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A Reinterpretation of “*Jiu* 鳩” in the Phrase “*Jiu souze* 鳩藪澤”: A Study of Phonetic Borrowing in the *Zuo Tradition of Commentary* (*zuozhuan* 左傳)

1. Introduction

In the twenty-fifth year of Lord Xiang’s 襄公 reign (548 BCE), a Chu 楚 officer named Wei Yan 蔦掩 (d. 543 BCE) was appointed to manage the state revenue and conduct a military census.¹ This episode has been regarded as one of the earliest extant records of a transformation of the Chu taxation system, later known as “Wei Yan Manages Revenue (*weiyān bīfù* 蔦掩庀賦)”:

“On the *jiawu* day, Wei Yan recorded the conditions of resources and lands: he measured the mountains and forests, examined wetlands and marshes, made distinctions between high altitudes and lesser mounds, marked out barren [or saline] fields, calculated districts with dense soil liable to flooding, plan water capacity for reservoirs, divided irregular lands into small parcels for cultivation, portioned pastureland, and established subdivisions for fertile lands. He used these records to calculate the domain’s revenues and regularised levies.

甲午，蔦掩書土田：度山林，鳩藪澤，辨京陵，表淳鹵，數疆潦，規偃豬，町原防，牧隰皋，井衍沃，量入修賦。”²

As illustrated above, the original narrative of this passage comprises numerous three-character phrases. A close reading reveals that the meaning of a particular phrase, “examine wetlands and marshes (*jiu souze* 鳩藪澤)” in this text, is deeply ambiguous, and the heart of ambiguity lies in the character 鳩 (*jiu*).³ While scholars generally agree that it functions as a

¹ Original text: 「楚蔦掩為司馬，子木使庀賦，數甲兵。」 Ruan Yuan 阮元, ed., *Shisanjing zhushu: Zuozhuan* 十三經註疏左傳 (Taipei: Yiwen yinshuguan, 2001), p. 623.

² Ruan Yuan, *Shisanjing zhushu: Zuozhuan*, p. 623–624.

All English translations of the *Zuo Tradition Commentary* in this essay are based on Durrant (2012), occasionally modified. Stephen W. Durrant, and others, *Zuozhuan: Commentary on the “Spring and Autumn Annals”* (Washington: University of Washington Press, 2016), p. 1155.

Durrant’s translation adopts Yang Bojun’s 楊伯峻 (1909–1992) commentary, which I accept in its general outline. However, to establish a coherent analytical framework for the passage in question, I have modified the translation accordingly; this modified version subsequently serves as the basis for all phrase-level interpretations.

Hereafter, the *Zuo Tradition of Commentary* will be abbreviated as *Zuo Tradition*.

³ To prevent ambiguity and enhance readability, all homophones pronounced *jiu* in this essay will be represented by their original Chinese characters. Upon first occurrence, each graph will be presented in its original form followed by its pinyin in parentheses; subsequent occurrences will use the character alone.

phonetic borrowing character here, there has been little consensus as to which character it was intended to represent.⁴ This essay seeks to resolve this centuries-old debate by restoring the original character of this phonetic borrowing.

The analysis proceeds in two steps. Section Two establishes 鳩 as a phonetic borrowing by examining its original meaning and demonstrating its semantic incompatibility within the context of the passage. Section Three restores the original character by identifying the potential original characters from prior commentaries, comparing Old Chinese pronunciation of these candidate characters, and conducting a close structural analysis of the “Wei Yan Managing Revenue” narrative. Finally, having restored the original character, the study concludes by reconstructing the rationale for this phonetic borrowing case within its historical context. Through these approaches, this study not only clarifies a key aspect of the Chu tax system’s transformation but also offers deeper insight into the fluid relationship between form and sound in pre-Qin literature.

2. Identification of phonetic borrowing

According to the *Explaining Simple Graphs and Analysing Compound Characters* (*shuowen jiezi* 說文解字) and Duan Yucai’s 段玉裁 (1735–1815) annotation, 鳩 denotes either turtledove or serves as a general term for five pigeon-like birds.⁵ It is an onomatopoeic character, structured with the phonetic element “九 (*jiu*)”, mimicking the bird’s call, and the semantic classifier “bird (*niao* 鳥)”.

A contextual analysis confirmed that the original meaning of 鳩 is incompatible with the passage in question. The text describing Wei Yan’s regulation of revenue is structured around parallelism (*paibi* 排比)—a common rhetorical device in the *Zuo Tradition*.⁶ It consists of

For other Chinese characters and phrases, the initial mention will first present the English translation, then accompanied by its pinyin and original character in parentheses. All subsequent references will use only the pinyin form.

⁴ This study referencing ten scholars’ commentary on the *Zuo Tradition*, and I briefly listed their names as follows: 1 Du Yu 杜預 (222–258), 2 Kong Yingda 孔穎達 (574–648), 3 Liu Wenqi 劉文琪 (1789–1854), 4 Kōkō Takezoe 竹添光鴻 (1842–1917), 5 Karlgren Bernhard 高本漢 (1889–1978), 6 Yang Bojun 楊伯峻 (1909–1992), 7 Shen Yucheng 沈玉成 (1932–1995), 8 Li Zongtong 李宗侗, 9 Li Suo 李索, 10 Yu Xianhao 郁賢皓. For their works, please see bibliography.

⁵ Original text: 《說文》:「鵲鳩也。」《說文解字註》:「鳩為五鳩之總名。」Xu Shen 許慎, annotate. Duan Yucai 段玉裁, *Shuowen jiezi* 新添古音說文解字註 (Taipei: Hongye wenhua, 1999), p. 150.

⁶ Parallelism is a rhetorical device that employs a series of statements with parallel structure. These statements are similar in structure but distinct in meaning, and are used to emphasise interconnected phenomena within a common domain, thereby intensifying the overall tone.

nine verb-object phrases, each beginning with a single-character verb and a two-character land designation serving as the object.⁷ Within this parallel structure, the initial character of each phrase must be a verb. However, the original meaning of 鳩 is a noun, which certainly fails to incorporate into the text. Duan’s annotation also notes that 鳩 was frequently used as a phonetic borrowed character in classics.⁸ It follows, therefore, that 鳩 is used here as a phonetic borrowing, and the task remains to identify the original character it represents.

3. Restoration of the original character

This section applies three steps to determine the original character as outlined in the introduction: synthesising commentaries, comparing Old Chinese pronunciations, and conducting a contextual analysis.

First, a synthesis of commentaries. The existing commentaries of the *Zuo Tradition* propose two primary candidates for the original character of 鳩. A majority of commentators argue that the original graph is 句 (*jiu*), signifying “to accumulate” or “to gather.”⁹ The minority of

Huang Yongwu 黃永武, *Ziju duanlian fa* 字句鍛鍊法 (Taipei: Hongfan shudian, 2002), p. 107.

The statement regarding the common use of parallelism in the *Zuo Tradition* was referenced from Zhang Gaoping 張高評 (1982). Zhang Gaoping 張高評, *Zuozhuan wenzhang yifa tanwei* 左傳文章義法探微 (Taipei: Wenshizhe chubanshe, 1982), p. 116.

⁷ For instance, in the first phrase, “*duo* 度 (measure)” functions as a verb, and “*shanlin* 山林 (mountains and forests)” as its object.

The nine verb-object phrases are: 1 *duo shanlin* 度山林 (measure mountains and forests), 2 *jiu souze* 鳩藪澤 (examined wetlands and marshes), 3 *bian jingling* 辨京陵 (distinct between high altitudes and lesser mounds), 4 *biao chunlu* 表淳鹵 (marked out saline fields with trees), 5 *shu jiangliao* 數疆潦 (calculated districts with dense soil liable to flooding), 6 *gui yanzhu* 規偃豬 (plan water capacity for reservoirs), 7 *ting yuanfang* 町原防 (divided lands up into small parcels for cultivation), 8 *mu xigao* 牧隰皋 (converted pastureland), and 9 *jing yanwo* 井衍沃 (established subdivisions for flat, fertile lands).

However, according to the majority of existing scholarship, “recording land types and their conditions (*shu tutian* 書土田)” before the first phrase *duo shanlin* was a generic summary for the subsequent nine phrases. Please consult Appendix One for the interpretations of *shu tutian*.

⁸ Original text: 「經傳多假鳩為述、為句。」Xu Shen, annotate. Duan Yucai, *Shuowen jiezi*, p. 150.

⁹ Seven scholars allege that 句 is the original character, majorly the relatively earlier commentators and their modern supporters: Du Yu, Kong Yingda, Yang Bojun, Shen Yucheng, Li Zongtong, Li Suo, and Yu Xianhao (with other two commentators). Please reference Appendix Two for their original statement. Ma Xinmin 馬辛民, ed., *Chunqiu zuozhuan zhengyi* 春秋左傳正義 (Beijing: Beijing daxue shubanshe, 2000), p. 1177.

Yang Bojun 楊伯峻, *Chunqiu zuozhuan zhu* 春秋左傳注, 6vols (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2024), IV, p. 1220. Shen Yucheng 沈玉成, *Zuozhuan yiwen* 左傳譯文 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1997), p. 329.

Li Zongtong 李宗侗, *Chunqiu zuozhuan jinzhū jinyi* 春秋左傳今註今譯, 3 vols (Taipei: Taiwan shangwu yinshu guan, 2009), II, p. 1245, 1246.

Li Suo 李索, *Zuozhuan zhengzong* 左傳正宗 (Beijing: Huaxia chubanshe, 2011), p. 407.

Yu Xianhao 郁賢皓, Zhou Fuchang 周福昌, and Yao Manbo 姚曼波, *Xinyi zuozhuan duben* 新譯左傳讀本, 3 vols (Taipei: Sanmin shuju, 2009), II, p. 1141, 1144.

scholars, however, maintains that it is 究 (*jiu*), meaning “to investigate” or “to examine.”¹⁰ An analysis of phonetic borrowing instances in pre-Qin classics confirms that 𠂔 is indeed the most frequently attested original character for 鳩, including within the *Zuo Tradition* itself.¹¹ Nevertheless, while this statistical prevalence is noteworthy, it cannot, in itself, be considered conclusive. The final determination must rely on a thorough examination of both phonetics and context.

Second, a comparison of pronunciations. A fundamental rule governing phonetic borrowing in pre-Qin literature is the homophony or near-homophony between the original and borrowed characters in Old Chinese. The *Shuowen* demonstrates that both candidate characters, 𠂔 and 究, along with 鳩, share the same phonetic element “九”,¹² as it can also be seen in their modern regular forms. Furthermore, reconstructions of Old Chinese phonology indicate that all three characters possessed the same pronunciation, reconstructed as [*jəgw].¹³ Therefore, both 𠂔 and 究 are equally viable candidates, necessitating a decisive analysis of the context.

Third, a contextual analysis. A detailed reading of the related passage reveals that it is not only structured by parallelism but also by a rigorous internal logic, which provides the key to determining the original character.

The narrative logic operates on two tiers. The primary division is between “regular revenues (*bifu* 庀賦)” and “counting armaments (*shu jiabing* 數甲兵).”¹⁴ The task of “*bifu*” is itself

¹⁰ Other four scholars believe that the original character is 究, mainly are scholars in modern age: Wang Yinzhi, Liu Wenqi, Kōkō Takezoe, and Karlgren Bernhard.

Wang Yinzhi 王引之, *Jingyi shuwen* 經義述聞 (Shanghai: Shanghai shudian, 2012), p. 443–444.

Wu Jing'an 吳靜安, *Chunqiu zuoshi zhuan jiu zhushu zhengxu* 春秋左氏傳舊註疏證續, 4 vols (Changchun: Dongbei shifan daxue chubanshe, 2004), III, p. 442.

Kōkō Takezoe 竹添光鴻, ‘xianggong di shiqi’ 襄公第十七, in *Zuozhuan huijian* 左傳會箋, 5 vols (Taipei: Guangwenshuju, 1963), III, p. 46.

Karlgrén Bernhard 高本漢, trans. 陳舜政, *Gao benhan zuozhuan zhushi* 高本漢左傳注釋 (Taipei: guoli bianyi guan zhonghua congshu bianshen weiyuan hui, 1972), p. 488–489.

¹¹ In pre-Qin classics, 鳩 was used as a phonetic borrowing for six original characters: 九, 𠂔, 𠂔, 軌, 咎, and 逌. All other characters are found only once in this role, with the notable exception of 𠂔, which appears four times as the original character in the *Zuo Tradition*. See Appendix Three for details.

¹² Original text: 「鳩，……从鳥九聲。」「𠂔，……从勺九聲。」「究……从穴九聲。」 Xu Shen, annotate. Duan Yucai, *Shuowen jiezi*, p. 150, 437, 350.

¹³ The reconstruction of Old Chinese referenced from Li Fanggui 李方桂 (1902–1987), searched on the website of “Xiao xuetang 小學堂” Xiao xuetang hanzi gujin yin ziliao ku 小學堂漢字古今音資料庫, < <https://xiaoxue.iis.sinica.edu.tw/> > [accessed 20 October 2025].

¹⁴ To better comprehend the logic in narration, I put the entire original passage here for reference: 「楚蔣掩為司馬，子木使庀賦，數甲兵。甲午，蔣掩書土田，度山林，鳩藪澤，辨京陵，表淳鹵，數疆潦，規偃

subdivided into two distinct actions: “recording land types and their conditions (*shu tutian* 書土田)” and “calculating revenue (*liangru* 量入).”¹⁵ The nine parallel phrases, including “*jiu souze*”, fall within this subdivision. However, most of the commentaries lack a clear and consistent assignment of these nine phrases to either “*shu tutian*” or “*liangru*”; the obscurity in the current interpretation is whether the general meaning of these nine phrases is land conditions (*shu tutian*) or land outputs (*liangru*).¹⁶ Yet, decisively linking the nine phrases to one of them is crucial, as this categorisation directly determines the original character represented by 鳩. The logical progression unfolds as follows: the correct subdivision determines the general semantic category of the nine phrases, which in turn constrains the meaning of “*jiu souze*.” Once the meaning of this phrase is established, the sense of 鳩 becomes clear. This meaning is then matched against the sense of the candidate characters, restoring the original character.

The method for identifying the correct subdivision is to derive the common meaning from the other eight phrases, excluding “*jiu zouse*” itself. I will first examine the eight beginning verbs, then explore the eight two-character objects, and afterwards incorporate the results to determine the category.

To begin with, the initial verbs. Interpretations of most verbs in the received *Zuo Tradition* commentaries are largely consistent, which means to differentiate and formulate.¹⁷ However, the meaning of 牧 (*mu*) in the eighth phrase diverges from the other seven, as it is

豬，町原防，牧隰皋，井衍沃，量入脩賦。賦車籍馬，賦車兵、徒卒、甲楯之數。」 Ruan Yuan, *Shisanjing zhushu: Zuozhuan*, p. 623–624.

In the original text, the scope of *bifu* is: 「甲午，焉掩書土田，度山林，鳩藪澤，辨京陵，表淳鹵，數疆潦，規偃豬，町原防，牧隰皋，井衍沃，量入脩賦。」 And the scope of *shujia bing* is: 「賦車籍馬，賦車兵、徒卒、甲楯之數。」

¹⁵ In most of commentaries, scholars treated “calculate revenue and regularised levies (*liangru xiufu* 量入脩賦)” as an organic whole. However, it can be further divided into two semantic units for accuracy: *liangru* and *xiufu*, as the latter one directly correspond with the first division, *bifu*.

¹⁶ The term “*shu tutian*” and “*liangru*” functions as general terms that summarise the meaning of nine phrases. The difficulty in decisively assigning some phrases to either category represent by proposition that the existence of exceptional cases. For instance, when explaining *liangru*, Kong Yingda argued that *jingling* (京陵) and *yanzhu* (偃豬) yield no outputs, thus interpreting “*liangru*” as a broad, conceptual summary. Kōkō Takezoe thought to rationale the categorisation of *liangru* by provide justifications for each term, even those with no yield. Nevertheless, his analysis overlooked two flood-prone lands: *jiangliao* (疆潦) and *yanzhu* (偃豬). This difficulty reveals the potential misclassification. For original statements by scholars, please consult Appendix One.

¹⁷ I briefly listed the interpretations for seven verbs here: 1 measure (*duo* 度), 2 distinct (*bian* 辨), 3 mark out (*biao* 表), 4 calculate (*shu* 數), 5 plan (*gui* 軌), 6 divide (*ting* 町), 7 establish subdivision (*jing* 井).

interpreted as pasture.¹⁸ To achieve consistency, the meaning of *mu* must be reanalysed. A parallel passage is found in the *Rituals of Zhou* (*zhouli* 周禮), which uses *mu* when describing land divisions:

“The duty of the Minor Minister of Revenue are ... to survey the territory and divide the entire land into nine and eighteen-square well fields.

小司徒之職，……乃經土地而井牧其田野。”¹⁹

As Zheng Zhong 鄭眾 (d. 83) notes, 井 (*jing*) and *mu* represent two distinct standards for land measurement: in wetlands, a unit of *mu* comprised land for nine men, and two such *mu* units equalled one *jing* unit.²⁰ Commentators of the *Ritual of Zhou* have long noted that the interpretation of *jing mu* in this context is identical with the phrases “established subdivisions for fertile lands (*jing yanwo* 井衍沃)” and “converted pastureland (*mu xigao* 牧隰皋)” in the *Zuo Tradition*.²¹ Therefore, *mu* in the phrase *mu xigao* means to divide the wetland in a specific ratio.²² Consequently, all eight verbs consistently signify actions related to demarcating and planning, relating to the categorisation of *shu* in the phrase *shu tutian*.

Next, analyse objects. According to extant commentaries, all objects in the parallel phrases denote types of land,²³ with one notable exception: “山林 (*shanlin*).” This term inherently possesses dual interpretive possibilities;²⁴ it can refer either to the physical land feature itself

¹⁸ For example, Du Yu interpreted this phrase as “it refers to riverside wetland for pasture use.” Original text: 「隰皋，水岸下濕，為芻牧之地。」Ruan Yuan, *Shisanjing zhushu: Zuozhuan*, p. 623.

¹⁹ Sun Yirang 孫詒讓, *Zhouli zhengyi* 周禮正義 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1987), p. 786.

²⁰ Original text: 「濕皋之地，九夫為牧，二牧而當一井。……是之謂井牧。」Sun Yirang, *Zhouli Zhengyi*, p. 787.

²¹ Commentators illustrated the interchangeability of interpretations including Zheng Zhong and Sun Yirang 孫詒讓 (1084–1908). Original text: 「井牧者，春秋傳所謂井衍沃、牧濕皋者也。」鄭司農云『井牧者，春秋傳所謂井衍沃、牧濕皋者也』者，左襄二十五年傳，說楚蔣掩為掩書九等土田之事云：『度山林，鳩藪澤，辨京陵，表淳鹵，數疆潦，規偃豬，町原防，牧隰皋，井衍沃』……云：『玄謂隰皋之地，九夫為牧，二牧而當一井』，兼釋此經及法傳義也。」Sun Yirang, *Zhouli Zhengyi*, p. 787, 790.

²² Sun Yirang 孫詒讓 further explains the common misreading of *mu* as “pasture,” stating that *jing mu* can also be interpreted as fallow field, meaning left the uncultivated land to grow grass and weeds, which is why Du Yu interpreted it as pasture.” Original text: 「井牧猶言田萊，休不耕之田以長草萊，故杜預以為芻牧之地。」Sun Yirang, *Zhouli Zhengyi*, p. 790.

²³ The seven objects means land designation are: 1 high altitudes and lesser mounds (*jingling* 京陵), 2 barren or saline fields (*chunlu* 淳鹵), 3 districts liable to flood (*jiangliao* 疆潦), 4 reservoirs (*yanzhu* 偃豬), 5 irregular land (*yuanfang* 原防), 6 pastureland (*xigao* 隰皋), 7 fertile land (*yanwo* 衍沃).

²⁴ The dual possibilities of *shanlin* corroborated by two scholars’ distinct explanation. Li Yide 李貽德 (1783–1832) interprets it as mountains and forests, while Du Yu explicates it as the timber in the mountains and forests. Original text: 「李貽德曰：『山林之地者，周禮大司徒注：積石曰山，林木曰林。』」(Du Yu): 「度量山林之材，以共國用。」

Wu Jing’an, *Chunqiu zuoshi zhuan jiu zhushu zhengxu*, p. 442.

Ma Xinmin, ed., *Chunqiu zuozhuan zhengyi*, p.1177.

or to its produce. Therefore, the divergence in interpretation stems from the inherent semantic ambiguity of the word *shanlin* itself. As the meanings of the other seven terms are incompatible with an interpretation as “output”,²⁵ *shanlin* in this passage is more appropriately interpreted as a land name rather than its produce. The common referent of all eight objects is the condition of the lands, linking them to the primary object *tu tian*.

To sum up, the eight verbs commonly mean “differentiate” and “formulate”, and the objects are all the names of lands, they correspond to *shu* and *tu tian*, respectively. Therefore, as these nine phrases consistently refer to measuring land conditions to record land types, the definition of *jiu souze* should be “to examine the wetland and marshes”, and 鳩 means “to examine.” When this meaning is compared with the two candidate characters, it becomes evident that the original character represented by 鳩 is 究—signifying “to examine” or “to investigate”—rather than 句, which denotes “to accumulate.”

Furthermore, the intertextual relationship between the two initial verbs—度 and the newly restored 究—provides additional support for 究 being the original character. Many late pre-modern scholars argued that these two terms have an intertextual nature.²⁶ Wang Yinzhi, for instance, cited the earliest Chinese dictionary, the *Approaching Standard Language* (*erya* 爾雅),²⁷ alongside a line from the *Book of Odes* (*shijing* 詩經),²⁸ to corroborate that 度 and 究 shared a similar meaning and are commonly used together in pre-Qin literature.

This seemingly anomalous instance of borrowing can be attributed to the mental association between the sound [*jəgw] and the graphic form 鳩, as its established role as a phonetic

²⁵ Some of these, even describe marginal lands with little to no valuable yield such as barren, saline land (*chunlu* 淳鹵) and waterlogged land subject to flooding (*jianglao* 疆潦). Original interpretations from Du Yu: 「淳鹵，塉薄之地。」「(疆潦) 疆界有流潦者。」

Ma Xinmin, ed., *Chunqiu zuozhuan zhengyi*, p. 1177, 1178.

²⁶ Scholars who alleged the intertextuality including: Wang Yinzhi 王引之 (1766–1834), Yu Yue 俞樾 (1821–1907), Kōkō Takezoe, and Karlgren Bernhard. Yu Yue believes these two characters are common old sayings (*guyu* 古語), however other two scholars stated they are parallel in the syntactic status.

Original text: (Yu Yue): 「『究度』，古語也。《詩·皇矣》篇：『爰究爰度』是也。亦或作『鳩度』。襄二十五年《左傳》：『度山林，鳩藪澤』是也。」(Kōkō Takezoe): 「度鳩互文。」(Karlgrén Bernhard): 「『究』與『度』在文法地位上也是平行的。」

Yu Yue 俞樾 and others, *Gushu yiyi juli wuzhong* 古書疑義舉例五種 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2005), p. 135–136.

Kōkō Takezoe, ‘xianggong di shiqi’, p. 46.

Karlgrén Bernhard, *Gao benhan zuozhuan zhushi*, p. 488–489.

²⁷ Original text: 「《爾雅》：『度、究，謀也。』」Wang Yinzhi, *Jingyi shuwen*, p. 443–444.

²⁸ Original text: 「《大雅·皇矣》篇曰：『爰究爰度。』」Wang Yinzhi, *Jingyi shuwen*, p. 443–444.

borrowing for 矦; and character 鳩's high frequency in the twenty-fifth year of Lord Xiang, primarily in the name of the state *shujiu* (舒鳩).²⁹ Consequently, in this sound-dominant era, when a scribe intended to write the homophonous verb 究, the auditory prompt [*jəgw] automatically activated the familiar and highly accessible graph 鳩. This cognitive priming, combined with the character's prevalence in the immediate textual context, led to its selection over the less conventionalised 究.

4. Conclusion

Each case of phonetic borrowing possesses its own distinct characteristics and requires a tailored method of restoration. These individual cases collectively illuminate the fluid relationship between graphic form and phonetic value in the pre-Tang era, as well as the conventions employed by scribes of the time.

In our modern age, with its advanced scientific technologies, the vast corpus of commentaries left by predecessors has become more accessible than ever. However, to truly engage with ancient classics, one should also be equipped with the tools of “primary learning (*xiaoxue* 小學).” This foundational knowledge is indispensable for reconciling conflicting interpretations in the commentaries and, as demonstrated in this study, for developing new, evidence-based interpretations grounded in textual analysis.

²⁹ In the twenty-fifth year of Lord Xiang, the character 鳩 was used for twelve times: nine times for the state name (*shujiu*), two occurrences for the phonetic borrowing of 矦, and remaining one instance for place name *jiuzi* (鳩茲).

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Appendix One: Existing interpretations for “*shu tutian*” and “*liangru xiufu*”

1. *Shu tutian* (書土田)

- a. Du Yu (杜預): 「書土地之所宜。」
- b. Kong Yingda (孔穎達): n/a
- c. Liu Wenqi (劉文琪): n/a
- d. Kōkō Takezoe (竹添光鴻): 「書土地之所宜。箋曰：『此句是下九句之綱。』」
- e. Karlgren Bernhard (高本漢): n/a
- f. Yang Bojun (楊伯峻): 「據下文，書土田是總綱，下分九種言之，則土與田是二事。」
- g. Shen Yucheng (沈玉成): 「記載土地的情況。」
- h. Li Zongtong (李宗侗): 「寫明土地所種植的物品。」
- i. Li Suo (李索): 「記錄田地、林澤的情況。」
- j. Yu Xianhao (郁賢皓) [and other two commentators]: 「記錄田地和田畝的情況。下文分述九種情況。」

2. *Liangru xiufu* (量入脩賦)

- a. Du Yu (杜預): 「量九土之所入，而治理其賦稅。」
- b. Kong Yingda (孔穎達): 「量其九土所宜，觀其收入多少，乃準其所入，脩其賦稅。其九土之內，偃豬、京陵，無物可入，而言九土之所入者，揔言之。」
- c. Liu Wenqi (劉文琪): n/a
- d. Kōkō Takezoe (竹添光鴻): 「量九土之所入，而治理其賦稅。箋曰：『山林、藪澤因生材多少以量入，故言度、鳩。京陵、淳鹵無所入，故特言辨、表。町原防以下三事，賦入寓於法制之中，故唯言其制。杜以淳鹵為賦稅之地，故云九土。其實當為八土。』」
- e. Karlgren Bernhard (高本漢): n/a
- f. Yang Bojun (楊伯峻): 「量公私一切收獲數，而修定賦稅之法。」
- g. Shen Yucheng (沈玉成): 「計量收入指定賦稅制度。」

- h. Li Zongtong (李宗侗): 「看收入的多少以備賦稅的治理。」
- i. Li Suo (李索): 「核實收入修訂賦稅。」
- j. Yu Xianhao (郁賢皓): 「計量土地的收入修訂賦稅法制。」

Appendix Two: Cited explanations of “jiu souze”

Number	Interpreted context	Interpretation	Related scholar	Original statement ³⁰
1	鳩	Interpretation 1.1: Original character is 𪛗, means “accumulate”, “gather”.	(1) 杜預	<u>聚成</u> 藪澤。
			(2) 孔穎達	是藪為……故 <u>聚成</u> 。
			(3) 楊伯峻	鳩本作𪛗， <u>聚也</u> 。
			(4) 沈玉成	<u>聚集</u> 水澤的出產。
			(5) 李宗侗	鳩就是 <u>聚</u> 。 <u>聚成</u> 藪澤…… <u>聚集</u> 藪澤。
			(6) 李索	<u>聚集</u> 藪澤水產。
			(7) 郁賢皓	<u>聚集</u> 沼澤地的出產。
		Interpretation 1.2: Original character is 究, means “examine”, “calculate”.	(1) 王引之	鳩，當讀為究。……度山林，鳩藪澤，皆取 <u>相度</u> 之義。……究藪澤者， <u>度</u> 其出賦之多寡……。
			(2) 劉文琪	Quoted Wang Yinzhi’s statement as an appropriate interpretation.
			(3) 竹添光鴻	鳩，聚也。猶周禮之會， <u>會計之</u> 也。…… <u>量度之、會計之</u> 也。
			(4) 高本漢	王引之以為……「鳩」顯然是假借為「究」(<u>查驗、調查</u>)(兩字都从九聲)。如此，這句話就是說：「他 <u>查着</u> 濕地與湖泊。」……案：王氏所論確然可信。

³⁰ Related parts in the scholars’ original statement were underlined for readability.

2	藪澤	Interpretation 2.1: Hunting area, accumulate wetland to avoid manmade damage.	(1) 杜預	使民不得焚燎之，欲以備田獵之處。
			(2) 孔穎達	是藪為田獵之處，或焚其草，則散失澤藪之用，故聚成，使不得焚燎之也。
			(3) 李宗侗	聚成藪澤使人民不會破壞它，以備田獵的用處。
		Interpretation 2.2: The products produced by wetland.	(1) 王引之	究藪澤者，度其出賦之多寡，故下文遂云：「量入脩賦。」非以備田獵也。
			(2) 劉文琪	究藪澤者，度其出賦之多寡，故下文遂云：「量入脩賦。」非以備田獵也。
			(3) 竹添鴻光	山林藪澤所出，如〈楚語〉「金、木、竹、箭、龜、珠、齒、角、皮革、羽毛」是也。杜以為備田獵，固非。
			(4) 楊伯峻	水稀曰藪。山林藪澤之所出。如楚語下所云金、木、竹箭、龜、珠、齒、角、皮、革、羽、毛皆度量而聚集之。
			(5) 沈玉成	聚集水澤的出產。
			(6) 李索	聚集藪澤水產。
			(7) 郁賢皓	聚集沼澤地的出產。
		Interpretation 2.3: Wetland and lakes.	(1) 高本漢	如此，這句話就是說：「他查着濕地與湖泊。」

Appendix Three: Original characters for 鳩 in the pre-Qin literature³¹

Number	Original character	Supportive classic(s)	Supportive texts	Interpretation (s)
1	九	《莊子·天下》	「而九雜天下之川。」	《釋文》：「九本或作鳩。」
2	句	a. 《尚書·堯典》 b. 《左傳·隱公八年》 c. 《左傳·襄公十六年》 d. 《左傳·昭公十七年》 e. 《左傳·定公四年》	a. 「共工方鳩僝功。」 b. 「君釋三國之圖以鳩其民，君之惠也。」 c. 「句在此，敢使魯無鳩乎？」 d. 「五鳩，鳩民者也。」 e. 「若鳩楚竟，敢不聽命。」	a. 《史記·五帝本紀》作「共工旁聚布功。」 b. 晉 杜預註：「鳩，集也。」 c. 注同。 d. 晉 杜預註：「鳩，聚也。」 e. 晉 杜預註：「鳩，安集也。」
3	𪛗	《呂氏春秋·慎勢》	「沙用鳩。」	《文子·自然》鳩作𪛗。 《淮南子·脩務》：「沙之用鳩。」《文子·自然》鳩作𪛗。

³¹ This table summarises and filters all phonetic borrowing cases using a three-step methodology. First, initial data was collected from the *guyin xiaojing*, focusing on two sections detailing instances where 鳩 functions either as an original character of phonetic borrowing or a borrowed character. (In “*jiajie zi xilian chaxun* 假借字系聯查詢” and “*tongjia zi chaxun* 通假字查詢”.) Second, given that 鳩’s close relationship with its original character, itself occasionally be mistaken as an original character in phonetic borrowing (e.g. example 1 and 5). These cases was further analysed, and all occurrences that 鳩 served as a borrowed character were identified. Finally, 鳩 is confirmed as a borrowed character in specific cases only where supported by classical texts.

4	軌	《吕氏春秋·慎勢》	「沙用鳩。」	《史記·河渠書》 《集解》引《尸子》云：「以軌行沙。」
5	咎	《楚辭·七諫·沉江》	「眾輕積而折軸兮，原咎雜而累重。」	闻一多校補：「咎雜，鳩雜也。」
6	逌	《尚書·虞書·堯典》	「共工方鳩僝功。」	《说文·辵部》： 「逌，斂聚也。《虞書》曰：『宥逌辱功。』」