Annotated Swadesh wordlists for the Sinitic group (Sino-Tibetan family).

Languages included: Early Zhou Chinese [sin-ezh], Classical Chinese [sin-cch], Late Middle Chinese [sin-mch], Standard (Mandarin, Putonghua) Chinese [sin-pth], Jian'ou Chinese [sin-jou], Wenchang Hainanese [sin-wch].

DATA SOURCES

I. Early Zhou Chinese


II-IV. Classical Chinese; Late Middle Chinese; Standard Chinese

HYDCD = Hányǔ dà cídiǎn [漢語大詞典]. Ed. by Luo Zhufeng (羅竹風) et al. 13 vols. Shanghai: Cishu chubanshe. // Monumental dictionary of the Chinese language, covering all the stages of the literary and vernacular language; each entry and each meaning is usually accompanied with references to the source of first attestation, so that chronological stratification of the data is possible.

Additional source for Standard Chinese

V. Min dialects: Jian’ou Chinese

Li 1998 = Jiàn’ōu fāngyán cídiǎn [建甌方言詞典]. Ed. by Li Rong (李榮) et al. Nanjing: Jiangsu jiaoyu chubanshe. // Large dictionary of the Jian’ou vernacular, focusing primarily on lexicon that is distinct from Standard Chinese.


VI. Min dialects: Wenchang Hainanese


NOTES

1. General.

General note on historical varieties of Chinese: Quotations from original textual sources for Old and Middle Chinese indicate the name of the document and include references to chapter (poem) and, if available, sub-chapter (verse) number. All quotations from Old Chinese literary monuments may be easily verified through http://ctext.org/, the largest and most convenient source of ancient Chinese texts on the Web. For an electronic version of the text of Línjì lù, see, for instance, http://www.humancomp.org/unichtm/linjilu.htm.

I. Early Zhou Chinese

"Early Zhou Chinese" is understood as the language of the most archaic parts of the Five Classics, most notably the Shījìng and the Shàngshū (Shūjīng), as well as that of the epigraphic monuments of Early Zhou, with more or less the same limits on relevant
sources as imposed in [Schuessler 1987]. Dialectal differences are acknowledged for these texts, but it has been so far impossible to confirm their relevance for the Swadesh wordlist.

II. Classical Chinese

"Classical Chinese" is understood as the language of literary texts spanning the approximate time from the 5th to the 3rd centuries B.C. (the "Warring States" era). Since dialectal differences here are generally more pronounced than in the case of Early Zhou Chinese, primary source material for the wordlist is defined as "Early Confucian texts", i.e. the Lùnyǔ (authorship generally attributed to Confucius' disciples) and the Mèngzǐ (authorship generally attributed to Mencius' disciples), usually ascribed to the same dialect (although the language of the Lùnyǔ is slightly more archaic, or archaicized, than in the Mèngzǐ). Most of the words are, therefore, accompanied with quotations from these texts to confirm their presence. If the required word is not attested in Early Confucian texts, it is allowed to bring in data from other texts of the same era, provided (a) there is only one basic equivalent for the term throughout all the texts and (b) its basic usage coincides with either earlier (Early Zhou) or later (e.g. modern Chinese) data, confirming lack of specific replacements.

III. Late Middle Chinese

"Late Middle Chinese" is a problematic, but, nevertheless, extremely important inclusion. Most of the literary texts written in the Middle Chinese period (appr. 6-12 centuries AD) are either written in a form of wényán (Literary Old Chinese) or a hybrid form of wényán and contemporary vernacular. In addition, the problem of dialectal attribution of vernacular-based texts remains as actual as it used to be for the Classical Chinese period. It is, therefore, virtually impossible to offer a "pure" Middle Chinese 100-wordlist that would, at the same time, (a) pretend to represent a particular form of live speech and (b) be complete.

The database offers a compromise version: a wordlist primarily based on the analysis of one single and more or less uniform text: the Línjì lù (臨濟錄), "Records of (Master)
Linji", generally dated to the end of the 9th / beginning of the 10th century (i.e. "Late Middle Chinese") and clearly based on a vernacular dialect, with abundant grammatical and lexical evidence to prove that. Additional textual data were not consulted in an attempt to respect "dialectal purity", because even the yǔlù genre of moralist/religious literature oriented at general listeners/readers was highly diverse in terms of linguistic form. Nevertheless, it is still possible to fill in more than 80 positions of the standard Swadesh list, based on evidence of varying quality. Almost each of the words is accompanied by one or more contexts, not all of which happen to be diagnostic according to GLD standards. However, a "compromise" decision has been taken: if a particular word, encountered in a questionable context of Linji lù, is known to serve as the basic equivalent for the required Swadesh meaning both in earlier forms of Chinese (e.g. Classical) and later forms (e.g. modern dialects), it is included into the list as a "reasonable" candidate for that position in vernacular Middle Chinese.

IV. Standard Chinese

"Standard Chinese" is understood here as the equivalent of Pǔtōnghuà [普通話, the official national standard of Modern Chinese. Although, in general, "Standard Chinese" is based on the present day Běijīng dialect, the two lects do not completely coincide, since certain phonetic and lexical peculiarities of "pure" Běijīnghuà are not reflected in the national language. For lexicostatistical purposes, however, these differences are generally insignificant, so that the 100-wordlist for "Standard Chinese" may be understood as representing the same dialect as "Běijīng Mandarin Chinese".

2. Transcription.

I-III. Reconstructed varieties (Early Zhou Chinese; Classical Chinese; Late Middle Chinese)

Phonological reconstructions for Early Zhou, Classical, and Middle Chinese are based on Sergei Starostin's version as originally published in: [Starostin, Sergei. Rekonstrukcija drevnekitajskoj fonologicheskoj sistemy [Reconstruction of the Phonological System of Old Chinese]. Moscow, 1989.] Particular reconstructions are transliterated into the UTS from

IV. Standard Chinese

For Standard Chinese, the official pinyin (Latin transcription) equivalents of the words have not been included in the main field, so as not to clutter the entries. Textual examples in the notes are, however, reprinted in pinyin. In the process of conversion from pinyin to UTS, a mixed phonetico-phonological representation was chosen (i. e. some of the phonetic details, such as the non-syllabic character of glide medials, the fronting of a between medial ɻ and word-final n, etc., have been indicated, but not all of the different vocalic allophones of the spoken language have been marked out). The general transliteration from pinyin to UTS is as follows:

Initials:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>p-</th>
<th>pʰ-</th>
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<tr>
<td>b-</td>
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<td>f-</td>
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<td>m-</td>
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<td>Initial</td>
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<td>h-</td>
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Finals:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Final</th>
<th>Chinese</th>
<th>Pinyin</th>
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</table>
The special "post-terminal" -r, characteristic of Beijing speech, is transcribed as -ɻ.

The four tones of Standard Chinese are marked as numbers rather than diacritics, since UTS tonal diacritics significantly differ from the standard tonal markings employed in pinyin and may therefore look quite confusing onscreen. The correlations between numeric notation, pinyin markings, and most common phonetic realization of the four tones in Standard Chinese are as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Pinyin</th>
<th>Tonal characteristics</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Ė</td>
<td>High level (55)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Ẹ̇</td>
<td>Mid-rising (35)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Ė</td>
<td>Dipping (21 / 214)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Ẹ̇</td>
<td>High-falling (51)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In bisyllabic compounds where the second unaccented syllable is deprived of tonal characteristics ("neutral" tone), no tonal markings are made (e.g. ye-ci 'leaf').

V. Dialectal data.

So as not to overcomplicate things, we prefer to keep this section reasonably brief. The majority of sources on various Chinese dialects (a.k.a. "Sinitic languages") from the past 20-30 years tend to be generally consistent in transcribing the data according to IPA standards, meaning that only the standard IPA vs. UTS discrepancies usually require fixing.
Below we list the approximate tonal correspondences for Min dialects, compared with the standard Middle Chinese system.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 Dark level (陰平)</td>
<td>1 (high-falling: 53)</td>
<td>1 (high-dipping: 54)</td>
<td>1 (mid-rising)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Light level (陽平)</td>
<td>5 (mid-level: 33)</td>
<td>3 (mid-level: 33)</td>
<td>2 (mid-level)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 Dark rising (陰上)</td>
<td>3 (bottom-level: 11)</td>
<td>2 (low-dipping: 21)</td>
<td>3 (low-falling)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 Light rising (陽上)</td>
<td>3 (bottom-level: 11)</td>
<td>2 (low-dipping: 21)</td>
<td>3 (low-falling)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 Dark departing (陰去)</td>
<td>2 (low-level: 22)</td>
<td>3 (mid-level: 33)</td>
<td>4 (low-falling)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 Light departing (陽去)</td>
<td>8 (high-level: 55)</td>
<td>4 (high-level: 55)</td>
<td>5 (high-falling)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 Dark entering (陰入)</td>
<td>4 (low-rising: 13)</td>
<td>5 (low-rising: 24)</td>
<td>6 (high checked)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 Light entering (陽入)</td>
<td>7 (mid-falling: 31)</td>
<td>6 (high-falling: 42)</td>
<td>7 (mid checked)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Database compiled and annotated by:
G. Starostin (Standard Chinese; all forms of Old and Middle Chinese);
E. Kuzmina (Min dialects).
(Latest update: July 2014).
1. ALL


References and notes:

**Early Zhou Chinese**: Schuessler 1987: 568. Cf: *srut sract* (杀 rap) ‘kill (them) all’ [ShangShu 29, 17]. Secondary synonym: *grzm* (咸) [Schuessler 1987: 666]. Both words are almost freely interchangeable in Early Zhou monuments, although *grzm* is also frequently attested in the original meaning ‘to complete, finish, unite’. Ineligible items include: (a) *bram* (凡), a verbal attribute with the specific meaning ‘of every X that is...’, ‘of all the objects that...’, ‘in all the cases when...’, etc.; (b) *kray* (信), a verbal attribute that has the same syntactic properties as *srut* and *grzm*, but is still attested very infrequently in Early Zhou Chinese, usually in contexts where it can be translated as ‘together’, ‘the two (of us)’.

**Classical Chinese**: HYDCD VIII: 266. This is unquestionably the most frequent and common equivalent for ‘all’ in all Classical Chinese literary monuments, syntactically adjacent to the main verb of the phrase, cf: *ćxy wô kray wê pa kćxy* [左右皆曰不可] “(people) on the right and the left all say that it is impossible” [Mencius 2, 12]. There also exists a partial synonym, *tà* [諸] [HYDCD XI: 265], which occupies the more “conventional” position of nominal attribute, but its usage is, for the most part, bound: it is most often found in idiomatic collocations, such as *tá g’ình [諸臣] ‘all the officers’ and *tá go: [諸侯] ‘zhuhou, all the hereditary princes’, in which its function is rather a general marking of the plural number.

**Late Middle Chinese**: HYDCD VIII: 266. Cf: *niân kray f ’çí (人皆與之) “all the people gave him”, pin kray pa s’in (人皆不信) “all the people did not believe (him)” [Linji-lu 119]. Throughout the text, *kay* is unquestionably the most frequent equivalent for the meaning ‘all’; it is also occasionally encountered as part of the compound adverbial expression *kay-s’ôt* [皆至] or *s’ôt-kay* [皆至] ‘altogether, completely’. The attributive morpheme *çí* [諸] [HYDCD XI: 265] is, like in Classical Chinese, generally encountered in bound usage, with a restricted number of nouns to which it is attached in specific contexts (e. g. *çí f uņ* [諸方], literally ‘all sides’ = ‘everywhere’, etc.).

**Standard Chinese**: DEHCD 1985: 166; HYDCD X: 632. There is a large variety of words and expressions denoting the various aspects of the meaning ‘all’ in Modern Chinese, but *tou* is unquestionably the most basic and statistically frequent. It is telling that, although [DEHCD 1985] does not properly list *tou* as the equivalent of Russian *ov all*, the word is nevertheless present in the majority of textual examples, e. g. 所有的書都在這裡 *suò yǒu de shū dōu zài zhèlǐ “all the books are here”,* where the meaning ‘all’ is first expressed by the adjectival word group 所有的 *s yǒu tu* (literally ‘the ones they had’) and then by the adverbial 剛 *tu*.

The meaning ‘all’ = *totros* (‘whole’), however, more generally corresponds to Modern Chinese 全 *çium* [DEHCD 1985: 166].


**Wenchang Hainanese**: Hashimoto 1976: 80.

2. ASHES


References and notes:

**Early Zhou Chinese**: Not attested. The graphic form of the character 灰 (‘fire’ + ‘hand’) for Classical Chinese *mə* ‘ashes’ suggests an archaic origin, yet neither the word nor the character are found earlier than the Late Zhou period.

**Classical Chinese**: HYDCD VII: 24. Somewhat dubious, since the word is not seen in active use until the 3rd - 2nd centuries B.C. (except for Zhuangzzi, where it is frequently encountered as part of the idiom *siy mə* [死灰], literally “dead ashes”, more exact
meaning unclear). Its only possible competition is ʒǐn {烬} [HYDCD VII: 307], encountered in the meaning 'ashes' or 'embers' a few times in earlier monuments (Zuozhuan), but it is extremely rare, its exact semantics is dubious, its character is a complex phonoideogram (as opposed to the simple ideogram 灰), and it also seems to be morphologically derivable from ʒǐn {烬} 'to end, terminate' (thus, literally 'the remains (of fire)').

**Late Middle Chinese:** Not attested in the text of Linji-lu.

**Standard Chinese:** DEHCD 1985: 1370; HYDCD VII: 24. Also exists as a bisyllabic compound: ɦɛi-ʒinh {灰烬}, but the monosyllabic variant is quite permissible in colloquial usage.

**Jian'ou Chinese:** Li 1998: 122.

**Wenchang Hainanese:** Hashimoto 1976: 81.

### 3. BARK

Classical Chinese ʰbʰay {皮} (1), Standard Chinese ʂu=ʰbʰai {树皮} (1), Wenchang Hainanese ʃu₁=ʃue₂ {树皮} (1).

**References and notes:**

**Early Zhou Chinese:** Not attested.

**Classical Chinese:** HYDCD VIII: 519. Same word as 'skin' q.v.; apparently, no special generic term for 'bark' existed in Old Chinese. On the other hand, attestations of ʰbʰay in the meaning 'bark' are not very frequent either; the clearest example comes from the Liji [40, 5] (ʰbʰay lə təh nak koq, mo kʰu ga ʰbʰay ʰgir xəf tə ʰgir xəf "arrows are made of Cudrania wood or the jujube, without stripping their bark"), but this is somewhat too late for the period represented by the current wordlist. Nevertheless, there are no alternatives whatsoever. Predictably, in Hàn-era texts, the specialized compound form mʰok ʰbʰay {木皮}, literally 'tree-skin', is occasionally encountered, but ʰbʰay always remains the principal morpheme.

**Late Middle Chinese:** Not attested in the text of Linji-lu.

**Standard Chinese:** DEHCD 1985: 806; HYDCD IV: 1300. Literally: 'tree' q.v. + 'skin' q.v.

**Jian'ou Chinese:** Not attested.

**Wenchang Hainanese:** Hashimoto 1976: 80. Literally: 'tree' q.v. + 'skin' q.v.

### 4. BELLY

Early Zhou Chinese ʰpuk {腹} (1), Classical Chinese ʰpuk {腹} (1), Late Middle Chinese dǒ {肚} (2), Standard Chinese tu=ɕi {肚子} (2), Jian'ou Chinese pu₅ {腹} (1), Wenchang Hainanese ɗou₃ {肚} (2).

**References and notes:**

**Early Zhou Chinese:** Schuessler 1987: 183. Cf.: ʰła go ʰpʰa sam ʰpuk (予其敷心腹) "let me disclose my heart and belly" (= 'innermost thoughts') [ShangShu 16, 37]. Scarce attestation, but no serious reasons to doubt this choice for Early Zhou (and no alternatives).

**Classical Chinese:** HYDCD VI: 1350. Cf.: kʰəy wiy kʰok puk wʰa kʰak kʰeit tə ʰkʰeit [豈惟口腹有飲酒之害] "is it only the mouth and belly that suffer from hunger and thirst?" [Mencius 13, 27]. Although, technically, in most contexts the word could equally well be translated as 'stomach', the latter meaning is consistently expressed in Classical Chinese texts with the word wəɕ {胃} (not attested, however, in [Lunyu] or [Mencius]).

**Late Middle Chinese:** HYDCD VI: 1170. Cf.: ʰlə ʰʔə ʰtə ʰtə ʰtə ʰtə (犧牛肚里生) "you will be born in the belly of a donkey or a cow" [Linji-lu, 28]. This is the only context for dǒ in [Linji-lu], and, theoretically, it could also mean 'womb', but this meaning is not supported by the overall usage of this word in later and/or earlier texts. The archaic word for 'belly', ɦuik {腹}, is also encountered
once: fūk pet sjon m qη [�舡心忙], literally "the belly is hot and the mind is busy" - an idiomatic expression that cannot be considered diagnostic in this case.

Standard Chinese: DEHCD 1985: 501; HYDCD VI: 1170. The old word fu₄ [腹], also listed in [DEHCD 1985], has no real colloquial usage in the meaning 'belly' other than idiomatic.


5. BIG
Early Zhou Chinese dʰaɕ {大夫} (1), Classical Chinese dʰaɕ {大} (1), Late Middle Chinese dāy {大} (1), Standard Chinese ta₄ {大} (1), Jian’ou Chinese tyɛ₄ {大} (1), Wenchang Hainanese dɨtɕ {大} (1).

References and notes:


Classical Chinese: HYDCD II: 1231. Examples are found passim in nearly every literary monument of the period.

Late Middle Chinese: HYDCD II: 1231. Cf.: dāy qʰiɛ rɛn qʰan, qʰiɛw sɿd wà yən (腹熱心忙) [大熱心忙] 'the belly is hot and the mind is busy' [HYDCD I: 1587], which, however, refers quite specifically to ‘game-bird’ rather than ‘bird’ in general (and is, in all likelihood, itself a result of conversion from the verbal stem qʰam ‘to capture’); general usage is more or less restricted to the idiomatic expression qʰam-tuh (禽獸) ‘birds and beasts’ (< ‘hunting objects’; the word 黙 tuh ‘beast’ is also a result of conversion from tuh (ㄆ) ‘to hunt’). It should be noted that in Classical Chinese, tǐw-tuh (禽獸) ‘birds and beasts’ is at least equally frequent.

Standard Chinese: DEHCD 1985: 1814; HYDCD XII: 1031. The word qʰin² [禽], also quoted in [DEHCD 1985], is only used as part of idiomatic compound formations ('water-birds', 'singing birds', 'fowl', etc.).


7. BITE
Early Zhou Chinese *diet* {ㄉㄝ} (1), Classical Chinese *daŋ* {ㄉㄤ} (2), Late Middle Chinese *ŋǎ˞* {ㄆㄚ} (3), Standard Chinese *yao* {ㄩㄠ} (3), Jian’ou Chinese *kau* {ㄎㄤ} (3), Wenchang Hainanese *kas* {ㄎㄤ} (3).

References and notes:

Early Zhou Chinese: Schuessler 1987: 129. Reconstruction is based on the Middle Chinese reading *diet* for this meaning (there are at least several other pronunciations corresponding to different usages). In Early Zhou Chinese, attested securely only in the Yijing, e.g.: *pa dict nin haŋ* [不喫人享] “if he (= the tiger) does not bite the person, there will be joy” [Yijing 10, 1]. Obviously, this is scant evidence, but no other contexts are known at all with a verb that could be unequivocally interpreted as ‘bite’.

Classical Chinese: HYDCD III: 527. This word is not attested in either Lunyu or Mencius, but it is nevertheless the most frequent and unambiguous equivalent for the meaning ‘to bite’ (usually said of animals, e.g. dogs) in many other Classical Chinese documents (Zuozhuan, Yanzi Chunqiu etc.). Numerous rare and semantically dubious synonyms are also attested, e.g. *c’ furnish* {喫} ‘to bite (of insects)’ [Mencius]; *cep* {喫} ‘to bite, sting (of insects)’ [Zhuangzi]. The only statistically and contextually serious competition for *daŋ*, however, may be *ŋ’ct* {喫}, also encountered several times (Zhuangzi; Guanzi) in the meaning ‘to bite’ as applied to dogs. The distinction between *daŋ* and *ŋ’ct* may have originally been dialectal (e.g. “Northern” vs. “Southern”), but it becomes seriously blurred in Han times (e.g. both terms are interchangeable in the Huainanzi), not to mention other synonyms, e.g. *ŋ’t* {喫}, that also make their first appearance in that period. All in all, the item displays very erratic behavior.

Late Middle Chinese: HYDCD III: 342. The possibility of *ŋu* ‘to bite’ (which first appears in written sources in the Táng era, but has since become the default Chinese equivalent for this meaning) as the basic equivalent in Linji-lu is only hinted at indirectly in the following context: *x ㄆ the t’ct f’un k’ŋy ㄆ ㄩㄢ nǎw* [向一切夷鬼上亂咬] ”they chaotically bite into any lump of dung” [Linji-lu 64], although the meaning here is actually closer to ‘chew, gnaw (upon)’ than to ‘bite’. However, the polysemy ‘chew’ / ‘bite’ is fairly typical for different varieties of Chinese, so, given the circumstances, the word can be included with some doubts.


8. BLACK
Early Zhou Chinese *s=maŋ* {黑} (1), Classical Chinese *mAŋ* {黑} (1), Late Middle Chinese *xark* {黒} (1), Standard Chinese *hvr* {黑} (1), Jian’ou Chinese *u* {烏} (2), Wenchang Hainanese *ʔou* {烏} (2).

References and notes:

Early Zhou Chinese: Schueller 1987: 232. Although there are numerous words in Early Zhou Chinese traditionally interpreted as ‘black’, the most common Chinese designation for this color, *s=maŋ*, is well represented during the epoch, and there is little basis to doubt its basic nature, cf. especially the following example: *maŋ h̥k pəŋ?* g’wac, *maŋ smag pəŋ?* la. [英赤流細黑聽鳥] ‘there is nothing redder than a fox, nothing blacker than a raven’ [Shijing 41, 3]. The second most frequent term for ‘black’, *g’wcn* [玄] [Schuessler 1987: 702], is never encountered in such diagnostic contexts; it can be surmised that its general meaning was ‘dark’, referring to deep shades of different colors rather than specifically ‘black’.

Classical Chinese: HYDCD XII: 1322. The word is only attested once in the principal Confucian texts of the period: *w’nh v l’m *k [面色黑] “his face is of a deep black color” [Mencius 5, 2] (where 黑 *maŋ* ‘ink’ in the orthodox orthography almost certainly stands for *k [黑] ‘black’; in any case, both words are etymologically related). Statistically more frequent within these texts is the word *cra*
[1] [HYDCD IX: 928]; however, it is exclusively applied to clothing (usually within the compound ’es ʔay (紬衣) ‘black robes’) and rather denotes a special technique of dyeing than natural black color. In most other texts usually dated to the Classical period, the word ʔeʃ is quite frequent, and also functions as the most common antonym for ʔeʃ [白] ‘white’ q.v.

**Late Middle Chinese**: HYDCD XII: 1322. Within Linji-lu, only attested in compound expressions (e. g. xk m ʔeʃ m ʔeʃ [黑漫漫] ‘black all over’, etc.), but there is no reason to suggest that the default word for ‘black’ in Middle Chinese could be any different.


**Wenchang Hainanese**: Hashimoto 1976: 82. Tone not indicated.

### 9. BLOOD

Early Zhou Chinese s=wiʃ {血} (1), Classical Chinese wiʃ {血} (1), Late Middle Chinese xuie {血} (1), Standard Chinese ĥie {血} (1), Jian’ou Chinese xuiais {血} (1), Wenchang Hainanese ĥie {血} (1).

**References and notes:**

**Early Zhou Chinese**: Schuessler 1987: 704. Cf.: kʰɐp swiʃ {泣血} ‘(I) weep blood’ [Shijing 194, 7].

**Classical Chinese**: HYDCD VIII: 1340. Attested only once in [Mencius 12, 27], in the idiomatic expression srep wiʃ [殷血] ‘to smear (lips) with blood’ (the other case of attestation in the same text is a paraphrase from the Shangshu and therefore not diagnostic). However, this is statistically the most common term for ‘blood’ in all of Classical Chinese and beyond.

**Late Middle Chinese**: HYDCD VIII: 1340. Cf.: ɕʰɐl Büt ɕɨn x ξet [出佛身血] “to spill blood from the body of the Buddha” [Linji-lu 85].

**Standard Chinese**: DEHCD 1985: 836; HYDCD VIII: 1340. Also exists in the bisyllabic variant ĥie [血液], literally “blood-liquid”, but this is a "formal" term, used in restricted contexts; in most basic contexts, the monosyllabic variant is freely used in colloquial speech.


**Wenchang Hainanese**: Hashimoto 1976: 80.

### 10. BONE

Classical Chinese kuʃ {骨} (1), Late Middle Chinese kot {骨} (1), Standard Chinese ku-thou {骨頭} (1), Jian’ou Chinese ko-thou {骨頭} (1), Wenchang Hainanese kot-hau2 {骨頭} (1).

**References and notes:**

**Early Zhou Chinese**: Not attested. Schuessler [1987: 206] quotes a possible occasion of kuʃ {骨} in a Shang oracle bone inscription, but this is beyond Early Zhou, and, furthermore, one instance is somewhat dubious.

**Classical Chinese**: HYDCD XII: 394. Cf.: ræw go kon k ɗet [勇其筋骨] “(Heaven) wears out his sinews and bones” [Mencius 12, 35]. This is clearly the most generic and unmarked term out of all the different designations for various kinds of bones in Classical Chinese. Its only potential competition may be the word grx [骸] [HYDCD XII: 406], which is frequently translated as ‘bone(s)’, but refers almost exclusively to human bones in contexts related to death and burial, i. e. ‘skeleton’, ‘remains’. Of note is the fact that the compound grx k ɗet [骸骨] ‘skeleton-bones’ is very frequent, but not vice versa (k ɗet grx [骸骨] is only attested a few times in the entire corpus next to over a hundred encounters of grx k ɗet); this further suggests the interpretation of grx as a collective ‘skeleton’ and k ɗet as individual ‘bone(s)’. 

...
Late Middle Chinese: HYDCD XII: 394. Cf.: ɲī xīn ʂə kət żäng jëmm ʂip [願向枯骨上覓什麼汁] "what kind of juice are you seeking on dry bones?" [Linji-lu, 77].

Standard Chinese: DEHCD 1985: 818; HYDCD XII: 402. The monosyllabic ʂu [骨] also exists in the modern language in various idiomatic usage, but "this is a bone" would be translated as zhè shì ʂi kūài ʂùtou [這是一塊骨頭].


11. BREAST

Early Zhou Chinese ʔɹəŋ {胸} (1), Classical Chinese ɲʊŋ {胸部} (2), Late Middle Chinese ɕiujŋ {胸部} (2), Standard Chinese ɲʊŋ1 {胸部} (2), Jian’ou Chinese ɕəʊiŋ1-ːŋ {胸部} (2), Wenchang Hainanese ɦiɛn1 {胸部} (2).

References and notes:

Early Zhou Chinese: Schuessler 1987: 756. Not attested directly in the meaning ‘(male) chest’ in Early Zhou monuments, but figurative usage (e.g. ɡə ɨʃun [胸脯] ‘hooked breastplates /for horses’ [Shi 261, 2]; verbal usage in the meaning ‘to withstand, resist’, etc.) suggests this item as the best candidate for ‘chest' during this period.

Classical Chinese: HYDCD VI: 1251. Cf.: ɲʊŋ ʈun tɛŋ [胸中正] (everything) is right within the breast’ [Mencius 7, 15]. This word is not attested at all in Early Zhou, yet is statistically the most frequent and neutral equivalent for ‘(male) chest’ in all of Classical Chinese.

Late Middle Chinese: HYDCD VI: 1251. Somewhat dubious; within Linji-lu, attested only once in the bound expression ɡɨ xɨŋ {指胸} "to point at (one’s) breast’ [Linji-lu 89], which may be an archaic formula. However, no other candidates are known.

Standard Chinese: DEHCD 1985: 372; HYDCD VI: 1251. The word exists as a monosyllable as well as part of bisyllabic compounds with more or less comparable statistic and situational distribution (ʃɨŋ-1 ʂu [胸部] ‘chest (as part of the body)’; ʃɨŋ-ʂəŋ [胸部] ‘thorax’, etc.). It is, however, quite distinct from ʂu-ʃəŋ [乳房] ‘female breast’.


12. BURN TR.

Early Zhou Chinese ɓan {焚} (1), Classical Chinese ɓan {焚} (1), Late Middle Chinese ʂəʊ {燒} (2), Standard Chinese ʂao1 {焼} (2), Jian’ou Chinese ɕəu1-xʊə2 {燒火} (2), Wenchang Hainanese ɕtjʊ1 {燒} (2).

References and notes:

Early Zhou Chinese: Schuessler 1987: 162. Cf.: ɹaʔ ɓan ʂə ʂɨŋ [旅焚其次] ‘the traveller burns his camp’ [Yijing 56, 3]. Several other Early Zhou verbs are also commonly glossed as ‘burn’, ‘burn down’, etc. (e.g. ɡəŋ [烧], also possibly ‘to dry (over fire)’; ʂəʊ [烧], also possibly ‘to sacrifice by fire’), but ɓan has the advantage of not having any additional semantic usages. It is also attested as early as Shang inscriptions, and its character - an ideogram consisting of ‘fire’ and ‘wood’ - is more archaic than the phonodeograms transcribing the other words.

Classical Chinese: HYDCD VII: 87. Cf.: ɡə ʂɨŋ ɓaŋ [肆燎焚庫] “Gu-sou burnt down the granary” [Mencius 9, 2] (can alternate be translated as ‘set fire to the granary’), which is not relevant, since there does not seem to be any evidence for a specifically inchoative ‘set fire to’ in Classical Chinese. This seems to have been the default equivalent for ‘to burn’ (both transitive and intransitive) at the early stages of Classical Chinese. Monuments from the 3rd century onwards, however, show a steady increase in the usage of ɲəʊw [
by Han times, seems to have become the new standard (cf. the following figures: 42 cases of .banner vs. zero cases of .nyam in the Zouzhuan /5th century B.C./, but 17 cases of .banner vs. 58 cases of .nyam in Shiji /1st century B.C./). The compound form .banner-nyam (燒燬) is also attested (Xunzi, Mozi, etc.), but very sporadically. The original meaning of .nyam may have been 'to singe': thus, its only attestation in the Zhuangzi is with 'horses' as object, obviously, not in the meaning 'to burn horses', but rather 'to brand horses'.

**Late Middle Chinese:** HYDCD VII: 247. Cf.: əɪ.ti × əɪ.tv.na əɪ.trn (被火來燒) "you will be burned by fire" [Linji-lu 45]. The two independent occurrences of .nyam in Linji-lu are attested with a passive meaning ('to be burned'); in the required transitive use ('to burn smth.') this stem is only met within the binomial construction əɪ.tv.na (燒燬), in the phrase əɪ.tv.na əɪ.əɪn (焚燬). Since the morpheme əɪ.tv.na is the common ingredient in all of these forms, it should be accepted as the most basic equivalent of the meaning 'burn' in Modern Chinese.

**Jian’ou Chinese:** Li 1998: 154. The root morpheme əɪ.tu (燒) is attested only in compound formations. Another possible option for the meaning "to burn (tr.)" could be əɪ.ti [烧] [Li 1998: 185].

**Wenchang Hainanese:** Hashimoto 1976: 82.

13. CLAW (NAIL)

**Early Zhou Chinese** əɪ.ti (爬) (1), **Classical Chinese** c.rə: (爬) (1), **Late Middle Chinese** əɪ.tv (爬) (1), **Standard Chinese** ɕi-zi əɪ.tv (爬) (2), **Jian’ou Chinese** ɕiu.ɜ-ka (<手) (2), **Wenchang Hainanese** ɕiu.ɜ-ka (手) (2).

References and notes:

**Early Zhou Chinese:** Schuessler 1987: 818. Slightly dubious; in Early Zhou, the word is usually met as part of the binome əɪ.ti əɪ.tv (爬牙) ‘claws and teeth’, i.e., soldiers as ‘defenders’ [Shi 185, 1], in which both words individually refer to the corresponding animal body parts. Considering, however, that the same word is clearly used to denote human fingernails in late-period Classical Chinese, and that no better candidate for ‘fingernail’ is to be found in Early Zhou, we may surmise that the meanings ‘claw’ and ‘nail’ were probably not differentiated during this period.

**Classical Chinese:** HYDCD VI: 1101. The word is not attested in early Confucian documents, and its most frequent usage in other texts is in the meaning ‘claw’ (of birds or animals); notable attestations in the meaning ‘fingernail(s) / toenail(s)’ are in the Han-era parts of the Liji (although even there the word is more often found in predicative use, e.g., cr tc əɪ.tu (爬足) ‘to trim one’s toenails’ (literally ‘to toenail one’s feet’). No alternate candidates for the meaning ‘nail’ are, however, known throughout the entire period.

**Late Middle Chinese:** HYDCD VI: 1101. Cf.: ɨɪ.ti × ɨɪ.tv əɪ.ti (爬毛爪齒) "head hair, body hair, nails, and teeth" [Linji-lu 66].


**Jian’ou Chinese:** Li 1998: 161; Huang 1958: 286. The first component is ‘hand’ q.v.

**Wenchang Hainanese:** Hashimoto 1976: 81. The first component is ‘hand’ q.v.

14. CLOUD

**Early Zhou Chinese** w^bən (爬) (1), **Classical Chinese** w^bən (爬) (1), **Late Middle Chinese** fiun (爬) (1), **Standard Chinese** yün (爬) (1), **Jian’ou Chinese** w^bən (爬) (1), **Wenchang...
Hainanese ʰon₂ {雲} (1).

References and notes:

**Early Zhou Chinese:** Schuessler 1987: 800. Cf.: ʰran ʰrat brak wən [英英白雲] "bright are the white clouds" [Shijing 229, 2]. This is clearly the original word for 'cloud', not only because of the confirming contexts, but also because of the archaic form of the pictographic character (originally written as simply 云).

**Classical Chinese:** HYDCD XI: 632. Cf.: tʰen lu nan cak wən [天油然作雲] "Heaven produces dense clouds" [Mencius 1, 6]. No serious competition for this word in any Classical Chinese monuments.

**Late Middle Chinese:** HYDCD XI: 632. Cf.: ɲit oŋ ʔik ɦün [日上無雲] "there are no clouds on the sun" [Linji-lu 90].

**Standard Chinese:** DEHCD 1985: 1181; HYDCD XI: 632. Also exists as a bisyllabic compound: yün-չai3 [雲彩], literally 'cloud-variegation', but more often used in the original monosyllabic form.

**Jian’ou Chinese:** Li 1998: 244.

**Wenchang Hainanese:** Hashimoto 1976: 81.

15. COLD

**Early Zhou Chinese** gan {寒} (1), **Classical Chinese** gan {寒} (1), **Late Middle Chinese** lɐiŋ {冷} (2), **Standard Chinese** lɤŋ {冷} (2), **Jian’ou Chinese** cʰeiŋ3 {凊} (3), **Wenchang Hainanese** kya2 {寒} (1).

References and notes:

**Early Zhou Chinese:** Schuessler 1987: 222. This is the most frequent and seemingly neutral adjective expressing the basic meaning 'cold' in Early Zhou. Several other quasi-synonyms, such as rət [別] [ibid.: 384] or sʰə [ibid.: 467], are met only occasionally in poetic literature and are likely to represent marked high-style equivalents.

**Classical Chinese:** HYDCD III: 1542. Cf.: swaç gan [歲寒] "the year is (becomes) cold" [Lunyu 9, 28]. Also frequently encountered in the nominal function (e.g. in combinations with kray [餓] 'hunger'), and occasionally in the figurative meaning 'cold' (illness) [Mencius]. Typically antonymous to 男神 [熱] 'hot' q.v.

**Late Middle Chinese:** HYDCD II: 401. Cf.: xip lɐiŋ {吸冷氣無益} "to breathe in cold air will be of no use" [Linji-lu 88]. The old word ɣɑn [寒] is only met once in Linji-lu, within the idiomatic expression ɣɑn zʊŋ [寒松] "winter pine" [Linji-lu 143], indicating that it must have already switched to the more modern usage in the meaning 'seasonal cold', 'wintertime'.

**Standard Chinese:** DEHCD 1985: 2480; HYDCD II: 401. The compound form han-ɮŋ3 [寒冷], combining the "old" term for 'cold' with the "new" one, is rarely used in colloquial speech.


**Wenchang Hainanese:** Hashimoto 1976: 82.

16. COME

**Early Zhou Chinese** ra: {來} (1), **Classical Chinese** ra: {來} (1), **Late Middle Chinese** ɮŋ3 {來} (1), **Standard Chinese** lai2 {來} (1), **Jian’ou Chinese** le3 {來} (1), **Wenchang Hainanese** lai2 {來} (1).

References and notes:
Early Zhou Chinese: Schuessler 1987: 361. The word is commonly used already in Shang inscriptions and remains stable all the way through Early Zhou.

Classical Chinese: HYDCD I: 1296. Cf.: 扞[ǎm] zī wù kěn, Lay-cà po rx [we and you, 夷子不來] "I will go see (him), Master Yi will not come (to me)" [Mencius 5, 5] (one of numerous examples that illustrate fairly well the basic opposition between rx [往] 'come' and wù [往] 'go' q.v. in Classical Chinese).

Late Middle Chinese: HYDCD I: 1296. Used passim all over the text of Linji-lu.


17. DIE

Early Zhou Chinese sǐyì {死} (1), Classical Chinese sǐyì {死} (1), Late Middle Chinese sǐji {死} (1), Standard Chinese sǐ {死} (1), Jian'ou Chinese sǐ {死} (1), Wenchang Hainanese ti3 {死} (1).

References and notes:

Early Zhou Chinese: Schuessler 1987: 578. The most basic equivalent for 'die' since Shang; we do not list the numerous euphemisms and stylistic variations here due to their irrelevance.

Classical Chinese: HYDCD V: 146. Cf.: nǐn to caŋ sǐyì, qī qìng kǎng yă dān [人之將死，其言也善] "when someone is going to die, his speech is good" [Lunyu 8, 4]. Although an elaborate hierarchical system of polite equivalents for the meaning 'to die' existed throughout Classical Chinese (e.g. pín to ri [貧] 'to die' (of a ruler), literally 'to collapse'; sì yān [黯] 'to die' (of a prince), etc.), the most basic and neutral term has always been sǐyì (its usage may be markedly impolite/rude only next to official titles; a simple nǐn sǐyì [人死] is not to be interpreted as 'someone kicked the bucket', etc., but merely as 'someone has died').

Late Middle Chinese: HYDCD V: 146. Cf.: nǐ jùn yě sǐyì [苟若欲得生死] "if you want to get to live and die" [Linji-lu 43].

Standard Chinese: DEHCD 1985: 2375; HYDCD V: 146. The composite synonym sǐ-wn [死亡] (literally 'to die-disappear') is also listed in [DEHCD 1985], but it is a "formal" term, not really used in colloquial speech.


18. DOG

Early Zhou Chinese kʰwɛːɨn? {犬} (1), Classical Chinese kʰyɨn {犬} (1), Standard Chinese kou3 {狗} (2), Jian'ou Chinese e2 {狗} (2), Wenchang Hainanese kau3 {狗} (2).

References and notes:

Early Zhou Chinese: Schuessler 1987: 500. A few other words are found denoting different kinds of dogs, e.g. mọow [牧] 'shaggy dog' [ibid.: 403], but kʰwɛːɨn? is clearly the basic term, well attested already in Shang inscriptions.

Classical Chinese: HYDCD V: 1. Cf.: hán kěng to kʰ ɡw klu kʰ ɡɨn ləŋ to kʰ ɡw [虎豹之鞹猶犬羊之鞹] "the hide of a tiger or leopard is like the hide of a dog or sheep" [Lunyu 12, 8]; kʰ ɡɨn to səŋ to yuə to səŋ [犬之 C<01a9>bţ] "the nature of a dog is like the nature of a cow" [Mencius 11, 3]. The semantic relationship between kʰ ɡɨn 'dog' and kʰ [狗] id. [HYDCD V: 36] in Classical Chinese is a very complex one. Broadly speaking, there took place a gradual replacement process of the former by the latter. Early Zhou Chinese has no evidence whatsoever for kʰ, whereas in Hân-era texts kʰ has quite firmly replaced kʰ ɡɨn as the main equivalent for
'dog' (although קח still remains in frequent use). The problem is in establishing the more exact chronology and character of the replacement. In Lunyu, there are 2 attestations for קח and none for קכ. In Mencius, there are already 4 cases of קכ vs. 6 cases of קח, and it may be seen that קח is more willingly employed within the idiom קח מרה: [犬馬] 'dogs and horses' (i. e. domestic animals used for hunting), whereas קכ is more often listed alongside other קח 'domestic animals' such as 'chickens' and 'pigs'; this suggests the original introduction of קכ to specifically denote dogs bred for meat rather than hunting dogs קח. Of significant importance is one of Hui Shi’s famous paradoxes: קכ פאק קח מרה: [犬非犬] "a dog-קכ is not a dog-קח" [Zhuangzi 3, 11, 7], which, since it is a paradox, should suggest that normally, a קכ is a subspecies of קח (not vice versa, analogous to the even more famous "a white horse is not a horse"). This context may have given rise to the occasional lexicographic interpretation of קכ as 'puppy' (along with an ambiguous entry in the Erya), but such an interpretation is not really supported by any contexts at all (including Zhuangzi itself, where קכ quite explicitly and frequently refers to grown-up dogs). Since our list is targeted at Early Classical Chinese rather than Late Classical (3rd to 1st centuries B.C.), we prefer to include קח as the principal entry and place the definitive replacement of it by קכ (originally 'a special breed of dog', possibly for eating) around the 3rd century.

**Late Middle Chinese**: Not attested in the text of Linji-lu. The colloquial term for 'dog' in Middle Chinese, in all likelihood, was קח [ помощи: V: 36].

**Standard Chinese**: DEHCD 1985: 2119; HYDCD V: 36. The old word קח, despite being mentioned as one of the equivalents for 'dog' in [DEHCD 1985], is not in use in colloquial speech.


**Wenchang Hainanese**: Hashimoto 1976: 80.

19. DRINK


References and notes:


**Classical Chinese**: HYCD XII: 504. Cf.: קח נינ קח [ помощи: Passim] "the villagers were drinking wine" [Lunyu 10, 10]. Passim in all Classical Chinese texts.

**Late Middle Chinese**: Not attested in the text of Linji-lu. In one context, the idiomatic expression "to drink tea" is rendered as קח בחריל [ помощи: Passim], literally "to eat tea"; however, this single context is hardly sufficient to suppose that the dialect of Linji-lu did not distinguish between 'eat' and 'drink' (this distinction is normally characteristic of most forms of Chinese), so we prefer to leave the slot empty.


**Wenchang Hainanese**: Hashimoto 1976: 81. Same word as 'eat' q.v.

20. DRY


References and notes:

**Early Zhou Chinese**: Schuessler 1987: 187. Slightly dubious, since there are no truly diagnostic contexts for this word in Early Zhou
(e.g. 'dry clothes', 'dry surface', etc.); most of the time it is encountered in the meaning 'dried (of food, meat)', e.g. ɡ̣ər nʰək [乾肉] 'dried meat' [Yijing 21, 5], ɡ̣ər gox [乾饿] 'dried provisions' [Shijing 165, 5]. Quasi-synonyms may include ɡər [餓] 'to dry up' [Schuessler 1987: 310] and ɡəy [幹] 'to dry in the sun' [Schuessler 1987: 654]. Still, the combination of internal and external factors speaks in favor of ɡ̣ər as the default word for 'dry' in Early Zhou.

**Classical Chinese:** HYDCD I: 784. As in Early Zhou, diagnostic contexts conveying the required meaning 'dry' = 'devoid of extra moisture' (rather than 'dried, withered' = 'devoid of regular moisture') are very hard to come by; they are completely absent in either Lunyu or Mencius, but cf.: pay can pay pat na ɡ̣əm [方將被髮而乾] "(he was) just going to spread out his hair to dry" [Zhuangzi, 2, 14, 4]. Ineligible pseudo-synonyms include kʰəw [稿] 'dry, withered' (of plants), ɡəxə [憔] 'dry, scorched' (of earth, weather, as if by fire), ɡək [筋] 'dried up' (of a body of water) and quite a few other, much more rare, words.

**Late Middle Chinese:** HYDCD I: 784. Highly dubious. Within the text of Linji-lu, attested only once in the idiomatic expression kan ɡ̣ə j̣et [乾屎], "wooden bar for maintaining personal hygiene", literally "shit-drying wood-piece" (not only is the whole compound of an idiomatic nature, but even the literal meaning of the word is that of an active verb rather than the required adjectival use). On the other hand, there is no direct or indirect evidence for any other word functioning as the default equivalent for 'dry' in Middle Chinese. We tentatively accept kan into the wordlist.

**Standard Chinese:** DEHCD 1985: 2227; HYDCD I: 784. The word exists both on its own and as part of various compounds with slight semantic differences, e.g. kan-mə, kan-pə [乾渕] (of dried up / withered objects), kan-pət [乾巴] (the second component is desemanticized), etc.

**Jian'ou Chinese:** Li 1998: 152.

**Wenchang Hainanese:** Hashimoto 1976: 82.

### 21. EAR


**References and notes:**

**Early Zhou Chinese:** Schuessler 1987: 146-147. No other word is attested with this meaning, and the simple structure of the graph also confirms its archaic nature.

**Classical Chinese:** HYDCD VIII: 646. Cf.: n³ ma mən, məuk ma kən [耳目無聞] "the ears did not hear, the eyes did not see" [Mencius 6, 15].

**Late Middle Chinese:** HYDCD VIII: 646. Cf.: ʒɤɨ yən wɛt kɨen, ʒɤɨ nɨ wɛt kɨen, ʒɤɨ bɨ wɛt x ɲ [在眼曰見, 在耳曰聞, 在鼻嗅香] "in the eyes they (= the Dharmas) are called 'seeing', in the ears they are called 'hearing', in the nose they are called 'smelling'" [Linji-lu 31].

**Standard Chinese:** DEHCD 1985: 2413; HYDCD VIII: 647. Literally: 'ear-bunch'. Attested as a bisyllabic compound from the IXth century onwards. The monosyllabic aə [耳] is still used as part of idiomatic expressions.

**Jian'ou Chinese:** Li 1998: 231. Quoted as niei-ɕiɛ [ 耳子 ] in [Huang 1958: 286].

**Wenchang Hainanese:** Hashimoto 1976: 21.

### 22. EARTH

References and notes:

Early Zhou Chinese: Schuessler 1987: 617. Cf.: ㄈㄢ b'ayn tʊu tɪuh? t'ʊu? [Shangshu 2, 28] as an example of the word being used in the meaning 'earth (as substance)' rather than the more commonly encountered 'land' (geographical term); the use of the same word to denote one of the "five elements" must also be fairly archaic. Secondary synonym: ʟ̝ayh [Shueller 1987: 121-122]; used much more sparingly and nearly always in the meaning 'ground, earth (as surface)', e. g., ʰiwoo tʊ ʟ̝ayh [squeeze] 'put her to sleep on the ground' [Shijing 189, 9].

Classical Chinese: HYDCD II: 979. Cf.: ʍa srə tʊ' ʍə prə [無使土親膚] "do not let the earth get near the skin" [Mencius 4, 16] (said of placing deceased people in coffins). Just as in Early Zhou Chinese, the quasi-synonym ʟ̝ayh is generally used in the meaning 'ground (surface)' rather than 'earth (substance)'. The compound form ʰiwoo ʟ̝ayh, well preserved up to modern times, is already attested quite frequently in Mencius and other Classical Chinese monuments, usually in the meaning of 'territory' (of a state).

Late Middle Chinese: HYDCD II: 1016. Cf.: ʰiwoo ɡ̩ x ɲ̣i p̥u [被地水火風] "you suffer earth, water, fire, and wind" [Linji- lu 44]. Note the use of ʰiwoo as the main word to indicate 'earth' as a substance, an important change from Old Chinese. Throughout Linji- lu, the old word ʰiwoo is almost always encountered only within the compound form ʰiwoo tʊ [國土] "territory (of state)".

Standard Chinese: DEHCD 1985: 624; HYDCD II: 979. In Modern Chinese, the morpheme ʰiwoo generally denotes 'earth' as 'substance' (the required list meaning), whereas ʨu [土地] is generally 'earth' as 'surface', 'land'. The compound form ʰiwoo-ʨu is used quite frequently as well, but hardly ever in such contexts as 'to scoop up some earth (in the hand)', etc. Cf. the example in [DEHCD 1985: 401]; ʰiwoo [土地] "to fill the pit with earth". Because of this, we postulate no lexical shift from the Old Chinese state.


23. EAT

Early Zhou Chinese ʰiak {食} (1), Classical Chinese ʰiak {食} (1), Late Middle Chinese ʰiiek { 喫} (2), Standard Chinese ʰiî {吃} (2), Jian'ou Chinese ʰiə {喫} (3), Wenchang Hainanese ʰiə {食} (1).

References and notes:


Classical Chinese: HYDCD XII: 477. Cf.: ʰi ɡ̩ ɛk ma ɡu ɲu: [君子食無求飽] "when the noble person eats, he does not seek satiation" [Lunyu 1, 14]. Numerous stylistically marked synonyms are attested during the epoch, but ʰiak is clearly the most frequent and neutral equivalent.

Late Middle Chinese: HYDCD III: 401. Cf.: ʰiit ɲit kʰiec ta ɲew [一日喫多少] "how much do they eat per one day?" [Linji- lu 91]. Although the archaic verb ʒik {食} is occasionally encountered in the text (mostly in bound expressions or quotations), kʰiek is clearly the one that is both the most statistically frequent and neutral equivalent.


Jian'ou Chinese: Li 1998: 79. Same word as 'drink' q.v.

Wenchang Hainanese: Hashimoto 1976: 81. Same word as 'drink' q.v.

24. EGG

Classical Chinese ʰiyyœn {卵} (1), Standard Chinese ʰiî=tan {雞蛋} (2), Jian'ou Chinese ʰiŋt {卵} (1), Wenchang Hainanese ʰiŋt {卵} (1).
References and notes:

**Early Zhou Chinese:** Not attested, although the pictographic nature of the character卵, denoting this word in Classical Chinese, suggests an archaic origin.

**Classical Chinese:** HYDCD II: 527. Not attested in early Confucian documents, but amply attested in various other Classical Chinese texts; in any case, no other candidate for ‘egg’ is known from this period.

**Late Middle Chinese:** Not attested in the text of Linji-lu.

**Standard Chinese:** DEHCD 1985: 2623; HYDCD VIII: 885. Literally: ‘hen-ball’ (蛋 is a late graphic variant of earlier彈tan ‘ball; pill; bullet’). This is the most frequent word to denote the most usual type of eggs (hen’s eggs) today. The initial morpheme may be substituted by names of other birds if necessary (e. g. 鴨蛋‘duck egg’). The old word卵is still in use, but it is a more formal term, designating “marked” types of eggs (e. g. ‘ovule’, ‘fish roe’, etc.), and is hardly eligible for inclusion.

**Jian’ou Chinese:** Li 1998: 213.

**Wenchang Hainanese:** Hashimoto 1976: 80.

25. EYE

**Early Zhou Chinese** ㄇastery (1), **Classical Chinese** ㄇastery (1), **Late Middle Chinese** ㄆan (2), **Standard Chinese** ㄆㄚn-ɕiŋ (2), **Jian’ou Chinese** ㄇㄑi (1), **Wenchang Hainanese** mak (1).

References and notes:

**Early Zhou Chinese:** Schuessler 1987: 430-431. The word is well attested already in Shang inscriptions, and the simple nature of the pictogram confirms its archaicity.

**Classical Chinese:** HYDCD VII: 1122. Cf.: ㄆㄚ ma man, ㄇastery ma kɛn̥h ‘耳無聞目無見’ “the ears did not hear, the eyes did not see” [Mencius 6, 15].

**Late Middle Chinese:** HYDCD VII: 1209. Cf.: ㄆㄚ k a ㄆㄚn ‘哪是正眼’ “which one is the genuine eye?” [Linji-lu 12]. This is undoubtedly the main basic equivalent for ‘eye’ in Linji-lu; the older equivalent ㄇiuk is almost exclusively used in the bound expression ㄇiuk-ʒien ‘current, present’ (literally “before the eyes”).

**Standard Chinese:** DEHCD 1985: 333; HYDCD VII: 1218. Literally (and historically) a compound: ㄆㄚn ‘eye’ + ɕiŋ ‘eye-ball’. The compound form is attested already in the Táng epoch (II-IXth centuries), but becomes the default equivalent for ‘eye’ somewhat later.

**Jian’ou Chinese:** Li 1998: 19. Quoted as ㄇi ug-ci (眸) in [Huang 1958: 286].

**Wenchang Hainanese:** Hashimoto 1976: 81.

26. FAT N.

**Early Zhou Chinese** ㄆi (1) / ㄌㄧ (2), **Classical Chinese** ㄆi (1) / ㄌㄧ (2), **Standard Chinese** ㄆi-fañ (1), **Wenchang Hainanese** ㄆi-fañ (1).

References and notes:

**Early Zhou Chinese:** Schuessler 1987: 829. Cf.: ㄆi kiy [祭脂] ‘we sacrifice fat’ [Shijing 245, 7]; ㄌㄦ na ㄆi kiy [膚如凝脂] ‘her’ skin is like congealed fat’ [Shijing 57, 2]. A very close synonym is available in ㄌㄧ [Schuessler 1987: 190], although in Early Zhou it is mostly attested in secondary usage, e. g. ‘glossy (as if with fat)’ (adjectival), ‘to smear (with fat)’ (verbal), etc. There is no reason,
nevertheless, to deny the word an original nominal meaning, and the primary semantic difference between these two quasi-synonyms remains unclear. (The Shuowen jiezi explains kiy as ‘fat of horned cattle’ and kaw as ‘fat of hornless cattle’, but this is not supported by actual textual usage). It is advisable to choose kiy as the primary entry for historical reasons (the morpheme still functions as the main designation of ‘fat’ in the modern language, unlike kaw), but on the synchronic level, both words have to be treated as synonyms.

**Classical Chinese:** HYDCD VI: 1248. As in Early Zhou, the difference between kiy (脂) and kaw (膏) [HYDCD VI: 1361] is quite obscure, even though both types of ‘fat’ are even opposed to each other in certain texts (e. g. the Huangdi neijing, in which both are depicted as elements of the human body). One possible line of demarcation could be kiy ‘solid fat’ vs. kaw ‘liquid (thin?) fat’, but there is no truly firm textual evidence for this. We treat both words as synonyms.

**Late Middle Chinese:** Not attested in the text of Linji-lu.

**Standard Chinese:** DEHCD 1985: 504; HYDCD VII: 1249. This compound form is attested in texts since at least the Jin dynasty (III-Vth centuries), but becomes the regular colloquial equivalent for the word ‘fat’ only in Modern Chinese. However, the main root morpheme ɨ remains the same as in Old Chinese.

**Jian’ou Chinese:** Not attested.


### 27. FEATHER

**Early Zhou Chinese** w(r)ə {羽} (1), Classical Chinese w(r)ə {羽} (1), Standard Chinese yu3-mao2 {羽毛} (1), Jian’ou Chinese mau3 {毛} (2), Wenchang Hainanese mo2 {毛} (2).

**References and notes:**

**Early Zhou Chinese:** Schuessler 1987: 781. Schuessler translates the word as ‘plumes, wings, feathers’, and there are no distinctive contexts in Early Zhou Chinese that allow to choose the meaning ‘feather’ over the meaning ‘wing’. However, the meaning ‘wing’, for a variety of reasons, is better applicable to Lak [翼] [Schuessler 1987: 745], which leaves w(r)ə as the best available candidate for ‘feather’.

**Classical Chinese:** HYDCD IX: 635. Cf.: kom d’rɔŋ ɨa w(r)ə {金重於羽} “metal is heavier than feathers” [Mencius 12, 21].

**Late Middle Chinese:** Not attested in the text of Linji-lu.

**Standard Chinese:** DEHCD 1985: 1434; HYDCD IX: 636. Literally: ‘feather-(body) hair’. The compound has a collective meaning; to denote a singular feather, the simple yu3 {羽} may still be used (e. g. bii yu3 [白羽] ‘feather’, etc.).

**Jian’ou Chinese:** Li 1998: 140. Same word as ‘hair’ q.v.

**Wenchang Hainanese:** Hashimoto 1976: 81. Same word (root) as ‘hair’ q.v.

### 28. FIRE

**Early Zhou Chinese** s=məyʔ {火} (1), Classical Chinese məy {火} (1), Late Middle Chinese xuǎ {火} (1), Standard Chinese hiu3 {火} (1), Jian’ou Chinese xo2 {火} (1), Wenchang Hainanese hiye3 {火} (1).

**References and notes:**

**Early Zhou Chinese:** Schuessler 1987: 259. Archaicity of the word is further confirmed by the simple pictographic nature of the character.

**Classical Chinese:** HYDCD VII: 1. Cf.: t ɨg ɨm ɨm {水勝火} “water subdues fire” [Mencius 11, 18].

**Late Middle Chinese:** HYDCD VII: 1. Cf.: bii diʃ ɨ x ɨ p’un {被地水火風} “you suffer earth, water, fire, and wind” [Linji-lu 44].
Standard Chinese: DEHCD 1985: 1221; HYDCD VII: 1. In some contexts, the expanded compound form h ū-yän {火焰} (‘fire-flame’) may be used instead, but in most contexts, the simple monosyllabic h ū is sufficient.


29. FISH

Early Zhou Chinese ŷʰa {魚} (1), Classical Chinese ŷʰa {魚} (1), Late Middle Chinese ŷjü {魚} (1), Standard Chinese ſü {魚} (1), Jian’ou Chinese ŷjü {魚} (1), Wenchang Hainanese ŏu $2$ {魚} (1).

References and notes:

Early Zhou Chinese: Schuessler 1987: 779. The word, as a primitive pictogram, is well attested already in Shang inscriptions.

Classical Chinese: HYDCD XII: 1182. Cf.: l. źn m‘ok gu ŷʰa {緣木求魚} “to climb a tree looking for fish” [Mencius 1, 7].

Late Middle Chinese: HYDCD XII: 1182. Cf.: yə ſj üa ts k mic {遊魚何得迷} “how did the swimming fish lose their way?” [Linji-lu 149].

Standard Chinese: DEHCD 1985: 1980; HYDCD XII: 1182. Various specific compounds with semantically close meanings also exist, but all of them have ſe {飛} as the main morpheme (e. g. ſe-jıŋ {飛行}, literally ‘fly-move’, etc.).


30. FLY V.

Early Zhou Chinese pay {飛} (1), Classical Chinese pay {飛} (1), Standard Chinese fei $1$ {飛} (1), Jian’ou Chinese ſc $2$ {虎+風} (2), Wenchang Hainanese ſuc $1$ {飛} (1).

References and notes:

Early Zhou Chinese: Schuessler 1987: 158. Cf.: ſwʔ tıw $2$ kaw pay {有鳥高飛} ‘there is a bird flying high’ [Shijing 224, 3]. The word was originally written by the simple character 足 (symbolic depiction of a bird’s wings?), later borrowed to transcribe the homonymous pay ‘not to be’.

Classical Chinese: HYDCD XII: 689. Within early Confucian documents attested only in a few idiomatic expressions, e. g. pay tıw {飛鳥} ”flying bird”, but the word is clearly the basic equivalent for ‘to fly’ in all of Classical Chinese.

Late Middle Chinese: Not attested in the text of Linji-lu.

Standard Chinese: DEHCD 1985: 881; HYDCD XII: 689. Various specific compounds with semantically close meanings also exist, but all of them have fei $1$ {飛} as the main morpheme (e. g. fei $1$-fıŋ $2$ {飛行}, literally ‘fly-move’, etc.).


31. FOOT

Early Zhou Chinese ta $2$ {足} (1), Classical Chinese cok {足} (2), Late Middle Chinese kık $2$ {腳} (3), Standard Chinese ɕıao $3$ {腳} (3), Jian’ou Chinese kʰau $1$ {腳} (4), Wenchang Hainanese ha $1$ {腳} (4).
References and notes:

Early Zhou Chinese: Schuessler 1987: 835. Written without the radical (simply as 之), attested already in Shang inscriptions (the original form of the character depicts a foot; the same character with an added horizontal stroke, i.e. 'earth', corresponds to the later shape 止, transcribing a homophonous təʔ to 'stop'). The fact that this is the default Early Zhou word for 'foot' (lower part of leg) is established mostly through the graphical shape (in texts it is also applicable to hooves of animals, cf. ran to təʔ [麟之趾] 'the feet (= hooves) of the unicorn' [Shijing 11, 1]), as opposed to kok [足] 'leg', the character for which depicts a full leg in Shang times. There are no Early Zhou contexts whatsoever to suggest that the opposition between these two words began to be neutralized earlier than the Classic period.

Classical Chinese: HYDCD X: 423. Cf.: po tre kok na way kroh (不知足而為盈) "he does not know (the size) of feet, yet makes sandals" [Mencius 11, 7]. The word is quite clearly the default designation for either 'foot' or 'leg + foot' in all of Classical Chinese, opposed to Am[手] 'hand'. Only towards the 3rd-2nd centuries B.C. does the word in question become gradually replaced by kak [臈] [HYDCD VI: 1271], originally, perhaps, a jargonism of "Austric" origin (cf., e.g., Malayo-Polynesian *kakī 'foot', or similar forms in Thai-Kadai languages /Ong-Be kok, etc./, usually understood as borrowings from Chinese but quite possibly vice versa). Early Zhou Chinese təʔ [臈] 'foot' is, with sufficient reliability, assumed to mean 'toes' in Classical Chinese.

Late Middle Chinese: HYDCD VI: 1271. Cf.: wąŋ kʰp k yi kp (忘却移腳) "he forgot to move his feet" [Linji-lu 19].

Standard Chinese: DEHCD 1985: 1154; HYDCD VI: 1271. The word is quite different from tʰ gi (腿) 'leg' [DEHCD 1985: 1154]. The old word cu (足) is only found in bound idiomatic expressions.


32. FULL

Early Zhou Chinese leŋ {盈} (1), Classical Chinese leŋ {盈} (1), Standard Chinese man3 {滿} (2), Jian’ou Chinese muiŋ-xŋ4 {滿分} (2), Wenchang Hainanese mʊə5 {滿} (2).

References and notes:

Early Zhou Chinese: Schuessler 1987: 757. Cf.: n CHK s'ŋŋ kəŋ leŋ (我倉既盈) ‘our granaries are already full’ [Shijing 209, 1].

Classical Chinese: HYDCD VII: 1417. In the early Confucian documents, the word is more frequently attested in the function of the transitive verb 'to fill', cf.: Mak leŋ to rəŋ leŋ tʰəŋ ʔrək (墨翟之言盈天下) "the words of Mo Di fill the space under Heaven" [Mencius 6, 14], but occasional adjectival usage is encountered as well, cf. ləu na way leŋ (虛而為盈) "empty and yet is made full" [Lunyu 7, 26]. Already in Zhuangzi (but not in the Daodejing, where leŋ dominates completely), the word is found in serious competition with mən {滿} [HYDCD VI: 56] (formerly 'to fill up, overflow', of liquids, judging by the shape of the character), and it is almost impossible to distinguish between the two. The process of "archaization" of leŋ must have been relatively slow, since it is still found quite frequently in Han-era texts. Since the early Confucian documents give no hints whatsoever on the use of mən in the meaning 'full', we do not include it in the calculations for Classical Chinese.

Late Middle Chinese: Not attested in the text of Linji-lu.


Wenchang Hainanese: Hashimoto 1976: 82.

33. GIVE

Early Zhou Chinese piŋ {持} (1) / ləʔ {予} (2), Classical Chinese là {與} (2), Late Middle Chinese yǔ {與} (2), Standard Chinese keɪs3 {給} (3), Jian’ou Chinese nas5 {物} (4), Wenchang
Hainanese *bon* (5).

References and notes:

**Early Zhou Chinese:** Schuessler 1987: 26, 780. Of the many verbs that denote the idea of transferring objects from one person to another (frequently with well-established specific meanings like *Lo* [賜] 'bestow, donate' or st'eh [贈] 'to present (to an inferior)', etc.), two have the most frequent and most "neutral" distribution: *piɕ* [賜] and *lɑt* [賜]. Any hypotheses about the semantic difference between the two would amount to no more than speculations, as in some texts they almost seem to be interchangeable; cf. *g'ay lɑt piɕ to* (何以賜之) 'what shall I give him?' [Shijing 53, 1] vs. *g'ay lɑt laɨ to* (何以予之) id. [Shijing 53, 2] (two different verses of the same poem). Considering that *piɕ* ceases to function as an active word in the Classic period, this may be a case of "transit-synonymity", but there are no real chronological arguments to prove it.

**Classical Chinese:** HYDCD II: 159. Cf.: *li tɔ bɔ* (與之釜) "give him a cauldron" [Lunyu 6, 4]. Depending on the text in question, the word is alternately spelt either as [字] (the "older" variant) or [與] (the "newer" variant), but the readings are always the same. Early Zhou Chinese *piɕ* [賜] is generally only met as an archaism, in quotations or ancient idioms.

**Late Middle Chinese:** HYDCD II: 159. Cf.: *yə ɲə kə ɹə bo d ɣn lɔy, nə bʃɛn kə ɹə bo d ɣn yə ɭɛjo ɭə* (與我過蒲團來, 牙把蒲團與翠微) "Pass me the reed mat here!" - Ya passed the reed mat to Cui-wei" [Linji-ju 117]. In this example, *yə* is the neutral verb that designates the act of giving, whereas *kə ɹə* [過] indicates the more specialized idea of 'passing smth. (from one location to another').

**Standard Chinese:** DEHCD 1985: 385; HYDCD IX: 824. The colloquial Beijing reading *kei* is irregular and reflects some kind of dialectal influence. With the "literary" regular reading *ɕi* (< Middle Chinese *kip*), the word is attested already in Old Chinese with the meaning 'to provide, furnish'; semantic shift to the more neutral/basic 'give' begins some time after the Middle Chinese epoch. [DEHCD 1985] and other sources also list many compound expressions, denoting the various semantic "nuances" of the meaning; since most of them include *kei* as a component, it is not necessary to list them here.

**Jian’ou Chinese:** Li 1998: 51.

**Wenchang Hainanese:** Hashimoto 1976: 81. Graphically transcribed as [分+刀], but probably descended from Old Chinese 賜 ‘*bon* 'to distribute, donate, share'.

34. GOOD

Early Zhou Chinese *huɕ* [賜] (1), Classical Chinese *dǎn* [善] (2), Late Middle Chinese *xɛw* [賜] (1), Standard Chinese *hɑoɔ* [賜] (1), Jian’ou Chinese *xauɭ* [賜] (1), Wenchang Hainanese *hoɔ* [賜] (1).

References and notes:

**Early Zhou Chinese:** Schuessler 1987: 225. A very close quasi-synonym is *raŋ* [良] [Schuessler 1987: 379]; both words are commonly translated as ‘good’ and sometimes seem to be interchangeable. However, analysis of Early Zhou contexts shows that *raŋ* is almost exclusively (with but one or two exceptions) applied to people or horses, whereas *huɕ* has, from the very beginning, had a much wider sphere of application, including inanimate objects, situations, etc.; conversely, in a context like *nin mu raŋ* [人無良] ‘the man does not have goodness’, *huɕ* can never replace *raŋ*. It is likely, therefore, that the broad meaning ‘good, positive’ that interests us was expressed by *huɕ*, whereas *raŋ* carried the more limited semantics of ‘good-spirited, kind’ (of animals and people).

**Classical Chinese:** HYDCD III: 439. Applied to people (most frequently), but also to general circumstances; quite often used all by itself (as an exclamation - "Good!"). Curiously, the character 福德 throughout most of the Classical Chinese period is most often employed to derive the original verbal stem *huɕ-h* 'to love' rather than the original adjectival stem *hū*: 'good' (as in Early Zhou Chinese); the latter cannot by any means pretend to denote the basic qualitative predicate 'to be good' in any of the early Confucian texts or, in fact, in any of Classical Chinese up at least to the Hán period. Thus, it is a rare (but not unique) isogloss that places Early Zhou Chinese closer to post- Classical language than to the Classical epoch.

**Late Middle Chinese:** HYDCD IV: 281. Cf.: *hɑŋ ʔʃ p ɣn ɭɛ j xɛw ʔak* [有一般不識好惡] "there are some who do not know good
References and notes:

Early Zhou Chinese: Schuessler 1987: 490. There are several words denoting the color spectrum from 'blue' to 'green' in Early Zhou Chinese, with practically no hope of establishing their exact semantic equivalents. The word s'čen is found applied to several plants, including generic "leaves" (go laph s'čen s'čen [其葉青青] 'its (the flower's) leaves are green'), as well as in (one context) "green flies" (s'čen lay [青蠅]). This, as well as the word's statistical frequency in Classical Chinese, would suggest using it as the primary choice. The most obvious secondary synonyms include: (a) nok [掻] [Schuessler 1987: 398], although of the several objects defined by this adjective in Early Zhou, the only "typically green" one is bamboo (nok truk [篌竹]); (b) s'čen [青] 'blue, green' [Schuessler 1987: 54], a word that can define both 'Heaven' ('blue') and 'reeds' ('green?'); however, it is much more rare statistically and more dubious semantically (at the very least, 'Heaven' is definitely not 'green').

Classical Chinese: HYDCD XI: 515. Although the word is not attested in the early Confucian documents, it is statistically the most frequent equivalent for the entire 'blue / green' spectrum in all of Classical Chinese. The word nok [掻] [HYDCD IX: 914] is, on the whole, encountered about ten times less frequently. This is an important argument for positioning s'čen as the default equivalent for 'green' and nok as the marked one (e. g. 'light green'). Also, it is always s'čen, not nok, which functions as one of several "basic" colors in all the listings (along with brak [白] 'white', g'ie [黃] 'yellow', etc.).

Late Middle Chinese: HYDCD XI: 515. Cf.: pʰ iŋ ták tiŋ iŋ, jin c'ieŋ yì g'ie c'ok brak [我把著底衣，認青黃赤白] 'he seizes the clothes that I wear, considers them to be green (blue?), yellow, red, white' [Linji-lu 75]. This example shows Middle Chinese c'ieŋ [青] as one of the "basic" colors, along with 'yellow', 'red', and 'white', but there is no certainty as to whether it is truly used here in the meaning 'grass-green' or 'dark blue'. We tentatively accept it as the equivalent for 'green' based on comparative considerations (see notes on Early Zhou, and Classical Chinese).


Wenchang Hainanese: Hashimoto 1976: 82. Hashimoto 1976: 82. Difference between se1 and lpk: not specified (the words may refer to different shades of green, as they sometimes do in other dialects).

References and notes:

Early Zhou Chinese: pat {髪} (1), Classical Chinese pat {髪} (1), Late Middle Chinese fr't {髪} (1), Standard Chinese tʰou=fa {頭髪} (1), Jian'ou Chinese tʰe₃=mau₃ {頭毛} (2), Wenchang Hainanese hau₃=mo₂ {頭毛} (2).
Early Zhou Chinese: Schuessler 1987: 152. This is very transparently the main word for 'head hair' (cf.: La pat kʰok gok {予髪曲局} 'my hair is tangled' [Shi 226, 1], etc.), as opposed to mʰa-tw [毛] 'body hair; (animal) fur'.

Classical Chinese: HYDCD XII: 733. Cf.: Ḗw'la gɔ pʰay [吾其被髪] 'we would have to wear our hair unbound' [Lunyu 14, 17]. As in Early Zhou Chinese, this collective word ('head hair') is expressly opposed to mʰa-tw [毛] 'body hair; (animal) fur', as well as gɔw [毛] '(a single) hair'.

Late Middle Chinese: HYDCD XII: 733. Cf.: Ḗw'lu ꜱاحة [婴孩重髪] 'the baby lets his hair hang down' [Linji-lu 26].

Standard Chinese: DEHCD 1985: 213; HYDCD XII: 308. Specifically denotes the hair on the head (with tʰou, 'head' q.v. as the first component of the compound). Distinct from mao [毛] or, more rarely, mao-fa [毛髪] 'hair (in general)'. No lexical replacement from Old Chinese times, since the same morpheme fa serves as the primary bearer of the meaning at all stages.

Jian'ou Chinese: Li 1998: 109. The first component is 'head' q.v. The root morpheme is applied to 'head hair' as well as 'body hair'.

Wenchang Hainanese: Hashimoto 1976: 81. The first component is 'head' q.v. The root morpheme is applied to 'head hair' as well as 'body hair'.

37. HAND


References and notes:

Early Zhou Chinese: Schuessler 1987: 559. Clearly the main word for 'hand' already in the earliest Zhou period epigraphic monuments; absent, however, in Shang.

Classical Chinese: HYDCD VI: 292. Cf.: zī ɡi tǐ p ǎi Aʰu {自執執手} 'he held his hand through the window' [Lunyu 6, 10].

Late Middle Chinese: HYDCD VI: 292. Cf.: zǐ fǒ wǎn česuk [在手執授] 'in the hands [the Dharmas are called] 'holding' and 'grasping'' [Linji-lu, 31].


38. HEAD


References and notes:


Classical Chinese: HYDCD XII: 666. Cf.: ẑi lǜ ǔ ci k ʔat [疾首蹙頞] 'with aching heads, they wrinkle their noses' [Mencius 2, 8]. By early Hân, the gradual process of replacement of the old word lǜ [髪] by the newer equivalent dɔ-k [髪] [HYDCD XII: 295] is well under way, although even in Hân-era texts, statistically, the old word is usually more frequent than the new one (possibly due to its persistence as part of multiple idioms, although this needs to be checked). In any case, the new word is very sporadically, if ever, encountered in pre-3rd century texts, and is completely lacking in the early Confucian documents, so we are fully justified in selecting ɡi ʔ as the basic equivalent for this period.

Late Middle Chinese: HYDCD XII: 295. Cf.: d ɣun... bǔt dɔ-w [断... 佛頭] 'you will cut off... the Buddha's head' [Linji-lu 31].
39. HEAR

Early Zhou Chinese ㄇㄢ {聞} (1), Classical Chinese ㄇㄢ {聞} (1), Late Middle Chinese ㄆㄩㄥ {聞} (1), Standard Chinese ㄈㄢ-ㄐㄧㄢ {聽} (2), Jian'ou Chinese ㄕㄢ-ㄐㄧㄢ {聽} (2), Wenchang Hainanese ㄏｉㄚ; {聆} (2).

References and notes:

Classical Chinese: HYDCD XII: 103. Used passim in all early Confucian documents, as well as throughout the rest of the Classical period.
Late Middle Chinese: Cf.: ㄕㄤ ㄩ wèt ㄬ ㄕ ㄬ whereabouts, ㄕㄤ β wèt ㄫ astronomers, ㄕㄤ ㄤ wèt ㄫ in the eyes they (= the Dharmas) are called ‘seeing’, in the ears they are called ‘hearing’, in the nose they are called ‘smelling’ [Linji-ju 31].

40. HEART

Early Zhou Chinese ㄕㄢ {心} (1), Classical Chinese ㄕㄢ {心} (1), Late Middle Chinese ㄕ(strlen) {心} # (1), Standard Chinese ㄈㄣ-ㄔㄢ {心} (1), Jian'ou Chinese ㄕㄢ-ㄌㄢ {心} (1), Wenchang Hainanese ㄕㄆㄢ-ㄕㄢ {心} (1).

References and notes:

Early Zhou Chinese: Schuessler 1987: 683. The word is not found at all in the physical meaning ‘heart (body organ)’ during Early Zhou; the only factual evidence that it did have this meaning is the graphic shape of the character (the fact that it is attested in such a meaning during later periods has little, if any, significance, since the semantic development ‘soul, mind, feelings > heart (organ)’ is typologically normal). There are, however, no other candidates for this meaning.
Classical Chinese: HYDCD VII: 369. As in Early Zhou, the word is encountered very frequently, but mostly in the figurative meaning (‘heart’ as ‘soul’, ‘mind’, ‘character’ etc.). Nevertheless, usage in the physical meaning of ‘body organ’ is common for ritual texts that may be somewhat younger than the early Confucian documents, but may incorporate older usage: cf. the expression ㄕㄢ ㄕㄢ {祭心} “sacrifice the heart” as parallel to ㄕㄢ ㄕㄢ {祭肝} “sacrifice the liver” and ㄕㄢ ㄕㄢ {祭肺} “sacrifice the lungs” in [Li ji 14, 28].
Late Middle Chinese: HYDCD VII: 369. No occurrences in the explicit meaning ‘heart (= body organ)’ are attested in [Linji-lu], but, as is often the case, the word is highly frequent in the abstract meaning ‘heart, mind, soul, conscience’ etc. It is most likely that the anatomical meaning was also expressed by the same word or, at least, a compound like the modern {心臟}, since no variety of Chinese has ever demonstrated any other etymological root for the term.
Standard Chinese: DEHCD 1985: 2046; HYDCD VII: 394. The bisyllabic expression is used to denote ‘heart’ as an anatomic organ; in most colloquial situations, where ‘heart’ is used in a figurative meaning, the monosyllabic ㄕㄢ {心} is freely used instead.
Wenchang Hainanese: Hashimoto 1976: 81. The simple form *tpm*₁ [心] is also used (probably referring to figurative 'heart, soul' rather than the anatomic term).

41. HORN
Early Zhou Chinese *kro̞k* {角} (1), Classical Chinese *kro̞k* {角} (1), Late Middle Chinese *karuk* {角} (1), Standard Chinese *cqiao₃* {角} (1), Jian'ou Chinese *ku₅* {角} # (1), Wenchang Hainanese *kak₆* {角} (1).

References and notes:

Early Zhou Chinese: Schuessler 1987: 303. Attested many times in Early Zhou monuments; archaic nature of the word is also seen from the simple pictogram denoting it. Clearly distinguished from *kʰax̂* [臯] 'drinking horn' or, rather, 'horn-shaped vessel' [Schuessler 1987: 199].

Classical Chinese: HYDCD X: 1345. In early Confucian moments the word is only encountered once in the verbal meaning 'to be horned' [Lunyu 6, 6], but it is quite clearly the only general term for this meaning throughout Classical Chinese.

Late Middle Chinese: HYDCD X: 1345. Cf.: *pʰi maa̞ tʂɨ kark* [拔毛戴角] "(you) are covered with hair and wear horns" [Linji-ju 66].


Jian'ou Chinese: Li 1998: 11. Attested only in compound formations, e.g.: *ṣi̞-kua̞-pə₁* [犀牛角] 'a cup made of rhinoceros horn'.


42. *I*
Early Zhou Chinese *ŋʰaŋy²* {扴} (1), Classical Chinese *ŋʰax̂* ~ *ŋʰa* {扴 ~ 予} (1), Late Middle Chinese *ŋa* {扴} (1), Standard Chinese *wo₃* {扴} (1), Jian'ou Chinese *ye₄* {扴} (1), Wenchang Hainanese *gya₃* {扴} (1).

References and notes:

Early Zhou Chinese: Schuessler 1987: 644. All attempts to properly define the difference between Early Zhou *ŋʰaŋy²* and *La* 'I have failed so far. The most plausible hypothesis is that the original distinction was based around number (in Shang inscriptions, at least, *ŋʰaŋy²* seems to be almost exclusively plural; this, however, may be a statistical distortion based on the formulaic nature of the texts involved), with the original plural form 'we' frequently employed instead of the singular form. It is, however, more speculative than firmly grounded in actual evidence. There are also numerous secondary graphic and phonetic variants of these pronouns, all of them listed in [Schuessler 1987]: (a) *tʂʰap* [_substr] (already in Shang inscriptions and onwards) and *La* [扴] (a few times in the Shangshu), probably related to *La*; (b) *ŋaŋy* [扴] and *yan* [言] (a few times in the Shijing and the Shangshu), related to *ŋʰaŋy²*.

Classical Chinese: HYDCD III: 200; V: 211. The variant *ŋʰa* [予], although phonetically "simpler" than *ŋʰax̂* [扴], is not attested in Shang or Early Zhou Chinese and only gradually works its way into Late Zhou epigraphic monuments. In the literary documents, however, *ŋʰa* is already as common as *ŋʰax̂*. Details of usage depend significantly on dialectal and orthographic characteristics of the particular texts; the general tendency, however, is to use *ŋʰa* in the position of subject ('I, we') or attribute ('my, our'), but never as object ('me, us'). This suggests the interpretation that *ŋʰax̂* is the original "tonic" form, whereas *ŋʰa* is a "reduced" (perhaps even "clitical") variant. From a lexicostatistical point of view, the exact difference does not matter, since both lexemes obviously contain the same original root. Secondary synonym: *La* [扴] [HYDCD I: 768] 'I, we' should not be taken as an "active" word for the Classical period. Cf. statistics for usage in "Lunyu": 113 cases of *ŋʰa*, 53 cases of *ŋʰax̂*, 28 cases of *La*, etc. By the time of Confucius, *La* quite clearly functions as a special high-style archaic expression, most frequently used in quotations from the Early Zhou period or cases of intentional stylization. This does not mean that the word was necessarily "extinct" in all dialects: it is much more frequent in some
of the “Southern” texts (e.g., Zhuangzi), but, since this wordlist is oriented primarily at the language of early Confucian texts, the word should be excluded from the calculations.

**Late Middle Chinese:** HYDCD III: 200. Used *passim* in Linji-lu. A few instances of *ŋo* are also attested; they are, however, much more sporadic (according to the calculations of I. Gurevich, 60 occurrences of *ŋo* contrast with but 8 occurrences of *ŋa*), and, in any case, etymologically both words represent the same root. The use of the word *mǔ-kap* to denote the 1st person is also attested, but this seems to be a specific usage (the primary meaning of the word is ‘someone, so-and-so’).

**Standard Chinese:** DEHCD 1985: 2619; HYDCD III: 200.

**Jian’ou Chinese:** Li 1998: 89. The form *ŋa* can also be used in the meaning ‘I’ [Li 1998: 190], presumably in the position of syntactic object.

**Wenchang Hainanese:** Hashimoto 1976: 80.

42. *I₂*

**Early Zhou Chinese** *Ła* {نى} (2).

**References and notes:**

**Early Zhou Chinese:** Schuessler 1987: 777. The spelling *余个* is generally typical of Shang and Zhou epigraphic inscriptions; the spelling *نى* is more characteristic of the canonized orthography of the literary monuments.

43. *KILL*

**Early Zhou Chinese** *sra* { paed } (1), **Classical Chinese** *sra* { paed } (1), **Late Middle Chinese** *sra* { paed } (1), **Standard Chinese** *sə1-sɨ3* { 殺死 } (1), **Jian’ou Chinese** *sɨɛ5* { 殺 } # (1), **Wenchang Hainanese** *hai₂* (2).

**References and notes:**

**Early Zhou Chinese:** Schuessler 1987: 523. Although many stylistic synonyms and euphemisms for the notion of ‘kill’ are attested even in the Early Zhou period, *sra* is clearly the most statistically frequent and stylistically neutral designation of the process; it also takes both people (*sra nin* [殺人] ‘kill people’ [Shangshu 29, 10]) and animals (*sra kacw lay* [殺羔羊] ‘kill lambs and sheep’ [Shijing 154, 8]) as its object, which further confirms the point.

**Classical Chinese:** HYDCD VI: 1487. Encountered *passim* in nearly all of Classical Chinese documents. Several stylistically marked synonyms are also encountered [e.g., *kək* {弒} ‘to slay’/a high-ranking person/], but none of them are eligible for inclusion on the list.

**Late Middle Chinese:** HYDCD VI: 1487. Cf.: *vü vət vət* ‘Meet Buddha - kill Buddha’ [Linji-lu 63].

**Standard Chinese:** DEHCD 1985: 2337; HYDCD VI: 1487. Other bisyllabic equivalents in the same meaning are possible as well, e.g. *ʂə1-hau* [殺害] ‘kill-harm’, etc. In some contexts, the morpheme *ʂa₁* disappears and is replaced by *ta* [打] ‘to hit’, e.g. *yòng bù qiāng dà sǐ xiàng* ‘to kill a bear with a rifle’. It is possible to view *ta-sɨ3* [打死] as a new synonym that is gradually beginning to replace the older lexeme; nevertheless, *ʂa₁* and its derivatives are still widespread in modern colloquial Chinese.

**Jian’ou Chinese:** Li 1988: 87. Attested only in compound formations, e.g. *səɛ3-tə* {殺頭} ‘to behead’.

**Wenchang Hainanese:** Hashimoto 1976: 81. Graphically transcribed as [台+刀] in the source. Possibly the same as Classical Chinese *抬* 若 *chi* ‘to beat, to thrash (with bamboo sticks, etc.)’.

44. *KNEE*
Classical Chinese  sit 《膝》 (1), Standard Chinese  jī-kāi 《膝蓋》 (1), Jian‘ou Chinese  kʰau₁=kʰü₁ 《骹》 (2), Wenchang Hainanese  ha₁ʔu₁ (3).

References and notes:

Classical Chinese: HYDCD VI: 1367. Not attested in early Confucian monuments, but no other word for 'knee' is encountered in any of them, so it can be relatively safely assumed that this is the main word for 'knee' in Classical Chinese (overall, attested quite reliably in pre-Hàn era texts). Cf.: cinh nin nak kray tu sit {進人若將加諸膝} "they promote people as if they wanted to put them down on their knees" [Li ji 4, 156].

Late Middle Chinese: Not attested in the text of Linji-lu.


Jian‘ou Chinese: Li 1998: 148. Transcribed as kʰɔ₁=kʰü₁ {脚屈} in [Huang 1958: 286]. Literally: 'leg-curve' (for kʰau₁, see 'foot').

Wenchang Hainanese: Hashimoto 1976: 81. The first component is 'foot / leg' q.v. The second component is etymologically obscure.

45. KNOW

Early Zhou Chinese  tre 《知》 (1), Classical Chinese  tre 《知》 (1), Late Middle Chinese  ti 《知》 (1) / sìk 《識》 (2), Standard Chinese  şii-tao 《知道》 (1), Jian‘ou Chinese  te ŋ=tï 《得知》 (1), Wenchang Hainanese  tai 1 (2).

References and notes:

Early Zhou Chinese: Schuessler 1987: 828. This is a very frequent and common equivalent for 'know' in all the literary monuments, but, inexplicably, contexts with this word are extremely rare in Zhou epigraphics, and when they do occur, the graphic shape of the character is usually identified as 知, which in literary monuments normally transcribes the nominal derivate tre-s 'knowledge, wisdom' [Schuessler 1987: 839].


Late Middle Chinese: HYDCD VII: 1524. Cf.: no yek ʔu tï 《吾亦要知》 "I also want to know" [Linji-lu 125];HYDCD XI: 421. Cf.: ciiŋ sìk tï 《總識伊來處》 "(I) always know the place from which he comes" [Linji-lu 20]. This verb is encountered in the meaning 'to know' all over the text of Linji-lu, almost as frequently as the more archaic tï; they are also regularly found together in a single compound, tï-sìk 《知識》. The difference between the two is not trivial and requires additional investigation. For the moment, we treat both forms as synonymous.

Standard Chinese: DEHCD 1985: 632. Literally: 'to know the way'. Attested in this composite meaning, both literally (= 'to know the road') and figuratively (= 'to know the right thing to do'), already in Classical Chinese; the transformation of this VP into a compound verb dates to much later times (probably not earlier than Ming dynasty). From a lexicostatistical point of view this does not matter, since the newer compound retains the same principal root morpheme.


Wenchang Hainanese: Hashimoto 1976: 81. Etymology unclear. Graphically transcribed as [目+扌] in the source, but hardly cognate with Classical Chinese  識 shì (Old Chinese *tak) 'to be acquainted with, to know smth.'

46. LEAF

Early Zhou Chinese  lʰap 《葉》 (1), Classical Chinese  lʰap 《葉》 (1), Late Middle Chinese  yep
32

References and notes:

**Early Zhou Chinese:** Schuessler 1987: 724. Polysemy: 'leaf / generation'. Originally written as simply 世, a character later reserved for the derivate s=laʔ (< *s=lap- 'generation, epoch, age' [Schuessler 1987: 551].

**Classical Chinese:** HYDCD IX: 455. This is the only frequent and neutral equivalent for 'leaf' in all of Classical Chinese, even if the word itself is not found in early Confucian texts.

**Late Middle Chinese:** HYDCD IX: 455. Cf.:

47. LIE

Late Middle Chinese ηyə {🗓} (1), Standard Chinese tʰañ3 {臥} (2), Jian'ou Chinese tau2 {臥} (3), Wenchang Hainanese ?yə3 (4).

References and notes:

**Early Zhou Chinese:** Unclear; at least several equivalents for the stative meaning 'to lie' are possible, but not a single one is directly attested in this meaning: (a) bək (伏) [Schuessler 1987: 170] can be clearly interpreted as 'to lie down' (dynamic action), but there are no clear examples in which it is denoting a state; (b) sʰimʔ {寢} [Schuessler 1987: 489] should rather be understood as 'lie down to sleep' than merely denoting the occupation of a horizontal position. (Cf. [Shijing 189], where in one verse this predicate is in direct opposition to kəŋ {興} 'to rise, stand up' /dynamic/, and in two others forms a causative: sʰimʔ ta zəɨŋ {寢之床} 'lay him (= put him to sleep) on the bed', sʰimʔ ta Lʰayʔ {寢之地} 'lay her (= put her to sleep) on the ground').

**Classical Chinese:** Unclear. Very few, if any, contexts in Classical Chinese unequivocally allow to extract the desired stative meaning 'to lie'. The two main words that could somehow pretend to this function are (a) sʰin {寢} [HYDCD III: 1604] and (b) ηʰ gəyʔ {臥} [HYDCD VIII: 722]. However, the former, in those contexts that are unambiguous, is better understood as a dynamic verb: 'to lie down (to sleep)', whereas the latter generally better corresponds to the meaning 'sleep' q.v. than 'lie'. To avoid unnecessary complex speculation, it is better to leave the slot empty for now.

**Late Middle Chinese:** HYDCD VIII: 722. Cf.: qəŋ ẓə pəo η ɡə (長坐不臥) "(they) always sit and do not lie (down)" [Linji-lu 82] (said of ascetics). Although the meaning of the verb, both within this and a few other examples, can be defined as dynamic ('to lie down'), there is no evidence that dynamic 'to lie down' and static 'to be lying' were opposed in Middle Chinese.

**Standard Chinese:** DEHCD 1985: 875; HYDCD X: 711. A very late colloquial word, appearing in texts in the basic meaning 'to lie' no earlier than mid-Ming (XVIIth century). The old morpheme wo, (臥) mainly remains today as a part of several idiomatic expressions with specialized meanings, e. g. cʰə-wo4 (臥倒) 'to lie on one side', etc.

**Jian'ou Chinese:** Li 1998: 141.

**Wenchang Hainanese:** Hashimoto 1976: 81.

48. LIVER

Classical Chinese kan {艹} (1), Late Middle Chinese kan {艹} (1), Standard Chinese kan1 {艹}
References and notes:


Classical Chinese: HYDCD VI: 1167. The word is relatively late, not attested in early Confucian texts (first occurrence seems to be in Zhuangzi: k  소개 nin kan  ذا بب "he was mincing people’s livers and feeding on them" [Zhuangzi 3, 7, 1]). However, no alternate equivalent for this meaning is known in either earlier or later texts, so the slot can be filled with relative reliability.

Late Middle Chinese: HYDCD VI: 1167. Cf.:

Standard Chinese: DEHCD 1985: 1440; HYDCD VI: 1167. Also encountered as a bisyllabic compound: kan-çaŋ {肝臟}, literally 'liver-viscera', where the second component is the same as in the anatomical term for 'heart' q.v.


49. LONG

Early Zhou Chinese draŋ { 尺 } (1), Classical Chinese draŋ { 尺 } (1), Standard Chinese çʰan² { 尺 } (1), Jian’ou Chinese tɔŋ² { 尺 } (1), Wenchang Hainanese doɔ² { 尺 } (1).

References and notes:


Classical Chinese: HYDCD XI: 577. Cf.: daŋ, nan ʰɔː dre draŋ t ɨn [度然後知長短] "having measured, we then know what is long and what is short" [Mencius 1, 7].

Late Middle Chinese: Not attested in the text of Linji-lu.


50. LOUSE

Classical Chinese srit { 蝨 } (1), Standard Chinese si²-ci¹ { 蝨 } (1), Jian’ou Chinese se₂-ma³ { 蝨 } (1), Wenchang Hainanese tat³-bo³ { 蝨 } (1).

References and notes:

Early Zhou Chinese: Not attested, although external parallels clearly suggest that srit { 蝨 } must have been the main word with this meaning in Early as well as Classical Chinese.

Classical Chinese: HYDCD VIII: 937. Not attested in early Confucian texts, but the word is the only known equivalent for 'louse' in all known Classical Chinese documents.

Late Middle Chinese: Not attested in the text of Linji-lu.


Jian’ou Chinese: Li 1998: 74. The second syllable (transcribed as { 女麻 } in the original source) is a feminine suffix.

Wenchang Hainanese: Hashimoto 1976: 80. The second syllable is bo³ 'mother'. Additionally, the trisyllabic form t ɨ-du³-ɓi³ is also
51. MAN
Early Zhou Chinese pa { 夫 } (1), Classical Chinese nxm { 男 } (2), Late Middle Chinese nvm { 男 } # (2), Standard Chinese nan2-ten2 { 男人 } (2), Jian’ou Chinese nan3-nei3 { 男人 } (2), Wenchang Hainanese kon3-dei1 (3).

References and notes:

Early Zhou Chinese: Schuessler 1987: 169. Not an entirely secure choice. Obvious competition comes in the form of nxm { 男 } [Schuessler 1987: 436], certainly the default word for the designation of a ‘male person’ already in the Classic period. However, in Early Zhou, nxm is encountered infrequently, most often to denote a specific feudal title (‘nan, baron’); more basic usage is generally confined to the noun phrase nxm caʔ { 男子 } ‘(male) son’, used to specify the gender of the descendant (and thus opposed to nraʔ caʔ { 女子 } ‘(female) daughter’. Schuessler also adduces several epigraphic examples in which nxm means ‘male descendant, son’ all by itself and may thus be an abbreviation of nxm caʔ (e. g. nʔ’ayʔ g’oaʔ nxm { 而後男 } ‘my (future) male descendants’ [1381 Xuan]). On the other hand, pa is statistically far more frequent, and in most contexts, applied to human beings that are male by default (soldiers, farmers, etc.) or expressly meaning ‘husband’. It is interesting that in the sole known early literary context in which we encounter the noun phrase pa nin { 夫人 } [Shangshu 42, 9], it clearly refers to ‘man’ or ‘men’, whereas already in the Classic period the term pa-nin is more commonly used to denote the wife, i. e. ‘man’s person’ rather than ‘man-person’. All of this speaks in favor of a gradual transition from pa to nxm, with pa still functioning as the main word for ‘male person’ in Early Zhou. Apart from this, cf. also the usage of praʔ { 亖 } [Schuessler 1987: 550], glossed by Schuessler as ‘male person, man; retainer, servant’ and several times attested within the compound praʔ nraʔ { 亖女 } ‘men and women’. It is dubious, however, that for this word the semantics of ‘male (human being)’ is primary; it functions much more frequently as a ‘social’ term, so its referring to ‘men’ may be simply an example of courteous usage.

Classical Chinese: HYDCD VII: 1304. This word is not encountered in Lunyu at all; in Mengzi, it is attested several times, always paired with nra { 女 } ‘woman’ q.v., cf.: sraʔ go c k ʔ y nxm yrh t, niʔ nraʔ nraʔ ʔan { 使其子九男事之, 二女為焉 } ‘he (Yao) made his children, nine males, serve him, two females, marry him (Shun)’ [Mencius 10, 15]. This begs the question of whether this word, just as it is judged for Early Zhou Chinese, should not be analyzed as ‘male’. However, its only possible competition, the word pa { 夫 }, already in the earliest Classical period texts is clearly employed in a “socially marked” manner, either in the derived meaning ‘teacher, master’ (usually within the compound pa cʔ { 夫子 }), or in the meaning “husband” (often within the antonymous pair pa bʔ { 夫婦 } “husband(s) and wife (wives)”. It may be rather safely assumed that, already by the 5th century B.C., the old word for ‘man’ was more or less replaced by the originally “Peripheral” term for ‘male’.

Late Middle Chinese: HYDCD VII: 1304. Attested only once within the text of Linji-lu, in the compound npm-ŋu { 男女 } “man and woman”, thus, somewhat dubious.

Standard Chinese: DEHCD 1985: 998; HYDCD VII: 1304. The monosyllabic nan2 is still frequently encountered in idiomatic compounds (as well as in the adjectival form nan2-ti { 男的 } ‘male’); the autonomous word for ‘man (male)’ is a compound with ten2 { 人 } ‘person (human)’.


Wenchang Hainanese: Hashimoto 1976: 80. The second component is graphically transcribed as  夫 = Standard Chinese (colloquial) d i { 夫 } ‘dad, father’. The first morpheme is etymologically obscure.

52. MANY
Early Zhou Chinese tay { 多 } (1), Classical Chinese tay { 多 } (1), Late Middle Chinese ta { 多 } (1), Standard Chinese tsen1 { 多 } (1), Jian’ou Chinese cai3 { 多 } (2), Wenchang Hainanese...
References and notes:


Classical Chinese: HYDCD III: 1174. Examples are found passim in nearly every literary monument of the period.

Late Middle Chinese: HYDCD III: 1174. Cf.: mak tʰû y m ɣ (英太多窟) ‘isn’t it too much?’ [Linji-lu 91].


53. MEAT

Early Zhou Chinese nʰuk {肉} (1), Classical Chinese nʰuk {肉} (1), Late Middle Chinese niuk {肉} (1), Standard Chinese ɻou {肉} (1), Jian'ou Chinese niu {肉} (1), Wenchang Hainanese njok: {肉} (1).

References and notes:

Early Zhou Chinese: Schuessler 1987: 513. The fact that this is the default word for ‘meat’ in Early Zhou is only supported by indirect arguments, such as the simple, pictographic nature of the character, its occurrence in a very limited handful of contexts (never in the Shijing or Shangshu), and its inarguable basic status in later periods. Problematically, most of the references to ‘meat’ in literary and epigraphic texts usually refer to special varieties (e.g. ‘sacrificial meat’) or preparation styles (e.g. ɕr {胾} ‘sliced meat’ [Schuessler 1987: 865]; paʔ {脯} ‘dried meat’ [Schuessler 1987: 178]) of the substance.

Classical Chinese: HYDCD VIII: 1059. Cf.: bru: wʰ ɦoy nʰuk {庖有肥肉} “in the kitchen there is fat meat” [Mencius 1, 4]. Various words designating different kinds of raw and cooked meat are found in Classical Chinese, but there are no reasons to doubt the traditional understanding of nʰuk as the main neutral word for ‘meat’ in general.

Late Middle Chinese: HYDCD VIII: 1059. Cf.: ya ɦey pɨ nɨuk {何得剔肉} “how does one cut meat?” [Linji-lu 149].


54. MOON

Early Zhou Chinese ɲot {月} (1), Classical Chinese ɲuat {月} (1), Late Middle Chinese ɲuat {月} (1), Standard Chinese ɲue-ɻian {月亮} (1), Jian'ou Chinese ɲue2 {月} (1), Wenchang Hainanese ɻue-ɲio: {月亮} (1).

References and notes:


Late Middle Chinese: HYDCD VI: 1120. Cf.: `xɤ y ɬɪt ɬɪŋ ɥ ɬɪŋ (海月澄無影) "the moon over the sea is bright and gives no shadow" [Linji-lu 149].

Standard Chinese: DEHCD 1985: 903; HYDCD VI: 1130. Literally: 'moon-light' (the compound may have originally denoted the 'bright side of the moon'). As a compound, first attested in Tàng-era poetry, but basic colloquial usage acknowledged only in the Qing epoch. The main morpheme remains, however, unchanged since Old Chinese times.

Jian'ou Chinese: Li 1998: 92. Also attested in the complex variant ŋ ü ɛ 2 nı 4 nai 3 [Huang 1958: 284]. Quoted as ŋ ü ɛ 8 nı 7 nai 2 in [Linji-lu 124].


55. MOUNTAIN

Early Zhou Chinese ʂan {ʃən} (1), Classical Chinese ʂan {ʃən} (1), Late Middle Chinese ʂan {ʃən} (1), Standard Chinese ʂan 1 {ʂən} (1), Jian'ou Chinese ʂɨn 1 {ʂɨn} (1), Wenchang Hainanese tɨa 1 {tɨa} (1).

References and notes:

Early Zhou Chinese: Schuessler 1987: 524. A variety of terms (often stylistically marked) is available to denote various heights, peaks, etc. already in Early Zhou, but ʂan is clearly the most statistically frequent and basic designation of 'mountain' (as is also evidenced by the simple pictographic shape of the character).

Classical Chinese: HYDCD III: 766. Cf.: ɭə k kə tə ɬɪŋ ɬɪŋ tə həm ɭə (固國不以山谿之險) "to strengthen a state, one does not rely on the impenetrability of mountains and streams" [Mencius 4, 10].

Late Middle Chinese: HYDCD III: 766. Cf.: ʂim ʂən ʃɤ x tə ɬɪŋ ɬɪŋ ɬɪŋ {深山栽許多作什麼} "why should one plant so much in the deep mountains?" [Linji-lu 124].


Wenchang Hainanese: Hashimoto 1976: 82.

56. MOUTH

Early Zhou Chinese kʰo ʔ {ɔ} (1), Classical Chinese kʰə ʔ {ɔ} (1), Late Middle Chinese kʰə w {ɔ} (1), Standard Chinese cʃei 3 {ʃei} (2), Jian'ou Chinese cʰʉ 3 {ʉ} (3), Wenchang Hainanese sui 4 {ʂui} (4).

References and notes:


Classical Chinese: HYDCD III: 1. Cf.: kʰə wiy kʰə pə wə kray kʰə tə gʰə ʔə [豈惟口腹有飢渴之害] "is it only the mouth and the belly that suffer from hunger and thirst?" [Mencius 13, 27].

Late Middle Chinese: HYDCD III: 1. Cf.: kʰə wiy kʰə wə tə kʰə ʔə [開口不得] "should not open the mouth" [Linji-lu 7].

Standard Chinese: DEHCD 1985: 1970; HYDCD III: 517. The original meaning of this word (initially written with the simpler character 觜) was 'beak'; the semantic transition to 'mouth' is a very late jargonism (apparently, no earlier than the late Qing period). The old word kʰəw 3 {ɔ} is still widely used in bound idiomatic expressions, but no longer serves as the main colloquial equivalent for 'mouth'.


57. NAME

Early Zhou Chinese \(m\text{ʰ}e\text{ŋ} \{\text{名}\} \) (1), Classical Chinese \(m\text{ʰ}e\text{ŋ} \{\text{名}\} \) (1), Late Middle Chinese \(m\text{ᵣeŋ} \{\text{名}\} \) (1), Standard Chinese \(m\text{ᵣeŋ} \{\text{名字}\} \) (1), Jian’ou Chinese \(m\text{ᵣeŋ} \{\text{名}\} \) (1), Wenchang Hainanese \(m\text{ᵣa}_2 \{\text{名}\} \) (1).

References and notes:

Early Zhou Chinese: Schuessler 1987: 422. In Early Zhou, mostly attested in the verbal meaning (‘to name’), but there is no reason to think that the noun ‘name’ was etymologically different.

Classical Chinese: HYDCD III: 162. Cf.: \(t\text{ei} y \, t\text{ak} \, t\text{a} \, t\text{e} \, t\text{uh} \, s\text{ᵣ}u \, m\text{ᵣeŋ} \, t\text{o} \, m\text{ᵣeŋ} \) "it (poetry) contains much information about the names of birds, beasts, and plants" [Lunyu 17, 9].

Late Middle Chinese: HYDCD III: 162. Cf.: \(g\text{ᵣ}n \, n\text{ᵣ} \, p\text{ᵣw} \, t\text{ᵣi} \, m\text{ᵣeŋ} \) "talk with him without knowing (his) name" [Linji-lu 76].

Standard Chinese: DEHCD 1985: 679; HYDCD III: 168. A compound: \(m\text{ᵣeŋ} \) ‘name (given at birth)’ + \(c\text{i}_4 \) ‘cognomen (given upon reaching adulthood)’. It is not quite clear during which particular period the component \(c\text{i}_4 \) became desemanticized. The main morpheme \(m\text{ᵣeŋ} \), however, has remained unchanged since Old Chinese times.

Jian’ou Chinese: Li 1998: 12 (transcription only). Phrasal examples in [Li 1998: 23] show that this is indeed the basic equivalent for ‘name’, e.g.: \(\text{立面隂} \) “what is your name?”.

Wenchang Hainanese: Hashimoto 1976: 82.

58. NECK

Early Zhou Chinese \(r\text{ʰen} \{\text{领}\} \) (1), Classical Chinese \(r\text{ʰen} \{\text{领}\} \) (1), Standard Chinese \(p\text{ᵣ\text{ᵣ}} - c\text{i}_4 \{\text{脖子}\} \) (2), Jian’ou Chinese \(t\text{ᵉ} \{\text{督}\} \) (3), Wenchang Hainanese \(d\text{ᵣu}_1 - d\text{ᵣi}_3 \{\text{颈} \} \) (3).

References and notes:

Early Zhou Chinese: Schuessler 1987: 386. The word is encountered thrice in the Shijing (in descriptions, respectively, of a woman, horses, and birds) and, although the contexts may be ambiguous on their own, there is little incentive to doubt the traditional analysis as ‘neck’. A. Schuessler also gives the nominal meaning ‘neck’ to the word \(gro\text{ᵣ}n \) [Schuessler 1987: 675], but it is only encountered once in the Shijing in a clearly verbal position (actually, within the phrase \(gro\text{ᵣ}n \, r\text{ʰeŋ} \) ‘to stretch the neck’). No other words with the potential meaning of ‘neck’ are known for this period.

Classical Chinese: HYDCD XII: 279. Cf.: \(m\text{ᵣi}_n \, k\text{ᵣ}z\text{ᵣ} \, n\text{ᵣ} \, m\text{ᵣi}_n \, n\text{ᵣ} \, t\text{ᵣ}\text{ᵣ} \, t\text{ᵣ}\text{ᵣ} \) ‘all the people will stretch out their necks and look at him from afar’ [Mencius 1, 6]. This is the only unambiguous instance of the word ‘neck’ in an early Confucian text, but a very indicative one. Later on, the word begins to be gradually replaced in all sorts of texts by \(gro\text{ᵣ}n \) [HYDCD XII: 229], which can be used either separately or as a compound with \(r\text{ʰen} \); by the times of early Hän, the replacement is practically complete. Another occasional synonym is \(d\text{ᵣo}_n \) [HYDCD VI: 1279], always translated as ‘neck’; in about 90% of its occurrences in texts, it is used as the object of ‘breaking’ or ‘cutting’, implying immediate death, so it is possible that a more exact meaning is something like ‘neck vertebra’. In any case, it is a statistically infrequent and contextually bound word. Since the list is primarily relying on Lunyu and Mencius, we include \(r\text{ʰen} \) as the primary choice.

Late Middle Chinese: Not attested in the text of Linji-lu.


Wenchang Hainanese: Hashimoto 1976: 81. Also ɗau-kgun1 id. The syllables are left without graphic transcription in the source, but it is rather safe to etymologize the first syllable as equal to Middle Chinese d’wu {脰} ‘neck’ (dial.).

59. NEW

Early Zhou Chinese sin {新} (1), Classical Chinese sin {新} (1), Late Middle Chinese sjin { 新} # (1), Standard Chinese jm1 {新} (1), Jian’ou Chinese sein1 { 新} (1), Wenchang Hainanese tjian1 { 新} (1).

References and notes:

Early Zhou Chinese: Schuessler 1987: 683. Well attested already in Shang and clearly the basic word for this concept in Early Zhou as well.

Classical Chinese: HYDCD VI: 1065. Cf.: ʔən kah na tre sin [温故而知新] "to keep the old in an active state and to learn the new" [Lunyu 2, 11].

Late Middle Chinese: HYDCD VI: 1065. The word is only attested in the compound sjin vəw cə [新婦子] "new (i. e. young) wife" in two different passages in Linji-lu; this context per se is not diagnostic. There is, however, little reason to suggest a possible replacement in Middle Chinese, since this word is highly stable in all varieties of Chinese.


Wenchang Hainanese: Hashimoto 1976: 82.

60. NIGHT

Early Zhou Chinese lа-s {夜} (1), Classical Chinese lа-h {夜} (1), Late Middle Chinese yâ { 夜} (1), Standard Chinese ye4 {夜} (1), Jian’ou Chinese man3 {瞑} (2), Wenchang Hainanese me2 {瞑} (2).

References and notes:

Early Zhou Chinese: Schuessler 1987: 723. The word is most often encountered in the idiom suk lps [夙夜], literally 'from dawn (till) night' = 'all the time, constantly, without a break'; in some contexts, it is visibly antonymous to nít [日] 'day'. The only possible competition comes from l’hãk [夕] [Schuessler 1987: 661] (there is a certain chance that both words are etymologically related, but this is not certain). The latter, however, is more likely to denote 'evening' (i. e. the time when it is getting dark), since the typical idiom for it is traw l’hãk [朝夕] '(from) morning (till) evening', where traw has the undeniable meaning of 'morning hours' (during which court sessions are conducted) [Schuessler 1987: 817].

Classical Chinese: HYDCD II: 356. Cf.: po lãh tríoh l-ph [不舍昼夜] "it does not stop, be it day or night" [Lunyu 9, 17]. The word is sometimes found in opposition to tríoh [晝] 'daytime' and sometimes in opposition to nít [日] 'daylight'; it is the most frequent and neutral designation of 'night' as both 'darkness' and 'time period'.

Late Middle Chinese: HYDCD II: 356. Attested in the compound expression zək yâ [昨夜] 'last night' [Linji-lu 141].


Wenchang Hainanese: Hashimoto 1976: 82.

61. NOSE
Early Zhou Chinese \(b^h\text{i\grave{e}} \{\text{亽}\} (1)\), Classical Chinese \(b^h\text{i\grave{e}} \{\text{亽}\} (1)\), Late Middle Chinese \(b\text{i} \{\text{亽}\} (1)\), Standard Chinese \(p^h\text{i} \{\text{鼻}\} (1)\), Wenchang Hainanese \(f\text{i} \{\text{鼻}\} (1)\).

References and notes:

**Early Zhou Chinese**: Schuessler 1987: 22. The earliest Chinese word for 'nose' could have been \(\text{zi} \{\text{自}\}\), since the corresponding character, depicting a nose, is well attested already in Shang inscriptions and would later serve as the radical element in the phonoideogram \(b^h\text{i\grave{e}} \{\text{亽}\}\) 'nose'. However, even in Shang inscriptions it is very rarely, if ever, attested in the meaning 'nose'; instead, the character serves to transcribe the homonymous reflexive person \(\text{zi} \{\text{自}\}\) 'self' and the auxiliary verb \(\text{zi} \{\text{自}\}\) 'to depart' from, out of [Schuessler 1987: 863-64]. The same situation is typical of Early Zhou. On the other hand, there is very little significant evidence as to which word actually did carry the meaning of 'nose' in these dialects. The character \(\text{自}\) is at least occasionally encountered in Shang times in this meaning, with Schuessler quoting the following context: \(\text{w}^\text{b} \text{ą} \text{št} \text{zi} \{\text{有疾自}\}\) 'there will be an ailing nose'; for unknown reasons, he interprets the character here as an early (simple) form of later \(b^h\text{i\grave{e}} \{\text{亽}\}\). In Early Zhou, neither \(b^h\text{i\grave{e}} \text{ nor } \text{zi}\) are encountered at all (\(b^h\text{i\grave{e}}\) is present in the description of one Yijing hexagram, but it is not clear whether the context can be trusted chronologically); ironically, the verb \(\text{zi} \{\text{自}\}\) 'to cut off the nose' is attested quite frequently in the Shangshu (note that \(\text{帞}, \text{not } \text{自}\), serves as one of the two semantic components). On the whole, it is likely that the word for 'nose' was, from the very beginning, different in Shang and Zhou dialects: \(\text{zi}\) in the former, \(b^h\text{i\grave{e}}\) in the latter, and the former managed to survive only as a grapheme rather than an actual word.

**Classical Chinese**: HYDCD XII: 1415. Cf.: \(b^h\text{i\grave{e}} \text{ tō } \text{ tō} \text{ h}^\text{i} \text{ā} \text{ wî} \{\text{鼻之於臭也}\}\) "the nose being related to smell" [Mencius 14, 70]. The default (and only) equivalent for 'nose' in all of Classical Chinese.

**Late Middle Chinese**: HYDCD XII: 1415. Cf.: \(\text{dzi} \text{ ŋén} \text{ wē ōt} \text{ kíën}, \text{dzi} \text{ ŋí} \text{ wē ōt} \text{ wūn}, \text{dzi} \text{ ī} \text{ wē ōt} \text{ xɨŋ} \) [在眼曰見, 在耳曰聞, 在鼻嗅香] "in the eyes they (= the Dharmas) are called 'seeing', in the ears they are called 'hearing', in the nose they are called 'smelling'" [Linji-lu 31].

**Standard Chinese**: DEHCD 1985: 1157; HYDCD XII: 1415. Final -\text{ci} is a standard nominal suffix, appended for homonymy reduction purposes.

**Jian’ou Chinese**: Li 1998: 2. Quoted as \(p^h\text{i} \{\text{顳}\}\) in [Huang 1958: 286].

**Wenchang Hainanese**: Hashimoto 1976: 81.

62. NOT

Early Zhou Chinese \(p\text{ə} \{\text{不}\} (1)\), Classical Chinese \(p\text{ə} \{\text{不}\} (1)\), Late Middle Chinese \(p\text{aw} \{\text{不}\} (1)\), Standard Chinese \(p\text{u} \{\text{不}\} (1)\), Jian’ou Chinese \(e\text{ni} \{\text{扥}\} (2)\).

References and notes:

**Early Zhou Chinese**: Schuessler 1987: 48. Distinct from the prohibitive \(m\text{a} \{\text{勿}\}\) [Schuessler 1987: 175] in Shang and Early Zhou contexts remains obscure, despite several possible hypotheses (e. g., Schuessler assigns a "volitional" semantic component to \(p\text{ə}\), not really supported by actual data); from the lexicostatistical point of view, however, this issue is irrelevant, since \(p\text{ə}\) is clearly a suffixal extension of the same root \(p\).

**Classical Chinese**: HYDCD I: 394. Encountered passim all over Classical Chinese; distinct from the prohibitive \(m\text{a} \{\text{無}\}\) or \(m\text{a} \{\text{勿}\}\).

The variant \(p\text{ə}\) [HYDCD IV: 101] is usually analyzed (for the Classical Chinese period, not Early Zhou) as the result of phonetic contraction: \(p\text{ə} 'not' + t\text{ə} '之' '3rd p. object pronoun'. The real situation is more complex, since in many orthographic sub-traditions the character \(\text{不}\) itself is used for the contraction \(p\text{ə}\), and, furthermore, modern dialectal data indicates the existence of an independent, non-contracted negation \(p\text{ə}\) as well (probably continuing the Early Zhou usage). In any case, none of this has any lexicostatistical significance, since all instances of \(p\text{ə}\) still feature the original root morpheme \(\text{p}0\) (regardless of whether -\text{t} is a
contracted personal pronoun or some sort of archaic emphatic, non-pronominal particle).

**Late Middle Chinese:** HYDCD I: 394. Passim.

**Standard Chinese:** DEHCD 1985: 1084; HYDCD I: 394. Etymologically, modern Chinese pu is not directly inherited from Middle Chinese pəw (which should have yielded modern fou), but rather reflects an irregular colloquial variant of *püt* (弗) (confirmed by non-Mandarin dialects, many of which also directly reflect a syllable-final consonant). This has no lexicostatistical significance, however, since the original root morpheme *pə* is the same in all these variants.

**Jian’ou Chinese:** Li 1998: 238. Quoted as ciŋ {ㄆ} in [Huang 1958: 291].

**Wenchang Hainanese:** Not attested. The equivalent bo-ti {無是}, listed in [Hashimoto 1976: 80] as 'not', is actually 'no' (i. e. a negative predicate) rather than the required particle.

63. **ONE**

Early Zhou Chinese ?it {→} (1), Classical Chinese ?it {→} (1), Late Middle Chinese ?iit {→} (1), Standard Chinese yiŋ {→} (1), Jian’ou Chinese ciŋ {→} (1), Wenchang Hainanese zjat2 ~ zjanŋ7 (2).

**References and notes:**

- **Classical Chinese:** HYDCD I: 1. Encountered passim all over Classical Chinese documents.
- **Late Middle Chinese:** HYDCD I: 1. Cf.?: ?it pin ɣy ko tien zätŋ {一人在孤頂上} “one man on a lonely hilltop” [Linji- lu 21].
- **Standard Chinese:** DEHCD 1985: 1125; HYDCD I: 1.
- **Jian’ou Chinese:** Li 1998: 9. Quoted as ciŋ {→} in [Huang 1958: 289].
- **Wenchang Hainanese:** Hashimoto 1976: 80.

64. **PERSON**

Early Zhou Chinese nin {人} (1), Classical Chinese nin {人} (1), Late Middle Chinese nin {人} (1), Standard Chinese qen2 {人} (1), Jian’ou Chinese neiŋ3 {人} (1), Wenchang Hainanese naŋ2 {儂} (1).

**References and notes:**

- **Early Zhou Chinese:** Schuessler 1987: 505. Well attested since Shang; the basic word denoting 'human being' without any further specification whatsoever.
- **Classical Chinese:** HYDCD I: 1032. Encountered passim all over Classical Chinese documents. Polysemy: ‘person / someone / anyone’ (i. e. frequently used as an indefinite pronoun or valency filler; e.g., srat nin {殺人} is simply ‘to kill’, not specifically ‘to kill people’).
- **Late Middle Chinese:** HYDCD I: 1032. Cf.?: ?it pin ɣy ko tien zätŋ {一人在孤頂上} “one man on a lonely hilltop” [Linji- lu 21].
- **Standard Chinese:** DEHCD 1985: 2517; HYDCD I: 1032.
- **Jian’ou Chinese:** Li 1998: 231. Quoted as neiŋ {人} in [Huang 1958: 285].
- **Wenchang Hainanese:** Hashimoto 1976: 80. Marked as non-cognate with Standard Chinese qen2 {人} by the author (hence the different graphic transcription), but this is debatable.

65. **RAIN**
Early Zhou Chinese \( w^h a ? \) \( (雨) \) (1), Classical Chinese \( w^h a ? \) \( (雨) \) (1), Late Middle Chinese \( hâu \) \( (雨) \) (1), Standard Chinese \( yū_3 \) \( (雨) \) (1), Jian’ou Chinese \( xū_1 \) \( (雨) \) (1), Wenchang Hainanese \( hìou_5 \) \( (雨) \) (1).

References and notes:

Early Zhou Chinese: Schuessler 1987: 781, 783. The same character is used to transcribe both the noun \( w^h a ? \) 'rain' and the derived verb \( w^h a ? -s \) 'to rain'.

Classical Chinese: HYDCD XI: 610. Cf.: \( s^h \text{it} \) \( nγ \) \( to \) \( keren \) \( w^h a ? \) \( ʒəp \) [七八月之間雨集] "rain is abundant in between the seventh and eighth months" [Mencius 8, 46]. The same character is used to transcribe both the noun \( w^h a ? \) 'rain' and the derived verb \( w^h a ? -k \) 'to rain'.

Late Middle Chinese: HYDCD XI: 610. Cf.: \( xâu \) \( ʒəp \) \( xâu hâu \) [好晴好雨] "he loves sunny weather and he loves the rain" [Linji-lu 32].


Jian’ou Chinese: Li 1998: 98. Quoted as \( xū_1 \) \( (雨) \) in [Huang 1958: 285].

Wenchang Hainanese: Hashimoto 1976: 82.

66. RED

Early Zhou Chinese \( k^h i ak \) \( (赤) \) (1), Classical Chinese \( k^h i ak \) \( (赤) \) (1), Late Middle Chinese \( ʒ^h i k \) \( (赤) \) (1), Standard Chinese \( hui_2 \) \( (红) \) (2), Jian’ou Chinese \( ñ_2 \) \( (红) \) (2), Wenchang Hainanese \( tìñ_2 \) \( (红) \) (2).

References and notes:

Early Zhou Chinese: Schuessler 1987: 79. This is clearly the most frequent and stylistically neutral word in this meaning (see 'black' for a definitive example of usage). Much more rare in Early Zhou is \( to \) \( (朱) \) [Schuessler 1987: 850], often defined as 'bright red, scarlet', and several other quasi-synonyms are encountered so rarely that they are probably not worth mentioning.

Classical Chinese: HYDCD IX: 1156. The word is not attested in early Confucian texts other than in the context of occasional idiomatic expressions (e.g. \( k^h i k \) \( ñ_2 \) [赤子] 'baby', literally 'red child'), but no other candidate for 'red' in these texts crops up anyway, and \( k^h i k \) is clearly the most frequent equivalent for 'red' throughout the rest of the Classical period, with such words as \( to \) \( (朱) \) 'bright red, vermilion (?)' and \( ʒ^h i ñ_2 \) [红] '(a particular shade of) red' lagging far behind. It should be noted, however, that the neutral color term 'red', overall, tends to be mentioned rather sporadically in Old Chinese texts next to such color terms as 'white', 'black', and 'yellow'.

Late Middle Chinese: HYDCD IX: 1156. Cf.: \( pík ña \) \( ñak \) \( ñiew \) \( ñi \). \( gin ñi \) \( ñew \) \( ñi \) [把我著底衣，認著黃赤白] "he seizes the clothes that I wear, considers them to be blue, yellow, red, white" [Linji-lu 75]. This is the principal term for 'red' in [Linji-lu].

Standard Chinese: DEHCD 1985: 826; HYDCD IX: 702. The word itself is quite old, having denoted a particular (light?) shade of red already in Classical Chinese. It is not easy to establish at which point it managed to replace the old basic term \( ʒ^h i _4 \) \( (赤) \) 'red', but, at the very least, it seems to post-date the Middle Chinese interval.


Wenchang Hainanese: Hashimoto 1976: 82.

67. ROAD

Early Zhou Chinese \( l^h u ? \) \( (巡) \) (1), Classical Chinese \( rəh \) \( (路) \) (2), Late Middle Chinese \( lô \) \( (路) \) (2), Standard Chinese \( tào=lu_4 \) \( (道路) \) (2), Jian’ou Chinese \( kai'-ti_4 \) \( (街塲) \) # (3),
Wenchang Hainanese *lou* {ŋə} (2).

References and notes:

**Early Zhou Chinese**: Schuessler 1987: 115. In Early Zhou, this is the most statistically frequent word denoting the idea of ‘road’ without any further connotations. It also serves as the basis for the derived verb *lù-s* {導} ‘to lead, conduct (along the way)’ [Schuessler 1987: 116]. The word *ránh* {𦥀} ‘road’ [Schuessler 1987: 395], in comparison, is encountered only in a tiny handful of contexts, most often, within the noun phrase *ránh* klo {路華} ‘grand chariot’, where it is not even certain that the *ránh* in question represents the same ‘word’. It is likely that the gradual replacement of *lù* with *ránh* did not really start until the Classical period, possibly caused by the expanding polysemy of the former (‘road / way / manner / habit / Tao’, etc.).

**Classical Chinese**: HYDCD X: 473. The situation is very complicated here. In early Confucian texts, there are three equivalents of the general meaning ‘road’ (as a physical object) or ‘road, way’ (as an abstract designation of an artificial line connecting two points): (a) *ránh* {𦥀}, encountered only in Mencius, cf.: *ziy* Lù-ɕei tə ránh pa way gön hó {西歸之路不為近矣} “the road from Qi to Teng is not short” [Mencius 4, 15]; *snn* kɛŋ tə gɛ kren, krena loŋk tə na den ránh {山徑之蹊開，介然用之而成路} “the small footpaths along the mountains, use them increasingly and they will become roads” [Mencius 14, 67]; (b) the compound form *lù-ː* ránh {道路}, encountered a few times both in Lunyu and Mencius, cf.: *la sly* ə lorum ránh wə {妍乃道路乎} “shall I die upon the road?” [Lunyu 9, 12]; (c) an entirely different stem, *lù*: {AbsolutePath}, cf.: *grɛŋ rə* krazy *lök* ə ɡt ə wənəŋ tə Lù: {行緣欲欲出於王之路} “all the travelers will want to find themselves on the King’s roads” [Mencius 1, 7].

Of these three variants, *lù*: {AbsolutePath} is homonymous with and, quite possibly, etymologically identical with *lù*: {dirt; clay}, implying that the actual meaning may have specifically been ‘dirt road’, ‘country road’ (as opposed to ‘paved road’, ‘large road connecting cities or states’). Although it is relatively frequent in Classical Chinese all the way up to Han times (in which it acquires another graphic equivalent, 路, to distinguish it from 道 in the meaning ‘dirt; clay’), it is safe to exclude it from lexicostatistical calculations, since it never completely replaces the other, more stable synonyms.

As for the other two candidates, the important thing to note is that in the Classical period, the simple word *lù*: {道} is very rarely employed to denote a physical ‘road’ by itself; most of the time, it only appears within the abovementioned compound. This is, without a doubt, due to its polysemy, and ever-increasing usage in the abstract, philosophical sense (‘The Way’, ‘The Righteous Way’, Tao). On the other hand, *ránh* {𦥀} is very common as ‘road’ on its own, quite unlike its functions in the Early Zhou period. This fairly transparent shift in usage, in our opinion, may be countered only in Mencius, cf.: *la sly* ə lorum ránh wə {妍乃道路乎} “shall I die upon the road?” [Lunyu 9, 12]; (c) an entirely different stem, *lù*: {AbsolutePath}, cf.: *grɛŋ rə* krazy *lök* ə ɡt ə wənəŋ tə Lù: {行緣欲欲出於王之路} “all the travelers will want to find themselves on the King’s roads” [Mencius 1, 7].

**Late Middle Chinese**: HYDCD X: 473. Cf.: *qʊɛŋ cʰuːt sin cɿ lʊ {無出身之路} “there is no road to come out” [Linji-lu 21]. Somewhat dubious.

**Standard Chinese**: DEHC 1985: 454; HYDCD X: 1080. This is the regular bisyllabic equivalent for the meaning ‘road’, but in a large number of contexts and idiomatic expressions, the monosyllabic *lu* {路} is used instead (cf. particularly such compounds as *ɕiː-lʊ* {水路} ‘water route’, *pæŋ-lʊ* {山路} ‘mountain road’, etc.). Because of this, it makes sense to view the bisyllabic equivalent as the lexical continuation of Classical Chinese *ránh*, but not to score it together with Early Zhou *lù*?

**Jian’ou Chinese**: Li 1998: 132. Meaning glossed as ‘street’ (Standard Chinese 街道); somewhat dubious because of the semantics.

**Wenchang Hainanese**: Hashimoto 1976: 82. Meaning glossed as ‘path’.

68. **ROOT**

Early Zhou Chinese *par* {本} (1), Classical Chinese *kws* {根} (2), Late Middle Chinese *kws* {根} (2), Standard Chinese *kɛn* {根} (2), Jian’ou Chinese *kuːŋ* {根} (2), Wenchang Hainanese *kjan* {根} (2).

References and notes:
Early Zhou Chinese: Schuessler 1987: 20. Although the absolute majority of contexts in which this word is encountered in Early Zhou are metaphorical (‘root’ as ‘foundation’, etc.), at least one context [Shijing 255, 8] clearly refers to paxn as ‘tree root’, opposed to ke {枚} ‘branches’ and 葉 {叶} ‘leaves’. The simple pictographic nature of the character also hints at the original semantics of ‘tree root’. No other words with this meaning are found in Early Zhou.

Classical Chinese: HYDCD IV: 1012. Overall, it cannot be doubted that, by the end of the Classical period, the word kaxn {根} had completely replaced the earlier paxn {根} in the basic meaning ‘root (of trees and other plants)’, with paxn preserved in a wide range of figurative meanings (‘root’ as ‘origin’, ‘foundation’, ‘essentials’, etc.). In the Shuowen jiezi, for instance, all of the references to roots of plants always comprise kaxn, whereas paxn is reserved for the more abstract meaning ‘foundation’. The difficult problem is to determine the approximate period during which the replacement actually took place. Early Confucian texts offer little help in this matter, since the word ‘root’ is only encountered in figurative meanings (‘origin’, most of the time), thus, only paxn is attested, but none of the attestations are diagnostic. Cf., however, a diagnostic context in Zhuangzi: pən na kengh ɡə də ɡə ɡə kaxn {俯而見其大根} “he looked down and saw its (the tree’s) big root” [Zhuangzi 1, 4, 6], a document of comparable antiquity. In the light of all available evidence, we prefer to fill the slot with kaxn.

Late Middle Chinese: HYDCD IV: 1012. Cf.: ɡi zi ɡiul kaxn ɡi {枝是勿根株} “it is just a stump without roots” [Linji-lu 72].

Standard Chinese: DEHCD 1985: 808; HYDCD IV: 1012. Used either by itself or, when necessary, within the bisyllabic compound sù-ɡen {樹根} ‘tree-root’.


69. ROUND

Early Zhou Chinese wran {員} # (1), Classical Chinese wran {員} # (1), Standard Chinese yui2 {圆} (1), Jian’ou Chinese uii2 {圆} # (1), Wenchang Hainanese ?i2 {圆} (1).

References and notes:

Early Zhou Chinese: Schuessler 1987: 791. Somewhat dubious, since most contexts rather hint at such meanings as ‘to be) around, encircle; circumference’.

Classical Chinese: HYDCD III: 359. Not attested in early Confucian monuments in adjectival usage, but found in Mencius within the idiomatic expression pâng wran {方員} ‘squares and circles’ [Mencius 7, 1], and amply attested in the required adjectival usage in other Classical Chinese documents (also frequently as an antonym to pâng ‘square (adj.)’).

Late Middle Chinese: Not attested in the text of Linji-lu.

Standard Chinese: DEHCD 1985: 840; HYDCD III: 654. Same word as Classical Chinese wran {員} (the new graphic variant 圆 for earlier 员 is actually quite old in origin, but has been more or less consistently observed only in recent times).


Wenchang Hainanese: Hashimoto 1976: 82.

70. SAND

Early Zhou Chinese sraw {沙} (1), Classical Chinese sraw {沙} (1), Standard Chinese sə1 {沙} (1), Jian’ou Chinese səɛ4 {沙} (1), Wenchang Hainanese təə1 {yb} (1).

References and notes:

Early Zhou Chinese: Schuessler 1987: 523. Cf.: bo ɡə səɛ sraw {凫鹥在沙} “the ducks and gulls are on the sand” [Shijing 248, 2].

Classical Chinese: HYDCD V: 949. Not attested in early Confucian monuments, but amply attested in other Classical Chinese texts, with no other known word in the meaning ‘sand’ whatsoever.
Late Middle Chinese: Not attested in the text of Linji-lu.

Standard Chinese: DEHCD 1985: 1436; HYDCD V: 949. Used either by itself (as a monosyllabic word), or in such compounds as ʂə-tʰu3 [沙土] 'sandy ground, sand' or ʂə-ci3 [沙子] (with a standard nominal suffix).


71. SAY

Early Zhou Chinese wat (⟨ㄞ⟩) (1), Classical Chinese wat (⟨ㄞ⟩) (1), Late Middle Chinese fiün (⟨ㄠ⟩) (2), Standard Chinese ʂə (⟨說⟩) (3), Jian'ou Chinese ʂə1 (⟨話⟩) (4), Wenchang Hainanese koŋ3 (⟨講⟩) (5).

References and notes:

Early Zhou Chinese: Schuessler 1987: 795. Included here with certain reservations, since, in most cases, this word functions in Early Zhou as the marker of direct speech (or as the passive verb 'to be called, to be named'); it can never ever take an indirect object, as in 'said to him', etc. Nevertheless, the word must have had a freer distribution in Early Zhou than in Classical Chinese, cf. such contexts as ƙəm nəʔ go waƶ (今汝其言) "now you might say..." [Shujing 10, 3] (in the Classical language the 2nd person pr. subject in this position is unthinkable). Concerning potential competition, Early Zhou verbs ƙə (⟨語⟩) [Schuessler 1987: 781] and ƙən (⟨言⟩) [Schuessler 1987: 711] practically never take an object, i.e. mean 'speak' rather than 'say'.

Classical Chinese: HYDCD V: 556. Somewhat dubious. In Classical Chinese, wat essentially serves as a marker of direct speech (although formally, it is still a verb), and its usage is therefore "bound". On the other hand, there is hardly any serious competition, since all other verbs of speech have more complex meanings than just 'say': e.g., ŋə (⟨語⟩) 'to converse, talk (usually about smth.)', kuch (告) 'to tell, to report', ƙək (謂) 'to mean, to signify', A ƙə (説) 'to explain' etc. Only ƙən (言) may have had a more neutral meaning, but it is most frequently used as a noun ('words', 'speech'); neutral verbal meaning seems to be more characteristic of late (Hàn) times.

Late Middle Chinese: HYDCD II: 829. Cl.: ʂɨ ʂəŋ dəŋ fiün (師上堂言) "the Teacher ascended into the Hall and said", etc. [Linji-lu 7].

This is the main predicate to introduce direct speech in the Linji-lu.

Standard Chinese: DEHCD 1985: 2065; HYDCD XI: 239. This is the main basic term that introduces direct or indirect speech in modern Chinese. A less eligible term is koŋ-su4 (告訴) 'to say, to tell', whose general semantics has more to do with imparting specific information on a subject to the addressee (historically, the literal meaning of this compound is 'to report-complain').


72. SEE

Early Zhou Chinese ken-s (⟨見⟩) (1), Classical Chinese ken-s (⟨見⟩) (1), Late Middle Chinese kięn (⟨見⟩) (1), Standard Chinese ʂɨjənt (⟨見⟩) (1), Wenchang Hainanese mo2 (2).

References and notes:

Early Zhou Chinese: Schuessler 1987: 296. Schuessler adds the meaning 'to look at', but it is clearly marginal and figurative (e.g. ken-s ta (見書) [Shujing 26, 9] "Look at the writing" = "See the writing"); the default verb for 'to look' is ʂɨ (視) [Schuessler 1987: 554].

Classical Chinese: HYDCD X: 311. Encountered passim in all Classical Chinese texts. Occasional polysemy: 'to see / to pay a visit to' (indicating an official audience).
Late Middle Chinese: HYDCD X: 311. Cf.: ʂi-ci wʊt kɨn, ʂi hi wʊt ʂɨn, ʂi bɨ wʊt ʂɨŋ [在眼曰見]. In the eyes they (= the Dharmas) are called ‘seeing’; in the ears they are called ‘hearing’; in the nose they are called ‘smelling’ [Linji-lu 31].

Standard Chinese: DEHCD 1985: 181; HYDCD X: 311. This monosyllabic equivalent is used quite frequently, as well as its bisyllabic counterpart kʰnɨɕ ɨnɨ [看見], literally ‘to look-see’. No lexicostatistical replacement since Old Chinese times.

Jian’ou Chinese: Not attested.


73. SEED


References and notes:

Early Zhou Chinese: Schuessler 1987: 846. Nominal stem, with a further verbal derivate tœŋ-s [ibid.: 847]. This is most likely the default Early Zhou word for ‘seed’, at least that of a cultural plant (cereal).

Classical Chinese: HYDCD VIII: 107. Cf.: ʂœŋ ʈə ʂu ʐa [播種而種之] “scatter the seeds and rake them” [Mencius 11, 7]. Very rarely encountered in early Confucian texts, but the word is clearly the main equivalent for ‘seed’ throughout all of Classical Chinese.

Late Middle Chinese: Not attested in the text of Linji-lu.

Standard Chinese: DEHCD 1985: 2042; HYDCD VIII: 107. This is the main term for ‘seed’ (of cultivated plants) in modern Chinese; final -ci is a standard nominal suffix, usually appended for homonymy reduction purposes, but in this case, semantically coherent, since its original meaning is ‘child, progeny’. A secondary synonym, etymologically related to -ci [子], is ɕi ʂɤ ~ ɕi-ɕ [孩兒] ‘seed, grain, pip’.


74. SIT

Early Zhou Chinese ʂɨŋɊə {坐} (1), Classical Chinese ʂɨŋɊə {坐} (1), Late Middle Chinese ʂɨŋə {坐} (1), Standard Chinese ɕuə {坐} (1), Jian’ou Chinese ɕuə {坐} (1), Wenchang Hainanese ɕəə {坐} (1).

References and notes:

Early Zhou Chinese: Schuessler 1987: 874. Somewhat dubious. Although the character superficially looks like an archaic ideogram expressly designed for the meaning ‘to sit’ (two people /人/ on the ground /士/), it is only attested in this specific meaning, at best, once or twice in Early Zhou, cf.: ɕœŋɊə ʂɨŋɊə ʂuə ʂɨŋɊə [坐坐坐坐] “(we) sit together and play the zithers” [Shijing 126, 2], and even then it may be questioned whether we are indeed dealing here with the default, basic word for ‘sit’ or some specific meaning/usage. This doubt is meaningful in the light of possible competition on the part of Early Zhou ʂu [屋], usually glossed as ‘to stay, dwell, reside’ [Schuessler 1987: 329]. The character is a phonoideogram whose radical (戶) originally depicted a sitting person, and such contexts as ʂɨŋ kɨn ʂu [屋居居] “it is the jiu-bird that dwells (sits?) there (= in another bird’s nest)” [Shijing 12, 1] hint at the possibility of the original polysemy ‘to dwell, stay, live / to sit’, very widespread typologically. It should also be noted that, in the Shijing, the character 居 frequently rhymes in the falling tone (including the very line quoted above, which rhymes with 鼎 ‘鼎ra-h ‘to meet’), betraying an old reading of *ka-h = Classical Chinese 顯 ka-h ‘to squat’; this would suggest a possible old morphological opposition between *ka ‘to stay, dwell, reside’ and *ki-h ‘to sit, be sitting’. However, as long as all of this is only indirect evidence, we have little
choice but to go along with ｚｙｏｙ as our primary choice.

Classical Chinese: HYDCD II: 1039. Cf.: ｐｂ ｊｋ ｐａ ｔｅｎｈ, ｐａ(ｔ) ｚｙ ｊｙ [席不正不坐] "if the mat was not straight, he would not sit on it" [Lunyu 10, 9].

Late Middle Chinese: HYDCD II: 1039. Cf.: ｚｙａ ｇ ｃｊ ｓ ｊｙ [要坐即坐] "if you want to sit, then sit" [Linji-lu 31].


75. SKIN

Early Zhou Chinese ｐｒａ (膚) (1), Classical Chinese ｐｒａ (膚) (1), Standard Chinese ｐʰｉｚ＝ｆｕ₁ (皮膚) (1), Wenchang Hainanese jье₂ (皮) # (2).

References and notes:

Early Zhou Chinese: Schuessler 1987: 169. Cf.: ｐｒａ ｎａ ｑｙａｋｙ [膚如凝脂] "(her) skin is like like congealed fat' [Shijing 57, 2]. The word ｂｙ [皮] [Schuessler 1987: 457] is much more frequent than ｐｒａ in Early Zhou. However, there is not a single context in which it would apply to the human skin; on the contrary, it can be seen quite explicitly that it always refers to 'hide', 'fur' of animals or to materials (clothes, covers, etc.) made of these hides.

Classical Chinese: HYDCD VI: 1369. Cf.: ｍｔ ｂｙ ｋ ｓ戆 ｔｒａ ｐｒａ ｑｙａ ｔａｎ [無尺寸之膚不愛焉] "there is not an inch of (his) skin that he does not begrudge' [Mencius 11, 14]: a very good example on the basic usage of the word ｐｒａ in the meaning 'human skin'. As in Early Zhou Chinese, ｂｙ [皮] primarily means 'animal skin, hide, leather'. By Hán times, however, usage of ｂｙ as 'human skin' (more often, as part of the compound ｂｙ ｐｒａ (皮膚)) becomes common.

Late Middle Chinese: Not properly attested in the text of Linji-lu. In one context, the word ｂи [皮] is used to refer to 'animal skin' or 'hide'.

Standard Chinese: DEHCD 1985: 776; HYDCD VIII: 522. A compound that consists of the old word for 'human skin' (ｆｕ₁ = Old Chinese "pra, etc.), "prefixed" with the old word for 'animal skin, hide' (ｐʰｉｚ). The meaning 'animal skin, hide' itself is expressed in the modern language with either the monosyllabic equivalent ｐʰｉｚ (皮) or the bisyllabic ｐʰｉｚ‑ｋɤ₁ (皮革), where ｋɤ₁ = 'leather'. Since the presence of the component ｆｕ₁ is still essential in the modern language to distinguish 'human skin' from 'animal skin', we count no lexical replacement from Old Chinese to Modern Chinese.

Jian’ou Chinese: Not quite clear. The word ｐʰｉัส (皮) 'skin' is attested only in compound formations; the exact equivalent for 'human skin' is not explicitly indicated in existing sources.

Wenchang Hainanese: Hashimoto 1976: 80. Glossed simply as 'skin', so somewhat dubious (not clear if the word refers to human or animal skin).

76. SLEEP


References and notes:

Early Zhou Chinese: Schuessler 1987: 409. Unquestionably the most frequent and basic designation for 'sleep' in Early Zhou, illustrated by numerous contexts in the Shijing in particular. On the ineligibility of ｓʰｉｍ (寢) 'to lie down; to lay down (to sleep)', which A. Schuessler glosses as 'to lie down; sleep' [Schuessler 1987: 489], see under 'lie'.
Classical Chinese: HYDCD VIII: 722. The choice is dubious, since in most contexts this word may be translated ambiguously, as either 'sleep' or 'lie (down)'. Cf., however, the following diagnostic passage in which the meaning 'lie' is impossible: ʔə nh krə nyə əyh {隱几而臥} “he leant upon the table and (began to) sleep” [Mencius 4, 20] (said of Mencius expressing contempt for a visitor). Another such context, although taken from an allegedly later document, is also quite telling: ŋʰ aː ... ƛeːŋkəːŋraː uk, cəːk wiy kʰǒŋ aː əyh {吾...聽古樂則唯恐臥} “when I... listen to ancient music, I only fear I will fall asleep” [Li ji 19, 42] (obviously not "I fear I will lie down"). The major competition for this item is on behalf of the synonym ʰǐm {寢}, which, in most contexts, can be analyzed as dynamic action ('to lie down to sleep', 'to go to sleep') rather than the required static verb ('to sleep'), but there is really no telling, cf.: cə Ła triwh s ʰǐm {宰予晝寢} “Zai Yu slept during the day” [Lunyu 5, 10] (should that be really interpreted as "Zai Yu went to sleep in the daytime"). For the moment (prior to a much more thorough examination of available contexts), we prefer to treat both words as technical synonyms.

Early Zhou Chinese: sewʔ {小} (1), Classical Chinese sěw {小} (1), Late Middle Chinese síew {小} (1), Standard Chinese ʆao3 {小} (1), Jian'ou Chinese səu2 {小} (1), Wenchang Hainanese niəu (2).

References and notes:

Early Zhou Chinese: Schuessler 1987: 678. This is clearly the main word for the concept already since Shang times, and it is of little use to list the numerous stylistically marked quasi-synonyms (often with very dubious glossing) found in the literary monuments of Early Zhou.

Classical Chinese: HYDCD II: 1585. Encountered passim in Classical Chinese, unquestionably the most frequent and neutral word for 'small'.

Late Middle Chinese: HYDCD II: 1585. Within Linji-lu, encountered only in bound expressions (such as sɨw pi {小兒} 'little boy', etc.), but, considering the overall stability of this item in Chinese, there is little reason to suggest that any different synonym could occupy this spot in Middle Chinese.

Standard Chinese: DEHCD 1985: 2157; HYDCD VII: 1230. A frequently used variant is the bisyllabic equivalent ʂei-ɕao4 {睡覺}, literally 'to sleep-awaken'.

Jian'ou Chinese: Li 1998: 3. Bisyllabic stem of obscure origin (special non-standard characters are employed in the dictionary to mark it).


78. SMOKE

Early Zhou Chinese hun {熏} (1), Classical Chinese hun {熏} # (1), Late Middle Chinese ʔien {煙} (2), Standard Chinese yän1 {煙} (2), Jian'ou Chinese iŋ1 {煙} (2), Wenchang Hainanese hōn1 {熏} (1).

References and notes:
Early Zhou Chinese: Schuessler 1987: 704. This word, only encountered thrice in the Shijing, is usually glossed as a verb, cf. the meanings 'to make smoke; befumed' in [Schuessler 1987]. However, in at least one of these contexts the word may be understood nominally: ʔu sam na hun (our) grieved hearts are like smoke' (not 'smoking') [Shijing 258, 5]. In another context, it behaves like a transitive predicate: hun ʔaʔ [重] "we smoke out the rats" [Shijing 154, 5]. Juxtaposition of even these two contexts makes it clear that the uniting link can only be an original noun with the meaning 'smoke'. Additionally, the character is a complex pictogram that bears a non-coincidental resemblance to the one used for s=mxk [黑] 'black' q.v.; and no other word that could, even in one context, be unambiguously translated as 'smoke', is known for the Early Zhou period. 

Classical Chinese: HYDCD VII: 222. Dubious. The word is never encountered in early Confucian documents, and by Hán times it seems to have been completely superseded by ʔen [禮] [HYDCD VII: 173]. Still, ʔen makes its regular appearance in texts normally dated to the 3rd century B.C. (Xunzi, Han Feizi, etc.), whereas allegedly slightly earlier texts (Mozi, Zhuangzi) have a few instances of hun. It is relatively safe to assume that the lexicostatistical shift happened a little after the concerned time period.

Late Middle Chinese: HYDCD VII: 173. Cf.: ʔap kən sən ʔa jəŋ ʔiən ʔen ʔin (將軍塞外絕煙塵) "outside the fortress, the general excludes smoke and dust". Dubious (a hapax).


Wenchang Hainanese: Hashimoto 1976: 81. The word is tentatively (with a question mark) equated with Middle Chinese *xun, Standard Chinese ʔun (重) 'to be dark' in the source, but the phonetic match with Middle Chinese *xun [重] is just as strong, and the semantic match is better (the word means 'smoke' as late as in Classical Chinese).

79. STAND

Early Zhou Chinese ʔap (立) (1), Classical Chinese ʔap (立) (1), Late Middle Chinese ɿɿp (立) (1), Standard Chinese ɐnɿ (站) (2), Jian'ou Chinese kiiɛ (倚) (3), Wenchang Hainanese ʰiɛ (倚) (3).

References and notes:

Early Zhou Chinese: Schuessler 1987: 377. The word is an "exoactive" predicate, freely used in both intransitive ('to be standing') and causative/transitive ('to make to stand; to set up, raise') functions in Early Zhou. Most known contexts of intransitive usage refer to stative rather than dynamic ('to stand up') action (the latter aspect is usually expressed through ʔan [興] [Schuessler 1987: 686]).

Classical Chinese: HYDCD VIII: 371. Cf.: ʔap pa trəŋ mən (立不中門) "when standing, he did not occupy the middle of the gateway" [Lunyu 10, 4].

Late Middle Chinese: HYDCD VIII: 371. Cf.: ʔəŋ ʔin ɿɿp [音座侍立] "the chief priest was standing in attendance" [Linji-ɿ 129]. The verb is only encountered in bound expressions, but no other candidates for the meaning 'to stand' have been attested in the text.

Standard Chinese: DEHCD 1985: 2203; HYDCD VIII: 379. The older meaning of this word is 'to stop somewhere; to occupy a place', originally written as ɿɿ. The word gradually replaces the older ɿ (立) in the basic meaning 'to stand, be standing' over the Ming-Qing period.


80. STAR

References and notes:


Classical Chinese: HYDCD V: 669. Cf.: ka go srə na tuŋ sʰɛŋ goŋh ta [居其所而眾星共之] "it (the Polar star) is fixed in its place, and all the stars surround it" [Lunyu 2, 1].

Late Middle Chinese: Not attested in the text of Linji-lu.

Standard Chinese: DEHCD 1985: 617; HYDCD V: 669. The bisyllabic equivalent ʆi-tʰou {星體}, literally 'star-body', may also be used in certain contexts.

Jian'ou Chinese: Li 1998: 249. Collective meaning ('stars').


81. STONE

Early Zhou Chinese diak {石} (1), Classical Chinese diak {石} (1), Late Middle Chinese ʒek {石} (1), Standard Chinese ʂɨ-tʰou {石頭} (1), Jian'ou Chinese ciɔ₁ {石} (1), Wenchang Hainanese ciɔ charitable {石} (1).

References and notes:

Early Zhou Chinese: Schuessler 1987: 546. The word is very frequent in Early Zhou, and both this frequency and apparent stylistic neutrality of usage as well as the simple pictographic nature of the character confirm its basic status.

Classical Chinese: HYDCD VII: 979. Only attested in one non-diagnostic context in early Confucian texts (lǎ nʰēk d gə kə [與石居] "he dwelt among trees and rocks" [Mencius 13, 16]), but amply attested throughout Classical Chinese, with no reason to suspect any other word in this basic meaning.

Late Middle Chinese: HYDCD VII: 979. In Linji-lu, the word is encountered only in bound usage (e. g. ʒek x ɾi [石火] "a spark from off a stone", literally "stone-fire" [Linji-lu 149], etc.), but there is no reason to suggest a different word for 'stone' in Middle Chinese (at most, it could already have been ʒek-dɤw {石頭} with one of the standard productive nominal suffixes, as it is in the modern language; first attestation of such a compound usage dates back to Táng times [HYDCD VII: 1000]).

Standard Chinese: DEHCD 1985: 727; HYDCD VII: 979. Final tʰou is a formerly productive nominal suffix (a desemanticized variant of the word 'head'), appended for homonymy reduction purposes (cf. also 'tongue' q.v.). The old monosyllabic variant ʂɨ is still encountered in various bound expressions.


82. SUN

Early Zhou Chinese nit {日} (1), Classical Chinese nit {日} (1), Late Middle Chinese nit {曰} (1), Standard Chinese tʰai=yən₂ {太陽} (2), Jian'ou Chinese mi=tʰe₃ {日頭} (1), Wenchang Hainanese zjat-hau {日頭} (1).

References and notes:

Early Zhou Chinese: Schuessler 1987: 508. Polysemy: 'sun / day (sunny period of 24 hours) / day (24 hour-period)'.

Classical Chinese: HYDCD V: 536. Cf.: tʰen ma ni nɨt {天無二日} "the sky does not have two suns" [Mencius 9, 4].

Late Middle Chinese: HYDCD V: 536. Cf.: x ɾiʃ nit f ɾi₂ jiy {開日發生} "the warm sun comes out" [Linji-lu 26].

Standard Chinese: DEHCD 1985: 2135; HYDCD II: 1472. Literally: 'the extreme Yang', i. e. 'sun' as the object in which the highest
amount of yang-qi is concentrated, as opposed to Pin-yin [陰陽] ‘the extreme Yin’, i.e. ‘moon’. Both metaphors are quite old, well attested since at least Han times (III B.C. - III A.D.); however, only the equivalent for ‘sun’ has managed to eventually replace the old term for this object in Modern Chinese. It is not quite clear when this happened, but the replacement definitely postdates the Middle Chinese period. The old word ‘sun’ is still found in bound expressions (cf.: ‘sun comes out; sunrise’, ‘sun comes down; sunset’, etc.), as well as in the meaning ‘day’ (of the week, etc.), but is no longer the colloquial equivalent for ‘sun’ as such.


Wenchang Hainanese: Hashimoto 1976: 81. Final ɻau (< ‘head’ q.v.) is an old productive nominal suffix.

83. SWIM

Early Zhou Chinese lu {游} (1), Classical Chinese lu {游} (1), Late Middle Chinese yaw {游} (1), Standard Chinese you2-yuŋ3 {游泳} (1), Jian’ou Chinese iu2-œuŋ4 {游泳} (1), Wenchang Hainanese tiu2-tiu3 {泅水} (2).

References and notes:

Early Zhou Chinese: Schuessler 1987: 767. Cf.: nak lu d’axsl san [若游大川] ‘as if swimming in a great stream’ [Shangshu 36, 16]. The word is somewhat problematic. First, it is also frequently encountered in such meanings as ‘wander, roam, walk about’ (either in the same graphic form or as 遊); second, it is sometimes paired with wraŋh {泳} [Schuessler 1987: 762], and the difference in meaning between the two is not certain. Decisive, unambiguous contexts do not exist; traditionally, however, wraŋh is understood as ‘to wade’, ‘walk on / under the water’, and lu as ‘swim’.

Classical Chinese: HYDCD V: 1496. Not attested in early Confucian documents, but the word functions as the primary equivalent for ‘swim’ throughout most other Classical Chinese texts (particularly frequent in Zhuangzi, where it is applied both to people and fish).

Late Middle Chinese: HYDCD V: 1496. Cf.: yaw ȵĩ ȳa tVk mIey {遊魚何得迷} “how did the swimming fish lose their way?” [Linji-lu 149]. Dubious, since (a) the word is only attested once in the text; (b) it is applied to fish rather than humans; (c) the expression may be idiomatic. Nevertheless, there are no other candidates.

Standard Chinese: DEHCD 1985: 1450; HYDCD V: 1496. A compound of the old word you2 {遊} ‘to swim’ with the also old word yuŋ3 {泳}, originally ‘to wade’.


Wenchang Hainanese: Hashimoto 1976: 81. The second component is ‘water’ q.v.

84. TAIL

Early Zhou Chinese may3 {尾} (1), Classical Chinese mây {尾} (1), Late Middle Chinese wûi {尾} (1), Standard Chinese wei5-pa3 {尾巴} (1), Jian’ou Chinese müe2 {尾} (1), Wenchang Hainanese bye3 {尾} (1).

References and notes:


Classical Chinese: HYDCD IV: 13. Not attested in early Confucian texts, but functions as the only basic equivalent for ‘tail’ throughout all of the Classical Chinese period anyway.

Late Middle Chinese: HYDCD IV: 13. Cf.: kãy pìn xû yû [解把虎尾] “he was able to grab the tiger by the tail” [Linji- lu 123].

Standard Chinese: DEHCD 1985: 2463; HYDCD IV: 14. Final -pa, is a non-productive suffix appearing in "protruding body parts"
(cf. colloquial c ɕi̯-paʔ, [嘴巴] ‘mouth’, etc.; the word for ‘tail’ is attested in this form since Qing times.

**Jian’ou Chinese:** Li 1998: 90.

**Wenchang Hainanese:** Hashimoto 1976: 81.

### 85. THAT


**References and notes:**

**Early Zhou Chinese:** Schuessler 1987: 22. This is the only pronominal stem that, in Early Zhou, expresses the idea of far deixis. It is frequently met in syntactic opposition with ϕęʔ (此) and, more rarely, eo (丝) ‘this’ q.v.

**Classical Chinese:** HYDCD III: 939. For the basic opposition between far and near deixis in Classical Chinese, cf.: pāy ʔit da, cęʔ ʔit da lɨɨy (彼一時，此一時也) “that was one time, and this is another time” [Mencius 4, 22].

**Late Middle Chinese:** Not attested. Throughout the text of Linji-lu, the old stem pɨ (彼) is almost always used only in an adverbial sense (‘there’, ‘in that place’), and it is not clear whether it could function as the basic adjectival stem to denote faraway objects. On the other hand, the newer stem nā (那), which I. Gurevich [Gurevich 2001: 227] states as already existing in various texts of the yu-lu genre, is completely lacking in the text of Linji-lu. For the moment, to avoid incorrect statistics, we prefer to leave this slot empty.

**Standard Chinese:** DEHCD 1985: 2292; HYDCD X: 597. The word is definitely established as the main, or one of the main, equivalents for ‘that’ since Sòng-era vernacular literary monuments. The reading naʔ represents the literary standard, but the usual colloquial pronunciation is neiʔ. Used almost exclusively with a following classifier.

**Jian’ou Chinese:** Li 1998: 29.

**Wenchang Hainanese:** Hashimoto 1976: 80. Final -moʔ is a suffixal component, also attested in ‘this’ q.v.

### 86. THIS

Early Zhou Chinese ϕęʔ (此) (1) / eo (丝) (2), Classical Chinese cęʔ (此) (1), Late Middle Chinese cęʔ (此) (1) / cua (①) (3), Standard Chinese cęʔ (此) (2), Jian’ou Chinese iʔnς (3), Wenchang Hainanese zoʔ-moʔ ~ zaʔ-moʔ (4).

**References and notes:**

**Early Zhou Chinese:** Schuessler 1987: 97. The distribution between Early Zhou ϕęʔ and eo is complicated. In Shang inscriptions, eo is the principal demonstrative pronoun, and no clear opposition between near and far deixis can be established. Of the Zhou literary monuments, eo is almost universally employed in the Shangshu, but comparably quite rare in the Shijing, where ϕęʔ is the statistical norm. Correspondingly, the opposition ‘this (near)’: ‘that (farther away)’ is consistently expressed in Shijing as ϕęʔ: payʔ, and only once as eo : payʔ. It cannot be excluded that, in an abstract, “default” variant of early Chinese, all three pronouns could be active, with eo as ‘neutral’ deixis and ϕęʔ: payʔ taking on the synonymous functions of ‘near’ and ‘far’ deixis. In this situation, ϕęʔ would be better “eligible” for this wordlist. However, this is a speculative suggestion, so we list both forms as synonyms.Schuessler 1987: 861.

**Classical Chinese:** HYDCD V: 330. For the basic opposition between far and near deixis in Classical Chinese, cf.: pāy ʔit da, cęʔ ʔit da lɨɨy (彼一時，此一時也) “that was one time, and this is another time” [Mencius 4, 22]. Of the other deictic pronouns, Early Zhou eo (丝) is met very occasionally, usually as an archaism; and dē (是), although very frequent, does not form part of any deictic opposition and has specific marked functions (either occurring in bound idioms or in statements of fact where it has the function of "this means...", etc.).
Late Middle Chinese: HYDCD V: 330. Used passim in Linji-lu; however, there are also numerous instances of the newer synonym qă (這裡), and it is difficult to ascertain the difference between the two. The latter generally seems to be more colloquial, but cʰì is so frequent that it cannot be considered a stylistic archaism; more likely is a situation of "transit synonymity". HYDCD X: 917. Cf.: cʰà kà ʂí syy (這裡是的) "this worthy priest" [Linji-lu 8].

Standard Chinese: DEHCD 1985: 2612; HYDCD X: 917. The old word cʰì (此), still frequently used in Middle Chinese, in the modern language has been completely relegated to literary usage. The main (and only) colloquial expression is cʰì, 'this', antonymous to nei, 'that' q.v. Used almost exclusively with a following classifier.


Wenchang Hainanese: Hashimoto 1976: 80. Final -mo is a suffixal component, also attested in 'this' q.v.

87. THOU

Early Zhou Chinese nʰâŋ (1), Classical Chinese nʰê (爾) / nʰâ (汝 ~ 女) (1), Late Middle Chinese nǐ (爾) / nǐ (汝) (1), Standard Chinese ni (尔) (1), Jian'ou Chinese ni (尔) (1), Wenchang Hainanese dōu (2).

References and notes:

Early Zhou Chinese: Schuessler 1987: 515. Originally transcribed as a simple borrowed character (女), with traces of such an orthography still evident even in the canonized version of the Shijing. The special possessive form of this pronoun is nʰâŋ (爾) [Schuessler 1987: 435], attested in this syntactic usage already in Shang-era oracle bone inscriptions. A third form, nʰâŋ (爾) [Schuessler 1987: 147], does not appear in early epigraphic monuments, but is randomly encountered in both Shangshu and Shiji in both the nominal and the possessive functions. It may have been a later restructuring by analogy with the 1st p. pr. nʰê (爾) [尔] q.v., or, alternately, an old plural form ('you pl.') that had occasionally started to expand onto singulative functions as well. In any case, all of these forms clearly go back to the same root with an old initial dental nasal (possibly aspirated).

Classical Chinese: HYDCD I: 574. Cf.: nʰê way nʰê, nʰê yâ way nʰê yâ [爾為爾, 我為我] "you are you, I am me" [Mencius 3, 9]. The morphological and syntactical variation between the two principal forms of this pronoun in Classical Chinese, nʰê and nʰâ, is unclear and, to a large extent, depends on individual peculiarities of each text. (For instance, in Mencius nʰê is almost exclusively used, whereas nʰâ is generally relegated to archaic or archaized quotations; but this does not seem to be the case in Lunyu, where distribution of the forms employed is more even). In any case, the solution of this problem will have no bearing on lexicostatistical calculations, since both forms are phonetic and/or morphological variants of the exact same nominal stem.

Late Middle Chinese: HYDCD I: 574. Both forms are used passim in [Linji-lu]. According to I. Gurevich [Gurevich 2001: 222], within the text nǐ is used more frequently to denote the pl. number ('you'), and nǐ is more typical of the sg. number ('thou'), except for the compound form nǐ-tâŋ (汝等). This correlation is occasionally violated, but seems to be confirmed statistically. In any case, both variants stem from the phonetic root, and the selection of any single variant does not affect the lexicostatistical calculations.

Standard Chinese: DEHCD 1985: 2328; HYDCD I: 1275. The graphic variant 你 to denote the 2nd p. pr. appears somewhere around the Xth century. The phonetic form ni is etymologically related to all the other forms of this pronoun in Old and Middle Chinese times, but is not regularly traceable to any particular variant, representing an idiosyncratic colloquial variant. Nevertheless, the root, characterized by the features "initial coronal nasal + front vowel", is clearly the same, and we postulate no lexical replacement.


Wenchang Hainanese: Hashimoto 1976: 80. Graphically transcribed as (汝) by the author, but this would give the impression of etymological descent from Old Chinese *nʰâŋ (爾), which is hardly possible from the phonetic point of view.

88. TONGUE

Early Zhou Chinese lat (舌) (1), Classical Chinese lat (舌) (1), Late Middle Chinese
ζ̱t-ŋə (舌) (1), Standard Chinese ʂə-ʈʰou (舌) (1), Jian'ou Chinese ʊɛ̆ (舌) (1), Wenchang Hainanese ci: (舌) (1).

References and notes:

Classical Chinese: HYCD VIII: 1081. Not attested in early Confucian texts except for one or two non-diagnostic proverbs/idioms, but this fact is incidental, since no other word for 'tongue' is known throughout the entire Classical Chinese period.
Late Middle Chinese: HYCD VIII: 1081. Encountered in this form in one obscure passage in Linji-lu (yī ʂəŋ kʰə kʰə tʰiɛn yə jin ʐət-dɾəw kʰə ʂəŋ [已後坐卞性天下人舌頭去在] "afterwards (you will) set back the tongues of all the people under Heaven" [Linji-lu 137]. Also encountered a few times in the shorter form ʐət [舌], but, considering that the extended suffixal variant already coincides with the modern form of the word, it is quite probable that the bisyllabic compound had already turned into the basic colloquial equivalent for 'tongue' by the times of Late Middle Chinese.
Standard Chinese: DEHCD 1985: 2622; HYCD VIII: 1081. Final -tʰou is a formerly productive nominal suffix (a desemanticized variant of the word 'head'), appended for homonymy reduction purposes (cf. also 'stone' q.v.). The old monosyllabic variant ʂə is still encountered in various bound expressions.

89. TOOTH

Early Zhou Chinese tʰə (齒) (1), Classical Chinese tʰə (齒) (1), Late Middle Chinese ʂʰɨ (齒) (1), Standard Chinese ʂə (牙) (2), Jian'ou Chinese ʂə-ʂʰɨ (牙齒) (2), Wenchang Hainanese ʂə (牙) (2).

References and notes:

Early Zhou Chinese: Schuessler 1987: 77. This word is commonly encountered already in Shang-era oracle bone inscriptions and is frequently encountered in Shijing as well, applied to human teeth (ŋə tʰə [兒齒] 'children’s teeth' [Shijing 300, 7]) as well as animals (ʎʰə wʰə tʰə [鼠有齒] 'the rat has teeth' [Shijing 52, 2]). Its only possible competition may be ʂə (牙) [Schuessler 1987: 708], but the latter is applied exclusively to animals, e. g. rats, pigs, and possibly tigers (based on the idiom eruʔ ʂə [爪牙] [Shijing 185, 1] 'claws and teeth', i. e. 'defenders'). Appropriately, the original pictogram for tʰə (齒) depicts a set of human teeth, whereas the original pictogram for ʂə (牙) looks more like a pair of tusks.
Classical Chinese: HYCD XII: 1444. Polysemy: 'teeth / age' (< 'state of the teeth'). In the early Confucian texts, only attested in this second figurative meaning, but, in general, this is the main (and only) equivalent for 'tooth' (pl. and sg.) throughout all of Classical Chinese. Very occasionally, the compound form tʰə ʂə (竜牙), literally 'teeth-tusks', is attested, but the monosyllabic word ʂə itself, like in Early Zhou Chinese, is usually applied to animals' teeth rather than human ones.
Late Middle Chinese: HYCD XII: 1444. Cf.: f ʈʰ məw ʂə (竜毛) "head hair, body hair, nails, and teeth" [Linji-lu 66]. The word is also encountered in the compound ʂə ʂʰɨ (竜齒), literally ' tusks-teeth' (cf. the earlier 竜牙 in Classical Chinese), but the first example gives some evidence for ʂʰɨ, rather than ʂə, still functioning as the default word for 'teeth' in Middle Chinese.
Standard Chinese: DEHCD 1985: 638; HYCD V: 274. A somewhat complex case. The old word ʂʰɨ (齒) 'tooth' is no longer in modern colloquial usage all by itself; however, it is still a part of the frequently encountered bisyllabic compound ʂə-ʂʰɨ (竜齒), originally 'tusks-(and)-teeth'. Technically, this should lead to treating both morphemes as synonymous and, consequently, postulating no lexical replacement from Old Chinese times. Cf., however, such contexts (quoted in [DEHCD 1985] and elsewhere) as: shuà yà (斬牙) "to brush one’s teeth", or tə dzuọle yì kə yə (他掉了一顆牙) "he lost a tooth", indicating that in the standard colloquial situation, the monosyllabic ʂə is the most expected equivalent. On the contrary, the bisyllabic equivalent is more frequently
encountered in specific contexts, depicting various kinds of (collective) teeth: \textit{xísíu-de yá-chí} \{稀疏的牙齒\} 'sparse teeth', etc. For this reason, we tentatively postulate lexical replacement in Modern Chinese, to emphasize the fact that \textit{yá} {牙} , originally a "marginal" term, denoting specific kinds of (animal) teeth, has eventually broadened its sphere of usage to denote any kinds of teeth.

**Jian’ou Chinese:** Li 1998: 57. The morpheme \textit{nh} is also frequently attested in various compounds having to deal with the meaning 'tooth'; \textit{c-i} is here reduced to the function of a "supporting" morpheme, as in Standard Chinese.

**Wenchang Hainanese:** Hashimoto 1976: 81. Additionally, cf. \textit{fi-\textit{l}i} 'human tooth' [ibid.]; it is not clear whether this is already the default equivalent for this meaning or an additional specialized (vulgar?) synonym.

90. TREE

Early Zhou Chinese \textit{mh}ök \{木\} (1), Classical Chinese \textit{mh}ök \{木\} (1), Late Middle Chinese \textit{zh}ū \{樹\} (2), Standard Chinese \textit{shu4} \{樹\} (2), Jian’ou Chinese \textit{cihu1} \{樹\} (2), Wenchang Hainanese \textit{siu1} \{樹\} (2).

References and notes:


**Classical Chinese:** HYCD IV: 659. Cf.: \textit{ko} \textit{sri}u \textit{wu} \textit{du-cok} \{工師求大木\} "the head workman will look for big trees" [Mencius 2, 16]. By Han times, the compound form \textit{dʊ} \textit{mh}ök \{樹木\}, literally "(vertically) planted tree" or "(vertically) standing / upright tree" becomes very common, so as to distinguish 'standing trees' from 'felled trees' ('wood'), simply \textit{mh}ök \{木\}; this eventually led to the lexical replacement of \textit{mh}ök by \textit{dʊ}.

**Late Middle Chinese:** HYCD IV: 1299. Cf.: \textit{sr} \textit{t} \textit{d} \textit{d} \textit{zh}ū \{成一株大樹\} "he will become a big tree" [Linji-lu 174]. The older word \textit{muh} \{木\} is used only to denote 'wood' (as material) or in bound expressions.

**Standard Chinese:** DEHCD 1985: 407; HYCD IV: 1299. Monosyllabic \textit{shu} is the default equivalent for the meaning 'tree' in modern colloquial speech, but in certain contexts the bisyllabic compound \textit{shu4-mu} \{樹木\}, combining both the old and the new words for 'tree', may be used. Nevertheless, we still postulate a lexical replacement from Old Chinese to Modern Chinese, since the main accent has clearly shifted from the non-obligatory \textit{mu} to \textit{shu} (actually, \textit{mu} \{木\} on its own, or with the suffixal extension \textit{mu} \textit{t} \textit{shu} \{木頭\}, denotes 'wood (material)' rather than 'tree').

**Jian’ou Chinese:** Li 1998: 160.

**Wenchang Hainanese:** Hashimoto 1976: 80.

91. TWO

Early Zhou Chinese \textit{nii} \{二\} (1), Classical Chinese \textit{nii} \{二\} (1), Late Middle Chinese \textit{lʊn} \{兩\} (2), Standard Chinese \textit{li3} \{兩\} (2), Jian’ou Chinese \textit{ni3} \{兩\} (2), Wenchang Hainanese \textit{nu3} (3).

References and notes:

**Early Zhou Chinese:** Schuessler 1987: 147.

**Classical Chinese:** HYCD I: 115. Encountered \textit{passim} in all Classical Chinese texts. The quasi-synonymous word \textit{ru} \textit{nu} \{兩\} [HYCD I: 554] in early classical texts always has the meaning '(a) pair of', 'the two (of)', 'both', being applied to paired objects \textit{ru} \textit{nu} \textit{la3} \{兩手\} 'two hands', \textit{ru} \textit{nu} \textit{ma3} \{兩馬\} 'two horses (in a two-horse chariot)', etc.; by Han times, however, it starts to seriously replace \textit{nii} in all sorts of contexts, with the exception of counting series.

**Late Middle Chinese:** HYCD I: 554. Cf.: \textit{yu3 ni3 li3} \textit{qian} \{與爾兩文錢\} 'I give you two coins' [Linji-lu 110]. This is one of several examples from which it becomes obvious that, at least in this particular dialect of Late Middle Chinese, the usage of \textit{lʊn} as the
92. WALK (GO)

Early Zhou Chinese \( wan\} \{\text{往} \} (1), \) Classical Chinese \( w\an\} \{\text{往} \} (1), \) Late Middle Chinese \( k\hi\u\} \{\text{去} \} (2), \) Standard Chinese \( \varphi\hi\u\} \{\text{去} \} (2), \) Jian'ou Chinese \( k\hi\\} \{\text{去} \} (2), \) Wenchang Hainanese: Hashimoto 1976: 80.

References and notes:

Early Zhou Chinese: Schuessler 1987: 626. Of the many verbs of movement found in Early Zhou, this one is the most statistically frequent in the assumed meaning 'go (out of one place)' (in the literary texts at least) and also the only one that forms part of a common synonymous pair, \( wan\} \{\text{来} \} 'come and go'. Partial synonyms include: (a) \( wo\} \{\text{于} \} [Schuessler 1987: 775], used primarily as an auxiliary predicate with preposition functions ('in, at, to') but still encountered in the archaic meaning 'go' in several contexts; \( wan\} \{\text{往} \} may in fact be a suffixal extension of this stem; (b) \( to\} \{\text{之} \} 'to go, proceed' [Schuessler 1987: 829]; clearly archaic in usage, but without references to the original point of departure (so that an idiom like \( *t\} \{\text{之} \} \) would be impossible); (c) \( gra\} \{\text{行} \} [Schuessler 1987: 687], rather 'to walk, march', does not take points of departure or destination as its objects (so something like \( n\} \{\text{行} \} \) 'I walk through (across) those fields' than 'I am going towards these fields').

Classical Chinese: HYDCD III: 935. Cf.: \( \text{Bat Xrot drawh, c\} Pok w\an\} \langle\text{佛脥召子欲往} \) 'Fo Xi called him, and the Master wished to go' [Lunyu 17, 7]. This is, however, far from the only word denoting movement from one place to another in Classical Chinese, and even confining ourselves to early Confucian texts, it is somewhat hard to make a single choice. Most common synonyms include: (a) \( tek \} \{\text{過} \}, usually said of travelling to another country, cf.: \( c\} \} \} \} \} \} \langle\text{子過衛} \) 'The Master went (travelled) to the state of Wei' [Lunyu 13, 9], but also encountered in idiomatic expressions such as \( tek \} \} \langle\text{適市} \} \langle\text{適市} \} \langle\text{適市} \) 'go to town (go to the market)'; (b) \( ta \} \{\text{之} \}, usually also in conjunction with specific toponyms as destinations (\( ta \} \} \langle\text{之楚} \) 'go to the state of Chu'), and also in the frequent interrogative construction \( gra\} \langle\text{行} \} \} \text{是何之} \} \langle\text{行} \} \) 'where are you / is he going?'; (c) finally, \( gra\} \{\text{行} \} 'to move, walk' is also sometimes found in the meaning 'to go'. Nevertheless, in the early Confucian texts at least the word \( w\an\} \{\text{往} \} is still both the most frequent equivalent and the least contextually bound one; texts dating to later periods must be subjected to further research.

Late Middle Chinese: HYDCD II: 832. Cf.: \( pi \} b\} \} \} \} \} \} \} \langle\text{師往問} \) 'the teacher then went to ask (about it)' [Linji-li 120]. Used \( \text{passim} \) in the text of Linji-li as the default verb to express directed movement away from one point, functioning as the antonym of \( l\ro\} \} \langle\text{來} \} 'to come' q.v.

Standard Chinese: DEHCD 1985: 647; HYDCD II: 832. As in Middle Chinese, in the modern colloquial language this is the most basic word, synonymous to \( lai\} \{\text{來} \} 'to come'. Not to be confused with \( cou\} \{\text{走} \}, whose semantics is dominated by two different aspects: (a) 'to walk' (without specific indication of direction), as in \( t\} \} \langle\text{來 de hên kuài} \) 'he walks very fast'; (b) 'to go away' (from the speaker, but also without any specific direction), as in \( q\} \} \} \langle\text{請走} \) 'please go away'.

Jian'ou Chinese: Li 1998: 100. Attested only in compound formations, but also quoted as \( k\hi\\} \{\text{去} \} 'to go' in [Huang 1958: 291].

Wenchang Hainanese: Not attested. Cf. \( k\hi\} \{\text{去} \} 'to walk' in [Hashimoto 1976: 81].

93. WARM (HOT)

Early Zhou Chinese \( \eta\} \{\text{热} \} (1), \) Classical Chinese \( \eta\} \{\text{热} \} (1), \) Late Middle Chinese \( \eta\} \{\text{热} \} (1), \) Standard Chinese \( \varphi\} \{\text{热} \} (1), \) Jian'ou Chinese \( \j\} \{\text{热} \} (1), \) Wenchang Hainanese
zjat,’{熱}’(1).

References and notes:

**Early Zhou Chinese:** Schuessler 1987: 505. Cf.: *day nx tip net* [誰能執熱] ‘who can grasp anything hot?’ [Shijing 257, 5]. Probably lexically distinct from ‘warm’, which may have been ʔuŋ [溫] [Schuessler 1987: 641], although all the Early Zhou examples feature figurative meanings (‘mild’, ‘meek’, etc.).

**Classical Chinese:** HYDCD VII: 232. Cf.: *na ɲiŋ ek net* [如火益熱] “if the fire becomes more hot” [Mencius 2, 17]. Very rarely attested in early Confucian texts, but the word is unquestionably the default equivalent for ‘hot’ throughout Classical Chinese.

**Late Middle Chinese:** HYDCD VII: 232. Attested in the idiomatic expression *ɲiet tʰiet ɣɑn* [熱鐵丸] “pills of hot (heated) iron” [Linji-lu 32]: not a truly diagnostic context, but the word is acceptable based on lack of other candidates and overall stability from Classical to Modern Chinese.

**Standard Chinese:** DEHCD 1985: 358; HYDCD VII: 232. This is the basic equivalent for ‘hot’; the meaning ‘warm’ is expressed in the modern language by two different equivalents - *wen* {暖} (applied to objects, e.g. water) and *n an* {暖和} (applied to weather).

**Jian’ou Chinese:** Li 1998: 79. Differently in [Huang 1958: 285]: *cʰiau* {燒}.

**Wenchang Hainanese:** Hashimoto 1976: 82. Applicable to objects; distinct from *za* {熱}, normally applied to weather [ibid.]. Both words are marked with the same character {熱}, but it is not highly likely that they are related.

94. WATER

Early Zhou Chinese *tuŋ* {水} (1), Classical Chinese *t不间断y* {水} (1), Late Middle Chinese *ɲiŋ* {水} (1), Standard Chinese *ʂei* {水} (1), Jian’ou Chinese *sü* {水} (1), Wenchang Hainanese *tiu* {水} (1).

References and notes:

**Early Zhou Chinese:** Schuessler 1987: 570. The word is well attested already in Shang oracle bone inscriptions.

**Classical Chinese:** HYDCD V: 852. Cf.: *na t不间断y ek ɬaʔm* [如水益深] “if the water becomes more deep” [Mencius 2, 17].

**Late Middle Chinese:** HYDCD V: 852. Cf.: *ɲiŋ ɬap* [如水乳合] “joined together as water and milk” [Linji-lu 37].

**Standard Chinese:** DEHCD 1985: 199; HYDCD V: 852.

**Jian’ou Chinese:** Li 1998: 36.

**Wenchang Hainanese:** Hashimoto 1976: 81.

95. WE

Early Zhou Chinese *ɲʰaŋ* {我} (1), Classical Chinese *ɲʰɑŋ ~ ɲʰɑ* {我} (1), Late Middle Chinese *ɲɑ* {我} (1), Standard Chinese *wo3-men* {我們} (1), Jian’ou Chinese *ɲe-nei* {我人} (1), Wenchang Hainanese *ɡuɑ3-ɲɑŋ* {我儂} (1).

References and notes:


**Classical Chinese:** HYDCD III: 200; V: 211. See T for notes on the alternating variants. Like all other historical varieties of Chinese, Classical Chinese does not have any special stems for the 1st p. pl. pronoun. However, unlike Early Zhou, in contexts where it is important to emphasize plural number, the pronoun may be used in conjunction with an auxiliary pluralizing morpheme, which
differs significantly depending on the particular dialect and chronological stratum. In Lu Yun one such frequently used form, for instance, is sponsor 'we', literally "our group". This practice becomes even more common in Han times, with a variety of different "pluralizers" employed by Sima Qian and others; the root morpheme, however, is always the same, making this variation irrelevant for lexicostatistical purposes.

**Late Middle Chinese:** HYDCD V: 211. Slightly dubious. The word is not actually attested in Linji-lu in the precise meaning 'we', except for several ambiguous contexts (e.g. *nā guǒ ni (我共有) 'we', literally = 'me and you', etc.). There are, however, no alternatives, nor is there any reason to suggest that the word for 'we' in this particular dialect could have been expressed by any other morpheme, considering its ubiquitous character in all the stages and forms of Chinese (at worst, it could have been a suffixal extension: *nā-trī (我等) cf. the actually attested form *pū-trī (汝等) your (pl.).)

**Standard Chinese:** DEHCD 1985: 1005. The word consists of the old 1st p. pronoun + the new plural suffix -men (们); attested as such already in certain vernacular texts of the Song (XI-XIIIth centuries) epoch. The same period also introduces the pronominal form ca_l (们) - ca_t-men (们); the bisyllabic variant is still in heavy colloquial usage as a particular "exclusive" form of the 1st p. pl. ('we, our company, us together, all of us, etc'). However, this usage is still somewhat marginal compared to the regular *wo-men, and it cannot be said that "clusivity" as such is a grammatical parameter in modern Chinese; we prefer not to include this pronoun in our calculations.

**Jian'ou Chinese:** Li 1998: 89. The second component is *neij, 'person / people' q.v., functioning here as a plural marker. Also attested in the more complex variant *x-3x-3-neij (I have you) [ibid.], which is further quoted as *x-3x-3-neij in [Huang 1958: 289].

**Wenchang Hainanese:** Hashimoto 1976: 80. The second component is *na3, 'person / people' q.v.

96. WHAT

Early Zhou Chinese *g6a_y (何) (1), Classical Chinese *g6a_y (何) (1), Late Middle Chinese *zimm_ya (什麼) (2), Standard Chinese *si_m2-ni (什麼) (2), Jian'ou Chinese *su4-ti1 (什麼) (3), Wenchang Hainanese *mi6-kai2 (乜個) (4).

References and notes:

**Early Zhou Chinese:** Schuessler 1987: 227. Cf.: *ba?_m+ *g6a_y l))+ (父母何食) 'what will the parents eat?' [Shijing 121, 227]; contexts like these clearly confirm that *g6a_y is the principal Early Zhou interrogative inanimate pronoun for the object position (inanimate interrogatives are prohibited in the position of subject). It is opposed to *g6a (何) [Schuessler 1987: 228] which, in contrast, is almost always encountered in the attributive position, translated as 'how?', 'why?', etc. (a minor number of contradicting examples are statistically insignificant and can be explained away as side effects of scribal confusion).

**Classical Chinese:** HYDCD I: 1225. Encountered *passion throughout Classical Chinese; this is the default lexeme to occupy the position of syntactic object. In certain texts (particularly frequent in Han times) the interrogative *g6az (什麼) [HYDCD VI: 1206] may be used in some contexts instead, but, from the lexicostatistical point of view, this is not a problem, since the root is the same in both lexemes.

**Late Middle Chinese:** HYDCD I: 1102. Cf.: *za?_m *zimm (什麼) "what are you doing?" [Linji-lu 91] and many other examples in the same text. A compound stem, in which -m (什麼) is a suffixal component, attached to various pronominal stems, and the root *zimm-may historically be the product of assimilation (< Early Middle Chinese *ziC, where *-C = any nasal or stop). The archaic interrogative pronoun *za (有) is, in comparison, attested quite rarely in Linji-lu, and is clearly not the basic equivalent for 'who?' in the live language of that time.

**Standard Chinese:** DEHCD 1985: 2535; HYDCD I: 1102. See notes on Late Middle Chinese; in the modern language, this interrogative pronoun's behavior is more or less the same.

**Jian'ou Chinese:** Li 1998: 23. The first morpheme here is a general interrogative stem, participating in different compound formations (e.g. 'who' q.v. = a concatenation with 'person' q.v.); cf. also *su4-mi1 (什麼) 'what?, which?' (adjectival). The second morpheme etymologically = Old Chinese *g6a, Standard Chinese *shí (事) 'affair'.
97. WHITE

Early Zhou Chinese \( brak \{\text{白}\} \) (1), Classical Chinese \( brak \{\text{白}\} \) (1), Late Middle Chinese \( ba\text{ik} \{\text{白}\} \) (1), Standard Chinese \( paiz \{\text{白}\} \) (1), Jian’ou Chinese \( paiz \{\text{白}\} \) (1), Wenchang Hainanese \( be\text{r} \{\text{白}\} \) (1).

References and notes:

Early Zhou Chinese: Schuessler 1987: 7. Archaic, statistically frequent and completely neutral designation of the white color, as opposed to stylistic quasi-synonyms, e.g. \( sazh \{\text{素}\} \) ‘white = plain, uncolored (as silk)’ [Schuessler 1987: 588], and various ultra-rare words like \( ba\text{r} \{\text{皤}\} \) [Schuessler 1987: 463], etc., whose exact meaning and usage cannot be established with certainty.

Classical Chinese: HYDCD VIII: 163. Cf.: \( brak \text{ wr} \text{ǎt} \text{bra} \text{ik lǎy} \text{lù brak s} \text{gt ta} \text{brak} \{\text{白羽之白也猶白雪之白}\} “The whiteness of white feathers is like the whiteness of white snow” [Mencius 11, 3].

Late Middle Chinese: HYDCD VIII: 163. Cf.: \( pǎŋ sluggi cʰieŋ əŋek ba\text{ik} \{\text{把我著底衣, 认青黄赤白}\} “he seizes the clothes that I wear, considers them to be blue, yellow, red, white” [Linji-lu 75].

Wenchang Hainanese: Hashimoto 1976: 82.

98. WHO

Early Zhou Chinese \( duy \{\text{誰}\} \) (1), Classical Chinese \( duy \{\text{誰}\} \) (1), Late Middle Chinese \( \text{ʒui} \{\text{誰}\} \sim ?\text{a=ʒui \{阿誰\} (1), Standard Chinese \( \text{ʂei} \{\text{誰}\} \) (1), Jian’ou Chinese \( su\text{-neını} \{\text{黙人}\} \) (1), Wenchang Hainanese \( nìaŋ \{\text{阿誰}\} \) (1).

References and notes:

Early Zhou Chinese: Schuessler 1987: 532. The only animate interrogative pronoun in Early Zhou, encountered as both subject and object.

Classical Chinese: HYDCD XI: 285. The only other equivalent for the animate interrogative pronoun in Classical Chinese is the special distributive form \( duk \{\ṣu\} \) [HYDCD IV: 236] “who (of several...)”, which in some texts shows up even more frequently than \( dùy \). Since, however, both share the same etymological root, this has no bearing on lexicostatistics.

Late Middle Chinese: HYDCD XI: 285. Cf.: \( cųŋ \text{fiŋ s}\{\ɟ\text{ʂi ʔa}\} \{\text{宗風嗣阿誰}\} “whom does the style of (your) school follow?” [Linji-lu 9].
This interrogative pronoun is clearly the basic equivalent for ‘who?’ in the entire text of Linji-lu. The free variant \( ?\text{a=ʒui} \{\text{阿誰}\} \) includes the standard nominal prefix \( ?\text{a=}\), typical for names of people (e.g. \( ?\text{a=ʒi} \{\text{阿師}\} \text{‘teacher’}, etc.).

Standard Chinese: DEHCD 1985: 847; HYDCD XI: 285. The colloquial pronunciation \( \text{ʂei} \) goes against regular Chinese phonotactics, reflecting contracted articulation, probably due to the frequent use of the word; the “correct” literary pronunciation, still reflected in the official \( pinyin \) transcription \( shuí \), is \( \text{ʂei} \).
Wenchang Hainanese: Hashimoto 1976: 82.

99. WOMAN

Early Zhou Chinese \( nraʔ \{\text{女}\} \) (1), Classical Chinese \( nrā \{\text{女}\} \) (1), Late Middle Chinese \( ɲū \{
女} (1), Standard Chinese nü3-ɻen2 {女人} (1), Jian’ou Chinese a1=ɲən3-ɲei3 {阿娘人} (2), Wenchang Hainanese fo2-ɲian3 (3).

References and notes:

Early Zhou Chinese: Schuessler 1987: 446. Polysemy: ‘woman / wife / girl / daughter’ (in the meaning ‘daughter’ it is likely to be an elliptical form of nraʔ cəʔ {女子}, lit. ‘woman-child’).

Classical Chinese: HYDCD IV: 255. Cf.: naŋ wʰə La sʰək, nra wʰə La pəh [農有餘粟女有餘布] "husbandmen will have extra grain, women will have extra cloth" [Mencius 6, 9]. The word is not as frequently encountered in early Confucian texts as could be expected, because ‘women’ in general tend to be referred to politely as bə {婦}, ‘wives’, ‘spouses’; there is little doubt, however, about the more general, all-inclusive, completely neutral term being nra rather than bə.

Late Middle Chinese: HYDCD IV: 255. Attested only once within the text of Linji-lu, in the compound nəm-ŋə {男女} “man and woman”; thus, somewhat dubious. However, considering the overall stability of this item from Classical to Modern Chinese, it is highly unlikely that the dialect of Linji-lu used any other equivalent for the basic meaning ‘woman’.

Standard Chinese: DEHCD 1985: 498; HYDCD IV: 255. The monosyllabic nü3 is still frequently encountered in idiomatic compounds (as well as in the adjectival form nü3-tɨ {女的} ‘female’); the autonomous word for ‘woman (female)’ is a compound with ɻen2 ‘person (human)’.

Jian’ou Chinese: Li 1998: 58. Quoted as a1=ɲən3-ɲei3 {阿娘人} in [Huang 1958: 285]. The first morpheme is a honorific prefix for people; the third morpheme is ‘person’ q.v.


100. YELLOW

Early Zhou Chinese gʰwaːnə {黃} (1), Classical Chinese gʰwanə {黃} (1), Late Middle Chinese ɣənə {黃} (1), Standard Chinese hən3 {黃} (1), Jian’ou Chinese ɣən3 {黃} (1), Wenchang Hainanese ʔui3 {黃} (1).

References and notes:

Early Zhou Chinese: Schuessler 1987: 249. This colour word marks both ‘yellow’ and ‘brown’ colours, as pointed out by Schuessler (among other objects, it characterizes cattle and bears).

Classical Chinese: HYDCD XII: 967. In early Confucian texts, encountered only a few times within idiomatic expressions, but in general, the word is clearly the main equivalent for ‘yellow’ in all of Classical Chinese.

Late Middle Chinese: HYDCD XII: 967. Cf.: päʰ naʔ šaŋ tiəŋ ʔj, pən cʰien ɣŋ çʰək bərìk [把我著底衣，認黃赤白沙] "he seizes the clothes that I wear, considers them to be blue, yellow, red, white” [Linji-lu 75].


Wenchang Hainanese: Hashimoto 1976: 82.

101. FAR

Early Zhou Chinese wʰanʔ {遠} (1), Classical Chinese wʰən {遠} (1), Late Middle Chinese wənʔ {遠} (1), Standard Chinese yuən3 {遠} (1), Jian’ou Chinese tau6 (2), Wenchang Hainanese hui3 {遠} (1).
References and notes:

Classical Chinese: HYDCD X: 1120. Cf.: ','# tǐ L. qù, wʰán tǐ rx [近者說遠者來] ”those who are near are glad, those who are far away are coming” [Lunyu 13, 16].
Late Middle Chinese: HYDCD X: 1120. Cf.: miek ták t way [覓著轉遠] ”look for him and he moves far away” [Linji-lu 43]. All attested contexts represent bound expressions, but, considering the stability of the item from Classical to Modern Chinese, it is quite likely that this was the basic equivalent for ‘far’ in Late Middle Chinese as well.
Jian’ou Chinese: Li 1998: 142. Graphically transcribed as {套+兆}.

102. HEAVY
Early Zhou Chinese dʰronŋ {̀} (1), Classical Chinese dʰrǒŋ {̀} (1), Standard Chinese çuŋ3 {̀} (1), Jian’ou Chinese tɔŋ3 {̀} (1), Wenchang Hainanese danos5 {̀} (1).

References and notes:

Early Zhou Chinese: Schuessler 1987: 846. This word is not attested in its literal meaning in any Early Zhou contexts, but is featured prominently in a variety of figurative meanings (e. g.: dʰronŋ ŋʰaːy̚ min [重我民] ’he considered our people important’ [Shangshu 16, 2], etc.) that are mostly the same as in the Classic period. No alternative word with the meaning ‘heavy’ is attested for the Early Zhou period.
Classical Chinese: HYDCD X: 371. Cf.: ʂ ɡu̯, nam gʰɛ c tre kʰəŋ dʰrǒŋ [權然後知輕重] ”in weighing, one learns what is light and what is heavy” [Mencius 1, 7].
Late Middle Chinese: Not attested in the text of Linji-lu.

103. NEAR
Early Zhou Chinese neyŋ? {邇} (1), Classical Chinese gɔn {近} (2), Late Middle Chinese gijin {近} # (2), Standard Chinese ɕin4 {近} (2), Jian’ou Chinese kiuŋ3 {近} # (2), Wenchang Hainanese kian5 {近} (2).

References and notes:

Early Zhou Chinese: Schuessler 1987: 147. In Early Zhou, there is a very prominent distinction between the stative ”to be near” (neyŋ?, directly opposed to wʰan? ”to be far” q.v.) and the directive ”to go/come near, approach” (gɔʔ {近} [Schuessler 1987: 317]); only the former is eligible in this position.
Classical Chinese: HYDCD X: 730. Cf.: ʂ ɡu̯ L. qù, wʰán tǐ rx [近者說遠者來] ”those who are near are glad, those who are far away are coming” [Lunyu 13, 16]. The Early Zhou verb ɲɛ {邇} is encountered only twice in early Confucian texts, both times in a figurative meaning; at best, the word could only have been a high-style archaism at that point.
Late Middle Chinese: HYDCD X: 730. Within the text of Linji-lu, attested only in the dynamic verbal meaning ’to get near (smbd.),
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approach'; therefore, somewhat dubious, included mainly because the word functions as the main equivalent for the adjectival/static meaning 'near / be near' both in Classical and Modern Chinese.

**Standard Chinese**: DEHCD 1985: 104; HYDCD X: 730. In some contexts, the bisyllabic compound fuʮɕ (附近) may be used instead (where fu (附近) = 'adjacent; next to'), but the main morpheme always remains the same (and unchanged since Classical Chinese times).

**Jian’ou Chinese**: Li 1998: 12 (transcription only). No entries for 近 in its phrasal meaning.

**Wenchang Hainanese**: Hashimoto 1976: 83.

104. SALT

Early Zhou Chinese lam {塩} (1), Classical Chinese lam {鹽} (1), Standard Chinese yăn2 {鹽} (1), Jian’ou Chinese ɨŋ3 {塩} (1), Wenchang Hainanese ?iam2 {塩} (1).

**References and notes:**

**Early Zhou Chinese**: Schuessler 1987: 710. The situation here is rather complex. All of the words for ‘salt’ or ‘salty’ in Early Zhou or later are formed with the simple radical 盐, read as  rʰaʔ and most likely depicting a bag of salt. The word itself, however, is only met in Early Zhou in one epigraphic context [Schuessler 1987: 394]; later on, since the Classic period, it is more generally encountered in the meaning ‘salt-marsh’. It may be assumed, therefore, that already in Early Zhou times the principal word for ‘salt’ was lam, encountered several times in the Shangshu. Another possible synonym is grəːm {鹹} [Schuessler 1987: 667], but analysis of attested contexts shows that in all cases it either should or easily can be understood as a qualitative predicate with the meaning ‘(to be) salty’. Cf.: nunh gʰraːʔ ɕaːk grəːm {潤下作鹹} ‘when it soaks under, it makes salt’ [Shangshu 24, 5], but further analysis of the excerpt shows that the word here parallels kʰaːʔ {苦} ‘bitter’, sor {酸} ‘sour’, etc., so the correct translation is not ‘it makes salt’ but rather ‘it produces a salty taste’.

**Classical Chinese**: HYDCD VII: 1478. Cf.: Kriːw Reːk kʰaːŋ ɨŋ a lam to tray [鹽鬲舉於魚鹽之中] “Jiao Ge was raised (to office) from his fish and salt” [Mencius 12, 35]. This is the most frequent equivalent for ‘salt’ in all of Classical Chinese.

**Late Middle Chinese**: Not attested in the text of Linji-lu.

**Standard Chinese**: DEHCD 1985: 811; HYDCD VII: 1478. In certain contexts, the bisyllabic extended variant sɨːʔɨŋ3 {食鹽}, literally ‘food-salt’, is also used.


**Wenchang Hainanese**: Hashimoto 1976: 83.

105. SHORT

Early Zhou Chinese tʊnʔ {短} (1), Classical Chinese tʰʊn {短} (1), Standard Chinese tʰʌn3 {短} (1), Jian’ou Chinese to2 {短} (1), Wenchang Hainanese dɛː {底} (2).

**References and notes:**


**Classical Chinese**: HYDCD VII: 1538. Cf.: dæk, nan gʰiː: tre dɾaːŋ tʰʊn [度然後知長短] “in measuring, one learns what is long and what is short” [Mencius I, 7].

**Late Middle Chinese**: Not attested in the text of Linji-lu.


**Jian’ou Chinese**: Li 1998: 118.

**Wenchang Hainanese**: Hashimoto 1976: 83.
106. SNAKE

References and notes:

Early Zhou Chinese: Schuessler 1987: 529. Only attested once in the Shijing [189, 6]: uncio snyug? uncio ɿpy [維虺維蛇] 'it is about snake-broods, it is about snakes' (said of an auspicious dream). The context does not make it clear whether it refers to snakes in general or a particular type of snakes; however, in the light of later period usage and the simple pictographic nature of the character (originally written simply as 它), there is little reason to doubt the generic meaning 'snake'.

Classical Chinese: HYDCD VIII: 878. Cf.: lipy roŋ ka tə {蛇龍居之} "snakes and dragons lived there" [Mencius 6, 14]. Only encountered once in this particular passage in the early Confucian texts, but the word is unquestionably the principal generic term for 'snake' throughout all of Classical Chinese.

Late Middle Chinese: Not attested in the text of Linji-lu.

Standard Chinese: DEHCD 1985: 631; HYDCD VIII: 878. Curiously, this word has no "common" bisyllabic extended variant in the modern language, remaining morphemically unchanged since ancient times.


Wenchang Hainanese: Hashimoto 1976: 82.

107. THIN
Early Zhou Chinese ㄶak {溥} (1), Classical Chinese ㄶak {溥} # (1), Standard Chinese ʆi4 {細} (2), Jian’ou Chinese ㄶɔ6 {溥} (1), Wenchang Hainanese ɓo7 {溥} (1).

References and notes:

Early Zhou Chinese: Schuessler 1987: 41. Cf.: na riŋ læk prəŋ {如履薄冰} 'as if treading on thin ice' [Shijing 195, 6]. The word is rare, and it is not excluded that Early Zhou Chinese distinguished between ㄶak '2-D thin' and sam {繖} '1-D thin' [Schuessler 1987: 665] (the latter word is only applied to silk threads, hence Schuessler translation of 'fine-textured silk', obviously incorrect since the word behaves as an attribute to particular silk terms). There is, however, not enough evidence to ascertain this.

Classical Chinese: HYDCD IX: 572. Polysemy: 'thin / scarce / miserly', etc. Dubious, since the word is never attested in its direct meaning in the early Confucian texts.

Late Middle Chinese: Not attested in the text of Linji-lu.

Standard Chinese: DEHCD 1985: 2286; HYDCD IX: 780. This adjective, itself quite old in origin (originally = 'very small, tiny'), has in the modern language more or less superseded the older ㄶo2 {薄}, although the latter is still applicable to a few objects in the meaning 'thin' (e. g. ㄶo3, ㄶe1 {薄紙} 'thin paper').


108. WIND
Early Zhou Chinese ɿəm {風} (1), Classical Chinese ɿəm {風} (1), Late Middle Chinese ㄶɨŋ {風} (1), Standard Chinese ʦɤ1 {風} (1), Jian’ou Chinese ㄶəŋ1 {風} (1), Wenchang...
Hainanese ɦaŋ1 {風} (1).

References and notes:

Classical Chinese: HYDCD XII: 590. Cf.: sʰi: danh ta prom, pit ʔaŋʔ [草上之風必偃] "the grass, when blown upon by the wind, must bend" [Lunyu 12, 19].
Late Middle Chinese: HYDCD XII: 590. Cf.: bǐ dí jì x qǐ píŋ [被地水火風] "you suffer earth, water, fire, and wind" [Linji-lu 44].
Wenchang Hainanese: Hashimoto 1976: 82.

109. WORM

Classical Chinese Län {蚓} ~ [蚓] (1), Standard Chinese ɕiou1=yin3 {蚯蚓} (1), Jian'ou Chinese ka3=liu4-xüi2 (2).

References and notes:

Classical Chinese: HYDCD VIII: 871, 959. Cf.: ba Län dãŋ lâk kʰɛw nàŋ, ɕʰən ʔeŋ ɕʰwəŋ 3 ɡn {夫蚯上食稿壤下飲黃泉} "Now an earthworm on above eats of dry soil, down below drinks of the Yellow Spring" [Mencius 6, 15]. This is the only occurrence of this word in early Confucian texts, but it is encountered more often in later texts from the Classical period, in one of the two listed spelling variants.
Late Middle Chinese: Not attested in the text of Linji-lu.
Standard Chinese: DEHCD 1985: 2519; HYDCD VIII: 876. This bisyllabic word is attested already in Hán-era texts; it cannot be determined at which particular point it replaces the original monosyllabic yin3 as the default colloquial expression (could even be as early as Hán itself). The main morpheme is yin3 {蚓}, directly continuing Classical Chinese Län q.v. As for the first syllable, ɕʰpu4 {蚯} is most likely just a graphic variant of ɕʰpu4 {丘} 'hill, mound', i.e. the whole expression is 'mound-worm'.
Jian'ou Chinese: Li 1998: 55. Graphically transcribed as [ 加流 + [虫+憲]]. Quoted as liu4-xüi2 in [Huang 1958: 288], without the prefix.
Wenchang Hainanese: Not attested. The word ɦaŋ2 {蟲} 'worm' in [Hashimoto 1976: 82] most likely refers to the generic 'worm, grub, larva, insect' rather than the required meaning 'earthworm'.

110. YEAR

Early Zhou Chinese nʰi:n {年} (1) / swʰaʂ {歳} (2), Classical Chinese nʰi:n {年} (1) / swaʂ {歳} (2), Late Middle Chinese nien {年} (1), Standard Chinese njän2 {年} (1), Jian'ou Chinese nin3 {年} (1) / xüɛ3-su3 {歲數} (2), Wenchang Hainanese ɦüe4 {歲} (2).

References and notes:

Early Zhou Chinese: Schuessler 1987: 441. The situation with the two main synonyms for 'year' is quite complex for most stages of Chinese. In the Shang dialect (pre-Early Zhou oracle bone inscriptions) the principal word for 'year' is clearly swaʂ {歳}, whereas nʰi:n {年} is exclusively used in the meaning 'harvest' (further confirmed by the writing of the character, consisting of 'cereal' above 'person'; the value of 'person', nin {人}, may also be phonetic, but analysis of such a basic and common character as an early
phonograph is dubious. In Early Zhou, however, $nʰiːn$, while still occasionally used in the meaning 'harvest', is comparable, if not surpassing, in frequency next to $swʰaː$. It is hard to treat the distinction as anything other than dialectal, sometimes on the "micro"-level, where both words co-inhabit any given dialect, but significantly differ in stylistic and syntactic usage in various ways depending on the particular idiom. In this situation, it cannot even be argued that the meaning 'year' for $nʰiːn$ is chronologically a post-Shang innovation, since the particular type of semantic differentiation between the two words that we see in the Shang dialect may simply reflect a particular idiosyncrasy of one type of speech. Without attempting to offer a more definite scenario, we treat both words as synonyms for the Early Zhou dialectal continuum. Schuessler 1987: 590.

Classical Chinese: HYDCD I: 647. Cf.: $yǒŋg nʰiːn kāy səʊɑː [凶年饑歲] 'in years of calamities and seasons (years) of hunger' [Mencius 4, 13], a perfect illustration to the ongoing use of both words as hard-to-separate synonyms in Classical Chinese. That said, $nʰiːn$, during this period, is unquestionably the more frequent term of the two. HYDCD V: 354.

Late Middle Chinese: HYDCD I: 647. Used *passim* in the text of Linji-lu, but mainly in conjunction with numerals, i. e. 'year' as a countable time interval. The synonymous word $sɨjɨy [歲]' is only encountered once, in conjunction with $nien$: $zɨp nien ɚə sɨjɨy [十年五歲]'ten years-nien and five years-sɨjɨy”, idiomatically denoting an approximate time period. It is, therefore, hardly eligible for inclusion.

Standard Chinese: DEHCD 1985: 344; HYDCD I: 647. The quasi-synonymous word $sɨjɨy [歲]' only means 'year' in referring to age (e. g. in $ɩi$ $sɨjɨy [幾歲] 'how many years? = how old?', etc.).
