph 𠂔¹ (𠂔 𠂔) which it transcribes as 寇 (not in SW), but this should probably also be identified as kòu 寇.

Usage

It occurs in two main contexts:

1. In the expression Duo Kou 多寇, probably a military force comprised of convicts.
2. As sacrificial victims.

Other inscriptions refer to zhí 執 'shackling,' 𠂔/*𠂔 'beheading (?),' sha 杀 (殺) 'killing,' and 𠂔 'amputating the feet of (?)' the kòu 寇. These are clearly punishments, and suggests that kòu 寇 refers to robbers who have been caught, i.e. convicts. The soft text term sikòu 司寇 for 'Minister of Crime' suggests that kòu 寇 did have this more general meaning 'convict, criminal,' rather than just the specific meaning 'robber,' and the bronze graphs could perhaps be re-interpreted as showing

¹Not in OJWB. It would be between 997 and 998).

punishment being inflicted on a convict in a prison. In classical Chinese it is also used as a derogatory way of referring to enemy peoples.

2120 𢇛

JGWB 240: 𢇛 (not in SW)

S.323.1x27

JWJ 2.609: xíng 行

SW 2b.11a: 𢇛, 人之步趨也。从彳, 从于。凡 ...

SWDZ 2b.18a: Bù 步 means xíng 行 'to walk' and qū 趨 means zōu 走 'to run.'

Together they refer to going by foot in general.

Tr: Xíng 行 refers to a person's walking and running. It consists of chì¹ 彳 'small paces' and chù² 亍 'stopping in ones's tracks.'

Analysis

Li Xiaoding includes the graphs 𢇛 and 𢇛 as variants of xíng 𢇛 / 行. They differ in that a 'person' element is added, and in the present graph the xíng 𢇛 element is also abbreviated. His classification seems reasonable on graphic grounds. He makes the interesting distinction that 𢇛 is the noun háng 'road,' while 𢇛, which shows a person walking along the road, is the verb xíng 'to go.' Xíng differs from háng in having an *-r- infix: háng ɣaǎŋ < *gán, xíng ɣa'ŋ < *grán. However, it is hard to tell

¹This pronunciation is based on the *Tangyun* reading 丑亦切 given at SW 2b.8b. The *Guangyun* reading is the same (see Shen 1960:361).

²This pronunciation is based on Xu Shen's sound gloss 'read like chù 畜' (SW 2b.10b). The *Tangyun* reading given there is 丑玉切, and the *Guangyun* reading is the same (see Shen 1960:361).

from the inscriptions how 𠂔 is being used, while there are examples where 𠂔 can quite reasonably be interpreted as a verb, e.g.

己丑：王不行自雀。

(Yibian 947)

Jichou-day: The king will not go from Qiao.

丁巳 (貞)：小雨，不行。

(Yechu 1.30.4)

Dingsi-day (tested): (There will be) small rain, (we will) not go.

I suspect that the Shang used the same graph for both 'road' and 'go,' as in fact has been done ever since. The identification of 𠂔 as xíng 行 is supported by the occurrence of this graph on the Stone Drums, as Luo Zhenyu and Qu Yipeng point out, where the rhyme scheme suggests that it is a variant of xíng 行.¹ It seems best to regard 𠂔 as an old variant of xíng 行 that died out, but one may still maintain that it was the concept of human action that inspired the addition of the 'person' element in the first place. As for the present graph, there is an example of it occurring in the same inscription as 𠂔 (albeit as a person's name) which strongly suggests that it is a different grapheme:

辛未卜，行貞：其乎𠂔行，有遘。
呼

(Cuibian 511A)

Xinwei-day cracking, Hang tested: Perhaps summon 𠂔 to go, have (occasion to) meet with.

¹There are two rhyming occurrences, and in both cases it rhymes with OC yáng 陽 rhyme words. See Mattos 1973:IV.5d-g (discussion p.329) and V.7b-e.

As usual, there are a number of different ways in which this inscription could be interpreted. I have given only the most obvious reading. At any rate, it would seem preferable to identify the present graph as either yōng 永 or pài 派 (JGWB 1352 and JWJ 11.3411 resign themselves to not being able to distinguish the two, and the problem is compounded by the fact that they are used mainly as person or place names).

Whether one identifies the present graph as xíng 行 'to go,' pài 派 'to send,' or yōng 泳 'to wade' (of which Karlgren suggests yōng 永 is the primary form—GSR 764k), all three refer to human actions. The graph seems to be huìyì 會意 in nature (to use Xu Shen's term), which makes it unlikely that it was created specifically for the person's name that it often stands for in the inscriptions.

Usage

Mainly as a person or place name.

2234 𢦏

JGWB 1007: fá 伐

S.329.4x713

JWJ 8.2657: fá 伐

SW 8a.12b: 伐, 擊也。从人持戈。一曰: 敗也。

SWDZ 8a.34b: [Quotes various classical commentaries to show that jī 擊 'to strike' is the primary meaning, and that zhēngfá 征伐 'to attack (in war)' is an extended meaning.] The *Gongyang* commentary says: "In the *Chunqiu*, the word fá 伐 is used both of the attacker and the attacked—how can this be? When it refers to the attacker, it is read long. When it refers to the attacked, it is read short. This is Qi dialect." The present

rùsheng reading is the short reading...while the *qùsheng* reading [in certain places in the *Zhouli*] is the long reading.¹

Tr: Fǎ 伐 means ji 擊 'to strike.' It consists of 'person' holding 'spear.' One source defines it as bài 敗 'to defeat.'

Analysis

SW analyses the seal graph as a person holding a spear, but the bone graph shows that originally it depicted a person with a spear running through the neck. It thus depicts the act of striking an enemy dead. The second definition given in SW is ambiguous, since bài 敗 with a voiceless initial means 'to defeat' but with a voiced initial means 'to be defeated.' I have assumed for the sake of argument that Xu Shen intended the active meaning.

Note on Graphic Evolution

Of the 26 bronze forms at NJWB 1352 (21 at OJWB 1096), only one is like the seal form in having the 'person' separated from the 'spear,' thus: 伐 (南疆鉦). So this is quite a late development.

Usage

Verb: (a) To attack (an enemy tribe)


(b) To decapitate (as a sacrificial act)²

Noun: A type of sacrificial victim ('decapitatus')

¹The *Guangyun* only gives a *rùsheng* reading, but see Lu Deming (Pan Chonggui 1983.2:2020).

²In the past, some scholars (e.g. Shang Chengzuo, ap. JWJ 8.2661; Shima 1958:335) argued that fá 伐 referred to a kind of dance, since they could not believe (in spite of the archaeological evidence) that the Shang would be so barbaric as to perform human sacrifice on such a large scale.

The Shang perhaps performed guó 馘 'decapitation' on their enemies in battle, and this would be how the word fá 伐 'strike' also came to acquire the specialized meaning 'decapitate.' It is this specialized meaning that the bone graph depicts.

2989 


JGWB 4388 (unidentified)

S.465.1x2

Not in JWJ

Analysis

The graph clearly shows a person poling a boat, but it is not known what later character it corresponds to. This pictograph may have been replaced by a phonetic compound character, but it is hard to determine which one. Professor Takashima has suggested cáo 𦨭 'to row,' and semantically this seems like a good candidate. The meaning 'go by boat' fits well into the OBI context.

The present graph is most likely a variant of  (JGWB 4389, unidentified; S.465.1). This is one of the few examples of rén 𠤎 and dà 𠤎 alternating in the same graph. It is not clear to me why the frontal view was felt to be appropriate in this variant.

Usage

It probably means 'to go by boat.'

Section iii: Body Part

In a small number of graphs, an element is added to the 'person' element to indicate the part of the body where it is added. This element may be simply a circle, or it may be a phonetic hint, or it may actually depict the body part.

25 𠂔

JGWB 4259 (unidentified)

S.10.4x9

JWJ 8.2747: tún 尻

SW 8a.27a: 尻, 髀也. 从尸下兀居几. 隹: 尻或从肉, 隹. 髀: 尻或从骨, 殷聲.

SWDZ 8a.71b: 𠂔 兀 means xiàjī 下基 'base, support:' the buttocks are the base of a person. 𠂔 几 is like saying zuò yú chuáng 坐於牀 'sitting on a board.'... In the variant 𠂔, sūn 隹 is phonetic.

Tr: Tún 尻 'buttocks' means bì 髀 'haunches.' It consists of shī 尸 [described at SW 8a.26b as 'depicting a person lying down,' but I think it shows a person sitting], with jī 兀 'base' underneath situated on top of jī 几 'stool.' 𠂔: tún 尻 is also written with ròu 肉 'meat' signific and sūn 隹. 髀: tún 尻 is also written with gū 骨 'bone' signific and diàn 殿 phonetic.

Analysis

The graph consists of 'person' with a circle added to indicate the site of the fundament. JGWB also includes a form 𠂔 (Yibian 5839, not in S), but the circle is on the knee here, so perhaps this graph should rather be identified as xī 膝 'knee,' as Tsung-tung Chang (1970:110, n.1) proposes. The seal form is somewhat more complicated: the fundament has been distorted into (or replaced by?) jī 兀 'base' (probably the original pictograph for jī 基) and a stool has been added underneath (rather thoughtfully) for the person to rest his fundament on. The modern character is usually written 尻. Note also the derived qùsheng word diàn 殿 'the rear (of an army).'

Usage

Li Xiaoding says that it is used only as a person's name, and I think this is probably correct, e.g.

...寅卜，由貞：尻其有疒。
盾

(Bingbian 175.1)

...yin-day cracking, Dun tested: Tun will perhaps have illness.

This is unlikely to refer to an attack of piles, which one would expect in OBI to be phrased something like 王有疒尻 'the king has an afflicted fundament.' At S.447.2-449.4 there are no examples of 'body-part 有疒,' only 'person 有疒.'

26 𠂔

Not in JGWB

S.10.4x1

Not in JWJ

Analysis

The graph shows a person with a circle behind the neck and a bar across the leg.


The sole inscription reads:

疒𠂔禦于妣己累妣庚。

(Kufang 283)

As for the sick 𠂔, exorcize it to Ancestress Ji and Ancestress Geng.

So it is obviously a body part. By analogy with the preceding graph, we may safely conclude that the circle on the neck indicates the part of the body in question. One could tentatively suggest the translation 'neck.' The bar on the leg is a mystery. Perhaps it indicates qian 千. It is hard to say why it should incorporate this element. It could be a phonetic hint, though of course we do not know how the graph was pronounced. Note however that this inscription is from a traced collection, so its transcription may not be entirely accurate.

132 
S.27.4x1

JGWB 1049: wēi 尾

Not in JWJ

SW 8b.1a: 尾，微也。从到毛在尸後。古人或飾系尾，西南夷亦然。凡 ...

Tr: Wēi 尾 'tail' means wei 微 'slender.' It consists of máo 毛 'hair' upside down [in the seal form, it is upside down] behind shi 尸 ['body']. The ancients sometimes sported an ornamental tail, and the barbarians of the south-west still do to this day.

JWJ overlooks this graph, which only occurs once, but it is unmistakably wēi 尾, as JGWB has it. It is perhaps somewhat tendentious of me to include this graph in my section on 'human body parts.' As to why the creators of this script decided to depict the tail on a human being, one reason may have been that, if the tail had been depicted on an animal, since animals naturally have tails, it would have been hard to indicate that this was the focus of the graph, whereas when it is depicted hanging from a human being, it

immediately seizes one's attention, due to its unexpectedness, and thus there is no doubt where the focus of the graph lies. However, Xu Shen's explanation gives us another insight. Compare the graph pú 僕 (I.1.i.a.2645), where I concluded that the tail indicates that the people the Shang used as domestic slaves were captured from some tribe which had the custom of wearing tails. The present graph occurs in the expression yôuwêi 有尾, which may perhaps be understood as yôuwêizhê 有尾者 'the tailed ones.'¹ The inscription reads as follows:

己卯卜, 貞: 者_盾 2 率土芻自冥. 王曰:
其佳丙戌; 率有尾其佳辛. 冢.

(Yibian 4293)

Jimao-day (16th) cracking, Dun (盾 ?) tested: "Zhe will capture the Tu chú from Qiang (?)." The king prognosticated, saying: "Perhaps it will be bingxu-day (23rd). The capturing of the yôuwêi will perhaps be on the xinday (i.e. xinsi, 18th?)." (Divined at) Bin (?).

Following a suggestion from Professor Takashima, I have understood Tu chú as meaning 'chú of the Tu tribe,' with chú perhaps referring to the soldiers or fighting men of that tribe. This fits in better with the 'capturing' context than Qu Wanli's interpretation in his *kaoshi* as 'foragers,' and supports the interpretation of yôuwêi as a similar kind of alien tribe.

¹Although the common nominalization markers of classical Chinese zhê 者 and suô 所 do not occur in OBI, Takashima (1984) has argued convincingly that unmarked nominalizations of a semantically comparable nature must be recognized in the inscriptional language. His proposals on this subject have enabled one to deal with many inscriptions that were previously hard to make sense of. The present case, where we have two verbs in succession, is a prime example, and we can make sense of this structure by interpreting the second verb as nominalized or as part of a nominal expression.

²Shima's transcription (S.27.4) makes this graph look like yòng 用. The rubbing is hard to make out at this point, but in the corresponding *duìzhen* inscription on this shell the graph appears more clearly as 𠂔, i.e. zhê 者. At any rate, in the present inscription it is a person's name.

2775 中𠂔

Not in JGWB

S.420.1x1

Not in JWJ

Analysis

The graph consists of 'person' and 中, which is the form of zhong 衷 / 中 that occurs in ancestral titles in OBI. It is probably phonetic in the present graph. The context strongly suggests that it refers to a part of the body:


戊午卜：石陞疒仲，不田。

(Yibian 5405)

Wuwu-day cracking: Shi tripped and (caused-to-be-sick:) damaged her

仲, it will not become an affliction.

My interpretation of Shi as referring to a woman is based on a related inscription on the same shell which refers to her as Shi Fu 石婦 'the Shi Lady.' The interpretation of the graph 𠂔 as 'trip' is based on another inscription, *Jinghua* 1 (see S.178.4), where the context strongly supports this meaning. Graphic analysis provides corroboration, as the graph consists of 𠂔 'steps' and 𠂔 'person with foot emphasized,' thus representing the idea of tripping down steps.



2838 


JGWB 4444 (unidentified)

S.434.3x2

Not in JWJ

Analysis

The graph consists of qiàn 欠 (or 欠 无?), representing a person with the mouth open, and , which is perhaps dong 東 / 東 on its side with an additional sheng 生 'plant' element.  is probably a phonetic element, but its positioning before the mouth could be intended to suggest that it refers to a body part in that area. The graph occurs after nì 疝 'sick' in both its inscriptions (*Cuibian* 1266 and 1267), so there is no doubt that it refers to a body part, perhaps the throat.

2840 

JGWB 4287 (unidentified)

S.434.4x2

Not in JWJ

Analysis

This graph consists of 'person' with what appears to be dong 東 / 東 laid on its side, and as in the previous example it probably acts as phonetic. The fact that the phonetic element is attached to the foot of the figure could also be significant, i.e. the graph could represent the word zhōng 踵 'heel,' for example. Unfortunately the graph occurs entirely without context, so there is no way of corroborating this, but this is the direction in which graphic analysis would lead us.

Section iv: Miscellaneous

In this section I give a couple of examples of graphs which do not fit into the preceding three categories. These are the graphs for niào 尿 'liquid waste' and shì 屎 'solid waste.' If they are regarded primarily as verbs, then they could be classified under 'human actions,' but if they are regarded as nouns, then the 亻 element simply signifies that the product is associated with, or conceived of primarily as being associated with, humans. I include this miscellaneous section in order to show that not all graphs containing 亻 as signific can be fitted into the three preceding categories.

9 𦞑. 𦞑

JGWB 4262, 4263 (unidentified)

S.5.4x8

JWJ 8.2755: niào 屖 (尿)

SW 8b.1b: 屖, 人小便也. 从尾, 从水.

SWDZ 8b.3a: Often written 溺 in old books [this is the only form given in GSR, 1123d].

Tr: Niào 尿 'urinate' refers to a person's small convenience. It consists of wēi 尾 'tail' and shuǐ 水 'water.'Analysis

In the SW seal version the body has been corrupted, curiously enough, into wēi 尾 'tail,' while the urine has been standardized as shuǐ 水 'water.' However the bone graph, as you can see, simply depicts a person urinating.

Usage


To all intents and purposes it seems to be used in its original meaning, as part of various rites. However, the lack of context makes it hard to be sure of one's interpretation.

10 𦞑

JGWB 1011: 𦞑 (not in SW), 4342 (unidentified)

S.6.1x16

JWJ 8.2751: shǐ 屎



SW 1b.22a: , 糞也。从艸, 胃省。

SWDZ 1b.47b: In the *Zuozhuan* and *Shiji*, this word is written with the character shī 矢 [whose primary meaning is 'arrow'].


Tr: Shī 糞 'faeces' means fèn 糞 'manure.' It consists of cāo 艸 'grass' and wèi 胃 'stomach' abbreviated.

The *Yupian* says that shī 糞 is commonly written shī 屎。

Analysis

As Li Xiaoding points out, SW overlooks the character shī 屎, only giving the character shī 糞 for this word,¹ which is a semantic compound of 'grass' and 'stomach,' suggesting plant matter being processed through the stomach. There is no need to regard the stomach as abbreviated, since  is probably the primary form of wèi 胃, with the ròu 肉 'meat' element being added later as an auxiliary signific. Cf. wèi 彘 (= huì 彘), SW 9b.16a, head form of wèi 蜩 'hedgehog') contains  as phonetic.

However, the character shī 屎 must have existed in Xu Shen's time, since it existed in OBI, and has survived all the way down to the present. This shows that the SW is not entirely reliable for determining the antiquity of a given character, since there are indeed some important omissions, as various commentators have noted. The bone graph shows a person passing solid waste. In the modern character, the 'standing person' has been modified to shī 尸, while the waste matter has been standardized as mī 米 'rice.' Compare how the urine was standardized to shuǐ 水 'water' in the preceding graph. Note also that shī 尸 ɕi < *təj could also serve as phonetic (it differs from shī 屎 ɕi'.

¹Curiously, however, SW (2b.4a) gives the seal graph  as the 'old form' of xī 徙 'move towards.' This seal graph is clearly the character shī 屎, with the apparent huǒ 火 / 火 element probably derived from the faecal dots of the bone graph and mī 米 'rice' added. The connection with xī 徙 must have been made on phonetic grounds.

< *təj' only in tone), and indeed Karlgren puts shî 屎 in his shi 尸 phonetic series (GSR 561d).

Further evidence that the non-occurrence of shî 屎 in SW is merely an oversight is provided by the fact that it occurs in the *Shijing*, though not in its original meaning but as a loan for a word xi 'to groan,' for which the SW form is 呬 (2a.13a). The *Shijing* line (HY 66/254/5) reads:

民之方殷屎。

"The people are now groaning."

Usage

Used in its original meaning. In connection with tián 田 'field,' it probably refers to muckspreading,¹ e.g.

庚辰...貞：翼癸未屎西單田，受有年。十三月。

(Xucun 2.166)

Gengchen-day...tested: If next guiwei-day we manure the West Dan fields, we will receive abundant harvest. Thirteenth month.

Note on both the graphs in this section

In modern Chinese, niào 尿 is used both as a verb and as a noun, whereas shî 屎 is only used as a noun (the verb being expressed as lashî 拉屎). The fact that niào 尿 is a *qùsheng* word suggests that it is a derived form, and thus that the noun and

¹See Hu Houxuan 1955.

the verb may originally have had different readings, though only the *qùsheng* reading survives (as a noun, it has the alternative modern *píngsheng* reading sui, but this reading is not found in the *Guangyun* or the rhyme tables, and anyway does not seem to be etymologically related to niào). The alternative writing with 溺, which otherwise stands for nì nejk 'drown,' suggests that there may have been a *rùsheng* reading. One would expect the *rùsheng* reading to be the verb, and the *qùsheng* reading to be the noun. Since niào 尿 now only has a *qùsheng* reading, this is only a speculation, but the fact that it has both nominal and verbal usages, whereas the non-*qùsheng* word shì 屎 has only a nominal usage, could be seen as lending support to this speculation. In the above quoted inscription (*Xucun* 2.166), shì 屎 is a noun used as a verb: it does not mean 'to pass solid waste' but 'to manure.'

However, I do not think there is any need to try and force these two words into a verbal mould in order to account for the significance of the 𠂔 element. It is simpler to recognize this element here as just indicating 'something to do with people.'

Section v: Phonetic

13 𠂇 etc.

JGWB 273: qian 𠂇 (for compounds, see 2182-2187)

S.6.1x61 (𠂇 x30, 𠂇 x1, 𠂇 x24, 𠂇 x5, 𠂇 x1¹)

JWJ 3.721: qian 𠂇

SW 3a.3b: 𠂇, 十百也。从十, 从人。

SWDZ 3a.6a: [Reads 人 聲 rén 人 is phonetic.]

Tr: Qian 𠂇 'thousand' means 'ten hundreds.' It consists of shí 十 'ten' and rén 人 'person.'

Analysis

Karlgren (GSR 365a) says: "The graph has 'man' with a stroke on one leg. Explanation uncertain." However, the Duan Yucai text of SW analyses rén 人 as phonetic, and Li Xiaoding agrees with this. It is true that the initials seem somewhat disparate, but they are in the same OC rhyme (rén 人 *nin* < *nèŋ, qian 𠂇 *ts'en* < *ts'én), so it seems most likely that rén 𠂇 is at least a phonetic hint.² At the time that the inventors of the Chinese script first came to write down the word for 'thousand,' rén 人 was perhaps the nearest phonetic they could find. The bar across the leg is not 'ten,' as SW has it, but 'one,' and indicates 'one numerical unit' (cf. the bar on top of bai 百 'hundred'). This bar came to be a permanent part of the character, but in OBI other numerals can be superimposed to indicate higher multiples. Although S only has èrqian 二千, sanqian 三千 and wûqian 五千, JGWB also has one instance each of

¹This graph probably has nothing to do with qian 𠂇. It occurs on *Zhuihe* 261 as the name of the north quarter. See Hu Houxuan 1956.

²Professor Pulleyblank has reminded me that the possibility of an *sn- cluster should be mentioned. Pulleyblank (1962:133) hypothesized the development *snh > *sth > *tsh, i.e. denasalization followed by metathesis. Further support that he provides for this kind of development is the phonetic role of èr 二 *nì* in cì 次 *ts'ì* and Tibeto-Burman words for 'seven' (Chinese qī 七 *ts'it*) with initial sn-.

sìqian 四千, liùqian 六千 and baqian 八千, and it is quite likely that qīqian 七千 and jiùqian 九千 also existed. Compare the multiples of bāi 百 'hundred' (JGWB 485, 2175-2181). Even in OBI the higher multiples are sometimes written analytically. S records sānqian ≡ 𠂇 (Qianbian 7.24.2), wūqian 𠂇 𠂇 (Houbian 1.31.5, mistakenly recorded in S as 1.31.6), and èrqian = 𠂇 (Liulu.Shu 81). These analytical forms are however quite rare.

Usage

Mostly in dēng rén 登人 inscriptions, i.e. conscripting so many thousands of people for military purposes.

1282 𠂇 JGWB 876: nián 年
S.194.2x530 (excluding 受黍年)

JWJ 7.2365: nián 年

SW 7a.18a: 𥽿, 穀孰也。从禾, 千聲。春秋傳曰: 大有年。

Tr: Nián 年 means 'the grain is ripe.' It consists of hé 禾 'cereal' signific and qian 千 phonetic. The *Chunqiu* says: "There was a bumper harvest."¹

Analysis

¹HY 207/Xuan 16/4 *Jing*. Legge (1861.5.1:330) translates: "There was a very plentiful year." I have given my own translation in order to harmonize it with the SW definition.

Rén 人, qian 千 and nián 年 are all in OC zhen 眞 rhyme. According to SW, rén 人 is phonetic in qian 千 (in the Duan Yucai edition), and qian 千 is phonetic in nián 年. In OBI, nián 年 simply has rén 人 phonetic. There are no examples with qian 千, until the bronze script, where we find that out of 141 examples at NJWB 1164,¹ approximately 28 (some forms are ambiguous) have qian 千 (in 12 of these instances a further line is added at the bottom, so that the lower element actually looks like tīng 壬). From the point of view of the initials, rén 人 is clearly much closer to nián 年 than qian 千 is, so the replacement of rén 人 phonetic by qian 千 phonetic is mysterious. Li Xiaoding explains the bronze form of qian 千, along with that of rèn 壬 (𠂔 > 𠂔), by saying that 'in ancient characters a horizontal stroke is often added, but it is of no significance' (古文字每增橫畫無義). He appears to be saying that the apparent qian 千 element in nián 年 is not really qian 千, but simply rén 人 with a stroke through it (i.e. it evolved into qian 千 unintentionally, and the further evolution into tīng 壬 is certainly hard to explain any other way). I have an idea that perhaps the bar applies, not to the rén 人 alone, but to the whole character, i.e. indicating 'one' year, just as in qian 千 and bāi 百 the bar indicates 'one numerical unit.' The coincidence with qian 千 would thus be unintentional.

The hé 禾 element is always written on top of the rén 人 element, so Ye Yusen's suggestion that the graph depicts a person carrying the harvest on his back probably has some validity. The suggestive use of phonetic elements is very widespread in the Shang script.

Usage

¹ OJWB 941 has 117 examples, of which about 20 have qian 千.

In OBI, nián 年 is nearly always used to mean 'harvest,' hardly ever 'year'¹ (for which sì 祀 'ritual cycle' and sui 歲 'Jovian period'² are used), but in Zhou bronzes it is commonly used for 'year.'

¹For the few examples, see Hu Houxuan 1942 (rp. in 1944) and 1987.

²See Pankenier 1983.

Part 2: 身

The graph shen 身 / 身 depicts the human body with the abdomen emphasized, and occurs in a few graphs denoting words that have some connection with this part of the body.

16 𠂇

JGWB 3345 (unidentified)

S.6.4x13

JWJ 8.2719: shen 身

SW 8a.18a: 𠂇, 軀也. 象人之身. 从人, 𠂇聲. 凡 ...

SWDZ 8a.47b: The phonetic is really shen 申 abbreviated. Yì 𠂇 cannot be phonetic because it is in the sixteenth rhyme category [i.e. jì 祭] while shen 身 is in the twelfth [i.e. zhēn 眞].

Tr: Shen 身 means gōng 軀 'body.' It depicts a person's body. It consists of rén 人 'person' signific and yì 𠂇 phonetic.

The quibble over whether shen 身 contains yì 𠂇 or shen 申 phonetic is irrelevant since the character is simply a pictograph in origin, and I am surprised that Duan did not realise this.¹

Analysis

Li Xiaoding is of the opinion that the present graph depicts a pregnant person. But really, 𠂇 is like jiàn 𠂇 / 見, wén 𠂇 / 聞, qī 𠂇 / 企 etc., in having the focal point emphasized. Compare yùn 𠂇 / 孕 (no.19 in this Part) which shows someone who really is pregnant. 'Body' is the usual meaning of shen 身, and the expression yōu shen 有身 'have body' is probably just an idiom in origin to express the idea of pregnancy. Thus Li's surmise that the OBI expression nì shen 孺身 refers to

¹The seal form of shen 申 is 𠂇, the 'old form' is 𠂇, and the *zhōuwén* form is 𠂇 (SW 14b.15a). Professor Takashima has pointed out to me that shen 身 and shen 申 are homophonous (both *çin* < *təŋ), and that many pictographs do contain endomorphic phonetics. Thus although the bone form of shen 身 does not contain the bone form of shen 申, which is 𠂇 (see JGWB 1708), it is quite possible that the graph developed in such a way that the seal form came to have shen 申 incorporated as an endomorphic phonetic.

complications in pregnancy must be dismissed, especially in view of the fact that it is used of males (indeed, there are no definite references to females):

貞：王疒身隹匕己尅。
妣

(Yibian 7797)

Tested: The king's sick body is due to Ancestress Ji's curse.

Usage

In its original meaning 'body.'

17 


JGWB 3599 (unidentified)

S.6.4x2

Not in JWJ

Analysis

The graph consists of shen 身 / 身 'body' and yòu 又 / 又 'hand.' Both examples occur in the expression 疒𠂔, so it would seem to be a variant of shen 身, though the addition of the hand is mysterious.

19 

JGWB 1695: yùn 孕

S.7.1x1

JWJ 14.4315: yùn 孕

SW 14b.12a: 孕, 褰 [=懷] 子也。从子, 从几。

SWDZ 14b.24b: [Emends cóng jǐ 从几 to nāi shēng 乃聲 'nāi 乃 is phonetic.']

Tr: Yùn 孕 'pregnant' means 'to contain a child within one.' It consists of zǐ 子 'child' and jǐ 几 'stool.'

Analysis

The graph shows a woman bearing a child in her womb (a sort of X-ray picture), thus illustrating the meaning 'pregnant.' Li Xiaoding readily recognizes that the bone graph does not contain nāi 乃, and yet he approves of Duan's emendation to SW making this the phonetic. Karlgren also recognizes nāi 乃 as phonetic (GSR 945j). To be accurate, one should say that the original shēn 身 element was either corrupted to (or perhaps replaced by?) nāi 乃 as a phonetization.

Usage

It is used in its original meaning, in the sole inscription:

乙亥卜, 貞: 王曰有孕, 妣。扶曰:
 妣。
 嘉

(Yicun 586¹)

¹S mistakenly has this number as 584.

Yihai-day cracking, Dui tested. The king said: "[She] is pregnant, it will be good (i.e. a boy)."¹ Fu said: "It will be good."

20 𡗗

Not in JGWB

S.7.1x3

Not in JWJ

Analysis

The graph is a combination of shen 身 / 身 'body' and nū 女 / 女 'female.' Sometimes the addition of the female element does not seem to alter the meaning of a graph, e.g. miè 𡗗 ~ 𡗗 / 蔑 (S.212.1) and bin 𡗗 ~ 𡗗 / 賓 (III.1.i.1859 and S.275.1). Thus the present graph is probably the same word as shen 身. In the case of miè 蔑, the reason for the variation is that the 𡗗 ~ 𡗗 element is probably phonetic, and thus has no effect on the significance of the graph. 𡗗 and 𡗗 also exist as independent graphs (S.107.2), and there does seem to be a difference of sex here (see I.1.i.b.657). In the case of bin 賓, Professor Takashima has suggested to me that the kneeling figure 𡗗 represents a human being regardless of sex. Thus there is no conflict of gender in this variation, only a difference of whether the gender is specifically marked as female or not.

Usage

¹This implication is deduced from *Bingbian* 247.1/2, in which the yàncí 驗辭 of both divinations in this *duizhen* say "不嘉, 佳女" 'it was not good, it was a girl.' For a full translation, see Keightley 1978, fig.12.

In all three occurrences it refers to a woman, Lady Hao 帚好, and is not preceded by 疒 'sick,' so it could perhaps be being used in the specialized sense 'pregnant,' e.g.

丙申卜，殷貞：帚好弗氏帚死。

(Bingbian 340.3)

Bingshen-day cracking, Que tested: Lady Hao's pregnancy will not result in the Lady dying.

486 𠂔 𠂔

JGWB 3985, 4324 (both unidentified)

S.87.3x2

JWJ 4.1509: 𠂔 腹

JWJ 8.2672 (second form only): 復 (not in SW), same as 𠂔 = 𠂔 腹

SW 4b.9b: 𠂔, 厚也。从肉, 夏聲。

SWDZ 4b.25b: 𠂔 厚 is a rhyming [i.e. paronomastic] gloss. This is just like other SW definitions such as "𠂔 髮 'hair' (*pàt) means 𠂔 拔 'to pluck' (*brát)" and "wēi 尾 'tail' (*màl?) means 𠂔 微 'fine' (*màl)." The gist of the present definition is that the abdomen was named for its thickness. The *Shiming* [Shi xingti] says: "Fù 腹 'abdomen' (*pàkʷ) means 𠂔 復 'doubled' (*pàkʷ) or 𠂔 富 'ample' (*pàks)." This is the same mode of exegesis. The [Erya.]Shigu[HY 3/1B/30] and the Mao commentary [on the *Shijing*] both say: "Fù 腹 means hòu 厚 'thick' (*gáw?)." [I have translated

Duan's commentary at some length, as it throws some interesting light on the nature of Chinese paronomastic glossing, or 'punning definitions.']

Tr: Fù 腹 'abdomen' means hòu 厚 'thick.' It consists of ròu 肉 'flesh' signific and fù 復 phonetic.

Analysis

The first graph consists of shēn 身 and fù 復, while the second consists of rén 人 and fù 復. They may be transcribed as * 腹 and * 復 respectively (neither character is in SW).

Usage

The first is used to mean 'abdomen,' while the second is used to mean 'return' and may thus be regarded as a variant of fù 𠂔 / 復 (復), as Qu Wanli correctly states. It seems possible that the difference in signific indicates a difference in word denoted, 𠂔 indicating 'connection with abdomen' and 亻 indicating 'human action.'

癸酉卜，爭貞：王腹不安，亡延。

(Xubian 5.6.1)

Guiyou-day cracking, Zheng tested: The king's abdomen is uneasy, it will not be prolonged.

勿復。

(Jiabian 587)

Do not return.¹

¹This is the interpretation suggested in Qu Wanli's *kaoshi* 587.1.

Part 3: 𠂇 = * 𠂇

Although in the bone script we find the upside down figures 𠂇 (see I.6) and 𠂇¹ (see II.2) and the kneeling figure 𠂇 (see III), there is, strangely enough, no recumbent figure * 𠂇. In graphs where one might expect such a figure, such as those representing words to do with sleeping, dreaming, sickness and death, one finds instead 𠂇. That 𠂇 here is intended to represent a figure lying down, rather than simply a person as a participant without any implication of posture, is something that I infer from the orientation of the other elements with which it is combined. We find it combined with the things that the person is lying on, to wit 𠂇 'a wellhead-shaped mortuary frame,' 𠂇 'a mat,' and 𠂇 'a bed.'² These are objects which in real life are usually horizontal, but in the bone script the signs for them are written vertically, as part of an orthographic convention which we also see manifested in most animal graphs (e.g. shī 豕 / 豕 'pig' and quán 犬 / 犬 'dog'³). Note however that the mat does occur horizontally in the unidentified graph 𠂇 (III.1.i.2028), which shows a person kneeling on a mat. This suggests that when the mat is written 𠂇, it is put on end as an orthographic convention.

¹Though these are admittedly rare.

²The identity of these three elements is explained later in this Part.

³But note that lù 鹿 / 鹿 'deer' is not treated in this way, probably due to the fact that the head is drawn like mù 目 / 目 'eye,' which is usually written in this position, and maybe it would have been less convenient to draw the eye and antlers sideways. As for niú 牛 / 牛 'ox' and yáng 羊 / 羊 'sheep,' these are frontal views of the head only with their distinctive horns schematized.

As independent graphs, 𠂇, 𠂈 and 𠂉 only occur in the vertical form.¹ It is perhaps the fact that these graphs are already vertically oriented that led to the use of 𠂊 in combination with them rather than the creation of a special recumbent form. Actually, the graph 𠂇 could perhaps be seen as an aerial view, and the variant 𠂈 would support this, but 𠂈 and 𠂉 cannot be regarded in this fashion. Another indication that the person is intended to be understood as lying on the mat or the bed is the fact that the person element is always drawn with the back to them. Thus, although the graphs as a whole may be left or right oriented, we never find *𠂈𠂊 ~ 𠂉𠂊 or *𠂇𠂊 ~ 𠂈𠂊, only 𠂈𠂊 ~ 𠂉𠂊 and 𠂇𠂊 ~ 𠂈𠂊.

¹See S.301.1, 447.1 and 412.3 respectively. However, in the graph 𠂇, 𠂈 does not depict a wellhead, but a wellhead-shaped mortuary frame, so perhaps it should not be identified with the independent graph jīng 井 / 井, which does actually differ slightly in that the lines are somewhat concave, whereas the lines of the mortuary frame are always straight.

62 𣦵 . 𣦵

JGWB 1015: 𣦵 = 併 (not in SW)

S.12.4x152

JGWB 784: 𣦵 , 𣦵 = qiú 囚

JWJ 4.1453: 𣦵 ~ 𣦵 , 𣦵 ~ 囚 ~ 囚 ¹ = sî 死

SW 4b.6a: 𣦵 , 𣦵 也 . 人所離也 . 从𣦵 , 从人 .
凡 ... 𣦵 : 古文死如此 .

SWDZ 4b.13b: sî 𣦵 is defined in *Fangyan* as jìn 盡 'to come to an end.'²

Tr: sî 死 'to die' means sî 𣦵 'to come to an end.' It is that which a person leaves behind. It consists of é 𣦵 'remains' and rén 人 'person.' 𣦵 : the old form of sî 死 is like this.³

Xu Shen uses the word sî 𣦵 rather loosely for the sake of getting a paronomastic definition. The second definition (if I have interpreted it correctly) appears to take sî 死 as shì 屍 'corpse.'

Analysis

Before analysing the present graph, it is necessary to discuss its identification, for although it is now generally accepted as sî 死 , there seems to be a graphic discontinuity (of the sort that we find between 𣦵 and yôu 有). JGWB identifies the principal form as the non-existent character 併 , saying that 'it depicts a person inside a well,' and identifies some of the variant forms as qiú 囚 'prisoner.' However, the OBI context

¹JGWB 783 has the last two graphs as yìn 因 . They occur in S at 40.1.

²*Fangyan* 3/24/49. The text goes on to explain jìn 盡 as jìn shēng 盡生 'to finish life.' *Fangyan* 13/87/135 defines sî 𣦵 as suô 索 , which Guo Pu's note glosses as 盡也 . SW 11a.21b defines sî 𣦵 as 水索也 'water is exhausted,' i.e. dries up. I can find no evidence that sî 𣦵 could mean anything like 'corpse.'

³This old form occurs in the old form of yì 伊 (see I.1.i.b.2385).

suggests that the graph means 'die.' It is hard to find iron-cast proof, but the following inscription is perhaps as near as one can get:

丙午 [卜], □ 貞 □ 禍 [凡] 出 疾, 不 死 .

(Jim bun 446)

Bingwu-day [cracking, X] tested: [X] will recover from his/her illness¹ and will not die.

This is the only inscription I have been able to find where the context more or less demands the interpretation 'die,' and it is unfortunately rather fragmentary. However, the filling in of the missing parts in the above transcription, which is that of Itô Michiharu (the transcriber of this collection), is well justified by numerous parallel inscriptions dealing with sickness. For a thorough examination of the merely suggestive inscriptions, see Hu Houxuan 1970.

Only the first form given by Li Xiaoding is the graphic antecedent of the modern character sî 死 . Strictly speaking, although the present graph probably means 'die,' there is no proof that it represents the same word as sî 死 . It could represent another word with the same meaning. This may be being too cautious, but the point should be borne in mind.

Ye Yusen's objections to identifying the present graph as sî 死 are that dead people do not stand up in their coffins, and that the person's head and feet are sticking out (assuming that the graph is intended to depict a dead person lying in a coffin). As to the first objection, I think the present section of my thesis should leave no doubt that 𠂔 must be recognized as sometimes representing a person lying down. As for the second objection, archaeological excavation has revealed that, in the late Shang medium size tombs at Anyang, the boards that make up the outer coffins (guo 槨) intersect near the ends to

¹For my interpretation of this common formula, see Takashima 1980.

form a shape like the Chinese character jīng 井 'well' which actually depicts a cross-frame on top of a well. Not only is this the shape seen in the present bone graph, but the term jīngguo 井槨 'well-frame coffin' also occurs in the *Yili*:

槨室都略呈长方形。后冈 M32 木槨痕保存较好，系用大木筑成“井”字形，与周墓中常见的所谓“井槨”相同。《仪礼·士丧礼》“既井槨”注：“匠人为槨，刊治其材，以井构于殓门外也。”《仪礼正义》引褚寅亮云：“井构者，以槨材两纵两横，间迭而层累之，如井字然。”

(*Shang Zhou kaogu*, p.101)

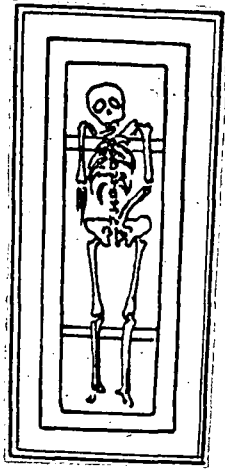
The coffin chambers were all more or less oblong. In the tomb at Hougang, M32, traces of the wooden outer coffin were quite well preserved, and consisted of timbers forming a pattern like the character jīng 井, just like the so-called 'well-frame coffins' often found in Zhou tombs. The *Yili*. *Shisangli* says: 既井槨 "having framed the coffin."¹ The commentary to this reads: "When the carpenter makes the outer coffin, he cuts the wood, and constructs it outside the funeral booth in a shape like the character jīng 井." The *Yili zhengyi* quotes a scholar named Chu Yinliang as saying: "'Well-frame construction' means that the beams of the outer coffin are placed two lengthways and two breadthways, piling them up alternately and successively, in the shape of the character jīng 井."

In some of the small size tombs, it was also found that the guan 棺 'inner coffin' had been supported by two transverse lengths of wood, which happened to be directly under the shoulders and calves of the occupant. The inner coffin having rotted away, this now

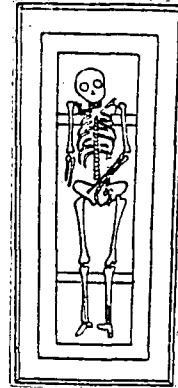
¹ Steele (1917.II:74, ¶ 18a) translates "When the outer coffin has been brought to the door," as if jīng

井 meant 'bring to the door.' I do not see how he gets this interpretation.

gives the spit and image of the bone graph 𣦵, and this is perhaps what the graph is intended to represent, rather than a person inside a coffin. A burial of the Warring States period excavated at Huairoucheng 懷柔城 in the Peking area exhibits exactly the same thing.¹ For convenience I reproduce both below:



(*Shang Zhou kaogu*, p.105, fig. 80)²



(Zheng Liangshu 1971:234, fig. 48)

In the variant 𣦵, the dots perhaps represent earth thrown onto the coffin.

In view of the above archaeological information, I shall describe the 𣦵 element in the present graph as a 'mortuary frame.' I do not know what its function was, but since it is depicted in the graph for 'die' it was clearly a conspicuous part of the funeral paraphernalia.

Usage

Always used in the meaning 'die.'

¹Though curiously the author here makes no comment on the crossbars beneath the skeleton's shoulders and calves.

²The photograph on which this drawing is based may be found at Ma Dezhi 1955, Plate 1.

2026 𡇗

JGWB 848: sù 夙, 4322 (unidentified)

S.301.1x6

2027 𡇘

JGWB 907 sù 宿

S.301.1x10

JWJ 7.2436: (both forms) sù

SW 7b.5b: 𡇗, 止也。从宀, 𡇗聲。𡇗, 古文夙。

Tr: Sù 宿 means zhǐ 止 'to stay.' It consists of mián 宀 'roof' signific and sù 𡇗 phonetic. 𡇗 is the old form of sù 夙.

Analysis

Graph 2026 shows a person lying on a mat. Li Xiaoding (JWJ 3.689) identifies the mat with the SW (3a.2a) character tiàn¹ 𡇗, and says it is the old form of diàn² 簟 (SW 5a.3b) 'bamboo mat.' Graph 2027 has a roof added, thus underlining the idea of 'passing a night' in a building. SW maintains that 𡇗 is the old form of sù 夙. This would seem to be a guess based on the fact that they are homophonous, but it is undoubtedly correct to treat 𡇗 as a variant of sù 宿, as Li Xiaoding does. JGWB follows SW, and also includes 𡇘 (my III.1.i.2028) but, as Li Xiaoding notes, this shows a person sitting, not lying, on a mat, and its OBI context is also different.

Usage

¹The *Guangyun* gives this character two readings, 他紺切 t'ēm^h > tiàn and 他念切 t'ēm^h > tiàn.

²*Guangyun* 徒玷切 dēm[?].

Probably in its original meaning 'pass the night,' but the context is rather limited.

2917 𢇛

JGWB 964: nì 𢇛

S.447.2x435

JWJ 7.2515: nì 𢇛

SW 7b.11a: 𢇛, 倚也。人有疾病。象倚箸之形。凡...

SWDZ 7b.26a: [Suggests that yī 倚 ʔiǎʔ < *ʔàlʔ is a paronomastic gloss, but if the reading of nì 𢇛 nrɛʔjk < *nrák (?) is correct, this seems rather strange. The reading of this character is a problem. GSR 1260b notes that the *Qieyun* takes it to be a variant of chuáng 牀.¹]

Tr: Nì 𢇛 means 'to recline.' It refers to human sickness. The character represents the act of reclining.

Analysis

The graph shows a person lying on a bed sweating, thus illustrating the idea of sickness. Some people identify this graph as jí 疾. Li Xiaoding himself accepts the identification as nì 𢇛 on graphic grounds, but maintains that it is the primary form of jí

¹Wang Renxu (Long Yuchun 1968) has this character under yáng 陽 rhyme with the reading 士 莊反 and the definition bìng 病 'sick,' and notes that it has the alternative reading 女 庀反, but, as Long Yuchun (1968:212) notes, the character is not listed again under mài 麥 rhyme.

疾, with shî 矢 being added later as a clarifying phonetic¹. The phonetic value of the textually unattested character nì 𠄎 is a problem that is hard to solve.

There is little doubt that the seal graph 𠄎 evolved from the bone graph 𠄎 via the bronze element 𠄎 (see O/NJWB 1030-1033/1270-1276). As Yang Shuda correctly remarks, the horizontal bar in 𠄎 is a vestige of the person who lay on the bed in the bone form. Yang also notes that SW (7b.11a) gives 𠄎 as the old form of jí 疾, and this form preserves the bronze stage of development of the person lying on the bed. Note also the following bronze graph, which occurs as a person's name, but which from its components would appear to be identifiable as jí 疾:

疾 者 旨 畱 盤

(NJWB Fulu 2.348; not in OJWB between Fulu 2.27b.2-3)

My decision to follow the identification of 𠄎 as nì 𠄎 rather than as jí 疾 is thus based on purely graphic grounds: the bone graph contains no shî 矢 'arrow' element. If we accept Li Xiaoding's claim that nì 𠄎 is the primary form of jí 疾, then the *Qieyun* reading of the former must be wrong. However, SW does not say that nì 𠄎 is the old form of jí 疾, and I have decided to go no further than the evidence allows.

Usage

In its original meaning 'sick.'

2922

𠄎

JGWB 5859 (unidentified)

¹It seems likely that shî 矢 çí? < *təj? is intended as phonetic in jí 疾 dzit < *dzəc.



JGWB 4218 (unidentified)

S.450.1x2

JWJ 7.2491: (first form only) 宀 (not in SW)

Analysis

The present graph consists of 'person' and 'bed' under 'roof.' The first form given by Shima also has a kôu 𠂔 'mouth' element.

Under the bronze graph 𠂔¹ (O/NJWB 1025/1265), Rong Geng says:















說文有寢部而無宀部,此即宀字寢寐等字从此。高景成說。

SW has mèng 寢 radical but no 宀 radical. The present bronze graph is 𠂔. It is the radical in characters such as wù 寤 'to wake' and mèi 寐 'to go to bed.' This is Gao Jingcheng's² theory.

There is only one example of this bronze graph, on the vessel 又 𠂔 簋, and unfortunately it is accompanied by only one other graph, so there is no context to corroborate Rong Geng's identification. However, it makes good sense to set up 𠂔 as the radical in the group of characters at SW 7b.10a that Xu Shen analyses as containing abbreviations of his mèng 寢 radical, and I think that the present bone graph may also be identified with it. It shows a person lying on a bed under a roof. The SW characters containing this radical all have to do with lying down and/or sleeping. Li Xiaoding analyses the present bone graph as containing nì 疒, which, as already mentioned, he regards as the primary form of jí 疾 'sick.' However, it should not be analysed as a



¹This graph also occurs in the bones, as a place name (S.447.1, JWJ 7.2489, JGWB 934).).

²I have been unable to trace the identity of this person.

sick person lying down, but simply as a person lying down under a roof. That is to say,  means something different from .  /  occurs in characters to do with sickness, whereas  /  occurs in characters to do with lying down and sleeping. Xu Shen tries to work the meaning 'recline' into his definition of nì  in order to get a paronomastic gloss (supposedly), but only the second part of his definition 'human sickness' really defines the meaning of nì , as can be seen from the fact that all the characters in SW containing nì  signify refer to sickness (none simply refer to lying down), while all the characters containing  refer to sleeping (none to sickness).  also has dots added to show the sweating, whereas  does not, because there is no sweat involved. Compare sù  / , which shows a person lying on a mat under a roof. There is no sickness involved here, and no sweat is portrayed.


Usage

Unfortunately the usage of both graphs is rather obscure.

2925  . 

JGWB 4166 (unidentified)

S.450.2x50

JWJ 7.2527: yòu 

SW 7b.12b: 𠂔, 顛也. 从 疒, 又 聲.

SWDZ 7b.29a: This is the same word as yòu 顛 [SW 9a.5a, same definition].

Tr: Yòu 𠂔 means zhàn 顛 [defined at SW 9a.5b as 顛不正也 'head not right']. It consists of the sickness radical nì 疒 and yòu 又 phonetic.

Analysis

The graph is to be analysed as in SW. It cannot be analysed as *𠂔, because 𠂔 and 𠂔 go together as a unit. To transcribe it as xi 痠 is even more out of the question. Li Xiaoding also maintains that yòu 痠 is the same word as zhōu 疔, which SW 7b.12b defines as xiāo fù bìng 小腹痛 'a sickness of the small stomach,' and that this explains the variant 𠂔 in which the stomach is drawn in. He says that the 'hand' element is not only phonetic, but also represents the idea of stroking the sick stomach to soothe it. However, yòu 痠 and zhōu 疔 have quite different meanings (if one accepts their SW definitions), and they are phonetically too far apart, having both different initials and finals in OC.

Usage

Mostly a person's name, but could refer to a sickness in the following inscriptions:

貞：痠取寵。

(Yibian 2340)

Tested: Sick body (?)¹ improve.

丙辰卜，殷貞：帚好痠延寵。

(Jiabian 2040)

Bingchen-day cracking, Que tested: Lady Hao's sickness will continue to improve.

In view of the uncertainties, I have refrained from being specific about what sort of sickness it was. However, the present graph is a good example of the heuristic application of the present theory of graphic analysis. Even though there is some dispute about the

¹See I.2.17 for the interpretation of this graph.

identification of the present graph, we are able to predict from the human figure element lying on a bed that it will probably have something to do with sickness, and this is corroborated by those inscriptions in which it is used in its primary meaning (as indeed one can often guess the general meaning of modern characters one does not know from their radicals). Thus although it is nearly always used as a person's name, we can be quite confident in regarding this as a loan usage.

2926 𢇛 JGWB 962: mèng 𢇛

S.450.3x147

2927 𢇛 . 𢇛 JGWB 861: 𢇛 (not in SW)

S.451.2x13

2929 𢇛 . 𢇛

S.451.3x12

2930 𢇛 JGWB 962: mèng 𢇛

S.451.3x7

JWJ 7.2509: 𢇛, 𢇛, 𢇛 = mèng 𢇛

SW 7b.10a: 𢇛, 寐而有覺也。从宀, 从疒, 夢聲。
周禮以日月星辰占六寢之吉凶。一曰正
寢, 二曰噩寢, 三曰思寢, 四曰悟寢, 五
曰喜寢, 六曰懼寢。凡...

SWDZ 7b.24b: Now written 夢. 夢 means bùmíng 不明 'dark,' so it is both phonetic and signific.

Tr: Mèng 寤 'dream' means 'to sleep and have sensations.' It consists of mián 宀 'roof,' nì 𠂔 'recline,'¹ and mèng 夢 is phonetic. The *Zhouli* [says:] "Par les positions du soleil, de la lune, des planètes, il devine les présages heureux ou malheureux des six sortes de songes. Ces six sortes de songes sont: 1o les songes réguliers; 2o les songes terribles; 3o les songes de réflexion; 4o les songes de veille; 5o les beaux songes; 6o les songes de crainte."²

Analysis

The OBI context shows that graph 2926 𠂔 must be a variant of graph 2930 mèng 𠂔 / 夢 'dream.' It is by far the commonest form, and Li Xiaoding says that it is an abbreviation of the latter, the head part being abbreviated and distorted. However, it is a rather curious abbreviation. 𠂔 is probably the original form, and the dishevelled hair 𠂔 suggests a person in the throes of a nightmare. Compare wei 𠂔 / 𠂔 (微)³ (example from *Fuyin.za* 58), which shows the hair of the head all pointing in the same direction, and mei 𠂔 / 眉 (example from *Yinxu* 1854), which shows the hairs of the eyebrow all pointing in the same direction. 𠂔 may thus be interpreted as showing the hair pointing in different directions, i.e. dishevelled. Compare also dou 𠂔 / 𠂔⁴ (example from *Yibian* 7119), which shows two people fighting. In this example, the hair of the person on the left is particularly wild. In ruo 𠂔 / 若 (example from *Jiabian* 205), the hair seems to be smoother and more orderly.

The variant 2927 𠂔 appears to contain hū 𠂔 / 虎 'tiger'—I have no explanation for this at present. The variant 2929 𠂔 appears to contain jiàn

¹As we have already seen, SW defines 𠂔 both as 'recline' and 'sick,' but analysis of its use as signific, compared to that of 𠂔, shows that it only means 'sick.' However, I have glossed it as 'recline' here, because I feel that this is the meaning that Xu Shen intended. The meaning 'sick' does not seem to be so relevant to dreaming.

²HY 6/28b. Translation from Biot 1851.II.82 (XXIV.27).

³See I.7.36.

⁴See I.4.98.

𠄎 / 見 'see'—this can be interpreted as representing the fact that in dreaming one seems to see things: visions float before one's inner eye. The final variant, 2930 𠄎, has the eye elaborated by a brow, and it is from this form that the modern character develops. The eyebrow, méi 眉, is perhaps intended as a phonetic hint, since it has the same initial as mèng 夢 $muw\eta^h < *m\grave{e}\eta s$. This element 𠄎 is also found in miè 𠄎 / 蔑 (S.212.1) $met < *m^j\acute{a}t$, where it probably stands for méi 眉 $mi < *m\grave{e}j$ as phonetic. In view of the phonetic value of méi 眉, Sun Haibo (ap. JWG) suggests that 𠄎, which he transcribes as 𠄎, should be identified with the SW character mí 寐, which is defined at SW 7b.10b as 寐而未厭 'not enough sleep.' However, the meaning in the OBI context has to be 'dream.' The reason why méi 眉 is not a very accurate phonetic in mèng 夢 is perhaps that it was not planned as the phonetic in this character, but came about through a modification of what was originally a significant element, i.e. it is a phonetization. Note however that 𠄎 / *𠄎 appears to be phonetic in characters like mèng 夢, mèng 瞢, méng 瞢, máng 蒙 and hóng 夢. This is perhaps by analogy with the character mèng 夢.

Usage

In its original meaning 'dream.'

2931 𠄎

JGWB 2101: mèng fù 夢父

S.451.3x3

JWG 7.2509: mèng fù 夢父

Analysis

JGWB and JWJ both analyse the present graph as a héwén 合文 of mèng 夢 and fù 父. This would seem to imply that it is an ancestral title, 'the Meng Father,' whoever that may be. Ding Shan (JWJ 7.2513) identifies him as the sage Fu Yue 傅說, whom Wu Ding was led to by a dream and thus might have been given the title 'Dream Father'—an interesting suggestion, but impossible in the OBI context (Ding makes the context seem more appropriate by misinterpreting yōu 有 / 有 as zhī 之 and shài 杀 / 杀¹ as qiú 求). In the context it seems best to interpret it as some kind of oneiric omen, e.g. a nightmare. It may be transcribed * 寢. The fullest inscription in which it occurs is the following:

¹Oracle bone specialists, following Sun Yirang (JWJ 9.2997), usually transcribe this graph as 彘, which SW (9b.15b) defines as 'a long-haired beast' (脩豪獸) or the word for 'pig' (shì 豕) in the Henei area, and says is read like 弟 (the *Guangyun* actually gives two readings: 特計 切 $dej^h > di$ and 羊至切 $ji^h > yi$). If this is correct, then the OBI usage must be a rebus for something. It occurs both as a noun and a verb, and contextually the translation 'a curse, to curse' seems to make good sense. Although the graph does not look very animal like, one may compare it to qiú 求 / 求 'to seek,' the primary form of qiú 裘 'fur clothing,' probably depicting a pelt (JWJ 8.2733). (The theory of graphic analysis used in this thesis would lead us to look for a common symbolism for the 木 element in shài 杀 and qiú 求. If one can recognize the same element in wēi 尾 / 尾, then perhaps it is the stylized drawing of a tail.) Guo Moruo (JWJ 9.2998) accepts this identification, but also notes that the graph is very similar to the graph 杀 which SW (3b.13b) gives as one of the 'old forms' of sha~shài 殺 $se't-se'j^h < *srát-srát's$, and also to 杀, the bronze form of the phonetically similar cài 蔡 $ts'aj^h < *ts'át's$. I think 杀 may have evolved into the 杀 element of sha 殺, which in the seal form is written 𣦵, but the meaning 'kill' does not seem appropriate to the OBI context, so I read it shài, in which reading Lu Deming defines it as hài 害 'to harm' (see Pan Chonggui 1983.2:1606). The OBI usage should perhaps be understood as 'harm, to harm.' However, I still feel that there are some problems with the identification of this graph which would require a full separate study.

癸丑卜，爭貞：旬亡禍。王曰：有杀，有寢。甲寅允有來鼓。左告曰：有徒¹芻自益十人又二。

(Tongzuan 430 = Jinghua 6)

Guichou-day (50th) cracking, Zheng tested: "In the next ten days there will be no misfortune." The king prognosticated, saying: "There is a curse, (I?) had² a nightmare (?)." On jiyin-day (51st) there was indeed a coming trouble-report.³ Zuo reported, saying: "There were Tu chú from Yi, (numbering) twelve persons."

Since both mèng 夢 and fù 父 have phonetic series (GSR 902 and 102), it is not certain in the present graph which is signific and which is phonetic. However, Xu Shen did not set up fù 父 as a radical (he classifies it under yòu 又 at SW 3b.8b), and the *Kangxi* dictionary, though setting it up as a radical, is only able to offer under it colloquial terms for 'father,' plus a few rare characters, so perhaps fù 父 was not used as a signific till after the Han dynasty, though the lack of dictionaries for Han and earlier times makes this conclusion tentative. The *Fangyan* does not have any characters with fù 父 as signific, though there must have been different expressions for 'father' in different dialects at that time. It seems most reasonable to assume then that in the present bone graph, the mèng 夢 element is signific and the fù 父 element is phonetic. Guo Moruo makes the same assumption, in his commentary on the above cited inscription, when he suggests that it is a complex form of fù 痛. SW (7b.11a) simply defines this

¹The identity of 𠂔 as 徒, rather than as a variant of wāng 𠂔 / 往, is supported by the writing 𠂔 𠂔 on Yibian 4293 (quoted under I.1.iii.132)

²I feel that a past tense translation makes best sense here, although of course in the original bone text there is no tense marking.

³This translation of jian 𠂔 is a functional one based on its OBI context.

character as bìng 病 'sick,' and quotes the *Shijing* line 我僕痛矣 "My driver is ill" (HY 1/3/4). However, I have already shown that nì 𠂔 / 𠂔 and mèng 𠂔 as signifiés are generally quite distinct, and one would not expect mèng 𠂔 to be used in a character denoting sickness. Furthermore, the OBI context suggests that the present graph refers to some kind of bad omen, as do shài 𠂔 and jian 𠂔, so another suggestion one might make is that it represents the word bù 酉𠂔 'a malevolent and noxious deity' (GSR 102k'), which occurs in the *Zhouli.Diguan.Zushi* passage 春秋祭酉𠂔亦如之 "Au printemps et en automne, quand il sacrifie aux esprits malfaisants, il fait encore de même."¹ Zhu Junsheng (1834:9.29a) says that this is the same word that is written bù 步 in the *Zhouli.Xiaguan.Jiaoren* passage 冬祭馬步 "En hiver, il sacrifie au mauvais génie des chevaux."² In his commentary on this passage, Zheng Xuan describes mâbù 馬步 as 神為災害馬者 'a spirit that harms horses.' Although it is impossible to say for sure that the present bone graph denotes the same word, the meaning of bù 酉𠂔 ~ 步 is certainly apposite to the context. Since the *Zhouli* writers did not have a proper character for this word, writing it with two different phonetic loans, one might suggest that the proper character was in fact * 𠂔, but that knowledge of this character had been lost.

2932 𠂔

Not in JGWB

S.451.3x1

Not in JWJ

¹Translation from Biot 1851.1:254 ¶26.

²Translation from Biot 1851.2:257 ¶48.

SW 7b.10b: 寐，寐而未厭。从寢省，米聲。

SWDZ 7b.25b: [Emends the text to: 寐，寐而厭也， and interprets yàn 厭 as yān 魇 'nightmare.']

Tr: Mî 寐 means 'to sleep but not be satisfied' [i.e. to feel drowsy?]. It consists of mèng 寢 'dream' abbreviated signific, and mî 米 phonetic. [Duan em: Mî 寐 means 'to have nightmares during one's sleep.']

Analysis

The present graph seems to contain a person element similar to that in lāo 𠂔 / 老 'old.' However, in view of its componential similarity to the SW character mî 寐, it seems best to regard 𠂔 as a variant of mèng 𠂔 / 寢.

Usage

S gives two different transcriptions, one of which assumes that the inscription is incomplete. Due to the fragmentary nature of the bone, it is hard to know which reading is correct. For the sake of argument, I shall give the complete reading:

貞：我家舊寐臣亡尅我。

(*Qianbian* 4.15.4)

Tested: Our household's former (i.e. dead) drowsy (?) servant is not after all¹ cursing us.

I think that the heuristic application of graphic analysis enables us to make a guess at the meaning of the present graph (i.e. that it could be something to do with sleeping), but unfortunately the only inscription in which it occurs is rather hard to decipher.

¹For my 'emphatic' translation of wáng 亡, see Takashima 1988.

Part 4: 人人

The graph that I use to head this section is cóng 人人 / 从 'to follow.' However, this cannot be said to be significant in the graphs that I deal with here. I am simply using it as a convenient title for all those graphs that contain more than one rén 人 / 人 element. These graphs denote words covering a wide variety of human interaction. Sometimes it simply represents a crowd of people, but ideas such as cooperation, confrontation, competition (in fact, many words that begin with the Latin word for 'with,' and this is not coincidental) are also represented by using more than one 'person' element. The following selection of graphs attempts to show how this is done.

81 𠂇

JGWB 1025: cóng 从 ; 1028: bǐ 比

S.19.3x617

JWJ 8.2687: cóng 从 , 8.2693: bǐ 比

SW 8a.16a: 𠂇 , 相聽也 . 从二人 . 凡 ...

SWDZ 8a.43a: This is the primary form of cóng 從 .Tr: Cóng 从 'to follow' means 'to listen to one another.'¹ It consists of two people.

The SW definition as 'listen to one another' is perhaps intended to explain why this character consists of two rén 人 elements, as Professor Takashima has suggested to me. SW reserves the more concrete meaning suíxíng 隨行 'follow' for the aggregate character 從 (SW 8a.16a).

Analysis

The graph shows one person following another. There is some argument as to whether the graph should be identified as bǐ 比 , in the sense of 'to ally oneself with.' The argument given for this is that the oracle bones frequently talk about the Shang king 'following' certain military figures in battle, and some people feel unhappy with the idea that the king should be following others when he should be leading them or at least sending them to fight on his behalf. The idea of 'alliance' is a sort of compromise between these passive and active stances. However, this is all guesswork concerning a social situation which we know very little about.² JGWB hedges its bets by saying that cóng 从 and bǐ

¹I am grateful to Professor Takashima for informing me of the *kambun kundoku* reading of this phrase, aikiku nari, which has enabled me to arrive at this translation.

²Takashima (1987:63-69) has a thorough discussion of cóng 从 . He notes that some Japanese scholars interpret it in a causative sense 'cause to follow,' but shows on grammatical grounds that it must mean 'follow,' and only means 'make follow' when preceded by the causative verbs lìng 令 'order,' zuò 作 (作) 'to make,' or hū 呼 (呼) 'to call.' He concludes (p.69) that "it was not always

匕 were anciently the same graph, while Li Xiaoding attempts to distinguish the forms with the bent arm, 𠂔 and 𠂔, as bī 匕, but is forced to acknowledge that even with these forms only the reading 'follow' makes sense. I think that on graphic grounds there is little doubt that the present graph is cóng 从. In the seal form, bī 匕 also consists of two rén 人 elements and differs from cóng 从 only in facing right rather than left. However, right~left orientation is not usually significant in the bone script, and I suspect that bī 匕 originally consists of two bī 匕 'spoons' in a row as it does in the modern script, the spoon thus also being phonetic, though it is admittedly unusual for a graphic element when reduplicated to keep the same reading, as Professor Takashima has pointed out to me with examples such as mù 木 > lín 林, rén 人 > cóng 从, etc.

Usage

Probably in its primary meaning 'to follow,' usually of the Shang king following various military figures who were perhaps the leaders of allied tribes, against a common enemy. It is also used as an adjective in the expression cóngyǔ 从雨 'subsequent rain,' and as a preposition meaning 'by way of (a certain place).'

84 𠂔

JGWB 1027: bìng 并

S.23.1x12

JWJ 8.2691: bìng 并 (this reference not cited in S)

the case that the commander-in-chief, namely, the king followed his subordinate commanders. At times he followed them, at others he made them follow him."

SW 8a.16a: 𠂔, 相從也。从从, 干聲。一曰: 从持二為𠂔。

SWDZ 8a.43a: [Inserts gan 干 after 二.]

Tr: Bìng 𠂔 means 'to follow one another.' It consists of cóng 从 'to follow' signific and jian 干 phonetic. One source says: cóng 从 holding two [gan 干 'poles'] makes bìng 𠂔.

The character 干 is supposed to be read jian,¹ so the SW statement that it is phonetic in bìng 𠂔 is very curious. Note however that SW 14a.12b defines jian 干 as píng 平 'level,' and this could be intended to be a paronomastic gloss.

Analysis

The graph shows two people connected by one or two cross-strokes across the legs, and thus illustrates the meaning 'combine,' which is the meaning it has in OBI. Ironically, the seal form breaks the bond between them. The modern form 并 has brought them back together again, but the original pictorial intent is no longer discernible. Needless to say, both the SW analyses are wrong, being based on the corrupt seal form.

It is interesting to compare the present graph with bìng 𠂔 / 並 (II.1.i.216). Bìng 𠂔 shows two people standing side by side, thus representing the concept 'side by side, together' (GSR 840). In soft texts, it is nearly always followed by a verb, and thus acts as an adverb, e.g. in such phrases as bìngqu 並驅 'ride together,' bìngzuò 並坐 'sit together,' and bìngshòu 並受 'receive together (i.e. two people receiving something at the same time),' occurring in the *Shijing*.² Bìng 并 on the other hand is basically a verb 'to combine,' and all its other uses can be derived from this. Since bìng 并 can also be used as an adverb 'in combination, all together,' it sometimes superficially resembles bìng 並, but some nuance of difference can often be

¹The *Guangyun* gives the reading 古賢切 ken, and says it is also read like qian 牽 k'en.

²Unfortunately the *Jingdian shiwen* does not have any glosses on these examples.

detected, e.g. in the *Shijing* line 民之無辜，并其臣僕

"The innocent ones among the people are (all together:) indiscriminately made serfs" (HY 43/192/3). Although the people are the subject on the surface, underlyingly they are the object of the action. Further, bìng 并 here implies 'mixing up' rather than 'side by side.' As an active verb, bìng 并 may take an object, as in the bone sentences cited below, but I have seen no examples of bìng 並 in soft texts followed by an object.¹ If there are any, they must be very rare. The difference in usage between bìng 並 and bìng 并 can perhaps be accounted for in terms of the introvert/extrovert opposition that Takashima (1987:sec. 3.3, 4.1) has worked out for pre-classical Chinese. Karlgren (GSR 840) says they are cognate. Professor Pulleyblank has pointed out to me that the *Guangyun* reads bìng 并 as pjiəjŋ, and pjiəjŋ^h and bìng 並 as bejŋ^ʔ, and that there is also a character bìng 併 read pjiəjŋ^ʔ, pjiəjŋ^h, and bejŋ^ʔ, of which the last reading is actually the same as bìng 並. It would seem from this that there was some confusion as to which word should be written with which character, and we cannot be sure that early texts have come down to us in the original characters with which they were written, so extreme caution is needed in unravelling the original uses of these characters. Professor Pulleyblank relates this word family to bì 比 'combine, unite.'

Usage

Mainly a place name, but also occurs in its primary meaning 'to combine,' with reference to horses:

東并駁。

(*Jiabian* 298)

It should be (so that we) combine piebald horses.

(or:) It should be the paired piebald horses.

¹This claim is based on an examination of HY concordances.

車并駟，亡災。

(*Qianbian* 4.47.5)

It should be (so that we) combine láo-horses, there will be no disaster.

(or:) It should be the paired láo-horses, there will be no disaster.¹

These divinations concern the choice of horses to pull a chariot, in order to ensure an uneventful ride. Note in this connection the character píng~pián 駟 'horses side by side with one another' (GSR 824n).

85 𠂔

JGWB 1029: bēi 北

S.23.2x140

JWJ 8.2699: bēi 北

SW 8a.16b: 𠂔，𠂔也。从二人相背。凡...

SWDZ 8a.44a: [Quotes classics to suggest that bēi 北 is the primary form of bèi 背 'back.']

Tr: Bēi 北 'north' means guai 乖 'contrary to.' It consists of two people with their backs to each other.

Analysis

The words bēi 'north' (<*pák), bèi 'back' (<*páks) and bèi 'to turn ones back on' (<*báks) are all etymologically related, so the problem is to decide which member of this set the bone graph depicts. The bone graph clearly does not depict 'north,' nor does it depict a person's back. Rather, it depicts two people standing back to back. It thus

¹I am grateful to Professor Takashima for suggesting these possibilities of interpretation.

represents the verbal usage 'turn ones back on.' As for which *word* is primary, the morphology shows that it must be bêi 'north,' as this is the form with no affixes. I would guess that its original meaning was simply 'back' as a locative adverb. The English word 'back' has a similar range of uses (i.e. person's back and back as an adverb, though not for the meaning 'north'), so this forms an interesting cross-linguistic parallel.

Usage

Always used in the meaning 'north.'

92 ㄝ

JGWB 4346 (unidentified)

S.24.4x7 (excluding the name ㄝ ㄝ ㄝ)

JWJ 8.2677: huà 化

SW 8a.15a: 化 , 教行也 . 从匕 , 从人 ; 匕亦聲 .

Tr: Huà 化 means 'teaching is carried out.'¹ It consists of huà 匕 'to change' and rén 人 'person;' huà 匕 is also phonetic.

Analysis

The graph shows two persons, one the right way up, and the other upside down. The original meaning may have been something like 'to turn' (i.e. zhuānhuà 轉化), and 'to change' would be an extension of this.² Clearly, in order to convey this idea, both

¹This translation is based on the *kambun kundoku* reading, which Professor Takashima pointed out to me, and which is in turn based on the SWDZ commentary.

²Professor Pulleyblank has informed me that huà 化 may belong in a large family of words with initial *x^w- that have to do with 'turning.' This would corroborate my interpretation.

person elements have to be present. How is it then that SW has the 'upside down person' element huà 匕 as a separate character? There are no textual examples of this character, and Karlgren does not give it in GSR, starting his phonetic series no.19 with huà 化. Xu Shen tries to make out that they are separate words by defining huà 匕 as 'change' and huà 化 as 'educate.' However, not only is huà 化 normally used to mean 'change,' it is also clear that the meaning 'educate' is simply an extended usage, i.e. to transform through education. I would suggest that Xu Shen extracted the element huà 匕 from the characters in which he thought it occurred, and that it never existed independently. The character for 'change' has always contained two person elements, and has to in order to illustrate the idea of one person changing his position relative to another.

Usage

Unfortunately the present graph is always used as a proper noun, especially in the name of the military figure Cha Zhi Hua 蚩尤化. Thus there are no examples of it being used in its primary meaning which could corroborate the meaning 'turn' that I posit for it.

93 𠂔𠂔

JGWB 282: jìng 競

S.25.1x15

JWJ 3.757: jìng 競

SW 3a.18a: 競, 彊語也. 一曰: 逐也. 从詰, 从
二人.

SWDZ 3a.32b: Qiāng 彊 is a paronomastic gloss. Qiāng yú 彊語 means 'to dispute.'

Tr: jìng 競 'to compete' means 'to talk forcibly.' One source defines it as 'to pursue.' It consists of jìng 諍 'to argue' and two people.


Xu Shen defines jìng 競 as 'dispute' in order to account for the double yán 言 'word' element (which is probably another of his inventions, since there are no textual examples of this element), but the bone form shows that this is a corruption of something else. The basic meaning of jìng 競 is simply 'to compete.'

Analysis

The bone graph consists of 𠂔 doubled. This graph has not been found independently in this form. 𠂔 (Yibian 8786, given at JGWB 5166 as an unidentified graph) could be an example, but the context is disappointingly fragmentary. JGWB 283 identifies 𠂔 (Jiabian 916) as jìng 竟, and I think that the present element should also be recognized as jìng 竟. This is supported by the phonetic similarity between jìng 竟 *giajŋ^h < *gràŋs* and jìng 竟 *kiajŋ^h < *kràŋs*. The graphic and phonetic similarity is so close that I do not think there can be any doubt that jìng 竟 is phonetic in jìng 竟. But what is the primary meaning of jìng 竟? It consists of xin 辛 'tool for branding the foreheads of criminals' on top of rén 人 'person.' I suggest that it is the primary form of qíng 靚 *giajŋ < *gràŋ* 'to black-brand' (GSR 755g). The phonetic fit is perfect.


The present graph is thus a phonetic compound consisting of jìng 竟 doubled. However, the two rén 人 elements also suggest the idea of one person racing after another. Thus although it is basically a phonetic compound, it is also highly suggestive of the meaning that it represents. I believe that this was a conscious piece of design on the part of the creators of this script. From a purely graphic point of view, the graph could of course simply be seen as two people walking peacefully together. However, the meaning

of the word that the graph represents suggests that the intention was otherwise. One cannot analyse the bone graphs in a vacuum, without reference to the meanings of the words they represent.


JWJ includes the graph  (S.40.1) as a variant, though JGWB 3005 lists it as unidentified. A similar variant is also found in bronzes (see O/NJWB 304/389). However, the form with two rén 人 elements is the commonest form, and it is from this form that the modern character develops. It is not clear to me why there should have been a variant with the dà 大 element.

Usage

Personal name. Also a verb in a sacrificial context, meaning unclear.

94 


S.25.1x8

95 

JGWB 1033 (both forms): zhòng 眾

S.25.1x65 (excluding certain contexts)







JWJ 8.2703 (including ): zhòng 眾

SW 8a.17a:  , 多 也 . 从 众 , 目 , 眾 意 .

Tr: Zhòng 眾 'crowd' means duo 多 'many.' It consists of yín 𠬞 'to stand as a crowd' and mù 目 'eye,' thus expressing the idea of 'numerous' [presumably because there are numerous eyes in a crowd].

Analysis







The graph shows two or three people standing under the sun, thus illustrating the idea of 'the masses.' The sun suggests that they are out working in the heat of the day, and indeed the OBI context suggests that the body of people designated by this term was primarily a workforce (see Keightley 1969). In the seal form, the sun has been distorted to 'eye,' and this is also the case in the bronze form (see O/NJWB 1117/1376). This further supports the idea that they were a workforce, with the eye representing the supervision (literally!) that they would be under.










Li Xiaoding recognizes the variant , with no sun on top, in the inscriptions *Tieyun* 231.4 and *Qianbian* 5.20.2. S transcribes both *with* the sun on top. An examination of the rubbings shows that in both cases the bone is broken away immediately above the  graph, so there is no way of knowing whether there originally was a sun element on top of these two graphs or not. JGWB 1032 records one instance of  (*Jiabian* 2858), identified there as the SW character yín . However, an examination of the rubbing reveals that the rightmost rén  element is somewhat separated from the rest of the graph, and is most likely quite unconnected. Thus what we really have here is cóng , and the context supports this:

舞今日从...

(*Jiabian* 2858)

If we dance, today there will be subsequent¹ [rain].

¹The author of JGWB (Sun Haibo) himself says that cóng  here is used for zòng  as in zòng   'loosed rain > pouring rain.' The basic meaning of zòng  is 'to let loose' (GSR 1191h), and the idea is that the Shang expressed the idea of torrential rain by saying 'loosed rain.' The fact that I have been unable to find such a usage in soft texts does not totally preclude the possibility that the Shang had such an expression, but on the other hand taking cóng  at face value also makes sense.

The expression cóng yǔ   nearly always occurs embedded in a nominalizing formula:    (positive) or     (negative). It also usually occurs in the apodosis of a two clause sentence, where the protasis specifies some ritual activity (e.g. dancing), the aim of which is to obtain rain. 'Following rain' would then be the rain that follows from the ritual act.

This phrase is repeated several times on the bone, and in all other instances we have the graph cóng 𠤎 / 从 . I think it is safe to say then that the character zhòng 眾 has always had a sun element on top, and it is an integral part of its meaning: the graph does not simply depict a crowd of people, but a workforce, and their role in Shang society as seen in the oracle bones fully corroborates this.

Usage

As already mentioned, it refers to the zhòng-workforce.

96 𠤎

JGWB 4532 (unidentified)

S.25.3x2

Not in JWJ

SW 9b.7a: 𠤎, 屋下眾也。从广, 𠤎; 𠤎, 古文光字。

SWDZ 9b.17a: SW says 屋下 in order to explain the 广 on top.

Tr: Shù 庶 means 'a crowd under a roof.' It consists of yān 广 'roof' and 𠤎; 𠤎 is the old form of the character guang 光 'light.' [Xu Xuan explains that 'light' also represents the idea of zhòngshèng 眾盛 'numerous and flourishing.']

Analysis

The graph consists of 𠤎, identified by Yu Xingwu and Chen Shihui (1959) as shù 庶, on top of three people. It is probably the primary form of shù 庶 in the

sense of 'numerous,' especially with regard to people, as in shùrén 庶人 'commoners.' Shù 𠬞 / 庶 $\text{ɕiã}^h < *t\grave{a}ks (?)$ itself contains shí 石 / 石 $\text{dziajk} < *d\grave{a}k$ 'stone' phonetic, as Karlgren suggested (GSR 804a, but he did not feel confident enough to include it under shí 石 phonetic, GSR 795). Yu and Chen say that shù 庶 is the original character for zhū 煮 $\text{tɕʰa}^? < *t\grave{a}^?$ 'to cook by boiling.' This claim is based on the office of Zhushi 庶氏 in the *Zhouli* (HY 10/7a). The Zheng Xuan commentary says that shù 庶 here should be read like zhū 煮 as in yàozhū 藥煮 'medical decoction.' Biot (1851.II:386) transcribes accordingly Tchou-chi (i.e. Zhushi), and translates the title as "Cuisier (d'herbes)." The role of this official was to decoct pesticides, so this supports the idea that the primary meaning of the character shù 庶 was 'to boil.' There is also a character 𩇛 in the *Yanshi jiaxun* (ap. *Kangxi*), where it says that the people of Wu 吳 use it for zhì 炙 $\text{tɕiajk} < *t\grave{a}k$ 'to roast.'

The three person elements have the same function as in the character zhòng 眾, i.e. to indicate a body of people.

Usage


Possibly in the sense of 'numerous':

庚戌卜，貞：有衆𩇛，佳帝令攸。

(*Qianbian* 5.25.1)

Gengxu-day cracking, tested: There are many locusts,¹ it is that God is ordering dearth.²


¹The graph 𩇛 has not been identified with certainty as an independent character, but it is generally agreed that the expression 今𩇛 (S.247.1) means 'this autumn,' and that 𩇛 is the phonetic element in 𩇛 / 𩇛, which SW (7a.18b) gives as the *zhòuwén* form of qiū 秋 'autumn' (see JWJ 7.2369 and 13.3939). SW (10a.20b) says that the phonetic element in qiū 𩇛 is jiào 𩇛.

97 

Not in JGWB

S.25.3x1



Not in JWJ


SW 8a.17a:  , 會也。从从, 取聲。邑落云聚。


SWDZ 8a.45b: [Inserts 一曰 before 邑.]

Tr: 聚 means 'to gather.' It consists of yín 𠂔 'stand in a crowd' signific and qū 取 phonetic. [One source says:] A village is called a 'gathering.'Analysis

The bone graph may be analysed in the same way that Xu Shen analyses the seal form, i.e. qū 取 phonetic and three people indicating a crowd. Qū 取 ts'uā' < *ts'aw' means 'to take,' and it seems likely that it is not simply phonetic in the present graph, but that it is in fact etymologically related to jù 聚 dzuā' < *dzaw'.

'burn a turtle shell but fail to crack it' (灼龜不兆), which it analyses as a semantic compound of gui 龜 'turtle' and huô 火 'fire.' However, the bone graph  stands for qiu 秋 without any 'fire' element added, and is both graphically and contextually distinct from gui 龜 / 龜 'turtle.' In most cases the graph  is drawn with what appear to be wings on the

back, and feelers on the head. An example from *Cuibian* 4 is particularly insect-like: . It probably depicts an insect that is harmful to crops, e.g. a locust. It was probably originally phonetic in jiao

, but later was corrupted to the graphically similar gui 龜.

²Understanding 欠 as qiàn 欠 'lack,' though this interpretation is uncertain. At any rate, it probably refers to some kind of calamity.

As in zhòng 眾 and shù * 衆, the three people represent a crowd.

Usage

The single occurrence supports the meaning 'gather':

勿改 . 其唯小臣聚令 . 王弗悔 .

(Qianbian 4.27.2)

Should not sì-sacrifice. Perhaps it should be the Lesser Officials that we assemble and order. The king will not regret it.

98



JGWB 349: dòu 鬥

S.25.3x16

JWJ 3.889: dòu 鬥

SW 3b.7a: 鬥, 兩士相對, 兵杖在後. 象鬥之形. 凡 ...

SWDZ 3b.15a: [Emends text to: 鬥, 爭也, 兩凡相對, 象形.]

Tr: Dòu 鬥 consists of two men opposed with weapons behind. It depicts fighting.

[SWDZ em: Dòu 鬥 means 'to struggle.' It consists of two jī 凡 elements facing each other, and is a pictograph.]

Analysis

The bone graph shows two people having a punch-up. It is pure fisticuffs, no weapons involved. Xu Shen saw weapons in the seal form because he regards it as consisting of jī 𠂔 doubled, an element that he thought depicted a hand holding something, though here again he is mistaken, as the bone form 𠂔 shows a person kneeling with empty hands held up. As you can see, dòu 𠂔 does not come from jī 𠂔: this is merely the way in which the seal script has standardized it.

Note also the tousled hair, which Ye Yusen describes as nùfà 怒髮 'hair standing on end with rage.' The same sort of hair is found in ruò 𠂔 / 若 'to agree,' lǎo 𠂔 / 老 'old,' and qī 𠂔 / 妻 'wife.' It is hard to find a consistent symbolism behind it. Professor Takashima has suggested to me that the grapheme 𠂔 may have had a 'double function,' the graphic equivalent of the sort of antiphrasis found in such pairs as shòu 受 *dzuw*² 'receive' and shòu 授 *dzuw*^h 'give.' Similarly, 𠂔 may have signified wild hair in dòu 𠂔 but smooth hair in ruò 𠂔.

Usage

Place name.

1280 𠂔

JGWB 4321 (unidentified)

S.194.2x1

JWJ 7.2373: 𠂔 (not in SW)

SW 7a.15b: 𠂔, 稻. 今年落來年自生謂之𠂔. 从禾, 尼聲.

SWDZ 7a.43b: In the *Huainanzi* it is written 𠂔. Other books have 𠂔, also written 𠂔 or 𠂔. All refer to wild rice.

Tr: Lí 秠 means dào 稻 'rice.' It refers to the perennial variety. The character consists of hé 禾 'cereal' signific and ní 尼 phonetic.

Analysis

Li Xiaoding transcribes the right element as if it were bēi 𠂔 / 𠂔, but actually it is slightly different. Although the two figures are back to back, the left figure is higher than the right figure, as if riding on its back. The graph * 𠂔 has not been found independently in OBI, so I shall identify it as ní 尼 and discuss it here.

SW 8a.27b: 𠂔, 從後近之. 从尸, 匕聲.

Tr: Ní 尼 means 'to approach from behind.' It consists of shì 尸 ['body'] signific and bǐ 匕 phonetic.

Analysis

The SW definition 'approach from behind' seems to be just what the bone graph depicts. Note also the graph 𠂔, which unfortunately only occurs as a person's name (S.324.1), but which is probably the present graph augmented by the chì 𠂔 'walking' radical, thus emphasizing the meaning 'to approach.' (JWJ 2.535 identifies it as chí 遲 'slow,' but I think this is mistaken, since chí 遲 contains xì 犀 'rhinoceros' phonetic, which consists of wēi 尾 'tail' on top of niú 牛 'ox': the present bone graph does not contain such elements.) Various phonetic compounds of ní 尼 have the meaning 'close, familiar,' and these meanings are clearly related to the meaning 'approach.' The graph shows one person who is so close to another that he is almost on top of him. The corruption of the left-hand person into shì 尸 and the right-hand person into bǐ 匕 was probably structurally conditioned.

2885 旅

JGWB 827: 旅

S.444.3x15

JWJ 7.2227: 旅

SW 7a.8a: 旅，軍之五百人為旅。从𠂔，从𠂔；从，俱也。𠂔，古文旅。古文以為魯衛之魯。

Tr: 旅; a group of five hundred men in the army is called 旅. It consists of yān 𠂔 'fluttering streamers' and cóng 从; cóng 从 represents 'togetherness.' 𠂔 is the old form of 旅. In ancient texts it is used for Lu 魯 as in Lu and Wei 衛.¹

The top part of the SW old form is zhī 止, while the lower part is probably a corruption of cóng 从, as Luo Zhenyu (JWJ 7.2227) surmises.

Analysis

The graph shows two people standing under a flag, two standing for many. 'Troops' may be the original meaning.

As in zhòng 眾, the two people show that the graph refers to a group of people.

Usage


In its original meaning 'troops.'


¹The reason Xu Shen phrases himself thus is to make it clear that the old form of 旅 was only used for 魯 as the name of the state, not as an ordinary word. As an ordinary word, it means 'dull, blunt, simple' (GSR 70a).


Part 5: 𠂔

In the bone script, as a graph component, it is very hard to distinguish this element from rén 𠂔. As Karlgren says (GSR 561a): "The archaic graph is practically identical with that of 人." There are one or two graphs that possibly contain it, but it is very hard to be certain, and it has therefore seemed to me rather pointless to discuss them. It is however important to aver the fact that such an element did exist, since it is the origin of the shi 尸 radical, whose general significance is clearly that of 'sitting' or 'being located,' as in ju 尻 (now written 居) 'to sit.' It denotes sitting as on a chair, and thus differs from the element 𠂔, which shows what I assume was the usual Shang way of sitting, which is actually kneeling. The rarity of the 𠂔 element compared to the 𠂔 element in the Shang script shows that the latter was their usual way of sitting. Notice that the phonetic element is always written underneath the shi 尸 element, thus implying that this is what the person is sitting on. This is typical of the way in which the designers of the Chinese script designed their graphs, as I have already had occasion to mention.

In some cases, rén 𠂔 may have evolved into shi 尸 simply as a structural variant, e.g. in the case of shī 𠂔 / 屎 'to defaecate' and niào 𠂔 / 尿 'to urinate.' Thus the occurrence of the shi 尸 radical in a modern character should not necessarily be taken as an indication that the action denoted by it was originally performed in a sitting position. In the example of pì 辟, the shi 尸 element is actually evolved from the

kneeling figure . Its evolution into shi 尸 was thus purely a structural adjustment to accommodate the kôu 𠂔 element.

The use of shi 尸 for yí 夷 in some early texts is not, as some have supposed, because the barbarians sat in this fashion, thus distinguishing them from the Chinese, who knelt on mats, but is rather a phonetic loan (shi 尸 ɕi < *təj, yí 夷 ji < *ləj). I would imagine that in Shang times the surrounding tribes sat in the same way as the Chinese, i.e. in the posture illustrated by the graph .

Although hard to find in the bone script, the shi element is well represented in the bronze script (see O/NJWB 1146-1150/1410-1421—though most of these are not in SW). Notice that we have shi 尸 in wēi 尾 here (in the character qu 屈, O/NJWB 1150/1421), but in the OBI form  we simply have rén 人, so this is another example of rén 人 evolving into shi 尸 as a structural variant: having to make room for the tail distorted the rén 人 into shi 尸.

In this part then I shall deal only with the graph that has been identified as shi 尸.

3 尸

JGWB 1048: shi 尸

S.5.2x21

JWJ 8.2745: shi 尸

SW 8a.26b: 尸, 陳也. 象卧之形. 凡 ...

Tr: Shi 尸 means 'to lay out.' It depicts lying down.Analysis

The graph shows a person sitting, as if on a chair. The primary meaning must have been 'to sit' in this fashion, though it is very hard to find remnants of this usage in texts. Wu Dacheng (ap. NJWB 665, not quoted at OJWB 539) says that in the classics, shi 尸 means zhū 主 'to preside,' and in the opening phrase of *Shu.Wuzizhige* "太康尸位," shi wèi 尸位 means jí wèi 即位 'succeed to the throne.' Unfortunately, this chapter is found only in the *jinwén* text, so I am unable to offer Karlgren's opinion on how it should be translated (he only translated the *gūwén* text), but I think it would be reasonable to render it as 'When Tai Kang sat on the throne.'

Karlgren translates the *Shijing* line 善人載尸 (HY 66/254/5) as "The good men sit motionless and silent," and derives this from the meaning 'act the corpse' (i.e. play the role of the representative of the deceased at an ancestral sacrifice), but perhaps here also we could simply regard shi 尸 as being used in its primary meaning 'sit,' thus: 'the good men sit.' In ritual texts, such as the *Yili*, shi 尸 usually refers to the representative of the dead.

The SW definition 'to lay out' is a loan usage. In order to account for this meaning, Xu Shen suggests that it depicts a person lying down. Since the ren 亻 element sometimes represents a person lying down, one might be tempted to consider the same possibility for shi 尸. However, there is no evidence that shi 尸 ever meant 'lie

down.' There is only evidence that it meant 'sit.' The meaning 'lay out' should rather be understood as 'set forth.' The relationship between the two uses is exactly the same as between English 'sit' (intransitive) and 'set' (transitive).

Usage

It occurs as the name of an enemy tribe, so it would seem to be used as a loan for yí
夷 'barbarian.'

Part 6: * 𠂔

The element * 𠂔 has not been found independently in OBI, so I mark it with an asterisk to show that it is a hypothesized form. Apart from the graph 𠂔 (Kikkô 2.21.18), which S.28.1 lists as a variant of the unidentified grapheme 𠂔, it occurs in only one graph, i.e. 𠂔. However, Tang Lan, in his exposition of 𠂔 (JWJ 14.4143), proposes to identify * 𠂔 with the graph 𠂔 that SW (4b.5b) gives as the old form of tiān 殄, and suggests that it is the primary form of dian 眞, which Karlgren (GSR 375m) defines as: '...(fall on the head:) fall down, be overthrown, overthrow.' Tang hypothesizes that the same element is phonetic in zhen 眞. This would make the SW (8a.15a) claim that zhen 眞 contains 'person upside down' correct, except that it would not be huà 匕 signific but the primary form of dian 眞 as phonetic.

A phonetic problem that has to be discussed here is: which OC rhyme does the zhên 殄 phonetic series belong to? In order to support Tang's claim, it should belong to the zhen 眞 rhyme. In favour of this classification is the fact that SW (9a.8a) gives 眞 as a variant of zhên 殄, and this variant, as you can see, contains zhen 眞 phonetic. Although he does not mention it explicitly, this is perhaps the reason why Wang Li (1937:67) puts the zhên 殄 series in his jian 堅 type (i.e. zhen 眞 rhyme), and Tang Zuofan (1982) follows this. However, Tang Zuofan lists the character tiān 殄 as wén 文 rhyme, and in a later study Wang Li (1937a:133) classifies the zhên 殄 series as

zhun 諄 rhyme (i.e. wén 文 rhyme), giving as evidence the fact that zhên 畛 rhymes with yún 耘 in the *Shijing* (HY 77/290), and zhên 軫 with rên 忍 in *Chuci.Xisong*. The only other rhyming occurrence of a zhên 軫 series word in the *Shijing* is tiân 殫 with mêi 洩 (HY 9/43/2), which Wang Li (1937:67) classifies as jìn 斤 type (i.e. wén 文 rhyme) and Tang Zuofan as yuán 元 rhyme. Karlgren (GSR 453) classifies the zhên 軫 series as wén 文 rhyme, and indeed this is what the rhyming evidence points to. Thus the evidence provided by variant characters conflicts with the rhyming evidence.

In spite of the phonetic problems, the fact that SW gives 眞 as a variant of zhên 軫 is significant, and I am basically in favour of Tang Lan's identification of the present element as the primary form of dian 眞.

1124 隕

JGWB 1643: duì 隊 [= zhùi 墜 'fall']

S.178.4x2

JWJ 14.4143: hui 隍 (GSR 11a reads duò)

SW 14b.2b: 隕, 從高隊也。从隍, 豕聲。

SWDZ 14b.4b: Commonly written 墜 and pronounced zhùi.

Tr: Duì 隊 means 'to fall from a height.' It consists of fù 阜 'wall with steps'¹ [this is not the SW definition of fù 阜, but this is clearly what the bone graph depicts] significant and suì 豕 phonetic.

SW 14b.3a: 隍, 敗城阜曰隍。从阜, 奎聲。[臣鉉等曰: 說文無奎字, 蓋二左也。眾力左之, 故从二左。今俗作隍, 非是。] 隍篆文。

Tr: Hui 隍: to destroy a city wall is called hui 隍. It consists of fù 阜 'wall' significant and 奎 phonetic. [Xu Xuan et al. note: There is no character 奎 in SW, but it may be analysed as two zuô 左. The strength of the multitude assists therein (the destruction of the city wall), therefore it contains zuô 左 'to assist' doubled. It is now commonly written 隍, but this is incorrect.] The seal form is 隍 [i.e. 隍].

According to SW (SWDZ edition 4b.30b), hui 隍 is the abbreviated phonetic in suí 隋. This suggests reconstructions for these two words something like *x^wàl and *ɣ^wàl respectively. But why did the initial in the former fail to palatalize and front to s- in EMC? Note that hui 隍 (隍) is in fact a grade IV word in a *chóngniū* rhyme, EMC xjwiǎ, and it is possible that in this case the EMC medial -j- goes back to an OC *-l-, so we should actually reconstruct *x^wlǎl.² This still leaves the problem of how zuô 左

¹I am indebted to Professor Takashima for suggesting this translation.

²For the suggestion that it may have been a medial *-l- that prevented palatalization of the initial in certain grade IV words, see Pulleyblank 1984:176.

*tsálʔ can be phonetic in hui 隍 *xʷlâl. Karlgren (GSR 11a) gives hui 隍 the modern reading duò, as if from *lʷâlʔ, but gives hui 隍 both the readings duò and hui (GSR 11e). It seems to me that the reading duò should be reserved for the intransitive verb 'to fall,' since this is the reading of duò 墮 'to fall,' and the reading hui should be assigned to the transitive verb 'to fell.' The phonetic relationships are highly problematical. Professor Pulleyblank has informed me that he thinks it is possible to connect the initials in zuô 左 and suí 隨, though he has not yet worked out the details. He compares zong 宗 tsown, containing xiong 凶 xuawn phonetic. The initials in duò and hui are admittedly far apart, but the fact that the character 隍 has both these readings suggests that they can be reconciled in some way (though perhaps the answer lies in prefixes).

Analysis

The graph shows a person upside down next to a wall, implying that he is falling off it. JGWB and JWJ also both include the graph 𠂔 (S.179.1x4) as a variant, which shows a child falling. Perhaps a child is more likely to fall off a wall than an adult. It is possible that they are indeed variants of the same graph, but the inscriptions with 𠂔 in are too fragmentary to determine its usage. The present graph, on the other hand, occurs in a nice long inscription (*Jinghua* 3) that tells us how Prince Yang fell out of the king's chariot during a hunting accident. Thus the meaning is clearly 'fall.' Li Xiaoding (JWJ 14.4145) suggests that the upside down person 𠂔 was corrupted to zuô 𠂔 / 左 (i.e. a phonetization), and this zuô 左 was later doubled to 𠂔. This is an interesting hypothesis because phonetizations, naturally, are often not such good phonetic guides as original phonetics, so this would explain the divergent initials of zuô 左 and duò~hui 隍. If this is true, it is a great help, because it means that we do not have to account for the divergence in the initials. One can further suggest that suí 隨 does not contain hui 隍 abbreviated, but simply *隍, the phonetized form of 𠂔. The reason for the later doubling in hui 隍 is not clear, but there are other examples of this sort of doubling in the

bronze script (cf. geng 更, O/NJWB 415/518 and lù 陸, O/NJWB 1812/2319, in which the bīng 丙 and liù 六 elements are usually doubled). The reasons are perhaps calligraphic rather than linguistic. That is to say, to make the graph look more pleasing to the eye (in the subjective opinion of the scribe), rather than to reflect some phonetic difference between the simple element and the element doubled.

Li Xiaoding also suggests that duò 𡵓 (which Xu Xuan regards as the proper form of duò 墮 'to fall'—see SW 14b.3a) is an alternate graphic development from the same bone graph, thus: 𠂔 > 𠂔 > 𡵓. However, while the corruption of 𠂔 > 左 is understandable in terms of phonetization (which Li does not mention), a corruption to xi 夕 is unmotivated. It would be more likely that the form hui 隤 changed directly to duò 𡵓—this would be motivated by (1) getting rid of the non-character 𡵓, and (2) getting a more accurate phonetic, since the initial of duò 𡵓 would be closer than that of zuô 左.

Thus Li's proposal that there was a development 𠂔 > 隤 > 隤 explains a lot. It explains why there is no character *𡵓, and why zuô 左 and hui 隤 have such divergent initials. His proposal is further supported by the phonetization process that one witnesses so frequently in the evolution of Chinese characters. The identification of the present graph as hui 隤 may thus be accepted in preference to the JGWB identification as duì 隊. However, whether the graph 𠂔 is also to be identified as hui 隤 remains to be seen. Li says that this form became extinct, though 𠂔 could also perhaps have developed into zuô 左. Tang Lan proposes to identify the present graph as a variant of dian * 𠂔 / 眞, but I think it is best to regard it as a huìyì 會意 of 𠂔 and 𠂔, rather than as a phonetic compound with * 𠂔 as phonetic. As for his proposal that * 𠂔 is phonetic in zhen 眞, the bone forms (JGWB 867, also 3456, 3868 and 4742) clearly do not have 'person upside down' but bī 匕 'spoon.'

Usage

In its primary meaning 'fall,' as in the well known inscription:

癸巳卜，般貞：旬亡禍。王曰：“乃茲亦有
 咎。若僉。”甲午，王往逐豕，小臣監車馬，
 礪駿王車，子央亦墜。

(*Jinghua* 3)

Divining on guisi-day by cracking bones, (the diviner) Que tested: There shall be no misfortunes in the (next) ten-day week. The king, having interpreted the omens, said, "There will thenceforth also be harm in this (omen), and (will prove) to be as prognosticated (by me)." When on jiawu-day the king went chasing wild buffaloes, a minion took charge of (steering) the chariot horses; (he) drove the king's chariot precipitously, and Zi Yang [who was riding the chariot] also fell down.¹

墜 here is presumably read duò rather than hui.

¹This translation is taken from Takashima 1984:32, inscription B3 (a).

Part 7: 彡


In the present group of graphs the emphasis is on the hair, and the rén 亻 element tends to be neutral in its significance, as one might expect, since it is not the focus of these graphs, but rather a carrier for the hair which *is* the focus. Long hair is used chiefly to suggest 'age' or 'growing,' as in lǎo 𠂔 / 老 'old' and zhāng 𠂔 / 長 'elder; to grow.' It is also used for other purposes, e.g. in wei 彡 / 光 it suggests the fineness of hair, in qī 𠂔 / 妻 it represents the long hair of a grown woman, and in xū 彡 / 須 'beard' it represents hair itself with no further symbolism. In kū 𠂔 / 哭 'to wail' and dòu 𠂔 / 斗 'to fight,' it could perhaps represent tousled hair (in kū 哭 through distress, in dòu 斗 through fighting).

33 

S.11.1x8

41  . 

S.11.4x8

672 JGWB 1046 (all three): lǎo 老

S.108.3x8


JWJ 8.2739 (all three): lǎo 老

SW 8a.25a: 𠂔, 考也. 七十曰老. 从人, 毛, 匕. 言須髮變白也. 凡 ...

SWDZ 8a.67a: 𠂔 is not rén 人, but part of máo 毛. [The bone graph shows that he is mistaken.]

Tr: Lǎo 老 means kāo 考 'old.' "When he is seventy we say, 'He is old.'"¹ It consists of rén 人 'person,' máo 毛 'hair,' and huà 匕 'to change.' It means to say that the hair turns white.

Analysis

This graph, as Ye Yusen so eloquently describes it, depicts a bent old person with long hair hobbling along with the aid of a stick (老人戴髮偃僂扶杖). It is interesting to compare the Egyptian hieroglyph for 'old,' which also depicts a man bent over a stick:  (Gardiner 1957:444, sign A19). One should also note Serruys' suggestion that the hair, máo 毛, also acts as an 'endomorphic phonetic' (Serruys 1957:153). I think this is highly possible.

In the bronze form of lǎo 老, 𠂔 (O/NJWB 1138/1402), the stick has already been corrupted into the shape that it has in the seal form, and which Xu Shen identifies as

¹Liji. Quli HY 1/8. Translation from Legge 1885.I:66 (§27).

his huà 匕 radical. Far commoner than lào 老 in bronzes (O/NJWB lists five/seven examples) is the character kào 考 (O/NJWB 1142/1406 lists 107/134 examples), where it is used in the specialized meaning 'deceased father.' The element 丂 is usually understood as kào 丂 phonetic, which is homophonous with kào 考. One can see that the bronze scribes intended it as phonetic, as sometimes the phonetic alone is used to represent the word (e.g. on the vessels 司土司簋 and 仲枏父簋). However, some forms also look very much like the bone form of lào 老, with the old person leaning on a stick, e.g.



I think it is quite possible that the bronze form of kào 考 is the direct descendant of the bone form of lào 老, and that the stick was corrupted to kào 丂 as a phonetization. Before this phonetization, the same graph was probably used for both kào and lào, and the two words are of course etymologically related. SW uses them to gloss each other (though in practice there was a difference, lào 老 being used for 'old' and kào 考 for 'deceased father.')

Usage

Place name.

34 𠂔

JGWB 4300 (unidentified)

𠂔

JGWB 4378 (unidentified)

S.11.2x34

36 彳

JGWB 4299 (unidentified)

S.11.3x30

JWJ 9.2967: (34 only) cháng 長

SW 8a.7b: 𢇛, 妙也. 从人, 从支, 豈省聲.






Tr: Wei 𢇛 'fine' means miào 妙 'subtle.' It consists of rén 人 'person' and pu 支 'hand holding stick,' with qí 豈 abbreviated phonetic.

SW 2b.9b: 微, 隱行也. 从彳, 𢇛聲. 春秋傳曰: 白公其徒微之.

Tr: Wei 微 means 'to act secretly.' It consists of chì 彳 signific [a walking signific, implying 'action'] and wei 𢇛 phonetic. The *Chunqiu* says: "The Duke of Bai [fled to a hill and strangled himself] but his followers concealed it."¹Analysis


Li Xiaoding includes the present graph among his variants of cháng 長, but I believe that only the form 𢇛 is correctly so identified (see I.7.39). I follow Hu Houxuan's identification as 𢇛 (JWJ 9.2968). This element does not occur as an independent character, but only in the aggregate forms wei 𢇛 and wei 微 whose SW definitions I have cited above. Only the form wei 微 is current in modern Chinese, and has the meaning that SW ascribes to wei 𢇛. The definitions 'subtle' and 'secret' are obviously different aspects of the same basic meaning, so I think we can be quite confident here that we are dealing with one and the same word. The basic meaning of wei 微 is

¹HY 494/Ai 6/Fu 3. Xu Shen has left out some of the text, which reads in full: 白公奔山而縊, 其徒微之. My translation is based on Legge 1861.5.2:847.

'small, fine, slight, weak,' and I think the present graph represents this by emphasizing the long fine hair on the person's head. This is particularly clear in the graph  (JGWB 4299) which may be regarded as a variant. Li Xiaoding overlooks this graph, though he transcribes the same element with a foot underneath  (JGWB 4299) as the non-existent character  (JWJ 2.463). Note also the graph , which JGWB 998 correctly identifies as wei .


Usage


All the above mentioned variants are used as a place/personal name.


38 





JGWB 3238 (unidentified)

S.11.4x3


JWJ 2.431: ku 

SW 2a.16b: , 哀聲也。从口，獄省聲。凡...

SWDZ 2a.30b: [Expresses doubts over SW's 'abbreviated phonetics' and suggests that ku  originally referred to the howling of dogs, and was only later applied to the wailing of humans.]

Tr: Ku  means 'the sound of wailing.' It consists of xuan  signific [defined at SW 2a.16a as jinghu  'a cry of alarm'] and yù  abbreviated phonetic.

Analysis

As Li Xiaoding notes, the present graph occurs only in a very few inscriptions with little context, so Ye Yusen's identification as ku  must be regarded as tentative. Ye

describes the graph as depicting a person beating the breast and jumping (pìyōng 辟踊), while the two mouths represent wailing (according to Chinese ritual texts, this was the appropriate way to express one's grief at a funeral¹). If Ye's identification is correct, then this means that the original graph for ku 哭 contained a person rather than a dog, and the person was corrupted to quān 犬 dog in the seal form. Xu Shen tries to account for the dog by claiming that it is yù 獄 abbreviated phonetic, while Duan tries to explain it by saying that the word originally referred to the howling of dogs. If ku 哭 originally contained 'person,' then these explanations become unnecessary. If the corruption from a person to a dog was not purely graphic, it is hard to see what the motivation could have been. If, as Duan maintains, it originally referred to the wailing of dogs and later came to be applied to people, one would have expected a corruption the other way round, from 'dog' to 'person.'

Ye's description of the central element 𠂔 as 'beating the breast and jumping' does not seem to be accurate. The hand is not turned to the breast, and the foot is not even depicted. The focus is rather on the long dishevelled hair, which I think is probably intended to suggest the state of disarray that one's hair would get into while mourning, especially in the vigorous fashion recommended by the ritual texts. The two mouths would of course represent the wailing.

Usage

A good context is provided by the following inscription:

戊午貞：衣哭，若亡尤。

(*Qianbian* 5.10.7)

Wuwu-day, tested: If we wail and cry, there will be approval and no blame.

¹E.g. *Liji.Tangong*: 辟 [sic] 踊，哀之至也 (HY 4/15) "Beating the breast (by the women), and leaping (by the men) are extreme expressions of grief" (Legge 1885.3:169 ¶28).

I have taken yī 衣 as standing for āi 哀, since the context seems to make this reading appropriate. However, the context is really too limited to be sure of one's interpretation.

39 𠂔

JGWB 1133: cháng 長

S.11.4x2

JWJ 9.2967: cháng 長

SW 9b.13a: 𠂔, 久遠也。从兀, 从匕。兀者, 高遠意也。久則變化。亡聲。𠂔者, 倒亡也。凡...[臣鉉等曰: 倒亡, 不亡也。長久之義也。] 𠂔, 古文長。𠂔, 亦古文長。

Tr: Cháng 長 means 'long,' both of time and space. It consists of wù 兀 'high with the top level' and huà 匕 'to change.' Wù 兀 here represents the idea of high and far. When something goes on for a long time, then changes occur [this explains the role of the huà 匕 element]. Wáng 亡 is phonetic. 𠂔 is wáng 亡 upside down. [Xu Xuan et al note: Wáng 亡 upside down means bùwáng 不亡 'unperishing,' and this represents the idea 'enduring.'] 𠂔 is the old form of cháng 長. 𠂔 is another old form of cháng 長.

Analysis

Xu Shen was clearly non-plussed by the seal form in front of him, and invented the most fanciful explanation imaginable. The bone form is just a simple graph of an old person with a walking stick. The second 'old form' given in SW is strikingly similar to the

bone form, so the identification is quite certain. In the seal form, the stick, arm and leg have become corrupted into a meaningless mish-mash of lines, so it is no wonder Xu Shen was unable to see what lay behind them. The graph is very similar in construction to lāo 𠂔 / 老. However, the top part is distinctly different, and lacks a definite explanation. Karlgren suggests tentatively that it might represent "long hair or a tall, plume-like head-dress" (GSR 721a). The horizontal bar suggests that, whatever it is, it is on top of the head, rather than part of the head, so it seems more likely to be some sort of distinctive head-dress that was worn by elders in the community where this graph was created. The graph thus probably represents the meaning zhāng 'elder,' perhaps evolved from an earlier meaning 'grown up' (since zhāng also means 'to grow').

Usage

There are only two occurrences in Shima, and one is fragmentary. The other reads:

其侑長子，東員至，王受祐。

(*Houbian* 1.19.6)

Perhaps when offering to the Eldest Son,¹ it should be Yuan who proffers²,
(then) the king will receive divine aid.

Although the precise meaning of this inscription is unclear (my translation is highly tentative), at least the collocation zhāngzī 長子 is interpretable. This further encourages me to think that the graph depicts an elder.

¹It would seem from this inscription that he has died.

²Taking zhì 至 as zhì 致.

43 𡥉

JGWB 3602 (unidentified)

S.11.4x11

JWJ 12.3599 (including 𡥉¹, 𡥉², 𡥉³): qī 妻

SW 12b.2a: 妻，婦與夫齊者也。从女，从𡥉，从又。又，持事，妻職也。𡥉：古文妻从肖，女肖，古文貴字。

SWDZ 12b.5a: SW gives no old form under guì 貴. [Duan also emends the text to make chè 𡥉 phonetic, but this is impossible: chè 𡥉 tr'iat < *tr'at, qī 妻 ts'ej < *ts'áj. In fact the chè 𡥉 element is simply a standardization of the wife's hairdo.]

Tr: Qī 妻 is the lady who is equal to the husband [i.e. 'wife']. It consists of nǚ 女 'woman,' chè 𡥉 'sprout,' and yòu 又 'hand.' The hand represents the idea of running things [i.e. running a household]: this is the wife's job. 𡥉: the old form of qī 妻 consists of 肖 and nǚ 女. 肖 is the old form of the character guì 貴 'noble.'

Analysis

As an independent graph, the 𡥉 element is a variant of lāo 老, but in the present graph it has to be recognised as a variant of 𡥉, as Li Xiaoding does, since the context, although fragmentary, indicates the meaning 'wife':

... 祖 辛 妻 ...

(Yinxu 651)

...Ancestor Xin's wife...

¹Qianbian 5.17.4 (S.137.4x1).

²S.137.3x13.

³S.137.4x2

癸未貞：求生于妻_妣庚

(Waibian 46)

Guiwei-day tested: Seek birth from the wife Ancestress Geng.

The graph may depict, as Li describes it, a hand tying up a lady's hair, or else perhaps inserting hair-pins. He quotes the adage 女已及笄可為人妻 'when a girl has reached the age for wearing hair-pins, she can become a person's wife.' It had the same significance as capping did for boys. These customs are mentioned in Zhou ritual texts,¹ and perhaps the Shang had similar customs. The hair-pins are not actually illustrated in the bone graph, nor in the bronze graph as an independent character (see NJWB 1956, not in OJWB between 1534-5), but they do appear to crop up in 妻 as the phonetic element in 盡, a bronze variant of 齊 (O/NJWB 643/787):



揚盡鼎



吊鼎



Note also 隤, which occurs on the Stone Drums (in the Tian Ju 田車 ode) for 齊:



(Mattos 1973:279-280)

Karlgren (GSR 592) says: "The upper part in the character is...[qí] 齊 But this is not simply phonetic, for 齊 dz'ier 'equal' and 妻 ts'ier 'consort' are cognate words,

¹E.g. *Liji.Neize*: 十五年而笄 "At fifteen, she assumed the hairpin" (Legge 1885.3:479 ¶37), 二十而冠 "At twenty, he was capped" (Legge 1885.3:478 ¶34).

the consort being the one wife who is socially the equal (the "mate") of the husband. The element at the top...is a drawing of the hair-pins characteristic of the married woman." However, the bone graph 𠂔 simply depicts a woman with long hair, which in this case should not be taken as a sign of old age, but of womanhood.

Although the hand element has been interpreted as doing the hair up, one should note that a hand over a person in OBI usually indicates the subjection of someone inferior, as in fú 𠂔 / 𠂔 (服) 'to dominate, subject' and sūi 𠂔 / 𠂔 (綏) 'to subdue, pacify.' One can perhaps interpret that, when the bone graph for qī 妻 was created, it was intended to show a woman being subjected (or perhaps 'taken as wife'). On the other hand, the present graph is unusual in that in most instances the 'woman' element is standing rather than kneeling. This would seem to support the idea that a qī 妻 was a woman who was equal to a rén 人 (which means 'man' by default).

Usage

As noted above, probably in its primary meaning 'wife,' perhaps specifically 'principal wife.' Since the OBI and bronze usage of shuāng 爽 (II.1.ii.186-191) to refer to ancestors' wives does not survive in soft texts, one can only rely on the inscriptional context to determine the difference in meaning between it and qī 妻. The first thing one notices, is that shuāng 爽 occurs far more frequently than qī 妻 (all variants: over 200 instances versus about 25 instances respectively¹). It is also possible that shuāng 爽 was a term reserved for dead people. There are no examples of it applying to a living person in OBI, but there is one clear example of qī 𠂔 / 妻 referring to a living person:

¹I have given approximate figures due to the uncertainty over which graphs should be recognized as variants, but the ratio is perfectly clear.

王鬲曰："有杀，其有來鼓。"气至
九日，辛卯，允有來鼓，自北敗妻婁(?)
告曰："土方授¹我田，十人。"

(Tongzuan 431)

The king prognosticated, saying: "There is a curse. Perhaps there will be a trouble-report coming." When it reached the ninth day, xinmao, there was indeed a trouble-report came, from north You.² Lady (?) Zhu (?) reported, saying: "The Tu tribe abducted (from) our fields ten people."

50 𠂔

JGWB 4423 (unidentified)

S.12.3x2

JWJ 9.2855: xu 須

SW 9a.7b: 須，面毛也。从頁，从彡。凡 ...

SWDZ 9a.18a: Now written 鬚 . [Duan also emends the definition to yí xià máo 頤下毛 'the hair under the chin.']

Tr: Xu 須 means 'facial hair.' It consists of xié 頁 'head' and shan 彡 'ornamental hair.'

Analysis

¹For the identification of 𠂔 as *𠂔, interpreted as qin 侵, see JWJ 2.335. It should be distinguished from mù 𠂔 / 牧 (JWJ 3.1081). I am grateful to Professor Takashima for pointing this error out to me.

²For you 婁 as a place name, cf. Tongzuan 513 (S.93.2)

The graph depicts a person with a beard.

Usage

Seems to be a person's name.

Part 8: 勺

The graph 勺, Guo Moruo has suggested (see below), depicts a spoon with a hook at the back for hanging it over the rim of a cauldron. As an independent graph in OBI it is always used as a rebus for the word now written 妣, with the meaning 'female ancestor of more than one generation back,' i.e. grandmother and earlier (for 'mother,' 母 is used). I therefore translate the title as 'ancestress.'

As a component in other graphs, it is used both as 'spoon' and as 'female.' The female usage is restricted to animal graphs, in which it is used to denote the female of the animal. In other graphs it simply represents a spoon, as in 𠂔 勺 / 𠂔 'spoon' + 'mouth' = 'delicious.'

Since the present element depicts a spoon, it is not actually a human figure element, but I have included it in my thesis in order to clear up the confusion that surrounds it. After discussing the graph itself, I shall divide the present part into three sections according to the role of the element thus:

- i. Female
- ii. Spoon
- iii. Phonetic (?)

2 ㄣ

JGWB 1024: bī 匕 ; 1421: bī 妣

S.5.2x10 (excluding examples followed by *tiangan* 天干)

JWJ 8.2679: bī 匕

SW 8a.15a: 匕，相與比敘也。从反人。匕亦所以用比取飯，一名柶。凡...

Tr: Bī 匕 means 'to line up in a row.' It is the character rén 人 'person' [seal form: 𠤎] turned round. Another meaning of bī 匕 is 'that with which one scoops up food,' also called a sì 柶 'spoon.'

Analysis

The graph depicts a spoon, so it is the second definition that SW gives that is the primary meaning. This explains its role as signific in the character chí 匙 'spoon' (the shì 是 element is phonetic, but at the same time may originally have depicted a spoon, as Guo Moruo maintains, so the bī 匕 signific could simply be a later elucidatory augmentation). Its use as 'spoon' is also attested, albeit sparsely, in the classics, there being one example in the *Yijing* and one in the *Shijing*:

不喪匕鬯 . (HY 31/51)

"And he does not let fall the sacrificial spoon and chalice."¹

有掾棘匕 . (HY 48/203/1)

"Long and curved are the spoons of thorn-wood."

¹Translation from Wilhelm 1967:50.


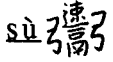

According to Guo Moruo, the 'arm' near the top of the graph represents a hook that served to hang the spoon over the rim of a cauldron, and that exactly this situation can be seen in bronze graphs such as:



(O/NJWB Fulu 2.34a.2/2.303)



(O/NJWB Fulu 2.34a.3/2.304)

It may also be seen in the bone graph  (Yicun 895, JGWB 333: ). Curiously though, none of the Shang spoons that I have seen in publications have such a hook, so the claim that  depicts a spoon with a hook still awaits archaeological corroboration.

Although the bone graphs for bī 匕 and rén 人 are often quite similar, there are definite differences, and in the bronze script and all subsequent styles of script they are quite distinct. I think the confusion between the bone forms is largely due to inaccurate transcriptions that tend to homogenize the differences.

Usage

It is used for the word now written 妣 'ancestress.'

Section i: 'Female'

1347 𠂔

JGWB 80: pìn 牝

S.213.4x53

JWJ 2.303: pìn 牝

SW 2a.3a: 牝, 畜母也。从牛, 匕聲。易曰: 畜牝牛吉。

SWDZ 2a.5b: Pìn 牝 refers to the female of all domestic animals.

Tr: Pìn 牝 means 'the female of domestic animals.' It consists of niú 牛 'cow' significant and bī 匕 phonetic. The *Yijing* says: "Care of the cow brings good fortune."¹Analysis

JGWB 80 identifies all the 'animal+ 匕' graphs as pìn 牝, and the SW definition provides the justification for this. Cf. the SW (ibid.) definition of mū 牡 as chùfù 畜父 'the male of domestic animals,' which leads JGWB (78) to identify all the 'animal+shì 士' graphs as mū 牡. Li Xiaoding is more cautious, and identifies only the present graph as pìn 牝.

The reason why Shima lists the 'animal+ 匕' graphs under rén 人 in his index, is that he does not distinguish bī 匕 from rén 人 as graph components. The two graphs are generally distinct, but Shima's standardized orthography tends to blur the difference. What we really do appear to find confusion between here is bī 匕 / 匕 'spoon' and dao 刀 / 刀 'knife.' Perhaps 匕 here is really 匕 written upside down. Another possibility is that we are dealing with two different graphemes: pìn 牝 'cow,' and *牛, perhaps indicating 'bullock.' Note that *豕 (S.220.1) and *豕 (S.220.2) are clearly differentiated by context, *豕 occurring as a noun referring to a sacrificial victim (hence probably 'sow'), and *豕 occurring as a verb, perhaps with the meaning 'to butcher.' However, the use of *牛 and *牛 appears to be identical with that of pìn

¹HY 19/30. Translation from Wilhelm 1967:119.

牝 and *𧢲 respectively, and Shima does not separate them. JGWB has the remark under its first example: 匕形誤為刀 'bī 匕 is mis-written as dao 刀.' It seems that we have to accept this explanation.

Pìn 牝 and the other 'animal + 匕' graphs are fully analysed under JWJ 2.291 mū 牡. However, it is attempting to analyse them according to the same principle that has led people astray. Luo Zhenyu is on the right track (JWJ 2.291) when he says that mū 牡 does not contain tū 土 phonetic as SW (2a.3a) maintains (which is a pretty awful phonetic anyway), but shì 士 'male' signific. However, he errs in accepting the SW analysis, that shì 士 consists of shí 十 'ten' and yī 一 'one.' Ma Xulun (JWJ 2.296) gets nearer the truth when he says that 丄 and 乚 depict the male and female reproductive organs, but mistakenly identifies them as liào ㄋ and yē 乚 respectively. The identifications as shì 士 and bī 匕 are in fact correct, but they do not operate according to the same principle: they both *represent* 'male' and 'female,' but whereas 丄 actually depicts a male organ, 乚 depicts a spoon and only indicates 'female' through its homophony with the word now written 妣. This is an example of what I call a 'rebus signific,' and they are very rare.

We come now to the problem of whether to recognize all the 'animal + 匕' graphs as pìn 牝 and all the 'animal + 士' graphs as mū 牡, as JGWB does. Luo Zhenyu (quoted by Yang Shuda, JWJ 2.294), agrees with JGWB's position, and maintains that you 麇 'doe' is also a variant of pìn 牝, and the pronunciation you was a later invention. Yang Shuda however seizes on you 麇 as a relic of a bygone age when Chinese had separate words for the male and female of all domestic and familiar animals, just as English does. He proceeds to identify as many of the bone graphs in question with characters in the *Erya* thus:

麋 / 麋 = <u>jia</u> 麋 'stag'	麋 / 鹿 = <u>you</u> 鹿 'doe'
豕 / 豕 (no character ¹) 'boar'	豕 / 豕 = <u>ba</u> 豕 'sow'
(no graph) / 馬士 = <u>zhi</u> 驢 'stallion'	馬 / 馬 = <u>she</u> 馬 'mare'
羊 / 羊士 = <u>fen</u> 羊 'ram'	羊 / 羊 = <u>zang</u> 羊 'ewe'

The problem with this, as Li Xiaoding (JWJ 2.298) points out, is that these identifications are based purely on meaning, so there is no way of knowing if these really are the words that the bone graphs represent. He notes that the character she 馬 is not in SW, and that SW (4a.16b) defines fen 羊 as zang 羊, and zang 羊 as 'ram.' Duan Yucai (SWDZ 4a.34a) changes the definition of fen 羊 to 'ram' and zang 羊 to 'ewe' in order to make SW consistent with the *Erya*, but this is quite arbitrary. Words for the male and female of animals are bound to differ between dialects and across time, so Li's caution in leaving these graphs unidentified and simply transcribing them 羊 etc. must be followed.

Usage

As a sacrificial animal.

1348 𠂔





JGWB 2244: héwén 合文 of pìn 牝 and mū 牡


S.214.1x1

Not in JWJ

Analysis

¹But in SW we have the characters xiá 𠂔 (9b.16b) and jia 𠂔 (9b.15a).


This curious graph only occurs once, and appears to contain the symbols for both 'male' and 'female.' Perhaps in this instance the  element really is dao  'knife' and the graph thus indicates 'bullock.' Another possibility is that the Shang herds did actually produce a hermaphrodite freak—this would explain the rarity of the graph (though the inscription says 'two ' and it seems unlikely that there would have been two at the same time; it also seems unlikely that the Shang would have had a word for 'hermaphrodite cow' to correspond to the graph ).

1379 
S.217.3x2

JGWB 80: pìn 牝


JWJ 10.3127: 牝 (not in SW) [this reference not given in S]

Analysis

The graph consists of quân  / 犬 'dog' and the sign for 'female,' and thus probably means 'bitch.'

Usage

Obscure. In *Houbian* 2.5.10 (the graph given above) it is a person's name.

1362 
S.215.3x15

JGWB 80: pìn 牝

JWJ 4.1345: 𦍋 (not in SW)

Analysis

The graph consists of yáng 羊 'sheep' and the sign for female, though in some cases it looks more like dao 刀 'knife,' so we have the problem of deciding whether it means 'ewe' or 'wether.'

Usage

As a sacrificial animal.

1405 𦍋

JGWB 80: (including 𦍋) pìn 牝

S.220.1x6

JWJ 9.2989: 𦍋 = 𦍋 (not in SW)

Analysis

The graph consists of shī 豕 'pig' and the sign for 'female.' Curiously, Li Xiaoding only identifies the graph 𦍋 (S.220.2) as 𦍋, even though he quotes Tang Lan's identification as 𦍋 (also not in SW). Li gives no examples of 𦍋. Although in the case of pìn 牝 and 𦍋 it is hard to see any difference in usage between the forms which clearly contain bī 匕 and those which apparently contain dao 刀, in the present case a difference in usage is detectable. While the form with bī 匕 is a sacrificial victim, the form with dao 刀 may be interpreted as a method of disposal:

庚申卜：乎取𦍋𦍋。
呼

(Zhuihe 59, ap. S.220.2)

Gengshen-day cracking: Issue the call to fetch the butchers and chú-soldiers.

貞：刳彘于父乙。



(Yibian 2833)

Tested: Butcher piglet to Father Yi.

However, due to the elliptical nature of OBI, the second example could also be interpreted as '(offer) female piglet to Father Yi.'

Usage

As a sacrificial animal.

1440  (Xubian 5.26.8) JGWB 80  (Qianbian 6.46.6): pìn 牝
S.222.4x1

JWJ 10.3050 (same example as JGWB): 馬七 (not in SW)

Analysis

The graph consists of mâ 馬 'horse' and the sign for 'female.' Curiously, JGWB and JWJ only give the graph that Shima lists after the present one, which could be interpreted as containing 'knife.' The usage of both graphs is too fragmentary for any contextual corroboration.

1563  JGWB 497: 𪚩 (not in SW)

S.236.3x3

JWJ 4.1291: 隹 (not in SW)

Analysis

The graph consists of zhui 隹 'bird' and the sign for 'female.' Yu Yongliang identifies it as cí 雌 'female of birds,' but Li Xiaoding sticks to his agnostic position.

Usage

Place name.

Section ii: 'Spoon'

15 𠂔

JGWB 602: zhī 旨

S.6.3x43

JWJ 5.1643: zhī 旨

SW 5a.14b: 旨, 美也. 从甘, 匕聲. 凡 ... 𠂔: 古文旨.

Tr: Zhī 旨 means 'delicious.' It consists of gan 甘 'sweet' signific and bī 匕 phonetic.... 𠂔 is the old form of zhī 旨. [The old form appears to contain qian 千 'thousand,' i.e. 'thousand' + 'sweet' = 'delicious.]

Analysis

The graph consists of bī 匕 'spoon' on top of kōu 𠂔 'mouth,' thus representing the idea 'fine tasting.' Bī 匕 is not primarily phonetic but, although the initial is very different, as far as one may tell from the EMC value p- (the EMC initial of zhī 旨 tç- is probably palatalized from *k-, cf. jī 稽 kej), it is in the same OC rhyme, so it could act as a phonetic hint. Note how zhī 旨 functions as signific in cháng 嘗 'to taste' (the phonetic is shàng 尚). In the seal graph, the mouth element has been changed into gan 甘.

Li Xiaoding fails to distinguish zhào 𠂔 / 𠂔 from zhī 𠂔, though it is clearly different, having dao 𠂔 / 刀 on top as phonetic. Their usage is also clearly different: zhī 旨 is the name of a Period I military leader, while zhào 𠂔 occurs mostly in the name of a Period I tribe 𠂔方 'the Zhao tribe.' Li (JWJ 2.357) only recognizes 𠂔 (S.359.1) as zhào 𠂔, though he recognizes both 𠂔 and 𠂔 as zhào 𠂔 in bronzes (as does also Rong Geng—see O/NJWB 112/135). The latter, more complex graph occurs in OBI only as a Period IV place name. This graph is thus separated in time from both zhī 旨 and zhào 𠂔. It is significant that it occurs right at the end of the Shang dynasty, since at the beginning of the Zhou dynasty, this was the place where Duke Shi of Kang

康公 𩚑 had his fief, and it also occurs as a place name in early bronzes. This character is not in SW, but in soft texts what is commonly acknowledged to be the same place is referred to by the character 𩚑, read shào, and it seems at first sight that * 𩚑 contains zhào 𩚑 as phonetic. In some bronze forms, we clearly do have dao 𩚑 / 𩚑, but in other forms it is written 𩚑, which looks like rén 人, or 𩚑, which appears to be due to confusion with the descending hand elements 𩚑 that flank it. In the bone form (JGWB 92), it sometimes looks more like bī 匕 / 匕 than dao 𩚑 / 𩚑. I think on the whole it was intended to be dao 𩚑, but it is not always well written. In some bone variants, the zhào 𩚑 phonetic element is lacking (S.359.2). Some forms appear to show two hands placing (or lifting up?) a wine vessel on a stand. It is not known what meaning this graph was originally designed to represent.

Usage

Occurs mostly as the name of a military leader. There are no examples of it in its primary meaning.

2487 𩚑

JGWB 3868 (unidentified)

S.385.4x7

JWJ 3.855: geng 𩚑

SW 3b.5b: {𩚑}, 五味盞羹也。从鬻, 从羔。詩曰: 亦有和羹。𩚑: 鬻或省。{羹}: 或从美, 鬻省。羹: 小篆从羔, 从美。

Tr: Geng 羹 means 'five flavours harmonized soup.' It consists of lì 鬲 'cooking vessel' and gāo 羔 'lamb.' The *Shijing* says: "There is also the well-seasoned soup."¹ It is sometimes abbreviated as 羹. It is also written 羹, consisting of mēi 美 'delicious' and geng 羹 abbreviated. The small seal form is written 羹, consisting of gāo 羔 'lamb' and mēi 美 'delicious.'

Analysis

Li Xiaoding correctly analyses the graph as consisting of ròu 肉 'meat,' bī 匕 'spoon,' mín 皿 'vessel,' and little dots representing gravy. He accepts Luo Zhenyu's identification as geng 羹, although really there is no cogent basis for doing so.

Usage

Context fragmentary, but probably some sort of sacrifice.

2520 𩚑

JGWB 333: 𩚑

S.388.4x1

JWJ 3.854: 𩚑 (not in SW)

SW 3b.6a: {𩚑}, 鼎實惟葦及蒲. 陳留謂健為羹. 从鬲, 連聲. 食艸: 羹或从食, 東聲.

SWDZ 3b.12a: [Emends:] 鼎實也. 詩云: 其羹²維何, 維筍及蒲.

¹HY 81/302.

²Written 𩚑 in the present text.

Tr: Sù 飭 means [the contents of the cauldron. The *Shijing* says: "What were the vegetables? Bamboo sprouts and reed shoots."¹] In Chenliu², jiàn 健 'rice gruel' is called sù 飭. It consists of lì 鬲 'cooking vessel' signific and sù 速 phonetic. 餼: also written with shí 食 'food' signific and shù 束 phonetic.

Analysis

The graph occurs without context, so it is hard to be sure of the proposed identification, but I think it is at least clear that it contains bī 匕 'spoon' and not rén 人 'person.' It seems likely that the dong 東 / 東 element is phonetic,³ while the apparent liáo 𦵏 / 𦵏 element probably represents the contents of the cooking vessel.

¹HY 71/261/3.

²I am grateful to Professor Takashima for informing me that this was a place name.

³Dong 東 town < *tán^w and shù 束 / 束 cuawk < *tāk^w (initial uncertain) are both graphically and phonetically similar (being in corresponding nasal-final and stop-final rhymes). Shù 束 seems to show a bag tied at both ends, and Chinese scholars agree that dong 東 shows something similar (JWJ 6.2029).

Section iii: Phonetic (?)

2652 𦉰

JGWB 1668: 𦉰 (not in SW)

S.406.2x187

JWJ 7.2578: 𦉰 (not in SW)

Analysis

The graph consists of 𦉰 / 畢 'a hand-held net' with 匕 on top. 𦉰 匕 (pjɿʔ < *pəjʔ) is phonetically very close to 𦉰 畢 (pjɿt < *pəc). The two rhymes that they are in, zhī 脂 and zhì 質, are very closely related. I would guess that the present graph is a variant of 𦉰 畢, with 匕 added on top both as a phonetic hint and also to suggest the thing being caught in the net. This does not mean that a spoon is being caught, but the fact that the phonetic element is placed in the mouth of the net is probably intended to be suggestive. Compare huái 𦉰 / 規 (III.2.376), in which ge 𠂔 / 戈 'spear' is phonetic, but at the same time is placed suggestively in the hands of the offering figure—it does not necessarily mean that the graph refers to the offering up of spears.

Usage

Occurs principally as the name of a military leader. This contrasts with the form 𦉰, which usually refers to the capturing of game (S.404.1-406.2).

SUMMARY OF CHAPTER I

Since my chapter on the rén 人 element is the most complex chapter in the thesis, it might be a good idea to summarize the main points before proceeding to Chapters II and III, so that the reader may have these points in mind when considering how the use of the dà 大 and 𠂇 elements differ from the of the rén 人 element.

To start off, rén 人 is an 'all-purpose' element that could be used in graphs denoting words that had anything to do with humans. In order to bring some organization to my material, I divided it up into six divisions:

- i.a Type of human
- i.b Specific human
- ii. Human actions
- iii. Body parts
- iv. Miscellaneous
- v. Phonetic

I believe it was useful to do this, because it is not necessarily the case that in a script of the same nature as the oracle bone script, a single human element should be used to cover all these areas. For example, the designers of the script could have chosen to devise a separate grapheme for making up graphs that referred to types of humans, or a special grapheme for making up graphs for people's names. It was therefore necessary for me to attempt to show that the rén 人 element does indeed have all these uses. This classification is also

heuristic as, for example, one might have avoided interpreting graphs containing the rén 亻 element as people's names if one did not have reason to think that this was merely a standard usage of this element. Or one might have felt that such graphs were only being 'used as' people's names and really had some other meaning, which one might then endeavour to find out and be forced to say 'meaning unknown,' when in fact it would be quite acceptable to conclude that the graph had no other meaning and was designed to represent a person's name in the first place.

I then identified a number of variants of the rén element: 亻, 𠂇 = * 𠂇, 𠂇, 𠂇, 𠂇, 𠂇, and 𠂇 (this last not strictly a variant, but included in order to clarify a point of confusion). 𠂇 shows the emphasis on the abdomen, and is used in graphs relating to that area of the body. 𠂇 = * 𠂇 represents a person lying down, and is used in graphs to do with sickness, sleeping and dreaming. 𠂇 shows a couple of people, sometimes standing for 'many.' 𠂇 shows a person sitting (as in the Western fashion). 𠂇 is rén 亻 upside down. 𠂇 shows the emphasis on the hair. And 𠂇 depicts a kind of spoon but is used as a rebus for the word bī 'ancestress,' now written 妣. The conclusion that rén 亻 sometimes represents a person lying down (when it does so can only be determined by the analysis of particular graphs) is something that I would especially like to draw attention to, since it is not otherwise obvious. Some people may feel skeptical about this, but I have tried to show that it makes sense.

In contrast to the several forms and uses of the rén 亻 element, the forms and uses of the dà 大 and 𡗗 elements that I examine in the remaining two chapters can be described much more specifically.

Chapter II: 大

Part 1: 大

What determines the use of the dà 大 element is perhaps the most difficult to work out. At the heart of the matter is the problem over its primary meaning. Is it really intended to represent the concept 'big,' or is this a rebus usage? Since the word dà 大 is not known to have any other meaning apart from 'big,' it seems most likely that it is indeed intended to represent this concept. But how does it represent it? The usual explanation is that it represents a man standing with his arms held out, drawing himself up to his full stature, and thus implying the idea 'big.' I would like to modify this slightly, and say that dà 大 is intended to depict an adult. In Chinese, dàrén 大人, literally 'big person,' seldom refers to physical size, but either means 'great (i.e. important) person' or 'adult.'¹ The graph dà 大 then may be interpreted as portraying a person (male by default) who has reached the age where he is able to stand firm and confront his responsibilities as an adult. One is reminded of Confucius's saying: 三十而立. Support for the idea that dà 大 is intended to depict an adult comes from the graph fū 夫 / 夫 'adult male.' It represents, in a stylized fashion, a man wearing a cap that is pinned onto the hair. This is the cap of manhood that was ceremonially bestowed,

¹See *Dai Kan-Wa Jiten* 3.414-5.

according to the ritual texts, at the age of twenty,¹ and signified that a male had reached the age where he assumed his various social responsibilities as an adult (e.g. the duty² to get married). One may compare the fact that the graph for ér 兒 / 兒 'child' contains the rén 人 element. We see from this that the rén 人 element did not carry the inherent significance [+ADULT], whereas the dà 大 element did. Thus it would be impossible for the graph for 'child' to be written * 𠂇 .

This helps to explain then why there are no clear examples of dà 大 as a graph element in OBI having the significance 'big.' In most cases it simply represents a person. Its use is usually conditioned by the desire to depict both sides of the body (i.e. in concepts where the involvement of both legs and/or both arms was felt to be important to the depiction of the concept), and is thus used instead of rén 人 when the concept in question was felt to be most easily or most naturally depicted from the front. This makes it particularly suitable for use in graphs designed to capture the concept of standing still, where it was felt desirable to portray both legs in order to emphasize the idea of being stationary. This use comes out particularly when one compares it with the rén 人 element, as I have already done in the Introduction. However, where the idea of subjection was felt to be more important, then the kneeling figure was used, even when it was desired to depict both arms, as in the elements 𠂇 , 𠂈 , 𠂉 and 𠂊 which I examine in the next chapter (Parts 2, 3, 4 and 5).

¹E.g. *Liji*.Neize: 二十而冠 "At twenty, he was capped" (Legge 1885.3:478 ¶34). The *Yili* and *Liji* both have chapters devoted to this ceremony (*Shiguanli* and *Guanyi* respectively), but in neither chapter is the age of capping mentioned. Steele (1917.1:266) says that the traditional ages for the capping of boys and the pinning of girls should probably be regarded as inferior limits.

²I say 'duty,' since the main purpose of marriage was to provide descendants to maintain the sacrifices to the ancestors. Steele (1917.1:266) notes that a man was expected to be married by the age of thirty.

Zhouli.Diguan.Situ xia.meishi says: 媒氏 ... 令男三十而娶, 女二十

而嫁 (Lin Yin 1974:144) "Officier des mariages (Mei-chi)...il ordonne que l'homme à trente ans prenne femme, que la fille à vingt ans soit mariée" (Biot 1851.1:307). The *Baihutong* says that marriage is not an occasion for congratulation, because it signifies that the son is taking over from his father as the provider of descendants (see Tjan 1949:249 ¶241). Thus marriage is clearly portrayed as a duty.

After dealing with the graph dà 大 itself, I shall divide the present part into the following sections, according to the role that I deem this element to play in the graphs that I assign to those sections:

- i. Graphs to do with standing
- ii. Other graphs involving both sides of the body, or most easily depicted
from the front
- iii. Miscellaneous

153 𡗗

JGWB 1239: dà 大

S.28.2x259 (excluding many collocations)

JWJ 10.3199: dà 大

SW 10b.2b: 大：天大，地大，人亦大。故大象人形。
古文大。凡...

SWDZ 10b.4b: This definition is based on a sentence in the *Laozi*. [ch.25], which actually reads: 故道大，天大，地大，王亦大 "Hence the way is great; heaven is great; earth is great; and the king is also great."¹

Tr: Dà 大：Heaven is great, earth is great, and man is also great. This is why dà 大 depicts a man. [𡗗] is the old form of dà 大.

Analysis


Karlgren (GSR 317a) says: "The graph is a drawing of a man (grown-up person)." I think this is probably correct, and I have already explained how this may be related to the concept 'big.' Li Xiaoding says that the meaning 'big' is a loan usage. He does not state clearly what he thinks the original meaning was, but presumably he thinks it meant 'man.' 'Big' is indeed the sort of concept that is very hard to portray pictographically. Its opposite, xiǎo 小 / 𡗗 'small,' consists of three short vertical lines, perhaps representing grains of sand, or perhaps just anything small in an abstract way.

Usage

In most cases it clearly means 'big,' and I believe this is its original meaning.

¹Translation from D.C. Lau 1982:39, ¶57.

Section i: Standing

165 
S.30.3x1

JGWB 3849 (unidentified)

JWJ 10.3209: 𧔑 (not in SW)

SW 5a.17b: 𧔑, 鐘鼓之柎也. 飾為猛獸. 从虎, 異象其下足. 𧔑: 虞或从金, 虞聲. 𧔑: 篆文虞省.

Tr: 𧔑 虞 means a bell-support. It is decorated with ferocious beasts. The character consists of hu 虎 'tiger stripes,' with yì 異 depicting the legs underneath. 𧔑: 𧔑 虞 is also written with jīn 金 'metal' signific and 𧔑 虞 phonetic. 𧔑: the seal form of 𧔑 虞 is abbreviated.

Analysis

Shima transcribes the present graph with the three circles that occur underneath it in the inscription, but JGWB and JWJ both omit these circles, and indeed it seems better to regard them as a separate graph. Although this bone graph has not been identified, as far as I know, it is very similar to the bronze form of 𧔑 虞 'bell-stand,' so I think one may safely identify it thus.

𧔑 邵鐘



吉日壬午劍



蔡侯鬻殘鐘

(O/NJWB 772/630)

Karlgren gives 虞 and 簏 (GSR 78e and g) as variants of the same word, which he defines as 'upright posts of a drum or bell frame' (as opposed to xūn 筍 ~ 簏 ~ 柎 ~ 簏, the cross-beams), and this is the meaning it generally has in the bronze

inscriptions. The reason why Xu Shen says it was decorated with fierce beasts, is in order to explain the role of the hu 虎 tiger-top element. I do not doubt that it may have had such decoration (Duan Yucai 5a.43a quotes a passage from the *Zhouli* to support this¹), but the role of this element is of course primarily phonetic: hú 虎 xɔ' < *xáʔ, jù 虞 gɨǎ' < *gàʔ. Karlgren separates it under his qu 虛 k'ǎǎ < *k'àŋ phonetic series, but this is really just a sub-series of hu 虎. The 丘 element underneath qu 虛 is a form of qiu 丘 'hill' which happens to have remained more faithful to the seal form 丘 (SW 8a.16b), and is of course significant here, the primary meaning of qu 虛 being 'hill' or 'mound.' In the character jù 虞 however, the 興 element is corrupted from 𠂔, as you can see, and never contained qiu 丘. Since Karlgren quotes one of the bronze examples (from the 邵鐘), it is strange that he does not bother to remark on this. I suppose he just decided to gloss over this problem.

The present graph clearly does not depict a bell-frame, so it seems to me that this must be a specialization of a more general basic meaning. In the *Fangyan* (*Jiaojian* 5/38/37), jù 虞 is defined as 'a high table of the sort that one puts before a couch' (榻前几 ... 其高者謂之虞). I think the basic meaning was probably 'a stand, a support.' Note the alternative form 據, which suggests an etymological relationship with jù 據 kǎǎh < *k'àŋs 'to depend on.' The significant element 𠂔 then, which has not been found independently, may be interpreted as showing an adult with both feet planted firmly on the ground, and the 'tiger-top' phonetic is joined on top in such a way as to suggest that it is the person's head.

Thus dà 𠂔 is used, rather than rén 人, because it was felt desirable to portray both legs in order to represent a concept to do with 'standing,' and the feet are also drawn in to emphasize this.

¹From the chapter *Kaogongji.Ziren* (see Lin Yin 1974:462). The passage describes the beasts in terms of categories, so no specific animals, such as tigers, are mentioned.

Usage

Although in bronzes it occurs with the meaning 'bell-stand,' the bone graph occurs only as the name of a person, Zī Jù 子虞 'Prince Ju.'

167 𠄎 JGWB 1023: yí 疑

S.30.3x4 (excluding its usage as a diviner's name)

JWJ 8.2675: yí 疑

SW 8a.15a: 疑，未定也。从匕，𠄎聲。𠄎，古文矢字。

SWDZ 8a.39b: [Omits wèi 未, which he says was inserted due to confusion with yí 疑, thus giving the opposite definition. Duan says yí 疑 is often glossed as zhī 止 in the classics.]

Tr: Yí 疑 'doubtful' means 'uncertain.' It consists of huà 匕 'to change' signific [Duan explains that 'after things change, they become stable,' but I think Xu Shen may have meant this in the sense of 'changeable'] and 𠄎 phonetic. 𠄎 is the old form of shī 矢 'arrow.'

SW 14b.12b: 疑，惑也。从子，止，匕，矢聲。

SWDZ 14b.26b: Neither huà 匕 nor shī 矢 can be phonetic, but zhī 止 could be. The analysis should be 从子，疑省，止聲 'from zī 子 'child,' yí 疑 'certain' abbreviated, and zhī 止 phonetic.' 'Child' and 'certain' combine to give the meaning. [Duan revised the definition of yí 疑 to 'certain,' but Xu Shen's original definition 'uncertain' would fit in better here.]

Tr: Yí 疑 'hesitant' means 'perplexed.' It consists of zī 子 'child,' zhī 止 'to stop,' huà 匕 'to change,' and shī 矢 phonetic.

Analysis

Duan Yucai attempts very bravely to wrestle with Xu Shen's unsightful analyses. If only he could have seen how simple the original bone graph is! The graph simply depicts a person standing still, leaning on a stick. The primary meaning was probably 'stand still, stop>fix on, settle' (see GSR 956a), which is the meaning that yí 疑 has in the *rùsheng* reading, while the meaning 'to doubt, hesitate' that it has in the *píngsheng* reading is perhaps etymologically derived from this ('stand still'>'hesitate').¹ (Since Mandarin has lost its *rùsheng*, I am unable to indicate these different readings in the *pinyin* transcription.) Duan's attempt to use these different meanings to distinguish between the two SW characters yí 疑 and yí 疑 is thus futile. The simple character yí 疑 is the direct descendant of the present bone graph, but it occurs only in SW. In texts, the minimum form is always yí 疑. In this character, the 'hand holding a stick' element has been corrupted into zī 子 'child' in the seal form, while the additional signific zhī 止 probably indicates the idea of 'stopping.' It is interesting that in the simple character yí 疑 the 'hand holding a stick' has been distorted into Xu Shen's huà 匕 element, since exactly the same distortion took place in the character lǎo 老 / 老.

If the primary meaning of yí 疑 was 'to stand still,' then this would explain why it was felt desirable to show both legs. One may compare the above mentioned graph lǎo

¹The *Guangyun* only gives yí 疑 a *píngsheng* reading, with the meanings 'uncertain, to fear, perplexed, to suspect.' However, there is some early rhyming evidence for a *rùsheng* reading (Zhu Junsheng 1834:5.15a gives examples from the *Shujing Hongfan* and the *Chuci Dazhao*), and Lu Deming's glosses on the *Shijing* and the *Yili* provide evidence for such a reading with the meaning 'stand firm' (see Pan Chonggui 1983.1:209). Note also that some graphs containing yí 疑 as phonetic have a *rùsheng* and a non-*rùsheng* reading, e.g. yí 疑 𠄎, 𠄎, yí 疑 𠄎?, 𠄎, yí 疑 𠄎, 𠄎.

𠂔, which shows an old person leaning on a walking stick, where there is no motivation in the concept for not using rén 人.

Usage

Name of a person, especially that of a Period II diviner (see Keightley 1978:195, table 6), so the Shang bronzes bearing this graph inside or under the yà 亞 cartouche (see O/NJWB Fulu 1.16/1.129) may perhaps be identified with this person or his clan. The graph 𠂔 however (S.324.3), which has a chì 辵 road element added, and is included by both JGWB and JWJ as a variant of the present graph, is used as a verb. Li Xiaoding says it is used in the meaning huáiyí 懷疑 'suspect, doubt,' and I think he is probably right:

貞：今日其...王 囙曰：徯茲气雨。
 之日允雨。三月。造 (Qianbian 7.36.2)

Tested: Today perhaps...

The king read the cracks and said: "(I) suspect this (crack) (awaits:)

harbingers rain."

That day it did indeed rain. Third month.

172 𠂔

JGWB 1263: 𠂔 立

S.31.4x109

JWJ 10.3251: 𠂔 立

SW 10b.8a: 𠂔, 住也。从大立一之上。凡...

SWDZ 10b.20a: Zhù 住 has been changed from shù 倝 [defined at SW 8a.7a as lì 立 'to stand'] by a 'shallow person.'

Tr: Lì 立 'to stand' means zhù 住 'to stay.' It consists of dà 大 [representing a person] standing on top of a line [representing the ground].

Analysis

The graph depicts a person standing on the ground.

Usage

The graph occurs mostly followed by an object, such as zhong 中, shì 史, shù 黍 or rén 人, so it is clearly being used as a transitive verb. It would make good sense to read it as lì 莅 'go and inspect' (GSR 520b). Thus lì shù 立黍 would mean 'go and inspect the millet (crop).' As for zhong 中, shì 史 and rén 人, these probably refer to military units, so a causative interpretation 'set up, establish,' which is a common meaning of lì 立 in soft texts, would also make sense.

Once again, dà 大 is used because it was felt desirable to show both legs in order to represent a concept to do with standing.

216 𠂔. 𠂔

JGWB 1264: bìng 並

S.39.3x72

JWJ 10.3253: bìng 竝

SW 10b.9a: 𠂔, 併也. 从二立. 凡 ...

Tr: Bìng 並 means bìng 併 'to combine.' It consists of two lì 立.

Analysis

The graph shows two people standing side by side on the ground. Shima also includes three examples in which the ground is not present (*Shiduo* 1.416 and 2.76, *Yicun* 222). JGWB 1262 includes these as variants of bàn 𠤎 / 𠤎, but Shima lists other inscriptions with similar wording in which the graph is written 𠤎 with the ground underneath, so his inclusion is undoubtedly correct. SW (8a.16a) gives a graph 𠤎 as the 'old form' of bì 比, which is curiously similar to the bone graph 𠤎. This is interesting in the light of the word family connection between bìng 並 and bì 比 that Professor Pulleyblank has informed me of.

Usage

In many inscriptions it seems to be the name of a person, but there are also some inscriptions in which the interpretation 'together, to combine' would make sense, e.g.

七日己巳夕𠤎 ... 有新大星並火 ... (*Houbian* 2.9.1)

On the seventh day, jisi-night cutting into¹ (gengwu-day)...there was a new big star together with the Fire-star...

今日並新鬯 ... (*Houbian* 2.9.7)

Today mix new wine [e.g. with yù 鬯 'spiced wine?'].

¹Another interpretation of this graph proposed by Serruys (1974:106, n.35), is that it stands for dòu 𣎵 (sic = 𣎵), which SW (3b.7b) defines as yù 遇 'to meet.' This meaning would fit the OBI usage between dates very well. If we understand 'meet' as 'intercept,' then this can still be related to the meaning 'cut.' My translations of these sentences otherwise follow Li Xiaoding's interpretations.

Section ii: 'Bilateral' and 'Frontal'

In the majority of graphs containing the dà 大 element, I think that its use was determined by the feeling that the concept in question was most easily or most naturally depicted from the front. This is particularly the case in concepts where it is felt necessary to portray both the arms or both the legs, as the present section will show. The rén 人 element cannot be used in such cases, because only one arm and one leg are apparent in this profile view. It is interesting to note here that, although the Egyptian script has a much greater variety of human figures in it, they are invariably depicted from the side. The human figure is never frontally depicted. This seems to be true also, in general, of their art. The Egyptians were quite happy representing both arms and both legs from the side, by adjusting their relative positions so that the near limb did not hide the farther. In the Shang script there are one or two graphs in which both arms are portrayed from the side (e.g. zhí 執 / 執, showing a prisoner with both hands bound in a sort of manacle), but there are no graphs in which both legs are portrayed from the side. This naturally supports the conclusion that the use of the dà 大 element is largely structurally conditioned.

160 𡗗 𡗗

JGWB 1250: zè 𡗗

S.479.4x9

JWJ 10.3213: zè 𡗗

SW 10b.3b: 𡗗, 傾頭也。从大, 象形。凡 ...

Tr: zè 𡗗 means 'to incline the head.' It is based on dà 大, and is a pictograph [showing the head inclined].

Analysis

The graph shows a person with the head inclined to one side. Thus the primary meaning must have been, as Xu Shen has it, to incline the head. It is now usually written 仄, and SW (9b.9a¹) has this as a separate character, with the definition cèqing 側傾 'to incline.' I do not know what the origin of the form 仄 is—the seal form 𡗗 does not seem to be derivable from the bone form 𡗗. The word zè 仄 now seems to be restricted to its specialized use in poetry to refer to the deflected tones. The word zè 𡗗 'the sun slanting towards the West,' is another specialized usage.

I assume that the dà 大 element is used in this graph because the designers of the script felt that inclining the head to one side was most easily depicted from the front.

Usage

Apart from a few obscure exceptions, it occurs mainly in the name Wang Ze 王 𡗗 which, being the beneficiary of sacrifices, must be the name of an ancestor. There do not seem to be any examples of it in its original meaning.

¹SW gives 𡗗 as the *zhòuwén* form, and says that the zè 𡗗 element is both signific and phonetic.

168 央

JGWB 3002 (unidentified)

S.30.3x30

JWJ 5.1825: yang 央

SW 5b.10b: 央, 中央也。从大在冂之内。大, 人也。央旁同意。一曰久也。

SWDZ 5b.26b: [Explains that 'middle' and 'side' depend on each other for their meaning, i.e. in order for something to be in the middle, there has to be something on either side. This is typical of the Chinese 'relative' way of looking at things.]

Tr: Yang 央 means 'middle.'¹ It consists of dà 大 inside jiōng 冂 'wilderness.' Dà 大 here represents a person. The characters yang 央 and páng 旁 are similar in conception. [SW 1a.1b defines páng 旁 as bó 溥 'vast.' Xu shen's meaning is unclear, but perhaps he is trying to make a connection between the 'edge' of a wilderness and the 'middle' of one.] One source defines it as 'long lasting.'

Analysis

Ding Shan agrees with Dong Zuobin's description of this graph as depicting a person wearing a cangue, and says that it is the primary form of yāng 鞶, which is defined in SW (3b.4a) as jīngzhì 頸鞶 'neck-strap.' Karlgren defines it as 'strap on breast of horse or ox' (GSR 718f), and describes the bronze form as 'a man with a carrying-pole, supported in its centre,' but considering that none of the characters in this

¹Pulleyblank 1986 argues that yang 央 basically meant 'inside' rather than 'middle,' and is a derivative of yú 於 'in.'

phonetic series relates to this meaning, I do not know how he can be so dogmatic. Ding Shan notes that the Zheng Xuan commentary to the occurrence of yāng 鞅 in the *Shijing* (HY 50/205/5) defines it as hè 何 'to carry,' and continues 'it is like a horse 'carrying' a chariot' (謂如馬之何車). However, as Karlgren (Gloss 646) notes, the earlier commentary by Mao treats the expression yangzhāng 鞅掌 in this ode as a binome meaning shiróng 失容 'disconcerted, perplexed,' and Karlgren identifies its components with the words yāng 央 and chāng 尚, which occur separately with this meaning in other early texts. Since the expression rhymes, it does indeed seem better to treat it as a rhyming binome, and the Mao commentary, being earlier than the Zheng Xuan commentary, has greater authority. It seems better simply to accept that yang 鞅 means 'horse's neck-strap.' The bone graph probably depicts a person wearing some kind of collar round the neck, the frontal view making this easier to represent, and the application to a horse's neck-strap would be a later development.

One final point is that, although the graph probably depicts a person wearing some kind of collar, one cannot help being struck by its 'centrality.' I think this is a conscious part of the way in which the graph was designed.

Usage

Person's name, mostly in the name Zī Yang 子央 'Prince Yang.'

175 央

JGWB 1249: yì 亦

S.32.4x197

JWJ 10.3211: yì 亦

SW 10b.3b: 𠂔, 人之臂亦也. 从大, 象兩亦之形. 凡 ...

SWDZ 10b.7b: Yì 亦 came to mean 'in addition' because the armpits are 'added' to the side of the body.

Tr: Yì 亦 refers to a person's armpits. It consists of dà 大 with the two armpits depicted. [Xu Xuan et al: Now erroneously written 腋.]

Analysis

The graph shows a person with marks indicating the armpits. It is the primary form of yè 腋 'armpit.' Because it was used as a phonetic loan for a common word meaning 'also,' the word for 'armpit' came to be written with the phonetic compound 腋, consisting of ròu 肉 'flesh' signific and yè 夜 phonetic. Yè 夜 'night' in turn consists of xì 夕 'evening' and yì 亦 phonetic, according to 'SW (7a.10b). It is not found in OBI, but the bronze form is 𠂔 (效尊, O/NJWB 916/1132). The 'evening' element replaces the right armpit.

Dà 大 is used because there is an armpit on both sides of the body, and it was felt desirable to indicate both armpits, as they form a natural pair.

Usage

Mostly used in the sense of 'also,' or perhaps 'again.' I suspect that the graph 𠂔 was invented specifically as a rebus for the word 'also' and was never actually used to write the word 'armpit.' This may be another reason why the complex character yè 腋 was created to write the word 'armpit.' Whether or not this suggestion makes sense depends on the original purpose of the script. It is true that the oracle bone language is largely religious in nature, so one might not necessarily expect to see armpits referred to (unless the king had a sick one), but we do not know what other genres of writing the Shang had. Supposing that they came across the need to write the word 'also' before they had written about armpits? It would be perfectly natural, using the rebus principle, to

depict an armpit to represent this word, without having previously used the graph to *mean* 'armpit.' The same may have happened with any graph that is commonly used as a rebus.

182 夾

JGWB 1240: jiā 夾 'place name'

S.34.2x8

JWJ 10.3201: jiā 夾

SW 10b.2b: 夾, 持也。从大俠二人。

Tr: Jiā 夾 means 'to hold.' It consists of dà 大 [representing a person] embracing two people.







Analysis

The graph depicts a person apparently embracing two other people beneath the arms. Some of the meanings Karlgren gives are 'be on both sides of, support, press between' (GSR 630a), and these seem to be the sort of concepts that the graph is intended to depict. The word xiá 俠, which Xu Shen uses paronomastically in his definition,¹ has very similar meanings: 'grasp, hold, clasp under arm, encompass, embrace' (GSR 630l). There is probably an etymological relationship here.

Usage

¹Jiā 夾 kɛr p < *kr^jáp, xiá 俠 ɣep < *g^jáp (for the classification as yè 葉 rhyme, rather than the jí 緝 which the EMC values would seem to point to, see GSR 630 and Wang Li 1958:66-67). It seems unlikely that chí 持 drɨ < *drəɣ in the definition is intended to be paronomastic.

Place name.

186		S.34.3x3	}	JGWB 1242: 爽 'overlooked by SW'
187		S.34.3x8		
188		S.34.4x17		
189		S.34.4x2		
191		S.34.4x179		
190		S.34.4x1		JGWB 1246: 爽 (not in SW)

JWJ 4.1161: 𠄎 𠄎

SW 3b.20b: 爽, 明也. 从𠄎, 从大. 𠄎: 篆文 爽.

SWDZ 3b.44b: [Refers to mèishuāng 昧爽 'the grey light of early dawn.' Explains the 𠄎 element as like the holes in a lattice window letting in chinks of light.]

Tr: Shuāng 爽 means míng 明 'bright.' It consists of lí 𠄎 [see Duan's explanation] and dà 大 'big' [i.e. implying great light].

Analysis

A great deal of ink has been spilt over the identification of this character, and I do not have space to discuss all the identifications proposed here. Li Xiaoding enthuses over Zhang Zhenglang's identification as 𠄎 𠄎, but I find it far too complicated and contrived. I think that, on graphic grounds, one has to accept Yu Xingwu's identification as shuāng 爽. This creates a big problem over the meaning of the graph in OBI, which clearly has nothing to do with the SW definition or any other known meaning of this character, but I think one simply has to accept that this problem exists, and some avenues of escape have

been proposed. Here are some graphs that O/NJWB 455/569 lists as bronze forms of shuāng 爽 :



The 肆簋 graph is clearly a direct descendant of the bone graph 爽. The elements under the arms may be lamps, in which case the SW definition 'bright' could be its original meaning. The form on the 散盤 is very close to the modern form, with the lamps simplified to criss-crosses. The 肆簋 graph is used to refer to the wife of an ancestral king, in exactly the same formula as we find in OBI.

The dà 大 element is used in order to give the graph a symmetrical design.

Usage

Although there is much dispute about the identification of this graph, there is none over its meaning, which is perfectly clear. It usually refers to the wives of the ancestral kings, and may perhaps be translated as 'queen' (except in a few cases where it refers to the wife of an ancestral minister). Yu Xingwu suggests that shuāng 爽 $\text{ʃ}+\text{a}^{\text{h}}\text{a}^{\text{h}} < * \text{s}^{\text{h}}\text{r}^{\text{h}}\text{a}^{\text{h}}$ stands for xiàng 相 $\text{ʃ}+\text{a}^{\text{h}}\text{a}^{\text{h}} < * \text{s}^{\text{h}}\text{a}^{\text{h}}\text{ŋ}$ in the sense of 'helpmate.' Another possibility is that it may be connected somehow with the word shuang 孀 $\text{ʃ}+\text{a}^{\text{h}}\text{a}^{\text{h}} < * \text{s}^{\text{h}}\text{r}^{\text{h}}\text{a}^{\text{h}}$ 'widow.' As Professor Pulleyblank has pointed out to me, if a queen outlived her husband she would be his widow.

JWJ 6.2039: wú 無 ; 5.1927: wú 舞

SW 6a.24b: 𣏟, 豐也. 从林, 𣏟. [𣏟] 或說規模字, 从大, 卅. [卅] 數之積也. 林者, 木之多也. 卅與庶同意. 商書曰: 庶草繁無.

SWDZ 6a.67a: This meaning is now written 庶 or 蕪.

Tr: Wú 無 means feng 豐 'abundant.' It consists of lín 林 'forest' and 𣏟. Some sources say that 𣏟 is the character mú 模 'model.' It consists of dà 大 'big' and 卅. 卅 represents a big number [there is no such character in SW, but it may be analysed as niàn 廿 'twenty' doubled]. A forest is a lot of trees. 卅 is conceptually the same as shù 庶 'many.' The *Shangshu* [= *Shu.Hongfan*] says: "All the plants are rich and luxuriant."¹

Analysis

Xu Shen is able to marshal so much evidence in favour of his analysis, one hardly feels charitable in gainsaying it. However, the bone graph simply depicts a person dancing, and is the primary form of wú 舞 'to dance.' The modern graph must be descended from a later form in which the feet were drawn in, such as we find an example of in bronzes:



匱侯舞易器

(NJWB 899, not at OJWB 730)

¹Tongjian 24/848. Translation from Karlgren 1950:33, ¶26. In the present text, the last two characters are written 蕃庶.

This emphasizes the fact that dancing is mainly performed with the feet. In the bone graph, the distinguishing feature is the things hanging beneath the arms. Ritual texts suggest that they may represent plumes. Li Xiaoding quotes *Zhouli.Diguan.Wushi* (Lin Yin 1974:126):

教皇舞帥而舞旱暵之事。

"Ils enseignent la danse des plumes variées, et sont chefs de danse dans les cérémonies des temps de sécheresse."

(Biot 1851.I:269)

This describes one of the duties of the *wúshī* 舞師 'dance masters.' The Zheng Xuan commentary to this, which Li also quotes, reads: 皇，析五采羽為之，亦如帔 'the huáng 皇 is made from splitting five-coloured feathers; it is also like a fú 帔.' Karlgren defines fú 帔 as 'wand with silk pennons carried in ritual dances' (GSR 276n). The word huáng 皇 is also written 翬, which as you can see consists of yǔ 羽 'feather' signific and wáng 王 phonetic. SW (4a.11b) defines this character as 'to dance with feathers covering ones head when worshipping the stars.' Note also that SW (5b.15a) gives the old form of wú 舞 as 𠬞, consisting of yǔ 羽 'feather' signific and wáng 亡 phonetic. Thus one can see that the association between feathers and dancing was very close in ancient China. In OBI, dancing is often performed to solicit rain. It seems likely that yǔ 羽 'feather' and yǔ 雨 'rain' have always been homophonous, or at least very similar in pronunciation (GSR 98 and 100 gives them the same reconstruction), so one wonders if there is some sympathetic magic involved here, or whether the plumes were simply a decoration.

In spite of Xu Shen's definition of wú 舞 as 𠬞 樂 'to rejoice' (SW 5b.15a), I think it is clear that in ancient China dancing was mainly a ritual activity rather than


something done for pleasure.¹ It was an expression of harmony between the spiritual world and the physical world. The emphasis therefore was on its orderly and symmetrical performance. The bone graph, representing the dancer from the front, with the plumes hanging down in a balanced pair, may be seen as symbolizing harmony through symmetry. The ritual nature of dancing is brought out clearly both in OBI and the classical ritual texts such as the *Zhouli* passages here quoted. Note also that the word wu 巫 'shaman' differs from wu 舞 only in tone, and could well be etymologically related, i.e. it could mean literally something like 'dancer.' Ritual dancing was one of the main activities of the shamans, as one can see from the *Zhouli.Chunguan.Siwu* passage (Lin Yin 1974:269) that Li Xiaoding cites:

若國大旱則帥巫而舞雩。

"Si le royaume éprouve une grande sécheresse, alors il se met à la tête des sorciers; et il appelle la pluie, en exécutant des danses."

(Biot 1851.2:102)






This refers to one of the duties of the *siwu* 司巫 'chief shaman.'

An interesting contrast is formed by the Egyptian ideogram  (Gardiner 1957:445, sign A32), which shows a man dancing from a half-frontal view (there are no fully frontal ideograms of humans in Egyptian), and occurs as signfic in a word meaning 'jubilate.' There is no striving for symmetry in this graph, only for grace and balance. I suppose the Egyptians had a very different temperament from the Chinese.

Usage

¹Though of course the two things are not necessarily mutually exclusive. The designers of the script may have had a bias towards the ritual context, as the Confucian texts certainly do, and this would distort our view of the nature of dancing in ancient China.

In bronzes, wú 無 is always used as a negative, but in OBI it is always used in its original meaning 'to dance.' The equivalent negative in OBI is wáng 亡.



200		S.37.4x14	
201		S.37.4x16	
202		S.37.4x1	JGWB 316: yì 異
203		S.38.1x1	
205		S.38.1x25	JGWB 4694 (unidentified)

JWJ 3.803: yì 異 (= dài 戴)


SW 3a.21b: 異, 分也。从升, 从畀; 畀, 予也。凡 ...

Tr: Yì 異 'to differentiate' means fen 分 'to divide.' It consists of gōng 升 [representing a pair of hands] and bì 畀. Bì 畀 means yū 予 'to give.'

Analysis

The basic form of this graph shows a person carrying a basket¹ on the head, and is the primary form of dài 戴 *təj^h < *təɣs* 'to carry on the head.' The primary form was borrowed to write a word meaning 'different.' The phonetic element zai 戔 *tsəj < *tsəɣ* was then added to distinguish the original meaning. Li Xiaoding suggests that in the form  (my 200), the top element is zi 𠂔 *tɕi < *tsrəɣ* 'earthenware vessel,' and acts as a phonetic hint. In the form  (my 203) we can recognize cái 才 / 才 *dzəj < *dzəɣ* as

¹Which I identify as guì 𠂔 (GSR 540a 'basket') in order to account for its phonetic role in guì 𧈧 / 鬼 (see III.1.i.283).


a phonetic hint, and in the form  (my 205, which Li includes as a variant, though many scholars are doubtful over its identification), we can recognize zī 𠂔 / 子 tsɿ' < *tsəʔ phonetic. Thus the thing being carried incorporates a phonetic hint. This is typical of the design of the bone graphs.

The graph is depicted from the front in order to show that the basket is being held on the head by both hands.

Usage

Some of the above forms are used as personal names, but their usage is otherwise rather obscure. Takashima (1973:70 #18) suggests the tentative translation "I-influence," or otherwise "transform, change (?); protect (?)."

206 𠂔. 𠂔

JGWB 1599: (including ) qín 堇

S.38.1x49

JWJ 13.4013: qín 堇

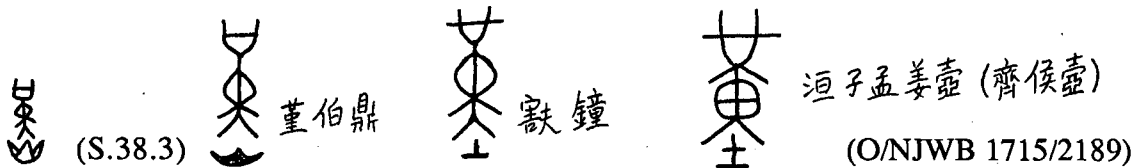
SW 13b.14b: 堇，黏土也。从土，从黃省。凡...堇，𠂔，皆古文堇。

Tr: Qín 堇 means 'clay.' It consists of tū 土 'earth' and huáng 黃 'yellow' abbreviated.... 𠂔 and 𠂔 are both old forms of qín 堇.

Analysis

Karlgren correctly identifies the present graph as 𠂔, an element which does not occur independently (not even in SW), to which he ascribes the pronunciation jian on the

basis that it is the primary form of jian 艱 'distress, difficulty' (GSR 480). The character qín 堇 actually consists of the present graph as phonetic and, in the seal form, tū 土 'earth signific,' distorted from huô 火 'fire' signific in the variant bone form and bronze form (the bronze forms show how the 'fire' element became distorted to 'earth'):




In OBI, the present graph clearly refers to some kind of calamity, so the meaning 'distress, difficulty' is quite appropriate, and there is general agreement on this. However, there is disagreement as to how the graph represents this concept. Karlgren says that "the graph shows a man (prisoner?) with back-bound hands." Li Xiaoding on the other hand suggests tentatively that the hands are being held in front, in a respectful, attentive attitude, and that this is the primary form of jīn 謹 'attentive, cautious.' This would make its use for 'distress' a loan usage. In OBI, crossed hands usually indicates that the hands are tied (see III.5), so I think Karlgren is more likely to be closer to the truth, though other explanations are still possible. One might note, for example, that many of the characters containing this element as phonetic have to do with heat and dryness, e.g. hân~hàn 𤇗 'to scorch' (GSR 144a), hân¹ 𤇗 'dry, burn' (144b), and rán 𤇗, variant of rán 然 'burn' (152i). Note also jìn 殣 'die of starvation' (480o) and the homophonous 饑 'famine' (480s). I am tempted to see the bone graph as a person suffering from thirst or hunger. This would help to explain the addition of the 'mouth' element on top that we see in most forms. However, it is hard to reach a conclusive solution.


Whatever the precise interpretation of this graph, clearly the distinguishing feature is the crossed arms, and this is most easily depicted from the front. (In the case of nǚ 女 'woman,' the arms are depicted crossed from the side, but this is due to the

¹The *Guangyun* also gives this character a *qùsheng* reading.

greater desire to use the kneeling element in this graph, in order to suggest the idea of submissiveness.)

Usage

It is used mainly as a 'disaster' graph, for which Takashima (1973:71 #19) suggests the tentative translation "dry; drought; cause drought," but the form  also occurs as an adjective describing sacrificial animals. Possibly it refers to their colour (e.g. 'clay-coloured'?).

210 

JGWB 719: chéng 乘

S.110.2x139

JWJ 5.1933: chéng 乘

SW 5b.17b: 𨔵, 覆也。从入, 桀。桀, 黠也。軍法 [入桀] 曰乘。𨔵: 古文乘从几。

SWDZ 5b.45b: Chéng 乘 means 'to add on top.' Its use to mean 'ride (a chariot)' is one aspect of this. Rù jié 入 桀 means 'to overcome strength with weakness.'

Tr: Chéng 乘 'to get on top of' means fù 覆 'to overthrow, vanquish.'¹ It consists of rù 入 'to enter' and jié 桀. Jié 桀 here stands for xiá 黠 [defined at SW 10a.26a as 'hard black']. In warfare, entering the hard black [= overcoming strength with weakness] is called chéng 乘. 𨔵: the old form of chéng 乘 contains jī 几 'table.'

¹See Karlgren GSR 1034m and Gloss 376 for this understanding.

I find this analysis very hard to make sense of, and Duan's explanation does not seem to help much. Jiéxiá 桀黠 occurs as a binome in *Hanshu* 91.4b, and Wilbur (1943:281) translates it as "rascally and crafty" (referring to male slaves).


Analysis

The graph shows a person who has climbed up into a tree. The original meaning must have been 'to mount, ascend' (GSR 895a), from which it became specialized to 'mount a chariot, ride,' which seems to be its commonest usage in soft texts, and in the *qùsheng* reading shèng 乘 it even has the specialized meaning 'chariot' or 'team of four horses (as would be used to pull a chariot).' However, the meaning 'mount, ascend' does have some textual support, as in the *Shijing* line:

亟其乘屋 (HY 32/154/7)

"quickly let us get up on the (house=) roof"

Although we do not have any inscriptional examples of the character jié 桀, I think it must originally have depicted a bird-perch. This is the meaning it has in the *Shijing* line 雞棲于桀 "the fowls roost on their perches" (HY 14/66/2). Chéng 𡵓 shows a person perching in a tree, so it is easy to see how these two characters could become similar in the seal form. The seal form of chéng 乘 must have evolved from a form in which the feet were drawn in, such as we find in the bronze form:

 屋公廨

(O/NJWB 738/907)

The depiction of the feet here seems to be intended to emphasize the idea that the person is standing in the tree, after having climbed it, but the basic meaning of the word that this graph denotes would seem to be 'to climb.'

Usage

It occurs mainly in the name of the military leader Wang Cheng 望乘. There are no examples of it in its original meaning.

211 𠂔

JGWB 809: zè 𠂔

S.39.1x24

JWJ 7.2187: zè 𠂔

SW 7a.2b: 𠂔, 日在西方時側也。从日, 仄聲。易曰: 日𠂔之離。

Tr: zè 𠂔 refers to when the sun inclines in the west. It consists of 日 'sun' signific and zè 仄 phonetic. The *Yijing* says: "In the light of the setting sun."¹

Analysis

Ye Yusen and Dong Zuobin analyse this graph as a semantic compound showing the sun and a person's shadow slanting. Whether 𠂔 actually represents a shadow is a moot point, and furthermore, as Professor Takashima has pointed out to me, the sun is underneath the person, when one might have expected it to be on top. It seems best then to follow the suggestion that Professor Takashima made to me, that 𠂔 may be a variant of

¹HY 19/30/3. Translation from Wilhelm 1967:120.

zè 𠂔 / 𠂔 (no.160 in this section). Whereas the latter shows only the head tilted, the former shows the whole body tilted. Further support for this analysis may be found on the bone *Yibian* 32 where, in the same inscription, we find the present graph written both 𠂔 and 𠂔. In the second example, the 𠂔 element is completely on its side. Strangely enough, the modern form 𠂔 seems to be closer to the original bone form than the SW seal form 𠂔. The present graph is thus a phonetic compound, but it seems likely that it is the same word as zè 𠂔 'tilt,' but was created especially to refer to the westering sun tilting towards the Hesperides.

Usage

Refers to a time of day, fixed by Dong Zuobin as 2-3pm.

223 𠂔. 𠂔

S.40.2x6

224 𠂔

JGWB 1639 (both forms): líng 陵

S.40.2x2

JWJ 14.4131: líng 陵

Analysis

Luo Zhenyu identified this graph as líng 陵 in the sense of 'climb up,' and said that it depicted a person with one foot on the ground and the other on the rung of a ladder. As you can see, JGWB and JWJ accept this. However, it seems rather obvious that the graph shows a hand sawing a person's foot off with a saw (the second form, 224, lacks the hand). In some forms the remaining foot is drawn in fully in order to emphasize the

fact that the other foot is missing. The serrated line represents a saw, and is quite distinct from fū 阜 / 阜 (阜), which represents a wall with steps up it. The bone graph from which the modern element líng 陵 comes is probably 𡵓 (see I.1.i.b.40). Therefore the present graph may not be identified as líng 陵. I do not know what modern character it should be identified with. It may have been replaced by a phonetic compound. One might suggest yuè 剕 'to amputate (as a punishment),' but this is not a very good candidate for, as Professor Takashima has pointed out to me, yuè 𠂔 / 月 already occurs in OBI with this meaning, e.g. with yáng 羊 'sheep' as object (as in the inscriptions *Yicun* 153 and 404).

In order to illustrate the fact that one foot has been sawn off, it is of course necessary to show both the legs. Thus this graph could only be written with dà 𡵓.

Usage

Li Xiaoding says it seems to be a person's name, but the context is so limited that it is hard to reach any conclusion. It could perhaps be interpreted as 'amputate' in the following inscription:

貞：𡵓 寇 不 (死)。

(*Qianbian* 6.55.5)

Tested: The foot-amputated convict will not die.

This could mean that the convict had just had his foot amputated and this had endangered his life, or he may have been amputated some time ago and the threat to his life was from some other source. On the other hand, 𡵓 could be a person's name, and kòu 寇 refer to a convict that he owns. With no other context, the interpretation is very uncertain. The Duo Kou 多 寇 were used by the Shang as a military force (see I.1.ii.1847), so these people were of some value to the Shang state, and perhaps this explains why the diviners are here concerning themselves with the health of one of them.

235 𠂔
S.40.3x5

JGWB 4705, 4708 (both unidentified)

Not in JWJ

SW 5a.13a: 奇, 異也. 一曰: 不耦. 从大, 从可.

SWDZ 5a.31a: Kê 可 is also phonetic.

Tr: Qí 奇 'strange' means yì 異 'unusual.' One source defines it as 'odd' [opposite of even]. It consists of dà 大 'big' and kê 可 [defined at SW ibid. as kên 𠂔 'meat sticking to bones'].

Analysis


Kang Yin (1983:35) describes this graph as depicting a person riding a horse, and tentatively suggests the identification qí 奇, i.e. as the primary form of qí 騎 'to ride a horse.' Presumably he is implying that the lower element was later corrupted to kê 可 as a phonetization. I think this identification is a distinct possibility. However, one should note that in none of the five instances of this graph is the element bestridden truly horse-like, so I think rather we have to interpret the graph simply as a person stepping over an object, the exact nature of which is unclear. Most scholars believe that the Shang did not ride horses, but only used them to pull chariots (see Chang Kwang-chih 1968:237), so indeed one would not expect to see a graph that depicted a person astride a horse. The original meaning of the word qí would simply have been 'to bestride,' and only later would have come to be applied specifically to bestriding horses, and the use of qí 奇 to mean 'odd' would be a phonetic loan.

If Kang Yin's identification is correct, then this solves several problems, the biggest of which is: how on earth does dà 大 + kě 可 mean 'odd'? If we regard it as a phonetic compound, in which only the dà 大 element is significant, then it is still hard to relate the meaning of dà 大 to the meaning 'odd'.¹ Another interesting phenomenon is the fact that the phonetic series formed by qí 奇 is distinct from that formed by the simple element kě 可.² The former occurs only in Type B syllables, and the latter only in Type A syllables.³ This could be seen as further supporting evidence for a different origin.

Dà 𡗗 is used in the present graph because both legs have to be depicted in order to show that one is on one side and the other on the other side.

Usage

It occurs only in the name Zǐ Qí 子奇 'Prince Qi.'

242 

S.40.4x1

JGWB 4676 (unidentified) 'some identify as qí 魑'

JWJ Cunyi.4542: qí 其

SW 9a.6a: 其, 醜也。从頁, 其聲。今逐疫有類頭。

¹Though what we have in this graph is not exactly dà 𡗗, but 𡗗, which could depict the idea of 'only having one leg.' When read jī, 奇 means 'odd (number).' Professor Pulleyblank has pointed out to me also yī 倚 'to lean' and, even more intriguing, qí 踦 'one-footed' (GSR 1c).

²Though there is some semantic overlap, as Professor Pulleyblank has pointed out to me, e.g. 阿 'slope' and yī 倚 'lean.'

³For an explanation of these terms, see Pulleyblank 1977-78:183-5.

SWDZ 9a.14a: Now written 魃頭 .

Tr: Qí 其 means chōu 醜 'ugly.' It consists of xié 頁 'head' signific and qí 其 phonetic. Today in driving away pestilence 'ugly-heads' [i.e. masked shamans] are used.

Analysis

This identification was made by Guo Moruo. He quotes *Zhouli.Xiaguan.Sima*:

方相氏：掌蒙熊皮，黃金四目。

"Inspecteur de région ou préservateur universel: Il met une peau de jeune ours, ornée de quatre yeux en métal jaune."

(Biot 1851.II:225; Lin Yin 1974:324)

to which the Zheng Xuan commentary says: 如今魃頭也 'like the ugly-heads of today.' As you can see, the graph shows a person wearing a mask. Li Xiaoding cautiously puts it in his *Cunyi* 存疑 'doubtful' section, because the identification as qí 其 is purely on inference. There is no solid evidence. However, one can still see that dà 大 has to be used in order to portray the mask from the front.

Usage

Name of a city.

2381 夬 . 夬

JGWB 1606: huáng 黃

S.364.1x168

JWJ 13.4039: huáng 黃

SW 13b.17a: 𡗗, 地之色也. 从田, 从𡗗. 𡗗亦聲. 𡗗, 古文光. 凡 ... 𡗗, 古文黃.

Tr: Huáng 黃 is the colour of the soil [i.e. yellowish-brown]. The character consists of tián 田 'field' and 𡗗. 𡗗 is also phonetic. 𡗗 is the old form of guang 光 'light.'

Analysis

In bronzes, this graph is often used to refer to an item of ceremonial clothing conferred upon people by their superiors. It was probably a belt containing rectangular plates of jade. The graph presumably represents a person wearing such a belt. Since the belt goes horizontally round the waist, it seems possible that the word héng 橫 'horizontal' is related. Dà 𡗗 is used because a belt going round the waist is most conveniently depicted from the front, rather than from the side as * 𡗗 or * 𡗗.

Usage

Already in OBI, huáng 黃 is used as a rebus for 'yellow.' However, its main usage is in the name of the ancient minister Huang Yin 黃尹, who is regularly sacrificed to just like the royal ancestors.

2422 𡗗

JGWB 1253: jiao 交

S.373.4x9

Not in JWJ, but cf. 10.3157: 𡗗 = jiào 交

SW 10b.4a: 𠂔, 交脛也. 从大. 象交形. 凡 ...

Tr: Jiao 交 means 'to cross the legs.' It is based on dà 大 [representing a person], and depicts the legs crossed.

Analysis

The graph shows a person with the legs crossed. Dà 大 is used because the front view is the most convenient for depicting this. It would be very hard to depict this from the side.

Usage

Obscure.

2423 𠂔 . 𠂔

JGWB 4689 (unidentified)






S.373.4x5

Not in JWJ

Analysis

The graph consists of jiao 交 with a mouth-like element between the legs. A friend of mine, John Lankford, suggested to me that it depicted the female pudendum.

Tsung-tung Chang (1970:54, n.7) also came to this conclusion. The 'sickness' context clearly shows that it refers to a part of the body, so this identification is certainly quite plausible. Although the sick person is not specified, it is a female ancestor that is called on to cure the affliction, so one may perhaps assume that the sick person was a woman, and this further supports the idea that it depicts a specifically female organ, though one should note that, although there is a tendency for sick people to be exorcized to ancestors of the same sex, this is by no means hard and fast. For example, of the 23 'exorcize Lady Hao' inscriptions at S.140.2-3, 11 mention an ancestor/ancestress, of which 6 are male and 5 are female.

Chang identifies the present graph directly with the modern character bi 屮, but this is something that is hard to prove. Professor Takashima has suggested to me that the graph depicts a womb, rather than the external pudendum. If one interpreted the  element here as a frontal view of shen  / 身, rather than jiao 交, then the location of the  element would be inside the body, not between the legs, and this would make Professor Takashima's suggestion preferable to Chang's. However, note that yùn  / 孕 'pregnant,' which shows a baby inside the womb, is depicted from the side. I think that in the present graph the  element is intended to represent an opening, and the frontal view is used because the opening is at the front. Shima (1958:333) simply states that the present graph means fù 腹 'stomach,' but offers no supporting evidence for this interpretation. From the context, the most one can say with any certainty is that it refers to a body part.

Usage

In the two inscriptions from *Yibian* 4540, it clearly refers to a body part:

壬戌卜，_盾貞：禦疒疾妣癸。

Renxu-day cracking, Dun tested: Exorcize the sick body part (to)
Ancestress Gui.

禦疒疾于妣癸。

Exorcize the sick body part to Ancestress Gui.

Section iii: Miscellaneous

154 𠂔

JGWB 3: tian 天

S.29.4x1 (excluding 天邑商)

JWJ 1.13: tian 天

SW 1a.1a: 𠂔, 顛也. 至高無上. 从一, 大.

Tr: Tian 天 means dian 顛 'top.' It is that than which there is nothing higher. It consists of yi 一 'one' and dà 大 'big.'Analysis

According to Karlgren (GSR 361), the graph depicts an anthropomorphic deity. However, I can find no solid evidence that the ancient Chinese regarded Heaven as a person.¹ It was rather a very abstract concept, and certainly cannot be pinned down to such a concrete notion as 'God.' None of the analyses recorded by Li Xiaoding even refer to anthropomorphic deities. I prefer Wang Guowei's analysis: 天本為人顛頂, 故象人形 'tian 天 originally referred to the human head, and that is why the graph depicts a person.' He further says that the head is emphasized because that is where the focus of the meaning is. One may compare such graphs as jiàn 見 'to see' and wén 聞 'to hear,' where the eye and ear are disproportionately large to convey the ideas of seeing and hearing.

Chen Banghuai expresses a similar opinion, and quotes Zhang Binglin²: 天為人頂, 引申之為蒼々者 'tian 天 is a person's head, and by

¹Though some of the references to tian 天 in the *Shujing* and *Shijing*, Professor Pulleyblank has pointed out to me, seem to be quite anthropomorphic in the sense of implying volitional activity. An example from the *Shijing* would be 天監在下 (HY 55/236/4) "Heaven looked down upon the world below." Tian 天 does not figure much in OBI, where the chief god is Shang Di 上帝, but does figure prominently in Zhou literature. Thus it is hard to know what it actually meant to the Shang.

²No reference given.

extension refers to the welkin' (i.e. because it is above a person's head). Note also the name of the monster Xingtian 刑天 in the *Shanhaijing.Haiwaixijing*:

刑天與帝爭神。帝斷其首，葬之常羊之山。

Severed Head contested his spiritual powers with God. God cut his head off and buried it under Changyang Mountain.¹

I have cited the text from Yuan Ke 1985:191, who has emended 刑 from an original 形 on the basis of quotations of this passage in other works. He mentions that tian 天 is written 𠂔 in OBI and 天 in bronzes, saying that 𠂔 ~ ● depicts the head, and that 'head' was probably the original meaning of tian 天 (notice that in OBI, tian 天 is written 𠂔, and 𠂔 is the OBI form of ding 丁, while in bronzes it is written 天, and ● is the bronze form of ding 丁, though Professor Pulleyblank has pointed out to me that ding 丁 *tejŋ* < *tán is unlikely to be phonetic in tian 天 *t'én* < *t'én,² since in phonetic series initial t'- has to be separated from the series t/t'/d and tç/tç'/dʒ when it is exclusive in a series, as it is in tian 天, and another problem that has to be taken into account is that the tian 天 series shows final -m in such words as tiân 忝 *t'ém*?; on the same grounds, Xu Shen's paronomastic definition cannot be taken as evidence of an etymological relationship with dian 顛 *ten* < *tén). Thus, Yuan concludes, 刑天 means 'cut the head.' This monster was so-called because God had cut its head off. There is also an interesting usage of tian 天 in the *Yijing*. Karlgren says it means 'to brand on the forehead' (GSR 361), but traditional commentaries define it as kunxíng 髡刑 'cutting off the hair as a punishment.' The passage runs:

¹*Shanhaijing Tongjian* 7/2b. My translation.

²Professor Pulleyblank is currently working on the idea that this t'- actually comes from *xj-, as may be indicated by the early transcription of Hinduka as tianzhú 天竺, and the word xian 袞 'Zoroastrianism,' but he has not yet published this theory. If correct, it would totally preclude any relationship of tian 天 with ding 丁 or dian 顛.

其人天且劓。

"A man's hair and nose cut off."¹

Li Xiaoding also includes 𠂔 as a variant of tian 天. Luo Zhenyu analyses this form as shàng 上 over dà 大, and explains: 人所戴為天, 天為人上也 'Heaven is what a person bears, heaven is above man.'

Although I am not clear on the role of dà 𠂔 in this graph, one can at least start off by comparing it with the graphs 𠂔 and 邑. The second graph is yì 邑 'city,' and shows a subject kneeling under a city wall. The identification of the first graph is more problematical, but from its context (S.10.4) one can at least see that it is a person's name (his death is divined in *Zhuhé* 58 and *Jimun* 455). I would analyse it as consisting of rén 人 signific, indicating 'man's name,' and dīng 𠂔 / 丁 phonetic, with the phonetic element attached to the top of the 'person' element in such a way as to suggest the head.

Then it is necessary to determine what meaning the graph 𠂔 is intended to represent. Is it intended to represent 'heaven'? Or is it intended to represent 'head'? If the former, then maybe dà 大 represents the 'greatness' of Heaven, or maybe one has to accept the 'anthropomorphic' theory after all. If the latter, then one should note that body parts are usually indicated with rén 人, so there would be no reason why the graph for 'head' should not be written 𠂔. The role of dà 𠂔 in the present graph is something that I must leave open.

Usage

Mainly in the expression tian yì shang 天邑商, which I would translate as 'the head city Shang' (rather than 'celestial city'). Cf. Tsung-tung Chang (1970:236):

¹HY 24/38/3. Translation from Wilhelm 1967:149.

"Auch die Schreibung für die "Haupt"-stadt Shang 𠩺 邑 商 = 天邑商 ...ist auf die Bedeutung "Kopf" zurückzuführen." If 𠩺 (S.30.1) may be admitted as a variant of tian 天, then Chang (ibid:236, ex.17.1) is able to come up with one example of it meaning 'head':

庚辰，王(卜¹): 弗 𠩺 朕 天。

(Yibian 9067)

Gengchen-day, the king (cracking): It will not sicken my head.

159 𠩺

JGWB 1261: 𠩺 夫

S.30.1x34

JWJ 10.3249: 𠩺 夫

SW 10b.8a: 𠩺，丈夫也。从大，一以象簪也。周制以八寸為尺，十尺為丈。人長八尺，故曰丈夫。凡...

Tr: 𠩺 夫 means 'adult male.' It consists of 𠩺 大 with a line representing the pin. In the Zhou system there were eight inches in a foot and ten feet in a yard. A man grows eight feet tall, and that is why he is called a 'zhàng-high fellow.'

Analysis

The SW analysis is probably correct. As already mentioned, according to the ritual texts (e.g. *Yili*.*Shiguanli*), when a man became twenty he had his hair bound up and a cap pinned on to it. This symbolized the initiation into adulthood. One may compare the

¹The rubbing is not very clear, but it seems possible that there is a 𠩺 卜 after 'king.'

graphs 𡥉, variant of nū 𡥉 / 女 'woman,' and 𡥊, variant of mū 𡥊 / 母 'mother,' which seem to show the hairpin that was a sign of womanhood.

The dà 大 element here perhaps indicates 'an adult,' a man who has reached the age where he can stand as a full-fledged member of society, shouldering all the responsibilities that he is expected to. Note also that there is a graph consisting of rén 亻 with a bar through the top: 𠂇. This is generally taken to be an abbreviation of fá 𠂇 / 伐 (see S.333.4), and in this case the bar indicates that the head is being cut off.

Usage

Seems to be the name of a place and a person.

169 𡥉

JGWB 513: mēi 美

S.30.4x25

JWJ 4.1323: mēi 美

SW 4a.17a: 美, 甘也. 从羊, 从大. 羊在六畜主給膳也. 美與善同意.

SWDZ 4a.35b: Mēi 美, shàn 善, yì 義 and you 𡥉 are all based on the same concept [i.e. as regards the significance of the yáng 羊 'sheep' element.]

Tr: Mēi 美 means gan 甘 'delicious.' It consists of yáng 羊 'sheep' and dà 大 'big.' Among the six kinds of domestic animal, the sheep is the chief supplier of meat. [The characters] mēi 美 and shàn 善 'good' are based on the same concept.

Analysis

Xu Shen gives the meaning of mēi 美 as 'delicious,' rather than 'beautiful,' but I do not think this can be regarded as the basic meaning. I suspect that Xu gives this definition purely in order to enable him to make a pun on shàn 善 'good'~shàn 膳 'cooked food.' In the classics, mēi 美 is used mostly of appearance, i.e. 'beautiful.' This must be its basic meaning, and to describe flavour as mēi 美 is simply an extension of this meaning.

How then does the present graph represent the concept 'beautiful'? Traditionally this character is regarded as a semantic compound of 'big' + 'sheep,' because big sheep are beautiful (or delicious?), as the Xu Xuan commentary explains. Duan interprets the sheep as having a 'good' meaning in the characters mēi 美, shàn 善, yì 義 and yōu 美.¹ The association between 'sheep' and 'goodness~beauty' is a little hard to grasp, and I feel sure that these characters can all be explained in some other way. It would be too much of a digression to explore them all here, but I would just like to mention the relatively simple case of yì 義 $\eta i\check{a}^h < * \eta \check{a} l s$, which is probably the primary form of xì 犧 $x i \check{a} < * \eta ^h \grave{a} l$ (?) 'sacrificial animal' (see Shirakawa 1978:13). The 'sheep' element represents sacrificial animals in general, and wō 我 $\eta \check{a} \check{a}^? < * \eta \acute{a} l^?$ is phonetic. Since wō 扌 / 我 depicts a weapon, it is possible that it is also intended to suggest the idea of cutting the animal up.

Karlgren describes the present graph as "a man with a head adornment in the form of ram's horns" (GSR 568a). However, when we look at the bone graph, we see that it does not actually have yáng 𦍋 / 羊 'sheep' on top, but some other unidentified element. It occurs to me that 𦍋 could be an old pictograph for méi 眉 'eyebrow' (for which the usual OBI form is 𦍋). This would of course be phonetic: méi 眉 and mēi 美 differ only in tone. On the other hand, if 𦍋 really is a headdress of some sort, then it could represent the idea of a person dressed up and looking fine.

¹Professor Pulleyblank has suggested to me the interesting idea that the 'sheep' element may derive a 'good' significance from the word xiáng 祥 'propitious.'

Usage

Name of a prince, Zǐ Měi 子美 . Apart from this, its usage is obscure.

173 𡗗

JGWB 644: qù 去

S.32.3x62

JWJ 5.1725: qù 去

SW 5a.20b: 𡗗, 人相違也. 从大, 𡗗聲. 凡 ...

Tr: Qù 去 refers to people leaving each other. It consists of dà 大 signific [representing a person] and qu 𡗗 phonetic.

Analysis

Karlgren (GSR 642a) suggests that the graph may possibly represent the idea 'castrate' (i.e. qūshì 去勢), with the intercrural element representing the excised portion. On the other hand, Li Xiaoding accepts the SW analysis. Although the 𡗗 element usually represents a mouth in OBI, there are cases where it has to be recognized as a container, e.g. fōu 缶 / 缶 'earthenware vessel,' or zī 埴 / 埴, also an earthenware vessel. I feel more inclined to the opinion of Shang Chengzuo, who takes the whole graph as the primary form of qu 𡗗, which is described in SW (5a.20b) as a food basket made of osier wicker. SW gives 𡗗 as the primary form of this character. This would mean that the 𡗗 element here represents, not a person, but a lid. I think this is quite plausible, since there are other graphs in which this element can only be interpreted as a lid, e.g. certain forms of hú 壺 (see JGWB 1254):



(Yibian 2924)



(Qianbian 5.5.5)

There is also a similar graph (JGWB 5603), which occurs only as a person's name but may perhaps be identified with the SW (10b.5a) character yun 𡗗 (seal form: 𡗗) the original meaning of which is obscure, but which clearly depicts a similar kind of vessel:

(Kufang 1506 = Zongtu 20.2¹)

Xu Shen places his hú 壺 radical shortly after his dà 大 radical, and says: 从大象其蓋也 'the dà 大 element depicts the lid' (SW 10b.5a). I would say that the present graph is the primary form of gài 蓋 'lid.' One may explain the disproportionately large size of the lid compared to the vessel by saying that this is the focus of the graph.

Usage

It is possible that in some cases it means 'to leave,' but the context is too limited to be sure. It also occurs frequently in the phrase qù kuí 去葵 / 去葵, which could be interpreted as 'abandon lances.'² Compare the phrase qí kuí 企葵 (S.6.3), which could be interpreted as 'raise lances.' Also a place name.

¹The same graph is found on the carved antler *Kufang* 1989.

²Tsung-tung Chang (1970:120, ex.7.24) translates this phrase as "Kui verlassen," taking kuí as a place name here also.

177 汰

JGWB 1300: tài 汰

S.34.1x25

JWJ 11.3359: tài 汰

SW 11a.23b: 汰, 漸瀦也。从水, 大聲。

Tr: Tài 汰 means 'to wash rice.' It consists of shuǐ 水 'water' signific and dà 大 phonetic.Analysis

The graph consists of dà 大 surrounded by drops of water. Dà 大 is phonetic, and at the same time suggests a person washing. Its primary meaning was probably 'wash,' and it later came to be used specifically for washing rice. The character is now generally written 汰, and survives only metaphorically, as in táotài 淘汰 'wash out impurities, purify.' The character tài 泰 is really the same thing, but with two hands added, as the seal form 𣎵 shows (SW 11a.26b), thus suggesting the idea of washing something with the hands.

Usage

Name of a person, Zī Tài 子汰 'Prince Tai.'

1074 𣎵

S.176.3x4

2428 𣎵

JGWB 1238 (both forms): chì 赤

S.374.3x4

JWJ 10.3197 (both forms): chì 赤

SW 10b.1b: 赤，南方色也。从大，从火。凡 ... 𡗗：古文从炎，土。

Tr: Chì 赤 'red' is the colour of the south. It consists of dà 大 'big' and huô 火 'fire.' ... 𡗗 : the old form consists of yán 炎 'flames' and tù 土 'earth.'

Analysis

The graph consists of 'big' and 'fire,' so the SW semantic compound analysis could well be correct. If so, then this is the only graph I have come across in which 大 actually stands for 'big,' i.e. 'big fire' = 'blazing red colour.'

Usage

Graph 1074 occurs in a hunting inscription (*Yibian* 2908 = *Bingbian* 284.4), but it is hard to say what it means there. Graph 2428 on the other hand occurs before * 𠂔 'male horse' (*Houbian* 2.18.8), so it may be interpreted as referring to the colour of the horse. Shima's separation of these two graphs is perhaps meant to imply that the former contains shan 山 'mountain' while the latter contains huô 火 'fire.' These two elements are often hard to distinguish in OBI.

3016 𡗗
S.469.1x5

JGWB 1260: xi 𡗗

JWJ 10.3245: xi 𡗗

SW 10b.7b: 𦍋, 大腹也。从大, 絲省聲。絲, 籀文系字。

SWDZ 10b.18b: SW here takes 𦍋 in the sense of 𦍋 [SW 9b.14b] which, doubled, forms a descriptive epithet for the fat stomach of a pig.




Tr: 𦍋 means 'big belly.' It consists of 大 'big' signific, and 絲 abbreviated phonetic. 絲 is the *zhòuwén* form of 系.




Analysis

In his effort to account for the 大 element, Xu Shen maintains that the original meaning of this character is 'big belly.' However, as I have already mentioned, there are hardly any bone graphs in which this element might reasonably be claimed to mean 'big.' Here, as usual, it simply represents a person. There is a rope attached to his head, and a hand holding the rope. Luo Zhenyu is thus probably right in claiming that the original meaning of 𦍋 is 罪隸 'convict,' or at least some similar meaning. Karlgren (GSR 876d) gives the meanings 'slave, servant.' It is possible that the 𦍋 element is 𦍋 'to bind,' as Xu Shen and Karlgren maintain. This would make it both signific and phonetic, since the noun 𦍋 may be interpreted as 'one who is bound, bondsman,' and may thus be related to the verb 𦍋 'to bind.' Note that the latter is in the departing tone, which is often a sign of etymological derivation.¹ The bone form of 𦍋 is actually 𦍋 (JGWB 1546), but it is possible that the shorter form 𦍋, which is the ancestor of the modern form, already existed. It is possible that the graph 𦍋 (S.469.1, not in JGWB or JWJ) was the original² form, and that the top part was then phonetized to 𦍋 / 系. Yu Xingwu maintains that 𦍋 really depicts, not a rope, but a queue, and

¹One would normally expect the noun to be derived from the verb. However, as Downer (1959) has shown, the situation with *qùsheng* derivation is now very confused (though presumably when it was still a piece of living morphology native speakers had a clear idea of its significance).

² 𦍋 occurs in a Period I divination by diviner Que 𦍋 (Jimbun 443), and 𦍋 in a Period I divination by diviner Zheng 𦍋 (Zhiyi 18, S.468.4), whereas 𦍋 occurs in Period IV and V inscriptions, so this could reflect a historical development in the graph.

that this hairstyle was affected by non-Chinese, and was thus a sign of being a barbarian. Li Xiaoding approves of this. However, the same element also occurs in , a variant of qiang  / , and here it clearly depicts a rope tied round the neck. Whether or not the barbarians wore queues in Shang times is certainly a moot point, and not the sort of thing for which archaeological evidence is ever likely to be forthcoming.

Note that the present grapheme has a variant  (S.469.1) containing ren , probably indicating 'type of human.' Perhaps the da  element in the present graph indicates that the slave was an adult male. However, there are no examples of this graph in its original meaning that could help us determine what sort of slave it referred to.

Usage

Name of a hunting ground. There are no examples of it in its original meaning.

Part 2: 𠂇

𠂇 𠂇 / 𠂇 is 𠂇 𠂇 upside down. It occurs in only one other graph, where it is augmented by a foot and/or a road radical, and I think really this represents just another aspect of the same basic meaning, so there is not really much to say about this element. However, it is necessary to include it for the sake of completeness.

1341 卪

JGWB 265: nì 卪

S.212.4x16

JWJ 3.687: nì 卪 (this reference not in S)

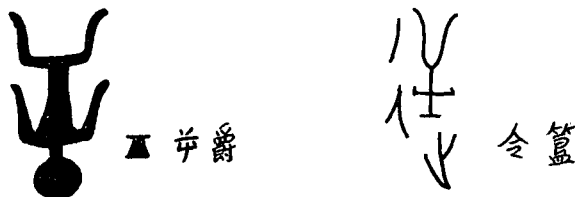
SW 3a.2a: 卪, 不順也。从干下卪 卪 之 也。

SWDZ 3a.2b: Later usually written 逆. [Duan also has kān 𠂔 'pit' instead of chè 卪 'sprout,' and explains that it has the same meaning as in xiong 凶, representing a treacherous pit.]

Tr: Nì 卪 'going against' means 'not going with.' It consists of gàn 干 [defined at SW ibid. as fàn 犯 'to attack, aggress on'], underneath which a sprout opposes it.

Analysis

The SW analysis is based on the corrupted seal form. As Luo Zhenyu notes, the bone graph is in fact simply dà 𠂔 upside down. This is still clear in the bronze form (O/NJWB 252/315¹), though in the bronze form of nì 逆 (O/NJWB 184/217) it is already quite corrupted:



However, Luo describes the bone graph as 'showing a person entering from the outside' (示人自外入之狀), which seems unnecessary. I think rather that the dà 𠂔 being upside down simply symbolizes the idea of 'contrary, opposing.' The meaning 'to meet' that nì 逆 sometimes has in the classics is simply another aspect of this basic meaning, i.e. 'to meet head on.'

¹Though note that it only occurs on Shang vessels in very short inscriptions so there is no contextual corroboration here that this really is nì 卪.

One may compare the graph formed by turning rén 人 upside down: dian * 𡗗 / 眞頁. This means literally 'turned on the head,' whereas nì 𡗗 does not have this literal meaning.

Usage

Obscure.

1340 𡗗

JGWB 168: nì 逆

S.212.4x11

JWJ 2.521: nì 逆

SW 2b.3b: 𡗗, 迎也. 从辵, 𡗗聲. 關東曰逆, 關西曰迎.

SWDZ 2b.5a: Nì 逆 and yíng 迎 begin with the same sound [i.e. *ŋ-], and are interchangeable, e.g. *Shu.Yugong* "逆河"¹ is written "迎河" in the *jinwén* text.

Tr: Nì 逆 means yíng 迎 'to meet.' It consists of chuò 辵 [a walking radical] signific and nì 𡗗 phonetic. East of the Pass they say nì 逆, west of the Pass they say yíng 迎.

Nì 逆 $\eta i a j k < * \eta r à k$ and yíng 迎 $\eta i a j \eta < * \eta r à \eta$ differed only in the nasality of the final consonant. Xu shen regards this variation as dialectal.

Analysis

¹*Tongjian* 6.853-4.

The bone graph consists of nì 𠂔 on top of zhī 止 'foot.' While the former is undoubtedly phonetic, the meanings 'oppose' and 'meet' are probably different aspects of the same basic meaning. In soft texts the character nì 逆 is used in both meanings, but note that yíng 迎 has only the meaning 'to meet' and does not have the meaning 'to oppose.' The nasal~non-nasal variation in the final of related words is quite common in Chinese, though its significance has not yet been explored. One wonders if it is purely dialectal or also derivational.

JGWB and JWJ both include the graphs 𠂔 and 𠂔 (S.324.4). The first form is the direct ancestor of the modern character.

Although the nì 𠂔 element is phonetic in the present graph, it also seems likely that nì 逆 is simply an augmented form of nì 𠂔. Other members of the same word family that Professor Pulleyblank has pointed out to me are 忤 'to oppose,' 迂 'to go against,' and 晤 'go against, encounter,' all pronounced wù (GSR 60g, 60h, 58o).

Usage

As Li Xiaoding notes, it sometimes means 'meet,' and is also used as a person's name and a place name.

SUMMARY OF CHAPTER II

To sum up then, although there is a residue of graphs for which I have been unable to arrive at a satisfying explanation, in the majority of cases the use of the dà 𠂇 element can be shown to be due to the need or desire felt by the designers of the script to portray both arms and/or legs or both sides of the body, or due to the desire to create a symmetrical graph (e.g. wū 𠂇 / 舞).

Chapter III: ㄣ

Part One: ㄣ

Of the three elements ㄣ, ㄣ and ㄣ, only the ㄣ element is used symbolically. The graph depicts a person kneeling, and is used to symbolize the ideas of yielding, inferiority and submission. This much seems fairly clear, but there is a great problem over the identity of this element. It evolves into the modern form ㄣ, and SW has an entry for this. From Xu Shen's paronomastic definitions of various characters containing ㄣ, one can see that he thought it was capable of standing for ㄣ 節, and the *Tangyun* reading in SW accordingly gives it the same pronunciation as ㄣ 節.¹ However, there are no examples of ㄣ as an independent character, and it is highly doubtful that Xu Shen knew its true pronunciation, since he manifestly did not know that it depicted a person kneeling. The mystery of the ㄣ element is by no means solved, but I offer various theories in my analysis thereof.

After discussing the graph ㄣ itself, I shall divide the present part into three sections, according to the role of this element as I have determined it, thus:

- i. Reflects the posture that would be adopted ordinarily in real life for a given activity
- ii. Symbolizing yielding~inferiority~submission

¹That is 子結切. The *Guangyun* reading is the same.

iii. Phonetic (?)

256 𠂔

JGWB 1089: jié 𠂔

S.41.1x32

JWJ 9.2865: jié 𠂔

SW 9a.11b: 𠂔, 瑞信也. 守國者用玉𠂔, 守都鄙者用角𠂔, 使山邦者用虎𠂔, 土邦者用人𠂔, 澤邦者用龍𠂔, 門關者用符𠂔, 貨賄用璽𠂔, 道路用旌𠂔. 象相合之形. 凡...

SWDZ 9a.31b: The shape of the tally reflects what there is most of in that place. The information on tallies here is from *Zhouli.Zhangjie* [see Biot 1851.I:333-5].

Tr: Jié 𠂔 means 'jade tally.' The person in charge of a country uses a jade tally, the person in charge of a town uses a horn tally; the governor of a hilly district uses a tiger[-shaped] tally, of an agrarian district uses a human[-shaped] tally, and of a marshy district uses a dragon[-shaped] tally; [keepers of] gates and passes use a bamboo tally, customs officers use a seal-tally, highway officers use a flag-tally. The character depicts [the act of] fitting together.

Analysis


According to Xu Shen, 𠂔 depicts a tally, i.e. it is the primary form of jié 節. However, the bone form clearly depicts a kneeling person, not a tally. Since 𠂔 is not after all the primary form of jié 節, this also calls into question whether it is pronounced like jié 節. The identity of 𠂔 requires investigation. I have been unable to find a hard and fast solution, but I would like to offer the following three possibilities.

1. 𠂔 is the primary form of jì 𠂔 'to kneel.' This contains jī 己 phonetic, and one could suggest that the sixth heavenly stem jī 己 / 己 is a stylized form of 𠂔 (for a well-known example of the stylization of a graph that is commonly used as a rebus, cf. zhen 貞 / 貞 < dīng 鼎 / 鼎¹). Both jī 己 and 𠂔 occur in characters to do with kneeling, e.g. xī 𠂔 'knee' and jì 𠂔 'to kneel.' Karlgren classifies jì 𠂔 gī' < *gè' under jī 己 kī' < *kè' phonetic (GSR 953y), but if jī 己 is phonetic, then what is the function of the qí 其 gī' < *gè' element? Either jī 己 or qí 其 would make a good phonetic, but one hardly likes to say that here we have a character consisting of two phonetics and no signific. SW (14b.10a) analyses the jī 己 element as signific, but this is based on Xu Shen's understanding of jī 己 as representing 'something curled up in hiding' (象萬物辟藏詘形也). Duan Yucai (SWDZ 14b.2b) explains the SW definition of jì 𠂔, chángjù 長踞, as 箕其股而坐, i.e. to sit with the legs spread out like a jī 箕 'winnowing basket.' This would provide a way of accounting for the qí 其 element as signific.

The problem with this proposal is that already in bones and bronzes jì 𠂔 is written with jī 己:



(JGWB 16872)



𠂔 𠂔

(O/NJWB 1851/2367)

If 己 were only the stylized form of 𠂔 when used as a rebus for the sixth heavenly stem, then one would expect jì 𠂔 to be written with 𠂔.

¹That 貞 is from 鼎 can be seen from (1) intermediary forms such as 𠂔 (Jiabian 2304, JGWB 455: zhen 貞), 𠂔 (Xubian 5.16.4, JGWB 864: dīng 鼎), but this example used as zhen 貞); (2) the fact that the full form is sometimes used (in fact, at S.396.1-4 most of the occurrences of dīng 鼎 are used in the sense of zhen 貞).

²Example from Qianbian 3.18.4.

2. 𠂔 is the primary form of xi 𦍋 'knee.' This idea is put forward by Wen Shaofeng and Yuan Tingdong (1983:317). They were inspired by a Qing philologist, Yu Chang 于 𠂔 (1854-1910), who claimed that the SW radical 𠂔 is the primary form of xi 𦍋 (see SWGL 7.4019a-b). This suggestion has quite a lot in its favour. Firstly, xi 𦍋 *sit* < *sàc is phonetically very close to jié 節 *tset* < *tsác. If Xu Shen was right in thinking that 𠂔 is phonetically like jié 節, then this would support this identification. Secondly, one could claim that 𠂔 is phonetic, or at least a phonetic hint (since it may also be signfic) in ji 𠂔 / 卽 *tsik* < *tsàc. This is all quite encouraging. It further seems likely that xi 𦍋 'knee' and jié 節 'joint' are etymologically related, since the knee is a joint. In some inscriptions, 𠂔 is followed by a sacrificial victim, so it would appear to be a verb here denoting some method of disposing of a victim. One could propose that it is used for the word qie 切 *ts'et* < *ts'ác 'to cut.'

Against this idea is the fact that 𠂔 does not depict a person's knee, but a person kneeling. In the Shang script, body parts are usually indicated by emphasizing the part of the body in question, e.g. tún 𠂔 / 尻 (臀) 'fundament,' and there is a graph 𠂔 (see under I.1.iii.25) which seems to show the knee emphasized. There is no soft text evidence that xi 𦍋 was ever used as a verb 'to kneel,' for which etymologically unrelated words are used, such as ji 𠂔 and gui 跪, though one could speculate that the word xi 𦍋 was used as a verb by the Shang.


On the bone *Jimbun* 2283, the present element occurs twice, and in one occurrence it is written 𠂔, with a line drawn round the knee as if to focus on it. One may compare zhōu 𠂔 / 肘 'elbow' (JWJ 4.1507). Does this draw attention to the knee, or to the act of kneeling? The context does not help us, as it is used here as a sacrificial verb, so it is probably a rebus for something.

3. 𠂔 is the phonetic element in pèi 配, fei 妃 and fèi 肥. According to SW, fei 妃 and pèi 配 both contain jī 己 phonetic. This is clearly phonetically impossible. The bone and bronze forms of pèi 配 contain, not jī 己, but 𠂔 (see iii.2556 in this Part). In this case then, it seems that jī 己 is corrupted from 𠂔. In OBI there is also a graph 𠂔 (see iii.880 in this Part), which I would like to identify as fei 妃. As for fèi 肥, although the modern form is written with bā 巴, the seal form (SW 4b.15b) has 𠂔. It is curious that these three characters should all be phonetically so close (they are all in OC wei 微 rhyme and all have a labial initial), and all have the 𠂔 element in common. Since the yōu 酉 'wine vessel,' nū 女 'woman' and ròu 肉 'meat' elements are clearly significant, it seems quite likely that the 𠂔 element should be phonetic. There are two other characters in SW that belong in this same phonetic group which Xu Shen analyses as containing jī 己 phonetic. These are pī~bì 圮 ^{bi} (SW 13b.11b), which one may hypothesize as coming from something like *brəlʔ², and fēi~bì 悲 ^{p'uj} ~ ^{bi} (SW 11b.15a, not in GSR). I shall now discuss them.

Xu Shen defines this character as huī 毀 ^{xwǎ} < *x^wəlʔ 'to ruin' (note the paronomastic intent), and this meaning is attested in *Shu.Yaodian* (Tongjian 1.324) in the phrase 方 (=放) 命圮族, which Karlgren translates as "He neglects my orders, he ruins his kin" (1950:3 ¶11, see also Gloss 1238). SW also gives the textually unattested variant 𠂔, which Xu Shen claims contains pèi 配 abbreviated phonetic, though it seems rather obvious that it contains pái 排 phonetic (this variant helps to confirm the *-r- cluster, as pái 排 ^{p'ej} < *p'rél then makes a better phonetic than the simple element fei 非 ^{puj} < *pəl would).

¹For the two modern readings, of which the first is irregular, see GSR 1237a'.

²The *-r- is reconstructed in order to account for the front vowel in EMC. See Pulleyblank 1984:26.

In the bronze script there is a graph consisting of tû 土 and 卩 :  (圮父簋 O/NJWB 1209/1503: 'not in SW'). Since it only occurs as a person's name, there is no contextual support for identifying this graph as bì 圮. On the other hand, there is no bronze graph consisting of tû 土 and jī 己 competing for this identification. These facts are too tenuous to constitute evidence, but they may perhaps serve a corroborative role when combined with superior evidence.

Duan Yucai (SWDZ 13b.34a) says that bì 圮 is probably the same word as pī 崩 pī < *p'rəl?, defined in SW (9b.5a) as beng 崩 'to collapse,' and pèi~fū 崩配 p'əj^h~p'ut, defined in SW (ibid.) as bengsheng 崩聲 'the sound of collapsing,' with the sound gloss 'read like fēi~bì 費 p'uj^h, buj^h~pi^h < *p'àts, bàts~pràts' (this probably implies a pronunciation for Xu Shen's time of something like *p'əjs). The jī 己 element in bì 圮 may be corrupted from 𠂔.

𠂔 SW puts this character under fēi 非 signific and defines it as bié 別 'to separate.' There are no textual examples of it in this meaning. The *Guangyun* gives the additional meaning 'an owl-like bird.' It occurs with this meaning, in the variant writing 𠂔, in the *Shanhaijing Xishanjing*, in the binome dùfēi 𪗇 𠂔¹ (compare how the ba 巴 element in fēi 肥 is corrupted from 卩).

Assuming that the SW definition is correct, this would mean that the jī 己 element would indeed have to be phonetic. This seems very strange, because the fēi 非 element would apparently make a much better phonetic than the jī 己 element. On the other hand, if the jī 己 element were signific, what area of meaning could it possibly represent? The only meanings of jī 己 are 'oneself' and 'sixth heavenly stem,' neither of which seems to relate to the meaning 'separate,' (though these are of course both rebus meanings—it is not known what the graph depicts). Either as phonetic or signific, the jī

¹See Yuan Ke 1985:22. He says (ibid:42) that it is pronounced fēi 肥.

己 element in this character is mysterious, and suggests that it is in fact a corruption of some other graphically similar element. Shen Jianshi (1960:451) notes that in one of the Wang Renxu *Qieyun* manuscripts the character is written 𪛗, as if from 𪛗 (a variant writing of 𪛗). In Long Yuchun (1968) it is under wēi 尾 rhyme written 𪛗, with the definition 'owl-like bird,' and given the alternative reading bi^h.

If fei 非 is signific in fēi 𪛗, then perhaps this word was originally simply written 非, and 𪛗 was later added as an elucidating phonetic, and became corrupted into jī 己.

The word jī 己 has both a different initial and a different final from the above mentioned words (pèi 配, fēi 肥, fei 妃, bì 埤, fēi 𪛗), which between themselves show a high level of phonetic similarity, so I feel very doubtful that jī 己 is phonetic in any of them. For pèi 配 there is proof that it originally contained 𪛗, while fēi 肥 still contains 𪛗 in the seal form. I feel inclined therefore to regard the above characters as reflecting the true original pronunciation of 𪛗, and the role of 𪛗 in jī 𪛗 / 𪛗 as signific rather than phonetic. At least, the evidence seems to be weighted against 𪛗 being phonetic in jī 𪛗. Since a huìyì 會意 interpretation of this character is possible, I think that this interpretation should be adopted. If the phonetic element in the above characters really were jī 己, one would expect more phonetic variety, e.g. a labial initial with a zhi 之 rhyme final, or a velar initial with a wei 微 rhyme final. Instead, in these characters that appear to contain jī 己 phonetic, we find two groups that are phonetically very consistent within themselves: a *Pəl type and a *Kəy type. This is probably the strongest argument for recognizing that the jī 己 element in these characters is a graphic collapse of two originally distinct elements.

If this theory is correct, then what word does 𪛗 represent? Its use as a radical suggests that it means 'to kneel.' I have been unable to find a word with this sort of

pronunciation and this sort of meaning, but I hope at least to have shown that the identity of this element is problematical.

Section i: Real Life

265 𠄎

JGWB 1065: xiong 兄

S.44.1x122

JWJ 8.2801: xiong 兄

SW 1a.4a: 祝，祭主贊詞者。从示，从人，口。一曰从兗省。易曰：兗為口為巫。

Tr: Zhù 祝 means 'the person in charge of the sacrifice, the one who proffers the words [i.e. says the prayers].' It consists of shì 示 'altar,' rén 人 'person,' and kōu 口 'mouth.' One source says that it comes from duì 兗 abbreviated. The *Yijing* says: "Duì 兗 is mouth...is shaman."¹

Analysis

JGWB and JWJ both include 𠄎 as a variant of xiong 兄 / 兗. However, I think by now my exposition of graphic analysis will have led us to be surprised at, or at least to question, such a claim, and when we look into the matter we find that, while not completely clear-cut, there are cogent grounds for distinguishing these two graphs, the chief of which is context: their OBI contexts are demonstrably quite different.

Sun Haibo himself (the author of JGWB) notes under the form 𠄎 that 'xiong 兄 is used as zhù 祝.' Their pronunciation is so different that I hardly need give reconstructions to demonstrate the impossibility of this. Other scholars have recognized 𠄎 as a variant of zhù 𠄎 / 祝 (e.g. Long Yuchun 1968b:250), and this is certainly a more realistic approach. I would say that 𠄎 shows a person kneeling in prayer (hence the emphasis on the 'mouth' element), and that 𠄎 is an augmented form with the addition of an altar before the suppliant. I have found only three examples where 𠄎 definitely has to be interpreted as xiong 兄, due to its being followed by a heavenly stem:

¹HY 51/shuo/8 and 52/shuo/17.

𠄎	/ 兄 辛	<i>Houbian</i> 1.7.10
𠄎	/ 兄 丁	<i>Shiduo</i> 1.423 (ap. S.553.4 ¹)
𠄎	/ 兄 乙	<i>Shiduo</i> 2.294 (ap. S.44.4)

If it is not considered too bold, I would suggest that these are 'spelling' mistakes. They are not the free variants that Li Xiaoding implies. Where then do all the 𠄎 in JGWB come from that are not marked by Sun Haibo as standing for zhù 祝? Upon checking, we find that they are in fact all used as the name of a diviner (see S.569), so there is no evidence that these graphs stand for xiong 兄. We even find the graphs 𠄎 and 𠄎 occurring in the same inscription:

... 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎
 ... 𠄎 至 兄 辛 . (Jingjin 4080)
 ... 𠄎 as far as Xiong Xin.

There are several inscriptions at S.44.1 reading ' 𠄎 as far as such-and-such an ancestor,' and this obviously parallels them. I have not translated the graph 𠄎, since its meaning is yet to be demonstrated. Further evidence for distinguishing 𠄎 from 𠄎, is the fact that the graph 𠄎 is always written with a kneeling figure, never a standing one.

Usage

As a sacrificial verb, 𠄎 appears to take an animal as its direct object and an ancestor as its indirect object. The animal is often not mentioned, but the fact that it does sometimes occur shows that the ancestor must be the indirect object, even in those cases

¹Unfortunately I do not have access to this collection. According to S, this inscription is the same as *Ninghu* 1.214, where however the graph for xiong is written in the normal fashion. Since this is a traced collection, it is not entirely reliable.

where it is not overtly marked with yú 于 'to.' If one interprets 𠄎 as zhù 祝 'to invoke,' then the animal would have to be re-interpreted as one step further down the hierarchy of obliquity from indirect object, i.e. 'invoke using such-and-such an animal.' This usage has been demonstrated by Chow Kwok-ching (1982) for what he calls 'Type A' verbs, e.g. gào 告 'announce' and qiú 求 'seek' (the latter translated by Chow as 'invoke'). Some examples are:

丙申卜：告于父丁牛一。 (Nanbei.Ming 531)

We should make an announcement to Father Ting (with) one ox.

貞：羽丁亥求于丁二牛。 (Buci 244)

On the next ting-hai day, we should invoke to Ting (with) two oxen.

(Chow 1982:193, his translations)

Some of the 𠄎 inscriptions are very similar to this. Although Chow does not discuss the verb 𠄎, it does occur in one of his example sentences, where he transcribes it as zhù 祝, and translates it as if it were a Type A verb:

辛巳卜：其告水入于上甲，祝大乙一牛，王受又。

(Cuibian 148)

If we announce the flood (lit. that the water entered...) to Shang Chia and pray to T'ai I (with) two oxen [sic: read 'one ox'], the king will receive assistance.

(Chow 1982:232, his translation)

'Pray to' is also syntactically very similar to 'announce,' since in OBI grammar the direct object would be the thing prayed for or the matter announced. As Chow (1982:197) puts it, in the pattern 'Verb + Object Goal/Object Patient + (yú 于) + Object Beneficiary,' the objects of Type A verbs are Object Goals (e.g. nián 年 'harvest'), while the objects of Type B verbs are Object Patients (i.e. sacrificial victims). If one interprets 𠄎 as zhù 祝, then Chow's Type A concept enables one to interpret the syntactic roles of the various arguments that are dependent on it. However, none of the inscriptions at S.44.1 preclude a Type B analysis, since the direct object (i.e. the thing invoked or prayed for) is never mentioned. Thus one could still analyse 𠄎 as a method of sacrifice taking the sacrificial victim as its direct object.

If 𠄎 and 𠄎 represented the same word, then one would expect them to occur in similar contexts. However, this does not seem to be the case. Whereas 𠄎 is usually followed by objects (direct and indirect, or otherwise depending on one's interpretation), this is never the case with 𠄎 (see S.44.4-45.1). 𠄎 is sometimes followed by the verb yòng 用 'to use (in sacrifice),' and that is all; this could perhaps be interpreted as 'to sacrifice with prayers.' On the basis of the inscriptional context, one cannot do otherwise than say that 𠄎 and 𠄎 have a different usage. 𠄎 is clearly the bone graph corresponding to zhù 祝, so there is no reason not to interpret it as 'pray' or 'invoke' in the inscriptions, but it is possible that 𠄎 is used as a phonetic loan for some other word.

In the *Guangyun*, zhù 祝 is included in a series of words that are all defined as duàn 斷 'to cut.' In his *Guangya shuzheng*, Wang Niansun quotes two passages from *Chunqiu* commentaries, "天祝予" (HY 487/Ai 14/1 *Gongyang*) and "祝髮文身" (HY 485/Ai 13/3 *Guliang*), and notes that the authors of these commentaries both gloss zhù 祝 as duàn 斷. As for the first passage, I feel that this is ambiguous, since zhù 祝 here could easily be interpreted in its common usage as zhòu 'to curse'

(now written 呪), as one can see from the wider context, in which it parallels sàng 喪:

顏淵死，子曰：噫，天喪予。子路死，子曰：噫，天祝予。

When Yan Hui died, the Master said: "Alas! Heaven has bereft me!"¹

When Zi Lu died, the Master said: "Alas! Heaven has cursed me!"

The second passage however is more convincing:

吳，夷狄之國也，祝髮文身。

Woo was a barbarian State, where they cut their hair short and tattooed their bodies.²

If we interpret 𠂔 as meaning something like 'cut,' this would fit into the OBI context, e.g.

𠂔一牛。

(Cuibian 339)

Cut up one ox.

I am unable to suggest what word it might be being used for.

¹This sentence is also found in *Analects* XI.8, so I have taken my translation from Waley 1971:154. The next sentence, about Zi Lu's death, is not found in *Analects*.

²Translation from Legge 1861.5.1:81.



S.45.4x20

JWJ 9.2903: guī 鬼

SW 9a.15a: 鬼, 人所歸為鬼. 从人, 象鬼頭. 鬼陰氣賊害. [故] 从厶. 凡... 𩺰: 古文从示.

Tr: Guī 鬼: that to which a person guī 歸 'returns' is called guī 鬼. It consists of rén 人 'person' with the depiction of a spirit's head. The *yin* influence of spirits is harmful, [hence] the sī 厶 'secretive' element. 𩺰: the old form contains shì 示.

Analysis

I originally assumed that , somehow, depicted a spirit. However, my experience with graphic analysis has led me to think this over. There are many questions involved: How does it depict a spirit? Why is it kneeling? Why is the head represented by the 田 element? How does one explain the variant ¹, in which the spirit appears to be kneeling before an altar?² All these questions make me feel unhappy with the usual explanation that the graph depicts a spirit. My own suggestion is that its use for 'spirit' is a phonetic loan, and that it is actually the primary form of guì 跪 'to kneel.' Although Karlgren assigns the wei 危 phonetic series to the ge 歌 rhyme (GSR 29), Wang Li (1937a:134) and Tang Zuofan (1982) assign it to the wei 微 rhyme (the same rhyme as guī 鬼). Unfortunately there is no rhyming evidence from the *Shijing* for this phonetic series, but Zhu Junsheng (11.28b) puts it in his lǔ 履 rhyme (which comprises zhī 脂, zhì 質, wei 微 and wù 物), and provides some early rhyming evidence which

¹This variant is included by both JGWB and JWJ, and is justified on the grounds that it is componentially the same as the SW old form.

²Although the shì 示 element here could be considered purely as signific, note that the kneeling figure is always facing it. Compare zhù 祝/祝.

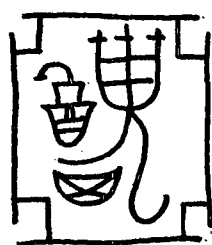
supports the classification as wei 微 rhyme. There are three occurrences of wei 危 in the *Shujing* where it may be considered as intended to rhyme.¹ In all three cases, the rhyme word is from the OC wei 微 *-əi rhyme (wei 微, wei 畏, wei 尾). All three occurrences are in chapters not considered authentic.² There is a fourth case,³ also from a spurious chapter (*Bi ming*), where wei 危 is probably intended to form a hedge rhyme with a word in the OC zhi 之 *-əɣ rhyme (shì 士). Although these cases are all from spurious chapters (something which in itself is significant), the fact that the rhyming is consistent is highly noteworthy. Whenever these documents were composed, they indicate that, at some time, in some dialect, the word wei 危 was considered to rhyme with words from the OC wei 微 rhyme. Since wei 危 and other words in this phonetic series are generally in the EMC zhi 支 rhyme, one would expect them to come from OC ge 歌 *-aɪ or zhi 支 *-aɪ rhyme. For an EMC zhi 支 rhyme word to come from the OC wei 微 rhyme is quite unusual, so it is strange that Wang Li (1937a:137-8) offers no evidence in support of his classification of the wei 危 series as OC wei 微 rhyme. The above evidence does not of course prove that wei 危 was in the wei 微 rhyme for the Shang, but it does at least open up the possibility. I think that the character wei 危 was also probably originally intended to write the word gui 跪 'kneel.' The seal form 跪 consists of wei 危 phonetic and the kneeling figure 卩 as signific. This is not the SW (9b.10a) analysis, but it seems to make good sense.

¹They are in the chapters *Da Yu mo* (*Tongjian* 3.517-524), *Zhouguan* (*Tongjian* 40.404-415), and *Jun Ya* (*Tongjian* 45.55-62).

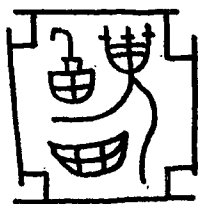
²The rhymed phrase in *Da Yu mo* 人心惟危, 道心惟微 is also found in *Xunzi.Jiebi* (HY 81/21/54), with zhi 之 instead of wei 惟, where it is introduced as a quotation from an unknown work called the *Daojing* 道經. I discovered this information in Hui Songya (1792). I am grateful to Gary Arbuckle for introducing me to this work. Mr. Arbuckle was kind enough to lend me his own photocopy of this book, which was not in the library. Hui Songya is unable to come up with convincing sources for the other rhymed phrases.

³*Tongjian* 44.331-346.

My suggestion accounts for the role of the kneeling figure element, and the addition of the altar may be accounted for by the fact that this is a commonly knelt-before object (alternatively it may simply have the same role that it has in characters like shén 神 'spirit,' i.e. indicating things connected with spirits). As for the head element, this looks like the independent graph tián 田 / 𠩺 'field.' However, I suspect that this may be a case of homography, and what we really have here is the primary form of guì 𠩺 (which SW 1b.21a gives as the old form of guì 簣 'basket,' also written 簣 –see GSR 540a, i, j¹), acting as phonetic. The same basket may be seen in the graph yì 𠩺 / 異, which is the primary form of dài 戴 'to carry on the head.' Clearly the person is not carrying a field on his head. Although there are many homographous elements in the modern script (e.g. the 月 radical, standing for both 'moon' and 'meat'), the idea that there may be homography in the bone script has not yet been faced. Because it is an early stage of the script, I think perhaps people have tended to assume that homography had not yet developed in it, but maybe this assumption needs rethinking. Note also the following Shang bronze cartouche:



者姁𠩺



𠩺文



父丁𠩺

(O/NJWB Fulu 1.15a/1.128)

Li Xiaoding (JWJ 9.2907) identifies the graph inside the yà 亞 cartouche as chōu 醜, and Hopkins (1929:566) suggests that the 𠩺 element is a fuller form of guì 𠩺 / 鬼. If they are correct, then we see here the guì 𠩺 basket on the head depicted more fully, quite distinct from tián 田 / 𠩺. In the first cartouche that I have cited, which is the commonest form, the element that seems somewhat like a curling tail is really, I think, a

¹All three characters are given the reading 求位切 in the *Guangyun*. See Shen 1960:202.

kneeling leg. In the second example, the body of the 'devil' is more like rén 人. In the third example, the body is vaguely animal-like, but this is the only such example.

SW (9a.16a) has the head of guī 鬼 as a separate character 𩺰, which the *Guangyun* reads 分勿切 put (Shen 1960:489). However, there is no independent evidence for this character. Xu Shen sees it in the two characters wèi 畏 and yú 禺 'type of monkey.' But the bone form of wèi 畏 consists of guī 𩺰 phonetic holding a stick as signific (see I.1.ii.293), while yú 禺 was presumably originally a simple drawing of an animal and should not be analysed into parts like this. I regard Xu Shen's 'devil's head' radical as spurious. There is more evidence for the existence of guì 𩺰 'basket,' as it occurs as the top element in guì 貴 'valuable' (SW 6b.9b), where it acts as phonetic.

Usage

The graph may be understood as being used in the meaning that guī 鬼 has in soft texts. For example, the expression guīmèng 鬼夢 may be understood as 'dream in which spirits appear.' Guo Moruo suggests that guī 鬼 here stands for wèi 畏 'frightening,' but the graph for wèi 𩺰 / 畏 already exists in OBI. I think a literal interpretation is preferable.

309 𩺰

JGWB 656: 𩺰 卽

S.50.3x72

JWJ 5.1749: 𩺰 卽

SW 5b.2a: 卽, 卽食也。从𩺰, 卩聲。

Tr: 𩇛 𩇛 means 'to go to eat.' It consists of 𩇛¹ 𩇛 'the fragrance of grain' signific and 𩇛 𩇛 phonetic.

Analysis

The graph shows a person kneeling before a food vessel, thus suggesting the idea that he is 'going to' eat. Since 𩇛 is not the primary form of 𩇛 節, as Xu Shen thought, it cannot be phonetic in the way that Xu Shen says it is. However, as I have already mentioned, it has been suggested that 𩇛 is the primary form of 𩇛 𩇛 sit < *səc 'knee,' in which case it could easily be phonetic in 𩇛 𩇛 tsik < *tsəc. However, there are still problems attached to this.

Kneeling was, I assume, the usual Shang position for eating, and this explains why we also have the kneeling figure in the next three graphs that I examine.

Usage

Name of a sacrifice. Otherwise obscure. Li Xiaoding says that in some cases it may mean 𩇛 就 'to go to.'

311 𩇛

JGWB 1103: 𩇛 𩇛 (= 𩇛 𩇛)

S.51.1x91

JWJ 5.1773: 𩇛 𩇛

¹The *Guangyun* actually gives this character four readings: kip, pik, pip, and x+aǎŋ. SW (5b.2a) says 'also read like 𩇛 香,' but does not say what the usual reading is. The reading x+aǎŋ is probably based on the assumption that it is phonetic in 𩇛 𩇛 x+aǎŋ, which is doubtful. It does however seem to be the phonetic in 𩇛 𩇛 kiap~pip and 𩇛 𩇛 t'ejk, so the first three readings are probably nearer the truth. The actual reading of this element is something of a problem.

JWJ 9.2885: qing 卿

SW 5b.4b: 饗, 鄉人飲酒也。从食, 从鄉。鄉亦聲。

Tr: Xiāng 饗 refers to the people in the districts having a symposium. It consists of shí 食 'food' and xiāng 鄉 'district.' Xiāng 鄉 is also phonetic.

Analysis

The graph shows two people kneeling, facing each other over a food vessel, and gives rise to both the characters qing 卿 and xiāng 鄉. It is hard to decide whether this is the primary form of xiàng 向 'to face' or xiāng 饗 'to feast'. I think maybe the bone graph 𠂔 (JGWB 1102), which just shows two people facing each other, is the primary form of xiàng 向 'to face,' and that it is incorporated as phonetic in xiāng 饗 / 鄉 'to feast,' while at the same time suggesting the feasters. According to SW (5b.2a), bī 𠂔 is also read like xiāng 香. However, I think this reading must be a guess based on its occurrence in xiāng 鄉, where it is really the 鄉 element that is phonetic. Duan Yucai (SWDZ 5b.3a) notes that bī 𠂔 is phonetic in bī 鴿 (SW 4a.22b).

In spite of the various problems attached to the analysis of the present graph, I think it is fairly clear that the two kneeling figures are intended to suggest people feasting, and kneeling would be the usual position for this activity.

Usage

Probably in the meaning 'offer a feast to the ancestors,' just as xiāng 享 is used in bronzes.

S.51.3x17

313 𤣎

JGWB 657: 𤣎 既

S.51.3x72

JWJ 5.1751: 𤣎 既

SW 5b.2a: 𤣎, 小食也. 从𤣎, 无聲. 論語曰: 不使
勝食既.

SWDZ 5b.3b: This is the same pronunciation and meaning as 𤣎 𤣎 (SW 2a.7b). In the present text of the *Lunyu*, 𤣎 既 is written 𤣎 氣.

Tr: 𤣎 既 means 'breakfast.' It consists of 𤣎 𤣎 'the fragrance of grain' signific and 𤣎 无 phonetic. The *Lunyu* says: "[The meat that he eats] must at the very most not be enough to make his breath smell of meat rather than of rice."¹

Analysis

The usual meaning of 𤣎 既 in soft texts is as a marker of the past tense 'already (having done such-and-such).' The graph is generally explained by comparing it with 𤣎 卽: whereas 𤣎 卽 shows somebody who is about to eat, 𤣎 𤣎 shows somebody who has already eaten, with his mouth turned away from the food vessel. If we interpret the 𤣎 element as 𤣎 𤣎 / 𤣎 'mouth' on its side, then although the body of the figure sometimes faces the food vessel, the mouth is always turned away. At the same time it is possible that 𤣎 serves as 𤣎 无 phonetic, which is homophonous with 𤣎 既 kɨj^h.² This graph shows a person with the mouth open, and SW (8b.12a) defines it as

¹Waley 1938:149 (X.8).

²Professor Pulleyblank has suggested to me another analysis, namely that 𤣎 无 could be a phonetic which has had 𤣎 added to it in order to give a graphic contrast with 𤣎 卽. There is indeed something curiously interactive between the graphs and meanings of these two words.

飲食氣并不得息 'choke.' Note however that in 𩚑 ~ 𩚒, a variant of xiang 𩚑/鄉, we seem to find the mouths facing both towards and away from the food vessel. Perhaps in this case the scribes were simply interpreting the 𩚑 element as a representation of the head, and did not see it as a mouth facing in a particular direction. It would seem odd for people to be facing away from the food at a feast.

As in the last two graphs, kneeling is once again the usual position for eating.

Usage

Seems to be some sort of sacrifice.

317 𩚑

JGWB 1077: 𩚑 次

S.52.1x4

318 𩚒

JGWB: various unidentified (e.g. 3469, 3473, 3378)

S.52.2x7

JWJ 8.2829: 𩚑 次

SW 8b.11b: 𩚑, 慕欲口液也。从欠, 从水。凡 ... 𩚑, 次
或从侃。𩚑, 籀文次。

SWDZ 8b.26b: In the alternative form, kân 侃 is phonetic.

Tr: Xián 𩚑 means 'covetous saliva.' It consists of qiàn 欠 'to yawn' and shuǐ 水 'water.'... 𩚑 : xián 𩚑 is also written with kân 侃. 𩚑 is the *zhòuwén* form of xián 𩚑.

Analysis

The present graph has been identified as cì 次, but it is very hard to reconcile what the graph appears to depict with any of the meanings of cì 次 (e.g. 'secondary,' 'to stay') or any of the meanings in this phonetic series (see GSR 555). It is because of this that I prefer to identify it, or at least the first form, with the SW character xián 涎 'saliva,' which is graphically similar to the seal form of cì 次, = 𠂔. (The second form has a hand in front of the face, and looks more as if the person is feeding himself rather than drooling, so I am chary about treating it as a variant of the first form). The bronze form of cì 次 is like the seal form, e.g.



(O/NJWB 1178/1457)

The bronze forms of cì 次 all have two short horizontal or near-horizontal strokes in them, and since this relates to the meaning 'secondary,' it would make sense to assume that the graph has always had èr 二 'two' in it as significant, which the present bone graph clearly does not.

The *Guangyun* gives 次 as a variant of xián 涎 'spittle, saliva,' and there are several expressions in which 'mouth-watering' is used as a figure for intense desire. Neither 次 nor 涎 is in GSR, which only has xiàn 羨 'covet, desire' (GSR 207). The *Kangxi* dictionary has 次, with a note that the *Jiyun* says it is the primary form of xián 涎, but by an oversight does not give the seal form or mention that it is in SW. In fact, the *Jiyun* gives the following five forms: 次 𠂔 涎 漱 羨. The OC initial is problematical (an *l- type?), but one can at least see from the EMC values that the noun xián 次 zian 'drivel' and the verb xiàn 羨 zian^h 'to drool after' are etymologically related. The addition of the yáng 羊 'sheep' element to mark off the verb is mysterious.

Perhaps it is intended to stand as a typically coveted object, or the food over which one drools, though in the absence of any evidence I can only offer this as a tentative hypothesis. Another meaning of xiàn 羨 is 'surplus' (GSR 207, Gloss 559). The Mao commentary to the *Shijing* line 四方有羨 (HY 45/193/8) "In the four quarters there is affluence" glosses xiàn 羨 as yú 餘. Note that yú 餘 has shí 食 'food' signific, implying the idea of surplus or left over food, so perhaps in xiàn 羨 the 'sheep' is intended to represent food in general.

I assume that, as with the Chinese of Zhou times, the kneeling-sitting posture was the one in which the Shang took their food. Thus the kneeling posture in the present graph suggests that the person is drooling before taking a meal. If we do not interpret the graph thus, then it is hard to explain why the person should be kneeling.

Usage

A place name (see Qi wenxin 1985¹), and perhaps also a person's name.


393

JGWB 13042: huì³ 沫

S.60.4x1

JWJ 11.3363: huì 沫

¹I am grateful to Professor Takashima for drawing my attention to this article.

²JGWB includes here a graph  (Ninghu 2.52). S.389.2 has this as a separate graph. It seems to be a person's name.

³This modern reading is based on the EMC reading xwəj^h. The *Guangyun* does not give this reading, but the *Tangyun* reading recorded in SW is 荒內切. The character is normally read mèi, and is then the name of a place or a star (GSR 531p).

SW 11a.26a: 沫, 洒面也. 从水, 未聲. 𣶒: 古文沫从頁.

SWDZ 11a.36b: [Changes the 'old form' to 𣶒, i.e. with 'hands' added, since this is the form found in the *Shujing* and the *Wenxuan*. He notes that in the *Liji* it is written 𣶒.]

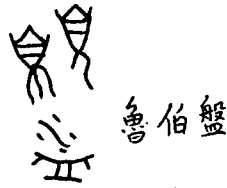
Tr: Huì 沫 means 'to wash the face.' It consists of shuǐ 水 'water' signific and wèi 未 phonetic. 𣶒: the old form has xié 頁 'head.'

Analysis

The graph clearly shows a person kneeling over a basin washing his or her face. The depiction of the hair suggests that this is also being washed, while the descending hand suggests that some other person is helping in the ablution. If it were the kneeling person's other hand, one would expect it to be joined to the body, as in jī 𢶏 / 凡. The SW character huì 沫 is a phonetic compound, but the old form it gives, 𣶒, is probably descended from the bone graph. It preserves the 'kneeling person' and introduces a 'water' element, but the basin has disappeared. The form 𣶒 to which Duan emends it preserves the two hands, but has still lost the basin. Luo Zhenyu quotes Wu Dacheng's suspicion that the SW (9a.3a) character mèi 𣶒 / 𣶒 is also an old form of huì 沫. Graphically and phonetically this seems quite plausible, but the SW definition mèi 𣶒 昧前 'before dawn'¹ does not seem to have any relation to face washing. Further, if the element yù 𣶒 is phonetic (SW 11b.2a: 于筆切 wit²) as Xu Shen claims, then this is very curious. If mèi 𣶒 is indeed another old form of huì 沫, then one must assume that the 𣶒 element is not the same as the independent character yù 𣶒, but a corruption of something else. The bronze forms given at O/NJWB 1188/1474 for mèi 𣶒 suggest that it comes from a xu 須 'beard'-like element, so the apparent yue 𣶒 is really a person's head, and the apparent chuan 川 is really a person's beard:

¹I am grateful to Professor Takashima for suggesting this translation to me.

²This is the *Tangyun* reading. The *Guangyun* reading is the same.



The addition of the xu 須 element implies washing the facial hair. As Li Xiaoding notes, the first five examples at OJWB 1188 are all followed by the word pán 盤 'basin' in their inscriptions, so the reading huìpán 沐盤 'basin for washing the face' is quite natural. The three forms I have given above preserve the 'basin' element, but there are also a couple of forms in which it is omitted (毳盤 and 毳匱), and the xu 須 element is written 𠂔, so these two forms are indeed very much like the SW character mèi 顯.

In the present graph then, kneeling is simply the usual posture in which one would wash one's face from a basin.

671 𠂔
S.108.2x5

JGWB 1037: jian 監

JWJ 8.2715: jian 監

SW 8a.18a: 監, 臨下也。从臥, 皀省聲。𠂔: 古文監从言。

Tr: Jian 監 means 'to look down.' It consists of wò 臥 'to lie down' signific and kàn 皀 abbreviated phonetic. 𠂔: the old form of jian 監 has yán 言 [as phonetic].

Analysis

The seal form of jian 監 appears to contain xuè 血 'blood' (though the character is now standardized with mín 皿 'vessel'). In view of the difficulty of relating 'blood' to the character's meaning, Xu Shen opts to explain it as an abbreviated phonetic, and is rather lucky in finding the character kàn 𩚑 (SW 5a.21b: 'congealed sheep's blood') which makes quite a reasonable phonetic. However, this is highly improbable, and a glance at the inscriptional forms shows the right analysis. As Tang Lan correctly states, the graph shows a person looking at his reflection in a basin of water (監字本象一人立 [sic: the person is actually kneeling] 於盆側, 有自見其容之意). The bone graph consists quite simply of mín 皿 'basin' and jiàn 見 'to look.' Tang suggests that jiàn 見 is also phonetic, and it is indeed quite possible that it was a phonetic hint, though the subsequent evolution of the graph has obscured this. In ancient times, basins of water were used as mirrors. Cf. the *Shujing* *Jiugao* line: 人無于水監, 當于民監 "men should not mirror themselves in water, they should mirror themselves in the people."¹ Thus the primary meaning of the character is 'to mirror, to inspect,' and the noun jiàn 鑑 'mirror' is clearly related.

Only one of the bone forms has a dot in the basin to represent the water (*Yicun* 932, according to S. and JWG, but not according to JGWB²), but in the bronze form (O/NJWB 1121/1381), half the examples have a dash in the basin to represent the water. This evolved to become identical with xuè 血 'blood' in the seal form. In the bronze form we also find that the eye of the person has in most cases become separated from the person's body as chén 臣, e.g.



¹*Tongjian* 30/515-523. Translation from Karlgren 1950:45 (§ 12).

²It is hard to tell from the rubbing whether there really is a dot in the basin or not. Shang Chengzuo, the author of *Yicun*, transcribes the graph without a dot in the basin.

The graph for chén 臣 is like mù 𠂔 / 目 stood on end, so this development is easy to understand. Another feature of the bronze form is that the kneeling person becomes a standing person. This is continued in the seal form, but in the modern form 𠂔 the 'person' is corrupted into a non-element (i.e. an uninterpretable, opaque squiggle).

Thus the kneeling figure here represents the posture in which one would look at oneself in a basin-mirror.

Usage

It seems to be a person's name and a place name.

1857 𠂔. 𠂔

JGWB 936: 市 (not in SW)

S.274.3x26



JWJ 7.2489: 市 (not in SW)

SW 7b.4a: 𠂔, 靜也. 从女在宀下.

Tr: An 安 means jìng 靜 'peaceful.' It consists of nǚ 女 'woman' under mián 宀 'roof.'

Analysis

The graph shows a kneeling figure inside a house. It occurs mainly as the name of a prince, and so does the graph an 𠂔 / 安 (S.274.4), so perhaps it may be identified as a variant thereof. The only difference is that in the graph 𠂔, the kneeling person is specified as female. Furthermore, according to Shima's transcription (which is not always reliable), the name is written both 子市 and 子安 in the inscription *Zhuihe* 94,

and, like the present graph,  also has a variant in which the figure is surrounded by short vertical dashes. Perhaps the graph is intended to represent the idea of someone staying (being 'fixed') at home (another meaning of an 安 is 'to fix, to install'). At any rate, the kneeling figure represents the usual posture one would be in when staying inside the house. Compare the graph kòu  / 寇 'robber,' where the figure is standing and represents an intruder. The reason why an 安 became fixed with the specifically female figure inside is perhaps because women are more closely associated with the home.

Usage

It occurs mainly as the name of a prince. Otherwise it is usually a place name.

1859  . 

JGWB 937: 宜 (not in SW) 'means the same as bin 賓'

S.274.4x17




Not in JWJ

SW 6b.8b: 賓, 所敬也. 从貝, 宀聲. 賓: 古文.










Tr: Bin 賓 'guest' means 'the place of respecting.'¹ It consists of bèi 貝 'shell' signific [i.e. representing something treasured] and bin 宀 phonetic. 賓 is the old form.

Analysis


¹I am grateful to Professor Takashima for suggesting this translation to me, which helps to account for the significance of the 'roof' element: it represents the place where the respect is shown.

The graph shows a person kneeling inside a house, with a foot underneath (except in the one form *Liulu.zhong* 77, where the foot is at the side of the person¹). Sun Haibo cautiously says that the present graph 'has the same meaning as bin 賓' (for which the usual bone form is ). He does not go so far as to say that it is actually a variant thereof, but I think it is fairly safe to do so. In OBI, bin 賓 is used as a verb 'to treat as guest (to welcome, entertain).' The present graph may be analysed as representing a person who has travelled to a house and is now staying there. The foot suggests the journey, while the kneeling figure suggests the staying. We see then the crucial role played by the foot in this graph. Without the foot, I think the graph would have been a variant of an 安 / 安. The foot suggests that the person does not normally live there, but has travelled thither, i.e. is a guest. In the variant  ~  (S.275.1, JGWB 917), the figure is portrayed as specifically female. It is also possible that the kneeling figure represents, not the guest, but the person who welcomes the guest, in which case the kneeling posture would be a sign of respect.

Usage

It occurs in the name Zî Bin 子賓, which is also written with the graph  (but never with  or , which are the usual forms of bin 賓 in the meaning 'treat as guest').  and  are also both used in the meaning 'treat as guest,' but they are much rarer than the forms  and . Takashima (1988:31, n.8) refers to an idea of Keightley's (1983:25 and 42-43, n.17) that  without the foot element and  with it may be different in meaning, but points out that there are problems in trying to maintain the distinction.

¹The rubbing is not very clear, so I have had to rely on the tracing made of it by the author, Hu Houxuan.

2028 

Not in JGWB

S.301.1x10

(See JWJ 7.2463)

Analysis

Li Xiaoding objects to Luo Zhenyu's inclusion of the present graph as a variant of sù 𡇗 ~ 𡇘 / 宿, because the latter shows a person lying on a mat, whereas the present graph shows a person kneeling on a mat. This objection is perfectly valid. Further, as he notes, although the usage of the present graph is obscure, it is clearly different from that of 𡇗 ~ 𡇘, which is used to mean 'stay overnight.' Although the present graph has not been identified, it seems reasonable to assume that its primary meaning is something like 'sit.'

Usage

Obscure. It occurs between the names of ancestors. Takashima (1973:70 #13) suggests the tentative translation "Take seat (in a row of ancestral altar?)," but notes (p.362, n.8) that there is no real justification for this meaning.

Section ii: Symbolic

264 邑

JGWB 801: yì 邑

S.42.3x239

JWJ 6.2165: yì 邑

SW 6b.10a: 邑, 國也. 从口. 先王之制尊卑有大小. 从
 卩. 凡 ...

SWDZ 6b.22a: 口 is pronounced wéi 韋 and means fengyù 封域 'territory.'

Tr: Yì 邑 means guó 國 'city-state.' It consists of wéi 口 (according to the system of the former kings, cities varied in size according to the rank [of the lord who governed them])¹ and jié 卩 'tally.'

Analysis

口 is not wéi 口, but dīng 丁, which is the primary form of chéng 城, and represents a square city-wall, while the kneeling figure represents one of the city's inhabitants. The inhabitants of an ancient Chinese city-state were the subjects of the ruler of the city, and the kneeling position expresses this subjection. The city-wall is joined to the top of the figure in such a way as to suggest the head. The graph dīng 口 is usually fairly small anyway, but in the present graph it has to be written small in order not to be out of proportion with the figure.

Usage

It is used mostly in its original meaning 'city,' but sometimes also seems to be the name of a person.

¹Since this sentence divides the two parts of the analysis of the character, I have interpreted it as a footnote on the first part of the analysis, 从口. I think it is intended to explain why the wéi 口 element is so small in this character, i.e. instead of its usual enveloping size, which would give us 邑. Xu Shen is saying that it is small here to indicate the fact that cities varied in size.

299 𦍋

Not in JGWB

S.46.2x6

Not in JWJ

SW 9a.14b: 𦍋, 自急𦍋也. 从羊省, 从包省, 从口. [𠂔] 口猶慎言也. 从羊: 羊與義, 善, 美同意. 凡 ... 𦍋: 古文羊不省.

Tr: 𦍋 means 'to restrain oneself [see Serruys 1984:718].' It consists of yáng 羊 'sheep' abbreviated, bao 包 'to enclose' abbreviated, and kôu 𠂔 'mouth.' 'Enclose the mouth' represents the idea of 'cautious speaking.' The 'sheep' element has the same significance as it does in yì 義 'righteous,' shàn 善 'good,' and měi 美 'beautiful.' ... 𦍋: in the old form, the 'sheep' element is not abbreviated.

SW 9a.15a: 𦍋, 肅也. 从支, 𦍋.

Tr: 𦍋 敬 'respectful' means sù 肅 'reverential.' It consists of pu 支 'to tap' and 𦍋 'restrained.'

Analysis

Although JGWB and JWJ do not have this graph, it is so similar to the bronze form of 𦍋 (O/NJWB 1226/1525) that I think it probably is the same graph:



大保簋

My pronunciation of 𦰩 苟 is based on the *Tangyun* reading recorded in SW, 己力 𦰩¹ (I have assigned a third tone due to the voiceless initial, as this is the development of *rùsheng* that one finds in the *Zhongyuan yinyun*). There are no textual examples of 𦰩 苟. Duan Yucai (SWDZ 9a.3a) suggests that it is the same word which in the classics is written 𦰩 𦰩 or 𦰩 棘. I think however that 𦰩 苟 is simply an earlier form of 𦰩 敬. This is supported by the fact that in bronzes 𦰩 苟 is used in the same sense as 𦰩 敬 (see O/NJWB 1226-7/1525-6), and in fact Karlgren (GSR 813b, c) recognizes it as 𦰩 敬. It shows a person kneeling in respect, and the 'sheep' element is perhaps a phonetic hint, though the rhymes differ (𦰩 敬 *kiəŋ^h* < *kàŋs, 𦰩 羊 *jāang* < *ɣàn). The 'mouth' and 'hand holding a stick' elements which were added later may be interpreted as indicating the word 𦰩 'to warn, admonish,' later written 𦰩, 𦰩 or 𦰩 (GSR 813h, i, j). NJWB 1526 says that on the bronze axe 中山侯 𦰩 (not in OJWB), 𦰩 敬 is used for 𦰩 𦰩, in the phrase 以 𦰩 𦰩 𦰩 'in order to warn his multitude.'

Incidentally, in spite of Duan Yucai's injunction not to confuse 𦰩 苟 with the now homographous 𦰩 苟, which in the seal form consists of 𦰩 𦰩 'grass' signific on top of 𦰩 𦰩 phonetic, the *Kangxi* dictionary has only the latter, and lists a stylized form of the SW old form of 𦰩 苟 as a variant. This seems rather a gross oversight when one considers that the seal forms are quite distinct.

Usage

It is not used in its original meaning in OBI, where it is the name of a spirit who is prayed to for rain, but it is used in its original meaning in bronzes, so this clinches the identification.

¹The *Guangyun* reading 𦰩 力 𦰩 gives the same EMC pronunciation: *kik*.

304 令

JGWB 1090: ling 令

S.46.3x166 (incomplete record)

JWJ 9.2867: ling 令JWJ 2.355: ming 命

SW 9a.12a: 令, 發號也。从人, 卩。

Tr: Ling 令 means 'to issue orders.' It consists of jí 卩 [which may be interpreted here as 'to muster'] and jié 卩 'a tally [i.e. a sign of authority].'

SW 2a.9a: 命, 使也。从口, 从令。

SWDZ 2a.18a: Ling 令 is also phonetic.Tr: Ming 命 means 'to send [e.g. on a mission].' It consists of kôu 口 'mouth' and ling 令 'to order.'Analysis

Li Xiaoding describes the graph as a mouth sending down orders to a kneeling person, and I think the interpretation of 令 as the upside-down form of kôu 口 / 𠂔 is tenable. Li refers to yue 𠂔, seal form 𠂔, which shows a mouth blowing into a set of panpipes. The three small 'mouth' elements represent the holes of the panpipes. Compare the bone graph hé 𠂔 / 𠂔 (JGWB 258) which shows the mouth and panpipes, plus hé 禾 phonetic.

In OBI, ling 令 never has kôu 口 added to form ming 命, and in bronzes, although both graphs exist, ling 令 is often used for ming 命. It seems likely then that they are etymologically related.

Usage

It is used as a verb 'to order,' e.g. the king ordering military leaders to go and do battle, or Dì 帝 the supreme god ordering rain or wind, etc.

329	𡈼 . 𡈼	S.52.3x686 (excluding collocations with 𡈼 帝)	
330	𡈼	S.56.2x23	
331	𡈼	S.56.3x3	
332	𡈼	S.56.3x1	
2147	𡈼	S.324.3x3	
2148	𡈼	S.324.3x1	
2174	𡈼	S.325.4x2	JGWB 207: (all the above forms) yù 御
1457	𡈼	S.224.3x8	JGWB 4606 (unidentified)

JWJ 2.583: (including 𡈼) yù 御

SW 2b.10b: 御, 使馬也。从彳, 从卸。𡈼: 古文御从又, 从馬。

SWDZ 2b.17a: [According to this text, xiè 卸 is also phonetic.] The form 𡈼 only occurs in the *Zhouli*.

Tr: Yù 御 means 'to drive a horse.' It consists of chī 𡈼 'trotting' and xiè 卸 'releasing' [i.e. stopping and releasing the horse from the cart]. 𡈼: the old form of yù 御 consists of yòu 又 'hand' and mā 馬 'horse.'

Analysis

The analysis of the present graph depends very much on the determination of its original meaning, which requires some unravelling. The basic meaning of the word yù may be thought of as 'to drive.' This may be applied to driving a chariot or horse, or driving away an enemy tribe or a baleful influence (for the meaning 'drive a horse,' a special form consisting of 'horse' and 'hand' was also devised). These usages are all attested in OBI. In spite of the many variants (which I would all accept except no. 2174), one can see that the basic structure of this graph is a phonetic compound, consisting of wū 午 phonetic and the 'kneeling figure' signific. However, it is very hard to relate this signific to the meaning 'drive' or 'drive away.' It seems strange to have a kneeling figure as signific in a character having such an active, aggressive meaning. One must always bear in mind that the graph may have been designed to represent some other meaning, and that its usual OBI usage is a phonetic loan. The addition of various radicals, such as chì 彳, pu 攴 and shì 示, which clearly relate to the actual usage of the graph (chì 彳 suggests motion, pu 攴 suggests driving away, and shì 示 suggests religious significance, i.e. exorcism), could perhaps be seen as an indication that the kneeling figure signific was not felt to be relevant enough. The character yù 御 has other meanings, such as 'to wait on, an attendant,' and the *Kangxi* dictionary gives quite a few classical citations for this sort of meaning. Such meanings would be more consistent with the kneeling person signific than the meaning 'drive.' Another meaning of yù 御 is 'to meet, to welcome,'¹ and Wen You (JWJ 2.585) takes this as the primary meaning:

象人跪而迎迓形。𠂔，道也。迎迓於道，
是為御。詩“百兩御之”，箋曰“御，迎也。”
迎則客止，故又孳乳加止。客止，則有飲

¹Professor Pulleyblank has pointed out to me that this connects yù 御 $\eta i \tilde{a}^h$ with the word family to which yíng 迎 $\eta i a \eta$ 'to meet,' $\eta i a \eta^h$ 'go to meet, receive' (GSR 699d) and nì 逆 $\eta i a j k$ 'go against...go to meet, receive' (GSR 788c) belong.

御之事，故又孳乳訓進訓侍。諦言之當日
 从行，从卩，从止，午聲 其訓迓者，朔誼，
 他訓為後起誼。

𠂔 depicts a person kneeling in welcome. 𠂔 is a road. Welcoming [someone] on the road, this is [the meaning of] yù 御. The Zheng Xuan commentary to the *Shijing* line "百兩御之,"¹ says that yù 御 here means yíng 迎 'to welcome.' When you welcome a guest, he stays, hence the addition of zhǐ 止 'to stop.' When a guest stays, then one offers him a drink, hence [yù 御] also comes to mean jìn 進 'to proffer' and shì 侍 'to wait on.' To be precise, one should say that [the character yù 御] consists of xíng 行, jié 卩 and zhǐ 止 significs, with wú 午 phonetic.... The definition yà 迓 'to welcome' is the primary meaning—other definitions are later meanings.

Li Xiaoding agrees with Wen You's analysis, and my study of the role of the 𠂔 element in the bone graphs also prompts me to accept it.

Usage

By far the commonest usage in OBI is in the specialized meaning 'to drive away baleful influences,' i.e. to exorcize. The variant 𠂔 is used to mean 'drive a horse,' as in the well-known inscription *Jinghua* 3, which I have already quoted in this thesis (under I.6.1124). I have also found one instance in which the graph 𠂔 may be interpreted as 'drive a horse':

丙辰卜，倗貞：東王出于夕𠂔馬。

¹ "A hundred carriages meet her." HY 3/12/1.

(Houbian 2.6.1)

Bingchen-day cracking, 倮 tested: It should be Ting who goes out at Xi¹
to drive the horse.

'Exorcize the horse' would also make sense, but there is no other evidence that the Shang exorcized animals. There is only evidence that they exorcized human beings. There are some inscriptions concerning whether 'mâ 馬' will die (S.221.3), but this term is also used in OBI to refer to a group of people, probably a unit in the army. A more convincing example is the following:

甲午卜，王：馬尋馬其禱于父甲亞。

(Wenlu 312, ap.S.222.1)

Jiawu-day cracking, the king: The horse has-some-kind-of-sickness (?),
perhaps (we should) exorcize (it) at Father Jia's yà-temple.

The interpretation of xún 尋 here is problematic, but the graph that I have transcribed 馬夕 could perhaps refer to a disease of horses. JWI 10.3043 has it as liè 列 'to canter,' but I do not think that it is permissible to identify 夕 / 夕 directly as liè 列.

335 𠂔

JGWB 362: fú 𠂔

S.56.3x133

¹I am indebted to Professor Takashima for suggesting the interpretation of xi 夕 here as a place name. I originally translated it as 'go out at night,' but for this meaning the word order really should be 夕出.

JWJ 3.923: fú 𠂔

SW 3b.9a: 𠂔，治也。从又，从卩。卩，事之節也。

SWDZ 3b.19a: The hand holds the tally in order to govern.

Tr: Fú 𠂔 means chí 治 'to govern.' It consists of yòu 又 'hand' and jié 卩 'tally.'
Jié 卩 represents the jié 節 'regulation' of affairs.

Analysis

As usual, Xu Shen is misled by his understanding of jié 卩 as jié 節 'tally.' The bone graph shows a hand pressing down on the back of a kneeling person. This illustrates the meaning 'to subjugate.' The symbolism of the kneeling figure is thus particularly clear in this graph. It may be contrasted with jí 𠂔 / 及 'to reach,' which shows a hand grabbing at a standing person, and has no connotations of inferiority or subjugation. These two graphs constitute a minimal pair which highlights nicely the symbolism of 𠂔.

There are no textual examples of the character fú 𠂔, but Li Xiaoding is probably correct in approving Shang Chengzuo's claim that it is the primary form of fú 服. SW (8b.2b) defines the latter as yòng 用 'to use' or cheyòufei 車右駢 'the right side inner horse on a chariot.' However, its usual meaning is 'to subjugate' or conversely 'to be subjugated, to serve.' In the seal form 𠂔, and the bronze form (O/NJWB 1157/1428), the 月 element is zhou 舟 'boat,' and there is a bone graph (used as a place name) which has a similar element (JGWB 1054, JWJ 8.2775¹), though the element in the bone graph does not seem to be quite the same as the bone graph for zhou 舟 / 舟 'boat':

¹JWJ also quotes a form 𠂔 from *Jiabian* 24, but the rubbing actually looks like this:



𢇛

Kikkô 1.24.5

I do not know why this element was added. The *Dai Kan-Wa Jiten* (5.1038) gives one of the meanings of fú 服 as funaita 'boatplank,' referring to Zhu Junsheng (1834:5.131a), who defines it as 舟兩旁夾木 'the boards on either side of a boat' and says that according to one source it means 'to move a boat,' and is thus conceptually the same as the character ban 般 'to move,' which also contains the boat element. However, he offers no textual examples, and I suspect that he is simply guessing.

Usage

As a noun, which may be understood as 'subjugated person>POW, captive.' They are frequently used as sacrificial victims.

340 𢇛

JGWB 1091: zhuàn 𢇛

S.57.3x18

JWJ 9.2873: zhuàn 𢇛

SW 9a.12b: 𢇛, 二 𠂔 也. 巽 从 此. 𢇛.

SWDZ 9a.32b: Que 𢇛 means that the pronunciation is unknown. Xu Xuan gives the pronunciation zhuàn on the basis of other characters containing this element.

Tr: Zhuàn 卣 consists of two jié 卩. The character xùn 巽 contains it. Meaning and pronunciation unknown.

Analysis

The graph shows two people kneeling, one behind the other. Perhaps it is the primary form of the word now generally written xùn 遜, for which Karlgren gives the meanings 'to withdraw, docile' (GSR 434e). The character xùn 巽 also occurs in this sense (GSR 433a: 'humble, yield'). Ding Shan defines the meaning of the present bone graph as fúcóng 服從 'to follow obediently' or xúnshùn 馴順 'tame,' and says that this can all be summed up in the three characters bù líng rén 不陵人 'not lord it over people.' He also compares it with similar graphs, which is very illuminating from the point of view of graphic analysis. For example, cóng 𠂔 / 从 shows one person following another. The figures are both standing, so this suggests a physical, active sort of following. This meaning is amply testified in the numerous 王从某 inscriptions, e.g. 王从𠂔𠂔 'the king will follow Zhi Guo,' 王从望乘 'the king will follow Wang Cheng.' This contrasts with bèi 𠂔 / 北 (bèi 背), where the two people are standing back to back. Conceivably, the idea of 'facing' could have been expressed by *𠂔𠂔, but we do not find such a graph. Instead we find xiàng 𠂔 / 鄉 (xiàng 嚮), in which the two parties are kneeling. The only graph in which we find figures facing each other is dòu 𠂔 / 鬥 'to fight.' When people face each other in a standing position, this is evidently not a sign of peace, but of confrontation (literally!). This is underlined by the addition of tousled hair and interlocked fists. Note also that there is no graph *𠂔𠂔 – it would seem that the kneeling figure is too symbolic of yielding to be used to represent such a búshùn 不順 meaning as 'turn one's back on.'

The above graphic analysis allows us to conclude that xùn 𠂔, in contrast to cóng 𠂔, represents a more passive act of following, not so much following as yielding, and this is precisely the sort of meaning that we find in soft texts for xùn 巽 ~ 遜. It is

interesting in this connection that Whincup (1986:4) characterizes the symbolism of the xùn 𠂔 trigram as "kneel in submission," and many of the line readings under the corresponding hexagram mention 'kneeling.' I am not certain if in the graph cóng 𠂔 the right hand figure is intended to be following the left-hand figure, or whether the graph just represents the idea of people following in procession, without any implication that the left-hand figure is the leader. In the present case, if 𠂔 represented a leader and his follower, one might expect the graph to be written *𠂔. I think therefore that 𠂔 just represents the idea of two kneeling figures in succession, with the kneeling stance used to connote submission.

Since fú 𠂔 / 𠂔 and the rare doubled form 𠂔𠂔 (S.57.2x3) are both used as sacrificial victims, it seems possible that they represent the same word. One might wonder then if 𠂔 represents the same word as 𠂔. I do not think so, because 𠂔 is used mostly as a sacrificial verb, while 𠂔 is used mostly as a person's name. Since 𠂔 also occurs occasionally as a sacrificial victim, could it then be a variant of 𠂔 ~ 𠂔𠂔? Again I do not think so, because 𠂔 and 𠂔𠂔 never occur as a person's name. Further, 𠂔 finds a direct descendant in the seal character 𠂔, while 𠂔 has no descendant.

Usage

The OBI usage is somewhat unrevealing. In most examples it seems to be a person's name. In a few inscriptions, it seems to be a sacrificial victim. The context suggests that it is not used for zhuàn 𠂔 'food offering,' but is some kind of living victim. At any rate, the OBI usage of 𠂔 gives no insight into its original meaning. Graphic analysis is particularly crucial in cases like these, of which there are quite a few, since many graphs only ever occur as phonetic loans in OBI, so one has no chance to see their original meaning in action. We are thus able to formulate preliminary hypotheses while awaiting further evidence. What I try to do in such cases is link the graphic design

with some later known meaning, either of the graph itself or some other graph in which it occurs as phonetic.

341 𢇛 . 𢇛

JGWB 1101: 𢇛 = yì 𢇛 (抑) and yìn 印

S.57.3x52

JWJ 9.2869: [same as JGWB]

SW 9a.12b: 𢇛, 按也. 从反印. 𢇛, 俗从手.









Tr: Yì 𢇛 means àn 按 'to press.' It consists of yìn 印 turned round. 𢇛: the vulgar form has shòu 手 'hand' added.

SW 9a.12b: 𢇛, 執政所持信也. 从爪, 从卩. 凡 ...

Tr: Yìn 印 'seal' is the symbol [of office] held by an administrator. It consists of zhuâ 爪 'hand' and jié 卩 'tally.'

Analysis

The bone graph shows a hand pressing down on a kneeling person. It was probably a general word for 'press down,' but the graph only symbolizes one aspect of this general meaning: that of suppressing people. The descending hand is written 𠂔 or 𠂕, but I do not think this distinction is graphemic. JGWB and JWJ both treat the form 𢇛 as a variant of fú 𠂔 / 𠂕 (see graph 335 in this section), but I think they made a wrong decision there. 𠂔 is the usual form in which the descending hand is represented, and I think 𠂕 is just a variant. The ascending hand, in contrast, is always written 𠂖 or 𠂗, never * 𠂘. The descending hand is nearly always written 𠂔, hardly ever 𠂕.

There are quite a number of characters in which the two vary, e.g. shòu 受 is written  or  (JGWB 539), and xing 興 usually  but sometimes  (JGWB 317). There are also cases where 𠂔 varies with 𠂔, e.g. yú 漁 is written  (JGWB 1377) and  (JGWB 5663; JWJ 11.3465 includes both), and there is a graph written  or  (JGWB 840). However, such cases are quite rare. Generally, from their use as elements in other graphs, one can see that the ascending and descending hand elements have different symbolisms: while the ascending hand generally symbolizes 'receiving' or 'offering up,' the descending hand generally symbolizes 'passing down' or 'pressing down.' In shòu 受, the descending hand passes down while the ascending hand receives.

Turning back now to SW, we find that there are two characters, yìn 𠂔 (印) and yì 𠂔 (抑), which are clearly specializations of the same original graph, as Luo Zhenyu pointed out. The basic meaning of yìn 印 is 'a seal' (noun), while the basic meaning of yì 抑 is 'to press down' (verb). These two words are in corresponding OC rhymes (zhen 眞 and zhì 質 respectively¹), and are clearly etymologically related. Duan Yucai (SWDZ 9a.33b) describes the phonetic relationship thus: 緩言之曰印, 急言之曰抑 'yìn 印 is the slow pronunciation and yì 抑 is the quick pronunciation.' This describes the auditory impression created by the final nasal versus the final stop.

Usage

It could be interpreted as 'suppress,' though I find the inscriptions rather ambiguous. One use of yì 抑 that is very clear however is as a conjunction, exactly like the classical conjunction yì 抑 'or.' Considering the paucity of xucí 虛辭 in OBI, the occurrence of this connective is quite interesting. This is the graph that Li Xueqin

¹Although yì 抑 ʔik is in the *Guangyun* zhì 職 rhyme, it rhymes in the *Shijing* in the zhì 質 rhyme.

(1980:40) transcribes as fú 𠄎 in an article where he maintains that fú 𠄎 and zhí 執 are particles expressing positive and negative questions. Qiu Xigui (1988) corrects this to yì 抑, and interprets it as a clause- or sentence-final question particle, but I think it can still be understood as meaning 'or,' as it does in classical Chinese, e.g.

戊戌卜：其翼日己蒙 抑 啟。不見云。 (Yibian 445)

Wuxu-day cracking: Perhaps next ji-day overcast or clear?

[Verification:] No clouds were seen.

貞：知 帛 抑 勿 執。 (Cuibian 1241)

Tested: Exorcize the Lady, or should not do it?¹

710 𦔻

JGWB 1399: wén 聞

S.114.2x30

JWJ 12.3525: wén 聞




SW 12a.8a: 聞, 知 聞 也。从 耳, 門 聲。𦔻: 古文从 昏。


SWDZ 12a.17b: Tīng 聽 means 'to listen' and wén 聞 means 'to hear.'

Tr: Wén 聞 means 'to hear of.' It consists of ér 耳 'ear' signific and mén 門 phonetic. 𦔻: the old form has hūn 昏 [phonetic].

¹I am grateful to Professor Takashima for drawing my attention to Qiu's article, where these inscriptions are cited as *Heji* 20988 and 802. The precise interpretation of zhí 執 is uncertain, though it also seems to be a kind of question particle.

Analysis

Tang Lan identifies the present graph with the bronze graph  (O/NJWB 1534/1955), which evolves into the seal element , and claims that this is the original pictograph for wén 聞 'to hear.' The present character wén 聞 is a phonetic compound replacement. Yu Xingwu and Long Yuchun present further evidence to support Tang, and the case is quite conclusive. O/NJWB identifies  as hun 婚 because SW (12b.2a) gives it as the *zhòuwén* form of that character, and indeed it is usually used in the sense of hun 婚 'relatives by marriage' in bronzes. However there are also examples of it being used in the meaning 'to hear' (e.g. 郅王子鐘, 孟鼎), and this is the graph's original meaning.

Although the identity of the graph is thus beyond doubt, there is some disagreement over its interpretation. According to Yu Xingwu, it depicts a person kneeling and listening intently for foreign alarms while covering his face with his hand (象人之跪坐以手掩面傾耳以聽外警). The emphasis on the 'ear' element is understandable (compare jiàn 見 and wàng 望, with the emphasis on the eye), but why is the face with the hand in front also depicted? Yu's explanation seems to suggest that it shows the trepidation with which one listens for news of foreign alarms and excursions. Li Xiaoding gives a slightly different interpretation, saying that the person is in fact cupping his hand to his ear as a sign of listening intently (象人跪而以手附耳諦聽之形). However, the hand is definitely before the mouth, not cupped to the ear. Since jiàn 見 'to see' simply has 'eye' on 'person,' one wonders why wén 聞 'to hear' could not simply be depicted as 'ear' on 'person,' thus:  (there is such a graph, but I have identified it as tīng 聽 'to listen'—see I.1.ii.715). In my opinion, the best explanation is that of Dong Zuobin (JWJ 12.3532-4), who notes that the character wén 聞 has two related meanings: wénzhi 聞知 'perceive by hearing,' and dáwén 達聞 'to cause to hear>to inform, bring news,' and he says that the bone graph represents the latter meaning, i.e. a messenger delivering news. The kneeling position is

thus a sign of inferiority or respect. This interpretation also explains why the mouth is drawn in—this shows the messenger delivering his message. As for the hand before the mouth, Dong interprets this as a further sign of respect, shielding the superior to whom one reports the message from one's spittle. Dong's explanation accounts naturally for all the elements in this graph. However, I feel it is necessary for me to add a note here on his claim that wén 聞 can mean dáwén 達聞 'to notify, inform.' (I have not actually found this binome in any dictionary, but I guess this is what Dong means), and that this was the original meaning of the word. Several dictionaries I have consulted give one of the meanings of wén 聞 as 'to report, inform' etc. (e.g. *Dai Kan-Wa Jiten* 9.215: kikaseru, tsugeshiraseru, môshiageru; *Cihai*: dá 達, chuándá 傳達), and Wang Li (1985.3: 1190) says that it has the specialized meaning 使皇帝聞 'to cause the emperor to hear.' All this suggests that wén 聞 could be used in a causative sense 'to cause to hear' (and this use of a verb in classical Chinese certainly would not be surprising), thus supporting the idea that the bone graph shows a person delivering a report. However, in most of the examples I have seen, wén 聞 is not followed by an object, so it is best interpreted as 'to hear' used in a passive sense 'to be heard.' Thus Wang Li's example 陵敗書聞 (*Shiji.Bao Ren An shu*) may be best understood as 'when the letter concerning Li Ling's defeat was heard (by the emperor).' When wén 聞 is used as a transitive verb, it generally means 'to hear,' and when used intransitively it means 'to be heard.' It is very hard to find unambiguous examples of wén 聞 used transitively with the meaning 'to cause to hear.' In the following example, from *Liji.Shaoyi* (HY17/1), it seems to mean 'to cause to be heard' rather than 'to cause to hear':

某固願聞名於將命者。

"I, so and so, earnestly wish my name to be reported to the officer of communication." (Legge 1885.4:68 ¶1)

It seems clear that wénmíng 聞名 here cannot mean 'hear the name.' Wang Fuzhi (1933:17.1a) says that wén 聞 here should be read in the departing tone wèn, and means tongmíng 通名 'communicate one's name.' According to the *Guangyun*, wén 聞 in the level tone means zhisheng 知聲 'to hear,' and in the departing tone means míngdá 名達 'fame.' Wang Renxu (ap. Long Yuchen 1968) only has it in the level tone, and defines it as yōuzhi 有知 'to perceive.' Karlgren (GSR 441f) defines the level tone reading as 'to hear' and the departing tone reading as 'to be heard; fame,' and Lu Deming's glosses in general support this (see Pan Chonggui 1983.2:1660).

It seems to me that wén 聞 never had the meaning 'cause to hear.' Its basic meaning was 'to hear,' and in the *qùsheng* reading it meant 'to be heard' or 'fame, reputation.' In the *Liji* passage quoted above, we do not have wén 聞 'to hear' used causatively as 'to cause to hear,' but wèn 聞 used causatively as 'to cause to be heard.' I conclude then that the bone graph, although it depicts a messenger delivering a report, does not illustrate the meaning 'to report,' which is not attested in OBI and only rather ambiguously attested in soft texts, but illustrates the nominal meaning '(a thing heard:) a report, news,' which is attested in OBI (but not, as far as I know, in soft texts, where the nominal usage of wèn 聞 means 'fame, reputation'). I have also considered the possibility that wén 聞 in OBI means 'messenger,' but the context suggests that the meaning 'message' is the correct interpretation.¹

Usage

According to Dong, in the 出呼有聞 inscriptions, wén 聞 means 'news, report.' This seems like a reasonable interpretation. Its precise meaning in other inscriptions is hard to gauge. There are also some inscriptions that talk about seeking rain by burning (jiao 爇) wén 聞. Yu Xingwu interprets wén 聞 here as hun 婚,

¹I am grateful to Mr. Sun Jingtao of Peking University for discussing the usage of wén 聞 in classical Chinese with me.

referring to some kind of female slave. In the 有聞 inscriptions, he interprets wén 聞 as standing for mín~hun 瘡 'suffering, distress' (GSR 457s). The formulaic parallelism with other OBI 'disaster' graphs makes this interpretation look quite cogent. In one fragment (*Fuyin.wen* 45) we find 昔聞 / 昔聞, which would make good sense if read as xi hun 昔昏 'yesterday at dusk,' but with no other context it is hard to be sure. Takashima (1988:14) notes that the bronze graph that evolves from the present bone graph is not used (in those inscriptions where the context is unambiguous) in the sense of 'dusk,' and he also notes that there is a bone ancestor for the character hun 昏 (S.358.1, JGWB 810, JWJ 7.2191) which is definitely used in the sense of 'dusk,' so it would probably be better to interpret the above inscription as 'yesterday (there was) a report.' One can see now that the reason SW gives 昏 as the *zhòuwén* form of hun 婚, rather than of hun 昏, is because it was used in the sense of 'marriage relations,' not in the sense of 'dusk.' For dusk, the character has always been 昏.¹ The graphic correspondent of hun 昏 does not occur in bronzes (O/NJWB 881/1088 lists 昏² as hun 昏, from the vessel 毛公鼎, even though it is used here as hun 婚!).

800 𠂔

JGWB 1098: 𠂔 (not in SW)

S.136.2x7

JWJ 12.3671: 𠂔 𠂔

¹ According to SW (12b.2a), the reason why marriage is called hun 婚 is that the bridegroom collects the bride at dusk (cf. *Yili.Shihunli*, Steele 1917.1:22 ¶8a mentions that men precede the bridegroom's chariot bearing torches, which suggests that it is evening). If this is true, then one wonders why the word for

'marriage' in bronzes is not written with hun 昏.

² For a detailed study of this bronze graph, see Takashima 1988:11-14 (graph 2c).

SW 12b.10a: 辟, 便嬖愛也. 从女, 辟聲.

Tr: Bì 嬖 means 'maid' or 'favourite.' It consists of nǚ 女 'woman' signific and pì 辟 phonetic.

Analysis

The bone graph consists of qiè 妾 'concubine' and jié 卽 'kneeling figure,' not of nǚ 女 'woman' and pì 辟 phonetic, so JGWB's transcription as the non-character 妾 is to be preferred over the identification as bì 嬖. The context shows that it is used in the same way as qiè 妾 / 妾, i.e. as a sacrificial victim,¹ so I think it is best to regard it simply as a variant of qiè 妾, with the kneeling figure added to emphasize the lowly status of these poor women who were used in human sacrifice.² The theory of graphic analysis suggests that the graph 妾 (see I.1.ii.801) is not likely to be a variant of the present graph, but a different grapheme, since 卽 and 妾 have conflicting uses. 妾 only occurs in two inscriptions, but in both is clearly a verb (though I cannot specify its precise meaning).

Usage

It is a sacrificial victim. Apart from being offered to female ancestors (perhaps to provide them with serving maids in the after-life), both qiè 妾 and 妾 are also offered to the He 河 'Yellow River.' As is well known, the offering of 'brides' to the Yellow River was an ancient custom in China. The classical story concerning this is the one about Ximen Bao putting an end to the custom in Wei 魏 during the Warring States period (*Shiji.Ch.126: Huaji zhuan*).

¹But note that, as Professor Takashima has pointed out to me, while qiè 妾 could refer to the wife of an ancestor, 妾 does not seem to be so used.

²This sort of sacrifice should be distinguished from the practice of burying living subordinates with their dead masters (xùn 殉), which could apply to people of high status.

1721 𠂔

Not in JGWB

S.253.3x2

Not in JWJ

Analysis

The graph consists of bèi 𠂔 / 貝 'shell,' which is probably phonetic, and the kneeling figure, which is probably signific. Phonetically, it could represent the word bài 拜, which like bèi 貝 may be classified as jì 祭 rhyme.¹ Karlgren defines it as 'to bow in obeisance, to bow one's thanks' (GSR 328). This would fit into the OBI context, and would also explain the role of the kneeling figure:

𠂔 日 不 遘 .

(Jingjin 4364)

When kneeling in homage to the sun, we will not meet with (rain).

𠂔 日 其 遘 .

(Nanbei.Nan 1.170)

When kneeling in homage to the sun, we will perhaps meet with (rain).

I have filled in the word 'rain' on the basis of a common OBI formula.

Although it is impossible to prove that the present graph represents the same word as bài 拜, the OBI context and graphic analysis combine to allow this as a possibility.

¹However it should be noted, as Professor Pulleyblank has pointed out to me, that in EMC bài 拜 *pe^rj^h* is in the guài 怪 rhyme, while bèi 貝 *paj^h* is in the tài 泰 rhyme (cf. bài 敗 *ba^rj^h* is in the guài 夬 rhyme) so they were not homophonous.

2330 𠄎

S.360.3x13

2331 𠄎

JGWB 1105: pì 辟

S.360.4x15

JWJ 9.2891: pì 辟

SW 9a.13a: 辟, 法也. 从𠄎, 从辛: 節制其辜也. 从口: 用法者也. 凡...

Tr: Pì 辟 means fǎ 法 'law.' It consists of jié 𠄎 'tally' and xin 辛 'bitter': this represents the regulation of crime. [Xu Shen here understands jié 𠄎 as jié 節 'to regulate,' and he was also aware that xin 辛 occurs as signific in characters to do with crime and punishment, though he did not know why.] It also contains kōu 𠂔 'mouth'—this represents the person who applies the law.

Analysis

In Shang China, law probably meant punishment, and the graph depicts a person kneeling with the instrument of punishment at his back (xin 𠄎 / 辛 depicts a tool that was used for tattooing the foreheads of criminals). In one of the examples (*Jiabian* 1046¹) there is also a small square, thus: 𠄎𠂔. (Only JGWB transcribes it correctly: JWJ mis-transcribes the square as kōu 𠂔, while S omits it altogether.) In the bronze form, this element is usually a circle. Of the 18/29 examples at O/NJWB 1216/1514, three examples

¹JGWB also gives an example 𠄎𠂔 (*Jiabian* 3238), but according to Qu Wanli's *kaoshi* the 𠂔 belongs with a separate graph 𠂔 (usually identified as shí 石 'stone,' though Qu does not accept this).

(two from the two 師害簋 vessels and one from 子禾子釜) have a dot inside the circle, one has a mouth-like form (辟東尊), and only one example has nothing: 辟 (鳳羌鐘). Thus although this element looks like 'mouth' in the seal form (which is perhaps what led Li Xiaoding to mis-transcribe the bone graph), originally it is actually a circle (which happens to be squarish in the bone form due to the difficulty of carving such a small circle on bone). What is the significance of this circle? I would like to suggest that pì 辟 is the primary form of bì 璧, 'circular jade insignium' (GSR 853d). It is a phonetic compound, consisting of pì 辟 phonetic and a circle as signific.¹ The circle then became an integral part of the character pì 辟, and a new character bì 璧, with yù 玉 'jade' signific, was created. This new character is already found in bronzes (O/NJWB 39/43), but notice that two of the examples on the 洹子孟姜壺 lack the circle, consisting simply of pì 辟 and yù 玉, thus suggesting that it may still have been felt superfluous at that time to have both the circle and the jade signific together.

Usage

In the classics, pì 辟 is usually a verb 'to punish.' It can also mean 'to regulate,' and as a noun, read bì, it means 'ruler, prince.' These meanings are probably all connected, and the variation in the phonation of the initial clearly points to some form of etymological derivation. Pì 辟 is also used for quite a variety of other words, which later came to be distinguished by the addition of various radicals (see GSR 853). Thus in interpreting the use of pì 辟 in OBI, one has quite a deal of latitude. For example, Chen Mengjia suggests that the OBI phrase 多辟臣 could mean bíchén 璧臣 'favourite ministers,' perhaps referring to a particular rank of official. One could also simply

¹Cf. the suggestion of Hopkins (1929:572) that ☉ in the bronze graph yáng 陽 / 揚 (O/NJWB 1522/1941) represents, not the sun, but a bì 璧 jade disc with its circular aperture in the middle. The graph would thus show a person raising up a jade disc. As Hopkins further notes, this suggestion helps to explain the frequent addition of the yù 玉 / 王 'jade' element to this graph. Its meaning in bronzes is 'to extol,' i.e. to lift up verbally.

understand it as pìchén 辟臣 'regulating ministers,' or perhaps even 'law officers.' It is hard to know which, if any, is correct. The present graph also occurs as the name of a prince. It is hard to say whether it has the meaning 'punish' in any of the inscriptions.

Section iii: Phonetic (?)

880 𡚦

Not in JGWB

S.143.3x1

Not in JWJ

SW 12b.2b: 𡚦, 匹也. 从女, 己聲.







SWDZ 12b.5b: In the *Taixuanjing* it is written 𡚦. 'Sheng 聲' should be edited out: this is a semantic compound, meaning 以女儷己也 'taking a woman and coupling her to oneself.'

Tr: Fei 妃 'wife' means pī 匹 'mate.' It consists of nǚ 女 'woman' signific and jǐ 己 phonetic.

Analysis

According to SW, fei 妃 and pèi 配 both contain jǐ 己 phonetic. However, the bone and bronze forms of pèi 配 contain jié 𠂔, 𠂔, not jǐ 己 (see next graph in this section). Note that the seal form of the phonetically similar word féi 肥 also contains jié 𠂔 (the modern character is written with bā 巴, but this is wrong, and there is no way that bā 巴 could ever have been phonetic, though it may be a phonetization due to the role of the jié 𠂔 element having been forgotten). It seems possible then that fei 妃 also originally contained jié 𠂔, not jǐ 己. SW (4b.15a) analyses féi 肥 as a semantic compound, but it occurs to me that the three characters pèi 配, fei 妃 and féi 肥 perhaps all originally had 𠂔 as phonetic. As far as SW is concerned, jié 𠂔 only occurs as phonetic in the character jí 卽 (SW 5b.2a), and there is also the rare character jié 𠂔 (see Zhu Junsheng 1834:12.178b-179a), to which Xu Shen gives a huìyì 會意 analysis (SW 9b.3b). GSR does not give a phonetic series for this element. From his definitions of characters under his 𠂔 radical (e.g. é 厄, què 卻), one can deduce that Xu Shen thought 𠂔 was pronounced like jié 節, and

the *Guangyun* assigns it the same reading (子結切). However, since Xu Shen did not even know what it originally depicted, one begins to doubt whether he knew its true reading either. It seems rather that he guessed it was read like jié 節. The evidence of fei 妃, pèi 配 and fèi 肥, if I have not misconstrued it, points to quite a different reading.

Li Xiaoding (JWJ 12.3605), following Luo Zhenyu, recognizes the bone graph  as fei 妃. Luo says: 此从兒作, 殆妃匹之本字與 'this [graph] contains sì 巳, and is perhaps the primary form of fei 妃.' He gives no explanation as to why he thinks this sì 巳 makes the graph fei 妃. He seems to regard sì 巳 as a variant of zī 子 / 子, but is not clear himself on this issue (see JWJ 14.4360). Li Xiaoding (JWJ 14.4367) has the insight that sì 巳 depicts a foetus, as in the character bao 包, which SW (9a.14b) analyses as depicting a pregnant person with an unformed child inside. I think Li is correct in saying that sì 巳 depicts a foetus. Karlgren (GSR 581) also accepts the identification of  as fei 妃, and gives the same analysis: "The graph has 'woman' and 'child in womb.'" Under bao 包 (GSR 1113) he says: "The graph was possibly the primary form of [bao 胞 'womb'], and may have been a drawing of a foetus in the womb." Thus Li appears to be accepting that fei 妃 is a semantic compound of 'woman' and 'foetus' (though at JWJ 12.3606 he says that  is neither jī 己 nor sì 巳, so his thinking on this point is actually rather muddled). I suppose this is not too wild an idea, but I do not feel completely happy with it. JGWB 1418 also accepts  as fei 妃, saying that the bone form of this character contains sì 巳 instead of jī 己. Rong Geng is rather muddled, listing the bronze graph  in the position corresponding to the SW character jī 己女 (OJWB 1549), but identifying it as fei 妃 (which he amends to 妃, amending also the seal form to 妃), and listing the bronze graph for jī 己女 as fei 妃 (OJWB 1536). NJWB (1958 and 1974) corrects this swap. I would prefer to follow Wang Xiang (JWJ 12.3605) in identifying  as the old form of sì 似. In bronzes, this surname is usually written shì 始 (O/NJWB

1550/1975). Luo Zhenyu (JWJ 12.3605) rightly criticizes the identification of 𠂔 as fei 妃, since this graph should clearly be identified as jī 己女. SW (12b.5a) defines this as a nūzì 女字 'woman's name,' and there is no doubt from the pronunciation of this character that it really does contain jī 己 phonetic. Luo notes that it is actually a xìng 姓 'surname,' not a zì 字 'name.' Li (12.3606) agrees with Luo on these points, and adds that the original form of fei 妃 has not been found in bronzes (though to be consistent he ought to award this honour to 𠂔). The bronze graph for jī 己女 is always used as a proper name, but there are a couple of cases (陳侯午鐘 and 𡈼侯簋) where 𠂔 may most easily be understood as meaning 'wife, consort,' so this poses a problem for my reluctance to accept it as fei 妃. However, even if 𠂔 is to be identified as fei 妃, pèi 配 and fēi 肥 still provide cogent evidence for the interpretation of 𠂔 as phonetically something like *pəl. In OBI, jī 己女 has not been found, while 𠂔 occurs mostly in the name Líng Sì 雷跂 雷妃 (女以). Unfortunately, the present graph occurs without context.

The possibility that 𠂔 is phonetic will be made clearer by the following reconstructions:

<u>fei</u> 妃	p'uj	*p'əl
<u>fēi</u> 肥	buɿ	*bəl
<u>pèi</u> 配	p'əj ^h	*p'əls

2556 𠂔

JGWB 1711: pèi 配

𠂔

JGWB 2272: xiāopèi 小配

S.391.1x5

JWJ 14.4409: 𪚩 = 酉 (not in SW)

SW 14b.17a: 酉, 酒色也。从酉, 己聲。

SWDZ 14b.36b: The SW definition is the original meaning. Later, people used it for fei 妃.

Tr: Pèi 酉己 means 'the colour of wine.' It consists of yōu 酉 ['wine'] signific and jī 己 phonetic.

Analysis

Li Xiaoding does not recognize the present graph as pèi 酉己, and indeed the seal form appears to contain jī 己 rather than jié 卩. However, JGWB does recognize it as pèi 酉己, with the note "从卩," i.e. 'contains jié 卩 instead of jī 己.' O/NJWB (1883/2404) recognizes a bronze graph consisting of the same elements as pèi 配, with the same note. Karlgren (GSR 514) also accepts this bronze graph as pèi 酉己. He says "the right part was probably originally a drawing of a kneeling person," and refers to the character xiāng 𠂔/鄉 'to feast' (GSR 714c). His implication, I presume, is that, as xiāng 𠂔 shows people sitting down to dine, so pèi 酉己 shows a person sitting down to wine, though he does not explain how this relates to the meaning of the character, for which he only gives the meanings 'counterpart, be the equal or counterpart of, to be worthy of,' ignoring the SW definition, which is unsubstantiated by texts. The SW definition is a little problematical, due to the polysemy of the word sè 色, but I think here it must mean 'colour' (as we talk of red, white and rosé). In literature, the expression jiūsè 酒色 usually means 'wine and women.' It can also refer to a bibulous complexion. However, neither of these uses seems appropriate to the SW definition. Karlgren (GSR 514a) gives the meaning of pèi 酉己 as 'counterpart, be the equal or counterpart of; to be worthy of.' However, having examined the context of its usage in bronze inscriptions and early soft texts, I feel that this definition, though essentially correct, is misleading. Being a

counterpart does not necessarily imply being an equal, and the contexts I have examined show that pèi 配 always describes the relationship of an inferior to a superior, as in the *Shijing* line:

天立厥配. (HY 61/241/2)

"Heaven established for itself a counterpart."¹

This refers to Heaven setting up the Zhou as successors to the Shang and Xia. The relationship between the Zhou and Heaven is clearly intended to be that of an inferior to a superior. In three of the eight bronze examples of pèi 配 it is used as a verb, with huángtian 皇天 'August Heaven' as the object (𩇑鐘, 南宮乎鐘, 𩇑簋), and other examples have zong 宗 'the ancestors' (鬯方尊), wôyôuzhou 我有周 'the Zhou state' (毛公鼎) and Wu Wang 吳王 'the king of Wu' (蔡侯鬯盤) as the object—they all express the wish that the person who had the vessel cast will be worthy of the superior force that guides him. (On the vessel 拍敦² 蓋 it is used in the sense of 'wife'.) The fact that pèi 配 also means 'to be worthy of,' and that it is probably etymologically related to fei 妃 'consort, wife' (GSR 581a), supports the idea that it expresses the relationship of an inferior to a superior. Thus Zhou is described as the pèi 配 of Heaven, but we never see Heaven described as the pèi 配 of Zhou (which would sound presumptuous anyway).

As I have already mentioned, according to SW, the characters fei 妃 and pèi 配 both contain 己 phonetic. The oddity of this has not escaped the notice of

¹See Karlgren's Gloss 825.



²The term dun 敦 is usually an old misnomer for gui 𩇑 ~ 簋, but the present vessel is listed in NJWB p.1365 (OJWB 器目 266) as a dun 敦, where this term is given as equivalent to 鐘 (鐘), which GSR 464g says is read chún when it means 'a kind of bell' and dun when it means 'a kind of sacrificial vessel,' in which usage it occurs on the 陳侯午敦.

commentators, who generally solve the problem by saying that fei 妃 is a semantic compound character, and that pèi 配 contains fei 妃 abbreviated phonetic. As for the character féi 肥, which has jié 𠂔 / 𠂔 in the seal form, no one ever suspected that this element might be phonetic, so they accepted the SW (4b.15b) semantic compound analysis. For example, the Xu Xuan commentary says: 肉不可過多, 故从 𠂔 'meat should not be taken in excess, hence the character contains 𠂔 [i.e. understood as jié 節 'to regulate, moderate']. However, this involves a lot of casuistry, and things would be much simpler if we could recognize the 𠂔 element as phonetic.


Usage

Obscure.

Part 2: 

This variation of the kneeling figure shows both hands drawn in, and occurs in graphs to do with supplication and offering. Although it is usually *signific*, I believe that in the graph sù  / 夙 it is probably best explained as *phonetic* so, in order to adhere to my format, I have had to put this graph in a separate section by itself. After discussing the element  itself, I shall divide the present part into the following two sections:

- i. *Signific*
- ii. *Phonetic* (?)

373 
S.58.4x33



JGWB 341: 𠂔 𠂔

JWJ 3.867: 𠂔 𠂔

SW 3b.6b: 𠂔, 持也. 象手有所𠂔據也. 凡 讀若
𠂔.

Tr: 𠂔 𠂔 means chí 持 'to hold.' It depicts a hand holding and supporting something
.... It is read like 𠂔 𠂔.

Analysis

Xu Shen defines 𠂔 𠂔 as 'to hold,' but there are no textual examples to support this definition. He thinks it depicts a hand holding something. This is a very reasonable interpretation of the seal form, and is apparently corroborated by the character dòu 𠂔 'to fight,' the seal form of which consists of two 𠂔 facing each other. Thus it was natural that Xu Shen should see dòu 𠂔 as showing the hands of two people brandishing sticks at each other. However, as we have seen, the bone form of dòu 𠂔 does not consist of two .  simply shows two people standing up engaged in a contest of good old-fashioned fisticuffs. The bone form of 𠂔 𠂔, on the other hand, shows a person kneeling with the hands raised up. Since there are no soft text examples of 𠂔 𠂔, the SW identification of this character is by no means certain. I suspect that it may be a variant of zhù 𠂔 / 祝,¹ since it occurs in some forms of zhù 𠂔 / 祝, e.g.



(Yibian 2214)



(Qianbian 6.16.6)

¹See III.1.i.265 for this graph.

Li Xiaoding (JWJ 1.83), as well as JGWB (18), include this graph as zhù 祝, though Shima (S.59.2) separates it. It is hard to tell from the context whether it really is the same word, but intermediate forms, such as 𠄎 (Qianbian 4.18.8) and 𠄎 (Yinxu 48) are very suggestive. On the bronze vessel 禽簋 we find zhù 祝 written thus:



(NJWB 27; OJWB 28: 祝 'not in SW')

If 𠄎 is in fact a variant of zhù 𠄎 ~ 𠄎 / 祝, then this also makes the graph 𠄎 / 夙 easier to analyse, as its role can be explained as phonetic. Another benefit of this identification of 𠄎 is that it can also be regarded as phonetic in shú 熟. SW (3b.7a) gives the seal form as 𠄎, and says that chún 𠄎 'well-cooked' (SW 5b.11b) is phonetic. It seems probable, as Professor Pulleyblank has pointed out to me, that if there was a word chún 𠄎 dzwin 'well-cooked,' then it was cognate to shú 熟 dzuwk, also meaning 'well-cooked.' In this case, the seal graph of shú 熟 could be analysed as standing for the word dzuwk 'well-cooked,' consisting of chún 𠄎 signific and 夙 phonetic—this would perhaps make it a zhuânzhù character, in Xu Shen's terminology. However, the following graph is identified in O/NJWB (352/445) as shú 熟:







伯姪簋

This bronze graph is used as a person's name, and has nū 女 'woman' signific attached to it (it probably refers to the wife of the person who had this vessel cast). This graph does not contain chún 𠄎, but only 𠄎, which seems to depict some kind of building. I deduce from this that shú 熟 was originally the primary form of shú 熟


'gate-room' (GSR 1026c), with 夙 acting as phonetic. Compare the following reconstructions:

sù 夙	suwk ¹	*sək ^w
shú 孰	dzuwk	*dək ^w
zhù 祝	tçuwk	*tək ^w


The similarity of the finals favours the hypothesis that the above three characters all originally contained the same phonetic element. I therefore feel that Xu Shen's guess that 夙 is pronounced like 𠄎 𠄎 is wrong, and that it is rather a variant of 祝 祝.

The present bone graph may be compared to the Egyptian graph  which shows exactly the same thing, i.e. a person kneeling with the hands raised (Gardiner 1957:442, sign A4). It symbolizes supplication, and occurs as signific in the Egyptian word for 'adore.' It also has a standing variant , which occurs as signific in words meaning 'praise' and 'extol' (*ibid*:445, sign A30). I think the Shang graph may be interpreted as a person in the act of supplication or making an offering, and that this was what the act of praying meant to the Shang. Notice that there are two forms:  (e.g. *Yibian* 4697), in which the hands both face in the same direction, and  (e.g. *Houbian* 2.38.2), in which the hands face each other. In the second form, the hands facing each other are analogous to the independent graph 𠄎 𠄎 / 𠄎, which may be interpreted as the primary form of 𠄎 𠄎 'to offer in worship' (see Li Xiaoding, *JWJ* 3.781-2). As a graph element, 𠄎 𠄎 usually implies the idea of offering something up.

The interpretation of 𠄎 𠄎 as a person making an offering also explains its role as signific very well in the graphs that I examine in this part. Offering up is naturally the

¹Professor Pulleyblank has pointed out to me that s- alternating with EMC palatals is quite abnormal. However, τῷ σοφῷ ξένον οὐδέν. The rhyme is the same, and it seems hard to explain the  element as signific. In the first draft of my thesis I suggested that sù 𠄎 𠄎 / 夙 perhaps showed a person making an offering to the moon in the early hours of the morning, but I could find no evidence that the Shang had such a ceremony, so I decided in favour of the present *xingsheng* analysis.

action of an inferior to a superior, and that is why the person is kneeling. This fits in with the general symbolism of the kneeling figure in the Shang script. Note that jī 𠂔 also occurs as signific in the bronze form of yáng 揚, e.g.



𠂔 矢方鼻

(O/NJWB 1522/1941)

Hopkins (1929:572) analyses this graph as a person bearing aloft a bì 璧, jade disc, as ministers did in ancient China when having an audience with the emperor.

Usage

It is used mostly as a proper noun (or perhaps meaning 'priest?'), but where it is a verb, the meaning zhù 祝 'pray' makes reasonably good sense in the context:

壬寅卜，殷貞：帝好琬不其嘉。
王曰：𠂔，不其嘉。嘉不吉。于...若
茲廼死。

(Yibian 4729¹)

Renyin-day cracking, Que tested: Lady Hao give birth, not perhaps good (i.e. male).

The king read the cracks and said: Pray, (for it will) not perhaps be good (i.e. male). Good (i.e. male) not auspicious. To.... Like this, then die.

于庭門𠂔享飲，王弗悔。

(Kufang 1002)

¹Shima's quotation of this inscription (S.58.4) omits the graphs for yú 于 and nài 廼.

At the palace gate pray (with) food and drink, the king will not be regretful.

甲子卜，方貞：夙求¹雨于²娥。³

(Yicun 389)

Jiazi-day cracking, Bin tested: Pray and seek rain to the Goddess E.



The context of these inscriptions is admittedly too limited to be sure, but the fact that the interpretation fits in is mildly encouraging. In the last two inscriptions, 夙 夙 could also perhaps be interpreted as a noun: 'The priest will feast and (offer) drink (to the ancestors)...,' 'The priest will seek rain....'

¹Shima (S.58.4) transcribes this graph 𠂔, as if it were shài 𠂔, but it is actually written 𠂔, which I think looks more like qiú 求. These two graphs are sometimes hard to tell apart.

²Shang Chengzuo, the author of *Yicun*, puts this yú 于 into a different inscription, but I think it belongs here.

³Shima (S.58.4) transcribes with hé 𠂔 / 河 on the end, but the graph is actually yōng 𠂔 / 永, a diviner's name, and belongs to a different inscription on this shell.

Section i: Signific

376  . JGWB 345: huà 𠂔

S.59.1x14

378  (*Qianbian* 4.42.2)

S.59.2x1

JWJ 3.885 (376 only): huà 𠂔












SW 3b.7a: 𠂔, 擊蹠也。从夊, 从戈。讀若蹠。

SWDZ3b.15a: I suspect the text should read 'ge 戈 phonetic.'

Tr: Huà 𠂔 means 'to strike the heel.' It consists of jī 夊 'to hold' and ge 戈 'spear.' It is read like huà¹ 蹠.

Analysis

The graph shows a kneeling person holding up a spear. If the SW reading is correct, then it seems likely, as Duan suspects, that the spear is phonetic. However, the way it is placed between the hands suggests that it may also contribute to the meaning in some way.

Li Xiaoding includes  as a variant. According to the present theory of graphic analysis, this, though not impossible, should be unlikely. In all the intelligible  inscriptions (S.39.2),  is used as the name of a prince, so context provides us with no clues for distinguishing  from , apart from the negative one that  is never used in the same meaning as , while  is never used as a personal name. The identity of  thus remains very much in question. The dà  element does not carry any implication of inferiority or submission, whereas the  element may, so they are basically incompatible, though as already noted there are some exceptions. The kneeling

¹The modern colloquial reading for this character is huái but the *Guangyun* reading is ɣwa², as Professor Pulleyblank has pointed out to me.

figure with hands raised further symbolizes offering something up from an inferior position, so this decreases even more the possibility that 𠂔 is a variant of the present graph.¹ In the bone and bronze inscriptions in which the present graph occurs, the interpretation 'offer up,' or more specifically 'give up>surrender,' often makes very good sense. I shall first cite all the bronze inscriptions in which huà 𠂔 is not a proper noun.²

𠂔王才厥，已夕，侯易者 𠂔臣二百家 ...
 于 在 賜 諸 (麥尊)

When the king was at Gan, on the evening of the si-day, the Marquis was given all the surrendered *chén*, (numbering)³ 200 hundred families...

易女婦爵， 𠂔之弋，周玉黃□。
 賜汝 琯 璜 (縣改殷)

I give you a lady's *jué*-goblet, *yì*-weapons that have been surrendered (or 'offered up?'), and a carven jade belt (?) □.

方 纒 亡 不 𠂔 見。
 蠻 (史牆盤)

Among the barbarians of the various regions, there were none who did not surrender and visit the (Zhou) court.⁴

¹Note that my distinguishing them is based firstly on context and secondarily on graphic analysis. Graphic analysis must always be corroborated in this way, otherwise one is likely to run into what the Chinese call

wàngwénshēngyì 望文生義.

²Except for the 卣 卣 2 example, as the vessel is a fake. I am grateful to Professor Takashima for making me aware of this.

³My parsing of the quantitative complement is based on the analysis of this structure in OBI in Takashima 1985. Although this article deals specifically with OBI, Professor Takashima has informed me that he thinks the structure is applicable to bronze inscriptions as well.

⁴I am indebted to Shirakawa (KBTS 11.639, 17.176, and 50.355) for my basic interpretation of these inscriptions, though I differ from him on a number of points, especially in my understanding of huà 𠂔, which he did not arrive at a consistent meaning for.

The interpretation of huà 𠄎 as 'offer up' or 'surrender' makes encouragingly good sense in these bronze inscriptions, so I shall now show how this meaning fits into the OBI context.

貞：𠄎其 𠄎。

(Yicun 779)

Tested: The Tan [alien tribe] will perhaps¹ surrender.

貞：基方 𠄎。

Tested: The Ji tribe will surrender.

貞：基方不其 𠄎。

(Qianbian 5.12.5)

Tested: The Ji tribe will not perhaps surrender.

...亥卜，王貞：乙酉 𠄎。

(Houbian 2.26.17)

...hai-day cracking, the king tested: On yiyou-day, surrender/offer up (?).

癸卯卜，王曰：𠄎其 𠄎。

(Qianbian 4.42.2)


Guimao-day cracking, the king said: Duan will perhaps surrender.

貞：余勿乎 𠄎老，𠄎。𠄎 既。

(Xubian 5.10.6)


Tested: I should not issue the call to attack the Lao [alien tribe], (for they will) surrender. 𠄎 - and 既 -sacrifice.


¹Serruys (1974:25) has put forward the theory that 𠄎 其 marks one of the inscriptions in a *duizhen* as being the less desirable alternative by making the possibility seem more remote. As far as one may deduce how the Shang probably felt about the alternatives in *duizhen*, his theory seems to work pretty well, though it is not watertight, and I do not think one should expect it to be. Rather than say that it marks the less desirable, I think it might be more accurate to say that it marks the alternative that the Shang thought was the less likely (whether really or through wishful thinking), and in most cases this was the less desirable. This is essentially the modification to Serruys' theory proposed by Takashima (1973:282), where he notes that "there are many sentences in which the use of 𠄎 seems to be better interpreted as expressing uncertain feeling of the diviners, rather than the theory of "less desirable, less preferred 𠄎". So I do not think there is any need to suggest here, as one could, that the Tan were an ally to the Shang, fighting a Shang enemy, and so their surrender was undesirable from the Shang point of view. There is nothing in the context to warrant such an understanding, so it would be motivated entirely by one's perception of the role of 𠄎, which is rather a slender point d'appui for such a detailed filling in of the background to this inscription. Perhaps the Shang would have liked the Tan to surrender (and the fact that they bothered to divine this suggests that they would have), but the possibility did not seem very strong to them.

其 祝 戈 一  九 , 又 ...

(Cuibian 1000)

Perhaps offer up (consecrate?) *ge*-spear (numbering) one, *xu*-weapons
(numbering) nine, there will be (divine aid?).

I have quoted rather a large number of the inscriptions, because the meaning of huà  has not yet been established, so the burden of proof is on me. Due to the limited context, it is sometimes hard to decide whether to translate 'surrender' or 'offer up.' However, I think these are really just two aspects of the same basic meaning.





379 


JGWB 18: zhù 祝

S.59.2x14

JWJ 1.83: zhù 祝

Analysis

JGWB and JWJ both include the present graph as a variant of zhù  / 祝 'to pray' (for which, see III.1.i.265), and I think the context supports this. It differs in that the head is not depicted, and both arms are shown, extended upwards in a beseeching fashion. The next two graphs in S,  (JGWB 3353 and 5761) and  (JGWB 18) are also probably variants. The second form has a  element added, which could be a mouth indicating the verbal nature of praying, or else perhaps a vessel containing offerings, though the former possibility seems the stronger. The first form is the most elaborate, since it also has a tongue sticking out of the head, thus suggesting the idea of uttering prayers. One may deduce from this graph the complex of actions that zhù 祝 signified: kneeling before an altar, making offerings, and uttering prayers.

382 

JGWB 342: yì 藝

S.59.2x209

JWJ 3.869: yì 藝

SW 3b.7a: 藝, 種也。从埜, 廾持¹種之。書曰: 我藝黍稷。

SWDZ 3b.14b: SW does not contain yì 藝, yì 藝 or shì 勢. In Zhou times they were probably all three simply written 藝.

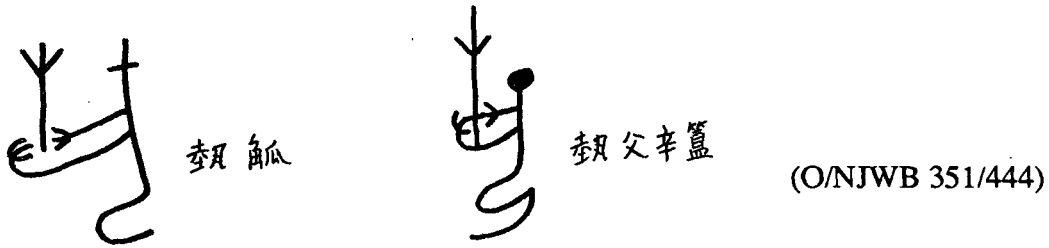
Tr: Yì 藝 means zhòng 種 'to plant.' It consists of lù 埜 'clod of earth' and jì 廾 holding and planting it. The *Shujing* says: "We plant millet."²

Analysis

The graph shows a person kneeling, holding up a plant. The primary meaning of yì 藝 is 'to plant, to cultivate,' and the modern meaning of yì 藝 'arts' is an extension of this, i.e. 'that which one cultivates > culture.' However, the bone graph does not seem to show a person planting a plant, but offering it up. Early bronze forms show the same thing:

¹I have omitted the character jí 𠂔 at this point as it is not in the Duan Yucai (SWDZ) text and is hard to fit into the context.

²*Tongjian* 30/138. The present text reads qí 其 instead of wǒ 我, and Karlgren translates "their cultivation of the millet" (1950:43.6).



Furthermore, the graph occurs in OBI overwhelmingly in a ceremonial context, in the formula 王賓執禘亡禍, the precise meaning of which is problematical, but which may be loosely translated 'If the king performs such-and-such a ceremony, there will be no misfortune.' The purpose of this ceremony then was to ward off misfortune. I feel that it was this ceremonial meaning that the graph 𣎵 was designed to illustrate, since my graphic analysis of the 𣎵 element predicts that it should have something to do with offering up. The phonetic series of 𣎵 𣎵 contains no obviously ceremonial meanings (see GSR 330). I would suggest then that what this graph depicts is the offering up of cultivated plants, i.e. it does indeed represent the word 𣎵 'to plant,' but in a specialized usage. It may be interpreted as a verb 'to plant' or a noun, perhaps meaning 'crops,' in the following inscriptions:

癸卯卜，貞：𣎵其受𣎵又。五月。
祐

(Yibian 6528)

Guimao-day cracking, tested: In Zhi [place name] perhaps receive divine aid in planting. Fifth month.

丁卯卜，爭貞：乎雀鬯或𣎵。

(Zhuihe 302, ap. S.60.1)

Dingmao-day cracking, Zheng tested: Call on Qiao to libate with châng
𪛗 aromatic wine the crops at Huo.¹

庚辰卜，大貞：來丁亥寢需_備出_執，歲_歲
羌三十，卯十牛。十月。
劉

(Qianbian 6.16.1)

Gengchen-day cracking, Da tested: (When on) the coming dinghai-day in
the *guíqín*-building (we) offer crops, (we should) guí-cut Qiang tribesmen
(numbering) thirty, and liú-cut² ten oxen.

The last inscription suggests that the presentation of crops (perhaps a sort of harvest thanksgiving?) was a major ceremony, to which the sacrificing of proto-Tibetans³ and oxen here forms an accompaniment.

In the light of the above inscriptions, I am now able to offer a more accurate translation for the 王賓覯禘亡禍 formula. The graph transcribed 禘 appears to depict the offering up of wine at an altar. Luo Zhenyu (ap. JWW 1.57) and Guo Moruo (ap. JWW 1.58) use quotations from the classics and from bronze inscriptions to show that fú 福 originally referred to the wine and meat that was distributed after a sacrifice. It seems quite possible then that it could refer in OBI to the offering up of wine.

¹Taking huò 𪛗 / 或 as a place name. Li Xiaoding (JWW 12.3765) identifies this graph as hàn 𪛗 'shield' (SW 12b.16b), but graphically it seems more likely to be the ancestor of huò 或. This identification is supported by the graph 𪛗 (S.329.1), identified in JWW 3.755 as bèi 𪛗, for which SW (3a.11b) gives the *zhòuwén* form 𪛗, i.e. 𪛗.

²Liú 劉 may be understood more precisely as 'split.' For a full study, see Takashima 1983.

³Shirakawa (1974:616) describes the Qiang of Shang times as distant ancestors of the present day Tibetans. There is still a group of people called Qiang living in Sichuan, and Shi Zhengyi (1984:109) says that the so-called Fa Qiang 发羌 of Han times sprang from the same source as the present day Tibetans.

The above formula may thus be interpreted: 'If the king performs the *bin*-ceremony with offerings of crops and wine, there will be no misfortune.'

Considering the deeply religious nature of the Shang people, it seems perfectly natural that they should have depicted the crops as something that is offered, rather than something that is planted. Furthermore, if the Shang script was invented by a ruling class who were very concerned with sacrifice, as I think it probably was, then the 'offering' context would have made a greater impression on the minds of such people than the 'planting' context. Note that the word 𣎵 𣎵 'to plant' is a *qùsheng* word. It is possible that as a noun 'crops' it was read in some other tone (perhaps *rùsheng*, since this phonetic series has some words in this tone, though there is no evidence for this). However, since it has now only the *qùsheng* reading, it is hard to say which part of speech should be assigned to which tone. In spite of this uncertainty, the existence of the *qùsheng* reading helps to permit the interpretation of 𣎵 𣎵 as a noun or a verb in different OBI contexts.

The addition of an 'earth' element under the plant, which we see in later bronze forms, was perhaps due to a change in the perception of this character, away from the depiction of crops as something offered towards crops as something that one plants:

𣎵 𣎵 毛公鼎

In other forms with the added 'earth' element, we find the kneeling figure replaced by a dog:

𣎵 𣎵 克鼎

𣎵 𣎵 猷馬簋

It may be transcribed componentially as 猷, and the 'dog' element suggests that this may be an old form of 𤝵 猷 'autumnal hunt' (this is one of the uses that Yu Xingwu

proposes for the present graph in OBI), since this also has 'dog' signific. It is used in bronzes for 𡗗 邇 'near.'

Li Xiaoding includes 𡗗 as a variant of 𡗗 𡗗 (though JGWB 1594 merely transcribes it as the non-character 𡗗). The graph appears to show two hands placing a tree on top of 𡗗 𡗗 / 土 'earth.' This could be interpreted as the act of planting a plant in the ground. However, since the graph 𡗗 represents a *shè* 社 'altar to the soil,' and the hands are reaching up rather than down, I think that what it may actually represent is the placing of a tree on such an altar. There are references to such a practice in the *Zhouli Dasitu*:

設其社稷之壇而樹之田主。各以其
野之所宜木。遂以名其社與其野。

"Il dispose les murs de l'enceinte consacrée au génie de la terre et à celui des céréales. Ils les constitue seigneurs des champs, en plantant, pour représenter chaque génie, l'arbre qui convient au terrain. Aussitôt il donne le nom de l'arbre au génie et aux terres placées sous sa protection.

(Biot 1851.1:193 ¶IX.3)

The *Baihutong* asks the question "Why is there a tree on the altar of the Gods of the Earth and of the Millet," and answers the question by referring to the above quoted *Zhouli* passage (see Tjan 1949:384 ¶37.b). Under its definition of *shè* 社, SW (1a.5b) says that according to the *Zhouli* system 'twenty-five households made a *shè* 社, and each had the local tree planted on top.' Duan Yucai (SWDZ 1a.15b) identifies this as being based on the above *Zhouli* passage, and SW gives the 'old form' of *shè* 社 as 𡗗 𡗗, which has a *mù* 𣎵 / 木 'tree' on top of the 𡗗 土. Interestingly, the only bronze example of *shè* 社, on the 中山王響鼎, contains the same elements (NJWB 30; not in OJWB).


Usage

Apart from the uses I have already described, context shows that it is also used to refer to a time of day. Tang Lan identifies the graph as ruò 𤇗 'to burn,' on the basis that it shows a person holding aloft a torch rather than a plant, and defines it as 'lighting up time' (i.e. the time when people began to light their lamps in the evening), though he fails to offer any evidence that the ancient Chinese had such a concept as 'lighting up time.' I think his definition may stand, but the thing being held aloft is clearly a plant. Since yì 𣎵 is phonetic in ruò 𤇗, one should rather say that this usage is a phonetic loan. Yu Xingwu (JWJ 3.873) also proposes the following three uses, based on the claim that yì 𣎵 has a similar phonetic series to ér 爾:¹

1. Used for xiān 獮 'autumn hunt'
2. Used for ní 禰 'the temple of one's father's tablet'
3. Used for ér 爾 'near'

However, I find his interpretations somewhat problematical. For example, in the 田 𣎵 inscriptions (S.60.1), he interprets it as xiān 獮, but one would expect it to be a place name in this syntactic position. In the 王賓 𣎵 禰 inscriptions he reads it as ní 禰 but, as I have already explained, I feel that contextually the meaning 'crops' fits in better. In those inscriptions where he says it means ér 爾, which he interprets as 'near in time, soon,' it seems better to understand it as 'lighting up time.'

¹This claim is supported by the bronze phrase 𠂔遠能𠂔, which corresponds to the *Shijing* phrase 柔遠能邇 "Be gentle to the distant ones and be kind to the near ones" (HY 66/253/1). See O/NJWB 351/444.

383 JGWB 344: zài 𩇛

S.60.3x4

(JWJ 3.877 only has 𩇛, 𩇛 and 𩇛 as zài 𩇛)

SW 3b.7a: 𩇛, 設飪也。从廾, 从食, 才聲。讀若載。

Tr: Zài 𩇛 means 'to set out food.' It consists of jǐ 廾 'to hold,' shí 食 'food,' and cái 才 phonetic. It is read like zài 載。Analysis

I accept the JGWB inclusion of this graph as a variant of zài 𩇛. It shows a kneeling person setting out a food vessel, and cái 𠂔 / 才 is incorporated as a phonetic element. The kneeling figure element here is slightly different from the usual form of jǐ 廾, since the hands are not drawn in fully, but the intention is still clear: it shows that the person is setting out the food as a service or offering to a superior.


Usage

The SW definition fits well into the context:

貞：其𩇛今𩇛，亡尤。

(Jiabian 2695)




Tested: If we perhaps set out the present crop (as an offering), there will be no fault.

385 
S.60.3x5

JGWB 3485 (unidentified)

Not in JWJ


Analysis

According to S, this graph is identified at JWJ 3.887. However, we find there only the graph  (*Cuibian* 536, transcribed by Shima as , but I think a more accurate transcription than either Li's or Shima's would be , which Li transcribes into the modern form 其夙. This character is not in SW, but it occurs in bronzes as a variant of qí 其 (see O/NJWB 585/723, esp. p.245/307). JGWB distributes Shima's five examples among three different groups (the other two are 346 其夙, and 3490 unidentified), but the very similar context in which they occur strongly supports Shima's decision to group them together. The graph shows a kneeling person offering up a container of some kind. I think the container probably is intended to be qí 匱 / 其 (i.e. jī 箕 'basket'), and perhaps it also acts as a phonetic hint, though whether it is this or some other vessel does not affect the graphic analysis.

I have included the present graph as an example of the heuristic use of graphic analysis. Even though the identity of the graph is uncertain, the application of graphic analysis, combined with corroboration from the OBI context, enables us to arrive at a probable interpretation.

Usage

The general meaning 'offer up' fits well into the context:

示勿先礎。

(*Xucun* 2.783)

At the altar do not first offer up Qiang tribesmen.



389 

JGWB 5624 (unidentified)

S.60.4x1

Not in JWJ


Analysis

The graph shows a person offering up an object of uncertain interpretation (the same object appears to occur in jí  /  'auspicious'). The meaning 'offer up' would fit into the context, though it is to be sure very limited and ambiguous:

貞：勿酉齊.


(*Qianbian* 6.16.2)

Tested: Do not strain¹ (the wine) and offer it up.

730 

JGWB 348: 自 (not in SW)

S.117.3x2

JWJ 3.887: 自 (not in SW)

¹For this identification, see JWJ 14.4403. This word is now written suo 縮.

Analysis

The graph consists of jī 夊 and zì 自 'nose.' Although it has not been identified, our theory of graphic analysis enables us to hazard the general area of meaning (as do the radicals of the modern script sometimes in a character one does not know). I surmise that the jī 夊 element is signific and the zì 自 element is phonetic, but placed above the hands in such a way as to suggest the object that is being offered. This sort of 'suggestive' integration of phonetic elements is typical of the Shang script. There are no inscriptions in which it is proposed to offer noses to the ancestors, and I also feel it would be strange for the Shang to have had a word that specifically meant 'to offer noses,' so I do not think that the present graph should be interpreted as meaning 'offer noses.'¹ The role of the 'nose' element should be seen as primarily phonetic.

The general meaning 'offer up' fits well into the context:


貞：禱告王 夊于丁。三月。

(Houbian 2.16.10)

Tested: Announce with libation the king's offering up to [Wu] Ding. Third month.

Although I have postulated rather a lot of different words meaning 'offer up,' it should be pointed out that this is only a general gloss based on the significance of the 夊 element. Until these graphs can be identified, it is not possible to give a more precise definition.

¹Note however that Serruys (1974:54) translates 夊 / 取 as 'make ear offerings.' But this can be given some support by reference to the custom of 取 首 'taking the enemy's ears in battle.' The offering of noses lacks similar support.

3211 
S.488.1x1

Not in JGWB



JWJ 10.3145: ruò 𤇀


SW 10a.18a: 𤇀, 燒也。从火, 𤇀聲。春秋傳曰: 𤇀
僖負羈。

SWDZ 10a.41a: The phonetic is yì 𤇀 [Duan's implication is that the cāo 艸 'grass' element is also signific, i.e. it represents the fuel]. The present *Zuozhuan* text has jì 羈 instead of jì 羈 [as has also the HY text].

Tr: Ruò 𤇀 means shāo 燒 'to burn.' It consists of huô 火 'fire' signific and yì 𤇀 phonetic. The *Zuozhuan* says: "They burned the house of Xi."¹

Analysis

This identification was made by Tang Lan (who also included the graph , which should be identified as yì 𤇀). Li Xiaoding explains that it is a semantic compound showing a person holding up a blazing torch. He also notes that the graph is similar to yì  / 𤇀, and suggests that this is a phonetization. I think one can agree that this structural similarity is intended as a phonetic hint.

The jì  element here represents the person who is holding up the torch. One may perhaps assume that in the houses of the Shang nobility there were servants who knelt around bearing torches aloft. This is not quite the same as 'offering up,' but may be interpreted as performing a service to a superior.

Usage

¹HY 131/Xi 28/5 Zuo. My translation is based on Legge 1861.5.1:208.

As Li says, it is probably a name: Lord Ruo of Qi. However, since the sole inscription deals with sickness, perhaps it could be interpreted as 'hot, feverish':

丁酉卜，般貞：杞侯熱，弗其滑汎有疒。

(*Houbian* 2.37.5)

Dingyou-day cracking, Que tested: The Lord of Qi is feverish, he will not perhaps recover from his illness.¹

¹For the interpretation of this phrase, see Takashima 1980.

Section ii: Phonetic (?)

375 𠂔

JGWB 848: sù 夙

S.59.1x11

JWJ 7.2283: sù 夙

SW 7a.10b: 夙，早敬也。从夙，夕：持事雖夕不休，早敬者也。𠂔：古文夙从人，酉。𠂔：亦古文夙，从人，酉。宿从此。

Tr: Sù 夙 means 'early and reverent.' It consists of jī 夙 'to hold' and xī 夕 'evening': even though it is evening, one does not rest from holding one's duties—this is being early and reverent. 𠂔 : the old form of sù 夙 consists of rén 人 'person' and 酉 [SW 3a.2a: the old form of diàn 酉 'appearance of the tongue']. 𠂔 is another old form of sù 夙, consisting of rén 人 and diàn 酉. It occurs in the character sù 宿.

Analysis

Xu Shen attempts to combine the meanings 'early' and 'reverent' in his definition, but I suspect that one is the primary meaning and the other a phonetic loan. Karlgren (GSR 1030) describes the 'reverent' meaning as a loan for sù 肅 (which in turn is probably a loan—I suspect it is the primary character for xiù 繡 'to embroider'). Furthermore, the xī 夕 'crescent moon' element in sù 夙 suggests that the meaning is something to do with time (of night), so I would say that 'early in the morning' is the primary meaning.

Xu Shen's analysis of the character as consisting of jī 夙 and xī 夕 is correct, but we need no longer follow his interpretation of their combination as signifying 'having affairs, not even resting at night,' though Luo Zhenyu's and Hu Guangwei's interpretation of the jī 夙 element is clearly based on Xu Shen: they interpret it as representing the idea of zhíshì 執事 'conducting affairs, having business.' Hu Guangwei further explains

the significance of the 'moon' element thus: since the person is conducting business while the moon is still in the sky, this represents the idea 'early.' Li Xiaoding approves of this explanation, but I feel rather suspicious about it. As already mentioned, I think that jī 𠄎 may be a variant of zhù 𠄎 ~ 𠄎 / 祝. The present graph would thus be a phonetic compound, with 'moon' as significant relating to the meaning 'early morning,' and placed between the hands of the jī 𠄎 element as part of the graphic design.

Usage

Li Xiaoding finds one undoubted example of it meaning 'early,' where it contrasts with mù 莫 'late' in another inscription on the same bone:

(癸)(卯)(貞):... 未延申示其佳夙.

Guimao-day (40th) tested:...wei-day continue Cha altar, perhaps will be early in the morning.

丙午卜: 申東觀 ... 子酌莫.

(Cuibian 370)

Bingwu-day (43rd) cracking: Cha should have food set out for him¹...zi-day perform 酌 sacrifice in the evening.

Since these two inscriptions were divined on different days, they cannot strictly be called a *duìzhen*. However, their subject matter is clearly related, so it seems reasonable to interpret sù 夙 as 'morning' and mù 莫 (暮) as 'evening.'

Apart from this, it seems to be the name of an alien tribe.

¹My translation of the verb as passive is based on an anomaly pointed out to me by Professor Takashima, that in the first inscription Cha appears to be deceased (though the inscription is really too laconic and fragmentary to be sure), so it would seem odd to interpret Cha as setting out food in the second inscription. It is better to interpret Cha as a topicalized object-beneficiary.

Part Three: 𠂔

In this variant of the kneeling figure, both the arms are shown. It does not occur as an independent graph, but is merely a structural variant that occurs in the graph zhí 𠂔 / 執 and a few other graphs that are in turn based on this. Both the arms are drawn in in order to show that both the hands are in the manacle. In some cases the figure is drawn in a standing position. The reason why I have separated the present element from the ordinary kneeling figure 𠂔, is to draw attention to the fact that it is one of the few elements where both the arms are shown from the side. When the Shang wanted to portray both the arms, they only resorted to the dà 𠂔 element as an alternative to the rén 人 element. They never evolved a frontal variant for the kneeling figure, but simply depicted both the arms from the side, in the same way in which the Egyptians did.

2439 𢦏




JGWB 1256: zhí 執


S.376.2x62

JWJ 10.3231: zhí 執

SW 10b.5b: 𢦏, 捕罪人也. 从瓦, 从𢦏; 𢦏亦聲.

Tr: Zhí 執 means 'to catch criminals.' It consists of jī 瓦 'to hold' and niè 𢦏 [defined at SW ibid. as 'that which is used to frighten people']; niè 𢦏 is also phonetic.¹Analysis

It is not at all certain from Xu Shen's definition of niè 𢦏 what he thought it meant, but at any rate one can see from the bone graph that  represents some sort of manacle, a device for handcuffing people. I suppose this could be seen as an object which frightens people away from misbehaviour. Although the kneeling figure has been standardized as jī 瓦 in the modern form, in the bone graph it is , not .


A person who has been manacled is clearly in a very inferior position, so the significance of the kneeling figure here is quite obvious. However, there is also a variant, which JGWB and JWJ both rightly include, in which the figure is standing. The  element in this variant may be interpreted as intending simply to show human participation.


Usage

The primary meaning of zhí 執 was perhaps something like 'to hold fast' (GSR 685a defines it primarily as 'seize, hold, grasp, take') and the graph represents one


¹Cf. in this phonetic series we also have the character 執, which the *Guangyun* gives the following four readings: tciap, nep, tciip, dzip. The *Qieyun* (Long Yuchun 1968) only gives it the reading dzip, but has a character 執 (which should presumably be written 執) to which it gives the reading nep, and defines as huimíng 晦冥 'dark.' This character is also in the *Guangyun*. Niè 𢦏 itself is given the reading nr iap in the *Guangyun*.



particular semantic specialization, that is, the holding fast of criminals, and this is the usage that we see evidenced in OBI. When used as a verb in OBI, it may be understood as 'to manacle, to shackle,' or perhaps simply 'to capture.' When used as a noun, it may be understood as 'shackled/captured prisoner.' The verbal and nominal uses may have been morphologically distinguished (see Takashima 1984:63-65).


2443 







JGWB 1257: yû 

S.376.4x15




JWJ 10.3235: yû 

SW 10b.5b:  ,  , 所以拘罪人。从牵，从口。一曰：圉，垂也。一曰：圉人，掌馬者。

SWDZ 10b.13a: I suspect that the last two definitions are extended meanings of yû  , which SW (6b.6a) defines as 守之也 'to guard it.'

Tr: Yû  means 'prison,' that which is used to detain criminals. It consists of niè  'that which is used to frighten people' and wéi  'a surround.' One source defines yû  as chuí  'border.' Another source says that yûrén  人 means 'groom.'

Analysis

The bone graph shows a manacled person inside an enclosure, thus illustrating the meaning 'prison.' In one variant  there is a hand holding a stick behind the prisoner, thus suggesting that he is being maltreated (compare the bronze form of kòu  , which I analyse at I.1.ii.1847). There is also a variant  in which only the manacle is left. This is the origin of the modern character. Whereas the previous graph had a variant in which

the figure was standing, in the present graph the figure is always kneeling. This could be coincidence, or due to graphic design.

Usage

As a noun it appears to mean 'prisoner,' and as a verb 'to imprison.'

Part 4: 𡥉

I have included the graph for nū 𡥉 / 女 here as being based on the kneeling figure 𡥉. It differs from 𡥉 in that both arms are drawn in, and they are shown as being crossed before the chest. Apart from a few graphs that have to do with specifically female functions, such as rū 𡥉 / 乳 'to suckle' and yù 𡥉 / 毓 'to give birth,' the female element always indicates either 'type of female' (e.g. wife, concubine, etc.) or 'specific female' (i.e. personal name of a woman). The second usage is seen particularly in the names of the Fu 𡥉 'Ladies.' Chou Hung-hsiang (1970-71:373) says that these names "appear to have functioned as female proper-names," but does not explore the issue. They are perhaps clan names, but Chen Mengjia (1956:493), on the basis that very few of the over sixty Fu names in OBI can be identified with known xìng 姓, concludes that these Fu names are not xìng, but míng 名 (personal names). If this conclusion is correct, then they parallel the rén 人 +phonetic' names that I posit (I.1.i.b). However, note that the character xìng 姓 'clan name' also has 'woman' signific. Professor Pulleyblank has suggested to me that the significance of this is in the practice of exogamy, as a woman's xìng determined her marriage potential (i.e. she could only marry a man of a different xìng).

The use of the female element is thus quite straightforward and has no symbolism attached to it. In the present section, then, I shall only discuss the element itself.

792 𡚦
𡚦

JGWB 1412: nǚ 女

JGWB 1420: mǔ 母

S.133.3x381

JWJ 12.3587: 𡚦 = nǚ 女

JWJ 12.3611: 𡚦, 𡚦 = mǔ 母

JWJ 12.3713: 𡚦 used for wú 毋

JWJ 1.191: 𡚦, 𡚦 under měi 每 / 每

SW 12b.1a: 𡚦, 婦人也。象形。王育說。凡 ...

SWDZ 12b.1a: It probably depicts her withdrawing and guarding herself (揜斂自守之狀).

Tr: Nǚ 女 means 'woman.' It is a pictograph. This is Wang Yu's explanation.

SW 12b.3a: 𡚦, 牧也。从女, 象褓子形。一曰: 象乳子也。

SWDZ 12b.6b: As a herder tends his oxen, so a mother tends her progeny. The *Cangjie pian* 倉頡篇, ap. *Guangyun*, says that the two dots represent breasts.

Tr: Mǔ 母 means mù 牧 'to herd.' It is based on nǚ 女, and shows her pregnant.

One source says that it shows her suckling a child.

SW 12b.14b: 𡚦, 止之詞也。从女, 一。女有姦之者, 一禁止之, 令勿姦也。凡 ...¹

¹I have given Duan Yucai's emendation of the SW text (SWDZ 12b.14b) as the original is hard to make sense of.

Tr: Wú 毋 is a stopping word [i.e. it expresses prohibition]. It consists of nû 女 'woman' and yi 一 'one.' When a woman is about to be violated, 'one' stops it, preventing the violation.

SW 1b.1a: 𦰩, 𦰪 盛上出也。从𦰪, 母聲。




Tr: Mêi 每 means 'grass flourishingly rising up.' It consists of chè 𦰪 'sprout' signific and mû 母 phonetic.

































Analysis














The graph for 'woman' portrays the object it represents in a kneeling position, and can therefore be considered to be derived from the kneeling figure element 𡥉. It is not hard to see how the idea of inferiority~submissiveness plays a role in the Shang concept of 'woman.'


It can easily be recognised that 𡥉 is the origin of nû 女, and 𡥉 is the origin of mû 母. 'Mother' is indicated by the addition of dots to represent the breasts, thus symbolising the idea of suckling children. The symbolism of the hands folded in front is more problematic. Duan's analysis of the seal form as showing a woman being 'drawn in and reserved' could perhaps be applied to the bone graph. Li Xiaoding however takes quite a different view. He interprets the crossed hands as hands that are busy in work, and the kneeling posture as showing that this work is done indoors, as opposed to a man's work, which is done in the fields. As Li expresses it: 男耕女織 'the man ploughs and the woman weaves.' This is an interesting interpretation.

Another interesting thing is that, in figurines of captives unearthed from the Shang site at Anyang, the male figures have their hands tied behind their backs, while the female figures have their hands tied in front of their bodies (see *Shang Zhou kaogu*, p.85). This was perhaps for reasons of modesty or self-defense.

Note also that in some graphs, the woman element is standing, thus:  (of the 213¹ graphs in Shima's index S.592.3-7, 22 have a standing woman). From this it would seem that the 'arms crossed in front' is the most distinctive feature of the graph for 'woman,' with the kneeling posture being a usual but not essential secondary feature. As an independent graph,  is almost never written in the standing position (JGWB gives one example:  Yibian 145).

As already mentioned,  is clearly the origin of  of  . However, in OBI, these two graphs are rather mixed up in their usage. Indeed, Shima does not attempt to separate them. This is curious, because   $nr\dot{t}\dot{a}^? < *nr\dot{a}^?$ and   $mow^? < *m\dot{a}^?$ do not appear to be etymologically related. It is highly unusual for a bone graph to stand for etymologically unrelated words of different pronunciations.² It seems to me that, while  is often used for  ,  is never used for   (although it is of course hard to know sometimes whether   or   is the appropriate interpretation in the Shang social context). Even in the graph for  , in which   is phonetic,   is more often than not written  (see JGWB 41). Although it is highly unusual for a bone graph to stand for more than one word, it may be that in the present case  could stand for both   and   originally, but this ambiguity was felt to be undesirable so the graph  was developed and came to replace  as the graph for 'mother.'

In bronze inscriptions, the situation is much more stable. O/NJWB 1539/1961 records only two instances out of 68/85 of the use of   for  : on the vessel    , which is a Shang vessel, and on the  , where we also find the regular form . In the case of   (NJWB 61), we find two instances out of

¹As mentioned in the Introduction (under Corpus), 13 of these graphs actually contain , a figure with the hands crossed behind the back.

²It is of course quite common for a graph to stand for words that are etymologically related, e.g. related nouns and verbs, and for unrelated words of the same or similar pronunciation when used as a phonetic loan.

ten, on eight different vessels (OJWB 54 has one instance out of eight on six different vessels), containing nū 女 instead of mū 母 (天亡簋 and 匚壺).

Note also that the modern character wú 毋 'do not' is simply mū 母 with a slight change in order to make it graphically distinct from the latter. In both OBI (e.g. *Qianbian* 1.9.7, *Jinghua* 7) and bronzes (e.g. 威方鼎, NJWB 2021, where it is also used to mean 'mother' in the same inscription!¹), the graph for mū 母 is used unaltered. This is phonetically rather curious, since mū 母 *mow* < *má? and wú 毋 *muā* < *mà? are in different OC rhymes and tones. wú 毋 is in fact homophonous with wú 無 in EMC, and perhaps also in OC since, as Duan Yucai mentions, wú 無 is used for the prohibitive in the *Shujing* and *Shijing*. However, maybe these texts are not a reliable guide to the pronunciation used by the Shang. Takashima (1973:58-61) covers the phonological problem thoroughly, and concludes that, since the *xiésheng* series of mū 母 definitely points to OC zhī 之 rhyme, wú 毋 must also have been in this rhyme, and the phonological relationships between the four negatives bù 不, fú 弗, wù 勿 and wú 毋, which are there reconstructed, using Li Fang-kuei's, system as *pjəg(x), *pjət, *mjət and *mjəgx respectively, also suggest the reconstruction of a schwa rather than an a. Professor Pulleyblank has informed me that it is likely that the pronunciation of wú 毋 only merged with that of wú 無 through a sound shift, which must have taken place well before Han, and that a similar lowering of /ə/ to /a/ occurred in some other words with labial initials, e.g. bù 部 *bə*?, *bəw*? and pou² 剖 *p'uā*?, *p'əw*?. He also notes wú 侮 *muā*?, and that GSR (107) gives a reading *muw* (written *m̩əu* in Karlgren's system) for wú 毋 in the name of a type of ritual hat.




I conclude then that the graph 毋 was originally allowed to represent two words, nū 女 and mū 母, but it was only due to its representing the latter word that it could


¹OJWB 1592 gives its example from the 毛公旅鼎, which only has mū 母 as a negative.

²The modern first tone reading of this character is irregular.

also be used as a rebus for wú 毋. The use of 毋 for both nû 女 and mû 母 was probably just a graphic convention, and should not necessarily be interpreted as meaning that these two words were phonetically closer in the Shang language than later evidence suggests them to have been.

Part Five: 

Since this element has not yet been fully recognized, and occurs in a rather small number of graphs (about thirteen), I have decided to present all the graphs in which it occurs, even though some of them are unidentifiable, in order to lend as much weight as possible to its recognition as a significant element in its own right. Many people have confused it with nû  /  'woman.' Li Xiaoding however in several of his analyses, has recognized it for what it is: a depiction of a person with the hands tied behind the back. It would be very odd indeed if such a graph *were* used to represent the concept 'woman.' Having the arms *behind* the body is not a normal posture, and thus suggests that the figure depicted has had this posture forced upon him against his will. Shang figurines of slaves confirm that this posture represents enslavement (see *Shang Zhou kaogu*, p.85). I think it is useful here to compare the Egyptian ideogram , which also shows a man with the arms tied behind the back, and occurs as significant in words meaning 'rebel' and 'enemy' (see Gardiner 1957:443, sign A13). This way of portraying rebels and enemies is clearly intended to suggest that the Egyptians have been victorious over them, and there may even be a hint of sympathetic magic in this.

Another thing that has probably hindered the recognition of this element, is the fact that it has not been found independently. The nearest thing is the graph , of which JGWB (4982) records three instances. Shima does not have this graph as a heading. The inscriptions read thus:

... 壬寅：辛亥酉彤自上甲才大宗在

(*Nanbei.Ming* 523)

...ren-day tested: On xinhai-day, perform 酹 sacrifice and róng ceremony (starting) from Shang Jia, at the Great Temple 太廟 .




甲戌卜：乙亥王其~~其~~于大乙宗。不用。

Jiaxu-day (11th) cracking: On yihai-day (12th) the king should perhaps ~~do~~ at Da Yi's temple. Not adopted.¹

王于祖乙宗

(*Xucun* 1.1787²)


The king should at Zu Yi's temple ~~not~~ .













The *Nanbei.Ming* 523 example is rather angular, and does not look very human-like, but the two *Xucun* 1.1787 examples, as Professor Takashima has pointed out to me, do look more human. All three contexts are very similar. Although one cannot tell the precise meaning, one can at least see that it is probably a verb. The graph is very similar to yí  / , minus the hands , and perhaps represents a decapitated person with the hands tied behind the back.



However, the fact that the present element may not occur independently should not prevent us from deducing it from graphs in which it is a component (cf. the deduction of ní * 𠂔 / 尼 from 𠂔 𠂔 / 𠂔 and 𠂔 * 𠂔). Its non-occurrence in OBI could be accidental, rather than systematic.

¹This is a *post eventum* phrase which I assume means that the suggestion contained in the divination was not followed.





²Wrongly given in JGWB as 1.1789.

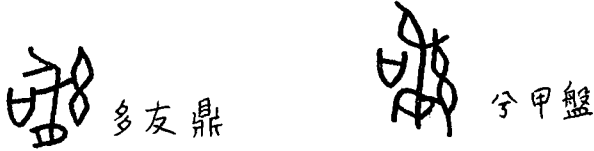
Given that the element  does exist, the next problem is how to identify it. Even as a character component, it did not survive the subsequent corruptions of the bronze and seal scripts, so it is indeed hard to identify. I would like to suggest the following two possibilities:

1. Nú 奴 'slave.' There is a great deal of graphic similarity between  and nû : both elements have a variant in which the figure is standing: *  and  respectively. The important difference is that in nû  the hands are crossed before the body, while in  the hands are crossed behind the body. One might consider that  is the primary form of nú 奴 'slave' (though there is a graph  that has already been so identified—see JWW 12.3633¹), and that it acts as a phonetic hint in nû . Nû  is usually understood as depicting a woman with her hands folded before her, rather than actually bound, and I think this is correct.  suggests that the hands are bound because that is what one would expect if they were in this unnatural position behind the back. Further, if one examines the graphs containing this element closely, one can see that it is not simply nû  in reverse: the hands are generally crossed in a more obvious, less natural manner. At least, this is my impression. One should always bear in mind that what seems natural to oneself may have seemed perfectly natural to the Shang.










2. Xùn 訊, in the meaning 'POW.' I offer this as the more plausible of the two possibilities. It seems conceivable that  may have evolved into xùn 𠂔, though the seal form  does not look very hopeful. SW (11b.15a) defines xùn 𠂔 as jífei 疾飛 'to fly rapidly,' i.e. as if it were synonymous with xùn 迅, which SW (2b.3a) simply defines as jí 疾 'rapid.' The reason why Xu Shen puts fei 飛 into his definition of xùn 𠂔 is that he analyses the graph as being based on fei 飛 (the seal


¹This graph occurs twice, as the name of a Fu 帛 on Cuibian 1240 (S.144.1).

form is , but this is pure guesswork. As for the intermediate forms, GSR 383e gives  for xùn  from the Stone Drums,¹ but in bronzes all one can find is xùn , which is written, for example:





(O/NJWB 275²/342)

The xùn  element here is rather more complex than either the bone graph  or the seal graph , having both a 'foot' element  ~  and a rope element . Li Xiaoding (JWJ 3.745) finds one bone form of xùn  having a rope element ( *Xubian* 3.31.5, which may be more accurately transcribed , but neither S nor JGWB have this form.


These then are the two suggestions I have for the identity of the element . For some further remarks, see graph no.852 in this part.




¹See Mattos 1973:417.

²OJWB does not have the first example.






597 JGWB 1554: yí 

S.100.1x16



JWJ 13.3889: yí 

SW 13a.14b:  , 宗廟常器也。从糸；糸，綦也。𠂔持
 [之]。米，器中實也。彡聲。此與爵相似。周禮
 六彝：雞彝，鳥彝，黃彝，虎彝，蜼彝，斚彝，以
 待裸將之禮。 ,  : 皆古文彝。

SWDZ 13a.39a: Qí 綦 should read mì 帟 'cloth cover' for covering offerings. Jì
 彡 is not phonetic but pictographic: the top of the vessel is like a hog's snout.

Tr: Yí  refers to the permanent vessels in the ancestral temple. The mì 糸 'fine silk'
 element represents qí 綦 'black-mottled grey cloth.'¹ The gōng 𠂔 'two hands' are
 holding [it]. The mǐ 米 'rice' element represents the contents of the vessel. The jì 彡
 'hog's head' element is phonetic. This is comparable to the jué-goblet [the top of which
 resembles the beak of a què 雀 'small bird']. According to the *Zhouli* there were six
 types of yí  : the chicken yí, the bird yí, the yellow yí, the tiger yí, the wéi-monkey yí,
 and the jiā-vessel yí,² which were used in the libation ceremony.  and  are old
 forms of yí .

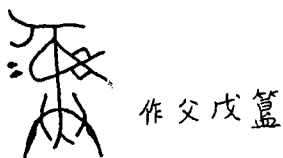
Analysis

The reason why SW defines yí  as *permanent* vessel, is that this character is
 also used as a loan for a word meaning 'constant.' Yí  may simply be defined as
 'ritual vessel.' The seal form is hopelessly corrupt. The bone and bronze forms simply
 show two hands offering up an object. The only uncertainty is over the nature of this

¹See SW 13a.7a for definition, and GSR 952z.

²See Biot 1851.I:472-474.

object. JGWB and all the scholars recorded in JWJ agree that it is a chicken, and Li Xiaoding himself adds that, in the bronze form e.g.

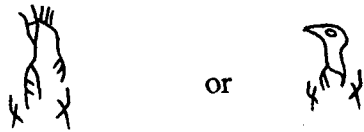



(O/NJWB 1672/2122)

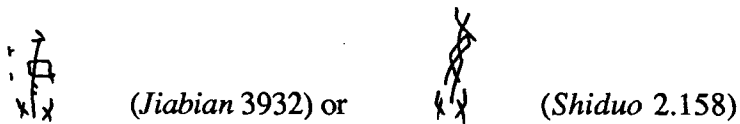
the 'rope' element shows that the chicken is trussed up to stop it from flying away, while the specks in front of the beak, which become mī 米 in the seal form, represent drops of libation. Xu Zhongshu notes that bird-shaped libation vessels from the Shang have been found, and claims that yí 彝 thus depicts offering a libation with a chicken-shaped vessel. The mention of jiyí 雞夷 (where yí 夷 is a loan for yí 彝) in the *Liji* (HY14/14), and of jiyí 雞彝 in the *Zhouli*, could be seen as supporting this. However, note that other types of yí 彝 are mentioned in the *Zhouli*, and Shang vessels in the shape of various animals have been found, so why should the graph for yí 彝 depict a chicken-shaped vessel in particular?

Li Xiaoding refines Xu's analysis by saying that the reason why the yí 彝 vessel was originally chicken-shaped is that the Shang used to sacrifice chickens. It is hard to find evidence of bird-sacrifice in OBI, though the graph 𠂔 (JGWB 30) suggests such a practice. By the time of the Zhou bronzes, in which the character yí 彝 is extremely common, it already has the general meaning 'ritual vessel,' and one wonders if it ever referred to a chicken-shaped vessel in particular. It seems to me that the bird-shaped Shang vessels should be seen in the context of all the other animal-shaped vessels, and that they do not have any special relationship with bird-sacrifice. The graph for yí 彝 does not show a bird-shaped vessel, but simply a bird, if indeed a bird it is, which is something I have my doubts about. When one examines the examples given in JGWB, one is surprised that the upper element does not look much like any of the OBI bird graphs

(compare JGWB 489 zhui 隹, 493 ji 鷄, 521 niào 鳥, 522 fèng 鳳). If the Shang wished to depict two hands offering a chicken, one wonders why they did not write something like:



The most bird-like example is perhaps  (*Qianbian* 5.1.3), but usually we find something more like:



I think what we actually have here is a person, not a bird, with the arms tied behind the back (this is made more explicit in the bronze forms by the addition of a rope round the wrists). I think the bar at or near the top represents that the head has been cut off. In some examples the foot is similar to the foot of a bird. The bone examples vary a great deal, which suggests that scribes were not always sure what the graph really depicted. The bronze graph is a lot more regular, and could be interpreted as a decapitated bird with its wings tied. The addition of dots to the left of the 'bird's' neck could be seen as representing blood. The graph is still rather different from the bronze forms of zhui 隹 (O/NJWB481/ 598) and niào 鳥 (O/NJWB 506/626), e.g. (respectively):



What I suspect happened is that the character yí 彘 originally depicted a human offering, but was re-interpreted as a bird by the Zhou, who did not practice human sacrifice in a regular way like the Shang. The seal form shows a further re-interpretation as an offering of grain and cloth, with the top part of the 'bird' being distorted to jì 彘 / 彘 'hog's head.' Finding the hog's head rather difficult to fit in with the offerings, Xu Shen interpreted it as phonetic (yí 彘 $jì < *l̥əj^1$ and jì 彘 $kiaj^h < *kàts^2$: the phonetic similarity does not seem very good), while Duan Yucai, thinking he knew better, claimed that it represented the shape of the vessel. The successive re-interpretations as to what was being offered, from human to other animal to non-animal, could be an interesting reflection of social evolution, though of course one should not read too much about an entire society into a single graph.

Usage

1. As a ceremonial verb (precise meaning unknown).
2. The name of the west wind.³

803 彘

JGWB 1414: jiang 姜

S.137.2x1(+ 彘 x2)

JWJ 12.3591: 彘 = jiang 姜

¹My reconstruction of initial *l- is based on the above mentioned *Zhouli* use of yí 夷 for yí 彘. The yí 夷 phonetic series shows dental contacts, and it also seems that shi 尸 $ʃi < ʃəj$ is used for it in OBI in the meaning 'barbarian.'

²This reconstruction is based on the SW (9b.16a) statement that this character is read like jì 罰.

³For a study of the names of the four directions and their associated winds, see Hu Houxuan 1956.

Analysis

JGWB identifies 姜, 姜 and 姜 all as jiang 姜 (though admitting that 姜 is used to mean qiang 羌, as the context makes clear), while Shima separates 姜 ~ 姜 as jiang 姜 and 姜 as 姜 (not in SW). Only Li Xiaoding separates all three. He identifies 姜 as 姜 (12.3711) and 姜 as jiang 姜, and in his discussion of jiang 姜 he very astutely notices that the present graph does not contain nü 女 / 女 'woman,' but 姜, a person with the arms tied behind the back. He suspects that it is a variant of qiang 姜 / 羌, and the OBI context well supports this:

... 常于小乙三姜 .

(Wenlu 303)

...[offer in]¹ the *qin*-chamber to Xiao Yi three Qiang tribesmen.

This usage contrasts quite clearly with that of 姜, which occurs in the name Fu Yang(?) 婦姜, and is thus clearly a Lady's name. The use of 姜 is also quite distinct, though not so clear. Thus 姜 is not a case of jiang 姜 used for qiang 羌, as JGWB puts it. It is actually a variant of qiang 羌, showing the Qiang tribesman kneeling with his hands tied behind his back. One can begin to see now the advantages of recognising 姜 as a distinct element in OBI, rather than confusing it with nü 女 / 女 as Shima does.

823 姜

Not in JGWB, but cf. 1425 姜 姜

¹The inscription begins with an incomplete graph 姜, which looks as if it might be gu 骨 / 骨

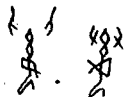

(gū 骨) 'bone.' It is hard to see how this would fit into the context, though it is known to be the name of a Period II diviner (see Keightley 1978:195 Table 6) In my translation I have assumed that there was an expression meaning 'to offer (in some way)' earlier in the sentence.

S.138.1x1 (*Xubian* 1.19.3)

Not in JWJ

Analysis

The context of this graph is rather obscure, but another inscription on the same bone talks about 'offering Qiang,' so I think it can perhaps be recognised as a variant of xi 奚 / 奚 'captive.' It shows a POW kneeling with his hands tied behind his back, and a rope leading up from the neck which may also act as xi 系 phonetic. Xi 奚 is one of the few graphs in which we find variants with both the kneeling figure and dà 大. While the use of the kneeling figure here is easy to explain, the use of dà 大, which is in fact the element with which the modern character became standardized, is harder to account for. Perhaps it has the same role as in fu 夫 / 夫, where it can be interpreted as indicating an adult male. However, it is hard to find evidence to support this hypothesis.

824 JGWB 1457:  (not in SW) 'some identify as xi 奚'


S.138.1x2


Not in JWJ

Analysis

JGWB actually lists four examples, and only in the example *Ninghu* 1.186 are the hands crossed before the body instead of behind. This could be a scribal error, or it could even be a different grapheme. The context is too ambiguous to decide. The present graph is perhaps another variant of xi 奚. However, Guo Moruo (*Cuibian* 1268) identifies it

as yao 要, and one might note in his favour that this is phonetically very close to yue 約 'to bind,' which differs only in being *rùsheng*.

834 

JGWB 1480, under  / 姁 (not in SW)

S.138.2x1 (*Zhixu* 148)


Not in JWJ


Analysis


The other graph given in JGWB clearly has mû 母 'mother' underneath the yôu 𠂔 element, so this must refer to some kind of woman. The present graph has two yôu 𠂔 elements, and a person kneeling with the hands tied behind the back underneath. One may deduce that the yôu 𠂔 elements are phonetic. The context is fragmentary, but could be interpreted as supporting the idea that the present graph refers to some kind of enemy alien:

... 敦 𠂔 受 ...

...(if we) attack 𠂔, (we will) receive [divine aid].

If so, then the  element is quite germane.

852 

JGWB 1436, with  as rú 如

S.142.2x14

JWJ 3.745: xùn 訊

SW 3a.6b: 訊, 問也。从言, 卂聲。𠂔: 古文訊从卂。

SWDZ 3a.12b: 𠂔 is the old form of xi 西, and is here phonetic.

Tr: Xùn 訊 means wèn 問 'to question.' It consists of yán 言 'speech' signific and xùn 卂 phonetic. 𠂔: the old form of xùn 訊 contains 卂.

𠂔 is the form of yán 言 that SW gives in the 'old form' of certain characters that contain this radical, e.g. shì 詩, móu 謀 (second old form), xìn 信 (second old form), gào 誥, and sòng 訟. The top part looks like xīn '心' 'heart.' Xùn 訊 *sin*^h < *səns is OC zhen 眞 rhyme, and xi 西 *sej* < *səl is OC wei 微¹ rhyme.

Analysis

The scholars quoted by Li Xiaoding (Ye Yusen, Wang Xiang, Ding Shan, and Tang Lan), all identify the graph 𠂔 (Xubian 3.31.5), which Shima does not list (not even as a separate graph), as xùn 訊, and it is indeed very similar to the bronze graph (see O/NJWB 275/342). Li describes the graph as depicting a person with the hands tied behind the back and a mouth in front, thus illustrating the idea 'interrogate': 象一人面縛 (膝在前而兩手在後), 臨之以口之形, 訊籀之誼如繪. Li further includes the graph 𠂔, which other scholars lump together with rú 𠂔/如. This is very perceptive of him. Considering the consistency with which the nū 𠂔 and 𠂔 elements are kept apart in OBI, I think he must be right. Unfortunately, the OBI contexts of rú 𠂔 and 𠂔 are

¹Shijing rhyming does not provide reliable evidence for separating *əj from *əl. I am grateful to Professor Pulleyblank for informing me that he believes xi 西 is originally wei 微, not zhi 脂 rhyme, on the basis of the character xī 洒 (GSR 594g), a variant of xī 洗 'wash' (GSR 478j), and Tibetan bsil-ba 'wash.'

too limited to provide much support for differentiating them, but 𠂔_口 may be interpreted as 'to question' in the following inscription:

王𠂔曰：𠂔。曰：吉。夙。 (Qianbian 5.30.3)

The king questioned, saying: "𠂔." (Then he) said: "Auspicious. Offer up."

On the other hand, one cannot help being reminded of the wáng ruò yue 王若曰 'the king spake thus' formula that one finds in the *Shujing*, and this parallel would support an interpretation as rú 如.¹ The least one can say about 𠂔_口 is that it is definitely a verb.

In the *Shijing*, xùn 訊 is clearly a noun meaning 'POW' (see HY 36/168/6, 39/178/4, and 61/241/8). The same usage is found in bronzes (e.g. 𠂔季子白盤). I would suggest that the element 𠂔 is the primary form of the word meaning 'POW,' and that xùn 𠂔_口 / 訊 'to question' is a phonetic compound in which 𠂔 is phonetic. I think this analysis is preferable to the idea that the graph actually depicts an act of interrogation. In the above mentioned odes, Karlgren tries to reconcile the actual usage of xùn 訊 there with its usual meaning 'to question' by translating it as 'prisoners for the question,' but it may not be necessary to relate these two meanings. Notice further that the 'mouth' element is always *behind* the kneeling figure (except in the *Xubian* 3.31.5 graph). It is an oversight of Li's to claim that the mouth is in front. I cannot help feeling that the mouth element here is simply signfic, and does not enter into a semantic compound relationship with the 𠂔 element. I further think it possible, as I have already mentioned, that the modern element xùn 汛 may be the direct graphic descendant of 𠂔.

¹ But only if rú 如 was actually standing for ruò 若. Professor Pulleyblank has told me that he believes that the word rú could never be used in this syntactic position.

1970 


JGWB 4864 (unidentified)

S.286.1x1 (*Yibian* 8808)

Not in JWJ

Analysis

The graph consists of mén 門 / 𠂔 'gate,' and the element in the middle I take to be a variant of yí 𡗗 / 𡗘, which shows a human sacrificial offering with the hands tied behind the back. It occurs entirely without context. It may be relevant to note here that one of the practices of the Shang was to bury beheaded guardsmen with watchdogs beneath the threshold of new buildings in order to guard against intrusion by spirits (see *Shang Zhou kaogu*, p.70). The graph occurs without context.

2145 JGWB 1414, under jiang 𡗗 / 姜S.324.3x1 (*Nanbei.Ming* 618)

Not in JWJ

Analysis

The graph consists of chì 𡗗 / 𡗘 signific, which implies travelling, and 姜 phonetic which, as we have seen, is a variant of qiang 𡗗 / 羌. The context is very limited, but it occurs before bù 步 'to walk,' so it probably does have something to do with travelling. It is certainly incorrect to regard it as a variant of jiang 姜.

2539



JGWB 3881 (unidentified)

S.389.3x1

JWJ 7.2417, under 𠂔 = xiàn 𠂔

SW 7a.23b: 𠂔, 小阱也. 从人在臼上.

SWDZ 7a.66b: Jiù 臼 represents a pit.

Tr: Xiàn 𠂔 means a small pit. It consists of rén 人 'person' on top of jiù 臼 'mortar.' [Under jiù 臼, SW 7a.23a, Xu Shen says that the ancients dug holes in the ground for mortars.]

Analysis

I disagree with the identification of 𠂔 as xiàn 𠂔 'pit,' as there seems to be no reason to interpret the 𠂔 element as representing a pit, but I do agree that the present graph, which contains the full pit-like element 𠂔, could be so identified. Yu Xingwu notes that it is very similar to the bronze form of xiàn 𠂔 on the 宗周鐘 (referred to at O/NJWB 950/1176 as 𠂔鐘):



and also to the xiàn 𠂔 element in 𠂔 (not in SW) on the 季宮父簋 (O/NJWB 1577/2003):



The element inside the pit in these two examples is quite nü 女-like, and it seems quite reasonable to conclude that it is directly descended from the bone element 𠂔, depicting a person with the hands tied behind the back. Notice how similar this is to the element in yí 𠂔 / 𠂔. The present graph shows a person bound and thrown into a pit. The top bar possibly indicates decapitation. Numerous pits containing headless skeletons have been found at the Shang site at Anyang, so one can well imagine that the present graph depicts such a ritual practice. The inscription reads:

丙申卜，王貞：勿詳 𠂔于門 𠂔 𠂔 用。
十二月。

(Yizhu 34)

Bingshen-day cracking, the king tested: Should not specifically¹ bury-bound-person-in-pit at the gate...[This] was adopted. Twelfth month.

3020



JGWB 4471 (unidentified)

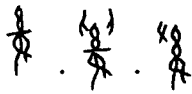




S.469.2x3

Not in JWJ



Analysis




The graph shows a person kneeling with the hands behind the back, probably suggesting that they are tied there, and a rope rising from the head. It could be a variant of xi 𠂔 / 𠂔 'captive.' The context shows it to be a sacrificial victim.

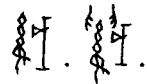
¹For my understanding of this word, see Takashima 1973:389-392 and Chow Kwok-ching 1982:226.

3021 JGWB 1425: xi  /  ; 1457:  /  (not in SW)

S.469.2x11

JWJ 10.3245, under xi  / Analysis

Li Xiaoding is probably correct in including these graphs as xi . JGWB 1425 mistakenly identifies the  element as nü . The graph occurs as the name of a military leader.



3022 

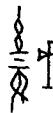
JGWB 5203 (unidentified)

S.469.2x33

Not in JWJ

Analysis

The graph seems to show a xu  'axe' cutting off the head of a xi  'captive.' In some examples, the severing is made quite explicit:





(Tieyun 95.4)



(Jiabian 2876)

The place where the head is cut seems to incorporate a qì 气 / 𠂔-like element, which could be a phonetic hint. Cf. jī 𠂔 'to cut' (GSR 517p). This character occurs at SW 4b.17a, where it is defined as 'to make an incision,' and in his commentary Duan Yucai (SWDZ 4b.44a), referring to the *Zhouli*, says that it was done in order to get blood for a rite. However, I can only speculate on this identification. The present graph is clearly used as a verb, but is also sometimes a noun referring to a type of sacrificial victim.

3024 

 S.469.3x2

JGWB 1457, under 𠂔 / 𠂔 (not in SW)
 JGWB 3967 (unidentified)

JWJ 10.3245, under 𠂔 / 𠂔

Analysis

The present graph is the same as 𠂔 (3021 in this Part), except that the head is depicted in detail. The second form has an extra element to the right of uncertain interpretation, but it occurs in the same context as the first form, so it undoubtedly represents the same word. They are used as nouns, and could perhaps be interpreted as 'captive.'

SUMMARY OF CHAPTER III

My examination of the 𠂔 element has attempted to show that, apart from simply depicting a person squatting, it is also used to indicate the idea of being in an inferior position. It was thus used in graphs denoting such ideas as reverence or submission. I have also attempted to show that this same basic idea likewise runs through the variants of this element, such as 𠂔, showing a person offering up from a position of submission, and 𠂔, showing a woman. Unfortunately, the identity of the 𠂔 element as an independent character still remains very much a problem.

The use of the 𠂔 element contrasts markedly with that of the rén 人 and dà 大 elements, and an examination of its usage helps us to gain greater insight into the design of the early Chinese graphs. As stated in the Introduction, the focus of this thesis is on graph design, not graph function, and this is a point that should be borne in mind all the time. What I hope to have done is to have shown in some measure how the creators of the Chinese script set about designing graphs to represent words.

I shall now give the general conclusions of the thesis.




CONCLUSIONS



1. There are three basic forms of the human figure in the Shang script. All other forms can be regarded as derivatives of these three forms.

2. The element 𠂔 did not signify 'big,' but was chiefly used instead of 𠂔 when the concept was felt to be most easily or most naturally depicted from the front, i.e. where the involvement of both arms and/or both legs was felt to be particularly important to expressing the concept (as in 𠂔 𠂔 / 𠂔 'armpit'). This conclusion is supported by the fact that 𠂔 with both arms drawn in is very rare, while * 𠂔 with both legs drawn in is non-existent. 𠂔 was used instead of 𠂔 when an additional element would have made it awkward to design the graph otherwise, e.g. 𠂔 𠂔 / 𠂔 (I.1.ii.114), 𠂔 𠂔 / 𠂔 (III.3.2439). It was probably not until Zhou times that characters were created in which 大 signifies 'big'.¹

3. The 𠂔 element was used in graphs denoting words to do with (a) kneeling; (b) actions typically performed in a kneeling position; (c) concepts in which kneeling could be

¹Of the 17 characters under the 大 radical at SW 10b.2b-3a, 7 are glossed 大也, while 3 are defined with binomes containing 大. 6 of these characters are given sound glosses by Xu Shen himself (7 in the Duan Yucai edition, where 𠂔 𠂔 is also given a sound gloss). This concentration of sound glosses is unusually high, and means to say that Xu Shen could not be sure that his readers would know the readings of these characters. This suggests that they are dialect words, whose readings would only be known to the speakers of the dialects in which they occurred. Many of the graphs also lack textual examples. One of them, 𠂔 𠂔, occurs in *Fangyan* (1/14/2), where it is said to be the word for 'big' in Eastern Qi between the sea and Mount Tai. Duan tries to give each of these words for 'big' a different flavour (as in English one has 'large, great' etc.), but seldom gives support for his interpretations.

used as a sign of inferiority, yielding, submission, subjection, etc. Even where it was felt necessary to indicate both sides of the body,  had precedence over , e.g. in nû  / 女 'woman,' where it is necessary to depict both arms in order to show that they are crossed (the crossed arms being used to indicate female gender).

4. The commonest form of the human figure is the standing side-view . It could be used in any graph that denoted any concept that was felt to have anything to do with human beings, and restrictions on its usage were determined by whether the other two elements were felt to be more appropriate. In the body of the thesis, I divided the part on  into several sections in order to show the range of this usage.

It should be noted that the above defined uses are only strong tendencies, not inviolable rules. Ultimately of course it depended on the subjective judgement of the designers of the Shang script as to which element was used in a given graph. However, the general consistency of usage suggests that they did have some unconscious guidelines for the use of the three elements.

Bone Inscriptions Cited or Referred to

Source	Page cited		
Bingbian 1.17	90	Jiabian 24	308
Bingbian 1.18	91	Jiabian 205	144
Bingbian 124.15	93	Jiabian 298	154
Bingbian 175.1	109	Jiabian 562	65
Bingbian 247.1/2	128	Jiabian 587	130
Bingbian 284.4	259	Jiabian 916	158
Bingbian 302.1/2	94	Jiabian 1046	321
Bingbian 340.3	129	Jiabian 1152	60
		Jiabian 2040	142
Buci 244	279	Jiabian 2304	270
Buci 770	97	Jiabian 2695	348
		Jiabian 2858	160
Cuibian 1	45	Jiabian 2876	383
Cuibian 2	45	Jiabian 3238	321
Cuibian 4	163	Jiabian 3343	14
Cuibian 148	279	Jiabian 3932	373
Cuibian 339	281	Jimbun 443	260
Cuibian 370	356	Jimbun 446	134
Cuibian 511A	103	Jimbun 455	252
Cuibian 536	349	Jimbun 2283	271
Cuibian 543	77	Jimbun 2878	96
Cuibian 1000	341		
Cuibian 1240	369	Jinghua 3	112
Cuibian 1241	314		177
Cuibian 1266	113	Jinghua 6	147
Cuibian 1267	113	Jinghua 7	365
Cuibian 1268	376	Jinghua 10.9	91
Cuibian 1292	11		
Fuyin.wen 45	318	Jingjin 1347	96
		Jingjin 2104	93
Fuyin.za 58	144	Jingjin 4364	320
Houbian 1.7.10	278	Jinzhang 124	33
Houbian 1.10.3	96	Jinzhang 679	12
Houbian 1.19.6	185	Kikkô 1.24.5	309
Houbian 1.25.3	60	Kikkô 2.21.18	172
Houbian 1.31.5	121		
Houbian 2.5.10	198	Kufang 283	109
Houbian 2.6.1	306	Kufang 1002	335
Houbian 2.9.1	222	Kufang 1506	257
Houbian 2.9.7	222		
Houbian 2.16.10	351	Liulu.zhong 77	297
Houbian 2.18.8	259	Liulu.shu 81	121
Houbian 2.20.10	51		
Houbian 2.26.17	340	Nanbei.Ming 422	64
Houbian 2.28.6	86	Nanbei.Ming 523	368
Houbian 2.31.9	45	Nanbei.Ming 531	279
Houbian 2.37.5	353	Nanbei.Ming 618	380
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Houbian 2.38.6	64	Nanbei.Nan 1.170	320

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Ninghu 1.186	376	Wenlu 303	375
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		Xubian 1.19.3	376
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Qianbian 3.18.4	270	Xubian 3.29.4	96
Qianbian 4.15.4	149	Xubian 3.31.4	96
Qianbian 4.18.3	13	Xubian 3.31.5	370
Qianbian 4.18.8	333		378
Qianbian 4.27.2	164	Xubian 5.6.1	130
Qianbian 4.42.2	340	Xubian 5.10.6	340
Qianbian 4.47.5	155	Xubian 5.16.4	270
Qianbian 5.1.3	373	Xubian 5.25.6	63
Qianbian 5.5.5	257	Xubian 5.26.8	200
Qianbian 5.10.7	183		
Qianbian 5.12.5	340	Xucun 1.637	78
Qianbian 5.17.4	186	Xucun 1.1069	61
Qianbian 5.20.2	160	Xucun 1.1787	368
Qianbian 5.25.1	162	Xucun 2.166	117
Qianbian 5.30.3	379	Xucun 2.450	48
Qianbian 5.38.3	12	Xucun 2.783	349
Qianbian 6.16.1	344	Xucun 2.846	13
Qianbian 6.16.2	350		
Qianbian 6.16.6	332	Yechu 1.30.4	103
Qianbian 6.19.8	14		
Qianbian 6.46.6	200	Yibian 32	240
Qianbian 6.55.5	241	Yibian 145	364
Qianbian 7.1.3	68	Yibian 187	11
Qianbian 7.1.4	77	Yibian 403	13
Qianbian 7.24.2	121	Yibian 445	314
Qianbian 7.36.2	220	Yibian 865	14
		Yibian 947	103
Shiduo 1.415	84	Yibian 2214	332
Shiduo 1.416	222	Yibian 2340	142
Shiduo 1.423	278	Yibian 2833	200
Shiduo 2.76	222	Yibian 2908	259
Shiduo 2.158	373	Yibian 2924	257
Shiduo 2.294	278	Yibian 4293	111
		Yibian 4540	248
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		Yibian 4729	335
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Tieyun 127.1	37	Yibian 5405	112
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Yicun 779	340
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Yinxu 651	186
Yinxu 1854	144
Yizhu 34	382
Yizhu 524	73
Zhixu 37	45
Zhixu 148	377
Zhiyi 18	260
Zhuihe 58	252
Zhuihe 59	199
Zhuihe 94	295
Zhuihe 261	120
Zhuihe 302	343
Zongtu 20.2	257
Zongtu 22.4	80
Zongtu 24.7	45

Bronze Inscription Finding List

The sources given in this list are (as far as possible) as in NJWB, which refers mostly to Luo Zhenyu's *Sandai jijin wencun*, and I have provided them for quick reference. However, this work gives only rubbings, with no transcription or analysis of the text, so I am also providing the number of each bronze in Qiu Dexiu's *Shang-Zhou jinwen zongmu*, which lists all the sources that each bronze is found in. There are a few that I have been unable to locate in that work, usually those for which NJWB refers to unpublished rubbings and photographs. For these I give no source. Different sources sometimes give different names and slightly different graph counts for the same bronze, so I have decided generally to adhere to those given in NJWB. The abbreviations for the titles of collections are as follows:

- Cai *Shouxian Cai Hou mu chutu yiwu* 壽縣蔡侯墓出土遺物, 1956. Compiled by Anhuisheng Wenwu Guanli Weiyuanhui and Anhusheng Bowuguan, edited by Zhongguo Kexueyuan Kaogu Yanjiusuo. Peking: Kexue Chubanshe.
- Dai Luo Zhenyu 羅振玉, 1937. *Sandai jijin wencun* 三代吉金文存. Reprinted 1968 Hong Kong: Longmen Shudian. 1970 Taipei: Minglun Chubanshe.
- Jiao Liu Tizhi 劉體智, 1935. *Xiaojiao jingge jinshi wenzi* 小校經閣金石文字. Reprinted 1972 Taipei: Yiwen Yinshuguan.
- Shan *Shaanxisheng chutu Shang-Zhou qingtongqi* 陝西省出土商周青銅器, 1979. Compiled by Shaanxisheng Kaogu Yanjiusuo, Shaanxisheng Wenwu Guanli Weiyuanhui, and Shaanxisheng Bowuguan. Peking: Wenwu Chubanshe.
- Shodô Shimonaka Yasaburô 下中彌三郎, ed. *Shodô zenshû* 書道全集. Tokyo: Heibonsha. Reprinted, with revisions by Onoe Hachirô 尾上八郎 et al., 1965 Tokyo: Heibonsha.
- Xuyin Wang Chen 王辰, 1980. *Xu Yinwencun* 續殷文存. Published in one volume with Luo Zhenyu's *Yinwencun*, Taipei: Tailian Guofeng Chubanshe.
- Yan Yan Yiping 嚴一萍, 1983. *Jinwen zongji* 金文總集. Taipei: Yiwen Yinshuguan.
- Yi Yu Xingwu 于省吾, 1957. *Shang-Zhou jinwen luyi* 商周金文錄遺. Peking: Zhongguo Kexueyuan Kaogu Yanjiusuo.

Page	Name	No. of Graphs	Source	QDX No.
41	亞父戊鼎	2	Dai 2.24	0591
	卣文	1	Yi 239	5595

	父戊爵	3	Dai 16.11	4171
	子商甗	4	Xuyin 1.30	
	爵文	3	Dai 15.26	4040
49	隳仲盤	10	Dai 17.4	7475
	史僕壺	17	Dai 12.17	6393
57	散盤	357	Dai 17.20	7557
	陵弔鼎	6	Dai 3.4	0842
	陳純釜	34	Dai 18.23	8782
58	小臣交鼎	48	Jiao 3.17	1381
63	菴參父己盃	4	Dai 14.6	4797
	召鼎	403	Dai 4.45	1443
66	南疆鉦	65	Dai 18.4	8031
67	倕缶簋	7	Dai 6.38	2422
	戎者鼎	23	Dai 4.2	1258
78	番生簋	139	Dai 9.37	3069
	沈子它簋	152	Dai 9.38	3072
86	令鼎	69	Dai 4.27	1399
87	孟鼎	390	Dai 4.44	1442
88	沈兒鐘	82	Dai 1.53	7931
	邾公華鐘	93	Dai 1.62	7964
	鞶鑄	173	Dai 1.66	8025
93	殷貝饔簋	10	Dai 6.45	2545
	召鼎	403	Dai 4.45	1443
98	齊侯壺	143	Dai 12.33	6455
101	召鼎	403	Dai 4.45	1433
	虞司寇壺	24	Dai 12.21	6417
	啟卣	39	Wenwu 1972.5:6	6091

105	南疆鉦	65	Dai 18.4	8031
139	者旨剗盤	18	Wenwu 1980.8:14	9198
140	又甬簋	2	Dai 6.9	1977-8
180	司土司簋	9	Dai 6.43	2511
	仲相父簋	38	Kaogu 1979.2:119	2902
			Wenwu 1965.11:46	2904
	天亡簋	77	Dai 9.13	3003
	康侯簋	24	Yi 157	2821
187	楊盨鼎	3	Dai 2.31	0498
	弔鼎	5	Dai 2.49	0751
193	弔鼎	8	Dai 3.14	0966
	龍鼎	14	Dai 5.30	1590
216	邵鐘	86	Dai 1.54	7942
	吉日壬午劍	20	Yi 601	8655
	蔡侯鬻殘鐘	83	Yan 9.4040.7134	7941
227	效尊	65	Dai 11.37	5354
230	散盤	357	Dai 17.20	7557
	矢尊	186	Dai 11.38	5362
	緡簋	36	Dai 6.52	2891
231	匱侯彝易器	4		
236	董伯鼎	6	Dai 3.3	0834
	馱鐘	122	Dai 1.65	7985
	洹子孟姜壺一	164	Dai 12.33	6454
238	匱公匜	13	Dai 17.31	7603
263	卣卣爵	2	Dai 15.32	3878
	令簋	110	Dai 9.26	3042
270	弔觥	12	Dai 18.21	5398

273	圮父簋	5	Dai 6.29	2277
284	耆姁壘	8	Dai 11.42	6182
	亞醜壘	1	Dai 11.39	6134
	父丁觚	3	Dai 14.25	6940
290	史次鼎	2	Dai 2.16	0320
293	魯伯匜	15	Dai 17.32	7608
	魯伯盤	10	Dai 17.4	7476
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	毳盤	16	Dai 17.8	7500
	毳匜	16	Dai 17.33	7616
294	頌壺	150	Dai 12.32	6453
301	大保簋	34	Dai 8.40	2890
302	中山侯鉞	16		
315	郟王子鐘	76	Yi 4	7928
	孟鼎	291	Dai 4.42	1441
318	毛公鼎	497	Dai 4.46	1445
322	師害簋	31	Dai 8.33	2870-1
	子禾子釜	108	Dai 18.23	8783
	辟東尊	7	Dai 11.24	5214
	厲羌鐘	45	Dai 1.32	7900-4
	洹子孟姜壺二	143	Dai 12.34	6455
327	陳侯午鐸	37	Dai 8.42	3343-4
	鄆侯簋	37	Dai 8.43	2899
329	詁鐘	122	Dai 1.65	7985
	南宮乎鐘	68	Shan 3.138	7915
	詁簋	124	Wenwu 1979.4:90	3062
	詁方尊	51	Shodô 1.48	5350


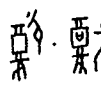




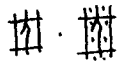









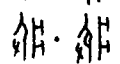

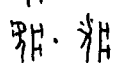
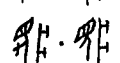




















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III.2.i

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