

## Corrigenda

Handel, Zev. 1998. The medial systems of Old Chinese and Proto-Sino-Tibetan. Doctoral dissertation, University of California at Berkeley.

Bolded page numbers indicate the most important corrections. Line numbers preceded by a minus sign are to be counted from the bottom of the page (excluding footnotes).

<u>Page</u>	<u>Line</u>	<u>For</u>	<u>Substitute</u>
2	-3	Sporadic <u>comparisons</u>	Sporadic <u>comparison</u>
3	-1	and <u>on modifications made to Li's system</u>	and <u>of Li's system (with modifications)</u>
5	4	which is as a construct <u>is</u> closer	which is as a construct closer
8	-7	<u>follow Bodman's method and establish</u>	<u>instead propose the development</u>
9	-9	exciting work <u>is being</u> done	exciting work <u>has been</u> done
<b>11</b>	-1	<u>regularities</u> will be encoded as	<u>irregularities</u> will be encoded as
12	13	become <u>and</u> excuse	become <u>an</u> excuse
<b>12</b>	-7	<u>phonemes</u> are monosyllabic	<u>morphemes</u> are monosyllabic
<b>14</b>	14	East and Southeast <u>issue</u>	East and Southeast <u>Asia</u>
15	-4	it seems to <u>be</u>	it seems to <u>me</u>
16	10	(to appear):	(to appear):
21	10	the fact the absence	the fact <u>that</u> the absence
21	12	over <u>they</u> centuries	over <u>the</u> centuries
23	6	group <u>if</u> given	group <u>is</u> given
27	6	<u>its</u> etymological affiliation	<u>their</u> etymological affiliation
38	fn 23	(initial <b>m-</b> , second division;	(initial <b>m-</b> , second division);
47	fn 32	as we shall see	as we shall see <u>in Section 4.2.4</u>
66	fn 63	<u>syllables</u> structure	<u>syllable</u> structure
67	10	on <u>reading</u> in Sino-Korean	on <u>readings</u> in Sino-Korean
73	fn 60	<u>reasonably</u>	<u>reasonable</u>
<b>75</b>	-5	high <u>vowels</u>	high <u>vowel onsets</u>
<b>75</b>	-4	non-high <u>vowels</u>	non-high <u>vowel onsets</u>
<b>75</b>	-2	<u>Furthermore, as we shall see ... He therefore</u>	<u>Having rejected the reconstruction of medial *-j- as a source of Type B syllables, Pulleyblank</u>
77	fn 65	preceding the <u>syllables</u>	preceding the <u>entire syllable</u>
81	-5	initials, were already	initials, <u>which</u> were already
<b>83</b>	-9	equivalent <b>*-rjín</b>	equivalent <b>*-rjón</b>
<b>83</b>	-7	final <b>*-rín</b>	final <b>*-rón</b>
95	5	with the <u>additional</u> of	with the <u>addition</u> of
102	-4	<u>seems unsatisfying</u>	<u>becomes untenable</u>
103	12	to <b>*Kon</b> syllables	to <u>those of</u> <b>*Kon</b> syllables

120	5	Gong Hwang-cherng's <u>revision</u>	Gong Hwang-cherng's <u>revisions</u>
120	-7	<u>One</u> the one hand	<u>On</u> the one hand
121	-4	make better <u>since</u>	make better <u>sense</u>
124	1	<u>rife with</u>	<u>possessed of</u>
124	2	<u>tend to</u> focus	<u>primarily</u> focus
124	fn 92	reconstruction Old Chinese	reconstruction <u>of</u> Old Chinese
129	7	<b>*Ty-</b> , <b>*Ts-</b> , <b>*TSy-</b>	<b>*Ty-</b> , <b>*Ts-</b> , <b>*TSy-</b>
130	10	-ac is primarily	-ac is <u>derived</u> primarily
138	8	using Proto-Lolo-Burmese	using Proto-Lolo-Burmese <u>[PLB]</u>
140	5	Tibetan ( <u>Xiahe</u> )	Tibetan ( <u>Xiahe</u> )
158	13	summarized in Gong ( <u>1995:42-45</u> )	summarized in Gong <u>1995 (pp. 42-45)</u>
165	-5	the vowel <b>**o</b> and the diphthong <b>*wa</b>	the vowel <b>**o</b> and the diphthong <b>**wa</b>
168	4	and to a lesser <u>extend</u>	and to a lesser <u>extent</u>
<b>169</b>	3	<b>*l</b> and <b>*f</b>	<b>*l</b> and <b>*-</b>
174	5	Burmese reflex <b>*-r-</b>	Burmese reflex <b>-r-</b>
177	10	and at <u>Type 3 languages</u>	and at <u>forms in individual languages</u>
179	-7	<i>Proto-Lolo-Burmese</i>	<i>Proto-Lolo-Burmese [PLB]</i>
179	-6	Proto-Lolo-Burmese ( <u>PLB</u> )	Proto-Lolo-Burmese
180	-3	( <u>TGTM</u> )	[ <u>TGTM</u> ]
182	8	Dulong <i>su<sup>31</sup>la<sup>55</sup></i>	Dulong <i>su<sup>31</sup>la<sup>55</sup></i> 'moon'
185	1	<b>4 The Medials</b>	<b>4 The medials</b>
<b>187</b>	fn 159	<b>*l-</b> , <b>*ɮ-</b> , and <b>*f-</b>	<b>*l-</b> , <b>*ɮ-</b> , and <b>*- -</b>
192	-4	variants <u>of which</u> existed	variants <u>which already</u> existed
<b>201</b>	-5	The Chinese <u>word</u>	The Chinese <u>character</u>
201	-1	<u>itself does not show many signs of being lateral</u>	<u>is not clearly lateral</u>
203	15	Gong 1995 lists four words <u>QC</u>	Gong 1995 lists four words
205	9	Cuona and Dulong <u>forms</u> indicate	Cuona <u>form</u> indicates
234	9	an intriguing form Miao	an intriguing form <u>in</u> Miao
<b>250</b>	-4	see Section <u>3.2.3</u>	see Section <u>4.2.3</u>
252	2	<u>Because of the close relationship, it makes sense to discuss *-r- after *-l-</u>	<u>The reconstruction of *-r- is intimately bound up with that of *-l-</u>
253	-11	or both <sub>1</sub> and to	or both <sub>1</sub> and to
253	-6	speculate on the <u>nature</u> of <b>*r</b>	speculate on the <u>phonetic value</u> of <b>*r</b>
254	13	refer to <u>as a rhotic series any ... l-</u>	refer to <u>any ... l-</u> as a <b>rhotic series</b>
254	16	reconstructs MC <b>l-</b> as <b>*C-r-</b>	reconstructs MC <b>l-</b> as <b>*C-r-</b> , where <b>C</b> is a <u>voiced velar or labial consonant</u>
254	-12	<u>medal</u> <b>*-r-</b>	<u>medial</u> <b>*-r-</b>

255	13	<u>In some rhymes ... in these cases.</u>	<u>Baxter reconstructs *TSrj- &gt; TSrj- &gt; TSr- to reflect this process, which in some rhymes had run its course early enough in the Middle Chinese period to be recorded in the Qièyùn.</u>
265	12	most <u>commonly</u>	most <u>frequently</u>
270	9	<u>vast</u> majority	majority
274	-7	a <u>surprising</u> five	a <u>full</u> five
277	fn 235	but <u>end up in second-division rhymes</u>	but <u>having Middle Chinese second-division vocalism</u>
279	3	evidence of * <u>r</u> in TB	evidence of * <u>r</u> in TB, <u>Gong's sets (44), (76), (94), (148), (158), (256), (329), (350)</u>
282	-5	<u>The words ... in TB</u>	<u>Next we turn to the words for which there is no evidence of *r in TB, Gong's sets (15), (184), (241), (283), (311), (359)</u>
287	2	retroflex <u>features</u> of this prefix <u>were</u>	retroflex <u>feature</u> of this prefix <u>was</u>
289	-5,-4	<u>plus</u> a ... vowel	<u>before</u> a ... vowel
292	6	Note however <u>... in Gong 1997</u>	Note however <u>that the first two examples from Gong 1995 do not develop into third-division chóngniǔ syllables, because of the special developments of *g<sup>w</sup>- in Type B syllables. (See Section 2.4.4.)</u>
294	-5	<u>tends to refute Pulleyblank's ... initial *?-</u>	<u>would refute Pulleyblank's assertion that phonotactically a medial *-r- should not be possible following initial *?-</u>
297	-9	Baxter <u>comprises</u>	Baxter <u>compromises</u>
301	-2	patterns <u>image</u>	patterns <u>emerge</u>
307	14	<u>and</u> but remained	but remained
309	fn 247	<u>But OC *-əw corresponds to WT -u-</u>	<u>OC *-əw, however, corresponds to WT -u- rather than -o-</u>
319	7	the situation is more <u>difficult</u>	the situation is more <u>delicate</u>
333	-12	<u>Chines</u> form	<u>Chinese</u> form
338	-2	rounded vowel * <u>o</u>	rounded vowel * <u>u</u>
339	2	OC * <u>-o-</u>	OC * <u>-u-</u>
347	2	very well with OC * <u>-j-</u>	very well with <u>Li's</u> OC * <u>-j-</u>
348	-2	which have been <u>pondered by many minds for some time</u>	which have been <u>under scrutiny for some time in the field</u>
350	-3	two PST sources, * <u>wə</u> and * <u>u</u>	two PST sources, * <u>wi</u> and * <u>u</u>
351	9	<u>Li's</u> medial	<u>Li's</u> medial
356	-8	Benedict #4	Benedict #2
370	-10	<u>Tóngyīn</u> 同音	<u>Yīntóng</u> 音同
371	15	<u>Wénhǎi.</u> argues that	<u>Wénhǎi.</u> <u>Gong</u> argues that
374	9	the <u>approximant</u> glides * <u>j</u> and * <u>w</u>	the <u>medial</u> glides * <u>y</u> and * <u>w</u>

376	6	<u>diphthongization</u> of glide+vowel clusters	<u>monophthongization</u> of glide+vowel clusters
376	-9	to MC <b>l-</b> and <b>ji-</b> respectively	to MC <b>l-</b> and <b>d-/ji-</b> respectively
376	-8	This <u>is not true with prefixal *s-, however</u>	This <u>was not the case, however, when these initials were preceded by prefixal *s-</u>
377	6	<b>*dź-</b>	<b>dź-</b>
377	6	MC <b>*s-</b>	MC <b>s-</b>
381	6	WB <b>nwâ</b> ‘cattle’	WB <b>nwâ</b> ‘cattle’
381	13	PST <b>*tson</b> ‘perforate’	PST <b>*tswan</b> ‘perforate’
381	19	PST <b>*twən</b> ‘dull’	PST <b>*tun</b> ‘dull’
382	2	comparative Tibeto-Burman provides	comparative Tibeto-Burman <u>evidence</u> provides
382	10	also <u>resolved</u> problems	also <u>resolves</u> problems
383	14	distorted by <u>morphological</u> processes	distorted by <u>morphophonological</u> processes
383	-1	<u>initials</u> dentals	<u>initial</u> dentals

**Additional corrigenda:**

Page 85: Delete the sentence “For example, consider 丘 **\*k<sup>hw</sup>əü** > **k<sup>h</sup>uw**.”

Page 348: Delete the sentence “All of these proposals eliminate ... final consonants).”

Page 380: Replace correspondence #21 with:

21) \***-u-** > \***-u-** \***-uə-** \***-u-**

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Page 335: Replace the last two paragraphs and the chart with:

2) These Class VI words have their origin in PST **\*wi** and **\*u** vowels before dental endings (or no ending, in which case **\*wi** developed into PTB **\*wəy**), which in turn are reflected in Tibetan as *u*. The merger of PST **\*wi** and **\*u** within Old Chinese can be viewed as part of the process of the loss in Chinese of true medial **\*-w-**, the same process that led to the creation of unitary labiovelar phonemes. There is no evidence for the reconstruction of PST **\*wə**, which presumably would have developed to **\*wa** in PTB but have the same reflexes in OC as **\*wi** and **\*u**, but additional data may in future require such a reconstruction.

3) The two proposals above make the reconstruction of PST **\*wi** and **\*u**, and their developments in OC, largely parallel to those of **\*wa** and **\*o**.

<u>PST</u>		<u>OC (G)</u>		<u>PTB</u>		<u>WT</u>		<u>WB</u>		<u>Correspondence(s)</u>
*-u-	>	*- <sup>w</sup> ə-, *uə-		*-u-	>	-u-		-u/ui/au-		Gong #2, Benedict #7a-c
*-wi-	>	*- <sup>w</sup> ə-, *uə-		*-wəy	>	-yi-		-we-		Benedict #8

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Page 340: Replace the chart by revising the **\*-ong** endings in the OC(G) column to **\*-ung**:

<u>PST</u>		<u>PTB</u>		<u>OC (B)</u>		<u>OC (G)</u>
*Kwan	>	*Kwan		*K <sup>w</sup> an		*K <sup>w</sup> an
*Twan	>	*Twan		*Ton		*Tuan
*Kwaŋ	>	*Kwaŋ		*K <sup>w</sup> aŋ		*K <sup>w</sup> aŋ
*Twaŋ	>	*Twaŋ		*Tong		*Tung
*Kon	>	*Kon		*Kon		*K <sup>w</sup> an
*Ton	>	*Ton		*Ton		*Tuan
*Koŋ	>	*Koŋ		*Kong		*Kung
*Toŋ	>	*Toŋ		*Tong		*Tung

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 Pages 289-290: Replace the six full paragraphs starting from “This strongly suggests ...” up through “... as in the previous chart.” with

In rhymes of the first category, those derived from a single Old Chinese rhyme group, both Gong and Baxter follow Pulleyblank’s original proposal, reconstructing medial **\*-r-** as the source of the third-division *chóngniǔ* syllables. (This remains true even in those cases where Baxter has divided a traditional rhyme group.) In rhymes of the second category, though, the situation is more complicated, as not all third-division *chóngniǔ* syllables are derived from medial **\*-r-** by Gong or Baxter.

According to Baxter’s formulation (1992:280): “division-IV *chóngniǔ* finals reflect OC **\*-j-** plus front vowels; division-III *chóngniǔ* finals reflect OC **\*-rj-** plus back or front vowels (or, in some cases, **\*-j-** plus an original back vowel ...)”. It is in reconstructing the source of rhymes of the second category, those whose third-division *chóngniǔ* syllables derive from more than one Old Chinese rhyme group, that we sometimes find such syllables derived from “**\*-j-** plus an original back vowel”, i.e. syllables lacking medial **\*-r-**.

This can be seen in the following chart, which contrasts Baxter’s and Gong’s reconstructions for the Old Chinese origins of the *chóngniǔ* rhymes given above. Semicolons are used to separate reconstructions in different traditional rhyme groups; these are listed in the same order as in the previous chart.