The *K'og 考 'To Dead Father' Hypothesis

Michael Carr

Why does Chinese kāo < *k'ōg 考 'dead father; think' violate the linguistic universal of avoiding 'die; death' words? The postulated answer is that *k'ōg 考 anciently meant 'to dead father', i.e., 'to communicate with the spirit of one's dead father'. This hypothesis unifies the diverse 'dead father; father; old age; examine; think; complete; personal name; strike; etc.' meanings of *k'ōg 考; and it resolves many textual misreadings, e.g., (Shijing 詩經 262) "作召公考 make Duke Shao[‘s?] *k'ōg" can be literally understood as 'do the "to dead father" ceremony', rather than trying to interpret this 考 as 'achievement', 'fulfillment', 'answer', 'fame', or 'ritual vessel'. Evidence suggests that *k'ōg 考 was the name of an ancestral sacrifice which involved divination, 'striking' bells to beckon spirits, drinking sacrificial wine, and actual/imagined spiritual communication.

§1 INTRODUCTION

There is the [至] perfect path, the [義] righteous path, and the [考] calculated path. The perfect path conducts to sovereignty; the righteous path, to chieftaincy; and the calculated path, to freedom from error and failure. (Liji 32/13, Legge 1885: II: 333)

The "seed-idea" for this paper was the semantic gap between Japanese kō ～kanga(e) 考 'thought; idea' and Chinese kāo 考 'dead father;
examination; test.² The Japanese 考 specialization to 'thought; idea; consideration; deliberation' (Ujiie 1974), as opposed with less serious or sustained shi～omo(u) 思'thought; belief; feeling; expectation', is understandable; but the ancient Chinese textual semantics of kao < k'āu : < *k'ōg 考 are enigmatic.

Although *k'ōg 考 meanings of 'dead father', 'old age', and a proper name are well attested, the earliest examples of 'father', 'think', and 'complete' have inexplicable problems. First, every one of the few contexts in which 考 supposedly means 'living father' also have *b'iu父 'father' and use 考 in other meanings. Second, there is no historical support for the traditional interpretation that 考 was a graphic loan for *k'ōg 考 'examine; think about/over' — on the contrary, the 考 graph (with the 句 'beat; stick in hand' radical) was invented (ca. 3rd cent. B.C.) to disambiguate the polysemy of 考. Third, the oldest examples of 考 meaning 成 'complete, achieve' all refer to ceremonies carried out in ancestral temples. It became evident that *k'ōg 考 had an overlooked sense of 'to dead father'.

'To dead father' provides a straightforward explanation for the semantic history of kao < k'āu : < *k'ōg 考 and is corroborated by examples of the *k'ōg 考 ancestral sacrifice from the earliest Chinese texts.

Before demonstrating that *k'ōg 考 anciently meant 'to dead father';

² Since "to dead father" is awkward English, the acronym "TDF" is used. In addition to usual abbreviations and symbols (e.g., *), note the following: AC = Archaic Chinese (reconstructed, along with Ancient Chinese, by Karlgren 1957), MSC = Modern Standard Chinese, "Mandarin," (romanized in Pinyin), ~ = alternate pronunciations or characters, → and ← semantic changes, > and < = phonological changes, "" = semantic meaning, and "'" = literal meaning. Matisoff's (1978) coinage "allofam" meaning 'members of the same word family' is used. *K'ōg 考 is italicized for emphasis in translations. In order to allow the consistent use of [] indicating changes/explanations within quotations, the translators' various explanatory additions — e.g., Legge uses italics 1895, ( ) 1885, or [ ] and ( ) 1872 — are all changed to ( ). Owing to typographical reasons ("Mysteries of the Orient," series 42, no. 2.2), colons and semicolons have a space to the left, and diacritics are off-center.
to communicate/commune with ancestral spirits', two preliminary aspects are introduced: 'to dead father' syntactics §1.1 and taboos upon names of the dead §1.2.

§1.1 The Syntax of 'TDF'

To someone unfamiliar with the Chinese language, the idea that *k'ôg 考 'dead father' meant 'TDF' may seem ungrammatical or illogical.

Classical Chinese grammar is essentially determined by contextual word order; defining syntactic word classes like nouns and verbs is (Schuessler 1987: xviii) "difficult and elusive because of the absence of formal distinctions." Karlgren (1923:71) uses shàng 上 'above; up' ~ shàng 上 'rise; raise' to show how one term can correspond with various parts of speech:

- a noun, 上 (lit. "[the one] above") 'the emperor',
- a verb, 上馬 ("[to] above [a] horse") 'to mount a horse',
- a preposition, 馬上 ("horse above") 'on the horse; immediately',
- an adjective, 上偏 ("above side") 'the above side',
- an adverb, 上有天 ("above have heaven") 'there is heaven above'.

On a theoretical level, one can define AC "verbs," but then one is forced to define fuzzy categories of "nouns/adjectives/etc. which act as verbs." For instance, the Confucian formula for good government (Lunyu 論語 12/11) doubles four words as subjects and predicates: 君君臣臣父父子子 The prince [should] be a prince, the minister be a minister, the father be a father, and the son be a son.

AC word classes have pedagogical but not methodological validity.3 Kennedy attempted to write a rigorous word-class grammar of Mencius, and found that class labels could only be depended upon about 60% of the time because there are always exceptions to the "rules" of Western

3. Wang (1956), Li (1957), Chou (1965), and others have discussed the theoretical question of whether or not AC had word classes. The virtual lack of parts of speech is sometimes cited (e.g., Rosemont 1975: 85) as a refutation to syntactic universals.
linguistics:

The project had proceeded on the assumption that word-classes can and must be defined before the relation between words can be grammatically treated. It has now reached the conclusion that in the final analysis word-classes cannot be defined, hence that Chinese grammar must start from different premises. (1956: 323)

This is the traditional view of Chinese linguists. Up until the last century, the only syntactic class distinction was 空字 "empty words" 'grammatical particles' versus 実字 "full words" 'content words'. *K'ôg 考 meaning 'to dead father' and 'dead father' is as linguistically feasible as it meaning 'to examine' and 'examination' in the Shujing §2.4 saying Shun "examined the achievements (of his subordinates). After three examinations he degraded or promoted [them]." English to father meaning 'be the source of; originate, create; found' is roughly analogous with 'TDF'.

§1.2 Avoiding Names of the Dead

It is semantically rare for a language, if not unique for Chinese, to use a 'dead father' word in other meanings. Euphemizing 'die; death' terms and shunning names of the dead are sociolinguistic universals.

First, languages avoid direct reference to unpleasant subjects like 'death', e.g., pass away instead of die, exemplifying what Ullmann (1970: 206) calls the "taboo of delicacy". Besides euphemistic delicacy, there is a psychological reason for periphrasing: since people sometimes confuse things symbolized with symbols, fear of death carries over into fear of using 'death' words. Owing to these reasons, 'die; death' is a center of synonymic attraction in virtually every language.¹

¹. Lexicons have different areas of 'die' specialization. English is notable for having many (the Encyclopedia Americana says "hundreds of") humorous slang expressions, e.g., cash in (one's chips), kick the bucket, bite the dust, push up daisies, and croak. Japanese has a rich lexical field of 'die; death' euphemisms: e.g., iki o hikitoru 息を引き取る "withdraw one's breath," (esp. for death overseas) tsuchi ni naru 土に成る "turn into earth," kotokireru 事切れる "be cut off from
In Chinese, Harvey explains, "si 死 'death' is constantly avoided because:

...death represents the prototype and example par excellence of all the 'ills of life'; hence the abundant euphemisms and circumlocutions for it are understandable. (1938: 205)

The Liji 禮記 gives this early list of Chinese 'death' terms:

The death of a sovereign is called beng 崩 (from the sound of a collapsing edifice); the death of a prince is called hong 薨 (the sound of something breaking); that of a government minister cu 卒 (meaning 'the end'); that of an official [cf. §3.10] bulu 不禄 (meaning ceasing to enjoy emolument); that of the common people si 死 (meaning expiring).

The deceased lying in bed is called shi 尸 (corpse); the deceased in a coffin is called jiu 棺 [§2.1]. The death of the feathered kind is called jiang 降 (descending); that of the four-legged zi 濃 (wasting away). Death in battle is called bing 兵 (meaning killed by soldiers). (2/47, Lai 1983: 18)

The Chinese lexicon has especially many terms for 'death' at unusual times (e.g., shòuzhōng 壽終 "longevity ends" 'death at an old age' [cf. 考終 §2.1], yào 死 'death at a young age') and legal 'death' terms (e.g., huàn 轉 'drawn and quartered by chariots', qìshì 棄市 "discarded in the marketplace" 'public execution').

---

5. In MSC, the number si < si- < *siːd 四 'four' is avoided owing to homonymic clash, but tonal differentiation, with si < si : < *sǐ 死 'die; death'.

6. Cf. (Legge 1855: I: 117) 崩 "has fallen," 薨 "has crashed," 卒 "has ended," 不禄 "is now unsalaried," 死 "has deceased," 尸 "the laid-out," 棺 "being in the long home," 降 "has fallen down," 漢 "is disorganized," and 兵 "is slain by the sword." This is followed by a Liji list of 死 'dead father' terms (2/48, Table 1).

7. 死 combines a yào 死 'young; tender' phonetic & the 歳 'skeletal remains' radical.
Second, names of dead people are avoided and/or tabooed worldwide. In every society, avoiding direct reference expresses commiseration with the sorrows of the bereaved; and in many cultures, there is a fear of evoking the spirits of the dead. Frazer (1911: 349-74) discusses restrictions upon using names of the dead among widely separated peoples: Albanian, Aborigine, Iroquois, Karok, Wintun, Goajiro, Abipone, Yabim, Samoyed, Toda, Mongol, Tuareg, Ainu, Wa-Kamba, Nandi, and Tinguiane. "In all cases," he concludes (1911: 353), "even where it is not expressly stated, the fundamental reason for this avoidance is probably the fear of the ghost." The ancient Chinese circumvented saying names of the dead with mòu < mòu: < *mèi 某 'so and so, a certain', and two of the earliest avoidance (Shuijing §3.7, Yili §3.1) are with 考 '(to) dead father'.

Since Chinese, like most other languages, euphemizes 'death' words and avoids names of the dead, it is enigmatic why kǎo < k’āu : < *k’ōg 考 was used in so many meanings. Taboos for names of the dead usually have the opposite lexical effect and result in periphrases (e.g., English dear departed) and/or circumlocutions (e.g., Katabara Wurponum 'the dead one'). 'Death; dead person' lexemes can be permanently lost, renewed after a certain time, or revised with new meanings. However, the opposite occurred within the Chinese lexicon. MSC kǎo 考 retained the original AC *k’ōg 考 meaning of 'dead father' (e.g., kǎobi 考妣 'deceased father and mother') and commonly means 'examine; test; 

8. *Mèi 某 (ideographically combining 甘 'sweet' & 木 'tree') originally meant měi < muqi < *mowg 桃 'plum tree'. Compare mòu < migu < *miūg 謀 (with the 言 'speech' radical) 'scheme, plan; consult' and the 'examine; think' sense of *k’ōg 考 §2.4.

9. When the name of a dead person happens to be that of a common thing, it is sometimes replaced by another word. Frazer quotes Eyre (1845: 354) that the Moorunde name for 'teal' used to be torpool, but when a boy called Torpool died, a new name of tilquaitch was given to the bird and torpool was dropped from the language. In some cultures, e.g., the Kiowa, people whose names are similar with that of a dead person will change them to avoid offending the ghost.
think about/over' (e.g., *k'āu 考 "examine old study" → 'archaeology').

§2 *K'ÔG 考 MEANINGS

If you do not know about life, how can you know about death? (Confucius)

If a man know not life which he hath seen, how shall he know death, which he hath not seen? (Samuel Butler)

K'āu < k'āu: < *k'ōg 考 has acquired the following senses during its three millennia history:

(1) 'dead father',
(2) 'father',
(3) 'old age; longevity' (= *lōg 老),
(4) 'examine; inquire; think; thoughtful, clever' (= *k'ōg 巧),
(5) 'complete; achieve' (= *qǐng 成),
(6) 'personal name' ("Dead father"),
(7) other meanings (e.g., 'strike', 'flaw', 'wail').

How did the multifarious semantics of k'āu 考 evolve? The traditional interpretation is that it basically meant (1), (2), and (3) 'old/dead father'; was graphically loaned to write (4) and (7); and was semantically extended to (5) and (6).

First, it is difficult to ascertain whether *k'ōg 考 originally meant (1) 'dead father', (2) 'father', or (3) 'old age; longevity'. Since early texts and inscriptions used 考 to mean 'dead father' far more often than 'father' or 'old age', it seems that the latter two were archaic or dialectal usages. These two semantic developments for the basic *k'ōg 考 meanings have been proposed:

(3) 'old age; old man' → (2) 'father' → (1) 'dead father' (Feng 1937: 218)
(3) 'old age' → (1) 'dead father' → (2) 'father' (Karlsgren 1957, no. 1041d)
Another logically possible development would be: (1) 'dead father; TDF' → (2) 'old man; father' → (3) 'old age, longevity'. "Old" can denote 'bygone; dead', e.g., ㄍㄨㄛ ㄌㄨˋ 故友 'deceased friend'.

Second, *k'ôg 考 was a graphic loan meaning (4) *k'ôg 敲 (女 'beat' radical) 'examine; think' and *k'ôg 巧 (工 'work' radical) 'skillful; clever'; (7) *k'ôg 擂 (手 'hand' radical) 'flog; torture', *Xiôg 懲 ('jade' radical) 'flaw (in jade)', and *g'ôg 号 (□ 'mouth' radical) 'wail; cry', cf. §2.7. Graphic loan characters were common before radicals became standardized (late 3rd cent. B.C.); *k'ôg 考 'dead father' and *Xiôg 懲 'filial piety' were used interchangeably on Zhou bronze inscriptions (Karlsgren 1967, nos. 386, 589; 1970, no. 1791).

Third, and most difficult to explain, are the semantic extensions of *k'ôg 考 to meanings (5) 成 'complete; achieve' and (6) 'personal name' in violation of the 'dead' taboo §1.2. Two early explanations of 考 = (5) 成 involve meanings (1) 'dead father' and (3) 'old age': a son 成 'completing' a 考 'dead father's virtuous conduct (Zheng Xuan's Liji [2/48, Table 1] commentary); or 成 'achieve' a 'long life; old age' (the Shuo-wen §2.3 考 'old' definition).

For each of these seven *k'ôg 考 senses, probable etymologies are discussed and textual usages are cited in §2.1–§2.7. Every 考 occurrence from the earliest (ca. 11th-6th cents. B.C.) Chinese texts — Shijing 詩經 "Book of Poetry," authentic Shijing 書經 "Book of Documents," and Yijing 易經 "Book of Changes" — is cited, along with selected 'TDF' examples from later texts.

§2.1 'Dead Father'

The basic k'ao < k'ôu : < *k'ôg 考 'dead father' meaning has three possible allophones:

10. Cf. English old man 'father; husband; boyfriend' (～ 'boss', esp. Old Man) and colloquial Chinese taozi 老子 "old one" 'father' (Feng 1937: 217).
jiù < g'ièu- < *g'iëg 枷 'coffin with corpse',
kāo < k'āu : < *k'ōg 稓 'dead/dried tree',
xiù < Xieu : < *Xiōg 巷 (cf. 考) 'rot, decay; forgotten (§3.11').

All these graphs have the 木 'tree; wood' radical.11

Kāo < k'āu : < *k'ōg 考 'dead father; ancestor' and bī < pji : ~
pji~ < *pièr 扱 'dead mother; ancestress' are what Feng specifies as
"epitaphic" terms:
Sacrificial terms were used in ancient times for the direct lineal
ancestors when offering sacrifices to them. There are only a few
such terms, but they are now obsolete. Epitaphic terms are used on
epitaphs and monuments. Strictly speaking, there are only two such
terms, [kāo] 考 for father and [bī] 扱 for mother. It is only the sons
who erect epitaphs for their parents. Sacrificial and epitaphic terms
are often confused with terms modified by "posthumous" modifiers.
They are frequently used interchangeably, since they all refer to dead
relatives, although in slightly different senses. Nevertheless, there
are some very interesting changes which are of historical signifi-
cance. (1937: 159)
Some of these historically significant changes can be seen in Table 1.

The sacrificial term *pièr 扱 'dead mother' frequently occurs with
*k'ōg 考 'dead father',12 for instance:
In the 28th year [traditionally reckoned as 2257 B.C.], Fang
[Xun, i.e., Yao] died, the people were as if mourning for [考拋] a
dead father or mother; for [three] years within the four seas, they
stopped and quieted the eight (kinds of) (sounds =) music [§3.2]. In
the first month, on the first day Shun went to the (temple of) the 文
祖 [cf. §3.5] Accomplished Ancestor(s). (Shujing 2/11-12, Karlsgren

---

11. Cf. 稓 'dead tree' with gāo < kāu : < *k'ōg 稓 (with the 禾 'grain' radical) 'dead
grass, straw'.

12. The Fangyan 方言 (8/6a) says *pièr 扱 'dead mother' means bī < pji : < *pièr
比 'compare; close' ~ bī < pji~ < *bièr 比 'combine; go with'.
*Tsopier 祖妣 ʻancestor (and) ancestressʼ was commonplace on Shang oracles (Ding 1965: 2079) and Zhou texts.13

When *k’og 考 means ʻdead fatherʼ in early texts and inscriptions, it is usually (n.b. Yijing §3.8) modified in a compound, e.g., Table 1,14 most frequently with huáng < γwāng < *g’wāng 皇 ʻaugust; stately; reveredʼ or zū < tsuo : < *tso 祖 ʻgrandfather; ancestorʼ. *G’wāngk’og 皇考 ʻrevered dead father(s)ʼ occurs in the Shijing:

Oh, august dead father for (long-) endless generations you deserve to be piously revered. (286, Karlgren 1950a: 248) [cf. the preceding line in §3.4]

Gracing me is the august dead father, thereby preserving and [明] enlightening my person. (278, Karlgren 1950a: 249)15 "To enlighten" sounds like "TDF." *Tsok’og 祖考 can specifically mean ’(dead) grandfather and dead father’ (e.g., Shujing 45/3, Legge 1865: 580 "your grandfather and father”), or generally mean ’ancestral dead fathers’ (e.g., Zuozhuan 襄公 14, Legge 1872: 467 "your ancestors”).

Table 1 lists the earliest definitions of AC names for dead relatives.16

13. For instance, the Shijing:

We make wine and sweet clarified wine; we offer it to 祖妣 ancestors and ancestresses and so consummate the (hundred =) many rites. (279, 290; Karlgren 1950a: 245, 251) He resembles and succeeds his 祖妣 foremothers and forefathers. (189/2; Karlgren 1950a: 130)

14. Compare the sacrificial modifiers zhào 昭 ʻbright; shrined on the leftʼ and mǔ 穆 ʻsplendid; shrined on the rightʼ in §3.4.

15. Karlgren translates 祖考 in the Shijing as both singular and plural:
...
he offers them [sacrifices] to the ancestors . (260/3 and 261/1; Karlgren 1950a: 228 and 230)

16. The two Liji definitions in Table 1 are in the longest and shortest chapters of the text: 2 is the "Qu Li 曲禮 Varieties?/Minutia? of Ritual," a mixed collection of ritual passages and 23 is the "Ji Fa 祭法 Laws of Sacrifice," a short, and possibly forged, list of terminology.
The nuclear kinship terms are: 父 < 伯父 < 父父, 母 < 子 < 母母, 父 < 伯父 < 父父 夫 'husband', and 姊 < 妹 < 姊妹 妻 'wife'. Their modifiers are: *g'wång 皇 and *tso 祖 above, 王 < 伯wang < 祖 'king', 增 < 增 < *tseng 曾 'added, increased; late', 前 < Xiän < *Xian 端 'great; bright; illustrious', and 高 < 高 < *kog 高 'high; revered'. Note the following abbreviations: H = husband, W = wife, F = father, M = mother, gr = grand - (father/mother), and g = great - (grand-father/mother).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>WORD</th>
<th>MEANINGS ACCORDING TO:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Li ji (2/48)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>考</td>
<td>'dead F'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>妹</td>
<td>'dead M'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>嫡</td>
<td>'dead W'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>皇辟</td>
<td>'dead H'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>皇考</td>
<td>'dead F'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>皇妣</td>
<td>'dead M'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>王父</td>
<td>'grF'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>王母</td>
<td>'grM'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>王考</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>皇祖考</td>
<td>'dead grF'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>皇祖妣</td>
<td>'dead grM'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>曾祖王父</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>曾祖王母</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>高祖王父</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>高祖王母</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>顯考</td>
<td>'dead gggrF'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>祖考</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The first Liji list in Table 1 defines *k'ōg 考 as 'dead father' in posthumous names for two generations.

In sacrificing to them, a grandfather is called [皇祖考] "the sovereign grandfather"; a grandmother, [皇祖妣] "the sovereign grandmother"; a father, [皇考] "the sovereign father"; a mother, [皇妣] "the sovereign mother"; a husband, [皇辟] "the sovereign pattern."\(^{17}\)

While (they are) alive, the names of father (fu [父]), mother (mu [母]), and wife ([qi 妻]) are used; when they are dead, those of "the completed one ([kao 考, < 'complete' §2.5])," "the corresponding one ([bi 妃])," and "the honoured one ([bin 嫔])."

*Death in old age [壽考, §3.3] is called a "finished course ([zu 卒])" and early death, "being unsalaried ([hulu 不祿])." (2/48, Legge 1885: I: 118)

This definition groups *k'ōg 考 'dead father' and *pior 姣 'dead mother' (above) with ㄊn < b'ìên < *b'ìên 嬪 'wife' in the dubious meaning of 'dead wife'. *B'ìên 嬪 probably did not mean 'deceased wife' because it means '(living) wife'; concubine' everywhere except in this definition. In early Zhou texts, * b'ìên 嬪 was used for "to wife" → 'to marry'; e.g., Shujing (1/12, Karlgren 1950b: 4) Yao sent his daughters "to be wives in the Yu (house)." In various later texts (and even another Liji section\(^{18}\)), 嬪 means 'concubine', e.g., Zuozhuan (昭公 3, Legge 1872: 588) "ladies of your bed chamber."\(^{19}\)

---

17. Note this unusual sense of ㄊi < p'ìêk < *p'ìêk 星 'ruler, prince; father; brilliant' which Legge takes as a loan for 聾 'compare; simile'.

18. The 九竇 'nine pin consorts/concubines' are mentioned in the Liji (44/8, Legge 1885: II: 4) and the Zhouli 周禮 (1/38, 7/14, 25; Biot 1851: 17, 149, 154). Van Gulik explains why nine:

Since the king has a maximum of [德 de], he needs a large number of female partners to nourish and perpetuate it through sexual intercourse. The king has one queen (hou), three consorts [furen], nine wives of the second rank [bin], twenty-seven wives of the third rank [shifu], and eighty-one concubines [yuqi]. These figures are fixed according to a hoary number magic. (1961: 17)

19. The Zhouli (2/24, Biot 1851: 27) uses *b'ìên 嬪 'wife' as a polite term for 'woman'. Another reason to doubt *b'ìên 嬪 meaning 'dead wife' is the absence of a corresponding 'dead husband' term (cf. già < kwa : < *kwa 夫 'widow' and
The second *K'og 考 'To Dead Father' Hypothesis gives five generational *k'og 考 terms for miǎo < miào- < *miog 廟 'ancestral temples':

Thus the king made for himself seven ancestral temples, with a raised altar and the surrounding area for each. The temples were—[考廟] his father's; [王考廟] his grand father's; [皇考廟] his great-grand father's; [顓考廟] his great-great-grand father's; and [祖考廟] the temple of his (high) ancestor. At all of these a sacrifice was offered every month. (23/5, Legge 1885: II: 204-6)

This context repeats these terms seventeen times in listing how many temples and altars could be maintained by the particular feudal classes.

The third list of ancestral names in Table 1 defines *k'og 考 and *piēr 豈 as 'father' and 'mother', not 'dead father' and 'dead mother'. Feng says the Erya mourning system, when compared with that in the Yili (generally equivalent with the Liji):

...is inconsistent and less differential in many respects. Certain classical scholars naively tried to amend the [Erya] with the [Yili] system since they considered the [Erya] system below the standard of Confucian ideals of kinship. They failed to see that the [Erya] represents an early state of the system and the [Yili] a later but rationalized system worked over to conform with the mourning system. (1937: 181)

However, there is not one textual example of *piēr 豈 'dead mother' meaning 'mother' and in every case where commentators cite 考 meaning 'father' it seems to mean 'TDF' §2.2 and §3.8.

---

20. 4/2 repeats these terms for the maternal side with the prefix wài < ngwāi- < *ngwād 外 'out, outside'. The Erya additionally defines *k'og 考 as 《§2.5.

---

guān < kwān < *kwen 腕 'widower'). *Kwā 稣 and *kwēn 腕 'widows and widowers' precede a *k'og 考 'dead father'? or 'TDF'? usage §3.8 in the Shujing (27/8, Karlgren 1950b: 37).
§2.2 'Father; Old Man'

Kòu < k’aiu : < *k’ōg 考 meaning living, not dead, 'father' ←?→ 'old man' could be cognate with:

jiù < g’iu : < *g’iōg 舅 'maternal uncle; father-in-law',
xiāo < Xau- < *Xōg 孝 'filial piety',
āo < ‘āu : < *s–k’ōg 老 'old woman; mother',
sōu < sōu : < *sug < *s–kug 臺 'old man; father'.

The logographs for *Xōg 孝 'filial piety' and *k’ōg 考 share the 老 'old' radical and they were interchangeable graphic loans §2.3. Karlsgren did not reconstruct an AC pronunciation for āo < *āu : 老 'old woman', which would be **-ōg according to the Guangyun; but Benedict reconstructs it as **s–k’ōg, based on his hypothesis (1976: 182) that Archaic and Ancient Chinese glottal stop initials **- (Karlsgren’s **-) "are for the most part to be reconstructed with initial *s–k.” This parallel between *k’ōg 考 'old man' and **s–k’ōg 老 'old woman' could extend to *sug 臺 'old man; father' ←?→ **s–kug.22

In the earliest Erya (4/1, Table 1) commentary, Guo Pu (A.D. 276–324) says although his contemporaries accepted the Liji (2/48, Table 1) definition that *k’ōg 考 and *p’iōr 母 meant 'dead father and mother', they were anciently used for 'living parents'. Guo supports 考 'father' with citations from the Shujing (29/16 and 30/5–6, §3.8) and the Gongyangzhuan below.23 Two of the best Erya commentators, Xing Bing

21. *G’iōg 舅 is connected (Benedict 1942: 333) with Tibeto-Burman *k’u (> Tibetan khu 'paternal uncle', Kachin ku 'maternal father', and the Burmese honorable prefix kui), and 'the respected one' sense comes from the old system of cross-cousin marriage.

22. The word gōng < kung < *kung 公 'duke; father; ruler; clan head' shares a 'father' meaning with *k’ōg 考, but their *-ng and *-g finals are disparate. Compare wēng < *w’ung < *w’ung 萬 (公 & 羽 'feather') 'old man; father; father-in-law' which Benedict (1972: 183) reconstructs as *w’ung < **s–kun.

23. Guo cites a Cangjiebian definition of 考妣 as 'extended/prolonged age' §2.3 and notes analogous semantic shifts (Benedict 1942: 334) of using xiōng <
(A.D. 931-1010) and Hao Yixing (A.D. 1757-1825) try to support Guo that 考 and 母 were anciently used for 'living parents'. Xing refers to the Shujing (2/11, §2.1 "as if mourning for a dead father or mother") in which 考 definitely does not mean 'father'. Hao quotes the Yili 禮儀 (12/23b, §3.1) usage of 考 as a verb ('TDF?') and the Fangyan 方言 (6/55) definition of southern dialectal terms mǔdìō < mǔ:tā < *mɔtā 母 for "婦妣 wife's mother" and fǔdìō < b’hù:tā < *b’hɔwtɑ 父 媼 for "婦考 wife's father." The Fangyan editor Yang Xiung (53 B.C.-A.D. 18) specifically notes "the ancients used 考 and 母 for 'father' and 'mother'."

Although these lexicographers and dictionaries define k’ē 考 as 'father' and p’ēr 母 as 'mother', there is virtually no early textual corroboration. Feng claims that:

The posthumous term is [bi 母 'dead mother'], as defined by the [Shuwowen]. Yet this view is sometimes disputed, since in classical literature the term was often used indiscriminately for both living and dead mother. The modern usage follows the interpretation of the [Liji], that mu is used when the mother is living, and [bi] when she is dead. (1937: 221-2)

However, Feng's only example "in classical literature" is the Erya above. Commentators cannot find one case of 母 'dead mother' meaning 'mother' and their Shujing §3.8 考 citations more likely mean 'TDF' than 'father'. This leaves only the Gongyangzhuang 考 'father' reference to a deceased father.

The Gongyangzhuang 公羊傳 commentary to the Chunqiu 春秋 history

Xiuāng < *Xiwāng 兄 'elder brother' for dī < d’iei : < *d’iər 弟 'younger brother' and using méi < mui- < *muɔd 妹 'younger sister' for wèi < juei- < *g iɔd 嫡 'younger sister'.

24. Yang glosses the pronunciation of 媼 with its phonetic dů < tā < *tɔ 多, but in the Guanyun it is glossed as chi < tš’i̯c : < *tš’i̯ug ~ shí < zí < *ti̯ug. This definition lists fǔ < b’hù : < *b’hwo 父 and fǔlǎo < b’hu;lǎn : < *b’hɔwɔlɔɡ (＜p * b’lɔɡ Serruys 1957: 156) 父老 "father old" as southern Chu dialectal 'father' terms.
of Duke Yin of Lu (r. 722-712 B.C., cf. §2.5-6) uses 考 to mean 'father' with 母 'mother'. Duke Hui 惠公 had two sons: Yin 隱 whose mother was Shengzi 声子 and Xuan 桓 whose mother was Zhongzi 仲子. The Chunqiu begins with Yin's ascension in the second month of 722 B.C. (implying that his father Hui died shortly before), but says King Ping 平王 (r. 770-717 B.C.) did not send funeral gifts until five months later:

[秋七月天王使宰咺来歸惠公仲子之赗] In autumn, in the seventh month, the king (by) Heaven's (grace) sent the (sub-)administrator [Xuan] with a present of (two) carriages and their horses for the funerals of Duke [Hui] and (his wife) [Zhongzi]. (郕公1, Legge 1872: 3)

Legge translates two funerary gifts on the assumption that Duchess Zhongzi was dead, but the Zuozhuan 左傳 commentary specifies she was not:

...the king's message and gift arrived too late so far as Duke [Hui] was concerned...[Zhongzi] was not yet dead, and the message and gift were too early, so far as she was concerned. (Legge 1872: 6)

This is where the Gongyangzhuan uses — Legge says "absurdly" — 考 'father' in didactic reference to Yin's 'dead father' Hui.

[惠公者何隠之考也仲子者何桓之母也何以不稱夫人桓未君也] Who was Duke Hui? Yin's [考] father. Who was Zhongzi? Xuan's [母] mother? Why was she called wife?25 Because Xuan was not yet duke. (tr. auth.)

Since this 考 refers to the deceased duke, it does not clearly mean 'living father'. A 'TDF' explanation for the long delay between death and burial would be attempts at making the deceased Hui speak through the *k'ôg ceremony.26

---

25. This 夫人 'wife; consort' is believed to refer to the Chunqiu's notation that "夫人子氏 wife lady Zi" died in the twelfth month of 721 B.C. Legge (1872:8) follows Gu Liang that 夫人子氏 refers to Yin's unnamed wife "the (duke's) wife, the lady [Zi], died"; but Gong Yang says it means Yin's mother Shengzi, while Du Yu says it means Xuan's mother Zhongzi.
The 'father' meaning of *k’ōg 考 is problematical; the lack of textual corroboration, other than dictionaries, seems to indicate a non-standard meaning. 'Father' meaning 'old man' is semantically linked into the next 考 meaning.

§2.3 'Old Age; Longevity'

Three aspects of *k’ōg 考 meaning 'old age; long life, longevity' are discussed: (1) 考 and 老 'old' logographs, (2) the *k’ōg < ? **k-/g- lōg 考 pronunciation, and (3) early 考 'old age' textual examples.

(1) The graphic history of 考, 考, and 老 *k’ōg 考 into a perspective going back over three thousand years.

The modern 楷 "clerical" graph 考 for kāo combines the radical 老 'old (person)' with the phonetic kāo < *k’āu : < *k’ōg 丐. This same combination is seen in the (11th-3rd cents. B.C.) Zhou dynasty bronze 大篆 "greater seal" graph 大 and the (3rd cent. B.C.) Qin dynasty 小篆 "lesser seal" graph 小—but not the (ca. 15th?-11th cents. B.C.) Shang dynasty 甲骨 "oracle" graph 甲.

Table 2--Graphic Changes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ORACLE</th>
<th>BRONZE</th>
<th>SEAL</th>
<th>CLERICAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>考</td>
<td>考</td>
<td>考</td>
<td>考</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>丐</td>
<td>丐</td>
<td>丐</td>
<td>丐</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>丐</td>
<td>丐</td>
<td>丐</td>
<td>丐</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

26. The Zuozhuan subsequently notes that three months later:

...the body of Duke [Hui] was removed and buried a second time. As the duke was not present, the event was not recorded. When Duke [Hui] died, there was war with [Song], and the heir-prince was young, so that there was some omission in the burial. He was therefore now buried again, and in another grave. (Legge 1872: 7)

Long mourning periods in which corpses were not buried and secondary burial (Carr 1985: 79-82) were ancient Chinese customs consistent with 'TDF'.

...
On Shang oracles, ∗lōg 考 'old' was written 弈 or 弈, picturing an 'old person' with long hair (or a hat?) leaning on a cane/stick;27 but ∗k'ōg 考 'dead/old father' was written 輯 resembling (Shima 1971: 277) the oracular 禫 for 'roof' (cf. 禫 for 宗 'ancestral temple; ancestor'). This graphic possibility that ∗k'ōg 考 meant 'dead father's temple' (cf. §3.4) is tentatively confirmable; the only known oracle inscription with ∗k'ōg 考 (殷虚書契後編 35: 5, Shima 1971: 277) seemingly names an ancestor or ancestral temple: (in modern characters) "辛酉卜王貞余考 Crack-making (on the day) xin-you, the king divined to?/in? ∗k'ōg...[missing graphs]." It is conceivable that a ∗k'ōg temple name was applied to the name of a ceremony performed in it.

The logographs 考 'old' and 考 '(old/dead) father' differ in their lower elements 々 and 々. The former 々 is an inverted 人 'person' seen in 死 (with the 死 'skeletal remains' radical) 'dead; death' and 尸 (with the 尸 'corpse; personator' radical) 'close; near'.28 The unknown meaning of the latter phonetic element 々 is interpreted as: ' (stifled) sob/breath' (Shuowen, Wieger 1915: 152), 'curved, bent' (Katō 1960,29 cf. *ku 句 'bent' above), or 'carving knife' (Morohashi 1981).30 This kāo <

27. Long hair was pictured at the top of oracle graphs for 妻 'wife; mate' (Table 1), 長 'tall; long (time); elder'; and 先 'before, former; advance'.

28. In the Shuijing (Karlsgren 1970, no. 1492), *ništ 呢 'intimate; close' is interpreted as 'closest relative' → 'dead father', i.e., *ništ 考 'dead father; dead father's temple/shrine'. The modern graph 彴 (cf. 彴 'seven') is used for 彴 < 彴: < 彴 'spoon, ladle', but 彴 was originally used for 彴 < 彴: < 彴 彴 'dead mother' §2.1.

29. Katō (1960, nos. 405, 2367) contradicts himself, and says ∗k'ōg 彴 means 'curved' and 'flat' because it resembles the bottom of the oracle graph 彴 for *b'ięng 彴 'duckweed' floating 彴 彴 'level, flat' on water.

30. 彴 has graphic similarities with: kuā < k'wa < ∗k'wā 夷 (大 'big' radical) 'boast; vanity', xt < yie < *gieg? 于 'final particle', hū < yu < ∗g'uo 于 'final exclamation; interrogative; preposition', yā < jiū < *g'wō 于 'go; preposition',
The *K'og 考 'To Dead Father' Hypothesis

k'âu : < * k'og ṭ phonetic is used in:
   kāo < k'âu : < * k'og ṭ 彳 (女 'beat' radical) 'examine',
   qiāo < k'âu : ~ k'āu- < * k'og 巾 (工 'work' radical) 'skillful',
   xìu < Xień : < * Xióg 枳 (木 'tree; wood' radical) 'decay, rot',
   hāo < yāu- < * g'og 口 (口 'mouth' radical) 'sob; wail; call',
   hāo < yāu- < * g'og 虚 (虎 'tiger' radical) 'call; cry out',
   kāo < k'âu : < * k'og 楖 (木 'tree; wood' radical) 'a tree (§3.2)',
   kāo < k'āu : < * k'og 拖 (手 'hand' radical) 'flog; torture'.

(2) *K'og 考 and *log 老 'old' are the classic example (first given in the Shuowen postface, Tern 1966: 11) of the unusual type of Chinese character called zhúanzhū 轉注 "turn [and] pour/flow" 'mutually explanatory cognates; extended meanings'. The Shuowen synonymously defines 考 = 老 and 老 = 考 (or 'septuagenarian'), but 考 does not immediately follow 老 in the typical fashion for zhúanzhū pairs; they are oddly separated by seven definitions of terms written with the 老 'old' radical.31 Serruys believes:

The reason for this sequence is probably that 考 is also closely related with the next word under discussion in [Shuowen], 孝 *Xǐg defined 善事父母者 "What is (known as) to serve his parents" i.e. filial piety; it is analysed as a [ huiyi 会意 'associative compound ideograph'] 从 老省从子. 子承老也 "From shortened 老 and 子; 子 (means) 'the son receives the older (parent)'." (1957: 154)

This 孝 definition has a 'TDF' interpretation: 善事父母者 could have literally meant 'be good at sacrificing to one's parents; be good at TDF'

and kū < Xīu < *Xiüo 向 (with the 口 'mouth' radical) 'sigh; alas'. The pause particle could have derived ← 'sigh; exhale'.

31. Between 考 and 孝, the Shuowen (8/67b-68b) lists: * d’iet 異 'octogenarian', * mog 腹 'nonagenarian' (pr. 腹 * Xog?), * g’ier 耐 'old; sexagenarian', * ku 胜 'old person whose face is [凍裂] frozen and black, as if [垢 * ku] dusty', * tiem 胜 'old person whose face seems covered with [age] spots', * diu 腹 'trottering walk', * diog 腹 'old age; longevity'.
because *shi < *dz'i- < *dz'iog 事 'serve, service; assignment; affair' anciently meant 'ancestral sacrifice' (Karlgren 1970, nos. 1489, 1756; cf. "Kang Gao" §3.8). Compare this last 子承考 also with the *Yijing (18, §3.8) 意承考也 "He receives in his thoughts the deceased father."

In the meaning of 'old age', kào < kau: < *k'òg 考 has likely allofams of:

lào < lau: < *lòg 老 'old, be/grow old',
jiù < g'eu- < *g'iüg 舊 'old, ancient; long ago',
jiù < kiu: < *k'iüg 久 'long (time); wait'.

The 'old age' synonymy of *k'òg 考 and *lòg 老 suggests derivation from some consonant cluster: **glòg (Bodman 1954: 51), **klòg (Tōdō 1965: 206), or **kl'òg 考 ~ **glòg 老 < **b'òg ~ **bglòg ~ **b'lòg (Serruys 1957: 152-7). This *g-/k-lòg cluster protoform seems evident in *g'ok'òg 胡考 and *di'òkg'òg 傅考 below. Xiao (1944): connects *lòg 老 'old' with 'bent back; bent over with old age' words such as:

gōu < kou < *ku 句 'hook(ed); curved, bent',
gōu < kou: < *ku 龢 (老 & 句) 'old; wizened (face)',
gōulou < kou: < *kulu 句僛 'bent back; hunchback'.

Karlgren's *-u finals above are incompatible with the *-òg in 考 *k'òg, but Dong (1944) reconstructs *-ug for *k'ûg 句, *kûg 龢, and *kûglûg 句僛, suggesting an 'old; bent over' etymon of **klòg ~ *kl'òg.

There could have been a *mòg 毛 'hairy' link between *k'òg 考 and *lòg 老. 

Since the upper portions of early graphs for 考 and 老 (Table

---

32. Cf. shōu < zhu: < *dìog 傅 'old age; longevity' and zhōng < tsüng < *tılóng 終 'end, finish; forever' in 考终 §2.1.

33. The (ca. A.D. 100) Shuowenjiesi 説文解字 (8/67, Serruys 1957: 152) graphically analyzes 考 (Table 2) as coming: "From 人 man, 毛 hair and 匕 (read as 化 'change, transform'). It means that beard and hair turn white." Although 毛 'hair' was the upper element in the early graphs for 考 and 考, the lower element 匕 originally pictured an inverted (dead?) 人 person §2.3, not 化 'changing; whitening' hair.
2) were written with 毛 '(long) hair', they may be phonologically related with 毛 < 毛 < *mōg 毛 'hair' (cf. *mog 非 'nonagenarian'). Serruys (1957: 153-4) thinks this *mog 毛 element was an "endomorphic" or "suppressed" phonetic and reconstructs 毛 as **m’og ～ *gmog.

(3) Every problem with the Shijing and Shujing usages of 考 'old age; longevity' can be explained in 'TDF' terms.

The Shijing only uses 考 meaning 'old age' in the synonym-compounds *dīōgk’ōg 壽考 * g’ok’ōg 胡考 with shōu < ㄓ ec: < *dīōg 壽 'longevity; old age; aged' and hù < 归o < *g’o 胡 'barbarian; how, why; far-reaching'.* *dīōgk’ōg 壽考 'longevity' (cf. Table 1) usually refers (except odes 130, 173, and 238) to ancestral spirits granting 'long life' to their descendants:

...may he have long life and endless fame...may he have high old age and not be forgotten...the spirits have enjoyed the wine and food, they will cause the lord to have long life ...he presents ['wine and food'] to our representative of the dead and to our guests; a longevity of a myriad years...the descendant will have long life and receive Heaven's blessing...may the king of [Zhou] have a high old age, is he not a man indeed!...a high old age is propitious; and so they increase the great felicity...majestic is its [city of Shang] fame, bright is its divine power; in longevity and peace it protects us, the descendants. (130/2, 173/2, 209/6, 210/3, 4, 238/4, 246/8, and 305/5, Karlgren 1950a: 84, 117, 163, 164, 191, 202, 266)

*G’ok’ōg <? **glōg 胡考, which has been interpreted (Karlgren 1964, no. 1126) as 'achieved (old age); long life', 'old and (achieved =) perfected ones', or '(far reaching =) great old age', occurs twice:

Fragrant is the smell [of sacrificial wine], [胡考之寧] that is

---

34. Dobson (1968: 16) notes such synonym-compounds are "comparatively rare" in the Shijing and usually exist for the sake of meter. Cf. *g’oku 胡考 in the Zuozhuan (僖公 22, Legge 1872: 183) "the old and withered."
(secures) the tranquillity of those with a great old age. (290, Karlsgren 1950a: 251)

The good wine is (soft =) mellow; they are not noisy, not clamorous; [胡考之休] that (is =) secures the (rest =) tranquillity of those of a great old age. (292, Karlsgren 1950a: 252)

Since most Shijing 考 'old age' usages are in contexts of praying to ancestral spirits, they could have originally been 'TDF' references.

The 五福 "five felicities" listed in the Shujing imply that *k’øg 考 meant something other than 'old age; long life':

The first is called [壽] long life, the second riches, the third ease and tranquillity, the fourth the cultivation of a fine virtue, the fifth the [考終命] achievement of a (naturally) ended life. (24/33, Karlsgren 1950b: 35)

The contrast between the first and last felicities show that 考 meant more than simple 'long life' and was associated with some 終 'final; after death?' 命 'order; mandate' (cf. Duke Shao §3.6).

The above Shijing and Shujing examples of *k’øg 考 'old age' are all consistent with the 'TDF' hypothesis. The only other early 'old age' usage, quoted by Guo Pu in §3.2, is the no longer extant Cangjiepian 萬頌篇 definition of 考 '(dead) father' and 考 '(dead) mother' as 延年 'extended/prolonged age'.

35. These two phrases describing results of drinking sacrificial wine have 胡考之 'the old one's... with ning < nieng < *nieng 寧 'peace, tranquillity; prefer' and xiū < Xīu 'rest; good; blessing'. Though Karlsgren (1964, no. 1126) equates 寧 with 休 and translates both phrases identically "that (is =) secures the (rest =) tranquillity of those of a great old age "; the former 胡考之寧 can be translated "to give comfort to the aged " (Legge 1871: 603) or "the blessed elders are at rest" (Waley 1937a: 162, noting an alternate 寧 meaning of 'are reassured; visit to reassure'); and the latter 胡考之休 is translated "an auspice, (all this), of great longevity " (Legge 1871: 606), or "the blessed ancestor will send a boon" (Waley 1937a:237).

36. Legge (1865: 343) translates "the fifth is an end crowning the life," and notes 考 means 西 'to accomplish', the felicity of "accomplishing to the end the will of Heaven."
§2.4 'Examine; Think'

Chinese philologists have always explained the 'examine; think about; consider; thoughtful' meaning of 考 < 考 < *k'og 考 as a graphic loan for 考 < 考 < *k'og 考 (with the 考 'beat' radical) 'examine; plan; consider; inquire' and/or 求 < 考 : ~ 考 < *k'og 求 (with the 工 'work' radical) 'skillful, clever, ingenious'. The flaw with this loan explanation is that it reverses history: *k'og 考 meant 'examine' long before 求 was invented (ca. 3rd cent. B.C.) to graphically disambiguate 'examine' from 考's overloaded '(dead) father; old age; achieve; etc.' meanings.

"Lesser seal" graphs (cf. Table 2) of the Qin dynasty (221–207 B.C.) clarified the *k'og 考 meaning 'examine; inquire' by creating the 書 graph (cf. §2.7), and at about the same time the Zhoulī 周禮 (cf. §3.10) was the first text to graphically distinguish 書 'examine' and 求 'skillful' from 考 'dead father'. The former *k'og 書 'examine' refers (29/43, Biot 1851: 184) to corvée labor management "pour préparer l'examen définitif." The latter *k'og 求 'skillful' occurs in:

Les hommes savants inventent [technologies like metal-casting].

Les hommes habiles continuent ce que les premiers ont commencé ...on appelle cela un habile arrangement [of color symbolism].

(40/8, 42/6; Biot 1851: II: 459, 516)

In contrast with 書, 求 < 考 : ~ 考 < *k'og 求 'skillful; clever, ingenious; artful' is attested in early texts along with 考, e.g., *k'ogngjūn 巧言 "skillful speech" 'glib' occurs in the Shijing (194/5, Karlsgren 1950a: 141) "artful words."38

Within the AC semantic field of 'examine; think', 考 < 考 <

37. This 求 'skillful' occurs in the section named "Kaogongji 考工記 Record of [考工] Examining Workers," Chaps. 40–44.

38. The Shijing also uses 求 in "her artfully smiling (mouth)...artful smile" (57/2, 59/3, Karlsgren 1950a:38, 41) and "he runs agilely" (106/1, Karlsgren 1950a:69).
*k’ôg 考 has probable allofams of:39
kāo < k’āu : < *k’ôg 考 'examine; plan; consider; inquire',
qūo < k’āu : ~ k’āu ← < *k’ôg 巧 'skillful, clever, ingenious',
jiāo < kau ← < *kôg 交 ~ 校 'examine; compare; check',
hé < yek < **g’êk 視 'kernel, pit; examine',
hé < yek < *g’êk 核 'kernel, pit; examine'.
The first three *-g words have *-δ, *-ئ, and *-ד vocalic variation opposed with the last two *-êk 'kernel; examine' terms. *Kôg 交 first signifies 'compare' in the Shujing (6/31, Karlgren 1950b: 18) "The various soils were compared," and *k’ôkgô 考校 means 'examination' in the Liji (18/4, Legge 1885: II: 183) : "Every year some entered the college, and every second year there was a comparative examination."

*G’êk 核 ~ 視 'kernel; pit' was semantically extended → 'go to the kernel' → 'examine; scrutinize'40 and in later texts (e.g., Hou Hanshu 後漢書) was compounded with *k’ôg 考 and *kôg 校 into the synonym-compounds 視考, 校覈, 考覈, and 考核 meaning 'examine; compare; check'. The problem with this 'kernel' loan explanation is lack of early textual support; except a dubious Shujing graphic variant (Karlgren 1970, no. 2059) for *k’êk 克 'manage' and this ambiguous *g’êk 核 'kernel' usage in the (ca. 300 B.C.) Zhuangzi 芝子:

[勛核大至] If you go too far in trying to force a conclusion,41 the other is sure to respond with poor judgment, and he will not even know

39. Cf. juē < kâê < *kōk 覺 'awake; understand; become aware; feel', xuē < yâk < *g’ôk 学 'learn; study; imitate', gōng < kung < *kung 功 'achievement; result; effort' and mōu < mizù < *mîu < ? *môg 謂 'scheme; plan; consult'.

40. Cf. the 穴 'hole' radical's graphic analogy between qiāng < g’iûng < *g’ông 穴 'extreme, examine thoroughly' and jiā < kium ← < *kêg 穴 'go to the end; investigate, examine'.

41. This follows a 巧言 "cunning words" usage. Cf. these translations: "Whether one party drives the other too much into a corner" (Giles 1962:48, copied by Fung 1933:84); "If our demands on another become too exacting" (Ware 1963:35); "(Men, too,) if you press them too hard" (Watson 1968:61).
The *K’ōg 考 'To Dead Father' Hypothesis

what is happening to him. (4/50, Graham 1981: 71)

*G’ek 'kernel; examine' is a long way from meaning *k’ōg 'thought'.

*K’ōg 考's wide semantic range across 'think; examine, judge; consider; deliberate; ascertain, investigate; inquire; scrutinize; plan' is not simply caused by translating into English: the Chuci 楚辞 commentary of Wang Yi (ca. A.D. 89–158) gives three different 考 explanations:42

What means are there to examine [Wang: 知 定 'know for certain'] what it was like before heaven above and earth below had taken shape? (3/1b, Hawkes 1959: 46)

There was no means to prove [校 'examine, compare'] to my prince this perfect virtue. (9/1b, Hawkes 1959: 103)


The earliest examples of *k’ōg 考 supposedly meaning 'examine; consider' are in the Shujing and Yijing. The Shujing specifies official 'examination' by legendary sage-kings:

I have examined your words; your words have been accomplished and been capable of yielding fine results. (2/2, Karlgren 1950b: 4)

Every three years he examined the achievements (of his subordinates). After three examinations he degraded or promoted the (dark =) unenlightened and the enlightened (respectively). (38; Karlgren 1950b: 8)43

42. A fourth Chuci occurrence (4/26a, Hawkes 1959:74 "And he, without examining to sound out the truth of it") has no gloss by Wang.

43. The latter resembles a passage in the Liji:

Therefore, ceremonies form a great instrument in the hands of a ruler. It is by them that he resolves what is doubtful and brings to light what is abstruse; that he conducts his intercourse with [神明] Spiritual Beings examines all statutory arrangements, and distinguishes benevolence from righteousness; it is by them, in
The *Yijing* 履 "Treading" hexagram (10, Whincup 1986: 52) says "視履考祥 He watches where he treads, he studies the favorable signs." "Rather than 'study', this 考 can be interpreted as meaning 'TDF' for auspicious omens.

Textual and graphic history shows that *k'ōg 考 'examine; think about' was not a graphic loan for 巧, but the other way around. And the complex semantics from 'examine' to 'think' are consistent with the 'TDF' hypothesis.

§2.5 'Complete; Achieve'

Of the few early *k'ōg 考 occurrences glossed as meaning chéng < zhăng < *diēng 成 'complete; achieve; accomplish' → 'completed; perfect', the earliest ones have 'TDF' interpretations §3.4 and §3.8.

The *Erya* (1B/39) defines *k'ōg 考 and five other words as *diēng 成:  

zhī < tśiet < *tśiet 贳 'substance; solid; simple; affirm',
dēng < tōng < *tōng 登 'rise; ascend; go up',

short, that government is rightly ordered, and his own tranquillity secured. (9/15, Legge 1885: I: 375)

Another *Li ji* (31/49; Legge 1885: II: 325) 考 'examine' usage mentions 神明 "spiritual brightness" 'gods, spirits'. Cf. *Mengzi* 孟子 (2B/13/4) using 考 to mean 'compare' the present with the past.

44. Cf. "examine the passage" (Legge 1899: 79); "weigh the favorable signs" (Wilhelm 1967: 47); "heed the omens" (Biofeld 1965: 109). The *Yijing* commentary (24, Wilhelm 1967: 508) says: "中以自考也 Central, therefore he is able to test himself." The xiāng < zhăng < *diāng 祥 'auspicious omen' object of this *k'ōg 考 'examine' compares with *k'ōg divination §3.1; and 祥 has a textual variant of xiāng < zhăng < *diāng 祥 'scrutinize closely; explain details'. Note that 祥 and 視 'look at; see; show' have the 禧 'sacrifice' radical.

45. This is the third part of 1B/39. The first sub-definition cites two words as meaning yē < ngiap < *ngiāp 業 'work, action, deed; duty; achievement'. The second defines four words as gōng < kung < *kung 功 'effort; achievement, result; merit'. The *Erya* also defines (4/1, Table 1) 考 as 'father'.
The \*K'og 考 'To Dead Father' Hypothesis

ping < b'iwang < *b'i'ung 平 'level, even; peaceful, pacify; just',
mìng < mìu'ung < *mì'ung 明 'bright; intelligent; enlighten',
jiù < dz'i'og- < *dz'i'og 就 'come; go; advance; achieve'.

Commentators struggled to explain this definition because none of these words normally means 成 'complete; achieve'. Since the first *íyet 质 later meant 'solid' → 'honest', *dùng 成 is interpreted as a graphic loan (Karlgren 1967, no. 81) for chéng < ìu'ung < *dùng 誠 (with the 言 'speech' radical) 'sincere; true'. The second *t'iang 登 'ascend' (cf. chéng < dì'ang < *dùng 乘 'mount; ride') is the Yili §3.1 gloss for \*k'og 考 'TDF'.

The third word *b'i'ung 平 seems to refer to the Mengzi using 夷考 "evenly examine" to explain what Confucius meant by kuàng < g'iwang < *g'i'wang 狂 'foolish; crazy' scholars:

They had great ambitions and were always saying, "The ancients! The ancients!" and yet, when one [夷考] examines their conduct, it did not always fall within prescribed limits. (7B/37/6, Lau 1970: 202-203)

Coblin (1972: 220) suggests the fourth term *mì'ung 明 'bright' was semantically extended → 'enlightened; discerning; intelligent'; cf. §2.4.

The fifth word *dz'i'og 就 could conceivably have meant a 'dead father's ghost who 'comes/goes'.

Besides the 'TDF' examples below, there are hardly any early cases of \*k'og 考 being glossed as *dùng 成. The Zuo zhuan uses 考 to mean 成 'complete; accomplish' in reference to death:

To die in fulfilling the command is my happiness; — [it will be seen that] my prince had a faithful servant. I have been able to accomplish my task; — though I die, what more should I seek for? (宣公 15, Legge 1872: 328, cf. 死而不朽 §3.11)\n
---

46. Karlgren (1964, no. 1009) rejects the Shijing gloss of 考 = 登 'rise' meaning 'fully ripened grain' ← 'risen up to completion'.

47. Cf. (昭公 16, Legge 1872: 660) "Words serve to make the archives; the archives serve to record the canons" and (昭公 5, Legge 1872: 605) "our duty he discharged according to [the rules of] the ancient kings."
For the *Chuci* (4/23b, Hawkes 1959: 72) "How can I tamely yield, and end my days in quietness?" line, Wang glosses 考 as meaning 'old age' or 成 'complete'.

This 考 meaning of 成 'complete; achieve' is not well attested and could have originated from misinterpreting 'TDF'.

§2.6 "Deadfather"

Kao < "K'ôg考 was an ancient name, translatable as "Deadfather." The conviction that souls of the dead somehow come to life again in their namesakes is culturally widespread. Frazer (1911: 368-74) lists beliefs that bestowing names of the dead upon the living brings about a kind of "reincarnation of the deceased" among the Nicobarese, Hurons, Lapps, Khonds, Yorubas, Makalakas, Tartars, Gilyaks, and Eskimos. There is ambivalence about naming the living after the dead: this practice can subtract vitality from — or add continuance to — the spirit of the dead.

The name Kao < "K'ôg考 "Deadfather" was more common in ancient China than in later times; for example, Marquis Kao of Lu (r. 1061-1057 B.C.), King Kao of Zhou (r. 440-426 B.C.), Viscount Kao Lie 考烈 (cf. 烈考 §3.11) of Chu (r. 261-236 B.C.), and Marquis Kao Wen 考文 of Qin (r. 249-248).

Three "Deadfathers" are noted in early texts: *K'ôg Kung 考公 "Duke Deadfather," *K'ôg 番 考叔 "Third Brother Deadfather," and *K'ôg 司戸 考 "City Deadfather."

---

48. Another context (3/5a, Hawkes 1959: 48) uses 成 and 考 together: "Yu inherited the same tradition and [達成考功] carried on the work of his father." There could be a semantically 'complete' relation in this *Chuci* (16/8b, Hawkes 1959: 156) line: "I lie in wretchedness until the dawn."

49. Kaochêng考成 was a rare double surname, comparable with Laochêng老成 (cf. §2.5).
(1) Kao Gong 考公 (with gōng < kung < *kung 公 'duke; father; clan head; public') "Duke Deadfather" is mentioned in the Liji:

At the mourning rites for the Duke [Kao] of [Zhu]-lu, the ruler of [Xu] sent [Rong Zhu] with a message of condolence, and with the articles to fill the mouth of the deceased. (4/66, Legge 1885: I: 193)

Zheng Xuan (A.D. 127-200) notes Kao was a descendant of Duke Yin, but suggests 考 might be a copyist's mistake for 定, i.e. Duke Ding 定公 in the subsequent passage (4/71; Legge 1885: I: 195): "In the time of Duke [Ding] of [Zhu–lu, ca. 614 B.C.], there occurred the case of a man killing his father." Both Dukes Kao and Ding are from Zhu(-lu), a small state dominated by Lu, perhaps indicating a clan name, cf. §3.9. Duke Kao 考公 was related to Duke Yin 隱公 whose Chunqiu history (with a possible 考 'father' §2.2) mentions Kao Shu below.

(2) Kao Shu 考叔 (with shū < sīuk < *sīök 叔 'harvest; junior; third brother') was a feudal officer from Ying 穎 who died in 712 B.C. according to the Zuo zhuan (隱公 11, Legge 1872: 33) which mentions him (cf. 考父 3.9) in a filial Orphic story. Duke Zhuang 荘公 is betrayed by his mother and swears:

I will not see you again, till I have reached the yellow spring50 (i.e., till I am dead, and under the yellow earth). (Legge 1872: 6)

When Zhuang later regrets cursing his mother, Kao Shu suggests:

"If you dig into the earth to the yellow springs, and then make a subterranean passage, where you can meet each other, who can say that your oath is not fulfilled?" The duke followed this suggestion; and as he entered the passage sang, "This great tunnel, within, with joy doth run." When his mother came out, she sang "This great tunnel, without, the joy flies about." (After this, they were mother and son as before.) (Legge 1872: 6)

Reunion between parent and child in the land of the dead could be a 'TDF' allegory, especially when it is told by a man named "Deadfather."

50. This huāngquán < *gʷāngdz'iwan 黃泉 "yellow spring" 'river (cf. Styx) of death' means 'underground spring' in the Mengzi (3B/10, Legge 1895: 285).: "Now, an earthworm eats the dry mould above, and drinks the yellow spring below."
(3) Yi Kao 堯考 (with yi < *yi ＜ *iy < *iy 堯 'city, town; district') is mentioned in the Liji (3/1, Legge 1885: I: 120) "Anciently, King [Wen] passed over his eldest son Yi–Kao, and appointed King Wu" (cf. §3.5). This shows that "Deadfather" was both a family and a personal name (cf. the uncommon Japanese personal name taka ~ toshi 考).

The proper name "Deadfather" has 'TDF' connections with 考父 "Father Deadfather" §3.9 and the Zhouli 考 'executive' name §3.10.

§2.7 Other Meanings

*K’ōg 考 was a rare graphic loan for meanings of (1) 'strike', (2) '(jade) flaw', and (3) 'announce; cry out'.

(1) *K’ōg 考 meaning 'strike; hit' (specified as 拷 with the 'hand' radical) had allofams of:

kāo < k'āu < *k’ōg 拷 'strike; hit; beat',
qiāo < k'āu < *k’ōg 敲 'strike, knock; beat; flog, torture',
jī < kiek < *kiek 擊 'beat, strike; sounding box'.

The 'torture; coerce through pain' sense (e.g., 拷問 'interrogate under torture') could derive ← 'examine by torture' ← *k’ōg 考 'examine' §2.4 or ← 考 'beat' §3.3.51

(2) *K’ōg 考 only means 'blemish, flaw (esp. in jade)' in two Huainanzi 淮南子 contexts:

If a white [bi] jade has a flaw [then it cannot be considered valuable.] (17/6b, Karlsgren 1970, no. 1609)

The precious jade-piece of the house of [Xia] Hou is not without flaws. A most brilliant diamond is not free from lines of crystallization. (13/15a, Morgan 1934: 168)

Both are glossed by Gao Yu (fl. A.D. 205-12) as 瑕缺 'defect, flaw'.

51. The Shiming 释名 (8/15b) defines *k’ōghūng 考竟 (with jīng < khang ~ < *khuang 竟 'end; finish') as 'die during interrogation' (cf. 考死 'torture to death').
The *K’ōg 考 'To Dead Father' Hypothesis

*K’ōg 考 'flaw' seems to be a semantic derivation ← *Xìōg 朽 'decay' because of the rare cognate xiù < Xìu- < *Xìōg 朽 defined in the Shuowen as 朽玉 'flawed jade'.

(3) A *k’ōg 考 meaning of 'announce; cry out; wail' for the dead was suggested by Paul Benedict (personal communication). For this semantic development from *k’ōg 'dead father' 考 → 'the one wailed over', there are allofams of:

\[ \begin{align*}
\text{xiao} &< Xau < *Xōg 藐 'bawl; cry', \\
\text{hao} &< γau- < *g’ōg 号 ~ 號 'wail, cry out', \\
\text{gao} &< kâu- < *kōg 告 ~ 詳 'announce, (esp. to ancestors),\textsuperscript{52} \\
\text{gao} &< γau < *g’ōg 高 'announce; praise; high'.
\end{align*} \]

*K’ōg 考 was used as a graphic loan (e.g., the Hu ding bronze, Karlgren 1967, no. 386) for *Xìōg 朽. The 'announce' sense could conceivably have been 'pray/call to spirits' in the 'TDF' ceremony.

Besides 'strike', 'flaw', and 'wail', 考 has been glossed as meaning 登 'ascend' §3.1, 合 'harmonize' §3.2, and a vessel name §3.3; but these, and many other early usages below are better explained as 'TDF'.

\section*{§3 *K’ŌG 考 'TDF' EXAMPLES}

It is the nature of an hypothesis, when once a man has conceived it, that it assimilates every thing to itself as proper nourishment, and, from the first moment of your begetting it, it generally grows the stronger by every thing you see, hear, read, or understand.

(Laurence Sterne)

Ancient texts corroborate the 'to dead father' hypothesis and suggest that the *k’ōg 'TDF' sacrifice involved divination, music, and sanctification §3.1–4, spirit communication and influence §3.5–8, and perhaps "Deadfather" officials §3.9–10.

\textsuperscript{52} 号 (口 'mouth' radical & 考’s 亝 phonetic) is graphically emphasized with 虎 'tiger' → 'roar' in 號; both are alternately pronounced hāō meaning 'name; mark'.

The only known alloform for the 'TDF' sacrifice is the word zǎo < 
\text{dz'āu} : < *dz'ōg 造 'do; make; act; create; construct' \sim \text{cāo} <
\text{ts'āu} : < *ts'ōg 造 'come, arrive; send; go (esp. to offer sacrifice)'; in
the \text{Liji} (5/23, Legge 1885: I: 218; cf. 11/30 below) *ts'ōg 造 is the name
of a sacrifice to a 禮 'dead father'.  

\section{3.1 *K’ōg Divination}

The oldest recorded *\text{K’ōg 考}, the Shang oracle graph \text{§2.3}, was
recorded in divination and the earliest example of 考 supposedly meaning 'examine; think about' §2.4 is a \text{Shijing} description of King Wen (cf.
§3.5) divining:

The one who examined the oracle was the king. He took his resi-
dence in the Hao capitol. The tortoise(-shell oracle) directed it, Wu
Wang (his son and successor) [成] completed it. (244/7, Karlgren
1950a: 199)  

This is a doubly good 'TDF' example because it refers to a deceased
father and uses  成 'complete' §2.5.

An \text{Yili 儀禮} context about tortoise-shell divination says "考降無有近
悔 *\text{k’ōg} descend without having close guilt/fault":

The sorrowing son so-and-so wishes to divine concerning such and
such a future day with regard to the burial of his [父] father of style
so-and-so. \text{Inquire} concerning the burial in order that there may be
no incoming of regret later. (12/23b, Steele 1917: 76)

Zheng Xuan glosses 考 as \text{dēng < tāng < *tāng 登 'ascend, rise'} (cf. \text{Erya}
§2.5), meaning the ancestral spirit 考降 'ascends and descends'. Steele
ignores this and freely translates 考 as "inquire," but the literal 'dead
father descends' (for 'TDF' spiritual contact) makes more sense. The

\begin{itemize}
\item \text{53. Karlgren (1964, no. 817; 1970, no. 1589) notes 造 = 成 'perfected; completed'.}
\item \text{54. Karlgren (1970, no. 862) notes another interpretation of ' (achieved =) performed '.}
\item \text{Cf. (Legge 1871: 463) "He examined and divined, did the king," (Waley 1937a:}
\item \text{264) "Omens he took, our king." 244/7 is quoted in the \text{Liji} (30/14, Legge 1885:}
\item \text{II: 289).}
\end{itemize}
'TDF' meaning of 'to inquire upon one's dead father' is confirmed by the avoidance word 某 'so-and-so' §1.2 and by the contrast with 父 'father' §3.8.

The Liji uses *k'og 考 'dead father' and *tso 祖 'ancestor; grandfather' (cf. §2.1) in describing royal divination:

When divining about the border sacrifice, (the king) received the reply in the fane of his (great) ancestor, and the tortoise-shell was operated on in that of his [祖父] father; — honour being thus done to his [祖] ancestor, and affection shown to his father. (11/30, Legge 1885: I: 428)

The first "father" ni < niei : < *niar 祖 'dead father's spirit tablet and/or temple' is allofamic with ěr < ńziq : < *ńiär 祖 'near, close' → 'nearest relative'.

*K'og 考 divination is carried out by Duke Zhou §3.5 and §3.7 and the "Da Gao" describes tortoise-shell divination §3.8.

§3.2 *K'og Music

Several musical contexts use 考 *k'og to mean 'strike, hit' §2.7 bells, especially when inviting ancestral spirits to a sacrifice. The Shuijing §1.1 records music being prohibited during mourning for 考妣 'dead parents', and music and dancing are discussed in connection with Zhongzi's temple §3.4.

Two early texts mention *tsok'og 祖考 'ancestral dead fathers' (cf. the Liji above) in connection with music:

Thus the ancient kings made music in order to honor merit, and offered it with splendor to the Supreme Deity, inviting their ancestors to be present. (Yijing 16, Wilhelm 1967: 468)

The sounding-boxes, the singing [qiu]-stone, the small [leather]

55. Compare *pi̯ar 比 'dead mother' and *pi̯ar 比 'close; intimate' §1.2 and the Liji definitions in §2.1.
drum, the guitar and the lute, when with them one sings, the (spirits of) the ancestors come. (Shujing 5/9, Karlgren 1950b: 12)

A carpe diem Shijing ode rhymes *k'ôg 考 meaning 'strike' §2.7 with the tree named kǎo < k'âu : < *k'ôg 考 'ailanthus'?56

On the mountain there are [桧] kào–trees, in the swamp there are niù–trees;
You have your courtyard and chambers, but you do not sprinkle and sweep them;
You have your bells and [鼓] drums, but do not [鼓] play and [考] strike them;
You [宛] wither57 and [死] die,
and other men will (preserve:) keep them.
On the mountain there are lacquer trees, in the swamp there are chestnut trees;
You have your wine and food, why do you not daily [鼓] play your lutes;
With them you should make merry and enjoy yourself, with them you should prolong the day;
You wither and die,
and other men will enter your [室 cf. §3.4] chamber.
(115/2–3, Karlgren 1950a: 74)

Gǔ < kuo : < *ko 鼓 'drum; to drum' is translated "drums" in the second stanza, but figuratively "play" in the second and third. Rhyme

56. 考 is defined as 山桧 'ailanthus' in the Erya (14/2), but means 'evergreen chinquapin' in MSC. Schuessler (1987: 349) identifies it as 'raisin tree; Hovenia dulcis'. 考 also occurs in a Shijing (172/4) context of 'longevity'.

57. This **jiwàn 宛 'supple; obliging' is a problem. The Mao commentary says it means 死兞 'appearance of death', and Karlgren (1964, no. 290) takes 宛 to be a loan for 宛 'wither; die'. Zhu Xi glosses 坐見兞 'appearance of sitting and looking' which was accepted by Legge (1871: 176) "You will drop off in death" and Couvreur (1896: 22) "immobile, vous attendez la mort." Waley (1937b: 21) somehow sees 宛 as the particle 云 'say' and translates (1937a: 200) "when you are dead."
accounts for using *k'og 考 as a loan for 'strike; hit' parallel with *k'og 考, but cannot explain the inconsistent *ko 鼓 usages. Is 考 simply a graphic loan for 'strike', or does it denote musical 'TDF' sacrifices? Compare the later kāokǎo 考考 'sound of drums' onomatope.

The Guoyu 國語 (3/20a)58 uses 考中 *k'ōg (glossed as *g'op 合 'match; harmonize') the middle' and 考神 *k'ōg the spirits' in describing bell-tuning: "古之神瞽考中聲而量之以制 the ancient divine musicians *k'ōged the middle sounds and measured them to set [tonal?] standards."59 This is followed (3/20b) with a tradition that in the third month, all musical instruments used in the ancestral temple should be purified in order to "考神納賓也 *k'ōg the spirits/gods for presentation to the guests." Even though the meaning is vague, this context suggests 考 means 'strike' (as above), but the purification references suggest some special temple 'consecration' meaning §3.4.

§3.3 “To *K'ōg the 畿 'Basin'?”

The title of Shijing 詩經 ode 56 kāopān < k'au : b'uān < *k'ōgb'wān 考槃 "dead father basin" has been variously interpreted as 'complete/achieve joy', 'achieve withdrawal', 'complete a hut', 'beat the basin/table', or 'drum and dance'. Jennings (1891: 82) claims 考槃 "may be translated a dozen different ways; but they do not seem important" — the importance is 'TDF'.

Pān < b'uān < *b'wān basin, tray; dish' was especially written 畿 (with the 木 'wood' radical —? 'wooden stand') for ritual vessels and 盤

58. The Guoyu (1/15b) quotes King Xiang 襄王 (r. 651-619 B.C.) that a ruler should 考中度哀 *k'ōg the middle (and) measure the (people's) grief/faithfulness and 考 is glossed as 省己之中心 'minimize the core of ego?', probably referring to the preceding line that a ruler should 蔘除其心 'purify his heart/mind'.

59. 肴 'blind musician' ideographically combines 鼓 'drum' (cf. above) and 目 'eye'. The commentary notes 神瞽 was an honorific name for ancient 'divine musicians' who were worshiped as the gods of music.
(with ‘tray, plate’) for ordinary ones. Both 磤 and 盤 were graphic loans (Karlgren 1968, no. 1148; 1974, nos. 1196-8) for *b’wân ’joy, amusement, pleasure’ (cf. Shujing 35/11, Mengzi 2A/4), and the phonetic pân < b’uân < *b’wân 般 ’turn round’ supposedly means ’joy’ as the title of ode 196. On the other hand, Waley reads *b’wân 般 as bân < puân < *pwân 撐 ’squat; kneel’ (cf. Zhuangzi 21/47).

Commentators and translators are divided. Mao glosses 考 as 成 ’complete, achieve’ §2.5 and *b’wân 般 as 樂 ’joy’, thus ’achieve joy; get happy’, which Legge (1871: 94) criticizes to be ”an awkward phrase, and seems unnatural in this place.” Mao’s interpretation is followed by Karlgren (1950a: 37-8, assuming reference to lovers meeting, 1964, no. 160): “考槃在...We achieve our joy in the stream-valley...on the sloping hill...on the high ground.”

Zhu Xi (A.D. 1130-1200) says 考 either means kǒu < k’ōu: ~ k’ōu < *k’u 扣 ’beat’ (cf. §2.7) and 樂 is a 器名 ’vessel name’, thus ’beat on the *k’ōg ’; or 樂 means 盤桓 ’turn round; draw back’, thus ’achieves his drawing back’ paraphrased as 成其隱處之室 “he completes his retirement house.”

Waley (1937a: 29) hears a ”different drummer” and thinks 磤 means 'bend the legs', translating ”Drumming and dancing”; which Karlgren (1964, no. 160) faults as ”an unwarranted text alteration.” Waley (1937b: 11) assumes 磤 = 蹦, but early usages are restricted to the binome pánshān 蹦蹓 ’limp; waddle’; and pàn 磤 meaning ’bend the legs’ (e.g., pántui 蹦膝 ’cross one’s legs’, pántuǐzúd 蹦膝坐 ’squat’) was a

60. This 棠 ”tray” could have referred to a mortuary ice-basin called the 夷槃 ～ 尸 棠 ”corpses tray” (Carr 1985: 1-5) mentioned in the Zhouli (5/31, Biot 1851: 106) ”Ils préparent la glace de la grand bassine.”

61. Huang Yijing likewise interprets 磤 something like a ’hermitage’, and this is accepted by Legge (1871:93-4) ”He has reared his hut,” (Couvrer 1896: 65) ”Ce grand homme a construit sa hutte,” and Jennings (1891: 82) ”His cabin rearing.”
later development.\(^{62}\)

'TDF' directly explains the 考槃 title as referring to ceremonial \(*k’ōg\), with 'beating' on a bell (or corpse-basin?) resulting in 'joy' ← 'contacting the paternal spirit'.

\[\text{§3.4 \(*K’ōg\) Temples}\]

Every early example of \(*k’ōg\) 考 meaning \(*dīěng\ 成 'complete' §2.5 occurs in ancestral temples, and 考 means 'dead father' in reference to the chāomo昭穆 custom of arranging spirit tablets.

The first stanza of a Shijing sacrificial ode (174/1, Karlsgren 1950a: 118) says "姫燕夜飲 peacefully\(^{68}\) we drink in the night, without becoming drunk we do not go home.". The second (174/2) repeats 姫燕夜飲 with "在宗載考 in the temple carry/fill/start \(*k’ōg\.". This 考 is glossed as 成, but the meaning is doubtful, compare:

In the honoured apartment we complete our carousel. (Legge 1871: 276)
In my chamber drink your last. (Jennings 1891: 190)
...la fête se termine dans les appartements particuliers de l'empereur. (Couvreur 1896: 197)
Here at the clan-gathering we will carry it through. (Waley 1937a: 201)
...in the clan hall we achieve (the feast). (Karlsgren 1950a: 118)
A 'TDF' interpretation would be that the sacrificers had drunk enough to 'hear ancestral spirits'.

The Chunqiu, its commentaries, and the Liji use 考 to mean 成 'complete' → 'inaugurate'; TDF? ancestral temples. In 718 B.C., the

\[\text{62. Cf. } *k’ōg\ 考 with } kāo < k’āu < *k’ōg 尻 'buttocks' in kāozuō 尻坐 'squat on one's haunches'.\]

\[\text{63. 廢厭 is glossed as 和悦 'harmoniously pleased; contented' (Karlsgren 1964, no. 316).}\]
Chunqiu records:

[the duke] completed the shrine–palace of [Zhongzi]. For the first time he exhibited (only) six rows of pantomimes. (Legge 1872: 18, cf. Karlgren 1964, no. 160)

Legge translates 考 as 成 'complete', disregarding Gong Yang (2nd cent. B.C.) that it means 入室 'enter the shrine' and Fu Chu (A.D. 2nd cent.) that "考 is the name of the sacrifice offered immediately after the completion of the shrine–house." Legge's Chunqiu interpretation is probably wrong because he translates 考 as the name of an inaugural sacrifice in an almost identical Liji 考 = 成 usage:

When the great apartment (of the palace) was completed, it was inaugurated (by a feast), but there was no shedding of blood. The consecration by blood of the temple building was the method taken to show how intercourse with the spirits was sought. (21/83, Legge 1885: II: 170; cf. Zuozhuan 傳公 33, §3.11)

The sense in which 考 'completes' a temple seems to be related with 'sanctifying' ← making 'TDF' contact with ancestral spirits or 'crying out; announcing' §2.7 to them.

Two less common modifiers in *k’og 考 'dead father' compounds (cf. §2.1) describe the chàomù 昭穆 custom of displaying alternate generations of spirit tablets on the left and right sides of an ancestral temple (Carr 1985: 29); either zhāo < tsūnu < *tiog 'bright; illustrious; manifest' 〜 chāo < zīnu < *diog 昭 'shrined on the left/even (series)' or mú < miu < *miok 穆 'splendid; magnificent; solemn; shrined on the

---

64. He reasons:

But the sacrifice was the sequence of the finishing of the temple; and we need not extend the meaning of 考 beyond that of the erection of the building. [Zhongzi] was the mother of Duke [Xuan], who was now heir to the State; but she was only the second wife of Duke [Hui]. The tablet of the [first] and proper wife had already received its proper place; and the erection of a separate house for that of [Zhongzi] was a device to please the young prince, but not according to rule. (Legge 1872: 19)
right/odd'. For instance:

Your [穆考] dead father of the odd series, Wen Wang... (Shujing 30/2, §3.8)

They are led to appear before the [昭考] shrined dead father to show their [孝] piety, to bring offerings, to increase their vigorous [寿] old age. (Shijing 283, Karlgren 1950b: 246)

I scrutinize my [*glâk 落 'fall; die', Karlgren 1964, no. 1110] deceased one, I will follow (the example of) that [昭考] shrined father of mine. (Shijing 287 [cf. §2.1]; Karlgren 1950b: 249)

Instead of the technical term, Waley (1937a:232-3) reads 昭 as *k'og 'bright' and translates昭考 as "shining ancestors ... bright ancestors." These 昭考 and 穆考 could simply mean 'dead father', but the temple location suggests an original 'TDF' meaning.

The above examples show that the *k'og 考 ceremony was used to sanctify ancestral temples and cast doubts that it ever actually meant 成 'complete; achieve' §2.5.

§3.5 "*K'og You Bright Son"

Within the Shujing 洛誥 "Announcement on [locating the capitol at] Luo" chapter, Duke Zhou repeatedly uses 考 in addressing his nephew King Cheng 成王 (r. 1115-1079 B.C.?). The first 考武王 refers to their 'dead father King Wu' (r. 1027-1025 B.C.), but the second 考朕昭子 "*k'og you bright son" and third 考 extend/pull *k'og" are difficult to explain unless they meant 'TDF'. Zhou recommends moving the capitol because of his divinations (cf. §3.1) and Duke Shao's (cf. below) surveys favoring

---

65. Normally, the chàomù 昭穆 system resulted in the spirit tablets of grandchildren being closer to those of their grandparents than those of their parents, but the Yijing (62, Wilhelm 1967: 241) describes unusual behavior in the ancestral temple: "She passes by her [祖] ancestor and meets her [妣 'dead mother'] ancestress."

66. Cf. the later word luǒchêng 落成 'completion/inauguration ceremony (for of a building)'.
Luo (i.e., Luoyang, in Henan):

[Duke Zhou] saluted and bowed down the head saying: You, king, have ordered me to come. I shall take care of and guard the people received in charge by your grandfather Wen and extol your bright and majestic father Wu Wang’s great teachings. Together with you, my young son, I will come and inspect the site. May you grandly and amply direct Yin’s eminent people, govern and manage the new princes of the four quarters, and cause the [Zhou] to be respected and take the precedence. I say, if you govern from this centre, the myriad states will all enjoy peace, and you, the king, will have complete achievements. I, [Dan], with the many noblemen and managers of affairs, will consolidate the predecessors’ achieved bright deeds, respond to (the expectations of) the multitudes and cause the [Zhou] to be trusted and take the precedence. [考朕昭子刑乃单文祖德] I will perfect the (pattern:) example for you, my bright son, and so carry out entirely the virtue of your grandfather Wen. One has sent me to (caution=) admonish the (people of) Yin, and order was given to favour me with two [You] flasks of aromatic black millet wine [cf. §3.6]. I (then) said: “I make a bright pure sacrifice (sc. of this), I salute and bow down the head and make a fine offering.” I dared not stay overnight (sc. in the new settlement) before I (thus) made the pure sacrifice to Wen Wang and Wu Wang. Kindly and amply regulate (your people), (so that there is no coming across that you find =) so that you have no occasion to find fault with yourself; (then) they will for a myriad years be replete with your virtue, and the Yin (people) then will be induced to (finish, settle =) make peace. (33/22-28, Karlgren 1950b: 53)

The first 考武王 'dead father King Wu' parallels the second 文祖 'grandfather Wen', the deceased royal ancestors of Zhou and Cheng.

*Miwenk’og 文考 refers to 'dead father Wen' twice in the authentic sections of the Shujing (29/3, 5 §3.8); but since wén < miJuan < *miwon

67. And twelve times in forged Shujing sections: 21/5, 10, 25, 26; Legge 1865: 285,
The *K'o* "To Dead Father" Hypothesis.

文 basically means 'adorned; accomplished, refined; civilized', 文考 could signify 'refined/accomplished dead father'.

The second 考朕昭子刑乃聘文祖德 "*k'o* you bright son's law/pattern and carry out the power/virtue of grandfather Wen' has eluded the commentators (Karlgren 1970, no. 1788). Compare:

"In (achieving =) constructing my bright son's (sc. the king's) laws, I will (exhaust =) carry out entirely the virtue of the Bright Hall." (Zheng Xuan, 單 = 慶 'exhaust; complete', 文祖 = 明堂 "bright hall" [ancestral temple])

"Achieving (= constructing) the illustrious son's laws." (Cai Chen, 考 = 成, 昭子 'bright/enlightened son' = 明辟 'illustrious ruler' in the first stanza)

"My (achieving =) constructing the bright son's laws, is (exhaustingly =) entirely by (aid of) the virtue of you grandfather Wen.”
(Kong Yingda)

Taking 考 to mean 成 'achieve; complete' makes less sense than literally 'TDF'.

287, 296, 297. Note the unexplained 文 redundancy in 我文考文王 'my dead father Wen, King Wen' in Shujing (23/5), where Legge (1865 : 311) translates "my deceased father, King [Wen]", and notes "We cannot well repeat the honorary title in the translation."

68. The Liji twice uses 考 to mean 'determine' in the reverse 考文:

To no one but the son of Heaven does it belong to discuss the subject of ceremonial usages, to fix the measures, and [考文] to determine (the names of) the written characters. (8/42-3, Legge 1885 : I : 324)

The appointment of the measures of weight, length, and capacity; the [考文章] fixing the elegancies (of ceremony); the changing the commencement of the year and month. (16/6, Legge 1885 : II : 61)

69. Another Shujing passage uses 文祖 'grandfather Wen' (or 文祖 'bright temple? Shujing §2.1, Karlgren 1970, no. 1784) and 考武王 'dead father (King) Wu':

I shall take care of and guard the people received in charge by [文祖] your grandfather Wen and extol your bright and majestic [考武王] father Wu Wang's great teachings. (33/22, Karlgren 1950b : 53)

A forged Shujing passage (37/3, Legge 1865 : 490 [quoted from Zuo zhuans 定公 4, Legge 1872 : 754]) warns: "Follow the constant lessons of your grandfather,
The third 殷乃引考 'Yin then pull/extend/draw' has several interpretations (Karlgren 1970, no. 1791), but most ignore the context of Duke Zhou having been sent to “admonish” the defeated Yin rebellion.

"The Yin then forever will (result in =) become (Zhou people).”
(Kong: 引 = an adverb 長 ‘forever’, 考 = 成)

"The Yin people will then have a protracted longevity.” (Cai Chen: 引考 = 長壽 'old age’ §2.3)

"The Yin people will forever achieve (order).” (Jiang Sheng)

"The Yin then will grandly show filial piety.” (Yu Xingqu: 引 is a graphic mistake for 弘 'great', 考 is a loan for 孝 'filial piety')

"Let the people of Yin enjoy protracted prosperity.” (Legge 1865: 450)

"Let the Yin be induced to (finish, settle =) make peace.” (Karlgren, 引 = 'lead on, induce', 考 = 成 'settle; make peace')

Since this passage concerns how the Zhou should punish the seditious Yin, a 'TDF' interpretation would be that they would be supernaturally 'drawn (into control) by sacrificing to the Zhou ancestral spirits'.

These three problematic Shujing meanings of *k’ōg 考 can all be interpreted as 'TDF' as can be the Shujing 考 inconsistencies in §3.8. A descendant of Duke Shao 召公 is mentioned in the next 'TDF' example. 71

§3.6 “Make Duke Shao’s K’ōg”

A Shijing ode about King Xuan 宣王 (r. 827–780 B.C.) rewarding Shao Hu 召虎 has several similarities with the above Shujing 33 passage: both mention a sacrificial 余 wine vessel §3.11, Duke Shao serving kings Wen and Wu, and receiving a 命 'mandate; charge'. Shao Hu

King [Wen], and be not like your father disobedient to the royal orders.”

70. The Fangyan 方言 (12/7b) defines 考 as 引 'pull', possibly referring to this Shujing passage or to the Shuowen §2.3 definition of 考 as 引伸之為成 'complete an extended old age'.

71. The proper name shào < ژîju- < *diog 召 'a place in Henan' is usually pronounced zhào < ژîju- < *diog 召 'summon; convene; incur'.
vows to 作召公考 'make Duke Shao('s?) "k'og' in this context:

The king [命] charged Hu of Shao; "Go everywhere and distribute my orders; when Wen and Wu received the appointment (of Heaven), the Prince of Shao was their support; do not say; I am only a small child; [召公是似] the Prince of Shao, you are like him; you have been active in your work, therefore I give you blessings. I give you a [gui] ladle, and a yu vessel of aromatic wine from black millet [cf. §3.5]; report to your ancestors; I give you hills and soil and fields; from [Zhou] you receive a charge, [自召祖命] it (follows =) continues the charge of your ancestors in Shao.” Hu made obeisance and bowed the head; (he wished) the Son of Heaven ten thousand years. Hu made obeisance and bowed the head, in response he extolled the king’s grace; [作召公考] he was the achiever of (the deeds of) the Prince of Shao; (he wished) the son of Heaven a longevity of then thousand (years); bright is the Son of Heaven, his good fame never ceases; he spreads his fine virtue and unites these (states of the) four quarters. (262/4-6, Karlgren 1950b: 234)

This translates 作 'make; do' as "be" and 考 as 成 "achiever." The commentators make various efforts to explain 作召公考 (Karlgren 1964, no. 806) and most expound upon Mao’s 考 成 'achieve, complete' §2.5 gloss:

"He made for the Duke of Shao (an achievement =) an answer which achieved (the king’s mandate).” (Zheng Xuan)
"He made for Duke Shao (an achievement =) a fulfillment (of the king’s grace to the family).” (Chen Xuan)
"He (raised =) manifested Duke Shao’s achievements." (Jiang Bingzhang: 作 'make' = 登 'rise; raise', cf. §3.1)
"He made a sacrificial vessel for Duke Shao.” (Zhu Xi: 考 = a 'sacrificial vessel (engraved with a 命 mandate)’’

72. Three translators concur:
"adopting [Duke Shao’s] perfect (phrase).” (Jennings 1891: 335),
"Il fit (fondre un vase avec une inscription, où, après avoir reproduit le message de l’empereur et raconté) ses propres travaux.” (Couvreur 1896: 409),
"He made the Duke of Shao’s urn.” (Waley 1937a: 132).
Waley (1937b: 17) takes *k’ôg 考 as a graphic loan for kui < kjui : < *kiweg 鼓 'a ritual vessel', citing Guo Moruo as "indubitably right" that a bronze 皇鼓 inscription means 皇考 'mighty ancestor'. But Karlgren (1969, no. 817) says Guo meant *kiweg 鼓 as a loan for *g ‘ôg 威 '(dead) uncle' §2.2 and it is "unnecessary and phonetically unlikely" that *k’ôg 考 names a sacrificial vessel in Shijing 262.

The 'TDF' explanation is preferable because it literally takes 考 *k’ôg as 'to (communicate with one's) dead father' and is consistent with the context of Hu trying to contact Shao's spirit. After the king says Hu "召公是似 resembles his ancestor Duke Shao" and "自召祖命 has a charge from his Shao ancestors," he gives him another 命 'charge; mandate' (Carr 1985: 16-7). The most natural interpretation is that Shao Hu was describing, or seeking, supernatural 'TDF' contact with the spirit of his dead forefather.

§3.7 "I Am 仁 'Humane? Like *K’ôg"

In a Shijing passage about divination §3.1, Duke Zhou obscurely claims that "予仁若考 I am ren 'humane?/good?' like my dead father." He sacrifices to (his dead fathers) the three previous kings, asking them to spare his seriously ill cousin King Wu, and take his life instead:

The scribe then put on the tablets the prayer,73 saying: "Your chief descendant So-and-so [avoiding the name of Wu with 某 §1.2] has met with an epidemic sickness and is violently ill. If you three kings really (have a debt of a great son towards Heaven =) owe a great son to Heaven (i.e. if he must die), then substitute me, [Dan], for So-and-so's person. [予仁若考能多材多芸] I am good and compliant, clever and capable, I have much talent and much skill, I can serve the Spirits. Your principal descendant does not, like me, [Dan], have
much talent and much skill, he cannot serve the Spirits.”  (26/5, Karlgren 1950b: 35)

There are two textual versions of, and many conflicting opinions about (Karlgren 1970, no. 1570), 予仁若考 ‘I am ren like my dead father’. First, Sima Qian (ca. 100 B.C.) quotes: “旦巧能多材多芸’[I] Dan, am clever and capable; I have much talent and much skill.” This changes 予 ‘I’ to Zhou’s name 旦 ‘Dan’, omits 仁若 ‘ren like’ and takes 考 ‘dead father’ as a graphic loan for 巧 ’skill, ability’ §2.4. Second, the Pseudo-Kong text and the (1st cent. A.D.) Lunheng 論衡 (63) quote “予仁若考能多材多芸 I [am] ren like my dead father capable [of having] much talent [and] much skill.”

Most commentators follow the second textual version and variously interpret the words 仁若考: 仁 = (the Confucianist) ’humane; kind; good’, 存 ‘keep alive’, or 倚 ‘skillful’; 若 ‘conform; be like/as; obey’ = 而 ‘and’ or 須 ‘obey; follow’; 考 ‘dead father’ = (Duke Zhou’s) 父 ‘father’, 考祖 ‘forefathers’, 巧 ‘skill, ability’, 老 ‘old’, or 孝 ‘filial’. To illustrate the wide range of difference, three commentators who agree that 若 means ‘and’ interpret 仁若考 as: ‘good and clever’ (Wang Niansun, 考 = 巧), ‘good and filial’ (Yu Xingwu, 考 = 孝), or ‘still living and old’ (Zhuang Xuzu, 仁 = 存 and 考 = 老). Katō (1954: 10) comes close to ‘TDF’ and reads 仁 < 尼 = *尼 and reads 仁 < 尼 = *尼 as ‘hunchback shaman’ (cf. 仁 < 尼 = *尼 任 ‘carry on the back’), thus interpreting 予仁若考 ‘I am a shaman like/obeying my dead father’.

Concerning being “仁若考 ren like his dead father,” Legge condescendingly notes:

74. Son Xingyan says Sima left out 仁若 and this should read 仁若巧能 ‘I am good and compliant’.

75. This is similar with the Liji (28/3)  仁若神 ‘that is whereby one shows goodness to the spirits’; Zheng notes 仁 = 存 ‘exist; continue’ and Legge (1885: II: 271) translates “The idea in the border sacrifices to Heaven and Earth is that they should give expression to the loving feeling towards the spirits.”
We should be glad if we could ascertain from this paragraph what ideas the Duke of [Zhou] had about the other world, but his language is too vague to afford us satisfaction...I suppose he did not know his own meaning very clearly. (1865: 354)

It is far more reasonable to suppose 考 meaning 'TDF' and understand Duke Zhou as describing spiritual contact with his dead fathers.

§3.8 *K'ªg and 父 'Father'

A special 'TDF' case of the 'father' synonymy between *k'ªg 考 and *b'ºo 父 §2.2 is when the Yijing and Shijing use these two words together.

Why would two 'father' synonyms, such as 考 and 父, be exchanged in the same context? Three possible answers are rhyme, politeness, or avoidance. Shakespeare provides examples for the first two by using dad rather than father:76 rhyme accounts for "Like a mad lad, I pare thy nails, Dad" (The Life of Tymon of Athens 4.2.130) and politeness (or intimacy) for "Since I first call'd my brother's father dad" (The Life and Death of King John 2.1.467). Avoidance (cf. §1.2) is the third conceivable answer; once a context has established reference to a dead father, a 'father' word is euphemistically equivalent. For instance, Legge's translation of this bronze inscription:

*Your deceased father* Wen Shu cherished and stimulated himself the old desires and aims, roused and led on the admirable officers, and showed his own great personal interest in the state of Wei...My young uncle, I give you (this tripod with) its inscription. - Carry on and out the services of *your father*. (Liji 25/22, 1885: II: 252)

The problem is that neither rhyme, nor politeness, nor avoidance can explain 考 and 父 in the two texts below.

---

76. The works of Shakespeare have three usages of dad (at that time a childish 'daddy' word) and 859 of father. The third is "Voice I was wont to cheer his dad in mutinies?" (Henry the Sixth, 3, 5.6.21)
The *K'ôg 考 'To Dead Father' Hypothesis

The *Yijing* has one 考 usage (rare for not being compounded §2.1) with 父 'father'. The name of hexagram 18 :green < kuo : < *ko 盤 (蟲 'bugs' in a 盤 'bowl') is semantically complex; besides this divination symbol, Feng and Shryock (1935: 2) say *ko 盤 "black magic" in pre-Han texts meant: 'a disease; evil spirits; to cause doubt; inveigle; worm-eaten vessel; moldy grain'. Compare these translations of "幹父之蠱有子考無咎" stem father's *ko have son *k'ôg without blame/calamity":

Setting right what has been spoiled by the father. If there is a son, no blame rests upon the departed father. (Wilhelm 1967: 76)

He tends his father's illness. Because the son is there, the sire comes to no harm. (Whincup 1986: 75).

The commentary gives a strongly 'TDF' explanation that 幹父之蠱 means 意承考也 (Wilhelm 1967: 479) "He receives in his thoughts the deceased father."

All three *Shujing* chapters supposedly using k'ôg 考 for 'father' use it for 'dead father' plus several other meanings, and they have the usual 'father' word *b'îuoo 父. The "Da Gao, 大諡 Great Announcement," the "Kang Gao, 康諡 Announcement to Kang," and the "Jiu Gao, 酒諡 Announcement about Wine" are generally considered authentic, probably dating from the ca. 1025 B.C. revolt after the death of King Wu.77

---

77. This *kân 幹 'stem; trunk; body; business; manage' is usually read as a verb, but Waley (1933: 132) takes 幹 as a graphic loan for *kân 千 'shield; stem, day of the week (in the 千支 calendrical system)' and believes 幹父之蠱 means 'stem-father's maggots' in the sacrificial meat offerings. Cf. jiû < g'îzû : < *g'îôg 書 'fault; blame; calamity, evil; inauspicious omen' with jiû < g'îzû : < *g'îôg 書 'coffin with a corpse' §2.1.

78. Whincup notes a commentary of 蠱 = gû < kuo - < *ko 故 'thing; cause; affair', thus "He does his father's business."

79. See Creel 1970: 499-451. Since Chapter 28 is apocryphal, 27, 29, and 30 are consecutive in the authentic text. Cf. theprs. of *kôg 諷 'announce, inform' §2.7 and *k'ôg 考.
(1) "Da Gao" has six *k'o* 考 usages: two for '(dead?) father' along with 父 'father'; one as a verb 'to perfect?/'TDF?; two in 考翼 (with *yî* < *jîk* < *gîjîk* 翼 'wing; protect; respectful; orderly'); and one ambivalent 兄考 (with *xiōng* < *jiwâng* < *Xîwâng* 兄 'elder [brother]'). The context describes the king divining (cf. §3.1) with a "precious tortoise handed down to me by the serene (dead) kings, to transmit (to me) Heaven's bright (will)." Despite divinations which say the Zhou should attack the Yin rebellion, the king says:

But 翼日 recently there have been ten eminent men among the people; I [翼] respectfully go with them, to achieve the serene (dead) Wu's planned work... (You say that) they (the rebel princes) are my, the little child's, [考翼] old coadjutors, they should not be attacked — why does the king not go counter to the oracle?... do not be (toiled-) distressed by your anxiety, you cannot but achieve your serene 考 (dead) father's planned work... The king said; You are veterans, you grandly can far discern, you know how the serene (dead) king toiled like this. In the (place =) situation when Heaven (toils us =) puts the toil on us to [成功, cf. §2.4 and §2.5] achieve the work, I dare not but go to the end with and accomplish the serene (dead) king's planned affairs. Now I shall greatly transform and guide the princes of my friendly states; and since Heaven is not to be relied on (sc. the mandate being uncertain), I shall thereafter 考 perfect my people (sc. make it [sic] loyal). How should I not enlarge what was achieved of the former serene men's (i.e. dead kings') planned work! Heaven also is toiling our people, as if they had a sickness; how could I dare not enlarge the favour and help given by the former serene men? The king said: The other day, when I was on the point of going, I spoke of the difficulties and my daily ponderings. If a 考 father starts to build a house, and when he has (effected =) settled the plan, his son is not willing to lay the foundations, how much the less will he be willing to build the upper part? If the 父 father breaks the soil, and his son is not willing to sow, how much the less will he be willing to (reap-) bring it to a crop. Will then the 考 father be willing to say: I have a descen-
dant who does not discard the foundation (sc. created by me)? Then how could I dare not, when it has passed on to me, achieve the serene (dead) kings' great mandate? If among the [兄考] (elder brothers and uncles) seniors of the family there are those who jointly attack his son, should the feeders of the people (i.e. the princes) look on and not succour him? (27/6, 7, 8, 10, 11, 12; Karlgren 1950b: 37–39) 80 Legge (1865: 368) says this passage "presents several difficulties, and no construction of it has been proposed, against which objections cannot be urged." Does *k'og 考 mean 'dead father', 'old father', or 'father'? How is it different from *b'1wo 父 'father'? What does *gišk 翼 in 考翼 mean? 81 Is 兄考 singular 'elder brother and (dead?) father' or plural 'elder brothers and fathers; elders'?

Commentators have made numerous explanations of the problems. Although Karlgren notes (1970, no. 1602) 考翼 has been interpreted as 'inquired (from the oracle) respectfully', 'sacrificed respectfully', 'respectfully attended (to the principles)', 'the old revered/reverent ones', 'respected elders', and 'assistants of his (dead?) father'; he translates the first 考翼 as "old coadjutors" and the second as "father," following Wang Yinzhi (1766–1834) that the second 翼 is a mistake carried over from the first. He also inconsistently translates 考 as "dead father" and "father" and renders 考我民 as "perfect my people," but

---


81. Compare the preceding usages of *gišk 翼 for 'respectfully' and 'next/recent [day]'. A Shijing ode refers to wine §3.11 in ancestral sacrifice and praying for: ...a [黄耇] (yellow = faded-haired =) high old age; [黃耇台背] a high old age and a (globular =) rounded back; [以引以翼] (he does it) in order to (pull them forward =) encourage them and help them; a high old age is propitious; and so they increase the great felicity. (246/4, Karlgren 1950a: 202)

*Ku %'old man' §2.3 is used in "Kang Gao" below. Hunchbacks and dwarfs had a unique role in ancient China, and Katô (1954) presents a good case that freaks originally served as shamans. Cf. 引考 with yìn < iēn:  < *diēn 引 'pull; lead; prolong' §3.5.
mentions (1970, no. 1609) other interpretations of 考 verbally meaning 'achieve', 'examine', 'verify', 'entrust', and 'toil'. Karlgren (1970, no. 1612a) rejects 'family/clan leaders' and 'brother achieves' for 兄考 "elder brother and dead father," and concludes 兄考 is a reversed mistake for 兄兄 'fathers/uncles and elder brothers; seniors'.

It is quite a stretch of semantic imagination that in this single context, 考 means 'dead father', 'father', 'old', and 'perfect'. A better explanation is that in all six cases, 考 signifies 'TDF' contact. 考翼 could mean 'dead father's protection', both nominal 考's mean 'dead father's spirit', the verbal 考 'do/use the *k'og ceremony', and 兄考 ' [= 祝] priests and ancestral spirits'.

(2) "Kang Gao" refers to 考文王 'dead father King Wen' and 文考 'dead father Wen' §3.5, plus uses 父 and supposedly 考 for 'father'.

Your greatly illustrious [考文王] (dead) father Wen Wang was able to make bright the virtue and to be careful about the punishments... Now the people will (dwell on =) be disposed respectfully to follow your [文考] father Wen, to continue what they have heard and to follow the virtuous words. Go and widely seek from the Yin's former wise kings, thereby protecting and governing the people. You should grandly and far think of Shang's [ 成人] old and accomplished men, (measure =) comprehend their (hearts =) minds and understand their instructions. You should, besides that, seek information from the ancient former wise kings (i.e., those anterior to Yin), and so tranquilize and protect the people...When the primary evil-doers are (thus) greatly detested, how much the more then the [不孝] unfilial and the unbrotherly? When a son does not respectfully manage his [事] service to his [父] father, he greatly hurts his [考] father's heart. The one in a position of [父] father cannot cherish his son but hates his son, the one in a position of younger brother does not think of Heaven's (clearness =) clear laws and so he cannot respect his elder brother. (29/3, 5, 16; Karlgren 1950b: 39-42)
If there was a contextual reason such as rhyme between 父 'father' and 考, it could be possible that 考 meant 'father', but there is no such reason. Since the father's "service" shì < dê'i- < *dê'eg 事 (cf. §2.3) anciently meant 'ancestral sacrifice' (Carr 1985: 24-5), 考 could have signified 'TDF' hurting the son's and not his father's 心 'heart/mind'.

(3) "Jiu Gao" is a temperance warning that calls King Wen (cf. "Kang Gao") 穆考 §3.4, uses 祖考 for 'grandfathers/ancestors and (dead?) fathers', and allegedly uses 考 for '(living) father' compounded with zhâng < tiâng : < *tiâng 長 'elder, senior; chief'.

When your 穆考 §3.4] dead father of the odd series, Wen Wang, created the state in the western lands, he told and cautioned all the (princes of) the states, the various officers, the assistants and the managers of affairs, and morning and evening he said: Sacrifice this wine...I say: in our people's guidance, you youngster should (love =) economize the products of the soil (sc. not make too much wine of the grain); then their hearts will be good and they will (hearingly =) willingly listen to the regular instructions of their 祖考 grandfathers and fathers... (The people of) the land of Mei will (successively =) for generations be your legs and arms, and they should make (pure =) whole-hearted their cultivation of the millet and hasten about serving their 考長 old men and seniors. They should diligently lead their carts and oxen and far away manage the trading of commodities, and (thus) filially nourish their 父母 parents. Their 父母 parents will be happy. (30/2, 5, 6, Karlgren 1950b: 439) 83

The repetition of 父母 'father and mother; parents' implies that 考 means something other than 'father' or 'old man/men'.

82. Cf. Legge (1865: 386, 392) : "your greatly distinguished father, the King [Wen]... reverently following your father [Wen]...as the son who does not reverently discharge his duty to his father, but greatly wounds his father's heart."

83. Cf. Legge (1865: 399, 403, 404) : "When your reverent father, the King [Wen]... hearken diligently to the constant lessons of their fathers ...hastening about in the service of your fathers and elders."
The co-occurrences of 考 and 父 'father' in the *Yijing and Shujing* are better explained as 'TDF' meanings than 'father' synonymy and they may be connected with 考父 below.

§3.9 "Father Deadfather"

Of all the ancient Chinese named "Deadfather" §2.6, Kao Fu 考父 "Father Deadfather" is especially relevant to the 'TDF' idea. The name Kao Fu 考父 can be literally interpreted as "Father Deadfather" with 父 < 采父： < 父父 父 'father; old man' or figuratively as "Sir/Lord Deadfather" with 采父 < p父： < 父父 as an honorable designation (e.g., *Shujing* 43/13). Two notable "Father Deadfathers," Kao Fu 考父 and Zheng Kaofu 正考父, lived during the 8th century B.C.

First, the death of "Father Deadfather" is recorded in the *Chunqiu* (Legge 1872: 25) in the sixth month of 714 B.C., "[Kao Fu 考父], Marquis of Cai, died." The commentators do not add any information about him, but do discuss Kao Shu 考叔 §2.6.

Second, Zheng Kaofu 正考父 "Straight Deadfather Father" is mentioned on a bronze inscription, quoted in the *Zuo zhuan*,84 rhyming three 'bent' synonyms 采父 < 采父： < 父采 父 'bend the body; hunchback', 采父 < 采父： < 父采 父 'bend the body; hunchback', and 采父 < 采父： < 父采 父 'bow the head; bend down') to describe Zheng's reactions to receiving three 命 'orders; mandates' (cf. §3.6):

...there was [Zheng Kaofu] who gave his aid to (the dukes) [Tai, Wu, and Xuan of Song, r. 799-728 B.C.]. He rose to the third degree of office, and with every step his humility increased. Hence the inscription of the tripod (in his ancestral temple) said, "When he got the (first) appointment, he walked [僕] with his head bowed down. When he got the (second), [僕] with his shoulders bent; when he got the

84. This inscription is copied in the *Zhuangzi* (32/36-8, Giles 1926: 431-2), but with 僕 used before 僕 and a comparison added.
(third), [俯] with his whole body bent. In this way he hurried along the walk, (saying to himself), "Thus no one will presume to despise me. I will have congee in this (boiler) ; I will have gruel in this (boiler) — to satisfy my hunger. Such was his humility. (昭公 7, Legge 1872 : 619)

If the name 考父 "Father Deadfather" referred to a professional spirit medium or personator of the dead, it explains the origins of the next 'TDF' example.

§3.10 *K'óg Officials

Kao 考 was the name of a high official, an "executive" (←? 成 'complete, achieve' §2.5) noted in the Zhouli (1/17a, Biot 1851 : 36 "exécutants"). This title is noted as referring to the six Grand Ministers and their officers, and the Liji uses 考 for 'complete' in reference to them:

Of these six great men every one was very attentive to the rules of propriety, thus to secure the display of righteousness, the realisation of sincerity, the exhibition or errors, the exemplification of benevolence, and the discussion of courtesy, showing the people all the normal virtues...Rules of propriety and righteousness being viewed as the instruments, whatever was done would be completed [cf. §2.5]...the Great officers maintain the order between them according to the laws, inferior officers complete one another by their good faith. (9/3, 34, 47 Legge 1885 : I : 366, 384, 391)

Official 考 'examination' is a recurring theme in early texts; e.g., the Shijing (257/8, Karlgren 1950a : 222) says a good ruler "examines and is careful about his assistants." The Liji (cf. above) records that:

[the king] ordered the superintendent of rites to examine the seasons and months, and fix the days...They examined their ceremonies, rectified their punishments, and made uniform what they considered virtuous, thus giving honour to the son of Heaven...Every article should have its makers’ name engraved on it, for the determination of its genuineness...In spring, [Shuzi] assembled them in the college;
and in autumn, in the archery (hall), that he might examine into their proficiency, and advanced or degraded them accordingly. (5/12, 18, 6/93, 47/2; Legge 1885: I: 217, 218, 299, II: 455)

Though 考 is taken as a graphic loan for 考 'examine' §2.4, the "Dead-father" official may have supervised the 'TDF' ceremony and represented the ancestral spirits.

§3.11 Other Possibilities

In addition to the above ten categories, there are additional 'TDF' prospects. Two of the strongest are drinking wine in the *k'ōg ceremony and the expression 死且不朽 "die and not [*Xiōg] rot."85

First, sacrificial wine is repeatedly mentioned in connection with the *k'ōg "TDF" ritual. For instance, two 考 loci classici (Shijing §3.5, Shijing §3.6) mention aromatic wine in a 你 < ぃぐ ~ ぃぐ : < *diōg 亗 'ritual bottle/flask'. Unlike the Shang who drank wine freely, the Zhou believed it should only be used for ancestral sacrifice (Creel 1970: 451).

Compare these descriptions above of drinking sacrificial wine in *k'ōg 考 contexts:

We make wine and sweet clarified wine; we offer it to ancestors and ancestresses (Shijing §1.2)

The spirits have enjoyed the wine and food, they will cause the lord to have long life...fragrant is the smell [of wine], that is

85. A Shijing ancestral hymn modifies *k'ōg 考 with 庶'gwāng 皇帝 'august' §2.1 and 你 < ぃぐ < *liē 烦 'blazing, brilliant' (cf. Kao Lie 考烈 §2.6):

Great was my [孝考] august father, he (【絹】tranquilizes =) comforts me, his [孝] pious son...He comforts me with a vigorous old age, he (increases =) enriches me with ample blessings; I [右] wait upon my [烈考] brilliant (dead) father, and also upon my [文母] fine mother. (282, Karlgren 1950a: 246)

Compare the 考 'completion' sense §2.5 in 續我思成, (Shijing 301, Karlgren 1950a: 261) "they (the ancestors) comfort us with (completion =) perfect happiness." To say the dead "tranquilize" (cf. Shijing 287 "enlighten" §2.1) the living could be a further example of 'TDF'.
(secures) the tranquillity of those with a great old age (*Shijing* §2.3)

You have your wine and food, why do you not daily play your lutes (*Shijing* §3.2)

Sacrifice this wine...then their hearts will be good and they will (hearingly =) willingly listen to the regular instructions of their grandfathers and fathers (*Shijing* §3.8)

Peacefully we drink in the night, without becoming drunk we do not go home...peacefully we drink in the night, in the clan hall we achieve (the feast) (*Shijing* §3.4)

This last example suggests that sacrificial wine was drunk until the *k'ōg* 考 ritual participants were sufficiently inebriated 'to dead father' and 'hear/see their ancestral spirits'. Creel (1936: 200) says the power of alcohol to infuse spirits into drinkers "must always appear in the nature of a miracle even to the most sophisticated." Sacrificial wine was an important part of the 'TDF' ceremony; symbolically to the ancestral spirits and practically to their descendants.

Second, bùxiù < piāo Xiāo : < *pīōg Xiōg 不朽 "not decay/rot" means 'immortal; eternal' in the adage 死且不朽 "die and not decay" that occurs in four similar Zuozhuan promises made by prisoners who are spared from execution. Karlgren (1970, no. 190) creatively translates "even though I die, (your kindness) will be imperishable (will never be forgotten)"; 86 Legge mistranslates *Xiōg 朽 'rot; decay' as "forget," "kindness," and "shrink from":

86. Granet gives this roundabout 死且不朽 interpretation:

This formula in former times seems to have signified: "Do not allow the flesh of a dead man to rot!" but while men of refined feelings saw in it a straightforward piece of advice: "(Leave good examples which) do not corrupt, even after death!" The great preferred the interpretation "(In a noble race) death itself does not bring corruption (the family remaining alive and strong)," and there is no doubt that they would have liked it to be literally true, and to have been able to say: "After his death (the body of a great man) is not subject to corruption." (1930: 302)
Your prince's kindness in not taking the blood of me his prisoner to smear his drums [cf. *Li Ji* §3.4, *Mengzi* 1A/7/4]; this kindness, should my prince indeed execute me, [死且不朽] I will not forget in death. (僖公 33, Legge 1872: 225)

If, through you lordship, I, your prisoner, get back with my bones, to [Qin], should my ruler there order me to execution, [死且不朽] in death I will remember your kindness. (成公 3, Legge 1872: 352)

The king grants me death, and [死且不朽] I will die without shrinking from it. (成公 16, Legge 1872: 398)

If out of regard to my fathers, he do [sic] not entirely cut off the family of [Ge], but appoint (only) me to die, or if he do not put me to death, or send me into exile, it will be his kindness, [死且不朽] which till death even I will not forget. (昭公 31, Legge 1872: 737)

Another *Zuozhuan* section explains the synonymous 死而不朽 “die and not decay”:

There was a former great officer of [Lu], called [Cang Wenzhong], the excellence of whose words was acknowledged after his death [*TDF*?]. This may be what the saying intended. I have heard that the highest meaning of it is when there is established (an example of) virtue; the second, when there is established (an example of) successful service; and the third, when there is established (an example of wise) speech. When these examples are not forgotten with length of time, this is what is meant by the saying—"They do not decay." (僖公 24, Legge 1872: 507)

Dubs (1952: 160) cites this 死而不朽 in criticism of Erkes' (1952) "two kinds of death" proposal, and says: "To die but not to decay is plainly used to denote the immortality of fame and of influence." Since *Xjóg 死 'rot; decay' §2.3 was an allofam of 考 *k'óg, 死且不朽 could have

---

87. Erkes proposes that the similar *Daodejing* (33, Chan 1963: 159) phrase 死而不亡者壽 "He who dies but does not really perish enjoys long life" originally referred to two kinds of death (corresponding with the two souls *g'wen 魂 and *p'ük 魄, Carr 1985: 64-7): the *siar 死 'recently dead' with the power to influence the living and the *miwang 死 'long dead' who have decomposed.
originally signified 'die and not spiritually decay' → 'not have the TDF ceremony' carried out.

§4 A BICAMERAL INTERPRETATION

Hypotheses are only the pieces of scaffolding which are erected round a building during the course of construction, and which are taken away as soon as the edifice is completed. (Goethe)

The *k’òg 考 'TDF' hypothesis can be correlated with Julian Jayne's (1976) bicameral theory for the evolution of consciousness §4.1, and 'to dead father' might have meant 'to have bicameral hallucinations of one's father' §4.2.

§4.1 The Bicameral Hypothesis

Jaynes believes that "consciousness"—metaphorically shaped by lexical fields, like a map is analogously shaped by a territory — did not evolve until sometime around 1000 B.C. Prior to that time, he proposes that human mentality was bicameral "two chambered," with a decisive component and a following component, neither of which was "conscious" (in the usual senses of conscious).88 People with pre-/proto-conscious bicameral mentality supposedly hallucinated voices, perhaps like saints or schizophrenics. Auditory hallucinations are cross-culturally ubiquitous, and the "imaginary playmate" of childhood is a familiar example.89

88. The OED defines eight meanings for consciousness, but Jaynes has a ninth. First, he negatively defines "consciousness" not to be: all mentality, a copy of experience (as claimed by Empiricists), necessary for sensation or perception, necessary for certain types of learning (e.g., motor skills), or, he claims, even necessary for some kinds of reasoning (e.g., the Würzburg School's "Imageless Thought"). Second, he defines the primary features of "consciousness" as: spatialization of a "mind-space" where people arbitrarily assume their consciousness to be located (usu. the head or heart), the "analog I" who "sees" (cf. introspection < Latin intròspicere 'to look into') things within his/her mind-space, and "narratization" (putting events and our selves into a mental story).

89. In Japan, a child imagining a playmate/friend is considered unusual, if not aberrant, behavior.
Consciousness, according to Jaynes, arises from the powers of language, not neurophysiology:

Subjective conscious mind is an analog of what we call the real world. It is built up with a vocabulary or lexical field whose terms are all metaphors or analogs of behaviour in the physical world. Its reality is of the same order as mathematics. It allows us to short-cut behavioural processes and arrive at more adequate decisions. Like mathematics, it is an operator rather than a thing or a repository. And it is intimately bound with volition and decision. (1986: 132)

Many languages figuratively describe mentality as if it occupied space; for instance, English deep-/shallow-minded. Matisoff's comparative study of "psycho-collocations" lists (1986: 31-2) these examples of mental "width." In the positive sense of "broad minded" → 'magnanimous (\(<\text{Latin magnus 'big' + animus 'soul'}\):

- English broad-minded,
- Thai caj-\(\text{kw}\text{a}\text{n}\) 'generous, magnanimous',
- Tibetan \(\text{blo sgo yangs-pa}\) "mind-door is broad" 'open-minded', \(\text{blo y}\text{a}\text{n}s-po\) 'generous',

-[Japanese \(\text{kokoro ga hiroi}\) 心が広い 'broad minded; magnanimous'].

And in the negative sense of "narrow minded" → 'exiguous':

- English narrow-minded,
- Thai caj-\(\text{kh}\text{e}\text{e}\text{b}\) 'selfish; lacking in generosity',
- Jingpho \(\text{my}\text{i}t \text{gyi}p\) 'be narrow-minded, petty; inconsiderate',
- Burmese \(\text{cit-tha ky}\text{a}n-mr}\text{a}n\) 'limited intellect; narrow outlook', \(\text{hn}\text{e}l\text{a}m \text{ky}\text{a}n-mr}\text{o}n\) 'be uneasy in mind; feel constrained',
- Tibetan \(\text{blo sh}\text{u}g \text{dog-po}\) 'narrow-minded',

-[Japanese \(\text{kokoro ga semai}\) 心が狭い 'narrow minded; petty'].

Such lexical structures give reality to the illusion of "mind-width."

The development of writing was important in regard to bicamerality because while auditory hallucinations can not be shut out, something which is written down can be ignored. Since the earliest recorded descriptions of mentality (e.g., Egyptian hieroglyphics, Assyrian cuneiforms, Chinese oracles) are particularly difficult to translate, Jaynes
cites differences between the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* as the first reliable linguistic evidence of a (ca. 8th cent. B.C. in Greece) leap from bicamerality to consciousness. 'Mind' words in the *Odyssey* have physical referents in the *Iliad*, for instance, *psyche* means 'breathing; bleeding', not 'conscious mind'.

There is neither 'mental' vocabulary nor "consciousness" in the *Iliad*, no introspection, no reminiscing, and no logic. In stressful situations, decisions are commanded by voices called "gods."

Unlike most ideas concerning the evolution of consciousness, the bicameral theory generates testable hypotheses in four areas:

First is the nature of consciousness and its supposed origin in language, which can be empirically studied in the learning of consciousness in children, as well as in the study of changes in consciousness in recent history. The second idea is the bicameral mind, which can be studied directly in ancient texts and indirectly in modern schizophrenia. Third is the idea that consciousness followed bicamerality, which can be studied in the artifacts and texts of history. And the fourth is that the neurological model for the bicameral mind is related to the two hemispheres. And this can be studied in laterality differences today. (Jaynes 1986: 139)

The bicameral hypothesis has stimulated studies in many fields.

---

90. There is a rough analogy in the development of AC mental vocabulary within the text of the *Shijing* (Carr 1983).

91. A neurological model for the bicameral mind is an auxiliary part of the bicameral theory. Since speech and language functions are generally centralized in the left hemisphere, in the bicameral brain, it is possible that the right hemisphere was "talking" to the left. Jaynes suggests that Wernicke's area in the right temporal lobe may have been the physical location for bicameral hallucinations.

§4.2 考 = 'Bicamerally Hallucinate'?

In terms of Jaynes' theory, *k'òg 考 'TDF' could have signified 'to have bicameral hallucinations of one's dead father', especially 'to hear spiritual voices'. This would imply that at around the same time when rational consciousness replaced bicameral mentality in China, *k'òg 考 lost its early meaning of 'hallucinating one's dead father' and gained rational meanings of 'divination; spirit communication' → 'examine; think about'.

Jaynes believes augury (mentioned in the earliest 考 'examine' contexts §3.1) was invented because of the breakdown of the bicameral mind. When the seemingly "divine" hallucinated voices no longer told people what to do, they developed divination to help make decisions. Compare Duke Zhou's *k'òg 考 divinations in §3.5 and §3.7.

Another possibility is hereditary bicamerality in ancient China. The name *K'òg 考 "Deadfather" §2.6 could have designated a clan of atavistic bicamerals, particularly the "Father Deadfathers" §3.9 and/or *K'òg officials §3.10.

The present *k'òg 考 'TDF' paper evolved from a study (Carr 1985) of an analogous AC word which seems to show bicameral changes: shí < sì < *sìr ṛ 'corpse; personator of the dead, a sacrificial representative of the dead'. The *sìr ṛ underwent a transformation from being a divine messenger to an unimportant sacrificer. Personation of the dead was a sacred ceremony for spirit communication during the Western Zhou, but (as bicamerality presumably broke down) it devolved into a meaningless ritual that was discontinued during the Warring States period when the personator was replaced by a spirit tablet. A parallel semantic development is seen for *k'òg 考 bridging bicamerality and consciousness: 'to hallucinate one's dead father' → 'to divine' → 'to examine' → 'to think'.

93. Not even necessarily 'dead father', 'hallucinating the voice of a living father' is conceivable. "What would my father say/do?"
'TDF' closely correlates with the bicameral theory, but their complementarity is not final proof of either. These ideas deal with the earliest recorded stages of human consciousness, and both will necessarily be subject to future revisions.

§5 CONCLUSIONS

We're all so clogged with dead ideas
Passed from generation to generation
That even the best of us
Don't know the way out. (Peter Weiss)

The 'TDF' proposal is corroborated in three ways: explaining $kao < k'du: < k'og$'s semantic history, revealing aspects of the $k'og$ ceremony, and reinterpreting early 考 textual puzzles verbatim 'to dead father'.

First, 'TDF' explains the semantic developments of $k'og$'s 'old/dead father' → 'examine; complete; name; strike; cry out', and possibly 'old age'. It has been shown how the 'to dead father; to commune with ancestral spirits' etymon developed into:

→ 'to examine (esp. divinations); think about',
→ 'to complete/achieve' spirit communication,
→ "Deadfather" in (the?) charge of ancestral spirits,
→ 'to strike/beat' musical instruments to beckon the gods,
→ 'to cry out; wail' for the dead,
?→ 'old age; longevity' in the sense of 'life after death'.

For every one of these extended 考 meanings, the earliest textual examples are consistent with 'TDF'.

These 考 semantics pose a question for Chinese lexicography: Why was 'TDF' overlooked? Even though the $k'og$ 考 ceremony was mentioned in several early commentaries, it is not found in any dictionaries. Did lexicographers "purposely forget" what they considered a
superstitious ritual? Or did they reject the verbal 'to dead father' as an illogicality?

Second, 'TDF' examples reveal long-forgotten facets of the *k’ôg ritual. Evidence suggests the 'to dead father' sacrifice involved divination, percussive music (esp. 'beating' bells), sanctifying temples, ritual drunkenness, spirit contact, and perhaps a personator called "Dead-father." From the datable contexts, it seems that the *k’ôg ritual was commonly practiced circa 11th-7th centuries B.C. and gradually discontinued thereafter.

Third, 考 'TDF' untangles a number of interpretive knots in ancient Chinese texts: the Shijing's "to *k’ôg the 'basin'" and "make Duke Shao('s?) *k’ôg"; the Shujing’s "*k’ôg you bright son...pull the (Yin's) k’ôg" and "I am 'humane'? like *k’ôg"; and the Yiijing and Shujing *k’ôg 考 usages with *b’iwo 父 'father'. Since 'TDF' is a new idea, these tentative explanations will need refinement; but an ancient *k’ôg 考 ritual is unmistakably evident.

Lastly, having demonstrated the fundamental feasibility of the 'TDF' hypothesis, a resultant lemma can be proposed: Did other languages and/or cultures use "dead ancestor" words to mean 'contact ancestral spirits'? The linguistic rarity of violating 'dead one; death' taboos illumines a conducive path towards the origins of human consciousness.

REFERENCES


________. 1954. "A Note on Dubs' Note in A.M. III, 2." *Asia Major* 4:
149-50.


Giles, Herbert, tr. 1926. *Chuang Tzu, Mystic, Moralist, and Social Reformer*. Kelly & Walsh.


The "K'ôg 考 'To Dead Father' Hypothesis

Antiquities.


Legge, James, tr. 1861. *The Confucian Analects, the Great Learning, and the Doctrine of the Mean*. Oxford University Press.
________, tr. 1871. *The She King or the Book of Poetry*. Oxford University Press.
________, tr. 1872. *The Ch'un Ts'eEU with the Tso Chuan*. Oxford University Press.


Matisoff, James. A. 1978. *Variational Semantics in Tibeto-Burman; the "organic" approach to linguistic comparison*. ISHI.
Review of Liberal Arts, No. 77


Morgan, Evan, tr. n.d. [1934?]. Tao, the Great Luminant. Kelly and Walsh.


Steele, John, tr. 1917. The Yi-Li, or Book of Etiquette and Ceremonial. Probsthain.


