

TTW-3, Zürich, 26.-2.VI.2008

**Dialects, diachrony, diglossia or all three?
Tomb text glimpses into the language(s) of Chǔ**

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1. Geographical overview:

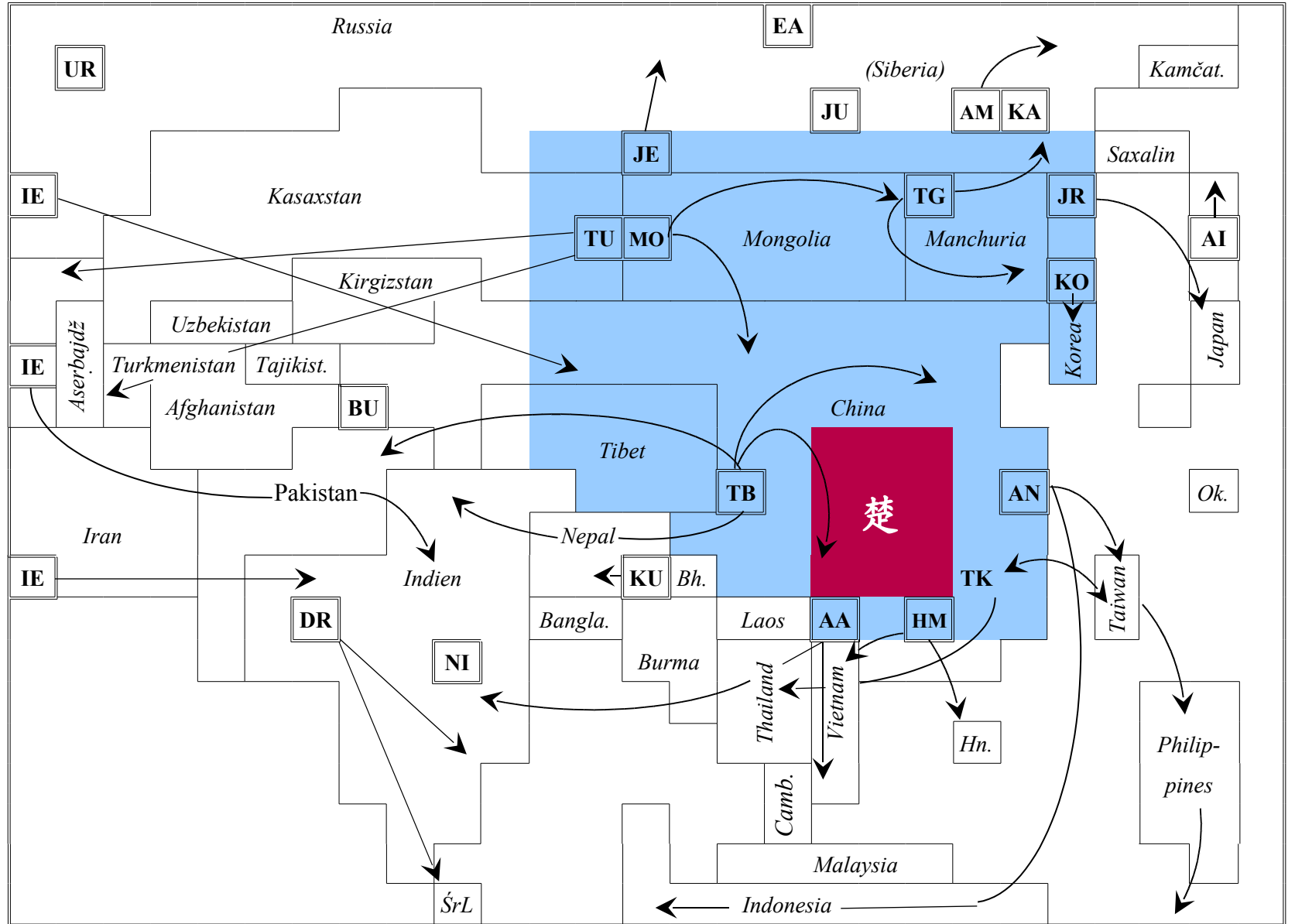
1.1 location of Chǔ 楚 during the Warring States period



1.2 bronze age contact languages of OC, based on typological clusters (JANHUNEN 1998)

⇒ see next page

- AA Austroasiatic
- AI Ainuic
- AM Amuric
- AN Austronesian
- BU Burushaski
- DR Dravidic
- EA Eskaleutic
- HM Hmong-Mienic
- IE Indoeuropean
- JE Jenisejic
- JR Japonic
- JU Jukaghiric
- KA Kamčukotic
- KU Koreanic
- MO Mongolic
- NI Nihali
- TB Tibeto-Burman
- TG Tungusic
- TK Tai-Kadaiic
- TU Turkic
- UR Uralic



1.3 history of study (cf. YÁNG JIÉ 1997, XIÈ RÓNGÉ 2005)

- 隨: QIÁN GŌNG 騫公, *Chǔcí yīn* 楚辭音 , *Dūnhuáng*-Ms. (cf. ZHŌU ZŪMÒ 1940)
- 宋: HUÁNG BÓSĪ 黃伯思, *Xīnjiào Chǔcí xù* 新校楚辭·序: ‘楚語’ , ‘楚聲’
- 清: HÁNG SHÌJÙN 杭世駿, *Xù fāngyán* 續方言
- 民國: LÍN YŪTÁNG 林語堂, Leipzig dissertation (1923; Chinese transl. 1925, 1926)

- 1.4 Competing hypotheses on the genealogical affiliation of/substrate influence on Chǔ
- (a) aberrant early Chinese dialect, originally from the North (LÍN YŪTÁNG 1925, 1926, YÓU RŭJIÉ 1992, Lǐ SHÙHÀO 2002, DǒNG KŪN 2006 etc.)
 - (b) Austro-Asiatic (NORMAN & MEI 1976, BOLTZ 1999)
 - (c) Hmong-Mienic (ERKES 1930, LÓNG & MÁ 1983, BROOKS 2001, SAGART et al. 2005)
 - (d) Tai-Kadaic (LIÚ XĪNGCÈ 1988, ZHÈNG-ZHĀNG SHÀNGFĀNG, 2005)
 - (e) Tibeto-Burman (ZHĀNG YǒNGYÁN 1992, ZHŌU JÍXÚ 2001)
 - (f) mixture of (b/c) (PULLEYBLANK 1983)
 - (g) mixture of (b-e) (SCHUESSLER 2004, 2007)
 - (h) unknown

1.4 relationship between Chǔ and “standard” language as seen by the Classical authors

1.4.1 opposed to *yǎyán* 雅言

(1) *Xúnzǐ* (10.4):

越人安越，楚人安楚，君子安雅。是非知能材性然也，是注錯習俗之節異也。

“A person from Yuè (*wat) feels at ease in Yuè, a person from Chǔ (*s-hra-q) feels at ease in Chǔ, but the gentleman feels at ease in „what is refined“ (i.e. the language of the Xià). This is not so on account of his knowledge, his capabilities, his facilities or inborn nature, but because the standards which he attends to in his manners and habits are different.“

(2) *Shānhǎi jīng* (海內東經):

語有楚夏，名號不同。

“In language there is Chǔ and Xià, their names and designations diverge.”

- *yǎ* 雅 < **ngæX* < **ŋŋra-* „what is refined“ :: *xià* 夏 < **hæX* < **N-kkra-q* ::
(cf. *Shqipëtar* ‘Albanian’, from alban. *shqipon* ‘to understand a language’)

1.4.2 opposed to non-Sinitic languages

(3) *Lǚshì chūnqiū* (4.6: 232):

人生乎戎、長乎戎而戎言，不知其所受之；楚人生乎楚、長乎楚而楚言，不知其所受之。今使楚人長乎戎，戎人長乎楚，則楚人戎言，戎人楚言矣。由是觀之，吾未知亡國之主不可以為賢主也（…）

“If someone is born among the Róng (*nuŋ) he will speak the Róng language as a grown-up, without knowing where he has acquired it from. If a person from Chǔ (*s-hra-q) is born among the Chǔ, he will speak the Chǔ-language as a grown-up, without knowing where he has acquired it from. If a person from Chǔ is made to grow up among the Róng or a person from Róng to grow up among the Chǔ, the person from Chǔ will speak the Róng language and the person from Róng will speak the Chǔ-language. If viewed from that perspective, I cannot be sure that the leader of a lost state will not eventually become an enlightened leader ...”

1.4.3 despised as barbarian

(4) *Mèngzǐ* (3A4):

吾聞用夏變夷者，未聞變於夷者也。陳良，楚產也。悅周公、仲尼之道，北學於中國。北方之學者，未能或之先也。彼所謂豪傑之士也。（…）今也南蠻馱舌之人，非先王之道（…）吾聞出於幽谷遷于喬木者，未聞下喬木而入於幽谷者。

“I have heard of someone using [the ways of] Xià to change the barbarians, but I have never heard of someone being changed by barbarians. Chén Liáng was a native of Chǔ. Pleased with the Way of the Duke of Zhōu and of Zhòng Ní, he came northwards to study in the Central States. Among the scholars of the northern regions, there was perhaps no one who excelled him. He was what you call a scholar of high and distinguished qualities. (...) Now here is this barbarian with a butcher-bird’s tongue, whose Way is not that of the ancient kings. (...) I have heard of [birds] leaving dark valleys to remove to lofty trees, but I have not heard of their descending from lofty trees to enter into dark valleys.”

(5) *Mèngzǐ* (3B11):

孟子謂戴不勝曰：“子欲子之王之善與？我明告子。有楚大夫於此，欲其子之齊語也，則使齊人傅諸？使楚人傅諸？”曰：“使齊人傅之。”曰：“一齊人傅之，眾楚人咻之，雖日撻而求其齊也，不可得矣；引而置之莊嶽之間數年，雖日撻而求其楚，亦不可得矣。”

“Mèngzǐ addressed Dài Bùshèng, saying: ‘You desire that your king be virtuous, don’t you? Let me plainly tell you: If there was a great officer of Chǔ here, who wished that his son was speaking Qí, would he employ someone from Qí to tutor him, or someone from Chǔ?’ [Dài] answered: ‘He would employ someone from Qí.’ [Mèngzǐ] said: ‘If there was but one man from Qí tutoring him, and the multitude of Chǔ people jabbered (*xu) around him, he would not succeed, even if his father clobbered him, urging him to speak Qí.’”

1.4.4 first datable mentioning

(6) *Zuǒzhuàn* (Zhuāng 28) ~ 666 B.C.

秋，子元以車六百乘伐鄭，入于桔柣之門（…）眾車入自純門，及達市，縣門不發，楚言而出，子元曰，鄭有人焉，諸侯救鄭，楚師夜遁。

“In fall, Prince Yuán [of Chǔ] attacked Zhèng with 600 chariots and entered via the gate of Jídié (...) The multitude of chariots entered through the ‘pure gate’ and reached the market on the highway. The lock-gate [to the city of Zhèng] had not been (released=) closed and, speaking Chǔ, [people] came out. Prince Yuán said: ‘This Zhèng, [our] men are in it’, and when the many lords came to relieve Zhèng, the army of Chǔ withdrew at night.” (Cf. Legge 115)

1.4.5 but: of Huángdì descent!

(7) *Shǐjì*:

a. (40:1689)

楚之先祖出自帝顓頊高陽。高陽者，黃帝之孫，昌意之子也。

“The ancestors of Chǔ stemmed from emperor Zhuānxū Gāoyáng. Gāoyáng was the grandson of the Yellow Emperor, the son of Chāngyì.”

b. (1: 45)

自黃帝至舜、禹，皆同姓而異其國號，以章明德。故黃帝為有熊，帝顓頊為高陽，帝嚳為高辛，帝堯為陶唐，帝舜為有虞。[三]帝禹為夏后而別氏，姓姁氏。契為商，姓子氏。弃為周，姓姬氏。

“From the Yellow Emperor down to Shùn and Yǔ all [rulers] belonged to the same clan, but differed in the designation of their polities, thereby proclaiming their luminescent charisma. Thus, the [polity of the] Yellow Emperor was [known as] yǒu-Xióng (“the bears”), [that of] Emperor Zhuānxū was Gāoyáng, [that of] Emperor Kù was Gāoxīn, [that of] Emperor Yáo was Táotáng, and [that of] Emperor Shùn was yǒu-Yú (“the prepared”). From Emperor Yú, a.k.a Lord Xià, a lineage seceded, which had the clan-name Sì lineage. Xiè was [known as] Shāng, and had the clan-name Zǐ-lineage. Qì was [known] as Zhōu and had the clan-name Jī lineage.”

1.5 unlikeliness of aberrant dialect scenario (a):

syntax is head-initial / modifier postponing ? (ERKES 1930) —

- (8) *Zuǒzhuàn* 左傳 (Xuan 4/fu; cf. also Zhuang 30.2, Xi 5.7, 20.4) on the story of Zǐwén 子文:

(…) 鄭夫人使棄諸夢中。虎乳之。鄭子田，見之，懼而歸。夫人以告，遂使收之。楚人謂乳「穀」，謂虎「於菟」，故命之曰鬥「穀於菟」。

“(…) A lad from Yǔn had him marooned in the marshes. A tiger suckled him. When Yǔnzǐ went out on a hunt and saw him, he returned terrified. Having told it to his wife, they had someone sent to take care of him [the later Zǐwén]. The people of Chǔ call ‘to suckle’ *gǔ* (OC *kkok/*nno-q^①), and call a ‘tiger’ *wūtù* (OC *ʔa-hlla-s), and that is why he was named ‘Suckled-by-a-tiger’ of Dòu.”

- (9) 師古曰：穀讀如本字又音乃苟反^①。 (cf. PULLEYBLANK 1983: 427)

“[Yán] Shīgǔ (581-645) says: 穀 is read in its usual pronunciation (OC *kkok); it is also read as *n[ojX]+[k]uwX* (< OC *nno-q).”

(10) Cf. *Fāngyán* 方言 (8.1a):

虎，陳魏宋楚之間或謂之李父，江淮南楚之間謂之李耳，或謂之於鷓鴣。

“The tiger is called ‘father Lǐ’ (OC *rə-q b(r)a-q) in the areas of Chén, Wèi, Sòng and Chǔ, in the *Jiāng-Huái*-area and in South Chǔ it is called ‘Lǐ’s ear’ (OC *rə-q nə-q), or sometimes *wūtù* (OC *ʔa-hlla-s).”

- recent attempt to read the *Chǔcí*-chapter titles as syntactic head-inversions see GŌNG WÉIYĪNG 1995
- other morphsyntactic peculiarities: unobtrusive; a set of *Chǔcí* prosodic particles / metrical slot fillers not shared by *any* other early Chinese dialect (cf. DUÀN DÉSEN 1997): *qiāng* 羌 (*k-hlaŋ), *jiǎn* 蹇~蹇 (*kran-q), *suò* 些 (*ssaj-s)
- peculiar usage of *zhǐ* 只~咫 (*tə-q)

1.6 likeliness of dialect scenario: lexicon

(11) *Fāngyán* (8.2) (cf. SERRUYS 1953)

- a. 「**貔**」，陳楚江淮之間謂之「**獠**」，北燕朝鮮之間謂之「**貉**」，關西謂之「**狸**」。

“As for a ‘wildcat (leopard?)’ (*bij), in the area of Chén and Chǔ, between the Yangtze and the Huái, is called ***rrə**, in the area of Northern Yan and Chosŏn it is called ***p-hrə**, to the West of the pass it is called ***(pə-)rə**.”

- b. 獠 *lái* < **loj* < **-rrə* ⇔
 狸~貉 *lí* < **li* < **(pə-)rə* ⇔
 貉 *pī* < **phij* < **phrə*

(12) *Fāngyán* (2.24)

- a. “「瞞」、「睇」、「睇」、「略」、眇也。陳楚之間南楚之外曰「睇」，東齊青徐之間曰「睇」，吳揚江淮之間或曰「瞞」，或曰「略」，自關而西秦晉之間曰「眇」。”

“*N-kkren, *hllij, *hləj, *(kə-)llak, mean ‘to peek at’. In the Chén-Chǔ^{IX} areas and beyond Southern Chǔ^X it is called *hllij, in the Eastern Qí^{VI}, Qīng^{VI} and Xú^{VI} [district] areas it is called *hləj, in the Wú^{XII} and Yáng^{XII} areas it is called *N-kkren, or, alternatively, *(kə-)llak, to the West of the pass in the areas of Qín^I and Jìn^I it is called *mmen-q”

- b. 睇 *tí* < **thej* < *hllij ⇔ 睇 *xī* < **xjĭj* < * hləj

(13) *Fāngyán* (6.10):

- a. 「鎗」、「龕」，受也。齊楚曰「鎗」，揚越曰「龕」。受，盛也，猶秦晉言「容盛」也。

“**ggəm* and **kkh[u,ə]m* mean ‘to receive’. In Qí^V and Chǔ^{IX} it is called **ggəm* in Yáng^{XII} and Yuè^{XII} it is called **kk[u,ə]m*. ‘to receive’, is [here] in the sense of ‘to contain’ (*chéng*), i.e. what is called ‘to contain’ (*róngchéng*) in Qín^I and Jìn^I.”

- b. 鎗 *hán* < **hom* < **ggəm* ⇔ 龕 < **khom* < **kkh[u,ə]m*

1.6.1 aside: (YÁNG JIÉ 1997: 8)

density of Chǔ vocabulary in the *Lísāo* 離騷 as measured by occurrence of lexical tokens glossed as Chǔ against total number of characters in the chapter (2477):
0,56%

1.7 substrate scenarios

1.7.1 Austroasiatic ?

(14) *Fāngyán* (1.1): KNOW, LEARN

「黨、曉、哲，知也。楚謂之黨，或曰曉，齊宋之間謂之哲。」

「黨」 *dǎng* < MC **tangX* < OC **ttaŋ-q*

← PAA **t[i,ə]ŋ, *dʔeŋ* “know, hear” | PKt **dʔaŋ* “know, hear” | Khmer *tɨŋ*,
OKhmer *teŋ, tjaŋ* “know, learn”

(15) *Fāngyán* (1.31): EAT (cf. SCHUESSLER 2004, #17)

「…食也。楚曰餽。」

「餽」 *zuò* < MC **dzak* < OC **dzzak*

← PSB **saʔ*, Mon *ca* “to eat” (but cf. TB **dzaʔ* “to eat”!)

etc.

1.7.2 Tai-Kadai ?

(16) *Fāngyán* (6.43): PROTECT, COVER

「揜、揜、錯、摩，藏也。荊楚曰揜，吳揚曰揜，周秦曰錯，陳之東鄙曰摩。」

「揜」 $\check{a}n < MC *ʔomX < OC *ʔʔəm-q$

← PTai $*hom^{B1}$ (S. hom^{B1} , LZ hum^{B1} , BA $həm^{B1}$, Lao hom , Ahom hum etc.)

“cover up” | PKS (G153) $*zum^{HyC1}$ “hide, cover up”

(17) *Fāngyán* (11.7): GRASSHOPPER/LOCUST

「𧈧，…南楚之外謂之𧈧𧈧。」

「𧈧」 *zhē* < MC **tsyæ* < OC **ttak*

← PKS **thrak*⁷-it (Mulam -*hyak*⁸-t, Kam *ʔak*⁷-it, Then *zjak*⁷, Sui *ndjak*⁷
“grasshopper”; cf. for extensive data on this etymon CHAMBERLAIN 1988: 317)

cf. LEAP/JUMP, *Fāngyán* (1.27): 「…跳也。陳鄭之間曰徻，楚曰𧈧」

「𧈧」 *zhē* < MC **tsyæ* < OC **ttak*

(18) *Fāngyán* (8.5): PIG, HOG

「猪，…南楚謂之豨。」

「豨」 *xī* < MC **xjij* < OC **hləj-q*

← PKS **ʔdlaaj*⁵ (> Kam (*h*)*laa:i*⁵) “pig”

etc.

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1.7.3 Hmong-Mien ?

(19) BE FULL/FILL (Wang Yi 4)

「憑，…楚謂之滿。」

「憑」 *bíng* < MC *beng < OC *bəŋ

← PHM *pwəŋ^B “full”

(20) *Shuōwén* (13B): BRIDGE

「圮，…東楚謂之橋。」

「圮」 *yǐ* < MC *yiX < OC *lə-q

← PM *lɔ^A “bridge”

etc.

1.8 Sources: Chǔ glosses in the edited literature
(cf. DĪNG QĪZHÈN 1991, Lǐ SHÙHÁO 2002, HUÁ XUÉCHÉNG 2003)

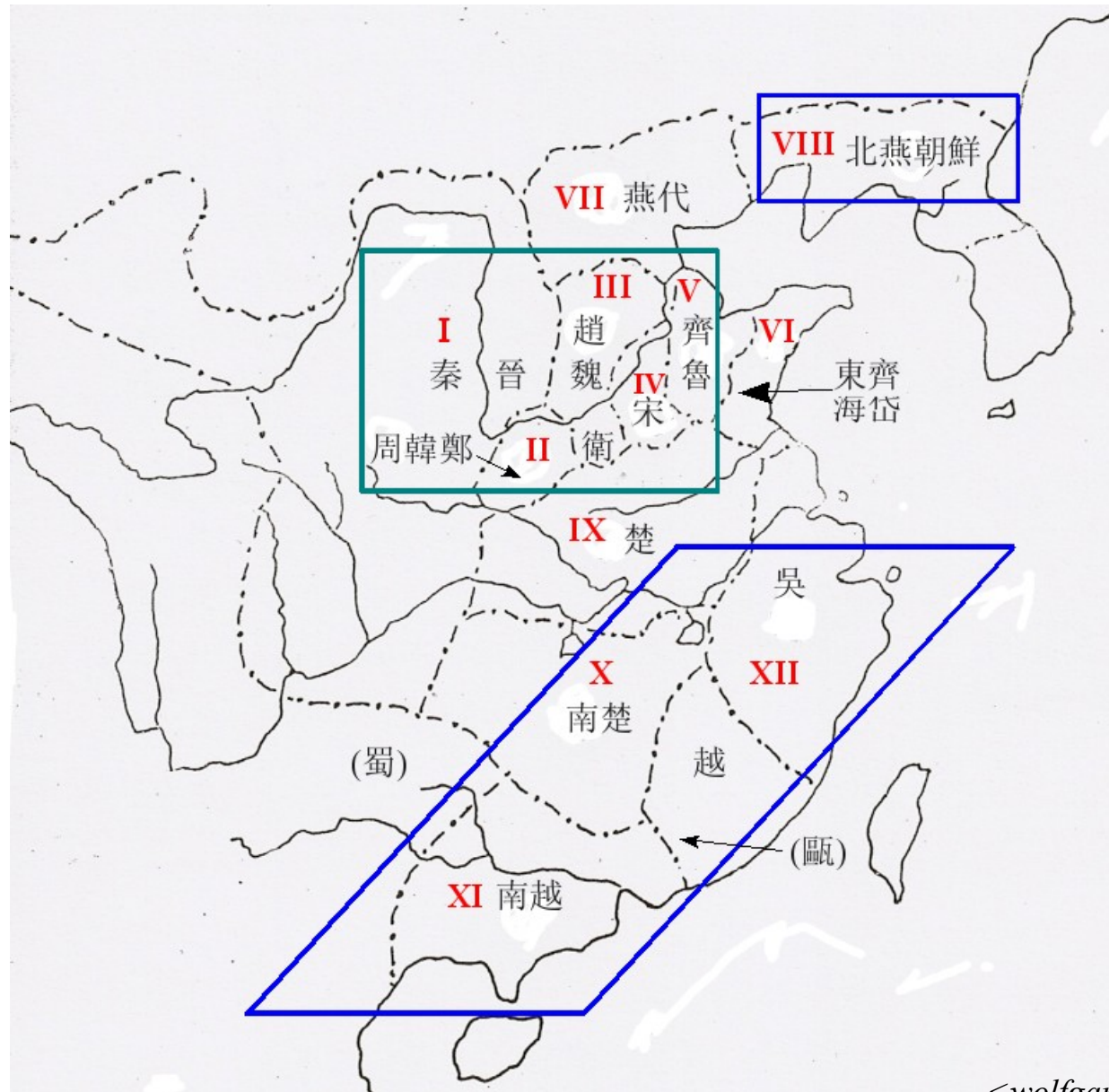
YÁNG XIÓNG 揚雄 (53 B.C.–18 CE.)	<i>Yóuxuān shǐzhě juédài yǔ shì biéguó fāngyán</i> 輶軒使者絕代語釋別國方言	67
Xǔ SHÈN 許慎 (ca. 58 A.D.–147 A.D.)	<i>Shuōwén jiězì</i> 說文解字	19
WÁNG Yì 王逸 (fl. 177)	<i>Chǔcí zhāng jù</i> 楚辭章句	14
GĀO YÒU 高誘 (fl. 205-212)	<i>Lǚshì chūnqiū zhù</i> 呂氏春秋注 <i>Huáinánzǐ zhù</i> 淮南子注	17
GUŌ PÚ 郭璞 276–324	<i>Fāngyán zhù</i> 方言注	8/125

- “over 500 early Chǔ glosses in the early commentarial literature” (Lǐ SHUǏHǎi 1998: 2) – overrated!

1.9 The internal differentiation of Sinitic during the Western Hàn Empire, as reconstructable from the *Dialectal expressions from foreign states and glosses on words from extinct eras collected by the “light charrette officials”* (*Yóu-xuān shǐzhě juédài yǔ shì biéguó fāngyán* 輶軒使者絕代語釋別國方言) ascribed to Yáng Xióng 揚雄 (ca. 53 B.C.-18 A.D.) (Lǐ, Lǐ, YÁNG & HUÁ 1992; cf. HUÁ XUÉCHÉNG 2003)

I.	Qín-Jìn	V:	Qí-Lǚ	IX:	Chǔ
II:	Zhōu-Hán-Zhèng	VI:	Dōng-Qí, Hǎidài	X:	Nán-Chǔ
III:	Zhào-Wèi	VII:	Yāndài	XI:	Nán-Yuè
IV:	Wèi-Sòng	VIII:	Běi-Yān, Cháoxiǎn	XII:	Wú-Yuè

Mostly Sinitic	
I	秦 晉
II	周 韓 鄭
III	趙 魏
IV	衛 宋
V	齊 魯
Mixed Zone	
VI	東齊 海岱
VII	燕代
IX	楚
Mostly Non-Sinitic	
VIII	北燕 朝鮮
X	南楚
XI	南越
XII	吳越



1.10 rough interim summary: edited literature:

- one half of the data in the glosses semantically not suited for comparative purposes (cultural, religious, historical items, technology, highly specific vocabulary); no available reconstructions
- one quarter without any known etymological connections either outside Ancient Chinese *or* within
- remaining quarter of the evidence rather neatly divided between TK, AA and HM (though **not** with TB) in exx. from the edited literature:
 - Chǔ, a Sinitic designation for a Sinitic cultural *area*, encompassing various linguistically non-Sinitic substrates

moot points:

- relationship between Chǔ and ‘South Chǔ’ (Nán Chǔ 南楚) and ‘Beyond South Chǔ’ (*nán Chǔ yǐ wài* 南楚以外); relationship of Nán Chǔ 南楚 to Wú 吳, Yuè 越 (cf. CHÉN LÌZHŌNG 2004)
- genetic/areal (if any!) relationship between TK, AA, HM ? (cf. THURGOOD 1994, SARGART et al. 2005)

2. Excavated texts

2.1 dialect words

working hypothesis: all loan characters in the set of 1551 pairs assembled from Chǔ Mss. by Wú Jiànwěi (2006), with identifiable semantics, which display a shared phonological innovation vis-à-vis the reconstructed *yǎyán* system OR other reconstructable dialect subsystems. Possible candidate (not yet shown to be probabilistically significant!):

a. initials

➤ merger of *ʔ- (影母) and velar series (見系) *K- initials (cf. ZHÀO TÓNG 2003: 98):

纓 *ʔeŋ > *ʔjeng → 驚 *kreŋ > *kjaeng (G.LAO.B5,6)

衣 *ʔəj > *ʔjjj → 祈 *gəj > *gjjj (S.SHILUN.09)

唸 *N-krəm > *ngim → 暗 *ʔʔəm > *ʔom (S.RONG.02) etc.

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b. finals

➤ merger of (cf. ZHÀO TÓNG 2003: 66-67) of the at least the following *Shījīng zhēnbù* 真部 (*in)-phonetics with *wénbù* 文部 (*o[n,r], *ə[n,r], *u[n,r]):

陳 (*dri[ŋ,n] > * -ən),

勻 (*G^win > *-ən),

申 (*hlin > *hl[ə,u],

民 (*mi[n,ŋ] > *mən)

辛 (*si[n,ŋ] > *sən).

parts of 真 (*din > *dən) itself.

2.2 diachrony

all other loan characters, which display a phonological retention in Chǔ vis-à-vis the *yǎyán* system, for example

- Labialization of OC uvulars and velars before rounded preserved longer than in northern manuscripts or the *Shījīng* (Zhào Tóng 2003: 100-02, Haeree Park: yesterday!): *Q^w(~K^w)- > P- / __ u, o

2.3 diglossia

2.3.1 non-Sinitic loan words in surviving loan characters

(21) “get better” (of ailments): “智于身” (MWD. 戰國縱橫家書)

知～智～智 *zhī* < **trje*(*H*) < **te*(-s)

cf. *Fāngyán* 3.14:

「知」，愈也。南楚病愈者…或謂之知”

“*zhī* means ‘to get better’. In Southern Chǔ , when a sickness gets better ... this is occasionally called *zhī*.”

← PTai *ʔdii^{A1} “be good, better” (S. *dii*^{A1}, LZ *dai*^{A1}, BA *nii*^{A1})

2.3.2 alloglottography

(22) the word for “**mother**”/“**lady**” in Spring and Autumn Chǔ (5th c. B.C.)
 (cf. GUŌ BÌZHĪ 1998, CÁO ZHÀOLÁN 2002)

- a. OBI: 𡗗 (女) *nǚ* < **nrjoX* < OC **nra-q* “woman, lady, female”
 𡗗 (母) *mǔ* < **muwX* < OC **m(r)[o,ə]-q* “mother; lady, female”
- BI-standard: 1. “mother, lady, female”
 2. loan for 毋 **m[a,o]* > **mju* > *wú* prohib. NEG
 3. loan for 姆 **m(r)[o,ə]-q* > **muwX* > *mǔ* “chaperone”
- BI-N. dialects: 1. “mother, lady, female”
 2. loan for 毋 **m[a,o]* > **mju* > *wú* prohib. NEG
 3. loan for 姆 **m(r)[o,ə]-q* > **muwX* > *mǔ* “chaperone”
 4. loan for 每 **mmə-q* > **mwojX* > *měi* “each, every”

- b. BI-Chǔ dialect: 1. loan for 毋 *m[a,o] > *mju > wú prohib. NEG
2. loan for 侮 *m(r)o-q(-s) > *mjuX > *wǔ “to despise”
-

3. “mother, female, lady” 孀 *mej-q > *mjieX > mǐ

← PTai *mεε^B, PKS *mlεε^B, PHlai *mʔai^B vs.

PAA *me-q, PMon *meʔ, PKt *mε(:)ʔ “mother”

but cf.

《廣韻》芥韻：“孀，楚人呼母，奴礼切 (*niX < *nnej-q < **m-nej-q ?)。

- (23) a word for “one, once, be unified, be unique” in Warring States Chǔ (cf. LÍN, MURASE & FURUYA 2004, ZHÈNG WĒI 2007)

BI-standard: 一, 壹, 弌 $yī < *ʔjit < *ʔit$ “one, be / become one” etc.
(> all later Sinitic languages)

WS-Chǔ dialect: 罷 ← p[能] $néng < *nong < *nnəŋ$

cf. 「其義罷也」 “his propriety is unique” (GD.ZIYI 16; cf. MAO 152 「其儀一兮」, MWD 7A 「其宜一氏」); WUXING 「能為罷, 狀然句後能為君子」 “if able to unify — only after this one may become a true gentlemen” (GD.WUXING); 「罷禱」 “sacrifice once/in one piece?” (BAOSHAN, WANGSHAN, TIANXINGGUAN; cf. XINCAI B4.82, .148 弌禱); 「歲罷返」 “to be returned once a year” (鄂君啟節)

← PTai *hniŋ (Thai ²² $nuŋ$, Dai ³³ $nuŋ$, Lungchow $nəŋ^A$ etc.) “one, once”

➤ 罷 never used for abstract noun ‘the one’ or along/in contrast with other numerals

(24) 羽 (*G^wa) a diacritic "Chǔ signific" ?

32 phonophorics determined by 羽 in the 戰國古文字典

a. birds: 4

+𦏧 (BAOSHAN); +隹 (BAOSHAN, WANGSHAN), +肥(⇒翡) / +臯(⇒翠) (WANGSHAN, BAO-SHAN)

b. names: 7

+𠂔 (TIANXING, SUIXIAN, XIHUI); +介 (XIHUI); +彡 (TAOHUI, WANGSHAN); +車 (XIHUI); +坐 (BAOSHAN); +思 (XIHUI); +𠂔 (BAOSHAN),

c. other: 7

+𠂔 (XIHUI) "be crooked, bent"?; +毛 (方言: '好也'; 玉篇: '毛濕') ⇒ "cow tail" (毛攷); +白 "practice"; +立 "next day"; +青:⇒旌; +能 "one, once, be unified"; +掃:⇒縵 "thread"; +翼 "wing"/particle

d. unknown: 13

+勺 (TIANXING); +市 (BAOSHAN); +決 (BAOSHAN); +叕 (BAOSHAN); +矛 (BAOSHAN, WANGSHAN, TIANXING); +乍 (SUIXIAN); +辛 (BAOSHAN); +付土 (BAOSHAN), +刺 (TIANXING), +甚 (WANGSHAN), +邊 (TIANXING), +雝 (TIANXING), +高高虫虫 (TIANXING)

e. double phonophoric: 1

+于 *G^wa (ZENGHOUYI, BAOSHAN) “the musical note 羽~雫”

(25) two words for “**black/white**” (BAOSHAN #273, grave good list; 316 BCE); remnants of 羽 significant in the edited literature

「其上載：黼儵旌，髡鬣首」

“At his upper part [we] register: a black ritual flag and a white (feathered) flag tip.”

「**儵**」 *shū* < MC **syuwk* < OC **hlu^wk* ← PBhn **dzuuk*, PMon **(ma-)cok*
“black”, Nyahkur *ləcok* “dark blue; green”

「**髡**」 p[高] *gāo* < MC **kaw* < OC **kkaw* ← PTai **xaau^{A1}* (S., LZ *khaau^{A1}*, BA *haau^{A1}*) “white” (cf. PM **klai^A* “white”)

cf. 《廣雅：釋器》 “鬣 [*N-kkra^wk], 白也”， “儵 [*hlə^wk], 黑也”

(26) “**thick**” (WANGSHAN 73; 316 BCE)

「**毫**」 p[石] *shí* < MC **dzyek* < OC *[d,l]ak
← PKS *ʔnak⁷ (Kam *nak*⁷) “thick”

etc.

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summary:

- “Chǔ dialect” *not yet* a linguistically well-defined notion in terms of shared innovations
- Chǔ vocabulary shows clear substrate influence, predominantly from TK
- non-Sinitic vocabulary best traceable in low-brow divination texts and inventory lists (WANGSHAN, BAOSHAN, TIANXINGGUAN, XINCAI, SUIXIAN etc.)
- alloglottography indicates presence of bilingual non-Chinese population among the scribes (cf. RUBIO 2006)
- situation partly comparable to Sino-Korean, Sino-Japanese, Sino-Vietnamese before development of indigenous character formation principles/syllabaries/alphabets (cf. VENTURE 2006)

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