

The character , , ywij and the reconstruction of the Zhi and Wei rhymes

In: Cahiers de linguistique - Asie orientale, vol. 29 n°2, 2000. pp. 205-222.

Résumé

Cet article propose une nouvelle reconstruction de deux rimes du chinois archaïque. Une série de dissimilations ont causé la perte des distinctions *-uj / *-ij / et *-uj / *-ij devant les initiales labiovélares et labiales dès l'époque du Shijing. Ces changements ont opacifié la relation qui existe entre [f, ^et j]fÉ, trois mots grammaticaux importants du chinois archaïque. Grâce à notre nouvelle reconstruction, nous sommes en mesure d'expliquer la relation exacte entre ces mots et de réfuter certaines comparaisons externes au chinois. Enfin, cet article est une étude préliminaire des règles phonologiques qui s'appliquent dans les fusions de mots.

Abstract

This article proposes a new reconstruction of two rhyme categories of Archaic Chinese. A series of dissimilatory changes caused mergers of the *-uj / *-ij and *-uj / *-ij distinctions in some environments by the time of the Shijing. This made opaque the relationship between [f, ^and §], three important function words in Archaic Chinese. Using our new reconstruction, we will be able to explain their exact relationship and to disprove other etymologies on the basis of which [f is to be compared with jg, Lj and copula in Tibeto-burman languages. Finally, the article offers a of the phonological rules in the fusion of words.

Citer ce document / Cite this document :

Jacques Guillaume. The character , , ywij and the reconstruction of the Zhi and Wei rhymes. In: Cahiers de linguistique - Asie orientale, vol. 29 n°2, 2000. pp. 205-222.

doi : 10.3406/clao.2000.1571

http://www.persee.fr/web/revues/home/prescript/article/clao_0153-3320_2000_num_29_2_1571

The character 維 · 惟 · 唯 ywij and the reconstruction of the 脂 *Zhi* and 微 *Wei* rhymes*

Guillaume JACQUES

This article proposes a new reconstruction of two rhyme categories of Archaic Chinese. A series of dissimilatory changes caused mergers of the *-uj / *-ij and *-uj / *-ij distinctions in some environments by the time of the *Shijing*. This made opaque the relationship between 維, 非 and 雖, three important function words in Archaic Chinese. Using our new reconstruction, we will be able to explain their exact relationship and to disprove other etymologies on the basis of which 維 is to be compared with 惠, 爲 and copula in Tibeto-burman languages. Finally, the article offers a preliminary study of the phonological rules in the fusion of words. *Key words* : Archaic Chinese : phonology, morphology.

Cet article propose une nouvelle reconstruction de deux rimes du chinois archaïque. Une série de dissimilations ont causé la perte des distinctions *-uj / *-ij / et *-uj / *-ij devant les initiales labiovélares et labiales dès l'époque du *Shijing*. Ces changements ont opacifié la relation qui existe entre 維, 非 et 雖, trois mots grammaticaux importants du chinois archaïque. Grâce à notre nouvelle reconstruction, nous sommes en mesure d'expliquer la relation exacte entre ces mots et de réfuter certaines comparaisons externes au chinois. Enfin, cet article est une étude préliminaire des règles phonologiques qui s'appliquent dans les fusions de mots. *Mots-clés* : chinois archaïque : phonologie, morphologie.

* Many thanks to Laurent Sagart and to an anonymous reviewer for their comments on the content of this article. All errors are mine.

The character MC 維 *ywij* writes one of the most frequent among Archaic Chinese function words. That word will prove to be crucial for reconstructing a lost distinction in the Archaic Chinese vowel system, a distinction reflected in the phonetic series and in word families, but not in rhyming. Our new reconstruction gives a better account of the relationship between 維 *ywij*, 非 *pjij* and 雖 *swij*.

The Middle Chinese transliterations are taken from Baxter (1992), and the Archaic Chinese reconstruction is based on Sagart (1999). Its system of rhyme is based on the same 6-vowel theory as Baxter (1992) and Starostin (1989). The A/B distinction (Karlgren's yod) is noted with prefixed ^a and ^b.

1. THE RECONSTRUCTION OF 脂 *ZHI BU* AND 微 *WEI BU*

The majority of specialists in Archaic Chinese phonology are agreed that there were three rhyme distinctions corresponding to the traditional Zhi 脂 and Wei 微 categories. According to Baxter (1992) these were: *-uj, *-ij, *-ij (Starostin differs only by noting ə the vowel Baxter notes *i*). Both authors agree on how the three rhymes should be determined on the basis of Middle Chinese, and we accept their conclusions. Baxter notices, however, that the *-uj rhyme has a gap in its distribution: it never occurs in front of bilabial or labiovelar initials (Baxter 1992 : 456). Starostin (1989: 385) claims that words in *-əj (Baxter's -ij) likewise never occur before labiovelars (not including *w- and *hw-), with two exceptions: 歸 *kjwij* and 駢 *gwij*; he also claims that *kwəj and *kuj merged as *kuj. However, as we will see, a different approach seems preferable.

Baxter (1992 : 460-1) notices that 歸 *kjwij* < **kjwij* rhymes several times with *-uj words. He proposes that *-uj changed to *-ij before labiovelar initials (similar to the

dissimilation *-uj > *-ij before bilabials, (cf. Baxter 1992 : 454), taking this word as an example. However, 歸 kjwij rhymes as *-uj only 6 times out of 34 in the Shijing. We could argue that this is due to irregular riming, but this is not a good explanation since within a poem, 歸 never rhymes with both *-ij and *-uj finals.

It seems, however, that the *-uj vocalism is not archaic in 歸. The word is a k- prefixed derivative of 回 hwoj < *^awij, a word which has a consistent *-ij vocalism. The *k- prefix in verbs, according to Sagart (1993, 1999 : 98-105) indicates momentary, progressive or (in modern Jin dialects only) repetitive aspect.

We conjecture that in some late dialects of Archaic Chinese (5 cases out of 6 of 歸 rhyming as *-uj are from two poems of the Guofeng section, generally considered the youngest in the Shijing), the *-ij final assimilated to *-uj after labiovelar initials. This hypothesis implies that whenever in a dialect 歸 rhyme as *-uj, all other 微 *Weibu* words with labiovelar initials should rhyme as *-uj. This hypothesis is not contradicted by the rhyme in the Shijing and in the bronze inscriptions (Behr 1996), although due to the scarcity of such words, the hypothesis is difficult to test.

According to Sagart¹, there was a *-uj rhyme before labiovelar initials in Archaic Chinese, but it was dissimilated to *-ij instead of *-ij. The final *-uj underwent two distinct dissimilatory changes²:

- 1) Labiovelar dissimilation: uj / [+Labial, +Velar] ____ > ij
- 2) Grave dissimilation: uj / [+Labial or +Velar; +Stop] ____ > ij

¹ P.c, 1999.

² These changes are not the only cases of labial dissimilations in Archaic Chinese. As Sagart (1993a) has shown, *-u and velar rhyme *-uk / *-uŋ also undergo dissimilation to *-i, *-ik and *-iŋ after labial initials.

The second change does not apply in r-infixed word, but the first does.

The changes are in a bleeding relationship: if we except the case of *w- and *hw- initials, all labiovelars are stops, and therefore rule 2 could potentially be applied to almost any input of rule 1. Therefore, rule 1 applied earlier than rule 2. This hypothesis is difficult to test due to the scarcity of words from the 脂 *Zhi* and 微 *Wei bu* which have labiovelar initials, but fortunately a convincing trace of this change can be found in the series GSR 575, where all words with labiovelar initials (in fact, 維) belong to the 脂 *Zhi bu*, while all words with other initials, without exception, should be reconstructed with *-uj. Sagart's laws of labial dissimilation make sense of this diversity: the word 維 had an *-uj vocalism that changed to *-wij according to Sagart's first law. We give below a detailed analysis of this series.

2. ANALYZING GSR 575

According to Sagart (1999), there were iambic presyllables in Archaic Chinese that disappeared in the majority of cases without leaving any direct trace. However, supposing their existence is necessary to make sense out of xiesheng series where the initials belong to different places of articulation. As can be seen in Table 1, Table 2 and Table 3, ywij 維 and its homonyms are the only words in the series without a coronal initial. This calls for an explanation, and Sagart's hypothesis (Sagart 1999, p 94) that there was an iambic presyllable in this words seems quite convincing. However, whether this presyllable is to be interpreted as a "prefix of intransitive verbs" is doubtful, as we will see below.

We make use of double presyllables in our reconstructions. Sagart (1999) did not make reference to their existence (apart from the combination N+stop such as in 垂 $*^b\text{Nt-loj} > \text{dzywe}$) so it is necessary to be more explicit here. The combination of several

unaccented presyllables is poorly attested in languages of Asia, and therefore postulating reconstructions such as $*^b\text{s-tə-wuj}$ for 雖 swij may seem dubious. However, in rGyalrong, we find many case of double prefixes / presyllables (cf. Lin Xiangrong 1994):

kə-mə-ʃtak 'cold'
kə-nə-pu 'soft'

Besides, double presyllables are not to be viewed as necessarily synchronic: by the time new prefixes were added (as a result of derivational morphology or analogy) the old prefixes might have already merged with the root initial (cf. Sagart 1999, p. 110, Jacques 2000).

Finally, in the case of 雖 we have only one presyllable, $*^b\text{s-}$ being a fused prefix. To this type of double prefixation belong also the example of N+stop presyllable given in Sagart (1999). It seems there were also double stop presyllables in Archaic Chinese (Jacques 2000).

The full explanations for the reconstructions below are given in the following section.

隹 雛 錐 椎 鐸	tsywij	$*^b\text{tuj} < *^b\text{tur}$
堆 (碓)	twoj	$*^a\text{tuj}$
推 雍	thwoj	$*^a\text{thuj}$
隹	dwoj	$*^a\text{duj}$
誰 (隹)	dzywij	$*^b\text{duj}$
椎	drwij	$*^b\text{druj}$

Table 1: plain dental stop

	MC	AC
崔	dzwoj	* ^b s-duj
摧	tshwoj	* ^a s-thuj
趨	tshwijX	* ^b tshuj?
灌	tshwojX	* ^a s-thuj?
摧	dzwoj	* ^a N-s-thuj
雖	swij	* ^b suj* < * ^b s-tə-wuj

Table 2: affricate and s- clusters.

惟維唯	ywij	* ^b tə-wij < * ^b tə-wuj
蝮	ywijH	*b(tə)-wijs
唯 <small>唯 唯 唯</small>	ywijX	* ^b (tə)-wij?
帷	hwij	* ^b (tə)-wij

Table 3: tə- presyllable.

Because it was one of the most common words in the series, the character 維 itself probably came to be used as a loangraph for words without original *-uj vocalism (after the change took place) and without a *tə- presyllable: this might be the case of words like 帷 or 蝮 which did not necessarily have *tə-.

稚 drijH *^bdrijs
 (雉) drijX *^bdrij?

In GSR 575, all the words with coronal initials are to be reconstructed with *-uj rhyme, with the exception of 稚: but in fact this character does not really belong to GSR 575, it should be placed in GSR 595 and GSR 596 instead. Its phonetic should be 犀. The modern character is the result of a confusion between phonetic

維, 惟, 唯 and the reconstruction of 脂 and 微 rhymes / CLAO 29(2000) 205-222

and signific: 稚 is phonetically very similar to 雉 drijX, where 矢 is phonetic and 隹 is signific. This signific was reinterpreted as a phonetic, and the character 稚 was created.

These words from GSR 601 should be included in GSR 575:

淮 hweaj *^awrij < **^awruj
 匯 hwojX ??

The *-ij vocalism in the word 淮 is confirmed by a rime in the Zuo-zhuang (Zhao 12). This is proof that Sagart's first change is not hindered by infix -r-.

The character 匯 first occurs in the Yu Gong 禹貢 chapter of the Shangshu 尚書, generally considered to be quite late. This character could theoretically be reconstructed as *^awuj? and could therefore threaten the hypothesis of the dissimilation of *-uj rhyme before labiovelar initials. However since this character is not attested in Western Zhou texts, and since its meaning in its earliest textual occurrences seems com unrelated to its modern sense, it could result from late dialect mixture, we neglect it in our study.

3. THE RECONSTRUCTION OF INITIAL CLUSTERS

We notice that in the series GSR 575, among words with affricate initials, only initials MC dz- and tsh- are represented. The absence of *ts- calls for an explanation. Bodman (1969) gives examples of words with tsh- or dz- initials in Middle Chinese that come from *sth- / *sd- clusters in Archaic Chinese, such as 催 tshwoj < *^as-thuj, a word related to 推 thwoj < *^athuj. Following this line of research, Sagart (1999) gives a detailed account of clusters beginning with s-. According to him, a *st- cluster in type-A syllables in Archaic Chinese can become either ts- or s- in Middle Chinese, depending on the dialect. For example, 掃 sawX < *^as-tu? is derived from 帚 tsyuwX < *^btu?.

In GSR 575, apart from 維 (and other characters having 維 as phonetic) and 雖, all the characters have either a dental stop or an affricate initial. As indicated above, 崔 and 催 originally had a stop initial. We should not generalize this too hastily to the other characters of the 崔 subseries (where 崔 not 佳 is phonetic): if these characters postdate the change *sd- > *dz-, they should be reconstructed with a plain affricate initial. Notice however, the following word-family relationships: (1) 575b' 隄, 575d' 崔, both 'high', and 575k' 灌 tshwojX 'deep' (for a semantic parallel, Lat. *altus* has these two meanings) although the final glottal stop in the latter is problematic, and (2) 575a' 推 'push away', 575j' 催, 575l' 摧 both 'repress, draw back'. This indicates an initial cluster in 灌 and 摧. No word-family evidence supports an initial cluster in 趨 tshwijX, a late word.

Schuessler (1976) proposed that the word family meaning 'high' described above has cognates in other phonetic series: 崴 ?weaj 574d < *^a?wrij 'cliffy, high', 嶺 ?wojX ?jwijX < *^{ab}?wij? 'sinuous, contorted mountain'. However, it is not possible to reconstruct *-uj in these words since according to Sagart's first law, *?wuj should have given *?wij and not *?wij. These words may be related to the series GSR 569 instead.

It seems that all the words in GSR 575 had a dental stop in their onset. This suggests that we should reconstruct 雖 swij with a st- cluster initial. Yet swij is a type-B syllable, and it should be *sywij if the original form was *^bstuj.

If we conjecture that 雖 is related to 惟 ywij < *^btə-wuj, we must posit some kind of *s- prefix and the reconstruction of 雖 would thus be: **^bs-tə-wuj. The status of this *t- is not that of an initial, and we cannot expect the phonetic rules given by Sagart to work in the same way. We suggest this form changed to *^bsuj; the presence of a *tə- preinitial explains the absence of voicing of the initial (*s-w- should give zw- in middle Chinese, as in 還 hwin < *^awren, which has also the reading zjwen < ^bs-w[r]en,

(cf. Sagart 1999). A more complex change (that amounts to the same in the end) is also possible: $**^b s-tə-wuj > *^b s-tə-wij > *^b swij$ in some intermediate language between Archaic and Middle Chinese.

Another possibility for reconstructing 雖 would be $^b s-thuj$ that gives the expected result in Middle Chinese according to the phonetic laws given in Sagart's book. However, it masks the obvious relationship between the two words (see section 4. for the semantics).

4. 維 AND ITS DERIVATIVES

Because 維 was a very common function word in Archaic Chinese, many particles are derived from it by fusion.

In order to determine the etymological relationships of 維 to other particles, it is necessary in the first instance to know with precision what its original meaning was. Uhle (1880) argued that the meaning 'only', which still exists in modern Chinese, is secondary, and that all the functions of 維 diversified out of a primary meaning of 'determining, revealing' modality ('Feststellung', 'Hervorhebung'). After Uhle, many authors have argued that the syntactic function of 維 as a copula is original, and that its modal use and its other functions are diachronically derived from it (for recent work on the issue, see Djamouri 1996, Jacques 1999).

Sagart suggests³ that the verbal meaning of 維 $ywij$ 'to tie' was the origin of its function as a copula. He gives as a parallel the cantonese copula 系 $[hɛi^{22}]$ which comes from the verb 系 $hejH$ 'to tie'. This explanation as well as our new reconstruction militates

³ P.c., 1998

against proposed external comparisons of 維 with copulas in Tibeto-burman languages.⁴

Within the phonetic series GSR 575, only 雖 is cognate to 維. The character 雖 begins to come into usage by the end of the Western Zhou period. Maybe the word *^bs-tə-wuj existed before that time, but it was phonetically so similar to *^btə-wuj that they were written with the same character. The new character was created, perhaps, when the initial cluster was simplified: this may give us a date for this phonetic change.

Some traces of the origin of 雖 as a copula can be found in Western Zhou texts:

- (1) 周雖舊邦其命維新
 (大雅·文王)
 [Tsyuw swij kjuwH paewng] [gi mjaengH ywij sin]
 'Although Tsyuw is an old country, its mandate is new.'

It seems there were no nominal sentences in Archaic Chinese, some kind of verbal predicate was always necessary.

We find 雖 also in the beginning of sentences, just like 維, as opposed to 非:

- (2) 有女如荼雖則如荼匪我念且
 (鄭風·出其東門)
 [hjuwX nrjoX nyoX du] [swij tsok nyo du] [pjijX ngaX nemH tshjaeX]
 'The maidens look like white flowers; although they look like white flowers, none attract my attention.'

⁴ We tentatively suggest that the verb *^btə-wuj 'to tie' might be related to the Lolo-burmese etymon reflected in toi³¹ (Achang), tui³¹ (Xiandao), tui²¹ (Zaiwa), tɔi³⁵ (Langsu) 'to tie' (item 1141 in Huang et al.). However, no conclusive comparison can be made until the history of those languages is better understood.

The origin of the *s- prefix in 雖 is not entirely clear, but it seems its meaning has no relationship with those described in Mei (1977). The main difference between 維 and 雖 is that the latter has a concessive meaning.

Apart from 雖, other words are derived from 維. One of these is 非 pjij (GSR 579a) and its (probably dialectal) variant 匪 pjijX. Both words come from a fusion of 不 + 維, as was pointed out by many authors in the past. 維 and 非 are often found in opposition, which shows they belong to the same grammatical category. However, according to Djamouri (1991) 非 is not the standard negative copula opposed to 維 in oracular inscriptions: this role is taken by the non-fused compound 不維, especially when 維 is the copula in a sentence with a nominal predicate. The relationship between these two words is an excessively remote one, it predates the time when series 575 and 579 were created. By the time of the oracular inscriptions, 非 was not understood as a compound of 不 + 維 anymore.

Nevertheless, we do find some cases of 非 and 維 being opposed in antithetic sentences:

- (3) 癸酉貞日月有食唯若 (合集33694)
 癸酉貞日月有食非若
 [kjuwX yuwX] trjeng [nyit ngjuwot hjuwX zyek] [ywuX/pjuwX
 nyak]
 'The day kjuwX yuwX; the oracle says: if there is a sun
 and a moon eclipse, (it means the spirits) do agree / do not
 agree'
- (4) 非水 (合集28299)
 唯
 pjuwX syuwX – yuwX
 'It is not water; it is'

We find similar examples down to the Western Zhou period:


- (5) 非予自荒茲德惟汝含德不悒 (施) 予一人
 (書·盤庚)
 [pjij yoX dzijH xwang tsi tok] [ywij nyoX [hom tok]
 [pjuwX thek (syə) yoX ʔjiet nyin]]

'It is not that I rejected the virtue (of ancient people), it is that you kept (the benefit) of this virtue, and did not give it back to me.'

We said above that 非 is a compound of 不⁵ and 維, but if we reconstruct these words according to Baxter or Starostin's system, the development seems irregular. In Baxter's terms:

*pjij < *pjiʔ + *wjij

We would have expected **^bpij. However, if we reconstruct 維 as *^btə-wuj, this irregularity is explained: the fusion of 不 and 維 was early, it preceded the application of Sagart's first law. *^bpi + *^btə-wuj > *^bpuj. The labiovelar initial was replaced with a bilabial stop: therefore, Sagart's second law applied.

Another word should be considered here: 罪 dzwojX GSR 513a. This word appears only in the inscriptions of the middle Warring State period, although it is attested in the Shangshu and the Shijing, where it rhymes as *-uj. It is written  with the xiasheng 鼻自 'nose' bjijH < *^bbits. While this fits its MC

⁵ 不 should be read pjuwX < *^bpiʔ, as the equivalent of 否. However, the standard reading for 不 is pwot < ^aput, but this pronunciation is the result of a taboo. The personal name of the emperor 漢昭帝 Han Zhaodi was 弗陵 pjut leng. To avoid using the character 弗 pjut < *^bput, people replaced it graphically with 不, but the original pronunciation of 不 was kept almost unchanged: pwot < *^aput. The graph 否 was used to replace the original 不 pjuwX.

pronunciation badly, it points to the existence of a labial initial. Therefore, we propose the reconstruction $*^a\text{s-buj}?$, or rather $*^a\text{m-s-puj}?$, this changing to $*^a\text{dzuj}?$ quite early, before Sagart's second change occurred.

The modern character 罪 is very late epigraphically: it appears only in Han times. The *Shuowen* tells us that the original character (with xiasheng 鼻) was changed to 罪 by Qin Shi Huang because it was too similar to the word 皇 'emperor'⁶. This does not explain the shape of the modern character. The top part is probably a corruption of the character 自. The 非 element, we suggest, is probably not phonetic, unless the change $*\text{sb-} > *\text{dz-}$ had not yet taken place by Qin Shi Huang's time. But that change has to be older: in order to explain why our reconstruction $*^a\text{m-s-puj}?$ did not undergo Sagart's second change (this would yield $*\text{m-s-pij}?$), we need to bleed it by ordering the change $*\text{sb-} > *\text{dz-}$ before it: the evolution then becomes $*^a\text{m-s-puj}? > ^a\text{dzuj}? > \text{MC dzwojX}$.

Maybe it was a semantic similarity between 非 and 辛 that motivated the choice of such a signfic, or maybe the etymological relationship between those words was still somehow understood in Qin Shi Huang's time.

We suggest 罪 is derived from the adjectival or nominal 非, in the sense 'wrong, evil', as in the following passage:

- (7) 勿用非謀非彝蔽時忱 (書·康誥)
 mjut [yowngH pjij mjuw pjij yi] [pjiejH dzyi dzyim]
 'Do not use evil tricks and evil ways to mask (abuse ?) my confidence.'

罪, in turn, derives from 非 with the $*\text{s-}$ causative prefix, which can derive a transitive verb out of a stative verb / adjective

⁶ According to the *Shuowenjiezi*: « 秦以^自 似皇字改爲罪 »

(as in 蘇 su < *^as-ŋa 'wake up' from 悟 ngaH < *^aŋas 'to be awake'). Then, the *m- prefix of voluntary action (cf. Sagart 1999 : 79-86) explains the voicing of the initial. *m-s-pujʔ could be glossed as 'to cause evil on purpose'. Then, this verb was nominalized and acquired its attested meaning: 'crime'.

The presence of a final glottal stop is not a strong argument against our etymology : as we saw, 非 pjij itself knows a variant 匪 pjijX < *^bpujʔ with glottal stop. The word 罪 probably comes from a dialect where 匪 was used instead of 非.

罪 dzwojX < *^adzujʔ < *^as-m-pujʔ

The word-family connection to 罪 is another piece of evidence supporting an old *-uj vocalism in the word 非.

Finally, the negative particle 微 mjij < *^bmij < **^bmuj is a compound of 無 and 惟:

(8) *^bmij < *^bmuj < *^bma + ^bt-wuj

This word is relatively rare, and examples of it are found only in the Shijing:

(9) 微我無酒，以敖以遊 (詩·邶風·柏舟)
[mjij ngaX mju tsjuwX] [yiX ngaw] [yiX yuw]

'It is not that I do not have beer⁷, to travel far from here.'

The negation 未 mjijH is superficially similar but totally unrelated. As shown by Tai year names borrowed from Chinese ganzhi characters⁸, this word has a -t coda (未 is *mot* in Siamese and Lao). We therefore reconstruct *^bmits.

⁷ According to the commentary by Zheng Xuan, the first line should be understood as: 非我無酒: he translates 微 as 非.

⁸ As noticed in Li Fang- Kuei 1945.

維, 惟, 唯 and the reconstruction of 脂 and 微 rhymes / *CLAO* 29(2000) 205-222

Serruys (1969) proposes that 未 is a compound of 不 pjuwX and 既 kjijH. We suggest that it was instead the compound of 無 mju with 既:

(10) mjijH < *^bmits < *^bma + *^bkits

維 *^btə-wuj is unrelated to 惠 hwejH < ^awets and to 爲 hjwe < *^bwaj. Based on Middle Chinese hwejH, we could reconstruct 惠 as either *^awes or ^awijs. These forms are superficially similar to 維 (after Sagart's first law changed *^btə-wuj into *^btə-wij), but these reconstructions should be rejected for two reasons: firstly, 惠 hwejH unambiguously rhymes as -ets two times (out of two) in the Shijing. Secondly, in its xiasheng series (GSR 533), the word 總 sjwejH < ^bs-hwets must be reconstructed with final -ets, as shown unambiguously by its Middle Chinese reading.

The wide phonetic difference between 維, 惠 and 爲, both in rhymes and initials makes any etymological connection unacceptable.

REFERENCES

- BAXTER William H. (1992). *A handbook of Old Chinese phonology*. Berlin : Mouton de Gruyter.
- BEHR Wolfgang (1997). *Reimende Bronzeinschriften und die Entstehung der chinesischen Endreimdichtung*. Frankfurt am Main : Goethe Universität. [Dissertation].
- BODMAN Nicholas C. (1969). Tibetan sdud 'folds of a garment', the character 卒, and the *st- hypothesis. *Bulletin of the Institute of History and Philology, Academia Sinica*, 39, pp. 327-45.

- DJAMOURI Redouane (1991). Particules de négations dans les inscriptions sur bronze de la dynastie Zhou. *Cahiers de Linguistique - Asie Orientale*, 20, pp. 5-76.
- DJAMOURI Redouane (to appear). Markers of predication in Shang bone inscriptions. In : CHAPPELL Hilary (ed.). *Synchronic and diachronic perspectives on the grammar of sinitic languages*. Oxford : Oxford University Press.
- DOBSON W.A.C.H. (1960). *Early Archaic Chinese*. Toronto : University of Toronto Press.
- GUAN Xiechu 管燮初 (1981). *Xizhou jinwen yufa yanjiu 西周金文語法研究* [A study in Western Zhou Chinese grammar]. Beijing : Shangwu.
- HUANG Bufan 黃布凡 et al. (1992). *Zang-miananyuzu yuyan cihui 藏緬語族語言詞匯* [A vocabulary of Tibeto-Burman languages]. Beijing : Zhongyang minzu xueyuan.
- JACQUES Guillaume 向行餘 (1999). 上古漢語“維·惟·唯”字的語法功能及其來源 [The origin and the grammatical functions of the character *wei* in Archaic Chinese]. [Paper presented at the 6th International Conference on Chinese Teaching as a Foreign Language. Hannover.]
- JACQUES Guillaume (2000). The laterals in Archaic Chinese. [Paper presented at the Quatorzièmes Journées de linguistique - Asie Orientale. May 2000. Paris : CRLAO.]
- LI Fang-Kuei 李方桂 (1945). Some Old Chinese loanwords in the Tai languages. *Harvard Journal of Asian Studies*, 8, pp. 333-342.
- LIN Xiangrong 林向榮 (1993). *Jiarongyu yanjiu 嘉戎語研究* [A study of the rGyalrong language]. Chengdu : Sichuan minzu.

維,惟,唯 *and the reconstruction of 脂 and 微 rhymes / CLAO 29(2000) 205-222*

PULLEYBLANK Edwin (1965). *Fei, Wei and certain related words*. In : *Studia Serica Bernhard Karlgren Dedicata*. S. Egerod and E. Glahn (eds). Copenhagen. Pp. 1178-1189.

PULLEYBLANK Edwin (1996). The morphology of demonstrative pronouns in Classical Chinese. [Paper presented at the Fifth International Conference on Chinese Linguistics.]

QU Wanli 屈萬里 (1983). *Shangshu yiwen huilu 尚書異文匯錄* [A collection of textual variants of the Shangshu]. Taipei : Lianjiang.

SAGART Laurent (1993a). New views on Old Chinese phonology. *Diachronica*, 10(2), pp. 237-260.

SAGART Laurent (1993b). Le préfixe *k- du chinois archaïque et ses vestiges dans les dialectes modernes. *Bulletin de la Société Linguistique de Paris*, 88(1), pp. 261-293.

SAGART. Laurent (1999). *The roots of Old Chinese*. Amsterdam : Benjamins.

SCHUESSLER Axel (1976). *Affixes in Proto-Chinese*. Wiesbaden : F. Steiner.

SERRUYS P.L.-M. (1969). Negatives in the language of the bone inscriptions of Shang. *Annual Meeting of the American Oriental Society*. 25 mars, New York.

STAROSTIN Sergej A. (1989). *Rekonstrukcia drevnekitajskoj fonologičeskoj sistemy*. Moskva : Nauka

UHLE Friedrich M. (1880). *Die Partikel 惟 'wei' im Schu-King und Schi-King*. Dissertation : Leipzig

WANG Shishun 王世舜(1982). *Shangshu yizhu* 尚書譯注 [A annotated translation of the Shangshu]. Chengdu : Sichuan renmin.

YANG Shuda 陽樹達 (1948). *Ciquan* 詞詮. Shanghai : Shangwu.

ZHANG Yujin 張玉金 (1995). *Jiaguwen xuci cidian* 甲骨文虛詞詞典 [A dictionary of function words in oracle bone inscriptions]. Beijing : Zhonghua.

Guillaume JACQUES
21, rue de la Glacière
75013 Paris
FRANCE
xiang@free.fr