

Chinese Lexicography on Matters of the Heart
An Exploratory Commentary on the *Heart* Radical in
Shuō wén jiě zì 說文解字

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14

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Phonetic Transcription Conventions

The transcription of earlier Chinese forms needs an efficient phonetic alphabet. We have used some symbols and conventions to indicate ancient pronunciations. For more details see Axel Schuessler 2009.

^B : rising tone projected back from Middle Chinese (上聲);

^C : falling tones projected back from Middle Chinese (去聲);

level and entering tones remain unmarked;

sh = palatal s (with an acute accent): ś

tsh: tś

tshh (= aspirated palatal): tśʰ

ts-h = aspirated ts- (and not a palatal affricate): tsʰ

zh = palatal z (with an acute accent): ź

dzh: dź

medial r in Late Hàn = sign of retroflexion, indicated by a dot underneath the letter (sr, dr-...): sṛ, dṛ

medial r in Old Chinese = a medial *r: r̥

ng = is a unit phoneme as in German Finger (as opposed to Engl. finger): ŋ

j as in German ja

y = in Late Hàn as in French u

Note that in Late Hàn reconstruction the r indicates not an r as in Old Chinese, but retroflexion.

Abbreviations

A	Allograph (或从): (see, for example, n° 130 態)
AG	Alternative Gloss 一曰 (see, for example, n° 48) (或曰, see also n° 26 under ^{CAS})
CAS	Comment from an Alternative Source: (see, for example, n° 26)
DG	Dialectal Gloss (see, for example, n° 75)
EBF	Expansion of Bound Form (see, for example, n° 27)
EP	Explanatory Paraphrase (see, for example, n° 2)
G	Gloss (see, for example, n° 1)
GI:	Graphological Interpretation (see, for example, n° 53, 123)
GQ:	Gloss on the Quotation (see, for example, n° 118)
GS	Graphological Specification (see, for example, n° 1): 指事, 象形
HG	Head Graph (see, for example, n° 1)
HP	Historical Phonology (see, for example, n° 1)
IQ	Illustrative Quotation (see, for example, n° 22)
LH	Later Hàn (pronunciation) (see, for example, n° 1 under ^{HP})
MC	Middle Chinese
OC	Old Chinese (pronunciation)
OCM	Old Chinese Minimal (pronunciation) (see, for example, n° 1 under ^{HP})
PIF	Phonetic Interpretation formula (see, for example, n° 2)
PR	Phonological Relation (see, for example, n° 3)
SA	Stylistic Allograph (see, for example, n° 8, 65): 古文, 籀文
SF	Subsumption Formula (see, for example, n° 1)
SGE	Supplementary Graphic Explanation (see, for example, n° 233)
SN	Supplementary Note (see, for example, n° 1, 146)
SNT	Supplementary Note on Toponymy (see, for example, n° 99)

- SPI Supplementary Pronunciation Instruction (see, for example, n° 45) 讀若
- SSF Semantic Subsumption Formula (SSF1, SSF2 (see, for example, n° 2), or SSF0 (see, for example, n°136).

DXB is an abbreviation for *Dà Xú běn* 大徐本

- GL " *Shuō wén jiě zì gǔlín* 說文解字詁林, see Dīng Fúbǎo
- GSR " *Grammata Serica Recensa* by Karlgren Bernhard
- GY " *Guǎngyùn* 廣韻
- HYDZD " *Hànyǔ dà zìdiǎn* 漢語大字典
- REC. SCHUESSLER Reconstruction by Axel Schuessler (LH; OCM)
- scil.* " *scilicet* "that is to say"
- SHĪ " *Shījīng* 詩經
- SHŪ " *Shàngshū* 尚書
- SW " *Shuō wén jiě zì* 說文解字 often written *Shuōwén*
- SWJZZ " *Shuō wén jiě zì zhù* 說文解字注
- TKJ " Tāng Kějìng 湯可敬
- WGY " Wáng Guìyuán 王貴元
- XS " Xǔ Shèn 許慎

The line "1. SW 10B 408: 001; DXB 217 (10B 10a); GL vol 11: 4646b; Duan 501 (10B 23b); TKJ 1438; Ozaki vol. 5 (匏): 994." is to be read as follows: *Shuō wén* chapter 10B first character under the radical n° 408; chapter 10B 10a in *Dà Xú běn*; volume 11, p. 4646b in *Shuō wén jiě zì gǔlín*; chapter 10 B 23b in Duàn Yùcái *Shuō wén jiě zì zhù*; p. 1438 in Tāng Kějìng *Shuō wén jiě zì jīnshì*; volume 5, p. 994 in Ozaki Yûjirô *Kundoku Setsumon kaijichû*.



1. Introduction

The *Shuō wén jiě zì* 說文解字 (henceforth: *Shuōwén*) is the first known systematic work on Chinese characters. It was completed in the year AD 100¹ by the Hàn classicist Xǔ Shèn 許慎 presented in *Hòu Hànshū* as having a perfect knowledge of the Five Classics.² Xǔ Shèn was a native of Zhàolíng 召陵 (one of the 37 hamlets of the Rǔnán 汝南 prefecture), in present-day Hénán province 河南 (about 100 kms South-west of Kāifēng 開封), but we do not exactly know when he was born and died.³ Allegedly because Xǔ Shèn was sick, but maybe for political reasons, the *Shuōwén* was only presented to the throne in 121⁴ by his son Xǔ Chōng 許沖.⁵

The *Shuōwén* counts 14 chapters as well as a postface presenting the history and the development of the Chinese script, followed by the memoir to the throne written by Xǔ Shèn's son. Under 540 radicals, it gathers 9,353 characters or entries and provides around 1163 graphic variants in addition.

In this introduction we aspire to reconstruct whatever we can of the process of the composition of the *Shuō wén jiě zì* 說文解字.⁶ Our ambition is not to interpret

¹ The twelfth year of the *yóngyuán* 永元 era during the reign of the emperor Hédi 和帝 (88-105), (SW 15B 1a).

² *Hòu Hàn shū* 79B, "*Rúlínzhuàn*" 69B 後漢書, 儒林傳 (Běijīng: Zhōnghuá shūjú, 1982: 2588).

³ R.A. Miller, "Problems in the Study of the *Shuo-wen chieh-tzu*," 1953: 68-69, gives the following approximate dates for Xǔ Shèn's life (ca. 55 ad? - ca. 149 ad?), but Dǒng and Zhāng (*Xǔ Shèn yǔ Shuō wén jiě zì yánjiū*, 1988:1) consider that Xǔ Shèn was probably born under Míngdì's 明帝 reign (58-75) and died under Shùndì's 順帝 reign (125-144).

⁴ The first year of *Jiànguāng* era 建光元年 under the reign of emperor Āndì 安帝 (106-125).

⁵ See the postface (SW 15B 2a) and R.A. Miller (1953: 2-26).

⁶ The editions we have found most useful are the following: Xú Xuàn 徐鉉 (917-992), *Shuō wén jiě zì* 說文解字 (Chángshā: Yuè lù shūshè, 2006); Xú Kǎi 徐鍇 (920-974), *Shuō wén jiě zì xì zhuàn* 說文解字繫傳 (Běijīng: Zhōnghuá shūjú, 1998); Duàn Yùcái 段玉裁 (1735-1815), *Shuō wén jiě zì zhù* 說文解字注 (Shànghǎi: Gǔjí chūbǎnshè, 1988); Dīng Fúbǎo 丁福保 (1874-1952), *Shuō wén jiě zì gūlín* 說文解字詁林 (Běijīng: Zhōnghuá shūjú, 1988); Tāng Kějìng 湯可敬, *Shuō wén jiě zì jīn shì* 說文解字今釋 (Chángshā: Yuèlù shūshè, 1997). In addition, we have referred to Roy Andrew Miller, "Problems in the Study of the *Shuo-wen chieh-tzu*," Ph.D. dissertation (New York: Columbia University; rpt. Ann Arbor, 1953), Françoise Bottéro, *Sémantisme et Classification dans l'écriture chinoise: Les systèmes de classement des caractères par clés du Shuowen jiezi au Kangxi zidian* (Paris: Collège de France, Institut des Hautes Etudes Chinoises, 1996), Richard Sterling Cook, "說文解字, 電子版 *Shuo Wen Jie Zi, Dianzi Ban*: Digital Recension of the Eastern Han Chinese Grammaticon," Ph.D. dissertation (Berkeley: University of California, 2003). For a

the textual product, but to explain the production of the text. Like Wilhelm von Humboldt, we are interested not only in the *ergon* "result", but in the *energeia* "the execution".

1.1. *The Shuōwén is not a Dictionary of Basic Meanings of Words*

The *Shuōwén* is a dictionary of graphic etymology, and etymology needs to be carefully distinguished from semantic analysis. It provides only meanings that are relevant to the explanation of the graphs used to write words. Similarly, the *Shuōwén* only refers to pronunciations of graphs insofar that these are relevant to the explanation of phonetic constituents in those graphs.

When Xǔ Shèn adds alternative pronunciations, all of these are construed as possibly graphologically relevant, and when he adds alternative meanings with or without sources for them, these are again construed as being in principle also graphologically relevant. Such lists of pronunciations or meanings do not in general attempt to provide any comprehensive overview of the different meanings of a word. Moreover, the meanings indicated in his glosses are very often not the basic meanings of the word in question but those meanings which Xǔ Shèn considers serve best to explain the structure of the graph. When *suǒ* 所 is explained as "the sound of an axe as it hits a tree" (伐木聲也, SW 14B 14a), Xǔ Shèn was surely aware that his gloss here is less than helpful for a proper understanding of the character in texts. By this gloss he wishes to insist that the structure of the graph is best understood when one considers this exceedingly rare meaning of the word. We shall revert to the methodological importance of this strategy below.

Words have many meanings, and in Xǔ Shèn's time a given Chinese character was very often used to write several distinct words with different pronunciations. The *Shuōwén* is not concerned with this phonetic and semantic variety and it is thus neither a dictionary of pronunciation nor indeed a dictionary of the meanings, let alone the basic meanings, of characters.

For example, the character 說 has three common readings which come out in modern Mandarin as *shuō*, *shuì* and *yuè*. But it appears that as far as Xǔ Shèn is concerned, the graphologically relevant pronunciation is *shuō*, and the relevant meaning is the speech act of explaining (說釋也, SW 3A 8a) rather than any

classified bibliography on *Shuōwén* see Dǒng Xīqiān 董希謙 and Zhāng Qīhuàn 張啟煥, *Xǔ Shèn yǔ Shuōwén jiě zì yánjiū* 許慎與說文解字研究 (Kāifēng: Hénán dàxué chūbǎnshè, 1988), p. 175-227, and Cook, *Shuo Wen Jie Zi*, p. 451-92. For the more general context in the history of Chinese linguistics, see Christoph Harbsmeier, *Language and Logic*, in Joseph Needham *Science and Civilisation in China*, vol. 7, part 1 (Cambridge: Cambridge U.P., 1998).

psychological state of satisfaction or delight. Nonetheless, in his book he remains free to use the character 說 as everyone else does around his time – to write the word later standardly spelt 悅 *yuè* "be satisfied/delighted".

A much more complex example of a very different kind and from another radical may further illustrate this often overlooked point: the modern graph 賣 has the reading *yù*⁷ as a phonetic constituent always throughout *Shuōwén*. Xǔ Shèn must have been aware that another very common reading of this character was *mài*, but this was of no concern to him in the phonetically based graphological analysis of the character as relevant to his dictionary project. In the small seal script the word now pronounced *yù* "sell in the street as a hawker" 賣 (賣) is similar but clearly different from the graph *mài* 賣 鬻 "offer for sale". These were different words written with different small seal graphs, but the graphs became conflated already in Hàn times to create the misleading impression on first sight that the same character has two separate pronunciations and two similar but not identical meanings.

We shall revert below to the theoretical importance of the seal script for Xǔ Shèn's analysis of Chinese characters, and complex stories like that of the graph 賣 illustrate better than anything else why Xǔ Shèn needed to base his graphological dictionary on the small seal script and not on the current clerical script of his time.

Each *Shuōwén* entry is compiled according to a set of rules, the implicit *tǐlì* 體例 "editorial procedure" of the *Shuōwén*. (We have no *fānlì* 凡例 "explicit statement of the editorial procedure"). Xǔ Shèn is not always consistent, but it is possible to reconstruct the overall methodological *régime* which he tried to impose on the whole work. His introduction (or postface) can be used as a point of departure for the reconstruction of his methodological *régime*, but, as we shall see, the rules he followed were more elaborate than those stated explicitly in his postface.

In writing his dictionary, Xǔ Shèn built on the Chinese commentarial tradition. The numerous quotations from canonical and non-canonical texts in *Shuōwén* provide ample evidence for this historical link. However, his dictionary is about characters as such and not about characters in context. In modern terminology: Xǔ Shèn was concerned with the system of "graphic *langue*", and only incidentally with "graphic *parole*". His interest was in the writing system of the language as such and no longer, as in the commentarial tradition, with individual occurrences of characters in given texts. In its focus on the system of the *langue*

⁷ According to *Dà Xú běn's fānqiè* 大徐本反切 spelling: 余六切.

rather than the "scribal *parole*", the *Shuōwén* had an antecedent in the *Ēryǎ* 爾雅 (ca. 3rd cent. BC), which already discussed decontextualised words rather than occurrences of words in given contexts, although its occasional concern, in one chapter, with the *Shījīng* is evident enough.⁸ Xǔ Shèn wrote a book about the Chinese writing system, but he came to be misunderstood as if he had written a dictionary explaining basic meanings of words. His theoretical focus was squarely on the analysis of graphs. We might call his theoretical analytic concern with the structure of graphs "graphological" in analogy to the notion of "phonological" analysis. In order to avoid a confusion with the ordinary meaning of "graphology" one should probably settle in favour of the term "graphemic" (and the derivative noun "graphemics"). By contrast, we would call "graphic" the perspective of an epigrapher or a historian of calligraphy. We reserve the awkward term 'graphological' for an analysis that goes beyond identifying graphemes and goes on to discuss their nature and their structural interaction in characters. Thus for example, declaring a character to 'refer (pictorially) to something' is not a graphemic analysis but a graphological interpretation.

1.2. *The Composition of the Lexical Entries in Shuōwén*

The entries of the *Shuōwén* follow an invariant schema:

- a) Head Graph. (Obligatory, generally in seal script.)⁹
- b) Semantic gloss as relevant to the graphological analysis. (Obligatory. This often provides a marginal, by no means basic, meaning of the word glossed. Optionally, the gloss may be followed by alternative glosses Xǔ Shèn has found in the literature and wishes to record.)
- c) Graphological analysis into semantic and phonetic constituents.¹⁰ (Obligatory. Only optionally attention is paid to the dual semantico-phonetic function of phonetic constituents: many obvious cases go unidentified.)
- d) Note on graphemically distinct allographs. (Optional.)
- e) Supplementary/encyclopaedic sundry material. (Optional.)

⁸ See particularly the *Shixùn* 釋訓 section of the *Ēryǎ* and its close connections with the Mao tradition of the *Shījīng*. For *Ēryǎ* one may now consult the splendid Zhū Zǔyán 朱祖延, *Ēryǎ gǔlín* 爾雅詁林 (Wūhàn: Húběi jiàoyù, 1996).

⁹ We found only 38 exceptions to this rule.

¹⁰ It is crucial to realise that what the phonetic gloss specifies is not the pronunciation of the character in which it occurs. On the contrary, it only specifies which graphic constituent is or is not the phonetic constituent in that character, see, for example, ^{PIF} under n° 23. The point is crucial to Xǔ Shèn's graphological methodology. Nonetheless we cannot find anyone who has noticed this before. Xǔ Shèn occasionally specifies the pronunciation of a character by the formula *dūruò* and there is no redundancy involved in his standard specification of the phonetic element when he also specifies pronunciations with the formula *dūruò*.

- f) Subsumption formula. (Obligatory in entries with "radicals" as head graphs, even when no other characters are in fact subsumed under them. Subsumption formulae are never found anywhere else.)
- g) Notes on pronunciation. (Optional. These are present in approximately 10% of the characters and are regularly at the end of the entry.)

The sequence of the obligatory elements listed above tends to be invariant throughout. In general, elements that are obligatory for all entries precede optional elements, but occasionally encyclopaedic material may be entered directly after the semantic gloss, presumably because encyclopaedic remarks, being concerned with semantics, are naturally attached to the graphological semantic gloss.

Writing a *Shuōwén* entry was like filling in a form of the sort we have just outlined above and not a general implementation of the ideas presented in the postface. As we have seen, in this form certain fields are obligatory and others are optional. Identifying the underlying pattern for the Shāng dynasty oracle bone inscriptions (13th-11th C.) was a decisive breakthrough in oracle bone inscriptions philology.¹¹ Specifying such a schema for the *Shuōwén* must be regarded as a *conditio sine qua non* for any disciplined and systematic study of the text.¹²

We leave open the question to what extent the organisation of the *Shuōwén* was linked to any bureaucratic organisation of its compilation by a team of collaborators. Xǔ Shèn made an intellectually decisive move from the philological interpretation of characters to a systematic science of the structure of graphs. Later, others made the similarly exciting decisive move from the philological collection of sound glosses in the direction of a systematic science of phonology. It was his systematicity and his conceptual discipline which has assured *Shuōwén* a permanent place in Chinese history of the human science.

1.3. *Taboos and Omissions*

Imperial Hàn dynasty taboos override the general rules on obligatory elements. When the head graph of an entry happens to be the name of a deceased emperor, Xǔ Shèn felt obliged, as a public servant writing a book to be handed up to the current emperor, not to give any gloss but to write instead: *shàng huǐ* 上諱 "Taboo because of the emperor".

Elsewhere, such absence of obligatory elements is often marked by the

¹¹ See David Keightley, *Sources of Shang History. The Oracle-Bone Inscriptions of Bronze Age China*, 1978.

¹² Compare the traditional schema 字義字形字音 "meaning of the character, shape of the character, sound of the character" which was useful enough as far as it went, but which is not detailed enough for our purposes. See also Wáng Níng 王宁 "Xùngǔ zuǎnjí lùn gāng" 訓詁纂集論綱, 1996-5: 1.

explicit formula *quē* 闕 "(information) missing". In this Xǔ Shèn follows the venerable and very "scientific" tradition inaugurated in *Lúnyǔ* 15.26 (吾猶及史之闕文 "I'm still of the time of the archivists who would leave out texts (i.e. refuse to comment when the facts were uncertain). The story of this self-critical non-omniscient scientific pose expressed by the term *quē* 闕 is an important part of Chinese intellectual history. We should even say that it is a significant part of the history of self-critical scientific thinking, and of logical method.

1.4. *The Significance of the Style of the Head Graph*

The head graph in Xǔ Shèn's dictionary is not the standard and predominant *lishū* 隸書 "clerical script" character as used on the bamboo strips of his time but another, older, style, that of the *xiǎozhuàn* 小篆, the "small seal script". This small seal script, though widely used on seals as well as other precious artefacts, was certainly not the standard way of writing Chinese in most other contexts. Literally hundreds of thousands of bamboo strips bear witness to current everyday scribal practice from late Warring States times down to Xǔ Shèn's own times. Nonetheless Xǔ Shèn decided to disregard this current scribal practice. Instead, he entered as head graphs the seal script graphs.

The "regular script" head graphs added for convenience in all modern *Shuōwén* editions are not part of the received *Shuōwén* text but represent modern insertions.¹³ We need to explain why Xǔ Shèn opted for the small seal style head graphs. Our answer to this question will still not explain why, since Xǔ Shèn could have added *lishū* 隸書 forms, he did not find it worth his while to do so. It would conceivably have been convenient for the Hàn readership if he had added the clerical script graphs, but in the context of his systematic analysis of characters the decisive fact remains that this analysis is applied not to clerical script forms but to small seal forms of characters. Xǔ Shèn's analysis does go on to identify in "clerical script" and not in "small seal script" the structural constituents of each seal graph.¹⁴ But this inconsistency remains harmless as long as there are no structurally significant differences between the small seal and the clerical script versions of constituents identified. Xǔ Shèn must have been aware of the many problems involved in using the small seal graphs as head graphs and then referring to the constituents in these graphs in their standard "clerical script" shape.

¹³ They were added in the 1963 Zhōnghuá shūjú edition.

¹⁴ No wonder the Qīng-era scholar Duàn Yùcái 段玉裁 is sometimes tempted to rewrite Xǔ Shèn's text so as to bring the identification of constituents closer to the small seal script form.

1.5. Graphemic Versus Graphic Analysis

The crucial point to notice is that Xǔ Shèn's analysis of characters is graphemic and not graphic: he never explains the distribution of strokes in a graph or any prescribed or recommended manner of their execution. His concern is more abstract. Even when, on occasion, he does discuss the location of a constituent in relation to other constituents, he never gets anywhere close to any discussion of stroke order and the like. His concern is with what we should call the immediate constituent structure of each graph and the nature of the participants in this structure. These constituents are not graphs but graphemes. Now, the graphemic structure of characters is in Xǔ Shèn's view best brought out in that archaizing variety of traditional Chinese script of his time, namely, the small seal script. To take one example among many possible ones, the character *diào* 弔: 从人持弓 in clerical script does not contain the grapheme *rén* 人, whereas the small seal version does. Here, as often, the small seal script is structurally more revealing than the clerical script standard characters, and therefore of greater use to Xǔ Shèn's analytic approach. See also *shǐ* 史: 从又持中 ("*shǐ*: has 又 'hand' as an immediate semantic constituent, which holds 中"), and *shū* 書: 从聿者声 ("*shū*: has 聿 'brush' as a semantic constituent and 者 as the phonetic constituent"), in which the constituent structure attributed by Xǔ Shèn is manifest in the small seal script and has disappeared in the clerical script versions of the characters.

弔: 弔 史: 史 書: 書

Epigraphy and palaeography are giving us ever new insights into the graphic variations of Chinese characters in ancient excavated texts. Xǔ Shèn remains fairly indifferent to the great variety of ways in which a given graphic constituent can be manifested epigraphically in the texts of his own time with which he must have been highly familiar. His variant graphs always constitute graphemic variants and not mere structurally identical allographs. The fact that a character can be written very differently does not interest Xǔ Shèn until the variation affects the graphemic constituent structure. What we mean by graphemic analysis is the focus on abstract constituent structure of graphs and the abstraction from the epigraphic variability of the graphic realisation of the same graphemic elements. And what graphological analysis within the *Shuōwén* system adds to graphemic analysis is the specification of the typology of the graphemic constituents. Thus, it is part of the graphological analysis of the graph 上 that this graph "refers (pictorially) to something" (*zhǐ shì* 指事), but graphemically – under Xǔ Shèn's interpre-

tation – the graph is unanalysable.¹⁵ Xǔ Shèn's intellectual ambition turns out to have been not merely to provide a graphemic analysis of the characters used in the classics of his time, but to use small seal script as a means to reach back into the history, or graphic etymology, of Chinese graphs.

One might be tempted to ask why, then, he did not go as far back as to the bronze inscriptions (*jīnwén* 金文) to which he does seem to have had some limited access. To this important question there is a straightforward answer: as any dictionary like the *Hànyǔ dà zìdiǎn* 漢語大字典 shows, even today, with vastly increased excavated bronze inscriptions available, a solid majority of the characters in *Shuōwén* are found to have no *jīnwén* 金文 corresponding graphs. Xǔ Shèn can thus only refer to such earlier varieties of writing incidentally, when they are available to him, and when they provide evidence relevant to his graphological analysis. The choice of the seal script enabled Xǔ Shèn to go as far back as one can when one is looking for a reasonably complete character set for the large number of graphs he wished to discuss.

1.6. *The Significance of the Number of Radicals*

The first ordering principle of Xǔ Shèn's dictionary is the organisation of all 9,353 characters under 540 "radicals".¹⁶ The next principle is that each of the radicals is given a more elaborate graphological description at the head of its 540 sections of his dictionary. All the characters (with the important exception of the radicals themselves) are subsumed under 540 "radicals".

It is clear that the total number of radicals was more important in Xǔ Shèn's eyes than their functional use. Among the 540 radicals there are 36 under which no character has been subsumed. It was suggested that 540 was the product of the multiplication of the symbolic numbers for the *yīn* and the *yáng* ($6 \times 9 = 54$). In order to acquire a sufficient number of classifiers for his classifying purpose Xǔ Shèn multiplied 54 by 10, and arrived at his number of 540.¹⁷ Xǔ Shèn probably chose the numeral 10 because it represented what he defines as the "complete number".¹⁸ He glossed *shí* 十 as "the completion of the series of number" and the

¹⁵ The fact that one might insist that this character should be read as *huì yì* 會意 "associating ideas" because something X is depicted as being above a level Y is irrelevant to the present discussion.

¹⁶ Xǔ Shèn points out that he has included 1,163 graphic variants, which together with the 9,353 entries, add up to the number 10,516. This is sometimes said to come close enough to *wàn wù* 萬物 ("myriad (*i.e.* all kinds of creatures)."

¹⁷ Atsugi Tetsuji 阿辻哲次, *Kanjigaku: Setsumon kaiji no sekai* 漢字学, 說文解字の世界, 1985: 135-72.

¹⁸ F. Bottéro, *Sémantisme et classification*, 1996: 69-71.

graph is explained as including the four cardinal points and the centre (i.e. the five directions).

1.7. *The Nature of the Radicals*

Not all radicals can be used to write words: for example, the radicals *kǎn* 凵, *wéi* 匚, *mián* 宀, *zhuó* 艸, *qiān* 辛, *ruò* 彡, etc., are recurrent elements in characters, but they are not complete characters in themselves within the *Shuōwén* system (any possible use of 彡 for 若 in inscriptions would be irrelevant to our issue here). Since they do not represent words, they are *ipso facto* never pronounced as such, and one must ask how any pronunciation could be assigned to them. We conclude that the readings for radicals must have been invented by the lexicographers.¹⁹ It should be pointed out that radicals are not like elements, unanalysable into constituents. The internal graphological structure of radicals is frequently explained in *Shuōwén*, as when the speech radical *yán* 言 is plausibly said to *cóng kǒu* 从口 "have the mouth radical as a semantic constituent". Such complex radicals constitute a set of graphs which are not in fact retrievable under their declared main semantic constituents. We might say that they are *cóng ér bù shǔ* 从而不属, in the sense that they have a radical as their main semantic constituent, but do not in fact belong under that radical. They thus refute the current generalisation that graphs in *Shuōwén* can be found under their main semantic constituent.

Another anomaly is this: as many as 36 radicals are non-productive, that is, they are radicals under which no other characters are subsumed. Part of the explanation for this anomaly lies in the fact that Xǔ Shèn needed to get to his magical number of 540 radicals. But if a character is impossible or difficult to analyse under Xǔ Shèn's system, then declaring it to be a radical does find a logical place for it in that system. The characters for the numbers 三, 四, 五, 六, 七 were entered as "daughterless" non-productive radicals: these were treated as unanalysable "primes" without any further function in the graphemic system.

It is commonly held that the radicals constitute an advanced lexical retrieval system for Chinese characters, and there is no doubt that this is indeed how they have come to function much of the time, and in practice. Meanwhile, their theoretic function in *Shuōwén* has to do with the systematisation of the primarily non-phonetic constituents in Chinese characters. The phonetic role of constituents is specified explicitly by the technical term *shēng* 聲, whereas a non-phonetic constituent X is *not* explicitly characterised as "semantic"; although we find

¹⁹ We note in passing that the *horror vacui* from which traditional lexicographers have tended to suffer, may well have induced them to provide readings for many characters without reliably attested early readings.

reason to translate the formula *cóng* 从 X as "has X as a semantic constituent": as we shall discuss forthwith, the non-phonetic constituents are generally construed by Xǔ Shèn as semantic. Constituents introduced in this way can occasionally be assigned an additional secondary phonetic function by the formula X *yì shēng* X 亦聲 "X is also phonetic".

It has to be said that a fair number of the radicals, and not only those non-productive "daughterless" ones, provide little or no insight into any semantic features of the characters subsumed under them. While it is true that characters with the fish radical tend to have fish-related meanings, the radical *zhǔ* 讠, defined as marking a pause or breaking off in discourse, has no identifiable relation to what Xǔ Shèn takes to be the graphologically relevant meaning "wick", of the character *zhǔ* 主 (later standardly written as *zhù* 炷) which he knew currently wrote the word for "ruler": it is significant that Xǔ Shèn only considers the meaning of this word that is relevant to the explanation of the graph. Moreover, in this instance, Xǔ Shèn declares the radical to be at the same time phonetic: 讠亦聲 "讠 is also phonetic".

In spite of examples like this, the radicals identify a set of recurrent predominantly non-phonetic constituents in Chinese characters that are related to a semantic classification of words. They are needed for the graphological analysis of characters, and occasionally they are useful for the integration of characters into Xǔ Shèn's cosmological schemes. These radicals are only incidentally convenient for the retrieval in dictionaries of the graphs containing them.

1.8. *The Assignment of Radicals Versus the Designation of Semantic Constituents*

The formula X *cóng* Y, X 从 Y, generally indicates that a constituent in a given graph is *typically semantic* and *not only phonetic*. Whenever Xǔ Shèn gives reasons or explanations for using the formula X 从 Y, it turns out that he is concerned to give semantic explanations for the natural presence of the element Y in a graph X with the meaning he has assigned to that graph in his gloss. Thus, although Xǔ Shèn has no similarly explicit semantic term corresponding to the phonetic specifier *shēng* 聲, there is good *internal* reason for insisting that the formula X 从 Y does ascribe typically semantic constituents.²⁰

²⁰ The isolated instances of X从Y聲, are limited to explanations for allographs, i.e. graphologically distinct alternative ways of writing a given character. The formula 或从Y聲 "is alternatively written with the constituent Y which is phonetic" in cases where Y is manifestly irrelevant semantically, provides explicit evidence to prove that the technical term *cóng* 从 could occasionally introduce in *Shuōwén* constituents of a purely phonetic kind. See SW 10B 408: 246 *bù* 捕 "scared out of one's mind", in which an allograph is explained by the phrase: 或从布聲 "[the graph *bù*] is alternatively written with the constituent *bù* 布 which is

1.9. *The Shuōwén Entries on Radicals*

The entries on the radicals as head graphs in *Shuōwén* are generally much more discursive than other entries. They display an encyclopaedic interest that is only sporadic in the rest of the dictionary. Each section of *Shuōwén* is conceived like a chapter in a book to which the entry on the radical itself serves as a kind of introduction. Within each of these chapters, the arrangement of material, though often erratic and generally unpredictable, is not always arbitrary. A large number of semantic series structure the text, although there are some striking omissions in these series where characters expected in a series are found in an arbitrary place elsewhere under the same radical. Under the heart radical alone we have identified the following series: JOY SERIES (14-16) (3 items), minor THINK SERIES (17-18) (2 items), GENEROSITY SERIES (24-27) (4 items), INTELLIGENCE SERIES (31-33) (3 items), AFFECTION SERIES (40-(42)-44) (4 items), THINK SERIES: (59-(61)-63) (4 items), minor FEAR SERIES²¹ 1 (69-70) (2 items), minor DEPENDENCE SERIES (71-72) (2 items), EFFORT SERIES (83-88) (6 items), PEACEFUL SERIES (93-95) (3 items), minor JOYFUL SERIES (98-99) (2 items), TENSENESS SERIES (106-(110)-112) (6 items), STUPIDITY SERIES (123-127) (5 items), NEGLIGENCE SERIES (132-(137, 138)-142) (9 items), minor INDULGENCE SERIES (143-144) (2 items), minor GREEDY SERIES (155-156) (2 items), MORAL & INTELLECTUAL CONFUSION SERIES (157-(158)-167) (10 items) [including CHAOS SERIES (160-163 + 167) (4 items)], RESENTMENT SERIES (168-(177)-180) (12 items), DISSATISFACTION/RESENTMENT SERIES (181-189) (9 items), DEJECTION SERIES (194-205) (12 items), MOVEMENT SERIES (207-209) (3 items), WORRY SERIES (211-233) (23 items), FEAR SERIES 2 (237-(244)-248) (12 items), SHAME/HUMILIATION SERIES (251-256) (6 items), minor CHASTISE SERIES (261-262) (2 items).

In spite of all these series, there is no attempt at an overall organisation of the material under each radical, except that synonym-binome characters do tend to be entered into the dictionary together, and in the order of their occurrence in the binome. Thus *chóu* 惆 will be expected to precede *chàng* 悵 in *Shuōwén* because of the currency of the synonym-binome *chóuchàng* 惆悵 "feel distressed". Moreover, we have noticed that positive terms tend to precede negative terms so that a radical section rarely begins with negatively charged terminology. On the other hand, there is a striking accumulation of negatively charged terminology towards the end of our present heart radical section. Strikingly, again, the mouth radical begins with the delightful words for baby's crying and ends with spitting, affliction, silence and animal sounds. Note also the case of the woman radical *nǚ*

phonetic."

²¹ Minor means less than three entries.

女 which begins with the highly valued terms for clan names and terminology for nubile young women, and which ends on words referring to wickedness.

1.10. *Semantic Classification Versus Subsumption Under Radicals*

Subsumption under a radical is not a matter of mechanical or straightforward semantic diagnosis. For example, quite a few characters that have psychological meanings and contain the heart radical are not to be found in the heart radical section, in spite of the fact that Xǔ Shèn must have known that this is where they would be looked for. As we noted above, Xǔ Shèn did not see himself as using radicals as a retrieval system. They were an analytic conceptual tool.

If subsumption had been merely a matter of semantic diagnosis, one might suspect that under the heart radical Xǔ Shèn would try to assemble all characters with clear psychological meanings that contain the grapheme *xīn* 心. For example, the high-currency psychological term *yōu* 憂 "worry", would be looked for in vain under the heart radical, and so would the high-currency psychological term *ài* 愛 "love". In instances like these, Xǔ Shèn clearly gives priority to considerations of graphological analysis, and he disregards considerations of ease of lexical retrievability (if retrievability in the lexicon indeed ever was part of his motivation at all). Xǔ Shèn's classification is primarily of graphs and only secondarily of meanings. In cases like *ài* 愛 "love", *yōu* 憂 "worry", it turns out that *xīn* 心 is embedded in the graph and is not taken to be an immediate constituent of that graph. Thus what modern linguists refer to as immediate constituent analysis turns out to be an indispensable methodological tool for Chinese character analysis, and Xǔ Shèn employed this tool 2,000 years *avant la lettre*.

Xǔ Shèn, surely well aware of the current meaning of the word *ài* 愛 "love", glosses the character as *xíng mào* 行兒 "descriptive of a way of walking", and he relates *suī* 夂 "walk slowly" to what he sees as the graphologically operative meaning of the word. The remainder of the character, *ài* 𠂇, is analysed as a compound phonetic constituent, and this compound constituent does happen to contain the heart radical. *Xīn* 心 is neither a phonetic nor a semantic immediate constituent in this graph according to Xǔ Shèn's analysis. Therefore there can be no question of 心 being a radical in 愛. Only immediate constituents can be radicals in the characters of which they are immediate constituents in Xǔ Shèn's system. When a radical is inserted into another simplex constituent, Xǔ Shèn goes so far as to conceive of one discontinuous graphic constituent to explain the construction of the graph. In any case: the graph *ài* 愛 cannot be said to 从心 "have *xīn* as an immediate constituent" in Xǔ Shèn's system. Xǔ Shèn's abstract interest in graphological analysis goes so far that he completely disregards the

well-known current meanings of Chinese key words when his analytic principles lead him to counterintuitive conclusions, as in the cases of *ài* 愛, *suǒ* 所 and *zhǔ* 主 above.

We have seen that by no means all characters which one would obviously look for under the heart radical are listed under that radical in *Shuōwén*. Thus everyone would look for *sī* 思 "think" under the heart radical until he has learned that Xǔ Shèn treats *sī* as a complex radical which itself has the heart radical as its semantic constituent but is *not* entered under the heart radical (here we have an other case of 从而不屬).

It is of course also true that by no means all characters with clearly psychological meanings have the heart radical in the first place. Thus, the section on the heart radical is far indeed from exhausting the repertoire of characters with psychological meanings. Leibniz would have been disappointed to find that there is no regular relation between the presence of the feature PSYCHOLOGICAL and the presence of the heart radical in characters with basic meanings involving that feature. While few kinds of fish are written without the fish radical, many kinds of psychological concepts turn out to be written without the heart radical. Only one of the four proverbial main categories of emotions *āi* 哀 "grief", *lè* 樂 "joy", *xǐ* 喜 "delight", *nù* 怒 "anger" have the heart radical. Moreover it is interesting to note that the word *yuè* 說 "be pleased" came to be written with the heart radical long after it had become current as written with the speech radical. *Xiào* 孝 "love for ones parents" is written without the heart radical and so is *hào* 好 "have a predilection for". In Xǔ Shèn's time, the most current verb for "to desire" is *yù* 欲, and the current graph used to write that word did not have the heart radical, nor do any other common words for "to desire" or "to hope", like *yuàn* 願, or *wàng* 望. The fact that the Chinese writing system was very far from being a *Begriffsschrift* "conceptually based writing system" in Leibniz's sense comes out very clearly in *Shuōwén*. Only a minority of Xǔ Shèn's glosses for graphs with a heart radical are themselves written with that heart radical. On the other hand, the heart radical is often added to characters with psychological meanings.²² Páng Pú 龐樸 has drawn our attention to the important practice, in excavated philosophical texts as well as in the Mohist *Dialectical Chapters*, of adding the heart radical as a marker indicating abstract psychological meaning.²³ But this limited scribal practice never began to get near to establishing any regular practice of marking psychological terms with the heart radical. Even in the case of *yù* 慾 the addition of the heart

²² Note incidentally that the addition of the heart radical to the character *yù* 欲 tends to create a new meaning of "illicit/inappropriate/excessive desire, lust" by Warring States times.

²³ Páng Pú 龐樸 2004: 37-42.

radical has come to indicate a semantic nuance of "sexual lust" which is absent in the heartless *yù* 欲 "desire".

1.11. *The Hermeneutics of Xǔ Shèn's Glosses*

In our translation of Xǔ Shèn's plain gloss of the form XY也, we sometimes add an explanatory paraphrase introduced by EP [[in double square brackets]], and we often expand this to "X is (a kind of) Y", "X is (a way of) Y-ing" and so on. This is because we find it impossible to believe that Xǔ Shèn intended to say that X simply meant Y, in other words, that X and Y were synonymous. When Xǔ Shèn glosses 息 "breathe" as 喘也 "is to pant" we assume that he was perfectly aware of the semantic difference between these two words. In such cases we have succumbed to the temptation to indicate the distinctive features that characterise X *vis-à-vis* Y. So, as in the example 慈愛也, we add a double-bracketed paraphrase [[EP: *cí* is (a way of) showing loving care (*scil.* towards one's next of kin of a younger generation).]] We are aware that these EP reconstructions do not represent interpretations explicitly indicated or even adumbrated by Xǔ Shèn. However, we hope these reconstructions may be found useful as provisional attempts to reconstruct the underlying semantic reasoning behind Xǔ Shèn's often surprising glossing policy. And this much we do assume: like his commentator Duàn Yùcái, Xǔ Shèn knew Chinese well enough not to have wanted to say what his traditional Chinese readers often took him to mean when he said "XY 也", namely that X simply means Y, or that it is synonymous with Y.²⁴

In any case, the hermeneutics of Xǔ Shèn's decontextualised glosses poses immense questions throughout, precisely because these glosses have no disambiguating context. Translation must inevitably remain tentative in many cases. Translations of isolated glosses always have to be taken *cum grano salis* "with a pinch of salt".

1.12. *The "Six Ways of Writing Down (Words)" liù shū 六書*

Xǔ Shèn's general discussion of the graphological system is well-known under the title *liù shū* 六書 "Six ways of writing down (words)" which he takes over from earlier Hàn tradition, and which he discusses briefly in the postface of *Shuōwén*.²⁵

²⁴ One of the major original achievements of Duàn's commentary is his intermittent but persistent attempt to explicate the different nuances of near synonyms in *Shuōwén*, and in particular his distinction between *xī yán* 析言 "specific use" and *hún yán* 渾言 "generalised use" of words.

²⁵ Concerning the complex issues raised by such terms as *liù běn* 六本, *liù shū* 六書 and *liù wén* 六文, see F. Bottéro "A New Perspective in the Six Ways of Graphically Representing Words" (forthcoming).

These acts are referred to by verbal expressions. Graphs are said to:

1. *zhǐ shì* 指事 "refer (pictorially) to something" as in the characters *shàng* 上, *xià* 下;
2. *xiàng xíng* 象形 "symbolise physical shape" as in the characters *rì* 日, *yuè* 月;
3. *xíng shēng* 形聲 "indicate shape and sound" as in the characters *jiāng* 江, *hé* 河;
4. *huì yì* 會意 "associate ideas" as in the characters *wǔ* 武, *xìn* 信;
5. *zhuǎn zhù* 轉注 "turningly gloss> reinterpret (?)".²⁶ Traditional examples: *kǎo* 考, *lǎo* 老;
6. *jiǎ jiè* 假借 "borrow [one graph for another]" as in the characters *lìng/líng* 令, *cháng/zhǎng* 長 (this probably refers to different meanings being attributed to a single character under different readings, and then more broadly for the use of a character current for a word X, for a phonetically similar word Y).

The literature on *liù shū* 六書 is extensive, and received opinion on this crucial matter takes it for granted that *shū* 書 refers to characters or kinds of characters. See, for example, Táng Lán 唐蘭²⁷ and still the authoritative English version of Qiú Xīguī 裘錫圭.²⁸ In fact, as far as we know, *shū* 書 never refers to written objects other than documents. Graphs or characters are called *wén* 文 and *zì* 字 respectively.²⁹

Xǔ Shèn's descriptions of the various *shū* 書 are verbal rather than nominal, but the detailed interpretation of several types of scribal acts remains unclear: for example we have yet to see any convincing account of *zhuǎn zhù* 轉注. There is no need here to go into controversial detail concerning the *liù shū* 六書 at this point, except to note that these six categories are not in any way mechanically or even sporadically imposed in the body of the dictionary itself, where only occasional explicit mention is made *en passant*, for example, that a character "symbolises physical shape" (*xiàng xíng* 象形). Suffice it to say that Xǔ Shèn is not concerned with *jiǎ jiè* 假借 "borrow [one graph for another]", in the main

²⁶ Our interpretation of this category is no more precise or definitive than the Chinese traditional interpretations are themselves.

²⁷ Táng Lán 唐蘭, *Zhōngguó wénzìxué* 中國文字學, 1979: 67 ff; and *Gǔwénzìxué dǎolùn* 古文字學導論, 1981: 85 ff.

²⁸ Qiú Xīguī *Chinese Writing*, 2000: 151-63; and the Chinese version: *Wénzìxué gǎiyào* 文字學概要, 2000: 97-104.

²⁹ For a detailed presentation of this terminology see Françoise Bottéro, "Revisiting the *wen* and the *zi*: The Great Chinese Characters Hoax," 2004: 14-33; and "Écriture, parole et lecture du monde: la mise en place d'une théorie de l'écriture à l'époque des Han (IIe s. av. J.-C. - IIe s.)", 2006: 115-135.

body of the dictionary: what he explains is the non-borrowed source character in its original meaning and only rarely (under *wéi* 韋, *xī* 西, *néng* 能, *fèng* 鳳) does he refer to loan-borrowing phenomena which are so common in ancient Chinese writing.

1.13. *Problems with the Use of huì yì* 會意

The case of the specification *xiàng xíng* 象形 is quite different from that of *huì yì* 會意. The fact that Xǔ Shèn rarely uses the explicit characterisation of a graph as *huì yì* 會意 does not by itself mean that Xǔ Shèn did not interpret graphs as *huì yì* 會意: the most common formulae he uses to do this are 从X从Y, 从XY, and 从X从Y, Y亦聲. The phrase *huì yì* 會意 is not used for the vast majority of graphs which later scholarship would take as his examples of *huì yì* 會意. It is only added four times in the main text of *Dà Xú běn* (under *sāng* 喪, *xìn* 信, *bài* 敗 and *hùn* 囷). Under *sāng* 喪 and *xìn* 信 the phrase is added – redundantly – after the regular *huì yì* 會意 formula 从X从Y. (One might suspect that this redundant addition is a spurious insertion by later commentators.) The cases of *bài* 敗 and *hùn* 囷 are different: 敗賊皆从貝. 會意. Duàn Yùcái disagrees with Xǔ Shèn's analysis and simply cuts out the phrase 會意 without letting the reader know that what is presented as Xǔ Shèn's text in his edition is in fact Duàn's Qīng dynasty revision of the received text. In *bài* 敗 the formula used is not 从X从Y but the elliptic variant 从X、Y: 从支、貝。敗、賊皆从貝會意。In this context *huì yì* 會意 is not redundant although, following Duàn, one may beg to disagree with the judgement it expresses. The case of *hùn* 囷 involves the third formulaic usage indicating a *huì yì* structure: in this case the graphic constituents are given together with their location relative to each other 廁也。从口，象豕在口中也。會意。"hùn is the toilet. 口 ('enclosure') is a semantic constituent, [the graph] symbolises a pig in an 'enclosure'. A *huì yì* graph." Here again, the *huì yì* 會意 is not quite redundant because by adding these two characters Xǔ Shèn indicates that the cases of graphs involving the location of components in relation to each other must be regarded as what the postface calls *huì yì* 會意 graphs. (For later additions to this list of explicit references to *huì yì* 會意 in the supplementary remarks by *Dà Xú* 大徐 and *Xiǎo Xú* 小徐 see the characters *lì* 立, *hǎo* 好, *rú* 如, *nì* 匿, *fēng* 封.)

1.14. *Phonetics*

As a premeditation on the subject of writing *vis-à-vis* pronunciation it will be useful to take up in some detail the situation of English. There are plenty of words

the writing of which preserves manifest traces of earlier pronunciations for modern words. Examples are many: there are reasons of historical pronunciation which give us both the spellings *knight* and *night*. (Compare German *Knecht* and *Nacht*.) When discussing the "spelling" of Chinese words through characters similar problems arise: the standardisation of this "spelling" has to be discussed in terms of the pronunciation of the time of that standardisation.

Cuī Shūhuá 崔樞華 suggests that the Old Chinese pronunciations should be used for the interpretation of the phonetic analyses in *Shuōwén*.³⁰ Meanwhile, in our present study, we need to distinguish between three quite separate issues:

a) Do the phonological glosses we have refer to special conventions for the reading aloud of ancient texts, or do they report current readings of these characters in the colloquial language?

b) What was the phonological situation at the widely different times when the various characters in *Shuōwén* were created?

c) What was the phonological situation at the particular time when Xǔ Shèn proposed his analyses?

None of these issues has so far received sufficient focus.

In different contexts, we need both Old Chinese and Late Hàn reconstructions for the pronunciations of words. In order to reconstruct Xǔ Shèn's thinking we must decide whether or not he was aware that Eastern Hàn pronunciation as he knew it was radically different from Warring States pronunciation and again from Late Shāng and early Zhōu pronunciations. The commentator Zhèng Xuán 鄭玄 (127-200), in any case, was demonstrably aware of such historical sound changes, as is evident from his remark 古者聲栗裂同也 "In ancient times, as for pronunciation, *lì* and *liè* were the same".³¹ Xǔ Shèn may have been aware of such sound changes. In spite of this, when interpreting Xǔ Shèn's views, we are not entitled to make reference to details of Old Chinese reconstructions to which he would probably never have had access. Until we see convincing evidence that Xǔ Shèn knew relevant details of Old Chinese pronunciation we must base our interpretation of his view on Eastern Hàn pronunciations. On this matter we are very happy to be able to use the newest draft on a systematic reconstruction of Eastern Hàn pronunciations by Axel Schuessler.³²

Having said this, however, we must be prepared for cases which on the basis

³⁰ Cuī Shūhuá 崔樞華, *Shuō wén jiě zì shēngxùn yánjiū* 說文解字聲訓研究, 2000: 21.

³¹ Quoted in South Coblin, *A Handbook of Eastern Han Sound Glosses*, 1983: 11. Note that the issue is *not* whether these words rhymed, but whether they had the same pronunciation.

³² Axel Schuessler, *Minimal Old Chinese and Later Han Chinese: A Companion to Grammata Serica Recensa*, 2009.

of Eastern Hàn readings are implausible, but which in the light of what we now think we know about Old Chinese pronunciation are quite unproblematic or at least less problematic. When we comment on such matters, what we interpret is not Xǔ Shèn's work, but the subject Xǔ Shèn is writing about: the graphological analysis of Chinese characters according to his system. And when we ask about how we need to interpret the composition of characters themselves (rather than how we need to understand their interpretations in *Shuōwén*), then we insist that we must base ourselves quite generally on the pronunciation of the characters at the *widely different* times at which these characters were produced. Thus a complex oracle bone character with a phonetic constituent must be viewed in the light of Late Shāng pronunciation, whereas a character first attested in Western Hàn inscriptions must be interpreted in terms of Western Hàn pronunciation, which may well have been different from Eastern Hàn pronunciation as Zhōu Zǔmó 周祖謨 suggests.³³

1.15. *The Vicious Circle of Reconstruction on the Basis of Phonetic Series*

Phonetic reconstruction in Chinese can never be sure to be a complete reconstruction of the pronunciation of a word. It can only aspire to be a reconstruction of that part of the phonology of a word which our scanty surviving evidence can help us to make some more or less well-informed guesses on. Moreover, theoretical well-informedness carries its own dangers when it systematically builds into the reconstructions themselves just those elements which would later support the theories that motivated their introduction in the first place. We call this the vicious circle of reconstruction. The reconstructions themselves must never be based on the assumptions which they are then used to prove.

Moreover, apart from the problem of the vicious circle of phonological reconstruction, there is the serious problem of the phonetic specification of the realisation of our necessarily phonological reconstructions. Such specifications must always remain essentially speculative as long as we have no sufficiently detailed access to phonetic descriptions of the language in question. From our point of view there are two essential points in this connection:

First, the nature of the relation between the pronunciations of phonetic constituents and of the characters in which they are said to be phonetic constituents is an open empirical issue. All arguments based on assumptions concerning phonological relations between the members of phonetic series must therefore be treated as basically circular: it is the precise nature, reliability and validity of these

³³ Zhōu Zǔmó 周祖謨, "Liáng Hàn yùnbù lüèshuō" 兩漢韻部略說, *Wèn xué jí* 問學集, 1966: 24-31.

assumptions themselves that are at issue and must not be presupposed in the process of the reconstruction of pronunciations to be compared.

Second, since our primary linguistic interest is not in the late history of phonological rationalisation by linguists with a theoretical interest in systematic phonology, but in early pre-theoretical observation, we give pervasive priority to the early evidence such as that presented in *Jīngdiǎn shìwén* 經典釋文 (7th). Later systematising and rationalising works such as *Guǎngyùn* 廣韻 (11th), interesting and important as they are as indigenous Chinese rationalising systems, must not be misunderstood to represent observational empirical evidence, except in those cases where we have solid reason to believe that the authors of the *Guǎngyùn* had access to earlier more reliably empirical sources on the early pronunciation of words than those presented in the *Jīngdiǎn shìwén*.³⁴ We must insist: such later Chinese systematising hypotheses – like our own historical conjectures – can be interesting and stimulating, and naturally tempting indeed to the minds of similarly systematising historical phonologists, but they must be carefully distinguished from what native speaker informants construe as their own factual observations or empirical evidence.³⁵

For example, the currently accepted reading *sì* for the character 食 is derived in current dictionaries, including *Hànyǔ dà cídiǎn* as well as Wáng Lì's justly celebrated dictionary of classical Chinese,³⁶ from the notoriously unreliable handbook *Jìyùn* 集韻 (11th) whose readings are routinely rejected elsewhere whenever they differ uncomfortably from those in *Guǎngyùn*. The proper study of the readings of 食 will begin when historians of phonology as well as lexicographers begin to take care to record systematically the earliest evidence for each reading they attribute to a character, and – more importantly – the early evidence for readings other than those they choose to accept as well as their arguments for rejecting them. Our plea is for a historical *and critical* study of Chinese phonology.

For the purposes of our analysis of *Shuōwén* we need to know, for each reconstruction of the pronunciation of a character, the following documented information:

a) When and exactly where is any given graph first documented, and when are

³⁴ We need to know what were the superior early sources Lù Déming 陸德明 (550?-630) was unaware of in his detailed bibliographic preface to the *Jīngdiǎn shìwén*. (Wú Chéngshì 吳承仕 *Jīng diǎn shì wén xù lù shū zhèng* 經典釋文序錄疏證, 1984).

³⁵ The fact that such observations can be biased in various ways deserves close study but cannot concern us in detail here.

³⁶ Wáng Lì 王力, *Wáng Lì gǔ hànyǔ zìdiǎn* 王力古漢語字典, 2000: 1660.

we assuming the graph was created? Without this information we do not know what pronunciations for what historical periods are relevant to the character. Moreover, the occurrence of a character in a traditional text certainly does not count as evidence to prove that the corresponding graph existed at the time. Excavated texts are crucial to address the latter question. *Grammata Serica Recensa* nowhere pretends to be a detailed study of graphs of the type that is at issue here.³⁷ Bernhard Karlgren had no access to the immense epigraphic evidence which must be the basis for our dating of the invention of the graphs.

b) What exactly is the earliest coherent evidence attesting to the association of a given phonetic reading of a graph with a given semantic interpretation of that graph, as used in a given context? Without this information we are unable to assess the reliability of the association under discussion. If this association is abundantly and unanimously documented in early sources this is very different from a situation where the earliest attested association dates from Sòng times or after. And it is sobering to note that even what we regard as earlier commentarial evidence on the pronunciations of words must count as dangerously late when the texts at issue belong to the fifth or fourth century BC.

1.16. *Observations-Based Versus Conjectural Reconstructions*

Phonetic constituents which are not widely attested as independent graphs for words of the language cannot serve properly as empirical evidence in any detailed description of the relations between the pronunciation of a phonetic and the word in which it is a phonetic. When a reading of such a lexicon-word fits well into the pattern of the *xiéshēng* 諧聲 system this is more likely due to the professional ingenuity of the theoretician rather than any coherence in observed linguistic fact: since the "lexicon-word" is never pronounced one can hardly claim to observe how it is pronounced. (see, for example,, the phonetic constituent in *què* 噉 which is number 12 under the heart radical.) Even when early dictionaries provide readings for such phonetic constituents, we must always suspect them of being based on theoretical reconstruction rather than on observed fact, even when the theoretical reconstruction is utterly convincing and uncontroversial.

Thus we must be careful to distinguish between two kinds of readings: those conjectural readings created by lexicographers to satisfy their own need for coherence of the phonological system, on the one hand, and, on the other, those empirical readings that record observed current linguistic practice. The *Jīngdiǎn shìwén* collects a wide range of early reports on linguistic practice, and it there-

³⁷ Bernhard Karlgren, *Grammata Serica Recensa*, 1957.

fore often contains material which systematising lexicographers do not like to be reminded of. The *Guǎngyùn*, however, is the modern lexicographers' delight because it tends to insist on providing readings that connect old readings to modern pronunciations, and on readings that seemed to its authors to fit into an overall phonological system. This dictionary tacitly – one might even say surreptitiously – dismisses many reliable observational evidence that do not fit into its overall phonological scheme. Much of the wealth of phonetic information contained in *Jīngdiǎn shìwén* is tacitly passed over in *Guǎngyùn*. When common pre-theoretical observation on the pronunciation of a word is not available, then the pronunciation assigned to that word must be treated as merely conjectural, even when the conjectures may have great plausibility. Conjecture must never be confused with observation.

The question to what extent material like *fǎnqiè* 反切 spellings and the like homogeneously aspire to represent one and only one version of the language of the time has to be discussed as an open empirical issue without a foregone conclusion. For all we know, it may turn out that it is wrong to look for the dialect that is represented by Middle Chinese, or by Old Chinese: we may in the end need to concur with Zhū Déxī 朱德熙 when he is said to have advised against very subtle detailed linguistic analysis of a linguistic object that itself is underspecified, like the concept of modern standard Chinese, which is underspecified insofar as it covers many distinct linguistic practices.³⁸

1.17. *The Dú ruò 讀若 "to be Pronounced Like" Problem*

There are three ways to indicate the pronunciation with the *dú ruò* 讀若 formula in the *Shuōwén*. This formula can be followed by:

- a) a simple homophonous word: 翌, 讀若皇, "*huáng* is to be pronounced like *huáng*"
- b). a current expression: 弄, 讀若書卷 "*juàn* is to be pronounced as in *shū juàn*"
- c). or a quotation: 謬, 讀若《論語》"跖予之足". "*chǐ* is to be pronounced as in *chí yú zhī zú* in *Lúnyǔ*."

In addition there are thirty-six examples of the formula "*dú yǔ Y tóng*" 讀與Y同 and five cases of "*dú ruò Y tóng*" 讀若Y同. All these formulae are usually given at the end of an entry, after the graphological analysis (with some counter-

³⁸ Zhū Déxī is said to have made this point on the occasion of his *Doctorat honoris causa* in Paris, 1986.

examples). Together, these represent about ten percent of the *Shuōwén* entries.³⁹ The *Shuōwén* quotations from such authors as Fù Yì 傅毅 (Eastern Hàn), Jiǎ Kuí 賈逵 (Jiǎ Shì zhōng 賈侍中) (AD 30 - AD 101), Sāng Qīn 桑欽 (Western Hàn), Zhāng Lín 張林 (Eastern Hàn), possibly speaking different dialects or belonging to different hermeneutic traditions, show that Xǔ Shèn's notes on pronunciation are often taken from older or contemporaneous works. However, the fact remains that Xǔ Shèn seldom specifies his sources. As a minor significant point we note that under a radical one occasionally finds series of entries with a *dú ruò* formula (cf. *xīn* 心: 79 愬, 82 懔, and 83: 恣). There is no regular system of phonetic annotation in *Shuōwén*. This explains the variations and inconsistencies encountered by scholars who have tried to reconstruct the *Shuōwén*'s language through its *dú ruò* "glosses".⁴⁰

Xǔ Shèn mentions diverging opinions on pronunciations when he provides alternative *dú ruò* glosses (讀若Z, 又讀若Z' ; or simply 又若Z'), or when he indicates that "according to another source the character should be pronounced that way" (讀若Z, 一曰讀若Z'). This is often the case for the radicals and for the constituents that are not complete characters in themselves. Most puzzling are the examples in which the character following the *dú ruò* formula is the same as the phonetic component of the glossed character: A 从XY聲讀若Y. Xǔ Shèn was surely aware that phonetic constituents did not necessarily correspond to the pronunciation of the characters they are part of. He often gave different *dú ruò* glosses for characters and their phonetic constituents to record this. By contrast with this situation, he may have wanted to indicate identity of pronunciations in certain cases *méi* 璫: 石之似玉者。从玉眉聲。讀若眉 "a stone that is similar to jade. It has yù "jade" as a semantic constituent, *méi* 眉 is the phonetic constituent. *méi* 璫 is pronounced like *méi* 眉." (We have found twenty-three cases of this sort in *Shuōwén*.)

The analysis according to the "从XY聲" formula is graphological and not phonological in nature. The distinction between semantic constituents motivated by the meaning of the character, and phonetic constituents which may or may not have such semantic mnemonic motivation, does not in any way make the *Shuōwén* into a dictionary concerned with the pronunciations of words.

Some of the *dú ruò* usefully disambiguate a phonetic constituent. The graph 厶, for example, corresponds either to *sī* 私 or to *gōng* 肱 'upper arm'. Xǔ Shèn

³⁹ See also Lù Zhìwéi 陸志韋, "Shuō wén jiě zì dú ruò yīndīng" 說文解字讀若音訂, 1946: 135-278, and R.A. Miller 1953: 230 ff.

⁴⁰ South Coblin, "The Initials of Xu Shen's Language as Reflected in the *Shuowen duruo* Glosses", 1978: 27-75, and "The Finals of Xu Shen's Language as Reflected in the *Shuowen duruo* Glosses", 1979: 181-245.

explains *sī* 玳 as 石之似玉者。从玉厶聲。讀與私同 "*sī* is a jade-like precious stone. It has *yù* "jade" as a semantic constituent, *sī* is the phonetic constituent. The pronunciation is the same as that of *sī*." In this case, his *dú ruò* gloss solves the problem of how to read 厶. In addition, some well-known characters have received seemingly unnecessary *dú ruò* notes (宋讀若送 or 圓讀若員), whereas many rare characters where one would like to have *dú ruò* notes have none. It becomes increasingly clear that the assignment of *dú ruò* readings is not systematic and often seems arbitrary. They are supplementary notes added from time to time, often for reasons we can no longer reconstruct. Since *dú ruò* notes are not predictable, and since quite a few of them are so idiosyncratic, and since moreover they are already in the Táng manuscripts, a plausible explanation for their retention in the text might seem to be their early origin. There is no need to declare them later additions to Xǔ Shèn's text.⁴¹

1.18. *A Caveat on our Translation of Shuōwén*

Translation from classical Chinese sentences depends notoriously on the pragmatic context of what is being said: sentences in texts often need to be disambiguated on the basis of context. The Chinese understood themselves in the mode the French call *à demi-mot*: readers are assumed to be able to add to what is said plenty of things that are presupposed or understood. (Compare the Latin *sub-audire* and the French loan translation *sous-entendre*.) The glosses in *Shuōwén* are systematically decontextualised because they are concerned with relevant meanings of decontextualised words "as such". None the less, they can only be properly understood if one is prepared to reconstruct what is "understood" in them. Translation from *Shuōwén* thus constantly forces one to impose meaning without that indispensable aid of sufficient context. The result is that translation becomes even more underdetermined by the data in *Shuōwén* than it tends to be in classical Chinese generally.

None the less, there is a great need for a carefully annotated translation of the *Shuōwén*. We need a philosophical annotation that focusses analytically on the text as a comprehensive, systematic enquiry into a well-defined fundamentally important subject. The annotation will also need to focus on the explicit methodology applied in the text, on its highly technical stipulative terminology, and on its pervasive reliance not on traditional opinion, not on unanimous preconceptions, even less on scholarly authorities of the past, but on independent disciplined professional analysis of carefully chosen relevant data.

⁴¹ See also R.A. Miller 1953: 270-71 on the historical background of the *Shuōwén*.

1.19. *A Note on our Use of Sources*

Throughout our interpretation we shall focus on the *Dà Xú běn* 大徐本 (DXB) edition but make constant reference to the magisterial commentary Duàn Yùcái 段玉裁 *Shuō wén jiě zì zhù* 說文解字注 (1988).

The literature on *Shuōwén* and in particular on the heart radical is vast and our bibliography, extensive as it is, could never aspire to completeness. The present study does not aim at summarising traditional and current scholarship on all the entries discussed. We have always consulted Tāng Kějìng 湯可敬 (TKJ 1997) singularly useful edition, and we have also at times gone through the extensive material collected in Dīng Fúbǎo 丁福保 *Shuō wén jiě zì gǔlín* 說文解字詁林 as well as the incomplete Ozaki Yūjirō 尾崎雄二郎 *Kundoku Setsumon kaiji chū* 訓讀說文解字注 5 vols (1982).

We have chosen to insist on posing a wide range of questions that we have not found discussed in the literature. In particular we have not hesitated to articulate questions for which we have no certain answers.

This commentary is long enough as it stands and it would have grown out of all proportion if we had tried to add detailed comments on current scholarship on Xǔ Shèn's great work.



2. Chinese Lexicography on Matters of the Heart: An Exploratory Commentary on the Heart Radical in *Shuō wén jiě zì*

2.1. Preliminary Remarks on the Heart Radical

The general principles of the organisation and compilation of *Shuōwén* have been laid out in our introduction. In the main body of this commentary, we shall comment in detail on the procedures Xǔ Shèn employs in the context of his section on the heart radical. Characters which are assigned psychological meanings in *Shuōwén*, like *āi* 哀 and *xǐ* 喜 often do not have the heart radical. In later times, however, many of these are found to have variants that do have this radical. Thus for example, the character *xǐ* 喜 even has variants with two heart radicals: 憇 and several others with one heart radical. Here are some examples of psychological monosyllabic words standardly written without the heart radical but having variants with the heart radical:

xīn 欣 "delighted": 忻 (*Guǎngyùn* 廣韻, 11th), 愜 (*Jíyùn* 集韻, 11th); *yàn* 厭 "fed-up": 懣, 厭 (*Jíyùn* 集韻), 懣 (*Zhèng zì tōng* 正字通, 17th);

huān 歡 "glad": 懽 happy (*Guǎngyùn*);

yuàn 願 "intend": 愿 (*Sìshēng piānhǎi* 四聲篇海, 13th), 懣 (*Kāngxī zìdiǎn* 康熙字典, 18th).

In the case of *yù* 欲 "desire", the emphatic emotional meaning "lust" often triggers the heart radical 慾. In *hūn* 昏 "confused" the presence or absence of the heart radical seems to mark no semantic difference: 懣, 懣. Similarly for *mǐn* 閔: 憫, 懣 "pity". In cases like *jiù* 疚 "bad conscience", the graph focuses not on psychology, but on the aspect of disorder *bìng* 病, and we have not so far found any variant with the heart radical.

Thus among the psychological words of classical Chinese, we find three types:

- 1° Those standardly written with the heart radical,
- 2° Those sometimes written with the heart radical,
- 3° Those never written with characters involving the heart radical.

By studying these three groups of words, one can thus determine to what extent

the Chinese graphic system allows the inference from the psychological meaning of a word to the expectation of heart radical in the graph for it. Conversely, it will be convenient to list here as a fourth type:

4° Characters with the heart radical to which Xǔ Shèn assigns a gloss unrelated to psychology or cardiac anatomy.

In addition there are a number of characters that one would look for under the heart radical but that are not classified under it. It turns out that in all of these *xīn* 心 is construed as a semantic constituent:

<i>xī</i>	悉	詳、盡也。从心从采。【(懇)】古文悉。
<i>huì</i>	惠	仁也。从心从夷。【(憲)(憲)】古文惠从岬。
<i>xǐ</i>	熹	說也。从心从喜，喜亦聲。
<i>kǎi</i>	愷	康也。从心、豈，豈亦聲。
<i>cōng</i>	愨	多遽愨愨也。从心、囟，囟亦聲。
<i>suǒ</i>	忞	心疑也。从三心。
<i>sī</i>	思	容也。从心囟聲。凡思之屬皆从思。
<i>héng</i>	恒	常也。从心从舟，在二之間上下。心以舟施，恒也。
<i>xié</i>	協	同心之和。从彐从心。
<i>níng</i>	寧	安也。从宀，心在皿上。人之飲食器，所以安人。

Only in the two last cases, *xīn* 心 comes as the second member in the sequence of semantic constituents.⁴² Everywhere else, it breaks the general pattern in *Shuōwén* in which the first-mentioned of several semantic constituents tends to be the radical. In *xī* 悉, *cōng* 愨, and *héng* 恒 the meaning attributed to the characters is unrelated to psychology. The phrase 心以舟施 is incomprehensible to us but might seem to be an attempt by Xǔ Shèn to justify the analysis of *xīn* 心 as a semantic constituent.

2.2. The Heart Constituent is Never Taken as Phonetic

Considering now the graphic variants given in *Shuōwén* which involve the non-radical *xīn* 心, we find no interpretation of *xīn* 心 as the phonetic constituent even in this group. Similarly for the five ancient and *zhòuwén* graphs variants and the five small seal graphs:⁴³

⁴² There is this additional case of *lù* 慮: 謀思也。从思虎聲 in which *xīn* 心 is not analysed as an immediate constituent of the character at all.

⁴³ For the special case of *kuì* 愧 see the entry for the character *kuì* 媿 (SW 12 1a).

sù	肅	持事振敬也。从聿在肅上，戰戰兢兢也。【肅】古文肅从心从聿。
kuáng	狂	狺犬也。从犬圭聲。【(狂)】古文从心。
yǒng	勳(勇)	气也。从力甬聲。【勳】勇或从戈用。【勳】古文勇从心。
jiān	姦	私也。从三女。【姦】古文姦。从心早聲。
wèi	韙	是也。从是韋聲。《春秋傳》曰：“犯五不韙。”【韙】籀文韙从心。
zhé	哲	知也。从口折聲。【哲】哲或从心。【嘉】古文哲从三吉。
bèi	誩	亂也。从言孛聲。【悖】誩或从心。【誩】籀文誩从二或。
sūn	粵(芻)	驚辭也。从兮句聲。【粵】粵或从心。
wǎn	宛	屈草自覆也。从宀夊聲。【窻】宛或从心。
qiè	狘	多畏也。从犬去聲。【怯】杜林說狘从心。

In fact, 心 is one of those graphic constituents which do have a pronunciation but are exceedingly rare as phonetic constituents: *xīn* 心 is taken as the phonetic constituent only in the proper name of the river *Qìn* 沁水。出上黨羊頭山，東南入河。从水心聲。

Mù 木 is a similar case, it is only once found as phonetic constituent in *mù* 沐 "to bath, wash". According to Karlgren, *Analytic Dictionary*, *quǎn* 犬 "dog" is never phonetic.⁴⁴ It is clear that while some graphs are predominantly semantic in function, others of the same pronunciation may be highly productive as phonetic constituents in complex characters. *Xīn* 心 is one of these graphs predominantly used for their semantic value within the Chinese writing system. And while that writing system as a whole is obviously designed to record sounds used to articulate words, this does not mean that everything within that system is tied in the same degree to that sound related side of writing. Even the character *yú* 魚 "fish, aquatic animal", which does occur as a phonetic constituent in *yú* 漁 "to fish", does in general tend to function very much in Leibniz style as an indicator that the word written with it has an "aquatic animal" related meaning. Thus when one sees *yú* 魚 in a character, one does not tend to predict that that complex character is read like *yú* 魚. On the contrary one predicts that the complex character containing this constituent is related to the semantic field "aquatic animals".

Looked upon from the angle of graphs like *yú* 魚, the Chinese writing system might appear primarily semantic. This is especially so because the degree of the semantic predictability on the basis of graphs like *yú* 魚 might seem greater than that of the highly polyvalent phonetic constituents. In the case of *xīn* 心, we shall, by contrast, find a disconcertingly large number of cases in which there is at most

⁴⁴ In the *Shuōwén*, one finds two characters with the phonetic "dog" for a kind of bird *yá* and for the flowing of water *quǎn*: *yá* 狘 【狘】鳥也。从佳犬聲。(五加切) (SW 4A 12b); *quǎn* 𤝵 水小流也。(…) 𤝵 【𤝵】，篆文𤝵，从田犬聲。六𤝵爲一畝。(姑茲切) (SW 11B 1a).

a tenuous link to psychological semantic features.⁴⁵

2.3. *Disused Archaic Heart Radicals*

Some words were usually but by no means everywhere written with the heart radical in our early Warring States and early Hàn epigraphical sources and are never written with that radical in small seal or clerical graphs. A salient example for this is the character *rén* 仁 for which in fact the predominant Chǔ 楚 graph was written with *xīn* 心 under *shēn* 身 in a very large number of different texts from Chǔ. Thus, in this case, Xǔ Shèn provides an analysis for the graphic structure of a character which does not constitute the predominant epigraphic convention in the sources that have come down to us today. An instance like this demonstrates that Xǔ Shèn's decision to take the small seal script as his point of departure does have unintended consequences in cases where the small seal script may have contravened current *lishū* 隸書 practice of his time. The small seal graph *rén* 仁 turns out to be irrelevant to the graphic etymology of the graphs used in many Chǔ excavated sources to write the ancient Chinese word *njin "benevolence". Xǔ Shèn's comments on the character *rén* 仁 are relevant only to some scribal practices in Qín 秦. He nowhere mentions the prevalent Chǔ graph giving instead only the apparently rarer ancient graph 志. He had to make an arbitrary decision in favour of the Qín tradition and excluding the Chǔ tradition for which we have more wide-spread documentation today. Quite conceivably, Xǔ Shèn was basing himself on the later standardisation of the script closer to his own time when the old graph was indeed disappearing.

One might think of this case of *rén* 仁 as untypical or extraordinary. However similar observation apply to the closely related keyword *yì* 義. In the Guōdiàn 郭店 manuscript, this character is regularly written as 心 under 我. Thus the wide variety of graphs listed in the rich Taiwanese Ministry of Education database⁴⁶ speaks to us only of later traditional allographs of 義, whereas late Warring States manuscripts suggest a completely different picture of early Chinese orthographic practice.

It will be important to see how many other cultural words show such radical orthographic deviation in early epigraphy versus later orthography.

In what follows, we take up the systematic philological problems in the order

⁴⁵ In the appendix we have translated the complete *Shuōwén* entries for the graphs containing the heart constituent not classified under the heart radical but rather analysed as radicals in their own right, such as 思 "think", and 叒 叕 "doubtful".


⁴⁶ dict.variants.moe.edu.tw

they arise in our text. Within each lexical entry, we discuss separately the head graph, the semantic gloss, the various supplementary notes and the subsumption formula. The division into lines, is according to the principles of *Thesaurus Linguae Sericae* where each line contains what is construed as a *colon* or breath group or, in other words, a *colon* is defined as whatever is bounded by a punctuation mark other than that of conjunction: 、 .

At times we do not give a gloss for the head graph because such a gloss would not add anything to our analysis of Xǔ Shèn's text.

3. Annotated Translation of *Shuō wén jiě zì, Xīn Bù* 心部

1. SW 10B 408: 001; DXB 217 (10B 10a); GL vol 11: 4646b; Duan 501 (10B 23b); TKJ 1438; Ozaki vol. 5 (韃): 994.

HG:	 (心),	<i>xīn</i> ,
G:	人心	(as in) "the heart of man",
SN1:	土藏。 在身之中。	inner organ that belongs under (the agent) Earth. (which is) in the middle of the torso.
GS:	象形。	(The graph) symbolises the shape.
SN2:	博士說以爲火藏。	The <i>Explanations by the Doctors of Learning</i> consider this to be the inner organ belonging to (the Agent) Fire.
SF:	凡心之屬皆从心。	As a matter of principle, all (graphs) classified under <i>xīn</i> have <i>xīn</i> as semantic constituent.

^{HG} One might think that Xǔ Shèn's text comments on *lishū* 隸書 characters. As discussed in the first chapter of this book (compare also Bottéro and Harbsmeier 2008), Xǔ Shèn had important reasons to prefer the small seal versions of graphs as his dictionary entries.

The bracketed *fǎnqiè* 反切 reading is from *Dà Xú běn* 大徐本 (DXB), and is generally taken to date from Táng times. In this edition we have decided to take as our point of departure the *fǎnqiè* readings as we have them in DXB. (On the history of the *fǎnqiè* 反切 spelling in *Shuōwén* see Cài Mèngqí 2007a: 5 ff.)

^G Xǔ Shèn knew that a wide variety of animals have hearts, and that all these hearts are called *xīn* 心. We need to explain why he defines the word in terms of the human heart, thus committing the notorious lexicographic mistake of using the *definiendum* as the main part of the *definiens*. In so doing Xǔ Shèn would appear to have wrongly narrowed the general meaning of *xīn* while at the same time failing to give a non-circular explication of the meaning of the word.

Xǔ Shèn's gloss focusses on the fact that the primary reference of *xīn* is linked to the physical human heart as the organ of psychology. It is this human psychology aspect of *xīn* which is pervasively relevant to the explanations of the graphs in the present section. Animal psychology was alien to Xǔ Shèn's conceptual world: to him psychology was human psychology. The definition of *xīn*, then, addresses not the question of what the word means and what the graph represents, but it draws attention to the semantic scope of the present section or chapter of *Shuōwén*. It is predominantly concerned with words related to human psychology rather than animal anatomy.

Xǔ Shèn's dictionary must be read as a book, and not merely as a collection of glosses. Sections on the radical themselves are best read as concise introductions to the chapters which they introduce.

^{SN1} This line provides cosmological speculation regarding the organ of the heart. It constitutes an encyclopaedic explanation of the things rather than of the meaning of lexical entries.

It is typical of Xǔ Shèn's explanations of radicals, as opposed to other characters subsumed under radicals, that he often elaborated their meaning and significance in an encyclopaedic manner.

Literally, the heart is perhaps also construed as situated near the centre of the torso, *shēn* 身. But the meaning 'person' for *shēn* 身 is also relevant here, and especially relevant to the role of *xīn* 心 as the category under which many psychological terms are organised in *Shuōwén*. Thus the point suggested, but not explicitly made, is that the heart is construed as the centre of the person. The glosses for the inner organs in *Shuōwén* are instructive: the lungs *fēi* 肺 are defined simply as *jīn zàng yě* 金藏也 "inner organ belonging under the agent Metal"; the kidneys *shèn* 腎 are defined as "inner organ belonging under the agent Water"; the spleen *pí* 脾 is defined as "inner organ belonging under the agent earth" *tǔ zàng yě* 土藏也; and the liver *gān* 肝 is defined as "inner organ belonging under the agent Wood". Thus the glosses place the organs in a cosmological scheme rather than attempting any straightforward anatomical definition. Moreover, the glosses on these organs form a coherent system and are not compiled in an *ad hoc* way for each organ separately. However there are two 'earth' intestines and no 'fire' intestines, this surely is the background for the diverging opinion of the *Bóshì* 博士 "Doctors of Learning".

^{GS} Graphological analysis is obligatory for radicals, as it is for other characters. Thus the graphemic elements themselves are not treated as graphological atoms: they may be complex, in which case Xǔ Shèn analyses their composition, or they may be simplex – as in the present instance – in which case graphological specification remains obligatory but is not normally in terms of the *liùshū* 六書. (It should be noted that only the term *xiàng xíng* 象形 is currently used in *Shuōwén*, *zhǐ shì* 指事 has been found only twice throughout the text.)

In this line the subject has changed: Xǔ Shèn turns from the description of what the word *xīn* 心 refers to to an explanation of the type of graph used to write that word. Moreover, he never speaks of *xiàng xíng zì* 象形字 "a character involving symbolising a shape" but prefers the verbal formula *xiàng xíng* 象形 "(the graph) symbolises a shape". (It would be an arbitrary conjecture to take the verbal formula as elliptic for the more explicit nominal phrase *xiàng xíng zì yě* 象形字也.)

Even in his postface, Xǔ Shèn does not speak in our modern way of *xiàng xíng zì* 象形字 but only of *xiàng xíng zhě* 象形者 "those which symbolise shape" and for example, *huì yì zhě* 會意者 "those which associate ideas".

^{SN2} Xǔ Shèn's explicit reference to the *bó shì* 博士 and their explanations (*shuō* 說) establishes an unusual polemical mode in which he appears to take exception to a predominant view held by the government-appointed specialists *bó shì* 博士. Without taking sides on the issue at hand one notes

that the Labor Ministry Official *gōng cáo* 功曹 Xǔ Shèn took it upon himself to disagree in writing on important points with the imperially appointed senior specialists.

It is surprising to have to note that Xǔ Shèn does not write as a partisan of the so-called *gǔwén* or *jīnwén* tradition, but occasionally feels free to agree with either of them when he sees fit. It remains significant, however, that he does not provide arguments for disagreeing with the school of his preference, the *gǔwén* tradition (see Miller 1953: 58-59, *Mǎ Zōnghuò Shuōwén jiězī yǐn tōngrén kǎo* 1967: ch. 3, p. 27).

The subject of the verb *yǐ wéi* 以為 "to imagine, to hold to be true" is never an utterance of any kind at least in pre-Hàn Chinese. It remains to be seen whether Xǔ Shèn here comes to introduce an innovation in the use of the term *yǐ wéi* attributing beliefs to utterances or texts.

^{5F} In this formula, which is repeated mechanically at the end of every entry for a radical, even when no other characters are subsumed under this radical, Xǔ Shèn maintains an abstract and highly theoretical distinction between taxonomic subsumption *shǔ* 屬 under his radical system on the one hand and graphological analysis in terms of semantic constituents (*cóng* 从) on the other. "Everything that comes in under (屬) this radical is said to have this radical as a semantic constituent".

In fact, the reverse is not true: 凡从心者皆心之屬也 "As a matter of principle all (graphs) that have *xīn* as a semantic constituent are classified under *xīn*" would be wrong. As we can see from the case of the character *sī* 思 "to think of", a graph can have the heart element as its semantic constituent without being entered under that heart radical. Moreover when a graph has more than one semantic constituents it can still only be retrievable and classified under one semantic constituent and not under the others.

Xǔ Shèn's crucial point is this: whereas there are semantic constituents of a graph which are not the radical of that graph there can never be radicals in a graph that are not semantic constituent in that graph. At first sight Xǔ Shèn's statement may seem to come perilously close to being a tautology, and the delicate logic of his statement does not seem to have been appreciated by the Chinese tradition. In fact, the formula illustrates better than anything else the logical rigidity of Xǔ Shèn's methodology: as we have seen, even those radicals under which no other characters are subsumed still have this subsumption formula stated, and the logical point of this is that if there had been any such subsumed characters they would necessarily have been under this radical.

There would be nothing illogical in classifying a character in which a radical is only a phonetic constituent under that radical for convenient retrieval. But this is not what Xǔ Shèn ever admits to doing. The organisation of a character under its radical is not merely a matter of convenience for retrieval but a matter of substantive graphological analysis, sometimes even with implications of cosmological taxonomy.

Current accounts over the system of radicals as a retrieval system (Qián Jiàn fū 錢劍夫 1986: 14) are profoundly misleading and disregard the analytic purpose of Xǔ Shèn's work. Increased retrievability must be considered as no more than a useful side-effect of semantic and sometimes even metaphysically inspired classification. The mechanical repetition of the subsumption formula

at the end of every entry on radicals clearly shows up the standardised (perhaps even bureaucratic) organisation of the compilation of *Shuōwén*. The formula may be said to state the obvious, and yet it is never omitted because it forms part of the formulaic logical system or frame of the *Shuōwén*.

There is a pedantic point of logic here: the character 心 does not, in fact, have 心 as a semantic constituent: the formula 从心 is limited to those characters in which 心 is a proper part of (and not identical with) the whole character. It turns out that no radical is said in *Shuōwén* to be its own semantic constituent. Thus, technically speaking the character 心 does not belong under any radical. Therefore, the current generalisation that *Shuōwén* subsumes all characters under radicals is refuted exactly by these radicals themselves (which are NOT said to have themselves as their semantic constituent (从) in *Shuōwén*).

^{HP} *xīn* 心 [息林切; LH: sim, OCM) səm]

2. SW 10B 408: 002; DXB 217 (10B x); GL vol 11: 4650; Duan 502 (10B 24a); TKJ 1438; Ozaki vol. 5: 994, see variants in WGY: 446.

HG: 息 (息), *xī*, "breathe"

G: 喘也。 is 'pant'. EXPLANATORY PARAPHRASE: EP: It is (like) to pant (*scil.* without the nuance of hard breathing').]]

SSF1: 从心, It has *xīn* "heart" as a semantic constituent,

SSF2: 从自, it (also) has *zì* "self" or *bí* "nose" as a semantic constituent.

PIF: 自亦聲。 *zì* (GSR 1237m: "self, ...") or *bí* ("nose") is at the same time the phonetic constituent.

^{HG} Breathing is neither a cardiac nor a psychological activity, and the statement that *xīn* 心 is a semantic constituent here can not plausibly be taken to mean that Xǔ Shèn thought that the presence of 心 indicated that breathing was a cardiac or psychological activity. We need to explain in what sense, exactly, the heart radical is linked semantically to the relevant meaning "to breathe" specified by Xǔ Shèn. Perhaps the fact that breathing is limited to animate beings was regarded as a sufficiently strong semantic link to justify speaking of the role of the heart radical as a semantic constituent. We shall see below, that such semantic links can occasionally be tenuous indeed. The cases where the link seems to be completely absent, on the other hand, need detailed comment.

Unless we assume that breathing is construed as a psychological activity, the classification of 心 as a semantic constituent would seem gratuitous. It is true enough that 心 is not phonetic, but in this instance it does not appear to be a semantic constituent either. Xǔ Shèn has no way of accommodating this kind of situation gracefully within his analytic system: his choice is only between '从X' and 'X聲' and there is no way of designating a constituent as neither semantic nor phonetic in function except if we were to assume that what he means by the formula '从X' in the first place is really not 'has X as a semantic constituent' but only the much weaker 'has X as a non-phonetic constituent'. But Xǔ Shèn often justifies statements of the form '从X' in terms of the

semantic relevance of X to the overall meaning of the character under discussion. Consider Xǔ Shèn's justification of the monkey in *yú* 愚 (*Shuōwén* 10B 408: 123):

- G: 愚: 戇也 *yú* is 'simple-minded'. [EP: is 'simple-minded' (*scil.* so as to lack necessary or normal mental skills).]
 SSF1: 从心, it has *xīn* "heart" as a semantic constituent,
 SSF2: 从禺。 it (also) has *yú* "monkey" as a semantic constituent.
 GI: 禺, 猴屬, *yú* is a kind of monkey, the stupidest of the wild animals.
 獸之愚者。

We need not agree with Xǔ Shèn's assessment of the intelligence of monkeys, but there can be no doubt that he justifies his formula 从禺 'has *yú* "monkey" as a semantic constituent' by an observation on the stupidity of monkeys. Moreover, in the heat of this intellectual battle he forgets to mention that *yú* 禺 "monkey" is surely phonetic in *yú* 愚 'stupid'.

Examples like these, which could be multiplied, bring out a pervasive structural weakness in Xǔ Shèn's analytic system in so far as this system does not allow him to distinguish explicitly between semantic constituents and merely non-phonetic constituents of characters. For another striking case under the speech radical see *shéi* 誰 which Xǔ Shèn glosses as 誰何也 "who is which one", and for which he sheepishly claims *yán* 言 is a semantic constituent when in fact the meaning 'who' would seem less than obviously related to the meaning 'speech'. Whenever the radical of a character has no semantic link to the meaning of that character, and seems only assigned as a radical because it is definitely not the phonetic constituent, the encyclopaedic analytic aspect of Xǔ Shèn's graphological analysis seems to break down: Xǔ Shèn does not distinguish clearly enough between the notion of a semantic constituent and the very different, weaker, notion of a non-phonetic constituent. He thus often comes to pretend that what is non-phonetic must therefore be semantic.

^G When Xǔ Shèn glosses "X is Y", he can not mean to suggest that X and Y are completely synonymous. The formula "X is Y" needs to be logically explicated as follows: "The structure of the graph X is hereby explained on the semantic basis of a relevant meaning of the word Y". Our EP (Explanatory Paraphrase) attempts to reconstruct what that relevant meaning of Y is which is said to serve to explain the graph X. Thus our EP (Explanatory Paraphrase) attempts to specify the semantic relations between Xǔ Shèn's gloss and the meaning of the character explained.

In the *Shuōwén* there are quite a few examples in which Xǔ Shèn explicitly adds the specification of the semantic nuances involved which in so many other instances we have to supply ourselves in our explanatory paraphrase: 媒 謀也謀合二姓 "Méi is to make plans, (i.e.) to make plans for the reunion of (members of) two families." (*Shuōwén* 12B 443 015), see also our note G for the gloss of the graph 185 *chì* 悒 below.

Literally, we take Xǔ Shèn to make a highly unspecific statement to the effect that "X is Y". This general statement is open to a wide range of seriously misleading interpretations, including the endemic misunderstanding that Xǔ Shèn claims the gloss to be synonymous with what it

glosses, or even worse that Xǔ Shèn claims that the gloss identifies the basic meaning of the word written by the character he explains. However when we interpret Xǔ Shèn's glosses we must always remember that they explain no more than that particular meaning of a word which he deemed relevant to a proper systematic explanation of the structure of the graph that is used to write it.

When a gloss is more general than the word it explains, it provides, in Aristotelian terms, the *genus* under which the word belongs. When, as here, the gloss is more specific than the word glossed, the effect can be profoundly confusing. We believe in these cases the gloss is properly understood as merely indicating likeness of meaning and neither subsumption nor equivalence. In cases like these Xǔ Shèn rarely seems to specify which features in the more specific gloss fail to apply to the word glossed: our EP aims to identify these features.

^{SSF1} One needs to recognise that in Xǔ Shèn's system of graphological analysis X聲 identifies X as the one and only phonetic constituent of a character, whereas 从Y merely states that X is one of possibly several semantic constituent of a character. Just as there can only be one king in a given state so there can only be one phonetic constituent in a given character. By contrast, there can be even more than two semantic constituents which Xǔ Shèn claims to be present in a given character. (Compare *duì* 對 膺無方也。从𠂇从口从寸 "duì is to provide a free answer. [The graph] as *zhuó*, *kǒu*, *cùn* as semantic constituents.") The general rule is that the first of the semantic constituents is the one identifying the *bùshǒu* 部首 "radical" under which the character is classified.

^{SSF2} 自 is defined in *Shuōwén* as: 鼻也 and the *Dà Xú běn fānqiè* gloss is 疾二切. It will be remembered that the *Dà Xú běn fānqiè* glosses date from late Táng time. Moreover there is a crucial methodological point to be mentioned here: Xǔ Shèn's assignment of phonetic constituents in no way commits him to any phonetic value that a graph is assigned in connection with its own graphological analysis in *Shuōwén*. The situation is comparable to the fact that Xǔ Shèn is entirely free to use graphs with meanings other than those identified in his own semantic glosses. Phonetic constituents are not phonetically monovalent in the *Shuōwén*. A given graph, functioning as a phonetic constituent in different characters, may do so, carrying different readings.

^{PIF} *Yì shēng* 亦聲 glosses often seem problematic and possibly constitute late additions, according to some. In this particular instance we need to know how it is that *zì* 自 could ever be considered a plausible phonetic for *xī* 息, under any system of reconstruction or phonetic interpretation.

Our inevitably arbitrary selective semantic glosses for the phonetic constituents are designed to indicate the extent to which it might be possible to assign a concurrent semantic motivation for the phonetic constituent in question.

In any case we must try to interpret the Hàn text. Duàn Yùcái 段玉裁 omits our line "自亦聲" and explains, in this case, that it must be omitted because it contravenes what he feels is known about ancient pronunciation. For our part, we wish to interpret the *textus receptus* and we wish to

understand how Xǔ Shèn can have got away with contravening what was known about ancient pronunciation for such a long time.⁴⁷

Zì 自 (GSR 1237m: "self, ...") [疾二切; LH dzi^c, OCM dzih or OCM dzi(t)s ?] phonetic in xī 息 [相即切; LH sik, OCM sək [!]]; or: bí 鼻 (GSR 1237m: "nose, ...") [父二切; LH bit and bis, OCM bit and bits] phonetic in xī 息 [相即切; LH sik, OCM sək [!]]

^{PR} Both initials and rhymes are different on both of the readings of the phonetic. This should be classified as *fēi shēng* 非聲 "wrong phonetic constituent", a graphic constituent declared to be phonetic when in fact there is no recognisable phonological relation between the character and its declared phonetic constituent. One wonders how this problem could have been overlooked as often as it is by Xǔ Shèn and indeed by his commentators. Meanwhile, already traditional phonologists noticed the crucial category of *fēi shēng* 非聲 "wrong phonetic constituents". However, the number of *fēi shēng* 非聲 turns out to be far greater than is recognised in the commentarial literature. We now need to investigate who was the first to notice such pervasive phenomena of *fēi shēng* 非聲

3. SW 10B 408: 003; DXB 217 (10B 10a); GL vol 11: 4650b, Duan 502 (10B 24a); TKJ 1438; Ozaki vol. 5: 995.

HG: 情 (情), *qíng*, "emotion"

G: 人之陰气 "the *yīn*-vital energy of man,
有欲者。 the kind which contains desires."

SSF: 从心, It has *xīn* "heart" as a semantic constituent.

PIF: 青聲。 *qīng* (GSR 812c': "green, blue, ...") is the phonetic constituent.

^G As in the case of *xīn* 心, Xǔ Shèn's gloss is explicitly anthropocentric. He chooses to comment on a rather late psychological use of the word *qíng* 情 which was current and even dominant in his own time. The graph 情 with the heart radical must indeed be analysed as a Hàn dynasty cultural product. The older uses of the word written by *qíng* 情 in traditional editions and the rarity of even absence of psychological meaning of *qíng* 情 discussed and perhaps overstated in A.C. Graham (1967) is thus irrelevant to the origin of the graph. The structure of Chinese graphs must always be discussed as relating to the time of the origin of that graph. The history of characters must be written on the basis of excavated rather than traditionally transmitted texts.

The reason why Xǔ Shèn focusses on the psychological meaning rather than the metaphysical "true nature, essence", is the natural link of the meaning "emotion" to the heart radical.

The graph 情 with the radical to the left of the phonetic is epigraphically unattested Hé Línyí 何琳儀 1998 dictionary. The word *qíng* 情 is standardly written with various forms that correspond to the phonetic 青. One cannot, in this case, exclude the possibility that the character with

⁴⁷ For another instructive case of the use of 自 as a phonetic consider: *huì* 誼 膽气滿聲。在人上。从言自聲。讀若反目相睽。(荒內切), 自 [疾二切] is phonetic in 誼 [荒內切]!

its heart radical on the left was indeed invented at the late stage when the word did have its psychological meaning. For example, in Guōdiàn 郭店 and Shuǐhǔdì 睡虎地 manuscripts the character is frequent and apparently never written with the *xīn* 心 radical and – incidentally – the word *xìng* 性 is regularly written with the eye radical below 生 rather than the heart radical when it is written with any radical at all.

The "Aristotelian" *genus* under which both *qíng* 情 and *xìng* 性 are subsumed by Xǔ Shèn is *qì* 氣 "vital energy / dynamic force". Both are forms of "vital energy" in Xǔ Shèn's cosmological scheme of things. Xǔ Shèn uses the dynamic metaphysical concept of *qì* 氣 to gloss heart-terminology. This is significant in that he links the realm of the psychological to its physiological/metaphysical base in his correlative pattern of vital energies.

The definition in terms of *yīn* 陰 precedes the definition in terms of *yáng* 陽, just as in idiomatic classical Chinese the word order is always *yīn yáng* 陰陽, never *yáng yīn* 陽陰. The order of Xǔ Shèn's lexical entries here – as often elsewhere – seems to be determined by word order in classical Chinese. The text of the dictionary is expected to be read consecutively. We shall see more cases of this kind below.

Having indicated the *genus* to which *qíng* 情 belongs, Xǔ Shèn goes on to specify what kind of *yīn* 陰-vital energy *qíng* 情 refers to. However, unlike the case of 媒 謀也謀合二姓 (*Shuōwén* 12B 443 015)(see above p. 35 under ^G), Xǔ Shèn does not begin with a full gloss ending in *yě* 也. Instead, he appends to his gloss what to the western reader looks like a postposed relative clause. Since there is a *yě* 也 at the end of the following strictly parallel entry, one might suspect stylistic carelessness. But our translation tries to take the text seriously, as it stands.

Note that *yù* 欲 "desire", a manifestly psychological concept, as noted in the introduction, does not here have the heart radical. For the addition of the heart radical see Páng Pǔ 龐樸 (2004).

^{PIF} *qīng* 青 (GSR 812c: "green, blue, ...") [倉經切; LH tsheng, OCM tshêng] phonetic in *qíng* 情 [疾盈切; LH dzieng, OCM dzeng]

^{PR} Many examples show that ts-, tsh- and dz- often freely interchange in phonetic series. This means that phonetic series cannot be used as arguments to reconstruct distinctions between initials like ts-, tsh- and dz-. More generally, phonetic series cannot be used to reconstruct any initials that can be documented to interchange freely in phonetic series.

Similarly, many examples show that Old Chinese -êng and Old Chinese -eng, though presumably different in pronunciation, interchange freely in phonetic series. This means that phonetic series cannot be used as arguments to reconstruct one of these as opposed to the other. More generally, phonetic series cannot be used to reconstruct any finals that can be documented to interchange frequently in phonetic series.

4. SW 10B. 408: 004; DXB 217 (10B 10a); GL vol 11: 4651b; Duàn 502 (10B 24a); TKJ 1439; Ozaki vol. 5: 995.

HG: 性 (性), *xìng*, "inborn nature"
 G: 人之陽氣 "the vital *yáng*-energy of man".
 IQ: 性善者也。 It is (as in) "nature is good".
 SSF: 从心, It has *xīn* "heart" as a semantic constituent,
 PIF: 生聲。 *shēng* (GSR 812a: "be born, ...") is the phonetic constituent.

^{HG} The word *xìng* 性 was regularly written as *shēng* 生 in pre-Hàn time, and by certain scribes with the eye radical *mù* 目 below 生. The case of *xìng* demonstrates the importance of paying attention to the time of invention of characters when discussing their structure.

^G All sorts of things have *xìng* 性 "natural endowments", and indeed the sage is known for understanding the *xìng* 性 of things in general (TLS: Guan, 11). We need to ask why Xǔ Shèn again chooses the anthropocentric perspective on the meaning of the word. Whereas the meaning "emotion" may be construed as limited to man, that of "inborn nature" applies to living creatures and even to things generally. The presence of the heart radical might be taken to be linked to the fact that *xìng* 性 is prototypically ascribed to animate creatures, for which in turn humans are the representative example. Also, having provided an explicitly anthropocentric gloss for *qíng* 情, it was natural to provide a similar gloss for *xìng* 性.

^{IQ} Xǔ Shèn is not making or even agreeing with any claim that nature is good. He merely mentions a current phrase to illustrate the meaning he has attributed to his lexical entry. The modern analytic distinction between use and mention is entirely relevant to an understanding of his text: the phrase 性善 is mentioned not used.


The rhythmic parallelism with the preceding lexical entry hides a completely different logical structure. For what Xǔ Shèn provides here is an illustration of the use of the word rather than an elaboration on a semantic nuance. This is a rhetorical device which has a long tradition in classical Chinese literature before Xǔ Shèn's time: superficial parallelism embellishes underlying contrast.

^{PIF} The graph 生 is often taken to be not only phonetic but also semantic in function. As we saw in the problematic case of *xī* 息 above, Xǔ Shèn was prepared to acknowledge the semantic significance of phonetic constituents using the formula 从X, X亦聲. The present example, on the other hand, demonstrates how Xǔ Shèn often fails to acknowledge the manifest semantic relevance of phonetic constituents in his analysis. The formula X聲 is often used in cases where X is also a semantic constituent, and where 从X is omitted. This is what happens in the present instance. One is forced to concede that Xǔ Shèn's formula 从X, X亦聲 could always be abbreviated to 从X, so that the formula 亦聲 must always be regarded as optional. It often remains unclear what motivated Xǔ Shèn's choice of 从X versus X聲 in his analysis. When there is dual function it appears that Xǔ Shèn feels free to specify one or the other, or indeed both functions.

Shēng 生 [所庚切; LH srng, OCM srng] phonetic in *xìng* 性 [息正切; LH sieng^c, OCM sengh]

^{PR} Note the contrast in vowel quality as well as in tone. Note also the contrast in the initials.

5. SW 10B 408: 005; DXB 217 (10B 10a); GL vol 11: 4652b; Duàn 502 (10B 24b); TKJ 1439; Ozaki vol. 5: 996, see variants in WGY: 447.

HG:  (志), *zhì*, "aim/ aspiration"

G: 意也。 is 'purpose'. [[is '(a kind of) purpose (*scil.* concerning one's main orientation or aspiration in life)'.]]

SSF: 从心, It has *xīn* "heart" as a semantic constituent,

PIF: 之聲。 *zhī* (GSR 962a: "go to, ...") is the phonetic constituent.

^G Xǔ Shèn defines the *species* 'aspiration' in terms of its *genus* 'idea; purpose'. We indicate this strategy of lexical explanation in our explanatory paraphrase (EP). Wherever possible, we try to make explicit the specificity of the *species* as opposed to the *genus*, even when Xǔ Shèn leaves this to be implicitly understood. We shall see that also *zhī* 悒 (n° 7 below) and *tài* 態 (n° 130 below) are glossed by the more general 意也 is 'purpose'.

^{PIF} Xǔ Shèn insists on the 之 in his seal script version of the head graph as a phonetic, and this in spite of the fact that he had 士 in the corresponding *lishū* 隸書 graph. On the other hand, he does write the seal version of the phonetic by writing its convenient *lishū* form: his concern here is with graphemes and not with epigraphic detail.

The phonetic *zhī* 之 may in fact have been chosen for semantic reasons, an aim being something one moves towards, 'goes for'. As we have seen already Xǔ Shèn's addition of the formula X亦聲 is less than systematic and often absent where it would seem patently appropriate.

Zhī 之 [止而切; LH tshə, OCM tə] phonetic in *zhì* 志 [職吏切; LH tshəC, OCM təh]

^{PR} Note the tonal difference.

6. SW 10B 408: 006; DXB 217 (10B 10a); GL vol 11: 4653b; Duàn 502 (10B 24b); TKJ 1439; Ozaki vol. 5: 997, see variants in WGY: 447.

HG:  (意), *yì*, "purpose"

G: 志也。 is 'aspiration'. [[is '(like) aspiration (*scil.* but without reference to higher aims in life)'.]]

SN: 从[read 以]心察言 Taking one's mind as point of departure one
而知意也。 investigates words and comes to understand ideas/
purposes.

SSF1: 从心, It has *xīn* "heart" as a semantic constituent,

SSF2: 从音。 it (also) has *yīn* "sound" as a semantic constituent.

^G The terms *yì* 意 and *zhì* 志 are used as glosses for each other in the pattern known as *hùzhù* 互注 or *hùxùn* 互訓 "mutual glossing". Such inter-defined terms are many in *Shuōwén*: Féng Zhēng 馮蒸 1995 lists 354 cases, and adds an important list of 75 more which are created by Duàn's

emendations of the text. When Xǔ Shèn defines *zhì* 志 by its hypernym, he adds no illustrative example to make his point clear. On the other hand, when he now employs the word *zhì* 志 in a strikingly different meaning that has nothing to do with aspirations, but with intended meanings, he adds an elaborate explanation.

Duàn rewrites this line as: 意志也。从心音。察言而知意也。In so doing Duàn surreptitiously decides at this point not to rewrite the *Dà Xú běn* but in this case to rewrite the *Xiǎo Xú běn* which reads: 意志也。察言而知意也。从心音聲。

This *Xiǎo Xú běn* text is remarkable in that it declares *yīn* 音 which has a final nasal to be phonetic in *yì* 意 which has no final nasal. If we were to follow *Xiǎo Xú běn* we would have to diagnose a *fēi shēng* 非聲 "wrong phonetic". See below *Shuōwén* 10B 408 034 for a listing of declared *fēi shēng*.

Several inevitably pedantic points need to be made on Duàn's philological procedure here:

1. Duàn should have advised his readers of the divergence between *Dà Xú běn* and *Xiǎo Xú běn* and his choice to base himself primarily on *Xiǎo Xú běn* with respect to the postposed gloss, and on *Dà Xú běn* with respect to the graphological analysis. (His tacit manipulation of the text is not philologically acceptable by any any standards of Qīng or modern times.)
2. Duàn should have advised his readers that he rewrote the *Xiǎo Xú běn*'s version to say the exact opposite of what it does say. For the *Xiǎo Xú běn* regards *yīn* 音 as phonetic and Duàn declares it to be a semantic constituent.
3. Duàn should have explained why he changed the standard formula 从心从音 of *Dà Xú běn* to the alternative formula 从心音.

^{SN} Having expressed our reluctance to rewrite our text before we interpret it, we nonetheless venture to consider a possible emendation for the first character in this line. The received text has the abbreviated variant *cóng* 从 (*Shuōwén* gloss: 相聽也) which is largely limited to the technical formula designating a component a semantic constituent. This is not what the character can possibly mean in the present context. We note that the use of the abbreviated *cóng* 从 as a technical term in our received text is well established only for the *Sòng běn* and that, surprisingly, the fragmentary much earlier and much more reliable Táng dynasty manuscript evidence provides no manuscript support for this Sòng dynasty convention. In the Táng manuscripts the graph 从 "have as a semantic constituent" is always hand-written as 從. In the present case we submit that the use of the simplified *cóng* in the Sòng edition may conceivably be a mechanical error by a careless scribe who did not understand the important distinction between the technical *cóng* and the current *cóng*. Thus one might consider rewriting 从心 as 從心. Another alternative, suggested by Wáng Yún 王筠 (1784-1854) (句讀), is to declare the simplified *cóng* 从 a plain graphic mistake for *yǐ* 以 which would make even smoother sense but which would assume that someone miswrote the complex 從 first rewritten as simplified 从, since there is no graphic similarity between 從 and 以.

The introduction of the technical term simplified 从 as distinct from the verb 從 "to follow" remains a crucial development, no matter whether it was made by Xǔ Shèn himself or whether it


was a creative and congenial innovation by the editors of the DXB. One must remember that the characters 从 and 從 are separate entries in *Shuōwén*, and that the meaning "follow" is attached to the complex *cóng* 從 (*Shuōwén*: *cóng* 從 隨行也) and not to the simplified *cóng* 从 which is linked to listening/obeying (*Shuōwén*: *cóng* 从 相聽也). Xǔ Shèn defines *bìng* 并 as 相從也 and not as 相从也. The gloss 隨從也 recurs twice in *Shuōwén* (婁 (12B 10a), 繇 (12B 25b)), always in literal contexts of physically following something.

Having provided his generic gloss Xǔ Shèn goes on to an analytic elaboration which dispels any impression that he regarded *yì* 意 and *zhì* 志 as synonymous just because the two terms are glossed by each other. Whereas it is the purpose of poetry, as described in the Hàn dynasty preface to the *Shījīng*, to express one's *zhì* 志 "aspirations, ultimate motivations", what we understand in the more general case where we investigate words are *yì* 意 "meanings" rather than *zhì* 志 "aspirations". (Note that in current *Shuōwén* usage, *yì* 意 is sometimes used post-nominally so that X 意也 which often means "has the meaning X", as in wà 咄:無知意也, "has the meaning 'be ignorant'".)

^{SSF2} Surprisingly Xǔ Shèn does not assign any phonetic constituent. This is not uncommon elsewhere, even when modern historical reconstruction might suggest a phonetic role for a constituent.

^{PR} One notes that the nasal final in *yīn* 音 prevents it from serving as the phonetic constituent in *yì* 意 [於記切; LH ?i^c, OCM ?əkh]. It appears that Xǔ Shèn never breaks this rule.

7. SW 10B 408: 007; DXB 217 (10B 10a); GL vol 11: 4654b; Duàn 502 (10B 25a); TKJ 1439; Ozaki vol. 5: 997.

HG:  (旨), *zhǐ*, "main meaning"

G: 意也。 is 'idea'. [[is '(a kind of) idea (*scil.* the main idea contained in a text)'.]]

SSF: 从心, It has *xīn* "heart" as a semantic constituent,

PIF: 旨聲。 *zhǐ* (GSR 552a: "basic idea, ...") is the phonetic constituent.

^{HG} The standard way of writing this word in Warring States times as well as in Hàn times is 旨. The phonetic in this graph is in fact the standard way of writing the word in question. Xǔ Shèn records in this instance a specialised orthography the general principles of which have been laid out in Páng Pǔ 龐樸 (2004).

The standard graph *zhǐ* 旨 is glossed as 美也 and is treated as a composite radical: 从甘匕聲 (5A 14b).

^G Xǔ Shèn has the same gloss for *zhì* 志 'aspiration' and *zhǐ* 旨 'main meaning'. As indicated before this does not imply that he considered the two words as synonymous. What it does imply is that both concepts belong under the *genus* 'intellectual content, idea' which he denotes by *yì* 意.

The only other graph glossed simply as 意也 is: 態:意也。从心从能 "tài frame of mind is 'idea'. It has *xīn* as a semantic constituent, and it (also) has *néng* as a semantic constituent."

^{PIF} As noted above, the phonetic constituent *zhǐ* 旨 happens to be the most current way of writing the word sometimes written with the heart radical. Declaring this constituent *zhǐ* 旨 to be merely phonetic raises interesting questions: one might be tempted to say that the phonetic is here at the same time a semantic constituent until one realises that in the context of graphological analysis which is relevant to Xǔ Shèn the graphologically pertinent meaning of *zhǐ* 旨 is *měi* 美 'of good taste', a usage well attested in such phrases as *zhǐ jiǔ* 旨酒 "good wine".

Zhǐ 旨 (GSR 552a: "basic idea, ...") [職雉切; LH tsh¹³ < ki¹³, OCM ki?] phonetic in *zhǐ* 悒 [職雉切; LH tsh¹³ < ki¹³, OCM ki?]

^{PR} Homophonous phonetic constituent. Moreover it stands to reason that 悒 and 旨 write one and the same word.

8. SW 10B 408: 008; DXB 217 (10B 10b); GL vol 11: 4655b; Duàn 502 (10B 25a); TKJ 1439; Ozaki vol. 5: 998.

HG: 直 (德), *dé*,
 G: 外得於人 is what one obtains from others outside,
 內得於己也。 (or) what one obtains for oneself inside.
 SSF1: 从直 it has *zhí* "straight" as a semantic constituent,
 SSF2: 从心, It (also) has *xīn* "heart" as a semantic constituent,
 SA: 𠄎 [德], 古文。 𠄎 is an ancient style graph.

^{HG} In accordance with Warring States palaeographic evidence Xǔ Shèn prefers this graph as the primary way of writing what is currently written as 德. The character 德 itself, which is not unknown from Warring States palaeographic sources, he glosses as 升也 'go up' in order to explain the presence of the marching radical. In this case a graphologically misleading character has come to replace a graphologically transparent character as the standard way of writing the word. (For *dé* 德 see TKJ: 264, Hé Linyí 1998: 67-68 and for a western account of the epigraphic history of *dé* see Donald Munro 1969).

^G Xǔ Shèn's philosophical interest seems to interfere with his lexicographic conventions at this point: he omits to tell us what it is that is obtained and seems to assume that the reader knows what it is that constitutes virtue, and goes on to draw a distinction between two sources of this virtue.

^{SSF1} Without announcing his emendation, Duàn rewrites the text as 从直心, clearly intending this to be read as 从直、心.

^{SSF2} In assigning two semantic constituents to this character, Xǔ Shèn breaks his own convention according to which the first of any two semantic constituents generally is the radical.

^{HP} *Zhí* 直 [除力切; LH drik, OCM drək] is not declared phonetic in *dé* 惠 [多則切; LH tək, OCM tək.]

^{PR} OCM drək and OCM tək interchange frequently in Xǔ Shèn's phonetic series elsewhere. Thus phonetic series cannot be used to argue for any of these initials.

9. SW 10B 408: 009; DXB 217 (10B 10b); GL vol 11: 4657/10287; Duàn 502 (10B 25a); TKJ 1440; Ozaki vol. 5: 998.

HG: 應 (應), *yīng*, "should (responding to what is proper)"
 G: 當也。 is 'should fittingly'.
 SSF: 从心, It has *xīn* "heart" as a semantic constituent,
 PIF: 雁聲。 *yīng* (GSR 890: "SW says: eagle [in fact SW says 'bird'], ...") is the phonetic constituent.

^{HG} The seal graph has the sickness radical instead of the roof radical.

^G Very often a word is glossed by another word with which it forms a common compound (in this case *cf.* modern Chinese *yīngdāng* 應當).

The realm of obligation is construed as part of psychology.

^{PIF} *yīng* 雁(?雁?) 於陵切; LH ?ing, OCM ?əng] phonetic in [於陵切; LH ?ing, OCM ?əng]

10. SW 10B 408: 010; DXB 217 (10B 10b); GL vol 11: 4657b; Duàn 502 (10B 25a); TKJ 1440; Ozaki vol. 5: 998.

HG: 慎 (慎), *shèn*, "careful"
 G: 謹也。 is diligent. [[is '(a way of being) diligent (*scil.* particularly in paying attention to possible sources of danger)'.]]
 SSF: 从心, It has *xīn* "heart" as a semantic constituent,
 PIF: 真聲。 *zhēn* (GSR 375a: "true, real, ...") is the phonetic constituent.
 SA: 𠄎 [𠄎], 𠄎 is an ancient style graph.
 古文。

^G Note the collocation *jīn shèn* 謹慎 which may be taken to motivate the gloss. Note also, in passing, that the equally psychological *jīn* 謹 which is so close in meaning to *shèn* 慎 is not written with the heart radical.

The gloss *jīn* 謹 recurs 6 times in the heart radical alone and it is salutary to remember (see the entries n° 012, 030, 046, 052, 079.)

^{PIF} *zhēn* 真 [側鄰切; LH tshin, OCM tin] phonetic in *shèn* 慎 [時刃切; LH dzhin^c, OCM dins]

^{PR} Different but regularly interchangeable initials. Different tones. The phonetic rhymes with the character.

11. SW 10B 408: 011 ; DXB 217 (10B 10b); GL vol 11: 4658b; Duàn 502 (10B 25b); TKJ 1440; Ozaki vol. 5: 999; (Hé Linyí: 273)

HG: 忠 (忠), *zhōng*, "do one's loyal best"

G: 敬也。 is 'dedicated'. [[is '(a way of) being dedicated (*scil.* by doing one's best for the person one respects)'.]]

SSF: 从心, It has *xīn* "heart" as a semantic constituent,

PIF: 中聲。 *zhōng* (GSR 1007a: "middle, ...") is the phonetic constituent.

^G Note that Xǔ Shèn analyses loyal effort in terms of the underlying dedication that motivates it, and of which it is an overt expression.

^{SSF} According to Xǔ Shèn's analysis the characters *zhōng* 忠 and *chōng* 忪 (SW 10B 408: 229), though differing in their initials, are taken to have the same phonetic. Moreover their graphonological analysis is taken to be identical: the placement of the radical is not considered an analytic issue. However, the two graphs write distinct words and pairs like these must be carefully distinguished from allographs pairs like *cán* 慚/慙 (SW 10B 408: 254).

^{PIF} 中 [陟弓切; LH *trung*, OCM *trung*] phonetic in 忠 [陟弓切; LH *drung*, OCM *drung*]

^{PR} Voiced versus unvoiced initials. The phonetic rhymes with the character.

12. SW 10B 408: 012; DXB 217 (10B 10b); GL vol 11: 4659; Duàn 502 (10B 25b); TKJ 1440; Ozaki vol. 5: 999

HG: 慤 (慤), *què*, "good/earnest"

G: 謹也。 is 'diligent'. [[is '(a way of being) diligent (*scil.* by acting as one should)'.]]

SSF: 从心, It has *xīn* "heart" as a semantic constituent,

PIF: 𠬞聲。 *què* (SW: "strike downwards...") is the phonetic constituent.

^G The type of goodness *què* 慤 is analysed in terms of moral diligence.

^{PIF} 𠬞 [苦角切; LH *khək*, OCM *khôrək*] phonetic in 慤 [苦角切; LH *khək*, OCM *khôrək*]

^{PR} Phonetic not independently attested as a word in the literature as far as we can see, except in *Shuōwén* itself.

13. SW 10B 408: 013; DXB 217 (10B 10b); GL vol 11: 4659b; Duàn 502 (10B 25b); TKJ 1441; Ozaki vol. 5: 1000.

HG: 𧄸 (𧄸), *miǎo*,

G: 美也。 is 'beautiful/ wonderful'.

SSF: 从心, It has *xīn* "heart" as a semantic constituent,

PIF: 頹聲。 *mào* (SW: "...appearance...") is the phonetic constituent.

^{PIF} 頹 [莫教切; MC mau^c = LH mau^c, OCM mrâu(k)h] (see 兒) phonetic in 頹 [莫角切; MC mâk = LH mək, OCM *mrâu(k)]

JOY SERIES (14-16)

14. SW 10B 408: 014; DXB 217 (10B 10b); GL vol 11: 4660; Duàn 502 (10B 25b); TKJ 1441; Ozaki vol. 5: 1000.

HG: 快 (快), *kuài*, "in good spirits"

G: 喜也。 is 'glad'. [[is '(a way of being) glad (*scil.* as a mood rather than a reaction)'.]]

SSF: 从心, It has *xīn* "heart" as a semantic constituent,

PIF: 夬聲。 *guài* (GSR 312a: "archer's thimble, ...") is the phonetic constituent.

^{PIF} 夬 [古賣切 (*Guǎngyùn*: 古邁切); LH kuas, OCM kwrêts] phonetic in 快 [苦夬切; LH khuas, OCM khwrêts]

^{PR} Rhyme and homogenous initials.

15. SW 10B 408: 015; DXB 217 (10B 10b); GL vol 11: 4660; Duàn 502 (10B 25b); TKJ 1441; Ozaki vol. 5: 1000, see variants in WGY: 447.

HG: 愷 (愷), *kǎi*, "joyful"

G: 樂也。 is 'delighted'. [[is '(a way of being) delighted (*scil.* prototypically on major festive occasions or the like)'.]]

SSF: 从心, It has *xīn* "heart" as a semantic constituent,

PIF: 豈聲。 *qǐ* (GSR 548a: "joyous, ...") is the phonetic constituent.

^{HG} One of the anomalies in *Shuōwén* is the recurrence of the same character under two different radicals: the character *kǎi* 愷 reoccurs under the radical *qǐ* 豈 (*Shuōwén* 5A 16a, TKJ: 663, *kǎi* 愷康也。从心、豈，豈亦聲。[苦亥切]). These must count as cases of carelessness even when the meanings attributed are different. (Conceivably, it might be a matter of a copyist's carelessness). Note that many characters have a range of different meanings and are not for that reason listed several times. In the other entry for *kǎi* 愷 the semantic gloss is close enough, but the graphological analysis is sharply different: *qǐ* 豈 is said to be a semantic constituent, indeed the anomaly of the position of the radical in the second place is explained by the left to right order of the explanation of the graph. The semantic function of *qǐ* 豈 is made to appear plausible by Xǔ Shèn's

gloss of the character in terms of triumphal music. It is almost as if, at the time Xǔ Shèn explained the graph *kǎi* 愷 under the heart radical, he did not think of the rather special gloss he had for *qǐ* 豈. Xǔ Shèn offends against two of his own rules:


1. There must be one and only one entry for each graph.
2. There should be one and only one correct graphological analysis for any given graph.

On the second point, one might add that Xǔ Shèn must surely have been considering many possible alternatives of graphological analysis much of the time, but he made a decision not to communicate his hesitations or deliberations to his readers. He reports his final results and not his supporting arguments most of the time.

^{PIF} *Qǐ* 豈 [墟喜切; LH khǎi^B, khii^B, OCM khǎi? , khǎi?] phonetic in *kǎi* 愷 [苦亥切; LH khǎi^B, OCM khǎi?]

^{PR} Pronunciation looks different only from a modern point of view, but much closer in LH and in OCM than in Middle Chinese.

16. SW 10B 408: 016; DXB 217 (10B 10b); GL vol 11: 4661; Duàn 502 (10B 25b); TKJ 1441; Ozaki vol. 5: 1000, see variants in WGY: 447.

HG:  (𢇛), *qiè*,
 G: 快心。 'in a good mood'.
 SSF: 从心, It has *xīn* "heart" as a semantic constituent,
 PIF: 𠃉聲。 *qiè* (SW: "box, ...") is the phonetic constituent.

^G Note the absence of the customary final *yě* 也. Bisyllabic glosses do not regularly omit *yě* 也. *Shuōwén* usage of *yě* 也 is not always consistent. Thus, in two consecutive entries even, we have both the gloss 玉聲也 (1A 6.71, *qiáng* 瑯:玉聲也 'the sound given of by jade (when struck)'); and the gloss 玉聲 (1A 6.70, *líng* 玲:玉聲 'the sound given of by jade (when struck)').

The presence versus absence of *yě* 也 is by no means always arbitrary as the following sequence from the beginning of the fish radical shows:

qū 魴 魚也。从魚去聲。
nà [魚+納] 魚。似鼈，無甲，有尾，無足，口在腹下。从魚納聲。


The absence of *yě* 也 in the second case is clearly connected to the fact that the explanation continues in an elaborate way.

^{PIF} 𠃉 [苦叶切; LH khep, OCM khêp] phonetic in 𢇛 [苦叶切; LH khep, OCM khêp]

^{PR} The phonetic constituent is homophonous with the character.

MINOR THINK SERIES (17-18)

17. SW 10B 408: 017; DXB 217 (10B 10b); GL vol 11: 4661b; Duàn 502 (10B 25b); TKJ 1441; Ozaki vol. 5: 1001.

HG:  (念), *niàn*,

G: 常思也。 is 'to be constantly preoccupied by something'.

SSF: 从心, It has *xīn* "heart" as a semantic constituent,

PIF: 今聲。 *jīn* (GSR 651a: "now, ...") is the phonetic constituent.

^G This is a non-discursive straightforward simple analytic gloss defining *niàn* 念 as a subtype of *sī* 思 with the added feature of long duration. Thus in instances like these, Xǔ Shèn himself performs for us the task we usually need to take upon ourselves in explanatory paraphrase (EP).

Xǔ Shèn does not generally tend to gloss meanings in terms of *genus* and *species*. Under the heart radical such analytic "Aristotelian" definitions are rare, whereas – for example – the glosses for kinship terms are gratifyingly analytic throughout. There are certain other sections of the dictionary in which the analytic mode prevails to the point of being pervasive, as in the case of the horse radical in which not a single kind of horse is given a generic gloss 馬也, although there are some cases of glosses like 馬名 'designation of a horse'.

^{PIF} 今 [居音切; LH kim, OCM kəm] phonetic in 念 [奴店切; LH nem^c, OCM nǐms]

^{PR} On the face of it a clear case of *fēi shēng* 非聲. Note the case of 貪: 欲物. 从貝今聲: 今 [居音切;] phonetic in 貪 [他含切].

18. SW 10B 408: 018; DXB 217 (10B 11a); GL vol 11: 4661b; Duàn 503 (10B 26a); TKJ 1441; Ozaki vol. 5: 1001.

HG:  (怵), *fū*,

G: 思也。 is 'think of something'.

SSF: 从心, It has *xīn* "heart" as a semantic constituent,

PIF: 付聲。 *fū* ((GSR 136a: "give, ...") is the phonetic constituent.

^G Presumably also the rare word *fū* 怵 would have had its specific features, but in cases like these we are unable to venture any reconstruction of the nuances involved. We provide our extended explanatory paraphrase (EP) only where we feel we have something to say.

^{PIF} 付 [方遇切; LH puo^c, OCM poh] phonetic in 怵 [甫無切; LH puo, OCM po]

19. SW 10B 408: 019; DXB 217 (10B 11a); GL vol 11: 4662; Duàn 503 (10B 26a); TKJ 1441; Ozaki vol. 5: 1001.

HG:  (憲), *xiàn*,

G: 敏也。 is 'skillful'.

SSF1: 从心, It has *xīn* "heart" as a semantic constituent,

SSF2: 从目, it (also) has *mù* "eye" as a semantic constituent.
 PIF: 害省聲。 It has an abbreviated form of *hài* (GSR 314a: "... to hurt ... ") as the phonetic.

^G Xǔ Shèn's gloss remains puzzling: no meaning of 憲 in the literature we know seems to come close to any meaning of 敏.

^{PIF} The notation *X shěng shēng* X省聲 'has X as an abbreviated phonetic' is an important analytical tool in *Shuōwén*. It allows Xǔ Shèn to suggest that a given form which has no phonetic value because it is never used to write any word must often be taken as a graphic abbreviated form of a fuller form which does have a phonetic value. Xǔ Shèn's judgements on what is an abbreviation for what, often seem conjectural, and tend to remain conjectural rather than observational, but he needs such problematic analyses to allow him to explain structurally opaque characters according to his principles. According to his principle, on the one hand Xǔ Shèn often presents plausible suggestions, as in the present case. On the other hand, the freedom this procedure gives him can be abused. In any case, the procedure does allow him to greatly reduce the number of *fēi shēng* 非聲 that would be necessary without it. (Hé Linyí 1998: 898)

害[胡蓋切; LH gâs, OCM gâts] phonetic in 憲[許建切; LH hian^c, OCM hngans]

^{PR} *Fēi shēng* 非聲. Pre-final -n and -t are both dental. Also the initials are different, but homogeneous.

20. SW 10B 408: 020; DXB 217 (10B 11a); GL vol 11: 4662b; Duàn 503 (10B 26a); TKJ 1441; Ozaki vol. 5: 1002.

HG: 𣎵 (橙), *chéng*, "serene"
 G: 平也。 is 'peaceful'. [[is '(a way of being) peaceful (*scil.* not in society but in one's mind)'.]]
 SSF: 从心, It has *xīn* "heart" as a semantic constituent,
 PIF: 登聲。 *dēng* (GSR 883e: "ascend, ...") is the phonetic constituent.

^G It is true enough that the word *píng* 平 has no strong psychological side to it and tends to be social in meaning.

^{PIF} 登[都滕切; LH tēng, OCM tēng] phonetic in 橙[直陵切; LH drīng, OCM drēng]

^{PR} Homogeneous but different initials. One notes that consonantal diphthongs can correspond to simple consonants.

21. SW 10B 408: 021; DXB 217 (10B 11a); GL vol 11: 4663; Duàn 503 (10B 26a); TKJ 1442; Ozaki vol. 5: 1002.

HG: 𣎵 (懔), *nǎn*, "awe-struck"

G: 敬也。 is 'respectful' [[is '(a way of feeling) respect (*scil.* coupled with awe-struck fear)].]

SSF: 从心, It has *xīn* "heart" as a semantic constituent,

PIF: 難聲。 *nán* (GSR 152d: "difficult, ...") is the phonetic constituent.

^{HG} Note that this word is also written with the woman radical in which form the word is glossed as *gōngjìng* 恭敬 in *Hànyǔ dàcídiǎn*.

^{PIF} 難 [那干切; LH *nân*, OCM *nân* (see TKJ: 522 [鷓] for which 難 is a graphic variant)] phonetic in 難 [女版切; LH *nan*^B, OCM *nrân*?

22. SW 10B 408: 022; DXB 217 (10B 11a); GL vol 11: 4663b; Duàn 503 (10B 26a); TKJ 1442; Ozaki vol. 5: 1002.

HG: 𢀓 (𢀓), *xīn*,

G: 闡也。 is 'inspire'.

SSF: 从心, It has *xīn* "heart" as a semantic constituent,

PIF: 斤聲。 *jīn* (GSR 443a: "axe, ...") is the phonetic constituent.

IQ: 《司馬法》曰： The *Sīmā fǎ* says:

善者， 𢀓民之善， "As for the good person, he inspires goodness in the
閉民之惡。 people and blocks off wickedness in the people".

^G We follow Duàn in our interpretation of the rare character *kāi* 闡.

^{IQ} We have not found this passage, but compare: 古者賢王明民之德， 盡民之善， 故無廢德。
(Lǐ Líng 1992, *Sīmā Fǎ yì zhù* 司馬法譯注).

^{PIF} 斤 [舉欣切; LH, *kin*, OCM *kān*] phonetic in 𢀓 [許斤切; LH *hīn*, OCM *hān*]

23. SW 10B 408: 023; DXB 217 (10B 11a); GL vol 11: 4664; Duàn 503 (10B 26a); TKJ 1442; Ozaki vol. 5: 1003.

HG: 𢀓 (𢀓), *zhòng* "tardy"

G: 遲也。 is 'slow'. [[is '(a way of being) slow (*scil.* of mind??)].]

SSF: 从心, It has *xīn* "heart" as a semantic constituent,

PIF: 重聲。 *zhòng* ((GSR 1188a: "heavy, ...") is the phonetic constituent.

^G Usually Xǔ Shèn avoids rare graphic variants in his glosses but in this instance the *Dà Xú běn* preserves such a variant for *chí* 遲.

^{PIF} 重 [柱用切; LH *drong*^B, OCM *drong*?] phonetic in 𢀓 [直隴切; LH *dong*^C, OCM *dōngh*]

重聲 might look ambiguous and therefore potentially misleading because the character 重 has two common readings. In fact there is no ambiguity whatsoever in this case. Xǔ Shèn is not

specifying a pronunciation for the head graph. What he is commenting on is the graphological function of the constituent 重 in the head graph. On this matter, he passes a perfectly unambiguous judgment: that function is phonetic, see note 10 p. 12.

GENEROSITY SERIES (24-27)

24. SW 10B 408: 024; DXB 217 (10B 11a); GL vol 11: 4664; Duàn 503 (10B 26b); TKJ 1442; Ozaki vol. 5: 1003.

HG: 惓 (惓), *yùn*,
 G: 重厚也。 is 'very generous'. [[EP is (a way of being) generous (*scil.* perhaps in a 'warm-hearted' way).]]
 SSF: 从心, It has *xīn* "heart" as a semantic constituent,
 PIF: 軍聲。 *jūn* (GSR 458a: "troop, ...") is the phonetic constituent.
 PIF 軍 [舉云切; LH kun, OCM kun] phonetic in 惓 [於粉切; LH kun, OCM kun]

25. SW 10B 408: 025; DXB 217 (10B 11a); GL vol 11: 4664b; Duàn 503 (10B 26b); TKJ 1442; Ozaki vol. 5: 1003.

HG: 惓 (惓/臺), *dūn*,
 G: 厚也。 is 'generous' / (morally/ psychologically) earnest'.
 SSF: 从心, It has *xīn* "heart" as a semantic constituent,
 PIF: 臺聲。 *chún* (SW: "cooked, ...") is the phonetic constituent.
 G Compare modern Chinese *dūnhòu* 敦厚 "honest, sincere".

PIF For once, Xǔ Shèn chooses to specify as the phonetic the relevant element in the seal script!
 臺 [常倫切; LH d'zuin, OCM dun] phonetic in 惓 [都昆切; LH tuən, tshuin, OCM tūn, tun]

26. SW 10B 408: 026; DXB 217 (10B 11a); GL vol 11: 4664b; Duàn 503 (10B 26b); TKJ 1442; Ozaki vol. 5: 1004, see variants in WGY: 448.

HG: 亢 (亢), *kàng/kāng*,
 G: 慨也。 is 'generous'.
 SSF: 从心, It has *xīn* "heart" as a semantic constituent,
 PIF: 亢聲。 *kàng* (GSR 698a: "overbearing, ...") is the phonetic constituent.

CAS: 一曰: One source points out:
 《易》: *The Book of Changes* (SSJZS: 14a) says:
 愬龍有悔。 "The excited (or generous) dragon: there will be regrets".

^{HG} This unusual graphic variant of *kāng* 愬 is also attested in *Fǎ yán* 法言.

^G The format of this entry suggests that Xǔ Shèn may be considering the binome *kàng kǎi* 愬慨 as a synonym compound. It is not, perhaps, a coincidence that Xǔ Shèn glosses the first element of this compound by the second whereas he glosses the second element by the whole compound. Since the compound has several well-attested meanings, Xǔ Shèn's gloss does little, in fact, to explain which meaning he had in mind.

In this instance Duàn rewrites the gloss as 愬慨也 and declares that "all editions have taken away the character *kàng*". In fact Duàn has simply conjecturally added a character into the text. When Duàn then goes on to move the phrase 壯士不得志於心也 from the succeeding entry, and adds the characters 於心 for good measure, basing himself on *Yùpiān* 玉篇 chapter 8 and *Wénxuān*, it is worth pointing out that the *Sòng běn Yùpiān* 宋本玉篇 (1983: 150) does not in fact have those characters 於心. Thus what Duàn presents as an emendation based on *Yùpiān* turns out to be only partially based on the *Yùpiān* and to involve a conjectural addition by his own hand. No matter what one may think of the plausibility of Duàn's conjectures and emendations, one must deplore the carelessness of his philological procedures. (See our translation of the next entry.)

^{PIF} 亢 [古郎切; LH *kāng*, OCM *kāng*] phonetic in 愬 [苦浪切, 又, 口朗切; LH *khāng*^B, *khāng*^C, OCM *khāng*? /h]

^{PR} The case of alternative *fānqiè* glosses 又 regularly involves the recognition that the DXB/*Tángyùn*'s sources were inconsistent and that they were not sure of their choice. Our early systematic source for readings of Chinese characters in context, the *Jīngdiǎn shìwén* 經典釋文 provides an extraordinary wealth of alternative readings which the current dictionaries since *Qièyùn* times have tended to disregard in their efforts towards standardisation.

^{CAS} Very often, *yī yuē* 一曰 in *Shuōwén* is used as a formula equivalent to *huò yuē* 或曰 meaning something like "an alternative account/source says", and introducing an alternative to what Xǔ Shèn is claiming in his main text. Quite often the alternative thus presented is a commonly held current view on the meaning of a character which Xǔ Shèn has chosen to disregard for his own graphological reasons. Duàn declares that *yī yuē* 一曰 is a mistake and "an addition by an unskillful mind *qiǎnrén* 淺人", and at first sight one cannot fail to be surprised that the phrase *yī yuē* 一曰, in this instance, introduces not an alternative gloss or interpretation but a quotation.

See *Yijing* Hexagram *Qián* 乾.

27. SW 10B 408: 027; DXB 217 (10B 11b); GL vol 11: 4666; Duàn 503 (10B 26b); TKJ 1443; Ozaki vol. 5: 1004, see variants in WGY: 448.

HG: 慨 (慨), *kǎi*,
 EBF: 忼慨, (as in *kāngkǎi* "generous",
 G: 壯士不得志也。 is a man being full of potential who does not get to
 achieve his ambitions.
 SSF: 从心, It has *xīn* "heart" as a semantic constituent,
 PIF: 既聲。 *jì* (GSR 515c: "finish, ...") is the phonetic constituent.

^{EBF} When Xǔ Shèn opens the gloss for a member of a current binome by the binome itself we translate this by the formula "as in". We need to investigate whether the characters thus defined do or do not have independent meanings outside the binome.

Duàn conjecturally, and without explanations, adds the character 也 after 忼慨. In fact, his rewriting of the text only becomes necessary because he has removed from the *Shuōwén* text the phrase that followed 忼慨. It is indeed as if Duàn never contemplated the systematic significance of 也 in Xǔ Shèn's notational system. If he had, he would surely have found it worth his while to justify his conjectural addition, and at the very least to record his changing of the *textus receptus*.

^G The problems raised by binomes of this sort are systematically damaging to Xǔ Shèn's project in that his graphological analysis in so far as it attributes meaning to independent graphs must assume a meaning for each graph even in those cases where an independent use of the component characters can not be documented.

The old *Wénxuǎn* commentary (*Liù Chén zhù Wénxuǎn* 六臣注文選) quotes *Shuōwén*: 說文曰：慨，太息也， and the *Zilín* 字林 has the gloss: 慨，壯士不得志也) "*kǎi*: for an adult not to have achieved one's ambitions" (*Gǔlín ibidem*). Elsewhere we have four quotations of the type: 說文曰：慷慨，壯士不得志於心也。 (See Wáng Guìyuán 王貴元 2002: 448).

^{PIF} 既 [written 既:居未切; LH kis, OCM kəts] phonetic in 慨 [古漑切; LH kəs, OCM kəts]

28. SW 10B 408: 028; DXB 217 (10B 11b); GL vol 11: 4666b; Duàn 503 (10B 27a); TKJ 1443; Ozaki vol. 5: 1005, see variants in WGY: 448.

HG: 惓 (惓), *kǔn*,
 G: 惓也。 is 'sincere'.
 SSF: 从心, It has *xīn* "heart" as a semantic constituent,
 PIF: 困聲。 *kùn* (GSR 420a: "distress, ...") is the phonetic constituent.

^G Here as elsewhere Xǔ Shèn's gloss becomes fully comprehensible to us only when we go on to read the following entry. Thus this is another illustration of the fact that *Shuōwén* must be read as consecutive text and not merely as an accumulation of entries.

Duàn conjecturally rewrites the gloss as follows: 惓惓也。至誠也。 In fact he manages to copy into the gloss of *kǔn* the gloss given for *bì* 悝 in the *Yùpiān* 玉篇 (p. 150). His annotation fails to make clear what he has done to the text:

1. He has added another copy of the character *kǔn* 惓 to Xǔ Shèn's gloss.
2. He has added a *yě* 也 to the *Yùpiān* entry on 悝 after the first part of the gloss (*Yùpiān*: 悝:惓惓至誠也).
3. He has taken the gloss for a different word from the *Yùpiān* and added it into Xǔ Shèn's text.
4. By his punctuation he has suggested that Xǔ Shèn gave two parallel glosses with essentially the same meaning, something which Xǔ Shèn tends to avoid.
5. He has failed to notify his readers that he has radically rewritten Xǔ Shèn's text.

^{PIF} 困 [苦悶切; LH khuən^c, OCM khûns] phonetic in 惓 [苦本切; LH khuən^b, OCM khûn?]

Duàn rewrites *kùn* 困 with the *hé* 禾 radical for the *mù* 木, apparently basing himself on *Xiǎo Xú běn* 1987: 208, whereas the standard DXB edition provides the current unproblematic graph.

29. SW 10B 408: 029; DXB 217 (10B 11b); GL vol 11: 4667; Duàn 503 (10B 27a); TKJ 1443; Ozaki vol. 5: 1005, see variants in WGY: 448.

HG: 悝 (悝), *bì*,

G: 誠志也。 is 'to be earnest in one's aspirations'.

SSF: 从心, It has *xīn* "heart" as a semantic constituent,

PIF: 冫聲。 *bì* (compare *fú* (GSR 933a "... wine vessel, ...")) is the phonetic constituent.

^G Instead of inter-defining *kǔn* 惓 and *bì* 悝, which can even form a poetic binome, Xǔ Shèn chooses to provide an analytic gloss of the latter.

Duàn creates his own gloss for this graph: 惓悝也。 In this instance he does tell the reader what he is doing and what the *textus receptus* said. He even goes on to provide an argument for his emendation: 今依全書通例訂 "In our edition we emend this according to the general practice of the whole book." We are not sure about the pervasive pattern *tōnglì* 通例 he refers to, and how this pattern licences the mechanical introduction of a *liánmián* 連綿 binome as the gloss of the second member of that binome whenever the two members of the binome are adjacent and in the correct order in Xǔ Shèn's dictionary. But as noted above, Duàn has rewritten the gloss for the first member of the binome *kāngkǎi* 愴慨 as the whole binome *kāngkǎi* 愴慨. Thus on the one hand one must object to his rewriting such glosses at all, and on the other hand one must object that his rewriting of these glosses is in fact unsystematic and incoherent.

PIF 𠄎 [芳逼切](*Guǎngyùn* also has 房六切; LH buk, OCM bək) phonetic in 𠄎 [芳逼切; LH pik, OCM prək]

PR 𠄎 is said in *Shuōwén* to be phonetic in both 福 and 𠄎. Thus this phonetic constituent (like a fair number of others) has two distinct phonetic values, and the phrase 𠄎聲 cannot mean "pronounced like 𠄎", and must mean "𠄎 is phonetic in 𠄎". The old Chinese pronunciations of words like *fú* 福 *puŋ and *bī* 逼 *pruŋ appear to have been phonetically close enough according to Zhèngzhāng shàngfāng 鄭張尚芳: (2003). By the time of Middle Chinese, the two pronunciations have diverged. The ascription of the phonetic which is implausible according to the *fǎnqiè* spellings in *Shuōwén* turns out to have been plausible in the language of Xǔ Shèn. This illustrates the importance of our Old Chinese and Eastern Han Chinese reconstructions.

30. SW 10B 408: 030; DXB 217 (10B 11b); GL vol 11: 4667b; Duàn 503 (10B 27a); TKJ 1443; Ozaki vol. 5: 1005.

HG:  (愿), *yuàn*,

G: 謹也。 is 'diligent'. [[is '(a way of being) diligent (*scil.* in a positive and warm-hearted manner).]]

SSF: 从心, It has *xīn* "heart" as a semantic constituent,

PIF: 原聲。 *yuán* (GSR 258a: "spring, ...") is the phonetic constituent.

HG Note that *yuàn* 願, though homophone, is a different etymon.


PIF Xǔ Shèn provides a phonetic constituent here which, though not an entry in *Shuōwén*, is actually recorded as an allograph of the more complex character 𠄎 (*Shuōwén* 11B 2b). One would like to know what motivated Xǔ Shèn's choice of the head graph in this instance, especially since the complex version of *yuán* 原 is rarely attested epigraphically or in the received literature.

Xǔ Shèn does not call *yuán* 原 an abbreviated form of 𠄎 because 原, in his scheme of things, is simply a small seal graphic variant of 𠄎.

原 [small seal of *yuán* 𠄎: 愚袁切; LH ngyan, OCM ngwan or OCM ngon] phonetic in 愿 [魚怨切; LH ngyan^c, OCM ngons (or ngwans?)]

INTELLIGENCE SERIES (31-33)

31. SW 10B 408: 031; DXB 217 (10B 11b); GL vol 11: 4668; Duàn 503 (10B 27a); TKJ 1443; Ozaki vol. 5: 1006.

HG:  (慧), *huì*, "clever"

G: 儇也。 is 'ingenious'.

SSF: 从心, It has *xīn* "heart" as a semantic constituent,
 PIF: 慧聲。 *huì* (GSR 527a: "broom, ...") is the phonetic constituent.

^G Xǔ Shèn chooses to gloss a fairly common word by an exasperatingly rare one. No one can imagine that any speaker of Chinese would learn the meaning of *huì* 慧 using the gloss *xuān* 僂. It turns out that *xuān* 僂 is in turn glossed as *huì* 慧 under the man radical, but this fact does not make the present gloss any more illuminating.

^{PIF} 慧 [祥歲切; LH zuis, OCM s-wis] phonetic in 慧 [胡桂切; LH Gues, OCM wīs]

^{PR} The initials are different, and so are the rhymes. However there is good evidence to show that the two endings are taken to rhyme with each other in early literature.

32. SW 10B 408: 032; DXB 217 (10B 11b); GL vol 11: 4668; Duàn 503 (10B 27a); TKJ 1443; Ozaki vol. 5: 1006.

HG: 𦉰 (僚), *liǎo*, "understand"

G: 慧也。 is 'clever'. [[is '(a way of being) clever (*scil.* with respect to a certain question or subject matter).]]

SSF: 从心, It has *xīn* "heart" as a semantic constituent,
 PIF: 寮聲。 *liáo* (GSR 1151b: "burnt-offering, ...") is the phonetic constituent.

^G The *definiens*, in this case, has just been defined in the preceding entry. This is a common way of linking semantic series together in *Shuōwén*. Conversely, we have found that the *definiens* can get to be glossed only in the succeeding entry as in the case of *bì* 幅 above.

^{PIF} 寮 [力照切; LH liau^c, OCM riauh] phonetic in 僚 [力小切; LH leu, OCM riâu]

33. SW 10B 408: 033; DXB 217 (10B 11b); GL vol 11: 4668; Duàn 503 (10B 27a); TKJ 1444; Ozaki vol. 5: 1006.

HG: 𦉰 (僚), *xiào*, "intelligent"

G: 僚也。 is 'understand'. [[is '(a way of having) understanding (regarding a wide range of tasks and problems).]]

SSF: 从心, It has *xīn* "heart" as a semantic constituent,
 PIF: 交聲。 *jiāo* (GSR 1166a: "to cross, ...") is the phonetic constituent.

^G The *Fāngyán* 方言 dictionary glosses this word in accordance with its use in Mencius as *kuài* 快 "pleased, in good spirits" (Zhōu Zǔmó 1956: 21), but Xǔ Shèn follows a different tradition. (Incidentally, Wáng Lǐ's dictionary of classical Chinese (2000: 310) makes a point of claiming that the character is not found in *Shuōwén*.)

Stringing together lexical entries in such a way that the *definiens* in the second lexical entry has been defined in the first is a standard procedure that gives coherence to certain parts of *Shuōwén*. We call these "enchained definitions" (thus we have the pattern: AB也, CA也, DC也).

PIF *jiāo* 交 [古交切; LH kau, OCM krâu (or OCM kriâu ?)] phonetic in *xiáo* 校 [下交切又, 古了切, LH gau^c, OCM grâuh (or griâuh ?)]

34. SW 10B 408: 034; DXB 217 (10B 11b); GL vol 11: 4668b; Duàn 503 (10B 27b); TKJ 1444; Ozaki vol. 5: 1007.

HG: 愜 (瘳), *yì*,
 G: 靜也。 is 'calm'.
 SSF: 从心, It has *xīn* "heart" as a semantic constituent,
 PIF: 瘳聲。 *qiè* (SW: "have difficulty in breathing, ...") is the phonetic constituent.

PIF *qiè* 瘳 [苦叶切; LH khep, OCM khêp] phonetic in *yì* 瘳 [於計切; LH ?ep, OCM ?êp]!
 Xú Xuán 徐鉉 declared that the phonetic *qiè* 瘳 is *fēi shēng* 非聲 "the wrong phonetic constituent", and he adds the note *wèi xiáng* 未詳 "I have no idea what is going on".

Duàn chooses to print the phonetic *qiè* 瘳 in a playfully archaising form.

PR Note the homogeneous initials Kh and ?.


For convenient reference, we list here all the cases we have found in which Xú Xuán professes his ignorance or even openly declares a *fēi shēng* 非聲 "wrong phonetic constituent":

dài 隸 及也。从隶泉聲。《詩》曰："隸天之未陰雨。"臣鉉等曰：泉非聲。未詳。
jìn 犖 羊名。从羊執聲。汝南平輿有犖亭。讀若晉。臣鉉曰：執非聲，未詳。
qiū 鴟 秃鴟也。从鳥赤聲。臣鉉等曰：赤非聲，未詳。
yuān 鴛 鷺鳥也。从鳥夨聲。臣鉉等曰：夨非聲。
niè 籥 箛也。从竹爾聲。臣鉉等曰：爾非聲，未詳。
réng 鹵 驚聲也。从乃省，西聲。籀文鹵不省。或曰：鹵，往也。讀若仍。臣鉉等曰：西非聲。未詳。
qián 虔 虎行兒。从虔文聲。讀若矜。臣鉉等曰：文非聲。未詳。
kǎn 虤 虤屬。从虎去聲。臣鉉等曰：去非聲。未詳。
gòng 贛 賜也。从貝，贛省聲。臣鉉等曰：贛非聲，未詳。
xù 旭 日且出兒。从日九聲。若勛。一曰明也。臣鉉等曰：九，非聲。未詳。
shēn 商 商，星也。从晶彡聲。臣鉉等曰：彡，非聲，未詳。
kù 籛 未練治纒也。从麻後聲。臣鉉等曰：後非聲，疑復字譌，當从復省乃得聲。
bó 廔 小瓜也。从瓜交聲。臣鉉等曰：交非聲。未詳。
ào 穽 宛也；室之西南隅。从宀弄聲。臣鉉等曰：弄非聲未詳。
dài 代 更也。从人弋聲。臣鉉等曰：弋，非聲。

- huái* 裒 俠也。从衣眾聲。一曰橐。臣鉉等曰：眾非聲，未詳。
- yì* 裔 衣裾也。从衣尙聲。臣鉉等曰：尙非聲，疑象衣裾之形。
- duì* 兌 說也。从儿台聲。臣鉉等曰：台，古文兗字，非聲。
- jí* 覲 目赤也。从見，疇省聲。臣鉉等曰：疇非聲，未詳。
- ě* 厄 科厄，木節也。从卩厂聲。賈侍中說以爲厄，裏也。一曰厄，蓋也。臣鉉等曰：厂非聲，未詳。
- hé* 貉 似狐，善睡獸。从豸舟聲。《論語》曰："狐貉之厚以居。"臣鉉等曰：舟非聲，未詳。
- bó* 駁 馬色不純。从馬爻聲。臣鉉等曰：爻非聲。
- huán* 菟 山羊細角者。从兔足，苜聲。凡菟之屬皆从菟。讀若丸。寬字从此。臣鉉等曰：苜，徒結切，非聲。
- néng* 能 熊屬。足似鹿。从肉呂聲。能獸堅中，故稱賢能；而彊壯，稱能傑也。凡能之屬皆从能。臣鉉等曰：呂非聲。
- hè* 焯 火熱也。从火高聲。《詩》曰："多將焯焯。"臣鉉等曰：高非聲，當从嗃省。
- chán* 炘 小熱也。从火干聲。《詩》曰："憂心炘炘。"臣鉉等曰：干非聲，未詳。
- jìn* 聿 火餘也。从火聿聲。一曰薪也。臣鉉等曰：聿非聲，疑从聿省。
- yǎn* 𦘒 火光也。从炎舌聲。臣鉉等曰：舌非聲，當从聒省。
- yì* 瘖 靜也。从心疾聲。臣鉉等曰：疾，非聲。未詳。
- yì* 忍 怒也。从心刀聲。讀若頽。李陽冰曰："刀非聲。當从刈省。"
- xié* 悒 怨恨也。从心录聲。讀若暎。臣鉉等曰：录非聲，未詳。
- dào* 悼 懼也。陳楚謂懼曰悼。从心卓聲。臣鉉等曰：卓非聲，當从罩省。
- gún* 鯨 魚也。从魚系聲。臣鉉等曰：系非聲，疑从孫省。
- zhuǎn* 闕 開閉門利也。从門絲聲。一曰縷十紘也。臣鉉等曰：絲非聲，未詳。
- nǎo* 嫫 有所恨也。从女囟聲。今汝南人有所恨曰嫫。臣鉉等曰：囟，古凶字。非聲，當从囟省。
- jǐ* 戟 有枝兵也。从戈、軋。《周禮》："戟，長丈六尺。"讀若棘。臣鉉等曰：軋非聲，義當从榦省，榦，枝也。Even when Xǔ Shèn does not claim phonetic function...
- lòu* 匱 側逃也。从匚丙聲。一曰箕屬。臣鉉等曰：丙非聲。義當从內。會意。
- fǎng* 瓶 周家搏埴之工也。从瓦方聲。讀若瓶破之瓶。臣鉉等曰：瓶音瓦，非聲，未詳。
- bì* 弼 輔也，重也。从弜丙聲。徐鍇曰："丙，舌也，非聲。"
- huǐ* 虺 虺以注鳴。《詩》曰："胡爲虺蜥。"从虫兀聲。臣鉉等曰：兀非聲，兀未詳。
- lū* 輅 車輪前橫木也。从車各聲。臣鉉等曰：各，非聲，當从路省。
- huàn* 輓 車裂人也。从車震聲。《春秋傳》曰："輓諸栗門。"臣鉉等曰：震，渠營切。非聲。當从還省。

- chén* 辰 震也。三月，陽氣動，蠶電振，民農時也。物皆生，从乙、匕，象芒達；厂，聲也。辰，房星，天時也。从二，二，古文上字。凡辰之屬皆从辰。徐鍇曰：“匕音化。乙，艸木萌初出曲卷也。”臣鉉等曰：三月陽氣成，艸木生上徹於土，故从匕。厂，非聲。疑亦象物之出。
- pèi* 配 酒色也。从酉己聲。臣鉉等曰：己非聲。當从妃省。


35. SW 10B 408: 035; DXB 217 (10B 11b); GL vol 11: 4670; Duàn 503 (10B 27b); TKJ 1444; Ozaki vol. 5: 1007.

- HG:  (慙), *zhé*,
 G: 敬也。 is 'respectful'.
 SSF: 从心, It has *xīn* "heart" as a semantic constituent,
 PIF: 折聲。 *zhé* (GSR 287a: "to break, ...") is the phonetic constituent.

^{HG} This is another case where one and the same graph is explained under two radicals in *Shuōwén*. Under the graph *zhé* 慙 (2A 22: 059) the *Shuōwén* says 或从心作慙, so that the gloss for *zhé* 慙 would be 知也. Without giving any reasoning Duàn wrongly declares that this entry under 慙 is the addition of "an unsubtle mind" *qiǎnrén* 淺人. Meanwhile epigraphic evidence of the Warring States period demonstrates that the standard graph for *zhé* 慙 was indeed 慙. Thus Xǔ Shèn confirms observations which Duàn summarily dismisses as concoctions of an ignoramus. Moreover, in *Hàn shū Xíng fǎ zhì* 漢書刑法志, a text much quoted by Duàn, 慙 is used for 慙 in the phrase 明慙之性.


^{PIF} 折 [食列切; LH tshat, OCM tet or tat] phonetic in 慙 [陟列切; LH trat, OCM trat]

36. SW 10B 408: 036; DXB 217 (10B 12a); GL vol 11: 4670b; Duàn 503 (10B 27b); TKJ 1444; Ozaki vol. 5: 1008.

- HG:  (宗), *cóng*,
 G: 樂也。 is 'delighted'.
 SSF: 从心, It has *xīn* "heart" as a semantic constituent,
 PIF: 宗聲。 *zōng* (GSR 1003a: "clan, ...") is the phonetic constituent.

^{PIF} 宗 [作冬切; LH tsoung, OCM tsûng] phonetic in 宗 [藏宗切; LH dzoung, OCM dzûng]

37. SW 10B 408: 037; DXB 217 (10B 12a); GL vol 11: 4670b; Duàn 503 (10B 27b); TKJ 1444; Ozaki vol. 5: 1008, see variants in WGY: 448.

- HG:  (恬), *tián*, "tranquil"

G: 安也。 is 'peaceful'. [[is '(a way of being) peaceful (*scil.* in a profound psychological way).]]

SSF: 从心, It has *xīn* "heart" as a semantic constituent,

PIF: 恬省聲。 It has an abbreviated form of *tián* (SW:"savoury") as the phonetic.

^{HG} In this case Duàn has decided to rewrite not only Xǔ Shèn's explanations but even the head character itself: he conjectures that Xǔ Shèn must at this point have intended to write not about the character *tián* 恬 in the received text but about a completely different character 恬 which we are unable to find in HYDZD. [For an explanation for what he is doing one must look for under the character *tiǎn* 恬 (6A 53b, p. 264) where the received text reads: 恬 炊竈木。从木舌聲。臣鉉等曰：當从恬省乃得聲。他念切。"Guā is a wooden implement for cooking. It has 木 as a semantic constituent, 舌 is phonetic. Xuán and the others consider it should take its phonetic constituent from an abbreviated form of 恬. The initial is as in 他 and the final as in 念." Duàn goes on to comment: 按徐說非也。恬恬恬等字皆從因聲。因見谷部。轉寫譌為舌耳。"Xú's explanation is wrong, the characters 恬, 恬, 恬, all have 因 as the phonetic constituent. For 因 see the radical 谷. In rewriting it they mistakenly made it into a 舌." We are not at this point about to enter into discussion whether Duàn's hypothesis on the graphological structure of these characters is correct or not. (One notes, however, that the right hand element of *huà* 話, 昏, is distinguished carefully by Xǔ Shèn from the right hand element of 恬 which in fact corresponds to modern standard 因. Thus, while Duàn is quite inconsistent when he rewrites the head character in this case and not in the other cases, his insistence on not taking the right hand-side of *tián* 恬 as the same as the right hand-side of *huà* 話 is correct. In fact, close to the character *tiǎn* 恬, Xǔ Shèn deals separately with the graph *kuò* 楛 which is often and even standardly miswritten as 恬.)

What matters in connection with the study of Xǔ Shèn is that the received text of *Shuōwén* never refers to Duàn's hypothetical graph. Indeed, we commend Xǔ Shèn for addressing the graph *tián* 恬 which is epigraphically attested on several Hàn seals and the *Lóu shòu* 婁壽碑 stone inscription (AD 174).

^{PIF} 恬 [徒兼切; LH dem, OCM lêm or dêm] phonetic in 恬 [徒兼切; LH dem, OCM lêm or dêm] perfect *fǎnqiè* match.

^{PR} The phonetic is homophonous with the character.

38. SW 10B 408: 038; DXB 217 (10B 12a); GL vol 11: 4671; Duàn 503 (10B 27b); TKJ 1444; Ozaki vol. 5: 1008.

HG: 恢 (恢), *huī*, "expansive"

G: 大也。 is 'large'. [[is '(a way of being) large (*scil.* with a poetic stylistic nuance).]]

SSF: 从心, It has *xīn* "heart" as a semantic constituent,

PIF: 灰聲。 *huī* (GSR 950a: "ashes, ...") is the phonetic constituent.

PIF 灰 [呼恢切; LH huəi, OCM hwê] phonetic in 恢 [苦回切; LH khwə, OCM khwê]

39. SW 10B 408: 039; DXB 217 (10B 12a); GL vol 11: 4671; Duàn 503 (10B 27b); TKJ 1444; Ozaki vol. 5: 1009.

HG: 恭 (恭), *gōng*, "respectful"

G: 肅也。 is 'serious'. [[is '(a way of being) serious (*scil.* about one's relation to seniors or superiors).]]

SSF: 从心, It has *xīn* "heart" as a semantic constituent,

PIF: 共聲。 *gòng* (GSR 1182c: "join the hands, ...") is the phonetic constituent.

PIF 共 [渠用切; LH kiong^B, OCM kong?] phonetic in 恭 [俱容切; LH kiong, OCM k(r)ong]

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40. SW 10B 408: 040; DXB 217 (10B 12a); GL vol 11: 4672; Duàn 504 (10B 28a); TKJ 1444; Ozaki vol. 5: 1009, see variants in WGY: 449.

HG: 敬 (敬), *jǐng*, "respectful"

G: 敬也。 is 'respectful'.

SSF1: 从心, It has *xīn* "heart" as a semantic constituent,


SSF2: 从敬, it (also) has *jìng* "respectful" as a semantic constituent.

PIF: 敬亦聲。 *jìng* (GSR 813a: "respectful, ...") is at the same time the phonetic constituent.

G There is only a tonal difference between the gloss and the head graph. Duàn asserts that *jǐng* 敬 refers to the psychological component of respect. The addition of the heart radical to characters in order to symbolise a psychological perspective on concepts has been shown by Páng Pǔ 龐樸 2004 to have played a significant role in Guōdiàn 郭店 and Shàngbó 上海博物館 palaeography. However, in this instance the graph with the heart radical might be taken to be used to write a different word and not a different acceptance of the same word as in many of the cases noted by Páng Pǔ, since the pronunciations of the characters *jǐng* 敬 and *jìng* 敬 differ.

PIF 敬 [居慶切; LH kieng^C, OCM krengh] phonetic in 敬 [居影切; LH kieng^B, OCM krengh]



41. SW 10B 408: 041; DXB 217 (10B 12a); GL vol 11: 4672b; Duàn 504 (10B 28a); TKJ 1444; Ozaki vol. 5: 1009.

HG:  (恕), *shù*, "fair"

G: 仁也。 is 'kind-hearted'. [[is '(a way of being) kind-hearted (*scil.* as in an even-handed way, showing no unfair partial favour).]]

SSF: 从心, It has *xīn* "heart" as a semantic constituent,

PIF: 如聲。 *rú* (GSR 94G: "... resemble, ...") is the phonetic constituent.

SA:  [恚],  is an ancient style graph and it is abbreviated.
古文省。

^G Xǔ Shèn subsumes the virtue *shù* 'fairness' under the general virtue *rén* 仁 'kind-heartedness'. He does the same thing for the character *huì* 惠 (SW 4B 2a). It appears that Xǔ Shèn takes *rén* 仁 to be a virtue of a person of superior position. *Rén* 仁 in turn is glossed as 親也 "to be kind towards", and the warm-heartedness here intended is clearly of the non-symmetric superior benevolent kind.

^{PIF} 如[人諸切; LH ña^B, OCM na?] phonetic in 恕[商署切; in LH sha^C, OCM nhah]

^{PR} Note the different initials as well as the different finals. Perhaps one should investigate whether *rú* and *shù* ever rhymed.

42. SW 10B 408: 042; DXB 217 (10B 12a); GL vol 11: 4673b; Duàn 504 (10B 28a); TKJ 1445; Ozaki vol. 5: 1010.

HG:  (怡), *yí*,

G: 和也。 is 'harmonious'. [[is '(a way of being) harmonious (*scil.* in an elevated psychological manner).]]

SSF: 从心, It has *xīn* "heart" as a semantic constituent,

PIF: 台聲。 *yí* (GSR 976p: "I, me, ...") is the phonetic constituent.


^{HG} This entry is an intrusion into the "affection" series.

^G Duàn writes 𠄎 for 和 in the definition. He provides no good reason for interfering with the DXB text.

^{PIF} *Yí* 台 provides a good example of a phonetic constituent that is used for two distinct readings. *Yí* 怡 and *dài* 怠 are both analysed as 从心台聲. According to our interpretation, the meaning of the formula 台聲 is exactly the same in both cases: "台 is phonetic". The ambiguity in the pronunciation of the phonetic constituent is irrelevant to Xǔ Shèn's analysis. See n° 134 *dài* 怠 below.

台[與之切; LH jə, OCM lə] phonetic in 怡[與之切; LH jə, OCM lə]

43. SW 10B 408: 043; DXB 217 (10B 12a); GL vol 11: 4668b; Duàn 504 (10B 28a); TKJ 1445; Ozaki vol. 5: 1010.

HG:  (慈), *cí*, "show protective loving care"

G: 愛也。 is 'to show loving care'. [[is '(a way of) showing loving care (*scil.* towards one's next of kin of the younger generation).]]


SSF: 从心, It has *xīn* "heart" as a semantic constituent,

PIF: 茲聲。 *zī* (GSR 966a: "black") is the phonetic constituent.

G Duàn rewrites 愛 as 悉 without providing sound reasons. He takes Xǔ Shèn not to be entitled to use the graph 愛 in any other meaning than that indicated by the gloss which is part of the graphological analysis. But Xǔ Shèn cannot possibly have overlooked that his analysis of 愛 was counterintuitive to the general reader. Xǔ Shèn's point was that it was graphologically correct. Duàn, on the other hand, confuses graphological with semantic analysis here as so often elsewhere.

PIF 茲 [子之切; LH tsia, OCM tsə] phonetic in 慈 [疾之切; LH dzia, OCM dzə]

44. SW 10B 408: 044; DXB 217 (10B 12a); GL vol 11: 4674; Duàn 504 (10B 28a); TKJ 1445; Ozaki vol. 5: 1010, see variants in WGY: 449.

HG:  (氏), *qí*,

G: 愛也。 is 'to show loving care'.

SSF: 从心, It has *xīn* "heart" as a semantic constituent,

PIF: 氏聲。 *shì* (GSR 867a: "surname, ...") is the phonetic constituent.

G This illustrates a third type of enchainned definitions in which a series of entries with identical glosses are listed consecutively.

Again, Duàn rewrites the gloss as 悉也, as if Xǔ Shèn was not entitled to use the graph 愛 in any other meaning than that indicated by the gloss which is part of the graphological analysis.

PIF 氏 [承旨切; LH dzheB < gie^B, OCM ge?] phonetic in 氏 [巨支切; LH gie, OCM ge]

45. SW 10B 408: 045; DXB 217 (10B 12a); GL vol 11: 4674; Duàn 504 (10B 28a); TKJ 1445; Ozaki vol. 5: 1011.

HG:  (𧇧), *yǐ*,

EBF: 𧇧, (as in) *qíyǐ*,

G: 不憂事也。 is not to worry about matters.

SSF: 从心, It has *xīn* "heart" as a semantic constituent,

PIF: 𧇧聲。 *sī* (SW: "tiger with horns, ...") is the phonetic constituent.

SPI: 讀若移。 pronounced like *yí*.

^G Duàn omits the lower part of 憂 and writes something like 懃 or rather 懃 defined by Xǔ Shèn below as 愁也, again without providing good argument. As in the case of 愛 Duàn fails to understand the principles of Xǔ Shèn's graphological analysis according to which a graph is glossed not by the main meaning of the word written by that graph but by the meaning that is relevant to the graphological composition of the character. Thus Xǔ Shèn is manifestly entitled to use *yōu* 憂 in its current meaning different from the gloss he gives for it in *Shuōwén*.

^{PIF} 廐 [息移切; LH sie, OCM sle] phonetic in 愾 [移尔切; LH je, OCM le] Duàn tacitly and gratuitously rewrites 尔 as 爾, which may be harmless, but is irritating.

^{PR} Note the radical difference between the initials.

^{SPI} *Yí* 愾 [移尔切; LH je, OCM le] read like *yí*. 移 [SW: 弋支切, LH je < jāi, OCM lai]

In some cases Xǔ Shèn finds that identifying the phonetic constituent is insufficient, and he then adds *dúruò* 讀若 glosses. See Bottéro & Harbsmeier (2008) and the extensive literature on *dúruò* quoted in Coblin (1978 & 1979).

46. SW 10B 408: 046; DXB 217 (10B 12b); GL vol 11: 4674b; Duàn 504 (10B 28a); TKJ 1445; Ozaki vol. 5: 1011.

HG: 𢀓 (𢀓), *quān*,

G: 謹也。 is 'diligent'.

SSF: 从心, It has *xīn* "heart" as a semantic constituent,

PIF: 全聲。 *quán* (GSR 234a: "complete, ...") is the phonetic constituent.

^G The wealth of vocabulary in the area of diligence matches perfectly the prominence of the cultural injunction encouraging diligence in society. But note that many of the words listed are not at all common in the literature.

^{PIF} 全 [疾緣切; LH dzyan, OCM dzon] phonetic in 𢀓 [此緣切; LH tshyan, OCM tshon]

47. SW 10B 408: 047; DXB 217 (10B 12b); GL vol 11: 4674b; Duàn 504 (10B 28a); TKJ 1445; Ozaki vol. 5: 1011.

HG: 𢀓 (恩), *ēn*, "beneficence"

G: 惠也。 is 'generosity'. [[is '(a kind of) generosity (*scil.* of an elevated and concrete kind).]]

SSF: 从心, It has *xīn* "heart" as a semantic constituent,

PIF: 因聲。 *yīn* (GSR 370a: "rely on, ...") is the phonetic constituent.

^{SFF} Duàn gratuitously rewrites this: 从心因,因亦聲, as if *Shuōwén* did not regularly disregard concurrent semantic functions of phonetic constituents. In any case, if Duàn had been right

rewriting in this place he should have gone on to rewrite, systematically, all other similar passages in *Shuōwén*. And there is no way of knowing whether Xǔ Shèn did or did not agree with Duàn's judgements on what is or is not semantic in function.

PIF 因 [於真切; LH ?in, OCM ?in] phonetic in 恩 [烏痕切; LH ?ən, OCM ?ən]

PR Note the difference in vowel quality. The endings did not rhyme and thus constitute yet another exception to Duàn's rule 同聲必同部.

48. SW 10B 408: 048; DXB 217 (10B 12b); GL vol 11: 4675; Duàn 504 (10B 28b); TKJ 1446; Ozaki vol. 5: 1012, see variants in WGY: 449.

HG:	帶 (帶),	dì,
G:	高也。	is 'high'.
AG1:	一曰: 極也。	An (alternative) source says: it is 'extreme'.
AG2:	一曰: 困劣也。	(Yet) another (alternative) source says: it is 'to be in trouble (and in weak position)'.
SSF:	从心,	It has <i>xīn</i> "heart" as a semantic constituent,
PIF:	帶聲。	<i>dài</i> (GSR 315a: "girdle, ...") is the phonetic constituent.

AG1 *Yī yuē* 一曰 is ambiguous, as we have seen: it can either refer to "a certain source", which corroborates what Xǔ Shèn has been saying, or it can refer to "an additional account" which conflicts with Xǔ Shèn's own. When there is a sequence of two *yī yuē* 一曰 supplementary glosses, the meaning intended is always the latter.

AG2 It is rare for Xǔ Shèn to provide three glosses for one given character. What his practice here shows up is that he was writing his dictionary on the basis of a variety of sources from different traditions. Thus he clearly had access to as many as three sources on an exceedingly rare word like *dì* 帶. It is as if accumulated quotations of alternative sources indicate doubtfulness of the gloss as opposed to *quē* 闕 which acknowledges lack of relevant information. One is tempted to imagine that Xǔ Shèn was just casting about for a well attested meaning that was suitable for an explanation of the graph.

PIF 帶 [當蓋切; LH tâs, OCM tâs] phonetic in 帶 [特計切; LH des, OCM dês]

PR Note the contrasting vowel quality. Strictly speaking, and given this example, we should not be entitled to argue for the distinction between the vowels here on the basis of *xiéshēng* 諧聲 series. Quite generally, whenever a phonological constituent of a syllable is found to vary in any 諧聲 series one cannot exclude the possibility that it will also have varied in other members of the same series. Clearly membership in the relevant series cannot be used as an argument for what in fact is known to vary within that series.

49. SW 10B 408: 049; DXB 217 (10B 12b); GL vol 11: 4675; Duàn 504 (10B 28b); TKJ 1446; Ozaki vol. 5: 1012, see variants in WGY: 449.

HG:	𤝵 (𤝵),	yìn,
G1:	問也。	is (firstly) 'to ask',
G2:	謹敬也。	is (secondly) 'to show diligent respect'.
SSF:	从心,	It has <i>xīn</i> "heart" as a semantic constituent,
PIF:	𤝵聲。	yìn (SW: "of dogs: show one's teeth in anger...") is the phonetic constituent.
CAS1:	一曰: 說也。	An (alternative) source says: It is 'to be pleased (<i>yuè</i>)'.
CAS2:	一曰: 甘也。	a (second alternative) source says: It is 'to be willing'.
IQ:	《春秋傳》曰:	<i>The Springs and Autumns Tradition</i> (i.e. <i>Zuǒzhuàn</i> , SSJZS: 2177b) says:
	昊天不𤝵。	"Bright Heaven is not willing (to support?)."
	又曰:	It also says (SSJZS: 1852a):
	兩君之士皆未 𤝵。	"The gentlemen of the two rulers were not quite satisfied."

^{G1} Most of the words Xǔ Shèn defines are ambiguous. Xǔ Shèn chooses the one meaning that he deems most relevant to the graphological analysis. We need to know why he chooses in this case to provide two meanings for the rare word *yìn*. From the size of the entry it appears that this may simply have been yet another case, like that immediately preceding, in which Xǔ Shèn was unable to resolve his uncertainty and preferred to list up whatever he found in his sources.

Duàn rewrites 問 as (*kěn*) 𤝵. The motivation for this remains unclear.

^{PIF} Note that Xǔ Shèn takes *lái* 來 to be phonetic in *yìn* 𤝵 (*Shuōwén* 10A 13a), where it is a manifest *fēi shēng* 非聲 "wrong phonetic".

Yìn 𤝵 [魚僅切; LH ngin^c, OCM ngrins or OCM ngəns] phonetic in *yìn* 𤝵 [魚覲切; LH ngin^c, OCM ngrins or ngəns]

^{CAS2} Duàn rewrites 甘 as 且 on the basis of *Yùpiān* 玉篇 and a gloss in *Zuǒzhuàn*.

^{IQ} Given the existence of three commentaries to the *Annals*, it is remarkable that Xǔ Shèn regularly refers to the *Zuǒ commentary* as the *Chūnqiū zhuàn*.

The received *Zuǒzhuàn* (Āi 哀 16) text reads: 昊天不弔, 不𤝵遺一老. "Compassionate Heaven vouchsafes me no comfort, and has not left me the aged man to support me." (tr. Legge)

Zuǒzhuàn (Wén 文 12.6) (SSJZS: 1852a) "兩君之士皆未𤝵也" "The soldiers of our two armies are not yet satisfied" (tr. Legge).

50. SW 10B 408: 050; DXB 217 (10B 12b); GL vol 11: 4677b; Duàn 504 (10B 29a); TKJ 1446; Ozaki vol. 5: 1013, see variants in WGY: 449.

HG:	𢇛 (𢇛),	<i>kuàng</i> , "broad-minded"
G:	闊也。	is 'expansive'. [[is '(a way of being) expansive (<i>scil.</i> in a figurative or psychological way).]]
AG1:	一曰: 廣也, 大也。	A (first alternative) source says: it is 'broad', it is 'big'.
AG2:	一曰: 寬也。	A (second alternative) source says: it is 'to be extensive'.
SSF1:	从心,	It has <i>xīn</i> "heart" as a semantic constituent,
SSF2:	从廣,	it (also) has <i>guǎng</i> "broad" as a semantic constituent,
PIF:	廣亦聲。	<i>guǎng</i> (GSR 707h: "... broad, ...") is at the same time the phonetic constituent.

^G The addition of the heart radical to make presumably psychologising derived words or meanings of words is discussed in Páng Pǔ 龐樸 2004. The present word, that is in this case rewritten with a heart radical, is *kuàng* 曠 'broad' and while *kuàng* 𢇛 as well as *kuàng* 𢇛 are rarely attested in surviving literature, it does seem natural to surmise that the addition of the heart radical instead of the sun radical was not unrelated to the figurative uses of the word *kuàng*.

^{AG1} As in the last lexical entry, Xǔ Shèn is uncharacteristically talkative here; one might even say he is being redundant. The clustered appearance of this phenomenon of redundance raises interesting questions regarding the composition of the work. The second alternative gloss *kuān* 寬 does not seem to add any new perspective on the semantics of the word.

It is rare for Xǔ Shèn to quote alternative sources as giving a sequence of meanings, but in the present case the addition of the gloss *dà* 大 serves to indicate that the relevant meaning intended by *guǎng* 廣 is a more abstract one than the literal 'broad'.

Duàn rewrites this as 廣大也 without providing sound reason, as if Xǔ Shèn did not also elsewhere quote double glosses as alternatives.

^{AG2} Duàn tacitly and gratuitously moves our AG2 to the end of this dictionary entry, as if two alternative sources did not often precede the graphic analysis in Xǔ Shèn's system.

^{PIF} *Guǎng* 廣 [古晃切; LH *kuâng*^B, OCM *kwâng*?] phonetic in *kuàng* 𢇛 [苦誇切; LH *khuâng*^{B/C}, OCM *khwâng*?/h]

51. SW 10B 408: 051; DXB 217 (10B 12b); GL vol 11: 4678b; Duàn 504 (10B 29a); TKJ 1446; Ozaki vol. 5: 1014, see variants in WGY: 449.

- HG: 戒 (戒), *jiè*, "warn"
 G: 飾(read 飭)也。 is 'admonish'. [[is '(a way of) admonishing (*scil.* by way of warning against disorder.)]]
 SSF: 从心, It has *xīn* "heart" as a semantic constituent,
 PIF: 戒聲。 *jiè* (GSR 990a: "to guard against, ...") is the phonetic constituent.
 IQ: 《司馬法》曰： The *Sīmǎ Fǎ* says:
 有虞氏戒於中國。 "Shùn published warnings in the central states."

G Duàn rewrites 飾 as 飭, and since he notes that the two characters are often used interchangeably he thereby acknowledges that his emendation might seem superfluous.

PIF 戒 [居拜切; LH *kei*^c, OCM *krêh*] phonetic in 械 [古拜切; LH *kei*^c, OCM *krêh*]

IQ The number of quotations in *Shuōwén* from *Sīmǎ Fǎ* is surprising. It is almost as if Xǔ Shèn happened to have a copy of his book at hand wherever he composed his *Shuōwén*. In fact, the received text of *Sīmǎ Fǎ* omits the heart radical and writes *jiè* 戒. When the heart radical does not make a word with a new pronunciation, its presence must naturally remain optional since it only makes explicit a psychological meaning which the word in question would have had even when written without the heart radical.

The *Sīmǎ Fǎ* text reads as follows: 有虞氏戒于國中，欲民體其命也。(Lǐ Líng 1992, *Sīmǎ Fǎ yì zhù* 司馬法譯注, ch. 2 *Tiānzǐ zhī yì* 天子之義) "Shun issued an admonishment to the all in the States/ Capital hoping that the people would understand his instructions."

PR *Tóngyīn* 同音 OCM and LH are homophones.

52. SW 10B 408: 052; DXB 217 (10B 12b); GL vol 11: 4679; Duàn 504 (10B 29b); TKJ 1447; Ozaki vol. 5: 1014, see variants in WGY: 449-50.

- HG: 𠄎 (𠄎), *yǐn*,
 G: 謹也。 is 'diligent'.
 SSF: 从心, It has *xīn* "heart" as a semantic constituent,
 PIF: 𠄎聲。 ?? (SW: "what one leans on, ...") is the phonetic constituent.

PIF 𠄎 [於謹切; LH *ʔin*^c, OCM *ʔəns*] phonetic in 𠄎 [於靳切; LH *ʔin*^b, OCM *ʔən*ʔ]

PR The pronunciation of 𠄎 is not attested outside the compounds in which it occurs. Xǔ Shèn is forced to assign a pronunciation as well as a meaning to a graph which he must have known was not used on its own and therefore had no attested pronunciation on its own. Two points may be

made in his defence: 1. for all we know, Xǔ Shèn may in fact have seen the graph as an independent character in texts that we do not know today; 2. Xǔ Shèn may have regarded the pronunciation as reconstructed on the basis of the compound characters in which it clearly serves as a phonetic. These points having been made, the fact remains that the assignment of a meaning to the graph remains completely opaque to us. We dwell on this case because it recurs at many points throughout his dictionary.

53. SW 10B 408: 053; DXB 217 (10B 12b); GL vol 11: 4679b; Duàn 504 (10B 29b); TKJ 1447; Ozaki vol. 5: 1015, see variants in WGY: 450.

- HG: 慶 (慶), *qìng*,
 G: 行賀人也。 is 'to go and congratulate others'.
 SSF1: 从心, It has *xīn* "heart" as a semantic constituent,
 SSF2: 从久。 it (also) has *zhǐ* (Karlgrén: "SW to arrive from behind, ...") as a semantic constituent.
 GI: 吉禮以鹿皮 In auspicious ritual one takes the skin of a deer as a ritual
 爲贄, present,
 SSF3: 故从鹿省。 hence [the graph] has an abbreviated form of deer as a semantic constituent.

^{HG} The radical is neither on the left nor below. In fact it is not anywhere on the "fringe" of the character. Such cases are not common, but their existence makes one wonder why Xǔ Shèn was not tempted to take the same approach in cases like *yōu* 憂 and *ài* 愛.

^G The use of *xíng* 行 to mean 'go and VERB' is unusual and one might even suspect that the idea expressed by *xíng* here is not that of locomotion but that of deliberate and elaborate conduct as in *xíngshì* 行事.

^{SSF2} It is not clear what semantic relevance there should be for this constituent 久. There is also a whole range of radicals in the *Shuōwén* for which the semantic specification is either diffuse or irrelevant to the graphs under the radical.


^{GI} It is uncommon for Xǔ Shèn to provide explanations for his assignment of semantic constituents. These are much more common in Sòng comments on the composition of characters.

^{SSF3} There are 9 cases of explanatory Semantic subsumption formulae with the formula 故从 in which Xǔ Shèn justifies his statement that X 从 Y. The formula 故从 is of crucial importance for a proper understanding of the ubiquitous simple formula 从. The justification of 从 in the formula 故从 is quite regularly in terms of semantic relevance. In other words, one has reasons to say that a graph is 从X to the extent that the meaning of X is relevant to it. This may seem trivial and obvious, but as we shall see there are cases where one might be in doubt about the semantic significance of 从.

HP *Qìng* 慶 [丘竟切; LH khiang^c, OCM khrang(h)]

No phonetic constituent identified

54. SW 10B 408: 054; DXB 218 (10B 13a); GL vol 11: 4680b; Duàn 504 (10B 29b); TKJ 1447; Ozaki vol. 5: 1015, see variants in WGY: 450.

HG:  (愴), *xuǎn*,
 G: 寬嫺心腹兒。 descriptive of an expansive frame of mind.
 SSF: 从心, It has *xīn* "heart" as a semantic constituent,
 PIF: 宣聲。 *xuān* (GSR 164t: "spread, ...") is the phonetic constituent.
 IQ: 《詩》曰: *The Book of Odes* (SSJZS: 321b) says:
 赫兮愴兮。 tr. Karlgren: "how imposing, how conspicuous".

^G The technical term *mào* 兒 is one of the few grammatically orientated semantic terms employed by Xǔ Shèn. The word is often used to characterise insensitive or lively "adjectival" meanings. The range of words defined in terms of *mào* 兒 constitute an indigenous Chinese grammatical category in its own right. See Sūn Liángmíng 2005: 54 (note, however, that the standard character in *Shuōwén* is 兒, not 貌.)

There is no *yě* 也 after *mào* 兒. It turns out that there are only three exceptions in *Shuōwén* to the general rule that *mào* is not followed by *yě*.


Note the colloquialism *xīnfù* 心腹 "mindset" which Xǔ Shèn seems to use in order to make a euphonic four-character phrase together with the equally colloquial *kuān xián* 寬嫺.

Duàn gratuitously rewrites 嫺 as 閒.

PIF 宣 [須緣切; LH syan, OCM swan] phonetic in 愴 [況晚切; LH hyan^B, OCM hwan?]

IQ *Shījīng* (*Qì ào* 淇奧 55.2). The SSJZS edition has: 赫兮愴兮.

55. SW 10B 408: 055; DXB 218 (10B 13a); GL vol 11: 4681b; Duàn 504 (10B 29b); TKJ 1447; Ozaki vol. 5: 1016.

HG:  (愴), *xùn*,
 G: 順也。 is 'compliant'. [[is '(a way of being) compliant (*scil.* in psychological attitude and not in action only).]]
 SSF: 从心, It has *xīn* "heart" as a semantic constituent,
 PIF: 孫聲。 *sūn* (GSR 434a: "descendent, ...") is the phonetic constituent.
 IQ: 《唐書》曰: *The Book of Tang* (SSJZS: 130c) says:
 五品不愴。 "The five classes (sc. fathers, mothers, elder and younger brothers, sons) are not compliant (in their attitude?)."

^G Compare *xùn* 遜 which refers to compliance in action. One is tempted to say that these two characters write one word which has behavioural as well as psychological meanings.

^{PIF} 孫 [思魂切; LH suən, OCM sùn] phonetic in 遜 [蘇困切; LH suən^c, OCM sùns]

^{IQ} The SSJZS edition of *Shūjīng Shùndiǎn* 舜典 writes 五品不遜. The graph with the heart radical is rarely attested and from a modern point of view one is very much inclined to regard the graph with the heart radical as a mere graphic variant of the latter. The interesting question remains to what extent Xǔ Shèn himself shared this modern approach.

Guōdiàn *Zīyī* 緇衣 26 has the graph: 遜 (Zhāng Shòuzhōng 2000: 143).

56. SW 10B 408: 056; DXB 218 (10B 13a); GL vol 11: 4683; Duàn 505 (10B 30a); TKJ 1448; Ozaki vol. 5: 1016.

HG: 塞 (塞), *sè*,
 G: 實也。 is '(filled, not empty>) dependable (?)'
 SSF: 从心, It has *xīn* "heart" as a semantic constituent,
 PIF: 塞省聲。 It has an abbreviated form of *sài* (GSR 908a: "... fill, ...")
 as the phonetic.
 IQ: 《虞書》曰： *The Book of Yu* (SSJZS: 138c) says:
 剛而塞。 "He is firm and trusty."

^{HG} As in the case of the preceding *xùn* 遜, the standard way of writing the word *sè* 塞/塞 has replaced the more abstract 心 with the semantically more concrete 土.

^{PIF} 塞 [先代切; LH sək, OCM sək] phonetic in 塞 [先則切; LH sək, OCM seek]

This case of graphic abbreviation illustrates a recurrent phenomenon: the element which one would be inclined to regard as the phonetic constituent does not have an independent pronunciation as a separate word, but it recurs elsewhere in other characters with a similar pronunciation. Xǔ Shèn was faced with two choices: either he could arbitrarily assign a reading to a phonetic constituent which does not have an independent reading, or he needed to declare the phonetic constituent an abbreviated form of the character in which it occurs and for which there is a relevant reading. In this instance Xǔ Shèn chooses the latter alternative.

^{IQ} The SSJZS edition of the *Shūjīng, Gāo Yáo mó* 皋陶謨 (4.3.2), writes: 剛而塞 "he is hard and yet (sincere, true=) just" (tr. Karlgren).

Note that Xǔ Shèn illustrates the meaning with a clearly psychologising usage of the word.

57. SW 10B 408: 057; DXB 218 (10B 13a); GL vol 11: 4684b; Duàn 505 (10B 30a); TKJ 1448; Ozaki vol. 5: 1017.

HG: 恂 (恂), *xún*,
 G: 信心也。 is 'an attitude of trustiness'.

SSF: 从心, It has *xīn* "heart" as a semantic constituent,
 PIF: 旬聲。 *xún* (GSR 392a: "ten days, ...") is the phonetic constituent.

^G Xǔ Shèn emphasises that the good faith in question is not a matter of conduct but of psychological attitude. Xǔ Shèn's gloss, in this instance, happens to provide an implicit justification of the presence of the radical without using the formula *gù cóng* 故从.

^{PIF} 旬 [詳遵切; LH zuin, OCM s-win] phonetic in 恂 [相倫切; LH suin, OCM swin]
 Duàn gratuitously rewrites (and seriously miswrites, it would appear) the *fānqiè* gloss as 相論.

58. SW 10B 408: 058; DXB 218 (10B 13a); GL vol 11: 4685; Duàn 505 (10B 30a); TKJ 1448; Ozaki vol. 5: 1017.

HG: 忱 (忱), *chén*,
 G: 誠也。 is 'earnest'. [[is '(a way of being) earnest (*scil.* in an especially dignified way).]]

SSF: 从心, It has *xīn* "heart" as a semantic constituent,
 PIF: 允聲。 *yǐn* (GSR 656a: "walk (only Hàn time text ex.), ...") is the phonetic constituent.

IQ: 《詩》曰： *The Book of Odes* (SSJZS: 604c) says:
 天命匪忱。 "The mandate of Heaven is not earnest>constant."

^{PIF} 允 [余箴切; LH jəm, OCM ləm] phonetic in 忱 [氏任切; iLH dzhəm, OCM dəm ?]

^{IQ} The SSJZS edition of *Shījīng* (*Huán* 桓 294.1) writes: 天命匪解 "Heaven's charge (did not slacken=) was never remitted" (tr. Karlgren). We have to assume that Xǔ Shèn's version of the *Shījīng* had a text in which the change in the mandate of Heaven was in focus.

^{PR} Note the non-homogenic initials.

THINK SERIES: (59)-(61)-63)

59. SW 10B 408: 059; DXB 218 (10B 13a); GL vol 11: 4685b; Duàn 505 (10B 30b); TKJ 1448; Ozaki vol. 5: 1018.

HG: 隹 (惟), *wéi*,
 G: 凡思也。 is 'to think generally'.
 SSF: 从心, It has *xīn* "heart" as a semantic constituent,
 PIF: 隹聲。 *zhuī* (GSR 575a: "a kind of dove, ...") is the phonetic constituent.

^G The use of *fán* 凡 to indicate generality is striking and not attested for verbs elsewhere in *Shuōwén*. It is as if the technical term *fán* 凡 can do for verbs what the expression N 之總稱 "is a general designation for N" does for nouns.

^{PIF} 隹 [職追切; LH tshui, OCM tui] phonetic in 惟 [以追切; LH wi, OCM wi]

^{PR} *Fēi shēng* 非聲. We find not only unrelated initial consonants, but also different rhymes.

60. SW 10B 408: 060; DXB 217 (10B x); GL vol 11: 4686; Duàn 505 (10B 30b); TKJ 1448; Ozaki vol. 5: 1018.

HG: 懷 (懷), *huái*,

G: 念思也。 is 'to think about persistently'.

SSF: 从心, It has *xīn* "heart" as a semantic constituent,

PIF: 裒聲。 *huái* (GSR 600a: "bosom, ...") is the phonetic constituent.

^G The opposition *fānsī* 凡思 *niànsī* 念思 is a neat instance of synonym distinction in *Shuōwén*. Duàn noticed the sustained analytic approach Xǔ Shèn takes to the semantic field of 思.

The old *Wénxuǎn* commentary (*Liù Chén zhù Wénxuǎn* 六臣注文選) quotes *Shuōwén* 說文曰：懷，藏也 "huái is to hide" as well as 說文曰：懷，念思也 "huái is to think about persistently" (*Gúlín ibidem*).

^{PIF} 裒 [戶乖切; LH guēi, OCM grūi] phonetic in 懷 [戶乖切; LH guēi, OCM grūi]

In many cases the history of the Chinese writing system was such that a word that came to be written with a radical was originally only written with the "phonetic" itself, a point justly emphasised in the work of William Boltz 1994 and probably even more common in unpreserved epigraphy than preserved epigraphy allows us to see today.

^{PR} *Tóngyīn* 同音 OCM and LH are homophones.

61. SW 10B 408: 061; DXB 218 (10B 13a); GL vol 11: 4686b; Duàn 505 (10B 31a); TKJ 1448; Ozaki vol. 5: 1019.

HG: 倫 (倫), *lún*,

G: 欲知之兒。 descriptive of the desire to understand.

SSF: 从心, It has *xīn* "heart" as a semantic constituent,

PIF: 侖聲。 *lún* (GSR 470a: "Shuowen says: to think, ponder, ...") is the phonetic constituent.

^{HG} This entry is an intrusion into the "think" series.

^G The "desire to understand", close to the Greek *philosophia*, was not in fact a current notion in ancient Chinese.

^{PIF} 侖 [力屯切; LH luin, OCM run] phonetic in 倫 [盧昆切; LH luin, OCM run]

^{PR} *Tóngyīn* 同音 OCM and LH are homophones.

62. SW 10B 408: 062; DXB 218 (10B 13a); GL vol 11: 4686b; Duàn 505 (10B 31a); TKJ 1449; Ozaki vol. 5: 1019.

HG: 想 (想), *xiǎng*,

G: 冀思也。 is 'to look forward to and think of'.

SSF: 从心, It has *xīn* "heart" as a semantic constituent,

PIF: 相聲。 *xiāng* (GSR 731a: "look at, ...") is the phonetic constituent.

^G Xǔ Shèn resumes his *sī* 思 synonym series after an interruption in the preceding item which is about "understanding". The notion of understanding is close enough to that of thinking, but it is not explicitly described in terms of 思.

Duàn rewrites *jì* 冀 as *jì* 覲. This is because, as we noted before, he holds the mistaken opinion that Xǔ Shèn must use characters in meanings he attributes to them in his dictionary. However, his definition of *jì* 冀 is 北方州也. Whereas *jì* 覲 is glossed as meaning "look forward to".

^{PIF} 相 [息良切; LH *siàng*, OCM *sang*] phonetic in 想 [息兩切; LH *siàng*^B, OCM *sang*?]

63. SW 10B 408: 063; DXB 218 (10B 13b); GL vol 11: 4687; Duàn 505 (10B 31a); TKJ 1449; Ozaki vol. 5: 1019.

HG: 悒 (悒), *suì*,

G: 深也。 is (figuratively ?) 'deep'.

SSF: 从心, It has *xīn* "heart" as a semantic constituent,

PIF: 豕聲。 *suì* (SW: "follow one's thoughts, ...") is the phonetic constituent.

^{HG} This word is almost only attested in dictionaries. Words of this sort are uncomfortably common in many sections of *Shuō wén*, and they do raise serious issues of methodology. Xǔ Shèn must have had a variety of sources on which to base himself in writing about these characters, but few of his lexicographic sources have come down to us. Moreover, none of these seem to have left any trace in the received literature. Striking series of cases of this sort dominate in the sections on salt and on horses. Compare the pioneering Mǎ Zōnghuò 馬宗霍 (1959) *Shuō wén jiě zì yǐn qúnshū kǎo* 說文解字引群書考.

^{PIF} 豕 [徐醉切; LH *zuis*, OCM *s-wi(t)s*] phonetic in 悒 [徐醉切; LH *zuis*, OCM *s-wi(t)s*]

64. SW 10B 408: 064; DXB 218 (10B 13b); GL vol 11: 4687; Duàn 505 (10B 31a); TKJ 1449; Ozaki vol. 5: 1020.

HG: 榘 (榘), *xù*, "support"

G: 起也。 is 'to make someone rise > grow up'. [[is '(a way of) making someone rise > grow up (by providing proper loving support).]]
 SSF: 从心, It has *xīn* "heart" as a semantic constituent,
 PIF: 畜聲。 *xù* (GSR 1018a: "...nourish, ...") is the phonetic constituent.
 IQ: 《詩》曰： *The Book of Odes* (SSJZS: 304c) says:
 能不我慤。 "It is possible that you do not cherish me." (tr. Karlgren)

^G The addition of the heart radical here does, very clearly, indicate an internalised psychologising nuance in the word in question.




^{PIF} *xù* 畜 [丑六切; LH hiuk (or huk), OCM huk] phonetic in *xù* 慤 [許六切; LH hiuk (or huk), OCM huk]

The phonetic *xù* 畜 is also a semantic constituent if ever there was one in any character.

^{PR} *Tóngyīn* 同音 OCM and LH are homophones.

^{IQ} The SSJZS edition of the *Shījīng* (*Gǔfēng* 谷風 35.5) has: 不我能慤, "You could not cherish me".

65. SW 10B 408: 065; DXB 218 (10B 13b); GL vol 11: 4688; Duàn 505 (10B 31a); TKJ 1449; Ozaki vol. 5: 1020.

HG:  (意), *yì*,
 G: 滿也。 is 'full'.
 SSF: 从心, It has *xīn* "heart" as a semantic constituent,
 PIF: 音聲。 *yì* (SW: "be in high spirits, ...") is the phonetic constituent.
 CAS: 一曰: An (alternative) source says:
 十萬曰意。 A hundred thousand are called *yì*.
 SA:  [意],  is a large seal style graph and it is abbreviated.
 籀文省。

^G Fullness or filling something up apparently has nothing to do with the heart or mind. One wonders why this graph was written with the heart semantic constituent.

^{PIF} The graph 諄 is taken to be equivalent in HYDZD: 3946 to 諄 *Shuōwén* 3A 56.021.

音 [於力切; LH she^c, OCM lseh ?] phonetic in 意 [於力切; LH ?iək OCM: unattested]

^{CAS} Having given his explanation, Xǔ Shèn goes on to quote an entirely separate interpretation which in this case does seem to exclude any psychologising extended meaning. Alternative sources in *Shuōwén* are of at least three types:

1. corroborative ways of making basically the same semantic interpretation.
2. competitive ways of interpreting the graph in a way that allows one to understand why the semantic constituent is present.

3. alternative ways of interpreting the graph in a way that seems irrelevant to the presence of the semantic constituent.

66. SW 10B 408: 066; DXB 217 (10B x); GL vol 11: 4689b; Duàn 505 (10B 31b); TKJ 1449; Ozaki vol. 5: 1021.

HG: 𡗗 (意), *guàn*,

G: 憂也。 is 'to worry'.

SSF: 从心, It has *xīn* "heart" as a semantic constituent,

PIF: 官聲。 *guān* (GSR 157a: "office, ...") is the phonetic constituent.

^G Duàn rewrites 憂 as 𡗗. As we have noticed under SW 10B 408: 062 (想) for *jì* 冀 Duàn labours under the misconception that Xǔ Shèn must have used characters in the meanings he attributes to them. Since the ordinary *yōu* 憂 is not glossed in *Shuōwén* as "to worry", Duàn replaces it throughout the text with the other *yōu* 𡗗 which is so glossed. On this matter Duàn is at least consistent, though surely profoundly mistaken.

^{PIF} Bureaucrats would surely insist that the graph 官 is a semantic constituent!

Guān 官 [古丸切; LH kuân, OCM kôn] phonetic in *guàn* 意 [古玩切; LH kuân^c, OCM kôn^s]

67. SW 10B 408: 067; DXB 218 (10B 13b); GL vol 11: 4690/10353; Duàn 505 (10B 31b); TKJ 1450; Ozaki vol. 5: 1021.

HG: 𡗗 (𡗗), *liáo*,

G: 𡗗然也。 is (as in) 'with clear understanding'.

SSF: 从心, It has *xīn* "heart" as a semantic constituent,

PIF: 𡗗聲。 *liù* (GSR 1069a: "whistling of the wind (Chuang), ...") is the phonetic constituent.

^G What, one wonders, is the difference between this gloss and *liáo mào* 𡗗兒 "descriptive for"? The answer is that the present formula indicates the pattern in which the descriptive word tends to occur. Thus the gloss does not give the meaning of the character but a phrase in which it is idiomatic.

Overtly circular glosses like this one are fairly rare in *Shuōwén*, and they are of course not very informative. Xǔ Shèn assumes that we know what the word means and specifies what kind of construction it typically enters.

^{PIF} 𡗗 [力救切; LH liu^c, OCM riuh] phonetic in 𡗗 [洛蕭切; LH leu, OCM riù]

68. SW 10B 408: 068; DXB 218 (10B 13b); GL vol 11: 4690b; Duàn 505 (10B 31b); TKJ 1450; Ozaki vol. 5: 1022.

HG: 𡗗 (窻), *kè*,
 G: 敬也。 is 'to respect'.
 SSF: 从心, It has *xīn* "heart" as a semantic constituent,
 PIF: 客聲。 *kè* (GSR 766d: "guest") is the phonetic constituent.
 IQ: 《春秋傳》曰: *The Springs and Autumns Tradition* (i.e. *Zuǒzhuàn*,
 SSJZS: 1985b) says:
 以陳備三窻。 "With Chen he made up the number of the three "re-
 spectated entities"."

HG 臣鉉等曰: 今俗作恪。 "Xuán and others comment: today the current form is 恪."

G The number of heart radical terms glossed by *jìng* 敬 is remarkable: we count 7.

PIF Duàn suggests that the text should read 从心客, 客亦聲, as if Xǔ Shèn did not often disregard the concurrent semantic functions of phonetic constituents.

客 [苦格切; LH khak, OCM khâk] phonetic in 窻 [苦各切; LH khâk, OCM khâk]

IQ The SSJZS edition of *Zuǒzhuàn* (Xiāng 襄 25.10) writes: 庸以元女大姬配胡公, 而封諸陳, 以備三恪。 "... gave his own oldest daughter, T'ae-ke, in marriage to (his son), duke Hoo, and invested him with Ch'in, thus completing the number of the 'three honoured States'." (tr. Legge).

Minor FEAR SERIES 1 (69-70)

[Note that there is another more extended FEAR SERIES in n^o 239 below.]

69. SW 10B 408: 069; DXB 218 (10B 13b); GL vol 11: 4693; Duàn 506 (10B 32a); TKJ 1450; Ozaki vol. 5: 1023.




HG: 𡗗 (懼), *sǒng*,
 G: 懼也。 is 'to fear'.
 SSF: 从心, It has *xīn* "heart" as a semantic constituent,
 PIF: 雙省聲。 It has an abbreviated form of *shuāng* (GSR 1200a: "a pair")
 as the phonetic.
 IQ: 《春秋傳》曰: *The Springs and Autumns Tradition* (i.e. *Zuǒzhuàn*, SSJZS:
 2087c) says:
 駟氏懼。 "The Sì clan got frightened."

PIF 雙 [所江切; LH srōng, OCM srōng] phonetic in 懼 [息拱切; LH siong^B, OCM song?]

¹⁰ The SSJZS edition of the *Zuǒzhuàn* (Zhāo 昭 19.8) reads: 駟氏聳 "hereby alarming the Sze family." (tr. Legge)

Here as elsewhere, it appears that Xǔ Shèn describes a use of radicals in characters to write words that is significantly more systematic than that in our received texts.

70. SW 10B 408: 070; DXB 218 (10B 13b); GL vol 11: 4694/10361; Duàn 506 (10B 32a); TKJ 1450; Ozaki vol. 5: 1023.


HG:  (懼), *jù*,
 G: 恐也。 is 'to be terrified'. [[is '(a way of) being terrified (*scil.* but relatively mildly).]]
 SSF: 从心, It has *xīn* "heart" as a semantic constituent,
 PIF: 瞿聲。 *jù* (GSR 96c: "anxious, ...") is the phonetic constituent.
 SA:  [瞿], 古文  is an ancient style graph.

^G *Jù* 懼 and *kǒng* 恐 are *hūzhù* 互註 characters in *Shuōwén* without being synonyms.

^{PIF} 瞿 [九遇切。又音衢; LH kyâ^c, OCM kwah] phonetic in 懼 [其遇切; LH gyâ^c, OCM gwah]


Minor DEPENDENCE SERIES (71-72)

71. SW 10B 408: 071; DXB 218 (10B 13b); GL vol 11: 4694b; Duàn 506 (10B 32a); TKJ 1451; Ozaki vol. 5: 1023.

HG:  (恃), *hì*,
 G: 恃也。 is 'to rely on'.
 SSF: 从心, It has *xīn* "heart" as a semantic constituent,
 PIF: 古聲。 *gǔ* (GSR 49a: "ancient, ...") is the phonetic constituent.

^{PIF} 古 [公戶切; LH kâ^b, OCM kâ?] phonetic in 恃 [侯古切; LH gâ^b, OCM gâ?]

72. SW 10B 408: 072; DXB 219 (10B 14a); GL vol 11: 4695; Duàn 506 (10B 32a); TKJ 1451; Ozaki vol. 5: 1024.

HG:  (恃), *shì*,
 G: 賴也。 is 'to depend on'.
 SSF: 从心, It has *xīn* "heart" as a semantic constituent,
 PIF: 寺聲。 *sì* (GSR 961m: "hall, ...") is the phonetic constituent.

^G Xǔ Shèn juxtaposes two near synonyms and glosses them not by the same character, as often elsewhere, but he decides to gloss the first character by the second and then to provide an near synonym gloss for the second character in this mini series. One would like to know why he decides against *hùzhù* 互注 in cases like these. Conceivably, part of the motivation is that he treats binomes always in the order of their occurrence in the phrase and attaches an external gloss only to the second member of the binome.

^{PIF} 寺 [祥吏切; LH zia^c, OCM s-ləh ?] phonetic in 特 [時止切; LH gâ^b, OCM gâ[?]]

73. SW 10B 408: 073; DXB 219 (10B 14a); GL vol 11: 4695; Duàn 506 (10B 32a); TKJ 1451; Ozaki vol. 5: 1024.

HG:  (槽), *cóng*,

G: 慮也。 is 'to make plans'.


SSF: 从心, It has *xīn* "heart" as a semantic constituent,

PIF: 曹聲。 *cáo* (GSR 1053a: "servant, ...") is the phonetic constituent.

^{PIF} 曹 [昨牢切; LH dzou, OCM dzû] phonetic in 槽 [藏宗切; LH dzoung, OCM dzûng]

^{PR} *Fēi shēng* 非聲.



74. SW 10B 408: 074; DXB 219 (10B 14a); GL vol 11: 4695b; Duàn 506 (10B 32b); TKJ 1451; Ozaki vol. 5: 1024.

HG:  (悟), *wù*,

G: 覺也。 is 'to become aware'. [[EP: "is (a way of) becoming aware (*scil.* suddenly or abruptly)'.]]

SSF: 从心, It has *xīn* "heart" as a semantic constituent,


PIF: 吾聲。 *wú* (GSR 58f: "I, ...") is the phonetic constituent.

SA:  [慧], 古文悟。  is an ancient style graph for *wù*.

^G *Jué* 覺 is in turn glossed as 寤也, and one notes that both these psychological terms are written with heart-less graphs. For *wù* 寤 we have: 寤覺而有信曰寤 'to wake up from sleep so as to come to have beliefs>conscience is called *wù*'. Xǔ Shèn's glossing system comes close to the application of *hùzhù* 互注 to the members of a binome.

^{PIF} 吾 [五乎切; LH ngâ, OCM ngâ] phonetic in 悟 [五故切; LH ngâ^c, OCM ngâh]

75. SW 10B 408: 075; DXB 219 (10B 14a); GL vol 11: 4695b; Duàn 506 (10B 32b); TKJ 1451; Ozaki vol. 5: 1025.

HG:	 (撫),	<i>wǔ</i> , "cherish"
G:	愛也。	is 'to show loving care'.
DG:	韓鄭曰撫。:	In Hán and in Zhèng they use the word <i>wǔ</i> .
AG:	一曰: 不動。	An (alternative) source says: not move.
SSF:	从心,	It has <i>xīn</i> "heart" as a semantic constituent,
PIF:	無聲。	<i>wú</i> (GSR 103a: "not have, ...") is the phonetic constituent.

^G Compare the word *fū* 撫 "caress" which corresponds nicely as a manual *pendant* to the psychological *wǔ* 撫.

Duàn rewrites this, here as elsewhere, as 悉也, as if Xǔ Shèn was not entitled to use the graph 愛 in any other meaning than that indicated by the gloss which is part of the graphological analysis.


^{DG} This gloss reccurs in *Fāngyán* 方言. The systematic relation between *Fāngyán* and *Shuōwén* needs exploration: if Xǔ Shèn was working with a copy of *Fāngyán*, one wonders how he decided in favour of the relatively few dialectal glosses he quotes from the book. See Mǎ Zōnghuò, *Shuōwén jiě zì yīn Fāngyán kǎo* (1959, ch 3: 26).

Immitating the style of the *Fāngyán*, Xǔ Shèn offers dialect information instead of a gloss. Dialectal glosses like these are concerned with the usage of words rather than graphs. The highly interesting field of graphic dialectology usefully developed by Lǐ Pǔ 李圃, does not enter the purview of Xǔ Shèn's analysis. When Xǔ Shèn offers dialectal glosses we must assume that the semantic gloss embedded in the dialectal gloss contains the analytically relevant semantic information.

^{AG} This gloss looks implausible and it has even been suggested to rewrite the text with *xīn* 心 instead of *bù* 不.

^{PIF} 無 [武扶切; LH muâ, OCM ma] phonetic in 撫 [文甫切; LH muâ^B, OCM ma?]

76. SW 10B 408: 076; DXB 219 (10B 14a); GL vol 11: 4696b; Duàn 506 (10B 32b); TKJ 1451; Ozaki vol. 5: 1025.

HG:	 (惠),	<i>ài</i> ,
G:	惠也。	is 'generous'. [[is 'a (way of being) generous towards others (<i>scil.</i> in the loving mode).]]
SSF:	从心,	It has <i>xīn</i> "heart" as a semantic constituent,
PIF:	先聲。	<i>xiān</i> (GSR 478a: "preceding, ...") is the phonetic constituent.

SA: 𢇛 [懋], 古文。𢇛 is an ancient style graph.

^{HG} On the basis of his graphological analysis Xǔ Shèn seems to have arrived at the conclusion that the standard graph for ài 愛 'love' is in fact a phonetic loan. See TKJ: 728.

^G Xǔ Shèn's gloss identifies generosity as the hypernym of love, and in so doing he makes an important point: loving care without the element of free generosity is not love. For example, parental love for their children does not really count as love when it is based not on generosity but on expectation of future reward. One hastens to add that Xǔ Shèn's main purpose in glossing his characters was not this kind of conceptual analysis.

^{PIF} Duàn tacitly rewrites this phonetic gloss by providing a seal graph version of xiān 先. This represents a distortion of Xǔ Shèn's text because Xǔ Shèn's analysis of graphs is not graphic but graphemic. Xǔ Shèn is concerned not with the graph that is phonetic but with the grapheme and he regularly identifies his graphemes in ways that are more abstract than writing out the seal version of a graph that is physically at issue.

先 [穌前切; LH kis, OCM kəts] phonetic in 悉 [烏代切; LH ?əs, OCM ?əts]

77. SW 10B 408: 077; DXB 219 (10B 14a); GL vol 11: 4697b; Duàn 506 (10B 32b); TKJ 1452; Ozaki vol. 5: 1026.

HG: 惛 (惛), xǔ,
 G: 知也。 is 'to understand'. [[is '(a way of having) understanding (*scil.* as a stable ability or talent).]]
 SSF: 从心, It has xīn "heart" as a semantic constituent,
 PIF: 胥聲。 xū (GSR 90e: "together, ...") is the phonetic constituent.

^{PIF} 胥 [相居切; LH sia, OCM sa] phonetic in 惛 [私呂切; LH sia^B, OCM sa²]

78. SW 10B 408: 078; DXB 219 (10B 14a); GL vol 11: 4697b; Duàn 506 (10B 32b); TKJ 1452; Ozaki vol. 5: 1026.

HG: 慰 (慰), wèi, "to console"
 G: 安也。 is '(to make) peaceful'. [[EP: (a way of) making peaceful (*scil.* by providing comfort)'.]]
 SSF: 从心, It has xīn "heart" as a semantic constituent,
 PIF: 尉聲。 wèi (GSR 525b: "comptroller, ...") is the phonetic constituent.
 CAS: 一曰: An (alternative) source says:
 恚怒也。 'it is anger'.


^{PIF} Duàn tacitly and gratuitously rewrites the standard graph to take the seal form, as if there was a convention in *Shuōwén* to the effect that phonetic constituents are listed in their seal form. See *Shuōwén* 10B 408: 076; ài 悉.

尉 [於胃切; LH ?us, OCM uts] phonetic in 慰 [於胃切; LH ?us, OCM uts]

^{PR} *Tóngyīn* 同音 OCM and LH are homophones.

^{CAS} The current binome in the alternative gloss gives a separate meaning which seems unattested elsewhere in the literature.

79. SW 10B 408: 079; DXB 219 (10B 14a); GL vol 11: 4698; Duàn 506 (10B 33a); TKJ 1452; Ozaki vol. 5: 1026.


HG:  (愬), *cùi*,
 G: 謹也。 is 'diligent'.
 SSF: 从心, It has *xīn* "heart" as a semantic constituent,
 PIF: 𠄎聲。 *zhui* (SW: "to divine, ...") is the phonetic constituent.
 SPI: 讀若毳。 Pronounced like *cui*.

^{PIF} *zhui* 𠄎 [之芮切; LH suis, OCM suts] phonetic in *cui* 愬 [此芮切; LH tshyâs, OCM tshots]

^{PR} This marginal case of a *fēi shēng* 非聲 had the same rhymes according to MC reconstructions, but if the OC and LH reconstructions were right the vowels were different.


^{SPI} *Cui* 愬 [此芮切; LH tshyâs, OCM tshots] read like *cui* 毳 [此芮切; LH ts^hyas, OCM tshots?]

80. SW 10B 408: 080; DXB 219 (10B 14a); GL vol 11: 4698b; Duàn 506 (10B 33a); TKJ 1452; Ozaki vol. 5: 1027.

HG:  (筭), *chóu*,
 G: 筭箸也。 is (as in) 'to hesitate'.
 SSF: 从心, It has *xīn* "heart" as a semantic constituent,
 PIF: 筭聲。 *chóu* (GSR (1090m: 籌): "counting stick...") is the phonetic constituent.


^G This is another way of writing *chóuchú* 躊躇 "hesitate". The definition of a character by the typical synonym binome in which it occurs is a standard procedure in *Shuōwén*. (The graphic shape of *liánmiánzì* 連綿字 is notoriously unstable in classical Chinese orthography, a extreme example of this instability being the word *wēiyí* 逶迤 for which we have dozens of recorded variant graphs. The question remains whether in this case Xǔ Shèn is intending to indicate, by the format he uses for his definition, that the word 筭 can be used independently to mean the same as 筭箸.

^{PIF} The phonetic constituent is not a Head graph in *Shuōwén*.

 [直由切; LH dru, OCM dru ?] phonetic in 筭 [直由切; LH dru, OMC dru] (see the allograph 筭 for 躊 TKJ: 1983, or 籌 TKJ: 640).

The phonetic constituent is homophonous with the character.

81. SW 10B 408: 081; DXB 219 (10B 14a); GL vol 11: 4699; Duàn 506 (10B 33a); TKJ 1452; Ozaki vol. 5: 1027.

HG:  (怵), *chóu*,
 G: 朗(=恨?)也。 is 'resentment' (?).
 SSF: 从心, It has *xīn* "heart" as a semantic constituent,
 PIF: 由聲。 *yóu* (GSR 1079a: "from, ...") is the phonetic constituent.
 IQ: 《詩》曰： *The Book of Odes* (SSJZS: 466c) says:
 憂心且怵。 "I am worried in my heart and resentful ??."

^G Xǔ Shèn's definition is at variance with early glosses.


Duàn miswrites the character by inverting the elements, and then goes on to suggest the emendation *hèn* 恨 for the character he has just misrepresented. His conjecture is tempting nonetheless.

^{IQ} The SSJZS edition of *Shījīng* (*Gǔ zhōng* 鼓鐘 208.3) has the woman radical in our graph: 憂心且媮 "I am worried in my heart and agitated." (tr. Karlgren).

^{PIF} 由 [以周切; LH ju, OCM liu] phonetic in 怵 [直又切 (《廣韻》: 直由切); dru, OCM d-liu ?]

^{PR} Note the non-homogenous initials.

82. SW 10B 408: 082; DXB 219 (10B 14b); GL vol 11: 4700; Duàn 506 (10B 33a); TKJ 1453; Ozaki vol. 5: 1027, see variants in WGY: 451.

HG:  (媮), *wǔ*,
 G: 媮撫也。 is (as in)'to fondle affectionately'.
 SSF: 从心, It has *xīn* "heart" as a semantic constituent,
 PIF: 某聲。 *mǒu* (GSR 948a: "a certain ...", SW: *méi* 'prune') is the phonetic constituent.
 SPI: 讀若侮。 Pronounced like *wǔ*.

^G Duàn rewrites 撫 as 撫 and proposes to omit the repeated 媮. Duàn would have to omit all the repeated *definienda* if he wanted to be consistent, and even that would be unacceptable because it destroys a possibly significant trace of the sources for the compilation of *Shuōwén*.

^{PIF} In his entry for *mǒu* 某 (*Shuōwén* 6A 206:146, TKJ: 767, *méi*), Xǔ Shèn's gloss shows that he derives the graph from the meaning *méi* 梅 'prune' and his reading of the character was manifestly *méi* (謨杯切). However, when this constituent enters into other graphs as a phonetic it appears that its value can be, as in the present case, *mǒu* (莫厚切) rather than *méi* (謨杯切). Note that the phonetic 某 functions in *méi* 媒 as well as in *móu* 謀.


One given phonetic constituent can have several distinct values when used as a phonetic constituent in different characters.

某 [莫厚切 (《集韻》: 謨杯切); LH mo^B, OCM mô?] phonetic in 慄 [亡甫切; LH muo^B, OCM mo?]

SPI *Wū* 慄 [亡甫切; LH muo^B, OCM mo?] read like *wū* 侮 [文甫切; LH muo^B, OCM mo?]

EFFORT SERIES (83-88)

83. SW 10B 408: 083; DXB 219 (10B 14b); GL vol 11: 4701; Duàn 506 (10B 33a); TKJ 1453; Ozaki vol. 5: 1028, see variants in WGY: 451.

HG:  (慄), *mín*,
 G: 彊也。 is 'strong'. [[is '(a way of making) strong (*scil.* in a figurative sense) effort.]]
 SSF: 从心, It has *xīn* "heart" as a semantic constituent,
 PIF: 文聲。 *wén* (GSR 475a: "ornate, ...") is the phonetic constituent.
 IQ: 《周書》曰: In *The book of Zhōu* (SSJZS: 231a) it says:
 在受德慄。 "When it came to Shòu, his virtue was powerful."
 SPI: 讀若旻。 pronounced like *mín*

^G Duàn congenially but also wantonly expands this gloss to 自勉彊也 on the late basis of a *Yùn huì* 韻會 quotation.


^{IQ} The SSJZS edition of the *Shūjīng* 書經 (*Lì zhèng* 立政 47.5) writes: 嗚呼。其在受。德譬惟羞刑暴德之人同于厥邦 "Oh, (when it rested with Shòu=) when the turn came to Shòu, his character was impetuous; (shamed=) disgraced (punished ones=) criminals and men of a violent character were his associates in his state." (tr. Karlgren)

PIF 文[無分切; LH mun, OCM mən] phonetic in 慄 [武巾切; LH mìn, OCM mrən]

SPI The present *dúruò* 讀若 gloss provides no unexpected or new information, one is tempted to speculate that in the preceding entry Xǔ Shèn has got into a temporary habit of adding a *dúruò* 讀若 gloss.

Mín 慄 [武巾切; LH mìn, OCM mrən] read like *mín* 旻 [武巾切; LH mìn, OCM mrən]

84. SW 10B 408: 084; DXB 219 (10B 14a); GL vol 11: 4701b; Duàn 506 (10B 33b); TKJ 1453; Ozaki vol. 5: 1028.

HG:  (慄), *mù*,
 G: 勉也。 is 'to make an earnest effort'.
 SSF: 从心, It has *xīn* "heart" as a semantic constituent,

PIF: 莫聲。 *mù* (GSR 802a: "evening, ...") is the phonetic constituent.

^G Xǔ Shèn is taking over the gloss from Ēryǎ 爾雅 (*Shì xùn* 釋訓 3.28, Xú Cháohuá 徐朝華 1994: 136: 懋懋, 慎慎, 勉也).

^{PIF} Duàn gratuitously rewrites the phonetic with 井 instead of 大: 算.

莫 [莫故切, 又, 慕各切; LH mǎh, OCM mǎkh] phonetic in 慎 [莫故切; LH mǎh, OCM mǎkh]

^{PR} *Tóngyīn* 同音 OCM and LH are homophones.

85. SW 10B 408: 085; DXB 219 (10B 14a); GL vol 11: 4701b; Duàn 506 (10B 33b); TKJ 1453; Ozaki vol. 5: 1028.

HG: 𠄎 (𠄎), *miǎn*,

G: 勉也。 is 'to be make a strenuous effort'. [[is '(a way of making) a strenuous effort (*scil.* by way of self-reflection).]]

SSF: 从心, It has *xīn* "heart" as a semantic constituent,

PIF: 面聲。 *miàn* (GSR 223a: "face...") is the phonetic constituent.

^G *Shuōwén*'s gloss looks strange unless one brings to bear on it an explanation such as the conjectural one proposed in our explanatory paraphrase.

^{PIF} 面 [彌箭切; LH mianC or mien^C, OCM mens] phonetic in 𠄎 [弥殄切; LH mian^B or mien^B, OCM men[?]]

86. SW 10B 408: 086; DXB 219 (10B 14a); GL vol 11: 4702; Duàn 506 (10B 33b); TKJ 1453; Ozaki vol. 5: 1029.

HG: 𠄎 (𠄎), *yè*,

G: 習也。 is 'to carry into (diligent) practice'.

SSF: 从心, It has *xīn* "heart" as a semantic constituent,

PIF: 曳聲。 *yè* (GSR 338a: "to drag, ...") is the phonetic constituent.

^{HG} Duàn argues that *Shuōwén* must have had a different head graph here, he proposes: 𠄎.

^G Here, as often elsewhere, an irrelevant lexical entry intervenes in a semantic series. One can only speculate about the reasons for this irregularity.

^{PIF} Duàn rewrites the phonetic to suit his initial conjecture. In effect he takes it upon himself to rewrite most of the present lexical entry!

曳 [余制切; LH jas, OCM lats or jats] phonetic in 𠄎 [余制切; LH jas, OCM lats or jats]

^{PR} *Tóngyīn* 同音 OCM and LH are homophones.

87. SW 10B 408: 087; DXB 219 (10B 14a); GL vol 11: 4703b; Duàn 507 (10B 34a); TKJ 1453; Ozaki vol. 5: 1030.

- HG: 懃 (懃), *mào*,
 G: 勉也。 is 'to make strenuous effort'.
 SSF: 从心, It has *xīn* "heart" as a semantic constituent,
 PIF: 懃聲。 *mào* (GSR 1109d: "*Shuowen* says: winter peach tree") is
 the phonetic constituent.
 IQ: 《虞書》曰: *The Book of Yú* (SSJZS: 130b) says:
 時惟懃哉。 "In this be energetic."
 A: 𠄎 [悉], 或省. When written 𠄎 (the word *mào*) is alternatively written
 in an abbreviated way.

^G The old *Wénxuǎn* commentary (*Liù Chén zhù Wénxuǎn* 六臣注文選 1987: *juǎn* 10, 190) quotes: 說文曰: 懃, 盛懃 "is abundant".

Compare *Ēryǎ* (*Shì xùn* 釋訓 3.28, Xú Cháohuá 徐朝華 1994: 136): 懃懃, 懃懃, 懃懃. It is probably not by coincidence that the gloss *mù* 懃 of the *Ēryǎ* has been defined in n° 84 above.

^{PIF} 懃 [莫候切 (*《廣韻》*: 莫袍切); LH *mou*^c, OCM *mûh*] phonetic in 懃 [莫候切; LH *mou*^c, OCM *mûh*]

^{IQ} The *Shùndiǎn* (SSJZS: 130b) has: 汝平水土惟時懃哉 "you shall regulate water and land, in this be energetic!" (tr. Karlgren). *Shàngshū wénzì jiào gǔ* 尚書文字校詁 (ed. Zàng Kèhé, 1999: 58) has no alternative reading and has no comment on the character.

^{PR} *Tóngyīn* 同音 OCM and LH are homophones.

88. SW 10B 408: 088; DXB 219 (10B 14b); GL vol 11: 4704; Duàn 507 (10B 34a); TKJ 1454; Ozaki vol. 5: 1030.

- HG: 慕 (慕;慕), *mù*,
 G: 習也。 is 'to put into practice' [[is '(a way of) engaging in a practice
 (*scil.* so as to emulate what one admires)'.]]
 SSF: 从心, It has *xīn* "heart" as a semantic constituent,
 PIF: 莫聲。 *mù* (sic) (GSR 802a: "evening, ...") is the phonetic constituent.
^{PIF} 莫 [莫故切, 又, 慕各切; LH *mâ*^c, OCM *mâkh*] phonetic in 慕 [莫故切; LH *mâ*^c, OCM *mâkh*]
^{PR} *Tóngyīn* 同音 OCM and LH are homophones.

89. SW 10B 408: 089; DXB 219 (10B 14b); GL vol 11: 4704b; Duàn 507 (10B 34a); TKJ 1454; Ozaki vol. 5: 1030.

HG: 悛 (悛), *quān*,

G: 止也。 is 'to cease'. [[is '(a way of) ceasing to do something (*scil.* because one regrets what one has done before)]]].

SSF: 从心, It has *xīn* "heart" as a semantic constituent,

PIF: 夔聲。 *qūn* (GSR 468p: "SW says 'to run' and 'to squat' (no text)") is the phonetic constituent.

PIF 夔 [七倫切; LH tshuin, OCM tshun ?] phonetic in 悛 [此緣切; LH tshyan, OCM tshon]

PR Note the vowel difference. Here we have a case where both the initials and the finals are the same, but where the crucial main vowel is different. *Fēi shēng* 非聲.

90. SW 10B 408: 090; DXB 219 (10B 14b); GL vol 11: 4704b-5; Duàn 507 (10B 34a); TKJ 1454; Ozaki vol. 5: 1031.

HG: 逮 (逮), *tuì*,

G: 肆也。 is 'to give free rein'.

SSF: 从心, It has *xīn* "heart" as a semantic constituent,

PIF: 隸聲。 *dài* (GSR 509a: "SW says: reach to, thus taking it to be the primary form of 逮, ...") is the phonetic constituent.

PIF 隸 [徒耐切; LH dəs or jəs, OCM lâs or ləs] phonetic in 逮 [他骨切 (《廣韻》: 他內切); LH thuəs, OCM lhus]

PR *Fēi shēng* 非聲?

91. SW 10B 408: 091; DXB 219 (10B 14b); GL vol 11: 4705; Duàn 507 (10B 34a); TKJ 1454; Ozaki vol. 5: 1031.

HG: 趣 (趣), *yǔ*,

G: 趣步 walk quickly > be in a hurry,

趣趣也。 is as in (the reduplicated form) *yǔyǔ*.

SSF: 从心, It has *xīn* "heart" as a semantic constituent,

PIF: 與聲。 *yǔ* (GSR89b: "associate with, ...") is the phonetic constituent.

G Walking quickly seems unrelated to the heart or mind. But note that being in a hurry would be a psychological state.

The order of the statements here is confusing: one would expect the reduplicated "as in"-phrase to precede the gloss.

PIF 與 [余呂切; LH já^B, OCM la?] phonetic in 趣 [余呂切; LH já^B, OCM la?]

PR *Tóngyīn* 同音 OCM and LH homophones.

92. SW 10B 408: 092; DXB 219 (10B 15a); GL vol 11: 4705b; Duàn 507 (10B 34a); TKJ 1454; Ozaki vol. 5: 1031.

HG: 慔 (慔), *tāo*,

G: 說也。 is 'to be pleased'.

SSF: 从心, It has *xīn* "heart" as a semantic constituent,

PIF: 舀聲。 *yǎo* (GSR 1078a: "to scoop, ...") is the phonetic constituent.

G Note that Xǔ Shèn writes *shuō* 說 for *yuè* 悅 in spite of the fact that he glosses *shuō* 說 in terms of explaining and unravelling. This is a neat reminder of the fact that Xǔ Shèn feels entitled to use graphs with readings and interpretations other than those he gives in his own dictionary. Duàn would have avoided many of his less fortunate emendations if he had recognised this elementary point.

PIF 舀 [以沼切; LH jau, OCM lau] phonetic in 慔 [土刀切; LH tâu, OCM lâu]

PEACEFUL SERIES (93-95)

93. SW 10B 408: 093; DXB 219 (10B 15a); GL vol 11: 4705b; Duàn 507 (10B 34a); TKJ 1454; Ozaki vol. 5: 1032.

HG: 厭 (厭), *yān*,

G: 安也。 is 'peaceful'. [[is '(*scil.* poetic/archaic for being) peaceful (*scil.* in one's mind)'.]]

SSF: 从心, It has *xīn* "heart" as a semantic constituent,

PIF: 厭聲。 *yā/ yàn* (TKJ 1280) (GSR 616c: "fed up, ...") is the phonetic constituent.

IQ: 《詩》曰: *The Book of Odes* (SSJZS: 421b) says:
厭厭夜飲。 "Peacefully (we) drink in the night." (tr. Karlgren)

G The gloss is taken from *Ēryǎ* (*Shì xùn* 釋訓, Xú Cháohuá 徐朝華 1994: 135, 3.24)

PIF 厭 [於輒切。又, 一琰切; LH ?iam, OCM ?em] phonetic in 厭 [於鹽切; LH ?iam, OCM ?em]

IQ The SSJZS edition of *Shījīng* (*Zhàn lù* 湛露 174.1) writes: 厭厭夜飲 "peacefully we drink in the night." (tr. Karlgren).

Duàn surreptitiously rewrites the character 飲 in an archaising way 飲. It is of course quite possible that he was looking at some *Shījīng* edition with this graph, but Duàn has no excuse for introducing his preferred character into Xǔ Shèn's text.

94. SW 10B 408: 094; DXB 219 (10B 15a); GL vol 11: 4707; Duàn 507 (10B 34b); TKJ 1455; Ozaki vol. 5: 1032.

HG: 愔 (愔), *dàn*,

G: 安也。 is 'peaceful'. [[is '(a way of being) peaceful (*scil.* in a superior often metaphysical way)'.]]

SSF: 从心, It has *xīn* "heart" as a semantic constituent,

PIF: 詹聲。 *zhān* (GSR 619a: "garrulous, ...") is the phonetic constituent.

^{HG} The binome *dànbó* 澹泊 "live tranquilly" is attested, for example, in *Móuzi* 牟子 *Lǐ huò lùn* 理惑論 24·1, etc.

^{PIF} 詹 [職廉切; LH tsham, OCM tam] phonetic in 愔 [徒敢切; LH *dâm*^{B/C}, OCM *dâm*?/h]

95. SW 10B 408: 095; DXB 219 (10B 15a); GL vol 11: 4707b; Duàn 507 (10B 34b); TKJ 1455; Ozaki vol. 5: 1032.

HG: 𠄎 (𠄎), *bó*,

G: 無爲也。 is 'to be unassertive'. [[is '(a way of being) unassertive (*scil.* this leading to a peaceful state of mind)'.]]

SSF: 从心, It has *xīn* "heart" as a semantic constituent,

PIF: 白聲。 *bái//bó* (GSR 782a: "...white, ...") is the phonetic constituent.

^G The word Xǔ Shèn defines is more commonly written as *bó* 泊 and is used by Sīmǎ Xiāngrú in his famous *Zǐ xū fù* 子虛賦 in the phrase 泊乎無為. It appears that in Xǔ Shèn's system of orthography the correct 'spelling' of this word is with the heart radical and not with the water radical.

Duàn argues that 為 needs to be rewritten as 偽, on the basis of Xǔ Shèn's glosses of these words. This again shows his deep misunderstanding of the nature of the *Shuōwén*, as if Xǔ Shèn felt obliged or indeed even as much as inclined to use words in the meanings indicated by the glosses in his *Shuōwén*. If Duàn's methodology were right, Xǔ Shèn would have to use 𠄎 to refer to the hissing sound of an axe.

^{PIF} 白 [旁陌切; LH bak, OCM brāk] phonetic in 𠄎 [匹白切又, 葩亞切; LH phak, OCM phrāk]

96. SW 10B 408: 096; DXB 219 (10B 15a); GL vol 11: 4708b; Duàn 507 (10B 34b); TKJ 1455; Ozaki vol. 5: 1033.

HG:  (恤), *xù*,

G1: 憂也。 is 'to be worried'. [[is '(a way of) being worried (*scil.* empathetically, on behalf of someone)'.]]

G2: 收也。 It is to take in.

SSF: 从心, It has *xīn* "heart" as a semantic constituent,

PIF: 血聲。 *xuè* (GSR 410a: "blood, ...") is the phonetic constituent.


G¹ Duàn again miswrites 憂 as 惠.

G² The translation of 收也 has to be tentative as is the case with many Xǔ Shèn's glosses lacking context. What makes this case particularly worrying is the fact that the first gloss would seem to be entirely satisfactory and sufficient from a graphological point of view. If Xǔ Shèn had been purely concerned with graphological analysis the second gloss, even if semantically informative, would still have been strictly redundant. Analytically redundant glosses like these do show that Xǔ Shèn's predominant methodology does not prevent him, occasionally, from taking note of semantic glosses that have no direct or indirect relevance to his graphological analysis. Thus, although Xǔ Shèn never begins to aspire to cover anything like the whole semantic range of the meanings of a word, he finds himself tempted, on occasion, to record graphologically irrelevant glosses for rare words.

SSF Duàn rewrites 恤 in an archaising form, as if there was a convention in *Shuōwén* to the effect that phonetic constituents were listed in archaising form.

PIF 血 [呼決切; LH huet, OCM hwīt] phonetic in 恤 [辛聿切; LH suit, OCM swit]

97. SW 10B 408: 097; DXB 219 (10B 15a); GL vol 11: 4709; Duàn 507 (10B 35a); TKJ 1455; Ozaki vol. 5: 1033.

HG:  (忤), *gān*,

G: 極也。 is 'extreme (ly concerned ?)'.
 G1: 憂也。 is 'to be worried'. [[is '(a way of) being worried (*scil.* empathetically, on behalf of someone)'.]]

SSF: 从心, It has *xīn* "heart" as a semantic constituent,

PIF: 干聲。 *gān* (GSR 139a: "shield, ...") is the phonetic constituent.

G When a rare word is glossed by a common word with a wide range of meanings, translating the gloss can, as in this case, become a most uncomfortably arbitrary exercise: we have no way of knowing what kind of extremes Xǔ Shèn may have been thinking of.

PIF 干 [古寒切; LH kân, OCM kân] phonetic in 忤 [古寒切; LH kân, OCM kân] (perfect *fǎnqiè* match)

PR *Tóngyīn* 同音 OCM and LH are homophones.

Minor JOYFUL SERIES (98-99)

98. SW 10B 408: 098; DXB 219 (10B 15a); GL vol 11: 4709; Duàn 507 (10B 35a); TKJ 1455; Ozaki vol. 5: 1034.

HG: 懽 (懽), *guàn*,
 G: 喜𩇑也。 is 'to be full of joy and anticipation'.
 SSF: 从心, It has *xīn* "heart" as a semantic constituent,
 PIF: 藿聲。 *guàn* (GSR 158a: "heron, ...") is the phonetic constituent.
 IQ: 《爾雅》曰: The *Ēryǎ* (SSJZS: 2591a) says:
 懽懽、惛惛 憂 "Guànguàn and yáoyáo refer to being worried and having no
 無告也。 one to expressed one's worry to."

^G *Dà Xú běn*'s second graph is very rare and all other early editions of *Shuōwén* have the other graph 款.

^{PIF} 藿 [工夙切; LH *kuân*^c, OCM *kwâns*] phonetic in 懽 [古玩切; LH *huân*, OCM *hwân*]

^{IQ} Xǔ Shèn quotes *Ēryǎ* (*Shì xùn* 釋訓 3.70) (Xú Cháohuá 徐朝華 1994: 146) for an alternative definition of the reduplicated form of the character he is interested in.

Yáo 惛 is one of the character used in *Shuōwén* for which there is no head graph.

99. SW 10B 408: 099; DXB 219 (10B 15a); GL vol 11: 4710; Duàn 507 (10B 35a); TKJ 1455; Ozaki vol. 5: 1034.

HG: 懽 (懽), *yú*,
 G: 懽也。 is 'joyful'.
 SNT: 琅邪朱虛有懽亭。 In Zhūxū in the Lángyé district there is this Yú village.
 SSF: 从心, It has *xīn* "heart" as a semantic constituent,
 PIF: 禺聲。 *yù* TKJ 1251 (GSR 124a: "monkey, ...") is the phonetic constituent.

^{HG} Dictionary word, no text or Warring States Inscriptions. Compare *yú* 愚 'stupid' (n° 123) in which the position of the heart radical differs but the pronunciation is the same, so that this case differs interestingly from the strictly comparable pair *yí* 怡 (n° 42), *dài* 怠 (n° 134) in which the pronunciation his differentiated.

^G The gloss, here as often elsewhere in *Shuōwén*, is the head graph of the preceding entry. Even without any textual evidence to support our conjecture we feel entitled to a strong suspicion that in Xǔ Shèn's times there was a binome *huānyú* 懽懽 meaning 'joyful'.

^{SNT} Toponymic notes like this kind show Xǔ Shèn's awareness of the importance of place names in lexicography.

^{PIF} 禺 [牛具切; LH ngio^c, OCM ngoh] phonetic in 憫 [嘆俱切; LH ngio, OCM ngo]

100. SW 10B 408: 100; DXB 219 (10B 15a); GL vol 11: 4710; Duàn 507 (10B 35a); TKJ 1456; Ozaki vol. 5: 1035, see variants in WGY: 452.

HG: 𤝵 (𤝵), *nì*,
 G: 飢餓也。 is 'to suffer hunger'.
 AG: 一曰: An (alternative) source says:
 憂也。 It is 'trouble'. [[EP: it is (a kind of) trouble (*scil.* in the form of lack of food)]]
 SSF: 从心, It has *xīn* "heart" as a semantic constituent,
 PIF: 叔聲。 *shū* (GSR 1031b: "harvest, ...") is the phonetic constituent.
 IQ: 《詩》曰: *The Book of Odes* (SSJZS: 282c) says:
 𤝵如朝飢。 "I am troubled as if morning-hungry".

^G Xǔ Shèn's alternative gloss is the current one according to Zōng Fúbāng 宗福邦 et al. (*Gùxùnn Huìzuǎn* 故訓匯纂 2003: 799). What motivated Xǔ Shèn's gloss is plainly the *Shījīng* quotation which he does provide. In this instance the origin of Xǔ Shèn's dictionary in the commentarial tradition concerned with the classics is manifest.

^{AG} Note that on our understanding of this gloss, *yōu* 憂 does not have the standard meaning of 'to worry' but rather that of 'having reason to worry, be in trouble'.

Duàn again rewrites 憂 as 𤝵.

^{PIF} 叔 [式竹切; LH shuk, OCM nhuk] phonetic in 𤝵 [奴歷切; LH nek < neuk, OCM niûk (After < comes an earlier form, i.e. later LH nek, earlier LH and before probably neuk.)]

^{IQ} The SSJZS edition of *Shījīng* (*Rù fén* 汝墳 10.1) has 調 instead of 朝: 𤝵如調飢 "I am desirous as if morning-hungry." (tr. Karlgren).

101. SW 10B 408: 101; DXB 219 (10B 15a); GL vol 11: 4711b; Duàn 507 (10B 35b); TKJ 1456; Ozaki vol. 5: 1035.

HG: 𤝵 (𤝵), *jǐ*,
 G: 勞也。 is 'to work hard'.
 SSF: 从心, It has *xīn* "heart" as a semantic constituent,
 PIF: 卻聲。 *què* (GSR 776b: "refuse, ...") is the phonetic constituent.

^{HG} Dictionary word, no text. Duàn declares this to be an allograph of 御: "本一字耳", because the two graphs have the same gloss and the same pronunciation. Xǔ Shèn, meanwhile, is writing a graphological dictionary, and for him there are two graphs to analyse. As modern linguists, we would be inclined to say that the graphs write the same word, but we have many examples of exact homophones with contrasting semantic constituents/radicals representing distinct nuances of meaning: *huò* 獲 'gather, obtain (generally)', 穫 'gather, harvest grain'; *zhù* 住 'stay (generally)', 駐 'stay (of equestrian armies)'.

In the absence of a classical Chinese word for 'word', that is more specific and unambiguous than Duàn's 字, discussions on what word is referred to by a character can become quite inconvenient, although Duàn's discourse on the matter shows that talking about words is not impossible in classical Chinese. What has to be said about the difficulties surrounding the concept of a word applies *mutatis mutandis* to the concept of a concept. The history of concepts like that of a word, or that of a language, or indeed that of a concept in traditional China has not to our knowledge been explored so far.

^{PIF} 卻 [去約切; LH khiäk, OCM khak] phonetic in 櫛 [其虐切(《廣韻》: 奇逆切); LH kiäk, OCM kak]

102. SW 10B 408: 102; DXB 219 (10B 15b); GL vol 11: 4711b; Duàn 507 (10B 35b); TKJ 1456; Ozaki vol. 5: 1036.

HG: 僣 (僣), *xiān*,
 G: 僣諛也。 is (as in) 'fraudulent pretence'.
 IQ: 僣利於上, If one fraudulently pretends to profit one's superior one is a
 佞人也。 glib-tongued person.
 SSF: 从心, It has *xīn* "heart" as a semantic constituent,
 PIF: 僣聲。 *qiān* (GSR 613a: "...all (SHU), ...") is the phonetic constituent.


^G Xǔ Shèn defines the word by a synonym compound including the *definiendum* and the definition may thus be called circular.

Duàn suggests that 僣 is a mistake for 險, as if Xǔ Shèn did not regularly define rare characters by compounds into which they enter.

^{IQ} Unattributed illustrative quotations of this sort are not very common in *Shuōwén*. See however n° 4 above (*xìng* 性).

^{PIF} 僣 [七廉切; LH tshiam, OCM tsham < k-sam] phonetic in 僣 [息廉切; LH tshiam, siam, OCM tsham < OCM k-sam or sam]

103. SW 10B 408: 103; DXB 219 (10B 15b); GL vol 11: 4712; Duàn 507 (10B 35b); TKJ 1456; Ozaki vol. 5: 1036.


HG:  (愒), *qì*,
 G: 息也。 is 'to rest'.
 SSF: 从心, It has *xīn* "heart" as a semantic constituent,
 PIF: 曷聲。 *hé* (GSR 313d: "what, ...") is the phonetic constituent.

^{HG} It appears that this head graph is Xǔ Shèn's orthographic standard for writing the word currently written *qì* 愒 today. In any case *qì* 愒 is not a head graph in *Shuōwén*.

[臣鉉等曰：今俗別作愒，非是。 "Xuán and the others comment: now a vulgar variant is *qì*, it is not correct."]

^{PIF} 曷[胡葛切; LH gât, OCM gât] phonetic in 愒 [去例切; LH khiât, OCM khat]

104. SW 10B 408: 104; DXB 219 (10B 15b); GL vol 11: 4712b; Duàn 507 (10B 35b); TKJ 1457; Ozaki vol. 5: 1036.


HG:  (慧), *hū*,
 G: 精慧也。 is 'exquisite simplicity'.
 SSF: 从心, It has *xīn* "heart" as a semantic constituent,
 PIF: 毳聲。 *cuì* (GSR 345a: "fine hair, ...") is the phonetic constituent.

^G Dictionary word (no received text), but note that *Hóumǎ méngshū* 侯馬盟書 (1976: 350) does use the graph. Xǔ Shèn's analytic gloss seems to show a certain analytic interest on his part in notions that are close to modern ideas of naiveness.

^{PIF} 毳 [此芮切; LH tshyâs, OCM tshots] phonetic in 慧 [千短切(《廣韻》: 呼骨切); LH tshuân^B, OCM tshôn? and LH huæt, OCM hût]

^{PR} *Fēi shēng* 非聲.

105. SW 10B 408: 105; DXB 219 (10B 15b); GL vol 11: 4713; Duàn 508 (10B 36a); TKJ 1457; Ozaki vol. 5: 1037, see variants in WGY: 452.

HG:  (思), *xiān*,
 G: 疾利口也。 is 'quick eloquence'.
 SSF1: 从心, It has *xīn* "heart" as a semantic constituent,
 SSF2: 从冊。 it (also) has *cè* "volume" as a semantic constituent.
 IQ: 《詩》曰： *The Book of Odes* (actually the *Shàngshū Pángēng*)
 (SSJZS: 169c) says:
 相時[思]民。 "Look at those smooth-tongued people."


^G Xǔ Shèn's use of postposed *kǒu* 口 to mean 'with the mouth as an articulatory organ' goes beyond current commentarial style and seems to have a colloquial touch.

^{IQ} The *Shàngshū* (*Pán gēng* 盤庚 18.12.1) 相時儉民 "Look at those dispersed (homeless) people."

^{HP} *xiān* 思[息廉切; LH sem(C), OCM sēm(s)]

TENSENESS SERIES (106-(110)-112)

106. SW 10B 408: 106; DXB 219 (10B 15b); GL vol 11: 4714b; Duàn 508 (10B 36a); TKJ 1457; Ozaki vol. 5: 1038.

HG:  (急), *jí*, "in straits"

G: 褊也。 is 'narrowed-down/tightened'. [[is '(a way of) being narrowed down/tightened (*scil.* by difficult circumstances)].]

SSF: 从心, It has *xīn* "heart" as a semantic constituent,

PIF: 及聲。 *jí* (GSR 681a: "reach, ...") is the phonetic constituent.

^{HG} Not infrequently, Xǔ Shèn closes a series with the definition of the common semantic denominator term. Here, on the other hand, he starts the series with the common denominator 急.

^G Xǔ Shèn glosses *biǎn* 褊 as "for clothes to be narrow" and 'purists' might complain that this haute-couture reading is inapplicable to the present context and shows Xǔ Shèn to be inconsistent. However, 'purists' of this sort misconstrue Xǔ Shèn's dictionary. His gloss for the graph *biǎn* 褊 is designed to explain the presence of the semantic constituent *yī* 衣 and it does not purport to give an account of the variety of meanings of the character *biǎn*, or indeed to identify the basic meaning of *biǎn*. What Xǔ Shèn's gloss identifies is the meaning which he thought was relevant to the graphic orthography.

If we understand Xǔ Shèn properly here, in our tentative explanatory paraphrase, he is providing a psychologically very advanced analysis of the concept of being in trouble: it is true enough that Xǔ Shèn reflects this gloss from the *Ēryǎ* (*Shì yán* 釋言 2.24) (Xú Cháohuá 徐朝華 1994: 82), but his explanation of the graph here suggests the idea that difficult situations constrain.

^{PIF} 及 [巨立切; LH giəp, OCM gəp] phonetic in 急 [居立切; LH kiəp, OCM kəp]

^{PR} Homogeneous initials.

107. SW 10B 408: 107; DXB 219 (10B 15b); GL vol 11: 4714b; Duàn 508 (10B 36a); TKJ 1457; Ozaki vol. 5: 1038.

HG: 辨 (辯), *biǎn*,
 G: 憂也。 is 'to worry'.
 SSF: 从心, It has *xīn* "heart" as a semantic constituent,
 PIF: 辨聲。 *biǎn* (GSR 219a: "SW says criminal accusing one another (no text), ...") is the phonetic constituent.
 CAS: 一曰: An (alternative) source says:
 急也。 It is 'to be in straits'.

^{HG} Dictionary word, no text.

^G Duàn rewrites 憂 as 懃.

^{PIF} Note that just as in syntax there are such things as discontinuous words like German *anfangen* "begin" in *das fängt erst morgen an* "this only begins tomorrow", so in graphology there are graphically discontinuous elements: the graphic constituent 辨 is a case in point because what it attaches to is in fact inserted in a way that makes *biàn* 辨 into a discontinuous graphic constituent.

辨 [方免切; LH pian^B, OCM pren] phonetic in 辯 [方沔切; LH pian^B, OCM pren ?]

^{PR} *Tóngyīn* 同音 OCM and LH homophones.

^{CAS} It is rare in *Shuōwén* that it is the alternative gloss which establishes a homogloss link to the preceding lexical entry.

Duàn rewrites 急 with an archaising form of that character.

108. SW 10B 408: 108; DXB 219 (10B 15b); GL vol 11: 4715b; Duàn 508 (10B 36b); TKJ 1457; Ozaki vol. 5: 1039.

HG: 𤝵 (𤝵), *jí*,
 G: 疾也。 is 'to be over-eager'.
 SSF: 从心, It has *xīn* "heart" as a semantic constituent,
 PIF: 亟聲。 *jí* (GSR 910a: "urgently, ...") is the phonetic constituent.
 CAS: 一曰: An (alternative) source says:
 謹重兒。 descriptive of diligent seriousness.

^G On the basis of *Yùnhuì* 韻會 Duàn rewrites this as 急性也, and this would indeed have been an easier gloss.

^{PIF} 亟 [紀力切, 又 去吏切; LH kiək, OCM kək] phonetic in 𤝵 [己力切; LH kiək, OCM kək]

^{PR} *Tóngyīn* 同音 OCM and LH are homophones.

109. SW 10B 408: 109; DXB 219 (10B 15b); GL vol 11: 4716; Duàn 508 (10B 36b); TKJ 1458; Ozaki vol. 5: 1039.

HG: 𢇛 (懷), *juàn*,

G: 急也。 is 'to be in straits'.

SSF: 从心, It has *xīn* "heart" as a semantic constituent,

PIF: 𢇛聲。 *qióng* (GSR 256h: "turn round, ...") is the phonetic constituent.

SPI: 讀若絹。 Pronounced like *juàn*.

G Duàn rewrites 急 in an archaising way at a point where what is at issue is not the graph but the word.

PIF 𢇛 [渠營切; LH *kyen*^c, OCM *kwens*] phonetic in 懷 [古縣切; LH Guan, OCM *wrên*]

PR *Fēi shēng* 非聲

SPI *Juàn* 懷 [古縣切; LH Guan, OCM *wrên*] read like *juàn* 絹 [吉掾切; LH *kyen*^c, OCM *kwens*]

110. SW 10B 408: 110; DXB 219 (10B 15b); GL vol 11: 4716b; Duàn 508 (10B 36b); TKJ 1458; Ozaki vol. 5: 1040.

HG: 𢇛 (慳), *xìng*,

G: 恨也。 is 'to resent'.

SSF: 从心, It has *xīn* "heart" as a semantic constituent,

PIF: 𢇛聲。 *jīng* (GSR 831a: "Shuowen says: a vein of water (no text)") is the phonetic constituent.

HG This entry is an intrusion into the "tenseness" series.

PIF 𢇛 [GY:古靈切; LH *keng*, OCM *kêng*] phonetic in 慳 [胡頂切; LH *geng*^c, OCM *gêngh*]

111. SW 10B 408: 111; DXB 219 (10B 15b); GL vol 11: 4716b; Duàn 508 (10B 37a); TKJ 1458; Ozaki vol. 5: 1040, see variants in WGY: 452.

HG: 𢇛 (絃), *xián*,

G: 急也。 is 'to be in straits'.

SSF1: 从心, It has *xīn* "heart" as a semantic constituent,

SSF2: 从弦, it (also) has *xián* "string" as a semantic constituent.

PIF: 弦亦聲。 *xián* (GSR 366f: "bow string ...") is at the same time the phonetic constituent.

SNT: 河南密縣有絃亭。 In Hénán Mì district there is the village Xián.

HG Dictionary word, no text.

^G Duàn again rewrites 急 in an archaising way at a point where what is at issue is not the graph but the word.

^{SNT} At many points in his dictionary, Xǔ Shèn shows a characteristic non-literary interest in place names involving rare characters. Xǔ Shèn is thus not limited in his focus to summarising literary glosses: the dictionary takes due note of non-literary uses of graphs to write vernacular dialects on the one hand and to designate places on the other.

^{PIF} 弦 [胡田切; LH gen, OCM gǐn] phonetic in 慙 [胡田切; LH gen, OCM gǐn]

^{PR} *Tóngyīn* 同音 OCM and LH are homophones.

112. SW 10B 408: 112; DXB 220 (10B 16a); GL vol 11: 4717; Duàn 508 (10B 37a); TKJ 1458; Ozaki vol. 5: 1041.

HG: 慙 (慙), *piào*,

G: 疾也。 is 'to be eager'. [[is '(a way of) being eager (*scil.* so as to be (psychologically) in a hurry)'.]]

SSF: 从心, It has *xīn* "heart" as a semantic constituent,

PIF: 票聲。 *piào* (GSR 1157b: "Shuowen says: leaping flames, ...") is the phonetic constituent.

^{PIF} 票 [方昭切; LH phiau, OCM phiau] phonetic in 慙 [敷沼切; LH phiau^c, OCM phiauh] (our *Shuōwén fǎnqiè* interpretation of the phonetic is based on this tentative suggestion).

Duàn considers that the word written by 票 is registered in *Shuōwén* under the graph 𠄎 TKJ: 1384.

113. SW 10B 408: 113; DXB 220 (10B 16a); GL vol 11: 4717; Duàn 508 (10B 37a); TKJ 1458; Ozaki vol. 5: 1041.

HG: 慙 (慙), *nuò*,

G: 驚弱者也。 is 'someone who is listless'. [[is '(a way of) feeling listless (*scil.* because of lack of courage)'.]]

SSF: 从心, It has *xīn* "heart" as a semantic constituent,

PIF: 需聲。 *xū* (GSR 134a: "wait, ...") is the phonetic constituent.

^{HG} Duàn rewrites the head graph as 慙 and declares 慙 to be the work of "an unsubtle mind" 淺人。

^G The gloss seems to aim at a nominal meaning of 慙, but the word is currently verbal, and it is not clear why Xǔ Shèn chooses his nominal gloss. This is not very common in *Shuōwén*.

Duàn omits the *zhě* 者 without giving reasons, as if there were no other *Shuōwén* glosses ending in *zhě* 者. Since *nú* 驚 is not a head graph in *Shuōwén* he rewrites this as *nú* 奴, as if there were not many cases in which Xǔ Shèn uses graphs which are not glossed in *Shuōwén*. One may sympathise with Duàn when he wishes there had been no *zhě* 者 in this gloss, but one has less sympathy for his surreptitious omission of this character.

^{PIF} 需 [相俞切; LH sio, OCM sno] phonetic in 懦 [人朱切(《廣韻》: 奴卧切); LH ño, UCM no]

114. SW 10B 408: 114; DXB 220 (10B 16a); GL vol 11: 4718; Duàn 508 (10B 37b); TKJ 1458; Ozaki vol. 5: 1042.

HG: 𢇛 (𢇛), *rèn*,

G: 下齋也。 is 'to be in low spirits' (?).

SSF: 从心, It has *xīn* "heart" as a semantic constituent,

PIF: 任聲。 *rèn* (GSR 667f: "endure, ...") is the phonetic constituent.

^G Here, as elsewhere, Xǔ Shèn's gloss is not much less opaque than the character glossed. It is an interesting question whether what is an opaque gloss to us today might have been good colloquial Chinese to Xǔ Shèn's contemporaries. Supposing that it was current Chinese, one would like to know why it left so little trace in the considerable literature of his time. A possible answer, and indeed a tempting assumption, is that cases like these represent Hànn colloquialisms.

^{PIF} 任 [如林切; LH ñim^B, OCM nəm?] phonetic in 𢇛 [如甚切; LH ñim^B, OCM nəm?]

^{PR} *Tóngyīn* 同音 OCM and LH are homophones.

115. SW 10B 408: 115; DXB 220 (10B 16a); GL vol 11: 4718b; Duàn 508 (10B 37b); TKJ 1459; Ozaki vol. 5: 1043.

HG: 𢇛 (𢇛), *tè*,

G: 失常也。 is 'to be abnormal'.

SSF: 从心, It has *xīn* "heart" as a semantic constituent,

PIF: 代聲。 *dài* (GSR 918i: "take the place of, ...") is the phonetic constituent.

^G This gloss can be taken to be either strictly analytical or indeed as remarkably colloquial. The link to what precede suggests that we do have a colloquialism here.

^{PIF} 代 [徒耐切; LH dā^c, OCM lâkh] phonetic in 𢇛 [他得切; LH dā^c, OCM lâkh]

116. SW 10B 408: 116; DXB 220 (10B 16a); GL vol 11: 4719; Duàn 508 (10B 37b); TKJ 1459; Ozaki vol. 5: 1043, see variants in WGY: 453.

HG: 𢇛 (𢇛), *jù*,
 G: 驕也。 is 'arrogant'.
 SSF: 从心, It has *xīn* "heart" as a semantic constituent,
 PIF: 且聲。 *jū* (GSR 46a: "moreover, ...") is the phonetic constituent.

^{PIF} This conveniently illustrates that the phonetic value of phonetic constituents does not have to be the ancestor of the most current modern pronunciation. Phonetic constituents can be multivalent.

(*jū*) 且 [子余切; LH tsiâ^b, OCM tsâ?] or (*qiě*) 且 [千也切; LH tshia^b, OCM tsha?] phonetic in 𢇛 [子去切(《廣韻》: 將預切); LH tsiâ^c, OCM tsâh]

117. SW 10B 408: 117; DXB 220 (10B 16a); GL vol 11: 4719; Duàn 508 (10B 37b); TKJ 1459; Ozaki vol. 5: 1043.

HG: 𢇛 (𢇛), *yì*,
 G: 不安也。 is 'restless'. [[is '(a way of being) restless (*scil.* psychologically).]]
 SSF: 从心, It has *xīn* "heart" as a semantic constituent,
 PIF: 邑聲。 *yì* (GSR 683a: "city, ...") is the phonetic constituent.

^{PIF} 邑 [於汲切; LH ?ip, OCM ?əp] phonetic in 𢇛 [於汲切; LH ?ip, OCM ?əp]

^{PR} *Tóngyīn* 同音 OCM and LH are homophones.

118. SW 10B 408: 118; DXB 220 (10B 16a); GL vol 11: 4719b; Duàn 509 (10B 38a); TKJ 1459; Ozaki vol. 5: 1043.

HG: 𢇛 (𢇛), *yù*,
 G1: 忘也。 is 'to neglect'.
 G2: 嚙也。 It is (also) 'to keep in one's mouth'.
 SSF: 从心, It has *xīn* "heart" as a semantic constituent,
 PIF: 余聲。 *yú* (GSR 82a: "I, ...") is the phonetic constituent.
 IQ: 《周書》曰: *In the book of Zhōu* (SSJZS: 196a) it says:
 有疾不𢇛。 "He is sick and not in high spirits." (tr. Karlgren)
 GQ: 𢇛, 喜也。 *Yú* (, in this example,) is to be glad."


^{G2} Our translation is based on Xǔ Shèn's gloss: in the entry for *dàn* 嚙 SW 2A 22. 101.

^{PIF} 余 [以諸切; LH jâ, OCM la] phonetic in 𢇛 [羊茹切; LH jâ^c, OCM lah]

^{1Q} The SSJZS edition of *Shū* (*Jīn téng* 金滕 34.1) writes: 既克商二年王有疾。弗豫 "After the victory over the Shāng, in the second year, the king fell ill and was not happy."

^{GQ} This is one of the few cases where Xǔ Shèn adds traditional glosses after his quotation. In such contexts what the quotation illustrates is effectively a postposed alternative gloss.

119. SW 10B 408: 119; DXB 220 (10B 16a); GL vol 11: 4721; Duàn 509 (10B 38a); TKJ 1459; Ozaki vol. 5: 1044.


HG:  (忒), *tè*,
 G: 更也。 is 'to cause to change'.
 SSF: 从心, It has *xīn* "heart" as a semantic constituent,
 PIF: 弋聲。 *yì* (GSR 918a: "to shoot with arrow and string attached, ...") is the phonetic constituent.

^G Xǔ Shèn does not link the meaning of this word to the semantic constituent, except if we assume that he understood *tè* 忒 to involve a deliberate act of changing, which is a standard meaning of *gēng* 更, but which is not attested as a meaning for *tè* 忒. However, Xǔ Shèn's choice of gloss may indeed represent an attempt to move the meaning of *tè* 忒 closer to the realm of the psychological. No matter how we need to understand this gloss in the end, the great ambiguity of the graph 更, here used out of context, cannot be considered to have been as much more helpful in Hàn times than it is today.

Duàn rewrites 更 with an archaising graph, although what is at issue is the word and not the graph.

^{PIF} 弋 [與職切; LH jək, OCM lək] phonetic in 忒 [他得切; LH thək, OCM lhək]

120. SW 10B 408: 120; DXB 220 (10B 16a); GL vol 11: 4721b; Duàn 509 (10B 38b); TKJ 1459; Ozaki vol. 5: 1045.

HG:  (憫), *xián*,
 G: 愉也。 is 'pleasant'.
 SSF: 从心, It has *xīn* "heart" as a semantic constituent,
 PIF: 間聲。 *jiān* (GSR 191b: "interstice, ...") is the phonetic constituent.

^{HG} The *kǎishū* 楷書 form of this graph gives the form of the right hand constituent 閒 which is a head graph in *Shuōwén*. The seal script form which Xǔ Shèn discusses, is everywhere identified as having the 'moon' constituent in the 'gate' (閒). However, the *Dà Xú běn* seems to identify the phonetic as the 'sun' constituent in the 'gate' (閒) which is not a head graph in *Shuōwén*. Xǔ Shèn's analysis is indifferent to this vacillation in the specification of the phonetic, but it does show that Xǔ Shèn's orthography is less than consistent. *Jiān* 閒 and *jiān* 閒 are recognised as allographs but not explicitly analysed as such.

PIF 閒 [古閑切 (《廣韻》 : 古覓切) ; LH kɛn, OCM krên] phonetic in 憫 [戶閑切; LH gɛn, OCM grên]

121. SW 10B 408: 121; DXB 220 (10B 16a); GL vol 11: 4721b; Duàn 509 (10B 38b); TKJ 1460; Ozaki vol. 5: 1045.

HG: 愉 (愉), yú, "pleasant"
 G: 薄也。 is 'to be close'. [[is '(a way of being) close (*scil.* so as to become intimately congenial)'.]]
 SSF: 从心, It has *xīn* "heart" as a semantic constituent,
 PIF: 俞聲。 yú (GSR 125a: "agree, ...") is the phonetic constituent.
 IQ: 《論語》曰 : The *Lúnyǔ* (SSJZS: 2494b) says:
 私覲, 愉愉如也。 "In private audience, he was completely congenial."

G Here Xǔ Shèn explains a fairly common word with a very common word which normally has an unrelated meaning, *báo* 薄 "thin, close". The *Lúnyǔ* quotation below shows that the intended meaning is indeed the standard meaning "pleased" but it gives no help towards an explanation for the gloss *báo*. Our translation suggests a very tentative solution to this puzzle.

PIF 俞 [羊朱切; LH jo, OCM lo] phonetic in 愉 [羊朱切; LH jo, OCM lo]

PR *Tóngyīn* 同音 OCM and LH are homophones.

IQ *Lúnyǔ* (*Xiāng dǎng* 鄉黨 (10.5.2).

One certainly feels Xǔ Shèn needed a quotation to clarify his rather opaque gloss.

122. SW 10B 408: 122; DXB 220 (10B 16b); GL vol 11: 4723; Duàn 509 (10B 39a); TKJ 1460; Ozaki vol. 5: 1046.

HG: 蔑 (蔑), miè,
 G: 輕易也。 is 'make light of > despise'.
 SSF: 从心, It has *xīn* "heart" as a semantic constituent,
 PIF: 蔑聲。 miè (GSR 311a: "destroy, ...") is the phonetic constituent.
 IQ: 《商書》曰 : The Book of Shāng (SHŪ) says:
 以相陵蔑。 "... so as to tyrannise and despise them".

G Xǔ Shèn's binome gloss would seem to represent a disambiguating colloquialism of his time, since 輕 by itself would be even more ambiguous than 輕易.

PIF 蔑 [莫結切; LH met, OCM mêt] phonetic in 蔑 [莫結切; LH met, OCM mêt]

PR *Tóngyīn* 同音 OCM and LH homophones.

IQ This passage can not be found in the SSJZS edition of *Shūjīng*.

STUPIDITY SERIES (123-127)

123. SW 10B 408: 123; DXB 220 (10B 16b); GL vol 11: 4723b; Duàn 509 (10B 39a); TKJ 1460; Ozaki vol. 5: 1047, see variants in WGY: 453.

HG: 愚 (愚), *yú*,

G: 戇也。 is 'simple-minded'. [EP: is 'simple-minded' (*scil.* so as to lack necessary or normal mental skills).]

SSF1: 从心, It has *xīn* "heart" as a semantic constituent,

SSF2: 从禺。 it (also) has *yú* "monkey" as a semantic constituent.

GI: 禺, 猴屬, *Yú* is a kind of monkey, the stupidest of the wild animal.
獸之愚者。

^{SSF2} Xǔ Shèn fails to specify the manifest role of *yú* 禺 as phonetic. What later came to be called a *huì yì* 會意 character deriving from two elements would be explained along exactly the same lines as those above. The standard *Shuōwén* line that is missing according to Xǔ Shèn's conventions would be 禺亦聲. (The question whether the *yú* 禺 monkey was as stupid as Xǔ Shèn suggests and whether it was currently regarded as stupid is of no concern for us here. What matters to us is the structure of Xǔ Shèn's explanation.)

^{GI} Xǔ Shèn's supplementary note shows his preoccupation with the semantic motivation of the phonetic component in the character.

^{HP} *yú* 愚 [麌俱切; LH *ngio*, OCM *ngo*]

124. SW 10B 408: 124; DXB 220 (10B 16b); GL vol 11: 4724; Duàn 509 (10B 39a); TKJ 1460; Ozaki vol. 5: 1047.

HG: 戇 (戇), *zhuàng*,

G: 愚也。 is 'stupid'. [[is '(a way of being) stupid (*scil.* in the innocent simple-minded mode)'.]]


SSF: 从心, It has *xīn* "heart" as a semantic constituent,

PIF: 贛聲。 *gòng* (SW: "to give, ...") is the phonetic constituent.

^G This case of unhelpful *hùzhù* 互注 shows that on occasion Xǔ Shèn is prepared to pair off quite common standard words with fairly recondite near-equivalents. One's suspicion is that *zhuàng* 戇 may have been a colloquial word, in which case there is nothing unhelpful in his procedure.

^{PIF} 贛 [古送切; LH *kong*^c, OCM *kôngh* ?] phonetic in 戇 [陟絳切; LH *trông*^c, OCM *trôngh*]

125. SW 10B 408: 125; DXB 220 (10B 16b); GL vol 11: 4724b; Duàn 509 (10B 39a); TKJ 1460; Ozaki vol. 5: 1047.


HG:  (慄), *cǎi*,
 G: 姦也。 is 'depraved'.
 SSF: 从心, It has *xīn* "heart" as a semantic constituent,
 PIF: 采聲。 *cǎi* (GSR 942: "gather, pluck") is the phonetic constituent.

^G The Chinese notion of stupidity includes that of moral deficiency.

^{PIF} 采[倉宰切; LH tshə^{B,C}, OCM tshəʔ/h] phonetic in 慄[倉宰切; LH tshə^B, OCM tshəʔ]

^{HG} Dictionary word, no text. Moreover the dictionaries vary disconcertingly in the meanings they attribute to the word.


126. SW 10B 408: 126; DXB 220 (10B 16b); GL vol 11: 4724b; Duàn 509 (10B 39a); TKJ 1461; Ozaki vol. 5: 1048.

HG:  (蠢), *chōng*,
 G: 愚也。 is 'stupid' [[is '(a way of being) stupid (*scil.* in a crude, moronic way)].]
 SSF: 从心, It has *xīn* "heart" as a semantic constituent,
 PIF: 舂聲。 *chōng* (GSR 1192a: "to hull grain with a pestle, ...") is the phonetic constituent.

^{PIF} 舂[書容切; LH shong, OCM lhong] phonetic in 蠢[丑江切; LH throng, OCM rhong]

^{PR} Note the non-homogeneous initials

127. SW 10B 408: 127; DXB 220 (10B 16b); GL vol 11: 4725; Duàn 509 (10B 39a); TKJ 1461; Ozaki vol. 5: 1048, see variants in WGY: 453.

HG:  (疑), *ai*,
 G: 駭也。 is 'moronic'.
 SSF1: 从心, It has *xīn* "heart" as a semantic constituent,
 SSF2: 从疑, it (also) has *yí* "doubt" as a semantic constituent.
 PIF: 疑亦聲。 *yí* (GSR 956a: "doubt, ...") is at the same time the phonetic constituent.
 CAS: 一曰: An (alternative) source says:
 惶也。 is 'to be terrified'.

^{SSF2} Note that the Cartesian positive perspective on doubt was alien to ancient Chinese thinking where doubt is generally taken as a sign of stupidity rather than intelligence. An interesting

exception to this general rule is presented by the case of Wáng Chōng 王充 who cultivates a gentle attitude of doubt in his writings.

^{PIF} 疑 [語其切; LH ngiə, OCM ngə] phonetic in 懈 [五漑切; LH ngə^c, OCM ngəh]

128. SW 10B 408: 128; DXB 220 (10B 16b); GL vol 11: 4725; Duàn 509 (10B 39b); TKJ 1461; Ozaki vol. 5: 1048.

HG: 𢇛 (伎), *zhì*, "jealous resentment"

G: 很也。 is 'resentful'.

SSF: 从心, It has *xīn* "heart" as a semantic constituent,

PIF: 支聲。 *zhī* (GSR 864a: "branch, ...") is the phonetic constituent.

^G When Xǔ Shèn writes 很 he intends *hèn* 恨 as interpreted in the present section see: 182 below. The *Shuōwén* gloss for *hěn* 很 is 不聽从也 'be recalcitrant' and is hard to fit into this context. *Guāngyǎ* 廣雅 5 *Shìgǔ* 釋詁 4 defines 很 as 恨.

^{PIF} 支 [章移切; LH tshe < kie, OCM ke] phonetic in 伎 [之義切; LH tshe^c < kie^c, OCM keh]

129. SW 10B 408: 129; DXB 217 (10B x); GL vol 11: 4725b; Duàn 509 (10B 39b); TKJ 1461; Ozaki vol. 5: 1049.

HG: 𢇛 (悍), *hàn*, "foolhardy"

G: 勇也。 is 'courageous'. [[is '(a way of being) courageous (*scil.* to an irresponsibly high degree)'.]]

SSF: 从心, It has *xīn* "heart" as a semantic constituent,

PIF: 旱聲。 *hàn* (GSR 139s: "drought, ...") is the phonetic constituent.

^{PIF} 旱 [侯汗切; LH gân^b, OCM gân?] phonetic in 悍 [侯汗切; LH gân^c, OCMgâns]

130. SW 10B 408: 130; DXB 220 (10B 16b); GL vol 11: 4726; Duàn 509 (10B 39b); TKJ 1461; Ozaki vol. 5: 1049, see variants in WGY: 453.

HG: 𢇛 (態), *tài*, "expressive appearance"

G: 意也。 is 'thought'. [[is '(a kind of) thought (*scil.* as manifested in one's appearance)'.]]

SSF1: 从心, It has *xīn* "heart" as a semantic constituent,

SSF2: 从能。 it (also) has *néng* "able" as a semantic constituent.

A: 𠄎 [能], In the graph 𠄎, [the word *tài*] is alternatively written with the 或从人。 (graphic) constituent *rén*.

G Duàn gratuitously adds a character: 意態也, as if all Xǔ Shèn's definitions were analytic.

SSF² Duàn rewrites this as 从心能, as if the other formula in the editions he used was not also current throughout *Shuōwén*. (*Xiǎo Xú běn* p. 210 writes 從心能).

The OCM reconstructions show a clear rhyme which one would expect can justify the treatment of *néng* 能 as a phonetic constituent. It is tempting to surmise that it was only Xǔ Shèn's insufficient grasp of Old Chinese phonology that prevented him from treating *néng* 能 as phonetic. But, before accusing of such ignorance, we must remember that Xǔ Shèn commonly omitted to mention the phonophoric function of the semantic constituent.

A In the context of the discussion of allographs, the formula 从X is purely graphic in meaning and is translatable simply as "has the graphic constituent".

The word *huò* 或 in this formula must be taken to mean something like "alternatively" (to the standard version).

PIF 能 [奴登切; LH nə(ng), OCM nê !] not declared phonetic in 態 [他代切; LH thə^c, OCM nhâh]

131. SW 10B 408: 131; DXB 220 (10B 16b); GL vol 11: 4726b; Duàn 509 (10B 39b); TKJ 1461; Ozaki vol. 5: 1049.

HG: 𠄎 (怪), *guài*, "extraordinary"

G: 異也。 is 'different'. [[is '(a way of being) different (*scil.* from the ordinary or expected)'.]]

SSF: 从心, It has *xīn* "heart" as a semantic constituent,

PIF: 圣聲。 *kū* (SW: "(dialect) work the land, ...") is the phonetic constituent.

G While it is true that *yì* 異 can come to mean "consider as strange" and the like, it is important to realise that in this gloss Xǔ Shèn provides a hypernym rather than a supposed synonym.

PIF 圣 [苦骨切; LH khuət ?, OCM khwât ?] phonetic in 怪 [古壞切; LH kue^c, OCM kwrêh]

NEGLIGENCE SERIES (132-(137,138)-142)

132. SW 10B 408: 132; DXB 220 (10B 17a); GL vol 11: 4727; Duàn 509 (10B 39b); TKJ 1461; Ozaki vol. 5: 1050.

HG: 𠄎 (像), *dàng*,

G: 放也。 is 'unrestrained'.

SSF: 从心, It has *xīn* "heart" as a semantic constituent,
PIF: 象聲。 *xiàng* (GSR 728a: "elephant, ...") is the phonetic constituent.

^G Compare, perhaps, the binome *fàngdàng* 放蕩 'be unrestrained'.

^{PIF} [徐兩切; LH *ziàng*^B, OCM s-jang?] phonetic in [徒朗切; LH *dāng*^C, OCM *lāngh*]

^{PR} Note the non homogeneous initials.

133. SW 10B 408: 133; DXB 220 (10B 17a); GL vol 11: 4727b; Duàn 509 (10B 39b); TKJ 1462; Ozaki vol. 5: 1050.

HG: 慢 (慢), *màn*, "negligent"

G: 惰也。 is 'indolent'. [[is '(a way of being) indolent (*scil.* with respect to what requires dedication, diligence and seriousness)'.]]

SSF: 从心, It has *xīn* "heart" as a semantic constituent,

PIF: 曼聲。 *màn* (GSR 266a: "extended, ...") is the phonetic constituent.

CAS: 一曰: An (alternative) source says:

慢, 不畏也。 *màn* is 'to fail to show proper reverence'.

^G The reading 'slow' attaches to the character *mán* 曼 in *Shuōwén*. It appears that these two manifestly related words had different tones, and that at later stages of the language the two words were merged and received the falling tone.

^{PIF} 曼 [無販切; LH *mân*^C, OCM *mâns*] phonetic in 慢 [謀晏切; LH *man*^C, OCM *mrâns*]

134. SW 10B 408: 134; DXB 220 (10B 17a); GL vol 11: 4728; Duàn 509 (10B 39b); TKJ 1462; Ozaki vol. 5: 1050.

HG: 怠 (怠), *dài*, "lazy"

G: 慢也。 is 'negligent'. [[is '(a way of being) negligent (*scil.* out of laziness)'.]]

SSF: 从心, It has *xīn* "heart" as a semantic constituent,

PIF: 台聲。 *yí* (GSR 976p: "loan for t'ai (globe-fish-like, globular =) rounded...") is the phonetic constituent.

^{PIF} *Yí* 怡 (n° 42) and *dài* 怠 are both analysed as 从心台聲. According to our interpretation, the meaning of the formula 台聲 is exactly the same in both cases: "台 is phonetic". The ambiguity in the pronunciation of the phonetic constituent is irrelevant to Xǔ Shèn's analysis.

台 [與之切; LH *jə*, OCM *lə*] phonetic in 怠 [徒亥切; LH *də*^B, OCM *lə*?]

135. SW 10B 408: 135; DXB 220 (10B 17a); GL vol 11: 4728; Duàn 509 (10B 39b); TKJ 1462; Ozaki vol. 5: 1050.

- HG: 懈 (懈), *xiè*, "remiss"
 G: 怠也。 is 'lazy'. [[is '(a way of being) lazy (*scil.* often for lack of energy, or because one is tired or exhausted)'.]]
 SSF: 从心, It has *xīn* "heart" as a semantic constituent,
 PIF: 解聲。 *jiě* (GSR 861a: "dissolve, ...") is the phonetic constituent.
 PIF 解 [佳買切; LH ke^B, OCM krê?] phonetic in 懈 [古隘切; LH ke^C, OCM krêh]

136. SW 10B 408: 136; DXB 220 (10B 17a); GL vol 11: 4728b; Duàn 509 (10B 39b); TKJ 1462; Ozaki vol. 5: 1051, see variants WGY: 454.

- HG: 惰 (惰), *duò*,
 G: 不敬也。 is 'to fail to show respectful diligence'. [[is '(a way of) failing to show respectful diligence (*scil.* out of inertia rather than straightforward lack of respect)'.]]
 SSF0: 从心惰省。 It has *xīn* "heart" and an abbreviated form of *duò* 惰 as semantic constituents,
 IQ: 《春秋傳》曰： *The Springs and Autumns Tradition* (i.e. *Zuǒzhuan*, SSJZS: 1802b) says:
 A: "執玉惰。" "They took the jade with unceremonious negligence."
 惰 [惰], 惰 In the variant 惰, (the word) *duò* is alternatively written omitting *fū*.
 或省阜。
 SA: 惰 [惰], 古文。 惰 is an ancient style graph.

^G The final gloss in the series, here as often elsewhere, may be taken to recapitulate the common feature in the whole series.


SSF0 Phonetic constituents are often characterised by the formulaic suffix *shěng* 省. The present instance shows up what is logically evident: also semantic constituents can take abbreviated forms. For example, the head graph *duò* 惰 is analysed as having two semantic constituents, one unabbreviated and one abbreviated: 从肉, 从隍省. In view of this formulaic practice there is no structural need to emend the text as it stands. Duàn's addition of *shěng* 聲 is disingenuous because it seems to assume, contrary to fact, that Xǔ Shèn always points out the phonetic functions of his semantic constituents. Moreover, the sequence 从X省聲 is unacceptable as a statement to the effect that X is both a semantic constituent and a phonetic component. Abbreviation is most common in phonophoric constituent. Abbreviated semantic constituents are naturally rare in *Shuōwén*. Moreover we cannot see that any of these few abbreviated semantic constituents are ever said to be at the same time phonetic constituents.

Xǔ Shèn does not make explicit the phonetic nature of the reduced form of *duò* 墮.

^{1Q} The SSJZS edition of the *Zuǒzhuan* (Xī 僖 11.2) writes 受玉惰 "He received the nephrite with an air of indifference." (tr. Legge).

^{1P} 墮 [GY: 徒果切; LH duâi^{B/C}, OCM lǒi?/h] is *not* declared phonetic in 惰 [徒果切; LH duâi^B, OCM lǒi?]

137. SW 10B 408: 137; DXB 220 (10B 17a); GL vol 11: 4729b; Duàn 510 (10B 40a); TKJ 1462; Ozaki vol. 5: 1051.

HG:  (從/慄), *sǒng*,
 G: 驚也。 is 'scared'.
 SSF: 从心, It has *xīn* "heart" as a semantic constituent,
 PIF: 從聲。 *cóng* (GSR 1191d: "follow, ...") is the phonetic constituent.
 SPI: 讀若悚。 Pronounced like *sǒng*.

^{1G} This entry is an intrusion into the "negligence" series.

Duàn surreptitiously corrects the Sòng edition head graph, writing the heart radical at the bottom of the character, in accordance with the seal graph. In this case Duàn is perfectly entitled to exercise his free judgement since the *kǎishū* 楷書 head graphs are additions from the Sòng dynasty and do not in anyway go back to Xǔ Shèn's own time, but his rewriting is arbitrary nonetheless.

^{1F} 從 [慈用切; LH dziong, OCM *dzong] phonetic in 慄/慄 [息拱切; LH siong^B, OCM song?]]

^{1P} *Sǒng* 慄/慄 [息拱切; LH siong^B, OCM song?] read like *sǒng* 悚 [LH siong^B, OCM *song?]

Xǔ Shèn provides a homophonous and near-synonymous word after *dúruò* 讀若. The main purpose does not seem to be to show how exactly a problematic word is to be pronounced, but to bring to the reader's attention another relevant word that may or may not be etymologically related to the present one.

Duàn suggests that *sǒng* 悚 should be rewritten as *sǒng* 竦 because 悚 is not in *Shuōwén*, as if all the graphs used in *Shuōwén* were explained in *Shuōwén*. As it happens the word standardly written *sǒng* 悚 today is entered under the graph *sǒng* 慄, but there are many instances where Xǔ Shèn's text does not follow the orthography established in his own system of head graphs. What Duàn fails to realise is that the graph 悚 is used here to identify a word of the spoken language and not as a graph to be discussed. Characters are used in the *Shuōwén* in two subtly distinct ways: in certain contexts a character is used to refer to the grapheme it is a token of. This is the case in head graphs and also in the identification of phonophoric and semantic constituents as well as in the discussion of variant graphs. In other contexts, notably in glosses and other semantic comments, characters are used to represent words of the language. When Duàn substitutes a homophone he should have been looking for the standard way in *Shuōwén* to write the given word, *i.e.* he should have chosen 慄. However, as we have seen above the need to look for an emendation arises only

on the mistaken assumption that Xǔ Shèn's orthography was consistent and that he only used characters which are also explained as head graphs.

138. SW 10B 408: 138; DXB 220 (10B 17a); GL vol 11: 4730; Duàn 510 (10B 40a); TKJ 1462; Ozaki vol. 5: 1052.

HG: 怫 (怫), *fú*,

G: 鬱也。 is 'depressed'.

SSF: 从心, It has *xīn* "heart" as a semantic constituent,

PIF: 弗聲。 *fú* (GSR 500a: "not, ...") is the phonetic constituent.

^{HG} This entry is an intrusion into the "negligence" series.

^G For reasons we find difficult to understand Duàn wrongly rewrites this character as 鬱, when in fact the binome *fú yù* 怫鬱 'depressed' seems to explain Xǔ Shèn's gloss satisfactorily: it is very common in *Shuōwén* that a graph is glossed in terms of another word with which it forms a binome compound.

^{PIF} 弗 [普未切; LH put, OCM pət] phonetic in 怫 [符弗切; LH but or bus, OCM bət(s)]

^{PR} Note the homogeneous initials.

139. SW 10B 408: 139; DXB 220 (10B 17a); GL vol 11: 4730; Duàn 510 (10B 40a); TKJ 1463; Ozaki vol. 5: 1052.

HG: 忒 (忒), *xiè*,

G: 忽也。 is 'negligent'.

SSF: 从心, It has *xīn* "heart" as a semantic constituent,

PIF: 介聲。 *jiè* (GSR 327a: "armour, ...") is the phonetic constituent.

IQ: 《孟子》曰： The *Mèngzi* (SSJZS: 2733c) says:

孝子之心不若是忒。 "The attitude of a filial son is not negligent like this."


^{PIF} 介 [古拜切; LH ket, kes, OCM krêt(s)] phonetic in 忒 [呼介切; LH hēs, OCM hrêts]

^{PR} Note the homogeneous initials.

^{IQ} It seems that Xǔ Shèn adds an illustrative quotation here because the word he has glossed is rare. What remains unclear is why so many exceedingly rare graphs have no such illustrative gloss on the one hand, and how he chose the head characters for which to add such illustrative quotations.

The SSJZS edition of *Mencius* (*Wàn zhāng* 萬章) (5.A.1) writes *jiá* 愒 instead of 忒: 夫公明高以孝子之心為不若是愒。 "Now Gōngmíng Gāo did not think that a son's mind was such that he would be so complacent."

140. SW 10B 408: 140; DXB 220 (10B 17a); GL vol 11: 4731b; Duàn 510 (10B 40a); TKJ 1463; Ozaki vol. 5: 1052.

HG:  (忽), *hū*, "disregard"

G: 忘也。 is 'to forget about'. [[is '(a way of) forgetting about (*scil.* what may not be worth taking account of)'.]]


SSF: 从心, It has *xīn* "heart" as a semantic constituent,

PIF: 勿聲。 *wù* (GSR 503a: "don't, ...") is the phonetic constituent.

^G Note that the meaning 'forget' is much rarer in the early sources than the clearly distinct meaning 'forget about'.

^{PIF} 勿 [文弗切; LH mut, OCM mət] phonetic in 忽 [呼骨切; LH huət, OCM hmât]

141. SW 10B 408: 141; DXB 220 (10B 17b); GL vol 11: 4731b; Duàn 510 (10B 40a); TKJ 1463; Ozaki vol. 5: 1053, see variants in WGY: 454.

HG:  (忘), *wàng*, "to forget (about)"

G: 不識也。 is 'to be unaware'. [[is '(a way of being) unaware (*scil.* of what one ought to remember)'.]]

SSF1: 从心, It has *xīn* "heart" as a semantic constituent,

SSF2: 从亡, it (also) has *wáng* "lack" as a semantic constituent.

PIF: 亡亦聲。 *Wáng* (GSR 742a: "... not exist, ...") is at the same time the phonetic constituent.


^G Xǔ Shèn's gloss shows that he took *wàng* 忘 not in its most common meaning 'to neglect what one is aware of, fail to pay proper attention to what one is aware of' but in the now more current meaning 'to forget'. If we understand his gloss in n° 140 correctly, he has just used the word in its old acceptance. Note that the notion of forgetting is easier to define than that of neglecting.

^{SSF} Duàn rewrites this as 从心, 亡聲, basing himself on the *Yùn huì* 韻會 edition of *Shuōwén*.

^{PIF} The relevant reading of 亡 is *wáng* and not *wú*. It turns out that the reading *wú* is unattested in early sources, although one feels sure that the reading is of early origin.

亡 [TKJ: 1812, 武方切; LH muāng, OCM mâng] phonetic in 忘 [武方切; LH muāng^(c), OCM mâng]! (level tone)

142. SW 10B 408: 142; DXB 220 (10B 17b); GL vol 11: 4732; Duàn 510 (10B 40b); TKJ 1463; Ozaki vol. 5: 1053.

HG:  (慳), *mán*, "obtuse"

G1: 忘也。 is 'oblivious'. [[is '(a way of being) oblivious (*scil.* of what anyone should know)'.]]

G2: 懣兜也。 It is as in *mándōu* "all obtuse".
 SSF: 从心, It has *xīn* "heart" as a semantic constituent,
 PIF: 懣聲。 *mán* (GSR 183a: "even (>plain), ...") is the phonetic constituent.

^{G2} The alternative gloss seems to give a colloquial association rather than a new definition.

^{PIF} 懣 [母官切; LH mân, OCM mân] phonetic in 懣 [母官切; LH mân, OCM mân]

^{PR} *Tóngyīn* 同音 OCM and LH homophones.

Minor INDULGENCE SERIES (143-144)

143. SW 10B 408: 143; DXB 217 (10B x); GL vol 11: 4732b; Duàn 510 (10B 40b); TKJ 1463; Ozaki vol. 5: 1053.

HG: 恣 (恣), *zì*, "indulgent"

G: 縱也。 is 'to set free'. [[is '(a way of) setting free (*scil.* oneself, so as to become unrestrained)'.]]

SSF: 从心, It has *xīn* "heart" as a semantic constituent,
 PIF: 次聲。 *cì* (GSR 555a: "next in order, ...") is the phonetic constituent.

^{PIF} 次 [七四切; LH tshic, OCM tshih or tshis] phonetic in 恣 [資四切; LH tsi^c, OCM tsih]

144. SW 10B 408: 144; DXB 220 (10B 17b); GL vol 11: 4733; Duàn 510 (10B 40b); TKJ 1464; Ozaki vol. 5: 1053.

HG: 曷 (曷), *dàng*, "profligate"

G: 放也。 is 'to let go'. [[is '(a way of) letting go (*scil.* oneself, in a self-indulgent way)'.]]

SSF: 从心, It has *xīn* "heart" as a semantic constituent,
 PIF: 曷聲。 *yáng* (GSR 720a: "South side, ...") is the phonetic constituent.

CAS: 一曰: An (alternative) source says:
 平也。 it is 'peaceful'.

^{HG} Cf. *dàng* 蕩 "profligate".

^{PIF} 曷 [與章切; LH jâng, OCM lang] phonetic in 曷 [徒朗切; LH dâng^B, OCM lâng?]

145. SW 10B 408: 145; DXB 220 (10B 17b); GL vol 11: 4733; Duàn 510 (10B 40b); TKJ 1464; Ozaki vol. 5: 1054, see variants in WGY: 454.

HG: 憧 (憧), *chōng*,

G: 意不定也。 is 'to be unsettled in one's thought'.

SSF: 从心, It has *xīn* "heart" as a semantic constituent,

PIF: 童聲。 *tóng* (GSR 1188o: "boy, ...") is the phonetic constituent.

^G Xǔ Shèn makes the psychological of this explicit in this unusually discursive definition.

^{PIF} 童 [徒紅切; LH *dong*, OCM *dōng*] phonetic in 憧 [尺容切; LH *tshhong*, OCM *thong*]

146. SW 10B 408: 146; DXB 220 (10B 17b); GL vol 11: 4733b; Duàn 510 (10B 40b); TKJ 1464; Ozaki vol. 5: 1054.

HG: 悝 (悝), *kuī*,

G: 啁也。 is 'to scoff at'.

SSF: 从心, It has *xīn* "heart" as a semantic constituent,

PIF: 里聲。 *lǐ* (GSR 978a: "village, ...") is the phonetic constituent.

SN: 《春秋傳》 In the Springs and Autumns' Tradition (i.e. *Zuōzhuàn*, SSJZS: 2175b) there is Kǒng Kuī.

CAS: 一曰: An (alternative) source says:
病也。 It is 'to be ill'.

^G This unusual meaning is also attested in *Wénxuǎn*, but the more current meaning for the word is "to be worried or sad".

^{SN} Xǔ Shèn's supplementary note on proper names are of particular interest. Quite generally the use of characters in proper names of all kinds should be an integral part of their lexical description, a point that is brought out nicely in P. Chantraine (*Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue grecque. Histoire des mots*, 1999).

Zuōzhuàn (Āi 哀15).

^{PIF} 里 [良止切; LH *liə*^B, OCM *rə?*] phonetic in 悝 [苦回切; LH *khui*, OCM ?]

^{PR} *Fēi shēng* 非聲.

147. SW 10B 408: 147; DXB 220 (10B 17b); GL vol 11: 4734; Duàn 510 (10B 41a); TKJ 1464; Ozaki vol. 5: 1055.

HG: 僞 (僞), *jué*,

G: 權詐也。 is 'to take an opportunity to cheat'.

SSF: 从心, It has *xīn* "heart" as a semantic constituent,

PIF: 番聲。 yù (GSR 507a: "(Shuowen: 'to pierce' (no text))") is the phonetic constituent.

^G The binome *quánzhà* 權詐 seems surprising, we suspect it is a Hàn colloquialism which is attested in Wáng Chōng.

^{PIF} 番 [余律切; LH juit, OCM wit] phonetic in 橘 [古穴切; LH kwet, OCM kwīt]

148. SW 10B 408: 148; DXB 220 (10B 17b); GL vol 11: 4734b; Duàn 510 (10B 41a); TKJ 1464; Ozaki vol. 5: 1055.

HG: 𢇛 (𢇛), guàng,
 G: 誤也。 is 'to be mistaken'.
 SSF: 从心, It has *xīn* "heart" as a semantic constituent,
 PIF: 狂聲。 kuáng (GSR 739o: "foolish, ...") is the phonetic constituent.

^{PIF} Duàn writes an archaising graph for 狂, as if there was a convention in *Shuōwén* to the effect that phonetic constituents are listed in their seal form.

狂 [巨王切; LH gyāng, OCM gwang] phonetic in 𢇛 [居況切; LH kyang^c, OCM kwāngh]

149. SW 10B 408: 149; DXB 220 (10B 17b); GL vol 11: 4734b; Duàn 510 (10B 41a); TKJ 1464; Ozaki vol. 5: 1055, see variants in WGY: 454.

HG: 𢇛 (𢇛), huǎng,
 G: 狂之兒。 the appearance of being crazy.
 SSF: 从心, It has *xīn* "heart" as a semantic constituent,
 PIF: 況省聲。 it has an abbreviated form of *kuàng* (GSR 765g: "increase, ...") as the phonetic.

^G The formula X之兒 while not unknown elsewhere is not the preferred form in *Shuōwén*. We find only nine cases.

^{PIF} Duàn rewrites this as 兒聲 and declares the received text to be the work of someone who does not understand the ancient sounds: 不知古音者所改. The thought that the received text has been changed is a mere conjecture on Duàn's part.

況 [許訪切; LH hyang, OCM hwrang] phonetic in [許往切; LH hyāng^B, OCM hwang[?]]

150. SW 10B 408: 150; DXB 220 (10B 17b); GL vol 11: 4735; Duàn 510 (10B 41a); TKJ 1465; Ozaki vol. 5: 1056.

HG: 𢇛 (𢇛), guǐ, "pretend"

- G: 變也。 is 'to change'. [[is '(a way of) changing (*scil.* one's appearances in order to deceive)'.]]
- SSF: 从心, It has *xīn* "heart" as a semantic constituent,
PIF: 危聲。 *wēi* (GSR 29a: "precipitous, ...") is the phonetic constituent.
- ^{PIF} 危 [魚爲切; LH *ngyâi*, OCM *ngoi* or OCM *ngwai*] phonetic in 危 [過委切; LH *kyâi*^B, OCM *koi*? or *kwai*?]

151. SW 10B 408: 151; DXB 221 (10B 18a); GL vol 11: 4735b; Duàn 510 (10B 41a); TKJ 1465; Ozaki vol. 5: 1056.

- HG: 惛 (惛), *xié*,
G: 有二心也。 is 'to be in two minds'.
SSF: 从心, It has *xīn* "heart" as a semantic constituent,
PIF: 惛聲。 *guī* (GSR 880a: "Shuowen: name of a bird (no text)") is the phonetic constituent.

^{HG} Dictionary word, no text.

^G Note the discursive definition in what almost look like a colloquial style.

^{PIF} 惛 [戶圭切 (《集韻》: 均窺切); LH *Gue*, OCM *wê*] phonetic in 惛 [戶圭切; LH *Gue*, OCM *wê*]

^{PR} *Tóngyīn* 同音 OCM and LH homophones.

152. SW 10B 408: 152; DXB 221 (10B 18a); GL vol 11: 4736; Duàn 510 (10B 41a); TKJ 1465; Ozaki vol. 5: 1056.

- HG: 悸 (悸), *jì*, "shiver"
G: 心動也。 is 'to be moved in one's heart'. [[is '(a way of) being moved in one's heart (*scil.* by fear)'.]]
SSF: 从心, It has *xīn* "heart" as a semantic constituent,
PIF: 季聲。 *jì* (GSR 538a: "youngest (of brothers etc.), ...") is the phonetic constituent.

^G Note how Xū Shèn makes the psychological content of the concept explicit by the use of the word *xīn* 心.

^{PIF} 季 [居悸切; LH *kwis*, OCM *kwis*] phonetic in 悸 [其季切; LH *gwis*, OCM *gwis*]

153. SW 10B 408: 153; DXB 221 (10B 18a); GL vol 11: 4736b; Duàn 510 (10B 41a); TKJ 1465; Ozaki vol. 5: 1057.

HG: 𢇛 (𢇛), *jiāo*,
 G: 幸也。 is 'to be lucky'.
 SSF: 从心, It has *xīn* "heart" as a semantic constituent,
 PIF: 𢇛聲。 *jiǎo* (GSR 1162a: "SW says: to shine, bright (no text)") is the
 phonetic constituent.

G Xǔ Shèn glosses this bound morpheme by the second member of the current compound of which it typically forms a part: *jiāo xìng* 𢇛幸. This is a current practice in *Shuōwén*.

Duàn tacitly and gratuitously rewrites 幸 as 𢇛. Apart from everything else this was not a very pedagogical thing to do given that the character he uses is very arcane and even seasoned epigraphers cannot be expected to be familiar with it.

PIF 𢇛 [古弔切; LH keu, OCM kiâu] phonetic in 𢇛 [古堯切; LH keu, OCM kiâu]

PR *Tóngyīn* 同音 OCM and LH homophones.

154. SW 10B 408: 154; DXB 221 (10B 18a); GL vol 11: 4737; Duàn 510 (10B 41a); TKJ 1465; Ozaki vol. 5: 1057.

HG: 𢇛 (𢇛), *kuò*,
 G: 善自用之意也。 has the meaning of 'having a tendency to be self-willed'.
 SSF: 从心, It has *xīn* "heart" as a semantic constituent,
 PIF: 𢇛聲。 *xiān* (GSR 621a: "sharp, ...") is the phonetic constituent.
 IQ: 《商書》曰： *The Book of Shāng* (SSJZS: 169b) says:
 今汝𢇛𢇛。 "Now you are strong-willed people".
 SA: 𢇛 [𢇛], 古文 𢇛 is an ancient style graph that has *ěr* (as a semantic
 从耳。 constituent).

G All glosses specify meanings, and Xǔ Shèn rarely (6 times) makes this explicit in the way that he does in this gloss by the formula X之意. His standard way of saying that A means B is to say that A is B. It will be interesting to collect the cases where Xǔ Shèn's definitions involve explicit semantic terminology of this sort.

Duàn adds the character 𢇛 at the beginning of this line, basing himself on a quotation in a *Shūjīng* commentary. His arguments for this are less than convincing.

PIF 𢇛 [息廉切; LH siam, OCM slam or slem] phonetic in 𢇛 [古活切; LH kuât, OCM kwât]

PR The initials and finals are different, *fēi shēng* 非聲

IQ The SSJZS edition of *Shū* (*Pán gēng* 盤庚) (18.7) writes: 今汝聒聒 "Now you are (making a deafening noise=) clamouring." (tr. Karlgren).

Minor GREEDY SERIES (155-156)

155. SW 10B 408: 155; DXB 221 (10B 18a); GL vol 11: 4738b; Duàn 510 (10B 41b); TKJ 1466; Ozaki vol. 5: 1058.

HG: 忤 (忤), wán,
 G: 貪也。 is 'greedy'.
 SSF: 从心, It has *xīn* "heart" as a semantic constituent,
 PIF: 元聲。 yuán (GSR 257a: "head, ...") is the phonetic constituent.
 IQ: 《春秋傳》曰： *The Springs and Autumns Tradition* (i.e. *Zuǒzhùàn*) says:
 忤歲而澁日。 "... trifles about years, and desires (length of) days ..." (tr. Legge)
 Legge)

PIF 元 [愚袁切; LH ngyan, OCM ngwan or ngon] phonetic in 忤 [五換切 (《廣韻》: 五丸切); LH nguân^(c), OCM ngwân(s)]

^{IQ} The SSJZS edition of *Zuǒzhùàn* (Zhāo 昭 1.8) writes: 主民, 翫歲而愒日, 其與幾何? "When the president of the people trifles about years, and desires (length of) days, he cannot endure long", thus replacing 忤 by 翫 and 澁 by 愒. The number of cases where the received texts have readings others than those quoted by Xǔ Shèn is remarkable. (tr. Legge)

156. SW 10B 408: 156; DXB 221 (10B 18a); GL vol 11: 4739b; Duàn 510 (10B 41b); TKJ 1466; Ozaki vol. 5: 1058, see variants in WGY: 455.

HG: 憐 (憐), lán,
 DG: 河內之北謂貪曰憐。 in the north of Hénèi they use *lán* for *tān* "greedy".
 SSF: 从心, It has *xīn* "heart" as a semantic constituent,
 PIF: 林聲。 lín (GSR 655a: "forest") is the phonetic constituent.

^G Instead of an ordinary gloss Xǔ Shèn provides a dialectal gloss. See footnote 16.1 in *Fāngyán* 1 (Zhōu Zǔmó 1956: 5-6) for 晉魏河內之北謂憐曰殘, 楚謂之貪. When Xǔ Shèn follows this procedure we must assume that the semantic gloss imbedded in the dialectal gloss contains the analytically relevant semantic information.

PIF 林 [力尋切; LH lim, OCM rəm] phonetic in 憐 [盧含切; LH ləm, OCM râm]

MORAL AND INTELLECTUAL CONFUSION SERIES (157-(158)-167)

157. SW 10B 408: 157; DXB 221 (10B 18a); GL vol 11: 4740; Duàn 510 (10B 41b); TKJ 1466; Ozaki vol. 5: 1058.

HG: 惛 (惛), *mèng*, "be confused"
 G: 不明也。 is 'to fail to understand'. [[is '(a way of) failing to understand (*scil.* as a continuing state of confusion)'.]]
 SSF: 从心, It has *xīn* "heart" as a semantic constituent,
 PIF: 夢聲。 *mèng* (GSR 902a: "dream") is the phonetic constituent.

^G Duàn gratuitously writes an archaising graph for 明, although what is at issue is the word and not the graph.

^{PIF} 夢 [莫忠切; LH mung^(c), OCM mǎng] phonetic in 惛 [武亘切; LH mǎng, OCM mǎng]

158. SW 10B 408: 158; DXB 221 (10B 18a); GL vol 11: 4740b; Duàn 510 (10B 41b); TKJ 1466; Ozaki vol. 5: 1059.

HG: 愆 (愆), *qiān*,
 G: 過也。 is 'transgression'. [[is 'a (a kind of) transgression (*scil.* a serious mistake that normally deserves punishment).]]
 SSF: 从心, It has *xīn* "heart" as a semantic constituent,
 PIF: 衍聲。 *yǎn* (GSR 197a: "flow over, ...") is the phonetic constituent.
 A: 𢇛 [寒], 或 in (the graph) 𢇛, [the word *qiān*] is alternatively written with
 从寒省。 an abbreviated form of *hán*.
 SA: 𢇛 [僞], 𢇛 is a large seal style graph.
 籀文。

^{PIF} 衍 [以淺切; LH kem^(c), OCM kêms] phonetic in 愆 [去虔切; LH khian, OCM khjan]

^{PR} *Fēi shēng* 非聲? Interestingly both the initials and the codae are consistent in this case but not the main vowels.

159. SW 10B 408: 159; DXB 221 (10B 18a); GL vol 11: 4741; Duàn 511 (10B 42a); TKJ 1467; Ozaki vol. 5: 1059.

HG: 慊 (慊), *xián*, "suspect that"
 G: 疑也。 is 'to be in doubt'. [[is '(a way of being in) doubt (*scil.* typically with an element of resentment)'.]]
 SSF: 从心, It has *xīn* "heart" as a semantic constituent,
 PIF: 兼聲。 *jiān* (GSR 627a: "at the same time, ...") is the phonetic constituent.

HG Compare the modern Chinese *xián* 嫌 "to suspect". It is indeed as if the word Xǔ Shèn's graph is referring to is the one written today with the woman radical. The current readings for the character Xǔ Shèn discusses are not traditionally linked to the meaning he attached to the graph.

PIF 兼 [古甜切; LH kem, OCM kêṃ] phonetic in 慊 [戶兼切; LH khem^(b), OCM khêm(?)]

INSERTED CHAOS SERIES (160-163) [Note also n° 167]

160. SW 10B 408: 160; DXB 221 (10B 18b); GL vol 11: 4741b; Duàn 511 (10B 42a); TKJ 1467; Ozaki vol. 5: 1060.

HG: 惑 (惑), *huò*, "disorientated"

G: 亂也。 is 'to be in chaos'. [[is '(a kind of) chaos (*scil.* of a mental kind)'.]]

SSF: 从心, It has *xīn* "heart" as a semantic constituent,

PIF: 或聲。 *huò* (GSR 929a: "territory, ...") is the phonetic constituent.

G As in the preceding lexical entry, Xǔ Shèn provides an entirely relevant hypernym for the word he glosses. It is implausible that he was unaware of the fact that such glosses could not serve as near-equivalents but were designed to identify the *genus* of which the concept in question was a *species*, much in the spirit of Aristotle's theory of definitions.

PIF 或 [于逼切; LH Guək, OCM wâk] phonetic in 惑 [胡國切; LH Guək, OCM wâk]

PR *Tóngyīn* 同音 OCM and LH homophones.

161. SW 10B 408: 161; DXB 221 (10B 18b); GL vol 11: 4742; Duàn 511 (10B 42a); TKJ 1467; Ozaki vol. 5: 1060, see variants in WGY: 455.

HG: 悞 (悞), *mín*,

G: 悞也。 is 'to be befuddled'.


SSF: 从心, It has *xīn* "heart" as a semantic constituent,

PIF: 民聲。 *mín* (GSR 457a: "people") is the phonetic constituent.

G Xǔ Shèn provides an obscure gloss here for which he gives a clarifying explanation in the lexical entry that follows. The conceptual connection between 'stupidity' and the 'people' is evident in many parts of the vocabulary, and it is idiomatically manifest in the idiom *yú mǐn* 愚民 which means not 'of the people the stupid ones', but 'the people, who are stupid'.

PIF 民 [彌鄰切; LH min, OCM min] phonetic in 悞 [呼昆切(《廣韻》: 彌鄰切); LH huən, UCM hmân]

162. SW 10B 408: 162; DXB 221 (10B 18b); GL vol 11: 4742b; Duàn 511 (10B 42a); TKJ 1467; Ozaki vol. 5: 1060.

- HG:  (愾), *náo*, "be in mental chaos"
 G: 亂也。 is 'chaos'. [[is '(a way of being) in chaos (*scil.* of a mental kind)].]
 SSF: 从心, It has *xīn* "heart" as a semantic constituent,
 PIF: 奴聲。 *nú* (GSR 941: "slave, ...") is the phonetic constituent.
 IQ: 《詩》曰: *The Book of Odes* (SSJZS: 548b) says:
 以謹愾。 "and so make the turbulent and obstreperous careful." (tr. Karlgren)

^G Here again *Shuōwén* provides a necessary contextually motivated interpretation of a word that has just been used as a gloss.


^{IQ} The illustration from *Shījīng* serves two entries at the same time and demonstrates that the individual entries in *Shuōwén* should not be read outside the context in which they occur. Xǔ Shèn disregards the distinction between these two graphs: 愾 and 愾. In this instance he does come close to writing as if his concern was not with a graph but with a word (see n° 161).

Shījīng (*Mín Láo* 民勞 253.2).

^{PIF} 奴[人諸切; LH nâ, OCM nâ] phonetic in 愾[女交切; LH nau or nōu ?, OCM ?]

^{PR} *Fēi shēng* 非聲?

163. SW 10B 408: 163; DXB 221 (10B 18b); GL vol 11: 4743; Duàn 511 (10B 42b); TKJ 1467; Ozaki vol. 5: 1061, see variants in WGY: 455.

- HG:  (愾), *chǔn*,
 G: 亂也。 is 'chaotic'. [EP: is (a way of being) chaotic (*scil.* mentally, typically through incapacity or stupidity)].]
 SSF: 从心, It has *xīn* "heart" as a semantic constituent,
 PIF: 春聲。 *chūn* (GSR 463a: "spring time") is the phonetic constituent.
 IQ: 《春秋傳》曰: *The Springs and Autumns Tradition* (i.e. *Zuǒzhuan*, SSJZS: 2106a) says:
 王室日愾愾焉。 "The royal house is getting daily more confused."
 CAS: 一曰: An (alternative) source says:
 厚也。 it is 'generous' (?)

^{PIF} Duàn rewrites 春 with an archaising graph, as if there was a convention in *Shuōwén* to the effect that phonetic constituents are listed in their seal form.

春 [昌純切; LH tshhuin, OCM thun] phonetic in 蠢 [尺允切; LH tshhuin^B, OCM thun?]

^{IQ} The SSJZS edition of the *Zuǒzhùàn* (Zhāo 昭 24.6) has: 今王室實蠢蠢焉, "The royal House is now indeed shaking". (tr. Legge).

^{CAS} Duàn gratuitously rewrites 厚 with an archaising graph, although what is at issue is the word and not the graph.

164. SW 10B 408: 164; DXB 221 (10B 18b); GL vol 11: 4744; Duàn 511 (10B 42b); TKJ 1468; Ozaki vol. 5: 1061, see variants in WGY: 456.

HG: 昏 (昏), *hūn*,

G: 不瞭也。 is 'not to understand'. [[is '(a way of) not understanding (*scil.* as a constant intellectual limitation)'.]]

SSF: 从心, It has *xīn* "heart" as a semantic constituent,

PIF: 昏聲。 *hūn* (GSR 457j: "dusk, ...") is the phonetic constituent.

^{PIF} Duàn tacitly rewrites 昏 as 昏. Note that the character *mín* 民 being a Táng taboo was commonly replaced by *shì* 氏 in orthography. The semantic appositeness of *hūn* 昏 "dusk" must have been plain enough for Xǔ Shèn.

昏 [武巾切; LH huən, OCM hmân] phonetic in 昏 [呼昆切; LH huən, UCM hmân]

^{PR} *Tóngyīn* 同音 OCM and LH homophones.

165. SW 10B 408: 165; DXB 221 (10B 18b); GL vol 11: 4744; Duàn 511 (10B 42b); TKJ 1468; Ozaki vol. 5: 1061.

HG: 𤝵 (𤝵), *xì*,

G: 癡兒。 descriptive of being moronic.

SSF: 从心, It has *xīn* "heart" as a semantic constituent,

PIF: 气聲。 *qì* (GSR 517a: "Shuowen says: cloudy vapours (no text)") is the phonetic constituent.

^{PIF} 气 [去既切; LH khis, OCM khəs] phonetic in 𤝵 [許既切; LH his, OCM həs]

166. SW 10B 408: 166; DXB 221 (10B 18b); GL vol 11: 4744b; Duàn 511 (10B 42b); TKJ 1468; Ozaki vol. 5: 1062.

HG: 𤝵 (𤝵), *wèi*,

G: 寢言不慧也。 is 'to talk in one's sleep and make no sense'.

SSF: 从心, It has *xīn* "heart" as a semantic constituent,

PIF: 衛聲。 wèi (GSR 342a: "to guard, ...") is the phonetic constituent.

^G The expression *mèng yán* 寤言 "talk in one's sleep" might be compared to *mèng yán* 夢言 in *Hán Fēizǐ* where the idea is that of disclosing one's secret in one's dream rather than of making no sense while speaking when asleep.

^{PIF} 衛 [于歲切; LH wes, OCM we(t)s] phonetic in 德 [于歲切; LH wes, OCM we(t)s]

^{PR} *Tóngyīn* 同音 OCM and LH homophones.

167. SW 10B 408: 167; DXB 221 (10B 18b); GL vol 11: 4744b; Duàn 511 (10B 42b); TKJ 1468; Ozaki vol. 5: 1062.

HG: 𢀓 (憤), *kuì*,

G: 亂也。 is 'chaos'. [[is '(a way of) being in chaos (*scil.* psychologically)].]

SSF: 从心, It has *xīn* "heart" as a semantic constituent,

PIF: 貴聲。 *guì* (GSR 540b: "precious, ...") is the phonetic constituent.

^G Note that the commentator Yán Shīgǔ 顏師古 comments on *Hànshū* 45/2181-(11): 憤, 心亂也.

^{PIF} 貴 [居胃切; LH kuis, OCM kus] phonetic in 憤 [胡對切; LH kuēs, OCM krūs]

RESENTMENT SERIES (168-(177)-180)

168. SW 10B 408: 168; DXB 221 (10B 18b); GL vol 11: 4745; Duàn 511 (10B 42b); TKJ 1468; Ozaki vol. 5: 1062, see variant in WGY: 456.

HG: 𢀓 (忌), *jì*,

G: 憎惡也。 is 'to resent/ or to hate evil'. [[is '(a way of) resenting (*scil.* typically for perceived misconduct)].]

SSF: 从心, It has *xīn* "heart" as a semantic constituent,

PIF: 己聲。 *jǐ* (GSR 953a: "self, ...") is the phonetic constituent.

^G The synonym compound *zēngwù* 憎惡 presumably serves to disambiguate the intended gloss 惡, but the question remains why *zēng* 憎 would not have been a sufficient gloss for Xǔ Shèn's purpose. One is inclined to read this gloss as a colloquialism. On the other hand, there is nothing to prevent one from taking this as a verb-object construction in spite of the fact that the predominant use of the binome in pre-Buddhist times appear to have been as a synonym compound.

^{PIF} *Jǐ* 己 [居擬切; LH kiə^B, OCM kəʔ] phonetic in *jì* 忌 [渠記切; LH giə^C, OCM gəh]

169. SW 10B 408: 169; DXB 221 (10B 19a); GL vol 11: 4745b; Duàn 511 (10B 42b); TKJ 1468; Ozaki vol. 5: 1063.

HG: 𤝵 (忿), *fèn*, "pent-up anger"
 G: 悵也。 is 'to be upset'.
 SSF: 从心, It has *xīn* "heart" as a semantic constituent,
 PIF: 分聲。 *fèn* (GSR 471: "divide, ...") is the phonetic constituent.

^G The gloss here is singularly unhelpful because it explains a fairly common word by an exceedingly rare one. However, the pattern here is one of adjacent *hùzhù* 互注, and what the present example shows is that the members of a *hùzhù* pair can be of widely different currency.

^{PIF} 分 [甫文切; LH pun, OCM pən] phonetic in 忿 [敷粉切; LH phun^{B/C}, OCM phən?/s]

170. SW 10B 408: 170; DXB 221 (10B 19a); GL vol 11: 4745b; Duàn 511 (10B 42b); TKJ 1468; Ozaki vol. 5: 1063.

HG: 𤝵 (悵), *yuān*,
 G: 忿也。 is 'pent-up anger'. [[is '(like) pent-up anger (*scil.* without the element of aggressive resentment)].]
 SSF: 从心, It has *xīn* "heart" as a semantic constituent,
 PIF: 昌聲。 *yuān* (GSR 228a: "Shuowen: small worm (no text).") is the phonetic constituent.
 CAS: 一曰: An (alternative) source says:
 憂也。 It is 'to be worried'.
 SA: 𤝵[慰], 籀文。 𤝵 is a large seal style graph.

^{HG} This *hùzhù* 互注 pair is taken here as a pair of undistinguished synonyms, although 悵 is the much rarer and the more poetic word.

^G Duàn distinguishes between *fèn* 忿 and *fèn* 憤: 忿與憤義不同。憤以氣盈爲義, 忿以狷急爲義 "The force of *fèn* 忿 and *fèn* 憤 is not the same, *fèn* 憤 refers to one being filled with the *qì* of anger, while *fèn* 忿 refers to being impatient and upset." This gloss illustrates one of the immense strength of Duàn Yùcái as a lexicographer. His commentary on *Shuōwén* is indeed the first dictionary which pays systematic attention to the need for distinction between synonyms and also to the all-important phenomenon of pregnant versus loose use of words. The distinction is between *xī yán zhě* 析言者 and *tǒng yán zhě* 統言者 (as under *wò* 卧, SWJZZ p. 387). Elsewhere the distinction is between *xī yán zhě* 析言者 and *hún yán zhě* 渾言者 (as under *jiàn* 見, SWJZZ p. 407). This area of the systematisation of Chinese lexicography as Duàn's contribution has been justly praised in twentieth century celebrated.

^{PIF} 昌 [烏玄切 (《廣韻》: 烏縣切); LH ?uen, OCM ?wên] phonetic in 悵 [於緣切; LH ?yen, OCM ?wen]

^{CAS} Duàn rewrites 憂 as 慰.

171. SW 10B 408: 171; DXB 221 (10B 19a); GL vol 11: 4746b; Duàn 511 (10B 43a); TKJ 1469; Ozaki vol. 5: 1063.

HG: 𢇛 (黎), *lí*,
 G: 恨也。 is 'to hate'.
 SSF: 从心, It has *xīn* "heart" as a semantic constituent,
 PIF: 黎聲。 *lí* (GSR 519k: "numerious, ...") is the phonetic constituent.
 CAS: 一曰: An (alternative) source says:
 怠也。 It is 'to be remiss'.

^G Duàn chooses to write *hèn* with the archaic graph 愠.

^{PIF} 黎 [郎奚切; LH lei, OCM rǐ] phonetic in 黎 [郎尸切; LH li, OCM ri]

^{CAS} As we have noted before, it often looks as if Xǔ Shèn gets into a periodic habit of providing alternative glosses for a series of characters, and he does this even when the alternative glosses contribute little substance to his graphological analysis.

172. SW 10B 408: 172; DXB 221 (10B 19a); GL vol 11: 4746b; Duàn 511 (10B 43a); TKJ 1469; Ozaki vol. 5: 1064.

HG: 𢇛 (恚), *huì*, "furious "
 G: 恨也。 is 'to resent'. [[EP: (a way of) resenting (*scil.* with a strong admixture of acute anger).]]
 SSF: 从心, It has *xīn* "heart" as a semantic constituent,
 PIF: 圭聲。 *guī* (GSR 879a: "jade tablet as token of rank, ...") is the phonetic constituent.

^G For his own reasons, Duàn writes *nù* 怒 for *hèn* 恨. There is no need to enter into the details on this point.

^{PIF} 圭 [古畦切; LH kue, OCM kwê] phonetic in 恚 [於避切; LH ?ye^c, OCM ?weh]

173. SW 10B 408: 173; DXB 221 (10B 19a); GL vol 11: 4747; Duàn 511 (10B 43a); TKJ 1469; Ozaki vol. 5: 1064.

HG: 𢇛 (怨), *yuàn*, "resent (typically superiors)"
 G: 恚也。 is 'furious'. [[is '(a way of) being furious (*scil.* typically vis-à-vis those who are more powerful than oneself).]]
 SSF: 从心, It has *xīn* "heart" as a semantic constituent,
 PIF: 夨聲。 *yuàn* (GSR 260a: "Shuowen: to turn over in bed' (no text)") is the phonetic constituent.

SA: 𤝵 [𤝵], 𤝵 is an ancient style graph.
古文。

PIF 𤝵 [於阮切; LH ?yan^B, OCM ?on?] phonetic in 怨 [於願切; LH ?yan^C, OCM ?ons]

174. SW 10B 408: 174; DXB 221 (10B 19a); GL vol 11: 4747b; Duàn 511 (10B 43a); TKJ 1469; Ozaki vol. 5: 1064.

HG: 怒 (怒), *nù*, "angry"

G: 恚也。 is 'furious'. [[is '(a way of being) furious (*scil.* showing this openly)'.]]

SSF: 从心, It has *xīn* "heart" as a semantic constituent,

PIF: 奴聲。 *nú* (GSR 941: "slave, ...") is the phonetic constituent.

G Note that the word which Xǔ Shèn treats as the logically superordinate is *huì* 恚, which is not the most common in the synonym group: it is certainly much rarer than *yuàn* 怨 and *nù* 怒. Thus the terms that Xǔ Shèn treats as the more abstract or general ones are by no means always the commoner ones. (When Xǔ Shèn uses one and the same word to define a series of other words we often take this as an indication that he treated the defining word as being the abstract common denominator).

PIF 奴 [人諸切; LH *nâ*, OCM *nâ*] phonetic in 怒 [乃故切; LH *nâ*^{B/C}, OCM *nâ*?/h]

175. SW 10B 408: 175; DXB 221 (10B 19a); GL vol 11: 4748; Duàn 511 (10B 43a); TKJ 1469; Ozaki vol. 5: 1065.

HG: 𤝵 (𤝵), *duì*, "detest"

G: 怨也。 is 'resent'.

SSF: 从心, It has *xīn* "heart" as a semantic constituent,

PIF: 敦聲。 *duì* (GSR 464p: "a kind of sacrificial vessel, ...") is the phonetic constituent.

IQ: 《周書》曰： In *The book of Zhōu* (SSJZS: 204b) it says:
"凡民罔不𤝵。" Speaking of the people in general, none of them do not detest them."

PIF Duàn tacitly rewrites 敦 with the archaising character 𤝵, as if there was a convention in *Shuōwén* to the effect that phonetic constituents are listed in their seal form.

敦 is a notoriously multivalent phonetic constituent. According to HYDCD this character has the following readings: *dūn*, *duī*, *duì*, *dùn*, *dún*, *tún*, *tuán*, *diāo*, *dào*, *zhǔn*.


敦 [都昆切。又，丁回切; LH *tuən*, OCM *tùn*/ LH *tui*, OCM *túi*] phonetic in 𤝵 [徒對切; LH *duāi*^C, OCM *dūih*]

PR One must not jump to the conclusion that this is a *fēi shēng* 非聲.

¹⁰ Xǔ Shèn quotes the lexicographically relevant part of *Shūjīng* (*Kāng gào* 康誥, SSJZS: 204b): 凡民自得罪寇攘姦宄殺越人于貨譬不畏死,罔弗慤 "All people who draw guilt upon themselves, being robbers and thieves and villains and traitors, who kill and (overthrow =) destroy and go for (goods=) spoil, and are forceful and do not fear death, there are none who do not detest them." (tr. Legge). It is significant that Xǔ Shèn does not always mechanically quote a whole passage but sometimes limits himself to what matters in his argumentative context.

Duàn tacitly rewrites 慤 with the archaising character 慤.

176. SW 10B 408: 176; DXB 221 (10B 19a); GL vol 11: 4748b; Duàn 511 (10B 43a); TKJ 1469; Ozaki vol. 5: 1065.

HG:  (愠), *yùn*, "be upset"

G: 怒也。 is 'to be angry'. [[is '(a way of being) angry (*scil.* internally, psychologically, without necessarily showing one's anger openly)'.]]

SSF: 从心, It has *xīn* "heart" as a semantic constituent,

PIF: 愠聲。 *wēn* (GSR 426a: "Shuowen says: kind (no text), thus taking it to be the primary graph for 愠") is the phonetic constituent.

^G Duàn rewrites 怒 as 怨 on the basis of later quotations. We translate the reading in the received text.

^{PIF} 愠 [烏渾切; LH ?uən, OCM ?ûn] phonetic in 愠 [於問切; LH ?un^c, OCM uns]

177. SW 10B 408: 177; DXB 221 (10B 19a); GL vol 11: 4749; Duàn 511 (10B 43b); TKJ 1470; Ozaki vol. 5: 1065.

HG:  (惡), *è*, "ugliness (moral and aesthetic)"

G: 過也。 is 'deviation'. [[is '(a kind of) deviation (*scil.* from standards of aesthetic or moral beauty)'.]]

SSF: 从心, It has *xīn* "heart" as a semantic constituent,

PIF: 亞聲。 *yà* (GSR 805a: "inferior, ...") is the phonetic constituent.

^{HG} This entry is an intrusion into the "resentment" series.

^G Xǔ Shèn defines a meaning of 惡 that is unrelated to that of 憎, but right before he turns to 憎. This might suggest that occasionally he made his list of characters for treatment in his dictionary before actually deciding which meanings of the character he was to focus on. Nonetheless Xǔ Shèn's gloss in this case remains profoundly puzzling.

^{PIF} 亞 [衣駕切; LH ?a^c, OCM ?râh] phonetic in 惡 [烏各切; LH ?âk, OCM ?âk]

178. SW 10B 408: 178; DXB 221 (10B 19a); GL vol 11: 4749b; Duàn 511 (10B 43b); TKJ 1470; Ozaki vol. 5: 1066.

HG:  (憎), *zēng*,

G: 惡也。 is 'to hate'.

SSF: 从心, It has *xīn* "heart" as a semantic constituent,

PIF: 曾聲。 *zēng* (GSR 884a: "remote; etc., ...") is the phonetic constituent.

^G This gloss splendidly illustrates how Xǔ Shèn feels entirely free to use characters with meanings other than those identified in his glosses. He has just defined the graph 惡 as it used to write the word è "bad", but in the present definition he feels free to use the same graph under the reading *wù* "to hate".

^{PIF} 曾 [昨稜切; LH tsəng, OCM tsəng] phonetic in 憎 [作滕切; LH tsəng, OCM tsəng]

179. SW 10B 408: 179; DXB 221 (10B 19b); GL vol 11: 4749b; Duàn 511 (10B 43b); TKJ 1470; Ozaki vol. 5: 1066.

HG:  (悒), *pèi*,

G: 恨怒也。 is 'hateful anger'.

SSF: 从心, It has *xīn* "heart" as a semantic constituent,

PIF: 市聲。 *pò* (GSR 501a: "SW: abundant vegetation") is the phonetic constituent.

IQ: 《詩》曰： *The Book of Odes* (SSJZS: 497a) says:
視我悒悒。 "They look at me with resentful anger".

^G Again Duàn has the archaising graph 悒 for *hèn* 恨 and continues this idiosyncratic practice below.

One is inclined to regard Xǔ Shèn's binome here as a Hàn dynasty colloquialism, but at the same time this discursive definition does make explicit the semantic nuance Xǔ Shèn thought the defined word expressed.

^{PIF} 市 [普活切; LH put, OCM pət] (TKJ: 831) phonetic in 悒 [蒲昧切; LH phus, OCM phəs]

^{IQ} The SSJZS edition of *Shījīng* (*Bái huá* 白華 229.5) writes: 視我邁邁 "you look at me with disfavour." (tr. Karlgren).

180. SW 10B 408: 180; DXB 221 (10B 19b); GL vol 11: 4750b; Duàn 511 (10B 43b); TKJ 1470; Ozaki vol. 5: 1066, see variants in WGY: 456.

HG:  (怒), *yì*,

G: 怒也。 is 'angry'.

SSF: 从心, It has *xīn* "heart" as a semantic constituent,

PIF: 刀聲。 *dāo* (GSR 1131a: "knife") is the phonetic constituent.

SPI: 讀若顛。 Pronounced like *yì*.

HG Dictionary word, no received text.

PIF 刀 [都牢切; LH *tâu*, OCM *tâu*] phonetic in 忍 [魚既切; LH *ngis* or *ngiih*, OCM *ngəs* or *ngəih*]

Duàn finds that 聲 is corrupt and omits the character. According to him the text read 从心刀, in which case Xǔ Shèn would have declared this character to be composed of two semantic constituents only.

PR *Fēi shēng* 非聲.

SPI Having declared *dāo* 刀 to be phonetic (an extraordinary statement if ever there was one, and one vividly understands why Duàn was tempted to throw it out) the text goes on to explain the reading of the head graph by an excruciatingly rare character which is notorious for its four equally uncommon readings.

yì 忍 [魚既切; LH *ngis* or *ngiih*, OCM *ngəs* or *ngəih*] read like *yì* 顛 [DXB 9A 5b; TKJ: 1213: 五怪切] LH *ŋis* or *ŋiɿ^c*?, OCM *ŋəs*? or *ŋəih* (< *ŋəls*)?

DISSATISFACTION/RESENTMENT SERIES (181-189)

181. SW 10B 408: 181; DXB 221 (10B 19b); GL vol 11: 4751; Duàn 511 (10B 43b); TKJ 1470; Ozaki vol. 5: 1067.

HG: 𢇛 (𢇛), *xié*,

G: 怨恨也。 is 'resentful hatred'.

SSF: 从心, It has *xīn* "heart" as a semantic constituent,

PIF: 象聲。 *shǐ* ("Shuowen: pig") is the phonetic constituent.

SPI: 讀若暎。 Pronounced like *xié*.

HG [臣鉉等曰：象非聲，未詳。 "Xuán and the others comment: *shǐ* is a wrong phonetic, we have no explanation."]

PIF 象 [式視切; LH *shi^B*, OCM *lhi?* or *lhəi?* or *hji?*, or *hjəi?* (the OC initial consonant is very uncertain)(《廣韻》: 尺氏切) LH *t'shie^B* (or *tshhie^B*), OCM *the?* or *k-hle?* (the OC initial consonant is very uncertain)] phonetic in 𢇛 [戶佳切; LH *gɛ* or *ɣɛ*, OCM *grê*]

PR *Fēi shēng* 非聲.

SPI As in the preceding entry the *dúruò* graph in this case *xié* 𢇛 is so rare that Xǔ Shèn's phonetic gloss cannot have been very useful to anyone.

Xié 𢇛 [戶佳切; LH *gɛ* or *ɣɛ*, OCM *grê*] read like *xié* 𢇛 [戶皆切; LH *hiap*, OCM *hap*]

182. SW 10B 408: 182; DXB 221 (10B 19b); GL vol 11: 4752; Duàn 511 (10B 44a); TKJ 1470; Ozaki vol. 5: 1067.

HG: 恨 (恨), *hèn*,

G: 怨也。 is 'to resent'. [[is '(a kind of) resentment (*scil.* intense and, unlike *yuàn* 怨, not normally directed towards superiors)'.]]

SSF: 从心, It has *xīn* "heart" as a semantic constituent,

PIF: 艮聲。 *gèn* (GSR 416a: "obstinate, ...") is the phonetic constituent.

^{PIF} 艮 [古恨切; LH kən^c, OCM kâns] phonetic in 恨 [胡良切; LH gən^c, OCM gâns]

183. SW 10B 408: 183; DXB 221 (10B 19b); GL vol 11: 4752; Duàn 512 (10B 44a); TKJ 1471; Ozaki vol. 5: 1067, see variants in WGY: 457.

HG: 對 (對), *duì*,

G: 怨也。 is 'to resent'.

SSF: 从心, It has *xīn* "heart" as a semantic constituent,

PIF: 對聲。 *duì* (GSR 511a: "respond, ...") is the phonetic constituent.

^{HG} Duàn comments: 今與慙音義皆同, 謂爲一字 "Today *duì* 對 and *duì* 慙 are pronounced the same and have the same meaning, one considers them as the same word *zì* 字." This shows very nicely how in Duàn's language the concept *zì* 字 can already detached from that of the written graph and refers to a monosyllabic word. This shows that the concept of a (monosyllabic) word was current in China before the introduction of western linguistics and was clearly separated from the notion of a character even though the technical term used was the same for both in Duàn's time. The origin of Chinese notions of the word as opposed to the character deserved to be traced carefully in the history of Chinese philology. For polysyllabic expressions the notion of a word as opposed to that of by-syllabic compound of characters became relevant particularly in the context of *liánmiánzì* 連綿字 which are notorious for their orthographic indeterminacy: *Citōng* 辭通 by Zhū Qǐfèng 朱起鳳. (1875-1948) is a compilation that is particularly concerned with the varying representations of one and the same binome.

^{PIF} 對 [都隊切; LH tuəs, OCM tûts] phonetic in 對 [丈淚切; LH druīs, OCM druts]

184. SW 10B 408: 184; DXB 221 (10B 19b); GL vol 11: 4752; Duàn 512 (10B 44a); TKJ 1471; Ozaki vol. 5: 1068, see variants in WGY: 457.

HG: 悔 (悔), *huǐ*,

G: 悔恨也。 is '(remorseful) resentment'. [[is '(a kind of) (remorseful) resentment (*scil.* of oneself)'.]]

SSF: 从心, It has *xīn* "heart" as a semantic constituent,
PIF: 每聲。 *měi* (GSR 947i: "flourishing, ...") is the phonetic constituent.

^G The repetition of the head graph, a practice which may derive from the fact that Xǔ Shèn or his collaborators was mechanically copying a gloss from his source, in this case allows for an interpretation along the lines of our EP.

^{PIF} 每 [荒內切; LH mǎ³, OCM mǎ[?]] phonetic in 悔 [荒內切; LH huǎh, OCM hmǎh]

185. SW 10B 408: 185; DXB 221 (10B 19b); GL vol 11: 4752b; Duàn 512 (10B 44a); TKJ 1471; Ozaki vol. 5: 1068.

HG: 𡗗 (愠), *chì*, "irritation"
G: 小怒也。 is 'slight anger'.
SSF: 从心, It has *xīn* "heart" as a semantic constituent,
PIF: 壹聲。 *zhù* (GSR 127a: "post or stand on which to suspend musical instruments, ...") is the phonetic constituent.

^G In this gloss Xǔ Shèn does the work of our Explanatory Paraphrase for us. He could simply have written 怒也. In this case, it is our quiet hope that we might have been able to remember to add the EP "is a (kind of) anger (*scil.* of slight intensity)". The tragic fact is that many of the characters which Xǔ Shèn discusses are so rarely used that we are unable to do the work of the EP for him. And there is a lingering doubt that Xǔ Shèn himself would have been uncertain of the semantic nuances of the words he discusses. This comes out most clearly in the many instances where he lines up competing glosses for arcane characters without taking a clear stand on whether he agrees with any or all of them.

^{PIF} 壹 [中甸切; LH tro^c, OCM troh] phonetic in 愠 [充世切; LH tshias, OCM ta(t)s]

^{PR} *Fēi shēng* 非聲.

186. SW 10B 408: 186; DXB 221 (10B 19b); GL vol 11: 4753; Duàn 512 (10B 44a); TKJ 1471; Ozaki vol. 5: 1069.


HG: 𡗗 (快), *yàng*, "indignant"
G: 不服懟也。 is 'recalcitrant resentment'.
SSF: 从心, It has *xīn* "heart" as a semantic constituent,
PIF: 央聲。 *yāng* (GSR 718a: "centre, ...") is the phonetic constituent.

^G Negative adjectives are not common in classical Chinese, and also fairly rare in *Shuōwén*. We suspect a mild colloquialism here. One notes, however, that we have here a sequence of analytic glosses from n° 184 to 186.

Duàn refuses to contemplate negative adjectives and rewrites the text adding 也 after 不服. He then congratulates himself on his emendation with the remark 奪一也字, 遂不可解矣 "if one takes away just the one character *yě* than this cannot be interpreted anymore."

^{PIF} 央 [於良切; LH ?iâng, OCM ?ang] phonetic in 快 [於亮切; LH ?iâng^{B/C}, OCM ?ang?/h]

187. SW 10B 408: 187; DXB 221 (10B 19b); GL vol 11: 4753; Duàn 512 (10B 44b); TKJ 1471; Ozaki vol. 5: 1069.

HG:  (懣), *mèn*, "encumbered"

G: 煩也。 is 'to feel vexed'.


SSF1: 从心, It has *xīn* "heart" as a semantic constituent,

SSF2: 从滿。 it (also) has *mǎn* "... full ..." as a semantic constituent.

^{SSF2} Duàn tacitly rewrites this as 从心滿, as if the formula the received text uses was not current, and he (rightly) points out that *mǎn* 滿 is also phonetic.

^{HP} 滿 [莫旱切; LH mân^B, OCM mân?] not declared phonetic in 懣 [莫困切; LH mən^C, OCM mên^S]

188. SW 10B 408: 188; DXB 221 (10B 19b); GL vol 11: 4753b; Duàn 512 (10B 44b); TKJ 1471; Ozaki vol. 5: 1069.

HG:  (憤), *fèn*, "full of pent-up anger"

G: 懣也。 is 'encumbered'. [[is '(a way of) being encumbered (*scil.* by pent-up resentment)'.]]

SSF: 从心, It has *xīn* "heart" as a semantic constituent,


PIF: 賁聲。 *bēn* (GSR 437a: "ardent, ...") is the phonetic constituent.

^G For very good reasons Xǔ Shèn avoids the standard association of *fèn* 憤 with *nù* 怒. Open anger is very different from concealed festering resentment.

^{PIF} 賁 [彼義切; LH puən, OCM pân]?? phonetic in 憤 [房吻切; LH bun^B, OCM bən?]

^{PR} According to the *Shuōwén fānqiè* of Táng date this would turn out to be a *fēi shēng* 非聲. However, the current reading *bēn* will solve the problem.

189. SW 10B 408: 189; DXB 222 (10B 20a); GL vol 11: 4754; Duàn 512 (10B 44b); TKJ 1471; Ozaki vol. 5: 1070.

HG:  (悶), *mèn*,

G: 懣也。 is 'encumbered'. [[is '(a way of being) encumbered (*scil.* by a sense of being closed-in and without hope)'.]]

SSF: 从心, It has *xīn* "heart" as a semantic constituent,
PIF: 門聲。 *mén* (GSR 441a: "gate, ...") is the phonetic constituent.

^G It may be objected that *mèn* 懣 is a fairly rare word which may appear to be of little explanatory usefulness. However upon second thought it seems quite as likely that Xǔ Shèn has discovered for himself that this rare word denominates, as it were, a semantic common denominator of a series of words. One hastens to add that *Shuōwén* is not a book in which such systematic semantic analysis predominates. On the other hand, it appears that in the context of his graphological dictionary Xǔ Shèn does introduce semantic series by placing them together and providing them with systematically related definitions.

^{PIF} 門 [莫奔切; LH mən, OCM mân] phonetic in 悶 [莫困切; LH mən^c, OCM mōns]

190. SW 10B 408: 190; DXB 222 (10B 20a); GL vol 11: 4754; Duàn 512 (10B 44b); TKJ 1472; Ozaki vol. 5: 1070.

HG: 惆 (惆), *chóu*,

G: 失意也。 is 'to have lost one's orientation' > 'be depressed'.

SSF: 从心, It has *xīn* "heart" as a semantic constituent,
PIF: 周聲。 *zhōu* (GSR 1083a: "all round...") is the phonetic constituent.

^{HG} *Chóu* is discussed immediately before the second member of the compound in which it is most common: *chóuchàng* 惆悵.

^G In cases like these it is as if Xǔ Shèn chooses to provide colloquial glosses when in fact a wide range of more literary classical idioms would have been available.

^{PIF} 周 [職畱切; LH tshu, OCM tiu] phonetic in 惆 [敕鳩切; LH thru, OCM thru or thriu]

191. SW 10B 408: 191; DXB 222 (10B 20a); GL vol 11: 4754b; Duàn 512 (10B 44b); TKJ 1472; Ozaki vol. 5: 1070.

HG: 悵 (悵), *chàng*,

G: 望悵也。 is 'to be full of self-recriminatory resentment'.


SSF: 从心, It has *xīn* "heart" as a semantic constituent,
PIF: 長聲。 *cháng* (GSR 721a: "long, ...") is the phonetic constituent.

^{HG} It is not a coincidence that the members of the binome *chóuchàng* 惆悵 are dealt with adjacently. However, in this case Xǔ Shèn does not treat these words as bound forms by any of his standard patterns such as defining the members by the compound. Indeed, there are some examples of independent use of the constituent characters.

^G Duàn also rewrites *wàng* 望 in his archaising style.

^{PIF} 長 [直良切; LH drâng, OCM drang] phonetic in 悵 [丑亮切; LH thrâng^c, OCM thrangh]

192. SW 10B 408: 192; DXB 222 (10B 20a); GL vol 11: 4754b; Duàn 512 (10B 44b); TKJ 1472; Ozaki vol. 5: 1070, see variants in WGY: 457.

HG:  (悵), *xì*,
 G: 大息也。 is 'to heave a deep sigh'.
 SSF1: 从心, It has *xīn* "heart" as a semantic constituent,
 SSF2: 从氣, it (also) has *qì* as a semantic constituent.
 PIF: 氣亦聲。 *Xì* (GSR 517c: "to present food (Tso ap. Shuowen)") is at the same time the phonetic constituent.
 IQ: 《詩》曰： *The Book of Odes* (SSJZS: 386a) says:
 悵我寤歎。 "moaning I awake and sigh." (tr. Karlgren)


^G Duàn claims that all editions have 太 for 大, but the *Dà Xú běn* does not.
 Duàn rewrites 也 as 兒.

^{PIF} 氣 [許既切; LH khis, OCM khə(t)s] phonetic in 悵 [許既切; LH khis, OCM khə(t)s]

^{PR} *Tóngyīn* 同音 OCM and LH homophones.

^{IQ} The SSJZS edition of *Shījīng* (*Xià quán* 下泉 153.3) has the mouth radical in our graph 嘆: 悵我寤嘆 "moaning I awake and sigh."

193. SW 10B 408: 193; DXB 222 (10B 20a); GL vol 11: 4755b; Duàn 512 (10B 44b); TKJ 1472; Ozaki vol. 5: 1071.

HG:  (悵), *cǎo*,
 G: 愁不安也。 is 'to be restless because of low spirits'.
 SSF: 从心, It has *xīn* "heart" as a semantic constituent,
 PIF: 巢聲。 *zào* (GSR 1134a: "Shuowen says: a crowd of birds chirping (no text)") is the phonetic constituent.
 IQ: 《詩》曰： *The Book of Odes* (SSJZS: 497a) says:
 念子悵悵。 "When I think of you I get all depressed"

^G This is the third composite gloss in a row.

^{PIF} 巢 [穌到切; LH sâu^c, OCM sâuh] phonetic in 悵 [七早切; LH ts-hâu^B, OCM ts-hâu? < OCM k-sâu]

^{IQ} *Shījīng* (*Bái huá* 白華 229.5) tr. Karlgren: "I think of you and I am grieved.

DEJECTION SERIES (194-205)

194. SW 10B 408: 194; DXB 222 (10B 20a); GL vol 11: 4756b; Duàn 512 (10B 45a); TKJ 1472; Ozaki vol. 5: 1072.

- HG: 愴 (愴), *chuàng*, "disheartened"
 G: 傷也。 is 'to be hurt'. [[is '(a way of) being hurt (*scil.* feeling hurt, psychologically)'.]]
 SSF: 从心, It has *xīn* "heart" as a semantic constituent,
 PIF: 倉聲。 *cāng* (GSR 703a: "granary, ...") is the phonetic constituent.

^G *Shāng* 傷 basically means "to injure/hurt" and "to be injured/hurt". Our translation takes Xǔ Shèn to subsume the concept of being disheartened under the more general concept of being hurt. However, we are well aware that *shāng* 傷 by itself is also current in the meaning "feel (psychologically) hurt". But perhaps this derived meaning is not the one that is relevant here.

^{PIF} 倉 [七岡切; LH ts-hâng, OCM ts-hâng] phonetic in 愴 [初亮切; LH ts-hrâng^c, OCM ts-hrângh]

195. SW 10B 408: 195; DXB 222 (10B 20a); GL vol 11: 4757; Duàn 512 (10B 45a); TKJ 1472; Ozaki vol. 5: 1072.

- HG: 愴 (愴), *dá*, "dejected"
 G: 慙也。 is 'to be sad'.
 SSF: 从心, It has *xīn* "heart" as a semantic constituent,
 PIF: 旦聲。 *dàn* (GSR 149a: "dawn, ...") is the phonetic constituent.
 A: 𠄎 [愴], 或从 in the graph 𠄎, [the word *dá*] is alternatively written with he
 心在旦下。 graphic constituent *xīn* "heart" under *dàn*.
 IQ: 《詩》曰： *The Book of Odes* (SSJZS: 325b) says:
 信誓愴愴。 "we were sworn to good faith (painfully =) earnestly." (tr. Karlgren)

^{PIF} 旦 [得案切; LH tân^c, OCM tâns] phonetic in 愴 [得案切, 又當割切; LH tât, OCM tât]

The addition of the alternative *fǎnqiè* 當割切 spelling to the standard 得案切 spelling looks like a fine example of rationalising reconstructions of pronunciations. It appears that the observed reading has always been 得案切; but since this would create flagrant instances of *fēi shēng* 非聲 in the *xíeshēng* 諧聲 system, it looks as if Chinese philologists, hoping to explain the composition of Chinese characters, may have been tempted to postulate an alternative reading 當割切 which would open for a standard analysis of the phonetic constituents of the characters. A great deal of philological detective work will be needed to establish the crucial distinction between observation-

based records of how words are pronounced when written with a certain character on the one hand, and theory-based hypothesis on how graphs must have been read (even when they represent no known words of the spoken language) if they are to function coherently within the *xiéshēng* 諧聲 system.


^{PR} *Fēi shēng* 非聲.

^A Surprisingly, there are few instances where Xǔ Shèn specifies what is above, below, to the left or to the right of what. The heart radical is notorious for having two variants: one on the position on the left, and the other below the rest of the graph. Only occasionally, this causes Xǔ Shèn to specify the position of the radical.

The illustrative quotation illustrates not the gloss but the documentation for the allograph.

^{IQ} The SSJZS edition of *Shījīng* (58.6) has 信誓旦旦 "we were sworn to good faith (painfully => earnestly)." (tr. Karlgren).

196. SW 10B 408: 196; DXB 222 (10B 20a); GL vol 11: 4758b; Duàn 512 (10B 45a); TKJ 1473; Ozaki vol. 5: 1073.

HG:  (𢇛), *cǎn*, "distressed"

G: 痛也。 is 'to suffer pain'. [[is '(a way of) suffering pain (*scil.* of a certain psychological kind)'.]]


SSF: 从心, It has *xīn* "heart" as a semantic constituent,

PIF: 替聲。 *cǎn* (GSR 660c:"particle")(SW: "at one time in the past") is the phonetic constituent.

^{HG} This entry defines the term used to gloss the preceding entry. As we have seen before such interlocking structures in the arrangement of the entries in *Shuōwén* are common throughout the book.

^{PIF} 替 [七感切; LH tshhəm^B, OCM tshhəm?] phonetic in 𢇛 [七感切; LH tshhəm^B, OCM tshhəm?]

197. SW 10B 408: 197; DXB 222 (10B 20a); GL vol 11: 4759; Duàn 512 (10B 45a); TKJ 1473; Ozaki vol. 5: 1073.

HG:  (𢇛), *cǎn*, "depressed"

G: 毒也。 is 'to be poisoned'. [[is '(a way of being) poisoned (*scil.* in a certain psychological way and figuratively)'.]]

SSF: 从心, It has *xīn* "heart" as a semantic constituent,

PIF: 參聲。 *cān* (GSR 647a: "triad, ...") is the phonetic constituent.

^{HG} Near-synonyms that are homophonous must have been the source of great confusion in linguistic communication in ancient China as they continue to be in modern times. Suffice it to mention the example of *cí* 詞 and *cí* 辭.

^{PIF} *Shuōwén* takes account of the graph *cān* only as a variant of the head graph *shēn* 參 (see *Shuōwén* 7A 8b). Xǔ Shèn must have known that on the one hand the graph *cān* has many more readings than the graph 參 and that moreover the most common reading of 參 is not a possible reading for 參. It appears that Xǔ Shèn got into this position of having to declare phonetic a graph that was not a head graph in his system but only a graphic variant, because the writing system at this time made productive use of the variant but not of what he regarded as the basic form of the graph.

cān 參 [所今切 Wáng Lì 2000: 倉含切/蘇甘切; LH tshhəm, OCM tshhəm] phonetic in [七感切; LH tshhəm^p, OCM tshhəm[?]]

The *Shuōwén fānqiè* for 參 is connected to the fact that Xǔ Shèn's analysis of the graph is based on the ancestor of the reading *shēn*. As we have seen before, nothing suggests that the graphologically relevant readings assigned to a graph in *Shuōwén* should represent the phonetic value of the phonetic constituent.

198. SW 10B 408: 198; DXB 222 (10B 20b); GL vol 11: 4759; Duàn 512 (10B 45a); TKJ 1473; Ozaki vol. 5: 1073.

HG: 悽 (悽), *qī*, "despondent"

G: 痛也。 is 'to feel pain'. [[is '(a way of) feeling pain (*scil.* in a psychological way)'.]]

SSF: 从心, It has *xīn* "heart" as a semantic constituent,

PIF: 妻聲。 *qī* (GSR 592a: "wife, ...") is the phonetic constituent.

^G After one interruption in n° 197, Xǔ Shèn reverts to the generic gloss *tòng* 痛也 which continues to dominate the dejection series from n° 199 to 204.

^{PIF} 妻 [七稽切; LH tshhei, OCM tshhêi] phonetic in 悽 [七稽切; LH tshhei^c, OCM tshhêih]

199. SW 10B 408: 199; DXB 222 (10B 20b); GL vol 11: 4759b; Duàn 512 (10B 45a); TKJ 1473; Ozaki vol. 5: 1073, see variants in WGY: 457.

HG: 悵 (悵), *tōng*, "dejected"

G: 痛也。 is 'to feel pain'. [[is '(a way of) feeling pain (*scil.* in a psychological way)'.]]

AG: 一曰: An (alternative) source says:
呻吟也。 It is 'to moan'.

SSF: 从心, It has *xīn* "heart" as a semantic constituent,
PIF: 同聲。 *tóng* (GSR 1176a: "same, ...") is the phonetic constituent.

^{AG} Duàn tacitly moves this AG to the end of the entry.

^{PIF} 同 [徒紅切; LH dong, OCM dōng] phonetic in 恫 [他紅切; LH thong, OCM thông]

200. SW 10B 408: 200; DXB 222 (10B 20b); GL vol 11: 4760; Duàn 512 (10B 45b); TKJ 1473; Ozaki vol. 5: 1074.

HG: 悲 (悲), *bēi*, "sad"

G: 痛也。 is 'to feel pain'. [[is '(a way of) feeling pain (*scil.* psychologically)'.]]

SSF: 从心, It has *xīn* "heart" as a semantic constituent,
PIF: 非聲。 *fēi* (GSR 579a: "it is not, ...") is the phonetic constituent.

^G Under this heading, it is Duàn who does our work in EP: 按憊者, 痛之深者也。恫者, 痛之專者也。悲者, 痛之上騰者也。各從其聲而得之 "*cǎn* is the deep pain, *tōng* is the focused pain, *bēi* is the soaring pain: in each case one gets the meaning from the phonetic constituent."

^{PIF} 非 [芳微切; LH pui, OCM pəi] phonetic in 悲 [府眉切; LH pi, OCM prəi]

201. SW 10B 408: 201; DXB 222 (10B 20b); GL vol 11: 4760; Duàn 512 (10B 45b); TKJ 1473; Ozaki vol. 5: 1074.

HG: 惻 (惻), *cè*, "despondent"

G: 痛也。 is 'to feel pain'. [[is '(a way of) feeling pain (*scil.* psychologically, often in sympathy with someone else)'.]]

SSF: 从心, It has *xīn* "heart" as a semantic constituent,
PIF: 則聲。 *zé* (GSR 906a: "rule, ...") is the phonetic constituent.

^{PIF} 則 [子德切; LH tsək, OCM tsək] phonetic in 惻 [初力切; LH tshhrik, OCM tshhrək]

202. SW 10B 408: 202; DXB 222 (10B 20b); GL vol 11: 4760b; Duàn 512 (10B 45b); TKJ 1473; Ozaki vol. 5: 1074.

HG: 惜 (惜), *xī*, "wistful"

G: 痛也。 is 'to feel pain'. [[is '(a way of) feeling pain (*scil.* in a certain almost joyful way)'.]]

SSF: 从心, It has *xīn* "heart" as a semantic constituent,
PIF: 昔聲。 *xī* (GSR 798a: "anciently, ...") is the phonetic constituent.

PIF Duàn tacitly rewrites *xī* 昔 with an archaising graph 𠄎, as if there was a convention in *Shuōwén* to the effect that phonetic constituents are listed in their seal form.

昔 [思積切; LH siak, OCM sak] phonetic in 惜 [思積切; LH siak, OCM sak]

PR *Tóngyīn* 同音 OCM and LH homophones.

203. SW 10B 408: 203; DXB 222 (10B 20b); GL vol 11: 4760b; Duàn 512 (10B 45b); TKJ 1474; Ozaki vol. 5: 1075.

HG: 𠄎 (愍), *mǐn*, "despondent"

G: 痛也。 is 'to feel pain'. [[is '(a way of) feeling pain (*scil.* psychologically and intensely)'.]]

SSF: 从心, It has *xīn* "heart" as a semantic constituent,

PIF: 𠄎聲。 *mǐn* (GSR 457G: "strong (Shuowen, same as 457y)") is the phonetic constituent.

PIF 𠄎 [眉殞切; LH mǐn^B, OCM mrən?] phonetic in 愍 [眉殞切; LH mǐn, OCM mrən]

204. SW 10B 408: 204; DXB 222 (10B 20b); GL vol 11: 4761; Duàn 512 (10B 45b); TKJ 1474; Ozaki vol. 5: 1075.

HG: 𠄎 (愍), *yīn*, "despondent"

G: 痛也。 is 'to feel pain'. [[is '(a way of) feeling pain (*scil.* psychologically and lastingly)'.]]

SSF: 从心, It has *xīn* "heart" as a semantic constituent,

PIF: 殷聲。 *yīn* (GSR 448a: "great, ...") is the phonetic constituent.

PIF 𠄎 [於身切; LH ?in, OCM ?ən] phonetic in 愍 [於巾切; LH ?in, OCM ?ən]

PR *Tóngyīn* 同音 OCM and LH homophones.

205. SW 10B 408: 205; DXB 222 (10B 20b); GL vol 11: 4761; Duàn 512 (10B 45b); TKJ 1474; Ozaki vol. 5: 1075.

HG: 𠄎 (愍), *yī*,

G: 痛聲也。 is 'an onomatopoeic word for feeling pain'.

SSF: 从心, It has *xīn* "heart" as a semantic constituent,

PIF: 依聲。 *yī* (GSR 550f: "lean upon, ...") is the phonetic constituent.

IQ: 《孝經》曰： The *Xiàojīng* (SSJZS: 2561a) says:

哭不愍。 "When lamenting he does not sob".

G The last member of this long series of words defined by the general colourless *tòng* 痛 which we have attempted to render as colourlessly as possible by "pained" is deviant through its onomatopoeic character.

The suffix *shēng* 聲 marking onomatopoeic elements is not frequent, but it remains important as a part of Xǔ Shèn's conceptual system.

PIF 依 [於稀切; LH ?ii, OCM əi] phonetic in 憇 [於豈切; LH ?ii, OCM əi]

PR *Tóngyīn* 同音 OCM and LH homophones.

IQ The SSJZS edition of *Xiàojīng* (*Sāng qīn* 喪親 18.1) has *yī* 儗 instead of *yī* 憇: 孝子之喪親也, 哭不儗 "As for a filial son mourning for his parents, his lamentation is without sobbing".

206. SW 10B 408: 206; DXB 222 (10B 20b); GL vol 11: 4762; Duàn 513 (10B 46a); TKJ 1474; Ozaki vol. 5: 1076, see variants in WGY: 458.

HG: 簡 (簡), *jiǎn*,
 G: 簡, 存也。 *Jiǎn* is 'to investigate'.
 SSF: 从心, It has *xīn* "heart" as a semantic constituent,
 PIF: 簡省聲。 It has an abbreviated form of *jiǎn* (GSR 191d: "slip or tablet of bamboo, for writing") as the phonetic.
 SPI: 讀若簡。 pronounced like *jiǎn*.

HG One might, obviously, look for this character under the bamboo radical, as it is indeed classified by the *Kāngxī zìdiǎn* system. Xǔ Shèn consistently aims at classifying characters by taking careful account of what he considers relevant meanings of the words these characters are used to write.

G Xǔ Shèn rarely repeats the head graph in the gloss, and when he does he gives the impression that he is simply quoting from a commentary or handbook. The gloss takes the form of a complete quotation of another gloss. And moreover, the *definiens* is taken in a highly unusual way.

Duàn rewrites this as 簡簡, 在也. According to his well founded emendation in the text (see *Āyǎ Shì xùn* 釋訓曰: 存存、簡簡, 在也, which reads in fact: 存存、萌萌, 在也 (Xú Cháohuá 1994).) This entry in *Shuōwén* remains opaque to us.


PIF 簡 [古限切; LH ken^B, OCM krên?] phonetic in 簡 [古限切; LH ken^B, OCM krên?]

PR *Tóngyīn* 同音 OCM and LH homophones.

SPI *Jiǎn* 簡 [古限切; LH ken^B, OCM krên?] read like *jiǎn* 簡 [古限切][LH ken^B, OCM krên?]

"MOVEMENT" SERIES (207-209)

207. SW 10B 408: 207; DXB 222 (10B 20b); GL vol 11: 4763b; Duàn 513 (10B 46a); TKJ 1474; Ozaki vol. 5: 1077.

HG:  (惓), *sāo*, "anxious"

G: 動也。 is 'to be moved'. [[is '(a way of being) moved (*scil.* psychologically so as to become agitated and unsettled)]].

SSF: 从心, It has *xīn* "heart" as a semantic constituent,


PIF: 蚤聲。 *zǎo* (GSR 1112d: "flea, ...") is the phonetic constituent.

CAS: 一曰: An (alternative) source says:

起也。 is 'to arouse'.

^{PIF} 蚤 [子皓切; LH tsou^B, OCM tsû?] (graphic variant of *zǎo* 蚤 in *Shuōwén*; TKJ: 1930) phonetic in 惓 [穌遭切; LH sou^(B), OCM sù(?)]

208. SW 10B 408: 208; DXB 222 (10B 21a); GL vol 11: 4763; Duàn 513 (10B 46a); TKJ 1475; Ozaki vol. 5: 1077.

HG:  (感), *gǎn*, "cause to be moved/changed"

G: 動人心也。 is 'to move a person's heart/mind'.

SSF: 从心, It has *xīn* "heart" as a semantic constituent,


PIF: 咸聲。 *xián* (GSR 671a: "all, ...") is the phonetic constituent.

^G Note the anthropocentric perspective which we already know from the *Shuōwén* entry *xīn* 心 itself. Xǔ Shèn was very interested in cosmology and he was certainly familiar with the theory of resonance (*gǎn* 感) in Chinese cosmology (Le Blanc 1985).

Xǔ Shèn's gloss here specifically links the character *gǎn* 感 to the human heart in accordance with his definition of the *xīn* 心 radical.

^{PIF} 咸 [胡監切; LH gēm, OCM grâm] phonetic in 感 [古禪切; LH kəm^B, OCM kâm?]

209. SW 10B 408: 209; DXB 222 (10B 21a); GL vol 11: 4764; Duàn 513 (10B 46b); TKJ 1475; Ozaki vol. 5: 1077, see variants in WGY: 458.

HG:  (惓), *yòu*,

G: 不(read 心)動也。 is 'to be moved in one's heart'.

SSF: 从心, It has *xīn* "heart" as a semantic constituent,

PIF: 尤聲。 *yóu* (GSR 996a: "fault, ...") is the phonetic constituent.

SPI: 讀若祐。 pronounced like *yòu*.

^G Duàn's emendation reading *xīn* 心 for *bù* 不 is tempting. It does seem that the text as it stands is corrupt. Our translation follows Duàn's conjecture.

^{PIF} 尤[羽求切; LH *wu*, OCM *wə*] phonetic in 忧[于救切; LH *wu*^c, OCM *wəh*]

^{SPI} *Yòu* 忧[于救切; LH *wu*^c, OCM *wəh*] read like *yòu* 祐[于救切; LH *wu*^c, OCM *wəh*]

210. SW 10B 408: 210; DXB 222 (10B 21a); GL vol 11: 4764; Duàn 513 (10B 46b); TKJ 1475; Ozaki vol. 5: 1078, see variants in WGY: 458.

HG:  (愆), *qiú*,

G: 怨仇也。 is 'resentful hostility'.

SSF: 从心, It has *xīn* "heart" as a semantic constituent,

PIF: 咎聲。 *jiù* (GSR 1068a: "blame, ...") is the phonetic constituent.

^G Duàn rewrites 仇 as 愆, on the basis of *Guǎngyùn*.

^{PIF} 咎[其久切; LH *gu*^B, OCM *gu*?] phonetic in 愆[其久切(《廣韻》: 巨鳩切); LH *ku*^B or *gu*^B, OCM *ku*? or *gu*?]

WORRY SERIES (211-233)

211. SW 10B 408: 211; DXB 222 (10B 21a); GL vol 11: 4764b; Duàn 513 (10B 46b); TKJ 1475; Ozaki vol. 5: 1078.

HG:  (愆), *yún*,

G: 憂兒。 descriptive of worry.

SSF: 从心, It has *xīn* "heart" as a semantic constituent,

PIF: 員聲。 *yuán* (GSR 227a: "circumference, ...") is the phonetic constituent.

^G Duàn again rewrites 憂 as 愆.

It is at this point that Duàn comments on his rewriting of the character throughout this section: 各本皆作憂，淺人用俗行字改之也。許造此書，依形立解，斷非此形彼義、牛頭馬脯，以自爲矛盾者 (...) 他書可用段借，許自爲書不可用段借 "All editions write 憂, but a superficial person used the vulgar current character to rewrite the text. When Xǔ created this book, once he has established an interpretation on the basis of the shape/graph, he certainly did not used

this shape/graph for different meanings. 'The head of an ox and the torso of a horse', thus contradicting himself. (...)" A little further on Duàn elaborates his view: "Other books may use loan characters, Xǔ Shèn in making his book does not use loan characters." Duàn comes commendably clear on this point, and he is manifestly mistaken. For one thing the idea that Xǔ Shèn 'established an interpretation on the basis of the shape/graph' is profoundly misleading if it is to suggest that what the glosses establish are the basic meaning of the words written by the characters. To make our point entirely explicit: Xǔ Shèn is not using characters only in the meaning which he takes to be relevant to their graphological structure. To repeat a striking example, he never uses *qí* 其 to refer to a basket, nor does he use the particle *suǒ* 所 to refer to the sound of an axe hitting a tree as he should have done if Duàn had been right on this very basic point.

The hypernym of this series *yōu* 憂 cannot come at its head because it is construed in *Shuōwén* as not having the *xīn* 心 radical in the first place. The graph *yōu* 憂 is defined first towards the end of this radical (n° 232).

^{PIF} 員 [王權切; LH wian, OCM wen] phonetic in 懼 [王分切; LH wun, OCM wən]

212. SW 10B 408: 212; DXB 222 (10B 21a); GL vol 11: 4764b; Duàn 513 (10B 46b); TKJ 1475; Ozaki vol. 5: 1078.

HG:  (忧), *yōu*,

G: 憂兒。 descriptive of worry.

SSF: 从心, It has *xīn* "heart" as a semantic constituent,


PIF: 幼聲。 *yòu* (GSR 1115f: "young") is the phonetic constituent.

^G Duàn again rewrites 憂 as 憂.

In this series Xǔ Shèn begins with the descriptive terminology defined in terms of the linguistic technical *mào* 兒 "descriptive of". In the following items the definition changes from 憂兒 to 憂也, and we note that there is no such formula as 憂兒也. It is as if 兒 takes the place of the 也, creating a statement of a different analytic type. (Sūn Liángmíng 孫良明 2005: 54).

^{PIF} 幼 [伊謬切; LH ?iu^c, OCM ?iuh] phonetic in 忧 [於蚪切; LH ?eu, OCM iù]

213. SW 10B 408: 213; DXB 222 (10B 21a); GL vol 11: 4765; Duàn 513 (10B 46b); TKJ 1475; Ozaki vol. 5: 1079.

HG:  (忧), *jiá*,

G: 憂也。 is 'to worry'.

SSF: 从心, It has *xīn* "heart" as a semantic constituent,

PIF: 介聲。 *jiè* (GSR 327a: "armour, ...") is the phonetic constituent.

^{HG} Compare also n° 139 *xiè* 念, which shows that Xǔ Shèn can declare one and the same phonetic constituent to refer to different but similar pronunciations.

Duàn again rewrites 憂 as 懃.

^{PIF} 介 [古拜切; LH kēs, OCM krêts] phonetic in 价 [五介切(《集韻》: 訖黠切); LH kat, OCM krât (or OCM krêt ?)]

214. SW 10B 408: 214; DXB 222 (10B 21a); GL vol 11: 4765; Duàn 513 (10B 46b); TKJ 1475; Ozaki vol. 5: 1079.

HG: 恙 (恙), *yàng*,

G: 憂也。 is 'to worry'. [[is '(a way of) worrying (*scil.* particularly to have worries about one's health)'.]]

SSF: 从心, It has *xīn* "heart" as a semantic constituent,

PIF: 羊聲。 *yáng* (GSR 732a: "sheep") is the phonetic constituent.

^G The gloss comes from *Ēryǎ* (*Shìgǔ* 釋詁, Xú Cháohuá 1994: 38).

Duàn again rewrites 憂 as 懃.

^{PIF} 羊 [式羊切; LH jâng, OCM lang] phonetic in 恙 [余亮切; LH jâng^c, OCM langh]

215. SW 10B 408: 215; DXB 222 (10B 21a); GL vol 11: 4765b; Duàn 513 (10B 46b); TKJ 1475; Ozaki vol. 5: 1079.

HG: 惴 (惴), *zhuì*,

G: 憂懼也。 is 'to worry and fear'.

SSF: 从心, It has *xīn* "heart" as a semantic constituent,

PIF: 惴聲。 *duān* (GSR 168a: "tip, ...") is the phonetic constituent.

IQ: 《詩》曰: *The Book of Odes* (SSJZS: 373a) says:
惴惴其慄。 "terrified is his trembling" (tr. Karlgren).

^G Note Xǔ Shèn's analytic gloss.

Duàn again rewrites 憂 as 懃.

^{PIF} 惴 [多官切; LH tuân, OCM tôn] phonetic in 惴 [之瑞切; LH tshyaih, OCM toih]

^{PR} *Fēi shēng* 非聲

^{IQ} *Shījīng* (*Huáng niǎo* 黃鳥 131.1). On two occasions Xǔ Shèn quotes texts involving the rather common character 慄 "tremble with fear" which he forgot to define in *Shuōwén*.

216. SW 10B 408: 216; DXB 222 (10B 21a); GL vol 11: 4766; Duàn 513 (10B 47a); TKJ 1476; Ozaki vol. 5: 1080.

HG: 𢇛 (𢇛), *qióng*,
 G: 憂也。 is 'to worry'.
 SSF: 从心, It has *xīn* "heart" as a semantic constituent,
 PIF: 鈞聲。 *jūn* (GSR 391e: "potter's wheel, ...") is the phonetic constituent.

G Duàn again rewrites 憂 as 𢇛.

PIF 鈞 [居勻切; LH kwīn, OCM kwīn] phonetic in 𢇛 [常倫切(《廣韻》: 渠營切); LH gyeng, OCM gweng]

PR *Fēi shēng* 非聲

217. SW 10B 408: 217; DXB 222 (10B 21a); GL vol 11: 4766; Duàn 513 (10B 47a); TKJ 1476; Ozaki vol. 5: 1080.

HG: 𢇛 (𢇛), *bǐng*,
 G: 憂也。 is 'to worry'. [[is '(a way of) worrying (*scil.* in a poetic context)]]
 SSF: 从心, It has *xīn* "heart" as a semantic constituent,
 PIF: 丙聲。 *bǐng* (GSR 757a: "cyclical character") is the phonetic constituent.
 IQ: 《詩》曰: *The Book of Odes* (SSJZS: 481c) says:
 憂心怲怲。 "the grief of the heart is intensive" (tr. Karlgren).

G Duàn again rewrites 憂 as 𢇛.

PIF 丙 [兵永切; LH pang^B, OCM prang?] phonetic in 𢇛 [兵永切; LH pang^{B/C}, OCM prang?/h]

IQ *Shījīng* (*Kuǐ biàn* 類弁 217.4).

218. SW 10B 408: 218; DXB 222 (10B 21b); GL vol 11: 4766b; Duàn 513 (10B 47a); TKJ 1476; Ozaki vol. 5: 1080.


HG: 𢇛 (𢇛), *tán*, "troubled"
 G: 憂也。 is 'to worry'.
 SSF: 从心, It has *xīn* "heart" as a semantic constituent,
 PIF: 炎聲。 *yán* (GSR 617a: "blaze, ...") is the phonetic constituent.
 IQ: 《詩》曰: *The Book of Odes* (SSJZS: 440a) says:
 憂心如𢇛。 "Their worried hearts were as if troubled".

G Duàn again rewrites 憂 as 𢇛.

^{PIF} 炎 [于廉切; LH jam, OCM lam] phonetic in 悵 [徒甘切; LH dām, OCM lām]

^{IQ} Ancient commentators have discussed this character in *Shījīng Jié nán shān* 節南山 (191.1) and Zhèng Xuán 鄭玄 maintained that the reference was to the glow of fire. Karlgren follows Zhèng Xuán and translates: "the grieved hearts are as if burning". This quotation is also cited under the character *chán* [羨] (SW 10A 19a; TKJ: 1375). The coexistence of different versions of the same text in the illustrative quotations is probably to be explained by the fact that Xǔ Shèn was using different second hand sources which in turn were based on different editions of the *Shījīng*. This use of secondary sources does not exclude the likelihood that on many other occasions Xǔ Shèn is quoting the classics from memory.

219. SW 10B 408: 219; DXB 222 (10B 21b); GL vol 11: 4767; Duàn 513 (10B 47a); TKJ 1476; Ozaki vol. 5: 1081.

HG:  (悵), *chuò*, "grieved, sad"
 G: 憂也。 is 'to worry'. [[is '(a way of) worrying (*scil.* in a poetic context)'.]]
 SSF: 从心, It has *xīn* "heart" as a semantic constituent,
 PIF: 爰聲。 *zhuó* (GSR 295a: "Shuowen says: to connect") is the phonetic constituent.
 IQ: 《詩》曰: *The Book of Odes* (SSJZS: 286b) says:
 "憂心悵悵。" "My sorrowful heart is very sad." (tr. Karlgren)
 CAS: 一曰: An (alternative) source says:
 意不定也。 It is to be unsettled in one's mind.

^G Here Xǔ Shèn fails to identify the use of *chuò* as a descriptive verb in the examples he himself provides. Thus it appears that the absence of *mào* 兕 in a gloss is in no way inconsistent with Xǔ Shèn's awareness that a word is currently used as a reduplicative descriptive word.


Duàn again rewrites 憂 as 悵.

^{PIF} 爰 [陟劣切; LH truât, OCM trot] phonetic in 悵 [陟劣切; LH truât, OCM trot]

^{PR} *Tóngyīn* 同音 OCM and LH homophones.

^{IQ} *Shījīng* (*Cǎo chóng* 草蟲 14.2).

220. SW 10B 408: 220; DXB 222 (10B 21b); GL vol 11: 4767b; Duàn 513 (10B 47a); TKJ 1476; Ozaki vol. 5: 1081, see variants in WGY: 458.

HG:  (悵), *shāng*,
 G: 憂也。 is 'to worry'.
 SSF: 从心, It has *xīn* "heart" as a semantic constituent,

PIF: 殤省聲。 it has an abbreviated form of *shāng* (GSR 720k: "to die in childhood") as the phonetic.

G Duàn again rewrites 憂 as 慕.

PIF Duàn arbitrarily rewrites 殤 as 傷. In cases like these, when a current phonetic constituent has no independent reading as a graph for a word, Xǔ Shèn is forced to use his *shěng shēng* 省聲 formula. When there is a series of homophonous candidates to be used in this formula his choice of the graph he claims to have been abbreviated becomes arbitrary. Thus it makes no difference to his system whether the graph to have been abbreviated is claimed to be the common *shāng* 傷 or the slightly less common *shāng* 殤, or for that matter the rarer characters 觴, 湯, 傷.

殤 [式陽切; LH shàng, OCM lhang] phonetic in 傷 [式亮切 (《廣韻》: 式羊切); LH shàng, OCM lhang]

221. SW 10B 408: 221; DXB 222 (10B 21b); GL vol 11: 4768; Duàn 513 (10B 47b); TKJ 1477; Ozaki vol. 5: 1081.

HG: 愁 (愁), *chóu*, "be very sad"

G: 憂也。 is 'to worry'. [[is '(a way of) worrying (*scil.* typically about a very sad thing of the past or present)'.]]

SSF: 从心, It has *xīn* "heart" as a semantic constituent,

PIF: 秋聲。 *qiū* (GSR 1092a: "autumn, ...") is the phonetic constituent.

G Duàn again rewrites 憂 as 慕.

PIF 秋 [七由切; LH ts-hiu, OCM ts-hiu] phonetic in 愁 [士尤切; LH dzru, OCM dzru]

222. SW 10B 408: 222; DXB 222 (10B 21b); GL vol 11: 4768; Duàn 513 (10B 47b); TKJ 1477; Ozaki vol. 5: 1082.

HG: 憊 (憊), *nì*,

G: 憂兒。 descriptive of being worried.

SSF: 从心, It has *xīn* "heart" as a semantic constituent,

PIF: 弱聲。 *ruò* (GSR 1123a: "weak, ...") is the phonetic constituent.

SPI: 讀與怒同。 The pronunciation is the same as that of *nì*.

G Duàn again rewrites 憂 as 慕.

PIF The phonetic *ruò* 弱 is commonly present as a phonetic in characters pronounced *nì* in modern Chinese: 溺, 嫻, 糊.

弱 [而勺切; LH ñâk, OCM niâuk] phonetic in 憊 [奴歷切; LH nek < neuk, OCM niâuk]

SPI This unusual formula contrasts with the standard forms *dúruò* 讀若 and *dúrú* 讀如. In this instance, it is important to remember that an alternative gloss Xǔ Shèn provides for *nì* 怒 is: 一曰

憂也 (n° 100). It is almost as if is suggesting that the characters 憊 and 愨 are used to write the same words.

Ni 憊 [奴歷切; LH nek < neuk, OCM niâuk] *read like ni* 愨 [奴歷切; LH nek, OCM niúk].

223. SW 10B 408: 223; DXB 222 (10B 21b); GL vol 11: 4768b; Duàn 513 (10B 47b); TKJ 1477; Ozaki vol. 5: 1082.

HG: 惓 (惓), *kǎn*,
 G: 憂困也。 is 'to worry about getting into trouble'.
 SSF: 从心, It has *xīn* "heart" as a semantic constituent,
 PIF: 召聲。 *xiàn* (GSR 672a: "Shuowen: small pit (no text)") is the phonetic constituent.

^G Duàn again rewrites 憂 as 憂. This binome gloss, we suspect, represents a colloquialism.

^{PIF} 召 [戶猶切; LH gəm^B, OCM grêm?] phonetic in 惓 [苦感切; LH khəm^B, OCM khâm?]

224. SW 10B 408: 224; DXB 222 (10B 21b); GL vol 11: 4768b; Duàn 513 (10B 47b); TKJ 1477; Ozaki vol. 5: 1082.

HG: 悠 (悠), *yōu*,
 G: 憂也。 is 'to worry'. [[is '(a way of) worrying (*scil.* intensely or wistfully, in a poetic mode)'.]]
 SSF: 从心, It has *xīn* "heart" as a semantic constituent,
 PIF: 攸聲。 *yōu* (GSR 1077a: "place, ...") is the phonetic constituent.

^G Duàn again rewrites 憂 as 憂.

^{PIF} 攸 [以周切; LH ju, OCM ju] phonetic in 悠 [以周切; LH ju, OCM ju]

^{PR} *Tóngyīn* 同音 OCM and LH homophones.

225. SW 10B 408: 225; DXB 222 (10B 21b); GL vol 11: 4769; Duàn 513 (10B 47b); TKJ 1477; Ozaki vol. 5: 1083.

HG: 悴 (悴), *cùi*, "despondent"
 G: 憂也。 is 'to worry'. [[is '(a way of) worrying (*scil.* despondently, in a poetic mode)'.]]
 SSF: 从心, It has *xīn* "heart" as a semantic constituent,
 PIF: 卒聲。 *zú* (GSR 490a: "soldier, ...") is the phonetic constituent.
 SPI: 讀與《易》萃卦同。 The pronunciation is the same as that of the *cùi* hexagram.

G Duàn again rewrites 憂 as 懣.

PIF 卒 [臧沒切; LH tsuət, OCM tsût] phonetic in 悴 [秦醉切; LH dzuis, OCM dzuts]

SPI Again, Xǔ Shèn opts for a non-standard Supplementary Pronunciation Instruction formula, and it is as if he has got into this temporary habit on the occasion of the *nì* 憊 above. This phonetic gloss takes account of the fact that *zú* 卒 is phonetically ambiguous and Xǔ Shèn decides to disambiguate it in this case by juxtaposing it with another graph where 卒 has the same phonetic value.

Cuì 悴 [秦醉切; LH dzuis, OCM dzuts] read like *cui* 萃 [秦醉切; LH tsuet MOC] tsût] [see zāo2 遭 LH tsou, OCM tsû, in Schuessler 2009]

226. SW 10B 408: 226; DXB 222 (10B 21b); GL vol 11: 4769b; Duàn 513 (10B 47b); TKJ 1477; Ozaki vol. 5: 1083.

HG:  (懣), *hùn*,

G: 憂也。 'to worry'.

SSF: 从心, It has *xīn* "heart" as a semantic constituent,

PIF: 囟聲。 *hùn* (GSR 425a: "pig-sty, ...") is the phonetic constituent.

CAS: 一曰: An (alternative) source says:

擾也。 It is to disturb.

G Duàn again rewrites 憂 as 懣.

PIF 囟 [胡困切; LH guən^c, OCM gûns] phonetic in 懣 [胡困切; LH guən^c, OCM gûns]

CAS Duàn tacitly rewrites 擾 with an archaising graph 擾.

This entry shows how Duàn's notes often have as an important source the *Kāngxī zìdiǎn* dictionary which among other things provides all the information he gives.

227. SW 10B 408: 227; DXB 222 (10B 21b); GL vol 11: 4770; Duàn 513 (10B 47b); TKJ 1477; Ozaki vol. 5: 1083.

HG:  (懣), *lí*,

DG: 楚潁之間謂 憂曰懣。 In the area between Chǔ and Yǐng one says *lí* for *yōu* "worry".

SSF: 从心, It has *xīn* "heart" as a semantic constituent,

PIF: 黎聲。 *lí* (GSR 979a: "Shuowen: split..") is the phonetic constituent.

DG See *Fāngyán* 方言 1 (Zhōu Zǔmó 1956: 3 (11) which writes: 楚潁之間謂之懣.

Duàn again rewrites 憂 as 懣.

PIF 𢇛 [許其切; LH liə, OCM rə] phonetic in 𢇛 [力至切 (《廣韻》: 里之切); LH lis, OCM *rits / LH liə, OCM rə]

PR *Fēi shēng* 非聲

228. SW 10B 408: 228; DXB 223 (10B 22a); GL vol 11: 4770b; Duàn 514 (10B 48a); TKJ 1477; Ozaki vol. 5: 1083.

HG: 𢇛 (忬), *xū*,
 G: 憂也。 is 'to worry'.
 SSF: 从心, It has *xīn* "heart" as a semantic constituent,
 PIF: 于聲。 *yú* (GSR 97a: "to go, ...") is the phonetic constituent.
 SPI: 讀若吁。 pronounced like *xū*.

G Duàn again rewrites 憂 as 𢇛.

PIF 于 [羽俱切; LH wā, OCM wa] (TKJ: 656 亏) phonetic in 忬 [況于切; LH hyā, OCM hwa]

PR *Fēi shēng* 非聲

SPI The character *xū* 吁 appears twice in *Shuōwén* under 口 and under 亏 radicals (TKJ: 202, 657).

Xū 忬 [況于切; LH hyā, OCM hwa] read like *xū* 吁 [況于切; LH hya; MOC hwa]

229. SW 10B 408: 229; DXB 223 (10B 22a); GL vol 11: 4770b; Duàn 514 (10B 48a); TKJ 1478; Ozaki vol. 5: 1084.

HG: 𢇛 (忬), *chōng*,
 G: 憂也。 is 'to worry'.
 SSF: 从心, It has *xīn* "heart" as a semantic constituent,
 PIF: 中聲。 *zhōng* (GSR 1007a: "middle, ...") is the phonetic constituent.
 IQ: 《詩》曰: *The Book of Odes* (SSJZS: 286a) says:
 憂心忬忬。 "my grieved heart is agitated;" (tr. Karlgren).

G Duàn again rewrites 憂 as 𢇛.


PIF According to Xǔ Shèn's analysis the characters 忬 and 忠 (*Shuōwén* 10B 408: 011), though differing in their initials, are taken to have the same phonetic. Moreover their graphological analysis is taken to be identical: the placement of the radical is not considered an analytic issue. This situation is not at all unique.

中 [陟弓切; LH trung, OCM trung] phonetic in 忬 [敕中切; LH thrung, OCM thrung]

PR Homogeneous initials

^{IQ} The illustrative quotation of *Shījīng* (*Cǎo chóng* 草蟲 14.1) shows that Xǔ Shèn was aware that this is a descriptive word.

230. SW 10B 408: 230; DXB 223 (10B 22a); GL vol 11: 4771; Duàn 514 (10B 48a); TKJ 1478; Ozaki vol. 5: 1084, see variants in WGY: 459.


HG:  (悄), *qiǎo*,
 G: 憂也。 is 'to worry'.
 SSF: 从心, It has *xīn* "heart" as a semantic constituent,
 PIF: 肖聲。 *xiào* (GSR 1149G: "resemble") is the phonetic constituent.
 IQ: 《詩》曰: *The Book of Odes* (SSJZS: 297a) says:
 憂心悄悄。 "My grieved heart is pained." (tr. Karlgren)

^G Duàn again rewrites 憂 as 憂.

^{PIF} 肖 [私妙切; LH siâu^c, OCM siauh] phonetic in 悄 [親小切; LH ts-hiâu^B, OCM ts-hiau?]

^{IQ} The illustrative quotation of *Shījīng* (*Bǎi zhōu* 柏舟 26.4) shows that Xǔ Shèn was aware that *qiǎo* 悄 is a descriptive word that could have been defined as 憂兒.

231. SW 10B 408: 231; DXB 223 (10B 22a); GL vol 11: 4771; Duàn 514 (10B 48a); TKJ 1478; Ozaki vol. 5: 1085.


HG:  (戚), *qī*,
 G: 憂也。 is 'to worry'. [[is '(a way of being?) being worried (*scil.* typically in the context of a very sad thing of the past, or in poetic contexts)].]
 SSF: 从心, It has *xīn* "heart" as a semantic constituent,
 PIF: 戚聲。 *qī* (GSR 1031f: "battle axe") is the phonetic constituent.

^G Duàn again rewrites 憂 as 憂.

^{PIF} 戚 [倉歷切; LH ts-hek < ts-heuk, OCM ts-hiùk] phonetic in 戚 [倉歷切; LH ts-hek < ts-heuk, OCM ts-hiùk]

^{PR} *Tóngyīn Tóngyīn* 同音 OCM and LH homophones.

232. SW 10B 408: 232; DXB 223 (10B 22a); GL vol 11: 4771b; Duàn 514 (10B 48a); TKJ 1478; Ozaki vol. 5: 1085, see variants in WGY: 459.

HG:  (憂), *yōu*, "worry"






- G: 愁也。 is 'to feel distressed'.
 SSF1: 从心, It has *xīn* "heart" as a semantic constituent,
 SSF2: 从頁。 it (also) has *xié* "head" as a semantic constituent,

^G Note that the two words *chóu* 愁 (n° 221) and *yōu* 憂 are inter-defined in the pattern we call *hùzhù* 互注, and which we might as well have called *hùxùn* 互訓 in accordance with Duàn's practice, but they are written with inconsistent orthography. Xǔ Shèn inserts a word for unhappiness/sadness in the WORRY series.

^{SSF2} Duàn rewrites this as 从心頁, as if the pattern in the received text was not current in *Shuōwén*.

^{HP} *yōu* 憂 [於求切; LH ʔu, OCM ʔu]

233. SW 10B 408: 233; DXB 223 (10B 22a); GL vol 11: 4772b; Duàn 514 (10B 48b); TKJ 1478; Ozaki vol. 5: 1086, see variants in WGY: 459.

- HG:  (患), *huàn*,
 G: 憂也。 is 'to worry'. [[is '(a way of) worrying (*scil.* mostly about prospects resulting from a past event or matters of the future, concrete or abstract)'.]]
 SSF: 从心, It has *xīn* "heart" as a semantic constituent,
 SGE: 上貫𠔁, and above it two mouths perforated,
 PIF: 𠔁亦聲。 *xuān* (SW: "shout in amazement") is at the same time the phonetic constituent.
 SA1:  [闕], 古  is ancient style graph and it has the abbreviated form of *guān* (as phonetic).
 SA2:  [患], 亦  is also ancient style graph for *huàn*.
 古文患。

^G Duàn again rewrites 憂 as 憂.

^{SGE} Xǔ Shèn graphological analysis is rarely descriptive in any detailed way, this being one of the exceptions to the rule. The present graph exhibits a phonetic constituent that is in fact interfered with by a super-imposed stroke going right through it. Cases like these are not common, nor is it common for the two mouths to be vertically rather than horizontally placed. For once, Xǔ Shèn comes close to giving a graphic description of a graph.

^{PIF} 𠔁 [況衰切; LH huan] phonetic in 患 [胡非切; LH guan^c, OCM grōns]

234. SW 10B 408: 234; DXB 223 (10B 22a); GL vol 11: 4774; Duàn 514 (10B 49a); TKJ 1479; Ozaki vol. 5: 1087.

HG: 𢇛 (𢇛), *kuāng*, "pusillanimous"
 G: 怯也。 is 'to be fearful'.
 SSF: 从心、匡, It has *xīn* "heart" and *kuāng* "fearful" as a semantic constituents,
 PIF: 匡亦聲。 *kuāng* (GSR 739m: "... square basket, ...") is at the same time
 the phonetic constituent.

^G Duàn tacitly rewrites this graph with a dog radical because it is that graph that is defined in *Shuōwén*, as if Xǔ Shèn only used graphs which he has defined in his *Shuōwén*.

^{PIF} 匡 [去王切; LH khyâng, OCM khwang] phonetic in 𢇛 [去王切; LH khyâng, OCM khwang]

^{PR} *Tóngyīn* 同音 OCM and LH homophones.

235. SW 10B 408: 235; DXB 223 (10B 22a); GL vol 11: 4774b; Duàn 514 (10B 49a); TKJ 1479; Ozaki vol. 5: 1087, see variants in WGY: 459.

HG: 𢇛 (𢇛), *qiè*,
 G: 思兒。 descriptive of wistful thoughtfulness.
 SSF: 从心, It has *xīn* "heart" as a semantic constituent,
 PIF: 夾聲。 *jiā* (GSR 630a: "tweezers, ...") is the phonetic constituent.

^{PIF} 夾 [古狎切; LH kɛp, OCM krêp] phonetic in 𢇛 [苦叶切; LH khep, OCM khêp]

236. SW 10B 408: 236; DXB 223 (10B 22a); GL vol 11: 4774b; Duàn 514 (10B 49a); TKJ 1479; Ozaki vol. 5: 1087.

HG: 𢇛 (𢇛), *shè*,
 G: 失气也。 is 'to be disheartened'.
 SSF: 从心, It has *xīn* "heart" as a semantic constituent,
 PIF: 聶聲。 *niè* (GSR 638a: "promise") is the phonetic constituent.
 CAS: 一曰: An (alternative) source says:
 服也。 It is 'to submit'.

^{PIF} 聶 [之涉切; LH nrâp, OCM nrap] phonetic in 𢇛 [之涉切; LH tshap, OCM tap]

^{CAS} Duàn needlessly rewrites and expands this alternative gloss as 心服也.

FEAR SERIES 2 (237-(244)-248)

[Note that the same semantic field is often represented by several series within the same radical in *Shuōwén*.]

237. SW 10B 408: 237; DXB 223 (10B 22b); GL vol 11: 4775; Duàn 514 (10B 49a); TKJ 1479; Ozaki vol. 5: 1087.

HG: 𢦏 (憚), *dàn*,
 G: 忌難也。 is 'to abhor and find troublesome'.
 SSF: 从心, It has *xīn* "heart" as a semantic constituent,
 PIF: 單聲。 *dān* (GSR 147a: "simple, ...") is the phonetic constituent.
 CAS: 一曰: An (alternative) source says:
 難也。 It is 'to consider as wrought with trouble'.

^G In *Shījīng* the *Máo* commentary has the gloss 難也, and it is entirely possible that Xǔ Shèn is basing himself on this gloss. What is surprising, on the other hand, is that Xǔ Shèn finds it worth his while to add an alternative gloss which contributes nothing new.

^{PIF} 單 [都寒切; LH tân, OCM tân] phonetic in 憚 [徒案切; LH dân^c, OCM dân^s]

238. SW 10B 408: 238; DXB 223 (10B 22b); GL vol 11: 4775; Duàn 514 (10B 49a); TKJ 1480; Ozaki vol. 5: 1088.

HG: 𢦏 (悼), *dào*,
 G: 懼也。 is 'to fear' (!)
 DG: 陳楚謂懼曰悼。 Between Chén and Chǔ they do (indeed) refer to fear by the word *dào*.
 SSF: 从心, It has *xīn* "heart" as a semantic constituent,
 PIF: 卓聲。 *zhuó* (GSR 1126a: "high") is the phonetic constituent.




^G Xǔ Shèn's gloss here is confusing because surely one might think that 悼 does not basically mean 'to fear' but 'to mourn for'. However, the meaning 'to fear' is in fact attested in *Zhuāngzi*. What remains most puzzling is the question why Xǔ Shèn should have preferred one uncommon psychological meaning to another very common one.

^{DG} See *Fāngyán* 方言 1 (Zhōu Zǔmó 1956: 3 (9)). In this gloss the word *jù* 懼 is not autonymic, *i.e.* does not refer to itself but refers to the general concept expressed by it. Thus the meanings for words we give in quotation marks can ascribe the meaning to: 1. the graph X. 2. The word X. 3. The concept expressed by X.

^{PIF} 卓 [竹角切; LH trək, OCM trauk] phonetic in 悼 [徒到切; LH dāu^c, OCM dāukh]

^{PR} *Fēi shēng* 非聲. Note the contrasting finals.


239. SW 10B 408: 239; DXB 223 (10B 22b); GL vol 11: 4776; Duàn 514 (10B 49b); TKJ 1480; Ozaki vol. 5: 1089.

HG:  (恐), *kǒng*, "terrified"
 G: 懼也。 is 'to fear'. [[is '(a way of being) afraid (*scil.* in the intensive mode of being terrified)'.]]
 SSF: 从心, It has *xīn* "heart" as a semantic constituent,
 PIF: 巩聲。 *gǒng* (GSR 1172p: "hold, ...") is the phonetic constituent.
 SA:  [恠], 古文。  is an ancient style graph.

^{PIF} 巩 [居竦切; LH *kióng*^B, OCM *kong*?] phonetic in 恐 [丘隴切; LH *khiong*^B, OCM *khong*?]

^{PR} *Tóngyīn* 同音 LH homophones but not OCM.

240. SW 10B 408: 240; DXB 223 (10B 22b); GL vol 11: 4776b; Duàn 514 (10B 49b); TKJ 1480; Ozaki vol. 5: 1089.


HG:  (懼), *zhé*,
 G: 懼也。 is 'to fear'.
 SSF: 从心, It has *xīn* "heart" as a semantic constituent,
 PIF: 習聲。 *xí* (GSR 690a: "to practice, ...") is the phonetic constituent.
 SPI: 讀若疊。 Pronounced like *dié*.

^{PIF} 習 [似入切; LH *zip*, OCM *s-ləp*] phonetic in 懼 [之涉切; LH *tshap*, OCM *tap* or *tep*]

^{SPI} It is as if Xǔ Shèn notices that the phonetic constituent *xí* 習 [似入切] is not very helpful towards defining the pronunciation *zhé* 懼 [之涉切]. What is so curious is that by adding the third character *dié* 疊 [徒叶切] he does not seem to make things much easier.

Zhé 懼 [之涉切; LH *tshap*, OCM *tap* or *tep*] read like *dié* 疊 [疊: 徒叶切; LH *dep*, MOC *lèp*]


241. SW 10B 408: 241; DXB 223 (10B 22b); GL vol 11: 4777; Duàn 514 (10B 49b); TKJ 1480; Ozaki vol. 5: 1089.

HG:  (怵), *chù*, "(morally) shocked" (?)
 G: 恐也。 is 'to be terrified'. [[is '(a way of) being terrified (*scil.* by the prospect or presence of injustice)'.]]
 SSF: 从心, It has *xīn* "heart" as a semantic constituent,
 PIF: 朮聲。 *shú* (GSR 497a: "glutinous millet") is the phonetic constituent.

^{HG} Note that this head graph is followed by its near synonym with which it forms a current binome (*chùtì* 怵惕). Puzzlingly Xǔ Shèn provides a contrasting gloss for the second member of the binome.

^{PIF} 朮 [食聿切; LH zhuit, OCM m-lut] (graphic variant of 朮 in SW) phonetic in 怵 [丑律切; LH thruit, OCM rhut ? or t-lhut ?]

242. SW 10B 408: 242; DXB 223 (10B 22b); GL vol 11: 4777; Duàn 514 (10B 49b); TKJ 1480; Ozaki vol. 5: 1089.

HG:  (惕), *tì*, "apprehensive"
 G: 敬[= read 驚]也。 is 'to be scared'.
 SSF: 从心, It has *xīn* "heart" as a semantic constituent,
 PIF: 易聲。 *yì* (GSR 850a: "change, ...") is the phonetic constituent.
 A: 𠄎[愁], 或从狄。 in the graph 𠄎, [the word *tì*] is alternatively written with the graphic constituent *dí*.


^{HG} Here as often elsewhere, Xǔ Shèn deals with the members of a compound, in their order of occurrence, adjacently.

^G Based on the old *Wénxuǎn* (*Liù Chén zhù Wénxuǎn* 六臣注文選) commentary 說文曰：惕，驚也 (*Gūlin ibidem*) we tentatively suggest that *jìng* 敬 is to be read as *jīng* 驚 and rewrite the text accordingly.

Note that Xǔ Shèn could have used the recurrent gloss 懼也 but did not, because he is in this case specifying the semantic nuance not by an analytic gloss but by the use of a specific rather than general word (if the emendation we have chosen is correct, that is).


^{PIF} 易 [以鼓切; LH jek, OCM lek] phonetic in 惕 [他歷切; LH thek, OCM lhêk]

243. SW 10B 408: 243; DXB 223 (10B 22b); GL vol 11: 4778; Duàn 514 (10B 49b); TKJ 1480; Ozaki vol. 5: 1090.

HG:  (慄), *hóng*,
 G: 戰慄也。 is 'to tremble with fear'.
 SSF: 从心, It has *xīn* "heart" as a semantic constituent,
 PIF: 共聲。 *gòng* (GSR 1182c: "join the hands") is the phonetic constituent.

^{PIF} 共 [渠用切; LH kiong^B, OCM kong?] phonetic in 慄 [戶工切 又, 工恐切; LH gong, OCM gông]

244. SW 10B 408: 244; DXB 223 (10B 22b); GL vol 11: 4778; Duàn 514 (10B 49b); TKJ 1480; Ozaki vol. 5: 1090.

HG:  (𢱑), *hài*, "troubled"
 G: 苦也。 is 'to find something hard to bear'. [[is '(a way of) finding something hard to bear (*scil.* so as to come to fear it)'.]]

SSF: 从心, It has *xīn* "heart" as a semantic constituent,
 PIF: 亥聲。 *hài* (GSR 937a: "cyclical character") is the phonetic constituent.

HG This entry is an intrusion into the "fear" series 2.

PIF 亥[古哀切; LH gə^B, OCM gəʔ] phonetic in 核[胡槩切; LH gə^C, OCM gəh]

245. SW 10B 408: 245; DXB 223 (10B 22b); GL vol 11: 4778b; Duàn 514 (10B 49b); TKJ 1480; Ozaki vol. 5: 1090.

HG: 惶 (惶), *huáng*, "panic"
 G: 恐也。 is 'to be terrified'. [[is '(a way of) being terrified (*scil.* to the point of panicking)'.]]
 SSF: 从心, It has *xīn* "heart" as a semantic constituent,
 PIF: 皇聲。 *huáng* (GSR 708a: "sovereign, ...") is the phonetic constituent.

PIF 皇[胡光切; LH γuāng, OCM wāng] phonetic in 惶[胡光切; LH γuāng, OCM wāng]

PR *Tóngyīn* 同音 OCM and LH homophones.

246. SW 10B 408: 246; DXB 223 (10B 22b); GL vol 11: 4778b; Duàn 514 (10B 49b); TKJ 1480; Ozaki vol. 5: 1090.

HG: 怖 (怖), *bù*, "scared out of one's mind"
 G: 惶也。 is 'to panic'.
 SSF: 从心, It has *xīn* "heart" as a semantic constituent,
 PIF: 甫聲。 *fǔ* (GSR 102n: "great, ...") is the phonetic constituent.
 A: 𠂔 [怖], 或 In the graph 𠂔, [the word *bù*] is alternatively written with
 从布聲。 the graphic constituent *bù* which is phonetic.

G The practice of defining a new head in terms of the last head word that has just been defined is common in *Shuōwén*.

PIF 甫[方矩切; LH puá^B, OCM paʔ] phonetic in 怖[普故切; LH phâ^C, OCM phâh]

A The pattern 或从X聲 in cases where X is manifestly irrelevant semantically provides explicit evidence to prove that the technical term *cóng* 从 could occasionally introduce, in *Shuōwén*, elements of a purely phonetic kind.

247. SW 10B 408: 247; DXB 223 (10B 23a); GL vol 11: 4778b; Duàn 514 (10B 49b); TKJ 1481; Ozaki vol. 5: 1091.

HG: 𢇛 (𢇛), *zhí*,

G: 怖也。 is 'to be scared out of one's mind'.
 SSF: 从心, It has *xīn* "heart" as a semantic constituent,
 PIF: 執聲。 *zhí* (GSR 685a: "grasp, ...") is the phonetic constituent.

^G Xǔ Shèn glosses this entry with the terms he has just defined in the preceding entry, this concatenation proving that his text must be read consecutively and not as a conjures of entries under radicals.

^{PIF} Duàn writes 執 with an archaising graph 執, as if there was a convention in *Shuōwén* to the effect that phonetic constituents are listed in their seal form.

執 [之入切; LH tship, OCM təp] phonetic in 執 [之入切; LH tship, OCM təp]

^{PR} *Tóngyīn* 同音 OCM and LH homophones.

248. SW 10B 408: 248; DXB 223 (10B 23a); GL vol 11: 4779; Duàn 514 (10B 49b); TKJ 1481; Ozaki vol. 5: 1091.

HG: 𢱑 (𢱑), *qì*,
 G: 怖也。 is 'to be scared out of one's mind'.
 SSF: 从心, It has *xīn* "heart" as a semantic constituent,
 PIF: 𢱑聲。 *jī* (GSR 854a: "beat, ...") is the phonetic constituent.

^G Duàn rewrites *bù* 怖 as 𢱑, whereupon he declares this entry and the following as a case of *zhuǎn zhù* 轉注.

^{PIF} 𢱑 [古歷切; LH khek, OCM khêk] phonetic in 𢱑 [苦計切; LH kheic, OCM khêh]

249. SW 10B 408: 249; DXB 223 (10B 23a); GL vol 11: 4778; Duàn 515 (10B 50a); TKJ 1481; Ozaki vol. 5: 1091, see variants in WGY:460.

HG: 𢱑 (𢱑), *bèi*,
 G: 𢱑也。 is 'to be tired out'.
 SSF: 从心, It has *xīn* "heart" as a semantic constituent,
 PIF: 𢱑聲。 *bèi* (GSR 984a: "SW: prepare") is the phonetic constituent.
 A: 𢱑 [痛], 或从 𢱑. In the graph 𢱑, [the word *bèi*] is alternatively written with the graphic constituent *nè*.

^{PIF} 𢱑 [平祕切; LH biəc, OCM brəkh] phonetic in 𢱑 [蒲拜切; LH bec, OCM brākh]

250. SW 10B 408: 250; DXB 223 (10B 23a); GL vol 11: 4778b; Duàn 515 (10B 50a); TKJ 1481; Ozaki vol. 5: 1092.

- HG: 𦏧 (𦏧), *jì*, "aggressive"
 G: 毒也。 is 'poisonous'. [[is '(a way of feeling) poisonous about (*scil.* figuratively so as to wish to harm others)'.]]
 SSF: 从心, It has *xīn* "heart" as a semantic constituent,
 PIF: 其聲。 *qí* (GSR 952a: "Shuowen says: winnowing basket") is the phonetic constituent.
 IQ: 《周書》曰： *In the book of Zhōu* (SSJZS: 256b) it says:
 來就𦏧𦏧。 "They come and harbour hostile thoughts".

PIF *Qí* 其 is not a head graph in *Shuōwén*. Xǔ Shèn clearly has problems analysing the structure of grammatical particles and needs to relate the graphs to more substantial meanings. He cannot have overlooked the fact that 其 is one of the most common characters in the language, but it so happens that from the point of view of graphological analysis the character is declared as no more than a graphic variant of 箕 which Xǔ Shèn treats as a radical and not, as one might expect, as containing the semantic constituent 竹 and the phonetic-cum-semantic constituent 其.

qí 其 [居之切; LH giə, OCM gə [qí: LH giə, OCM gə] (under 箕 in SW; TKJ: 642), [*Guǎngyùn qí*: 渠之切;] phonetic in 𦏧 [渠記切; LH giə^c, OCM gəh]

IQ The SSJZS edition of *Shūjīng* (*Qín Shì* 秦誓 58.4) writes: 惟古之謀人則曰未就予忌 "As to my former councillors, I (said=) considered that they did not accommodate themselves to me." (tr. Legge).

SHAME/HUMILIATION SERIES (251-256)

251. SW 10B 408: 251; DXB 223 (10B 23a); GL vol 11: 4780b; Duàn 515 (10B 50a); TKJ 1481; Ozaki vol. 5: 1092.

- HG: 𦏧 (𦏧), *chǐ*, "shame"
 G: 辱也。 is 'humiliation'. [[is '(a kind of) humiliation (*scil.* of the subjective, psychological kind, as felt by the person humiliated)'.]]
 SSF: 从心, It has *xīn* "heart" as a semantic constituent,
 PIF: 耳聲。 *ěr* (GSR 981a: "ear") is the phonetic constituent.

PIF 耳 [而止切 (《廣韻》: 而涉切); LH ñə^B, OCM nə?] phonetic in 𦏧 [敕里切; LH thrə^B, OCM nhrə? or rhə?]

252. SW 10B 408: 252; DXB 223 (10B 23a); GL vol 11: 4781; Duàn 515 (10B 50a); TKJ 1481; Ozaki vol. 5: 1092.

HG: 𢱗 (慚), *tiǎn*,
 DG: 青徐謂慚曰慚。 In Qīng and Xú they call the feeling of shame *tiǎn*.
 SSF: 从心, It has *xīn* "heart" as a semantic constituent,
 PIF: 典聲。 *diǎn* (GSR 476a: "statute, ...") is the phonetic constituent.

^{DG} Compare *Fāngyán* 方言 6 (Zhōu Zǔmó 1956: 40 (5)), and see ^{DG} under n° 75 above. Xǔ Shèn's glosses of this type constitute his recognition not so much of dialect words as of local ways of speaking. (We note in passing that *Fāngyán* 方言 is not a dialect dictionary but a dictionary of localism.)

^{PIF} 典 [多殄切; LH ten^B, OCM tîn?] phonetic in 慚 [他典切; LH then^B, OCM thên?]

253. SW 10B 408: 253; DXB 223 (10B 23a); GL vol 11: 4781; Duàn 515 (10B 50a); TKJ 1482; Ozaki vol. 5: 1093.

HG: 𢱗 (忝), *tiǎn*, "??"
 G: 辱也。 is 'humiliation'.
 SSF: 从心, It has *xīn* "heart" as a semantic constituent,
 PIF: 天聲。 *tiān* (GSR 361a: "Heaven") is the phonetic constituent.

^{HG} If this word is viewed only on the basis of modern pronunciation it looks like a synonymous homophone of the preceding. The reconstructions show that the pronunciation of *tiǎn* 慚 and *tiǎn* 忝 were different. There are, incidentally, many examples in *Shuōwén* where the order of lexical entries seem inspired by phonetic associations.

^{PIF} 天 [他前切; LH then, OCM thǐn] phonetic in 忝 [他點切; LH then^B, OCM thǐn?]

254. SW 10B 408: 254; DXB 223 (10B 23a); GL vol 11: 4781b; Duàn 515 (10B 50a); TKJ 1482; Ozaki vol. 5: 1093.


HG: 𢱗 (慚), *cán*,
 G: 媿也。 is 'to feel ashamed'.
 SSF: 从心, It has *xīn* "heart" as a semantic constituent,
 PIF: 斬聲。 *zhǎn* (GSR 611a: "cut off, ...") is the phonetic constituent.

^G Here as often elsewhere, the second member of current synonym compound is used to gloss the first one.

One might suspect that *kui* 媿 stands for *kui* 愧, but in Xǔ Shèn's orthography the standard form of the graph has the female radical and the graph with the heart radical enters the system only as an allograph unrelated to the heart radical and taken to contain an abbreviated form of *chǐ* 恥 as a graphic component, cf 12B 14a n° 236.

^{PIF} 斬 [側減切; LH tsrem^B, OCM tsrâm?] phonetic in 媿 [昨甘切; LH dzâm, OCM dzâm]


255. SW 10B 408: 255; DXB 223 (10B 23a); GL vol 11: 4781b; Duàn 515 (10B 50b); TKJ 1482; Ozaki vol. 5: 1093.

HG:  (慙), *nù*,
 G: 慙也。 is 'feel ashamed'.
 SSF: 从心, It has *xīn* "heart" as a semantic constituent,
 PIF: 而聲。 *ér* (GSR 982a: "whiskers (on an animal)") is the phonetic constituent.

^{PIF} 而[如之切; LH ñə, OCM nə] phonetic in 慙 [女六切; LH nruk, OCM nruk]

^{PR} *Fēi shēng* 非聲. But note the nasals initials.


256. SW 10B 408: 256; DXB 223 (10B 23a); GL vol 11: 4782; Duàn 515 (10B 50b); TKJ 1482; Ozaki vol. 5: 1094.

HG:  (慙), *zuò*,
 G: 慙也。 is 'feel ashamed'.
 SSF: 从心, It has *xīn* "heart" as a semantic constituent,
 PIF: 作省聲。 It has an abbreviated form of *zuò* (GSR 8061: "... make ..." as the phonetic.

^{HG} Considering the sequence from 254 onwards we have first a definition of the hypernym *cán* 慙 and a sequence of words glosses in terms of this hypernym. Thus, we not only have the common phenomenon of a series of semantically related words, but in addition we find that these series themselves may exhibit an important internal structure: the first member of the series may identify the hypernym or most general concept and the items that follow may then subsume new lexical entries under this concept.

^{PIF} 作[則洛切; LH dzra^c, OCM dzrâh] phonetic in 慙 [在各切; LH dzâk, OCM dzâk]

257. SW 10B 408: 257; DXB 223 (10B 23b); GL vol 11: 4782b; Duàn 515 (10B 50b); TKJ 1482; Ozaki vol. 5: 1094.

HG:  (憐), *lián*, "to feel affection for"
 G: 哀也。 is 'to sympathise'. [[is '(a way of) sympathising (*scil.* affectionately).]]
 SSF: 从心, It has *xīn* "heart" as a semantic constituent,
 PIF: 粦聲。 *lín* (GSR 387a: "Shuowen says: will-o'-the-wisp, thus taking it to be the primary form of 憐") is the phonetic constituent.

^{PIF} Duàn writes 漣 with an archaising graph 漣, as if there was a convention in *Shuōwén* to the effect that phonetic constituents are listed in their seal form.

漣 [良刃切; LH lin, OCM rin] phonetic in 憐 [落賢切; LH len, OCM rín]

258. SW 10B 408: 258; DXB 223 (10B 23b); GL vol 11: 4783; Duàn 515 (10B 50b); TKJ 1482; Ozaki vol. 5: 1094.

HG: 漣 (漣), *lián*,

G: 泣下也。 is 'to fall' (of tears).

SSF: 从心, It has *xīn* "heart" as a semantic constituent,

PIF: 漣聲。 *lián* (GSR 213a: "a kind of carriage") is the phonetic constituent.

IQ: 《易》曰: *The Book of Changes (Tún 屯; SSJZS: 20a)* says:

泣涕漣如。 "Tears streaming down".

^{HG} The psychological relevance of the downward movement of tears is, of course, indirect only. One sympathise with the scribes who preferred to write this word with the water radical as does the received text of the *Yijing*.

^{PIF} 漣 [力延切; LH lian^B, OCM ran? or ren?] phonetic in 漣 [力延切; LH lian^B, OCM ran? or ren?]

^{PR} *Tóngyīn* 同音 OCM and LH homophones.

^{IQ} The SSJZS edition of *Yijing (Tún 屯.上六爻)*(SSJZS: 20a) writes: (乘馬班如,)泣血漣如. Compare also *Shijing (Máng 氓 58 SSJZS 324c)*: 泣涕漣漣. It begins to look as if Xǔ Shèn, in his memory may have conflated these two texts.

259. SW 10B 408: 259; DXB 223 (10B 23b); GL vol 11: 4783b; Duàn 515 (10B 50b); TKJ 1482; Ozaki vol. 5: 1095.

HG: 忍 (忍), *rěn*,

G: 能也。 is 'to be able'. [[is '(a way of being) able (*scil.* to put up with things that are hard to tolerate)'.]]

SSF: 从心, It has *xīn* "heart" as a semantic constituent,

PIF: 刃聲。 *rèn* (GSR 456a: "edge of a blade") is the phonetic constituent.

^G The gloss 'to be able' represent a curiously distant hypernym for *rěn* 忍, but cases like this show up Xǔ Shèn's common strategy to gloss words in terms of the generic abstract hypernyms.

^{PIF} 刃 [而振切; LH nǐn^C, OCM nǎns] phonetic in 忍 [而軫切; LH nǐn^B, OCM nǎn?]

260. SW 10B 408: 260; DXB 223 (10B 23b); GL vol 11: 4784; Duàn 515 (10B 50b); TKJ 1483; Ozaki vol. 5: 1095.

- HG: 𨾏 (𨾏), *mǎn*,
 G: 厲也。 is 'fierce'.
 AG: 一曰: An (alternative) source says:
 止也。 It is 'to stop'.
 SSF: 从心, It has *xīn* "heart" as a semantic constituent,
 PIF: 弭聲。 *mǐ* (GSR 360a: "bow with the ends not bound with string and lacquered but capped with bone and ivory") is the phonetic constituent.
 SPI: 讀若沔。 Pronounced like *miǎn*.

^{AG} Duàn does *not* move this AG!

For the reading "stop" there is no evidence in the transmitted literature. The graph used for that meaning is 𨾏.

^{PIF} *Miǎn* 弭 [綿婢切; LH mie^B, OCM me?] phonetic in *miǎn* 𨾏 [弥兗切(《廣韻》: 綿婢切); LH mie^B, OCM me?]

^{PR} *Tóngyīn* 同音 OCM and LH homophones. Schuessler notes: 弥兗切 = MC *mjiwän^B* is a syllable which is impossible in MC, so either there is something wrong, or perhaps *mjiän^B* was intended.

^{SPI} Xǔ Shèn's *dúruò* 讀若 gloss demonstrates that he reads this character with a nasal final and the *Guǎngyùn fānqiè* spelling designed to conform to the reading of the phonetic constituent and to create a plausible ancestor for the modern pronunciation *mǐ* is irrelevant to Xǔ Shèn's analysis. The *Guǎngyùn* prefers *xiéshēng* consistency to straightforward observation. While there is a considerable number of *fēi shēng* 非聲 phonetic constituents we still need a clear explanation why the 讀若 characters often had very different readings from the characters to which they are claimed to be similar.

Miǎn 𨾏 [弥兗切(《廣韻》: 綿婢切); LH mie^B, OCM me?] read as *miǎn* 沔 [彌兗切, 《廣韻》: 綿婢切; LH mie^B, OCM me?]

Minor CHASTISE SERIES (261-262)

261. SW 10B 408: 261; DXB 223 (10B 23b); GL vol 11: 4784b; Duàn 515 (10B 51a); TKJ 1483; Ozaki vol. 5: 1096.

- HG: 𨾏 (𨾏), *yì*, "chastise"
 G: 懲也。 is 'to punish'.

SSF: 从心, It has *xīn* "heart" as a semantic constituent,
PIF: 父聲。 *yì* (GSR 347a: "Shuowen says: to mow, thus taking it to be the
primary form of 刈 (no text)") is the phonetic constituent.

G The head graph and the gloss constitute a case of adjacent *hùzhù* 互註.

PIF 父 [魚廢切; LH *ngiâs*, OCM *nga(t)s*] phonetic in 忒 [魚肺切; LH *ngiâs*, OCM *nga(t)s*]

PR *Tóngyīn* 同音 OCM and LH homophones.

262. SW 10B 408: 262; DXB 223 (10B 23b); GL vol 11: 47785; Duàn 515 (10B 51a); TKJ 1483; Ozaki vol. 5: 1096.

HG: 懲 (懲), *chéng*, "punish"

G: 忒也。 is 'to chastise'.

SSF: 从心, It has *xīn* "heart" as a semantic constituent,
PIF: 徵聲。 *zhēng* (GSR 891a: "verifications, ...") is the phonetic constituent.

PIF 徵 [陟陵切; LH *trɛng*, OCM *trəng*] phonetic in 懲 [直陵切; LH *drɛng*, OCM *drəng*]

263. SW 10B 408: 263; DXB 223 (10B 23b); GL vol 11: 4785b; Duàn 515 (10B 51a); TKJ 1483; Ozaki vol. 5: 1096, see variants in WGY: 461.

HG: 憬 (憬), *jǐng*,

G: 覺寤也。 is 'to come to have a full understanding of'.

SSF: 从心, It has *xīn* "heart" as a semantic constituent,
PIF: 景聲。 *jǐng* (GSR 755d: "bright, ...") is the phonetic constituent.

IQ: 《詩》曰： *The Book of Odes* (SSJZS: 612b) says:
憬彼淮夷。 "We understand the Huái barbarians" ?

PIF 景 [居影切; LH *kiang^B*, OCM *krang?*] phonetic in 憬 [俱永切; LH *kyang^B*, OCM *kwrang? ?*]

IQ Karlgren has a less personal interpretation of this line of *Shījīng* (*Lǚ sòng* 魯頌, *Pàn shuǐ* 泮水 299.8): "far away are those Huái tribes".

4. Appendix

Radicals Containing the Grapheme 心 not Classified Under the Heart Radical

As mentioned before there are a number of graphs which one would expect to be classified under the heart radical but which for some reason are not so classified. Some of these characters cannot be so classified because they themselves are radicals, there are listed below:

The radical *suǒ* 惢部

1. SW 409: 001; DXB 223 (10B 23b); GL vol 11: 4791; Duàn 515 (10B 51a); TKJ 1484; Ozaki vol. 5: 1149.

HG: 惢 (惢),	<i>suǒ</i> ,
G: 心疑也。	is 'to be doubtful in one's mind'.
SSF: 从三心。	It has three hearts as a semantic constituents.
SF: 凡惢之屬皆从惢。	As a matter of principle, all (graphs) classified under <i>suǒ</i> have <i>suǒ</i> as a semantic constituent.
SPI: 讀若《易》"旅瑣瑣"。	pronounced like <i>Lǚ suǒsuǒ</i> in the <i>Yijing</i> .

^{HG} This may look like an exquisite example of a radical Xǔ Shèn could easily have done without. But if we consider the possibilities Xǔ Shèn was facing when trying his analytic hands on the following character *ruǐ* 𢇛 we can see that an immediate constituent consisting of two hearts and the seal radical was not something he would have contemplated as a plausible option. Given the meaning 'to hang' he could surely have declared *sī* 糸 to be the radical and the three hearts an inscrutable phonetic as he does in many other cases of inscrutable phonetics. Moreover, as he has it, the meaning of the radical is totally unrelated to that of the one character declared to have it as a radical. On the other hand, his radical *suǒ* itself was amenable to a rather elegant interpretation in terms of its three heart constituents. Thus the presence of *suǒ* under the heart radical would certainly not have raised any eyebrows but, unfortunately, this *suǒ* would have been a most inadequate phonetic constituent in *ruǐ*, the presence of which under the silk radical, in turn would not have been surprising. To summarise, a character like *ruǐ* 𢇛 constituted an insolvable analytic

dilemma for Xǔ Shèn and he appears to have escaped from this dilemma by working towards his numerologically desirable number of radicals.

^{SPI} *Suǒ* 𦉰 [又, 才規、才累二切(《玉篇》: 桑果切) LH *suci*⁸, OCM *snôî*?]] read like *suǒ* 瑣 [蘇果切 LH *suci*^B, OCM *sôî*? or *snôî*? ?]

Xǔ Shèn assumes that the reader would be familiar with the pronunciation of the *Yijīng* text. See *Yijīng Lǚ guà* 旅卦 (SSJZS: 68b).

2 SW 409: 002; DXB 223 (10B 23b); GL vol 11: 4792; Duàn 515 (10B 51a); TKJ 1484; Ozaki vol. 5: 1149.

HG:  (𦉰), *ruǐ*

G: 垂也。 is 'to hang'.

SSF: 从𦉰, It has *suǒ* as a semantic constituent.


PIF: 糸聲。 *mì* (SW: "silk thread...") is the phonetic constituent.

^{PIF} 糸 [莫狄切; LH *mek* < ?] phonetic in 𦉰 [如壘切; LH *ñui*^B, OCM *nui*?]

^{PR} *Fēi shēng* 非聲.

The radical *sī* 思部

3. SW 10B 407: 001; DXB 216 (10B 9b); GL vol 11: 4643b; Duàn 501 (10B 23a); TKJ 1437; Ozaki vol. 5: 990.

HG:  (思), *sī*, "to think"

G: 容也。 is 'to cause to encompass??' [[is '(a way of) causing to encompass (*scil.* subjects of thought in one's mind) ??]].

SSF: 从心 It has *xīn* "heart" as a semantic constituent.

PIF: 囟聲。 *xìn* (SW: "fontanelle") is the phonetic constituent.

SF: 凡思之屬 As a matter of principle, all (graphs) classified under *sī* have *sī* 皆从思。 as a semantic constituent.

^{PIF} Note that the radical preceding *sī* 思 is the very rare *xìn* 囟 which is here declared to be phonetic.

囟 [息進切; LH *sin*^C, OCM *sins* or *səns*] is phonetic in 思 [息茲切, LH *siə*, OCM *sə*].

^{PR} *Fēi shēng* 非聲

4. SW 10B 407: 002; DXB 217 (10B 10a); GL vol 11: 4645b; Duàn 501 (10B 23b); TKJ 1437; Ozaki vol. 5: 991.

HG: 慮 (慮), *lù*, "to think about the future"

G: 謀思也。 is 'to engage in planning thought'.

SSF: 从思 It has *xīn* "heart" as a semantic constituent.

PIF: 虎聲。 *hǔ* (GSR 57a: "Shuowen: the streaks on a tiger (no text)") is the phonetic constituent.

^{PIF} 虎 [荒烏切; LH ha^B, OCM hlâ?] is phonetic in 慮 [良據切; LH lia^(c), OCM ra^(b)]

5. Conclusion

To a considerable extent, commentaries to *Shuōwén* have tended to be subcommentaries to what has already been said. In this book we have tried to raise new questions concerning the structure of and the analyses in *Shuōwén*. Throughout we have tried to understand the received text in *Dà Xú běn*, and we have avoided emending it where later scholarship would find Xǔ Shèn to be at fault. Our aim was not to establish the right analysis of Chinese characters but Xǔ Shèn's view on the correct analysis of these characters. Neither Qīng dynasty scholarship on his text nor modern revisions or criticism of Xǔ Shèn's text have been in the focus of our work. However, we have taken care to guide the reader from each entry to the pages of the major editions we have used.

First of all, we have shown in detail how the arrangement of characters within a “radical”, while not predictably regular, is not altogether random.

Recognising the neat conceptual distinction between Xǔ Shèn's *wén* 文 and *zì* 字, we have shown how his book makes a disciplined attempt at a graphemic analysis of what he hoped was a complete repertoire of Chinese characters. (He seems to have been unaware of omissions of such common characters as 笑.) We have shown how his “radicals” were not designed as a retrieval system at all, but as a tool for graphemic analysis. Many words one would hope to be able to find under the radical 心 are actually in other places as Xǔ Shèn found it necessary or preferable in accordance with the principles of his graphemic analysis. We have shown in detail how his assignment of phonetic constituents often was phonetically unmotivated as far as we can see: the category of *fēi shēng* 非聲 “unmotivated assignment of a phonetic constituent” has been carefully distinguished from undermotivated assignment of barely homoiophonous elements as phonetic constituents.

On a more fundamental level, we have shown how Xǔ Shèn's formulaic assignment of phonetic constituents in the form X *shēng* X聲 must be carefully distinguished from any assignment of how a word is to be pronounced.

Our systematic juxtaposition of the reconstructed pronunciations of characters with the phonetic constituents allows us to demonstrate the limitations of the use of *xiéshēng* 諧聲 readings for the reconstruction of Old Chinese phonology.

Most importantly, we have tried to make explicit the semantic relations between the X and the Y in the standard semantic gloss XY也. Current interpretations simply along the lines of something like “X means Y”, endemic in Chinese philology, are shown to be deeply misleading. Thus in our view the study of *Shuōwén* can provide a useful occasion for the exploration of distinctions of semantic nuance between ancient Chinese words that were used to gloss each other.

The distinctions that our translation makes explicit, on the other hand, are ours, not Xǔ Shèn’s. They are very much open to criticism. As is the rest of our efforts to make sense of the *Shuōwén* as an extraordinary event in the systematisation of metalinguistic discourse in human history. The field is wide open for further research. There is no reason to believe that the lexicography of matters of the heart we have focussed on poses the same kinds of problems as would the lexicography of matters linguistic, botanical, zoological. A study on “speech act matters” (the radical 言) is in the works. Moreover, the case of equine lexicography poses questions of special interest, in that a majority of the characters with the horse radical happen to be unattested outside the dictionaries.

The collaboration on this book has been so rewarding enjoyable that we do hope to pursue more matters of this sort.



Some Basic Technical Terms

<i>Fēi shēng</i> 非聲	a phonetic constituent which has a pronunciation in no way similar to that of the whole character of which it is the phonetic constituent.
Graph	the concrete tokens in a given copy of a written text.
Grapheme	the abstract type under which graphic variants are said to belong.
Graphic constituent	is a part of a character into which it is divided.
Graphic etymology	the analysis of the function of graphic constituents of a character in terms of historical origins.
Graphological	the analysis (in terms of) graphemes.
Homophonic	identical in reconstructions (not necessarily ancient pronunciation). Chinese <i>Tóngyīn</i> 同音.
Immediate constituent	is a part into which a whole is divided at the highest level of the taxonomic analysis.
Radical	the conventional translation of <i>bùshǒu</i> 部首. It is ironic, of course, that what sinologists agree to call radicals are exactly the part of <i>xíng shēng zì</i> 形聲字 which does not refer to the phonetic base of the word.
Semantic series	sequence of head graphs which share a common semantic feature.

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