

# Paleography, Historical Phonology, and Historical Lexicology: “Kneeling Women with Their Wrists Crossed” and “Slaves with Their Eyes Gouged”<sup>1</sup>

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## Abstract

As Alex Schuessler (2009, 34–39) has articulated, it is difficult to know the real reason for the choice of a particular graphic element within a composite graph. This is often due to “mental or cultural associations” that tend to interfere with the choice. Even with a simple graph it is not easy to discern what we call “graphic design” that must have guided the original scribes to create the graphs to express words. These are important issues in Chinese paleography.

We will use terms like “pure phonetic”, “quasi-phonetic”, “quasi-phonosignific”, “etymonic”, “quasi-etymonic” that are not commonly used in the literature (we will define them in the paper). The Old Chinese (OC) rimes comprised of a relatively few words such as \*-əp, \*-en, and \*-ui suffer a shortage of graphs to write the words with such rimes. This implies the existence of graphs with only a segment or segments of an OC syllable that suggest its entire phonological form with a meaning or function. For example, the top portion of 羊 (=羊 \*jaŋ~\*laŋ, i.e., ♂) seems to serve as quasi-phonosignific in 羌 (=羌 \*khaŋ~\*khiaŋ—cf. 西戎, 牧羊人也, 羊亦聲—SW). That is, 羌 were “sheep herders”,

<sup>1</sup> IJCCS has maintained the author’s *pīnyīn* (which is separated by a slash followed by Old Chinese reconstruction) as provided.

and the grapheme  can be taken as partial phonetic, not really “亦聲” it would seem, because only the rime of 羊 agrees (“quasi-phonetic”). When we pay attention not only to the rimes but also to the initials, we may, if cogent analysis can be made, come to understand why a word was written in a certain specific way. This interfaces between paleography and historical phonology, further involving historical lexicology.

We shall also assess some traditional paleographical interpretations of *nǚ* 女 =  ‘woman’ and *mín* 民 =  ‘people’ and try to descry “graphic designs” by the original scribes. Here, however, we first need to figure out the underlying meanings of the words *nǚ* and *mín* in their early history. Their semantic fields could range from synonymy, near/quasi-synonymy, antonyms, and near/quasi-antonyms to members of some large word-family. In this paper, we limit our analysis to some “graphic minimal pairs” and the words represented by them. For example, “ (女 ‘woman’) and  (𦥑 ‘joint’); “ (如 ‘follow, go’) and  (訊 ‘interrogate’); “ (目 ‘eye’) and  (臣 ‘servant’); “ (民 ‘people’) and  (見 ‘see’)”; and a few related graphs.

**Keywords:** graphic design (GD), graphic intent (GI), underlying meaning (UM) of *nǚ* 女 and *mín* 民

## §1. Introduction

One of the challenges facing the modern scholars in Chinese paleography is to make out what we refer to as “graphic design” (GD) of the original scribe who invented the graphs. We think it viable to recognize the existence of a “pre-graphic plan” or “formative idea” in the mind of the scribe. We have also called it “graphic intent” (GI). All these may be a bit vague, but we shall try to make them clear in the course of our discussion.

With such “blueprints”, as it were, the scribe created graphs, and the other scribes must have understood such GDs/GIs even though they were implicit. Once the graphs were accepted and gained currency, they found their ways into the writing system of a given period. The matter may be more complicated, but as the main purpose of this paper is to elucidate the interplay between graph and word, we think it useful to refer to GDs/GIs.

It is known that any graph goes through historical changes that are on the whole transformations, but there are also displacements by completely different and new forms. The latter signifies the extinction of old graphs, and that seems to happen with varying degrees of speed. The extinct graphs, however, can sometimes be resurrected later (e.g., after the Zétiān characters 則天文字 by Wǔ Zétiān 武則天, r. 690–705). Whatever the graphic design/intent was, some aspects of its legacies survived for the scribe to modify it, resulting in new transformations. This process is never ending.

One of the problems in Chinese paleography is that unlike most historical phonological changes the graphic changes cannot be predicted; they are individually determined. If some scribe took the initiative to create a new graph, or to change a hitherto accepted graph into something else, and other scribes followed suit, that graph would have been incorporated into the writing system of that time. Viewed historically, we often see a certain *trend* in the evolution of a graph. For example, the oracle-bone inscription (OBI) graph “|” changed to a form like “◆” in Early Western Zhōu bronze inscriptions, and then to “❖”, and further to “†” in the Warring States period, and eventually to “+” in the *kǎishū* 楷書 ‘normalized script’. Yet, this was not then, nor is it now, predictable, particularly from the OBI to bronze inscriptions (BI) forms. No inherent causes in the OBI graph “|” to have developed in that way seem to exist. But we believe there was some sort of an idea, a concept of design, that guided the scribe to create or modify the graphs, all based on some GD/GI. This is an important issue we will be discussing in §2.

As regards the interface between paleography and historical phonology, we cannot exclude historical lexicology from the former two disciplines as they become meaningful only in reference to the study of the meaning of words. This topic brings us closer to the domain of linguistics. We will discuss it in §3, which is intended to serve as a prelude to §4.

The fourth section (§4) critically reviews some traditional paleographical interpretations of *nǚ* 女=𡇂 ‘woman’. We wish to understand how they participate in, and/or interact with, the underlying meaning (abbreviated hereinafter as “UM”) of *nǚ* we would need to figure out. Two aspects are involved in such undertakings: “sound and meaning” on the one hand and their “visual representations” on the other. By nature they are of disparate nature, especially in the logographic writing system such as Chinese. §4 will try to clarify them. One way of approaching the task is to identify some “graphic minimal pairs” such as: “𡇂 and 𠂔 (𦵈)”; “𦵈 (如) and 𩫓 (訊)”; and a few related graphs. An attempt will be made to see if the meanings expressed by these graphs have any relationship to the presumed graphic designs.

In a similar fashion to the above, §5 reviews some traditional paleographical interpretations of *mín* 民= 𠂔. We have identified the graphic minimal pairs (abbreviated hereinafter as “GMP”): 𠂔 (目 ‘eye’) and 𠂔 (臣 ‘officer’); 𠂔 (民 ‘people’) and 𠂔 (見 ‘see’); and a few related graphs. With the sole exception of the grapheme 十 in 𠂔, the other graphemes are used by themselves, and thus they are also independent graphs. We will see how they interact with, and/or participate in, the UMs of the words we attempt to discern. §6 concludes this paper.

## §2. Graphic Design (abbreviated as “GD”)

Our assumption that the original scribes had some GDs—also referred to as “graphic intents” (GIs)—and that other contemporary scribes must have understood such designs or intents is not *obvious*. We have of course no record of the scribes having had exchanged their ideas among themselves. They just produced their works, and so while GDs/GIs are hypotheses, they can explain why graphs are written in certain specific ways limited only by the explanatory power of the hypotheses themselves.

We have briefly mentioned how the OBI graph “|” for the word *shí* 十 ‘ten’ evolved from the earliest OBI to the latest *kǎishū* ‘normalized’ script in five major stages. We would like to explore the GDs/GIs in search of motivations for the changes in each of these stages by taking the graph | as a starter.

Baxter and Sagart (2014, 154) accept Qiú Xīguī's dubious interpretation (Qiú 2004, 296) that this graph was a pictogram of *zhēn* 针 ‘sewing needle’, a character not in the *SW*. As Schuessler (2015, 578–9) has pointed out, there are problems of this interpretation from both phonological and paleographic perspectives. Here we focus on the latter. Qiú’s interpretation can hardly explain its graphic evolution to later forms such as the BI forms Baxter and Sagart quote: “|”, “◆”, and “+”. They have correctly observed that “a thick spot in the middle, which eventually developed into the horizontal character +.” But they did not realize that the “needle” interpretation of the graph “|” is compromised as the needle does not protrude from its mid portion. It would seem that the needle was not fit for pictorial depiction, e.g., how can we distinguish it from a stick or pounder?<sup>2</sup> Thus, such phonetic-loan characters as *zhēn* 簡 or 鍼 ‘sewing needle’ came to be used to express the word (the two characters are in the *SW*). We would therefore like to explore a different interpretation of the graph “|” capable of answering why the word *shí* 十 was written in that way.

The OBI form “|” (= +) is the *verticalized* form of *yī* 一 ‘one’ (=—).<sup>3</sup> In terms of GD, “|” was perhaps a symbol to “mark off” some specific thing or matter. In the case of numerals, it marked off a specific point in the progression from “1” to “10”, the last number in the decimal system in Chinese.<sup>4</sup> We might illustrate this as: 一、二、三、四、五……九 ⇒ |= +, where the diagrammatic notation “⇒|” we have improvised signifies that the numerical progression was “marked off” at the threshold of 10 (transition from 9 to 10) by *verticalizing* “—”. On what basis do I think so?

<sup>2</sup> Cf. ↗ (Yīngcáng 1330), probably an abbreviated graph of *shū/pū* ↗=殳, ‘a kind of weapon’ (HJ 21868). The grapheme “|” in “↗” has no sound that can be attributed to it; it is “pure signific” just as it is in the graph that depicts a stooped person with a stick/cane: ↗ (=*lǎo* 老 ‘old’).

<sup>3</sup> Qiú Xīguī (2004, 296) is aware of this (first proposed by Dīng Shān 丁山—JGWZGL, 4: 3503–4). Qiú says: “……當然也不排斥古人以‘|’記錄‘十’時，也考慮到‘|’正好是堅寫的‘—’的可能……” While he did not pursue this possibility, we have decided to do so in search of a paleographical reason for the verticalization.

<sup>4</sup> In the Hindu-Arabic number system “0” is regarded as the first of the ordinal number, whereas in (ancient) China “1” seems to have been the initial number in the decimal system. As for our idea of “mark off,” see infra.

First, “verticalize” and “mark off” are purposeful maneuvers; the latter can also be a spontaneous movement (as in its intransitive, sometimes reflexive, verb). A clear case of “|” used as a sign to “mark off” or “fix by measuring” is seen in such OBI graphs as  (HJ 31063),  (HJ 32221),  (Huādōng 287). These graphs stand for the word *xún* 尋 ‘measure, inquire’, and commonly taken as drawings of a yardstick held by two hands to take the gauge of things, but may just as equally be taken as drawings of the fingers spread to move forward like inchworms.<sup>5</sup>

We see a different situation after the Shāng. The OBI graph “|” developed to “” (Yú dǐng 孟鼎, an Early Western Zhōu BI), developing further to “” (Shíyīnián kùsèfū dǐng 十一年庫嗇夫鼎, a late Warring States BI), to “” (Zhěshī zhǒng 者汎鍾, also a late Warring States BI), and then to *kǎishū* “” (late Hàn; cf. Gāo Míng and Tú Báikuí 2008: 94). These are distinguished from the OBI and BI forms of *jiǎ* 甲: (HJ 6057),  (Huādōng 6);  (Lì guī 利簋, Early Western Zhōu),  (Zè fāngyí 矢方彝, Early Western Zhōu),  (Xījiǎ pán 兮甲盤, mid-Western Zhōu),  (Mǐdiào guī 弔弔簋, Late Western Zhōu), and so on. The last two forms are structurally comparable to  in OBI (e.g., HJ 6136) which refers uniquely to Shàng Jiǎ 上甲, the mythological royal Shāng primogenitor. More fully written graphs are: (HJ 32325), (HJ 22627), (HJ 27075), and the like.<sup>6</sup> But in the Xījiǎ pán inscription  is used as the name of a person, and in the Mǐdiào guī inscription  stands for *jiǎ* 甲 in the sexagenary designation (*jiǎxū* 甲戌 [11<sup>th</sup>]). This shows that by mid-Western Zhōu the squarish enclosure lost its grapho-lexico-semantic significance to specify Shàng Jiǎ, having paved the way ultimately to the small-seal form 甲 (甲) as distinct from .

<sup>5</sup> According to the commentary to the *Shījīng* 詩經 (Máo #300, Bigōng 閼宮) by Zhèng Xuán 鄭玄 (127–200 AD), one *xín* ranges from 6 to 8 *chǐ* 尺 (quoted in HYDCD). *Dàdài Lǐ* 大戴禮 (主言 · 王言解) says “舒肘知尋” (if one stretches elbows, one will know the length of [one] *xín*). This supports that “|” depicts a yardstick 6 to 8 *chǐ* long (if considered anachronistically!). But it is also possible to interpret the other constituent of the OBI graphs just quoted (, , ), i.e., without “|”, as the fingers of a hand stretched wide open. *Dàdài Lǐ* immediately before the above quote says “布手知尺” (if one stretches one’s hand wide on a flat surface, one will know the length of [one] *chǐ*).

<sup>6</sup> The first graph shows that the lower stroke in  and  of the last two graphs are fused together with the top horizontal stroke in , a practice known as “*jièbì* 借筆

 (lit. “borrow a stroke of another graph”), i.e., a stroke with a double function).

According to Guō Mòruò (1931: *Shì wǔshí* 釋五十, 1b/p. 116), the BI graph “” is a drawing of two hands joined together, i.e., *hé zhǎng* 合掌 ‘bring palms together’. Guō’s interpretation is based on the idea of “bring together” graphically represented. That is, “10” is an “outcome”, as it were, of “joining” two hands (10 fingers). The GD by the BI scribes must thus have been “putting or bringing together” a hand (with five fingers). This was realized as “”, “” and “”. The small circle in “” is “to bind with a cord/rope” (“象結繩形” [depicts tying]) as Lín Yiguāng 林義光 (?–1932) is quoted as having suggested (Jì 2004, 1:143). There is no obstacle in taking the dot in the graph “” as a variant of the small circle. We see it in other graphs like:  and  (=léi 雷 ‘thunder’), , , , and  (=wǔ 午 ‘7<sup>th</sup> in the twelve Earthly Branches’), as well as , , , and  (=yu 禺 ‘lustrate, exorcise’, in which 午 serves as phonophoric). We think that the GD/GI of , , , and  (all drawings of “twine”) stems from the image of coiling, i.e., “gathering strands together into twine.” That the BI graphs evolved in this way must have had such backgrounds as follows: the scribes in Early Western Zhōu accepted some co-worker having changed the verticalization (“marking off”) to the idea of “putting or bringing together”.

### §3 Paleography, Historical Phonology, and Historical Lexicology: The Case of *shi*/\*gip + ‘ten’

We have used the term “quasi-phonosignific” to refer to the function of the grapheme  in the graph for \*khaŋ~\*khiaŋ  ‘Qiāng, the sheep herders’. The OC shows only its rime agreeing with yáng/\*jaŋ~\*laŋ 羊.<sup>7</sup> The OBI graph consists of 人, a signific, and the “sheep-horn” grapheme which is more than just phonetic, as it carries a meaning related to

<sup>7</sup> Boltz (2001, 173; *passim*) reconstructed 羊 as \*gràng, and Chris Button as yàn (pc 22 July 2019; cf. also <https://languagelog.ldc.upenn.edu/nll/?p=42828#comment-1563637>). Here both of them follow Pulleyblank’s OC which, however, leaves much room for the choice of an initial. This is because Pulleyblank does not generally provide initials. If we base ourselves on such XS characters as Jiāng/\*kjajŋ 姜 ‘lineage name’, Qiāng/\*khaŋ~\*khiaŋ 羌 ‘ethnonym’, and gāo/\*kâu 羔 ‘lamb, kid’, some sort of a velar consonant for 羊 could be posited. However, if we accept Pulleyblank (1998) that various consonants are added to \*-à- to form the kernel of a lexical item, the simple extension of the XS (or *jiājie*) connections could blur what may have been the real phonological form associated with a lexical item as both morphological and non-morphological (idiosyncratic) factors were involved in the choice of a particular graphic form. This is hard to predict.

“sheep”. The *SW*’s definition of 羌 goes: 西戎，牧羊人也，羊亦聲 ‘Qiāng are the western *róng*; they are the sheep herders’. We have called 羌 “quasi-phonosignific” or “quasi-etymonic”. While it requires a separate investigation into the term “亦聲” as used in the *SW* to see the extent of reference of the term *shēng* 聲 (sound), to render 羌 as “also phonetic” is ambiguous. In addition to “quasi-phonosignific” or “quasi-etymonic”, we have also used a few other terms not commonly seen in the literature: “phonosignific” or “etymonic”, “pure phonetic”, and “pure signific”. We shall first explain these terms in some detail.

### Phonosignific or Etymonic

This term can also be referred to as “etymonic” (the term also used, though undefined, by Van Auken 2002, 531). The combination of a particular sound and its meaning would form lexemes within a language and in different dialects or languages of the same origin (同源的). They also constitute word families (abbreviated as “WF”). The “quasi-phonosignific” can also be called “quasi-etymonic”. In the state-of-the-art research on Chinese etymology, however, the notion of WF is taken more strictly than similarities in “both pronunciation and meaning, and thus are likely to be cognate with one another, …” (Boltz 1994, 97). Baxter and Sagart(2014) uses the term “root” (詞根) and tries to identify phonological and morphological features that can potentially explain cognate relationships (同根關係). The real problem is that this sort of approach to Chinese etymology, akin to what is practiced in Indo-European languages, is still in its ineffectual stage of scholarship (due to reasons that are often uncertain or unknowable). In this paper we have adopted a kind of approach to Chinese WF studies taken by Tōdō (1965; 1993, §3&§4), Wáng Lì (1982), and Boltz (1994, 95ff; 2001). Admittedly, this approach is not as precise as the other kind of approach taken by Schuessler (1974; 1976; 1986; 2007) and Baxter and Sagart (1998; 2014), but we are in agreement with: “The modern practice of taking the structure of the script and how the script reflects the language of rimed classical texts as the point of departure and primary evidence of OC [and pre-OC] phonology is nothing more or less than adhering to the strength and prestige of the native tradition; and this is certainly an approach that has had a great deal to offer” (Boltz 2001, 169). It is in this spirit, and with the above-mentioned approach to WF, that we use the term “phonosignific” or “etymonic” somewhat differently from “etymological”, “root” based study of Chinese etymology.

The character  (also written ) can be traced back to OBI graphs like:     These are usually taken as drawings of a tureen heaped with food. The graph serves as a productive constituent in such composite graphs as:  (食 ‘eat’),  (即 ‘go directly to [partake of food]’),  (既 ‘complete; already [had enough of food]’),  (𩚔 ‘tureen [a food vessel]’),  (登 ‘offer [food; “two hands” used as a symbol to offer]’),  (饗=饗 ‘feast’ [two kneeling persons facing food in the vessel], etc. In most of these graphs, the grapheme   plays the role of a signific. But in the last example, the same grapheme must have played the *phonosignific/etymonic* role. Reasons: the graph  by itself—two kneeling persons facing each other—wrote the word 饉 *xiāng/\*han<sup>A</sup>* (*HJ* 376, 21069, etc.), so that the addition of  between the two kneeling persons (as in *HJ* 27648) must have played a dual role: signific and phonetic. Indeed  = 倉 has the MC reading *xiāng/xjangX ~ xjan<sup>B</sup>* with its meaning “feast”.

It may not be impossible to take  (膝) in  (即 *ji/\*tsit*) as quasi-phonetic if we take it as a *chūwén* 初文 of *xī/\*sit* 膝 ‘knee [=joint]’ (*Wēn* and *Yuán* 1983, 317) as \**tsit* and \**sit* differ in the manner of articulation. However, affricates do not usually interchange with fricatives, or vice-versa. Apart from the question of the quasi-phonetic, however, this element is quite clearly a pictogram of the kneeling human figure. There is then a good possibility that 膝 stands for the verb 膝 “kneel (to supplicate)” (see example [1] and [2]), a quasi-phonosemantic or quasi-etymonic explanation is what we have adapted.

### Pure phonetic

The distinction between “phonosignific/etymonic” and “pure phonetic” is important. The former has an intimate relationship with the sound and meaning of a word, but not the latter. Baxter and Sagart (2014, 26) describe XS (*xiéshēng* 諧聲) as: “... words written with the same phonetic, with or without an added semantic element, have ‘xiéshēng connections.’” Since they were concerned more with phonology than with writing, they may have stopped short of describing finer distinctions in the XS connections. Schuessler (2009, 35) has summarized all these nicely: “The selection of elements in a composite graph can be on a sliding scale, from purely phonetic (as in *jū* 居 \**ka* ‘dwell’ in which *gǔ* 古 \**kâ?* ‘old’ serves as phonetic), to purely semantic (e.g., *jiān* 尖 ‘pointed’: graph for ‘small’ on top of ‘big’). Many graphic choices fall between these ends... [We add: “phonosignific/etymonic” as in *gù/\*kâ?* 故 ‘dead, old’, where *gǔ/\*kâ?* 古 ‘old’ is both

phonetic and semantic, and “*quasi-phonosignific/quasi-etymonic*” in *shí/\*gip* 拾 ‘gather’, in which *gě/\*kēp* 合 ‘put together’ and *hé/\*gēp* 合 ‘join with’ are quasi-phonetic and quasi-signific.] *The greater the semantic or mental overlap of a graphic element with the word it writes, the greater the chance that phonological similarity has been compromised.*” The XS connections can be treated as a sort of principle, but it is not strict as the term allows partial connections as in quasi-phonosignific/quasi-etymonic. Fundamentally, all these labels serve as mnemonic devices to conjure up certain specific words.

### Pure signific

If an element in a graph or character—regardless of composite or uniform (simple)—can be judged to carry no phonetic, one may call it as “pure signific”. Apart from Schuessler’s example cited above (*jiān* 尖 ‘pointed’), which is a late character (no earlier than Táng), we just cite here only a few composite characters in OBI: 卽= *jí/\*tsit* ‘go directly to, approach’ and 既= *jì/\*kəts* ‘full; already’. More telling examples of the pure signific are found in portions of a composite graph serving as a kind of “marker” (see infra).

The grapheme “|” must have depicted a “stick”, wooden, bamboo, or metal, in graphs like:  (HJ 31063),  (HJ 32221),  (Huādōng 287), which, as already mentioned, write the word *xún/\*s-ləm* 尋 ‘measure; inquire’, but there is not even a trace of “|” in its later incarnation, 尋. Consider also  (Yīngcáng 1330), probably an abbreviated graph of *shū/pū*  ‘a kind of weapon’ (HJ 21868). The grapheme “|” in “ or —, which we think is used as a marker for “binding”. Consider the following examples:

A: ,     B: ,     C: , 

The A graphs are believed as pictograms of a human figure “shackled” about his neck, standing for *fāng/\*pan* 方 ‘outlying region; square’. The B graphs are considered as

pictograms of an upside-down broom, writing the word *fù/\*bə?* 婦 ‘wife, lady’ or *zhǒu/\*tu?* 扫 ‘broom’ (the latter use is not attested in OBI).<sup>8</sup> The C graphs write the word *dì/\*tēkh* 帝 ‘God’, and whatever 

We now examine the word *shí* 十 ‘ten’ in terms of historical phonology and lexicology. Schuessler’s OC reconstructions of *shí* 十 and *shí* 拾 ‘gather’ are identical: \*gip, and thus have potential to be considered as the same word. It is more so than that by Baxter and Sagart (2014, 154) \*t.[g]əp 十 and (2014a, 100) \*[d][ə]p 拾, both of which are cluttered with brackets and parentheses—as in numerous other examples (e.g., *jī* 奇 \*[k](r)aj

<sup>8</sup> Baxter and Sagart reconstruct 婦 as \*mə.bə? (or \*tsə.-?), while 扫 as \*[t,p]ə?. Are these “reconstructions”? They seem to be examples of what Schuessler criticized as “structural-etymological juggling of possibilities” (see n. 9 below).

<sup>9</sup> In view of the form 11

‘odd’)—, have several uncertain, yet to be determined, sound values.<sup>10</sup> But we have come to think that the two words are, in fact, different uses of the same word. If we assume their UM is “gather”, it can account for both words.

First, a brief background of the OC reconstructions of 拾 and 十 by Schuessler and by Baxter and Sagart follow. The character 拾 seems to have 合 as phonetic (*SW* also says so). Schuessler has *gě/\*kēp* for 合 ‘put together’ (*HJ* 10760a) and *hé/\*gēp* for 合 ‘join with’ (*HJ* 32970), and \**gip* for 拾 and 十 as we saw. In the case of 十, the character itself functions as *phonosignific/etymonic* (音兼義符, distinguished in this paper from 同根 ‘same root’) in *shí/\*gip* 什 ‘a set of ten’, *pure phonetic* (純音) in *zhī/\*kip* 汗 ‘sap, juice’, and *pure signific* (純義) in *jì/\*kīh* 計 ‘calculation’ (Schuessler 2009, 39).

Baxter and Sagart’s \*[d][ə]p for 拾 reflects the apparent phonetic 合 *gě/\*k<sup>č</sup>op* or *hé/\*m-k<sup>č</sup>op* only in the coda (aside from “indeterminacy” [see n. 9] in the initial and the vowel), while Schuessler’s \**gip* for 拾 reflects the initials and codas *gě/\*kēp* or *hé/\*gēp*. Either way, the “xiéshēng connections” are by nature only *approximate* as partial connections can be observed (Pulleyblank 1998, 147, 149ff., 158).

It is possible that neither Schuessler nor Baxter and Sagart recognizes that 合 served as phonetic in 拾. If 合 didn’t do so, however, why was that element chosen to write the word 拾 ‘gather, pick up’ in the first place? This question has led us to suppose that there is an additional reason for the “quasi-phonosignific” deemed to range in varying degrees of relatedness in both sound and meaning. After all, *gě* 合 ‘put together’ or *hé* 合 ‘join with’ seems related to 拾 ‘gather, pick up’. Tōdō (1965, 798) has suggested “join together” as a basic meaning in these words. Grammatically, 拾 is a verb and 十 is a noun (use of 拾 in the sense of “ten” in official documents is a later development). Second, grapho-lexically, 拾—consisting of the phonetic *gě/\*kēp* 合 ‘put together’ and/or *hé/\*gēp* 合 ‘join’ plus the 扌 ‘hand’ signific—is action, just as 合 itself is.

<sup>10</sup> The bracketed \**k* may alternatively have been \**q-* (2014, 8, 154, 379, n.7) or even \**C.q* (2018, 2); the medial \**r* in parentheses may or may not have been present. A problem with such indeterminacy is that there is no way of knowing if it can ever be determined. Schuessler (2015, 578) has criticized in his review of Baxter and Sagart (2014): “The objective is not a phonological reconstruction of Old Chinese, but a structural-etymological juggling of possibilities. The grid is a closed system that leaves no unresolved issues; uncertainty is indicated by brackets of various kinds and unspecified phonemes like C.”

A different way of interpreting the “⇒|” notation would be to take its arrow portion, “⇒”, as symbolizing “gather, culminate”; i.e., the incremental progression of the numbers from 1 to 9 gathers (culminates) in 10. This evokes words like *gě/\*kēp* 合 ‘put together’, *hé/\*gēp* 合 ‘join’, and *ji/\*gəp* 及 ‘reach’. These words are also synonymous with *shī/\*gip* 拾 ‘gather’ (with the phonetic 合).<sup>11</sup> One could say that “+” is a number that “gathers” each individual number from “—” to “九” to culminate in it. Differently stated, “10” is a number that is “合/及-ed”—more directly, “十/拾-ed”. It is also possible to maintain the “|” sign within the “⇒|” notation as signifying “marking off” in the same way as we have interpreted earlier. Thus, there seems at least two ways of construing the diagrammatic notation “⇒|” itself. The former interpretation posed in §2 is motivated paleographically, and the latter linguistically. Since writing is after all a reflection of the spoken language in origin, also in Shāng Chinese (Takashima 2017, 9; 2019, 83, n.58), the latter interpretation ought to be preferred. Yet our paleographical analysis seems to add supporting and ancillary evidence for the scribes who tried to narrow the gap between words and their representations. Their trial was perhaps motivated by the “GD/GI” as conceived by the original scribes. Sometimes, however, there is indeed a gap between these (undoubtedly more) words and their characters, as in *zhī/\*kip* 汗 ‘sap, juice’ and *ji/\*kīh* 計 ‘calculation’.<sup>12</sup> But by applying the kind of analysis (aided by the suggested terminologies), to other cases, we might come closer to understanding why words were written in certain specific ways.

#### §4 “Kneeling Women with Their Wrists Crossed”: Lexicological,

<sup>11</sup> The meanings of three words, *gě*, *hé* 合, and *ji/\*gəp* 及, seem to differ in the manner of action. This may be suggested by another synonym *ji/\*dzəp* 集/輯 ‘gather; flock’, a word which forms a minimal pair with 及 ‘reach’, as well as with *zhī/\*təp* 執 ‘seize’. The OBI forms such as  (“bird perching on tree top” =集),  (“lid covering vessel” =合),  (“hand reaching human” =及), and  (“two hands manacled” =執) are quite suggestive of the words they stand for.

<sup>12</sup> The semantic determinatives, commonly but erroneously called “radicals”, fill the gap to some extent as in the case of *zhī* 汗 ‘sap, juice’ in which the water element (水, 氵) signifies that *zhī* belongs to liquid. But because “semantic determinative” is not really a precise classificatory term, it is sometimes not helpful as in the case of 計 ‘calculation’ in which the speech element (言) only vaguely suggests, if at all, the meaning of the word *ji* written by the character 計.

## Paleographic Analyses, and GMP in Quest of GDs

We now try to bring together the subject matters so far discussed: paleography, historical phonology, and historical lexicology, and these in particular reference to the word 女 ‘woman’:

*nǚ/\*nra?* 女: cf. *mǔ/\*mâ?* 母:

Many scholars simply follow the explanation of the small-seal form 女 by the *SW* that it is a pictogram of a woman (婦人也). However, Xu Shèn added “王育說” (view of Wáng Yù, one of the 28 scholars Xu Shèn quoted in the *SW*).<sup>13</sup> Lǐ Xiàodìng (1965, 3587) has argued that since it is difficult to distinguish the sex of a human graphically, the ancient scribes relied on the kind of work men and women typically engaged in. He says: “Since needlework was done mostly inside the house, 女 depicts the profile of a kneeling woman *rubbing or kneading* something (女紅之事多在室內也. 女蓋象跪而兩手有所揉作之形). Nán 男, consisting of *lì* 力 ‘strength’ and *tián* 田 ‘field’, is a *huìyì* 會意 ‘syssemantic’ character (男則以力田會意). [As we often say,] ‘men plough and women weave’, they have their own specialty (男耕女織, 各有專司).”

Lǐ Xiàodìng’s interpretation has a few followers (e.g., Chén 1980, 229; Xú 1988, 1299; Jí 2004, 2:183). It is, however, not convincing. His graphic analysis of or as “hands *rubbing or kneading* something” is rather doubtful (rubbing or kneading is not done with the crisscrossed hands), and his appeal to the 男耕女織 idea seems tendentious. We don’t know how the society was like in Shāng times—think of Fù Hǎo 婦好, a consort of Wǔ Dīng 武丁, having served as a military leader. We rely on paleographical evidence to see if there is a better interpretation.

We have earlier noted that the graphs and write the word *dì* 帝 ‘God’, and whatever depicted, it would make sense if the graphemes “—” and “—” are taken as markers for “binding”. The strongest piece of evidence for this, as already mentioned, is the graph , which contains the grapheme . This must depict passing a cord or rope around the in the middle (where three strokes are joined). We have also cited several

<sup>13</sup> Xu Kě (2017) gives several examples of the Hán seal forms, discussing the views of various scholars the *SW* quoted, but unfortunately 女 is not included. But judging from other examples he provides, there must have been different interpretations current in the *SW*’s time. Lǐ Xiàodìng (1965, 3587) also says there are quite a few different interpretations among the *SW* scholars, criticizing that most of them, including Duàn Yúcái, are conjectural (大抵均憑想像).

other graphs that were based on such a GD/GI: 羌 (HJ 26909) and 羊 (HJ 35694), directly transcribed as “羌”, standing for Qiāng 羌=𦥑 ‘Qiāng, the sheep herders’; 羔 (HJ 38225) and 羲 (HJ 36390), both of which write the word yí 羲 ‘display a sacrificial victim (?)’. Now, the OBI graphs 羯, 羚, 羊, 羔, and 羲 have exactly the same grapheme; just remove “𦥑” or “𦥑”, and *voilà* we get 羊 or 羲. The GD/GI must thus have lied in the kneeling human figure with his or her wrists “bound, tied”, not *rubbing or kneading* (which is an action done with free hands). Originally, the grapheme “𦥑” or “𦥑” may well have been gender-neutral, and later in Shāng OBI it came to be associated with the gender-specific 女 ‘women’ perhaps because of their social status in or by Shāng times as interpreted by the scribes, an important point that requires further study. We will return to this paleographical issue a bit more in detail after we discern the UM of *nǚ*.

### The UM of *nǚ* 女

There are two ways in which we can approach to discern the UM of 女. One is a comparative study of a group of words thought to be related not only in Chinese but also in different languages of the common stock. The most systematic study using this approach is Schuessler (2007). Another approach, which has a long history of scholarship (Yáng Guāngróng 2008), is represented by Karlgren (1933; *GSR*), Tōdō (1965), Boltz (1972), and Wáng Lì (1982), to mention just a few.

Schuessler (2007, 405) glosses 女 “woman, wife, girl, daughter, female” in the BI and *Shījīng*. His OC is \*nra? (same as Baxter and Sagart), but thinks—perhaps on the basis of some Sino-Tibetan or Austro-Asiatic words related to “female”—that it had a grave consonant in the pre-OC, thus, positing \*C/r-na? with a question mark. There is a *qùshēng* derivative of this word (\*nrah), which he calls “exoactive” of the nominal meaning “to give someone a wife”, attested in the *Shàngshū* and *Zuǒzhuàn*. *Prima facie*, this implies that the female was considered as a kind of precious “commodity” not accorded to the male as *nán/\*nâm* 男 does not have such a derivative (though this is more an anthropological than a linguistic issue). The word *shì/\*dzrə?* 士 in the sense of “male, masculine”<sup>14</sup> does have its *qùshēng* counterparts, *shì* 事 ‘assignment, affair’ and

<sup>14</sup> Xǔ Kě (2017) gives several examples of the Hán seal forms, discussing the views of various scholars the *SW* quoted, but unfortunately 女 is not included. But judging from other examples he provides, there must have been different interpretations current in the *SW*’s time. Lǐ Xiàodìng (1965,

*shì* 仕 ‘to serve’. However, we agree with Schuessler (2007, 465) who has pointed out that 事 and 仕 are unrelated to *shì* 士 ‘male officer, retainer’ as there is no reason for connecting any work with what men did. According to this sort of comparative approach to etymology, the word *nǚ/\*nra?* < \*C/r-na? (?) 女 belongs to a narrow semantic field of “female” in contrast to that of male *nán/\*nêm* 男 ‘man’ and *shi/\*dzrə?* 士 ‘male officer, retainer’.

Turning now to the other kind of approach mentioned in the penultimate paragraph, we must first pay a bit of attention to the reconstruction of OC (ideally pre-OC or Shāng Chinese). Boltz (2001, 169) begins his inspiring paper with what follows: “It is well-known that for the study of the early phonological history of Chinese the traditional comparative method of the Indo-Europeanists [adopted, e.g., by Schuessler 1974; 1976; 1985; 2007 and Baxter and Sagart 1996; 2014] has been less applied, and seemingly less useful, than has been the analysis of the writing system and of the rime patterns of early texts.” He has also pointed out that the study of Middle or Old Chinese phonology “has been taken implicitly as tantamount to the study of the history of the writing system, in particular as it is found registered in transmitted Classical texts, especially in rimed texts [XS and *jiājiè* 假借 characters].” Since there is an unfillable gap between the ephemeral sound and its more enduring visual portrayal, the gap leaves much room for interpreting their real values, and this even in alphabetic or syllabic writings. It is much more acute in the pictorial, iconic, logographic writing system. This is a caveat that lurks in any OC reconstruction, and yet we, the paleographers, have no alternative. We can only assume that a choice reconstruction is not too far removed from the real phonemic value.

Besides historical phonology, the study of the history of the Chinese writing system involves historical lexicology. The field has a rich scholarly tradition, and we shall here consider the lexicological, semantic sphere of *nǚ/\*nra?* 女.

Tōdō (1965) has classified about 15,000 “characters”—not words in its strict sense as quite a few of the characters were created by different scribes to write one and the same word—according to the traditional 23 rime categories under contrastive initials and

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3587) also says there are quite a few different interpretations among the SW scholars, criticizing that most of them, including Duàn Yùcái, are conjectural (大抵均憑想像).

finals. After examining each WF (單語家族=詞族),<sup>15</sup> he has generalized what he calls “basic meaning” (*kihongi* 基本義) claimed to be able to account for the words in the same WF. It is of much interest that Tōdō (1965, 355–8) has come to think that the word *nǚ* 女—which he himself has reconstructed as \**niag* (娘語開 3)—belongs to a WF with the basic meaning of “supple, sinuous” (*shinayaka* しなやか) with an allusion to “curvaceous”. His interpretation is thus completely different from anyone else’s as he takes the common meaning of “female” only as a “derivative” (派生義).<sup>16</sup>

We recognize a good deal of merit in the study of the WFs that are carefully reconstituted on the basis of closeness of the sound and meaning, though mostly without heeding the details of morphological processes for want of reliability. Many interpretive problems in classical and pre-classical texts can be elucidated far more illuminatingly than by the etymologies arrived at using the comparative method.<sup>17</sup> This undoubtedly owes a lot to a rich philological and lexicological tradition in China dating significantly earlier than the related languages and dialects the comparativists can have at their disposal. We thus wish to ruminante on Tōdō’s idea of “supple, sinuous” as the UM of 女 = 女.

Tōdō (1965, 355–8) has a total of 17 words he considers as belonging to the WF of which 女 is a member. Rather surprisingly, there are only three words written with the phonosignific/etymonic 女/𡇗 in OBI.<sup>18</sup> It is also surprising that even though there are

<sup>15</sup> This is equivalent to “tóngyuánzì 同源字” used by Wáng Lì (1982). Tōdō (1965) has a total of 223 different WF, and all the words in this work are classified under what he identifies as *kihongi* 基本義 ‘basic meaning’, which is similar to Boltz’s SCD (abbrev. of ‘semantic common denominator’—1994, 95ff.), and to our UM. “SCD” is schematically expressed as the square-root sign “√” under which the semantic “approximants” are posited in small capital letters.

<sup>16</sup> The term derivative is usually distinguished from “extension” (引申, 外延的) as the former typically involves derivational processes involving morphology. But it is often impossible to identify them (Boltz 1994, 96). So we should instead say that the word *nǚ/\*nra?* 女 was not a derivation but a semantic extension of the UM “supple, sinuous”.

<sup>17</sup> See a number of contributions in this area of scholarship by Boltz (e.g., 1980, 1983, 1986, 1987, 1992, 1994, 2001) and Tōdō (1993, sect. 3&4, several pieces).

<sup>18</sup> Of these three (see infra) one would expect to see the word *nú/\*nâ* 奴 ‘slave’ in OBI. A concocted OBI graph for the word would have been something like \*𡇗, but none is found in the entire OBI

as many as about 247 OBI graphs containing the element  /  / , this WF has only three words with the quasi-phonetic  : (1) *rú/\*na(h)* 如=  ‘to follow (從隨), approach, go’ and ‘in accordance with (隨順)’;<sup>19</sup> (2) *nú/\*nâ* 奴 ‘slave’ (see n. 18); and (3) *rú/\*na?/h* 茹 ‘swallow; masticate’. Since (2) and (3) are not used in either OBI or BI, we cannot test the validity of Tōdō’s “supple, sinuous, curvaceous” idea for these two words. The graph  is used to write the word *ruò/\*nak* 若 ‘be like, just as’ (*Qiánbiān* 5.30.3 [not in *HJ*]), but the use of the graph  or  to write the word *rú/\*na(h)* 如 ‘follow, approach, go’ has not yet been found. The words 若 and *nuò/\*nâk* 諾 ‘agreeable; approve; approval’ are written with the same graph  whose major graphemic constituent is  /  (kneeling figure), not  /  (kneeling figure with the crossed wrists).

How does Tōdō’s *kihongi* “supple, sinuous” fit with the attested meanings in OBI? He states: “Like 若, 如 is used in the sense of ‘obedient’, and further as a demonstrative and conjunction.” It requires a bit of semantic jump from “supple, sinuous, curvaceous” to “obedient” presumably by semantic extension.<sup>20</sup> Yet Tōdō claims that “女 and 若 are variant characters of the same word.” While these two words seem related to each other, they do not express the same word; the codas, \*-k in particular, makes the difference. For the benefit of the doubt, however, Tōdō’s idea of “supple, sinuous” as the UM of 女 will be tested in the ensuing subjection “GMP in Quest of GDs”.

Independently of Tōdō, Boltz (1987) has paid attention mainly to eight, secondarily to nine other related, words—17 in all—that share similar sounds and meanings. He has

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corpus. There are several cases of the graph *nú* in BI (e.g., —*JWB*:12.801), but none is used in the sense of “slave”.

<sup>19</sup> The gloss given here for *rú/\*na(h)* 如 () is our interpretation of how the word is used in OBI. The meaning “if, as if” may well be a later development. Also, the graph  cannot be counted as a variant of  as this is used for the word *xùn/\*sinh* 訊 ‘interrogate, ask’ (e.g., *HJ* 1824, 19126, 19131, etc.). See more on this later under the subsection entitled GMP (=Graphic Minimal Pairs).

<sup>20</sup> The other way around, i.e., from “obedient” to “supple, sinuous” (sc. flexible, lithe), might seem easier a development, but this is a matter of subjective judgment. We usually follow the “from simple to complex” guideline in inquiring into the unknown, etymological or otherwise, but it is not universal. Similarly, the more abstract the *kihongi* is, the wider the semantic field it could cover, and that also seems a drawback of this type of WF analysis.

come up with three basic UM, expressed by the square-root sign “√” (cf. n. 15) as his SCD “vnigh~near~next” in which “nigh” is meant “*nigh-*” as in English “*neighbor*,” “near” is meant “near to”, and “next” is meant “second, come next in sequence”. Since two out of the 17 words in Tōdō’s WF<sup>21</sup>—i.e., 如 ‘follow, approach, go’ and 若 ‘be like, just as’—are the same as Boltz’s, they can be compared with. But, while the said SCD can nicely account for at least eight words Boltz has provided, what is missing is an account of the word *nǚ/\*nra?* 女=𡇁 ‘female’ itself. It is hard to associate Boltz’s SCD with the “woman, wife, girl, daughter, female” meanings attested in the received classical Chinese texts.

It therefore behooves us to look for yet another WF of 女 based on closeness of sound and meaning not by the strict comparative method but by the other method, what Yáng Guāngróng (2008, 339–511) calls *shìmíng pài* 釋名派 ‘school of interpreting nomenclature’. Intrigued by Boltz (1987, 196) who has pointed out that “*rú/\*na* 如 ‘follow, approach, go’ forms an ablaut pair with *ér/\*nə* 而 ‘then, next’ at the pre-Classical stage” and also by E.G. Pulleyblank who has suggested to me (pc) that \**nra?* 女 might have been a metathesis of \**?ân* 安 ‘steady, settled’.<sup>22</sup> They could be related to each other. Here we would like to pursue the hypothesis that the UM of 女 ‘female, woman’ is the “stable, settled” sex in contrast to the *nǚ/\*nra?* as the “supple, sinuous, curvaceous” sex: *nán/\*nêm* 男 ‘male, man’,<sup>23</sup> and also *shì/\*dzrə?* 士 ‘male officer, retainer’.

In this regard we are fortunate as Boltz (1994, 95–8) has already done a required

<sup>21</sup> The agreement in the total number of words in Tōdō’s and Boltz’s WF is purely coincidental.

<sup>22</sup> Pulleyblank (1998, 158) says: “In addition to words in which the graph 女 appears to be a speller for the phonetic kernel \*na, by itself or enlarged by various consonants, there are other words where it seems to stand for \*an, that is, the same consonant and vowel in the reverse order. The word *ān* 安 EMC ?an ‘settled, peaceful, content’ is commonly interpreted as a *huiyi* 會意 ... ‘woman-in-house.’ Even if we think of the men who invented the Chinese ... [characters] as patriarchal sexist, this seems far-fetched as a device for a word that in its usage has no discernible semantic connection with women at all.”

<sup>23</sup> Tōdō (1965, 801–2) provides *nán*’s *kihongi* as “put in” (入れ込む). He explains that the word, being related to *nà/\*nəp* < \**nûp* 納 ‘submit’ and *rù/\*nəp* < \**nup* 入 ‘enter’, originally referred to the sex that entered into the matrilineal families to provide labour.

spadework. In it the following set of six words are given:

- |     |              |          |   |
|-----|--------------|----------|---|
| (a) | 安 <i>ān</i>  | < *?an   | ‘security, stability; settled’          |
| (b) | 按 <i>àn</i>  | < *?ans  | ‘to press down, hold down, make secure’ |
| (c) | 宴 <i>yàn</i> | < *?rans | ‘quiet, at rest, settled’               |
| (d) | 案 <i>àn</i>  | < *?ans  | ‘stool, seat’                           |
| (e) | 鞍 <i>ān</i>  | < *?an   | ‘saddle’                                |
| (f) | 安 <i>ān</i>  | < *?an   | ‘feast’ < ‘mat for kneeling’            |

His conclusion about this WF is tantamount to a theorem in that the Indo-European root *\*sed-* can represent the meaning underlying in these words, or SCD, our UM, expressed as “ $\sqrt{\text{sedo}}$ ”. It is from this that the range of meanings “seat”, “settle”, “set”, “saddle”, “sit”, etc. are derived.

We are not sure if the UM of 女 ‘female, woman’ is the “stable, settled sex” as might be suggested circuitously by *\*sed-*, and Boltz himself does not even touch on it. There is no morphological marker that could support such a meaning either. If there is any merit in these seemingly stereotyped WFs, that might be a semantic extension or cultural idiosyncrasies that “female, woman” was somehow considered as the sex more “settled” than the opposite sex. On the grounds of ignorance (nobody knows the real etymology anyway!), we will keep in mind this hypothetical interpretation, as well as Tōdō’s.

GMP in Quest of GDs: “ and ”, “ and 

The number of GMP involving  is a lot more than these pairs, but with these we may be able to identify some salient features that have a bearing on their UM vis-à-vis their GDs/GIs we need to figure out.

There are two major differences in the first pair: the position and the way the wrists are depicted. They are tied in the former, but are placed squarely on the knees in the latter. Their GDs/GIs must have been different.

If the kneeling human figure is “restrained” in the graph , how does Tōdō’s “supple, sinuous, curvaceous” fit with the conventional meaning “female, women”? Not very well. The same judgment may be made on the UM we have inferred “stable, settled sex”. Any UM would remain as an eternal hypothesis because the job of abstracting it from WF members has no strict criteria, and is influenced by the biases (romantic, idealistic,

objective, subjective, etc.) we all seem unable to free ourselves from.

The graph 膝 is usually transcribed as *jié/\*tsít* 爭 ‘joint’, but we think that when used as a verb it expressed the word *xī/\*sit* 膝 ‘kneel (to supplicate)’ (cf. Schuessler [2007, 523] who quotes a view of Gong Hwang-cherng). This meaning must have served as the basis for the GD/GI, an idea supported by such graphs as: 跪 and 祀, both of which stand for *zhù/\*tuk* 祝 ‘to pray, supplicate’.<sup>24</sup> These graphs consist, at the minimum, 膝 and 口 / 呂 “mouth” facing upward (i.e., from “low” to “high”).<sup>25</sup> The verb 膝, as in example sentence (1) below, indicates an action, simultaneously implying its purpose. This in English may be expressed as “rise on one’s knees especially in reverence to some higher authority” (*OED* modified).<sup>26</sup> At least a couple of OBI examples out of many may be helpful:

- (1) 𠃔=膝: 壬寅卜鰌貞: 王 𠃔(=膝) 宗父福.                    *HJ 2235<sub>ob</sub>* (Other examples: *HJ 14524, 21717, 22418, 32700*, etc.)  
 Crack making on the *rényín* [39<sup>th</sup>] day, [Diviner] Nan tested (the following charge for numinous rectification): His Majesty (should) kneel to the clan fathers (to supplicate for) blessing.
- (2) 兄=祝: 貞: 王其入勿兄(=祝)于下乙.                    *HJ 1666*  
 Tested (the following charge for numinous rectification): When His Majesty enters (Shāng), he should not offer prayers to Xià Yǐ. (Other examples in which

<sup>24</sup> The word *zhù*—related etymonically to 祀=禱 *dǎo/\*tū?/h* ‘to pray’—meant just that without indicating a specific action, though the Shāng must surely have known what activity *dǎo* involved.

<sup>25</sup> The opposite direction from “high” to “low” in terms of GD would be, e.g., OBI: *mìng/\*mrin ~ \*mreŋ > \*mreŋh 命=* 跪 (*HJ 6816*); for *lìng/\*rəŋ(h) ~ \*rin(s) 令=* 跪 (but writes the word 命). Cf. BI form for 命= 鸟 (*JWJC 7.4112*) in which the *kōu* 口 ‘mouth’ element was added as “phonetic determinative” (Boltz 1994, 104; Button [2010, 25], however, is not in favor of treating 口 in *míng/\*mreŋ* 鸣 functioning as phonetic determinative to 鸟 [should be *jī* 雞 ‘fowl’ rather than *niǎo* 鸟 ‘bird’]). Since the top element 鸟 is a stylized, upside-down form of 口, there are two different functions, one semantic and another phonetic.

<sup>26</sup> The verbal use of the word *xī* 膝 ‘to kneel’ in received texts is attested rather late, the earliest may be found in the *Shǐjì* 史記 · 灌夫傳: 餘半膝席 ‘I was about to kneel down on the mat’.

the graph  is replete with the  or  (= 示) signific: *Túnnán* 774, 2122, 324, *HJ* 27296, 30398, 30418, etc.)

So, the GD/GI of  must have been based on the idea of “deference, submission”,<sup>27</sup> whereas that of  is the opposite, “suppressed or subdued by external forces”. If this paleographical interpretation has any bearing on the UM of 女, woman was the sex neither “supple, sinuous, curvaceous”, nor “stable, settled”, but gets suppressed by forces beyond its control. This is an extension of what might have been the GD/GI of . Yet, what seems striking is that since the linguistic (and proper) way by which the UM is obtained could not determine any optimum interpretation, the paleography-cum-linguistic interpretation postulated may not be easily dismissed. It is tantamount to acknowledging the ingenuity of the scribes.

We have also considered the grapheme  in  (= 訊 ‘interrogate’). This shows that the wrists are tied in the back, whereas  (cf.  = 如 ‘follow, approach, go’) shows that they are tied in the front (perhaps suggesting “yielding”? ). They also show that the grapheme  and its variant  are unlikely to have depicted “breasts” (as a few workshop attendants suggested). Some scholars (Xú 1988, 1314; *HJSW* 1: 5377) consider  as a variant of , but given fuller context we can see them used differently. Since the meanings of 訊 (sc. the “interrogate” meaning still retains someone interrogated is under subjugation) and 如 make sense, we accept Lǐ Zōngkūn (2012, 1: 156) and Liú Zhāo and Féng Kéjiàn (2019, 262) who also make a clear distinction between them. There are, then, two ways of tying the wrists; if the idea of suppressed-by-external-forces having served as a basis for the GD of  is correct,  represented an even harsher level of subjugation.

To sum up, the UMs of 女 we have examined—“female, women”, arrived at by the comparative-linguistic method<sup>28</sup> and “supple, sinuous, curvaceous” and “stable, settled

<sup>27</sup> According to Fowler (1989, iii, 267–330), “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.”

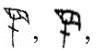
<sup>28</sup> Comparatively speaking, the “root” based study of Chinese etymology is not much concerned with the UM as it is in the *shìmíng pài* 釋名派 ‘school of interpreting nomenclature’ (cf. Yáng Guāngróng 2008, 339–511). So in Schuessler’s etymology for 女 (2007, 405) we only find a general sense of

sex” obtained by the less acclaimed etymonic WF analysis—could not be supported in terms of GD/GI. By contrast, the “paleography-cum-linguistic” interpretation of  as the “sex suppressed or subdued by external forces” seems to make good sense.

## §5 “Slaves with Their Eyes Gouged”: Lexicological, Paleographic Analyses, and GMP in Quest of GDs

We first need to determine the UM of the word *mín* 民 before we consider how it interacts with, or participates in, the GD/GI we would like to discern. The latter will be addressed in the subsection entitled “GMP in Quest of GDs”.

The UM of 民

In ways similar to the recovery of 女’s UM we have attempted, we now examine *mín/\*min* 民:  ‘people’.

Schuessler (2007, 386) gives the gloss “people” to the BI and *Shījīng* usages of \**min* 民, in which the coda \*-n is considered as a nominal suffix. It is puzzling why there is a need for the noun 民 to have a “nominal suffix” as 民 is already a noun. It seems redundant. But Schuessler discusses ten additional words and says: “Suffix \*-n is occasionally added to existing nouns, rather than creating new ones.” But if we take ST \**mi* (PTB \*r-*mi*(y), WT *mi* ‘man, human being’, Gyarung tə-*rmi* into consideration, then the suffix \*-n could be regarded as “a specific manifestation of whatever the base to which it was attached”. For the mere “redundant nominal suffix” labelling is equivalent to no suffixal function at all. By contrast, consider, e.g., the word *chén/\*dən* 辰 ‘specific point in time’ (a general rendition) which is derived from the word *shí/\*də* 時 ‘time’ whose UM, we think, is “to advance”, cognate with *zhī/\*tə* 之 ‘to go’. In this case, the base to which the \*-n suffix is added is quite clear. If we bring to bear this sort of derivation to 民, however, it is hard to think of any base, or “root”. That seems to be the extent of what the UM of 民 may have been according to the comparative method.

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“female” no more or less. There is none of the “supple, sinuous” meaning, “stable, settled sex”, nor the sex “suppressed/subdued by external forces”. However, Schuessler gives an alternative interpretation by Michel Ferlus that 女 belongs to the WF that includes *nú* 奴 ‘slave’. This is worth further exploration as the OBI graph /女/奴 itself could have expressed that very word in OBI. However, it requires a close contextual examination in the use of this graph.

Turning now to the other approach to finding the UM of 民, what we have earlier referred to as “etymonic” study of WF,<sup>29</sup> traditional interpretations represented by Duàn Yùcái (*SWDZ*, 12b.31a/633) and Guō Mòruò (1931, 61–75/釋臣宰, 1a–6b) pointed out that there was an etymonic relationship between 民 and *máng*/\*mrâŋ 盲 ‘blind’. We think that the idea of associating 民 with its UM in the sense of “blind, dark” is correct, although lexicological details involved in some of the assumed WF members are rather complicated. Sometimes Schuessler comes close to admitting the kind of UM just mentioned. He says, “Many words could be combined into a large WF ‘cover, dark, blind’: *méng* 蒙, *méng* 夢矇, *mén* 閥. However, ‘blind’ ⇒ *méng* 夢矇 points to a medial \*l, whereas there is no evidence for this in the WB words for ‘dull, dark’”. Because of many phonological and morphological difficulties like this, he does not get into what seems to us an effective and revealing way to find the UM of 民. He rejects even the word *méng*/\*mrâŋ ~ \*mrâŋ 氓 ‘populace’ as a member of the WF whose UM seems “blind, dark”. He says, “This word is not related to *mín* 民 ‘people’ as is sometimes suggested (e.g. Wáng 1982, 372)” (*ibid.*). Moreover, he is even skeptical of connecting the word *máng* 盲 ‘blind’ with *méng* 夢矇 ‘blind’ (Schuessler 2007, 375) when these characters may very well have written the same word. We are reminded once again that these characters are just mnemonic devices. They could play havoc with traditional lexicological information.

We have obtained an UM of 女 as the sex “suppressed/subdued by external forces”. If correct, this seems more revealing (as it reflects a cultural feature) than “female” which is just a biological classification. We thus wish to pursue an etymonic study in search of the UM of 民. As Boltz (1994, 96) has noted, “There may be fundamental differences that we are as yet unable to identify” between the kind of morphological relations seen in the study of the Indo-European languages and the less precise, less acclaimed, yet seemingly more divulging, etymonic WF analysis. The latter is by no means indifferent to morphology, but it is frequently impossible to specify exactly what it is among many members of a WF.

We have already noted Schuessler’s rejection of Wáng Lì’s view that *mín* 民 ‘people’ is related to the word *méng* 氓 ‘populace’. We reconsider this issue.

*SW* says: 氓民也。从民亡聲, 讀若盲 (氓 means people; it consists of 民 as

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<sup>29</sup> Under §3, we have used the term “phonosignific/etymonic” somewhat differently from “etymological”. The latter term seems more suitable to the “root” based study of Chinese etymology

signific and *wáng*/\*maŋ 亡 phonetic; it is read like *máng*/\*mrâŋ 盲 ‘blind’). Using the terminology we have adopted in §3, we would reinterpret 从民亡聲 as: “(氓) consists of 民 ‘people’ as *phonosignific/etymonic* and 亡 ‘have none; disappear’ as “*quasi-phonosignific/quasi-etymonic*”. This reinterpretation has gone a step further in construing the use of 亡 as not just a phonetic, but also as a semantic determinative. It enhances an inherent UM of 民 itself. A reflection of the phonological and lexicological issues involved in such words as *mín*/\*min 民, *mián*/\*mêŋ 瞳 / 眠 ‘sleep’, and *ming*/\*mêŋ 瞠 ‘close eyes, unable to see’ points to the likelihood that this choice of the 亡 element was also semantically motivated.

Baxter and Sagart has reconstructed 民 as \*mi[ŋ]. This seems supported by the fact that the word rhymes with *zhēng*/\*teŋ 正 ‘centre of target; first (month)’ in the *Zhōuyì* 周易 (屯卦) and also with *ping*/\*breŋ 平 ‘level, peaceful’ in the *Zhōuyì* (觀卦). Traditionally, both 正 and 平 are in the *gēng* 耕 rime group (支部陽聲), but 民 is classified as belonging to *wénbù* 文部 (微部陽聲). The characters with 民 as phonetic such as 潛, 睞, 恨, 淚, etc. generally belong to the *zhēnbù* 真部 (脂部陽聲), but the XS series with 民 as phonetic (often *phonosignific/etymonic*) such as 昏 and 婚 belong to the *wénbù* 文部. There is thus variation in its rime classification as a result of historical and/or areal factors. In terms of meaning, however, the words with the \*m-, including its voiceless counterpart \*mh- (= “m” with a little circle underneath like “ä”) followed by \*-in, \*-êŋ, \*-âŋ, \*-eŋ, and -eŋ generally carry such an UM as “not visible”. Specifically, \*min 民, \*mêŋ 瞠/眠 ‘sleep’, and \*mêŋ 瞠 ‘close eyes, unable to see’ show quite clearly that the UM is “invisible”.

Fully aware of the traditional rime-classification variation, Tōdō (1965) explains the UM, his *kihongi*, in two different places (446ff.; 733ff.): one is put under “hidden and invisible” (隠れて見えない) which is in the 魚部 and couched in the \*-a- plus a velar coda if any; another one is put under “minute, unable to see well, delicate” (小さい, よく見えない, 微妙な) which is in the 微部 and couched in the \*-ə- plus a dental/retroflex coda. But there is little difference in meaning. Under the first UM, he gives 22 and under the second 35 WF members. It is noteworthy that Tōdō subsumes *méng*/\*mrâŋ ~ \*mrâŋ 氓 ‘populace’ and *máng*/\*mrâŋ 盲 ‘blind’ under the first, *mín*/\*min 民 ‘people’ and *mián*/\*mêŋ 瞠/眠 ‘sleep’ under the second *kihongi*. But they are related to each other (to be further scrutinized under the general “\*-a-/\*-ə-” ablaut framework).

When all what we have reviewed so far are considered, the UM of 民 seems to be a class of human beings considered as “ignorant populace”. It was a kind of pejorative term in contrast to *rén* 人 ‘human being’.

GMP in Quest of GDs: : “ (目) and  (臣)” ; “ (民) and  (見)”

Although the number of GMP is a lot more than these two pairs, we attempt to restore their original GDs/GIs.

In the first pair, it is obvious that the difference between the two forms is the orientation of the eye. The former is written in the natural, horizontal way (橫寫, 橫目), and the latter is written in an unnatural, vertical, deliberately purposeful, way (豎寫, 豎目).

Perhaps the most influential interpretation of the graph  is Guō Mòruò (1931, 61–70/釋臣宰, 3a–6b; *JGWZGL* 1996, 1: 629) who argued that “when a person bends his head, his eye would appear vertical (to the observer),” with an additional comment that this can explain the *SW*’s “the graph depicts a person making his submission to (his superior)” (人首俯則目豎, 所以『象屈服之形』者殆以此也). Guō Mòruò’s interpretation is that  is a natural way of writing. This is not convincing. We fail to understand why scholars like Xú Zhōngshū (1988, 321) and Yáng Shēngnán (1988, 136; *JGWZGL*, 1: 636–7) could endorse it. But Yáo Xiàosuì (*JGWZGL*, 1: 637) simply rejects it, and we agree. Why, then, was  verticalized?

We would suggest that verticalizing a graphic element was quite intentional. In §2 we have discussed the graph for 十 ‘10’ which is “|” in OBI. This is “—” (=1) verticalized, and we have argued that the verticalization served as a symbol of “marking off”, a deliberate action. Similarly, verticalizing  to get  must have been intentional. The aim, we would suggest, was to *emphasize* the eye, specifically the act of “eye-ing” (=seeing). It had nothing to do with the notion of “submission to superior”, which is an anachronistic projection of the later meaning of 臣 “servant”.

We cite here only one potent sample: the graphs  and  which suggest a vivid act of “seeing”. These composite graphs write the word *wàng/\*məŋ<sup>A</sup>* 壓・望 ‘gaze, look into distance’ (cf. Van Auken 2002, 530). This meaning and an extended one “observe, keep guard on” (觀察, 監視—Zhào 1989, 327–8, 334–5) are used, for example:

(3) 貞：勿登人乎望吾方.

*HJ 6182*

Tested (the following charge for numinous rectification): (We) should not raise men and have them keep guard on the Gōng country. (Other similar examples include: *HJ* 25, 546, 6183, 6184, 6186, 6189, etc.)

- (4) 庚寅卜殷貞：勿導人三千乎望舌方。 HJ 6185

Crack making on the *gēngyīn* (27<sup>th</sup>) day Nan tested (the following charge for numinous rectification): (We) should not lead the men, numbering three thousand, to have them keep guard on the Gōng country.

According to Zhào Chéng (followed by Xú 1988, 362), the words *mù*/\**muk* 目 ‘eye’ and *shì*/\**gi?* 視 ‘watch’ are used synonymously with *wàng* as in the following inscriptions:



While (6) and (7) are acceptable, 目 in (5) is most likely an abbreviation (省畫) of 視 (視) or else omission (缺畫) of the 矢 element in 視, even though it is inscribed as 目 (目). The verbal use of 目 cannot be established in OBI. There is no instance of any negative or the pre-verbal 其 before it, nor is there any other example that indicates the use of 目 as verb. Furthermore, as Qiú Xīguī (1999, 2) has noticed, *HJ* 6193 clearly has “貞：乎視舌方哉” (... [We should] have X watch the Gōng country, and then make an assault on them).

The word *shí*/\*gi? 視 ‘to watch’ is written 見, while *wàng*/\*man<sup>A</sup> 壓・望 is written 望, 看. From these we can tell that the latter forms have a verticalized *W* put on the standing human figure, suggesting that the act of seeing is *emphasized*. There is also lexicological import in that *chén*/\*gin 臣 ‘servant’ and *shí*/\*gi 視 ‘to watch’ are

cognate, as Schuessler (2007, 468) has already pointed out. According to him, \*-n is a suffix added to the verb \*gi 視, yielding 臣, a nominal derivative. In origin, then, 臣 meant a “watcher, person who watches”. It is likely that the GDs/GIs of 眼 and 見 emanated from the idea, respectively, of “eyeing (seeing)” and “watching”. The verticalization played a decisive role in distinguishing between the subtle, but appreciable, semantic differences.

Finally, we address the GMP “ (民) and  (見)”. The grapheme  in  does not seem to occur in other composite graphs. This makes it hard for comparative studies; if  was used in composite graphs other than , it would have facilitated comparison. Yet,  in  is contrastive with  in  (視).<sup>30</sup> The kneeling and standing human figures are so clear as to require no further comment beyond the act of seeing, though there is a significant difference between  (見 ‘to see’) and  (視 ‘to watch’).<sup>31</sup> Clearly, the GDs/GIs of  and  were different from each other—they are not even comparable. But it seems reasonable to interpret that  was an instrument used to harm the eye, especially when the tip of  pierces into the eye as in  (HJ 13629). We cannot be sure if it was an edged tool used to stab into the eye—as claimed by Guō Mòruò (1931, 70/釋臣宰, 3b; *JGWZGL*, 1: 560) who based himself on such BI graphs as  (何尊),  (克鼎), and  (洹子孟姜壺). Since the graphemes underneath the eye going back to  in OBI apparently took an evolutionary course different from that seen in the BI graphs , ,  (=+) going back to the OBI graph | (=+), we cannot say that the GD/GI was to convey the idea of “bringing together”. Unlike the bulging stroke in BI graphs , ,  (=+) having evolved to a horizontal line, it did not get reinterpreted. Thus, since  is a form basically unchanged from the OBI to the small seal form 民, it

<sup>30</sup> Paleographically, the standing human figure  in  does not on the whole have a “deferential, low-to-high” meaning, such as we think the kneeling human figure  in  does, but has a more active “high-to-down” meaning. This may be hard to understand unless we explain it with actual examples (hope to do so in the future). Nevertheless, these details seem noteworthy.

<sup>31</sup> See Zhāng Guīguāng (1982 and 1999, both in Zhāng 2004); also Qiú Xīguī (1999). From the vantage point of GDs/GIs, the kneeling human figure  is a sign of “deference, submission” (see our discussion immediately following example sentence [2]). This interpretation can, in fact, predict that while 見 () may be used in the sense of “have an audience with (some authority)” (sc. “from low to high”), 視 () may not be.

must have been considered as some sort of an instrument. Also, the form 民 (民) is distinguished, e.g., from 見 (=xuè 夏 ‘prompt a person to do something by making a visual sign—*SW* 4a/1a/p. 70).<sup>32</sup> So 見 may well have been an instrument as opposed to a marker for “action” 支 / 支 (=支) in which 支 is extracted from 見. But 支 is used independently in *Yīngcáng* 1330, though its meaning is not clear.

Guō Mòruò thought that the graph for 民 did not exist in the Shāng, but Lǐ Xiàodìng (1965, 12: 3717) found three examples in the *Yībiān*.<sup>33</sup> Scholars now accept the OB graph for 民 did exist. However, as Liú Zhāo · Féng Kèjīān (2019, 151) noted, the graph could have expressed any of the following words: *mín/\*min* 民 ‘people’; <sup>34</sup> *mián/\*mén* 眠 [=暝] ‘sleep’; *mín/\*min* 岷 ‘name of mountain’; *mǐn/\*mrən?* 敵 [=敵] ‘force; strive’; *mǐn/\*mrən?* 淛 ‘vanish, ruin; swamp (*Shānhǎijīng*)’; *mín/\*min* 淚 [=瘡] ‘not clear, confused, illness’; *méng/\*mōŋ* 濛 ‘darken’. Widely ranging in the meaning of these words, it is hard to understand the character-word relationship. Sometimes the traditional lexicological information including the *fānqiè* was codified without verifiable basis, and that may have contributed to the varying phonological forms. Also, since 民 (民) is limited in its usage that makes it difficult to assess any interaction between its presumed UM (“ignorant populace”) and GD/GI (“harm the eye”) in actual context, we relegate the citation of the inscriptions containing 民, accompanied with our translations, to Appendix.

As for the word *jiàn* 見 (見) ‘to see’, we cite below a few out of many examples.<sup>35</sup>

<sup>32</sup> The graph is used in *HJ* 16981 and *Yīngcáng* 146, but these are too fragmentary either to support or to counter the *SW*’s definition.

<sup>33</sup> *Yībiān* was not available at the time of Guō Mòruò. Lǐ Xiàodìng gives “118 and 455”. They are *HJ* 20231 on which three instances of “見” are observed. Lǐ Zōngkūn (2012:1.189; Chén Niánfú 2017:2.116b; Liú Zhāo · Féng Kèjīān (2019:151) give a total of five tokens of the graph (see infra).

<sup>34</sup> Duàn Yùcái (*SWDZ*:12b/31a/p. 633) says, “古謂民曰萌。……萌猶懵懵無知兒也” (Anciently *mín/\*min* 民 was referred to as *méng/\*mrəŋ~\*mreŋ~\*mrâŋ* 萌 (ignorant)’ … ‘萌 means like “*měng měng/\*mrəŋ? \*mrâŋ?* 懵懵 ‘dense’, which is descriptive of ignorant’). So Duàn Yùcái also considered the UM of 民 as ignorant populace.

<sup>35</sup> In the OBI corpus, especially in the *Huādōng* inscriptions, the graph 見 (見 *jiàn/\*kēns*) is frequently loaned for *xiàn/\*hŋjans* 獻 ‘to present, offer’; e.g., *Huādōng* 26, 34, 37, 63, 92, 149, 195,

- (8) 巳未卜靁貞: 缶其來見王. HJ 1027o  
 Crack making on the *jǐwèi* (56<sup>th</sup>) day Nan tested (the following charge for numinous rectification): Fǒu might be coming to have an audience with His Majesty. N.B. The negative charge reads: 缶不其來見王 ‘Fǒu might not be coming ...’
- (9) 貞: 乎婦好見多婦于徉. HJ 2658  
 Tested (the following charge for numinous rectification): (We) should have Fù Hǎo to meet with Many Fùs at Yáng.
- (10) 戊戌卜: 其陰翌己亥啟不見雲. HJ 20988  
 Crack making on the *wìxū* (35<sup>th</sup>) day: It may well be going to be cloudy, (but) on the following *jǐhài* (36<sup>th</sup>) day, it will clear up, and (we) will not be seeing any cloud.

If, as argued, the GD/GI of was “to see with deference”, that of may have been a more dynamic act of seeing as may be suggested by a standing human figure. How these GDs/GIs of and interact with their UMs in actual examples is a matter of interpretation, but there is an intimate relationship as in examples (8)-(10) and in (5)-(7).

As for *mín/\*min* 民 ( ‘people’, however, we are unfortunately unable to say anything definite about how its UM (ignorant populace) interacts with its GD/GI in actual examples (thus put in Appendix).

## §6 Conclusions

We have assumed a kind of abstract concept referred to as GD (graphic design) or GI (graphic intent) that guided the scribe to create graphs or modify existing ones (§1).

We have interpreted the OBI graph for *shí* 十 ‘ten’, “|”, as the verticalization of “—” (one), a sign to “mark off”. The diagrammatic notation “⇒|” signifies that the numerical progression (⇒) was marked off at the transition from 1 to 10 (|). If correct, “ten” would

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202, 226, 249, 275+517, 427, etc. Of course, (=視 *shí/\*gi?*) cannot possibly be loaned for 見 (> 獻 *xiàn/\*hjans*). and are entirely different words.

have meant more than just a number and has an UM of “gather”.<sup>36</sup> We then compared | with the BI graph for the same word, “𢃠”, a graph which depicts “joining palms together” (§2). Their GD/GI could not have been the same; verticalization is beside the point. So there was a change in the GD/GI from the Shāng to the Western Zhōu. And yet there must have been some common thread between | and 𢃠 (§3).

We have analyzed the above-mentioned hypotheses in terms of paleography, historical phonology, and lexicology and have suggested that *shí/\*gip* + ‘ten’ and *shí/\*gip* 拾 ‘gather’ are closely related to each other, if not different uses of the same word. Their UM (underlying meaning) is “to gather” in its specific sense of bring together. This is capable of accounting for both words.

Our analysis of the word *nǚ/\*nra?* 女, written 女, 奈, 奴 in OBI, indicated that originally these graphs may have been gender-neutral because they consist of the kneeling human figure “𦵯”, male or female, and “𢃠” which is a sign to “bind”, which is deduced from the pure signific marker of binding 𢃠 in 帝, *dì* 帝 ‘God’ and a few other graphs containing the same grapheme.

One way to uncover the UM of 女 is a comparative study of a group of words thought to be related. Another way to do the same is what we have called “etymonic” study of WFs (word families) that are made up on the basis of closeness of the sound and meaning. We have discussed the pros and cons of the two ways, but while the comparatives’ UM of 女 does not go beyond the sexual dichotomy, the etymonic study of WFs has yielded two different UMs of 女: “supple, sinuous” and “stable, settled”, which were tested in the subsection “GMP in Quest of GDs: ‘𦵯’ and ‘𢃠’; ‘𦵯’ and ‘𢃠’” (where GMP is the acronym of “Graphic Minimal Pairs”). Our test results, however, were not supportive of either of the two UMs. The UM we have obtained is the “sex suppressed by forces beyond its control”, but this is supported mainly by paleographical analysis (§4).

As for the word *mín/\*min* 民, written 民, 𩫔, 𩭧, the comparatives’ UM is simply the (gender-neutral) human beings. But the etymonic study of its WF has yielded that it was “ignorant populace”. We have examined this in the subsection “GMP in Quest of GDs: ‘𢃠’

<sup>36</sup> It is not entirely coincident that this suggestion agrees roughly with “ten cylindrical or slender objects joined together” (Tōdō 1965, 799; “cylindrical or slender objects” are, however, baseless) or “unite, join” (Button 2018, under 十). The reason lies in the fact that the basic methodology adopted in these works is an “etymonic” rather than a strict “etymological, root-based” study.

(目) and 臣 (臣)'; '民 (民) and 見 (見)'." Similar to the verticalization, the purposeful act, of “—” (1) to get “|” (10), verticalizing 目 (目) to get 臣 (臣) was also a paleographical maneuver. The aim was to *emphasize* the act of seeing. This can be observed in such graphs as 眇 and 眺 (=wàng/\*maj<sup>A</sup> 瞩・望 ‘gaze, look into distance’). Paleographical, lexicological, and contextual evidence for it were adduced, and we have also taken the graph 視 (shì/\*gi? 視 ‘to watch’) into consideration. Since 視 and chén/\*gin 臣 ‘servant’ are cognate, we have construed the GDs/GIs of 目 and 臣 as having based on the idea, respectively, of “seeing” and “watching”. As regards the GMP of “民 (民) and 見 (見)”, a total (?) lack of the grapheme † in other composite graphs made it hard for comparison. However, the GDs/GIs of † and 矢 were different from each other: † may have depicted an instrument used to harm the eye. The element 矢 in 視 is contrastive with † in 視(視), and we have interpreted 矢 as a sign of “deference, submission” and † as a sign of dynamic action when used to stand for a verb. How 瞩 (眴, 瞥), 視 (视), and 見 (見) are used in the inscriptions seem to support the UMs we have identified; namely, “gaze, look into distance”, “watch (high to low)”, and “see (low to high)” (§5).

#### Appendix: 民 (民) in the OBI

(11) 貞: 民十月.

HJ 20231

Tested (the following charge for numinous rectification): It will cloud over (=濛) the tenth month (?).

(12) 七月奠王直……匕直佑卯民, 直𠂇克于唐. *Ibid.*

In the seventh month, the King of Diàn (>Zhèng 鄭)<sup>37</sup> will chase after (追?) ... Gu and control (卯=劉=剗?) the people, and chase after Jǐ, vanquishing them at Táng.<sup>38</sup>

(13) 其奠王卯民.

*Ibid.*

Would that the King of Diàn (>Zhèng 鄭) control the people!

<sup>37</sup> For a good possibility that the chief of *fāngguó* 方國 ‘regional statelet’ was sometimes called wáng 王 ‘king’, see Qí Wénxīn (1985).

<sup>38</sup> Lǐ Xiàodīng takes 則克 as a ligature 則克 and is construed as a noun. However, this is suspect as there is some gap between 則 and 克 on the rubbing. Moreover, 則 is inscribed before 克, and Jǐ 則 as proper noun is attested.

- (14) .....疾民. HJ 13629  
... ailing people (?).
- (15) .....王役.....民.....口..... HJ 18272  
... His Majesty is afflicted with disease (役=疫) ... people ... mouth ...

The above examples are all the graph 民 examples we have found in OBI. It is strange that the word 民 was used to refer to “ordinary “people” in (8)–(12); it may well have had a special meaning beyond “ignorant populace”.

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〈中文摘要〉

## 古文字學、音韻學、訓詁學視域下：“雙手交叉的跪姿婦女”和“被挖雙眼的奴隸”

高嶋謙一

許思萊 (2009, 34–39) 曾指出，分析合體字中特定部件的真正使用原因是很困難的，這往往由精神文化聯想所決定。即使是簡單的形體也難以分析我們的所謂的“字形設計”，字形設計必須指導原始字形，以便創造一個字形來表示一個字。這些都是中國古文字學中的重要問題。本文將使用文獻中不常用的術語，如“純語音”“准語音”“准語音意義”“音韻”“准音韻”等（我們將在本文中對其進行定義）。古漢語 (OC) 結構由相對較少見的韻 (如\*-əp, 和\*-en) 組成，\*-ui 缺少必要的字形，因為不能構成適合 OC 結構的字，它暗示其整個聲符的含義或功能。例如：“𦥑”上部的部件 “𦥑”似乎在 “𦥑”字(《說文》“西戎 牧羊人也 羊亦聲。”) 中作為准語音意義出現。也就是說，“羌”是牧羊人，部件 “𦥑”可以看做表示字音的部分，而似乎並非“亦聲”，因為只有“羊”的讀音符合(准語音意義)。當我們不僅關注字音，同時也關注部分字形的時候，如果我們可以進行有力的分析，就能理解為什麼一個字會用這種特殊的方式書寫。這是古文字學、音韻學和訓詁學之間的關聯。

此外，我們還將分析 “𦥑(女)”和“𦥑(民)”的古文字學解釋，並嘗試以其本字解釋其造字依據。但在此我們應該先弄清“女”和“民”在上古社會的潛在含義。它們的語義範圍涉及同義詞、近義詞、反義詞、近反義詞，乃至更寬範圍語義場中的詞。本文對此限制為最小範圍關聯的一組字及其代表的詞。如：“𦥑(女)和𦥑(卯)”、“𦥑(如)和𦥑(訊)”、“𦥑(目)和𦥑(臣)”、“𦥑(民)和𦥑(見)”及其他相關字形。

**關鍵詞：**造字設計 (graphic design=GD), 造字意圖 (graphic intent=GI), 底層含義 (underlying meaning=UM) of *nǚ* 女 and *mín* 民

Received: Oct. 20, 2020

Review Requested: Jan. 23, 2021

Accepted: Jan. 24, 2021